

# Recording Egyptian rock-inscriptions at Jebel Dosha and in the Batn el-Hajar, the 2016 season

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A further, short season of epigraphic survey and recording took place at Jebel Dosha and in the Batn el-Hajar during December 2016.<sup>1</sup> At Jebel Dosha, work was concentrated on the inscriptions located on the hill around the Thutmose chapel (Plate 1).<sup>2</sup> In the Batn el-Hajar, we focussed on the area of the Dal Cataract, visiting Debba and the island of Asruna (Plates 11 and 14).



Plate 1. Jebel Dosha, the chapel of Thutmose III, from the east, with stela of Seti I above.

## Jebel Dosha

On current evidence, there are ten monuments located at two levels on the hill outside the chapel (Plate 2, 1-10), all done in sunk relief or incised work, most probably once finished in paint. There might originally have been other monuments, now lost.<sup>3</sup> Two stelae and an inscription (no. 1 and nos 2-3) are located several metres to the right and left respectively of

the chapel façade. The others (nos 4-10) are located several metres above the chapel, extending in an irregular line across the hill's eastern face and around its north-east corner, those on the eastern face accessed from the north by a narrow, uneven path, overlooking a steep incline. There is one royal monument (no. 6); the others belong to various priests, craftsmen and civil officials, including two viceroys. All are largely cultic in purpose, though no. 6 has some historical content. Unfortunately, several (nos 6, 7 and 10) have recently been vandalized.<sup>4</sup> The chapel of Thutmose III is almost certainly contemporary with the very similar chapel of the same king at Ellesyia in Lower Nubia, which was founded towards the end of his reign.<sup>5</sup> There is nothing to suggest that any of our inscriptions predate the chapel, though several are certainly later. I present here an overview of the material, the documentation of which is now nearing completion.<sup>6</sup>

### Lower level

1. Rectangular stela with cornice (800mm in height), decoration completely eroded (Plate 3). Date: New Kingdom (possibly Ramesside).

2. Rectangular stela, 700mm in height (Plate 4).<sup>7</sup> It is very skilfully worked, in deep sunk relief. The scene, damaged in parts, shows a viceroy, facing right, identified as 'King's son of Kush, fan-bearer [name lost]', standing, leaning slightly forward, dressed in official finery, offering to the deified form of Amenhotep III, namely 'Nebmaatire who dwells in [Kha]jem[maat] (temple of Soleb)' and one of the Dosha chapel's resident deities, the 'lady of Ta-Sety (Nubia), lady of heaven, mistress of the gods, Satet'. Each of the deities is shown in characteristic form and garb and holding a *was*-sceptre in the front hand and an *ankh* in the rear, their figures surmounted by a single-winged sun-disk. Remnants of other epithets relating to the deities survive in the much damaged inscription above the viceroy, namely '[lord of Ta-] Sety (Nubia)' for the god, and '[lady of the] pure [mountain]' for the goddess (an epithet which recurs in the later monuments, our nos 6-7 below).<sup>8</sup> Behind the viceroy is a now incomplete label text possibly to be restored as '[worshipping god], fo[ur] times'. Date: 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Amenhotep III (Year 30 or later).

3. Directly beneath the figure of the first deity on no. 2 are the fragmentary remains of what appears to be a single horizontal line of inscription (Plate 4, bottom, centre), in smaller incised hieroglyphs, reading right to left, which once included a private name (only the name-determinative [A 52],

<sup>1</sup> The season was carried out under the auspices of SARS and was of 10 days duration (December 6<sup>th</sup> to 16<sup>th</sup>). We are grateful to Dr Abdelrahman Ali, Director-General of NCAM, for permission to continue the work and to his colleague, El-Hassan Ahmed, for facilitating administrative matters. The team consisted of Vivian Davies (director, epigrapher), Dr Ikhlas Abdel Latif (epigrapher, representing NCAM), Dr Julien Cooper and Dr Luigi Prada (epigraphers) and Osman Dafalla (driver/cook). In the Batn el-Hajar, we were based at Kulb and continued to enjoy the generous hospitality and help of Ahmed Mohammed Ahmed Idriss and his family.

<sup>2</sup> For a description of the chapel, see the report on the work of seasons 2014 and 2015 (Davies and Welsby Sjöström 2016).

<sup>3</sup> Note also that the hill, as it now stands, bears no trace of indigenous rock-drawings.

<sup>4</sup> Reportedly by intruders from a local gold-working camp.

<sup>5</sup> Year 50 or later; Davies and Welsby Sjöström 2016, 18, n. 5.

<sup>6</sup> The earlier preliminary reports (Davies 2004a; 2004b) are now superseded, especially with regard to dating, though the images remain useful.

<sup>7</sup> PM vii, 167; Valbelle 1981, 43, no. 329; Davies 2004a, 62, col. pl. xxxviii; 2004b, 3, fig. 29. For a recent fuller treatment of the stela, see Davies 2015. I thank Adriano Morabito and Prof. Alessandro Roccati for the image published here as Plate 4 (taken in 2010).

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Valbelle 1981, 109, §32, 126-127, §46.

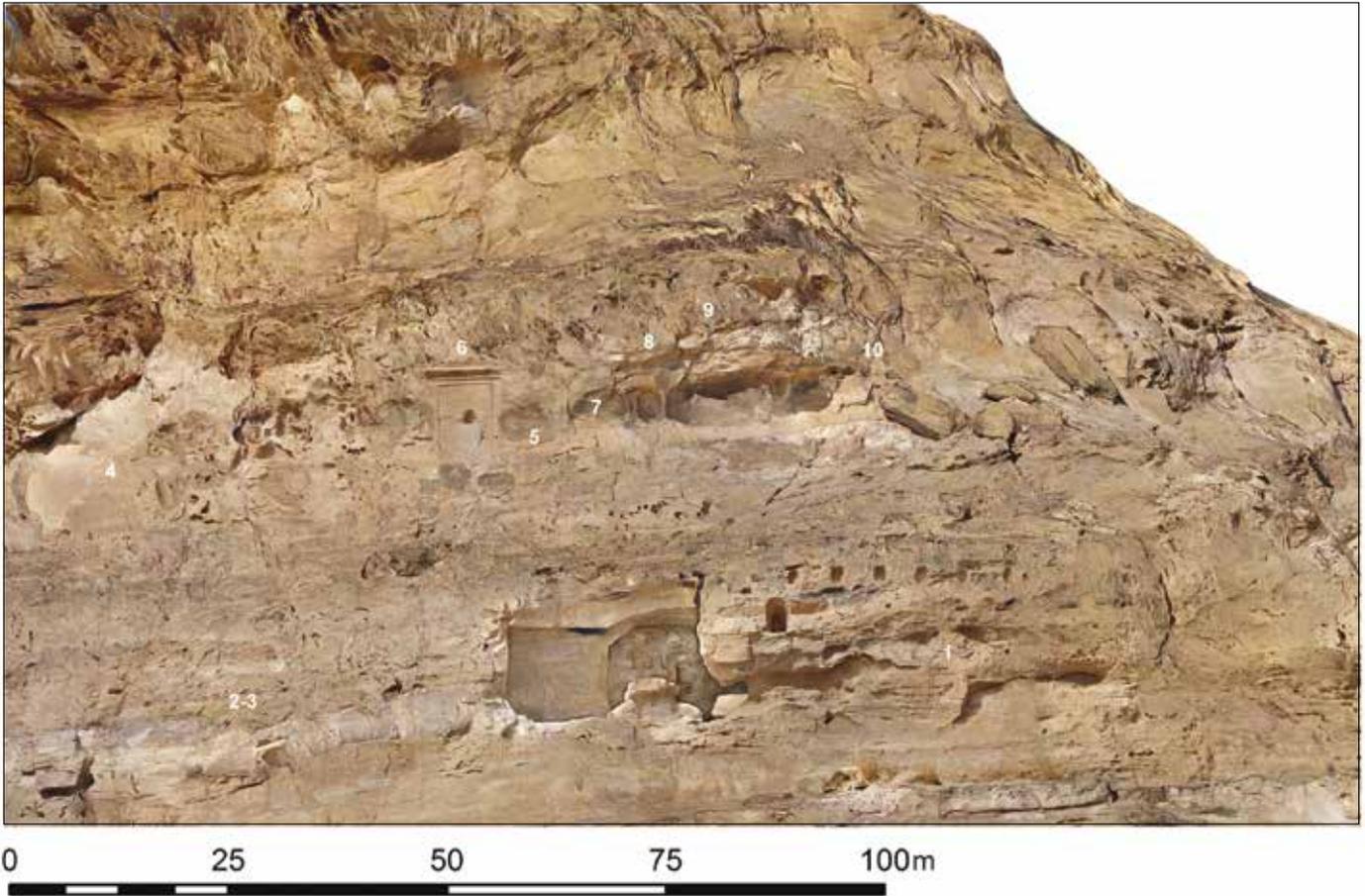


Plate 2. *Jebel Dosha, location of the exterior rock-inscriptions. (orthophoto: S. Green).*



Plate 3. *Stela (no. 1) with eroded decoration.*

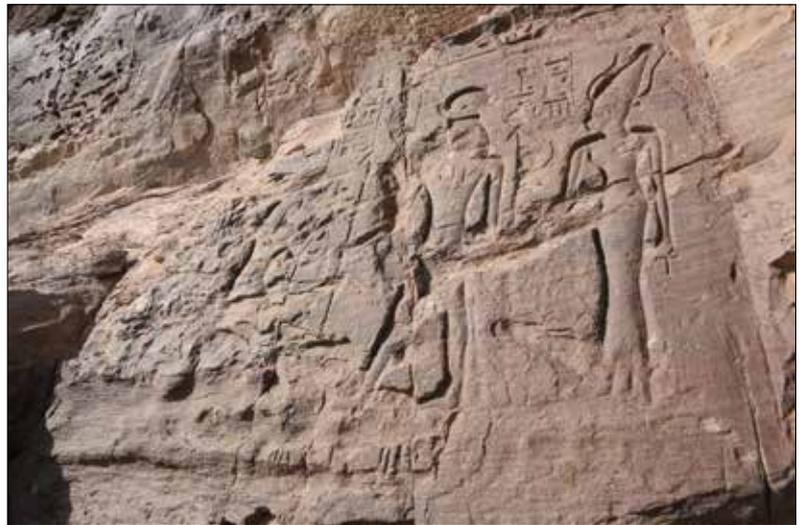


Plate 4. *Stela (no. 2) with scene of viceroy offering to two deities and with separate inscription (no. 3) underneath.*

survives in full).<sup>9</sup> It appears to have been damaged when the surrounding rock-surface was lowered, presumably during the stela's creation. Date: 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, late Thutmose III–Amenhotep III.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. the secondary inscriptions left at Ellesyia by various visiting officials (Borla 2010, 89-103, 233-239).

#### *Upper Level*

4. Carved into the hill, well above and to the south (left) of the chapel, is a group of three striding figures, facing north (right), their arms raised before them, each shown wearing a long skirt, in the case of the first two with a shorter skirt underneath, the internal detail done in raised relief (Figure

1).<sup>10</sup> The leading figure (430mm in height) is represented with a shaven head, the second with a wig now of indeterminate form. The third figure is eroded both in outline and internally but appears to have been shown wearing a short wig, its lower end carried well off the shoulder (see the in-

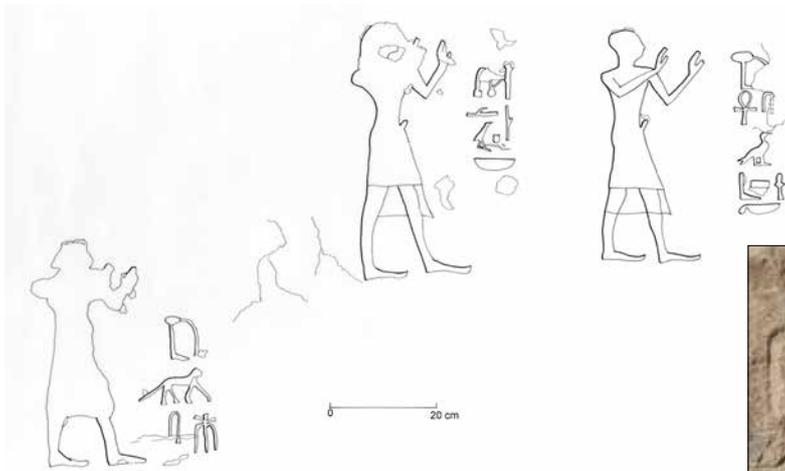


Figure 1. Scene (no. 4) with group of three striding officials, arms raised (south, copy).

tact examples in nos 5 and 9 below).<sup>11</sup> They are identified in three columns of inscription respectively as (from right to left): *Wab*-priest, sculptor,<sup>12</sup> Sa-abshek,<sup>13</sup> ‘Scribe of forms/Painter,’<sup>14</sup> Neb,<sup>15</sup> and *Wab*-priest, Maimes.<sup>16</sup> Date: 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, late Thutmose III.

5. On the hill, to the right, above the chapel, is a similar scene to no. 4, with three striding figures, their arms lowered (Plate 5).<sup>17</sup> They are not as well formed as those of no. 4, probably

<sup>10</sup> Davies 2004a, 61-2, pls 4-5, col. pl. xxxiii, back cover, lower left; 2004b, 2, figs 20, 22-23, 25.

<sup>11</sup> A form of wig especially characteristic of the reigns of Amenhotep II and Thutmose IV (in Theban tomb scenes, Dziobek *et al.* 1992, 30, ‘Fransenperücke’; in rock-drawings, for example Gasse and Rondot 2007, 144-5, 488-489, SHE 250; 146, 490, SEH 251; 152, 496, SEH 257) but, as shown at Doshā, already perhaps coming into vogue by the latter part of the reign of Thutmose III.

<sup>12</sup> *s nb*, ‘Bildhauer’, ‘Porträt-Bildhauer’ (Hannig 2006, 725; cf. *Wb.* 4, 47, 14-16; Gardiner 1947, 67\*, no. 157; Drenkhahn 1976, 66, 126; S. Eichler 2000, 148-149; Taylor 2001, 196, nos 1910-1911; Laboury 2013, 30).

<sup>13</sup> Müller 2013, 184, 2.3.2, no. 21, 240, 2.5.3, H 30, 458, 46.4, A; for the name, see n. 20 below.

<sup>14</sup> *sš* (*sh3*) *kdwt*, ‘Zeichner’, ‘Vorzeichner’, ‘Maler’, ‘Umrisszeichner’ (Hannig 2006, 821; cf. Drenkhahn 1976, 69-70; Polz 1997, 134; Jones 2000, 876, no. 3208; S. Eichler 2000, 158-9; Taylor 2001, 217-218, nos 2124-2132; Bryan 2001, 68-69; Davies 2001, 119, 122, n. 13; Quirke 2003, 96; Marée 2010, 248-249; Laboury 2012, 200-202; Stefanović 2012; Franke 2013, 48, 11a, 109-110, 18; Laboury 2013, 32, 34; Chauvet 2015, 66-67; Laboury 2015, 327-329, 336-7; 2016).

<sup>15</sup> Müller 2013, 185, 2.3.2, no. 28, 458, 46.4, B (name wrongly described as ‘zerstört’).

<sup>16</sup> *M3i-ms* (misread in Müller 2013, 458, 46.4, C), lit. ‘Lion is born’ (not in *PN* but cf. *PN* i, 144, 1ff), the ‘lion’ no doubt referring to the king. For contemporary images of the king as a striding lion as in the hieroglyph here, see the representations of Thutmose I and III on the Hagr el-Merwa at Kurgus (Davies 2017, 74, figs 9-10).

<sup>17</sup> PM vii, 167; Davies 2004a, 61, col. pl. xxxiv; 2004b, 2-3, fig. 24.

because the rock-surface here is far less accommodating. The first two figures (leading figure: 435mm in height) are shown wearing long skirts, the third a shorter skirt. The middle has a shaven head, the others wear short wigs. The third figure holds a cloth in his rear hand. None has internal detail. They are identified by inscription (the first two in columns, the third arranged horizontally) as ‘Sculptor,’<sup>18</sup> [name damaged],<sup>19</sup> ‘*Wab*-priest, Sa-abshek’,<sup>20</sup> and ‘Chief goldsmith,’<sup>21</sup> Kef(a)ib’.<sup>22</sup> Date: 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, late Thutmose III.

Nos 4-5 are connected scenes. The group on the left (no. 4) is shown in procession, ascending towards the



Plate 5. Scene (no. 5) with group of three striding officials, arms lowered (north).

<sup>18</sup> *ks*ty, ‘Bildhauer’, ‘Schnitzer’ (Hannig 2006, 935, noting possible alternative readings including *gnwty*; cf. Gardiner 1947, 66\*-67\*, no. 155; Drenkhahn 1976, 62, 65-68, 126; Willems 1996, 401-402; Jones 2000, 998-999, no. 3700; S. Eichler 2000, 148-149; Taylor 2001, 232, nos 2246-2248; Quirke 2003, 93; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 318, 476, no. 508; Awad 2010, 22-23 (g); Marée 2010, 248-249; Franke 2013, 110, 21, with n. 13). I take the second, slightly displaced sign in our Doshā example, which looks like an *r* (D 21), to be a badly eroded *t* (X 1) and the determinative, damaged in parts, as the ‘lower arm with stick’ (D 40).

<sup>19</sup> Müller 2013, 458, 46.3, A. Only fragments of the bottom end of the name survive.

<sup>20</sup> Dewachter 1971, 108; Müller 2013, 240, 2.5.3, H 30, 458, 46.3, B; Zibelius 1972, 52, VI E b 10, 77. This man is not necessarily the same Sa-abshek as the *nab*-priest/sculptor encountered in the first group (no. 4). The name Sa-ibshk/Sa-abshek is reasonably well attested elsewhere during the New Kingdom (for example, Roeder 1911, 181-182, pl. 119, d [= *PN* i, 280, 16]; Dewachter 1971, 108; Zibelius 1972, 77; Karkowski 1981, 21-22; Murnane 1992, 135, n. 7, 136, n. 14, pls 51-52; Rothe *et al.* 2008, 82, MN34 [= Colin 1998, 92-94, 117, fig. 3], 155, BR42 [= E. Eichler 1998, 252, no. 2, pl. 28b], 164, BR49 [= Žába 1974, 231-232, A 16, fig. 396], 275, BZ29, a number of these latter possibly referring to a single person). The *3/i* variant in the writing of the second, toponymic, element of the name appears to be non-diagnostic in terms of dating (my thanks to Julien Cooper for advice on the matter).

<sup>21</sup> Reading *hry-nby(w)*, ‘Obergoldschmied’, ‘Goldschmiedemeister’ (Hannig 2006, 427; cf. Žába 1974, 226, A3, fig. 381 = Rothe *et al.* 2008, 177, BR61, and Müller 2013, 185, 2.3.2, no. 29, 381, 12.15; S. Eichler 2000, 147; Taylor 2001, 161, nos 1578-1581; Budka, this volume, 77). The first sign, *hry* (N1), is here eroded and misshapen.

<sup>22</sup> *Kf(3)-ib* (misread in Müller 2013, 186, 2.3.2, no. 38, 458, 46.3, C), lit. ‘Trustworthy One’ (not in *PN*; for the name-type, see Vernus 1986, 125-126, no. 4, c).



centre of the hill, 'the pure mountain' (see nos 2, 6-7 and 10), the arms raised in adoration with respect to its resident deities (a triad embodied in the chapel's niche-statues located within the mountain) (Davies and Welsby Sjöström 2016, 25, pls 5 and 19), while the group on the right is shown as descending, with their arms down, their performance perhaps completed. One of the figures, the 'scribe of forms Neb' (no. 4, middle), may well be the same man as the itinerant artist 'Neb of Nekhen (Hierakonpolis)', known from three other rock-inscriptions, two on Sehel Island near Aswan and one at the site of Sabu near the Kajbar Rapids, 150km south of Jebel Doshā.<sup>23</sup>

6. Stela of Seti I (about 1.5m in height) (Plates 1 and 6).<sup>24</sup> The upper register shows the king wearing the *kebresh*-crown offering to Khnum, Satis (labelled 'lady of the pure mountain') and Anket, the cataract triad symbolic of the advent of the inundation, each adorned with characteristic headdress. Underneath is a representation of the viceroy Amenemipet (his figure and accompanying inscription now largely destroyed), and 15 lines of text (now also further damaged), including, among other things, two long offering



Plate 6. Stela of Seti I (no. 6).

<sup>23</sup> Hintze and Reineke 1989, i, 184, no. 611, ii, pl. 268; Gasse and Rondot 2003, 45-46, pl. 7, col. pl. xxvii; Davies 2004a, 61; 2004b, 2; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 178, 506, SEH 294, and 171, 504, SEH 281; Osman and Edwards 2011, 85, fig. 3.48, no. 2, 364, SBU001; Müller 2013, 271, 2.7.6, no. 4, 459, 48.3; Rondot 2013.

<sup>24</sup> PM vii, 167; Davies 2004a, 61, pls 2-3, col. pls xxxi-xxxii, and back cover; 2004b, 2, 12-16, figs 13-19, 21; cf. Kitchen 1975, 100-101, no. 48; 1993a, 84-85, no. 48; 1993b, 80-81, no. 48; Valbelle 1981, 43, no. 328; Pomorska 1987, 137, no. 48, a; Morkot 1988, 162; Hein 1991, 60, 81-82, and 86; Brand 2000, 14, n. 61, 293 [3.148] and 364; Török 2009, 228; Green 2013; Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 91-92, 236; Müller 2013, 122-124; 457, 46.1. Our Plate 1 shows the stela under examination by Julien Cooper and Luigi Prada.

formulae and a proclamation of the king's dominion over foreign territories. This now incomplete and difficult text is still under study.<sup>25</sup> It is hoped to include a full description of the stela in a forthcoming issue of this journal. Date: early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Seti I.

7. Stela of the viceroy Amenemipet (about 560mm in height) (Plate 7).<sup>26</sup> Recently damaged, the decoration is divided into two registers. The upper, main register depicts the viceroy, dressed in official garb proffering a brazier to two seated deities, with a stand, holding a vessel and lotus, located between them. The deities are identified in the columns of inscription above as 'Khnum, lord of the cataract' and 'Satis, lady of the pure mountain', each adorned and dressed as on the great stela (no. 6), with Khnum holding a *was*-sceptre before him. The columns of inscription accompanying the viceroy read: '(1) Made by the King's son of (2) Kush, (3) Amenemipet, (4) for his lord, Khnum'. The lower register shows two of the viceroy's officials with arms raised in adoration, one wearing a wig, the other with shaven head. The first official is accompanied by two columns of inscription, now eroded but just legible: '(1)

Made by the aide of the King's son, (2) Huy, born to Djehuty (?),<sup>27</sup> justified'.<sup>28</sup> The second is accompanied by four columns, now mostly destroyed, its signs very faint and of uncertain reading. Date: early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, reign of Seti I.

8. Figure (190mm in height), facing right, shown kneeling on a ground-line, wearing a short wig,<sup>29</sup> with hands raised in adoration (Plate 8). The lower body is damaged and the face slightly eroded. The surface area to the right, which might well have borne an inscription, is gone. Date: 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, late Thutmose III.

9. Stela with central figure (235mm in height) facing right, shown standing on a ground-line, hands raised in adoration, behind him an amphora on a stand surmounted by a dish holding an offering, possibly a loaf or pile of fruit (Figure 2, Plate 9).<sup>30</sup> He wears a short wig, its straight lower end carried well off the shoulder, a collar, and a short skirt

<sup>25</sup> By Bert Verrept, who made copies of stelae nos 6 and 7 during seasons 2014 and 2015.

<sup>26</sup> Davies 2004a, 62, col. pl. xxx; 2004b, 3, 18, fig. 26; Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 92.

<sup>27</sup> The name is barely visible but the suggested reading is consistent with the traces.

<sup>28</sup> The official Huy is also attested as the viceroy's aide (*šmsw*) on a stela of Amenemipet from Buhen (PM vii, 137; Philadelphia E10998; Randall-MacIver and Woolley 1911, i, 77, 1; Kitchen 1975, 304, no. 119; 1993a, 248, no. 119; 1993b, 201, no. 119; Smith 1976, 212, pl. lxxxii, 3; Moje 2007, 64, SI/Buh/001). The filiation is new.

<sup>29</sup> For the wig-form, see Dzjobek *et al.* 1992, 29.

<sup>30</sup> Davies 2004a, 62, col. pl. xxxvii; 2004b, 3, fig. 28; Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 92.

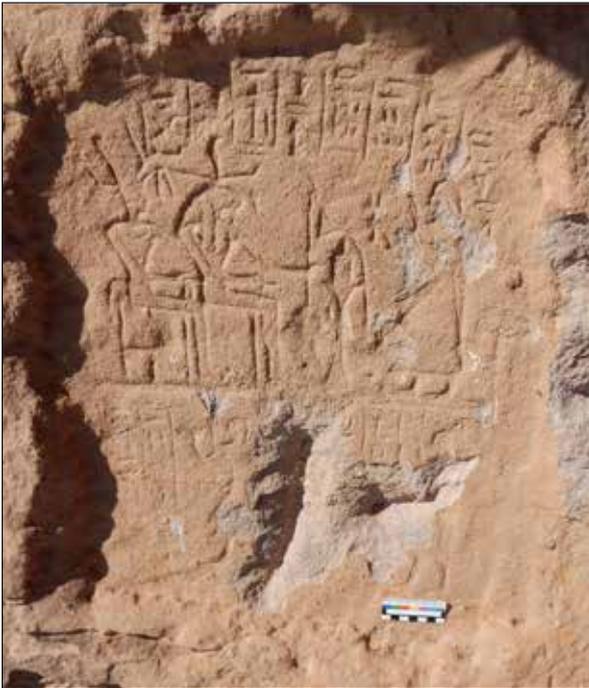


Plate 7. Stela of viceroy Amenemipet (no. 7).



Plate 8. Kneeling figure (no. 8).

with triangular front and with a belt and tie. The inscription before him, exhibiting an unusual, 'sportive' disposition of the signs (see further below), reads possibly, 'Relief-sculptor (?) Kha-sebau (or Sebau-kha) of Buhen'.<sup>31</sup> On the basis of

<sup>31</sup> Reading the first two signs as *t3y-md3t*, 'chisel-bearer' = 'relief-sculptor' (the *md3t*-sign [Y 1] here damaged but clear), an interpretation consistent with the inclusion of similar artists/craftsmen in the contemporary scenes, nos 4-5. On the title, see Hannig 2006, 1018, 'Graveur', Reliefbildhauser'; cf. Gardiner 1947, 71\*-72\*, no. 181; Janssen 1975, 317-318, §89; Polz 1997, 133-134, 6.3; S. Eichler 2000, 148, n. 652; Taylor 2001, 234, nos 2271-2274; for the writing of *md3t*, 'chisel', with book-roll sign (Y1) only, cf., for example, Polz 1997, 36, T 2, colour pl. 2, pl. 17; Taylor 2001, 234, no. 2271 and 2274. On this interpretation, the two signs writing *h<sup>c</sup>*, the first part of the name, are transposed, as are the two parts of the complete name. For the name, *Sb3w-h<sup>c</sup>(w)*, of which this may be the earliest attested example, see bibliography in Davies 2004b, 3, to which add Winkler 2013, 246; Arpagus 2015, 472-473, n. 28. For various writings of the toponym *Bhn*,



Plate 9. Standing figure (no. 9).



Figure 2. Standing figure (no. 9), copy.

style, dress and amphora-type,<sup>32</sup> the stela is contemporary with nos 4-5. Date: 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, late Thutmose III.

Note that very probably the same man is to be identified in a large rock-representation at Ibrim (Figure 3; 1.25m in height),<sup>33</sup> not far from Ellesyia, where the accompanying inscription, again sportive in arrangement, is organized into two calligraphic groups, reading perhaps, in partly retrograde fashion, 'Relief-sculptor (?) Kha of Buhen', the name in this case abbreviated.<sup>34</sup>

**10.** Stela (155mm in height) with the representation of an official worshipping before two deities, an offering-stand with a

'Buhen' (including examples lacking the final *n* as here), see Zibelius 1972, 109; Smith 1976, 88-90; El-Sayed, 2011, 191, L. 157; Brown and Darnell 2013, 131, n. 44, fig. 2; and see below.

<sup>32</sup> I am grateful to Philippe Ruffieux for his observations on the date of the type of amphora represented here.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Lopez 1966, 33, no. 33, pl. 20, 2; Caminos 1968, 92-93, pl. 42, fig. 1 (with thanks to the Egypt Exploration Society for permitting the figure's reproduction here); Davies 2004a, 62; 2004b, 3.

<sup>34</sup> For alternative readings, see Caminos 1968, 93, and on such textual 'play and display', which began to flourish during the period of the coregency of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, see Espinel 2014, 299, 318-329.



Figure 3. Standing figure, at Ibrim (after Caminos 1968, pl. 42, fig. 1). Courtesy of the Egypt Exploration Society.

vessel and lotus placed between them.<sup>35</sup> Recently vandalized, it is shown in its previous, reasonably well preserved state in the copy, Figure 4. The columns of inscriptions identify the



Figure 4. Stela (no. 10) with scene of official offering to two deities, copy.

man on the left as ‘Scribe, Chief (Great One) of the District,<sup>36</sup> Keny’ and the two deities on the right as ‘Amenre of the pure mountain’ and ‘Satet’, respectively. The man is shown standing leaning slightly forward, his arms raised in adoration, wearing a long skirt with tie at the waist and shoulder-length wig with triangular lower end. The deities, both standing, are shown in their distinctive garb, with Amenre holding a *was*-sceptre before him, and Satet with front arm raised in greeting. All three figures are shown as elegantly slim with

<sup>35</sup> PM vii, 167; Davies 2004a, 62, col. pl. xxxvi; 2004b, 3, fig. 27; Masquelier-Loorius 2013, 92, pl. 11.

<sup>36</sup> Reading *sw3w*, ‘Bezirk’, ‘Gebiet’, ‘Umgebung’ (Hannig 2006, 731; cf. *Wb.* 4, 62, 5-9; Lesko 1987, 21).

incongruously large feet. The stela is very similar in figural style and palaeography to nos 6-7.<sup>37</sup> Date: 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, probably reign of Seti I.

### Comment

The surviving, datable monuments, appear to fall into three chronological groups, each distinct in content and style: the first group (nos 4, 5, 9, and probably 8) I take to be contemporary with the creation of the chapel, late in the reign of Thutmose III; the second (no. 2) is contemporary with the near-by temple of Soleb, reign of Amenhotep III; and the third (nos 6, 7 and 10) dates to the early 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, including the reign of Seti I.<sup>38</sup> Note that (as far as we can tell from the undamaged scenes) the principals in the earliest group are not shown in direct association with the figure(s) of a deity, unlike those in the two later groups.

The composition of the earliest group (nos 4, 5 and 9), comprising *nab*-priests, a scribe of forms, possibly three different kinds of sculptor (one of them also a *nab*-priest), and a chief goldsmith, suggests that they were temple-personnel,<sup>39</sup>

probably the elite of the workforce, involved in the creation and activation of the chapel, their representations on the sacred hill bearing prominent witness to their participation, both practical and ritual, in the project.<sup>40</sup>

The stela (no. 2), representing the next phase, is the finest surviving monument at Jebel Dosha, its artistic quality worthy of the temple of Soleb itself (situated about 5km to the south). The viceroy depicted is probably the well-known Merymose, who is figured in scenes in Soleb-temple participating in ceremonies celebrating Amenhotep III’s first jubilee in Year 30 (Davies 2015, 95). The stela is important in proving that a direct connection had been established between Jebel Dosha and Soleb and by extension very likely also Sedeinga (about 9km north of Jebel Dosha),<sup>41</sup> the chapel of Thutmose III now incorporated into the wider ritual programme of the region.<sup>42</sup>

<sup>37</sup> Also to the votive stela from the chapel (see below, n. 38).

<sup>38</sup> The earliest and latest phases are represented also by the two free-standing votive objects, now fragmentary, recently recovered from debris within the chapel, namely the shoulder of a private statue bearing the *pre*nomens of Thutmose III and a stela datable on stylistic grounds to the early Ramesside period (see Davies and Welsby Sjöström 2016, 20-21, 26, pls 7 and 8). These are now Sudan National Museum nos 38781 and 38782 respectively.

<sup>39</sup> On the range of such craftsmen attached to the contemporary temple of Amun at Thebes, see S. Eichler 2000, 147-49, 158-9.

<sup>40</sup> On the overlap between craft and priestly/ritual practice, see, recently, Laboury 2012, 201; 2013, 35; Franke 2013, 48, 11a, pl. 10; Chauvet 2015; Laboury 2016, 384; Bryan 2017, 2, 5, c and 8.

<sup>41</sup> On new evidence for the god Nebmaatre at Sedeinga, see Rilly 2015, 52-56, with figs 8 and 9.

<sup>42</sup> Davies 2015, 95-96. On the dates of the foundation and building-phases of the Soleb and Sedeinga temples (constructed with stone ex-

The third and latest group (nos 6, 7 and 10) includes the hill's most prominent monument, the stela of Seti I (no. 6), dedicated to the cataract triad, its creation overseen by his viceroy Amenemipet, who was the owner of the second stela (no. 7) and also perhaps of the large secondary ex-voto, now fragmentary, on the chapel's façade (Davies and Welsby Sjöström 2016, 22, pl. 9). They represent an intervention that might also have extended into the chapel's interior, in the form possibly of repair to features such as the niche-statue of the god Amun (Davies and Welsby Sjöström 2016, 25, with n. 32), which, like the similar statue at Ellesyia, was probably first damaged during the Amarna Period.<sup>43</sup>

In the offering-scenes of nos 6 and 7, the cataract god Khnum is worshiped as the leading deity.<sup>44</sup> That the cult of the resident Amun persisted, however, is confirmed by the contemporary stela of the 'Scribe, Chief of the District, Keny' (no. 10).<sup>45</sup> If the 'district' in question was local, as is likely, it most probably refers to that of Soleb. Reference to a 'district of Khaemmaat' (Soleb-temple and its environs) occurs in an earlier land-boundary stela from Soleb (now fragmentary), datable to the reign of Amenhotep III (Plate 10),<sup>46</sup> while a contemporary connection between Soleb and Jebel Dosha is confirmed by our stela no. 2 (see above). It



Plate 10. Land-boundary stela from Soleb, detail.

tracted from quarries in the Jebel Dosha area), see now Rilly 2015, 43-46.  
<sup>43</sup> Curto 1999, 66; Laboury 1998, 98; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 128-130; Lurson 2010, 145, n. 15, 175, 232, pl. 20. Initial restoration might well have been carried out in the immediate post-Amarna period, again as at Ellesyia (Laboury 1998, 99).

<sup>44</sup> His figure now lost or unclear, 'Khnum, Lord of the Cataract', was almost certainly included among the deities represented on the walls of the original chapel, as he is at Ellesyia (Curto 1999, 62; Desroches Noblecourt 1999, 122-123; Konrad 2002, 233-4; Borla 2010, 78, 226, pl. 14, no. 4; Lurson 2010, 190-191). By the later 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, his regional importance had grown significantly, as evidenced by his privileged status as a resident deity in the temple of Soleb (Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 149, upper; 2002, 330; 2003, 168, fig. 168, a; Bickel 2013, 64); note also the naming of the cataract triad in a contemporary private stela recently discovered at Sedeinga (Rilly 2015, 54-55, fig. 9).

<sup>45</sup> Also by the fragmentary votive stela found within the chapel (see above with nn. 37-38), which, to judge from the remaining decoration, appears to have been dedicated to Amun/Amenre.

<sup>46</sup> Schiff Giorgini 1998, pl. 329, Sb. 123; 2002, 186, 413; 2003, 247, fig. 240; Van Siclen 2013, 132; Arpagaus 2015, 472-473, fig. 2. The image (Plate 10) was taken in 2014, with the permission of NCAM, in the antiquities magazine at Soleb. The stela now has the number SNM 38800.

seems possible then that, from the reign of Amenhotep III, and through to the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, Jebel Dosha formed part of the administrative district of Soleb, of which Keny was a senior official during the early Ramesside Period.

After this period, there is currently no evidence for further pharaonic activity at Jebel Dosha, a lack of data possibly owed to the accident of survival. It is likely that the chapel continued to function through at least part of the Rameside period, though not beyond, mirroring the later history of Soleb-temple itself (Rilly 2015, 58). Signs of subsidence and other structural damage (Davies and Welsby Sjöström 2016, 18) suggest that at some point the chapel suffered a seismic event (perhaps the same event[s], pre-Napatan in date, which, it is now proposed, caused the collapse of the temples of Soleb and Sedeinga) (Rilly 2015, 46-48), though not so destructive as to preclude its remodelling, during the medieval period, into a Christian church (long since abandoned) (Davies and Welsby Sjöström 2016, 18-22, pls 5 and 6, fig. 1), the chapel's last phase of demonstrable formal use.

## Batn el-Hajar

### *Debba*

Located opposite Tina Island in the Dal Cataract, the *wadi* on the east bank at Debba (Plate 11), part of the district of Sarkamatto, was already known to be a site with a number of rock-inscriptions carved into the sides of the adjacent sandstone cliffs.<sup>47</sup> Following an initial inspection in 2013 (Davies 2014, 41-42), our aims have been to make more accurate records of these inscriptions and to search for new examples.

On examination of the southern cliff-face of the *wadi*, it quickly became evident that a modern earth and stone platform, built by the local farmer, covered several groups of hieroglyphs. With the permission and co-operation of the farmer's family, we dug an exploratory trench into the platform to reveal a section of the lower cliff-face. As expected, it turned out to bear inscriptions, but many more than we had anticipated, in varying states of preservation (Plate 12). Some



Plate 11. Wadi at Debba, looking west towards the Nile, with Tina Island in the background.

<sup>47</sup> Vila 1975, 26-28, figs 11-17; Hintze and Reineke 1989, i, 181-183, ii, pls 260-264; Edwards and Mills 2013, 15-16; Davies 2014, 41-42, pls 24 and 25. For their approximate location, see the map in Vila 1975, 14 (Debba, 2 X), and 26, fig. 11.



Plate 12. Debba, southern cliff-face, inscriptions.

among them are already known, such as those of ‘King’s son, Setau’, (Plate 12, lower left),<sup>48</sup> the viceroy of Ramesses II, and the ‘astronomer (*wnwnty*), P(a)-en-Djehuty’ (Plate 12, middle right),<sup>49</sup> probably of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Most, however, are new to knowledge. Beneath the latter inscription, for example, is an entirely new group, including at the bottom two horizontal lines (Plate 12, lower right). Here Setau’s name appears to occur a second time written over and partially obliterating an earlier inscription (probably 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty) belonging to a ‘... Djehuty ... of the southern town (Thebes)’, the beneficiary of an offering formula invoking (in the line above) ‘Amenre lord of the throne of the two lands’. Further investigation and recording are planned.

In addition to this exploratory work, opportunity was taken to document an inscription of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty viceroy Amenemnekhu,<sup>50</sup> who was in office during the coregency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.<sup>51</sup> It is located on a smooth rock-face well above the *wadi* floor on the northern side, and, though now incomplete owing to erosion, is the finest inscription identified in the area to date (Figure 5, Plate 13). As pointed out in our initial report on this text (Davies 2014,

41-42, pl. 25), the content is seriously misrepresented in the original publication,<sup>52</sup> as it is again, unfortunately, in a recent paper (Klotz and Brown 2016, 296, with n. 177, 297-298).

The inscription appears to have consisted originally of five horizontal lines. Only the first sign survives of the first line, possibly the beginning of an offering formula or the viceroy’s title, [*s3*]-*nswt*, ‘King’s son’. The second line is completely lost, as is nearly a half of the third. The final line represents the ‘signature’ of the man responsible for creating the inscription, Amenemnekhu’s personal scribe, Amenhotep,<sup>53</sup> his name and title eroded but legible on close examination. The text, from the beginning of the third line, reads: ‘(3) warrior/booty-maker (*kfw*)<sup>54</sup> Amenemnekhu, [who follows his lord at] (4) his footsteps in southern and northern foreign lands, on water and on land, in every place. (5) Praised one of his lord, Scribe Amenhotep’. With its military connotation, the inscription is quite possibly to be related to Amenemnekhu’s stela at Tom-

bos, dated to Year 20 of Thutmose III, in which he records the successful outcome of a Nubian campaign and boasts of his securing of southern goods (Davies 2008a; 2008b).

#### *Asrunga (Asrunyia)*

We also visited the seasonal island of Asrunga, which is situated to the west-south-west of Tina Island. Here we sought out a previously identified inscription,<sup>55</sup> which turned out to be located on a large granite boulder at the top of a prominent hill (Plate 14). Arranged in a column, among a number of rock-drawings of ostrich and giraffe, it consists of a single name, roughly pecked into the intractable surface, reading *Hnnw*, ‘Henenu’ (Figure 6, Plate 15).<sup>56</sup> The name is suggestive of a Middle Kingdom date,<sup>57</sup> in which case, since it is situated slightly further south than the inscriptions of Senwosret III (Year 10) at the northern end of Tina Island,<sup>58</sup> it would represent the most southerly known *in situ* inscription predating the New Kingdom.<sup>59</sup>

The indications are that the *wadi* at Debba served as a major staging post for riverine travellers – the most important and

<sup>48</sup> Vila 1975, 26, fig. 11, 3-B-2B/1, 27, fig. 13, 28, no. 1; Dewachter 1978, 275, Doc. 182; Dewachter 1985, 26, no. 4; Raedler 2003, 144, no. 100; Müller 2013, 449, 42.3.

<sup>49</sup> Hintze and Reineke 1989, i, 182, no. 607, ii, pl. 263; Müller 2013, 243, H 52, 451, 42.22; for the title, Hannig 2006, 211, and cf. *Wb.* i, 318, 11-12.

<sup>50</sup> For the monuments of the viceroy Amenemnekhu, see Davies 2008a; 2008b; Shirley 2014, 223-224; also now Rondot 2017, identifying Amenemnekhu as the owner (name destroyed) of a fragmentary stela from Sai (note, however, that the viceregal title therein, partly preserved, appears to exhibit the fuller form, *s3-nswt n Kš*, ‘King’s son of Kush’, otherwise first attested for the later viceroy [of Thutmose IV], Amenhotep; see Bryan 1991, 250-251; Klotz and Brown 2016, 297).

<sup>51</sup> From at least Year 18 of Thutmose III and quite possibly from Year 10 (Bács 2014, 413-4, 426; Shirley 2014, 188, 223).

<sup>52</sup> Hintze and Reineke 1989, i, 182-183, no. 609, ii, pl. 264, followed in Müller 2013, 105, no. 4, 169, A 10, 449, 42.5.

<sup>53</sup> Attested in two other Nubian rock-inscriptions (Hintze and Reineke 1989, i, 38, no. 64, 90, no. 365, ii, pls 30 and 122).

<sup>54</sup> ‘Beutemacher’ (*Wb.* 5, 121, 7; Hannig 2006, 952).

<sup>55</sup> Vila 1975, 52-53, figs 54 and 55, 1; Edwards and Mills 2013, 15. For its approximate location, see map in Vila 1975, 14 (Asrunyia, 16 X).

<sup>56</sup> The final *w* (G 43) and the name-determinative are a little malformed.

<sup>57</sup> Cf., for example, *PN* i, 244, no. 21, 245, no. 1; Hintze and Reineke 1989, i, 26, no. 13, 30, no. 33, ii, pls 13 and 20; Franke 1984, 262-263, nos. 413-414; Obsomer 1995, 288, 299-300, 302, 635-637, nos 80-81, 671, no. 125; Favry 2009, 14, 20, 97 and 353 (Index).

<sup>58</sup> Edwards and Mills 2013, 15, pl. 14; Davies 2016.

<sup>59</sup> On the extent of Middle Kingdom penetration into Upper Nubia (Kush), in particular under Senwosret I and Senwosret III of the 12<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, see Tallet 2005, 40-52; Obsomer 2007, 58-69; Favry 2009, 78-85; Valbelle 2015, 475-476.

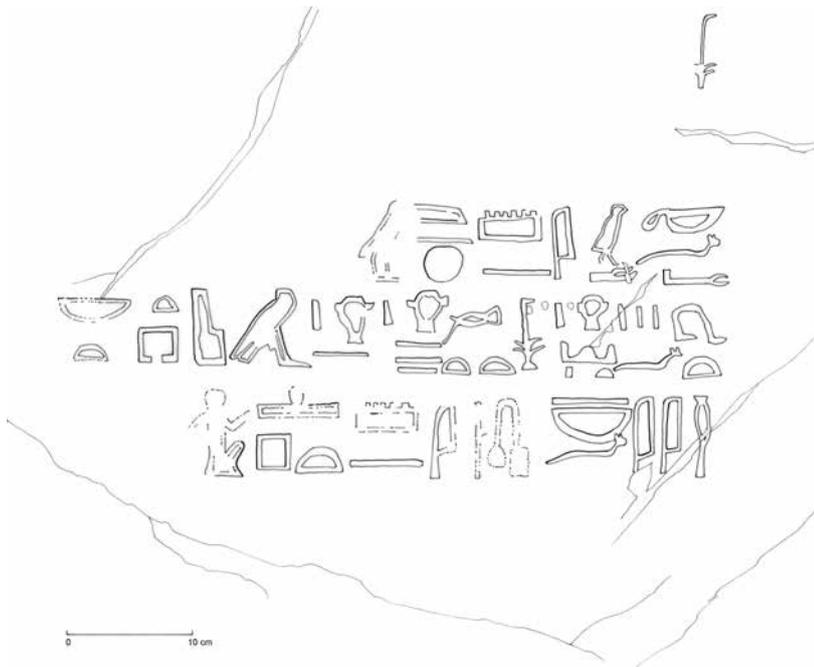


Figure 5. Debba, inscription of Amenemkhu, provisional copy.



Plate 13. Debba, northern cliff-face, inscription of Amenemkhu.

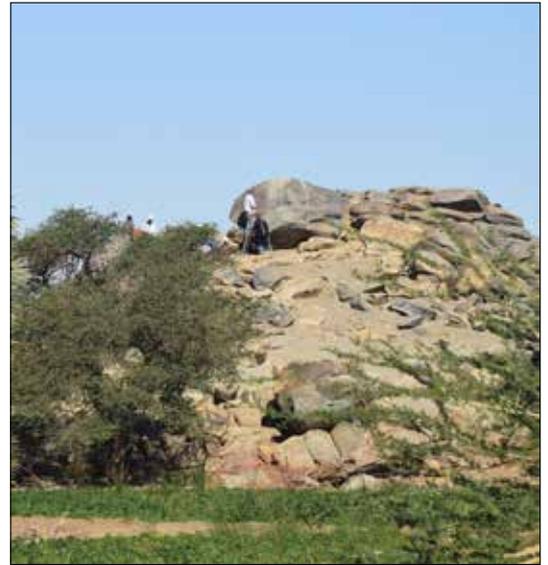


Plate 14. Asruna Island, recording the inscription on a granite boulder (photo: J. Cooper).

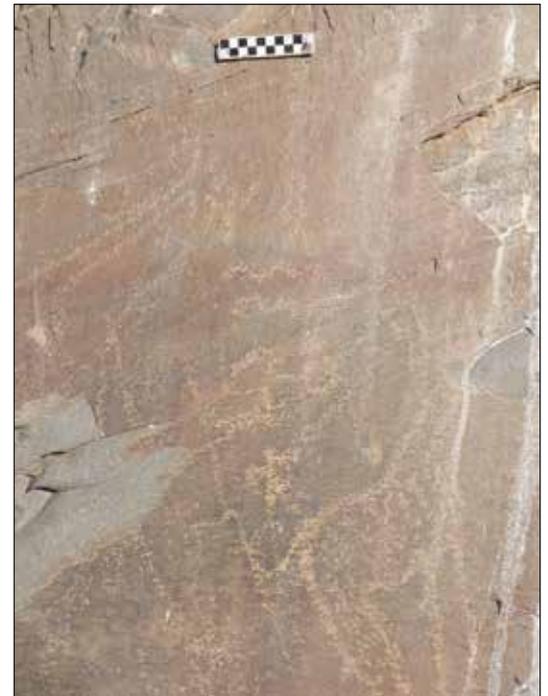


Plate 15. Asruna Island, inscription of Henenu.

literate of them named in the inscriptions – waiting for their boats to be tracked through the difficult waters of the Dal Cataract and marking, in the meantime, their presence at the place. As exploration proceeds, it will be interesting to see, among other things, whether the prosopographical corpus includes inscriptions of the Middle Kingdom (complementing those on Tina and Asruna) and whether the invading fleet of Thutmose I (on its way to conquer Kush) left a record of its passage, as it did in similar contexts downstream, at the Tanjur and Akasha Cataracts.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Hintze and Reineke 1989, i, 170-172, no. 561, ii, pl. 238; Edwards

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and Mills 2013, 13-15, pl. 13; Davies 2014, 40-41, pl. 23, fig. 14; 2017, 87-92, figs 23 and 28-34.

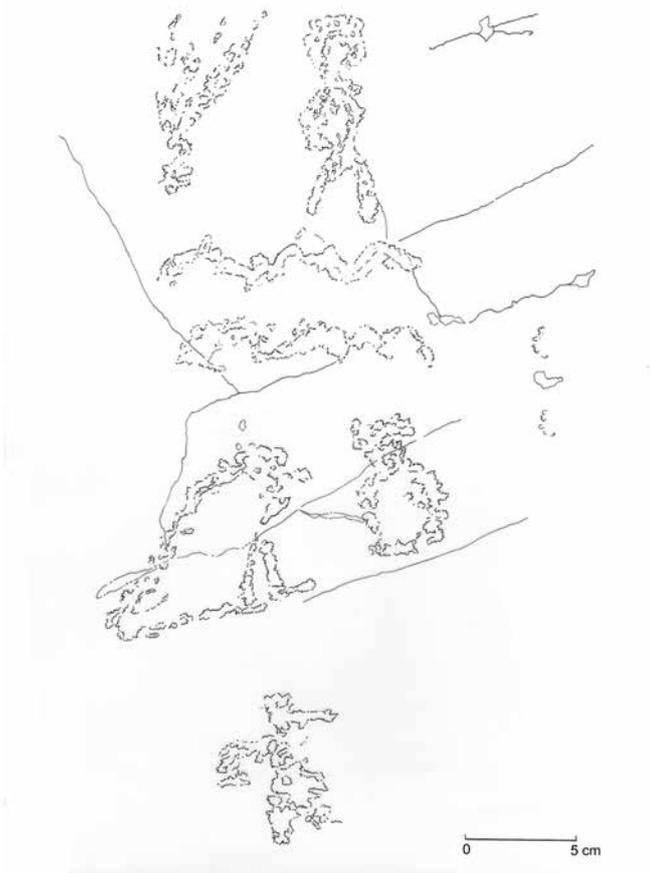


Figure 6. Asrunga Island, inscription of Henenu, copy.

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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.
- PN = H. Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen*, 3 vols. Gluckstadt, 1935-1977.
- Wb = *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. Leipzig 1925-50, A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds).