

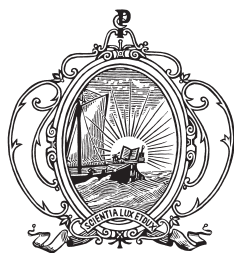
BRITISH MUSEUM PUBLICATIONS ON EGYPT AND SUDAN 1

THE FOURTH CATARACT AND BEYOND

Proceedings of the 12th International Conference for Nubian Studies

edited by

Julie R. ANDERSON and Derek A. WELSBY



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A STATUE OF AMENHOTEP III REDISCOVERED

W. VIVIAN DAVIES

The Egyptologist F. W. Green (Bierbrier (ed.) 2012, 223-4; Green 1998) twice visited the northern Sudan, in 1906 and 1909-10 respectively, observing and documenting various sites and monuments as he and his companions travelled along.¹ His unpublished diaries of the trips, now housed in the archives of the Department of Ancient Egypt and Sudan in the British Museum,² contain much of scholarly interest, not least relating to the Egyptian inscriptions and monuments which he encountered on the way. Especially important among these is a dyad of a king and deity found and recorded by Green during the course of the second journey.³ Long lost from view but recently ‘rediscovered’, it is presented here in full for the first time.

The statue was located by Green in December 1909, lying close to a village (unnamed) on the left bank of the Nile between Songi and Ukma, north of the Dal Cataract (Figure 1),⁴ and described by him as ‘a much damaged diorite statue. It originally was a seated statue of Amenophis III and his wife but it is now almost battered into a shapeless mass of stone. There has been a long inscription on the back but much damaged by man and weather. The line round the base is still good where it has been preserved. On each side of the throne is the usual *sm3* sign with the bunches of plants representing N + S Egypt bound to it’.⁵

Green’s copies of the inscriptions on the statue’s back and on the sides of the base, recorded under difficult field-conditions, are reproduced in Figure 2, A-B. It is clear from these copies that the piece is identical to ‘the base of a double statue in black granite, with an

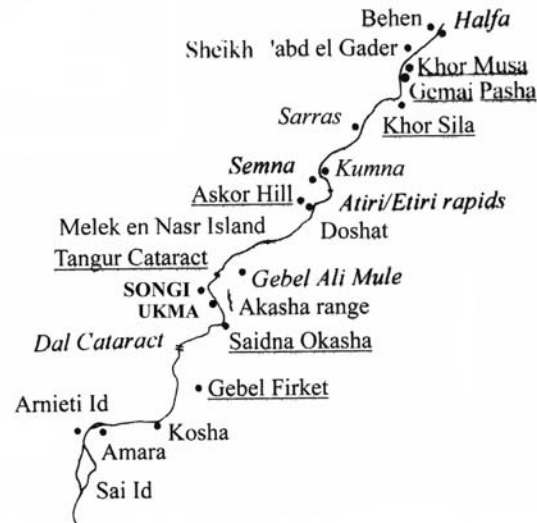


Figure 1. Map showing location of Songi and Ukma (adapted from Welsby Sjöström 1999, fig. 1).

inscription on the back containing the name of Amenophis III’, noted by Arkell (1950, 32),⁶ and subsequently by Vercoutter (1956, 79-80, no. 27), the latter’s copy of the inscription reproduced here as Figure 3.⁷ Although the statue’s original ancient location, from which it must have been removed at some time, remains to be identified, Green’s diary-record resolves the question as to its modern find-spot, previously thought to have been Sedeinga or Sai Island, the latter provenance favoured by Vercoutter, who confused the piece with another, similar dyad located at Sai.⁸ It also raises questions as to the accuracy of the published versions of the inscriptions, which contain several puzzling elements. Fortunately, as part of a current collaborative British Museum/NCAM documentation project, the statue, once deposited in the Wadi Halfa Museum (cf. Arkell

¹ For a valuable preliminary account of Green’s journeys in Sudan, see Welsby Sjöström 1999. His companions on the second journey (the one of interest here) were Somers Clarke and A. H. Sayce.

² Green’s diaries were kindly donated to the British Museum in 1998 by his youngest son, John C. Green. There are 15 diaries in all, two of which relate to the Sudan.

³ Other important discoveries by Green during the same journey include the cartouche of King Ahmose inscribed on Jebel Noh, recently recorded by the Mahas Survey of the University of Khartoum (Edwards 2006, 58-9, pl. 4; Osman and Edwards 2011, 257-8, KJB005, fig. 8.6.3) and the remains of a rock-cut Egyptian royal stela upstream of Jebel Barkal, now relocated by a British Museum expedition. Both of these inscriptions will form the subject of a separate paper.

⁴ Adapted from Welsby Sjöström 1999, 85, fig. 1.

⁵ Green Diary for 1909-10, 26-29.

⁶ Cf. PM vii, 166 and 167.

⁷ Vercoutter’s publication has remained the primary source for subsequent reproduction, citation and study of the figure and text; see, for example, *Urk.* iv, 1958-59, no. 738; *Übersetzung*, 334-5, no. 738; Martin 1977, 172; Müller 1988, IV-23; Zibeli-Chen 1988, 183; Schade-Busch 1992, *passim*; Davies 1995, 2; Seidel 1996, 205-6, IV.1.6.5; Klug 2004, 237, 247; Minault-Gout 2006-7, 280, 285; Müller 2009, 134, Text 45; Kozloff 2012, 80, 264-5.

⁸ This second piece, seen and sketched by Wilkinson (cf. Vercoutter 1956, 79, fig. 6; 1973, 23), is currently in storage in the magazine of the French expedition at Sai (pers. comm., Dr Luc Gabolde). See now Thill 2011-2012, 286-288, pls V-VI.

1950, 32), has recently been relocated in the Sudan National Museum, Khartoum (now numbered SNM 34977), permitting the completion of a more comprehensive record (Figure 4, Plates 1-8).⁹



Plate 1. Dyad of Amenhotep III
(Khartoum, SNM 34977), frontal view.

The statue, made of grano-diorite and finely worked, though now much damaged, consists of the lower half of a dyad (the top half missing), representing a couple, under life-sized, seated on a rectangular throne with back-rest and a wide (and once tall) rear support, a king on the proper right and a goddess (or a queen in the guise of a goddess)¹⁰ to his left, their feet placed on a pedestal, the front of which is gone (Plates 1 and 2). The king's body is larger and has greater depth than that of his companion, with his feet placed further forward (Plate 3; cf. Bryan 1992b, 168-9). The goddess is

⁹ I am grateful to Dr Abdelrahman Ali, Director General of the National Corporation for Antiquities and Museums (NCAM), and Dr Ikhlas Abdellatif, senior curator in the Sudan National Museum, for facilitating access to the statue and granting permission for its study and publication; also to my colleagues Dr Julie Anderson for assistance in locating the piece, Claire Thorne for inking in the drawing of the inscription, Susanne Woodhouse, Rupert Chapman and Diane Bergman for bibliographic help, and Dr Renée Friedman for technical assistance in preparing the paper for publication. The documentation of the statue took place in early December 2010. The photographs were taken by James Rossiter at that time.

¹⁰ For example, Queen Tiy as Hathor; see Bryan 1992b, 171 and 176-7; Berman 1992, 6-7; Johnson 1998, 90; Bryan 2008, 37; Uhlmann 2009, 258.



Plate 2. Dyad of Amenhotep III
(Khartoum, SNM 34977), pedestal.



Plate 3. Dyad of Amenhotep III
(Khartoum, SNM 34977), view from above.

shown attired in a conventional sheath-dress, the king in a long *heb-sed* or jubilee cloak,¹¹ decorated on the front with a band of five vertical striations representing the cloak's border. The arms of both figures are missing though a remnant of the king's lower left elbow survives, showing that, when complete, his left arm was bent across the body.¹² The throne-sides are slightly recessed below the back-rest and above the pedestal at the rear (Plates 4 and 5). The maximum width of the statue (across the back) is 625mm; the

¹¹ On statues of Amenhotep III wearing the jubilee cloak, see Souzourian 1994, 499, 521-23; Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 83-5; Haynes 2011, 40-2, figs 17-18.

¹² Cf. the king's pose in the group-statue, Cairo JE 39507; Sourouzian 1994, 522, no. 50, fig. 6 b; Seidel 1996, 207-8, Dok. 81, pl. 48; Hornung and Staehelin 2006, 84.

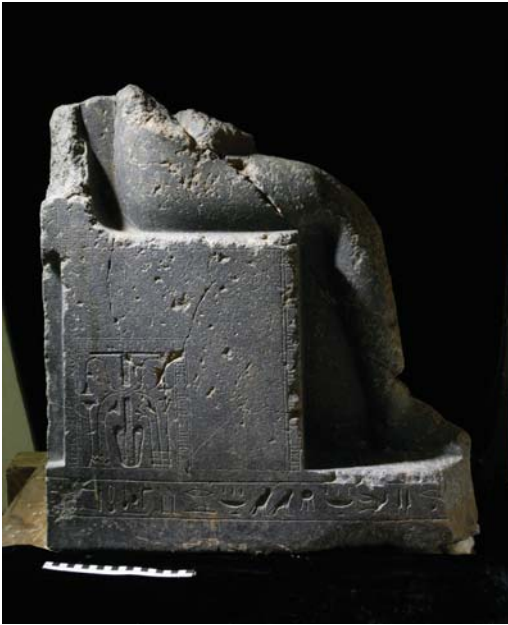


Plate 4. Dyad of Amenhotep III
(Khartoum, SNM 34977), right side.



Plate 6. Dyad of Amenhotep III
(Khartoum, SNM 34977), detail of right side.



Plate 5. Dyad of Amenhotep III
(Khartoum, SNM 34977), left side.



Plate 7. Dyad of Amenhotep III
(Khartoum, SNM 34977), detail of left side.

maximum surviving height is 660mm, and the maximum surviving depth is 600mm.

The statue is decorated with a *sma-tawy* motif and rectangular banding on both sides of the seat (Plates 4-7), the one on the left eroded and much of it missing. There are hieroglyphic inscriptions along the sides of the base (a single line in each case), as well as on the statue's rear (Plate 8), all in sunk relief of high quality.

The symbolic 'nine bows' are incised on the pedestal, represented as if lying underneath the king's feet (Plate 2). The horizontal line on the right side reads: '[all lands, all foreign countries (?)],¹³ all the rekhyt and all

¹³ Cf. Dunham 1970, 17, no. 2, 19, fig. 5, pl. vi, A-B, right and left base inscriptions of figure of Amenhotep III; and *Urk.* iv, 1658, 18-20.

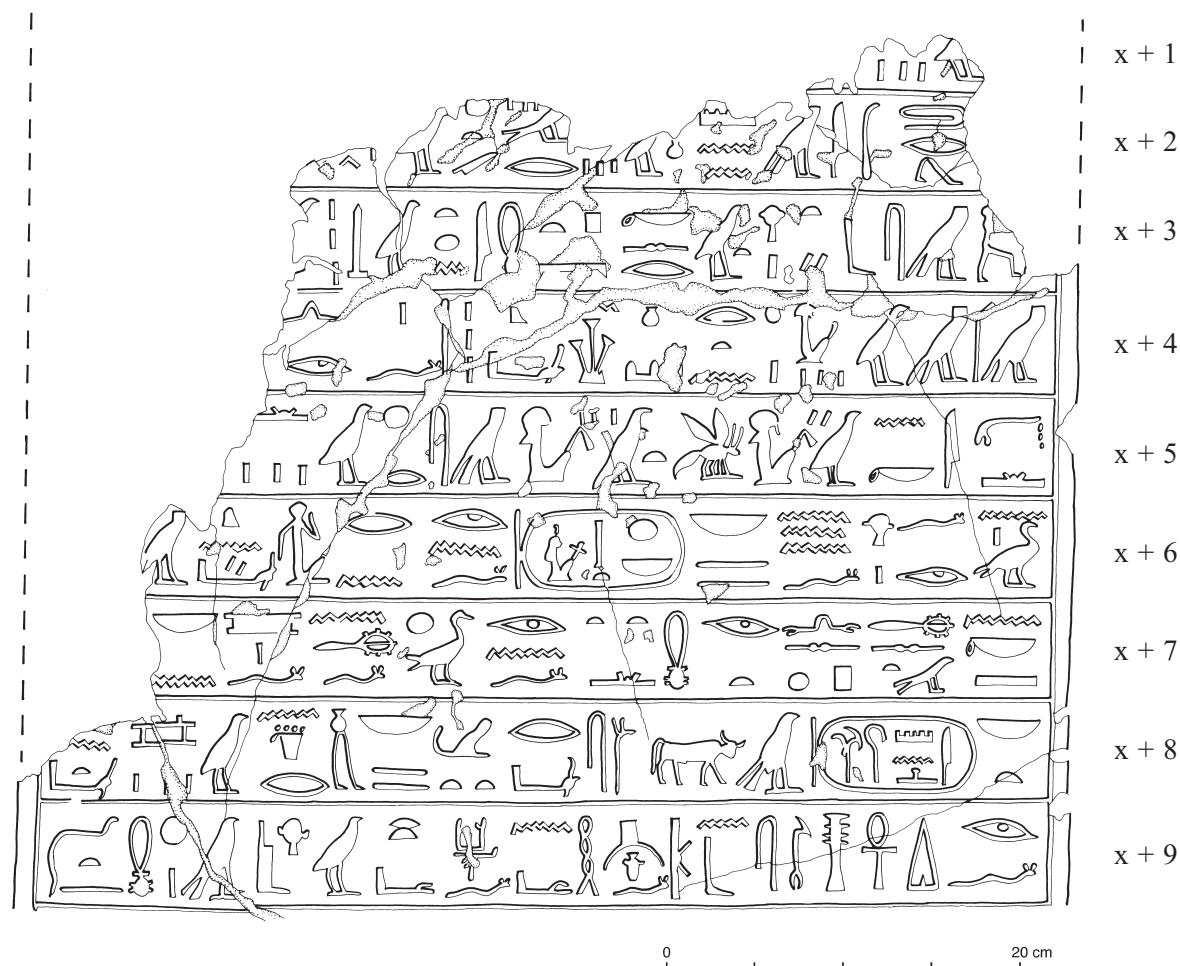


Figure 4. Dyad of Amenhotep III (Khartoum, SNM 34977), back, new copy of inscription.

the common people (are) at the feet of this perfect god, even as Amen-Re has commanded'. The line on the left, the first half gone, was probably very similar in content. It adds the title *it.f*, 'his father', before the name of Amen-Re. In each case, the god's name has been deliberately damaged, no doubt during the Amarna period.

The inscription on the statue's back, which is cracked and eroded in parts, includes the two cartouches of Amenhotep III. The *nomen* was left undamaged, suggesting that the back was not easily accessible to Akhenaten's agents. The inscription now consists of nine horizontal lines, of which only the last line is fully preserved along its entire length (Plate 8). A deep crack across the lower left corner has caused the surface here to slip slightly downwards. The first part of the inscription, comprising probably several more lines, is lost. It can be seen from the new record (Figure 4, Plate 8) that the previous publication (Figure 3) contains a number of errors, most importantly the omission of a number of signs and the reading *hftyw*

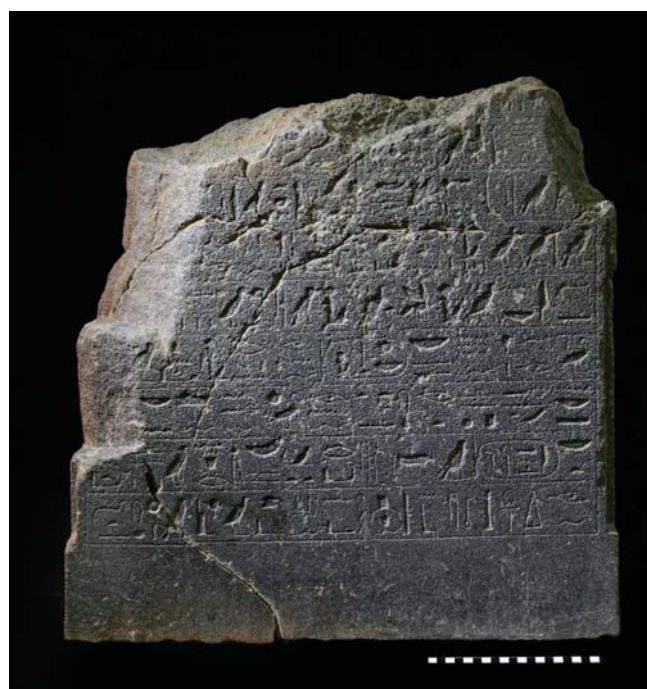


Plate 8. Dyad of Amenhotep III (Khartoum, SNM 34977), back.

in line $x + 2$, the reading *ksr(t)* (a ghost word)¹⁴ in $x + 3$, and the inclusion of the knife-determinative at the beginning of line $x + 5$, errors which have helped to obscure the nature of the inscription. It is actually a building-text, marking the creation or extension, under Amenhotep III, of a substantial fortified temple somewhere in ‘vile Kush’, in all likelihood referring to the temple at Soleb. When complete, the inscription would almost certainly have begun with the king’s titulary and continued with a dedication-formula of the type: *ir.n.f m mnw n it.f Imn-R^c...*, *irt n.f hwt-ntr...* ‘he has made as a monument for his father, Amen-Re... making for him a temple...’, concluding with a series of dependent clauses referring to the building’s component-parts (cf. Grallert 2001, 34ff.; 2007, 37-8).

As it survives, the text reads as follows:

(x + 1) ...w]
 (x + 2) [...] *phr.ti m mnnw*¹⁵ *wrw, htw [h]r [r]n*¹⁶ [*wr n hm.f (?)*],
 (x + 3) [*k*]*dw*¹⁷ *m sbty hr twks r pt mi thnw wr[w]*,¹⁸ [*šn^c.s mhw (?)*]
 (x + 4) *m^cmw nw Rtnw n h3k[t]*¹⁹ *hm.f, n ir.[t(w) mitt dr imy(w)-]*
 (x + 5) *b3h in kywy bityw m shrw [n it.f Imn-r^c]*
 (x + 6) *n s3.f ir hr mw.f nb t3wy Nb-m3^ct-r^c, ir.n.f rn kn m [t3]*
 (x + 7) *n Kš hst, n sp ir.t(w) mitt, ir.n.f s3 R^c n ht.f mr.f nb n [h3st]*
 (x + 8) *nbt Imn-htp-hk3-W3st Hr k3 wsr phtt nb t3wy in drw [k]nt*,²⁰
 (x + 9) *ir. f di^c nh dd w3s snb 3w ib.f hn^c k3.f h^cw hr st Hr mi R^c dt*,
 ‘(x + 1) [...] (?)’²¹.....]

¹⁴ The ‘word’ is included in Hannig 1995, 889; Hannig 2006, 960; and discussed by Davies 1995, 2 and 106, n. 11.

¹⁵ Only the house-determinative (O1) of the word *mnnw* is missing.

¹⁶ *Htw*, ‘carved’, with the knife-determinative located under the *t*, is clear, as are the stroke of *hr* and the *n* of *rn*.

¹⁷ The ‘wall’-element of the sign *kd* (A35) is gone save for a trace. For the form of the hieroglyph with the man’s front foot placed at the bottom of the wall, cf. Petrie 1897, pls xi-xii, lines 24 and 29; Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 141, Sb.291; 2002, 322-3.

¹⁸ The head of the *wr*-bird is preserved together with a trace of the *r*-sign underneath.

¹⁹ The *t*-sign is lost in the hole below the *k*. For *h3kt* here, cf., for example, *Urk.* iv, 1556, 11; 1649, 9.

²⁰ There is ample space for the missing *k* above the *n*-sign.

²¹ Among the possibilities suiting the *w*-chick (followed by determinative, now missing) and plural strokes here are the words

($x + 2$) [...] surrounded with great fortifications²² carved with the [great?] name [of his Person (?)]²³
 ($x + 3$) and built with a rampart²⁴ reaching²⁵ to the sky like great obelisks,²⁶ [its workshop filled]²⁷
 ($x + 4$) with Asiatics of Retenu belonging to the booty of his majesty, [the like] (of which) had not been done [prev]
 ($x + 5$) iously²⁸ by other kings, through the determination [of his father Amen-Re]²⁹
 ($x + 6$) for his son who is upon his water, lord of the two lands, Neb-maat-Re, he having established a mighty name in [the land]³⁰
 ($x + 7$) of vile Kush, the like (of which) had not been done.³¹ He begat the son of Re of his body, beloved of him, lord of [foreign land]³²
 ($x + 8$) every, Amenhotep-prince-of-Thebes, the Horus, bull great of strength,³³ who reaches the limits of might,

s3tw, ‘floors’ and *snwt* ‘flagpoles,’ recurring elements in such building texts; cf., for example, *Urk.* iv, 1648, 10, 1649, 3; 1650, 16; 1651, 1; 1653, 7; 1654, 12; 1655, 7; 1668, 4; 1750, 14.

²² Referring probably to Soleb’s fortified walls, ‘L’Enceinte du Grand Pylône’ and ‘L’Enceinte du Pylône Extérieur’ respectively, which enclosed the inner and outer parts of the main temple when complete (Schiff Giorgini 2002, 395 and 401-4; 2003, figs 21-2, 228, 234; Monnier 2010, 66, 164, fig. 113).

²³ The suggested restoration would probably best suit the space and gives good sense but there are other possibilities, among them the inclusion of the name of the king or even the god; see *Wb.* 3, 348, 5-6; Grandet 1994, ii, 14, n. 65; Grallert 2001, 59; and, for example, *Urk.* iv, 1283, 14; 1296, 11; 1549, 16; 1656, 15; 1709, 17.

²⁴ On the meaning of *sbty*, see Spencer 1984, 270-78; Grandet 1994, ii, 15, n. 66; Konrad 2006, 205, 208-10.

²⁵ For the word *twks*, ‘reach’ (read correctly by Green), cf. Petrie 1897, pls. xi-xii, line 30. Probably a variant of *tk*s, ‘reach’ (*Wb.* 5, 335, 17), it is mistakenly amended into *tkn* in *Urk.* iv, 1656, 16, with n. a.

²⁶ Cf. *Urk.* iv, 1750, 6-7; Martin 1977, 172.

²⁷ The restoration *šn^c.s mhw* fits the space and context perfectly; cf. Petrie 1897, pls xi-xii, lines 6-7; *Urk.* iv, 1649, 8-9. On the function of the *šn^c*, ‘workshop’, ‘production-complex’, see Polz 1990, 44-7; Haring 1997, 86, 116-9, 242-3, 365-66; Murnane 1998, 185-7; Eichler 2000, 97-113.

²⁸ Cf. *Urk.* iv, 1683, 6; 1687, 3; Schade-Busch 1992, 359, 378a and b; 360, 380a.

²⁹ Cf. *Urk.* iv, 1237, 17; Schade-Busch 1992, 216, 112d.

³⁰ Cf. *Urk.* iv, 1685, 3; 2066, 15; 2074, 12; 2139, 1 and 19; Schade-Busch 342, 330c.

³¹ For the language and sequence here cf. Schiff-Giorgini 1998, pls. 223 and 251 (Soleb texts associated with foreign name-rings); Schade-Busch 1992, 124.

³² Cf. *Urk.* iv, 1711, 2; 1712, 17; 1759, 5 and 11; Schade-Busch 1992, 169, 033i; 325, 290a; Bryan 2007, 152, fig. 2, and 159, with fig. 10, left.

³³ Cf. Schade-Busch 1992, 11, H3 a-b; 150, 007; 191, 059c.

(x + 9) that he might achieve given life, stability, dominion, health, joy of his heart together with his ka, arisen upon the throne of Horus, like Re eternally'.³⁴

As already indicated above, in considering the identity of the temple in Kush to which the text refers and in which the statue might originally have been located, the strongest candidate, on current evidence, is Amenhotep III's great jubilee temple at Soleb.³⁵ It is the only known temple of his reign in Kush built on the scale suggested by the text,³⁶ while the language and imagery closely parallel those of the building-texts on certain of the king's ram-statues from Soleb,³⁷ which certainly refer to the temple, three of them identifying it by name.³⁸ How the piece reached its modern find-spot, somewhere between Songi and Ukma as recorded by Green, is a matter of speculation. Since there is no evidence for the existence of a pharaonic temple in the area,³⁹ it might be suggested that the dyad was for some reason abandoned there while being transported northwards (from Soleb or Jebel Barkal?) by travellers or their agents during a collecting-mission.⁴⁰

Aside from the building terminology, of added interest in our statue-text is the mention of Asiatic prisoners, no doubt imported to serve as temple personnel, a process well evidenced for temples in Egypt proper, including notably for Amenhotep III's mortuary temple in western Thebes. The well-known building-programme stela from the latter records that its workshop/

production-complex (*šn*) was staffed by foreign captives, among them Syrians living in their own settlements around the temple,⁴¹ a state of affairs which might also now be envisaged in some form for the temple-town at Soleb. Pertinent here perhaps is the letter sent by an Egyptian king, probably Akhenaten, to the ruler of Damascus,⁴² 'Send me Apiru...concerning which I wrote to you with the following words: "I will place them in the towns of the land of Kush to dwell in them in the place of those whom I have deported",⁴³ a demand possibly reflecting a pharaonic strategy of native depopulation and foreign resettlement in Kush to which our statue-text might bear at least partial witness.

For a king who celebrated three jubilees and left a huge legacy of sculpture,⁴⁴ very few statues of Amenhotep III in jubilee garb appear to have survived⁴⁵ and none hitherto from the jubilee-temple at Soleb.⁴⁶ The 'Green'-statue, long broken and weathered, originally (to judge from what remains) a finely finished temple-dyad, is a welcome and surprisingly interesting addition to the corpus.

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³⁴ On the formula *ir.f di ḥnh* etc., see Grallert 2001, 38-40; Klug 2004, 237, 247.

³⁵ PM vii, 169-72; Leclant 1984; Schiff Giorgini 1998; 2002; 2003; Guermeur 2005, 498-9; Ullmann 2009, 257-8.

³⁶ On Amenhotep III's programme of temple-building in Nubia, see Bryan 1992a, 106-111; Johnson 1998, 79-80; Morris 2005, 316-7; Török 2009, 187-8; 230-231, 233-5; Ullmann 2009, 256-9; Kozloff 2012, 168-74.

³⁷ PM vii, 169, 216, 219; *Urk.* iv, 1750-52, no. 588; cf. Bryan 1992c; Leclant 1997, 138-9, no. 141; Grallert 2001, 152-3, 614, A3/Wf033-038.

³⁸ 'Kha-em-maat' (after the king's Horus-name); see *Urk.* iv 1752, 13, and the fuller variants, *Urk.* iv, 1750, 20; 1751, 4. On the contemporary namesake-temple, Kha-em-maat, in Karnak North, sometimes confused with Soleb-temple in the literature, and their possible ritual connection, see Gabolde and Rondot 1996, 32-3, 36; Ullmann 2002, 143-4, 149, 152; Konrad 2006, 138; Ullmann 2009, 246.

³⁹ The nearest known temple-sites are Semna-Kumma to the north and Amara West and Sai to the south (see Figure 1).

⁴⁰ On the use and practice of agents, see, for example, Ruffell 1998, 86, quoting an 1834 paper referring to the transport of the Soleb lions from Jebel Barkal: 'Lord Prudhoe describes, that on their discovery, these lions were as perfect as in the hour they were finished, and were, no doubt, wilfully broken, probably for more easy conveyance, by the individual who was sent expressly from Alexandria to take charge of their removal'.

⁴¹ Petrie 1897, pls xi-xii, lines 6-7; *Urk.* iv, 1649, 8-13; Klug 2002, 395; Beylage 2002, 1, 391, 393; cf. Eyre 1987, 189; Redford 1992, 208-9, 223-4; Haring 1997, 40-42; Tallet 2000, 139; Menu 2004, 190; Andrássy 2007, 153; Eyre 2010, 132-3.

⁴² Edzard 1970, 50, Abb. 10, 1, 52, Abb. 12, 55-62, KL 69:277.

⁴³ 'Schicke mir die Hapiru-Leute ..., deretwegen ich dir geschrieben hatte mit folgenden Worten: "Ich werde sie zu den Städten des Landes Kāša geben, damit sie in ihm wohnen an [St]elle derer, die ich weggeführt habe.'" (Edzard 1970, 56). Cf. Klengel 1977, 227, 230-1; Schulman 1982, 314-5; Pitard 1987, 71-2; Zibelius-Chen 1988, 183-4; Na'aman 1988, 179, 186-7, 190-1; Redford 1990, 38-9, 102, n. 281; 1992, 208; Weinstein 1998, 232, n. 38; Na'aman 2000, 127; Tallet 2000, 140; Morris 2005, 320; Török 2009, 189; Hachmann 2012, 119-122, 154-157, 221-224. I am grateful to Dr Christopher Walker, formerly of the British Museum's Department of Ancient Near East, for advice on the translation of the cuneiform text.

⁴⁴ See Johnson 1998, 89.

⁴⁵ See n. 11 above.

⁴⁶ Note, however, Haynes 2011, 40-2, figs 17-18, the torso of a king's figure (in Boston, MFA), probably Amenhotep III, wearing the jubilee-cloak, found at Jebel Barkal, possibly transported there from Soleb.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- PM VII = B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss (eds), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, VII. Nubia, the Deserts, and Outside Egypt*. Oxford 1951.
- Urk. iv = *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Leipzig, 1906-1909, K. Sethe (ed.), and Berlin, 1955-1958, W. Helck (ed.).
- Übersetzung = *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Übersetzung zu den Heften 17-22*. Bearbeitet und übersetzt von Wolfgang Helck. Berlin 1984.
- Wb. = *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, 7 vols. Leipzig, 1925-1950, A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds).