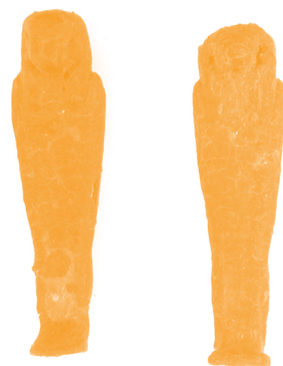


Wax Sons of Horus figurines from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari



Abstract: Polish-Egyptian excavations conducted for over two decades on the third terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari have led to the rediscovery of a group of tombs belonging to the Third Intermediate Period cemetery. Among the numerous finds, three miniature wax figurines were unearthed – the only such discovery in the Temple to date. Despite their fragmentary state of preservation, it was possible to determine that these objects represent the Four Sons of Horus, which, combined with the archaeological context of the find, constitutes a valuable contribution to the study of this unique and rare category of figurines characteristic of burials from the Third Intermediate Period.

Keywords: wax figurines, Four Sons of Horus, Temple of Hatshepsut, Third Intermediate Period, shaft tomb

INTRODUCTION

Between the 1980s and early 2000s, excavations of the Polish-Egyptian expedition to Deir el-Bahari concentrated on the third terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut (Stefanowicz 1982; Pawlicki 1999: 122; 2000: 165; Szafrński 2001: 196–199; Barwik 2003). During this work, 17 shaft tombs were exposed, belonging to the necropolis that had been forming on the temple ruins

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since the beginning of the 1st millennium BC (Sheikholeslami 2003; 2018; Barwik 2011; Szafrński 2015; Payraudeau 2018).

Exploration of these pits revealed that they had been surveyed earlier, in the 19th and early 20th centuries. Nevertheless, each

structure still concealed a large number of artifacts that shed light on their dating and the individuals buried in this area. The standard assemblage comprised fragments of cartonnage cases, wooden coffins and chests, clay and faience shabti figurines,

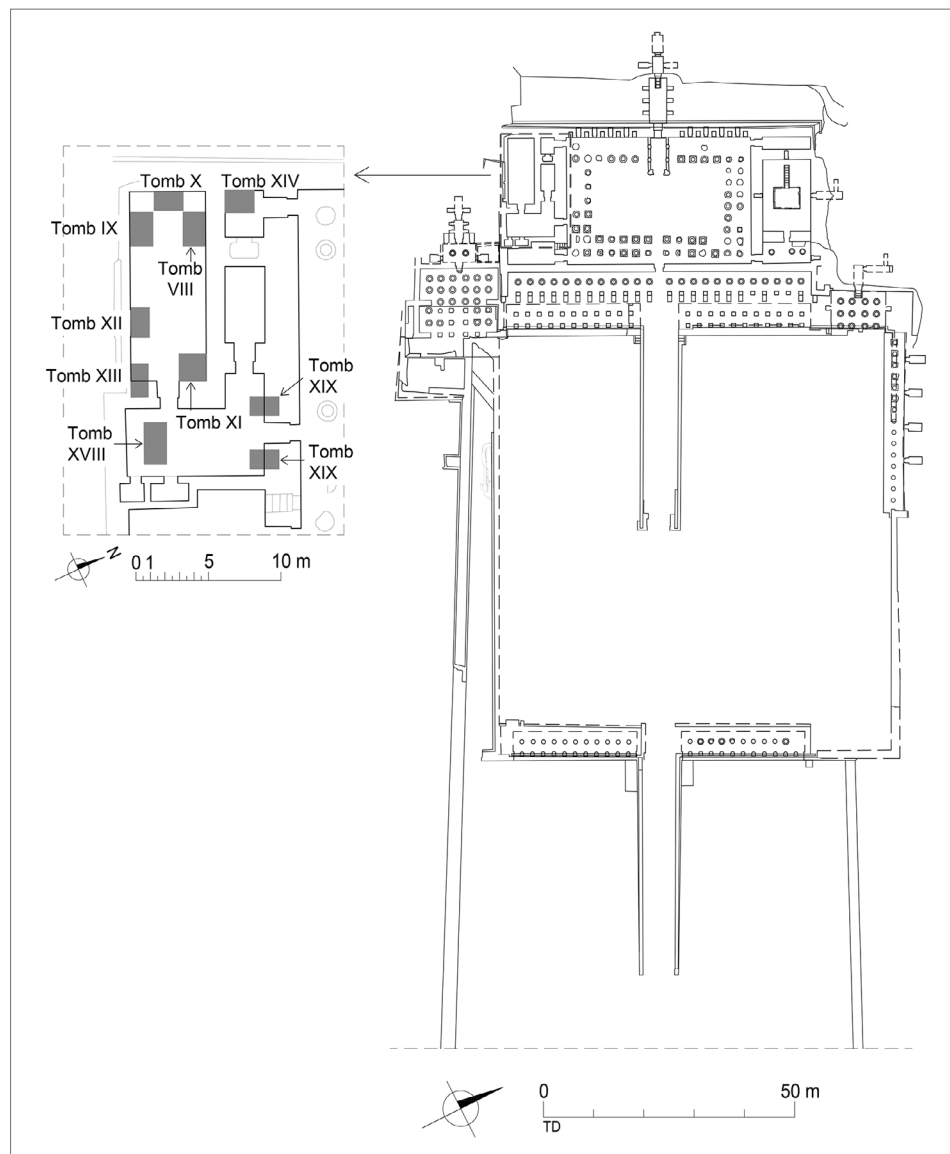


Fig. 1. Plan of the Temple showing the location of the findspots in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult (PCMA UW | drawing T. Dziedzic, update U. Kraśniewska)

faience amulets and beads from mummy nets, as well as pottery sherds. However, in one of these tombs, located in the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the southern part of the third terrace, a small group of objects did not correspond to the above repertoire of grave goods. These were miniature figurines

made of wax, representing the Four Sons of Horus deities — the only wax objects uncovered in the Temple of Hatshepsut to date. The aim of this paper is to examine this unique find and to place these objects in the broader cultural context of this uncommon category of artifacts.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

The figurines in question were found during the exploration of Tomb VIII, one of six shaft tombs located in the Chapel of Hatshepsut [Figs 1, 2] (Szafrński 2015: 185–189, Figs 1, 3, Table 1). The Polish-Egyptian expedition first encountered this sepulcher in the 1981/82 season, revealing only the uppermost part of the pit (S.7A/82, Stefanowicz 1982: 4, Photos 22–25j). Its full exploration and examina-

tion took place during the 2003/04 campaign (Szafrński 2007: 247–251, Figs 5–7, 9–11, 13).

The tomb was cut into bedrock beneath the pavement of the room and comprised a 6.3 m deep shaft leading to the burial chamber at its bottom [Fig. 3]. The roughly carved, undecorated crypt opened to the northeast and measured 3.8 m in length, 2.9 m in width, and up to 1.8



Fig. 2. Interior view of the Hatshepsut Chapel with the entrance to Tomb VIII visible at the far end on the right, closed with a metal and glass hatch (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

m in height. The underground structures were filled with rock rubble, without any stratigraphic sequence, containing material dated mainly to the Twenty-second Dynasty, mixed with artifacts from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, as well as objects from the New Kingdom, Coptic era, and modern times (Szafrński 2007: 248–251, Figs 9–11, 13; Stupko 2008; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015). The finds were heavily fragmented, and it cannot be excluded that at least some originally came from other nearby tombs and found their way

into Tomb VIII when it was backfilled by early explorers in the 19th or early 20th century.

Despite the fragmentary and mixed nature of the material, it is still possible to identify some of the individuals who may have been buried in this tomb, as well as to suggest the probable period of their interment. The first is the Vizier Padiamunet, whose name and title appear several times on fragments of coffins and from a single cartonnage mummy case [Fig. 4].¹ The decoration motifs of the cartonnage —such as a single ram-headed falcon on the torso and an Abydos fetish protected by two winged goddesses and two falcons in the lower part— suggest a date in the late Twenty-second Dynasty (Payraudeau 2018: 303–305). From the same context comes an inscribed piece of fabric, presumably also from Padiamunet's burial. The text can be read as follows: “[ye]ar 27 of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermaatra, son of Ra...” [Fig. 5] (Szafrński 2011: 144–145, Fig. 7). According to Frédéric Payraudeau (2018: 303), the inscription refers to Osorkon III, king of the Theban line of the Twenty-second Dynasty, as indicated by the high regnal year, and suggests that Padiamunet's death and funeral probably took place around 765 BC.

Another individual whose name appears on fragments of a severely damaged cartonnage case uncovered in shafts VIII and IX is the Vizier Pa[...] (Szafrński 2015: 187; Payraudeau 2018: 305–309, Figs

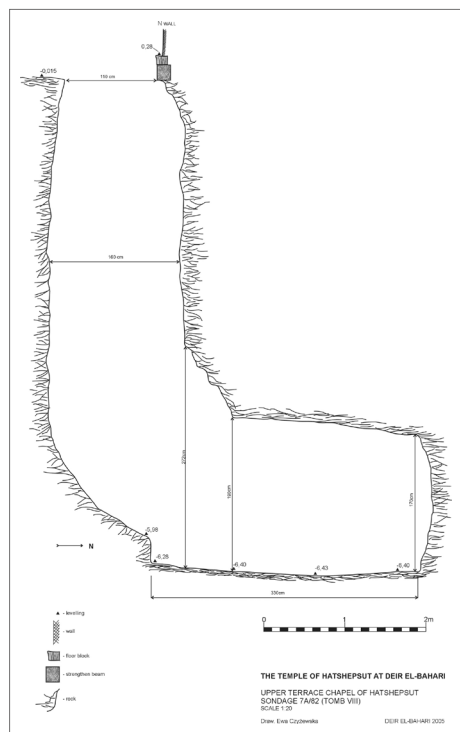


Fig. 3. Section of Tomb VIII (PCMA UW | drawing E. Czyżewska)

1 Another possible resting place for Padiamunet is Tomb IX, located south of Tomb VIII, where materials bearing the vizier's name were also found (see Szafrński 2007: 251, Fig. 13; 2011: 144, Fig. 8; 2015: 187; Barwik 2011: Fig. 5). A large portion of Padiamunet's cartonnage case was discovered earlier by Baraize, and additional fragments were recovered during the Polish-Egyptian excavations (Bruyère 1956: 18; Szafrński 2015: 187–188; Payraudeau 2018: 305).

3–6). The decoration of this object includes the “two falcons” design, the central column of inscription in the shape of the Osirian fetish from Abydos in the lower part, and a pair of *uraei* wearing the White Crown and facing Osiris, dating it to around 775–750 BC. Family ties between individuals buried in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult suggest that the owner of this cartonnage probably belonged to the Padiamunet family.² Two likely candidates match the preserved inscription: his father, Vizier Pamy, an important figure during the reign of Osorkon III, or his younger brother, Vizier

Pakhar, husband of Irbastetudjanefu, daughter of King Takelot III (Aston 2009: 215; Dodson and Hilton 2010: 228–229; Payraudeau 2018: 309–310).

The last person whose name appears several times on artifacts from Tomb VIII is a woman named Shepenhutaat (Payraudeau 2018: 310–314, Figs 7–12). Her burial assemblage consisted of a cartonnage case and two anthropoid wooden coffins, fragments of which were also found in other tombs in the Hatshepsut Chapel. The coffins’ decoration is simple and comparable to examples from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-fifth Dy-

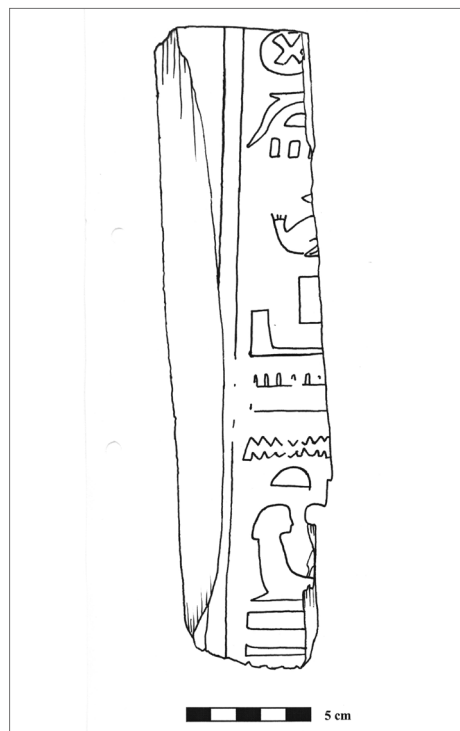


Fig. 4. Fragment of a wooden coffin bearing the name of Vizier Padiamunet found in Tomb VIII (PCMA UW | drawing A. Stupko)

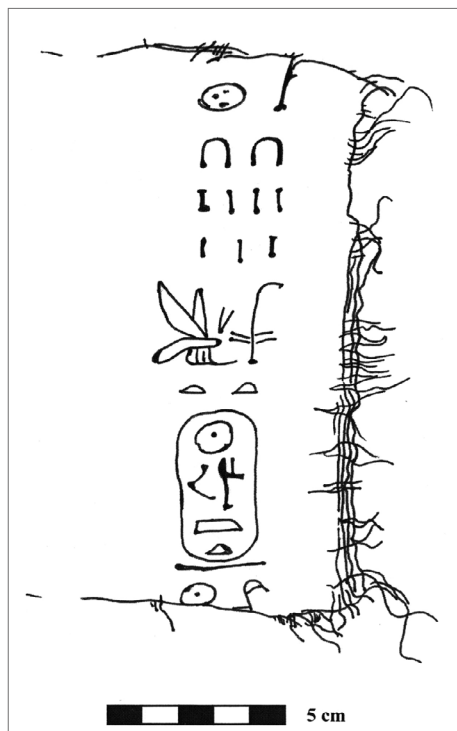


Fig. 5. Piece of linen with the regnal year and the name of the King Osorkon III (PCMA UW | drawing A. Stupko)

² For more on the family relations between the individuals buried in the southern part of the third terrace, see Bruyère 1956; Sheikholeslami 2003; 2018; Aston 2009: 215–217; Payraudeau 2018.

nasties (Payraudeau 2018: 314). More can be said about her cartonnage mummy case, decorated with the “two falcons” motif, falcons with the Osirian fetish design, and multiple bands of ribbons on the borders, dating this object, and likely the entire assemblage, to between 825 and 775 BC (Payraudeau 2018: 314). It is therefore possible that Shepenhutaat was the wife of Vizier Padmiamunet or of his father, Vizier Pamy.

It is not known with certainty which of the above individuals was buried in Tomb VIII, but it is also possible that two or even all of them rested there. Nevertheless, fragments of cartonnage mummy cases and coffins belonging to them indicate that the burials took place during the late Twenty-second Dynasty, which also provides a probable date for the wax figurines.

DESCRIPTION OF THE OBJECTS

The collection consists of three fragments of wax figurines, of which only one preserves identifiable stylistic features. The remaining two, preserved only in their lower parts, allow for technological analysis and comparative study with other known examples.

The first of these objects (Inv. No. 131.1) depicts the upper part of a mummiform baboon-headed figurine (Hapy)

[Fig. 6]. The head shows almost all the anatomical features—the eyes, ears, and muzzle, the front of which is damaged. On the left side of the head, a small element can be seen that resembles a left hand raised upward and touching the left eye. This is, in fact, the solidified black resin used to cover the object. The body of the figure is decorated with two carved ribbons around the shoulders that join



Fig. 6. Upper part of the wax figurine of Hapy, Inv. No. 131.1 (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)



Fig. 7. Lower part of mummiform wax figurine, Inv. No. 131.2 (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

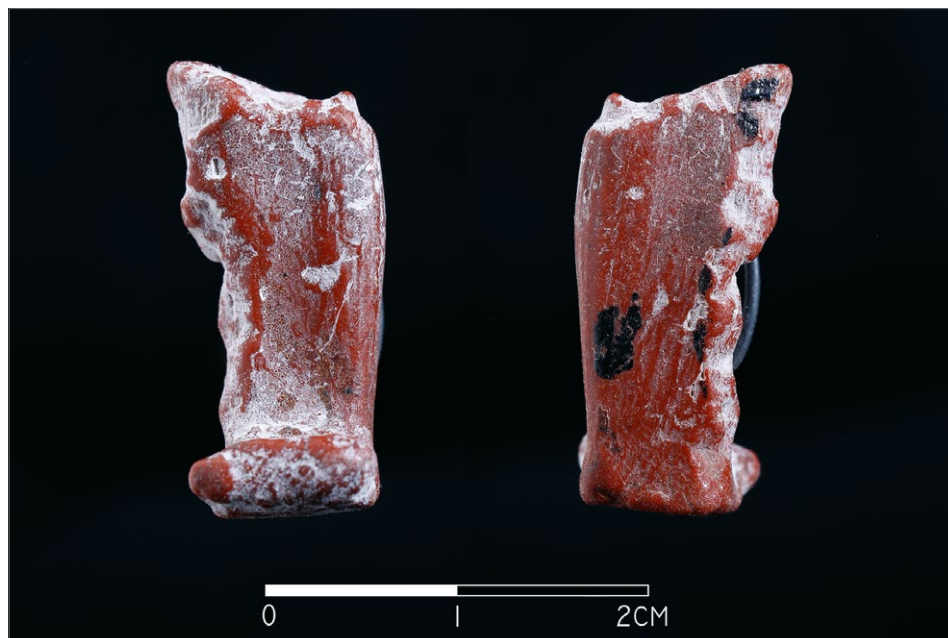


Fig. 8. Lower part of mummiform wax figurine, Inv. No. 131.3 (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

at the back, and which probably once crossed at the chest. In its present state, the fragment has a maximum height of 4 cm, a width of 2.2 cm, and a thickness of 1 cm. It was modeled entirely in the round. The artifact consists of a core formed of a small piece of wood —probably intended to stiffen the figurine— which was then modeled in wax and finally coated with black resin.

The second piece is a molded wax mummiform figurine, of which only the lower part of the legs is preserved (Inv. No. 131.2) [Fig. 7]. The object has a maximum height of 2.9 cm, a width of 1.4 cm, and a maximum thickness of 0.9 cm. It was modeled using the same technique as the aforementioned figure of Hapy: over a wooden core and coated with black resin. The similarity suggests that they may have belonged to the same set.

The last piece is also incomplete and shows the legs of a mummiform figurine (Inv. No. 131.3) [Fig. 8]. The bend beginning at knee level is most likely the result of the figurine having been bent by embalmers while wrapped in linen prior to its placement in its final position. Its size —maximum height 2.3 cm, maximum width 1 cm, and a thickness of only 0.5 cm thick— suggests that this figure was slightly smaller than the other two. The back of the figurine is flat, which may in-

dicate that it was made in a single mold; however, without the upper part of the object, this cannot be confirmed. The core of this specimen was also made of a small piece of wood covered with wax, but when the figurine broke, the wooden piece fell out, leaving an empty cavity. The object is brown, but traces of black adhesive —used for fixing the figurine in place— are visible on its back.

The manufacture of these artifacts differs in certain respects, allowing the conclusion that they represent at least two different sets of amulets. The first of these includes Inv. Nos 131.1 and 131.2, both of which show the same style of execution, including a resin coating. The third object (Inv. No. 131.3), although made using a similar technique in many respects, differs from them in color and in the absence of resin, suggesting that it belonged to a different set.

Despite their extremely poor state of preservation, some stylistic and technological features allow these objects to be placed within the broader context of this category of finds. Of particular importance for this study will be the technological analysis of the wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus (their dimensions and manufacturing technique), stylistic analysis, and archaeological context.

DISCUSSION OF PARALLELS

Traditionally, embalmed viscera removed from the corpse during the mummification process were placed in four canopic jars topped with either plain or iconographic stoppers (Ikram and Dodson 1998: 276–292). From the Middle King-

dom onward, the lids were decorated with sculpted human heads, which by the Nineteenth Dynasty were replaced by stoppers depicting the Four Sons of Horus, acting as guardians of the relevant internal organs.

The socio-political crisis that engulfed Egypt and other regions of the eastern Mediterranean at the end of the New Kingdom led to significant changes in funerary art, reflected in tomb architecture, coffin decoration, and mummification techniques (Cooney 2011). These changes are particularly evident in the Theban necropolis, where local elites—due to a lack of space in the cemetery and the growing threat of tomb robbery—created collective burials by reusing older tombs, such as KV 35, DB 320, and Bab el-Gusus. The limited space in these tombs, however, led to a reduction in both the repertoire and the number of grave goods, as well as to a search for new solutions aimed at better protecting and preserving the deceased's body. The latter objective was achieved through two methods: protecting the body externally by applying substances to its surface, and internally by filling it with various materials. One such practice was to forgo placing the mummified entrails in four canopic jars; instead, after being wrapped in linen into four embalmed packets,³ they were returned to the abdominal cavity (Elliot Smith 1912: 90; Elliot Smith and Dawson 1924: 113; Raven 1983: 15).⁴ During the Twenty-first Dynasty, these packets began to be accompanied by small wax figurines of the Sons of Horus, whose task—consistent with the earlier function of the canopic

jars—was to protect the specific viscera they accompanied (Elliot Smith and Dawson 1924: 120, 146, Figs 50–54; Varga 1964: 12; Goff 1979: 147; Andrews 1994: 45; Pinch 1994: 81, 87, 90, 94–99, Figs 46–47, 50; Aston 2009: 293, 302; Taylor 2010: 55).

Many figurines of the Four Sons of Horus made of wax, similar to the material discussed here, can now be found in museum collections around the world (see, for instance, Petrie 1937: 26, Nos 588–594; Raven 1983: 15, fn. 122, 33–36; Fuchs 1986; Enany 2021: 79–95). However, most were acquired from private collectors and lack archaeological context, making it difficult to determine their precise date.⁵ Nevertheless, numerous examples from documented excavations remain, and these are of considerable importance for the study of this specific category of wax figurines and for comparative analysis of the present assemblage.

All wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus originating from documented contexts were found in the Theban necropolis, marking them as products of local burial traditions and suggesting that dozens of similar figurines now in museum collections most likely come from the same area. Therefore, this parallel material also provides a strong framework for interpreting the artifacts from the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

3 In some cases, the internal organs were not packed into four but divided into seven packages and then placed in the abdomen (Kamrin 2020).

4 The first example of this practice appears to be the mummy of King Ramses V, whose abdomen was filled with sawdust and 'some unrecognizable viscera' which, however, were not wrapped in linen but placed loosely in it (Elliot Smith 1912: 90).

5 These artifacts are usually dated to the Third Intermediate Period, or possibly to the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties, which, from the perspective of the material in question, is too broad a time frame.

The repertoire of artifacts from the Theban necropolis is dominated by objects found with some of the 153 mummies of priests and priestesses of Amun unearthed in the Bab el-Gusus tomb (Daressy 1900; Winlock 1924: 20, Fig. 2; Niwiński 1984). After their discovery, the mummies were transported first to the Giza Museum and later to the Anatomical Museum of the Cairo School of Medicine, where they were examined (Daressy 1896: 73; Fouquet 1896: 90; Elliot Smith 1903; 1906a: 11–14; 1906b: Pls XVI.2, XVII.1 and XVIII.3–4). Amulets of the Sons of Horus made of wax—as well as examples in faience and mud—were found during the unwrapping and anatomical examination of 19 mummies (Daressy 1907: 22–38; Aston 2009: 166–189; Enany 2021: 74). Only in one case were the figurines found within the mummy wrappings; in all other instances they were placed in the abdominal cavity (Daressy 1907: 35; Aston 2009: 166–189). Unfortunately, during these investigations the context of individual artifacts was not recorded, which now makes the study of this material more difficult. Nevertheless, it remains possible to establish a chronological framework for the collection and for the manufacture of complete sets or individual specimens.

The date of the collection of wax figurines from Bab el-Gusus, determined primarily on the basis of coffin style and other grave goods, falls between about 1051 to 930 BC, although more than half originate from the period between about 1001 and 944 BC (Aston 2009: 166–189).

Of the forty-four figures, only one was carved from a block of wax, with the beard and base made separately and attached later; three were made entirely by hand, while the remaining figurines were cast in a bipartite mold with details added by hand (Enany 2021: 79–95).⁶ All these figurines were made of beeswax, but for the fully hand-molded items, the wax was mixed with clay, resin, and sawdust. The specimens in this collection occur in various shades of beige and brown; however, those containing resin are significantly darker. Most depict mummies with the heads of Four Sons of Horus, but there are also four examples in an unusual posture—a human figure with the head of a deity, standing on a base with arms hanging at the sides and the left leg advanced. Among the mummy-form figurines, two types can be distinguished: those with fully modeled or only outlined arms crossed on the chest, and those completely devoid of arms. Most of the figurines wear a tripartite wig, but many specimens are without it. In addition to differences in form, there are also noticeable variations in size. Mummy-form specimens without marked arms range in height from 6 to 7.5 cm; those of the same type but with modeled arms measure between 7.5 and 14 cm; and the third type, standing figures on bases with the left leg advanced, measure 8.5 to 8.9 cm in height.

Another collection of wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus comes from the American excavations directed by H.E. Winlock on behalf of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, conducted in the vicin-

6 Forty-three of these objects are currently on display at the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (Nos SR 4/8953a–d, SR4 /9106 to 4/9145), and one at the Agriculture Museum in Giza (No. 582) (Enany 2021: 79–95).

ity of Bab el-Gusus. On the north side of the lower courtyard of the Temple of Hatshepsut, at the foot of a rocky slope, Winlock discovered a group of tombs containing burials from the Third Intermediate Period (Winlock 1924; 1926: 19–32; 1942: 93–116, Pls 81–88; Kamrin 2020). In one of these tombs, MMA 60, the excavators found a group of 12 burials—six in the Chamber and six in the Pit—some of which were equipped with wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus (Kamrin 2020: 797).

The first was the burial of the Leading Lady, First Chief of the Harem of Amun, Djedmutesankh A (Chamber burial 5), the majority of whose grave

goods are now in New York (for a list of these objects, see Aston 2009: 199). The decoration style of her coffins dates the assemblage to the pontificate of Pinedjem II or Psusennes III, and thus to period between approximately 1001 and 944 BC (Niwiński 1979: 54). A complete set of wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus, covered with resin, was found within her body (Winlock 1926: 24, Fig. 26). These objects were cast in molds and depict the mummiform deities wearing tripartite wigs, with their arms crossed over their chests (MMA acc. Nos 25.3.154a–d). Although belonging to the same set, their height varies from 8.7 to 9.1 cm.



Fig. 9. Three wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus from a Twenty-second Dynasty burial found in Ramesseum, now in the Petrie Museum, UC29862a-c (Courtesy of The Petrie Museum of Egyptian and Sudanese Archaeology, UCL)

Another set of wax amulets was retrieved from the mummy of the Chief of the Harem of Amun, Henettawy C (Chamber burial 4), wife of a High Priest of Amun (Winlock 1926: 22, Fig. 23; 1942: Pl. 85; Aston 2009: 200). She was a daughter of Isetemkheb C and Menkheperra A, and the wife of Smendes II, which dates her burial to about 990–970 BC. These objects were made entirely by hand and depict mummiform deities with arms crossed over their chests (MMA acc. Nos 25.3.155a–d). Although made of the same material, they differ slightly in color, appearing light brown in some areas and dark gray in others. The smallest measures 8.8 cm in height, while the largest is 10.1 cm.

The third set of wax figurines was found inside the mummy of Nesitiset (Chamber burial 1), dated to the pontificate of Pinedjem II or Psusennes III, about 969–945 BC (Winlock 1926: 28; Aston 2009: 201; Kamrin 2020: 823–825, Fig. 16). Only scant information has been published about this material; it consists of four figurines, two of which are human-headed, with the hawk-headed deity absent. They were made of mud and wax and were painted blue, which is unusual for this category of finds (Aston 2009: 201; Kamrin 2020: 825). Along with the Sons of Horus, the cavity contained seven packages of wrapped viscera.

Three more sets of wax figurines accompanied the mummies in the shaft. The first belonged to an anonymous woman (Pit burial 1) from the second half of the Twenty-first Dynasty. Winlock found her mummy together with a badly shattered inner coffin and

a mummy board (Kamrin 2020: 811–812). Examination of her body revealed that her viscera had been “replaced with seven packages of rawhide wrapped in linen”, to four of which the Sons of Horus were attached (Kamrin 2020: 812, MMA acc. Nos 25.3.157a–d). These are handmade, dark beige figurines wearing the tripartite wigs, with arms crossed on their chests; their height ranges from 7.1 to 8.0 cm.

Another of the Pit burials —No. 3— belonged to the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, King of the Gods, Singer of the Choir of Mut, Tiye, dated to the second half of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Niwiński 1988: 160–161; 1989: 346–347, 377–378; Aston 2009: 201; Kamrin 2020: 816–819). The body cavity contained Tiye’s organs, divided into seven packages wrapped in linen, and four wax Sons of Horus (Kamrin 2020: 818). These figurines were modeled by hand and depict dark brown —sometimes almost black— mummiform deities wearing tripartite wigs, with arms crossed on their chests (MMA acc. Nos 25.3.158a–d). Their height ranges from 3.9 to 5.2 cm, which is most likely the result of the figures being bent when tied by the embalmers.

The last set of wax Sons of Horus figurines discovered in MMA 60 was found inside the mummy of the Lady of the House, Chantress of Amun, King of the Gods, Gautseshen (Pit burial 4), whose death occurred in the later part of the Twenty-first Dynasty (Niwiński 1988: 161; 1989: 346; Aston 2009: 201–202; Kamrin 2020: 819–821). The figurines were placed within Gautseshen’s body, attached to four of the seven packages

of organs. They were made of wax and mud, and their height ranges from 6.7 to 7.0 cm (MMA acc. Nos 25.3.159a–d).

Several wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus were also found during the British excavations at the Ramesseum, where a Third Intermediate Period cemetery was discovered beneath the floors of the New Kingdom warehouses (Quibell 1898: 3). Although this material has not yet been fully published, W.M.F. Petrie provides some information about it. In his general description of this category of finds, Petrie (1937: 26) states that these amulets were found in the abdominal cavity of the deceased, which suggests a similar location for the specimens from the Ramesseum. The first group (No. 595) consists of three objects made of wax and painted black, ranging in height from 5.1 to 5.3 cm (Petrie Museum UC29862a–c) [Fig. 9]. They represent mummiform deities, most likely cast in molds, wearing tripartite wigs and lacking marked arms. The second group (Nos 596–599) comprises four artifacts made of mud and coated with wax, of which, however, only two originate from the Ramesseum (Petrie Museum UC29863a–b). These are dark gray, mummiform figurines, cast in molds, with tripartite wigs and the contours of the arms marked but without detailed modeling on the chest. Instead, the chest bears two crossed grooves, made with a thin, sharp tool, representing ribbons falling from the shoulders. Two vertical and one horizontal line were incised on the legs be-

low the hands, resembling the framing lines of inscriptions on shabti figurines. Although incomplete, as their feet are missing, these figurines were larger than the Ramesseum amulets described above, with a current preserved height of 10.5 cm. All of these objects date to the Twenty-second Dynasty.

The last specimens of wax Sons of Horus figurines relevant to this discussion were found by the Earl of Carnarvon and H. Carter in North Asasif. Among various excavated sites, they discovered an intact multiple tomb (site 5) located in the middle of the northern slope of the valley, below site 4 (=Tomb MMA 521) (Earl of Carnarvon and Carter 1912: 22–26, Pls XIII–XVII; Aston 2009: 217–218). In a small forecourt, the excavators uncovered two doorways, one leading into a large northern chamber, and the other opening into an eastern niche. The first of these rooms contained burials of eight individuals, one of whom was Irtyru, the mother of a man named Padiamun (Earl of Carnarvon and Carter 1912: 25, Pls XVI.1B, XVII.2–3). The decorative style of the lady's painted wooden coffin dates the burial assemblage to between approximately 730 and 680 BC (Reeves 1989: 23, Fig. 21; Aston 2009: 218).⁷ During the examination of the mummy, Carnarvon and Carter found four wax figurines placed among the bandages. These small amulets, probably modeled by hand, represent mummiform deities wearing tripartite wigs, painted in a dark color or coated with resin. Their height is unknown.

7 Maarten Raven (1983: 15, fn. 12) attributes this coffin to the Twenty-second Dynasty, which now seems unlikely.

ANALYSIS

The specimens described above provide a wide range of data on the style, workmanship, and size of the wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus, enabling these artifacts to be placed in a broader cultural context.

All three pieces discovered in the Hatshepsut Chapel depict deities cast in bipartite molds, a technique corresponding to later examples from the Ramesseum dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty.

In terms of height, wax figurines show no significant changes between early and later specimens; however, in the Twenty-second Dynasty there is a noticeable increase in small objects, although pieces exceeding 10 cm in height are also known. The fragmentary condition of the figurines from the Hatshepsut Chapel prevents a direct comparative analysis with complete examples, but in one case it is possible to attempt a reconstruction of the original height. The figurine depicting the upper part of the deity Hapy shows a characteristic curvature on its right side, corresponding to the greatest width of the mummiform figurines typically located halfway up the arms. Below this point, the figure begins to narrow significantly, suggesting a gradual transition to the lower abdomen and legs — a point that in parallel examples corresponds to half the height of the complete figurine. Therefore, if we assume that the current dimension of 4.0 cm represents exactly one half, the complete object would originally have measured about 8.0 cm in height. This size matches most of the figures described above.

The element that distinguishes the figurines from the Hatshepsut Chapel is the presence of a wooden stick forming their core. Such stiffening has not been observed in any other specimens, which may be partly due to the fact that most analogous objects have survived intact.

Two of the three figurines from Tomb VIII were coated with resin, which is also a fairly characteristic manufacturing feature. Among the artifacts discovered in the mummies from Bab el-Gusus, resin was identified only as one of the materials — alongside wax and sawdust — used in the production of a few figurines. In other cases, its presence was not detected, as with the figurines discovered by the American expedition on the northern side of the Temple of Hatshepsut. The black color of the amulets from the Ramesseum and North Asasif may suggest that they were coated with resin in the final stage of production. This could indicate that the occasional use of resin in the late Twenty-first Dynasty became a somewhat more popular practice in subsequent years, although confirmation of this hypothesis requires further research and analysis of material from well-dated contexts.

The figurines from Tomb VIII depict mummiform deities, consistent with almost all known wax figurines of the Four Sons of Horus. In the vast majority of parallels, the deities have their arms crossed over their chests — a feature absent on the Tomb VIII example. The simple mummiform figurine without marked arms is rare, but it does occur in burials from the Twenty-first Dynasty

in Bab el-Gusus and in the later set of three figurines from the Ramesseum. Another stylistic feature absent from the Hapy amulet is the tripartite wig, which is attested on almost all specimens, with only a few exceptions dating to both the late Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties. A more distinctive element, which appears only sporadically in parallels, is the depiction of two crossed ribbons on the chest falling from the shoulders. This feature is particularly clear on object Inv. No. 131.1. The only parallels with similar bands are two figurines from the Ramesseum, both dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty.

Finally, nothing is known about the location of the figurines within the burial. The parallels presented above suggest they were usually placed in the abdominal cavity of the deceased together with four or seven packages containing viscera removed during mummification. However, there are also several cases where wax figurines were placed within the bandages wrapped around the body of the deceased. Although statistically the first practice seems more likely — particularly in the case of figurine Inv. No. 131.3, whose curvature suggests attachment to one of the four or seven packages — the second possibility cannot be ruled out.

CONCLUSIONS

The three fragments of wax artifacts found in Tomb VIII, on the third terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut, belong to the tradition of equipping the dead with figurines of the Four Sons of Horus — a practice attested exclusively in the Theban necropolis in certain burials of Third Intermediate Period date, with its heyday in the second half of the Twenty-first Dynasty. However, both the context of their discovery and certain technological and stylistic features suggest that the figurines in question should be dated to the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty. If

so, these specimens would be among the latest known examples of this category of grave goods. This would indicate that the individuals buried here still adhered to the ancient custom of protecting their organs with such amulets, reflecting the strong influence of local tradition. Notably, no similar artifacts were found in any of the other graves on the second and third terraces of the temple explored by the Polish-Egyptian expedition; thus, the figurines from Tomb VIII seem to support the view that these burials are the oldest in this cemetery.

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