

Recording Jebel Dosha: the chapel of Thutmose III

Introduction

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Jebel Dosha is a sandstone promontory, overlooking the Nile, situated on the west bank about 5km north of the temple of Soleb in Upper Nubia. It is a small but interesting archaeological site, containing a chapel of Thutmose III of the 18th Dynasty (the southernmost known of its kind) and various associated monuments located on the surrounding hill (Plates 1 and 2), these latter comprising not only contem-

is very similar in plan, content and style to the well-known chapel located on the east bank at Ellesiya (further north, in Lower Nubia), which is slightly smaller internally but is much better preserved and now safely housed in the Museo Egizio, Turin.³ Almost certainly contemporary, they were part of an extensive building programme in Nubia instituted under Thutmose III, designed to consolidate and extend pharaonic presence and control, both political and religious;⁴ one of their specific ritual functions (advantaged by their southern location, especially so in the case of Dosha) was to celebrate the advent of the inundation. The creation of the Ellesiya chapel is dated by inscription to the king's Year 50 or slightly later.⁵

The Dosha chapel is in ruinous condition, having suffered much natural and man-made damage. It was turned into a church during the Christian period, when several

> large cupboards and other features were cut into the walls and floor and into the exterior, and the internal walls painted. It has subsequently been used as a casual shelter (and is periodically still so used today). The sandstone is of poor quality and much of it has spalled away. There are indications of subsidence, the left half of the façade has completely gone, and parts of the ceiling have collapsed (two large sections still lie where they fell, Plate 6). Soot covers much of what remains of the rear

> interior decoration and



Plate 1. Jebel Dosha, from the east.

porary matter but also inscriptions of the later 18^{th} Dynasty and 19^{th} Dynasty, including a large stela of Seti I.¹ In several of these monuments Jebel Dosha is referred to as the 'pure mountain' (*dw w^tb*). The chapel is cut directly into the rock about 1.8m above the path which passes in front of the jebel and separates it from the river bank. When complete, it must have been accessed by a stairway. Decorated externally and internally (in sunk and raised relief respectively), and entered originally through a central doorway, it consists of a transverse hall (Room 1), and a longitudinal inner chamber or sanctuary (Room 2), with remains of three statues located within a niche at the rear (Plates 2-6).² The Dosha chapel modern graffiti disfigure the walls. Unfortunately, given the parlous state of the front of the structure, it is currently

¹ *PM* vii, 146, 167; Breasted 1908, 96-7, fig. 53; Davies 2004a; 2004b; 2015.

² The chapel has a maximum depth (from inner end of doorway to rear wall of niche) of about 7.5m, maximum width (width of Room 1) of about 7.75m, and maximum height of about 1.9m. The walls were almost certainly painted originally but no trace of paint remains

⁽save for that applied during the chapel's much later reuse (see below)). ³ *PM* vii, 90-91; *El-Lessyia I* and *II*; Curto 1999; 2010; Jacquet 1967, 70, 73; Wildung 1977, 162; Seidel 1996, 158-161, Dok. 64; Laboury 1998, 90-91, C 2, 98-100, C 6; cf. Säve-Söderbergh 1987, 142-144; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 119-130.

⁴ Schade-Busch 1997; Morris 2005, 188-190; Laskowski 2006, 214-5; Valbelle 2006; Maruéjol 2007, 304-312; Török 2009, 165, 184-7, 225-8; Ullmann 2009, 251-2; Morkot 2013, 935; Müller 2013, 12; Zibelius-Chen 2013, 144-146; Valbelle 2014, 107-8; Budka 2015, 40-42, 51. For analysis of Ellesiya's decorative programme, see Gundlach 1994; Seidel 1996, 159-61; Konrad 2002; Lurson 2010.

⁵ As recorded at the beginning of the so-called 'stele di fondazione' located on the chapel's façade, where the now damaged year-date is unclear. Commentators have tended to favour the reading '51' or '52' (*PM* vii, 91, b; *Urk.* iv, 811, 10; *El-Lessiya I*, 5; Curto 1999, 33, 57; Gundlach 1994, 72; Laboury 1998, 52, n. 294, and 100; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 120; Klug 2002, 173, n. 1358; Hornung 2006, 202; Laskowski 2006, 214; Maruéjol 2007, 305; Borla 2010, 70-73, n. 104, 220-221, pls 8-9).

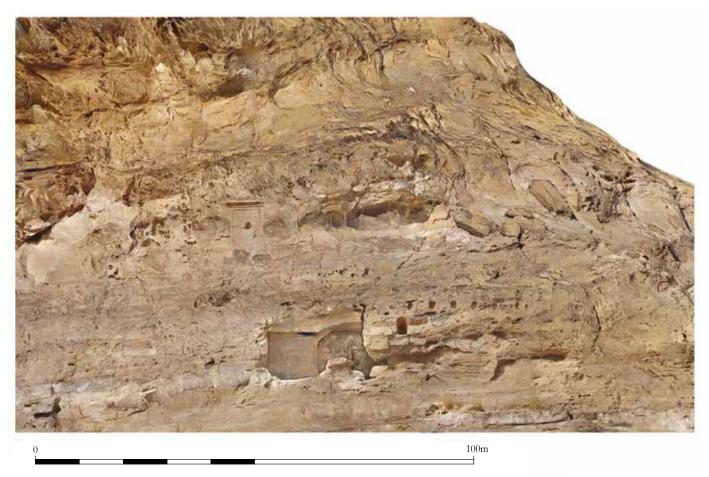


Plate 2. Jebel Dosha, east face, orthophoto (photo: S. Green).

impossible to install protective measures robust enough to prevent unauthorised access.

Until recently the floor was filled with debris and windblown sand to a considerable depth (Plates 4 and 5). With the agreement of NCAM, the aims of the current SARS expedition have been to excavate the chapel floor, plan the structure, and record in detail the remaining decoration and inscriptions within and around the chapel.⁶ The excavation was successfully carried out in 2015 under the direction of Isabella Welsby Sjöström. Presented here is an interim account, with selective illustration, of the recent work on the chapel.⁷ A report on the surrounding inscriptions will follow in a future issue.

Excavation Isabella Welsby Sjöström

The interior of the chapel was cleared of sand in four days, with the aid of seven local workmen (Plates 3-6). Over time, the chapel had partially filled with windblown sand, overlying a deposit of more silty material. Both layers, in particular the upper one, were contaminated with modern debris such as

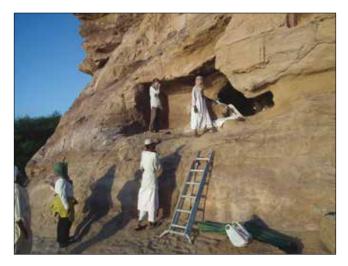


Plate 3. Chapel of Thutmose III, excavation underway.

⁶ We are grateful to Dr Abdelrahman Ali, Director General of NCAM, for permission to undertake the project, and to his colleague, El-Hassan Ahmed, for expediting the administrative process. There have been two brief seasons of work so far: 7 days of epigraphy in November-December 2014, the personnel comprising Vivian Davies (Director, epigrapher), Bert Verrept (epigrapher) and Ikhlas Abdel Latief (epigrapher and NCAM representative), and 10 days in November-December, 2015, with the existing personnel joined by Isabella Welsby Sjöström (archaeologist) and Julien Cooper (epigrapher). We are also grateful to Suzie Green for producing the orthophotos (Plates 2, 6, and 19), created from hundreds of images taken by Isabella Welsby Sjöström. ⁷ This account supersedes the preliminary observations in Davies 2004a; 2004b.



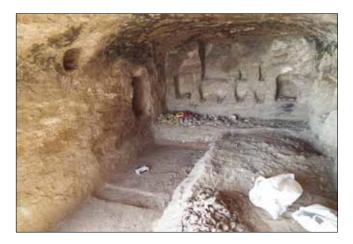


Plate 4. Chapel of Thutmose III, floor partially excavated.



Plate 5. Chapel of Thutmose III, floor fully excavated.

plastic bags, wrappers, etc. Both the windblown sand and the silty deposit contained numerous fragments of sandstone, presumably fallen from the walls of the sanctuary. These were carefully examined before being discarded; approximately ten fragments did contain indistinct traces of decoration.

Unfortunately, no further wall-reliefs were found *in situ* once the sand had been removed; in fact, rather than protecting the wall-face the sand and silt contributed to making the surface exfoliate, as the silt, in particular, trapped moisture next to the walls. Even the bedrock floor, once cleared, retained moisture for several days. The removal of the sand revealed an interesting original feature, previously not noted: a shallow shelf or mastaba formed at the base of the southern wall of Room 1 (Plate 6).

The fill of the chapel reached some 600mm in depth in parts. In view of the quantity of medieval pottery present it seems likely that the chamber had not been cleared out since the Christian period; the presence of modern rubbish in the upper level suggests sporadic modern disturbance.

During the medieval period the Pharaonic chapel was apparently reused as a Christian church or chapel for some of the time, in view of the slots that had been cut in the floor to secure *hijab* screens (Plates 5 and 6), as well as corresponding holes high up in the north and south walls directly above the slots in the floor.

A 'crypt' or reliquary was also cut into the floor to the west of the northern *hijab* screen, ostensibly intended to be closed by a lid or trapdoor – a lip had been cut into the rock floor to support one, but no trace of a locking mechanism was found and no bolt hole had been cut. The crypt is sub-spherical in shape rather than having straight corners, presumably because it was easier to cut the stone from above without straight sides; at the top the curve of the crypt is arched and projects above the floor level, meaning that the trapdoor would not have sealed the space completely, unless a skirting board or similar was used.

Six niches were also cut into the south, west and north walls of the inner sanctuary, possibly at the same time as the modifications to the floor were made. It should be noted that the chapel would have faced west rather than the customary east, but it would not have been possible to use the sanctuary in the other direction. Nothing survives that would indicate to whom the chapel was dedicated – there are traces of red and blue pigment on some of the walls, but otherwise only the pharaonic decoration remains.

A preliminary search for parallels for the reuse of the sanctuary as a Christian chapel has yielded limited results. The almost identical pharaonic temple at Ellesiya was also modified in the Christian Period, albeit not in exactly the same way. Several crosses were incised in the walls, something that was not done at Dosha. It is worth noting one feature which is the same, the square holes cut above the whole length of the entrance on the exterior (Plate 2; cf. Curto 1999, 39, 57), presumably to hold the roof beams of a lean-to roof (cf. Curto 2010, 54-5), a structure of uncertain date.

The finds

Fragments of quseiba (unfired mud or clay storage bins) and their lids were found particularly towards the back of the chapel in the upper layer. This type of container is not particularly sturdy, and is most likely to be of relatively modern date. A few fragmentary animal bones were also encountered (most probably of sheep or goat), but in view of the plentiful modern contamination throughout these were not collected. More interestingly, the layers also contained some 12kg of early medieval (Christian) pottery, as well as a rim sherd (JD4) belonging to a handmade cooking pot, similar to ones of New Kingdom date (Figure 1). A fragment of a grano-diorite statue (Plate 7) and a very friable sandstone stela (Plate 8) were also discovered. It is surprising that any finds of New Kingdom date were encountered, given that the bedrock floor of the sanctuary was adapted during the middle ages; one would have expected that the area would have been completely cleared out on that occasion.

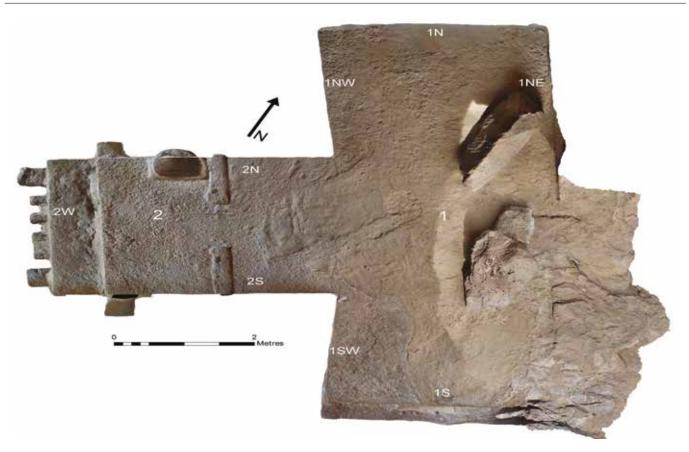


Plate 6. Chapel of Thutmose III, ground-plan with location of decoration, orthophoto (photo: S. Green).

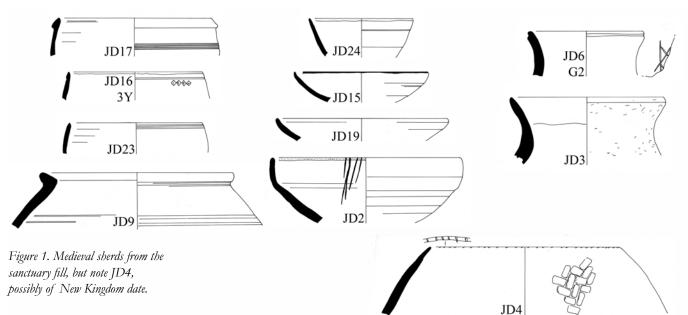


Plate 7. Fragment of statue with inscription.



Plate 8. Decorated stela.





Decoration and Inscriptions

W. Vivian Davies

Façade

The left half of the façade has long fallen away as has most of the doorway, of which only part of the right end survives (Plate 9).⁸ The lintel and jambs were originally decorated with inscriptions comprising the titulary and names of the king.⁹ Of the lintel inscription, arranged horizontally and reading



Plate 9. Façade decoration.

right to left, only the first section survives reading 'perfect god, lord of ...'. The same sequence is preserved on the jamb, there arranged vertically and reading right to left. In the area to the right of the column, which might have been reworked to some extent and is now damaged, is an ex-voto

⁹ Cf. *El-Lessiya, I*, 7, pl. viii; Curto 1999, 59; Borla 2010, 75, 223, pl. 11.

in the form of a small kneeling figure with arms raised in adoration, no doubt representing a senior official, possibly a viceroy. No inscription survives, but to judge from the figure's style and form of dress it is possibly contemporary with the original chapel. Stylistically different and later in date is the much larger figure to the right, of which only the top of the head, face and fan survive. The angle of the fan suggests that it was held across the body. Again any inscription that might have been present is lost, but, given its location and size, the figure must represent an official of high status, perhaps the viceroy of Seti I, Amenemipet.¹⁰ The viceroy, depicted in two near-by stelae at the site,¹¹ in one case shown holding the viceregal fan in a similar pose, might well have been responsible, on behalf of the king, for the renewal of the chapel.¹²

Interior

Up until recently, knowledge of the content derived primarily from the published copies and notes of Lepsius, who visited Jebel Dosha on July 11th, 1844.¹³ During the course of the current project, we have been able to identify several hitherto unrecognized elements of decoration and to correct errors in earlier accounts.

Room 1

All the surviving walls bear remains of decoration, only upper sections of which survive, in varying states of preservation. The content (progressing anti-clockwise from the entrance) may be summarised as follows.

North-east wall (1NE): the wall is occupied by three fragmen-

⁸ A collapse possibly caused by a seismic event. It is now suggested that such an event might have contributed to the destruction of the temples of Soleb and Sedeinga (Rilly 2015, 46-8).

¹⁰ Török 2009, 173-4, no. 13; Müller 2013, 122-4, no. 15.

¹¹ 1) stela of Seti I: *PM* vii, 167; Davies 2004a, 61, pls 2-3, col. pls xxxi-xxxii, and back cover; 2004b, 2, 12-16, figs 13-19, 21; 2) stela of Amenemipet: Davies 2004a, 62, col. pl. xxx; 2004b, 3, 18, fig. 26.

¹² Cf. Brand 2000, 293, 3.148, 364; Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 84, 91-2, 235-6.

¹³ LD i, 155; iii, 59d, e; LD Text v, 231; PM vii, 146, 167.

tary scenes,¹⁴ featuring King Thutmose III and a deity, with accompanying columns of inscription, including titulary and cartouches, located above the figures.

a) (Plate 10) King, wearing short round wig with uracus, offers *nu*-pots to the goddess Isis, the latter's figure gone but her head surmounted by a large scorpion, parts of which, notably the curved tail, are still just discernible.¹⁵ Above



Plate 10. Room 1, north-east wall, scene (a).

the scene there are seven fragmentary columns of inscription, three on the right identifying the king as 'perfect god, Menkhperre, given life like Re', four on the left recording the words of the deity, 'Words spoken by Isis... my son, I have given to you all life, stability, dominion, established...like Re'.

b) (Plate 11 and 12) King, figure gone, offers to deified Senwosret III, wearing the white crown.¹⁶ The inscription identifies the latter as 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khakaure, son of Re, Senwosret,¹⁷ given life'. Traces of the cartouches of Thutmose III survive to the right.

c) (Plate 11, left) King, body gone, wearing *khat*-wig with uraeus, before a deity, the latter's figure lost.¹⁸ The king is identified as 'perfect god, lord of the two lands, lord of ritual, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkhepere, given life like



Plate 11. Room 1, north-east wall, scenes (b-c).



Plate 12. Room 1, north-east wall, scenes (b-c), details.

Re'. The motif of the disc with double uraeus is positioned above the epithet. Preserved to the left is a small section of the deity's inscription, the only part clearly legible reading 'I have given to you all life, stability, dominion...'

North wall (1N): the original surface is almost entirely gone. At the top centre, there are remains of a scene or two adjacent scenes, including a single-winged sun-disk with uraeus on the left, orientated left to right (Plate 13), and the top of two columns of inscription on the right, orientated right to left (Plate 14).¹⁹ Of the first column, only two hieroglyphs survive reading 'fine white [stone?]', possibly part of a building text. The second contains the commonplace address, I have given to you [all] life, stability, dominion...', the associated figure(s) lost. The decoration is partly covered by traces of red and blue paint, part of the Christian modifications.

North-west wall (1NW): the wall was probably occupied originally by two scenes as on 1SW (see below). The left scene is entirely lost but that on the right showed the king facing left and offering to the goddess Hathor.²⁰ There are remains, at top centre, of the king's titulary and an inscription with

¹⁴ *PM* vii, 167, Hall, (1)-(2).

¹⁵ Cf. *El-Lessyia II*, pl. xviii, upper, pl. xix; Curto 1999, 64; Kormysheva 1996, 142-3, fig. 3; Desroches-Noblecourt 1999, 121-2, 128; Konrad 2002, 238-9; Lurson 2010, 172, with n. 108, 228, pl. 16. Note that a representation of 'Isis-Scorpion', in the form of the goddess Hededet, is known in Egypt already from the reign of Amenhotep I (Davies 2013, 55, 78, fig. 20).

¹⁶ See *LD* iii, 59,d, centre (the figure of the deity more complete than it is today); Budge 1907, 596, fig; El-Enany 2004, 207, no. 1, 213; 2014, 230. Cf. *El-Lessyia II*, pls ix, upper, xxiii; Curto 1999, 72; Konrad 2002, 230-232, 237; El-Enany 2004, 212, no. 12; Troy 2006, 137; Lurson 2010, 150-151, 225, pl. 13.

 $^{^{17}}$ Noteworthy here is the unusually large *t* (X 1) in the writing of the king's nomen.

 $^{^{18}}$ LD iii, 59, d, left (where more of the king's head is represented than survives today); Budge 1907, 596, fig.

 $^{^{19}}$ A form and arrangement of decoration not paralleled at Ellesiya, but present in two scenes at Semna (Caminos 1998, pls 52-3, 55). 20 PM vii, 167, Hall (3).



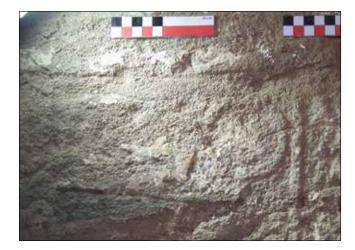


Plate 13. Room 1, north wall, sun-disk motif.



Plate 14. Room 1, north wall, tops of two columns of inscription.

dedication to the goddess, 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Menkhperre], so[n of Re, Djehutymose...], beloved of Hathor...', together with the tip of the front horn of her headdress (Plate 15). The epithet of Hathor is lost.²¹ The king's cartouches, recorded by Lepsius,²² were in place until recently but are now gone.

South-west wall (1SW): area occupied by two scenes

a) King, facing right, wearing white crown, offers bread to a falcon-headed deity, facing left, wearing the double crown and holding a *mas*-sceptre before him (Plate 16, left).²³ The inscription above the figures, slightly damaged, includes the king's titulary, his two cartouches with *prenomen* and *nomen*, the conventional epithet, '[given life] like Re' and a dedication to 'Horus the Bull, Lord of Ta-Sety (Nubia), who dwells in Thebes'. Note that the falcon-deity here is mistakenly shown as anthropomorphic in Lepsius's publication,²⁴ and that the



Plate 15. Room 1, north-west wall, inscription.

epithet in the king's *nomen*-cartouche is nfr hpr(w).²⁵

b) King, facing right, wearing a short wig surmounted by horns with two plumes (the *henu*-headdress),²⁶ offers to a deity whose figure is lost (Plate 16, right). The plumes are surmounted by a sun-disc with uraeus. To the right are the remains of the king's titulary; only the epithet, 'given life like Re' survives.

South wall (1S): the original surface of this wall is lost except for an area towards the right end. Here there are very faint remnants of relief, possibly representing the plumed headdress of a deity.

Room 2

Again every wall bears the remains of decoration, now very incomplete but nevertheless invaluable in terms of reconstructing elements of the original programme.

North wall (2N): the wall was probably occupied by three scenes originally. Remnants of two scenes survive.

a) Towards the centre of the wall, at the bottom, just above the lower register line, are remains of decoration in the form of two feet, the bottom of a stave (sloping right to left), and the rear of a slain ox. They belong to a scene showing the king, standing holding a stave, facing inwards before a tall pile of offerings, with a recipient deity, probably seated and facing the king, on the other side.²⁷

b) At the inner end is the standing figure of a deity partly obscured by soot,²⁸ possibly to be identified as Amenre, facing outwards, wearing a headdress with double plumes and holding an *ankh* in his rear hand (Plate 17); before him would have stood a figure of the king, now lost.

South wall (2S): the wall was probably occupied by three scenes. Again remnants of two scenes survive, very similar to those on 2N.

 ²¹ At Ellesiya, Hathor is 'mistress of Ibshek' (*El-Lessiya II*, pls xiii, lower right, and xxiv; Curto 1999, 71; Dewachter 1971, 100, no. 1, 107, with n. 5; Karkowski 1981, 21-4; Kormysheva 1996, 142, 144; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 124; Konrad 2002, 239; Lurson 2010, 163, 227, pl. 15).
²² LD Text v, 231, middle.

²³ *PM* vii, 167, Hall (4).

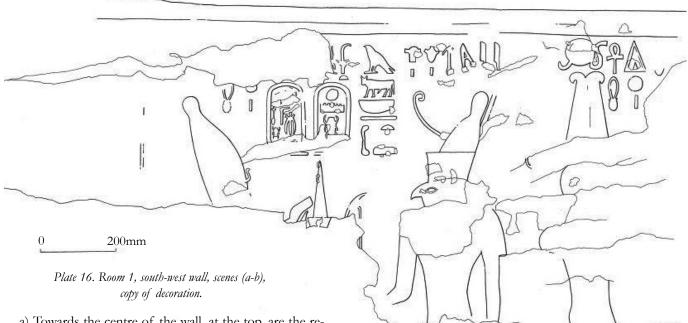
²⁴ LD iii, 59, e; Budge 1907, 594, fig; Dewachter 1971, 90, n. 1. Cf. *El-Lessiya II*, pls xxxi, lower, right, and xxxv; Curto 1999, 68; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 124-5, 127; Konrad 2002, 241, 245; Lurson 2010,

^{181-3, 231,} pl. 19.

²⁶ Cf. *El-Lessyia II*, pls xiii-xiv; Laboury 1998, 409-410.

²⁷ Cf. *El-Lessiya II*, pls xviii, xx, xxx; Curto 1999, 64, 69; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 121, 124-5; Konrad 2002, 234-5; Lurson 2010, 172-5, 228-9, pls 16-17.

²⁸ Note that we have not attempted to clean off the soot from such areas of decoration, as to do so would risk attracting unwanted attention to the treated areas.



a) Towards the centre of the wall, at the top, are the remains of decoration in the form of a bunch of onions and the tops of vessels, belonging to a pile of offerings from a scene similar to that on the opposite wall (2N).²⁹

b) At the inner end, there survive the legs, front of a short skirt and back of the wig of a standing figure of a deity (Plate 18), yet to be surely identified, facing outwards.



Plate 17. Room 2, north wall, scene (b).

West wall (2W): The decoration on the west wall, on either side of the statue-niche, was much damaged by Christian modifications, and the original surfaces are now almost entirely lost (Plate 5). Fortunately, a fragment of decoration survives on the left (south), a section of a large papyrushieroglyph (M 15), belonging to a scene featuring a figure of the inundation-god Hapy (his head surmounted by the motif in question), no doubt once balanced by an equivalent scene on the right.³⁰

The Statues

Three seated figures, carved out of the rock and slightly under life-size, their arms probably shown as if passing behind each other's backs, are placed within a niche on a platform raised about 300mm above the original floor of the chapel (Plates 5 and 19).³¹ They are badly damaged and eroded and any inscriptions which might once have identified them are now gone. However, enough remains of their form and shape to identify the subjects with reasonable certainty. The central figure, probably wearing the white crown, is surely that of Thutmose III. The figure to the left, almost entirely destroyed but once shown wearing a headdress with two long plumes, must be Amenre.³² The figure to the right, also shown to have worn a white crown, is almost certainly the goddess Satet.³³ Significantly, Amenre and Satet are directly

²⁹ Cf. the onions and vessels surmounting a pile of offerings, *El-Lessiya II*, pl. xxx.

 ³⁰ Cf. *El-Lesyia II*, pl. xxxviii; Curto 1999, 67; Baines 1985, 200-202, fig. 116; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 126; Lurson 2010, 144-6, 232, pl. 20.
³¹ *PM* vii, 167, Niche (5); cf. *El-Lesyia I*, 19-20, pls xxvi, xxxvi; II, pl. xxxix; Curto 1999, 54, 66; Seidel 1996, 158-161, fig. 51; Laboury 1998, 90-91, C2; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 126; Konrad 2002, 241-243; Lurson 2010, 145, with n. 15, 175, pl. 20.

³² The figure was entirely chiselled away (except for the feet), though leaving a recognizable outline on the rear wall. The initial destruction probably took place during the Amarna period (cf. Laboury 1998, 98-100, C6, on the similar damage at Ellesiya). It is possible that Seti I's renewed interest in the site might have included restoration of the figure(s).

³³ Cf. Caminos 1968, 42, pl. 11, 57-58, pls 21- 22, 72-3, pl. 33.





Plate 18. Room 2, south wall, scene (b).

associated with the 'pure mountain' on several of the later stelae which decorate the site. $^{\rm 34}$

Free-standing monuments

As noted above, parts of two free-standing monuments were found within the debris inside the chapel. One is part of the right shoulder of a votive figure of grano-diorite, bearing an incised cartouche with the prenomen 'Menkhperre' of King Thutmose III (Plate 7). Figures decorated in this way, with the king's name inscribed on the shoulder or body,³⁵ belong to high-ranking officials, in this case perhaps Thutmose III's viceroy Nehy,36 who was possibly responsible for the building of the chapel. The second monument is a small votive stela, made of sandstone, in very poor condition, decorated with a scene at the top, showing a seated deity holding a *was*-sceptre before a table of offerings, probably the god Amenre, remnants of his name possibly preserved in the line of inscription underneath (Plate 8). The name of the owner is lost. The stela is very close in style to that of the others at Dosha of the reign of Seti I.³⁷

Summary

Following its excavation, the chapel, as it survives, can now be seen in full for the first time since modern interest in the site began. Its internal exposure has clarified details of the original architecture and the nature of its later phases of reuse, the evidence now supplemented and extended by new ceramic data. The two fragmentary monuments found in the debris on the floor are also informative. The original chapel



Plate 19. Room 2, west wall, niche, three statues, orthophoto (photo: S. Green).

was dedicated to the cult of Thutmose III and local forms of the deities Amenre and Satis, embodied in the triad of statues within the niche. The fragment of a votive figure with the name of Thutmose III shows that the chapel-cult was indeed functioning during the reign in question; the stela confirms that it continued to be practised into the Ramesside period.

Of the original decorative programme on the walls, only parts survive but enough to show that it consisted largely of a series of scenes showing the king worshipping various deities - among them, Isis-Scorpion, Senwosret III, Hathor, and Horus-the-Bull-who dwells in Thebes - suggesting that the programme was designed in general to represent, as at Ellesiya, 'the unity and equilibrium of the gods traditionally worshipped in Nubia on the one hand, and those introduced after the reconquest, on the other' (Török 2009, 225). In comparing the two programmes (in so far as one can), it would appear that there was no single organizing principle. The scenes at Dosha are not only different in detail but are located in different places on the walls and even in different rooms from the equivalents at Ellesiva. These variations suggest that caution should be exercised in assigning fundamental significance to the precise location in the chapels of any one scene or combination of scenes. When the documentation of all the inscriptions at Jebel Dosha is complete, further consideration should be given to these and related matters in the context of the site as a whole.

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³⁴ See Davies 2004a, 62, col. pls xxx, xxxvi, xxxvii; 2004b, 3, 18, fig. 26, 19, fig. 17, 20, fig. 29; 2015, 93-4, figs 2-3.

³⁵ For a well-preserved votive statue of this kind, see Davies, forth..

³⁶ Török 2009, 172, no. 4; Müller 2013, 106-8, no. 6.

³⁷ See note 11 above; cf. also the Ramesside stela from Soleb, Sb. 83 (Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 330; 2002, 413; 2003, 248, fig. 241).

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