

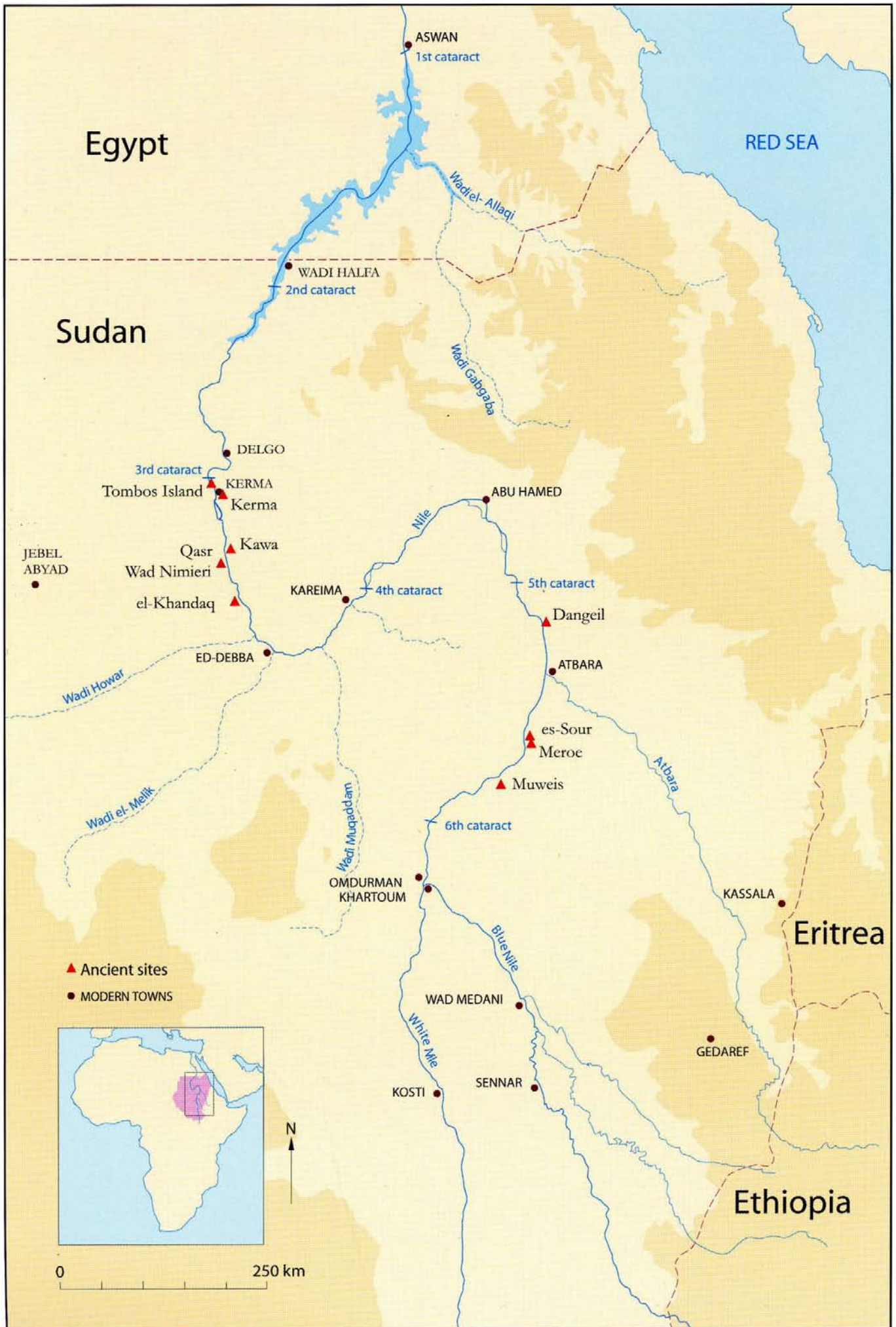
SUDAN & NUBIA

The Sudan Archaeological Research Society



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Front cover: Rescuing rock art from the Sudan Archaeological Research Society's concession at the Fourth Nile Cataract. This collaborative project between the British Museum, Iveco and New Holland was undertaken in November 2007 and resulted in the removal, from the SARS concession, of over 50 boulders bearing rock art or used as rock gongs. The pyramid, offering chapel and enclosure wall from site 4-F-71 were also relocated. Here the work is being filmed by a cameraman from the Italian TV news channel Rei Due (photo D. A. Welsby).

Tombos and the Viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu

W. Vivian Davies

As part of a wider investigation of Egyptian inscriptions in the Northern Sudan, the British Museum has begun a project of epigraphic survey at Tombos near the Third Cataract,¹ well known as the site of major pharaonic stelae documenting Egypt's conquest and occupation of Kush in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. I published here the first results of the project: a new record of an important viceregal inscription located on Tombos Island (Back Cover, Colour plates V-VIII, Figures 1-2).² I also consider related material from the collection of the British Museum and from the temples of Semna and Kumma (now housed in the garden of the Sudan National Museum, Khartoum).

incomplete owing to lamination of parts of the surface, is arranged in eight horizontal lines, the hieroglyphs reading right to left (Colour plate VII; Figure 1). Only the final line, damaged in parts, is preserved along its entire length.⁴ There is no trace of paint within the hieroglyphs. Marking the successful outcome of a punitive expedition carried out in Year 20 of King Thutmose III, the text invokes benefits for the viceroy responsible (name deliberately damaged), boasting of his effectiveness in delivering southern goods

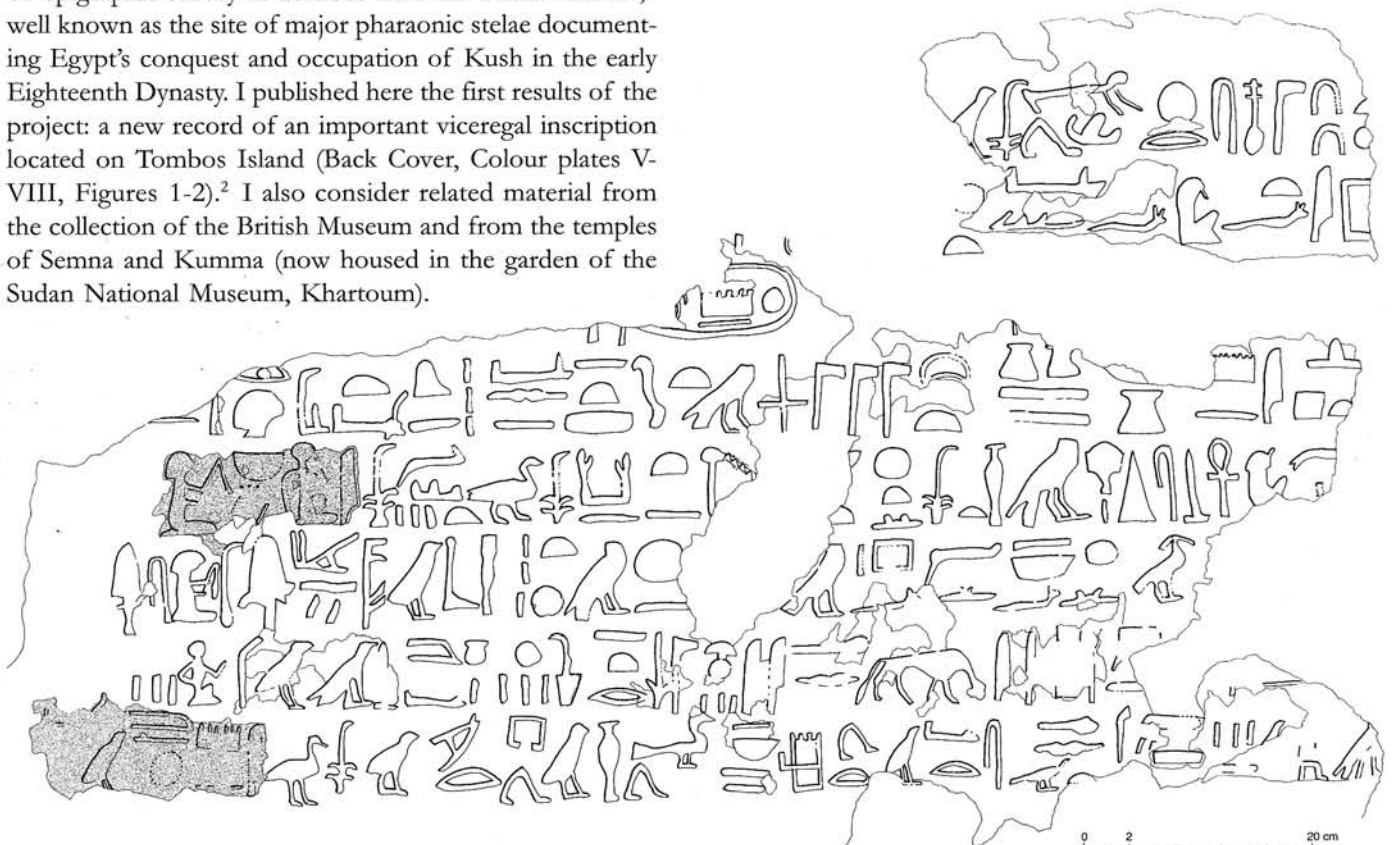


Figure 1. New copy of inscription of Thutmose III.

Island of Tombos, Inscription of Year 20 of Thutmose III

Cut into the northern face of a low, granite boulder, located not far from the river-bank in the south-east of the island (Colour plates V (91/17) and VI),³ the inscription, now

and of his favourable reception by the king. It was discovered by the University of Chicago Egyptian Expedition in 1907, briefly described by Breasted in 1908,⁵ and subsequently published in full by Säve-Söderbergh in 1941,⁶ since when it has been much cited and discussed.⁷

¹ PM VII, 174-5.

² The basic record was made in November 2006.

³ PM VII, 175 (Island); Edwards and Salih 1992, 24-5, pl. vii (ref. 91/17). The choice of this particular boulder was probably influenced by practical concerns. Its relatively smooth, vertical northern side offered an ideal surface for such an inscription and is set at a convenient height (Back cover). It is one of a large outcrop of such boulders (Colour plate VI) a group of which, further to the north, is decorated with native rock-art (Edwards and Salih 1992, 24, ref. 91/16). Beyond, near the northern tip of the island, is another Egyptian inscription (Edwards and Salih 1992, 26-7, pl. viii, ref. 91/13),

³ (cont.) which appears to comprise a Nile-level, dated to Year 10 of an unidentified king. The position of these stations (and the other major inscriptions on the mainland) is indicated in Colour plate V.

⁴ The length of the final line is approx. 1.16m. The maximum surviving height of the inscription is 630mm.

⁵ Breasted 1908, 47-8.

⁶ Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 175-6 and 207-9, with fig. 16 (publishing Breasted's photograph with handcopy). Cf. the more recent photograph in Edwards and Salih 1992, 25, pl. vii, and Edwards 2004, 103-4, fig. 4.11, and the handcopy (based on the Säve-Söderbergh publication) in *Urk.* iv, 1375, 3-19.

⁷ On the military campaign, see, for example, Redford 1967, 60-1;



Figure 2. Detail of the inscription with the two names.

In dispute from the beginning has been the reading of the damaged name of the viceroy, ‘the king’s son, overseer of southern foreign lands’, an issue which has bearing on the question of the number and identity of the viceroys who served during the co-regency of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut.⁸ To date, only one viceroy is attested with certainty for the period of the co-regency, namely Amenemnekh (*Imn-m-nḥw*). He is known from several rock-inscriptions at different sites in Nubia (see further below), one of which (at Shalfak) is dated to Year 18.⁹ In a number of cases (twice in the same context at Shalfak and once at Sehel),¹⁰ his name has been officially effaced. Of the other attested viceroys of the first half of the Eighteenth Dynasty, only Usersatet (temp. Amenhotep II) appears to have certainly suffered similar persecution.¹¹ There



Plate 1. Detail of the inscription, showing the viceroy’s first name.



Plate 2. Detail of the inscription, showing the viceroy’s second name.

⁷ (cont.) Reineke, 1977, 372-3; Zibelius-Chen 1988, 195, with n. 356, and 222, with n. 168; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 3; Peden 2001, 90; Redford 2003, 190, with n. 28; Redford 2004, 38, with n. 8; Bryan 2006, 79; Spalinger 2006, 354; Popko 2006, 134.

⁸ Habachi 1980, 631, nos. 6-7; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 7; el-Sabbahy 1992; Pamminger 1992; Dziobek 1993; Helck 1994, 39-40; Dziobek 1998, 136-7; Bács 2002, 56-8; Gasse and Rondot 2003, 42, Table 1; Davies 2005, 53-4; Bryan 2006, 102; Spalinger 2006, 353.

⁹ Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 90, no. 365, II, 122, no. 365.

¹⁰ Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 90, nos 365-6, II, 122, nos 365-6; Gasse and Rondot 2003, 43, fig. 4; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 136 and 481 (SEH 241).

¹¹ Schulman 1969-70, 36, n. 68; Dewachter 1978, I, 534-5; Müller 1979, 173-6, no. 8; Habachi 1980, 632, no. 10; Gasse and Rondot 2003, 43-4, pl. 4; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 147-154. There is no clear evidence that the name of the viceroy Seni was ever deliberately effaced (Dewachter 1978, I, 534-5). The identity of the king and viceroy figured on the stela from Sai Island, S. 63 (see most recently

must therefore be a high probability that Amenemnekh is the viceroy named in the Tombos Island inscription. As will be seen below, this inference is well founded, though there is an unexpected twist to the tale.

The viceroy of the Tombos Island inscription is named twice, at the end of lines 5 and 8 respectively. In the interpretation of the traces remaining in the first case, scholarly opinion has been largely divided between the reading Iny (Any)¹² and Inebny,¹³ the latter reading supported by

¹¹ (cont.) Minault-Gout 2006-7, 282, with n. 35), remains to be clarified (Dewachter 1978, I, 32, C, and 458-9, Doc. X.2).

¹² Breasted 1908, 47-8; Edel cited in Hintze 1965, 14, n. 12; Dewachter 1976a, 153, n. 20; Dewachter 1978, I, 37-8, Doc. 29; Müller 1979, 169-70, no. 5, and 478, 57.1; Habachi 1980, 631, nos 6-7 (sources confused); Edwards 1992, 24-5, pl. vii (ref: 91/17); Dziobek 1993, 30-1; Dziobek 1995, 134; Dziobek 1998, 136-7; Klug 2002, 71, n. 561; Edwards 2004, 103-4, fig. 4.11.

¹³ Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 175-6 and 208; *Urk.* iv, 1375, 12 and 19, with n. a; Helck 1961, 67, no. 416; Bryan 1991, 7-8; El-Sabbahy 1992, 100-1; Redford 2004, 171, n. 8; Spalinger 2006, 353.

the fact that a ‘king’s son’ named Inebny is known from a contemporary source, the famous painted limestone statue, British Museum EA 1131 (Colour plates IX-X).¹⁴ There appears to have been a general assumption that the second example of the name, in line 8, was a repetition of that in line 5, though it has also been argued that *’Imn-m-nḥw* might be read in line 8 and a shortened or diminutive form in line 5.¹⁵

Our new record of the inscription, with details enlarged, is reproduced in photograph and facsimile in Colour plates VII-VIII, Plates 1-2, and Figures 1-2, respectively. It can be seen that, despite the ancient attempts to obliterate the names by deliberately lowering the surface of the stone at the appropriate points, the outlines of the individual hieroglyphs are still for the most part preserved (Plates 1-2; Figure 2). There is little doubt that the first name is *’Inbny* (written as in the horizontal line 12 of the British Museum statue, Colour plate X), while the second name is certainly *’Imn-m-nḥw*.¹⁶ In the case of the former, only the *n*-sign underneath the *nb*-sign is not entirely clear. In the latter, the name-determinative, once located under the arm-holding-stick-hieroglyph, is lost.

With these names included (Figure 1), the inscription may be read as follows:¹⁷

1. [Ye]ar 20. The good god, who overthrew the one who attacked him [...]

2. house (?) (a) of his father (b), who gave strength (?) (c) [and ?...] (d)

3. [...] (e) Menkheperre (f) [beloved of] A[mun]... (g)

4. A gift that [the king gives] and Amun, [lo]rd of the thrones of the two lands and the Ennead which is in Ta-Sety, that they may give valour, vigilance [and ...] (h)

5. [in fr]ont of the king (i) and life, health, prosperity and alertness in the favour of the king, and eve[ry good] and pure thing for the spirit of the king’s son, overseer of southern (j) foreign lands, Inebny,

6. [he says: I am an] effective [servant] of his lord, who filled his house with [gold] (k,l), jasper, ivory, ebony, and tishpes-wood,

7. [with] [sk]in (m) of panthers, khesayet-spice and incense of the Medjau,

8. with the riches of vile Kush (n); one who was caused to ascend to the palace of the lord of the two lands (o), who entered favoured and left beloved (p), king’s son, Amenemnekhu.

a. The ‘house’-hieroglyph here is taken (not impossibly) as the substantive ‘house’, ‘temple’ by Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 208, fig. line 2, and *Urk.* IV, 1375,4, with *kd* ‘build’ restored before it. However, since it lacks the stroke-determinative, which is present in the example of the word in line 6, it could possibly itself be a determinative, of a word like *šnw*, ‘storeroom’, ‘labour establishment’, ‘šn’-Betriebe’, which is commonly attested in the context of military victory by the king with prisoners taken to ‘fill the *šn*’ of his father (Amun) or similar; cf. *Wb.* 4, 507, 12; Polz 1990, 47, n. 28; Eichler 2000, 97-8, with n. 451; Morris 2005, 182; Hallmann 2006, 42, n. 288, 226, n. 1532, 233 and 299.

b. There is a natural hole in the surface above the *f*, which the sculptors avoided and worked around.

c. With Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 208, *Urk.* iv, 1375, 5, and Helck 1961, 67, no. 416, taking *ht* here as a writing of *nht/nht* or *nhtw*, ‘Stärke’ or ‘Sieg’, an attribute or outcome granted by Amun to the king (cf. *Wb.* 2, 316, 13; Galán 1995, 52-3 (IV) and 54-5 (VI)).

d. The remains of a sign or possibly two signs are discernible above the cartouche in line 3.

e. Of the first half of the line there survives a tiny remnant only, located immediately above the third *nst*-sign (of *nb nswt t3wy*) in line 4.

f. Despite the partial loss of the end of the name, the reading Menkheperre, the prenomen of Thutmose III (as opposed to Menkheprure, the prenomen of Thutmose IV), is assured (cf. Bryan 1991, 6-9).

g. Reading the remnant following the cartouche as the bottom of the *i* of *’Imn*; cf. *Urk.* iv, 1375, 7; Helck 1961, 67, no. 416, n. 3.

h. I take the vertical sign following the *tp* (of *rs(w)-tp*) as its stroke determinative. The identity of the fragmentary sign following remains uncertain. On the attributes commonly included in this version of the offering formula, see Barta 1968, 97 and 122 (Bitte 122).

i. Reading [*m*]-*b3ḥ nswt*. For the expression in such formulae, see Barta 1968, 97, Bitte 122, b, with n. 3; cf. *Urk.* iv, 1614, 13. For the seated king hieroglyph as a writing of *nswt*, cf., for example, *Urk.* iv, 74, 14 (Fecht 1964, 58).

j. Note the abbreviated writing of *nswt*, with a *t* displacing the normal *r* of *rs* (Gardiner 1957, 482, M 24), as in the inscription of Amenemnekhu from Tangur; see Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 173, no. 564, II, 240, no. 564, and possibly also I, 171, no. 558, II, 237, no. 558.

k. Reading [*dd.f ink b3k*] *3ḥ n nb.f mḥ pr.f m [nbw]*. The suggested restorations fit the lacunae and suit the context; cf. the Ibrim inscription of the viceroy Nehy, Caminos 1968, 41, pl. 10, line 2 (= *Urk.* iv, 984, 7-9); Hallmann 2006, 19. Other suggestions (*Urk.* iv, 1375, 13; Gutgesell and Schmitz

¹⁴ PM I (2nd ed.), 2, 788, Salt Collection, from Thebes, Ht: 520mm; *HT* v, 10, pl. 34, no. 374; *Urk.* iv, 464-5; Schmitz 1976, 270, no. 3; James and Davies 1983, 63, fig. 69; Schulz 1992, 379-80, no. 219, pl. 98c, d; Russmann 2001; Bács 2002, 57, n. 27; Davies 2005, 54; Roehrig 2005. The name (PN I, 5, no. 18) occurs twice, in line 12 of the horizontal inscription on the front of the body of the statue, and line 7 (the final column) of the inscription on the pedestal.

¹⁵ Dewachter 1978, I, 38; Pamminger 1992, 98-100; cf. Budka 2002, 62, and Budka 2005, 113.


¹⁶ The disposition of the signs is paralleled in the writing of the name at Schel; see Gasse and Rondot 2003, 43, fig. 4; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 136 and 481 (SEH 241).

¹⁷ Among previous translations, in whole or part, see Breasted 1908, 47-8; Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 208; Helck 1961, 67, no. 416; Cumming 1984, 92, no. 416; Bryan 1991, 8; Budka 2002, 62; Budka 2005, 112-3.



1981, 133, n. 14) are less convincing. On the phrase *b3k 3h n nb.f*, including the Tombos example, see Guksch 1994, 86 and 223-4 (106) 01-03, to which add *HT* vi, 11, pl. 47, no. 371 (BM EA 1199), line 2 = Frood 2003, 60, fig. 1, line 2, and 65, pl. iv, and Davies 1930, 44, pl. xlv, 7.

l. On the various commodities listed here, see Drenkhahn, 1967, 125-6, 130-1, 132-3, 137-8; Zibelius-Chen 1988, 73-80, 85-86, with n. 152, 91, 93-4, with n. 253, 96-8, with n. 291, 99-100, with n. 306, 107-8, with n. 393, and 112-4; on khesayet and tishepes, see Edel 1984, 190, no. 5, and 191, with n. 6; Koura 1999, 234-5 and 238-40; on Nubia as a source of gold, ivory and ebony, see Hikade 2001, 71-5 and 92-5, with nn. 402 and 515.

m. Restoring . The *n*-sign is clear, the bottom of the *mm*-sign survives, and the skin-determinative is certain. There is room for an *m* at the beginning of the line, preceding *imm*.

n. Despite the partial loss, the reading *m špsw* or *špsw n Kš hst* here is clear. On 'šps-Kostbarkeiten' in such contexts, see Hallmann 2006, 293-4. The top of the *t* of *hst* survives.

o. On *s'r* in this sense, cf. the contemporary parallel, *Urk.* iv, 897, 6, cited in *Wb.* 4, 32, 11. The reading *tšny* (misinterpreted by Breasted, see Säve-Söderbergh 1941, 208, fig. line 8, with n. j) is definite. The second *tš*-sign, which is not as long as the first, stops short of a hole in the surface at this point.

p. On the expression *k hsw pr mrw* and the consistent pairing of *hs* and *mr*, see Guksch 1994, 39-45 with 139 (026) 03; cf. Janssen-Winkeln 2002, 48-9, and Valbelle 2007a, 160-1 (a).

It follows from the inscription that the viceroy Amenemnekh had two names, Inebny/Amenemnekh, which are used here alternatively,¹⁸ and that he was still in active service in Year 20, when he conducted or effected the military campaign in question, one of at least two southern campaigns known to have taken place during the period of the co-regency.¹⁹ It also (almost certainly) confirms his identity with the 'follower of his lord upon his footsteps in the southern and northern foreign lands, king's son, troop-commander, overseer of weaponry of the king, Inebny' of the British Museum statue (Colour plates IX-X). Although their secondary titles are different,²⁰ both served as 'king's son' during the same period (that of the co-regency) and

¹⁸ Cf. Vernus 1986, 86-88 and 99-103.

¹⁹ Habachi 1957, 99-104, fig. 6 (see now Gasse and Rondot 2003, 41-3, fig. 3, and Gasse and Rondot 2007, 135 and 482 [SEH 240]); Redford 1967, 57-62; Reineke 1977; Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 172, no. 562, II, 239, no. 562; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 3; Davies 2005, 52-3; Spalinger 2006, 354; Popko 2006, 134 and 165-71.

²⁰ For the titles 'troop-commander' and 'overseer of weaponry of the king', see Chevereau 1994, 66, 11.15, and 194, 26.17. They serve here perhaps to articulate the military responsibilities subsumed in the post of viceroy. On the organization of the Egyptian army in Kush during this period, see Redford 2004, 43.

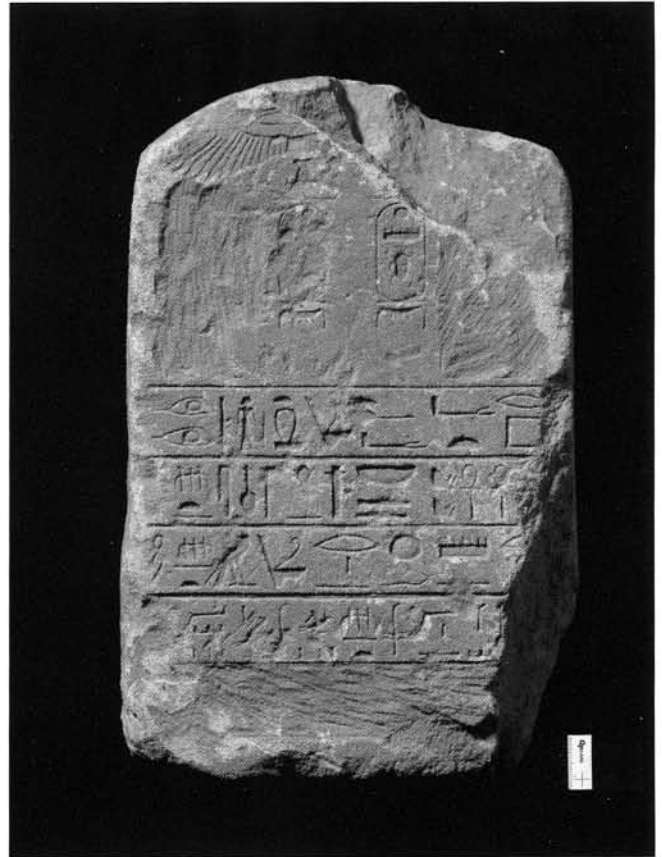


Plate 3. Stela BM EA 1015.

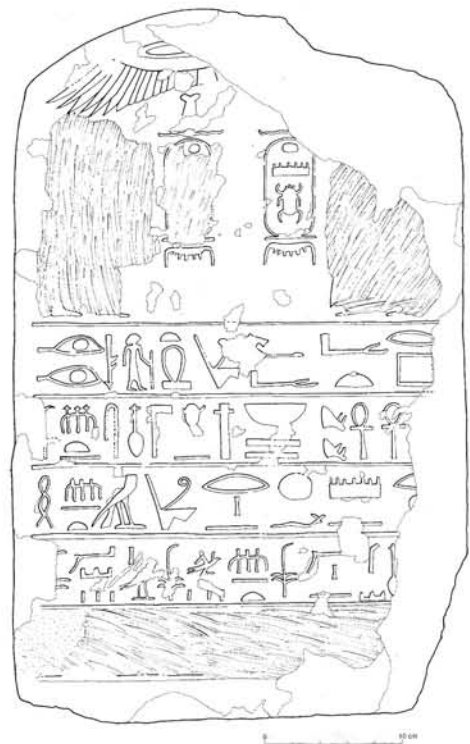


Figure 3. Stela BM EA 1015, new copy of decoration.

share a name, Inebny, which appears to be otherwise unknown. With the statue and Tombos inscription included, the total number of attestations of this viceroy rises to nine, as he is known from seven other rock-inscriptions, located at various points within the Nubian Nile Valley: at Sehel,²¹ Shalfak (twice),²² Kumma,²³ Tangur (twice),²⁴ and Dal.²⁵ Two more cases can probably be added to this corpus. One is a stela in the British Museum (EA 1015), probably from Buhen, again from the period of the co-regency, the other an ex-voto in the temple of Kumma. These are considered below, as is a relevant context in the temple of Semna.

Stela British Museum EA 1015

The stela²⁶ (Plate 3; Figure 3), made of sandstone (max. ht 510mm), is decorated with a scene showing two figures of a viceroy, facing inwards, giving praise to the prenomen ([Maatka]re) of Hatshepsut on the left and that of Thutmose III (Menkheperre) on the right, surmounting an inscription arranged in four horizontal lines, giving the viceroy's titles, epithets and name: '(1) Hereditary nobleman, governor, royal treasurer, sole companion, eyes (2) [of the king], ears of the lord of the two lands, one who is in the heart of the perfect god, one whom the ki[ng] has advanced (3) [kno]wing his effectiveness, mouth of the king of Lower Egypt in Khent-h[en]-nefer, tongue of the king of Upper Egypt amongst the Rekhyt, king's son, overseer of southern foreign lands (4) [inscription destroyed]'. Deliberate damage has been inflicted on the name of Hatshepsut, the figures of the viceroy and the last line of the inscription, which once identified the viceroy. The extent of the latter damage, which encompasses the entire line, suggests that a double name was once written here. The obvious candidate is now 'Inebny/Amenemnekhu'.²⁷

Temple of Kumma, Court B, ex-voto

The second case occurs in a viceregal ex-voto in the temple of Kumma, placed beneath a larger scene of Thutmose III worshipping the god Khnum on a pilaster in Court B.²⁸ The ex-voto consists of five columns of inscription (Plate 4) followed by the figure of a viceroy standing with hands raised in adoration of the god. Once again the figure of the

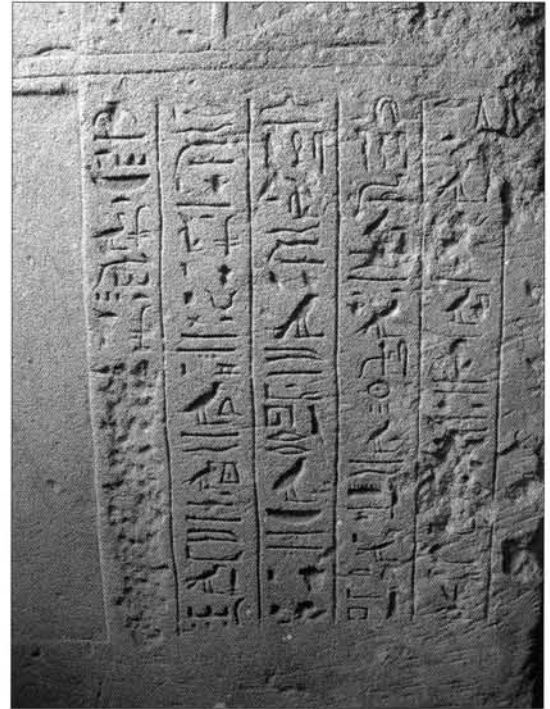
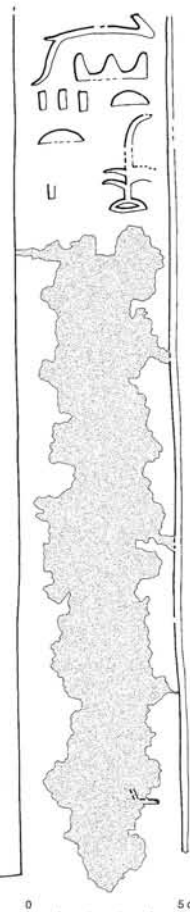


Plate 4. Temple of Kumma, ex-voto in Court B.

Figure 4. Copy of damaged area in last column with vestige of hieroglyph.



viceroy has been almost entirely removed (faint traces survive) and the viceroy's name has been obliterated. The area of damage in the inscription, occupying over half the final column, invites the same conclusion: it once contained two names. The double-name 'Inebny/Amenemnekhu' would again suit the space. In this case, the suggestion is supported by the vestige of a hieroglyph which survives towards the bottom of the column (see the recent drawing, Figure 4). It looks like the front leg of a bird, probably the quail-chick (*w*), its location suiting a vertical disposition of the name *Imn-m-nhw* (followed by a determinative). The attribution of this ex-voto to Amenemnekhu also works well within the context of the other decoration in Court B, echoing in content, style, size and situation two near-by ex-votos

(associated with inscriptions of Thutmose II honouring the god Khnum) left by a close predecessor, the viceroy Seni.²⁹ Independent evidence that Amenemnekhu was active at

²¹ Gasse and Rondot 2003, 43, fig. 4; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 136 and 481 (SEH 241), and possibly also 204 and 533 (SEH 339).

²² Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 90-1, nos 365-6, II, 122, no. 365-6.

²³ Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 116, no. 419, II, 154, no. 419.

²⁴ Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 171, no. 558, II, 237, no. 558, and I, 173, no. 564, II, 240, no. 564.

²⁵ Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 182-3, no. 609, II, 264, no. 609.

²⁶ PM vii, 141; *HT* v, 10, pl. 35; Smith 1976, 198 and 209; Dewachter 1978, I, 412-4, Doc. IV; Bryan 1991, 9; Pamminger 1992, 100; Spieser 2000, 197 and 300, no. 46.

²⁷ Or possibly 'Inebny called (*ddw.n.f*) Amenemnekhu' or vice-versa (Vernus 1986, 85, n. 17; Säve-Söderbergh and Troy 1991, 205-6).

²⁸ Dunham and Janssen 1960, 119, pl. 51; Dewachter 1978, I, 415-7, Doc. VI; Caminos 1998, II, 11-13, pls 14-15 (Pilaster 8, east face).

²⁹ Caminos 1998, II, 22-5, pls 20-3.



Kumma is provided by the rock-inscription (already noted above) marking the presence at the site of one of his close attendants.³⁰

The indications are that, like a small number of other senior officials who served during the co-regency,³¹ Inebny/Amenemnekh suffered a *damnatio memoriae*, possibly because of his close association with Hatshepsut, although the persecution, as in the case of others so targeted, appears to have been unsystematic. While his name (together with image where present) was effaced at Tombos, Shalfak, Buhen, Kumma (temple), and Sehel, it was left untouched at Kumma (rock-inscription), Tangur and Dal, as well as in the two examples on his statue from Thebes where the name of Hatshepsut was actually removed.³²

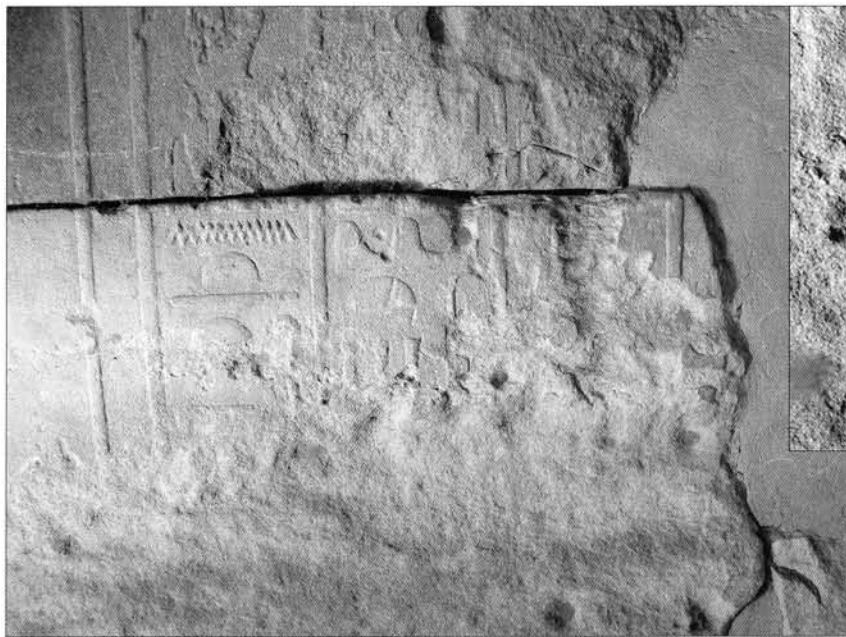


Plate 5. Temple of Semna, Year 2 inscription. Bottom of columns 1-3.

Temple of Semna, Year 2 inscription

On the basis of the known dates for Amenemnekh's period of office - Year 18 (Shalfak) and now Year 20 (Tombos) - it is a reasonable assumption that he remained in post up to the disappearance of Hatshepsut in Year 22³³ (Thutmose III appointed a new viceroy, Nehy, who was in post in Year 23).³⁴ However, it is yet to be determined when Amenemnekh took up office. That it occurred after Year 2 can be established from the text dated to that year inscribed on the

³⁰ Hintze and Reineke 1989, I, 116, no. 419, II, 154, no. 419.

³¹ Dziobek 1995, 132-5; Dorman 2005a, 108-9; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 131-4.

³² On the proscription of Hatshepsut, see Dorman 2005b, 267-9; also Arnold 2005; Roth 2005.

³³ Dorman 2006, 57-8.

³⁴ Dewachter 1976a, 153; Dewachter 1978, I, 48-9, Doc. 41; Müller 1979, 170-2, no. 6; Habachi 1980, 631-2, no. 8; Bács 2002, 57-8.



exterior east wall of the temple of Semna, which tells of an order given by Thutmose III to his viceroy relating to the commemoration of a renewal of offerings.³⁵ The viceroy's name occurs at the very bottom of the second column (Plate 5)³⁶ and is almost entirely lost (NB: not through deliberate damage but from natural decay of the stone surface).³⁷ All that survives of the name is a small trace, roughly triangular in shape (Plates 5-6). It was taken by Caminos (perhaps too definitively) as 'the rear protuberance or horny crest on the head of the -bird', on the basis of which he read the name as Nehy, which suits the available space³⁸ but is difficult to reconcile with the fact that Nehy is known to have followed Amenemnekh as viceroy, being first certainly attested in office (as noted above) in Year 23.³⁹ The reading



Plate 6. Bottom of column 2 with vestige of viceroy's name indicated.

'Inebny' can also be discounted (the surviving trace is incompatible with the orthography of that name), as can 'Amenemnekh' (on grounds of space as well as orthography).

Among the remaining (known) viceregal candidates (comprising Seni, Se, and now possibly Penre),⁴⁰ only 'Seni' (viceroy probably for most of the reign of Thutmose I and the reign of Thutmose II)⁴¹ would seem to meet the requirements of the context. The remaining trace could be the right (top) end of an *n*-sign (; cf. the *n*-sign in column 1,

³⁵ Dunham and Janssen 1960, 9, fig. A (23), 11, pl. 30; Dewachter 1978, I, 411-2, Doc. III; Caminos 1998, I, 14, 43-7, pls 23-5.

³⁶ Cf. Caminos 1998, pl. 25, col. 2.

³⁷ Caminos 1998, 14, n. 4.

³⁸ Caminos 1998, 44, with n. 2.

³⁹ Davies 2005, 54, with n. 56; Dorman 2006, 42 and 61, n. 26.

⁴⁰ Bács 2002; Valbelle 2007a.

⁴¹ Already cited above with reference to his ex-votos in the temple of Kumma, Seni is probably the viceroy of the biographical text inscribed on the exterior south wall of the temple of Semna (Dewachter 1978, I, 409-11, Doc. II; Caminos 1998, I, 27-31, pls 18-19; Bács 2002, 56-7, n. 25; Valbelle 2007a, 162, n. 11, and 173-5).

Plate 5) and there is room for the vertical *sn*-sign to its right. The name might have been completed with the inclusion of a man-determinative underneath the *n* (as in other cases of his name),⁴² a grouping compatible with the available space.

Whether this suggestion is correct or not, the exclusion of Inebny/Amenemnekhu as a candidate means that two viceroys are currently attested for the Thutmose III-Hatshepsut period, the first (possibly Seni) in office at the very beginning of the period (Year 2), the second (Inebny/Amenemnekhu) towards the end (at least from Year 18 onwards). It remains to be ascertained if (and when) the former succeeded the latter or whether another viceroy intervened. However, there is currently no evidence for a rapid turnover of viceroys and consequent instability in the colonial administration during the co-regency,⁴³ a period which saw an active programme of temple and other building in the Nubian Nile Valley and consolidation of the Egyptian presence in Kush – the latter strikingly manifested in the major new fortified town of Pnubs (Dokki Gel), just south of Tombos, its religious complex including a temple (the western temple) decorated by Hatshepsut.⁴⁴

Summary

These first results of the British Museum Tombos survey show again the value of revisiting original material, long known but inadequately documented. It has produced useful new prosopographical data, extending our secure evidential base for the history of the period and the Egyptian appropriation of the Middle Nile Valley, a process in which the viceroy Inebny/Amenemnekhu appears to have played an active role during his (possibly long) period of office. It has also opened up an interesting possibility: that other viceroys (and indeed officials at large) currently known only by a single name (for example, Seni, Se, Penre, Nehy, Usersatet) may actually have had two names – perhaps deployed alternatively on different monuments – that have yet to be connected.

Inebny/Amenemnekhu is, to date, the earliest known viceroy to have left his mark at Tombos. A future report will consider the inscriptions on the Tombos mainland (east bank of the Nile),⁴⁵ a corpus which comprises the famous stelae of Thutmose I and commemorative texts left by two later viceroys, Usersatet⁴⁶ and Merymose, and other favoured officials,⁴⁷ a presence which, together with the recent dis-

covery of a near-by pharaonic cemetery including a large pyramid-tomb of a senior government official, possibly of the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, supports the growing picture of Tombos as a significant node of the colonial administration.⁴⁸

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http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/online_journals/bmsaes/issue_10/davies.aspx

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⁴² Davies and MacAdam 1957, nos 342 and 343; cf. Pammlinger 1992, 97.

⁴³ Dziobek 1993, 31-2; Dziobek 1998, 137; cf. Bács 2002, 58; Bryan 2006, 102.

⁴⁴ Valbelle 2006, 39-40, figs 5-6, and 45-50, fig. 9; Bonnet 2007, 192-4; Valbelle 2007b, 213-8; Valbelle 2008, 85-9, figs 2-3; cf. Welsby and Welsby Sjöström 2006-2007, 380.

⁴⁵ PM VII, 174-5

⁴⁶ Newly identified by the BM expedition as the right figure in the double scene published incompletely in *LD Text*, v, 244 (bottom right). I can also confirm that the figure on the left is the 'overseer of

⁴⁶ (cont.) foreign lands, overseer of the portal, fan-bearer, (Pa)-heka-ema-sen,' as suggested by Dewachter 1976b, 56-7; cf. Der Manuelian 1987, 93-4 and 111-2; Gasse and Rondot 2003, 45, pl. 6 and col. pl. xxv; 2007, 155 and 498 (SEH 261); Valbelle 2007a, 170.

⁴⁷ Including the previously unnoted inscription of a 'Mayu, son of Hor-er-hat and his wife Tju'.

⁴⁸ Smith 2003, 136-66; 2007, 2-7 and 12; 2008, 97-103 and 111; cf. Bonnet 2008, 83.



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Abbreviations

- HT = *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, etc. in the British Museum*. 12 parts. London, Oxford, Cambridge and Dorchester.
- LD Text = R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien. Text*. 5 vols. 1897-1913.
- PM I (2nd Ed.), 2 = The late B. Porter and R. L. B. Moss, assisted by E. W. Burney (eds), *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings, I, Part 2. Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*. Second edition. Revised and augmented. Oxford. 1964.
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- Urk. iv = *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*. Leipzig, 1906-1909, K. Sethe (ed.), and Berlin, 1955-1958, W. Helck (ed.).
- Wb. = *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*. 7 vols. Leipzig, 1925-1950, A. Erman and H. Grapow (eds).



Colour plate V. Satellite image of Tombos Island (photo Google Earth).



Colour plate VI. Tombos Island. General location of the Thutmose III inscription (91/17) viewed from the east, boulder indicated by the arrow.



Colour plate VII. Tombos Island. Inscription dated to Year 20 Of King Thutmose III.

Colour plate VIII. Tombos Island. Year 20 inscription, detail showing effaced names.



Colour plate IX. Statue of Inebny (BM EA 1131).



Colour plate X. Statue of Inebny, detail.