

Mammals in the iconography of the Temple of Hatshepsut: a project underway

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Abstract: The project “Mammals in the iconography of the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut”, initiated by the author in the 2011/2012 season, encompasses a detailed documentation of the animals depicted in various parts of Hatshepsut’s temple in Deir el-Bahari as a prerequisite for in-depth research. The study follows a multi-disciplinary approach within faunal analysis, and is complemented with technological observations on the execution of relief representations from the temple. At this stage of the project, a general taxonomic identification of the animal representations is nearly complete and a further detailed study of each taxon has been undertaken. Both complete animals (mainly mammals for now) and animal raw materials were studied in addition to the contexts and scenes in which they appear.

Keywords: animals, mammals, Hatshepsut, temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari, temple decoration

The faunal iconography of the Hatshepsut mortuary complex in Deir el-Bahari includes animals of possible native Egyptian origin, as well as some from other zoogeographical areas. The “Mammals in the iconography of the temple of Queen Hatshepsut” project, launched by the author in the 2011/2012 season as part of a broader PhD project, aims at a comprehensive documentation and study of these representations, which encompass images of both complete figures and various animal resources, like skins. The present paper discusses the research objectives of the project and presents some of the initial zoological and taxonomical findings, while reporting the present stage of the documentation.

Therioanthropomorphic deities were not included in this research (unless

relevant to the main point of interest) and neither were hieroglyphs or the like. The focus was on animals in an ordinary, natural setting, that is, as far as anything can be considered as ordinary or natural in an Egyptian mortuary context, and specifically mammals, in spite of the presence of birds, reptiles, fishes, insects and even a crustacean and cephalopod in the temple decoration.

The fieldwork in the initial stage involves drawing (tracing) and photographic documentation of all animal images in their particular contexts. Thereafter input is required from several disciplines, namely Egyptology, zooarchaeology, zoology, zoogeography and ethology, to answer specific questions concerning individual physical features of the taxa, their behavior (an aspect still underestimated in Egypto-

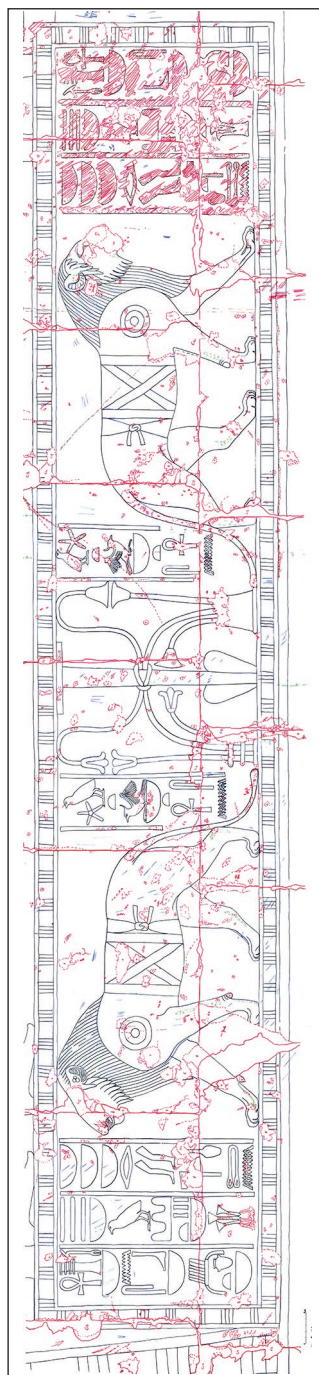


Fig. 1. Lions under the queen's throne. Southern Middle Portico, north wall — example of tracing documentation made for the purposes of the project (Drawing K. Braulińska)

logical analysis), geographical range and more.

The project is aimed primarily at describing the faunal iconography in relation to the temple decoration. The first task is to identify and catalog all the different species, their origin, role and significance, and thereafter their subsequent utilization by the queen in her own environment. This concerns live animals as much as animal raw materials.

The evidence as recorded by the author will be studied in relation to zoological data, as well as to Egyptian representations. The latter analysis, obviously juxtaposed with a study of the textual evidence, may shed light on significantly broader issues within Egyptology, for instance geographical ones. The images of fauna in the temple of Hatshepsut are presented firstly in the natural environment, then while being imported and finally after arrival in Egypt. This unique sequence suggests not only what the actual process of importation was like, but also why particular species were chosen to be brought into Egypt in the first place.

TOPOGRAPHIC AND THEMATIC RANGE

A perusal of the evidence from the mortuary complex provided a list of areas within the complex where mammal depictions are to be found. These are: Southern Lower Portico, Northern Lower Portico, the side balustrades of the Lower Ramp, Southern Middle Portico, Lower Anubis Shrine, Hathor Shrine, Northern Upper Portico and Upper Courtyard (see PAM 24/2: 13 plan with key to the parts of the temple architecture). The iconographic content of these sections was then assessed, using photography to plan tracing work;

this was followed by hand drawings to exact scale and line.¹

The scenes featuring fauna comprise among others: the Punt expedition with its several specific contents; lions under the queen's throne in relation to *sm^c-t3wy* symbols [Fig. 1]; feasts; celebrations; processions; ritual scenes; and offering tables. Interestingly, some images of animals are repeated in other scenes elsewhere in the temple, which seems to illustrate the queen's initial reason for both importing goods and their subsequent use. For instance, a pair of cheetahs depicted initially among the expedition goods, on the western wall of the so-called Punt Portico (properly referred to as the Southern Middle Portico), reappears twice in the scenes of festival celebration in the Upper Courtyard.

TAXONOMIC IDENTIFICATION

The taxonomic identification of mammals represented in the decoration of Queen Hatshepsut's temple followed the latest systematics, classified and juxtaposed for the first time [Table 1]. Several factors can make this problematic, such as animal features dimly pronounced in nature; features differentiating animals barely presented by the artist; features executed only in painting with no trace

in the carving; the artist's poor familiarity with the species or the specimen itself; standardized poses and lack of space for behavioral patterns typical of the species; incoherence of the latter depending on the location of a depiction in the temple (which is to the present author deliberate and indeed, aptly executed); the Egyptian tendency to depict an idea instead of the virtual nature of a particular individual or species as a whole; poor preservation in places decisive for proper recognition; constantly evolving systematics of species, due to zoological revisions; different opinions of biologists on taxa positions within the system; and finally discrepancies in the literature.

From the beginning work on the taxonomic identification concentrated on particular families of species. The first group to be studied belonged to the Carnivora order and the Caniformia and Feliformia suborders [see Fig. 2, Table 1].²

To follow the systematics, Caniformia, documented and studied first, are represented by one family: Canidae with, in this case, one or possibly two tribes: Canini (if one) and Canini and Vulpini (if two) (to be settled within a wider Egyptological study, as further iconographical identification is impossible without an accompanying inscription).

¹ Documentation of mammal decoration from the Chapel of Hatshepsut and the Northern Lower Portico was kindly made available by Anastasiia Stupko-Lubezyńska and Franciszek Pawlicki, respectively, who are responsible for individual study projects in these parts of the temple.

² To keep the main text coherent, Latin names are used, as not all have English equivalents. An exception is made for the names of particular species, for a better understanding of the text. These are given in parentheses in the text, which is however not related to the following case of its use. The differentiated citation (with or without parentheses) next to the Latin name of a taxon is due to the complex zoological naming. In brief, if the units (generic or specific name) have moved from their original position in taxonomy, their authors are cited in parentheses, otherwise, they remain without the latter. Unification to all the named authors being cited in parentheses would bring a taxonomical inaccuracy, therefore it was omitted exceptionally in the case of systematical name authorship. The principles are regulated in the International Code of Zoological Nomenclature announced by the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature. Latin and English naming follows Cichocki et al. 2015. Readers should note that the proper zoological nomenclature requires genus- and species-group to be printed in italics, while the higher taxa, despite the Latin script, are in regular font.

Table 1. Handy guide to the taxonomy classification applied in this paper, in order of appearance.

Taxonomic naming principles, including form, authorship, brackets etc., follow the International Code of Zoological Nomenclature (ICZN) as announced by the International Commission on Zoological Nomenclature. Latin and English (where available) naming follows Cibočki et al. (2015). If a species group-name has been moved from its original position in taxonomy to another genus, the author's name is cited in parentheses (ICZN, Art. 51.3, Cibočki W., personal communication). Square bracket indicates an author's name with title. An author's name which is not unique in the system is given with first-name initials. Both follow Cibočki et al. (2015).

Taxonomic classification				Latin name	Authorship/citation	English Name
order				Carnivora	Bowdich, 1821	Carnivores
suborder				Caniformia	Kretzoi, 1938	Caniforms
	family			Canidae	G. Fisher [de Waldheim], 1817	Canids
			genus	<i>Canis</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	
			species	<i>Canis (lupus) familiaris</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	Domestic Dog
				<i>Canis lupus f. domesticus</i>		
			genus	<i>Vulpes</i>	Fisch, 1775	Foxes
			species	<i>Vulpes vulpes</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	Cross Fox, Silver Fox (?)
suborder				Feliformia	Kretzoi, 1945	Feliforms
	family			Felidae	G. Fisher [de Waldheim], 1817	Felids, Cats
		subfamily		Felinae	G. Fisher [de Waldheim], 1817	
			genus	<i>Acinonyx</i>	Brookes, 1828	
			species	<i>Acinonyx jubatus</i>	(Schreber, 1775)	Cheetah, Hunting Leopard
		subfamily		Pantherinae	Pocock, 1917	
			genus	<i>Panthera</i>	Oken, 1816	Big Cats
			species	<i>Panthera leo</i>	(Linnaeus, 1758)	Lion
			species	<i>Panthera pardus</i>	(Linnaeus, 1758)	Leopard
	family			Viverridae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Civets and relatives
		subfamily		Viverrinae	J.E. Gray, 1821	
			genus	<i>Genetta</i>	G. Cuvier, 1816	Genets
			species	<i>Genetta genetta</i>	(Linnaeus, 1758)	Common Genet, Ibiza Common Genet, Ibiza Genet, Small-spotted Genet, European Genet
			family	Herpestidae	Bonaparte, 1845	Mongoose
		subfamily		Herpestinae	Bonaparte, 1845	
			genus	<i>Herpestes</i>	Illiger, 1811	Common Mongooses
			species	<i>Herpestes ichneumon</i>	(Linnaeus, 1758)	Egyptian Mongoose, Ichneumon, Large Grey Mongoose
order				Artiodactyla	Owen, 1848	Even-toed Ungulates
	family			Giraffidae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Giraffes and Okapis
			genus	<i>Giraffa</i>	Brisson, 1762	Giraffes
			species	<i>Giraffa camelopardalis</i>	(Linnaeus, 1758)	Giraffe
	family			Hippopotamidae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Hippopotamuses
			genus	<i>Hippopotamus</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	
			species	<i>Hippopotamus amphibius</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	Common Hippopotamus, Hippopotamus, Large Hippo
	family			Bovidae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Cattle, Antelopes, Sheep and Goats
		subfamily		Bovinae	J.E. Gray, 1821	
			genus	<i>Bos</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	Oxen
		subfamily		Antilopinae	J.E. Gray, 1821	True Antelopes
			genus	<i>Gazella</i>	de Blainville, 1816	Gazelles
		subfamily		Hippotraginae	Brooke, 1876	Grazing antelopes
			genus	<i>Oryx</i>	de Blainville, 1816	Oryxes
order				Perissodactyla	Owen, 1848	Odd-toed Ungulate
	family			Equidae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Horses, Zebras and Asses
			genus	<i>Equus</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	
			species	<i>Equus asinus</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	Ass, Donkey
			species	<i>Equus caballus</i>	Linnaeus, 1758	Horse
	family			Rhinocerotidae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Rhinoceroses
			genus	<i>Diceros</i>	J.E. Gray, 1821	
			species	<i>Diceros bicornis</i>	(Linnaeus, 1758)	Black Rhinoceros, Hook-lipped Rhinoceros
order				Proboscidea	Illiger, 1811	Elephants
	family			Elephantidae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Elephants
			genus	<i>Loxodonta</i>	Anonymous, 1827	
			species	<i>Loxodonta africana</i>	(Blumenbach, 1797)	African Bush Elephant, African Elephant, Savanna Elephant
order				Primates	Linnaeus, 1758	
	family			Cercopitheciidae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Old World Monkeys
		subfamily		Cercopithecinae	J.E. Gray, 1821	Cercopithecine Monkeys
			genus	<i>Papio</i>	Erxleben, 1777	Baboons
			species	<i>Papio anubis</i>	Lesson, 1827	Olive Baboon, Anubis Baboon
			species	<i>Papio hamadryas</i>	(Linnaeus, 1758)	Hamadryas Baboon, Sacred Baboon
			genus	<i>Chlorocebus</i>	J.E. Gray, 1870	
			species	<i>Chlorocebus aethiops</i>	(Linnaeus, 1758)	Grivet Monkey, Grivet, Malbrouk Monkey, Tannius, Green Monkey, Vervet Monkey, last two erroneously

Identified genera were *Canis* in the former case or *Canis* and *Vulpes* in the latter. A debatable representation is *Vulpes vulpes* (Red Fox) raw material. The species *Canis lupus familiaris* (Domestic Dog)³ was represented three times in a fascinating sequence of contexts, namely, in its natural environment of the Land of Punt, resting in the shade of a tree, panting(?); being led towards the loaded ships thereafter, still in a lively pose; afterwards, led and presented among other goods, apparently presenting distinctive behavior.

The Feliformia includes the families Felidae, Viverridae and Herpestidae. Felidae are represented by two subfamilies: Felinae and Pantherinae, the genera *Acinonyx* in the former, and *Panthera* in the latter. In the first genus the only species is *Acinonyx jubatus* (Cheetah), in the latter there are two: *Panthera leo* (Lion) and *Panthera pardus* (Leopard). Consultation with expert zoologists regarding the actual species of one of the felids based on the tracing raised independently the same interesting observation (Maria Krakowiak,

Warsaw Zoological Garden, and John Wyatt, independent researcher, personal communication). The Felidae family is the most frequently represented one in the mortuary complex, next to the Bovidae.

The Canidae and Felidae have been completely documented and presented already at conferences (Braulińska 2014; 2015a; 2015b; 2015c). Part of the lion documentation was made available for publication (Beaux 2015: Figs 4, 6).

Viverridae and Herpestidae are two other Feliformia families depicted in the temple. They are represented by just one animal each, respectively *Genetta genetta* (Common Genet) from the Viverrinae subfamily, *Genetta* genus, and *Herpestes ichneumon* (Egyptian Mongoose) from the Herpestinae subfamily, *Herpestes* genus. The number of representations may be small, but the significance for a general Egyptological discussion substantial.

The Bovidae family, classified to the Artiodactyla order, the current work in progress, is represented by at least three subfamilies with one genus each: Bovinae

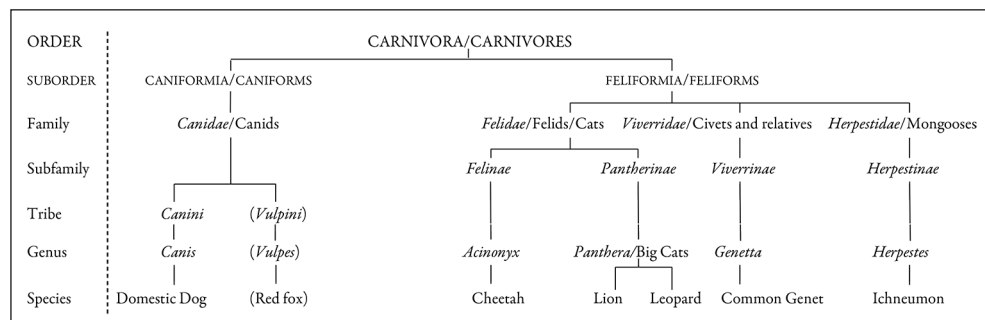


Fig. 2. The Carnivores order: example of the taxonomic zoological structure in the decoration of the temple of Hatshepsut. Tribes and genus of species that are not certain in terms of appearance in the decoration (see text) are in parentheses (Compilation K. Braulińska)

³ *Canis (lupus) familiaris* Linnaeus, 1758 (after Cichocki et al. 2015: 148), or more archaeologically correctly, *Canis lupus f. domestica* (Lasota-Moskalewska 2005: 22–23; translation and addition, Braulińska 2017: Note 1).

with *Bos*, Antilopinae with *Gazella* and Hippotraginae with *Oryx*. The Artiodactyla is represented in the temple by two other families: Giraffidae, with one genus *Giraffa*, species *Giraffa camelopardalis* (Giraffe), and Hippopotamidae with genus *Hippopotamus*, species *Hippopotamus amphibius* (Hippopotamus).

Images of animals from the Perissodactyla order are in the process of being photographed and documented. Representing the order are two families: Equidae, genus *Equus* with at least one species, *Equus asinus* (Donkey),⁴ and Rhinocerotidae with one genus, and one species. Although the genus *Diceros*, species *Diceros bicornis* (Black Rhinoceros) is mentioned in the sources, the final attribution to an actual species is still under investigation.

The order Proboscidea is represented only among the raw materials, that is, tusks of *Loxodonta africana* (African Elephant) from the Elephantidae family.

Documentation of the Primates order is nearly complete and only one family, namely Cercopithecidae, has been noted. Monkeys depicted in the Hatshepsut temple most probably come from two genera within one subfamily of Cercopithecinae and are represented most likely by two genera: genus *Papio* with two species, that is, *Papio anubis* (Olive Baboon) and *Papio hamadryas* (Hamadryas Baboon), and genus *Chlorocebus* with one probable species: *Chlorocebus aethiops* (Grivet Monkey).

The animal raw materials depicted in the temple decoration have been documented within the relevant taxa for the actual animals from which they came.

NEW FINDINGS FROM THE 2015/2016 SEASON

The strict system of analysis by documenting successive families was put aside temporarily on two occasions, firstly when a particular scene depicted several different animal groups and their joint documentation was necessary to keep the tracing consistent, and secondly during the 2015/2016 season, when revised priorities were adopted to aid Filip Taterka in his study of the meaning of ancient Egyptian expeditions to Punt (Taterka n.d.).

In the latter case, scenes on the south and west walls of the so-called Punt Portico (Southern Middle Portico in the official nomenclature) were documented. Both walls had been partly traced and studied in previous seasons as far as they depicted animals. Last season, work was extended to other images on the walls, including the easternmost inscription on the south wall, the chests accompanying the images of Felidae as goods from the expedition, and animal images different in their nature to those hitherto studied, such as the cobras in the frieze decoration along the ceiling edge. All the high-resolution documentation of the Punt Portico from the 2011 season and later was made available to Taterka for his research on the significance of Punt in royal ideology.

Aside from the main tasks of the project, the author discovered a non-faunal graffito that is puzzling because of its dating, style and subject. A study of this item is ongoing.

OTHER PROJECT OBJECTIVES

Added benefits from the study of the faunal decoration of the temple included

⁴ Should symbols be also considered in this research, there would be two species, as *Equus caballus* (Horse) is depicted on one standard.

a successful repositioning of a loose piece of decoration. This block fragment, with part of the head and horns of an animal identified as belonging to the *Oryx* genus, was refitted in the north wall of the Upper Courtyard. Another fragment representing the rear part of a striding animal, probably a member of the Carnivora or less likely Primates order, has yet to be identified with certainty and relocated in the temple walls.

A separate task, only loosely related to the project, called for re-inventorying the bone objects excavated by the Mission, their documentation and further analysis.

Some interesting observations were also made concerning artistic styles and has enabled comparison between the current state of preservation and earlier visualizations. Both the removal and addition of blocks can be clearly identified [Fig. 3]. The accuracy of the early records (by Naville, Carter and others), accessed in London and Oxford, will be confirmed by comparison with the new highly accurate retracings.

Detailed examination of the surface during the documentation process also

revealed a pattern of adjustment of the figures carved in relief, dating perhaps to the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. The changeovers concerned animal images specifically, as well as a whole scene at least in one case. This recarving of scenes, sometimes leading to serious changes of the original decoration program, will be the subject of further study.

The completion of zoological taxa documentation and further research within the mentioned disciplines is scheduled for the coming seasons. It is the base of the author's doctoral dissertation and will ultimately be published in a monograph detailing the findings concerning faunal iconography from the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.

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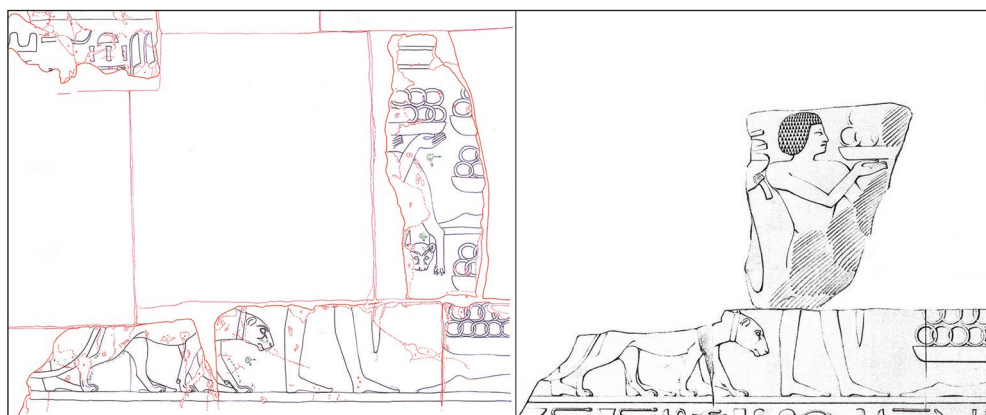


Fig. 3. Comparison between a modern exact tracing (left) and published documentation (Drawing K. Braulińska; old visualization: after Naville 1898: Fig. 76, fragment)

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