

# A “GHOST” FRAGMENT FROM THE CHAPEL OF TUTHMOSIS I IN THE ROYAL MORTUARY CULT COMPLEX OF THE HATSHEPSUT TEMPLE

Mirosław Barwik

Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw

**Abstract:** A peculiar drawing of a part of the decoration of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex in the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari, as copied once by Johannes Dümichen, is the subject of this paper. Its comparison with existing relief fragments leads to the conclusion that the plate in question is the result of an artificial juxtaposition of two disparate fragments of wall decoration from the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex.

**Keywords:** Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut temple, chapel of Hatshepsut, chapel of Tuthmosis I, offering ritual

Among the drawings made by Johannes Dümichen (1833–1894) during his work conducted in Egypt in the 1860s (Dawson and Uphill 1972: 92) there is one peculiar piece (Dümichen 1869: Pl. XXX) which, if taken at face value, could pose serious problems for a reconstruction of the decoration of the chapels of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari [*Fig. 1*]. There can be little doubt that the drawing was made from original reliefs during Dümichen’s stay at Deir el-Bahari. The drawing in question was reproduced and commented on by B. van de Walle, who interpreted it as a putative lost block from the walls of the chapel of Tuthmosis I (van de

Walle 1971: 32, Fig. 4). His interpretation is now to be rejected as there is no place in the chapel for such a sequence of registers as represented here (i.e., offerings at the top, scenes of butchery in the middle, and the offering ritual scene below). Registers of offerings superimposed over scenes of butchery can be seen in both the chapel of Tuthmosis I (east wall, northern part) and that of Hatshepsut (east wall), but nowhere can one discern such scenes in connection with offering ritual scenes. The latter are depicted only on the two long walls of the chapels of Hatshepsut (Naville 1901: Pls CIX–CX, CXII) and of Tuthmosis I, where remains of the scene on the north wall were the only ones to be published so

far (Naville 1906: Pl. CXXIX), the original sequence having been destroyed completely. Meanwhile the upper two registers of the plate published by Dümichen appear to be in fact a fragment of the decoration of the northern part of the east wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut [Fig. 3].<sup>1</sup>

Dümichen's copy appears to have been made with a fair degree of precision. It depicts the figures of two butchers cutting the foreleg of an oryx antelope. The animal's long horns are only sketched (as if erased), but sufficiently well to

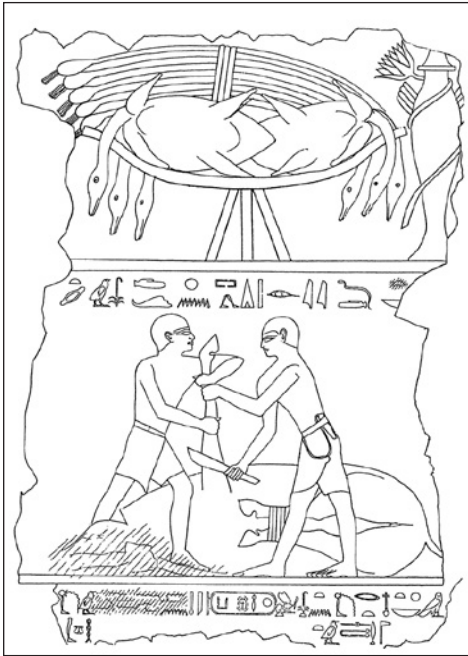


Fig. 1. Drawing copy (After Dümichen 1869: Pl. XXX)

enable its identification (which poses no doubts anyway owing to the accompanying inscription, see below). The head of the man on the right, missing from photographs of the first half of the 20th century, must have still been complete in the times of Dümichen to be drawn in the way exemplified in his plate.<sup>2</sup> Dümichen's drawing of offerings in the uppermost register of the plate is less accurate; indeed, it appears to be a mirror reflection of the actual motif, the jar entwined with a lotus flower being on the right instead of on the left of a stand with poultry and five onions (or leeks?). It may have been the effect of using a tintype photograph to make the drawing, but if so, then how should one explain the proper orientation of the butchery scene below?

Strangely enough Dümichen's drawing fails to show the actual edges of the blocks (save for the upper line of the reproduced part of the decoration perhaps). Even more astonishing is the fact that in the early 20th century, the two upper layers of blocks (with two registers of offerings), as seen today [Fig. 2], had still not been replaced in the wall (see an early photograph of the wall, Werbrouck 1949: Pl. XXVII). An unpublished photograph from the archive of Maurice Pillet (dated to 1912) shows the wall in question (albeit from the opposite, eastern side) apparently in much the same condition.<sup>3</sup> More importantly, these photographs document the decoration on the wall

<sup>1</sup> An identification already noted in PM II2, 360 (97 and 98); significantly, no mention was made there of the lowermost register of Dümichen's copy. The scene in question was not published by Naville; only the southern part of the east wall was reproduced in his publication of the temple decoration (see Naville 1901: 7, Pl. CVII). One can find a photograph of the wall in question in Pawlicki 2000: Fig. 67. The scene was copied later in the tomb of Montuemhat (TT 34), see Erman 1915: 92; Der Manuelian 1983: 225–226 (No. 4), 242–243.

<sup>2</sup> The missing part was completed recently with a new fragment.

<sup>3</sup> See No. B032-06 in *Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée* 2006 (reference kindly provided by D. Wieczorek).

including the third (uppermost) register of butchery scenes devoid of its upper part where the tops of the butcher's heads and horizontal inscriptions were carved. There is good reason to believe that the two uppermost layers with depictions of offerings, as visible today,<sup>4</sup> were returned to their place in the wall by Émile Baraize as part of his partial restoration in the first half of the 20th century (for his work in the Hatshepsut temple, see Bruyère 1956: 8; Dawson and Uphill 1972: 18). Even now the blocks of the restored upper part of the wall are devoid of the original pigments, the stone surface having weathered badly (see *Fig. 2*), an apparent argument in favor of their being relocated from another

place. But in this case, how had Dümichen managed to copy the two blocks from the upper layers of the wall in their proper relation?

There are no serious objections against him partly restoring the scene in question and even joining together the two blocks. It is more probable, however, that in the second half of the 19th century the wall had been standing higher than was the case a few decades later. On the other hand, copying the two blocks joined together, but not related to their proper architectural context within the frame of the east wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut would explain much better the incorrect addition of the lowermost register in the



*Fig. 2. Eastern end of the chapel of Hatshepsut; the discussed scene is to the left of the doorway (Photo O. Białostocka)*

<sup>4</sup> It differs substantially from the recent restoration of three offering registers, undertaken by A. Stupko-Lubczyńska, as exemplified here in *Fig. 3*.

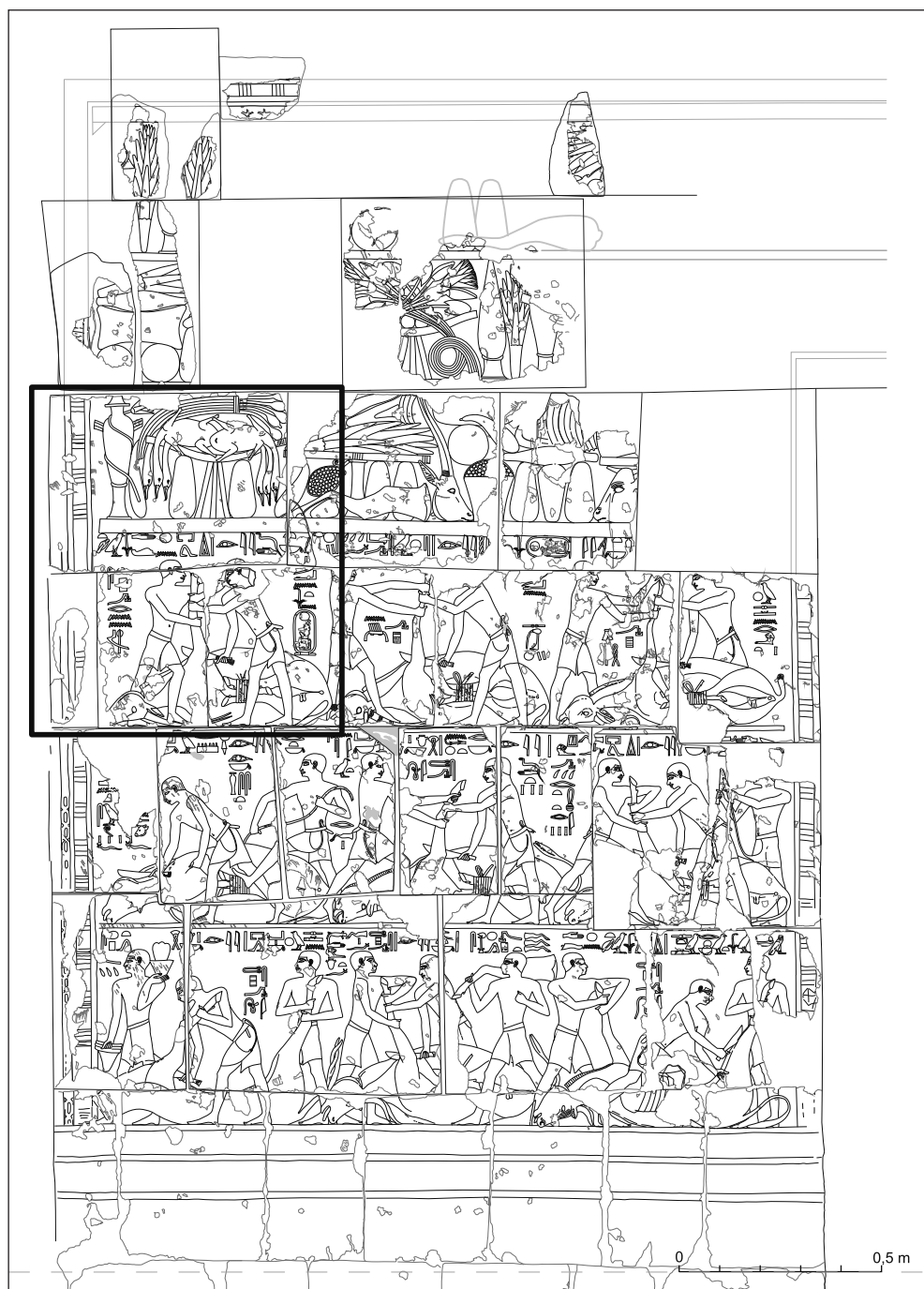




Fig. 3. Northern part of the east wall of the chapel of Hatshepsut (opposite page), encompassing the fragment which was the base for the drawing published by Dümichen; the two upper layers with offerings restored by A. Stupko-Lubczyńska; above, close-up of fragment in box (Drawing M. Puskarski, A. Stupko-Lubczyńska)



form of an incomplete inscription, quite obviously taken from another source (for this, see below).

Interestingly, the inscription accompanying the scene of slaughter was copied more accurately than the rest of the representation, thus well in accord with Dümichen's primary interest in hieroglyphic inscriptions. It concerns, however, only the main body of the inscription written in a horizontal line, while the two vertical segments were omitted entirely from Dümichen's copy. Interestingly enough this segment comprising the butchery scene was repeated in Dümichen's publication in the accompanying drawing on the same plate (upper register, scene on the left). Surprisingly, the two vertical components of the inscriptions were copied here properly, while the horizontal part is missing. The text, which is a sort of lively "speech bubble" attached to the figural representations,<sup>5</sup> can now be read as follows:

1. (Words of the man on the left):

*di pri hnd šwt štp rn n m3-hd*

"Cut away calf and piece of meat,<sup>6</sup> cut up the young<sup>7</sup> of the oryx-antelope."<sup>8</sup>

1. (Words of the man on the right):

*iry(.i) ddt.k w[b] sp-šn [m3]<sup>c</sup> n nšw.t [M3<sup>c</sup>.t-k3]-R<sup>c</sup>*

"I will do what you said:<sup>9</sup> pure, pure [tru]ly<sup>10</sup> for the king [Maat-ka]-Re".

One should emphasize the originality of these scenes of butchery and accompanying inscriptions from the chapel of Hatshepsut. They differ significantly from earlier sources despite going back to scenes of the Old Kingdom in general layout and inspiration (see Werbrouck 1949: 106–107). The legends accompanying the butchers are original enough to the point that they are drawn up in different form within the frame of the two tableaux depicted on the northern and southern parts of the wall. Significantly enough, the legends cited above do not find exact parallels in scenes of this type attested elsewhere. Compare, however, an apparently concise variant: *di pri štp.t n k3 n NN* "Cut off the choice piece (of meat) for the *ka* of NN" (Newberry 1893: Pls XVII, XXXV; see, e.g., Eggebrecht 1973: 278; Wildung 1984: 11), or else: *di [pr]i šwt hnd štp iw3* (see Fig. 3, lowermost register, on the right; for the comment, see Erman 1915: 92).

<sup>5</sup> For parallels, see, e.g., Montet 1910; 1925: 150–179; Franke 1993.

<sup>6</sup> For the meaning of the word, see Montet 1925: 169; Gardiner 1947: 15; Barta 1963: 48 ("ein Fleischstück"); Eggebrecht 1973: 102, 106; Megally 1975: 173–174.

<sup>7</sup> Less likely "fattened", as suggested recently by Strandberg 2009: 103–104; for a discussion, see also Osborn and Osbornová 1998: 8.

<sup>8</sup> For identification of the species, see Strandberg 2009: 12–13. As regards the religious meaning of the offering of the oryx-antelope, see Derchain 1962; see also Darby, Ghalioungui, and Grivetti 1977: 234–235; Franke 1993: 47; Strandberg 2009: 13.

<sup>9</sup> Sentence restored recently with a newly attributed fragment, not recorded in Dümichen's copy.

<sup>10</sup> Hardly likely that *m3<sup>c</sup>* stands here for "offerings" (see Wb II, 23 (14)), or the verb meaning "to present offering" (see Wb II, 22). For such meaning, however, see Newberry 1895: Pl. XXXIV; Blackman 1914: Pl. XI; 1915: 23, Pl. XII: *m3<sup>c</sup> n im3hw NN*, presumably a lacuna should be inserted in front of the phrase, although not recorded by the editor (see Newberry 1895: Pl. XXXIII.1, details unintelligible). Compare also legends accompanying other scenes in the chapel of Hatshepsut: one located to the right of the commented one (see Fig. 3): *iry(.i) h[ss]t nšw.t [M3<sup>c</sup>.t-k3]-R<sup>c</sup> [m3]<sup>c</sup> n [empty space for k3?]. š w<sup>c</sup>b sp-šn*; another one on the southern part of the wall, see Naville 1901: Pl. CVII: *iry(.i) h[ss]t nšw.t [M3<sup>c</sup>.t-k3]-R<sup>c</sup> m3<sup>c</sup> n k3. š (m3<sup>c</sup> apparently misinterpreted by Erman 1915: 91 as part of the *m3<sup>c</sup>-hrw* formula).*

The question of the highly enigmatic lowermost register as published once by Dümichen has now been resolved by the present author during the last season of work in the Hatshepsut temple in 2015. The identification of a small fragment of text [Fig. 4 inset] as belonging to a block once inserted into the wall decoration of the chapel of Tuthmosis I (south wall) by Émile Baraize, now enables the inscription to be presented in the form given by Dümichen save for a small fragment missing at the right end (see Fig. 4, lower register in the middle). One can now read part of a legend accompanying a sequence of scenes of the offering ritual (“Bildritualstreifen” or “Ritualbildstreifen”) once depicted below; the new readings of the erased part at the end of inscription are provided on the basis of the recent study:

[*dbḥ.t-ḥtp ḥnk.t nb.t ḥ3.w*] *m ḥ.t nb.t*  
*nfr.t wḥb.t n nsw.t-bitj 3-ḥpr-k3-R<sup>c</sup>*  
*m3<sup>c</sup>-ḥrw n [k3].f wḥb*

“[Funerary meal, every offering, thousands]<sup>11</sup> of every thing good and pure for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper-ka-Ra, justified, for his pure [*ka*].”<sup>12</sup>

The meaning of *dbḥ.t-ḥtp* as a denomination of offering necessities or requirement of offerings (“Opferbedarf”: Lapp 1986: 112, 192; “Speisebedarf”: Tacke 2013: 106–107; Wb V, 440–441), relating more specifically to the offering list as it seems (see Wilson 1944: 215

note 75, 217 note 95; Nelson 1949: 224–225; Quirke 2007: 103–104, 115; see Tacke 2013: 107), turns the inscription into a label of sorts accompanying the tabular offering list displayed on the right and above, and also the ritual scenes depicted below. The restored figures of priests [see Fig. 4 lower register] form in fact a sequence depicting performance of the offering ritual 2b – the *wḏb-(i)ḥ.t* or *ḥtp-ntr* offering, according to the description of the offering-ritual scenes by Lapp (1986: 177ff.; see also Spiegel 1956: 192; Altenmüller 1972: 85–89). Nevertheless, the inscription accompanying the *wt*-priest at the head of the register (restored here on the basis of the mirror scene on the north wall of the chapel, see Fig. 4) better fits the sequence 2a – the *ḥnk.t* or *ḥtp-dī-nsw.t* offering (see Lapp 1986: 136–137, 189), represented here in the upper register. Consequently the legend inscribed at the beginning of the upper register refers more properly to the meaning of the rituals represented below.

Three concise legends pertaining to the unpreserved figures of priests celebrating the mortuary rituals (recorded here from right to left) can be read directly below the horizontal inscription. The middle one, (4) below, was not recorded by Dümichen, whereas the inscription on the right, (3), may be restored after the version in his drawing, where the missing group *ḥm-ntr* was noted already. The very beginning of the sequence can be restored on the basis of a mirror scene preserved on the north

<sup>11</sup> Restoration after the version partly preserved on the north wall of the chapel [see Fig. 5]. The formula in its extended form does not appear in the chapel of Hatshepsut where only the *dbḥ.t-ḥtp* formula was inscribed beside the offering table, well in accord with a widespread iconographic pattern (see Naville 1901: Pl. CX; similarly in the chapel of Tuthmosis I, see Naville 1906: Pl. CXXIX).

<sup>12</sup> The lacuna is certainly too long in the version given by Dümichen. The inscription here was erased in part and only traces of the original *k3* sign are still preserved.

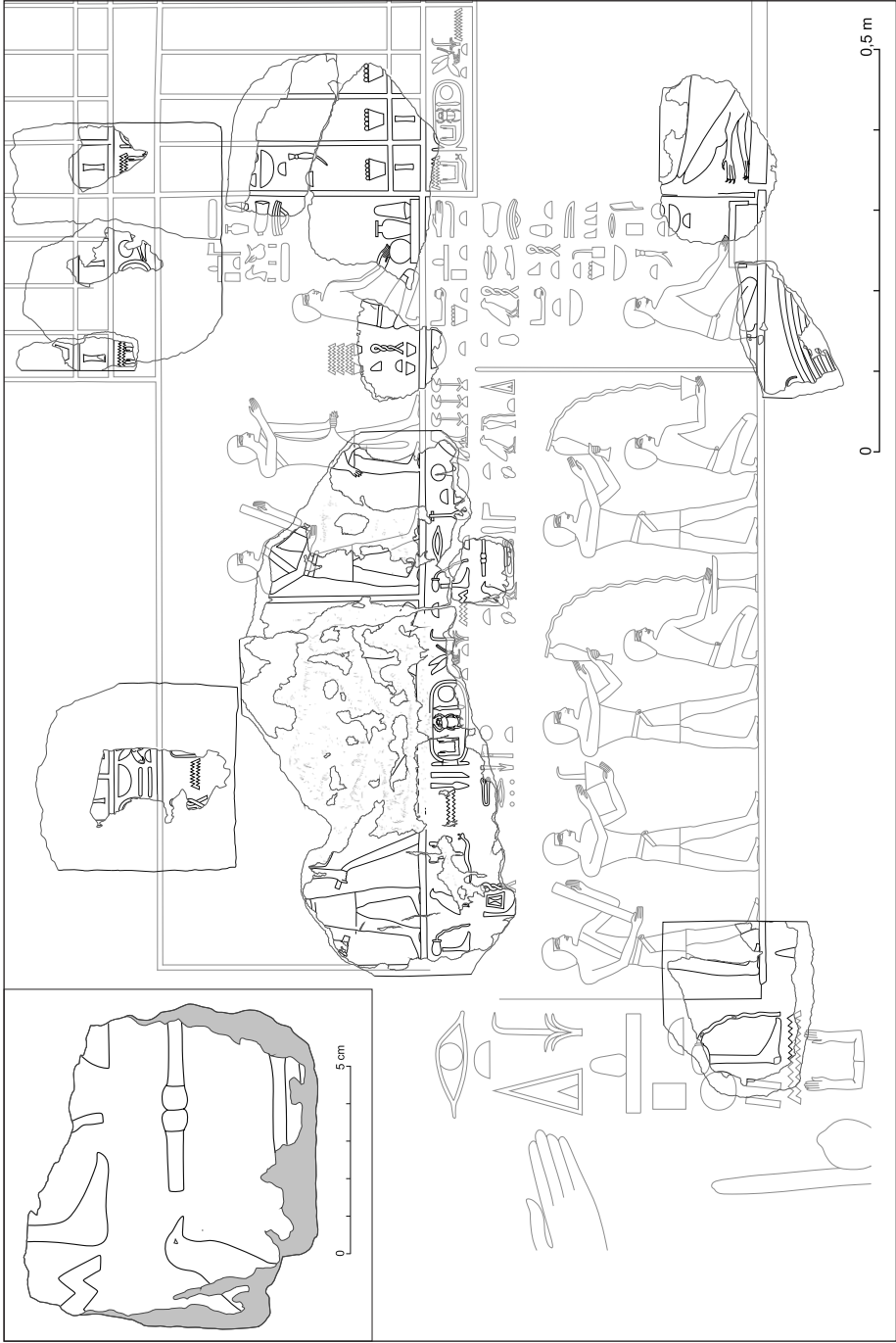


Fig. 4. Ritual scenes on the south wall of the chapel of Tutmosis I with the horizontal inscription (in the middle) recorded by Dümichen; inset, recently attributed fragment of inscription seen at center (Drawing M. Puszkarski)





*Fig. 5. Fragment of the offering-ritual scenes on the north wall of the chapel of Tuthmosis I (Photo M. Barwik)*

wall of the chapel [Fig. 5]. Thus, according to the reconstruction proposed by the present author, the fragment of inscription recorded by Dümichen matches the final part of the lower register of scenes of the offering ritual.

The restored sequence of priests and accompanying legends (from right to left) is as follows [see Fig. 4]:

1. Two fragments of the beginning of the offering liturgy sequence have been preserved with remains of a figure of the embalming priest kneeling in front of a chest and celebrating the offering rite.

2. Behind him one would expect the figure of a priest pouring a libation from a *hs*-vase to a vessel held by the figure of a kneeling priest depicted in front of him. The legend pertaining to this representation appears in the parallel sequence of offering-ritual scenes on the north wall of the chapel [see Fig. 5] and in the chapel of Hatshepsut as well (Naville 1901: Pl. CX): *di.t kbh.(w) wt* “pouring libation (by) the embalming priest”. The inscription recorded by Dümichen should be placed directly above the priest holding the *hs*-vase: [*hm-ntr*] “[the *hm-ntr* priest]”; the present reconstruction respects faithfully the position of this group as given by Dümichen despite the fact that it was attached to the following group label (it is possible of course that it should be moved a little bit to the right).

The location of this scene directly after the vertical dividing line [see Fig. 5] definitely excludes the figure of a *hr(y)-hb.t* priest reading from the unfolded papyrus roll, as depicted for example in the chapel of Hatshepsut in second position of the entire sequence of scenes (Naville 1901:

Pl. CX). For a similar omission, compare also the Old Kingdom (see, e.g., Badawy 1981: Fig. 1; two *hr(y)-hb.t* priests reciting *š3h.w*-spells were represented at the end of the sequence there instead) and Middle Kingdom parallels (see, e.g., Newberry 1895: Pls XXXII, XXXIV).

3. The next ritual act is announced directly to the left of the preceding part: *s(3)t wt* “pouring water (by) the embalming priest”. The kneeling figure of a man was depicted here, in front of the offering table, his hands resting on it (for variants and ritual meaning, see Lapp 1986: 167–168; see also Junker 1938: 107). A *hm-ntr* priest standing behind him was pouring water from a *hs*-vase. Nothing remains of this scene save the aforementioned fragment of hieroglyphic label [Fig. 4 inset] which, as noted earlier, must have formed part of the original block in Dümichen’s time.

4. (In the middle): [*ht sn*]*t[r]* “[fire (and) in]cen[se]” (see Altenmüller 1972: 87; Caminos and James 1963: 46); a priest (apparently *hr(y)-hb.t*) holding a censer in his hands would have been depicted below (for variants, see Lapp 1986: 169).

The highly restricted space between legends (4) and (5) definitely excludes the presence of a purification scene here, i.e., pouring cool water onto two pellets of natron (*kbh ntry t3 2*) by the embalming priest (*wt*),<sup>13</sup> as represented in the sequence of scenes in the chapel of Hatshepsut (Naville 1901: Pl. CX). A similar omission is observed, for example, among the Old and Middle Kingdom parallels (see, e.g., Badawy 1981: Fig. 1; Newberry 1895: Pls XXXII, XXXIV), but also in the Late Period version from the tomb of Aba TT 36 (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983:

<sup>13</sup> For the meaning of the rite, see Junker 1938: 103ff., Fig. 10a; Spiegel 1971: 74–75; compare, however, more specifically Caminos and James 1963: 46 (3); Barta 1963: 69; Lapp 1986: 172–173.

Pl. 51), which is otherwise placed within the frame of a decoration scheme inspired in many respects by the reliefs and texts from the chapel of Hatshepsut (see Der Manuelian 1983: 225; Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 161–162 note 877). In any case, it cannot be excluded that the omission of the scene in question was caused by the apparent similarity of two ritual acts, *di.t kbh.w* and *kbh ntry t3 2*, if one takes into consideration certain iconographic details and perhaps their general meaning as well (for this, see Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 161–162 note 877; see also Lapp 1986: 172–173).

5. (On the extreme left): *hr(y)-hb.t* “lector-priest”, carrying the papyrus roll and reciting rituals of glorification (*š3h.w*). The legs of this figure are all that has been preserved. This fragment explicitly ends the sequence of scenes in the lower register.

In recapitulation, the scene in its overall design differs significantly from that depicted in the chapel of Hatshepsut where the reversed sequence of ritual scenes (2a after 2b: see Altenmüller 1972: 87–88 note 39) was arranged in one register just below a compilation of the Pyramid Texts (Naville 1901: Pls CIX–CX, CXII). The reversal of the legends accompanying the initial scenes of both registers in the version of the chapel of Tuthmosis I finds parallel in the chapel of Hatshepsut (see also the tomb of Aba TT 36). As regards the iconographic scheme exemplified in the chapel of Tuthmosis I, it must have been the version

attested in the royal mortuary chapels of the Sixth Dynasty that set a pattern for the subsequent offering scenes in both royal and private contexts. Unfortunately, only the temple of Pepi II at Saqqara provides some substantial details (Jéquier 1938: Pls 61, 69, 70, 81, 87; Stockfisch 2003/I: 79, 286; II: 6.5.30).<sup>14</sup> According to a recent restoration by Lapp the scenes of the offering ritual were arranged there in two registers (Lapp 1986: 186), thus providing an explicit paradigm for the scenes in question. Profound modifications of the motif occurred in the decoration of the Old and Middle Kingdom private tomb chapels, as well as in the Theban tombs of New Kingdom date (see, e.g., Badawy 1981; Spiegel 1956), although some of the early examples provide significant parallels for the choice of ritual scenes (for example, the scenes from the mastaba of Kagemni, see Badawy 1981: Fig. 1; Lapp 1986: Fig. 64). A direct source of the motif in the form attested in the chapel of Tuthmosis I should be sought perhaps in scenes decorating the royal mortuary complexes of the Middle Kingdom, although most of the extant fragments of decoration of the royal temples do not authorize more specific conclusions in this respect.<sup>15</sup> It seems, however, that the details and also the general scheme of the decoration of the queens’ chapels in the pyramid complex of Senuseret III at Dahshur (Stünkel 2006: 153ff., Fig. 16) provides the most vivid parallel for the decoration of chapels in

<sup>14</sup> Only tiny fragments of the scenes in question have been preserved in the temple of Teti, see Lauer and Leclant 1972: 81–82 (Nos 49–50); Stockfisch 2003/I: 137. Of doubtful significance is the fragment from the temple of Unis, see Stockfisch 2003/I: 67, 137; II: 5.9.18.

<sup>15</sup> These are fragments from the temple of Senuseret I at Lisht (Arnold 1988: 79–80, Pls 50, 53), the temple of Amenemhat III at Dahshur (de Morgan 1895: Fig. 271=de Morgan 1903: Fig. 142; Arnold and Stadelmann 1975: Pl. 111b), and the queens’ chapels in the complex of Senuseret III at Dahshur (Vyse 1842: Fig. opposite page 63; de Morgan 1895: Figs 1, 178–180; Oppenheim 2002: 146; Stünkel 2006):

the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex of the Hatshepsut temple, and the chapel of Tuthmosis I in particular. Although the relief fragments from Dahshur have not been published yet, one can presume indeed that also the north chapel of the Senuseret III complex was decorated in a similar way (see Stünkel 2006: 159, 165). The lost fragment of decoration of one of the queens' chapels (Vyse 1842: Fig. opposite page 63; de Morgan 1895: Fig. 1; Stünkel 2006: 157, 159, Fig. 8) is especially informative as regards the structure of the offering ritual scenes in the chapel of Tuthmosis I. Certainly there must have been a connection in decoration layout between these royal examples and some private tomb chapels of the period. The most intriguing perhaps is the decoration of the chapel of Djehutyhotep at the necropolis of Bersheh (Newberry 1895: Pls XXXII, XXXIV) which corresponds substantially with the scenes of the offering ritual in the chapel of Tuthmosis I.

An interesting comparison can be made between scenes in the chapel of Tuthmosis I and the decoration of Theban tombs of the early Tuthmoside era. Whereas the scenes in the tomb of Puymra (TT 39) follow in many respects the patterns attested in the chapel of Hatshepsut,<sup>16</sup> the poorly preserved scenes in the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71) refer in general to the scheme of decoration evidenced in the chapel of

Tuthmosis I. In any case, the decoration of TT 71 provides a depiction of Senenmut's unnamed brother as officiating the offering ritual represented on the south wall of the tomb chapel (Dorman 1991: 43, Fig. 5, Pl. 10b, fragment G). It is paralleled precisely in the decoration of the chapel of Tuthmosis I, where the officiant is the king's daughter Hatshepsut in her kingly role (see also below). The decorative program and spatial distribution of the scenes of the offering ritual in the mortuary chapel seem to be very close in both instances, the only reservations resulting from the fact that the status of the persons concerned differed substantially. Thus one can see the upheld hand of the large figure of the officiant directed towards the register of priests celebrating the offering ritual,<sup>17</sup> depicted below three registers of the offering list. The act itself was described in a legend located above the chief officiant as: "Performing the *htp-di-nsw.t* (consisting) of every offerings (*hmk.t*), of vegetables ..." (Dorman 1991: 43, Fig. 9 (Text 10), Pls 11a, 24d). Unfortunately, the extremely poor state of preservation of the scenes in the tomb of Senenmut poses a serious hindrance for deeper conclusions regarding other details of the scene in question. In particular the arrangement of the offering-ritual scenes proper adopted here remains doubtful.<sup>18</sup> Notwithstanding, the extant fragments of the offering-

<sup>16</sup> See Stupko-Lubczyńska 2013. It does not concern, however, the pictorial version of the offering ritual, represented there only in concise form on the south wall of the shrine (or niche) in the middle chapel, which is significantly different, see Davies 1923: 31, Pl. LVIII (top). Such a correspondence exists notably in the case of the version from the temple of Ramesses I in Abydos, see Winlock 1921: Pl. IX; 1937: Pl. V.

<sup>17</sup> Contrary to a widespread pattern, the priests are directed towards the chief officiant and not the recipient of the offerings.

<sup>18</sup> It is hardly likely that the figures of the priests were distributed in four registers below the offering list, as suggested by Dorman 1991: 44, Fig. 5 (on page 39). The lower registers were filled more probably with a representation of the offerings, and presumably also offering bearers, as in the case of the chapel of Hatshepsut. Nevertheless, it is open to debate whether the scenes of the offering ritual were arranged there in only one register (as in the chapel of Hatshepsut) or else in two registers (as in the chapel of Tuthmosis I).



ritual scenes belong to the final episodes of sequence 2a, i.e., the *in.t-rd* ritual, and [*šd.t ššh.w šš3.w i*] *n h[ry hb.t]* (see Dorman 1991: 43–44, Pl. 10b).

Similarly, the decoration of the north wall of the mortuary chapel in the tomb of Ineni (TT 81) exhibits crucial elements in the distribution of scenes of the offering ritual (Dziobek 1992: 72ff. (Scene 17), Pls 20–23, 56; see also Spiegel 1956: 195, Pl. XIII.1), represented both in the tomb of Senenmut and in the chapel of Tuthmosis I. Here, too, the officiant presiding over the offering ceremony (the role was assumed by Ineni’s brother)<sup>19</sup> raises his hand in a typical gesture of performing sacrifice to the tomb owner sitting in company with his wife at the offering table. The offering scenes arranged in two registers below the offering list represent a shortened sequence of scenes of the offering ritual, of which the upper register corresponds perfectly with the version in the chapel of Tuthmosis I (upper register),<sup>20</sup> whereas the lower one presents a strange variation of the pattern attested in the royal chapel. Nevertheless, it seems reasonable to assume that the tomb of Ineni provides the closest extant parallel for the decoration of the side walls in the chapel of Tuthmosis I. The same can be

said about offering scenes in the chapel of Hapuseneb in Gebel el-Silsilah (No. 15), dating to the reign of Hatshepsut. Here, too, the scenes of the offering ritual were arranged in two registers (2a above 2b), and their contents and sequence are precisely the same as those of the chapel of Tuthmosis I (see Caminos and James 1963: 50–51, Pl. 38).<sup>21</sup> A lacuna in the middle of the lower register on the south wall can be restored safely with a scene of purification of the offering table, as (3) above. It is worth noting here that the tombs of Senenmut and Ineni, as well as the chapel of Hapuseneb are dated to not later than the reign of Hatshepsut (see respectively Dorman 1991: 22; Dziobek 1992: 19–20 note 42; Caminos and James 1963: 11, 42).

It is obvious now that Dümichen’s copy must be viewed as a crude compilation of two separate fragments of the decoration of the walls in the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, i.e., part of the east wall section from the chapel of Hatshepsut and a block originating from the south wall of the chapel of Tuthmosis I. Both subjects were merged together in somewhat unexplained circumstances, to the effect that the final plate represents a non-existent design of the iconographic decoration. One can

<sup>19</sup> Figures (now destroyed) of the tomb owner’s sons (wearing leopard skins as *sem*-priests) were represented in this context in the tomb of Amenemhat (TT 82), see Davies and Gardiner 1915: 75, Pls XVIII, XXI. Here, too, the scene in general was labelled as *ir.t htp-di-nšw.t ḡd-mḏw sp-4: wʿb sp-šn*.

<sup>20</sup> With the addition of two offering bearers carrying ox legs at the end of the sequence (two slaughtered oxes, with their forelegs cut off, are represented directly below), see Dziobek 1992: 73, Pl. 22b. One should note here that three *hr(y)-hb.t* priests carrying ox legs are represented at the head of the offering bearers in the chapel of Hatshepsut. Two *hm-ntr* priests carrying forelegs followed by two priests with birds are represented also in the Tuthmoside temple in Medinet Habu, see *Medinet Habu* IX: Pls 86–89.

<sup>21</sup> A useful parallel with the sequence of scenes in the upper register of the chapel of Tuthmosis I is provided by the scenes in the chapel of Useramun in Gebel es-Silsilah (No. 17), but here the scenes are arranged in one register, 2a–2b (see Caminos and James 1963: 61–62, Pl. 47). A comparison can be made here with the badly preserved sequence of the offering ritual scenes in Useramun’s tomb (TT 61), differing, however, in some substantial details (Dziobek 1994: 27, Pls 3, 52b, 60). More instructive in regard of this are the offering scenes in the chapels of Amenhotep I in the Karnak temple, see Graindorge and Martinez 1989: Figs 8, 9.



imagine indeed that two distinct drawings were juxtaposed artificially at the stage of preparing the plates for publication. The difficulty of doing that can be presumed

from the irregular outline of the lowermost register which does not fit perfectly that of the upper part of the drawing (significantly enough, the line was not even closed).

Dr. hab. Mirosław Barwik  
Institute of Archaeology, University of Warsaw  
00-927 Warsaw, Poland, ul. Krakowskie Przedmieście 26/28  
mbarwik@uw.edu.pl

## REFERENCES

- Altenmüller, H. (1972). *Die Texte zum Begräbnisritual in den Pyramiden des Alten Reiches* [=ÄA 24]. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Arnold, D. (1988). *The pyramid of Senwosret I*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Arnold, D., & Stadelmann, R. (1975). Dahschur: Erster Grabungsbericht. *MDAIK*, 31(2), 169–174.
- Badawy, A. (1981). The spiritualization of Kagemni. *ZÄS*, 108(1), 85–93.
- Barta, W. (1963). *Die altägyptische Opferliste: Von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche* [=MÄS 3]. Berlin: B. Hessling.
- Blackman, A. M. (1914). *The rock tombs of Meir I. The tomb-chapel of Ukh-Hotp's son Sonbi* [=Archaeological Survey of Egypt 22]. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Blackman, A. M. (1915). *The rock tombs of Meir II. The tomb-chapel of Senbi's son Ukh-Hotp (B, No. 2)* [=Archaeological Survey of Egypt 23]. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Bruyère, B. (1956). Émile Baraize, directeur des travaux du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte. 28 août 1874 – 15 avril 1952. *ASAE*, 54, 5–10.
- Caminos, R. A., & James, T. G. H. (1963). *Gebel es-Silsilah I. The shrines* [=Archaeological Survey of Egypt 31]. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Darby, W. J., Ghalioungui, P., & Grivetti, L. (1977). *Food: the gift of Osiris I*. London: Academic Press.
- Davies, N. de G. (1923). *The tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes II. The chapels of hope*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Davies, N. M., & Gardiner, A. H. (1915). *The tomb of Amenembêt (no. 82)* [=The Theban Tombs Series 1]. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Dawson, W. R., & Uphill, E. P. (1972). *Who was who in egyptology* (2nd rev. ed.). London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- de Morgan, J. (1895). *Fouilles à Dahchour, mars–juin 1894*. Vienna: A. Holzhausen.
- de Morgan, J. (1903). *Fouilles à Dahchour en 1894–1895*. Vienna: A. Holzhausen.
- Derchain, P. (1962). *Le sacrifice de l'oryx* [=Rites égyptiens 1]. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.
- Der Manuelian, P. (1983). Prolegomena zur Untersuchung saitischer Kopien. *SAK*, 10, 221–245.

- Dorman, P. F. (1991). *The tombs of Senenmut: The architecture and decoration of tombs 71 and 353* [=Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 24]. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Dümichen, J. (1869). *Historische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler* II. Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs.
- Dziobek, E. (1992). *Das Grab des Ineni: Theben Nr. 81* [=AV 68]. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Dziobek, E. (1994). *Die Gräber des Vezirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61 und 131* [=AV 84]. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Eggebrecht, A. (1973). *Schlachtungsbräuche im alten Ägypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Flachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches* (Ph.D. diss.). Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich.
- Erman, A. (1915). Saitische Kopien aus Der el bahri. *ZÄS*, 52(1), 90–95.
- Franke, D. (1993). Wandreliefs aus dem Totentempel des Sahure. Schlachtszenen und Opferzug aus Oberägypten. In H. Beck (Ed.), *Liebieghaus-Museum Alter Plastik: Ägyptische Bildwerke* III. *Skulptur, Malerei, Papyri und Särge* (pp. 33–48). Melsungen: Gutenberg.
- Gardiner, A. H. (1947). *Ancient Egyptian onomastica* I. Text. London: Oxford University Press.
- Graindorge, C., & Martinez, P. (1989). Karnak avant Karnak: les constructions d'Aménophis Ier et les premières liturgies amoniennes. *BSFE*, 115, 36–64.
- Jéquier, G. (1938). *Le monument funéraire de Pepi III. Le temple*. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Junker, H. (1938). Giza III. *Die mastabas der Vorgeschrittenen V. dynastie auf dem Westfriedhof: Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen*. Vienna: Hoelder-Pichler-Tempsky.
- Kuhlmann, K. P., & Schenkel, W. (1983). *Das Grab des Ibi, Obergutsverwalters der Gottesgemahlin des Amun (thebanisches Grab Nr. 36)* [=AV 15]. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Lapp, G. (1986). *Die Opferformel des Alten Reiches: Unter Berücksichtigung einiger späterer Formen* [=SDAIK 21]. Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern.
- Lauer, J.-P., & Leclant, J. (1972). *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Têti* [=BdE 51]. Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée. (2006). Les archives photographiques de Maurice Pillet sur l'Égypte. Retrieved from <http://www.mom.fr/pillet/index.php> [accessed: July 2015].
- Medinet Habu IX. *Eighteenth Dynasty temple*. (2009). Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
- Megally, M. (1975). Le Papyrus CGC 58081, suite du Papyrus CGC 58070 (Papyrus Boulaq XI). *BIFAO*, 75, 165–181.
- Montet, P. (1910). Les scènes de boucherie dans les tombes des l'Ancien Empire. *BIFAO*, 7, 41–65.
- Montet, P. (1925). *Les scènes de la vie privée dans les tombeaux égyptiens de l'ancien empire* [=Publications de la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg 24]. Strasbourg: Librairie Istra.
- Naville, E. (1901). *The temple of Deir el Bahari* IV. *The shrine of Hathor and the southern hall of offerings* [=Egypt Exploration Fund 19]. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.
- Naville, E. (1906). *The temple of Deir el Bahari* V. *The upper court and sanctuary* [=Egypt Exploration Fund 27]. London: Egypt Exploration Fund.

- Nelson, H. H. (1949). Certain reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I. *JNES*, 8(3), 201–232.
- Newberry, P. E. (1893). *Beni Hasan I* [=Archaeological Survey of Egypt 1]. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Newberry, P. E. (1895). *El Bersheh I. The tomb of Tehuti-Hetep* [=Archaeological Survey of Egypt 3]. London: Egypt Exploration Society.
- Oppenheim, A. (2002). Relief decoration of the King's Temples and Queens' Chapels. In D. Arnold, *The pyramid complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur. Architectural studies* [=Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition 26] (pp. 133–146). New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Osborn, D. J., & Osbornová, J. (1998). *The mammals of Ancient Egypt* [=Natural History of Egypt 4]. Warminster: Aris & Phillips.
- Pawlicki, F. (2000). *Skarby architektury starożytnego Egiptu: królewskie świątynie w Deir el-Bahari* [Architectural treasures of Ancient Egypt: The royal temples of Deir el-Bahari]. Warsaw: Arkady [in Polish].
- Quirke, S. (2007). "Book of the Dead Chapter 178": A late Middle Kingdom compilation or excerpts? In S. Grallert & W. Grajetzki (Eds.), *Life and afterlife in Ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period* (pp. 100–122). London: Golden House Publications.
- Spiegel, J. (1956). Die Entwicklung der Opferszenen in den thebanischen Gräbern. *MDAIK*, 14, 190–207.
- Spiegel, J. (1971). *Das Auferstehungsritual der Unas-Pyramide; Beschreibung und erläuterte Übersetzung* [=ÄA 23]. Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz.
- Stockfisch, D. (2003). *Untersuchungen zum Totenkult des ägyptischen Königs im Alten Reich: die Dekoration der königlichen Totenkultanlagen I–II*. Hamburg: Kováč.
- Strandberg, Å. (2009). *The gazelle in ancient Egyptian art: Image and meaning* [=Uppsala Studies in Egyptology 6]. Uppsala: Uppsala Universitet.
- Stünkel, I. (2006). The relief decoration of the cult chapels of royal women in the pyramid complex of Senusret III at Dahshur. In M. Bárta, F. Coppens, & J. Krejčí (Eds.), *Abusir and Saqqara in the year 2005: Proceedings of the conference held in Prague, June 27–July 5, 2005* (pp. 147–166). Prague: Czech Institute of Egyptology, Faculty of Arts, Charles University in Prague.
- Stupko-Lubczyńska, A. (2013). The Chapel of Hatshepsut as an inspiration for the Theban tombs decoration. The case of TT 39 (Puyemre). *Et Trav*, 26, 653–662.
- Tacke, N. (2013). *Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches II. Übersetzung und Kommentar* [=OLA 222]. Leuven: Peeters.
- van de Walle, B. (1971). Un bloc sculpté provenant de la chapelle des offrandes de Thoutmosis I<sup>er</sup> au temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari. *CdE*, 46(91), 23–34.
- Vyse, H. (1842). *Operations carried on at the pyramids of Gizeh in 1837*, III. Appendix. London: J. Weale.
- Werbrouck, M. (1949). *Le temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari*. Brussels: Fondation égyptologique reine Élisabeth.
- Wildung, D. (1984). *L'âge d'or de l'Egypte: le Moyen Empire*. Fribourg: Office du Livre.

- Wilson, J. A. (1944). Funeral services of the Egyptian Old Kingdom. *JNES*, 3(4), 201–218.
- Winlock, H. E. (1921). *Bas-reliefs from the temple of Rameses I at Abydos*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.
- Winlock, H. E. (1937). *The temple of Ramesses I at Abydos*. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art.