

## 2. Western Temenos Areas 200–203

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## Introduction to Areas 200–203 – “Suq el-Khamis”

Aiman Ashmawy and Dietrich Raue

The temples of the precinct of the sun-god at Matariya are aligned alongside the remains of a dromos that could have started in the western perimeter at the monumental main gate close to the *Jty*-canal (PETRIE 1915, 2–3, pl. II top, marked as “gate”). The first major unit was a temple of Ramesses II. Its orientation runs north-south, facing the main procession axis from the southern side.

The following areas cover parts of this temple and its immediate vicinity (Fig. 1):

- Area 200: sector in front of the main pylon (excavations 2001–2018)
- Area 201: sector with remains of the temple proper (excavations 2001–2003)
- Area 202: sector west of Area 201 (excavations 2012, 2016)
- Area 203: sector between Area 201 and houses built in the 1980s
- Area 7: findspot of fragments of a kneeling statue of Sety II (excavation 1987)



**Fig. 1:**  
Excavation areas at  
the western periphery  
(Areas 7, 200–203:  
“Suq el-Khamis”).

Large quartzite fragments that probably belong to at least one colossal sphinx were located on the eastern, inner side of the monumental temenos gate. Several sketches and illustrations from the later 18th and 19th centuries (Fig. 2) provide us with the position of these blocks (JEFFREYS 1999, 165, fig. 6; GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 107–108, fig. 1–2), and the notes of J. Hekekyan mention excavations at the “southern sphinx” (GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 110, fig. 5). This “Excavation C” revealed a body fragment of 7 × 3 m with the cartouche of Ramesses III, along with other parts of this impressive sculpture (JEFFREYS 1999, 166, fig. 7). The position of this sphinx is probably linked to the dromos and the north-western glacis of the temple at Areas 200–203, known today as “Suq el-Khamis”.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, Hekekyan’s drawing of the western sector of the temenos reveals the position of “bedoween huts” at the southern face of the temple (GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 110, fig. 5).

Excavations of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (SCA), directed by Dr. Yussuf Hamid Khalifa discovered fragments of a kneeling limestone statue of Sety II south-west of the temple (ABD EL-GELIL/SHAKER/RAUE 1996, 137, no. 7). No architectural context was observed and an estimation of the distance of the original emplacement of this sculpture seems impossible.<sup>2</sup>

In 2001 the municipal authorities of Cairo Governorate decided to move the weekly market known as Suq el-Khamis from the main street in the suburb of Matariya because it caused disruption and traffic congestion throughout the area every Thursday. A free piece of land in Matariya was chosen as alternative for this market. This area operates as an endowment, supervised by the Ministry of *Awqaf*. In addition, it is subject to archaeological law, as it is about 600 m to the west of the obelisk at Matariya, within the precinct of the former Sun Temple of Heliopolis. It was decided that the area should be excavated and void of archaeological material before starting any building activity.<sup>3</sup>

The area of the market was divided into four stages of work “A–D”. Sondages were carried out in the first three stages A–C (later called Area 201) and the area was handed over to the local authority in 2003/2004. Area “D” (later called Area 200) was also investigated by sondages, which led to the discovery of basalt and granite blocks within this area.<sup>4</sup> The most important find has been the door-jamb of a sacral building of Senusret III that might match with other quartzite lintels from Heliopolis found in Alexandria.<sup>5</sup> Column fragments of granite measuring 95 cm in diameter were found mentioning the creator-sun-god Atum-Khepri (KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 50). After several slabs of

<sup>1</sup> Other quartzite fragments of colossal sphinxes were found directly in front of the main pylon of the temple in Area 200, see p. 143–144, Fragment Inv. No. U2076-2 and ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 7, pl. 7b (cartouche of Merenptah).

<sup>2</sup> EL-SAWI 1990, 337–340, pl. 55–56; RAUE 1999, 374, XIX.6-5.2, h. 160 cm; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 624–625, no. 396; ID. 2020, p. 25 and 206. A fragment of a slightly smaller kneeling statue was discovered in 2017 in Area 200, see CONNOR, p. 132–142 in this report; for another statue base of a kneeling representation of Sety II found in 2019, see ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2022, 13–24.

<sup>3</sup> The deciding committee was headed by the late Attya Radwan, to whom our mission owes the deepest gratitude.

<sup>4</sup> For a summary of this work, see KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 49–56.

<sup>5</sup> KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 50, 55, fig. 2; London BM EA 145, acquired in 1805, [www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA145](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA145) (last accessed: 24.11.2022), BUDGE 1913, pl. 8 with the “God of the Souls of Heliopolis”; London BM EA 74753: [www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA74753](http://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA74753) (last accessed: 24.11.2022), with the depiction of [Ra-Hor?]-akhet and Atum, Lord of the Great Mansion.

a basalt pavement and large fragments of granite were found, indicating the presence of several colossal sculptures in Area 200, it was decided to conduct full-scale excavations at the site, and in 2004 the SCA resumed excavation in this location. This excavation led to the discovery of fragments from Middle Kingdom colossal statues of granite, a door-jamb of Senusret I, more evidence for the basalt pavement, as well as a fragment of a quartzite statue of Ramesses II.<sup>6</sup> From August 25 until October 1, 2005 a joint mission of the SCA and the German Archaeological Institute in Cairo carried out more excavations at Area “D” as well as drill coring in

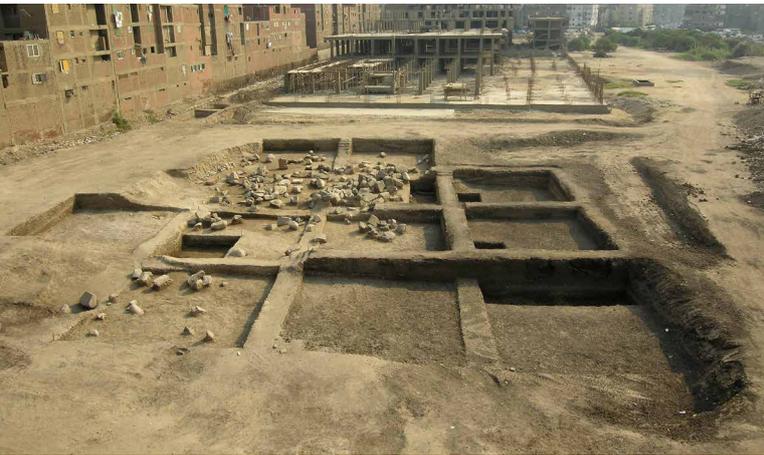


Fig. 2:  
Area 200 from the  
north, October 2005  
(Photo: D. Raue).

the area to investigate the earlier history of the site (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 1–9), after a 10 × 10 m grid was established (Fig. 2). Several relief and altar fragments from the Amarna Period were discovered in the top layers of the stratigraphy, pointing to a sub-recent date of redeposition.<sup>7</sup> Again, more fragments of granite colossal statuary were discovered. The most important stratigraphic result was the locati-

on of a stratum belonging to a mud-brick building with a storage facility from the Second Intermediate Period in square K21. The associated pottery finds point to a noticeable southernmost presence of Middle Bronze Age material culture in Egypt. This occupation covered an almost clean layer of red burnt soil (MAHMUD ET AL. 2008, 197–205).

The SCA mission continued excavation at the site from 2006–2011 under the direction of Aiman Ashmawy. During this period, excavations were carried out in 25 squares covering most of the area of stage “D” at Suq el-Khamis (Area 200). Until 2006, no stone structures were found *in situ*. Therefore, it was of utmost significance that the SCA mission discovered two statue bases in their original position. The first base in square K23 measured 3.5 × 2.78 m and still had the lower part of a seated colossal statue in place.<sup>8</sup> Even though partly split and turned over when the removal of these statues was initiated, what remained of the statues’ feet and throne provided reliable evidence for the orientation of the cult axis of the temple in Area 200.

The other base, located in square K24w, was constructed in an entirely different way. Its colossal statue had once been supported by a frame of quartzite blocks (5.5 × 3 m, h. 1.02 m) on top of a layer of limestone blocks (7 × 4.5 m).<sup>9</sup>

The limestone fill of the frame was removed during the various phases of the temples’ demolition in the 1st millennium CE. Further debris

<sup>6</sup> ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 1–9; for the colossal sculpture that was reused in the Ramesside context of Area 200, see p. 85–123.

<sup>7</sup> See p. 308–361 and p. 362–367.

<sup>8</sup> See p. 88, 92–96, 104 Fig. 4.1–4.2.

was discovered in its place, including another large *nemes*-headdress fragment from a seated colossus dating to the Middle Kingdom.

In 2008, the water table was unusually low due to a drainage project to the west of the site, making it possible to reach an excavation depth not previously possible. This situation allowed the project to uncover a limestone pavement that might be associated to a gate of Ramesses II, discovered in 2012 (see below).

The excavation of the top layers yielded a number of high-quality *talatât*-blocks with depictions of Akhenaten and Nefertiti, mostly from



Fig. 3: Area 200, square K23, statue base and lower part of seated colossal statue from the west, January 2010 (Photo: A. Ashmawy).

squares L24, N22 and N24.<sup>10</sup> More evidence for a settlement dating to the Second Intermediate Period was found in square M24, as well as residual pottery material, and a large fragment of a colossal statue in square H24 (see Fig. 6).<sup>11</sup>

A number of relief slabs with life-size ritual scenes was found in squares N23–24 (see Fig. 6). The reliefs were very deeply carved and all cartouches mention Ramesses II. Even though an in-depth study of these reliefs is still in progress, it seems clear that a major east-west oriented, relief-decorated wall of Ramesses II was located about 25–30 m south of the statue bases.

The work had to be stopped due to the security situation after the 25th of January 2011 Revolution.

The joint Egyptian-German Archaeological Mission at Matariya, directed by Dr. Aiman Ashmawy and Dr. Dietrich Raue, was resumed in spring 2012. Excavation work in Area 200 continued, but the water table had unfortunately risen by about more than a metre (Fig. 4). The excavations were now only able to reach the floor level of the Ramesside temple and deeper sondages were no longer possible. Three more seasons were devoted to the top layers of Area 200. More evidence for Amarna Period building activity, as well as additional fragments of a large falcon statue<sup>12</sup>, were discovered before work was halted in spring 2014.

Salvage excavations by the SCA were able to save remains of a Ramesside gateway of quartzite connected to a basalt pavement. The lintel of the gateway shows traces of the name of a king who originally commissioned this struc-

<sup>9</sup> The date and function of base K24w was settled ten years later as the support for the colossal statue Psamtik I, see p. 151–173.

<sup>10</sup> The *talatât*-blocks mentioned here are dealt with in the contributions by K. Dietze and C. Breninek, see chapters 8.1.1 und 8.1.2.

<sup>11</sup> Find-no. H24-2-3, see p. 87 Fig. 1.1, 89 Fig. 1.12–1.14.

<sup>12</sup> The date of this statue was established by the identification of matching fragments with the cartouche of Horemheb in Spring 2020, see contribution of Simon Connor, p. 182–191.

ture. Unfortunately, these cartouches were thoroughly reworked by Ramesses II (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2015, 10). A basalt slab along with the existence of vertical inscribed zones from the Western Hall of Ramesses II at the temple of Ptah at Memphis<sup>13</sup>, provides a very good comparison. Surface cleaning was carried out in Area 202 (Autumn 2012) and Area 203 (Spring 2014), which led to the discovery of several limestone elements belonging to Ramesside tomb chapels.<sup>14</sup> Construction work for the shopping mall was

ly lower zone than those found ten years earlier at N23/N24 (see above). They bear the cartouches of Ramesses IV, who also added his name in Heliopolis close to the inscriptions of his famous namesake of the 19th Dynasty (RAUE 1999, 382, XX.3–7). Subsequent excavations investigated the narrow stripe west of the shopping mall, where evidence for administrative units close to the proper stone temple structure was confirmed by unscribed limestone columns and door-jambes.



**Fig. 4:** Area 200 from the east, March 2012. Front: statue base frame K24w and statue base with remains of seated colossal statue in K23 (Photo: D. Raue).

resumed in 2016, resulting in the discovery of two blocks of an outer façade with deeply executed reliefs at the area of squares N15/N16. One block shows a corner-torus of 52 cm in diameter (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017, 17–18), a measurement that can only be compared to such monuments as the Second Pylon of Ramesses II at Karnak. We therefore assume that this block represents the corner of the main pylon of the temple at Areas 200–203. The position of the other block has to be reconstructed in a slight-



**Fig. 5:** Area 200, squares K23–K24 from the east, September 2017. Front: statue base K24e, middle: statue base K24w, rear: statue base K23 (Photo: D. Raue).

<sup>13</sup> PETRIE 1909, pl. XXII top right.

<sup>14</sup> See contribution of Klara Dietze, p. 391–535. Such tomb chapels have originally been located about 1.5 km further east in the necropolis, but as has been proven by recent excavations in Area 251, relocation of New Kingdom tomb chapel blocks had happened during the transition to the very early Third Intermediate Period (ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2021, 12–17). The final deposition of blocks in Areas 202 and 203 might be connected with the urban development projects in the late 1950s at Ain Shams or with the construction of houses east of Areas 200/201/203 in the 1980s.

Final investigations were launched in Spring 2017, when the land of Area 200 was to be released for the extension of the “Suq el-Khamis” project. Documentation of the statue base K24w allowed for draining activities leading to the discovery of a pit with fragments of the colossal statue of Psamtik I.<sup>15</sup> Excavations were continued in Autumn 2017 and Spring 2018 resulting in the complete documentation of

a bases and the *in situ* discovery of a third base in square K24e (Fig. 5). Both bases K23 and K24e were made of reused temple blocks with the typical treatment of deep Ramesside sunken relief. Study of the pottery from the foundation sand layer provided a late Ramesside date.

Four layers of the statue foundation made of reused blocks at square K24w were recorded.



**Fig. 6:**  
Area 200, Summer  
2020 (Plan: P. Collet  
and C. Breninek).

<sup>15</sup> ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2021, 49-68; see p. 151–173.

Cleaning of the pits surrounding the statue base K24w yielded 6500 quartzite fragments of various sizes along with several hundred fragments

of granite colossal statuary. In addition, fragments of private statuary, including a head of an official from the Middle Kingdom,<sup>16</sup> were found.

## Preliminary Summary of Observations in Area 200

The final mapping of all features (Fig. 6) illustrates that the three statue bases (K23, K24w, K24e) were not constructed in front of a large pylon. A foundation for a small statue/sphinx (square L23), the presence of Second Intermediate Period layers in square M24, and the lack of a large foundation pit for the pylon point to a screen wall that was erected at a distance of about 25 m in front of the monumental pylon.<sup>17</sup> Corner

stones of the western wing of such an entrance were found in squares N15/16 and N24. Basalt slabs marked a western lateral procession axis (I21–K21–L21)<sup>18</sup>, as well as a central main procession-way in K25. Another pathway paved with basalt slabs was identified in the north-western sector of Area 200 in G18/H18. This access is in line with a number of squares without evidence of features (I22–I23–I24).

## A Local Sequence for Areas 200–201–202–203

Thus far, the investigations during the past 20 years have led to the following evidence:

- Presence of 6th Dynasty layers of unknown function (drill coring: ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 2).
- Presence of Middle Kingdom debris layers of granite grit (drill coring: ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 3). The temple debris layers comprised of a door-jamb<sup>19</sup> dating to

Senusret I as well as an element of a monumental quartzite portal of Senusret III. The combined evidence leads us to believe that Area 200 (and probably also Area 201) may have been occupied by a 12th Dynasty temple, probably as part of the greater building programme of Senusret I and its extension by Senusret III. A fragment of a high quality quartzite statue (p. 174–181) from a later context belongs to this phase.

<sup>16</sup> See p. 174–181.

<sup>17</sup> It was just at the very southern fringe that a deep trench filled with red burnt soil and burnt limestone was found. These features, which were also observed at a level of 12.30 m in squares M/N24 during the SCA mission in 2006–2011, might point to the robbed foundation of a Ramesside pylon.

<sup>18</sup> This feature was initially and incorrectly described as “collapsed frame masonry of temple platform”, see ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 5, pl. 4a. In their 2008 season, the SCA mission reached a limestone pavement in square I21.

<sup>19</sup> After its complete excavation in 2008 it was obvious that this fragment did not belong to a back pillar from one of the colossal granite statues as it had been initially assumed, see ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, pl. 7a.

- Occupation level of the late Middle Kingdom and the Second Intermediate Period: Small sections revealed the presence of mud-brick architecture underneath the Ramesside temple building in K21 (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 4). A rather simple silo and few walls do not allow for determining its function. The same stratum was found in square M24 and pottery from this period was also found to be residual material (e.g., ASHMAWY/RAUE 2015, 11).
- No evidence for Thutmoside building activity at Area 200 has been found to date. A stamped amphora handle with the throne name of Thutmose I was found in later debris layers (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 4, pl. 2b).
- A number of fragmentary *talatât*-blocks, along with numerous altar/statue base fragments, point to a Heliopolitan building programme undertaken by Akhenaten during his reign. It seems probable that at least one of the known building projects of Akhenaten and Nefertiti was located close to Area 200.<sup>20</sup>
- A screen wall element of Sety I was discovered in Spring 2017 in the destruction debris of the top layers in Area 200. Unfortunately, its relationship to prior building activities remains unknown. The post-Amarna Period is also documented by the noticeably large falcon statue inscribed for Horemheb.<sup>21</sup>
- Construction of a festival temple by Ramesses II, orientated south-north. The original position of the main pylon can be located in the very southern fringe of Area 200. The connection with the dromos of the main temple was covered by modern habitation and therefore has not been investigated. Fragments of granite columns from Area 201 suggest the inner segments of the temple. The procession axes were paved with basalt slabs; a possible parallel for this arrangement can be identified with the western hall of the Ramesside temple of Ptah at Mitrahina/Memphis.<sup>22</sup> The monumental inscription, “Blessings of Ptah” is inscribed on one of the pylon’s wings.<sup>23</sup> Up to six seated and standing Middle Kingdom colossal statues may belong to the first phase layout, but just one seated sculpture fragment bears an inscription of Ramesses II (see p. 86, 90 Fig. 1.19). Another colossal statue of a king with an Upper Egyptian crown bears the remains of an inscription of probably Middle Kingdom date with the mention of Thot (see p. 112, 113 Fig. 6.1–6.2). Among a group of Ramesside royal sculpture fragments, one life-size quartzite seated statue of Ramesses II and a kneeling statue of Sety II deserve special mention. They were placed in the open southern spaces of Area 200 as well as a sphinx/statue foundation in square L23.

<sup>20</sup> See contribution of DIETZE, p. 308–361 and BRENINEK p. 362–367.

<sup>21</sup> See contribution of CONNOR, p. 182–191.

<sup>22</sup> PETRIE 1909, 5–6, pl. II, XXI–XXIII.

<sup>23</sup> See contribution of ПОРКО, p. 61–84.

- Afterlife of the temple I: Corner blocks from the western wing of the main pylon show additional inscriptions by Ramesses IV (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017, 17–18); furthermore, statue bases K23 and K24e were built during the later Ramesside Period, as evidenced by the reuse of Ramesside spolia and late Ramesside pottery in the foundation sand of both bases. It cannot be stated with certainty whether this arrangement of bases in squares K23 and K24e was restoration or whether it was initially constructed in the late 19th–20th Dynasties.
- Afterlife of the temple II: A colossal statue of Psamtik I (664–610 BC) was placed between bases K23 and K24e (see p. 151). The base were constructed using six layers of reused and uninscribed blocks. Further remains from the second half of the 1st millennium BC include fragments of a 4th century BC healing statue.<sup>24</sup>
- Afterlife of the temple III: Although no stratified deposits survived the subsequent use of the area, considerable amounts of mid-Hellenistic pottery and a figurine of a Hellenistic child-god confirms occupation of Area 200 at least during the 2nd century BC.<sup>25</sup>
- Roman/Late Roman Period: Traces of stone-cutting by wedges, pottery finds of late Hellenistic and Roman Period were found in the pit with the Psamtik I statue fragments. Such evidence provides a hypothesis that dismantlement started rather early, perhaps in connection with the removal of obelisks during the reign of the emperor Augustus.<sup>26</sup> Late Roman activity is supported by pottery finds dating to the 4th–6th centuries.
- Ottoman Period: the top layers of debris contained fragments of Ottoman pipe-heads.

Inscriptions at the Area 200/201 temple point to the following gods as beneficiaries of the cult:

- The creator god Atum as “Lord of Heliopolis” is attested among architectural elements of the Ramesside Period and on the throne of the seated statue of Ramesses II (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 7, pl. 6; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 530–531, no. 336). Atum is the main god in the ritual scene on the back pillar of the colossal statue of Psamtik I. (ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2019, 34–39; see p. 156, 162 Fig. 13).
- Atum-Khepri is mentioned on a granite column from the temple proper (KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 50). The sun god Ra-Horakhty appears on the quartzite sculpture of Ramesses II (ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 7, pl. 6; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 530–531, no. 336).

<sup>24</sup> Publication by Florence Langermann (*in preparation*). The archaeological mission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities (2006–2010) discovered the remains of a limestone statuette of a cat that was clearly made as a sculptural exercise, typical for temple contexts of the final phase of the Late Period and the early Ptolemaic Era.

<sup>25</sup> See contribution of MÜLLER, p. 542–549.

<sup>26</sup> For another more eastern feature in Area 234 that supports a Roman date for a similar destruction and relocation of statuary see ASHMAWY/CONNOR/RAUE 2022, 13–24.

- The top portion of the back pillar of a granite colossus bears the name of Thot, probably from a text of the Middle Kingdom, but still in use in the Ramesside Period (see p. 112, 123 Fig. 6.1–6.2).
- Isis-mistress-of-heaven appears in the text on the back of a dyad belonging to Ramesses II (see p. 124–131).
- Another female goddess is addressed as “his mother” on a statue fragment of Ramesses II. The inscriptions related to the female goddesses of the pylon reliefs of Ramesses II from squares N23/24 are not preserved (see p. 85).

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## Area 200–203: Ramesside Inscriptions and Reliefs

### 2.2.1.1 A Copy of the Blessings of Ptah from the Primordial Mound

Lutz Popko

#### Technical Data

During the 7th campaign of the joint venture of the Egyptian Ministry of Antiquities and the University of Leipzig (March 2016) at Heliopolis,

a limestone block with a badly abraded hieroglyphic inscription was found in Area 200 at the Suq el-Khamis (Fig. 1–2). It was labelled as 200 L22-KS004 and is now kept in the Open-Air Museum Heliopolis/Matariya (Study piece 22). The block measures 0.97 m (width) × 0.29 m (height) × 0.35 m (depth); only the rest of two lines are preserved. The surface was smoothed, but it is not absolutely even,<sup>1</sup> and parts of it seem to have chipped off already while the inscription was being carved: The relief lines of the *r* under *t3* in line *x*+1, for instance, follow the depression in the left half, so that they are still visible, although the surface is deeper here than in the surrounding parts. The hieroglyphs are not very deeply incised,<sup>2</sup> but their outlines are still visible, as are the inner lines in some cases. The hieroglyphs are arranged in squares with an edge length and height of 14 cm, except for the group *pd.t-9*, which has a length of 18 cm. The dividing line between *x*+1 and *x*+2 is visible, and in the left part of the inscription, the upper dividing line seems to be visible as well. Line *x*+1 has a height of 16 cm. There are no colours preserved.

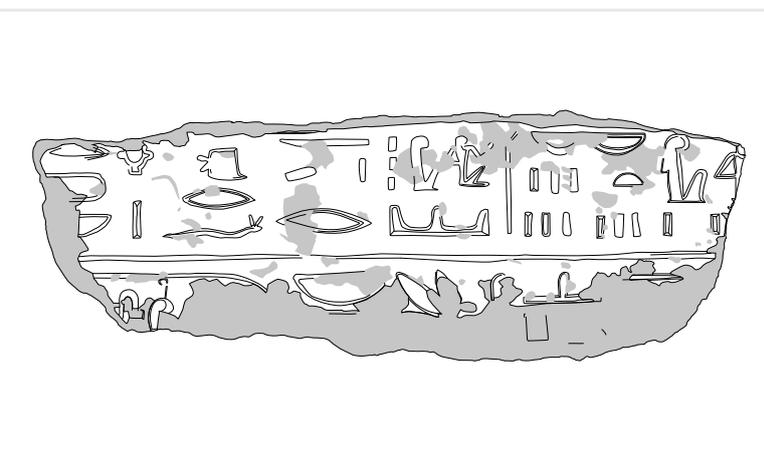


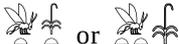
Fig. 1-2:  
Area 200 L22-KS004  
(Photo/Drawing: L. Popko).

<sup>1</sup> The writing surface shows a slightly convex curve in the longitudinal section.

<sup>2</sup> They are roughly 0.6 cm deep.



x+2: The parallels, where preserved, show *ḥnm Tz.wj m ḥtp.w*: “who imbues the Two Lands with peace” before the royal title (*KRI* II, 281, 5–8). The first preserved sign traces in line x+2 form a straight horizontal line, which can only be the land sign, so that the preposition *m* was presumably written with Gardiner Aa 13 instead of the owl, if it wasn’t erroneously omitted. The noun *ḥtp.w* is written with a book roll and plural strokes in the parallels, see *KRI* II, 281.5–6, and below. In line x+2, there is not enough space for both signs, but only for one, and the available space speaks for a flat sign.

It is unknown whether *(n)zw-bjt* was spelled  or  as here proposed. The parallels show the latter grouping, s. *KRI* II, 281.9–10.

Only the upper part of the seated Maat-figure and the beginning of the *stp*-adze (Gardiner U 21) are preserved within the cartouche. The Blessings were composed for Ramesses II and were copied once by Ramesses III, whose prenomen does not contain the element *stp.n*. Therefore, the most likely restoration is Ramesses II, unless one postulates unnecessarily another copy by a king whose prenomen does contain this element as well. The attribution to Ramesses II is further supported by the fact that this final section of the Blessings is totally different in the versions of Ramesses II and Ramesses III, see the synopsis below.

These two fragmentary lines find their place in the final sentences of this text, as can be shown by the following synopsis:<sup>4</sup>

	36	I
	x+20   x+19	AW
	35   34	S
	x+4	KF
	x+1	H
	50	MH

**Version of Ramesses II** (s. fig. 9 + 10):<sup>5</sup> *ꜥb(w)=j r(m)t.w pd.wt-9 t3 r-dr=f ḥr rn=k*

**Version of Ramesses III**: *ᵚjr(j)<sup>1</sup>.y [ḥm]=j<sup>6</sup> n=k [---]*

<sup>4</sup> The hieroglyphs are mainly based on *KRI* II, 280.13–281.12, version I is collated with the photos quoted in note 32. The following sigla from *KITCHEN* (*KRI* II, 258) are used: I = Abu Simbel (“Ipsamboul”), AW = Amara West, S = Aksha (Serra West), MH = Medinet Habu. Copy K from Karnak does not preserve the lower part and is here omitted. The versions I, AW, S and K are from the time of Ramesses II, MH from the time of Ramesses III. Another copy from the time of Ramesses II, called KF in the following, was discovered in Kiman Faris/Medinet el-Fayum, see DONADONI 2001 and SHAIKH AL-ARAB 2014. The position of the line breaks of KF in the following synopsis are just approximative. For the present fragment, the siglum H = Heliopolis is used.

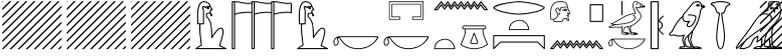
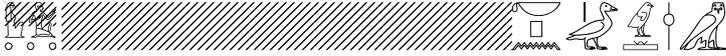
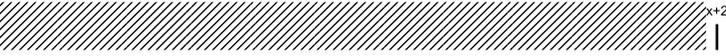
<sup>5</sup> Version I is used as leading text version in the following, and deviations in the other copies are given in the footnotes.

<sup>6</sup> Reading of *jr(j).y* with EDGERTON/WILSON 1936, 129, note 50b. Next to it, the available space and the sign traces indicated on *DZA* 28.073.750 could fit *[ḥm]=j*. For deviations from the normal word order, see *ENG* § 693.

	I
	AW
	S
	KF
	H
	MH

**Version of Ramesses II:**  $wn=sn^7 n k3=k (n)h\dot{h} mj ntk qm3^8 st^9$

**Version of Ramesses III:**  $[---] m rnp(j).t w3dw3d.t [ ]t [ ]=k r^c w-nb$

	I
	AW
	S
	KF
	H
	MH

**Version of Ramesses II:**  $m wd z3=k pn hr.j^{10} ns.tj=k nb^{11} ntr.w-r(m)t.w$

**Version of Ramesses III:**  $jb=j hr [hr]p=j [ ]^{12} nb [ ] nb/k [ ]=j [ ]=j m ph.tj=k r-dd$

<sup>7</sup> Versions I and S write  $wn=sn$ , AW  $wnn=sn$ .

<sup>8</sup> The sickle is reversed in AW.

<sup>9</sup> Only in I. Copies S and KF write  $sn$ .

<sup>10</sup> The  $t$  for Gardiner Z 4 in AW might be mistaken from the hieratic original; and an overlong hieratic  $n$  might have led to the insertion of the head into one square with  $pn$ . The mistake of substituting Gardiner D 1 for D 2, however, is puzzling, since both signs are clearly distinguishable in hieratic.

<sup>11</sup> AW erroneously writes  $k$ .

<sup>12</sup> KRI II, 281.3 writes a normal arm left of the plural strokes. The photo MH II, pl. 104 rather looks like the arm with stick, and a stick seems to also be alluded on MH II, pl. 106 and on DZA 28.073.750.



	I
	AW
	S
	KF
	H
	MH

**Version of Ramesses II:**  $(n)zwt-bjt$ <sup>17</sup>  $(Wsr-ms.t-Rw stp.n-Rw)$   $z3-Rw$ <sup>18</sup>  $(Rw-ms(j)-sw mr(j)-Jmn(.w))$   $d(j) nh d.t (n)hh$

**Version of Ramesses III:**  $(n)zwt-bjt nb-T3.wj hq3 3 n Km.t nb n h3s.t nb(.t)$   $(Wsr-ms.t-Rw mr(j)-Jmn(.w))$   $z3-Rw n h.t=f mr(j)=f nb-h.w$   $(Rw-ms(j)-sw hq3-Jwn.w)$   $d(j) nh mj Rw d.t$

<sup>17</sup> AW writes  $(n)zwt-bjt nb-T3.wj$ . A  $t$  precedes the cartouche in KF according to SHAIKH AL-ARAB 2014, fig. 5 and 11. This can only be the rest of  $(n)zwt-bjt$ . Neither the  $t$  nor the – then to be expected – tail of the bee were visible during the author’s visit of the Open-Air Museum at Karanis/Kom Aushim on the 18th of April 2019, but the light was not optimal at this time.

<sup>18</sup> AW writes  $z3-Rw nb-h.w$ .

<i>ʒb(w)=j r(m)ḫ.w pḏ.wt-9 tʒ r-ḏr=f ḥr rn-k</i>	I will brand the <b>people (of Egypt) and the Nine Bows, the entire world,</b> <sup>20</sup> with your name, <sup>21</sup>
<i>wn-sn n kʒ=k (n)ḥḥ mj ntk qmʒ st</i>	so that they may be at your will eternally – because it was you who created them –
<i>m wḏ zʒ=k pn ḥr.j-ns.tj=k nb-nṯr.w-r(m)ḫ.w</i>	by decree of this your son, the successor on your throne (?) <sup>22</sup> – (o) Lord of Gods and Men <sup>23</sup> –,
<i>jty jr(j) [ḥ]b-s(d) mj-qd=k tw(t) ḥr šḥm.tj</i>	(the) sovereign <sup>24</sup> , who celebrates jubilees like you, who is pleasing in wearing the double crown <sup>25</sup> ,
<i>zʒ ḥḏ(.t) jwᶜ d &lt; šr &gt; .t ḥnm Tʒ.wj m ḥtp.w</i>	son of the white crown, heir of the red crown (?) <sup>26</sup> , who imbues <b>the Two Lands with peace,</b>
<i>(n)zḡw-bjt (Wsr-mʒᶜ.t-Rᶜw stp.n-Rᶜw) zʒ-Rᶜw (Rᶜw-ms(j)-sw mr(j)-Jmm(.w)) d(j) ᶜnh ḏ.t (n)ḥḥ</i>	<b>the Insibiya (Usimare Setepenre),</b> the Son of Re (Ramesses Miamun), given live eternally and forever.

<sup>19</sup> The parallel to H is marked in bold.

<sup>20</sup> There are different views on the syntax of *rmḫ.w pḏ.wt-9 tʒ r-ḏr=f*: (1) NAVILLE 1882, 127 translates: “les habitants et les étrangers de tout le pays”; thus he separates *rmḫ.w* from *pḏ.wt-9 tʒ r-ḏr=f*, or takes *tʒ r-ḏr=f* as apposition of *rmḫ.w pḏ.wt-9*. (2) Kitchen’s translation “the people and Nine Bows, the whole land” (KRITA II, 109) conforms to the latter. (3) Contrary to Naville, BREASTED 1906, § 414 separates *rmḫ.w pḏ.wt-9* from *tʒ r-ḏr=f*: “the people of the Nine Bows and the whole land”. He is followed by ROSENVASSER 1978, 20: “al pueblo de los Nueve Arcos y todo el país”. (4) SCHNEIDER 1996, 43 interprets the sentence as enumeration with three elements: “die Ägypter, die Neun Bogen und die ganze Erde”.

<sup>21</sup> Branding prisoners of war with the king’s name is a well-known phenomenon especially from 20th Dynasty Egypt, see e.g., FRANKE 1983, 198 with note 3, MENU 2004, 196–200, 208, fig. 6. For this phenomenon outside of military contexts, although here mainly used metaphorically, see also GRAPOW 1924, 156, and MEEKS 1974. The branding the entire world is an allusion to the royal image of the good shepherd, who brands the cattle; and one wonders whether it also points to role of the king as deputy of the gods, as he did not brand people with his own name, but with Ptah’s.

<sup>22</sup> The phrase *m wḏ zʒ=k* is puzzling, as it is usually a superior being who decrees something to an inferior being, and not the other way around. This means that a king decrees something to his people or to his foes, or a god decrees something to the king, but the king does not decree something to a god. One wonders whether the preceding phrase *mj ntk qmʒ st* is parenthetical, so that the main clause should be understood as *wn-sn n kʒ=k (n)ḥḥ m wḏ zʒ=k*: “so that they may be at your will eternally by decree of this your son”. Another option is taking *wḏ* not as a noun, but as a verb: “as it was you who created them, by ordering (at the same time) this your son upon your throne” (i.e., ‘you created mankind and made your son their lord’), although this is not an idiomatic phrase either. SCHNEIDER 1996, 43 takes the *wʒḏ* of AW as the correct form and understands the phrase as expressing a purpose: “(...) ihr Schöpfer zum Gedeihen dieses deines Sohnes (...)”. Yet the preposition *m* does not have this meaning.

<sup>23</sup> Taken as epithet of the king by SCHNEIDER 1996, 43. This makes the translation apparently easier, because the phrase interrupt the sequence of royal epithets in this case. But “Lord of God and Men” does not sound like a fitting epithet for a king.

<sup>24</sup> Taken as epithet of Ptah in KRITA II, 109.

<sup>25</sup> The phrase *tw(t) ḥr šḥm.tj* poses several problems:

(1) Version I and probably S start with *tw(t)*. The classification of I (the end of the word is destroyed in S) is not specific enough to decide, whether it is the “image”, the verb “to be like, to be complete, to be pleased”, “to collect, to assemble”, or the adjective “complete”. NAVILLE 1882, 138 takes it as “forme du pronom majestatis”, but certainly as a spelling of *tw*, Wb. 5, 360.6–8 (cf. DZA 31.221.760, and cf. GEG § 64), and not as variant of *tw-k* with the suffix replaced by the standing mummy, as ROSENVASSER 1978, 48 states. AW has a puzzling *wj* instead, which may be a misspelled *tw(t)*, unless one suggests taking it as a very late and singular instance of the old and rare word *wr.w*: “eldest son” (Wb. 1, 377.21).

(2) Version I continues with the preposition *ḥr*: “under; having (something), with (something)”, while AW writes *ḥr*: “(being) with (someone, in someone’s presence)”.

(3) The next word, *šḥm.tj*, is classified by two sistra in I, with a seated god (and something lost) in AW. NAVILLE 1882, 127, and BREASTED 1906, § 414, who did not yet know version AW, translated as “sistra”, followed by ROSENVASSER 1978, 20 and 48–49. Wb. considered “sistrum” as well, but “double crown” as a second option, see DZA 50.093.380; and the occurrence of the lemma “double crown” in the 19th Dynasty with two sistra on DZA 29.519.420 can only refer to this instance, even though it is not included in the DZA file of this lemma. KRITA II, 109 takes it for “Double Crown” without any hesitation. Actually, the word for “sistrum” is masculine, and the dual should be *šḥm.wj*, not *šḥm.tj*. Another possibility would be taking *šḥm.tj* as an epithet for the crown snakes (see rare and late (Ptolemaic) instances in LGG 6, 568b, classified with cobras). Sistra are used in rituals for Hathor and Sakhmet, and the uraeus can be a hypostasis of both goddesses; this may explain this specific classifier, and it would suit the fact that the white and the red crown are personified in the next epithets as well.

(4) Apart from the understanding of each single word, their combination poses further problems. Naville’s idea to take *tw(t)* as variant of the independent pronoun *tw* is impossible, because *tw* usually has nominal predicates, apart from a very few and exceptional cases with *ḥr.tj* and *wrr.tj*. Only if taken as the writing for *tw-k*, as Rosenvasser thinks, can it have an adverbial predicate. But this interpretation rests on a misunderstanding and is not attested otherwise. The translation used above follows Kitchen: “One pleasing in wearing the Double Crown”. A similar interpretation is suggested by Karl Jansen-Winkel (e-mail from 18.01.2021): “(der du) vollkommen (bist) unter / mit der Doppelkrone”. See also HANNIG 2006, 992, no. {36662}: “vollendet wenn er das Pschent rägt” (his reference is most likely the present passage). A parallel of this phrase can be found in KRI V, 309.8: *jty ᶜnh(j) m (n)zḡw ḥr s.t. ᶜTm(.w) [j]wt ḥr zif mj Hr.w-šḥ.tj*: “sovereign, who is beautiful as king on the throne of Atum, who is pleasing in wearing the Atef-crown like Horakhty”. Another solution is provided by SCHNEIDER 1996, 43, who translates *tw(t) ḥr šḥm.tj* as two independent epithets with a nominalized *ḥr(j) šḥm.tj*: “(dein) Bild, Träger der Doppelkrone” (for the king as a statue, i.e. an image, in the Blessings, see now LURSON 2019). This resembles the translation of DZA 30.985.760 for KRI V, 309.8: “Der Herrscher, schön als König auf dem Thron des Atum, ein Bild mit der zif Krone wie Harachte”.

<sup>26</sup> The reading as *dšr.t* is not certain and only proposed by the context. This combination of epithets is not very common, and in the other few cases the king is called *ms dšr.t*: “child of the red crown”, not *jwᶜ dšr.t*: “heir of the red crown”, cf. DZA 27.582.030, 27.582.040, and 27.582.060.

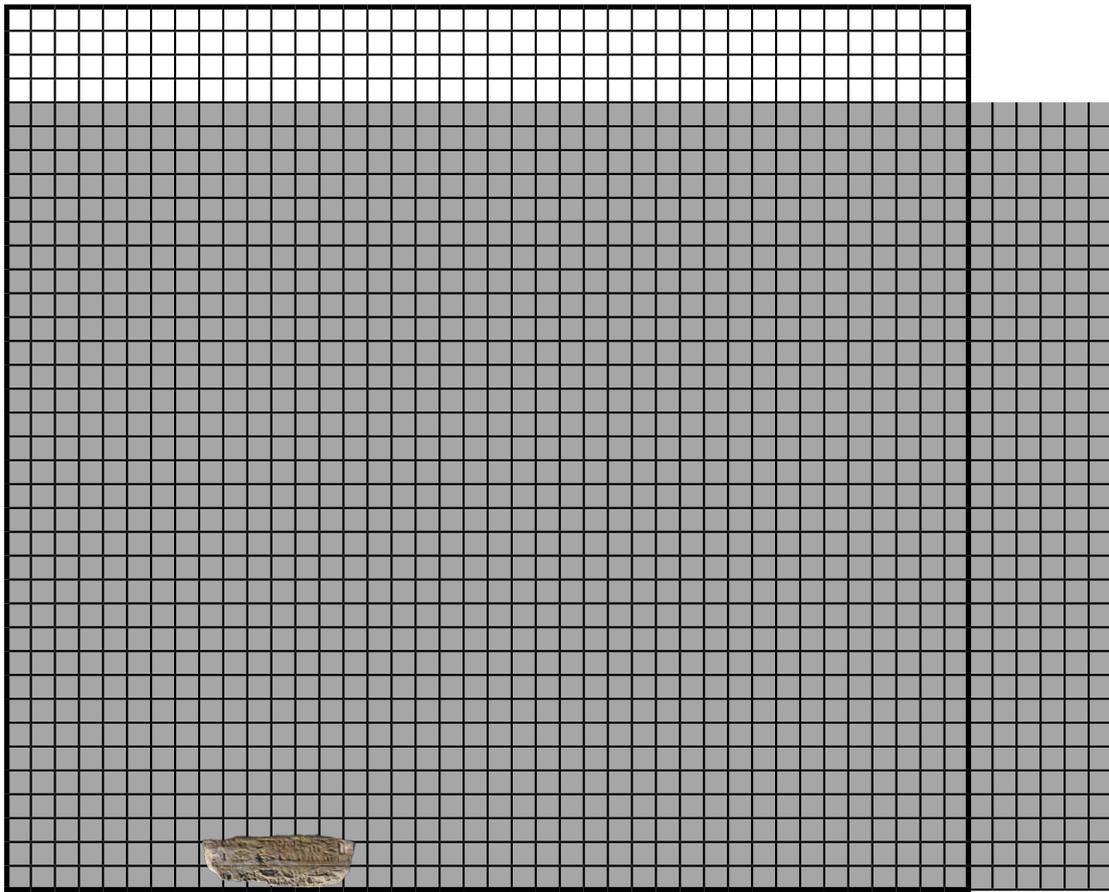
<i>ʿjr(j)¹.y [hm]=k n=k [---]</i>	My [Majesty] will make for you [---]
<i>[---] m rnp(j).t wꜣdꜣwꜣd.t [ ]t[ ]=k rꜥw-nb</i>	[---] while rejuvenating plants [---] your [---] daily.
<i>jb=j hr [hr]p=j [ ] nb [ ] nb/k [ ]=j [ ]=j m ph.tj=k r-dꜥ</i>	My heart guides me [---] every [---] my [---] my [---] with your strength, saying:
<i>mntk tꜣ p.t zꜣt[.w] [---]</i>	To you belong sky and earth <sup>27</sup> [---] <sup>28</sup>
<i>d(j)=k n=j (n)zꜣw.yt sqꜣ(j).tj nꜥt ꜥꜣ.yw n ꜥꜣꜣꜣꜣ tꜣ.w nb.w hr tb.wj=j Tꜣ-mrj [---]</i>	You granted me exalted kingship and great victories of my sword, so that all lands are under my sandals, and Egypt is [---],
<i>(n)zꜣw-bjt nb-Tꜣ.wj ꜥꜣ n Km.t nb n ꜥꜣꜣꜣꜣ nb(.t) (Wsr-mꜣꜥ.t-Rꜥw mr(j)-Jmn(.w)) zꜣ-Rꜥw n ꜥꜣ.t=f mr(j)=f nb-ꜥꜣ.w (Rꜥw-ms(j)-sw ꜥꜣꜣꜣꜣ-Jwn.w) d(j) ꜥꜣnꜥ mj Rꜥw d.t</i>	(me,) the Insibiya and Lord of the Two Lands, the Great Ruler of the Black Land and Lord of every foreign country, (Usimare Miamun), bodily Son of Re, whom he loves, Lord of Appearances, (Ramesses Heqa-lunu), given live eternally like Re.

The parallels make it possible to estimate some of the original dimensions of the new copy from Heliopolis (Fig. 3–4): Compared to copy I, the only one whose ending is preserved, roughly 8 squares are missing left of line x+2, including the closing of the prenomen. One can add another square, because the prenomen is introduced by *(n)zꜣw-bjt nb-Tꜣ.wj* (as in AW), and not by *(n)zꜣw-bjt* alone (as in I and probably KF), so

that it is highly likely that the nomen was also introduced by *zꜣ-Rꜥw nb-ꜥꜣ.w*. Whether the nomen was spelled as in I, or as in AW and KF, is of minor relevance for the reconstruction, because the difference in length is not that great between both versions. In sum, approximately 9 squares are missing to the left, which makes 126 cm, given the square length of 14 cm.

<sup>27</sup> It is not the usual collocation *p.t tꜣ*: “heaven and earth”. Since *zꜣ[.w]* rather denotes the material aspects of the broad term “earth”, the term *p.t* probably denotes here the perceivable “sky” and not “heaven”.

<sup>28</sup> KRITA II, 109 translates: “to you belong heaven and earth, fowl [and ...]”. The word for “fowl” is not discernible, although his restoration is likely.



**Fig. 3:**  
Schematic grid of hieroglyphic squares of Version H (grey) compared to the squares of version I (bold outline).

The missing part to the right can be estimated with less certainty, because the orthography, and thus the arrangement of signs, varies from copy to copy. In addition, not a single version is free of errors, not even the new one, and misspelled or missing words can have further influence on the original text length. The misspelled *rn=k*, for instance, needs only one square in H, while it needs two squares in the other copies. Starting again from version I, one line or roughly 40 squares are missing between *rn=k* and *T3.wj*. Eight squares of these still belong to line x+1, so

that 32 squares are to be reconstructed to the right of the fragment, making 434 cm.

Taking all these measurements together, the main text had an original width of ca. 6.57 m, ca. 12.5 Egyptian cubits, with the still extant block belonging to the third quarter from the right. Thus, copy H had the largest width of all known copies: The width of version AW is given as 1.645 m (BREASTED 1908, 101);<sup>29</sup> version S has a width of 1.85 m without frame (ROSENVASSER 1978, 11);<sup>30</sup> version MH, with which H sha-

<sup>29</sup> Based on the scaled photo in SPENCER 2016, pl. 8.c, the width of the main text is about 1.71 m. The width of the “niche” (i.e., stela with frame) is given as 2.38 m in SPENCER 2016, 7, whereas it is about 2.29 m according to her pl. 8b. In both cases, these differences may be caused by the difficulty of specifying exact edges both on the original and on the photo to take the dimensions.

<sup>30</sup> He estimates the height of the text as 2.85 m, the height of the stela including the scene as ca. 3 m.

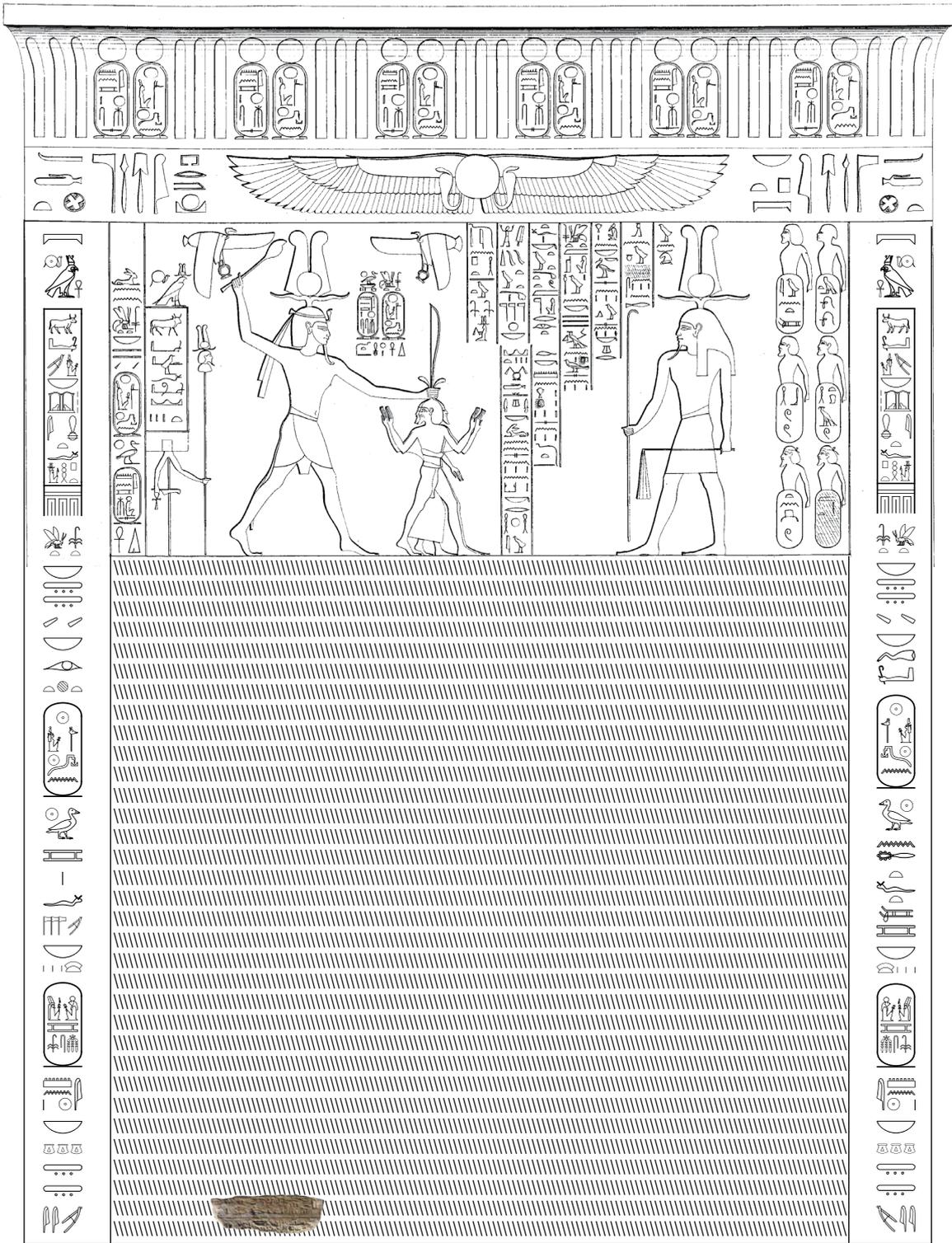


Fig. 4: Sketch of original layout of H with frame columns of K and scene of I (size of scene conjectural; scene of I is only made to fit the width of H).

res the dimensions of writing squares, of 2.90 m;<sup>31</sup> version I has a width of ca. 2.30 m without frame;<sup>32</sup> and version KF was slightly wider. The main text of version K has a width of 4.23 m without frame.<sup>34</sup>

While enough words are preserved to estimate the original width, their number is not high enough to also extrapolate the number of missing lines and the height of the text.<sup>35</sup> It can be concluded from the parallels (see Fig. 5-10 and 16), at least, that it once formed a rectangular wall stela with framing vertical columns, a scene above the main text showing Ramesses (on the left) smiting some enemies in front of Ptah (on the right)<sup>36</sup>, and a topographical list.

## Architectural Context

All Ramesses II copies of the Blessings are accompanied by a stela about the first Hittite marriage,<sup>37</sup> an allusion to which can be found in the Blessings itself (*KRI* II, 274.10 = l. 25–26 of

version I). This pairing gives a clue for dating of our text: The arrival of the princess is dated to year 34, the 3rd month of Peret in the Marriage Stela (*KRI* II, 253.9). This date is the *terminus post quem* for the composition of the Blessings; and copy I from Abu Simbel, the only one with a preserved date line, actually mentions regnal year 35. The same must apply for version H: It cannot be earlier than year 34 of Ramesses II.<sup>38</sup>

A comparison with the other copies and their pairing with the Marriage Stela also provide further information on the architectural context of our stela:

— **Copy AW** from Amara West (Fig. 5–6) is integrated into a niche in the rear wall of the outer forecourt, in its eastern half,<sup>39</sup> as is the Marriage Stela in the western half.<sup>40</sup> This rear wall of the outer forecourt is erected in front of the temenos wall, and together, these two adjacent walls replace the pylon that would be expected at this place in a usual temple layout of this time.<sup>41</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Based on the scale in *MH* II, pl. 105–106.

<sup>32</sup> Based on the scaled photos Oriental Institute: P. 2475 / N. 1538 (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/c0490c75-3f59-4b1e-b838-f5d441ea2666>), P. 2479 / N. 1542 (<https://oi-idb.uchicago.edu/id/49151b7a-b87b-4d4c-a2b3-6bc0c31063e4>); last accessed: 12.11.2021.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. DONADONI 2001, 99: The main text of KF contained ca. 45 squares per line in contrast to the 40 of Abu Simbel.

<sup>34</sup> I thank Brigitte Bulitta and Peter Dils for taking this measurement in March 2018.

<sup>35</sup> Only a very rough idea may be given: Copy I contains 37 lines of text with ca. 40 squares per line (the same number is given by DONADONI 2001, 99). The Heliopolis fragment, as reconstructed above, has 46 squares in a line, 6 squares more. This difference adds up to 4 lines over the whole distance of the text: 37 lines (version I) × 40 squares (version I): 46 squares (version H) = 32,17 lines (version H), and this number was rounded up to 33 to give the Heliopolis scribe some more space for orthographic differences. And this number, multiplied by a line height of 16 cm, makes 5.28 m, almost exactly 10 cubits, without the scene above the text. These calculations, however, must be taken with extreme caution, and it needs to be emphasized that they are based on the restoration of two single lines and the distance between two groups of less than 10 words each, and that it is calculated with equal square lengths (but see above for *pd.wt-9*, and see ČERNÝ/ EDEL 1962, note at the end of page F62,6 for Abu Simbel).

<sup>36</sup> For these directions, see also below.

<sup>37</sup> Noted already by KITCHEN 1982, 88, and KRITANC II, 160, GOELET 1991, 30, and 34–35. The interrelation between both texts is confirmed by a simple crosscheck: The only version of the 1st Hittite Marriage that is not complemented by the Blessings, is the version from Elephantine, which was found reused in the Roman quay wall, and thus out of context.

<sup>38</sup> This supports the impression of ASHMAWY/ RAUE 2012, 7–8, that the temple of area 200 may have been built in the later decades of Ramesses II.

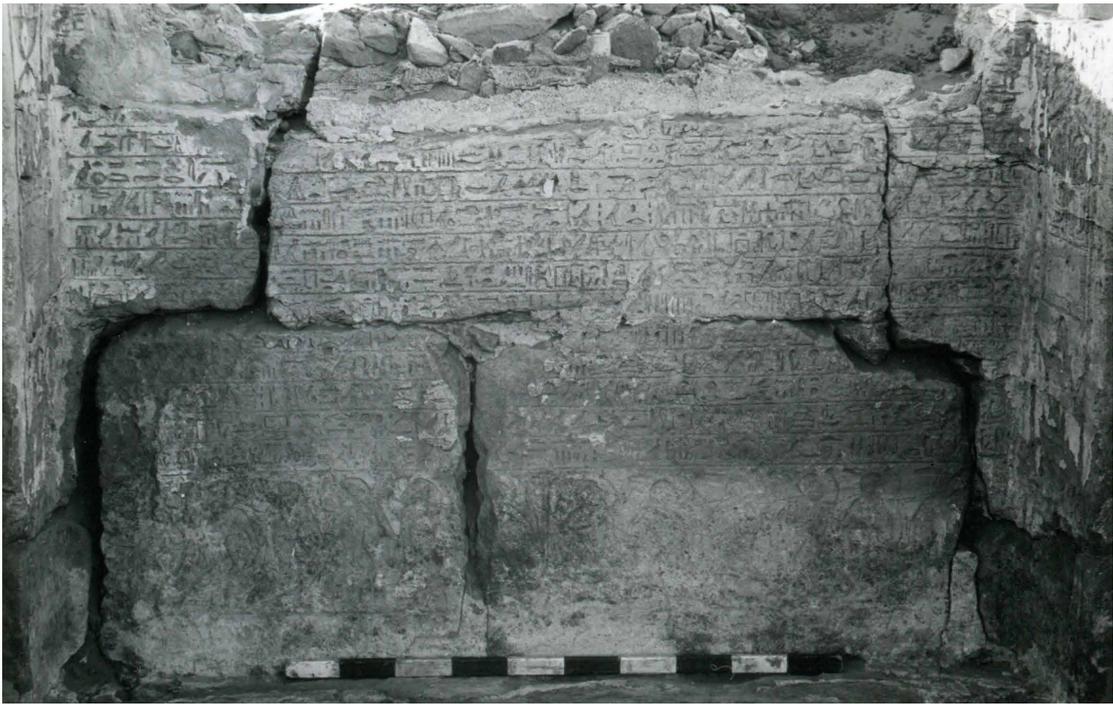
<sup>39</sup> For the inconsistencies concerning the directions of this temple, see POPKO 2016, 214–216. Here, the geographical compass bearings are used, not the local ones.

<sup>40</sup> *PM* VII, 159–160, nos. (2) and (3). See also SPENCER 1997, pl. 15. There, the Blessings are labelled as “Dream Stela”.

<sup>41</sup> For the changes in plan during the construction of this temple and the consequences for its layout, see the brief overview in SPENCER 1997, 27–28.



**Fig. 5:** Blessings of Ptah from Amara West before clearing, session of 1937–1938 (Version AW), Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society.



**Fig. 6:** Blessings of Ptah from Amara West after clearing, session of 1938–1939 (Version AW), Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society.

— **Copy K** (Fig. 7–8) was inscribed on the IXth Pylon of the temple of Karnak, on the southern face of its western tower, with the Marriage Stela on the eastern tower (*PM II*<sup>2</sup>, 181, and pl. xv, nos. (541) and (545)).

— **Copy S** from Aksha is again to be found on the outer face of the pylon, on the eastern

side of its southern tower (VERCOUTTER 1962, 113 and pl. 35a–b). There, a block was also found with a version of the Marriage Stela. Its original location, however, cannot be determined (FUSCALDO 1994, 22); the text has a right-to-left orientation, and thus the same orientation as the Blessings (see *KRI II*, 235.3



**Fig. 7:** Karnak, IXth Pylon with Blessings of Ptah (Version K) to the left and the Marriage Stela to the right (Photo: L. Popko).



**Fig. 8:** Blessings of Ptah, Version K, Scene (Based upon a photo kindly provided by Sébastien Biston-Moulin).

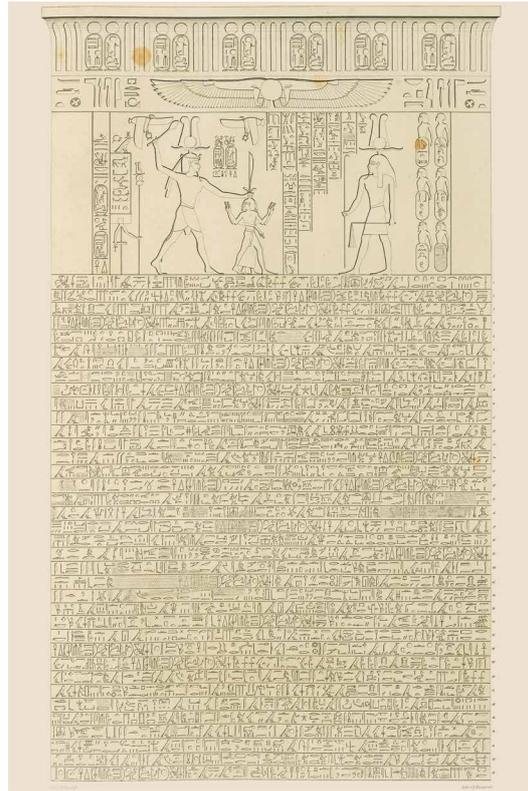
## 2.2.1.1

and ROSENVASSER 1980, pl. 1); but this also applies for the Marriage Stela of Amara West, so that this layout does not exclude a location on the right tower.

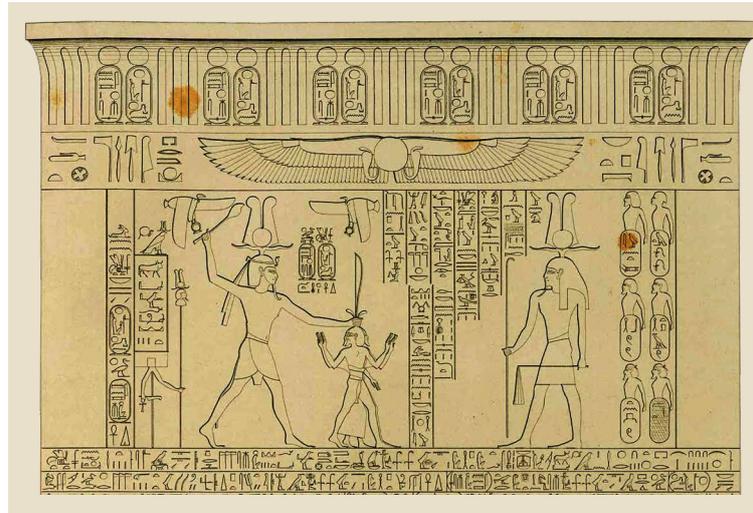
— **Copy I** (Fig. 9–11) from the great temple of Abu Simbel was not paired with the Marriage Stela in the same way as the others, yet probably only because of lack of space, since it was added to an already decorated temple (FUSCALDO 1994, 22).<sup>42</sup> Here, the Blessings are written on a secondary screen wall between pillars III and IV of the hypostyle hall, while the Marriage Stela is inscribed on the left margin of this temple's façade (Fig. 12) (see *PM* VII, 96 and 98, no. (9), and 106).<sup>43</sup> One may call it a “lateral pairing” at least, since both texts are written on southern walls in the left axis of the temple.



**Fig. 9:**  
Blessings of Ptah,  
Version I (Online  
Source #1).



**Fig. 10:**  
Blessings of Ptah,  
Version I, state of  
preservation in the  
19th century  
(LD III, 194).



**Fig. 11:**  
Extract from Fig. 10.

<sup>42</sup> See also FISHER 2013, 83–85, for the time difference between the erection of the temple and the events described in the Marriage Stela.

<sup>43</sup> Here and in the following the terms “left” and “right” are to be understood as “left/right, looking from the outside into the temple”.

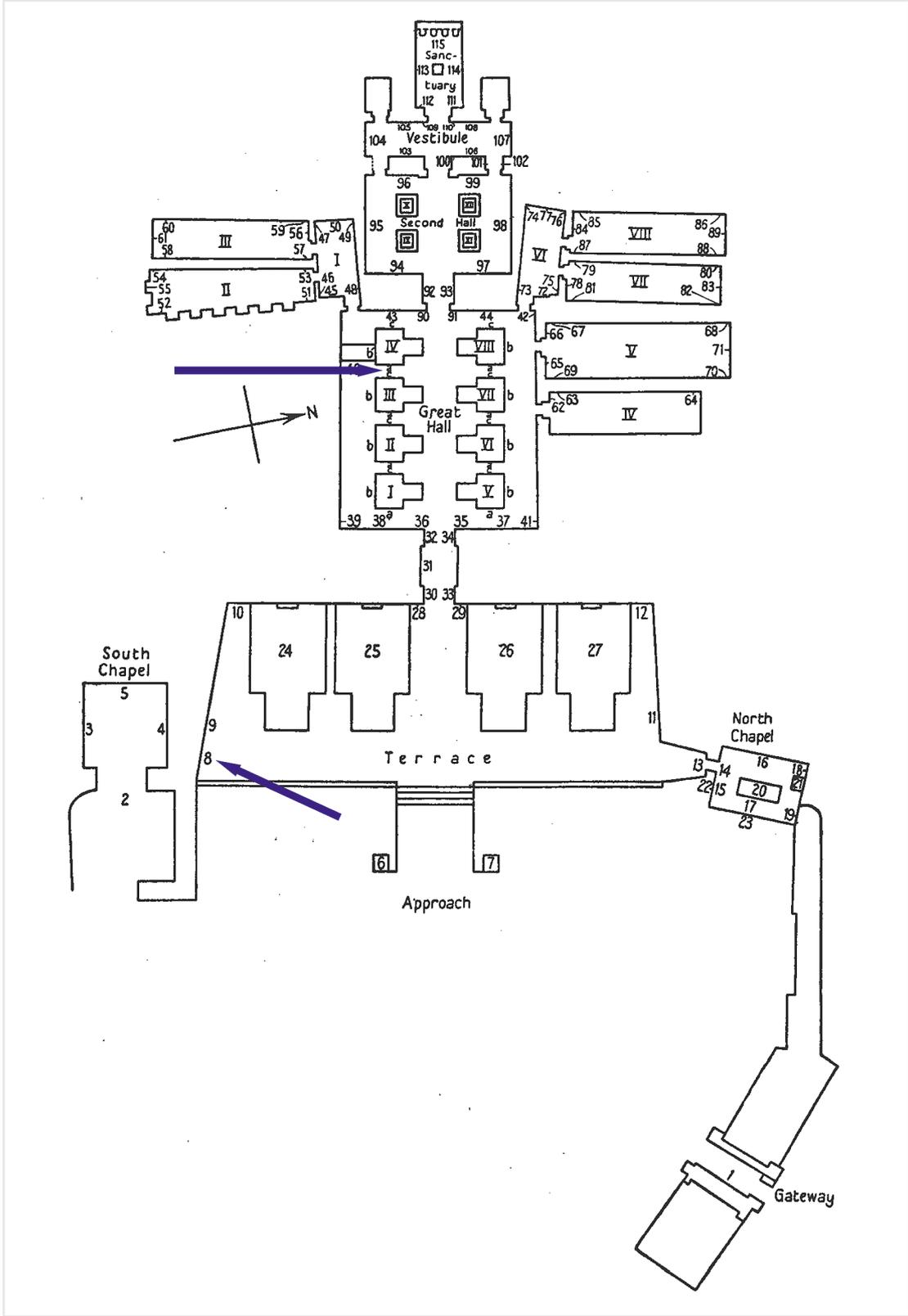
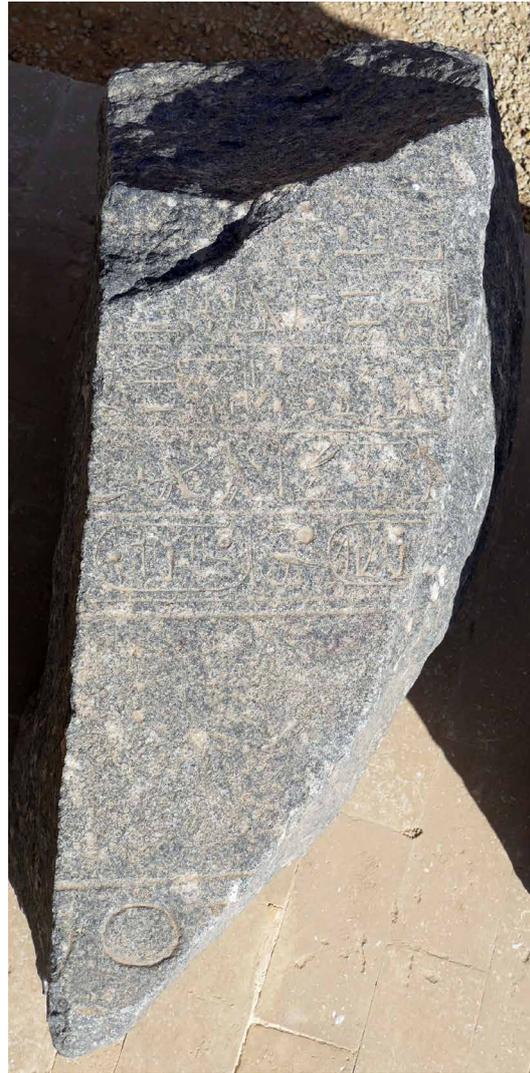


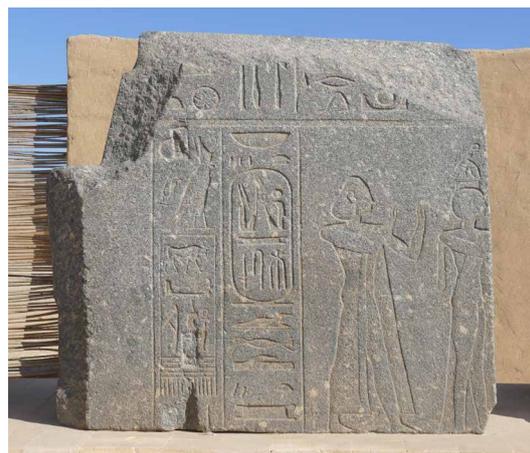
Fig. 12: Plan of Abu Simbel with Blessings of Ptah (above) and Marriage Stela (below), PM VII, 96.

— Nothing is known about the original location of **copy KF** from Kiman Faris/Medinet el-Fayum (Fig. 13), although it is most likely from the temple of Sobek there. It is made of “granite” (SHAikh AL-ARAB 2014, 114) and comes, therefore, from a gate rather than from a pylon or temple wall. A block was also found at this site that shows Hattušili and a princess, doubtless his daughter, and which apparently belongs to a local copy of the Marriage text (Fig. 14). This block is also made of “granite” and was, therefore, a part of a gate as well (DAVOLI/AHMED 2006, 84). The orientation of both figures is inverted to the scene in Abu Simbel, and Davoli suggests placing the block on the right side of the entrance. Following her suggestion, Shaikh al-Arab proposes placing the Blessings on the corresponding left side.<sup>44</sup> Yet the right-to-left-orientation of Hattušili and his daughter in Abu Simbel is irregular, because with placing the stela left of the entrance, they are shown heading towards the outside of the temple, while the opposite should be expected. It is possible, therefore, that the Marriage Stela of Abu Simbel was intended to be erected at a temple gate (see already FISHER 2013, 83); and the western tower of the pylon of the northern temenos wall, opposite to which the stela was finally carved, seems to be a promising place.

Therefore, the opposing directions of the scene in Abu Simbel and Kiman Faris do not mean that their location has to be sought on opposing sides of their respective temples: in Abu Simbel left



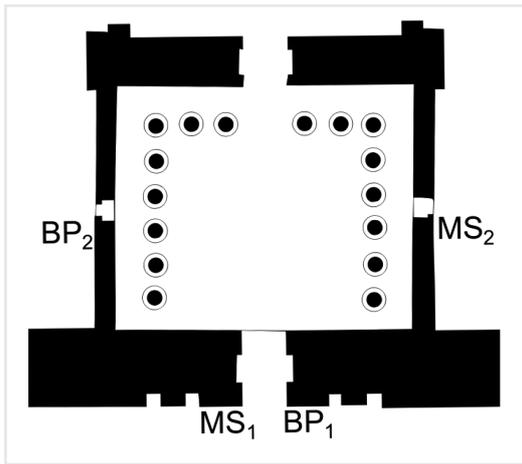
**Fig. 13:**  
Blessings of Ptah,  
Version KF (Open-  
Air Museum Karanis,  
Photo: L. Popko).



**Fig. 14:**  
Scene of Marriage  
Stela from Kiman  
Faris (Open-Air  
Museum Karanis,  
Photo: L. Popko).

<sup>44</sup> SHAikh AL-ARAB 2014, 114–115, probably assuming a direct pairing. Shaikh al-Arab specifies the material of KF as “grey granite”, while the Marriage fragment (DAVOLI/AHMED 2006, 83) is said to be made of “black granite”. Both fragments are displayed side by side in the Open-Air Museum at Karanis/Kom Aushim and appeared equally grey at the author’s visit on the 18th of April 2019.

**Fig. 15:**  
Possible locations of Blessings (BP) and Marriage Stela (MS) from Kiman Faris on a hypothetical temple ground plan: (1) Placement at the pylon; (2) placement at side entrances.



of the entrance, and the Kiman Faris text right of the entrance. Just the contrary: Placing it left of the entrance in Kiman Faris as well (so also FISHER 2013, 92), would not only be in accordance with the directions expected for Hattušili and his daughter, it would also explain the direction of the local Blessings copy: It is the only copy where the text is oriented left to right, meaning that it would be headed towards the exterior if it were placed left of the entrance (Fig. 15), while all other copies are headed towards the interior of the temple. But once copy KF is placed on the right side of a gate, the text is headed towards the interior as well.

— **Version MH** from Medinet Habu (Fig. 16–17) was again written on the outer face of a pylon, to be more precise: on the eastern face of the southern tower of the first pylon. Since it could not be complemented by a Marriage Stela for obvious reasons,<sup>45</sup> it was instead paired with the Libyan War inscription of year 11.<sup>46</sup>

In conclusion, seven copies of the Blessings are known so far (I, AW, K, S, KF, H, MH). Five of these (I, AW, K, S, KF) are paired, one way or the other, by a version of the Marriage Stela, while version MH cannot be taken into account for this question. As a consequence, the existence of another copy of the Marriage stela can be suggested with great certainty for the temple from Suq el-Khamis.

Four of the Blessings were written on the outer façade of a pylon (K, S, MH), or the “pylon replacement” respectively (AW), on its left half, whatever this implies for the “grammaire du temple”. This placement corresponds well with the right-to-left-orientation of the main text.

The corresponding Marriage Stela can be found on the respective right half (AW, K). The situation is unclear for S, although a similar pairing cannot be excluded. The fifth and the sixth copy were not written on a pylon, but on a temple wall (I) and on a gate (KF) respectively. Nevertheless, the fifth version (I) is again situated left of the temple axis (seen from the outside), and heads towards the interior. The only exception of this rule is the sixth version (KF), as its direction suggests placing it on the right side of the temple axis, with the Marriage text on the left side.<sup>47</sup>

<sup>45</sup> The allusion to the Marriage in the Blessings is accordingly replaced by another phrase, see *KRI* II, 274.12.

<sup>46</sup> Cf. *MH* II, fig. 5 and pl. 84–86, 104–406. Version MH is dated to year 12, curiously enough “even imitating the one-year interval in the date-lines of Ramesses II’s stelae (11 before 12, just like 34 before 35)”, *KRITANC* II, 160.

<sup>47</sup> The location of the texts is unique in any case, so that one may also speculate whether they were erected not at the main entrance, but at corresponding lateral entrances left and right of a court or a hall. If the Marriage text was carved at the left side of such a hypothetical entrance to the right side of the court, and the Blessings at the right side of a corresponding entrance to the left side of the court, they would both be oriented towards the interior of the temple and would show the same relative pairing left and right of the temple axis like the other copies (s. Fig. 16, option (2)).



**Fig. 16:** Medinet Habu, Main Temple, First Pylon with Blessings of Ptah (Version MH) to the left and the Libyan War inscription of year 11 to the right (Online Source #2).

Altogether, there is good reason to assume that fragment 200 L22-KS004 from Matariya/Heliopolis once formed part of the outer side of the eastern tower of a pylon of Ramesses II's temple at Suq el-Khamis and this was paired with a Marriage Stela, probably on the western tower of the same pylon (Fig. 18).

The reason for erecting this long hymnic dialogue between the king and Ptah in Heliopolis, the temple precinct of Atum, still needs further studies.<sup>48</sup> It is, however, remarkable that none of the other copies of the Blessings were found in Ptah temples either. Curiously enough, most of them were found in Amun(-Ra) precincts instead, where Ptah played only a minor role. This is true for K, AW, and S, and in part also for I and MH, where Amun(-Ra) was one of the main gods.<sup>49</sup> This relation of the Blessings to



**Fig. 17:** Blessings of Ptah, Version MH, Scene (Based upon a photo kindly provided by Simon Thuault).

Amun(-Ra) may be, however, pure coincidence, the more so since it does not suit the prominent role of Ptah-Tatenen in the Blessings. Another *tertium comparationis* that may be even more important, is the fact that most of the Blessings were found in temples dedicated to the king or his divine manifestations: Abu Simbel, Medinet Habu, and the Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak –

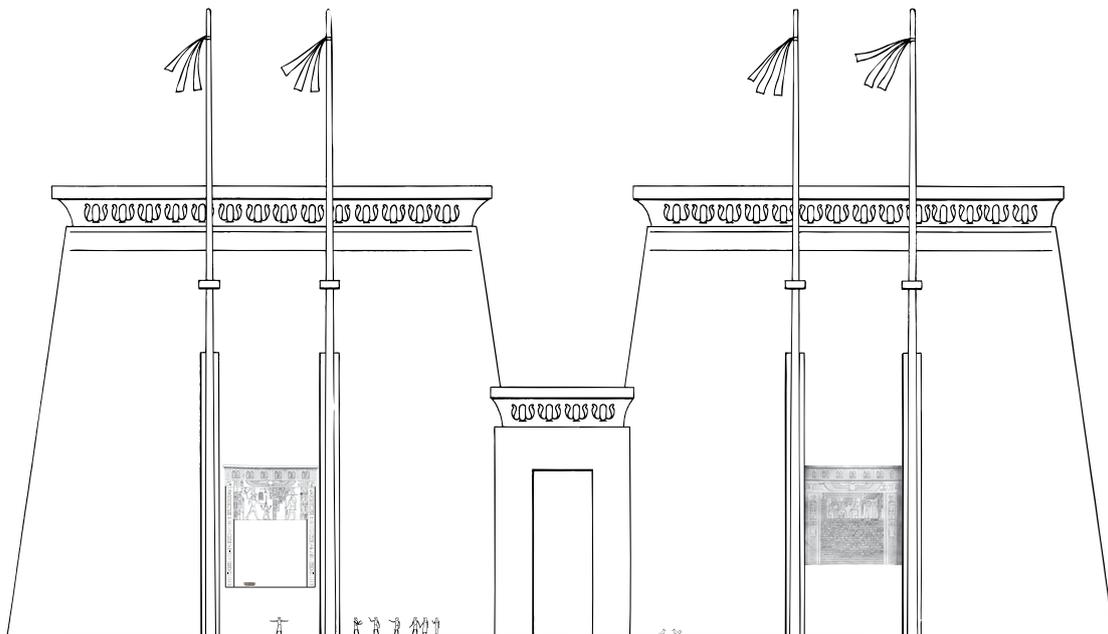
<sup>47</sup> The location of the texts is unique in any case, so that one may also speculate whether they were erected not at the main entrance, but at corresponding lateral entrances left and right of a court or a hall. If the Marriage text was carved at the left side of such a hypothetical entrance to the right side of the court, and the Blessings at the right side of a corresponding entrance to the left side of the court, they would both be oriented towards the interior of the temple and would show the same relative pairing left and right of the temple axis like the other copies (s. Fig. 15, option (2)).

<sup>48</sup> For Ptah's connection to Heliopolis, see e.g., EL-BANNA 1984. – Perhaps the study of the Blessings & Marriage ensemble that is announced at <http://www.cfeetk.cnrs.fr/accueil/programmes-scientifiques/axe-1-pouvoir-etmarques-de-pouvoir-a-karnak/la-stele-du-mariage-de-ramses-ii/> (last accessed: 01.06.2019) will shed more light on this question.

<sup>49</sup> For the Ptah temple in Karnak, see more recently BISTON-MOULIN/THIERS 2016, for Ptah in Medinet Habu see ULLMANN 2002, 447–449, 467–472, 515, 520. The statue of Ptah in the sanctuary of the great temple of Abu Simbel is well known, but its place in this temple must not be overestimated, see HEIN 1991, 119. As a member of the “Reichstriade”, he finds a place also in Aksha and Amara West, HEIN, op. cit., 120, but this aspect does not set them apart from other Nubian temples that are without a copy of the Blessings.

which can be reached, though only indirectly<sup>50</sup>, by passing by the IXth Pylon – are “Houses of Millions of Years”,<sup>51</sup> temples dedicated to the royal cult. Abu Simbel was dedicated, furthermore, to the deified Ramesses II, and Aksha to “Usimare-Setepenre, the Great God, Lord of Nubia”; Amara West was at least named as the “House of Ramesses Miamun” (see HABACHI 1969, 16, HEIN 1991, 119–120). These temples were fitting places for a text in which a god promises the king a long and successful reign.

Yet if this would be the reason for erecting the Blessings, one wonders why a copy does not exist in other Nubian temples dedicated to Ramesses II, while lack of evidence from the Ramesseum might be explained by the bad preservation of the outer face of its pylon. So, it can be hoped that the copy from Kiman Faris, and the new one from Heliopolis, highly fragmentary though they are, may be useful pieces for solving this puzzle.



**Fig. 18:** Possible arrangement of Blessings of Ptah (version H) and Marriage Stela on a pylon at the Suq el-Khamis, exact position is purely conjectural (Drawing of Pylon is based upon UPHILL 1984, pl. 21, size of pylon is based on observations in Area 200).

<sup>50</sup> NB: When one leaves the Great Hypostyle Hall through the southern gateway and joins the north-south processional way by entering the Cour de la Cachette through the western gateway, one passes by – in chronologically correct order – the Battle of Kadesh, the Peace Treaty, and the First Hittite Marriage.

<sup>51</sup> For the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak as the House of Millions of Years of Sety I, see ULLMANN 2002, 250–257, and esp. 255 for libations for the Ka of Ramesses II; for Abu Simbel, see *op. cit.*, 390–393.

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Photo: O. Tausch; CC BY 3.0 (<<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/3.0/>>, via Wikimedia Commons); Source: [https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b4/Gro%C3%9Fer\\_Tempel\\_%28Abu\\_Simbel%29\\_Gro%C3%9Fe\\_Pfeilerhalle\\_28.jpg](https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/b/b4/Gro%C3%9Fer_Tempel_%28Abu_Simbel%29_Gro%C3%9Fe_Pfeilerhalle_28.jpg) (last accessed: 24.01.2021).

#### Online Source #2:

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## Area 200-203: Sculpture

### 2.3.1 Middle Kingdom Colossal Statues Reused by Ramesses II

Simon Connor

with the collaboration of Christopher Breninek

Dating:	12th and 19th Dynasties, reigns of Senusret I (1920–1875 BC) and Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC)
Material:	Granite
Estimated dimensions of the seated colossi:	H. 550; W. 220; D. 360 cm
Estimated dimensions of the standing colossus:	H. 800; W. 200 cm

#### 1. Archaeological Context

Several dozen pink granite fragments were unearthed from 2001 to 2018 in the area known as “Suq el-Khamis”, in the southwestern part of the large sun temple precinct within the archaeological zone of Matariya, among the ruins of what must have been a temple of Ramesses II, according to the inscriptions and architectural fragments that were discovered.<sup>1</sup>

In front of the remains of a limestone pylon (almost entirely disappeared<sup>2</sup>), a series of bases were discovered in their original position, and oriented N-S (Fig. 1.1). Three of these bases, made of limestone blocks, were found in good condition, still forming a row (Fig. 1.2). The base of the middle served as a support for the standing colossus of Psamtik I in square K24w

(Fig. 1.17, see p. 151–173), while the two bases surrounding it (K23/K24e), of the same dimensions, supported two of the granite colossi that are the subject of this notice.<sup>3</sup> The only complete base of one of these (although cut into fragments) was discovered in its original location on the western base in square K23 (Fig. 1.3–1.8, 1.16). Most of the other fragments of various sizes were found scattered throughout the site (Fig. 1.18), abandoned after the statues were dismantled. The limestone pylon had already disappeared when this activity took place (Fig. 1.15). An important question is therefore whether the quartzite colossus of Psamtik I and the granite statues were destroyed at the same time, or if we are dealing with different events. It is indeed possible that some of the debris, perhaps laying around, was used to fill the emptied foundation trenches of the temple in this area.

<sup>1</sup> ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017.

<sup>2</sup> Except for some reliefs of Ramesses II that are currently stored in the storerooms of the citadel. Two of these were re-inscribed by Ramesses IV.

<sup>3</sup> The pottery found in the foundation sand of these bases is late Ramesside, which would designate that period for their installation. Furthermore, some of the limestone blocks forming bases K23 and K24e were reused from earlier Ramesside structures, according to the style of their reliefs.

Most of the granite fragments found on the site show teeth-like traces of cutting on their edges, witnesses of their dismantling in order to produce smaller blocks, perhaps for new constructions or as grinding stones. This is suggested by the presence of broken, roughly cut ones on the site, among other blocks from the statues (Fig. 1.23–1.24). The scars left by the cutting tools are very regular: the chisel(s), most likely made from hard metals, apparently had bevelled extremities (around 7–8 cm at the extremity and 10–11 at their largest width, while the cuts are usually 7 cm deep, Fig. 1.22). According to D. and R. Klemm, the “wedge splitting” technique for cutting blocks of granitic rocks was first used in the Ptolemaic period, but is mostly attested in Roman times in Egypt. Iron chisels were necessary for this, and they are rarely used in pre-Ptolemaic times. The theory of wooden wedges is definitely to be abandoned. Indeed, this makes no sense for such hard stones and especially for holes cut horizontally or diagonally from above down, as these often appear in quarries (notably in Mons Claudianus). To cut a block, iron chisels have to be aligned and hammered at the same time by several stonemasons. It is a rhythmic procedure and the changing sound of the hammer indicates when the splitting is taking place.<sup>4</sup> The wedge splitting method still continues into early Arabic times, but is less regularly executed, and mostly limited to the fragmentation of ancient Egyptian granite objects. In the case of Heliopolis, this period cannot therefore be excluded.

The main bodies of the statues are generally missing: torsos, thrones and back slabs have

almost entirely gone, probably because these parts of the statues are the most suitable for reuse, to produce new blocks of large size. Nevertheless, the elements that have come down to us allow us to reconstruct the presence of several monumental sculptures:

- At least six statues of the same size and style, and probably all of the same type, king seated on a throne, with the left hand flat on the knee, and the right one, turned down on the knee, and holding a piece of cloth (Fig. 1.9–1.14). All six statues show the king wearing the nemes and a false beard. Apparently, all included a back slab instead of a back pillar – an unusual feature, which will be discussed below. These colossi reached some 5.50 m high (while the standing statue of Psamtik I erected between two was approximately 11 m high, see p. 166, Fig. 21–22).
- At least one standing colossus showing the king wearing the white crown. Similarly to the seated colossi, the statue was leaning against a monumental slab, instead of a back pillar.
- Probably a statuary group
- A kneeling statue?
- Several other fragments of granite may have belonged to other still unidentified statues.

Among these granite remains, the site excavated also contained, apart from Psamtik I’s colossus

<sup>4</sup> Pers. com. 2020. Our deepest thanks go to R. Klemm for kindly sharing with us these observations made in experimental studies.

2.3.1

(p. 151–173), a limestone torso of Sety II (p. 132–142), the body of a granodiorite “healing statue” of 4th century BC date (p. 174–181, see LANGERMANN (in preparation)), the quartzite head of a 12th Dynasty official (p. 174–181), several fragments of sphinxes (p. 143–148), fragments of a large quartzite statue of a falcon (p. 180–191) and of another colossal statue in granite (p. 124–131), as well as fragments of quartzite and granite Amarna period altars (p. 308–376).

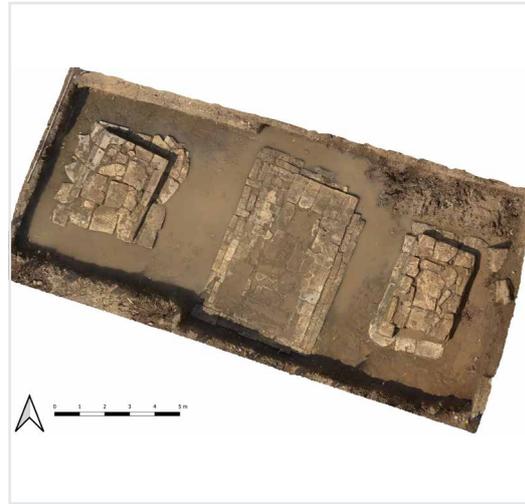


Fig. 1.2: Bases of two granite seated statues framing the base of Psamtik I's standing colossus (Orthophotograph: C. Breninek).



Fig. 1.1: Plan of the excavated sector of Suq el-Khamis (Drawing: P. J. Collet & C. Breninek).



**Fig. 1.3–1.8:**  
 Square K23: Base and feet of one  
 of the seated colossi discovered still  
*in situ*, cut into smaller blocks and  
 ready for reuse [Inv. No. RG 126]  
 (Photos and orthophotographs:  
 C. Breninek).



**Fig.1.9–1.11:**  
Head of one of the seated colossi  
*in situ* (currently at the Grand  
Egyptian Museum);  
Photos: D. Raue.



**Fig.1.12–1.14:**  
Square H24: Legs and lower torso  
of one of the seated colossi *in situ*  
(Photos: D. Raue).

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**Fig. 1.15:**  
View of Suq  
el-Khamis in 2012  
(Photo: D. Raue).



**Fig. 1.16:**  
Square K23: Base and  
feet of one of the  
seated colossi  
discovered still  
*in situ*, in 2008  
(Photo: A. Ashmawy).



**Fig. 1.17:**  
Square K24: Base  
of the colossus of  
Psamtik I, discovered  
still *in situ*, in 2008  
(Photo: A. Ashmawy).



**Fig. 1.18:**  
Fragments of  
Psamtik I's quartzite  
colossus and of one  
of the granite statues  
with the base inscri-  
bed for Ramesses II  
(Photo: D. Raue).



**Fig. 1.19:**  
Base fragment of one  
of the granite colossi  
with a segment of  
the Horus name of  
Ramesses II  
(*Ks-nht-mrj-ms<sup>c</sup>.t*)  
[Inv. No. RG U06]  
(now in the Ministry  
of Antiquities maga-  
zine in Arab el-Hisn;  
Photo: D. Raue).

2.3.1



**Fig. 1.20:** Fragment of a horizontal inscription (probably from the base of one of the colossi) with the Horus name of Ramesses II (*[Kꜣ-nḥt]-ḥmrj-mꜣꜥ.ṯ*) (Photo: C. Breninek).



**Fig. 1.21:** Back slab of one of the granite seated colossi [Inv. No. RG 482]. The teeth-like traces in the lower part witness to the cutting technique of the colossi, achieved with hard metal chisels (Orthophotograph: C. Breninek).



**Fig. 1.22:** Bust of one of the granite seated colossi [Inv. No. RG 059]. The marks of chisel-cutting are highly visible in the lower part of the statue, as well as on the edges of the back slab (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 1.23–24:** Grinding stone discovered among the fragments of the granite colossi, probably made from one of these. It may have been abandoned on the site after breaking (Photos: S. Connor).



## 2. The Seated Colossi

Most of the stone material from the seated colossi was taken away when the statues were dismantled. Only a few large fragments of the bases, thrones and arms were left, enough to allow us to reconstruct the statuary type (Fig. 2.1–2.3, 2.5). As far as can be judged, all seated statues showed the same stylistic and typological features, and all were of the same dimensions. Elements of six distinct heads were found – since they were probably considered unsuitable for reuse, the recyclers left these behind. All the preserved heads show the king

wearing the *nemes* and a false beard – in all cases broken. One of the noses was discovered in the ground.

The rear part of the *nemes* shows a quite unusual feature: instead of being carved in full three dimensions with the braid on the back reaching the top of the back pillar, the head cloth emerges from a high slab. On one of the heads (Inv. No. RG 01; Fig. 3.2.2–3.2.3) the pleats on the top of the *nemes* even continue until the slab, on the space behind the head (this was not visible from below, when the statue was complete).

### Dimensions:

A “complete” colossus (estimated):	H. 550; W. 220; D. 360 cm
The throne (in average):	H. 202 (including base); D. 112 cm (without the front part of the base)
Hand:	W. 20 cm
Upper arm:	W. 34–35 cm
Front arm:	thickness 28–30 cm
Eye:	H. 5–6; W. 11–15 cm; the extremity of the make-up lines (at the level of the temples) is around 3 cm thick for the eyes and the eyebrows
Ear:	H. 26–29; W. 11–14 cm
Beard:	H. 42; W. (at the lower extremity) 18 cm

The preserved right hand holds a piece of cloth, while the left one lays flat on the knee. The hand holding the folded cloth is horizontal, facing down, with all fingers on the knee. This iconographic feature may be taken into account as a dating criterion, since beginning from Amenem-

hat III both hands are usually represented flat on the knees. However, the right hand (holding the cloth) placed horizontally is the most frequently documented until Senusret III. That hand is placed vertically during the Old Kingdom, and only occasionally attested under Senusret II and III.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> EVERS 1929, 38–39, § 262–277.

Few fragments of the legs and kilt were discovered, but all show the *shendjyt*, which is the most characteristic of this type of statue.

The front part of the throne seems to have been rectangular in all preserved cases, which is the most frequently attested shape during the Middle Kingdom.

From the stylistic point of view, various features are in favour of a dating in the early 12th Dynasty, most probably the reign of Senusret I.

- Shape of the *nemes*' outlines and rays: the head cloth's wings are narrow. The upper part of the head is flat and relatively small, compared to the face. Both of these features are characteristic of the early Middle Kingdom, until Senusret I. From Amenemhat II onwards, the wings get wider and wider, until the 13th Dynasty.<sup>6</sup> The rays are thick, with an alternation of rays in relief and in recess.
- The uraeus stands directly above the king's forehead, at the lower limit of his head cloth's front band. This characteristic is typical of the 11th Dynasty (see BASEL BSAe III 8397, Bristol H 5038, Edinburgh A. 1965.2, New York MMA 66.99.3). From Amenemhat I onwards the uraeus can also be found standing a bit higher, a mid-half of the front band (e.g.: Ismailia JE 60520, Paris E 10299, Cambridge E. 2.1974, Cairo JE 67345). From Senusret III onwards it is most often above the band. The snake's hood is large and simple, with no other carved decoration than a vertical line in low relief. The tail draws a sinuous line toward the back of the head. Until Amenemhat I and Senusret I the curves drawn by the tail are numerous and tight. Under Amenemhat II various shapes are attested: circular or sinuous. From Senusret III onwards the most common shape is a wide "S"-shape just above the head of the snake. Exact parallels to the shape visible here are thus far unknown to the authors, but it does seem to relate more to the first half of the 12th Dynasty.<sup>7</sup>
- The mouth's outlines are surrounded by a "liseré", i.e., a border in relief corresponding to the "vermillion line" (Fig. 3.2.5, 3.4.3–3.4.4). This stylistic characteristic appears in Egyptian art throughout the whole Old Kingdom – it is particularly visible during the 6th Dynasty – and the beginning of the Middle Kingdom (until Senusret I, then it disappears with Amenemhat II). From Amenemhat II onwards the mouth no longer includes this line in relief and shows a protruding lower lip, with a severe expression. The "liseré" is clearly visible again with Amenhotep I and Amenhotep III. The lips of the latter are thicker and fleshier, while the large and thick mouth with simple geometric lips, and deeply cut corners of the mouth, which we can observe here, correspond to the Late Old Kingdom and Early Middle Kingdom stylistic features.

<sup>6</sup> EVERS 1929, 14, § 75 and 78; CONNOR 2020, 239, pl. 143.

<sup>7</sup> EVERS 1929, 26, § 164–171; POLZ 1995, 239–242; CONNOR 2020, 239, pl. 145.

- The eyes are large, surrounded by a thick make-up line. The inner canthi are clearly delineated, while the make-up lines continue on the temples, widening out until rectangular ends, similarly to the eyebrows.
- While all heads are missing their noses, one of the noses was found among the fragments. Although noses are so rarely preserved in Egyptian statuary, Senusret I's one is exceptionally well known from his statues: it is still preserved on the two granite standing statues found in Abydos (Cairo JE 38286 and 38387), the "osiriatic" pillars from Karnak (Cairo JE 48851, Luxor J. 174, Stockholm 1972:17), as well as most of the seated and standing limestone statues from Senusret I's funerary complex in Lisht-South (Cairo CG 398–402, 411–420).<sup>8</sup> It follows the shape that we find on these statues, as well as on the reliefs from his reign: the nose is straight and rounded at its extremity, with large nostrils. Perhaps due to the particularly large dimensions

of the granite colossi, the modelling is here more developed and shows a slight undulation on the nose's bridge.

The stylistic features therefore point to an early Middle Kingdom dating, and most probably to the reign of Senusret I. While an earlier date (from Mentuhotep II to Amenemhat I) cannot be categorically excluded on stylistic grounds, the royal repertoire of 11th Dynasty statuary has not yielded granite or granodiorite thus far, or any proper colossi. Amenemhat I is known by a number of large hard stone statues, including a granite colossus discovered in Tanis, but probably originally from Memphis (Cairo JE 37470<sup>9</sup>), and a quartzite statue unearthed in Heliopolis (Cairo JE 29212<sup>10</sup>).

Such a monumental ensemble fits particularly well with the programme of Senusret I in Heliopolis, as attested to by a series of constructions,<sup>11</sup> for which the obelisk that gives its current name to its area in Matariya ("Masalla") is the most impressive witness.

<sup>8</sup> EVERS 1929, pl. 28, 34, 35; LORAND 2011, cat. C11–12, C22–26, pl. 8, 9, 16–20; GABOLDE 2018, 328, fig. 205–206, cat. 6–7.

<sup>9</sup> EVERS 1929, I, pl. 15–17; SOROUZIAN 2005, 103–105, pl. 1. This statue was "usurped" by Merenptah in the simplest way, i.e., by only adding the Ramesside ruler's titulature, but without removing the name of Amenemhat I, nor modifying his physiognomy.

<sup>10</sup> EVERS 1929, I, pl. 18; II, 22, fig. 4, 35 and pl. 2, fig. 34; SEIDEL 1996, 65–67, doc 31, pl. 22; SOROUZIAN 2005, 105, pl. 3.

<sup>11</sup> RAUE 1999, 85, 115, 439; POSTEL/RÉGEN 2005; LORAND 2011, 307–317; GABOLDE/LAISNEY 2017, 118–122, 124, 127–132; DÍAZ HERNÁNDEZ 2019. SEIDLMEYER 2013 also linked an inscription in Aswan to this work.

2.3.1



**Fig. 2.1–2.3:** Archetype of the six seated granite statues, reconstructed from the various preserved fragments (Drawing: S. Connor).

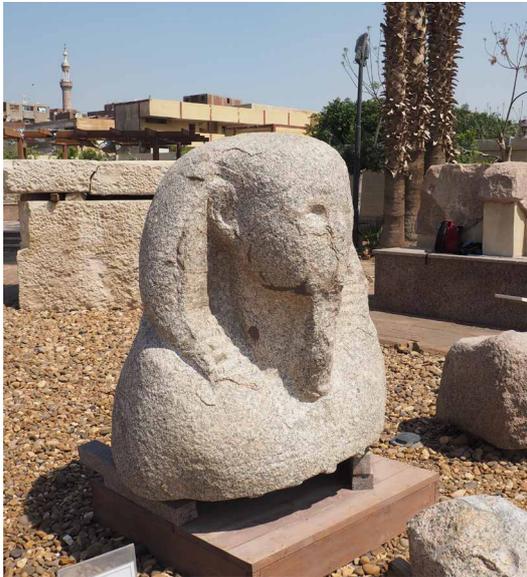
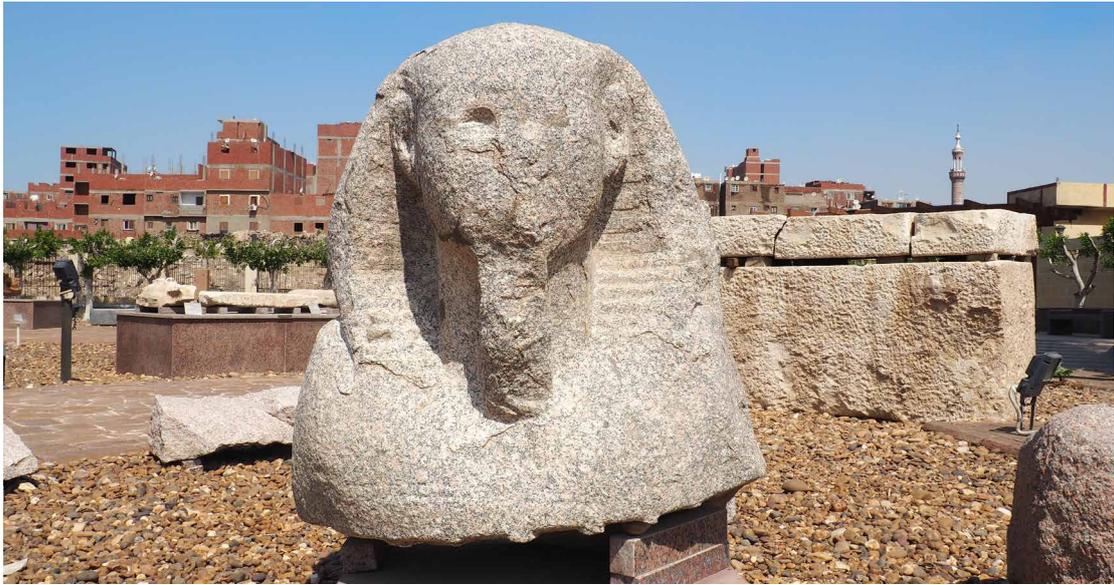


**Fig. 2.4:** Best-preserved head from the group of seated statues [Inv. No. RGM 01], now in the Grand Egyptian Museum, H. 123.2; W. 85.9; D. 109 cm (Photo: German Archaeological Institute Cairo, P. Windszus).



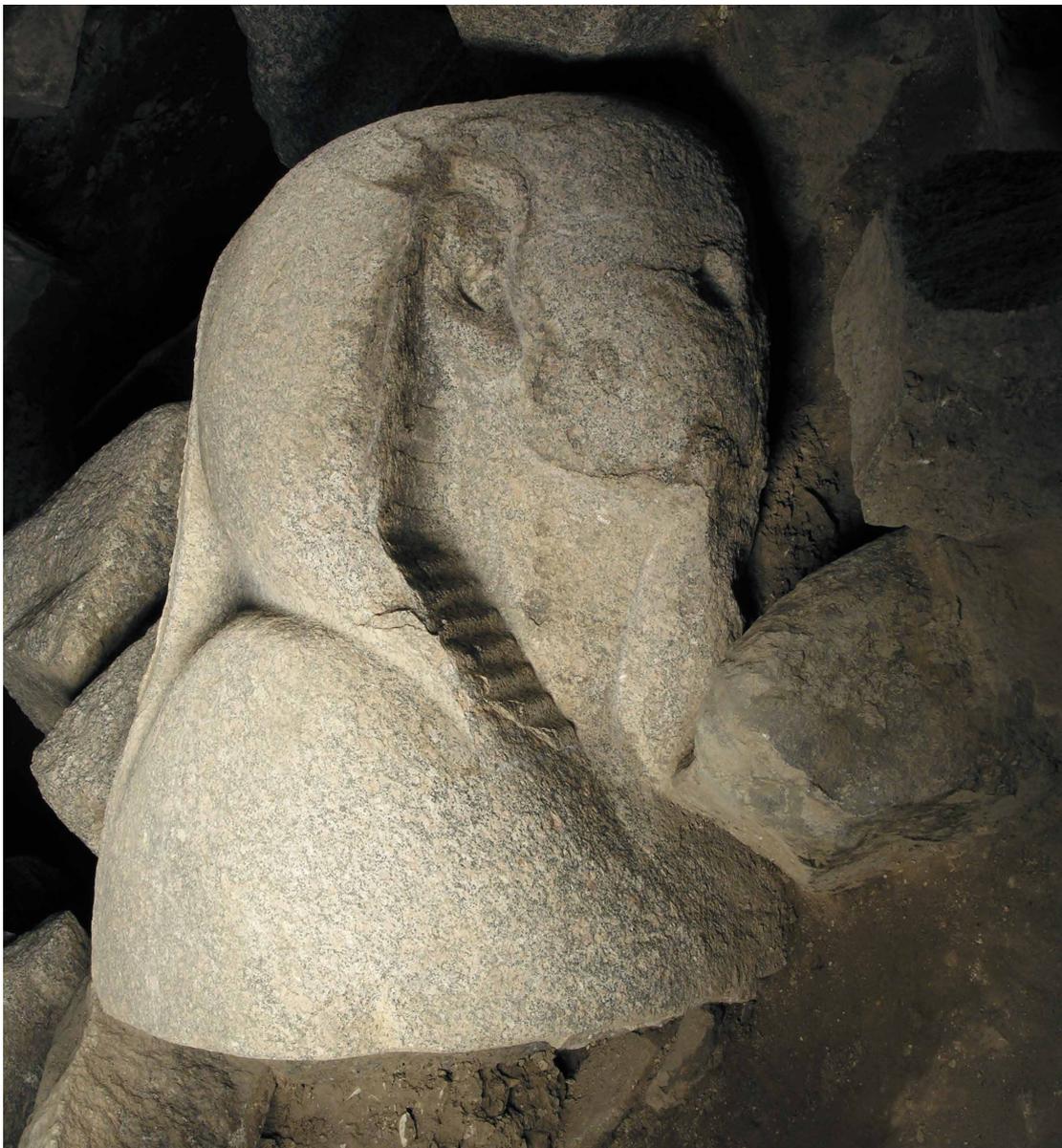
Fig. 2.5: Reconstruction of the six seated granite statues (Illustration: S. Connor).

2.3.1

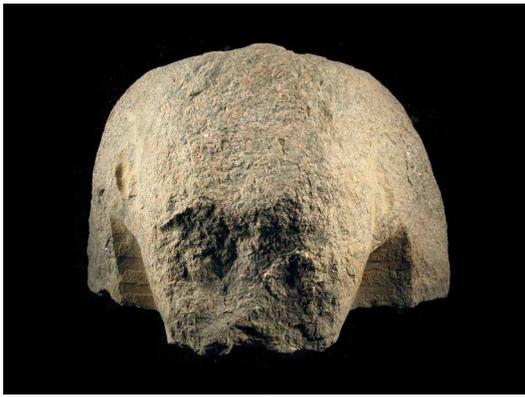




**Fig. 3.1.1–3.1.7:** Bust of one of the seated colossi [Inv. No. RG 59], now in the Open-Air Museum of Matariya, H. 154.6; W. 160; D. 100 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



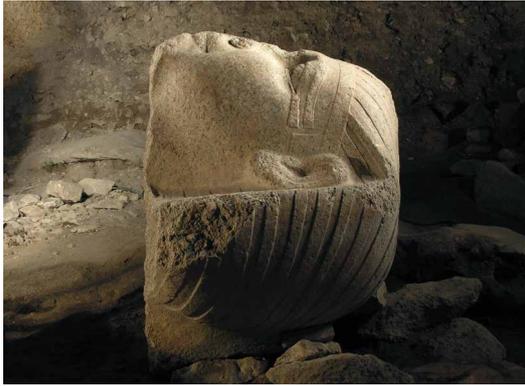
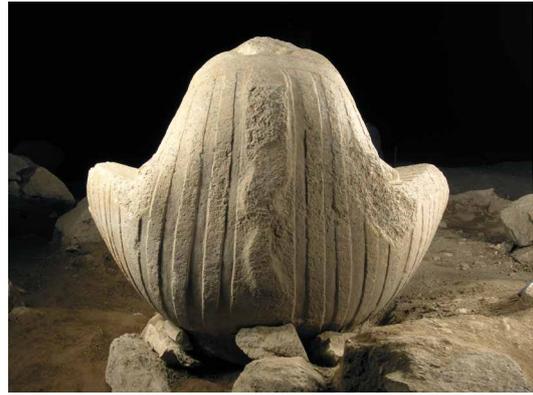
**Fig. 3.1.8:** Bust photographed *in situ* (Photo: German Archaeological Institute Cairo, P. Windszus).



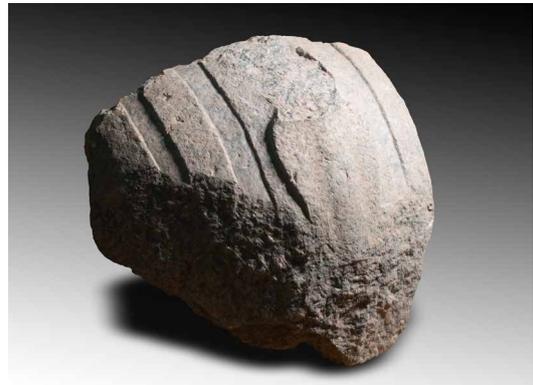
**Fig. 3.2.1–3.2.4:** Defaced head of one of the colossi [Inv. No. RG 01], now in the Grand Egyptian Museum, H. 98.1; W. 70.8; D. 109.3 cm (Photo: German Archaeological Institute Cairo, P. Windszus).



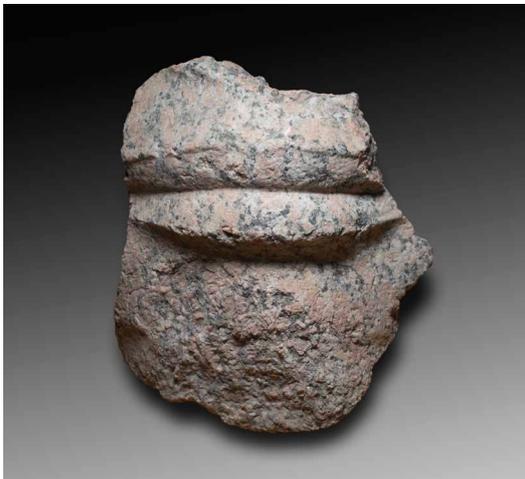
**Fig. 3.2.5:** Face of a colossus [Inv. No. RG 315], now in the Open-Air Museum of Matariya, H. 72.1; W. 31.5; D. 21 cm (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3.3.1–3.3.4:** Face of a colossus [Inv. No. RGM 01], now in the Grand Egyptian Museum, H. 123.2; W. 85.9; D. 109 cm (Photo: German Archaeological Institute Cairo, P. Windszus).



**Fig. 3.4.1–3.4.2:** Front part of a nemes with the uraeus's body [Inv. No. RG 485], now in the Ministry of Antiquities storage in Arab el-Hisn, H. 36; W. 40; D. 16 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3.4.3–3.4.4:** Part of face of a colossus, now in the Ministry of Antiquities storage in Arab el-Hisn. (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3.4.5–3.4.6:**  
Nose of a colossus,  
now in the Ministry  
of Antiquities storage  
in Arab el-Hisn  
(Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3.4.7:**  
Ear of one of  
the colossi  
[Inv. No. RGM 02],  
now in the Ministry  
of Antiquities storage  
in Arab el-Hisn, H.  
14; W. 23; D. 6 cm  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3.5.1–3.5.5:** Upper part of the face of one of the granite colossi [Inv. No. RG 484], now in the Ministry of Antiquities storage in Arab el-Hisn, H. 81.9; W. 52.5; D. 30.9 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3.6.1–3.6.2:**  
Face of a colossus,  
now in the Open-Air  
Museum in Matariya  
(Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3.6.3–3.6.6:**  
Back part of one of  
the colossi's head.  
The upper part was  
cut, probably when  
the back slab was  
removed for reuse  
[Inv. No. RG 402],  
now in the Ministry  
of Antiquities  
storage in Arab  
el-Hisn, H. 110.1;  
W. 72.1; D. 71.8 cm  
(Photos: S. Connor;  
orthophotographs:  
C. Breninek).



**Fig. 4.1–4.2:** Best-preserved base of one of the seated colossi [Inv. No. RG 126], now in the Open-Air Museum of Matariya (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4.3–4.5:** Lower part of a seated colossus [Inv. No. RG 126, RG 127, RG 133], H. 272; W. 113; D. 120 cm (Photos: S. Connor).

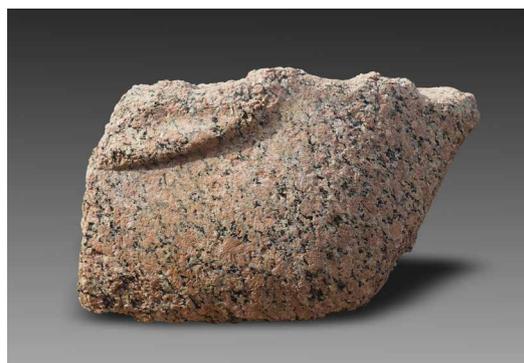
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**Fig. 4.6–4.7:**  
Lower and middle  
part of a seated  
colossus  
[Inv. No. RGU 07],  
H. 293.3; L. 132.5;  
D. 205 cm  
(Photos: C. Breninek  
& S. Connor).



**Fig. 4.8:**  
Right lappet of a  
*nemes*, and shoulder  
[Inv. No. RG 407],  
H. 61; W. 41;  
D. 65 cm  
(Photo: S. Connor).



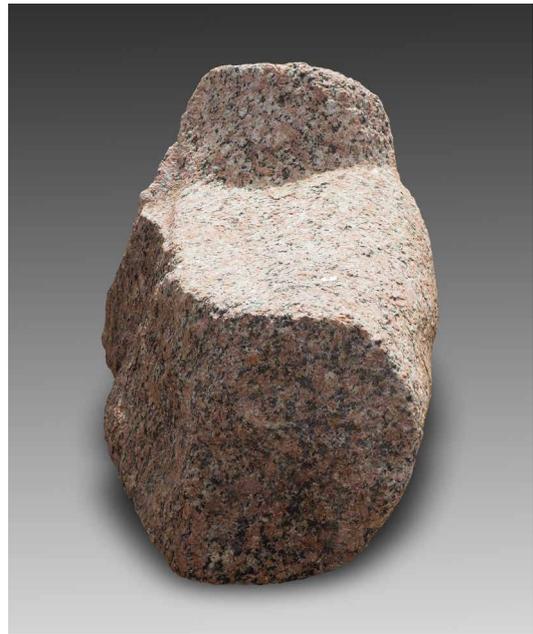
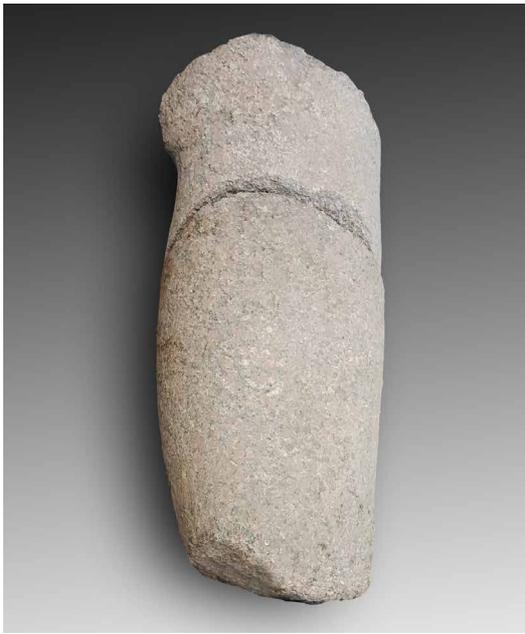
**Fig. 4.9:**  
Left pectoral muscle  
with lower extremity  
of *nemes* lappet  
[Inv. No. RG 404],  
H. 46; W. 23.8;  
D. 36.6 cm (Photo:  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 4.10:**  
Left upper arm of  
a seated colossus  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4.11:**  
Fragment of the  
right upper arm of  
a seated colossus  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4.12 - 4.15:**  
Fragments of an arm  
[Inv. No. RG 149]  
(Photo: S. Connor).



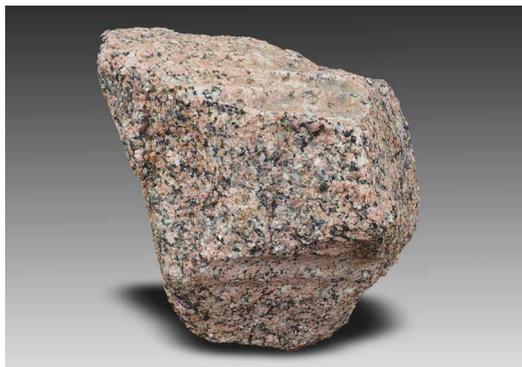
**Fig. 4.16-4.18:**  
Right hand of a  
colossus, H. 23;  
W. 30; D. 48 cm  
(Photos: S. Connor).

## 2.3.1

**Fig. 4.19:**  
Right hand  
of a colossus  
[Inv. No. RGU 08],  
H. 27; W. 32;  
D. 23 cm  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4.21:**  
Fragment of a right  
thigh seen in profile  
[Inv. No. RGU 03],  
H. 84.1; W. 78.7;  
D. 116 cm  
(Photo: S. Connor).



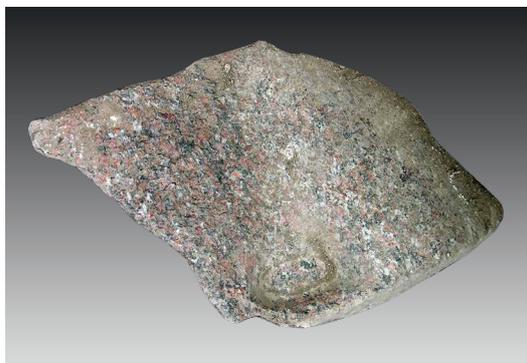
**Fig. 4.20:**  
Fragment of kilt,  
W. 14.7; D. 20.4 cm  
(Photo: S. Connor).



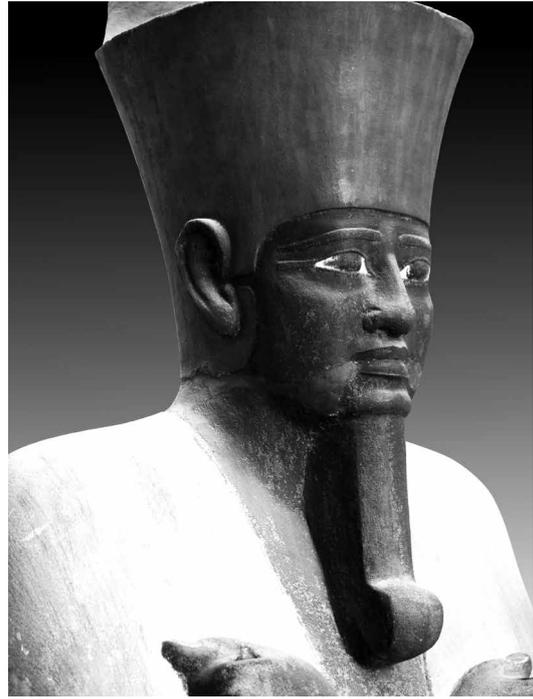
**Fig. 4.23:**  
Probable fragment of  
the base or back slab  
of one of the colossi  
[Inv. No. RGU 05],  
H. 40.6; W. 43.1;  
D. 25.3 cm (Photo:  
C. Breninek).



**Fig. 4.22:**  
Fragment  
with a navel  
[Inv. No. RGU 02],  
could be also from  
the standing colossus  
(Photo: C. Breninek).



For stylistic comparisons:



**Fig. 5.1–5.2:**  
Statue of Mentuhotep II from Deir el-Bahari (detail), Cairo JE 36195, Sandstone, H. 203 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.3:**  
Head of a king, probably Mentuhotep III or IV, New York MMA 66.99.3, Limestone, H. 18.3 cm (Photo: © Metropolitan Museum of Art).

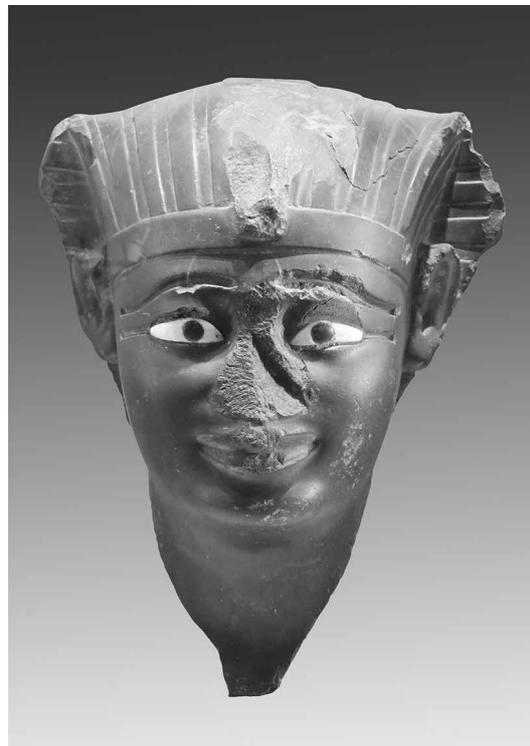
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**Fig. 5.4–5.5:** Head of a king, probably Mentuhotep III or IV, showing a rounded back slab, Basel BSAe III 8397, Greywacke, H. 15 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.6:** Statue of Amenemhat I from Khatana/Tell el-Dab'a (detail), currently in Ismailia Museum, previously Cairo JE 60520, Granite, H. 174 cm (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.7:** Head attributed to Amenemhat I or Senusret I, Paris, Louvre E 10299, Greywacke, H. 27.5 cm (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.8–5.9:** Head of a statue of Senusret I (?), Hanover, August Kestner-Museum 1935.200.507, Greywacke, H. 11.8 cm (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.10:**  
Statue of Senusret I  
(detail), Berlin ÄM  
1205, Anorthositic  
gneiss, H. 47.5 cm  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.11–5.12:**  
Statue of Senusret I  
from Karnak, London  
BM EA 44, Grano-  
diorite, H. 78.5 cm  
(Photos: S. Connor).

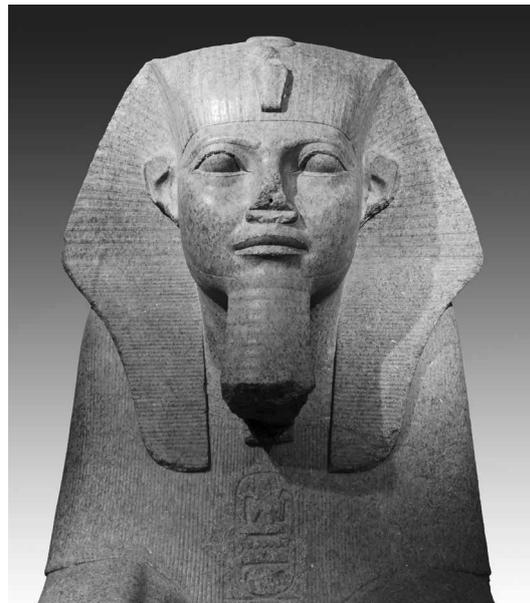
2.3.1



**Fig. 5.13–5.14:**  
Head of Senusret I  
(?), Hanover, August  
Kestner-Museum  
1935.200.121, Grano-  
diorite, H. 27 cm  
(Photos: S. Connor).



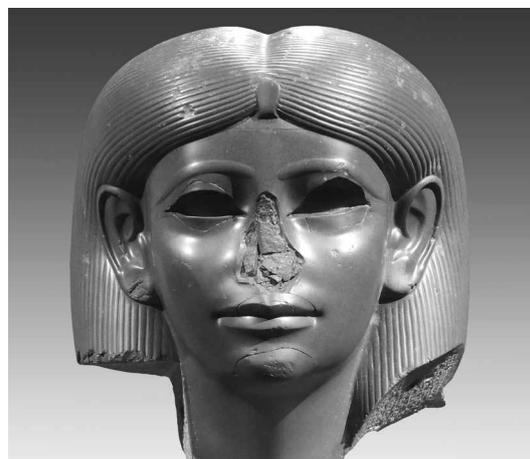
**Fig. 5.15:**  
Head of  
Senusret I (?),  
Cambridge,  
Fitzwilliam Museum  
E. 2.1974, Grey-  
wacke, H. 8.4 cm  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.16:**  
Sphinx attributed  
to Amenemhat II  
(detail) from Tanis,  
Paris, Louvre A 23,  
Granite, H. 204 cm  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.17:**  
Torso attributed to  
Amenemhat II from  
Semna, Boston,  
MFA 29.1132  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5.18:**  
Head of a queen  
(as a sphinx), dated  
to the reign of  
Amenemhat II, New  
York, Brooklyn  
Museum 56.85  
(Photo: S. Connor).

### 3. The Standing Colossus

At least three other fragments that were found among the granite material of Suq el-Khamis belong to a colossal standing statue (or two statues of the same size):

- The upper part of a back slab, with the bulb of a white crown (Inv. No. RG 403). H. 42; W. 78.3; D. 36.6 cm (thickness of the slab itself: 22 cm). Maximum preserved width of the bulb: 20 cm.
- A fragment of the body of the white crown (Inv. No. RG 082). H. 51.3; W. 59.3; D. 69.7 cm. The dimensions fit with the previous fragment and, although there is no clear direct joint, both pieces probably almost fit. Like the numerous fragments of the seated colossi, these pieces (especially their breaks) are heavily weathered due to their long stay in wet ground.
- A lower torso, with the kilt, belt and dagger (Inv. No. RG 108). H. 121.2; W. 107.3; D. 93.2 cm, now in Matariya Museum.
- The original size of the standing colossus can be estimated as approximately 8 metres high and around 2 metres wide.

The proportions must have been roughly the same as those of the seated statues, therefore it cannot be excluded that fragment Inv. No. RG 315 (Fig. 3.2.5), which shows no remains of a *nemes*, could belong to the standing statue ins-

tead. Some fragments, such as shoulders or arms, could also be attributed either to the seated colossi or the standing one.

Like the seated colossi, the standing one leant against a back slab, similarly to the colossi discovered in Memphis, Bubastis and Tanis, a typological feature that seems typical of Senusret I's reign. In the case of the standing colossi from these three sites, these were all "usurped" by Ramesses II, not only in their inscriptions, but also in their facial physiognomy.<sup>12</sup> Concerning the Suq el-Khamis colossus, it cannot be deduced from the fragments that have been preserved. If the face Inv. No. RG 315 belongs to this, it is likely that only the inscriptions were modified.

Two fragments of hieroglyphs, facing the statue, were preserved on the front face of the back slab, on either side of the white crown's upper extremity. To its right is the head of a goose facing right, perhaps for *sꜣ Rꜥ* [...], while on the other side, a long and curved beak is preserved, perhaps of an ibis. The dedication of the colossus might therefore have involved the god Thot, at some point of its "life", either in the Middle or in the New Kingdom.

The small portion of the sculpted surface of the kilt does not allow a precise analysis of the cloth's or the dagger's style. Nevertheless, the presence of the rectangular back slab, as well as the similarity of size with the early 12th Dynasty colossi reused by Ramesses in Memphis, Bubastis and probably Pi-Ramesses

<sup>12</sup> SOUROUZIAN 1988; Id. 2019, 650–656, cat. R-1 to 7 (with extensive bibliography).

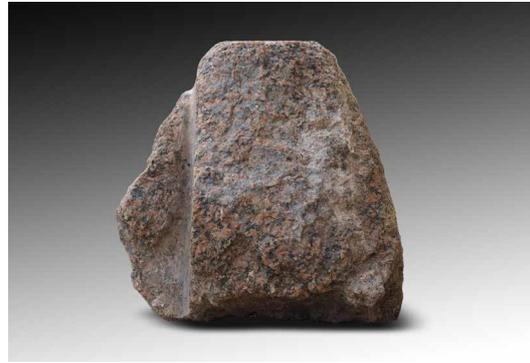
## 2.3.1

(those found in Tanis) make it likely that the Suq el-Khamis colossus was part of the same series of granite standing colossi that were

produced for various sites under Senusret I and then re-activated seven hundred years later for new construction projects.



**Fig. 6.1–6.2:**  
Top of the back slab  
and of the white  
crown [Inv. No.  
RG 403] (Photos:  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 6.3–6.5:**  
Middle part of the  
white crown  
[Inv. No. RG 082]  
(Orthophotograph:  
C. Breninek).



**Fig. 6.6–6.8:**  
Kilt and dagger  
of the standing  
colossus  
[Inv. No. RG 108]  
(Photos: S. Con-  
nor).



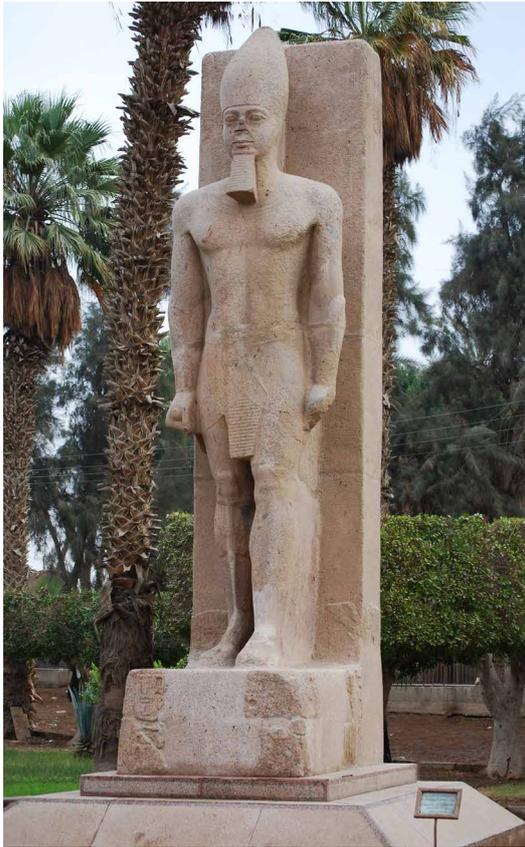
**Fig. 6.9:**  
Reconstruction  
of the original  
appearance of the  
colossus (Drawing:  
S. Connor).



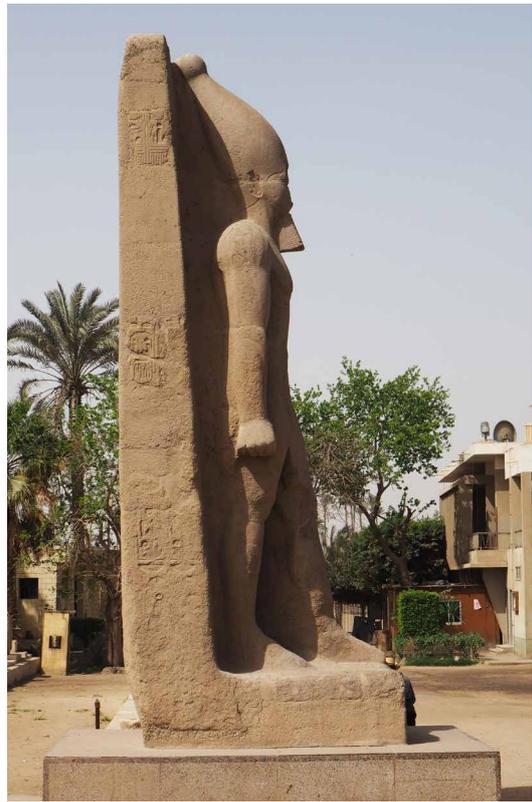
**Fig. 6.10–11:** Standing colossus of the early 12th Dynasty reused by Ramesses II, Tanis, temple of Amun, in front of the gate (southern statue); Photos: S. Connor.



**Fig. 6.12:** Standing colossus of the early 12th Dynasty reused by Ramesses II, Tanis, temple of Amun, in front of the gate (northern statue); Photo: S. Connor.



**Fig. 6.13–6.15:**  
 Standing colossus of the early 12th  
 Dynasty reused by Ramesses II,  
 discovered in Memphis, Open-Air  
 Museum of Mit Rahina, re-erected  
 to the east, facing west (planned  
 to be re-displayed in the new Capital,  
 east of Cairo); Photos: S. Connor.



**Fig. 6.16–6.18:** Standing colossus of the early 12th Dynasty reused by Ramesses II, discovered in Memphis, Open-Air Museum of Mit Rahina, re-erected to the south, facing north; Photos: S. Connor.

## 4. Commentary

The (minimum) seven granite colossal statues that can be reconstructed here are important contributions to our knowledge of the early 12th Dynasty in Heliopolis. Although it is impossible, in the current state of knowledge, to know where they originally stood, they further document the significant works carried out in this period, notably by Senusret I. The discovery of at least one doorjamb of Senusret I in Suq el-Khamis may be in favour of the presence of an edifice of the Middle Kingdom in the area, but large blocks could be reused over far distances. Like the still-standing obelisk of Matariya, these colossi show that resources and sculptor's skills were used to monumentalize and embellish the city-temple. The close typological and stylistic similarity between this series of colossi and those discovered (in secondary contexts) in Memphis, Bubastis and Tanis are in favour of major works being carried out in the region of Lower Egypt, either at the same time or in any case following the same programme.

Like those in Memphis,<sup>13</sup> Bubastis and Tanis, these colossi were again all part of a similar new programme, since they were the subjects of a vast plan of reuse of ancient monuments for new projects under Ramesses II. Re-inscribed,

probably moved to new podiums, in front of new pylons or gates, they may have been a way of allowing the 19th Dynasty ruler to “incarnate” in the body of his distant predecessors or to integrate the past into the present.<sup>14</sup> If all, including those of Matariya, were clearly re-adapted, the degree of modification is not everywhere equal. If the statues in Heliopolis were re-inscribed, as it would seem from the base fragments with the Horus name of Ramesses II that were discovered in Suq el-Khamis (Fig. 1.19 - 1.21), the colossi were not “plastically” usurped, since their physiognomy is entirely that of early Middle Kingdom rulers (most likely Senusret I).<sup>15</sup> This brings us to reflect on the practice of the re-appropriation of statues under the reign of Ramesses II, a practice that we observe mostly for large scale royal sculpture – even if it is also attested in the private sphere. As observed by several scholars,<sup>16</sup> various levels of “usurpation” can be detected: the most frequent among the preserved cases from the Ramesside period include a partial re-carving of the statue's features, in order to adapt their style and “ramessize” them. A stylistic analysis, as well as a thorough observation of the statue's surface (looking for scars of transformation and inequalities in the polishing) are necessary to ascertain whether the statues were modified, and identify the originally depicted individual. If some cases are relatively

<sup>13</sup> Including the three heads in Cairo, Egyptian Museum CG 643, 644, and JE 45085 (SOUROUZIAN 1988, 231–233, pl. 65–66; MAGEN 2011, 439–440, 442–443, cat. C-a-1, C-a-2, C-a-5).

<sup>14</sup> UPHILL 1984; MAGEN 2011; HILL 2015; GILLI 2016.

<sup>15</sup> Ashmawy and Raue suggested that these sculptures of Senusret I could show an attempt at giving an Old Kingdom gaze, when seen from a lower angle, considering that the heads were some 5 metres above the viewer (ASHMAWY/RAUE 2017, 33). If the adaption of style for statues of large dimensions is indeed attested in the New Kingdom (LABOURY 2008), this interpretation would need further discussion when dealing with earlier pieces. Intentional references to the past are well documented throughout Egyptian history, but in this case, I am personally more inclined to see what we may consider an Old Kingdom appearance of the early Middle Kingdom Heliopolis colossi as a result of a stylistic continuation, rather than a specific citation. We will leave the debate open and reserve this for further publications.

<sup>16</sup> VANDERSLEYEN 1979; SOUROUZIAN 1988; BRAND 2009 and Id. 2010; MAGEN 2011; EATON-KRAUSS 2015 and Id. 2016; HILL 2015; CONNOR 2015 and Id. 2020b.

clear, others remain under discussion.<sup>17</sup> In some other cases, statues are only modified in terms of their inscriptions, while their physiognomy was not changed. Sometimes even the original inscriptions are preserved, and the later king only adds his titlature to the statue – this is often the case with Merenptah, or with rulers of the Third Intermediate Period. In the case of the Suq el-Khamis colossi, it is difficult to know whether the name of the original ruler was erased or not, but it is certain, from the fragments discovered, that their style was not modified and that their appearance was their original one. If they “became” Ramesses, this was only in their inscriptions. Since, in many other cases, including Herakleopolis Magna, Memphis, Bubastis and Pi-Ramesses, Middle Kingdom usurped statues were heavily modified in their appearance, it is manifest that leaving the faces of the series of Heliopolitan granite colossi intact was intentional, or at least that there was no intention to hide their original dating and to pretend that these statues were made for Ramesses II. Their

reuse was obvious to whoever was allowed to pass in front of the pylon, and who had a minimum of capacity for observation. The very fact that statues were so often modified proves that 19th Dynasty people were sensible to it. The case of Suq el-Khamis illustrates well that Ramesses II ostensibly reuses (seven centuries old!) statues, in which he embodies himself with a new inscription.

Another noticeable feature is the Ramesside date of the blocks reused within the masonry of at least two bases of these colossi (K23 and K24e), as well as the later Ramesside pottery discovered in their foundations, as mentioned above. These statues were therefore neither on their original bases, nor on the pedestals planned for them by Ramesses II. They found their final location only, at the earliest, in the later Ramesside period. The later dating of their bases attests to one more step in the life of these statues, and a final moving and reuse (apparently without further re-inscription) even after the reign of Ramesses II.

<sup>17</sup> Among other examples, it is still debated whether some statues are original statues from the reign of Ramesses II, bearing unexplained traces of modifications and perhaps a lower level of quality of carving, or if they are modified statues of previous rulers (Geneva 8934, Boston 87.111, Cairo JE 67097, Strasbourg 3048, Geneva-Gandur EG-133, Paris, Louvre A 20, or the colossi against the Northern face of the 10th Pylon in Karnak), VANDERSLEYEN 1983; BARBOTIN 2007, 86–90; MAGEN 2011, 492–493, 545–548, cat. 1-a-1, P-a-5; BIANCHI 2016, 76; SOROUZIAN 2019, 293–304, 674–675, cat. 192–196, R-24 and R-25; CONNOR 2020b, 87.

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## Royal Statuary

### 2.3.2.1 Fragment of a Back Slab from a Dyad of Ramesses II and the Goddess Isis (Inv. No. RG 408)

Simon Connor

Dating:	19th Dynasty, reign of Ramesses II (1279–1213 BC)
Material:	Granite
Dimensions:	H. 79.9; W. 114.7; D. 54 cm
Estimated dimensions of the complete statue:	H. 220; W. 90; D. 80 cm

This inscribed fragment of granite was discovered in Area 200, “Suq el-Khamis”, in one of the northernmost squares (H23) that were excavated between 2001 and 2003 by the Supreme Council of Antiquities<sup>1</sup>.

Three original surfaces of the dyad are partially preserved, forming the upper right corner of a back slab from a statue (Fig. 1–4). The larger preserved surface is the rear part of the sculpture, and carries three vertical lines of inscription:

Col. 1 (left)	<i>Hr K3 nḥt mr.y M3ꜥ.t</i>	Horus “Mighty bull, beloved of Maat”
Col. 2 (middle)	<i>Hr K3 nḥt mr.y Rꜥ</i>	Horus “Mighty bull, beloved of Re”
Col. 3 (right)	<i>ꜣs.t nb.t p.t di-s rnp.wt ꜥtm</i> [...]	Isis, mistress of the sky, she gives the years of Atum [...]

The original inscription most probably consisted of four columns. The two central ones, in mirrored columns, include the Horus name of Ramesses II in hieroglyphs facing outwards, while the signs in the right-hand column (which corresponds to the edge of the dorsal panel) are

oriented towards the centre, i.e., towards the name of the king.

This fragment strongly resembles a large series of group statues produced during the reign of Ramesses II, which associate the king with one or sever-

<sup>1</sup> The block is mentioned in ABD EL-GELIL ET AL. 2008, 5 and 6, fig. 2 as well as in KHALIFA/RAUE 2008, 50–51, 56, fig. 3. The block is visible in Pieter Collet’s plan of Area 200, see the reports of 2005 ([https://projectdb.dainst.org/fileadmin/Media/Projekte/5724/Dokumente/1st-season\\_Matariya\\_2005-autumn.pdf](https://projectdb.dainst.org/fileadmin/Media/Projekte/5724/Dokumente/1st-season_Matariya_2005-autumn.pdf)) and 2012 (<https://projectdb.dainst.org/fileadmin/Media/Projekte/5724/Dokumente/ASAE-Heliopolis-autumn2012.pdf>); last accessed: 17.07.2022. The block is drawn on the berm that separates H23 from H24.

al deities, particularly in the north of the country (several have been found in Memphis, Bubastis (Fig. 8–9), Tanis (Fig. 10), Buto, Tell el-Maskhuta and Heracleopolis Magna (Fig. 11–12; SOUROUZIAN 2019, 423–527, cat. 269–334). Usually of quite stocky proportions and often of lower quality of carving compared to the rest of the repertoire of Ramesses II, they usually include the king's titulary in several vertical lines on a back slab, with the names of the depicted deities, who grant the king their blessings (Fig. 5; see Fig. 6–12 for comparisons). Taking into consideration the dimensions of the piece found in Suq el-Khamis, and the apparent organisation in four columns, the statue was probably a dyad, similar to that of Ramesses II and the goddess Anat that was discovered in Tanis (Louvre AF 2576, Fig. 6–7).

On the right edge the polished surface is interrupted by a protruding element that has been cut away (probably contemporary to the dismantlement of all the statues of Suq el-Khamis). Since the fragment consists of the upper corner of the back slab, this protruding element was probably the headdress of the king or the goddess. The preserved outlines allow us to suggest that it may have been a *khepresh*, but the comparison with other group statues of this period allows a wide range of possibilities (solar discs above wigs, crowns and deity symbols).

Two other such granite group statues found in Tell el-Maskhuta (currently in Ismailia Museum, 1096–1097) might also originate from Heliopolis, since they represent Ramesses II associated with Atum-Khepri and Ra-Horakhty. Nevertheless, the presence of a cult of the Heliopolitan deities in a sanctuary of the region of Tell el-Maskhuta seems to be attested (“Pithom”), therefore the two statues may well have been discovered close to their original location (RAUE 1999, 19–20).

Although weathered by a long stay in wet ground, there remains enough of the statue to see that the precision of the hieroglyphs is quite approximate, and that the polishing of the surface was left relatively rough.

In some cases, at least, it seems that such statuary groups, whose proportions are not always particularly harmonious, were carved within pre-existing blocks collected from ancient monuments, witnessing the large-scale Ramesside practice of reuse. Evidence of such activity was discovered in Giza, where an unfinished dyad depicting Ramesses II with a solar deity had been apparently carved from a granite block of the casing of Menkaura's pyramid, and then abandoned when the block broke.<sup>2</sup>

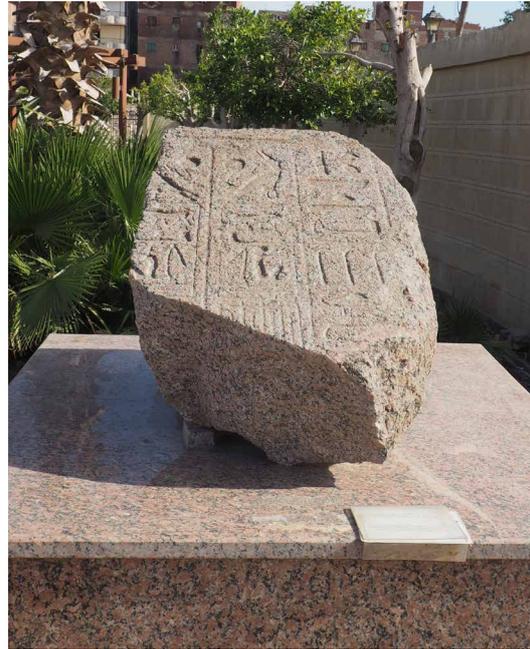
<sup>2</sup> HAWASS 1997; RAUE 1999, 197, note. 4; HAWASS 2011, 124–127.

## Figures

### 2.3.2.1



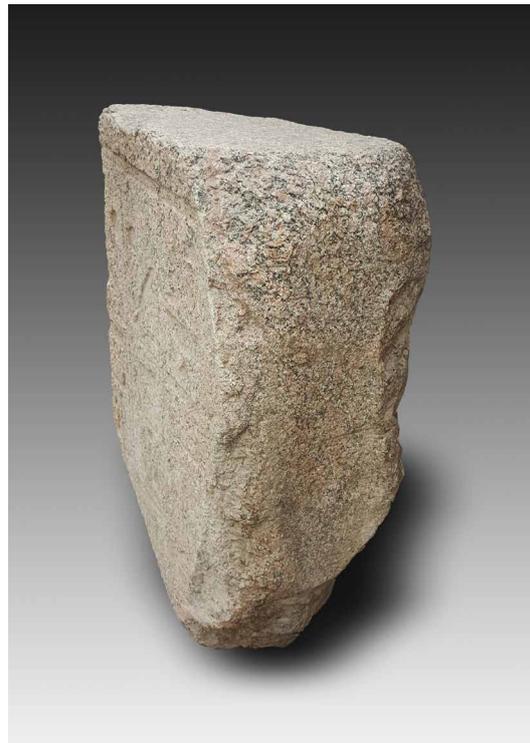
**Fig. 1:**  
Fragment in situ  
(Photo: German  
Archaeological  
Institute Cairo,  
P. Windszus).



**Fig. 2:**  
View of the fragment,  
now in the Open-Air  
Museum in Matariya  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3:**  
Fragment RG 408  
(side view; photo:  
S. Connor).

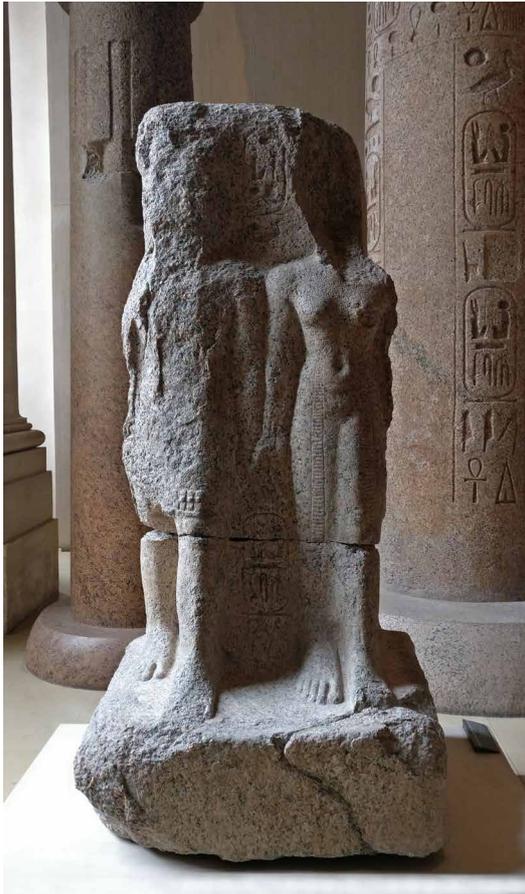


**Fig. 4:**  
Fragment RG 408  
(3/4 rear view;  
photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5:**  
Proposition of reconstitution of the  
statue's original appearance  
(Drawing: S. Connor).

2.3.2.1



**Fig. 6:**  
Dyad of Ramesses II and the goddess Anat, discovered in Tanis; Paris, Louvre AF 2576, front side (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 7:**  
Dyad of Ramesses II and the goddess Anat, discovered in Tanis; Paris, Louvre AF 2576, back side (Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 8:**  
Ramesside statuary group in Bubastis (Photo: S. Connor).

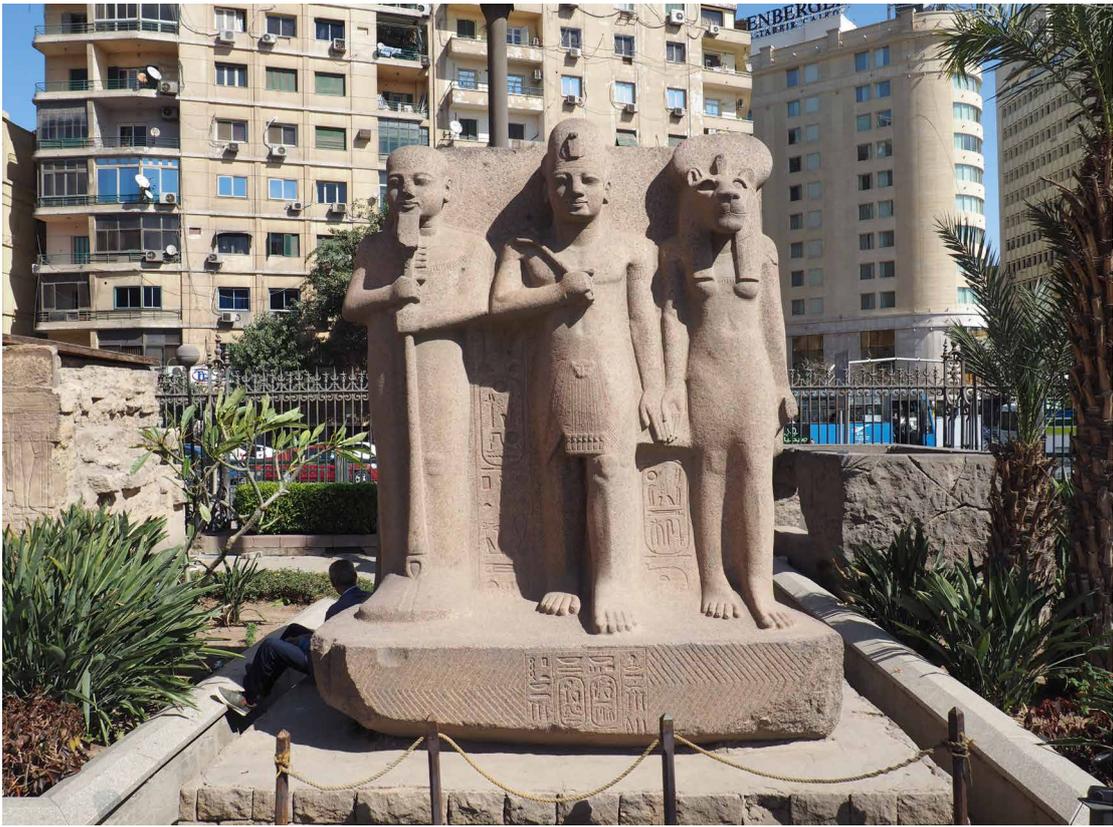


**Fig. 9:**  
Ramesside statuary groups in Bubastis (Photo: S. Connor).

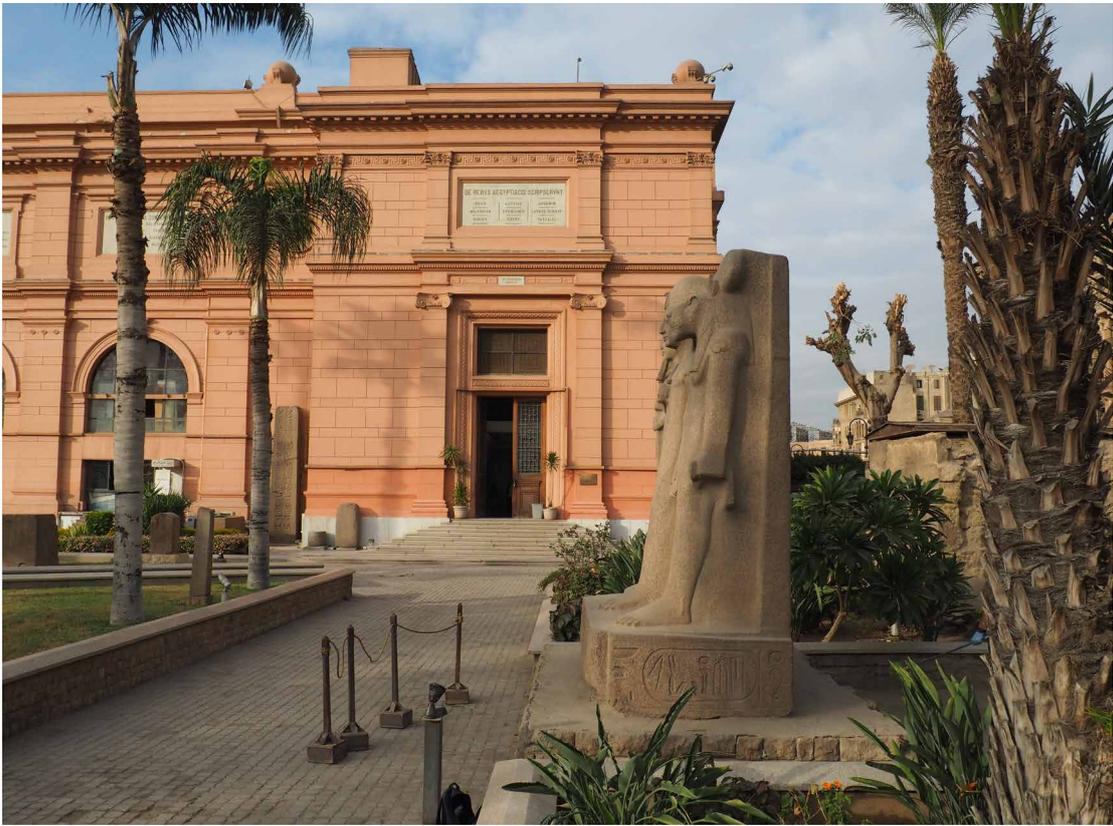


**Fig. 10:**  
Dyad of Ramesses II and the goddess Sekhmet in Tanis, temple of Mut (Photo: S. Connor).

2.3.2.1



**Fig. 11:**  
Triad of Ramesses II, Ptah and Sekhmet, from Heracleopolis Magna, Cairo TR 8.2.21.20; now in Giza, Grand Egyptian Museum (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 12:**  
Triad of Ramesses II, Ptah and Sekhmet, from Heracleopolis Magna, Cairo TR 8.2.21.20 (side view; photo: S. Connor).

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## Upper Part of a Kneeling Statue of King Sety II

(Inv. No. U2035-2)

Simon Connor

Dating:	19th Dynasty, reign of Sety II (1202 – 1198 BC)
Material:	Limestone
Dimensions:	H. 47.5; W. 39.7; D. 33.1 cm
Find spot:	Area 200 (Suq el-Khamis), square M21

This fragment was found in the southern part of Area 200 at Suq el-Khamis/Matariya (Inv. No. U2035-2). The find context belongs to the various stone extraction pits that have been dug in Suq el-Khamis from the Roman to the Ottoman Period. It is likely that the fragment was part of the statue equipment of the spaces in front of the main pylon of the festival temple of Ramesses II in Area 201/200.

The piece is the upper part of a statue of a king who is wearing the *nemes* headdress and a false beard (Fig. 1–5). On the preserved shoulder (the proper right), a cartouche includes the throne name of king Sety II: (*Wsr-hpr.w-R<sup>c</sup>-stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>*).

The dimensions are the following: H. 47.5; W. 39.7; D. 33.1 cm. Viewed in profile, the inclination of the bust allows us to reconstruct a kneeling position (Fig. 6–7) – a prostrate figure can be excluded because of the back pillar. The kneeling type is very characteristic of the statuary repertoire of Sety II that is found in Karnak and Heliopolis (see Tab. 1). The statue must have been approximately 120 cm high (without the crown that would have topped the *nemes*).

The back pillar rises to the top of the head. It bears the following inscription:

Proper left side	[...] <i>mr.y</i> [...] <i>di=f 3w.t-ib nb n s3=f mr.y=f</i>	Beloved of [...], may he give all joy to his son whom he loves
Back	[...] <i>Hr k3-nht</i> <i>mk-Km.t nswt-bj.tj nb t3.wj (Wsr-hpr.w-R<sup>c</sup>-[stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>])...</i>	[Horus, The Victorious Bull] and Protector of Egypt, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands <i>Weser-kheperu-ra-[setep-en-ra]</i> ...
Proper right side	[...] <i>mr.y</i> [...] <i>di=f snb nb n s3=f mr.y=f</i>	Beloved of [...], may he give all health to his son whom he loves

A separate block was once inserted in the top of the head, as attested by the flattened upper surface with a rectangular mortise in the middle; this allowed the upper crown be fixed by a tenon. Furthermore, the beginning of the formula inscribed on the back pillar is missing; this must have contained the name of the king and that of the deity. By comparing it with the repertoire of the 19th Dynasty, we may suggest a reconstruction of this upper part either as a double crown or an *atef*-crown, or a combination of both.

The *nemes* is smooth, which is quite an unusual feature in the New Kingdom and in the Rameside Period in general, which leads us to assume that it was at least painted to represent the stripes.<sup>1</sup> The uraeus snake has a very thin and flat tail, with a symmetrical loop on either side of its hood, following the typical shape observable in the late 19th Dynasty (see notably statues cited in Tab. 1).

Although the quite damaged features seem, at first glance, reminiscent of the late 18th Dynasty, there is no reason to believe that it is an usurped statue. Not only does the statuary type fit within Sety II's repertoire, but the elongated oval of the face, the almond-shaped eyes with marked upper eyelids, the large horizontal mouth, and smooth cheeks, as well as the generally neutral expression, appear on other representations of this king (see London, BM EA 26). It is a derivative, less expressive version of the official portrait of Ramesses II. This piece is actually represen-

tative, in style and statuary type, of the known corpus of Sety II and confirms the interest of this king in two major cultic centres that were somewhat a mirror of each other: Karnak and Heliopolis. As seen in Tab. 1, all the statues of Sety II with known provenance were found in Karnak or in Heliopolis and bear great similarities in postures, since most of them show the king in a devotional action: either kneeling and presenting an altar or an offering table, standing as a standard-bearer, or even, when seated, holding a ram-headed altar in front of him.

The bust of Sety II found in Suq el-Khamis also displays traces of the practice of mutilating images in Egypt and perhaps also of repair or reuse. The absence of the uraeus, of the nose and of the beard is probably not only due to the ravages of time: they seem to have suffered from repeated blows, not necessarily with a proper tool, but perhaps with a blunt, hard stone. The beard is not only damaged, but entirely missing, which can hardly be the result of an accident. While it is still difficult to fully interpret this action, the removal of these parts must have been significant, since it is systematic on all statues showing traces of intentional mutilation. The reasons for such defacement are not always clear either: the most likely, in this context, may be the anti-pagan iconoclasm in the 4th–5th centuries AD, or perhaps the ritual “de-activation” of the statue before its reuse for another purpose.<sup>2</sup> On the chest is visible half of a mortise meant to link the piece to another one. This trace may be interpreted in two different ways. On the one

<sup>1</sup> Such painted stripes on smooth *nemes* head cloths are visible on some other Rameside statues: the quartzite colossus of Ramesses II in Philadelphia E 635 (re-used from a Middle Kingdom statue, MILLER 1939), the granodiorite colossus in London, BM EA 19 (bust of the seated colossus of Ramesses II, whose lower part is still in the second courtyard of the Ramesseum, LEBLANC/ESMOINGT 1999), as well as the two sandstone sphinxes in Turin Cat. 1408 and 1409 (CONNOR 2016, 108–111).

<sup>2</sup> BRYAN 2012; KRISTENSEN 2013; JAMBON 2016; CONNOR 2018.

hand, the statue may have been broken accidentally and then repaired, and this mortise would have allowed the ancient sculptors to attach the bust to the lower part of the statue with a tenon. Such a repair would have hardly been discreet, especially in limestone and in this obvious part of the body, but a layer of plaster and some paint, now gone, may have disguised it. A similar system of repair is attested on a few other

statues (but on the back of the throne of colossal, hard stone statues).<sup>3</sup> An alternative explanation could be the transformation of the statue into construction blocks for masonry, perhaps even still during the Pharaonic Period. Other objects attest to this practice of defacing images in ancient Egypt, either statues or reliefs that were reused as construction material in a new building.<sup>4</sup>

**Tab. 1:** Other statues known of Sety II.

	Current location and Inv. No.	Dating criteria	Position/statuary type	Headdress	Material	Provenance
<b>Statues found in Thebes</b>						
1	Karnak KIU 83	Inscription	Kneeling, presenting an offering table	<i>nemes</i>	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple
2	Karnak KIU 84	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	<i>khepresh</i>	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple
3	Karnak KIU 85 + New York MMA 34.2.2	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	<i>khepresh</i>	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple
4	Karnak	Inscription	Kneeling, presenting an offering table	<i>nemes</i>	Quartzite	Karnak, Akhmenu
5	Karnak, Open-Air Museum, in front of the red chapel (west)	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	/	Quartzite	Karnak
6	Karnak, Open-Air Museum, in front of the red chapel (east)	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	/	Quartzite	Karnak
7	Karnak Nord S. 1 (base of a statue)	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	/	Quartzite	Karnak Nord, Montu Temple
8	Karnak, Sheikh Labib 94CLI395	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer (?)	Double crown with feathers and solar disc	Quartzite	Karnak

<sup>3</sup> The western seated colossus of Ramesses II in front of the pylon of Luxor Temple; the Middle Kingdom colossus reused by Ramesses II and Merenptah in Berlin ÄM 7264, on long-term loan in New York, MMA L.2011.42 (OPPENHEIM ET AL. 2015, 300–301, cat. 221).

<sup>4</sup> See, e.g., many of the Old Kingdom reliefs methodically mutilated and integrated inside the masonry of the funerary complex of Amenemhat I in Lisht, some 400–500 years after their first use (GOEDICKE 1971; ARNOLD 1988, 71; GILLI 2009; JÁNOSI 2016, 13–30).

Tab. 1 (continued)

9	Luxor Mag.	Inscription	Base for a (wooden?) statue	/	Quartzite	Luxor Temple
10	Cairo CG 1198	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	“Sety I”-type long wig	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple, 3rd Pylon’s surroundings
11	London, British Museum EA 26	Inscription	Seated, presenting a ram-headed altar	“Sety I”-type long wig	Quartzite	Karnak, Amun Temple
12	Paris A 24 + Cairo TR 16.2.21.7	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	Rounded wig and double crown with feathers and solar disc	Quartzite	Karnak, chapel of Sety II
13	Turin Cat. 1383	Inscription	Standing, standard-bearer	Rounded wig and double crown with feathers and solar disc	Quartzite	Karnak, chapel of Sety II
<b>Statues found in Heliopolis</b>						
14	Cairo, Egyptian Museum (piece discussed in this contribution)	Inscription	Kneeling, presenting an offering table (?)	nemes, surmounted by a crown	Limestone	Heliopolis, Suq el-Khamis (Area 200)
15	Matariya, Open-Air Museum	Inscription	Kneeling, presenting an offering table	nemes, surmounted by a scarab	Limestone	Heliopolis, south wall of the temenos
16	Matariya, Open-Air Museum	Inscription	Kneeling	/	Quartzite	Heliopolis, “Army Camp” (Area 234)
17	Matariya, Store Room of the Ministry of Antiquities at Arab el-Hisn	Inscription	Kneeling	nemes, surmounted by a scarab	Granite	Heliopolis, Army Camp (Area 221)
<b>Statues of unknown provenance</b>						
18	Florence 7668	Inscription	Standing (?)	“Sety I”-type long wig	Granodiorite	Old Cairo (orig. Heliopolis?)
19	Alexandria 20307	Inscription	Sphinx with human hands	khat topped with a high crown	Alabaster/calcite	Unknown (Heliopolis or Memphis?)
20	Alexandria 20308	Inscription	Sphinx with human hands	nemes topped with a high crown	Alabaster/calcite	Unknown (Heliopolis or Memphis?)

Tab. 1 (continued)

21	Cairo (without number)	Inscription	Standing (?) (base)	/	Sandstone	Unknown
22	Private coll.	Inscription	Sphinx (base)		Quartzite	Unknown (Heliopolis?)
<b>Other provenances</b>						
23	Cairo TR 16.11.24.10	Inscription	Kneeling - naophorous	/	Quartzite	Atfia, private house
24	Cairo CG 1239	Inscription	Kneeling - naophorous	/	Quartzite	Tell el-Yahudiya (orig. Heliopolis?)
25 - 26	Alexandria, Maritime Museum 453 and 454	Inscription	Standing statues	Khepresh or double crown	Granodiorite	Herakleion-Thonis (orig. Heliopolis?)
<b>Statues re-inscribed</b>						
27 - 28	Karnak, entry of the Akhmenu	Re-inscription of two jubilee statues of Thutmose III	Jubilee ("osiriatic")	Double crown	Sandstone	Karnak, entry of the Akhmenu
29	New York, MMA 22.5.1	Addition of his name on a statue of Amenhotep III, previously re-inscribed for Merenptah	Seated	<i>nemes</i>	Granodiorite	Luxor Temple
30 - 31	Karnak, in front of 2nd Pylon	Addition of his name on two colossi of Thutmose III, previously re-inscribed for Ramesses II	Standing	Double crown	Granite	Karnak Temple

# Figures

2.3.2.2



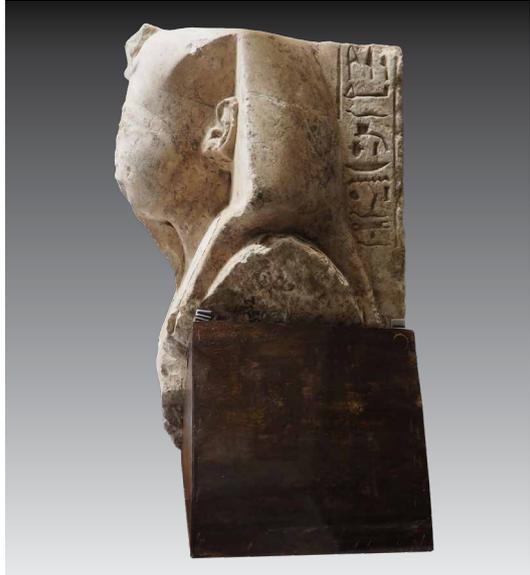
**Fig. 1:**  
Frontal view of the limestone bust of Sety II [Inv. No. U2005-2]. Mutilations are clearly visible on the uraeus, nose, and chin. The beard has been entirely removed. The half of a dovetail mortise is visible at the level of the torso, perhaps witness to an earlier repair to the statue, unless it is evidence for a reuse as a block in a wall masonry (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 2:**  
Side view. The cartouche on the shoulder shows traces of damage, but this does not appear to be the result of intentional hammering (Photo: S. Connor).



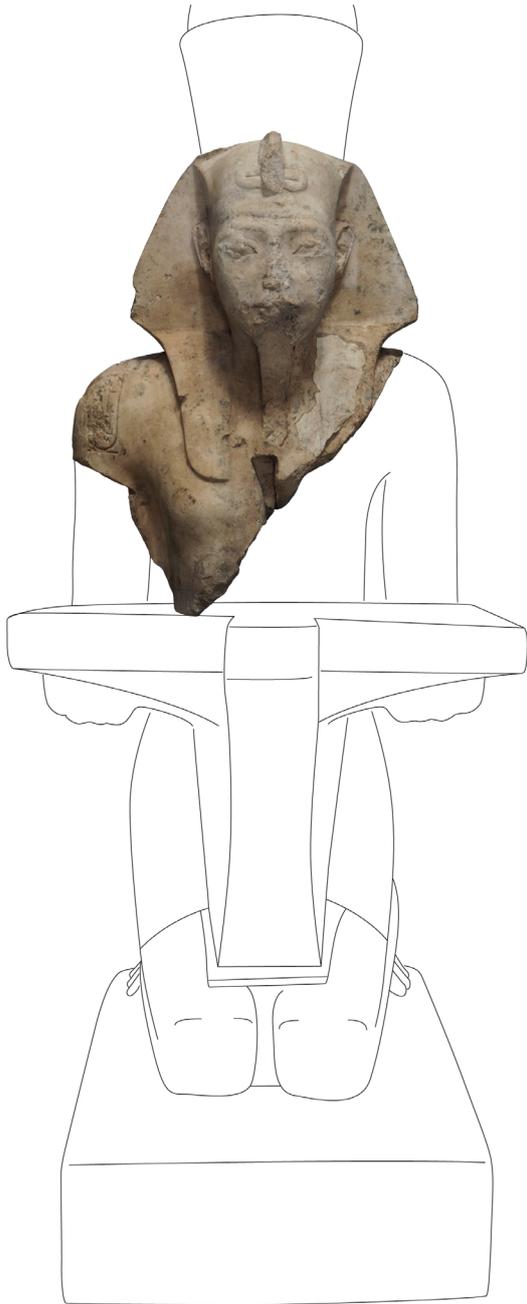
**Fig. 3:**  
Upper view. A mortise on top of the head once allowed to fix a crown above the nemes (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4:**  
Side view (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5:**  
Rear view (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 6:**  
The angle formed by the head and torso allows us to identify the original posture of the king as kneeling, probably holding an offering table in front of him. Such a statuary type is particularly common among the known statuary repertoire of Sety II (Reconstruction: S. Connor).



**Fig. 7:**  
Proposition of reconstitution of the original appearance of the statue (Reconstruction: S. Connor).

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## Fragments of Sphinxes from Suq el-Khamis

(Inv. No. U2076-2, U2116-19, 202-20-1-1)

Simon Connor

Two or three fragments of quartzite sphinxes have been excavated in the western area of Matariya's archaeological site, Suq el-Khamis; they were among the granite fragments of statues of Ramesses II. The claw (Inv. No. U2076-2), which belonged to a gigantic sphinx, was found at the eastern limit of the area, very close to the houses that were built on the site and separate Suq el-Khamis from the main archaeological area of Matariya.

Securely dating these fragments of sphinxes would be quite adventurous. It is likely that

the fragments of paws Inv. No. U2076-2 and U2116-19 predate the Late Period due to the shape of the claw, very geometrized, and the horizontal line incised on Inv. No. U2116-19. The third fragment, if it has been correctly identified as a fragment of a back leg of a sphinx, might perhaps date to the Late Period according to the very undulating modelling of the preserved surface, which can be observed on sphinxes from the 26th Dynasty.<sup>1</sup>

### 1. Inv. No. U2076-2

Dimensions:	L. 58 × W. 31 × H. 41 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	1000 × 600 × 1800 cm
Dating:	New Kingdom, probably Ramesside (stylistic criteria)

The claw of a sphinx (Fig. 1–2) was found during the 2017 autumn season. The state of preservation hardly allows reconstructing to which paw of the statue this fragment belonged. The estimated dimensions of the original sphinx are very approximate due to the small size of the preserved part, but it seems to have been particularly gigantic. The pattern of the claw is very similar to that of the greywacke sphinx of Ramesses II in Alexandria, Kom el-Dikka 2002 (probably reinscribed and originally depicting a king of the 18th Dynasty)<sup>2</sup>.

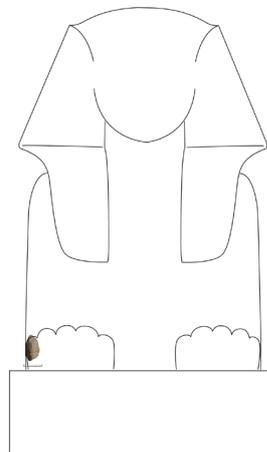
<sup>1</sup> See the contribution "A City of Sphinxes", p. 398–411.

<sup>2</sup> SOUROUZIAN 2019, 767, cat. R-109.

2.3.2.3



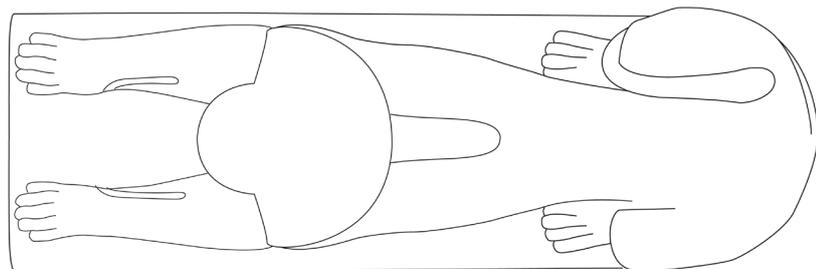
**Fig. 1:**  
Monumental  
quartzite claw of a  
lion or sphinx  
[Inv. No. U2076-2]  
(Photo: D. Raue).



Sphinx U2076-2  
Quartzite  
Heliopolis  
Suq el-Khamis

Fragment's dimensions  
H. 41 cm  
W. 31 cm  
D. 56 cm

Estimated dimensions  
of the sphinx  
H. 1000 cm  
W. 600 cm  
D. 1800 cm



**Fig. 2:**  
The fragment  
U2076-2 belongs  
to the rightmost  
claw of the lion's or  
sphinx's right paw. In  
comparison with the  
proportions of other  
surviving sphinxes,  
we can estimate the  
original dimensions  
of the statue as being  
particularly imposing  
(about 10 metres  
high; drawing/recon-  
struction: S. Connor).

## 2. Inv. No. U2116-19

Dimensions:	L. 16 × W. 9.8 × H. 15 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	325 × 190 × 585 cm
Dating:	Middle–New Kingdom (stylistic criteria)

This claw of a sphinx (Fig. 3–6) was found during the 2018 spring season. Like the previous one, the state of preservation hardly allows reconstructing to which paw of the statue this fragment belonged.



**Fig. 3:**  
Monumental  
quartzite claw of a  
lion or sphinx  
[Inv. No. U2116-19]  
(Photo: S. Connor).

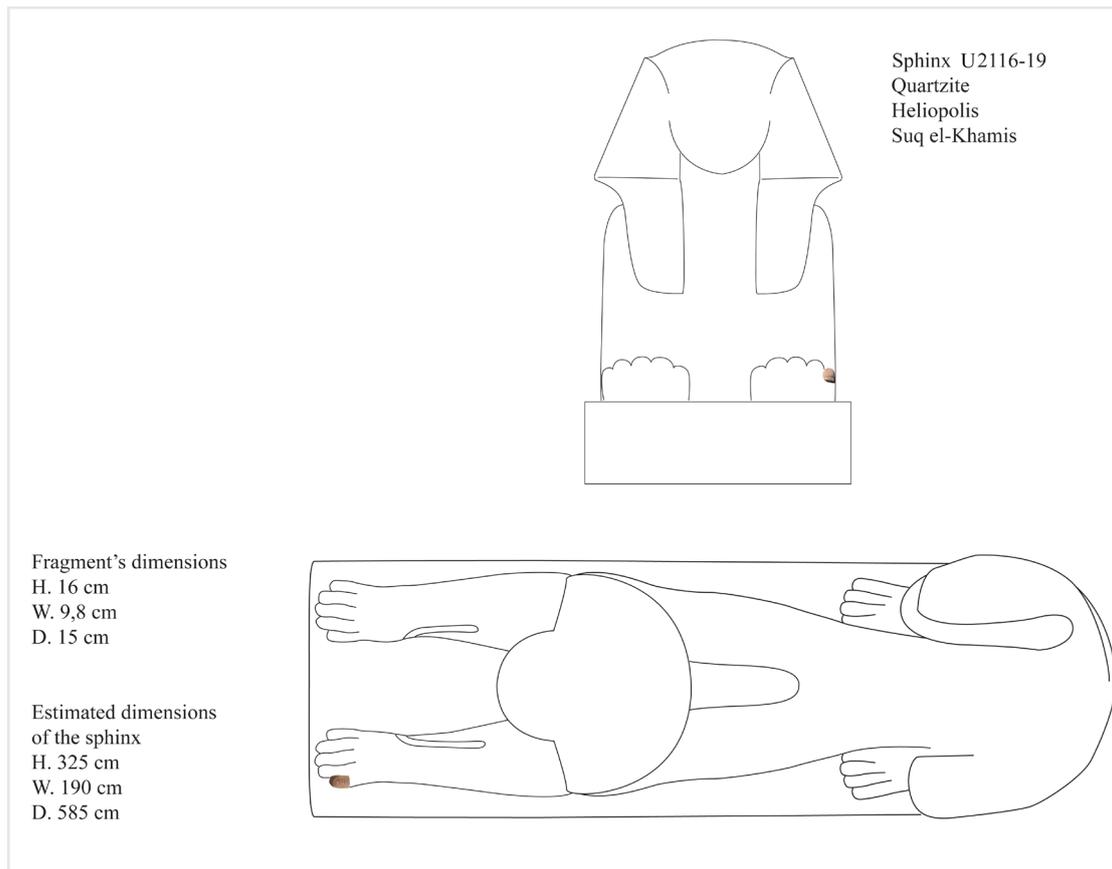


**Fig. 4:**  
Frontal view of  
U2116-19  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5:**  
Top view of  
U2116-19  
(Photo: S. Connor).

### 2.3.2.3



**Fig. 6:**  
The fragment U2116-19 belongs to the leftmost claw of the lion's or sphinx's left paw. In comparison with the proportions of other surviving sphinxes, we can estimate the original dimensions of the statue as being a bit more than 3 metres high (drawing/reconstruction: S. Connor).

## 3. Inv. No. 202-20-1-1

Dimensions:	L. 36 × W. 15 × H. 19 cm
Estimated original dimensions of the sphinx:	(?)
Dating:	Late Period (?)

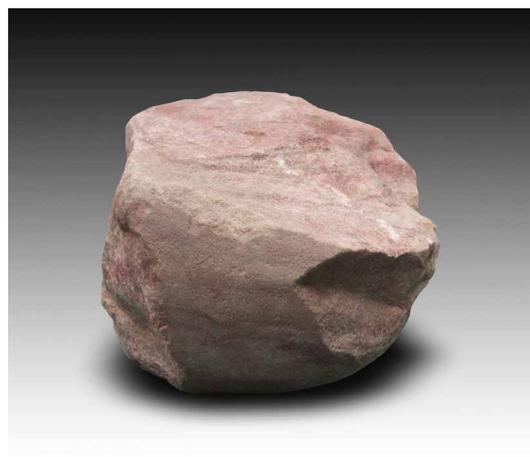
The fragment of the back leg of a sphinx (?) was found during the 2016 spring season (Fig. 7–10).



**Fig. 7:**  
Fragment of a  
sphinx's or lion's  
back leg (?)  
[Inv. No. 202-20-1-1]  
(Photo: M. Jung and  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 8:**  
Fragment of a  
sphinx's or lion's  
back leg (?)  
[Inv. No. 202-20-1-1]  
(Photo: M. Jung and  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 9:**  
Fragment of a  
sphinx's or lion's  
back leg (?)  
[Inv. No. 202-20-1-1]  
(Photo: M. Jung and  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 10:**  
Fragment of a  
sphinx's or lion's  
back leg (?)  
[Inv. No. 202-20-1-1]  
(Photo: M. Jung and  
S. Connor).

## Bibliography

SOUROUZIAN, Hourig (2016): Sur quelques statues encore « cachées » de la Cachette de Karnak (XIXe dynastie). In: COULON, Laurent (ed.): La Cachette de Karnak. Nouvelles perspectives sur les découvertes de Georges Legrain. Bibliothèque d'Étude 161. Le Caire: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, p. 267–296.

## Back Pillar of a Kneeling Statue (?)

(Inv. No. U2036-2)

Simon Connor

Dating:	Ramesside (?)
Material:	Granite
Dimensions:	H. 39; W. 26; D. 34 cm

This fragment of sculpture was found among the remains of the granite colossi in Suq el-Khamis. It was found immediately east of the crown of the colossal statue of Psamtik I. at a level of about 11.00 m, in the eastern profile of the section that was extended to extract the large fragments of the colossus. Heavily cut into pieces together with all the statues of the same area, only a few original surfaces remain. They seem to be sufficient, nevertheless, to identify a 13.8 cm wide back pillar, probably the top of it, diagonally carved at its top. The original surfaces, well polished, are the three perpendicular faces of this pillar, as well as the two joint faces at the top. The rest of the piece consist of roughly cut planes, made by chisels when the object was dismantled. Several of the chisel cuts are easily visible on both sides.

The “negative” of the original sculpture remained on the back pillar, showing a gentle

curve. The state of conservation of the piece being so fragmentary, it is difficult to propose a reconstitution with certainty. The most likely is perhaps a kneeling statue. Kneeling statues in general show a wide range of shapes for the back pillar: either ending under the braid of the nemes, or covering it, reaching sometimes the top of the statue. In the present case, and the type being correctly identified, the individual would not have worn the *nemes*, of which there is no trace on the back pillar’s profile. A *khat* head cloth might be a possibility, like on a small limestone statue of Ramesses II from the Cachette of Karnak (Cairo JE 37978).<sup>1</sup> If the individual was private, he could also have had a short headdress, or none at all.

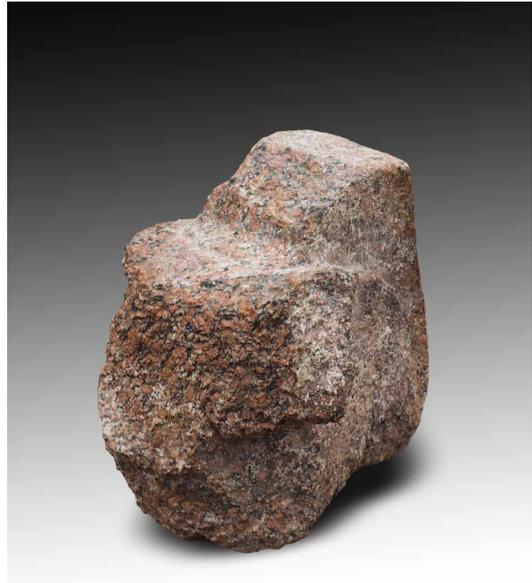
If this reconstruction is correct, the original statue measured c. 160 cm high and 100 cm deep.

<sup>1</sup> SOUROUZIAN 2016, 270–272. 288. For further bibliography and several photos, see <https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck488> (last accessed 12.11.2021).

2.3.2.4



**Fig. 1:**  
Rear view  
of the fragment  
(Photo: S. Connor).



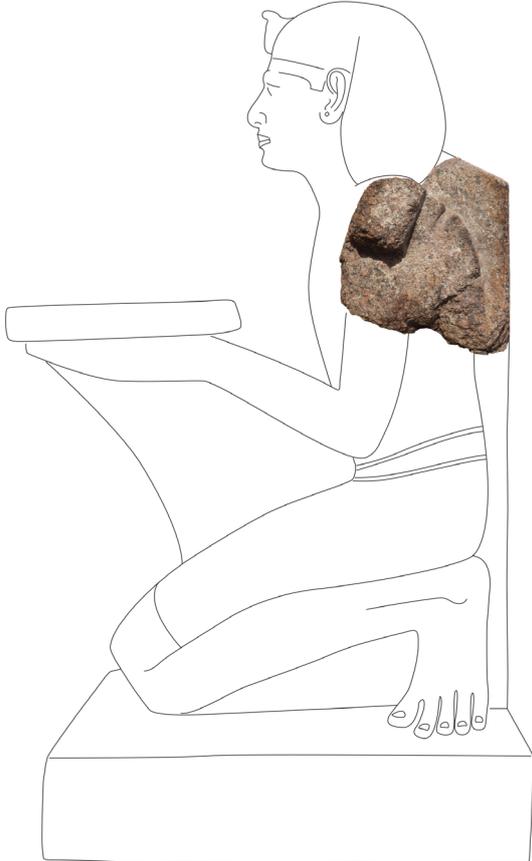
**Fig. 2:**  
Top left view  
of the fragment  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 3:**  
Left view of the bust,  
with the back pillar  
and what seems to be  
the upper back  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4:**  
Right view  
of the fragment  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5:**  
Proposition of  
reconstruction of the  
sculpture's original  
appearance  
(Drawing: S. Connor).

## The Quartzite Colossus of Psamtik I in Suq el-Khamis

Simon Connor, Christopher Breninek and Dietrich Raue

### 1. Archaeological Context

On 7 March 2017, the Egyptian-German Mission found fragments of a colossal quartzite statue in the area of Suq el-Khamis, an area in which a temple of Ramesses II once stood (Fig. 1). The manufacturing of these fragments (a massive torso (Fig. 2–5), a part of a head with the white crown (Fig. 6–8) and a piece of a beard (Fig. 9)) is of extremely high quality. The surface is wonderfully polished. The two following campaigns (fall 2017 and spring 2018) brought to light the other fragments of the colossus (Fig. 10–16), which appears to be more or less complete. The fragments belong to the only known colossal statue of a king of the 26th Dynasty; in many respects, this statue revolutionizes our perception of sculpture from this period of Egyptian history.

The torso, the main part of the head and the beard, the first fragments to be found in spring 2017, were discovered in a 3-meter-deep pit, approximately 10 m long (E-W) and 5 m wide (N-S), just north of a rectangular pedestal uncovered in 2006–2010, under the Ramesside ground level (Alt. 13,20 m). This rectangular pedestal (4th layer: depth (S-N): 6,55 m, width (E-W): 4.12 m, at 11.33 asl.) consists of a mass of limestone blocks covered on four sides with quartzite slabs. It is part of an east-west oriented series of statue bases, which once preceded a limestone pylon; some of the bases' blocks

were found during the previous seasons of the mission. A basalt pavement oriented N-S apparently marked a passage through this pylon (see plan, p. 54, Fig. 6).

The other fragments of the statue (around 6500, of various dimensions) were found in different pits around the base, next to its western side (therefore between this base and the adjacent one, which once supported a granite colossus) and southern side (in the missing foundations of the pylon of Ramesses II). These pits also yielded fragments of pink granite from the Middle Kingdom seated colossi that were re-inscribed and re-carved for Ramesses II and were erected on either side of Psamtik's statue (see p. 49–60), as well as the quartzite Middle Kingdom head (Inv. No. U2108-3, see p. 174–181) and two claws from massive quartzite sphinxes (see Inv. No. U2076-2, U2116-19, p. 143–148).

### 2. State of Fragmentation and Description of the Fragments

By far the largest fragment is the torso, which includes the lower part of the head (chin and mouth) and a large portion of the back pillar. The head itself is broken into four main fragments: the proper left eye and nose (Fig. 10), the white crown with proper right ear, the left ear and the bulb of the white crown.

The king is shown standing, probably with his left leg forward. The virtual reconstruction (Fig. 17–22) allows us to estimate the original total height of the statue at 11 meters. The king wears the *shendjyt* kilt, the white crown and the beard; but there are no other ornaments, neither collar nor wristbands.

The arms are in several fragments, but can mostly be reconstructed. The right arm is stretched out alongside the body, while the left hand is placed on the king's lower stomach, under the navel (Fig. 16–17). The current state of reconstruction of the fragments gives no indication of whether his hand was lying flat on the kilt, or holding an object. This very unusual position is subject to discussion (see below).

It is noticeable that most of the upper part of the statue (from the crown to the pelvis) is broken in relatively big fragments, which make a quite complete virtual reconstruction possible, including the upper half of the back pillar of the statue. All of this upper part was made of a fine and very homogeneous yellowish variety of quartzite. However, the legs and base are in a

very fragmentary state, reduced to thousands of pieces barely bigger than a fist. Such a discrepancy between the state of conservation of the upper and lower part is striking. Gravity would have made the opposite situation more logical, and thus ensured a better preservation of the lower part, as it would not have fallen from such a great height. An explanation might be an intentional and particularly relentless destruction of the lower part of the statue, either with blunt stones (since no apparent tool-marks have been identified on the fragments so far) or maybe with fire (as the brittle state of the quartzite and the dark purple surface of some of them may suggest).

The back pillar (Fig. 13, 19) shows an unusual shape: its upper part has a shape which evokes a kind of rounded obelisk. One cannot help thinking about the *benben* stone of Heliopolis, although this can hardly be more than a hypothesis. Covering most of the surface of the back pillar, there are two columns in mirror symmetry with the titlature of King Psamtik I (664–610 BC), the first long-reigning king of the 26th Dynasty:

*Hr ʕ3-ib nswt-bj.tj Nb.tj Nb-ʕ3 Hr-nbw Qnw (W3h-ib-Rʕ) s3-Rʕ (Psmṯk) ntr nfr [...]*

The Horus ʕ3-*ib* (“Great of willing”), the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, The One of the Two Mistresses *Nb-ʕ* (“master of arm”, or “powerful”), The Golden Horus *Qenu* (“brave/valiant”), *Wahibre*, the son of Ra Psamtik, the perfect god [...].

A sky-sign sits atop of these two columns, surmounted by a scene showing the kneeling king, wearing the *nemes* and offering the *nw*-vases to the seated god Atum. An inscription accompanies this scene:

*nṯr ʿz nb iri-jḥ.t [...] [...] d.t*  
*mr.y ʿItm nb t3.wj ʿIwn.w [...]*

The great god, master of ceremonies [...] .... [...] forever,  
 Beloved of Atum, lord of the Two Lands in Heliopolis.

The scene is surmounted by the throne name of the king written not inside a cartouche, but directly in the rounded peak of the back pillar. The top hieroglyph, the sun Ra, contributes to the interpretation of the back pillar itself as a solar element.

The restorer Juliette Fayein identified several traces of preliminary red outlines of the hieroglyphs on the back pillar, before they were cut in sunken relief. The preservation of these red lines is perhaps exceptional in the wet archaeological context in which the fragments were found. The rest of the statue does not show any apparent traces of paint. We may therefore have to conclude that the statue was never painted.

### 3. Identification of the King

Despite the speculations which were at the centre of the discussions immediately after the discovery of the first fragments, the colossus can be securely identified as a statue of King Psamtik I. Due to the archaeological context (in front of a temple apparently built for Ramesses II) and the close presence of granite statues stylistically attributed to the early 12th Dynasty, it would have been reasonable to expect the following situation: a colossal statue of Ramesses II, perhaps reused from the Middle Kingdom, similar to those found at the sites of Mit Rahina (Memphis), Tell Basta (Bubastis) and San el-Hagar (Tanis) (SOUROUZIAN 1988, 229–254; HILL 2015, 294–299). Nevertheless, the perfectly preserved inscriptions on the back pillar, as well as the stylistic analysis, leave no doubt about its dating to the 26th Dynasty and make this piece the first colossal statue known so far from this period of Egyptian history.

Relatively few royal statues are preserved from the Late Period, and rarely complete, which makes the comparison of this enormous colossus with securely dated pieces difficult. Various stylistic features might appear as characteristic of different phases of Egyptian art history and, considered individually, they would point to contradictory dating. Nevertheless, their combination allows us to identify some of them as probably “archaizing” features and ascertain that the statue is indeed contemporary to the back pillar’s inscription and cannot have been recarved from an earlier colossal statue.

#### 3.1. The Crown

The king’s white crown bears two characteristic features that could provide dating criteria: the absence of an uraeus and the shape of the lappet around the ear (Fig. 7, 23). According to the preserved statuary material, there is no uraeus on the

white crown in the Old Kingdom<sup>1</sup> and on most of the early Middle Kingdom corpus.<sup>2</sup> In the Late Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period the uraeus becomes more common<sup>3</sup> and appears systematically on the New Kingdom statuary,<sup>4</sup> except on some statues of Amenhotep III.<sup>5</sup> Royal statuary of the Late Period all attest an uraeus on the white crown, but there are too few examples to provide statistics.<sup>6</sup> The absence of uraeus could therefore support an Old Kingdom or early Middle Kingdom dating, but the cited exceptions rule it out as an absolute criterion.

The absence of chinstraps joining the beard to the crown on the Heliopolis colossus does not provide strong dating criteria either. From time to time they appear in all periods and are particularly frequent – but not systematic – in the New Kingdom.

The shape of the lappets around the ear is, however, more characteristic of specific periods

(Fig. 23). On the head of the Suq el-Khamis colossus, the lappets surround the ears, in front and below them. The front lappets end with a straight horizontal line, while the rear ones draw a curve surrounding the whole lobe of the ears. This pattern (with variations in the shape of the lower lappet's curve) is specific to the Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom (EVERS 1929, II, 20–21, § 123–129). In the New Kingdom, the rear part of the crown draws a regular, almost horizontal, curve from one ear to the other.

Therefore, this combination of characteristics (absence of uraeus and form of the lappets around the ear) places the crown of the Heliopolis colossus stylistically closer to the Old Kingdom and early Middle Kingdom shape. Nevertheless, the shape of the lappets is again attested, although exceptionally, on some reliefs<sup>7</sup> of the 1st millennium BC (Fig. 24) and may therefore have appeared also on sculpture in the round, although no other example is known so far.

<sup>1</sup> Khasekhemuy (Cairo JE 32161 and Oxford E. 517), anonymous 3rd or 4th Dynasty sovereign (Brooklyn 46.167), Snefru (Cairo JE 98943), Djedefra (Cairo JE 15070), Khafra (Kelekian Collection), Menkaura (Brussels E 3074), Neferefra (Cairo JE 98181), anonymous 5th Dynasty sovereigns (Cleveland 1979.2 and Washington DC, Sackler and Freer Gallery of Art F 1938.11), Pepy I (Brooklyn 39.120), Teti (Cairo JE 39103).

<sup>2</sup> Mentuhotep III (Boston 38.1395, Cairo JE 67379, Luxor J. 69, Worcester 1971.28), Senusret I (the two standing colossi of Mit Rahina, the heads in Cairo CG 643, 644, JE 45085, the seated colossus in Cairo JE 37465). On the other hand, an uraeus stands on the white crown of Mentuhotep II (Cairo JE 38579, London BM EA 720), of Amenemhat I (Cairo JE 37470) and of some of the statues of Senusret I (Cairo CG 38230, JE 38286 and 48851 (in this case, it may be a later addition since it was inserted in a hole cut into the forehead).

<sup>3</sup> Senusret III (Berlin ÄM 9529, Cairo CG 42011, London BM EA 608). Amenemhat Sobekhotep (Beni Suef JE 58926, Cairo JE 54857, Paris E 12924), Sobekhotep Merhoteptra (Cairo CG 42027), anonymous 13th Dynasty heads (Atlanta 2004.6.3, Abemayor Collection [Sotheby's 1980], Philadelphia E 15737). From the Late Middle Kingdom, only the two statues of Amenemhat III (Copenhagen ÆIN 924, Cairo JE 42995) are without uraeus.

<sup>4</sup> Ahmose (New York MMA 2006.270), Amenhotep I (Boston 07.536, Brooklyn 37.38, Luxor J. 40, Khartoum 63/4/5 and the heads recently found in Ermant, probably from the early 18th Dynasty), Thutmose I (Cairo CG 905 and 1224, JE 71963, London BM EA 1238, Turin Cat. 1387 and the colossi still standing in the Wadjyt in Karnak), Hatshepsut (Cairo JE 56260, New York MMA 30.3.1, 31.3.154, 31.3.155), Thutmose II (Elephantine 1086), Thutmose III (three colossi still standing in front of Karnak's 7th pylon's northern face, London BM EA 986, Cairo CG 42053 and 42058, JE 88888, Philadelphia E 14370, Rome Barracco 19), Amenhotep II (Cairo JE 39394, CG 42067, Dallas AP 1982.04, London BM EA 61, Luxor J. 178, Paris E 10969, Philadelphia E 14304, Toulouse Musée Labit), Amenhotep III (jubilee statues from Kom el-Hettan (Luxor J. 133, Paris A 19, and the statues recently found at the site by the team of H. Sourouzian), the standing statue with prominent abdomen (Cairo JE 33900–33901), a head probably from the Karnak Cachette (Selim 2010, 277–278, fig. 5–6) and the statue, later recarved for Ramesses III, which shows the standing king as he receives the crown from Horus and Seth (Cairo CG 629)), Ramesses II (the Abu Simbel colossi, the jubilee statues from Abydos (Philadelphia 69-29-1 and the heads still in the temple of Sety I)). In the case of statues reused from earlier periods, like the head Sydney NM 62.657, it seems that Ramesses II's sculptors inserted an uraeus by cutting a mortise into the crown.

<sup>5</sup> Boston 09.288, Cairo JE 98832 and perhaps also the standing colossi of the first court of Luxor temple. In the latter case, an uraeus was perhaps added to these colossi on the occasion of their recarving for Ramesses II, as would be attested by the hole cut into the front part of the crown.

<sup>6</sup> A head in Turin S. 1226.2 (which might also be a head of a statuette of the god Osiris), a head attributed to Nectanebo I thanks to comparisons with inscribed reliefs from his reign (Paris E 27124). Two uraei rise on the crown of a 25th Dynasty sovereign (Florence 7656).

<sup>7</sup> See, e.g., the fragment of relief of Sheshonq I, with the red crown, from el-Hiba (Heidelberg ÄSU 562), or the royal and divine figures from the tomb of Pabasa in Thebes (TT 279).

### 3.2. The Torso

The torso shows a particularly developed musculature. The emphasized modelling of the pectoral muscles, the wide shoulders and the deep vertical depression on the abdomen make this statue a real colossus – in every sense – expressing the supernatural strength of the pharaoh. Such a massive and naturalistic aspect, with prominent pectoral muscles and shoulders, might be reminiscent of the body shape of the colossal statues of the 4th and early 12th Dynasty.<sup>8</sup> Nevertheless, it appears again in the style of the Late Period, as early as the 25th Dynasty, with a deep median line, as a probable reference to the early 12th Dynasty<sup>9</sup>, and is very well attested by numerous (particularly non-royal) examples; the clavicles are also inclined and extremely pronounced, a feature which is common in Late Period sculpture<sup>10</sup>, while in the earlier periods, they remain almost horizontal.

A striking peculiarity of the Heliopolis colossus are the very prominent nipples. There are no comparisons for such a feature, perhaps due to the fact that no other colossus has been preserved from the concerned period. Sculptures from the 26th Dynasty, although mostly quite small in size, usually display well-defined nipples, linked to a particular attention to the rendering of the modelling of the torso.

### 3.3. The Facial Features

The head of the statue is sufficiently preserved to reconstruct the outlines of an oval and elongated face, with rounded cheeks and smiling lips, as well as two deep circular holes to mark the corners of the mouth, all characteristic features of the 26th Dynasty (Fig. 25–27). The mouth seems to have been systematically hammered, perhaps at the moment of the statue's dismemberment and/or burial, but the characteristic smile of the Late Period is still clearly visible. The ears are very carefully modelled and detailed, again a frequent feature in the refined style of the Late Period.

The whole proper left eye and eyebrow, as well as a small preserved part of the proper right eye and eyebrow, are probably the most characteristic stylistic elements of the face during the time of Psamtik I; the outlines of both the eye and eyebrow are in relief, with sharp extremities, and ending almost horizontally after a slight curve. The concavity of the eye sockets is also very characteristic of large statues from the 26th Dynasty (Fig. 10, 25–27).

The facial shape, the affected smile with the deep corners of the mouth and the sharp make-up lines are therefore all characteristic of the 26th Dynasty style and perfectly correspond to the dating provided by the back pillar's inscription.

<sup>8</sup> See particularly the seated colossus of Menkaura (Boston 09.204), the early 12th Dynasty colossi reused by Ramesses II in Mit Rahina, those found in Tanis (Berlin ÄM 7264, Cairo CG 384, JE 37465) and the colossi of Senusret I from Abydos (Cairo JE 38286) and Karnak (Cairo JE 38287).

<sup>9</sup> As attested, e.g., on the colossal seated statue of King Shabaka (Cairo JE 27852), the colossus of King Tanwetamani (Toledo 1949.105) and those recently discovered in Dokki Gel (BONNET/VALBELLE 2003, 747–769), or the kneeling statue of Psamtik I (Copenhagen AAb 211, Fig. 28). See also, among many other non-royal examples, the standing statues of Horwedja (Louvre A 111) and Khonsuiraa (Boston MFA 07.494).

<sup>10</sup> In royal statuary, we may refer particularly to Brooklyn 58.95 (Fig. 29), Copenhagen AAb 211, Florence 5625 (Fig. 30), New York MMA X 358 (Fig. 31), Paris N 830 (see MÜLLER 1955, 46–68). The non-royal corpus is much more numerous; see, e.g., the statue of the vizier Nespaqas-huty (Cairo CG 48634), the kneeling statues of Nakht-horheb (Paris A 94, London BM EA 1646 and private collection; PERDU 2012, 48–49, cat. 7–9), of Amenem-opet-emhat (New York MMA 24.2.2.) or the vizier bust in Turin Cat. 3075).

### 3.4. The Offering Scene

The scene is delimited by a rectangular frame, which separates it from the double column below and the top of the back pillar containing the name of the king (Fig. 13–15, 19). The sovereign is represented kneeling in front of a seated figure of the god Atum, and offering him the globular *nw*-vases. He wears the *shendjyt*-kilt and the bull's tail, the *nemes* head cloth and a broad collar, while the god is wearing the double crown and curved plaited beard – his two insignia – as well as a *shendjyt*-kilt, the bull's tail and the same broad collar as the king. He presents the *ankh*-sign with his left hand to Psamtik, while holding the *was*-sceptre in his right hand.

It is noticeable that each figure stands on its own base, as if we were dealing with the depiction of two statues, instead of a human, Psamtik, offering to a deity. This is reminiscent of the double statue found in the “cachette” of The Luxor temple, which shows the kneeling Horemhab presenting the same *nw*-vases to a seated figure of Atum (EL-SAGHIR 1991, 35–40, fig. 75–89). Could this image on the back pillar actually be a representation of a group statue that was originally set up in the temple, in front of which the colossus stood?

The two figures show the distinctive stylistic features of the 26th Dynasty,<sup>11</sup> with broad shoulders and muscular arms, elongated torso and narrow waist. Under variable lightening, the

high level of refinement in the modelling of the figures, with the subtle indication of details such as the hip bone, just above the belt, becomes visible. The face is characterized by a receding chin, a small mouth, a long straight nose, rounded cheeks and an almond-shaped eye inclined towards the top of the nose. The sinuous eyebrow follows the curve of the upper lip. The ear is particularly large, with a prominent lobe, a feature which perhaps recalls the style of the Late Middle Kingdom.

### 3.5. Modified and Reused?

The archaeological find spot (among the remains of what seems to have been a temple built by Ramesses II) and the huge dimensions of the statue (no such colossus has been attested so far in statuary from the period between the Rameside sovereigns and the Ptolemies) might lead us to suggest that Psamtik I reused the statue of a predecessor, following a tradition that is very well attested during the Ramesside Period.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, several elements speak against this theory and confirm that this statue is the first colossus of the 26th Dynasty to have reached us. First of all, the preserved surface of the stone does not show any irregularity in the polishing, nor any evidence of modification of the features. Furthermore, if some features, considered individually, may seem to refer to earlier periods, their combination would create unavoidable anachronisms; besides they all fit perfectly to the style of Psamtik I's period. The absence of an uraeus on

<sup>11</sup> Concerning the stylistic criteria of Late Period sculpture, see PERDU 2012, esp. 170–199: “Des rois, des époques et autant d'images du pharaon”.

<sup>12</sup> Concerning reuse of statues by the Ramesside sovereigns, and particularly those which show modification of the physiognomy, see SOUROUZIAN 1988, 229–254; ID. 1995, 505–543; HILL 2015, 294–299; EATON-KRAUSS 2015, 97–104.

the crown and of holes in the ear lobes<sup>13</sup> prevents us from identifying the colossus as a Ramesside figure, while the musculature is far too developed, the torso too long and the waist too narrow to have belonged to a colossus of Amenhotep III, and could hardly have been re-carved on a statue from any other period. The noticeable absence of collar also prevents us from identifying the colossus as Amenhotep III or Ramesses II. An early Middle Kingdom date must also be rejected since the make-up lines of the eyes and eyebrows and the shape of the face and smile do not correspond to the stylistic features of that period, but clearly point to the 26th Dynasty. The apparent characteristics of the Middle and New Kingdom that could be used as arguments for an early date have to therefore be considered as “archaistic” features, common in this “Renaissance phase”, but not as evidence of reuse.

Despite the massiveness of the torso and the large dimensions of the piece, the statue is striking because of the extreme care dedicated to the refinement of the anatomic details (ear, eyebrow and eyelid, clavicles, nipples), and the high quality of the hieroglyphs on the back pillar and the admirable polishing of the surface. All testify to the pursuit of formal perfection that strongly characterizes the style of the 26th Dynasty. Due to the extremely fine quality of this statue as well as the unusual position of the left hand on the lower stomach, the quartzite colossus that was found in 2017 in Matariya is now a landmark for the study of Late Period sculpture.

## 4. Interpretation

This statue of Psamtik I that was found in Matariya is an extraordinary discovery and a very unusual piece in many ways, first of all because of its size, some 11 m high, which is much larger than any other statue known from this period. Despite these colossal dimensions, the quality of the sculpture, the balance of proportions, the elegance of forms, the rendering of details and polishing of the surface are as remarkable as on the corpus of much smaller size, which is representative of the 26th Dynasty. This purity of shape and refinement of details can perhaps be best seen on the back pillar, where every single hieroglyph and the offering scene – although barely visible at the top of the back pillar – are a real and exquisite masterpiece.

The position of the king’s left hand under his navel must have had a meaning, which is still obscure. The current state of reconstruction does not indicate whether the hand was flat or closed, but it does not seem to have held a sceptre or stick since the surface of the belly and that of the kilt, on either side of the hand, do not show any such trace. The closest parallels in sculpture in the round are the few statues of jubilee of the late reign of Amenhotep III, which show the 18th Dynasty king standing, with both hands joined under a prominent belly.<sup>14</sup> In the case of Psamtik’s statue, only one hand is concerned, therefore it is difficult to know whether or not it might refer to the unusual position of Amen-

<sup>13</sup> Even when Ramesses II reuses a statue from a Middle Kingdom king or from Amenhotep III, the sculptors add such holes in the lobes, as one can see, e.g., on the statues in the first courtyard of the temple of Luxor. Only rare exceptions are attested: Cairo CG 42146 (a small sphinx), and the colossus in London BM EA 15 (reused from Amenhotep III).

<sup>14</sup> Cairo JE 33900 and 33901 (PM III, 452; KOZLOFF et al. 1992, 146, 153, 181, 206, 208, 464); New York MMA 30.8.74 (HAYES 1959, 237, fig. 142).

hotep III (and perhaps to his own jubilee?) or to a gesture associated to the cult of Atum, for which there are no other traces in the current state of knowledge.

The 26th Dynasty seems in fact to have been particularly active in Heliopolis. Several of the monuments found in Alexandria with mention of the gods of Heliopolis actually date to the reigns of Psamtik I, II and Apries.<sup>15</sup> The obelisk of Psamtik I that today stands on the Piazza di Montecitorio in front of the Italian Parliament and was brought to Rome by Augustus to serve as gnomon for the sundial of the Campo Marzio, probably was once erected in the city of the sun (IVERSEN 1968, 142 [quoting Strabo, *Geography*, 17, 1, 27]). A large sculptural repertoire of this period was also found at the site: a greywacke head found by Petrie<sup>16</sup> as well as many fragments of statues in quartzite, greywacke and alabaster found by Schiaparelli<sup>17</sup> (Fig. 32–33). If the archaeological context of Suq el-Khamis has so far revealed mainly Ramesside material, or 12th Dynasty material reused at the time of Ramesses II, the finding of this extraordinary 26th Dynasty colossus provides new perspectives on the history of this area of the site of Heliopolis.

Standing in front of the limestone pylon of Ramesses II between two seated Middle Kingdom statues in granite that were reused by the same Ramesses, the quartzite colossus of Psamtik, twice as high, must have been at the centre of a very suggestive contrast of colours and ma-

terials. Due to the lack of architectural remains or traces, it is difficult to draw any plan of the temple and of its surroundings, and therefore to understand the reasons why Psamtik I placed such a striking statue in this place, between the much smaller statues inscribed for Ramesses II.

The abandonment and dismantlement of the pylon cannot be dated with precision, although the pit in which the colossus was lying contained mixed pottery of all periods, from the Old Kingdom to the Roman Period, which would suggest that the statue was destroyed and buried before the Christian Period, but cannot be ascertained. Several of the blocks from the temple and the granite statue fragments found in Suq el-Khamis bear clear marks of intentional cutting, in order to reuse them in later construction. The bust of Sety II found in the same area (see p. 131–142) had its nose, uraeus, beard and double crown above the *nemes* cut off; this may have happened before it was used as a masonry block, as suggested by the mortise cut in its torso, which could have linked it to another block with a system of tenons.

The fragments of the quartzite colossus may have been buried in the pits (forming maybe a kind of “cachette”?) after the statue was knocked down from its base. Various hypotheses may be proposed:

- The statue might have collapsed during an earthquake. Like a large number of sculptures from the Karnak Cachette,<sup>18</sup> the mouth

<sup>15</sup> Our thanks go particularly to Hourig Sourouzian for drawing our attention to the fragments of statues, particularly sphinxes, now on display next to the Serapeum of Alexandria (Psamtik I and II), in Kôm el-Dikka (Psamtik II), Kôm el-Shuqafa (Apries). See PM IV, 3; TKACZOW 1993, cat. 122, 132; CORTEGGIANI 1998, 29–30.

<sup>16</sup> New York MMA 12.187.31; this face might either be from a royal or non-royal statue. PETRIE/MACKAY 1915, 6, § 14, pl. 6, c–d.

<sup>17</sup> Alabaster: Turin S. 2683/1–8; greywacke: S. 2686, 2686bis, 2687, 2687bis, 2719, 2719bis; quartzite: S. 2696 + 2701, 2697, 2699, 2702, 2702bis.

<sup>18</sup> Concerning the mutilations on statues found in the Cachette of Karnak, see JAMBON 2016, 131–175 (particularly 148–154).

### 2.3.2.5

of the statue might have been mutilated before being buried, in order to “deactivate” it: the mouth seems to show traces of repeated pounding. However, this hypothesis would make it difficult to understand the extreme fragmentation of the legs.

- The dismantlement of the statue may also be more or less contemporaneous with the demolition of the pylon, but its fragments, unsuitable for reuse due to the hardness and weight of its material, may have been buried in the now empty foundations of the pylon, either to symbolically protect them or, more practically, to leave a free passage between the remaining bases of statues. Let us note that the heavy slabs of quartzite surrounding the base of the statue were left in position, while the upper levels of limestone blocks forming the core of this pedestal are missing,

clearly showing that quartzite was less valued than limestone for reuse.

- Another, perhaps more tempting suggestion would be that the fall of the statue and the mutilation of the mouth (and legs?) occurred during military action.

Although the mouth seems to show traces of intentional mutilation and the legs and base might have been burned, there are no traces of the “usual” and “typical” Egyptian defacement of images: the nose is mostly preserved (only the end of it is missing, which seems to be due to the shock when the statue collapsed) as are the eyes and ears, and the beard, even if in two pieces, is complete.<sup>19</sup> The inscriptions, as well as the offering scene, are also in an excellent state of preservation and do not show any intention of mutilation.



**Fig. 1:** Colossal bust of the statue of Psamtik I when removed from the pit in which it was buried. The water table has risen considerably since ancient times. What, on the photograph, appears to be a pond is actually the water rising in the excavated pit when pumping stops (Photo: S. Connor).

<sup>19</sup> Concerning the parts of the statue which are the most commonly mutilated on Egyptian images, see CONNOR 2018.

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**Fig. 2:** Frontal view of the statue's torso (before cleaning). Currently in the garden of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Photo: S. Connor).



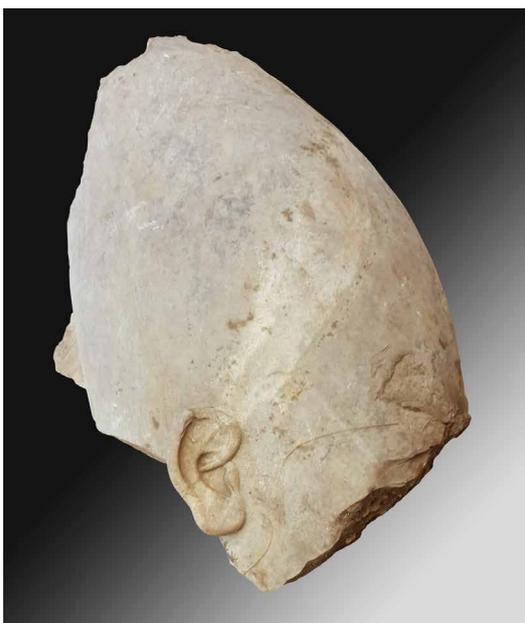
**Fig. 3:** Side view of the statue's torso (before cleaning; Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4:** Rear view of the statue's torso (before cleaning). On the back pillar appears the Nebty name of the king (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5:** Detail of the mouth and beard (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 6:** Fragment of the crown and right ear (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 7:** Fragment of the crown and right ear (Detail; photo: S. Connor).

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**Fig. 8:**  
Fragment of the  
crown and right ear  
(Rear view; photo:  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 9:**  
Fragment of the beard  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 10:**  
Fragment of the face  
showing the nose  
and left eye  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 11:** Fragment of the back pillar showing the Horus name of the king (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 13:** Fragment of the crown and upper part of the back pillar (Photo: S. Connor)



**Fig. 12:** Back pillar with the Horus name (Detail; photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 14:** Fragment of the back pillar's upper part, with a figure of Psamtik I kneeling in front of the god Atum (Detail; photo: S. Connor).

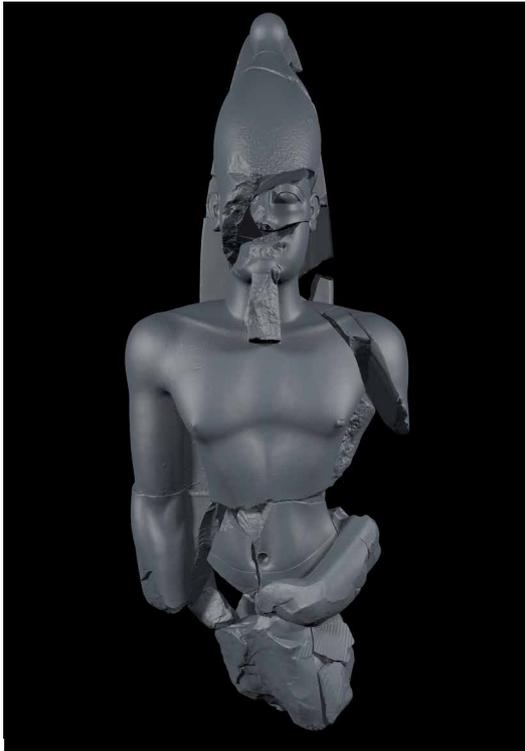


**Fig. 15:** Fragment of the back pillar's upper part, with a figure of Psamtik I kneeling in front of the god Atum (Detail; photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 16:** Fragment showing the navel and part of the left forearm, in an unusual posture (Photo: S. Connor).

### 2.3.2.5



**Fig. 17:**  
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue, allowed by the large size of the fragments. The legs and base, however, are reduced to thousands of small chips (Reconstruction: C. Breninek).



**Fig. 18:**  
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue (Side view; reconstruction: C. Breninek).



**Fig. 19:**  
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue (Rear view; reconstruction: C. Breninek).



**Fig. 20:**  
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue (Side view; reconstruction: C. Breninek).

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**Fig. 21:**  
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue and its podium, made of limestone blocks and quartzite slabs (Reconstruction: C. Breninek).



**Fig. 22:**  
3D Virtual reconstruction of the upper part of the statue and its podium, made of limestone blocks and quartzite slabs (Reconstruction: C. Breninek).

2.3.2.5

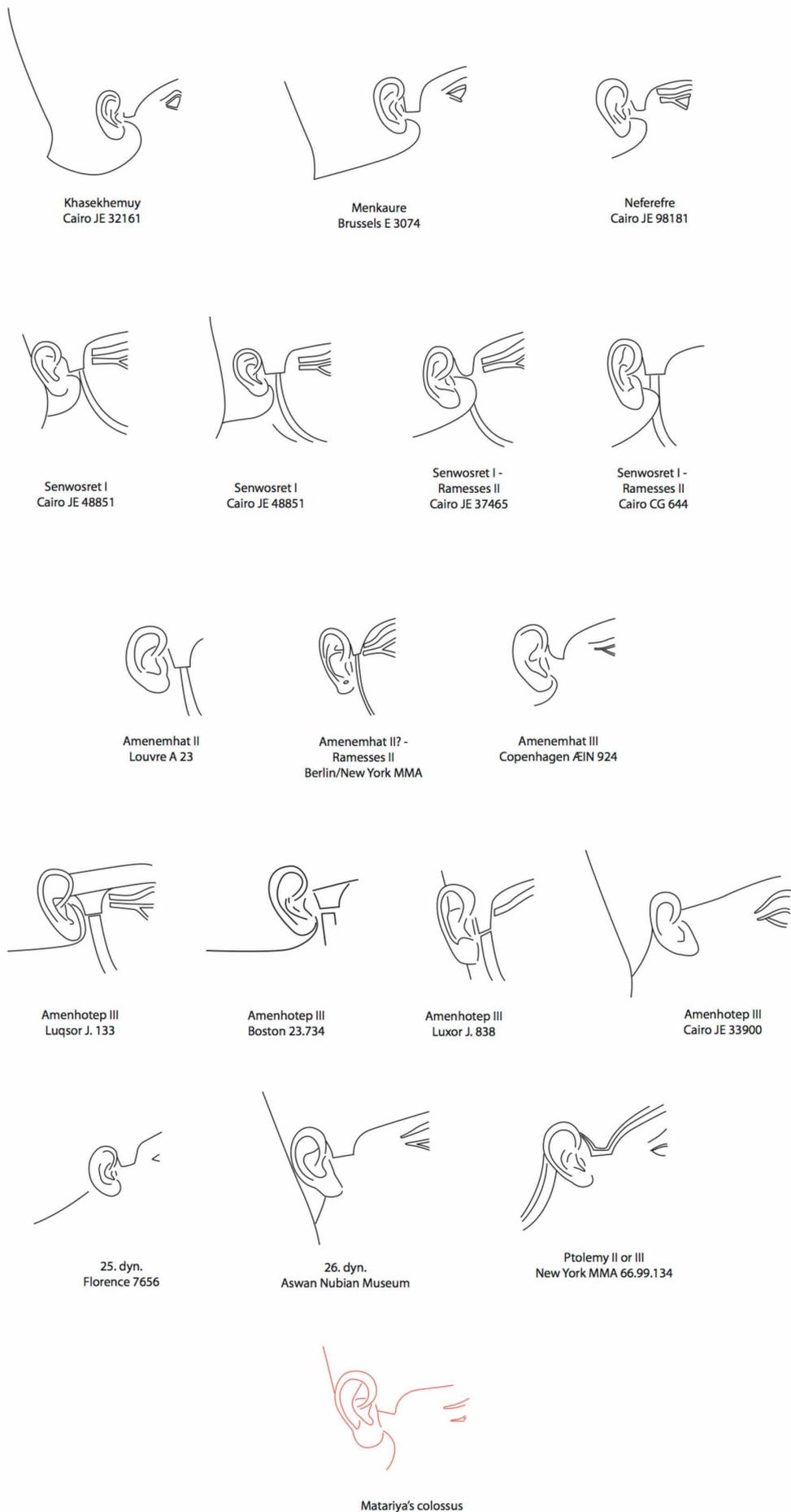


Fig. 23: Development of the shape of the ear and high crowns sidelocks on statuary, from the Old Kingdom to the Ptolemaic Period (Drawings: S. Connor).



**Fig. 24:**  
Figure of Atum. Detail from the  
Tomb of Pabasa (TT 279), reign of  
Psamtik I (Photo: S. Connor).

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**Fig. 25:** Head of a granodiorite statue of a king named Psamtik (Aswan Museum, before Cairo JE 40052; concerning this head and other fragments of the same statue, see S. BICKEL, 1995, *La statue d'un roi Psammétique reconstituée*, BIFAO 95, 93–102; photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 26:** Profile view of a greywacke head of a king, probably from Nectanebo I or II, adopting a style clearly reminiscent of the 26th Dynasty. London BM EA 97 (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 27:** Fragment of a granodiorite head of a 26th dynasty king wearing the khepresh. New York, MMA 1994.198. Purchase, Lila Acheson Wallace Gift, 1994 (Photo: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).

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**Fig. 28:**  
Granodiorite kneeling statue of Psamtik I, probably from Heliopolis according to its inscription dedicated to Ra-Horakhty. Copenhagen, National Museum, AAb 211 (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 29:**  
Torso of a statuette of Psamtik I. Brooklyn Museum 58.95 (After BOTHMER ET AL. 1960, pl. 22, fig. 51).



**Fig. 30:**  
Quartzite prostrate statue of 26th Dynasty king (detail). Florence, Museo archeologico [Inv. No. 5625] (Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 31:**  
Bust of a 26th Dynasty king. New York, MMA X.358 (Photo: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art).



**Fig. 32:**  
Greywacke face of  
a 26th (or 30th ?)  
Dynasty statue,  
from Heliopolis.  
Petrie's excavations.  
New York, MMA  
12.187.31 (Photo:  
© The Metropolitan  
Museum of Art).



**Fig. 33:**  
Quartzite head of a  
26th Dynasty King,  
from Heliopolis.  
Schiaparelli's  
excavations. Turin,  
Museo Egizio  
[Inv. S. 6299]  
(Photo: Pino  
Dell'Aquila © Museo  
Egizio).

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## Private Statuary

### 2.3.3.1 A Quartzite Head of a Middle Kingdom Official

(Inv. No. U2108-3)

Simon Connor

Dating:	early/mid-12th Dynasty
Material:	Quartzite
Dimensions:	H. 16.6; W. 23.3; D. 15 cm
Find spot:	fill of construction pit for wall between pylon of Ramesses II and base of colossal statue of Psamtik I

This head of a private statue was found during the 2018 spring season in the area of Suq el-Khamis; it was among the quartzite and granite fragments of the colossi of Psamtik I and of Ramesses II, in the pit set in the foundations of a screening wall between the base of Psamtik I and the missing pylon of Ramesses II. In addition, also fragments of 4th century BC private statuary were found in this context.<sup>1</sup>

It is a male head, finely carved in a yellowish vein of quartzite (Fig. 1–8). The individual wears a mid-length wig, framing an oval face. The strands of hair are indicated by parallel lines, incised horizontally above the forehead and falling down vertically to the shoulders. This incised pattern produces a vibration of light, which highlights the smoothness of the face that is dominated by the wide-open eyes. The make-up lines marking the eyebrows and surrounding

the eyes are indicated in relief; they both extend to the temples with tapered ends. The eyelids draw a sinuous curve, with very pointed inner canthi. The cheeks are full, delimited by deep depressions under the eyes, as well as subtly modelled nasolabial furrows. The mouth is wide, with thick lips forming a severe pout.

The surface of the head is in relatively good condition. Only the nose and chin are missing; the mouth, eyebrows and ear lobes also show some damage. It is difficult to say whether or not this was intentional. The nose is completely missing; which indeed statistically corresponds quite well to intended mutilations, observable on Egyptian statues (CONNOR 2018). No tool-marks are visible, but blowing the protruding parts of a hard stone statue does not require the use of proper tools; a heavy blunt stone makes the work even easier. However, it may be noted

<sup>1</sup> The fragments of a healing statue are studied by Florence Langermann.

that the break of the neck is clean and almost horizontal. Although it is difficult to be certain, it is not impossible that the neck was sawn through, just below the wig and above the shoulders, in order to separate the head from the trunk. Dating such an action is quite challenging; the archaeological context suggests that the head was already separated from the body at the latest in the last centuries BC. No other fragment of the body has been found or identified so far – but it is not impossible that some of the small fragments of yellow quartzite collected in the same pit and identified as coming from the colossus of Psamtik I actually belonged to the statue of this official. Nevertheless, it cannot be excluded that there may have been a long gap between the dismemberment of the statue and the burial of the head in the pit. Similarly, several of the statue fragments found in the Cachette of Karnak did not find their match.

Even though the sculpture resembles at first glance features of Late Period private portraits, the head is likely to date from the first half of the Twelfth Dynasty, more precisely around the reigns of Senusret I or Amenemhat II, as the following arguments will show.

There are several exact parallels datable to this period for the wig, notably London BM EA 1237 (from Tell Atrib, Delta; EVERS 1929, I, 98), New York MMA 68.101 (reused in the Third Intermediate Period, found at Byblos; FISCHER 1974, 16–17, fig. 14–17), Baltimore WAM 22.217.<sup>2</sup> Other close versions, although with more rounded outlines, are the wigs on statues New York MMA 33.1.1 (steward Aw, from Lisht; ARNOLD

2015, n. 86), 33.1.2 (Senusret-ankh? from Lisht-South; WILDUNG 2000, 89, cat. 27), Boston MFA 11.1484 (bust of a vizier), Paris Louvre N 870 (director of the treasury Iay; DELANGE 1987, 96–99). A more elaborate variant is the wig worn by the nomarch Ibu on his statues found in Qaw el-Kebir (Turin S. 4410–4414; CONNOR 2016, 41, 89), with undulating incisions for the hair, but a general similar shape.

The sideburns visible on the quartzite head found in Suq el-Khamis are not systematically present on wigs from this time, but have several parallels (New York MMA 33.1.2, Baltimore 22.217, and the heads from Qaw el-Kebir).

The eyebrows and make-up lines extending to the temple are usually thick and carved in relief on statuary from the first half of the Middle Kingdom. The ends of these lines are usually square, but a few examples show pointed ones, as on the head from Matariya: Boston MFA 14.720 (Sennuy), New York MMA 33.1.2 (Senusret-ankh (?), from Lisht-South), 15.3.165 (from Lisht-North), Cairo CG 464 (Weseranuqet, from Elephantine).

The eyes are particularly wide open. Such a wide opening, together with the large and severe mouth, whose corners are turned down, bring us closer to the representations of Amenemhat II (Boston 29.1132, Munich ÄS 7100, Paris Louvre A 23 [FAY 1996 and WENZEL 2011]; see also the head of the female sphinx in Boston 2002.609; FREED/JOSEPHSON 2009) and some statues of Senusret I, perhaps from the end of his reign (Cairo CG 384 and JE 37465, and

<sup>2</sup> <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/27437/bust-of-a-man-3> (last accessed: 16.11.2021).

Cambridge E. 2.1974; SOUROUZIAN 1989, 93, cat. 43–44; LORAND 2011, 133–141, 142–145, 168–169, cat. A 22, C 49, C 51). The modeling of the cheeks of the Cambridge head is also particularly close to the quartzite head found in Suq el-Khamis. Similar features are, again, observable on the heads of the nomarch Ibu from Qaw el-Kebir, datable to the same period.

The ears are large, naturalistically and delicately detailed, with a particularly long lobe, following the shape of those of the previously cited head. A good comparison is also the female sphinx head in Brooklyn 56.85 (FAY 1996, 28–29, cat. 3, pl. 55–57).

The state of conservation of the piece makes it difficult to reconstruct the original position of the individual. It is unlikely that it was a block statue since the neck seems to have been quite long, while on block statues the chin is very close to the horizontal surface formed by the arms and upper chest. Furthermore, the statue does not seem to have had a back pillar, while stone standing statues from this period usually include a back pillar that reaches the lower part of the wig if it is long (New York MMA 68.101) or even extends high behind the head if the individual is shaved or is wearing a short wig (Baltimore WAM 22.59 [*PM* VIII, 801–410–510]; Elephantine 67; HABACHI 1985, 92, cat. 67, pl. 158–159). Therefore, it is more probable that the statue showed the individual cross-legged or seated on a chair. It would have been approximately 50 cm high in the first case, or 85 cm high in the second one.

The quality of workmanship is particularly refined. Statuary in quartzite is very rare in the first half of the Middle Kingdom. We can cite three royal heads from the Eleventh Dynasty (Bristol H 5038, Edinburgh A. 1965.2, and the mutilated head published in this volume, p. 558–563), a fragmentary seated statue of Amenemhat I from Matariya (Cairo JE 29212; EVERS 1929, II, pl. 2, fig. 34, 22, § 634), and the head of a female sphinx (Boston 2002.609, previously cited, said to be from Matariya), and in private statuary, the bust of Baltimore 22.217 (cf. *supra*). The choice of quartzite may be related to the site itself since the material from Heliopolis shows a particularly large proportion of this stone, probably due to the proximity of the quartzite quarries in Gebel Ahmar, but also maybe because of the solar connotations associated with this stone.

The features of the face are not individualized; they adopt the official portrait of the contemporary king, and the type of wig does not give any clues about the function of this man. The choice of this stone – apparently almost exclusively royal in that time – the high quality of execution, together with the relatively large dimensions of the piece for a non-royal statue, suggest that the represented individual must have been a particularly high official, closely related to the upper circle of power. The discovery of this head among the fragments of much later statues (the colossi of granite, although produced during the Middle Kingdom, have to be considered as representations of Ramesses II) makes it likely

### 2.3.3.1

that the statue remained on display in a temple courtyard of Heliopolis for several centuries. Like the Cachette of Karnak or those found in other parts of the site of Matariya by Schiaparelli, it seems that the pits dug in a sacred precinct could gather fragments of materials from very distant periods. Further research on parallel situations may help us find out whether their burial in the same *favissa* is due to their

original geographical proximity within the temple, or to other factors.<sup>3</sup>

A rare testimony of the statuary of the early Middle Kingdom upper elite, this head is another witness to the originality and richness of the sculptural repertoire which once adorned the city of Heliopolis and the courtyards of its temples.



**Fig. 1:**  
Quartzite head of a  
Middle Kingdom  
official  
[Inv. No. U2108-3 ]  
(Front view, photo:  
S. Connor).

<sup>3</sup> Concerning various hypotheses, see JAMBON 2016.

2.3.3.1



**Fig. 2:**  
Head  
[Inv. No. U2108-3]  
(3/4 view, photo:  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 3:**  
Head  
[Inv. No. U2108-3]  
(Profile view,  
photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4:**  
Head  
[Inv. No. U2108-3]  
(3/4 view, photo:  
S. Connor).

2.3.3.1



**Fig. 5:**  
Head  
[Inv. No. U2108-3]  
(Top view, photo:  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 6:**  
Head  
[nv. no. U2108-3]  
(Back view, photo:  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 7:**  
Head  
[Inv. No. U2108-3]  
(Bottom view, with  
neck break, photo:  
S. Connor).



**Fig. 8:**  
Head  
[Inv. No. U2108-3]  
(Eye detail, photo:  
S. Connor).

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## Faunal Statuary

### 2.3.4.1 Fragments of a Monumental Falcon

Simon Connor and Mariana Jung

Dating:	18th Dynasty, reign of Horemhab (c. 1319–1292 BC)
Material:	Quartzite
Estimated original dimensions:	H. 160; W. 60; D. 120 cm

Eleven fragments of a monumental falcon statue in a brownish variety of quartzite were discovered from 2006 to 2012 in Area 200, H24, in Suq el-Khamis.

They are currently kept in the storage of the Ministry of Antiquities in Matariya. All belong to the lower body of a standing figure of a hawk, carved with a great care for details. Of various dimensions, some of them could be joined to form six main parts:

- **A** – Front part of the left wing and part of the upper left thigh (or lower chest) of the bird. Due to the shape of the long feathers, which are pointed downwards and outwards, the fragment can be placed in the lower area. The shorter and rounded feathers on the perpendicular face of the fragment belong to the upper leg. Dimensions: H. 41; W. 30; D. 19 cm (Fig. 3–4).
- **B** – Two joint fragments of the left wing. The pointed extremity of a row of feathers and the beginning of the lower one indicates that the piece belongs to the mid part of the wing. Dimensions: H. 27; W. 22; D. 8 cm (Fig. 5).
- **C** – Fragment of the lower part of the left wing. Probably close to fragments B and D, although no direct join is preserved. H. 23.5; W. 22.5; 10.5 cm (Fig. 6).
- **D** – Fragment of the left wing, with the lower extremity of long feathers. Probably close to fragments A, C and E, although no direct join is preserved. Dimensions of the decorated surface: H. 14; W. 24.2 cm. D. of the fragment: 29 cm (Fig. 7).
- **E** – Extremity of the crossed wings and upper part of the tail, Inv. No. H24-13-3. H. 26; W. 33; D. 36 cm (Fig. 8–10).

- **F** – Right leg of the hawk, with short and rounded feathers for the thigh, a lattice pattern for the skin of the leg and long converging striations for the feather tufts at the back of the leg. The plain and smooth surface at the back of the leg is a remnant of the “negative space” supporting the statue between its base and the bird’s claw and tail. The other flat, perpendicular surface consists of the negative space between the two legs of the bird. This surface was used as a support for the engraving of a cartouche. Although fragmentary, it is still possible to read Horemhab’s throne name: *Dsr-hpr.w-[R<sup>c</sup>-stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>]* (Fig. 11–13).

The fragment **E** was discovered in a pit of a diameter of about 3 m, in the south-eastern corner of square H24. The pit fill consisted of dark brown hard loam. It cut all layers of the New Kingdom as well as the debris layers of the Roman and Late Roman era. An Ottoman pipe head was also found in this pit. The original position of the falcon sculpture was most probably not within square H24 or its very immediate vicinity, but there is no reason that this group of fragments would have been transported a long way. It seems plausible to suggest an original emplacement within the limits of the frontal segments of the temple of Suq el-Khamis area, pointing to the pre-Ramesside history of this area, as suggested by other remains of sculpture and architecture.<sup>1</sup>

The reconstruction of the overall appearance of the falcon can only be partially deduced from

the fragments. Nevertheless, due to the size of the fragments and by comparison with other statues, it can be assumed that it was an upright standing hawk, which probably had a total height of some 1.60 m (base included). The proportions of the falcon make it likely that the space’s width between the two legs was sufficient only for one cartouche; a second one may have been carved above it or on the base between the claws – unless there was only a single cartouche, similarly to the Ramesside falcon statue found in Tell el-Maskhuta (see below). No further inscribed fragments inform us about the identity of the depicted entity – a solar deity being the most likely, seeing the provenance of the statue.

Large-size stone statues of animal deities are quite exceptional before the reign of Amenhotep III. Falcons of such dimensions, in particular, are rarely attested. The monumental ones that flank the main entrances in Edfu temple are a thousand years younger (Fig. 14–15), while most of the numerous falcon statues that have reached us from the Late Period, either in stone or in metal alloys, are of much smaller size. The chronologically closest example in term of size and quality is the quite extraordinary quartzite statue of a king or deity with a human seated body and the head and back of a falcon (Brussels E. 5188). Found by A. Mariette in the temple of Khonsu in Karnak, most likely in a secondary context (it has been re-inscribed for the High Priest Masaharta, son of Pinodjem I), it may have been sculpted for the temple of Millions of Years of Amenhotep III.<sup>2</sup> Such statues of a “falconised” ruler episodically appear in the 18th Dynasty,

<sup>1</sup> See the doorjambs of Senusret I and Senusret III, see FARIS/GELIL/RAUE/SULEIMAN 2008, p. 1–9, pl. 7A.

<sup>2</sup> Brussels MRAH E. 5188. H. 210; W. 80; D. 95 cm. *PM* II2, 244; VAN RINSVELT 1991; Id. 1993; 322–323.

when the solarisation of the Egyptian king gets intensified (VALBELLE 1997; HARDWICK/RIGGS 2010).

We can also mention the upper part of a granite monumental falcon accidentally found during work in Matariya street in 1964, 1 km south of the obelisk. The fragment, 45 cm high, belonged to a statue that must have reached some 120 to 150 cm high (BAKRY 1967, 59, pl. 16c–d). Although it is difficult to date it from the available photographs, its quality and style seem to fit well in the time of Amenhotep III.

Another large falcon statue from the reign of Amenhotep III is the one found in Gebel Barkal, most likely originally from Soleb, representing Horus of Nekhen (Boston MFA 23.1470), 172 cm high (SIMPSON 1971, 152–164).

Slightly later parallels belong to the reign of Ramesses II. The first one (Cairo JE 64735), found in a secondary context in Tanis, is the colossal statue of the falcon god Hauron, 231 cm high, protecting the figure of Ramesses II under the shape of a child (well-known case of a sculpture-in-the-round reproduction of the king's name *R<sup>c</sup>-ms-sw*) (Fig. 16) (SOUROUZIAN 2019, 412–413, no. 263, with complete bibliography). A second one (Cairo JE 36455), more fragmentary, said to have been found in the Fayum, is the lower part of a statue that represented a falcon protecting a mummiform figure of the king (Fig. 17) (SOUROUZIAN 2019, 414–415, no. 264, with complete bibliography). This second statue must have reached some 120 cm high, i.e., a bit less than

the quartzite figure found in Suq el-Khamis. In both cases, a figure of the king sits or stands in front of the bird's legs. A third one (London BM EA 1006) seems to be typologically the closest to the Suq el-Khamis falcon: found in 1883 by E. Naville in Tell el-Maskhuta, it shows a 95 cm high standing falcon in granodiorite, with a single cartouche of Ramesses II against its chest, and a dedication to “Ra-Horakhty, the great god, lord of the sky” on the front part of the base (Fig. 18).<sup>3</sup> Also from the reign of Ramesses II, we can mention several hawk statues in sandstone, standing in front of the Great Temple of Abu Simbel, on the parapet (Fig. 19).

Other examples of large hawk statues are attested much later, in the 26th and 30th Dynasties: an extremely polished granodiorite statue inscribed for Amasis, found in Buto (MEKKAWI/KHATER 1990, 87–88, pl. 3–4), two greywacke falcons, each protecting a standing figure of Nectanebo II in the praying attitude (Munich ÄS 7152 [*PM* VIII, no. 800–962–900, with complete bibliography] and New York MMA 34.2.1 [ARNOLD 2010, 74–75, cat. 73]) and two limestone statues of similar type and style, uninscribed but probably from the same period (Cairo JE 33262 [GODDIO/FABRE 2015, 66–67] and Paris, Louvre E 11152 [*PM* VIII, no. 800–876–600, with complete bibliography]). Several other large falcons from the last centuries BC were found in Alexandria and in Italy.

At first glance, the engraving of the cartouche between the legs of the quartzite falcon from Heliopolis seems somewhat careless, perhaps hasty, as if it were the result of a repair, re-en-

<sup>3</sup> *PM* IV, 53; NAVILLE 1903, 4, pl. 12; VALBELLE 1997, 212–213.

### 2.3.4.1

graving, perhaps re-inscription of an older statue. Nevertheless, one must resist the temptation to see in any monument bearing the name of Horremhab an usurped work. In the case of this inscribed surface, there is no visible trace of transformation. The untidy appearance of this cartouche is mainly due to the coarse grain of the stone. Despite the fineness of the sculpture and engraving of the feathers' details, the surface of the falcon was indeed left somewhat rough. Clearly, the sculptors did not aim to reach the level of polishing of quartzite statuary from the reign of Amenhotep III, as probably witnessed by the falcon colossus in Brussels. The result was apparently considered satisfying without the

need to obtain the vitrified and glazing aspect of earlier statues, or of Late Period sculptures, obtained by a particular fine polishing. The high quality of this sculpture is, however, undeniable. One cannot but admire the rendering of details and the virtuosity with which the ancient sculptors represented the falcon's feathers in a dizzying array of striations.

The lack of other inscribed fragments from the same monument deprives us from the identification of this falcon deity, a secret now well kept since the remaining fragments are probably buried under the recent buildings that surround the excavated sector.



**Fig. 1-2:** Proposition of reconstruction and the Fragments numbers of the falcon (Drawing: S. Connor).

2.3.4.1



**Fig. 3:**  
Fragment A, part  
of the left wing and  
chest of the falcon  
(Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 4:**  
Fragment A, part  
of the left wing and  
chest of the falcon  
(Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 5:**  
Fragment B, part of  
the left wing  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 6:**  
Fragment C, part of  
the left wing  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 7:**  
Fragment D, part of  
the left wing  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 8:**  
Fragment E, part  
of the tail  
(Photos: S. Connor).

2.3.4.1



**Fig. 9:**  
Fragment E, part  
of the tail  
(Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 10:**  
Fragment E, part  
of the tail  
(Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 11:**  
Fragment F, right  
leg of the falcon,  
with cartouche of  
Horemhab (*Dsr-  
hpr.w [-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>]*)  
(Photos: S. Connor).

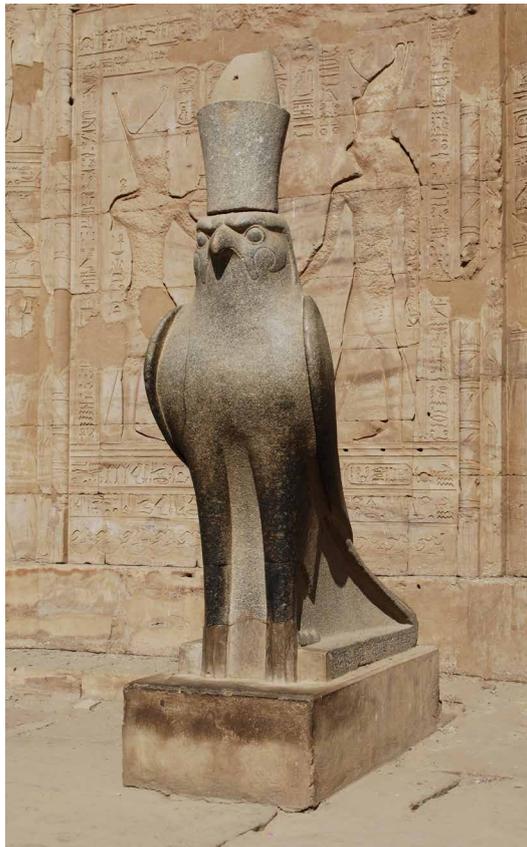


**Fig. 12:**  
Fragment F, right  
leg of the falcon,  
with cartouche of  
Horemhab (*Dsr-  
hpr.w [-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>]*)  
(Photos: S. Connor).

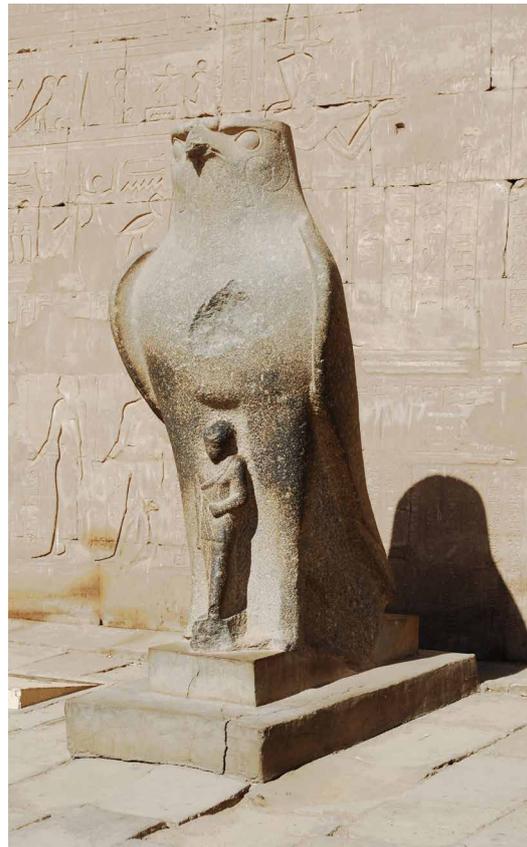


**Fig. 13:**  
Fragment F, right  
leg of the falcon,  
with cartouche of  
Horemhab (*Dsr-  
hpr.w [-R<sup>c</sup> stp-n-R<sup>c</sup>]*)  
(Photos: S. Connor).

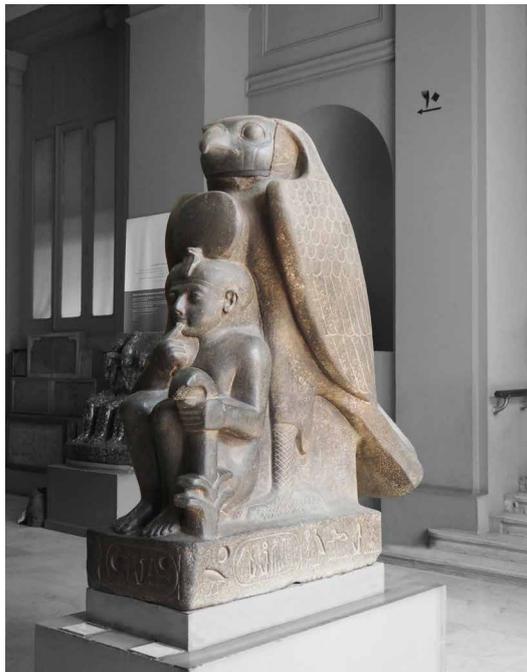
2.3.4.1



**Fig. 14:**  
Monumental hawks  
in Edfu temple  
(Photos: S. Connor).



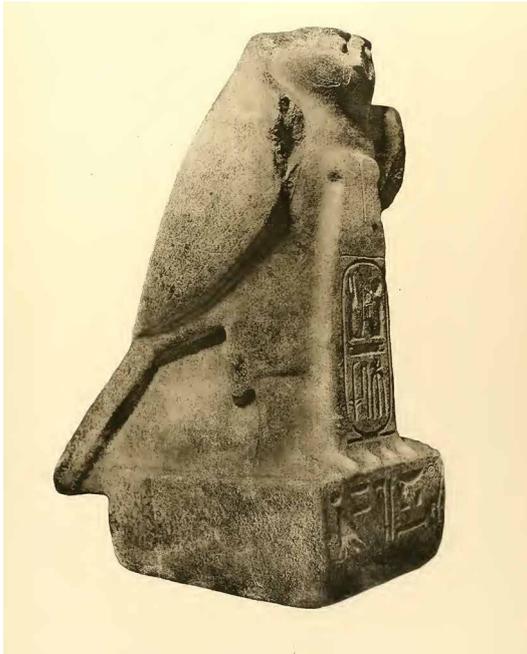
**Fig. 15:**  
Monumental hawks  
in Edfu temple  
(Photos: S. Connor).



**Fig. 16:**  
Monumental sculpture of Ramesses II's name (Ra-ms-sw) under the protection of the falcon god Hauron, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 64735  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 17:**  
Ramesses II clothed in a shroud (in the "osiriatic" position) standing between the claws of a falcon deity, Cairo, Egyptian Museum, JE 36455  
(Photo: S. Connor).



**Fig. 18:**  
Statue of Ra-Ho-  
rakhty protecting  
the cartouche of  
Ramesses II,  
London, British  
Museum, EA 1006  
(NAVILLE 1903, pl. 12).



**Fig. 19:**  
Statues on the North parapet in  
front of the Great Temple of Abu  
Simbel (Photo: S. Connor).

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