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VOLUME EDITOR

NABIL SWELIM

COPY EDITOR PAMELA C. REYNOLDS

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FIVE STATUES OF AMENHOTEP III AND HOREMHEB(?) IN ALEXANDRIA, LUXOR AND NEW YORK

NABIL SWELIM

This paper on the art of the late XVIII Dynasty in the Greco-Roman Museum in Alexandria, Luxor, New York and Pompey's Pillar is presented to the memory of Professor Daoud Abdu Daoud, who was a close friend, a devoted scholar and a lover of culture, art and architecture. I recall, when I lived in Alexandria in the early seventies and during short, but frequent, visits later, that I enjoyed his pleasant company, sense of humour and vast knowledge of present day Alexandria. Memories of walking through the archaeological sites, the Museum, the center of the city, and by the Eastern Harbour and dining at Elite, Tikka or Qadura are unforgettable.¹

The city of Alexandria is a rich repository of relics of Greco-Roman, Coptic and Islamic origin. Yet it also has a wealth of pharaonic objects, many of which have not been identified or studied. Those objects can be seen at the Greco-Roman Museum, the archaeological sites of Kom el-Dikka, Pompey's Pillar and the Catacombs. It is thought that they were brought to Alexandria early in its history to beautify the burgeoning city. They include a variety of sculpture of high quality workmanship.

I observed that most of the pharaonic objects seem to originate from Lower Egypt and date to the Renaissance (Dynasties XXVI-XXX). Nevertheless there are several from Upper Egypt which date to the New Kingdom (Dynasties XVIII-XX). It is perhaps understandable that they have been overlooked because they were eclipsed by the overwhelming number of Greco-Roman objects in Alexandria. Yet the failure to study these Ancient Egyptian treasures in Alexandria should not continue. In that respect - and because of the great excitement, early in 1989 - over the discovery of several splendid statues of kings Amenhotep III and Horemheb at

¹ Acknowledgments and thanks to colleagues and friends who have contributed to this study: The idea of matching the head (G-R M 8066) and the sphinx (P 5953) was encouraged by the late Labib Habashi; Mrs Dorrya Said kindly welcomed my study of several pharaonic objects in Alexandria; Dr Said Hegazi answered urgent questions about the Luxor statues; Dr. Lanny Bell checked the head dress of the statue (LTS); Ms. Ann Kresl photographed the statue (LM J 131); Prof. Arielle Kozloff and Mr. William Peck made some helpful remarks on art aspects early in the course of the preparation of this study; and Ms. Pamela C. Reynolds edited an early manuscript. Professor Peter Mumro read the manuscript before it was sent to the printer.

the Luxor Temple,² an overlooked head of the former, at the Greco-Roman Museum, and a headless sphinx usurped by the latter, at Pompey's Pillar, come to my mind. This study began by an unsuccessful attempt to match the overlooked head with the headless sphinx. As I became more familiar with the head I realized that it belonged to a group of statues from the Luxor Temple, one of which still remains at the Temple and three which have been removed to the Luxor and the Metropolitan Museums.

THE ALEXANDRIAN HEAD OF AMENHOTEP III G-R M. 8066

The records of the G-R Museum show that this impressive head came from Sharia Faransa, a well-known street in the Manshia district in Alexandria. No information can be gleaned on further details. It is registered by the number 8066 and referred to in this article as (G-R M. 8066). Now it is in storage. See Pl. LXXXIX, XC A, XCI A and XCII B.

DESCRIPTION

A grey granite, granodiorite or porphyritic diorite³ over-life-size head sculptured with great skill, sensitivity and precision; and it demonstrates an expression of majestic serenity. The stone is severely damaged and cracked but the smooth polishing is maintained in spite of that. It was broken off the original monument at the lower part of the neck and the top part of the tail of the head dress. Further examination shows that:

The king wears a *nemes* head dress which has been badly damaged on the left side and partly preserved on the right side. The back of the *nemes* drops in a plumb line to just above where the tail would start. There are 14 bands from ear to ear above the *nemes* strap. The front upright part of the *nemes* above the collar preserves 2 raised horizontal bands. All the *nemes* bands are strung together to create the tail at the back of the neck at the nape of the neck level. Two horizontal bands of that binding can still be seen on the right side of the *nemes* tail over the brow.

The coils of an S-shaped uraeus on the forehead; both ears, nose, philtrum, trigon, lips and beard are damaged, but fairly recognizable.

The ears are a little higher than normal.

The moderately puffy and averted lips are outlined by a vermilion border line; the angles of the mouth are depressed and the mouth opening is fairly horizontal; and the upper lip trigon comes to a subtle point.

The eyebrows are thick and curved, the eyes are outlined in the same way as the eyebrows, and both extend over the temples to close to the side burns.

The cheek bones are moderately prominent.

The beard strap and back support of the beard are clear.

The neck is preserved on the right side and damaged on the left side.

² M. El Saghir and D. Johannes (photographer), *Das Statuenversteck im Luxor Tempel, Antike Welt Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte*, 22 Jahrgang, Sondernummer 1991. M. El Saghir, *The Discovery of the Statuary Cachette of Luxor Temple*, *DAIK, Sonderschrift*, 26, Mainz 1991. An exhibit of this king's art was recently on display at Cleveland, Fort Worth and Paris. A. P. Kozloff, B. M. Bryan and L. M. Berman *Egypt's Dazzling Sun Amenhotep III and his World*, The Cleveland Museum of Art 1992.

³ The names of stone are those currently used in Egyptological literature; correct geological names would differ.

MEASUREMENTS

- The maximum height, width and depth of the existing relic are 47, 38 and 46 cm.
- The height of the head, from the top of the *nemes* to the top of the beard, is 40 cm.
- The height of the face, from the *nemes* strap to the top of the beard, is 22 cm.
- The width of the face, from temple to temple, is 21 cm.
- The uraeus is 2 cm. above the forehead.
- The *nemes* strap varies from 4 cm. near the ears to 3.5 cm. on the forehead.
- The bands of the *nemes* are of a width of approximately 2 cm. each.
- The collar of the *nemes* preserves 14 horizontal lines on the right side over a vertical distance of 8 cm. and the maximum width of the preserved part of the collar is 9 cm.
- The intracollar space is estimated as 18 cm.
- The thickness of the beard support is 6.5 cm.

IDENTITY

In the Riad-Shihata-el Ghiryani-Daoud's *Alexandria, an archaeological guide to the city and the Greco-Roman Museum*, (undated) 104, the head is designated as:

"8066...head of a black granite statue of a pharaoh of the XVIII Dynasty (probably Amenophis III)".

Looking at this head (G-R M. 8066) in profile one recalls the reliefs and paintings of king Amenhotep III in the first and second vestibules south of his court at the Luxor Temple, his tomb in the Western Valley of the Valley of the Kings, in private tombs in the Theban Necropolis and elsewhere. In a study by Maya Müller⁴ she has confused this head with another wearing the double crown which was unclearly published by Breccia.⁵ The identity of this Alexandrian head greatly depends on the established identification of the following statues:

Two standing statues, one in the Luxor Museum garden (LM J 131) and the other, a headless unnumbered statue, in the Luxor Temple (LTS), both usurped by Merenptah.

Two seated statues at the Metropolitan Museum (MMA 22 5 1 and 22 5 2), both usurped by Merenptah.

At this point, before I go into the investigations of the four statues of Amenhotep III, I would like to introduce a sphinx usurped by Horemheb.

THE SPHINX OF HOREMHEB(?) AT POMPEY'S PILLAR P 5953

In 1942 Alan Rowe unearthed a headless sphinx usurped by King Horemheb at Pompey's Pillar. It had been numbered P 5953 on the photo he published. His report gives the following

⁴M. Müller, *Die Kunst Amenophis' III. und Echnatons* (Basel 1988) IV-2,3.

⁵E. Breccia, *Le Musée Gréco-Romain 1925-1931* (Alexandrie 1932) 17, where he mentions the base of a statue bearing the name of Amenhotep III, pl. VIII.

information: ⁶

Page 33 "headless black granite sphinx of King Horemheb, XVIIIth Dynasty, died c. 1320 B.C."

Page 154 "On the breast and between the front paws is the following inscription: The king of the South and North, Djoser-kheperu-ra, setep-en-ra the son of Ra, Mery-en-imen. Her-em-heb. (beloved) of Atum, lord of the Two Lands of Heliopolis The expression: "Two lands of Heliopolis", was associated always with the god Atum and designated Heliopolis metropolis of the XIIIth. nome of Lower Egypt. See H. Gautier, Dictionnaire des Nomes Geographiques VI, 1929 p.9".

Page 156 the measurements are given as "height overall 0.82m. side length 2.31 m."

Pl. XXXIII is the hieroglyphic text under D.1.

Pl. XXXVI is Fig.1 inscribed "smaller sphinx of king Horemheb, XVIIIth. Dynasty"

DESCRIPTION

A small grey granite or porphyritic diorite headless sphinx which demonstrates the skills seen in master pieces of Ancient Egyptian statuary. It might have been brought from Heliopolis. See Pl. XCIII. On examining this monument one observes that:

The tail of the *nemes* of the missing head is partially destroyed and lies horizontally on the lion withers.

The collar on the *nemes* of the lost head shows 33 horizontal lines on the left side and 32 on the right.

In the intracollar space of the *nemes* one can see a necklace of nine bands, six of which go under the beard support and three of which are below it. Between the 8th. and 9th. band, counting downwards, is a row of 16 drop shapes. The left drop shape is represented in one-half.

The lion's mane extends down the shoulders in straight vertical lines to the inner elbow. On the right side of the mane are 19 bands and on the left side are 20.

The lion ribs on both sides are sculpted in a subtle way and the vertebrae above the tail are realistically defined.

The haunches show three gently sculpted horizontal muscular sections.

The muscles of the back legs, shoulders and forelegs are well defined.

On the lower part of each of the forelegs is a band indicating the position of the dewclaws and the tufts of hair below the elbow joints.

On the left back leg the claws are better preserved than on the other three legs, but its knee is broken off.

The lion tail wraps around the back right leg and the testicles of the lion are not depicted.

The base of the statue is squared in the fore part and rounded at the back.

MEASUREMENTS

- This monument is 82 cm. high 231 cm. long and 61 cm. wide.
- The break where the head of the sphinx was originally connected measures 42 cm. wide and 28 cm. deep.

⁶ Alan Rowe, "Short Report on Excavations of the Greco-Roman Museum" made during the Season 1942 at 'Pompey's Pillar' site of the Temple of Serapis and of the ancient Roman University of Alexandria. *BSRAA*, 35 p. 133, 154, 156. Pl. XXXIII D1, XXXVI fig 1.

- The width of the beard support is 2.5 cm..
- The intracollar distance is 16.5 cm..
- The base of the statue is 22.5 cm. high.

G-R M. 8066 AND P 5953

It has been very difficult for me to read the original name on the sphinx; see Pl. XCIII C. The candidates, however, would probably be one of Horemheb's close predecessors. The relative size and material of the head (G-R M. 8066) and the Pompey's Pillar sphinx (P 5953) are very similar. If they proved to match, the identity of the original owner of the sphinx would be Amenhotep III. For that reason, the Museum Director, Mr. Youssef El Gheriyani, agreed to a test I suggested. At that point the measurements and observations presented in this article had not been so carefully digested. When I placed the head on the sphinx, see Pl. XCIII B, I noticed that:

- The stone material of the head was a little darker than that of the body of the sphinx.
- The *nemes* tail of the head does not align or turn outward in the direction of the *nemes* tail of the sphinx.
- The *nemes* collars on the sphinx are not flush with the remains on the head; on the latter they project outward.
- The intracollar distance is a little smaller on the sphinx than on the head.
- The beard support of the sphinx is much thinner than the one on the head.
- Finally, at no point do the two breaks match.

Thus the attempt to match the Museum head of Amenhotep III and the sphinx usurped by King Horemheb at Pompey's Pillar was unsuccessful. Returning to the four statues in Luxor and New York I'd begin with:

THE TWO STANDING STATUES OF AMENHOTEP III IN LUXOR

Parts of statues (LM J 131) and (LTS) were found in December 1958 during the excavations at the Luxor Temple in the court of Ramesses II by the Mosque of Abu el Haggag. The report states that:

"5- The two lower halves of two statues of Merenptah were found in the debris in the south side of the building towards the gate.... they were found out to fit the two torsos of the same king which were set at the east gate of the court of Ramses II. The missing head of one of them was found". (Photographs of the two statues accompany that report elsewhere and can be found in this article).⁷

LM J 131

The first standing statue (LM J 131), see Pl. XCI B, XCII, B and XCIII, is a beautiful standing monument wearing the *nemes* head dress, a *shindyet* kilt, gripping a bar in each hand and standing with the left foot forward.

⁷ M. Abd el Qader, "Preliminary report on the excavations carried out in the Temple of Luxor, seasons 1958-1959 and 1959-1960" *ASAE, LX* (1968) 261, 276-277 and pl. LXXI-LXXIV; photographs of these statues are published in this article; K. Michalowski, *Louqsor* (Paris 1971) pl. 16; A. Makhitarian, "Statues d'Amenophis III?" *Chronique d'Egypte, XXXI* (1956) 296-298; see also M. Müller, *op. cit.* IV 32-33 and 56.

While the statue was still at the Luxor Temple before its removal to the Luxor Museum, Cyril Aldred made the following account.

"79 Statue of king Amen-Hetep III.... This is an almost complete standing specimen of over life size,...which has been usurped by Merenptah.... Companion seated statues... are in New York. This specimen well illustrates the mature style of the reign with the features rendered in a less abstract manner, though the eyebrows are still thick and arched, and the eyes heavily outlined. The detailed cutting and polishing of the hard stone are masterly. Worthy of note are such stylistic features as the thin inner border to the lappets of the wig-cover, the S-shaped coil of the uraeus and the double curve on the medial line of the lips."⁸

This statue was moved to the garden of the Luxor Museum of Ancient Egyptian Art and numbered Luxor J 131. James Romano in the catalogue of that museum describes it as:⁹

"Usurped statue of Amenhotep III, black granite....

H.	295 cm.	H. of face	22 cm.
W.	76.5 cm.	H. of head	40 cm.
D.	69.5 cm.	W. of back pillar	18 cm.
Intracollar w.	18 cm."		

"The width of the king's face, its full lips, narrow eyes and shiny finish identify this as a sculpture of Amenhotep III....The face of this statue is strikingly close to those on a pair of seated figures...in the Metropolitan Museum....The sculpture of this piece provided a subtle indication of this ruler's advancing years; the king's abdomen protrudes ever so slightly over his low-slung belt...."

This statue was broken in three parts: the head, torso and below; these parts were put together to recreate the monument we see today. It must be noted that an original restoration of the backs of both clenched hands was very carefully made during the making of the statue. An examination of the statue shows that:

It is a complete statue except for damage to the right ear, the nose, philtrum, left shoulder, the lower part of the beard, the beard support, the thumbs of both hands, the lower right part of the *shindyet* kilt, the loss of the insteps, toes of both feet, the pedestal and part of the left side of the back pillar.

The back pillar of the statue has a rounded top which comes to an end below the tail of the *nemes* and bears an inscription of its usurper Merenptah. The left part was broken before the inscription was added. The back pillar width measures 29.5 cm.¹⁰

The statue wears a necklace of 10 bands which unclearly appear between the *nemes* collars.

The beard and its support seemed to have reached the eighth band of this necklace. The beard support width measures 6-9 cm.

Drop pieces in that necklace exist between the ninth and tenth bands, i.e. the last two bands.

Similar to (LTS), see below, two bracelets are worn over the right wrist.

Similar to (LTS), an identical dagger held in place by the *shindyet* kilt belt has a handle

⁸ C. Aldred, *New Kingdom Art in Ancient Egypt* (London 1961) 65, pl. 79.

⁹ *The Luxor Museum of Ancient Art Catalogue* (ARCE, Cairo, 1979) 98-99.

¹⁰ The measurements of the beard support and the back pillar width were measured by the author.

in the form of the head of a hawk.

The entire areas of the backs of both clenched hands of this statue were originally restored by worked pieces of granite cemented into grooves. On the back of the right hand part of the restoration is still preserved; on the left hand the restoration piece is lost. Of the two broken thumbs on both hands, part of the left finger nail is preserved.

The lower part of the statue preserves behind the left leg on the support joining it with the back pillar an added engraving of a queen touching the back of his left calf.

Enough of the feet is preserved to tell us that no foot ware was worn.

G-R M. 8066 AND LM J 131

The heads of Amenhotep III in the Museums of Alexandria and Luxor when compared with each other, show that:

The height of the head, the height of the face and the intracollar distance are identical.

The shape, style and details of the nemes head dress are identical.

The coils and shape of the uraeus are identical.

The details of the eyebrows, eyes, sideburns, beard strap and lips are identical.

The beard support width is close.

Thus by comparing the descriptions, quoted literature and observing Pl. XC and XCI it is apparent that the two heads are identical in all respects. When we compare these plates, we have to bear in mind that the two monuments could not be photographed from the same levels or with the same lighting conditions.

LTS

The second standing statue (LTS), see Pl. XCIV, is a beautiful headless monument wearing a *shindyet* kilt, gripping a bar in the right hand and standing with the left foot forward. It is restored with two parts, the lower was found in the court of Ramesses at the Luxor Temple as mentioned above. They recreate a companion of the same size, material and workmanship as (LM J 131). The gray colour of the stone in this case, however, discloses a thin vein of rose colour running diagonally upwards from the interdigital area of the right clenched hand to the left shoulder and a few rose colour spots at other places of the statue. It was placed north of the pylon of the Luxor Temple facing west; it was then moved to face east during the preparation of the Opera Aida at the temple in 1986. There are no registration numbers for this monument. Further examination of the present state of the statue shows that:

The upper part suffers the loss of the crown, head, front left part of the neck, beard, parts of its support, part of the right side of the abdomen, above it, and the right upper arm from shoulder till below the elbow.

Because the remaining part of the right arm is intact on the lower part of the statue I conclude that the damage came to the upper part after it was separated from the lower. The lower part suffers the loss of the thumb of the right hand, the left hand, wrist and part of the forearm, the lower right part of the *shindyet* kilt, the insteps, toes of the two feet and the pedestal.

The appearance of the break of the left hand shows that it was clenched.

Because the upper part of the left arm is intact on the upper part of the statue, I conclude likewise that the damage came to the lower part after it was separated from the upper. Consequently we could assume that the statue was broken in two and the vandalism was exercised on each half separately.

The break which separates the two parts comes diagonally across the belt of the *shindyet* kilt declining to the left side. It appears at the back pillar just above the upper cartouche of Merenptah.

It is worthy of mention that there was an original dove tail or a wedge restoration in that part of the back pillar before the statue was broken.

Evidence of a hole exists in the upper break between the two shoulders. It would be hard to think that it accommodated a peg which supported a separated head or crown. It is eccentric for the head and too deep for the crown.

The statue wears a necklace of 7 bands over the chest and both shoulders; below it two cartouches of Merenptah surmounted by the sun disc were added.¹¹

Drop pieces in that necklace exist between the sixth and seventh bands.

The remains of a beard support shows that it reached down as far as the sixth band of the necklace.

It was damaged, and only the upper right side and the lower left side of it are preserved. Parts of the back of the neck, a small part of the right jaw, and the lower back part of the crown are preserved.

The latter indicates that this statue did not have a *nemes* head dress as (LM J 131) and that the possibilities would be the Red Crown, the Double Crown or the god Amen's Crown with the two plums.¹²

Similar to (LM J 131) two bracelets 1.5 cm. thick and 6 cm. apart, are worn over the right wrist.

And an identical dagger held in place by the *Shindyet* kilt belt with a handle in the form of the head of a hawk is seen on the two statues.

The lower part of the statue preserves behind the left leg on the support joining it with the back pillar an added engraving of a queen touching the back of his left calf.

Enough of the feet is preserved to tell us that no foot ware was worn.

This statue does not have any restoration on the back of the right hand as that seen on both hands of (LM J 131).

The tail of the bull is not worked as well as that of (LM J 131).

The back pillar of the statue extends above the shoulders it is 33 cm. wide. It suddenly decreases in thickness at a level below the shoulder blades. A thinner support connecting the back pillar with the back of the neck and crown is preserved. The upper part which was extending to support the back of the missing crown is missing. It bears an inscription of its usurper Merenptah.

THE TWO SEATED STATUES OF AMENHOTEP III IN NEW YORK

According to W.C. Hayes,¹³ the two seated statues of Amenhotep III (MMA 22 5 1 and MMA 22 5 2) at the Metropolitan Museum in New York usurped by Merenptah

"... formed part of the sculptural adornment of this temple (of Luxor) Mery-en-Ptah('s)
... Inscriptions were later additions to figures which appear to have been originally

¹¹ A third cartouche was added on the left shoulder. We must assume that a fourth cartouche was added to the missing right shoulder.

¹² Maya Müller does not mention these possibilities.

¹³ William C. Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II* (New York 1968) 235, Figures 139 and 140.

uninscribed ... Eight and a third and seven and a half feet in height, the great figures are carved with utmost sensitivity and precision from blocks of dark porphyritic diorite and are finished with ... 'a restrained surface polish'. Both wear the goffered *shendyet*-kilt and the royal nemes, which in the case of the smaller statue was once surmounted by the towering Double Crown... Despite a high degree of idealization ... all the features familiar to us from his (Amenhotep III's) other portraits - the long, narrow eyes, prominent cheek-bones, and full sensuous mouth ever slightly turned up at the corners. Designed to be looked up to from below, the figures appear a trifle top-heavy when brought down to eye level".

G-R M. 8066, LM J 131 AND MMA 22 5 1&2

When identical heads of Amenhotep III (G-R M. 8066) and of (LM J 131) are compared with (MMA 22 5 1 and MMA 22 5 2), we observe that they differ:

The two seated ones in the Metropolitan Museum are larger.

The nemes head-dress of both statues are not as sophisticated as the ones (G-R M 8066) and (LM J 131)

The smaller statue wears the Double Crown above the nemes. The back pillar originally extended above the *nemes* to support the Double Crown.

CONCLUSION

For the historical record of the Alexandrian head (G-R M. 8066) I am unable to account for the date the statue was brought to Alexandria. Was it in ancient or modern times? When was it acquired by the Museum? The Greco-Roman Museum records do not say whether it was found while digging the foundation of a modern building or whether it was confiscated in the Manshiya district of Alexandria. The monument was on display in room 10 and during the renovation of 1985 it was put in storage in the Bahnasa Magazine.

For the art record it is difficult to determine if the Alexandrian head (G-R M. 8066) belonged to a seated or to a standing statue (we can exclude a sphinx). Since it is identical with the head of the statue (Luxor J 131) a similarity and a relationship could be extended to the companion statues (LTS) and (MMA 22 5 1 and 22 5 2). And since they came from the Temple of Luxor consequently one may consider that the origin of (G-R M. 8066) was the Temple of Luxor and that it was probably usurped by Merenptah. Thus it would have been sculpted among other monuments for a common purpose connected with Amenhotep III. This could have been the Sed festival which occurred 8 years before the end of his reign, as mentioned by Hayes and Romano in the references mentioned above.

If the monument (G-R M. 8066) was brought to Alexandria in modern times to be illegally shipped out of the country, one may consider that it was brought from Luxor. If this head was brought as a complete statue to Alexandria in Greco-Roman times, then we may expect the body to be discovered in the city. We may also consider that Lower Egypt was not the only source of statues for beautifying the city.

The best statues in Egypt may have been selected and shipped to Alexandria and to other cities of the Roman Empire. To save the statues, of Khafra, Menkaura Userkaf, Sahura and others from this Roman misplacement of Ancient Egypt's great art, the priests may have hidden

them — unless they were already buried long before.

LIST OF PLATES

Pl. LXXXIX

The Alexandrian head G-R M. 8066

Pl. XC

G-R M. 8066

Pl. XCI

Luxor Museum statue LM J 131 (Photographed by Ann Kresl)

Pl. XCII

B Luxor Museum statue LM J 131

Pl. XCIII

A The sphinx at Pompey's Pillar P 5953

B G-R M. 8066 and P 5953

C The cartouche of Horemheb superimposed over an unreadable name

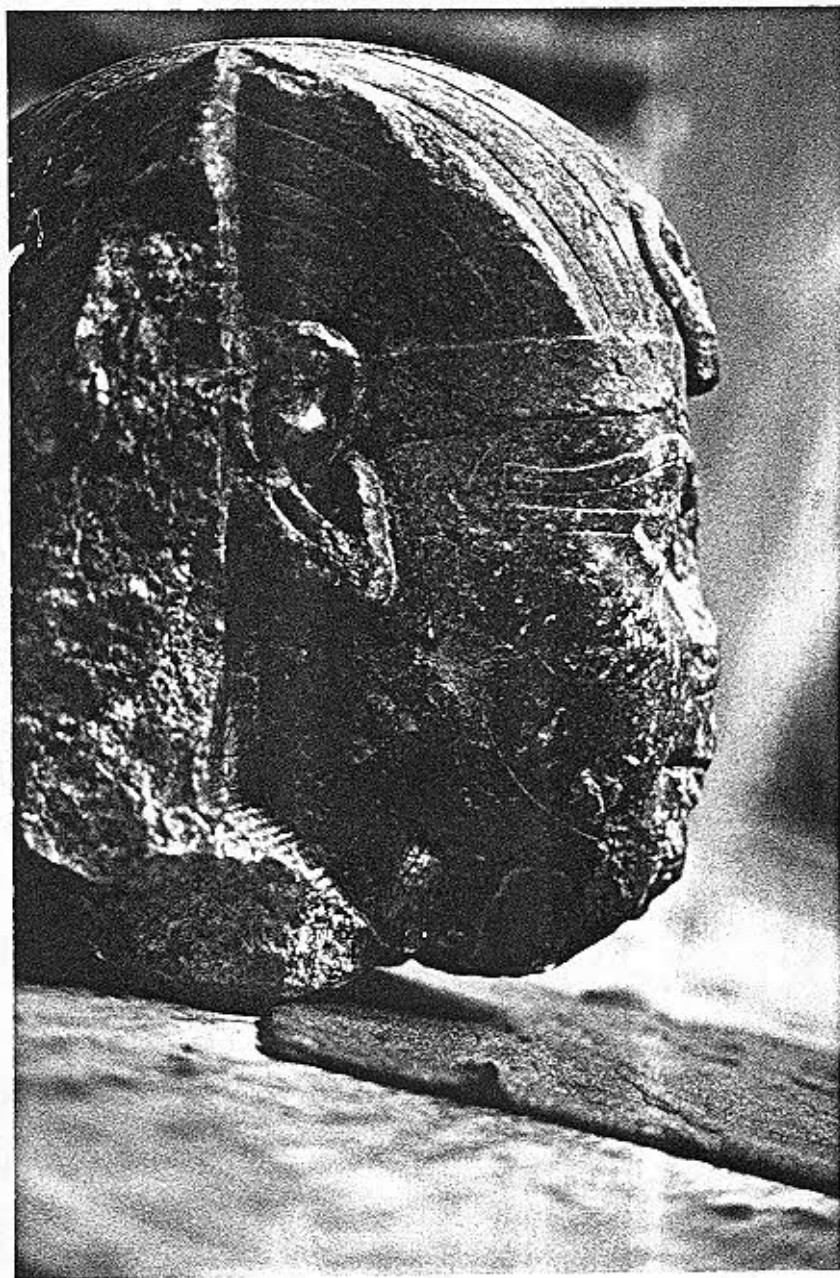
Pl. XCIV

The Luxor Temple Statue LTS

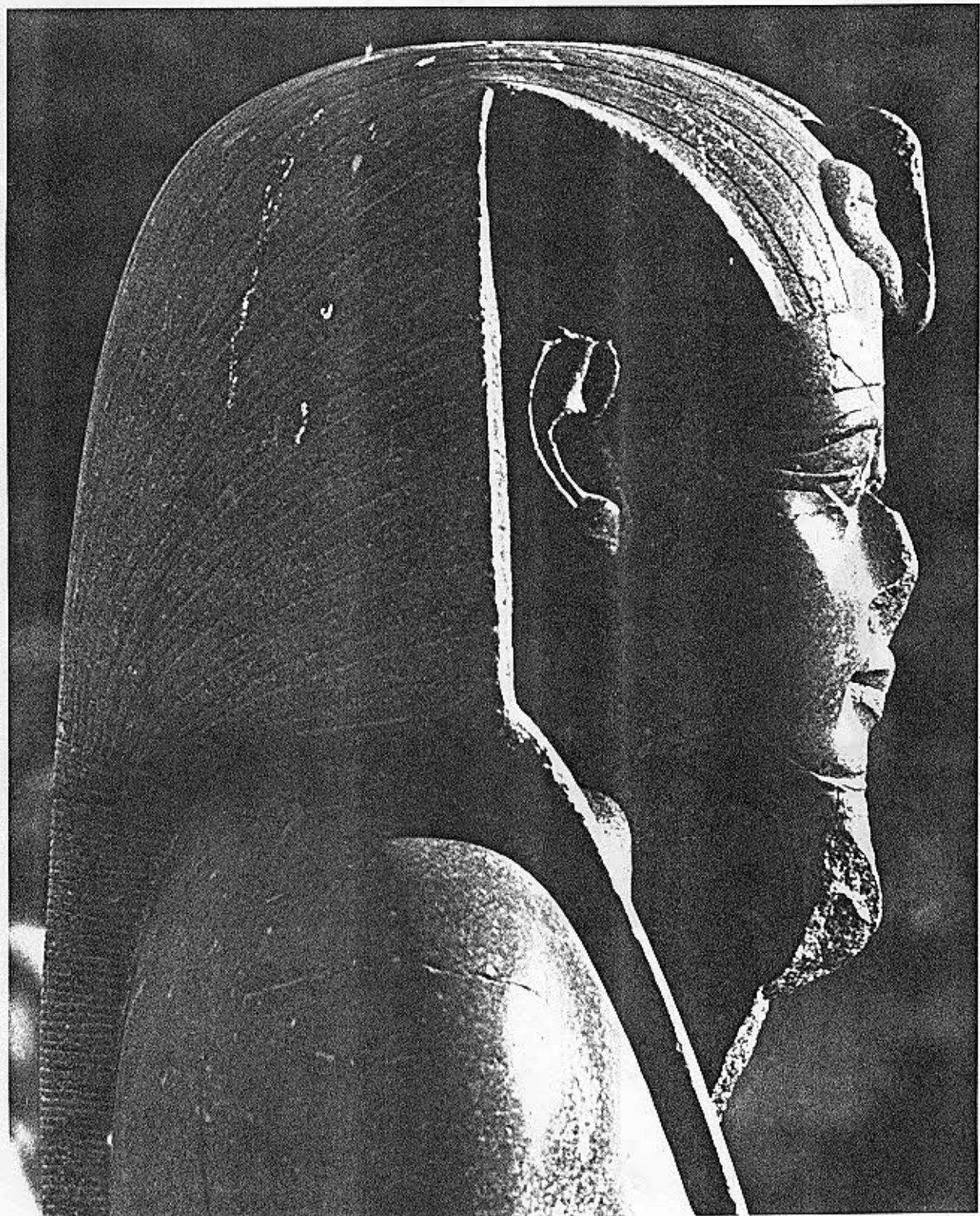
The Alexandrian head G-R M. 8066



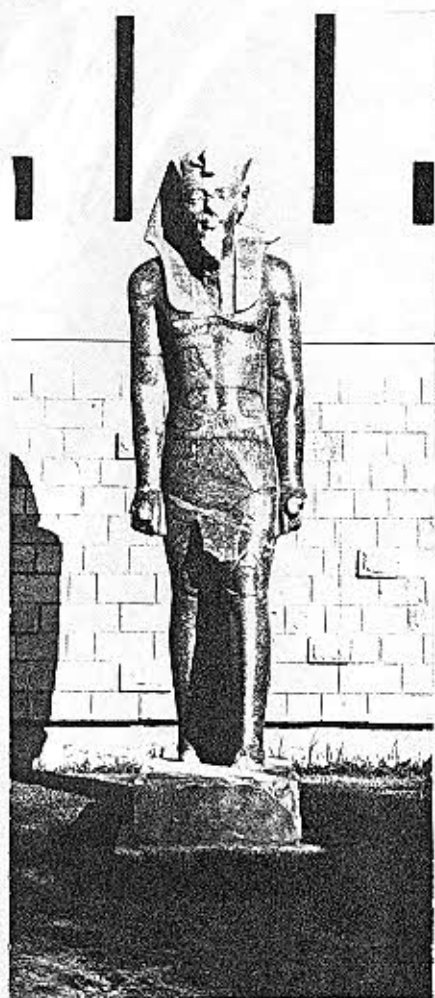
G-R M. 8066



Luxor Museum statue LM J 131



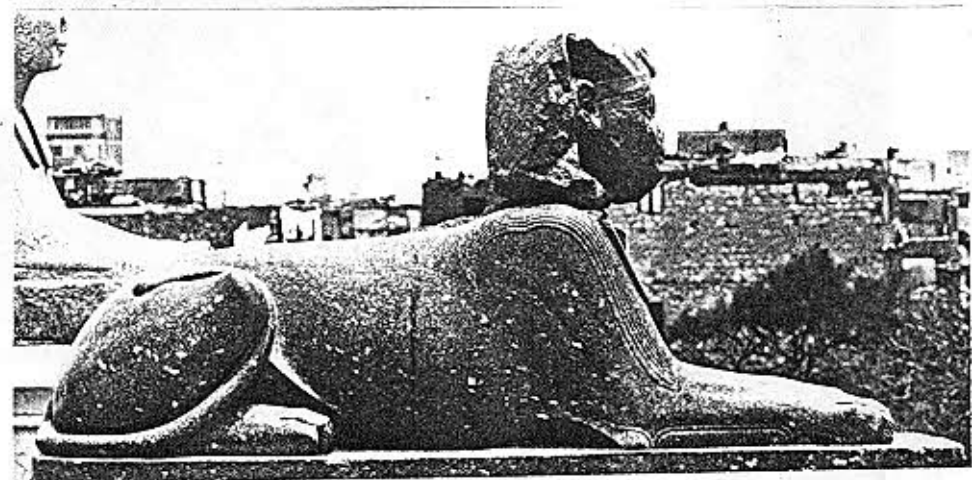
B Luxor Museum statue LM J 131



A The sphinx at Pompey's Pillar P 5953

B G-R M. 8066 and P 5953

C The cartouche of Horemheb superimposed over an unreadable name



The Luxor Temple Statue LTS

