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## A RARE EPITHET OF AMUN IN THE TEMPLE OF SANAM: A COMMENT ON THE DEDICATION STELA<sup>1</sup>

The Louvre stela C 257 (also known as the Stela of Madiken, the Adoption Stela or the Dedication Stela, etc.), which dates to regnal year 3 of king Aspelta and records the consecration of the «King's Sister (and) King's Daughter» Henuttakhebi(t) to the service of Amun as his priestess, is one of the ancient Sudan's inscribed monuments that have been accessible to scholars for so long that one might expect it to have been studied exhaustively. However, such is not the case, for this important historical document, first published by Paul Pierret in 1873<sup>2</sup> and translated into several modern languages since,<sup>3</sup> has still not yet been published with the care it deserves.

The text of the stela, in many places rather difficult to read, is known mainly from the hand copy reproduced in 1908 in Heinrich Schäfer's *Urkunden der älteren Äthiopienkönige*<sup>4</sup> and the facsimile appended to his study of the monument published in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und*

*Altertumskunde* in 1895.<sup>5</sup> In the latter Schäfer remarked that the facsimile was made from a squeeze provided by Émile Chassinat and that «Eine genaue Vergleichung des Originals wird vielleicht noch weitere Verbesserungen geben».<sup>6</sup> This means that he had been unable to collate this copy with the original. The version presented in the *Urkunden*, which was made after the facsimile (and still remains the main source for the stela), should be therefore used with some caution.

While an adequate reproduction of the monument is still wanting, it is to be recalled that E.A. Wallis Budge published another, independently made, facsimile of the stela in 1907 as an illustration in his *The Egyptian Sūdān*,<sup>7</sup> to which Schäfer had no chance to refer in the *Urkunden* since both publications appeared almost simultaneously. Small though it is, this facsimile, largely overlooked by scholars, allows one to control Schäfer's copy and his «preparation»<sup>8</sup>

1 I am very grateful to John Baines for reading the earliest (1999) text of this paper, and to Timothy Kendall for the stylistic editing of this final version.

2 P. Pierret, *Études égyptologiques comprenant le texte et la traduction d'une stèle éthiopienne inédite* <...> (Paris, 1873), frontispiece.




3 Pierret, *Études égyptologiques*, pp. 96-109; H. Schäfer, 'Die aethiopische Königsinschrift des Louvre', *ZÄS*, Bd. 33 (1895), SS. 101-113; E.A.W. Budge, *Annals of Nubian Kings* (Egyptian Literature II; London, 1912), pp. 105-112; R.H. Pierce, 'Adoption Stela of Aspelta from Year 3, from Sanam (?). <...> Text and translation', in T. Eide, T. Hägg, R.H. Pierce, L. Török (eds.), *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum* (subsequently quoted as *FHN*), Vol. I (Bergen, 1994), pp. 259-265. Cf. summaries in E.A.W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdān*, Vol. II (London, 1907), pp. 66-68; B.A. Turayev, *Istoriya Drevnyago Vostoka: Lektsii, tchitanniya v 1906-1909*, II (litograph; [St. Petersburg], n. d.), pp. 317-318; Id., *Istoriya Drevnyago Vostoka*, [Part] II: *Kurs, tchitanniya v S [ankt]P[eter]B.[urgskom] Universitete v 1910-1911 g.[odu]* (St. Petersburg, 1912), pp. 232-233.

4 *Urk.* III, 101-108.

5 Schäfer, 'Die aethiopische Königsinschrift', SS. 101-13, Taf. IV-V.

6 Schäfer, 'Die aethiopische Königsinschrift', S. 102.

7 E.A.W. Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdān* (London, 1907), p. 67; later reproduced in his *Annals of Nubian Kings*, pl. VIII and figure on p. XCIX (lunette).


8 An important feature of Schäfer's (re)publication of the Dedication Stela was *palaeographical alteration* of the original. The sign for *n*, written with — (and therefore indistinguishable from *t*) throughout this text, was conveyed as — both in the typeset copy in *ZÄS* and in his later autograph in *Urk.* III. Aimed to render the Egyptian text more legible, this change simultaneously complicated reading of the numerous Kushite (Meroitic) personal names mentioned in the stela, whose spellings in Schäfer's autograph and the typeset version are rather subjective and may turn out to be misleading. An example of this is the editor's spelling of king Aspelta's predecessor's name as  whereas in both Schäfer's and Budge's facsimiles the sign — is indistinguishable from the preceding . Later archaeological finds of objects with writing  (M.F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, Vol. I: *The Inscriptions. Plates* (London, 1949), pl. 16, lunette and line

of the text (which is what we find in the *Urkunden*), and it is particularly helpful in some difficult places. In a few instances this comparison of the two copies and subsequent interpretations allow us to suggest new readings, one of which I present here.







The focus of this paper is on the caption to the figure of Amun in the lunette of the stela (Fig. 1),<sup>9</sup> which is exactly where an analysis of the monument usually begins.<sup>10</sup>



Fig. 1: The Dedication Stela, lunette, left half: Amun-Re<sup>c</sup> of Sanam receiving offerings from king Aspelta (after Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdān*, II, 67).

According to the hand-copy in the *Urkunden*, the epithet of Amun is damaged. It is shown as  «Amun-Re<sup>c</sup>, Bull of *Ta Seti* (i.e. ‘Country of the Three-Curved Bow’)»,<sup>11</sup> which is the title of the form of Amun worshipped at Sanam, but to judge by the question mark placed next to the hatched signs,<sup>12</sup> Schäfer was uncertain of this restoration. A comparison with his earlier paper in *ZÄS* makes the situation clearer: the typeset copy there shows the same reading, without indication of damage,

but this is accompanied by the note: «Der Schluss ist undeutlich, doch kann kaum etwas Anderes dastehen».<sup>13</sup> This remark evidently refers to the fact that the name of Amun-Re<sup>c</sup> occurs ten times together with this epithet and without other variation<sup>14</sup> in the rest of the text, which indicates that the stela, which is unprovenanced, most likely comes from Sanam,<sup>15</sup> and thus appears reasonable.

However both the facsimile attached to Schäfer’s paper in *ZÄS* (Fig. 2 a here, left column),<sup>16</sup> and that published by Budge (Fig. 2 b),<sup>17</sup> show that the outlines of the sign group differ considerably from his restoration: the combination at the bottom looks like , or  (which replaces the former in the related term  in line 17), above the , rather than  with , as the publisher of the stela read.

This divergence between the two facsimiles on the one hand, and the normalised copy of *Urk.* III, on the other, seems to have remained unnoticed, and the reconstruction of the group presented by Schäfer (or strictly speaking, by Pierret, as he was the first to suggest it in his *editio princeps*’ hand-copy)<sup>18</sup> has been accepted in all subsequent studies of the stela,<sup>19</sup> even though the publication in 1922 of the epigraphic material from Francis Llewellyn Griffith’s 1913<sup>20</sup> excavations at Sanam potentially provided the basis for an alternative reading of the title under discussion.

13) proved that the reading suggested by Schäfer in *Urk.* III (which, rather than facsimiles, until now remains the main source for the stela) was erroneous. Another aspect of the problem is touched upon in the present article.

9 After Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdān*, Vol. II, p. 67.

10 Cf. Schäfer, ‘Die aethiopische Königsinschrift’, S. 103; *Urk.* III, 102; Budge, *The Egyptian Sūdān*, p. XCIX; Pierce, *FHN*, I, 259.

11 The term is usually rendered as “Nubia” or, rather misleadingly, “Bow-Land” etc. For the discussion of the problems of its interpretation see my paper ‘On the Rendering of the Toponym *T3 Stj*’, *Cd’É*, T. LXXV (2000), pp. 223-234.

12 *Urk.* III, 102 (I, 1).

13 Schäfer, ‘Die aethiopische Königsinschrift’, S. 103, Anm. 1.

14 Lines 2 (twice), 8, 10, 16, 17, 18 (twice), 19 (twice). The only variation is that the preposition *n*, written out in the rest of the cases, is left out in line 2 (second example).

15 Cf. Schäfer’s conclusion (‘Die aethiopische Königsinschrift’, S. 102) that the monument did not originally come from the temple at Jebel Barkal, where the other royal stelae stood, but from some other place not far from the royal residence. The location of the temple was established by Griffith’s 1913 excavations; see his ‘Oxford Excavations in Nubia’, *LAAA*, Vol. IX (1922), pp. 78-79.

16 After Schäfer, ‘Die aethiopische Königsinschrift’, Taf. IV (enlarged).

17 After *The Egyptian Sūdān*, Vol. II, p. 67 (enlarged).

18 See above, note 2.

19 See above, note 3.

20 Griffith’s report seems to indicate 1912 as the date of the Sanam excavation (‘Oxford Excavations in Nubia’, p. 67). However, M.F.L. Macadam (*The Temples of Kawa*, Vol. I: The Inscriptions. Text (London, 1949), p. 50, note 61) gives 1913.



The inscriptions on the walls of the temple of Sanam and on objects found there quite often refer to «Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>, Bull of the Country of the Three-Curved Bow», whom we know from the Dedication Stela, but they also mention another hypostasis of that god whose title is attested three times in two variants (A. and B.):

A.1 (→) - east jamb of the doorway in the North Wall of the Hypostyle Hall;<sup>21</sup>

A.2 (→) - exterior of the right door-jamb of the shrine of Taharqa in the northern half of the Hypostyle Hall;<sup>22</sup>

B.1 - architrave (?) block «in the entrance between the front pylon towers» of the First Pylon.<sup>23</sup>

The two versions differ only in the preposition used before . We see in A. and in B., but bearing in mind the identity of e.g. the appellatives *3st-m-3h-bj.t* and *3st-n-3h-bj.t*,<sup>24</sup> *Imn-m-h3.t* and *Imn-n-h3.t*,<sup>25</sup> *Hr-m-3h-bj.t* and *Hr-n-3h-bj.t*<sup>26</sup> etc., we can be reasonably certain that the Sanam inscriptions merely contain two versions of one and the same expression.

This last of the three examples (Fig. 3) is of particular interest here because it is very similar to the title of Amun in the lunette of the Dedication Stela and allows us to reconstruct the latter as [] (← being the epigraphic form of )<sup>27</sup>

21 Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', p. 106, pl. XXIII, 2.

22 Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', p. 107, pl. XLIII, 3.

23 Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', p. 101, pl. XI, 3.

24 H. Ranke, *Die Ägyptischen Personennamen*, Bd. I (Glückstadt, 1935), S. 4, 4.

25 Ranke, *Personennamen*, Bd. I, S. 28, 8.

26 Ranke, *Personennamen*, Bd. I, S. 247, 15.

27 The order of the last two signs might seem strange (one would expect ), but such irregularity is not unparalleled; see H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, T. V (Cairo, 1928), p. 78: ; IV (Cairo, 1927), p. 44: (see variant writings of *h(w)t*); cf. KRI II, 583, 6: , etc. Of particular relevance is the spelling of personal name *Nfr-3st* quoted in J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, T. III (Leipzig, 1891), p. 817, № 2144. The writing with may have been influenced by some "regular" analogies such as (KRI II, 557, 13; 565, 11; 639, 3); (S. Cauville,

throughout this text)<sup>28</sup> and to consider it as the fourth attestation of the epithet under discussion (to be designated B.2).

The interpretation of this appellative of Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> is a very difficult task, however.



Fig. 2: The Dedication Stela, lunette, caption to the relief of Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> (a) after Schäfer, ZÄS 33, pl. IV; b) after Budge, *The Egyptian Sûdân*, II, 67).

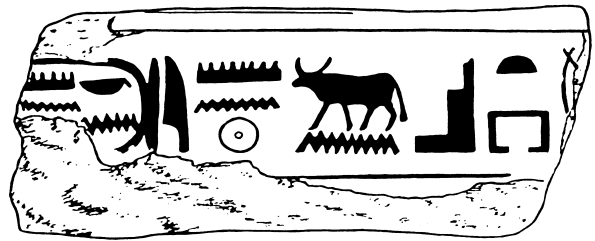


Fig. 3: The inscription on the block from the Temple of Sanam (after Griffith, LAAA IX, pl. XI, 3).

Its interpretation in Griffith's report remained rather indistinct. In two cases (with preposition *m* «in»/«from», etc.) out of the three he rendered the title as «Amen-Re<sup>c</sup>, Bull in the Place»<sup>29</sup> and in the third (with *n* «of»/«from», «for», etc.) he suggested a somewhat more comprehensible translation «Amen-re<sup>c</sup>, Bull of the Place».<sup>30</sup> Ultimately, he seems to have inclined to his former view, since in the introduction to his archaeological report he stated: «When we excavated the temple at Sanam it proved to have been dedicated to 'Ammon Bull of Bow-Land (*Ta-sti*)' or

*Dendara: Les chapelles osiriennes* (Dendara X/1; Cairo, 1997), p. 323, 14; (KRI. II, 373, 4); (Gauthier, *Dictionnaire géographique*, T. II (Cairo, 1925), p. 101, etc.

28 The same peculiarity occurs, though less consistently, in Kawa IX; see M.F.L. Macadam, *The Temples of Kawa*, I: *The Inscriptions* (London, 1949), p. 52, note 1.

29 Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', pp. 106, 107. The author's spelling is retained here and in the quotations hereafter.

30 Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', p. 101.



‘Ammon, Bull in the Place’». Pointing out the rarity of these appellations Griffith further observed, that «<...> these titles of Ammon are not named on any of the published or accessible inscriptions of Barkal (where the majority of the Kushite written monuments known at that time had been found. – A. V.). But there exists in the Louvre a stela recording the endowment of a daughter of King Aspelta as priestess (in succession to her mother), in the temple of an Ammon who bears these very titles».<sup>31</sup>

Later scholars have accepted Griffith’s considerations very selectively. His allusion to the Dedication Stela, somewhat indistinct in form (for, as shown above, the presence of the title «Ammon, Bull in the Place» in the text of the stela is *by no means self-evident*),<sup>32</sup> seems to have remained *unapprehended*, nor even attracted any scholars’ attention so far.

As for the new epithet, or title, of Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>, three times attested by Griffith in the Sanam temple wall inscriptions, the interpretation suggested by him has been reconsidered. In 1952 Serge Sauneron and Jean Yoyotte presented the reading «Amon-Rê, taureau du Lieu (ou du Trône)»<sup>33</sup> (similar to Griffith’s earlier (?) but eventually abandoned rendering, – see above), which was in 1984 and 2000 reproduced in a «narrowed» version «Bull of the Throne» by Eleonora Ye. Kormysheva.<sup>34</sup>

The fact that the post-Griffith scholars have given preference – without presenting any reasons, however – to the variant with the genitival construction (B.1 and B.2), is explicable, because Amun’s title in this rendering looks more comprehensible, than that with the preposition *m*. On the other hand, it has to be taken into consideration that both examples with *m* (A.1 and A.2) date from the reign of king Taharqa, i.e. the first half of the 7th century BCE, whereas one of the examples (B.1) with *n* belongs to the time of king Senkamanisken, who reigned two

to three decades later,<sup>35</sup> and who is considered as the father of Aspelta for whom the Dedication Stela (with variant B.2) was made.

It has further to be pointed out that in the reign of Taharqa, i.e. during the period of the Kushite domination in Egypt, the language displays a tendency towards «purism» (incidentally, all of the best Kushite written monuments in Egyptian date from this period) and even archaism, whereas later in Kush (and in fact in Egypt itself) the «classical» norms in the language begin to gradually decay.

Considering the four instances from Sanam from this perspective we evidently have to infer that the version of the Amun title with the preposition *m* should be considered as «*original*», while the other one, with *n*, attractive as it may seem at first sight, may be taken as an alteration (*misinterpretation* ?) of an archaic expression in the Late Period.

The meaning of the appellative still remains rather difficult to determine, which is mainly due to the polysemy of its every element:

- 1) - «Bull»; «Spirit», «Ka», «Double»;<sup>36</sup>
- 2) - «in», «from», «as», etc.; - «of», «from», «for», etc.;
- 3) - «Place (lit. ‘Seat’)», «Throne», «Sanctuary»/ «Temple», «Tomb».

Formally, the amount of the theoretically acceptable renderings is considerable as can be seen from the following chart, which probably does not exhaust all possible interpretations<sup>37</sup> (see Tables 1 and 2).

Regrettably, for lack of the semantic (more precisely, *theological*) context of the surviving examples from Sanam, any choice of their acceptable rendering is but intuitive and conjectural.

31 Griffith, ‘Oxford Excavations in Nubia’, p. 78.

32 It has to be emphasized that Amun’s title *K3 n T3 Stj* («Bull of the Country of the Three-Curved Bow») is predominantly (10 times !) referred to in the main text of the stela, whereas the «problematic» *K3 m Št* is restorable only once, in the inscription near the relief of the god in the lunette of the monument.

33 ‘La campagne nubienne de Psammétique II et sa signification historique’, *BIFAO*, T. 50 (1952), p. 187.

34 *Religiya Kusha* <*The religion of Kush*> (Moscow, 1984), p. 36; *Mir Bogov Meroe* <*The world of the gods of Meroe*> (St-Petersburg - Moscow, 2000), p. 289, note 43.

35 For the discussion of the problems of this period’s chronology see L. Török, ‘Senkamanisken. Titles. Evidence for reign’, *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum*, Vol. I, pp. 211-213.

36 Note some important considerations in Ranke, *Personennamen*, Bd. II (Glückstadt-Hamburg, 1952), SS. 208-216.

37 Note as a peculiar writing of the name of the goddess Isis (Ranke, *Personennamen*, Bd. I, S. 250, 13; Bd. II, S. 307, 6; cf. J. Lieblein, *Dictionnaire*, T. III (Leipzig, 1891), p. 817, № 2144). Theoretically, with this in mind one could read Amun’s title in question as «Bull (or Ka/Double) with/by Isis».



BULL	(preposition)	PLACE	THRONE	SANCTUARY	TOMB
	in	Bull in (this ?) Place	Bull <on ?> the Throne	Bull in the Sanctuary	Bull in the Tomb
	from, of	Bull from / of (this ?) Place	Bull of the Throne	Bull from / of (this?) Sanctuary	Bull from /of (this ?) Tomb
	for	Bull for (this ?) Place	Bull for the Throne	Bull for (this?) Sanctuary	Bull for (this ?) Tomb

Table 1

KA, DOUBLE	(preposition)	PLACE	THRONE	SANCTUARY	TOMB
	in	Ka/Double in (this?) Place	Ka/Double <on ?> the Throne	Ka/Double in the Sanctuary	Ka/Double in the Tomb
	from / of	Ka/Double from / of (this ?) Place	Ka/Double of the Throne	Ka/Double from /of (this ?) Sanctuary	Ka/Double from / of (this ?) Tomb
	for	Ka/Double for (this ?) Place	Ka/Double for the Throne	Ka/Double for (this?) Sanctuary	Ka/Double for (this ?) Tomb

Table 2

Some food for thought provides one of the aforementioned examples from Taharqa's shrine in the temple of Sanam. The inscription on the right jamb of the door presents the king as 'beloved of Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> who has the intriguing title (𐀓) 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓, while in the symmetrical inscription on the left jamb he is presented as 'beloved of (𐀓𐀓) 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓 Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>, Bull of the Country of the Three-Curved Bow',<sup>38</sup> doubtless the main god of the sanctuary (see Griffith's statement above). The parallelism of the two titles is obvious and, most probably, is based on their consonance

*Imn-R<sup>c</sup> k3 m/n st*  
*Imn-R<sup>c</sup> k3 n T3 Stj*

conditioned by the fact that in the language of this period the initial *s* in 𐀓𐀓𐀓 *st* and *s* in 𐀓𐀓 *Stj* must have been indistinguishable in pronunciation whereas the ending *-j* of the latter word was weak and evidently could be omitted.

The parallelism of these appellations is also interesting from the perspective of their semantics. Because the logogram 𐀓𐀓 in 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓 almost certainly means «Bull» rather than «Ka» or «Double» (the reading «Ka/Double of the Country

of the Three-Curved Bow» would look strange and nobody has risked suggesting anything of this kind so far),<sup>39</sup> it is most likely that it is used in the same way in the second title as well.

Egyptian appellatives which include the element «Bull» are very numerous. Most often they refer to kings and still oftener to the gods:

𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓 - «Bull of/in the sky» (Geb,<sup>40</sup> «Wesen im Himmel»,<sup>41</sup> cf. pharaoh<sup>42</sup>);

𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓 - «Bull of the Ennead» (pharaoh<sup>43</sup>);

𐀓𐀓 𐀓𐀓 - «Bull of the West» (Osiris);<sup>44</sup>

39 See however A. Saleh, 'Notes on the Egyptian "K3"', *Bulletin of the Faculty of Arts, Cairo University*, Vol. XXII, Pt. 2 (Cairo, 1960), p. 8 «Some gods were considered as Kas for their localities, that is to mean the possessors of effectiveness in them, such as Osiris the Ka of the west, and another god personified the Ka of the east». Cf., the inscription of Ramesses II in Seti I's temple at Qurna: «Good god, Ka (of/for ?) Kemet/Egypt» (quoted here after *Wb.* V, 91, 5; *Blgst.* V, S. 19).

40 *Pyr.* 316 a.

41 *Pyr.* 332 a-b; cf. *Wb.* V, 96, 3; 97, 15.

42 *Pyr.* 280 a; 283 a; 293 b; 397.

43 *Pyr.* 1238 c; *Urk.* IV, 84, 16; cf. *Two Brothers*, 9, 4 (A.H. Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories (Bibliotheca Aegyptiaca*, I; Bruxelles, 1932), p. 19).

44 E. Naville, *Das Aegyptischen Todtenbuch der XVIII. bis XX. Dynastie aus verschiedenen Urkunden, Bd. I: Text*

38 Griffith, 'Oxford Excavations in Nubia', p. 107, pl. XLIII, 3



- «Bull (dwelling) in On/Heliopolis» (Re<sup>c</sup>-Atum,<sup>45</sup> Montu-Re<sup>c</sup>,<sup>46</sup> Osiris<sup>47</sup>);

- «Mighty Bull» (Horus,<sup>48</sup> Montu;<sup>49</sup> also epithet of the pharaohs<sup>50</sup>);

- «Bull of/for (him-)who-has-nothing».<sup>51</sup>

Of particular interest is the fact that a number of such epithets are attested with reference to the god Amun/Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>:

- «Bull of (var. 'in') his (two) Skies»;<sup>52</sup>

- «Bull of/for Waset/Thebes»;<sup>53</sup>

- «Bull in/over his Town» (or «Bull on behalf of his Town» ?);<sup>54</sup>

- «Bull of (the) Herd»;<sup>55</sup>

- «Bull of His/Own Mother»<sup>56</sup> (also as appellative of Horus and Min<sup>57</sup>).

It is noteworthy that the word «Bull» in the last three examples seems to have a connotation «guardian», «protector» (cf. the aforementioned epithet «Bull of/for (him-)who-has-nothing»), etc., perhaps as a development of the idea of «spouse», «husband»;<sup>58</sup>

*und Vignetten* (Berlin, 1886), Taf. I, col. 3; CCVII, col. 12; cf. *Wb.* V, 96, 6.

45 *Horus and Seth*, 2, 12; 3, 4 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, pp. 39-40).

46 *Urk.* VIII, 19 (21 a).

47 *Horus and Seth*, 14, 8 (Gardiner, *Late Egyptian Stories*, p. 56).

48 H. Junker, H. Winter, *Das Geburtshaus des Tempels der Isis in Philä* (Wien, 1965), SS. 186; 187, 12.

49 *Urk.* VIII, 5 (6 b), 16 (17 b).

50 J. von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (*Münchener Ägyptologische Studien*, Bd. 49; Mainz am Rhein, 1999), SS. 154-155 (Index); *Wb.* V, 95, 7-8.

51 See Ranke, *Personennamen*, Bd. II, S. 321, 19.

52 R.A. Caminos, 'The Nitocris Adoption Stela', *JEA*, Vol. 50 (1964), pp. 75, 85, note to line 14.

53 *KRI* V, 105, 9.

54 P. Leiden 350, Vs III, 4; J. Zandee, *De Hymnen aan Amon van Papyrus Leiden I 350* (OMRO, NS 28, 1947), pl. III, line 4. Cf. C. de Wit, *Le rôle et le sens du lion dans l'Égypte ancienne* (Leiden, 1951), p. 216, № 8.

55 M.I. Bakr, 'Amon, der Herdenstier', *ZÄS*, Bd. 98 (1972), SS. 1-4; *Wb.* V, 98, 1.

56 H. H. Nelson, ed. W. J. Murnane, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Vol. I, 1: The Wall Reliefs* (Chicago, 1981), pls. 4, col. 2; 14, col. 1; 18, col. 2; 22, col. 6; 24, col. 2; *Urk.* VIII, 20 (22 b); 106 (134 b); 107 (135 a); cf. *Wb.* V, 95, 17.

57 Junker, Winter, *Das Geburtshaus*, SS. 348, 349, № 6; cf. of Min-Amun (*Urk.* VIII, 25 (28 b); 87 (102 c)).

58 Some important aspects of this problem are discussed in my paper 'Did the Name of Kashta Mean "the Kushite"?

the connotation «champion» is also very probable in such cases.

In keeping with such usage Amun's title under discussion might be rendered as «Bull (i.e. Protector/Champion ?) in (or «of/for») ».

Some parallels to this may be pointed out in the late inscriptions in Theban Temples (Ptolemaic period), in the Temple of Hibis in the Oasis el Khargeh (Persian period), etc., where numerous gods' titles refer to the «Great Place/Throne».<sup>59</sup> In light of such examples it would be tempting to render the word in the Sanam titles accordingly. However, the fact that the preposition *m* (> *n*) «in» is used in the latter examples instead of the much more logical<sup>60</sup> in such cases preposition *hr* «upon» or prepositional *nisbe hr(j)* «(dwelling) upon», which we quite regularly see in the supposed parallels from the Temple of Hibis and elsewhere,<sup>61</sup> makes this interpretation doubtful (unless we suppose that a certain *enclosure*, including, apart from the throne, the dais with steps, the divine *booth*, etc., is referred to in such cases).<sup>62</sup> It is also important that none of the Sanam instances under discussion displays the epithet *wr.t* «Great», which accompanies the word «*s.t*-Throne» in almost every relevant example from the Temple of Hibis.<sup>63</sup>

It would perhaps be more justified to compare the Sanam title(s) of Amun with those examples, also from el-Khargeh, in which instead of the throne refers to a certain *room of the temple* (the sanctuary ?)<sup>64</sup> – or to the temple in general,<sup>65</sup> – in

Some Material for the Book of the Kings of Kush', *Kush*, Vol. XIX (2003-2008), p. 230, with notes 52-54.

59 Cf. *Urk.* VIII, 64 (77 i); 93 (115); 107 (134 e.1); cf. R.A. Caminos, *Semna-Kumma*, Pt. I: *The Temple of Semna* (ASE 37; London, 1998), p. 60: «The Great Seat is doubtless the throne in the innermost sanctuary, which was set upon a dais and in which the main deity sat <...>».

60 Compare some other expressions for «(up)on the throne»: *Urk.* VIII, 93 (115 *hr ns.t=f*) with 64 (77 i *hr isb.t=f*).

61 Cruz-Urbe, *Hibis Temple Project*, pp. 2 (Mut), 7 (Thoth), 11 (Isis), 40 (Hatmehyt, Horus, Ptah, Thoth) et passim; *Urk.* VIII, 95 (118, 4), 112 (140 c), 125 (163 b, 164 b), 132 (184 c).

62 *LD* III, 76 b, 77 c, 115, 118; IV, 22 a, 84 a, etc.

63 See above, note 61.

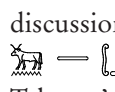
64 Note the special label in H. Brugsch's plan of the Temple of Hibis in his: *Reise nach der Grossen Oase el Khargeh in der Libyschen Wüste* (Leipzig, 1878), Taf. VIII, Room E.


65 See H. Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographiques contenus dans les textes hiéroglyphiques*, T. V (Le Caire, 1928), pp. 68-90; cf. Cruz-Urbe's remarks in, *Hibis Temple Project*, pp. 6 (note to № 11), 25.





particularly in the Late Period,<sup>74</sup> sometimes was probably made deliberately, in order to make an old (or archaic ?) label more comprehensible (even if it was in the spirit of Volksetymologie), which could lead to certain changes in its original meaning.

An example of this seems to be the second title of Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> (a companion title to the one under discussion) in the Temple of Sanam, presented as  both in the wall inscriptions from king Taharqa's time and in the Dedication Stela dated to the reign of Aspelta. It was in that stela that this title of Amun (written 10 times without variations) was first attested and given the interpretation «Ammon-Ra, Taureau de la Nubie» by Pierret in 1873,<sup>75</sup> which has been generally accepted in the literature (modified as «<...> Bull of Ta-Seti», «<...> Bull of Bow-land», etc. by some later scholars and as «<...> Bull of the Country of the Three-Curved Bow» by the present writer).<sup>76</sup>

It has to be pointed out, however that there exists a much earlier relevant piece of evidence, an inscription on a statue of certain Nakht, «the captain of *Nehsiu*» (reign of Amenhotep II), where a strikingly similar expression  «Bull in the Country of the Three-Curved Bow» is used as a label of some military unit.<sup>77</sup> The title is attested in the inscriptions two times (on the base and on the head dress of the statue) and in both cases is written with *m* instead of the more usual for us *n*, which rules out a possibility of mistake.

It thus follows that this title of Amun (like some other Egyptian appellatives)<sup>78</sup> underwent the same evolution as the title «Bull in (the) Place» but much earlier. By the time of Taharqa the epithet «Bull *in* the Country <...>» must have transformed already

into «Bull of the Country <...>» and, judging by the striking stability of its new spelling in Sanam, the original nuance of the expression was evidently forgotten.

As for the title «Bull in (the) Place», the second title of Amun in Sanam and our main concern in this study, we can now suppose that its evolution was still ongoing under Taharqa (hence the examples *A.1* and *A.2* with the preposition *m*) and came to the end only by the time of king Senkamanisken (hence *B.1* with *n*) and his son Aspelta (*B.2* in the Dedication Stela). To be precise we could, and probably should, *retain the difference* between the two versions in translation, rendering the earlier one as «Bull *in* (the) {Great} Place» (i.e. in the sanctuary), or similar, and the later one as «Bull (i.e. guardian, or champion ?) of the Place/Sanctuary/Tomb», and remembering that basically we most likely deal with one and the same expression.

It is very regrettable that the relevant data at our disposal is so scanty and rather indistinct and that we are still unable to restore the historical and theological context of this rare title of Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> once revealed by Griffith in the wall inscriptions of the Sanam temple and recently (re)attested in the lunette of the Dedication Stela.

As a theonym «Bull of/in (the) Place» seems to be endemic, even to a greater extent than its pairing title «Bull of the Country of the Three-Curved Bow»,<sup>79</sup> in Sanam. Whether they referred to two different hypostases of Amun, or whether the former attribute was merely an *additional epithet* of the same deity better known under the latter title, still remains obscure. It is a paradoxical fact that in the Dedication Stela the label «Bull of (the) Place» occurs only *once*, but it is next to the representation of Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> in the lunette, i.e. in the most prominent place, that it was placed, whereas its counterpart is used in the *main* text of the stela (predominantly in the titulary of the local clergy) only and is mentioned *ten* times. Should we infer therefrom that one of the two appellatives was in fact inexpedient (and if yes, which of the two)?

74 Ranke, *Personennamen*, Bd. II, SS. 18-19; cf. A. Erman, *Neuaegyptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1933), §§ 603, 606 (*n* for *m*), 599 (*m* for *n*); M.A. Korostovtsev, *Grammaire du néo-égyptien* (Moscou, 1973), §§ 106 (p. 120, *n* for *m*), 110 (p. 125, obs. 3; *m* for *n*); J. Černý, S. Groll, *A Late Egyptian Grammar* (3rd ed.; Rome, 1984), §§ 7.1.1. a.I (*n* for *m*), 1.7 (*m* for *n*); K. Janssen-Wilken, *Spätmittelägyptische Grammatik der Texte der 3. Zwischenzeit* (Wiesbaden, 1996), §§ 267 (*n* for *m*), 271 (*m* for *n*); C. Peust, *Das Napatanische. Ein ägyptischer Dialekt aus dem Nubien des späten ersten vorchristlichen Jahrtausends* (Göttingen, 1999), §§ 26. 4.

75 *Études égyptologiques*, p. 100 and passim.

76 See above, note 11.

77 R.O. Faulkner, 'A Statue of a Serpent-Worshipper', *JEA*, Vol. XX (1934), p. 155.

78 See above, notes 24-26.

79 Cf. a similar title «Bull, *Lord* of the Country of the Three-Curved Bow», borne by the god Horus in some inscriptions of Sai, Semna and Ellesia (J. Vercoutter, 'New Egyptian Texts from the Sudan', *Kush*, Vol. IV (1956), pp. 72, 10; 73, 11, 78, 23; 79, 26), from whom it is thought to have been «borrowed» by Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> of Sanam.



