

Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ or ‘Lady of Mefkat’ in the Nile Delta

Textual Evidences

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: ملخص

It has been noted that Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ was worshipped outside Sinai—the normal place where such adoration was practiced. This idea is probably accepted by a major part of the scholars. Nevertheless, the epithet ‘Lady of Turquoise’¹ was found outside Sinai in four places, which chronologically date back to the period from Nineteenth Dynasty to the early Ptolemaic Period. The aim of this paper is to explore the textual evidences of Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ in the Nile Delta. In the meantime, the paper displays that such epithet ‘Lady of Turquoise’ was determined by two different signs, which leads to a possible different translation. This paper is not an exclusive list of the textual evidences of the occurrence of such epithet. It is an attempt to discuss the occurrence of such epithet in the Nile Delta.

Textual Evidences

The textual evidences where Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ was worshipped in the Nile Delta are:

- **Fragment of Stela found at Gebel Abu Hassa:²**

A fragment of the right half of the upper part of a round-topped stela. It was found in the Temple of Ramses II.³ It is cut off limestone. It was discovered in the Temple of Gebel Abu Hassa (see comment 1).

 *Hwt-Hr nbt m[fk3t]*, ‘Hathor, Lady of Tur[quoise]’.⁴

PM IV, 53; L. Schmitt, ‘Le temple du Gebel Abou Hassa’, *BIFAO* 105 (2005), 357-358.

Date: Nineteenth Dynasty

- **Sarcophagus of Kom Abu Billo:⁵**

A sarcophagus from the collection of Baron Amherst of Hackney, found in the Temple of Hathor, Kom Abu Billo.⁶ The concerned phrase was engraved in the third column of the text

 *Sš irty n Hwt-ntr n Pr Hwt-Hr-nbt-Mfk3t* ‘The priest Sesh-Irty⁸ of the Temple of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat’.

W. Spiegelberg, ‘Zur geographie des XIX. unterägyptischcen Gauen’ *OLZ* 4 (Berlin, 1901), 127, col. 227-229.

Date: Ptolemaic Period

- **Lid of the Sarcophagus of Hapmen, EABM 23:**

 *Ms n Thy(t) n Hwt-Hr-nb(t)(M)fk3t* ‘Born of the Musician of Hathor, ‘Lady of Turquoise’. It was discovered at the Serapeum, currently is in the British Museum.

Description de l’Egypte, tome V, pl. 24; L. Limme, ‘Deux stèles inédites du Serapeum de Memphis’, *CdE* 47 (1972), 100; W.C. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (Princeton, 1935).

Date: Ptolemaic Period

- **Vatican Statue inv. 22689:**

 *Hwt-hrnbt(t) Mfk3t* ‘Hathor, Lady of Mefkat’.⁹

Turajeff, Boris ‘Die naophore Statue Nr. 97 im Vatikan’, *ZÄS* 46 (1909), 74–77.

Date: Ptolemaic Period

- **Donation Stela JE 30972, Cairo Museum:¹⁰**

It was found at the area of Mariout Lake,¹¹ and currently is conserved in the Cairo Museum.



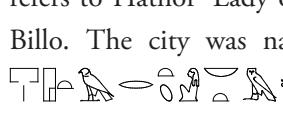
Rnpt 18 hr hm n Nswt-bity 3-Hpr-R di nh iw Kr 3 3¹² n Pr-3 W3s3tih3tiws3 n W3s3tilk3n3iw mwt.f Tints3h3liw hnk 3ht s3t 5

r Pr-n-Hwt-Hr-nbt-Mfk3t.

'Year 18 under his majesty of Lower and Upper Egypt 3-Hpr-R' (Sheshonk V) endowed of life. The great shield bearer of the Pharaoh (King) Weshtihet son of Weheterkeni,¹³ whose mother is Taseherihad offered of 10 aurora¹⁴ of land to the Temple of Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise'. (See comment 4).¹⁵

G. Maspero, 'Sur deux stèles récemment découvertes', *RT* 15 (1893), Fasc. I-II, 8486-; J. Yoyotte, *Les principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne*, *RAPH* 34 (Cairo, 2012), 36-37.

Date: Twenty-Second Dynasty

This Stela is a crucial masterpiece that refers to Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' i.e. Kom Abu Billo. The city was named after Hathor;  Pr Hwt-Hr nbt mft 'Hathor Residence, Lady of Mefkat'.¹⁶ The Stela dates back to the reign of Sheshonk V, from the Twenty-Second Dynasty. It proves that the cult of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat, flourished in the western part of the Nile Delta in the first Millennium BCE. In addition, it concludes that Ptolemy I Soter rebuilt an ancient temple that was destroyed during the time of Sheshonk V. Furthermore, the donation stela reveals the powerful authority conveyed to the Libyans during the Third Intermediate Period.¹⁷

- **A raised relief represents Ptolemy I before Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat' offering her incense:**

Hathor holds her emblem: the papyrus scepter. However, only traces of such inscription are preserved; it may suffice to point out the ends of the two cartouches above the King which contained cartouche of Ptolemy I, followed by

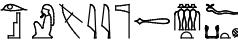
an invocation to the deity. In the column of inscription to the left of Hathor, it reads: her wish that she may take possession of the land *as far as the Great Green*.

It was discovered at Hathor Temple, Kom Abu Billo, and is in *Boston's Museum of Fine Arts*.

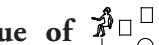
V. Bothmer, 'Ptolemaic Reliefs II: Temple Decorations of Ptolemy I Soter', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. L, No. 218 (Boston, 1952), 51.

Date: Ptolemaic Period

- **Epithet of Osiris**

Text:  Wsir Mrythnt (M)fkt¹⁸ 'Wsir of the bank who is in front of Mefkat'. In some instances, the name of Mefkat loses the *m* at the beginning of the word *Fk3t*  Wsir-Mrythnt(m)fkt¹⁹ 'Osiris of the bank who resides in Mefkat'.¹⁹ *Mryt*²⁰ is, probably, identified with the city of Marea, which lies at the south of Lake Mariout. Osiris of Mariout was connected with Hathor of Mefkat, and probably Osiris had a chapel in Mefkat. On a stela in the Museum Yverdon-les-Bains, Switzerland, Osiris is mentioned  Wsir-Mry ntr 3 hnt fk3t 'Osiris of the bank who resides in Mefkat'.²¹

Bibliography: Montet, *Géographie de l'Egypte ancienne* I, 63.

- **Limestone statue of  P3-Šr-n-Pth 'Psenptais I':²²**

It was found at Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in the Greco-Roman Museum, no. 17533 and 17534.

 ss n Hwt-Hr nbtmfkt
'Scribe of Hathor Lady of Mefkat'.²³

Bibliography: E. Breccia, 'Les fouilles dans le

Sérapéum d’Alexandrie en 1905-1906’, *ASAE* 8, (1907), 65.

Date: Ptolemaic Period

P3-Šr-n-Pth ‘Psenptais I’²⁴ was contemporary with two monarchs of the Lagide family: Ptolemy V (204–181 BCE) and Ptolemy VI (181–145 BCE). He has two naophoros statues that were found by Breccia in the Serapeum of Alexandria. The two statues are now in the Greco–Roman Museum of Alexandria. The first is under no. Alex. 17533 and is made of basalt. The second is under no. Alex. 17534 and is made of basalt. Psenptais is represented standing, wearing the traditional robe of high priests of Ptah. He holds a naos in front of him. An inscription of three columns is engraved on the dorsal pillar that lists the different titles borne by Psenptais, of those is *sš n Hwt-Hr nbtMfk3t* ‘scribe of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat’.²⁵

- **Torso of limestone statue of *P3-di-B3stt* ‘Petobastis I’:**²⁶

It was found at the Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in the Greco–Roman Museum no. 27806.

Text: *sš n Hwt-Hr nbtMfk3t* ‘Scribe of Hathor, Lady of Mefkat’.²⁷

Bibliography: E. Breccia, ‘Les fouilles dans le Sérapéum d’Alexandrie en 1905-1906’, *ASAE* 8, (1907), 65.

Date: Ptolemaic Period.

P3-di-B3stt ‘Petobastis I’,²⁸ was contemporary with Ptolemy II (283–246 BCE) and Ptolemy III (246–222 BCE). A torso of his statue is conserved in the Greco–Roman Museum no. 27806, and is made of basalt. It was found during 1946, in the district of Ghorbal in Alexandria.²⁹ Psetubastis I was like ‘Psenptais I’ a scribe of Hathor ‘Lady of Mefkat’.

The two priests exercised various functions such as god’s father, Sem priest, Priest of Ptah in Memphis, Superintendent of confidential affairs in the domain of Ptah, Rostas, Serapeum, Rutiset,³⁰ and Scribe of Hathor ‘Lady of Mefkat’. The latter is an important title as it assumes the geographical sphere on which Psenptais I and Petobastis I exercised their sacerdotal duties. This assumption leads to an eventual sacerdotal connection between the clergy of Ptah at Memphis or Alexandria, and that of Hathor at Mefkat. We may conclude that the clergy of Hathor Temple at Mefkat (Kom Abu Billo) was dependent on that of Memphis. Moreover, the excellent location of Mefkat on the Nile facilitated the transportation between it and Memphis and Alexandria.³¹ It is worth noting that the two priests are natives of Memphis not of Alexandria, although their two statues were found in the Serapeum.

R. Giveon believes that there was a temple dedicated to Hathor at Gebel Abu Hassa, on the way to Sinai.³² The mention of Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ in such a temple, dedicated to other divinities, is comprehensible as she is a divinity from the vicinity, she is the divinity of turquoise mines in Sinai. In addition, the expeditions passed by the temple site to reach the mines in Sinai. Therefore, a stela was dedicated to her.³³ During the Ramesside Period, it was common to use the route between Pi-Ramses and the Gulf of Suez. Such route started from the royal residence at the Eastern Delta, passing across Wadi Tumilat, passing either by Pi-Sopedu (Saft el-Henna)³⁴ or by *Tkw* (Tell el-Rataba)³⁵ heading southward to reach el-Markha plain,³⁶ then continues along the same route to reach the turquoise mines.³⁷ An inscription of Year 7 from the reign of Thutmosis IV reported an expedition sent to Sinai under the commandment of a certain Amenemhat who

was *hrypdt n Tkw* ‘The commander of the archers of Tjeku’.³⁸ Consequently, a small chapel from the Ramesside Period, dedicated to Hathor, a stela from the reign of Seti I, and a stela from the reign of Ramses II mentioning Hathor as a Lady of Turquoise, was found at Gebel Abu Hassa,³⁹ proving the importance of this route to cross the Peninsula.

On one of the reliefs known as ‘neo-Memphite’ in the Baltimore Museum, dating back to the mid-27th Dynasty, a certain title is mentioned *hw w3d*.⁴⁰ Such title occurs on sarcophagus EABM 23 which belongs to Hapmen in addition to his administrative and religious titles, of which *s(3)k h3t* appears. On the other hand, his mother is *ihyt n Hwt-Hr nbt Mfk3t* ‘Musician of Hathor, ‘Lady of Mefkat’ (Kom Abu Billo).⁴¹ Consequently, such priest is attested exercising a cult to Hathor ‘Lady of Mefkat’. This assumption is confirmed by the fact that Hathor ‘Lady of Mefkat’ received a special cult exercised by a priest bearing the title *s(3)k h3t* ‘That who unites the superior part of the body’.⁴²

Horus *Sm3-T3wy*, the child deity of Mefkat’s triad, is also attested at Mefkat. A limestone block dating to the reign of Ptolemy I in the British Museum, reads: *Hr-Sm3-T3wy ntr 3 hntt Mfk(t)* ‘Horus who unifies the two Lands, the great deity who is in front of Mefkat’.⁴³ The importance of Horus *Sm3-T3wy* in the city of Mefkat is assured by his mention on the stela Montgeron 2007.4.⁴⁴

The dedication of 10 auroras by a certain Weshtihet son of Weheterkeni, whose mother is Taseheri, is considered important evidence. Weshtihet was the great shield bearer of King Sheshonq V. His great dedication indicates the surface of the Temple. Moreover, the dedication,

probably, refers that Hathor was a powerful divinity in the Western Delta, as she was worshipped by both Egyptians and Libyans.⁴⁵ The Libyans at Western Delta were of considerable power and control to be able to dedicate such a large surface of land. Furthermore, the epithet borne by the dedicatory is quite questionable *kr^c(n) Pr-3* ‘The shield bearer of the Pharaoh’.⁴⁶ He is of Libyan origin, attached to the service of Sheshonq V, as a guide or chief of caravans.

Conclusion

The word *nb(t) Mfk3t* was written with the determinative of ‘O49’.⁴⁷ Breccia translated it ‘Lady of Turquoise’, but the author believes that the correct translation is ‘Lady of Mefkat, Kom Abu Billo’, as the determinative refers to a place not to a mineral.⁴⁸ Finally, Giveon explains that this epithet does not have any relation with the Temple of Hathor, and at this late period, the epithet became general for the goddess without reference to mining. However, the author believes that the epithet retained its religious importance until the days of the Ptolemies.⁴⁹

The oldest mention of such epithet dates back to the reign of Ramses II, from the Nineteenth Dynasty. It is found at the Temple of Gebel Abu Hassa, in the Eastern Delta. However, the oldest mention of the epithet Hathor ‘Lady of Mefkat’ in the Western Delta dates back to the reign of Sheshonq V, from the Twenty-Second Dynasty.

During the Ptolemaic Period, a temple was re-built in favor of Hathor ‘Lady of Mefkat’. The determinative O49 is used either to refer to Hathor Temple or to Mefkat. Such a temple is probably among the few temples established by Ptolemy I Soter. There was a clergy devoted to her cult.

In addition, a triad composed of Osiris *Mryt*, Horus *Sm3-t3wy* shared the Temple with Hathor,

since they were mentioned in different documents, for example stela Montgeron 2007.4.

Giveon and Yoyotte believe that due to the demise in turquoise mining during the reign of Ramses VI, and the return of large numbers of miners looking for other opportunities in the Nile Delta, it was perhaps due to those workmen that the cult of Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ spread in a number of places in the Nile Delta. In addition, Montet suggests that Hathor was a powerful deity whose worship flourished in the Nile Delta. This worship was spread over all parts of the Nile Delta because of her followers who worshipped her in the Western part, as well as her worship in the Eastern part.

Finally, I believe that the two epithets are different, as the two deities are of different forms. Hathor ‘Lady of Mefkat’ is the principal deity of Mefkat, Kom Abu

Billo. She has a particular form worshipped under epithet ‘The Golden’ or ‘The Golden had come’.⁵⁰ Sometimes, she is represented with a cow’s head. She is related with the local mythology where she was decapitated, and her head was replaced by Thot. She played the same role of Isis, as was represented in the middle of the triad on the stela of Montgeron.⁵¹ Meanwhile, Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ was mentioned once in the Eastern Delta in Gebel Abu Hassa. It has no relation with the Western toponymy Mefkat. In some instances, the orthography of the word ‘*mfk3t*’ was determined by O49 or N33. The use of determinative refers either to the town of Kom Abu Billo, or to the mineral itself.

Following table shows the attestations of the epithet Hathor ‘Lady of Turquoise’ in the Nile Delta

| | Document | Place of Discovery/Conservation | Date |
|---|--|--|--------------------------|
| 1 | Circular-topped stela | Gebel Abu Hassa | Nineteenth Dynasty |
| 2 | Sarcophagus from the collection of Lord Amherst of Hackney | Temple of Hathor, Kom Abu Billo | Ptolemaic Period |
| 3 | Lid of the Sarcophagus of Hapmen | EABM 23 | Ptolemaic Period |
| 4 | Vatican Statue no. 97. | Vatican Museum | Ptolemaic Period |
| 5 | Cairo Museum | Donation Stela JE 30972 | 22 nd Dynasty |
| 6 | A raised relief | BMFA | Ptolemaic Period |
| 7 | Epithet of Osiris | | |
| 8 | Two limestone statues of are <i>P3-Sr-n-Pth</i> ‘Psenptais I’ | Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in Greco-Roman Museum, nos. 17533 and 17534. | Ptolemaic Period |
| 9 | Torso of limestone statue of <i>P3-di-B3stt</i> ‘Petobastis I’ | Serapeum of Alexandria. It is in Greco-Roman Museum, no. 27806 | Ptolemaic Period |

Notes

- 1 Hathor was represented in Serabit el-Khadim as 'Lady of Turquoise' in different textual forms. She was ascribed as 'Lady of Turquoise' or 'Lady of Turquoise land'. IS70 mentions the names of Mentouhotep II (*ca.* 2060–2010 BCE), and Mentouhotep III (*ca.* 2010–1998 BCE) that were in connection with Hathor 'Lady of Turquoise'. Inscriptions are also found at 'Ain el-Sokhna which could be considered a stop in the long road to Serabit el-Khadim and Maghara—a fact that could be confirmed by the existence of an inscription dating back to the first year of the reign of Mentuhotep IV (*ca.* 1998–1991 BCE). The inscriptions mentioned the Royal orders to send an expedition to bring turquoise, copper and all the good products of the mountain. Similarly, at Serabit el-Khadim, the epithet 'Lady of Turquoise' appeared in the reign of Amenemhat I without the determinative of 'foreign country'. In another example from Serabit el-Khadim, she was mentioned as Hathor 'Lady of lapis-lazuli' as in IS102, since the two precious stones (turquoise and lapis-lazuli) were linked together, and was mentioned consecutively in other inscriptions in Dendera Temple. See: Gardiner, *et al.*, *The Inscriptions of Sinai II* (London, 1955), 86; Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO* 20 (Fribourg, 1978), 65.; M. Abd el-Raziq, G. Castel, P. Tallet, V. Ghica, *Les inscriptions d'Ayn Soukhna, MIFAO* 122 (Cairo, 2002), 40; D. Valbelle, Ch. Bonnet, *Le sanctuaire d'Hathor, maîtresse de la turquoise Sérabit el-Khadim au Moyen Empire* (Paris, 1996).
- 2 A Ramesside temple was discovered in the area between Qantara and Gaza. This temple was dedicated to Hathor and Horus. The site was, firstly, excavated by J. Clédat. However, in recent years, Lionel Schmitt re-excavated it, and revealed a shrine housing the great divinities of Ancient Egypt as well as the Asiatic god, Rechepou. It is probable that such a temple was designated as a frontier temple between the Nile Delta and foreign lands. L. Schmitt, 'Le temple du Gebel Abou Hassa', *BIFAO* 105 (2005), 357–358.
- 3 E.D. Oren, 'Migdol: A New Fortress on the Edge of the Eastern Nile Delta', *BASOR* 256 (1984), 7–44; J. Seguin, *Le Migdol du Proche-Orient à l'Égypte, Les institutions dans l'Égypte ancienne* 3 (Paris, 2007), 90–115.
- 4 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan, OBO* 20, 66.
- 5 It lies north of Khatatba and south-west of Menuf, at 60–70 km from Cairo. It is famous for its Greco-Roman necropolis; however, its origins date back to Pharaonic times. S. Dhennin, 'Térénouthis – Kom Abou Billou : une ville et sa nécropole', *BIFAO* 111 (2011), 106.
- 6 In 1887–1888, the late F.L.I. Griffith excavated the site, which lies at 4023 km south of Kafr Dawoud.
- 7 During his excavation, Griffith found in both Kom Abu Billo and Terranah some limestone blocks that formed together part of a Temple wall of Ptolemy I. The Temple was principally dedicated to Hathor 'Lady of Mefkat'. F. L.I. Griffith, 'The Antiquities of Tell el Yahudiyyeh, and Miscellaneous Work in Lower Egypt During the Years 1887–1888', in: E. Naville, *The Mound of the Jew and the City of Onias* (London, 1890), 60–64, pl. XX; V. Bothmer, 'Ptolemaic reliefs II: Temple decorations of Ptolemy I Soter', *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, vol. L, No. 218 (Boston, 1952), 51. Such a temple was probably a temple of Hathor that might date back to Ramses II. It is assumed that the Temple was reconstructed during the reign of Ptolemy I. R. Caminos, 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JEA* 50 (1968), 92. Nowadays, a French mission is carrying on excavations under the supervision of Sylvain Dhennin.
- 8 The determinative (O49) is used either to refer to Hathor Temple or to Mefkat.
- 9 Spielberg, *OLZ* 4, 228, no.6; Griffith, in: Naville (ed.), *The Mound of the Jews*, 62.
- 10 The Stela was first translated by Maspero. However, Yoyotte retranslated it and corrected some mistakes. I adopted the translation of Yoyotte.
- 11 PM IV, 6; Y. Koenig, 'Notes sur la stèle de donation Caire JE 30972', *ASAE* 68 (1982), 111–113; K. Jansen-Winkel, *Inscriptions der Spätzeit* II, (2007), 276–277.
- 12 Under this title see: *Wb*, V, 59; Nagel, 'Un papyrus funéraire de la fin du Nouvel Empire [Louvre 3292 (inv.)]', *BIFAO* 29 (1929), 6–7; A. Gardiner, 'The Dakhleh Stela', *JEA* 19 (1933), 27.
- 13 The names of the Chiefs of the Rebu can be divided into two groups: those that adopt Egyptian names (In-Amun-nifnebu, Ankh-Hor, Tjerpet, Tefnakht) and those whose names continue to appear to be foreign (Niumateped, Titaru). The names of the Rebu are differentiated from those associated with either the Meshwesh or Ma. W. Cooney, *Egypt's Encounter with the West: Race, Culture and Identity*, (PhD, Durham University, 2011), 304. Available at Durham e-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/910/>.
- 14 About 1,375 hectares.

- 15 J. Yoyotte, *Les principautés du Delta au temps de l'anarchie libyenne*, RAPH 34 (Cairo, 2012), 36-37.
- 16 J. Vandier, *Le Papyrus Jumilhac* (Paris, 1961), 64.
- 17 The History and Geography of the Rebu References to the population known to the Egyptians as the Rebu begin quite suddenly during the reign of Ramesses II. The sudden appearance of Rebu in Egyptian sources, however, provides us with no indication as to their origins. While the Egyptians often encountered this group to the West of Egypt, in the region they know as Tjemehu-land, there is no indication that the Rebu originated from this region, and the close association which this group had with other so-called Sea Peoples suggests that they are most likely associated with this larger heterogeneous population group of equally mysterious origin. W. Cooney, *Egypt's encounter with the West: Race, Culture and Identity*, (PhD, Durham University, 2011), 167–168. Available at Durham e-Theses Online: <http://etheses.dur.ac.uk/910/>.
- 18 For the omission of the prefix ‘*m*’, cf. Ph. Collombert, GM 227 (2010), 21.
- 19 Ch. Leitz, et al., *Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen* V, OLA111, 547; Montet, *Géographie de l'Egypte ancienne* I, 63.
- 20 The city could be identified with Naukratis as its name is *Pr-Mryt* . See: Montet, *Géographie de l'Egypte ancienne* I, 65; F. Leclère, *Les Villes de Basse Egypte au 1er millénaire av. J.-C.* I, BdE 144/1 (2008), 113. Cf., ‘Naukratis Stela’, JdE 34009 l. 10. However, Demeulenaere differentiates between Osiris of Mariot and that of Naukratis *Pr-Mryt*. Cf. De Meulenaere, ‘Cultes et sacra erdores à Imaou (Kôm el-Hisn) au temps des dynasties saïte et perse’, BIFAO62 (1962), 162.
- 21 J.-L. Chappaz, ‘Une stèle de Basse Époque au Musée d’Yverdon’, BIFAO 86 (1986), 96.
- 22 J. Quaegebeur, ‘The Genealogy of the Memphite High Priest Family in the Hellenistic Period’, in: J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, W. Clarysse (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, Studia Hellenistica 24 (Louvain, 1980), 50, 68.
- 23 E.A.E Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* I, AA 38 (Wiesbaden, 1981), 108, 114.
- 24 Quaegebeur, in: Crawford, et al., (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, Studia Hellenistica 24, 50, 68.
- 25 Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* I, AA 38, 105.
- 26 Quaegebeur, in: Crawford et al. (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, Studia Hellenistica 24, 50, 72.
- 27 Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* I, AA 38, 108, 114.
- 28 Quaegebeur, in: Crawford et al. (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, Studia Hellenistica 24, 50, 72.
- 29 H.S.K. Bakry, ‘A family of High Priests of Alexandria and Memphis’, MDAIK 28 (1972), 75.
- 30 Quaegebeur, in: Crawford et al. (eds.), *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis*, Studia Hellenistica 24, 48-49, and n. 4.
- 31 Bakry, MDAIK 28, 77.
- 32 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, OBO 20, 66.
- 33 Schmitt, BIFAO 105, 383.
- 34 S. Aufrère, J.-Cl. Golvin, J.-Cl. Goyon, *L'Egypte restituée, Sites et temples des déserts* II (Paris, 1997), 244.
- 35 H. Godeodick, ‘Tjeku’, LÄ VI, 609.
- 36 P. Tallet, ‘Notes sur la zone minière du Sud-Sinaï au Nouvel Empire’, BIFAO 103 (2003), 475; G. Mumford, S. Parack, ‘Pharaonic ventures into South Sinai: el-Markha plain site 346’, JEA 89 (2003), 83. Wadi Tumiyat constituted a traffic route of choice between the Nile and the Gulf of Suez. This a deep, steeply-sloping Wadi, that runs from East to West, between the Eastern side of the Upper Delta, and the Lake of Timsah. The Wadi is a strip of land of 58 km, situated between Saft el-Henna and Ismailiya; and it represented a corridor of easy access between the Delta and the central and southern part of the Sinai Peninsula. See: D. Fabre, *Seafaring in Ancient Egypt* (London, 2004), 67; El-Sayed Mahfouz, *La politique des souverains du Nouvel Empire au désert oriental*, (Ph.D Diss., University of Lille III, 2002), 440.
- 37 منطقة سرابيط الخادم، في الحديثة الدولة لوحات حامد، حسين محمد هشام دراسة تحليلية (رسالة ماجستير)، جامعة حلوان، ٢٠٠٧، ٤٠.
- Mumford, Parack, JEA 89, 89.
- 38 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, OBO 20, 60.
- 39 Giveon, *The Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, OBO 20, 66; Schmitt, BIFAO 105, 369.
- 40 L. Limme, ‘Deux stèles inédites du Sérapéum de Memphis’, CdE 47 (1972), 99.
- 41 Limme, CdE 47, 100.
- 42 Limme, CdE 47, 101; Daressy, ASAE 16, 229, l. 12.
- 43 Bloc EA 652, cf. PM IV, 68; Griffith, in: Naville, *The mound of the Jews*, 62, no. 8.
- 44 S. Dhennin, ‘Une stèle de Mefkat (MONTGERON 2007.4’, RdE 63 (2012), 67-82.
- 45 During the reign of Sheshonkides, there were many high officials of Libyan origin. For example ‘The ruler of Dakhleh Oasis’. Gardiner, JEA 19 (1933), 27; Yoyotte, RAPH 34, 34.

- 46 *Wb.* IV, 59, 12-14; L. Lesko, *A Dictionary of Late Egyptian* (2004), 126. However, Maspero translated it : ‘Le grand convoyeur’ i.e. ‘The chief of caravans’. See: Maspero, ‘Recueil de travaux XV’, 84-86.
- 47 E. Breccia, ‘Les fouilles dans le Sérapéum d’Alexandrie en 1905-1906’, *ASAE* 8, (1907), 65. 48 Notice that the word *mfkAt* was written in the same orthography, with two different determinatives: ☩, which refers to a toponym, and ooo that refers to a metal. According to the classifier system adopted by Goldwasser, in the first example, the word *mfk3t* takes a metonymic classifier ☩ to indicate the ‘Land of Turquoise/Mefkat’ i.e. Kom Abu Billo’, meanwhile the second example takes a taxonomic classifier ooo to indicate turquoise itself. Cf. Orly Goldwasser, ‘A Comparison between Classifier Languages and Classifier Script: the Case of Ancient Egyptian’. The early orthographic examples for the word *mfkAt* are found at both Wadi Maghara and Serabit el-Khadim. The word was written (*Denkm.*, II, 116 a. 137 c. d. f. Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS33, IS44, IS72, IS126) or ☩ (Denkm., II, 116 a. 137 i. g. h). The forearm was added later to make a ligature with the *m*, to be ☩, or ☩. (Lepsius, *Les métaux dans les inscriptions égyptiennes*, 35; Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS95, IS323). The word *mfkAt* witnessed an orthographic change; it was written with the complement (*t*), ☩ (Wb. II, 56, 1; Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS23, IS94b, IS345) ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS51, IS56, IS74, IS78, IS303), ☩ (Wb. II, 56, 2), ☩ (Wb. II, 56, 2), ☩ (Wb. II, 56, 3; Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS313), ☩ (Wb. II, 56, 3), ☩ (Wb. II, 56, 4; Wilson, *Ptolemaiclexicon*, 421), ☩ (Wb. II, 56, 4), ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS26, IS47, IS48, IS519), ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS58, IS72), ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS121, IS132), ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS155), ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, IS104, IS112). On the other hand, it was mentioned in some other texts without the complement (*t*) as *mfk* ☩, ☩, ☩, ☩, ☩ (Wb. II, 57-58), ☩, ☩, ☩ (Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon: A Lexicographical Study of the Ptolemaic Texts in the Temple of Edfu*, OLA 78, 421), or *fk3t* ☩, ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, IS123A, IS423), ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai*, IS120), or *ftk* ☩ (Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 638), ☩ (Wb. II, 56, 1; Wilson, *A Ptolemaic Lexicon*, 421), or with the sign (—) ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS302, IS295), or with (forearm with hand holding bread ☩) ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS317b), ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS408, IS421, IS426), ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS426, (R &L) or *k3t* ooo (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS502), or *ftk* ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS267), occasionally, the determinative ‘stone’ ☩ accompanies the word in its feminine form (Lepsius, *Les métaux dans les inscriptions égyptiennes*, 36). The word was written during the Old Kingdom as *mfkAt*, then in the Middle Kingdom *mAkt*, and in the New Kingdom *mfk(t)*, and sometimes the word *mfkAt* occurs terminating with determinative ☩, which is dedicated to designate place and foreign land. ☩ (Gardiner, et al., *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, IS17, IS27, IS28).
- 49 Giveon, *the Impact of Egypt on Canaan*, OBO 20, 67.
- 50 Daressy, *ASAE* 16, 228 (4) et 229 (16-17).
- 51 Dhennin, *RdE* 63, 70-71.