Abgadiyat

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Issue No. 6 - 2011

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Advisory Board

Contents

Guidelines for Contributors

Initial Submission for Refereeing

The manuscript must be submitted in three copies for refereeing purposes. The Journal of *Abgadiyat* follows the *Chicago Manual of Style*, with some modifications as cited below.

Final Submission

1- The final text (following amendments recommended by the editor or referees) must be provided on disk preferably CD, using MS Word, composed in 14 point font for Arabic and 12 point font for other languages.

2- The text should be in hard copy, printed clearly on A4 or standard American paper, on one side only, double-spaced throughout and with ample margins. Please do not justify the right-hand margin.

3- Please do not employ multiple typeface styles or sizes.

4 The Journal of *Abgadiyat* does not use titles such as Dr, or Prof. in text or notes or for authors.

5- Brackets should be all round-shaped, e.g. (……)

6- Use single quotation marks throughout. ' '

7- Avoid Arabic diacriticals. Only use in quotes.

8- The numbers of dynasties must be spelled out, e.g. 'Eighteenth Dynasty' and not '18th Dynasty' or 'Dynasty 18'. Similarly, numbers of centuries should be spelled out, e.g. 'fifth century BCE', 'second century CE'. BCE and CE should be in capitals.

9- The '_' dash between dates, page references, etc. (1901/02, 133–210) is an en-dash not a hyphen.

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TRANSCRIPTIONS OF ARABIC WORDS

1- The initial hamza (ﺀ) is not transcribed: amāna, ka-sura.

2- The article (al) should be connected with the word it determines through a hyphen, avoiding what is known in Arabic as 'solar' *al*, i.e. it should be written whether pronounced or not: *al-šams, al-qamar*.

3- No capital letter is given to the article (al) but the word it determines, except at the beginning of a sentence where the article also must have a capital letter: *al-Gabarti*.

4- Arabic diacritics are not transcribed: *laylat al qadr, and not laylatu l-qadri*.

5- The (*tā'* marbuta) is written as a, but if followed by genitive it should be written as *al-madina, madinat al-Qahira*.

6- For transliteration of plural in Arabic words use any of the following options:

- Arabic singular: *waqf*,

- Arabic plural: *awqaf*,

- Arabic singular followed by (s) in Roman letters: *waqf-s*.

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2- Footnote numbers should be placed above the line (superscript) following punctuation, without brackets.

3- The title of the article must not include a footnote reference. If a note is needed for 'acknowledgement' this should be by means of an asterisk (*) in the title and an asterisked note before the first footnote.

ABSTRACT

An abstract (maximum 150 words) must be provided. The abstract will be used for indexing and information retrieval. The abstract is a stand alone piece and not part of the main body of the article.

ABBREVIATIONS

• Concerning periodicals and series, abbreviations should follow those in Bernard Mathieu, *Abréviations des périodiques et collections en usage à l'IFAO*, 4ème éd. (Cairo, 2003). Available online at www.ifao.egnet.net. Ad hoc abbreviations, after complete full reference, may be used for titles cited frequently in individual articles.

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Article in a journal

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• Cite subsequently as: Ray, *JEA 85*, 190.

Article or chapter in a multi-author book

I. Mathieson, 'Magnetometer Surveys on Kiln Sites at Amarna', in B.J. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, *EES Occasional Publications* 10 (London, 1995), 218-220.

• Cite subsequently as: Mathieson, in Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports* VI, 218-220.

A.B. Lloyd, 'The Late Period, 664-323 BC' in B.G. Trigger, B.J. Kemp, D. O'Connor and A.B. Lloyd, A*ncient Egypt. A Social History* (Cambridge, 1983), 279-346.

• Cite subsequently as: Lloyd, in Trigger, *et al.*, *Ancient Egypt. A Social History*, 279-346.

Monographs

E. Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt* (Cambridge, 1992), 35-38.

• Cite subsequently as: Strouhal, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, 35-38.

D.M. Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein,* V. *Pottery, Lamps and Glass of the Late Roman and Early Arab periods* (London, 1998), 140.

• Cite subsequently as: Bailey, *Excavations at el-Ashmunein*, V. 140.

Series publication

W.M.F. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, *BSAE* 12 (London, 1906), 37, pl.38.A, no.26.

• Cite subsequently as: Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 37, pl. 38.A, no. 26.

Dissertations

Josef W. Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III: A Study of Middle Kingdom State Activity and the Cult of Osiris at Abydos* (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1996), 45-55.

• Cite subsequently as: Wegner, *The Mortuary Complex of Senwosret III,* 45-55.

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such as www.mfa.org/artemis/fullrecord. asp?oid=36525&did=200. might be more elegantly, if less directly, expressed textually: See, for example, acc. 19.162, illustrated at www.mfa.org/artemis. The http:// protocol may be omitted in citations to sources posted on the World Wide Web (e.g., www.mfa.org/giza, rather than http://www.mfa.org/giza); it should be retained in other instances (e.g., http:// aaupnet.org; or http://w3.arizona.edu/~egypt/)

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PHOTOGRAPHS

- These should be scanned at 300 dpi for reproduction at the same size. The images should be saved as CMYK TIFF files (JPEGs are rarely adequate).

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- All image files must be submitted on a CD. Please do not e-mail images to the editors without prior consultation.

CAPTIONS

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Introduction

During the past five years, the *Abgadiyat* journal has appeared in order to bridge the existing gap in the fields of writings and scripts studies. This gap was not on the local level only, but as well as on the regional level; wherein there was no practical or precise journal concerning the affairs of writings and scripts in the world across the ages. *Abgadiyat* carries the most important goals of the Center for Studies of Writings and Scripts, including the increase of the number of rare specialists among writings and inscriptions that need to be studied and to spreading the consciousness of writings and inscriptions on the level among the non-specialists. Perhaps, this is the main reason for considering the Delegation of Antiquities in the High Council for Universities for *Abgadiyat* as a regional journal.

This issue, specifically, is considered one of the most important issues why *Abgadiyat* is published, and we are greatly pleased — as a team working on the revision of the Journal — when a number of researchers competing in publishing their research within issues in the Journal; where the team revising the Journal came across a number of research from different countries and from all universities. As a result, we helped in upgrading the scientific level of *Abgadiyat*.

Also among the fundamentals that *Abgadiyat* emphasizes is the support of young researchers to publish their research in the Journal. It is known to all that one of the goals of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina is to encourage and support young researchers in all research and practical fields. Thus, the Journal has received research investigations from a number of young researchers, who are hoped to meet the criteria, after the Council of Practical Specialized Ruling has approved their research and recommend their research with the ability, quality and readiness for publishing.

Following the research of the Journal, he finds a great diversity in the research topics that the Journal displays. Despite everything, it carries one goal, the interest in inscriptions and writings; displayed is research dealing with different perspectives. These perspectives include research from the linguistic, historical, and artistic perspectives; leading to a balance to all the axes of practical research.

The sixth issue of *Abgadiyat* overflows with a group of valuable research concerning inscription of the ancient Egyptian language; whether they were found in the Sarabeet al-Khadem, Wadi al-Hammamat or Wadi al-Jawasis areas, or those that date to the second era of transition, or concern administrative nicknames in ancient Egypt, or what some papyri dealt with in writing about the afterlife according to Ancient Egypt, or the efforts of some researchers in the field of the ancient Egyptian language, such as Professor Ahmed Kamal Pasha and his linguistic dictionary concerning the writings from the Coptic age that were dealt with from the artistic perspective stating the shape of icons, from the historical perspective stating the first Copts who wrote in Arabic, and concerning the writings in the Islamic age which dealt with the writings on homes in Damascus during the

Ottoman Era, and inscriptions on rare Islamic coins and writing compositions, such as the royal monogram in the Modern Age, and inscriptions on some mosques.

From here, we can state that this issue might grant the opportunity for young researchers to publish their research, and present a serious, practical study to continue the path the Center of Writings and Scripts had begun nine years ago.

Ahmed Mansour
Deputy Director of Calligraphy Center
Bibliotheca Alexandrina

The Serabit el-Khadim Inscriptions

Formulaic Approach

نقوش سرابيط الخادم: دراسة في الصيغ النصية

Ahmed Mansour

ملخص:

يمتاز معبد حتحور على هضبة سرابيط الخادم بجنوب سيناء بمجموعة فريدة من النصوص الهيروغليفية التي تعود إلى فترة الدولة القديمة، والدولة الوسطى، والدولة الحديثة. وقد سُجِّلَت هذه النصوص على لوحات حجرية تقف منفردة، أو على جدران المعبد، والذي لم يتبق منه الكثير. ولما كانت المساحة المخصصة لتدوين النصوص غير كافية بما يسمح بتدوين كافة تفاصيل البعثات التعدينية، إلى جانب تسجيل النقوش الدينية المتعارَف عليها في معابد الآلهة. لجأ المصري القديم في تدوين نصوصه إلى استخدام الصيغ المهمة، والمتعارَف عليها في مثل هذا النوع من المعابد الإلهية في مناطق التعدين. تُعَدِّد هذه الورقة البحثية أهم الصيغ النصية التي أوردها الكاتب المصري القديم في نقوش سرابيط الخادم، وأهمية ورود تلك الصيغ على لوحات المعبد أو جدرانه، بالإضافة إلى دراسة تحليلية. كذلك يشير البحث إلى أهمية حتحور كربة للفيروز من خلال تكرار اسمها في كل النصوص التي وردت خلال هذا البحث. أخيرًا ينتهي البحث بمجموعة من النتائج المفيدة للباحثين.

The earliest settlements in ancient Egypt prove predynastic mining activities in different parts of Egypt: the Western Desert, Eastern Desert (the most exploited) Nubia, and Sinai, providing the raw materials that were necessary for the development of the ancient Egyptian society[1]. In addition, during the Protodynastic Period, the metallurgy was developed in ancient Egypt, in parallel with unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. The ancient Egyptians were able to practice the art of metallurgy, since they were competent in separating metals from their ores, and preparing them for use by smelting or refining. The texts reveal an ancient Egyptian knowledge of stones and gems, or indicate the exact location of quarries and mines. For example, the tombs of the First and Second Dynasties attest this ability, which could explain the superiority and lead of the ancient Egyptians over the other Near East peoples, such as the Sumerians and their successors.[2]

In Ancient Egypt, one of the writing functions was to inscribe on monuments in order to provide the name of the owner of this monument, or to specify the subject represented (dedication, praising, offering, etc). When applied these functions on Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions, it is probable to divide the inscriptions into three main classes:

1- Mine inscriptions which are inscribed on rock, at or near the entrance to mines. These inscriptions are commemorative inscriptions.

2- Inscriptions on the temple fabric, which are the votive or devotional inscriptions.

3- Inscriptions inscribed on free-standing stelae, which are divided into two types:

a) Commemorative stelae.

b) Votive stelae.

The stelae were erected as tombstone and as boundary markers. Moreover, they served as votive

and commemorative monuments.[3] Therefore, the function of the stela determined the place where it should be erected. In temples and sanctuaries, it was erected inside it by individuals to worship the gods, besides commemorating special events, such as successful expeditions to the mines and quarries, or a new gallery opening, etc.

The commemorative stelae were set up in temples by kings, noblemen or high ranked officials to bear witness to successful military campaign, or mining expedition, royal building activities, dynastic marriages, and other officials' events. Therefore, the stela was the most suitable monument to be erected in Hathor temple, and special types of texts were composed. Thus, the inscriptions on the Hathor stelae tend to be brief and formulaic.[4]

The inscriptions of Serabit el-Khadim include about 26 inscriptions from the Old Kingdom, about 106 inscriptions from the Middle Kingdom, and 85 inscriptions from the New Kingdom. This large number of inscriptions was formulated in the traditional form with some variations. For example, the texts consisted in formulaic epithets extolling the expeditions' leader capabilities with a narrative of his achievements. In the meantime, the irregularity of Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions lies in the extent to which the personal names of officials have been allowed to appear in these inscriptions, consequently, the expedition leaders felt supreme in Sinai, beside the use of common formulas in composing Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions. In this paper I will shed light on the most frequent formulas used in composing Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions.
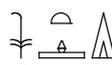
1. The formula *Ḥtp di nsw* 'An offering that the king gives'

Given the importance of the offering formula, it is not surprising to see it on the monuments dedicated to different divinities in Serabit el-Khadim plateau. Taking into consideration that Hathor temple at

Serabit el-Khadim is a divine temple rather than a funerary temple.

a) Composition

Generally, the offering formula demonstrates the wishes expressed in the prayer. It begins with the sentence ⸗⸗⸗ *ḥtp di nsw* 'An offering that the king gives'. The offerings given by the king, and that are mentioned in the formula, are mostly food offerings, such as bread, beer, birds, oxen, etc. I will shed light on one element of this formula, which is 'the king'. The fact that the king gives the offering, reflects the vital role that he played in the ancient Egyptian liturgy, as he was regarded as the source of all goods in ancient Egypt. In addition, the source of the offering endowed to the owner was always understood to be the 'reversion of offerings' (that means the divine offerings were distributed to the temple employees, after the gods had spiritually satisfied themselves. Usually, the *ḥtp di nsw* was translated 'An offering that the king gives (to) god X, that he (god X) may give invocation offerings.

According to Detlef Franke, the god's name never became part of the king's formula,[5] so the ⸗⸗⸗ *ḥtp di nsw* should be translated 'An offering which that king has given god X'.[6] On the other hand, the 'invocation offerings' were guaranteed to the owner upon reciting the formula. There are different categories of offerings requested by the owner. The first category deals with wishes for a prosperous career during the owner's life. The second group consists of requests for a successful transitional period between life and death. The third group concerns a happy sojourn in the afterlife.[7]

b) The offering list

The Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions include the different requests asked by the owner or the dedicator of the stela. In IS233, IS234, IS235, IS243, and IS424, we find following the traditional *ḥtp di nsw* formula, some moral requests such as praise, love, and alertness to (X), as in IS233 and IS235, or 'life benefits' such as life, prosperity, health, praise, and love, as in IS234.[8] On the other hand, the same requests are mentioned in IS243 and IS424 without being preceded by the *ḥtp di nsw* formula.[9]

Probably there are two reasons to ask such requests. The first, it is known that the mining expeditions sent to Serabit el-Khadim were stopped during the Second Intermediate Period that covers 100 years. After this long period of interruption, and given that the miners were concerned of getting lost in this area, or not to be able to extract the turquoise and keep it new and safe; it is convincing to notice the miners, asking Hathor, life, prosperity, health, praise, and love. The second reason concerns the dangerous nature of the tasks overtaken by the ancient Egyptian miners. The expedition should traverse the Eastern Desert, and then it should cross the Red Sea. Mahfouz states that: 'the ancient Egyptian miners used Wadi Gawasis on the shore the Red Sea as a disembarkation point to reach Serabit el-Khadim mines',[10] in order to reach turquoise mines in Serabit el-Khadim. This long distance and dangers that the ancient Egyptian miners could face inspired them to pray to Hathor for a safe return to their homeland, or for life, prosperity, and health after a long journey. It is highly accepted to ask Hathor these moral requests, as she is the goddess of deserts; moreover, a temple was built to venerate her on Serabit el-Khadim plateau.

c) The designation of the recipient

The *ḥtp di nsw* formula is an offering formula that was recited in order to safeguard against the cessation of substances within the tomb of the deceased, and to ensure a continual supply of food after death. In Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions, the situation is different. The owners, who dedicated the stelae to Hathor, existed during the time of dedication. In addition, the stelae, on which the *ḥtp di nsw* formula was inscribed, were not erected within a tomb, but erected inside Hathor temple, which is a divine temple and not a funerary one. Moreover, the ancient Egyptian scribe used the same protocol to designate the recipient as a deceased, a fact that could be proved by the phrase *n k3 n*. Bennett states that: 'In fact, in the Eleventh Dynasty and usually in the reign of Senusert I the deceased is designated ▨▨, ▨▨▨, etc. 'honored one'. By the time of Amenemhat II ⊔〰 is placed in front making it ⊔〰▨▨ 'the spirit of the honored one'. Finally, during the reign of Senusert III, the older designation drops out leaving ⊔〰 'The spirit of'.)[11] (IS401, IS230, IS121, IS122 EF, IS103 WF, IS156). However, this need not imply a funerary prayer because it occurs in other inscriptions which request 'life benefits'.[12] In my opinion, the miners seized the opportunity, and dedicated a stela with the same offering formulas in order to receive the benefit after death, even if this stela was erected in a divine temple. Worth mentioning that some inscriptions did not include the *n k3 n*, as in IS93 (W face), IS112 (N and S Edge), IS122 (offering table), IS166, IS230, IS233, and IS308. The formula was as follows: 'An offering which the king gives to God X, that he may give an offering to the X (owner titles)'. Although the owners were ascribed by '*m3ˁ ḫrw*', they were, in fact, alive during erection of these stelae. This same formula was cited on the Middle Kingdom commemorative stelae in order not to be neglected by the divinities after death.

d) The writing of *ḥtp di nsw* formula

There are two common horizontal writings of *ḥtp di nsw* formula:[13]

a) [hieroglyphs] or [hieroglyphs], with [glyph] as the third word in the group.

b) [hieroglyphs], with [glyph] as the second word in the group.

In Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions the *ḥtp di nsw* formula appeared in the two writing forms:

- The writing (a) appeared, for example, in IS84, IS93, IS94 (fragment c), IS103, IS112 (N Edge), IS114, IS118, IS121, IS122 (offering table), IS122 (EF), IS166, and IS408.

- The writing (b) appeared, for example, in IS235, IS401, IS421 and IS423.

However, there are some instances where the *ḥtp di nsw* formula was written without the verb *di*. IS96 and IS93 (S Edge) did not contain the verb *di* among the traditional elements of *ḥtp di nsw* formula, albeit the space was available for the scribe to write it. If it were written, the form should pertain to the type (a).

One final note concerning the writing of *ḥtp di nsw* formula, Smither mentioned that 'the writing (b) [hieroglyphs] of the *ḥtp di nsw* formula was introduced into *horizontal* inscriptions during the Second Intermediate Period, and probably towards the end of that period, as no certain examples as early as the Thirteenth Dynasty have yet come to light'.[14] Contrary, the writing (b) had appeared in IS421, which is dated to the Middle Kingdom.[15] Using the same criteria as Smither,

that the formula appeared with the ⌃ as the second word in the group,[16] According to Vernus, the general use of writing (b) in the Late Middle Kingdom is an indirect result of that political situation of that period. Therefore, it is probable to consider the beginning of Second Intermediate Period as a starting date to use the writing (b).[17] In addition to the use of *di.f prt-ḫrw* according to Bennett criteria,[18] which means a change in the grammatical structure of the formula, such inscription dates to the Twelfth Dynasty.

f) The Divine name

There was more than one divinity sharing the honor of giving the offerings to the recipient. Hathor was the predominant divinity, for the well-known reasons. Moreover, Ptah, Ptah-Sokar, Osiris, Sopedu, Anubis, and Setekh were venerated and mentioned in Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions.

2. The formula

dit iȝw n Ḥwt-ḥr ḥnwt mfkȝt nbt pt ḥnwt tȝwy [*n kȝ n*] 'Offering praises and prayers for Hathor, mistress of turquoise, mistress of sky, [for the *kȝ* of]'

This formula appeared in IS114, IS136, IS247, IS250, IS259, and IS303. It is interpreted as 'Offering praises and prayers for the *kȝ* of'. This formula appeared in the Old Kingdom to venerate the king, and it was still used during the Middle Kingdom.

Writing

During the Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom, it was written ⸳⸳⸳, ⸳⸳⸳, ⸳⸳⸳. In the New Kingdom, it was written ⸳⸳⸳.

The formula has one determinative that appeared in two forms:

- A man with arms out-stretched, which appeared in the New Kingdom. A31C

- A seated man with his arm raised, which appeared in the Middle Kingdom. (A4A)

3. The dedication formula *ir.n.f m mnw.f* [*n it.f*] 'what he made as his monument for his [father]'

It appears with frequency on Egyptian monuments. The formula is frequently translated '*what he made as his monument for his (father)*'[19] or 'he made it as his monument for god X, making for him a ….', then it is followed by the name of the object, or building, or sometimes the deeds that the king performed.[20] However, Castle interpreted it: 'the king of Upper and Lower Egypt N: it is his monument that he made for his father, the making for him'.[21] The standard form of the formula has the structure:

Nsw bity

Ir.n.f m mnw.f/mnw n it.f

Irt.n.f

Ir.f n.f di ꜥnḫ or *ir.n n.f sȝ Rꜥ*.[22]

In Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions, the formula *ir.n.f m mnw.f* appeared in IS67, IS89, IS95, IS116, IS123, IS128, IS131, IS200, IS210, IS277 (West Face), and IS314.

Composition and dedication list

Generally, the dedication formula demonstrates a list of endowments or achievements that the king had fulfilled for the sake of the divinity, such as the erection of obelisks. It is understood that *mnw* is to be as 'the enduring' achievement through which the king fulfills his kingly duty. However, in Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions, the list of achievements was neglected. The form was briefed as follows:

Nsw bity ir.n.f m mnw.f n it.f God X or *Nswt bity ir.n.f m mnw.f n* God X.

King of Lower and Upper Egypt, he made monuments for his father god X, or (for his father).

On the other hand, the verb *rdi* was coordinated with *mnw* in the context of the dedication formula. The IS131 mentions the formula as following: *di.f m mnw.f n Ḥwt-Ḥr nbt mfk3t,*[23] he gave monuments to Hathor, lady of turquoise which ignores an extensive list between *di* and *m mnw.f.*[24]

4. The formula

𓄢𓇋𓏲𓏤𓈖𓈖𓈖𓈋𓅓𓏏𓂋𓈖𓏏𓏏𓇋𓅓𓈖𓇓𓏏𓋹𓆓

ḏww ḥr sšmt r ntt im n Nswt bity Ny-M3ˁt-Rˁ sˁnḫ ḏt di.sn n.f st ḥr 'The hills lead to that which is in them, they bring to light what is within them.

It repeats commonly in Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions, where it occurs in IS53, IS106, IS110, Is114, 124B, IS137 (W.F.), IS146 (South edge), IS196, and IS413.[25]

Composition

Generally, this formula demonstrates the sentiments and wishes expressed by the expedition members to easily find what they search for. In Ancient Egypt, the extraction of metals was considered a divine delivery or donation. For example, Hathor addresses her speech to the king 'I (Hathor) give you the two cliffs which give you the divine minerals, as it is the most marvelous thing to see'.[26] Therefore, the divinities, assisted this extraction in order to be purified, fed, and protected against the bad and evil things. Also, to be conveyed some sort of joy, even through the minerals offering or by some products made of these minerals, that recall their colors.

(Aufrère 1991, 20). These joys were related with some stones (*ḥb, ḥkn, mfk, ḫsbḏ, tḥn*). Besides, these minerals have a purification role, even by the immersing in water, which flows from the divinities statue; or by fumigation constituting a pleasant perfume to the gods. These minerals could play either a defensive role (the green and blue stones) or an offensive role (the red stones).[27] This leads us to shed light on the commemorative formula concerned with the opening of the gallery.

The commemorative formula

𓎛𓏏𓏏𓊭𓂧𓐪𓏏𓈖𓂋𓐍𓇓𓐙𓂝𓌻𓂋𓏭𓆑𓎛𓎿𓆑

ḥtt nḫbt n rḫ nsw m3ˁ mry.f ḥs(y).f 'A gallery X opened by the true royal acquaintance, beloved of his praise'

This formula commemorates the opening of a new gallery, where those mining activities will be included. This formula occurs in Serabit el-Khadim in IS47, IS48, IS49, IS51, and IS56. However, before moving to the opening process, the expedition should get the permission of the divinity dominating the region, *i.e.* Hathor. This permission or excuse could be obtained by retroceding the mined minerals, or praising the divinity, or performing a special cult celebrating the opening ceremony.[28]

The formula 𓀭𓋹𓐍𓅱𓏥 *i ˁnḫw* 'O Living'

The *i ˁnḫw* 'O Living' formula is a development for the potency of the verbal word in the funerary ritual. The deceased was, somehow, doubtful to receive all the offerings he needed, therefore he could appeal to a passerby to recite the formula for him. A typical example of such an appeal reads:

𓀭𓋹𓐍𓅱𓏥𓇍𓇋𓏏𓊃𓈖𓂋𓊨𓏏𓏏𓈖𓄖𓏏𓈖

𓊵𓏏𓊪𓂧𓈍𓄿𓅓𓏏𓏏𓏏𓏏�慶𓂋 *i ˁnḫw iit.sn r st tn pḥ.tn m ḥtp ḏ ḫ3 m t ḥnḳt k3w 3pdw šs* 'O you who live

upon the earth, who shall pass by this tomb, who may return home in peace, and who shall say a thousand loaves and beer, oxen, geese and clothes … etc.'[29] More and more, the *i ꜥnḫw* formula was developed to be '*Breath of the Mouth*'. In this formula, the deceased assures the living that nothing is asked more than a verbal prayer. The composition of this formula is the same as the *i ꜥnḫw* formula, but adds: 'please offer to me from what is in your hand, but if there is nothing in your hands, you need only to say with your mouth: '*A thousand loaves and beer, oxen and geese … etc.*'[30]

In Serabit el-Khadim inscription, the *i ꜥnḫw* formula is attested in IS53, IS106, IS118, IS136, IS142, IS167, IS169, IS401 and IS409. IS401 dates back to the Middle Kingdom, and it reads: '*O you living who may come to this place, may you reach (home) in peace, and say: Thousand of breads and beer, oxen-flesh and geese, alabaster and cloths…..*'.[31] However, the relevance of such a broad undifferentiated concept of cultural propaganda is undeniable, but its analytical usefulness is questionable, since it means little more than the texts are a part of the system of signs that constitute a given culture.[32]

The formula

m3ꜥ ḥm n Nṯr pn (title=*šps*) *r int ꜥ3tt špst n ḥm.f* 'The Majesty of this god sent the X to bring precious stone for his majesty'.

Composition

It begins with an epithet '*m3ꜥ ḥm*', followed by the genitive *n nṯr pn*, then it is followed by the titles of the person who was sent by the king. The formula was ended by the objective that should be fulfilled, *i.e. r int ꜥ3tt špst n ḥm.f* '*to bring precious stone for his majesty*'.

The person in charge

Usually, the person designated by the king to fulfill such a mission was the god's treasurer.[33] In IS86, IS90, IS141, the god's treasurer was mentioned followed by his titles, such as the leader of recruits, courtier of the Great House, leader of gangs, the intendant.[34]

Conclusion

The Serabit el-Khadim inscriptions included the same formulas and royal protocols mentioned in similar mining texts; nevertheless, some formulas were more frequent with some variations to befit the mentality of the ancient Egyptian miners who crossed the desert in unusual conditions aiming at mining turquoise in Serabit el-Khadim plateau. I tried to shed light on the most frequent formulas, in order to show the ability of the ancient Egyptian miners to adapt the religious and commemorative formulas in a different context.

The majority of the previously mentioned formulas appeared during the Middle Kingdom, a period that witnessed an intensive mining activity. The total number of inscriptions containing the mentioned formulas are 81, of which 59 inscriptions date back to the Middle Kingdom, with a percentage of 73%. This number attests an intensive mining activity of the Middle Kingdom rulers after a long interruption period. Moreover, the extent number of mining expeditions, attested by the large number of inscriptions, may refer to the peaceful situation between Egypt and their neighbors. In addition, 20 inscriptions date back to the reign of Amenemhet III (in this study only), with a percentage of approximately 25% of the total inscriptions, a number reflects that Amenemhet III was less warlike than his father.

The inscriptions devoted to Hathor at Serabit el-Khadim are formulaic. They described her as overseer of mining activities, ensuring the safe return home of an expedition, and the successful opening of a mine.[35] (IS28), 79-80 (IS53), 90-91 (IS83).

Formula	Translation	IS No.
Ḥtp di nsw	'An offering that the king gives'	Writing (a) IS84, IS93, IS94 (fragment c), IS103, IS112 (N Edge), IS114, IS118, IS121, IS122 (offering table), IS122 (EF), IS166, and IS408. Writing (b) IS235, IS401, IS421 and 423
dit i3w n k3	'Offering praises and prayers for the *k3* of'	IS114, IS136, IS247, IS250, IS259, IS303
ir.n.f m mn it.f	'What he made as his monuments for his (father)'	IS67, IS89, IS95, IS116, IS123, IS128, IS131, IS200, IS210, IS277 (WF), IS314
dww ḥr sšmt r ntt im n nswt bity ny m3ꜥt Rꜥ sꜥnḫ dt di.sn n.f st ḥr st-ḥr.f m ddw n.f it.f Itn / dww ḥr sšmt r ntt im sḫd.sn imnt imyt.sn dww ḫ3swt ḥr 3wt.sn	'The hills lead to that which is in them, they bring to light what is within them'	IS53, IS106, IS110, Is114, 124B, IS137 (WF), IS146 (South edge), IS196, IS413
ḥtt nḫbt n rḫ nsw	'A gallery X opened up by the true royal acquaintance'	IS47, IS48, IS49, IS51, IS56
i ꜥnḫw	'O Living'	IS53, IS106, IS118, IS136, IS142, IS167, IS169, IS401, IS409.
m3ꜥ ḥm n ntr pn (title) *r int ꜥ3t špst n ḥm.f*	'The majesty of this god sent the X to bring precious stone for his majesty'.	IS86, IS90, IS116, IS141, IS246

Notes

WF = West Face.

EF = East Face.

IS = Gardiner, *et al., The Inscriptions of Sinai* II Vols. (London, 1955).

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