Contents

Reports

Tikalat Architecture at Jebel Barkal: 2
Timothy Kendall

The New Kingdom Town on Sai Island 17
(Northern Sudan)
Florence Doyen

The British Museum epigraphic survey at Tombos: 21
the stela of Userataet and Hekaemsaen
Vivian Davies

A name with three (? orthographies: The case of 30
the ‘king’s son, overseer of southern foreign
lands, Penre’
Tamis A. Bais

Fieldwork at Sesebi, 2009 38
Kate Spencer, Pamela Rose, Judith Bunbury, Alan Clapham,
Pieter Collet, Graham Smith and Nicholas Saderberg

Cemeteries and a late Ramesside suburb 47
at Amara West
Neil Spencer

Petroglyphs under the sand – A preliminary report 62
on the field season 2008/09 at the fortress Gala
Abu Ahmed
Friderike Jesse and Robin Peters

Houses and Pyramids at Kawa, excavations 2008-9 72
Derek A. Welbey

What are these doing here above the Fifth Cataract?! 78
Napatan royal statues at Dangeil
Julie R. Anderson and Salah eldin Mohamed Ahmed

Petrography of Pottery from Meroe, Sudan 87
Robert B. J. Mason and Krysztof Gryziński

The Meroitic Necropolises of Sai Island. 92
First Season at the Meroitic Cemetery 8-B-5.A
Vincent Francigny

First report on ceramic material from Meroitic 97
Cemetery 8-B-5.A
Romain David

Gebel Adda 1963 and Meroitic stela G19 100
Reinhard Huber and David N. Edwards

Akad Rescue Project Season 2008 103
Mohamed Farouq Abdelahahun

Shuhada Rescue Archaeological Project (SRAP) and 107
el-Misaktab in the Shendi region
Mohamed Farouq Abdalahun, Ahmed Sokary
and Marta Buzbura

Districts, towns and other locations of medieval 114
Nubia and Egypt, mentioned in the Coptic and
Old Nubian texts from Qasr Ibrim
Joost L. Hagen

Towards an archaeology of social organisation at 120
Jebel Moya, 5th – 1st millennium BC
Michael Brass

Miscellaneous 126

Front cover: The head of a Kushite king, excavated in 2008, 126
from the Amun temple at Dangeil. It has been tentatively
identified as Aspelta (593-568 BC) based upon comparisons
with statues of this king discovered at Jebel Barkal and
Dokki Gel-Kerma. (Photo © J. R. Anderson, Berber-Abidiya
Archaeological Project).
The British Museum epigraphic survey at Tombos: the stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen

Vivian Davies

The British Museum’s project at Tombos continued last season (2008) with work concentrated on the great victory stela of Thutmose I on the east bank and the other rock-inscriptions clustered around it.1 Published here is our new record of one of these inscriptions, a stela dated to the reign of King Amenhotep II, of which the only previous record is a hand-copy made by the Lepsius expedition in 1844 (Figure 1).2 Related material from other sites is included in an Appendix below.

The Stela

The stela, measuring 700 x 530mm (max. width and height respectively), is located high (about 2.6m above ground-level) on the eastern face of a large rock, close to the distinctive sloping boulder that bears on its west face the Thutmose I stela (Colour plate XI). It is reproduced in photograph and facsimile drawing in Colour plate XII and Figure 2. Bruised rather than cut into the uneven granite surface, with no dressing of the surface beforehand, it comprises a double scene, with near-symmetrical content. Two male figures are shown, standing back to back, each wearing a shoulder-length wig and long skirt secured by a knot at the waist, and with hands raised in veneration of a cartouche containing the prenomen of Amenhotep II, the royal name forming part of a longer inscription, which identifies the figures and labels their actions.3 Two columns of inscription were intended in each case but the first column in the left scene was never completed. The scenes, which may originally have been finished in paint, are now much eroded, with a number of the hieroglyphs incomplete, indistinct or lost. The content and sense are, nevertheless, clear. In discussion of the stela hitherto, it has generally been assumed that the two figures represent one and the same person, which turns out not to be the case: the right figure represents the viceroy Usersatet; the left figure, the high-ranking official Hekaemsasen.

The Inscriptions

The right figure stands on a base-line before two columns of hieroglyphs reading: (1) rdlt i3w n nb i3wy sn t3 n nFr nfr hr-tp *nh wd3 snb nswt-bity nb i3wy (2) ‘3-hprw-r’d li *nh in s3-nswt imy-r h3swt rswt Wsr-stt’. (1) Giving praise to the lord of the two lands, doing obeisance to the perfect god.4 Of the signs following the determinative traces. The vertical line at the bottom left of the second column represents the beginning of a frame, which was never completed.

The scene on the left is less finished than that on the right. The figure has no base line, the rear hand is unfinished, and only two hieroglyphs of the first column of inscription were completed. They read hr-tp, ‘on behalf of’, their presence confirming that the first line was intended to be the same or very similar in content to its counterpart on the right. The second column continues: ‘3-hprw-r’d li *nh in imy-r h3swt imy-r rswt t3y hwp Hk3-m-s3-sn, ‘Aa-khepru-Re, given life, by the king’s son (viceroy), overseer of southern foreign lands, Usersatet’. The vertical line at the bottom left of the second column represents the beginning of a frame, which was never completed.

Comment

Usersatet is to date the only documented viceroy of the reign of Amenhotep II and is known to have been in office by Year 23.5 He is attested as viceroy on a large number of

1 PM vii, 174-5; Edwards and Ali Osman 1992, 18 (91/7a-d). For the location of the group, see the satellite image, Davies 2008, 25, n. 3, colour plate V, 91/7a-d. The British Museum team comprised Vivian Davies and Dr Derek Webby, assisted by Ikhlas Abdel Latif Ahmed of NCAM. Permission for the work was granted by the Director-General of NCAM, Mr Hassan Hussein Elwiss, and the Director of Fieldwork, Dr Salah Mohamed Ahmed. We were at Tombos for six days, from 26th to 30th October, 2008, and once again enjoyed the hospitality provided by Radwan Daoud Mahdjoub and his family. I am grateful to Diane Bergman, Griffith Librarian, Sackler Library, Oxford, for assistance with an item of bibliography, to Claire Thorne of the British Museum for help in preparing the illustrations for publication and to Marcel Marcé for his helpful comments on a draft of this paper.

2 LDT Text x, 244 (bottom right); cf. PM vii, 175; Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 156, n. 1; Dewachter 1976, 56; Der Manuelian 1987, 94; Morkot 1991, 299; Edwards 1992, 18 (91/7c); Morkot 2000, 84; Budka 2002, 62; Budka 2005, 112; Morris 2005, 192.

3 To be added to the list of scenes of royal-name veneration compiled and studied by Spieser 2000, 84ff.

4 Of the signs following the n hieroglyph, there remain only indeterminate traces.

5 On these commonplace formulae of veneration, see Sadek 1987, 202-3; Spiesser 2000, 101ff.
monuments located both in Egypt and throughout the Nubian Nile Valley: a fragmentary statue from western Thebes (Deir el-Medina), a stela-figure of uncertain provenance, a rock-cut statue in a shrine at Gebel Silsileh, numerous rock-figures and inscriptions in the First Cataract region (at Gebel Tingar and especially on Sehel Island), shrine no. 11 at Ibrim, a stela from Wadi Halfa (originally probably from Buhen), a statue from Uronarti, two stelae from Semna, one of which is dated to Year 23, a stela found at Amara West, and two fragmentary statues from Sai (see Appendix below, nos 1-2). The Tombos stela is a new addition to the corpus and becomes his southernmost attestation, though he must surely have been involved in Amenhotep III's programme of building, temple-decoration and interventions.
at sites further south, such as Pnubs (Dokki Gel), Tabo and Jebel Barkal, where monuments bearing the name of the king or datable to his reign have been found.17 In the light of the erasure of Usersatet’s name and/or figure (where present) in the rock-drawings on Sehel18 and on the Semna stelas,19 it is worth noting that no such damage is present in the case of the Tombos rock-stela.

Hekaemsasen (full name: Pahekamaamsen) was a dignitary well placed at court, as his titles ‘fan-bearer’ (on the right of the king) and ‘overseer of the portal’ (of the royal palace) indicate.20 He is known from a group of monuments first identified as belonging to the same official by Dewachter.21 In addition to the Tombos stela, they comprise: funerary cones from Thebes;22 the bottom of a dyad also probably from Thebes; and the bottom half of a seated statue found at Jebel Barkal (for the statues, see Appendix below, nos 3-4). To these, a rock-inscription on Sehel Island can now be added.23 The inscriptions on the Jebel Barkal statue include the official’s full titulary showing that the title imy-r h3swt, ‘overseer of foreign lands’ on the Tombos stela (and also the Theban dyad, see Appendix no. 4) is an abbreviated writing of imy-r h3swt rswt, ‘overseer of southern foreign lands’.24 This is the stock second title of the viceroy, who was the ‘overseer of southern foreign lands’ par excellence. It is otherwise attested for a few select officials, who exercised special responsibilities within the southern territories.25

Usersatet and Hekaemsasen are known to have been contemporaries, both serving King Amenhotep II, but the Tombos stela is the first monument to show them together. What is remarkable here is that Hekaemsasen is presented as equal in status to the viceroy. Although the completion of the latter’s scene was clearly regarded as the higher priority, the only substantive distinction between the two is that they are orientated in opposite directions, the viceroy in rightward orientation, facing northwards towards the Thutmose I stela, his counterpart facing southwards, towards the frontier zone and the heartlands of Kush.26 His status might ultimately have been derived from his background. It is possible that Hekaemsasen was of Nubian (or mixed) origin, an ‘Egyptianised’ native prince,27 his southern office reflecting his inherited authority among the indigenous communities. This suggestion receives possible support from a point of palaeography in his Tombos inscription. The last sign in the second column, the determinative of his name, shows the commonplace figure of ‘noble squatting with flagellum’ (compare the similar determinative of the name of Usersatet on the right) but with a rare additional detail: on his head is depicted what I take (tentatively) to be a feather,28 one of the stereotypical markers of Nubian ethnicity and status.29

It is clear that the rock-monuments at Tombos commemorate victory and appropriation. This stela, with its unusual double scene, may symbolise the integration of the indigenous elite into the Egyptian governance of Kush, a process known to have formed a significant element of colonial strategy in the south.30

Appendix
As a contribution towards a more fully documented corpus of related material, opportunity is taken here to publish in photograph, with brief description, four of the pieces cited below, nos 3-4), so it may have had special significance here.

17 Dokki Gel: Valbelle 2001, 229, 231, fig. 3, and p. xv; Valbelle 2008, 89. Tabo: Jacquet-Gordon, Bonner, and Jacquet 1969, 110 (2); Jacquet-Gordon 1999, 257-8, pl. 1; Ullmann 2009, 256, Jebel Barkal: PM vii, 222; Reisner 1931, 84; Dunham 1970, 25, no. 3, 26, fig. 18; Der Manuelian 1987, 94; and the statue of Hekaemsasen (see below Appendix no. 3). On the basis of a tribute scene in the Hibam stela (Caminos 1968, 65-71, pls 28, 30-32), it has been argued that Amenhotep II also carried out a military campaign in the south (Der Manuelian 1987, 92-3 and 155, disputed by Morris 2005, 190-1, with n. 257).

18 Simpson 1986, 902; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 147.

19 See refs. in n. 15, where there are varying views on the nature of the damage. On the basis of images of the stela kindly provided for me by Dr Rita Freed and Dr Denise Dosey, it seems clear that there was deliberate damage to Usersatet’s image, titles and name on MFA 25.632 and to his titles and image on MFA 25.633. I am grateful to Drs Freed and Dosey for their helpful observations.


21 1976, 53-60; Pomorska 1987, 111, no. 21; Der Manuelian 1987, 111-112 (III.4).

22 Davies 1957, nos 267 and 324. There are two examples of these cones, one of each type, in the British Museum. These are EA 62688 (type 324), ‘fan-bearer, Pahekamaamsen’, and EA 62831 (type 267), ‘overseer of the portal, Pahekamaamsen’. They were collected in Thebes by Norman de Garis Davies, who presented them to the British Museum in 1930. There are three other examples, from the same source, in the Ashmolean Museum: no. 1972.483 (type 267) and nos 1972.540 and 1972.541 (type 324). I am grateful to Dr Helen Whitehouse for supplying this information.

23 Gasse and Rondot 2003, 45, pl. 6; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 155 and 498 (SHF 261).

24 Cf. Dewachter 1976, 56, with n. 13. The new Sehel attestation (see n. 23) also once contained the full writing imy-r h3swt rswt.

25 On the title, see Valbelle 2007, 168-72, who points out (p. 170) that
in the report above, two bearing the name of Usersatet (both from Sai Island) and two of Hekaemsasen (one from Jebel Barkal and one probably from Thebes). Three of these pieces are housed in the Sudan National Museum (SNM), Khartoum; the other is in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.31

**Usersatet**

1. (Plate 1) Part of a kneeling statuette of the viceroy Usersatet, made of grano-diorite. From Sai Island (PM vii, 165). Noted, with (approximate) copy of inscription, by Vercoutter 1956, 72, no. 10.32 Max. height: 120mm. Khartoum, SNM 33225. This is actually part of a stelophorous figure (a section of the left arm survives), the stela bearing four damaged horizontal lines of hieroglyphs with probably one other missing at the top. The inscription may be read: (1) ‘A gift which the king gives and Amen-Re, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (?) and (2) Horus, the Bull, Lord of Ta-Sety, that they may give34 […] (3) […] in front of the lord of the two lands, existence upon earth (4) in the praises35 of the king in the course (5) of every day for the ka of the king’s son, Usersatet’. 

2. (Plate 2) Small fragment from a statuette, made of grano-diorite. From Sai Island. Max. height: 55mm. Khartoum, SNM 33224. Decorated with the inscription (written vertically), ‘…king’s son, Usersatet[…’ and the remains (face, front shoulder and lotus-flower) of a female figure executed in raised relief. Previously unpublished.

These two pieces (from figures no doubt set up originally in a temple built or embellished under Amenhotep II) belong to an interesting ‘cache of fragments from a number of statues’ unearthed by chance on Sai in 1939 and first drawn to attention by Arkell (1950, 34). They are currently in store in the SNM. In addition to nos 1-2 above, they include, among numerous other fragments, the remains of a sizable figure of a viceroy (name missing) of grano-diorite,36 an inscribed fragment of grano-diorite,37 part of a kneeling statuette of a man holding before him a large round libation bowl also of grano-diorite,38 and parts of a small dyad of a man and woman, made of sandstone. They represent a wide variety of statue-types, all appearing to date to the 18th dynasty, buried perhaps as part of an official clearance of the Sai temple(s).39 It is possible that further pieces in the cache belong to Usersatet, who was probably responsible for the building-works on Sai undertaken by Amenhotep II.40 More

---

31 I was able to view and photograph the Khartoum pieces, at the end of the 2008 season, through the kind offices of Ikhlas Abdel Latif Ahmed; excellent photographs of the Jebel Barkal figure had previously been taken by Janet Peckham of the BM Photographic Service. I am grateful to Dr Abdel Rahman Ali, Director of the SNM, for permission to publish the images here. I have not actually seen the Cairo Museum figure and owe thanks to sabah Abdel Razeq, a curator in the Museum, for providing information and for organizing the images, which were taken by the Cairo Museum photographer, Ahmed Amin. Permission to publish was kindly granted by Dr Wafaa el-Saddik, Director of the Cairo Museum. Thanks are due also to Prof. Hassan Selim and Hisham el-Leithy for their assistance in various ways.

32 Also Vercoutter 1973, 13, with n. 18; Dewachter 1976, 60, n. 14; Dewachter 1978, 73, Doc. 65; Minault-Gout 2006-2007, 288, with n. 58.

33 Reading dils**n**, which is fragmentary but clear (and to be expected in the context).

34 Reading m hs**w**t, ‘in the praises’. All the signs are clearly present, if slightly damaged.

35 Vercoutter 1956, 71-2, no. 9, pl. viii = Khartoum, SNM 33130; max. height: 500mm.

36 Vercoutter 1956, 73, no. 11.

37 To be added to the corpus of such figures compiled by Wildung 1985.

38 Recent accounts of the pharaonic presence on Sai include Geus 2004, Minault-Gout 2006-2007, 284-5, 288, 293, fig. 4, a- b.

Plate 4. Statue of Hekaemsasen, inscription on back.

Plate 5. Statue of Hekaemsasen, inscription on right side.

Plate 6. Statue of Hekaemsasen, inscription on left side.
information can be expected to come from a detailed study of the group, which is long overdue.

**Hekaemsasen**

3. (Colour plate XIII and Plates 3–6) Lower part of a seated statuette of a man wearing a long ankle-length cloak (its border indicated by a vertical line), his right hand placed flat and palm-downwards on his right thigh, his left arm bent across the body just above the waist, the hand once holding an object, possibly a fan, of which only the bottom end is still preserved. The feet are placed closely together, with the nails of the toes neatly indicated, and rest on a thick pedestal rounded at the front. The seat has a back-rest, from which rose a central back-pillar now missing. Made of grano-diorite, finely worked and finished, and decorated with hieroglyphic inscriptions arranged in columns, on the front, back and sides.45 Found at Jebel Barkal. Max. height: 320mm; max. depth: 324mm; max. width: 162mm. Khartoum, SNM 1848. PM vii, 215. Small photographs of the front and sides and a hand-copy of the texts are published in Dunham 1970, 28, no. 9, 30, fig. 24, pl. xxvii, D–F; a partial translation in Reisner 1920, 74, iv, a. The texts may be read as follows.42

**Front** (single column running down along the centre of the lap and continuing between the lower legs to the bottom end of the cloak): ‘Everything which comes forth upon the offering-table43 of Amen-Re for the ka of fan-bearer Hekaemsasen’.

**Back** (single column, bottom only; upper half with offering-formula missing): ‘overseer of the portal, overseer of southern foreign lands, Hekaemsasen’.

**Right side** (five columns, reading right to left): (1) ‘A gift which the king gives and Amen-Re, king of the gods, that he may give everything good and pure, (2) henket-offerings, all vegetables, fresh water, with wine, milk, (3) and the reception of offerings in his temple for the ka of the nobleman, (4) count, one uniquely efficient in the opinion of his lord, eyes of the king (5) in the town of Upper Egypt,44 fan-bearer, overseer of southern foreign lands,45 Hekaemsasen’.

**Left side** (five columns, reading left to right): (1) ‘A gift which the king gives and Amen-Re, king of the gods, that he may give everything good and pure, (2) henket-offerings, all vegetables, fresh water, with wine, milk, (3) and the reception of offerings in his temple for the ka of the nobleman, (4) count, one uniquely efficient in the opinion of his lord, eyes of the king (5) in the town of Upper Egypt,44 fan-bearer, overseer of southern foreign lands,45 Hekaemsasen’.

4 When complete, the statue might have looked something like the contemporary figure of the ‘fan-bearer Mentekhem’ (Berlin 19289; Röhrig 2003b), though with the fan held over the right rather than the left shoulder, as the angle of the bottom of the fan-handle (if such it is) would suggest; cf. the position of the fan on the statue of the ‘fan-bearer on the right of the king, Nakhtmin’ (Cairo CG 779; Borchardt 1930, 87, pl. 143; Pomorska 1987, 82 and 129, no. 40, a).

43 There are several obvious errors in the transcription published in Dunham 1970, 30, fig 24.1 note only the more serious.

44 The word for ‘offering-table’ here is ḫbr, while wnhw is preferred on the Cairo statue, no. 4 below (see Gardiner 1957, 301, R2 and R3 with n. 1).

45 For Smty, ‘Upper Egypt’, written as here with plural strokes, cf. U nk; iv, 1546, 14.

46 A hole in the stone immediately beneath the determinative (Gardiner 1957, 488, N23) of ran(!) has caused the sign to be mistranscribed in Dunham 1970, 30, fig. 24, left.

47 The feet, close together in each case, rest on a pedestal rounded at the front. Made of grano-diorite and decorated with hieroglyphic inscriptions, arranged in columns, on the front of the figures and the right side of the seat; back and left side undecorated. Provenance not recorded. Cairo, CG 989. Max. height: 285mm; max. depth: 360mm; max. width: 300mm. Description, without photograph, in Borchardt 1934, 17, no. 989. The texts read as follows.

**Front of man** (single column): ‘Everything which [co]mes forth upon the offering-table of Amen-Re for the ka of overseer of foreign lands, Pahekaemsasen, justified.’

**Front of woman** (single column): ‘Everything [which comes forth] upon the offering-table’ of Hathor, chieftainess of Thebes, for the ka of Duy, justified.’

**Right side** (four columns, right to left): (1) A gift which the king gives and Amen-Re and Osiris that they may give a

48 The sign for ‘offering-table’ here is her, while wnhw is preferred on the Cairo statue, no. 4 below (see Gardiner 1957, 301, R2 and R3 with n. 1).

49 For Smty, ‘Upper Egypt’, written as here with plural strokes, cf. U nk; iv, 1546, 14.

50 A hole in the stone immediately beneath the determinative (Gardiner 1957, 488, N23) of ran(!) has caused the sign to be mistranscribed in Dunham 1970, 30, fig. 24, left.
The inscriptions on no. 4 give the full form of his name, Pahekaemsasen, otherwise known from the funerary cones. The female figure, named Day, probably represents his wife, though she is not specifically identified as such nor does she have any title. The inclusion of ‘Hathor, chiefness of Thebes’ (Hwt-hr hryt-ip W3st), in her offering-formula suggests a Theban provenance for the piece. The cones from Thebes provide a clear indication that Pahekaemsasen was buried somewhere in the Theban necropolis, another reflection perhaps of ‘the high honour accorded to Kushite princes at the Egyptian court’. His tomb, like that of Usersatet, is yet to be located.

Bibliography


Budge, E. A. 1907. The Egyptian South: its history and monuments. 2 Vols. London.


See n. 22 above. To date, only the objects found in Egypt give the full writing of the name. It may or may not be significant that the names on this statue are followed by the epithet m3t h3w/m3t h3w, ‘justified’.

Cited in PNI, 431, 22, as ‘dp3w (?).’


Morkot 2000, 85, with particular reference to the burial in the Valley of the Kings of ‘child of the royal nursery’ and ‘fan-bearer on the king’s right, Malherpet’, an ethnic Nubian and near-contemporary of Pahekaemsasen (Lilyquist 2005, 62; Roehrig 2005a).

See Bács 2002, 61.


**Abbreviations**

*HT* = *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae etc. in the British Museum*. 12 parts. London, Oxford and Dorechester.


*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.


**Online Publication**

A slightly extended version of this paper, with further colour images, will appear in *British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (BMSAES)*, Issue 14 = [http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_14/davies.aspx](http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_14/davies.aspx)
Colour plate XI. Tombos: recording the stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen (photo D. A. Welsby).

Colour plate XII. Tombos: the stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen.


Colour plate XIV. Dyad of Pahekaemsasen probably from Thebes. (Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo).