

Karakhamun vs. Hatshepsut: a curious manifestation of archaism in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty



Abstract: This paper discusses an unusual dilemma encountered by the Vizier of Upper Egypt, Nespakashuty D, at the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. While planning his “ideal” tomb, Nespakashuty faced a curious choice between the South Asasif tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) and the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Nespakashuty’s final decision was to abandon the tomb of Karakhamun, which he already started re-inscribing for himself, and move to Deir el-Bahari to create his new tomb (TT 312), which can be interpreted as a small-scale replica of the architecture and decoration of the southern part of the Temple of Hatshepsut. The present research contemplates the reasons for his choice and its impact on the development of Saite temple-tombs in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

Keywords: Karakhamun, Hatshepsut, south Asasif, Theban necropolis, Twenty-sixth Dynasty, archaism

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INTRODUCTION

The question of a choice between the architecture and decorative program of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari of the Eighteenth Dynasty, may sound rather peculiar. Yet the Vizier of Upper Egypt, Nespakashuty D, faced this particular dilemma at the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty while choosing the “right” place for his mortuary cult.

The tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) in South Asasif was Nespakashuty's first choice. The newly appointed vizier of Upper Egypt, Nespakashuty D, and his mother, the Great Follower of the God's Wife Nitocris, could have arrived in Thebes at the same time or one shortly after the other (Pischikova 1998; 2021a; Ayad 2021). Both of them chose Kushite tombs in South Asasif to be re-inscribed and redecorated for their mortuary cult. Irtieru finished the project with an almost complete redecoration of the tomb known as TT 390 (Pischikova 2020b). Nespakashuty only began the project, replacing the name of Karakhamun on the pillars and the south wall of the first pillared hall with his own name and titles (Pischikova 2015). The name of Karakhamun was cut out in numerous places and replaced with “name plaques” of Nespakashuty inserted into the cavities (Pischikova 2015; Fig. 3).

None of the plaques were carved. The inscriptions were only drawn on the surface of polished limestone. The tomb was probably never fully re-inscribed for Nespakashuty. It is impossible to establish how much more re-carving

was done for Nespakashuty because the tomb of Karakhamun was reused again at the time of Psamtik II by the Overseer of *wab*-priests of Sekhmet and King's Chamberlain, Ankhefendjehuty (Pischikova 2020a: 1261–1264). Two doorframes and the vestibule could have been re-inscribed for Nespakashuty before they underwent another round of re-carving for Ankhefendjehuty. The following architectural features were re-carved for Irtieru: the entrance doorway, *Tornische*, entrance to the second pillared hall, and the false door. Following this pattern, the same elements may have been planned for re-carving by Nespakashuty's artists.

Despite some work already having been done in the tomb of Karakhamun, Nespakashuty changed his mind and moved to the north cliff of Deir el-Bahari, to the tomb known as TT 312. He was buried in Deir el-Bahari, as the remains of his outer coffin were found in TT 312, and none of the burial equipment inscribed to Nespakashuty was discovered in TT 223. Nespakashuty was not accompanied by his mother, who stayed in South Asasif and was buried in TT 390. This is confirmed by the fragments of her burial equipment found in the tomb (Pischikova, Blakeney, and Ali 2021: 99–104).

Nespakashuty's second tomb at Deir el-Bahari was his special and well-thought-out project, decorated with original reliefs created exclusively for him. The unfinished state of the decoration suggests his premature death.

The question remains, why did Nespakashuty choose a much smaller space at Deir el-Bahari over the extensive

tomb of Karabasken with a large open court, two spacious pillared halls, and a monumental superstructure? What was the main attraction for Nespakashuty at Deir el-Bahari? In other words what did Nespakashuty find at Deir el-Bahari that was lacking in the tomb of Karakhamun?

A few reasons can be suggested. It could be difficult for Nespakashuty to associate himself with Karakhamun, who did not have a high administrative title and was represented in his tomb mainly in priestly attire (Naunton 2014; Pischikova forthcoming b). On the only name plaque where Nespakashuty's title is visible, he used his priestly title, Overseer of the Priests of Amun. This can be an indication of the fact that Nespakashuty saw the tomb of Karakhamun mainly as a temple of Osiris and joined the clergy of the tomb in their ritual activities.

In Deir el-Bahari, Nespakashuty chose the cliff occupied by the Viziers of Upper Egypt in the Middle Kingdom. For him it could be an act of highlighting the importance of his position through placing himself among the great viziers of the past (Allen 2003).

These considerations might be valid but probably not important enough to change Nespakashuty's plans so radically.

The main reasons for the relocation from South Asasif to Deir el-Bahari should become apparent through the analysis of the orientation, architecture, and decoration of Nespakashuty's second tomb. The overall design of his new tomb leads to the suggestion that what Nespakashuty was missing in the tomb of Karakhamun, he found in the Temple of Millions of Years of Hatshepsut, especially its southern part.

PROCESSION OF OFFERING BEARERS: KARAKHAMUN VS. HATSHEPSUT

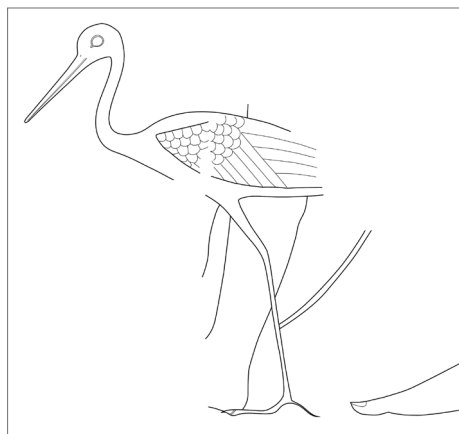


Fig. 1. Crane. Northeast pilaster (NP 1), first pillared hall of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney)

The decoration of the tomb of Nespakashuty at Deir el-Bahari (TT 312) is a manifestation of a deep knowledge of the southern side of the Temple of Hatshepsut (Pischikova 1997–1998; 1998: Figs 16–24). Large sections of the processions of offering bearers in the tomb of Nespakashuty very closely follow the sequence of poses of offering bearers and compositions of offerings in the chapel of Hatshepsut. Most probably, the Twenty-sixth Dynasty artists worked from drawings made in the temple (Pischikova 1998: Fig. 16 a–b).

This assertion is accurate if Nespakashuty was the first Late Period tomb

owner to “discover” the chapel of Hatshepsut and copy its decoration. If the chapel became a source of inspiration already in the Kushite period, Nespakashuty could have developed his deep affection for Hatshepsut’s chapel decoration while exploring the tomb of Karakhamun or any other tombs of the South Asasif necropolis.

The questions to answer are, when the chapel of Hatshepsut became a major influence on Theban tombs of the Late Period, and whether Nespakashuty was inspired by the tomb of Karakhamun or rejected it for lack of knowledge of Hatshepsut’s decoration.

A close examination of a few elements of Karakhamun’s procession of offering bearers may clarify Nespakashuty’s perception of this tomb.

Finding an exact source of inspiration for a traditional composition may be next to impossible. In some cases, iconographic motifs traveled through millennia with little modification. Although Kushite art-

ists drew their inspiration from the past, they always reinterpreted ancient motifs in order to fit them into the new ritual space, making the search for prototypes even more difficult.

The tomb of Karakhamun presents a special case because its decoration was found collapsed and dispersed. Despite the reconstruction of its decoration, performed by the South Asasif Conservation Project in 2006–2023, most of the scenes remain in a fragmentary condition (Pischikova 2018b).

As established by the latest research, the decoration of the chapel of Hatshepsut was the result of the evolution of offering scenes from the pyramid temples of the Fifth Dynasty through the Middle Kingdom pyramid temples and reflects a continuous uninterrupted tradition (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 2–3). At the same time, there is evidence that Hatshepsut and her artists had access to an abundance of earlier monuments and were directly inspired by them (Laboury



Fig. 2. Procession of offering bearers, detail. Tornische, south wall of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney)

2014: 87). Archaism was often part of creating an image of a new power in royal and elite monuments (Ćwiek 2014: 93).

Whether the results of a continuous tradition or references to the past, the artists of the chapel of Hatshepsut created such a distinctive individualized “catalogue” of offering bearers and offerings that later “borrowing” from this catalogue cannot go unnoticed.

Fragments of several figures of offering bearers from the tomb of Karakhamun may serve as “diagnostic” material to establish if Karakhamun had knowledge of—and interest in—the Deir el-Bahari temple.

CRANES

One of these “diagnostic” scenes is an offering bearer leading a crane. There are fragments of three scenes featuring an offering crane in the tomb of Karakhamun [Fig. 1].

Two cranes led by offering bearers from the tomb of Karakhamun have a leash attached to their back leg. The third one has a leash tied around its neck. All three hold their heads up with beaks turned towards the ground [Figs 2, 3].

These images could not be derived from Hatshepsut’s “catalogue”. The cranes in the offering procession of Hatshepsut

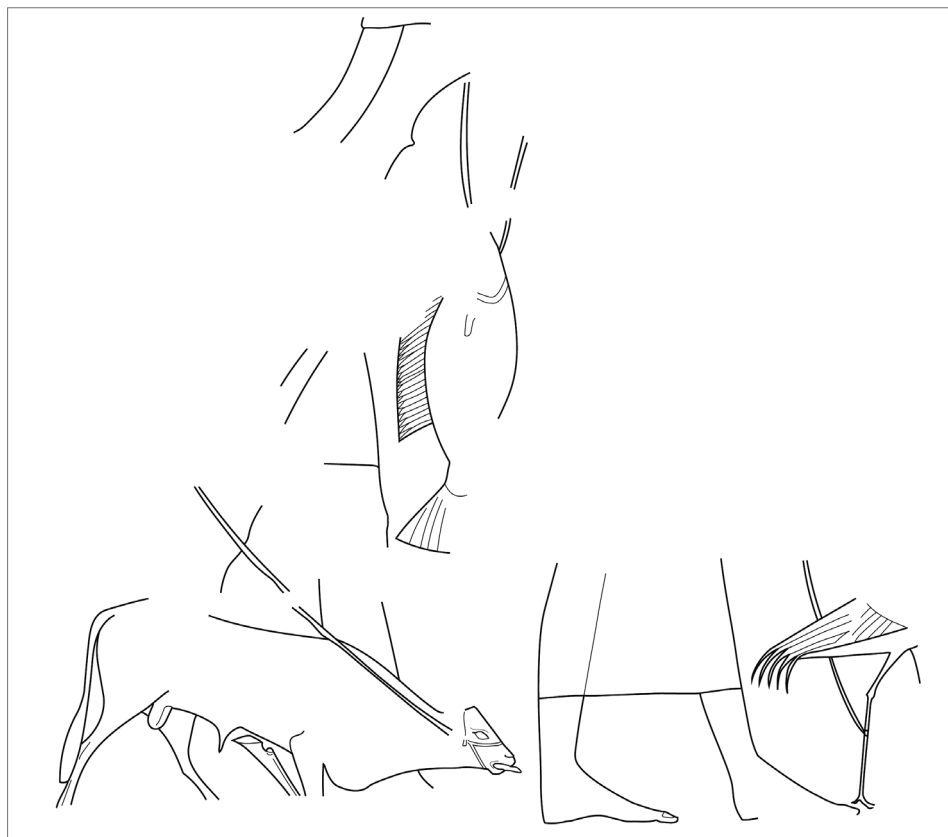


Fig. 3. Procession of offering bearers, detail. Southeast pilaster (SP 1), first pillared hall of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney)

are not leashed and walk freely in front of the priests who present them. They also hold their heads high, but their beaks are bound to their necks (Naville 1901: Pls 108, 111) [Fig. 4].

The source of Karakhamun's iconography is not obvious. Neither is an offering crane on a leash is part of traditional iconography in the Old or Middle Kingdom (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 253–256, 259). In the Old and Middle Kingdom, cranes are usually shown as a flock in scenes of presentation of birds to the tomb owner or force-feeding (Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti 1977: Figs 6.30, 6.31; Harpur 1987: Fig. 82; Verma 2011: 172, No. 0062). They are usually shown unleashed and urged on by a stick (Vandier 1969: Figs 5, 32, 107, 177). As the stick often crosses with the legs of the birds, it could have been inter-

preted by the Kushite artists as a rope. Another type of iconography includes a procession of wading birds walking unleashed in front of a clapnet. The clapnet holds a rope attached to a peg sticking out of the ground (Harpur and Scremin 2006: Figs 231–232). This iconography gives another possibility to reinterpret the scene by attaching the rope to the leg of a bird.

In an offering procession, a crane would be carried rather than led on a leash in the Old and Middle Kingdom (Harpur and Scremin 2006: Figs 382, 466; Kanawati and Evans 2016: Pls 87, 92; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: Figs 256–257). This iconography is featured in the chapel of Hatshepsut but not reflected in the tomb of Karakhamun (Naville 1901: Pl. 112). It was later adapted in the tomb of Harwa (TT 37).¹



Fig. 4. Crane. Offering procession. North wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney, after Naville 1901: Pl. 111)



Fig. 5. Offering bearer carrying young birds. South wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney, after Naville 1901: Pl. 109)

1 Offering bearer carrying a crane. Tomb of Harwa (TT 37), Tornische, north wall, personal observation.

CAGED BIRDS

Another “diagnostic” feature is a group of ducks in a cage placed at the feet of an offering bearer on the south wall of Karakhamun’s *Tornische* [see Fig. 2].

In Old and Middle Kingdom tombs and temples, a group of young ducks or small birds such as pigeons were often shown in a cage placed on the ground in front of the feet of the offering bearers (Harpur and Scremin 2006: Fig. 428; Oppenheim et al. 2015: Cat. No. 14). Harpur explains this iconography as a crate with birds at the feet of an offering bearer from which he takes the birds one by one to wring their necks one at a time (Harpur and Scremin 2006: 275).

Another way of carrying small birds in the offering processions of the Old and Middle Kingdom is a trapezoidal basket or crate held by a rope handle (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: Pl. 47; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008: Pls 55, 65; Oppenheim et al. 2015: Cat. No. 13; Kanawati and Evans 2016: 104–106; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 250–251).

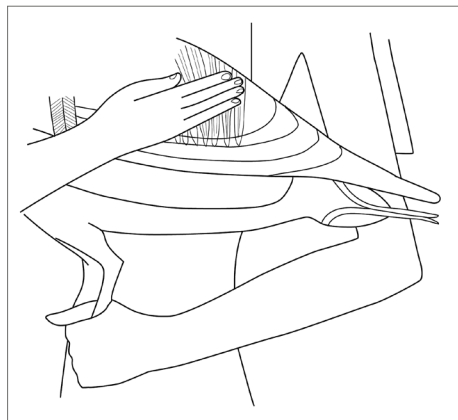


Fig. 6. Offering bearer carrying a duck. North-east pillar (NP 1), first pillared hall of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney)

The artists of Hatshepsut followed two different ancient traditions. Karakhamun’s artists selected a cage on the ground and Hatshepsut’s a rectangular basket carried by an offering bearer (Naville 1901: Pl. 109; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 251) [Fig. 5].

DUCK CARRIED HELD AT THE CHEST

More elusive details can be observed in scenes showing a duck being carried in front of the chest of an offering bearer.

Two examples in the tomb of Karakhamun show two different variants of the position of the arms and hands. Both of them support the bird across the body with their near arms with open palms. One of the offering bearers holds two legs in the fist of the far arm. The other one uses only one arm to hold the duck



Fig. 7. Offering bearer carrying a duck. North of the false door, west wall, second pillared hall of the tomb of Karakhamun (TT 223) (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney)

between the legs and across the body [Figs 6, 7].

Two examples from the chapel of Hatshepsut show the ducks being held in two different manners. The one on the south wall is supported with one arm across the body. The legs hang unsupported (Naville 1901: Pl. 108). The duck on the north wall is held with two arms crossed in front of the body with two fists meeting in the middle (Naville 1901: Pl. 112; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 249) [Figs 8, 9].

As in the previous examples, Karakhamun chose different variants from Old Kingdom iconography (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: Pl. 18; Harpur and Scremin 2006: Figs 335, 373; Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2008: Pl. 57).

"FRIGHTENED" BULL

An offering bull falling to his front knees is another "diagnostic" iconographic variant in the tomb of Karakhamun [see Fig. 3].

This position of the body for an offering animal is known from the Old Kingdom. One example is an ibex with his head

on the ground standing on the knees of his front legs in the chapel of Kagemni (Harpur and Scremin 2006: 295, Fig. 456). The leash is attached to the ibex's near front leg. It probably stumbled while trying to step forward and fell on its knees and chin. Harpur (1987: Fig. 456) described this position as a "frightening experience for a leashed ibex" (see Kanawati and Hassan 1997: Pl. 41). The "frightened" bull from the tomb of Karakhamun follows this iconographic tradition.

Karakhamun's artists also remained faithful to the Fifth and Sixth Dynasty tradition of royal temples and elite tombs of representing animals in the offering procession in a miniature size (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 208–209). Miniature animals are the size of a human's lower leg just below the knee. Although animals in the Old and Middle Kingdom are often depicted in a realistic size as well, Karakhamun selected the "miniature animal" tradition (Newberry 1893: Pl. 35; Moussa and Altenmüller 1977: Pls 48–49, 84–85).

Hatshepsut's offering animals are represented in a natural scale and did not incorporate the iconography of a "fright-

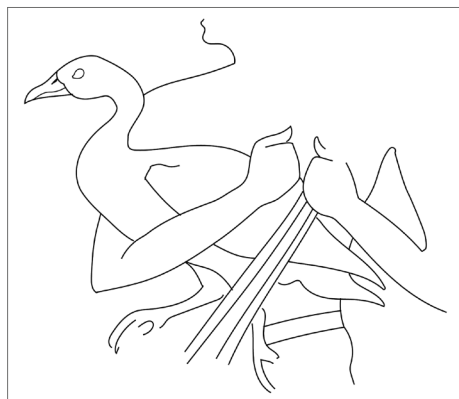


Fig. 8. Offering bearer carrying a duck. North wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney, after Naville 1901: Pl. 112)



Fig. 9. Offering bearer carrying a bird. South wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney, after Naville 1901: Pl. 108)

ened” animal. They are led in front of the offering bearers on leashes. The calf in the chapel of Hatshepsut is shown running with its head turned back (Neville 1901: Pl. 110). This pose also originated in the Old Kingdom (Harpur and Scremin 2006: Fig. 467) [Fig. 10].

As Hatshepsut and Karakhamun chose different ancient iconographic patterns for their monuments, this shows that Karakhamun’s references did not come from the Temple of Hatshepsut. For example, in the tomb of Ankhmahor at Saqqara, a kneeling ibex and a calf leaping forward with its head turned backwards are represented on the same wall (Room III, north wall) (Kanawati and Hassan 1997: Pl. 47). In theory, Eighteenth and Twenty-fifth Dynasty artists could have stood in front of the same Old Kingdom wall and chosen different images to copy for their temples and tombs.

LARGE-SCALE FISH

Karakhamun’s offering bearer carries a large-scale fish hanging on a rope loop from the upper part of his raised arm [see Fig. 3].

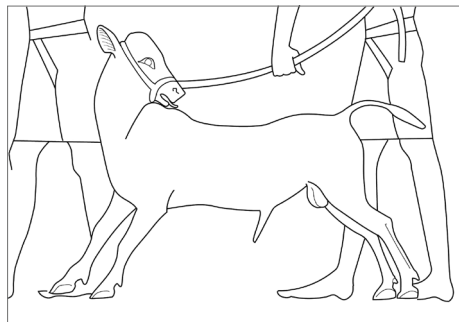


Fig. 10. Bull. Offering procession. North wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (SACP | drawing K. Blakeney, after Neville 1901: Pl. 111)

Old Kingdom tombs demonstrate many ways of carrying oversized fish. A fish hanging from a rope is often carried by two men with a horizontal pole from which the fish is suspended, or one man supports the rope on the elbow of the front or back arm (Kanawati and Abder-Raziq 2004: Pl. 45; Harpur and Scremin 2006: Figs 212, 260–270). In Karakhamun’s version, the fish hangs from the upper arm, close to the chest. The same offering bearer leads a bull. These two offerings belong to different groups, which in the past were represented by different offering bearers.

No fish offerings were included in the offering procession in the chapel of Hatshepsut.

SEVEN SACRED OILS

Karakhamun’s assemblage of seven oil jars is based on the Old Kingdom tradition featuring only three types of jars. The most common location for jars in Old Kingdom tombs was on the sides of the false door (Ziegler 1990: 65; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 119–120) and in burial chambers (Piankoff 1968; Kees 1980: 69; Bourriau 1984; Koura 1999; Kanawati 2010: Photographs 34, 37, 55, 56, 91, 126, 129–130; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 106–107, 125–130). The names of all seven oils (often accompanied by two bags of paint) were indicated in the offering lists and above the images of the jars. They were not distinguished by seven different jar shapes until the Eighteenth Dynasty. It can be said that in the Old and Middle Kingdoms, representations of sacred oil jars show a disconnect between the shape of the jar and its contents. There were mainly

three shapes of jars used for all seven oils, therefore the contents could not be recognized without a label (Pischikova 2021b: 212–221).

The decoration of Hatshepsut's chapel marks a significant iconographic innovation in the representation of the jars of seven sacred oils (Naville 1901: Pl. 109; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 105; Pischikova 2021b: 212–221). It is the earliest known scene representing the seven oils carried by a procession of offering bearers in jars of seven different shapes, each attached to a particular oil² (Naville 1901: Pl. 109; Der Manuelian 1994: 28–33, Fig. 6). Despite the introduction of new jar shapes, the sequence of the oils follows the Old Kingdom order.

Karakhamun's iconography of the offering bearers suggests direct sources of inspiration from royal Old or Middle Kingdom temples and elite tombs. There is no iconographic evidence of his knowledge of the decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut and borrowing of ancient motifs through Hatshepsut's interpretation.

Can it be stated that the tomb of Karakhamun was rejected by Nespakashuty as his “ideal tomb” because it did not reflect the decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut? This question can be answered only through putting Hatshepsut's, Karakhamun's, and Nespakashuty's processions of offering bearers into the context of their respective monuments.

THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT AS AN “IDEAL TOMB” FOR NESPAKASHUTY

Nespakashuty's Deir el-Bahari tomb was decorated specially for him and reflects his personal preference for Hatshepsut's iconography, which he chose over Karakhamun's. This selection reflects the choice of the theological and ritual landscape for Nespakashuty's self-presentation. Kushite and Saite temple tombs brought together numerous references from royal and elite tombs, and divine and mortuary temples of different time periods, collecting a vast library of images in every monument. Yet these tombs were not built as stone archives. By absorbing, reinterpreting, and re-contextualizing earlier references, the

artists of the Late Period created a new ritual space.

The tomb of Karakhamun must have been wrong for Nespakashuty on a conceptual level. In the tomb of Karakhamun, all the “inhabitants” of the tomb, including the tomb owner, his brother, priests, and unnamed offering bearers are part of the ritual procession of priests bringing gifts to Osiris. The statue of Osiris is the focal point of the tomb, placed in the niche of the false door at the end of the tomb's processional way (Pischikova forthcoming b). The architecture and decoration of the tomb of Karakhamun presents it more as a temple

2 Nespakashuty (TT 312), author's reconstruction, unpublished.

of Osiris than an elite tomb (Pischikova forthcoming a).

Offering bearers in the tomb of Nespakashuty were incorporated in a different ritual environment. They were placed on the walls of a ten-meter long vaulted chamber as part of a large offering composition inspired by the decoration of the chapel of Hatshepsut (Pischikova 1998: Figs 4, 6). Nespakashuty's east and part of the west walls closely reference the whole decorative program of the north and south walls of the chapel of Hatshepsut, including a large figure at the offering table, an offering list of the type A/B, three registers of large-scale offerings on the tops of the walls, three registers of male offering bearers, and PT 204, 205, 207, 209, 211, and 212 (Barta 1963: 72–79; Ćwiek 2014: 86). The chamber ends with a doorframe imitating a false door format, featuring the text and vignettes of BD 148. This arrangement mirrors the false door in the chapel of Hatshepsut³ (Ćwiek 2014: 86; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 16, 310). The entire first room of the tomb was meant as a reference to the chapel of Hatshepsut. The fact that the decoration of the large areas of the lateral walls of Nespakashuty's vaulted chamber closely resembles the decoration of the chapel of Hatshepsut, and the inscriptions are sometimes reproduced word for word, allows to reconstruct the lost decoration of the vaulted ceiling. The vaulted ceiling in the tomb of Nespakashuty must have been decorated with the text and vignettes of the Ritual of the Hours of

the Day and Night replicating the rest of the decoration of the chapel of Hatshepsut (Barwik 1998; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 16). The tomb of Nespakashuty was left unfinished and later partially collapsed. The decoration of the ceiling was destroyed or never realized. The tomb of Karakhamun was the earliest Kushite tomb to display the texts of the Hours in an elite tomb on the pillars of a pillared hall (Griffin 2018: 59). Nespakashuty might have gone back to the royal temple arrangements of the texts.

The second chamber of the tomb of Nespakashuty features six niches on the east and west walls and culminates with a false door on the north wall (Pischikova 1998: Figs 5–6). The false door contained a cow statue of Hathor the Mistress of the West walking out of the Western Mountain while protecting a mummiform figure of Nespakashuty standing under her chin (Pischikova 2008: Figs 1–8).

The second room was Nespakashuty's version of the sanctuary in the chapel of Hathor in the Temple of Hatshepsut. For his Hathor shrine, Nespakashuty adapted the layout of the rock-cut elongated room with niches cased with polished limestone slabs. The quality of the casing limestone suggests that the decorated doorframes were planned similarly to the sanctuary of the barque and the sanctuary in the Hathor chapel in the Temple of Hatshepsut (Beaux 2012: 6, Fig. 11, Pls 29, 39, 43).

A cow statue of Hathor with a standing figure of Hatshepsut once stood in the sanctuary of the chapel of Hathor. Now lost, it must have been similar to

3 Additional references to BD 148 could have originated from the decoration of the northern niche on the east wall of the vestibule opposite the entrance to the chapel of Hatshepsut (Werbrück 1949: 104, Pl. 25).

the statue found in the chapel of Thutmose III (Saleh and Sourouzzian 1987: Cat. No. 138; Pischikova 2008: 191; Beaux 2012: 161). Fragments of Nespakashuty's statue show that Nespakashuty's artists adopted the front part of the Hathor statue of Hatshepsut for his false door (Pischikova 2008: Figs 1–8). A better-preserved parallel in the tomb of Basa helps to visualize Nespakashuty's version (Assmann 1973: Pl. 6). The contemporary tomb of Basa (TT 389) can be used for the reconstruction of the missing—or never realized—features of the tomb of Nespakashuty. Based on the major themes of the decoration and the style of carving of the decoration of the tomb of Basa, it was possibly created by the same team of artists. The vestibule of the tomb of Basa shows a combination of several elements attested in the tomb of Nespakashuty (Assmann 1973: 22–44). A deep niche features a three-dimensional image of Hathor as a cow with a mummiform figure of Basa standing between her legs (Assmann 1973: Pl. 6). The niche is positioned on the north wall and faces the text and vignettes of ND 148 on the east wall (Assmann 1973: Pl. 17). The north wall features a scene of adoration of the statue of Hathor as a cow inspired by similar scenes in the sanctuary of the chapel of Hathor in the Temple of Hatshepsut (Beaux 2012: Figs 4j, 4k, Pls 39–40). This scene could have been copied for the second unfinished room of the tomb of Nespakashuty but never realized. Therefore, the decoration of the tomb of Nespakashuty, the way it was intended, intertwined the areas of the mortuary cult and sacred divine chapels similarly to the more complete tomb of Basa.

In the Temple of Hatshepsut, the chapel of Hatshepsut is positioned above the chapel of Hathor, highlighting the connection between two sanctuaries and stressing Hatshepsut's connection with her divine mother, Hathor (Roehrig, Dreyfus, and Keller 2005: 139; Beaux 2012: 172). Nespakashuty incorporated both royal and divine chapels into his tomb, placing them on the same level. His version can be seen as an abbreviated interpretation of the southern side of the temple. The elongated room with a vaulted ceiling in the tomb of Nespakashuty was probably meant as a reference to the chapel of Hatshepsut and a sanctuary in the chapel of Hathor (Beaux 2012: Fig. 4d).

Even the entrance area to the tomb of Nespakashuty reflects the configuration of the Temple of Hatshepsut. Built into the north wall of the Middle Kingdom court on the northern cliff, Nespakashuty's tomb overlooks the Temple of Hatshepsut, and the entrance area of the tomb suggests a terraced structure referencing the royal temples in the valley.

The tomb of Nespakashuty at Deir el-Bahari has two courts. One of them is on a lower level of the slope, flanked by the walls of the superstructure. The second court was constructed on a higher platform. The courts are connected by a mud brick staircase. The entrance to the tomb is further elevated with a limestone ramp leading to the first chamber through the sandstone entrance gate built into the pylon of the superstructure.

The second—and final—tomb of Nespakashuty (TT 312) can be interpreted as a small-scale replica of the architec-

ture and decoration of the southern part of the Temple of Hatshepsut.

By choosing the procession of priests carrying offerings to Hatshepsut in her temple chapel and closely following the sequence of the offering bearers and the arrangement of the offerings, Nespakashuty redirected the royal ritual procession to his temple-tomb. In the new ritual space of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty tomb, the procession of the priests approaches the statue of Hathor emerging from the mountain.

By dedicating his tomb to Hathor, Nespakashuty must have seen his tomb as an annex of the Temple of Hatshepsut. Finds in the court of the tomb suggest that it was a place of offerings to Hathor similar to those found in the temple (Pinch 1993: Pls 15–23, 56).

With the passage of time, the tomb of Nespakashuty became a sacred place in its own right. Numerous demotic and Greek graffiti on the walls of the tomb are devotional testaments left by visiting pilgrims.⁴ Evidently, the tomb still remained a place of pilgrimage in the Ptolemaic period.

Nespakashuty's relocation to Deir el-Bahari reflects his choice of Hathor as his principal deity over Osiris (Pischikova 2008). South Asasif played a special role in the Osirianization of Thebes in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Jurman 2006; Coulon 2010; 2011; 2016; Coulon, Hallmann, and Payraudeau 2018). The necropolis was part of the celebration of the Khoiak festival, continuing on the west bank the processional road starting in the area of the

Osirian chapels of northern Karnak. The decoration of the tombs of South Asasif and numerous finds show that the necropolis was an important part of the Theban Osirian ritual landscape (Budka 2018: 362; 2021: 143–144, 146–147).

Nespakashuty linked his tomb with the Hathoric ritual landscape of Deir el-Bahari, which was the location of the most important shrines of Hathor from the Old to the New Kingdom. Shrines of Hathor in the mortuary temples of Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut, and Thutmose III became principal locations for the cult and imagery of the Mistress of the Necropolis (Arnold 1974: 83; Pinch 1993: 7–12; Frood 2007: 27–28). The cow's head, remains of the hoof and the feet of Nespakashuty suggest a composition referencing royal cow statues, with a Hathor cow shown walking out of the Western Mountain of the Theban necropolis with a king standing under her chin (Naville, Hall, and Ayrton 1907: 27–31; Saleh and Sourouzian 1987: Cat. No. 138). Royal cow statues were placed in elite tombs of the late Ramesside period, and non-royal cow statues are known from the Twentieth Dynasty (Vandier 1958: 464, Pl. 155; Pinch 1993: 180–182).

Nespakashuty went much further by recreating two chapels from the Temple of Hatshepsut that were vital to her self-presentation. They were no less crucial to Nespakashuty, who based his own self-presentation on Hatshepsut's legacy, designing his tomb as a fully functional chapel of Hathor.

4 Personal communication with Robert K. Ritner in 2006.

LEGACY OF THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT IN LATER SAITE TOMBS

Nespakashuty's "replica" of the southern part of the Temple of Hatshepsut is the most faithful Late Period reference to the chapels of Hatshepsut and Hathor on a conceptual and artistic level. By relocating his tomb, Nespakashuty established himself in the temple of Hathor rather than in Karakhamun's temple of Osiris. Hathor's importance in the Late Period was only growing, as she evolved into the female counterpart of Osiris by the Roman period (Riggs 2005: 41–48; Lucarelli 2017: 130).

All temple-tombs of the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty display pronounced features of the tomb of Osiris, but the balance of their ritual space shifted over time as they absorbed more temple features (Eigner 1984: 163–184). If the Kushite tombs of South Asasif were more centered on the cult of Osiris, Saite tombs more often introduced the cult of Hathor, sometimes creating a double focal point by juxtaposing the niches and pilasters dedicated to Hathor and Osiris in such tombs as Basa (TT 389) and Ibi (TT 36) (Assmann 1973: 23–37; Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pls 91–97).

Nespakashuty's extensive research on the southern part of the temple inspired interest in this particular section of the temple in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, contributing to the further development of the temple-tombs of that period.

The chapel of Hatshepsut in her temple at Deir el-Bahari became a major source of inspiration for artists working in the tombs of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty in North Asasif (Naville 1901;

Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016). Elements of the decoration of this part of the temple became particularly popular in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and were reproduced in the tombs of Basa (TT 389), Ibi (TT 36), Pabasa (TT 279), and TT 388 (Assmann 1973: Pl. 20; Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pls 52, 55–56; Der Manuelian 1994: Fig. 6). Mentuemhat (TT 34) was among the earliest tombs that referenced selected scenes from the temple (Der Manuelian 1994: 28, 33–51).

The artists of Nespakashuty adopted Hatshepsut's iconography but not the style of carving. The artists who carved the reliefs developed their own style based on the Old Kingdom proportions, which could have been influenced by the art of Karakhamun (Blakeney 2021). A change in the type of kilt, from a wrap-around with a wrapped flap in front to a plain kilt with a belt with a protruding knot and a free hanging end, also reflects Karakhamun's choice of iconography. The short curly wigs worn by Hatshepsut's offering bearers were replaced by four different wig types often worn by tomb owners or lector priests, also reflecting Karakhamun's choices (Pischikova forthcoming b). The style of carving in low raised relief, the flat surface on the bodies almost without modeling with only the knees heavily modeled, could have also been inspired by Karakhamun's choices (Pischikova 2018a: 39–41). The facial features reflect a Middle Kingdom influence. Flanked by Middle Kingdom tombs from east and west (MMA 311 and TT 313), the tomb of Nespakashuty and its art-

ists were exposed to the sophistication of Middle Kingdom raised relief (Pischikova 1998: 86–89; Allen 2003).

It is possible to suggest that the sculptors who worked in Nespakashuty's tomb at Deir el-Bahari were moved there directly from the tomb of Karakhamun and started carving the drawings already marked on the walls by the team of draughtsmen who replicated the iconography of the chapel of Hatshepsut. They may never have visited the Temple of Hatshepsut themselves and implemented the styles of Karakhamun and Middle Kingdom tombs in the neighborhood. Iconography and the style of its implementation in Kushite and Saite tombs were often detached and based on different sources of inspiration (Pischikova 2018a: 25–29).

Iconographically, the artists of Saite tombs widened their interest in New Kingdom monuments, unlike Kushite artists, who were more inspired by Old and Middle Kingdom sources. Stylistically, interpretations of the Old and Middle Kingdom styles of carving remain predominant in the tombs of the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

The phenomenon of a faithful iconographic reference to a temple in an

elite tomb is not unique to the Late Period. A large tableau representing royal gifts to Amun in the festival court of Thutmose IV at Karnak was cross-referenced in the contemporary tomb of Amenhotep Sise (TT 75) with a similar level of precision (Laboury 2015: 334–335, Fig. 5). Despite the similarity between these two cases, the reason for replicating a temple scene in an Eighteenth Dynasty tomb seems to be different. Laboury (2015: 336) suggests that Amenhotep Sise wanted to convey a message to visitors that “he was responsible for the production of at least a part of the sumptuous royal gifts to the god overtly displayed in the entrance festival courtyard of the temple”.

A rather biographical meaning is suggested for the high official of the time of Thutmose IV for referencing contemporary imagery at the Karnak temple to emphasize the prominence of the tomb owner and his services to the king (Laboury 2015: 336).

Nespakashuty and Hatshepsut were separated by a time gap of over a millennium. The temple reference meant only a theological and ritual connection with the past in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, in search of an “ideal” temple-tomb.

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