

POLISH ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

# PAM

27/2

DEIR EL-BAHARI  
STUDIES 2

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## **POLISH ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (PAM)**

Annual of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw

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## **POLISH ARCHAEOLOGY IN THE MEDITERRANEAN (PAM)**

Annual of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw

PAM Editor-in-chief: **Iwona Zych**

**Volume 27/2: Deir el-Bahari 2**

Volume Editor: **Zbigniew E. Szafrński**

All texts peer-reviewed.

<http://www.pcma.uw.edu.pl/en/pam-journal/pam-independent-reviewers/>

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Cover: **The Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, view from the north**  
(PCMA UW/Photo Maciej Jawornicki)

ISSN 1234–5415 (Print) original edition

ISSN 2083–537X (Online)

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University of Warsaw Press

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Ministry of Science  
and Higher Education  
Republic of Poland

*Language improvement program for English-language texts in the journal  
Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean, financed from the resources  
of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education for popularizing science  
(680/P-DUN/2018).*

*Printed in Poland*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
BdE	<i>Bibliothèque d'étude</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
EtTrav	<i>Études et Travaux</i>
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie I–VII</i> , W. Helck, E. Otto (eds), Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1972–1992
MEEF	<i>Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund</i>
MIFA0	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia Iovaniensia analecta</i>
PAM	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i>
SAOC	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilisation</i>
SDAIK	<i>Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>



## PREFACE

In this, the second issue of Deir el-Bahari Studies, a Special Studies fascicle of the journal Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean (published by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw), we present articles covering manifold aspects of human cognitive behavior in Deir el-Bahari and the neighboring areas. The area of Deir el-Bahari is the major focus of most articles, but they also cover its vicinity, including Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. The scope of some of the published topics, the study of religion, for instance, covers an even wider area.

The scope of the research and activity carried out within and beyond the Temple of Hatshepsut far exceeds the issues connected with the New Kingdom complex itself. They cover topics that range widely in space and time, being concerned with studies of particular periods or problems, rather than general theoretical statements. In this issue of Deir el-Bahari Studies, multidisciplinary contributions from specialists in complementary fields, such as architecture, restoration, archaeology, anthropology or linguistics have been encouraged. The published articles of this volume therefore include also important contributions to research on the past made by specialists, such as botanists (botanical remains from a recently discovered deposit temple offering), zoologists (analysis of animals represented in the temple decoration), bioarchaeologists (human remains from the burials discovered in the Temple) and medical specialists in X-ray and CT-scanning (a medley of mummies from the Third Intermediate Period cemetery in the ruins of Hatshepsut's Temple). This broad scope of the presentation will hopefully be appreciated by all those concerned with the archaeology and restoration of the monuments of West Thebes.

In a different take, the volume is fortunate in bringing together four studies to complement the examination of mummies coming from the Third Intermediate Period burials in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. These are: Cynthia May Sheikholeslami's study of the Montu priestly families as attested in the material, Frédéric Payraudeau's assessment of the funerary assemblages from the Chapel dated to the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties, and two linguistic approaches to the Rituals of Day and Night on the coffins of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty, by Erhart Graefe and Kenneth Griffin, respectively. Barring a separate volume dedicated to this material, this is the most comprehensive presentation so far of this funerary complex from the Deir el-Bahari temple site.

For the publication of the Studies thanks are due the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw. I would like to express my particular gratitude to Iwona Zych, whose role in the process of the editing and publication of this volume is greatly appreciated. I am also grateful to Ewa Czyżewska-Zalewska for her professional preparation of illustrations and the overall layout, and to Katarzyna Kapiec for her assistance in the process of collecting materials for the volume. Jan Kurzawa has done a brilliant job on the general presentation.

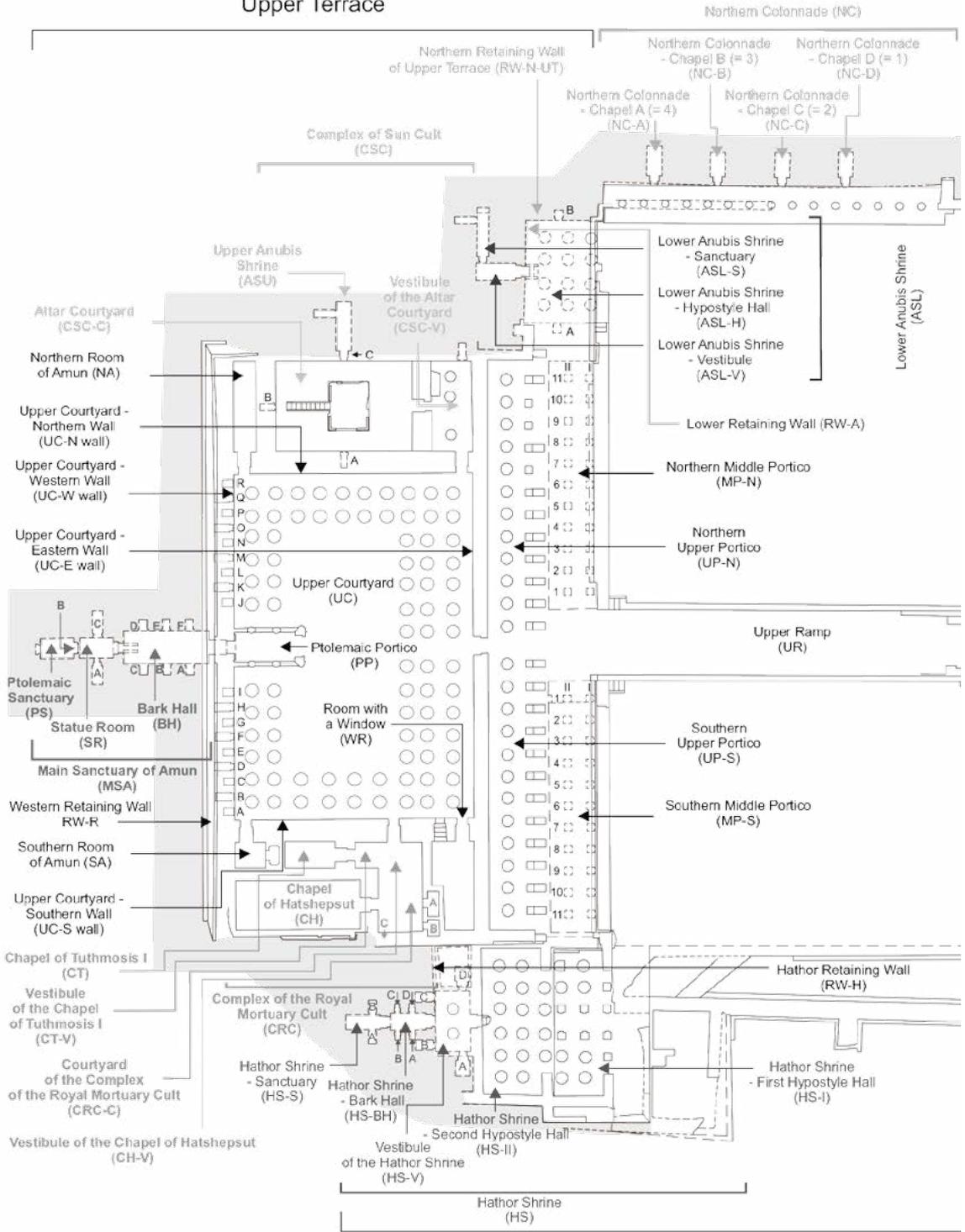
*Zbigniew E. Szafrański*

## INDEX OF LOCATIONS IN THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT

<b>ASL</b>	<b>Lower Anubis Shrine</b>
<b>ASL-H</b>	Lower Anubis Shrine – Hypostyle Hall
<b>ASL-H.A</b>	Lower Anubis Shrine – Hypostyle Hall – Niche A
<b>ASL-H.B</b>	Lower Anubis Shrine – Hypostyle Hall – Niche B
<b>ASL-S</b>	Lower Anubis Shrine – Sanctuary
<b>ASL-V</b>	Lower Anubis Shrine – Vestibule
<b>ASU</b>	<b>Upper Anubis Shrine</b>
<b>CRC</b>	<b>Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult</b>
<b>CRC-C</b>	Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – Courtyard
<b>CRC-CH</b>	Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – Chapel of Hatshepsut
<b>CRC-CH-V</b>	Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – Chapel of Hatshepsut – Vestibule
<b>CRC-CH-V.A</b>	Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – Chapel of Hatshepsut – Vestibule – Niche A
<b>CRC-CH-V.B</b>	Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – Chapel of Hatshepsut – Vestibule – Niche B
<b>CRC-CH-V.C</b>	Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – Chapel of Hatshepsut – Vestibule – Niche C
<b>CRC-CT</b>	Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – Chapel of Tuthmosis I
<b>CRC-CT</b>	Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – Chapel of Tuthmosis I – Vestibule
<b>CSC</b>	<b>Complex of the Sun Cult (formerly Solar Cult)</b>
<b>CSC-C</b>	Complex of the Sun Cult – Altar Courtyard
<b>CSC-C.A</b>	Complex of the Sun Cult – Altar Courtyard – Niche A
<b>CSC-C.B</b>	Complex of the Sun Cult – Altar Courtyard – Niche B
<b>CSC-C.C</b>	Complex of the Sun Cult – Altar Courtyard – Niche C
<b>CSC-C.V</b>	Complex of the Sun Cult – Altar Courtyard – Vestibule
<b>HS</b>	<b>Hathor Shrine</b>
<b>HS-BH</b>	Hathor Shrine – Bark Hall
<b>HS-BH.A</b>	Hathor Shrine – Bark Hall – Niche A
<b>HS-BH.B</b>	Hathor Shrine – Bark Hall – Niche B
<b>HS-BH.C</b>	Hathor Shrine – Bark Hall – Niche C
<b>HS-BH.D</b>	Hathor Shrine – Bark Hall – Niche D
<b>HS-I</b>	Hathor Shrine – First Hypostyle Hall
<b>HS-II</b>	Hathor Shrine – Second Hypostyle Hall
<b>HS-R</b>	Hathor Shrine – Ramp
<b>HS-RW</b>	Hathor Shrine – Retaining Wall
<b>HS-S</b>	Hathor Shrine – Sanctuary
<b>HS-S.A</b>	Hathor Shrine – Sanctuary – Niche A
<b>HS-S.B</b>	Hathor Shrine – Sanctuary – Niche B

HS-V	Hathor Shrine – Vestibule
HS-V.A	Hathor Shrine – Vestibule – Niche A
HS-V.B	Hathor Shrine – Vestibule – Niche B
HS-V.C	Hathor Shrine – Vestibule – Niche C
HS-V.D	Hathor Shrine – Vestibule – Niche D
<b>LC</b>	<b>Lower Courtyard</b>
<b>LP</b>	<b>Lower Portico</b>
LP-N	Lower Portico – Northern part
LP-S	Lower Portico – Southern part
<b>LR</b>	<b>Lower Ramp</b>
<b>LT</b>	<b>Lower Terrace</b>
<b>MC</b>	<b>Middle Courtyard</b>
<b>MP</b>	<b>Middle Portico</b>
MP-N	Middle Portico – Northern part
MP-S	Middle Portico – Southern part
<b>MSA</b>	<b>Main Sanctuary of Amun</b>
MSA-BH	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Bark Hall
MSA-BH.A	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Bark Hall – Niche A
MSA-BH.B	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Bark Hall – Niche B
MSA-BH.C	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Bark Hall – Niche C
MSA-BH.D	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Bark Hall – Niche D
MSA-BH.E	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Bark Hall – Niche E
MSA-BH.F	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Bark Hall – Niche F
MSA-PS	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Ptolemaic Sanctuary
MSA-ST	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Statue Room
MSA-ST.A	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Statue Room – Niche A
MSA-ST.B	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Statue Room – Niche B
MSA-ST.C	Main Sanctuary of Amun – Statue Room – Niche C
<b>MT</b>	<b>Middle Terrace</b>
<b>NA</b>	<b>Northern Chapel (Chamber) of Amun</b>
<b>NC</b>	<b>Northern Colonnade</b>
NC-A(4)	Northern Colonnade – Chapel A
NC-B(3)	Northern Colonnade – Chapel B
NC-C(2)	Northern Colonnade – Chapel C

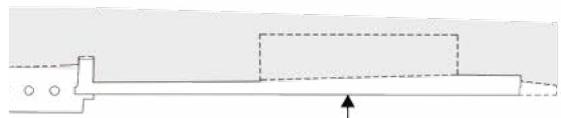
# Upper Terrace



# Middle Terrace (MT)

Lower Terrace

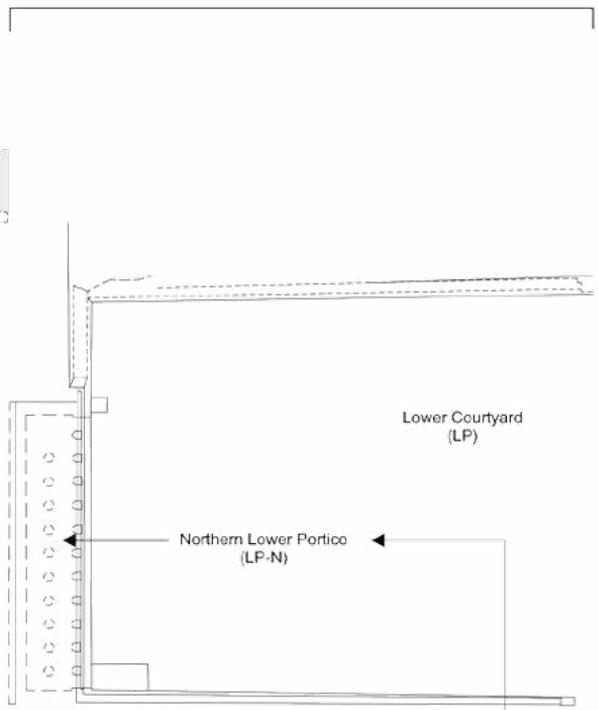
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Lower Anubis Shrine  
(ASL)

Northern Retaining Wall  
(RW-N)

Middle Courtyard  
(MC)

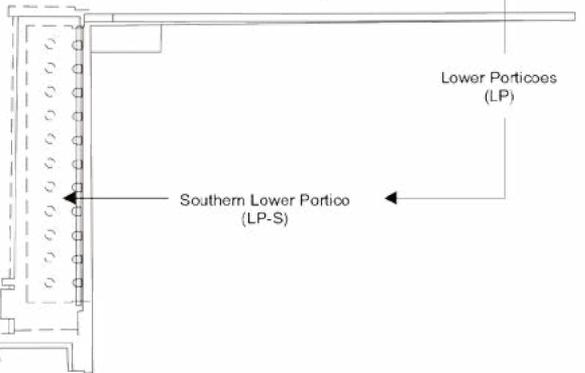


Lower Courtyard  
(LP)

Northern Lower Portico  
(LP-N)

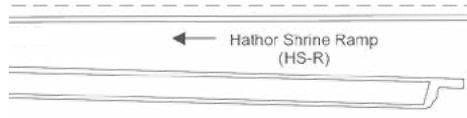


Lower Ramp  
(LR)



Lower Porticoes  
(LP)

Southern Lower Portico  
(LP-S)



Hathor Shrine Ramp  
(HS-R)

Southern Retaining Wall  
(RW-S)



TK

Middle Terrace (MT)

<b>NC-D(1)</b>	Northern Colonnade – Chapel D
<b>PP</b>	<b>Ptolemaic Portico</b>
<b>RW-A</b>	<b>Lower Retaining Wall</b>
<b>RW-N</b>	North Retaining Wall
<b>RW-S</b>	South Retaining Wall
<b>RW-W</b>	West Retaining Wall
<b>SA</b>	<b>Southern Chapel (Chamber) of Amun</b>
<b>UC</b>	<b>Upper Courtyard</b>
<b>UC.A</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche A
<b>UC.B</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche B
<b>UC.C</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche C
<b>UC.D</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche D
<b>UC.E</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche E
<b>UC.F</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche F
<b>UC.G</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche G
<b>UC.H</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche H
<b>UC.I</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche I
<b>UC.J</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche J
<b>UC.K</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche K
<b>UC.L</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche L
<b>UC.M</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche M
<b>UC.N</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche N
<b>UC.O</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche O
<b>UC.P</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche P
<b>UC.Q</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche Q
<b>UC.R</b>	Upper Courtyard – Niche R
<b>UC-EW</b>	Upper Courtyard – East Wall
<b>UC-NW</b>	Upper Courtyard – North Wall
<b>UC-SW</b>	Upper Courtyard – South Wall
<b>UC-WW</b>	Upper Courtyard – West Wall
<b>UP</b>	<b>Upper Portico</b>
<b>UP-N</b>	Upper Portico – Northern part
<b>UP-S</b>	Upper Portico – Southern part
<b>UR</b>	<b>Upper Ramp</b>
<b>UT</b>	<b>Upper Terrace</b>
<b>WR</b>	<b>Room of the Window</b>

# The original arrangement of the Upper Courtyard of the Temple of Hatshepsut in the light of recent archaeological results



**Abstract:** The Temple of Hatshepsut was in use, and frequently modified, between the 16th century BC and the 12th century AD. From the beginning of the archaeological work at the site in the 19th century, one of the primary research goals has been to understand the modifications made to the building since its initial construction. The present paper provides an overview of the different arguments and ideas proposed for the original configuration of the Upper Courtyard in light of with evidence from recent excavations between 2014 and 2016 in different parts of the court. In 2000, architect Andrzej Kwaśnica argued for an unprecedented arrangement of the architectural elements of the Upper Courtyard. However, recent archaeological discoveries suggest that the issue should be revisited. An examination of the foundations of the Ptolemaic Portico columns has shown that the six bases may have been *in situ* from the reign of Hatshepsut.

**Keywords:** Egypt, archaeology, architecture, temple, Hatshepsut, courtyard, foundations, Temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Courtyard, ancient Egyptian architecture

The Temple of Hatshepsut was the first of a series of royal temples built in west-bank Thebes during the New Kingdom. Like many other buildings in Egypt and beyond, the structure was reused and modified on several occasions between its construction in the 16th century BC and the last registered medieval activity at the site in the 12th century AD. Despite a history of archaeological work at the site going back to 1855, many important lines of research still remain to be pursued.

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### **Acknowledgments**

This article is a product of my own work as a member of the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari between 2012 and 2016.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw for a warm welcome and especially to Dr. Zbigniew E. Szafrński from the PCMA UW for his archaeological and egyptological counsel on my work, as well as for encouragement to publish. I would also like to express my gratitude to my team colleagues, whose advice and help have undoubtedly enriched this research. Finally, I thank Ben Gilding for checking my English. Needless to say, the ideas presented in this paper are my responsibility and mine alone, as is any language misunderstanding that may have escaped his review.

A preliminary version of the article entitled “Configuración original del patio de la terraza superior del Templo Funerario de Hatshepsut en Deir el-Bahari” was published in Spanish in 2016 as part of the digital proceedings of the 5th Iberian Congress of Egyptology held in March 2015 in Cuenca (Spain).

## EARLIER RESEARCH

The original form of the temple and the reasons behind its modifications have been investigated ever since the times of Henri Édouard Naville, who was in charge of the fieldwork at the site between 1893 and 1906. The Swiss archaeologist and his architect, Somers Clarke, were the first to propose a theoretical restitution of the initial temple (Naville 1908: 17–31, Pls CLXIX and CLXXIII). Since then, understanding the initial shape of the temple has been a central topic of research, as it constitutes a primary source of knowledge for the reconstruction of the site.<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, understanding the shape and modifications of the temple is a matter of broader interest as it could, potentially, contribute to ongoing research of other New Kingdom temples, which are not as well preserved and which could have been influenced by the structure that Hatshepsut built (Karkowski 1983: 140).

Clarifying variations in the shape of the structures of a temple, in which so many different teams and archaeologists have worked, is a difficult and oftentimes controversial task. The present article examines the progress made in the Upper Courtyard, which is a particularly complex part of the temple. It begins with an

expounding of the main contributions to the study of the issue and the evidence upon which they were based, followed by a preliminary analysis of the archaeological results of seasons 2014 to 2016, which have suggested new directions for further investigation.<sup>2</sup>

It is in the aforementioned works of Naville and Clarke that the first approach to the subject of the original configuration of the Upper Courtyard can be found. The British-sponsored team published two different plans of the Upper Terrace of the temple (Naville 1906: Pl. CXIX; 1908: Pl. CLXXII), understanding the courtyard as an uncovered space surrounded by two rows of columns on all its sides. The arrangement of the columns was in both cases symmetrical and independent of both the niches of the west retaining wall and the doorways to adjacent halls to the north and south of the courtyard [Fig. 1a]. The only difference between the plan published in 1906 and the one from 1908 is the north–south intercolumnation, which was shortened in the later version. As a result, the 1906 proposal had 14 columns on the western and eastern sides of the courtyard, while the later plan suggested that these rows had 16 columns.

1 In 1961, the Polish Archaeological and Conservation Mission of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari initiated the study, conservation and reconstruction of the temple, concentrating on the Upper Terrace. The first stage of the reconstruction was concluded in 2000, when the Coronation Portico and the Upper Courtyard were opened to the public. Since then, reconstruction and conservation efforts have focused on the complexes adjacent to the Upper Courtyard. As a result, the so-called Solar Cult Complex was opened in February 2015, and the Sanctuary of Amun in December 2017. The Polish team is currently focusing on the study and conservation of the Royal Cult Complex.

2 More on the archaeological fieldwork in Alarcón Robledo 2017 and Iwaszczuk 2017: 100–110.

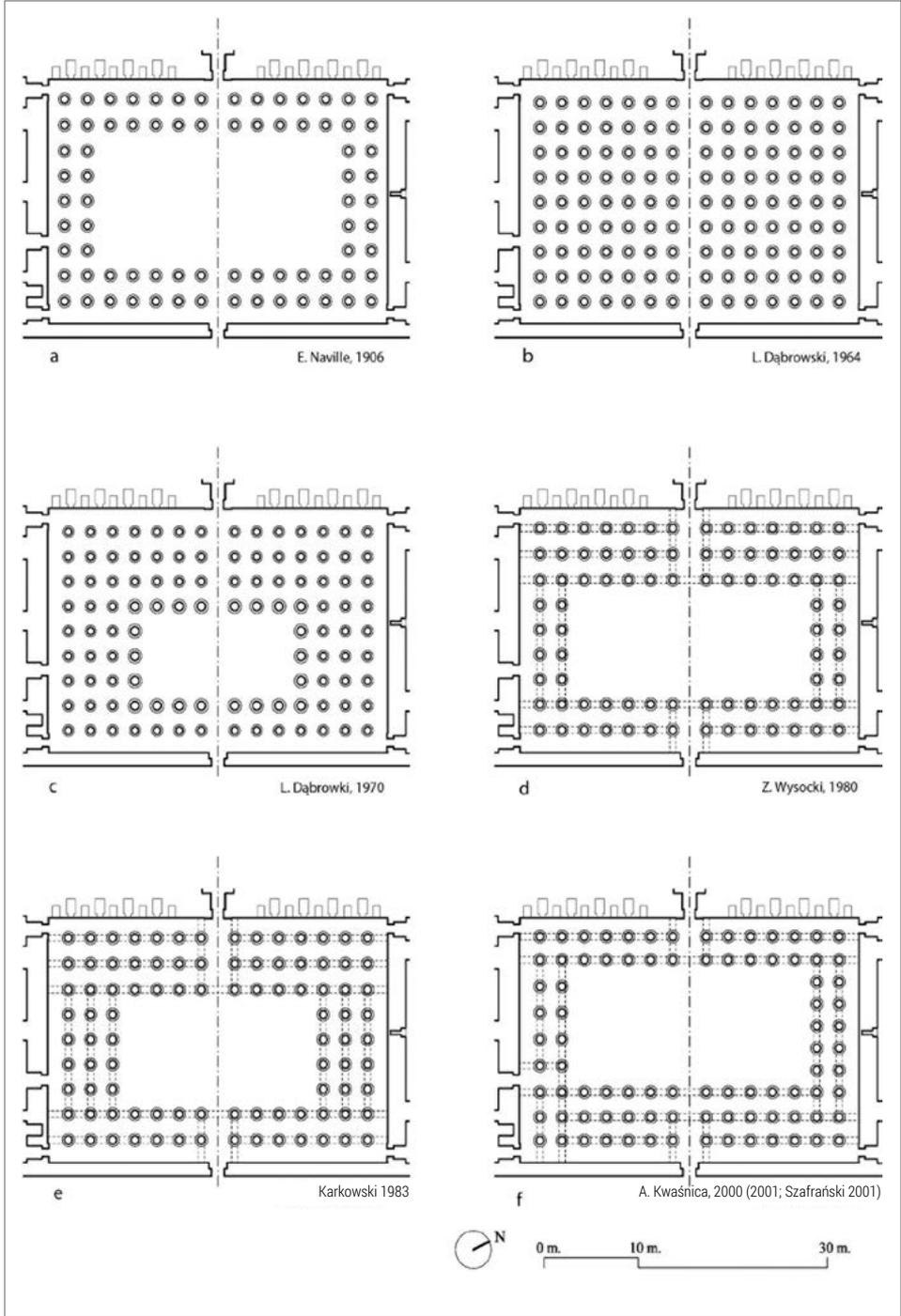


Fig. 1. The original configuration of the Upper Courtyard of the Temple of Hatshepsut according to different researchers (Drawing S. Alarcón Robledo)

Discussing the evidence upon which the British team based these proposals, Naville wrote that the Upper Court “was originally surrounded by a double colonnade, of which nothing now remains in place except a few bases ... , and four columns worked up into the later porch of the entrance to the central speos or Sanctuary on the west side, which have been re-cut to harmonize with the later work. But from these and other evidences it is possible to recover the original design with a considerable degree of certainty” (Naville 1906: 1). There is no further explanation of what is meant by ‘other evidences’. In a later publication of 1908, Somers Clarke added that “... we were able to trace the position and plan of the columns of the upper colonnade by the marks left on the floor by the masons, so we can identify the positions and forms of the colonnades surrounding this court” (Naville 1908: 25). There is no further mention of these mason marks in the literature, nor is there any published photographic evidence. What Clarke meant is thus unclear and could only be corroborated inside the temple by certain chisel marks found and recorded in the lower part of some walls of the temple (for marks of this kind, see, e.g., Wysocki 1987: 274; Karkowski 2003: 35), but not on the surface of the floor as the British architect indicated. It is possible that Clarke was referring to the marks extant on the upper surface of some of the column bases, which *are* attested on some of the bases in the courtyard (Dąbrowski 1964: 50) and are presented in one of the plates of Naville’s publication (Naville 1908: Pl. CLXXI-5), but there is no drawing or further evidence of any mason marks on

the floor of the courtyard proper. Actually, a close analysis of the pavement in the early 1960s resulted in the conclusion that “only in a few spots the pavement has been left in its original form” (Dąbrowski 1964: 47). Numerous blocks that composed the surface of the courtyard were found to be reused decorated blocks, which indicates that secondary paving activity had occurred at some point.

The next relevant contribution to this subject came in the early 1960s with a study of the original configuration of the courtyard by the architect Leszek Dąbrowski at the beginning of the Polish work at the site. In 1961–1962, Dąbrowski began an in-depth study of the courtyard, focusing on four key points: the analysis and restitution of the columns; the examination of the bases *in situ*; the study of the architraves; and the comparative research of the space with other structures. In his first publication on the topic, Dąbrowski (1964) introduced a ground-breaking idea: he proposed that the space which had previously been conceived exclusively as a courtyard could have been a hypostyle hall [Fig. 1:b]. In similarity to the nearby temple of Mentuhotep II and the Hathor and Anubis Sanctuaries of Hatshepsut’s own temple, this hypostyle hall would have preceded the main sanctuary (Dąbrowski 1964: 51). He thus suggested a plan in which columns filled the entire space instead of surrounding an open courtyard (Dąbrowski 1964: Pl. II).

The progress of the archaeological works at the temple, as well as the close examination of the results obtained by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, forced Dąbrowski to reexamine his theory (see Winlock 1942). He thus made a second proposal, wherein he admitted the exist-

ence of an open space at the center of the hypostyle hall [Fig. 1:c]. Apart from the symmetry of the outlined structure, the coexistence of two architectural orders should be noted in this second proposal. Dąbrowski suggested that the uncovered central part of the courtyard was bordered by 22 columns of a larger size (Dąbrowski 1970). Should that have been the case, it would have been unprecedented, although sparking an evolution of the design in the adjacent temple of Tuthmosis III, where the central part of the hypostyle hall was covered by a higher roof, supported by larger columns. The increased roof height opened the possibility of natural light streaming into the hall through windows opened between the two roofs. From an architectural point of view, this structural solution constituted an important step forward; one which could have influenced later architecture, as attested by similar spatial configurations in later New Kingdom constructions, such as the great hypostyle hall at Karnak and the halls of the Ramesseum and the temple at Medinet Habu (Karkowski 1983: 147, note 22). Given these architectural parallels, this configuration would have been plausible, but further research led to its rejection.

Jadwiga Lipińska suggested a similar idea for the layout of the temple courtyard without, however, studying it in detail. She considered the similar size and proportions of the courtyard and the hypostyle hall of the nearby temple of Tuthmosis III and proposed to take them as reference (Lipińska 1977: 35–36). Thus, in Lipińska's proposal, the arrangement of the columns in the courtyard of Hatshepsut's temple resembled that of the neighboring temple with three rows

of columns on its northern, southern and western sides, and two on its eastern side, with the central area covered by a higher roof supported on larger columns (Lipińska 1977: Pl. III). This idea had already been suggested by Dąbrowski when the excavation of the temple of Tuthmosis III was in its initial stages (Dąbrowski 1968: 135), but was ultimately discarded due to a lack of supporting archaeological evidence (Karkowski 1983: 147).

The architect Zygmunt Wysocki continued Dąbrowski's investigations of the original configuration of the colonnade of the Upper Courtyard, ultimately rejecting his revolutionary ideas (Wysocki 1973: 257; 1980: 59). Upon reexamination of the column bases, shafts and decoration, Wysocki concluded that the small number of fragments of the smaller columns (Wysocki 1980: 56) and the supporting points on the architraves could be interpreted only if all of the columns originally set in this courtyard were of the same size. The restitution of these resulted in a total height of 4.945 m from the top surface of the base to the underside of the architraves. Regarding the smaller columns, it is likely that they did not belong to this part of the temple, or if they did, they would have been set in a characteristic place, upon a platform or plinth that would increase their height sufficiently to reach the architraves (Wysocki 1980: 69; Karkowski 1983: 145). Consequently, Wysocki proposed a new plan of the courtyard (Wysocki 1980: Fig. 9) with two rows of columns on the northern, southern and eastern sides, and three rows in the west [Fig. 1:d].

Working concurrently with Wysocki, Janusz Karkowski proposed a plan of the

courtyard with three rows of columns to the north, south and west of the courtyard, and two rows on the east (Karkowski 1983) [Fig. 1:c]. His ideas were grounded

in a study of the original disposition of the architraves throughout the temple and conclusions reached in studies of the decoration of the column shafts.

## STATE OF RESEARCH IN 2011

In the 1990s, the architect Andrzej Kwaśnica returned to the issue, carrying out a very detailed analysis of the elements that could shed light on the position and changes made to the colonnade in the Upper Courtyard. Starting from the proposal made by Wysocki, he reexamined the *in situ* location of the column bases as well as the decoration of the column shafts. His most important contribution came from an in-depth study of the architraves in terms of both form and decoration, as well as a review of their supporting points upon the courtyard walls, made possible by the progress in the reconstruction of the decoration of these walls, which was almost complete at the end of the 1990s (Kwaśnica 2001: 81–87).

The supporting points of the architraves enabled Kwaśnica to calculate the distance between the rows of columns as 2.40 m from one column axis to the next. Kwaśnica argued that this length suited that of the preserved architraves, which varied between 2.30 m and 2.50 m. Given this interrelationship, he assumed this distance to be the general intercolumnium of the courtyard. He then drew a theoretical grid over the plan of the courtyard and suggested 10 columns on the northern and southern sides instead

of the nine proposed by all the earlier researchers (Kwaśnica 2001: 92).

One piece of evidence on which he based his conclusions was an architrave with a preserved minimal length of 2.75 m (Kwaśnica 2001: 92).<sup>3</sup> This led Kwaśnica to assert that the distance between the columns ought to have been longer somewhere in the courtyard, which would not be surprising, considering that it was a common solution when enlarging walkways through colonnades. There are two examples of this practice in the courtyard, where the columns flanking the main axis of the temple allow for a wider path into the courtyard and the Amun Sanctuary. Kwaśnica suggested a similar design for the walkway to the entrance of the Royal Cult Complex located on the southern side of the Upper Terrace. The points where the architraves were set upon the south wall indicate that the arrangement was similar to that of the above-mentioned walkways, breaking the continuity of the architraves rows, and turning them towards the doorway [Fig. 1:f].

Another noteworthy contribution made by Kwaśnica was based on his analysis of the decoration of the architraves. As attested in other parts of the temple, the reliefs on blocks exposed to direct sunlight were sculpted in sunken relief, whereas those in the shade bore inscriptions made in

3 This particular architrave is damaged at one end, preventing us from conclusively determining its original dimensions (Kwaśnica 2001: 92).

bas-relief. Some of the preserved architrave fragments are decorated with bas-reliefs, but it is possible to appreciate an earlier decoration in sunken relief on their surface. Kwaśnica interpreted this as proof that another row of columns was added on one of the sides of the courtyard once it had been built and fully decorated. This new row would have placed a whole line of architraves, previously exposed to sunlight, in the shade, thus necessitating the replacement of sunken relief decoration with bas-reliefs (Kwaśnica 2001: 94).

The new plan of the courtyard that Kwaśnica proposed—based on a thorough investigation, the main points of which have been summarized here—consisted of two rows of columns to the north, south,

and west of the courtyard, and three of them to the east, the third of which would have been added at a later stage of the construction process [Fig. 1:f]. The asymmetry of the plan, which derives from the elongation of the columns' distance on the pathway to the Royal Cult Complex, is particularly remarkable. Thus, the northern side of the courtyard would have originally been composed of 10 columns, whereas the southern one would have had nine. Kwaśnica was aware of the atypical character of this unprecedented configuration; he argued it based on the complexity of the temple, the modifications that it underwent during the original construction,<sup>4</sup> and the compositional issues that its builders had to face (Kwaśnica 2001: 97).



Fig. 2. General view of the Upper Courtyard of the temple, during the excavations of the foundations of the Ptolemaic Portico (S1/14) (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Temple of Hatshepsut Project/ photo D. Wiczorek, 2014)

4 See the detailed study by Zygmunt Wysocki on the construction of the temple of Hatshepsut and the successive modifications during the process (Wysocki 1986; 1992). He essentially

## RECENT ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESULTS

One of the main reasons why Wysocki proposed three rows of columns on the west side of the courtyard as opposed to the east side [see *Fig. 1:d*] was the assumption that the bases upon which the Ptolemaic Portico stood [*Fig. 2*] had not been moved since the initial construction took place and that the Ptolemaic builders followed the extant disposition of columns while setting it up (Wysocki 1980: 69). Agreeing with Naville's idea, Kwasnica wrote: "... The Ptolemaic architects had indeed used the extant column bases to set up their columns, but only the first four counting from the Sanctuary. They added two more on the east, as indicated by the level of the tops of these bases, which is in both cases 6 cm above that of the other four resting *in situ*. The ancient Egyptians could not have allowed such a bump to appear right in front of the entrance to the Sanctuary" (Kwaśnica 2001: 89). He also stated that "... no attention was paid to leveling the ground under these two new bases" (Kwaśnica 2001: 90).

In 2013, total station measurements of the height of these bases revealed a maximum difference of 3 cm of the northern base (P-1<sup>5</sup>), and 4 cm of the southern one (P-2) with respect to bases J-1 and i-1. A similar difference was ob-

served between the heights of bases J-1/i-2 and J-2/i-2 [*Fig. 3*]. The subsoil of these bases (trench S1/14) was uncovered in search of evidence for the two easternmost bases being added by the Ptolemaic builders. Otherwise, the results would confirm that they were still in their original positions, as Wysocki believed.

Contrary to Kwaśnica's ideas, the excavations revealed that the bases were carefully set on foundation blocks, designed to transfer their structural load to the bedrock [*Fig. 4*]. Such foundation blocks had been attested earlier, for instance, in the excavation of the substructure of the south wall of the courtyard (Stefanowicz 1991; Szafranski 1995). The blocks found underneath bases P-1 and P-2 have the necessary thickness allowing for the upper surface of the bases to be set at the proper height of the courtyard pavement, which suggests that the setting of the bases and of the foundations was most likely part of the same architectural undertaking. This is even more apparent when we consider that not all the base blocks in the courtyard have the same thickness. According to Kwaśnica, the two eastern bases of the portico were added in Ptolemaic times (Kwaśnica 2001: 89); had that been the case, the foundations would have been placed there at the same time. The ques-

divided the building work into two phases. Worth mentioning is his idea that Tutmosis II may have been responsible for the first stage of temple construction. Nevertheless, no foundation deposits have been found in confirmation of this theory. In fact, a thorough analysis of foundation deposits from the site argues in favor of the idea that Hatshepsut was responsible for the construction of the temple from the very beginning (Spence 2007).

5 The number scheme of the columns follows the one established by Kwaśnica (Szafranski 2001: 191) except for the easternmost ones, now designated as P-1 and P-2, which Kwaśnica had not numbered, thinking them to be added by the Ptolemaic builders.

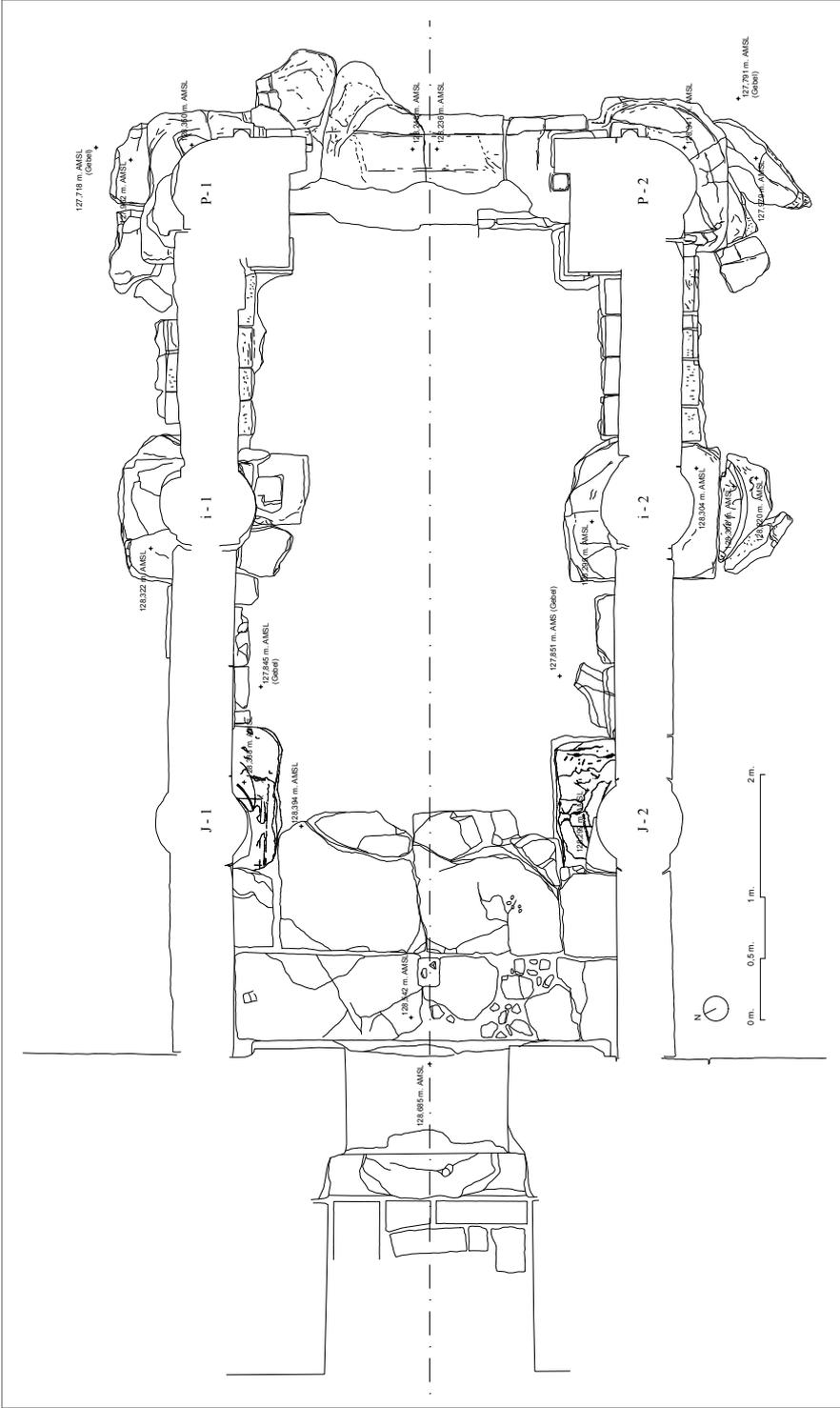


Fig. 3. Trench S1/14: plan showing the Ptolemaic Portico with the foundations uncovered (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Temple of Hatshepsut Project/ drawing S. Alarcón Robledo)

tion that arises is whether the bases *and* the foundation blocks were all set in the times of Hatshepsut or at the time when the Ptolemaic builders were preparing to construct the portico.

A detailed analysis of the foundation blocks revealed a *dipinto* on the surface of one of those underneath base P-2. These chromatic marks, of a rosy tone, are related to the techniques and progress of block production, from quarrying to different stages of work on their surfaces at the temple (Wieczorek 2010; 2015). According to Dawid Wieczorek, the *dipinto* found on the surface of the block proves that it was brought in and shaped rather roughly during the construction of the temple in the times of Hatshepsut.

The section cut through the subsoil upon which the Ptolemaic portico is set, which was examined in the space between the bases of the Ptolemaic portico, revealed that the portico walls were built directly on the pavement of the preexisting

courtyard. It seems strange and somehow unlikely, from an architectural perspective, that the Ptolemaic builders would have excavated the courtyard down to bedrock just to give the corner bases an appropriate foundation, while setting the rest of the wall directly on the extant pavement without structural reinforcement of any kind.

A piece of diorite was found embedded in the trench section between bases i-2 and P-2 [see Fig. 3]. Diorite is a highly tough rock which was often used for working red granite. The most plausible hypothesis is that this fragment splintered off from a tool used on the surface of the doorjambs or lintel of either the entrance to the Amun Sanctuary or the doorway that enters the courtyard from the Upper Portico. This also suggests that the red granite brought to the site was not fully dressed, as was the case of softer stones. In either case, these stone elements were incorporated into the temple in the times of Hatshepsut, and considering that there is no evidence of any



Fig. 4. Trench S1/14: view of the uncovered foundations under column base P-1 (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo D. Wieczorek, 2014)



Fig. 5. General view of trench S1/15, excavated in 2015 (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki, 2015)

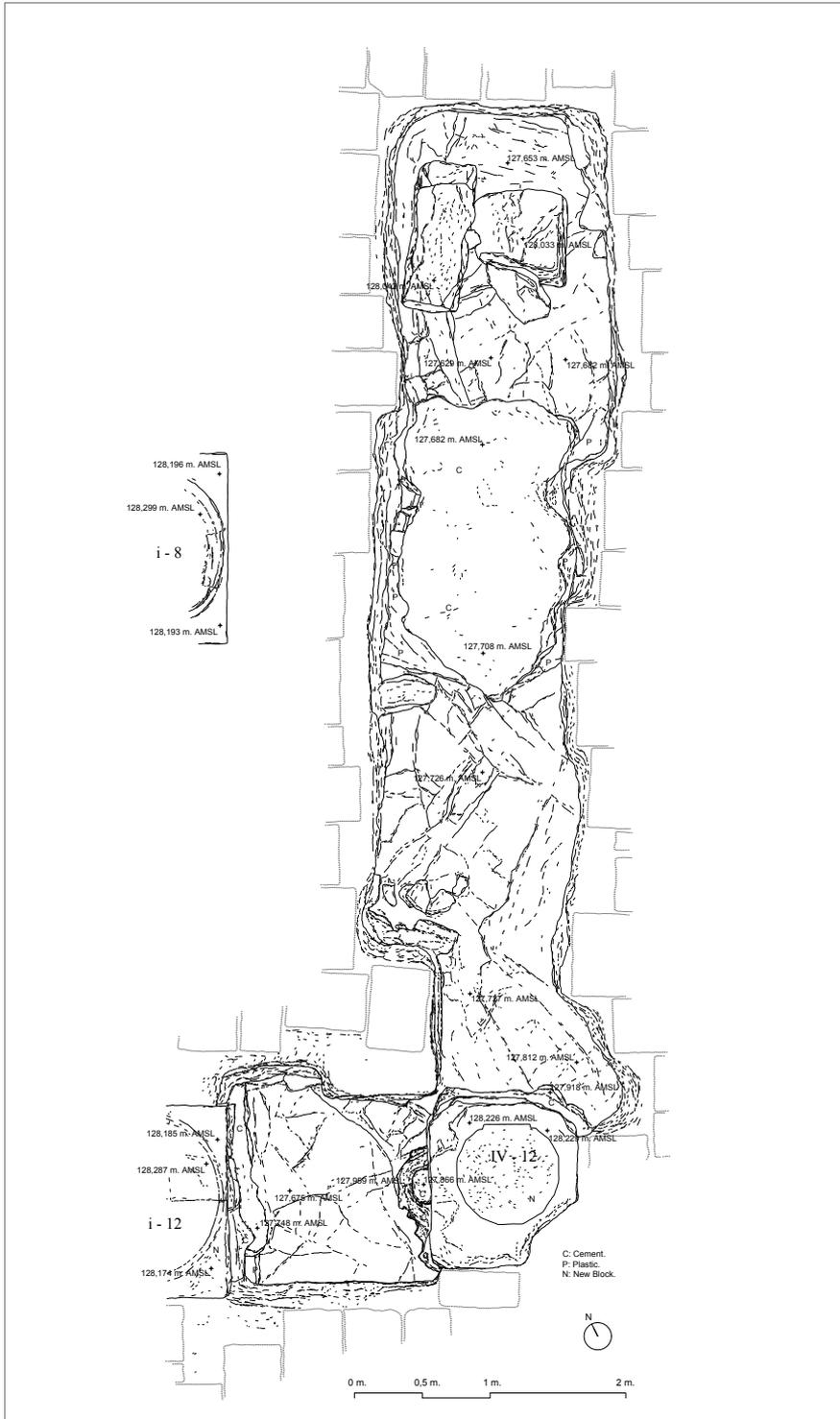


Fig. 6. Plan of trench S1/15, showing cement and plastic present in some parts of the excavated area (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Temple of Hatshepsut Project/drawing S. Alarcón Robledo)

red granite or diorite Ptolemaic features in the temple, we can tentatively contextualize the archaeological layers underneath the south wall of the portico as belonging to the construction period of the temple in Hatshepsut's time.

A pottery rim sherd found between base P-1 and the foundation block underneath (which bears the said *dipinto*) was not diagnostic, as it sits equally well in the early New Kingdom and the Ptolemaic period (S. Marchand and Z.E. Szafranski, personal communication).

Based on the fact that the bases underneath the eastern end of the Ptolemaic Portico were properly set on foundations, in 2015 the team excavated trench S1/15, which corresponds to the area where the third row of columns ought to have been, if it had ever existed, working on the assumption that, although the bases were not in place, their foundations could still

be *in situ*. The trench corresponded to the southern half of the alleged third row of columns. Cement and modern plastic found over a considerable part of the bedrock surface in the trench proved that the place had already been excavated down to bedrock, leaving no evidence of value for the issue at hand. A few roughly worked blocks were found to the north of the cement [Figs 5, 6], but the mixed material and the inconsistency of the layers among the blocks made it apparent that they had been removed from their original setting.

The space between bases i-12 and IV-12 was also excavated in the hope of finding foundations for comparison with those of the Ptolemaic Portico. The bases were thick enough to reach bedrock without the need for foundation blocks. Furthermore, cement was found under both of them, proving that their substructures had been modified in modern times [see Figs 5, 6].

## CONCLUSIONS

The results of recent archaeological excavations in the Upper Courtyard have reopened an avenue of research closed for the past two decades. The examination of the trenches underneath the Ptolemaic portico revealed the careful arrangement of the setting of bases P-1 and P-2. The dating of this arrangement is supported by the following evidence:

1) The fact that the thickness of the foundation blocks is perfect for allowing the bases P-1 and P-2 to reach the level of the pavement strongly suggests that both the foundations and the base blocks were set at the same time.

2) At least one of the foundation blocks was dressed most certainly in the

time of Hatshepsut. The other blocks do not show any *dipinto* on the visible faces, which would verify a common origin, but the similar manner of dressing and preservation make this most likely.

3) The chisel work on the base blocks, as well as their state of preservation, are similar to those of other bases which were set in the times of Hatshepsut.

4) The fragment of diorite found in the archaeological layers underneath the portico in between bases i-2 and P-2, and the lack of any later material evidence within it, attests to the presumably undisturbed nature of these layers since the times of Hatshepsut.

The archaeological data, even at this preliminary stage of the analysis, sug-

gests that bases P-1 and P-2 may have remained *in situ* since the construction of the temple. If so, then it follows that the existence of at least three rows of columns on the western side of the courtyard in its original configuration cannot be excluded. This is incompatible, however, with the three rows of columns, suggested by Kwaśnica, on the eastern side, because according to the studies of the decoration of the column shaft there ought to have been at

least four columns making up the northern and southern fronts of the open part of the courtyard (Wysocki 1980: 63).

A further and more in-depth review of the various arguments analyzed herein is necessary to render them compatible with the more recent archaeological evidence. This would provide a more certain account of the development of this part of the temple over time ever since its first construction during the reign of Hatshepsut.

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#### How to cite this article:

Alarcón Robledo, S. (2018).  
The original arrangement of the Upper Courtyard  
of the Temple of Hatshepsut in the light of recent  
archaeological results. In Z.E. Szafrński (Ed.),  
Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in  
the Mediterranean 27/2 (pp. 17–32). Warsaw:  
University of Warsaw Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3170>

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# *Dipinti* in the relieving chamber above the Bark Hall of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** The paper presents ancient *dipinti*, both hieroglyphic and hieratic, traced in the relieving chamber above the Bark Hall of the Hatshepsut temple in Deir el-Bahari. The material is linked mainly to a group of builders, most probably draftsmen, engaged in the building operations at the site of the temple.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, *dipinti*

The reason for a relieving chamber above the Bark Hall of the Hatshepsut temple [Fig. 1] was to ease the pressure exerted by the fill of the platform above the Upper Court of the temple (for this construction, see Wysocki 1980: 14–15, Figs 8, 16; 1983: 248–250, Fig. 2, Pl. 61; 1986: 223; 1992: 245–246; Arnold 1991: 186–187, Fig. 4.122). The protective role of the chamber is not to be underestimated, but other motives behind its construction cannot be overlooked. According to Wysocki, the poor quality of the rock did not let the Bark Hall be hewn as a cave in the rock massif, necessitating instead the opening of the space above it and the subsequent construction of a vaulted ceiling along with a relieving chamber to protect it from above.

The hieroglyphic, hieratic and figural *dipinti* left in the relieving chamber can be deemed contemporaneous with its construction, that is, dated to the reign of Hatshepsut. The *dipinti* are located on the internal surfaces, and in one case on the edge of the inclined limestone slabs forming the relieving construction, as well as on the bedrock (*tafl*) forming the rear wall in the west part of the chamber [Figs 2, 4–5]. The line of symmetry of the chamber was painted in red on the

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**Acknowledgments**

I am grateful to Paul Barford for improving my English, and his assistance in documenting the *dipinti*. My thanks also go to Monika Czerniec, Katarzyna Kasprzycka, and Katarzyna Trzecińska.

rock-cut back wall [see *Fig. 5*]. One can only surmise that three sketches in the form of triangles, Nos 1–3 [*Fig. 3*], might have been connected in one way or another with the planning of the relieving construction. The top apex angle of these triangles is estimated at about  $58^\circ$  (No. 1), about  $50^\circ$  (No. 2), and about  $60^\circ$  (No. 3), thus differing significantly

from that of the upper angle of the actual stone construction, which is roughly  $82^\circ$ . Nevertheless, the drawings may be interpreted as attempts to establish the proper gradient of the stone slabs making up the relieving construction. The drawing of one of the triangles (No. 1) stands out due to its red internal lines, even though it was covered completely

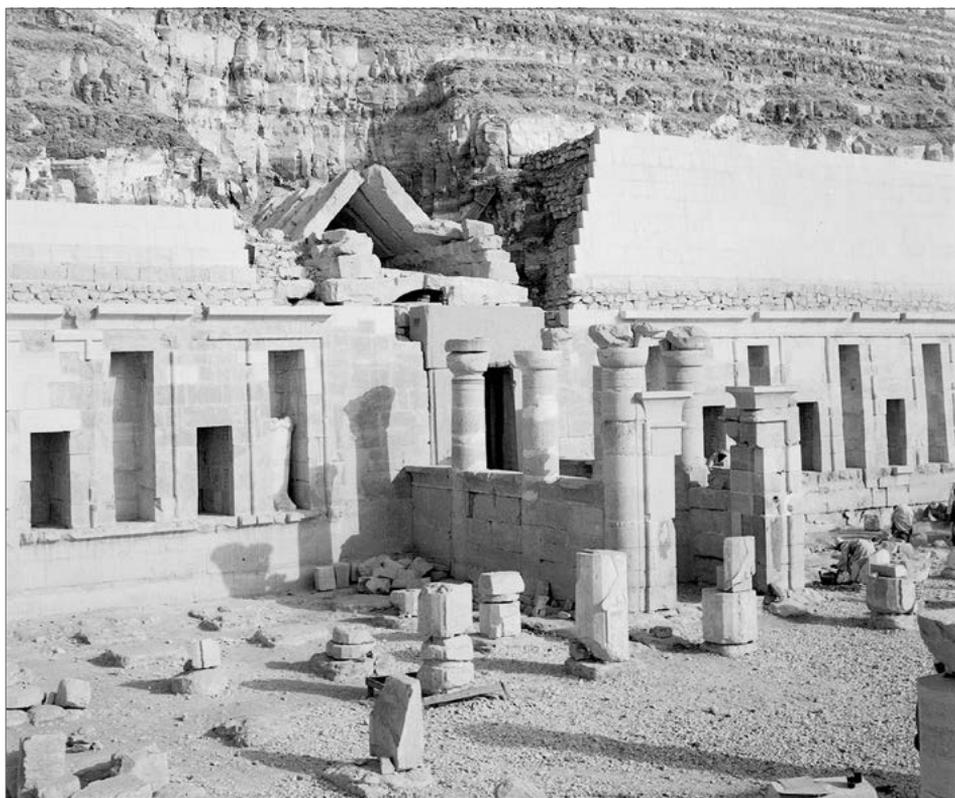


Fig. 1. Chamber above the Bark Hall of the Temple of Hatshepsut: top, external view before reconstruction of the artificial platform, around 1970; right, internal view, 2017 (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos Archive and M. Jawornicki)





Fig. 2. Location of *dipinti* in the chamber above the Bark Hall: south part of the relieving construction (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

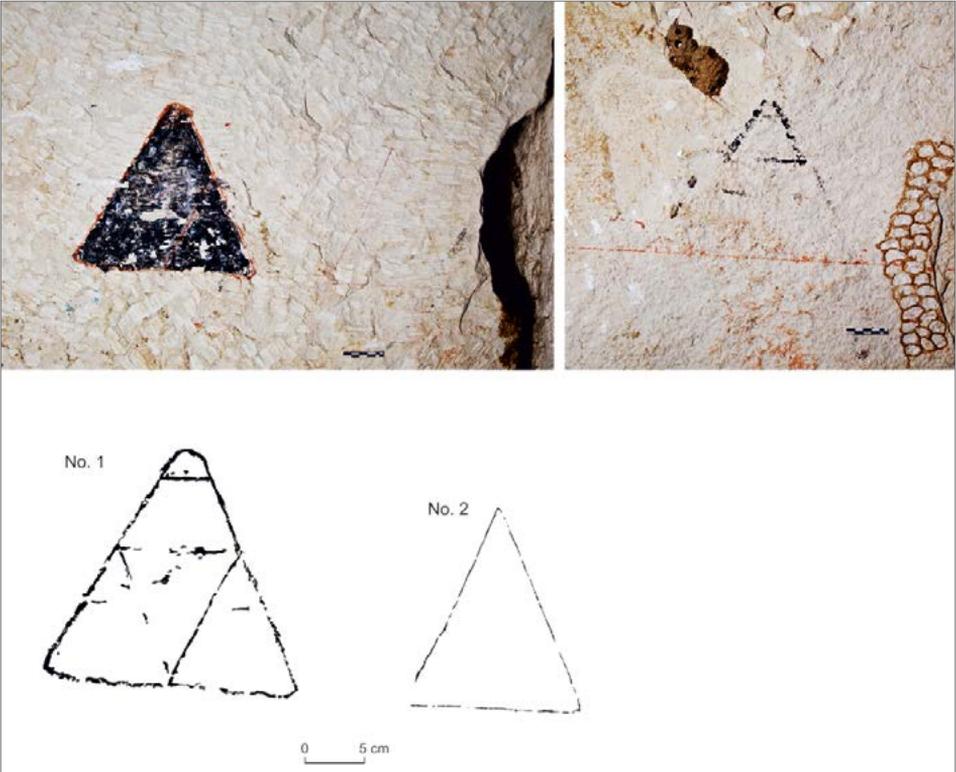


Fig. 3. Triangles on the southern part of the relieving construction (for location, see Fig. 2): top left, two triangles (Nos 1–2), the one on the right barely scratched, 1.76 m above the floor; top right, single triangle (No. 3), 1.50 m above the floor; bottom, drawing of triangles 1–2, showing the internal details of the triangle on the left (No. 1) (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos M. Jawornicki; drawing M. Czerniec, processing and digitizing M. Puzskarski)



Fig. 4. Location of *dipinti* in the chamber above the Bark Hall: north part of the relieving construction (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 5. Location of *dipinti* on the rock-cut west wall of the relieving chamber above the Bark Hall; arrow indicates the line of symmetry (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

with black paint. However, the geometry of these lines cannot be related explicitly to the mathematical formulas for calculating the height of a pyramid, as evidenced by the Rhind Mathematical Papyrus, e.g., problem No. 57 (see Robins and Shute 1987: 47–49; Rossi 2003: 185ff.;

Shaw 2013: 19ff., Fig. 2.2). Whether the internal lines of this triangle served to calculate the distance between the blocks and the baseline, and the mid-height of the planned construction is not evident. It may be surmised, however, that the final result was the outcome of the

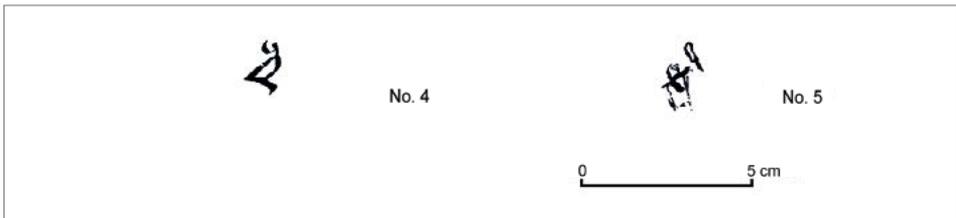


Fig. 6. Hieratic *dipinti* (for location, see Fig. 2): left, the *m* sign (No. 4) on the southern part of the relieving construction, 1.81 m above the floor; right, inscription (No. 5) on the southwestern part of the relieving construction, 1.70 m above the floor (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos M. Jawornicki; drawing M. Barwik)

applied building technique. Consequently, the present shape of the construction would draw from a pragmatic approach to the construction problem rather than the application of a theoretical mathematical formula originally contrived by the supervisor of the work. In any case, the structure in question proved to be functional regardless of the cracking in the upper part of one of the slabs of the

relieving construction on the south side [see *Fig. 2*].

A group of simple drawing sketches or scribal exercises has also been attested among these *dipinti*. Such is the case of the hieratic sign *m* (No. 4) [*Fig. 6*], written in a professional hieratic script of the early Eighteenth Dynasty (compare Möller 1927: 17, No. 196; 1920: Pl. II). Two hieratic signs (No. 5) [see *Fig. 6*],

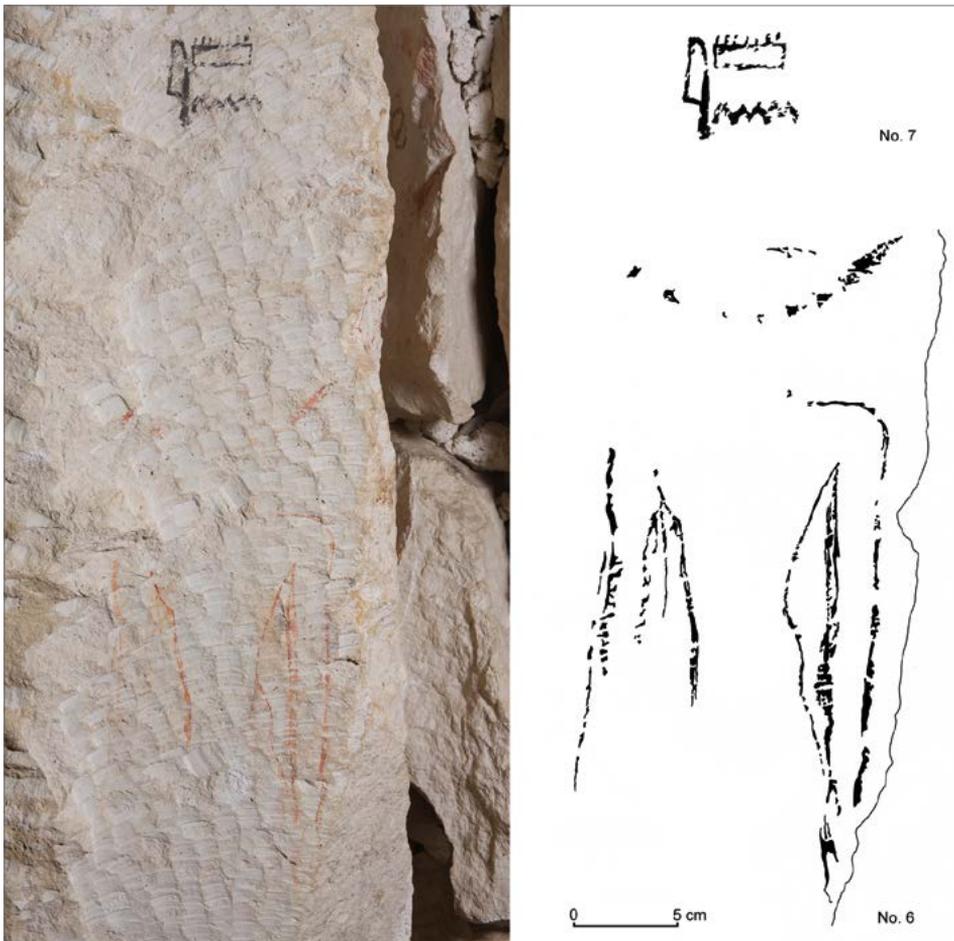


Fig. 7. Figural *dipinto* (No. 6) and hieroglyphic inscription (No. 7; top right) on the southern part of the relieving construction, 1.34 m above the floor (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki; drawing M. Czerniec)

presumably Gardiner's S29 and Q7, are placed a little bit to the right, on the external western edge of the southwestern slab of the construction (the last in the row of slabs forming its southern part).<sup>1</sup> The place, squeezed in between the rock-cut west wall of the chamber and the limestone slab, is itself barely accessible, a circumstance explaining perhaps the slightly rotated axis of this enigmatic inscription. Both graffiti (Nos 4 and 5) were written in black ink.

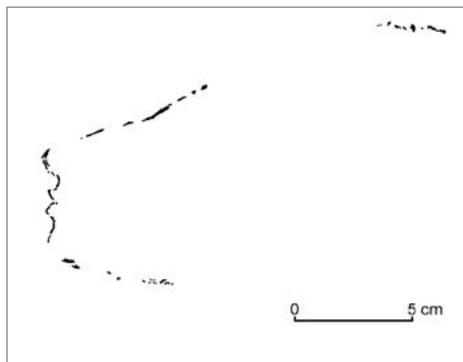


Fig. 8. Figural *dipinto* (No. 8) on the southern part of the relieving construction, 1.33 m above the floor (PCMA Temple of Hatshepsut Project/drawing P. Barford)

Figural sketches drawn on the slabs comprise a headless human figure in red (No. 6), with an adjoining hieroglyphic inscription written in black (No. 7): *Imn* (without determinative) [Fig. 7]. A silhouette of a human face (No. 8) [Fig. 8] was painted also in red. An elaborate drawing of a ram protome, still within the frame of a drawing grid (No. 9) [Fig. 9; in red paint], leaves no doubt about the professional expertise of its maker, possibly one of the draftsmen working on the temple decoration. An empty drawing grid (No. 10) was also traced in red paint on the *tafl* rock, 0.62 m above the floor [Figs 5, 11].

One of the most intriguing motifs among these figural *dipinti* is a drawing of a shield (No. 11) in black ink on the inclined slabs of the northern part of the relieving construction [Fig. 10]. The shield is of a Middle Kingdom type (Petschel and von Falck 2004: 138–139, Nos 140, 141 a–b), although well attested during the New Kingdom as well (see, e.g., Wolf 1926: 76–77; Davies 1930: Pl. XXII).<sup>2</sup> Just above the shield motif is

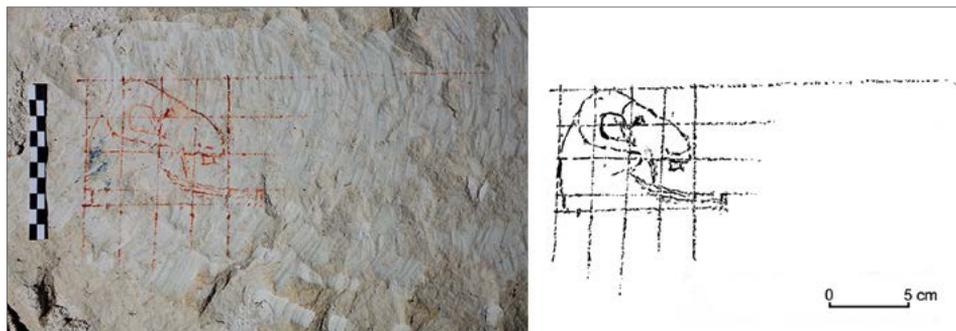


Fig. 9. Figural *dipinto* (No. 9) on the northern part of the relieving construction, 1.08 m above the floor (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki; drawing M. Czerniec)

1 Hardly likely for *st(y)* “odour, smell” (Wb. IV, 349f.); more probably an abbreviation for *strf* “temperature” (Wb. IV, 196). For the hieratic form of the second sign in the group, see Möller 1927: 35 (No. 394).

a signature of the scribe Amenhotep written in hieroglyphic signs (No. 12): *ir(.w).n sš'Imn-htp(.w)* "Made by the scribe Amenhotep" [see Fig. 10]. Some red dots and two

rectangles can be seen near it. A concise hieratic docket on the opposite side of the ceiling may be attributed to the same person perhaps, although the handwriting

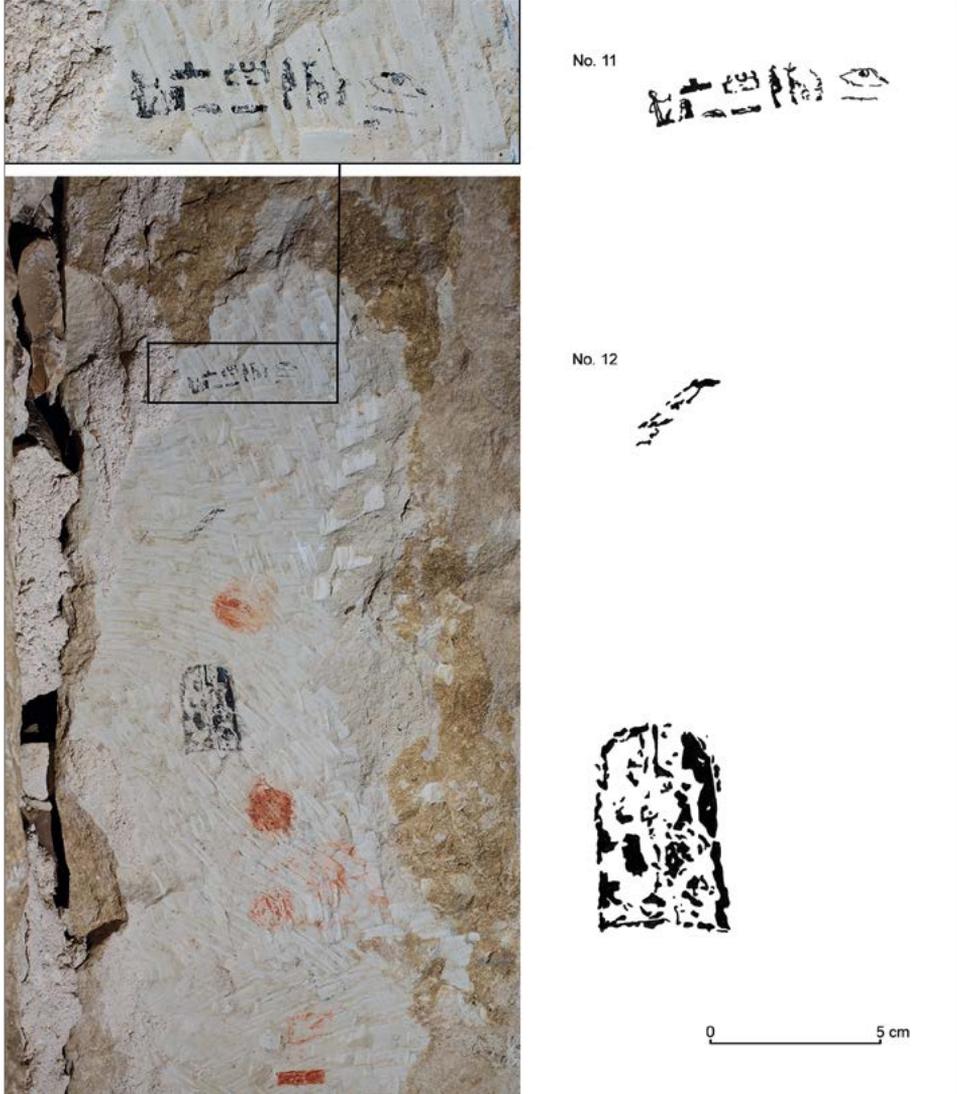


Fig. 10. A group of *dipinti* (Nos 11–12) on the northern part of the relieving construction, 1.55 m above the floor; top left, close-up view of an inscription of the scribe Amenhotep (No. 12) (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos M. Jawornicki; drawing M. Czerniec, M. Barwik)

2 For the form of a sign of similar shape, see also Möller 1927: 38, No. 434 (the form drawn from papHarris 22, 7).

differs substantially from the preceding one (No. 13): *sš'Imn-htp(.w)* “the scribe Amenhotep” [Fig. 12]. Both signatures are written in black ink.

Two carefully detailed hieroglyphic tableaux were written on the rock of the

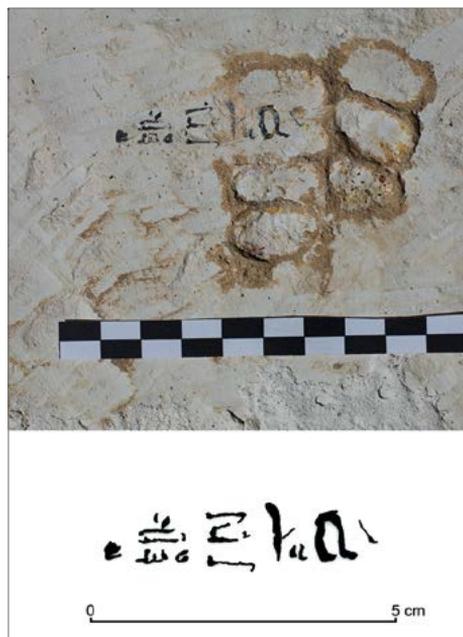


Fig. 12. Inscription of the scribe Amenhotep (No. 13) on the southern part of the relieving construction, 1.03 m above the floor (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki; drawing M. Barwik)

back wall at the west end of the chamber. An even surface of the *tafl* was chosen in both cases and the inscriptions painted after whitewashing the background.<sup>3</sup>

One of them (tableau A) with a multicolor quail chick (*w* sign), drawn in the center between four vertical columns of inscription,<sup>4</sup> commemorates the scribe



Fig. 11. Empty drawing grid (No. 10) painted on bedrock, 0.62 m above the floor (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

- 3 In modern times plaster was applied around both tableaux to strengthen the fragile structure of the rock. A loose fragment of the rock below tableau “B” was also replaced in its proper position at this time. The situation before the conservation work, undertaken there at the beginning of the 1960s, can be discerned in photographs kindly provided by the late Professor Jadwiga Lipińska.
- 4 Surprisingly enough, the motif of a quail chick is attested among the graffiti dispersed in the temple area: it can be found on the lower ramp (north wall; unpublished), in the Birth Portico (see Niwiński 1985: 224, Fig. 19), and on the retaining wall above the Lower Chapel of Anubis (unpublished). It is worth noting that it is also attested on figural ostraca of later periods, see, e.g., Dorn 2011: Pl. 435 (502–503).

Amenhotep, alongside other members of his family. This panel, 8.5 cm by 10.5 cm, is located 2 m above the floor level. The hieroglyphic signs were painted in black [see *Fig. 13*]:

#### Transliteration

- (1) *ir.n* [sš] *Imn-htp(.w)* s3 [hry?] sš-
- (2) *ḳdw.t* [mn?-...]
- (3) *sn.f šri*
- (4) *sš-ḳdw.t* [...]

#### Translation and commentary

“(1) Made by the [scribe?] <sup>a)</sup> Amenhotep, son of the [chief?] drafts (2) -man <sup>b)</sup> A[men?-...] <sup>c)</sup>; (3) his younger brother (4) draftsman [...] <sup>d)</sup>.”

- a) Enough of the text has been preserved to interpret the title in this way.
- b) The plural determinative after *sš* remains incomprehensible in itself, unless a group *hry-sš.w* is postulated, which would seem to be a plausible solution. A dot of black ink on the right above the group *sš* can be interpreted perhaps as a remnant of Gardiner sign N1 (*hr*).
- c) The reading of the name poses a problem; even the initial *aleph* (prothetic *i*) is doubtful. The determinative of the name has been written a little bit to the left of column 2.
- d) No trace is preserved of the name due to erosion of the rock surface.

The second tableau, B, 11 cm by 8.5 cm, located 1.47 m above the floor, was composed of four vertical columns of inscription [*Fig. 14*]. The hieroglyphic signs were painted in black:

#### Transliteration

- (1) *s3(?)* [blank space]
- (2) *sš S3-p3-ir it.f T<sup>c</sup>h[-ms(.w)?]*
- (3) [*sš-ḳdw.t? T...*]
- (4) [...] *Imn-m-ip.t*

#### Translation and commentary

“(1) Sa(pair?) [blank space] <sup>a)</sup>; (2) Scribe Sapair; his father: Ah[mose] <sup>b)</sup>; (3) [draftsman? A ...] <sup>c)</sup>; (4) [...] <sup>d)</sup> Amenemope.”

- a) One can presume that the scribe started off with the name, inadvertently omitting the title of the person in question. Upon seeing his mistake, he started anew in the second column, this time attaching the appropriate title. In consequence, the unknown author of this inscription retraced the line bordering the column of inscription.
- b) The present state of the inscription makes the reading of the name Jahmes highly doubtful since only tiny traces of the last sign in the column have been preserved. In photographs from the early 1960s, the reading of the *ms*-sign is definite (see above, note 3) [see *Fig. 14* top right]. It is also worth noting that the formula “x, father (of) y” has not been attested, so the reading “x, his father (is) y” seems more appropriate indeed.
- c) Although there are some doubts as regards the reading of the first group of the column, the next word can be read presumably as *ḳdw.t*, with an exceptionally high *w* sign. Assuming a professional draftsman at work, the outcome seems rather astonishing as far as the form and proportions of

the hieroglyphic signs are concerned. Compare, however, apparent irregularities in the proportions of the hieroglyphic signs in column 4 and

to some extent also in tableau A. The preserved traces do not suffice for the name of the person in question to be deduced, except for the obvious

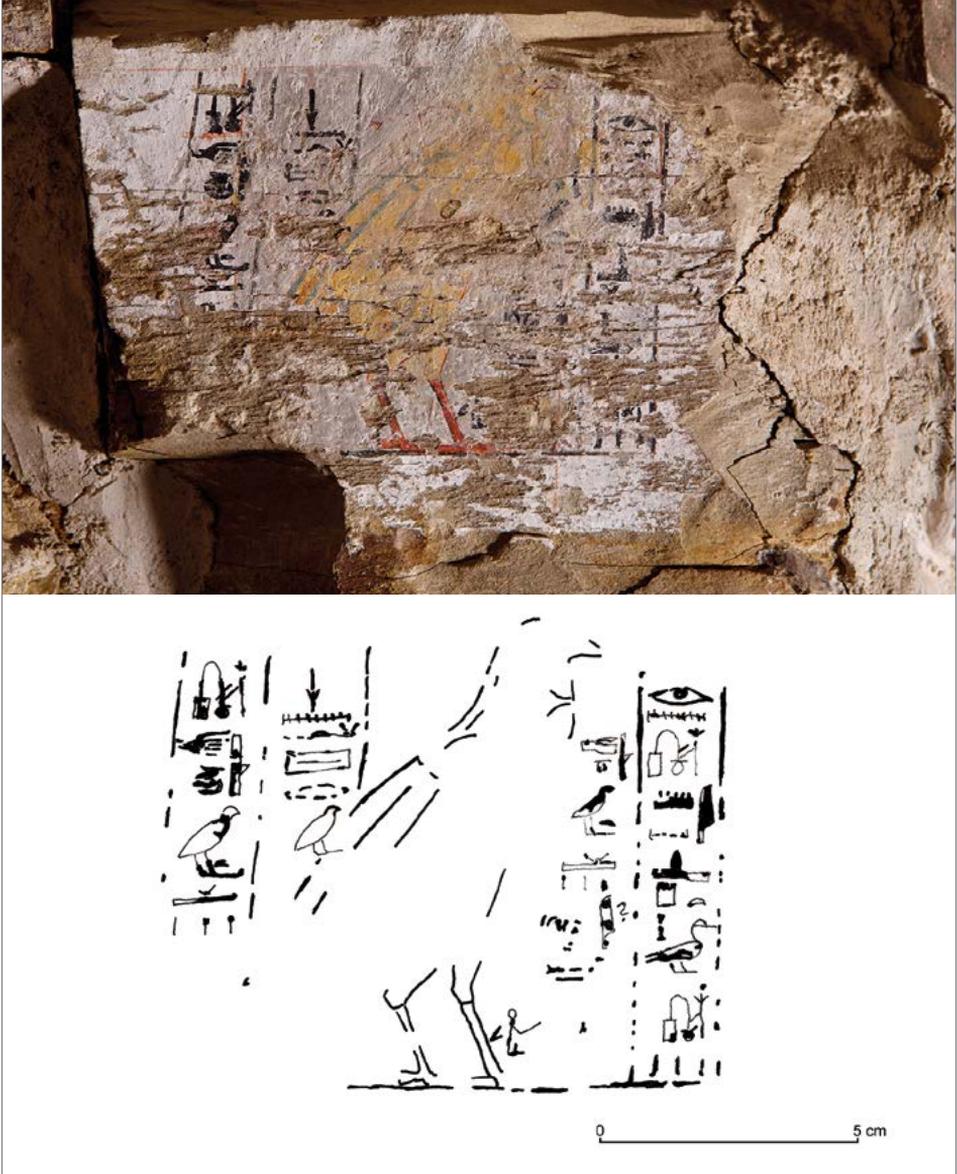


Fig. 13. Hieroglyphic tableau A on the rock-cut west wall of the relieving chamber; the inscription partly restored in the drawing (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki; drawing P. Barford, M. Barwik)

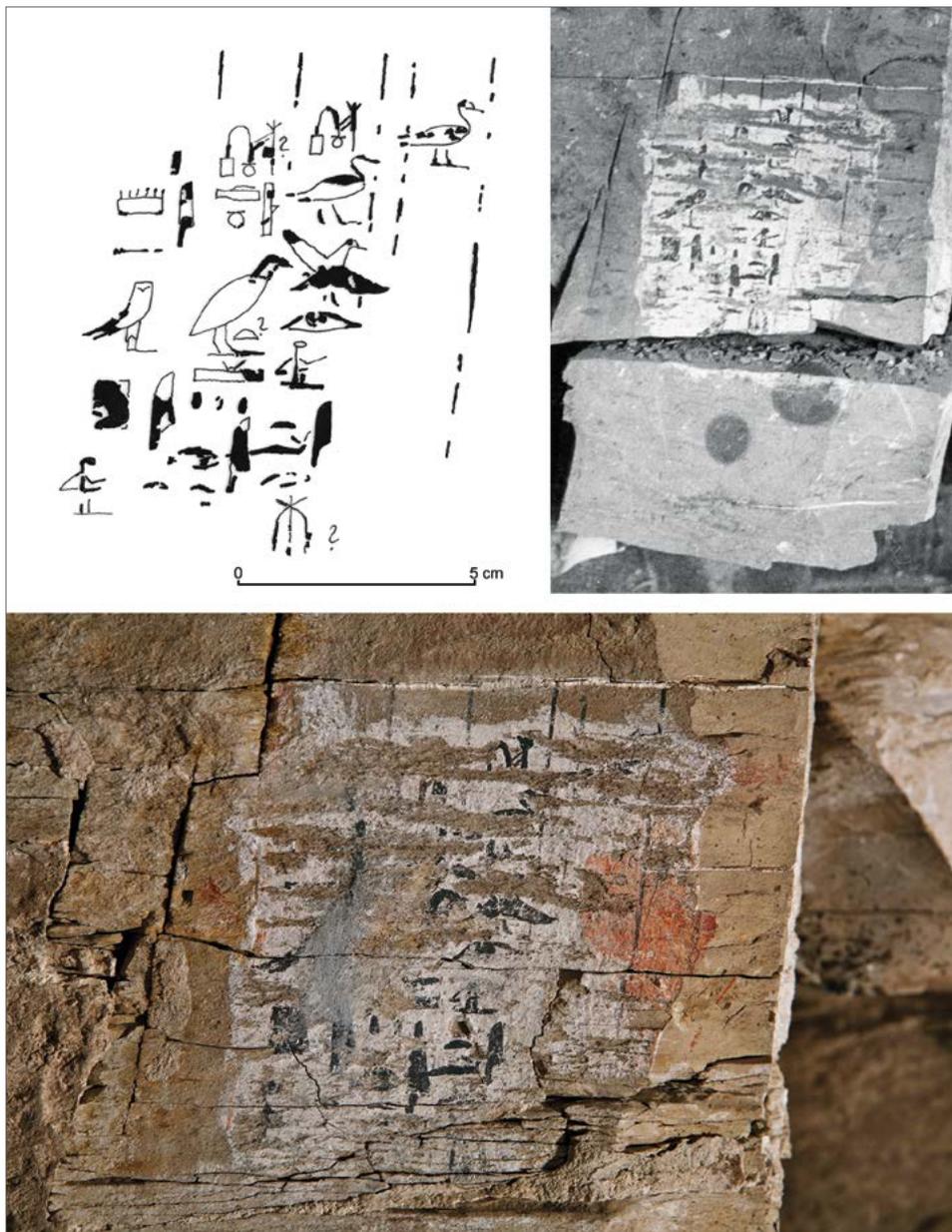


Fig. 14. Hieroglyphic tableau B on the rock-cut west wall of the relieving chamber; the inscription partly restored in the drawing; top right, the panel photographed in the early 1960s (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos M. Jawornicki and courtesy J. Lipińska [top right]; drawing P. Barford, M. Barwik)

beginning with the sign *I*. A photograph from the early 1960s [see Fig. 14 top right] shows one more sign at the end of the column: It looks like a bird (perhaps *aleph*?), but no trace of it is now visible except for a stroke in its extreme upper part.

- d) No traces of the title belonging to Amenemope have been preserved, except for a stroke that can be taken perhaps as a remnant of the *sš* sign (“scribe”). Furthermore, a family relation between Amenemope and the individuals mentioned earlier cannot be ascertained satisfactorily.

There is no way to know whether the scribe Amenhotep of the two short

graffiti and the author of the elaborate hieroglyphic tableau were one and the same person. It seems justifiable to recognize him as one of the builders of the temple, perhaps a supervisor responsible for the construction works or else, more probably, a draftsman engaged on the decoration of the temple walls. A scribe of the name is known to have participated not only in the building of the tomb of Senenmut (TT 353), but also of the temple of Hatshepsut, as attested by ostraca found respectively in the vicinity of TT 353 (Dorman 1991: 88, Pl. 47 [26a, vo. 5]), and “in a hollow between the temple avenues of Hatshepsut and Mentuhotpe which had been used until late in the reign of Tuthmosis III

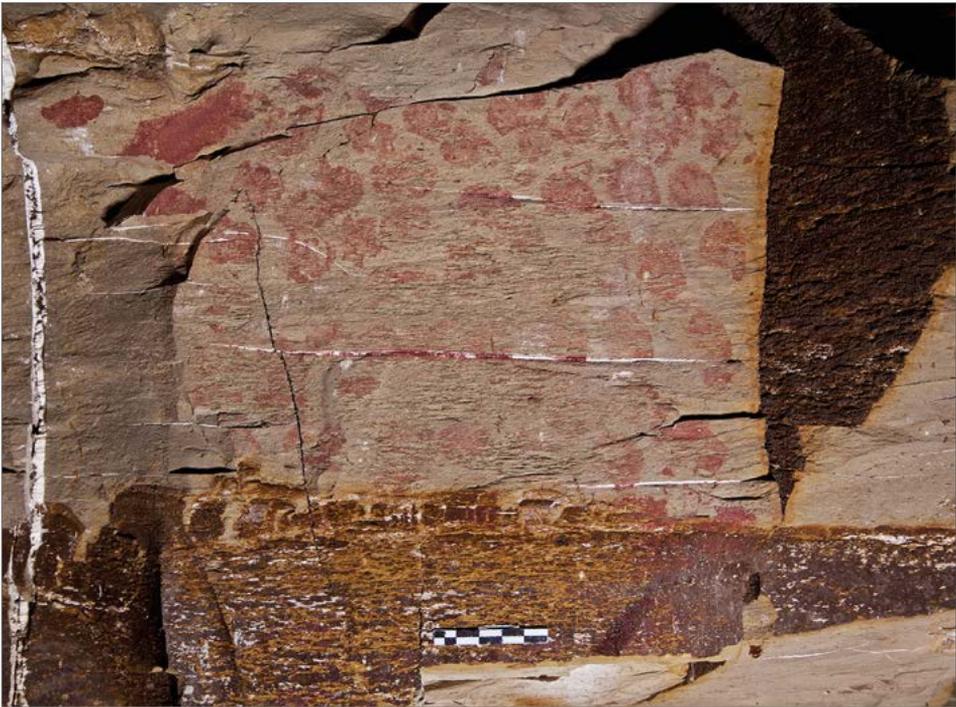


Fig. 15. Red smudges (No. 14) on the rock-cut west wall of the relieving chamber (PCMA Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

as a dumping place for debris from the Deir el-Bahri temples” (Hayes 1960: 32, 34, 39, Pl. X [No. 6, ro. 4]). Besides, there is a group of still unpublished ostraca from Deir el-Bahari recording the name of a scribe Amenhotep,<sup>5</sup> as well as graffiti in tomb MMA 504, located just above the temple of Hatshepsut, where a scribe bearing this name appears again.<sup>6</sup> However, since the name was fairly common, the identity of these individuals cannot be established unequivocally. Presumably none of the above mentioned sources can be connected directly with the Amenhotep from the relieving chamber, if the person in question was a draftsman, as seems to be the case. Another issue is that the three different inscriptions in the relieving chamber above the Bark Hall commemorating Amenhotep may not match the number of Amenhoteps to be considered. Even less can be said about the scribe Sapair. A person of that name, without any title attached, is mentioned in a single Tuthmoside source from Deir el-Bahari, found in the vicinity of the lower tomb of Senenmut (TT 353) (Dorman 1991: 89–90, Pls 48–49 [26d, ro.12]).

A number of drawing sketches left in the chamber substantiates the idea of the presence here of a group of workers, presumably draftsmen engaged in decorating the temple walls (most prob-

ably the inner sanctuary of the temple). No names of draftsmen are documented for such an early period in the published material from Deir el-Bahari nor from the Theban necropolis in general (see Bogoslovsky 1980). Interestingly enough, lumps of pigments were found by the Polish Mission in the relieving chamber above the Bark Hall in the 1974/1975 season.<sup>7</sup> In addition, a number of paint drops and patches (red, blue, and black) can be discerned on the surface of the limestone slabs [see, e.g., Fig. 6 left]. Indeed, a series of red smudges (in regular rows) left on the rough surface of the *tafl* bedrock (No. 14) [Fig. 15] may reflect a painter getting his brushes ready, softening them against the rock. In some places (especially on the surface of the bedrock), some irregular red lines or maybe crude drawings appear as well.

There is no way, however, to connect the ostrakon found in the debris covering the chamber floor with this particular context (Marciniak 1978; Barwik 2016). The text of the ostrakon mentions the names of Senenmut and Tjennay, two high-ranking officials of the royal domains, and it relates to the preparation of offerings on some unspecified occasion, thus apparently unrelated to the activities of workers or artists visiting this place.

5 See Hayes 1960: 34 note 2; the unpublished material from the American excavations is currently being prepared for publication by Malte Römer (Freie Universität, Berlin). See also Barwik forthcoming.

6 See Ragazzoli and Froid 2013; Ragazzoli 2017: 60, 186 (O.2.6), 190 (O.2.9), 191 (O.2.10), 209 (P.1.12).

7 J. Karkowski, personal communication (January 2015); compare, however, Wysocki 1979: 209, where only fragments of “ostraca” and a piece of granite with hieroglyphs were mentioned.

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**How to cite this article:** Barwik, M. (2018). Dipinti in the relieving chamber above the Bark Hall of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 33–49). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3171>

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# A new double foundation deposit in the Hathor Shrine of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** A double foundation deposit was found in the southeastern part of the Tuthmosis III Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahari. The architectural features, a pit with a niche at the bottom, confirm the dating of both of these deposits to the times of Tuthmosis III. An original feature of the southeastern one is the initial circular cavity changed into a semicircular one by the building of a mud-brick wall in the east. Several courses of mud bricks built up the rim of the pit above the rock-carved cavity. The whole structure was plastered inside with mud plaster. The bricks were mostly reused from the Middle Kingdom structure of Mentuhotep II. The content, although disturbed, still consists of organic offerings as well as ceramics, but no inscribed material.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Tuthmosis III, Hathor, foundation deposit

Preparing the publication of the Hathor shrine of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari,<sup>1</sup> a monument built on a platform in the northwestern corner of Mentuhotep II's temple, Nathalie Beaux and Mariusz Caban planned a final clearing of the chapel in its southern part, a disturbed area missing a substantial part of the original pavement, and currently filled with debris and overturned blocks. It had supposedly been studied by Édouard Naville (1907: 63–67) and Jadwiga Lipińska (1977: 38–45), former excavators of this monument. Yet in December 2017, the team's architect Caban discovered a pit in the southeastern part of the area. Subsequently, he examined the interior of the pit with archaeologist Dawid F. Wieczorek and egyptologist Nathalie Beaux, who analysed the content of the deposit.

1 The forthcoming publication of the whole shrine at the IFAO will include a chapter on the architecture, in

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**Acknowledgments**

The study of the Hathor shrine was started by Nathalie Beaux in 1994 with the permission of the Egyptian Antiquities Organization (EAO, predecessor of the Supreme Council of Antiquities, SCA) and support from the IFAO. She is extremely grateful to Jadwiga Lipińska for encouraging her and to Janina Wiercińska and Monika Dolińska, current director of the Polish Mission to the Temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari, for valuable help and advice all along this research, as well as to the mission of the PCMA, in particular Dr. Zbigniew Szafranski, for supporting and making possible all these years of field research.

## SOUTHEASTERN PIT

A row of limestone foundation blocks oriented N–S ran against the eastern edge of the pit [Fig. 1]. The cavity is close to the last three preserved blocks, still *in situ*, to the south [Figs 2, 3].<sup>2</sup> The pit was also lying below what can be restored, on one hand, as the wall between the last two rooms of the Hathor shrine to the south, and on the other hand, as the floor of the last room to the south, in its eastern part. This location could refer to the southeastern corner of the Tutmosis III temple structure and more roughly to the southeastern edge

of the Hathor shrine, which is bordered directly by the Middle Kingdom temple with the wall of the middle court on the south and the balustrade of the platform on the east.

The pit is circular and carved, in its lower part, into Esna shale roughly up to the level of the Middle Kingdom temple platform. In its upper part, above bedrock, it was made of mud bricks. The top of the preserved mud-brick rim is about 0.44 m below the Hathor shrine floor, which means about 0.60 m above the level of the Mentuhotep II temple platform.

Table 1. Dimensions of the Southeastern pit and niche

<b>Diameter</b>	
At top	1.05 m (2 cubits) (N–S)–1.10 m (E–W)
At bottom	0.90 m (N–S)–0.65 m (E–W)
<b>Total depth of pit</b>	
Depth in bedrock	0.98 m
Height of preserved mud-brick circle	0.48 m
= 1.46 m	
<b>Height with regard to the Vestibule of the Hathor shrine (level 0.00)</b>	
Top of the pit	-0.44 m
Bottom of the pit	-1.89 m
Platform of the Temple of Mentuhotep II	-1.05 m
<b>Niche interior (narrowing to the west)</b>	
Ceiling	-1.39/-1.46 m
Bottom	-1.87/-1.82 m
Entrance	H. 0.47 m, W. 0.30/0.24 m, D. 0.44/0.33 m

collaboration with architect Mariusz Caban, author of all the plans, and a chapter on hieratic graffiti from the shrine by Dawid F. Wiczorek. A special chapter will also be devoted to the two foundation deposit pits along with a study of their contents.

<sup>2</sup> The limestone block, which can be seen above the southeastern part of the pit in the original photo after discovery [Fig. 1] was moved to the south in order to clear the pit for study [see Fig. 3].



Fig. 1. Top of the southeastern pit at the time of discovery, viewed from the south (IFAO/PCMA UW/photo M. Caban)

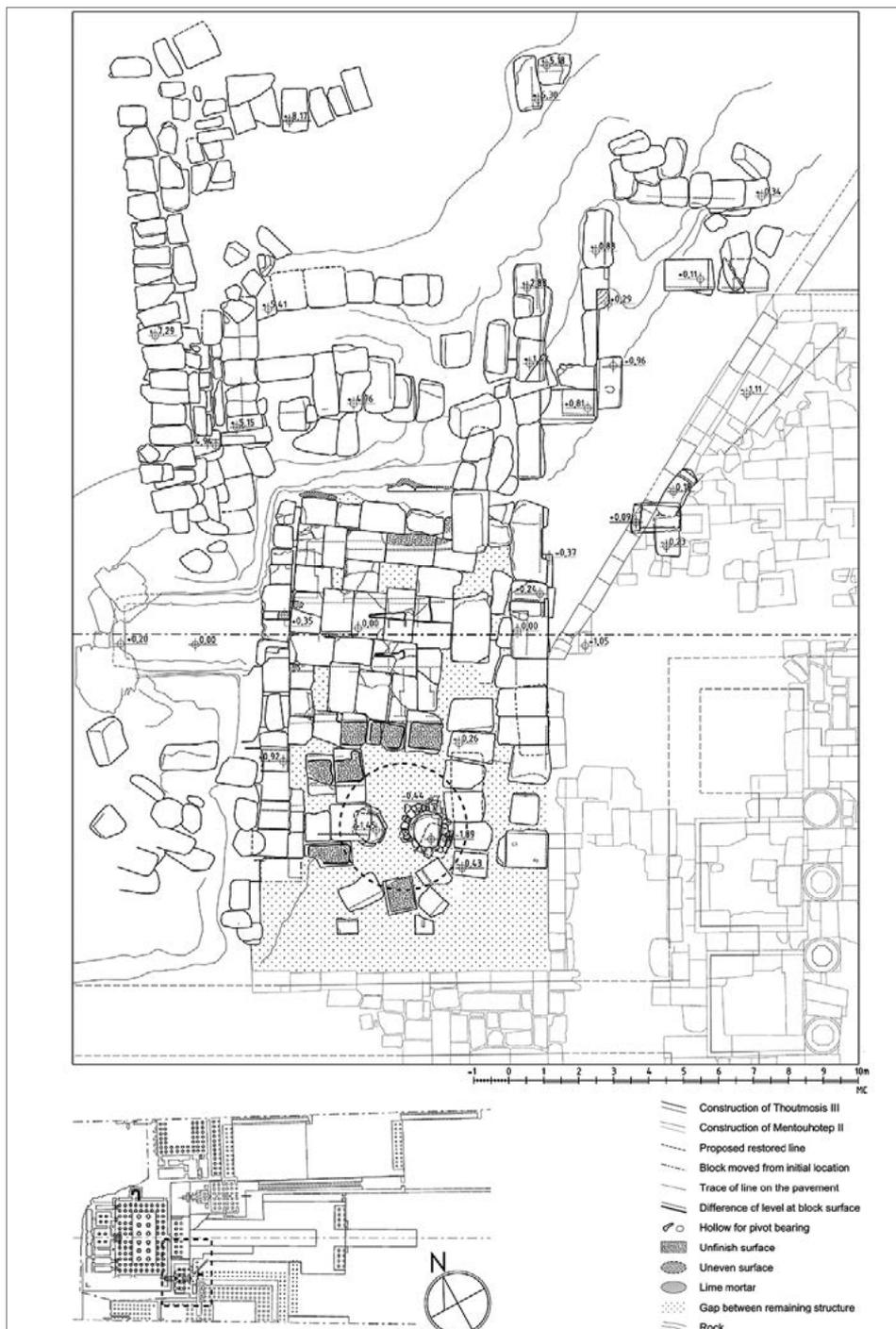


Fig. 2. Location of foundation deposit pits within the Hathor Shrine (IFAO/PCMA UW/plan M. Caban)

The mountain rock, above which the rows of mud bricks rise, is on a level slightly higher than the Middle Kingdom platform (+0.10 m). The bottom of the pit is 1.89 m below the Hathor shrine floor and 0.84 m below the Middle Kingdom temple level [Fig. 4].

The inside of the pit was plastered with the same type of mud mixture used for the bricks (black mud mixed with a lot of straw). A straight section of mud-brick wall, built from the bottom of the pit up to 1.11 m, cuts off part of the pit, forming a semicircular interior with the baseline on the east [Figs 3, 4]. The bricks were probably reused material. Most of them were broken and bore remains of an older, different, mud mortar still stuck to

the sides. Furthermore, some of the mud bricks had a thin layer of whitewash on one side<sup>3</sup> or edges burnt to a red color, also attesting to their reuse.

The pit was cut in a rough circle with a diameter of two cubits (1.05 m) at the top and 0.90 m at the bottom. A niche was carved in the western side of the cavity, facing the mud-brick wall on the east, its bottom flush with the rest of the pit [Figs 2, 4, 5]. The shape of the niche is irregular, but more or less rectangular, resulting overall from the weak and layered structure of the Esna shale with fissures running diagonally to the axis of the niche. Height and depth narrow toward the west (see Table 1 for the exact dimensions). Inside, the niche seems to



Fig. 3. Southeastern foundation pit after investigation, viewed from the west (IFAO/PCMA UW/photo M. Caban)

3 The “thin layer of whitewash” on the bricks indeed indicates their reuse as is the case of “the Serpentine brick wall south of the dromos of the Bab el-Hosan” (Arnold 1979: 24, 25, Pl. 19:b).

have been plastered with the same mud mixture as inside the pit.

The architecture of the niche includes a kind of add-on doorjamb on the southern side of the entrance. It is 0.40 m wide and 0.20 m deep, made of an upright rec-

tangular piece of Esna shale set perpendicular to the natural rock layers. Hence the strata, instead of lying horizontally, are vertical in the doorjamb piece. It was embedded precisely in the same mud mortar. The inside corner of the door-

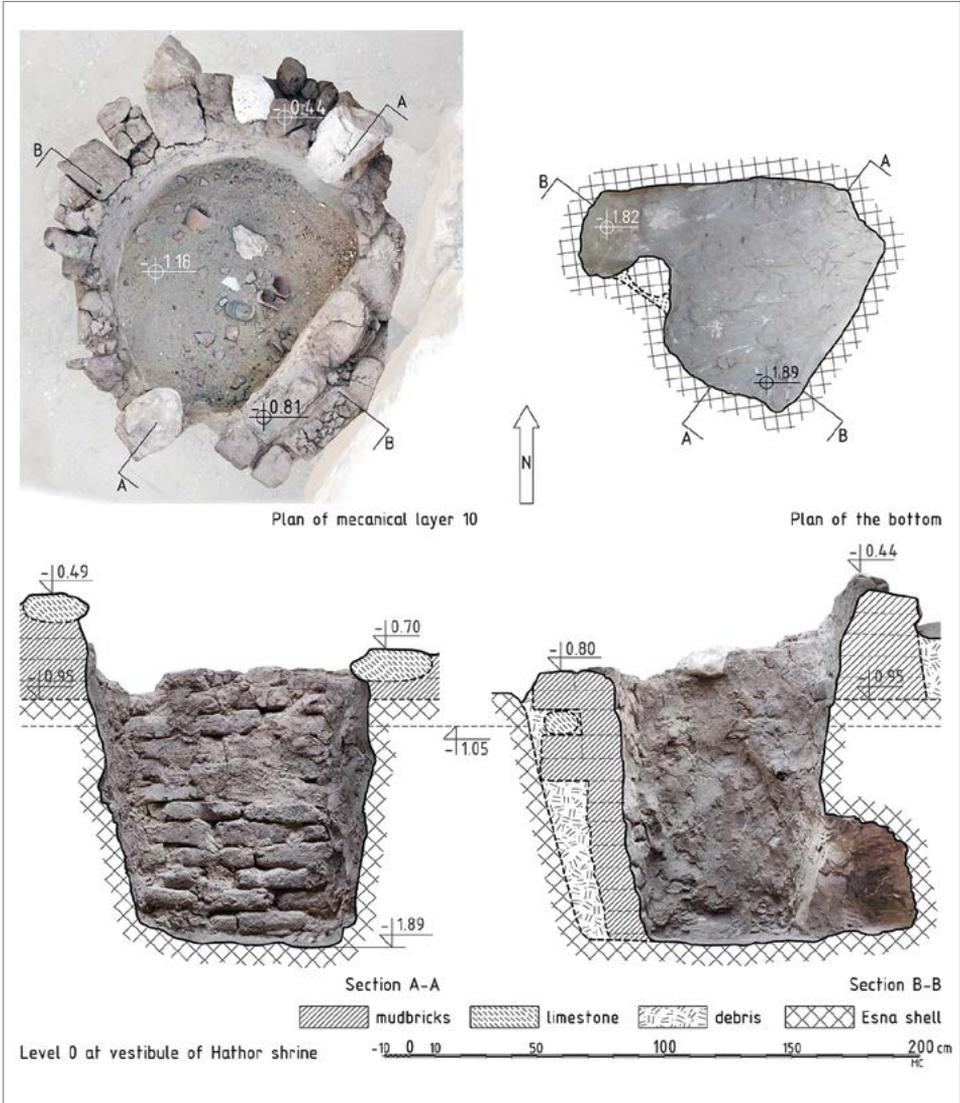


Fig. 4. Southeastern foundation pit: top left, orthophoto at arbitrary layer 10 with position of sections; top right, bottom of the foundation deposit pit with the niche; bottom, sections A-A' and B-B' (IFAQ/PCMA UW/photos and photogrammetry, orthophoto M. Caban)

jamb and all of its back face were thickly filled with mud, in which the builder's fingers left deep furrows going from the inside to the outside of the niche. Such a fragment of in-corner mortar is preserved at the bottom. A similar doorjamb may have existed to the north and could have been destroyed by robbers in the course of their "excavation". Should it have existed, then the entrance to the niche would have been very narrow, hardly over a dozen centimeters. One may reconstruct a kind of door at the entrance to the niche, as the south side seems to suggest [see *Fig. 5*]. Towards the bottom of the deposit, the plan of the pit is more rectangular.

The mud-brick wall running north-south and sectioning off the circular pit

on the east was built without mortar [see *Fig. 4* bottom left]. Its thickness is about 0.14 m. It is made, in width, of one row of bricks, preserved in 12 uneven courses in a stretcher bond, that is, with the length of most bricks facing in. An empty space was left between the wall and the eastern side of the rock cavity, about 0.25 m at the top and 0.06–0.10 m at the bottom.

The bricks are of two types, some are similar to the bricks used in the rest of the rim, that is, reused Middle Kingdom bricks made of rather black mud tempered with large pieces of reddish straw. In a few cases, the tops of these bricks present marker points in the form of finger holes, characteristic of Mentuhotep II's bricks in that temple (Arnold 1979: 7, 64, Pls 2–3) [*Fig. 6* top]. Another type of brick,



*Fig. 5.* The niche at the bottom of the southeastern pit (IFAO/PCMA UW/photo N. Beaux)

specific to that wall, is made of a yellow-grey mud and is much more compact. A very porous structure is visible in the breaks of these bricks, showing almost no straw content [Fig. 6 bottom left]. They are much smaller in size. Some of them have a very thin layer of whitewash on some sides, which indicates that they were re-used. As said above, fragmentary burned bricks were found in the wall structure [Fig. 6 bottom right].

While no mortar was used between the bricks, it was smeared on the front (western face) of the wall, especially in the joints and the corners where it touched the rock. This mortar is strong and sandy, beige, with tiny limestone inclusions. To the north and south ends of the western edge of the wall, a thin line of beige mortar is visible, thus indicating that the wall was built before the rest of the mud-brick rim was set (the mud plaster goes on top of the beige mortar in the corners).

The first layer of the bricks was put on thick levelling made of the said sandy, beige mortar, smoothing out the rough surface of the bottom of the pit. Courses 2–4 formed a small footing, projecting about 0.02–0.03 m. The whole wall face leans back slightly to the east to prevent collapse as there was no mortar. The narrow empty space between the wall and the rock cavity was filled with pieces of limestone and Esna shale to support the sloping wall. In the center of the eighth course, the two bricks in the middle were placed at right angle to the others, their

width facing in. These two bricks are the only ones in the whole wall to be set complete bonded with strong beige mortar. They were intended as a kind of perpendicular, made to consolidate the wall with the debris behind it. From course 10 the wall was extended to a width of 0.33 m by the addition of a second row of bricks at back. The bricks were set in both directions, adjusted also to the circular outline of the cavity. They formed a kind of cover of the space behind the wall, levelling it to the plane of the bedrock.<sup>4</sup> The inner (west) face of the wall was covered with the same mud plaster as the rest of the pit cavity, but not with the same precision and the coating was thinner.

This “wall” is 0.37 m lower than the present attested upper brick of the semi-circular part. It has, at present, only one row of bricks higher than the rock top of the pit. It is clear that the limestone foundation blocks set to the east were put there after the pit had been built, as expected of constructions over a foundation deposit, since one of them extends over the northeastern corner of the pit, in the part lower than the rest of the structure [Fig. 7].

When discovered, the mud-brick rim of the pit was at roughly two different heights: that of the east wall as described above and another one, some 0.40 m higher, attested on the north and west. Here and to the south, the rim was made of bricks of different sizes, some recut to a smaller size to fit the desired width of the rim (more or less 0.24 m). Verti-

4 The back side of the structure could be seen once the upper two courses (11, 12) were completely and the three lower ones (10, 9, 8) partly dismantled. Each step of this process was documented with a detailed 3D scan.



Fig. 6. Bricks used in the construction of the southeastern foundation pit: top, reused bricks of Mentuhotep II with marker points in the form of finger holes; bottom left, types of bricks used: yellow-grey mud brick with almost no straw content and bricks made of black mud mixed with large pieces of reddish straw; bottom right, fragmentary burned bricks (IFA0/PCMA UW/photos M. Caban)

cally, there are five successive courses of bricks visible on these sides through a thin coating of mud plaster. The bricks are set alternately in layers, radial and following the circle. The fifth upper row of bricks must have been made in a circular manner, all bricks lined up in ring fashion, if one considers the highest brick as a remnant of that row. The fourth row of bricks appears to be set in a semicircle, in a radiating pattern perpendicular to the previous row. The pattern alternates for the next two rows below it. The last one above the mountain rock platform also presents a ring structure. Most of the bricks appear to be reused Middle Kingdom local building material, with finger holes on the upper sides of a few, same as already pointed out for the east

mud-brick wall. That part of the pit may have had originally no more than six rows of bricks above the original rock pit. Some limestone chunks of different size (at least three) were included in the mud-brick construction. The semicircle has a protuberance to the north (a brick projecting) and to the west (a big stone is sticking out of the mud brick circle) [see *Figs 2, 4*]. Only the inside of the pit presents a fine finish of the surface. It seems that the outside edge of the mud-brick circle was rough, leaning on and showered by debris lying below the floor pavement in that part of the Hathor shrine.

The inner plastering of the pit consisted of a black mud mixture full of straw, possibly made from the Middle Kingdom black mud bricks used for rim



Fig. 7. Top of the east wall of the southeastern foundation pit, covered in its northeastern corner by part of a limestone foundation block (IFAO/PCMA UW/photo N. Beaux)

construction. In some places, it has fallen off, exposing the rock. The bottom of the pit was also plastered (some sections are preserved) as was the inside of the niche.

In conclusion, the structure of the pit with a niche at its bottom is a significant

architectural feature indicating a structure of Tuthmosis III, as one might have expected (Weinstein 1973: 110–111, Fig. 8). It consists of a rock cavity with upper rows of mud bricks of two kinds: the biggest,<sup>5</sup> some with a “one single hole” brick

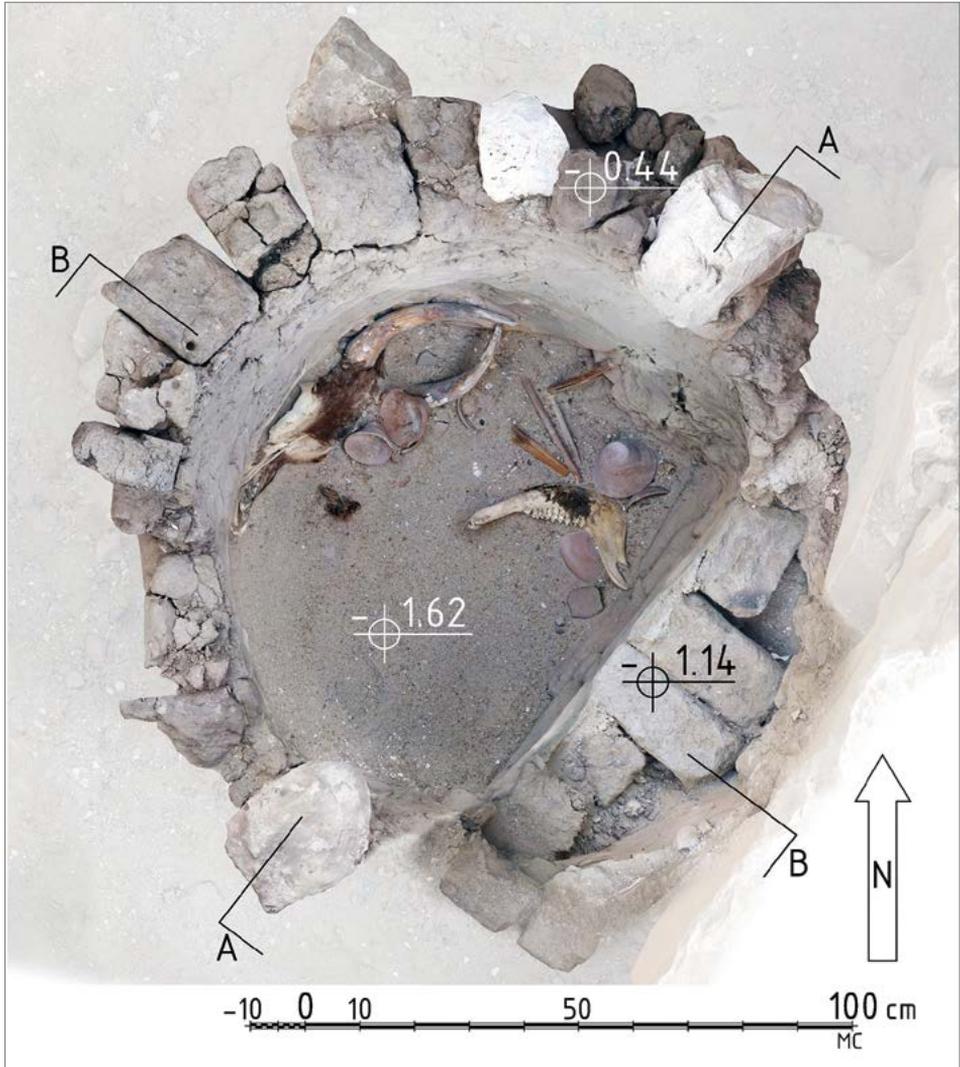


Fig. 8. Foundation deposit in the southeastern pit: disturbed content in arbitrary layer 12, level 1.62 m (IFA0/PCMA UW/orthophoto and processing M. Caban)

5 Measurements: H. 7.8–9.8 cm, W. 16–18 cm, L. 31–34 cm.

mark (Arnold 1979: 7), are clearly identified as reused Middle Kingdom bricks from the adjacent temple of Mentuhotep II. The smallest,<sup>6</sup> some with a specific “two holes” brick mark (Seco Álvarez and Gamarra Campuzano 2015: 63, Fig. 7, MA036), are datable to the times of Tuthmosis III.

The east wall structure cutting the circular cavity is unusual. It was introduced intentionally before the pit was completed and its inside surface was plastered. Its purpose is obscure, but it could have been to reduce the size of the pit. Or it could

have been used to mark a later construction, since it is parallel to the bottom of the limestone foundation lying just next to and partly above it.

One should also address the lower height of this wall compared to the rest of the rim. The wall might have originally been higher, by 0.37 m to fit the upper height attested in the north and west. If so, then it was neatly dismantled to the level of the limestone foundation blocks; one of these blocks is still leaning to some extent on its northern edge.

## PIT CONTENT

There is evidence that the original pit content was disturbed and taken out, then replaced more or less with the original yellowish fine sand mixed with some greyish sand and broken Esna shale. Some mud-brick fragments and section of the inner mud plaster, as well as some stones (mostly limestone flakes and a few sandstones chunks) had also fallen into the pit and were mixed with its content. The fact that most of the ceramics are broken is also a consequence of the content being disturbed [see Fig. 4].

The content has to be considered with caution as some of the material may have been thrown in by the modern-age robbers, mixing ancient and modern material collected from around the foundation pit with the already displaced original content of the foundation deposit, reduced to less valuable objects.

Considering the troubled stratigraphy, the content will be detailed by material and not layers, although it is worth noting that an ox skull [Fig. 9], jaws and legs were found towards the bottom of the pit, around 1.62 m from its top [Fig. 8]. Close to them were a few intact bowls and plates and at least two reed trays. Being bigger, they could have been moved around the bottom of the pit without being taken out, and thus remained more or less together.

The foundation deposit contained organic material of both animal and vegetal origin. There was in particular a complete ox head, accompanied by mammal and bird bones. Plant remains included branches, fruits, seeds, and cereals (see Beaux 2018, in this volume). Many fragments of flat breads were

6 Measurements: H. 7.8–10 cm, W. 13–16 cm, L. 30–31 cm. This size of brick is not attested in Mentuhotep II's material, but it is in that of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III from Western Thebes (Seco Álvarez and Gamarra Campuzano 2015: 62–66, measuring H. 10 cm, W. 14 cm, L. 33 cm; Spencer 1979: 67, measuring H. 9 cm, W. 15 cm, L. 33 cm).

found. Reed trays, blue faience beads, ropes, and various textiles fragments complete the deposit. Ceramics clearly

represent Eighteenth Dynasty foundation deposit vessels. The content will be analyzed in detail for the final publication.



Fig. 9. Ox skull found in arbitrary layer 12, level 1.62 m (IFAO/PCMA UW/(IFAO/PCMA UW/photo M. Caban)

### SOUTHWESTERN PIT

The cavity lies 0.37 m to the west of the southeastern pit previously described, partly beneath a pavement block still *in situ* [Figs 2, 10]. It is more or less oval (1.05 m long, 0.76 m wide and 1.03 m deep) [Figs 11–12].

It was cut, in its lower part, about 0.40 m deep into the mountain rock (Esna shale), roughly to the level of the Middle Kingdom temple platform. Above bedrock, the pit was built up of a mix of stones (limestone or Esna shale blocks) and mud mortar. This structure is completely preserved in its western part, where half of the pit is still beneath

the pavement block. The eastern part is damaged, probably by robbers who dismantled it down to the bedrock level. The upper rim, as it is preserved today to the east, seems to have a thickness of about 0.10–0.13 m. The inside of the pit seems to have been plastered with mud, at least most of it, as a considerable number of fragments of broken mud plaster were found inside the pit. In the best preserved part of the upper rim, to the west, the imprint of a brick (0.25 m by 0.125 m), set lengthwise, is clearly visible at 0.55 m from the bottom of the pit. It could correspond to the bricks tradition-

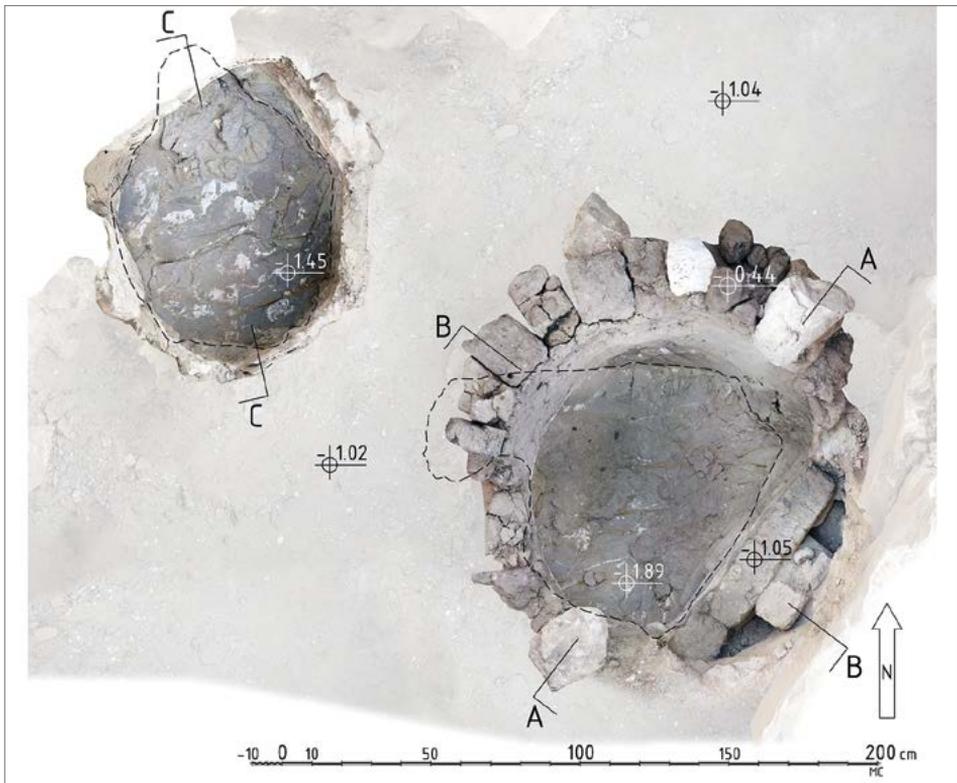


Fig. 10. Plan and location of the second pit discovered west of the southeastern foundation deposit (IFAO/PCMA UW/photogrammetry M. Caban)

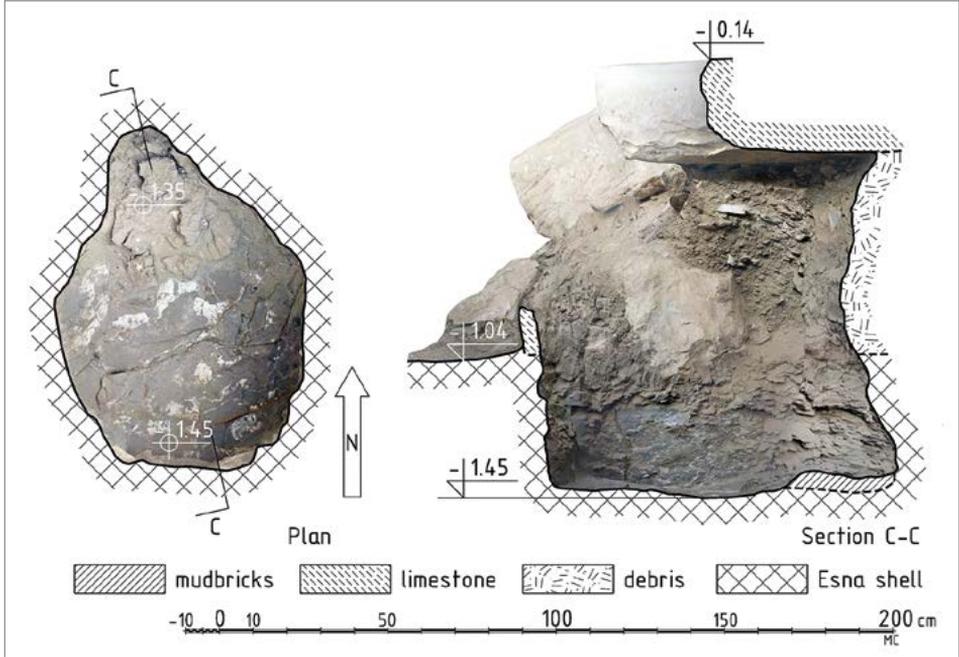


Fig. 11. Plan of the bottom and section of the southwestern foundation pit (IFA0/PCMA UW/photo-grammetry M. Caban)



Fig. 12. The southwestern pit, view from the east (IFA0/PCMA UW/photo M. Caban)

ally closing a foundation deposit, since there is no other brick imprint on the mud plaster above or below that one. It would therefore indicate that the deposit itself, beneath the bricks sealing it at the top, was 0.55 m deep.

A small niche is carved into the northwestern side of the pit [Figs 12–13]. Its orientation is more to the north than the niche in the other pit, although both niches are set roughly to the west of the pits. The bottom of the niche is covered with a thick layer of mud plaster preserving the builder's fingerprints. The niche is about 0.30 m wide and 0.20 m deep. Its ceiling is irregular: 0.30 m high at the entrance and only 0.10 m at the back.

The deposit was also plundered, yet contained a variety of material, though much less than in the other pit: some organic material, animal (in particular hair of the same color as on the ox head found in the other pit, small mammal bones) and vegetal (branches, fruits, seeds). Fragments of reed trays, blue faience beads, ropes, and various textiles fragments completed the deposit. The ceramics clearly belong to an Eighteenth Dynasty foundation-deposit vessel.

The pottery and architecture of the pit with a niche similar to the foundation deposit previously found to the east would indicate that the pit is also from the time of Tuthmosis III.



Fig. 13. View of the niche at the bottom of the southwestern pit, in its western side (IFAO/PCMA UW/ photo M. Caban)

## CONCLUSION

To sum up, the two pits with a niche at the bottom are remarkable architectural structures that indicate a Tuthmosis III foundation deposit. One of the pits presents an original feature since the initial circular cavity was changed into a semicircular one by the building of a mud-brick wall on the east. Above the rock carved cavity, the rim of the pit was built up with a few courses of mud bricks. The whole structure was plastered on the inside with mud plaster from bricks. Bricks were mostly reused from the Middle Kingdom structure of Mentuhotep II.

The contents of the pits were taken out in modern times, the pieces disregarded by the robbers thrown back into the pits along with other elements that had been lying around. Yet, there are many fragments of supposed organic offerings, as well as ceramics, corresponding to what is expected to be found in such foundation deposits. No inscribed material has been found, no rocker or stone vessel, for instance.

Pieces of such allegedly missing vessels with the name of *Dsr-mnw* had been found nearby, in the debris of the Tuthmosis III temple (Lipińska 1988). They originated from an unknown foundation deposit. An empty foundation deposit, circular and with a niche at the bottom, was also found in the southern part of the temple, in its western part (Leclant and Clerc 1990; Grimal and Adly 2003). Therefore, two similar foundation deposits are now known to the south of the temple, one to the west on the upper platform (empty) and one double deposit to the east on the level of

the Hathor shrine (disturbed content). One cannot tell, however, whether both were intended as foundation deposits of *Dsr-mnw* or *Dsr-3ht*, as the temple was ultimately called.

Examples of double foundation deposits are rare. Some date to the rule of Hatshepsut (Weinstein 1973: 161–162, 166, 169–170) and one to that of Tuthmosis III. In his temple in El Kab, there is a set of four (in fact, three attested) double foundation deposits, each set supposedly beneath a corner of the monument, along the side walls. Each deposit was in a circular pit (diameter about 0.60 m, depth unknown). There was also a niche at the base in the two pits.

In the Hathor shrine, the two deposits are close together, aligned with the east–west wall separating the two rooms to the south. They are not exactly at a corner or edge of the monument, but on the whole not far from the southern border of the building. The deposit to the east is bigger and deeper than the one to the west. Its structure seems also more elaborate. Both were constructed in similar fashion. Since both deposits were disturbed, it is impossible to say whether they functioned simultaneously or whether they succeeded one another, the eastern one being probably the final one in the latter case. The hypothesis is that the eastern deposit on the level of the Hathor shrine could have corresponded to the northeastern door, initially planned between the two rooms to the south of the axis, traces of an ancient door being visible to the northeast, between the axial vestibule and the first room to the south. This door was later

moved to the northwest in the final plan.

On the level of the Tuthmosis III temple, the two deposits could have functioned (together or alternately) as a possible average southeastern corner. It is not possible today to say which interpretation is the proper one, nor why there was a double deposit and whether it was contemporaneous or introduced in succession, and in the latter case, why a decision was made to move a foundation deposit 0.37 m to the east.

Since the deposits were disturbed, their content cannot be easily established: the robbers may have transferred it from one to the other or spread it around. Indeed, some finds were discovered around the two pits. Yet the southeastern one seemed to have been filled with sand and layers of abundant (disturbed) content, whereas the fill of the southwestern one does not present any special arrangement and seems to have been much poorer (almost the same array of finds, but much less overall).

As said above, the pits contained no inscribed material, no rocker or stone vessels, for instance. The missing categories of objects are precisely the kind of

artifacts that were found scattered higher up, in Tuthmosis III temple debris, bearing the name of *Dsr-mnw* (Lipińska 1988). They originate from an unknown foundation deposit. However, an empty foundation deposit was found, also in the south of the temple, but in its western part (Leclant and Clerc 1990; Grimal and Adly 2003). It is also circular in shape with a niche at the bottom. Therefore, two foundation deposits are now known to the south of the temple, one to the west on the upper platform (empty) and another double foundation deposit to the east, on the level of the Hathor shrine (disturbed content). They corresponded possibly more or less to the two corners of the temple structure of Tuthmosis III considered in its entirety, although at different levels. Since no other deposits are known, either from the temple or from the Hathor shrine, the significance of these deposits is still to be explored or questioned. In particular, it is impossible to say whether they could have been dedicated as foundation deposits of *Dsr-mnw* or *Dsr-3ht*, the final name of the temple.

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**How to cite this article:** Beaux, N., Caban, M., & Wiczorek, D. F. (2018). New foundation deposits in the Hathor Shrine of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari. In Z. E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 51–70). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
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# Remarkable botanical remains from a new foundation deposit in the Hathor shrine of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** Numerous botanical remains have been found in a recently discovered foundation deposit of Tuthmosis III, in his Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahari. Identification of 12 plants (cereals, fruits, branches and leaves) is proposed and the exceptional diversity of such finds is considered in relation to the known botanical finds from foundation deposits prior to Tuthmosis III.

**Keywords:** foundation deposit, Hathor, Tuthmosis III, Deir el-Bahari, fruits, barley, leaves, branches

The disturbed content of the southeastern of two pits recently discovered south of the Hathor Shrine at Deir el Bahari (Beaux, Caban, and Wieczorek 2018, in this volume) contained some botanical remains. The proposed identification of some of this material is discussed here<sup>1</sup> The classes identified include cereals, fruit remains, and leaves and branches.

<sup>1</sup> I am extremely grateful to David Goyder for generously spending time checking specimens in the Kew Herbarium (Royal Botanic Gardens) and discussing identifications. I am also indebted to Mark Nesbitt for his identification of cereals.

**Nathalie Beaux**

IFAO/Collège de France

## CEREALS

### *Hordeum vulgare* [Fig. 1]

<p>Rachis segments and grains of barley (identification confirmed by Mark Nesbitt, Kew Herbarium, Royal Botanic Gardens)</p>	<p>Also found in a foundation deposit from the times of Senusret II at Lahun (Petrie, Brunton, and Murray 1923: 19) and at Deir el-Bahari in the temple of Mentuhotep (Arnold 1981: 57), and the temple of Hatshepsut (Weinstein 1973: 161), as well as the tomb of Senenmut (TT 353) (Dorman 1991: 151)</p>
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Fig. 1. *Hordeum vulgare*: rachis segments and grains of barley

## FRUIT REMAINS

### *Phoenix dactylifera* L. [Fig. 2]

<p>Three date seeds (about 2 cm long)</p>	<p>Dates found in many foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari:          – temple of Hatshepsut, foundation deposit 8 (H), MMA excavations, 1926–1927, accession number 27.3.418; foundation deposit E, accession number 25.3.54;          – tomb of Senenmut (TT 353) (Dorman 1991: 151)</p>
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### *Hyphaene thebaica* (Del.) Mart. [Fig. 3]

<p>Fragment of doum palm fruit epicarp</p>	<p>Edible fruit. The tree has been depicted since the New Kingdom (Baum 1988 : 110–118). Only one instance of a fruit found in a later foundation deposit at Matmar, temple of Seth, from the time of Ramesses II (Brunton 1948: 63)</p>
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Fig. 2. *Phoenix dactylifera* L.: date seeds

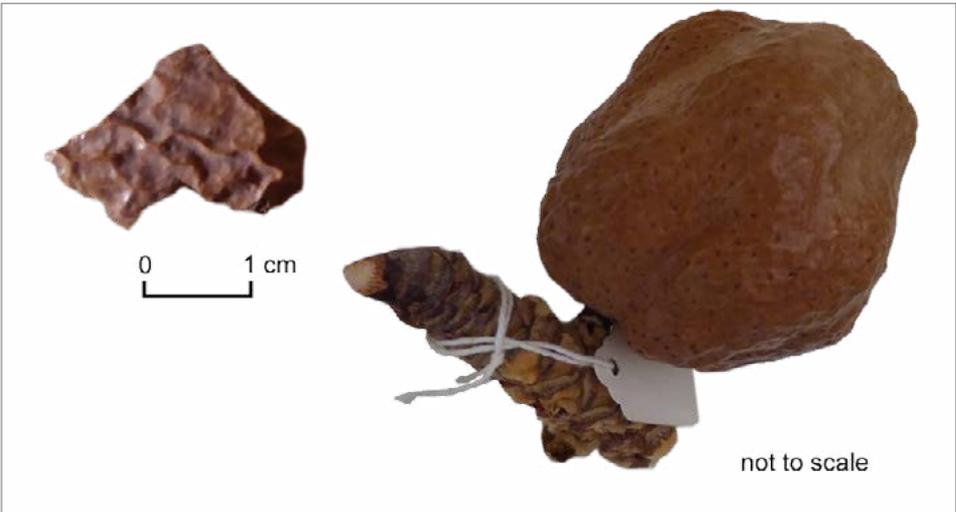


Fig. 3. *Hyphaene thebaica* (Del.) Mart.: left, fragment of doum palm fruit epicarp; right, doum palm fruit (No. 3028 collected by F.N. Hepper in Abu Simbel, courtesy of the Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)

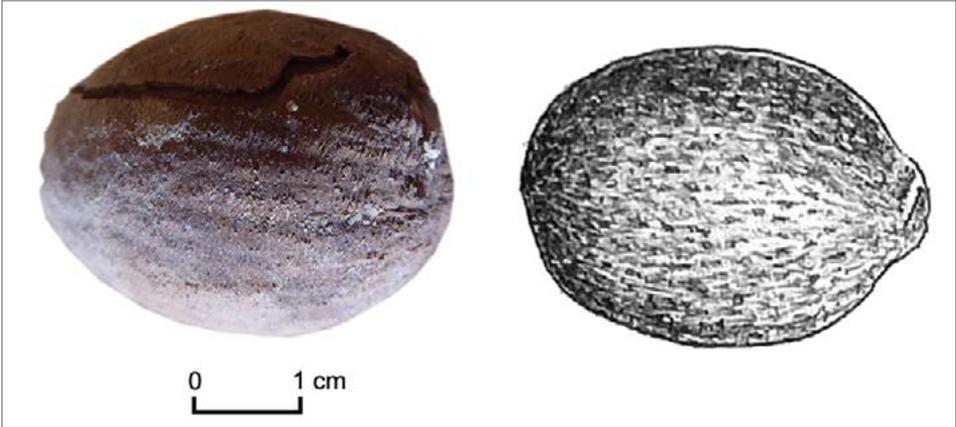


Fig. 4. *Hyphaene thebaica* (Del.) Mart. or *Medemia argun* Württemb. Ex. Mart.: left, seed; right, *Medemia argun* Württemb. Ex. Mart.: fruit with all epicarp removed (Boulos 2005: Pl. 31)



Fig. 5. *Mimusops laurifolia* (Forssk.) Friis: left, persea seeds; right, fruit with seed (No. 850 collected by Schweinfurth in Yemen, courtesy of the Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)

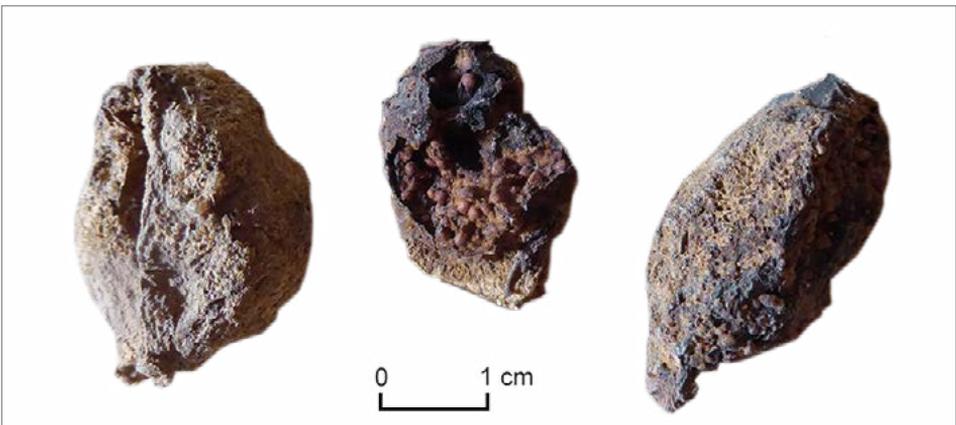


Fig. 6. *Ficus carica* L.: dried figs

***Hyphaene thebaica* (Del.) Mart. or *Medemia argun* Württemb. Ex. Mart. [Fig. 4]**

Seed (3 cm x 3.6 cm).  
 For *Hyphaene thebaica*: "seed ovoid-globose, 3–4 x 2.5–4 cm" (Boulos 2005: 106), but for *Medemia argun*: "seed broadly ellipsoid, 3 x 2.5 cm" (Boulos 2005: 108). The size of the seed probably fits better with *Hyphaene thebaica*, the general shape with *Medemia argun*.

Fruits of the *Medemia argun* have been found on ancient Egyptian sites (Germer 1985: 235–236), but not in foundation deposits.

***Mimusops laurifolia* (Forssk.) Friis [Fig. 5]**

Three orange-brown-colored perseas seeds (about 2.3 cm long)

Fruits, leaves and branches commonly found in monuments and tombs since the Old Kingdom (Baum 1988: 88). Fruit never found in other foundation deposits (although garlands of perseas are mentioned in a Senenmut foundation deposit by Dorman (1991: 151, 152, note 441) and the leaves of perseas in a foundation deposit from the Temple of Hatsheput (Weinstein 1973: 158). Note that the tree was planted in front of the Temple of Hatsheput at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1908: 20, Pl. 169).

***Ficus carica* L. [Fig. 6]**

Three dried dark purple figs (between 3–4 cm long)

Figs (not specified whether *carica* or *sycomorus*) found in foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari:  
 – temple of Mentuhotep (Arnold 1981: 51, 53, 54, 57);  
 – temple of Hatsheput, foundation deposit 7, 8, 9 (G, H, I), MMA excavations, 1926–1927, accession number 27.3.415;  
 – tomb of Senenmut (TT 353) (Dorman 1991: 151).

***Ziziphus spina-christi* (L.) Willd. [Fig. 7]**

<p>11 small round jujube fruits with one seed each (1 cm diameter)</p>	<p>Many jujube fruits found in foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– temple of Mentuhotep (Arnold 1981: 51, 53, 54, 57);</li> <li>– temple of Hatshepsut (MMA excavations, 1926–1927: foundation deposit 7, 8, 9 (G, H, I), accession number 27.3.414; foundation deposit 7–9 (G–I), accession number 27.3.416);</li> <li>– tomb of Senenmut (TT 353), foundation deposit, accession number 27.3.504 (Dorman 1991: 151)</li> </ul>
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***Balanites aegyptiaca* Del. [Fig. 8]**

<p>Middle-sized beige-colored kernels of oval shape, woody and with small hole at top and large opening on the side (3.7 cm x 1.8 cm)</p>	<p>Kernels found in the excavation of Old and Middle Kingdom sites also have holes. The samples in the collection of the New York Metropolitan of Art Museum are described as “pits from a <i>Balanites</i> tree with a hole caused by a rodent”. They were found in the debris in the southwestern corner of Perneb’s tomb (reign of Isesi-Unis Fifth Dynasty) (Accession numbers 14.7.111, 14.7.114, 14.7.117, 14.7.118, 14.7.123, 14.7.124, 14.7.141).</p> <p>Also found in the rubbish, Middle Kingdom, Upper Egypt, Thebes, Khokha, Tomb MMA 828 (H 4), MMA excavations, 1915 (Accession numbers 15.10.81, 15.10.82, 15.10.83, 15.10.85, 15.10.87).</p> <p>One single instance of a <i>Balanites aegyptiaca</i> kernel found later in a foundation deposit (No. 3) in KV22 (Amenhotep II) (Weinstein 1973: 212).</p>
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***Punica granatum* L. [Fig. 9]**

<p>Fragment of a hard dark red dried rind of pomegranate</p>	<p>Fruit already found in Dehuty’s tomb (Queen Hatshepsut’s butler); flowers and leaves discovered, as well as a vase in the shape of a pomegranate, in the tomb of Tutankhamon (Hepper 2009: 62–63), but never in a foundation deposit.</p>
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Fig. 7. *Ziziphus spina-christi* (L.) Willd.: left, jujube fruits; right, jujube fruit (No. 58 collected in Egypt, courtesy of the Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)



Fig. 8. *Balanites aegyptiaca* Del.: left, kernels; right, dried fruit (No. 8254 collected in Yemen, courtesy of the Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)



Fig. 9. *Punica granatum* L.: fragment of a dried pomegranate rind

## LEAVES AND BRANCHES

*Ficus sycomorus* L. [Fig. 10]

<p>Ovate leaves and twisted thin branches with many bipartite buds and segment of leaf (identification David Goyder)</p>	<p>Bundles of branches were found in a foundation deposit of Senenmut's tomb (Dorman 1991: 152, note 441, Pl. 93h). This tree was also planted in front of the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari (Arnold 1979: 21–23).</p>
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*Salix* sp. (*subserrata* Willd. ?) [Fig. 11]

<p>Long and thin leaves twisted in the drying process</p>	<p>Wreaths of leaves and branches found in tombs. Wreaths of willow as well as bundles of branches were carried in Hathor feasts (Keimer 1931: 197–206, Pls I–II). Never found in a foundation deposit.</p>
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*Acacia* sp. (*nilotica* Del.?) [Fig. 12]

<p>Thorny small branch (identification David Goyder)</p>	<p>Never found in a foundation deposit.</p>
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Fig. 10. *Ficus sycomorus* L.: left, leaf and branch with bipartite buds and segment of leaf; right, branch with leaves and a bud (collected in Egypt, courtesy of the Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)



Fig 11. *Salix* sp. (*subserata* Willd.?): left, twisted dried leaf; right, leaves (No. 6847 collected in Fayum, courtesy of the Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)



Fig. 12. *Acacia* sp. (*nilotica* Del.?): left, thorny branch; right, thorny branch (collected in Luxor, courtesy of the Trustees of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew)

## CONCLUSION

It is remarkable that foundation deposits from Deir el-Bahari are particularly rich in botanical remains:<sup>2</sup> Figs, jujubes, raisins and barley were found in the foundation deposits of the temple of Mentuhotep II (Arnold 1979: 51, 53, 54, 57). A number of botanical remains, namely raisins, dates, jujubes, figs, barley and leaves of persea were found in different foundation deposits from the Temple of Hatshepsut (Weinstein 1973: 157–159, 161), as well as in the foundation deposits of Senenmut's tomb, where bundles of branches of sycamore and persea were also found.

No botanical remains were ever found (or recorded) from the many foundation deposits of Tuthmosis III, either at Deir el-Bahari or elsewhere, at least judging by the published material.

A newly discovered Tuthmosis III foundation deposit from his Hathor shrine at Deir el-Bahari yielded several well known plants that were widely appreciated in ancient Egyptian everyday life. Actually, all (but the barley, of course) are mentioned in the list of trees from the tomb of Ineni (Baum 1988).<sup>3</sup>

Of the 12 kinds of botanical remains identified here, five were attested earlier in foundation deposits, that is, figs, jujubes, dates and barley, as well as sycamore leaves. But most of the finds (seven), that is, fruits of pomegranate, persea,

doum palm, *Medemia argun* palm, *Balanites aegyptiaca*, leaves and branches of *Salix* and *Acacia* do not seem to be attested in other foundation deposits. It should be noted nonetheless that the deposit was disturbed in recent times and that there is always a possibility that some of the remains are not original (from the times of Tuthmosis III), but intruded.

Botanical remains are rarely reported from foundation deposits either because there were none or because they were unfortunately disregarded by the excavators. When mentioned, these finds are seldom accurately described or named, sometimes just labeled as “food, fruit, seed, grain”. Therefore, a close study of what has already been found may reveal more than what is now known. It is also possible that inside many foundation deposits remains were simply not preserved, and in this respect, the dry context of the foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari might explain the great number of finds from that site. Yet, the exceptional diversity of this new foundation deposit, with 12 identified kinds of botanical remains, may also be due to its consecration to a monument dedicated to the goddess Hathor. It certainly adds significant information to our knowledge of the botanical content of foundation deposits.

2 “Whether by accident or otherwise, none of these offerings are known from deposits outside the Theban area” (Weinstein 1973: 135). The only apparent exception, previous to the time of Tuthmosis III, are the finds from Lahun, described as “barley, seeds, fruit with skin and a large kernel”(?) (Petrie, Brunton, and Murray 1923: 19).

3 For the *Acacia*, Nathalie Baum actually identifies another species, *Acacia tortilis* (Forsf.) Hayne (for ksbt) (Baum 1988: 154–162).

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**How to cite this article:** Beaux, N. (2018). Remarkable botanical remains from a new foundation deposit in the Hathor Shrine of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari. In Z. E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 71–81). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3197>

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# The secretarybird dilemma: identifying a bird species from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** Known from a few representations in Predynastic Egyptian art, the secretarybird has otherwise been elusive, in the art of Pharaonic Egypt as well as the scientific discourse on iconographic imagery of birds in ancient Egypt. The author's studies of the animal decoration at the Temple for her doctoral dissertation identified three images of birds belonging most likely to the same species, depicted in the context of the expedition of Hatshepsut shown in the Portico of Punt. The zoological identification of the species as the secretarybird (another possibility is the African harrier-hawk) derives from an in-depth analysis of the bird's systematics, appearance, distribution and habitat, as well as behavior, which are essential for proper species recognition and instrumental for understanding the rationale behind bringing this particular bird from the "God's Land". Iconographic features contesting this identification and suggesting a different species, that is, the African harrier-hawk, are discussed based on a combination of theoretical background, material analysis, on-site interviews with experts and the author's personal experience with the species.

**Keywords:** African animals, birds in Ancient Egypt, secretarybird, African harrier-hawk, temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut Punt expedition, temple decoration

A bird depicted in possibly three separate scenes from the Southern Middle Portico of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, documented in 2012 by the author as part of her extended study of animals in the decoration of this Eighteenth Dynasty sanctuary [Fig. 1], has prompted an in-depth zoological study in an effort to support the primary identification of the species as being in this case the secretarybird.<sup>1</sup> A number of discrepancies observed in the representations suggested

1 The author's doctoral dissertation, initiated in 2012, considers the fauna pictured in the decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari. Relevant animal images,

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## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I would like to acknowledge Dr. Zbigniew E. Szafrński, Director of the PCMA UW Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, for the permission to work on the complete faunal iconographic material from the temple. I would like to express my deep gratitude to John Wyatt for his constant support in my research and for insisting that I keep checking other species as well. I am particularly grateful for the professional zoological assistance of Maria Krakowiak, who invaluabley facilitated my study of modern comparative material. I would like to thank Prof. Lionel Posthumus, for his preliminary linguistic consultation. I feel deeply grateful to Aneta Pošva, bird keeper, Vaclav Straub, bird breeding inspector, Michal Podhrázký, curator of birds, reptiles, amphibian and fish, and Jakub Pošva, for their hospitality and precious on-site consultations, as well as readiness to reply to my questions also as a post-on-site-experience.

Thanks are also due the Consulting Council for Students' Research and the University of Warsaw Foundation for their constant financial support of my projects, including one of the largest in my agenda, the research on the Secretarybird (Grant Project 6/III/2017 and Continuation grant Project No. 14, April 2018, respectively). Last but not least, I would like to thank the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw for granting scholarships to Egypt, during which I could conduct my research on the fauna of the Temple of Hatshepsut and ancient Egypt.

the need for an in-depth analysis of the bird's systematics, appearance, distribution and habitat, as well as behavior, seeking the rationale behind the bringing of exemplars of this particular species from the "God's Land". The present paper records the results of a comparison of archaeological material from ancient Egypt with modern zoological expertise on the secretarybird, gleaned from both written and illustrative sources, and from personal observation of the bird. The latter includes a review of unpublished and commonly unavailable data from a world database on extant captive zoo populations and interviews with specialists. The research was done, among others, at three zoological units which have successfully bred the species: Zlín-Lešná Zoological Garden, Dvůr Králové Zoo & Safari Park and Prague Zoological Garden. Vaclav Straub, Michal Podhrázský and Aneta Pošva, ornithological section curators/in-

spectors and keepers of the studied birds from the respective units, were consulted. Eric Bairrão Ruivo (Science, Collection and Conservation Director) from the Zoopark de Beauval was consulted for the *Lophætus occipitalis*. The Natural History Museum of the University of Wrocław provided the opportunity to study a taxidermic specimen and a skeleton of a presumed secretarybird, (the identification has since been put into doubt). The illustrations in this paper derive from the author's extensive on-site observation of the bird and its behavior.

The present paper is a part of a wider study on the topic. Due to the limited space, complexity of the topic, and the introductory character of the article, only some issues have been addressed. The possibility that the bird in question was actually an African harrier-hawk and not the secretarybird will be explored in a separate article (Braulińska, in preparation a).

## BIRD IMAGES FROM THE PUNT PORTICO

The fragmentarily preserved bird images are found in a scene on the south wall and two other scenes on the west wall of the temple's southern Middle Portico, the so-called Portico of Punt. The one on the south wall, tentatively assumed to be of the same species as the other two, depicts

the bird in a natural setting [Fig. 1 inset on right]. One observes the rear part of the body with the distal, lower part of the underside of the right wing with flight feathers and both feet [Fig. 2 right]. The position of the wings suggests that the bird was shown in the act of landing in

including the birds, from the so-called Punt Portico were documented by the author in the 2011/2012 season. The bird was identified to species provisionally in 2012 and in 2014 the author presented her identification of the secretarybird in public, during a seminar at the University of Warsaw. She continued her study of the secretarybird in 2015, initiating zoological and etymological research within the frame of her PhD program, which has been financed from consecutive University of Warsaw student grants. Plans are in place for a monograph presenting the results of her doctoral research. On 24 May 2018, Filip Taterka (Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences), who has been studying the Portico of Punt for publication since 2015, announced his identification of the bird species just as the author's research was about to be concluded. The author's documentation of the animals in the Portico was available to Taterka since 2016 (Braulińska 2017: 226).

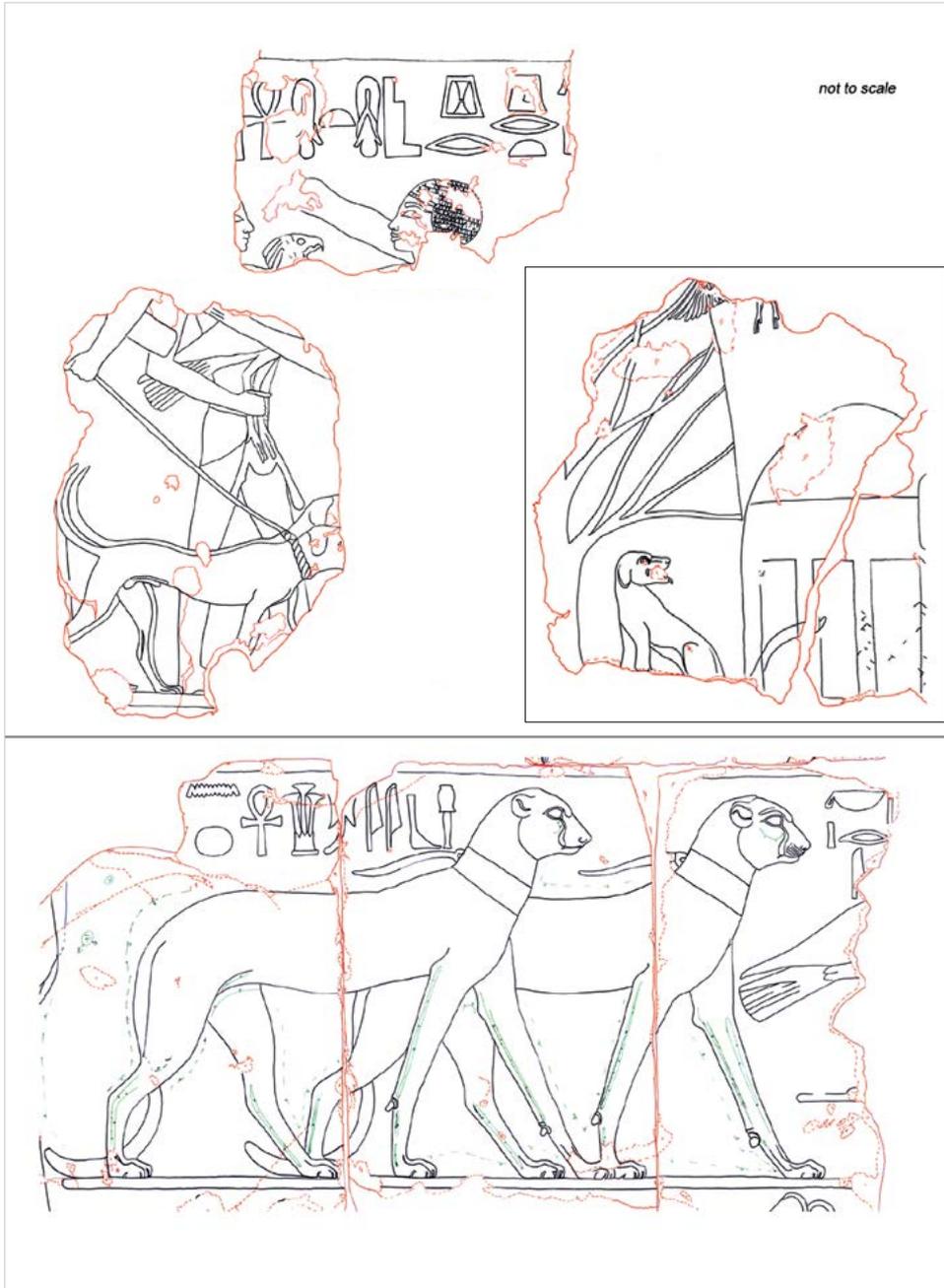


Fig. 1. Three scenes with images of a bird from the Portico of Punt in the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: inset on right, bird with a dog, “natural setting scene” (south wall of the Portico); top left, bird carried by a goods-bearer, presumably a Puntite, next to a pair of dogs, “bearers scene” (west wall of the Portico); bottom, rear part of a bird with inscription, “presentation scene” (west wall of the Portico) (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/Drawing K. Braulińska 2011/2012)

the branches of a tree that stood next to a hut with dome-shaped roof and a pattern resembling a mat on the walls. A dog is shown sitting in the shade of the tree.

A scene of bearers of goods in the southern part of the west wall depicts a bird being carried by one of the bearers, probably a Puntite [see *Fig. 1* top left]. The bearer in front is looking back at the bearer of the bird, while the bearer behind him is leading two dogs, resembling the dog depicted under the tree in the first scene. The composition of the scene places the dogs directly below the bird. A substantial part of the middle body of the latter is missing, but the head is mostly preserved, as is the body from mid-part to the tip of the tail along with both legs and feet [see *Fig. 2* left]. Distinctive features include primarily the beak, crest, tail and legs. The beak is typical of diurnal birds of prey with a hook at

the end and a strange “toothy” structure in the middle of the maxillar line. The crest, with obviously short and blunt tipped feathers, seems to be set around the back of the head, with the roots of feather stems in the sagittal plane. The tail is long, rectangular in shape, of the same length as the wings. The legs are long as well, with long straight toes.

The third scene, likewise on the west wall of the Portico, in its central part, depicts a presentation of the goods [see *Fig. 1* bottom]. The tail with the undertail coverts plus the hind part of the belly and possibly the tip of the hind toe have been preserved, along with part of an inscription above the bird image [see *Fig. 2* center]. Pacing right behind the bird is a pair of collared cheetahs, also identified with an inscription above their figures. The cheetahs have their own base line, as does the bird, on a slightly higher plane.

### ZOOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION OF THE BIRD SPECIES

Any zoological identification of species must assume a fair depiction of distinctive details. Faced with obvious discrepancies between the image and the real animal, the specialist must decide to what extent

the artist’s picturing of the animal was from actual observation and not biased by cultural or artistic conditioning (see Evans 2015). The next question, assuming real-life observation was the case and the

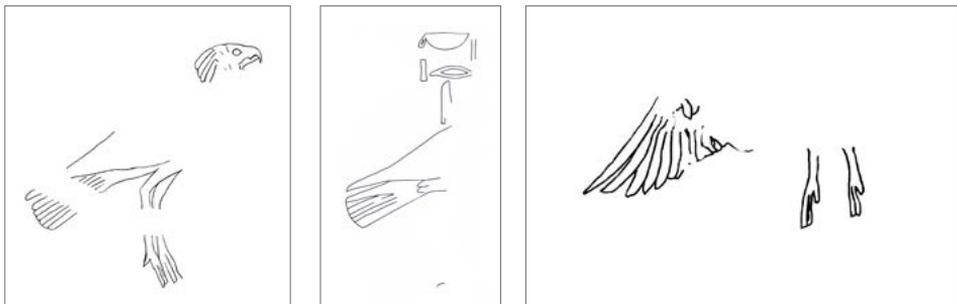


Fig. 2. Comparison of the preserved parts of bird images extracted from the three scenes in the Portico of Punt pictured in *Fig. 1*: from left, the “bearers scene”, the “presentation scene” and the “natural setting scene” (Drawing K. Braulińska)

artist was not relying on third-party descriptions or illustrations, is whether he was rendering the images from memory and simplifying features of lesser consequence for the overall image or composition? or was he portraying, more or less proficiently, a living bird? If the latter, then are the notable discrepancies due to carelessness or disregard for detail, or perhaps because the species was already extinct or has escaped recognition.

One last possibility, but one that is easily dismissed in view of the rendering of the other animals in scenes from the Portico, is that it is a hybrid representation or simply does not represent any existing species. The author's considered opinion is that the artist in this case was picturing a species that he had knowledge of, perhaps even first-hand at that.

There must have been a level of detail memorization that could be responsible for any departures from reality. Judging from surviving depictions, the prototype of the depicted bird must have had a crest, long unfeathered legs and a characteristic beak. It must have also been relatively big, although the Egyptian aspective would have made the images somewhat less reliable with regard to the overall size as depicted.

Keeping these reservations in mind and assuming that the three images represent the same species, the author's identification was narrowed down to birds of prey owing to the characteristic beak shape (which dismissed outright birds like bus-

tards and waders, including cranes, egrets and herons). The crest was another distinctive element. Several alternative species were examined, extending the studied pool to include not only birds typical of Africa, but also species originating from outside the African continent, this on account of bird migrations as well as changing zoogeography over the millennia, and not the least because of the still debated location of Punt. The study encompassed species systematics, appearance, characteristic features, modern distribution and habitat, and last but not least, behavior.

The analyzed features included general posture, size, body setting, crest, head profile, facial features, beak, trunk, leg characteristics, tail, ratios of particular body parts, such as position of folded wings to the tail, etc. These were compared with the temple images in order to establish degrees of similarity to particular species.

Several species were considered, most of them belonging to relatively allied taxa or at least taxa not that distant from one another.<sup>2</sup> Of these, the secretarybird (*Sagittarius serpentarius*) and, conceivably, the African harrier-hawk (*Polyboroides typus*) appeared to be relatively good alternatives, best fitting the specific characteristics of the depictions with an indication for the former. Progressing research has led to the elimination of several other species for a variety of reasons (see below, *Appendix* and *Table 1*).

2 For instance, the clade of Secretarybird and Long-crested Eagle. According to Sibley, Ahlquist (1995: 471), the Falconides infraorder comprises of the hawks, eagles, kites, harriers, Old World vultures, Osprey, Secretarybird, falcons and caracaras. The infraorder Falconides of these authors is equivalent to the traditional order Falconiformes, without the New World vultures.

## THE SECRETARYBIRD IN LIGHT OF ZOOLOGICAL IDENTIFICATION

The secretarybird is an extant species that exhibits quite a fair share of similarities with the depiction from the Temple of Hatshepsut, even if the identification is not entirely satisfactory, considering that the African harrier-hawk is an acceptable alternative. In this situation, learning about the species in detail is crucial to understanding the ancient circumstances related to the discussed scenes and the phenomenon of species perception in general. In ancient times, people imported animals for concrete reasons and the key to their motives lay mainly on the animal side, which has long been underestimated in research on ancient Egyptian fauna.

A review of historical and ethnographical literature on the secretarybird has demonstrated that it has always excited interest, being “curious”, “peculiar”, “unmistakable”, “interesting”, etc. One may assume that the ancient Egyptians of the New Kingdom perceived it as such as well, particularly as they probably had no longer any direct contact with the bird. The secretarybird obviously was a curiosity and an attraction for the men of Hatshepsut, just as it has been until modern times. By 1871, when zoos around the world were vying with each other to bring animals from “as many faraway places as possible” (Mikhail 2014: 163), a secretarybird was an exhibit at the Cairo zoo, still located at that time in the

grounds of Khedive Ismail’s Palace Garden on Gezira island (Mikhail 2014: Pl. 6.1).

**Zoological systematics.** The secretarybird is monotypic, as is its genus and family. It is the only representative of the Sagittariidae family, genus *Sagittarius* and does not have subspecies or any taxa of lower rank.<sup>3</sup> The most cited categorization (del Hoyo, Elliott, and Sargatal 1994: 206) classifies the animal as follows: class *Aves*, order *Falconiformes*, suborder *Sagittarii*, family *Sagittariidae*. All species of the order are diurnal birds of prey, either raptors or carrion eaters, and have tended to be classified based on bills and feet (Sibley and Ahlquist 1995: 471). Current research on the iconographical representation from the Temple has also focused on this element. Raptors have hooked beaks and talons in their feet, which may be modified in specialized forms, as in the case of the secretarybird. Similarities in skeleton and skull musculature relate the species to diurnal birds of prey, but its karyotype differs (del Hoyo, Elliott, and Sargatal 1994: 206). The history of systematic repositioning of the secretarybird shows the difficulty inherent in this bird classification (see Sibley and Ahlquist 1995: 473–484), and when it comes to juxtaposition with other raptors, it must be treated cautiously in terms of phylogenesis (see Krüger, Liversidge, and Lindström 2002: 607, 608). The Sagittariidae is the only family of African birds of prey that is

3 The existence of subspecies was suspected, by Horsbrugh (1912: 105), among others, despite the lack of parallels in the modern bird world. A tentative relationship to the South American *Cariamiidae* (D.W. Snow, cited after Sibley and Ahlquist 1985: 130; Brown 1972: 37) or the *Otididae* (bustards) has proved groundless.

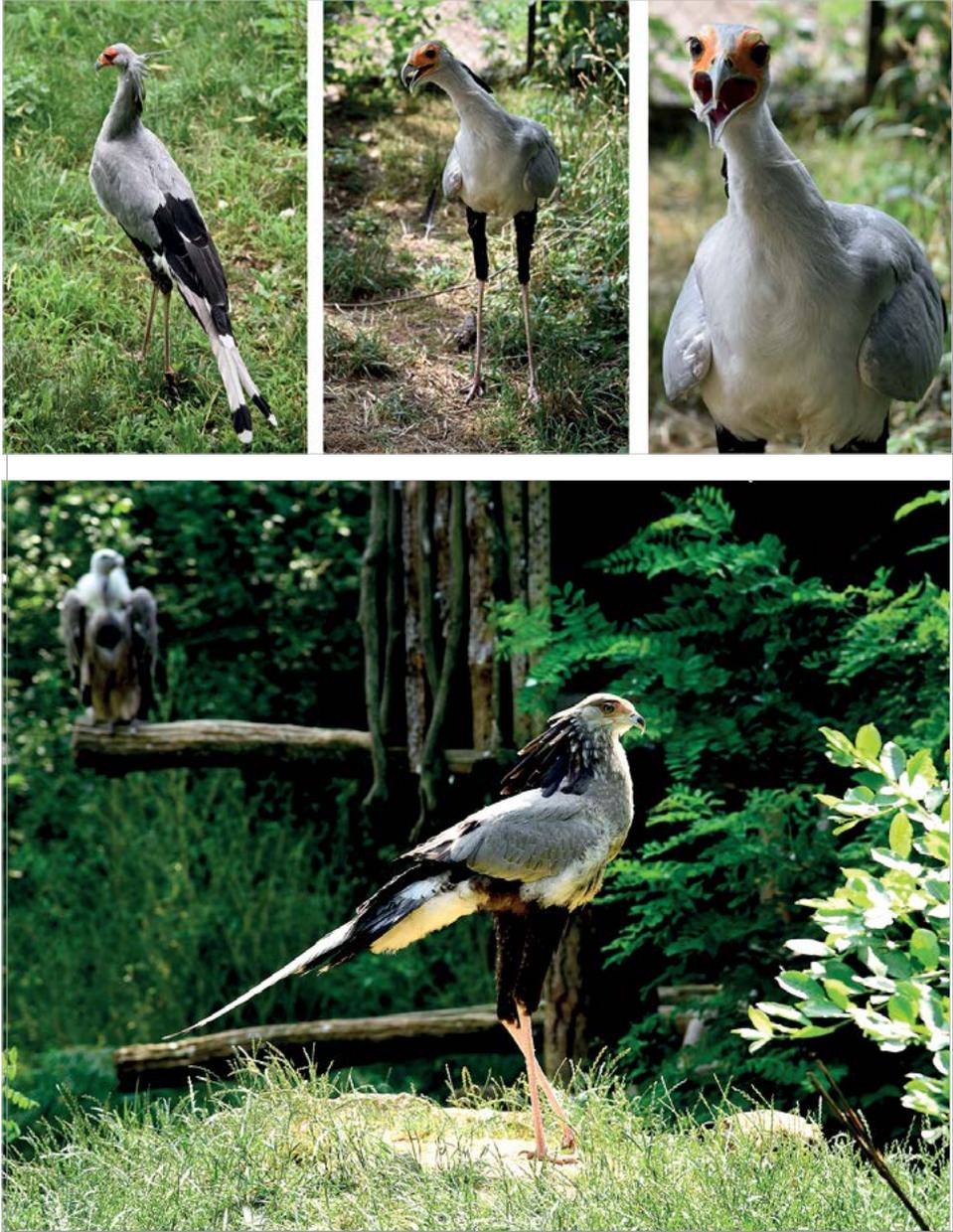


Fig. 3. The secretarybird in a zoo environment: bottom, a subadult bird at Zlin Zoo; top left, an adult specimen at the Prague Zoo: note the bird coloration and wings-tail relation, the distinctive crest, deep-orange facial mask and extraordinarily long beak; top center, an adult secretarybird in Dvůr Králové Zoo & Safari Park: note feather coloration, folded crest tightly adhering to the nape, as well as feet in frontal view; top right, same bird, close-up of warning-off stance: note delicate head, large eyes and long "eye-lashes", yellow gape and the smooth ridge between the mandibles (Photos K. Brauliňská, courtesy of the Zoos)

exclusively African (Brown 1972: 37, 133); however, whether it is a true bird of prey has also been doubted (Brown 1972: 37).

Interestingly, a fossil species, *Eremopezus eocaenus*, found in upper Eocene deposits in Fayum Oasis, is compared to “a giant flightless secretarybird”, at least as far as the limbs are concerned, but the environment of the fossil layer, which was swampy, swampy forest with rivers, probably in monsoonal zone, was very different from the extant species environment area (see Rasmussen, Simons, Hertel,

and Judd 2001: 327). Three fossil species claimed to resemble a secretarybird have been recorded in France, one in Namibia (see Mourer-Chauviré 2003: 104–105), and a smaller specimen in North America (see Fedduccia and Voorhies 1989). The prehistoric records, from Europe and beyond, prove that the species not only could have had forms resembling it, but that they were not restricted merely to Africa.

**Appearance.** The silhouette of the secretarybird is sometimes compared to that of a bustard, a crane seen from a long



Fig. 4. The secretarybirds in Zlin Zoo: bottom, a juvenile bird, note the overall coloration, pale facial mask and dark beak; top left, a bird presenting the feather shape and setting of the crest, the long quills on the head and tail length (bird in the background); top right, detail of the legs and tail, note the striped tibia, scaled metatarsus and white undertail-coverts (Photos K. Braulińska, courtesy of the Zoo)

distance (Mackworth-Praed and Grant 1957: 128) or, more accurately, to a cross between a stork and a raptor (Perrins and Middleton 1985: 103). Comparisons with a “terrestrial eagle” (Brown: 1972: 37), even better a “walking eagle” (Miller 1915) or “long-legged marching/pedestrian eagle” (del Hoyo, Elliott, and Sargatal 1994: 206) best describe its looks. The general posture of the depicted birds fits the secretarybird species. Kurt Sethe (1906: 336) referred to the bird in the presentation scene as “a wader”, which was not that far off the mark considering the similarity of the lower part of the secretarybird’s body to that of waders.

The *Sagittarius serpentarius* may reach 120–150 cm in length (combined body, 71–80 cm, and tail, 54–70 cm, Anděrová and Janochová 2017: 60), wing of 60 cm to 66.5 cm (Mackworth-Praed and Grant 1957: 128), wingspan up to even 212 cm (Anděrová and Janochová 2017: 60). The long legs give a height of 130 cm (Shorrocks and Bates 2015: 71). The bird weighs about 2.3–4.3 kg (Anděrová and Janochová 2017: 60). Size (even if questionable in view of the Egyptian aspective) can be said to be fairly accurate, the only issue being the too-short legs. The body of the bird is large, set sloping while standing, more horizontal while striding. Optically, it seems large in comparison to the head. The extended, narrowing tail gives the impression of a counterweight. The setting of the body from chest to tail, as presented on the Temple wall, apparently horizontal, is characteristic of eagles as much as of the secretarybird. There is, however, an interesting detail, namely the angle of the body in the presentation scene. The bird here should have

been depicted walking, like the other animals, but the inclination of its body—more inclined than horizontal—suggests curiously a standing position. In this it would resemble the wader birds of ancient Egyptian depictions. The bird’s weight naturally can only be imagined from secondary features of the image; the ease with which it is carried in the bearers’ scene derives rather from the rules of Egyptian art.

The coloration is in general bluish-gray, pale gray, with black at the distant parts of crest, wings, tail, belly and thigh (the latter is a common name, not to be confused with the proper femur) [Fig. 5] and it may differ slightly between the sexes and clearly between young and adult birds, but since no colors have been observed in the depictions of the bird



Fig. 5. Secretarybird feathers: left, coloration difference of a long tail feather among individuals; right, a long double feather from the secretarybird’s tail and a remex feather at far right (Photos K. Braulińska, private collection, courtesy of Pragued and Dvůr Králové Zoos, Czech Republic)

from the Temple, this element can have no bearing on the identification.

One of the two most distinctive features is a set of long crest feathers of the head and nape, leaning towards the back of the body, changing position, shape and arrangement to reflect the bird's emotional state and — blowing wind. Feathers are slightly narrower at the base, widening more or less symmetrically towards the tip, resembling an otter-tail-like/pointy oar with long, gently defined blade [see Fig. 5]. The head crest feather of the bird in the bearers-scene seems to be too short and too wide compared to that of the secretarybird. The shape of the feathers in the Deir el-Bahari image is also different, and they are all short, of equal length and shape, while those of the secretarybird should be long, reaching even to the back of the animal. Unless the artist had been inaccurate in his depiction, then this detail indicates either an accurate rendering of a phase in the secretarybird's life when these feathers are shed to be replaced by others, or a very young animal (the most convincing idea, to be presented in detail in Braulińska in preparation a), or an altogether different species.

The head of the secretarybird, on top of a not especially long neck, is rather delicate, with a characteristic facial mask of usually orange color, with yellow cere of varying hue. It is duller in females and immature specimens (Redman, Stevenson, and Fanshawe 2016: 80). The lores (area between the eye and the beak) and the whole facial mask are bare. The nostrils are oval and vertical. The head in the studied iconographical image itself is much more eagle-like than the secretarybird's, however small in comparison

to the body, which is a pro for the identification of the bird with the latter. The relatively small ratio between the horizontal (head-beak) and vertical axes makes the head robust, unlike the secretarybird's, at least the adult's, but not excluding the young bird. No obvious traces of the facial mask have been preserved. The eye, round and fairly large, in relation to the head and the beak, is a typical feature of the bird and seems to distinguish it from other species. The rendering of the eye in the Temple image could thus support the identification. The long lashes around the eye—a feature that would have attracted attention—are in fact a modified feather. However, there is no trace of anything of the kind in the images.

The shape of the beak is typical of birds of prey, like eagles. Maxillar and mandibular tomia are smooth and straight from the gape until the frontal curve; the length and curvature of the beak, as well as its tip vary (K. Braulińska, personal observation, see Fig. 3). However, the beak of the bird imaged in the Temple seems to be too broad for a *Sagittarius* (and the African harrier-hawk, too, as a matter of fact), even if the tip would fit the secretarybird, taking into consideration that it could vary. A feature absolutely excluding a secretarybird is the characteristic “tooth” in the middle, which even if it was supposed to have symbolized the border between the cere and the beak—apparently the colors of the different parts of the beak—still has not been observed in any of the living birds. The structure does resemble however a tomial (or toral) “tooth” that may occur in falcons (well visible in some peregrine falcons, also kestrels) and accipitrids (including some eagles and kites) and is used for breaking the spine of prey

(addressed in Braulińska in preparation a) [see below, Fig. 13].

The legs of the *Sagittarius serpentarius* are very long and slim, heavily feathered down to the tarsal joint, naked and nude in the tarsometatarsus part, covered with smooth scales especially visible in front, presumably for protection against preying attacks [see Fig. 3 top right]. The leg length is a factor in speed and adroitness in hunting. The limbs of the birds in the bearers- and presentation scenes from the temple are not long or slim enough. The feathered upper part seems to be too short, the lower part of the leg definitely too thick and short, the toes too long. The bird has a four-toed foot, with the inner, middle and outer toes short, but very strong (Dyrz 1991: 178). The legs of the secretarybird are obviously built for walking, and not for grasping prey, like other birds of prey do, therefore they have no prehensile function, and the claws are significantly reduced in comparison to other birds of prey [Fig. 6]. These are neither raptorial nor wading, nor cursorial feet. Moreover these stick-like legs are a weak point, being easily fractured and difficult to heal (Latham 1792: 19; modern

zoo reports). In this context, the bird in the natural-setting scene may actually be one of the smaller species attested in the Portico of Punt, although the specific position of feet and wings in flight and landing, as well as the proximity of the dog (strangely also present in the bearers scene) could still point to the secretarybird.

The bird's tail in the image is also misleading. It is clearly square-ended, not like the graduated tail of the secretarybird, and equal length with wings, which is unreal. It does not have the long double feather in the middle of the tail (tail feathers are up to 70 cm, the tail in the author's collection is even 71.5 cm long), grey, with black spots at the end, varying from individual to individual [see Fig. 5]. It is one of the two main discrepancies between the real birds and the iconographic images on the wall. Birds lacking the long plume may be seen in nature, but it is not their regular look. It is highly unlikely that the damage to the relief in two of the scenes could have removed all trace of a tail, and the representation of the bird in front of the pair of cheetahs undeniably had no tail: there



Fig. 6. Comparison of the legs and feet of the Secretarybird (on the left) and the Martial Eagle. Note the short toes of the former. Exhibits of the Natural History Museum, University of Wrocław (Photos K. Braulińska, courtesy of the Museum)

is no space for it and no suspicious traces of damage that could have obscured it. However, the apparently missing long feathers theoretically were a way of rendering a bird's moulting phase, which is a regular feather exchange process, but which could have possibly been affected by stress, caused by captivity, as well as potential malnutrition in a new environment (although one may imagine that the rat-eating secretarybird should have managed, at least on the ship). Exchange of feathers is a long and complex issue for birds depending on several variables, determined to some extent also by their survival strategies. It is also possible, based on the author's own observations, that the specific form of the feathers in the Temple representations—short and of strange shape—is due to the juvenile age of the depicted bird. Another option is the artist's inaccuracy. The juvenile age of the specimen could also explain the strange lines on the head that do not follow the pattern of the facial mask, but could follow the plumage of this part in a juvenile bird. It is surprising, however, why it was rendered in relief, while the rest of the plumage was merely painted.

The bird breeds in different regions at different times, hence if moulting was indeed responsible for the missing tail feather, then combining the results regarding the bird with other observations related to Hatshepsut's expedition may be a large step forward in this research. It must be kept in mind, however, that there are several variables affecting the moulting process (suspending it, a chaotic pattern in some species, rarely a reverse sequence, even differences between populations) and the image on the Deir el-Bahari wall. There

may have been other reasons: mechanical (for example, a cheetah attack) or ceremonial (quill deprivation for ritual reasons, as presumed by Vaclav Straub, although this is difficult to believe in the context of the bird as traded royal goods). Nevertheless, even more convincing than the moulting process, is the previously mentioned very young age of the depicted bird, which in fact makes all the discrepancies less glaring.

One of the characteristic features of the secretarybird is the white soft feathering of the area of the belly and undertail coverts, which seems to have been rendered by the Egyptian artist in the representation beside the cheetahs. In nature, the black coloration of the tail and the primaries of the wings seem to end together, sometimes leaving a characteristic slight gap between them, which seems again to be rendered in the images from Deir el-Bahari (bearers and representation scene).

**Distribution and habitat.** In general, the secretarybird is distributed south of the Sahara, rather widely [Fig. 7], excluding tropical forests and the edges of the Horn of Africa. It is not yet known to what extent the modern range of the *Sagittarius serpentarius* is comparable to the ancient one; although it was noted in 19th century Egypt and is recorded from medieval Egypt (see Kinzelbach 2008: 247, who suggests a more frequent occurrence of the secretarybird in the Nile Valley), it must have been imported there. Although the climate in the New Kingdom could have resembled that in modern times, one needs to consider a whole range of variables. The habitat of the secretarybird is mainly grasslands

(acacia grasslands), open bushed and wooded grassland, steppes and dwarf shrubland, poorly bushed savannah. It avoids very high grass that would impede walking (Dyrzcz 1991: 178), dense woodland forests or heavily bushed sites, as well as mountainous regions. It is recorded in the areas from sea level up to 3150 m a.s.l. (Redman, Stevenson, and Fanshawe 2016: 86) and in both dry and moist savannah and grassland habitats. Modern research has also shown the animal's changing behavior imposed by a changing environment (general avoidance of transformed habitats, however with recent adjusting to new conditions, Dyrzcz 1991: 178, Hofmeyr, Symes, Underhill 2014); the same could have happened in antiquity, not in terms of the behavior of a single animal, but as a potential distribution and habitat change for the species as a whole. The latter are important not only as a tentative explanation for the appearance of the secretarybird specifically in Ancient Egyptian art, but also as

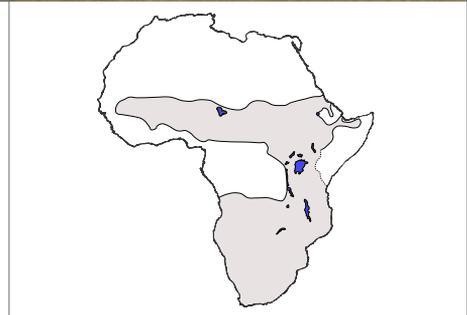
an indication that the area of origin of the animal should not be strictly limited.

The territory of a secretarybird may cover from 20 km<sup>2</sup> to 200 km<sup>2</sup>, depending on the region (Perrins and Middleton 1985: 105). Del Hoyo, Elliott, and Sargatal (1994: 208) suggest 20 km<sup>2</sup> in mixed savanna (tree and grass), 45 km<sup>2</sup> in dry grassland, 70 km<sup>2</sup> in the montane grassland of South Africa. It could explain the tendency in Egyptian art to present it as a single specimen. Also in the Temple the bird is represented as a solitary individual (unless the pair has not been preserved), while other animals are brought in pairs.

**Behavior.** Secretarybirds are sedentary and strongly territorial (Dyrzcz 1991: 178), although it is claimed that the bird exhibits varying degrees of nomadism (Dean and Simmons 2005, after Hofmeyr, Symes, and Underhill 2014: 1), not to be confused with migration. Dispersal movements, which are a fairly new theme in bird studies, over a variety of distances (even more than 1500 km) need to be



Fig. 7. The secretarybird range map, dashed line showing hypothetical range based on environmental clues; above, group of three secretarybirds in the open grassland of Tanzania (Drawing K. Braulińska, based on multiple sources, primarily: IUCN and Redman, Stevenson, and Fanshawe 2016: 80, and for the lacunae, on the plant cover of the area, primarily: <http://2016africalandcover20m.esrin.esa.int/viewer.php>; photo M. Krakowiak)



noted as well. They haunt the same area and even use the same nest each season, if not disturbed (Horsbrugh 1912: 105). They were reported to lay eggs in the same nest even when their eggs had been taken (Horsbrugh 1912: 105). Breeding-site tenacity coupled with nomadism may be typical features of species that are rodent predators, especially in areas with scarce and irregular rains (Andersson 1980: 175). However, it should be borne in mind that *Sagittarius serpentarius* is not exclusively a rodent predator; its diet diversification makes it less dependent on food source fluctuations than the less diet-flexible species. The bird's preferences could have facilitated its capture by the Puntites(?) or other peoples, for whom they could have been an export product.

*Sagittarius serpentarius* is mostly terrestrial when not nesting, however it flies well. Its flight is an impressive aerial display; it may also be considered rather labored (Redman, Stevenson, and Fanshawe 2016: 80). In flight it resembles a stork, and to some (Horsbrugh 1912: 106) "any eagle or vulture". Nevertheless, the bird would rather run, instead of flying away, when disturbed (Redman, Stevenson, and Fanshawe 2016: 80; Latham 1792: 19). The wings are also used raised and opened while hunting, as well as running around on the ground. Striking with wings during hunting may aim at disorienting and shooing the prey out of a hiding place, after which the foot attack supervenes (see Martin 1890: 219). The tendency to stay on the ground and rather run than fly could have raised the peculiarity of the animal for an ancient observer, whether Egyptian or local. Hunting behavior is unique: the bird

kicks and stamps the head of its prey with a great force (partly due to the length of legs) and precision (requiring a good visual and neuromuscular systems coordination) in order to kill or incapacitate the prey (Portugal et al. 2016).

Secretarybirds are monogamous, therefore often observed in pairs. However, they may be observed in solitude, preying in isolation or perhaps patrolling territory (del Hoyo, Elliott, and Sargatal 1994: 208). Egyptian representations of singular specimens seem to match the natural behavior of the species.

The birds build large platform-like nests on flat-topped trees, which in most cases will be acacia (note the significance of acacia for ancient Egyptians); seldom do they nest on the ground, protected by vegetation. Such conditions are known also from captivity. Horsbrugh (1912: 105) noted that when on a tree, the *Sagittarius serpentarius*'s nest is a landmark seen from a far distance counted in miles. Moreover, the egg incubation time (43–44 days), the fledgling and nesting period (73–85 or 65–106 days according to different authors, Brown and Amadon 1968; Shorrocks and Bates 2015: 71; del Hoyo, Elliott, and Sargatal 1994: 213) make the female and the young birds especially vulnerable to capture. Owing to the occasional siblicidal nature of secretarybirds (e.g., Bortolotti 1986: 184), young birds could have been found solitary also in the nest. The birds would be seized probably directly in the nests (see above, suggested loss of tail feathers during moulting). Modern comparative material demonstrated brooding as the best moment to do it (V. Straub, M. Podhrázský, A. Pošva, personal communication), and it may be assumed that this was the case

when the bird was captured for the Hatshepsut expedition. Interestingly, in the environment-scene, the bird is presented

in the direct vicinity of the crown of a tree, which makes sense in terms of the secretarybird's behavior and habitat, and the pe-



Fig. 8. Secretarybird behavior: top left, typical position of inspecting the ground for prey, note the halo-set crest and foot shape (a vulture can be seen in the background); bottom left, another mode of searching for prey or for nest-building elements, note the folded flat crest; top right, characteristic position for picking up objects, note the recrices coloration and flight feather reach; bottom right, stages of sitting down in a position resembling a sphinx, note continuous observation of the ground and halo-setting of the crest (Photo K. Braulińska, courtesy of the Zoos)

riod in which they could have been caught. Again, one bird nesting while the other one hunts would fit the model of capture and import of a single bird. It could also explain the juvenile age of the birds presented to Hatshepsut, assuming the interpretation of age is correct.

According to Sibley and Monroe (1990: 289), breeding of secretarybirds was documented only in the east and south of Africa, from Ethiopia to South Africa and as far as Namibia to the west. Moreau (1966: Pl. 14) lists West Africa, Gambia, Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, Somaliland, Zambia, Malawi, Rhodesia, etc. Such specifications, when correlated with other facts known about the expedition of Hatshepsut, and the secretarybird habits may indirectly point to the region where the animal could have been taken. The breeding seasons of both the *Sagittarius serpentarius* and the *Polyboroides typus* (a possible alternative) vary, depending on geography, as well as the author who is cited. It might be possible to correlate this with the facts about the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut.

The secretarybird's diet consists of rodents and small mammals, large insects and snakes (including venomous ones), as well as other reptiles (such as lizards, frogs, toads, chameleons). Eggs and the young of birds nesting on the ground also contribute to their diet (Perrins 1990: 108; cf. Horsbrugh 1912: 106; Martin 1890: 29, 217, etc.), warblers, larks, doves, small hornbills, plovers, tortoises have been reported (del Hoyo, Elliott, and Sargatal 1994: 209). Walking or rather striding is a constant activity of the secretarybird, whether in the wild or in captivity (see Quintin 1912: 109). It has been called a "snake-eater" by the early importers (Edwards 1771: 56), yet

feeding on snakes does not seem to be the core of the bird's diet. Some authors point to the locust as a base of its diet, which however would mean tremendous quantities consumed, which is not the case, or grasshoppers and small rodents (Shorrocks, Bates 2015: 71), which is very likely. It would also allow survival in the more arid conditions mentioned above. The species was also reported consuming young chickens and small pets (kittens) (Martin 1890: 29), sparrows, eels, rabbits (Quintin 1912: 110), hares, meerkats, mongooses, shrews, hedgehogs, even beetles, termites and carrion; plus such objects as golf-balls confused with eggs (Colahan and Ferreira 1992) and wasps together with their nests (del Hoyo, Elliott, and Sargatal 1994: 209). The secretarybird is said to eat large quantities of prey and have an enormous appetite (Horsbrugh 1912: 106, 107; Quintin 1912: 109; see Martin 1890: 29–30). The diet of the bird may point to the habitat, hence indirectly the area, from which the animal could be brought. It may also be evidence that in terms of diet, it could survive the trip to Egypt and the living conditions in its new home. Snakes, although probably not the base of the bird's diet in its natural environment, were an element which may have amazed the Egyptians the most. The unique manner of hunting prey must have been noticed by the ancients as well. It may be assumed that dietary and feeding habits could have influenced, directly and indirectly, the choice of the secretarybird for taking back to Egypt.

Secretarybirds are shy animals and vulnerable to stress; they do not like any changes in their environment, which would have made them a poor commodity for travelers coming from Eighteenth-Dynasty Egypt. One may speculate whether the depicted

bird could have survived the journey and later life in an alien land. It may not have arrived in Egypt alive, which would explain the discrepancies between the Temple depictions and live birds. One might argue that it would not have been depicted on the wall, if it had not survived the trip. However, it was such a rare specimen of alien fauna, that it was inconceivable for it not to be depicted on the queen's triumphal wall, if it had been captured/purchased and loaded on a ship. And it would be puzzling indeed to find it again in the presentation scene; nevertheless the previous argument could apply as well. However, the fact that the secretarybird's behavior tends to change might be a clue to support Hatshepsut's version that the depicted secretarybird arrived safely in Egypt. Despite their timidity, secretarybirds were occasionally tamed, considered pets and claimed to be very friendly and affectionate (see Martin 1890, Sonnerat 1776: 89). Whether it is a characteristics common to the species or just to individual birds is difficult to determine.

Focusing on the behavior of the bird in the Temple scene, it is noteworthy that

it is held in a specific way to immobilize the legs which are characteristically used for defense (M. Podhrázský, personal communication), while leaving the beak free as the bird seldom uses it for this purpose. This is unlike the cranes imaged elsewhere in the Temple as well as in significantly older (Old and Middle Kingdoms) private tombs in Giza, Saqqara, Medum, Beni Hassan, el-Bersha and Thebes, which in terms of the decoration could have been a prototype of sorts for the Queen's Temple (see Stupko 2010: 170–171). They may walk with their beaks tied to their necks, or are carried by bearers who grab the legs (mainly folded) with one hand and either the beak or the neck with the other, alternatively, both of these body parts are grasped with one hand. Such beak immobilization may have prevented stretching for flight (Stupko 2010: 177), but it could equally well be hypothesized that the beak was considered a threat. On the contrary, the beak of the bird represented in the bearers-scene, despite being apparently a bird of prey, was not secured in any way and hence was not used by the bird in defense.

## POSSIBLE REASONS FOR IMPORTING THE BIRD

The jizz (the overall impression of the species, combining appearance and behavior, enabling identification, see Redman, Stevenson, and Fanshawe 2016: glossary) of the secretarybird must have been exotic to the inexperienced eye of the Egyptians who came to Punt. The bird may have been tamed or even bred by the natives, who could have recommended the “product” to the Egyptians. It is also possible that the Egyptians captured the bird themselves, something that would be confirmed, if

the bird from the environment scene is indeed a secretarybird, as it would prove direct observation of nesting behavior. Nevertheless, it must have been the bird's skill at slaying snakes that drew the attention of the Egyptians (assuming that it was this particular species that was indeed imported).

Perhaps bringing this specific animal could have had broader symbolism related to mythology. Based on some postulates proposed by Andrea Manzo (2011:

81), it could be assumed that the queen could have additionally legitimized her rule with the successful import of this serpent-slaying bird through the mythological connections with deities and the ability to control chaos. Both the secretarybird and the African harrier hawk slayed snakes, but the secretarybird appeared to do it in a more spectacular manner. Appreciating animals fighting snakes (such as the mongoose, possibly also waders), Egyptians must have liked the idea of finding in the Land of Wonders another animal of that kind. The secretarybird depicted on the queen's wall could have reinforced the message.

Finally, there is the issue of the region and habitat where the bird could have come from. A very late, Twenty-sixth Dynasty stela from Tell el-Dafana makes a reference to the mountain of Punt, which Franco Crevatin (2017) locates in an area close to the Red Sea, at a latitude corresponding to the Third/Fifth cataract, already in a zone already characterized by a rainy season. Since, according to Crevatin, the Egyptian expedition did not take place in the rainy season, one could try to correlate this information with the secretarybird's breeding period. However, this kind of correlation might be too unreliable. Taking into consideration the fact that the secretarybird does not inhabit

mountainous areas, the "mountain" interpretation of the destination mentioned in the stela could point to the alternative, the African harrier-hawk, as that species does not mind a hilly or mountainous habitat. However, should the region referred to in the text of the stela be just one specific area of the God's Land, then the secretarybird may have come from another part of it (if from Punt at all, see Sethe 1906: 336, who proposes Sudan).

Considering the known distribution of the species, Hatshepsut's expedition did not need to cross the modern-day borders of Djibouti (or former Somaliland). Moreover, there was actually no need to go any further than modern-day Sudan, perhaps Eritrea, to collect the bird. Furthermore, the modern Somali coast, suggested by some, is the only region in the area NOT inhabited by the secretarybird today. Was it different in Hatshepsut's times?

The bird may have inhabited naturally the Land of Punt, but it is also possible that it was "in transit", Punt being also a transfer-point for other goods, from inland Africa. The latter explanation, albeit doubtful, should not be completely excluded, as long as one does not find unambiguous ancient confirmation that these animals were native to the environment that they were depicted in.

## LINGUISTIC ISSUES

The Latin scientific name for the bird is *Sagittarius serpentarius* (Miller 1779), deriving from the "archer" look attributed to it by the Africans and early naturalists; *sagitta* is the Latin for "arrow", *sagittarius* is then "an archer" or "bowman",

and *serpens*, obviously "a serpent", whereas the suffix "-arius" is added to words that mean "pertaining to" (Gotch 1996: 226; more on that etymology, other names and their actual authors, in Braulińska in preparation b).

The modern name of the secretarybird, which occurs in the sources from at least 1769 (Vosmaer 1769; see Braulińska in preparation b), is commonly believed to derive from the appearance of the bird's crest that resembled a quill pen that clerks/secretaries tended to stick behind the ear in past centuries. An equally contestable theory points to the Arabic *saqr el-teir* for "falcon bird" as a probable source of the common name in many modern languages (see also Urban 2008; Glenn 2018). This name, in corrupt form, could have been exported from Africa with the bird itself (Vosmaer 1769: footnote d). In this author's view, the scope of the etymological discussion should be broadened to include the phonetical resemblance of other words to the bird's name, reflecting its appearance and behavior (see Braulińska in preparation b).

In the context of the species identification discussed in the present text, one should point out the presence of four signs above the bird pictured in the presentation scene:  $\curvearrowright$  (Gardiner V31\*),  $\curvearrowleft$  (D21) with  $\blacksquare$  (Z1),  $\beta$  (M17) and the remains of a single vertical line that could be an ele-

ment of the sign *s* (or *i*, which however would be more difficult to explain; more possibilities are still being considered) (the author was the first to observe and document the lattermost). The inscription above the cheetahs to the left names the animals with the expression *3by mh* for "cheetah", hence the expectation that the signs above the bird,  $[s]kr[...?]i$  (?) or  $[s]k[.]i$  (?) (depending whether the phrase recorded syllabic writing, E. Kopp, personal communication), could have rendered its ancient calling. Syllabic writing was usually used to denote foreign names, which theoretically could have been the case here. The reconstruction of the inscription depends on several variables, foremost whether the bird image is reconstructed as standing or walking, the latter being not only the more natural one, but also affording slightly more space for the missing signs [Fig. 9]. A direct transcription of the Egyptian  $[s]kr[...?]i$  (?) or  $[s]k[.]i$  (?) into the modern name is rather not credible, but the present author would like to suggest that there might have been a common source for both ancient and modern in native African.

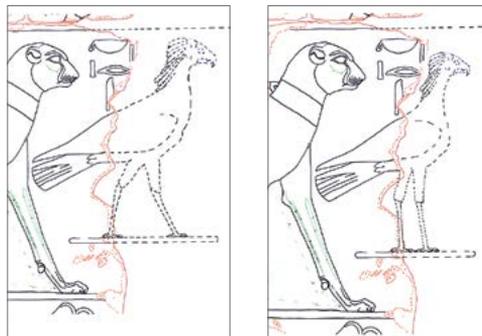


Fig. 9. Two reconstruction variants of the bird in the presentation scene: left, less probable for a longer inscription, right, more probable for a shorter one (note the insufficient space for the bird's legs, which may be another indication of a young age) (Drawing K. Braulińska)

## THE SECRETARYBIRD IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN ART

No direct parallel to the representations depicted in the Deir el-Bahari Temple has been found in any ancient Egyptian representations from pre- and pharaonic Egypt. No other inscription has ever been discovered. Extant parallels are to the species itself, and cover only the late Predynastic period, vanishing from later iconography.

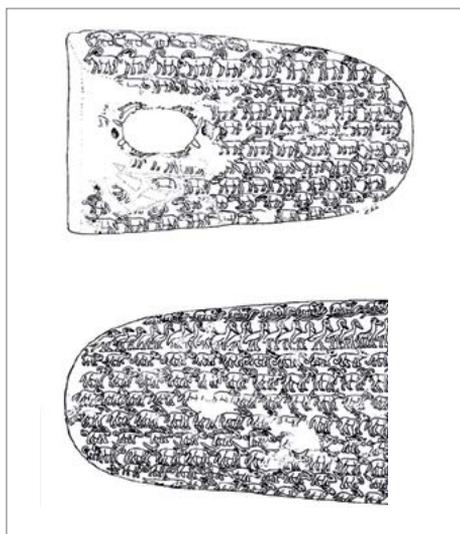


Fig. 10. The so-called Brooklyn Knife, ritual knife, about 3300–3100 BC, flint and elephant ivory, 5.3 cm by 23.4 cm; top, tracing, the secretarybird is in the second row from top on the imaged side. Brooklyn Museum, Charles Edwin Wilbour Fund, 09.889.118. Creative Commons-BY (Photo Brooklyn Museum, 09.889.118\_view3\_SL1.jpg; tracing Brooklyn Museum, 09.889.118\_bw\_print\_SL4.jpg, image rotated)

The disappearance of the secretarybird from Egypt at this time may have been a consequence of climatic change, although substantial known changes in climate seem to be later (Old Kingdom, perhaps the so-called 4.2k event). Therefore, in considering the existing parallels, one is faced with the question whether the images are the result of direct observation of the bird in its habitat in Egypt or a memory of an image brought from inland Africa. The African climate in general fluctuates (see Nicholson 1979), therefore the changes in the secretarybird's distribution are not necessarily the effect of an event like that of 4200 BC, corresponding to the end of the Old Kingdom. It is also possible that the bird then represented was not a native Egyptian species.

Parallels are found on the so-called Brooklyn Knife Handle<sup>4</sup> [Fig. 10] and the Pitt-Rivers Knife Handle<sup>5</sup> [Fig. 11]. The objects present the same media and a

4 Brooklyn Museum, 09.889.118, Nagada III, about 3200–3000 BC; from Abu Zeidan, Tomb B32.

5 British Museum, EA 68512, Nagada II, about 3200 BC; from Sheikh Hamada in Upper Egypt.

similar kind of scene: rows of animals arranged in an orderly manner, all proceeding towards the blade. There are two rows of birds, if the interpretation of the uppermost rows as vultures (Bénédite 1918: 226) or sacred ibises (*Threskiornis aethiopica*) (Churcher 1984: 161) is correct. Actually, theories abound as the objects were documented and interpreted by several different scholars. On both knife handles, on the face without the boss, there is a single row of stork/crane-like wader birds, the most correct interpretation of these being Saddlebilled Stork (*Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis*).<sup>6</sup>

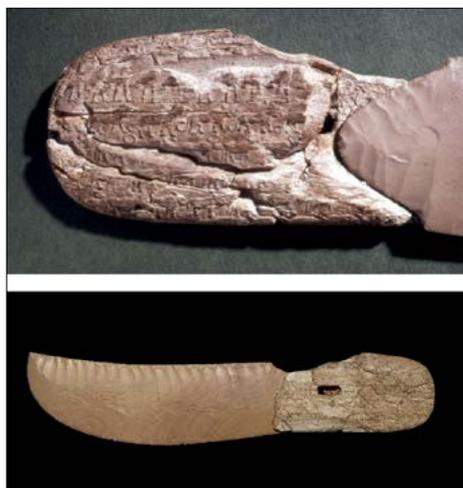


Fig. 11. So-called Pitt-Rivers Knife, British Museum EA68512; flint blade and ivory grip decorated with rows of animals in relief; above, detail of the grip decoration (Creative Commons-BY-NC-SA 4.0 © The Trustees of the British Museum)

The last two birds in the representation are obviously different, a fact noted by some authors, even if only by describing “long-legged birds” (Houlihan 1988: 23; Bénédite 1918: 229 in the table, but not in the text). Churcher (1984: 155) allows the highly improbable possibility of some of the birds in the row on the Brooklyn Handle being marabou storks (*Leptoptilos crumenifer*). According to Churcher, the image differentiation is accidental and a consequence of technological limitations rather than the artist’s intention to depict another species. It is these last two birds that are of special interest for the present paper.

Similar rows of animals are traced on three other Predynastic objects, namely the so-called Carnarvon Knife Handle,<sup>7</sup> the Abydos K 1262b knife handle,<sup>8</sup> and the so-called Davis Comb.<sup>9</sup> In two cases there are images of birds that are different in appearance from the rest: the last two in the row on the Carnarvon Handle and the very last one on the Davis Comb. In the latter case, it may be due to a general reduction of the length of the rows resulting from limited space, the object being a comb rather than a knife handle. The Abydos handle is damaged and is consequently missing the last creature and part of the one before last; it is difficult, therefore, to determine the character of the last

- 6 Erroneously, referred to as Jabiru in some Egyptological literature (see Houlihan 1988: endnote 119). The first eight birds on the Pitt-Rivers Handle were interpreted as marabou storks (Edwards 1955: 1061).
- 7 Metropolitan Museum of Art., 26.7.1281, Late Naqada III, about 3200 BC, possibly from Upper Egypt, Qau.
- 8 Excavation Inv. No. Ab K 1262b, Nagada II(?), U-Cemetery, Abydos.
- 9 Metropolitan Museum of Art., 30.8.224, Late Naqada III, about 3200–3100 BC, exact provenience unknown, bequeathed to the Museum from the collection of T.M. Davis.

two birds.<sup>10</sup> Since the bird imaged on these Predynastic objects bear no features specific to the species of interest here, they are considered as a parallel for the wader-bird rows, symptomatically similar on the three knife and one comb handles.

The birds pictured on the Pitt-Rivers Handle have been identified as cranes (e.g., Strudwick 2006: 32), those on the Abydos handle as storks (Dreyer 2010: 16–17), and those on the Brooklyn Handle as ostriches and storks (Lortet and Gaillard 1909: 256). Other identifications include the jabiru or, confusingly, Adjutant-bird (Bénédite 1918: 226)<sup>11</sup> in the case of the Brooklyn, Pitt-Rivers and Carnarvon Handles, and the jabiru or marabou storks for the Davis Comb (Hayes 1953: 27). These identifications are largely fictional, most of all because of the lack of differentiation among the pictured birds.

The rows of wader-birds, where represented, are interrupted by two other

classes of animals: a mammal, that is, a giraffe (*Giraffa camelopardalis*) in the second position in the row, and a reptile, a serpent<sup>12</sup> more precisely, in the first, held by the first bird or just rising up in front of it. The Pitt-Rivers Handle is broken at this point, making it impossible to determine the presence of a snake, suggested by the parallel, there. In his comparative analysis of the species represented on the Brooklyn, Pitt-Rivers and Carnarvon knife handles, Bénédite (1918: 225, 229) suggested that the rows of “large-beaked waders” are concluded by a grey heron. He also mentioned “the crested bird”, which he identified as an ibis (*Ibis comata*). However, the only crested ibis known from Ancient Egypt was the rare hermit ibis (*Geronticus eremita*) [Fig. 12].<sup>13</sup> Other authors have cited Bénédite’s identifications (for instance, Vandier 1952: 543).

- 10 Dreyer (2010: 16) mentions eight storks in the row after the giraffe, which might suggest that he differentiates the last preserved bird (and originally one before last in the row) from the group in front of it, but he fails to mention the bird any further. Perhaps it is a miscount on his part and he intended to mention nine storks, that is, if only such short beaks could be interpreted as belonging to storks.
- 11 Confusing, as this name refers to either the Greater Adjutant (*Leptoptilos dubius*) or Lesser Adjutant (*Leptoptilos javanicus*), none of which seems to have ever appeared in the area of Egypt. The bird that could be theoretically considered would be the marabou stork (*Leptoptilos crumenifer*), that currently inhabits Africa south of Sahara, and judging from the tabular juxtaposition in his article (Bénédite 1918: 229), was the one considered by this author. See also Bénédite (1918: 226, footnote 1) for further identification of the bird referred to as the Adjutant-bird.
- 12 For some reasons, Bénédite (1918: 226) interprets the serpent as *Eryx thebaicus* (which is a subspecies of the Theban sand boa *Eryx colubrinus*, but also an obsolete name for the species *Eryx colubrinus*) or *Eryx jaculus* (which is a species itself, that is, the Javelin sand boa). The former inhabits currently the Nile Valley, the latter the North Coast and Delta. For differences between them and further details, see Baha El Din (2006: 226–230). Churcher (1984: 155) confirmed the identification as *Eryx jaculus* but under the name of Egyptian sand boa (claiming it is a synonym for *Eryx thebaicus*, which is, however unacceptable as these are in fact two different species).
- 13 Which seems to be the discussed specimen, as the other crowned bird of the Pitt-Rivers Handle, mentioned by him as the black crowned crane (*Balearica pavonina*), must be the one next to it.

It has been suggested by Bénédite (1918: 4) that the last two birds in the row on the Carnarvon Handle could be a common crane (*Grus grus*),<sup>14</sup> which seems to be possible due to the difference in sizes.<sup>15</sup> The second last bird on the Pitt-Rivers Handle is also identified as a crane (Edwards 1955: 1061), whereas the bird on the Brooklyn Handle is a saddlebilled stork or grey heron (*Ardea cinerea*) (Churcher 1984: 155), or rather one of the heron species (*Ardea* sp.) (Churcher 1984: 156).

In view of the above, and considering that, as Bénédite puts it, the decoration of



Fig. 12. Hermit ibis, northern bald ibis or waldrapp (*Geronticus eremita*). Prague Zoo (Photo K. Braulińska, courtesy of the Zoo)

the Brooklyn knife in particular is “striving after excessive multiplicity” (Bénédite 1918: 2), the only possible secretarybird image is on the Pitt-Rivers Handle. It is the last figure of the sequence, the furthest one from the blade. Such an identification coincides with that of several earlier authors (Churcher 1984: 155, 156 for the Brooklyn Handle; Edwards 1955: 1061 and Osborn and Osbornová 1998: 5, both for the Pitt-Rivers Handle). Despite the different interpretation in H.M. Steward’s drawing of the Pitt-Rivers Handle, (Edwards 1955: Fig. 5) and the one published by Petrie and Quibell (1896: 51 and Pl. 77 without species identification or scene interpretation), there can be little doubt as to the identification. However, Champion’s drawing of the Brooklyn Handle, interpreted by Lortet and Gaillard and published by de Morgan (1909: Fig. 138), is disquieting. It lacks one of the most typical features of the birds (present in the other two drawings), namely a characteristic feather crest on the head. The bird displays a feature that could be the long middle feather of the tail of a *Sagittarius serpentarius*.<sup>16</sup> In Churcher’s drawing of the Brooklyn Knife, the tail is not only long, but seems to be forked, which may represent the double feather,

14 *Grus cinerea* according to him, while the other birds of the row are a Goliath heron of the White Nile (*Ardea Goliath*, called today the Goliath heron) or rather a jabiru (*Mycteria senegalensis*), now called *Ephippiorhynchus senegalensis*, so saddlebilled stork. Taking into consideration the confusion mentioned by Houlihan (1988: endnote 119), one still needs to remember that the name “jabiru” has survived in some languages, for instance Polish, where the proper name is “żabiru afrykański”, and French (“Jabiru d’Afrique”).

15 Ornithological sources as a rule give the bird’s body length and not its height. Following this remark: common crane 115 cm and saddlebilled stork 142 cm (Redman, Stevenson, and Fanshawe 2016: 140, 62, respectively).

16 Included also in de Morgan’s publication, although as a single line. With regard to the Carnarvon Handle, Bénédite (1918: 3) noted the square shape of the tail of the last bird in the row, which would either dismiss the Carnarvon Handle from the present study or could be considered as evidence for a differentiation of the original decoration.

one of the most typical features of the species, missing from the Deir el-Bahari image. The beak of the Brooklyn specimen is short and oriented horizontally, contrary to most of the birds in front. The general body position seems to be more horizontally oriented. The neck seems to be shorter than of the other birds in the row, and set differently, bearing a rather small head. The legs, although they seem to be too short in relation to the body, are in fact no shorter than the legs of the other birds. They reveal a prominent last toe set towards the rear of the animal. Churcher (1984: 156) adds the long and drooping wings, which the present author would rather see as the forked tail. Churcher mentions a separation between the wing and the tail as evidence for the bird being rather a secretarybird than a bustard (for instance, the Nubian bustard *Neotis nuba*). This stands contrary to the Deir el-Bahari representations, where the tail and wing are of the same length, only slightly separated.

Going into such detail on Predynastic depictions is encumbered by the inaccuracy resulting from technological limitations at the time when these handles were carved (not to mention the inadvertent interpretation of a modern documentalist). Therefore, one needs to bear in mind the guiding features of a species that the artist had to render in order to distinguish between the animals.

Nigel Strudwick (2006: 32) pointed out the difference between the rows of animals on knife handles and animal decoration of the palettes. However, it should be noted that the Towns Palette (JE 27434, known also as

a Libyan (Booty) Palette, Tehenu Palette, Buto Palette, and Trees and Towns Palette) is an exception. No secretarybird-like bird has ever been identified on any of the known palettes.

To understand the role of a (potential) secretarybird on the discussed objects, one should understand the meaning as a whole of the rows of animals appearing on various Predynastic objects.<sup>17</sup> The issue continues to be debated. Ivory as a medium for the decoration may have had a specific meaning (Raffaele 2010: 248, 252–254). It has been suggested that the discussed rows stressed plurality, following the rule “unity in plurality and conversely, plurality in unity” (Bénédictite 1918: 236). For instance, plurality of this kind was connected by Francesco Raffaele (2010: 259) with massive ritual sacrifices, which were related to control over the environment (see below). The rows of animals may have been species lists (Bénédictite 1918: 236), emblems of clans (Bénédictite 1918: 238–241) or their confederations, alternatively districts (Hayes 1953: 28 citing earlier authors). At least for some species, they could be related to geography and emblems of nomes (Bénédictite 1918: 237–238), although this is doubtful due to the alternation of carnivore and ruminants (Bénédictite 1918: 240). Political geography in relation to these rows should be dismissed due to the lack of any falcon images (Bénédictite 1918: 238).

A hunting context is determined by the presence of dogs at the ends of registers. The basic function of ensuring an (abundant) food supply comes to mind naturally, but one cannot reject a hunting/capturing and perhaps slaying

17 Evidenced also on other objects (see Vandier 1952: 548–560 and many others), which do not include the secretarybird and hence were not included in this study.

ing (instantly or in later rituals) significance, not only of the wild animals, but ideologically, perhaps also of the enemies that they may have symbolized. Therefore, the rows could be related also to processions of captives, offering bearers and tribute bringers (Raffaele 2010: 258, footnote 64). Game animals were related to chaos, therefore both their hunting, as well as depicting in such orderly fashion as displayed on the discussed objects, could symbolically constitute the process of an ordering of the world. The rows might have represented an ordered cosmos (for instance, Patch 2012: 152), perhaps also the subdued foreign lands of foreign peoples or species. In terms of animals, Ann Roth (2011: 197) proposed that perhaps it was “an attempt to control them by means of typological groupings”. Whitney Davis (1976: 415) emphasizes the “definite concern for order, both in composition and content”. Dreyer’s (2010: 17) interpretation refers specifically to the row of birds, namely, that the opening storks with snakes at/under their beaks symbolized subordinating the enemy. An enemy that was not destroyed—as the snakes which are not eaten, but controlled—was still alive (the same as snakes under the feet of elephants with their heads still raised). This, according to Dreyer, was supposed to mean that the chaos was controlled, but not completely eradicated from the world. The giraffe, related to foresight in Egyptian thinking, was meant as a caesura: chaos in front of it and behind it (meaning the following birds, including our secretarybird) a wishful state of peace, lack of chaos and an abundance of game (Dreyer 2010: 17).

Interestingly, Jacques Vandier (1952: 556) suggested that the Nagada people may have considered the animal world not necessarily as lower than their own, just different, and that these two worlds, having their own superiorities, were mutually crossing. The author emphasizes, however, that when it came to a conflict of interest between the two, the human would subdue nature unremorsefully, although demonstrating different attitudes towards particular groups of animals (fear, appreciation, admiration), also as part of religious symbolism.

The relation of the knives bearing such animal row decoration to their owners is unknown (see Needler 1984: 57–58, 124–125, 268–271). It may be considered, that the decoration was primarily of foreign origin, as it resembles the repeat patterns of Mesopotamian seals. A possible Asiatic origin is confirmed and insisted on by Vandier (1952: 558), especially in case of the interspersing and overlapping rows of animals (such as dogs and lions on an example from Hierakonpolis, see Quibell 1900: Pl. 19.6). Raffaele (2010: 248–249, 254) suggested, moreover, that such decoration was also a filter protecting the person, who killed the animal in a sacrificial act, from any negativities. It is beyond doubt that these animals must have played a significant role in the life of Predynastic Egyptians, and definitely the species depicted in these objects mostly had their continuation in the Pharaonic period, being permeated with significant symbolism (bulls, lions, particular species of birds, etc.). The secretarybird is an example of a species that did not.

It is not clear why the secretarybird was depicted on the knife handles and as the last bird in the row. The narrowing

register may have required smaller species (Bénédict 1918: 3). It may be the case of the Carnarvon Knife Handle, but not the Davis Comb, unless the latter was just a copy of the knife handle scenes, and copied all, including these technological circumstances. Whether it reflected reality depends on the species depicted nearby. One may wonder whether the secretarybird at the end of the row somehow closes it, after a stork with a snake in/beside its beak opened it. Predynastic Egyptians must have observed the birds killing snakes. Perhaps their presence at the end of the row is purposeful in a theoretical sense in relation to the snake slaying (in the beginning and at the end of the row). However, the unusually long tail of the secretarybird could have been only a neat ending of the row on the rounded edge of the knife handle.

The identification of the secretarybird goes in line with the saddlebilled stork, which also inhabits sub-Saharan Africa. The latter bird does not seem to have been reported from modern Egypt (Houlihan 1988: 23); moreover, hunting snakes, like the waders in the depictions, is not very typical of it.<sup>18</sup> The saddlebilled stork, although suggested to have gone extinct by the early Dynastic period (Houlihan 1988: 24), must have been more popular in Egypt than the secretarybird, as it even became a hieroglyphic sign (G29, G30 in Gardiner 1957: 470).

The singular representation of a secretarybird on the knife handles may reflect the bird's natural inclination to appear solitary or in pairs. However, the saddle-billed stork is not a gregarious creature either, while on the knife handles it is depicted

in abundance. As for the suggested choice of smaller species of wader birds due to technological limitations, the secretarybird hardly fits the idea, being barely 15 cm smaller than the saddlebilled stork (128 cm and 142 cm respectively, for the sizes, see Redman, Stevenson, and Fanshawe 2016: 80 and 62) and may even be larger than the stork when a maximum body length of 150 cm is taken into account.

Therefore, either the theory of species selection to fit a shrinking register on an object is wrong or the identification as secretarybird is incorrect. Knowing the later regulations of Egyptian iconography, it may be assumed that the former is erroneous. Keep in mind, however, that such theoretical comparison of sizes is burdened by the need to consider the bird's position, either horizontal or vertical, which would influence the height. The secretarybird has a more horizontal posture in general than the saddle-billed stork, but the position of the latter varies depending on the activity: more horizontal when walking and more vertical when resting or standing. On the Predynastic items discussed here, all the birds in the rows seem to be walking despite being shown in a way (inclination) that suggests standing.

Secretarybird images have been suspected on other objects of Predynastic art, but a confusion was brought on by the crested ibis, hermit ibis *Geronticus eremita* with its characteristic head crest that gave it its name [see Fig. 12]. In many cases, however, the identification with the secretarybird may be dismissed owing to the length and shape of the beak of the ibis. A case in point is an ivory plaque from

<sup>18</sup> It may also be considered that the first bird of the row is a different species, although it exhibits the features of the middle ones.

Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900: Pl. 16.4), although another ivory plaque from Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1900: Pl. 12.1) shows that this feature was not always properly pronounced in Predynastic art. But how then should one interpret the two backmost birds on two other plaques (Quibell 1900: Pl. 16.1 and Pl. 14, lower)?

Another group of objects that could be taken into consideration as bearing depictions of the secretarybird are tags from Abydos, Umm el-Qaab, tomb U-j. A similar confusion regarding species can be suspected here. Some of them are undoubtedly hermit ibises, although claimed to be secretarybirds (see Braulińska in preparation b).

## SUMMARY

Upon considering several potential candidates for the species identification, the study found that no other species (with the only conceivable rival being the African harrier-hawk—definitely less “interesting”, less “peculiar”, and less controversial as well), had more similarity to the image than the secretarybird. However, the contested features, of which there are a few, suggest either an artist’s suspect accuracy in rendering the bird’s appearance, an extinct species (or subspecies), or the juvenile age of the bird without fully developed features.

When appearance fails to give unambiguous results, the answer may lie in other factors, like animal behavior, giving insight into Ancient Egyptian mentality and the standing perception of a given animal. This aspect of Egyptian iconography has been mostly underestimated, although it may bring a number of interesting conclusions (see Evans 2010). Habitat and distribution are important as well, although not easy to assess in view of the uncertainties connected with ancient climate changes, the location of the land of Punt, which is where the bird pictured in the Portico of Punt from Deir el-Bahari is said to have come from (unless it had come from Sudan). Taking into considera-

tion that climate and vegetation in the New Kingdom resembled current conditions, Egyptians had no need to travel far in order to find the secretarybird (or its proposed alternative for that matter). Thus, the bird’s utility for pinpointing the location of Punt is limited in view of the birds’ relatively flexible breeding periods and their fairly wide distribution. Assuming Hatshepsut’s bird is indeed either a secretarybird (or an African harrier-hawk), then they can confirm the African location of the mysterious land in a fairly general manner, which is not a particularly revolutionary discovery. Not to mention other possible explanations that Punt was actually a “transfer point” for some goods, a kind of hub for trading exotic and coveted products from more distant areas, or that there was no one permanent location of this land.

The ancient Egyptian name for the species, partly preserved, also raises interesting issues with regard to the ancient naming of foreign animals, and indirectly, perhaps even the understanding of the etymology of the modern common name.

In-depth analysis of the secretarybird as a species, truly interesting and unique with its peculiar looks and even more peculiar behavior, might be useful in understanding

ancient motives for importing the bird (as well as contributing to the preservation of the species which is in rapid decline today).

The author's in-depth study of the observed discrepancies in the images has led to the suggestion of natural (or human-induced) processes as an explanation for some of these. Some discrepancies could be due to artistic inaccuracy or rendering of a currently unknown form of the animal. However, the most convincing theory is that of the particularly young age of a still nesting secretarybird (between 7 and 12-15 weeks) (Braulińska in preparation a).

The identified parallels from Predynastic art, in which images of waders were quite common, do not necessarily mean that the

secretarybird was a native species of Egypt. These representations could have been a record of distant periods or areas, but since Egypt of the age still resembled a savannah, the animal is likely to have lived there.

No study of the ancient animal would be complete without getting to know living representatives of the species. Despite the obvious need for caution when making such comparisons, the long timespan between past and present having changed a number of variables, the study of modern comparative material may still bring minor observations that can contribute to major answers. The only way forward is a multidisciplinary approach to the questions that still remain.

## APPENDIX

Alternative species were taken into consideration, first the strictly African ones. Species originating from outside Africa were also covered, this on account of bird migrations, as well as changing zoogeography through the millennia, as well as the still debated location of the Land of Punt. These non-African species included birds from other continents.

The examined species all proved ultimately to have legs that were too short (even when stretched out as in the case of a bird that is being carried) and feathered too low, almost to the toes, in most cases, which is not the case of the bearers-scene. Besides, their angle in relation to the tail was improper. An overview of the studied species and the reasons for rejecting the identification are given in *Table 1*.



Fig. 13. Stuffed specimen of a martial eagle, note the relatively long legs and the tooth-like structure on the beak (Photo K. Braulińska, courtesy of the Natural History Museum, University of Wrocław)

Table 1. Species considered and rejected based on comparison of concrete features with the images from the Temple

No.	Scientific/common species name	Features suggesting the species be considered	Main dismissing features
<b>Strictly African species</b>			
1.	<i>Lophaetus occipitalis</i> Daudin 1800 Long-crested eagle	Bird-of-prey beak; crown/crest; crown size; behavioral elements potentially observed by Ancient Egyptians	Body size (despite relativity and unreliability in Egyptian art) and proportions; head shape and crest position centrally on top of the head; different crest shape; too short legs, long toes with claws; species not noted in either Ancient or modern Egypt (Wyatt, personal communication, 2018)
2.	<i>Stephanoaetus coronatus</i> Linnaeus 1766 Crowned (hawk-) eagle	Bird-of-prey beak; prominent crest, compared to a halo (Williams and Arlott 1993: 50)	Smaller size of crest; different crest setting; fully feathered legs until toes; prominent claws
3.	<i>Polemaetus bellicosus</i> Daudin 1800 Martial (hawk-) eagle	Bird-of-prey beak; crest; large bird; relatively long legs; rectangular tail; a kind of "tooth" on the mandibular tomium (line)	Much smaller crest than even the one of <i>Stephanoaetus coronatus</i> ; legs feathered to the toes with long claws (contrary to Williams and Arlott 1993: 51)
4.	<i>Macheiramphus alcinus</i> Bonaparte 1850 ssp. <i>anderssoni</i> for Africa Bat hawk	Bird-of-prey beak; crest, large round eyes	Rather small bird (compared to other species discussed and the one depicted); slightly crested; resembling the peregrine falcon ( <i>Falco peregrinus</i> ) in flight (note symbolic significance of this species in Ancient Egypt); tail shape
5.	<i>Hieraetus wahlbergi</i> Sundevall 1851 outdated <i>Aquila wahlbergi</i> Sundevall 1851 Wahlberg's eagle	Bird-of-prey beak; crest, rather rectangular tail	Rather small; short-legged; crest of both shape and style not matching
6.	<i>Terathopus ecaudatus</i> Lesson 1830 Bateleur eagle	Bird-of-prey beak; crest	Minimal resemblance to the studied images
<b>Species covering also other continents or seasonally visiting Africa</b>			
7.	<i>Gypaetus barbatus</i> Linnaeus 1758 African-Eurasian bearded vulture	Head feathers resembling crest when ruffled; feathers on the maxilla forming an equivalent of the "tooth" from the temple representation	Length of the head; legs feathered to the long toes; lower beard
8.	<i>Pandion haliaetus</i> Linnaeus 1758 ssp. <i>haliaetus</i> for Africa Osprey	Bird-of-prey beak; head feathers resembling crest; slight tooth-like formation on the maxillar tomium	Small size; lack of proper crest; short, prominently clawed legs
<b>Currently Asian species</b>			
9.	<i>Pitheophaga jeffreyi</i> Ogilvie-Grant 1896 Philippine eagle	Crest; size; general shape; head and beak robustness; half-feathered legs	Modern zoogeographical range (but Sonnerat, 1776: 86, 87, stating, presumably in error, that the secretarybird inhabited the Philippines).; habitat (rain forest, but see Cooney 2016: 202, stating that Hatshepsut's expedition brought plants and animals from the rain forest); different relation of wing to the tail; too prominent claws

10.	<i>Spilornis cheela</i> Latham 1790 Crested serpent-eagle	Crest; general resemblance; behavior – hunting tree serpents; eating dead snakes	Modern range (India, China, Southeast Asia, Indonesia, Philippines, Perrins 1990: 93) making contact with Pharaonic Egypt unlikely; short-legged; rather small species
11.	<i>Spizaetus cirrhatus</i> J.F. Gmelin 1788 Changeable hawk-eagle	Bird-of-prey beak; crest; beak	Modern range; crest shape and setting; rather shorter legs, feathered to the toes; tail longer than folded wings
<b>Currently New World species</b>			
12.	<i>Cariama cristata</i> Brisson 1760 Red-legged seriema	Long legs; similar setting of the body; morphological and ecological similarities causing previous grouping in systematics together with the secretarybird	Geographical distance; beak shape; crest located at the forehead; absolutely different tail; tail distanced from the wing tips
13.	<i>Opisthocomus hoazin</i> Illiger 1811 Hoatzin	Crest; round eye, large in relation to the head	Geographical distance; different setting and shape of crest; relatively different beak; smaller head in relation to body; folded wings tips distanced from the tail; too short legs
14.	<i>Harpia harpyja</i> Vieillot 1816 Harpy eagle	Bird-of-prey beak; crest; head robustness; slight tooth-like formation on the maxillary tomium	Geographical distance; habitat (tropical forest); shorter legs; long toes with claws; legs feathered low
15.	<i>Morphnus guianensis</i> Daudin 1800 (Guianan) Crested eagle	Bird-of-prey beak; crest	Geographical distance; body setting; too short legs; tail significantly longer than folded wings
16.	<i>Chauna torquata</i> (or <i>Chauna chavaria</i> ) Oken 1816 (Linnaeus 1766) Southern screamer (or northern screamer)	Crest; fairly long legs; long toes; similar setting of the body; folded wings equal in length to the tail	Geographical distance; slimmer beak; thinner crest; higher forehead due to the feathers; smaller eye, less prominent due to the longer face feathers

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#### How to cite this article:

Braulińska, K. (2018). The secretarybird dilemma: identifying a bird species from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. In Z. E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 83–116). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press. <https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3198>

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# Preliminary assessment of human remains from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari



**Abstract:** Excavations over the course of many seasons by the Polish-Egyptian Mission in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari have revealed the presence of multiple intrusive burials within and around the temple structure itself. These burials are dated much later than the construction of Hatshepsut's temple, most of them seemingly from the Third Intermediate Period, and have been heavily disturbed over the millennia. This article presents a preliminary assessment of human remains from some of these burials. The remains are highly fragmentary and in varying states of preservation, from mummified to completely skeletonized. Only two individuals are present as nearly complete mummies. A brief inventory indicates the presence of multiple individuals, both adults and juveniles, and both male and female. At least one instance of a healed traumatic injury is visible in one of the mummified individuals. This preliminary study is intended to establish a foundation for future research regarding the life histories of these individuals.

**Keywords:** human remains, physical anthropology, Deir el Bahari, skeleton, mummy

In December 2017, a preliminary inventory of the human remains recovered from previous excavations within and near the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari, Egypt, was conducted by this author. The purpose of this inventory was to not only assess the condition and biological profiles of the human remains, but to establish directions for more in-depth future research. Due to time constraints and scheduling conflicts, this inventory could only be conducted on 13 December 2017; however, even from this brief analysis it is clear that future research may provide valuable insight into the lives of the individuals discussed here.

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**Acknowledgements**

I am very grateful to Dr. Zbigniew Szafrński for not only allowing me to examine these human remains, but also for inviting me to contribute to this volume. Thanks are also due Dr. Patryk Chudzik and the entire team of the Polish–Egyptian Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahari and the Asasif Project, all of whom welcomed me very warmly to their team.

The human remains are currently stored in wooden boxes on site at Deir el-Bahari, the arid climate ensuring excellent preservation. Two individuals are represented by nearly complete mummies (designated Mummy 607 and Mummy 483 by the excavators), but most

of the other remains are fragmentary and commingled, and are a mixture of skeletal and mummified elements. The remains are separated here according to their archaeological find spot, as recorded on the artifact tags with the remains.

### ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

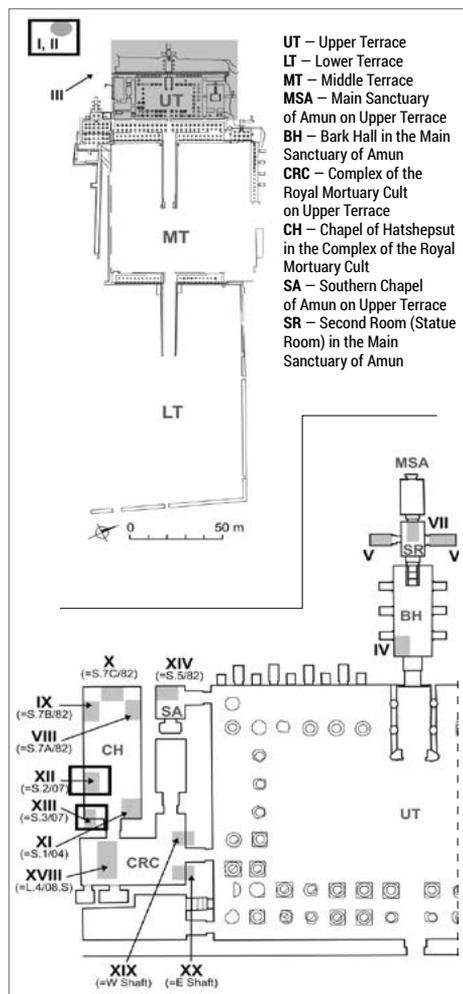


Fig. 1. Relative location of Tombs II, XII and the Late Roman/Coptic Tomb on the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/after Szafranski 2015: 184)

During the latter part of the Third Intermediate Period, specifically the late Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth Dynasties, Hatshepsut’s temple seems to have become a favored necropolis for priests of the god Montu and their families (Barwick 2003; Sheikholeslami 2003). Numerous tombs from this period were found by explorers and excavators as early as the first half of the 18th century, when Richard Pococke wrote that he saw “many bones” lying around the site (Pococke 1743: 100). It is not surprising, then, that these tombs have been disturbed several times over the millennia, likely in antiquity and in modern times, contributing to the disarray and fragmentation of both funerary equipment and human remains (Szafranski 2015).

The humans remains discussed in this text were found over the course of numerous excavation seasons, though most were recorded between 2006 and 2010 (Szafranski 2005; 2007; 2008; 2010; 2015). Based on the fragmentary funerary equipment found with the human remains, most interments seem to date to the Third Intermediate Period (Astons 2009), with the exception of a late Roman/Coptic Tomb within the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult (Szafranski 2010).

The human remains discussed in this paper derive from Tomb II, Tomb XII, and the late Roman/Coptic Tomb [for the location, see *Fig. 1*].

### Tomb II

Tomb II is cut into the rock behind and slightly west of the temple of Hatshepsut, and behind the temple of Tuthmosis III (Szafranski 2015). The tomb consists of a shaft and four chambers, labeled Chambers A through D [*Fig. 2*]. Though the fill in the tomb was heavily disturbed, fragments of funerary equipment suggest a date during the Third Intermediate Period, specifically between the late Twenty-fifth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Aston 2009; Szafranski 2015).

Excavations in Tomb II yielded the remains of numerous individuals, though all are highly fragmentary. Human remains were found in the tomb shaft and in Chamber C and Chamber D of this tomb.

### Shaft

Excavations in the shaft of Tomb II revealed the unwrapped torso of a mummy (the chest has been damaged postmortem and is absent) attached to the pelvic girdle and upper right leg (i.e. the proximal femur). In addition, the right leg (distal femur attached to the tibia, fibula, and foot) of a mummy was found [*Table 1*]. The leg is wrapped in horizontal layers of linen and coated with resinous material.

### Chamber C

The chamber yielded a mummified head and neck of an adult [see *Table 1*]. The brain is present but the face has largely been destroyed postmortem. An addi-

tional cranium with the left side of the mandible was also present; although the third molars had clearly erupted in this individual's mandible (the dentition was lost postmortem), the incomplete closure of the cranial sutures suggests that the individual was a young adult (i.e., at least in the late teens and likely somewhat older). Severe accumulations of calculus (calcified plaque) are present on the dentition of this second individual. Morphological features of the cranium suggest the individual might have been a female, but more detailed examination would provide more certainty.

An additional bag from this area contains a partly complete maxilla with preserved facial skin including the right nostril and nasal aperture. Other remains found in this room include the articu-

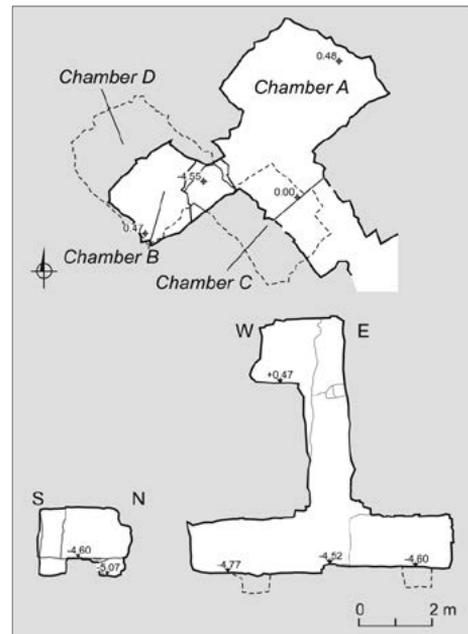


Fig. 2. Plan (top) and sections through Tomb II (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/after Szafranski 2015: 192)

lated lumbar vertebrae from an adult, a left adult mandible, a right proximal humerus, as well as rib and cranial fragments with some soft tissue still adhering to the bone. The trunk and abdomen area of a mummified individual may belong to the same person as the mummified head and neck. The abdomen of this individual is packed with linen. A right proximal humerus and scapula, still held together by soft tissue and mummification materials, may also derive from this same

individual. An additional mummified torso, however, is certainly from another individual. A third mummified human thorax, including the sacrum and lower vertebrae with articulated ribs, is also present. The chest and sternum are absent from this thorax and the cavity is packed with linen.

A male left *os coxa* is also present, along with two mummified forearms (one right and one left, radius and ulna) with the distal humerus still articulated.

Table 1. Human remains from Tomb II

Location of remains	Body part/portion	Sex	Age
Shaft	Torso with pelvic girdle and right proximal femur		
	Right leg (distal femur with tibia, fibula, and foot)	Undetermined	
MNI for Shaft: 1			
Chamber C			
	Cranium and neck	Undetermined	Adult
	Cranium with left mandible	Possibly female	Young adult
	Right maxilla	Undetermined	Adult
	Articulated lumbar vertebrae	Undetermined	Adult
	Left mandible	Undetermined	Adult
	Right proximal humerus	Undetermined	Adult
	Cranial fragments	Undetermined	Undetermined
	Rib fragments	Undetermined	Undetermined
	Trunk and abdomen	Undetermined	Adult
	Right proximal humerus with scapula	Undetermined	Adult
	Torso	Undetermined	Adult
	Torso with articulated sacrum, ribs, and lower vertebrae	Undetermined	Adult
	Left <i>os coxa</i>	Undetermined	Male
	Left forearm	Undetermined	Undetermined
	Right forearm	Undetermined	Undetermined
MNI for Chamber C: 3			
Chamber D	Right forearm (radius and ulna)	Undetermined	Adult
	Right mandible	Undetermined	Adult
	Left mandible	Undetermined	Adult
	Right <i>os coxa</i>	Female	Adult
MNI for Chamber D: 2			
<b>Total MNI for Tomb II: 3</b>			

### Chamber D

Excavations in Room D produced a very gracile mummified right forearm (i.e., the articulated radius, ulna, and bones of the wrist and hand) of an adult [see *Table 1*]. A right *os coxa*, likely that of a female based on assessment of morphological features, may derive from the same individual (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Phenice 1969; White, Black, and Folkens 2012). Two fragments of adult mandibles derive from two separate individuals, as one is quite gracile and the other very robust. The presence of third molars in occlusion in both mandibles indicates that both individuals were adults, i.e., at least in their early twenties at the time of death (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Hillson 1996; White, Black, and Folkens 2012).

### Summary

Though the remains within Tomb II are fragmentary, it is clear that the partial remains of at least several different individuals are present [see *Table 1*]. The table lists the unique elements (rather than every single fragment) of individuals, leading to an overall MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals) of three (3), with a high likelihood that more individuals are actually represented.

### Tomb XII

Tomb XII (S.2/07) is located in the Chapel of Hatshepsut within the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult, on the southern side of the Upper Terrace of Hatshepsut's Temple [*Fig. 3*; for the location, see *Fig. 1*].

This tomb yielded one nearly complete mummy and the fragmentary remains of several other individuals. Mummy 607 was excavated in the 2006–

2007 fieldwork season. The remains are of an individual in a supine extended position with the hands crossed over the abdomen. The body is almost entirely present and largely intact, apart from the feet, which are fragmentary but seem to be mostly present in a separate bag in the same wooden box. There is extensive preservation of soft tissue and some linen remains attached to the body. In particular, the humerii (upper arms) remain wrapped in vertical sheets of linen. The lower limbs were first wrapped vertically with a coarsely-woven linen and then wrapped horizontally (i.e., the linen was wrapped in a spiral around the limb) with more finely woven linen bordered with blue stripes [*Fig. 4*].

A desire to recreate a life-like appearance during the mummification process is evidenced by the ball of linen in the left orbit (presumably the right orbit was similarly outfitted, but postmortem damage to the right side of the cranium has removed this evidence) and linen packing beneath the skin of the neck. A large mass of black resinous material (e.g., resin or bitumen) is present in the abdominal area, and there is no evidence of visceral packets or the viscera themselves.

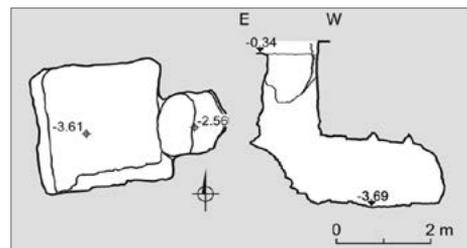


Fig. 3. Tomb XII, shown in plan (left) and section (right) (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/after Szafrński 2015: 196)

Extensive postmortem damage has occurred to the individual’s thorax and abdominal area. The legs appear to have been detached from the rest of the body (certainly postmortem). In addition, the right side of the cranium was crushed at some point postmortem, and the mouth damaged. Most of the dentition appears to be intact, however, and is still mostly covered by the soft

tissue of the lips. Within the damaged cranial vault are numerous limestone chips, as well as soil and debris; preliminary examination with a hand lamp revealed no evidence of the brain suggesting excerebration during mummification or postmortem loss of brain tissue due to damage.. The right ear is still present and visible despite the postmortem damage. There is no damage to

Table 2. Human remains from Tomb XII

Body part/portion	Sex	Age
Mummy 607	Male	Adult
Maxilla	Undetermined	Subadult
Right scapula	Undetermined	Adult
Right scapula	Undetermined	Adult
Vertebral fragments	Undetermined	Adult
Tarsals and metatarsals	Undetermined	Adult
Left ulna	Undetermined	Adult
<b>Total MNI for Tomb XII: 4</b>		



Fig. 4. Blue-striped linen sheets covering the remains of Mummy 607 (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo R.A. Campbell)



stone of the Chapel's floor, and originally consisted two rooms separated by a wall (Szafranski 2010).

This tomb yielded a mostly complete mummy (Mummy 483) and the fragmented remains of several other individuals. Mummy 483 is a supine, fully extended individual. This mummy is mainly intact, but there is a large area of postmortem damage to the abdomen with much of the skin and tissue missing, the left orbit and mandible were partly crushed postmortem, and the lower legs have been

broken off. On the left lower limb, the distal left femur and all elements inferior to it are absent postmortem. The right femur is still intact, and the right tibia has been detached postmortem, but is still present. An additional right femur with attached soft tissue is also in the box, indicating the presence of at least two different individuals from this location.

The morphology of the pelvic girdle (e.g., the rounded pelvic aperture) of Mummy 483 suggests that this individual may have been a female, but more detailed

Table 3. Human remains from the Late Roman/Coptic Tomb (trench S.1/07)

Body part/portion	Sex	Age
Mummy 483	Possibly female	Adult
Right femur	Undetermined	Adult
Proximal tibia	Undetermined	Subadult
Articulated vertebral fragments (thoracic and lumbar)	Undetermined	Adult
Articulated lumbar vertebra	Undetermined	Adult
<b>Total MNI for S.1/07: 4</b>		



Fig. 6. Detail of the healed fracture in the distal portion of Mummy 483's right femur, showing significant angulation of the diaphysis (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo R.A. Campbell)

and thorough analysis is necessary to be certain, since soft tissue and/or mummification material obscures much of the skeletal structure. There is no evidence of male external genitalia. Future work will hopefully involve radiography to provide a clearer view of the skeletal elements through the extant soft tissue. Though it was not possible to determine the exact age of this individual, the fully fused epiphyseal end of the exposed right humerus suggests an age not less than the early twenties, and likely older since the epiphyseal lines, where visible, are obliterated.

The right femur of Mummy 483 displays a fully healed fracture in the distal portion of the diaphysis, approximately 10 cm superior to the distal end of the femur [Fig. 6]. Although the fracture healed completely, the diaphysis demonstrates significant anterior-posterior angulation, which likely contributed to the osteophyte formation evident on the distal end of the femur. Though this individual certainly survived for some years after the injury, the angulation of the affected bone would have severely affected this individual's gait and mobility, and perhaps the occupations in which he/she could engage.

Though Mummy 483 is the most complete individual from this area, additional fragmentary human remains were also found, including hand and foot bones, cranial fragments, and several lower limb bones. It is possible that all these fragments derive from the same individual, since they are all from an adult individual (i.e., all visible epiphyseal surfaces are completely fused and the epiphyseal lines obliterated). Two separate fragments of

articulated lumbar vertebra indicate the presence of two adults in addition to Mummy 483. A subadult, represented by an unfused proximal tibia, yields a preliminary MNI of four (including Mummy 483) for this location [Table 3]. The presence of an adult male individual is indicated by the morphology of a right *os coxa* from this locality. The absolute minimum number of individuals from this locality, then, is as follows: one adult male, one adult, a juvenile, and Mummy 483. However, it is highly likely that more individuals are actually represented, based on the differential preservation and varying robustness and gracility of the elements present.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

Fragmentary human remains, both mummified and skeletonized, from various excavation contexts within the temple, are stored in numerous smaller boxes and bags in a separate wooden box. At least four individuals are represented by these fragmentary remains stored in a separate, large wooden box, and the actual number may be somewhat higher. The mandible and maxilla of at least one subadult is present; the absence of third molars or crypts (i.e., alveoli or "sockets") for such molars (and no evidence of resorption of the crypts, as might occur from antemortem tooth loss in an older individual) suggests that this individual was likely a juvenile, probably under the age of approximately 18 years, at the time of death (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Hillson 1996; Scheuer and Black 2000; White, Black, and Folkens 2012). At least one of the adults is a male, as assessed based on morphology of a right *os coxa*

(Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; Phenice 1969; White, Black, and Folkens 2012). Another individual, who is quite gracile but seems to be an adult (i.e., likely no younger than early twenties at death) based on the eruption of all adult dentition, is represented by a mummified face, complete with wads of linen under the eyelids.

Most of the remains in this box consist of fragmentary upper and lower limbs, some mummification materials (i.e., linen and resinous material) still adhering to the soft tissue. Two feet remain mummified together in one bundle, but have somehow become separated from the rest of the body. Various other fragments of mummified limbs are also present.

## CONCLUSIONS AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

The work described here presents only the most preliminary analysis and basic inventory of human remains excavated in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari by the Polish–Egyptian Mission, but provides a solid foundation and promising avenues for future research. Careful sorting of the commingled remains will provide a more accurate count of the number of individuals present. The excellent preservation of the skeletal remains should allow more precise estimation of age at death for at least some of the individuals, as well as closer assessment of pathologies present. Future work will focus on refining these analyses and hopefully utilize other techniques, such as radiography, to better assess these human remains. Non-metric traits may also be recorded to assess the relatedness of these individuals, perhaps confirming the practice of family burial within the temple during the Third Intermediate Period.

With this more detailed data, it will be possible to gain a better idea of what the life of these individuals may have been like. For example, Mummy 483's well-

healed femoral fracture likely provides evidence of careful treatment, as such a fracture could have caused severe complications, and the well-healed but highly angulated diaphysis of this femur would certainly have affected this individual's gait and mobility. Close assessment of the biological and social implications that such an injury might have had on this individual may shed light on his or her social status, access to medical care, and community networks during this time period. The archaeological and taphonomic histories of these interments will also be elucidated with further study. The presence of multiple individuals in varying states of preservation, even within a single locality, suggests variation in the precise burial context (e.g., differing soil pH or soil composition), and together with the fragmentation of the bodies suggests that these interments did not remain undisturbed even before they were encountered by excavators. It is clear that much work remains to be done with these human remains, but this preliminary analysis provides clear avenues for further study.

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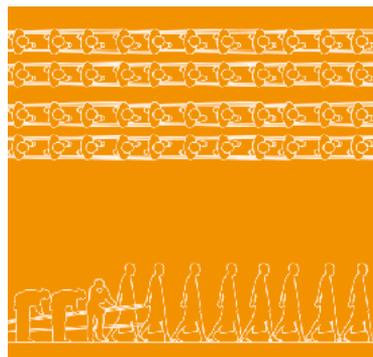
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**How to cite this article:** Campbell, R. A. (2018). Preliminary assessment of human remains from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. In Z. E. Szafrński (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 117–128). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3199>

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# Transporting false doors at the construction site of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** The article presents a probable way of transporting false doors to their location within the Temple of Hatshepsut during its construction. The issue does not seem to be of particular significance until one considers the value of the false doors as such and the impossibility of using heavy equipment in the chapels of the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult. The false doors had to be introduced into the construction site at the time that the walls of the chapel were being raised but before the building of the vaults. The options discussed in the article illustrate the logistical problems of the undertaking and the construction opportunities that might have been taken advantage of. The discussion provides a closer look at the construction processes taking place in the Temple of Hatshepsut during the separate stages of expansion and the changes in its functional and spatial design. In consequence, it reopens the debate on the building chronology of the temple.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut, temple of Hatshepsut, Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult, false door

False doors constituted a regular element of the furnishings of Egyptian tombs and mortuary temples. In the temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari in West Thebes they were included in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult, in the chapel of her cult as well as in a smaller chapel of Tuthmosis I. Both doors were of granite and were installed in the west walls of the chapels. The granite probably originated from the region of Aswan, where rich deposits of this raw material were exploited in the region of the first cataract from ancient times (Klemm and Klemm 2008: 233). The installation of

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these false doors must have coincided with the raising of the chapel walls and preceded the introduction of the vaults. Planning the construction of the temple required a detailed schedule of actions and deliveries of building materials and furnishings that were to be installed. In the case of the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult, it was necessary to schedule the extraction of granite blocks for making the false doors in the Aswan quarries and plan for their transportation to Deir el-Bahari. The architectural complex as such was built of

limestone supplied regularly from a local quarry. The nearness of the deposit and the relatively manageable size of the blocks did not call for extraordinary means and supply logistics to ensure the continuity of the construction work. However, with regard to the false doors components, the dimensions and weight of which were substantial, one should take into consideration the capacity of ancient construction workers, as well as the requirements for preparing a construction area for such a big undertaking as the transport of these objects.

## DIMENSIONS AND WEIGHT OF THE FALSE DOORS

The false doors in the Chapel of Hatshepsut consist of a granite base and an ornamental slab. The base was 2.25 m wide, about 0.58 m high and approximately 0.82 cm deep (Rajmund Gazda, *Journal of archeological and conservation works, season 2014/2015* [in Polish]). Its role was to facilitate the installation of the false door slab and ensure that the heavy slab did not crush the lower part of the wall made of limestone blocks. The slab, which was 3.60 m high, matched the base in width and depth (measurements taken from a 3D scan, see Kościuk et al. 2009 for the method). Aswan granite has a phaneritic and fine-grained structure (Klemm and Klemm 2008: 233), and weighs 2.60–3.20 kg/

dm<sup>3</sup> (kg/l) (Arnold 1991: 28). Based on the provided dimensions, it is possible to calculate the volume and weight of each element. The volume of the base is 1.07 m<sup>3</sup> and assuming the volume weight of this particular granite as 3.20 kg/l, its total weight is about 3.50 tons. The false door slab has a volume of 6.642 m<sup>3</sup> and with the same volume weight, it weighs 21.25 tons.

The false doors from the chapel of Tuthmosis I are much smaller than those from the chapel of Hatshepsut and their dimensions are: width 1.50 m, height 2.70 m and depth 0.19 m. The total slab volume is 0.77 m<sup>3</sup>, while the same volume weight as above results in the false doors weighing 2.50 tons.

## BUILDING STAGES OF THE SOUTHERN PART OF THE TEMPLE

The ultimate form of the temple was the outcome of extensions, redesigning and alterations of the plan. Construction work encompassing the extension of the Upper Terrace of the temple to the south took

place when the central part of the temple had already been built. According to Franciszek Pawlicki (1997: 46–47), there were three main stages of construction. The first was in the time of Tuthmosis II

when the ground was leveled under the central part of the temple with the Punt and Hunting Porticoes. The second took place in the time of Hatshepsut and involved a modification of the temple plan and changes to the visual form of the building. A colonnade was introduced in the main courtyard and the Coronation Portico was built as a means of closing off the space from the east. Additional work in the Sun Cult Complex and on the Middle Terrace called for building the Anubis chapel on the north and the Hathor chapel on the south. Further changes came in the third stage when the Sun Cult Complex was modified and the southern part of the Upper Terrace saw an extension of the Chapel of Hatshepsut and a reconstruction of the vestibule of the Royal Cult chapel to include recesses in the east wall. Moreover, the limestone portals in the central part of the terrace were replaced with granite ones, and an additional colonnade was added in the courtyard.

Zygmunt Wysocki was of the opinion that the Upper Courtyard was built first, followed by the Upper and Middle Porticoes, which were constructed east of it (Wysocki 1990: 325–327). He also suggested that the Upper Terrace must have been completed by the time that the Middle Terrace, i.e., the Punt Portico, was constructed (Wysocki 1985a: 37, 42). Wysocki emphasized that the construction of the main courtyard and the leveling of the entire area under the Upper Terrace took place already in the reign of Tuthmosis II (Wysocki 1992: 235). Neither did he have any doubt as to the secondary nature of rooms adjoining the courtyard on the south as attested, among others, by a Horus head painted in red and black

on the south wall of the courtyard, on the side of the Room with Window, on a wall separating this room from the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult. Wysocki noted that the area below the Upper Terrace was inclined to the east and south (1988, unpublished report). In order for any major construction work to take place in this area, an artificial platform was needed and the Upper Terrace walls had to be secured to maintain stability. He also opined that the construction process could have been stepped upwards instead of the other way round. Surveys conducted in the 1986/1987 season in the passage from the Upper Courtyard to the Room with the Window of Occurrences demonstrated that the foundations of the south wall of the courtyard were homogeneous (Wysocki 1988: 3–4).

Researchers currently agree that the Upper Terrace leading from the Amun Sanctuary and the Main Courtyard was built first and was subsequently closed by the Coronation Portico and the porticos of the Middle Terrace. The extension of the southern part of the Upper Terrace with the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult followed later. With this in mind one is faced with the question of how the huge granite false doors were transported inside the chapels of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I. Theoretical studies are needed in order to understand the process of delivering architectural elements of this size and importance, not the least, the location and direction of the transport ramps. Three options were considered with regard to the direction from which the stone material might have been brought in [1, 2 and 3 in *Fig. 1*]. The first option was a route from the south. The second route was alongside

the already constructed south wall closing the Punt Portico on the Middle Terrace and the Coronation Portico on the Upper Terrace. The third suggestion excludes the existence of the Punt and

Coronation Porticos at the time, putting into doubt the theory about the construction of the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult post-dating that of these two porticos.

## TRANSPORTING THE FALSE DOORS

Once extracted from the quarry, the slab of the false door had to be installed on wooden runners and transported to the construction site of the Hatshepsut temple. According to Reginald Engelbach (1923: 53), who studied the unfinished obelisk from the quarry in Aswan, problems may have occurred already at the block extraction stage, but this need not have concerned the false door slabs for the temple in Deir el-Bahari, which were of much smaller size. Neither does the transport of the blocks on a wooden sleigh pulled by men constitute an issue. Engelbach (1923: 52) refers to the transport of colossuses of Amenhotep III and Ramesses II to Thebes, as well as the planned transport of the Aswan obelisk weighing 1168 tons (Shaw and Nicholson 1995: 208). He also calculated (Engelbach 1923: 56) that 6000 men were needed in order to move the Aswan obelisk, meaning that one man could drag about 200 kg. Habachi (1984: 24) reasoned that several thousand people employed on this task would have gotten in each other's way. Referring to the presentation from the tomb of the governor named Djehutihotep (19th century BC), he estimated the weight of the statue shown transported there at about 60 tons and the number of men pulling

it at 172. However, he pointed out the absence of the wooden pads under the sleigh that were surely used in order to reduce the number of people required to move a block of stone.

The false doors were transported to the temple of Hatshepsut on wooden sleighs pulled by laborers. Applying Engelbach's estimate of 200 kg being pulled by a single worker, 106 men would have been needed to transport a slab weighing 21.25 tons to the Chapel of Hatshepsut. When it comes to the much smaller false doors to the chapel of Tuthmosis I, 12–13 men would have sufficed. In order to reduce the number of people pulling the load to the temple, wooden pads may have been used to minimize runner friction on the ground. In any case, the task would have involved several dozen laborers. A schematic depiction of the arrangement of laborers pulling the false door slabs [Fig. 2] indicates the space needed to accommodate the approximately 100 people that this undertaking required to be carried out in proper order.

Ramps are another important issue to address when considering the way in which the slabs of the false doors were transported to the temple. Ramp construction and parameters were studied extensively by Mark Lehner

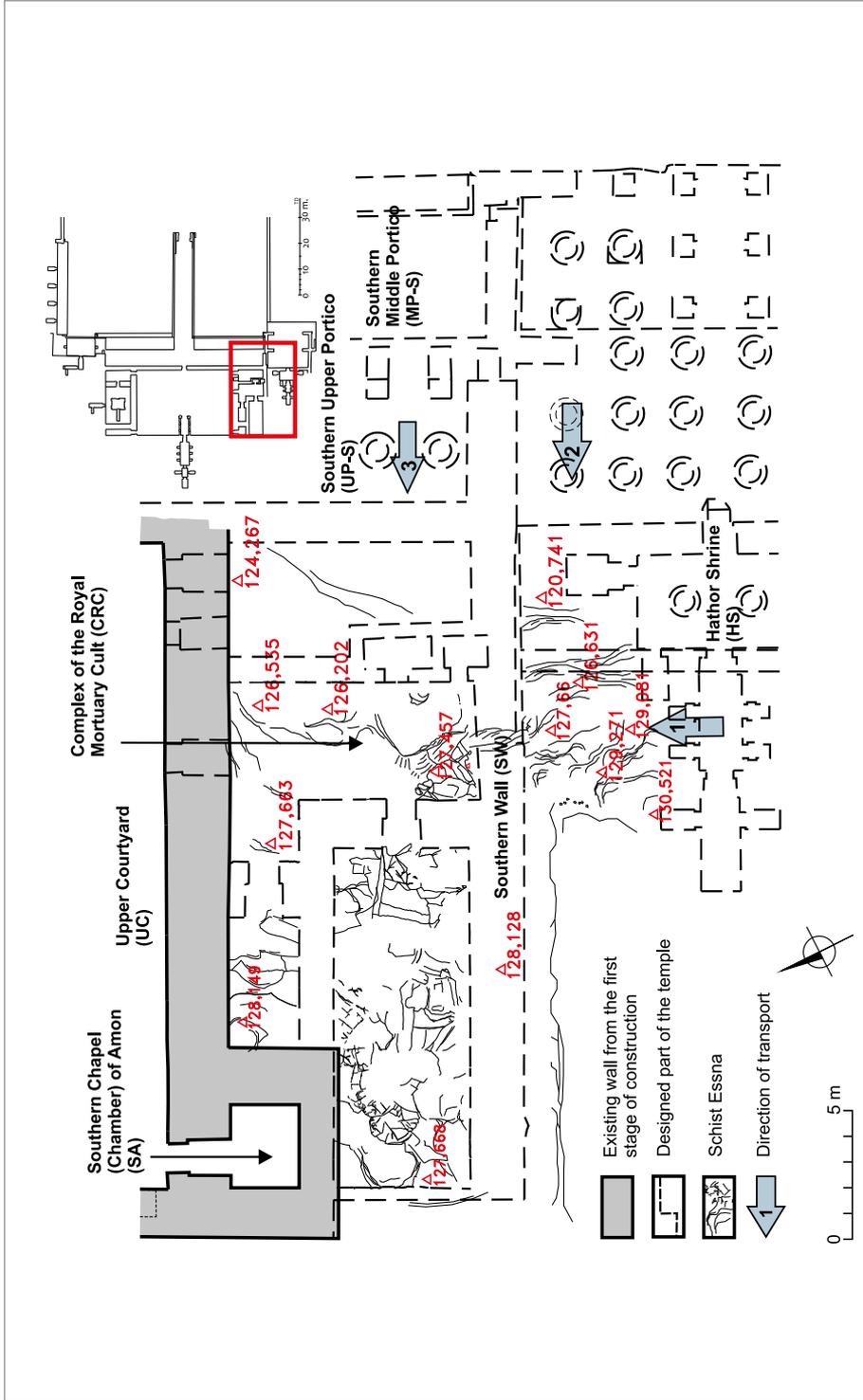


Fig. 1. Studied directions of transport of the false door slabs to the chapels of the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult (Drawing T. Dziedzic)

in his research on the transporting of stone blocks for the construction of the pyramids in Giza. Lehner found that the ramps leading from the quarry to the pyramids did not have a uniform angle of inclination. It amounted to approximately 6°–7° in the lowest parts

of the structure, then increased to 10° and ultimately reached 18° (Lehner 1997: 216). He referred to the reading of the papyrus of Anastasia I by Georges Goyon who read the ramp parameters as 55 ells (28.80 m) in width, 730 ells (383 m) in length, and 60 ells (31.50

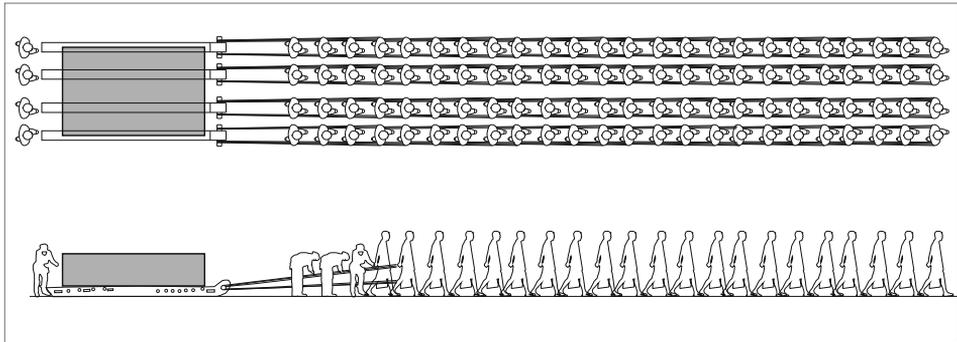


Fig. 2. Scheme presenting the arrangement of laborers pulling the false door slabs to the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Drawing T. Dziedzic)

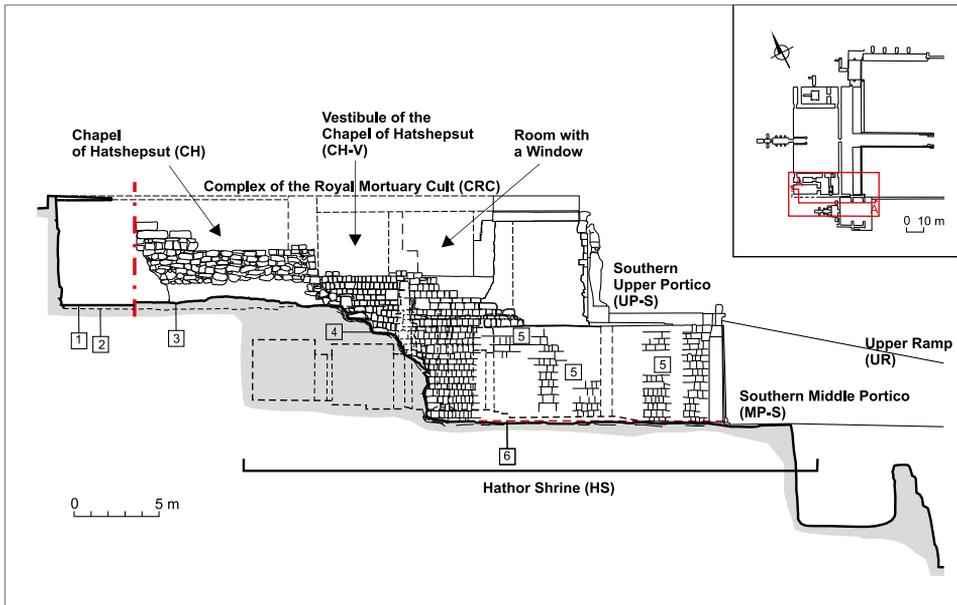


Fig. 3. Section through the south wall (SW), view from the south: 1 – ground level in the Hatshepsut chapel, 2 – leveled rock (Esna shale) in the Hatshepsut chapel, 3 – leveled rock (Esna shale) under the south wall of the temple, 4 – leveled rock (Esna shale) in the form of steps under the south wall of the temple, 5 – surface of the south wall (not studied), 6 – level of the south temple wall foundation corresponding to the level of the Middle Terrace (Drawing T. Dziedzic)

m) in height (Goyon 1977: 67–81). The suggestion of three ramp sections with different angles of inclination drew from the natural landform where the ramp was supposed to be located. In the case of the Hatshepsut temple, one should take into account the makeup of the terrain around the construction site. The location of the temple at the end of the Asasif valley determined the location of the construction site eastern or southeast of the building. Transport ramps, if any, would have been located there. The ground is relatively even here and would not have necessitated a ramp with multiple sections of different angles of inclination. It may be assumed that the ramp leading to the Upper Terrace had an angle of inclination of about 10°.

Three possible routes for the transport of the false doors inside the temple will be discussed [see *Fig. 1*]. Options 1 and 2 assume the existence of the Punt and Coronation porticos as well as the south wall bordering the Upper and Middle Terrace. The entire length of the wall is preserved, but not its full height. In the area of the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult, its height reaches about 2.50 m from the foundation in the Vestibule of the Hatshepsut Chapel (127.457 m ASL) and it next goes down several courses of stone blocks until the end of the Coronation Portico. Studies to date have demonstrated that the foundation of the wall reached the leveled Middle Terrace and went up in the form of stairs in order to reach the level of the stone platform of the Upper Terrace in the area of the Chapel of Hatshepsut [*Fig. 3*]. The ancient build-

ers seem to have actually cut steps in the rock to give the wall a sound foundation. The wall is quite homogenous; blocks were added apparently only in the section constituting the back of the wall in the Vestibule of the Hatshepsut Chapel where a recess was planned. Apart from this, there is no evidence of construction in stages. Documented building dipinti (Wieczorek 2010: 217–218) leave no doubt as to its uniform character. Hence it should be assumed that at the time of the construction of the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult, the south wall (SW) was at least as high as its current height.

**Option 1.** Assumed route of transport of the false doors from the south [*Fig. 4*]. The ground east of the Hatshepsut temple, empty at the time of the construction as the temple of Tuthmosis III had not been built as yet, was still not a good place for any kind of construction projects because of the proximity of the older temple of Mentuhotep II (Eleventh Dynasty). As shown in the section, the location of the third Deir temple excludes the possibility of forming a ramp in this area as any ramp embankment and its scarp reaching the level of the lowest terrace would have endangered the structure of the older temple.

**Option 2.** Assumed route of transport of the false doors along the southern face of the south wall (SW) and turning into the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult, passing above the unfinished wall [*Fig. 5*] and turning next toward the royal chapels. On the north, the ramp

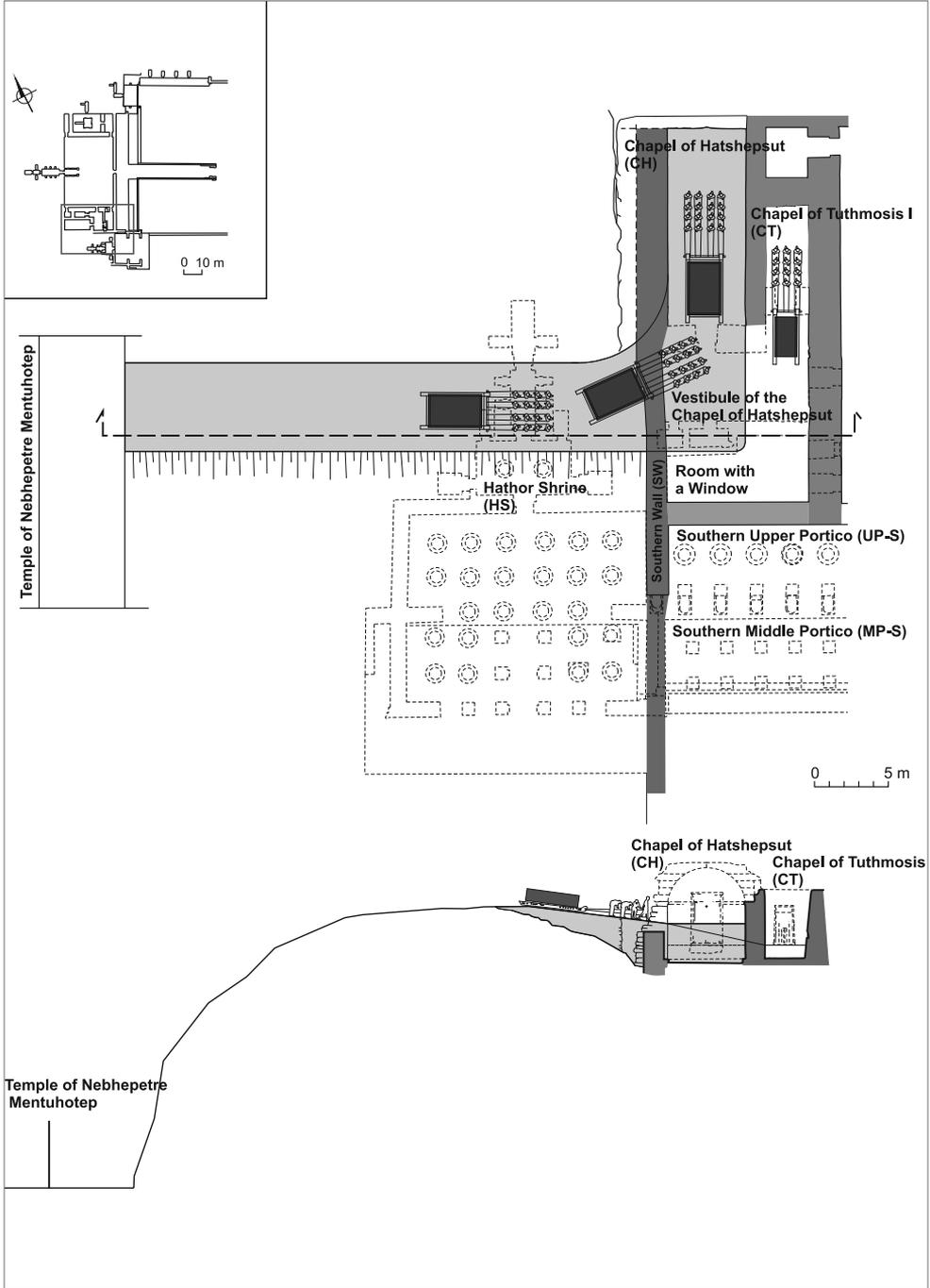


Fig. 4. Option 1. Plan and cross-section demonstrating the possibilities of transporting slabs from a southern direction (Drawing T. Dziedzic)

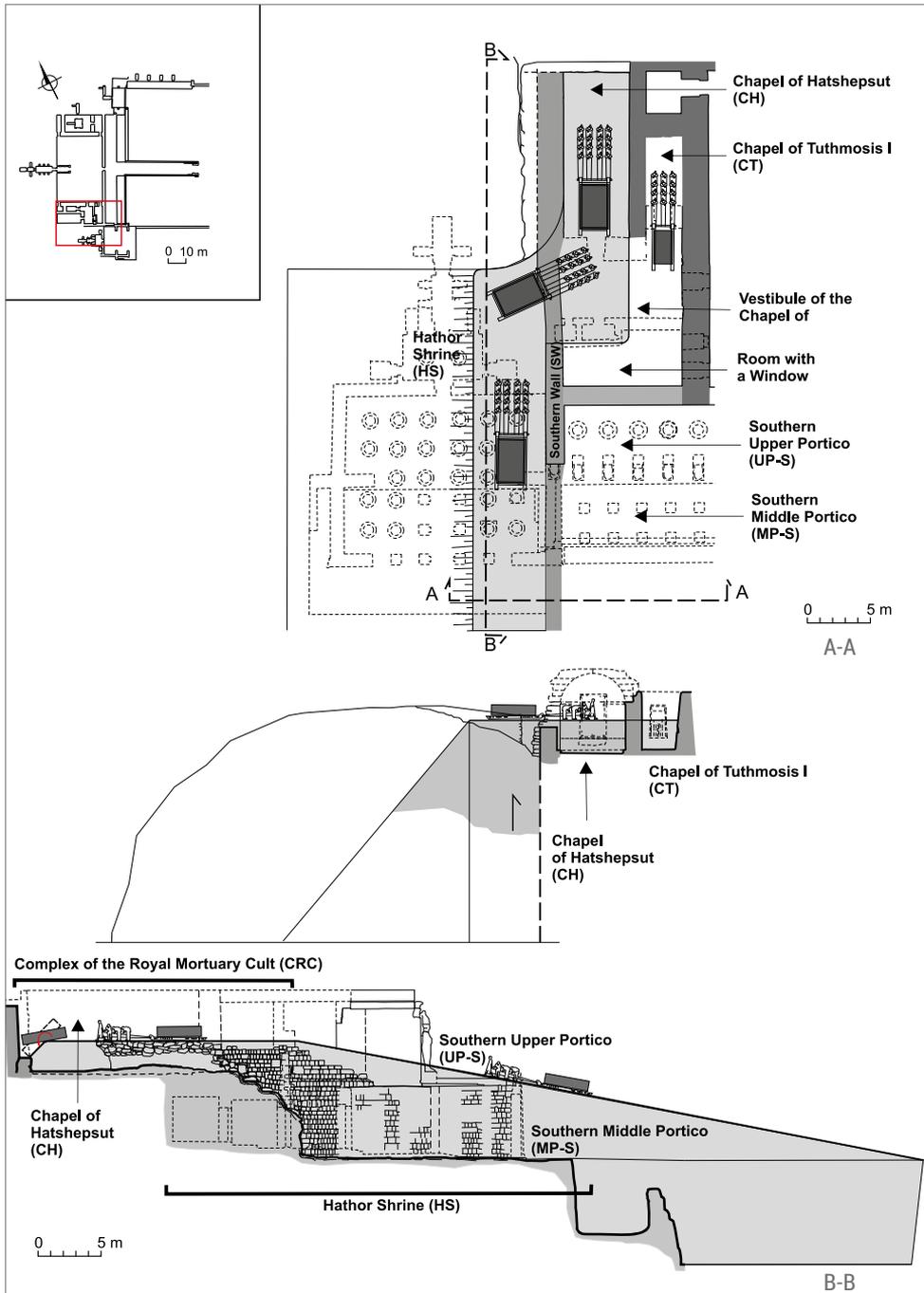


Fig. 5. Option 2. Plan and sections A and B demonstrating the possibilities of transporting slabs from a southeastern direction (Drawing T. Dziezic)

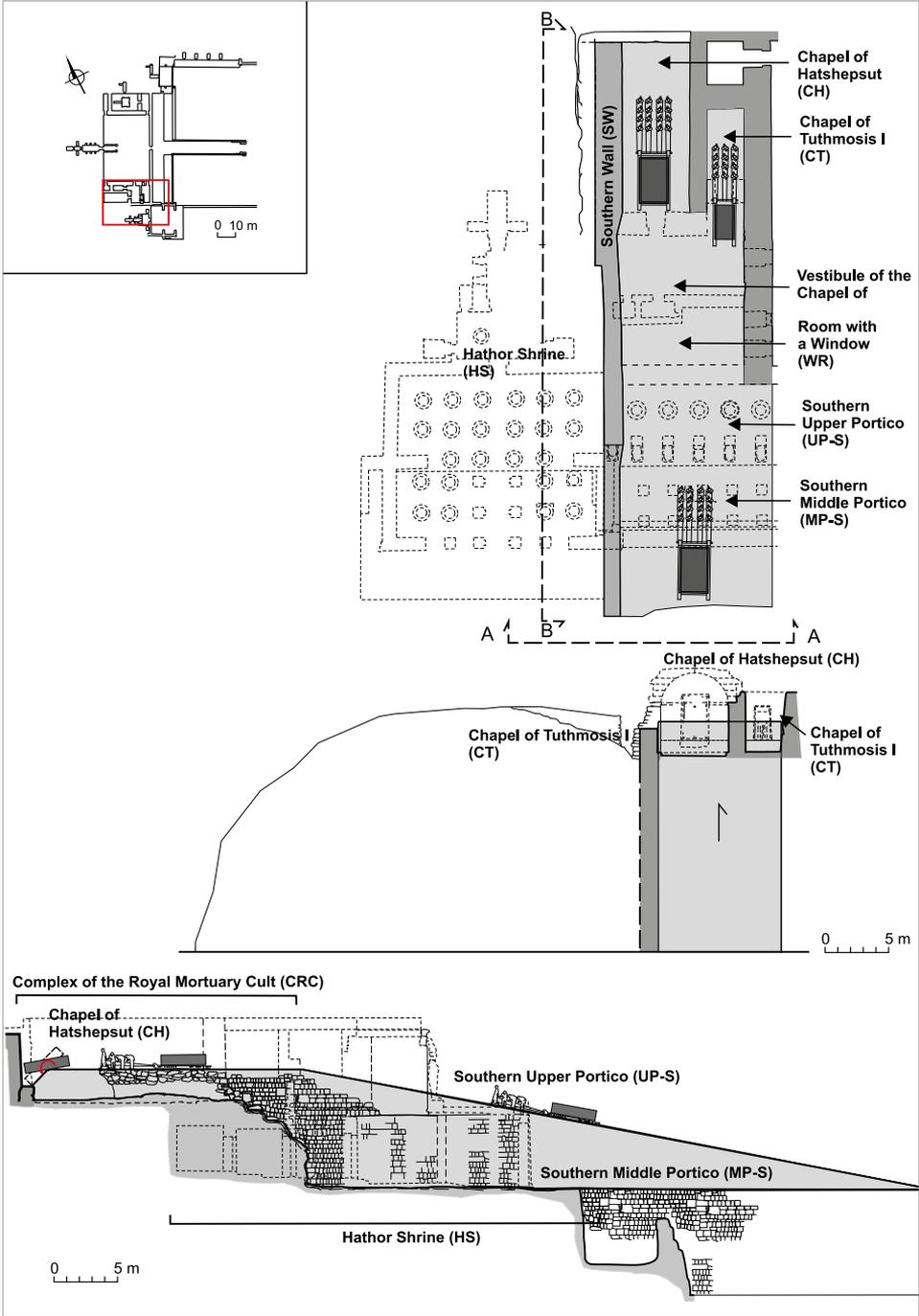


Fig. 6. Option 3. Plan and sections A and B demonstrating the possibilities of transporting slabs from a southeastern direction (Drawing T. Dziedzic)

leaning on the wall would have been about 6 m wide and its scarp with an angle of inclination of  $45^\circ$  would have been an estimated 20 m wide. The angle of inclination of the scarp means that every one meter of the ramp lets it grow by one meter in height. Polish Building Standards give  $45^\circ$  as a safe inclination of a scarp in cracked rock and waste rubble. To protect such an embankment from being washed out by rainwater requires paving it with stones (Kühn 2004: 109–110). In order to obtain the desired height of the embankment to make it suitable for transporting material above the south wall (SW), a ramp sloping  $10^\circ$  would have reached above the lower Obelisk Portico, which had not been constructed yet, and its length must have amounted to 120 m. The height of the ramp after inserting the load into the area of the Hatshepsut Chapel could not have gone down as the same height would have been necessary for the works consisting in arranging false doors slabs already in their target position, but this issue will be treated in a separate study.

**Option 3.** The third option assumes that neither the Punt Portico on the Middle Terrace nor the Coronation Portico on the Upper Terrace were standing at this time. The south wall (SW), which was already built, may have also acted as a retaining wall, protecting and encasing the ramp embankment from the south. From the north, the already existing ramp (UR) leading to the Upper Terrace might have closed off this temporary structure. The ramp with an angle of inclination of  $10^\circ$  may have started from the Middle Terrace which could have been already appropriately prepared considering that the central part of the temple was being used. This ramp would not have needed any scarps, which require a great deal of material and securing. The ground in the southern part of the Upper Terrace falls away naturally to the east and south, as noted by Wysocki (1988: 3). The embankment could have been performed with a limited workload and quantity of material, so that it would be possible to transport construction material and equipment into the designed and realized area of the temple.

## CONCLUSION

Summing up the question of how the false door slabs were transported inside the cult chapels of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari under construction, one needs to note the difficulties of design, logistics and actual building encountered by the builders. Transporting the slabs from the south, that is, from the direction of the already existing temple of Mentuhotep II (Option 1) is not

really an option as it would have interfered substantially with the standing temple and in any case, the ground here is rising.

Option 2 shows that the slabs may have been transported along the south wall (SW) of the Upper Terrace, but since there are no breaches in the wall, the embankment would have had to follow it and would have had to be very high, and

so very long, to pass over it (although in truth there is no proof that the wall then looked like it does today). Indeed, for the Punt Portico and the Coronation Portico to be built, the south wall must have been not only planned, but already standing. This is motivation to take a closer look at the chronology of temple construction in terms of the successive complexes and chapels.

Option 3 is the most probable route for transporting the false doors. The slabs were too heavy for any other form of transportation than by pulling them up an appropriately prepared ramp. The

making of a ramp constituted one of the stages of the building process, simultaneous with the transport of construction materials and masonry work. Its design and use must have been optimal and its location the most favorable for the transport of particularly precious and heavy materials. Hence the conviction that the delivery of false doors to the royal chapels in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult was an extremely important undertaking, determining the preparation of an appropriate logistical plan to complete the extension of the Hatshepsut temple.

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**How to cite this article:**

Dziedzic, T. (2018). Transporting False Doors at the construction site of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.

In Z. E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 129-142). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.

<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3201>

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#### Acknowledgments

I am very grateful to Ken Griffin for offering some suggestions regarding the reading of some of the cursive hieroglyphs, as well as the manuscript in general. He and Cynthia Sheikholeslami are to be thanked for correcting my English.

All the digitizing in the article is by the author.

tains parts of the Rituals of the Hours of the Day and the Night on the inner side of its vaulted lid [Figs 1, 2]. This publication included a photograph taken in 2009 (Sheikholeslami 2010: 387, Fig. 5). In 2018 we were able to locate the coffin in the Carter House Magazine's restorers room. The inner anthropoid coffin and the mummy are currently on display in the Luxor Museum; the outer anthropoid coffin is in the Luxor Museum magazine.

The Hours of the Day are each presented over seven columns of text, written in cursive hieroglyphs in a standard direction, that is, not in retrograde as is often the case. Columns 5–7 are always shorter than the others in order to leave space for the depiction of a standing god-

dess, who is shown facing left (towards the head end of the *qrs*w-coffin), arms lowered along the body, and a sun-disk on the head. The colors are as follows:

- border lines and hair/wig, originally painted blue, but in many cases changed to dark-green (due to oxidation);
- skin, blue (originally?), now green;
- hieroglyphs, black;
- garments, red;
- sun-disk, red.

In the illustrations of the Hours of the Day presented here [Figs 3–14] the preserved or readable signs are given in outline, the restored ones in black. The four sides of the coffin must have become detached when it was removed from the shaft or later. In 1956 at the latest, they



Fig. 1. Outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty from Deir el-Bahari (After Bruyère 1956: Pl. 1)

were put back together again using new posts at the four outer corners [see Fig. 1]. It seems that the original posts, which projected inside the lid from the main surface, were decorated. This can clearly be seen with the Twelfth Hour, in which parts of the inside decoration of the foot end of the coffin lid, that is, the face which is at right angle to the main decoration, was painted white and contains

traces of a green (originally blue) column-separator line (see Sheikholeslami 2010: Fig. 5, page 387). For parallel texts used below for restoring destroyed sections, see <http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/forschen/aeg/proj/laufend/stundenritual.html>.

Remarks on text structure are found below. The sigla used for the sources are presented in Table 1.



Fig. 2. Outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty, inner vault, detail of the Ninth and Tenth Hour of Day (Photo C. Sheikholeslami)

Table 1. List of siglae and types of objects for the Hours of the Day (for details, see <http://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/forschen/aeg/proj/laufend/stundenritual.html> under "Einleitung")

Owner of text	Sigla	Type of object
(Karnak)	–	(Temple)
Hatshepsut	H	Temple
Tuthmosis III	Th	Temple
Seti	S	Private statue
Nebsumenu	Nb	Private tomb
Ramesses III	MH	Temple
Ramesses VI	R	Royal tomb
Nedjemet	N	Papyrus
Katseshni	K	Papyrus
Osorkon II	O	Royal tomb
Amenirdis I	A	Chapel
Nespakashuti	Ne	Private coffin
Padiamaunet	Pad	Private coffin
Karakhamun	Kar	Private tomb
Ramose	Ra	Private tomb
Harwa	Ha	Private tomb
Muthetepti	Tb Af	Papyrus
Petamenophis	Pm	Private tomb
Monthemhet	M	Private tomb
Ibi	I	Private tomb
Psametich	Psa	Private tomb
Pabasa	Pb	Private tomb
Padihorresnet	P, P2	Private tomb
Padibastet	Pa	Private tomb
Scheschonk	Sch, Sch2	Private tomb
Anchnesneferibre	An	Sarcophagus
Pestjenfi	Ps	Private tomb
Bokenranf	B	Private tomb
Tauher	Ta	Private coffin
Edfu	E, E2	Temple
Philae	Ph	Temple
P.Strasb2	PStr2	Papyrus
Armant	Ar	Temple
Dendera	D1	Temple
Dendera	D2	Temple
Tebtynis	Teb	Papyrus

## FIRST HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> [Words to be spoken: First Hour of the Day. “The One who causes Re to appear ...] Khepri? [...]” <sup>(2)</sup> is her name. It is the hour [of the rising of] Re in the region of the horizon [and of the awakening] of the perfection. <sup>(3)</sup> She stands for Maat. [Words to be spoken by [title] Nes(pa)qa[shuti], [triumphant]. <sup>(4)</sup> Rise, please, Re, [come into being, please, Khepri], Ruti, who comes forth <sup>(5-6)</sup> out of the dawn. The gods of the horizon [adore (you)] when [you] are appearing <sup>(7)</sup> in these your transformations.

Col. 1: The upper two thirds are destroyed, but the missing parts can be restored with the aid of parallels. In the lower half, the sign  seems certain. Since col. 2 begins with *rn=ś*, the name of the hour in col. 1 must have been extended with a phrase containing ... *hpr* ...

Col. 2: The shape of the group *rs* is still recognizable in front of *nfrw* near the bottom.

Col. 3: It ended surely with the title(s) and name of Nes(pa)qashuty [*m<sup>c</sup>-hrw*], but the exact form is unclear.

Col. 4: At the end there seems to be enough space for more signs than just ; the filling of this gap remains obscure however.

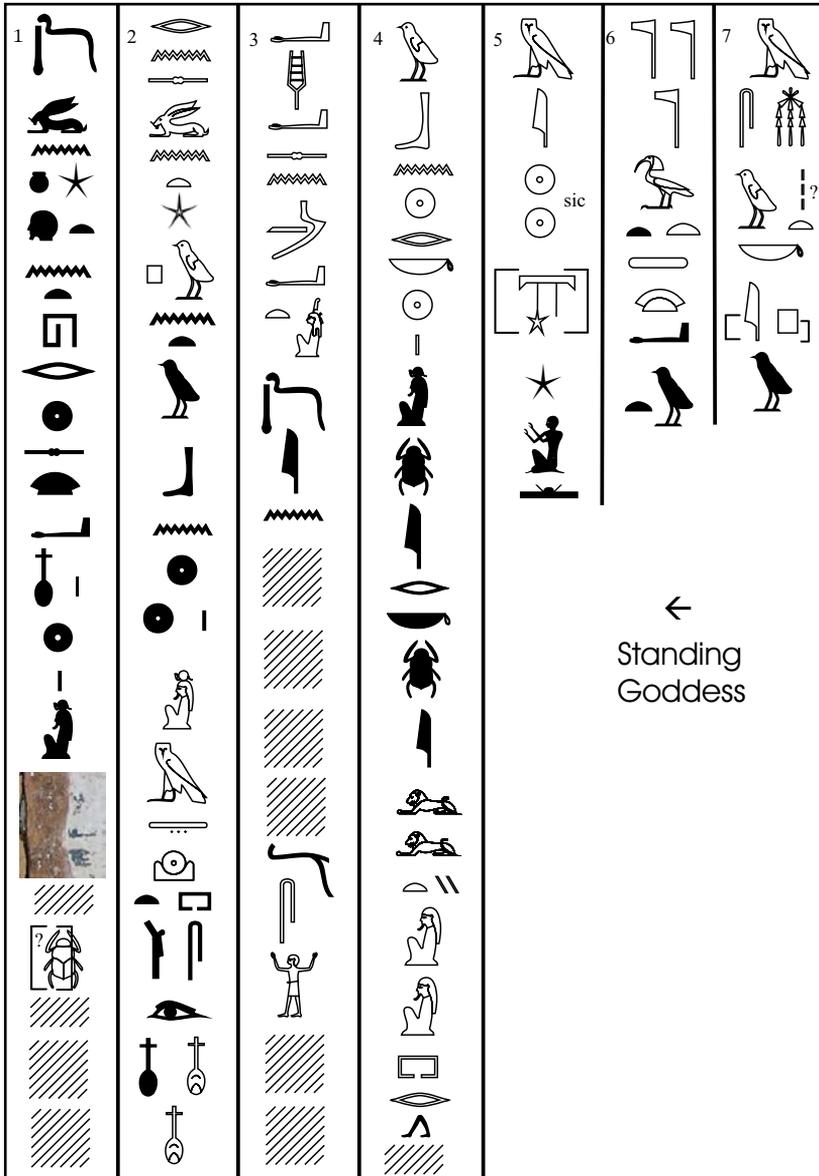


Fig. 3. First Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## SECOND HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: {by the} Second Hour [of the Day]. "... *n tw* ... [she] who expels darkness". <sup>(2)</sup> It is the hour of [practising jubilation and adoration] of Re when <he> comes forth. <sup>(3)</sup> She stands for Hu. [Words to be spoken by the Prophet of [Mon]tu, Lord of Thebes, Nes(pa)qashuty. <sup>(4)</sup> Lo (he who), appears, [who appears with] his *Mehenet*-serpent, who comes forth within <sup>(5)</sup> the wings [of the Phoenix in] <sup>(6)</sup> the horizon. [Appear, please,] Re, <sup>(7)</sup> light up, please, Re, shine [...].

Col. 1: The text missing in the middle cannot be restored with the parallels that are available. After *hsr kkw* in cols 1–2, one does not find the expected *rn=š*. Therefore, after [*hrww*] in col. 1, the text continued with a variant name for the hour or with a misplaced *wnwt pw*-phrase like in the Tenth Hour. For the former, E has the variant name *ššmt*, for the latter, R(amesses VI) and Ra would suggest: *wnwt pw njt m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw*. At the beginning of col. 1, after *čt -mṭww*, the scribe carelessly wrote an unnecessary *in*, "by". [The hours are not speakers contrary to the hours in the Ritual of the Hours of the Night].  
Col. 7: The last verb was probably *psč*, "to shine".

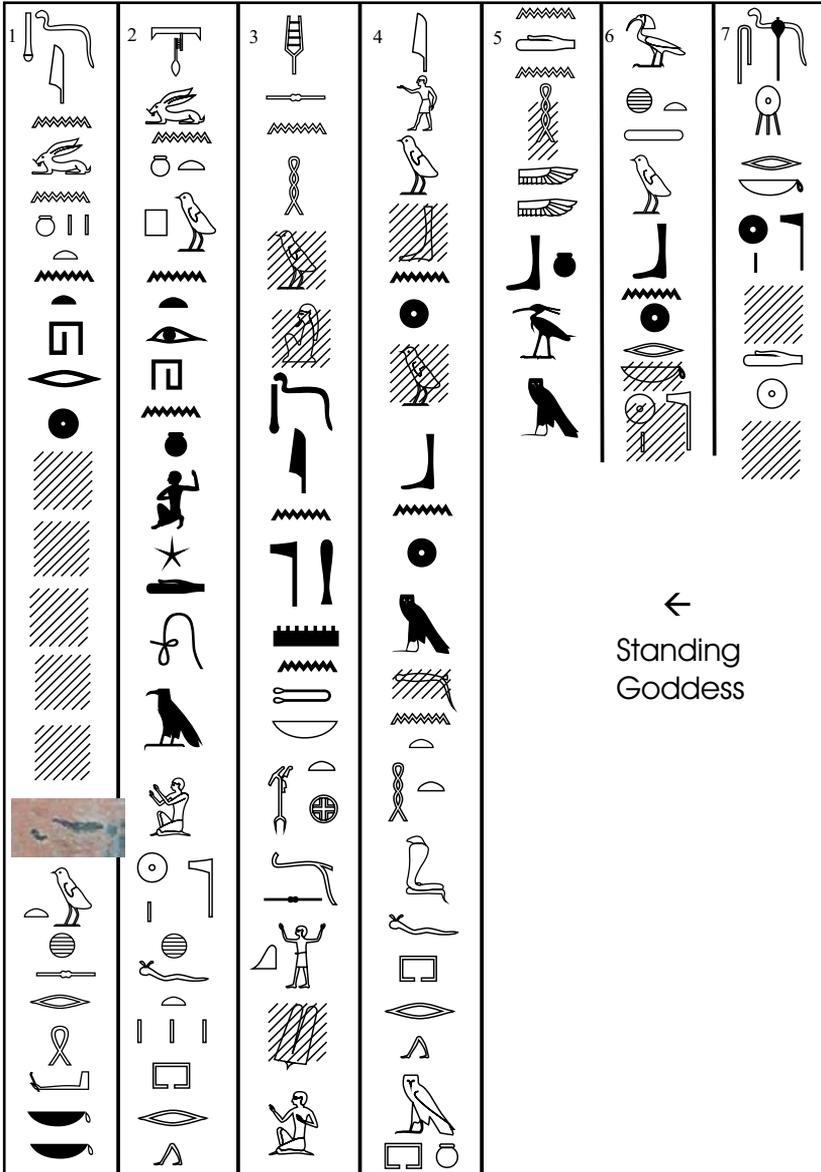


Fig. 4. Second Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

### THIRD HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(4)</sup> Words to be spoken: {by the} Third Ho[ur of the Day.] “She who is [seeing] millions” is her name. She stands for Sia. Words to be spoken: The Prophet of <sup>(2)</sup> Montu, Lord of Thebes [Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant. Words to be spoken:] Awake in peace, primeval one, who has created(?), <sup>(3)</sup> Re, who came forth [from the field of Ruti], high regarding [his *Mehenet*-serpent, who appears] <sup>(4-5)</sup> at the front of the [horizon, to whom the gods] are coming in ad[oration], who is [greeted] by those [who are at the] <sup>(5-6)</sup> supports of heaven, he who is great [as for the *Werr*]eret-crown, Lord ... <sup>(7)</sup> ..., Osiris of the God’s Father (and God’s) beloved [Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant].

Col. 1: The name of the hour can be restored based on parallels. The *in* after *čt-mtww* is a mistake, as in the Second Hour.

Col. 2: The name of the coffin’s owner is to be added after the title. The phrase at the bottom: *pʒwtj ir(j)=f?* is unclear in the parallels also.

Cols 3–5: The restored phrases follow the parallels.

Col. 6: The destroyed sections cannot be completed because the parallels do not have a phrase that would contain the first sign  of col. 7.

Col. 7: The owner’s name must have followed the title.

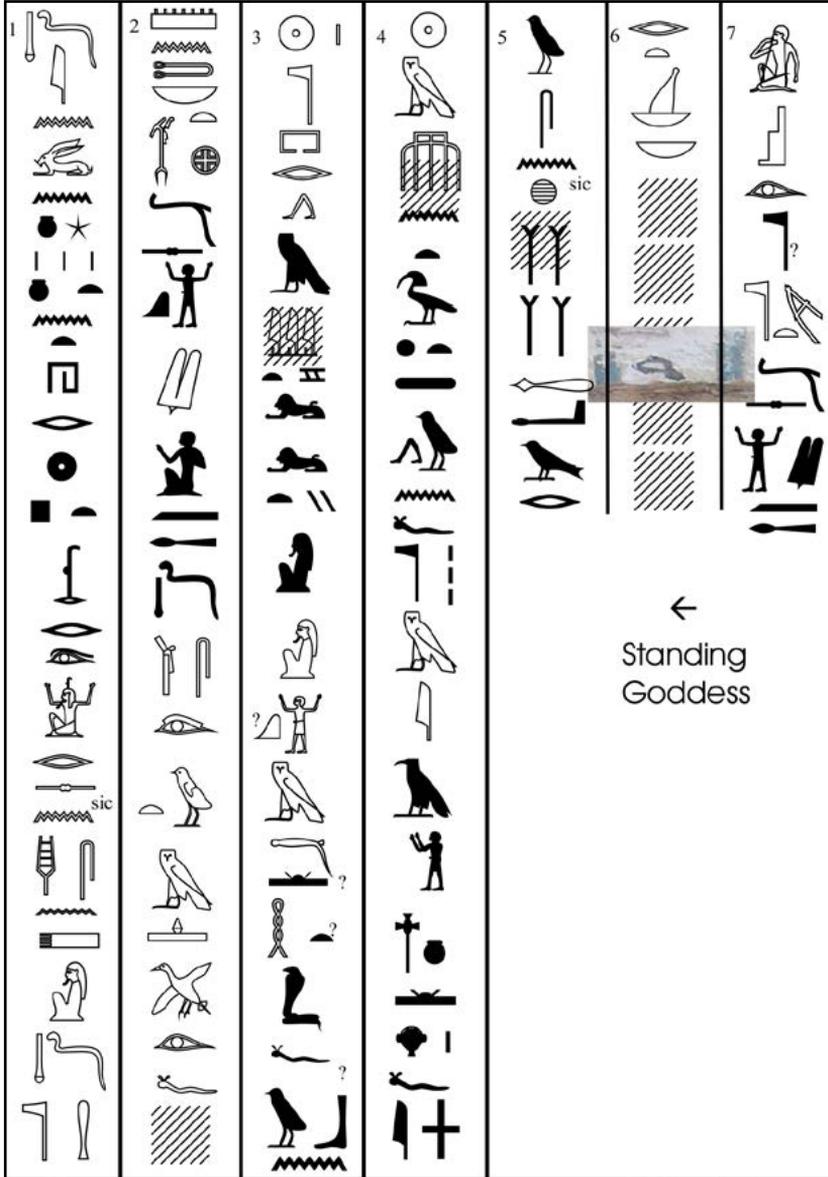


Fig. 5. Third Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## FOURTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Fourth Hour of the [Day. “Shining] in appearance“, is her name. She stands for the *Asbet*-serpents.

<sup>(2)</sup> Words to be spoken: The God’s Father (and God’s) Beloved Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant [... barge of Re(?) ...] four times. Rise, <sup>(3)</sup> rise, shine [...] (when?) you [illuminate] the sky (*pt*), after you had [traversed(?)] the heaven (*hrt*) (when?) you rise. <sup>(4)</sup> Your son(?) [...] Horus, like the son [of ...] <sup>(5)</sup> when you traverse the sky [...]

<sup>(6)</sup> things, without <sup>(7)</sup> your enemies being able(?) to arise. Stand up(?) [...]

Col. 1: The destroyed beginning of the hour’s name can be restored based on parallels.

Cols 2–7: This hymn has no parallels to date. Thus the destroyed or unreadable parts in this translation are guesswork more or less.



## FIFTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Fifth Hour [of the Day]. She stands for Saret. Words to be spoken: Appear, Re, gold [of the gods]. <sup>(2)</sup> The two openings (of the Nile) are opened for him, the caverns are unclosed [for] him by [his] *uraei*. <sup>(3)</sup> Ma[at] arises for him [made possible by] his [en-nead]. Adoration [to you, Re.] Your [nose (?)] is kissed <sup>(4)</sup> in order to live. [May you receive [Maat], [may] your heart [be content] in your field of turquoise. May you [come] <sup>(5)</sup> forth, The Ba of Osiris being [...]  
<sup>(6)</sup> in [...] <sup>(7)</sup> [...] with(?) it [...].

Col. 1: The name of the hour was omitted.  
 Cols 2–5: The completed parts follow parallels.

Cols 5–7: The missing parts cannot be reconstructed from the parallels.

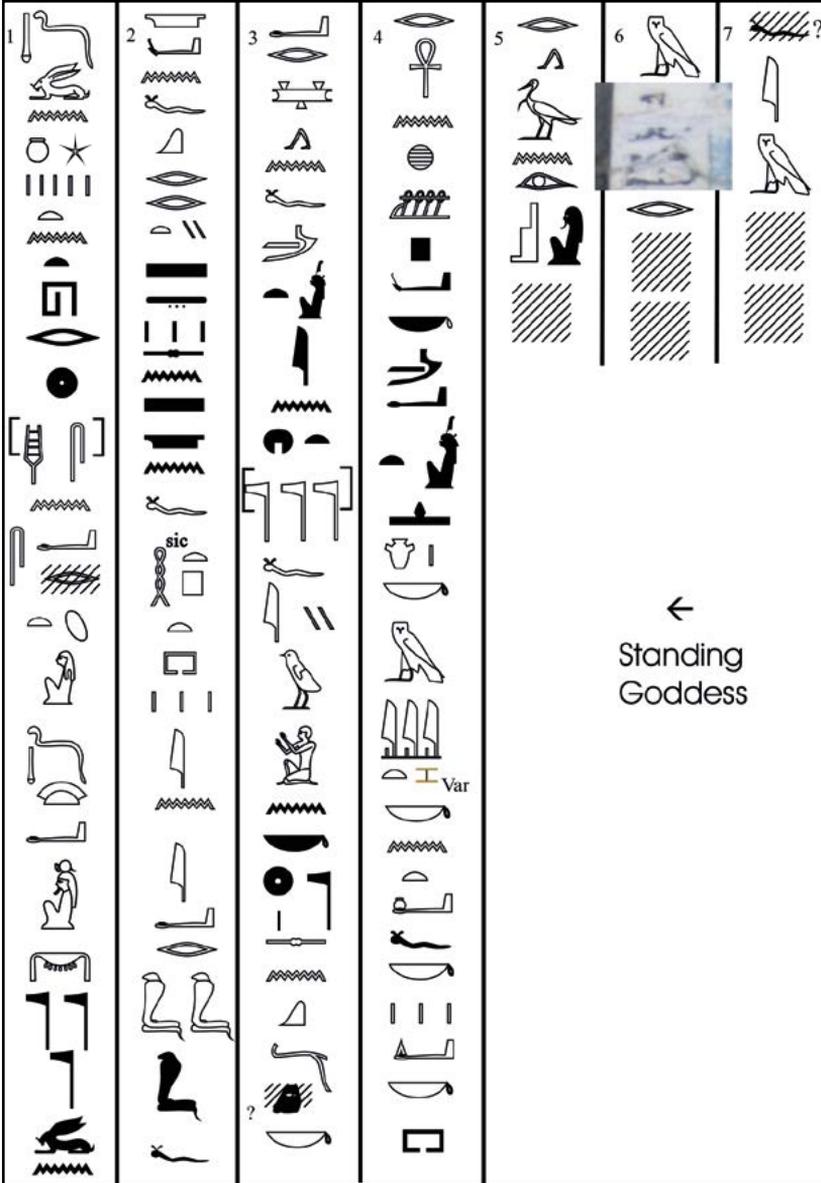


Fig. 7. Fifth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## SIXTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Sixth Hour [of the Day]. [“Standstill”, (= “Noon”)] is her name. She stands for Nehes. Words to be spoken: Stand (still), <sup>(2)</sup> Re. [Your] perfection exists [You are triumphant with] the gods who are in your barge. Jubilating <sup>(3)</sup> when they see you <as> [king of the gods]. Isis, the great one, she is glorifying (you) by her (magical) spell, being powerful <sup>(4)</sup> by her [magic], being “sharp”, being powerful of *ba*-power, Lady of the universe, being august <sup>(5)</sup> in shapes. [May she (?)] give [...] <sup>(6)</sup> every beautiful and pure [thing], what [heaven] gives [and] <sup>(7)</sup> earth [creates] for the Osiris of the God’s Beloved Nes[(pa)qashuti, triumphant.

Col. 1: The name of the hour can be completed because of the determinative ☉.

Cols 1–7: The hymn in some parallel sources is inserted into the Seventh Hour, first version. The restored parts are not problematic.



## SEVENTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Seventh Hour of the Day. “[...]” is her [name]. She stands for Horus. Words to be spoken: Re appears after he has mounted his throne, <sup>(2)</sup> after he has seen both his eyes (and) [his] *Werreret*-crown, with whom he [has ruled] every land. May you be bright, may you rise, <sup>(3)</sup> may the hearts [of the gods] be opened for you, mayest thou be powerful, may you be respected with your *śśm(t)*-serpent <sup>(4)</sup> and (with) <the gods> within your followers. Perfect [You]th, striding wide, who is being reborn <sup>(5)</sup> daily. May [you] protect [the Osiris of] the God’s Father (and) God’s Beloved <sup>(6)</sup> Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant, from all [evil] things <sup>(7)</sup> in the necropolis.

Col. 1: The name of the hour is destroyed.

It should be *śwt-ib*. Nevertheless, the destroyed space is very small.

Cols 1–5: The hymn in some other sources is inserted into the Sixth Hour, first version.

Col. 3: The *ś* of *śśmt=k* is also missing in source P. The *m* before it is written with a cursive .



## EIGHTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(4)</sup> Words to be spoken: Eighth Hour of the Day. [“Lady(?)] of eternity”, variant reading: “She who is jubilating”, is her name. She stands for Khonsu. Words to be spoken: Lo, <sup>(2)</sup> Re. Lo, he who is shining, your [...] until your hours, who come into existence for you, Re, who come into existence for you Re, <sup>(3)</sup> come, shining one [...] Great god, come you shining (on) the earth <sup>(4)</sup> with your form as a Shining-one, Khepri in your form as <sup>(5)</sup> a Shining-one. Protect the Osiris of the <sup>(6)</sup> God’s Father (and) God’s Beloved Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant, <sup>(7)</sup> son of the God’s Father (and) God’s Beloved Pami, triumphant.

Col. 1: The name of the hour was probably [nb(t)] nḥḥ. It continues with ky ċt: ḥ<sup>cc</sup>(t), that is, the regular name of the hour here is given as a variant.

Cols 1–5: The hymn is unknown to date.



## NINTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Ninth Hour of the Day. “Mistress of Life”, is her name. She stands for Isis, the Great, the God’s mother. <sup>(2)</sup> Words to be spoken: Lo Re, living of forms, child who came forth from Mehenet-Weret, <sup>(3)</sup> when existence did not yet exist in [... a Horus (or: a falcon)?] of form, Lord of the House of the falcon. Your heart belongs to you, your heart belongs to you. Both your <sup>(4)</sup> feathers belong to you, One who is flying (*ḥp(y)?*) (or The living-one, shining-one, who comes into existence?), both your feathers are meant for flying with <sup>(5)</sup> them. You are coming into being as a child every day. <sup>(6)</sup> Raise <yourself> Osiris of [title] Nes(pa)qashuty, <sup>(7)</sup> triumphant, son of the God’s Father (and) God’s Beloved Pami, triumphant.

Cols 2–5: The hymn is currently unknown.

I am very grateful to Alexandra von Lieven for a fruitful discussion of the issues (concerning cols 2 and 4).

Col. 2: What is read as *hy* “child” with , resembles more a  *tp*, but it would not make sense.

Cols 2–3: *n hpr hpr* has to be emended to (negative *n* )-*n hpr{r}* <*t*> *hpr*. It makes no sense, if the sign before *hwt-bik* is read as a basket with handle (*k*). The dot at this point may be accidental.

Col. 3: Below *hpr* there is perhaps a  *m*. The two coffin planks are somewhat dislocated as the column separators show. The gap between them may

have been bigger by a few millimeters. There are perhaps three signs below that *m*. The sign  may stand for *bik* “Falcon” or *hrw* “Horus”. Nevertheless, one would expect a participle or an adjective.

Col. 4: The sequence of signs    (+  *r*) is the most difficult issue in this hymn. Alexandra von Lieven (personal communication) has kindly provided the following comment: “Ich vermute eine Kryptographie von der Art, wie Ryhiner (1977) und Morenz<sup>2</sup> (2008: 2402–2446) sie unter dem Etikett “pantheistisches Trigramm” behandelt haben. Derartige Schreibungen sind ihrer Studie nach mindestens ab der 3. Zwischenzeit belegt. Sie nennt zwei, wobei das eine (  )<sup>3</sup> zwei Elemente mit dem hiesigen gemein hat. Vielleicht gab es weitere, die bloß seltener bezeugt sind. Man könnte also “der Lebende-Leuchtende-Entstehende” bzw. auch “Leben-Licht-Entstehen” (*ḥnh-psš-hpr*) als Chiffre für Atum-Re-Chepri verstehen, also genau die Umkehrung des üblichen. Da in dem Hymnus die Betonung auf dem täglich zum Kind Werden, also der periodischen Verjüngung liegt, wäre die Jugendform als Endpunkt der Entwicklung denkbar. Das könnte zugleich erklären, warum das seltener ist, als die Variante mit dem Greis als Endpunkt.

Würde man von *ḥnh* und *psš* akrophonisch nur die ersten Konsonanten

2 Reference kindly provided by Kenneth Griffin.

3 (KG / EG): Another example appears in the Twelfth Hour of the Night (Griffin 2017: 120 and note 143).

In col. 3:

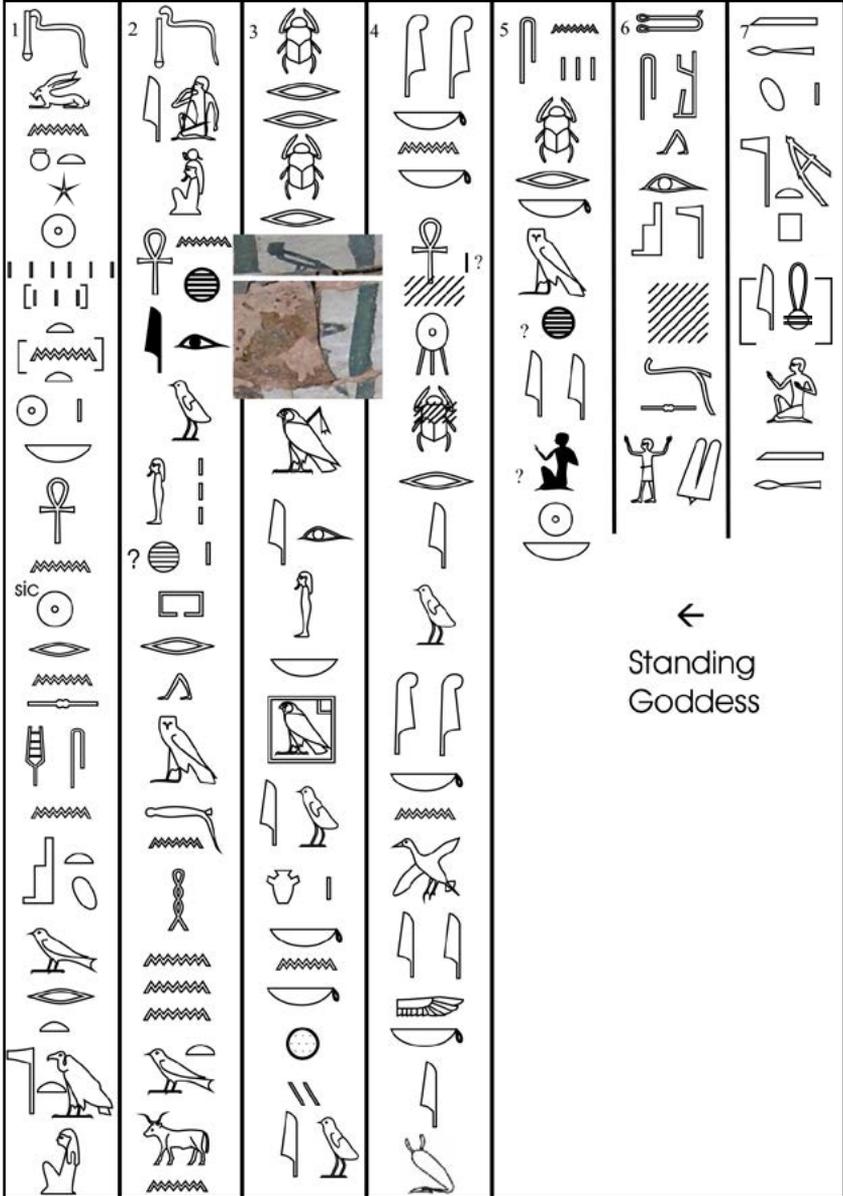


Fig. 11. Ninth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

zusammenziehen, bekäme man  $\rho(y)$ , den “Fliegenden”, der gern mit dem (zugegebenermaßen meist geflügelten) Käfer determiniert wird. Der ungeflügelte Käfer allein hat nach (Kurth: 2007: 298) mindestens im Ptolemäischen auch den Lautwert  $\dot{l}$ . Man kann also auch solch eine Lesung vertreten, dann gäbe es kein Determinativ, das wäre noch plausibler. Nun ist es zwar so, dass man mit Akrophonie vorsichtig sein muss, aber mindestens fallweise gibt es das Prinzip eben doch, gerade bei solchen Gottesnamen-Kryptogrammen. In jedem Falle hätte man mit dem Verständnis als kryptographisch geschriebenes Epitheton “Fliegender” einen schönen Bezug zu den Federn und dem Fliegen, die ja auch sonst eine große Rolle im Text spielen. Versteht man die

leuchtende Scheibe als  $ps\check{c}$ , hätte man noch durch die Hintertür ein Wortspiel mit der Ordinalzahl der Stunde. Nun könnte man gegen diese Deutung der problematischen Stelle natürlich einwenden, was denn das  $r$  hinter dem Käfer soll. Ich würde auch das wieder als Fehler wegemedieren. Wahrscheinlich hat der Schreiber an  $hpr$  mit Komplement  $r$  gedacht und es folglich irrtümlich eingefügt. Zum folgenden  $\dot{l}w$  gehört es wegen der Parallelität sicher nicht und das sollte man auch überhaupt nicht direkt an die problematische Gruppe anschließen, die meines Erachtens eben nur einen Gottesnamen quasi im Vokativ enthält, parallel zum “Kind” im Anruf zuvor.”

Col. 5:  $hy$  “child” should be written with , but it seems that  is still visible.

## TENTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: [Tenth] Hour of the Day. It is the hour of giving needs. <sup>(2)</sup> She stands for the god who created eternity. Words to be spoken by the Prophet of Montu, Lord of Thebes, Nes<sup>(3)</sup>(pa)qashuti, triumphant: Ha[il] to you, these gods, precursors of Re, who <sup>(4)</sup> are behind <him in> the Great barge, who ferry him <sup>(5)</sup> in peace at his (right) time of dragging <sup>(6-7)</sup> the rope, the tour proceeding and him (Re) coming forth being safe, after [he] has united <himself with the primeval waters>.

Col. 1: The name of the hour is missing the  $wnwt pw$  xxx element, with an explanation being given instead.

Cols 3–7: The hymn in some other sources is inserted in the Eleventh Hour, first version.

Col. 7: The text ends abruptly. The parallels continue with  $(hnm).n=f nwn$ .



## ELEVENTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: [Eleventh Hour of the] Day. “Beautiful (when) seeing (her)”. It is the hour of <sup>(2)</sup> dragging the [rope] to the western horizon and the descent of the Great barge. <sup>(3)</sup> <The ways of heaven are opened for> Re, open are the two Sanctuaries of the Two lands of Atum (instead of “completely”?). Mayest you be powerful, Re, with your eye. <sup>(4)</sup> You are seeing [with it, you being alive] in your name of “Life”. Your mother will <sup>(5)</sup> embrace [you], [having cleansed] for you <sup>(6)</sup> [your bones, causing] that you be sound and that <sup>(7)</sup> [you] live, <you> having come into being <as a god> in life.

Cols 1-2: The phrase <sup>(8)</sup> *h<sup>c</sup>=s n* is missing.

Cols 3-7: Hymn of the Eleventh Hour, second version.

Col. 3: The text begins in the middle of a phrase, that is, at the beginning of col. 3 *wn w3wt pt n* was omitted.

Col. 3: Ne seems to have used the signs  /  twice in *itrtj t3wj tmw*, whereas Kar and the Ptolemaic sources give *itrtj t3wj (nj) (i?)tmw* with two   “snake stelae” signs. *t3wj tmw* is attested since the Middle Kingdom as a variant for *t3 tmw* “the whole land”. It seems that in Ptolemaic times the phrase was understood as “sanctuaries of the land of Atum”. In the Pyramid Texts (PT 756–757), the opening of heaven is promised to the dead king in the presence of Re, and, he (the king) would be led through the *itrtj* of heaven. This presupposes a reflection of cult-architecture of the earth in heaven. It is perhaps the case that a misinterpretation promising sanctuaries on earth there already existed in Ne. This was probably the case in E with the genitival *nj (i)tmw*, changing the adjective or old perfective *tmw* “all together” into *nj itmw* “of Atum” as if the sanctuaries were to be located in heaven.

Col. 4: *in mwt=k* may perhaps be restored in front of *n mwt=k*, a *i*.

Col. 6: At the top read {=k}.

Col. 7: According to the parallels, a  and  have to be inserted: *hpr.ti m ncr m cnh*.



Fig. 13. Eleventh Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## TWELFTH HOUR OF THE DAY

<sup>(1)</sup> Words to be spoken: Twelfth hour of the day. “She who is united with life”. It is the hour <of the setting of> <sup>(2)</sup> Re [in the land of life] in the western horizon. She stands for the One who gives protection in the <sup>(3)</sup> [darkness. Words to be spoken by the] God’s Father and God’s Beloved Nes(pa)qashuty, triumphant: Adoration to you, Re, when you are setting <sup>(4)</sup> in [the magnificent field] of the western horizon. May you set in the field of <sup>(5)</sup> Manu, [your *uraei*] being behind you, Re. <sup>(6)</sup> [Hail to] you in [peace] <sup>(7)</sup> [Re, being united with the eye] of Atum.

Col. 1: The feminine ending of the name *hnmt ḥnh* is written only after the *ḥnh*.

Col. 2: A *hṭp* was omitted by the scribe at the beginning.

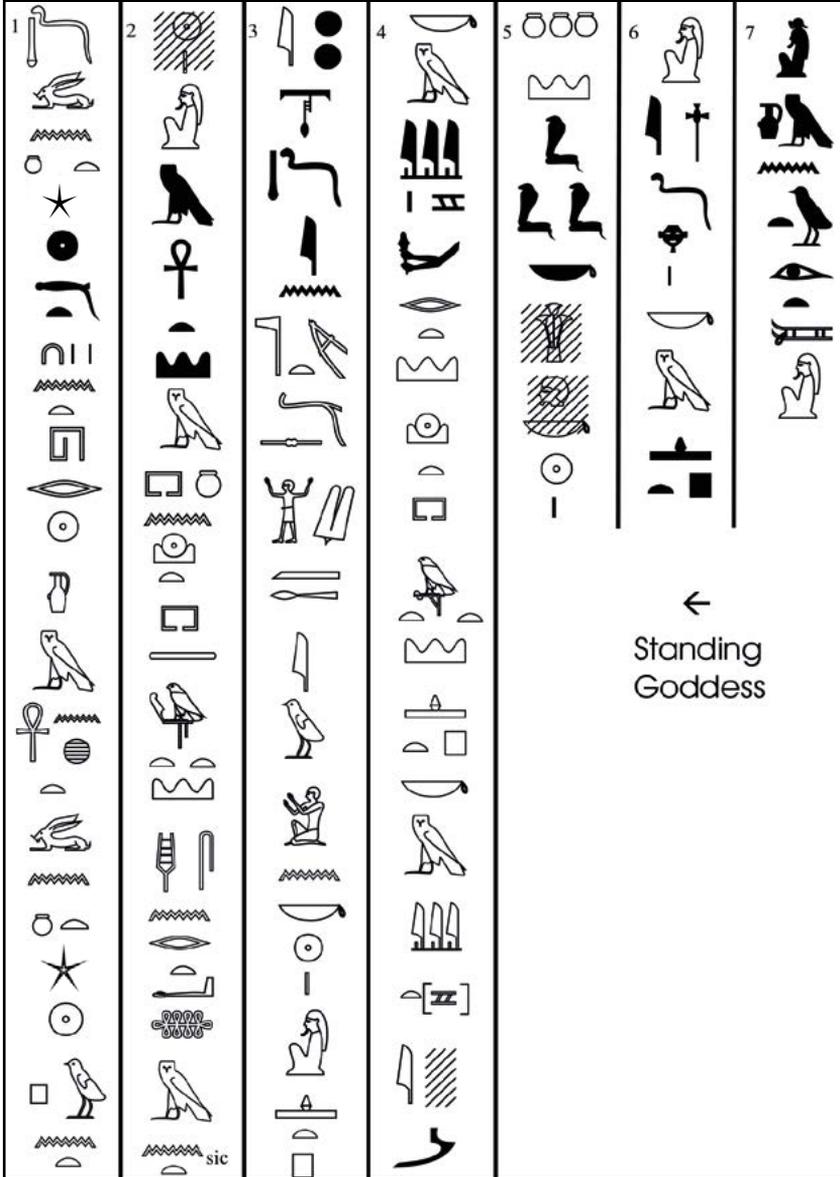


Fig. 14. Twelfth Hour of the Day on the inner vault of the outer coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

## GENERAL REMARKS ON LATE PERIOD REPRESENTATIONS OF THE HOURS

The coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty is the only coffin to date with fragments of a once complete set of both hymns of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day and the texts of the Ritual of the Hours of the Night. Another example, from the coffin Cairo CG 41010 (Moret 1913: 137–139), is fragmentary with only very short passages of the texts (for the Hours of the Night) preserved (no photographs currently exist). Therefore, it had not been hitherto recognized as a source for the Rituals of the Hours. Assmann and I have always maintained that the text for the Hours of the Night has nothing to do with those of the Day, simply because the former is an independent text, even in the oldest source dating from the time of Hatshepsut. The reason behind such a claim was the different layout of the vignettes accompanying the text, which contain mainly parts of chapters of the Book of the Dead. To date, there is no edition of the text. However, Griffin has just shown that the text for the Hours of the Night contains elements supplementary to those from the Book of the Dead: invocations to Osiris known from papyri as well as several *mammisi* of Ptolemaic times. The text for the Hours of the Night may now be considered as a ritual for the night parallel to that for the Hours of the Day (see Griffin 2018, in this volume, and 2017). The coffin of Heresenes from Deir el-Bahari is unfinished insofar as the texts for the night are present, but on the day

side the columns for the hymns are left empty (Sheikholeslami 2010: 382, Fig. 1). The same layout for the hours of the day and night can be found in tombs, that is, on ceilings of burial chambers, thus constituting parallels to the (vaulted) ceilings of the coffins just mentioned.<sup>4</sup> There are several other coffins with names of hours and representations of the goddesses, e.g., Brussels E586 (Delvaux and Therasse 2015: 133–135); Leiden AMM 5e (Raven 1992: 60–62); Milan E o.9.40147 (see below). This could lead to the conclusion that in these cases the decoration with the hours is an abbreviation for the Rituals of the Hours of the Day and the Night and it offers a possibility of finding more examples on the myriad (unpublished) coffins and sarcophagi existing in museums and collections around the world.

An example of this would be the third coffin from the aforementioned set, that is, the one of Padiamonet (Sheikholeslami 2010: 382, Fig. 2; the *qrsw*-coffin of Padiamonet has the text of the Twelfth Hour of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day on the exterior tympanum of its head end, C. Sheikholeslami, personal communication). It has two series of standing goddesses with sun-disks or stars on their heads and in front of them one column of text evoking the hours plus title and name of the deceased. Such an interpretation, however, may not always be correct. The hours on the three coffins from Deir el-Bahari are represented as standing

4

See TT 132 (Greco 2014); burial chamber of a certain Psametik in TT 36 (Wagner 2018: 186).

women, their arms lowered by their sides. This is in conformity with their designated function  $ḥ^c=ś n$  (see below): “She stands for (a protective god)”.

There is a sarcophagus for the ram of Mendes (Cairo CG 29792), dating to the Ptolemaic period (Gaillard and Daressy 1905: 140–141), decorated with figures of Nut and the standing goddesses of day and night. Their legends start with the names, followed by the numbers of the hours. There are no hymns, but it is possible that the Rituals of the Hours of the Day and Night were intended. On other coffins without hymns, the goddesses are shown either kneeling or standing, in adoration with raised arms, with or without sun-disks or stars on their heads. This suggests that the goddesses here had a different function.<sup>5</sup> This is explicit on the coffin Milan E 0.9.40147 (Lise 1979: Figs 39, 41),<sup>6</sup> on which the names of the hours of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day are used in more or less corrupt ver-

sions and are complemented with text. However, this is not the Ritual of the Hours of the Day (or the Night) and the goddesses are kneeling in adoration. The text is the same as on the later sarcophagi of the Napatan kings Aspelta and Anlamani (Soukiassian 1982;<sup>7</sup> Doll 1981a: 31ff.; 1981b). Here the goddesses of the hours are standing in adoration. The text starts with the name of the hour followed by  $rs.tj ws'ir$  “Awake, Osiris ...”<sup>8</sup> followed by an address to the dead delivered by the hour introduced by  $č.t$  plus number of the hour.  $č.t$  is written like the noun for “body”. Instances of the goddess of the hour being called “body (ordinal number of the hour) of your son Horus” are known. “Body” apparently has the meaning of “embodiment”. On the night side, the counting of the hour comes after  $sbḥ.t$  “door” and the texts do not begin with a (female) hour’s name but with the name of a male god (even though women represent the hours as on the day side). The

- 5 Shortly before the manuscript was finished Cynthia Sheikholeslami found another very interesting Late period coffin: Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. APM 08898 according to the illustration given in <http://www.bubastis.be/art/musee/amsterdam/065.html> (Haarlem 1998: No. 8898). It is a fragment of a *qrsw*-coffin. On the exterior side of the vault there are compartments with 5 + x standing goddesses for the hours of the day with sun-disks on their heads, the hands raised in adoration. There is one column of text in front of each one of them. The (female) owner of the coffin, depicted at the right end of the fragment, greets them.
- 6 Lise (1979: 22) gives the inventory number E 1012. For photographs and the permission to publish my remarks I am very grateful to the curator in charge of the Raccolta Egizia, Dr. Anna Provenzali and to Sabrina Ceruti. The coffin was discussed by Luca Miatello at the Second Vatican Coffin Conference in June 2017 (“The regeneration of the body like the sun god in Pefitjauauiset’s coffin in Milan”), but I have not been able to access this presentation. For the bottom of the outer coffin, see <https://sketchfab.com/models/link/Milan> (reference from C. Sheikholeslami). The complete coffin was published by Miatello (2018) already after the author’s submission of a study of the interior of the lid for publication in ZÄS. The Milan-coffin and most of the coffins or sarcophagi mentioned in the following text are already mentioned *passim* in the footnotes of the article “Stundengötter” (Soukiassian 1986: 103).
- 7 Sabrina Ceruti drew my attention to this article.
- 8 Soukiassian rightly translates “Sois éveillé, Osiris N”, Doll (1981a; 1981b) always as “Be thou vigilant, Osiris ...”, erroneously taking the conventional determinative  literally.

texts end with a designation of a kind of oil, putting the texts of the Hours of the Night into a ritual context. There are even more texts in this time-frame, e.g., from a tomb at Atfieh (Daressy 1902: 171–175), where the “gods and goddesses, who are in their hours” are asked to protect the dead.

The Hours of the Day and the Night are evoked only partly using the names known from the Ritual of the Hours: inscriptions in a tomb (just mentioned) or sarcophagi Cairo CG 29305 (Maspero 1914: 166–168, Pl. 14) and Cairo CG 29315 (Maspero and Gauthier 1939: 85–88, Pl. 26). Cairo CG 29305 has the goddesses standing (sun-disks and stars on their heads), one arm lowered in front of the body, the other raised with the *ankh*-sign; on Cairo CG 29315, they are standing with a *was*-sceptre in one hand and the *ankh*-sign raised in the other. On the inner vault of the *grsw*-coffin Cairo CG 41009 (Moret 1913: 120–121, Pl. 15) the Hours of the Day and the Night are mentioned without their names, but with the goddesses standing in adoration (sun-disks or stars on their heads) and with the text “giving protection to (NN)”.<sup>9</sup> In the passage of the northern door of the eastern colonnade of the temple on Philae, standing goddesses of the night are shown without the numbering of the hours, only their names being added. Kockelmann and Winter see them as protective deities because of their position within a door-passage (Kockelmann and Winter 2016: No. 62, note 2). The same will be the case in the temple of Athribis.

Originally, hour names were written within three passages in the doorways of the central axis (Leitz, Mendel, and El-Masry 2010: I, XXVI–XXVII; XXX; XXXIV; II, 436, II, 476; III, 58, 117; Teotino 2017).

On the Ptolemaic sarcophagus of Panehemisis in Vienna ÄS 4 (Leitz 2011: § 22) ten hours of night belonging to the netherworld’s doors are represented with legends and additional figures of protective gods; two hours are lacking, although there is an empty space for them. The names of the doors and gods are mostly the same as on the coffin from Milan, but the sequence is inverted: at first the name of the door, then the one for the protective god. Both names for the Sixth Hour on Vienna ÄS 4 appear on Milan in the Seventh. Since the Seventh and Eight hours are missing from Vienna ÄS 4, there is no way of knowing which of the two is in error. There was no space left for the invocations like those on the Milan or Napatan sarcophagi. Nevertheless the same sort of ritual may stand behind all of them.

To conclude, it can be said that the names of the hours were very often used as a time frame without implying that the Rituals of the Hours of the Day or the Night were alluded to. As already underlined by Assmann (1986: 105–106), Soukiassian (1986: 102–103) and Teotino (2017: 473–480),<sup>10</sup> egyptologists should be careful to distinguish the different rituals based on an hourly frame.

Another ritual not yet mentioned here is the nightly Ritual for the Pro-

9 The First and Second Hours in the Day series were referred to mistakenly as being “of the night”.

10 This article was written before I could benefit from that of Carlo Teotino (2017). I am grateful to Alexandra von Lieven and Ken Griffin for bringing it to my attention. Teotino’s conclusions are very similar to mine.

tection of the King, published by Pries (2009). The mere presence of a phrase for protection does not imply a special ritual. The previously mentioned text from the Napatan sarcophagi (Soukiasian 1982: “veillées”) is not identical to the name-giving “Stundenwachen” (Junker 1910; Pries 2011). The pattern of hourly representations is quite different on the sarcophagus Cairo CG 29306 of  $\text{C}^3(j)\text{-hr.w-p}^3\text{-t}^3$  (Thirtieth Dynasty) (Maspero 1914: 238–239), the inner vault of its lid being inaccessible today, because of the lid being placed on wooden beams too short a distance above the trough. According to Maspero’s description there are male figures standing in adoration (four for the night, three for the day) and others who are squatting mummiform (eight and nine respectively). The standing male figures (day and night) have a sun-disk in place of their heads; the mummiform hours of the night have a star atop their heads and a sun-disk in front of their feet while the mummiform hours of the day have a sun-disk on their heads and a star in front of their feet. It seems that Maspero took all the squatting figures to be female. In the text, the nightly hours are called “hours”, the daily ones “gods”. There are similar figures on ceiling G of the tomb of Ramesses VI (Piankoff 1954/I: Fig. 139; II: Pls 178–180).

Another version of the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk on CG 29306 is written in the first upper register on the right wall of the sarcophagus cham-

ber of Ramesses VI (Piankoff 1954/II: Pls 113, 116; I: 332; 1953: 10, 32, texts IV.X, Pl. A; Roberson 2012: 442–446, Appendix 3, Pl. 8:21–22). Here the figures of the hours (only one series) are different: 12 standing women, their arms bent in front of their bodies and seeming to touch a star on top of the sign for “shadow”. Atop their heads they bear a sun-disk from which a trickle of dots runs down onto the hands of the woman behind. Their feet point in the opposite direction with regard to their faces, meaning that the hours are looking backwards towards the solar bark. In the CG 29306-version of the book, it is said that the “hours” (night) or “gods” (day) are leading the (sun)-god along the way of the west (night) in order to let him enter into his sun-disk (day). The representations and the texts differ in the details (see Roberson 2012: 59–63, 224–225<sup>11</sup>). The figures on the ceiling of corridor G in the tomb of Ramesses VI were compared by Manassa (2007/I: 397–403, 293–294) with those described by Maspero. However they belong with the so-called enigmatic texts studied by John C. Darnell (2004: 176–188, 212–223, Pls 21–24) and have no links to the Book of the Creation of the Solar Disk. The (male) figures having sun-disks as heads are described as gods protecting the hours; the female ones are goddesses depicted as representations of the hours being illuminated one by one and then covered by darkness after the sun-god has passed. Yet another recently uncovered text contains 12 invocations

11 On page 224 Roberson quotes the hours from the beginning of the text mistakenly, just as Piankoff did, as “hours of Re” (correctly without “Re” in the translation on page 442). The determinative  had been carelessly added by the ancient redactor after the determinative  to *wnw.wt*, interpreting it as *r.w* “Re” as is often the case in copies of the Ritual for the Hours of the Day.

Table 2. Structure of the texts of hours on the coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

Hour	wnwt	Number	Name	rn=ś	wnwt pw	ḥ <sup>c</sup> =ś n	Hymn
First	[√]	[√]	[√] + addition	√	√	–	√ N
Second	√	√	Addition + √	–	√	√	√ N
Third	√	[√]	√	√	–	√	√ N
Fourth	√	√	√	√	–	√	√ N
Fifth	√	√	–	–	–	√	√
Sixth	√	√	√	√	–	√	√ TN
Seventh	√	√	[√]	√	–	√	√ TN
Eight	√	√	√√	√	–	√	√ TN
Ninth	√	√	√	√	–	√	√ TN
Tenth	√	[√]	–	–	√	√	√ N
Elev-enth	√	[√}	√	–	√	–	√
Twelfth	√	[√]	√	–	√	√	√ N

Key:

[√] : element destroyed in this place,

– : missing element,

Hymn √ N: Hymn supposedly spoken by Nes(pa)qashuty,

Hymn √: Hymn without an agent,

Hymn √ TN: Hymn without an agent, but with good wishes for the deceased Nes(pa)qashuty at the end,

Hymn √: owner not mentioned in this hour's text.

to Osiris as a nocturnal sun-god (Quack 2012: 64–65). To sum up, representations of hours on late coffins and sarcophagi do not automatically refer to the Ritual of the Hours of the Day and the Night.

### Structure of texts of the Hours on the coffin of Nes(pa)qashuty

There was much less space available for the text on the coffins as compared to the pillars of varying size in the tombs [for the text structure, see *Table 2*].

Principally, the diverse versions of the Ritual of the Hours of the Day from Late Period tombs reveal the following structure: *wnwt* (“Hour”) – running ordinal number of the hour – *njt hrww* (“of the day”) – name – *rn=s* (“is her name”) – *wnwt pw njt* ... (explanation “it is the hour of ...”) – *ḥc=s n* (“she (the hour) is standing up for” = “she is standing for”) – hymn. The hymn is introduced as being spoken by the tomb owner (or perhaps to be sung by him?). For the most part it ends with good wishes for the deceased.

The phrase *ḥc=s n* = “she is standing for” deserves a short comment. It means that the goddess of the hour is a representative of the divine person whom she

stands for. The same form is used, too, for serpents and other animals (von Lieven 2004: 156–159, 160–162). For Alexandra von Lieven, the god evoked in this form is made visible and efficient in the serpent or the animal in question.

In another hour-text on the coffin Milan E 0.9.40147 (see above), the hour is sometimes called (when addressing Osiris): “body (ordinary number of the hour) of your son Horus”. Here “body” surely means “embodiment” (Soukiassian 1982: 343ff. “forme”). But the form *ḥc=s/f n* is not the only way to express a relation to a god, as the form “(animal) (god’s name) *pw*” expressing a complete identification and still “(animal) as *hpr.w* of (god’s name)” (von Lieven 2004: 160–162, taking *hpr.w* as “manifestation”) may also be used.

The data in *Table 2* do not suggest any reason for the individual deviations from the general scheme, especially for the names of the hours being left out in the Fifth and Tenth Hours, for using longer names in the First and Second Hours, or for having two names in the Eighth Hour (the second being introduced as a “variant”).

## REMARKS ON THE HYMNS

There are many alterations in the assignment of the hymns to hours. Differing hymns are indexed with the corresponding numbers of the hours [*Table 3:A*]. Even with the oldest version of the ritual known to us, the one of Hatshepsut, doubts exist as to whether the assignment of hymns to hours had not been disturbed long before in the course of the transmission of the ritual (the copyists did not

always recognise that a model text was written in a retrograde sequence of columns). For example, the Sixth Hour in the Hatshepsut version contains parts that belong, in later versions, to the Seventh Hour. It is not clear whether the mix is the result of different redactions (editions) or traditions from a time before or after Hatshepsut. It is evident that very early there was a divergence in the

Table 3. Affiliation of hymns to hours: A – hymns in the Eighteenth Dynasty and the Ptolemaic–Roman period, and B – hymns without change in affiliation to an hour (for the sigla referring to sources, see Table 1)

A – Affiliation of hymns to hours from the Eighteenth Dynasty through the Ptolemaic–Roman period							
Hour	Eighteenth Dynasty	Nineteenth Dynasty	Twentieth Dynasty	Twenty-first Dynasty	Twenty-fifth Dynasty	Twenty-sixth Dynasty	Ptolemaic–Roman period
4.1	H, Th				Kar	Pb, B, Sch,** Ps	E, D
4.2						Ne	
6.1	H,* Th					P, Ps, 7,1:Ne, 8:Pb	8:E, D
6.2					Kar	Pb, Sch**	E, D, Ar
7.1				N	Kar, M	Pb, Sch,** 6,1:Ne	E, D, Ar
7.2	H: 6,1					P, Ps	
7.3	H						
8.1	H					P, Ps, B	
8.2						Ne	
9.1					Kar	Pb, An	E, D, Ar
9.2	H, Th					P, Ps, B	
9.3						Ne	
11.1	H				10: Kar	P, Sch, Ps, B; 10: Pb, Ne	E, D, Ar
11.2					Kar	Pb, Sch, Ne	E, D
12.1	H	Nb	R	K**	A, Tb Af, Kar, Pad	Pb, P, Sch, Ps, B, Ne, Ta	E, D
12.2							E, D

\* The comment to the sixth hour is given within the seventh hour just before the hymn.  
 \*\* Sources K and Sch are still unpublished

B. Hymns without change in affiliation to an hour							
First	H	S, Nb	R		A, Kar	I, Pb, P, Ps, Ne	E, Ph, D, Ar
Second	H				Kar	Pb, P, Sch (2x), Ps, B, Ne, Pa	E, D, Ar, PStr2
Third					Kar	Pb, P, Sch, Ps, B, Ne	E, D
Fifth	H, Th				Kar	Pm, Pb, P, Ps, B, Ne	E, D
Tenth	H					P, Ps, B	

transmission of the hymns. This resulted in a varying assignment to hours, introduction of variants for the same hour, or placing a hymn into another hour. The mix of Sixth and Seventh Hours already existed in the ritual of Hatshepsut. Further displacements must have occurred during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty at the latest, but it is equally possible that they were already present in the time before Hatshepsut, as demonstrated by the three differing versions of the hymns for the Ninth Hour: 9,1 and 9,3 were not necessarily inventions of the Late Period.

*Table 3:B* shows the hours that, to date, do not show a change in their affiliation to an hour.

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**Three new hymns on the coffin of Nes(pa)kashuty**

The new hymn of the Fourth Hour is so badly preserved that, for the moment, no comment is possible. The one of the Eighth Hour is replete with puns of *ḥꜣy* “light”, “shine”, or *ḥꜣytj* “the one who is shining”. The new hymn of the Ninth Hour presents the sun-god as a child of the cow Mehenet-Weret and as a lord of *ḥwt-bik*, well equipped with his heart, his feathers and his wings.

**How to cite this article:**

Graefe, E. (2018). The Ritual of the Hours of the Day on the inner vault of the *grsw*-coffin of Nes(pa)kashuty from Deir el-Bahari. In Z. E. Szafrński (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 143–182). Warsaw: Warsaw University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3237>

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# The Ritual of the Hours of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty from Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** The *krsw*-coffins of Heresenes and the Priest of Montu Nespaqashuty were discovered within the memorial Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari by Émile Baraize during the winter of 1932–1933. The inner sides of the vaulted lids of these coffins are decorated with the *Ritual of the Hours*. While the coffin of Nespaqashuty contains the text of both the *Hours of the Day* and *Night*, only those of the *Night* are written on the coffin of Heresenes. In addition to the texts, depictions of the personifications of the hours were included. This paper discusses the *Hours of the Night* as found on both coffins, including a description of the decoration, the transliteration, translation, and commentary for each hour.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Heresenes, Hours of the Day, Hours of the Night, Nespaqashuty, Twenty-fifth Dynasty

The coffin of Heresenes, together with those of the priests of Montu Nespaqashuty and Padiamunet (iii), was discovered during the winter of 1932–1933 by Émile Baraize (Bruyère 1956; Sheikholeslami 2010). They lay within a shaft in front of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the same room that is inscribed with the *Ritual of the Hours* on the vaulted ceiling (PM II<sup>2</sup>: 361; Barwik 1998; Griffin 2017: 98; Naville 1901: Pls 114–116; Szafranski 2013: Fig. 11). The inner sides of the vaulted lids of these *krsw*-coffins are decorated with the *Ritual of the Hours*. For Heresenes, only the *Hours of the Night* were written, despite the personifications of both *Day* and *Night* hours being depicted. The text

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### **Acknowledgements**

Much of this paper was written while I was in residence at Wilkinson House, Luxor, during the summer of 2017. I am most indebted to Pearce Paul Creasman and the University of Arizona Egyptian Expedition for the use of the facilities at this time. Thanks are due to Zbigniew Szafrński, the director of the Polish–Egyptian Mission to the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, for inviting me to contribute to this volume. I am also grateful to Wojciech Wojciechowski for photographs of the coffin of Heresenes, kindly supplied by the Polish–Egyptian Mission, and to Cynthia Sheikholeslami for those of Nespaqashuty. Finally, I am indebted to Erhart Graefe, Meg Gundlach, Martina Minas-Nerpel, and Cynthia Sheikholeslami for reading drafts of this paper and for their input.

consists of the number of the hours, the names of the personifications, the deities whom they represent, and extracts of the *Book of the Dead* (Griffin 2017: 106–111). In the coffin of Nespaqashuty, both the *Hours of the Day* and *Night* were written, along with the depictions of the personifications, while on the coffin of Padiamunet, a much more simplified version was included, without the names of the hours or the texts accompanying them: the personifications of the hours are shown in sketched form and the texts, located between the figures, contain only the number of the hours followed by the name and varying titles of the deceased (Sheikholeslami 2010: 385, Fig. 2; 2014: 115, Fig. 6).

The purpose of this paper is to examine the *Ritual of the Hours of the Night* on the coffins of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty, with a general description of the coffins, including their decorative layout. The transliteration, translation, and commentary of the *Hours of the Night* on the two coffins are presented for the first time, drawing upon the parallel sources of the ritual,<sup>1</sup> restoring lacunae, and highlighting changes or alternative readings. Reconstructions of the texts of the hours are given [Figs 4–14], with the two versions presented together for the Third–Twelfth Hours. Finally, some general observations about the ritual are presented.

## HERESENES

The vaulted lid of the *krsw*-coffin belonging to Heresenes contains a figure of the goddess Nut stretched the length of the centre of the interior, with the *Hours of the Day* on the right side and the *Hours of the Night* on the left (Sheikholeslami 2010: Fig. 1). For the *Hours of the Day*, only the personifications of the hours were completed, in contrast to the *Hours of the Night* in which both personifications and text are present. The *Hours of the Night* are each presented over four to eight columns of text, written from right to left with cursive hieroglyphs.

Each hour is personified by a goddess, represented behind the texts and thus forming a natural division between the hours [Fig. 1]. Additionally, the personifications are named in the opening words of each hour (Griffin 2017: Table 6.2). They are arranged so that the First Hour of both the *Day* and *Night* were located at the head of the deceased, with the Twelfth Hours at the feet. This arrangement is otherwise only attested within the coffin of Nespaqashuty and the vaulted ceiling within the tomb of Menekhibnekau at Abusir, dating to

<sup>1</sup> While there are 21 sources for the *Hours of the Night*, only 15 contain parts of the introduction (Part A) and excerpts of the *Book of the Dead* (Part B). Aside from the versions on the coffins of Heresenes (Her) and Nespaqashuty (Nes), those of Hatshepsut, Karakhamun, Besenmut (CCG 41047), Namenekhpere (CCG 41010), Bakenrenet, Pabasa, Padihorresnet, Patjenefy, Psamtik, and Menekhibnekau were consulted. Those of Thutmosis III, Harwa, and Montuemhat are currently unavailable. For a preliminary report on the ritual and the sources, see Griffin 2017.

the end of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Griffin 2017: 103). The goddesses have slender figures and stand upright with their arms lowered along their bodies, and a five-pointed star atop their heads. They have yellow skin, tight-fitting red dresses, and black wigs. Additionally, bracelets, anklets, a collar, and a choker have been outlined, although none were internally painted [Fig. 2].

The *Hours of the Night* on the coffin of Heresenes are very well preserved, with only minor loss to the text at the top and bottom of some columns and the head of the personification of the Twelfth Hour missing. Despite this, nearly all of the text can be reconstructed based on parallel sources for the *Hours of the Night*. Modern restoration work is clearly visible along the tops of some columns.



Fig. 1. Hours of the Night on the coffin of Heresenes (PCMA Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos W. Wojciechowski; stitching K. Griffin)

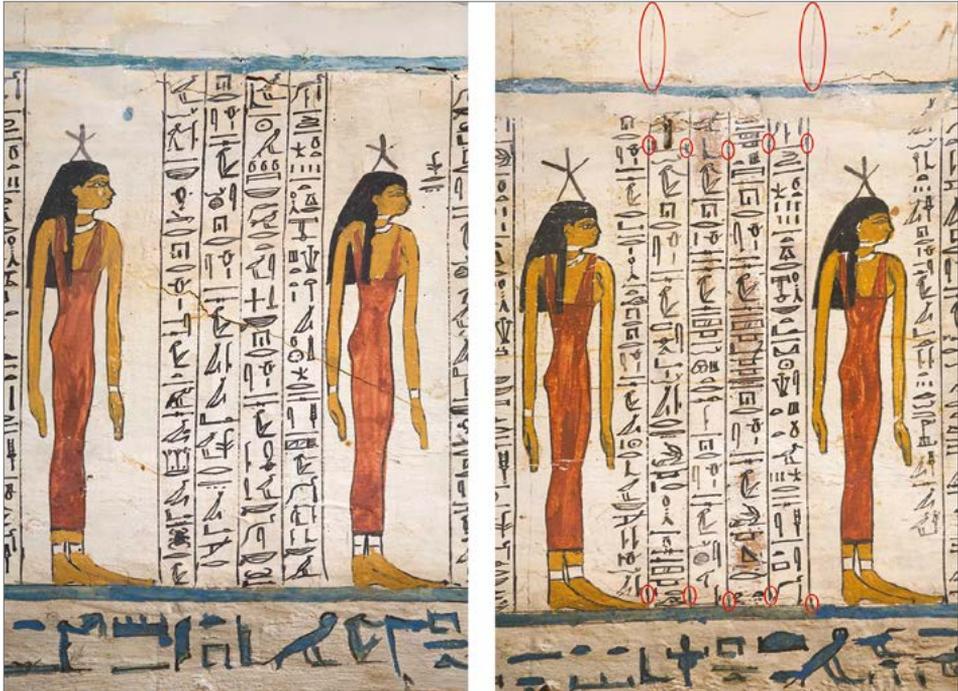


Fig. 2. Hours of the Night on the coffin of Heresenes: left, Fourth Hour of the Night and, right, Sixth Hour of the Night, in the latter case with guidelines highlighted in red (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos W. Wojciechowski; editing on right K. Griffin)

### Decoration Process

A close examination of the coffin lid vault helps to determine the decorative process, especially as the paint was often haphazardly applied on top of other layers. Thus, the following stages can be noted:

1. White background.
2. Black border lines at the top and bottom.
3. Black outline of the 12 goddesses, including facial details, wig filling, and the stars (black outline over border lines visible in the First Hour).
4. Five black column lines, creating four columns (column lines are visible over the outline of the goddesses in the Seventh Hour).
5. Black text and additional column lines, if necessary (text over column lines is visible in most hours).
6. Red dress of the goddess (red over the black outline of the goddesses is visible in most hours).
7. Yellow skin of the goddess (yellow over red is visible in most hours).
8. Blue filling of the border lines at the top and bottom (blue over yellow visible in the Second Hour).

Some further observations on the painting process can also be noted. Before the painter added the column lines (stage 4), small guide marks were added to the tops and bottoms of each to control the spacing. Similar guide marks

are attested in the Eighteenth Dynasty tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) (Díaz-Iglesias Llanos 2017: 179, Fig. 4) and the Twenty-fifth Dynasty tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) (Molinero Polo and Rodríguez Valls 2018). The painter would then use a tool, perhaps a rope/string, to draw straight lines between these markers. These lines actually continue on the centre of the lid—albeit partly erased—extending to the opposite side where the *Hours of the Day* were intended. Thus, each of the *Hours of the Day* and *Night* are equally distributed. In most cases, these markers are still visible, with the Sixth Hour being a particularly good example [Fig. 2 right].

When the yellow paint was added to the facial area, the details of the eye, mouth, nose, ear, and even the front outline of the face were painted over. Thus, the painter repainted the front outline of the faces for all hours, while also repainting the internal details in many cases. The bracelets, anklets, collar, and choker were not painted internally, although in several cases the painter was overzealous with his application of the yellow paint for the body so that some bracelets were covered over accidentally. Additionally, in the Eleventh Hour, the painter carelessly painted the collar and choker yellow before seemingly trying to erase the paint from the collar.

## NESPAQASHUTY

Nespaqashuty, the nephew of Padiamunet (iii), is identified throughout the *Hours of the Night* as the *it-ntr mry-ntr*, “the God’s Father, whom the god loves”. Only once, in the Sixth Hour, is he identified as the *hm-ntr Mntw nb W3st*, “Priest of Montu, Lord of Thebes”. As with the interior of the lid of the *krsw*-coffin of Heresenes, Nespaqashuty’s depicts the figure of the goddess Nut stretched the length of the centre, with the *Hours of the Day* on one side and the *Hours of the Night* on the other (for the latter, see Graefe 2018, in this volume). The text of each hour is written from right to left in cursive hieroglyphs and spans seven columns, with the final three columns being shorter in order to accommodate the depiction of the personifications. The only exception to this is with the Twelfth Hour, where the goddess is depicted between the shortened third and fourth columns. The wooden planks forming the lid of the coffin have suffered greatly from water damage, with the first two hours completely lost and only traces identifiable for the next two. The remaining hours are significantly damaged, with many hieroglyphs having faded as a result of the moisture. Additionally, lacunae are present because of surface flaking in the area where two cof-

fin planks meet. Some modern conservation work was undertaken on the coffin, including the addition of a metal band to hold the wooden panels together and new wooden posts in the four corners (see Graefe 2018, in this volume).

The entire composition is set on a white background. The thick column lines, along with the horizontal top and bottom lines, were originally outlined in black ink before being filled with blue. Due to degradation, the blue has changed to a dark green colour through a process well-known from elsewhere (Green 2001: 44; Lee and Quirke 2000: 110). The personifications of the hours appear as slender figures, standing upright with their arms lowered along their bodies, and a five-pointed star atop their heads. They have green skin, a tight-fitting red dress, and a blue wig. Like the column lines, the wig has changed to a dark green tone for most of the figures. While the collars were drawn in black ink, they were all painted over by the green pigment used for the skin. The stars on their heads are yellow with a small red circle in the centre. Water damage is visible throughout, which has also contributed to the colour transformation [Fig. 3].



Fig. 3. Ninth Hour of the Night on the coffin of Nespaqashuty (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami, editing K. Griffin)

### TEXT OF THE HOURS OF THE NIGHT

The complete text of the *Hours of the Night* consists of three distinct parts: introduction to the text (Part A); excerpts of the *Book of the Dead* (Part B); Hour-Watch hymn (part C). In the coffins of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty, only the first two parts are written (Griffin 2017: 108–112). In the translations pre-

sented below, the deceased is rendered genderless to reflect the parallel sources, even in the first two hours in which the text of Nespaqashuty is completely destroyed. In the textual reconstructions provided [Figs 6–11], hieroglyphs that have faded and are only partly visible appear in a lighter shade.

#### First Hour of the Night

The First Hour of the Night [Fig. 4 left] consists of BD 22 (lines 1–4) followed by BD 56 (lines 5–8). BD 22 gives the deceased her/his mouth in order to speak in the underworld while BD 56 provides air for breathing (Griffin 2017: 115).

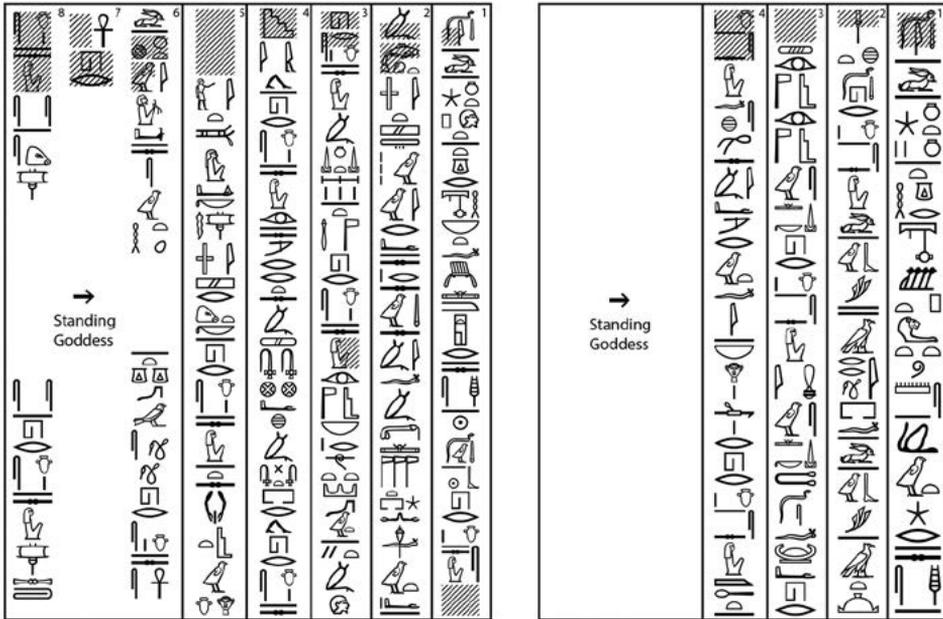


Fig. 4. First (left) and Second (right) Hours of the Night on the coffin of Nespaqashuty (All reconstructions K. Griffin)

## Text

<sup>(1)</sup>*dd-mdw-in wnw-tpyt-nt-grh Nbt-ḥw-m-  
wsh̄t rn.s ḥ̄.s n̄ R̄*

*dd-mdw*

*wbn Hr.s-n.s<sup>4</sup> <sup>(2)</sup>m [swḥ]t imt <ḫ> ḥtḥw*

*iw rdi<sup>5</sup> n.s r.s mdw.s im.f*

*m-bḥ ntrw-dwḥt*

*n ḥsf.tw ḥ n <sup>(3)</sup>[Hr].s-n.s m dḥdḥt nt ntr̄ ḥ<sup>3</sup>*

*Hr.s-n.s Wsir nb R-sḥw*

*nw nty m tp <sup>(4)</sup>[ḥtyw.f]*

*ii.n Hr.s-n.s ir.n.s mr̄rt.s*

*m iw nsrsr ḥm sdt pr Hr.s-n.s*

<sup>(5)</sup>[...] <sup>8</sup> i Tm di.k ḥw ndm imy ḥrt.k n Hr.s-  
n.s

*nts sh̄n st tw<y> ḥr<t> -ib <sup>(6)</sup>Wn[w]*

*i[w] s3.n.s swḥt nt <N>gg-wr*

*rwd.s rwd Hr.s-n.s*

*ḥn̄.s <sup>(7)</sup>ḥn̄ [Hr<sup>(8)</sup>.s-n.s]*

*ssn.s ḥw ssn Hr.s-n.s ḥw ts-phr*

Recitation by the First Hour of the Night,<sup>1</sup>  
“the Mistress of Magnificence in the Hall”<sup>3</sup>  
is her name, she stands for Re.

Recitation:

May NN rise from the egg that is in the land of  
mysteries.

Her/his mouth is given to her/him, so that  
(s)he may speak with it,

in the presence of the gods of the Under-  
world.<sup>6</sup>

NN cannot be repelled from the tribunal of the  
Great God,

for NN is Osiris, Lord of Resetjau,

this one who is on top of his dias.

NN has come, (s)he has done what (s)he  
wished,

in the Island of Fire, and extinguishes the fire  
as NN goes forth.

O Atum, grant the sweet air that is in your  
nostrils to NN.

(S)he is the one who embraces that place in  
the midst of *Wenu*.

(S)he has guarded the egg of the Great  
Cackler.<sup>10</sup>

As it is firm, so NN is firm.

As it lives, so NN lives.

As it breathes air, so NN breathes air, and vice  
versa.

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the First Hour of the Night, see *LGG* II: 397c–398a.

<sup>2</sup> For the *ḥꜥ.s n X*-deity formula, see the discussion by Graefe (2018, in this volume).

<sup>3</sup> *Nbt-f3w-m-wsht* is not attested in the *LGG*. See, however, *LGG* IV: 59a–b for the epithet *nbt-f3w*, “die Herrin des Ansehens”, which is also the beginning of the name for the personification of the Eleventh Hour of the Night.

<sup>4</sup> The sign at the end of the first line is unknown. Given that there is nothing missing from the text, this would suggest either a seated determinative, although one already seems to have been written, or *mꜣꜥ-hrw*.

<sup>5</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>6</sup> In BD 22, the most common writing at this point is *m-b3ḥ ntr nb dw3t*, “in the presence of every god of the Underworld” (Neville 1886: 84; Quirke 2013: 82). However, the *ntrw-dw3t*, “gods of the Underworld” are attested in all versions of the First Hour of the Night. They also occur in BD 22 of Nebseni (P. BM EA 9900) (Lapp 2004: Pl. 13). For the *ntrw-dw3t*, see *LGG* IV: 553a–b.

<sup>7</sup> The lacuna does not seem to allow for *htyw.f*, “his dias”, as attested in the

versions of Karakhamun and Besenmut. Perhaps the pronoun was omitted, as with the version of Hatshepsut.

<sup>8</sup> The signs in the two cadrats at the beginning of line five are unclear. The first appears to be a bird, with only the feet and tail-feathers preserved. The sign(s) in the second cadrat are indeterminate. Since BD 22 finishes at the end of line four and BD 56 only begins after these two cadrats, a reconstruction of these signs based on parallels is not possible. Also worth noting are traces of signs beneath the hieroglyphs in the first third of line five, perhaps evidence of the scribe correcting a mistake or amending the spacing.

<sup>9</sup> The writing of *swht* has been squeezed in directly in front of the face of the goddess, thus making it difficult to read clearly.

<sup>10</sup> The determinative used in the word *ngg* resembles that of U19 (  ) in place of the regular G39 (  ). While this could be interpreted as a hieratic inclusion, the quartzite statue of Khaemwaset (BM EA 947) also contains the writing with U19 (*KRI* II: 889. 10; Bierbrier 1982: Pl. 35 [B4]). For *Ngg-wr*, see *LGG* IV: 367a–b.

## Second Hour of the Night

The text [Fig. 4 right] contains the final invocation of BD 71, consisting of a divine order to Osiris (Griffin 2017: 115).

## Text

<sup>(1)</sup>[*dd-mdw*]-in *wnwt-sn-nwt-nt-grh Šspt-  
ḥ3t-smn<|>-phwt rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s n* <sup>(2)</sup>*Shmt*

*dd-mdw*

*Hr.s-n.s wnb n N-3r:f n<bḥ> {wnbw}<sup>3</sup> n 3t*  
<sup>(3)</sup>[*imnt*]<sup>4</sup>

<*in*><sup>5</sup> *Wsir*

*Wsir*

*swd3.k Hr.s-n.s mi swd3.k t<w> ds. {f}<k><sup>6</sup>*

*wh<sup>c</sup> Hr.[s-n.s]*

*sfḥ s<y>*

<*imi sy r t3*><sup>7</sup>

*imi mrwt. {f}<s><sup>8</sup> in Nb-ḥr-w<sup>c</sup> r Hr.s-n.s*  
*m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw tn*

Recitation by the Second Hour of the Night,<sup>1</sup>  
“the Holder of the Prow and Stern Ropes”<sup>2</sup> is  
her name, she stands for Sekhmet.

Recitation:

NN is the flower of *Naref*, the lotus of the  
mound of the hidden place.

So says Osiris.

Osiris!

Make NN well, as you make your own self  
well.

“Release NN!

Unite her/him!

Put her/him on the ground!

Spread the love of her/him!” So says the Lord  
of the One Face<sup>9</sup> concerning this NN.

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the Second Hour of the Night, see  
*LGG* II: 397b.

<sup>2</sup> For the personification of the Second  
Hour, see *LGG* VII: 118a–b.

<sup>3</sup> The word *wbnw*, “flower”, has been  
repeated here, although usually it should  
read as *nbnh*, “lotus”, as is the case with  
the other parallel versions of the Sec-  
ond Hour of the Night. The presence of  
the *n* before the word suggests that the  
scribe intended to write *nbnh* before er-  
roneously writing *wbnw*, perhaps having  
been influenced by the determinative M2  
() , which is used in both words.

<sup>4</sup> The word *imnt*, “hidden place”, is  
destroyed here, although the determina-  
tive of an island with diagonal strokes

() survives. The missing cadrat  
likely contained the sign , although  
 is also possible.

<sup>5</sup> Hatshepsut’s version is the only one  
to include the full writing of *in Wsir*,  
which is common in BD 71.

<sup>6</sup> While *ds.f*, “himself”, is clearly writ-  
ten, this is evidently an error for *ds.k*,  
“yourself”, as used in the parallel sources.

<sup>7</sup> The phrase *imi sy r t3*, “put her on the  
ground”, has been omitted by the scribe.  
Perhaps the scribe lost his place while  
transferring the text, particularly since  
the next section also begins with *imi*.

<sup>8</sup> Read  instead of .

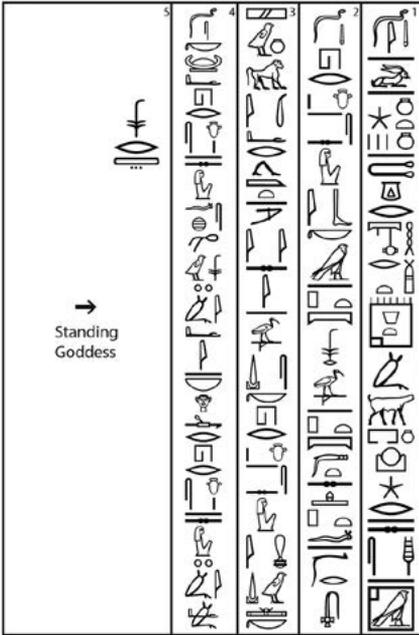
<sup>9</sup> For *Nb-ḥr-w<sup>c</sup>*, see *LGG* III: 701a.

**Third Hour of the Night**

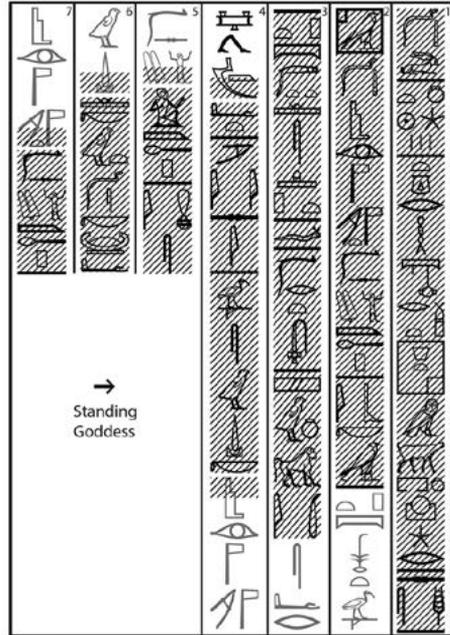
The text of the Third Hour [Fig. 5] contains the third invocation of BD 71, which includes the deceased being proclaimed as the falcon in the southern sky, and an invocation to Thoth (Griffin 2017: 115–116).

**Text**

<b>Her</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>dd-mdw-in wnw-t-hmt-nwt-n&lt;▷-grḥ ʿprt-wšḥt-m-hnw-&lt;n&gt;-ḥt rn.s ʿhʿ.s n Ḥwt-Ḥr</i>	Recitation by the Third Hour of the Night, <sup>1</sup> “the One Who Equips the Hall in the Middle of the Horizon” <sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for Hathor.
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> [...]	
<b>Her</b>	<sup>(2)</sup> <i>dd-mdw</i>	Recitation:
<b>Nes</b>	[...]	
<b>Her</b>	<i>Hr.s-n.s bik n pt<sup>4</sup> rst</i>	“NN is the falcon in the southern sky,
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(2)</sup> [... bik n] pt rst	
<b>Her</b>	<i>Dḥwty n pt<sup>3</sup> mḥt&lt;▷</i>	Thoth in the northern sky.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>Dḥwty</i> <sup>(3)</sup> [n pt mḥtt]	



Heresenes



Nespaqashuty

Fig. 5. Third Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Her</b>	<i>sh̄tp.&lt;n&gt;.{f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>5</sup> nsrt<sup>(3)</sup> &lt;n&gt;šnw.ti</i>	(S)he has pacified the fiery goddess in her rage,
<b>Nes</b>	[...]	
<b>Her</b>	<i>&lt;s&gt;<sup>c</sup>r m3<sup>c</sup>t n mry s&lt;y&gt;</i>	and raises <i>maat</i> to the one who loves her.”
<b>Nes</b>	<i>s<sup>c</sup>r<sup>(4)</sup>m3<sup>c</sup>[t n mry sy</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>in Dhwtj</i>	So says Thoth.
<b>Nes</b>	[...]	
<b>Her</b>	<i>&lt;Dhwtj&gt;<sup>6</sup></i>	O Thoth!
<b>Nes</b>	[...]	
<b>Her</b>	<i>swd3.k Hr.s-n.s mi &lt;s&gt;wd3.k &lt;tw&gt;<sup>(4)</sup>ds.k</i>	Make NN well, as you make your own self well.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>[sw3d.k] Wsir &lt;it&gt;-ntr mry-ntr <sup>(5)</sup>Ns-&lt;p3&gt;-k3-šwty [m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn mi s]<sup>(6)</sup> wd3.[k tw ds.k</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>wh<sup>c</sup> Hr.s-n.s</i>	“Release NN!
<b>Nes</b>	<i>wh<sup>c</sup>]<sup>(7)</sup>Wsir [it]-ntr mry-ntr [Ns-p3-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn]</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>sfh {sw}&lt;sy&gt;<sup>7</sup></i>	Unite her/him!
<b>Her</b>	<i>imi &lt;mrwt.s&gt; in Nb-hr-w<sup>c</sup> r Hr.s-n.s</i>	Spread the love of her/him!” So says the Lord of the One Face concerning NN.
<b>Her</b>	<i>imi<sup>(5)</sup> {sw}&lt;sy&gt;<sup>8</sup> r t3</i>	Put her/him on the ground!

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see LGG II: 395c.

<sup>2</sup> For the name of the personification, see LGG II: 590a.

<sup>3</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>4</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>5</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>6</sup> *Dhwtj*, “Thoth”, has been carelessly omitted by the scribe, who perhaps lost his place in his original manuscript due to the phrase *in Dhwtj*, “by Thoth”, directly before.

<sup>7</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>8</sup> Read  instead of .

**Fourth Hour of the Night**

The Fourth Hour of the Night [Figs 2 left, 6] contains the first invocation of BD 71, with the “Falcon Rising from Nun” invoked this time (Griffin 2017: 116–117).

**Text**

<b>Her</b>	<p><sup>(1)</sup><i>dd-mdw-in wnw-t-fdw-nwt-nt-grh</i>  <i>H3pt-šwt-m-Iwnw rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s n Si3</i></p>	<p>Recitation by the Fourth Hour of the Night,<sup>1</sup> “the One Who Conceals the Shadow in Heliopolis”<sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for Sia.</p>
<b>Nes</b>	<p><sup>(1)</sup><i>dd-mdw-&lt;in&gt;<sup>3</sup> wn[wt-fdw-nwt-nt-grh</i>  <i>H3pt-šwt-m-Iwnw rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s] <sup>(2)</sup>n Si3</i></p>	
<b>Her</b>	<p><i>dd-mdw</i></p>	<p>Recitation:</p>
<b>Nes</b>	<p><i>dd-mdw</i></p>	
<b>Her</b>	<p><i>i Bik-<sup>(2)</sup>wbn-m-nwn Nb-Mḥ&lt;ṯ&gt;-wrt</i></p>	<p>O Falcon Rising from Nun,<sup>4</sup> Lord of the Great Flood,<sup>5</sup></p>
<b>Nes</b>	<p><i>[i] Bik-wb[n]-m-nwn [Nb-Mḥt-wrt</i></p>	

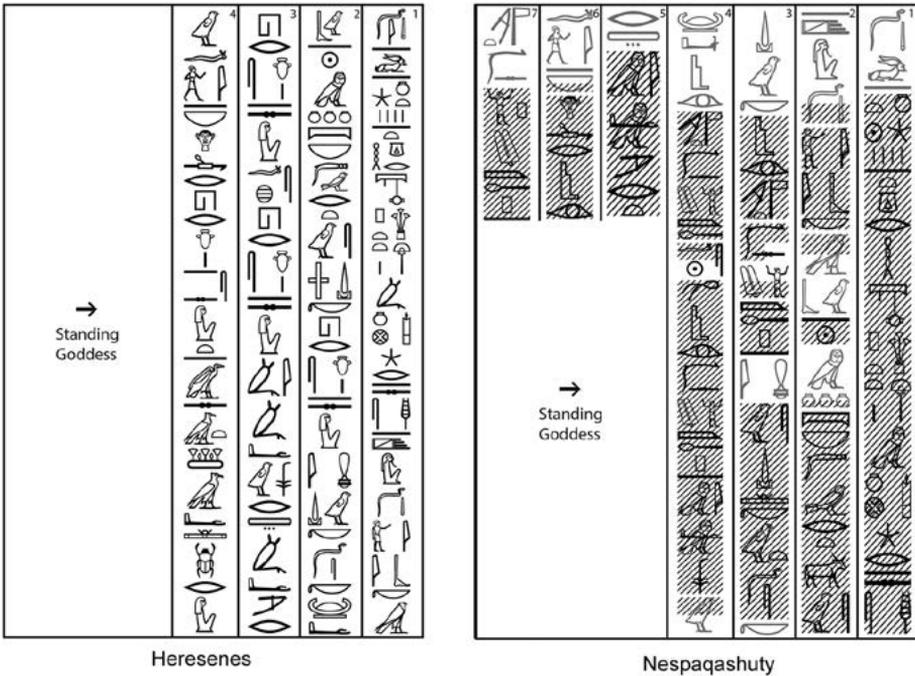


Fig. 6. Fourth Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Her</b>	<i>swd3<sup>6</sup>.k Hr.s-n.s mi &lt;s&gt; wd3.k</i> <i>&lt;tw&gt; ds.k</i>	make NN well, as you make your own self well.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>sw<sup>(9)</sup>d3.k [Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr</i> <i>N]s-&lt;p3&gt;-k3-šwty [m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn]</i> <i>mi [swd3.k tw ds].k</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>wh<sup>c</sup> (9)Hr.s-n.s</i>	“Release NN!
<b>Nes</b>	<i>(4)wh<sup>c</sup> Wsir [it-ntr mry-ntr</i> <i>Ns-p3-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw]</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>sḥ Hr.s-n.s</i>	Unite NN!
<b>Nes</b>	<i>s[ḥ]ḥ<sup>7</sup> [Wsir<sup>8</sup> Ns-p3-k3-šwty</i> <i>m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>imi {sw}&lt;sy&gt;<sup>9</sup> r t3</i>	Put her/him on the ground!
<b>Nes</b>	<i>imi s]w (9)r t3</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>&lt;i&gt;mi mr<sup>(4)</sup>w&lt;t&gt;. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>10</sup> in</i> <i>Nb-hr-w<sup>c</sup> r Hr.s-n.s tn</i>	Spread the love of her/him!” So says the Lord of the One Face concerning this NN.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>[imi mrwt]<sup>(6)</sup>.f in Nb-[hr-w<sup>c</sup> r Wsir]</i> <i>(9)it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-[p3-k3-šwty</i> <i>m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn]</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>mwt.s T3-š3<sup>c</sup>-ḥpr<sup>11</sup></i>	Her mother, Tashakheper.

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see *LGG* II: 393c–394a.

<sup>2</sup> For the name of the personification, see *LGG* V: 25c.

<sup>3</sup> While the version of Nespaqashuty only has *dd-mdw*, “recitation”, I restore *dd-mdw-in*, “words spoken by”, throughout, based on the parallel sources. See, however, Graefe 2018, in this volume.

<sup>4</sup> For *Bik-wbn-m-nwn*, see *LGG* II: 763a–b.

<sup>5</sup> For *Nb-Mḥt-wrt*, see *LGG* III: 648c.

<sup>6</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>7</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>8</sup> There does not appear to be enough space for the full complement of titles, as is usually written.

<sup>9</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>10</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>11</sup> This is the only place in the *Hours of the Night* of Heresenes in which one of the parents is listed, directly following the name of the coffin owner. For the family of Heresenes, see Sheikholeslami 2018, in this volume.

**Fifth Hour of the Night**

The text of this hour [Fig. 7] contains of the first litany of BD 68, which revolves around the deceased having power over her/his body and enemies (Griffin 2017: 117).

**Text**

<b>Her</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>dd-mdw-in wnw-t-dwi-nwt-nt-grh</i> <i>Šspt-itnt-spdt rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s n Hnm{t}&lt;w&gt;</i>	Recitation by the Fifth Hour of the Night, <sup>1</sup> “the One Who Brightens the Sun-disc and the Sopdet-star” <sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for Khnum.
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>dd-mdw-&lt;in&gt; wnw-t-[dwi-nwt-nt-gr]h</i> <i>Šspt-itnt-spdt [rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s n] Hnmw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	Recitation:
<b>Nes</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	

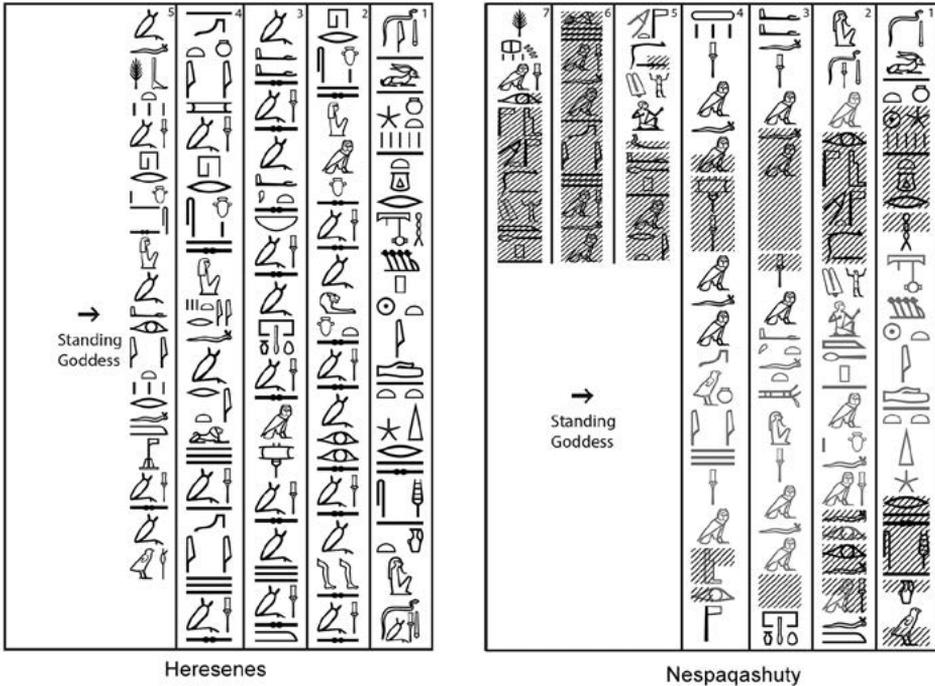


Fig. 7. Fifth Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm</i> <sup>(2)</sup> <i>Hr.s-n.s m ib.s</i>	NN has power over her/his heart.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>šhm</i> [ <i>Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p3</i> ]- <i>k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn m ib.f</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s m h3ty.s</i>	(S)he has power over her/his fore-heart.
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s m irwy.s</i>	(S)he has power over her/his eyes.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>šhm.[f] &lt;m&gt; [irwy.f]</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s m rdwy.s</i>	(S)he has power over her/his legs.
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s</i> <sup>(3)</sup> <i>m ʕwy.s</i>	(S)he has power over her/his arms.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>šh]m.f m</i> <sup>(3)</sup> <i>ʕwy.f</i>	
<b>Nes</b>	<i>šhm[.f m ...f]</i> <sup>3</sup>	(S)he has power over her/his [...].
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s m ʕwt.s nb&lt;t&gt;</i>	(S)he has power over all her/his limbs
<b>Nes</b>	<i>šhm&lt;.f m&gt;</i> <sup>ʕwt.f tm</sup> <sup>4</sup>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s m prt-hrw</i>	(S)he has power over voice offerings.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>šhm.f m prt-hrw</i> <sup>5</sup>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s m ʔw</i>	(S)he has power over air.
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(4)</sup> <i>šhm.f m [ʔw]</i> <sup>6</sup>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s m mw</i>	(S)he has power over water.
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm.s m</i> <sup>(4)</sup> <i>nwyʔ</i>	(S)he has power over waves.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>[šh]m.f m nwy&lt;t&gt;</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>šhm Hr.s-n.s {itrw.f} m itrw</i>	NN has power over the river.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>šhm Wsir</i> <sup>(5)</sup> <i>it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-&lt;p3&gt;-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-[hrw pn m</i> <sup>(6)</sup> <i>itrw</i> <sup>8</sup>	

Her	<i>šhm. {n}&lt;s&gt;<sup>9</sup> &lt;m&gt; nwy</i>	(S)he has power over floodwaters.
Nes	<i>šhm.f m nwy</i>	
Her	<i>šhm.s <sup>(5)</sup>m {f} bt<sup>10</sup></i>	(S)he has power over emmer.
Nes	<i>šhm.f m] <sup>(7)</sup>bt</i>	
Her	<i>šhm Hr:s-n.s m {<sup>c</sup>} irtw r: {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>11</sup> m hrt-ntr</i>	NN has power over the ones who act against her/him in the realm of the dead.
Nes	<i>šhm [Ws]ir it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p3-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn]<sup>12</sup></i>	
Her	<i>šhm.s m wḏw &lt;irt r.s tp t3&gt;<sup>13</sup></i>	(S)he has power over the decrees made against her/him on earth.

### Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see *LGG* II: 398b–c.

<sup>2</sup> For the personification of the Hour, see *LGG* VI: 617b.

<sup>3</sup> The object of the sentence is destroyed in Nespaqashuty's version. It is likely that it was originally *rdwy*, "legs", which often appear after *rwy*, "arms" in BD 68, although never in the Fifth Hour of the Night.

<sup>4</sup> Only Hatshepsut's and Nespaqashuty's versions use *tm*, "all", in favour of *nbt*, "all", which appears in the other sources. Additionally, the divine determinative (  ) used in Nespaqashuty's version is clearly an error.

<sup>5</sup> There are one or two unidentified signs occupying the cadrat directly in front of the writing of *pṛt-hrw*, the first of which is possibly a forearm (  ). In any case, they do not change the reading of the passage.

<sup>6</sup> Alternatively, the object here could be *mw*, "water", which appears in the next

sentence of the parallel sources but is otherwise omitted in Nespaqashuty's version.

<sup>7</sup> I take this to read as *nwy*t, "water"; "flood"; "wave" (*Wb* II: 221. 14–19) as opposed to *nwy*, "water"; "waters"; "flood", "floodwater" (*Wb* II: 221. 3–13), which appears later in the Fifth Hour. The slightly different readings would thus explain why a seemingly otherwise redundant *nwy* occurs twice in this text. While both sentences always appear in the Fifth Hour, only one seems to occur in BD 68 (Lapp 2011: 258–259).

<sup>8</sup> While a reading of *itrw* is certain based on parallels, the entire line is covered by a metal band, which was used by the conservators to hold the coffin planks together.

<sup>9</sup> Read  instead of  .

<sup>10</sup> The word *wḏbw*, "riverbanks", usually occurs here in BD 68 (Lapp 2011: 260–261). In the Fifth Hour, however, *wḏbw* is only found in Hatshepsut's version, with the others clearly having *bt/bdt*, "emmer". Since emmer seems out

of context with the rest of the text, it is possible that the word was corrupted over time due to the transmission of the text in hieratic, especially since the beginning of the word for riverbanks (𓂏𓂑) closely resembles the writing of emmer (𓂏𓂑). Nevertheless, in Nespaqashuty's version, the determinative used is that of a corn-measure with grain pouring out

(𓂏𓂑), supporting the reading of emmer.

<sup>11</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>12</sup> There is not enough space for the concluding words to have been used here.

<sup>13</sup> The concluding phrase *irt r.s tp t3*, “made against her on earth”, has been omitted, despite there being sufficient space to include it.

## Sixth Hour of the Night

The Sixth Hour [Figs 2 right, 8] contains the introduction to BD 68, which describes various doors being opened for the deceased, including those of the sky and the earth (Griffin 2017: 117).

### Text

<b>Her</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>dd-mdw-in wnw-t-sis-nwt-nt-grh</i> <i>Nbt-εndw-sh3pt-b3w rn.s εh<sup>c</sup>.s n Stš</i>	Recitation by the Sixth Hour of the Night, <sup>1</sup> “Mistress of the Dawn Who Conceals <i>Bas</i> ” <sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for Seth.
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>dd-mdw-&lt;in&gt; wnw-t-[sis-nwt-nt-gr]h</i> <i>Nbt-εndw-sh3p&lt;t&gt;-b3w rn.s <sup>(2)</sup>εh<sup>c</sup>.s n Stš</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	Recitation:
<b>Nes</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<sup>(2)</sup> <i>wn ε3wy pt n Hr.s-n.s</i>	The doors of the sky are open for NN.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>wn [ε3wy pt] n Wsir hm-ntr Mnt&lt;w&gt; nb</i> <i>W3st Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>snš ε3wy t3 n Hr.s-n.s</i>	The doors of the earth are parted for NN.
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(3)</sup> <i>snš n.f<sup>3</sup> ε3wy t3</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>wn k&lt;3&gt;rt <sup>(3)</sup>Gb n Hr.s-n.s</i>	The door bolts of Geb are open for NN.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>wn k3r]t Gb n Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr</i> <i>Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty <sup>(4)</sup>m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn</i>	

<b>Her</b>	<i>snš n. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>4</sup> tp<sup>5</sup> ptrwy<sup>6</sup></i>	The top of the openings (in the sky) are parted for her/him.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>snš [n.f tp ptrwy]</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>in Hr.s-n.s sfti &lt;s&gt;<sup>7</sup></i>	NN is the one who releases <her/himself>,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>i[n] Wsir &lt;it&gt;-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw [pn]<sup>(5)</sup>sfti sw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>in <sup>(4)</sup>Mr-<sup>c</sup>f &lt;im&gt; Hr.s-n.s</i>	(from) the One who fastens his arm <sup>8</sup> on NN,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>in [Mr-<sup>c</sup>f im] Ws<sup>(6)</sup>[ir] it-ntr mry-ntr Ns- [p3-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw]<sup>(7)</sup>pn</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>sB<sup>9</sup> <sup>c</sup>.{f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>10</sup> im&lt;.s&gt; r t3</i>	and drags her/his arm from her/him to the ground.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>sB <sup>c</sup>.f[im.f r t3]</i>	

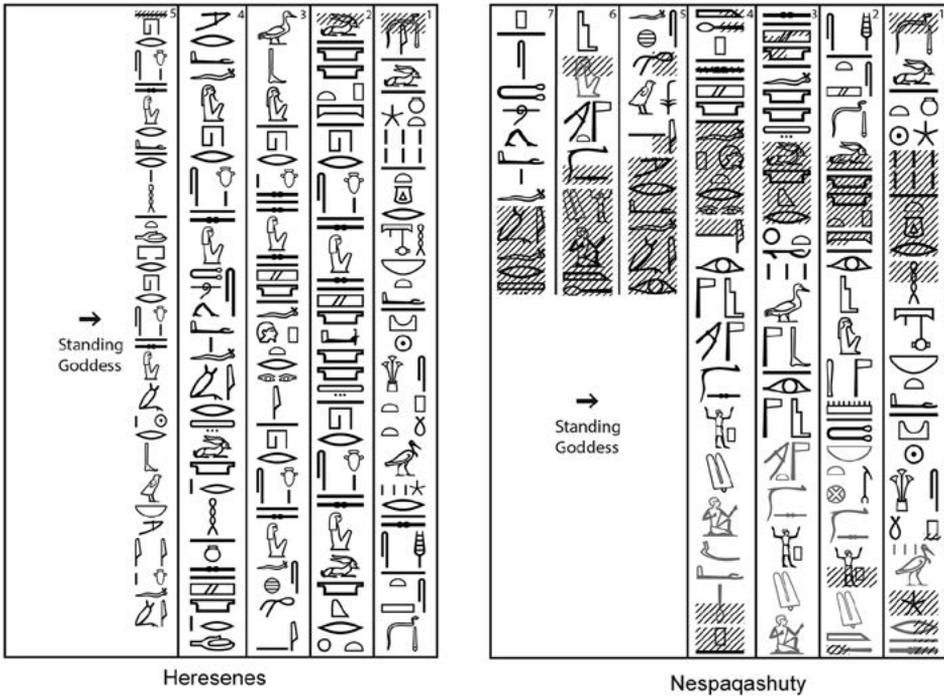


Fig. 8. Sixth Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Her</b>	<i>wn r Hnt</i>	The mouth of the pelican-goddess <sup>11</sup> is open.
<b>Her</b>	<i>snš r Hnt</i> <sup>(9)</sup> [ <i>n</i> ] <i>Hr.s-n.s</i>	The mouth of the pelican-goddess is parted for NN.
<b>Her</b>	<i>rdi</i> <sup>12</sup> . <i>n r Hnt pr Hr.s-n.s m hrw</i> <i>r bw nb mry.</i> { <i>f</i> }< <i>s</i> > <sup>13</sup> <i>im</i>	The mouth of the pelican-goddess has caused that NN go out by day to anywhere (s)he wishes to be.

**Commentary**

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see *LGG* II: 396a–b.

<sup>2</sup> For the personification of the Hour, see *LGG* IV: 27c; VI: 448b.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the deceased is omitted here and in the version of Patjenefy.

<sup>4</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>5</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>6</sup> This section is somewhat problematic. In BD 68, the sentence regularly reads as *sn n.i tp-hwt ptr*, “the roof and the looking-god are parted for me” (Lapp 2011: 246–247; Quirke 2013: 166). However, the word *hwt* is absent in all the parallel versions of the Sixth Hour. Additionally, the word *ptr* has the determinative of eyes (  ) rather than a divine determinative identifying the “looking-god” (*LGG* III: 167a–b), as occurs in BD 68. It is therefore more likely that the word refers to the openings in the sky, through which light filters (*Wb* I: 565. 1–2).

<sup>7</sup> In BD 68, this section usually reads as in *sšw NN sfti sw*, “the guard is the one who releases her/him” (Lapp 2011: 246–247). In the parallel versions of the Sixth Hour, *sšw*, “guard”, is also absent in the texts of Nespaqashuty, Namenekhpape, and Patjenefy, although it is present in Hatshepsut, Karakhamun, Pabasa, and Padihorresnet. The restored pronoun *sy is* based on Hatshepsut’s version, with *sw* used in those of Nespaqashuty and Patjenefy.

<sup>8</sup> For *Mr-<sup>c</sup>f*, see *LGG* III: 328b.

<sup>9</sup> In BD 68, the verb used at this point is *sti*, “to shoot”; “to throw” (Lapp 2011: 248–249), while in all versions of the Sixth Hour, the verb is clearly *stb*, “to drag”, “to pull”.

<sup>10</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>11</sup> For the pelican-goddess *Hnt*, see *LGG* V: 158b-c  

<sup>12</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>13</sup> Read  instead of .

**Seventh Hour of the Night**

The Seventh Hour of the Night [Fig. 9] consists of BD 74, with the deceased described as ascending to the sky and climbing on the sunlight (Griffin 2017: 117–118).

**Text**

<b>Her</b>	<p><sup>(1)</sup><i>dd-mdw-in wnw-t-sfh-nt-grh</i>  <sup>(2)</sup><i>H3pt-kk&lt;w&gt; rn.s h̄c.s n Hnsw</i></p>	<p>Recitation by the Seventh Hour of the Night,<sup>1</sup> “the One Who Conceals the Darkness”<sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for Khonsu.</p>
<b>Nes</b>	<p><sup>(1)</sup><i>dd-mdw-&lt;in&gt; wnw-t-sfh-[nt-grh]</i>  <sup>(2)</sup><i>H3[p]t-kk&lt;w&gt; rn.s h̄c.s n Hnsw</i></p>	
<b>Her</b>	<p><i>dd-mdw</i></p>	<p>Recitation:</p>
<b>Nes</b>	<p><i>dd-mdw Ws[ir] it-ntr mry-ntr</i>  <i>Ns-[p3-k3-swtj m3c-hrw] pn<sup>3</sup></i></p>	
<b>Her</b>	<p><i>ir.k irrt.k<sup>(a)</sup> Skr sp-sn</i></p>	<p>May you do your deeds, Sokar! May you do your deeds, Sokar!</p>

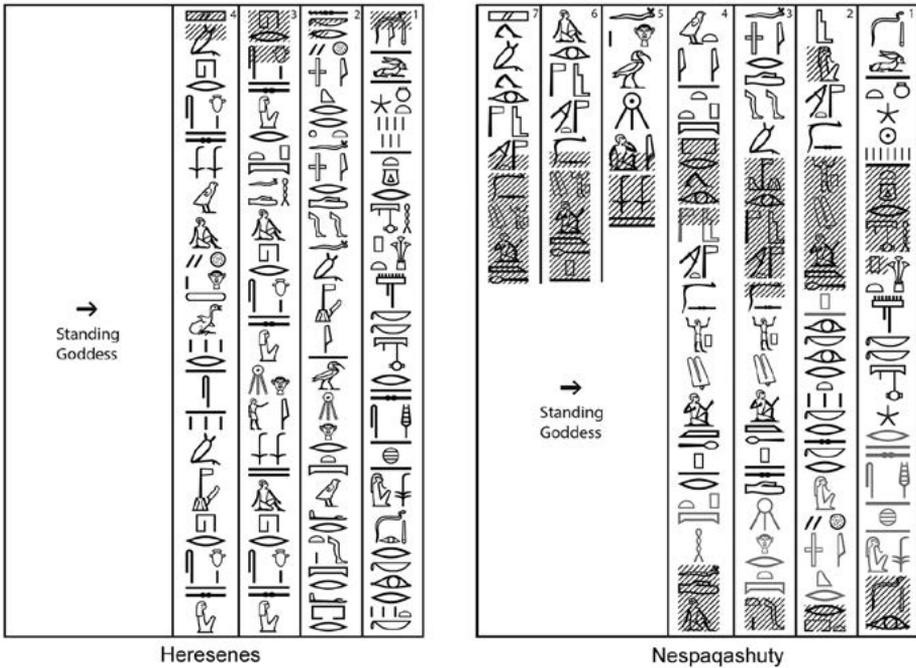


Fig. 9. Seventh Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Nes</b>	<i>ir.k irrt.k {r} Skr sp-sn</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>imy-kr̄rt.f</i>	The one who is in his cave. <sup>4</sup>
<b>Nes</b>	<i>imy-kr[rt]<sup>(5)</sup>.f</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>imy-rdwy.f m hrt-ntr</i>	The one who has his two feet in the god's land. <sup>5</sup>
<b>Nes</b>	<i>imy-rdwy.&lt;f&gt; m [hrt-ntr</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>in &lt;i&gt; 3hw hrt w<sup>c</sup>rt pt</i>	The Illuminated One, <sup>6</sup> who is over the sector of the sky,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>[Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr] Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn &lt;p&gt;sd hrt [w<sup>c</sup>rt] <sup>(4)</sup>twy<sup>7</sup> nt pt</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>rdi<sup>8</sup> pr <sup>(3)</sup>[Hr].s-n.s r pt hfd Hr.s-n.s hr 3hw</i>	is the one who causes NN to ascend to the sky and to climb on the sunlight. <sup>9</sup>
<b>Nes</b>	<i>[pr] Ws[it] it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn r pt h[fd]<sup>(5)</sup>.f hr 3hw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>i nny Hr.s-n.s</i>	O NN is tired.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>i [nny] <sup>(6)</sup>Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-[p3-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn]</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i><sup>(4)</sup>[š]m Hr.s-n.s nnyw sp-sn hr idbw<sup>10</sup> t3w rn<sup>11</sup>.sn m hrt-ntr</i>	NN walks very wearily upon the river-banks of those whose name have been seized in the Necropolis.
<b>Nes</b>	<i><sup>(7)</sup>šm Wsir [it]-ntr mry-ntr [Ns-p3-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw]<sup>12</sup></i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>Hr.s-n.s</i>	NN. <sup>13</sup>

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see *LGG* II: 396c–397a.

<sup>2</sup> For the name of the personification, see *LGG* V: 25c–26a.

<sup>3</sup> The name of the deceased follows *dd-mdw* in the versions of Nespaqashuty, Karakhmun, Pabasa, and Menekhib-nekau, but not Heresenes, Namenekhp-are, Padihorresnet, or Patjenefy.

<sup>4</sup> For the epithet *imy-krrt.f*, see *LGG* I: 253c–254a.

<sup>5</sup> For the epithet *imy-rdwy m hrt-ntr*, see *LGG* I: 244b.

<sup>6</sup> I take  to read as *i3hw*, “the Illuminated One” (*LGG* I: 107c–109b). Alternatively, the signs could also be read as *psd*, “the Shining One”. For the epithet *psd-hry-w<sup>c</sup>rt-pt*, see *LGG* III: 126c. In favour of *psd*, BD 74 usually reads as *ink psd*, “I am the one who shines” (Quirke 2013: 176). Likewise, *<p>sd* () is clearly written in the version of Nespaqashuty, which reads as *NN pn <p>sd*, “this NN is the one who shines”. However,

the word appears as  in the tomb of Karakhmun, which would seem to support the reading as *i3hw*.

<sup>7</sup> The demonstrative pronoun *twy*, “this”, only occurs in the version of Nespaqashuty.

<sup>8</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>9</sup> Alternatively, for Nespaqashuty, read “NN ascends to the sky and he climbs into the sunlight”.

<sup>10</sup> Written with the island hieroglyph () , which should be written as , as in the parallel sources.

<sup>11</sup> While the term *rn*, “name”, is clearly used in the versions of Heresenes, Name-nekhp-are, and Patjenefy, *r*, “mouth”, “speech”, is attested in that of Padihorresnet. In BD 74, it seems that “speech” is the preferred choice (Allen 1974: 65).

<sup>12</sup> There appears to be insufficient space for the concluding words of the Hour.

<sup>13</sup> All complete sources conclude with the name of the deceased.

## Eighth Hour of the Night

The Eighth Hour [Fig. 10] contains BD 28, a text ensuring that the fore-heart (*h3ty*)<sup>3</sup> of the deceased is retained (Griffin 2017: 118).

### Text

**Her** <sup>(1)</sup>*dd-mdw-in wnw<sup>t</sup>-hnmw-nt-gr<sup>h</sup>*  
*Hryt-tp-wpt-hnnw rn.s <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.s n B3by*

Recitation by the Eighth Hour of the Night,<sup>1</sup> “the One Who is in Charge of Disturbances”<sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for Bebon.<sup>3</sup>

**Nes** <sup>(1)</sup>*dd-mdw-<in> wnw<sup>t</sup>-h<sup>n</sup>[mw-nt-gr<sup>h</sup>]*  
*Hryt-tp-wpt-hnnw rn.s <sup>c</sup>h<sup>c</sup>.s n <sup>(2)</sup>B3by*

<sup>3</sup> I follow Quirke (2013) in referring to *h3ty* as “fore-heart” and *ib* as “heart”.

<b>Her</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	Recitation:
<b>Nes</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<sup>(2)</sup> <i>i Rw Hr.s-n.s wnb</i>	O Lion-god, <sup>4</sup> NN is the <i>weneb</i> -flower,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>i [Rw Wsir] it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn wnb</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>bwt. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>5</sup> pw nmt-ntr</i>	Her/his abomination is the slaughter-house of the god.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>bwt<sup>(3)</sup>.f pw nmt-ntr</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>n it&lt;w&gt; h3ty n Hr.s-n.s in rnh&lt;3&gt;<sup>(3)</sup>w<sup>1</sup>-m-Iwnw</i>	The fore-heart of NN shall not be taken by the abnormal ones in Heliopolis. <sup>6</sup>
<b>Nes</b>	<i>n [it.tw h3ty] n Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn in rnh&lt;3&gt;<sup>(4)</sup>w<sup>1</sup>-m-Iwnw</i>	

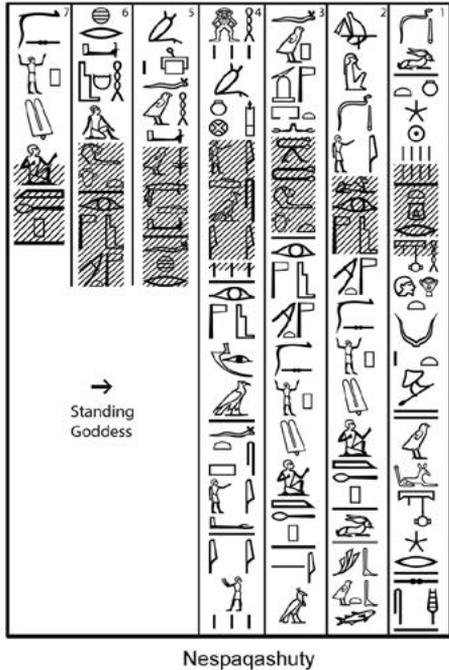


Fig. 10. Eighth Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Her</b>	<i>i Sd3yw-n-Wsir m3. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>7</sup> Stš</i>	O crushers of Osiris, <sup>8</sup> (s)he sees Seth,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>[i Sd3yw]-n-Wsir m3.n.f.Stš</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>nty m-s3&lt;.f&gt; hw s&lt;y&gt;</i>	turn back in pursuit of him who struck her/him,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>i<sup>v</sup> n&lt;ɿ&gt;y<sup>(5)</sup> m-s3.f hw [sw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>šd<sup>o</sup>.n.f hrhr<sup>u</sup></i>	for he has brought destruction.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>šd.n.f hr]<sup>(6)</sup>hr</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>hms<sup>(4)</sup> h3t[y n H]r.s-n.s</i>	The fore-heart of NN sits,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>hms [h3ty n Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr] (<sup>7</sup>)Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty [m<sup>3</sup>-hrw pn]</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>rm.s ds.s m-b3h Wsir ht.f m-<sup>c</sup>.f</i>	(s)he weeps for her/himself in the presence of Osiris, whose staff is in his hand.
<b>Her</b>	<i>dbh. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>12</sup> m-<sup>c</sup>.f iw rdi<sup>13</sup>.n.f<sup>4</sup></i>	(S)he asks of him and he has granted.
<b>Her</b>	<i>sip.n.f {ib} n.s [t3w]-ib<sup>(5)</sup> m hwt Wsh-hr</i>	He has assigned to her/him the hot-hearted in the domain of the broad-sighted god. <sup>15</sup>
<b>Her</b>	<i>iw<sup>16</sup>&lt;.i&gt; hnp mw m r Hmnw<sup>17</sup> mnt &lt;m&gt; r Hmnw<sup>18</sup></i>	I scoop water at the entrance to Hermopolis and ? at the entrance to Heliopolis.
<b>Her</b>	<i>b&lt;w&gt; it.f h3ty. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>19</sup> pn</i>	This her/his fore-heart cannot be taken.
<b>Her</b>	<i>&lt;s&gt;hnt. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>20</sup> st<sup>(6)</sup>. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>21</sup></i>	(S)he advances her/his position,
<b>Her</b>	<i>[nw]h h3ty r Hr.s-n.s m šht-htp</i>	binding the fore-heart to Heresenes in the Field of Offerings.

**Commentary**

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see *LGG* II: 395a–b.

<sup>2</sup> For *Hryt-tp-wpt-hnyt*, as written in the tomb of Patjenefy, see *LGG* V: 448b.

<sup>3</sup> For the god Bebon, see *LGG* II: 736c–738a.

<sup>4</sup> For the lion-god *Rw*, see *LGG* IV: 649b–650c.

<sup>5</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>6</sup> For a brief discussion on the reading *nh<3>w-m-Iwnw*, see Griffin 2017: 121, Table 6.6.

<sup>7</sup> In BD 28 this is consistently written as *m3.n.f*, “(s)he has seen”, while in all versions of the Eighth Hour of the Night, except for Nespaqashuty, *m3.f*, “he sees”, is written. See, for example, Lüscher 2016: 110–111.

<sup>8</sup> For the *Sdyw-Wsir*, “crushers of Osiris”, see *LGG* VI: 715a–b.

<sup>9</sup> The vocative interjection *i*, “O”, which is common in BD 28, is only attested in the version of Nespaqashuty.

<sup>10</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>11</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>12</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>13</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>14</sup> In the Eighteenth Dynasty synoptic edition of BD 28 (Lüscher 2016: 114–115),

the deceased is always addressed in the first person with Osiris being the subject of the sentence. I.e., *dbh.f m-ε.i iw rdi.n.i n.f*, “he (Osiris) asks of me and I granted him”. However, in the version here, as well as that of Pabasa (the only other source fully preserved at this point), the deceased is addressed in the third person and is the the subject of the sentence, i.e., *dbh.f m-ε.f iw rdi.n.f*, “(s)he asks of him and he has granted.

<sup>15</sup> For *Wsh-hr*, the “broad-sighted god”, see *LGG* II: 587c.

<sup>16</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>17</sup> For the two writings of Hermopolis, read  instead of .

<sup>18</sup> In BD 28 the text appears as “I scooped sand (*š*) for him at the entrance to Hermopolis”. Yet in all the preserved versions of the Eighth Hour, it is water (*mw*) that is scooped, followed by *mnt*, the exact meaning of which is currently unknown. In the versions of Heresenes and Pabasa, the only sources currently preserved at this point, *mnt* is written with the determinative of a seed bag ().

<sup>19</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>20</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>21</sup> Read  instead of .

## Ninth Hour of the Night

The Ninth Hour of the Night [Figs 3, 11] relates to the deceased having control of both her/his heart (*ib*) and fore-heart (*ḥ3ty*), that her/his mouth is for speech, her/his legs for walking, and her/his arms for overthrowing enemies (*ḥftyw*), which is taken from BD 26 (Griffin 2017: 118–119).

### Text

<b>Her</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>[dd-mdw-in] wnw-t-psd-nt-grḥ Sid-t-ḥnnw rn.s ḥḥ.s n Mnw</i>	Recitation by the Ninth Hour of the Night, <sup>1</sup> “the One Who Quells Disturbances” <sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for Min.
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>dd-mdw-&lt;in&gt; wnw-t-p[sd-nt-g]rḥ Sid-&lt;t&gt;-ḥnnw rn.s ḥḥ.s n <sup>(2)</sup>Mnw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	Recitation:
<b>Nes</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>rdiḥ ib n Hr.s-[n.s <sup>(2)</sup>n.s m] pr-ibw</i>	May the heart of NN be given to her/him in the House of Hearts,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>rdi {t}<sup>4</sup> [ib n Wsir] it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-ḳ3-šwty m3ḥ-ḥrw pn n.f m pr-ibw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>ḥ3ty.s n.s m pr-ḥ3tyw</i>	her/his fore-heart is hers/his in the House of Fore-hearts,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>&lt;ḥ3ty&gt;<sup>(3)</sup>.f n.f m pr-ḥ3ty[w</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>iw ib n Hr.s-n.s n.s</i>	the heart of NN is hers/his,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>iw ib] n Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-ḳ3-šwty m3ḥ-ḥrw pn <sup>(4)</sup>n.f</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>ḥtp.f im.s</i>	it is content with her/him,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>ḥtp.f im.f</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>n is wnm.n.s šḥt <sup>(3)</sup>[nt Wsir</i>	as he/she has not eaten the offering-loaf belonging to Osiris,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>n [is wnm].n.f šḥt r-gs<sup>5</sup> Wsir</i>	

<b>Her</b>	<i>hr-gs] pf i3btt n G&lt;3&gt;yf<sup>6</sup></i>	on that eastern side of Gayet.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>hr-gs pf i3btt n <sup>(6)</sup>G3yt</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>hwht &lt; m hd&gt;<sup>7</sup> kt m hnty&lt;D</i>	A barge is sailing down, another is sailing up,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>&lt; hwht m&gt; hd kt [m h]nt<sup>(6)</sup>y&lt;D</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>nn h3 Hr.s-n.s <sup>(4)</sup>[r hwht] imyw&lt;.k&gt;<sup>8</sup></i>	(but) NN shall not go down into the barge that is with you.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>nn h3 [Wsir] <sup>(7)</sup>it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-sšwty [m<sup>3</sup>c-hrw pn]<sup>9</sup></i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>iw n.s r.s r mdw.s im.frdwy.s r šm <sup>c</sup>wy.s r šhr hfyw.s</i>	Her/his mouth is hers/his for her/his speech, her/his legs for walking, and her/his arms for overthrowing her/his enemies.

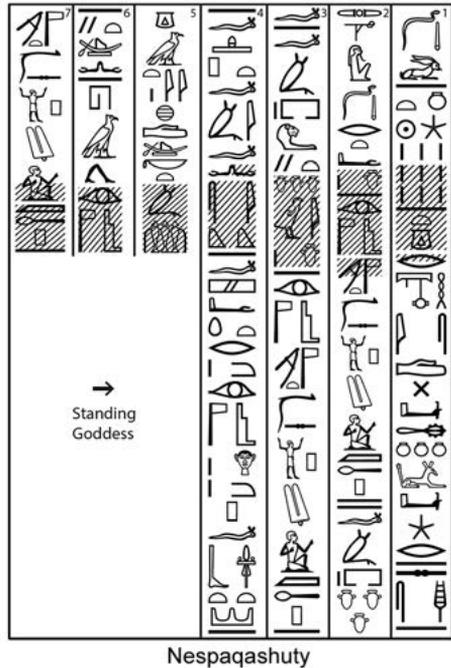


Fig. 11. Ninth Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

Her	<i>wn {r} ʕ3wy<sup>10</sup> (3)[m t3 n Hr].s-n.s</i>	The door-leaves of the earth are open for NN,
Her	<i>snš.n Gb &lt;ḏ&gt;r&lt;y&gt;-p&lt;t&gt; ntrw ʕrty.f mnty<sup>11</sup>.f r. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>12</sup></i>	Geb, the leader of the gods, has opened his jaws and thighs towards her/him,
Her	<i>wn.f irty. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>13</sup></i>	he opens her/his eyes,
Her	<i>dwn rdwy. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>14</sup> kr<sup>16</sup>[f</i>	stretching out her/his twisted legs.
Her	<i>sr]wd.n Inp&lt;w&gt; m3sty. {f}&lt;s&gt;<sup>15</sup></i>	Anubis has strengthened her/his knees.

**Commentary**

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see *LGG* II: 393b.

<sup>2</sup> Not attested in the *LGG*. See, however, *LGG* IV: 317a–b for the reading of *Nhnwt*, as written in the tomb of Patjenefy.

<sup>3</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>4</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>5</sup> The use of the preposition *r-gs*, “beside”, at this point only occurs in the version of Nespaqashuty.

<sup>6</sup> *G3yt* is a place in the Underworld (*Wb* V: 150. 17–18).

<sup>7</sup> The words *m hd*, “is sailing down”, are present in the parallel sources, but have been erroneously omitted by the scribe.

<sup>8</sup> The restored pronoun is only present in Padihorresnet’s version, although it is common in BD 26.

<sup>9</sup> The text of Nespaqashuty ends abruptly at this point.

<sup>10</sup> The signs at the end of line 4 are partly destroyed due to a crack running through them, thus making the reading uncertain. There does appear to be an erroneous *r*-sign following the initial door-leaf, which functions as a determinative in the word *wn*, followed by a further two door-leaves, giving a reading of ʕ3wy.

<sup>11</sup> The writing  , which is commonly used as an abbreviation of *ky-dd*, “another saying” (*Wb* V: 111. 11), must surely be an error for  , particularly as the determinatives (   ) help to give a reading of *mnty*, “thighs”, as attested in the tomb of Karakhmun. The addition of *mnty.f*, “his thighs”, is not standard to BD 26. The Ninth Hour of Pabasa and Padihorresnet are unclear at this point.

<sup>12</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>13</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>14</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>15</sup> Read  instead of .

### Tenth Hour of the Night

The Tenth Hour of the Night [Fig. 12] contains BD 25, a spell ensuring that the name of the deceased is given to her/him on the night of counting the years and calculating the months (Griffin 2017: 119).

#### Text

<b>Her</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>d[d-mdw-in wnw-t-md]-nt-grh</i> <i>Swh3-3tt rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s n B3</i>	Recitation by the Tenth Hour of the Night, <sup>1</sup> "the One Who Spends the Night Pacing" is her name, she stands for Ba. <sup>2</sup>
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>dd-mdw-&lt;in&gt; wnw-t-md-nt-g[r]h</i> <i>Sw&lt;h3&gt;-3tt rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s &lt;n&gt; B3</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	Recitation:
<b>Nes</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>&lt;rdi&gt;<sup>3</sup> rn n Hr.s-n.s n.s m pr-wr</i>	The name of NN is given to her/him in the Great House shrine,

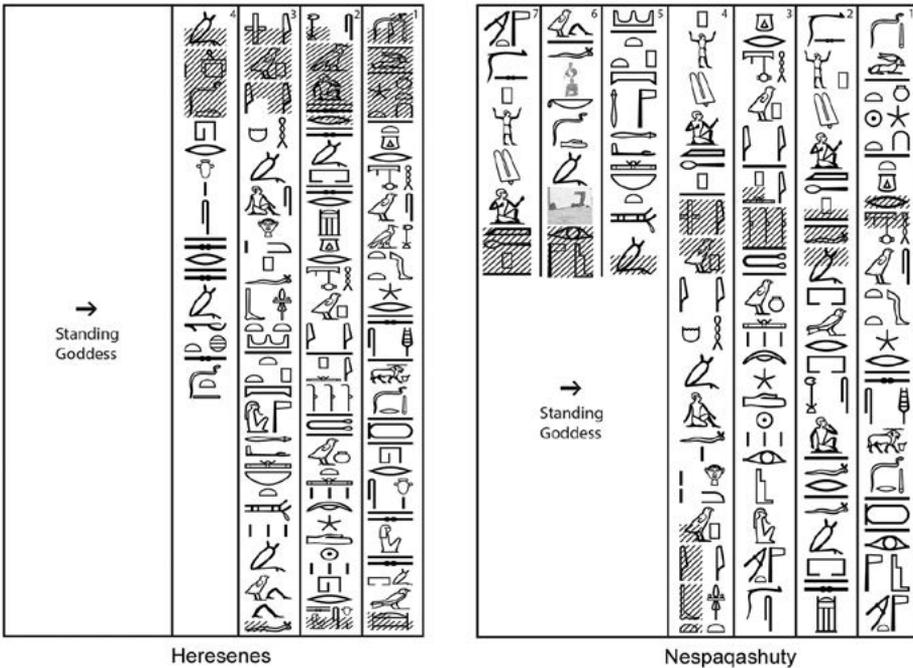


Fig. 12. Tenth Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Nes</b>	<i>&lt;rdi&gt; rn n Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr</i> <i><sup>(2)</sup>Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw</i> <i>p[n n.f] m pr-wr</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i><sup>(2)</sup>sh3 [n.s] rn.s m pr-nsr</i>	her/his name is recalled to her/him in the House of Fire shrine,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>sh3 n.f rn.f m pr-ns&lt;r&gt;</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>grh pwy n ip rnpwt n tnwt 3bdw</i>	on this night of counting the years and calculating the months.
<b>Nes</b>	<i><sup>(3)</sup>grh pwy n ip [rnpwt n]</i> <i>tnw&lt;t&gt; 3bdw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>Hr.s-n.s <sup>(3)</sup>imy [pw]y hms hr-gs</i> <i>pf i3btt nt pt</i>	NN is the one who sits beside that eastern side of the sky.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-<sup>(4)</sup>p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty</i> <i>m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn [imy p]wy hms.f hr-gs pwy</i> <i>i3[b]t[<sup>(5)</sup>t] <sup>(5)</sup>nt pt</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>ntr 3<sup>5</sup> nb tm iw.f<sup>(4)</sup>m-[s3.Ø<sup>4</sup>]</i>	(As for) any great god who will not come after you,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>ntr 3 {3}<sup>6</sup> nb tm <sup>(6)</sup>iw.n.f<sup>7</sup> &lt;m&gt;-s3<sup>8</sup>.k</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>dd] Hr.s-n.s rn. {s}&lt;f&gt;<sup>9</sup> m-ht.</i> <i>{s}&lt;f&gt;<sup>10</sup> dt<sup>11</sup></i>	NN will [say] his name for his posterity, forever.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>dd m ?<sup>12</sup> [Wsir] <sup>(7)</sup>it-ntr mry-ntr</i> <i>Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty [m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn]</i>	

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see LGG II: 394b–c.

<sup>2</sup> For the deity Ba, see LGG II: 658c–660a.

<sup>3</sup> The verb *rdi* is missing in all sources except for that of Karakhmun.

<sup>4</sup> The pronoun is not preserved at this point. It could be the first person

() , which usually occurs here in BD 25, or the second person () , as written in the parallel version of Nespaqashuty. None of the parallel sources of the Tenth Hour are preserved at this point.

<sup>5</sup> The adjective 3, “great”, is not usually attested at this point in BD 25, although

it is found in all parallel sources for the Tenth Hour, except that of Patjenefy.

<sup>6</sup> The 3-sign has been written twice, both vertically and horizontally.

<sup>7</sup> Nespaqashuty's version is the only one to use a *sdm.n.f* form.

<sup>8</sup> The hieroglyph at this point (  ) can only be interpreted as a *s3*-sign.

<sup>9</sup> Since “any great god” is being referred to here, a masculine pronoun would be expected, as is the case of the other sources. Therefore, it seems that the redactor has switched the pronoun

to the coffin's owner, which should read as  instead of .

<sup>10</sup> See note 9.

<sup>11</sup> While *dt*, “eternity”, is not standard in BD 25, it does appear in the parallel versions of Karakhamun and Pabasa, the only two sources preserved at this point.

<sup>12</sup> Only half a sign (  ) is preserved after the *m*-sign, which looks like it might be the necropolis (  ). This makes little sense and it is not attested in any of the parallel sources or BD 25.

## Eleventh Hour of the Night

The text of the Eleventh Hour [Fig. 13] contains BD 24, in which it is stated that the word-power (*hk3w*) of the deceased has been united for her/him, speedier than a greyhound, swifter than a shade (Griffin 2017: 119).

### Text

Her	<sup>(1)</sup> [ <i>dd-mdw-in</i> ] <i>wnwt-mḥt-11-nt-grḥ</i> <i>Nbt-f3w-khb-pḥty rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s n Hr</i>	Recitation by the Eleventh Hour of the Night, <sup>1</sup> “the Mistress of Magnificence Who Neutralises Power” <sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for Horus.
Nes	<sup>(1)</sup> <i>dd-mdw-&lt;in&gt;</i> <i>wnwt-mḥt-11-nt-g[rḥ]</i> <i>Nbt-f3w-khb-pḥty rn.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>.s n Hr</i>	
Her	<i>dd-mdw</i>	Recitation:
Nes	<sup>(2)</sup> <i>dd-mdw</i>	
Her	<i>rs Hr.s-[n.s ḥ<sup>c</sup>mi R<sup>c</sup> H]p]ri ḥpr ḏs.f</i>	Awake NN like Re, as Khepri who comes into being by himself, <sup>3</sup>
Nes	<i>rs Wsir it-ntṛ mry-ntṛ</i> <i>Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-[k3] šwty m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw pn</i> <i>mi R<sup>c</sup> H]p]ri ḥpr ḏs.f</i>	

<b>Her</b>	<i>hry w<sup>c</sup>rt mwt.f</i>	who is upon the lap of his mother,
<b>Nes</b>	<sup>(3)</sup> <i>hry w<sup>c</sup>rt mwt.f</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>rdi<sup>a</sup> wnšw n imyw nmw</i>	who assigns jackals to those who are in the Primeval Waters,
<b>Nes</b>	[rdi] <sup>(5)</sup> <i>wntw<sup>7</sup> n imyw nn</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<sup>(3)</sup> <i>bh<sup>n</sup>w<sup>6</sup> n imyw d3d3t</i>	and calves to those who are in the tribunal.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>{i}&lt;b&gt;hs<sup>(4)</sup>w n imyw d3d3t</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>sk dmd.n h<sup>k</sup>3w pn n Hr.s-n.s</i>	Lo, this word-power of NN has been re-assembled,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>[s]k dmd.n h<sup>k</sup>3w pn n Wsir &lt;it&gt;-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p&lt;3&gt;-k3-šwty <sup>(5)</sup>m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw pn</i>	

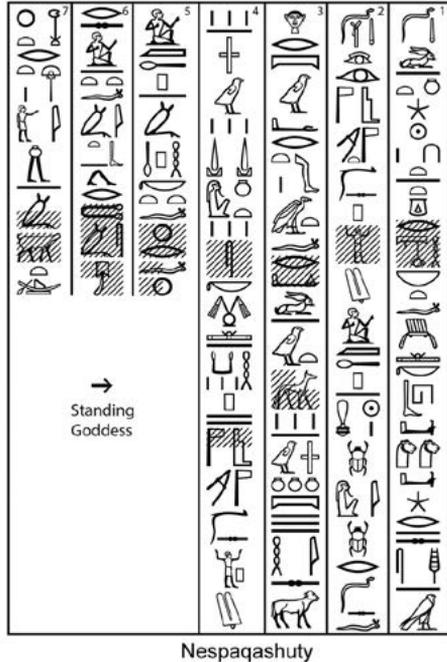


Fig. 13. Eleventh Hour of the Night; on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Her</b>	<i>m hp.k ntt.f hr:f h<sup>(4)</sup>r s ntt.f im</i>	wherever it is, with who(ever) it is with there, <sup>7</sup>
<b>Nes</b>	<i>m hp.k &lt;n&gt;tt.f [hr].f h<sup>(6)</sup>r s ntt.f im</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>btn r tsm h3ht r šwyt</i>	speedier than a greyhound, swifter than a shade.
<b>Nes</b>	<i>btn r [tsm] <sup>(7)</sup>h3ht r šwyt</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>i In-mhn&lt;τ&gt; m iw nsrsr <sup>(5)</sup>m hrt-ntr</i>	O bringer of the ferry <sup>8</sup> in the Island of Fire in the necropolis!
<b>Nes</b>	<i>i In-m[h<sub>n</sub>]p</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>sk dmd.n.k hk3w pn n Hr.s-n.s</i>	Lo, you have united this word-power of NN,
<b>Her</b>	<i>m bw nb ntt.f im hr:f</i>	from every place where it was,
<b>Her</b>	<i>btn r tsm h3ht <sup>(6)</sup>r šwyt</i>	speedier than a greyhound, swifter than a shade.
<b>Her</b>	<i>nwr<sup>10</sup> m {m} &lt;km3&gt; ntrw &lt;m sgrw&gt;<sup>11</sup></i>	The crane cries out, the gods are in silence.

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see *LGG* II: 399a–b.

<sup>2</sup> For the name of the personification, see *LGG* IV: 59a–b, 92a.

<sup>3</sup> This passage differs from that usually found in *BD* 24, which reads as *ink Hpri hpr ds.f*, “I am Khepri, who came into being by himself”. However, in the Elev-

enth Hour of the Night, the text reads as *rs NN mi R<sup>c</sup> Hpri hpr ds.f*, “awake NN like Re, as Khepri who has come into being by himself”, as in the case of Nespaqashuty, Pabasa, and probably Heresenes. Alternatively, in the versions of Bakenrenef, Padihorresnet, Patjenefy, and Menekh-ibnekau, the texts read as *rs NN Hpri hpr*

*ds.f*; “awake NN, as Khepri who has come into being by himself”.

<sup>4</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>5</sup> While *wnšw* is used in the version of Heresenes and BD 24, the parallel versions of Nespaqashuty, Karakhamun, Besenmut, Pabasa, and Padihorresnet all have *ʿwntwʿ*. The writing in Pabasa’s version is . In fact, the versions of Besenmut, Pabasa, and Padihorresnet are all written with the *pt*-sign, which make little sense here. Its inclusion can be explained as a scribal error for the *š*-sign () , which could suggest the three shared a common source. The versions of Karakhamun and Patjenefy are not preserved at this point.

<sup>6</sup> Heresenes’ version is the only one to use *bḥnw*, “dogs”, with the other parallel sources using *bḥsw*, “calves”. Both terms are used interchangeably in BD 24 (Lüscher 2016: 38–39).

<sup>7</sup> Usually this line begins *m bw nb ntt.f im ḥr.f*, which is repeated several lines below. However, in all the parallel versions

of the Eleventh Hour, the text begins *m ḥp.k*. The exact meaning of *ḥp* in this context is not known.

<sup>8</sup> For *In-mḥnt-nt-Rᶜ*, who is usually attested at this point in BD 24, see LGG I: 375c. In all sources of the Eleventh Hour, the *nt-Rᶜ* element is absent.

<sup>9</sup> The text of Nespaqashuty ends abruptly at this point.

<sup>10</sup> The  can perhaps be interpreted as an abbreviation for , the common determinative in the writing of the word *nwr*, “heron”. The two *m*-signs that follow are problematic, although they do have parallels in the version of Padihorresnet.

<sup>11</sup> The restorations are based on BD 24. While the absence of several words at the end of the hour could be interpreted as resulting from a lack of available space, the parallel versions of Karakhamun, Pabasa, and Padihorresnet appear the same as the version Heresenes. Further research is needed into the interpretation of this section.

### Twelfth Hour of the Night

The Twelfth Hour of the Night [Fig. 14] describes the cavern being opened up for the deceased, in order that (s)he may go to her/his throne that is at the front of the great bark of Re, as encountered in BD 67 (Griffin 2017: 119–120).

#### Text

**Her** <sup>(1)</sup>*dd-mdw-i[n] wnw-t-mḥt-12-nt-grḥ*  
*Nbt-sšp-iwty-kk<w> rn.s ḥᶜ.s n*  
*K3-mwn*

Recitation by the Twelfth Hour of the Night,<sup>1</sup> “the Mistress of Light Which is Not Dark”<sup>2</sup> is her name, she stands for the Bull of Nun.<sup>3</sup>

**Nes** <sup>(1)</sup>*dd-mdw-<in> wnw-t-mḥt-12-n[t-gr]*  
*ḥ Nbt-sšp-iwty-k<kw> rn.s ḥᶜ.s <sup>(2)</sup>n*  
*K3-mwn*

<b>Her</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	Recitation:
<b>Nes</b>	<i>dd-mdw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>wn <sup>(a)</sup>[tpht] &lt;n&gt; imy&lt;w&gt;-nnw</i>	The cavern is opened for those who are in Nun. <sup>4</sup>
<b>Nes</b>	<i>wn [tp]ht n imyw-nnw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>snfh&lt;f&gt;h nmtt imyw-i3hw</i>	The steps are unblocked for those who are in the light. <sup>5</sup>
<b>Nes</b>	<i>sfh<sup>6</sup> nmtt n <sup>(3)</sup>imyw-i3hw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>wn tpht &lt;n&gt; Šw</i>	The cavern is opened for Shu,
<b>Nes</b>	<i>wn [tpht n] Šw</i>	
<b>Her</b>	<i>pr.f m rwty</i>	and he goes to the outside.
<b>Nes</b>	<i><sup>(4)</sup>pr.f m rwty</i>	



Fig. 14. Twelfth Hour of the Night on the coffins of Heresenes (left) and Nespaqashuty (right)

<b>Her</b>	(9)[h3] Hr.s-n.s m h3st	May NN descend from the hole in the earth,
<b>Nes</b>	[h3 Wsir] (9)it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p<3>-k3-šwtj m3c-hrw pn m h3st	
<b>Her</b>	r nswf. {f}<s> <sup>8</sup> im<▷ h3t wi3 n (4)R <sup>c</sup>	to her/his thrones which are at the front of the bark of Re.
<b>Nes</b>	[r nswf] <sup>(6)</sup> .f im<▷ h3t wi[3 n R <sup>c</sup> ]	
<b>Her</b>	iw {sw}<sy> <sup>9</sup> 3h nn iw	May (s)he not suffer from being stranded,
<b>Nes</b>	[i]w [s]w 3[h] nn iw	
<b>Her</b>	nst Hr.s-n.s im<▷ h3t wi3 n R <sup>c</sup> 3	the throne of NN which is at the front of the bark of Re, the great,
<b>Nes</b>	{wi3} <nst> <sup>10</sup> (7)Wsir <it>-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p<3>-[k3-šwtj m3c-hrw pn imt] h3t [wi3 n R <sup>c</sup> 3	
<b>Her</b>	psd wbn (3)m sšd <sup>11</sup>	who shines and rises from the window.
<b>Nes</b>	psd] <sup>12</sup>	

## Commentary

<sup>1</sup> For the number of the Hour, see LGG II: 399c–400a.

<sup>2</sup> For the name of the personification, see LGG I: 170b for *iwt-kk* and LGG IV: 135a–c for *nbt-sšp*.

<sup>3</sup> For the deity *K3-nwn*, see LGG VII: 261c.

<sup>4</sup> For the *imyw-nnw*, “those who are in Nun”, see LGG I: 270b–c.

<sup>5</sup> For the *imyw-i3hw*, “those who are in the light”, see LGG I: 261a–b.

<sup>6</sup> The verb *sfb*, “to loosen”, occurs in the texts of Nespaqashuty, Patjenefy, and Menekhibnekau, while those of Heresenes, Karakhmun, Bakenrenef, Pabasa, and Padihorresnet use *snfhsb*, which also means “to loosen”.

<sup>7</sup> Written in the plural here and in the

versions of Nespaqashuty, Karakhmun, Bakenrenef, but not Padihorresnet. Usually singular in BD 67.

<sup>8</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>9</sup> Read  instead of .

<sup>10</sup> The hieroglyph at the end of line 6 is clearly a boat, although *nst*, “throne”, is expected at this point.

<sup>11</sup> The word *sšd*, “window”, is used consistently in the parallel sources of the Twelfth Hour, although *hnt*, “waterway (in the heavens)” is used in BD 67 (Lapp 2011: 239).

<sup>12</sup> The final line of Nespaqashuty is uncertain, especially in determining when it ends, and there seems insufficient space for all the words.

## CONCLUSIONS

The *krsw*-coffins of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty represent the earliest known use of the *Ritual of the Hours of the Night* by private individuals. Yet, it is a trend that greatly increases during the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth dynasties, particularly in the tombs of the elite (Griffin 2017: 99–103). The placement of the ritual on the vaults of the coffin lids imitates their appearance in the Memorial Chapels of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. In fact, these coffins, along with that of Padiamunet (iii), were discovered in a shaft at the entrance to the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the room containing the *Ritual of the Hours* on the vaulted ceiling (Szafranski 2015: 187–188, Fig. 3).

The text of the *Hours of the Night* on the coffin of Heresenes is complete, unlike that of Nespaqashuty, which rarely includes the full ritual.<sup>4</sup> This can be explained by the additional space needed to write the titles and name of Nespaqashuty (almost always *Wsir it-ntr mry-ntr Ns-p3-k3-šwty m3'-hrw pn*, “this Osiris, the God’s father, whom the god loves, Nespaqashuty, the justified”) as opposed to that of Heresenes (usually just her name). That is to say, Nespaqashuty’s name occupies up to eight cadrats whereas Heresenes’ name is only three and a half. Several of the hours finish just a few words short of being complete, suggesting a lack of careful planning by the scribe, or that a conscious decision was made that the full titles and name of Nespaqashuty—which occur up to five times in each hour and could easily have

been condensed—where more important than the text of the ritual.

While the coffin of Heresenes is the more carefully made of the two, it also contains more scribal errors. This includes sections that have been erroneously omitted, such as the phrase *imi sy r t3*, “put her on the ground”, in the Second Hour, and the frequent use of masculine pronouns in place of feminine ones throughout the ritual. The use of masculine pronouns would suggest that the ritual from the mortuary Chapel of Hatshepsut was not the original source, since there would have been no need to modify them. The texts of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty also differ from Hatshepsut’s on a number of occasions, such as in the Fifth Hour where the word *wdbw*, “riverbanks”, is used by Hatshepsut instead of *bt/bdt*, “emmer”, as it appears on the coffins and in the parallel sources. Further differences will probably become apparent once the text of Hatshepsut is republished by Barwik.

As noted elsewhere (Griffin 2017: 121), the *Hours of the Night* have been regarded as simply consisting of extracts of the *Book of the Dead*, composed as a symmetrical counterpart to the *Hours of the Day*. Yet, throughout the ritual, there are several consistent revisions to the text that have no parallels in the *Book of the Dead*. For example, in the Eighth Hour of the Night the *nh(3)w-m-Iwnw*, “the abnormal ones in Heliopolis”, are encountered instead of the *h3w-m-Iwnw*, “the fighters in Heliopolis”, who are attested

in BD 28. When and why the redactors of the text first made this particular amendment is unknown and further research in this area is necessary.

With the memorial temples of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III being the only known sources for the ritual prior to their occurrence on the coffins, the textual transmission must be considered. The versions of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty differ from each other in a number of instances, perhaps suggesting two separate sources. For example, in the Seventh Hour, the text of Heresenes reads as <i>3hw hrt w<sup>r</sup>rt pt, “the Illuminated One, who is over the sector of the sky”, whereas in Nespaqashuty’s, NN pn <p>sd hrt [w<sup>r</sup>rt] twy nt pt, “this NN is the one who shines, who is over this sector of the sky”, occurs in its place. Interestingly, this writing on the coffin of Heresenes mirrors the other parallel sources of the Seventh Hour whereas the writing of Nespaqashuty’s is much closer to that of BD 74.

Paleographically, it is clear that the texts of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty were written by different hands, though the text in each coffin seems to have been

written by a single scribe. While written in cursive hieroglyphs, several hieratic inclusions are present, with the scribe of Heresenes’ coffin preferring, for example, the use of  (78 times) in favour of  (three times). Some words are written with the signs in the wrong order, including  for  (Third Hour) and  instead of  (Sixth Hour). These scribal errors can perhaps be explained

by the source of the text being written retrograde—as is the case for most of the parallel sources—before being transferred to the coffin of Heresenes written in a non-retrograde manner. Given that neither text within the Memorial Temples of Hatshepsut or Thutmose III are written retrograde, this would point to an unknown, or common, source, perhaps a hieratic papyrus dating to the Third Intermediate Period. Research on the *Hours of the Night* is ongoing and it is hoped that additional sources will come to light and enhance our understanding of this poorly understood composition.

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**How to cite this article:** Griffin, K. (2018).  
The Ritual of the Hours of the Night on the coffins  
of Heresenes and Nespaqashuty  
from Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir  
el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology  
in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 183–224).  
Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3240>

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# Two relief fragments from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari in the Egypt Centre, Swansea



**Abstract:** During a student handling session at the Egypt Centre, Swansea University, two relief fragments from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari were identified. Both fragments had been cut from the walls of the temple, most likely in the late 19th century, before arriving in Swansea via the Wellcome collection in 1971. One fragment contains two columns of text (W351b) while the second depicts the head of a figure (W1376). This paper examines these two fragments, identifying the head of the figure as Hatshepsut's daughter, the God's Wife of Amun Neferure.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Egypt Centre, God's Wife of Amun, Hatshepsut, Neferure, Swansea

In March 2018, two relief fragments from the memorial Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari were identified in the collection of the Egypt Centre during a handling session for students of an art and architecture module at Swansea University.<sup>1</sup> W351b, which contains two columns of hieroglyphs in raised relief, had been on display in the House of Life gallery with other objects associated with writing. W1376 contains the head of a figure, also in raised relief, and had been in storage since at least 1998, when the Egypt Centre opened to the public. Both objects arrived in Swansea in 1971 during the dispersal of the Egyptian collection belonging to the pharmaceuti-

1 The discovery of W1376, which was initially thought to depict Hatshepsut was announced at the end of March and generated widespread media attention. See, for example, <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-south-west-wales-43503731>.

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### **Acknowledgements**

The identification of these fragments took place during a handling session for a group of students at Swansea University and I acknowledge their contribution here. I am grateful to Carolyn Graves-Brown and Wendy Goodridge of the Egypt Centre for their permission to publish these objects. Thanks are due to Zbigniew Szafranski, the director of the Polish-Egyptian Mission to the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, for inviting me to publish this paper here. I am also grateful for his valuable input, as well as that of Mirosław Barwik, Jadwiga Iwaszczuk, and Philippe Martinez. Special thanks to Trudy Zimmermann of the Wellcome collection for searching the archives, to Felicitas Weber for the drawings, and to Kasia Szpakowska, Meg Gundlach, and John Rogers for reading a draft of this paper.

cal engineer Sir Henry Wellcome (Bierbrier 2012: 571–572) by the Trustees of the Wellcome Institute, London (Gill 2005; Graves-Brown 2004). Both objects had been cut from the walls of the temple, most likely in the late 19th century when

it was common for travellers and collectors to acquire objects from the site. This paper presents a detailed examination of these two fragments and identifies W1376 as the head of Hatshepsut’s daughter, the God’s Wife of Amun Neferure.

### W351B

W351b is a limestone fragment containing partial remains of two columns of hieroglyphs, separated by a dividing column line and executed in raised relief [Fig. 1]. The irregularly shaped fragment measures 39.5 cm in height, 19.5 cm at its widest point, and is 3.8 cm thick. The fragment had clearly been cut from a larger block or wall, as is evident from the saw marks on the back. Given the limited hieroglyphs preserved, it is difficult to present a reconstruction of the text, although the signs present indicate that it should be read from left to right. The first column consists of three *hh* signs (  ), most

likely as part of the writing *hwt-ntr ʿ3t nt hhw m rnpwt*, “the great mansion of millions of years”, one of the designations for the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Ullmann 2002: 26–52). Only the *di* sign (  ) in the second column is completely preserved, with a possible reading of *di.sn*, “they give”. The height of the *hh* signs (11 cm) differs from that of the *di* sign (8 cm), perhaps suggesting that they come from two separate scenes. Further research on the provenance of this piece is needed in order to determine the exact composition of the text.

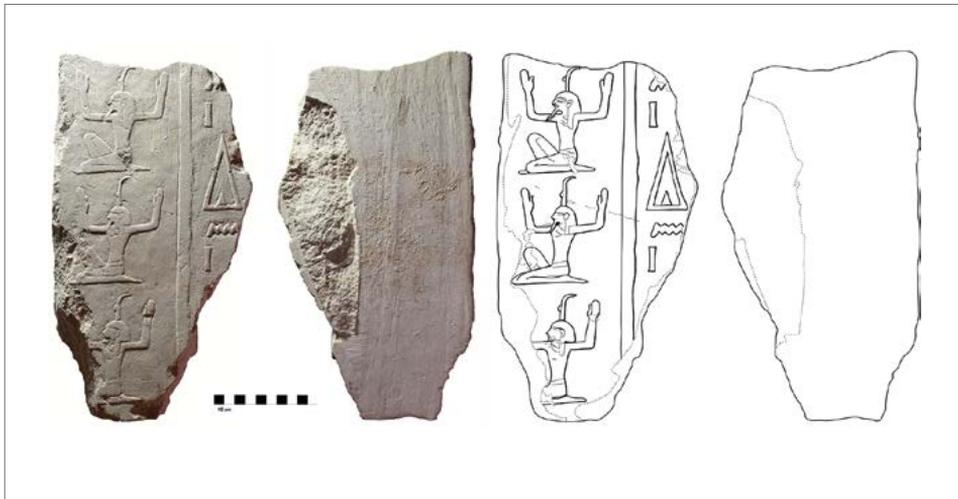


Fig. 1. W351a (The Egypt Centre/photo K. Griffin, drawing F. Weber)

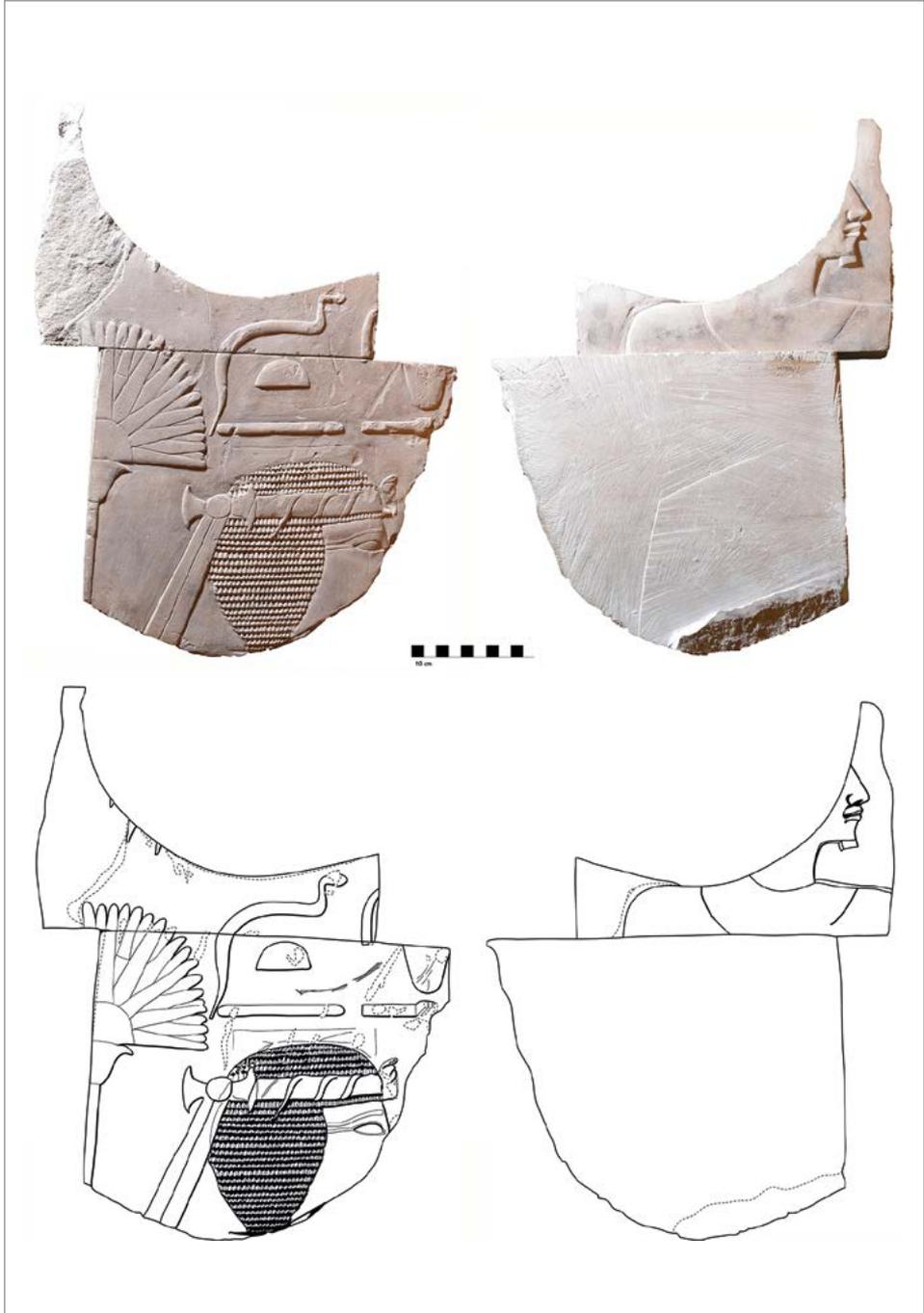


Fig. 2. W1376 (The Egypt Centre/photo K. Griffin, drawing F. Weber)

## W1376

W1376 is an irregularly shaped limestone fragment measuring 49 cm in height and 37 cm in width [Fig. 2]. Like W351b, the fragment has clearly been cut from a wall. Additionally, the fragment was cut into two uneven parts in modern times before being glued together at an unknown date. The reason behind this modification will be explained below.

The obverse of the fragment contains the head of a figure whose face is now missing, with the carving of the eye, particularly the long cosmetic line and low brow, being characteristic features dating to the reign of Hatshepsut (Karkowski 2003: 58; Myśliwiec 1976: Figs 68, 70, 72–73, Pl. 145) [see Figs 2, 3]. The figure wears an *ibs*-wig with echeloned curls that completely cover the ears. The carving of the curls is achieved through horizontal incised lines with vertical incisions. While the

*ibs*-wig is known from as early as the Old Kingdom, the style is well attested during the reigns of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III (Myśliwiec 1976: 49, 145–146, Pl. 145). The head is adorned with a *sšd* diadem, knotted at the back in the shape of two lotus flowers with double ribbons. Traces of red paint are present on the headband, circle of the knot, and the two ribbons, while yellow was used for the lotus-shaped parts of the knot. An *uraeus* entwines the diadem on the forehead. Although the diadem was frequently worn by the pharaoh, it is also attested for queens and the God's Wife of Amun. According to Myśliwiec, Hatshepsut is rarely depicted wearing this diadem (Myśliwiec 1976: 49). Two examples of silver diadems have survived, both dating to the Seventeenth Dynasty (Marée 2018: 7). Traces of an erased modius are still present on the head of the figure.

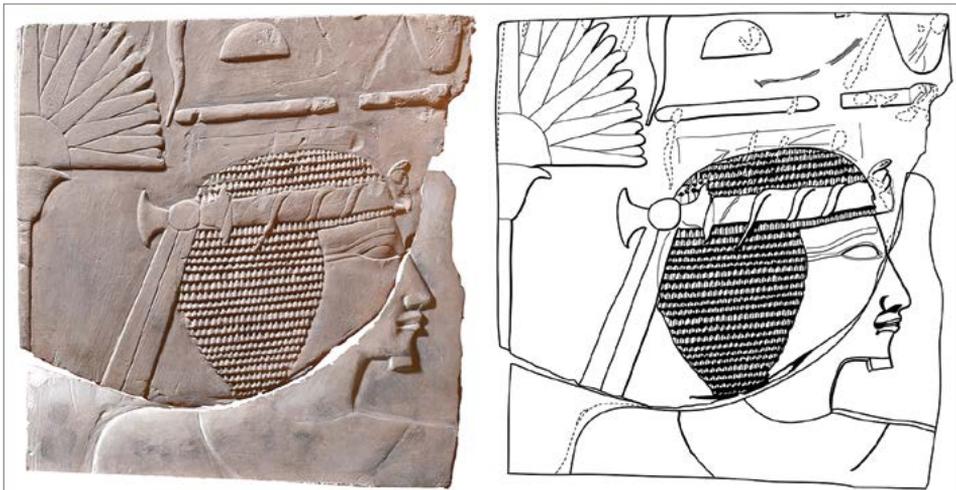


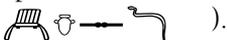
Fig. 3. W1376 with reworked head (The Egypt Centre/photo K. Griffin, drawing F. Weber)

Behind the head are the remains of a fan possibly held by a personified-*ꜥnh*, as is the case with other reliefs from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1895: Pls 19, 22; 1901: Pls 94, 96). Several hieroglyphs are present in two columns, with no dividing line, directly above the head of the figure. The tips of three feathers that are preserved belong to the wing of a vulture that would have hovered above the inscription. Traces of dark paint are present, originally likely blue to judge by other examples from the temple.

Traces of the erased modius indicate that it originally represented a female figure, as confirmed by the hieroglyphs above, in which the feminine pronoun ( — ) is used. While the inscription is only partly preserved, its formulaic nature means it can tentatively be reconstructed based on numerous parallels, including others at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1895: Pl. 18; 1896: Pl. 34; 1898: Pls 61, 77; 1906: Pl. 137) [Fig. 4]:

[*di ꜥnh dd w3s nb*] *3w<t>-ib.s* [*mi Rꜥ*] *dt*,

“[Given all life, stability, and dominion], her heart being rejoiced [like Re] forever”

Traces of red paint can be seen on several signs (  ).

While the obvious choice for the identity of the figure is the pharaoh Hatshepsut, the iconography does not fit with her images from Deir

el-Bahari.<sup>2</sup> Instead, her daughter, the God’s Wife of Amun Neferure, is a more suitable candidate. Depictions of Neferure on temple walls are exceedingly rare (Pawlicki 2007: note 10), but she is depicted no less than eight times on the walls of the Upper Courtyard and in the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re at Deir el-Bahari (Pawlicki 2007: 110, 117). She is also represented with her parents, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis II, four times on the *ntry-mnw* at Karnak (Gabolde 2005: Pls 3, 7, 11, 13). Neferure is commonly shown wearing the *ibs*-wig with a *sšd* diadem and a modius in the exact same manner as on the Swansea fragment. These regalia, along with the *hts*-sceptre that she often wields, are associated with the office of the God’s Wife of Amun (Pawlicki 2007: 113). Six of these scenes at Deir el-Bahari were carefully modified to represent instead Hatshepsut’s parents Iahmes or Tuthmosis I (Pawlicki 2007: 111). In particular, the modius was erased, the *ibs*-wig modified into a vulture cap when representing

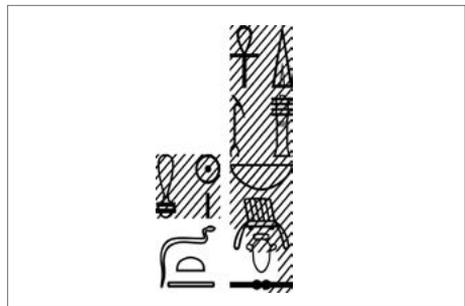


Fig. 4. Reconstructed hieroglyphs on W1376 (JSesh K. Griffin)

2 It was Philippe Martinez who suggested to me (personal communication) that the head could in fact depict Ahmose-Nefertari, who is attested on a number of limestone monuments from Karnak dating to the reign of Amenhotep I.

Iahmes, and the *hts*-sceptre replaced. The change of headgear forced the ancient restorer to model—although not always as carefully as other elements—the ear that had not been visible before (Pawlicki 2007: 122). The best example of this is the two images on either side of the jambs of a granite portal leading to the main temple sanctuary (PM II<sup>2</sup>: 365 [129–130]; Ćwiek 2007: 25; Pawlicki 2007: 121, Figs 6–8; Szafrński 2008: 283, Figs 11–12). In fact, only the two images of Neferure located within the sanctuary were left untouched (PM II<sup>2</sup>: 365 [132], 366 [133]; Ćwiek 2007: Fig. 6; Karkowski 2001: 135; Naville 1906: Pls 141, 143; Pawlicki 2007: 111, Fig. 2). One of these scenes even depicts the young princess with the side-lock of youth, a feature more common on her statues than in relief sculpture (PM II<sup>2</sup>: 365 [132]; Kitchen 1963: Pl. 7; Pawlicki 2007: 113).

Laboury dates the reliefs of Neferure to years 5–7 of the co-regency between Tuthmosis III and Hatshepsut (Laboury 2014: 85). Her prominent position, which was unusual in Egyptian art of this time, was no doubt the result of her appointment as the God's Wife of Amun. Yet Szafrński believes her inclusion in the temple reliefs was indicative of Hatshepsut paving the way for a line of female pharaohs (Szafrński 2007: 149; compare Galán, Bryan, and Dorman 2014: x). In particular, he highlights the prominent position of the two images of Neferure flanking the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re, which were later amended to those of Iahmes (Szafrński 2007: 150). Pawlicki argues that the images of Neferure at Deir el-Bahari were replaced by those of Iahmes and Tuthmosis I already

in the reign of Hatshepsut (Pawlicki 2007: 125) and though it is difficult to know exactly when, he suggests that it occurred around year 16 (Pawlicki 2007: 127). The modification of the figures of Neferure to those of Iahmes and Tuthmosis I fit with Hatshepsut's promotion of the ancestor cult within the temple, particularly in the Upper Terrace, in order to emphasise her royal decent and the legitimacy of her right to the royal throne (Laboury 2014: 85; Pawlicki 2017: 18).

The reverse of the upper fragment of W1376 depicts the face of a nobleman with a short beard carved in raised relief [see Figs 2, 3]. While the lower fragment is 4.5 cm deep, the upper fragment is only 3 cm, confirming that the face was only carved after W1376 had been cut from the block. In fact, it seems that W1376 had been specifically cut into two pieces so that the reverse of the upper fragment could be used to carve a new face for the original figure, an action that also explains the unusually rounded shape of the upper fragment. When this adjustment took place and who was responsible is unknown, but it was likely done by a dealer, auctioneer, or previous owner in order to increase both the monetary and aesthetic value of the object.

An examination of the edges of W1376 [Fig. 5] reveals that the tip of the upper fragment is the original top surface of the block, with some ancient chisel marks still visible (red). The edge of the upper right side of the lower fragment and the left side of the upper fragment are rough, indicating that they are natural breaks. The damage to the surface on the left side of the upper fragment also seems to be natural (blue). The remainder of the

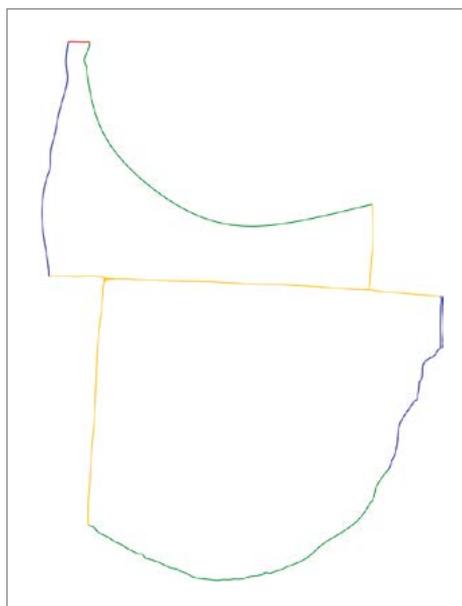


Fig. 5. Schematic drawing of the different edges of W1376: red – original top surface of the block; blue – natural surface damage; green – filed down to a smooth surface; yellow – modern saw marks (Drawing F. Weber)

right side and bottom edge of the fragment was filed down to produce a fairly smooth surface (green). This was obviously with the intention of adding the new face, although there are no traces of glue or mortar at this point to fix the fragments together. The left side of the lower fragment and right side of the upper fragment display the same modern saw marks present along the separation of the two pieces (yellow). Finally, the curvature of the upper fragment seems to have been created by a series of vertical cuts, indicated by at least eleven grooves spaced every few centimetres. The rounded end was then filed to give it a nice smooth edge (green), in a similar manner to the bottom of the lower fragment. Traces of a white powder, which was used as mortar, are present on both the original and broken surfaces (red and blue).

## ACQUISITION HISTORY

As previously noted, W351b and W1376 both arrived in Swansea as part of the dispersal of the Wellcome collection in 1971. Records show that W351b was originally part of the Robert de Rustafjaell (Bierbrier 2012: 479–480) collection, before being sold at auction in 1906 in a lot of six items (Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge 1906: 6). Lot 58 was purchased on behalf of Sir Henry Wellcome by “Llewellyn” for 52 shillings, with the catalogue entry reading as: “other fragments in sand- and limestone. Kneeling figure of woman, etc., men with offerings, etc.; Thebes and Deir-el-Bahri”. Despite the somewhat random dispersal

of the objects in the Wellcome collection, the Egypt Centre acquired at least two further objects from this lot: EC304 and W1371.

EC304 is a limestone fragment in raised relief containing the left wing of a bird extending downwards. Directly behind, and with no dividing line in between, is a large *hnt* (𓏏) sign. This limestone differs from the type found in the memorial temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, suggesting that this is not the provenance, although it is possible that it originates from the neighbouring temple of Nebhepetre Montuhotep II (PM II<sup>2</sup>: 381–400).

W<sub>1371</sub> is a painted fragment of sandstone, roughly square, which was evidently a patch stone. The fragment contains the remains of a large striding figure on the right, with a small kneeling figure of a female offering bearer carrying bread directly in front, with an *ꜥnh*-sign hanging from her arm. Above her head is a rectangle containing the writing *Mn-hꜣpr-Rꜥ hnkꜥ-ꜥnh*, the name of the memorial temple of Tuthmosis III that is located slightly north of the Ramesseum (PM II<sup>2</sup>: 426–429; Ricke 1939). It is thus possible that this fragment originates from the named temple, currently being

excavated and restored by the Ministry of Antiquities and the Academy of Fine Arts Santa Isabel of Hungary of Seville, directed by Myriam Seco Álvarez.

Although W<sub>1376</sub> has no acquisition details, it is possible that it also comes from the 1906 de Rustafjaell sale. While the remaining three items belonging to lot 58 remain an option, lots 53–54 also seem to have been purchased on behalf of Henry Wellcome. Both lots consist of a total of 10 items and are described as fragments of limestone from Deir el-Bahari. Further research in the archives of the Wellcome collection may reveal more details.<sup>3</sup>

## CONCLUSION

The two fragments presented in this paper are believed to have originated from the memorial temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, based on a number of factors, including the iconography and carving. Additionally, the limestone used by Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, which appears to match the two Swansea fragments, is of a particular quality that is quite different from other limestone in Western Thebes.<sup>4</sup> While their exact placement within the temple is currently unknown, it seems likely that they come from the Upper Courtyard. W<sub>351b</sub> is certainly from the 1906 de Rustafjaell sale and it is proposed here that W<sub>1376</sub> was likewise, particularly as it is well known that the collector sold many fragments from the site of Deir el-Bahari during this auction (PM II<sup>2</sup>: 365).

The life-cycle of W<sub>1376</sub> is particularly interesting, as it seems the fragment originally depicted the God's Wife of Amun Neferure, who Hatshepsut may have been grooming to be her successor. This scene was later transformed with the erasure of the modius. It is also worth noting that two scratches on the diadem, directly behind the tail of the *uraeus*, point to an additional modification. Although it is difficult to know exactly what was originally present, it perhaps represents traces of an erased sidelock, a feature that would confirm the fragment as representing Neferure. The erasures suggest that Neferure was replaced by either Iahmes or Tuthmosis I, Hatshepsut's mother and father, as is the case elsewhere in the temple. The

3 Attempts to locate details of W<sub>1376</sub> in the Wellcome archives have been unsuccessful thus far. I am grateful to Trudy Zimmermann, an archivist of the Wellcome collection, and her colleagues for their cooperation.

4 This limestone is referred to by the Polish mission as the "Hatshepsut limestone" (Z.E. Szafráński, personal communication).

fact that the *ibs*-wig was not changed to the vulture cap may indicate that the reworked figure represented Tuthmosis I. If so, those responsible for recarving the scene overlooked the feminine pronoun above. At some point, most likely in the late 19th century, W1376 was removed from a loose block or wall. The fragment was further transformed when it was cut into two pieces, with the reverse of the top fragment carved to form the missing face of the lower fragment. Regrettably, this act resulted in substantial loss to the

original decoration. Eventually the two fragments were glued together in their original layout, although when this occurred is unknown. W1376 arrived in Swansea in 1971 and after several decades in storage is now on display in the House of Life of the Egypt Centre.

It is hoped that it may be possible to determine the original placement of both W351b and W1376 at Deir el-Bahari, with casts of the fragments being produced in order to be inserted into the walls of the temple.

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#### How to cite this article:

Griffin, K. (2018). Two relief fragments from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari in the Egypt Centre, Swansea. In Z. E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 225–235). Warsaw: Warsaw University Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3242>

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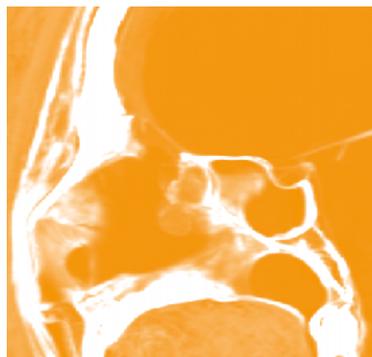
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# A medley of mummies from Deir el-Bahari

**Abstract:** The results of radiographic and visual examinations of four mummies originating from Deir el-Bahari, now kept in different museums throughout Egypt, are presented here. One individual dates to the Twenty-second Dynasty, and the remaining three date to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and were possibly related. Some of the mummies possessed amulets, with one individual having unusual accouterments in addition to the amulets.

**Keywords:** Egypt, mummy, sawdust, resin, amulets, hand positions

A group of mummies and coffins were investigated as part of a larger Polish project dealing with burials in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. The Twenty-fifth Dynasty encoffined burials (Heresenes, Nespaqashuty and Padiamunet) were originally located on the Upper Terrace in a shaft in front of the mortuary Chapel of Hatshepsut (Tomb XVIII). However, at the time of writing, the encoffined bodies are kept in Luxor Museum (Nespaqashuty) and the National Museum of Egyptian Civilisation's (NMEC) storage facility at Fustat (Heresenes and Padiamunet). The cartonnage-encased body of Shauamunimes (Twenty-second Dynasty) presented here is unprovenanced, but as burial equipment belonging to individuals with the same name and titles has been recently found by the Polish–Egyptian mission to Deir el-Bahari, it probably originates from there (Barwik 2003: 122ff.; Sheikholeslami 2018, in this volume), and thus it is included in this article. It is currently kept in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo. The containers for these mummies and their history are presented in this volume in the article by Cynthia May Sheikholeslami.



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## **Acknowledgments**

We are grateful to Cynthia May Sheikholeslami, project director, for inviting us to collaborate on this project. The project was generously funded by the American Research Center in Egypt's Antiquities Endowment Fund. Thanks are owed to the following people and institutions for their help and support in completing this project: Egyptian Museum Cairo: El-Sayed Amer and Mahmoud el-Hawagy (General Directors); Curators Ibrahim Abdel-Gawad, Wafaa Habib, CT-Machine Tarek Abd el-Aala; Technicians Said Atta, Ramadan es-Sayed, Ramadan Hamed, Abdel-Rahman Ibrahim, Mounir Lotfy, Abdalla Hassan, Adel Abdel-Hamid, Alaa Hindawy, and Farag Nasser; Luxor Museum: Sanaa Aly (Director), Curators Samia Abdel Aziz Abdel Razek, Eman Fares Abadeer, Nesreen Ayaad Armeneos, Nakhla Shawky Habeb; the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization Cairo: Khaled al-Anany (Director), Curators Mohamed Mokhtar, Khaled Sadek, Ahmed el-Said, Somaya Abdel-Khaleq, Karem el-Said, Tamer Abdel-Fattah, Mustafa Ismail, Yehia Hussein, Mahmoud el-Masry, Ayat Magdy, Mohamed Ragab, Essam Ahmed Soliman, Mahmoud Abdallah, Technicians Ibrahim Mohamed, Adel Malak, Mohamed Ismail, Mostafa Magdi; Sohag Ministry of Antiquities, Museum, & Sheikh Hamad/Athribis Magazine: Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser (General Director of Sohag Inspectorate), Abdellatif Ibrahim (Sohag Museum Curator), Ibrahim el-Sherif, Talat Abdel Aziz Fawzy, Ragab Fahmy, Gamal Saad, Hamada Immam, Mina William, and Mohammed Yazid; Ministry of Antiquities: Mustafa Amin (General Director, Supreme Council of Antiquities), Mohamed Ismail and Hany Abd El Azm (Directors of Foreign Missions Affairs), Samia el-Merghani (Director for Human Remains); Hisham el-Leithy; Cairo University: Hany Amer made the CT-scans. Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw and its nd the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari: Zbigniew Szafranski (Mission Director), *reis* Ragab Yassin Ahmed, Romani; and Nicholas Warner and Mohammed Labib.

## METHODOLOGY

As all the mummies were wrapped or enclosed in cartonnage, they were examined through imaging. Three mummies, that of Shauamunimes (Twenty-second Dynasty) in the Egyptian Museum, and Heresenes (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) and Padiamunet (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) from the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization collection, stored in the Fustat magazine of the Ministry of Antiquities, were x-rayed *in situ* (Karmex Diagnostic X-ray Unit PX-20N, AC 115V 50/60HZ, 50–130 KVP 2–20mA), and CT-scanned at the Egyptian Museum's mobile facility (Siemens Emotion 6 machine), using a slice thickness of 1 mm.<sup>1</sup> The images were later processed and reviewed by the team, with the IMI-art palaeoradiologists rendering all the CT images that appear in this article. The fourth mummy, Nespaqashuty (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), was only x-rayed in the Luxor Museum, where no scanning facilities are available.<sup>2</sup> The canopics of Padiamunet and Heresenes in the Luxor Museum were examined visually and through x-ray. Those of Nespaqashuty, now held in the Ministry of Antiquities magazine in Sohag, were visually examined.

### SHAUAMUNIMES (I), TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY TEMPLE SINGER<sup>3</sup>

A sealed cartonnage case containing the mummy of the temple singer Shauamunimes (*ḥsyt n ḥnw n Imn*),

dating to the early Twenty-second Dynasty [Fig. 1], probably from the reign of Osorkon I (Taylor 2017), and possibly originating from Deir el-Bahari is now on display at the Egyptian Museum Cairo (TR 21.11.16.15). It was examined



Fig. 1. Cartonnage of Shauamunimes in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (Courtesy of the Egyptian Museum/photo S. Ikram)

- 1 The authors are grateful for discussions with Robert Loynes and Frank Rühli on this group of mummies.
- 2 Preliminary results were published in Sheikholeslami and Ikram 2017; the results here reflect the current thinking on these mummies, after more work had been carried out on the images.
- 3 This mummy has been previously scanned, and some of the results relating to her heart were published in Thompson et al. 2013.

by x-rays and CT-scans. The head was not flush with the top of the cartonnage case that enveloped the mummy [Fig. 2 left], which is a common trait in mummies of this type (see Eladany 2011: 302 for examples of spaces between head and top of cartonnage; Taylor and Antoine 2014: Fig. 102), often because space is needed to manoeuvre the body into the casing (Adams 1966).

The age of death of this young woman was about 17, or less probably 14–17, as evidenced by the fact that her long bones were still fusing (distal femur, proximal tibia), and by her dentition (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; White and Folkens 2005: 363–375).

In life, Shauamunimes was probably about 1.63 m high (Raxter et al. 2008). Her arms, wrapped separately, lie along the sides of her body and rest on her thighs, not quite on her pudenda (the mummy of Tjayasetimu, a temple singer, in the British Museum, London, EA 20744, had her hands placed more definitely over

her pubes). The legs were wrapped separately and then the area between them filled with linen bundles. On the whole, she was well wrapped in linen bandages, with different numbers of layers depending on the body part. In addition to bandages that were wrapped around the entire body, extra pads of linen were used to bulk out the body, particularly in the region of the legs. In some portions of the wrapping (over the legs, over the torso), one can see several layers of textile followed by a resinous layer, and then completed by more textile layers. A similar situation has been noted on Leiden AMM. 22–21, in the region of the head (Raven and Taconis 2005: 104–107). Unfortunately, we are not sufficiently versed in the appearance of different qualities of textile in CT images, although these seem to be of good quality, not very coarse, but not of the gossamer variety.

Shauamunimes was excerebrated via the ethmoid, with some linen introduced into the cranial cavity [see Fig. 2

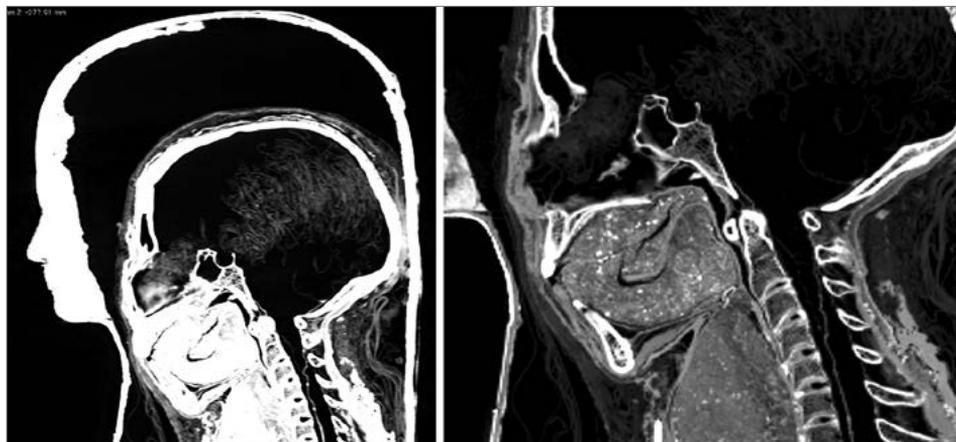


Fig. 2. Shauamunimes's head within the cartonnage, showing the space between the two, as well as the packing in the mouth and the textile filling in the cranium; right, close-up of the filling in the mouth and neck (All CTR images in this article IMI-art unless stated otherwise)

left]. Her mouth and neck were stuffed with some sort of mixture made up of a grainy substance (mud of some sort or sawdust, mixed with oils) [Fig. 2 right]. This is a continuation of a Twenty-first Dynasty tradition that was established to give the deceased a more life-like appearance (Smith and Dawson 1924: 110–120). Parallels have been noted in other Twenty-second Dynasty mummies, such as Meresamun (Teeter and Johnson 2009), Tanekharut (AMM. 22–21 in Raven and Taconis 2005: 100–103), and Tayuheret from Bab el-Gusus (Badr 2014), on bodies from Bab el-Gusus in the Egyptian

Museum (TR 28.4/26.27-1 and DelB 39), and other recently examined mummies from Thebes at Dra Abu al-Naga and the Valley of the Kings.<sup>4</sup> This practice seems to have continued throughout the Third Intermediate Period, albeit inconsistently (Petisis is such an example, AMM. 19 in Raven and Taconis 2005: 115–119).

The evisceration incision is on the left side: The four visceral packages were returned to the body, being carefully placed in the thorax and abdomen [Fig. 3], a common phenomenon for this period (Smith and Dawson 1924: 113, 116, 120; Gray 1967), each with a pierced tab-like metal amulet,

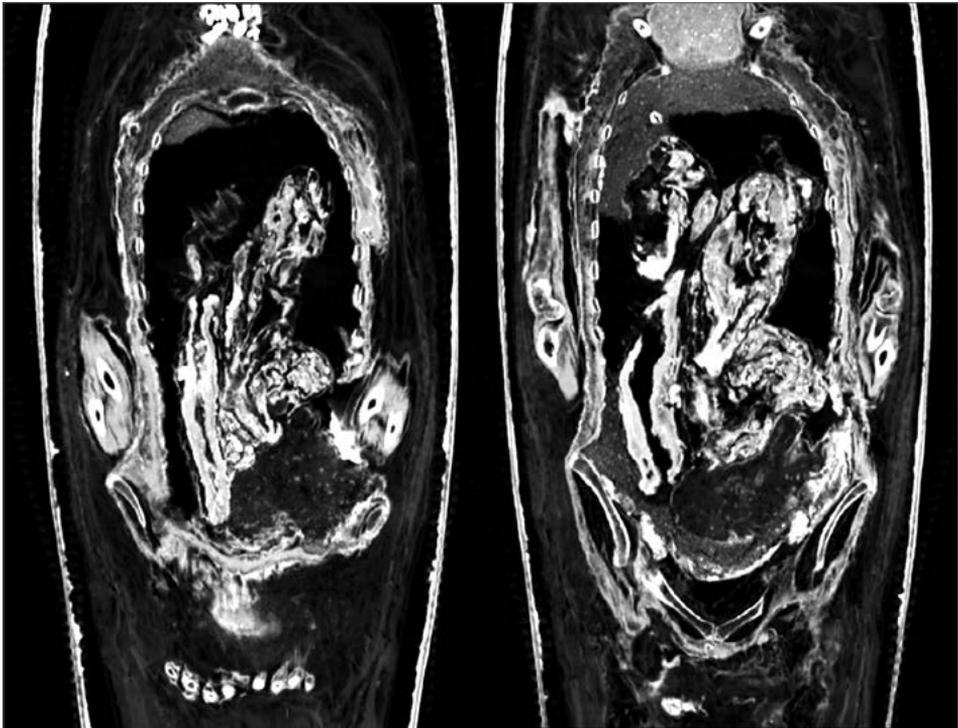


Fig. 3. Shauamunimes's abdominal packages

- 4 The ones from the Djehuty Project at Dra Abu al-Naga are being studied by Jesus Herrin and Salima Ikram, and those in the Valley of the Kings, KV 40 are being examined by Susanne Bickel, Salima Ikram, Frank Rühli, Roger Seiler, and Marina Estermann.

presumably bearing the protective likeness of the relevant Son of Horus (Raven and Taconis 2005: 112–114). The visceral incision was covered by a square plate made of a dense material undeterminable with the current scan resolution and the repertoire of comparable materials, which could possibly have been enhanced with a drawing of a *wadjet* eye [Fig. 4], as seen on other embalming plaques of this period. Its four corners are pierced by holes. Wooden, wax, and metal examples of these have been found on mummies of the Twenty-first Dynasty onward (British Museum, London: EA15572; several in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo: JE6267; JE41586; TR 13.11/24.20; TR 13.11/24.29; TR 13.11/14.28; TR13.11/24.16; TR13.8/24.38; TR 13.11/24.34 and on mummy JE296825; Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 25.3.164; Petrie Museum, London: UC52459, UC52460, UC52462). The heart

remains in the body. Additional linen serves to pack the body.

A curious feature was observed in the area of the thighs. Long lamellated bands that appear to be some sort of plant (though it is slightly within the realm of possibility that these are made of finely pleated linen) were placed over the skin, helping to thicken the thighs so they seem more life-like [Fig. 5]. Unfortunately these scans do not provide sufficient detail to identify this material (and there are not enough matching data/images with which to compare them); they could be papyrus stems or palm leaves, but not palm ribs.

A string of at least 12 amulets lay on her neck [Fig. 6]. These included *tyt*, *djed*, a foot, *wadj*, possibly images of standing deities, rectangular and stela-shaped objects with suspension loops, possibly an *ib*). A scarab was placed within the wrappings, in the area at the base of her

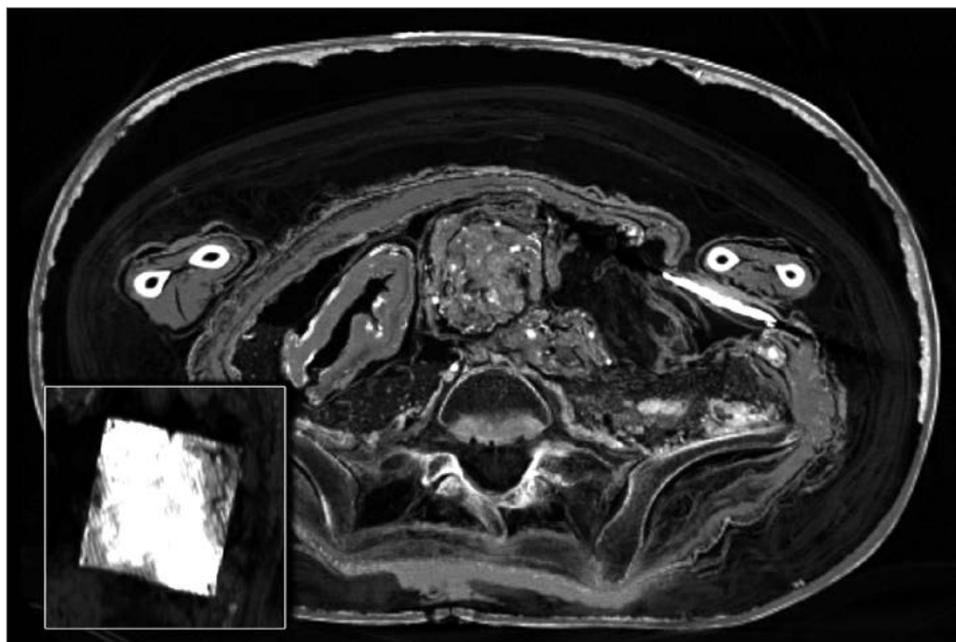


Fig. 4. Shauamunimes's evisceration cover/plaque

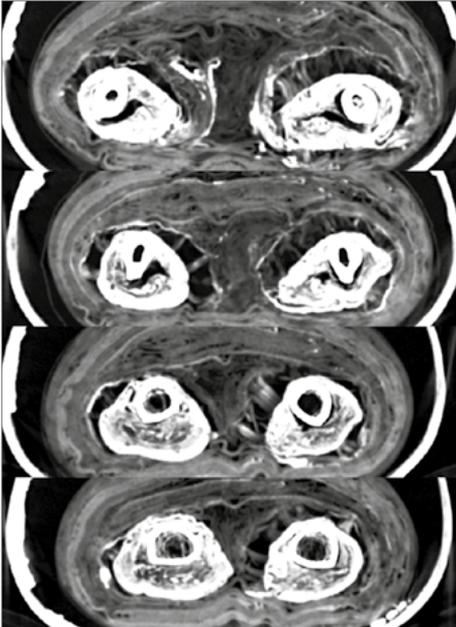


Fig. 5. Enigmatic material on Shauamunimes's thighs

throat; a winged scarab, possibly of cartonnage, was placed near the bottom of her sternum, and a few other amulets were scattered in the area of the thorax. These included a rectangular elongated plaque that appears to be over the heart area, decorated perhaps with a winged scarab, and a small rectangular amulet near one of the visceral packages [Fig. 7].



Fig. 6. Visualisation of the amulets around Shauamunimes's neck

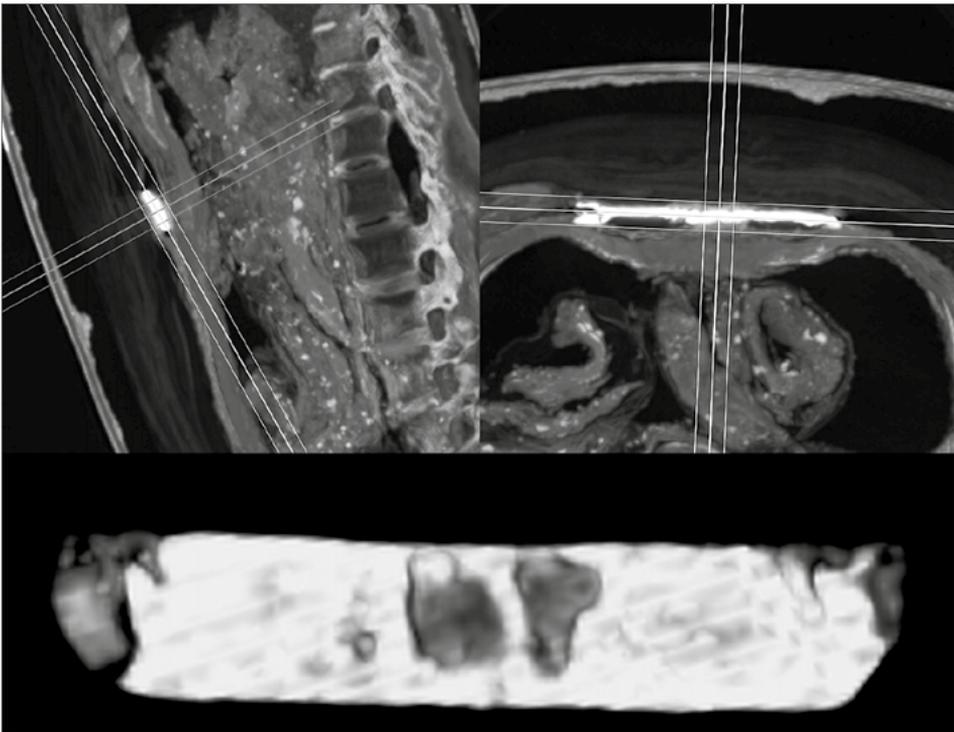


Fig. 7. Amulet found on Shaumunimes's breast/chest area

Comparable amulet groupings appear on the mummy of Tamut (British Museum, London EA 22939; Taylor and Antoine 2014: 68–91; Eladany 2011: 314), and some others from Bab el-Gusus (Daressy 1907). In addition to the amulets on her torso, Shauamunimes also had two amulets (rings?) at her wrist and hand.

A similar feature was found on the mummy of Tjanefer (Cairo Museum JE29682; Clarke et al. 2014; Linda Sutherland and the Horus Team, personal communication; Daressy 1907; some details of Tjanefer's amulets can be found in Clarke et al. 2014).

A curious feature was noted in Shauamunimes vertebral column: she has a butterfly vertebra, a rare congenital malformation that usually causes no harm or pain to its owner [Fig. 8]. Generally this appears on a lumbar vertebra, but in this case it is on the thoracic 11th vertebra. The cause of death is unclear.

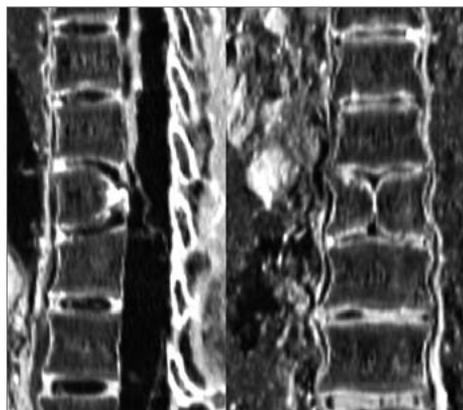


Fig. 8. Shauamunimes's vertebral column showing her butterfly vertebra, a congenital malformation

**PADIAMUNET (iii) TWENTY-FIFTH  
DYNASTY PRIEST OF MONTU,  
GRANDSON OF TAKELOT III**

The wrapped body of Padiamunet (iii) (currently bearing the number Luxor Museum J 346) was covered with a faience bead net that extends from the shoulders to the ankles, with bead tassels decorating the bottom edge and the two long sides edged with a heavier band of beads (see Silvano 1980 for typologies) [Fig. 9]. The body was wrapped in several layers of bandages topped by a now tea-coloured linen shroud (probably originally pinkish red, commonly found in mummies of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, with some exemplars known from earlier in the Third Intermediate Period) which, at least at the feet, overlaps in front. The shroud is kept in place and further adorned by a series of bandages that can be discerned beneath the bead net. A long vertical bandage runs down the centre, flanked by two other vertical bandages. Horizontal bands further secure these on the face, at the shoulders, elbows, wrists, hips, knees, and above the ankles. An X, like the Twenty-first Dynasty leather braces, crosses over the chest and around the neck like a halter. Such combinations are well attested for other Twenty-fifth Dynasty mummies (Raven and Taconis 2005: 120–131).

Imaging of the mummy of Padiamunet (iii) showed the body, unmistakably of a man who was about 1.67 m tall (Raxter et al. 2008). The body was positioned with the arms crossed over the chest, the hands resting close to the shoulders, with the right over the left [Fig. 12]. There seems to be some variation in hand positioning during this period, perhaps

linked to status, as the mummy of another Padiamunet (British Museum, London, EA 6683) who was a temple doorkeeper, had the arms along the sides of the body, hands resting on the thighs (Taylor and Antoine 2014: Figs 89–91). It is interesting that other mummies of contemporary date slightly vary their positions. He was between 25 and 40 years of age. All the bones were fused and he has adult dentition, with some tooth loss (some of the maxillary molars and mandibular incisors), areas of focal bone destruction by abscesses, crown wear and alveolar recession.

He was excerebrated nasally, from the left nostril. A small, 8 cm long wooden (average density between -600 and -400 HU, matching wood density) stick was left behind by the embalmers in the cranial cavity, stuck in the posterior cerebral falx—perhaps a broken piece of the tool that was used to help excerebration [Fig. 10]. A few other examples of such an occurrence have come to light thus far: a mummy in Leiden has a fragment of a wooden stick left by the embalmers in the nose (Raven and Taconis 2005: 157), another in the British Museum also has a tool left in the cranium (Taylor and Antoine 2014: 46–59), as does one in the Archaeological Museum in Zagreb (Čavka and Uranić 2015: 124), and another one that was identified by CT-scans, too (Jackowski, Bolliger, and Thali 2008: 1477).

Padiamunet (iii) was eviscerated from the left side, with two visceral packets (possibly false ones as he has canopics (Luxor Museum J 75) that appear to have some contents) introduced into the body in the upper part of the thorax [Fig. 13]. The lower portion filled with a granu-



Fig. 9. Padiamunet prior to being x-rayed (Courtesy Ministry of Antiquities/photo S. Ikram)

lar packing material of very low density (sawdust?), less in the left side than the right (the torso of Padiamenet (EA 6683) in the British Museum is also packed, but without visceral or other packages). A deformed trachea and the main bronchi are well visible, and next to it inferiorly some

dense and laminar remnants of mediastinal tissue. These, being very thin and with a curled shape, do not match the usual range of mummified heart remains.

His arms are wrapped together with his body, and his legs are wrapped individually, and separated by a linen pad. His eye

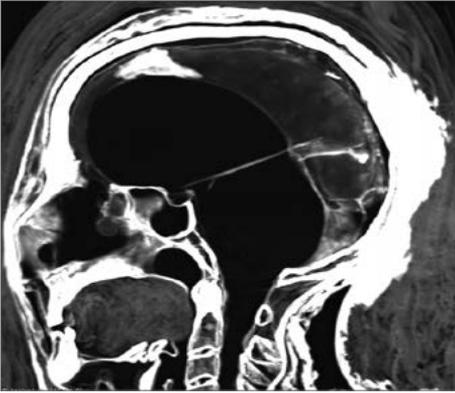


Fig. 10. Remnants of the embalmer's tool are visible in Padiamenet's cranium

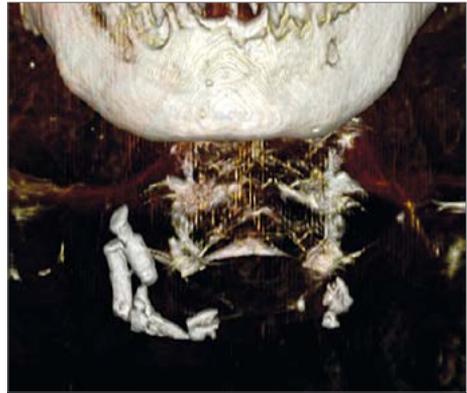


Fig. 11. Amulets in Padiamenet's neck area, with several standing deities

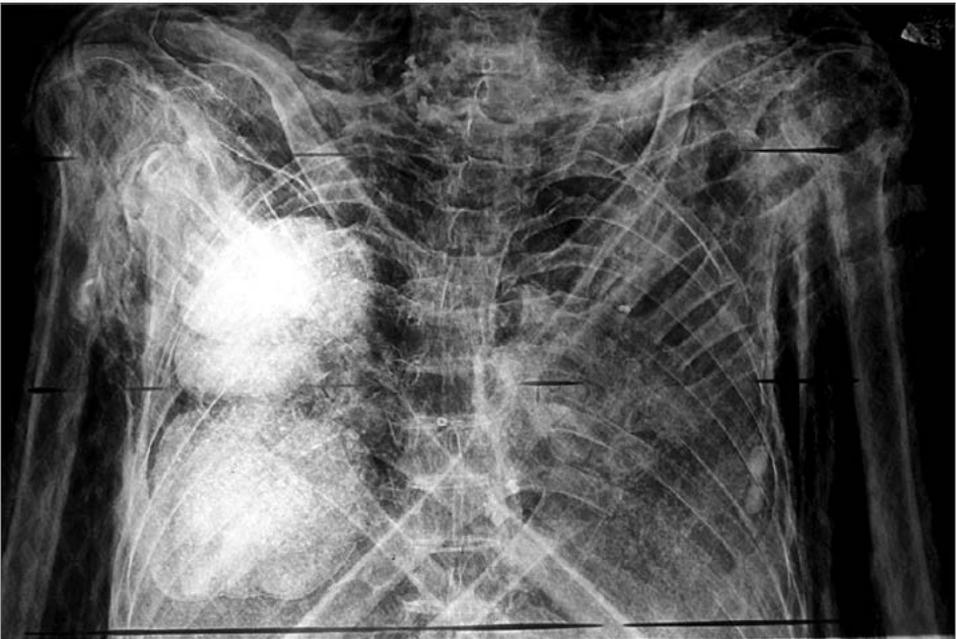


Fig. 12. Packages in Padiamenet's chest; his crossed arms are visible

sockets are packed with linen and some plate or cloth soaked in resin has been placed on top of each one. The mouth is stuffed with linen as well, and his ears sealed with plugs of cloth soaked in a resinous substance. His genitals were coated with resin before being wrapped separately.

Padiamunet (iii) was well supplied with amulets [Fig. 11]. A possible *wedjat* eye of stone or faience or glass lies to the left of his nose. He wears a plethora of amulets made of stone or glass or particularly dense faience around his neck, suspended on a thread. They include: *wedjat* eyes, *tyt* amulets, *djed* pillars, standing figures of deities (or *hes* vases), and loose, under his neck, a headrest amulet. There is also a *wedjat* near his left nostril. The amulet in the area of the heart does not look like a heart scarab. There is an-

other *wedjat* in the area of the right wrist, and two other oval amulets of some sort, possibly small scarabs, in the thorax.

The mummy of Padiamunet (iii) also had two very unusual accessories. As mentioned above, his hands are crossed high on his chest, but along his arms lay a crook and a flail [Fig. 14], both most probably made of wood. Both the crook and flail are unusual accessories for a priestly mummy of this—or indeed *any*—period. Perhaps future work on other mummies will show that this genre of accessory is more common than currently supposed, but until the present moment, these remain a rarity. It is interesting that pseudo-amulets and jewelry made of linen or cartonnage have been found on mummies, including those from the second cache discovery at Deir el-Bahari (Niwiński 2001: 41–45; Daressy

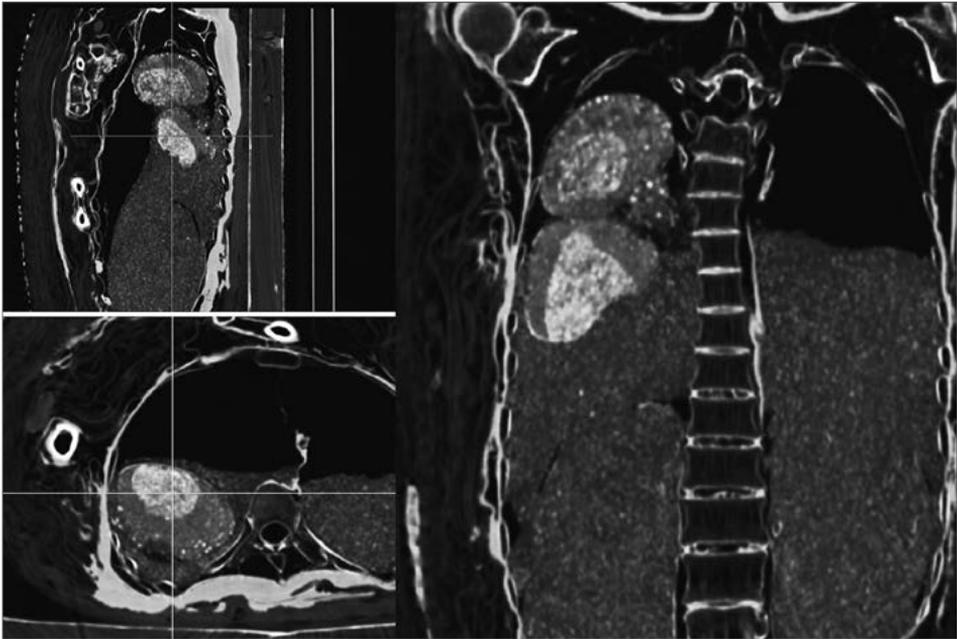


Fig. 13. Visceral packages and filling in Padiamunet's torso

and Smith 1903; Ziegelmayer 1985: 45). Linen accouterments, including sandals, were also put on Ptolemaic-era mummies (Ziegelmayer 1985: 42), and rolls of linen were used to imitate papyrus Books of the Dead (Ziegelmayer 1985: 43; Niwiński 2001).

In addition to dental abscesses, Padiamunet (iii) also suffered from lower cervical discarthrosis (C5–C6). Although not severe, it would have caused discomfort.

His canopic jars are exhibited in the Luxor Museum and are ceramic with limestone covers. These were visually examined and x-rayed, but as one might expect, there was only linen and soft tissue (unidentifiable to precise organ) in the packets. Future work on the contents of canopic jars is intended, using histology and more refined imaging, following the protocols that are to be established by the Ancient Egyptian Canopics Project, directed by Frank Rühli.

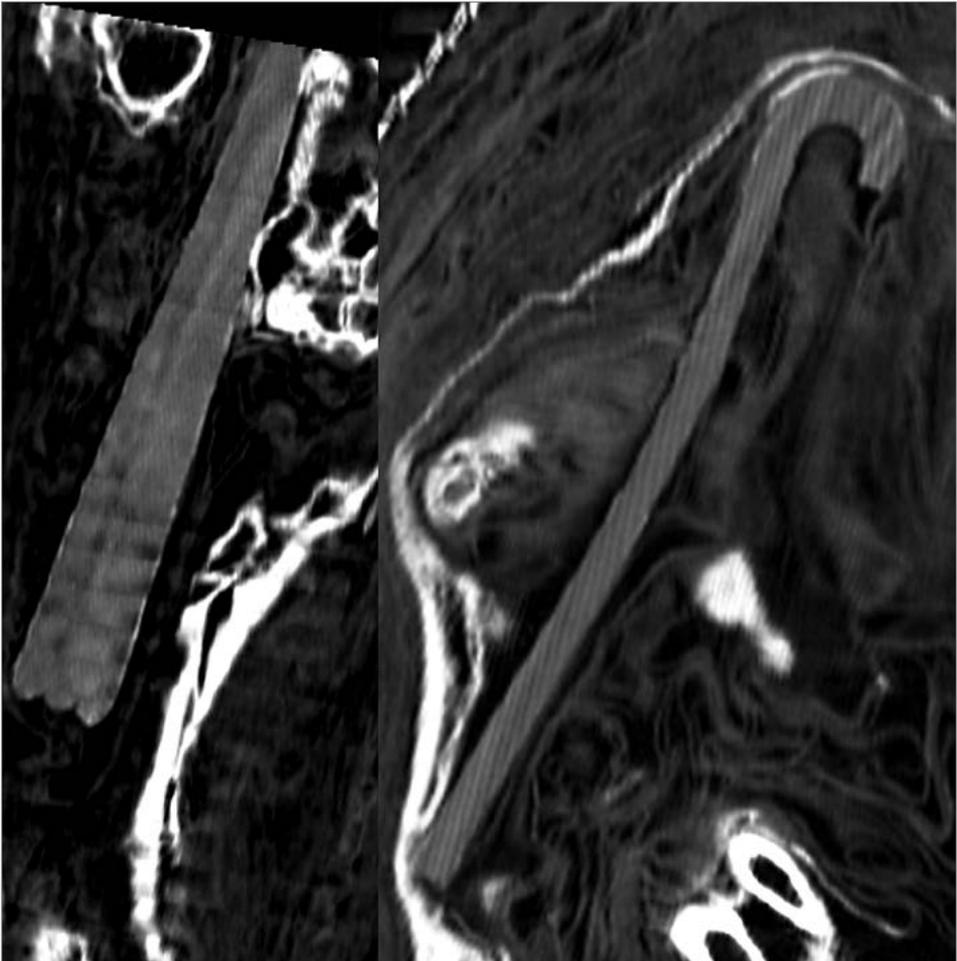


Fig. 14. Padiamunet's wooden crook and flail

**NESPAQASHUTY (VI), PRIEST OF MONTU,  
TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY,  
NEPHEW OF PADIAMUNET (III)**

The mummy of Nespaqashuty (vi), Luxor Museum J 347, was 1.74 m long, and at its widest, at the elbows, measured 0.42 m. The well-wrapped body lay in a wooden coffin and was covered, neck to just above the ankles, by an elaborate faience bead net (unlike that of Padiamunet [iii], whose foot-side ends in 19 to 20 tassels [Fig. 15]). The net has a central vertical column with a border of blue, reddish, and white beads that do not follow a regular pattern (see Silvano 1980 for typologies of nets). Their density no doubt helps to weigh the net down and keep it in place. Within the column, over the torso, the beads form a large black scarab with multi-coloured (black, blue, red, yellow) schematic wings defined by rows of chevrons. Its hind legs hold a blue disk outlined in red. Placed on top of the net, just below the bead scarab, although probably not in its original position, is a gold schematic *ba*-bird with outspread wings, surmounted by a disk. The central portion of the figure is inset with a faience scarab. Details of the wings are engraved.

Beneath this, in the bead net, is a standing figure of a goddess in a white dress, with outstretched wings, crowned with the horned sun disk. The wings are well made and use the same palette as the rest of the bead decoration. Her head is flanked by schematic gold figures; a suspension hole is drilled in the top of each. Directly beneath her feet is a vertical band of text in beadwork of solid black glyphs on a white background, covered an inscribed band of gold or gilded cartonnage that is pierced at all four corners.

The body was wrapped in a variety of qualities of linen, some with fringes still attached. The outermost shroud was of fine linen and secured by a series of inward folded bandages. One was vertical, with at least seven horizontal bandages: two bands at the neck/shoulders, one at the elbows, one just below the pelvis, one at the knees, one in the middle of the calf and one at the ankles. Two strips of



Fig. 15. Nespaqashuty encoffined (Courtesy Luxor Museum/photo S. Ikram)

similarly folded linen were crossed over the chest, reminiscent of the red leather braces commonly found on Twenty-first Dynasty mummies. Small smears of resin were used to ensure that the bandages remained in place. Such wrappings and elaborate nets are well known from other Twenty-fifth Dynasty mummies (Raven and Taconis 2005: 120–131).

The body belongs to a young man, between 15 and 17 years of age, based on the fusion of his distal femur and proximal tibia (White and Folkens 2005: 363–375). He was about 1.70 m tall (Raxter et al. 2008). Although smears of resin are not visible on the top of the wrappings, the body was stuck to the coffin, and as it is quite heavy, it is clear that substantial amounts of resinous/adhesive substances must have been used in its preparation, and that the body had been placed in the coffin while the resin was warm and tacky.

Radiographic images show that beneath the wrappings, Nespaqashuty's arms are crossed, high over his chest, left over right, with the hands extended [Fig. 16]. It has previously been suggested that such a position of the hands and arms was more commonly found in the Ptolemaic period. The evidence from the mummies of Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) supports the Twenty-fifth Dynasty dating of the anonymous female mummy (now called "Amunet"), originally from excavations at Deir el-Medina, with the same hand-arm position, now in the collection of the Columbus, OH, Historical Society, some of whose wrappings have been dated to about 800 BC on the basis of C<sup>14</sup> testing (Sheikholeslami 2013). He appears to be excerebrated, although the quality of the radiograph is not exemplary; what seems

to be a false eye or, less likely, an amulet was placed over his right orbit. Possibly a similar one had been placed on his left eye, but has fallen away and does not appear in the x-rays [see Fig. 16]. He was eviscerated from the left side and the lower part of the body is packed with a granular substance that might be sawdust or a combination of sawdust and sand or mud. The legs, particularly the left one, show horizontal cracks, possibly suggesting that the body was covered by a thick layer of resin, creating a sort of carapace, and that this has cracked. Thick applications of resinous materials have been noted in mummies of the Twenty-first Dynasty onward, and such a coating would have contributed



Fig. 16. Nespaqashuty's crossed arms (Photo S. Ikram)

to the weight of the body (Smith and Dawson 1924; S. Ikram, personal observation in Thebes).

His teeth are worn and some are lost. It is not totally clear if the missing ones had fallen out post-mortem—one of the incisors probably did, since there is no sign of alveolar reabsorption. There is some lipping in the lower neck and back vertebrae, early signs of discarthrosis in the lower dorsal and lower lumbar areas. Aside from those on the head, no amulets were visible in the x-rays, although it is possible that CT-scans might reveal some.

Nespaqashuty's handsome set of limestone canopics, topped with the heads of the Four Sons of Horus, are now in a magazine in Sohag, as they are intended for display in the Sohag Museum. The viscera were desiccated with natron, highly resinated, and then wrapped in linen, as per usual.

**HERESENES (TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY),  
MAYBE WIFE OF PADIAMUNET (III)  
OR THE MOTHER OF HIS NEPHEW  
NESPAQASHUTY (VI)**

Heresenes (Luxor Museum J 346), located in the Fustat magazine of the NMEC at the time of writing, was well wrapped in a pink linen shroud that had faded to a tea colour in places. Like other mummies in the group, an X bandage covered her torso, and horizontal reinforced bandages were situated at her head, thighs, knees and ankles. Another X on her lower legs was formed by the wrapping of these horizontal bands. Discoloration and a negative impression of patterning on the shroud suggests that this was once covered with a bead net [Fig. 17].

CT multiplanar reconstructions show that she had curly-hair impregnated with



Fig. 17. Heresenes prior to x-raying (Photo S. Ikram)

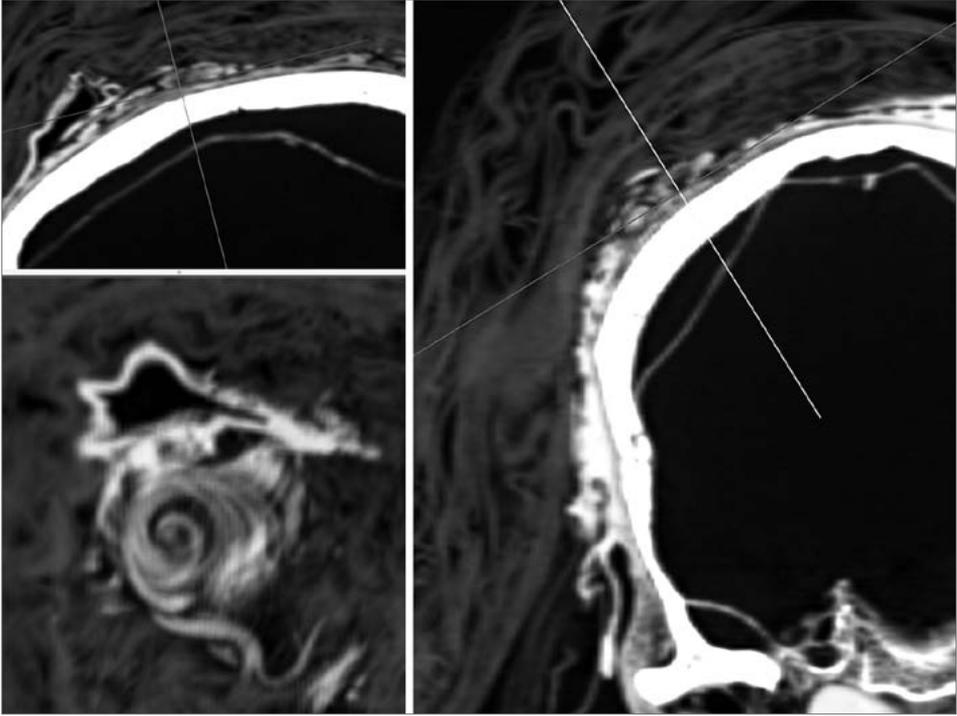


Fig. 18. Heresenes's lock of hair

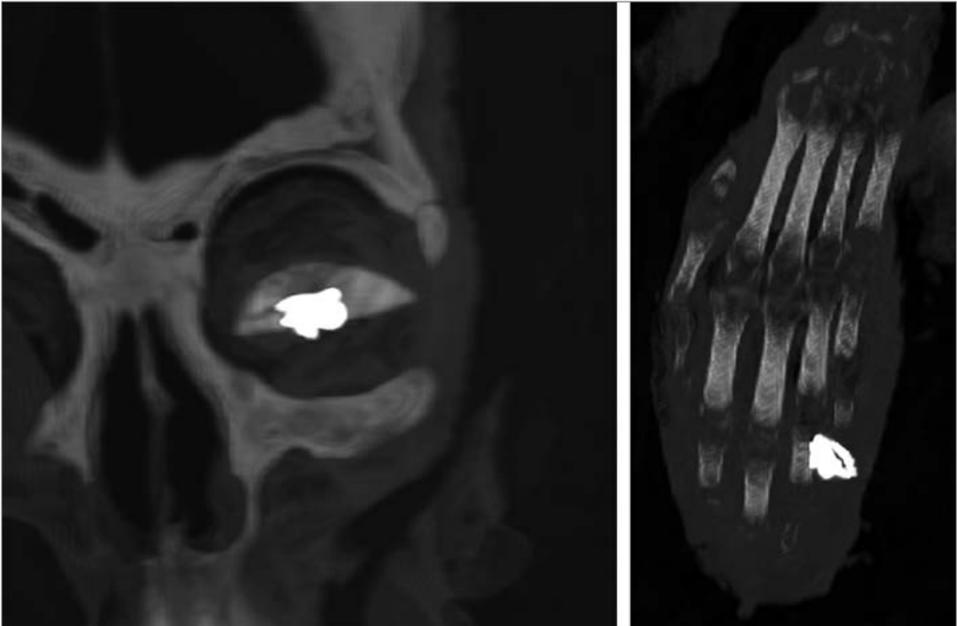


Fig. 19. Heresenes's left artificial eye and *wadjet* eye amulet (left) and ring with a *wadjet* eye on her left hand (right)

resin [Fig. 18], and her body is positioned with her arms extended along her sides, the hands resting on her thighs. The arms were wrapped in two to four layers of linen, before being wrapped in with the body. The legs are wrapped in at least five layers of linen, before being wrapped together. When alive, she was between 1.55 m and 1.59 m tall (Raxter et al. 2008), very much in keeping with the ancient Egyptian norm (Zakrzewski 2003). She probably died when she was in her twenties, based on long bone fusion (femurs, tibiae all fused) and dentition—there is some attrition on her molars (Buikstra and Ubelaker 1994; White and Folkens 2005: 363–365).

Her eyes were given form by having what are possibly the bulbs of small onions, which might have been covered by a thin coating of wax or maybe even resin, placed beneath the lids. The use of tiny onion bulbs to simulate the eyeball is seen in the Twentieth Dynasty (Smith and Dawson 1924: 105), and probably persisted. A *wedjat* amulet is located over each eye [Fig. 19 left], attached to the resin/onion. Above at least one layer of wrapping lay artificial eyes, possibly of stone or glass. They are now slightly displaced, with the right one having fallen near the ear. Although false stone eyes are well attested from the Twenty-first Dynasty onward (Lucas and Harris 1962; Gray 1971; Smith and Dawson 1924: 105, 113; Magniez 2008), it is unusual to have eye amulets in conjunction with them.

She was not excerebrated and her brain remains *in situ*. Her lower ethmoid bone is damaged, but upper cranial access was not achieved this way, which is perhaps why her brain remained intact. She was

eviscerated through a cut in the left side with a linen plug sealing it; the viscera were wrapped and placed in ceramic canopic jars with saucer-like lids. Some of the packages had been attacked by insects, leaving a significant amount of frass. A great deal of resinous substance was used on two of the viscera (Luxor Museum J 808-4 and J 808-1), while the other two showed less evidence of resin. One of the containers appears to contain the remains of the liver (Luxor Museum J 808-3); the others presumably contained the intestines, lungs, and stomach, but it is hard to determine this without histological work or CT-scans, neither of which were possible at the time of work. The heart remains in the body.

The thorax and abdomen were filled with large quantities of what is possibly sawdust and silt or less likely, based on the density (-800 and -600 HU), sand, with linen used near the evisceration cut. Other mummies of this period (as well as slightly earlier and later) have sawdust filling (Magniez 2008). Resinous materials were applied generously, and some have soaked through the bandages along the back and legs, and dribbles or smears of resin interrupt the wrappings. At least four (faience?) amulets are noted on the lower thorax: a *wadjet* eye, a possible falcon, and two that are unidentifiable. On the left hand, a slim finger boasts a ring with a *wadjet* eye as its bezel [Fig. 19 right].

Heresenes showed signs of chronic inflammation of the sacroiliac joints, in conjunction with a significant disruption at her pubic symphysis that is not the result of post-mortem manipulation [Figs 20, 21]. The main CT pelvimetric measurements revealed abnormally low

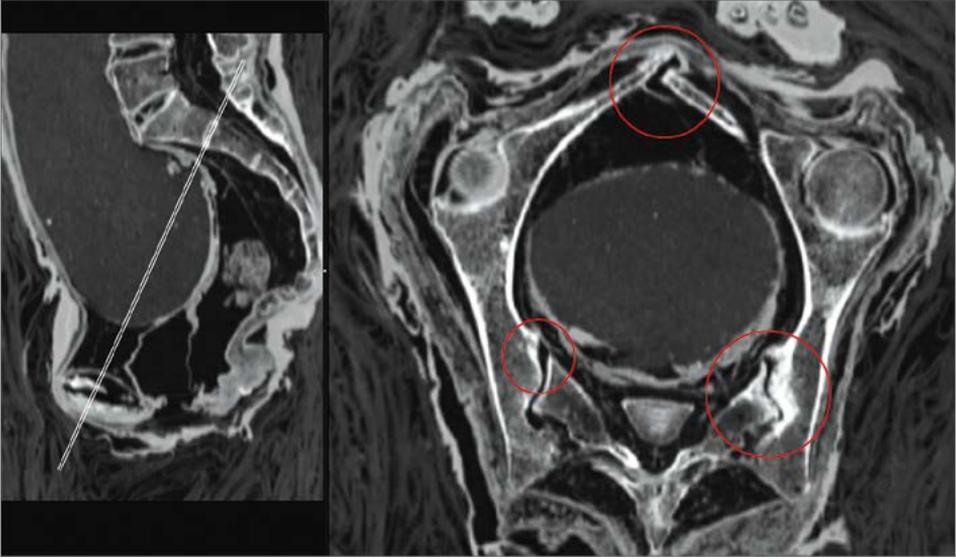


Fig. 20. Coronal oblique pubic symphysis sacroilitis in Heresenes

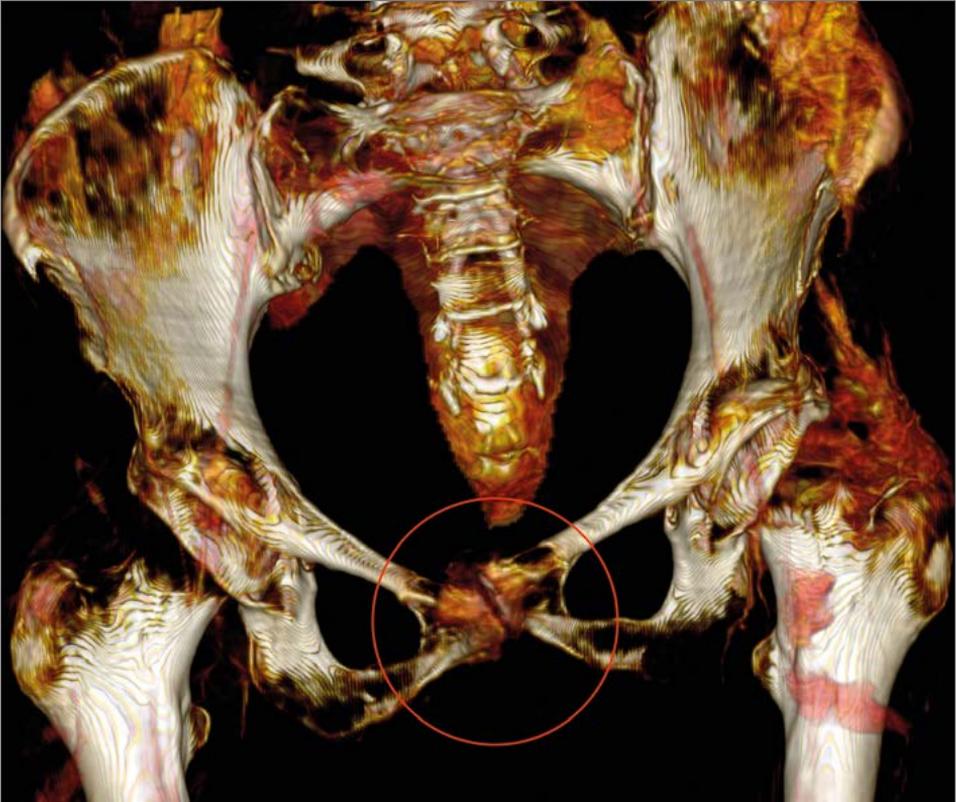


Fig. 21. 3D visualisation of the pubic symphysis dislocation of Heresenes

values, specifically excessive narrowness of the transverse diameters of pelvic inlet and outlet. As the pelvic skeleton is a closed ring with its elasticity based on both sacroiliac and pubic joints,

those specific findings in a young female are most probably the result of a traumatic childbirth event. Thus, Heresenes surely suffered from pain in the pelvic region.

## DISCUSSION

All of the mummies displayed characteristics of Third Intermediate Period mummification, with the embalmers trying to provide a more life-like aspect to the bodies by packing or wrapping them so that they were fleshed out, and providing them with false eyes so that they could see and function in the Afterlife. A particularly valuable contribution of this study is the examination of Shauamunimes, which adds to the limited repertoire of Twenty-second Dynasty mummies that have been radiologically examined, thereby extending and deepening scientific understanding of mummification during that period.

Although all four mummies display many of the hallmarks of later mummification, there are some unusual features to be found. The position of the hands, crossed high on the chest of the two male mummies, is not generally closely associated with the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, but is common later on in the Ptolemaic era. In these instances, it might be related to their particular priestly rank; future studies of other contemporary mummies, particularly those holding similar titles, should help establish whether this is the norm for the group, or if the two mummies studied during the course of this project are unusual. Certainly, this is not a feature shared by all the mummified

priests of Montu (Yoyotte and Monier 2011) of this time period.

The crook and flail by Padiamunet's crossed arms are possibly (at least to date) unique accoutrements for a priestly mummy, although some anthropoid coffins of the priests of Montu feature these objects held in the deceased's hands (for instance, CCG 41044 and 41047, Gauthier 1913: Pls IV and IX).<sup>5</sup> They, like the crossed bandages reminiscent of leather braces, and the bead netting are probably indicators of the increased importance of the identification of the deceased in his coffin with the god Osiris, ruler of the Afterworld, and the potential for resurrection. It is possible that other mummies were equipped with such objects, maybe if not in wood, then in some other material that is hard to detect by x-ray, such as reinforced linen-resin (Niwiński 2001), which might come to light in the future when advanced CT scanning technologies are used more frequently on a greater number of mummies. Additionally, examining similar priestly mummies whose coffins are known to have crooks and flails, as well as studying their titles, might shed additional light on the role and presence of these objects on the mummies themselves. The similarity between the burial equipment (mode of wrapping and inclusion of bead nets) of the two men,

5 We are grateful to Cynthia May Sheikholeslami for providing this reference.

as well as Heresenes (though her coffins are for a female) is striking; it is possible that the same workshop was used for all of them.

The use of stone eyes together with *wedjat* amulets is also unusual, although stone eyes and *wedjat* amulets are well attested independently; again, scans of other mummies from a similar time-period and socio-economic group will inform our understanding of the use of amulets on mummies during this time period. The presence of possible plant material that fleshes out Shauamunimes's legs is not documented elsewhere, though there are a few references to plant materials (generally lotus, though onions have also been tentatively identified) being found on the nether limbs of mummies (Pettigrew 1834: 102; Granville 1825: 282;

Daressy 1907: 29–36; see Niwiński 2001 for a discussion), linking the deceased with Nefertum.

The joint expertise of palaeoradiologists and egyptologists, working closely together and carrying out detailed examinations over a long period of time of mummies and their images, allows for a more sophisticated and comprehensive understanding not only of the physical condition of the deceased, but also of mummification practices throughout the Third Intermediate Period. Future work on these and other mummies of this period, together with their associated coffins and grave goods, if any, will enhance our understanding of changes in mummification technology and religious belief during this era.

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**How to cite this article:** Ikram, S., Prates, C., Sousa, S., & Oliveira, C. (2018). A medley of mummies from Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 237–258). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
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# Clay funerary figurines from tombs MMA 1151 and MMA 1152 in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna



**Abstract:** A significant number of clay ushebti comes from two Middle Kingdom tombs MMA 1151 and 1152 investigated by a Polish team in Western Thebes. The funerary figurines belong to a later phase of tomb reuse in the first millennium BC. Nine types were distinguished: six of baked clay and three of unbaked clay. The types and their distribution in the Theban necropolis are discussed in this paper, including the implications of these findings for the debate on the existence of workshops manufacturing funerary goods in Thebes.

**Keywords:** Thebes, Theban necropolis, clay figurines, ushebti, shabti, Sheikh Abd el-Gurna/Qurna, Third Intermediate Period, Late Period

Funerary statuettes, known as shabtis, ushebti or shawabtis (Schneider 1977/I: 2, 112, 119), were found in large numbers in two Middle Kingdom tombs located on a small nameless hill southwest of Sheikh Abd el-Gurna in Western Thebes [Fig. 1]. The tombs were reused several times during the 1st millennium BC (Kaczanowicz 2018). The investigation by a PCMA project, directed by the late Tomasz Górecki, revealed remains of multiple burials and tomb equipment, scattered in the ruins of a Coptic hermitage established later in the tombs. Once the Coptic Project, working from 2003, had concluded fieldwork by 2015, the Pharaonic structures became the main focus of research (Górecki 2004; 2005; 2007; 2010; 2011; 2013; 2014; Górecki and Szpakowska 2008).

Most of the figurines are small, uninscribed clay ushebti coming from the later phases of reuse of the Middle Kingdom tombs. Dating of these specimens is difficult for two reasons: firstly, the context of the finds was disturbed by the activity of Coptic monks living

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### **Acknowledgements**

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to scholars who shared with me their material and advice: Dr. Nigel Strudwick who shared unpublished documentation of statuettes from TT 99; Prof. Zoltán I. Fábíán, who granted me use of his team's documentation of finds from TT 184 in el-Khokha and invited me to look through the finds myself; Dr. Ute Rummel who provided information and photos of the figurines from the Ramesside tomb K93.12 in Dra Abu el-Naga; Dr. Monika Dolińska, present director of the Tuthmosis III Temple Mission in Deir el-Bahari, who showed me the material from the team's storeroom and gave permission to refer to it. In addition to the above, sincere thanks are due Dr. Andrzej Ćwiek and Dr. Nigel Strudwick for their valuable remarks on an early draft of the paper. The author's research in 2015–2019 was financed by the Ministry of Science and Higher Education (Project DI 2014 000144).



Fig. 1. Location of tombs MMA 1151 and MMA 1152 on the hill near Sheikh Abd el-Gurna investigated by the Polish team, view from the east; top, plan of the two tombs (PCMA UW Sheikh Abd el-Gurna Project/drawing M. Czapińska; photo M. Kaczanowicz)

on the hill, as well as by undocumented excavations conducted in the first half of the 20th century, and secondly, clay ushebtis figurines without texts generate little scholarly interest and it seems that only recently more attention was paid to this kind of artifacts, e.g., publications of Erhart Graefe (2003: 184–192), Gábor Schreiber (2008: 57–60) and, most recently, Agnieszka Makowska (2015). As a rule, however, clay ushebtis are treated as a homogenous group without differentiating between various types of material, details of the figurines, etc.

These inconspicuous, mass-produced objects, despite their seemingly unattrac-

tive appearance, offer a glimpse into the processes of production and distribution of funerary goods in the necropolis. The fact that they were moulded enables archaeologists to recognize specimens originating from one mould. Such single-mould specimens found in different parts of the necropolis may help, in turn, not only to date the figurines found in insecure contexts, but also to understand how goods of this kind were supplied to the necropolis, who the makers of ushebtis were, etc. It is hoped that this short paper, in addition to the above-mentioned publications, will draw attention to this somewhat overlooked category of finds.

## CLAY FIGURINES FROM THE TOMBS

Nine distinctive types of clay figurines were recorded beside funerary statuettes of stone and faience. Most of the finds were made in the surroundings of the tombs or the unfinished courtyards (for the plan of the tombs and their location on the hill, see *Fig.1*), clearly far from their original location. Several figurines or fragments thereof came from the sieving of a dump in front of the entrance to tomb MMA 1151. The most likely interpretation of the latter context is that it represents an archaeological dump from Herbert Winlock's excavations in the 1920s. Figurines were also discovered in "Coptic" contexts, such as the "tower" in front of tomb MMA 1152. All the figurines listed below, unless indicated otherwise, came from outside the tombs.

Most of the objects are fragmentary figurines (in several instances recombination of broken parts yielded com-

plete figurines). Traces of paint were preserved, albeit very poorly (especially on unbaked figurines), which is why it was impossible to establish how many ushebtis were painted originally.

In presenting the figurines, the following aspects were taken into consideration: size (measured in the highest/widest point), number of discovered specimens (both complete figurines and their fragments), reconstructed minimal number of figurines (tallying diagnostic parts of figurines such as upper bodies and legs), location within the tomb, type of clay (according to the Vienna system, see Nordström and Bourriau 1993: 168–182), traces of paint, dress (mummiform or everyday), treatment of the back (flat or modelled), presence of a beard, and types of the following items, based on a typology proposed by Hans D. Schneider: wig (W), hand arrangement

(H), and implements (I) (Schneider 1977/I: 165–171).<sup>1</sup> The most important criterion of attribution, however, is

their provenance: all the statuettes belonging to the same type seem to have been made in a single mould.<sup>2</sup>

### CLASSIFICATION



Fig. 2. Classification of ushebti figurines: top, baked clay ushebti types B1 to B6; bottom, unbaked mud ushebti types U1 to U3 (PCMA UW Sheikh Abd el-Gurna Project/photos M. Kaczanowicz)

- 1 The remaining criteria of Schneider’s typology (bags and baskets, text position) were not taken into consideration as they are not present on the said figurines.
- 2 It may seem surprising that the figurines differ in size, sometimes considerably, within the same type. There are two reasons for this: different types of clay and temper resulted in different degrees of shrinking during the firing process and, even more importantly, excess clay from pressing the raw material into a mould in most cases was removed without sufficient care, giving in effect figurines of different size despite their being made in the same mould.

Baked clay figurine	Type B1	[Fig. 2:B1]
Size: 5.5–7 x 1.5 x 1 cm Clay: Nile B2 Paint: Traces of blue paint	Dress: Everyday life (overseer of workers) Back: Flat Beard: No Wig: W4/W17 Hands: H33 Implements: I14	Number: Seven complete, 27 fragments Reconstructed number: At least 21 figurines Location: Three fragments found inside the shaft of tomb MMA 1152

*Additional remarks and dating*

Figurines of overseers, same in style as Type B2 (facial features, size, paint), likely forming a set. Whip in left hand. Details roughly modelled (eyes, lips). No headband.

A comparable figurine from the Kraków Czartoryski collection (XI-916), without a given provenance, is dated to the Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasties (Schlögl 2000: 73). The Twenty-first Dynasty date should be excluded as no other artifacts from this period were discovered in the tomb.

William M.F. Petrie was of the opinion that the overseer ushebtis went out of fashion at the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty (Petrie 1935: 11), but examples of overseer statuettes have now been attributed to the late Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Aston 2009: 356 and note 2934). Therefore, this group can be dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty and later, although a comparison with Type B2 figurines could narrow down this dating (see below).

Baked clay figurine	Type B2	[Fig. 2:B2]
Size: 5.5–7 x 1.5 x 0.5 cm Clay: Nile B2 Paint: Traces of blue paint	Dress: Mummiform Back: Flat Beard: No Wig: W4/W17 Hands: H19 Implements: I5	Number: 21 complete, 341 fragments Reconstructed number: At least 222 figurines Location: Nine fragments from the upper chambers of tomb MMA 1151; • 27 fragments from the bottom of the shaft of tomb MMA 1152; • five fragments from a niche inside the shaft of tomb MMA 1152; • a fragment from test trench D

*Additional remarks and dating*

The presence of two hoes and the mummiform shape indicate that these figurines represented a group of workers. They undoubtedly formed a set with figurines of Type B1. Analogous unprovenanced figurines are currently in the Kraków Czartoryski collection (XI-921, XI-1682) and the Archaeological Museum (305, 599), dated all except one from the Archaeological Museum (599) to the Twenty-second Dynasty (Schlögl 2000: 78, 84, 213); the sole exception is from the Twenty-second–Twenty-fifth Dynasties (Schlögl 2000: 244). A similar figurine, currently in Basel, is dated to the Twenty-first–Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Schlögl and Brodbeck 1990: 234). Czech excavations in Deir el-Medina brought to light a number of comparable statuettes, dated generally to the “Third Intermediate Period” (Onderka 2014: 180; sadly no date of discovery or exact location is given). TT 99, the tomb of Senneferi in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna yielded a number of ushebtis of a type very similar to Type 2, apparently from a single mould.<sup>3</sup> The timespan of the reuse of the New Kingdom tomb TT 99 covers most of the Third Intermediate Period, including the Twenty-second Dynasty,

3 Figurines from TT 99 are illustrated online: <http://www.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/tt99/finds/shabt11.html> [accessed: 29.11.2017].

although this is hardly definite proof of such a date. Identical statuettes were discovered recently in TT 184 in el-Khokha, which also yielded fragments of cartonnages tentatively indicating a Twenty-second Dynasty date, but also remains of later burials (tubular beads from bead nets, see below, note 7).

Also, German excavations of the Ramesside tomb K93.12 in Dra Abu el Naga revealed a number of figurines resembling the ushebti discussed in the paper; these were dated tentatively to the Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasties on the basis of ceramic finds (U. Rummel, personal communication). The most important parallel on all counts comes from an intact burial in the courtyard of TT-171 - where identical figurines were found together with the mummy of Perenbast, chantress of Amun (Petrie 1909: 15 and Pl. LIII); they have been dated in reference to the other grave goods to the late 10th or early 9th century BC (Aston 2009: 160).<sup>4</sup>

Since the pottery finds from both tombs fit well into a Libyan-period date (Rzeuska and Orzechowska 2005), both Type B1 and Type B2 can be dated provisionally to the Twenty-second Dynasty, although a later date cannot be excluded.

Baked clay figurine	Type B3	[Fig. 2:B3]
Size: 5 x 0.8 x 0.3 cm Clay: Nile B2, • marl A2, • marl A4 Paint: None	Dress: Mummiform Back: Flat Beard: Yes Wig: W35a Hands: H30 Implements: I5	Number: One complete, 45 fragments Reconstructed number: At least 32 figurines Location: Fragment from the entrance corridor in tomb MMA 1152

#### Additional remarks and dating

Figurines of Type B3 are much smaller than those of the first two types. The producer's fingerprints, left likely when pressing the clay into the mould (Makowska 2015: 144) or perhaps when removing excess clay after modelling, are very well visible on their backs. A beard is present, although the details of the face are roughly modelled (or not at all).

The presence of a beard is a criterion used by David Aston to date the Third Intermediate Period ushebti: the earliest example of a funerary bearded figurine noted by Aston, belonging to Istemkheb B from Tomb Group 575 (Aston 2009: 363), is dated to 700–680 BC.<sup>5</sup> Thus bearded figurines can be assumed cautiously to be later than the types presented above. The collected ceramic assemblage collected as well as the coffin and Ptah-Sokar-Osiris fragments, point to the late Twenty-fifth or early Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Rzeuska and Orzechowska 2005; Szpakowska 2007). However, remains of a presumed Hellenistic-period burial were discovered inside tomb MMA 1152 (Górecki 2011: 233) and ushebti from the Ptolemaic period, although rare, were discovered during the Hungarian investigation inside TT 32 (faience statuettes: Schreiber 2011: 123); clay figurines were also identified, for example, during Austrian excavations in the Asasif area (Budka 2010: 273). A Ptolemaic date thus cannot be completely excluded, even though it seems highly unlikely, taking into account the very few remains of such a late burial that could be an indication of fairly modest tomb equipment having been offered to the dead.

- 4 For some reason Aston described the figurines of Perenbast as being made of mud (his type K) contrary to what Petrie wrote. However, photographs published by the Manchester Museum leave no doubt as to the baked-clay form of the figurines, which are painted blue: <http://harbour.man.ac.uk/mmcustom/Display.php?irn=101186&QueryPage=/mmcustom/narratives/index.php> [accessed: 14.12.2017].
- 5 Figurines of Aston's type G: smooth, uncontoured, tapering bodies, no arms, a plain wig and a beard, make their first appearance around 700 BC (Aston 2011: 25).

Baked clay figurine	Type B4	[Fig. 2:B4]
Size: 5 x 1 x 0.4 cm Clay: Nile B2, • marl A4 Paint: Traces of blue and yellow <sup>6</sup> paint	Dress: Mummiform Back: Flat Beard: No Wig: W4/W17 Hands: H8 Implements: I5	Number: Seven complete, 266 fragments Reconstructed number: At least 144 figurines Location: One complete figurine and four fragments from inside the shaft of tomb MMA 1152

#### Additional remarks and dating

Many of the Type B4 figurines have excess clay, which failed to be removed by the producer, on both sides of the body. Unprovenanced figurines of similar type are currently in museums in Warsaw (MN 141783; Pomorska 1959: 135), Kraków (MAK 595, 1273, 1279, 1283, 1284, 1286, 1287, 2228; Schlögl 2000: 240–245), Poznań (MNP A 244, 246; Schlögl 2006: 35) and Cleveland (CMA 32; Berman and Boháč 1999: 449). Their dating varies from the Twenty-first to the Twenty-third Dynasties (Warsaw ushebti), Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties (Kraków and Poznań figurines), and no date at all (Cleveland figurine). A Late Period date has been proposed for the figurines from the excavation in the temple of Amenhotep II near the Ramesseum (Sesana 2007: 47–48, Fig. 47); similarly the ushebti stored in the Museo Gregoriano Egizio (19427–19549, 19551–19580, 19582; Grenier 1996: Pl. I). Several specimens were also found in TT 99 (see above). Some of the abovementioned figurines are made of unbaked clay, but apart from this, there are no visible differences between them.

The date cannot be narrowed because of the broad chronological span of analogous objects from other excavations and museums. Therefore, the proposed date covers a period from the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty through the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and the Ptolemaic period.

Baked clay figurine	Type B5	[Fig. 2:B5]
Size: 3.5 x 0.6 x 0.1 cm Clay: Nile B2, • marl A4 Paint: Traces of blue paint	Dress: Mummiform Back: Flat Beard: No Wig: W4/W17 Hands: H18 Implements: I5	Number: One complete, 22 fragments Reconstructed number: At least 12 figurines Location: No data

#### Additional remarks and dating

Figurines of Type B5 are much smaller than those of the previous types. The only parallels are the figurines from TT 99 (see above). For lack of evidence, this group, like Type B4, needs to be dated to the period between the beginning of the Twenty-second Dynasty and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, or to the Ptolemaic period, although the latter seems least likely.

6 According to Aston (2009: 361), the yellow color on ushebti is due to discoloration of an originally clear varnish.

Baked clay figurine	Type B6	[Fig. 2:B6]
Size: 5 x 1.5 x 0.6 cm Clay: Nile B2 Paint: No	Dress: Mummiform Back: Flat Beard: Yes Wig: W35a Hands: H10 Implements: None modelled	Number: Two complete, 10 fragments Reconstructed number: At least 11 figurines Location: One complete statuette found inside the shaft of tomb MMA 1152

## Additional remarks and dating

Very roughly modelled figurines, details not visible. The possible parallels for Type B6 statuettes are currently in Kraków (MAK 1282, 1268, 1287, 1685), dated to the Twenty-second–Twenty-fifth dynasty (Schlögl 2000: 241–245) and Cleveland (CMA 32), no date provided (Berman 1999: 449). Very similar ushebtis—likely from a single mould—come from TT 99 (see above). The presence of a beard suggests either a late Twenty-fifth/early Twenty-sixth Dynasty date or, less likely, the Ptolemaic period.

Unbaked clay figurine	Type U1	[Fig. 2:U1]
Size: 5 x 0.8 x 0.3 cm Clay: Nile B2, • marl A2, • marl A4 Paint: No	Dress: Mummiform Back: Flat Beard: Yes Wig: W35a Hands: H30 Implements: I5	Number: 40 fragments (no complete figurines) Reconstructed number: At least 40 figurines Location: Two fragments from the entrance corridor of tomb MMA 1152

## Additional remarks and dating

Being identical with Type B3 figurines of baked clay, this type is presumed to come from the same mould. The same dating in the late Twenty-fifth/early Twenty-sixth Dynasty, or, less likely, the Ptolemaic period, is thus proposed for these fragments. Figurines of similar size and stylistic features, but without beards, come from the “Saite” tombs (Lipińska 1977: 10–11) situated behind the temple of Tuthmosis III in Deir el-Bahari (excavated in the 1980s by Jadwiga Lipińska for the PCMA), and from TT 184 in el-Khokha (see above). It seems very likely that these particular ushebtis, the figurines from TT 184 and those from the Deir el-Bahari tombs all originated from the same workshop, which is yet another argument for discarding the Ptolemaic date and assigning the figurines to the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

Unbaked clay figurine	Type U2	[Fig. 2:U2]
Size: 5.5 x 1.2 x 1 cm Clay: Nile B2, • marl A4 Paint: Traces of blue and green paint	Dress: Mummiform Back: Flat Beard: No Wig: W4/W17 Hands: H8 Implements: I5	Number: Two complete, 13 fragments Reconstructed number: 15 figurines Location: No data

## Additional remarks and dating

This figurines resemble the Type B4 baked-clay figurines, hence the same date: Twenty-second–Twenty-sixth Dynasties, or the Ptolemaic period.

Unbaked clay figurine	Type U3	[Fig. 2:U3]
Size: 5.5 x 1.2 x 1 cm Clay: Nile B2 Paint: None	Dress: Mummiform(?) Back: Flat Beard: ? Wig: W0 Hands: Not modelled Implements: None modelled	Number: 19 fragments (no complete figurines) Reconstructed number: 19 figurines Location: No data

#### Additional remarks and dating

The figurines are modelled very clumsily; no details are visible and the images resemble lumps of clay rather than ushebti. No evident parallel can be proposed. A tubular faience bead of the kind usually forming a bead net was noted fused into the clay of one of the pieces attributed to this group [Fig. 3]. Since bead nets first appeared in tomb equipment in the second half of the 8th century BC,<sup>7</sup> their presence in the tombs in question (hundreds of beads have been found) narrows down the dating of this type of ushebti to the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth dynasty or the Ptolemaic period.



Fig. 3. Tubular, faience bead inside a type U3 mud ushebti (PCMA Sheikh Abd el-Gurna Project/photo M. Kaczanowicz)

#### UNCLASSIFIED FRAGMENTS

Of the 256 fragments of figurines of baked clay not assigned to any group, two fragments were found in a niche in the shaft of tomb MMA 1152, 19 fragments at the bottom of the shaft, and three fragments in the entrance corridor of the tomb. More figurines are likely to be found in the fill of the shaft of tomb MMA 1151,

once its excavation is completed. As for the unbaked figurine fragments, 138 non-diagnostic pieces were found for the most part outside the tombs. The sole exception are two fragments from the entrance corridor of tomb MMA 1152 and one piece found at the bottom of the burial shaft.

### THEBAN WORKSHOPS PRODUCING FUNERARY GOODS

The number of clay ushebti discovered during the excavations on the hill is much larger than the number of any other kind of figurines placed in the tomb. It is consistent with the funerary beliefs of the 1st millennium BC when it was customary to order a set of 401 funerary statuettes for each deceased (Černý 1942; Edwards

1971; Poole 1998; Schneider 1977/I: 320). The number of different types of clay figurines found within a single tomb/site, as well as criteria used by authors to distinguish particular types varies: nine types were discovered during the Polish investigations in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, two groups (of clay, with several types

7 Aston (2009: 292–293) recently demonstrated that examples of bead nets dated to earlier times could have been girdles instead.

and subtypes) in the burial ground of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Makowska 2015: 144–156), and 32 different types in TT 184 (Fábián 2007: 32). It would seem natural to assume that one gang of ushebti (figurines from a single mould) was intended for one deceased. However, at Hawara, a collection of 399 statuettes, containing 17 different types, was discovered in a single burial (Petrie 1890: 19). Therefore, it cannot be deduced from the presence of nine different types of ushebti that there were nine different burials. Moreover, during the Late Period, large inscribed faience figures could have coexisted with small, uninscribed statuettes (perhaps clay ones as well) within the same tomb, thus reflecting the hierarchy of overseers and workers (Schneider 1977/I: 322); it is not known when the blending of new and old traditions began. Distribution of similar figurines (supposedly coming from the same workshop) in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, el-Khokha and Deir el-Bahari also prompts the question about the number of ushebti makers, and location and organization of their workshops.

Little information is available on workshops of this kind. According to Makowska (2015: 138, note 3), there were no workshops specialized in the production of ushebti as a particular category, the specialization being rather by material. The known workshops were attached to temples and to royal palaces (*Hwt-nbw*) and no private ones have ever been noted. Schneider (1977/I: 240) did not think that a title such as “ushebti

maker” existed. In a bill of sale of ushebti figurines (BM EA 10800) from the Twenty-first to Twenty-second Dynasties, the producer of the statuettes is referred to as “the chief modeller of amulets of the temple of Amun” (Edwards 1971: 122), confirming Makowska’s view. The inscription on a recently published shabti box (Cairo TR 15.12.25.18/SR 7723), dated to the same period, seemingly hints at its owner’s title: “Osiris shabti-maker of the Amun domain”, which, provided the reading is correct, would indicate that the title of “ushebti maker” did exist (Miniaci 2014).<sup>8</sup> In both cases, production of funerary figurines seems to have been connected with the institution of the temple; this, however, does not necessarily mean that the workshops could not have been “private” ones (Warburton 2007).

A faience bead, observed inside one of the type U<sub>3</sub> ushebti, must have fallen into the clay mixture before it was left to dry in the sun. It would consequently indicate that the workshop which produced this particular statuette must have also been manufacturing faience objects, or, at least, that a faience workshop and the one producing ushebti were situated close together. The resumption is that some workshops could have specialized in more than one material.

The precise identity of the figurine makers, just like the identity of the coffin makers of this time (Elias 1993: 852–859) is an open issue. One could cautiously suggest that perhaps Medinet Habu—a refuge for a former population of workmen from Deir el-Medina—

8 According to Gianluca Miniaci (2014: 256–257), the title *Wsjr ms hm (ntr?) n pr Tmn* would be a *hapax legomenon*.

is where such ateliers should be sought. After all, there is evidence for rewrapping of the royal mummies at the end of the New Kingdom there (Teeter 2010: 7), thus connecting Medinet Habu with the activities of embalmers and, possibly, makers of funerary equipment (some Twenty-first Dynasty grave goods were discovered in the Royal Cache, along with 'restored' objects, belonging to the original burial assemblages, such as the wooden shabti figurine of Ramesses II modified into an Osiris figure, Aston 1991: 95–99). Pottery kilns, which theoretically could be used for ushebti production, have been discovered (Hölscher 1954: 16). However, fragments of funerary figurines found at the site (Teeter 2010: 98–100) cannot serve as proof of the existence of such workshops, as Medinet Habu was eventually turned into a necropolis. Nevertheless, such workshops did not have to be situated within the necropolis and could have been located on the other bank of the Nile as well.

The presence of the same types of figurines manufactured in a different manner (made of baked and unbaked clay) is interesting and requires further comment. It has been proposed that female and male burials within the Ramesseum necropolis differed in that men were equipped with faience ushebti and women with mud ones (Quibell 1898: 9–10; Aston 1987: 643–644; 2009: 240). This statement has been questioned recently (Li 2010: 71), therefore the material can no longer be used to determine the sex of the deceased. The fact that different types of clay were used to produce figurines of the same type may be explained simply enough: whenever the makers ran out of

a particular type of clay, they would use what was available. Why some figurines were baked and others were not is not clear. Perhaps raw mud figurines were cheaper than the baked ones.

Finally, the coexistence of two different categories of funerary figurines: mass produced ushebti and large, well worked statuettes, during the 1st millennium BC, calls for further consideration. The first category, examples of which are the ushebti from tombs MMA 1151 and 1152, includes the mass-made figurines of materials such as clay or faience, which were commissioned by the family of the person for whom they were intended. In case of the figurines known from papyrus BM EA 10800, the person who commissioned the ushebti was the son of the deceased (Edwards 1971). Manufacturing such figurines was not a drawn-out process—they did not have to possess any facial characteristics of the deceased—and it took place, most likely, within 70 days from death and burial. Sets of figurines may have simply been available for purchase at the workshop at all times. Figurines of this kind are apparently *hmnw* or servants, not the actual images of the deceased, especially in view of the fact that they were divided into the categories of workers and overseers, which—when animated in the Netherworld—would require the *ka* of the deceased to be divided in two, if both a worker and overseer were to perform their work at the same time. Stone shabtis came back into fashion during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Schneider 1977/I: 225–226, 234–235). These “archaizing” figures, made by hand and therefore highly individualized, had more in common with contemporary

statuary than with the discussed clay figurines. It has been suggested that all the Theban stone shabtis of the Kushite era were manufactured in a single workshop (Gundlach 2013/I: 309). Production of such a huge number of stone figurines must have been time-consuming and it seems likely that it was commissioned by the tomb owner himself. It would seem more appropriate to look for the inspiration of this renewal in Middle Kingdom times, when funerary figurines indeed played the role of a 'double' of the deceased. These different functions of the ushebtis during the Kushite period find their reflection in the texts of the spell, especially variant VIIA, where the terms shabti and ushebti were used

together, and the figurines can be addressed both in singular and plural form (Schneider 1977/I: 118–119). This confusion is perhaps the result of the above-mentioned mixing of two concepts. In light of numerous discussions on the change of the religious role of the funerary figurines in the 1st millennium BC, it is perhaps also worth considering whether these two categories of objects—mass-made ushebtis and stone shabtis—represent the same funerary belief or whether the different form and workmanship of the statuettes reflect two rivalling funerary traditions that were finally blended into one custom during the Late Period.

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**How to cite this article:** Kaczanowicz, M. (2018). Clay funerary figurines from tombs MMA 1151 and MMA 1152 in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. In Z. E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 259–274). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3311>

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# The gods bestow life. New material for the study of divine processions in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** The decoration of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the queen's temple in Deir el-Bahari resembles the decoration of the square antechamber known from the pyramid temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. However, the original decorative program of the vestibule, especially with regard to the processions of divinities, is obscured by changes and damage attributable to different periods. Two new blocks, proposed for the west wall of the vestibule, contribute new information on the relief decoration from the time of Hatshepsut. Egyptological studies of the decoration of the vestibule have also enabled a revision of the suggested architrave arrangement in this chamber.

**Keywords:** Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari, divine processions, wall decoration, architraves

Blocks with decoration matching that of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Royal Cult Complex of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari were identified in storage during the 2008 season. Two of these blocks were joined [Fig. 1]. Their decoration, presumed original position in the walls and significance in the light of Egyptological studies contribute to the study of the decorative program of the vestibule, as well as to the architectural issue of the reconstruction of the architrave arrangement in this chamber.

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At the same time questions are raised about the original decoration from the time of Hatshepsut and its compliance with a Middle Kingdom tradition. The suggested positioning of the blocks is

somewhat dubious owing to the state of preservation of the blocks as well as of the walls, but the decoration on these surfaces follows the general decorative scheme identified in the vestibule.

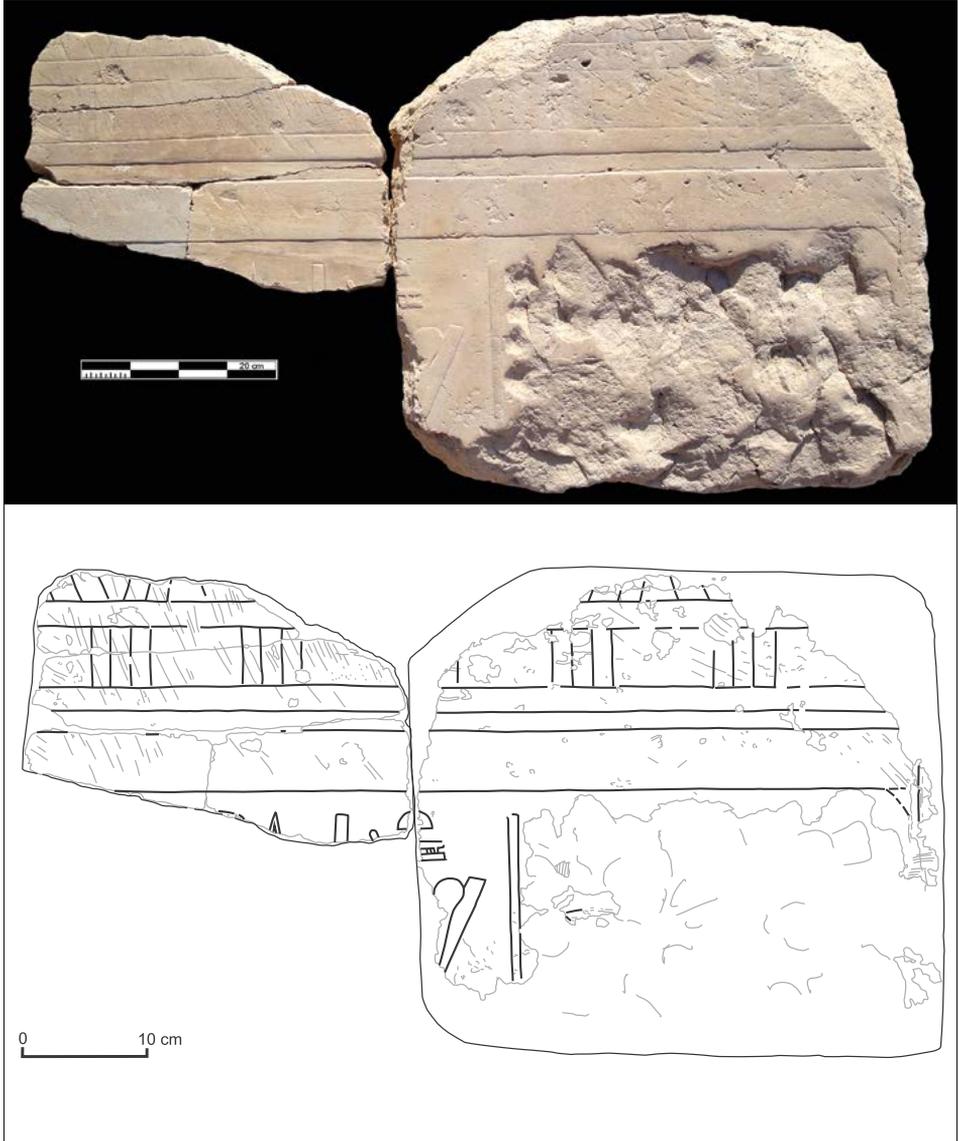


Fig. 1. New blocks B.1522 and B.1523 attributed to the west wall (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo D. Czerwik, drawing E. Kopp)

## DECORATION OF THE VESTIBULE OF THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT

A successor of the square antechamber of the Old and Middle Kingdom mortuary temples, the vestibule shares certain features with its predecessors (e.g., Arnold 1997: 67–70, 82). Chief among these is the presence of rows of gods on every wall of the room. The architectural form of the chamber is no longer square<sup>1</sup> but rectangular, and it also opens onto a courtyard, the consequence of this being three instead of four walls bearing decoration in raised relief. The prevailing motif on these three walls is a procession of the gods approaching the entrance to the chapel. The gods are male and female, human and animal-headed, occasionally mummiform. In similarity to the Middle Kingdom reliefs attributed to square antechambers, there are no chapels separating the gods.<sup>2</sup> The cartouche names of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III appear in front of the gods at irregular intervals. In some cases, the names of the gods are given.

The present condition of the walls highlights a catalog of changes made to the decoration starting from the original construction, the damage incurred over centuries and, in part, modern, 20th

century reconstruction. The decorated surface of the walls as they stand today—the figures of gods and accompanying texts—was destroyed during the Amarna period, but in fact, these reliefs underwent a number of changes over time, starting with the removal of the names and female endings as well as representations of Hatshepsut, followed by the Amarna destruction of divine figures and names and, finally, the post-Amarna restoration of the latter. Later, Coptic and relatively modern, damage did not alter the basic idea behind the ancient decoration.

The decoration as seen today is the effect of the different alterations and ancient restorations. The original decorative program of the gods in procession is preserved solely as line traces in the areas of the feet and hands holding the *was*-scepter at the beginning of some registers or single signs of the text above the gods' heads. The cartouche names of Tuthmosis III are also original except for the sporadically destroyed *nfr*-sign<sup>3</sup> and so is part of a single throne name of Hatshepsut, which was evidently

1 The square form of this chamber is uncertain in the case of the room of Sesostri II at Lahun (it may have been square, Oppenheim 2007: 209) and the antechamber in the Sesostri III pyramid complex at Dahshur (Oppenheim 2002: 139).

2 For the Sesostri II room at Lahun, see Oppenheim 2007; for the Sesostri III room at Dahshur, see Oppenheim 2002: 139. Chapels were optional in the square antechamber of Pepi II (Oppenheim 2002: 139, Note 75).

3 This kind of alteration is difficult to date, but is known from other temples. The latest research takes it to be a way of avoiding a resemblance between the epithet of Tuthmosis III and the throne name of Amenhotep IV. It would have been done by the temple staff on an arbitrary basis and post-dated the Amarna period (Biston-Moulin 2012). However, such erasure is also attested in private tomb context (Dziobek 1994: 73).

left untouched.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the names and figures of the gods are an ancient restoration that is not dated by any restoration inscription. However, there is a foot of a god that was left untouched on the northern part of the west wall. The block attributed to this figure<sup>5</sup> helps to identify this god as Re-Horakhte, one of the two gods, Atum being the other one, whose figures and names were usually not destroyed in other parts of the temple.<sup>6</sup> The identification is based on the typical headdress depicted on this block, similar to one from the Solar Complex, for example (Karkowski 2003: Pl. 19A). Behind the god, in a text rendered in the first person, a god bestows wishes of life and dominium on the Horus name of Tuthmosis III. The presence of such texts next to the gods' names should be expected in other parts of the decoration as well, but hardly any relevant marks can be traced on the destroyed surface of the vestibule walls. There are blocks, complete and fragmentary (B.617, B.843, B.852, B.873, unpublished), showing these elements to a different extent: the destroyed figures of

gods, restored divine names and the cartouche names of Tuthmosis III. Distinct traces of texts with wishes are also visible under the hammered decoration.

The two blocks, B.1522 and B.1523 [see *Fig. 1*], share some of the described features. Their state of preservation is different: B.1522 is fragmentary (H. 22 cm, W. 31 cm), whereas B.1523 is complete (H. 39.5 cm, W. 42–42.5 cm, D. 16 cm), although evidently reused (smoothed, as if it had seen reuse as a pavement block) in addition to having the reliefs erased.<sup>7</sup> Neither block preserves any color or trace of undertaken restorations. The main element of the decoration preserved on B.1522 is the frame running around the composition: a decorative border with the lower parts of a *kheker*-frieze and a sky band. Three groups of signs are written below this band, facing left, each being the beginning of a text in a column: the upper part of an oval sign bearing delicate traces of destruction, a partly preserved sign *di* written as a forearm with a hand holding a conical loaf (Gardiner's list D37)

4 Such an interpretation of the fragmentary *ka*-sign in a cartouche is suggested by the position at the beginning of the register. One could possibly read the longer version of the throne name of Tuthmosis III here.

5 B.2481, proposed earlier, see unpublished reconstruction of the west wall in the PCMA archives.

6 The names and figures of these gods are left untouched in other parts of the temple: Solar Complex (Karkowski 2003: 54–55), Middle Terrace (Naville 1896: Pl. 46), northern part of the Middle Terrace (Naville 1898: Pl. 58). Solar elements, like the name of the god Re and the solar disks are also preserved, see Re and Khepri (as a winged scarab) in the Solar Complex (Karkowski 2003: 54–55).

7 The block bears another inventory number, F.224. Numbers starting with an F generally belong to the inventory of the PCMA UW Temple of Tuthmosis III research project at Deir el-Bahari. However, they were also used by the Polish mission to the Temple of Hatshepsut during the first seasons of work (Dąbrowski 1964: 41, 48), especially for the blocks and architectural elements included in the pavement of the Upper Court (Dąbrowski 1964: 47–48). The low number suggests that it could have come from there, but it is not mentioned among the blocks numbered by Dąbrowski.

and the half-a-bread sign and under it the beginning of the sledge sign (Gardiner's list U15). The upper part of B.1523 repeats the sequence of the partly preserved *kheker*-frieze and the sky below. The right end of the sky image has been preserved. The lower part of the block is decorated with a continuation of the text of B.1522: the second half-a-bread sign and the sledge. The back of the double crown is preserved below these signs. Behind the group of signs and crown there is a separating line and the entire area behind it was hammered out once.

Together B.1522 and B.1523 show a sequence of the two gods; such a theme of gods in procession is well attested on the walls of the vestibule. Atum, identified by his name, comes first; his iconography here was the same as in other parts of the temple (Naville 1896: Pl. 46; Karkowski 2003: 54 and Pl. 25B), although only the double crown is preserved. The second god was hammered out completely. This demonstrates how alterations were made to the reliefs in the vestibule: the bodies of the gods and the captions, as well as

the undecorated surface between other figures and texts were hammered out but afterwards restored. However, in the case of B. 1523 no evidence of restoration can be traced. The only place where B.1523 would have fitted in the vestibule, considering the direction of the decoration, is the northern part of the west wall, where the gods are facing left, toward the entrance to the Chapel of Hatshepsut (they face right on the southern part of the west wall on the opposite side of the chapel entrance). Moreover, the *kheker*-frieze on the matching blocks, measuring about 40 cm in height, points to the uppermost register of the wall, which in the case of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut has not been preserved and no blocks have been attributed to it yet. The west wall of the vestibule is inclined, requiring blocks to be inclined as well, although this is not evident for B.1522, which is too small, and is uncertain in the case of B.1523.<sup>8</sup> Other criteria should be used therefore in order to place these blocks in the original decorative program of this temple.

## ICONOGRAPHY OF SCENES WITH PROCESSIONS OF GODS

In Egyptian temple iconography the figures of gods are generally identified by their names, but also by specific texts depending on the scene type, usually expressing wishes bestowed on the pharaoh by the gods. The texts can take on various forms, but the verb used is usually *rdi* 'to give' in the third person form *sdm=f*. Reliefs, dated to the Middle Kingdom

and later, customarily show this sentence in front of the name of the god facing the king; it is thus inserted between the divine giver of life and the royal recipient (Fischer 1977: 105). However, examples with the opposite arrangement are known; the sentence follows the god's name (Fischer 1977: Note 294). The wish formulae accompa-

8 Architects have expressed contradictory opinions regarding the sloping surface of block B.1523.

nied the gods in the square antechamber of the Old and Middle Kingdoms in a line or in columns above their heads or between them (Jéquier 1938: Pls 46, 50; Oppenheim 2002: 139). On the reliefs of the Deir el-Bahari Temple of Hatshepsut, the direct speech of the god is introduced by the *dd-mdw* ‘recitation’ and a verb in *sdm.n=f* form, usually *di.n(=i) n=k* (followed by wishes) (e.g., Naville 1898: Pl. 59; 1908: Pl. 154) or by a statement introduced by *in.n(=i)* (e.g., Naville 1908: Pl. 152) in column(s) reaching the level of the ground in front of the god (e.g., Naville 1898: Pl. 59). It can also have the form of a caption placed above the god as indirect speech with the god’s name written at the end (e.g., Naville 1896: Pl. 41). Rarely, the name is introduced in front of a god by *dd-mdw in* ‘recitation by’ (e.g., last figure, left side, Naville 1906: Pl. 128). Very often, the name appears at the end of a text, occasionally with the epithet(s) (e.g., Naville 1898: Pl. 59; 1901: Pl. 92=Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 18a,b).<sup>9</sup> In scenes with a single god in front of the king, the god’s utterance is placed behind (e.g., Naville 1896: Pl. 43) or above him because of composition issues, leaving the space in front for performing and describing activities. The caption in the third person (*di=f/di=s* wishes), in columns above the head of the gods, features a different writing of the verbal form using the conical loaf (Gardiner’s list X8)<sup>10</sup> or the

sign of a forearm with hand holding the conical loaf (Gardiner’s list D37);<sup>11</sup> however, the name of the god with the epithet(s) is at the end.

The original decoration of blocks B.1522 and B.1523 shows the name of the god following the wishes. The oval shape in front of them should be one of the cartouche names of Hatshepsut. On the west wall, the throne name is attested at the beginning of a few registers, but the birth name cannot be found. Therefore, the original decoration of the walls of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut seems to feature the gods with individual wishes facing the throne name of Hatshepsut at the beginning of the registers and, irregularly, the two cartouche names of Tuthmosis III. The gods are striding, holding the *was*-scepter in one hand and the *ankh*-sign in the other. The wishes they pronounce could be formulated as the caption (in the third person) and as their speech in columns occupying the entire height of the registers. This could be the reason for the whole surface around the gods being destroyed in Amarna times. In fact, there are also a few blocks showing the rest of conventional wishes of the *di=f nḥ nb* type under the destroyed surface, sometimes restored with the name of a god standing in front of one of the cartouche names of Tuthmosis III (see above, page 278). They could belong to the upper registers of the vestibule walls, where the hammering and resto-

9 There are cases, however, of a reversed order. For the royal *ka*, see Naville 1906: Pl. 131, not graphically, but written in retrograde, see Naville 1906: Pl. 127.

10 See, e.g., the texts above Hathor and Amun (Naville 1901: Pl. 99=Beaux 2012: Pl. 16).

11 See, e.g., the text above a god in the lower register (Naville 1901: Pl. 87=Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 2a,b,c,f).

rations appear not to have been done very carefully. As known from other parts of the temple, the hammering (at the order of Tuthmosis III as well as during the Amarna period) was often done inconsistently, omitting without any special reason parts of the wall decoration. An example of this can be found in the procession of the Ennead depicted in front of the enthroned Amun on the south wall of the Birth Portico on the Middle Terrace (Naville 1896: Pl. 46). The gods and their names, except for those of Atum which were divided into two registers, were destroyed during the Amarna period. However, in front of the restored Seth name, the caption to this god (*di=f nḥ w3s dd snb nb hr=f* 'He gives all life, dominium and stability from him') and the traces of a similar inscription next to Atum and also Hathor testify that each god was accompanied by conventional wishes. Additionally, the restoration inscription of Ramesses II suggests that restorations with only the divine names were done by this king. The decoration was restored in a similar way in the vestibule, but there is no renovation inscription to give a date to this action. It is viable, therefore, to assume that the vestibule restorations can be attributed to this ruler, although the issue requires further study.

Decoration changes effected by the restorations are attested, for example, in the Hathor Shrine. Traces of texts referring to the enthroned gods, represented in three registers on the eastern part of the south wall of the Vestibule, suggest that the text of a god's speech starting with the *dd-mdw* 'recitation' originally preceded each deity. The restorations, however, changed this scheme, introducing only the names next to each god (Beaux 2012: 29, Pl. 7).<sup>12</sup> Additionally, the order of the names was also changed.

The reconstruction introducing blocks B.1522 and B.1523 clearly shows that the decoration scheme was not homogeneous, additionally hampering the identification of epigraphic material from the walls of the vestibule. A good example of such decorative diversity is the east wall of the vestibule: a god depicted on the east wall in the lowermost register and facing the southern niche of the vestibule is clearly the first in the procession. The decoration of the east wall should therefore be assumed as an extension of that on the south wall. There, a two-column text of the speech of gods to the king appears in front of the three registers of small gods. This text matches the beginning of the decoration with the procession of gods, resembling the west wall where there

12 The preserved text in columns at the beginning of each register introduced by *dd-mdw* 'recitation' should be read *di.n(=i) (...) hr=n* 'I have given (...) from us'; for a different proposition, see Beaux 2012: 30–31. The idea that each god speaks individually, but refers to the community (*hr=n*) of gods, is not only clear by the different writing of *n* in each case, but also by the fact that in such a context (i.e., direct speech), the *sdm.n=f* form is expected, as well as visible traces of *dd-mdw* in the uppermost register, suggesting the original reconstruction with the speech of each god (Beaux 2012: 29).

were also single columns with a similar text in front of the gods on each part of the wall. No such text was attested on the east wall.

Groups of smaller-scale figures of gods in raised relief, expressing wishes of life, stability and dominium, are present in other parts of the Hatshepsut temple.

## SCENES WITH GODS FROM THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT IN DEIR EL-BAHARI

The general iconographical scheme is that gods who are not the object of ritual activity and are rendered in small scale, meaning their figures do not occupy the full height of the wall, usually approach the king, holding the *was*-scepter in one hand and the *ankh* in the other. Single striding gods in three registers can confront the king himself or his expected presence as in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (Karkowski 2001b: 148–150) and the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Karkowski 2001b: Fig. 27 on page 148)<sup>13</sup> flanking the false doors. Single gods in two registers are represented on each wall of the higher niches with Osiride statues of Hatshepsut in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard (Karkowski 2001b: 137–138). In the Hathor Shrine on the Middle Terrace, in three scenes with a kiosk, single gods appear after the representation of Hathor in her cow form; twice a single god<sup>14</sup> and once a single god shown twice in two

registers.<sup>15</sup> On the south and north complete walls of the Bark Hall, two gods (or collective divinities, also the royal *kas*) in each of the three registers depicted behind the bark assist in the offering made by Hatshepsut to Hathor.<sup>16</sup> Two gods are shown standing, each in a separate register, in the northern part of the lowest terrace, in front of a scene presenting Hatshepsut as a sphinx trampling the enemies (Naville 1908: 7, Pl. 160).

In almost all these scenes the gods are surrounded by texts containing their speeches, but the Amarna destruction usually concentrated on the figures and names of gods. Different schemes of the arrangement of the divine name and caption were used within the frame of a single scene.<sup>17</sup>

Groups of three or more gods are less common, but they also express wishes of long life, health and happiness.<sup>18</sup> The mummiform gods are present on the east

13 Two gods in a row are depicted in the smaller registers next to the false-door stela in the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

14 The west wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall, see Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 20a,b,c,d (south part) and Pls 21 a,b,e,f (north part).

15 The north part of the facade of the Hathor Shrine, in sunk relief, see Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 2 a,b,e,f.

16 South wall, see Beaux 2012: 122–127, Pl. 31; north wall, see Beaux 2012: 134–136, Pl. 32.

17 Compare the scenes from the Bark Hall, where in most cases texts in the third person expressing wishes come first and are followed with a divine name. A reversed order occurs as well.

18 Scenes from the Solar Complex discussed below are exceptional. Except for the scene with Atum from the west wall of the Vestibule there, the other three scenes are poorly preserved, but the reconstruction suggests a different pattern.

wall of the southern niche in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Neville 1906: Pl. 127).

The solar bark depicted in the Solar Complex, on the west wall of the Vestibule of the Altar Courtyard, above the doorway (Karkowski 2003: 150, Pls 25B, 26), should hold a group of gods and include the king.<sup>19</sup> But the only divinity preserved as the original image is Atum with his name above the double crown and the caption in front: *di=f ḥnh dd w3s* ‘He gives life, stability and divine power’ (after Karkowski 2003: 150). Karkowski noted that his presence here was hypothetical, because the exact dimensions of the block are not known and it exists only in a photograph of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Karkowski also suggested that it could have belonged to the decoration of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The suggestion is plausible, but the dimensions that can be read from the images exclude it, namely, the scale of the figure seems to be too large.<sup>20</sup>

Another solar bark with a group of gods is restored in the middle of the northern part of the east wall of the Vestibule of the Altar Courtyard in the Solar Complex (Karkowski 2003: 157, 222, Pls 29, 30, 39). The gods are described only by name and a group of male gods in prayer was probably depicted below

the bark. Similarly, another bark with the gods was restored in the middle of the southern part (Karkowski 2003: 178, 224, Pls 34, 39).

The gods of Upper and Lower Egypt appear in the decoration of the Middle Terrace, represented symbolically in two rows of three male divinities, each with the *was*-scepter and *ankh*-sign (Neville 1898: 1, Pl. 56). The queen is being presented to them. The texts in the line above them explain that the gods of Upper Egypt express their good wishes in the upper register and those of Lower Egypt in the lower one.

The south wall of the Middle Terrace shows the Ennead in front of an enthroned Amun (Neville 1896: Pl. 46). Twelve gods are identified only by names, but this is a later restoration; the rest of the original decoration shows that the gods were accompanied by a standard text containing wishes. Another group of gods was depicted behind the enthroned Amun. A symbolic number of three kneeling gods gesturing in jubilation was represented in the three small registers in front of Seshat and Thot seated in a separate register: the uppermost group of the gods of the south is jackal-headed; then come the hawk-headed gods of the north, and in the lowermost register the gods with human bodies connected also with the north (Neville 1898: 4–5, Pl. 60).

19 Compare the bark from the Chapel of Hatshepsut: Neville 1901: 10, Pl. 115 and Karkowski 2003: 153 and Pl. 81.

20 The arrangement of the caption would point to a location in the vestibule (questioning the actual scheme of the procession of the gods in the original decoration), but without the actual dimensions and judging by the iconographical scheme, all that can be said is that the Atum on the block from the EEF photograph reconstructed by Karkowski in the solar bark should be part of a similar procession of gods from the Middle Terrace (Neville 1896: Pl. 46) rather than part of a bark scene (compare Neville 1901: Pl. 115 and Karkowski 2003: Pl. 81).

On the south side of the Lower Terrace, one finds a group of striding gods depicted next to a scene of the transport of obelisks (Naville 1908: 4, Pl. 154).<sup>21</sup>

Unlike all the described scenes with gods, the decoration of blocks B.1522 and B.1523 has one additional feature: the upper part of an oval sign bearing fine traces of destruction, which should be interpreted as the remains of a cartouche name. The scale of the gods here also seems to be smaller than in other places, although it is compliant with that of the *in situ* reliefs of the vestibule. The cartouche name in front of the gods is not introduced by any epithet. This manner of presentation of the cartouche names is characteristic of the decoration with the procession of gods in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Except for the east wall, where, curiously, only the birth name has been preserved, usually both cartouche names of Tuthmosis III appear in front of the gods. However, the remains of the cartouche name on block B.1522 seem to indicate Hatshepsut. On the west wall of the vestibule, the cartouches of Hatshepsut appear at the beginning of the three registers and they show her throne

name (although nothing but the *ka* sign is preserved in one case and it does not bear any trace of alterations). In the other five registers, either no trace of a cartouche can be found on the destroyed surface or, in two cases, the surface is totally unpreserved. There is no evidence of the birth name as the second cartouche in front of the next god in any case. However, identification by a single name is known from other contexts. For example, the throne name alone identifies Hatshepsut in the scenes from the Bark Hall next to Hathor in the cow form (Beaux 2012: Pls 31 and 32) and in speeches of the gods.<sup>22</sup> The scheme with a single cartouche name is supported by block B.2481 showing the upper part of a god identified as Re-Horakhte. The text behind this god with the Horus name of Tuthmosis III does not leave any room for a cartouche. However, it is also possible that there are other reasons for the absence of any traces, such as the smoothing of all cartouches by Tuthmosis III or destruction of the surface in the Amarna period. One could also consider there being no regular pattern to the decoration or changes being introduced during the process of decoration.

## ORIGINAL ORDER OF THE GODS

The order of the gods in the decorative program of the square antechamber in the Old Kingdom pyramid temples was geographical by intent (Oppenheim 2002: 140 with Note 88). In the best preserved square antechamber, belonging to the pyramid temple of Pepi II, the gods of Upper

Egypt were depicted on the south and west walls, while those of Lower Egypt on the east and north walls (Jéquier 1938: 35–53). For the Middle Kingdom, the geographical arrangement does not seem as certain. In the square antechamber of Sesostris III at Dahshur, the principle behind the or-

21 More blocks from this scene are in the temple stores.

22 For example, speeches of Hathor in the sanctuary of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux 2012: Pls 39, 40).

ganization of the deities is obscured by the state of preservation, but it may have been other than geography (Oppenheim 2002: 139–141); perhaps the ritual function of the gods should be considered there instead (Oppenheim 2007: 214).

However, a geographical division of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt is present on temple gates that are judged to have entered the mortuary as well as other Middle and New Kingdom temple decorative programs from the decoration of the square antechamber (Arnold 1997: 82). These gates have the gods of Lower or Upper Egypt on the door frames, according to the geographical direction as confirmed by the main motif represented in the central place on the lintel: the double *sed*-festival pavilion scene.<sup>23</sup> The oldest attestation of the motif of a pavilion on the lintel together with gods accompanied by chapels on the door frames is the gate of Sesostris III from Medamud (Willems 1984: Pl. 7), which

clearly served as a model for the gate of Sobekhotep I (Eder 2002: 85; new drawing in Eder 2002: Pl. 43). No example of such a doorway from the Middle or New Kingdoms can be attributed to a square antechamber or its later equivalent.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the inscriptions running in columns on both doorjambs are identical in the said temples, contrary to the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, where they are different and run on the wall.

The doorways with the *sed*-festival scene could be an inspiration rather than a model or direct copy. The *sed*-festival scene on the west wall could suggest geographical factors and a division of the wall into the northern and southern parts. Thus, the gods may have referred originally to the two parts of the Egyptian state. Original figures of Atum and Re-Horakhte in the northern part of the west wall would correspond then to the Lower Egyptian divinities.<sup>25</sup> The cartouche names could have also been inspired by the decoration of the gates.

## ARRANGEMENT OF ARCHITRAVES IN THE VESTIBULE OF THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT

The placement of blocks B.1522 and B.1523 in the northern uppermost register of the west wall has an additional consequence, for it contributes to the data on the arrangement of the architraves in the vestibule. The decoration of the vesti-

bule was executed in raised relief, hence the space must have been roofed. In the Complex of the Royal Cult, raised relief decoration is present in both chapel vestibules, while sunk relief was used on the walls of the Courtyard. The Vestibule of

23 However, for the gate of Sobekhotep I, despite the division into Upper and Lower Egypt suggested by the chapels behind the gods, it was suggested that most of them belonged to Upper Egypt (Eder 2002: 94).

24 See, for example, lists of such doorways in Eder 2002: 92, Note 236; Karkowski 2001a: Note 59, and Arnold 1997: Note 151 on pages 269–270.

25 However, a clear geographical connection to the north is well known only from later sources, mainly temples: Leitz 2002/VII: 413 (H), Atum; 2002/IV: 631 (F), Re-Horakhte.

the Chapel of Hatshepsut was open on the north, sharing parts of the west and east wall with the Courtyard.

There are two approaches to the issue of the arrangement of the architraves in the Complex of the Royal Cult<sup>26</sup> and they share one feature: one architrave is positioned in the parts of the walls where sunk relief was used. In the vestibule itself, either two or one architraves are proposed. Two architraves placed parallel to the first one, aligned east–west, were put forward by Karkowski (1983: 150 and Fig. 8).<sup>27</sup> A single architrave perpendicular to the first one was suggested by Arnold (2003: 104). In light of new material and a verification of the proposed reconstructions, the following changes to both propositions can be made.

The decoration of blocks B.1522 and B.1523 suggests a change of the position of the architrave from the Courtyard wall decoration to the vestibule. One would expect an architrave to follow the small block with the decorative border directly behind block B.1523.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, the decoration in raised relief would appear under the architrave. Such an arrangement of the architrave, between

the sunk and raised relief sections, is attested in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I in the Complex of the Royal Cult (Karkowski 1983: 150–151, Fig. 8; Barwik forthcoming), but also in the First Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine.<sup>29</sup> However, other divisions of the inner and outer relief forms are also present in this temple. For example, on the north and south walls of the Middle Terrace, the decoration in raised relief starts behind an architrave.

The position of architraves in the vestibule part of the east wall cannot be verified for lack of preserved decoration in the uppermost registers. But a reconstruction with blocks B.1522 and B.1523 excludes the presence of three architraves. Thus, one should take into consideration Arnold's proposition. A perpendicular architrave with its setting on the south wall seems to be the most probable despite there being no decoration on the wall itself either in favor or against this solution.

The presence of architraves necessitated changes in the wall decoration. The best example of the modification of a register that should be smaller under an

26 General temple plans do not as a rule include a reconstruction of the position of architraves and columns in the Complex of the Royal Cult.

27 After him, e.g., Iwaszczuk 2017: 114, Figs 78, 81. The arrangement of columns on a general plan presented in a later publication shows that Karkowski remained true to his original proposition (Karkowski 2003: Pl. B).

28 Assuming the presence of a single Hatshepsut cartouche name, the width of the architrave could be about 77 cm. Two cartouches would make room for one more god in front of both blocks and then the width of the architrave would be about 60 cm. However, the space for an additional god and cartouche would be very narrow. For the possible dimensions of the architraves in the temple of Hatshepsut, see Dąbrowski 1964: 54–58.

29 Clearly visible on the western part of the south wall (Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 8g [drawing] and 8h [photo]). The reconstruction of the north wall does not show any sign of the architrave, but changes of the decorative program can be observed there (Beaux et al. 2016: Pls 9g [drawing] and 9h [photo]).

architrave is the west wall of the square antechamber of the Pepi II pyramid temple. The proposed reconstruction shows that the number of striding gods was reduced and two pairs of baboons sitting in front of chapels and a short text were depicted directly under the architrave (Jéquier 1938: 44, Pl. 50). The new blocks reconstructed in the west wall of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut show also that the room available for individual gods differed from that in the lower (reworked) registers of the same wall.

The position of Atum in the uppermost register of the northern half of the wall suggests the direction for the reading of the decoration. In other places, the groups of gods with Atum are counted from the lowermost register. Atum was originally the second of the twelve gods in front of the enthroned Amun in the scene next to the Birth Portico (Naville 1896: Pl. 46).<sup>30</sup> In a scene from the Vestibule of the Hathor Shrine, a restored Atum is the third seated god in a group that was restored in its entirety (Beaux 2012: 29–32, Pl. 7).<sup>31</sup> In the

Complex of the Royal Cult, the reading of the scenes should be reversed. The original Atum in the uppermost register suggests a reading of the scenes from the uppermost to the lower registers.<sup>32</sup> Other decoration in this part of the temple supports this idea. The arrangement of the nome procession on the northern part of the east wall of the Courtyard of the Complex of the Royal Cult suggests an up-to-down reading (Białostocka 2014: 26). In this way, the nomes of Lower Egypt follow those of Upper Egypt. Such an arrangement suggests also that the gods in the procession on the southern part of the east wall could have originally belonged to both parts of Egypt. However, at least on the west wall of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the original division, which may have been kept through the restoration, was for the northern wing to refer to the Lower Egyptian gods and the southern one to the Upper Egyptian ones, following in this the direction set by the *sed*-festival scene on the doorway lintel.

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#### How to cite this article: Kopp, E. (2018).

The gods bestow life. New material to the divine processions in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 275–289). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3305>

30 For such a reading of the sequence of the Ennead, see Barta 1973: 65–73, especially 66 (14).

31 For the sequence of gods, see Barta 1973: 65–73, especially 66 (15).

32 Atum is often listed at the beginning of the divine groups, see Leitz 2002/VII: 412–413.

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# Stamped bricks of Amenhotep I from Deir el-Bahari

**Abstract:** Stamped bricks with the names of the king Amenhotep I and his mother, queen Ahmes Nefertari, were found throughout Deir el-Bahari, including the Temple of Hatshepsut investigated by a mission from the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw. All of the bricks came from the edifice raised by Amenhotep I at Deir el-Bahari that was demolished before the construction of the mortuary temple Djoser-djeseru and then reused in a structure that emerged at the same time or later.

**Keywords:** seal, stamped mud brick, Amenhotep I, Ahmes Nefertari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari

Stamped mud bricks are common to the era of the New Kingdom. They did not occur earlier, the first precisely dated stamped bricks coming from the early Eighteenth Dynasty. They were still popular in the Nineteenth Dynasty, then lost significance with the latest examples dating from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (see Spencer 1979: 144, 146; Boochs 1982: 21). The main purpose of stamping a mud brick, as indicated by the information contained in the impressions, was to give the name of the founder of the building or the name of the edifice, for the construction of which they were intended. Unfortunately, it is not clear why only a limited number of bricks were marked in this way. A magical or religious cause cannot be excluded (Boochs 1982: 3), because the stamp was immured and hence not visible.<sup>1</sup> This led to the conclusion that the stamps were dedications to the deities. They may have also been a sign of the king's workshop

1 Except for a group of private stamped bricks where the seal is on the (narrower) side, which resulted in the impression being exposed in the wall face, see Borchardt 1934: 32–34; Spencer 1979: 140–146.



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**Acknowledgments**

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mirosław Barwik for his invaluable help and knowledgeable support during my work on the presented material.

I am also grateful to Alicja Łais and Mateusz Zaranek for their help and very useful suggestions and to Zbigniew E. Szafranski, Director of the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, for permission to publish this material.

responsible for the building material for a specific construction project.<sup>2</sup>

The sacral edifice that Amenhotep I raised beside the temple of Mentuhotep II in the valley of Deir el-Bahari pre-existed Hatshepsut's temple of a million years in the same place. Herbert Winlock suggested that it was a small temple or a chapel (Winlock 1924: 14–16, 20; 1932: 23–24; Porter and Moss 1972: 343). This building has also been referred to as the “Brick Temple” with the annotation that its original name was the “House of Amenophis of the Garden” (Porter and Moss

1972: 343, Note 1), which was mentioned in the Abbot Papyrus (papAbbot, page 2, lines 3–4, see Peet 1930: Pl. I). However, it is doubtful that the building was indeed a temple, as indicated by the fact that it was built not of stone, but of mud brick. Probably it was an edifice associated with one of festivals, maybe a bark shrine, as Dieter Arnold suggested (1974: 68).

The queen's builders had to clear the area and dismantle the building of Amenhotep I before starting on the construction of Hatshepsut's time. Its remains are now located under the floor level of

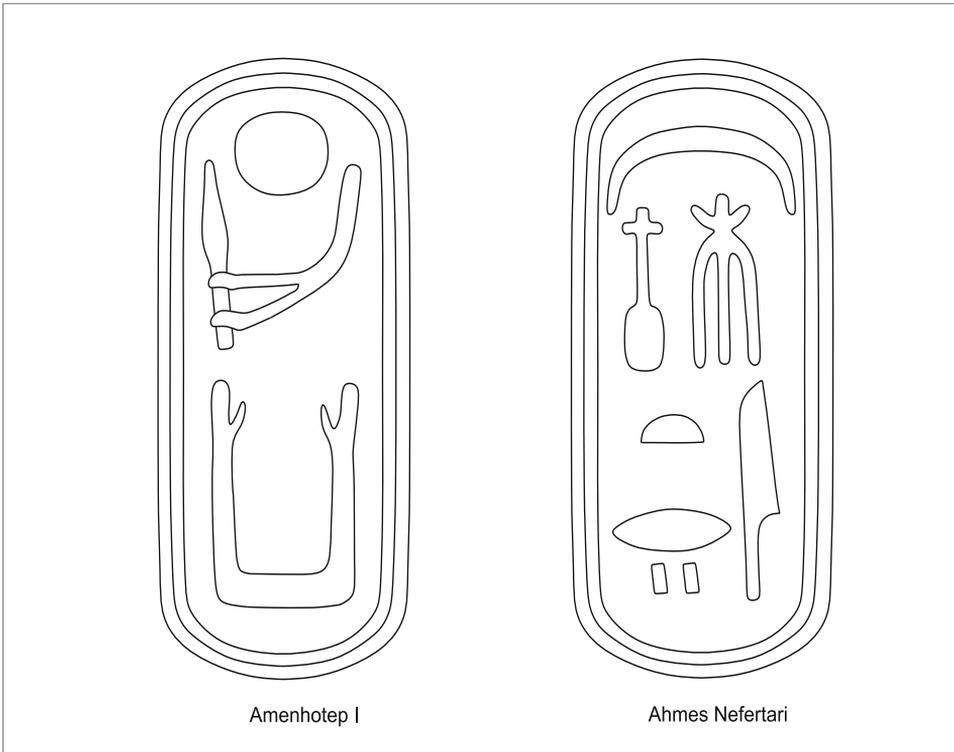


Fig. 1. Types of seal impression on mud bricks from Deir el-Bahari (PCMA Temple of Hatshepsut Project/all photos and drawing A. Madej)

2 Fourteen different types of seals were recognised in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III. They give the name of the king or the name of the temple and differ only in the spelling, see Ricke 1939: 34–36; Seco Álvarez and Radwan 2012: 70, Fig. 2.

the Middle Courtyard of the Hatshepsut temple (Wysocki 1984: 332, 334). Although the building was razed, the building material, originally used in the Amenhotep I foundation, was reused later in different structures at Deir el-Bahari. This is attested by mud bricks stamped with the name of the king found in various places in the valley, in the area of the temple and its immediate vicinity.

Some stamped mud bricks were found during the work of the University of Warsaw PCMA Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. They were not associated with Queen Hatshepsut’s activity.<sup>3</sup> It seems that these mud bricks were relocated and reused probably in an auxiliary or outside structure which may have been connected with the construction or functioning of the temple of Hatshepsut or later activity on this spot.<sup>4</sup> All the finds of mud bricks with seal impressions are non-contextual. Some were found on the surface in the Chapel of Hatshepsut or without precise provenance in the temple area. Only one was actually excavated in context in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult. Therefore, this material is mixed with objects from various contexts and sometimes different historical periods.

Two types of matrices for the impressions were identified based on the sample of stamped mud bricks from the temple area. Both were oval in shape and repre-

sented large seals typical of the sealings on bricks, made mostly on jar stoppers and doorways. All the seal impressions discovered by the Polish mission are approximately 10.5 cm long, and about 4.5 cm wide. Both types had the inscription oriented vertically and a double frame around the text. In all cases the signs on the impressions showed that the face of the matrix was carved in sunk relief.

The division into stamp types thus depends on the inscription [*Fig. 1*]. The first type, more frequent, appears in four examples of mud bricks found in the temple and contains the praenomen of Amenhotep I, Djoserkare. The second one, attested on a single brick, mentions the name of this king’s mother, queen Ahmes Nefertari. It is characteristic that the inscription on the seal of Amenhotep I is read from left to right, but the seal of Ahmes Nefertari has a reverse orientation of the text. It is certain that both types originally came from the same construction built by king Amenhotep I. There is no reason to suppose that another edifice was founded a little earlier or at the same time by the Great Royal Wife of Ahmose at Deir el-Bahari. Interestingly, both types of seals were also found outside the temple and, moreover, they almost always occurred together (see below). The proportions of the occurrence of bricks with the name of the king in relation to the ones with the name of his mother varies, but it seems that those with the name of

3 A drawing of one of mud bricks was published, see Szafranski 2007: 250, Fig. 3. Incorrect identification of the sign in the middle brought about a misinterpretation of the name on the seal.

4 Like the preparation of a burial shaft in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, see Szafranski 2007: 245–251. It is possible, however, that the stamped brick was deposited in this shaft much later, in modern times, see Barwik 2011: 391, Note 1.

Djeserkare are more frequent.<sup>5</sup> Although two different matrices were used to make the seal impressions, and interpreted as an early variant of the seal bearing two cartouches, the first one is the one with the throne name of the king and the other one with the name of the queen, usually with her title of Great Wife. This kind of decoration with the queen's name as an addition to the name of the reigning king is known in the case of large seals only from mud bricks made at the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Objects stamped with cartouches of Amenhotep III and Tiye,<sup>6</sup> as well as those of Akhenaten and Neferneferuaten Nefertiti<sup>7</sup> are known from the archaeological record. The addition of the name of the Great Wife to the name of the pharaoh denotes a significant position of this woman within the royal court and her major impact on the activities of the ruler. It should be pointed out that the seal mentioning the name of Ahmes Nefertari is the only example of the name of a female connected to the royal family occurring separately on a stamped mud brick.

Several examples of very similar, if not identical seal impressions on mud bricks, are noted in reports of the archaeological missions working in the temple at the beginning of the 20th century. There are bricks stamped with the name Djeserkare as well as his mother Ahmes Nefertari. In most cases, both types occurred together.

Howard Carter was the first to cite mud bricks with seal impressions bearing the mentioned names. He discovered them in the vicinity of the Hatshepsut temple (Carnarvon and Carter 1912: 11, 30, Pl. XXIII, No. 3). He found walls (of some edifice, as he supposed, and the so-called "serpentine wall") which he incorrectly dated to the reign of Amenhotep I, assuming this king had raised both buildings. The results of the Metropolitan Museum of Art excavation by Herbert A. Winlock disproved Carter's conclusions, uncovering the remains of a small building under the Middle Courtyard of the temple (the same sort of stamped mud bricks were found there). Winlock noted that the building material, reused in different places, "had been known as coming from this locality for years" (Winlock 1924: 14). It may even be possible that some of the stamped mud bricks found and documented by the Polish Mission were originally excavated by Winlock and his team, owing to the fact that their contexts are uncertain. It cannot be ruled out that the bricks from the Chapel of Hatshepsut, for example, were known to American archaeologists who left them there.

As a matter of fact, it is impossible to ascertain whether the seal impressions with the same inscriptions were made using one stamp or almost identical yet different matrices were exploited by people in charge of producing and signing new batches of building material. First,

5 Bricks stamped with the name of Ahmes Nefertari may not have been preserved down to our times, hence a disproportion in the quantity of these two types of seals on bricks.

6 Probably all types are from Malqata, see Hayes 1951: 162–164, Fig. 30, Nos 3–4; Lepsius 1970: 185; Teeter and Wilfong 2003: 166–167.

7 From Akhetaten: Pendlebury 1951: 150, Pl. LXXXIII, No. IV.

none of the seals is untouched. Parts of the inscription or frame enclosing the signs are in each case illegible. Thus one cannot compare the precise arrangement of signs or their sizes and proportions. However, the material used to make the bricks was very plastic and vulnerable to deformation before drying and hardening. Thus, the disparity of pressure for impressing a stamp is probably the reason why there is a small variation in the appearance and size of the decoration, notwithstanding that all the seals bearing the name of Djoserkare—preserved in readable parts or complete as seal impressions—are almost identical.

Bricks with cartouches of Amenhotep I and his mother were also found in the quarry in the vicinity of the Senenmut tomb (TT 353) at Deir el-Bahari.<sup>8</sup> The building of this tomb may have been timed to coincide with the construction works in the temple area and Senenmut used materials from the razed foundation of the former king in his own investment. A mud brick from Deir el-Bahari with the name of Djoserkare on its surface was also mentioned by Karl Richard Lepsius (1900: Pl. 4b; 1970: 117), but the author did not specify the precise location where the object was found.

Some of the finds cited above ultimately became part of the Ancient Egyptian collections of American, Egyptian, and German museums. Two

bricks stamped with the throne name of Amenhotep I and another two of Ahmes Nefertari currently belong to the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.<sup>9</sup> An identical set of objects was given to the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Cat. Nos 49079–49082, cited after Porter and Moss 1972: 343). Two bricks with an impressed cartouche of Djoserkare went to the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung in Berlin, most likely in effect of Lepsius's activity at Deir el-Bahari (Nos 1512, 1520, cited after Lepsius 1970: 117).

The said objects present the same types of seals as the stamped bricks found by the Polish team. Their identical shape, approximate size, orientation of inscriptions, the same way of writing the names, and first and foremost, the composition of hieroglyphic signs and their sequence, as well as the absence of similar finds on other sites, leave no doubt that all of them originally belonged to one set of bricks made specifically for Amenhotep I's building at Deir el-Bahari. As the secondary context of these finds is unknown, the fact that they were found in the area of the temple suggests that they may have been acquired as building material from the demolition of an earlier structure located in the same place at a time when this part of the valley was transformed into a building site for the mortuary temple of Hatshepsut.

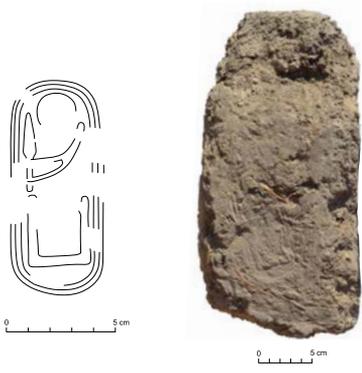
8 Results of work in this area carried out by the Metropolitan Museum of Art are presented in the *Notebooks of Herbert Winlock*, see Dorman 1991: 83–87, Pl. 41c–d; *PM*: 343.

9 With cartouches of Amenhotep I: 25.3.142-3, [www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/554496](http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/554496), [www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559640](http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559640) [accessed: 11.04.2016]; with the name of Ahmes Nefertari: 25.3.144-5, [www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559641](http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559641), [www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559642](http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559642) [accessed: 11.04.2016]; see Hayes 1990: 45, 48.

## CATALOG

### STAMPED MUD BRICKS WITH THE NAME OF AMENHOTEP I

<b>Cat. No. 1</b>	Inv. No. 715	
Findspot	Chapel of Hatshepsut, S.7A/82 (Szafranski 2007: 247, Fig. 5) = Tomb VIII (Szafranski 2015: 184, Fig. 1; 194)	
Measurement	Brick 28.5 x 15 x 10 cm	
	Seal 10 x 4.5 cm	
Inscription	<i>Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	
<b>Cat. No. 2</b>	Inv. No. 716	
Findspot	Deposited in the Chapel of Hatshepsut	
Measurement	Brick 29 x 13.5 x 12 cm	
	Seal ? x 4.2 cm	
Inscription	<i>Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	
<b>Cat. No. 3</b>	Inv. No. 718	
Findspot	Chapel of Hatshepsut	
Measurement	Brick 28 x 13 x 19 cm	
	Seal 10 x 4.5 cm	
Inscription	<i>Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	

Cat. No. 4	Inv. No. 2348	
Findspot	Deposited in temple area	
Measurement	Brick 30 x 15 x 11 cm	
	Seal 10 x 4.2 cm	
Inscription	<i>Dsr-k3-R<sup>c</sup></i>	

### STAMPED MUD BRICK WITH THE NAME OF AHMES NEFERTARI

Cat. No. 5	Cat. No. 717	
Findspot	Deposited in the Chapel of Hatshepsut	
Measurement	Brick 30 x 14 x 12 cm	
	Seal 10.5 x 4.2 cm	
Inscription	<i>Thms-Nfrtjry</i>	

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#### How to cite this article:

Madej, A. (2018). Stamped bricks of Amenhotep I from Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafrński (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 291 -300). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3306>

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The Metropolitan Museum of Art online catalogue:

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/554496>

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559640>

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559641>

<http://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/559642>

# Third Intermediate Period funerary assemblages from the Chapel of Hatshepsut

## Part 1. Coffins and cartonnages from the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties



**Abstract:** The text catalogues the best preserved pieces of coffins and cartonnages excavated from the burials made on the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatsheput in the Third Intermediate Period when the ruins were used as a burial ground for noblemen, especially the family of Vizier Padiamunet. Hundreds of fragments were found since the 1930s (not all have survived and the fragmentation and mixing of the finds make it a very difficult material to study). On typological and epigraphic grounds the remains were assigned to the third part of the Twenty-second and the larger part of the Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Twenty-second Dynasty, Twenty-fifth Dynasty, vizier Padiamunet, coffin, cartonnage, Third Intermediate Period

Hundreds of fragments of coffins and cartonnages were discovered during the excavation of burial pits on the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut and especially in the queen's cultic chapel (Szafranski 2001: 196–199; 2007: 245–251; 2015). Despite the high level of disturbance of these burials and the difficulty with linking different elements of these groups together, a large part of the fragments could be reassembled and the owners identified. Moreover, some pieces could be linked to Émile Baraize's discoveries from the 1930s (published by Bruyère 1956; see also

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**Acknowledgments**

The author would like to thank Dr. Zbigniew Szafranski for his generous invitation to work on this material, all the members of the Polish–Egyptian Mission to the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari for their kindness during his stay there and Mrs. Cynthia M. Sheikholeslami for her advice on the material and for organizing the photographic session in the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization (NMEC) in Cairo.

Aston 2009: 216–217). Typological and epigraphic studies dated the burials to the third part of the Twenty-second and a larger part of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty; during this time Hatshepsut's chapel was used by the family of the vizier Padiamunet as a burial ground. The present text publishes the best preserved pieces

from these tombs and related material, which could be studied despite the difficulties (artifacts largely lost, assemblages of curved fragments, similarities between fragments from different artifacts mixed in the pits), leaving a full publication of vizier Padiamunet's cartonnage and coffins to a forthcoming article.

## 1 LATE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY MATERIAL

A large group of fragments dates from the later part of the Twenty-second Dynasty (so-called "Libyan Period"). Isolated fragments aside, three cartonnages can be reconstructed together with fragments of wooden coffins, a funeral assemblage that is specific to the period. The three cartonnage mummy-cases, pertaining to a vizier Pa[...], vizier Padiamunet and a lady Shepenhutaat, display nearly the same color scale and style of decoration, even if that of Padiamunet is a little different in the arrangement of the decoration. They are real cartonnages, not made in two shelves, they do not have any foot pedestal and are not inscribed with a developed funerary text. Not a single fragment bears the name of Osiris written with the pennant-sign, which appears regularly on documents from around 725 BC. All these features seem to place them around 825–725 BC. Moreover, they share some epigraphic peculiarities. The writing of Osiris with the particular shape of the sign  and the patterns of the collar are nearly identical on the cartonnages of Shepenhutaat and Padi-

amunet, which indicates that they were made in the same period and probably in the same workshop. They seem to have been the earliest burials in this area of Hatshepsut's temple.

Vizier Padiamunet, probably the first to be buried in Hatshepsut's Chapel, appears to be the most important official. The date of his burial is indicated by linen with his name and other pieces with the date "Year 27 of King Usermaatre ..." (Szafranski 2011: 144–145, Fig. 7). This can be only Usermaatre Osorkon III of the Theban line of the Twenty-second Dynasty, as year 27 of Piankhy would lead to a date after 720 BC, way too late for the style of the cartonnages (for the chronology, see Payraudeau forthcoming: Chapter 2).<sup>1</sup> So, the death and funeral of vizier Padiamunet around 765 BC are very probable.

From this time onwards, the area became a family necropolis, functioning as such for more than a century. There is evidence of the burials of the son of Padiamunet, vizier Nespaqashuty (see below, section 2.1), and his wife, princess Diesenesyt, a daughter of Takelot III

1 Especially with the new chronology placing the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty later than previously thought.

[Fig. 1]. A later son, priest of Montu Padiamunet (iii), and grandson, priest of Montu Nespaqashouty (vi) son of Pamy were buried with lady Heresnes in front of the chapel in tomb XVIII during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Bruyère 1956; Aston 2009: 216–217; Sheikholeslami 2015). Two other burials of the same date, of a Paenmy son of Padiamun, who could be a sibling from the same family, and another priest, descendant of the vizier Padiamunet, were documented inside the chapel (see below, sections 2.3 and 2.4). Finally, an earlier burial of the late Twenty-second Dynasty, that of vizier Pakhar, younger brother of vizier Padiamunet, could be identified inside the chapel (see below, section 1.1), leading to the assumption that the wife of vizier Pakhar, Princess Irbastetudjanefu, also a daughter of king Takelot III, and

their sons Pamy and Penuupeqer, could have been buried in this area as well (Payraudeau 2018).

**1.1 THE FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGE OF THE VIZIER PADIAMUNET**

The vizier Padiamunet was apparently the first to be buried in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, probably in either tomb VIII or IX, in the rear part of the chapel (Szafranski 2015: 187–188). His funerary assemblage is the best preserved and it will be fully studied in a forthcoming article, as a sequel to this one. It was composed of the following:

- ▷ a wooden anthropoid outer coffin with large texts (name and title of the deceased);
- ▷ a wooden anthropoid inner coffin with excerpts from the *Book of the Dead* in vertical columns;

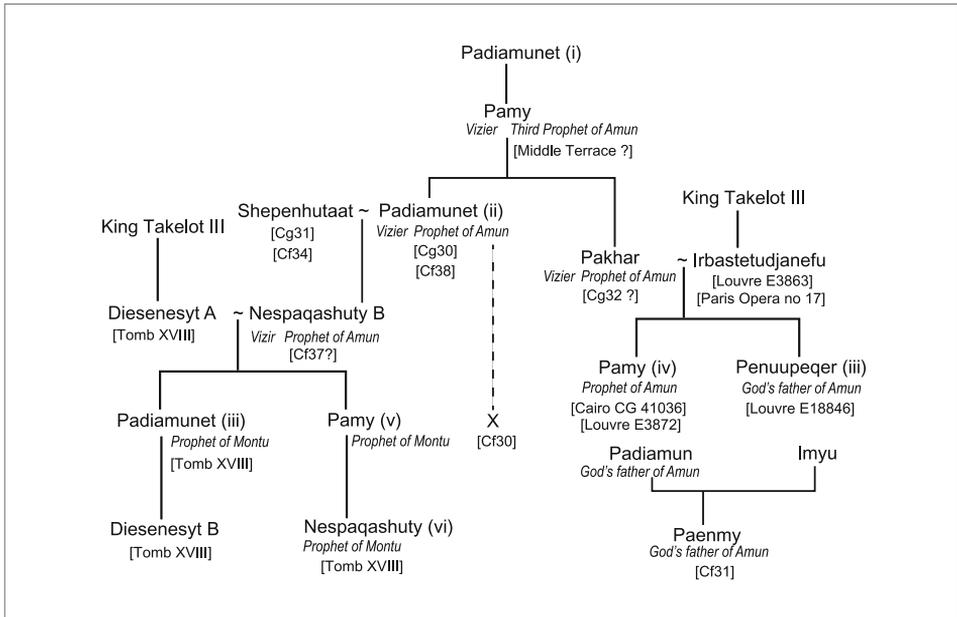


Fig. 1. Genealogy of the Pamy family and other related individuals represented in the material from the burials in the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the queen’s temple at Deir el-Bahari

▷ a cartonnage representing Design 2C of John Taylor (2003: 106–107) with a single ram-headed falcon on the torso and with a prominent abydenian fetish protected by two winged goddesses and two falcons in the lower part (for a parallel, see Barwik 2003: 127, Fig. 6 and Ziegler 1990: 72–73) [see Fig. 2 for a provisional reconstruction]. This object shows no developed text. The mummy case was found by Baraize (Bruyère 1956: 18) and other

fragments by the Polish mission, mainly in Tomb VIII, but also in Tomb IX.

**1.2 CARTONNAGE CASE CG32 OF VIZIER PA[...]**

Fragments of a cartonnage mummy-case Cg32, which is largely lost, were discovered in shafts VIII and IX, discarded there probably after the cleaning and filling that occurred in the 1930s. Tentatively reconstructed [Fig. 3], this case represents

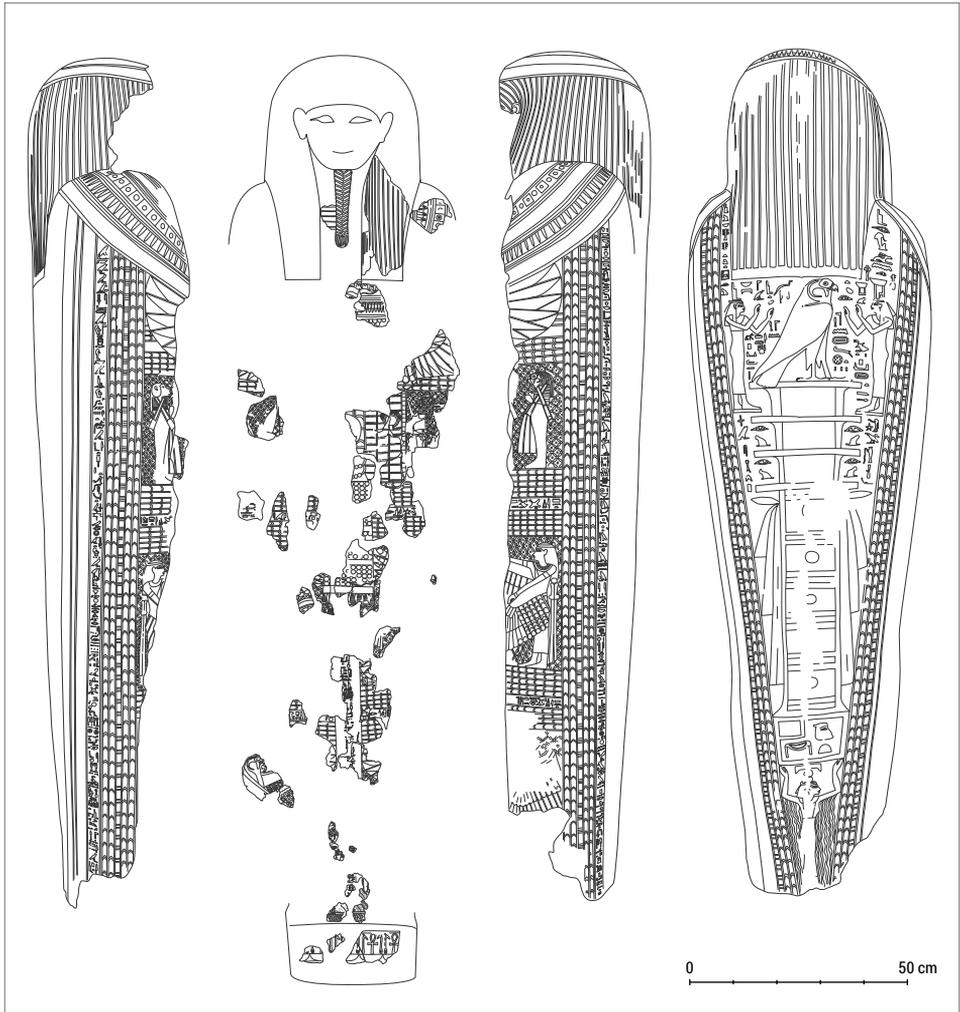


Fig. 2. Reconstruction of cartonnage case Cg32 of the vizier Padiamunet (Image F. Payraudeau)

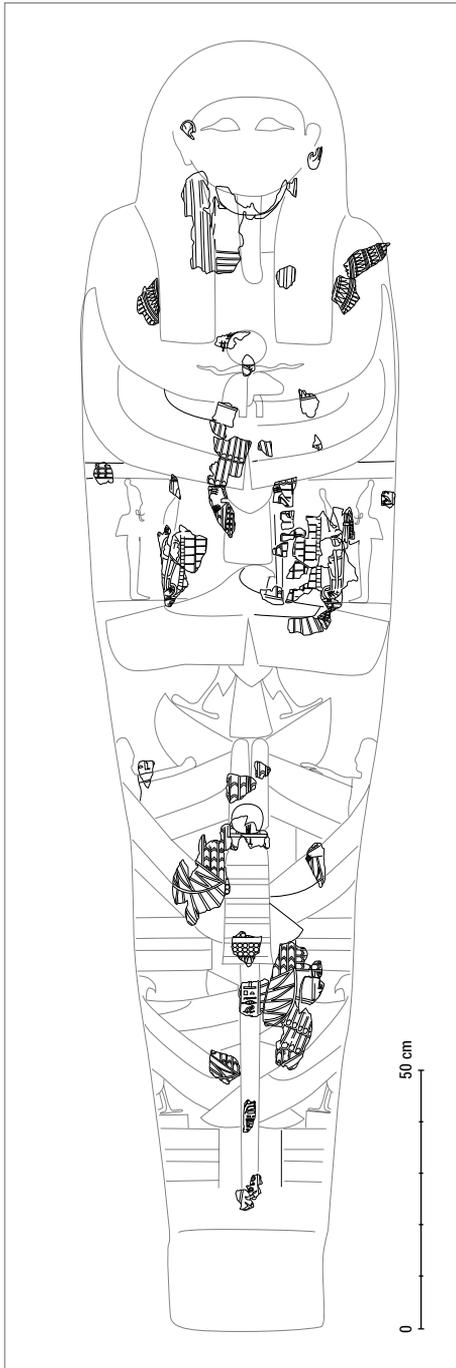


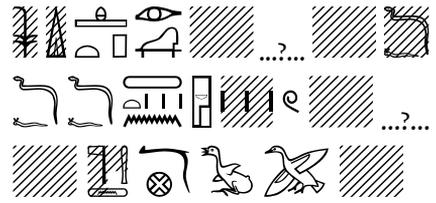
Fig. 3. Reconstruction of cartonnage case Cg32 of the vizier Pa[...] (Image F. Payraudeau)

the “Two falcons” design that was in use between the reigns of Osorkon I and Osorkon III, about 920–775 BC (Taylor 2003: 106, Design 2B; Aston 2009: 283, cartonnage Type III). The most significant patterns of this design are: the preserved large collar [Fig. 4], a ram-headed falcon spreading its wings on the torso of the mummy [Fig. 5 left], a pair of *uraei* both bearing the White Crown facing Osiris (and probably the sons of Horus) [Fig. 5 right], a second falcon (nearly completely lost), a column of text protected by two winged goddesses and two falcons crossing their wings [Fig. 6 left].

Certain elements prove that Cg32 pertains to a later phase of this design. In the lower part, the axial column of the text has the shape of the Osirian fetish of Abydos, from which only some parts (feather, beads) are preserved [Fig. 6 center]. The nearest parallels are the mummy case of Penu in the Boston Museum of Art (Taylor 2003: Pl. 48) and that of Djedkhonsuiuefankh in the Louvre Museum (Payraudeau 2005: 203–204, Fig. 3-C). A later date is suggested by the borders between registers that are made of triple rows of ribbons. This pattern does not appear before about 825 BC, but its chronology is still disputed (Elias 1993: 405–407; Payraudeau 2005: 202–204; 2018: 426–428). The beads on the dome surrounded by the double feathers are probably arranged in five rows. This feature appears on later artifacts apparently, around 800–725 BC (Taylor 2003: Figs 49, 60; 2006: 278). Both *uraei* in the first register have the White Crown, a feature attested on the cartonnages of Takhnemmet (Manchester), Padiashaikhet (Sydney) and the coffin of

Irbastetudjanefu (Louvre) (Taylor 2006: 269 and Pls 47, 51). These artifacts all seem to date from about 775–700 BC. In view of these features, a date around 775–750 BC seems to be probable for the Cg32 cartonnage.

The axial column is poorly preserved [Fig. 6 right], but the text can be reconstructed tentatively as follows:



*htp-[di-nswt] Wsir [...di=f ...]df3w  
n hwwt [...][hm-ntr] imm mr t3ty P3-  
[...]*



Fig. 4. Fragments of the upper part of cartonnage case Cg32: wig and collar (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

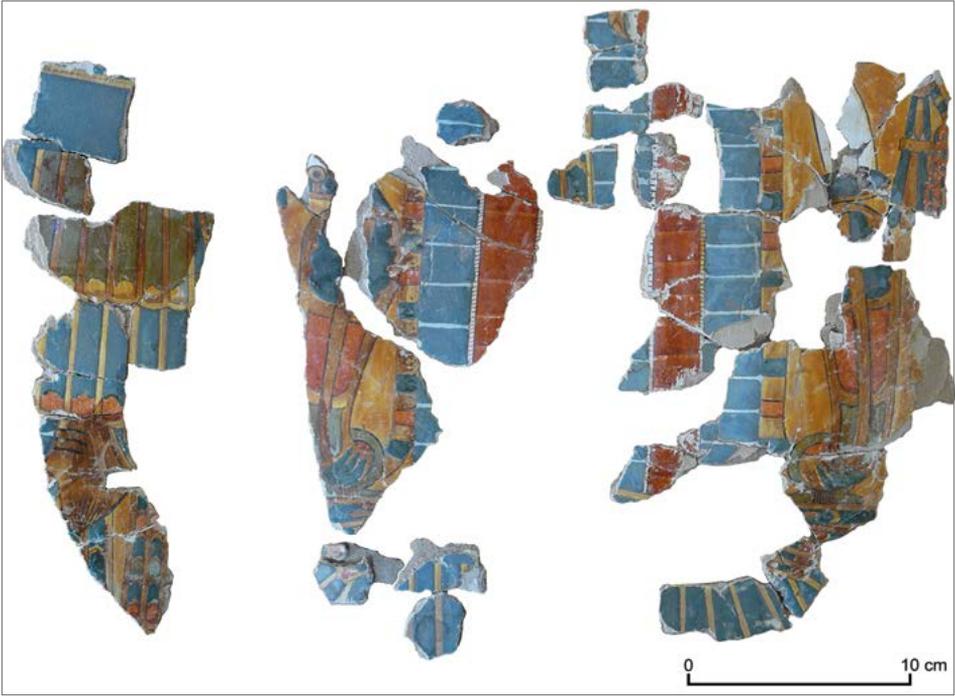


Fig. 5. Fragments of the torso of cartonnage case Cg32: left, ram-headed falcon body and wings; right, linen and uraei (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

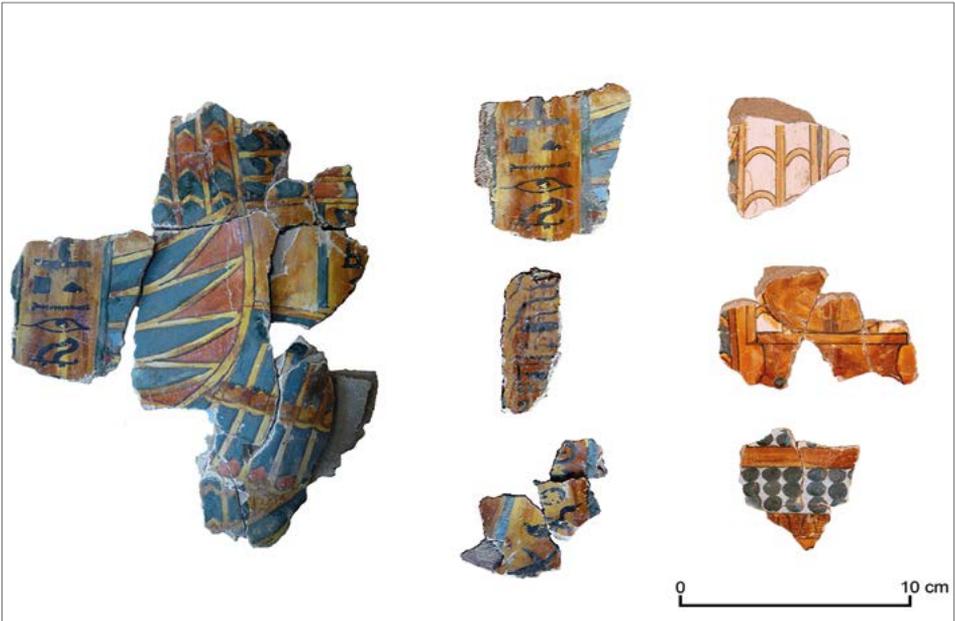


Fig. 6. Fragments of the lower registers of cartonnage case Cg32: left, winged goddesses and falcons; center, fragments of the abydenian fetish; right, part of texts with titles (Photos F. Payraudeau)

“Offering [given by the King] to Osiris [... so he gives ...] supplies of the temples [...] [to the Osiris...][prophet] of Amun, director of the City, vizier, Pa[...]”.

This reconstruction is hypothetical and, alternatively, it can be supposed that the title of vizier and name of Pa[...] pertains to the father of the deceased. Nevertheless, the offering formula seems to be quite developed (*df3 n hwwt* probably following something like *htpw*). The writing of Osiris with the sign  is the same as that used on the contemporary mummy-case of the lady Shepenhutaat (Cg31, see below, section 1.3) and on the assemblage of vizier Padiamunet.

The obvious familial character of these burials in the southern part of the Upper Terrace leads us to propose the identification of this vizier Pa[...] with a sibling of vizier Padiamunet, whose *floruit* is to be dated around 800–750 BC (Payraudeau 2014: 155–156 and No. 109). The style of his cartonnage mummy-case is quite conventional, but may be dated around the same period as that of Padiamunet. A neat solution would be to attribute this cartonnage to the vizier Pamy, father of the vizier Padiamunet. This important official, owner of the block-statue Cairo JE 36960 (unpublished), held numerous titles about the time of the reign of Osorkon III, namely those of the Third Prophet of Amun, chief of the scribes of the temple of Amun, scribe of the divine offering of Amun, several priestly titles in This-Abydos, Coptos, Tod, Hermon-

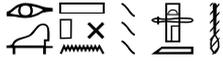
this and Elkab, viceroy of Kush, great inspector of the City and vizier (Yoyotte 1988; Payraudeau 2014: 155 and No. 85). Some fragments of wooden coffins of this vizier were found during the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York in the sector of the Second and Third Terraces in 1930–1931 (Aston 2009: 214, TG882).<sup>2</sup> The original location of these fragments is uncertain and there is a slim chance that this material came from the Third or Upper Terrace. The cartonnage is very fragmentary and its original location is also uncertain, as it has been shown that the pits in the southern part of the Upper Terrace were filled with remains from the excavations of Baraize and others (Szafranski 2015: 185). Another candidate would be the vizier Pakhar, son of Pamy and younger brother of Padiamunet. He married the daughter of king Takelot III, Irbastetudjanefu, and died probably around 750 BC (Payraudeau 2014: 155–156, 389–390, 467, No. 101). The coffins of his wife (Paris Opera No. 17, Louvre E3872) and their two sons, Pamy (Louvre E3863, Cairo CG 41036) and Penupoqer (Louvre E18846), are known, although without an exact provenance, even if Deir el-Bahari has been proposed (Aston 2009: 206–207). If Padiamunet’s funeral was in year 27 of Osorkon III, around 765 BC, then Pakhar’s death could have occurred around 750 BC, a date that fits the discussed cartonnage. The coffin of Irbastetudjanefu, wife of Pakhar, shows a later style, with developed funerary texts. This

2 The shape of these coffins is uncertain, but in view of the date of Pamy it seems more probable that they were anthropoid rather than rectangular.

may be because, being younger, she outlived Pakhar for some decades (a possibility already suggested by her sister Diesenesyt marrying Pakhar’s nephew Nespaqashuty B).

**1.3 FUNERARY ASSEMBLAGE OF THE LADY SHEPENHUTAAT**

Hundreds of fragments from the pits inside the Chapel of Hatshepsut belong to the funerary set of a previously unknown lady



ly unknown lady “Osiris, Shepenhutaat (*Šp-n-ḥwt-ʿ3t*), justified]. The name is not recorded, but it follows the model *Šp-n-X* that was highly fashionable during the Libyan Period: *Šp-n-ist*, *Šp-n-wpt*, *Šp-n-Spdr* to be understood as “the gift of X” (Ranke 1935: 325, 17–26; Jansen-Winkel 2016: 194–195). The *ḥwt-ʿ3t* “great castle”, is usually the name of the temple of Heliopolis, but could be linked with the temple of Amun-Ra in Karnak. Nevertheless, this onomastic construction always involved a deity and the signification is better understood as ‘The gift of (the one of) the Great Castle’, maybe as a reference to Amun-Ra.<sup>3</sup> The funeral assemblage of the lady was composed of one cartonnage mummy-case inside two anthropoid wooden coffins.

**1.3.1 Cartonnage Cg31**

The mummy-case is very close in style to that of vizier Pa[...] and may have been made in the same workshop [Fig. 7]. It had a blue wig with yellow painted pendants and a floral collar that is very

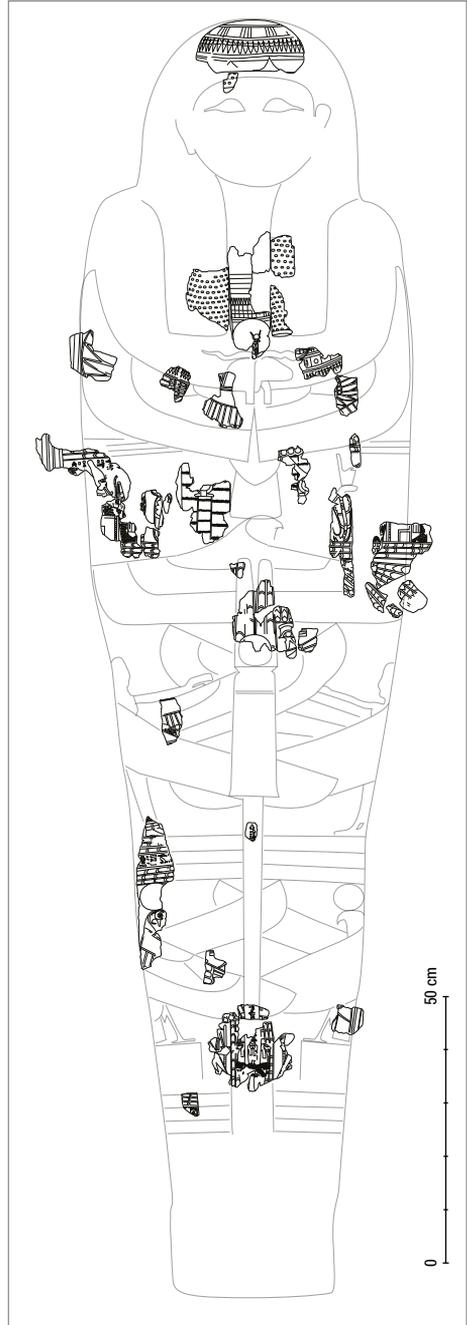


Fig. 7. Reconstruction of the cartonnage case of the lady Shepenhutaat (Image F. Payraudeau)

3 A parallel exists with a goddess named *ḥwt-wrt* (“She of) the great castle”.

similar to that of vizier Padiamunet [Fig. 8].<sup>4</sup> The upper part of the wig is made of plain wood (it is too small to be part of a wooden coffin). Below, in keeping with the usual frame of Taylor's Design 2B, two falcons spread their wings on the torso of the deceased, and, in between, a dou-

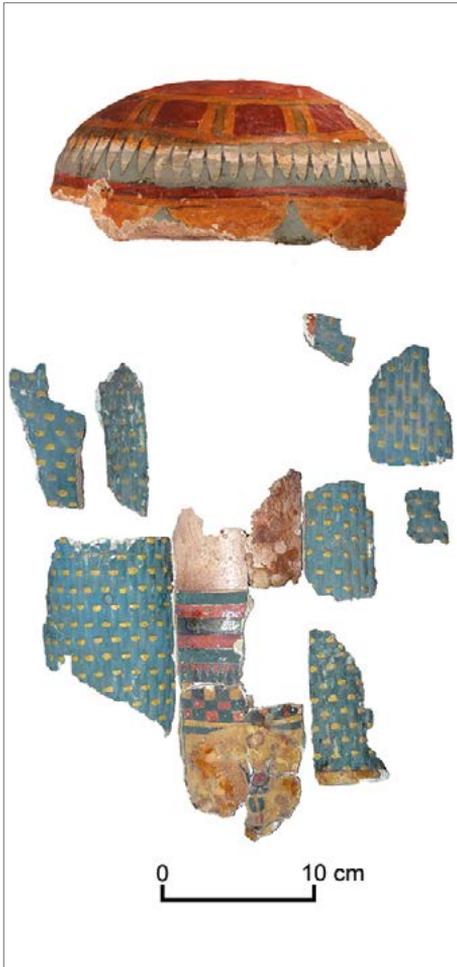


Fig. 8. Fragments of the upper part of Shepenhutaat's cartonnage case: wig and collar (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/ photo M. Jawornicki)

ble scene with the sons of Horus in front of Osiris flanking two uraei with White and Red Crowns, and blue and red bands [Fig. 9]. On the left, Osiris with green skin, a bead net and the White Crown, sits on a throne. In front of him, remains of a son of Horus, and behind him the baboon head of Hapy. The symmetrical scene on the other side has disappeared almost completely except for the throne and the mummified feet of a son of Horus with a stola often found on coffins of the 8th century BC (Taylor 2006: 266).

An abydenian fetish partly covering the second falcon can be reconstructed in the lower half [Fig. 10 center]. Its pole served as a column of text with the usual offering formula *hṭp-di-nswt*. Fragments of the two winged goddesses crossing their wings behind the fetish survive in the form of the wings and an *udjat*-eye in between, as well as on the top of the wings. In the last register, two falcons cross their wings also behind the pole of the fetish [Fig. 11]. The latter's foot is adorned with three cobra deities with lion heads and bodies covered by falcons or vultures, as found in other figurations of the osirian fetish [Fig. 10 center]. These demons pertain to a theme which is the protection of Osiris (Coulon 2011: 89, 93). This pattern enhances the identification of the deceased with Osiris as a fetish protected and glorified.

Most of the texts of this cartonnage have disappeared. Only three fragments can be identified securely. One is at the beginning of the vertical prayer *hṭp-di-nswt* and gives the epithet of Osiris "who is at the head of Imentet" [Fig. 10 right]. Another

4 There cannot be confusion in the attribution of fragments to the two cases, because the presence of two right horns of the ram indicates two cases.



Fig. 9. Fragments of the upper part of Shepen-hutaat's cartonnage case: double scene with uraei facing Osiris seated on throne and surrounded by two sons of Horus (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 10. Fragments of Shepenhutaat's cartonnage case: left, upper part of the Osirian fetish with the udjat-eye on each side; center, foot of the abydenian fetish with lion-headed cobra-goddesses; right, elements of texts (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos M. Jawornicki)

er comes from the end of this column and has the name of the owner with the title “mistress of the house” commonly given to ladies in Egyptian society. This fragment and the last, horizontal one share a peculiarity: the name and title of the deceased are prefixed by the epithet “Hathor”. It can be found sometimes in the place of the more common “Osiris” as a designation of deceased women. This is one of

the earliest examples of this use, which is attested mainly in Graeco-Roman documents (Smith 2012: 193–196; 2017: 384–389) and the first in a funerary context, the oldest given by Smith being a statue, Cairo CG 42223, from the times of Osorkon III and so almost contemporary with the discussed assemblage. It should be noted also that this epithet of the deceased alternates here with the more traditional “Osiris” (see fragment at the top in *Fig. 11*, probably a lateral band in the foot area of the cartonnage case).

**1.3.2 Fragments of the outer or middle coffins Cf34**

Several fragments of wooden coffin(s) are collected under No. Cf34 [*Fig. 12*]. One



Fig. 11. Lower falcon on the left, spreading his wings (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 12. Main fragment of the outer or middle coffin Cf34 of Shepenhutaat (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

of them preserves parts of the name of Shepenhutaat, securing thus the identification. The text is written in large hieroglyphs, painted blue on a white background. The style of the mummy-case suggests that these fragments came from an anthropoid coffin of the most common type, used during the 9th and 8th centuries BC (Type II, Lid Design 1 of Aston 2009: 275–277, and Outer/intermediary coffin Lid Design 1 of Taylor 2003: Fig. 52): a mask with wig, a large floral collar and a simple column of text running from the collar down to the feet.

### 1.3.3 Dating

Simple decoration of anthropoid coffins is found on most of the examples from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasties, but the classical two falcons with the Osirian fetish design on the cartonnage case Cg32 indicate a date around 850–775 BC for the whole assemblage of Shepenhutaat. The presence of multiple bands of ribbons as borders seems to indicate a date not before 825 BC. The dated parallels are the coffins and a cartonnage case(s) of the priest Djedkhonsouioefankh (Louvre N2617), whose grandfather's statue was dedicated by his son under King Harsiesis, placing Djedkhonsuioefankh around the late 9th century BC (Payraudeau 2005: 203–204, Fig. 3-c), and the cartonnage case of priest Penu (Boston MFA 72.4839c) dated to the same period (Taylor 1988: 168–169). Considered in the context of a family vault, the lady Shepenhutaat could be the wife of the vizier Padiamunet, whose burial can be identified in the same area (see above, section 1.1) or the wife of his

father, vizier Pamy, if the latter's cartonnage is really Cg32 (see the discussion in section 1.2).

## 1.4 FRAGMENTS OF UNINSCRIBED MUMMY-CASES OF THE LATE TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY

### 1.4.1 Mummy-case Cg 35

Two joining fragments are lower sections of the upper part of a mummy-case: two registers from the right side of an axial column on a white background [Fig. 13]. In the upper register is a representation of a winged goddess whose skin is green, probably Isis or Nephthys. The lower register features a falcon whose wings protect a *shen*-sign and the remnants of the wings of a symmetrical figure. The central yellow column could be the foot of a large abydenian fetish. It would lead to a date between Osorkon II and the end of the 8th century BC (see Taylor 2003: Fig. 47). The horizontal bands with yellow and white borders as well as the vertical column seem to have been prepared for a text that was never introduced.

### 1.4.2 Mummy-case Cg 34

Some of the other fragments can be put together to form the lower part of a mummy-case [Fig. 14]. The colors seem to be different from the other preserved mummy-cases, hence the difficulty in attributing it to any of the above pieces. The central figure is a multicolored *djed*-pillar, a well known pattern on the backside of mummy-cases, linked with the spine of Osiris, but also the sunrise (so-called spell 16 from the *Book of the Dead*). This design is present from the middle of the Twenty-second through

the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (see Taylor 2003: 107, Pl. 50 “cartonnage rear design 1”), which is too long a period for a more precise dating of this mummy-case.

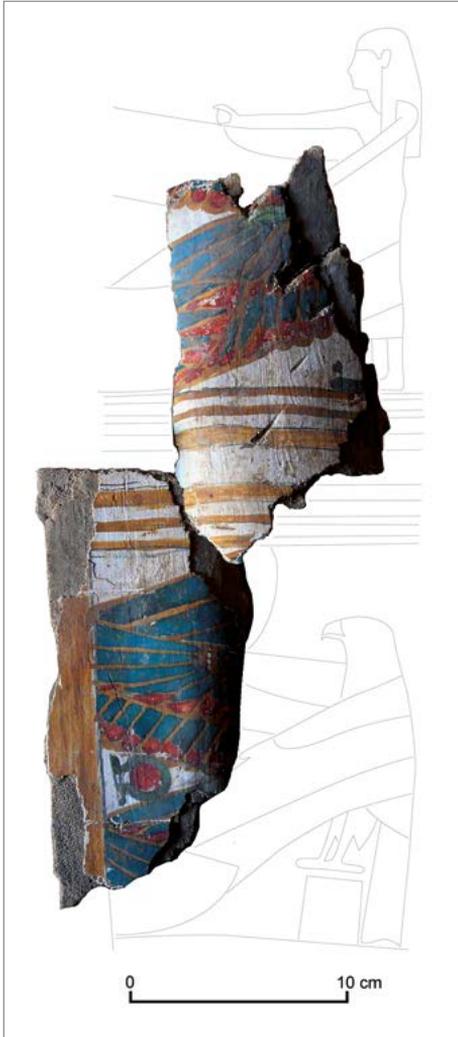


Fig. 13. Joining fragments of the lower right part of a cartonnage case Cg35 (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

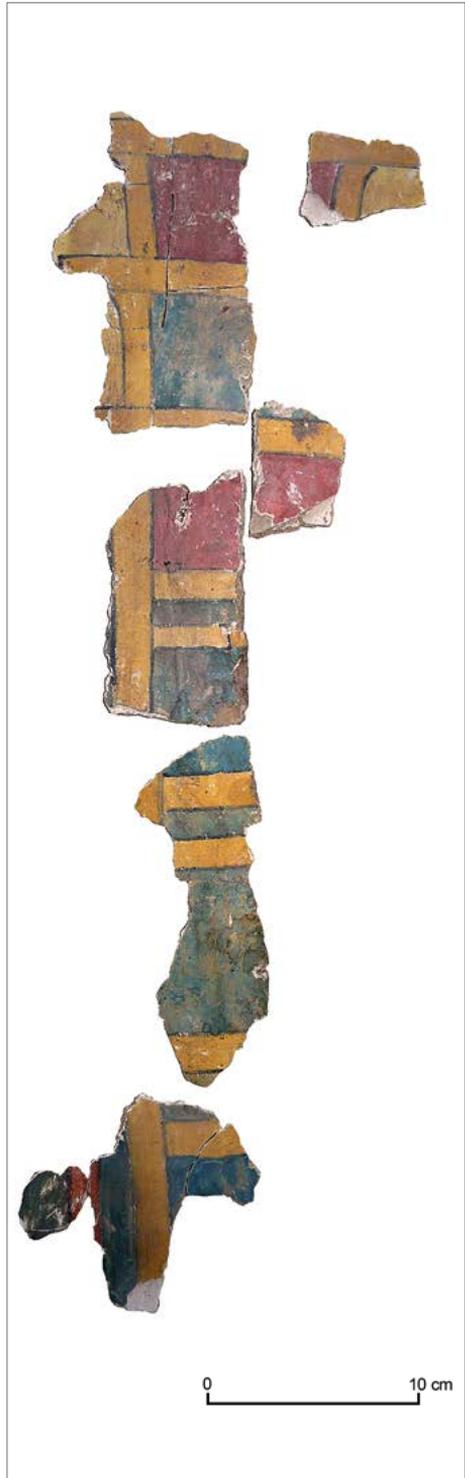


Fig. 14. Fragment of the rear part of a cartonnage case Cg34 (Photo F. Payraudeau)

## 2 TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY MATERIAL

### 2.1 OUTER SARCOPHAGUS OF THE VIZIER NESPAQASHUTY (B) OR ONE OF HIS DESCENDANTS

A long wooden fragment (Cf37) with yellow background bears the following inscription in black with blue border lines [Fig. 15]:



*sš prwy-ḥd t3yty s3b Ns-[p3]-k3-  
[šwty] m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw*

“... the scribe of the treasury, judge and magistrate, Nes[pa]qa[shuty], justified”

It is obviously part of the titles of the vizier Nespaqashuty (B), son of the vizier Padiamunet (Payraudeau 2014: § 8.3.3, No. 169). It is highly probable that the younger vizier of the family was buried in Deir el-Bahari, like his father, uncle and grandfather. This fragment could have come from his outer sarcophagus, as it is part of a post to be found at each corner of the *qrsw*-coffin (Taylor 2003: 117, Figs 72–73; Aston 2009: 284–285,



Fig. 15. Fragments of the outer coffin with the name and titles of the vizier Nespaqashuty B (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki, F. Payraudeau)

Type IIIA–B). It is also possible that this inscription was part of the filiation on the sarcophagus of a son or grandson of the vizier. The date of the introduction of *qrsw*-sarcophagi is known from its use by Irbastetudjanefu, daughter of king Takelot III and sister-in-law of Nespaqashuty (B), hence one cannot be sure about the assignment of this sarcophagus to the vizier or one of his sons. Regardless, this fragment may be dated to around 725–675 BC.

The wife of the vizier was buried in the area of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, as proved by the discovery of her shabti box by Baraize (Bruyère 1956: 14). It follows that the vizier himself may also have been interred there. As noted above, it is also possible that this *qrsw*-coffin belonged to a son of the vizier Nespaqashuty, for example, the priest Pamy, whose brothers Padiamunet (iii) and son Nespaqashuty (vi) were buried in tomb VIII [see Fig. 1]. As such, it is even possible that this outer *qrsw*-sarcophagus was part of one assemblage with the inner coffin Cf30 (see below, section 2.3), whose name is lost but whose filiation with the vizier Padiamunet, father of the vizier Nespaqashuty B, is ensured.

## 2.2 FRAGMENTS FROM THE ASSEMBLAGE OF PRIEST PAENMY (CF31)

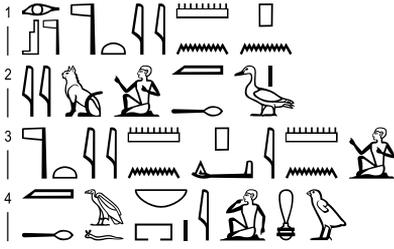
Many of the fragments from the pits undoubtedly dated from the Twenty-fifth and even Twenty-sixth Dynasties. They are very close to the well-known coffins from the Montu priest assemblages (see conveniently Sheikholeslami 2018, in this volume). Most of them (recorded under number Cf31) could have come from the assemblage of priest Paenmy, which in-

cluded a wooden inner coffin with decoration closely recalling that of the coffins of later members of Padiamunet's family, Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi). The traces of decoration make it clear that it refers to the Inner Coffin Lid Design 3, augmented version type from Taylor's typology: a winged Goddess Nut under a floral collar, horizontal register on the torso, lower parts divided in several vertical compartments with standing deities (Taylor 2003: Fig. 64, dated "late 7th century BC"; Aston 2009: 288, a tentative broad date to 720–575 BC; a good parallel is given by the coffin of Tabatjat Cairo CG 41058).

Most of the fragments represent small illustrations with deities or excerpts from the *Book of the Dead*, painted black on an alternating white and yellow background, enclosed in partitions limited by geometric friezes [Fig. 17]. The best preserved of them is part of the right upper area of the lid [Fig. 16]. One can see part of the wig and a large collar, then the end of the wings of Nut and a few columns of texts and the figures of Horus at the end of a procession of deities that appeared on coffin lids around 675–650 BC (Taylor 2003: 114, Pl. 64). Another fragment seems to come from the area near the foot end of the coffin [Fig. 17 bottom].

The coffin was also decorated inside. The fragments preserved show that there were mainly horizontal texts with the *hṯp-dī-nswt* formula and probably excerpts from the *Book of the Dead*. They are crudely painted in black on a white background. This conforms to Taylor's Design 3 for inner decoration (Taylor 2003: 116).

The text fragments permit a reconstruction of the identity of its owner:



*Wsir it-ntr'Imn, P3-n-my, m3<sup>c</sup>-~hrw s3  
it-ntr'Imn P3di-imm m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw mwt=f  
nb(t) pr'Imiw*

*“The God’s father of Amun, Paenmy, justified, son of the God’s father of Amun Pa-diamun, justified, whose mother is Imiu”*

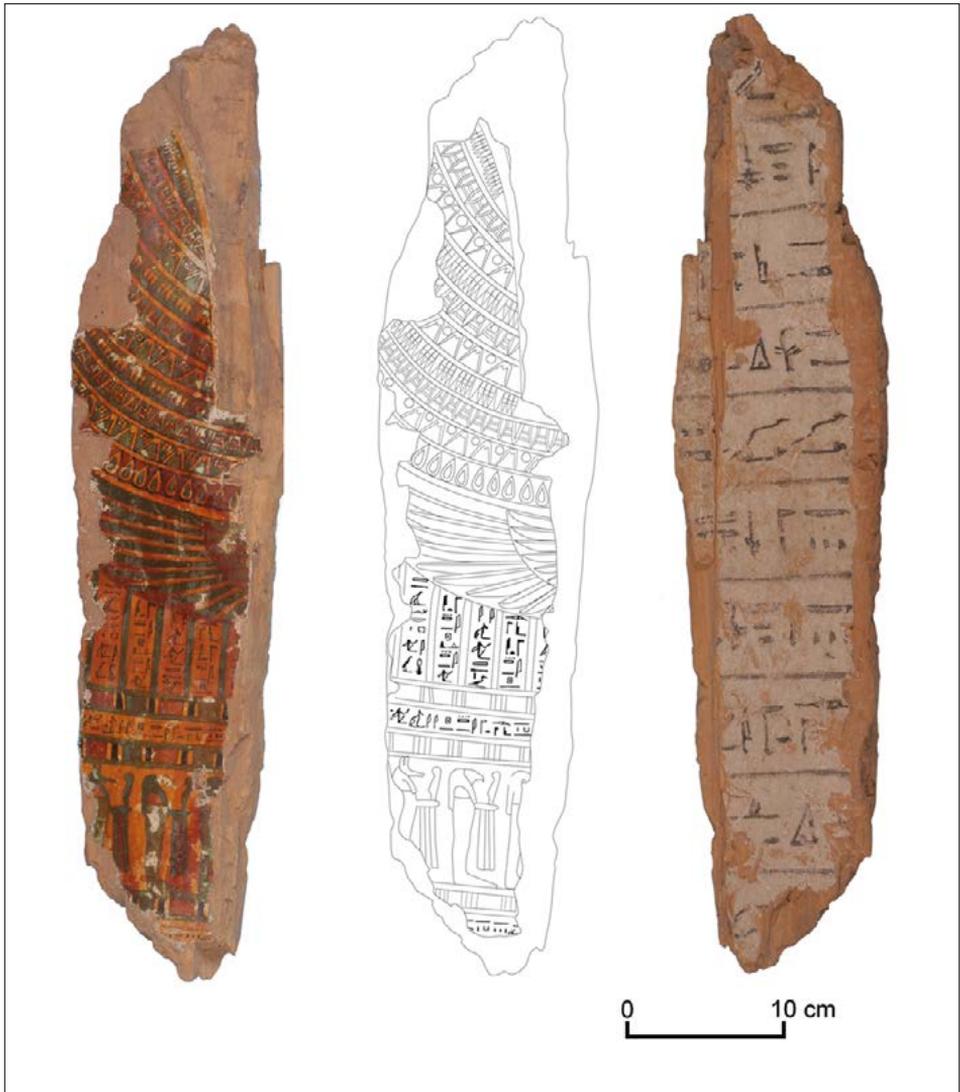


Fig. 16. Fragment of coffin Cf31: upper part, right shoulder (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/ photo M. Jawornicki)

The name of the father is not problematic, but those of the owner and his mother are quite rare. The first, Paenmy, is probably a variant of Pamy “*He of the Cat*” (Ranke 1935: 105, 7; Thirion 2001: 271) as there are reasons to consider names

formed like *T3-X/P3-X* as shortened forms of *T3-n-X/P3-n-X* (Payraudeau 2016: 255). To my knowledge, it has been attested only once, on a fragment of a wooden outer coffin in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (72.4815), belonging to a “God’s



Fig. 17. Small fragments of coffin Cf31, the ones at the bottom from around the feet (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photos M. Jawornicki)

father of Amun Paenmy". This man has the same name and title as the Paenmy appearing in the material from the Hatshepsut Chapel burials (<http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/part-of-wooden-coffin-134410>), but no apparent connection between it and the material from the Hatshepsut Chapel can be asserted despite the fact that the coffin, known since 1836, is said to have come from West Thebes. The second name, *Imiw*, does not make sense, hence it is possible that it is a hypocoristicon as well. It could be related to the name *I-mit-šryt*, which is once attested (Thirion 1995: 184). In view of these onomastic elements and because of the location of the burial, it is highly probable that Paenmy was a descendant of the viziers Pamy and Padiamunet, the latter being the rightful owner of this family necropolis.

Among the other fragments of painted wood, some could come from an intermediary coffin and an outer rectangular coffin, but none can be assigned with certainty to Paenmy.

### 2.3 FRAGMENTS OF A COFFIN OF A DESCENDANT OF VIZIER PADIAMUNET (CF30)

Several small fragments painted in blue, red and black on a yellow background appear to belong to another burial box [Fig. 18]. They are very thin and could be taken as cartonnage case fragments, but they probably pertain to the painted decoration of a wooden coffin. The small elements point to an inner coffin, Taylor's Design 3/4 (2003: 114–115). The fragments come from the little vertical compartments, in which deities and texts were painted alternatively on a yellow background. There are also parts of a white and blue bead net on a red background, sometimes found in the upper part of the decoration, between the collar and the beginning of the texts and figures (for example, Edinburgh A.1910.90 = Manley and Dodson 2010: 79). These elements indicate a date around 700–675 BC.

One fragment is particularly interesting, because it throws light on the origins of the owner [Fig. 19]:



Fig. 18. Fragments of coffin Cf30 (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)



[...] *mr niwt Bty P3-di-I[mnt...]* [...]

Despite the name of the owner being lost, we can be sure thanks to this fragment that he was a descendant of the vizier Padiamunet. This priest could have been a grandson or more probably a great-grandson of Padiamunet.



Fig. 19. Fragments of coffin Cf30: element of the filiation of the deceased (Photo F. Payraudeau)

**2.4 FRAGMENTS OF SEVERAL COFFINS**

**2.4.1 Fragments of an anthropoid middle or outer coffin Cf41**

Several fragments of a wooden anthropoid coffin represent a simple style with a plain background and only the head detailed and decorated (Design 1, Taylor 2003: 108). This one had a wig beautifully painted in blue and yellow [Fig. 20]. It could date

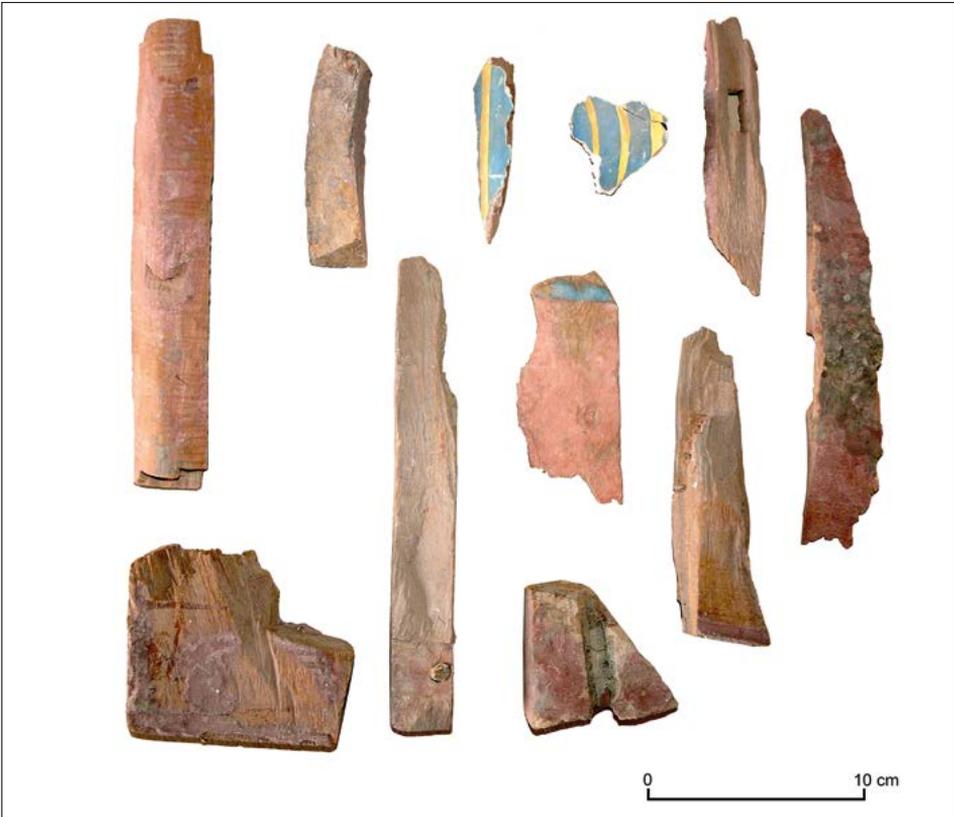


Fig. 20. Fragments of the middle or outer anthropoid coffin Cf41 (Photo F. Payraudeau)

technically from any time between the Twenty-second and the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, thereby belonging to one of the previously discussed assemblages as an outer or middle coffin.

#### 2.4.2 Fragments of a *qrs*w-coffin Cf32

A group of fragments seems to belong to an outer rectangular *qrs*w-coffin [Fig. 21].

A slightly curved wooden fragment bears a *khekeru*-frieze pattern on a white background, indicating that it was part of a vaulted coffin lid (see Taylor 2003: 117). The colors do not match the fragment of an outer coffin Cf37 (see above, section 2.1), so it must represent a different piece, maybe the outer coffin of Paenmy (see above, section 2.2).



Fig. 21. Upper part of the lid of an outer *qrs*w-coffin Cf32 (PCMA Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

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**How to cite this article:** Payraudeau, F. (2018). Third Intermediate Period funerary assemblages from the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Part 1: Coffins and cartonnages from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasties. In Z.E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 301–324). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3307>

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# Montu priestly families at Deir el-Bahari in the Third Intermediate Period



**Abstract:** The mostly intact Twenty-fifth Dynasty *qrs*w-coffin sets of Heresenes and Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) were discovered on the Upper Terrace at Deir el-Bahari by Émile Baraize in 1932–1933, but have never been fully studied or published. The Twenty-second Dynasty intact cartonnage of the *hsyt n hnw n imn* Shauamunimes (Cairo TR 21.11.16.5) was purchased in Gurna in 1893, said to come from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna. Other coffin and cartonnage fragments belonging to Montu priests and *hsyt n hnw n imn* were found in recent excavations on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. This paper outlines the development of a necropolis particularly favored by Montu priests in the Hatshepsut temple and the area east of it. It describes the *qrs*w-coffin sets from the Baraize find and discusses the identity of several *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Baraize, Montu priests, *hsyt n hnw n imn*, *qrs*w-coffin set, cartonnage, Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii), Nespaqashuty (vi), Shauamunimes, Twenty-second Dynasty, Twenty-third Dynasty, Twenty-fifth Dynasty

The Valley of Nebhepetra Montuhotep was associated with the cult of the god Montu at least by the Eleventh Dynasty when Nebhepetra constructed his mortuary monument there on the west bank at Thebes with foundation plaques naming Montu and Montu-Ra (Sheikhholeslami 2018). Probably around the beginning of the New Kingdom, and especially during the reign of Hatshepsut, the Valley was incorporated into the domain of the cult of Amun, then gaining ascendancy at Karnak particularly for the legitimization of the ruler, who was believed then to be the god's offspring. In the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the area became a favored burial place for the priests of Montu.

Cynthia May Sheikhholeslami

Independent researcher

## The research trail and acknowledgments

It is now 86 years since the winter of 1932–1933 when Emile Baraize discovered (but never published), a cache of Twenty-fifth-Dynasty burial equipment in what is now designated Tomb XVIII in front of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut on the Upper Terrace at Deir el-Bahari. Sixty-four years have elapsed since Bruyère (1956) published a list of the objects and the names, titles, and genealogical information from them, and since Kees (1956) studied the three main *qrs*w sets of Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii), and Nespaqashuty (vi), and they both attempted to reconstruct a family tree on the basis of connections with information from other monuments (see Payraudeau 2014/I: 157, Fig. 47, and Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 67, Fig. 2 for the family tree with the dating assigned by Payraudeau). Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) were priests of Montu, descendants of the vizier Nespaqashuty B and his wife Diesenesyt A, daughter of Takelot III. I first saw the beautifully preserved inner coffins of Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii), and Nespaqashuty (vi) in 1975 and for the ensuing 43 years, as time and opportunity permitted, I have been on the trail of the objects discovered by Baraize, attempting to reconstitute his find and collate the texts. It has been a long path, and I have been helped immeasurably along the way by inspectors and officials from what is now the Ministry of Antiquities of Egypt, particularly from the West Bank Inspectorate at Luxor, as well as by the staff of the Luxor Museum, for which I am extremely grateful.

I was privileged to begin my studies of the *qrs*w and outer anthropoid coffins and shabti boxes stored in the tombs of Neferu (TT 319) and Padiamunope (TT 33) in 1976 and on several subsequent occasions, until eventually many of the objects were moved to the magazine of the Luxor Museum, where I was able to continue work with the coffins as they underwent conservation, and with the remaining pieces that were transferred to the el-Taref Magazine when the TT 33 project directed by Traunecker began its work. Now some objects have been transferred from the Luxor Museum to the National Museum of Egyptian Civilization and the Grand Egyptian Museum in Cairo and to the Sohag Museum. At least one object, the Ptah-Sokar-Osiris statuette of Padiamunet (iii), was sold in New York in 1952, and the outer anthropoid coffin of Heresenes was seized when someone was trying to get it out of Egypt illegally, and in the 1990s it was noted in the Museum of Seized Objects in the Citadel in Cairo (currently closed for renovation) and included in the Bonn Totenbuch database, along with the papyrus found under the head of Heresenes in her inner coffin now in the Egyptian Museum Cairo (JE 96272; Scalf 2017: 98, Fig. 8.2, 115, Fig. 9.7).

In 1999, endeavoring to find more fragments belonging to the coffins of priests of Montu published by Moret (1913) and Gauthier (1913), I visited the Polish–Egyptian Mission at the Hatshepsut temple to see if they had located any of the shafts shown in the sanctuary in Wilkinson’s 1827 plan. This attracted the attention of the mission to the possibility of shafts dug into the floors, and under the direction of Franciszek Pawlicki, Mirosław Barwik, and particularly Zbigniew Szafranski during the subsequent decade of work on the Upper Terrace, eventually 16 tombs were located, one of which turned out to be the likely location of Baraize’s find (Tomb XVIII). I have been fortunate to have been invited to join the team of the Polish–Egyptian Mission at the Hatshepsut Temple to continue work on the Baraize find and other discoveries.

The interconnected shafts inside the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut proved to contain fragments of burial equipment of ancestors of Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), some of which have now been studied by Frédéric Payraudeau (2018, in this volume). Although Bernard Bruyère described part of the cartonnage of the vizier Padiamunet (ii) discovered by Baraize, it seems unlikely it was originally from

Tomb XVIII; it may have wound up there perhaps at some later time due to disturbance of his original burial, probably in one of the shafts inside the Southern Chapel.

Fragments of the coffins of the vizier Pami (ii) were found by Herbert A. Winlock in a cache of coffin fragments from the northern half of the middle terrace (for Winlock's photograph, see Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 66, Fig. 2), and I am grateful to the Egyptian Department of the Metropolitan Museum of Art for permission to work on several occasions with the photographs and tomb cards in the Winlock archive, which include this and other Third Intermediate Period material from Deir el-Bahari from his excavations.

Working in the Northwest Chapel, Barwik (2003) excavated three interconnected shafts that included objects belonging to two *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* named Shauamunimes, one of whom was the daughter of a priest of Montu, and the other of a Pakharu, who is probably the vizier who married another daughter of Takelot III, Irbastetudjanefu, whose burial equipment has long been in Paris. This discovery suggested that the Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage of another *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* Shauamunimes, daughter of a *ms (wr)* of the Libyan Meshwesh, which had no provenance given in the register of the Egyptian Museum Cairo, might also be from Deir el-Bahari. Although it was recently learned that this cartonnage was purchased in Gurna and was said to come from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna (Maspero 1883: 307, 311 [No. 4937]), it may in fact originate from a tomb in the close vicinity of Hatshepsut's temple, as in the Twenty-first and early Twenty-second Dynasties a number of sometimes reused tombs were located on the periphery of the Hatshepsut enclosure, including the entrance to the Bab el-Gusus cache of coffins of priests and priestesses of Amun in a corridor tomb extending below the first court. It has therefore been included in this project.

Four intact mummies, in the Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage of Shauamunimes and in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins of Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), were studied with the support of a grant I received from the Antiquities Endowment Fund through the American Research Center in Egypt, administered by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in Cairo (Sheikholeslami and Ikram 2017). The results are published in this volume (Ikram et al. 2018).

Documentary photography of the objects from the Baraize find, now scattered in various museums and magazines in Luxor and Cairo, has been undertaken by the Polish–Egyptian Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, under the direction of Zbigniew Szafrński.

I am grateful to Erhart Graefe and Kenneth Griffin for their interest in and study of the texts from the *Stundenritual* inside the vaulted lids of the *qrs*w coffins of Heresnes and Nespaqashuty (vi), published in their papers in this volume (Graefe 2018; Griffin 2018).

It is to be hoped that before the centennial of Baraize's discovery occurs in 2032–2033, the objects from the find can all be relocated, documented, conserved, studied, and published, so that it will be possible to reconstitute Tomb XVIII at least on paper, and perhaps in virtual reality, and that many of these objects, along with funerary equipment belonging to members of the same family from other shafts, will be displayed in different museums in Egypt to attest to the fine quality of high elite burial ensembles dating to the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

This material is also important documentation for the post-New Kingdom history of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, and can be included with items of the same date discovered during Naville's and Winlock's earlier excavations at the site, as well as from the more recent Polish–Egyptian excavations (Szafrński 2015).

The memorial temple built for Hatshepsut in the Valley had become a notable ruin already in the days of Richard Pococke in the mid-18th century (Sheikholeslami 2003), when many mummies could be observed among the monastic structures with a pharaonic building still underneath. A map prepared by the savants from Napoleon's expedition shows a sphinx-lined processional way leading to the temple enclosure from the flood plain, as well as some remains of the lower terrace and the ramps leading to the middle and upper terraces. A granite gateway was featured among the remains of the Coptic monastic structures built on the pharaonic walls of the Upper Terrace. Early 19th-century explorers frequenting the site included Giovanni Belzoni, who excavated in the whereabouts of the lower terrace, and Henry Westcar, who gave the name Deir el-Bahari to the site. It was probably at this time that an assemblage, still buried under deep mounds of debris, containing the burial equipment of Hor, son of the Montu priest Ankhhor (British Museum EA 15655, EA 27735<sup>1</sup>), belonging to a Twenty-fifth Dynasty priest, was recovered from the area.

A map, drawn by John Gardner Wilkinson in 1827, presenting pits flanking the bark shrine of the sanctuary (Sheikholeslami 2003), provides the earliest indications of the presence of tomb shafts on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. Their existence (Tombs V and VI) was confirmed by the excavations of the Polish–Egyptian mission in 1998–1999 (Pawlicki 2000); two other shafts (Tombs IV and VII) were also

discovered in the sanctuary at the time (for the tomb numbering, see the plan in Szafranski 2015: 184, Fig. 1). In the mid-19th century, the French consul in Alexandria, Raymond Sabatier, was granted a *firman* to collect coffins from Deir el-Bahari (Bruyère 1956: 26–27), and part of his collection included the coffin of another priest of Montu, Besenmut (British Museum EA 22940), presumably belonging to a group of coffins removed by V. Galli Maunier in 1854 from the shafts in the northwest corner of the Middle Terrace. The shafts were then re-discovered by Édouard Naville in 1894 at the northern end of the middle colonnade (Sheikholeslami 2003). It was also in 1854 that Heinrich Brugsch visited Thebes, reporting afterwards a shaft opening into two chambers in the doorway between the Eighteenth Dynasty and Ptolemaic sanctuaries on the Upper Terrace; the existence of this shaft (Tomb VII) was once again confirmed by the Polish–Egyptian mission in 1998–1999 (Pawlicki 2000).

John Beasley Greene cleared the debris from above the northwest chapel on the Upper Terrace in 1855 without noticing any of the three shafts (Tombs XV, XVI, XVII), which became visible only when the Polish–Egyptian mission cleared the chapel in 2000. For over a century the shafts nearly escaped recognition, although Naville must have seen the northernmost one (Tomb XVI) and all the shafts proved to be connected underground (Sheikholeslami 2003; Barwick 2003). Among the finds from the shafts were fragments of the *qrsw*-coffin of a *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes,

1 For photographs, see the British Museum online collections database.

daughter of Montu priest Pakharu (Barwik 2003: 125, Figs 3, 4, Pl. 80). An anthropoid coffin fragment also names a *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes and bears the name Pakharu, possibly the same as the Montu priest on the *qrs*w-coffin fragment (Barwik 2003: 124, Fig. 2, Pl. 79), although the traces preceding his name do not suit this title. Fragments of a cartonnage from the same location mention an otherwise unattested *it-ntr mry-ntr; wnwy nw pt m ipt-swt* Paenkharu, probably from the same family (Barwik 2003: 127, Figs 6, 7), as the priests of Montu in this period often bore those titles. His ancestry included a person entitled *idnw (n) pr-hd* and [sš?] *wdhw n pr imn <p3?>*, and since a number of priests of Montu also had these functions in the late Twenty-third Dynasty (Sheikholeslami 2009), these fragments may possibly attest to two generations in another family of Montu priests interred at Deir el-Bahari. However, whether the three objects naming a Pakharu refer to one and the same man is not certain.

Among the many coffins (including the Roman coffin of Heter) retrieved in 1857–1858 from nine shafts located most likely in front of the hypostyle hall of Hatshepsut's Hathor Chapel at the southern end of the middle terrace were *qrs*w-coffin sets, dated probably to the Twenty-fifth and early Twenty-sixth Dynasties, belonging to members of the Besenmut family of Montu priests (Sheikholeslami 2003; see the family tree in Bohnenkämper 2015: 135, Table 2). These were subsequently taken by Auguste Mariette to the Bulaq Museum and later published in the *Catalogue général* of the Egyptian Museum by Alexandre Moret (1913) and Henri Gauthier

(1913). In 1895, Naville discovered an intact shaft in the northwestern corner of the hypostyle hall of the Hathor Chapel at Deir el-Bahari (Naville 1894–1895: 34–35). It contained the *qrs*w-coffin set of Nesmutaatneru, mother of Montu priest Djeddjehutyuefankh, as well as her son's own *qrs*w set, and the *qrs*w set belonging to a woman named Tabakenkhonsu, daughter of Montu priest Hor, himself the son of Montu priest Nesoramun and grandson of Montu priest Ankhpakhered. While Tabakenkhonsu is usually assumed to have been the wife of Djeddjehutyuefankh, her relationship to other deceased buried in the same shaft is unknown.

In the 1932–1933 season, Émile Baraize discovered at Deir el-Bahari a shaft containing the *qrs*w-coffin sets of two other priests of Montu, Padiamunet (iii) and his nephew Nespaqashuty (vi) (Baraize 1933). Another *qrs*w set belonging to a woman named Heresenes, granddaughter of the vizier Djedkhonsuuefankh (E), usually assumed to have been the wife of Padiamunet (iii), was also discovered in the same shaft (Bruyère 1956). The inner coffins of the three sets, all containing intact mummies, were accompanied by canopic chests with jars containing the viscera of the deceased (for an examination of human remains, see Ikram et al. 2018, in this volume).

The Montu priest Padiamunet (iii) was the grandson of Takelot III through his mother, the king's daughter Diesenesyt (for the family tree, see Payraudeau 2014: 157, Fig. 47; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 67, Fig. 3). On his father's side, Padiamunet (iii) was the great-grandson of the vizier Pami (ii), who was also the last attested Egyptian

entitled viceroy of Kush [Fig. 1]. Fragments of the burial equipment of Pami (ii) had been discovered by Herbert E. Winlock in a cache of coffin fragments on the Middle Terrace (Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 66, Fig. 2). The cartonnage of Padiamunet (iii)'s grandfather, the vizier Padiamunet (ii), was also discovered by Baraize, probably in one of the shafts (Tombs VIII–XIV) that were cleared by the Polish–Egyptian mission inside the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut in 2003–2007, yielding some fragments of his cartonnage (see Payraudeau 2018, in this volume). In 2008–2009, the Polish–Egyptian mission rediscovered the

shaft (Tomb XVIII) that had most likely contained the *qrs*w-sets of Heresenes, Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) in the court in front of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut (Szafranski 2013: 136–139). It is clear that the southern part of the Upper Terrace at Deir el-Bahari had served as a burial place for this elite Theban family for some four generations in the Twenty-second/Twenty-third to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

Summing up, altogether 16 Third Intermediate Period shafts (Tombs IV–XX) (Szafranski 2015: 184, Fig. 1) have now been rediscovered on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut Temple. These tombs

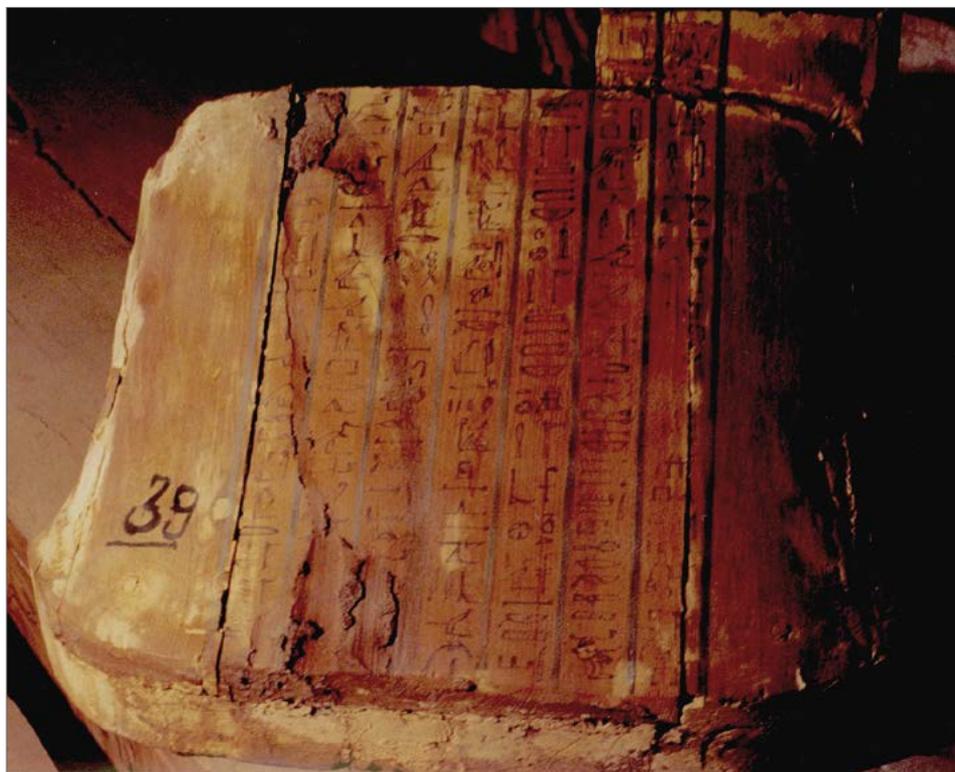


Fig. 1. The outer anthropoid coffin footpiece of Padiamunet (iii) with titles of *hm-ntr mntw nb iwnw*, *hm ntr mntw nb drty*, *s3 nswt n kš* in the third column from the right (Courtesy of the Ministry of Antiquities of Egypt/photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)

most probably originally contained Third Intermediate Period burials, particularly those of the elite families who served the cult of Montu.

It appears hardly accidental that the tomb of Montuemhat's father, Montu priest and Mayor of Thebes Nesptah A, was dug under the southeastern corner of the lower colonnade in the first court of the Hatshepsut temple, where his *grsw* coffin (Vassalli 1994: 110–112, Figs 8–10) was apparently discovered by Vassalli (Sheikholeslami 2003). Nesptah A's father and brother, both viziers, had chosen to be buried in the precincts of the Hatshepsut temple, already an elite burial ground used by some of their predecessors in office. The tomb of Montuemhat's grandfather, the vizier Khaemhor A, was located in the first court, just south of the ramp leading up to the Middle Terrace of the temple. Descendants of Montuemhat's cousin Raemmaakheru, son of his uncle, the vizier Paherer/Harsiese G and Djedmutesankh, might have been buried there as well, as the coffin lid of the Montu priest Paherer, son of the Montu priest Khaemhor (probably Khaemhor C, son of Raemmaakheru and Kakai) and Neskonsu, was later reused for a Roman burial located where the orchard of Nebhepetra had once flourished. The coffin lid is of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty type with a green face, dated to 650–625 BC (Taylor 2003). **Raemma-akheru**, son of the vizier Paherer/Harsiese G, was also a priest of Montu and probably served as mayor of Thebes, succeeding Nesptah A before Montuemhat assumed the position, and thus was probably an older cousin. Paherer being a rare name, it suggests

that this priest of Montu was a descendant of the vizier. However, the name Khaemhor was frequently used in the Montuemhat family, beginning with the vizier Khaemhor A, father of the vizier Paherer/Harsiese G and grandfather of Montuemhat.

Montuemhat himself, a number of whose relatives were priests of Montu, and who, through his cousin Tabatja, was related to the Besenmut family of Montu priests by marriage (Bohnenkämper 2015: 135, Fig. 2), located his vast temple tomb (TT 34) not far to the east of the Hatshepsut temple complex, along the southern side of the causeway leading to it.

The largest tomb in the Theban necropolis, belonging to the lector priest Padiamunope (TT 33), whose maternal family was associated with the cult of Montu in Armant, was also located there. A text found in the tomb entreats the “followers of Montu” to enter and study the texts and representations carved in the tomb (Traunecker 2014: 220–221; 2018: 136–137). Some texts naming Montu were also found in the present entrance area of the tomb, originally the porch at the rear of the porticoed court west of the open court with an entrance pylon. Thus, it may be assumed that the *šmsw mntw* included many of the priests of Montu buried in *ḫ int*.

Another text, found in the second court of the tomb of Montuemhat, may refer to the same sort of activity under the protection of Montu, on the occasion of an appearance of Amun, perhaps during the Feast of the Valley, which was associated with the cult of Amunope at the small temple of Medinet Habu (Djeme), in which Montu participated as the son honoring his deceased father during the rites of Khoiak:

Ô les doyens du palais, les nobles de la résidence, les courtisans qui (2) [///], [///], les prêtres ouâb, les prêtres ritualistes, [///] [qui gouvernent ? //] [/// province ?] en entier, tout homme, qui viennent à l'avenir, chacun dans son office dans le temple, qui naviguent vers le nord, qui naviguent vers le sud afin de voir Amon lors de son apparition, qui viennent pour ? (3) [///] ? [///] ent pour se divertir [à] l'ouest de Thèbes, qui passent devant cette tombe, qui entrent dans cet escalier (= hypogée), **Montou seigneur de Thèbes vivra pour vous, il vous fera rester en vie, vos enfants vous nourriront après une vieillesse durable comme ceci a été fait pour (moi) (4) [///] voyant ceci [///] les inscriptions, de sorte qu'on fasse pour vous de les réciter, veuillez écouter les paroles de vos ancêtres, [de sorte] que vous désiriez du fond de votre cœur accomplir un bienfait** (translation Desclaux 2014/I.4: 187, emphasis added)

A few priests of Montu of the Third Intermediate Period were associated with the treasury of Amun and/or the treasury of the pharaohs at Karnak (Sheikholeslami 2009). The treasury of Shabaqa was located behind the temple of Ptah (Licitra, Thiers, and Zignani 2014: 557–560), southwest of the temple of Montu, which was apparently convenient for the priests who served in the cult of Montu and who simultaneously worked in the treasury. An association with the treasury can be traced through the family of Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) (Payraudeau 2014/II: dossiers 85, 89, 90, 101, 109, 162, 169) [see Table 1]. Their father and grandfather,

respectively, the vizier Nespaqashuty B, married to Diesenesyt, daughter of Takelot III, bore the titles *sš pr-ḥd n pr imn* [*hr s3 tp*], *imy-r pr-ḥd pr-3* and *rḥ nswt m3<sup>c</sup> mry.f* as well, indicating thus his personal relationship with Takelot III. His own father, the vizier Padiamunet (ii) is attested as *imy-r sšw pr-ḥd pr imn* on the outer anthropoid coffin of his great-grandson, Montu priest Nespaqashuty (vi). The vizier Pami (ii) had associated duties as *sš wdḥw pr imn* and *sš w3ḥ ḥtp-ntr ntrw nbw*, responsible for recording offerings, some of which certainly emanated from the treasury. More importantly, he also was a *ḥm-ntr* priest of Montu in both Tod and Armant, on top of being a *s3 nswt n kš* [see Fig. 1]. Regardless of the scope of his supervision over Kush, according to some sources limited to the Upper Egyptian territory between Edfu and Aswan (see Payraudeau 2014/I: 187, Note 115; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 68), the Kush region no doubt remained the source of gold for the treasury coffers. The link between Kush and Egypt through the viceroy of Kush may have facilitated the acceptance of Kushite rulers in Thebes a few years later. On his statue Cairo JE 36938, Padiamunet (ii)'s great-grandfather Paenwwpeqer (i) is said to be attached to the treasury of Amun as *idnw pr-ḥd n pr-imn* (Payraudeau 2014/II: Dossier 89) and he is also in charge of the distribution of divine offerings as well as being titled 'eyes and ears of the king', another indication of a close relationship between the lineage of Montu priests and royalty. The name Paenwwpeqer, referring to a district of Abydos,

possibly indicates an Abydene origin for the family (Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 69), although by the time of Paenwpeqer (i) it was already well established in the Theban hierarchy.

The vizier Pami (ii)'s association with the cult of Montu as well as the administration of Kush may be one reason behind the important role of the priests of Montu in ensuring the legitimization of the Kushite rulers in Thebes, who apparently were accepted there without contest as the line of Takelot III and the Twenty-second Theban Dynasty came to an end about 750 BC (Sheikholeslami 2018; for the chronology, see Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 404–405). It is noteworthy that on the outer anthropoid coffin lids of both Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), Pami (ii) is given an extended string of titles, being apparently the most distinguished of the ancestors of these Montu priests. Pami (ii)'s titulary is also quite complete on the lid of the *qrs*w-coffin of Padiamunet (iii), whereas Nespaqashuty (vi) displays pride in the titulary of his namesake, the vizier Nespaqashuty B on his own *qrs*w.

The titles of the family from the Baraize group, as recorded from their burial equipment, are usually not all given in a single string, but different titles are given (often singly) on both the exterior and interior coffin surfaces. Although a frequent practice for other elite coffins of the time, it makes their interpretation rather difficult. The most extensive titularies and genealogies tend to be written on the lids of the outer anthropoid cof-

fins, which were apparently meant to be viewed standing in an upright position as the carving of the face mask indicates. Outer coffin lids with face masks may have been the part of the burial equipment that was displayed at the funeral, while the mummy was in the process of being sealed in an inner anthropoid coffin and its decoration was being completed, and the parts of the *qrs*w-coffin were awaiting assembly in the tomb after the two anthropoid coffins had already been lowered into the tomb shaft. Thus, unless all parts of a set of burial equipment can be examined, some titles may be overlooked. Their distribution and ranking on the coffin sets require further study. Whether there is a chronological sequence of titles reflecting the course of a person's career is uncertain, although it is generally assumed that apparently lower-ranking titles reflect earlier stages of a career.

The earlier members of the family who served under the Twenty-second Theban/Twenty-third Dynasty also give prominence to their service in the cult of Amun. As may be observed in other contexts, Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), descendants of Takelot III, instead feature *hm-ntr mntw nb w3st* (and sometimes even *mntw nb nst t3wy*, showing Montu's re-assertion of his Middle Kingdom role as a Theban deity, legitimator of kings, and hence backer, alongside Amun, of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty) as their most important and prominent title. Although this might be taken for a decline in status, the superb quality of their burial ensembles belies such an interpretation.

## THE BARAIZE GROUP

The first report on Baraize's discovery of a cachette of coffins and various funerary objects belonging to the "high priests and viziers" of the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties, found beneath the floor paving stones of the Hall of Offerings and the vestibule in front of it in the southern half of the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, mentions the following objects: four *qrsu* coffin sets, two of men, the "high priests" of Montu Padiamun and Nespaqashuty, and two of women, boxes with the canopics of the deceased, four wooden Osiris statuettes, various wooden shabti boxes, one painted standing wooden falcon as well as four crouching ones, eight recumbant jackals, also in painted wood, two cartonnage masks, and some Coptic material (Baraize 1933).

Although the shaft tomb had probably been disturbed already in antiquity, as the reference to Coptic material in the Baraize report may suggest, at the time of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty burials it may have resembled the intact Twenty-fifth Dynasty tomb shaft as discovered by Naville in the northwestern sector of the hypostyle hall of the Hathor Chapel at the southern end of the second terrace. Naville describes the opening of the tomb that contained the burials of the priest of Montu Djeddjehutyiuefankh, his mother Nesmutaatneru, and another woman Tabakenkhonsu, as follows: "At the bottom of a pit about 13 feet (3.96 m) deep, bricks and stones closed the narrow entrance to the tomb, which opened into a small, rock-hewn chamber. The space was nearly filled with three large wooden coffin-cases placed near each other, of

rectangular form, with arched lids, and a post at each of the four corners. On the two nearest the entrance were five wooden hawks, one on each post, and one about the middle of the lid. Each coffin-case had at the foot of the lid a wooden jackal, with a long tail hanging over the end. Wreaths of flowers were laid on them, and at head and foot stood a box containing a great number of tiny glazed shabtis" (Naville 1894–1895: 34–35).

Bruyère and Kees, in 1956, each published papers on the finds made by Baraize in the winter of 1932–1933, focusing on retrieving the prosopographic information from the objects.

Bruyère noted that the tomb was partly disturbed in the Coptic period, and listed the following objects, stored in the tomb of Neferu (TT 319) at that time: three large painted wooden *qrsu* coffins among a mix of boxes, broken empty coffins, unwrapped mummies and various objects of traditional funerary equipment. Bruyère noted that each *qrsu* coffin contained, customarily, a double coffin and a cartonnage, intact mummies with bead-nets bearing their names and titles, which he attributed to a single family, that of Montu priests Padiamunet and Nespaqashuty and the woman Her[ib]sens, wife of Pami and mother of Nespaqashuty, and shabti boxes bearing the same names. Found in the debris were fragments of the cartonnage of a vizier Padiamunet, assumed by Bruyère to have come from the same tomb, shabti boxes of Diesenesyt, a daughter of Takelot II and wife of Nespaqashuty, Tashakepher, the wife of Ankhpakhered and the mother of Her[ib]sens, Tashaiu, and Irethorru

(same Montu priest as CCG 41016, son of the *wꜥb* of Amun Pefiu, Moret 1913: 168–174; Jansen-Winkel 2009: 436–437 [52.164]). Bruyère, although he had not seen the interiors of the coffins of Nespaqashuty and Padiamunet himself, recorded some of the names and titles from the exteriors of the *qrsw*- and inner anthropoid coffin of Nespaqashuty, and the outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet as well as from their shabti boxes [Fig. 2]; the shabti box of Diesenesyt; the cartonnage fragment of the vizier Padiamunet, and the *qrsw*- and

outer and inner coffins of Her[ib]sens. Photographs taken by Baraize, included in Bruyère’s report, show the *qrsw*-coffin of Nespaqashuty, partly restored, as well as his outer and inner coffins; the outer and inner coffins of Padiamunet (the inner coffin, in the center of its lid, facing the head end, bears a statuette that looks like a *b3*-bird or a crouching falcon); the *qrsw*-coffin with a detail of the lid of Her[ib]sens and her outer and inner anthropoid coffins with a crouching falcon statuette in the center of the lid facing the head end of the inner coffin.



Fig. 2. Nespaqashuty (vi) shabti box end, naming his father the vizier Padiamunet (ii), his mother Her(es), and her father the *rwd*  $\text{ꜥ} \text{hsf} n \text{niwt}$  (name lost); left, detail with the broken name of his mother’s father (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo W. Wojciechowski; editing C.M. Sheikholeslami)

Table 1. Data relating to the ancestors of Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) (Based on Payraudeau 2014/II: dossiers)

Dossier No.	Object	Prosopographical data for:
85	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Cairo JE 36940 statue</li> <li>▶ Fragments of <i>qrsw</i> anthropoid coffin and cartonnage from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ British Museum EA 22913 Osiris statuette</li> <li>▶ Copenhagen MN 3545 stela of his son <i>p3-diw=f</i></li> </ul>	Vizier Pami (ii), son of Amun priest Padiamunet (i), father of the god's father Padiwef
89	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Cairo JE 36938 statue</li> </ul>	Treasury deputy Paenwwpeqer (i), son of Iahweben
90	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ British Museum EA 74909 coffin</li> </ul>	Amun priest and <i>rwd ʕ3 hsf n niwt</i> Paenwwpeqer (ii), possibly son of Padiamunet (i) and brother of the vizier Pami (ii)
101	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Louvre E 3863 coffin of Pami (iv), CCG 41036 <i>qrsw</i> of Pami (iv)</li> <li>▶ Louvre E 18846 coffin of Pa[enwwpeqer] (iii)</li> </ul>	Vizier Pakharu, son of the vizier Pami (ii), father of the Amun priest Pami (iv) and Paenwwpeqer (iii)
109	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Cartonnage fragment of Padiamunet (ii) from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ Coffin fragments from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ Mummy bandages with year 27 of a king <i>wsr-m3<sup>c</sup>t-r<sup>c</sup></i> from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ Shabti box Luxor Museum J 315</li> <li>▶ <b>Outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Nespaqashuty (vi)</b></li> <li>▶ <b>Outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet (iii)</b></li> </ul>	Vizier Padiamunet (ii), son of the vizier Pami (ii), grandfather of the Montu priest Padiamunet (iii), great-grandfather of the Montu priest Nespaqashuty (vi)
162	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Philadelphia E 2043 stela</li> </ul>	Scribe of the stable in the Amun domain Nespanetjerendjeraa B, son of the treasury deputy Paenwwpeqer (i) and brother of the Amun priest Padiamunet (i)
169	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Coffin fragment from Deir el-Bahari</li> <li>▶ <b>Outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet (iii)</b></li> <li>▶ Shabti box of Padiamunet (iii)</li> <li>▶ <b><i>qrsw</i> and outer and inner anthropoid coffins of Nespaqashuty (vi)</b></li> </ul>	Vizier Nespaqashuty B, son of the vizier Padiamunet (ii), father of the Montu priest Padiamunet (iii) and grandfather of the Montu priest Nespaqashuty (vi)

→

In February 1953, Kees (1956) viewed the three out of four *qrs*w-coffin sets, i.e., those belonging to Padiamunet (iii), Nespaqashuty (vi) and Heresenes, stored in the tomb of Neferu (TT 319), claiming that Baraize must have found them in the antechamber to the chapel of Tuthmosis I.

Both Bruyère and Kees were primarily interested in the prosopographical information from the texts on the coffins discovered by Baraize.

Some of the data relating to the ancestors of Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) has only now been re-studied, along with related monuments, and published by Payraudeau (2014/II: dossiers) [Table 1]. Aston (2009: 216–217) lists the objects discovered by Baraize in the Tomb Groups (TG) 887–894 [Table 2]. Lists of the contents of the shaft, discovered by Baraize, feature apparent inconsistencies, as the shabti box of Diesenesyt, for example, gives no indication of parentage and since it is a Twenty-fifth Dynasty type, it may

belong to the daughter of Padiamunet (iii), Diesenesyt B, rather than to the daughter of Takelot III. In addition to the shabti boxes of Tashaiu, one side panel of her *qrs*w-coffin is still extant. Apparently the two men and two women with *qrs*w-coffin sets in the same shaft discovered by Baraize were Padiamunet (iii) and his nephew Nespaqashuty (vi), Heresenes, and Tashaiu. The relationship of the two women to the two men or to each other, if any, is not known. The papyrus under the head of Heresenes' mummy was identified in the Egyptian Museum Cairo by the Bonn Totenbuch project (Cairo JE 96272; Scalf 2017: 98, Fig. 8.2, 115, Fig. 9.7).

Complete documentation, with corrections and current locations, of the objects from this find that have been re-located and photographed is intended for future publication. However, this paper handles the relatively intact *qrs*w-coffin sets of Padiamunet (iii), Heresenes, and Nespaqashuty (vi) from the Baraize find. Other papers in this volume (Graefe 2018;

Table 1. (continued)

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► **Shabti box of Nespaqashuty (vi)**  
[Fig. 2]

Father of the mother of the Montu priest Nespaqashuty (vi), son of the Montu priest Pami (v), son of the vizier Nespaqashuty B, son of the vizier Padiamunet (ii) Nespaqashuty (vi)'s mother is named as *hr* [sic for *hr.s?*], daughter of a *ḥm-ntr imn m ipt-swt, rwd ʕ3 ḥsf n [ni]wt* whose name, although damaged, was read by Bruyère and others as [...]*nt*; the reading is clearly incorrect to judge by the surviving traces [Fig. 2 leftmost column]. His name is not preserved in any other documents of this family.

Table 2. Objects discovered by E. Baraize in Tomb Groups (TG) 887–894 relating to the ancestors of the Montu priests Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) (Based on Aston 2009: 216–217)

No.	Name of TG owner	Objects related to the owner's burial equipment
1.	Padiamunet (priest of Montu) TG 887	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <i>qrs</i>w-coffin</li> <li>▶ Outer and inner anthropoid coffins</li> <li>▶ Bead net</li> <li>▶ Shabti boxes</li> <li>▶ Canopic chest and jars (painted pottery jars with stone lids, Luxor Museum J.75)</li> <li>▶ Ptah-Sokar-Osiris figure (sold on the antiquities market in 1952)</li> </ul>
2.	Heresenes (daughter of Ankhpakhered v) TG 888	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <i>qrs</i>w-coffin</li> <li>▶ Outer and inner anthropoid coffins</li> <li>▶ Bead net</li> <li>▶ Shabti boxes</li> </ul>
3.	Nespaqashuty (priest of Montu) TG 889	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ <i>qrs</i>w-coffin</li> <li>▶ Outer and inner anthropoid coffins</li> <li>▶ Bead net</li> <li>▶ Shabti boxes containing blue-glazed shabtis</li> </ul>
4.	Diesenesyt (daughter of Takelot III) TG 890	▶ Shabti boxes
5.	Tashakheper (wife of Ankhpakhered v?) TG 891	▶ Shabti boxes
6.	Tashaiu TG 892	▶ Shabti boxes
7.	Irthorru TG 893	▶ Shabti boxes
8.	Padiamunet (i) (vizier) TG 894	▶ Cartonnage fragments
9.		▶ Four wooden Osiris figures
10.		▶ Painted wooden standing falcon
11.		▶ Four wooden crouching falcons
12.		▶ Eight wooden recumbant jackals
13.		▶ Two cartonnage masks
14.		▶ <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set of another woman

Griffin 2018) concern the *Stundenritual* texts inside the lids of their *qrs*w-coffins. The intact mummies from these three sets have been dealt with in this volume as well (Ikram et al. 2018) and the cartonnage fragments of the vizier Padiamunet (i) have been discussed (Payraudeau 2018, in this volume).

The titles held by the priests of Montu Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) and the woman Heresenes are summarized in the table below (the exact distribution on the components of the sets will be studied in a future publication) [Table 3].

Unlike the vizier Nespaqashuty B, his son Padiamunet (iii) and grandson Nespaqashuty (vi) did not hold titles in the civil administration of Thebes or the administration of the domain of Amun. It was probably at the death of the vizier Nespaqashuty B that the administrative duties passed to the ancestors of Montuemhat, the first vizier being Harsiese F, great-grandfather of Montuemhat. Succeeding him, Harsiese F’s sons Nesmin A, Khaemhor A, and Pediese C were all viziers as well. In the following generation, before Montuemhat, both

Table 3. Titles held by the priests of Montu Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), and the woman Heresenes

Object and owner	Titles
Heresenes	
▶ <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set	<i>nbt pr, nbt pr špst</i>
▶ Canopic chest	<i>nbt pr</i>
▶ Shabti box	<i>nbt pr</i>
Padiamunet (iii)	
▶ <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set	<i>hm-ntr mntw nb w3st (var. nb nst t3wy), imy 3bd.f pr imn (hr s3 4-nw), sm3ty w3st, hm wn, it ntr mry ntr, hpt wd3t mwt nbt pt, hm-ntr qbhw (n hns w m bnnt), [hm n] (3)ht n mwt nbt pt, w<sup>c</sup>b w3st, hm ntr</i>
▶ Canopic chest	<i>hm-ntr mntw nb w3st, it ntr mry ntr; imy 3bd.f pr imn hr s3 4-nw, hm ntr sm3ty w3st, hm ntr ury ntr, hm ntr imy-r st hntt</i>
Nespaqashuty (vi)	
▶ <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set	<i>hm-ntr mntw nb w3st (var. nb nst t3wy), hpt wd3t n mwt nbt pt, qbhw hns w m bnnt, rh nswt (m<sup>3c</sup> nr:f), hm ntr it ntr; hm wn, imy 3bd.f n pr imn hr s3 tp, hm ntr qbhw, hm ntr hm wn, it ntr mry ntr</i>
▶ Canopic chest	Titles not preserved
▶ Shabti box	<i>hm ntr mntw nb w3st, [hpt wd3t n mwt] nbt pt, hm ntr qbhw hns w m bnnt, hm wn</i>

viziers were sons of Khaemhor A: Paherer/Harsiese G and Nesmin B. Khaemhor A's third son, Nesptah A, the father of Montuemhat, was a *hm-ntr* priest of Montu and also mayor of Thebes.

If Padiamun (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi) did not hold important posts in the civil and religious administration, then what was it that entitled them to high-elite (for the designation, see Taylor 2018: 350–351) burial equipment? Their position as *hm-ntr* priests of Montu must have come first, as it is the most prominent title on their burial equipment (as was demonstrated for the elite Besenmut Montu priestly

family by Bohnenkämper 2015). Second, there were several other priestly titles, e.g., *hpt wd3t n mwt nbt pt*, *hm-ntr qbhꜣw n hꜣsw m bnnt*, *hm wn*, which they shared and which connected them to three other major Theban cults: Mut (as the Distant Goddess), Khonsu, and Osiris, all of which were important in ensuring the legitimization of the ruler (for further discussion of the issue, see Sheikholeslami 2018). These titles provide further indications of their importance in Theban ritual performance. In addition, Nespaqashuty (vi) had the epithet *rꜥ nswt m3ꜣ mr.f*, indicating a close relationship with the king.



Fig. 3. The left side fo the *qrsw-coffin* proper with the eye panel at the head end: top, Heresenes; bottom, Nespaqashuty (vi) (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

The three complete *qrs*w-coffins discovered by Baraize may have been made in the same workshop [Fig. 3 top and bottom] (for the *qrs*w-coffin of Padiamunet (iii), see Sheikholeslami 2014a). Among contemporary *qrs*w-coffins featuring a lid decoration derived from the Transit of the Solar Barks [Figs 4, 5]

which accompanied the Awakening of Osiris in his Shrine (Roberson 2013) as embodied in the *qrs*w-coffin itself and the Osiriform coffins containing mummies (Sheikholeslami 2014a; forthcoming c), only these three feature texts and representations inside the vaulted *qrs*w-coffin lids derived from the Ritual of the Hours



Fig. 4. Heresenes *qrs*w-coffin lid; on the proper right side (below) the evening bark of the sun god is towed towards the foot end; on the proper left side (above) the morning bark of the sun god is towed towards the head end; the text on the central plank begins at the head end (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

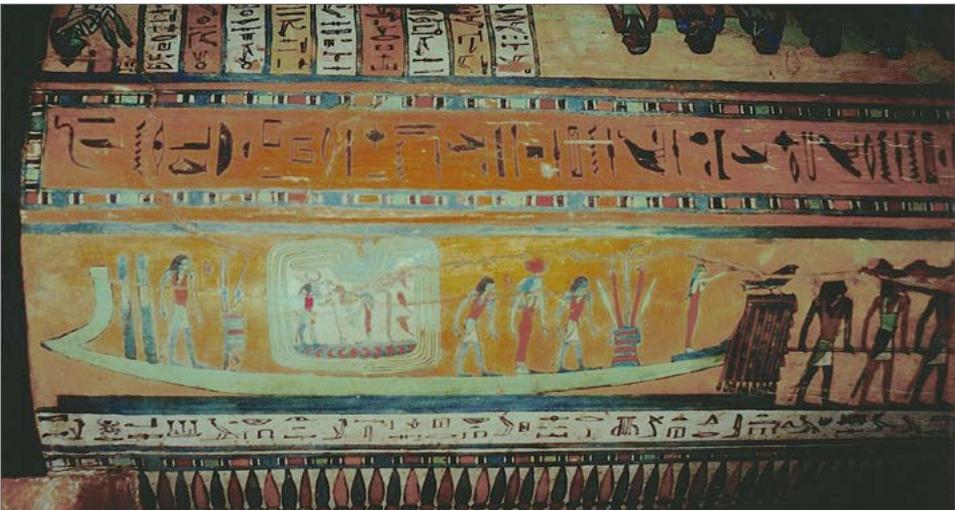


Fig. 5. Proper right side of the Heresenes *qrs*w-coffin lid, detail of the evening bark of the sun god; notice retrograde text naming Heresenes and her mother Tashakheper below (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)



Fig. 6. Padiamunet (iii) *qrs*w-coffin lid interior with outstretched figure of Nut seen from below, flanked by day hours on her right and night hours on her left, both numbered starting from the head end (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)

of the Day and the Hours of the Night (*Stundenritual*) [Figs 6, 7], first attested on the vaulted ceiling of the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut (Sheikholeslami 2010b; forthcoming c; and see Graefe 2018 and Griffin 2018, both in this volume). While the versions inside the *qrs*w-coffin lids were not direct copies of the Hatshepsut chapel version, it is perhaps not accidental that this ritual appears on monuments from the same location, about seven centuries apart, attesting not only to the royal connections and traditions of the priestly family, but also to their taste for reviving older traditions, characteristic of the period when the coffins were decorated.



Fig. 7. Nespaqashuty (vi) *qrs*w-coffin interior view towards the foot end with figure of Nut stretched inside the vaulted lid with her feet at the foot end, flanked by the day hours on her right and the night hours on her left (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

Furthermore, the decoration evoking the Transit of the Solar Barks and the Awakening of Osiris appears on the *qrs*w-coffins of the Besenmut family (Taylor 2003: 117 *qrs*w-coffin lid design 2), in the tomb of the treasurer of Taharqa, Ramose (Sheikholeslami forthcoming c), and in the most subterranean rooms of the tomb of Padiamunope, which were apparently intended to represent the tomb of Osiris (Traunecker 2018: 142). Traunecker (2018: 143–145) has in fact suggested that the cenotaph in the tomb of Padiamunope is modeled on the Osiricium at Abydos, a popular pilgrimage destination in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, along the route connecting it to the site of the so-called tomb of Osiris in the archaic cemetery at Abydos. Members of the Kushite royal family were also buried at Abydos. The same themes appear in the decoration of Kushite royal tombs, most notably that of Qalhata, mother of Tanwetamani, at el-Kurru (Sheikholeslami forthcoming c). One may suggest that the *šmsw mntw*, who are entreated to visit and study the tomb of Padiamunope, were in effect Montu priests who were buried in *B int*, most particularly on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. They were also perhaps the mode of transmission of these themes to the decoration of the Kushite royal tombs in the south.

The dominant color in the decoration of the *qrs*w- and inner coffins of the Baraize group is a golden yellow ground. While the lid design of the inner coffins resembles that of some of the inner coffins of the Besenmut family, the color scheme of the latter is predominantly dark red. Some of the *qrs*w-coffins of Ankhfenkhonsu (i)'s family have a figure

of Nut with the hour goddesses outside or inside the lid, but all except one lack the *Stundenritual* texts (see further detail in Sheikholeslami forthcoming c), and all but one have natural wood backgrounds to which the decoration is applied. The golden yellow ground may be meant to imitate gold, particularly for the inner anthropoid coffins, and is thus an indication of the connections of the two priests of Montu to the royal family of Takelot III through his daughter Diesenesyt A.

The lid of the inner anthropoid coffin of Heresenes has a broad floral collar around the shoulders, at the bottom of which is a figure of Nut kneeling on a shrine with her wings outstretched to the edges of the lid. Below her wings, flanking the shrine, are text columns alternately on gold and white ground. Across the upper torso is a horizontal text band with a gold ground bordered by multi-colored rectangles. The lid surface below this is divided into four registers divided by horizontal text bands on either side of a central column of text; all texts are written on a gold ground bordered by multi-colored rectangles. The top three registers on each side have text columns on either gold or white ground with *pr-nw* shrines containing figures of mummiform deities. Flanking the central column in the bottom register are *wꜥꜣt*-eyes on top of the shrines. A figure of Isis kneeling on the *nwb*-sign adorns the tops of her feet. Heresenes' blue tripartite wig with echelons representing stylized curls or braids of hair is adorned with the beige wings of a vulture on the lappets ending with a plain gold band on either side of

her face. The eyes on Heresenes' face are inlaid. The bottom of the lid has a palace façade design.

The inner coffin lid of Heresenes shows many similarities in iconography and layout to those of Pami (iv) (Louvre E 3863) (Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 74–75, Cat. 26), of Djedjhutiyuefankh (Ashmolean 1895.153–156; color illustration Taylor 2018: 354, Fig. 4), and of Tabakenkhonsu (Metropolitan Museum of Art 94.6.1–3<sup>2</sup>) (in this case, the color scheme of the inner coffin is blue on a white ground, as for her *qrs*w-coffin), all originating from the intact tomb, discovered by Naville, in the hypostyle hall of the Hathor chapel at the southern end of the middle terrace, although the *qrs*w-coffins of the latter two are quite different. The remains of Pami (iv)'s *qrs*w (CCG 41036) bear blue texts on a white ground (Moret 1913: 298–301; Jansen-Winkel 2007: 359), like that of Tabakenkhonsu (for a discussion of the date of her *qrs*w, contemporary with that of Tytenese, sister-in-law of Nesptah A, the father of Montuemhat, see Sheikholeslami 2014b: 461), whereas the *qrs*w of Djedjhutiyuefankh is the same type as that of Heresenes (Taylor 2003: 117 *qrs*w case exterior design 3), with a dark gold ground, but lacking the eye panel at the head end of the box and the *Stundenritual* texts and hour goddess representations on the interior. Taylor (2003: 98) dates the *qrs*w (Louvre E 3872) and inner coffin (Paris Musée de l'Opéra 17, now deposited at the Louvre; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 73, Cat. 24) of Irbastetudjanefu,

daughter of Takelot III, the *qrs*w- (CCG 41036) and inner coffin (Louvre E3863) of her son Pamiu (iv), and the coffins of Padiamunet (iii), a grandson of Takelot III, to the late 8th century BC (i.e., about the middle of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty). In turn, Jansen-Winkeln (2007: 393 [44.24]) dates the *qrs*w-coffin of Irbastetudjanefu to the late Twenty-second/Twenty-third Dynasty, while

Sheikholeslami (2017: 330–331) argues that the writing of the name of Takelot III that appears on the lid of Irbastetudjanefu’s *qrs*w-coffin should be contemporary with his reign, so that she may have predeceased her father. The funerary equipment of the grandchildren of Takelot III and their contemporaries is likely to date to the period about 725 BC.

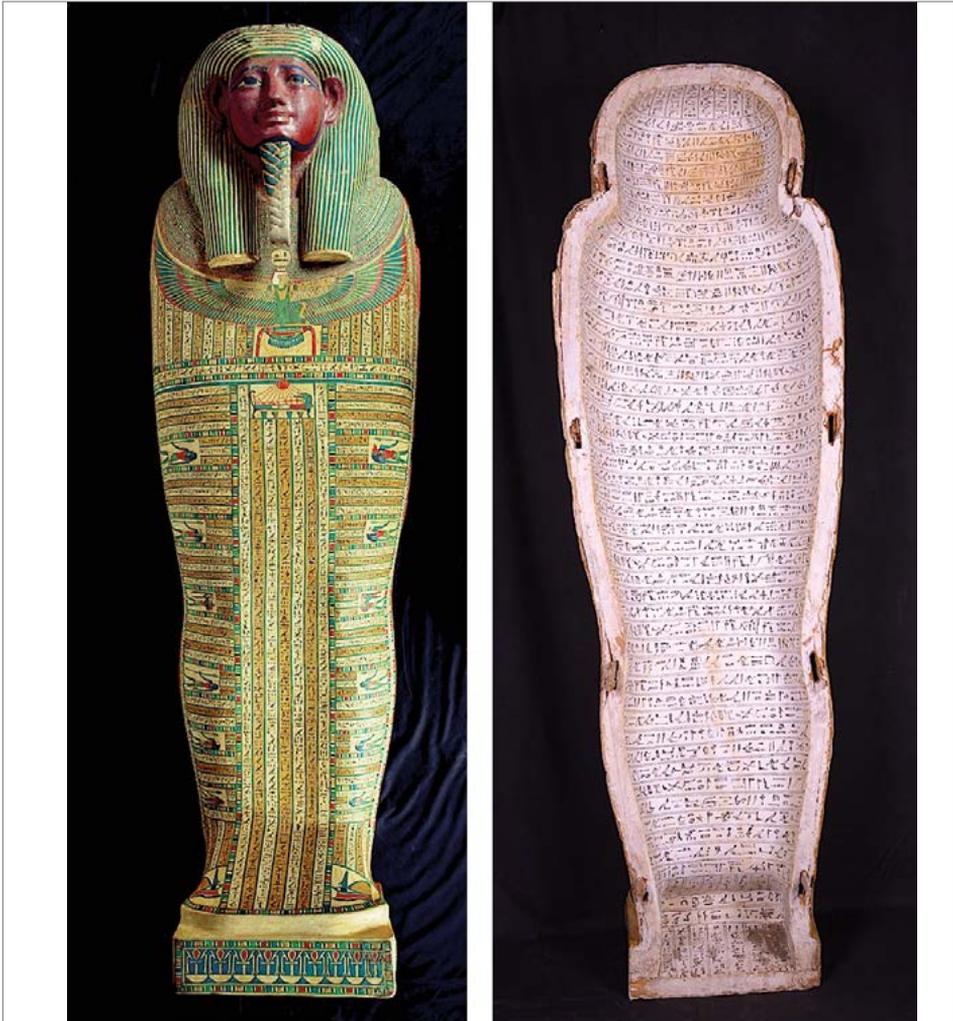


Fig. 8. Nespaqashuty (vi), inner anthropoid coffin: left, top of lid, right, interior of lid (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

The inner anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet (iii) (Sheikholeslami 2014a) and Nespaqashuty (vi) [Fig. 8] were certainly made in the same workshop, perhaps at the same time, as their iconography and layout (Taylor 2003: 98, 114, and Pl. 63, inner coffin lid design 3, Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty) and the hands of their texts are quite similar. The face mask of Padiamunet (iii)'s lid was covered with red wax, a unique example of this technique (Sheikholeslami 2014a) [Fig. 9]. The interior

of both is plain white with horizontal lines of texts in black (Taylor 2003: 116, inner coffin interior design 3, Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties) [Fig. 8 right]. The interior of Heresenes' inner coffin, in contrast, has black texts written in horizontal bands with alternating white or yellow ground and blue borders.

The outer anthropoid coffins of all three sets are similar, being made of plain wood with only the wig cover, face mask, and broad collar in polychrome (Taylor

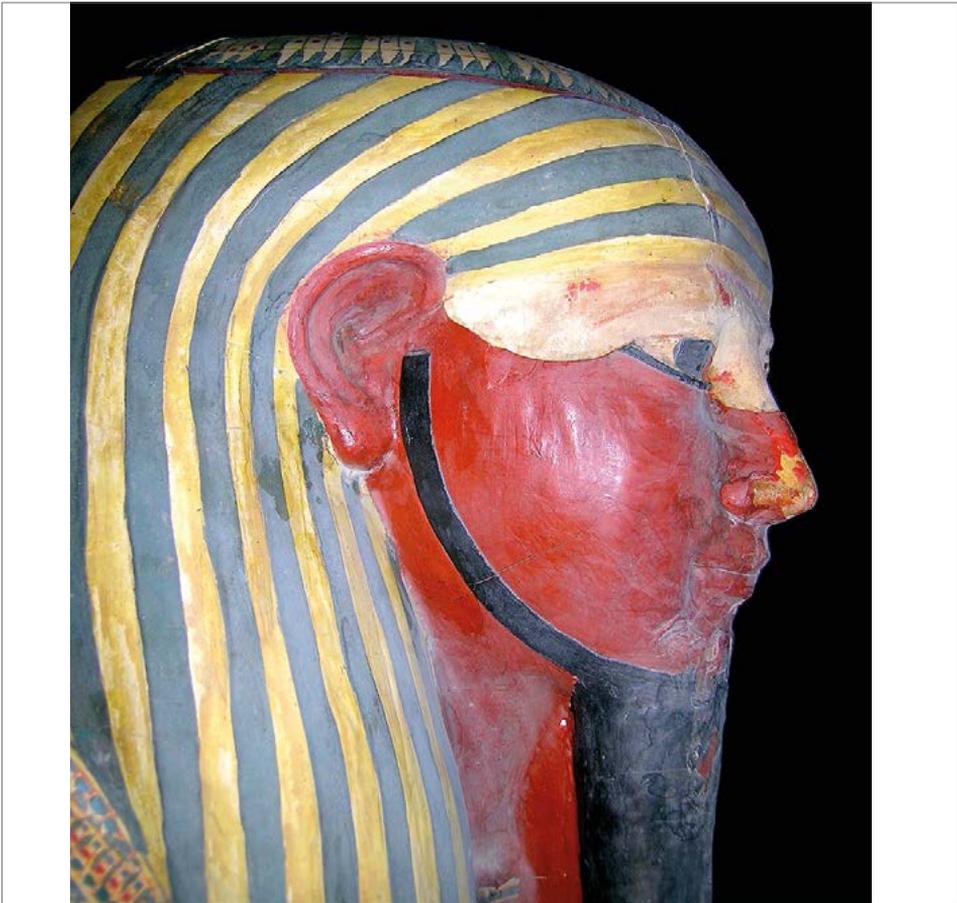


Fig. 9. Padiamunet (iii) inner anthropoid coffin lid, detail showing the red wax covering of the face mask (with the beard and pupil and the outline of eye in black wax and cornea of the eye in white wax) (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)



Fig. 10. Outer anthropoid coffins standing on the foot end: left, Padiamonet (iii); right, Nespaqashuty (vi) (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photos M. Jawornicki)

2003: 116 and Pl. 71, intermediary coffin lid design 1, Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty) [Fig. 10]. Below the collar, on the lids of the outer anthropoid coffins of Padiamunet (iii) and Nespaqashuty (vi), is a vignette of the deceased on his bier with the rays of the sun shining down on him (from Book of the Dead Spell 154) at the top of columns of texts with the names, titles, and genealogy of the deceased. The interior of the boxes of both priests has a falcon with wings extended, standing on a plinth facing Mehetweret as a couchant cow with a disk between her horns and a *menat* around her neck on a plinth, the vignette from Book of the Dead Spell 71, at the head end, followed by horizontal lines of texts from Book of the Dead spells [Fig. 11]. The exteriors of the boxes of the two priests of Montu begin with the deceased worshipping at the left foot end, facing the deities

from the Book of the Dead Spell 125, and conclude at the right foot end with the scene of the judgment of the deceased, which is a vignette of Book of the Dead Spell 125 (Taylor 2003: 116–117, intermediary coffin exterior case walls design 1, Twenty-fifth–early Twenty-sixth Dynasty; for Padiamunet’s outer anthropoid coffin, see Sheikholeslami 2014a: 113, Fig. 3, 114, Fig. 5, 120, Fig. 13). These two outer anthropoid coffins, meant to be viewed standing upright on the foot end during the funeral, were probably made at the same time and by the same craftsman. The middle coffin of Heresenes is somewhat different, as the vignette of Book of the Dead Spell 125 is at the top of the curved head end of the box; the interior was not described.

The *qrsw* sets discovered by Baraize were probably made sometime about the middle of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, that is, 725–700 BC.

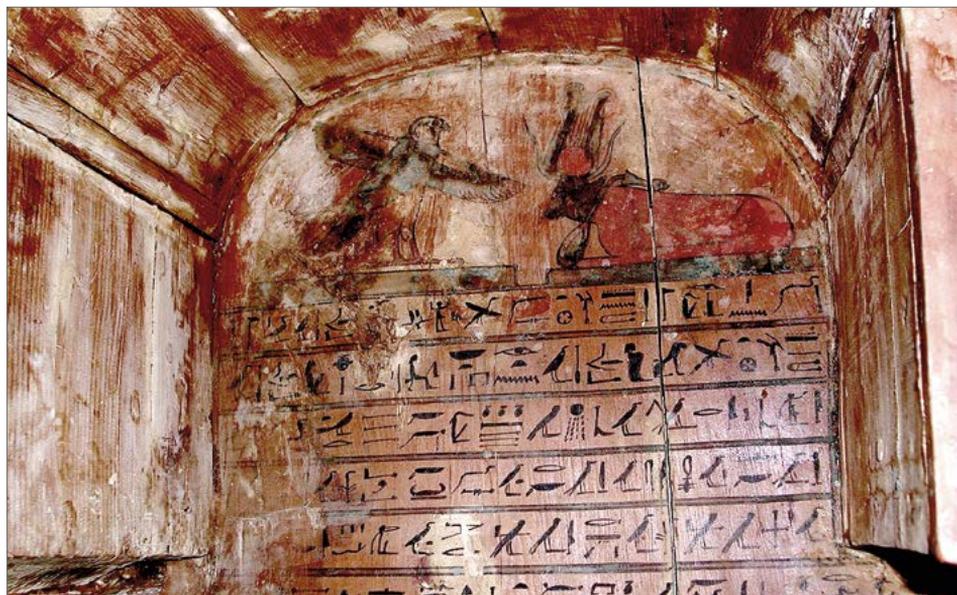


Fig. 11. Nespaqashuty (vi) outer anthropoid coffin, head end of the interior of the box with the vignette from Book of the Dead Spell 71 at the top (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)

## THE *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* FROM DEIR EL-BAHARI

The title of *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn*, ‘praise-singer of the interior of the temple of Amun’ (for this translation, see Sheikholeslami forthcoming b), is known only from the Third Intermediate Period, and is mainly attested at Thebes (possibly because there is simply more surviving evidence from there). Whether the holders of this title were celibate virgin priestesses, like the Roman Vestal Virgins, or could marry (Sheikholeslami 2002; forthcoming b; Koch 2012: 188–195) is debatable, with no conclusive evidence to settle this question. Only one woman bearing both the title *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* and the title *nbt pr* is attested (CCG 41035, Moret 1913: 290–298, Pl. XXXVI): once there is the title *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* before her name, in one case there is simply *nbt pr*, generally thought to indicate a married woman, and in two other instances there is no title before her name. So far as is known, no person claims a man and a *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* as his/her parents. However, should it have been only women that adopted ‘temple names’, as suggested by the fact that among more than 100 holders of the title attested there are many who have the same name (see Koch 2012: 230–254 for most of the corpus), then perhaps upon the termination of their temple service, if it was not for life, as has generally been assumed (although there is no evidence of how many *ḥsyt n ḥnw* were serving in the Amun temple at any one time, or whether they had a fixed period of service or whether it was a lifetime position), they could have married and produced offspring. Since

many of these women are known from burial equipment, on which it is the only title they are given (in contrast to *šm<sup>c</sup>yt* and *iḥyt*, female members of the musical staff of the temple, who are also designated as *nbt pr*), the latter alternative seems unlikely. The *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* seem to have succeeded each other by the procedure of an incumbent title holder ‘adopting’ a second woman as her ‘daughter’, a practice attested also for the God’s Wives of Amun. The fact that they are only attested as ‘mothers’ of ‘daughters’, never sons, further supports the claim that the ‘mother–daughter’ relationship is an adoptive one.

At least three daughters of Montu priests served as *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* at Karnak during the Twenty-fifth and possibly into the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. One of them, otherwise unattested, is Ankhshepenwepet, daughter of the Montu priest Besenmut, known from a door hinge naming the God’s Wife Amunirdis I (British Museum EA 51059) (Jansen-Winkel 2009: 278 [51.26]; Koch 2012: 234 [19]; Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau 2018: 334, Cat. 157). It is not possible to identify which of the several priests of Montu named Besenmut was her father or whether she is the same as any other *ḥsyt n ḥnw* with the same name (Koch 2012: 234–235 [18, 20–21]). It seems unlikely that the same *ḥsyt n ḥnw* Ankhshepenwepet is named on the Louvre door hinges honoring the God’s Wife Nitocris (Gombert-Meurice and Payraudeau: 334–335, Cat. 158a,b).

The second daughter is the owner of a *qrsu*-coffin set from the Maunier find

in Cairo (CCG 41019, Moret 1913: 194–199, with CCG 41060–41061, Gauthier 1913: 363–375). The *qrs*w-coffin of Dimutshepenankh called Tameryamun, daughter of the Montu priest and  $\text{3 } pr \ n \ t3 \ \text{šnwt} [n] \ pr\text{-}imn, \text{šš } \text{h}tp\text{-}ntr [n] \ pr \ imn$  Nebnetjeru, was unusually large, and the outer and inner anthropoid coffins were perhaps made of cedar with unusually fine carpentry. The face masks of both anthropoid coffins were originally gilded (carefully scraped off, perhaps in antiquity). The quality of her burial equipment is an indication of her elite status. Her grandfather Merkhonsu had the same titles as her father. Two of these titles (*hm-ntr mntw nb w3st, šš htp-ntr [n] pr imn*) were also shared by her brother Harsiese and his son Nesmin, whose coffin lid was found in the backfill of the tomb of Kheruef (Habachi 1958: Pl. 12

[8]). The find spots of Dimutshepenankh's and Nesmin's burial equipment indicate that yet another family of the priests of Montu must have been buried in the area of the Hatshepsut temple in the Valley.

The third is the daughter of Montu prophet Pakharu and Djedmutesankh named Shauamunimes, whose *qrs*w-coffin fragments were found in a shaft in the northwest chapel on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple (Barwick 2003: 125, Figs 3–4, Pl. 80; Koch 2012: 244 [58]).

There is a considerable difference of opinion among scholars about how many different temple praisers of Amun with the name Shauamunimes and its variants existed. There are six, possibly seven, artifacts, presented in the following table [Table 4], naming a *hsyt n hnw n imn* called Shauamunimes, all parts of

Table 4. Artifacts from the burial equipment naming a *hsyt n hnw n imn* called Shauamunimes

No.	Object	Dating	Principal references
1.	Cartonnage Cairo TR 21.11.16.5  Said to be from Qurnah, contains a mummy  Daughter of <i>ms (wr) mšwš</i> Takelot	Twenty-second Dynasty: Osorkon I	Maspero 1883: 307, 311 (No. 4937) Jansen-Winkel 2007: 392 [21] Koch 2012: 244 (59) Taylor 2017 Sheikholeslami forthcoming a
2.	Wooden stela Houston MNS 30.1997.328	Twenty-second Dynasty	Saleh 2007: 210 (56) Koch 2012: 244–245 (61) Sheikholeslami forthcoming a
3.	Named on CCG 41035 as 'mother' of Meresamun, daughter of Osorkon of Teudjoi, grandson of a	Twenty-third/Twenty-fifth Dynasty pennant writing of Osiris = post 750 BC (Leahy 1979)	Moret 1913: 290–298, Pl. XXXVI Aston 2009: 207 (TG 856) Koch 2012: 244 (60) Sheikholeslami forthcoming c

3.	( <i>continued</i> ) king Takelot (probably Takelot II rather than III) Name written <i>š3-t3-ımn-m.s</i> or <i>šm-ımn-m-s</i> (and variants)		
4.	Wooden bivalve coffin Rio 532* in the shape of a cartonnage with cartonnage-like decoration, contains mummy  Name written <i>š3-ımn-m-sw</i>	Twenty-third/Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Brancaglion 2002 dates to Twenty-third Dynasty)	Kitchen 1990/I: 144–149; II: Pls 136–138 (No. 58) Brancaglion 2002 Jansen-Winkel 2007: 480 (44.21) Koch 2012: 243–244 (57)
5.	Wooden anthropoid coffin fragment(s) Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut temple, Upper Terrace, Northwest Chapel, excavations and debris from ramp leading to the upper terrace  Daughter of (uncertain title) Pakharu	Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Barwik 2003: 122 dates to the Libyan period, not earlier than the Twenty-third Dynasty)	Barwik 2003: 124, Fig. 2, Pl. 79 with fragment 125, Fig. 5, Pl. 81
6.	Wooden <i>qrsw</i> -coffin fragments Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut temple, Upper Terrace, Northwest Chapel, excavations  Daughter of Montu priest Pakharu and Djedmutesankh	Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Barwik 2003 dates to Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty)	Barwik 2003: 125, Figs 3–4, Pl. 80
7.	Wooden anthropoid coffin fragment Deir el-Bahari, debris between the Southern Chapel of Hatshepsut and the Tuthmosis III temple platform  Traces of text suit the title and name	Date uncertain, but likely Twenty-third to Twenty-sixth Dynasty	Barwik 2003: 123, 127, Fig. 8

\* Coffin destroyed in a fire that consumed the Brazil National Museum on 3 September 2018. I would like to thank Prof. Antonio Brancaglion for sharing his photographs of it with me during his visit to Cairo in 2013.

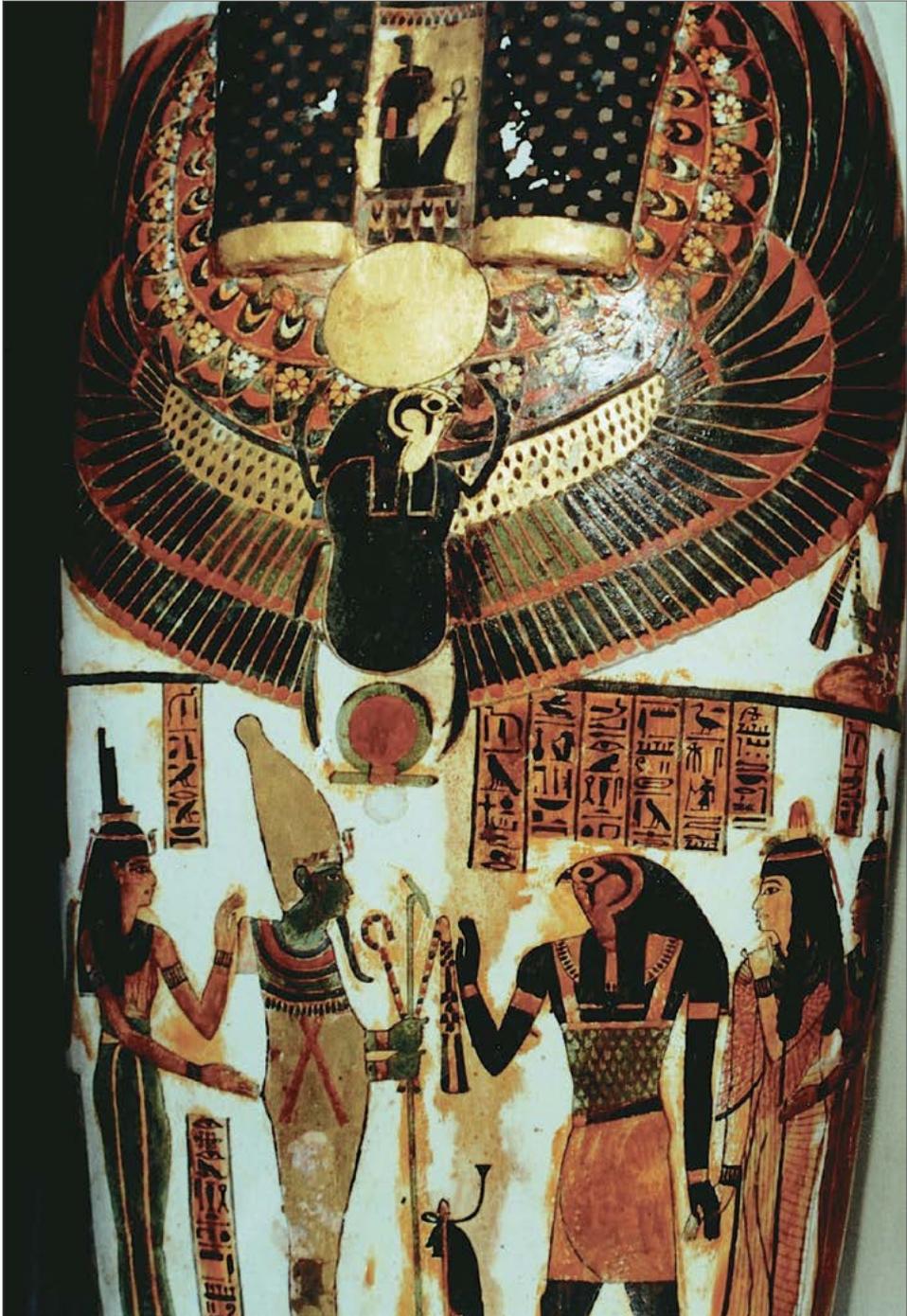


Fig. 13. Cartonnage of the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn s3-imn-im.s* Cairo TR 21.11.16.5 (Photo C.M. Sheikholeslami)

burial equipment. The earliest *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* named Shauamunimes is the owner of the intact cartonnage Cairo TR 21.11.16.5 [see *Table 4*: No. 1; see *Fig. 13*], dated by close stylistic parallelism to the reign of Osorkon I (Sheikholeslami forthcoming a; Taylor 2017). Her father, Takelot, is titled *ms (wr) mšwš* (for a discussion of this title, see Sheikholeslami forthcoming a). The Shauamunimes named on the Houston stela [see *Table 4*: No. 2], which is stylistically dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty, is likely to be the same person as the owner of the intact Cairo cartonnage TR 21.11.16.5 with its mummy (Sheikholeslami forthcoming a; for the mummy, see Sheikholeslami and Ikram 2017; Ikram et al. 2018, in this volume).

The coffin CCG 41035 [see *Table 4*: No. 3], which served for the burial of the *ḥyst n ḥnw n imn* Meresamun, names her father as Osorkon *p3 t3wd3y*, a place name associated with the Middle Egyptian site of el-Hibeh, where the High Priest of Amun Osorkon B resided. He is identified as the grandson (*s3 [n] s3 nswt [n] nb t3wy*) of a Takelot, who is most likely Takelot II (although some authors cite him as the son of a Takelot, and some see the king as Takelot III; see the discussion by Payraudeau 2014/II: 448, dossier 66 and Note 19). A person identified as *mwt.s* ‘her mother’ (but never as part of the filiation naming her father) is often identified as a Shauamunimes, although her name is written differently: on side 1 as *mwt.s šm-imn-im.st* (with no title); on side 3 as *mwt.s ḥs ḥnw imn š3-t3-imn-m.s*; and twice on side 4 as *mwt.s šm-imn-m.s* (with no title) and as *mwt.s nbt pr šm-imn-*iw*-m*. The *nbt pr* appearing before her name on side 4 has occasioned

much discussion and been considered as evidence that *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* were not celibate and could marry (Sheikholeslami 2002; forthcoming b). However, it is more likely that *šm-imn-m-s(t)* is the adoptive mother of the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* Meresamun. The writing of her name on side 3 as *š3-t3-imn-m.s* could be considered a defective writing of Shauamunimes. Ranke (1935–1977/I: 324, 19) considers *šm-imn-im.s* to be a variant of *š3-t3-imn-m.s* and, although he does not include any examples of *š3-imn-im.s*, he interprets the writing with *š3-m...*, as syllabic orthographies of *šm...* (as in Ranke 1935–1977/I: 327, 16–17). The name Shemamunimes, not attested in either Ranke 1935–1977 or elsewhere, might be considered to be a different name, although it is never written quite the same way each time it occurs on the coffin of Meresamun. If it is not another name, then there seems to be some phonetic and orthographic reduplication with *š3-imn* being written as *šm* and then followed again by *imn*. Since it is with the name written as Shemamunimes that the title *nbt pr* occurs, it could also be suggested that this is the name of the biological mother of Meresamun, indicating, in consequence, that the names of both her biological and her adoptive (Sha[ta]amunimes) mothers were used on her coffin. However, as *nbt pr* occurs only once on this coffin, it is more probably a scribal error by someone used to writing biological filiations. In addition, given the fact that the name of Mersamun’s ‘mother’ never occurs after the name of her father, as would be expected in a text giving biological filiation, it seems preferable to consider the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* Shemamunimes and variants (for Shauamunimes) as the

adoptive mother of the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* Meresamun. Adoption of one woman by another to succeed her in a temple office is well attested for the God's Wives of Amun of the period.

Kitchen (1990/I: 147), followed by Payraudeau (2014/II: dossier 66 with Note 19), suggests that the wooden coffin Rio 532 [see *Table 4*: No. 4] contained the mummy of the (adoptive) mother of Meresamun.

The wooden coffin in Brazil, also known as the Rio coffin, dated about 750 BC, was presented to the emperor Dom Pedro II of Brazil during his visit to Egypt in 1876 by Khedive Ismail. There is still a mummy inside it [see *Table 4*: No. 4] and it is decorated in the style of a cartonnage. The texts have no filiation, although the name has a variant writing *š3-imn-m-sw*. The decoration of this bivalve wooden coffin in the form of a cartonnage resembles, in many respects, the cartonnage of the supervisor of the doorkeepers Padiament British Museum EA 6682; the gray ground is also found on the cartonnage of Tjenetmutengebtiu British Museum EA 22939; both are dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty. The Rio coffin also has some iconography similar to the inner coffin of Takhebkhenem British Museum EA 6691 (Taylor 2003: 114 and Pl. 61 inner coffin lid design 1, Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty), part of a 'lower elite' three-coffin set (Taylor 2018: 366, color illustration Fig. 12), with a design derived from Taylor's two-falcons type of cartonnage. In both coffins, the wigs have vulture wings and lappet bands, the ram-bird has wings extended almost straight with a solar disk on its head, and ribbons flanking its tail, while the bottom two registers show funerary deities along with Isis and

Nephtys flanking the Abydos fetish. The two middle registers of Takhebkhenem's coffin, with the falcon-headed bird and body on the bier, are replaced in Shauamunimsu's coffin by Sokar crouching on a shrine flanked by Behedet as a winged falcon and *udjat*-eyes, a feature that appears on Taylor's Design 1 cartonnages (Taylor 2003: 105–106).

This combination of features attested on both Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnages and Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffins suggests a date for the Rio coffin in the transitional period during the late Twenty-third Dynasty, before the introduction of the pennant writing of the name of Osiris. It may also be noted that the writing of the *š3*-sign (Gardiner V16), present on the Rio 532 coffin and discussed by Kitchen (1990/I: 147, Note 3), appears also on the canopic chest of Heresenes (Sheikholeslami 2010a: 408–409) [Fig. 14 last column on the left]. Although not a precise chronological indicator, it shows some scribal practices to be prevalent during the late Twenty-third to Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

If the name of Shauamunimes is a traditional 'temple name' for *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn*, as suggested, then the Brazil coffin might indicate its owner's desire to make the Twenty-fifth Dynasty coffin look somewhat archaic. The Brazil coffin is also interesting due to an apparently separate board attached over the foot of the bivalve coffin, a standard technique in cartonnages. These features would mark the coffin as being transitional between the Twenty-second Dynasty type of elite burial equipment, consisting of a cartonnage inside a wooden anthropoid coffin, and the type introduced in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, consisting of a *qrs*w-coffin

and one or two nested bivalve anthropoid coffins with the mummy frequently covered with a bead net, but lacking a cartonnage case. A CT scan showed the top of her head almost reaching the level of the chin of the coffin mask; her orbits had round, dense artificial eyes completely filling the cavities (Brancaglion 2011). As with the Cairo Twenty-second Dynasty cartonnage mummy, her throat and neck had subcutaneous packing. A scarab was placed in the bandages approximately over her heart, and there was a small pack of other amulets close

to her hands between her legs. Her age at death was estimated to be 50 years. As the coffin had never been opened, it is not known whether it had any interior decoration or texts.

Barwik considers the daughter of Pakharu [Table 4: Nos 4, 5 and 6] to be the same person. However, this is not certain or even likely. Pakharu [see Table 4: No. 5] is probably not the same person as the priest of Montu Pakharu [see Table 4: No. 6], since the traces shown before the name in the drawing and photograph of the coffin fragments [Table 4: No. 5]



Fig. 14. Heresenes canopic chest, front side with figure of Imsety; note writing of *s3* sign in the last column on the left, which also appears on the Rio coffin of Shauamunimsu (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

(Barwik 2003: 124, Fig. 2, Pl. 79) do not suit the *w3st* emblem exactly, if the title was *hm ntr mntw nb w3st* as on the *qrsw*-coffin fragment [see *Table 4*: No. 6]. The cartonnage-like decoration of this piece is also not usually found on anthropoid coffins used with *qrsw*-coffin ensembles (such as *Table 4*: No. 6). A fragment of a wooden anthropoid coffin, perhaps part of the coffin in question [*Table 4*: No. 5], was found in debris on a ramp leading to the upper terrace (Barwik 2003: Pl. 81). The cartonnage of the *it [ntr] mry [ntr], wn ʿwy nw pt m ipt-swt p-n-h3rw*, also found in the shafts in the Northwest Chapel on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, is likely to belong to still another person with this name, so far otherwise unattested (Barwik 2003: 127, Figs 6 and 7, 128, Fig. 9).

The coffin fragment in question [*Table 4*: No. 5] might have belonged to a vizier Pakharu, who is known from the *qrsw* of his son Pami (iv), CCG 41036, from the Maunier discovery, blue design on white ground, as on the coffin fragment [*Table 4*: No. 5], which, like the Rio coffin [*Table 4*: No. 4], is a wooden coffin with a cartonnage-like decoration. The vizier Pakharu is titled *hm-ntr imn[-rʿ nswt ntrw, tbyty, s3b], imy-r niwt, ʒty* on his son's *qrsw*-coffin. However, the traces before the name of Pakharu on the fragment [*Table 4*: No. 5] do not suit the foot of the *ʒty* bird that would be expected in the title of vizier before his name. Instead, they might be traces of *nswt* (written  with the traces being the bottom of *sw-* and the left end of *n-*) *ntrw*, and the vizier was identified only by his priestly title on this section of the coffin lid, a not uncommon practice at this time. The vizier Pakharu's wife was

Irbastetudjanefu, daughter of Takelot III, and sister of Diesenesyt A, who was married to the vizier Nespaqashuty B, both parents of the Montu priest Padiamunet (iii) from the Baraize find. It is not unlikely that Pami (iv)'s father, the vizier Pakharu, was himself buried somewhere in the Hatshepsut temple.

The *qrsw*-coffin fragments [*Table 4*: No. 6] have the texts painted in blue with polychrome images on a plain wood background. The design of the vaulted lid representing the sky shows mummiform falcons at the four corners. One of the scenes between them shows the separation of Geb and the sky goddess Nut arched over him. According to Taylor (2003: 117; 2018: 355), this is the earlier type of *qrsw* lid design (see the *qrsw*-coffin of the priest of Montu Hor, British Museum EA 15655, for example), which makes its dating to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty probable.

The Shauamunimes of the *qrsw* [see *Table 4*: No. 6] and the one of the wooden anthropoid coffin fragment [see *Table 4*: No. 5] are unlikely to be the same as the Shauamunimsu of the Rio coffin [see *Table 4*: No. 4]. Without further evidence, it is preferable to consider the owners of these coffins [*Table 4*: Nos 4, 5, and 6] to be different individuals named Shauamunimes(u).

According to Koch (2012: 243–245), there are five persons with this name. Koch's suggestion that her No. 60 [see *Table 4*: No. 3], the 'mother' of Meresamun, is identical with the owner of the Cairo cartonnage [see *Table 4*: No. 1] must be rejected, as the cartonnage dates to the early Twenty-second Dynasty (Osorkon I), while the early *qrsw*-type

coffin dates to the late Twenty-third/early Twenty-fifth Dynasty. Koch has also misdated the *qrs*w fragment excavated by Barwik (her No. 58), which clearly belongs not to the Twenty-second but to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty [see *Table 4*: No. 6]. She has ignored the other two fragments published by Barwik [see *Table 4*: Nos 5 and 7].

In conclusion, the following *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes should be distinguished [*Table 5*]. It can be assumed on these grounds that at least four, possibly five, should the Rio coffin not belong to the same person named as the

‘mother’ of Meresamun in B, or even six, if the fragment in E cannot be assigned to C or D, praise-singers of the interior of Amun during the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth Dynasties shared the same name. Where their genealogy is known, they are members of the upper echelons of Libyan or Theban society, and even though their burial ensembles have been preserved only fragmentarily, it is clear that, originally, they were provided with fine quality equipment. The vizier Khaemhor A, the grandfather of Montuemhat, also placed his daughters Diamunshepenankh and Ditmutshepen-

Table 5. List of *hsyt n hnw n imn* named Shauamunimes

No.	Individual	Identification
A.	Owner of cartonnage Cairo TR 21.11.16.5 (dated to the reign of Osorkon I, said to come from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna) and most probably the same as the owner of the Twenty-second Dynasty stela Houston MNS 30.1997.328	Daughter of the Meshwesh <i>ms</i> or <i>ms wr</i> Takelot
B.	Adoptive mother of Meresamun named on CCG 41035 with a variant writing of the name as Shemamunimes; possibly the same as the owner of the late Twenty-third Dynasty wooden coffin imitating cartonnage Rio 532, where the name is written Shauamunimsu	Meresamun’s father Osorkon <i>p3 t3wd3y</i> is most likely a grandson of Takelot II; her coffin has been dated to the early–mid Twenty-fifth Dynasty
C.	Daughter of the vizier Pakharu, wooden anthropoid coffin fragments with cartonnage-type decoration in blue on a white ground from Deir el-Bahari	The vizier Pakharu was married to Irbastetudjanefu, daughter of Takelot III, and probably held office about 760–735 BC, late Twenty-third/early Twenty-fifth Dynasty; the coffins of her brothers Paenwweqer (iii) and Pami (iv) (a <i>qrs</i> w-coffin set) date to the mid-Twenty-fifth Dynasty
D.	Daughter of the priest of Montu Pakharu and Djedmutiuesankh, owner of wooden <i>qrs</i> w-coffin fragments from Deir el-Bahari	Twenty-fifth Dynasty, early type of <i>qrs</i> w-coffin lid design in a higher elite assemblage
E.	Coffin fragment from Deir el-Bahari with traces of the title <i>hsyt n hnw n imn</i> and the name Shauamunimes	This fragment could be part of the burial equipment of either C or D above, or be yet another praise-singer with the same name.



Fig. 15. Nespaqashuty (vi) mummy with bead net in the box of the inner anthropoid coffin (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

ankh as *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* (Koch 2012: 251–252 [88], 252 [89]), continuing a tradition among the Theban elite.

## HUMAN REMAINS

Four mummies have been studied (Sheikholeslami and Ikram 2017; Ikram et al. 2018, in this volume): those from the burials of Padiamunet, Heresenes, and Nespaqashuty listed above, and the one contained in the intact cartonnage of the *ḥsyt n ḥnw n imn* named Shauamunimes, possibly also originally buried at, or at least in the vicinity of, Deir el-Bahari (according to Maspero 1883: 307, 311 [No. 4937], purchased in Gurna and said by the seller to have come from Sheikh Abd el-Gurna). They were selected in order to have a diachronic sample from the same area, or even the same site, in the Third Intermediate Period, as well as to study the mummification

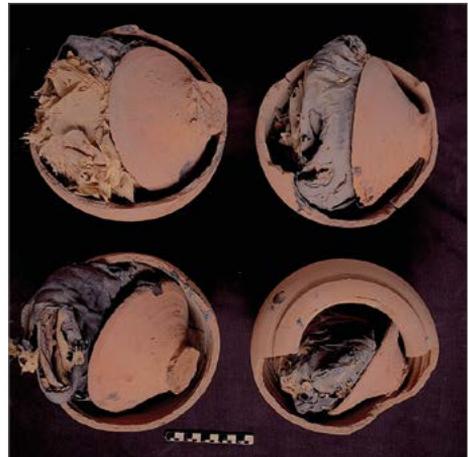


Fig. 16. Heresenes canopic jars (PCMA UW Deir el-Bahari Hatshepsut Temple Project/photo M. Jawornicki)

of three mummies from the same burial shaft representing two generations of a single family.

The mummies of the priests of Montu have their hands crossed across their chests, a position previously thought to be characteristic only of mummies from the Ptolemaic period, and in the case of Padiamunet (iii) also holding objects shaped like the crook and flail of Osiris, a unique occurrence in mummies of the period studied to date. In contrast to what is stated by Aston (2009: 216–217), none of these three mummies

from the Baraize shaft was enclosed in a cartonnage, although all were provided with bead nets [Fig. 15]. The mummy of Heresenes had a papyrus with Book of the Dead Spell 162 (Cairo JE 96272) placed beneath her head inside the box of her inner coffin (Scalf 2017: 98, Fig. 8.2, 115, Fig. 9.7). The contents of the canopic jars from the Baraize group have been studied as well (Ikram et al. 2018, in this volume). Those of Heresenes were most unusually packets partly coated with a black resinous substance and inserted into broken pottery jars with shallow cups for lids [Fig. 16].

## CONCLUDING REMARKS

The study of the funerary objects discovered by Baraize in 1932–1933 in the shaft in front of the Southern Chapel of the Temple of Hatshepsut, now designated Tomb XVIII on the Upper Terrace of the temple, has drawn attention to the importance of the Hatshepsut temple as a necropolis in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and particularly to the burials of the priests of Montu. As discussed, the necropolis gradually expanded towards the east until it crossed the boundary of the Hatshepsut temple enclosure, extending beyond it into Asasif with the great temple tombs of Padiamunopet (TT 33) and Montuemhat (TT 34).

The viziers, who were the ancestors of the two Montu priests from the Baraize find, served during the Twenty-second/ Twenty-third Dynasties, until their administrative functions were assumed by the ancestors of Montuemhat, probably about the time that the Kushites took control of Thebes (about 750 BC).

The fact that one of these Theban viziers, Pami (ii), is the last documented individual to bear the title of viceroy of Kush, even if his actual administrative power did not extend south of Aswan, probably facilitated the acceptance of the Kushites as rulers in Thebes without significant conflict.

Although deprived of its administrative functions, the devotedly royalist family of Pami (ii) showed its flexibility by turning to service in the cult of Montu, the traditional patron of the kings of Thebes in the Middle Kingdom, and joined other priests of Montu in supporting the new Kushite rulers. In addition, they had priestly duties in the cults of Mut, Khonsu, and Osiris that further enhanced the legitimacy of the foreign rulers in Egyptian eyes. The quality of their burial equipment indicates that their support of the recognized rulers, whoever they were, was amply rewarded.

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**How to cite this article:**

Sheikholeslami, C.M. (2018).

Montu priestly families at Deir el-Bahari in the Third Intermediate Period.

In Z.E. Szafrński (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2*.

Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2

(pp. 325 -363). Warsaw: University of Warsaw

Press.

<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3310>

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# Inscribed pot-stands represented in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** On the lateral walls of the Bark Hall in the Main Sanctuary of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut, four stands for burning offerings are represented in front of Amun's bark. Conservation work on the walls of this room uncovered the painted layer. One of the stands preserves traces of an inscription which was erased in ancient times in two phases. The first phase of erasure may be dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III, while the second one was executed during the Amarna period. The paper presents the legible parts of the text, which was a standard dedication formula, along with a reconstruction of the damaged areas.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Main Sanctuary of Amun, relief decoration, pot-stands, dedicatory formula, proscription of Hatshepsut, Amarna erasures

In the 1999/2000 fieldwork season of the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the conservation activities included, among other things, cleaning of the surface of the walls in the Main Sanctuary of Amun. In the course of this work a thick layer of dirt and soot had been removed and the original paint layer of the reliefs was revealed (Gazda 2001: 212; Szafranski 2001: 196). On the lateral walls of the Bark Hall, in two symmetrical scenes representing piled offerings placed in front of Amun's bark (Naville 1906: Pls CXLI, CXLIII), two pot-stands are shown among various food products [Fig. 1]. One of the stands, represented on the south wall, shows traces of a vertical inscription (Szafranski 2001: Fig. 7). Although discovered some time ago, the text has never become a subject of a detailed study.

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### **Acknowledgments**

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Zbigniew E. Szafrński, Director of the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (PCMA UW), for drawing my attention to the inscription on the pot-stand in the Main Sanctuary of Amun and for permission to publish it. I am also thankful to Jadwiga Iwaszczuk, Teodozja I. Rzeuska, Filip Taterka and Dawid F. Wieczorek for their knowledgeable help during my study of the presented material.

The paper is supported from the statutory research fund of the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences for the development of young researchers.

## DESCRIPTION

The images in question have a symmetrical layout comprising two tall ring stands with bowls placed atop (Arnold 1977: 34–35, Fig. 1), typical utensils for burning offerings (Eggebrecht 1975).<sup>1</sup> The stands are placed immediately beneath the offering list while their height corresponds to two registers of piled offerings represented behind them. In the bowl of the first stand, a bouquet of three papyrus plants with open flowers, with their stems hanging down behind the stand, wound in a bindweed is placed. In the second bowl lotus plants are shown, ended in open flowers, buds, and leaves, with their long stems curled into a loop. On both walls the representation is composed in such a way that the papyrus flowers fall directly in front of a ram's head which the prow of the divine bark is adorned with. Both stands and their bowls are painted yellow which indicates gold.

On the north wall [see Fig. 1 top] only the bowl of the first stand is preserved. It belongs to the original layer of the relief while the front part of its flowers, protruding from the underneath of the offering list towards the ram's head on the bark's prow, has been erased during the Amarna period and then restored in Ramesside times (Barwik 2013: 96–101; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2014: 406, note 2; 2015: 159, ote 2). The second stand is preserved only in its upper part. Along with its bowl and flowers it belongs to the original relief. The entire surface of

the preserved part of the stand, however, is occupied by a shallow recession, oval in shape, with some deeper concavities within it, left by a small chisel. The recession bears traces of smoothing which should be interpreted as a later act of repair. Most probably, it was then also that the area was repainted yellow. The described damage to the stand bears resemblances to the destroyed areas on the vessels represented in the same room [see Fig. 1]. These probably constitute an effect of Thutmose III's proscription of Hatshepsut's names (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2014: 407 and Fig. 3).

On the south wall [see Fig. 1 bottom] the first stand along with its bowl and flowers has been damaged simultaneously with the Amun's bark. The image which is now visible in this place represents an entirely Ramesside reconstruction. The bowl of the second stand has not survived but the flowers, visible above the unpreserved area, represent the reconstructed relief. The second stand itself belongs, however, to the original layer of the decoration and it is on this stand that traces of the original inscription have been discovered [Fig. 2 left].

The text, arranged vertically, is enclosed with a rectangular frame. The uppermost part of the text is lost while the rest shows long oblique scratches on the stone's surface. These traces, executed with a thin pointed tool (1 mm to 1.5 mm wide) are more shallow than those ob-

1 Real objects of the kind are known. One of them (60 cm high), dating to the reign of Thutmose III, is made of the quartzite and most probably belonged to the equipment of Amun's temple in Karnak. Another exemplar, the metal one (about 70 cm high), inscribed with the names of Akhenaten, comes from the Aten temple in Amarna (Radwan 1983: 154 [424], Pl. 76 [424]).

served on the corresponding stand shown on the opposite wall, which may indicate two different groups of iconoclasts working independently on both walls. Despite the damage, the hieroglyphs executed in red ink with a thin brush are partly

visible here. Apart from the aforementioned scratches, which should be attributed to Tuthmosis III's reign, another type of damage is visible in the middle of the inscription, namely, chisel marks, 6 mm wide and up to 5 mm deep,

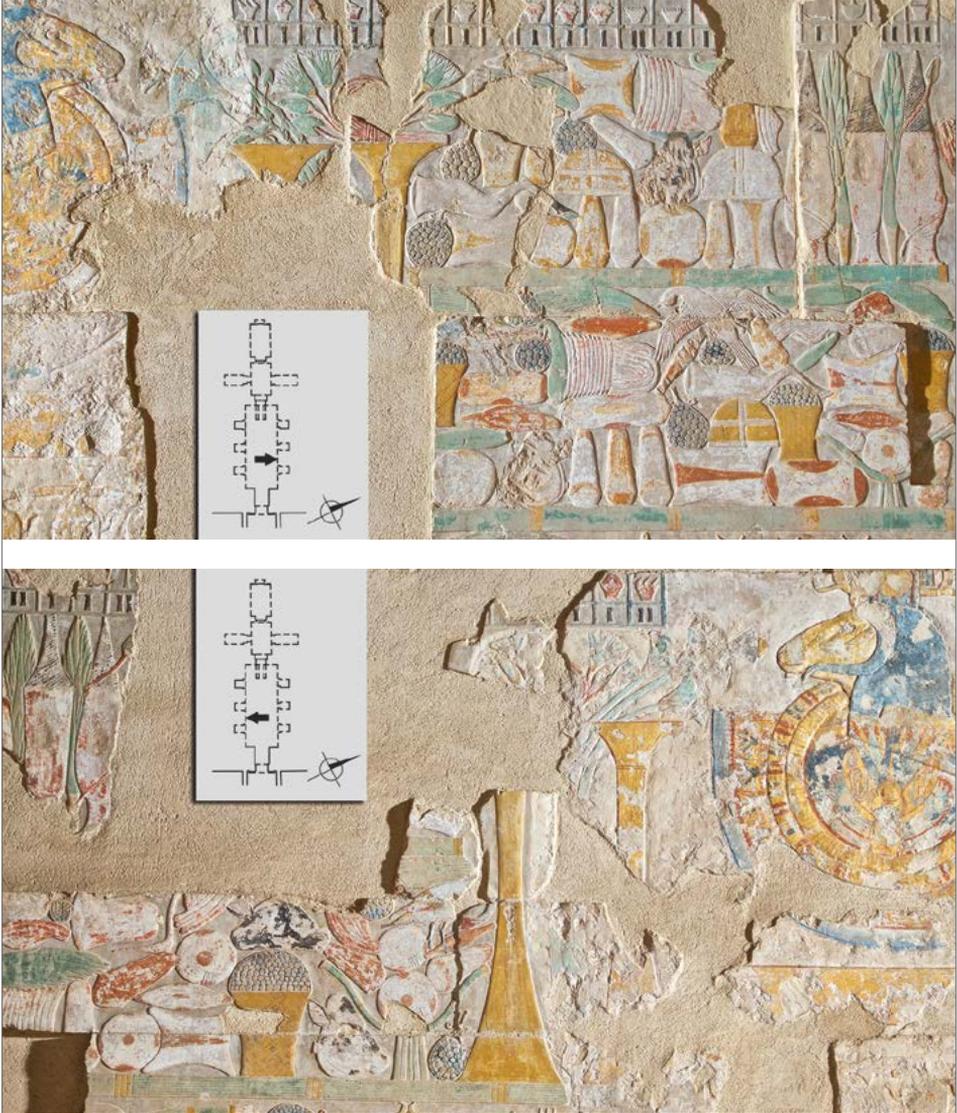


Fig. 1. Piled offerings in front of Amun's bark. Main Sanctuary of Amun, Bark Hall: top, north wall; bottom, south wall (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki, plan T. Dziedzic)

arranged in six symmetrical rows. This type of erasure, observed also elsewhere in the Temple of Hatshepsut (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2014: 406–407, Figs 1 and 2), should be dated to the Amarna period.

The text can be reconstructed as a standard dedication formula *jr.n.f m mnw.f*, the grammatical structure of which has been discussed extensively (e.g., Castle 1993; 1994; Kruchten 1996; Laskowski 1998; Grallert 2001). According to Grallert (2001: 34), the formula consists of six components, the first four of which are preserved in the text from Deir el-Bahari (Grallert 2001: 34–36):

1) [*Hr Wsrt*]-*k3w* [... *nswt bjtj*]<sup>a</sup>  
*M3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-R<sup>c</sup>* 2) *jr.n.s* 3) *m mnw.s* 4) *n*  
 [(*j*)*t.s Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntrw nb*]<sup>b</sup> *pt* [*jr*  
 ... *nfrt* ...]<sup>c</sup>

[Horus Powerful]-of-*kas* [... king of Upper and Lower Egypt] *Maat-ka-Ra*: it is her monument that she has made for [her father Amun-Ra, the King of the Gods, Lord] of the Sky [...]<sup>2</sup>

(a) The lacuna (scratched area, i.e., Tuthmosis III's damage) above *nswt bjtj* may house either Hatshepsut's Golden

Falcon name (*ntrt-h<sup>c</sup>w*, Divine-of-crowns) or her Two Ladies name (*W3dt-rnpwt*, Flourishing-of-years), or, as the third possibility, her epithets *nbt t3wj nbt jrt (j)ht* (Lady of the Two Lands, Lady of the Rituals).

(b) Area chiselled out, i.e., Amarna damage.

(c) Scratched area, i.e., Tuthmosis III's damage. Except for the first sign, *jr*, and the word *nfrt* visible underneath it, under the group of the three destroyed horizontal signs, the text is illegible. It is hard to determine whether the initial sign introduces Grallert's component 5 of the formula (Grallert 2001: 34, 36–37), *jrt (n.f)* + object of the *mnw*, or component 6, *jr.n n.f z3 R<sup>c</sup>*... (with variants) (Grallert 2001: 34, 38–40).<sup>3</sup> Both components are non obligatory and may occur interchangeably.

If the first possibility was the case, the word *nfrt* would determine the stand, *h3wt/h3jt* (*Wb* III, 226 [11–19]), and the sentence should be reconstructed as [Fig. 2.a]:

[*jr.s* (sic!) *n.f h3(w)t nfrt* ...

(namely) [making<sup>4</sup> for him a beautiful altar ...

2 The translation given above, with the emphasis provided to *mnw.f*, follows Castle 1993.

3 On the final component of the formula, which may take the shorter form *jr.f<sup>c</sup>nh* or *jr.f dj<sup>c</sup>nh*, see also Satzinger 1997: 154–156.

4 Although the infinitive *jr(t)* shall appear with no suffix pronoun, such examples are also found in dedication formulae (Grallert 2001: 37; on mistakes occurring in dedicatory formulae, see also Castle 1993: 120). Among Hatshepsut's texts of the type, however, no instance of such writing is known to the present author. The text attested on one of the columns in the Lower Anubis Shrine at the Deir el-Bahari Temple, published by Niwiński as ...*jr.t.s hwt-ntr*..., (Niwiński 1976: 89–90, Fig. 9/column 10), preserves in fact the standard phrase *jrt n[f] hwt-ntr* (present author's observation; Iwaszczuk 2017: 224/column 10, cites this passage as *jrt sh-ntr*). Alternatively, the discussed part of the text from the Main Sanctuary of Amun shall be treated as a verbal form: "She made for him a beautiful altar...". The text from another column in the Lower Anubis Shrine, cited by Niwiński as *jr.n.s hwt-ntr* (Niwiński 1976: 89–90, Fig. 9/column 11), which could have been an analogy to our case, is badly damaged in this place (Iwaszczuk 2017: 224/column 11).

which could have been followed by an adverbial phrase indicating, e.g., the material used and closed by component 6 in its shorter form (see note 2 above):

*jr:s dj(.tj) ḥnh mj Rḥ dt*  
 ... which she did being given life like Ra, forever.]

Were the second possibility true, however, then *nfirt* would form part of the epithet *ntrt nfirt*, the Good Goddess, introducing Hatshepsut's birth name. If so, the rest of the inscription should be

reconstructed as [Fig. 2:b]:

[*jr:n n.f ntrt nfirt z3t Rḥ Ḥ3t-špswt-hnmt-Jmn dj ḥnh mj Rḥ dt*]  
 [which the Good Goddess, daughter of Ra, Hatshepsut-united-with-Amun, given life like Ra, forever, has made for him.]<sup>5</sup>

The second option seems more plausible as more intensive scratches are observable beneath the word *nfirt*, in the place where one would expect the cartouche of Hatshepsut.

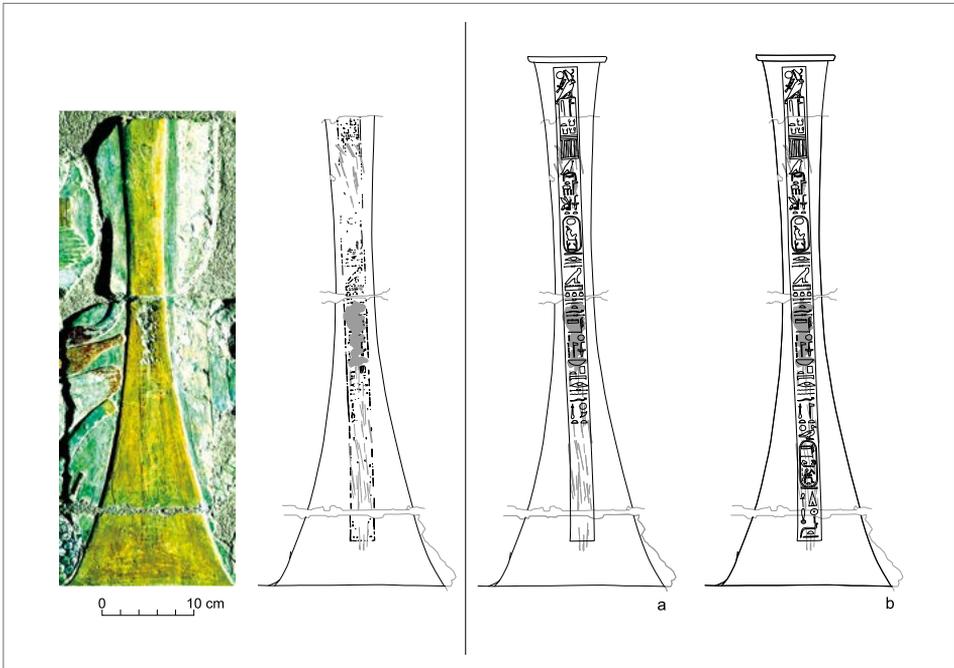


Fig. 2. The stand shown among piled offerings on the south wall of the Bark Hall; left, current state of preservation, tracing and photo in high contrast to highlight preserved fragments of the inscription; a, b – two possible reconstructions of the text (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo M. Jawornicki, drawing and digitising A. Stupko-Lubczyńska)

5 The closest parallel to this reconstructed scheme may be found in the Hathor Shrine at the Deir el-Bahari Temple, on the west wall of the vestibule (Naville 1901: Pl. CIII; Beaux et al. 2012: Pl. 29; Iwaszczuk 2017: 225–226).

## DISCUSSION

The dedicatory formula *jr.n.f m mnw.f*, attested since the early Old Kingdom (Taufik 1971: 227–228), is a standard text where the word *mnw* may represent an action or a real object, executed/donated by a king or (since the Middle Kingdom) a private person to his/her real ancestor, the king-predecessor, or a deity (Taufik 1971: 231–234; Castle 1993: 102, note 20; Donohue 1994; Meltzer 1994; Lilyquist 1995: 16–17; Castle 1995). From Hatshepsut's reign, the formula is attested mostly on various architectural elements, such as obelisks, gates, and shrines (Grallert 2001: 594–596; Iwaszczuk 2017: 219–227), but also on small objects, such as those

from her foundation deposits (Donohue 1994; Roehrig, Dreyfus, and Keller 2005).

The text is found both on real artifacts and their images, as it is the case of the stand represented in the Main Sanctuary of the Temple of Hatshepsut. The two phases of erasures clearly observable here show that the entire text was scratched away in the reign of Thutmose III, leaving the divine name untouched. This, in turn, was defaced during the Amarna period. Whether or not it was restored in the Ramesside period (e.g., with plaster which has not survived), is not certain.

Among the pot-stands represented at the Temple of Hatshepsut, the pre-

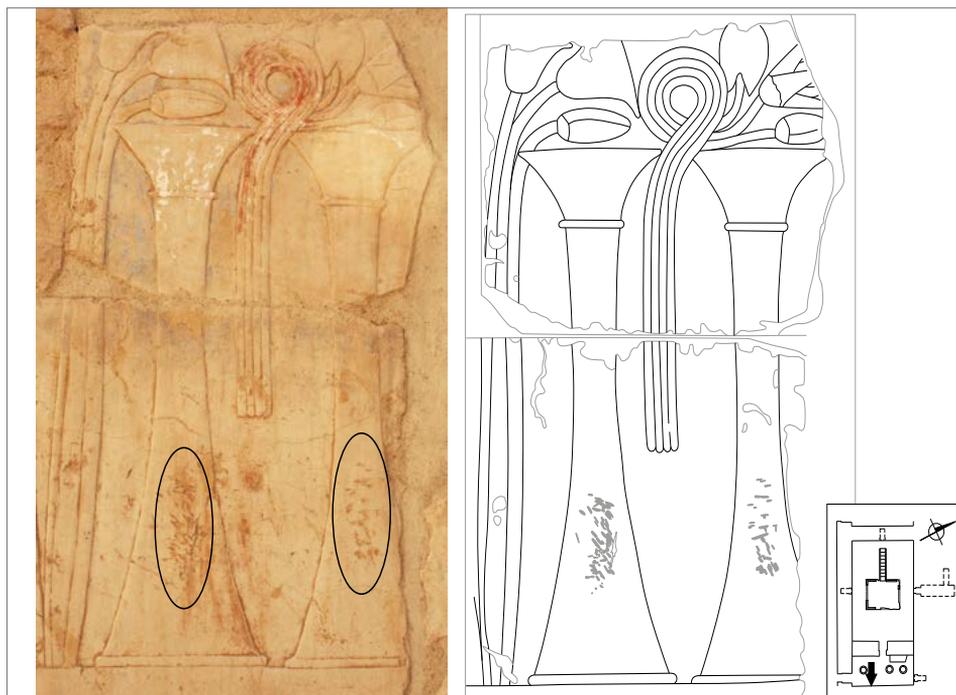


Fig. 3. Pot-stands represented in the Solar Complex with traces of erasure encircled (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/digitising A. Caban after Karkowski 2003: Pl. 35, detail; photo A. Stupko-Lubczyńska)

sent author is aware of only one more inscribed example. It is represented in the Solar Complex, on the east wall of the Night-Sun Chapel (Karkowski 2003: 157–158, Pls 35, 39). Here, two stands appear among the offerings and again, flowers are shown in each bowl placed on the stand. The painted layer is all gone and as for the inscriptions once gracing both stands, one may judge solely by erasures located in their bottom parts [Fig. 3]. In this case, the area bears shallow traces of blows with a chisel up to 6 mm wide. Most probably, the text here was different from the one reconstructed in the Bark Hall, the indication of which is a different position of the erasures.

At this point it seems reasonable to recall a scene of the workshop of Amun's Temple depicted in the tomb

of Menkheperaseneb (TT 86), dated to the reign of Tuthmosis III (Kampp 1996: 338). Here, in one of the registers, metal workers are shown. Two stands are among the various ritual objects produced, represented next to two bowls (Davies 1933: 11–12, Pls XI–XII) [Fig. 4]. The stand depicted to the right is inscribed with the phrase

*ntr nfr nb t3wj nb jr(t) (j)ht Mn-hpr-  
Rc z3 Rc Dhwtj-ms mr(y) Jmn nb nswt  
t3wj dj ʕnh dt*

The Good God, Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of the Rituals *Men-kheper-Ra*, son of Ra *Djehuty-mes* beloved of Amun, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, given life forever.

Supposing that similar formulae naming Hatshepsut were written on the

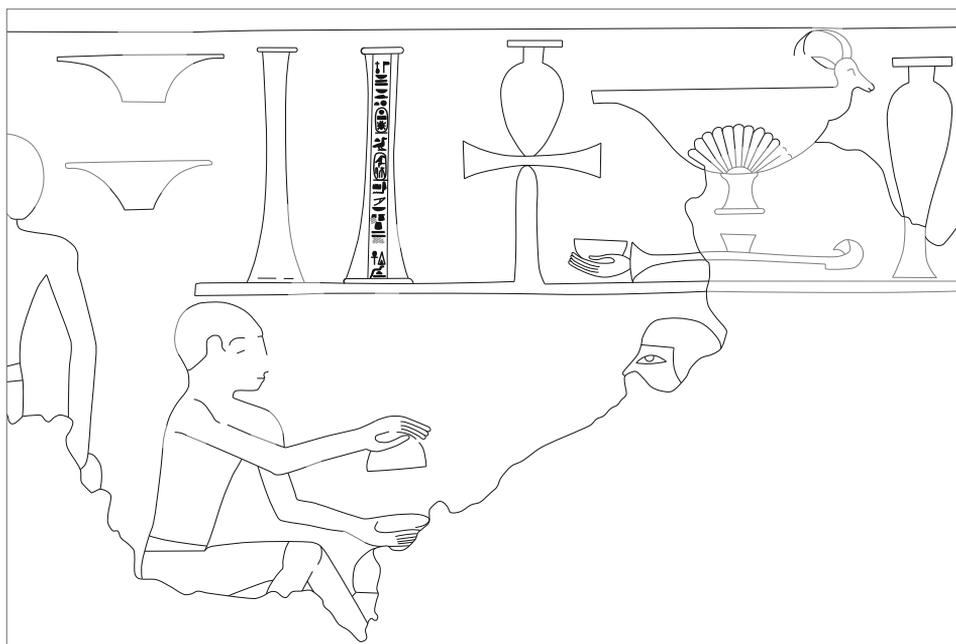


Fig. 4. Scene of a workshop from the Temple of Amun, TT 86 (PCMA Temple of Hatshepsut Project/digitising A. Caban after Davies 1933: Pl. XII, detail)

stands shown in the Solar Complex, the areas chiselled out fall in the exact place, where the name of Amun and his epithet were written on the stand represented in TT 86. It seems probable that the texts on the stands in the Solar Complex

had been removed during the reign of Tuthmosis III leaving the name of Amun intact.<sup>6</sup> This name was subsequently erased in the course of the Amarna period, similarly to the texts on the stands shown in the Main Sanctuary of Amun.

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**How to cite this article:** Stupko-Lubczyńska, A. (2018). Inscribed pot-stands represented in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 365–374). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
<https://doi.org/10.5604/01.3001.0013.3308>

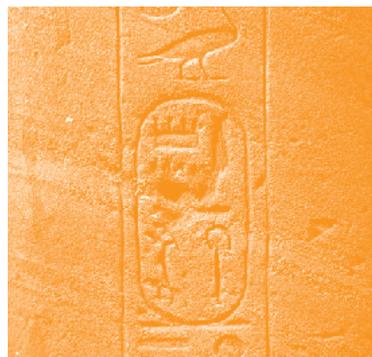
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6 This phase of erasure could have engaged only the paint layer, similarly as in the case of the inscribed stand in the main Sanctuary of Amun. No evidence of such damage is explained by the fact that the paint is missing here altogether.

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# Remarks on royal statues in the form of the god Osiris from Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** This article recapitulates information available, and mostly not published yet, on the statues in the form of the god Osiris from the Upper (Coronation) and Lower Porticoes of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. This includes the North and South Colossi, both of which were recently restored in a pilot reconstruction project undertaken by the Polish team, revising a missed restoration attempt by earlier excavators. Other examples include a sandstone painted statue of Amenhotep I, from Asasif, in the form of the mummiform figure of the god Osiris, which was also reconstructed, a fragmentary sandstone statue of Amenhotep III in the form of Osiris, as well as two fragments of statues of Osiris from the Third Intermediate Period burial ground discovered in the area of the temple of Hatshepsut.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Osirides, statues of Amenhotep I, Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III in the form of Osiris, statues of Osiris from Third Intermediate Period burial ground, statues of Senusret III

Deir el-Bahari has its exceptional place in the history of Egyptian civilization. It is an important Theban religious site comprising temples and tombs dating from the early Middle Kingdom to the Ptolemaic period (Iwaszczuk 2017: 37–135). New artistic ideas appeared here for the first time. The temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre was regarded as a monument of the united kingdom after a time of discordance, the First Intermediate Period. The temple was a manifestation of new power. In the temple, a new Theban god was enthroned: Amun's rise to pre-eminence was a direct result of the ascendancy of Mentuhotep II. Amenhotep I was the first pharaoh to build a separate mortuary temple here after the Second Intermediate

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**Acknowledgments**

I am indebted to Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal for reading drafts of this paper and for her valuable remarks, and to Iwona Zych for improving my English

Period. Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III built their temples six hundred years after Mentuhotep II. The religious significance of Deir el-Bahari at the time of the existence of the mortuary temples was connected with the god Osiris. It remained a holy place for a long time after that.

Osiride statues of kings found in the area of the Bahari temples and the statues of Osiris connected with the Third Intermediate Period necropolis located here are important sources for establishing the religious function of this temple group.

## OSIRIDES

A standing statue of a king in the form of a mummiform figure of the god Osiris, its back leaning against a square pillar or wall, is commonly referred to in research as an Osiride statue, an Osiride pillar or simply an Osiride (pl. Osirides). Dieter Arnold prefers to use the term “statue pillar of the king”, considering ‘Osiride’ to be incorrect (Arnold 2003: 228). Hatshepsut had a row of such Osiride statues, 26 in number, lined up in the facade of the Upper Coronation Portico and over the course of the past 20 years conservator Wojciech Myjak from the Polish project has restored nine of these statues as part of a pilot reconstruction project implemented by the team.<sup>1</sup> Osiride XVI is the most recently restored sculpture in the south wing of the Upper Portico [Fig. 1].

The statues have all been restored to the same height, that is, about 5.20 m, corresponding to roughly 10 royal cubits according to the modular grid of 1.5 royal cubits square identified by Waldemar Połoczanin; the Upper Portico along with the Osiride pillars was set out on this grid (Połoczanin 1985: 63, 73, Fig. 1). With his intimate knowledge of several of these

statues, which he has restored over the years, Myjak is of the opinion that they were carved by at least two different sculptors; for example, the range of the executed face details differs in size from 6 to 10% (W. Myjak, personal communication). This individualization was naturally unintended. However, the Osirides from the two wings of the Portico were different iconographically, reflecting an Old Kingdom idea of geographical distinction into Upper and Lower Egypt. They reflect Christian Leblanc’s typology: the statues in the southern wing wear the White Crown – Leblanc’s type A.7, those in the northern wing the Double Crown – Leblanc’s type A.10 (Leblanc 1980: 72–75). This distinction is present in the royal iconography of scenes almost everywhere in the temple (Szafrński 2014: 130, Fig. 7.5).

The preserved face and naked parts of Hatshepsut’s body in the form of the god Osiris were painted red regardless of the kind of crown.<sup>2</sup> There are several examples of reliefs of Hatshepsut wearing the White Crown showing a red-painted face, e.g., those on the granite gate of the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re (Pawlicki

1 A copy of an Osiride head wearing the Double Crown, restored by Wojciech Myjak, is now exhibited at the University of Warsaw Library.

2 Red-painted fragments of an Osiride head in a White Crown have now been reintegrated into the restored Osiride VIII statue.

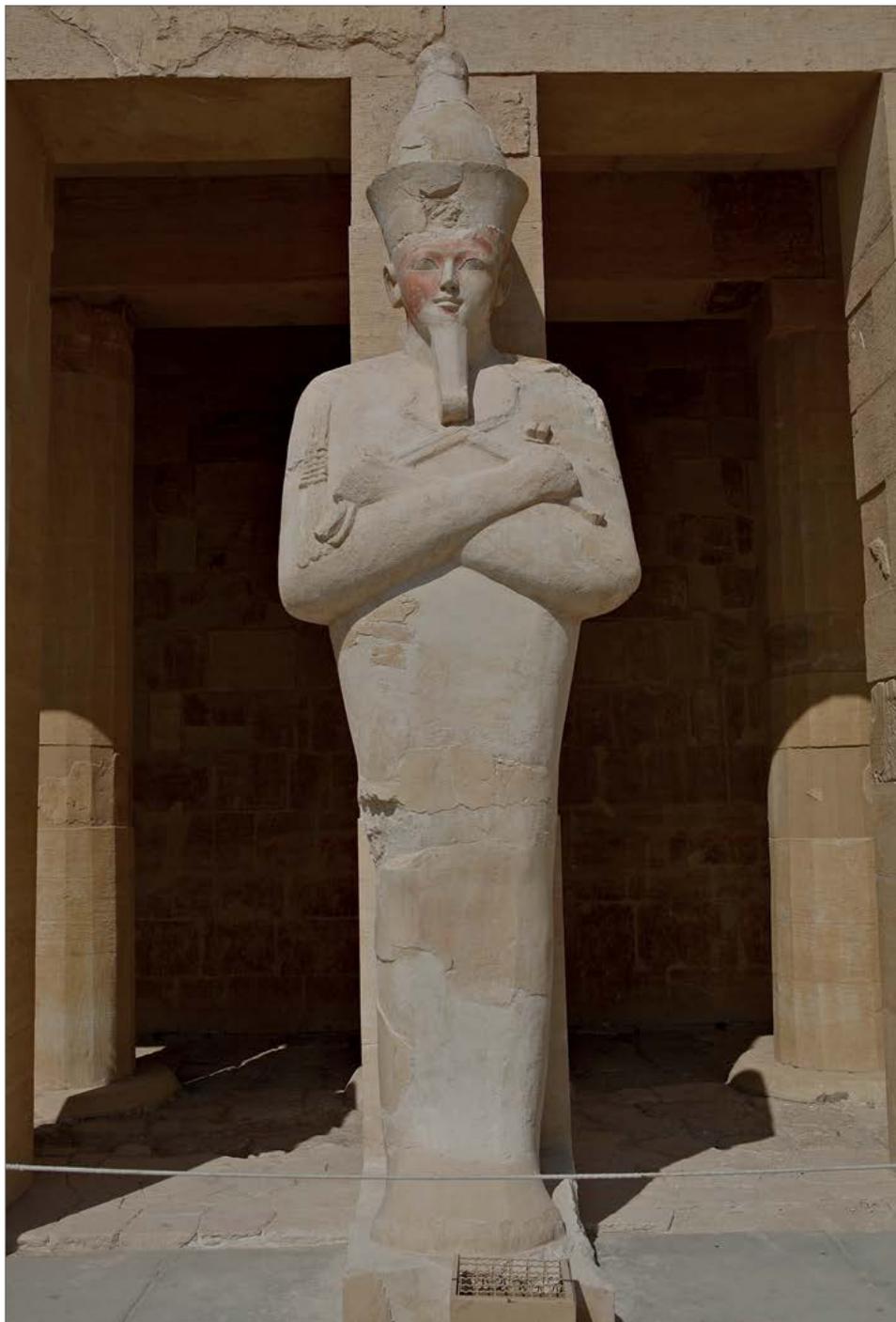


Fig. 1. Osiride XVI after reconstruction. Upper Portico, south wing (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut project/photo M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 2. The North Colossus as reconstructed by the Metropolitan Museum of Art Expedition (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut project/photo M. Jawornicki)

2017: 2) and others in the South Chamber of Amun. However, there are some sculptures from the temple now on display in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, where the face of the head of Hatshepsut wearing the White Crown is painted an “orange yellow” (Hayes 1990: 91).

One of the colossal figures of Hatshepsut in the form of the god Osiris, the so-called North Colossus, located at the end of the North Portico of the Lower Terrace, was restored almost a century ago by the Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition (Winlock 1929: 13, Fig. 16)

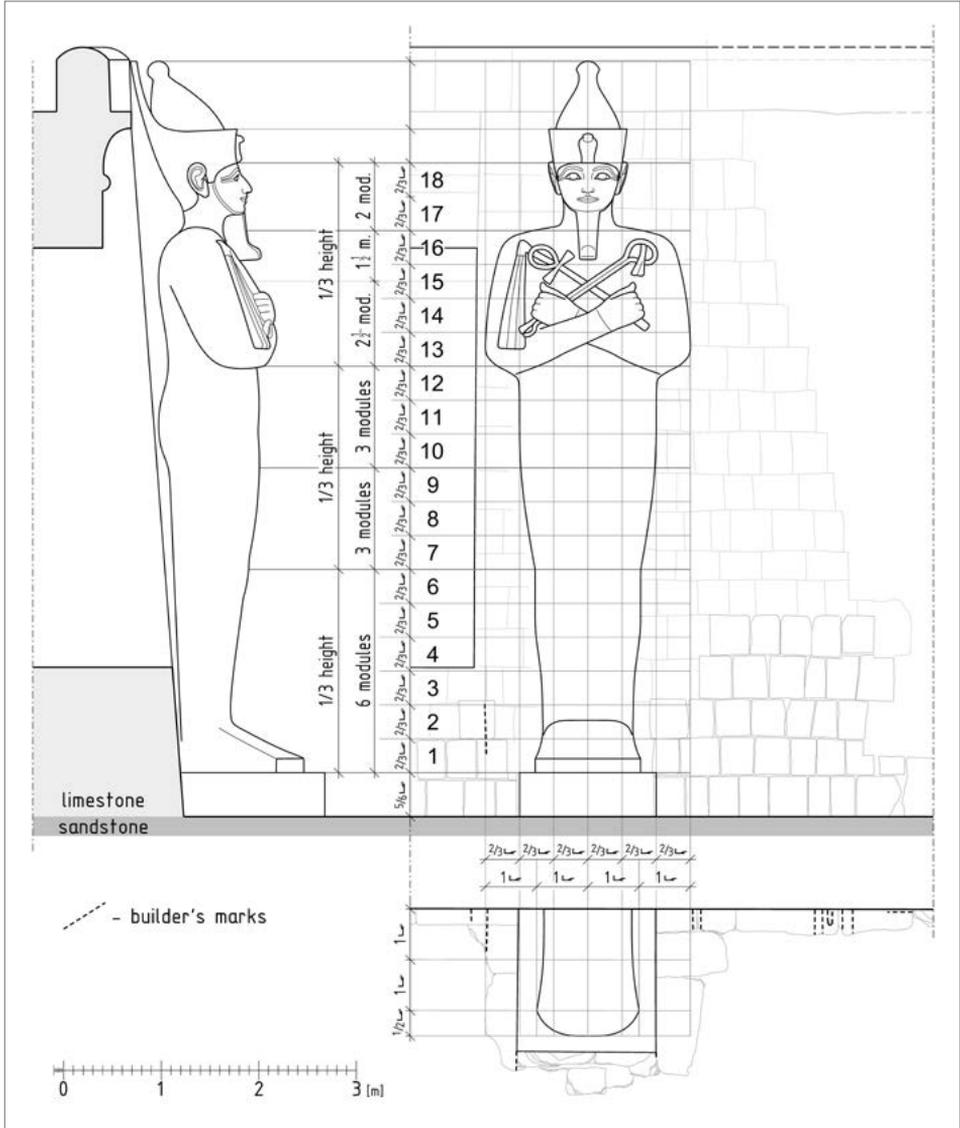


Fig. 3. The proportions of the North Colossus in the new reconstruction (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/after Dzedzic and Caban 2019: Fig. 6)

[Fig. 2]. The expedition had a number of original fragments to use at the time, certainly fewer than today. Following the recent discovery of new original fragments belonging to this Colossus (two fragments of the right arm, Fig. 4 bottom left), it was established that the height of the statue restored by the Metropolitan team was grossly overestimated. After analyzing the proportions and measurements it was found that the height of the Colossus was 735 cm, or 14 royal cubits, the royal cubit for the Lower Portico equaled 52.5 cm (Dziedzic and Caban 2019: 277–278). The whole height of the statue, with its plinth (43 cm), was approximately 7.80 m

[Fig. 3]. The statue has been dismantled and a new restoration is underway, using a head of the North Colossus that had already been restored earlier by Andrzej Sośnierz [Fig. 4 top left].

The head that had been part of the Metropolitan restoration turned out to belong to the South Colossus placed at the edge of the Southern Portico of the Lower Terrace. It has undergone conservation and a preliminary restoration (Dorota Rudzińska and Wojciech Myjak were responsible respectively for the job) [Fig. 4 right] and will be replaced on the restored upper part of the South Colossus.



Fig. 4. Two of the colossi: left, the North Colossus with a preliminary reconstruction of its head at the top and newly found fragments of the right arm at bottom; right, preliminary reconstruction of the head and shoulders of the South Colossus removed from the Metropolitan restoration (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut project/photos M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 5. Statue of Amenhotep I after reconstruction, now in the North Chamber of Amun (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut project/photo W. Wojciechowski)

## STATUES OF AMENHOTEP I

An Osiride statue of Amenhotep I was found in Asasif. The fragmented statue of painted sandstone appears to have been buried in a sort of tomb by the north side of the causeway leading to the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre (Szafrński 1985). The restored statue, once again made by Wojciech Myjak, stands 2.51 m high and is now displayed in the North Chamber of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut (Szafrński 2014: 131–132, Fig. 7.7) [Fig. 5]. This sandstone Osiride of Amenhotep I has a mummiform lower body and legs and wears a double crown, Leblanc's type A (Leblanc 1980), with the back pillar which is a vehicle for the inscription. There are holes, 16 mm in diameter, in each fist of the restored statue, meaning that the Osiride was holding at least two implements: either two ankhs, Leblanc's type A.9, or a *nahaha* flail and a *heqa* crook. This new type of Amenhotep I Osiride is much earlier than the examples enumerated by Leblanc (1980: 72–75, Fig. 1).

Fragments of at least two other sandstone figures, most likely also of Amenhotep I, now displayed in the Deir el-Bahari Open-air Museum, were found before in Asasif (Szafrński 1985: 258, Fig. 2, Pl. 39.c–d). Others are known from the Deir el-Bahari area (Szafrński 1985: 258–260) and a well preserved statue on display in the British Museum, EA 683 (James and Davies 1984: 32–33; Bothmer 1988:

88–89, Pls 16 a–b, 17 c) as well as head fragments in the New York and Boston collections (Bothmer 1987; 1988; Hayes 1990: 48, Fig. 23) may also have originated from Asasif. These Osirides would have lined the processional way to the temple of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre, standing most probably on its northern side as well as by the northern side of the temple causeway. Statues of Mentuhotep II would have faced them on the opposite side in a most likely arrangement that is depicted on stele EA 690 from the British Museum (Quirke 1992: 84; Iwaszczuk 2017: 47 note 29) where statues of Amenhotep I are shown opposite those of Mentuhotep II. It seems that Amenhotep I placed his statues by the causeway due to the importance of the temple of Mentuhotep II, and/or the Mentuhotep's causeway was connected with his brick temple built in the area of the Middle Terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut.

Amenhotep I was the first pharaoh to build a separate mortuary temple, a “mansion of millions of years”, at Deir el-Bahari. The grandeur of this temple, however, was soon surpassed by that of the temple of Hatshepsut. His burial place has not yet been identified; he may have been buried alongside his Seventeenth Dynasty ancestors some distance away from his temple, at Dra Abu el-Naga, or in the Valley of the Kings (Reeves and Wilkinson 1996: 88–90).

## STATUES IN TEMPLES

King Senusret III of the Twelfth Dynasty placed his granite statues in the temple of his predecessor Mentuhotep II in Deir el-Bahari, emphasizing in this way the importance of this temple; they are not statues in the form of Osiris. He himself was regarded as an archetypical Egyptian ruler. His standing statues are in the British Museum, London, described as made of “black granite” (Shaw and Nicholson 2008: 291), and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Wildung 1984: 202–203, Figs 176, 177). The two that are made of dark green granite, still found in Deir el-Bahari [Fig. 6],

were destroyed and were not restored in the Ramesside period, possibly because they did not fit the Ramesside idea of a ruler (Wildung 1984: 204). Their height is:  $x + 0.95 + x$  m and  $x + 1.12 + x$  m, respectively. The cult of Mentuhotep II (El-Enany 2003: 169–173; Iwaszczuk 2017: 48) is attested by statues of Senusret III from his funerary temple, and possibly by the figures of Amenhotep I standing on the nearby causeway of his temple.

A fragment of a white-painted sandstone statue of Amenhotep III, a king of the Eighteenth Dynasty, in the form of Osiris, Inv. No. ST.96, can also be traced



Fig. 6. Fragments of two statues of Senusret III from the Temple of Mentuhotep II (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut project/photos M. Jawornicki)

to one of the temples in Deir el-Bahari, even though its actual provenance cannot be determined conclusively. The statue was found stored in the stone lapidary

by the Lower Terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut. The surviving body part is 0.35 m high [Fig. 7].

## STATUES IN THE NECROPOLIS

After the destruction of the Upper Terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut in the aftermath of an earthquake before 900 BC, during the Twenty-second Dynasty (Karakhanyan and Avagyan 2010), the ruins were used as a burial ground (Szafrński 2015). The necropolis functioned throughout the Third Intermediate Period (understood as the entire period from the Twenty-first through the Twenty-fifth Dynasties, until 664 BC (see Aston 2009: 37) and the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Barwik 2003: 122).

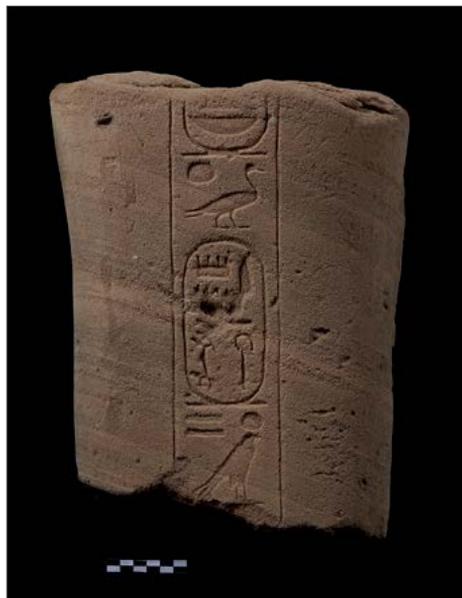


Fig. 7. Fragment of a statue of Amenhotep III in the form of Osiris ST.96 (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut project/photo M. Jawornicki)

Shaft tombs, 17 in number, were hewn in the rock floor of the terrace, by the preserved walls of the temple, apparently without superstructures more solid than some rudimentary mud-brick walls around the mouth of the shaft (Szafrński 2013: 140–142, Figs 4–5; for the architectural form of mortuary chapels of the Third Intermediate Period in West Thebes, see Anthes 1943; Eigner 1984; Nelson 2003; Schreiber and Vasáros 2005, with bibliography in note 14; Schreiber 2008: 64–67; Aston 2009: 157–268, with additional bibliography; Aston 2011). They were located directly below texts and scenes still present on the walls: figures of gods, offering inscriptions, tables of offerings and representation of offerings, fragments of the Book of the Dead, texts of the Day and Night Hours on the ceiling in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, etc. Tomb X was cut right under Hatshepsut's false door in her Chapel. In the ideological sense, these religious scenes and inscriptions above the tombs formed a religious superstructure for the tombs. They formed the mortuary chapels of the necropolis, and were connected with the mortuary cult of noblemen, priests and members of their families buried there (Barwik 2011: 388–389; Szafrński 2011: 145–146; 2015: 189–191).

No other installations connected with the mortuary cult have been identified in the temple, but the presence of family

members visiting the tombs is attested in the form of a late figural graffiti in one of the niches of the Altar Courtyard in the Complex of Sun Cult. It represents human figures entering the niche, and on the opposite wall, a similar pair leaving the niche. They seem to be paying homage to the figure of the solar god from the original decoration depicted on a rear wall. The dating of the graffiti to the Third Intermediate Period “cannot be excluded” (Barwik 2011: 389, Fig. 1). A number of uninscribed crude offering tables found in the temple area could also be connected perhaps with the mortuary cult in the

necropolis. They are not dated precisely however (Barwik 2011: 389–391, Fig. 2).

Two incomplete and uninscribed statues in the form of a mummiform figure of the god of Osiris come from the Deir el-Bahari area. A statue backing a pillar, Inv. No. ST.99 [Fig. 8 left] was made of the so-called typical Hatshepsut limestone, namely, a reused temple block. The statue measures: H.  $x + 80 + x$  cm, W.  $43 + x$  cm, Th. 39 cm (at the hands). The execution of the *heqa* and *nahaha* attributes points to the Third Intermediate Period. The statue was painted white (no traces of other colors have been preserved). Trac-



Fig. 8. Fragments of two statues of Osiris: above, ST.98; left, ST.99 (PCMA Temple of Hatshepsut project/photos M. Jawornicki, Z.E. Szafranski)

es of mortar on its back indicate that it had once stood against a wall. The other statue is of sandstone, Inv. No. ST.98 [Fig. 8 above]; it was found in the Upper Terrace area. It measures: H.  $x + 34 + x$  cm, W. 38 cm (at the elbows), Th. 24 cm (at the hands); there are holes in its fists, 1 cm in diameter, for inserting the *heqa* and *neheha* attributes. The statue was painted white (no traces of other colours have been preserved). It seems to have been a freestanding statue.

The necropolis was in use for about 150 years. The Osiride statues belonged to it, playing a significant role in the mortuary rites celebrated there. Ever since the Thirteenth Dynasty the deceased were all entitled to divine status in the form of the god Osiris. The statues may have stood in different parts of the necropolis until they were replaced by new burial customs introduced with the Kushites around 720–675 BC. At this time newly styled Ptah-Sokar Osiris figures appeared in the Theban funerary assemblages (Aston 2011: 23–25).

The impulse of the Upper Egyptian building tradition of the temples of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre and those of Amenhotep I and Hatshepsut led to opening up the temple front with processional ways. Osiride statues of the new Amenhotep I type were positioned by the north side of the causeway leading to the temple of Mentuhotep and, perhaps, to the brick temple of Amenhotep I. The statues of Senusret III and Amenhotep III found in the Deir el-Bahari area testify the importance of the temples. The exceptional group of Osiride statues from the temple of Hatshepsut is an important source contributing evidence for studies on the idea of the temple and on the sculpture of the early New Kingdom.

However, statues of Osiris connected with the Third Intermediate Period necropolis form a different group of sculptures. They indicate the social position of the tomb owners and contribute to the character of the necropolis functioning at that time of Egyptian history in West Thebes.

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**How to cite this article:** Szafrński, Z. E. (2018). Remarks on royal statues in the form of the god Osiris from Deir el-Bahari. In Z. E. Szafrński (Ed.), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 2. Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 27/2* (pp. 375–390). Warsaw: University of Warsaw Press.  
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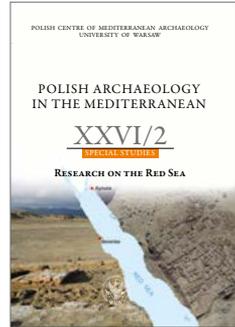
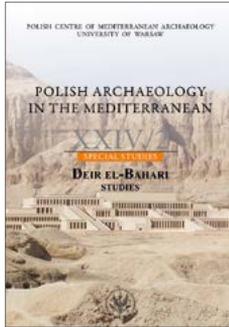
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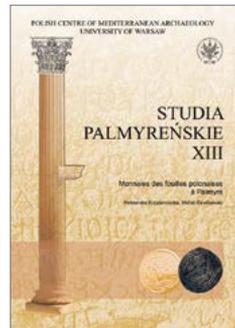
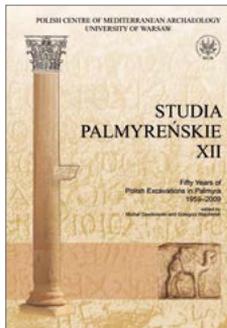
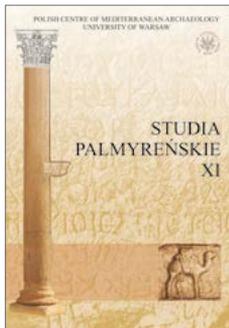
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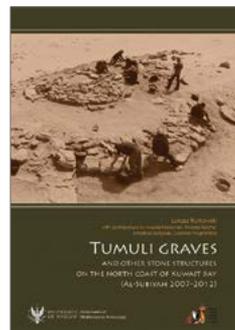
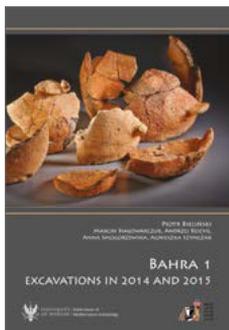
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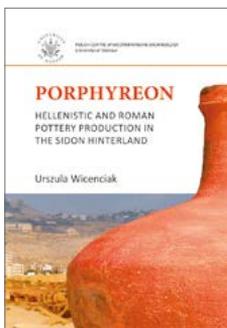
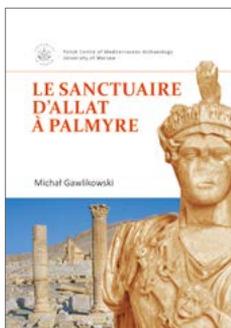
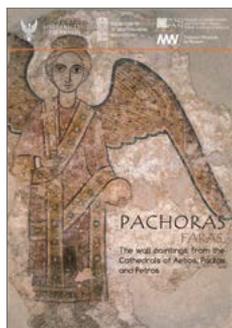
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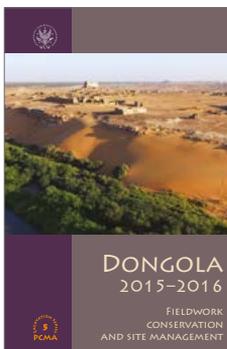
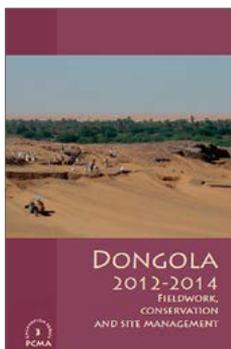
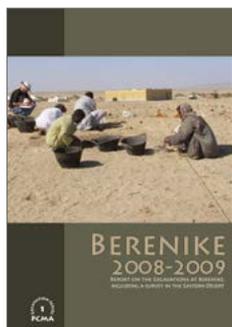
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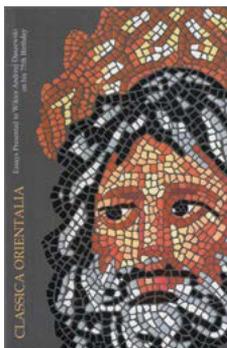
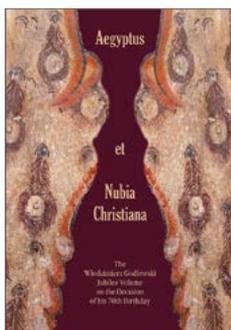


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