

## The son of a Chief of Sculptors Thutmose at Hatnub

Republication of Hatnub Inscription XIV, belonging to a chief of sculptors Any. A newly discovered second line of text provides Any's genealogy.

Recent epigraphic work in the Egyptian alabaster<sup>1</sup> quarries at Hatnub<sup>2</sup> has revealed, among other things, further information regarding one of the long-known inscriptions from the site. Inscription XIV,<sup>3</sup> following the nomenclature of Rudolf Anthes' 1928 publication of the texts from the site,<sup>4</sup> is the only Hatnub text plausibly datable to the New Kingdom, commemorating a chief of sculptors Any. This is given as a single horizontal line of inscription in Anthes' publication,<sup>5</sup> but a previously unknown second line of this text has now been discovered directly below the first, providing Any's genealogy (figs 1 and 2).<sup>6</sup>

Inscription XIV is found in Hatnub quarry P,<sup>7</sup> from which the large majority of Hatnub texts are known. This quarry, sunk into the desert surface, is roughly oval shaped (with a descending entryway from the north-west). Inscription XIV is carved directly onto the rock walls that form the north-west inner face of the quarry, and is situated in the midst of (but not encroaching on) a number of Sixth Dynasty texts executed in red paint/ink (Anthes' graffiti

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<sup>1</sup> This stone is also known variously as calcite and travertine. See discussion in I. Shaw, *Hatnub: Quarrying Travertine in Ancient Egypt* (EES EM 88; London, 2010), xv, with references.

<sup>2</sup> The *Hatnub Epigraphic Project*, co-directed by Yannis Gourdon and Roland Enmarch; see <http://www.ifao.egnet.net/axes-2012/individu-corps-et-mort/2012-hatnoub/>; Y. Gourdon, 'Les nouvelles inscriptions rupestres de Hatnoub', *BSFE* 189 (2014), 26-45; R. Enmarch, 'Writing in the "Mansion of Gold": Texts from the Egyptian Alabaster Quarries at Hatnub', *EA* 47 (2015), 10-12.

<sup>3</sup> Published in R. Anthes, *Die Felseninschriften von Hatnub* (UGÄA 9; Leipzig, 1928), 17, pl. 8. The first publication of a part of this text was in M. W. Blackden and G. W. Fraser, *Collection of Hieratic Graffiti from the Alabaster Quarry of Hatnub situated near Tell el Amarna* (unpublished, 'for private circulation only', 1894), pl. xv.

<sup>4</sup> Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 6, divides the Hatnub texts into 'Inschriften' (carved/incised texts and images) and 'Graffiti' (texts and images executed solely in red pigment), each with its own discrete numbering system (inscriptions in Roman numerals, graffiti in Arabic numerals). This terminology, and the distinction between rock inscriptions and graffiti, has been problematised in more recent discussions: see e.g. H. Navrátilová, 'Graffiti Spaces', in L. Bareš, F. Coppens, K. Smoláriková (eds), *Egypt in Transition: Social and Religious Development of Egypt in the First Millennium BCE* (Prague, 2010), 305-13.

<sup>5</sup> Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 17, pl. 8.

<sup>6</sup> There are a number of possible reasons for the omission from Anthes' 1928 text edition: Anthes did not actually visit Hatnub (*Felseninschriften*, 4 n.1), and his publication relies on the daybook, notes, and copies made on site by Georg Möller in 1907, which Anthes inherited after Möller's death (*Felseninschriften*, foreword). It is therefore possible that there was some issue with interpreting Möller's notes. However, it is perhaps more likely that Möller did not spot the inscription's second line, since it is much less obvious on the wall than the first, being less deeply engraved, and curving underneath a protrusion in the rock wall, such that it is only really easily visible in certain lighting conditions, and when looking upwards at a slight overhang in the rock wall; Blackden and Fraser, *Collection of Hieratic Graffiti*, no. xv, also only recorded the first line of this text, suggesting it was much more visible than the second.

<sup>7</sup> So named by W. M. F. Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* (London, 1894), pl. 34, and followed in Shaw, *Hatnub*. Also known as 'the great quarry' since G. W. Fraser, 'Hat-nub', *PSBA* (1894), 74, whose terminology was followed by Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 4 ('der große Steinbruch').

3-9).<sup>8</sup> Inscription XIV is read right-to-left, and the two-line inscription as a whole is 63 cm in width. The overall height of the inscription tapers from 17cm (at the start of the lines on the right) to 13 cm at the left.

The whole inscription may now be read as follows:

**Line 1:** 

*hry s<sup>c</sup>nh(w)<sup>a</sup> n nb t3wy<sup>b</sup> 3ny<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> hrw<sup>d</sup>*

Chief of sculptors of the Lord of the Two Lands, Any, true of voice,

**Line 2:** 

*s3 hry s<sup>c</sup>nh(w) dhwtj-ms<sup>e</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> hrw s3 [...]<sup>f</sup> imn-m-hb*

son of the chief of sculptors, Thutmose, true of voice, son of [...] Amenemhab.

- a The sky sign (GSL N1) writing *hry* is here in its hieratic form: cf. G. Möller, *Hieratische Paläographie in ihrer Entwicklung von der fünften Dynastie bis zur römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig, 1909), II, no. 300; the two horizontals that form the upper section of the sky sign continue to the left beyond the left-hand vertical, and reach as far as the uniconsonantal *s* sign (GSL S29), creating at first sight a confusing mix of horizontals and verticals (this presumably reflects the difficulties of carving into the extremely uneven and jagged surface). Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 17, notes that Georg Möller’s copy of this inscription queried the *s*, but it is already given as *s* in the first modern record of this inscription, in Blackden and Fraser, *Collection of Hieratic Graffiti*, no. xv.


For the title *hry s<sup>c</sup>nhw*, see J. A. Taylor, *An Index of Non-royal Egyptian Titles, Epithets, and Phrases of the 18th Dynasty* (London, 2001), 163 no. 1601-1602; A. R. Al-Ayedi, *An Index of Egyptian Administrative, Religious, and Military Titles of the New Kingdom* (Ismailia, 2006), 404-05 nos. 1369-72. It is clear from F. Steinmann, ‘Untersuchungen zu den in der handwerkerlich-künstlerischen Produktion beschäftigten Personen und Berufsgruppen des Neuen Reiches, I’, *ZÄS* 107 (1980), 152; id., ‘Untersuchungen zu den in der handwerkerlich-künstlerischen Produktion beschäftigten Personen und Berufsgruppen des Neuen Reichs, II’, *ZÄS* 109 (1982), 66, that *s<sup>c</sup>nhw* were involved in working a variety of materials, including wood, metal and stone; they could also be involved in painting statues: A. Zivie, *La tombe de Thoutmes, directeur des peintres dans la Place de Maât (BUB. I.19)* (Les tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara 2; Toulouse, 2013), 130-3.

- b *n nb t3wy* is found denoting general royal service with a wide range of craftsmen and stonemasons, and is frequently attested for example at Deir el-Medina both for master craftsmen, and more lowly workers: Steinmann, *ZÄS* 109, 152, 155.
- c The vertical line after the honoured man determinative (GSL A51/52) is given in Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, pl. 8 as a throwstick (GSL T14), with cautionary ‘sic’. However, note the one, possibly two, horizontals that connect this vertical to the honoured man determinative: it is possible that the ‘honoured man’ determinative is here in fact given in a semi-hieratic form (cf. the hieratic sky sign writing *hry* at the start of the line), with the extra vertical recalling the presence of two verticals in

<sup>8</sup> Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, pls 10-13. These Sixth Dynasty graffiti are even today among the most visible red-ink texts in quarry P, and contain a number of large and still readily legible royal names in both *serekhs* and cartouches. The chief of sculptors Any may have been drawn to commemorate himself on this part of the wall by the presence of these (relatively easily visible) venerable royal names, as a gesture of respect for the past, or to insert himself into the same tradition of stone extraction in the quarry.

the hieratic version of the honoured man sign, sometimes being connected by one or two horizontals/diagonals (cf. Möller, *Paläographie* II, no. 26).

- d Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 17 correctly identifies this sign as a writing of  $m^3^c$ -*hrw* (but alternatively, and improbably, suggests that it may mean ‘from lower Egypt’). This writing of  $m^3^c$ -*hrw* first becomes popular in the reigns of Tuthmosis IV and Amenhotep III (with a couple of doubtful earlier examples), after which it rapidly grows in popularity: B. Gessler-Löhr, ‘Zur Schreibung von  $m^3^c$ -*hrw* mit der Blume’, *GM* 116 (1990), 31.

- e As carved, the ibis appears more like , but the strong horizontal connecting the legs is probably just a vertically compressed divine standard.

- f In the second line, between *s3* and *imm-m-ḥb*, there is a rough sunken area of stone approximately the size of a single sign group. The enhanced photographic image of this area is somewhat suggestive of the *f* viper (GSL I9), and so it is tempting to read ‘his son, Amenemhab’ (which would make Amenemhab the son of Any, son of Thutmose). However, the apparent *f* is a trick of the light; direct visual inspection of the surviving jagged, broken rock surface cannot detect any clear traces, though the sharp edges of the slightly crystalline rock at this point on the rock surface make certainty difficult. The ancient inscribed surface may have largely fallen away, or alternatively there may never have been any completed text at this point: the creator of the inscription may have passed over this rough patch without attempting to inscribe it (or given up after making a desultory start).

The care taken over the execution of Anthes’ inscription XIV diminishes as it goes on: the first horizontal line is carved into the rock as a mixture of incised and sunk relief. The second horizontal line is less deeply engraved, with some signs towards the end being little more than pecked out. This detail, and the fact that the two lines have differing orthographies for the title *ḥry s<sup>c</sup>nh(w)* ‘chief of sculptors’, as well as different forms for the honoured man determinative (GSL A51), leaves open several possibilities for the relationship between the two lines:

- a Two persons participated in creating this inscription on a single occasion (as master and pupil, or rather father and son), or perhaps at two different times.<sup>9</sup> The small size of the text makes this interpretation doubtful.
- b One person (presumably Any) completed this inscription at two different times, leaving just his titles and name at first, then later adding his genealogy. This seems improbable, as it lacks obvious parallels among rock inscriptions.
- c One person (presumably Any) completed the whole inscription at a single sitting, the second line being less well carved because of its less convenient position on the wall.

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<sup>9</sup> It is notable that Amenemhab lacks the epithet  $m^3^c$  *hrw*, unlike Any and Thutmose. However, for Amenemhab to have been Any’s grandson and left the second line at a later date would require this inscription to be a very late example of an ‘inverted genealogy’ of the sort common in the Middle Kingdom (P. Vernus, *Le surnom au Moyen Empire: Répertoire, procédés d’expression et structures de la double identité du début de la XIIe dynastie à la fin de la XVIIe dynastie* (Studia Pohl 13; Rome, 1986), 95, and even before then (see e.g. Old Kingdom example in G. Soukiassian, M. Wuttmann, and L. Pantalacci, *Balat*, VI: *Le palais des gouverneurs de l’époque de Pépy II. Les sanctuaires de ka et leurs dépendances* (FIFAO 46; Cairo, 2002), 314 and 311-312, g). This seems improbable, given that the writing of  $m^3^c$  *hrw* is first attested only in the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty (see below), and we are unaware of other New Kingdom examples of such inverted genealogies.

The orthographic differences are perhaps influenced by the difficulty of working on the jagged stone surface.

Of these, solution c would seem the most satisfactory.

In terms of dating, the writing of *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* provides a *terminus post quem* of the reign of Tuthmosis IV, and the range of names would be consistent with the later Eighteenth Dynasty,<sup>10</sup> though they are all also found later on in the Ramesside period. In any case, this inscription forms a chronological outlier among the quarry P corpus, where the otherwise latest inscription dates to the reign of Senwosret I. The tailing off of the rich textual record in Quarry P after the early Middle Kingdom has been interpreted as indicating that its deposit of Egyptian alabaster was worked out by this time,<sup>11</sup> with the focus of alabaster extraction in the Hatnub area subsequently moving to other sites (e.g. Petrie's quarry R in the mid-late twelfth dynasty; quarry T in the Late and/or Greco-Roman periods).<sup>12</sup>

However, significant amounts of New Kingdom pottery<sup>13</sup> and shelters<sup>14</sup> have been detected along the last couple of km of the road leading to Hatnub quarry P, and small amounts of blue-painted pottery (characteristic of the mid-late eighteenth dynasty, and best known from the Amarna period)<sup>15</sup> have been found around and within quarry P itself.<sup>16</sup> Although these suggest a rather smaller scale of exploitation than in the Old Kingdom,<sup>17</sup> it seems that interest still remained in the area of the old Quarry P (either in the form of prospection for new alabaster sources nearby, or perhaps in reworking what remained in quarry P to extract worthwhile alabaster pieces). It is also notable that, during the Amarna period, the title *hry*

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<sup>10</sup> The name Any is first securely attested in the later Eighteenth Dynasty, under Amenhotep III: see T. R. Moore, 'Any as an Element in Theophoric Names', *JARCE* 33 (1996), 144; for the name Any among tomb holders at Amarna, see R. Hari, *Répertoire onomastique amarnien* (AH 4; Geneva, 1976), #3-4. The name Any is frequent thereafter till the end of the New Kingdom (Ranke, *PN I*, 2.11). Amenemhab (Ranke, *PN I*, 28.14) and Thutmose (Ranke, *PN I*, 408.5; Hari, *Répertoire onomastique amarnien*, #323-5) are found throughout the New Kingdom.

<sup>11</sup> E.g. Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 5-6.

<sup>12</sup> For quarries R and T and their dating, see Shaw, *Hatnub*, 75-80.

<sup>13</sup> P. T. Nicholson and P. J. Rose, 'The Pottery', in Shaw, *Hatnub*, 84-5, note sherds of blue-painted silt ware, as well as one decorated sherd which might conceivably be post-Amarna in date. However, most of the forms and fabrics were recognisable as part of the corpus known from Amarna (id., 95), and were 'entirely consistent with an 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty date': I. Shaw, R. Jameson, and P. T. Nicholson, 'The Quarry P Region at Hatnub', in Shaw, *Hatnub*, 49.

<sup>14</sup> Shaw et al., in Shaw, *Hatnub*, 45-51, esp. 48 where it is noted that the areas occupied in the New Kingdom clustered away from the immediate vicinity of Quarry P and the Old Kingdom settlement, perhaps suggesting other stone sources were being exploited.

<sup>15</sup> See C. A. Hope, 'Some Memphite Blue-painted Pottery of the mid-18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty', in J. Phillips (ed.), *Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Near East: Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell* (San Antonio, 1997), II, 249-50 and 260.

<sup>16</sup> See Anthes, *Felseninschriften*, 5; a single sherd of this ware was also observed by the authors of the present communication in the centre of quarry P during their first season at Hatnub in December 2012.

<sup>17</sup> I. Shaw, 'The 1986 survey of Hatnub', in B. Kemp (ed.), *Amarna Reports*, IV (EES OP 5; London, 1987), 164.

*k3wty n ḥwt-nbw* ‘chief of workmen of *ḥwt-nbw*’ is known for a certain Ipy attested on a scarab in Turin.<sup>18</sup>

The term *inr w<sup>c</sup>b ḥd n ḥwt-nbw* ‘pure white stone of Hatnub’ is well attested in the New Kingdom and later,<sup>19</sup> but perhaps had by then become a generic label for alabaster rather than a specific designation of origin.<sup>20</sup> Nevertheless, the very existence of this designation implies that the Hatnub region was still seen as the quintessential source of the highest quality alabaster, and this might explain continued visits to Hatnub quarry P by stonemasons in the New Kingdom, and by master-sculptors (*hry-s<sup>c</sup>nhw*) such as Any.

The discovery that Any’s father was a ‘Chief of sculptors Thutmose’, in a quarry within a day’s walk of Amarna, raises the question of whether this individual might possibly be identical with the artist at Amarna whose atelier created the famous bust of Nefertiti,<sup>21</sup> an atelier where statuary in alabaster was being made, and old alabaster pieces were being recycled.<sup>22</sup> The titles of the two Thutmoses, are however, not identical:

Hatnub Thutmose: *hry-s<sup>c</sup>nh(w) dhwti-ms*  
‘chief of sculptors Thutmose’

Amarna Thutmose: *ḥsy [n] ntr nfr hry-k3t, s<sup>c</sup>nh dhwti-ms*  
‘favoured one [of] the good god, the overseer of works, sculptor Thutmose’

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<sup>18</sup> R. Hari, *Répertoire onomastique amarnien* (AH 4; Geneva, 1976), #34, with references; A. J. Peden, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt: Scope and Roles of Informal Writings (c.3100-332 B.C.)* (PdÄ 17; Brill, 2001), 79 n. 102. It is, however, possible that the term *ḥwt-nbw* might here refer instead to a temple structure, or a gold-workshop: see discussion of *ḥwt-nbw* in I. Shaw, *Hatnub: Quarrying Travertine in Ancient Egypt* (EES EM 88; London, 2010), 6-7.

<sup>19</sup> E.g. *Urk.* IV, 424 and 640. See also Peden, *Graffiti*, 79 n. 102.

<sup>20</sup> It is unclear exactly how far the ancient toponym *ḥwt-nbw* ‘Hatnub’ was thought to extend: in the quarries, it is only attested in quarry P, though a new and as yet unpublished inscription of Pepi II discovered there does seem to call it ‘the northern Hatnub’ (*ḥwt-nbw mhnt*) implying that the name could be used for other alabaster workings in the area (quarries R and T are both broadly to the south of quarry P). It is unlikely to cover alabaster quarries further afield, such as those to the north of the Amarna plain, near el-Sheikh Said the Wadi Bershawi (New Kingdom), and Maghara Abu Aziz (Old Kingdom, New Kingdom and later), for which see I. Shaw, *Hatnub: Quarrying Travertine in Ancient Egypt* (EES EM 88; London, 2010), 22-3, and H. Willems, ‘An industrial site at al-Shaykh Said / Wadi Zabayda’, *Ä&L* 19 (2009), 320ff, where it is suggested that the settlement near the latter may be the ancient *pr-ḥs*.

<sup>21</sup> The mention of Amenemhab, a relative with a theophoric name mentioning Amun, might also be taken as arguing against a dating of the Hatnub inscription actually in the Amarna period itself, unless a date very late in the occupation of Amarna were to be assumed.

<sup>22</sup> For alabaster fragments found at Thutmose’s house, see e.g. L. Borchardt and H. Ricke, *Die Wohnhäuser in Tell el-Amarna* (Ausgrabungen der deutschen Orient-gesellschaft in Tell el-Amarna; Berlin, 1980), 90 (P 47.1) nos. 157, 158, 174, 370, 421, 1327, 1513; see also p. 95 (P 47.2) nos. 361, 375, 431.5, 444, 445, 446; see also pp. 96-8 (P 47.3) nos. 583, 584, 613, 1038, 1048, 1279. See also e.g. Do. Arnold, ‘The Workshop of the Sculptor Thutmose’, in Do. Arnold, *The Royal Women of Amarna: Images of Beauty from Ancient Egypt* (New York, 1996), 43.

Moreover, the identification of a Thutmose as being the owner of the Amarna atelier is itself only indirect, and relies on the discovery of the above titles and name on an ivory horse blinker found near the atelier, in a tree pit in the courtyard of the estate.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, an entirely different man (with different parentage from the Hatnub Thutmose, and very different titles), whose pre/early-Amarna period tomb at Saqqara has recently been published by Alain Zivie, has also been proposed as being identical with the Amarna artist.<sup>24</sup>

Saqqara Thutmose: *hry sš-ḳdwt*

‘chief of draughtsmen’

Unfortunately, neither the Saqqara nor the Hatnub Thutmose can be definitely linked to the Thutmose of the Amarna atelier (if indeed that atelier ever did belong to a Thutmose), and so for the time being this new line of text from Hatnub Inscription XIV merely provides another, alternative possible contender for identification with the famous Amarna artist.

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<sup>23</sup> See R. Krauss, ‘Der Bildhauer Thutmose in Amarna’, *Jahrbuch Preußischer Kulturbesitz* 20 (1983), 119-132; C. Tietze, ‘Der Bildhauer Thutmoses’, in C. Tietze (ed.), *Amarna: Lebensräume-Lebensbilder-Weltbilder* (2<sup>nd</sup> edn.; Weimar, 2010), 158; F. Seyfried (ed.), *In the Light of Amarna: 100 Years of the Nefertiti Discovery* (Petersberg, 2012), 174 (plan), 176, and 396-7. Do. Arnold, *Royal Women of Amarna*, 41, asserts that Thutmose was the owner of the atelier, though Zivie, *La tombe de Thoutmes*, 130, is more doubtful.

<sup>24</sup> A. Zivie, *La tombe de Thoutmes, directeur des peintres dans la Place de Maât (BUB. I.19)* (Les tombes du Bubasteion à Saqqara 2; Toulouse, 2013), 127-33.