

Private Scarabs from Gebel el-Silsila found during Excavations in the New Kingdom Necropolis

جعارين خاصة من جبل السلسلة عثر عليها أثناء حفائر جبانة الدولة الحديثة

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جعارين الأفراد من جبل السلسلة المكتشفة فى حفائر جبانة الدولة الحديثة

يتناول البحث بالدراسة مجموعة من الجعارين التى عثر عليها بمقابر الأفراد التى يرجع تاريخها الى عصر الأسرة الثامنة عشرة، والتى تم اكتشافها أثناء الحفائر التى قام بها فريق التنقيب السويدى المصرى بين عامى ٢٠١٥ و ٢٠١٦ فى جبانة الدولة الحديثة على الضفة الشرقية لجبل السلسلة. وقد تم توثيق سبعة جعارين حتى الآن، والمرجح أن تكون مملوكة لأفراد من المجتمع المحلى الكائن حول محاجر الحجر الرملى. الجعارين مزينة بعلامات هيروغليفية، ومن بينها أسماء فراعنة الأسرة الثامنة عشرة "تحتمس الثالث" وابنه "أمنحتب الثانى".

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Introduction⁶

The Site

The New Kingdom Necropolis is located in the northern-most partition of Gebel el-Silsila East, immediately to the north-west of the renowned stele of Amenhotep IV⁷, and stretches westwards almost half-a-kilometer along the northern mountain ridge, bordering present agriculture land. The archaeological context incorporates prehistoric rock art, Eighteenth Dynasty quarries, and a Temple of Sobek.⁸ The rock-cut tombs excavated thus far consist of one or two undecorated chambers, with one or more crypts cut into the bedrock floors. The entrance of the tombs consists of a dressed portcullis, slot-cuts into the door jambs, into which a (stone) slab would have been placed to seal the door after burial, and possibly to allow for later interment. The tombs are usually accessed via a courtyard, followed by a series of steps that descend into the rough-cut square room. In addition to the chambers, the necropolis includes crypts cut into the rock; burials placed within geological fissures or cliff overhangs, or occasionally placed on the floor within the surrounding quarryscape. The archaeology indicates multiple burials within the same chamber or crypt, conceivably complete families, and individuals of varying ages and both genders. Furthermore, a series of infant and child burials indicates family life at Gebel el-Silsila. The majority of the tombs were looted during Antiquity.

Archaeological material found in the tomb interior and exterior includes several sandstone and ceramic sarcophagi dressed with anthropomorphic features; burnt and decorated plaster, and wood with color and decoration indicative of Eighteenth Dynasty burial customs; beads in diverse colors, material and sizes; amulets mainly made of faience or stone, depicting Wadjet eyes, the dwarf-god Bes, hippopotami and baboons representing Taweret and Thoth respectively, seated unclassified deities, and a zoomorphic Horus; seals; ceramic funerary ware; fabric, including linen wrapping; workers' tools; weaponry; etc. Additionally, six scarabs and a sacaraboid were found, as described below. The seventh scarab was found at a foundation stratum in the Temple of Sobek, adjacently situated with the necropolis.

Scarabs found at Gebel el-Silsila

The scarabs listed below were assembled by the Swedish–Egyptian archaeological team during the eighth and ninth field seasons, between 2015 and 2016, found during excavation work in the Eighteenth Dynasty necropolis (and temple) at Gebel el-Silsila. Each entry includes information about field number (inv. no.), Provenance, dimensions (L. length; W. width; Th. thickness), material, description, inscription, and dating if possible. Typology conclusions⁹ are based on comparisons to other scarabs, while dating is indicated by their archaeological context when possible. Scarabs containing royal names, herein including Thutmose III and Amenhotep II, reveal a *Terminus post quem* for production, which is consistent with their archaeological context, but the postproduction of Thutmose III scarabs¹⁰ prevent any absolute dating. The objects are divided according to the genre of the reverse decoration, including 1) King's names, 2) Divine names, 3) Others.

Catalogue

Scarab 1: Scarab with throne name of Thutmose III

Scale bar = 10mm © Gebel el-Silsila Project

Inv. No.: GeSE16.ST8.F2

Provenance: Private tomb ST8 Exterior. Found in upper stratum together with skeletal remains, ceramic sherds, beads, painted plaster fragments, and scarab no. 3, below.

Date: Eighteenth Dynasty; *Terminus post quem:* Thutmose III.

Dimensions: L. 12.88 x W. 9.06 x Th. 6.0 mm.

Material: Faience, blue-green with brownish stains on reverse and sides.

Preservation: complete.

Description: Scarab with throne name of Thutmose III

Obverse: An inscription is divided into three segments, including a centrally placed cartouche flanked by a winged sun disc accompanied by two pendant *uraei*¹¹, and a dung-beetle with extended wings and accompanied by two pendant *uraei* respectively. The composition is encircled by a single engraved oval line.



Reverse: The reverse is decorated with a single lined prothorax and the elytra are divided by a skewed (oriented to the right) single lined suture. A line surrounds the lateral and inferior borders of the majority of the elytra surfaces. Humeral callosities are delineated. The clypeus is wedge-shaped and is demarcated into four distinct lobes with two parallel lines running in parallel with the scarab length on the clypeus adjacent to the head. The outer portion of the left lobe of the clypeus is chipped. The lobes protrude over the body and may suggest that the lobe was damaged during use if the object was worn. The plates are bordered by lateral lines. The head is misaligned, oriented on the left half of the scarab body, so much so that the single line dividing the elytra is in line with the right half of the head. Furthermore, the clypeus is off-set on the head so that the elytra separation is practically in line with the center of the clypeus, and therefore positioned to the right of the head center. The raised legs are naturally carved. The front legs connect to the body slightly in front of the junction of the prothorax and elytra.

Inscription: Cartouche with the throne name of Thutmose III: *Mn-hpr-rꜥ*: ‘Men-Kheper-Re’. The two emblems flanking the cartouche could be read cryptographically – perhaps *hr bhḏty* and *hpr nbty* respectively: ‘Horus Behdety, Men-Kheper-Ra, Khepri of the Two Ladies’, or literally.

Commentary: The object can presumably be included in the group of so-called Apis sign scarabs, which traditionally incorporates a winged sun disc; a winged falcon/hawk; or a winged scarab, and in which composition the cartouche of Men-Kheper-Ra often replaces the falcon.¹²

Scarab 2: Scarab with throne name of Thutmose III

Scale bar = 10mm © Gebel el-Silsila Project

Inv. No.: GeSE16.ST14.F365

Provenance: Private tomb ST14 Exterior. Found in ‘looter’s stratum’ consisting of tomb debris (skeletal remains, ceramic sherds, beads, burned plain plaster) mixed with blown in sand and Nile silt.

Date: Eighteenth Dynasty, *Terminus post quem:* reign of King Thutmose III

Dimensions: 12.54 x 9.62 x 6.3 mm.

Material: Faience.



Description: Scarab with throne name of Thutmose III

Obverse: The obverse is ovoid shape, with elaborate hieroglyphic signs oriented horizontally in sunk relief on the base, divided into three fields. The object is in excellent condition. The inscription centralizes a cartouche with the throne name of Thutmose III, flanked to its left by a recumbent sphinx symbolizing the King, wearing the white crown, a false beard, and holding a *nw*-vase with both his paws. An oval detail is located above the sphinx, here left without further commentary due to its ambiguous nature. Flanking the cartouche to the right is an object presumably representing the *nb*-sign.

Reverse: The rear has a single line separating the prothorax from the elytra. The elytra are divided by an off-center (oriented to the left), single lined suture. The legs are naturally carved and are connected at the junction of the prothorax and elytra. The head is delineated but the clypeus has chipped off. The longitudinal piercing passes directly below the clypeus and head, and therefore weakened the structural integrity of the object at that element's location.

Inscription: *Mn-hpr-r*: 'Men-Kheper-Ra'

Commentary: The inscription may have intended to include both sphinx and *nb*-sign, which would have an effect on the translation. However, without defining the character of the item located above the sphinx, a definite interpretation is difficult. Compare with scarabs: Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC69888 and UC61144; Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology 6-22025; British Museum scarab EA28530

Scarab 3: Scaraboid with throne name of Amenhotep II

Scale bar = 10mm © *Gebel el-Silsila Project*

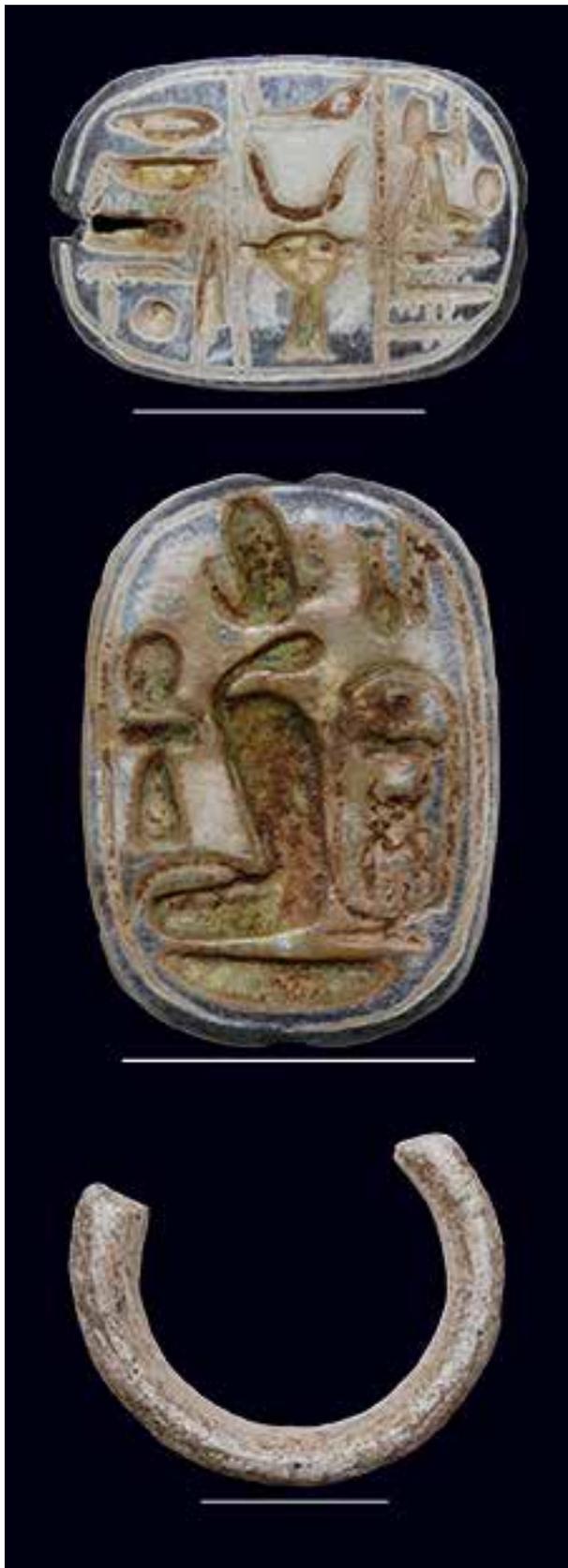
Inv. No.: GeSE16.ST14.F346 (scaraboid)

Provenance: Private tomb ST14 Interior

Date: Eighteenth Dynasty, *Terminus post quem:* reign of King Amenhotep II. Found in looted stratum near tomb entrance intermixed with skeletal remains, ceramic sherds, beads, unburned plaster, smaller textile fragments, blown in sand, and Nile silt; Eighteenth Dynasty context. The object could be identified as a ring when the band itself (ivory) was found adjacently.

Dimensions: 17.76 x 12.24 x 2.67 mm.

Material: Steatite



Preservation: Complete

Description: Scaraboid with throne name of Amenhotep II.

It is included in the current corpus due to its physical and symbolic similarity with the scarab amulets.

Obverse: The decoration is oriented vertically and consists of six elements, surrounded by an inner single sunk oval line. At the far right, within a vertical cartouche, an elaborated sunk relief of the coronation epithet (praenomen) of King Amenhotep II is incised in hieroglyphic characters: ʒꜥ- ḥprw rꜥ Aa-Kheperu-Re. The central part is occupied by a large vertical figure in sunken relief representing a rearing cobra, surmounted by the Atef crown. The left part is occupied by a large, vertical ʕnh in sunken relief.¹³ Above the cartouche are the signs for wsr and nfr.

Obverse inscription: ʒꜥ- ḥprw rꜥ wsr nfr nb ʕnh: ‘Aa-Kheperu-Re powerful beautiful Lord, may he live’.

Reverse: The hieroglyphic inscription is placed horizontally on the scarab, divided into three vertical columns.

Reverse inscription: ntr nfr ʕ3-ḥprw-Rꜥ ḥww t3w r.k Imn-Rꜥ: ‘The beautiful god, Aa-kheperu-Re, he who strikes the lands for you, Amun-Ra’.

Commentary reverse: The centrally placed face and horns may belong together, cryptographically signifying Hathor.

Scarab 4: Amun-Ra scarab

Scale bar = 10 mm © Gebel el-Silsila Project

Inv. No.: GeSE16.ST30.F1

Provenance: Private tomb ST30 exterior. Found in upper stratum (‘looters’ debris) with skeletal remains, ceramic sherds and beads, Eighteenth Dynasty archaeological context.

Date: Eighteenth Dynasty

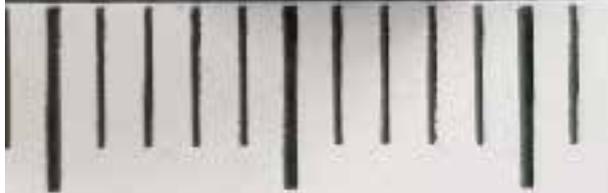
Dimensions: L. 22.63 x W. 15.55 x Th. 7.87 mm.

Material: Steatite, blue-grey

Preservation: Complete.

Description: Amun-Ra scarab

Obverse: Ovoid in shape, with hieroglyphic characters engraved in sunken relief on the base. A single engraved line frames the script field on the inferior and lateral sides. The object is damaged on the surface in line with the longitudinal piercing, but the hieroglyphic signs are in



Description: Amun-Ra scarab

Obverse: An inscription in sunken relief oriented horizontally, encircled by two vertically placed *nb* signs; all enclosed by an engraved, single lined oval. The central part is occupied by the name of Amun-Ra.

Reverse: A single line separates the prothorax from the elytra. The wing case is divided by a misaligned (oriented to the left), single lined suture. A line surrounds the lateral and inferior borders of the elytra. Humeral callosities have not been carved. The head is small and does not demarcate features of eyes. The clypeus does not have defined lobes. The rear legs are carved out. The front legs are not detailed, and the remaining of the lateral sides consist of a horizontal groove.

Inscription: *Imn-r^c*: ‘Amun-Ra’, or if including the flanking *nb*-signs perhaps *Imn-r^c nb nb*: ‘Amun-Ra is the Lord of all’.¹⁵

Commentary: Compare with No. 6, below. The scarab was found in the same archaeological context as No. 1, including items datable to the Thutmosid period, and taking into consideration the contemporaneous production of double-sided seals bearing the throne name of Thutmose III on one side and the Amun-Ra flanked by *nb*-signs¹⁶, an Eighteenth Dynasty date may be proposed.

Scarab 6: Amun-Ra scarab

Scale bar = 10 mm © Gebel el-Silsila Project

Inv. No.: GeSE17.STN.F1

Provenance: Unknown private tomb. Found in upper stratum of mixed debris left by looters exterior to tombs ST28-ST30. The layer contained skeletal remains, beads, Wadjet-amulets, ceramic sherds and sarcophagus fragments, painted wood and plaster, textile (wrapping), and remains of wooden coffins.

Date: Eighteenth Dynasty.

Dimensions: L. 8.43 x W. 6.08 x Th. 4.21 mm.

Material: Faience, light blue–green with brownish stains especially on reverse and sides.

Preservation: Complete.

Description: Amun-Ra scarab

Obverse: This scarab is practically identical with object No. 5, though the hieroglyphic inscription is in a better state of preservation. The inscription is oriented horizontally, carved in sunken relief, and flanked by two vertically placed *nb*-signs; all enclosed by an engraved



single lined oval. The central part includes the name of Amun-Ra.

Reverse: The prothorax and elytra are not delineated by a line. The head is misaligned, located on the left half of the body. Humeral callosities are indicated by incised curved lines on the lateral body surfaces. The lines are not parallel with regards to the oval shape. The superior surface of the elytra is chipped. The clypeus has not been preserved. The element appears to have broken off and was potentially a weak spot due to the longitudinal piercing lying directly below where the clypeus would have been located. The longitudinal piercing is off-center slightly, extending from the right diagonally to the left. The elytra are bordered laterally by lines, almost connecting with the piercing. The rear legs do not extend quite as inferiorly as the lateral border of the elytra. The legs are stylized, carved out of the material and meeting slightly forward to the start of the humeral callosity. The deeply carved legs appear to retain some presence of green color that has also been preserved in some of the hieroglyphs. A single line runs around the lateral body starting below the back legs, and continuing almost to the demarcation of the prothorax and head.

Inscription: *Imn-r^c* ‘Amun-Ra’, or if including flaking signs: *Imn-r^c nb nb* ‘Amun-Ra is the Lord of all’

Commentary: see No. 5, above.¹⁷

Scarab 7: Kheper scarab

Scale bar = 10 mm © *Gebel el-Silsila Project*

Inv. No.: GeSE16.ST14.F295

Provenance: Private tomb ST14 Interior. Found near entrance of tomb ST14 in looted context of skeletal remains, beads, amulets, ceramic sherds and vessels, plaster, and scaraboid ring, No. 3, above.

Date: Eighteenth Dynasty or later.

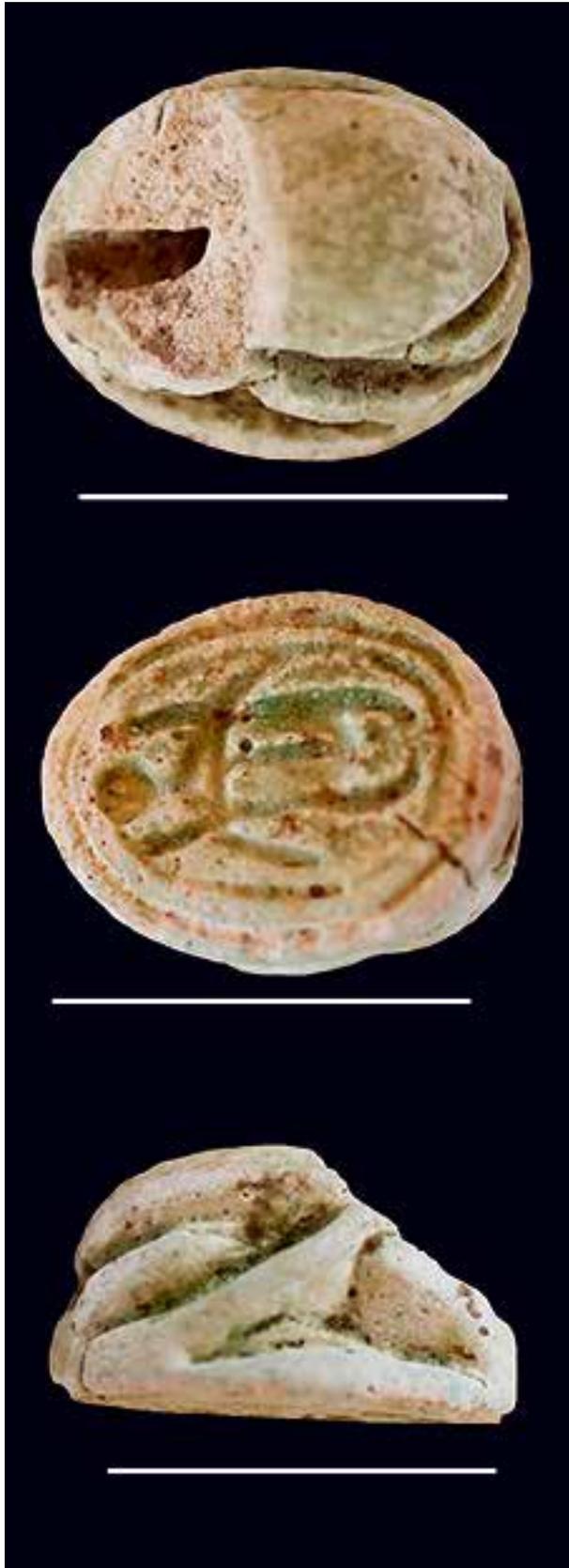
Dimensions: 12.14 x 8.91 x 9.07 mm.

Material: Faience, green.

Preservation: Obverse and sides are complete, front/head of reverse damaged.

Description: Kheper scarab

Obverse: The inscription is encompassed by a double incised line. Inside the inner boundary line is a representation of the scarab beetle with a sun disc positioned between its front legs. The outer end of the sun disc and two lines are broken from the damage to the surface. The beetle is incised with an uneven, roughly



carved oval for a head and no indication of a separation between the prothorax and elytra is visible. The elytra are separated by a single line in the center of the wing case. The middle set of legs are depicted as two single lines branching off from the front legs and the body.

Reverse: The scarab body is chipped and thus obliterating the clypeus, head, eyes, and partial prothorax. The damage protrudes inferiorly on the left side more than the right side. A line separating the prothorax from the elytra is not present. The elytra are not distinguished by a suture. Humeral callosities do not appear to have been demarcated. The legs are naturally carved and appear to meet the body at the approximate junction of the prothorax and elytra. The rear legs do not appear to have been evenly carved. The right rear leg is oriented more forward in comparison to the left. The scarab is pierced longitudinally, the puncture exposed from the surface damage. The piercing is oriented slightly to the left of center body.

Inscription: Logogram for Ra-Kheper.¹⁸

Commentary: Re-Kheper or Kheper scarabs are habitually interpreted as representing the transformation of the deceased.¹⁹

Scarab 8: Re (Hyksos) scarab²⁰

Scale bar = 10 mm © Gebel el-Silsila Project

Inv. No.: GeSE15.T.F1

Provenance: Temple of Sobek, Gebel el-Silsila East. Found in foundation stratum during excavation. Archaeological context included inscribed and decorated Thutmosid limestone fragments, inscribed and decorated sandstone fragments (Amenhotep III and Ramses II), faience beads, New Kingdom and Roman ceramic sherds. The Temple was almost completely destroyed during Antiquity and the surface strata consists of a rich variety of archaeological material from various chronological periods, ranging from Predynastic rock art to Roman occupation, for which the temporal aspect cannot be confirmed based on context.

Date: *Terminus post quem* Fifteenth Dynasty/Hyksos

Dimensions: L. 16.26 x W. 11.23 x Th. 5.37 mm.

Material: Steatite.

Preservation: Complete.

Description: Hyksos scarab

Obverse: The scarab is composed of four or five phonetic signs, depending on if the sign on the bottom (*nb*) should

be considered as emblematic in combination with the lotus-flower on top. A great number of parallels seem to speak for the latter alternative. In addition, there is a cobra on the left, facing the general reading direction. A single incised line surrounds the script field.

Reverse: The prothorax and elytra are not delineated by a line or suture. The head is off-center, located on the left half of the body. ‘V’ shaped indents have been carved on the lateral surfaces at the approximate location of the prothorax and elytra separation. The head is trapezoidal in shape and outlined by a second line, creating an inner triangle. The clypeus is present and is chipped on the outer portion, thus obscuring evidence of defined lobes. The elytra and prothorax surfaces are cracked and show multiple abrasions and incisions (especially on the right lateral surface). The scarab also has a polished appearance on the wing casing and prothorax, in particular in line with the longitudinal piercing through the center of the body. The legs are stylized with the rear legs having been carved out of the stone. Two horizontal lines run laterally to the front half of the body surface. The longitudinal piercing connects with the right uppermost horizontal line but not the left. The second (more inferiorly positioned) line is closer to the opening on the left side than the right.

Inscription: Perhaps ʿ3 m ntr(.i) : ‘Great is (my) god’, alternatively ‘The Great One is (my) god’.²¹ If reading the first sign cryptographically as the sign *r*, one could propose a phonetic writing of the god’s name R^{c2} , thus $R^{\text{c}} \text{ʿ(3) m ntr(.i)}$: ‘Ra, the Great One, is (my) god’.²³ An alternative reading appears if considering the text as a royal name: $\text{ʿ3-ntri-R}^{\text{c}}$: ‘Aanetjerira’.²⁴

Commentary: The particular formula found on this object is previously documented, but shows some variation that might indicate a certain degree of corruption. According to Flinders Petrie, who published a number of variants kept in the University College London, they were ‘all more or less degraded’. In 1917 publication, he proposes a Fifteenth Dynasty date (King Apepi I).²⁵ He reconstructed a putative original version, ‘having given to the King devotion’.²⁶ Harry R. Hall dated the scarabs with this particular formula to the Sixteenth Dynasty, recognizing what he thought were possible names of Hyksos rulers, so commonly found on contemporary specimens.²⁷ In this case, the closest parallel would be a king named Aanetjerire ($\text{ʿ3-ntri-R}^{\text{c}}$).²⁸ Some of these Hyksos scarabs also show a cobra flanking the text/name in the same manner as on the current object.²⁹



Concluding commentary

All the herein included inscribed scarabs (and scaraboid) discovered within a funerary context at the Gebel el-Silsila necropolis suggest temporal origin during the early to mid-New Kingdom, predominately with a *Terminus post quem* during the reign of the Thutmosid family. The scarabs inscribed with royal names, thus, concur with the chronology of dateable archaeological context (primarily ceramic finds). During the 2017 field campaign, nine more scarabs were discovered, currently studied, seven of which were found in undisturbed burials, placed on a string around the individuals' left wrist. The objects support a Thutmosid *Terminus post quem*.

An exception to the funerary objects is certainly scarab No. 8, which was discovered within a foundation stratum of the adjacently located, now destroyed Temple of Sobek. This object is more likely to belong to the Hyksos period in Egypt, thus the Fifteenth or Sixteenth Dynasty. Strangely, while activity on this site can be documented from the Predynastic period, there are no other archaeological or architectural indications of an existing temple prior to the Thutmosid period, for which the object's provenance may be questioned. However, yet another scarab (unpublished) was discovered during the 2017 field season, stylistically dateable to the Second Intermediate Period, the Seventeenth Dynasty. Perhaps the two objects were inherited and placed with an owner once entombed in the adjacent necropolis (and since plundered), or placed as foundation deposits within the temple. Further excavations are anticipated to shed more light on the earlier phases of the Temple.

Notes

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- 6 The authors would like to express their gratitude to the Permanent Committee on Foreign Missions for giving the team permission to work at Gebel el-

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- 7 G. Legrain, 'Notes d'inspection IV: Sur l'architecte Aménôthès qui vécut sous Aménôthès III', *Annales du service d'antiquités de l'Égypte* 4 (1903), 197 – 212.
- 8 As excavations continue in the temple and the cemetery, only preliminary results have been presented as reports. See, however, a popular scientific summary in Maria Nilsson and John Ward, 'Preliminary Report: Discovery of the Lost Temple of Khenu', *SSEA Newsletter* (Spring 2015), 1-4.
- 9 For formulated stylistic typology of scarab designs and features, see O. Tufnell, *Studies on Scarab Seals. Scarab Seals and their Contribution to History in the Early Second Millennium*, vol. I-II (Warminster, 1984); cf. W. Ward, *Studies on Scarab Seals. Pre-12th Dynasty Scarab Amulets* (Warminster, 1978); W. Ward, 'Scarab typology and archaeological context', *American Journal of Archaeology* 91: 4 (1987), 507-532; W. Ward and W. G. Dever, *Scarab Typology and Archaeological Context. An Essay on Middle Bronze Age Chronology (Studies of Scarab Seals, vol. III)* (San Antonio, 1994); O. Keel, *Corpus der Stempelsiegel-Amulette aus Palästina/Israel: Von den Anfängen bis zur Perserzeit, Einleitung (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 10)* (Freiburg/Schweiz Göttingen, 1995); D. Ben-Tor, *Scarabs, Chronology, and Interconnections: Egypt and Palestine in the Second Intermediate Period (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Series Archaeologica 27)* (Fribourg and Göttingen, 2007). See also E. Teeter and T.G. Wilfong, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu* (Chicago, 2003). For a summary of physical terminology, see J. Sarr, *Highlights of the Gayer-Anderson Scarab Collection in the Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon USA* (2001), 6: http://home.comcast.net/~scarab123/Gayer-Anderson_Scarab_Collection.pdf (2018-01-08).

- 10 B. Jaeger, *Essai de classification et datation des scarabées Menkhéperrê* (Freiburg, 1982).
- 11 See also G. Chatfield Pier, 'Historical Scarabs Seals from the Art Institute Collection, Chicago', *AJSL* 23 (1) (1906), pl. X; K.M. Cooney and J. Tyrrell, 'Scarabs in the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, Part II. Catalogue', *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 4 (2) (2005), 21; G. Frazer, *A Catalogue of Scarabs belonging to George Fraser* (London, 1900), 28.
- 12 A. Grenfell, 'The Scarab Collection of Queen's College, Oxford', *JEA* 2 (4) (1915), 225 with Plate XXXIV, no. 192; cf. W.M.F. Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* (London, 1917), Plate XXVII, no. 69. Cf. British Museum Scarabs EA27916, EA27846.
- 13 For comparable scarabs see Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC12092, UC14204, UC29206, UC71882.
- 14 For the formula "Amun-Ra is the lord of all", see Nos. 5-6, below, and Teeter and Wilfong, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 49 with no. 55 and 52 with no. 60. Cf. Grenfell, *JEA* 2 (4), 228; A. Phoebe, Hearst Museum of Anthropology Scarab No. 6-8775.
- 15 Teeter and Wilfong, *Scarabs, Scaraboids, Seals, and Seal Impressions from Medinet Habu*, 49 with No. 55 and 52 with No. 60; Grenfell, *JEA* 2 (4), 228 with Plate XXXIV Nos. 153-154; P.E. Newberry, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptienne du Musée Du Caire 36001-37521: Scarab-shaped Seals* (London, 1907), pl. 8, 36504, 36685; H.R. Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs etc. in the British Museum. Vol. 1: Royal Scarabs* (London, 1913), No. 1604; W.M.F. Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs. British School of Archaeology in Egypt* (London, 1925), pl. 12 No. 659; E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Skarabäen und andere Siegelamulette aus Basler Sammlungen. Ägyptische Denkmäler in der Schweiz*, Band 1 (Basel, 1976), no. 603; B. Schlick-Nolte and V. von Droste zu Hülshoff, *Skarabäen, Amulette und Schmuck* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), no. 42; D. Ben-Tor, *The Scarab: A Reflection of Ancient Egypt* (Jerusalem, 1993), 65 No. 28. Cf. Scarabs in the Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology: UC59885, UC60730, UC60731, UC60739, UC61341, UC60722.
- 16 Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, plate xxvi no. 9.
- 17 Comparable scarabs include The Fitzwilliam Museum E.44.1913, E.SC.136; Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC60739, UC7977, UC61157; Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology 6-8858; British Museum Scarab EA27981.
- 18 Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, pl. LI, Nos. 8-9 (Late period); Petrie Museum of Egyptian Archaeology UC13109; Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology 6-19659.
- 19 Grenfell, *JEA* 2 (4), 222.
- 20 Main contributor is Nils Billing.
- 21 See close parallels in Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum. Vol. 1: Royal Scarabs*, 256 (2562 & 2566).
- 22 Cf. E. Hornung, *Das Amduat. Die Schrift des verborgenen Raumes*, Teil I: Text (Ägyptologische Abhandlungen) (Wiesbaden, 1963), 42 n. jj, who noticed a use of the tent-post sign (O 29) for writing ꜥr in the contemporary composition of Amduat (cf. J.C. Darnell, *The Enigmatic Netherworld Books of the Solar-Osirian Unity. Cryptographic Compositions in the Tombs of Tutankhamun, Ramesses VI and Ramesses IX* (OBO 198) Freiburg, 2004), 186.
- 23 The reading corresponds with the common scarab formula "Khonsu is (my) protection" (ꜥnsw m sA(.i)) (Hornung & Staehelin, 1976), 405 (Va 9).
- 24 See J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Münchner ägyptologische Studien 20) (Mainz, 1984), 79 (k.), 218.
- 25 Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, 24; pl. XXI Nos. 6-7.
- 26 Petrie, *Buttons and Design Scarabs. British School of Archaeology in Egypt*, 19; pl. XI Nos. 608-620.
- 27 Hall, *Catalogue of Egyptian Scarabs, etc., in the British Museum. Vol. 1: Royal Scarabs*, xxii, 256f. (2561-2571); cf. Newberry, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptienne du Musée Du Caire 36001-37521: scarab-shaped seals*, pl. xxi-xxiv (esp. xxii, 2-3); see also Petrie, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, pl. XXI (esp. XXI Nos. 6-7).
- 28 See von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 79 (k.), 218.
- 29 Newberry, *Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptienne du Musée Du Caire 36001-37521: Scarab-shaped Seals*, pl. xxiv (25-31).