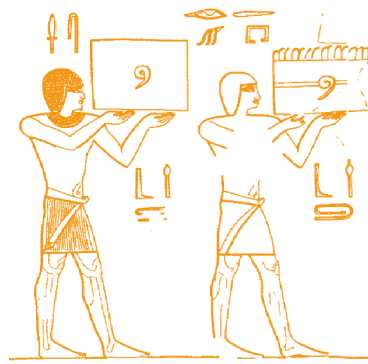


What an artist saw: Tracing a local icono- graphic tradition for the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari



“It is ... often difficult to distinguish between the copying of an old monument, in the productive use of the past—a sort of plagiarism—and a continuity of textual and artistic tradition”.

(Eyre 2013: 286)

Abstract: An unusual iconographic motif—a fringed piece of linen—depicted in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, part of the queen's temple at Deir el-Bahari, is examined in this paper as an illustration of the interest, well attested in Hatshepsut's reign, in past artistic models/sources. The Chapel of Hatshepsut was intended for the mortuary cult of the female pharaoh, while the motif under discussion appears to have been inspired by decoration earlier by 500 years, found inside a burial chamber cut into the rock cliff of North Asasif, which is a natural continuation of the Deir el-Bahari amphitheater. The tomb (TT 311) belonged to Khety, a courtier of the Eleventh-Dynasty pharaoh Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra. Assuming the validity of this iconographic link, the question arises concerning the accessibility of decorated burial chambers from the Eleventh Dynasty in this area and their possible role as “pattern books” in the design of the early Eighteenth Dynasty private and royal mortuary monuments. In addition, the paper addresses the issue of the Chapel of Hatshepsut serving as a monumental “pattern book” for the Late Period Theban tombs.

Keywords: Deir el-Bahari, Asasif, Hatshepsut, Mentuhotep II Nebhepetra, Theban tombs, visitor's inscriptions, artists, decoration, friezes of objects, linen

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On the title “What an artist saw”

Since the present study is devoted to the notion of intericonicity, a sister to intertextuality, its title has been chosen to exemplify the latter. The expression “What an artist saw” refers, on the one hand, to Marteen Raven’s paper “What the butler saw” (Raven 2017), which is, in turn, a reference to the famous, same-titled play by Joe Orton (first performed in 1969). On the other hand, the expression “what the artist saw” has been variously used in art history texts, though also, as it seems, in reference to the said Orton’s play. I am thankful to Dimitry Laboury for taking the time to clarify these nuances—my use of the phrase in the title was largely intuitive, illustrating, however, even in this form, the way sources can be used in the creative process, as a kind of “unconscious quotation” (an idea further developed in the Conclusion below).

Acknowledgments

I am grateful to Patryk Chudzik for entrusting me with the study of the decoration of Khety’s burial chamber and for sharing with me the archaeological evidence for the reuse of burial chambers of the Theban Middle Kingdom tombs in later periods. I am also thankful to Chloé Ragazzoli for sharing her as yet unpublished research on visitors’ inscriptions in the tombs of North Asasif and to Nicky van de Beek for providing access to literature on the Late Period Theban tombs inaccessible in Warsaw.

The Supreme Council of Antiquities, Egypt, is gratefully acknowledged for permission to visit and study the tomb of Neferu (TT 319) in 2017. The local SCA authorities in Luxor are acknowledged for their support of the PCMA UW expedition to North Asasif in the past few field seasons.

INTRODUCTION

Referring to past artistic traditions in ancient Egypt is a complex and manifold issue.¹ As for the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, it is long known that its decorative iconographic and textual programme was a source of inspiration for the decoration of the Late Period tombs in the Theban Necropolis.² The most popular content to be copied, adapted, and creatively transformed covered the offering scenes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (=Southern Hall of Offerings; Naville 1901: 6–11, Pls CVII–CXVIII), apparently because of the obvious mortuary character of this room³ (Assmann 1973: 98–104, Pls 20–23, Fig. 29b; Der Manuelian 1983; 1994: 28–51; Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 156–169, Pls 51–56; Russmann 1994: 4–5; Pischikova 1998: 65–73; Morkot 2003: 89–90; Jasper 2017; Einaudi 2018: 117 with Notes 3 and 4).⁴

In turn, the scenes in the Chapel themselves demonstrate a creative approach to earlier iconographic and textual sources (Stupko-Lubczynska 2016; forthcoming).

So far, studies on Hatshepsut's "dialogue with the past" (expression borrowed from Baines 2007: 335) have concentrated predominantly on her implementation of the Old and Middle Kingdom patterns (mostly royal) from remote areas, such as Memphis, Lisht, Abydos, and Karnak (e.g., Roth 2005; Russmann 2005; Wegner 2009; Laboury 2013: 11–21; 2014: 86–87; Müller 2013; Ćwiek 2014; Iwaszczuk 2014). The influence of the Eleventh Dynasty building activity and artistic tradition in the immediate neighborhood has not received much attention, except for the broadly commented architectural (as well as ideological) references to the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari, observed in Hatshepsut's monument (e.g., Donohue 1994; Arnold 2005: 135–136; Roth 2005: 147; Polz 2008; Kahl 2010: 2; Ćwiek 2014: 68–69).

Meanwhile, Chloé Ragazzoli's research has proved that during Hatshepsut's reign the rock-cut tombs of North Asasif, built for the courtiers of Mentuhotep II, were

1 For the most updated review of the topic see Bács 2020, with further literature.

2 A comprehensive overview of previous research on the "archaism" of Late Period Theban tomb decoration—as part of a wider cultural phenomenon—is to be found in Morkot 2003; Tiradritti 2008; Kahl 2010; Pischikova 2014: 73–75; Bács 2020: 10–13.

3 The room in question is a counterpart of sanctuaries (offering halls) in the Old and Middle Kingdom pyramid temples (see Stupko-Lubczynska 2016).

4 On the accessibility of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Late Period, and on its possible role as a monumental master copy, see Jasper 2017: 59. The list above is far from complete and gathers only the most obvious references to the patterns found on the walls of the Chapel, those in the tombs of Padiamenope (TT 33), Mentuemhat (TT 34), Ibi (TT 36), Pabasa (TT 279), Nespekashuty (TT 312), and Basa (TT 389). Another issue is the Ritual of the Hours of Day and Night, placed on the ceiling of the Chapel (Barwick 1998) and attested in many Late Period copies (tombs, sarcophagi, and papyri; for the most up-to-date listing of sources see Griffin 2017; Graefe 2018: 147; n.d.: 5–8). Whether these Late Period attestations drew inspiration from a common model (a master copy), from each other or from the ceiling of the Chapel itself, does not find an unequivocal answer because each case presents an individual solution (see, e.g., Einaudi 2014: 331–332; Pischikova 2014: 88; Wagner 2018: 186). It is also possible that various patterns of transmission were combined.

intensively visited as attested by numerous visitors' inscriptions left on their walls (Ragazzoli forthcoming; see also Ragazzoli 2021, in this volume). These inscriptions, made predominantly by persons identifying themselves as "scribes", reveal a complex socio-cultural background and may be studied from different perspectives,⁵ but in practice they seem to prove a search for iconographic and textual sources for use in on-going building projects.⁶

The Middle Kingdom tomb of Senet/Intefiqer (60) from Sheikh Abd el-Qurna in the Theban Necropolis, is an eloquent example of this visiting, "graphitting", and copying practices. Visitors' inscriptions attest to its popularity among the

Eighteenth Dynasty "scribes" (Ragazzoli 2013) and the scenes from its walls are found incorporated (and reformulated) in various nobles' tombs of that date (e.g., TT 82, TT 131, TT 61: see Dziobek 1994: 16, 22–24; Bács 2006: 5–14; Den Doncker 2012: 30–31; Stupko-Lubczynska 2016: 133, Fig. 58 [3]; Laboury 2017: 235–236). It is worth noting that Amenemhat, the owner of TT 82, one of the "scribes" who left their inscriptions in TT 60 (Ragazzoli 2013: 284, 313 [text No. 33] with references to earlier literature), served as a steward of Thutmose III's vizier Useramun and was in charge of the work in the latter's double tomb, TT 131 and 61 (Den Doncker 2017: 335, 340–345).⁷

AN UNUSUAL ICONOGRAPHIC MOTIF IN THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT

Compared to its earlier counterparts, the offering procession in the Chapel of

Hatshepsut, shown heading toward the enthroned ruler, presents a conglomer-

- 5 For example, "as positive reactions to the decorative programmes of the private tomb-chapels" (Den Doncker 2012: 24) or direct homage to the tomb owner (see Ragazzoli 2021, in this volume), or the commemoration of the tomb itself as a remarkable remnant of the past (Ragazzoli 2013: 290–292), which, overall, redefine the space in which they are written and create a place of a collective identity of their authors (on whom see the note below) (Ragazzoli 2013: 293).
- 6 As noted by Alexis Den Doncker (2012: 26 with Note 28), the word *zš* in this context is to be understood more broadly as "a literate", a member of an educated community, rather than the administrative function of a scribe, especially as some of the authors of the inscriptions in question are known to have been higher officials (on the scribal identity in the environment of visitors' inscriptions, consult further Ragazzoli 2013: 276–282; Navrátilová 2015: 247–248, 268–272). It is worth underlining also that the verbal root *zš* meant not only "to write" but also "to draw, paint, decorate, and even conceive a decoration of a monument" (Laboury 2020: 3; see also Laboury 2012: 201; 2016: 379–381); moreover, *zš* may be an abbreviated version of *zš kd(wt)*, lit. "scribe of forms", that is, "an artist, draughtsman, painter" (Navrátilová 2015: 248; on the profession of *zš kd(wt)*, see Laboury 2012: 200–203).
- 7 For the careers of both individuals and their relationship see Shirley 2010; 2014. For further evidence of Theban tombs being utilised as an "open *Musterbuch*" (expression borrowed from Den Doncker 2017: 344; on the notion of *Musterbuch*, see Müller 1982), along with a broader discussion of issues such as inspiration by various iconographic sources and their implementation in new contexts; see, e.g., Bács 2006; Laboury 2017; and Den Doncker 2017: 337–339, 346–351; 2019.

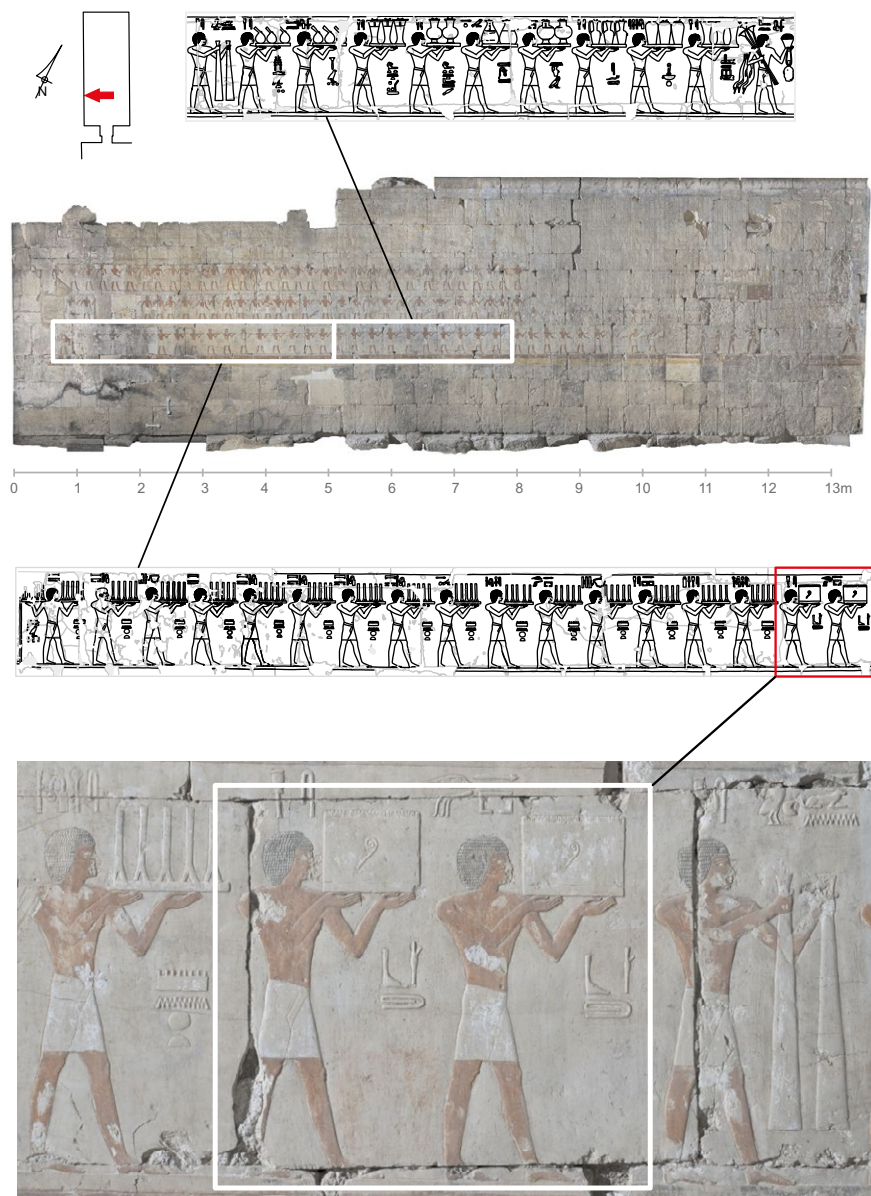




Fig. 1. Chapel of Hatshepsut, south wall: procession of bearers bringing oils, eye-paint, and linen. Box: *wdb*-linen (PCMA UW Hatshepsut Project | photos J. Kościuk and M. Jawornicki; drawing M. Mathia and A. Stupko-Lubczynska; digitising A. Stupko-Lubczynska)

ate of motifs having analogues either in the Old and Middle Kingdom (royal and non-royal) monuments⁸ or recognized as so-called “contemporary fashion” found in nobles’ tombs from the early Eighteenth Dynasty (Stupko-Lubczynska 2016; forthcoming).

Against this background, one iconographic motif incorporated into the offering procession stands out. It occurs twice on the south wall of the Chapel, in the lower register of the offering procession, and so far no direct comparanda have been found for it. The object is carried by two men, preceded by a group bringing seven sacred oils, two eye-paints  *wnh*-linen strips and followed by a long procession of figures carrying *-ideograms* labelled *mnht*, “cloth” (on the entire unit and its wider context, see Stupko-Lubczynska 2016: 105–144; 2017) [Fig. 1]. In both cases, it is a rectangular item with a “fringe” (of semicircular shape) along its top edge, carried by the figures on their outstretched hands, like

the other items in the group. Traces of white paint are preserved on the surface of the first of the two depictions. The *-sign*, denoting “one hundred”, is placed in the center of each of the objects. Thus,  goods in question represent the *-ideogram*, indicating a measurement of cloth, *šntj*, that is, one hundred square cubits (Scheele 2005: 68; such a piece of cloth would form a square 5.20 m to the side, made most probably of several smaller pieces sewn together). According to Peter Der Manuelian (2003: 38), the sign depicts a “square bolt of fringed cloth”. Fringed cloth of this kind has been found as part of actual funerary equipment, e.g., an early Twelfth Dynasty undisturbed burial of Wah, MMA 1102 (satellite to the tomb of Meketra, TT 280), which contained, in total, about 845 square meters of the fabric (Inlock 1940) [Fig. 2].


The word *wdb*, accompanying the product in the  *del*, seemingly derived from the verb *wdb*, “to turn back, to fold over, to revert” (Wb 1, 408.3–15), is



Fig. 2. Fringed textile from Wah’s burial, early Twelfth Dynasty, Thebes (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 20.3.222, Rogers Fund and Edward S. Harkness Gift, 1920; <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/552472>, accessed 10 May 2021)

8 *Nota bene*, the bulk occurrence of the visitors’ inscriptions dated to the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, observed in the Memphite area, in the pyramid complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdom rulers (Navrátilová 2015: *passim*), suggests the same purpose of the “scribes” visits: the search for ancient models commissioned by the state (Navrátilová 2015: 272–274; 2017).

usually translated as “folded cloth” (Wb 1, 408.2; FCD: 76). The noun is found once more in a copy of this very scene in the tomb of Ibi, TT 36, dated to the Saite period (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 159–160 [S120: 2–3]) [Fig. 3]. Apart from these two cases, the term remains unattested. Significantly, when the object designated as *wdb* was copied in TT 36, it was certainly no longer understood as

representing cloth: it is depicted there as a case/chest-like object (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 160 with Note 863), the first one having a horizontal line added in the middle, as if to represent the container and its lid, and the second one devoid of its original “fringe”. The accompanying term, exceptional as it was, apparently did not help the copyist to identify the item.

CONTEMPORARY BACKGROUND AND ICONOGRAPHIC ROOTS

It has been proposed that the part of the offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut with the two men bringing *wdb*-linen could be linked to scenes showing the equipment being transported to a tomb, as depicted in some Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs,

roughly contemporaneous with Hatshepsut's reign (Stupko-Lubczynska 2016: 135–136 with further literature) [Fig. 4]. These scenes derive from the so-called friezes of objects, attested in burial chambers by the end of the Old Kingdom and on sarcophagi and coffins

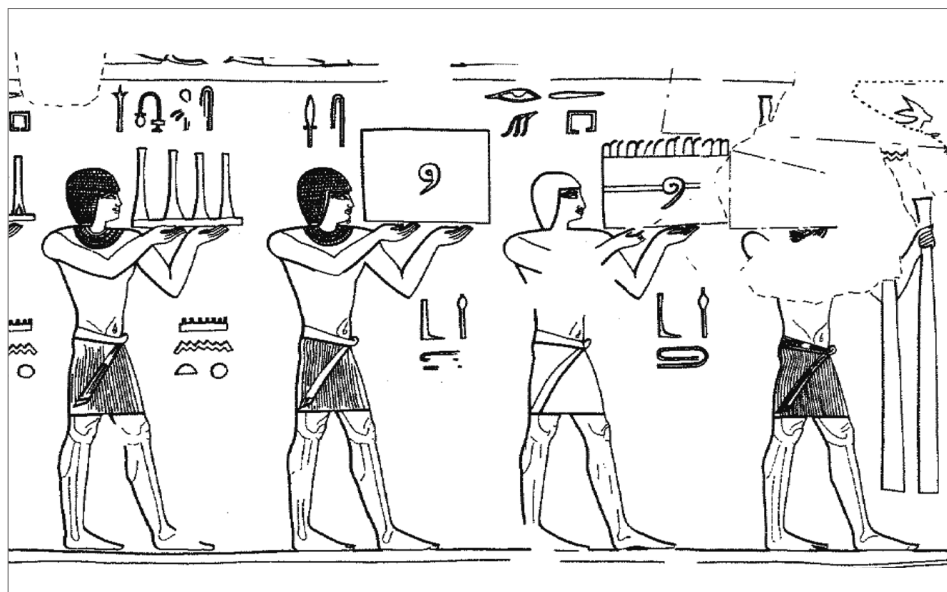


Fig. 3. Copy of Hatshepsut's scene of two *wdb*-bringers in the tomb of Ibi (TT 36), Saite period (After Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pl. 53, detail)

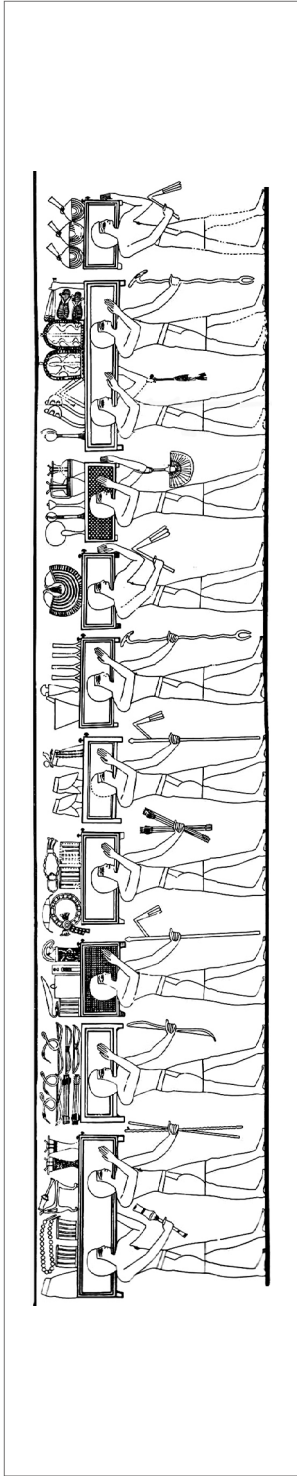


Fig. 4. Scene of bringing the tomb equipment in TT 100, Rekhmira, Thutmose III's sole reign (after Davies 1943: Pl. XC, detail)

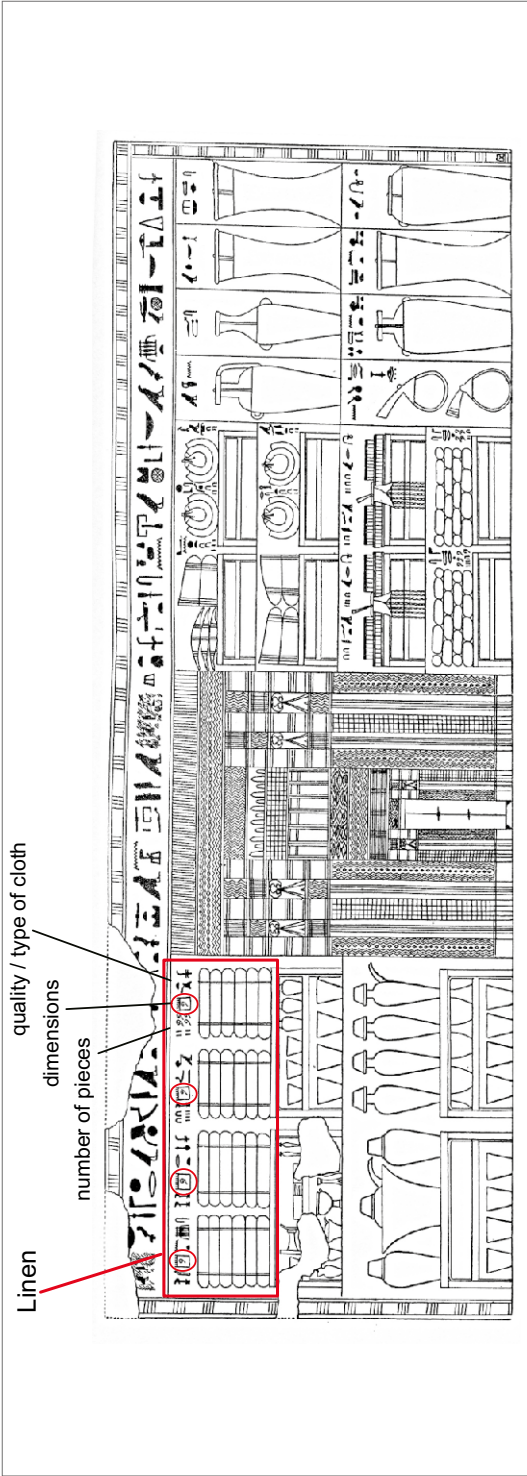


Fig. 5. Object frieze in the burial chamber of *Bjuw*, late Sixth Dynasty, Saqqara (after Jéquier 1929: Pl. XII, top)

throughout the Middle Kingdom (Jequiér 1921; 1929; Willems 1988: 200–228; Lapp 1993; Brovarski 2005; Scheele 2005: 88–89; Kanawati and Willoughby-Winlaw 2010). In the Old Kingdom friezes, mainly from Saqqara, the cloth is represented either as packed in chests or in sacks, or else in the form of several bundles/bales of folded material, tied together with strings to form a package (Jequiér 1921: 31–32; Lapp 1993: 15 [§36]; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006: 435) [Fig. 5]; these images are accompa-

nied by a name specifying the fabric type, its size (i.a.), and the number of pieces, which is, in turn, a reminiscence of yet earlier “linen lists” (Der Manuelian 2003: 153–159; Scheele 2005: 81–86; Jones 2010) [Fig. 6].

In turn, the titles of some of the men carrying the *mnht*-linen depicted in the Chapel—*sš hrj mr(t)/hrj mr(t)*—link this representation to scenes in the tombs of Ineni, TT 81 (Dziobek 1992: 36–37, Pls 4, 48 [Fig. 7:A]), Puyemra, TT 39 (Davies 1922: 103, Pls XLII–XLIII

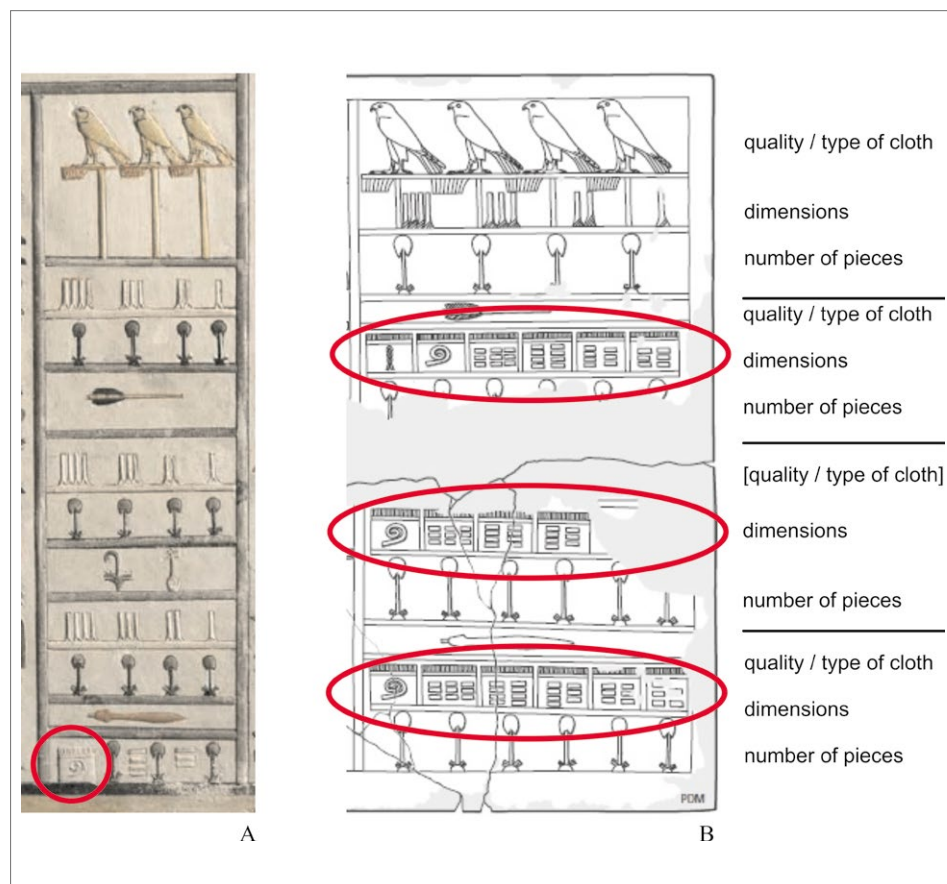


Fig. 6. “Linen lists” on two false door tablets, Fourth Dynasty, Giza; fringed cloth in the “size rubrics” encircled (A – after Der Manuelian 2003: Pl. 1, detail; B – after Der Manuelian 2003: Pl. 4, detail; description by A. Stupko-Lubczynska after Der Manuelian 2003: 154, Fig. 277 and Jones 2010: 250, Fig. 2)

[Fig. 7:B]), and Rekhmira, TT 100⁹ (Davies 1943: 47–48, Pls LVI–LVII), where men with similar titles transport the linen in a scene of the tomb owner inspecting provisions brought to Amun's temple

(Stupko-Lubczynska 2016: 106, 137–138). The scenes in question are placed in the tomb's outer space, among other scenes of “daily life” referring to the tomb owner's career.

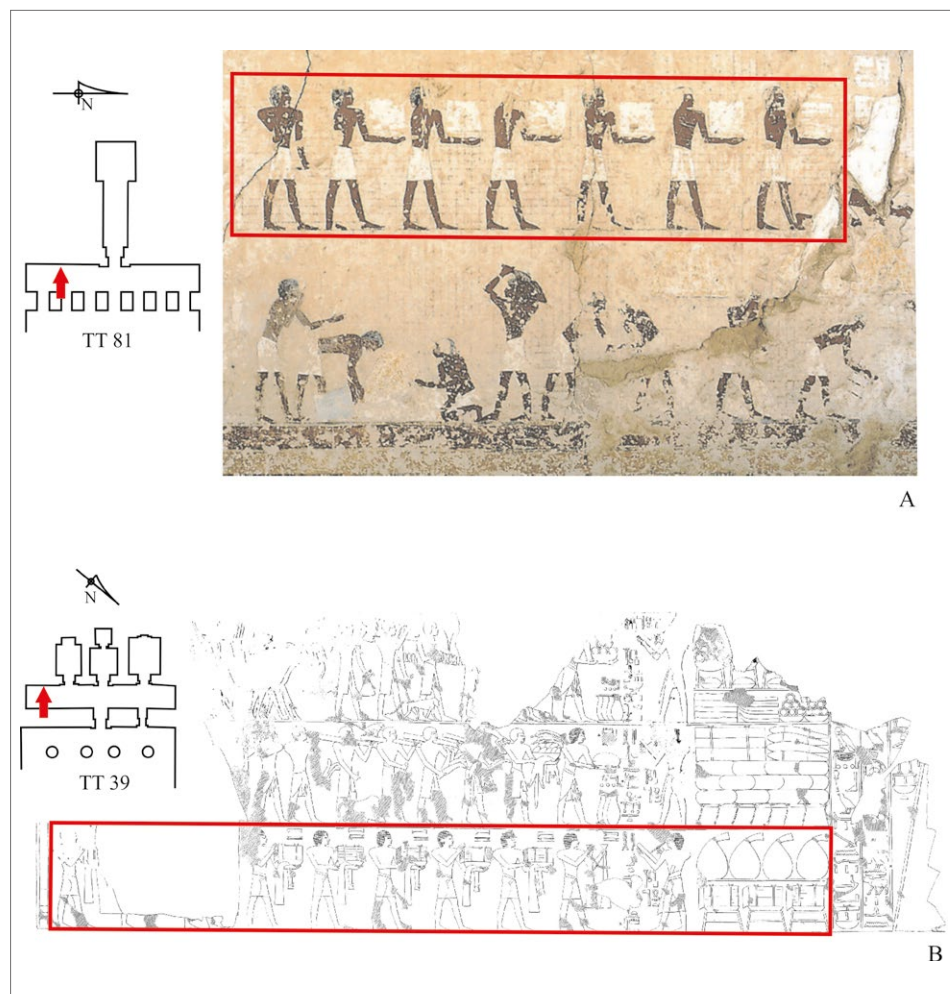



Fig. 7. Bringing linen as a part of a “daily life” scene: A – TT 81, Tomb of Ineni, pre-Hatshepsut date; B – TT 39, Tomb of Puyemra, a contemporary of Hatshepsut (A – after Dziobek 1992: Pl. 4, detail; B – after Davies 1922: Pls XLII.1, XLII.3, XLIII; digitized plans [not to scale] A. Stupko-Lubczynska: A – after Dziobek 1992: Pl. 47; B – after Davies 1922: Pl. 4)

- 9 TT 100, as well as TT 61 and TT 131, postdate Hatshepsut's reign, but they are included in the present study because they represent the continuous development of a specific iconographic tradition (the dating of Theban tombs is based on Kampp 1996).

Despite a recontextualising of the image in the Chapel (placing it in a new iconographic environment),¹⁰ the presentation of the cloth itself is noteworthy: in the said tomb scenes, the linen has a naturalistic appearance, shown either as several packages of fringed cloth, seen from the side, stacked (note the fringes on one side of each package in TT 39; see *Fig. 7:B*) and tied together with a string (echoing the way the cloth was depicted in Old Kingdom friezes of objects; see *Fig. 5*), or unfolded, hanging on the bearer's outstretched forearm. In the Chapel, the *mnht*-cloth is shown in an ideographic way typical of the above-mentioned scenes in Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, namely, the bringing of funerary equipment, where the linen occurs as *mnht*- and *jdmj*-ideograms () placed above the chests to indicate their content (see Wohlfarth 2005: 156–161, 472) [see *Fig. 4*].¹¹ Interestingly, such an ide-

ographic way of presentation is typical of the Middle Kingdom friezes (see Jéquier 1921: 35–36; Lapp 1993: 81, *Fig. 83*).

The similarities and differences between the scene in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and in the tombs of her contemporaries, along with their mutual interlinking, are a good example of intericonicity, a term introduced into the Egyptological discourse by Dimitri Laboury, emphasizing the creative approach of Egyptian designers to sources while inventing new compositions: “Derived from the better known notion of intertextuality, intericonicity ... can be defined as the shaping of an image’s meaning or form by another image, acknowledging the fact that any image exists within a network of other images, with which it has diverse forms of relations that determine its meaning and form, as well as its very existence” (Laboury 2017: 248).


MIDDLE KINGDOM EVIDENCE FROM THEBES

While representations of *mnht*-ideograms and *wnhw*-strips in the Chapel find their prototypes in many earlier sources (and their use, also in Theban tombs, seems to indicate a continuity of a certain iconographic tradition), images of fringed cloth

shown frontally are extremely rare. In fact, only one example is known to the present author: a scene on a sarcophagus of one Djehutyhotep from el-Bersha (B5C), from the Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasty (Cairo CG 37566; Jéquier 1921: 34;

¹⁰ The incorporation of motifs or entire scenes into other renditions, which they are not usually related to, is referred to as “transference” (Wachsmann 1987: 11–12), while the scene from which a given motif derives is a “source scene”. Given the fact that Ineni’s tomb was finished before Hatshepsut’s transition from queen-regent to king, one may suppose that the source scene of the linen-bearers motif is that in the nobles’ tombs and not in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (for an overview of Ineni’s career as mayor of Thebes and Amun precinct administrator under Thutmose I, Thutmose II, and in the early years of Hatshepsut see Shirley 2014: 176–177, with further literature, especially Note 9). For further examples of iconographic transference in the Chapel of Hatshepsut see Stupko-Lubczynska forthcoming.

¹¹ See also the object frieze in TT 39 (Davies 1923: Pl. XLVIII) where *mnht* is shown in similar fashion in the left part of the composition.

Lapp 1993: 87, 278 [B29b], Fig. 99g), where three pieces of *jdmj*-linen occur in the frieze [Fig. 8]. A distant parallel is found in the decorated burial chambers of the late Old Kingdom at Saqqara, where the linen in the object friezes is shown in bundles tied with strings, the size of the cloth indicated  [see Fig. 5]. The same size indicators are attested in yet earlier sources, in the “linen lists” mentioned above [see Fig. 6:A], which, in some (rare) cases (Der Manuelian 2003: 156) display all their measurements within the images of the fringed pieces of cloth [see Fig. 6:B].

New evidence from the Eleventh Dynasty tombs at North Asasif, which the author started to study in 2019, suggests

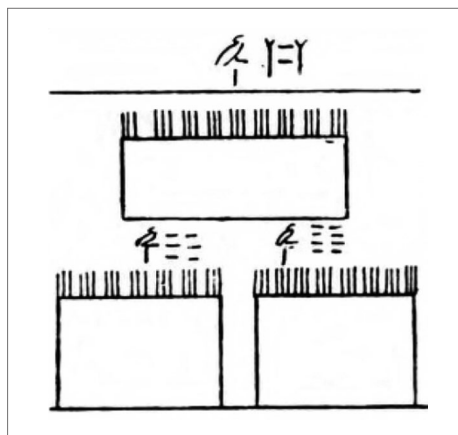


Fig. 8. Three pieces of fringed linen in the object frieze, found on the sarcophagus of Djehuty-hotep from el-Bersha, Twelfth/Thirteenth Dynasty (after Jéquier 1921: 34, Fig. 92)

that (one of the) sources of inspiration for the Chapel's decoration could have been located closer than previously assumed.

Three of the Asasif tombs—TT 319 (Neferu), TT 311 (Khety), and TT 240 (Meru)—preserve decoration dated to the final years in the reign of Mentuhotep II (Allen 1996) [Fig. 9].¹²

Neferu was Mentuhotep II's sister and his chief wife; her tomb is the first in the line of tombs at North Asasif, closest to the king's mortuary temple. The construction of the Temple of Hatshepsut blocked the façade of Neferu's tomb, “absorbing” it in a way. However, Hatshepsut's architects built a special side entrance to make the tomb accessible from the Temple's second terrace (Winlock 1942: 103–104, Fig. 8, Pl. 12). A number of visitors' inscriptions were found in this tomb (see Ragazzoli 2021, in this volume).

Khety was the treasurer of Mentuhotep II, equal in rank to the vizier (Allen 1996: 3–21, Fig. 3; 2003: 18–19); his tomb, roughly contemporaneous with that of Neferu, is one of the largest and the best exposed monuments at the site; it is from this tomb that we have the largest number of visitor's inscriptions (see Ragazzoli 2021, in this volume).

Meru was the overseer of the king's sealbearers (Allen 1996: 9–10, 16, 24, Fig. 3); his tomb ends the line of North Asasif monuments constructed and decorated under Mentuhotep II (the tombs

12 The tomb of Khety was uncovered in 1922/23 by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art expedition headed by Herbert E. Winlock. Neferu's and Khety's tombs were excavated by the latter expedition between 1923 and 1931 (Winlock 1923: 14–19, Figs 1–4, 6–12; 1926: 9–12, Figs 5–8; 1928: 4–6, Figs 2–3; 1942: 68–71, 101–104, Figs 7–8, Pls 13, 15–16). In 2015, the tombs of Khety and Meru started to be reinvestigated by the PCMA UW Polish Archaeological Expedition to the North Asasif (for details, see Chudzik 2016: 291–295, 297–300; 2017: 185–187, 195–196; 2018: 185–188, 192; 2020).

located further east postdate the reign of this king). The only decoration to be found in this tomb is located in the burial chamber (for preliminary considerations on its design see Stupko-Lubczynska 2020).

Architecturally, all three tombs represent the same type: the upper part (for the mortuary cult) consisting of a courtyard with mud-brick façade, a corridor, and a square cult room, and the actual tomb taking the form of a sloping passage and a burial chamber. The painted decoration of the burial chambers is preserved in all three cases, on the stone slab surface in the tombs of Khety and Neferu, and on the plastered wall surface in that

of Meru. The decoration is comprised of traditional motifs: offering lists, friezes of objects (Stupko-Lubczynska 2020) and, in the cases of Neferu and Meru, also PT and CT spells (Lesko 1979: 106; Allen 2006: 47–251; Morales 2013: 574–575, 578–579).

Of the three, the decorated burial chamber of Khety provides the closest parallel to the linen described as *wdb* in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. In this room, the object friezes occupy two opposite walls, the north one and the south one, while the two offering lists are placed on the other two walls, together with the offering tables and depictions of food offerings completing the composition

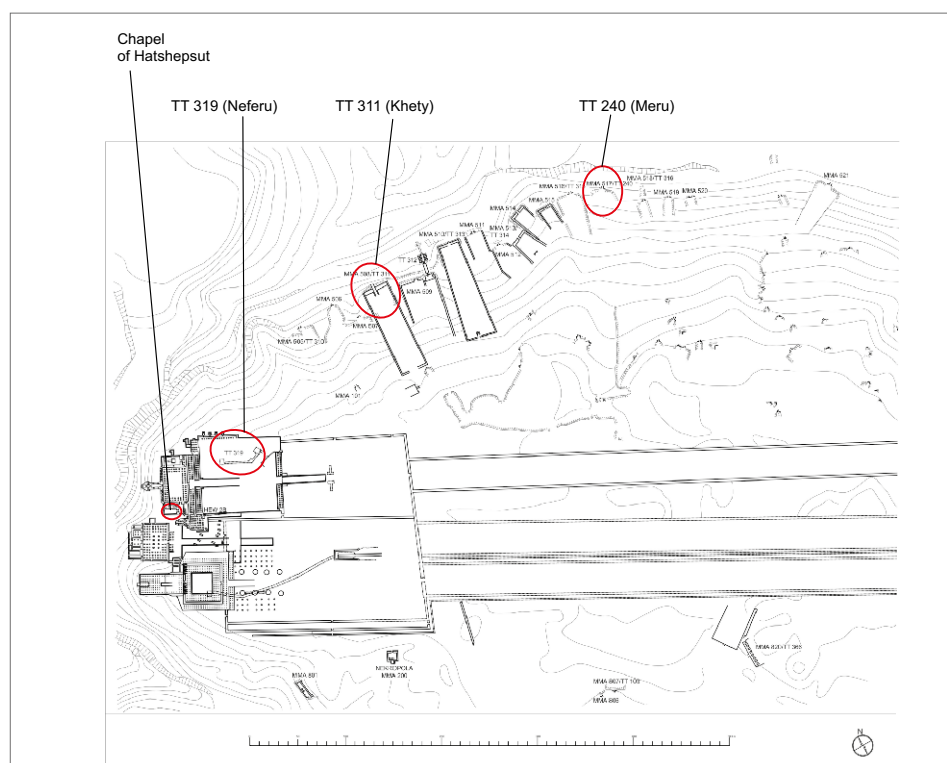


Fig. 9. The area of Deir el-Bahari and Asasif showing the relation of the Middle Kingdom nobles' tombs to the temples of Mentuhotep II and Hatshepsut (PCMA UW Asasif Project | digitizing K. Andracka after Eigner 1984: Pl. 1)

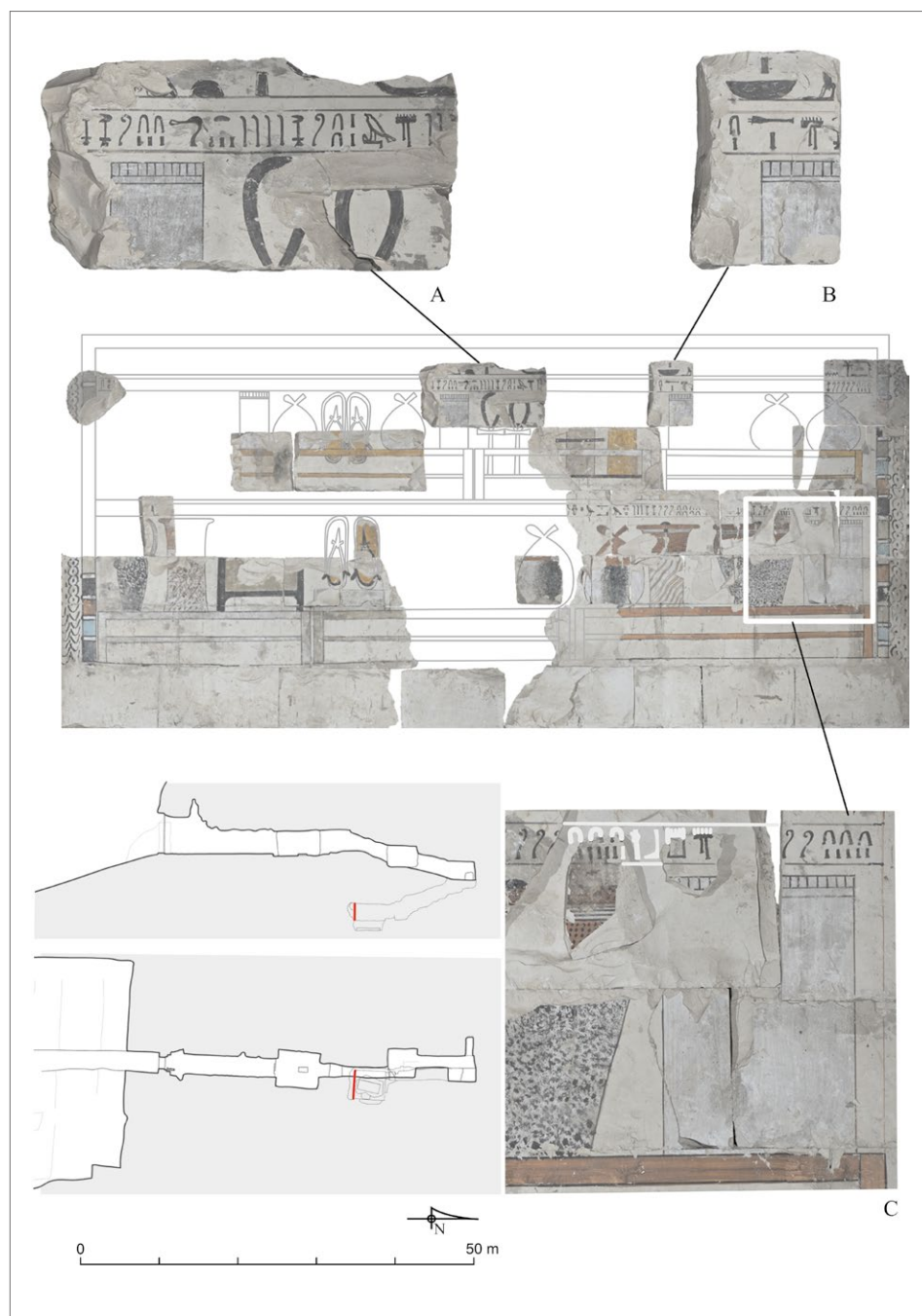


Fig. 10. Object frieze from the tomb of Khety, TT 311, south wall (PCMA UW Asasif Project | photo M. Jawornicki; editing G. Biczak; reconstruction A. Stupko-Lubczynska; plan K. Andraka based on 3D model by M. Mackiewicz)

(Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 67;¹³ Chudzik 2016: 294, Fig. 8). The object friezes on both walls are arranged in two registers, with a horizontal strip of text placed atop each one. The linen represented on the north wall, accompanying the customary set of sacred oils and eye-paints (Wilkinson and Hill 1983: 23 [18], 67 [48.105.35]), is composed of two *wnḥw*-strips, while the several kinds of linen found in the

frieze on the south wall appear among images of vessels containing wine, chests, *ḥnh*-amulets, and several pairs of sandals, all placed on low tables.

The south wall is not complete and its restoration is in progress, thus the description below uses separate numbers for the fragments, starting with the upper left corner, where the beginning of the frieze is to be located:

Fragment 1 [Fig. 10:A]

Goods depicted: Rectangular fringed object, painted grayish white and two *ḥnh*-symbols (amulets).¹⁴

Accompanying inscription: ... x + 2123 pieces,^a *p3kt*-linen:¹⁵ 41,122 pieces, *jdmj*-linen:¹⁶ 20,000 pieces + x^{b,c} ...

Fragment 2 [Fig. 10:B]

Goods depicted: Rectangular fringed object, painted white (its top left corner preserved).

Accompanying inscription: ... x + 11 pieces,^a *sšrw*-linen:¹⁷ [1000 pieces] + x^b ...

Fragment 3 [Fig. 10:C]

Goods depicted: Rectangular fringed object, painted white (its upper left corner destroyed).

Accompanying inscription: [...] -linen:^d x + 235 pieces.^{e,f}

^a The end of the number accompanying the name of an unpreserved goods.

^b The end of the number not preserved.

^c This part of the inscription demonstrates that the text is not strictly attributed to the goods shown in the frieze below, but runs (to a certain extent at least) independently of it: a “label” for the *jdmj*-linen appears above the image of two *ḥnh*-symbols, while the one for the *p3kt*-linen is placed between the images of two objects: the cloth and the *ḥnh*-symbols.

^d Short lacuna followed by a rectangular sign of uncertain reading (partly preserved) and the ►





13 Facsimile of the decorated burial chamber of Khety, completed by Charles K. Wilkinson in 1923–1924 for the MMA Egyptian Expedition (Acc. Nos 48.105.33, 48.105.34, 48.105.35, 48.105.36).

14 *ḥnh*-amulets are not infrequent in the friezes of objects, cf. Jéquier 1921: 333–335; Willems 1988: 213, 224.

15 On *p3kt*-linen, see Scheele 2005: 19–21.

16 On *jdmj*-linen, see Scheele 2005: 13–16.


17 On *sšrw*-linen, see Scheele 2005: 31–33.

¹⁸  determinative denoting cloth in general. Would it be *wḏb*, as shown in the reconstruction [see Fig. 10:C]? The only possible alternative is *sj3t*-linen, usually written as  (Scheele 2005: 26–27), with the  sign used here instead of  (the latter sign, Gardiner S 32, represents fringed material as well). The available space is insufficient for such an inscription, however.

¹⁹ The beginning of the number is not preserved.

²⁰ End of the frieze and text.

Even if the reconstruction of the word *wḏb* used in Khety's burial chamber [see Fig. 10:C] is treated as a pure hypothesis, the visual similarity between the images of the *wḏb*-linen in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and the fringed cloth in Khety's tomb is striking. Although, to be precise, one has to admit that Khety may not have been the only one among his contemporaries to have linen goods depicted in this way in his burial chamber. In Meru's case, the wall containing the frieze of objects is now largely destroyed, preserving only two kinds of fabric (*p3kt* and *jrtjw*), shown packed in sacks along with two *wnḥw*-strips (Stupko-Lubczynska 2020: 213, Fig. 2). Another decorated burial chamber of approximately the same date, that of the vizier Dagi (TT 103),¹⁸ fragmentarily preserved, must have contained an object frieze, as suggested by a fragment showing, presumably, two pieces of the

jdmj-linen, of two different sizes indicated by [four] and [five] fringe-signs,  (Davies 1913: Pl. XXXI.6).¹⁹ The only complete frieze of objects is in Neferu's tomb, but there the linen is depicted only as sacks and in the form of two *wnḥw*-strips; the fringed cloth does not appear at all.²⁰

Looking at the Chapel of Hatshepsut frieze, incorporating the seven sacred oils, two eye-paints and the *wnḥw*-strips, and continuing with the *wḏb*-linen and the *mnḥt*-cloth [see Fig. 1], one can compare it with the general arrangement of the object frieze in Khety's tomb, showing an order from head to feet but divided into two halves: displaying oils, eye-paints, and the *wnḥw*-strips (together with other goods, such as jewelry and weapons) on the head-side wall (N) and other textiles (together with wine jars, *ḥnh*-amulets, and sandals) on the foot-side wall (S).²¹

18 For Dagi's career, see Allen 1996: 12–15, 21–23, Fig. 3; 2003: 22.

19 On a system of indicating cloth size, formulated as “N x 10 cubits”, where N is the number of fringe-signs, see Posener-Kriéger 1977; Scheele 2005: 57–58; Posener-Kriéger, Verner, and Vymazalová 2006: 435–438; Jones 2010: 251–255.

20 The object frieze in Neferu's burial chamber is not published save for general views of the chamber in Winlock 1926: Fig. 7 and 1942: Pl. 13. By permission of the Supreme Council of Antiquities of Egypt, the present author was able to study the decoration of the chamber during a three-day visit to the tomb in 2017.

21 A similar arrangement of objects and their relation to the head and feet of the deceased lying in the sarcophagus is observed already in the decorated burial chambers of the late Old Kingdom at Saqqara, where the entire frieze is placed on one wall [see Fig. 5]. On the relationship between the parts of the deceased's body and the objects shown in the friezes see Willems 1988: 209–213.

FIELD VISIT OR ARCHIVAL WORK?

VISITORS' INSCRIPTIONS AND ACCESSIBILITY OF THE BURIAL CHAMBERS

The Eighteenth Dynasty visitors' inscriptions follow a general pattern: "This is a visit made by scribe NN to see monument X...". According to Ragazzoli (personal communication, December 2020; see also Ragazzoli 2021, in this volume), all the attestations in the North Asasif tombs are found in the corridors and cult chapels, and not in the burial chambers, suggesting that the latter were inaccessible at the time when the inscriptions were made. To quote Tamás Bács (2020: 7): "Awareness or ignorance ... of what was and what was not accessible or visible in any given period seriously impacts the way in which artistic production can be evaluated" (see also Russmann 2005: 23). Given the fact that tomb corridors and offering chapels were intended to be visited, the question arises whether the burial chambers could also be entered by the Eighteenth Dynasty "scribes"? In other words, what did they actually see during such a visit?

Archaeology does not provide a clear answer to this question because all the debris filling in the said burial chambers was removed during the first excavations and most of the information on the later use of these monuments has been lost.²² As a matter of fact, there is evidence of some Middle Kingdom Theban tombs (in the Birabi area) being reused in the Second Intermediate Period/early Eighteenth Dynasty (Miniaci 2016: 228–235, especially 229), indicating that the original burials

had already been disturbed earlier one way or another. It is not clear whether the nobles' burials from North Asasif suffered the same fate, although there is an indirect clue from one of the tombs, MMA 514, located midway between Khety's and Meru's monuments [see *Fig. 9*]. Remains of an early Eighteenth Dynasty burial were identified there, although the precise date (whether pre- or post-Hatshepsut) could not be established given the fragmentary condition of the material (Chudzik 2018: 191).

Still, a visit to a tomb "to see" is by all means an elusive act (provided that it has not been marked by an inscription commemorating such a visit or a copying grid left on the walls). Expecting to find proof of such a visit in the archaeological record is unwarranted just as, conversely, linking to it material from a given period (should there be any). There is, however, one architectural feature of the discussed tombs that is not without significance in this respect. It is the sloping passage, rather than a shaft, that leads to the three decorated burial chambers. It facilitates in a natural way access to the spaces in question, requiring no additional ropes or other equipment to enter.

Looking at the issue from another perspective, the decoration of early Eighteenth Dynasty funerary monuments contains some indications of inspiration by the textual content of these same burial chambers. According to Florence Mauric-Barberio (2001: 332–333), the first attestation of the Book of Amduat, which was

22 Except for the usurpation of these tombs for burials in the Third Intermediate Period; see Chudzik 2016: 294–295, 297; 2017: 190–192; 2018: 188, 191, 192; 2020.

found in fragments and attributed to Hatshepsut's tomb in the Valley of the Kings, KV 20—written in black in cursive hieroglyphs, partly in retrograde, directly on the surface of limestone slabs lining the rock-cut space—could have been inspired by the texts found in Neferu's burial chamber (TT 319). José M. Galán (2014: 266–267) points to the same burial chambers (i.e., TT 319, TT 311, and TT 240) as possible models for the decoration of non-royal burial chambers from the rule of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: TT 353 (Senenmut), TT 11 (Djehuty), TT 61 (Useramun), and TT 82 (Amenemhat) (the latter two tombs already mentioned in the context of their links to Senet's tomb, TT 60, attested in their cult spaces).²³ Indeed, funerary texts written in the burial chambers of TT 11 and TT 82—in cursive hieroglyphs, some passages in retrograde—evoke the inscribed burial space of TT 319. As for text selection, again, some of the texts found in TT 82 (PT spells 220, 221, 222: Davies and Gardiner

1915: 104, Pl. XXXVII; Galán 2014: 267) occur in TT 319 and TT 240 (Lesko 1979: 106; Allen 2006: 193–223; Morales 2013: 575, 579, Figs 193, 196).²⁴ Another example to be quoted in this context is the use of the PT spell 223 in the offering chapel of Rekhmira, TT 100, adjoining the offering list (Davies 1943: 74–75, Pl. CVIII; Hays and Schenck 2007: 101–102, Fig. 7.3; Hays 2012: 96, Fig. 10), and the same position of this text in the burial chamber of TT 240 (Stupko-Lubczynska 2020: 218).²⁵

Returning to the location of the visitors' inscriptions in the North Asasif tombs, assuming the unusual iconographic motif found in the Chapel of Hatshepsut is an outcome of direct (although perhaps not exclusive) influence of the decorative layout of Khety's burial chamber, then the placement of these texts could be considered as scribal custom rather than an indication of accessibility of the space. All the more so that the visitors' inscriptions appear to be concentrated in areas referred to as

23 On decorated non-royal burial chambers of the early Eighteenth Dynasty see also Den Doncker 2017: 345–346, although in the context of the subject under discussion, the present author cannot agree with the statement that having a decorated burial chamber was “an exclusively royal feature, from which ... a dignitary could not benefit in theory” (Den Doncker 2017: 346). Providing a decorated burial chamber seems to be rather a long-lasting tradition, with roots in the late Fifth Dynasty (occurring simultaneously in the royal and non-royal sphere; Bolshakov 1997: 112–120; Kanawati and Willoughby-Winlaw 2010: 21, 43–44) and represented at the Theban Necropolis by the said Eleventh Dynasty tombs. As brilliantly demonstrated by Mark Smith (2017: 96–101), the two spheres (royal and non-royal) were constantly interweaving and exchanging ideas, and the presence of certain texts and motifs in a given sphere does not necessarily indicate “royal privilege”, but could be a matter of a certain custom (decorum), vide the lack of decoration (images or texts) in the burial chambers of the Middle Kingdom royal tombs (Smith 2017: 166–225, especially 185–187). In this respect, see also above, note 10.

24 One has to admit, however, that these PT spells were extremely popular and functioned in many copies after the Old Kingdom (Kahl 1999: 82–125; Morales 2013: *passim*, especially 154, Note 418), thus “the impression of continuation or adoption of tradition is enhanced” (Hays and Schenck 2007: 102).

25 In TT 100, the text is followed by excerpts from PT 222 (Hays and Schenck 2007: 102, Note 59).

*Blickungsbilder*²⁶ or “focal point representations”, located in the tombs’ outer (and best lit) spaces, which were the first to attract visitors’ attention (Navrátilová 2010: 314–315; 2015: 262; Den Doncker 2012: 29–30; Ragazzoli 2013: 273 and Figs 21–22).

THE ROLE OF ARCHIVES

Another possibility, assuming that Hatshepsut’s “scribes” interested in iconographic and textual models from the past did not have access to the Eleventh Dynasty burial chambers, is that *Vorlagen* or master-copies of their decoration could have been kept in archives and were used by the designers of the decoration of the queen’s chapel.²⁷

In this context, one should recall Senenmut’s famous astronomical ceiling in TT 353 (Dorman 1991: 138–146, Pls 84–86), which was surely inspired by the decoration attested on some Middle Kingdom coffin lids (the so-called “diagonal star-clocks”, Willems 1996: 328–337, 485, Pls 34–38). However, when these ceiling compositions were being created, the designs were apparently studied from documents (master-copies) rather than from the coffins themselves. Only one such coffin is known from Thebes: a coffin belonging to Aashyt, wife of Mentuhotep II (T3C), buried in his temple at Deir el-Bahari (Willems 1988: 109–110; Kahl 1999: 198–202; Backes 2020:

403–419), while the bulk of the sources comes from Asyut. Interestingly, Senenmut’s version cannot be linked to that of Aashyt and derives rather from Asyutan sources (Kahl 1999: 200–202; Zitman 2010: 271–272, especially Note 1923).²⁸

The case of Puyemra, the second prophet of Amun under Hatshepsut, shows the same practice at work. The copy of PT spells adjoining the offering list found in his tomb, TT 39, emulates the design from the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Stupko-Lubczynska 2013: 654–655 and Fig. 2; as a matter of fact, Puyemra himself could have been involved in the latter work, Stupko-Lubczynska 2013: 661–662). In her detailed philological study, Kata Jasper has proven that what is found in Puyemra’s tomb is not a direct copy from Hatshepsut’s monument, but the result of working with another *Abschrift* of the same text or with the *primäre Vorlage* itself (Jasper 2017: *passim*, especially 53–55, 58).

Useramun, the vizier of Thutmose III, is believed to have directed the works in the tomb of this king, KV 34. It has been demonstrated that the textual material in Useramun’s burial chamber, in TT 61—comparable to that in Thutmose III’s tomb (Litany of Ra), as well as that in Hatshepsut’s tomb, KV 20 (Book of Amduat)—was also the result of working with master-copies and not copying directly from the royal tombs (Den Doncker 2017: 345, with further literature).

26 The term was introduced in Arnold 1962: 128, applied to Theban tombs by Barbara Engelmann-von Carnap 1999: 411–417, and explored in greater detail in Hartwig 2003.

27 For archives of earlier work models (or *Musterbücher*) see Müller 1982; Eyre 2013: 309–315; Laboury 2020: 5–6.

28 *Nota bene*, the influence of the Middle Kingdom tomb of Djefaihapy in Asyut (Asyut No. 1) on the decoration of TT 353 is almost certain (Kahl 2014: 161–163), suggesting that Senenmut and/or his tomb designers visited this famous and at that time the biggest private tomb in Egypt (I am thankful to Dimitry Laboury for this reference).

CONCLUSION

The scenes found in the Chapel of Hatshepsut are certainly the product of a creative approach to sources from earlier epochs. The motif of *wdb*-linen seems to point to the burial chamber of Khety (or its archived *Vorlage*) as a possible source of inspiration for its introduction in the offering procession in Hatshepsut's monument. If so, then the change or shift in the visual appearance of the representation, despite the same funerary context (that is, gift for the deceased), is noteworthy: the goods now carried in a procession, instead of being represented as a frieze of objects. The case is different with the scenes of bringing linen as a tribute for Amun in TT 81, TT 39, and TT 100, where the representations—although visually echoing those in the Chapel—were set in another context: a scene of “daily life”. Indeed, the notion of inter-iconicity provides a clue to the practice of implementation of sources, actually rendering “absurd the search for [exact (author's addition)] copies and models among ancient Egyptian artistic productions” (Den Doncker 2017:

335). What an Egyptologist could say at best is that models, icons, and patterns functioned in a dense network of associations and mutual interconnections, some of them quoted on purpose, to implement different strategies, such as personal visual rhetoric (see, e.g., Hartwig 2003; Den Doncker 2017), or to emphasize prestigious knowledge of old monuments and forgotten sources (on the issue, see Eyre 2013: 277–298). Others could have been referred to less consciously, some icons belonging to the mental arsenal of an artist (that is, anything he had ever seen), to be used in his own compositions.

As for the Temple of Hatshepsut, the research on the implementation of the Middle Kingdom models coming from the tombs of North Asasif is in its infancy, the decorative layout of the said tombs under study by the PCMA UW Expedition. Future research should shed more light on the issue. For now, it is certain that these monuments are not to be neglected as a possible source of inspiration for the Thutmoside artistic activities at Deir el-Bahari.

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Abbreviations

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- MMA The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
- Wb Erman, A. and Grapow, H. (eds). (1926–1963). *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache* I–VI. Leipzig–Berlin: Akademie-Verlag

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