



**The British Museum epigraphic survey at Tombos:
the stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen**

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The British Museum's project at Tombos continued in 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 (Fig. 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 (Fig. 2). It is reproduced in photograph and facsimile drawing in Figures 3 and 4. 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.

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 Welsby, assisted by Ikhlas Abdel Latif Ahmed of the National Corporation of Antiquities and Museums (NCAM), Sudan. Permission for the work was granted by the Director-General of NCAM, Mr Hassan Hussein Idriss, and the Director of Fieldwork, Dr Salah Mohamed Ahmed. We were at Tombos for six days, from 24th 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 Mareé for his helpful comments on a draft of this paper. A slightly abbreviated version of this paper appeared in *Sudan & Nubia* 13 (2009), 21–9.

² *LD Text*, v, 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.

The Inscriptions

The right figure stands on a base-line before two columns of hieroglyphs reading: (1) *rdit i3w n nb t3wy sn t3 n ntr nfr hr-tp ʿnh wd3 snb nswt-bity nb t3wy* (2) *ʿ3-hprw-rʿ di ʿnh in s3-nswt imy-r h3swt rswt⁴ Wsr-stt*, '(1) Giving praise to the lord of the two lands, doing obeisance to the perfect god⁵ on behalf of the life, prosperity and health of king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the two lands, (2) Aa-khepru-Re, given life, by the king's son (viceroys), 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.

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: *ʿ3-hprw-rʿ di ʿnh in imy-r h3swt imy-r rwyt t3y hw Hk3-m-s3-sn*, 'Aa-khepru-Re, given life, by the overseer of foreign lands, overseer of the portal, fan-bearer, Hekaemsasen'.

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 23.⁶ He is attested as viceroy on a large number of monuments located both in Egypt and throughout the Nubian Nile Valley: a fragmentary statue from western Thebes (Deir el-Medina),⁷ a *shabti*-figure of uncertain provenance,⁸ a rock-cut statue in a shrine at Gebel Silsileh,⁹ numerous rock-figures and inscriptions in the First Cataract region (at Gebel Tingar¹⁰ and especially on Sehel Island),¹¹ shrine no. 11 at Ibrim,¹² a stela from Wadi Halfa (originally probably from Buhen),¹³ a statue from Uronarti,¹⁴ two stelae from

⁴ Of the signs following the *rs*-hieroglyph, there remain only indeterminate traces.

⁵ On these commonplace formulae of veneration, see Sadek 1987, 202–3; Spieser 2000, 101ff.

⁶ Dewachter 1978, 73–90; Habachi 1980, 632; Simpson 1986; Der Manuelian 1987, 110–11 (III.3), 154–8; Bács 2002, 56, 58 and 61; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 7 and 147; Török 2009, 172, no. 7.

⁷ PM i (2), 699; Maystre 1935–8; *Urk.* iv, 1487–9; Dewachter 1978, 86–8, Doc. 79;

⁸ Chassinat 1912, 161; Aubert and Aubert 1974, 37–8; Dewachter 1978, 88–9, Doc. 80; Bács 2002, 61, n. 60.

⁹ Caminos and James 1963, 33–4, pl. 25, fig. 1, S.4; Dewachter 1978, 85–6, Doc. 78.

¹⁰ Rock-inscription: Habachi 1957, 21–2, no. 11, fig. 6, pl. 6; Dewachter 1978, 84, Doc. 77. Fragmentary stela: Habachi 1971, 187–8; Dewachter 1978, 83, Doc. 76.

¹¹ Dewachter 1978, 80–83, Docs. 72–75; Gasse and Rondot 2003, 42, Table 1, no. 9, 43–4, pl. 4 and front cover; Gasse and Rondot 2007, 7 and 147–54 (SHE 253–260).

¹² *Urk.* iv, 1345–6, no. 391; 1490, no. 463; Caminos 1968, 59–60, 66, pls 24, 28, and 32; Dewachter 1978, 78–80, Doc. 71.

¹³ Stela BM EA 623; PM vii, 141; *HT* vii, 11, pl. 34; *Urk.* iv, 1486–7, no. 460; Smith 1976, 199; Dewachter 1978, 77–8, Doc. 70; Davies 1991, 315 (1903); Mostafa 1993, 89, 95, no. 5; Zayed 1999.

¹⁴ Khartoum, SNM 32; Budge 1907, i, 488–9, 492, fig.; Dewachter 1974; Dewachter 1978, 76–7, Doc. 69; Van Siclen 1982, 36–8, fig. 18, and 47.

Semna, one of which is dated to Year 23,¹⁵ a stela found at Amara West,¹⁶ 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 II'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 stelae,¹⁹ it is worth noting that no such damage is present in the case of the Tombos rock-stela.

Hekaemsasen (full name: Pahekaemsasen) 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 ḥ3swt*, 'overseer of foreign lands'

¹⁵ Boston MFA 25.632 and 25.633; Dunham and Janssen 1960, 17, pl. 82 (MFA 25.632), and 43–4, pl. 39, c (MFA 25.633); Helck 1955 (MFA 25.632); *Urk.* iv, 1343–4, no. 390 (MFA 25.632); Dewachter 1978, 74–6, Docs. 67 (MFA 25.632) and 68 (MFA 25.633); Der Manuelian 1987, 155–8, fig. 37 (MFA 25.632); Leprohon 1991, 3, 160–63 (MFA 25.632) and 164–6 (MFA 25.633). Boston MFA 25.632 is the stela that bears the year date. For the dated monuments of the reign of Amenhotep II, see Hornung 2006, 203.

¹⁶ Louvre E. 17341; Fairman 1939, 142, pl. 16, 1; *Urk.* iv, 1484–6, no. 460; Dewachter 1978, 74, Doc. 66; Delange 2001, 88–9, no. 24; Barbotin 2005, 156–7, no. 85.

¹⁷ Dokki Gel: Valbelle 2001, 229, 231, fig. 3, and p. xvii; Valbelle 2008, 89. Tabo: Jacquet-Gordon, Bonnet, and Jacquet 1969, 110 (2); Jacquet-Gordon 1999, 257–8, pl. 1; Ullmann 2009, 256. Jebel Barkal: PM vii, 222; Reisner 1931, 81 [4]; 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 Ibrim shrine (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 stelae kindly provided for me by Dr Rita Freed and Dr Denise Doxey, 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 Doxey for their helpful observations.

²⁰ On the title 'fan-bearer', see Pomorska 1987, 32–3, 38, 111, no. 21; Roehrig 2005a, 70–72 with nn. 2, 14, and 15; on the function of the 'overseer of the *myt*', see Bryan 2006, 87–9.

²¹ 1976, 53–60; Pomorska 1987, 111, no. 21; Der Manuelian 1987, 111–12 (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, Pahekaemsasen', and EA 62831 (type 267), 'overseer of the portal, Pahekaemsasen'. 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: nos. 1972.540 and 1972.541 (type 324) and no. 1972.482 (type 267). The latter number is a correction of that cited in *Sudan & Nubia* 13 (2009), 23 n.22. I am grateful to Dr Helen Whitehouse for supplying information about the Oxford funerary cones.

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

on the Tombos stela (and also the Theban dyad, see Appendix no. 4) is an abbreviated writing of *imy-r ḥ3swt 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 Hekaemsasen’s status might ultimately have been derived from his background. It is possible that he 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’²⁸ (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,²⁹ one of the stereotypical markers of Nubian ethnicity and status.³⁰

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.³¹

²⁴ Cf. Dewachter 1976, 56, with n. 13. The new Schel attestation (see n. 23) also once contained the full writing *imy-r ḥ3swt rswt*.

²⁵ On the title, see Valbelle 2007, 168–72, who points out (p. 170) that Hekaemsasen is the earliest certainly dated New Kingdom holder. To be added to the list of holders is a local successor of Hekaemsasen, the ‘scribe of silver, overseer of (southern) foreign lands, Siamun’ who was buried with ‘his mother, mistress of the house, Weren’ in a substantial pyramid-tomb in the near-by ‘colonial cemetery’ at Tombos (Smith 2003, 137–43, figs 6.2–6.6; Smith 2008, 96–105; Buzon 2008, 169–71, figs 2–3; Török 2009, 280–83). See also now Bács 2009.

²⁶ Cf. Dewachter 1976, 57, with n. 19; Der Manuelian 1987, 94, with n. 229.

²⁷ So Morkot 1991, 299; Morkot 2000, 84; cf. Török 2009, 272.

²⁸ Gardiner 1957, 447, A52.

²⁹ The detail is deliberate (not an accidental mark), as is clear from the disposition of the plural strokes of *sn*, which are grouped to the left to make room for it. It is not present in the other known writings of his name when a determinative is included (as on the Khartoum and Cairo statues, see Appendix below, nos 3–4), so it may have had special significance here.

³⁰ Drenkhahn 1967, 28; Smith 2003, 6–7, fig. 1.2; Török 2009, 271–2.

³¹ Morkot 1991, 298–300; Morkot 2000, 81–90; Smith 2003, 84–6; Davies 2004; Davies 2005, 54; Roehrig 2005a, 70; Török 2009, 263ff. A recent bioarchaeological study indicates that ‘the colonial cemetery at Tombos was composed of both native Nubians and immigrant Egyptians, suggesting that individuals from both cultures contributed to the administration of Nubia during the New Kingdom’ (Buzon 2008, 177).

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 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.³²

Usersatet

1. (Fig. 5) 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. 10.³³ 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. (Fig. 6) 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, Usersat[et]...' 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

³² 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 British Museum Photographic Service. I am grateful to Dr Abdel Rahman Ali, Director of the Sudan National Museum, for permission to publish the images here. I have not actually seen the Egyptian Museum figure and owe thanks to Sabah Abdel Razek, a curator in the Museum, for providing information and for organizing the images, which were taken by the Museum photographer, Ahmed Amin. Permission to publish was kindly granted by Wafaa el-Saddik, Director of the Egyptian Museum. Thanks are due also to Hassan Selim and Hisham el-Leithy for their assistance in various ways.

³³ 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.

³⁴ Reading *di.sn*, which is fragmentary but clear (and to be expected in the context).

³⁵ Reading *m ḥswt*, 'in the praises'. All the signs are clearly present, if slightly damaged.

³⁶ Vercoutter 1956, 71–2, no. 9, pl. viii = Khartoum, SNM 33130; max. height: 500mm.

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 Dynasty 18, 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 information can be expected to come from a detailed study of the group, which is long overdue.

Hekaemsasen

3. (Figs. 7–14) 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.⁴¹ 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’ (Figs. 8–10, 12).

Back (single column, bottom only; upper half with offering-formula missing): ‘overseer of the portal, overseer of southern foreign lands, Hekaemsasen’ (Fig. 11).

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

³⁷ Vercoutter 1956, 73, no. 11.

³⁸ To be added to the corpus of such figures compiled by Wildung 1985.

³⁹ Recent accounts of the pharaonic presence on Sai include Geus 2004, Minault-Gout 2006-2007, and Doyen 2009.

⁴⁰ Vercoutter 1973, 21–3, pls. vii, viii (S.777a-b); Minault-Gout 2006-2007, 284–5, 288, 293, fig. 4 [a–b].

⁴¹ When complete, the statue might have looked something like the contemporary figure of the ‘fan-bearer Mentekhenu’ (Berlin 19289; Roehrig 2005b), 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).

⁴² There are several obvious errors in the transcription published in Dunham 1970, 30, fig. 24. I note only the more serious.

⁴³ The word for ‘offering-table’ here is *h3t*, while *wdhw* is preferred on the Cairo statue, no. 4 below (see Gardiner 1957, 501, R2 and R3 with n. 1).

the king (5) in the town of Upper Egypt,⁴⁴ fan-bearer, overseer of southern foreign lands,⁴⁵ Hekaemsasen' (Fig. 13).

Left side (five columns, reading left to right): (1) 'A gift which the king gives and Amen-Re, lord of the thrones of the two lands, lord of heaven, that he may give (2) every praise in the royal house, and all love (3) from the gods, for the *ka* of the nobleman, count, great confidant of the lord of the two lands, (4) one to whom is said what is desired (lit. 'what is in the heart')⁴⁶ in as much as he is efficient, (5) fan-bearer, overseer of the portal, overseer of southern foreign lands, Hekaemsasen' (Fig. 14).

4. (Figs. 15–24) Lower part of a dyad of a man (right) and woman (left), shown seated, wearing ankle-length skirt and dress respectively, the exterior hand, now lost, placed on the thigh.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, Egyptian Museum 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' (Figs. 21, 23).

Front of woman (single column): 'Everything [which comes forth] upon {the offering-table}⁴⁸ of Hathor, chieftainess of Thebes, for the *ka* of Duy, justified' (Figs. 22, 24).

Right side (four columns, right to left): '(1) A gift which the king gives and Amen-Re and Osiris that they may give a *peret-keru*-offering consisting of bread, beer, (2) beef, fowl, everything good and pure, which comes forth before (them) every day, (3) with myrrh, wine, milk, fowl, haunches, and choice thing(s), (4) for the *ka* of overseer of foreign lands, Pahekaemsasen, justified' (Fig. 20).

Though now incomplete, these figures were sizable, well-executed pieces, made of a prestige hard stone, confirming Hekaemsasen's favoured status, as does the phraseology of the text on no. 3, presenting him as the valued confidant of the king in language drawn from an elite repertoire familiar in the Nubian domain from the inscriptions of viceroys. One epithet is worthy of special note. This is *irty n nswt m niwt Šmꜥw*, 'eyes of the king in the town of Upper Egypt' (Right side, columns 4–5), where *niwt*, the 'town', should probably refer to Thebes, unless *niwt* is a mistake for the plural *niwwt*, with the meaning 'eyes of the king in the town[s] of Upper

⁴⁴ For *Šmꜥw*, 'Upper Egypt', written as here with plural strokes, cf. *Urk.* iv, 1546, 14.

⁴⁵ A hole in the stone immediately beneath the determinative (Gardiner 1957, 488, N23) of *rsu(t)* has caused the sign to be misread in Dunham 1970, 30, fig. 24, left.

⁴⁶ Reading *imt-ib*; cf. the parallel phrase in one of the Kumba inscriptions of the viceroy Seni: *dd.tw n.fntt m ib*, 'to whom is said what is in the heart' (Caminos 1998, 12, pl. 15, 1, line 2)).

⁴⁷ For more complete examples of this type of dyad, see Vandier 1958, 441, pl. cxliii; Berman 1999, 219–20, no. 162.

⁴⁸ The sign for *wḏhw*, 'offering-table' (present in the equivalent inscription on the front of the male figure) was accidentally omitted here.

Egypt',⁴⁹ in which case it suggests that Hekaemsasen's duties may have included oversight of (Nubian?) centres of population in southern Egypt.⁵⁰ As already noted above, this is the only monument on which Hekaemsasen's title-sequence is written in full.

The inscriptions on no. 4 give the full form of his name, Pahekaemsasen, otherwise known from the funerary cones.⁵¹ The female figure, named *Dwy*,⁵² probably represents his wife, though she is not specifically identified as such nor does she have any title. The inclusion of 'Hathor, chieftainess of Thebes' (*Hwt-ḥr ḥryt-tp W3st*), in her offering-formula suggests a Theban provenance for the piece.⁵³ 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'.⁵⁴ His tomb, like that of Usersatet,⁵⁵ is yet to be located.

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⁴⁹ There is a close parallel for the latter epithet in a rock-inscription near Aswan of the viceroy Merymose, which appears to read: *mḥ-ib n nswt m niwwt Šm'w*, 'confidant of the king in the towns of Upper Egypt' (*Urk.* iv, 1933, 12, corrected in Habachi 1957, 23–4, with n. 25, fig. 7, no. 15, pl. 6; Dewachter 1978, 107–8, Doc. 95; cf. Guksch 1994, 134–5 (02405)).

⁵⁰ During this period, the territory under viceregal authority appears to have comprised not only Lower and Upper Nubia but also the area of Upper Egypt extending southwards from Hierakonpolis (see Davies 2005, 53, with n. 52).

⁵¹ 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 *m3' ḥrw/m3't ḥrw*, 'justified'.

⁵² Cited in *PN* i, 431, 22, as 'djwj (?)'.

⁵³ Dewachter 1976, 55; cf. Brovarski 1976, 69–71; Pinch 1993, 8; Leitz (ed.) 2002, v, 447–8.

⁵⁴ 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, Maiherperi', an ethnic Nubian and near-contemporary of Pahekaemsasen (Lilyquist 2005, 62; Roehrig 2005a).

⁵⁵ See Bács 2002, 61.

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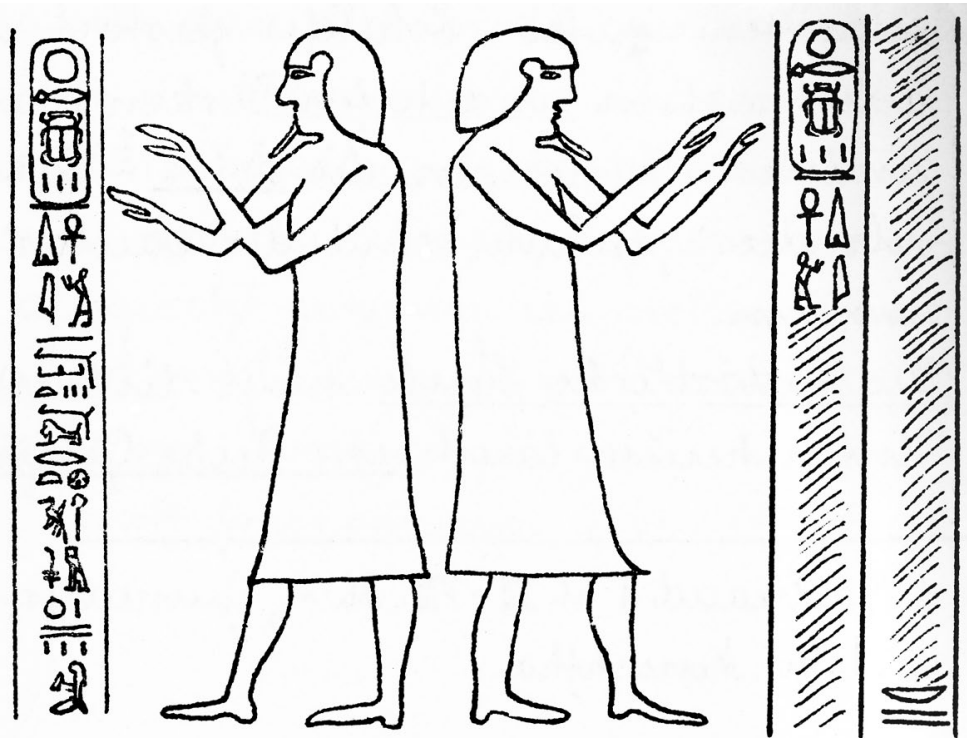


Fig.1: Lepsius expedition record of the Tombos stela (*LD Text V*, 244).



Fig.2: Tombos, recording the stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen (photos D.A. Welsby).



Fig. 3: Tombos, the stela of Usersatet and Hekzemsasen.

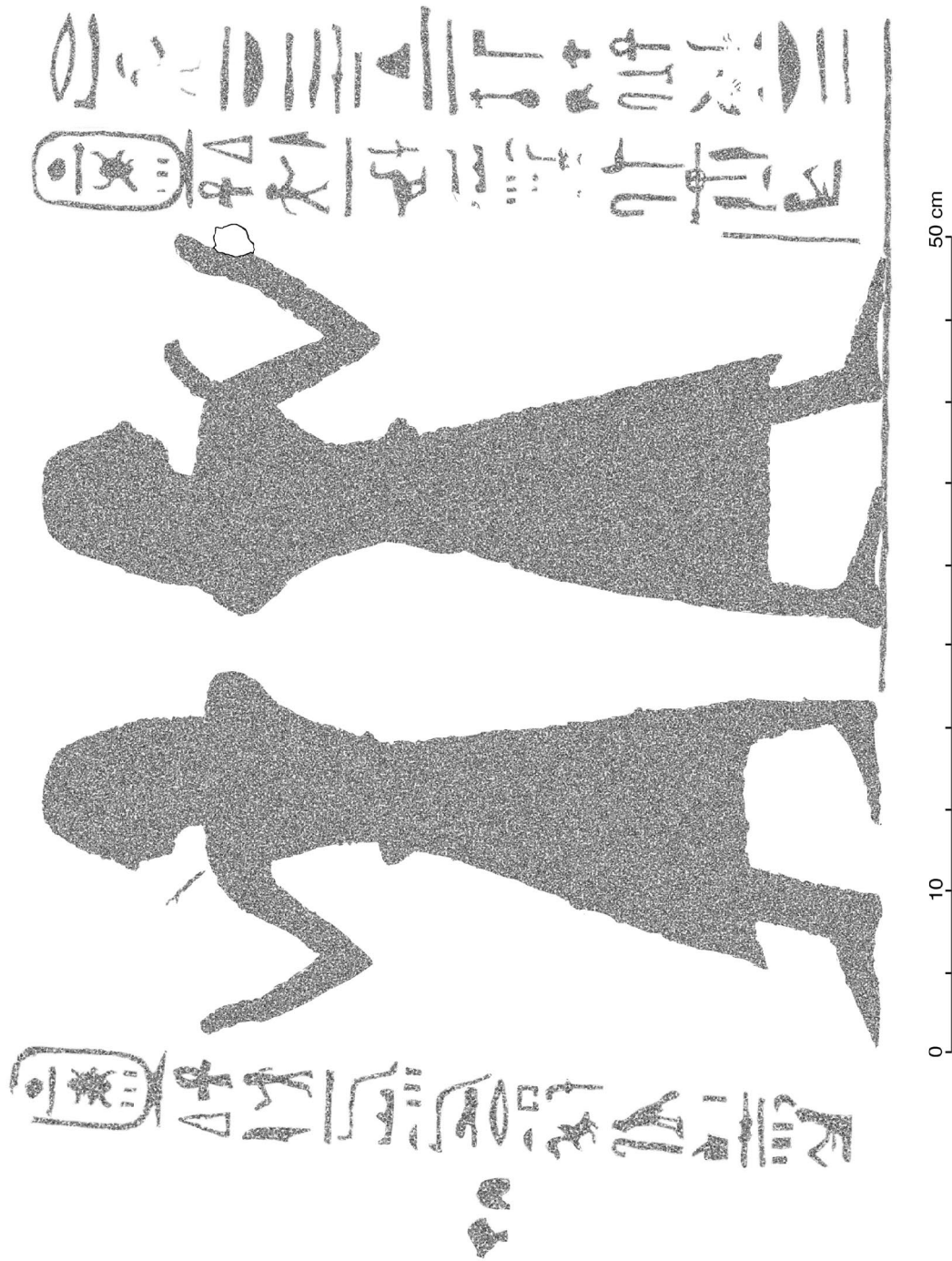


Fig. 4: Tombos, new record of the stela of Usersatet and Hekaemsasen.



Fig. 5: Stela from a stelophorous figure of Usersatet, SNM 33225.
Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.



Fig. 6: Fragment of a statuette with name of Usersatet.
SNM 33224. Courtesy Sudan National
Museum, Khartoum.



Fig. 7: Seated statue of Hekaemsasen, SNM 1848. Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.



Fig. 8: Seated statue of Hekaemsasen, SNM 1848. Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.



Fig. 9: Seated statue of Hekaemsasen, top view, SNM 1848. Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.



Fig.10: Seated statue of Hekaemsasen, inscription on top of kilt, SNM 1848. Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.

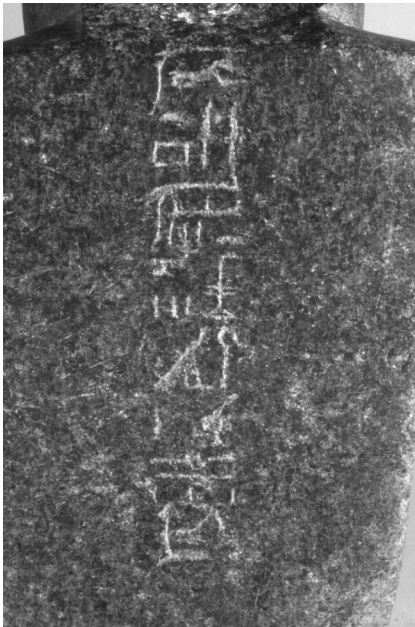


Fig.11: Seated statue of Hekaemsasen, inscription on back, SNM 1848. Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.



Fig.12: Seated statue of Hekaemsasen, inscription on front of kilt, SNM 1848. Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.



Fig.13: Seated statue of Hekaemsasen, inscription on right side, SNM 1848. Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.



Fig. 14: Seated statue of Hekaemsasen, inscription on left side, SNM 1848. Courtesy Sudan National Museum, Khartoum.



Fig.15: Dyad of Pahekaemsasen and Duy, CG 989. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig.16: Dyad of Pahekaemsasen and Duy, CG 989, top view. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig.17: Dyad of Pahekaemsasen and Duy, CG 989, left side. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 18: Dyad of Pahekaemsasen and Duy, CG 989, back. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 19: Dyad of Pahekaemsasen and Duy, CG 989, right side. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig.20: Dyad of Pahekaemsasen and Duy, CG 989, right side, detail of inscription. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 21: Dyad CG 989, upper part of inscription of Pahekaemsasen. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig.22: Dyad CG 989, upper part of inscription of Duy. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig. 23: Dyad CG 989, lower part of inscription of Pahekaemsasen. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.



Fig.24: Dyad CG 989, lower part of inscription of Duy. Courtesy Egyptian Museum, Cairo.