

Making and Experiencing Graffiti in Ancient and Late Antique Egypt and Sudan builds on the success of recent graffiti-themed conferences (e.g., EMBERLING and DAVIS 2019; RAGAZZOLI, HARMANŞAH, SALVADOR, FROOD 2018). The papers presented in this three-day conference will engage with two major themes, 'making' and 'experience', and will explore the mode, technique, and performance of graffiti-making and how textual and figural graffiti intersect with related corpora (e.g., mason's and quarry marks, rock inscriptions, petroglyphs) between the 3rd Millennium BCE – 7th century CE. A narrow definition of graffiti is eschewed and speakers have been encouraged to consider the socio-historical and practical circumstances in which marks and inscriptions were made and how they may respond to each other and other media around them. Due to the ongoing COVID-19 pandemic the conference will be held online, free to attend, and with a live-streamed public keynote on the final day at the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (National Museum of Antiquities) in Leiden.

Making and Experiencing Graffiti is the second annual Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (NINO) postdoctoral fellowship conference, generously funded by NINO and hosted at Leiden University. The proceedings of the conference will be published as an open-access digital and print volume in the *Egyptologische Uitgaven* series, edited by the organiser Julia HAMILTON.



KEYNOTE SPEAKERS



Johannes AUENMÜLLER is a curator at the Museo Egizio di Torino. He holds a PhD in Egyptology from Free University Berlin and was research associate at the universities of Bonn, Münster and Munich. His main areas of interest include the sociology and regional prosopography of Pharaonic Egypt, technology of metal production and bronze casting, and rock inscriptions and epigraphy in Ancient Nuhia



Elizabeth **FROOD** is associate professor of Egyptology in the Faculty of Oriental Studies at the University of Oxford and a fellow of St Cross College. She codirects, with Chiara Salvador (Montpellier), projects on graffiti at the Ptah temple and Eighth Pylon in the Amun complex at Karnak, in collaboration with the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak.



Ben **HARING** is a university lecturer in the Institute for Area Studies at Leiden University. His research focuses on social, economic, administrative and legal aspects of Pharaonic Egypt, especially the role of texts and writing in society. On the latter topic he concentrates on the palaeography of monumental hieroglyphic inscriptions, on documentary writing in cursive script (hieratic), on early alphabetic writing, and on other notation systems, such as identity marks.



Paweł **POLKOWSKI** is a researcher at the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, and he is in charge of the Rock Art Unit in the Poznań Archaeological Museum. He is director of the Dakhleh Oasis Project (DOP) and the Petroglyph Unit of the DOP. He specialises in Egyptian and Nubian rock art studies, as well as in archaeological theory.



Nico **STARING** is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of Liège (F.R.S-FNRS, Chargé de recherche), having just started a project that aims to analyse the relationship between commissioning patrons and the makers of private tombs in New Kingdom Egypt. He previously held postdoctoral positions at Leiden University and KU Leuven, and received his PhD from Macquarie University, Sydney. His research interests include tomb iconography, landscape archaeology, ancient graffiti and the history of Egyptology.



Jacques **VAN DER VLIET** is professor emeritus of ancient Egyptian religion, Radboud University Nijmegen, guest researcher at Institute for Area Studies at Leiden University, and visiting research fellow of the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (NINO), Leiden. His research spans Coptic literature and papyrology, marginal traditions (magical, apocryphal and Gnostic texts from Egypt), and Christian epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia.

CONFERENCE ORGANISER



Julia **Hamilton** is the Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten (NINO) postdoctoral fellow in Egyptology at Leiden University. She is undertaking a research project at NINO (2020–22), 'Writing the self into history: Graffiti from Old Kingdom Saqqara', which analyses graffiti found in non-royal tombs at Saqqara, Egypt, dating to the 3rd Millennium BCE.





Wednesday 15th December

Please note that all times are given in CET/GMT+1. Check your time-zone against CET using https://www.worldtimebuddy.com, or a similar programme.

TIME (CET/GMT+1)	DAY ONE			
10.15AM	Zoom waiting room opens to public Presenters join webinar via personal link in email			
10.30AM-10.40AM	Conference welcome			
10.40AM-11.40AM	Keynote 1: Paweł Polkowski			
	Rock art and graffiti in Egypt and Nubia: On the selected aspects of terminology, interpretation, and theoretical developments			
11.40AM-11.50AM	Comfort break (10min)			
11.50AM-12.50PM	Session 1: COOPER – RIEGER – REFAAT MAHMOUD			
	Julien COOPER – A long way from home: Expeditionaries, nomads, and the social contexts of graffiti and rock art in the Sudanese Eastern Desert			
	Anna-Katharina RIEGER – Drawn-out and condensed: Communication and production of mobile spaces through graffiti along the routes in the Eastern Desert (Ptolemaic times to Late Antiquity)			
	Nahla Refaat Mahmoud – The Graffiti of the Valley of Allaqi and its tributaries			
12.50PM-1.15PM	Discussion			
1.15PM-2.15PM	Lunch (1hr)			
2.15PM-3.15PM	Session 2: HASSAN – MOREL – CAMPAGNO/MAYDANA			
	Khaled Hassan – Graffiti in the Old Kingdom tombs of Deir el-Gabrawi at Assiut			
	Vincent Morel – Palimpsestic practices and Pharaonic receptions of primo rock inscriptions at Wadi Hammamat			
	Marcelo Campagno and Sebastian Maydana – Two unusual pottery carvings from Aksha (Serra West) in the La Plata Museum			
3.15PM-3.40PM	Discussion			
3.40PM-3.50PM	Comfort break (10min)			
3.50PM-4.50PM	Session 3: KAPER – DIJKSTRA – LAZARIDIS			
	Olaf Kaper – Graffiti and dipinti in reaction to the temple decoration at the Kellis mammisi (Egypt, Roman period)			
	Jitse DIJKSTRA – Picturing Religion: The Philae Temple Graffiti Project			
	Nikolaos Lazaridis – Desert Monumentality: Experiencing inscribed landscape in the Kharga Oasis			
4.50PM-5.15PM	Discussion			
5.15PM-5.30PM	Comfort break (15min)			
5.30PM-6.30PM	Keynote 2: Johannes Auenmüller			
	The Ellesija Chapel in Turin: A case study in secondary epigraphy			



Thursday 16th December

Please note that all times are given in CET/GMT+1. Check your time-zone against CET using https://www.worldtimebuddy.com, or a similar programme.

TIME (CET/GMT +1)	DAY TWO		
10.15AM	Zoom waiting room opens to public Presenters join webinar via personal link in email		
10.30AM-10.40AM	Conference welcome		
10.40AM-11.40AM	Keynote 3: Nico Staring		
	Tomb graffiti and the biography of a cultural landscape		
11.40AM-11.50AM	Comfort break (10min)		
11.50AM-12.50PM	Session 4: PIEKE – DEN DONCKER – DORN		
	Gabriele PIEKE – SMALL ACT – BIG IMPACT. Secondary epigraphy and image alteration in context: The Teti Cemetery at Saqqara		
	Alexis Den Doncker – Graffiti making as productive reception of iconographic environments: Identity responses to image in the context of the New Kingdom Theban Necropolis		
	Andreas DORN – The transformation of rock surfaces and the impact of rock surfaces on their transformation in the New Kingdom corpus of the <i>graffiti de la montagne thébaine</i>		
12.50PM-1.15PM	Discussion		
1.15PM-2.15PM	Lunch (1hr)		
2.15PM-3.15PM	Session 5: RAGAB – ACCETTA-CROWE/SMERDON – HORBURY		
	Muhammad Ragab – Interconnectedness of graffiti, writers, and landscape in the graffiti production in the Theban Mountain present in the corpus of unpublished 'Carter-graffiti'		
	Kelly Accetta-Crowe and Briony Smerdon – Cows, crosses, and caves: A palimpsest graffiti from the Western Wadis, Luxor		
	Mary Horbury – Reading intentionality in graffiti: The case of feet (and some others)		
3.15PM-3.40PM	Discussion		
3.40PM-3.50PM	Comfort break (10min)		
3.50PM-4.50PM	Session 6: AL TAHER/SALVADOR – HACKLEY – PESTARINO		
	Ahmed AL TAHER and Chiara SALVADOR – Making graffiti in Karnak: Between individual and institutional practices		
	Laurel Darcy HACKLEY – Feeling the way to Egyptian Graffiti: Phenomenological GIS and the human body in inscribed landscapes		
	Beatrice Pestarino – Kydilos, Ledrian from Cyprus' and the others cognitive experience of Cypriot graffiti in Egypt		
4.50PM-5.15PM	Discussion		
5.15PM-5.30PM	Comfort break (15min)		
5.30PM-6.30PM	Keynote 4: Elizabeth FROOD		
	So many worlds in a name: Micro-stories from Karnak		



Friday 17th December

7.30PM-7.45PM

Discussion

Please note that all times are given in CET/GMT+1. Check your time-zone against CET using https://www.worldtimebuddy.com, or a similar programme.

TIME (CET/GMT +1)	DAY THREE		
10.15AM	Zoom waiting room opens to public Presenters join webinar via personal link in email		
10.30AM-10.40AM	Conference welcome		
10.40AM-11.40AM	Keynote 5: Ben Haring		
	The point of making marks		
11.40AM-11.50AM	Comfort break (10min)		
11.50AM-12.50PM	Session 7: Brémont – Vymazalová – Nilsson/Ward		
	Axelle Brémont – Between palaeography and traceology: The Old Kingdom rock inscriptions at Elkab through the lens of technical analysis		
	Hana Vymazalová – A preliminary overview of the 'Baugraffiti' from Djedkare's Pyramid Complex		
	Maria NILSSON and John WARD – In the shadow of Mentuhotep: A landscape of imagery through the millennia at Shatt el-Rigal (new sites and extended corpus)		
12.50PM-1.15PM	Discussion		
1.15PM-2.15PM	Lunch (1hr)		
2.15PM-3.15PM	Session 8: Olette-Pelletier – Łukaszewicz – Ochała		
	Jean-Guillaume OLETTE-PELLETIER – Where to meet a god? Celestial and geographical interconnections with engraved royal scenes from the Wadi Hammamat		
	Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ – Ancient graffiti on the walls of a pharaoh's tomb. A visit to the KV 9 (Ramesses VI).		
	Grzegorz OCHAŁA – 'Remember me! I, this most humble papa Chaêl': Wall and rock inscriptions and the making of the Christian Nubian memorial landscape		
3.15PM-3.40PM	Discussion		
3.40PM-3.50PM	Comfort break (10min)		
3.50PM-4.30PM	Session 9: Navrátilová – Rosenmeyer		
	Hana Navrátilová – Does a monument have a catchment area? Secondary epigraphy, mobility and identities		
	Patricia Rosenmeyer – Departures and arrivals: Inscribing travel details in proskynemata on the Memnon Colossus		
4.30PM-4.50PM	Discussion		
4.50PM-5.00PM	Instructions for live-streamed keynote at Rijksmuseum van Oudheden (RMO)		
	LIVE-STREAMED KEYNOTE RIJKSMUSEUM VAN OUDHEDEN (NATIONAL MUSEUM OF ANTIQUITIES)		
6.15PM-6.30PM	Zoom waiting room opens		
6.30PM-6.45PM	Welcome and conference summary		
6.45PM-7.30PM	Keynote 6: Jacques VAN DER VLIET		
	'Weep with me over my sins!' Author – recipient interaction in graffiti from Christian Egypt and Nubia		



Kelly **Accetta-Crowe**Briony **Smerdon**Piers **Lietherland**

Cows, crosses, and caves: A palimpsest graffiti from the Western Wadis, Luxor

During the 2018-2019 seasons, part of the Kingdom Research Foundation's mission in the Western Wadis near Luxor was to identify and locate - or at times re-locate graffiti marked in the wadis. During the survey we identified graffiti from possible pre-Dynastic through to the Late Antique (and even to the modern day) at a variety of locations. Interpreting the purpose of this graffiti requires more than just the analysis of the markings themselves - it extends to combining an understanding of the changing landscape and geology with phenomenological approach to space.

In this paper, we will focus on a panel of graffiti located in what is known as the Wadi 300. By unpeeling the layers of this panel, we can find a small summary of Egyptian history from the Predynastic to the Coptic. It appears to suggest that the changing environment of the Western Wadis changed the use of the wadis in general, which in turn impacted the type of graffiti left behind during different periods.

Ahmed **AL TAHER**Chiara **SALVADOR**

Making graffiti in Karnak: Between individual and institutional practices For centuries the walls, roofs, and floors of the religious complex of Amun at Karnak received inscriptions and drawings that do not fit into the conventional decorative programme of temples as we currently understand it. For convenience we call these 'additions' graffiti, although some of them appear so skilfully made that they challenge any connotation of crudeness and immediacy with which this label is often associated.

Addressing the reasons behind the acts of carving – dipinti rarely survive – may seem straightforward, at least for graffiti that were left while the temple was active. They all engage with a sacred space and therefore are devotional to different extents. However, the selection criteria behind each graffito (its content, size, position on the wall, etc.) are much more difficult to assess.

Rather than discussing definitions and terminology, which are problematic and not necessarily productive, this paper focuses on the implications of the materiality and contexts of these graffiti for their function and potential audience. Using as case studies a selection of graffiti in the Amun and Khonsu temples ranging from very simple to highly elaborate, we hope to shed some light on different levels of interaction with sacred space by individuals, communities, and the temple institution itself.



Johannes **AUENMÜLLER**

The Ellesija Chapel in Turin: A case study in secondary epigraphy The Ellesija rock-cut chapel is a fascinating monument on many levels. Not only does it display a wide range of secondary epigraphic interactions, from Pharaonic royal stelae, elite 'ex-voto' tableaux and integrated votive stelae to 'rock-inscriptions' and 'graffiti' as well as Christian crosses and pentagrams. It is also a de-localised monument from Lower Nubia reassembled in a European museum context. Ellesija's secondary epigraphy thus poses several challenges to scholarly engagement. Not only do the various layers and forms of epigraphic interactions need to be accurately described in technical and terminological terms, but their roles also need to be closely examined, which is only possible by considering the former local context of the chapel. In addition to highlighting issues of terminology, function, practices and location, the experience of the place and its impact on the motivation to leave an inscriptional mark there will also be addressed within the conceptual framework of the 'epigraphic habit' (MACMULLEN 1982) of Pharaonic Egypt.

Axelle **Brémont**

Between palaeography and traceology: The Old Kingdom rock inscriptions at Elkab through the lens of technical analysis

The study of the 6th, and most likely 5th, Dynasty inscriptions from 'Vulture Rock' at Elkab has suffered difficulties that never allowed them to be fully recorded. (VANDEKERCKHOVE and MÜLLER-WOLLERMANN 2001) does entail translitteration translation, but only a handful documented by a facsimile. Those which are, like N28, do not always give a rigorous archaeological transcript. While this is surely less aesthetic, and epigraphic norms are always subject to arbitrage (Traunecker 1987), it also offers a more exact tracing of the signs and their layout, thanks to the reinvestigation by the Yale-Brussels mission and its methodology (URCIA et al. 2018).

The use of a traceological protocole, inspired by the work of paleolithicians (e.g. CRÉMADES 1991; D'ERRICO 1994), enables the study of the chronology of strokes, and therefore of the degree of standardization in an individual's handwriting and within the community. It is interesting to question whether the change in medium (from papyrus to rock) accounts for changes in the techniques du corps (shaping of the letters) and in the pragmatic choice between hieroglyphic and hieratic. The question of whether people always write their name in the same manner (spelling and shape of characters) also contribute can prosopography, by distinguishing individuals

not only through their titles or filiation, but also their distinct handwriting.

The study of palaeography opens because another major avenue, community responsible for the engravings at Vulture Rock is almost exclusively composed of local priests, all related to each other over nine generations. Such a homogeneous community constitutes a perfect case-study to examine whether the practice of writing can be attributed to one coherent tradition or if several different habits can be recognized (which seems to be the case in primary results). The goal is also to contrast it to other contemporary provincial productions: the tablets from Balat (e.g., PANTALACCI 2018), epigraphic material from Nagada or Dendara (FISCHER 1964, 1968, 1994), recent finds from Hierakonpolis, papyri from Elephantine or the 6th Dynasty "letters to the dead", and try to understand the double movement towards a standardized writing system throughout Egypt and the appearance of local 'schools' bearing specific idiosyncrasies.



Marcelo **Campagno** Sebastian **Maydana**

Two unusual pottery carvings from Aksha (Serra West) in the La Plata Museum

Among the Nubian artefacts recovered by the French-Argentinian joint expedition to Aksha (Serra West, 1961-1963) were a few Predynastic pots that are now held at the La Plata Museum in Argentina. These have so far failed to gather scholarly attention, and remain until now barely studied. In this communication, we will look at two figurative carvings present in two globular jars. One we have identified as a leopard, and the other one represents a sandal print. Each of them is fascinating on its own, as well as extremely unusual, but put together they offer a historical puzzle to be solved. This enterprise proves extremely difficult, as the Predynastic site was not the main objective of an already limited expedition and now lies at the bottom of Lake Nasser, and also due to our limited knowledge (compared to other Nubian cultures and periods) of the A-Group and its relationship with Nagadian peoples to the north. Our aim in this work is to discuss how these carvings relate to the ongoing historical processes of the millennium BCE and to determine whatever information they can provide us about local power dynamics at the site of Aksha.

Julien Cooper

A long way from home: Expeditionaries, nomads, and the social contexts of graffiti and rock art in the Sudanese Eastern Desert The Sudanese Eastern Desert, the Atbai, is a little understood frontier of the Egyptian world and the location of much of ancient Egypt's gold supply. Since the Naqada Period, the region was a witness to the interactions between Egyptian expeditions and local nomadic occupants. Due to the inhospitable nature of the region and the extreme distance from the Nile, almost all 'Egyptian' graffiti in the region are attributable this ephemeral activity of desert expeditions seeking out goldmines. Another class of pictorial productions, mainly faunal in nature, are more easily attributed to a local populace of pastoralist nomads. particularly unique pattern in this region is the inclination of Egyptians to use natural features in the rock and landscape as inspiration for their productions, seeking out the auspicious in the rock.

This paper will address what these inscriptions and graffiti, textual and pictorial, tell us about the interactions between these two groups of foreign Egyptians indigenous nomads, and comment on how Egyptian and 'nomad' graffiti interacted. An important element in this study is a focus on the act and decision of inscribing itself. Why did Egyptians choose particular spots to leave their mark? Why leave their mark at all when there must have been more pressing concerns for the expedition? Are similar patterns observable in indigenous productions? Did Egyptians attempt to 'territorialize' landscape with their own statements of power as in Sinai or the Nubian Nile?



Alexis **Den Doncker**

Graffiti making as productive reception of iconographic environments: Identity responses to image in the context of the New Kingdom Theban Necropolis

The private tomb-chapels of the Theban necropolis provide a large corpus of visual representations that were presumably accessible to a wide range of people as soon as they were produced, at least on several occasions; contrary to temple decorations to which only certain individuals had limited access. Like other kind of reactions to images, textual and figural graffiti bear witness to the agency of such iconographic environments as seen from an art historical viewpoint. They also give fairly explicit clues about how ancient visitors engaged productively with the decorations, driven by various needs and expectations regarding their content. Through the analyse of different groups of graffiti in connection with their iconographic support, it seems possible to show how socioprofessional identity, knowledge, experience and motivations, had on strong impact on the way some visitors to these chapels gave meaning to the images they came across and made concrete use of their capacities, while others remained silent. These processes of definition and actualisation of the image's varying potentialities can go so far as to traditional Egyptological perspectives on the very meaning of visual representations.



Jitse **DIJKSTRA**

Picturing Religion: The Philae Temple Graffiti Project

In the last decade, graffiti studies in Egypt have bloomed. No doubt, this has at least in part to do with the increased interest in ancient graffiti more generally, as appears from several specialists of Egyptian graffiti contributing to ancient graffiti research and applying its trends, especially the emphasis on 'context', to Egyptian materials. It has now become the norm to study figures and texts together and devote due attention to their architectural context. Despite the numerous projects underway, however, figural graffiti especially remain a neglected source of evidence. A good example of this is the island of Philae, where textual graffiti, amounting to ca. 1400 items, have mostly been studied but nothing similar exists for the roughly equal number of figures. In this lecture, I will give a first presentation of the new 5-year project, sponsored by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, to publish the ca. 400 figural graffiti from the Isis temple and its immediate surroundings (in particular the Mammisi). We will pay special attention to the interactions between figures and texts, and the relation between the graffiti and cultic space.



Andreas **Dorn**

The transformation of rock surfaces and the impact of rock surfaces on their transformation in the New Kingdom corpus of the graffiti de la montagne thébaine

The corpus designated as 'graffiti de la montagne thebaine' (GMT) consists of graffiti which were applied over thousands of years (prehistory-late antiquity/Coptic period) on different limestone surfaces in an area of around 60 km². During this long period different kinds of application practices (making of graffiti and dipinti) can be punctuation, "sunk observed: relief". scratching, chiseling, as well as writing and drawing with ink. It will be shown that technical observations can be considered as dating criteria among others like places of application or topic/content. Furthermore, differences in the depth of scratches matter: they can vary and be identified characteristic for a certain period or for a particular person.

Still further, the makers of graffiti and dipinti have in most cases consciously chosen the place of application. Past analysis focused mostly on where graffiti were applied in a certain area (their relation to the landscape) but only rarely on where exactly on a wall by looking at all kinds of surface fissures, cracks and framings. The integration of particularities of the rock, like flint inclusions, were not rendered in most of the published line drawings leaving aside the agency of the writing surface. Due to new recording techniques such aspects can now be investigated and visualized and will be presented based on the published graffiti as well as recently found new graffiti in the Western Wadis of the Theban Necropolis.

Elizabeth Frood

So many worlds in a name: Micro-stories from Karnak

Hieratic graffiti in the Amun complex at Karnak usually comprise only short titles scribe and/or wab-priest - and personal seen as especially names. Often meaningful in terms of patterns of distribution, or for their chronological implications, detailed examination of how these names were written opens up possibilities for telling other stories. For seemingly example, distinctive orthographic variations or elaborations may point to naming practices or styles within a particular community, or may express a desire for attention-grabbing visibility in a particular place, such as a disproportionately large cobra determinative in Aaner or strange elements added to a sign in multiple writings of Wennekhu. How far can we speak of an aesthetics of self-presentation for such minimal yet densely encoded and vital forms of expression? This paper will offer micro-studies of names like these from across the complex, examining methods of incision (including scale), their orthographies, palaeographies, erasures. Even brief, laconic scribbles, which can appear so fleeting spontaneous, embody complex, multiple meanings in relation to the individual, his group, and his spatial and temporal worlds in the temple. Implications of later experiences of these graffiti can also be analysed in instances of mimicking, palimpsest, and erasure, indexing the force of presence of one name over, or against, the other.



Laurel Darcy HACKLEY

Feeling the way to Egyptian Graffiti: Phenomenological GIS and the human body in inscribed landscapes This paper argues for close attention to the landscape dimensions of the Eastern Desert in the study of graffiti, and for an integration of phenomenological and GIS analyses in the study of inscribed landscapes. This synthesis allows consideration of the physical and environmental factors that influence the creation of graffiti and its subsequent reception. Working from the idea that graffiti-making is first and foremost materialization of responses environment, I use GIS and remote sensing techniques to situate graffiti and inscriptions in the southern Eastern Desert within detailed environmental models that focus on the experience of the human body. Factors such as land surface temperature, shade, moisture, aspect, and ease of access important understanding to decisionmaking in graffiti placement, the embodied experience of creating graffiti, and the range of conditions under which it could be viewed. Although I focus on graffiti of the Pharaonic period, I also emphasize the absolute necessity of a diachronic approach. To this end, I explore phenomenology of multi-period inscriptional galleries. Although much other work in landscape phenomenology centers movement and changing physical viewpoint, I advocate a methodology of sustained sitting as a complement to survey and active documentation techniques.

Ben **HARING**

The point of making marks

Among the many types of inscriptions left by the workmen of the New Kingdom royal necropolis at Thebes and their families, we find brief mentions of persons in the form of ownership marks, graffiti and ostraca. Graffiti and ostraca may give us fully written names of individuals, but alternatively they may be no more than single identity marks or clusters of these. Markings of ownership even appear to be in the form of individual marks only. During the past years, research of the workmen's identity marks has clarified much of the meaning of the relevant inscriptions and of the underlying system. It remains rather difficult, though, to establish what was the purpose, or what were the purposes, of graffiti and ostraca with workmen's marks that are found throughout the Theban necropolis. We are often inclined to regard graffiti as votive, and whenever ostraca include additional data (in the form of numbers, full hieratic text or otherwise), we feel confident that their purpose was documentary. But is the same true for all ostraca that show only one mark, or clusters of marks, without any further data? What is the purpose of the hundreds of ostraca that only bear individual persons' names in hieratic? Is that purpose similar or connected to that of graffiti showing the same marks and names? Whereas final answers to these questions seem to be beyond our grasp, some points can be raised that may be of help.



Khaled Hassan

Graffiti in the Old Kingdom tombs of Deir el-Gabrawi at Assiut Deir el-Gabrawi is an important Old Kingdom site located in Assiut. It is one of the cemeteries of the 12th Upper Egyptian Nome. Basically, Deir el-Gabrawi that occupied at later time of the Old Kingdom was composed of two groups of rock tombs in two different locations. Northern group include tombs such as Neb-ib and Hengu, while the southern grzoup includes similar tombs such as Ibi and Djaw. The site was published for the first time by Davies in 1902, and recently published by the Australian Center of Egyptology in 2005-2007. The graffiti in these tombs were not in the scope of the previous publications. Recently, in 2020 a small team of Khaled Hassan (Cairo University) and Chloe Ragazzoli (Sorbonne University) conducted a visit to the site of Deir el-Gabrawi. The aim of this field mission is to document and imaging the graffiti of different typology i.e. textual or figural graffiti. Numbers of graffiti were scattered in the tombs, some of them were scratched while the others were inked (dipinti). This surveying work that conducted at the site was under the direction of the IFAO-Sorbonne research programme ECRITURES, which focuses on the archaeology and anthropology of writing practices.

Mary **Horbury**

Reading intentionality in graffiti: The case of feet (and some others)

Reaching out for individual responses to ancient landscapes and understanding intentionality behind what may spontaneous or negotiated placements of graffiti is a tough journey. Initially, graffiti may seem to present us with a rare chance to read a moment in the past where an individual expressed something internal and specific or even counter-cultural, but the actuality of graffiti is much more complex than that.

This paper will integrate theoretical, comparative and contextual approaches with the author's own experiences of the built environment in Egypt, to look afresh at graffiti from sites in ancient and Late Antique Egypt, where landscapes were reinterpreted and repurposed across the millennia. particular, the question of feet graffiti will be looked at anew. Feet, drawings of feet, outlines of feet, are popular cross-culturally, and find a home in ancient and Late Antique Egyptian landscapes as well. Key sites in Upper Egypt include the temples of Karnak, Medinet Habu (Late Antique period Djeme) and Deir El-Medina. Why do we find feet graffiti on the roof of temples? What message (if any) is being conveyed? Can we learn anything from contemporary graffiti of feet?

For comparison and to open up interpretative possibilities, the paper will also examine another cross-cultural phenomenon, that of apparently astronomical graffiti, which abound in the multi-layered built environments of ancient and Late Antique Egypt.



Olaf KAPER

Graffiti and dipinti in reaction to the temple decoration at the Kellis *mammisi* (Egypt, Roman period)

The mammisi (birth house) of the temple of the god Tutu at Kellis (Ismant el-Kharab) in Dakhla Oasis was built in the early second century CE. It was decorated with painted plaster in both classical and ancient Egyptian styles side-by-side. A series of dipinti and a few graffiti were added to the lower sections of the walls in the rear part of the shrine. Discussion will focus on their date and location, as well as on their designs and significance. A date in the fourth century seems most likely for most, but some may be older. There are several large boats, one cross, a Coptic inscription and a series of artists' scribbles that seems to be directly inspired by the decoration of the mammisi. Especially the latter may relate to the earlier periods of use of the temple, during which the extraordinary decoration of the mammisi may have served as a source of inspiration for local artists.

Nikolaos Lazaridis

Desert Monumentality: Experiencing inscribed landscape in the Kharga Oasis Since 2007 the North Kharga Oasis-Darb Ain Amur Survey team has been exploring the sandy routes connecting Kharga Oasis to Dakhla Oasis and beyond. In the course of this survey, we have discovered numerous rock outcrops that were used in antiquity as camping spots and stopovers for travelers. Ancient rock graffiti from these sites provide us with valuable information about the uses of these desert routes, traveling practices, as well as the identity and background of the ancient travelers who chose to leave their mark on these rocks.

In this paper, I discuss the dynamic relationship between these pharaonic and post-pharaonic rock graffiti and the natural landscape in north Kharga, focusing on the possible effect the presence of such rock graffiti had on the ways in which ancient travelers experienced the lonely sandstone sites and the desert routes' environment. Among other things, I argue that the carving of rock graffiti transformed sandstone rocks public monuments that attracted attention and that dictated their own rules of decorum. As a result, the ancient travelers' experience of these inscribed rocks impacted their temporary in-transit behaviors and public identities.



Adam ŁUKASZEWICZ

Ancient graffiti on the walls of a pharaoh's tomb. A visit to the KV 9 (Ramesses VI)

In this paper some significant examples of Greek and Latin wall inscriptions from the tomb of Ramesses VI (KV 9) in the Valley of the Kings by visitors of the Greco-Roman period will be discussed, including an overview of the making of these graffiti, based on the author's experience of research and documentation in that tomb. In the Ptolemaic and Roman period most Ramesside tombs were accessible to visitors, who desired to commemorate on the walls their visit to the syringes. Most graffiti are Greek. In the Roman period some Latin texts appeared, usually written by officers of the Roman army in Egypt.

These graffiti are often *proskynemata* or commemorative inscriptions of pilgrims. They are eloquent evidence to the way in which the ancient travellers experienced their visit to this ancient Egyptian monument. The tomb of Ramesses VI was considered the tomb of Memnon, the legendary hero of Greek mythology.

Vincent Morel

Palimpsestic practices and Pharaonic receptions of primo rock inscriptions at Wadi Hammamat Located halfway between the Nile and the Red Sea (Eastern Desert), a narrow 6km gorge between Bir el-Hammamat and Bir Umm el-Fawakhir, the greywacke and siltstone quarries—known today as Wadi Hammamat—display profuse epigraphic material that covers the entire Pharaonic period, from Predynastic times to Roman rule. Alongside the many non-graphically-invested rock faces, the large majority of Pharaonic inscriptions are clustered in a few places, generally engraved next to one another. Through a multidimensional perspective and based on several case-studies, the paper will focus on both production and reception processes through the prism of palimpsestic practices. The examination of these figurative and non-figurative artefacts from different times, which partially or entirely cover primo rock inscriptions, raise the broad question of pragmatics. The lecture will propose interpretive insights into what could have been the possible statuses of the testimonials engraved in this liminal and highly symbolic place where mere mortals shared in the divine.



Hana Navrátilová

Does a monument have a catchment area? Secondary epigraphy, mobility and identities

The concept of a catchment area is used in human geography to describe locations providing clients or users of a service, typically a catchment of a school, a hospital or an airport. Its use is proposed also for mapping an access to religious centres in antiquity (e.g., by RUTHERFORD, FRANKFURTER or KOWALZIG). The concept is largely investigated for Late Period and Greco-Roman Egypt. Travellers, visitors pilgrims, who left their traces in important locations, had also originated from a definable catchment area. AUENMÜLLER de facto considered the catchment areas for significant necropoleis or temples in the New Kingdom (in terms of their attractivity for burials or commemoration). One individual could feature in several catchment areas. Frood complements this approach with another concept, the storymap, following an individual's self-thematisation across diverse locations, whilst taking the secondary epigraphy in Karnak temples as a starting point. Both approaches demonstrate a productive application of spatial analysis of human behaviour.

In context of ongoing studies of major secondary epigraphy regions (Thebes, Memphis, Abydos, Asyut, Elephantine) we may study their catchment areas, overlapping in space and changing in time. Analysing and comparing their catchment areas, we may be able to consider:

- Patterns of mobility reflected in secondary epigraphy in comparison to other information about the spatial mobility in Egypt;
- 2. How does the mobility of the graffiti maker translate into our interpretation of the secondary epigraphy process and implications of secondary epigraphy for aspects of local history, including lived religion.

Maria **NILSSON** John **WARD**

In the shadow of Mentuhotep: A landscape of imagery through the millennia at Shatt el-Rigal (new sites and extended corpus) Since the mid-19th century, Wadi Shatt el-Rigal has received a stream of scholarly visitors, including Sir Flinders PETRIE, who was among the first to publish a selection of the valley's epigraphic documents from his journey through Egypt in 1887. His final destination was the renowned Mentuhotep II panel at the mouth of the wadi, describing it as 'the principal object in the valley, occupying the most prominent place [...]'. However, he also mentioned a 'vast number of figures of animals', which 'have never received any attention hitherto, and their number deters one from copying or even cataloguing them'. This is true for the rupestrian imagery of the entire wadi, for which, despite LEGRAIN's efforts, subsequently by CAMINOS and his students, a comprehensive record of the entire wadi remains unpublished. With this in mind, the Swedish mission has conducted comprehensive survey of the area, and so far documented 34 rock art and inscription locales, many of which are unique and previously unheard of. Intriguing shaft burials, Predynastic shelters, and a now dried-up lake once guarded by Sobek as the 'Lord of Lake Khar(u)' belong to some of the more intriguing discoveries. This paper aims to present a general introduction to the rock art and pictorial designs illustrated at Shatt el-Rigal, including their stylistic, technical and chronological diversity. Attention will be given to the interaction between illustrations and their context surrounding landscape, a topic that has been completely neglected previously.



Grzegorz Ochała

'Remember me! I, this most humble papa Chaêl': Wall and rock inscriptions and the making of the Christian Nubian memorial landscape

The rate of production of wall and rock inscriptions in medieval Nubia, especially those of less formal character left by visitors in various places, is astonishing. The extreme example is the Upper Church at Banganarti (13th-14th cent. CE), where almost a thousand such texts have been recorded, but other locations can also boast a fairly large number of more or less elaborate visitors' mementos. These are first and foremost churches, but such texts are found also in other cult places, like hermitages of famous anchorites, or simply on rocks in the desert, in spots without an obvious social or religious significance. Quite naturally, all these inscriptions were addressed to and meant to be 'read' by different holy entities to ensure eternal life to the author of the prayer. However, the very fact of putting those prayers to writing and leaving them in visible spots made also the fellow believers their addressees contributed to perpetuating the quite earthly memory of their authors.

The paper will explore the memorial function of Nubian informal epigraphy in the framework of the two great theories of memory studies: Pierre NORA's lieux de mémoire and Jan and Aleida ASSMANN's 'cultural memory'. It will focus on the mechanisms of experiencing the inscriptions and will try to define their role, if any, in shaping Christian Nubian identity.

Jean-Guillaume **OLETTE- PELLETIER**

Where to meet a god? Celestial and geographical interconnections with engraved royal scenes from the Wadi Hammamat

The Wadi Hammamat is one of the oldest quarries, for greywacke auriferous quartz, where we can find the most engraved inscriptions into an expeditionary site. Used continuously from the Predynastic Period to the end of the Arabic Era, the site is rich with hundreds of engraved and painted inscriptions from all periods. Originally perceived as simple workers marks or graffiti, these monumental royal scenes present another aspect of this place, as a religious site, which changes our understanding of the area. Located in the Eastern Desert, equidistant from the Nile valley to the Red Sea, the Wadi Hammamat would seem to be directly linked to solar theology and kingship ideology. The celestial connotations combined with the location of the site is echoed in most of the inscriptions inside the wadi. This place was attributed to the god Min, one of the oldest Egyptian gods, and has to be seen not as a simple quarrying and mining site, but as a great desert sanctuary. In this way, the perception of these so-called 'graffiti' as uncarved simple texts and scenes needs to be reconsidered. All the royal scenes that showing the king in front of the god Min demonstrate clear celestial and geographical choices, which transformed the Wadi Hammamat into a divine meeting place.



Beatrice **PESTARINO**

Kydilos, Ledrian from Cyprus' and the others cognitive experience of Cypriot graffiti in Egypt This paper focuses on Cypriot graffiti in Egypt, from Abydos, Karnak and Gizeh written in different languages - Cypriot-syllabic and alphabetic Greek, Eteocypriot Phoenician – on Egyptian monuments such as the Temple of Seti I, Akhoris' chapel and Cheops' pyramid (EGETMEYER 2010; MASSON 1983; LIDZBARSKI 1915). These graffiti provide information on Cypriot individuals and communities which would be otherwise invisible (BAIRD and TAYLOR 2016), whose presence in Egypt is attributable to precise historical events: the Cypriot war and the alliance between Evagoras and Akhoris (391-380 BCE). These graffiti are of two typologies: 'touristic' graffiti, written by visitors whose presence was occasional, and graffiti written by mercenaries who probably belonged to a permanent community settled in Egypt during the years of conflict (VITTMANN 2003). They are analysed through a cognitive approach (TAYLOR, POOLEY, **CARRAGHER** 2016: ANTONSICH 2010; HASLEY and YOUNG 2006; SARASON 1974) which allows us to better understand how these individuals experienced writing graffiti, why they consistently wrote - and felt the necessity of writing - their name, genealogy, nickname and provenance on monuments, to which social stratum they belonged and why they chose specific languages and writing systems. The analysis also provides information on socio-linguistic aspects of Cypriot communities such as the ability to write in more than one language and the existence of Cypriot mixed Greek-Phoenician families (STEELE 2018; STEELE 2013). Moreover, the study suggests that the territories of the Cypriot city-states were subdivided into internal districts from which the writers came and to which they felt they belonged.

Gabriele PIEKE

SMALL ACT – BIG IMPACT. Secondary epigraphy and image alteration in context: The Teti Cemetery at Saggara With the beginning of the 6th Dynasty, the socalled Teti Cemetery became one of the most popular areas of Saggara necropolis. It is well-known for a number of large vizier's mastabas in addition to numerous other tombs and burials. Some mastabas display significant modifications of images and texts and we find minor damages next to radical modifications and changed ownerships. For a full understanding of these monuments it indeed seems important to consider their entire 'life span' and all interventions. In order to get a better understanding of image alterations and cases of secondary epigraphy at the Teti Cemetery the paper investigates some significant changes attested in the mastaba of Mereruka and other tombs. A closer look at these non-royal funerary monuments at the Teti cemetery underlines the prominence of multiple interventions in these chapels. It is particularly appropriation of minor figures, which is attested in almost any chapels and had a significant impact on an aesthetic as well as semantic level. Apparently, the cultural practice of adding or changing ownership of smaller figures had been a very common procedure in ancient Egypt. The chosen motifs for these modifications are often anonymous figures, however, in other cases it concerns palimpsests, with original names hacked out and new ones added. In context of complex artworks such as non-royal funerary chapels, the alteration of images of the tomb owner, his family members, attendants, and servants among other by new titles and names needs to be included in the comprehensive discussion on graffiti and secondary epigraphy.



Paweł Polkowski

Rock art and graffiti in Egypt and Nubia: On the selected aspects of terminology, interpretation, and theoretical developments

During recent years one has, no doubt, witnessed a growing scientific interest in the fields of Egyptian and Nubian rock art and graffiti studies. This reinvigorated attention manifests itself in an increased number of publications and conferences dedicated to such studies, as well as in noticeable methodological theoretical and developments in these domains. The latest revival of interest in graffiti has been particularly evident in the case of textual graffiti, actualized by various significant contributions published in recent years (e.g., NAVRÁTILOVÁ 2015; RAGAZZOLI et al. 2018; Ragazzoli et al. forthcoming). simultaneously also pictorial graffiti (e.g., DIJKSTRA 2012; EMBERLING and DAVIES 2019; VAN PELT and STARING 2019) and rock art (e.g., HUYGE 2009; POLKOWSKI 2018) have gained a so far unparalleled attention from scholars, and it is these two fields of research that I intend to focus on in this paper.

Firstly, I would like to take a closer look the terminology and consequences of its use for the research. The basic terms, such as 'graffito', 'inscription', or 'petroglyph', may influence interpretation, whereas when inconsistently, they may even cause some confusion. I thus argue that better awareness of the ways these terms can be semantically charged can help in increasing the methodological transparency and intersubjectivity.

The other part of my paper is dedicated to considerations over various theoretical currents and particular theories that either have been recently applied within the Egypto-Nubian graffiti/rock art studies, or could be adapted in these fields in the future. It is argued here that rock art and graffiti in Egypt and Nubia can often be contextualized to a degree unattainable for other studies world-wide, and thus they constitute invaluable material against which various approaches can be tested. In this spirit, I intend to discuss briefly both the already well established concepts, such as theory of practice and structuration theory (e.g. BOURDIEU 1977; GIDDENS 1984), as well as more recent ones, including materiality (e.g., OLSEN 2003), cultural biography (of objects, places, etc. [e.g., HAHN and WEISS 2013]), relational ontologies (e.g., INGOLD 2000), or 'New mobilities paradigm' (e.g., SHELLER and URRY 2006), among the other. It is my intention to discuss applicability of these concepts into Egypto-Nubian pictorial material and to stimulate general discussion on the need of incorporating and developing studies theory within the these archaeological remains.



Muhammad R. RAGAB

Interconnectedness of graffiti, writers, and landscape in the graffiti production in the Theban Mountain present in the corpus of unpublished 'Carter-graffiti'

Graffiti of the Theban Necropolis are forming part of one of the largest and best-known corpus of graffiti from Ancient Egypt. It includes more than 4000 graffiti, systematically published since 1921. The number is still increasing by new discoveries of recent epigraphic surveys.

Motives of the workmen of Deir el-Medina to make graffiti in the Theban Mountain during the Ramesside Period are briefly discussed in the literature. Recent studies concisely explored factors such as the relation between graffiti and work locations. The position of the writer in the hierarchy of the gang was also presented as a motive for making graffiti, I will develop this idea further to highlight its positive and negative impact on the process of making graffiti as well as the hierarchy of graffiti locations. Graffiti relation to some landscape features, namely cracks, was likewise presented as an active factor in graffiti making . I will discuss some examples where landscape did not only motivated graffiti orientation but also had impact on its topics. On the top of that, I will discuss old graffiti on a given wall as a factor that encouraged or, in some cases, discouraged graffiti making based on my recent epigraphic survey of more than 100 not yet published graffiti in the Valley of the Kings originally discovered by Howard CARTER.



Nahla **Refaat Mahmoud**

The Graffiti of the Valley of Allaqi and its tributaries

A secluded valley with many tributaries, that was flooding in a south-easterly extending in the deep of the eastern dessert up to 600km towards the Red Sea, the Allaqi runs through Lower Nubia, and its mouth starts at 120km to the south of Aswan. This wide and dry valley had a distinctive importance to the ancient Egyptians: 'gold'. The textual evidence of the ancient Egyptians can be traced in the large settlements, cemeteries of the workers, and graffiti. While most of the studies of Nubia in the past were royalcentric studies, this study is concerned with the graffiti of expedition officials dispatched from Egypt. The output is a corpus of 204 rock inscriptions and a number of rock art compositions. The rock inscriptions were certainly not the production of the indigenous people, and they represent instead the presence of ancient Egyptian officials and personnel of different ranks, who left them during their journey, choosing certain places rather than others. Do they represent a relationship between the mines and the localization of the graffiti, and how did they choose their canvas to leave their own graffiti? With topographical, chronological and GIS mapping, many aspects urge an answer, especially these main key questions: when, where, why, and why not? How were they viewed and perceived by the indigenous people? My study considers in the first place the graffiti's pervasive distribution and also the reason behind their absence in certain periods as well.

Anna-Katharina RIEGER

Drawn-out and condensed: Communication and production of mobile spaces through graffiti along the routes in the Eastern Desert (Ptolemaic times to Late Antiquity) Accumulations of graffiti – ancient and recent ones – are scribbled written and/or figural messages where individuals communicate with others at the same spot, but indirectly: The act of communication does not take place contemporaneously, but with a time gap in the dialogue. Hence, when analysing and interpreting graffiti the place defines the 'speech or pictorial act' of the dialogue rather than the time (AUSTIN 1962; BREDEKAMP 2010; GIDDENS 1990).

Starting from the time-space split in the communication by graffiti as a first hypothesis, the paper aims at combining the spatial with the communicational aspects of the graffiti along the Graeco-Roman routes through the Eastern Desert. It analyses sets of textual and figural remains (Edfu-Berenike, Coptos-Myos Hormos, Kaine-Abu Sha'ar, with a focus on Pan/Min) regarding who left what kind of inscription and image at which spots (hydreuma, praesidium, temple, mine/quarry) in order to reconstruct the production of spaces through the practice of graffito scribbling. A first hypothesis is that the stable graffito has an itinerant aspect that is emeshed into larger structural as well as agentive networks (HAHN and WEISS 2013; KANTZAK and BEAUDRY 2019; SCHATZKI 2015). With this approach also intra-site responses to graffiti or imagery as well as probable interspatial relations between sites and people along routes and their bifurcations can be seen through the lens of graffiti as spatial communciational practice. Individual mobility along the routes and individual acts of communication thus create a drawn out net of interconnections that bases on the knots of graffiti accumulations.



Patricia A. Rosenmeyer

Departures and arrivals: Inscribing travel details in *proskynemata* on the Memnon Colossus The Memnon colossus in Egyptian Thebes was a popular destination for sacred tourism in the 1st–2nd centuries CE, and visitors left behind commemorative inscriptions in both Greek and Latin. This paper explores what information visitors included in their proskynemata and in particular, how they documented reaching the site. Why include travel descriptions as part of an inscriptional performance

documenting one's arrival?

A basic *proskynema* demands very little information beyond a name, but few visitors were content to leave it at that. Almost all give time and date (in Roman or Egyptian calendar systems). Some include references to their father's name (e.g. #14 #27), their birthplace (#11, #12, #22), or accompanying family members (e.g. #18, #19, #34, #43, #51). By far the most common additions are (sometimes lengthy) details of military and administrative ranks.

A small proportion of the Memnon visitors emphasize how they got to the site, and my paper considers three of them, all in Greek. In one (#23) the visitor describes in depth how he travelled overland towards a different shrine, with no intention at all of visiting Memnon; in two (#36, #67), the voyage is accomplished by boat up (and down) the Nile River. Why did these visitors decide to record for posterity how they traveled? Are inscriptions that document the difficulties of travel somehow more valued than those that reflect merely 'pilgrimage en passant' (Yoyotte's term)? Why do no Latin inscriptions mention travelling? These are some of the questions I will address in my paper.

Nico **STARING**

Tomb graffiti and the biography of a cultural landscape

Examples of ancient graffiti provide a graphic testimony to peoples' attitudes towards earlier monuments. They have been described as one of the key groups of sources for the study of Egyptian uses of the past and are considered as one of the richest sources of evidence available of the personal experience of religion in Ancient Egypt. This paper will explore what the graffiti can tell us about the (changing) use(s) of space in the continuously growing necropolis of Saqqara.

Saggara is the modern name of the ancient desert-edge necropolis of the city of Memphis, located near present-day Cairo. It is where during the New Kingdom (ca. 1539-1077 BCE), a great number of the city's dignitaries constructed prominent monumental tomb superstructures. While not being part of the urban fabric, the necropolis was seen as a component of the urban environment. Thus the tombs frequented by the living on many different occasions, such during festival as processions. The graffiti recorded on the tomb walls were left during the different occasions, although it is not always clear in which contexts and by whom. It is important, however, to acknowledge that the necropolis continuously changed: the cemetery grew laterally while available spaces in between tombs were filled by new constructions; passageways crossing the cemetery were blocked but also created. In short: over time, people would continually experience a different version of the same place. The graffiti were produced by individuals moving this (ever changing) through cultural landscape and so the graffiti can be considered to embody movement. This paper will explore how the study of the graffiti can contribute to writing the biography of this cultural landscape.



Jacques VAN DER VLIET

'Weep with me over my sins!' Author – recipient interaction in graffiti from Christian Egypt and Nubia It may be argued that, in principle, graffiti in sacred spaces (churches, monasteries, etc.) have a double readership, a supernatural and a human. The ways in which these audiences are addressed may differ considerably and, in fact, they may not be overtly addressed at all. Whereas the inscriptions in the tombs of al-Bagawat in the Western Desert (VAN DER VLIET 2020) may ask the human reader for precise physical responses (reading aloud, praying, weeping), the late-medieval pilgrims graffiti in the Upper Church at Banganarti in Nubia (ŁAJTAR 2020) nowhere overtly interact with their human readers and seem to appeal to the divine only. This paper seeks to map the various ways in which the double author recipient interaction is textually encoded (or not) in graffiti and dipinti from late-antique and medieval monasteries and churches in Egypt and Nubia.

Hana Vymazalová

A preliminary overview of the 'Baugraffiti' from Djedkare's Pyramid Complex The documentation of the preserved architecture of Djedkare's pyramid complex at south Saggara, carried out by an international team headed by Mohamed Megahed, resulted not only in establishing an archaeological plan of monument, but also in collecting finds of various types from all periods of Egyptian history. The evidence from the period of Djedkare's reign is however very limited, but it does include numerous marks and hieratic inscriptions which attest to the construction of the monument. The so-called 'Baugraffiti' are well known from other royal monuments of the Old Kingdom, and consist of lines and axes, quarry marks and masons' marks, inscriptions referring to dates, names and titles of the administrators of the king's monument as well as his other dependants and royal family members, etc. In Djedkare's complex pyramid these marks inscriptions were recorded both in the substructure of the king's pyramid as well as in the remains of his funerary temple. Many blocks of local limestone forming the core walls of the burial apartment bear marks and inscriptions; they were inaccessible after the builders applied the casing blocks to the walls. In the temple, most of the walls are gone due to quarry activities in later times. The marks and inscriptions thus come mostly from the limestone blocks of the foundation of the temple, its pavement and loose blocks that perhaps came from its walls. Particularly interesting are inscriptions attested on the socalled southern and northern massifs, innovative architectural features which are not yet fully explained. In my paper, I will provide a general overview of the various types of marks attested within Djedkare's burial complex and place these in the wider context of Old Kingdom 'Baugraffiti'.



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