

Mirosław Barwik

with a contribution by Teresa Dzedzic

THE ROYAL MORTUARY CULT COMPLEX IN THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT AT DEIR EL-BAHARI

PART 1: THE CHAPEL OF TUTHMOSIS I



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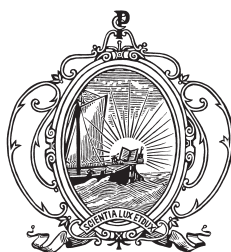
THE ROYAL MORTUARY
CULT COMPLEX
IN THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT
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Part I: The Chapel of Tuthmosis I

By

Mirosław BARWIK

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Teresa DZIEDZIC



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PREFACE

The study of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex in the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari, undertaken by the present author in 2001, was in fact a continuation of work initiated earlier by the Epigraphic Mission led by Janusz Karkowski and then by the team headed by Franciszek Pawlicki. Their findings were presented to some extent in a series of published preliminary reports. A portfolio of Karkowski's documentation is kept in the archives of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw. The bulk of the reconstruction work was done by the present author.

The present study is based on extensive documentation carried out by a team managed by the author within the frame of the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission: Teresa Dziedzic (architect), Marek Puzkarski (artist), Adrianna Madej (egyptologist, artist), Maciej Jawornicki (photographer), in collaboration with Aleksandra Brzozowska (architect), Mariusz Caban (artist), Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczyńska (egyptologist, artist), and Katarzyna Szantoch (artist). The team's conservators were continuously on hand to assist with these efforts and I would like to thank all of them and Maria Lulkiewicz in particular. I am deeply obliged to Iwona Zych (Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw) who undertook the arduous task of editing the book and revising my English.

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Last but hardly the least, my sincere thanks go to Zbigniew E. Szafranski, Director of the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at Deir el-Bahari, as well as to the Authorities of the Supreme Council of Antiquities in Cairo and of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology, University of Warsaw, the latter not the least for financing the publication of this book in open access from the funds of the Ministry of Education and Science program for the “Internationalization of research of the University of Warsaw Archaeological Research Centers in Egypt, Peru, Georgia and Montenegro”.

Warsaw, July 2019

Mirosław Barwik

ABBREVIATIONS

ÄA	<i>Ägyptologische Abhandlungen</i>
ÄF	<i>Ägyptologische Forschungen</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
ASE	<i>Archaeological Survey of Egypt</i>
AV	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen</i>
BAR IS	<i>British Archaeological Reports, International Series</i>
BdE	<i>Bibliothèque d'étude</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BSFE	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i>
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
EtTrav	<i>Études et travaux</i>
FIFAO	<i>Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
MÄS	<i>Münchener ägyptologische Studien</i>
MDAIK	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
MEEF	<i>Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund</i>
MIFAO	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia lovaniensia analecta</i>
PAM	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i>
PMMA	<i>Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'Égyptologie</i>
SAK	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
SDAIK	<i>Sonderschrift des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
Wb.	Erman, A. and Grapow, H. (eds). (1926). <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I–VII</i> . Berlin: Akademie-Verlag
ZÄS	<i>Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

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INTRODUCTION

The beginnings of scientific research in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I can be traced back to the early 19th century when visitors to the Hatshepsut temple recorded the existence of a small chapel adjoining the impressive Offering Chapel of Hatshepsut. On a simplified plan of the temple in the manuscripts of Robert Hay (1799–1863) there is a space corresponding to the chapel despite the fact that it was then covered with rubble.¹ Plans of the Hatshepsut temple published in *Description de l'Égypte* and in the *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* of Richard Lepsius (1810–1884) (see Lepsius 1849: Pl. 87; Naville 1894: Pls 1–2) showed an empty space, but without any reference to the architectural form, north of the Chapel of Hatshepsut.² Following his excavations in the Hatshepsut temple, which started in 1858, Auguste Mariette (1821–1881) did not comment on it other than to interpret, somewhat incorrectly, the position of the walls on the plan (Mariette 1877: Pls 1–2). Mariette succeeded in clearing the southern part of the upper terrace of the temple (see Naville 1894: 12; 1901: 6; 1906: 2). In the 1860s, Johannes Dümichen (1833–1894) copied one of the inscriptions from the south wall of the chapel (Dümichen 1869: Pl. 30 [right]; van de Walle 1971: 33, Fig. 4), although the context that he gave was clearly false (Barwik 2015). The area of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I can be seen to the right in a photograph that he took of the Chapel of Hatshepsut; both of the chapels were still filled with debris at the time (Dümichen 1871: Pl. 17; see Godlewski 1986: Fig. 16).

Édouard Naville (1844–1926), assisted by Somers Clarke (1841–1926), is the author of the first correct architectural description of the temple, including a plan of the chapel of Tuthmosis I (Naville 1908: 26, Pls 172, 174). Most importantly, he completed the cleaning of the area of the chapels of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex [see *Pl. 1A*] and was able in consequence to publish a drawing of the preserved part of the north wall of the Tuthmosis I chapel (Naville 1906: 6, Pl. 129), although mistakenly inserting into it one of the blocks from the ruined south wall. Herbert E. Winlock continued the research on the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, proposing a reconstruction of the west wall of the chapel with its granite false-door stela, which had been removed a hundred years earlier by Yanni Athanasi (Winlock 1929: 57, Pl. 13).³ Winlock failed to observe all the details of the curious architectural structure of the chapel, which has only one inclined lateral wall, and as a result his restored frame of the west wall does not match that proposed in the present work [see *Pl. 14*]. However, one should note that he correctly recognized the presence of a vaulted ceiling above the chapel.⁴

¹ For his drawings made at Deir el-Bahari, see Hay MSS. 29821, 116, 120, 133–134 (British Library, London); see Godlewski 1986: Figs 1, 4, 5.

² Jean-François Champollion (1790–1832) did not mention the chapel in his *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* (see Champollion 1844: 572–576), even though he must have seen it at least partly uncovered (his visit presumably coincided with Yanni Athanasi's activities in the temple area), see Karkowski 1979: 10.

³ The stela (Louvre C 48) was acquired in 1826 by the Louvre Museum as part of the second collection of Henry Salt (1780–1827).

⁴ An idea subsequently repeated by Werbrouck 1949: 103; for an earlier opinion of Clarke, who imagined a flat roof of slabs above the chapel, see Naville 1908: 26, Pl. 173.

The reconstruction of the chapel by Émile Baraize (1874–1952), conducted on behalf of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte, cannot be dated precisely,⁵ except that it could not have been before 1912, which is the date of a photo taken of the two chapels still before restoration (now in the archives of Maurice Pillet [1881–1964] in the collection of the Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée, Université Lumière Lyon).⁶ This was more or less the state of the chapel at the close of the work of the Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition as exemplified by another photo [*Pl. 1B*] from Winlock's archive (now in the MMA, New York).⁷ The work of restoration in this part of the temple must have been in progress when Baraize discovered a tomb from the Third Intermediate Period in front of the Chapel of Hatshepsut during the season of 1932–1933 (Bruyère 1956b).

The history of how some decorated blocks originating from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I found their way finally into the collections of the Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen (Inv. No. ÆIN 713),⁸ the Musée du Louvre, Paris (Inv. No. E 27462),⁹ the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (Inv. No. E.SS.39), and the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin (Inv. No. ÄM 14144) cannot be traced in any detail.¹⁰ Even less can be said about a block decorated with a head of Tuthmosis I, from the collection of Maurice Bérard (otherwise unknown), that was sold at auction by Sotheby's, New York.¹¹ The dimensions of the block, given in the auction catalogue, and its stylistic features strongly suggest a connection with the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (specifically, the south wall, see *Pls 12.4; 23.8:45*). It is thus the sole extant portrait of Tuthmosis I on the walls of his mortuary chapel.¹²

The excavations undertaken by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology in the area of the Tuthmosis III temple at the beginning of the 1960s provided at least three decorated fragments (Inv. Nos F. 381, 825, and 2340, Lipińska 1966: 80 No. 43, 85 No. 57, *Pls 17bis, 22.1; Dąbrowski 1968: 123 No. 89, Pl. 27*). These were restored to their place in the decoration of the north wall of the chapel [see *Pl. 24.3:12*] and the north wall of the vestibule [see *Pls 19.3:20; 19.5:26*]. The clearing of the chapel pavement in the 2007/2008 season, which exposed the bedrock on which the stone slabs were laid [see *Pl. 1.C*], did not yield any new fragments of wall decoration (Szafranski 2011: 197, Fig. 5). A fragment attributed to the north chapel wall was found in the course of excavations conducted in 2005/2006 in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Inv. No. B 688, see *Pl. 24.5:24*) and some decorated fragments belonging to the Royal Complex, and the vestibule of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I in particular, were found in the same season behind the south wall of the complex.¹³ Most of the fragments of reliefs preserving vivid traces of

⁵ No dates relating to his activity in Deir el-Bahari were given in Bruyère 1956a; Dawson and Uphill 1972: 18; Bierbrier 2012: 39–40; compare also a comment by Karkowski 1979: 13.

⁶ Photo No. B032-06: www.mom.fr/pillet/index.php (reference kindly provided by D.F. Wiczorek). Baraize started his activity in the temple at a much earlier date, see Baraize 1906.

⁷ MMA photo T.698 (courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York); see Winlock 1929: Pl. 12.

⁸ See Jørgensen 1998: 42–43 (“acquired in Egypt in 1895”).

⁹ Still in a private collection in 1971, see van de Walle 1971: 26–28.

¹⁰ According to Lipińska (1974: 167, No. 8), “acquired in 1898 (Dr. Reinhardt)”.

¹¹ Offered for sale in Sotheby's London, on December 13 and 14, 1990 (No. 51); subsequently in New York, on December 17, 1992 (No. 21) and May 31, 1997 (No. 42); for the last auction, see Sotheby's *Auction Catalogue. Antiquities and Islamic Art. Sotheby's New York, May 31, 1997*.

¹² It was misidentified in the auction catalogue as a portrait head of Hatshepsut.

¹³ For the excavations, see Szafranski 2008: 276 (S.2/06), 280 (S.1/06) and Fig. 5.

polychromy come from this last excavation, and their contribution to the reconstruction is exceptionally significant because the extant blocks with reliefs from the two vestibules and the Tuthmosis I chapel are devoid of much of the painted decoration mainly due to long exposure.

A general description of the chapel decoration, based on earlier studies, is given by Janusz Karkowski (2001b: 148–150) and recently by Jadwiga Iwaszczuk (2016b: 204–205, 216–219).¹⁴ The Coptic inscriptions and drawings on the walls of the chapel and its vestibule were studied in detail by Włodzimierz Godlewski in the context of his comprehensive research on the vestiges of the Coptic monastery on the upper terrace of the temple (1986: 104 No. 45, 106 Nos 48–49, 107 Nos 55–56, 149 Nos 20–23, Figs 38, 40, Pls II, III).

The Chapel of Tuthmosis I is part of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex located in the southern part of the upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple. Built by order of the queen for her deceased father, the chapel was intended to house a mortuary cult of Tuthmosis I, no doubt in relation to that in the adjoining Chapel of Hatshepsut. It was simultaneously a monument of the queen's personal devotion to the memory of her father,¹⁵ although political motives also played an undoubtedly prominent role in the establishment of such a pious foundation. Its decoration, patterned upon that of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, although significantly smaller in scale, follows iconographic schemes in vogue from the illustrious era of the Old Kingdom and the pyramid temples of the great pharaohs of the past. Forgotten and completely demolished after the mortuary cults ceased to be celebrated in the royal temples at Deir el-Bahari, the chapel has now been studied and a reconstruction of its fragmented decoration has been proposed on the grounds of what has been preserved.

¹⁴ See also Nelson 1941: Pl. 35; Arnold 1962: 58–60; Barta 1967: 49–50; van de Walle 1971: 24–26; Porter and Moss 1972: 361.

¹⁵ Seti I acted in the same way, building a temple for his deceased father, Ramesses I, at Abydos; see Winlock 1921; 1937; for the comment, see van de Walle 1971: 26.

THE VESTIBULE

The small vestibule that preceded the chapel had a ceiling of its own, supported on an architrave. This caused the wall decoration to be executed in raised relief, in similarity to the chapel proper. The fecundity figures and personifications of seasons depicted here seem to be a continuation of scenes of a nome procession on the east wall of the small open court of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex (for a detailed description, see Białostocka 2014).¹⁶ Offering bearers taking on the form of fecundity figures, personifications of nomes and of seasons, as well as of royal foundations and other geographic entities, seem to be a common element of the decoration of royal mortuary complexes starting from the Old Kingdom (see, e.g., Białostocka 2014: 23; Ćwiek 2014: 87), and they also appear in private contexts (see, e.g., Jacquet-Gordon 1977; Harpur 1987: 82–83).

SOUTH WALL [PL. 5]

The two lowermost registers constitute the part of the decoration on the wall that is an ancient restoration following complete erasure in the Amarna period. The poor quality of this restoration is paralleled in other parts of the complex. It sheds some light on the techniques adopted by the post-Amarna restorers, working most probably in the early years of the Nineteenth Dynasty when most of the restoration in the temple took place. The date of this work is presumed from the numerous restoration inscriptions of Ramesses II scattered throughout the temple (for a discussion, see Karkowski 1979: 7; Eaton-Krauss 2003, with earlier literature; compare also Kopp 2018).

The main subject of the decoration on the south wall of the vestibule is a representation of large-scale personifications of the three seasons of the Egyptian civil calendar: *akhet* in the uppermost register, *peret* in the middle register, and *shemu* in the lowermost register.¹⁷ There are remarkable parallels for the season personifications in the decoration of both royal mortuary complexes and private tombs, but the iconographical scheme from the south vestibule wall is nowhere depicted in exactly the same way.¹⁸ Preserved fragments of the two lower panels seem to suggest that the figures there were chiseled out in the Amarna period and subsequently restored, although only the lowermost figure is preserved in its entirety. Fragments of original inscriptions accompanying the personifications are preserved in three registers, but only the name of *akhet* was left untouched (there is no reason to suppose, however, that the figure was untouched as well).

¹⁶ The position of the scenes on the walls suggests, however, a close relation between the nome procession and the decoration of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (attested also by the 2nd person feminine suffixes used in the inscriptions, see Białostocka 2014: 34). In consequence, the decoration of the vestibule of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I appears to be largely autonomous.

¹⁷ An interesting parallel in terms of personifications of time or period is given by personifications of *d.t.*, *nḥh*, and *mp.t* in the southeastern niche of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (see Naville 1906: Pl. 127) with new fragments added later (to be published by the present author).

¹⁸ For parallels from the royal complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdom, see Jánosi 2016: 81 Note 151; add also Lange 2006: 125, Pl. 33.

Irregularities in the composition of the scenes were forced by the necessity to adapt to the trapezoid surface of the wall. In consequence, the number of columns of inscriptions placed in front of the personifications had to be unequal, resulting in one column of inscription being added in front of the personification of *akhet* in the reconstruction presented here.¹⁹

Each of the season personifications was represented as carrying a plate with two *hes* vases and a loaf crowned with the *wšs* sign. Three *nb* signs hang from the extended arms of the figures, while a long staff supported on a *nfr* sign appears in front of an offering plate, both in the original version (see middle register) and the one restored in antiquity (lower register).²⁰ There is good reason to believe that the figures were depicted as either male or female depending on the grammatical gender of the word describing the season: the male figure for *shemu*, although restored, exemplifies it clearly, so it is reasonable to assume that *akhet* and *peret* should be restored as females.²¹

Akhet personification

Nothing has been preserved of the figure itself and of the accompanying inscription (apparently in two columns). There is only the name written directly above the head: *šb.t* “inundation season”. A symbolic emblem of the season would have undoubtedly appeared on the head of the figure. Regarding the form of this emblem, it could have been represented as a pool with lotuses, as in the case of a figure in the so-called “Weltkammer” in Niuserre’s sun temple at Abu Ghurob (see von Bissing 1956: 325, Pl. 9).

Peret personification

Nothing has remained of the figure itself except for the upper parts of the vases and the *wšs* sign from an offering plate, and one of the hanging *nb* signs. The figure, together with her name and the symbol of the *peret* season on her head, was chiseled out in antiquity (probably in the Amarna period).²² The bottom (*nfr* sign) and the upper ends of a staff attached to the front of an offering plate are the only parts preserved from the original decoration. The same is true of the accompanying inscriptions; a single column of inscription located in front of the figure was preserved in its lowermost part:

[...] *nb* *šw.t-ib nb.t hr.s*

“[...] all [...], (and) all joy from her”.

¹⁹ The figure may have been moved slightly to the right (to reduce the gap on the extreme right).

²⁰ One can only speculate with regard to its possible affinity with the ideogram for *tr* “season” (see Gardiner’s Sign-list M5 and M6).

²¹ For this, see Erman 1900; compare, however, a comment by von Bissing 1956: 324–325, Note 1; and Simpson 1954: 267. In any case, feminine suffixes appear in the inscriptions of a representation in the middle register (see below). Personifications of seasons are also differentiated with regard to sex in depictions from private tombs of Old Kingdom date, see Duell 1938: Pls 6–7 = Barta 1971: 1; James and Apted 1953: Pl. 10. For a fragmentarily preserved scene of this type from a tomb dated to the Middle Kingdom, see Blackman and Apted 1953: 30–31, Pl. 13.

²² One hesitates about the exact form, as no parallels are extant.

A short inscription written in three columns above the offering plate is undoubtedly a continuation of the preceding text:

(1) [...] 'nb' (2) [...] nb hr.s (3) [...] 'nb' hr[s]

“(1) ‘all’ [...], (2) all [...] from her, (3) ‘all’ [...] from [her]”.

Shemu personification

The male figure of *shemu*, an ancient restoration, is preserved in its entirety. The bearded figure wears a short kilt and a tripartite wig. The symbol of the season on his head represents a field with stalks of grain (see von Bissing 1956: 325, Pl. 7; Simpson 1954: 267, Pl. 20 = Jánosi 2016: Pl. 79) with the name of the season (*šmw*) above it. Significantly, the symbol is flanked on the right with the *rnpt* sign, of which only the uppermost and the lowermost ends are preserved (for a parallel from the pyramid complex of Amenemhat I at Lisht, see Simpson 1954: 267, Pl. 20 = Jánosi 2016: 81, Pl. 79).²³

The inscription (not mutilated except for one sign) written in three columns in the upper right-hand corner of the register reads:

(1) 'di.f' ['nh] 'nb hr.f' (2) [sn]b 'nb' (3) '3w'.t-ib nb(.t) hr.f

“(1) ‘He gives all’ [life] ‘from him’, (2) ‘all’ [heal]th, (3) (and) all joy from him”.

The arrangement of offering bearers (alternately male and female), depicted in six registers behind the personification of the season, was affected by the same restrictions of space as described above, as well as by the presence of an architrave socket in the upper left corner. The present reconstruction depends also on the figures’ proportions, which differ significantly from register to register. Each one was represented as carrying a plate with two *hes* vases and a loaf crowned with the *wš* sign. Three ‘nh signs hang from the extended arms of the figures, as in the case of the season personifications. Contrary to the figures represented on the north wall of the vestibule, the offering bearers depicted here (male and female) are not distinguished by the Upper Egyptian ideogram placed on their heads.²⁴ Three columns of inscription were originally placed above each figure. The one written directly above the head presumably gave the name of the personification (it is hardly likely that it was a continuation of the ordinary formula constituting the preceding two columns). Their identity, however, remains a matter of conjecture as only one of the names has been preserved completely and the other four are too fragmentary to be identified satisfactorily. It seems reasonable to interpret some of them at least as the names of geographic entities (perhaps from Upper Egypt), despite the absence of any evidence of specific determinatives that would have resolved the issue. Other personifications may have also been inserted among the better known geographic entities. These could have been personifications of impersonal concepts,

²³ A sign of this kind can be recognized perhaps in the personification of *shemu* from Niuserre’s sun temple at Abu Ghurob (see von Bissing 1956: 325, Pl. 7), although the lower part of the sign is doubtful, suggesting instead the ideogram *tr* “season” (Gardiner Sign-list M5).

²⁴ Unlike the fecundity figures on columns of the Upper Court which appear with Upper and Lower Egyptian emblems. Significantly, a representation of Upper Egypt in its entirety is found among the personifications of geographic entities in the *Chapelle Rouge*, see Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 84; 1979: Pl. 2; Burgos and Larché 2006: 16 (Block 131).

such as notions of time and the most important beside them, that is, personifications of gifts usually brought by the fecundity figures.²⁵ The idea that the figures placed behind the personifications of seasons represent months in the Egyptian calendar²⁶ is not satisfactorily substantiated. Post-Amarna restorers seem to have followed the original decoration pattern, but apparently omitted the names of personifications in the two lowermost registers.

Two columns of inscriptions were written behind the personifications of the seasons. Each of these texts refers to two registers of fecundity figures represented directly to the left, even though the texts begin with an utterance in the 1st person singularis (the following pronouns are, however, suffixes of the 1st person pluralis). Significantly, these texts were not mutilated in the Amarna period, no doubt because of their neutral character related to a purely offering context and meaning.

The beginning formula of the inscription placed behind the *akhet* personification is partly preserved: *'dd' mdw [...]* “Words to be ‘spoken’ [...]”. More survives of the inscription in the middle register:

(1) *'dd mdw in.n.(i) n. 'k' 'nb [w3s] nb hr.n [...]* (2) *[dd] 'mdw di. 'n.(i) [n.k ... hr].n h.t nb(.t) [nfr.t] w'b.t [i]my.t t3 pn*

“(1) ‘Words to be spoken: (I) have brought you’ all life, and [dominion] from us [...]. (2) ‘Words’ [to be spoken]: (I) have given [you ... from] us, all [the good] and pure things that are in this land”.

The inscription in the lowermost register (behind the personification of *shemu*) is preserved nearly complete:

(1) *dd mdw in.n.(i) n.k 'nb 'w3s nb hr.n' dd.t nb(.t) hr.n snb nb h'r.n' 3w.t-ib nb(.t) hr.n mi R'*
 (2) *'dd' mdw 'di.n.(i) n.k' [...]^a hr.n hb nb hr.n [3w(.t)-ib]^b 'nb(.t)' hr [s.t] Hr(w) d.t*

- a) One should read *hw* “food” based on a fragment of the *h* sign; for a similar sequence of component parts of a formula, compare the inscription in the lowermost register of the east wall of the complex courtyard (Białostocka 2014: 27, Fig. 2; see also Wb. III, 44).
- b) Compare formulae below the throne of Tuthmosis I on the south wall of the chapel [*Pls 12.3–4*]; here only a tiny trace of the *3w* sign is preserved.

“(1) Words to be spoken: (I) have brought you ‘all’ life and ‘dominion from us’, all stability from us, all health fr‘om us’, all joy from us like Re. (2) Words ‘to be spoken: (I) have brought you’ [...] from us, all the catch (of fish and fowl) from us, ‘all’ [joy] on the [throne] of Horus eternally”.

First (uppermost) register

Two standing persons can be inserted here. Accepting the alternating sequence of male and female figures in the lower registers, one is justified in placing figures of different sex here. It is open to question how the space below the architrave would have been filled. Sitting figures, like the ones which appear on the north wall of the vestibule, cannot be accepted. A legend pertaining to the figures may have been inserted into this space, as there is hardly enough place above the figures

²⁵ Regarding mechanisms of personifying impersonal concepts, see general remarks in Westendorf 1977; Guglielmi 1982; Baines 1985: 15, with abundant examples.

²⁶ Karkowski 2001b: 148–149; his suggestion that each pair of figures (male and female) symbolized a full month does not stand up to critique considering the incomplete set in the uppermost register. The word *3bd* “month” should also be noted as being masculine. In scenes with personifications of seasons from private tombs from the Old and Middle Kingdom, the months were represented simply as *3bd* signs placed within an oval (see references given in note 21 above).

themselves. The isolated fragment bordering the architrave socket from below bears a fragment of inscription: [...] ‘*pḥr*’ [...] “[...] ‘surround/enclose(?)’ [...]”.

One can only speculate that a text was arranged here in three or four columns, but the exact position of the fragment in question cannot be established. The text in question may have referred to the general meaning of the scenes depicted on the wall.

Second register

Four figures may be placed in this register, but only fragmentary inscriptions can be attributed to each of these figures [see *Pl. 5.1*].

The legend above the female figure in the middle:

(1) [*dī.s* ‘*nḥ nb*’]^a) (2) *ḥw.t-ib nb(.t)* (3) *M^rw*^b)

- a) Tiny traces of the feminine suffix *s*, ‘*nḥ*’, and *nb* signs preserved on the left margin.
- b) Tiny traces of the *w* sign clearly visible in its lower part. It must be the name of the personification in question, even though the word (devoid of a determinative) is incomprehensible.

“(1) [She gives all life], (2) all joy; (3) *M*[...]”.

The legend above the male figure in the middle:

(1) *dī.f* ‘*nḥ nb*’ (2) ‘*dd.t nb(.t)*’^a) (3) [...]

- a) Or else: ‘*dd*’ [*wḥs*] ‘*nb*’. A fragment of the determinative Y 1 (Gardiner’s Sign-list) below a fragmentarily preserved *dd* sign, not obligatory in classical orthography, finds a parallel in the writing of some component parts of formulae of this type, see, e.g., Naville 1906: Pl. 128; Białostocka 2014: 25, Fig. 1 (lower register).

“(1) He gives all life, (2) ‘all stability’; (3) [...]”.

The legend above and behind the female figure at the end:

(1) [*dī.s* ‘*nḥ nb*’ (2) ...] (3) [...] *šm^cw*

“(1) [She gives all life, (2) ...] (3) [...] Upper Egypt”.

One can only speculate with regard to the context of the *šm^cw* sign placed behind the last figure in the row. It seems that it may be a fragment of a formula of the type: [... *imy(.t)*] *šm^cw* “[... which is in?] Upper Egypt”.²⁷ It is also possible that this is an extension of the name of the personification in question. The position of the fragment is determined beyond doubt by the fact that it is a corner fragment of the wall and has two inscribed faces: the position of the inscription on its eastern face, containing a fragment of the *neḥty* name of Hatshepsut, is well established within the inscription on the west wall of the courtyard of the Royal Complex.²⁸

Third register

The legs of two offering bearers are the only preserved parts of figures presented in this place in the current reconstruction. The position of the fragment with an offering plate (attributed here to the last of the figures) is purely conjectural.

²⁷ See Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 85; Burgos and Larché 2006: 16 (Block 131); the inscription accompanying the male personification of all of Upper Egypt hardly suits the situation presented here.

²⁸ To be published by Adrianna Madej, who is working on the courtyard of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex.

Fourth register

The two courses of blocks comprising this register are largely preserved. The large block on the right bears a depiction of the first (male) figure in the row, as well as an offering plate and one leg of the next (female) figure. The heads of the figures and the inscriptions above them can be restored on the base of three blocks and one fragment forming an upper course to this part.

The legend above the first (male) figure:

(1) [*d̄i.f* 'nh nb] (2) [*sn*]b 'nb' (3) [...]*s*^a)

- a) Trace of an unidentified small and curved hieroglyph, placed on axis, and above the *s* sign. A name of the personification is possible here as well, although of uncertain meaning and devoid of a determinative (certainly this is not a personification of any of the customary gifts named in the inscriptions accompanying fecundity figures).

“(1) [He gives all life,] (2) (and) 'all' [heal]th; (3) [...]*s*”.

The legend above the second (female) figure:

(1) *d̄i.s* 'nh' nb (2) *snb* 'nb' (3) *Mrwt*^a)

- a) No determinative given. There are no extant parallels for such a personification (Love/Desire?).²⁹ The name of one of the funerary foundations depicted twice in the tomb of Tii in Saqqara is composed of this word and the name of the tomb owner (in the genitive), see Jacquet-Gordon 1962: 65, 359 (20), 360 (34); see also Junker 1938: 80.

“(1) She gives all 'life', (2) (and) 'all' health; (3) *Merut*”.

The legend above the third (male) figure:

(1) *d̄i.f* 'nh nb (2) [...] (3) [...]b^a)

- a) No determinative given. The name of the personification ends with the *b* sign. It cannot be excluded that it should be read as [*sn*]b “[heal]h”, which is personified (among the other “abstract” personifications) on the altar of Senuseret I from Lisht (CG 23001), see Kamal 1906–1909: 2 (the figure of the personification unrecorded, presumably by mistake), Pl. 2 (23001 C); for a comment, see also Baines 1985: 76–77, 152–153, 184.

“(1) He gives all life, (2) [...] (3) [heal]th(?)”.

The legend above and behind the fourth (female) figure:

(1) *d̄i.s* 'nh nb (2) [...] ^a) (3) [*dd wss*] 'nb *snb* ' [nb] '3w.t-ib' [nb(.t)]^b)

- a) Fragments of two hieroglyphic signs above the figure's head. The name may be interpreted as a topographical entity, because of the lower sign, which can be securely interpreted as part of N 25 or N 26 (Gardiner's Sign-list).³⁰ It is beyond doubt that the name was moved a little bit to the right in relation to the figure below it (note the unusually large empty space between these signs and the first column of the inscription).
- b) Reconstruction of the text of the third column is based on two corner fragments, decorated also on their eastern faces. Even though the fragmentary inscriptions on their eastern faces cannot be firmly placed within the inscription on the west wall of the courtyard of the Royal Complex,³¹ the position of the fragments as proposed here is based on a surviving piece of a figure's wig.

“(1) She gives all life, (2) [...] (3) 'all' [stability and dominion], [all] 'health', and [all] 'joy'”.

²⁹ Guglielmi (1982: 982) rejects the possibility of personifications of “psychische Zustände” in ancient Egyptian thought.

³⁰ Not likely to be an emblem of the Twelfth Upper Egyptian nome (see, e.g., Tattko 2014: 218), because of the lacuna in its upper part, and the remnant of the upper sign, which looks rather like I 6 in Gardiner's Sign-list, instead of the *f* sign.

³¹ To be published by Adrianna Madej.

Fifth register (restored in antiquity)

We have no way of knowing to what extent the ancient restorers actually repeated the original composition when restoring these four figures. Significantly, the mutilation of the Amarna period was so thorough that absolutely no trace of the original decoration remained on the surface of the stones in the two lowermost registers. The same can be said of the accompanying legends. It cannot be excluded that the ancient restorers managed to deal with this issue by duplicating to some extent motifs preserved in the upper registers of the wall decoration.

The legend above the first (male) figure:

(1) *dī.f'nh nb* (2) *snb nb*

“(1) He gives all life, (2) (and) all health”.

The legend above the second (female) figure:

(1) *dī.s'nh nb* (2) *snb nb*

“(1) She gives all life, (2) (and) all health”.

The legend above the third (male) figure:

(1) *r'dī'f'nh nb* (2) *3w.t-ib nb(.t)*

“(1) He^r gives^r all life, (2) (and) all joy”.

Nothing but the ending has been preserved of the legend accompanying the fourth (female) figure, which was written just behind the figure. It reads:

[...] ^{a)} *r'mi' [R^c]* ^{b)}

a) Compare the legend accompanying the last figure in the next register.

b) Only the determinative remains.

“[...] ‘like^r [Re]”.

Sixth register (restored in antiquity)

The four badly preserved figures with accompanying legends seem to have been carved in the plaster coat covering the mutilated wall surface; it would explain perhaps why some component parts of the inscriptions and representations are absent from their restored versions. The ancient restoration technique is exemplified by newly discovered fragments with preserved polychromy, attributed to the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (see Kopp 2010: 276, Inv. No. B. 370, and other fragments mentioned there, Fig. 2).

The legend above the first (male) figure:

(1) [*dī.f'nh nb*] (2) *snb [nb]*

“(1) [He gives all life], (2) (and) [all] health”.

The legend above the second (female) figure:

(1) [*dī.s'nh nb*] (2) [*snb nb*]

“(1) [She] gives [all life], (2) [(and) all health]”.

Nothing has been preserved of the legend accompanying the third (male) figure.

The legend above and behind the fourth (female) figure:

(1) [*dī.s*] 'nh [nb] (2) [...] (3) [...] ^{a)} (4) *dd w3s 'nb' snb [nb 3w].t-[ib] 'nb(.t) hr'.s mi R^c b)*

- a) It seems that two columns of inscription may have been placed in the now empty space above the figure.
- b) The column placed behind the figure in question.

“(1) [She gives all] life, (2) [...] (3) [...] (4) 'all' stability and dominion, [all] health, (and) 'all' [joy] 'from' her like Re”.

NORTH WALL [PL. 6]

In similarity to the opposite wall, the lowermost register was the only one that was chiseled out completely in the Amarna period. It was subsequently restored, but with greater care than in the case of the south wall, although, again, the details must have been executed in a coat of plaster once covering the mutilated surface of the stone. The fecundity figures, or more specifically the personifications of *pehu* districts, in the five upper registers remained untouched during the Amarna depredations, and they illustrate the high quality of early Tuthmoside relief.³² The figures are presented striding toward the entrance of the chapel, bearing an offering plate in the form of a *hṭp* sign in the right hand and a *hes* vase in the other. Three 'nh signs hang from the right arm and a large *w3s* scepter is attached to the front of the plate. The figures differ significantly from those represented on the south wall of the vestibule,³³ not only in the choice of attributes, but also by having the Lower Egyptian emblem in the form of a papyrus plant, a typical element of the *pehu* personifications, placed on their heads. The determinative of the *phw* name (Gardiner's Sign-list N 36) is placed above each personification.

The irregular distribution of the columns of inscriptions preceding the first of the fecundity figures in each row was largely due to the inclined left margin of the wall. It also caused some irregularity of the positioning of the fecundity figures: only four were represented in the fifth register (counting from the top). The presence of an architrave socket in the upper right-hand corner posed another problem; the two figures there had to be depicted kneeling due to the reduced space. Significantly, there was not enough space even for the customary *pt* sign above the last figure in the row.

The sequence and choice of *pehu* personifications in the version from the north wall of the vestibule is not easy to elucidate. To some extent, the 24 figures that can be restored here show a mixing of personifications of *pehu* districts relating to the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt (although obviously they cannot comprise all the known personifications), plus some supplementary items, as attested in sources from different epochs.³⁴ The version on the north wall of the *Chapelle Rouge*, which is the closest one in time, does not permit an estimate of the actual number

³² The wall was incorrectly restored in Pawlicki 2000: 125, Fig. 117 (with only three registers of *phw* personifications and without solving the problem of the decoration to the left of the architrave).

³³ As well as those represented on the east wall of the court of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex and on the columns of the Upper Court of the temple.

³⁴ Compare literature given below; for the versions dating to the New Kingdom, see especially Collombert 2014.

of *pehu* personifications depicted on it (see Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 85, 91; Collombert 2014: 993, 1000, Pl. 1a). Undoubtedly, a selection was made in both cases, although it cannot be said on what grounds. Both here and in the *Chapelle Rouge*, the sequence starts with a group of *pehu* from Upper Egypt and some groups appear in the same or very similar order. This is the case of the *pehu* of the Fourteenth nome of Upper Egypt, followed by the *pehu* of the Thirteenth nome of Upper Egypt (separated by an unidentified *pehu* in the *Chapelle Rouge*, see Burgos and Larché 2006: 25); compare also a sequence of *pehu* of the nomes: Seventh of Lower Egypt, Twelfth of Lower Egypt, and Seventh of Upper Egypt, which is the same in both versions (see Burgos and Larché 2006: 26).³⁵ The latter sequence is of particular importance as it explains the apparently out-of-order position of the *pehu* of the Seventh Upper Egyptian nome following a group of Lower Egyptian nomes on the wall of the vestibule.

First (uppermost) register

Three columns of inscription are placed in front of the first of the figures:

(1) $\underline{d}d\ m\dot{d}w\ i\dot{n}.n(.i)\ n.k\ 'n\dot{h}\ w\dot{s}\ [nb\ \dots]$ (2) $'\underline{d}d\ m\dot{d}w^{1a})\ [h\dot{w}]^{b})\ 'nb'$ [...] (3) $\underline{d}d\ m\dot{d}w^{a})\ rnp(.w)t\ nb(.t)\ h[r].i\ [...]$

- a) Archaic use of the formula: it introduces every column, but the texts of these columns are a continuation of the text of the first column. It cannot be excluded that the more expanded texts in the lower registers (comprising more than one column) could have been drawn up in the same way.
- b) A fragment of the *hw* sign above *nb*, and traces of what seems to be an erased part of the *w* sign [see *Pls* 6.1; 19.1:3].

“(1) Words to be spoken: (I) have brought to you [all] life and dominion [...]. (2) ‘Words to be spoken: all’ [food], and [all ...]. (3) Words to be spoken: all vegetables from me [...]”.

Formula above the figure:

$d\dot{i}.f\ 'n\dot{h}\ nb$

“He gives all life”.

Name:

$'p\dot{h}w'$ $W[s]t[t]$

Refers to the *pehu* of the Fourteenth nome of Upper Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 14; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 89 (33N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 25; Collombert 2014: 994, 1000, Pl. 1a (1); Tattko 2014: 171).

Column of inscription in front of the second figure:

$'\underline{d}d'$ [$m\dot{d}w$] $d\dot{i}.n(.i)\ n[k\ \dots]$ [$'mrr'$ [t]^{a)}]. $k\ 'n\dot{h}.t\dot{i}\ \underline{d}.t$

- a) A negative of the *t* sign is recognizable.

“[Words] to be ‘spoken’: (I) have given [you ...] which you ‘desire’, so that you might live eternally”.

³⁵ The last *pehu* is inaccurately labeled there as the Seventh nome of Lower Egypt.

Formula above the figure:

'di 'f 'nh nb

“He ‘gives’ all life”.

Name:

phw Hnd.wy

Refers to the *pehu* of the Thirteenth nome of Upper Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 14; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 89 (229N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 25; Collombert 2014: 1000, Pl. 1a (3); Tattko 2014: 169, 170).

Column of inscription in front of the third figure:

[dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k ...] 'snb' nb 3w.t-ib nb(.t) hr.i

“[Words to be spoken: (I) have given you ...], all ‘health’, and all joy from me”.

Neither the formula above the figure nor the name is preserved.

Column of inscription in front of the fourth (kneeling) figure:

[dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k ...] df3 nb hr.i mi R'

“[Words to be spoken: (I) have given you ...], all provision from me like Re”.

Neither the formula above the figure nor the name is preserved.

Column of inscription in front of the fifth (kneeling) figure:

'dd' [mdw di.n(.i) n.k ...]

“[Words] to be ‘spoken’: [(I) have given you ...]”.

There is not enough space here for the customary formula above the figure.

Name:

'phw Sh'[t ...]

Refers to the *pehu* of the Ninth nome of Upper Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 14; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 90 (229N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 25; Collombert 2014: 1000, Pl. 1a (5); Tattko 2014: 164).

Second register

Two columns of inscription can be restored in front of the first figure:

(1) *[dd mdw ...]^{a)} 'nb' [...]^{a)} [...] 't nb' [...]* (2) *[... hnk].t nb(.t) mw t3w rnp(w).t [nb.t]*

a) Minute traces of a sign after the lacuna.

“(1) [Words to be spoken: ...] ‘all’ [...], ‘all’ [...], (2) [...] all [the offerings], water and air, and [all green plants]”.

Formula above the figure:

di 'f 'nh 'nb'

“‘He’ gives ‘all’ life”.

Name:

phw ʾIty (?)³⁶

Refers to the *pehu* of the Twentieth nome of Lower Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 18; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 90 (230N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 29; Collombert 2014: 1000, Pl. 1a (x+17); Tattko 2014: 204).

Column of inscription in front of the second figure:

dd mdw di[n(.i) n.k ... t3] pn ʾd.tʾ

“Words to be spoken: [(I) have] given [you ... which is in] this [land] ‘eternally’”.

Formula above the figure:

di.f ʾnh ʾnbʾ

“He gives ‘all’ life”.

Name:

*ʾphw Hp(wy)*³⁷

Refers to the *pehu* of the Seventh nome of Lower Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 16; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 90 (294N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 26; Collombert 2014: 993–994, 1000, Pl. 1a (7); Tattko 2014: 188; Tiribilli 2017).

Column of inscription in front of the third figure:

dd mdw di.n(.i) n.[k] ʾnh w3sʾ nb snb nb mi Rʾ d.tʾa)

a) Determinative not preserved.

“Words to be spoken: (I) have given [you] all ‘life and dominion’, and all health like Re eternally”.

Formula above the figure:

di.f ʾnh ʾnbʾ

“He gives ‘all’ life”.

Name:

ʾphw M3ʾ

Refers to the *pehu* of the Twelfth nome of Lower Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 17; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 90 (294N+270N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 26; Collombert 2014: 1000, Pl. 1a (8); Tattko 2014: 194, 211).

Column of inscription in front of the fourth figure:

dd mdw di ʾ.n(.i) n.kʾ 3w.t-ib nb(.t) htp.t nb.t h[r]. ʾi ʾ

“Words to be spoken: ‘(I) have’ given ‘you’ all joy, and all offerings from ‘me’”.

³⁶ The exact form of the name is unclear, see Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 91 (230N); read as *ʾIty* by Tattko 2014: 204, 210, 220.

³⁷ The exact form of the name is unclear and varies in different sources, see Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 90 (294N); Tattko 2014: 188, 212, 219; Tiribilli 2017.

Formula above the figure:

di.f'nh nb

“He gives all life”.

Name:

phw Idt

Refers to the *pehu* of the Seventh nome of Upper Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 13; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 90 (270N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 26; Collombert 2014: 994, 1000, Pl. 1a (9); Tattko 2014: 164).

Column of inscription in front of the fifth figure: not preserved.

Formula above the figure:

'di '[f] 'nh [nb]

“[He] ‘gives’ [all] life”.

Name:

'phw' [...]

Unidentifiable, as only a tiny fragment of the first sign is preserved.

Third register

Two columns of inscription in front of the first figure:

(1) [...h]r'.i' snb nb hr'.i' (2) [...] hw^a nb hr.i'nh.ti d.t

a) Phonetic complements seem to have been written in the preceding lacuna.

“(1) [...] fr]om me, all health from me, (2) [...] all food from me, so that you might live eternally”.

Neither the formula above the figure nor the name is preserved.

The columns of inscription in front of the second and third figures, as well as the formulae above the figures and their names, are not preserved.

Column of inscription in front of the fourth figure:

'dd' [mdw] 'di.n.i n.k htp'.t 'nb(.t)' [nfr.t w'b.t^a] ...]

a) The only preserved element is a fragment of a vase from the top of the ideogram *w'b*.

“[Words] to be ‘spoken: (I) have given you all’ [good and pure] ‘offerings’ [...]”.

Formula above the figure:

di.f'nh' nb

“He gives all ‘life’”.

The name is not preserved.

The column of inscription in front of the fifth figure, as well as the formula above it and the name, is not preserved.

Fourth register

Badly deteriorated fragment of the column of inscription in front of the first figure:

[*dd mdw in.n(i)? n.k h.t nb(.t) nfr.t w^cb.t imy.t^a 't3' [pn ...?]*

- a) Traces of the *i* sign preserved on the left; the small circle below is accidental erosion of the stone surface.

“[Words to be spoken: (I) have brought(?) to you all things] good and pure that are in [this] ‘land’ [...?]”.

Formula above the figure:

[*di.f*] ^c*nh* [*nb*]

“[He gives all] life”.

The name is not preserved.

The column of inscription in front of the second figure, along with the formula above the figure and the name, is not preserved.

Column of inscription in front of the third figure:

[*dd mdw di.n(i) n.k*] ^r*df3 nb* [...]

“[Words to be spoken: (I) have given you] ‘all provision’ [...]”.

The formula above the figure is not preserved.

The name is not preserved except for a part of the determinative (Gardiner’s Sign-list N 36) extant on a piece of stone hypothetically attributed to this area (beside the same sign, placed directly above the head of the personification). The presence of this sign may suggest perhaps one of the supplementary *pehu* districts (see Barguet 1962: 18; Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 90 (225N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 28; Collombert 2014: 1000, Pl. 1a (x+14); Tattko 2014: 211 [*R3 nfr*]).

Column of inscription in front of the fourth figure:

dd mdw di[n(i) n.k ...]

“Words to be spoken: [(I) have] given [you ...]”.

The formula above the figure is not preserved.

Name:

[*phw ...*]w

The remaining traces of a *w* sign do not allow for an unquestionable identification.

Column of inscription in front of the fifth figure:

^r*dd mdw di.n(i) n.k h.t nb(.t) nfr.t bnr.t* [...]

“‘Words to be spoken’: (I) have given you all things ‘good and pleasant’ [...]”.

Formula above the figure:

di.f ^c*nh* *nb*

“He gives all life”.

Name:

ḥw *Hww*

The *pehu* of the Fifth nome of Lower Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 16; Tattko 2014: 186).

Fifth register

The lower part of the register is preserved complete with the original decoration; the upper part has some hypothetically attributed loose fragments, fitted in for the purpose of the present reconstruction. The register comprises only four figures and, in consequence, a lengthy inscription in four columns was placed in front of the first figure:

(1) [*dd mdw ... ḥr.n*^a] *dd.t nb(.t) ḥr.n* (2) [...] *ḥr.n 3w.t-ib nb(.t) ḥr.n* (3) [...] *ḥr.n ḥ.t nb(.t) nfr.t w^c.t ḥ.t* (4) [...] *ḥtp.t df3 nb mī R^c d.t*

a) Preserved fragment of one of the plural strokes.

“(1) [Words to be spoken ... from us,] all stability from us, (2) [...] from us, all joy from us, (3) [...] ‘all’ [...] from us, all things good and pure, so that you might live, (4) [...] all offerings and provision, like Re eternally”.

Neither the formula above the figure nor the name is preserved.

Column of inscription in front of the second figure:

ḥw [*mdw di.n(.i) n.k ...*] *nfr* [*t*] (*i*)*my* *t* *ḥnw-^c rmp.wt ḥtp(.wt)*

“[Words] to be spoken: (I) have given you [...] ‘good’ [...], which is in the palace,^a and peaceful years^b”.

a) For the meaning of *ḥnw-^c* as the interior of a palace, see Gardiner 1947: 44* (123).

b) Regarding the meaning of the term, see Wb. III, 190 (5); it appears twice in inscriptions from the Birth Portico (see Sethe 1930: 261, 9; 262, 7).

The formula above the figure is not preserved.

Name:

ḥw 33 or *ḥw* K3(yt)

Presumably the *pehu* of the Fifteenth nome of Upper Egypt (see Barguet 1962: 14; Tattko 2014: 172).

Column of inscription in front of the third figure (for an unknown reason, the border lines of the inscription were not carved):

ḥw [*mdw di.n(.i) n.k*] [...] *nb ḥtp.t ḥr.n* *ḥ.t* *ḥ.t*

“Words to be spoken: (I) have given you [...] all [...], ‘all’ offerings, so that you might live eternally”.

Formula above the figure:

di.f ḥt nb

“He gives all life”.

Name:

ḥw *Wrw*

One of the supplementary *pehu* districts (see Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 91 (230N); Burgos and Larché 2006: 29; Collombert 2014: 1000, Pl. 1a (x+18); Tattko 2014: 210).

Column of inscription in front of the fourth figure:

'dd mdw' [di.n(.i) n.k ...] hr.i h.t nb(.t) nfr.t mi R'

“Words to be spoken¹: [(I) have given you ...] from me, and all good things like Re”.

The formula above the figure is not preserved.

Neither is the name preserved; only a part of the determinative is extant on a fragment hypothetically attributed to this register (compare the name of the third figure in the fourth register).

Sixth register

There is no certainty with regard to the original decoration in the lowermost register, which, in the form in which it was restored in antiquity, comprises five bearded male deities. Had the original figures in this decoration been divine, they would have been presumably the divine figures bringing offerings that used to frame the temple gates in the Middle Kingdom and during the early Eighteenth Dynasty.³⁸ In scenes from the temple of Kumba, framing the door decorated in the time of Amenhotep II, these are striding gods (Dedun and the deified Senuseret III) who approach stands with floral offerings (Caminos 1998b: Pls 58–59; see also Baines 1985: 193, Fig. 114). These two figures of gods are represented in precisely the same manner as the gods in the lowermost register on the north wall of the vestibule of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (excepting the offering stands). The most important parallel for the lowermost register of the north wall of the vestibule is provided by the decoration of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut,³⁹ where the processions of gods were represented on all of the walls, and the figures, restored in the post-Amarna period, are exactly the same as in the reliefs from the vestibule of Tuthmosis I.⁴⁰ In both cases, the gods are depicted approaching the chapel gate. Significantly, the gods in the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut were named, not only in its present (version restored in antiquity), but also in the original version of the scenes (see Kopp 2010: 274, 276; 2018).

The gods in the lowermost register are represented striding with the *wš* scepter in one hand and the *'nh* sign in the other. Each of the figures wears a short archaic kilt with a tail and a tripartite wig. The gods are not named in this version, but the empty spaces above their heads seem to suggest that their names could have been written there originally. Each of the gods is preceded by a column of inscription. An isolated fragment of an original inscription has been preserved above the second figure in the row: this is a fragment of the *d* sign, no doubt part of the *dd mdw* formula. The sign in question is moved slightly to the left in relation to the restored inscription,

³⁸ See, e.g., Cotteville-Giraudet 1933: Pls 1, 5; Willems 1984: Pl. 7 (gates of Senuseret III and Amenemhat Sebekhotep at Medamud); Winlock 1917: Pl. 4 = Van Siclen 1980: Fig. 7 (gate of Amenhotep I at *Men-iset*). No doubt the pattern in question could have been replaced by specific personifications of geographic entities (see, e.g., Redford 1979: Pls 1–2; Caminos 1998b: Pls 59–60), or else by other fecundity figures (see, e.g., Baines 1985: 192, Fig. 113; Caminos 1998a: Pls 13.2–14, 21–22).

³⁹ The paradigm for the processions of gods is provided by scenes of this kind decorating the walls of the square antechamber in pyramid temples of the Old Kingdom (in the context of the *sed* festival), see Jéquier 1938: Pls 46, 50, 54, 58 = Stockfisch 2003/II: Pls 6.5.25–28; for comments, see Arnold 1977: 10; 1997: 68–70; Rochholz 1994: 267–268. Compare also the remains of scenes of this type in the temple of Senuseret II at Lahun: Oppenheim 2007.

⁴⁰ Both sequences of scenes may have been restored at the same time and the technique of this ancient restoration is exemplified by a newly found block from the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, which preserves a layer of gesso and the polychromy (see Kopp 2010: 276, Inv. No. B. 370, and other fragments mentioned there, Fig. 2).

leaving one to presume that the original layout of the register was followed in the restoration in every detail.

Column of inscription in front of the first figure:

'dd' mḏw dī.n(.i) n.k 'nh dd w3s nb snb nb 3w[.t-ib nb(.t)]

“Words to be ‘spoken’: (I) have given you all life, stability, and dominion, all health, and [all] joy”.

Column of inscription in front of the second figure:

'dd' mḏw dī.n(.i) n.k rnp.wt nhḥ ḥ'.t^a ḥr 's.t' [Hr(w)]

- a) Hardly likely ending of an infinitive (although it could be interpreted as such in this context) or stative form; it seems to be the subjunctive *sḏm.f*, but, if so, the feminine suffix of the 2nd person singularis must be viewed as an obvious mistake made by the restorers, acting probably under the influence of a similar formula related to Hatshepsut found in other parts of the temple.

“Words to be ‘spoken’: (I) have given you years and/of eternity, so that you might appear on the ‘throne’ of [Horus]”.

Column of inscription in front of the third figure:

dd mḏw dī.n(.i) n.k kn.t nb(.t) nh.t nb(.t) t3.w 'nb(.w)^a [ḥ.t nb(.t)]^b

- a) Plural strokes seem to have been written in the lacuna after *nb*.
b) Minute traces of signs which can be interpreted in this way, although a formula with such an astonishing ending looks somewhat odd and definitely does not suit the preceding formulations.

“Words to be spoken: (I) have given you all strength, and all victories, ‘all’ the lands, and [all things]”.

Column of inscription in front of the fourth figure:

dd mḏw dī.n(.i) n.k Km.t dšr(.t) dmd [hr]^a 'tbw.ty'.k

- a) No traces of the sign preserved; presumably it was omitted.

“Words to be spoken: (I) have given you Egypt, and desert united [under] your ‘sandals’”.

Column of inscription in front of the fifth figure:

dd mḏw dī.[n(.i) n].k ḥw nb df3.w nb ḥr.i

“Words to be spoken: [(I) have] given you all food, and all provisions from me”.

THE PORTAL AND DOORWAY

PORTAL [PL. 7]

The lower parts of the doorjambs are the only fragments of the portal preserved *in situ* [PL. 3B].⁴¹ The name of the portal was written twice in two identical horizontal inscriptions appearing at the bottom of the jambs:

Left doorjamb:

(1) *sb3 ʿ3-hpr-k3-Rʿ* (2) *ʿImn dd mh(y).t^a*

Right doorjamb:

(1) *sb3 ʿ3-hpr-k3-Rʿ* (2) *ʿImn dd mh(y).t^a*

a) Second line restored after Amarna erasures.

“The gate of Aa-kheper-ka-Re: Amun who gives the (breath of the) north wind”.⁴²

The dedication formula and the titulary of both kings were written above, arranged in three columns on each doorjamb. The dedication formula written within the frame of the inscriptions on the left doorjamb, though unusual, is explained by the extraordinary circumstances of the queen’s devotion to her deceased father.⁴³

The inscriptions on the doorjambs were framed with *w3s* signs on each side, a *pt* sign at the top and *t3* sign at the bottom. Notably, the *w3s* sign on the extreme right was carved completely only in the upper and lower parts, leaving the middle section unfinished [see *Pls 7.3; 20.4*].⁴⁴ The titulary of Hatshepsut was partly erased and replaced by that of Tuthmosis II. Similarly, all the feminine endings were chiseled out (see the right doorjamb). The names and epithets of Amun-Re (except the name of Re, which is untouched) were restored after the Amarna erasures. The damage and restoration followed the same scenario as attested, for example, by the inscriptions on the door leading to the Solar Cult Complex (see Karkowski 2003: 134–135, Pl. 18; see also Lepsius 1900: 108 (β); Sethe 1932: 56, Fig. 19). The text of the inscriptions reads as follows:

Left doorjamb:

(1) *Hr(w) Wsr.t-k3(w)^a [nsw.t bity M3ʿ.t-k3-Rʿ mry.t ʿImn-Rʿ nsw.t ntr.(w)] di<.t(i)>^b ʿnh d.t*
 (2) *[ir.n.]ʿs m mnw ʿs n it.[s s3 Rʿ Dhwtj-ms.(w) hʿ-mi-Rʿ] mry ʿImn^c-Rʿ nb pt^c di ʿnh d.t (3) Hr(w) nbw [...^d] ntr nfr nb t3.wy nb ir.(t) h.t ʿ3-hpr-k3-Rʿ mry ʿImn^c-Rʿ hr(y)-tp ntr.w^c di ʿnh d.t*

a) Horus name untouched, unlike the erased Horus name of Hatshepsut written on the right jamb of the doorway.

b) Feminine ending of the stative verb omitted.

⁴¹ For an earlier reconstruction of the gate, see Karkowski 2001a: Fig. 11.

⁴² Compare Naville 1906: 6; Grothoff 1996: 113, 115, 466 (Doc. 6); translated differently in Iwaszczuk 2011: 114. Grothoff’s and Iwaszczuk’s vague suppositions are unwarranted in view of there being absolutely no trace of any recarving of the first line of the inscription.

⁴³ As well as other dedication formulae framing temple doors with the names of the gods to whom the monument was dedicated; see, for example, Naville 1906: Pl. 120; *Medinet Habu IX...* 2009: Pls 70–71.

⁴⁴ Similarly in the case of the right *w3s* sign on the left doorjamb (on the same level as the *d.t* group). Compare also the *w3s* sign bordering the lintel decoration on the right side [see *Pls 7.2; 20.2:17*].

- c) Restored after the Amarna period.
- d) The restricted space on the doorjamb forced the choice of a more concise version of the Golden Horus name of Tuthmosis I, most probably *ḥw(y) p̄d.t 9* “Who-smote-the-Nine Bows”, see Gauthier 1912: 216 (B); Sethe 1930: 93; von Beckerath 1999: 135 (G2).

“(1) Horus: Mighty of *kas*, [king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maatkare, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods], given life eternally; (2) ‘she’ [has made] (it) ‘as’ her ‘monument’ for [her] father [Son of Re Tuthmosis (I)-appearing (in glory)-like-Re], beloved of ‘Amun’-Re, lord of heaven, given life eternally; (3) Golden Horus: [... good god, lord of the Two Lands, lord of rituals Aa-kheper-ka-Re], beloved of ‘Amun’-Re, chief among the gods, given life eternally”.

Right doorjamb:

(1) [*Hr(w)*] *Wsr.t-k3[(.w)]^{a)} ‘nsw.t bity’¹ [*M3^c.t-k3-R^c*] *mry.t* [*‘Imn*]-*R^c* *nsw.t ntr.(w)^{b)} di.t(i) ‘nh d.t*
 (2) [*nb.ty ...*]^{c)} *mry.t* [*‘Imn*]-*R^c* *nb pt^{b)} di.t(i) ‘nh d.t* (3) [*Hr(w) nbw ntr.t*] ‘*ḥ^cw^{1a)} ntr.t nfr.t nb(.t)*
t3.wy nb(.t) ir [ḥ.t Ḥ3.t-šps.wt ḥnm.t-‘Imn^{d)}] *mry.t* ‘*Imn^{1e)}-R^c ḥr(y)-tp ntr.w^{b)} di.t(i) ‘nh d.t**

- a) Chiseled out; traces preserved.
- b) Restored after the Amarna period.
- c) One can presume that the *nebty* name of Hatshepsut (*w3d.t-rnp.wt*) was replaced by that of Tuthmosis II: *ntr(y)-nsy.t* “divine (in) kingship”. A parallel inscription on a door leading to the Solar Cult Complex (see Karkowski 2003: 134–135, Col. 2) explains the group *‘Imn-R^c* (recarved), of which all that remains here is a trace of the *n* sign and the ideographic stroke of the *R^c* group [*Pls 7.3; 20.4:33*].
- d) Chiseled traces of the royal cartouche preserved on the right margin; no remnants of hieroglyphs.
- e) Chiseled out in the Amarna period.

“(1) [Horus:] Mighty of *ka[s]*, ‘king of Upper and Lower Egypt’ [Maatkare], beloved of [Amun]-Re, king of the gods, given life eternally; (2) [Two Ladies ...], beloved of [Amun]-Re, lord of heaven, given life eternally; (3) [Golden Horus: divine of] ‘appearances (diadems)’¹, good god, lord of the Two Lands, lord of [rituals Hatshepsut-united-with-Amun], beloved of ‘Amun’-Re, chief among the gods, given life eternally”.

The narrow space to the right of the portal, its trapezoid shape caused by the inclined north wall of the vestibule, was filled with one column of inscription giving the royal cartouche of Hatshepsut (scrupulously chiseled out), followed by the customary formula: [...] ‘*nh.ti dd[.ti] w3s[.ti] mi R^c* “[...] may she live, be stable and powerful like Re”.

The decoration of the lintel may have followed the scheme attested on other lintels of the Upper Terrace⁴⁵ and that of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in particular. Thus, the royal cartouche of Tuthmosis I, supported by personifications of the Nile (with the symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt), could have been placed on the gate axis. The most plausible addition to the decoration scheme here are the figures of Amun giving life to Horus surmounting the *serekh*; the fact that not a single fragment was found that could be fitted here suggests that the lintel was removed from the temple area. Four blocks flanking the lintel on both sides have been preserved and two of these bear cartouches with the royal *nomen* placed beside the Horus name of the king:

On the left:

[*s3*] *R^c [n ḥ.t.f] ‘mry.f Dḥwty’-[ms(.w) ḥ^c]-mi-R^c*

“[Son of] Re [from his body], ‘his beloved Tuth’[mosis-appearing (in glory)]-like-Re”.

⁴⁵ See, for example, Karkowski 2003: 135–136, Pl. 18. The general layout of the lintel decoration can be compared with that of the lintel of Tuthmosis I from Ombos, see Petrie and Quibell 1896: Pl. 77.

On the right, a fragment of the royal cartouche:

*Ḏḥwtj*¹-*ms(.w)* *ḥ*¹-*mi*-*R*¹

“Tuth¹mosis-¹appearing (in glory) ¹-like-¹Re”.

The uppermost block on the left side gives the penultimate sign of the recut name of Behdety, no doubt accompanying a lost winged solar disc: [*Bḥd.*]*t(y)*; the extension of the formula can be restored as follows: [*ntr* ³ (*sḥb šw.t*) *dī.f* ¹*nḥ*] “[great god, (variegated of plumage), may he give life]”. The lowermost block provides the ending of the [*dī* ¹*nḥ*] *dt* “given life eternally” formula, written horizontally below the lost *serekh* of the Horus name of the king and the cartouche with the royal *nomen*. The reconstruction of the lintel, as presented here, gives only the most substantial elements of the scene in question.

The restricted trapezoid space to the right of the lintel can be divided into two columns of inscription, apparently giving a concise titulary of Hatshepsut:

(1) [...] ^a (2) [...] *dī.t(i)* ¹*nḥ.ti* ^b

- a) A fragment of a chiseled raised area (*serekh* of the Horus name or erased cartouche?) may be discerned in the lower part of the column [see *Pls* 7.2; 20.2:17].
- b) For a writing of the feminine ending, see Naville 1906: Pl. 137; Satzinger 1997: 144. Feminine endings were partly chiseled out, as in other places.

“(1) [...] (2) [...] may she be given life”.

Of the decoration above the lintel enough survives to identify a well-known *heb-sed* scene.⁴⁶ The double representation of the king sitting in a festival pavilion originates from the decoration of lintels of Middle Kingdom date and later,⁴⁷ but differs significantly in details from its prototypes. The construction of a vaulted ceiling behind the wall in question created an additional space, hence necessitating the adding of new decorative elements above the lintel. In consequence, the scene reserved earlier for the decoration of lintels, was elevated above the lintel (similarly as in the adjoining Chapel of Hatshepsut).

Extant fragments substantiate the inference about a dual representation of Tuthmosis I in the *heb-sed* robe with a *nḥḥ* flail and a long ¹*w.t* crook in his hands. The closest parallel comes from the recently restored lintel decoration of one of the gates in the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III at Gurna (*Heneket-Ankh*).⁴⁸

The royal titulary of Tuthmosis I was written in front of the king’s figure.

⁴⁶ Compare the older reconstruction of the scene as proposed by Karkowski 2001a: 101–103, Figs 10, 11. For the meaning of the *heb-sed* scenes in a mortuary context, see, e.g., Arnold 1977: 5–6, 10–11; Rochholz 1994; Karkowski 2001a; Rummel 2006.

⁴⁷ See Jánosi 2016: 37–38 (Cat. No. 40), Pl. 47a (gate of Amenemhat I at Lisht); Cotteville-Giraudet 1933: Pls 1, 5; Willems 1984: Pl. 7 (gates of Senuseret III and Amenemhat Sebekhotep at Medamud); Winlock 1917: Pl. 4 = Van Siclen 1980: Fig. 7 (gate of Amenhotep I in the *Men-Iset*); Chevrier 1947: Pl. 26 (gate of Amenhotep I at Karnak); see also Costa and Baqué 2009. The *heb-sed* scene above the entrance to the Chapel of Hatshepsut depends more directly on earlier prototypes, see Karkowski 2001a: 105–106, Fig. 12. The scene from the Seti I temple in Gurna is different in character, Ramesses II being depicted there as Iunmutef consecrating offerings before his grandfather Ramesses I, see Brand 2000: 242, Pl. 125; Rummel 2006: 405, Fig. 12.

⁴⁸ See Chapon 2018: 126–130, Fig. 2; with a detailed description of the fragments.

On the right:

(1) *Hr(w) [Mry-R^c-h^c-m-hd.t] nsw.t-bi[ty '3-hpr]-k3-[R^c] di 'nh* (2) *[s3] R^c n h.t.f* (3) *'Dhwty¹-ms(.w) h^c-mi-[R^c]*

“(1) Horus [Beloved-of-Re-appearing-in-the-White-Crown], king of Upper and Low[er Egypt Aa-kheper]-ka-[Re], given life, (2) the bodily [son] of Re (3) ‘Tuth’mosis-appearing (in glory)-like-[Re]”.

On the left:

(1) *[Hr(w)] Mry-R^c-h^c-m-hd.t [nsw.t-bity '3-hpr-k3-R^c] di 'nh* (2) *[s3] R^c n 'h.t.f¹* (3) *[Dhwty]-ms(.w) [h^c]-mi-'R^c'*

“(1) [Horus] Beloved-of-Re-appearing-in-the-White-Crown, [king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper-ka-Re, given life], (2) ‘the bodily’ [son of Re] (3) [Tuth]mosis-[appearing (in glory)]-like-‘Re’”.

The special meaning of the scene placed above the entrance to the Chapel of Tuthmosis I hinges on the representation of Hatshepsut in front of her deceased father, shown in the act of performing an offering ritual. The sense of the ritual gesture is embodied in the inscriptions accompanying the queen’s figures. A parallel appears in the main scenes on the south and north walls of the chapel itself (see below). The inscription in front of the right-hand figure, which is wearing the Lower Egyptian crown, can be restored as follows:⁴⁹

(1) *dd mdw: in.n[(i) n.k ...]f^a) 3pd.w nb m [...].k nt T3-mhw* (2) *ir.t htp-di-nsw.t w^b sp 2*

- a) There is no certainty that the fragmentarily preserved *htp.t* of the inscription on the left side should also be inserted in the lacuna, especially because the *f* sign cannot be elucidated satisfactorily (hardly likely *htp.t.f*). Karkowski (2001a: 103, Figs 10, 11) failed to copy the sign in question.

“(1) Recitation: (I) bring [to you ...] all the birds from your [...] ⁵⁰ of Lower Egypt. (2) Performing *htp-di-nsw.t* offering, purifying twice”.

Traces of the signs preserved on the left can be read as *[htp].t* “offerings”, but one expects this to have referred to offerings brought from Upper Egypt. Nothing remains of the queen’s representation except for a staff and her toe (on the right), and fragments of her crowns (both of Upper and of Lower Egypt). The remnants of the queen’s crowns confirm the heraldic character of the scene referring to both parts of Egypt. Feminine endings in the accompanying inscriptions on both sides, as well as a remnant of the Horus name of Hatshepsut on the right (see comment below), leave no doubt that it was Hatshepsut who was represented twice as approaching her father.⁵¹ The royal cartouches of the queen were no doubt inscribed above her representations, but no parts of these have survived. Only the customary formula following the royal name can be read:

On the left:

[...] 'di¹.t(i) 'nh¹.t

“[...] ‘given life’”.

On the right:

[... di.t(i)] 'nh.t

“[...] given] life”.

⁴⁹ Compare Karkowski 2001a: 103.

⁵⁰ Possibly referring to the mortuary estates of the deceased king.

⁵¹ Considering also the clear traces of chiseling of the figure on the right, there are no grounds to imagine a figure of Tuthmosis III accompanying Hatshepsut in this place, as presumed by Karkowski 2001b: 149.

Additional space on the right margin of the scene resulted in a significant irregularity of the composition. A figure of the royal *ka* holding a staff and a feather, a Horus name placed on its head, was restored here based on two blocks found in the temple stores.⁵² The only part of the Horus name preserved is a fragment of the *serekh* within the frame of the *k3*-sign. This fragment, which was recently excavated behind the south wall of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, leaves no doubt that the Horus name of Hatshepsut (*Wsr.t-k3(.w)*) had once been written here. Significantly, the fragment bears remains of the original polychromy [see *Pl. 20.1:10*], which is quite unusual with regard to the decoration of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, where pigments have been preserved only exceptionally and mostly as traces of red ochre.

The inscription above the royal *ka* reads as follows:

(1) *k3-nsw.t [‘nh nb t3.wy* (2) *hnty db3.t* (3) *‘hnty pr-dw3.t di’[f‘nh ...]*^{a)}

a) It is possible of course that the phrase was more extended, because there is enough space to insert a customary extension of such a formula, see, e.g., Naville 1906: Pl. 131.

“(1) Living royal *ka* of the lord of the Two Lands (2) presiding over the palace, (3) ‘presiding over the House of Morning; may¹ [he] ‘give¹ [life ...]”.⁵³

A fragment with a border ornament and a vertical stroke may be located in the space behind the royal *ka*. Since the vertical stroke cannot be interpreted as a border line of an inscription, it may be the remnant of a pole supporting a protective fan, a customary iconographic element of scenes depicting the king.⁵⁴

DOORWAY

The lateral walls in the eastern part of the doorway passage were not decorated. Only Coptic *dipinti*, painted in red, were found here: a cross on the north wall⁵⁵ and a figural representation with partly preserved Coptic inscription on the opposite, south wall.⁵⁶

The western part of the passage constitutes the inside of the doorway, where a single-leaf door opened into the chapel, and against the right-hand (northern) side. This surface was obviously left undecorated. The only element appearing here is a graffito of Senenmut engraved *en creux* and painted in yellow.⁵⁷ This graffito was later carefully erased, just like other inscriptions and representations of this type left behind the doors in every part of the temple.⁵⁸ All that can still be discerned are the remnants of a kneeling figure of Senenmut turned left (toward the chapel interior), his hands raised in a gesture of homage, accompanied by an inscription [*Pl. 8*]:

⁵² Karkowski did not take them into consideration, but the one on the right [see *Pl. 20.1:7*] was properly positioned by Andrzej Kwaśnica (personal communication).

⁵³ For a symbolic meaning of the royal *ka* in this context, see, for example, Kees 1914; Eldamaty 1999.

⁵⁴ As regards a second fan in a position comparable to that in the reconstruction presented here, see, e.g., Naville 1906: Pl. 131.

⁵⁵ See Godlewski 1986: 107 (Cat. No. 56 and Fig. 38); incorrectly located in Pl. II.

⁵⁶ Godlewski 1986: 106 (Cat. No. 48 and Fig. 40, top right).

⁵⁷ For this graffito, see Winlock 1942: Pl. 45 (top left); Hayes 1957: Fig. 1 (L); Schulman 1969–1970: 46; Porter and Moss 1972: 361 (104d); Meyer 1982: 200; Iwaszczuk 2016b: 217; see also Barwik 2020.

⁵⁸ Only four such images were left intact and these are located in the niches of the Hathor Chapel, see Meyer 1982: 200; Beaux 2012: 191–192, Pls 64–67.

(1↓) *ʿrdi.t i3w n ʿImn di.f ssn ʿ3-hpr-k3ʿ-[Rʿ t3w ndm] ʿn mb(y).tʿ*
 (2→) *ʿin imy-r pr Sn-(n)-Mwtʿ*

“(1) ‘Giving homage to Amun that he cause that Aa-kheper-ka’-[Re] ‘would smell’ [the sweet breath] ‘of the northern breeze; (2) by the steward Senenmut’.”

The northern breeze mentioned here reflects no doubt the name of the portal leading to the chapel (see above and a comment by Hayes 1957: 82, Note 4) as it apparently does not appear in any of the other inscriptions accompanying Senenmut in the temple. Compare also the “sweet breeze of life” mentioned in one of the inscriptions on the west wall of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (see below). Obviously, one cannot ignore the fairly common mention of the northern breeze in offering formulae of the period (see Barta 1968: 93 [“Bitte” 78 and 79]). Significantly enough, a “sweet breeze” appears in the Book of the Dead Chapter 56 (Neville 1886: 125; compare also Coffin Text Spell 222: Buck 1947: 207), as part of the compilation of the text of the First Hour of the Night, inscribed on the western tympanum in the nearby Chapel of Hatshepsut (Neville 1901: Pl. 115; see also Griffin 2017: 115).⁵⁹

The door reveal on the southern side [*Pls 9; 21*] was decorated, but the original decoration in the upper part was so thoroughly erased in the Amarna period that not even a trace has survived. The post-Amarna restoration⁶⁰ presents a vignette of the Book of the Dead Chapter 148, the text of this chapter being inscribed just beyond it to the right, on the southern part of the east wall of the chapel (for this, see below). Quite inconsistently with the most common versions of this vignette, only four heavenly cows were represented in the uppermost register. A small altar appeared in front of them. Contrary to a common tradition, the names of the cows were not written beside these representations; instead, they formed an essential component of the first part of the text of the chapter in question, inscribed, as indicated above, on the adjoining southeastern wall of the chapel.

It seems fairly certain that in the original version of the scene on this wall in the doorway, the remaining three cows and the bull were represented in the middle register. For reasons unknown, the post-Amarna restorers replaced them here with the four heavenly oars. They were probably strongly influenced by a widespread tradition of having the four celestial oars as a component part of the vignette of the Book of the Dead Chapter 148. In other words, their intent was presumably to illustrate two component parts of the text of this chapter, which was inscribed separately on the adjoining southeastern wall of the chapel. As a matter of fact, since the cows and the oars of the ancient restoration are located on the same level as the original text pertaining to the heavenly cows (i.e., the upper part of the Book of the Dead Chapter 148, see *Pl. 10.4*), the spatial relation between the texts and the restored vignettes is not exact.⁶¹ Moreover, the space on the west wall of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I was evidently too restricted to hold all the motifs that were a component part of the vignette, even though the full vignette was presented on the west wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

⁵⁹ To be published by the present author.

⁶⁰ There are good reasons indeed to date it to the reign of Ramesses II, considering the stylistic affinity with parts of the temple decoration restored during this reign (attested in many cases by restoration inscriptions).

⁶¹ The text referring to the oars [see *Pl. 10.5*] is inscribed on the same level as the third lowermost register of the reveal decoration.

Indeed, it seems that the celestial steering oars were not included at all in the original decoration of the southern reveal of the doorway of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I. The oars are indeed omitted from a number of early Eighteenth Dynasty versions of the vignette and sometimes they are represented only by the four mummiform figures (for a detailed analysis, see Munro 1987: 124–125; see also Sayed 1980: 380). Notably, the same concept was applied in the decoration of the northeastern niche in the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, where only the heavenly cows and the bull were represented (see Szafranski 2008: 273, Fig. 4). In its anciently restored version, the scene on the west wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut presents the oars and the mummiform figure of the sun god (Re-Harakhte) on the northern side and intact figures of the heavenly cows in the southern part. The restoration reflects what was *en vogue* in the post-Amarna period with representations of the four steering oars and a mummiform figure of the sun god.⁶² It was copied in exactly the same form in the Saite tomb of Aba (TT 36) (see Scheil 1894: Pl. 7; Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pls 35, 109),⁶³ but that obviously refers to the restored version and not the original composition from the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Although no traces of the original figures have been preserved (except for the solar disk of the sun god), it seems probable that the places where steering oars were restored in the post-Amarna or early Ramesside period were originally occupied by mummiform figures representing oars.

Significantly, some of the early Eighteenth Dynasty sources present a vignette devoid of the celestial oars, e.g., pap. Amenhotep (Cc),⁶⁴ pap. Tjenna, pap. Amenemopet/Bakai, pap. Brocklehurst, pap. Nebseni, and even the papyri dating to the reign of Amenhotep III: pap. Kha, and pap. Juja.⁶⁵ An interesting exception, and possibly one of the earliest versions with a vignette incorporating the oars, is pap. Maiherperi (uncertain date: Tuthmosis III/Hatshepsut–Amenhotep II or even Tuthmosis IV; for a discussion, see especially Munro 1987: 278 [19]; Dodson 1998: 334), followed by pap. Neferubenef, securely dated to the reign of Tuthmosis IV (for the dating of the papyrus, see Munro 1987: 282 [31]). The most important fact, however, is that sources dating to the reign of Hatshepsut, that is, vignettes accompanying the false-door stelae in the tombs of Senenmut (TT 71 and 353), present the vignette with heavenly cows and four mummiform figures instead of the celestial oars (for TT 71, see Roeder 1924: 95–96 [X.2–5] and Hermann 1940: Pl. 1a; for TT 353, see Dorman 1991: 134–135, Pls 70–71: C 33–C 36). Strangely enough, in the slightly later tomb of Puiemra (TT 39), dating to the reign of Tuthmosis III and depending strongly in its decoration on the scenes from the Chapel of Hatshepsut (see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2013; Engelmann-von Carnap 2014: 357–358), there are no constituent elements of the vignette of this chapter (only offerings or burial equipment were represented above the Book of the Dead texts, see Davies 1923: Pl. 48). One cannot look for comparison to the decoration on both sides of the false-door stela of Tuthmosis III in his mortuary temple in Qurna (*Heneket-ankh*), because it has not been preserved (compare Ricke 1939: Pl. 8).

Notably, placing the four oars in the middle register of the doorway decoration in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I resulted in the number of cows in the anciently restored vignette being incomplete. In the restored version, the celestial oars were given concise labels written to the right of the

⁶² To be published by the present author.

⁶³ For the copying of scenes, see Der Manuelian 1983: 225 (3.2).

⁶⁴ Vignette fragmentarily preserved, but no trace of oars, see Munro 1994: Photo plate 36.

⁶⁵ For the references, see a listing of Book of the Dead sources in the next chapter.

oars. The first oar is labeled *'ḥmw nfr n pt'* [...] “‘good steering oar of the’ [...] ‘sky’”. All that remains of the designation of this oar is a trace of the first sign, which looks like the *t*-sign; however, the reading *imnt* seems to be excluded due to the apparent lack of space for inserting a feather. The reading that can be proposed, *rsy* “southern”, presents a sequence of oars starting with the southern one that is not attested in texts of the Book of the Dead. Even in the version of the chapter written on the wall of the chapel itself, the oar of the southern sky is enumerated last.⁶⁶ As for the other oars here, the only remaining part of a label is the *'ḥmw nfr'* group accompanying the second heavenly oar.

The reconstruction of the lowermost register of the wall decoration is based on blocks preserved *in situ*. Crucial to the reconstruction is a fragmentary block inserted there already by Baraize. It represents a recarved male figure of a bearded god, with a tripartite wig and short skirt of archaic type. The preserved line of the arm suggests that he had his arms raised in a gesture of adoration. Based on the surviving blocks, the figures were alternately male, shown striding, and female, depicted standing still (just the feet have been preserved without the lower edges of robes). However, the iconographic details are insufficient for a more precise identification of the figures. The cartouche with the royal *nomen* apparently preceded the female figures, while the *prenomén* was inserted before the male figures. The cartouches are the sole element of the original decoration of the wall from the times of Hatshepsut. They are as follows (beginning from the right):

- 1) lower part of the cartouche, no doubt with a missing *prenomén* of Tuthmosis I;
- 2) [*n?* s3 R^c Dḥwty]-ms(.w) [ḥ^c]-mi-[R^c] “[to(?) the Son of Re Tuth]mosis-[appearing (in glory)]-like-[Re]”;
- 3) title preceding the royal cartouche preserved in one instance, in the label preceding the third (male) figure: [*n?*] ntr nfr [ʿ3]-ḥpr-k3-R^c “[to?] the good god [Aa]-kheper-ka-Re”;
- 4) [... Dḥwty]-ms(.w) [ḥ^c]-mi-[R^c] “[... Tuth]mosis-[appearing (in glory)]-like-[Re]”;
- 5) [... ʿ3-ḥpr]-k3-[R^c] “[... Aa-kheper]-ka-[Re]”.

The insertion of the *n* of the dative in front of the royal names seems to be justified,⁶⁷ providing that the abovementioned phrases were the continuation of a conventional formula of the type: *dī.f* (var. *dī.s*) *nḥ nb snb nb* “He (var. she) gives all life and all health” (with variants), placed above the figures in question [see *Pl. 9*].

The meaning of the representations in the lower register of the restored post-Amarna version escapes our understanding as they are not an element attested in the vignettes of the Book of the Dead Chapter 148. These representations were present presumably in similar form in the original version, but their significance would have been fairly general in all probability, namely, adoration of the royal names in the cartouches (with accompanying wishing formulae?), and possibly also the king himself represented inside the chapel on its long walls. In such a case, the scene would

⁶⁶ Certainly there was no fixed order in either the presentation of the oars or the heavenly cows, see Sayed 1980: 380.

⁶⁷ Compare the legends written on the walls of the niches in front of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, see, e.g., Janssen 1957: 89; Szafranski 2008: 273, Fig. 4. Significantly, the cartouches in the northeastern niche are not preceded by any royal titles (presumably due to the lack of space above the backs of the cows).

have emphasized the transition between the decoration of the vestibule and the chapel itself. The location of the scene in a door passage could suggest the protective role of the figures.⁶⁸

Nevertheless, with no traces preserved, there can be no certainty as to the exact form of the figures in the original version of the scene. Certainly, it would be going too far to suggest that the meaning intended here was the adoration of the sun, as inferred from scenes from the Book of the Dead, in which male figures of the king with royal cartouches and uraei on their heads adore the rising sun in the morning, alongside other divine figures. In a concise version from the tomb of Ramesses IX, this royal “procession” was inserted in the context of the evening adoration of the sun (see Abitz 1990: 30–31, Fig. 9; Müller-Roth 2008: 302–306). Such a celestial context would be a perfect match for the presumed decoration of the eastern lunette of the chapel (see below), but the evidence is highly insufficient to substantiate the case in more detail. One should draw attention, however, to the anciently restored figures of six male gods adoring the sun god and the night bark on the east wall the vestibule of the Solar Cult Complex (the night sun chapel) (Karkowski 2003: 222 and Note 141 with references, Pls 29–30, 39 left).

A graffito depicting a man’s head (turned right), just below the scenes commented on above (below the first striding figure), can be taken perhaps as a commemorative portrait of one of the workmen or more probably an artist engaged in the decoration of the temple walls [*Pl. 2B*]. The dating of this drawing to the pharaonic period, specifically to the time when the temple decoration was executed, is indisputable as it was covered completely by the red paint of the upper band of the dado ornament. From Coptic times there is a cross and accompanying inscription on the south reveal, below the dado, and another cross (poorly preserved today) on the same surface to the left of the first one.⁶⁹

⁶⁸ See Graefe 2018: 176, who makes a reference to the personifications of the night hours in the northern door of the eastern colonnade of the temple of Isis on Philae, see Kockelmann and Winter 2016: 154–155, No. 62, Note 2, Plans I and IV.

⁶⁹ See Godlewski 1986: 149 (Cat. No. 21 and Fig. 149) and 106 (Cat. No. 49), the two incorrectly located in relation to one another, see Pls II, III. A badly preserved Coptic inscription found nearby was not recorded by Godlewski. For the location of other Coptic figural *dipinti* and inscriptions in the vestibule and in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (not discussed in the present work), see Godlewski 1986: Pls II, III (with references to catalog numbers).

THE CHAPEL OF TUTHMOSIS I

The chapel decoration follows in general the scheme attested in the nearby Chapel of Hatshepsut with some noteworthy differences resulting mostly from the atypical architectural form. The highly restricted space of the chapel, with one lateral wall vertical and the other one inclined, imposed unusual solutions with regard to the compositions of scenes decorating foremost the east and west wall.

EAST WALL [PL. 10]

The east wall of the chapel in its northern part was decorated with slaughtering scenes, similarly to the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The southern part was inscribed with the texts of the Book of the Dead Chapter 148. The obvious relation of these scenes and inscriptions to offerings and their preparation is exemplified in the registers of offerings represented in the upper part of the wall, directly above the entrance. The lintel was broken in antiquity, no doubt with the intent to obtain regular blocks of stone of dimensions comparable to those found in the nearby temple of Tuthmosis III (see Lipińska 1977: 10–11). However, not all were removed from the temple area, enabling the reconstruction of the middle part of the decoration of the lintel. The two ends of the lintel are missing except for a small fragment that could be attributed tentatively to the right margin.⁷⁰

Slaughtering scenes (left side of the wall)

The trapezoid surface of the wall to the left of the doorway is divided into four registers.⁷¹ Contrary to the variety of iconographic schemes applied in the decoration of the east wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the composition here appears to be more limited, partly due to the restricted space. Thus, the two uppermost registers each contain three figures of butchers, whereas only two are represented in the lower registers. The animals depicted in the two lower registers are oxen (*iw3*), but those from the two upper registers are too fragmentary for identification.⁷²

The decoration of the lowermost register, a pair of butchers bending over a lying ox, is preserved complete. One of the butchers pulls up the right foreleg of the animal, while the other one cuts it off with a knife. Well in accord with other scenes of this type, the words spoken by the butchers were written above their heads, separated by a short dividing line:

(Words of the man on the left):

s'tp' hps.f ikr

“C'ut' up his foreleg skilfully”.

⁷⁰ Suggested by Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczyńska.

⁷¹ Only three registers on the east wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut; similarly to the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39).

⁷² Oryx-antelopes (*m3-hd*) and gazelles (*ghs*) were also depicted in the slaughtering scenes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut; for identification of the species, see Osborn and Osbornová 1998: 160, 175.

(Words of the man on the right):

iry(.i) ddt.k w^cb sp-sn n [...]^{a)}

- a) Strangely enough the royal cartouche was not finished, the adjoining area also not being leveled [see *Pl. 2C*]. The upper curve of the cartouche was the only part sculpted and it was not preceded by any of the royal titles. Notably, a strip framing the doorway was not finished either.

“(I) will do what you said: pure, pure for [...]”.

There is slightly more space in the scene in the second register. The artist used the extra few centimeters to draw the figure of the butcher on the left bending back strongly as he pulls on the animal’s foreleg while balancing on his feet placed between the animal’s horns. The other butcher was no doubt represented as cutting off the foreleg, but only his legs can still be seen on the right side, against the hindquarters of the slaughtered animal. Traces of the accompanying inscriptions read:

(Words of the man on the left):

[...].k^{a)}

- a) To be reconstructed perhaps as *pr-^c.k* “Try to do (it) yourself”, see Wb. I, 527.

“[...] you/yourself”.

(Words of the man on the right):

[...]a) m[3^c]b) n [nsw].t ‘^c3-hpr-k3-R^c’

- a) The lacuna may be filled with something like *iry(.i) ddt.k* “(I) will do what you said”; or *iry(.i) r hst.k* “(I) will do as you want”; compare the scene on the east wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Barwik 2015: 46; see also comment below).
- b) For the meaning of *m3^c*, which is fairly certain here, though only the upper part of the sign (Gardiner’s Sign-list U 1) is preserved, see Barwik 2015: 48 Note 10; “offering” would be an alternative meaning, see Wb. II, 23 (14); Newberry 1895: Pl. 34; Blackman 1914: Pl. 11; 1915: 23, Pl. 12.

“[...] t[ruly] for the [kin]g ‘Aa-kheper-ka-Re’”.

Some scant remains of the decoration of the third register are preserved at the bottom. The figure at the extreme right, which is that of a man standing behind the animal’s rump, is identified on the base of only one leg, the other one being hidden presumably behind the animal.⁷³ He may be surmised to be sharpening a knife (less likely holding one of the hind legs of the animal), this by comparison with a similar scene from the east wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut.⁷⁴ Of the second figure there is also one leg preserved, the other one remaining only in negative. Remains of a man’s foot at the extreme left, next to what seems to be the animal’s tongue, allow the figure of a third butcher to be restored in this register.

The uppermost register, slightly longer than the preceding three, provided enough space for a composition of three butchers, of which only the one on the left is substantially preserved. The man in the middle bends his head very low, while cutting off the animal’s foreleg and extracting its heart. Nothing remains of the third figure, but one is entitled to expect a man either sharpening a knife or, more plausibly, holding one of the hind legs of the animal.⁷⁵

⁷³ Compare the scene from the Chapel of Hatshepsut (right-hand scene in the second register from below, see Barwik 2015: 46).

⁷⁴ See Barwik 2015: 46; compare also Naville 1901: Pl. 107 (second register from below, right side).

⁷⁵ For a similar arrangement, compare a scene in the tomb of Puimra (TT 39), Davies 1923: Pl. 52 (upper register on the left and right).

(Words of the man on the left):

[...] ^{a)} *hꜣpš.f šd^{b)} h3t(y).f*

- a) Partly preserved determinative representing a forearm with the hand holding a stick (Gardiner's Sign-list D 40); certainly the most suitable verb here would be *stp* "cut off", although it is usually devoid of a determinative (see Montet 1910: 57; Wb. IV, 336).
- b) For the meaning of the verb in relation to extracting an animal's heart, see Wb. IV, 561 (7); Montet 1925: 167; Eggebrecht 1973: 79.

"[...] his foreleg; remove his heart".

(Words of the man in the middle):

There is good reason to believe that the second line of the inscription, not separated by a dividing line, should be connected with this representation; of this text we have only:

iry(.i) [...] ^{a)}

- a) A standard locution is to be expected here: *ddt.k* "what you said", *mrt.k* "what you desire", or else (*r*) *hst.k* "(according to) what you want" (see Montet 1910: 61; Erman 1915: 91–92).

"(I) will do [...]".

(Words of the man on the right): not preserved.

Book of the Dead Chapter 148 (right side of the wall)

The text of Book of the Dead Chapter 148 was divided into two parts, separated by the *pt* sign. This is a purely artificial division of the text as the name of the last of the seven cows did not fit in the first section and was moved to the second one. Such a division of the text does not find parallels in the extant Book of the Dead versions written on papyri,⁷⁶ nor in the earliest version of the text attested on the Middle Kingdom stela of Nehy from Abydos (see Lange and Schäfer 1908: 117–118). It was respected, however, in the other two versions from the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex of the Hatshepsut temple, which are identical with that in the Chapel of Tutmosis I. The text in the northeastern niche of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut was divided in exactly the same manner and both parts of it, of exactly the same content, were placed on both sides of the entrance to the niche (on its west wall) (see Janssen 1957: 88–89). As for the two parts of the chapter inscribed on the west wall of the Hatshepsut chapel, they were divided between the north and south wings of the wall, on both sides of the false-door stela (see Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pls 164, 165).

A similar scheme was followed in the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39) (see Davies 1923: 9, Pl. 48),⁷⁷ which depends strongly on the decoration of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2013). It may be also inferred from the distribution of texts on Senenmut's false-door stela (from TT 71), where the beginnings of these two parts are placed in a horizontal inscription at the top of the monument (see Roeder 1924: 92, 94 ["A"]; Dorman 1991: 54–55, Fig. 12 [1, 6], Pl. 16a). In Senenmut's lower tomb (TT 353), the first concise section was inscribed separately above the false-door stela, while the rest of Chapter 148, comprising only the vignettes with legends and

⁷⁶ Compare the versions written on papyri belonging to Nu, Amenemopet/Bakai, Maiherperi, Nebseni, Tjenna, Juja, Kha, Neferubenef (for references, see below).

⁷⁷ Similarly in the Saite copy of the scene from the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the tomb of Aba (TT 36): Scheil 1894: Pl. 7 (=Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pls 34–35, 108–109); see also a comment by Der Manuelian 1983: 225 (3.2).

a conclusion, were written on the right and left margin of the stone (see Dorman 1991: Pls 59 [arrangement of texts], 70–71 [C 13–C 21: beginning of the chapter; C 22–C 36: vignettes with legends; C 37–C 40: ending]).

The decoration scheme of the text of Book of the Dead (BD) Chapter 148 in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I differs from that on the west wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in that it does not have vignettes. These were composed on the adjoining southern side of the doorway (see above).

The text of the upper register refers to the heavenly cows (*Pl. 10.4*):

1) *dd mdw ind hr.k psd m itm.f^c nh(y) pr m 3h.t iw [nsw.t bity] 3-hpr-'k3'-[R^c] (2) rh(w) rn.k rh(w) rn n sfh[t].k tw id.(w)t h<n>^{c a)} k3 iry [ddy.w t]^{b)} (3) n^c nh.w^{c)} sdf3[y.w] imm.t.yw di.tn n s3 R^c Dhwty [-ms(w) h^c-mi-R^c] t hnk.t (4) [sd]f3.tn nsw.t 3-'hpr'-[k3]-R^c [di.tn n^{d)} s3 R^c Dhwty-ms(w) h^c-mi-R^c 3h]^{e)} šms tn (5) [nsw].t [bity] nb t3.wy nb ir.t h.t nb h^c(w) [3-hpr-k3- R^c] 'hpr'¹⁾ [s3 R^c Dhwty-ms(w) h^c-mi-R^c hr hp]d.w^{g)} (6) .tn 'Hw'.t.[t-k3.w nb.t-r-dr]^{h)} 'Šny.t'¹⁾ [pt st.t ntr 'Igr.t]ⁱ⁾ hnt(y).t s.t.s^{k)} (7) 3h-bi.tt s^h(y).t ntr [Wr-mrw.t.s] 'dšr.t šny'¹⁾ [Hnm.t-m^c-nh inwt.t^{m)}*

The early BD sources used in the commentaries below:⁷⁸

CH	Chapel of Hatshepsut, text written in two parts on the west wall, on both sides of the false-door stela; unpublished in its newly restored form; see, however, Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pls 164–165
Niche NE	Northeastern niche in the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut; unpublished in its newly restored form; see, however, Janssen 1957: 88–89; text written in two parts on the west wall of the niche, on both sides of the entrance; for the vignette on the east wall (only cows depicted), see Szafranski 2008: 273, Fig. 4
pap. Amenemopet/Bakai	Papyrus of Amenemopet (called Bakai), National Museum in Warsaw (Inv. No. 21884), see Andrzejewski 1951: Pls 19–24 (only heavenly cows depicted in the vignettes); see also Munro 1987: 275, No. 7
pap. Amenhotep (Cc)	Papyrus of Amenhotep, Egyptian Museum in Cairo (pap. Boulaq 21), see Munro 1994: Photo pl. 36, Pl. 89
pap. Brocklehurst	Papyrus of Baksu, Kestner-Museum, Hannover (Inv. No. 1970.37), see Munro 1995: Pl. 12, Photo pls 7–8
pap. Juja	Papyrus of Juja from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 46), now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 51189), see Davis 1908: Pl. 12; Munro 1994: Pl. 55
pap. Kha	Papyrus of Kha from his tomb in the western cemetery at Deir el-Medina (TT 8), now in the Turin Museum, see Schiaparelli 1927: 57–58
pap. Maiherperi	Papyrus of Maiherperi from his tomb in the Valley of the Kings (KV 36), now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 24095), see Munro 1994: Photo pl. 61, Pl. 134
pap. Nebseni	Papyrus of Nebseni (BM EA 9900), see Lapp 2004: Pls 11 (title), 12–15 (only heavenly cows depicted in the vignettes)
pap. Neferubenef	Papyrus of Neferubenef (Paris, Musée du Louvre, III 93; and University of Montpellier), see Ratié 1968: Pl. 8
pap. Nu	Papyrus of Nu (BM EA 10477), see Lapp 1997: Pls 31–32 (without vignettes)
pap. Tjenna	Papyrus of Tjenna (Paris, Musée du Louvre, N. 3074), see Naville 1886: 377–378, Pl. 167 (Pc)
Stela of Nehy	From Abydos, now in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (CG 20520); the earliest preserved source with the text of BD 148, dating to the Middle

⁷⁸ Significantly, the text of Book of the Dead Chapter 148 was never inscribed on funerary shrouds from the early Eighteenth Dynasty, which provide the earliest versions of the so-called Theban edition of the Book of the Dead; for other sources, see Sayed 1980: 387–390; Munro 1987: 348.

- Kingdom, incorporated into other religious texts, see Lange and Schäfer 1908: 117–118, Pl. 36
- Stela of Senenmut (TT 71) From his tomb in Sheikh Abd el-Gurna, now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (Inv. No. 2066), see Roeder 1924: 92–96; Hermann 1940: Pl. 1a; Saleh 1984: 81
- TT 39 Tomb of Puimra, see Davies 1923: 9, Pl. 48
- TT 353 Tomb of Senenmut, see Dorman 1991: Pls 70–71 (C 13–C 21: beginning of the chapter; C 22–C 36: vignettes with legends; C 37–C 40: ending)

- a) *r* sign written erroneously instead of *n*.
- b) Not enough space to insert *hnk.t* “beer” after *t*, as in pap. Nu (Col. 3), pap. Tjenna (Col. 4), pap. Kha, and pap. Neferubenef; similarly in TT 353 (C 15), pap. Maiherperi (Col. 557), pap. Nebseni, pap. Juja (Col. 363); enough space for the word in CH (south part, Col. 3); both words omitted from the version on the stela of Nehy (Col. 3); fragment not preserved on the stela of Senenmut (TT 71).
- c) Other versions give here *n 3h.w* (var. *3h*); variant: *3h n 3h.w* as in TT 353 (C 15/16), pap. Nu (Col. 3), and pap. Maiherperi (Col. 557); or *3h n NN* as in pap. Amenhotep (Cc) (Col. 490), and pap. Tjenna (Cols 4/5). The present version finds parallels in CH (south part, Col. 4), pap. Juja (Col. 363), and pap. Kha; fragment not preserved either on the stela of Senenmut (TT 71) or in Niche NE.
- d) Traces of *n* and two strokes of the plural determinative, being part of the suffix pronoun, as well as a fragment of the preposition *n*, preserved on a fragment documented by Karkowski; present location of the fragment unknown (PCMA University of Warsaw archival documentation).
- e) Destroyed text in Niche NE and in the CH version as well;⁷⁹ reconstruction of *3h* “(magic) power” in the lacuna, after the text of the stela of Nehy (Col. 5); similarly in pap. Maiherperi (Cols 557/58), pap. Juja (Col. 365), and on the stela of Senenmut (TT 71), but in TT 353 one can read: *di.tn t 3h n NN* (C 16/17); compare also pap. Tjenna (Cols 5/6), pap. Nebseni, and pap. Neferubenef (with some variants).
- f) The *hpr* sign and a trace of the last of the phonetic complements preserved on a fragment documented by Karkowski; see comment d) above.
- g) Traces of an erased *p* sign (?); it cannot be excluded that it was carved in gesso or just painted.
- h) Determinative of the cow’s name preserved on a fragment documented by Karkowski; see comment d) above.
- i) Beginning of the cow’s name preserved on a fragment documented by Karkowski; see comment d) above.
- j) Traces in CH (south part, Col. 10); not preserved in the main text of Niche NE (southern part), but the name used in this form on the east wall of the niche; similarly on the stela of Senenmut (TT 71), unlike the version from TT 353, where the variant *Imny.t* appears (attested also on pap. Amenemopet/Bakai, pap. Brocklehurst, pap. Tjenna, and pap. Neferubenef). For variants of the name, see also Sayed 1980: 368.
- k) Traces of the *s.t* sign and the determinative of the cow’s name.
- l) Five signs of the cow’s name preserved on a fragment documented by Karkowski; see comment d) above.
- m) On the meaning, see Sayed 1980: 362 Note 24.

“(1) Recitation: Hail to thee, O you who shines in his disk, the living one coming forth from the horizon. [King of Upper and Lower Egypt] Aa-kheper-¹ka¹-[Re] (2) knows your name, (he) knows the name of these your seven cows together with their bull. (O) [you who give bread] (3) to the living, (o) you who are provisioning the Westerners, may you give bread and beer to the Son of Re Tuth[mosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re], (4) may you [provi]sion the king Aa-¹kheper¹-[ka]-Re, [may you give power to the Son of Re Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re], (5) may [the king of Upper and Lower Egypt], lord of the Two Lands, lord of rituals, lord of diadems [Aa-kheper-ka-Re] follow you, [may the Son of Re Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re] ¹be born¹ (lit. come into existence)

⁷⁹ Significantly, it is used in the version from the tomb of Aba (TT 36): Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pl. 34 (Col. 6).

[under] your buttocks. (6) (O) Shrine [of souls, lady of all]; 'Thunder cloud' [of heaven, who raises the god; She of the silent land (i.e., necropolis), foremost of her place]; (7) She of Khemmis, who ennobles the god; [Great of love], 'red-haired one'; [United with life, bright coloured one]"

The text of the lower register [Pl. 10.5] comprises invocations to the four heavenly oars, preceded by words belonging still to the first section of the chapter. This division of the text finds an exact parallel in the versions from CH, Niche NE, and the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39) (see comment above).

(1) [*sh̄m.t rn.s m hm(w).t.s*]^{a)} *k3 t3y id.(w)t [di].tn*^{b)} (2) *n [nsw.t] bity [ʿ3-hpr-k3]-ʿR^c [t hnk.t sdf3.tn]*^{c)} *s3 [R^c] Dhwty-ms(.w) h^c-mi-R^c in Shm n 'pt' wn* (3) *itn hmw nfr n*^{d)} *'pt' [i3bt.t i]n Dbn*^{e)} *s̄m 't3.wy hmw' [nfr] n pt mht[.t i]n 'I[3]hw* (4) *hr(y)-ib hw.t s̄m.w hmw nfr n [pt imnt.t in Hnty.t hr d]sr.w* (5) *hmw nfr n pt 'rsy'.t di.tn n nsw.t bity '3-hpr-[k3]-R^c [t hnk.t k3.w 3pd.w sdf3.tn s3 R^c]*^{f)} *Dhwty-ms(.w) h^c-mi-R^c* (6) *[di.tn n nsw.t bity '3]-'hpr-k3'-[R^c] 'nh(.w) wd3(.w) snb(.w) 3w.t-ib w3h [m t3 di.tn n s3 R^c] Dhwty-ms(.w) h^c-[mi]-R^c* (7) *[pt t3 3h.t Iwnw dw3.t] 'iw' nsw.t '3-hpr-k3-R^c rh(.w) st tm ir.k*^{g)} *s3 R^c Dhwty-'ms(.w) h^c-mi-R^c m' y*^{h)}

- a) Reconstruction after the text on the northwestern wall of Niche NE and in CH (north part, Col. 1).
- b) Suffix pronoun written with a superfluous *n* sign.
- c) Reconstruction of the lacuna after the stela of Senenmut (TT 71), see Roeder 1924: 94 (O); fragment not preserved in CH (north part); the text in Niche NE (north part, Cols 1/2) has a more expanded orthography.
- d) Clumsy lines preserved, reflecting the process of a sculptor tracing the sign [see Pl. 22.6:23].
- e) Unusual determinative attested also in Niche NE (north part, Col. 2), CH (north part, Col. 4, fragmentarily preserved), TT 353 (C 34), and on the stela of Senenmut (TT 71). The same verb, but with another determinative (Gardiner's Sign-list D 54), is found on the stela of Nehy (Col. 11), pap. Amenhotep Cc (Col. 496), pap. Juja (Col. 369), and pap. Kha. An exceptional orthography of *dbn* appears in pap. Nu (col. 8). In other versions, the verb *phr* was used in this place, see comment by Munro 1994: 63 (o).
- f) Reconstruction of the lacuna after CH (north part, Col. 7).
- g) Suffix of the 2nd person masculine singularis attested also in Niche NE (north part, Col. 7) and CH (north part, Col. 10); the latter version followed by the text on the stela of Senenmut (TT 71) "U-V". In other versions: suffix of the 2nd person pluralis (more understandable perhaps as relating to the celestial oars), see, e.g., pap. Nu: *ir.tn n.i mi* "May you do the like for me" (Col. 11); compare, however, the version on the stela of Nehy: *ir.kw mi* (Col. 15).
- h) The second *i* of the adverb must be restored in the lacuna; compare the version in CH (north part, Col. 10) and Niche NE (north part, Col. 7).

"(1) [She whose name prevails over her craft], and the bull-husband of the cows. May you give (2) [bread and beer] to [the king of Upper] and Lower Egypt [Aa-kheper-ka]-ʿRe¹. [May you provision] the Son of [Re] Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re. O Power of 'heaven', who opens (3) the disk (of the sun), good rudder of the [eastern] sky; O Circler, who guides 'the Two Lands', [good] 'rudder' of the northern sky; O Sunlight, (4) who resides in the house of the images, good rudder of the [western sky; O Presiding over the r]ed ones, (5) good rudder of the southern sky, may you give [bread, beer, cattle and fowl] to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper-[ka]-Re; [may you provision the Son of Re] Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re; (6) [may you give] life, prosperity, health, joy, and endurance [upon earth to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa]-'kheper-ka'-[Re; may you give (7) heaven and earth, the horizon, Heliopolis and Netherworld to the Son of Re] Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-[like]-Re; the king Aa-kheper-ka-Re knows them all; may you do likewise (to) the Son of Re Tuth[mosis]-appearing (in glory)-like-Re".

Decoration above the door

Some fragmentarily preserved objects are discernible just above the uppermost register of the slaughtering scenes. One can only surmise that these were elements of the offering frieze: (from

the left) a jar with a lotus flower entwined around it, a lettuce, and another jar on the right. They formed part of the lower one of three registers of offerings above the doorjambs. The two lower registers matched the level of the lintel. The uppermost register contains three blocks included by Baraize in his reconstruction of the south and north walls of the chapel [see *Pl. 4.C–E*]. That idea is now definitely excluded [see *Pls 12; 13*], the present reconstruction indicating the only possible place for this particular decorative motif on the east wall.

In addition, some smaller fragments were attributed to this part of the chapel, based on their dimensions, which are sufficiently different from the scale of the reliefs depicting offering friezes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut not to be considered there.⁸⁰

Eastern lunette

The reconstruction of the eastern lunette can be proposed only in general terms owing to the small number of attributable decorated fragments. Central to its design was a niche [see *Pl. 10.1*]. The existence of a niche in the lunette above the chapel entrance had already been postulated by Karkowski (2001a: 107, Fig. 13; 2001b: 150). A thorough search of the material led to the admission of the presence of not one, but two niches in the chapel, one in each lunette.⁸¹ Such an architectural design is most certainly atypical, but the existence of the second niche in the chapel appears to be confirmed by a fragment of a block, decorated on two adjoining surfaces [see *Pl. 22.1:3=2N*], which cannot be easily fitted into the niche in the eastern lunette, even if the exact architectural form and decoration of this niche remain a matter of conjecture [see *Pl. 11*]. A distinctive framing in the form of a painted yellow line, which appears on the fragment attributed to the western niche, is not paralleled by any other niches in the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex or in the temple in general. Consequently, if the fragment does not fit into the niche in the eastern lunette, then it must have belonged to a niche in the western lunette (for a detailed discussion, see below, Chapter 6). The fragment crucial to the eastern niche is distinctive enough to position it within the *khoker* ornament, excluding it from being part of the western niche where the full height of the *khoker* frieze was preserved on blocks aligned with the hypothetical axis of the niche in the central part of the western lunette [see *Pl. 14*].

A representation of the solar bark may be inferred above the eastern niche from a fragment preserving the prow and the solar mat [*Pl. 22.1:1*]. The figure of a swallow surmounting the prow identifies the vessel as the day bark of the sun god (*m'nd.t*). Significantly, the name of the bark was written above the prow and subsequently carefully erased, leaving only traces of the initial *m* sign [see *Pl. 2A*]. The exact location of the fragment, and in consequence the orientation of the bark itself, remains doubtful. It would be natural to assume the forward orientation of the swallow.⁸² However, a reversed orientation of the swallow finds many parallels in iconographic

⁸⁰ I am obliged to Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczyńska for helping to attribute these fragments to the offering friezes of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I.

⁸¹ The thickness of the west wall, comparable to that of the east wall, enables the incorporation of a niche into its structure. There can be perhaps no other satisfactory explanation of its extraordinary thickness from an architectural point of view except for the fact that it effectively supported the load of the huge vaulted ceiling in the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

⁸² See Naville 1901: Pl. 110 (text at the top, Col. 24) = Karkowski 2003: Pl. 82Cb; Saleh 1984: Fig. 69 (TT 1). For the meaning of the swallow, see te Velde 1972.

sources dating from the New Kingdom;⁸³ thus, it certainly cannot be a decisive argument in discussing the orientation of the bark itself.

Traces of a chiseled-out hand holding an *mw* vase, positioned just above the prow of the bark [see *Pl. 2A*], indicate a representation of queen Hatshepsut offering to the divine assembly aboard the solar bark. This particular element of the block decoration seems to settle the question of the location of the block as it is hardly imaginable for the kneeling figure of the queen to be in the bark itself.⁸⁴ The reversed orientation of the present reconstruction poses, however, a serious problem, as it presupposes a reversed orientation of the bark itself, compared to the scheme adopted in the Chapel of Hatshepsut where the day bark is turned to the right (i.e., southward).⁸⁵

Fragments from the Chapel of Hatshepsut, from the eastern lunette (see especially Karkowski 2003: Pl. 81A) as well as the western one (Naville 1901: Pl. 115), help to suggest the crew of the solar bark. Thus, one may assume the presence of Re-Harakhte and a representation of the king (no doubt Tuthmosis I), accompanied by Isis. One can only surmise that restricted space in the lunette of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I would have prevented Maat from being represented behind Re-Harakhte in analogy to the depiction from the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

Remnants of inscriptions above the prow of the bark give grounds for positioning the winged solar disk above the scene. The conventional formulae below can be compared with those from the western tympanum of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (see Naville 1901: Pl. 115). These should be connected indeed with the figures aboard the solar bark, though here the reversed orientation of hieroglyphs is astonishing enough. The preserved fragment of the inscription reads as follows:

(1) [*dd mdw di.n(.i)*] (2) [**nbj*] 'wšs' nb (3) 'dd'.t nb(.t) (4) *snb nb*

“(1) [Words to be spoken: (I) have given] (2) all [life] and ‘dominion’, (3) all ‘stability’, (4) and all health”.

The reversed orientation of the bark fits in better with the orientation of the hieroglyphs in these inscriptions, but then the position of the figure offering the *mw* vases is incomprehensible (see comment above). The royal figure (supposedly that of the queen) was represented as paying homage to the solar bark and its divine crew. The relatively small scale of the figure leaves substantial space beneath it to be filled with a text of some sort. An isolated scrap of evidence was provided by an inscribed fragment of crude workmanship and densely arranged monochrome hieroglyphs painted in yellow (traces of pigment preserved) [see *Pl. 22.1:4*]. It is part of an unidentified religious text with apparent cosmographic connotations. The phraseology strongly resembles that in the ending of the text of the First Hour of the Day of the “Stundenritual”, not preserved in the version of this text from the Chapel of Hatshepsut, and attested mostly in much later versions.⁸⁶ It is unlikely to be a fragment of the text of the First Hour of the “Stundenritual”, unless it is an older variant of the text.

⁸³ Compare, for example, the Ramesside and Late Period sources: Müller-Roth 2008: 55, Fig. 12, Pls 2 (tomb of Ramesses VI, KV 9), 24, and 29b (tomb of Ramose, TT 132).

⁸⁴ For such a reconstruction of the scene in question, see also Karkowski 2003: Pl. 82A.

⁸⁵ Could it possibly reflect the northward journey toward the vestibule of the night sun in the Solar Cult Complex, in the northern part of the upper terrace?

⁸⁶ From the tombs of Nebsumenu (TT 183), Aba (TT 36), Pabasa (TT 279); for the comments, see Assmann 1969: 150–159; 1983: 238–240 (Text 172, Col. 4). In the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the First Hour of the Day was placed on the southern (right) part of the unpreserved eastern tympanum.

(x+1) [...] ^{a)}rw.n.s ^{b)}w3.wt ^{c)}[...] (x+2) [...] hr(y).t[-ib] ^{d)}mr h3 s[šm? ...]

- Lower part of a royal cartouche; name not preserved except for a trace of what seems to be the back part of a chair forming the *šps* sign (less likely, the *k3* sign of the *prenomen* of Hatshepsut or Tutmosis I). Consequently, it is justified to restore tentatively the *nomen* of Hatshepsut here.
- The sharp edge of the sign leaves no doubt as to the reading of the suffix pronoun (3rd person feminine singularis), but it is open to question whether it refers to a supposed queen's name preceding the verb.
- Traces of three strokes of the plural determinative.
- A variant spelling of the mythical toponym: Lake of Knives or the Winding Waterway;⁸⁷ enough is preserved to identify the ideogram *h3* (Gardiner's Sign-list L 6), which originally filled the whole width of the column. A spelling without the genitival *n* relates to a parallel *š h3/š n h3* "Winding Waterway" (see, e.g., Coffin Texts Spell 18: de Buck 1935: 53g); for a comment, see also Altenmüller 1966: 91–92 (with further examples); Abbas 2010: 26–27.

"(x+1) [...] 'that she might open roads' [...] (x+2) which is (fem.) in [the midst of?] 'the Lake of Knives', le[ading? ...]".

Significantly, the inscribed fragment given above cannot be connected decisively with the texts of the Ritual of Hours, nor any of the Book of the Dead chapters used in the compilation of the Night Hours, inscribed on the northern part of the vaulted ceiling in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. A special relation between the Lake of Knives, and the day bark of the sun god, can be inferred from the texts describing a journey of the sun god on the celestial firmament.⁸⁸ More explicitly it refers to the crossing of the Winding Waterway and the Lake of Knives on the way of the solar day bark to the northern sky.⁸⁹ The text of the Book of the Dead Chapter 153A described it in the following way: "I sit in the bark of Re; I ferry across the Lake of Knives to the northern sky".⁹⁰ Quite possibly, such a religious context explains the reversed (northward) orientation of the solar bark on the eastern lunette. The role of queen Hatshepsut in this context remains a mystery. Hardly likely, however, that the queen herself participated in preparations for the solar boat's journey across the dangerous waters of the Lake of Knives. One can only presume that it was one of the goddesses of the hours who was referred to in the text commented on above, although their images cannot be identified in the material from the chapel.

The exact location of the fragment cannot be established convincingly, so the reconstruction presented here remains purely conjectural. One should imagine vertical columns of inscriptions located on both sides of the niche, just below the representations of the kneeling queen, on both sides of the solar bark. The bottom section of vertical inscriptions appears on another fragment with the upper part of the *khaker* frieze (see also Barwik 2003: Fig. 8) [*Pl. 22.1:2*].⁹¹ The crude workmanship of the inscription excludes conclusions regarding its content and exact position in the decoration of the tympanum. The lower parts of two unidentified signs have been preserved along with traces of yellow paint suggesting a monochrome decoration of the same kind as that

⁸⁷ For the identity of both mythical toponyms, see Altenmüller 1966: 95.

⁸⁸ See Abbas 2010: 40, 67 (with further references); compare also the sources given by Assmann 1969: 281–282, 284–285 (Text III 2 B); 1983: 148–149 (Text 110); 1995: 13 (Text C).

⁸⁹ Compare the sources given by Altenmüller 1966: 91 and Abbas 2010: 25–26, 29.

⁹⁰ Pap. Neferubenef, see Ratić 1968: 342/343; compare also the version in pap. Nebseni, see Lapp 2004: Pl. 37 (Col. 34).

⁹¹ Significantly, there is no clearly carved line above the *khaker* frieze as is the case in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. It is possible of course that it was simply painted (in black).

commonly found in the upper area of the vaulted ceiling and lunettes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

Even though there can be no doubt that the chapel had a vaulted ceiling typical of offering chapels in royal mortuary complexes from the Old Kingdom onward (see Barta 1967: 49; Jánosi 1994), it is impossible to attribute to it even one decorated fragment. There is a fragment decorated with stars and a border line of one of the lunettes that can be connected perhaps with the chapel ceiling (see appendix below and *Pl. 31:A*). Thus, a ceiling probably decorated with stars may be envisaged here and the available evidence does not confirm any iconographic elements that are present in the decoration of the Hatshepsut chapel, such as winged sun disks with uraei and royal cartouches.⁹² At the same time there is no convincing evidence that the vaulted ceiling of the chapel was inscribed as is the case of the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Irrespective of the fact that the inscribed material connected with the ceiling of the Chapel of Hatshepsut presents a significant diversity in terms of the dimensions of hieroglyphic signs, there are no grounds to attribute any of the preserved fragments to the smaller Chapel of Tuthmosis I. In consequence, the question of the presence of “Stundenritual” texts or other compilations of religious texts on the ceiling of the chapel remains a moot point.

Eastern niche [*Pl. 11*]

The decorated fragments that could be attributed to the eastern niche are few. The extraordinary architectural form of the chapel would have prevented architects from locating the niche on the chapel axis aligned with the axis of its doorway. Understandably enough, in the present reconstruction it is located on the axis of the lunette itself despite the lack of any preserved corroboration.

Its architectural form can be imagined on the basis of several fragments attributed firmly to the niche in the eastern lunette of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (unpublished; for the location, see Karkowski 2001a: 107, Fig. 13). The parameters of the eastern niche in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I adopted for the purposes of the present reconstruction are based in general on those established by Aleksandra Brzozowska for the niche in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (compare also Karkowski 2001a: 107, Fig. 13), except for the depth, which is significantly reduced in comparison to the latter.⁹³ It seems that the depth of the eastern niche in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I could not have exceeded the width of the doorway reveal below it. Some corrections of the niche proportions were also necessary to make it conform to the scale of the two preserved elements of the decoration.

The two fragments give an idea of the decoration of the right-hand wall of the niche. A few other fragments were attributed tentatively to the structure of the niche, mostly thanks to the parameters of the border ornament and the *pt* sign, but have no significant bearing on a reconstruction of the decoration. The upper fragment [*Pl. 22.1:1N*] preserves a remnant of the *atef* crown with an inscription above it:

⁹² Unpublished, compare, however, Naggar 1984: 36, Fig. 16; for a similar design from the mortuary temple of Tuthmosis III, see Ricke 1939: Pl. 9.

⁹³ It follows from the thickness of one of the blocks (see *Pls 17A; 20.1:13*) attributed to the decoration above the entrance to the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (i.e., exactly on the opposite side of the wall); it is about 0.50 m thick.

[...] ^{a)} *mi R^c d.t*

“[...] like Re eternally”.

- a) Chiseled out in antiquity; chisel marks are easily recognizable, although the reason for the erasure(?) remains obscure, as one would expect something like *dī nḥ wś* in the lacuna here.

A dado ornament and the ending of the common formula of protection appear on the lower fragment [*Pl. 22.1:2N*]:

[...] *‘mi’ [R^c] ‘d.t’*

“[...] ‘like’ [Re] ‘eternally’”.

The inferior quality of the relief displayed by both fragments is in sharp contrast to that of the fragment attributed to the western niche (see below). Even the border ornament, observed on both fragments, and the lines of the dado ornament on the lower one, are executed with little care. A crudeness of workmanship seems to be distinctive of the decoration of this niche, strongly supporting the idea that these two fragments belong together. At the same time, the lower fragment with a dado ornament and fragment of the *kheker* frieze on the adjoining surface [see *Pl. 22.1:2N=3*] is crucial to the proper positioning of the niche within the frame of the east lunette, namely, that the horizontal line of the floor of the niche corresponded to the base of the *kheker* ornament on this wall [see *Pl. 10.1*]. A plain border framing the niche seems to distinguish it clearly from the western niche (where there is only a yellow line).

There is no certainty as to the decoration of the rear wall of the niche. It could have been a scene of the king (Tuthmosis I?) offering to or standing in front of Amun, in similarity to the preserved fragments of the rear wall of the niche in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (unpublished) where an erased figure of a king (Hatshepsut) and an anciently restored crown of Amun can be seen.⁹⁴ Neither is it clear who was depicted as entering the niche on its right-hand wall. Chisel marks on the upper fragment cannot be interpreted properly and apparently there are no traces of chiseling in the area of the upper part of the *atef* crown. It could have been Tuthmosis I in the scene in question, standing in front of offerings heaped up for Amun. Distinctly Osirian connotations of the *atef* crown and its relation to rebirth and celestial rule (see, e.g., Collier 1996: 45–51; Goebis 2008: 62–64, 67, 81) make the hypothesis highly probable indeed. It also emphasizes the special character of the eastern niche, which would have been connected to the Netherworld journey of the deceased king and his rebirth.

SOUTH WALL [*Pl. 12*]

According to Naville (1906: 6), the south wall of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I was completely destroyed when he excavated it. It is worth noting that the western end of the wall is in much better state in terms of extant fragments of the decoration. The same can be said of the north wall, which seems to suggest that the process of destruction and demolition of the chapel walls was much more intensive near the entrance in the eastern part.

⁹⁴ For a possible parallel, see, e.g., the niche in the vestibule of the Solar Cult Complex, Karkowski 2003: Pls 41, 41bis (right); compare also Graindorge and Martinez 1989: Figs 3, 4.

The decoration of the two long walls of the chapel followed a scheme comparable with that from the nearby Chapel of Hatshepsut despite substantial differences. It was no doubt strongly determined by cultic practice relating to the offering ritual and a proper sequence of ritual performances (for this see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2017). More significantly, however, it was deeply rooted in the iconographic schemes of decoration of the offering chapels of the late Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom royal mortuary temples (see Arnold 1978: 6).⁹⁵ The sanctuary of the temple of Pepi II, in his pyramid complex in Saqqara, provides the earliest substantially preserved example of such an iconographic program (see Jéquier 1938: Pls 61, 81–82; Stockfisch 2003/II: Pls 6.5.29–30; corrections by Lapp 1986: 185–186).⁹⁶

The sequence of scenes begins with a chiseled-out representation of queen Hatshepsut, performing the offering ritual to her deceased father Tuthmosis I. It was stated explicitly in an incomplete legend written in two columns in large hieroglyphs in front of the queen's figure:

- (1) [*ir.t htp-di-nsu.t*]^a *w' b sp 2 n [k3 nsu.t-bitj '3-hpr]-k3-[R'] 'm3'1-[hrw ...] w' b*
 (2) *ir.s*^b *di.t 'nh.t dd w3s [...]*

- a) Compare legend accompanying the *heb-sed* scene above the chapel entrance.
 b) Suffix pronoun 3rd person feminine singularis erased.

“(1) [Making *htp-di-nsu.t* offering], purifying twice for [the *ka* of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper]-ka-[Re], justifi[ed ...] pure. (2) She makes giving life, stability, and dominion [...]”.

The ritual gesture of the queen may be inferred from the remnants of a long staff and a mace in her left hand, which were also carefully chiseled out. A common formula of protection is written behind the queen:

[*s3*] *'nh dd w3s sn[b nb h3.s mi R' d.t]*

“[All the protection], life, stability, dominion, and heal[th (are) behind her like Re eternally]”.

Nothing remains of the royal titulary originally written above the figure of Hatshepsut, hence the names that replaced those of the queen as a result of the *damnatio memoriae* instigated by Tuthmosis III are also unknown. To the right there is a remnant of the group of the goddess Nekhbet resting on a basket [see *Pl. 23.3:5*]. Nekhbet evidently directs the *w3s* sign (with *šn* ring) toward the royal titles on the left. The only still discernible hieroglyph is one that was part of a customary formula written on both sides of the stem of the Upper Egyptian plant: [*di*].*s* [*'nh w3s mi R'*] “May she [give life and dominion like Re]”. The representation of the goddess was chiseled out in the Amarna period and subsequently restored as a coiled snake. Nothing remains of the image of the vulture of Nekhbet which should be depicted hovering over the queen's figure.

Two registers of offering scenes (“Bildritualstreifen” or “Ritualbildstreifen”) can be reconstructed based on the copy made by Dümichen and a newly attributed fragment (see Barwik 2015: 49–55). Presuming a sequence of scenes of the offering ritual that was identical on both of the long walls of the chapel (as in the case of representations on the walls of the Hatshepsut chapel), one can compare surviving parts of the parallel version from the north wall to restore the

⁹⁵ For a detailed presentation of the subject, see now Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016.

⁹⁶ For a general comment, see also Ćwiek 2014: 84–87.

beginnings of the two registers. On the south wall, the five episodes of the upper register are extant in fragments. Even less has been preserved of the scenes depicted in the lower register.

The legend accompanying the sequence of offering ritual scenes can also be reconstructed based on fragments coming from both the south and north walls. It would have been inscribed above the lower register because there is no space for a horizontal inscription above the upper register. The composition of the scenes and the masonry courses, as presented in the proposed reconstruction, point rather to conventional legends appearing above the priests' figures in the upper register.

[*dbh.t-htp hnk.t nb.t h3.w*]^{a)} *m h.t nb.t nfr.t w'b.t n nsw.t-bitj '3-hpr-k3-R' m3'-hrw n [k3.f]*^{b)} *w'b*

a) Reconstruction after the version partly preserved on the north wall of the chapel [see *Pl. 13.5*].

b) In the version given by Dümichen (1869: Pl. 30), the lacuna is certainly too long. The original inscription was chiseled out and subsequently carelessly restored, following a pattern attested in the horizontal inscriptions of the offering list (see below); the *w* sign after the destroyed part is the only trace left of the original inscription.

“[Funerary meal, every offering, thousands] of all things good and pure for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper-ka-Ra, justified, for [his] pure [*ka*]”.

The formula in this form does not appear in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, where only the *dbh.t-htp* label is inscribed beside the offering table, well in accord with a widespread iconographic pattern (see Naville 1901: Pl. 110), recurrent also in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (see below). The inscription in question should be considered in the light of the meaning of *dbh.t-htp* as a label for the offering necessities (“Opferbedarf”: Lapp 1986: 112, 192; “Speisebedarf”: Tacke 2013: 106ff.; Wb. V, 440ff.), seemingly referring more specifically to the offering list (see Wilson 1944: 215 Note 75, 217 Note 95; Nelson 1949: 224–225; Quirke 2007: 103–104, 115; Tacke 2013: 107). It is thus a kind of label accompanying the tabular offering list displayed on the right and above, but also the ritual scenes depicted in the two registers. In fact, the restored figures of priests in the lower register form a sequence depicting the performance of the offering ritual 2b, the *wdb-(i)h.t* or *htp-ntr* offering, according to Günther Lapp’s description of the offering-ritual scenes (Lapp 1986: 177ff.; see also Spiegel 1956: 192; Altenmüller 1972: 85–89). Nevertheless, the inscription accompanying the *wt*-priest at the head of the lower register (restored here on the basis of a mirror scene from the north wall [see *Pl. 13.5*]) is more fitting for the 2a sequence, that is, the *hnk.t* or *htp-di-nsw.t* offering (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 in the register below.

The scene in its overall composition differs significantly from that depicted in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, where the reversed sequence of ritual scenes, that is, 2a after 2b (Altenmüller 1972: 87–88 Note 39) is arranged in one register, just below a compilation of the Pyramid Texts (Naville 1901: Pls 109–110, 112). The reversal of the legends accompanying the initial scenes from the two registers in the version from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I finds a parallel in the Chapel of Hatshepsut which is followed by the Saite version from the tomb of Aba (TT 36).⁹⁷ The iconographic scheme from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I must have been related to a version known from the royal mortuary chapels of the Sixth Dynasty, which set the pattern for

⁹⁷ Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pl. 51 (the scene, however, is more concise in its choice of motifs).

subsequent offering scenes, in both royal and private contexts. However, the only substantial details of the composition are known from the temple of Pepi II at Saqqara (Jéquier 1938: Pls 61, 69, 70, 81, 87; Stockfisch 2003/I: 79, 286; II: Pl. 6.5.30).⁹⁸ In Lapp's reconstruction (1986: 186), the offering ritual scenes are arranged in two registers, thus providing an explicit paradigm for the scenes in question. Subsequently the motif underwent profound modification in the decoration of the Old and Middle Kingdom private tomb chapels as well as in Theban tombs of New Kingdom date (see, e.g., Spiegel 1956; Badawy 1981), although some of the early examples, such as the mastaba of Kagemni, provide significant parallels for the choice of ritual scenes (see Badawy 1981: Fig. 1; Lapp 1986: Fig. 64). Direct sources of the sequence of scenes in the form attested in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I must be sought perhaps in the scenes decorating royal mortuary complexes of the Middle Kingdom, although the extant fragments of decoration from the royal temples do not actually authorize more precise conclusions in this respect.⁹⁹ 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) provide the most vivid parallels for the decoration of the two chapels in Hatshepsut's Royal Mortuary Cult Complex and that of Tuthmosis I in particular. Although the relief fragments from Dahshur have yet to be published, it is to be presumed that the north chapel in the Senuseret III complex was also decorated in similar fashion (see Stünkel 2006: 159, 165). The lost fragment of decoration from one of the queens' chapels (Vyse 1842: figure opposite page 63; de Morgan 1895: Fig. 1; Stünkel 2006: 157, 159, Fig. 8) is particularly informative regarding the composition of the offering ritual scenes in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I. A connection certainly must have existed between these royal examples and some private tomb chapels of the period. The most intriguing perhaps is the decoration of the chapel of Djehutyhotep in the necropolis of Bersheh (Newberry 1895: Pls 32, 34), which coincides substantially with the scenes from the Tuthmosis I chapel.

An interesting comparison can also be made with the decoration of the Theban tombs of the early Tuthmoside era. Whereas the scenes in the tomb of Puiemra (TT 39) follow in many respects the patterns attested in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2013),¹⁰⁰ 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 in the offering ritual represented on the south wall of the tomb chapel (Dorman 1991: 43, Fig. 5, Pl. 10b, fragment G). Quite obviously, it finds an exact parallel 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). In both instances, the decorative program and the spatial distribution of offering ritual scenes in the mortuary chapel seem very

⁹⁸ The decoration from the temple of Teti preserves only tiny fragments of these scenes, 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: Pl. 5.9.18.

⁹⁹ The relevant royal temples are: temple of Senuseret I at Lisht (Arnold 1988: 79–80, Pls 50, 53), 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: figure opposite page 63; de Morgan 1895: Figs 1, 178–180; Oppenheim 2002: 146; Stünkel 2006).

¹⁰⁰ It does not concern, however, the pictorial version of the offering ritual represented in concise form on the south wall of the shrine (or niche) in the middle chapel there, which is significantly different, see Davies 1923: 31, Pl. 58 top. Notably, such a correspondence exists in the case of the version from the temple of Ramesses I in Abydos, see Winlock 1921: Pl. 9; 1937: Pl. 5.

close, the only reservation being that the status of the persons involved was substantially different. Thus, one can see in the tomb of Senenmut the raised hand of a large figure of the officiant directed toward the register of priests celebrating the offering ritual,¹⁰¹ depicted below the three registers of the offering list. The act itself is described in a legend above the chief officiant: “Performing the *h̄tp-dī-nsw.t* (consisting) of all of the offerings (*h̄nk.t*), of [all] green plants [...]” (Dorman 1991: 43, Fig. 9, Text 10, Col. 1 and Pls 11a, 24d). However, more precise conclusions regarding other details of the scene in question are not possible because of the extremely poor state of the preservation of the scenes in the tomb of Senenmut. In particular, the arrangement of the offering ritual scenes there is doubtful.¹⁰² Notwithstanding, the extant fragments of offering ritual scenes belong to the final episodes of the sequence 2a, that is, the *in.t-rd* ritual act and the *[sd.t s̄b.w s̄s.w i]n h̄[ry h̄b.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) displays crucial elements for the composition of scenes of the offering ritual represented both in the tomb of Senenmut and in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (Dziobek 1992: 72ff., scene 17 and Pls 20–23, 56; see also Spiegel 1956: 195, Pl. 13.1). Here, too, the officiant presiding over the offering ceremony (the role assumed by Ineni’s brother)¹⁰³ raises his hand in a typical gesture of performing a sacrifice to the tomb owner, who is sitting together 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 to the version from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (upper register),¹⁰⁴ 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 the offering scenes in the chapel of Hapuseneb in Gebel es-Silsilah (No. 15). 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).¹⁰⁵ A scene of purification of the offering table (compare below, third episode in the lower register) can be

¹⁰¹ Contrary to a widespread pattern, the priests are directed toward the chief officiant instead of the recipient of offerings.

¹⁰² 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). It is more probable that the lower registers were filled with representations of offerings and presumably also offering bearers, as in the case of the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Nevertheless, it is open to question whether the offering ritual scenes were arranged there in one register only (as in the Chapel of Hatshepsut) or in two registers (as in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I).

¹⁰³ 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 18, 21. Here, too, the scene in general was labelled as *ir.t h̄tp-dī-nsw.t dd-mdw sp-4: w’b sp-sn*.

¹⁰⁴ With the addition of two offering bearers carrying ox legs at the end of the sequence (two slaughtered oxen with their forelegs cut off are represented directly below), see Dziobek 1992: 73, Pl. 22b. One should also note the three *hr(y)-h̄b.t* priests carrying ox legs represented at the head of the offering bearers in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Two *hm-ntr* priests carrying animal forelegs followed by two priests with birds are represented also in the Tuthmoside temple in Medinet Habu, see *Medinet Habu IX*... 2009: Pls 86–89.

¹⁰⁵ 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 el-Silsilah (No. 17), but there the scenes are arranged in one register, 2a followed by 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 this regard are the offering scenes in the chapels of Amenhotep I in the Karnak temple, see Graindorge and Martinez 1989: Figs 8, 9.

restored with reasonable certainty in the lacuna in the middle of the lower register on the south wall. One should note here that the tombs of Senenmut and Ineni, as well as the chapel of Hapuseneb, are dated not later than the reign of Hatshepsut (see respectively Dorman 1991: 22; Dziobek 1992: 19–20 Note 42; Caminos and James 1963: 11, 42).

The Offering Ritual, upper register (sequence 2a)

First episode

The scene is not as well preserved as its counterpart on the north wall (see below), reduced here to the offering plate with two loaves of bread and a jar. Of the kneeling priest one can see only the hands lying on a bread loaf and the part of his body at the waist. The accompanying inscription, arranged in two columns, can be read based on a parallel version from the Chapel of Hatshepsut:¹⁰⁶

(1) 't' [bnk.t] 'hps^a) sp.h.t' (2) [h_{tp}-n_{tr} k3(.w) 3pd(.w)]

- a) For the meaning, see Barta 1963: 49 (No. 45), Fig. 4 (the same determinative); Caminos and James 1963: 51 Note 5 (“shoulder of beef”); the meaning doubted by Ikram 1995: 113–114, Fig. 27 (offering table from Hawara; depiction in the middle).

“(1) ‘Bread’ [and beer], ‘thigh (of foreleg), ribs (of beef)’, (2) [h_{tp}-n_{tr} offering, oxen and fowl]”.

Second episode

The ritual gesture, with the priest’s left hand holding a leopard skin and the right one extended forward, can be inferred by comparison with the representation in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, where the figure was labeled as a *sm* priest. In the older scheme of the offering ritual, it was a *hr(y)-hb.t* “lector-priest” who performed the ritual incantation (see Lapp 1986: 160, 174 [Fig. 56]; for the gesture, see Dominicus 1994: 77ff.). And here, too, the figure appears to have been labeled by an inscription above it, preserved as traces of three signs:

[wdn h.t i]n [hry]-h[b.t]¹⁰⁷

“[Offering b]y [the lector-priest]”.

The column of inscription written in front of the figure in question, directly behind the kneeling priest at the beginning of the register, is preserved only in its lower part (a substantial part of it survives in the mirror scene on the north wall of the chapel):

[... 'wy mw 'wy] hnk.t 'wy

“[... : 2 bowls; water: 2 bowls]; beer: 2 bowls”.

¹⁰⁶ For this, see Naville 1901: Pl. 110; Lapp 1986: 136 (5b); Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 63 (III.8); version from the Chapel of Hatshepsut adds: *h_{tp}-nsw.t* “offering of the king”.

¹⁰⁷ See Lapp 1986: 160, 175 (bb).

Third episode

Represented here is the *hr(y)-hb.t* “lector-priest” reading from an unfolded papyrus roll. In the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the figure has a separate label placed directly above its head; here, the inscription accompanying the preceding episode (see above) may possibly be related to this figure.

Fourth episode

The scene representing three lector-priests in jubilation (*hnw*) (Ogdon 1979; Lapp 1986: 158–159; Dominicus 1994: 61–63) was scrupulously chiseled out in the Amarna period. The sketchy lines that can be discerned may even be connected with the restoration of two of the kneeling figures (hardly likely that these would be the remains of original reliefs). Nothing else has remained of the ancient restoration of the scene, so one can presume indeed that it was made in the plaster coat once covering the destroyed stone surface. Similarly, nothing has been preserved of the usual formula referring to the ritual act depicted: [*šd.t sšh.w šš.w in hry-hb.t*] “[Reciting many *sšh.w* spells by the lector-priest]” (see Naville 1901: Pls 109–110, 112; Lapp 1986: 175 [§ 295]), which should have been inscribed here.

Fifth episode

The final episode represents the *in.t-rd* ritual act: “Removing (or sweeping out) the footprints” (Lapp 1986: 176–177),¹⁰⁸ concluding the sequence of the offering ritual scenes. Only the lower part of the figure of the priest performing the ritual is extant. He is turned back and holds a papyrus roll in one hand and a broom in the other.

The Offering Ritual, lower register (sequence 2b)*First episode*

Two fragments remain from the beginning of the sequence of the offering liturgy with parts of a figure of the embalming priest (*wt*) kneeling in front of the chest and celebrating the offering rite. The ending of the first column of the inscription is preserved: [...] *nb.t*. The reconstruction of the text, as presented here, is based mostly on the version from the north wall of the chapel (see below).

Second episode

One can expect the next figure behind the first kneeling priest to be a priest pouring a libation from a *hs*-vase into a vessel held by another kneeling priest depicted in front of him. The legend pertaining to this representation appears in the parallel sequence of offering ritual scenes on the

¹⁰⁸ For the meaning of the ritual, see Altenmüller 1971: 152–153.

north wall of the chapel as well as in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Naville 1901: Pl. 110): *d̄i.t* *ḳbh(.w) wt* “pouring libation; (by) the embalming priest”.

The inscription recorded by Dümichen (1869: Pl. 30): [*ḥm-ntr*] “[the *ḥm-ntr* priest]” should be placed directly above the figure of the standing priest with an *ḥs*-vase. The present reconstruction of the scene does not respect faithfully the position of this group as given by Dümichen, considering that it was attached to the following group label. Therefore, the group should probably be moved slightly to the right.

The location of this scene directly after the vertical dividing line definitely excludes the figure of a *ḥr(y)-ḥb.t* priest reading from an unfolded papyrus roll, as depicted in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, in the second position in this sequence of scenes (Naville 1901: Pl. 110). There are parallels for this kind of omission dating from the Old Kingdom (see, e.g., Badawy 1981: Fig. 1, where two *ḥr(y)-ḥb.t* priests reciting *sḥ.w* spells are represented at the end of the sequence) as well as from the Middle Kingdom (see, e.g., Newberry 1895: Pls 32, 34).

Third episode

The next ritual act is announced directly to the left of the preceding one: *s(3)t̄ w[t]* “pouring water (by) the emb[alming priest]”. Had anything been preserved, it would have been a figure kneeling in front of an offering table, laying hands on it,¹⁰⁹ and another figure of a *ḥm-ntr* priest standing behind him (as in the Chapel of Hatshepsut), pouring water from a *ḥs*-vase. The only surviving element is a newly attributed fragment of the hieroglyphic label [see *Pls 12.5; 23.3:40*], which must have formed part of the original block seen by Dümichen (1869: Pl. 30).¹¹⁰

Fourth episode

A fragmentarily preserved label: [*ḥt sn*]*t[r]* “[fire (and) in]cen[se]” (see Caminos and James 1963: 46; Altenmüller 1972: 87) identifies the scene. A priest (apparently *ḥr(y)-ḥb.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 like that in the sequence of scenes from the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Naville 1901: Pl. 110), that is, an embalming priest (*wt*) pouring cool water on two pellets of natron (*ḳbh.w bd t̄3 2*).¹¹¹ A similar omission is recorded, for example, in the Old and Middle Kingdom parallels (see, e.g., Newberry 1895: Pls 32, 34; Badawy 1981: Fig. 1), but also in a Late Period version from the tomb of Aba TT 36 (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pl. 51) even though it is obviously inspired in many respects by the reliefs and texts in 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 its omission resulted from an apparent similarity of the two ritual acts: *d̄i.t* *ḳbh.w* and *ḳbh.w bd t̄3 2*, in terms of some iconographic details as well as perhaps the meaning of the ritual (see Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: 161–162; see also Lapp 1986: 172–173).

¹⁰⁹ For variants and ritual meaning, see Lapp 1986: 167–169; see also Junker 1938: 107.

¹¹⁰ For a detailed comment on Dümichen’s copy, see Barwik 2015.

¹¹¹ For the meaning of the rite, see Junker 1938: 103ff., Fig. 10a; Spiegel 1971: 74–75; compare, however, more specifically Barta 1963: 69; Caminos and James 1963: 46 (3); Lapp 1986: 172–173.

Fifth episode

A *hr(y)-hb.t* “lector-priest” carrying a papyrus roll, identified by a surviving hieroglyphic label above the figure, was depicted at the end of the sequence of scenes in the lower register; his legs have been preserved. He was shown standing and reciting the rituals of glorification (*s3h.w*).

Offering friezes and offering bearers

To the right of the ritual offering scenes and directly below them, one finds two registers of offering bearers and, above them, two registers of offerings. Fragments of the offerings are still extant and these differ significantly from the composition of the offering friezes on the north wall of the chapel (for these, see below).

Upper register

Six figures were represented in the upper register of offering bearers. Preserved are the legs of four figures along with the lower parts of the offerings they were bringing, that is, papyrus stalks, a basket and two heads of ducks. The only two fragments from the upper parts of this register depict a bouquet of papyrus and poultry (at the extreme right), and the raised arms of a figure holding a plate with figs, bread and onions as well as the partly preserved right arm of a preceding figure (at the extreme left). The titles of the offering bearers would have been given in the hieroglyphic labels, which are not preserved in this sequence of scenes, but are inscribed in the register below and on the opposite wall as well.

The upper register of offering bearers was originally preceded by a representation of liturgical vases on a jar stand (five *hs*-vases with conical lids, of which only the shape of the middle one is recognizable)¹¹² and two stands with lotus bouquets of which only traces are preserved to the extreme left of the mutilated area.¹¹³ The depictions of these objects were scrupulously chiseled out in the Amarna period and then restored, mostly in the plaster coat smoothing the destroyed stone surface. The erasure of cultic objects could be related to a persecution of the temple cults during the Amarna period (see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015: 170–171). Carelessly carved traces of the restored version enable the recognition of three stands, each with a pair of vases: two pairs of *nms.t* jars (with lotus flowers entwined around them) flanking two *hs* vases in the middle (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015: 160, 176, Fig. 4c).¹¹⁴ Traces of ram-headed lids of *hs*-vases (with superimposed uraei) are discernible in the better-preserved scene on the north wall of the chapel (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015: 161, Fig. 5c); this form is characteristic of the so-called holy vases of Amun (see Schott 1972).

The horizontal inscription above the representations in the upper register was drawn from the Pyramid Texts Spell 172 and summarizes the liturgical sense of the offering scenes:¹¹⁵

¹¹² Available parallels enable one to restore a censer below the jar stand.

¹¹³ For a detailed comment and reconstruction of the scene, see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015: 160, 176, Fig. 4a–b.

¹¹⁴ Traces of small cups are recognizable below the jar stands.

¹¹⁵ In the Pyramid Texts, it follows the Great Offering Ritual, see Allen 1994: 9, 12, 14.

h̄tp-dī-nsw.t Gb n ʿnsw.t bityʿ ʿ3-h̄pr-k3-Rʿ rdī.n n[k]ʿ^a d[b̄h.t]-h̄tp^b w3̄h.(w)t nb.t [mr(y).t.k h̄3 m t h̄3 m h̄nk.t h̄3 m k3(.w) h̄3 m 3̄pd(.w) h̄3 m š mn̄h.t h̄3 m sn̄tr mr̄h.t h̄.t nb(.t) nfr.t wʿb.t nfr.ti n.k i]m^c hr n̄tr n ʿd.tʿ [d.t]ʿ^d

- a) Minute remains of the *k* sign are preserved. Reconstruction after the inscription on the north wall. The sign was partly erased when the adjacent liturgical vases were chiseled out in the Amarna period (see above).
- b) A group like this one may no doubt be inserted into the lacuna, although in Pyramid Texts Spell 172 (§ 101c) one reads *h̄nk.t nb.t*.
- c) Reconstruction after the version on the north wall. Such a detailed enumeration of offerings is not recorded in the Pyramid Texts Spell 172 (§ 101a–d),¹¹⁶ which is the base for the present text.
- d) The lacuna at the end must be filled with *d.t*, which is definitely the last word in the line.

“Offering which the king and Geb give to the ‘king of Upper and Lower Egypt’ Aa-kheper-ka-Re: [you] have been given a [funerary] meal, and all the oblations [that you might want, a thousand bread (loaves), a thousand beer (jugs), a thousand oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster and clothing, a thousand of incense and oil, all the good and pure things with which it will be well for you], near the god for the ‘course’ of [eternity]”.

Lower register

The figures of six men are discernible in the better-preserved lower register: the three at the end are fragmentary, just the legs (the first of these figures was depicted carrying a duck) and three others are nearly complete, shown carrying the cut forelegs of an animal. A sash across their chest identifies them as lector-priests; the label *h̄r(y)-h̄b.t* “the lector-priest” is written in front of the last one. This is in keeping with the parallel scene from the Chapel of Hatshepsut, where all of them are labeled as “lector-priests” (Neville 1901: Pl. 110; see also Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 103).

The horizontal inscription above this set of offering bearers is related to them explicitly and reads as follows:

sh̄pt stp.t rnp.(w)t nb[.t] h̄nk.t nb.t h̄.t nb(.t) nfr.t wʿb.t dd.t pt km̄3.t t3 [...]

“Bringing the choice portions (of meat), all green plants, and all the offerings; all the things good and pure which the heavens give, and created by the earth, [everything that is brought by Hapy, and which sustains the gods, to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper-ka-Re]”.¹¹⁷

Three personifications of the Nile are represented in front of the offering bearers. They carry the customary offering trays in the form of a *h̄tp* sign, bearing two *h̄s* vases and a long *w3̄s* scepter in the middle. ʿ*nh* symbols hang from the arms of the personifications. Concise legends above the personifications are separated by a short vertical stroke:

First figure:

dī.f ʿnh w3̄s nb df(3)

“He gives all life and dominion, and sustenance”.

¹¹⁶ See Sethe 1908: 62–63; commented on by van de Walle 1971: 30–31.

¹¹⁷ Reconstruction after the version in the Chapel of Hatshepsut but omitting the ending for lack of space here (Neville 1901: Pls 109–110). For the second part of the formula, see Barta 1968: 95 (“Bitte” 108 d); Ilin-Tomich 2011: 25–26.

Second figure:

dī.f^cnh w3s nb [h]w

“He gives all life and dominion, and food”.

Third figure:

dī.f^cnh w3s nb htp.t

“He gives all life and dominion, and offerings”.

One should note the archaic orthography (devoid of determinatives) of the three words written at the end of each phrase. It certainly goes back to the Pyramid Texts (see, e.g., Kahl 1992: 115).¹¹⁸

Offering list

A lengthy tabular offering list fills the space in the upper middle part of the wall. This is a variant of the long list of Type A/B (Barta 1963: 104–105), referring to archetypes going back to the late Old Kingdom, based on the offering rituals celebrated in the royal mortuary temples, and reflected in the great Offering Ritual of the Pyramid Texts (see Barta 1963: 60–63; Allen 1994: 12; Hays 2012: 85–90). Not all of the preserved fragments from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I can be securely located within the grid of the offering list based on purely technical criteria. The reconstruction of the general layout of the wall decoration enabled a graphic diagram of the offering list with 110 segments. There is no reason to think that there were any substantial differences between this list and the offering list written on the opposite wall of the chapel,¹¹⁹ so the epigraphic material from both walls can be considered when discussing the overall idea of the content and order of presentation of the two lists.

The offering list was arranged in three registers, each composed of compartments comprising four columns. Each of the offerings was placed in a separate column with appropriate determinatives at the bottom. Numerals referring to the quantity of offerings were written directly below, separated by the lines of the grid. Each of the compartments is underlined by a horizontal inscription in two alternating variants (the first one is always placed at the beginning of each register):

n nsu.t bity 3-hpr-k3-R^c n k3.f

“For the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper-ka-Re, for his *ka*”.

n s3 R^c Dhwtj-ms(.w) n k3.f

“For the Son of Re Tuthmosis, for his *ka*”.

The last but one compartment in the two upper registers exceptionally comprised five columns. In consequence, the inscription was extended to include one more element of the royal titulary, that is, the group *nb t3.wy* “Lord of the Two Lands”, occupying the full width of one column of the list. Thus the inscription in the middle register can be restored as follows:

¹¹⁸ For this, see also the spelling of these words in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Naville 1901: Pl. 110).

¹¹⁹ The layout of the lists is strongly determined by the composition of the wall decoration. Regarding a surprising anomaly in the composition of both lists, see, however, below.

[n ns.w.t] 'bity' nb t3.wy ['3-hpr-k3-R' n k3.f]

“[For the king of Upper] and ‘Lower Egypt’, the Lord of the Two Lands [Aa-kheper-ka-Re, for his ka]”.

The variation may be seen as a way to fill all the available space on the wall. The number of items was thus increased to 110, although the expansion imminently necessitated the repetition of some of the offering items. Indeed, purely technical factors could have been the reason for the variety of sizes of the offering lists.¹²⁰ It also explains, to some extent at least, the substantial difference between the offering lists inscribed on the walls of the chapels of Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut, regarding not only the number of items (87 in the Chapel of Hatshepsut), but also their choice and sequence.¹²¹

The large number of items on the list from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I finds a parallel in the offering lists from the tombs of Ineni (TT 81) (Dziobek 1992: 74–77) and Senenmut (TT 71) (Dorman 1991: Fig. 8 [Text 9]), each one comprising 108 items. The closest parallel regarding contents and item sequence is provided by a version inscribed in the funerary chapel of the tomb of Ineni (TT 81).

Upper register

- (1) [s3t] 1 “[Libation (of water)], 1”
- (2) [sntr sd.t] 1 “[Incense (on) fire], 1”
- (3) [kbh.w (bd)] 't3' [2] 2 “[Cool water, 2] ‘pellets’ (of natron), 2”
- (4) [t3 5] (bd) [sm'w] n Nhb '5' “[5 pellets] of [the Upper Egyptian] (natron) from *Nekheb*,¹²² ‘5’”
- (5) t3 5 (bd) [mhw] n Št-pt '5' “5 pellets of [the Lower Egyptian] (natron) from *Shet-pet*,¹²³ ‘5’”
- (6) t3 n 'sntr' 1 “pellet of ‘incense’, 1”
- (7) p[s]š kf 1 “p[s]š kf instrument, 1”
- (8) bi3 'sm'w mhw' sb3.wy 2 “sb3 implements of ‘the Upper and Lower Egyptian’ bi3 metal, 2”¹²⁴
- (9) 'srw šm'w' [mhw] 2 “(Granulated) 'srw' salt from ‘Upper’ and [Lower Egypt], 2”
- (10) šk 'w' 1 “šk 'w' mineral, 1”
- (11) 'irt.t' mns3 2 “‘Milk’, mns3 vessels, 2”
- (12) di(.t) [kbh.w] mhw 1 “Offering [cool water] (of) Lower Egypt, 1”
- (13) h3ts ir.t imnt.t ir.t i3bt.t 2 “(Stone) h3ts-jar (for) the right eye, and (for) the left eye, 2”
- (14) [p3.t] “[p3.t] bread”¹²⁵
- (15) hd[w] t3 5 “Cloves of garlic,¹²⁶ 5”

¹²⁰ The longest among those dating to the early Eighteenth Dynasty is the list from the tomb of Djehuty (TT 11) with its 122 items (unpublished), see Espinel 2014: 327, and Note 74. Of similar length (120 items) is the offering list in the tomb of Amenemhat in Beni Hassan (No. 2) (Newberry 1893: Pl. 17).

¹²¹ For the composition of the list in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 40–47, 57–58.

¹²² El-Kab.

¹²³ Wadi Natrun.

¹²⁴ In the version from the Chapel of Hatshepsut, each of them forms a separate item on the offering list, see Naville 1901: Pl. 110; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 42 (I/8 and I/9); similarly in the Pyramid Texts, see especially Roth 1993; Otto 1960: 17–18.

¹²⁵ In the version of Ineni: p3.t 2 “p3t bread, 2 (loaves)”; here, the numeral was omitted.

¹²⁶ For this meaning, see Roth 1992: 121; see also Graindorge 1992: 98 Note 81.

- (16)+(17) horizontal (in two lines):¹²⁷ *p3[.t n.t wdn(w) wp.t m gs.wy]* “*p3[.t* bread¹²⁸ of the offering, divided into halves]”
- (16) vertical: *ḥtp¹-ḥdi-ḥnsw.t¹ [n Dḥwty-ms(.w)]* “‘Offering’ which ‘the king’ [gives to Tuthmosis]”¹²⁹
- (17) vertical: *ḥtp-ḥdi-nsw¹.t [n ʿ3]-ḥpr-k3[-Rʿ]* “Offering which ‘the king gives’ [to Aa]-kheper-ka[-Re]”¹³⁰
- (18) *[mn(w) ḥd] ḥirp ḥ3ts 1* “[White stone] *ḥ3ts*-jar (of) ‘wine’, 1”¹³¹
- (19) *[mn(w) km ḥrp] ḥ3ts 1* “[Black stone] *ḥ3ts*-jar (of) [wine], 1”
- (20) *mn(w) km ḥnk.t¹ [ḥnw.t 1]* “Black stone [*ḥnw.t* cup] (of) ‘beer’, [1]”
- (21) *[dsr(w).t] ʿ3.t [1]* “Big [offering table, 1]”
- (22) *[dpt 1]* “[*dpt* bread, 1]”
- (23) *[3]ḥ [1]* “[*3*]ḥ bread, [1]”
- (24) *[shn 1]* “[Kidneys, 1]”
- (25) *[mn(w) ḥd] ḥirp ḥnw.t¹ [1]* “White stone ‘*ḥnw.t* cup (of) wine’,¹³² [1]”
- (26) *[mn(w) km] ḥnk.t ḥnw.t 1* “[Black stone] *ḥnw.t* cup (of) beer, 1”
- (27) *bī3 ḥnk.t ḥnw.t 1* “Beer (in) *ḥnw.t* cup of *bī3* metal, 1”
- (28) *ḥ[tm] ḥnk.t ḥnw.t 1* “Beer (in) *ḥnw.t* cup of *ḥ[tm]* metal, 1”
- (29) *kbbḥ.w (bd) ʿt3² [2 2]* “Cool water, [2] ‘pellets’ (of natron), [2]”
- (30) *[st(y) ḥb 1]* “[Festival scent-oil, 1]”
- (31) *[ḥknw 1]* “[*ḥknw* oil, 1]”
- (32) *[sft 1]* “[Pine oil, 1]”
- (33) *[nhnm 1]* “[*nhnm* oil, 1]”
- (34) *[tw3wt 1]* “[*tw3wt* oil, 1]”
- (35) *ḥ3t.t [n.t ʿs 1]* “First-class [cedar oil, 1]”
- (36) *[ḥ3t.t n.t Thnw 1]* “[First-class Libyan oil, 1]”¹³³
- (37) *[kbbḥ.w (bd) ʿt3 2 2]* “[Cool water, 2 pellets (of natron), 2]”
- (38) *[ḥ3w.t di(.t) pr.t-ḥrw 1]* “[Altar, giving mortuary offering, 1]”
- (39) *[mi ḥr ḥtp-nsw.t 2]* “[Come with the offering of the king, 2]”¹³⁴
- (40) *[ḥtp-nsw.t 2]* “[Offering of the king, 2]”
- (41) *[ḥtp-nsw.t imy wsh.t 2]* “[Offering of the king, which is in the broad hall, 2]”

Middle register

- (42) *[ḥms ḥgr pr.t-ḥrw dd-mdw]* “[Sitting (for) the mortuary offering; words to be spoken]”

¹²⁷ If there was a second horizontal line of inscription, as in the version from the tomb of Ineni, then there is no place here to precede the cartouches with royal titles or the formula *dd-mdw sp 4* “Words to be spoken: 4 times” (as in the version of Ineni); similarly in the version from the temple of Pepi II, see Jéquier 1938: Pl. 85.

¹²⁸ The version from the tomb of Ineni gives here the incomprehensible *t3t*, see Dziobek 1992: 74–75 (16+17); compare the version from the temple of Pepi II, in Jéquier 1938: Pl. 85; for halves of the *p3t* bread, see Wb. I, 495 (9).

¹²⁹ There is no trace of the name in the cartouche, the only preserved element being the lowest part of the frame.

¹³⁰ The squares below columns 16 and 17 are empty.

¹³¹ For the meaning of *mn(w)* as a stone for making liturgical utensils, see Wb. II, 70; Posener-Kriéger 1972; Roth 1992: 115–116; Poo 1995: 71ff. (it should be distinguished from the *mn/mni* jar as a measure of capacity, and container for the transport of liquids).

¹³² Compare the version on the north wall, see below.

¹³³ Minute traces of the *ḥ3t* sign at the top of Col. 36 certainly admit such a reading, although Libyan oil was added to the preceding one in the version from the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71), see Dorman 1991: 41, Fig. 8. The offering list of Ineni gives five items between our Nos 35 and 37, while that of Senenmut (TT 71) only three columns: *w3dw* “green eye-paint”, together with *msdm.t* “black eye-paint”, *wnḥwy* “2 linen strips”, and *sd.t sntr* “incense (upon) the fire”; in the version from the Chapel of Hatshepsut, we have only green and black eye-paint and strips of linen (brought also by the offering bearers), see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 109–110, 140–142. The complete omission of these items in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I poses a fair problem, so it is possible that they were listed later on in the list, although it would drastically disturb the sequence.

¹³⁴ For the meaning of *ḥtp-nsw.t*, see Barta 1963: 65–67.

- (43) [*i^cw-r3 šns d^wiw 2*]¹³⁵ “[Morning meal; loaf of bread, and jug (of beer), 2]”
 (44) *t-[wt]* ‘2’ “[*wt* bread], ‘2’ (loaves)”
 (45) *t-[rth]* ‘2’ “[*rth* bread], ‘2’ (loaves)”
 (46) [*dsr.t nms.t*] ‘2’¹³⁶ “[*dsr.t* beer, *nms.t* jug], ‘2’”
 (47) [*hⁿnk.t hⁿms nms.t 2*] “[*hⁿms* beer, *nms.t* jug, 2]”
 (48) [*šns n f3.t 2*] “[Presenting loaf of bread, bowl(s) 2]”
 (49) [*šns d^wiw n šbw 2*] “[Loaf of bread, and jug (of beer) of the *šbw* meal, 2]”
 (50) [*sw.t 1*]¹³⁷ “[Portion of meat, 1]”
 (51) [*mw 1*]¹³⁸ “[Water, bowl 1]”
 (52) [*bd 1*] “[Natron, bowl 1]”
 (53) [*i^cw-r3 šns d^wiw 2*] “[Morning meal; loaf of bread, and jug (of beer), 2]”
 (54) [*t-wt 1*] “[*wt* bread, 1 (loaf)]”
 (55) [*t-rth 1*] “[*rth* bread, 1 (loaf)]”¹³⁹
 (56) [*ht3 1*] “[*ht3* bread, 1 (loaf)]”
 (57) [*nhr 1*] “[*nhr* bread, 1 (loaf)]”
 (58) [*dp.t 1*] “[*dp.t* bread], 1 (loaf)”¹⁴⁰
 (59) [*p^csn 1*] “[*p^csn* bread, 1 (loaf)]”
 (60) [*šns 1*] “[*šns* bread, 1 (loaf)]”
 (61) [*t] imy t3 1*] “[*imy t3* [bread], 1 (loaf)]”
 (62) [*hnf(w) 1*] “[*hnf(w)* bread, 1 (loaf)]”
 (63) [*h[b]nn[.t] 1*] “[*h[b]nn[.t]* bread, ‘1’ (loaf)]”
 (64) [*kmb(w) 4*] “[*kmb(w)* bread, 4]¹⁴¹”
 (65) [*id3.t h3.k 4*] “[*id3.t* bread, (put it) behind you,¹⁴² 4]”
 (66) [*p3t 1*] “[*p3t* bread, [1]]”
 (67) [*t 33r 1*] “[Baked bread, [1]]”
 (68) [*hdw 5*] “[Onions, [5]]”
 (69) [*hps 1*] “[Foreleg], [1]”
 (70) [*iw 1*] “[Thigh, [1]]”¹⁴³
 (71) [*sw.t 1*] “[Portion of meat, 1]”¹⁴⁴
 (72) [*sp]h.t [1]*] “[[Ri]bs, [1]]”
 (73) [*33]r.t 1*] “[[Roas]ted meat, 1]”
 (74) [*mrs.t 1*] “[Liver], [1]”
 (75) [*nnsm 1*] “[Spleen], ‘1’”
 (76) [*h 1*] “[*h*] meat, ‘1’”
 (77) [*iwf n h3.t 1*] “[Breast-meat, [1]]”

¹³⁵ One can see a trace of the first sign of the ideographic group.

¹³⁶ Minute trace of the *dsr* sign.

¹³⁷ Uppermost part of the *sw* sign.

¹³⁸ Trace of the uppermost sign.

¹³⁹ Nos 53–55 are repetitions of Nos 43–45 (although the numerals in the last two columns of the sequence are not the same). Significantly, the same occurs also in the version of Ineni (Nos 47–49, 57–59), but there the numerals in the repeated parts correspond.

¹⁴⁰ Significantly, the versions in the Chapel of Hatshepsut give four and two loaves, see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 43 (II/9), and Note 247. Also, in other cases the numerals between the two versions do not always coincide.

¹⁴¹ Numeral not preserved; in the versions from the Chapel of Hatshepsut and in the tomb of Ineni, the numeral 4 appears, but one should keep in mind that the numerals in this section of the offering list of the Chapel of Tutmosis I are often lower than those in parallel texts of the early Eighteenth Dynasty and in the Pyramid Texts as well.

¹⁴² A reference to the ritual incantation, see Barta 1963: 49 Note 7.

¹⁴³ In the version of Ineni, two items follow: *shn* 1 “kidneys, 1”; and *sw.t* 1 “portion of meat, 1”; both were recorded earlier in the list of Tutmosis I (respectively Nos 24 and 50), so one of them could have been cancelled here, because the middle register must end with *np3(.t)* (here No. 82). Certainly, some other variation could have been inscribed between Nos 69 and 82.

¹⁴⁴ In the version of Ineni, *sw.t* “portion of meat” is preceded by *shn* “kidneys”. The choice between the two is possible thanks to the fragment attributed here, as part of columns 71–74 of the middle register [see *Pls* 12.2; 23.3:28].

- (78) *[r3 1]* “[Goose *r3*, 1]”
 (79) *[trp 1]* “[Goose *trp*, 1]”
 (80) *[st 1]* “[Duck *st*, 1]”
 (81) *[sr 1]* “[Goose *sr*, 1]”
 (82) *np3(.t) [2]*¹⁴⁵ “*np3(.t)* bread, [2]”

Lower register

- (83) *[ms(w).t 2]* “[*ms(w).t* bread, 2]”
 (84) *dsr.t [2]* “Strong beer, [2 (bowls)]”
 (85) *dsr.t i3t.t [2]* “*dsr.t i3t.t* beverage, [2 (bowls)]”
 (86) *[hmk.t hnms 2]* “[*hnms* beer, 2 (bowls)]”
 (87) *[hmk.t 2]* “[Beer, 2 (bowls)]”
 (88) *[shp.t 2]* “[*shp.t* beverage, 2 (bowls)]”
 (89) *[ph3 3]* “[*ph3* beer, 3 (bowls)]”
 (90) *[dwiw hmk.t 2]* “[*dwiw* beer, 2 (bowls)]”
 (91) *[d3b 2]* “[Figs, 2 (bowls)]”
 (92) *[irp mhwt 2]* “[Lower Egyptian wine, 2 (bowls)]”¹⁴⁶
 (93) *[irp b3 2]* “[Wine (of) the *b3* jar, 2 (bowls)]”
 (94) *[irp imt(y) 2]* “[Wine from Buto, 2 (bowls)]”
 (95) *[irp (n) H3mw 2]* “[Wine from *H3mw*, 2 (bowls)]”
 (96) *[irp snw 1]* “[Pelusium wine, 1 (bowl)]”¹⁴⁷
 (97) *[hbnn.t 1]* “[Bread *hbnn.t*, 1]”
 (98) *[hnfw 1]* “[Bread *hnfw*, 1]”
 (99) *i'isd 1]* “[Fruits (of) the *isd* tree, 1 (bowl)]”
 (100) *s'lh.t hd.t 1]* “[White *sh.t*, 1 (bowl)]”
 (101) *s'lh.t w3d.t 1]* “[Green *sh.t*, 1 (bowl)]”
 (102) *s'lw.t g.t 1]* “[Roasted wheat, 1 (bowl)]”
 (103) *it' [g.t 1]* “[Roasted] ‘barley’, [1 (bowl)]”
 (104) *[b3b3.t 1]* “[*b3b3.t*, 1 (bowl)]”
 (105) *[nbs 1]* “[Fruits (of) *nbs* tree,¹⁴⁸ 1 (bowl)]”
 (106) *[t n nbs 1]* “[Bread of *nbs* fruits, 1]”
 (107) *[w'p 1]* “[Carob (locust tree)-beans, 1 (bowl)]”
 (108) *[ht nb bnr 1]* “[Fruits of all fruit-trees, 1 (bowl)]”
 (109) *[rnp.(w)t nb.t 1]* “[All green plants], 1 (bowl)”
 (110) *[hmk.t] h.t' nb(.t) bnr.t 1* “[*hmk.t* offerings], all sweets, 1 (bowl)”.

The decoration of the much better preserved western end of the wall is dominated by a figure of king Tutmosis I, sitting on the throne at the offering table. A block with a portrait of the king [see *Pl. 23.8:45*], once on sale at Sotheby’s (present location unknown, see Introduction), may be securely located within this part of the wall decoration. The right hand of the king is extended toward the offering table. A short inscription above the table provides a concise description of the scene:

[sm3]^{a)} h.t nb(.t) hr h3wt

a) Trace of the sign.

“[Assembling] all the offerings on the offering table”.

¹⁴⁵ Numeral according to the version in the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

¹⁴⁶ As regards different kinds of wine in the offering liturgies, see Poo 1995: 71–85.

¹⁴⁷ Numeral according to the version in the Chapel of Hatshepsut; in the tomb of Ineni: “2 bowls”.

¹⁴⁸ Christ’s thorn tree.

In addition, a short specification of the offerings was written below the table:

[t h3] 'hmk.t h3' k3(.w) h3 3pd(.w) h3 šs h3 'mnh.t' h3 [sntr h3] mrh.t h3

“[Bread: a thousand]; ‘beer: a thousand’; oxen: a thousand; fowl: a thousand; alabaster: a thousand; ‘clothing’: a thousand; [incense: a thousand]; oil: a thousand”.¹⁴⁹

The selection and sequence of items enumerated here is paralleled by an offering formula written directly to the left of the offering table.¹⁵⁰ A [dbh].t-htp (“funerary meal”) label was written between the king’s legs and the offering table. Hardly likely that a formula once written above the queen’s right hand in the Chapel of Hatshepsut¹⁵¹ would have been written here also above the king’s right hand; the decoration here has been lost completely. Surprisingly, a corresponding inscription does not appear on the north wall of the chapel: The place where it should have been carved was left blank for whatever reason.

The royal throne is supported on a richly decorated *sm3-t3.wy* scene, comparable to that from the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Two fecundity figures, representing Upper and Lower Egypt (right and left, respectively), are shown tying the Upper and Lower Egyptian plants on the *sm3* sign. Partly preserved plants symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt can be seen on their heads. A group of three *rekhyt* birds on *nb* signs appears on either side (but only the left-hand one has been preserved). The *dw3* sign in front of them and the ‘*nh.sn*’ group behind them refer to their symbolic meaning and can be read as: *dw3 rhy.t nb(.t) ‘nh.sn* “All mankind adores (them) that they might live”.¹⁵² Two identical inscriptions arranged in vertical columns on both sides of the *sm3* sign refer explicitly to the role played by the fecundity deities:

On the left:

(1) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k ‘nh w3s nb* (2) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k dd.t nb* (3) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k snb nb*
(4) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k 3w.t-ib nb(.t)* (5) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k h3s.t nb* (6) *dd mdw sm3.n(.i) n.k šm’.w*
mhw (7) *m htp.w* (8) ‘*3w.t-ib.k’ hr s.t* (9) [*Hr(w) mi R’*]

On the right:

(1) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k ‘nh w3s nb* (2) [*dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k’ [dd.t nb]* (3) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k*
‘sn’b nb (4) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k 3w.t-ib nb(.t)* (5) *dd mdw di.n(.i) n.k h3s.t nb* (6) *dd mdw sm3.n(.i)*
n.k šm’.w mhw (7) *m htp.w* (8) *3w.t-ib.k hr s.t* (9) [*Hr(w) mi R’*]

Translation of the complete version:

“(1) Recitation: I have given you all life, and dominion. (2) Recitation: I have given you all stability. (3) Recitation: I have given you all health. (4) Recitation: I have given you all joy. (5) Recitation: I have given you every foreign country. (6) Recitation: I have united for you Upper and Lower Egypt (7) in peace. (8) Your joy is on the throne (9) of Horus like Re”.

The royal titulary appears above the king’s head in a spacious tableau arranged in five columns:

(1) *Hr(w) k3 nht Mry-M3’.t* (2) *nb.ty h’ m nsr.t 3 [phty]* (3) *ntr nfr nb [ir(.t) h.t 3-hpr-k3-R’]* (4) *s3*
R’ n h.t[f mry.f Dhwtj-ms(.w) h’-mi-R’] (5) ‘*di’ ‘nh [dd] w3s ‘mi’ [R’ d.t]*

¹⁴⁹ For a comment on the position of numerals in formulae of this type, see Lapp 1986: 112.

¹⁵⁰ It differs, however, from that in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, see Naville 1901: Pl. 110.

¹⁵¹ *bd nsu.t bd šm’.w t3 4 bd mhw t3 4* “king’s natron; natron of Upper Egypt: four balls; natron of Lower Egypt: four balls”, see Naville 1901: Pl. 110; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 22.

¹⁵² For the meaning of the formula, see especially Baines 1985: 49, 50, Fig. 23, and 54 (with a vague reference to the scene in the Chapel of Tutmosis I); Griffin 2007; 2018a: 81, 135–136, 140–141.

“(1) Horus: valiant bull beloved of Maat; (2) the Two Ladies: appearing as a royal serpent (*nsr.t*), great of [strength]; (3) the good god, lord of [rituals Aa-kheper-ka-Re]; (4) the bodily son of Re, [his beloved Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re], (5) ‘given’ life, [stability], and dominion ‘like’ [Re eternally]”.

One should note the omission of the Golden Horus name here; the Horus name is also different from that written above the entrance to the chapel and on its west wall. Preserved to the left of the Horus name are traces of a representation of Nekhbet (recut in the post-Amarna period). In the version restored in antiquity, the goddess was depicted as a coiled snake with the *shen* sign turned toward the falcon surmounting the Horus name (no traces of the *w3s* can be observed) and a crown on its head.¹⁵³

The scene is crowned with Behdety in the form of a flying falcon with the *shen* ring in its claws. A short horizontal legend is written to the left:

[*Bḥd.t(y)*]^a ‘*ntr ʿ3 s3bʿ šw.t di.f ʿnh*’

a) Recut traces of the post-Amarna restoration are preserved.

“[Behdety], ‘great god, variegated’ of plumage, may he give life”.

In addition, a short formula was written above and below the falcon’s tail, possibly as a continuation of the legend of Behdety cited above:¹⁵⁴

[*ḥ*]r.f *mī Rʿ*

“[nea]r him, like Re”.

A figure of the royal *ka* was represented behind the throne. It holds a staff (once crowned with a bearded head) and a feather with the *ankh* sign. The *ka* sign was represented on its head, the Horus name being once written inside a *serekh*. A fragment of the *mr* sign is preserved, allowing the name to be restored as: *Ḥr(w) k3 nḥt Mry-M3ʿ.t*. The inscription above the royal *ka* identifies the figure as:

(1) *k3-nsw.t ʿn[ḥ nb t3.wy]* (2) ‘*ḥnty pr-dw3.tʿ [di.f] ʿnh*’

“(1) Liv[ing] royal *ka* of [the lord of the Two Lands], (2) ‘presiding over the House of Morning’, [may he give] life”.

Two protective fans (superimposed on *shen* rings), of which only one is preserved nearly complete, were represented on the right margin of the scene. A sequence of protective symbols was placed below: two *kr.ty* symbols with *šn* signs, a scorpion with *šn* ring, and possibly also a cryptographic writing of Amun’s name, between extended arms on a *dd* pillar. The lattermost symbol is not preserved, but is present on the north wall. A customary protective formula was inscribed below these symbols in one column, adjacent to the bordering ornament:

[*s3*] ʿ*nh dd w3s snb ʿnbʿ ḥ3.f ʿmī [Rʿ] ʿd.tʿ*

“‘All’ [protection], life, stability, dominion and health (is) behind ‘him’, like [Re] ‘eternally’”.

¹⁵³ For the type of the crown, see, e.g., Beaux 2012: Pl. 5, Fig. D.2. Nekhbet restored as a coiled snake appeared also on the eastern end of the same wall (only the lower part of the image is preserved there).

¹⁵⁴ In other cases, however, such an extension belongs to the legend accompanying the royal *ka*, see, e.g., Naville 1906: Pls 131, 132.

NORTH WALL [*Pl. 13*]

The decoration of the north wall followed the same scheme as that described for the south wall of the chapel, but with some differences resulting mostly from the dual symbolism of Egyptian kingship and the customary formal rules current in Egyptian art. In consequence, one can recognize the same component parts of the decoration on both walls of the chapel, minor differences being related solely to the gestures of the royal figures and their attributes.

Fragments of an erased figure of Hatshepsut are preserved on the extreme right side of the wall. Since nothing remains of the queen's head or crown, her reconstruction with the *nemes* on her head is strongly determined by the lack of space for a Lower Egyptian crown. Well in accord with the dual symbolism of royal dignity, the goddess Wadjet (with a serpent's head) was shown hovering above the queen's figure. The royal titulary is not preserved, while a fragment of a common formula following the titulary has been recognized on a block with the depiction of Wadjet:

[*dī*] *ʿnh*ʹ [*nb mī Rʿ d.t*]

“[Given all] ‘life’ [like Re eternally]”.

The lower part of a column of inscription with a protection formula, placed behind the queen, can be restored as follows:

[*s3*] *ʿnh*ʹ [*dd*] *w3s [sn]b nb ḥ3.s mī Rʿ d.t*

“All [protection], life, [stability], dominion, and [he]alth (are) behind her, like Re eternally”.

The royal attributes have also been lost with the exception of the upper and lower parts of a long staff, a mace, and a lavishly decorated apron of the royal kilt. There is no doubt, however, that the ritual gesture was the same as that on the south wall, only respecting movement in the opposite direction. The exact posture may be inferred from two fragments with preserved parts of the torso and both arms. The last sign (*ʿwʿb*ʹ) of the vertical inscription placed in front of the queen is enough to identify the inscription as a legend explaining the meaning of the offering ritual performed by the queen for her deceased father (for this, see above).

The Offering Ritual scenes are represented by the beginnings of two registers with fragments of five episodes. The rest must be restored on the grounds of parallel scenes depicted on the south wall of the chapel (see above).

The Offering Ritual, upper register (sequence 2a)

First episode

A priest kneeling in front of an offering plate (with two loaves of bread and a jar) is depicted at the beginning of the sequence. His hands rest on a round loaf. The accompanying inscription, in two columns,¹⁵⁵ belongs to the Offering Ritual sequence 2b (Lapp 1986: 136 [5b]):¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ In the Chapel of Hatshepsut, a third column was added: *ḥtp-nsw.t* “offering (of) the king”; see Naville 1901: Pl. 110; Lapp 1986: 136 (5b).

¹⁵⁶ See above for a comment on the reversal of legends.

(1) [t hnk.t] ḥpš sph.t¹ (2) ḥtp-ḥntr¹ k3(.w) 3pd(.w)

“(1) [Bread and beer], ‘thigh (of foreleg), ribs (of beef)’¹, (2) ḥtp-ḥntr¹ offering, oxen and fowl”.

Second episode

The preserved fragment depicts the legs of the figure of a *sem*-priest approaching a kneeling priest. The inscription placed in front of him is not paralleled in other versions.¹⁵⁷ It can be read as follows:

[...]ᵃ) ˆ.wy mw ˆ.wy hnk.t ˆ.wy

a) Trace of the stroke of a vertical sign preserved on the left.

“[...] : 2 bowls; water: 2 bowls; beer: 2 bowls”.

The legend, not attested in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, may derive from the offering lists (see Barta 1963: 86–87, 93; compare also, for example, Pyramid Texts Spell 108 (§72b): Sethe 1908: 39).

Third episode

It is reasonable to place here a fragment with two legs along with part of the leg of a preceding figure [see *Pls* 13.5; 24.5:24]. This is because there are only two priests striding forward (in relative proximity) in the upper register of the offering ritual scenes (an alternative would be two priests at the end of the lower register). If so, then the fragment in question may depict the third person in the row, namely ḥr(y)-ḥb.t “lector-priest”, reading s3ḥ.w spells from an unfolded papyrus roll.

Fourth and fifth episodes

Nothing remains of these, but see the scene on the south wall of the chapel (see above).

The Offering Ritual, lower register (sequence 2b)

First episode

A priest kneeling in front of a chest, resting his hands on it. The contents of the chest appear to have been described in the inscription written above in three columns:

(1) ḥpš sph.t t [gsw] i[r]p ḥ.t nb.t (2) swtᵃ) ḥndᵇ) hnk.[t] ḥntr¹.[(w)t] nb.t bnr.t (3) ḥw(?)ᶜ) [hnk.tᵈ) nb(t)]ᵉ)

a) Or else iwˆ, see Wb. I, 50; Ikram 1995: 133–134, 140 (both swt and iwˆ interpreted as joints of meat in general).

b) Sign depicting the lower part of a foreleg(?), i.e., a beef shin (not recorded in Gardiner’s Sign-list); reading not defined precisely, see, however, Gardiner 1947: 17–18; Ikram 1995: 131.

¹⁵⁷ For a variant of the label written behind the kneeling priest, which is, however, simply an extension of the formula from the beginning of the scene, see Caminos and James 1963: Pls 38, 47; see also a comment provided below.

- c) The same arrangement of signs as in the inscription in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (see Naville 1901: Pl. 110; and Lapp 1986: 136 [5a] where the signs in question were simply excluded from the main body of the text [except for *h*]),¹⁵⁸ and in the Gebel Silsileh shrines of Hapuseneb and User (see Caminos and James 1963: 50 Note 3, 61, Pls 38, 47). There is no reason to read the two signs in the highly doubtful column 4 as *t* “bread”, which was enumerated earlier in the text (Col. 1). Thus the group may be taken for a determinative of the word written to the left (assuming a horizontal arrangement of the inscription): *hw?* “food” (exceedingly crude execution of the *h* sign), which Caminos and James consider as defective writing of (*h3.t*)-*wḥw?* “the best of the offering table” (see Caminos and James 1963: 50 Note 3, 61, Pls 38, 47).
- d) Fragment of an ideogram (Gardiner’s Sign-list D 39).
- e) So in the legend accompanying the opening of the sequence in the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

“(1) Thigh (of foreleg), ribs (of beef), bread, [bread *gsw*], w[in]e, and all good things; (2) portion of meat, lower part of foreleg, beer, all sweet ‘herbs’, (3) food(?) [and all *hnk.t* offerings]”.

Second episode

Extant inscription accompanying the scene: *dī.t ḳbh(.w) w[t]* “pouring libation; (by) the embal[ming] priest”. A vertical stroke separated this scene from the preceding one.

The horizontal inscription above the lower register, of which only the beginning is preserved, can be restored on the basis of the version found on the south wall:

dbḥ.t-ḥtp hnk.t nb.t ḥ3.w m ‘ḥ.t nb.t’ [nfr.t w^cb.t n nsw.t-bitj ‘3-ḥpr-ḳ3-R^c m3^c-ḥrw n ḳ3.f¹⁵⁹ w^cb]

“Funerary meal, every offering, thousands of ‘every thing’ [good and pure for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper-ka-Ra, justified, for his pure *ka*]”.

Third to fifth episodes

Nothing remains of these, but see the scene on the south wall of the chapel (see above).

Offering friezes and offering bearers

The two registers of offerings are preserved in much better condition. The sequence and arrangement of the goods differ from the depictions on the opposite wall of the chapel. This is also the case of the offering friezes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Strangely enough, the execution of the four objects at the left end of the upper register (two jars and lettuces) was not complete [see *Pl. 24.4:34*]. The apparent deficiency was probably compensated for with the polychromy applied to the wall decoration.

Below these objects were two registers of offering bearers. The upper register is in better condition here than on the opposite wall (see above), whereas the lower one was completely destroyed by the Coptic monks (on the south wall the damage was limited to the eastern end) building their brick vault inside the chapel (see Godlewski 1986: 39, Fig. 21).

¹⁵⁸ Stupko-Lubczyńska (2016: 62 Note 379) interprets the group as *wt* “*wt*-priest”.

¹⁵⁹ Compare the comment in the previous chapter.

Upper register

Seven figures of offering bearers can be restored in this register. The second figure in the row had more of the upper part preserved at the beginning of the 20th century (see Naville 1906: Pl. 129; see also comment by van de Walle 1971: 28 Note 3) [see *Pl. 2E*]. A large gap on the right side can be completed with a fragment from the Louvre (previously in a private collection, see van de Walle 1971: 26–34, Fig. 2), completing the procession of offering bearers [*Pl. 24.5:40*].

The first figure in the row is represented in the same way as its counterpart on the opposite wall. Comparison with the modest fragments from the south wall shows that the rest must have been different. The first four figures are labeled with the conventional titles: *smr* “companion (of the king)”, *smr w.ty* “sole companion (of the king)”, *smr* “companion (of the king)”, and *w.b* “*wab*-priest”.¹⁶⁰ They carry floral bouquets, vegetables, fruits, vases and containers, as well as meat and poultry. Worth noting is a crane, walking freely with its beak tied to the neck, represented in front of the lattermost person in the row. They are comparable to the cranes represented on both walls of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (see Naville 1901: Pls 109, 111, 118; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 253).

The procession was headed toward the ritual implements. The relief was chiseled out in the Amarna period and subsequently recut in the form of the holy vases of Amun (see Schott 1972), similarly as in the case of the opposite wall and the corresponding decoration in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The restored scene is sufficiently well preserved here for the ram-headed lids of two *hs* vases (with superimposed uraei) to be discernible. One can also see two pairs of *nms.t* jars (with lotus flowers entwined around them). These cultic vessels were placed on three jar stands with small cups below (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015: 161, Fig. 5c). Of the original version of the relief, depicting five *hs* vases on a jar stand and two lotus bouquets on stands, only the tops of the lids of the *hs* vases and the upper parts of lotuses can be discerned (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015: 161, Fig. 5b).

The horizontal inscription, written above the offering bearers of the upper register, was drawn from the Pyramid Texts Spell 172, and it is nearly complete in this version:

hṭp-di-nsw.t Gb n nsw.t bity ʿ3-hpr-k3-[Rʿ] rdi.n n.k dbh.t-hṭp w3h.(w)t ʿnb.tʿ mr(y).t.k h3 m t h3 m h[nk.t] ʿh3ʿ m k3(.w) h3 m 3pd(.w) h3 m šs mnḥ.t h3 m sntr mrḥ.t h.t nb(.t) nfr.t w.b.t nfr.ti n.k im hr ntr n d.t [d.t]

“Offering which the king and Geb give to the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Aa-kheper-ka-[Re]: you have been given a funerary meal, and ‘all’ the oblations that you might want, a thousand bread (loaves), a thousand be[er] (jugs), a ‘thousand’ oxen, a thousand fowl, a thousand alabaster and clothing, a thousand of incense and oil, all the good and pure things with which it will be well for you, near the god for the course of [eternity]”.

Lower register

The legs of ten figures are extant in the lower register, just below the cut made by the Coptic monks. The first of these is a personification of the Nile of Lower Egypt, tying a Lower Egyptian

¹⁶⁰ Regarding the great variety of titles borne by offering bearers in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: 260–264.

plant on a *sm3* sign. The representation is followed by three fecundity figures, carrying trays with offerings (not preserved), and after them three *hr(y)-hb.t* priests carrying haunches of beef. Coming after them were four ordinary offering bearers. A fragment of one of these figures can be attributed to this scene, along with a duck that was being carried by the next figure on the right [see *Pl. 24.6:64*]. One additional person in the row, in comparison with the south wall, means that a slightly different arrangement of the scene was applied here. A few traces of signs remain from the horizontal inscription that ran above the offering bearers of the lower register:¹⁶¹

'sb'[*pt stp.t ... hmk.t*] *'nb'*[*.t*] *h*[*.t*] *'nb'*(*.t*) [...]

“Brin[ging choice portions (of meat) ...] all [the offerings]; all the thi[n]gs [...]”.

Offering list

There is no reason to postulate that the offering list written on the north wall differed in any significant way, whether general layout or content, from that on the south wall. The one astonishing anomaly, however, occurs in the sequence of items at the end of the middle registers of both lists. On the south wall, it definitely ends with the item: *np3(.t)* [2] “*np3(.t)* bread, [2]” (Col. 82), as confirmed by a fragment, the position of which in this place cannot be doubted [see *Pl. 23.3:5*]. Meanwhile, the fragment of the list ending the sequence of the middle register on the north wall [see *Pl. 24.2:17*] cannot be moved by three columns to the left (as would be expected),¹⁶² due to the horizontal inscription at the top, which matches perfectly the last compartment of four columns (bearing in mind that the formula *n s3 R' N* alternates with the variant *n nsu.t bity N*). It definitely disturbs the order of items proposed for this part of the offering list on the south wall.¹⁶³ In consequence, items 78–80 of the reconstructed list from the south wall must be moved by two columns to the right, leaving two empty columns (here 78 and 79) without any convincing ideas for filling the gap.¹⁶⁴

Upper register

- (1) *s3t* [1] “Libation (of water), [1]”
- (2) [*snt* *sd.t*]¹⁶⁵ 1 “[Incense (on) fire], 1”
- (3) *kbh.w* (*bd*) *t3* 2 ‘2’ “Cool water, 2 pellets (of natron), ‘2’”
- (4) *t3* 5 (*bd*) *sm'w n Nhb* 5 “5 pellets of the Upper Egyptian (natron) from *Nekheb*, 5”
- (5) *t3* 5 (*bd*) *mhw n St-pt* 5 “5 pellets of the Lower Egyptian (natron) from *Shet-pet*, 5”
- (6) *t3 n snt* 1 “pellet of incense, 1”
- (7) *ps' kf* 1 “*ps' kf* instrument, 1”
- (8) *bi3 sm'w mhw sb3.wy* 2 “*sb3* implements of the Upper and Lower Egyptian *bi3* metal, 2”
- (9) *srw sm'w mhw* 2 “(Granulated) *srw* salt from the Upper and Lower Egypt, 2”

¹⁶¹ For the restored text of the inscription, see above. It started just in front of the *hr(y)-hb.t* priests.

¹⁶² There is no other convincing position for the fragment in question.

¹⁶³ Regarding the well-documented sequence of offerings comprising poultry, see Sethe 1908: 48–49 (Pyramid Texts Spells 136–140 = §§ 84d–86d); Lapp 1986: 120–124; Ikram 1995: 114, Fig. 27 (offering table from Hawara); 2006: 172. Significantly, the order of items at the end of the middle register, as reconstructed on the south wall, is paralleled (with some differences) by the version from the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

¹⁶⁴ There are no grounds for replacing them with items 81 and 82 from the reconstructed list on the south wall: *sr* 1 “goose *sr*, 1”, and *np3(.t)* 2 “*np3(.t)* bread, 2”.

¹⁶⁵ Fragment of *d* sign preserved.

- (10) *škw* [1] “*škw* mineral, [1]”
 (11) [*irt.t*] ‘*mns*’ [2] “Milk, ‘*mns*’ vessels, 2”
 (12) [*di(.t) kbh.w mhw* 1] “[Offering cool water (of) the Lower Egypt, 1]”
 (13) [*h3ts ir.t imnt.t ir.t i3bt.t* 2] “[*(Stone) h3ts*-jar (for) the right eye, and (for) the left eye, 2]”
 (14) [*p3.t*] “[*p3t* bread]”¹⁶⁶
 (15) [*hdw t3* 5] “[Cloves of garlic, 5]”
 (16)+(17) horizontal (in two lines): [*p3.t n.t wdn(w) wp.t m gs.wy*] “[*p3t* bread of the offering, divided into halves]”
 (16) vertical: [*htp-di-nsu.w.t n Dhwtj-ms(.w)*] “[Offering which the king gives to Tuthmosis]”
 (17) vertical: [*htp-di-nsu.w.t n 3-hpr-k3-R*] “[Offering which the king gives to Aa-kheper-ka-Re]”¹⁶⁷
 (18) [*mn(w) hd irp h3ts* 1] “[White stone *h3ts*-jar (of) wine, 1]”
 (19) [*mn(w) km [i]r[p] h3ts* 1] “Black stone [*h3ts*-jar] (of) [w]in[e], [1]”
 (20) [*mn(w) km hnk.t hnu.w.t* 1] “Black stone *hnu.w.t* cup (of) beer, [1]”
 (21) [*dsr(w).t 3.t* 1] “Big offering table, [1]”
 (22) *dpt* [1] “*dpt* bread, [1]”
 (23) *3h* [1] “*3h* bread, [1]”
 (24) *shn* [1] “Kidneys, [1]”
 (25) [*mn(w) hd irp hnu.w.t* 1] “White stone *hnu.w.t* cup (of) wine,¹⁶⁸ [1]”
 (26) [*m[n(w) km] h[nk.t hnu.w.t* 1] “B[lack stone *hnu.w.t* cup] (of) b[eer], [1]”
 (27) [*bi3 hnk.t hnu.w.t* 1] “[Beer (in) *hnu.w.t* cup of *bi3* metal, 1]”
 (28) [*htm hnk.t h’[nw.t* 1] “[Beer] (in) ‘*h’[nw.t* cup of *htm* metal, 1]”
 (29) [*kbh.w (bd) t3* 2 2] “[Cool water, 2 pellets (of natron), 2]”
 (30) [*st(y) hb* 1] “[Festival scent-oil, 1]”
 (31) [*hknw* 1] “[*hknw* oil, 1]”
 (32) [*sft* 1] “[Pine oil, 1]”
 (33) [*nhnm* 1] “[*nhnm* oil, 1]”
 (34) [*tw3wt* 1] “[*tw3wt* oil, 1]”
 (35) [*h3t.t n.t 3* 1] “[First-class cedar oil, 1]”
 (36) [*h3t.t n.t Thnw* 1] “[First-class Libyan oil, 1]”
 (37) [*kbh.w (bd) t3* 2 2] “‘Cool water’, [2] ‘pellets’ (of natron), [2]”
 (38) [*h3w.t di(.t) pr.t-hrw* 1] “Altar, giving mortuary offering, [1]”
 (39) [*m]i h[r htp-nsu.w.t* 2] “[Co]me wi[th the offering of the king,¹⁶⁹ 2]”
 (40) *htp-nsu.w.t* [2] “Offering of the king, [2]”
 (41) *htp-nsu.w.t i[my wsh.t* 2] “Offering of the king, w[hich is in the broad hall, 2]”

Middle register

- (42) *hms igr pr.t-hrw dd-mdw*¹⁷⁰ “Sitting (for) the mortuary offering; words to be spoken”
 (43) *i’w-r3 šns dwiw* ‘2’ “Morning meal; loaf of bread, and jug (of beer), ‘2’”
 (44) *t-wt* 2 “*wt* bread, 2 (loaves)”
 (45) *t-rth*¹⁷¹ 2 “‘*rth*’ bread, 2 (loaves)”
 (46) *dsr.t nms.t* 2 “*dsr.t* beer, *nms.t* jug, 2”
 (47) *hn’k’.t hnms nms.t* 2 “*hnms* beer, *nms.t* jug, 2”
 (48) ‘*šns*’ *n f3.t* ‘2’ “Presenting ‘loaf’ of bread, bowl(s) 2”
 (49) *šns dwiw n šbw* 2 “Loaf of bread, and jug (of beer) of the *šbw* meal, 2”
 (50) [*sw.t* 1] “[Po]rtion of meat, 1”

¹⁶⁶ Without a numeral, as in the version on the south wall?

¹⁶⁷ For a comment on the reconstruction of columns 16 and 17, see above.

¹⁶⁸ Compare the version in the temple of Pepi II, Jéquier 1938: Pls 61, 67, 81, 85; in the version of Ineni: *hmk.t* “beer”.

¹⁶⁹ For the incantation formula, see Barta 1963: 88 (7).

¹⁷⁰ Determinative of the group *dd-mdw* written instead of a numeral.

¹⁷¹ Trace of the ideogram *rth* (Gardiner’s Sign-list U 31) discernible in the lacuna.

- (51) *[mw ʿ]* 1 “[Water, bowl] 1”
 (52) *[bd ʿ]*¹⁷² 1 “[Natron, bowl] 1”
 (53) *iʿw-rʒ šns dʿwiw* 2 “Morning meal; loaf of bread, and jug (of beer), 2”
 (54) *t-wt* 1 “*wt* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (55) *t-rth* 1 “*rth* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (56) *htʒ* 1 “*htʒ* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (57) *nʿhrʿ* 1 “*nʿhrʿ* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (58) *dp.t* 1 “*dp.t* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (59) *psn* 1 “*psn* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (60) *šns* 1 “*šns* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (61) *t imy tʒ* 1 “*imy tʒ* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (62) *hmf(w)* 1 “*hmf(w)* bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (63) *[hbn]n.t* 1 “[*hbn*]n.t bread, 1 (loaf)”
 (64) *[kmb(w)]*¹⁷³ 4 “[*kmb(w)*] bread, 4]”
 (65) *i[dʒ.t]*¹⁷⁴ *hʒ.k* 4 “*i[dʒ.t]* bread, (put it) behind you, 4]”
 (66) *pʒt* 1 “*pʒt* bread, 1”
 (67) *t ʒsr* 1 “Baked bread, 1”
 (68) *[hd]w* 5 “[Onion]s, 5”
 (69) *[hpʒ]* 1 “[Foreleg], 1”
 (70) *[iw ʿ]* 1 “[Thigh], 1]”
 (71) *[sw.t]* 1 “[Portion of meat], 1]”
 (72) *[sph.t]* 1 “[Ribs], 1]”
 (73) *[ʒsr.t]* 1 “[Roasted meat], 1]”
 (74) *[mrs.t]* 1 “[Liver], 1]”
 (75) *[nnšm]* 1 “[Spleen], 1]”
 (76) *[h ʿ]* 1 “[*h ʿ* meat], 1]”
 (77) *[iwf n hʒ.t]* 1 “[Breast-meat], 1]”
 (78) [...]”
 (79) [...]”
 (80) *rʒ* [1] “Goose *rʒ*, [1]”
 (81) *trp* [1] “Goose *trp*, [1]”
 (82) *st* [1] “Duck *st*, [1]”

Lower register

- (83) *ms(w).t* [2] “*ms(w).t* bread, [2]”
 (84) *dsr.t* [2] “Strong beer, [2 (bowls)]”
 (85) *dsr.t [iʒt.t]* 2 “*dsr.t [iʒt.t]* beverage, 2 (bowls)”
 (86) *hmk.t h[nms]* ʿ2¹ “[*h[nms]*] beer, ʿ2 (bowls)”
 (87) *hmk.t* 2 “Beer, 2 (bowls)”
 (88) *shp[.t]* 2 “*shp[.t]* beverage, 2 (bowls)”
 (89) *[phʒ]* ʿ3¹ “[*phʒ*] beer, ʿ3 (bowls)”
 (90) *[dʿwiw]*¹⁷⁵ *hmk.t* 2 “[*dʿwiw*] beer, 2 (bowls)”
 (91) *dʒb* [2] “Figs, [2 (bowls)]”
 (92) *i[rp mhʷ]* 2 “[Lower Egyptian wine, 2 (bowls)]”
 (93) *irp [ʿbʒ]* 2 “Wine (of) [the ʿbʒ jar, 2 (bowls)]”
 (94) *ir[p imt(y)]* 2 “Wi[ne from Buto, 2 (bowls)]”
 (95) *irp [(n) Hʒmw]* 2 “Wine [from *Hʒmw*, 2 (bowls)]”

¹⁷² Traces of signs.

¹⁷³ Trace of the *h* sign.

¹⁷⁴ Traces of *d* and *n*; for the writing, see Wb. I, 152 (17).

¹⁷⁵ Traces of two hieroglyphic signs (*dw* and *iw*).

- (96) *ir[p snw 1]* “[Pelusium] wi[ne, 1 (bowl)]”
 (97) *[hbnm.t 1]*¹⁷⁶ “[Bread *hbnm.t*, 1]”
 (98) *[hnfw 1]*¹⁷⁷ “[Bread *hnfw*, 1]”
 (99) *[iśd 1]* “[Fruits (of) *iśd* tree, 1 (bowl)]”
 (100) *[sh.t ḥd.t 1]* “[White *sh.t*, 1 (bowl)]”
 (101) *[sh.t wśd.t 1]* “[Green *sh.t*, 1 (bowl)]”
 (102) *[sw.t ḡ.t 1]* “[Roasted wheat, 1 (bowl)]”
 (103) *[it ḡ.t]*¹⁷⁸ “[Roasted barley], 1 (bowl)”
 (104) *[bśbś.t]* 1 “[*bśbś.t*], 1 (bowl)”
 (105) *[nbs 1]* “[Fruits (of) Christ’s thorn tree, 1 (bowl)]”
 (106) *[t n nbs 1]* “[Bread of *nbs* fruits, 1]”
 (107) *ʿwḥʿ* [1] “ʿCarob (locust tree)-beansʿ, [1 (bowl)]”
 (108) *ḥt nb [bnr 1]* “[Fruits] of all fruit-trees, [1 (bowl)]”
 (109) *[rnp.(w)t nb.t 1]* “[All green plants, 1 (bowl)]”
 (110) *ʿhmk.tʿ* [*h*].¹⁷⁹ [*nb(.t) bnr.t 1*] “ʿ*hmk.t* offeringsʿ, [all sweets, 1 (bowl)]”.

A representation of king Tuthmosis I sitting on a throne is preserved complete except for the head. The king’s position differs from that presented on the opposite wall; here, his left hand, holding a strip of linen, is pressed against the chest, while the right arm is extended toward the offering table standing in front of the king. A concise inscription was written above the table:

smḏ ḥ.t nb(.t) ḥr ḥśw.t

“Assembling all the offerings on the offering table”.

And again a concise list of offerings was enumerated in a complete inscription written below the table, on both sides of the stand (starting from the left):

t ḥś ḥnk.t ḥś kś(.w) ḥś śpd(.w) ḥś śs ḥś mnḥ.t ḥś snṯr ḥś mrḥ.t ḥś

“Bread: a thousand; beer: a thousand; oxen: a thousand; fowl: a thousand; alabaster: a thousand; clothing: a thousand; incense: a thousand; oil: a thousand”.

A [*dbh.t-h*]*tp.t* label was written between the king’s legs and the offering table. The upper part of the inscription was intentionally chiseled out in antiquity (while the corresponding fragment on the south wall bears no evidence of chiseling), as in the case of a similar inscription in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Note a difference in spelling compared to the counterpart on the south wall. The blank space to the right of the king’s arms was left empty (see the comment above).

The royal throne decorated with the *smḏ-tḏ.wy* emblem in relief had the other elements of the decoration painted (remnants of details painted in red and black are still visible). The elaborate *smḏ-tḏ.wy* scene supporting the throne is recognizable only in its lowermost part. It comprises remains of iconographic motifs represented on both sides of the *smḏ* sign in the middle: *dwḏ* signs, three *rekhyt* birds on *nb* signs, hieroglyphic group *ʿnh.sʿn* (“that they might live”), bottom parts of the emblem plants of Upper and Lower Egypt (on the left and right, respectively), and the legs of fecundity figures representing both parts of Egypt. The plants of Upper and Lower Egypt, placed on their heads, are preserved as well. The head of the figure representing Upper Egypt is

¹⁷⁶ Traces of the first two signs.

¹⁷⁷ Trace of *h* at the top of the column.

¹⁷⁸ Fragment with numeral attributed tentatively; see also the next column.

¹⁷⁹ Minute trace of the *t* sign.

now lost, but it was still there in the times of Naville (1906: Pl. 129; Naville's drawing was used in the present reconstruction of the scene) [see *Pl. 2D*]. The inscriptions placed above the *rekhyt* birds were completely destroyed by the building activity of the Coptic monks. Only the upper parts of hieroglyphic signs on the last three columns on the left side of the *sm3* sign can be seen (for the complete version, see above):

(Col. 7) 'm' [*hṭp.w*] (Col. 8) '3w.t'-[*ib.k hr s.t*] (Col. 9) 'Hr(w)' [*mī R^c*]

"(Col. 7) 'in' [peace]. (Col. 8) [Your] 'jo'[y is on the throne] (Col. 9) of 'Horus' [like Re]."

The part of the royal titulary preserved above the king reads:

(1) 'Hr(w)' [*k3 nḥt Mry-M3^c.t*] (2) *nb.ty ḥ^c [m nsr.t '3 pḥty]* (3) 'ntr nfr' [*nb ir(.t) ḥ.t '3-ḥpr-k3-R^c*]
 (4) *s3 R^c n 'ḥ.t.f mry.f ' Dḥwtj-ms(.w) 'ḥ^c 'mī-R^c* (5) *dī 'nḥ dd [w3s]^a 'mī' [R^c] d[.t]*

a) Minute traces of the sign.

"(1) 'Horus': [valiant bull beloved of Maat]; (2) the Two Ladies: appearing [as a royal serpent (*nsr.t*), great of strength]; (3) 'the good god', [lord of rituals Aa-kheper-ka-Re]; (4) 'the bodily' son of Re, 'his beloved' Tuthmosis-'appearing (in glory)'-like-Re, (5) given life, stability, [and dominion] 'like' [Re] eternally".

One can imagine the goddess Wadjet in the form of a coiled snake with the Lower Egyptian crown on her head represented to the right of the royal titulary. No doubt the goddess turned the *w3s* and *šn* signs toward the falcon surmounting the *serekh* with the Horus name of the king, although nothing survives of this group. Only the top end of the crown of Lower Egypt is extant. No traces of recutting are visible in the preserved part. There is no doubt, however, that the figure of the goddess was destroyed in the Amarna period and subsequently recut, just like in other parts of the temple.¹⁸⁰ Nothing remains of the papyrus plant once supporting the *nb* sign. The only signs preserved of the inscriptions flanking it on both sides are the ones on the right:

[*dī*].s [*'nḥ*] *w3s mī [R^c]*

"[May] she [give life], and dominion like [Re]."

Behdety as a flying falcon was represented above the king. The accompanying horizontal inscription is substantially preserved:

Bḥd[.t(y)]^a 'ntr '3 s3b' šw.t dī.f ['nḥ*]*

a) Chiseled out in antiquity; the original hieroglyphs can be traced, but there is no evidence of post-Amarna restoration; it must have been made in the plaster coat covering the destroyed surface of the stone block [see *Pl. 24.3:11*].

"Behde[ty, 'great god, variegated' of plumage, may he give [life]]."

The royal *ka* represented right behind the throne is fairly well preserved except for the face. The figure, holding a staff (once crowned with a bearded head) and a feather with the *ankh* sign, has the *ka* sign on its head and the Horus name written in a *serekh*:

'Hr(w) *k3 nḥt Mry-M3^c.t'*

"'Horus: valiant bull, beloved of Maat'".

¹⁸⁰ Compare, however, the original relief depicting the goddess with the Lower Egyptian Crown: Beaux 2012: Pl. 6, Fig. D.3.

The inscription accompanying the royal *ka*, placed above (and to the left of the royal titulary), can be read as follows:

(1) [k3-*nsw.t*] 'nh nb t3.wy (2) 'hnty' pr-dw3.t di.f 'nh

“(1) Living [royal *ka*] of the lord of the Two Lands (2) ‘presiding’ over the House of Morning, may he give life”.

Two protective fans (placed on *shen* rings), of which only a fragment of one is preserved, were depicted in the upper left corner of the scene. A sequence of protective symbols was placed directly below: two *kr.ty* symbols with *šn* signs, a scorpion (with the *šn* sign, of which only a trace is visible), and a cryptographic recording of Amun’s name, between extended arms on a *dd* pillar. A customary protective formula was inscribed in one column below these symbols:

s3 'nh dd w3s snb nb h3.f mi R' d.t

“All protection, life, stability, dominion and health (is) behind him like Re eternally”.

Significantly, the border ornament on the left was not completed in its lower part, in relief at least [see *Pls* 13.4; 24.4], no doubt to leave enough space for the inscription.

WEST WALL [*Pl.* 14]

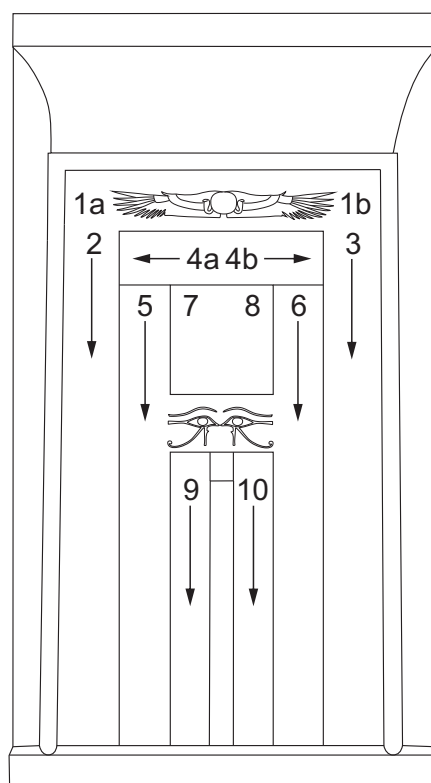
The west wall of the chapel was completely destroyed when Naville started his excavations in the temple in 1893 (see Winlock 1929: 57), no doubt because of the extraction of the false-door stela by Athanasi. The stela was replaced with a gypsum copy by Baraize when he was working on the restoration on behalf of the Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte in the early decades of the 20th century [see *Pl.* 4D]. The wall was partly restored at this time.

False-door stela [*Pls* 16; 26]

The false-door stela of red granite, now in the Louvre Museum (Paris, C 48, see Lepsius 1842: Pl. 11; Gauthier 1912: 222 (XLII); Winlock 1929: Pl. 13; Sethe 1930: 313; Roehrig, Dreyfus, and Keller 2005: 156–157, Cat. 87), is crowned by a *cavetto* cornice and the decorated space is framed by toruses.¹⁸¹ The form and general layout of the decoration are comparable to the granite stela of Tuthmosis III from his mortuary temple at Gurna.¹⁸² Like the inscriptions from the portal leading to the chapel, the inscriptions from the false-door stela give the titles of Hatshepsut and her father, as well as a short dedication formula.

¹⁸¹ For a specifically “royal” type of false-door stela, see Jánosi 1994: 158–160.

¹⁸² See Ricke 1939: Pls 2, 8; the selection of divine names in the inscriptions is different.



Layout of inscriptions on the false-door stela (Drawing M. Puzzkarski)

Inscriptions accompanying the winged solar disk (with uraei) on both of its sides were partly erased during the Amarna period (1a–b):

'Bḥd.t(y) ntr ʿ3'

“Behdety, the great god”.

External framing on the left, below the *pt* sign (2):

Hr(w) Wsr.t-k3(.w) nsw.t bity nb(.t) ir.t ḥ.t [M3^c.t-k3]^a-R^c ir.n.s m mnw.s n it.s

a) Erased; however, the Horus name of the queen is intact, as are the feminine pronouns.

“Horus: Mighty of *kas*, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of rituals [Maat-ka]-Re, she has made (it) as her monument for her father”.

External framing on the right, below the *pt* sign (3):

Hr(w) Mry-R^c-ḥ^c-m-ḥd.t^a) nsw.t bity nb ir.t ḥ.t ʿ3-ḥpr-k3-R^c mry Inpw^b) tp(y) dw.f d.t

a) Traces of the Horus name of Hatshepsut, which was written here originally: *Hr(w) Wsr.t-k3(.w)*, are fairly well visible. It was evidently a mistake that the queen’s name was written here; the mistake was subsequently corrected, and the Horus name of Tuthmosis I was written properly, but in a form differing from that seen on the long walls of the chapel.

b) Strangely enough, the name was not touched during the Amarna period, but this is also the case of the names of the other gods inscribed on the stela except that of Amun (see below).

“Horus: Beloved-of-Re-appearing-in-White-Crown, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of rituals Aa-kheper-ka-Re, beloved of Anubis-on-his-mountain eternally”.

Internal framing at the top (4a–b):

‘nh ntr nfr ‘3-hpr-k3-R‘

“May (he) live, the good god Aa-kheper-ka-Re”.

Vertical column on the left, below the *pt* sign (5):

ntr nfr nb t3.wy nsw.t bity nb ir.t h.t ‘3-hpr-k3-R‘ mry Wsir^a) ntr ‘3

a) The name was not touched in the Amarna period.

“Good god, Lord of the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the rituals Aa-kheper-ka-Re, beloved of Osiris, the great god”.

Vertical column on the right, below the *pt* sign (6):

ntr nfr nb t3.wy nsw.t bity nb ir.t h.t ‘3-hpr-k3-R‘ mry b3.w P^a) di ‘nh

a) Not erased in the Amarna period.

“Good god, lord of the Two Lands, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the rituals Aa-kheper-ka-Re, beloved of souls of *Pe*, given life”.

The figural scene in the central panel represents the royal *ka* sitting on the throne, with the Upper Egyptian crown on its head.¹⁸³ The *ka* sign on a standard is placed in front of the royal figure. The inscription above identifies the royal figure as (7):

(1) *ntr nfr nb t3.wy* (2) *‘3-hpr-k3-R‘* (3) *di ‘nh*

“(1) The good god, Lord of the Two Lands (2) Aa-kheper-ka-Re, (3) given life”.

The name and figure of Amun (on the right),¹⁸⁴ giving life to the king, were erased in the Amarna period. Only the upper part of the feathers of the god’s crown has been spared. The inscription above the god reads (8):

(1) *di.f ‘nh nb* (2) *‘Im[n-R‘] nb pt*

“(1) May he give all life; (2) Amu[n-Re], lord of heaven”.

Two identical texts were written in vertical columns below a pair of *wd3.t* eyes. Solar disks with uraei were placed above these inscriptions (9–10):

s3 R‘ n h.t.f mry.f Dhwty-ms(.w) h‘-mi-R‘ di ‘nh mi R‘ d.t

“The bodily son of Re, his beloved, Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re, given life like Re eternally”.

Decoration on both sides of the false-door stela [Pl. 14]

Flanking the false-door stela are representations of the souls of *Pe* and *Nekhen*, which are an extension of the vignette of the Book of the Dead Chapter 148 (see Sayed 1980: 382–383). The

¹⁸³ This is also the case of the stela of Tuthmosis III from *Heneket-ankh*, see Ricke 1939: Pls 2, 8. A fragment of the false-door stela from the *Khenemet-ankh* temple represents Tuthmosis I wearing the double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, see Iwaszczuk 2012: 275, Fig. 7.

¹⁸⁴ This is not an erased figure of Hatshepsut, as mistakenly stated in Roehrig, Dreyfus, and Keller 2005: 157.

scheme adopted here may have been influenced by the decoration of the Chapel of Hatshepsut,¹⁸⁵ subsequently copied in the tomb of Aba (TT 36) (Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pls 34–35, 108–109). All the figures were severely damaged in the Amarna period and subsequently restored. Minute traces of the original figures are recognizable, enough to be sure that the original decoration did not differ substantially from the restored one. Significantly, all the preserved tiny fragments of inscriptions accompanying the figures are original except for that written above the figure in the uppermost register on the right, which is an ancient restoration. This restored label seems to be a general denomination of the divine figures as “the souls” because there is no place to specify which of the souls are represented (see comment below). Such identifying labels must have been written in horizontal lines above each representation, as in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, but traces of the original inscriptions are preserved only in the middle register on the right and in the lowermost register on the left side of the stela.¹⁸⁶ These inscriptions can be restored as follows:

On the left side of the stela:

[*b3.w Nhn*]^{a)}

- a) Traces of ancient erasure preserved in the uppermost register, but no traces of original hieroglyphs. Hardly likely to be preceded by a formula attested in such a context on the west wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (*di.f'nh dd w3s nb*), because of the obvious lack of space. The lowermost register preserves what appears to be a remnant of the ideogram for *Nekhen* (Gardiner's Sign-list O 47) and a determinative (O 49) from the original version. The dimensions leave no doubt that the original hieroglyphs were slightly smaller in scale than in the restored inscription in the upper register on the right (see below).

“[Souls of *Nekhen*]”.

On the right side of the stela:

[*b3.w*]^{a) P^{b)}}

- a) The group in the uppermost register was restored in antiquity, after the Amarna erasure.
- b) Certainly there is no space to insert a hieroglyphic group for *P* after *b3.w* of the restored version in the uppermost register, and it is open to question whether it was inscribed above *b3.w* in this version. The group in question may have simply been omitted in the post-Amarna restoration, possibly because of the larger scale of the restored signs (or simply careless execution). Significantly, the lower parts of the restored *b3.w* birds were carved on the original untouched surface of the stone, so it seems that the label was moved to the right in comparison with the original version of the inscription. No other traces of restored labels of this kind can be discerned in other places of the west wall, thus there is no certainty whatsoever that all the figures of the souls of *Pe* and *Nekhen* had such labels in the restored version. However, a remnant of the *p* sign from the original version can be seen in the middle register below, so there is no doubt that all the figures were accompanied by such identifying labels in the original version of the wall decoration. Having in mind the smaller scale of these original labels, there was certainly enough space here for the formula *di.f'nh dd w3s nb* “May he give all life, stability, and dominion” (as in the Chapel of Hatshepsut) or else a shortened version: *di.f'nh* (as in the tomb of Aba, where other variants are attested as well). However, had a royal cartouche been present here, as a continuation of the vertical inscription paralleling the scheme adopted on the left side of the stela, the space would have been too restricted for the insertion of such a text.

“[Souls of *Pe*]”.

¹⁸⁵ Unpublished in its newly restored form; see, however, Kuhlmann and Schenkel 1983: Pls 164–165.

¹⁸⁶ Note also the ancient erasure of an apparent label placed above the figure in the uppermost register on the left side of the stela.

The restored reliefs and inscriptions on the wall are of crude workmanship, mostly because the final result was presumably achieved in the plaster coat, a technique well documented in many other parts of the temple.

The souls of Nekhen on the left side

Standing figures, arranged in three registers, depicted holding a *wšs* sceptre in the left hand and an *ankh* sign in the right hand. A fragment of a figure in the uppermost register on the left side, on a block fragment kept in the collection of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge [Pl. 25.3:15], preserves a restored jackal head typical of the souls of *Nekhen*. As indicated above, the figures were originally identified with labels written horizontally above their heads. Other inscriptions, arranged in vertical columns, are placed in front of the figures (all preserved fragments of the inscriptions are original):

Upper register

(1) *[dd mdw di.n(i)ʿ [nḥ] wšs nb [ḥr].i [...]]* (2) *[n Dḥwtj-ms(.w) ḥʿ-mi-Rʿ]*

“(1) ‘Words to be spoken: I have given’ all [life], and dominion [from] me [...] (2) to Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re”.

Middle register

(1) *[dd mdw di.n(i) ... ḥ]r.iʿ [snbʿ [nb]]* (2) *[n Dḥwtj-ms(.w) ḥʿ-mi-Rʿ]*

“(1) [Words to be spoken: I have given ... all] ‘health’ fr]om me (2) [to Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re]”.

Lower register

(1) *[dd mdw di.n(i)]ʿ [nḥʿ [wšs] [nbʿ [ḥr.iʿ [...]]]* (2) *[nʿ [Dḥwtj-ms(.w) ḥʿ-mi-Rʿ]*

“(1) [Words to be spoken: I have given] ‘all life’, [and dominion from me ...] (2) ‘to’ [Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re]”.

The souls of Pe on the right side

Standing figures, arranged in three registers, depicted with a *wšs* sceptre in the right hand and an *ankh* sign in the left. A fragment in the upper register preserves a restored hawk’s head of one of the figures, a customary depiction of the souls of *Pe*. Inscriptions in the vertical columns were placed in front of the figures and these were not framed with the customary border lines as is the case on the left side of the stela. Additional columns were placed behind the figures of the souls of *Pe* because of the significantly wider space on the right side of the stela. The inscriptions are as follows (all preserved fragments of the inscriptions are original):

Upper register

(1) [*dd mdw di.n(i) 'nh w3s nb hr.i ...* (2) *n Dḥwty-ms(.w) ḥ^c-mi-R^c*] (3) [*dd mdw iy<.n(i)>^a is r stp-s3 hr 's3 R^c 'Dḥwty¹-[ms(.w) ḥ^c]-'mi¹-R^c*] (4) [*di.n(i) n.f t3w 'ndm^{1b} n 'nh htp.f s.t.f nt d.t*]

- a) Empty space left by negligence where the *n* sign should be written.
b) Lower part of the sign preserved.

“(1) [Words to be spoken: (I) have given all life, and dominion from me ... (2) to Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re]. (3) Words [to be spoken]: (I) <have> come indeed to protect the ‘Son of Re’ ‘Tuth’[mosis-appearing (in glory)]-‘like’-Re. (4) [I have given to him] the ‘sweet’ [breeze] of life, that he would occupy his seat of eternity”.

Middle register

(1) [*dd mdw di.n(i) ...*] *nb hr.i dd.t nb 'hr.i' [...]* (2) [*n Dḥwty-ms(.w) ḥ^c-mi-R^c*] (3) [*dd mdw 'iy.n(i) is r stp-s3 hr s3 R^c Dḥwty-ms(.w) ḥ^c-mi-R^c*] (4) [*m' [...]*]

“(1) [Words to be spoken: (I) have given] all [...] from me, and all stability ‘from me’ [...] (2) [to Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re]. (3) ‘Words to be spoken’: [(I) have come indeed to protect the Son of Re Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re] (4) ‘in’ [...]”.

Lower register

(1) [*dd mdw di.n(i) 'nh w3s nb hr.i ...* (2) *n Dḥwty-ms(.w) ḥ^c-mi-R^c*] (3) [*dd mdw iy.n(i) is^a r stp-s3 h3 s3 R^c Dḥwty-ms(.w) ḥ^c-mi-R^c 'di 'nh'*]

- a) A stroke preserved from the lower part of *i*.

“(1) [Words to be spoken: I have given all life, and dominion from me ... (2) to Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re. (3) Words to be spoken: I have come indeed to protect the Son of Re Tuthmosis-appearing (in glory)-like-Re, ‘given life’”.

The winged solar disk (with uraei) was represented above the false-door stela. Bordering it on both sides were the remnants of erased (and anciently restored) inscriptions:

Inscription on the left (original version):

[*Bḥd.t(y) ntr '3] 'nb^{1a} [pt]*

- a) Remnant of a chiseled-out sign in place of *šw.t* in the restored version of the inscription (see below).

“[Behdety], ‘great’ [god], ‘lord’ [of heaven]”.

Restored version: [*Bḥd.t(y) ntr] '3 s3b šw.t¹*

“[Behdety, ‘great’ [god], ‘variegated of plumage’”.

Inscription on the right (original version):

[*Bḥd.t(y) ntr^a '3 s3b šw.t^a nb^a pt^a]*

- a) Minute traces of signs.

“[Behdety, great god, variegated of plumage, lord of heaven]”.

The restored version could not be traced; it may have been restored in the plaster coat originally laid on the wall surface.

Two antithetical lines of inscriptions written in large hieroglyphs appeared below Behdety, starting on the stela axis with the *'nh* sign in the middle:

On the left:

ˆnb ntr nfr [nb] t3.wy [ˆ3]-hpr-k3-[Rˆ mry] ˆImn^{1a)}

- a) Erased in the Amarna period and subsequently restored; remnants of the *mn* and *n* signs preserved beside the *i*.

“May he live, the good god, [lord] of the Two Lands [Aa]-kheper-ka-[Re, beloved] of ‘Amun’”.

On the right:

ˆnb ntr nfr nb t3.wy ˆ3-hpr-k3-Rˆ mry Wsir^{a)} nb t3-dsr

- a) Determinative of the god’s name (Gardiner Sign-list A 40) erased in the Amarna period and then restored, mostly in the plaster coat on the stone surface, explaining the sketchiness of the engraving.

“May he live, the good god, Lord of the Two Lands Aa-kheper-ka-Re, beloved of Osiris, lord of the sacred land”.

Western lunette [Pl. 14.1]

The hypothetical niche in the western lunette is closely connected with the issue of the niche in the eastern lunette (see above). The assumption behind this hypothetical reconstruction is that the fragment framing the niche on the right [see Pl. 25.1:1=1N] cannot be connected with any other niche in the temple. A niche located above the false-door stela is to be found also in the tomb chapels of Senenmut (TT 71; Dorman 1991: 55–59, Pls 2, 16–20a), and Rekhmire (TT 100; Davies 1943: 10–11, 13, Pls 6, 73.1, 115).

On this side, however, as already discussed (see above), the presence of a *kheker* frieze makes it necessary to reconstruct the niche above it and by the same excludes the image of a solar bark appearing above the niche.¹⁸⁷ The dimensions of the niche cannot be determined precisely, but the parameters were presumably comparable to those of the eastern niche, as well as of the niche in the eastern lunette of the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The assumption appears to be corroborated by the proportions of the preserved elements of its decoration (see below).

One can only imagine that a cosmographic text of some sort, if not an extract from the Ritual of Hours, was inscribed on either side of the niche. Nothing of the like could be attributed to it with confidence, except for a fragment of the queen’s torso erased with a column of inscription, which has been tentatively attributed to this part of the chapel [Pl. 25.1:2]. The fragment in question has no curvature, so it cannot be connected with the vaulted ceiling of the Hatshepsut chapel, and its dimensions do not match the queen’s figures in the western tympanum of that chapel either.¹⁸⁸ Assuming that the location within the frame of the lunette is accepted, it would give a clue as to the decoration of the western lunette. The fragmentary vertical column of

¹⁸⁷ The night bark of the sun (*mst.t*), a counterpart of the day bark (*mˆnd.t*) from the eastern tympanum (Karkowski 2003: Pl. 81A), was represented in the western tympanum of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, see Naville 1901: 115.

¹⁸⁸ It cannot be attributed to the eastern tympanum of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (unpreserved; for a partial reconstruction, see Karkowski 2003: Pl. 81A) because of the style of the hieroglyphs inscribed behind the torso, clearly contradicting such an idea.

inscription behind the kneeling queen is part of an unidentified cosmographical text¹⁸⁹ mentioning the Isle of Fire.¹⁹⁰

[... *iw*]^{a)} *nsrsr* *ḥ*^{b)}[...]

- a) Remnant of an ideographic stroke (Gardiner's Sign-list Z 1) followed by an additional sign (N 21 or N 23); for the writing of this mythical toponym, see Wb. II, 336.
- b) The upper part of a sign at the beginning of the lacuna may be read as *ḥ*, definitely not as the usual determinative of the word *nsrsr* depicting a brazier with flames (Gardiner's Sign-list Q 7).

“[... Isle of] Fire [...]”.

Nothing certain can be deduced from a trace of a narrow vertical unidentified hieroglyphic sign adjoining the right frame of the niche [see *Pl. 25.1:1*]. The sign is painted in yellow, leading to the conclusion that the inscriptions in the western lunette were monochrome as in the eastern one, and on the vaulted ceiling and tympana of the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

Western niche [*Pl. 15*]

Only one block fragment can be attributed with some certainty to the western niche of the chapel. It is decorated on two adjoining sides [see *Pl. 25.1:IN=1*], making it plausible to attribute it to the right-hand wall of the niche. It cannot belong to the eastern niche as it covers approximately the same area as one of the fragments restored there. Neither is it part of any other niche in the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex nor in any other part of the temple, because of the characteristic frame in the form of a line painted in yellow on the front surface [see *Pl. 25.1:1*]. A fragment of the Lower Egyptian crown is perfectly suited to the presumed location on the right (north) wall of the niche. More importantly, however, the king's figure must be interpreted as that of Hatshepsut because the crown was intentionally chiseled out. The upper part of a traditional fan is preserved behind the king's crown and above it, inscribed horizontally, there are tiny traces of a formula following the lost royal titulary:

[*di*] *ḥ* *m* *R* *d.t*¹

“[given] ‘life like Re eternally’”.

The main subject of the niche decoration is presumed to have been centered around the mortuary cult of Tuthmosis I. Here, too, the king may have been represented as sitting on a throne and receiving offerings from his daughter Hatshepsut, exactly as on the lateral walls of the chapel but in smaller scale. In this reconstruction, there is enough space for a short offering list; it would have been of the type attested in the niches of the Solar Cult Complex, on the west wall of the upper court of the temple and in the Bark Hall, where the cult of royal ancestors played a prominent role (with Iunmutef taking on the role of an officiant; see Naville 1906: Pls 135, 136, 146, 147; Karkowski 2003: Pls 41–42, 45–48; compare Barta 1963: 111–114, 117, Fig. 6, Type C).

¹⁸⁹ Here again a parallel with the text of the First Hour of the Night of the so-called “Stundenritual” may be raised, but not substantiated; for the text of the First Hour of the Night (with a parallel in the Book of the Dead Chapter 22) mentioning the Isle of Fire, see, e.g., Griffin 2018b: Fig. 4 (left, Col. 4); fragment not preserved in the version of the text in the western tympanum of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (compare Naville 1901: Pl. 115, on the right).

¹⁹⁰ For the meaning of this mythical toponym, see Kees 1943; Abbas 2010: 50–59.

Significantly, the niche decoration in the tomb of Rekhmire (TT 100) comprises scenes of similar content with the eldest son celebrating an offering ritual in front of the tomb owner (see Davies 1943: 11, Pls 73.1, 115).

In addition, a fragment with the royal titulary, which fits here because of the small dimensions of the hieroglyphic signs, may provide a clue as to the decoration on the rear wall of the niche.¹⁹¹ Naturally, the scene could have been that of the king in front of Amun, in similarity to the rear wall of the niche above the entrance to the Chapel of Hatshepsut.¹⁹² Significantly, the royal titulary is that of Tuthmosis II, although distinct traces of a crude recarving, the remains of the names of Hatshepsut in the cartouches and the feminine endings leave no doubt as to the presence of a representation of the queen originally in this place. The original inscription can be read as follows:

(1) *'ntr'.t nfr.t 'M3'.t'-[k3-R^e]^a* (2) *s3.t R^e [H3.t-šps.wt hnm.t-I]r^{mn}'^b* (3) *dī 'nh^c mi^c R^e d.t^d*

- a) The queen's prenomen recut into that of Tuthmosis II: '3-*hpr-n-R^e* "Aa-kheper-en-Re".
- b) Recut into: *Dhwtj-ms(.w)* "Tuthmosis (II)".
- c) Curiously inferior, although original, execution of the hieroglyphs.
- d) The last sign of the group is not preserved.

"(1) The good 'goddess Maat'-[ka-Re], (2) daughter of Re [Hatshepsut united-with-A]r^{mun}', (3) given life like Re eternally".

Alternatively, a depiction of Hatshepsut offering to her deceased father may be reconstructed here following iconographic patterns adopted for representations of cultic activity of this kind. Globular *nw* vases with wine or water are the most probable attributes to be placed in the hands of the offering kings. The closest parallels may be sought in scenes related to the cult of the royal ancestors, attested in the mortuary temple of Amenemhat I at Lisht (Senuseret I in front of his father Amenemhat I, see Jánosi 2016: Pl. 152), and in the temple of Kumba, where Senuseret III was portrayed as receiving an offering from the reigning king (Caminos 1998b: Pl. 34). If so, the decoration of the western niche would constitute the culmination of a sequence of scenes depicting Hatshepsut in the role of chief officiant, celebrating the offering ritual in front of her deceased father.

¹⁹¹ The careless execution of the ornament above the *pt* sign may indicate the location of this fragment in the back of the niche, where it was difficult to access (high on the wall).

¹⁹² To be published by the author.

APPENDIX: THE CHAPEL ARCHITECTURE

TERESA DZIEDZIC

The architecture of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, of which the Chapel of Tuthmosis I is a part, can be reconstructed theoretically based on a detailed assessment of the condition of the remains. The task was undertaken by the author over the course of several seasons of architectural reconstruction work in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, completed in 2019. The study was carried out within the frame of a project run by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology University of Warsaw. The author's in-depth analysis of the standing architectural remains, collated with the results of the epigraphic study by Mirosław Barwik (see above), give a good base for a theoretical reconstruction of the Chapel within the complex, as well as a structural phasing of the complex as a whole and its dating.

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The Royal Mortuary Cult Complex was an integral part of the design of the upper terrace of a temple built by Queen Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari [*Pl.* 27]. It consisted of two chapels housing the mortuary cult of the queen and her father, Tuthmosis I. The complex occupied the south-eastern part of the terrace comprising the Festival Court and the main sanctuary. A gate in the south wall of this court opened onto a small square courtyard with walls decorated with representations carved in sunken relief. The larger chapel of the queen with its vestibule was located deeper inside the complex, taking up the full width of the space. Measured on the inside, the main chamber was 5.35 m long and 2.75 m wide. It was preceded on the long axis by a vestibule, 2.625 m wide and 2.10 m long, furnished with two niches in its east wall (Karkowski 2001b: 145, 146) and a third, no longer extant, in the south wall, close to the western corner (Pawlicki 1995: 59).

The smaller chapel of the queen's father was to the right, just inside the entrance on the western side. It opened off the small square courtyard of the complex. The architects took full advantage of the massive south wall of the Festival Court, making it the north wall of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I. It was not without effect, as we shall see, on the architectural form of the chapel and its decoration. Just behind the west wall of the chapel was the Southern Chamber of Amun, the entrance to which was from the main courtyard.

This part of the temple was initially explored and partly restored by Édouard Naville working for the Egypt Exploration Fund and by the New York Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition directed by Herbert E. Winlock [see *Pl.* 1:A]. The latter commissioned French architect Émile Baraize, technical director of the Service des Antiquités for Upper Egypt, to complete

some partial reconstructions in the temple as a whole. However, neither the architecture nor the conservation status of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex were ever studied in full. Between 1925 and 1944, most of the earlier reconstructions were replaced with natural stone, reinforced concrete, cement, gypsum and oil paint to complement the original elements. For the past 60 plus years the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex has been part of the larger project executed in the Temple of Hatshepsut by the Polish–Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission.

ARCHITECTURAL STATE OF PRESERVATION

The standing remains of the complex reflect the plan, but not the full height of the building. The walls preserved *in situ* are a few meters high, partly as a result of conservation work, but they do not keep the same level everywhere and nowhere do they rise to the full original height [*Pls* 28, 29A–B]. The author's field measurements were supplemented with 3D scanning of the complex by LabSkan (Faculty of Architecture, Wrocław University of Science and Technology).

The building material used in the complex consisted of blocks of local limestone. The mortar and plaster were gypsum-based with added calcium carbonate (for an analysis of mortar and plaster samples from the Chapel of Hatshepsut, see Dziedzic, Bartz, and Gąsior 2015: 97–99).

Foundation and floor

The chapel was founded directly on the Esna shale bed forming the bedrock in this part of the valley [see *Pl. 1:C*]. The leveled surface of the stone oscillates between 127.18 m asl and 127.89 m asl, giving a difference in levels of 71 cm. The bedrock in the chapel vestibule is practically the same as inside the chapel, ranging between 127.33 m asl and 127.66 m asl.

The wall foundation comprises either one or two courses of stone blocks laid directly on the leveled bedrock. Some of the original foundation blocks are still in place all over the complex. Nearly all of the pavement slabs were laid in the 1970s (Szafranski 2011: 197), except for a few original slabs by the walls and in the doorway to the chapel. The floor paving slabs are from 30 cm to 71 cm thick. Construction guiding lines are observed on the original pavement slabs, practically along the entire length of the north wall and in the northwestern corner by the west wall [see *Pl. 27*]. Marks can be seen on the pavement blocks by the south wall in the eastern part of the chamber. Very well preserved marks are found in the doorway to the room, outlining the position of the jambs as well as the axis of the doorway and of the chapel itself.

Chapel roof and walls

The vaulted roof of the chapel has not survived. The walls with decoration in bas-relief—of the kind usually found in roofed chambers—were largely reconstructed by Baraize. The decoration starts at about 112 cm to 114 cm above the pavement, the first element being a dado strip of an average width of 18 cm [see *Pl. 29*]. In general, the ashlar masonry bond is either uniform or layered; in the latter case, stone material of poorer quality made up the core of the wall, which was faced on the outside with high-quality stone.

The early 20th-century restoration used plain limestone blocks in addition to the original decorated ones. A gypsum mortar was introduced and the undecorated surfaces painted with an oil paint that is peeling extensively today, the purpose being to provide a unification of the coloring of the new plaster with the original wall blocks.

North wall

The wall is 5.34 m long at the base but longer at the top because of the back inclination of both the east and west walls. The north wall itself is inclined 86° in the lower part (up to 1.40 m above the floor) and this is on the whole the standing original part of the wall. Above this, the angle of inclination changes to 85° and in the reconstructed part, to the full height between 4.14 m and 4.56 m, it is inclined from 84° to 86°.

The wall structure comprises two outer faces of dressed stone blocks ensconcing a core of chipped, irregular stone fragments. The ashlar masonry bond is not regular, demonstrating the technique of close-fitting stones used to avoid waste even at the cost of uneven courses with breaks and offsets; this is in keeping with Dieter Arnold's remark about economic considerations driving Pharaonic builders (Arnold 1991: 151, 155). The height of blocks in particular courses oscillates between 0.42 m and 0.50 m and there are horizontal breaks in the line to accommodate particular blocks. Up to three courses of blocks were preserved *in situ*, which gives a height of between 1.38 m and 1.42 m above the floor. This level of preservation is indicated also by remains of ancient mortar and plaster on the block surfaces, presumably masking gaps between the stones formed during the building process. The first two courses above the floor were not decorated, whereas the band of the dado, which is the baseline for the relief figural decoration, was carved and painted on blocks of the third course up. It starts at a height of respectively 1.13 m and 1.15 m at the eastern and western ends of the wall. The width of the dado, which measures 17.5 cm, comprises a yellow band and a red band separated by narrow black lines. The polychromy has suffered substantially, leaving faint patches of yellow and red on the stone surface; the black lines can be discerned only upon very close scrutiny. Remains of mud mortar from a time when a Coptic monastery was installed in the ruins of the temple (from the 6th to the 8th century), can be seen in the interstices between the blocks in the three lowermost courses.

The fourth course of blocks was damaged by the Coptic monks adapting the chamber to their purposes. In order to introduce a brick vault over the room, they cut a long groove 1.36 m above the floor paving (an analogous groove in the south wall on the opposite side has not been preserved). The cut is triangular in section, 13 cm deep and 49 cm high (so also Godlewski 1986: 39).

Starting from the fifth course and going up, the standing remains of the wall that can still be seen are an early 20th-century reconstruction. Above this, one can see today the red-brick backing of a fragment of the restored south wall of the Festival Court from the second half of the 20th century.

Sockets with partly preserved wooden dovetail clamps were observed on the upper surface of blocks from the third course [see *Pl. 29A*]. The wood could not be examined, but it is likely that it was acacia, a hard and durable wood of red color (Gale et al. 2000: 335), which was frequently used in construction in Pharaonic Egypt, also for such building clamps (Arnold 1991: 125). There were five sockets (T1.N.C1–5):

- T1.N.C1: wooden clamp joining blocks 2 and 3 of the course, counting from the northwestern corner, length 18 cm, maximum width 5.5 cm, constricted in the middle to 3.5 cm. The socket is carved bigger than the clamp. The loss of wood was originally filled in with mortar.
- T1.N.C2: wooden clamp joining blocks 3 and 4 of the course; well preserved, length 19 cm, maximum width 5 cm, narrowing to 4 cm in the middle. The socket cut for it is 19.5 cm long and 6.5 cm wide. The cuts observed in the surface of the wood reflect blows made with a sharp stone-working tool, presumably when the Coptic builders were removing parts of the masonry.
- T1.N.C3: wooden clamp joining blocks 4 and 5 of the course; length 19.5 cm, maximum width 6.5 cm, very similar to the preceding one. The socket is slightly bigger than the clamp, measuring 20.5 cm in length and almost 8 cm in width at the right side. The surface of the clamp bears evidence of secondary cuts [see *Pl. 29A*].
- T1.N.C4: clamp socket between blocks 5 and 6 of the course, filled with mortar from the start; length 19 cm, maximum width 6.5 to 7 cm.
- T1.N.C5: clamp socket between blocks 6 and 7, preserving scarce remains of mortar in the corners; length 19.5 cm, width 7 cm, constricted to 4 cm in the middle; depth 2.5 cm (the depth of the other sockets could not be measured). The wooden clamp itself is lost.

Examination of the five sockets suggests that once the socket had been cut, wooden clamps were mortared in place.

South wall

The wall is homogeneous from a structural point of view, having been conceived as a wall separating the two chapels in this complex [see *Pl. 29B*]. Its thickness of 1.32 m carried the two respective roofs. The ashlar masonry is irregular with the course height oscillating from 0.42 m to 0.50 m. The wall was reconstructed almost in its entirety, 4.36 m, 4.64 m and 4.39 m in the western, central and eastern parts, respectively. The middle part was restored practically from the level of the floor pavement, using limestone blocks covered with a layer of cement plaster primer and finished with gypsum plaster. A coating of oil paint was added as a final step. Large parts of this restored wall are now damaged and the gypsum plaster in the central lower part has fallen off entirely. Original Pharaonic sections of the wall were recognized: a single block standing on a preserved part of the paving in the southwestern corner and a stretch of wall three courses high, extending approximately 1.96 m from the southeastern corner. Ancient mortar in the joints and a single dovetail socket (T1.S.C1) with a wooden clamp still in place, joining blocks 1 and 2 in the third course, testified to the antiquity of these parts of the wall. The clamp was 19 cm long and 4.5 cm at its widest, narrowing to about 2.5 cm in the middle, fitted into a socket cut to 19.5 cm length and a maximum 5.5 cm width at the end on the right. It was set in mortar.

The surviving part of the Pharaonic wall in the southeastern corner preserved also remnants of the decoration in the form of a dado running 1.14–1.15 m above the floor. The dado was 17.5 cm wide. Fragments of a block border can be traced in the corners, but the overall preservation of this painted decoration is poor, similarly to the north wall.

West wall

The west wall with the false-door stela measures 2.75 m in width, corresponding to the width of the interior at floor level [see *Pl. 28:III*]. The south wall, which is vertical, forms a right angle with it, but the inclination of the north wall, which the west wall touches in turn, causes the west wall to be wider on the right side toward the top. The outcome is an asymmetry of the composition of the wall as well as of the chamber as a whole. The west wall is also inclined back (at an angle of 86°), resulting in a trapezoid shape, widening toward the top, of both the north and south walls.

The wall is a solid structure without a core of inner fill. The ashlar masonry is irregular, the courses uneven (ranging from 13 cm to 62 cm in height), showing care to economize on the use of stone blocks in the construction. The reconstructed part of the wall is 3.96 m high. Just one course of the original Pharaonic wall, about 0.32 m in height, is preserved undisturbed in the central and southern part of the wall; at the northern end, it is three courses high, that is, approximately 1.42 m above the preserved floor paving. Some of the ancient mortar can still be seen in the northwestern corner and mud plaster from the Coptic era remains on the blocks of the third course.

In the restored part, Pharaonic blocks with smoothly dressed faces were used below the dado and the decorated blocks above it. The dado runs at 1.16 m above the floor at the northern end and 1.18 m at the southern one. A few painted features can still be seen: two parallel bands, yellow and red, making up the dado, and a small fragment of white, blue and black on the border of a block from the fifth course in the northwestern corner.

The wall was decorated with a stela in the form of a false door. The stela that is currently in the chapel is a gypsum cast painted a red-brown color. It replaced the original granite stela that is now in the collection of the Louvre Museum in Paris (see the section on the theoretical reconstruction below).

Wall between the chapel and vestibule

The wall is a homogeneous structure, inclined on both sides [*Pl. 28:I–II*]. The inclination angle on the chapel side is 85–87°; on the side of the vestibule, it is 83° and 85° respectively on the northern and southern sides of the doorway. The wall thickness at the base is 2.18 m. The width of the wall, seen from the vestibule, is 2.70 m. The ashlar masonry is regular, the average height of the preserved blocks being 0.44–0.49 m. The restored height of the wall in the vestibule is 2.83 m, that is, six courses; on the chapel side, the wall reaches 2.73 m and 3.01 m respectively in the northern and southern parts. The doorway in this wall was accentuated on the side of the vestibule with a shallow pilaster strip 1.8 cm wide.

Ancient mortar preserved in the interstices between blocks indicates that the undisturbed Pharaonic wall on the chapel side rose to four and three courses respectively on the northern and southern sides. Mud plaster from Coptic times can be seen on the second and third course of blocks on the southern side of the doorway. Original mortar on the vestibule side of the wall is

observed in the joints between blocks of the first and second course in the northwestern corner and on a block of the third course in the southern part, where it is a filling of a hollow in the stone surface.

The restoration was made with limestone blocks covered with a layer of cement plaster primer and finished with gypsum plaster, like the south wall of the chapel. The surface of the wall is cracked and parts of the gypsum plaster are missing. The dado band and small fragments of relief decoration are preserved on the northern and southern parts of the wall. The dado passes smoothly from the adjoining walls, running 1.14–1.15 m above the pavement; its width oscillates between 17.5 and 18 cm. Some remnants of red and yellow pigment can be seen on this part of the wall.

Doorway

The northern side of the doorway stands four courses high [see *Pl. 29A–B*]. The first and third courses preserve stone patches on the surface. The reconstruction west of the door reaches a height of 2.73 m; east of the door it is higher, measuring 3.07 m.

A door socket in the floor next to the jamb indicates the presence of a single-leaf left-hand door. The wall concealed behind the open door is not decorated; indeed, the surface here was treated with less care, because it was never to be seen. Traces of a chiseled-out image of a kneeling Senenmut can be seen on the level of the third and fourth course, that is, about 2.03 m above the floor. The chiseling was intentional and the chisel used was a stonemason's tool.

Two painted representations from the Coptic phase are found on the second course of the north wall of the doorway. One is a standing figure 47 cm high and 44 cm wide, and the other is a cross 29 cm high and 28 cm wide, painted with red ocher 0.47 m and 0.60 m above the pavement (Godlewski 1986: 91, 106, 107). Ancient mortar with evident coarse-grained aggregate was noted in the southern part of the jamb on the level of the first and third courses.

The height of the reconstructed southern side of the doorway is 3.02 m. The same method of restoration was used as in the rest of the chamber. The painted dado, which is a band 18 cm wide, continues from the east wall, running 1.12 m above the floor. The color has turned a dark red¹⁹³ and black sooting marks of unknown chronology are proof of a fire having burned once just inside the door. A hole for a door bolt is present at the height of the third course of blocks, approximately 1.12 m above the floor, directly by the jamb. It is 14.5 cm by 16 cm long, of an irregular depth from 1.5 cm to about 10 cm. The deepest part of the hole is circular in section, about 8 cm in diameter.

Traces of Coptic decoration and inscriptions in red paint are present as well: a cross 14 cm by 16 cm, 0.76 m above the floor, and to the left of it and on the same level, a fragmentary inscription, and even further to the east, the outlines of a figure about 47 cm high next to a small arrow with a triangular dot (Godlewski 1986: 104, 106).

¹⁹³ Yellow ocher changes color to red as it becomes an iron oxide after losing water due to high temperature (Rudniewski 1995: 86).

Vestibule

North wall

The north wall of the vestibule and the north wall of the chapel are the same structure closing off the Royal Cult Complex from the north [*Pl. 29A*; see *Pl. 27*]. It is a layered wall with fill in the core. The face is inclined back at an angle of 83° up to seven courses high; the restored wall above that is inclined a uniform 88°.

The wall was restored to a height of 3.85 m, but the material used for the restoration was not homogeneous; the lowermost five courses, which contain original blocks, were most likely only partly stabilized with lime-cement and gypsum mortars. The lower courses of blocks show numerous cracks and losses, and they are also spread apart. However, since there is no trace of any ancient mortar in the interstices, it cannot be stated with certainty that this part of the wall was not disturbed. The next two courses above that were rebuilt using original as well as new limestone blocks. A lime-cement mortar was used to finish the wall as in other parts of the chapel and vestibule. The upper parts of the wall are constructed of baked brick bonded in a lime-cement mortar. Ancient mortar was preserved only where the first course of blocks touches the floor, showing that this course had not been disturbed. Original blocks also bear decoration in the form of the dado, which is about 17.5 cm high here, running at 1.09 to 1.12 m above the floor. Patches of yellow and red pigment remain on the dado.

South wall

The south wall of the vestibule is 2.45 m long and it was built as a homogeneous structure inclined back. It turns a corner with the west wall of the courtyard in the complex [*Pl. 29B*; see *Pl. 27*]. Both the walls were evidently reconstructed, the angle of inclination (90°) being evidently different from that in the unrestored parts (88°).

Restoration projects in this part of the vestibule were carried out in the first half of the 20th century and then again in the second half of the century (tinted restoration mortars that started to be used only in the later 20th century). The current height of the wall is 2.22 m for the face of the wall and from 3.65 m to 4.14 m for the core. Ancient mortar is to be observed only where the first course of blocks touches the floor with some residual remains of mortar deep in the interstices of the second and third courses. The blocks are spread apart and bear extensive evidence of cracks and losses. Patches of yellow, red and black paint remain on the dado, which is 18 cm high and runs 1.08 m to 1.12 m above the floor. A cross from the early Christian period was painted with red ocher on the undecorated surface of blocks in the second course. The cross is approximately 43 cm high and 39 cm wide (Godlewski 1986: 104). Black sooting near it is most probably evidence of burning.

PHASING THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE COMPLEX

Earlier hypotheses

The dating of the building phases recorded in the Temple of Hatshepsut continues to be the object of debate despite years of research. Of greatest interest for the present discussion is the chronology of the development of the southern end of the Upper Terrace, of which the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex is part. Taking into consideration the results of egyptological research, ancient textual sources and archaeological data, Naville, Winlock and later Leszek Dąbrowski opted for the idea of the temple being constructed according to a single plan. Zygmunt Wysocki argued for a two-stage building process, pointing out that the architecture had not been studied sufficiently in the earlier reasoning. Wysocki also believed that the architectural plan in the second stage was different from the one in the first stage, an idea already suggested by George Somers Clarke, Naville's architect, who observed changes in the building process (Wysocki 1992: 233). According to Somers Clarke, the designer of the Temple of Hatshepsut chose to arrange the architecture on terraces rising from the east to the west in lieu of situating the whole complex on a single rock-cut platform (Clarke 1908: 17).

Naville had the idea that when Hatshepsut chose the site for her sanctuary north of the earlier Temple of Mentuhotep there was already a hallowed grotto of Hathor there. He also suggested that the construction of the temple commenced after the death of Tuthmosis II, but that the development of the Middle Terrace with the decoration illustrating the expedition to Punt came later. The last stage accomplished in the queen's lifetime was the lowest terrace with the Portico of Obelisks on the southern side, depicting the transport of two obelisks to the Temple of Amun in Karnak (Naville 1908: 10, 12, 14).

Winlock, who excavated the temple in 1911–1931, determined that the construction of the temple started with the roadway leading to it (Winlock 1942: 133). It could suggest that building the ramp from the lower to the upper temple was the first building stage of this project. The lowest parts of the temple were built first, followed successively by the upper parts.

In his theory, Wysocki concluded that the construction of the temple proceeded intermittently throughout Hatshepsut's reign. Work started with the Upper Terrace, which must have been completed by the time that the Middle Terrace with the Portico of Punt started to be constructed, necessarily after the successful return of the expedition from Punt (Wysocki 1985: 36–49). In order to build the Festival Court, the ground needed to be leveled properly (Wysocki 1992: 235). Moreover, Wysocki pointed out that not one foundation deposit was ever found anywhere on the Upper Terrace, which could mean that the queen transformed it at some point. Citing Winlock's interpretation of an ostrakon text about the "day of stretching the string", Wysocki observed that the described event could well concern the tracing of a new part of the temple intended as an addition to already standing structures (Wysocki 1986: 221). Archaeological excavation in the 1980s produced results demonstrating that the wall, which separated the Festival Court from the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex south of it, was constructed on a foundation in the form of a platform that measured 3.80 m in height. This wall was designed as a sloping wall (inclination angle of 87°), which means that it was intended as a courtyard wall or a wall closing off the whole temple complex (Szafranski 1995: 371–373). Wysocki observed that the

north and south walls of the Festival Court, both 2.40 m thick, were the thickest in the temple. This can be taken to mean that they were intended as the perimeter walls of the complex, incorporating the Sanctuary of Amun and the North and South Chambers of Amun. The retaining wall rising behind the temple and towering over the Upper Terrace may also be assigned to this phase. The secondary character of the chambers adjoining the southeastern part of the courtyard wall was evident to Wysocki, based on drawings that he saw on the southern face of the south courtyard wall, inside the so-called Room of the Window, obscured by a secondary wall separating this chamber from the courtyard of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex. The drawings were of a head of Horus made in red and black paint (Wysocki 1986: 215).

The idea behind the second stage of the building project was to develop the existing structure and enlarge the temple. Work proceeded gradually, starting from the Upper Terrace and continuing on the Middle and Lower ones (Wysocki 1986: 213, 215, 226–227). As presented above, Wysocki was convinced that work on the Middle Terrace, where the story of the expedition to Punt was represented, could not have preceded the full development of the highest terrace (Wysocki 1985: 37–42).

Franciszek Pawlicki concurred with Wysocki on the dating of the first stage of temple construction to the times after the death of Tuthmosis II, but his view is that there were three building phases. In his opinion, the central part of the temple complex with the Porticoes of Punt and the Hunt took precedence over the others. The second phase comprised the colonnades on the Middle Terrace and of the Coronation Portico on the Upper Terrace, the Sun Cult Complex on the northern side of the courtyard and the Shrines of Hathor and Anubis on the Middle Terrace. The west wall of the Festival Court was also embellished with niches holding Osiriac statues of Hatshepsut. The third and last construction phase encompassed the enlargement of the altar in the Sun Cult Complex, the transformation of the already standing Chapel of Hatshepsut and the rebuilding of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex (Pawlicki 1997: 46–47).

Wysocki's theory of the development of the temple is particularly interesting for the present discussion concentrated on the southern end of the Upper Terrace.¹⁹⁴ He noted that the construction of the north colonnade of the Middle Terrace was impeded when the builders chanced upon an earlier rock-cut tomb (Wysocki 1990: 342). He also disagreed with Winlock regarding the idea that Hatshepsut's temple merely repeated the design of Mentuhotep's (Wysocki 1985: 45, 49). According to Wysocki, the Chapel of Tuthmosis I was added to the Southern Room of Amun. In the lower part of the courtyard wall on the courtyard side, he had found a block with the dressed face broken off and the surface angled; the block lay in the foundations, aligned with the course of the wall (Wysocki 1992: 246). This block strongly suggests that the chapel wall was originally inclined. The west wall of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, which was to hold the granite false-door stela, was adapted simply by cutting down the original inclination (Wysocki 1986: 221). In this stage of development, the Chapel of Hatshepsut was added to the standing south wall of the South Room of Amun and subsequently extended eastward. Wysocki was able to observe building evidence for this development: the facing of the north wall of the chapel is not uniform and neither are the courses of blocks on either side of the wall. Wysocki's conclusion was that the wall was originally thicker and was thinned when the chapel was constructed, basically

¹⁹⁴ For a discussion of the issue as regards the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, see Iwaszczuk 2016a: 215–216.

cut to a straight vertical surface. Next he observed a vertical interstice between blocks in the eastern section of the north wall of Hatshepsut's chapel, which he interpreted as proof that the east wall of the chapel had originally been intended as a continuation of the wall containing the portal of the neighboring Chapel of Tuthmosis I. This led him to believe that the Chapel of Hatshepsut was extended eastward. In turn, the south wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut closed off not just the chapel, but the entire southern end of the Upper Terrace. Wysocki demonstrated that it was built already in the area of a lower courtyard from the first phase of the building of the temple. It seems that at this point there were no plans for building up the space in front of the chapels making up the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex. The south wall was supposed to reach the southeastern corner of the Room of the Window, where Wysocki saw an interlacing of the lower part of this wall with the east wall separating this area from the Coronation Portico. This leaves no doubt that the development of the southern end of the Upper Terrace was undertaken as a single initiative and completed at the same time (Wysocki 1992: 246–247).

Building phasing: A historical overview

The results of architectural investigations in the field have enabled a critical review of the accepted chronology of building phases in this part of the Temple of Hatshepsut. For a complete understanding of the building history of this complex, however, one needs first to look at the pre-conditions, that is, what needed to be done before the actual building commenced: the first concept and design work, preparing the building site, organizing the supply logistics for bringing building materials to the site and the work schedule of particular teams of laborers.

Both Somers Clarke and Winlock arrived at the conclusion that the temple was built from a series of artificial platforms rising to the west and Winlock proposed to consider the ramp joining the lower terrace to the upper terrace as the first task undertaken by the builders (see above). Wysocki argued against the latter idea, reasonably justifying that the ramp would have been one of the last elements to be built once there was no longer any need to transport heavy building materials to upper-lying parts of the construction site (Wysocki 1992: 253). Building logic, which is what Wysocki invokes, is surely of primary importance in approaching this question. It is based on an engineering and technical approach to the building process, which is after all rooted in tradition; hence applying modern standards will not be an incongruity when considering general issues like organization of the building process and the workflow.

Regarding the organization of work at an ancient Pharaonic building site, there is still no synthetic presentation of how the work was managed and what were the duties and status of individual workers in a given building investment project. Christopher Eyre (2010) concentrated on issues connected with the financing of construction projects, indicating that the state budget (tantamount to the ruler) was complemented in this task by local officials and temple supervisors. Regarding labor, Eyre says that the quarrying of stone for construction as well as its transport to the building site must have been organized in truly military fashion. He also notes that central supervision of building works by supervisors sent from the centers of power must have been an important factor and that the mobility of highly qualified labor must have been extensive (Eyre 2010: 121–126). William G. Hayes referred to the mobility aspect when he cited workers from Heliopolis, among others, working on the construction of the Temple of Hatshepsut (Hayes

1957: 89–90). Robert J. Demarée (2010: 186–190) describes the organization of work and the lifestyle of the highly specialized craftsmen from Deir el-Medina, referring in his study to data on the construction of the temples of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III in Deir el-Bahari. The similarity with the building of royal tombs is limited, but one should note the division into two teams, each headed by a master and a scribe. The teams worked under the orders of high dignitaries, like the vizier or main administrator. They had small groups of servants or slaves at their service, also included on the pay list. The teams were assisted by subsidiary staff, mortar mixers, controllers and a local police force. The administrative aspect of organizing a building project was discussed by Laure Pantalacci (2010: 144–145). She described the processes of registering regular and seasonal workers by scribes, drawing up lists of current tasks, managing reserves and updating accounting documents. This range of activities is that of a modern site manager, hence the conclusion that the organization of a construction site may have been similar in general terms. Important factors to consider, looking at the issue from a modern perspective, start with the work execution timetable, which includes information on the order in which tasks should be carried out, the need for building materials, equipment and workforce. Next is a schedule of when supplies are brought in, the rate of use and stocking up. Determining daily quotas and managing the schedule of appropriate supplies ensures continuous and effective work. Proper planning of a construction site to ensure undisturbed logistics of successive stages of the construction is another important factor. Not the least in this case is the preparation of roads for bringing in building materials. These can be temporary roads, but it is important that they have durable, heavy-duty surfaces; in the case of a permanent road, its surface cannot be the final one intended, because it could be damaged during the building works. Therefore, in light of building logic as presented here, one has to agree with Wysocki that the concept of the temple being built in an order proceeding from east to west and using the processional ramp as a building road cannot be accepted.

The original appearance of the location can be reconstructed based on archaeological data. The temple lies in the immediate neighborhood of a massive limestone cliff sitting on Esna shale. Survey measurements of the southern end of the Upper Terrace in the course of the excavation in 2007–2010 established that the ground in the area of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex has a sloping tendency toward the southeast (Szafrński 2011: 255–261; 2013: 136–144; and the author's own research). And yet, inside the two chapels, the bedrock has been leveled and oscillates between 128.130 m asl and 127.642 m asl. South of the queen's chapel it reaches 130.521 m asl, which gives a difference of approximately 2.80 m. It is quite likely that the bedrock in this part of the terrace was actually at least 3 m higher. From the middle of the planned vestibule and complex courtyard the ground drops in a southeasterly direction, to the level of 120.741 m asl next to the south wall of the Upper Terrace, that is, the level of the Middle Terrace. Construction of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex and the Room of the Window, but also of the southern wing of the Coronation Portico, required a platform to be built for the architecture to stand on. Assuming after Pawlicki that the Portico of Punt and the Hathor Shrine were the first to be constructed, one is faced with the question of how the two false-door stela could have been transported to the chapels of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I. One should keep in mind that while the smaller stela weighs 2.5 tons, the larger one from Hatshepsut's shrine weighed 21.5 tons and was set on a foundation weighing itself 3.5 tons (Dziedzic 2018: 130). The task of transporting these

two stelae to the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex must have determined the logistics of the project for the development of the Temple of Hatshepsut.¹⁹⁵ Completion of the Chapel of Hatshepsut would have ended the building process on the Upper Terrace, fulfilling the condition that Wysocki justified in his works that there was no more building going on in the Upper Terrace area when the Middle Terrace started to be constructed. This is tantamount to stating that the most important furniture of the royal chapels must have already been in place at this time.

Examination of wall interlacing is essential to see which walls were built first and how the platform underlying the walls was constructed, as well as to establish the relative chronology of the building phases. Load-bearing walls carrying the vaults have to be interbonded in a solid and permanent way, whereas partition walls can merely be attached. Bearing walls are naturally built first [*Pl. 30:B*, Building phase II]. The characteristic interbonding of walls identified in the corners of structures in the southern part of the temple was recognized already by Wysocki (1992: Fig. 2); if anything, one can extend the reach of the interlacing within particular walls (author's observation). Inside the Chapel of Tuthmosis I there are four interbonded corners with two more in the vestibule [*Pl. 30:A*]. Starting with the northwestern one (No. 1), there is very little interconnection in the first two courses above the floor and a strong interbonding in the third course. The same can be said of the northeastern and southeastern corners (Nos 2 and 4). No bonding can be observed in the southwestern corner (No. 3) and the same is true of the two western corners of the west wall in the vestibule (Nos 5 and 6). It is also clear from the gap between the west and south wall of the vestibule in the southwestern corner of the vestibule (No. 6), where dressed blocks are now inside the wall, that the wall with the portal entrance to the chapel was intended originally to run southward. In the northern part of the complex, that is, the northeastern corner of the vestibule on the other side of the entrance from the Festival Court (No. 7), it is clear that the east wall of the vestibule was attached to the already standing north wall. This is where, according to Wysocki, the sketch of the head of Horus was found (Wysocki 1986: 215). As for the Chapel of Hatshepsut, both the northwestern and southwestern corners (Nos 8 and 9) show no interlacing all the way up to the ninth course where the *torus* appears. In the southwestern corner of the vestibule outside the chapel (No. 10), the first courses above the floor to show some interlacing are the fourth and fifth.

The connection of the north and east walls in the Room of the Window (No. 11) is interesting in this context because it shows no interlacing in all the preserved original courses, but there are dressed surfaces of stone blocks visible in the gap between the walls. On the opposite side of the north wall in this place, in the Coronation Portico, there is no trace of bonding. Naville's documentation (1908: Pl. 120) shows that the west wall of the portico was preserved intact to the sixth course of blocks above the floor. The southeastern corner of the chamber (No. 12) preserves only two original courses above the floor and neither show any interlacing.

No interlacing of the walls could be observed in two corners outside the south wall of the complex (Nos 13 and 14), indicating beyond all doubt that the south wall was constructed first and only afterwards the adjoining walls of the Chapel of Hatshepsut were attached [*Pl. 30:B*,

¹⁹⁵ Assuming the existence of the Festival Court at this point, the builders of the temple could solve the problem of transporting the heavy false-door stelae to the required places by one of three routes. Calculations of the weight of these architectural elements indicated the need for a specially prepared ramp, which in turn determined the most probable variant route (Dziedzic 2018).

Building phase II]. The south wall was studied in terms of its role as an active structural element of the platform upon which the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex was constructed. Archaeological data indicated that the Esna shale bedrock was cut in preparation, forming rock steps in the slope to accommodate a step foundation. This kind of foundation ensures structural stability because without the rock steps the stone blocks at the bottom could have slipped away under the load of successive courses of blocks. The south wall is homogeneous all along the Upper and Middle Terraces, meaning that it was built in one stage. There is no evidence of any bonding of sections or phasing of the construction.

Building *dipinti* from the foundations of the south wall provide a clear dating sequence. Dawid F. Wieczorek (2009: 201) identified two different sizes of signs, the large ones for transporting purposes, the small ones for documenting stonemasons' daily quotas. The *dipinti* were painted red, always on undressed surfaces and often covered later with plaster. The location of the inscriptions allows the order of construction of the south wall to be reconstructed. For the most part, the *dipinti* are found on the front face of a stone block, on either of the lateral sides, more seldom on top and never on the bottom (Wieczorek 2010: 216–217). To paint a date on the undressed back of the blocks, the laborer would have had to be able to stand behind it, that is, on the southern side. Had the wall been built from the temple side, the *dipinti* would have had to be upside down. Thus, it can be assumed that construction scaffolding was standing also on the south side of the wall, meaning that the Hathor Shrine could not have been in existence yet.

Taking into consideration the observations presented above, one can reconstruct the building of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex in the following stages. The southward extension of the Upper Terrace required the platform on which this part of the temple stands to be extended first [*Pl. 30:B*, Modification of phase I walls]. To accomplish this the builders would have had to clear and level the area south of the Festival Court and southeast of the South Room of Amun, and to build it up to the necessary height. The south retaining wall of the Upper Terrace was built in consequence, but only to the ground level because it was necessary to retain a route for transporting the false-door stelae as well as ceiling slabs and monolithic architrave blocks to the royal chapels. The building of this platform would not have been possible also if the Portico of Punt and the Coronation Portico were already standing. From a purely structural point of view, the tasks of extending the platform and bringing the heaviest building materials to the construction site had to be carried out before the porticoes of the southern side of the temple were put in place.

It is likely that the decision to extend the Chapel of Hatshepsut eastward was made at this stage of the building process [*Pl. 30:B*, Building phase III], when the south retaining wall was built up becoming the south wall of the chapel [*Pl. 30:B*, Building phase III]. The decoration of the walls was commissioned at this point, once the chapels had been closed off from the east by the Coronation Portico and from the south by the south wall. The partition wall separating the bodies of the two chapels was already in place. The vaulting was subsequently introduced over the two chapels.

The last modification of the architecture of the complex was an additional chamber separated out on the eastern side, the so-called Room of the Window [*Pl. 30:B*, Building phase IV]. The space in front of the chapels was partly roofed, creating vestibules leading into the two chapels. A small open courtyard was designed in the northern part of this area to give access from the central part of the temple through a door pierced in the courtyard wall.

THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Chapel of Tuthmosis I

Enough elements have been preserved to enable a theoretical reconstruction of the original architecture of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I. Every temple was an individual royal commission, so one should not expect too much standardization of layout and internal organization. Political and regional circumstances impacted these arrangements, as did theological ideas, which, despite an invariable underlying key concept, were in the process of continuous change and evolution. The Hatshepsut temple design was never repeated and the specific functional and spatial arrangement with an open courtyard flanked by a sun cult complex on the northern side and vaulted shrines dedicated to the queen and her father, Tuthmosis I, on the southern side is entirely unique. All the basic principles, however, are reflected in later Theban temples.

According to Winfried Barta, the most important task of a son and heir was to make offerings to his dead father in a ritual ceremony at his grave. The little-known royal mortuary sanctuaries of the Old Kingdom appear to have initiated a tradition that was renewed in the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and it is difficult to actually observe any significant differences between the offering spaces in the temple of Pepi II, on one hand, and Hatshepsut's in Deir el-Bahari on the other. The iconographic program of the decoration would undergo fundamental changes in the course of the New Kingdom, but that was after Hatshepsut's time, whereas the determining architectural elements, like the vaulting, lasted through the reign of Ramesses III. False doors were incorporated into offering chapels from the times of the Old Kingdom. Peter János argued against the popular interpretation of this feature as a form of passage and in favor of its fundamental meaning as a monumental two-dimensional building facade (János 1994: 158–163). The false-door stela from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, made of red Aswan granite (now in the Louvre), is about 1.50 m wide and 2.70 m high. The composition is axial, surrounded with a *torus* band and topped with a *cavetto* cornice. Beside this stela and the one in the neighboring Chapel of Hatshepsut, New Kingdom false-door stelae are known from the temples of Tuthmosis III and Seti I in Gurna, that of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu and of Seti I in Abydos (Barta 1967: 48–51).

Offering chapels had a characteristic form of vaulting that is well recorded for the Old and Middle Kingdom periods. In the New Kingdom, this kind of vaulting appeared in the temples of Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis III, Seti I in Abydos, and Ramesses III in Medinet Habu. In his study of ancient Egyptian vault construction and the materials used for them, Salah El-Naggar described in detail the structure of the Chapel of Hatshepsut. While he could see no evidence in the chapel itself, he believed that a similar false vault must have covered her father's shrine (El-Naggar 1999: 54). Earlier, Somers Clarke had described the vault in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, emphasizing that it was not a structural arch; as for the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, he mentioned stone slabs covering the chamber (Clarke 1908: 26, Pl. 169).

Research on the structure of barrel vaults determined how the form was reached applying geometric or empirical principles as well as practice. For mud-brick vaults, the technique was so well known that vaults were often built freehand without scaffolding. Stone vaults of the kind required more care and precision considering the effort accompanying the construction and the difficulties

associated with changes following its execution. The typical geometric method based on Pythagorean triples (3:4:5 triangle) may have been used to shape the profiles of both kinds (Lightbody and Monnier 2017: 55, 57).

The presence of a false vault above the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, exactly like the one over the neighboring Chapel of Hatshepsut, was confirmed in field research thanks to the identification of a stone fragment (T1.BV), which is a block approximately 30 cm by 30 cm in size, dressed in a way typical of vaulting blocks in terms of form and decoration. Its distinctly rounded shape places it in the first course of the false vault, above the north wall of the chapel, in the corner of the east wall that contains the doorway (it could also fit in the corner opposite on a diagonal) [*Pl. 31:A*]. The surface is decorated with five-point stars (on the vault decoration and its evolution, see Barta 1967: 51). The distance between the stars, measured on their axis, is between 14.7 cm and 16.2 cm, averaging 15 cm, which is equal to 2 palms. The arms of the stars are 6–7.1 cm long. These values are different from the dimensions recorded for other star-decorated vaults preserved in the temple. There are traces of blue background and yellow color on the stars; the paint on two of the stars is red, which could indicate a change of color from the original yellow influenced by unfavorable factors operating in the whole building or its part.

The false vault of the chapel was constructed of four, perhaps five layers of stone slabs, supported on the north and south walls [*Pls 32, 33*]. Successive layers projected inward toward the long axis of the room, allowing the slabs in the uppermost layer to meet at the highest point of the vault. There were no relieving triangles to lighten the load in either of the chapels. The chapels were built as free-standing units, hence the vaults were not burdened with any additional weight over them. Using the north wall to support the vault was a curious solution in this case because the wall was inclined back, making the interior asymmetrical. However, El-Naggar's research demonstrated that such atypical solutions were known in Old Kingdom architecture, e.g., a mastaba in Giza where the vault was supported on walls, one of which was inclined (El-Naggar 1999: 194–195). In principle, the end walls of the chapel had a semicircular top, but the long axis of symmetry of the vault deviated from that of the chapel interior by 17.5 cm, that is, one third of a royal cubit. This is because the arch of the vault has a span equal to the width of the chapel at the point where it is wider as a result of the inclination of the north wall. The maximum width, measured at this level, that is, roughly 4.725 m = 9 royal cubits above the floor, is approximately 3.15 m, which gives a vault radius of about 1.575 m = 3 royal cubits. The reconstructed height of the chapel, set at about 6.30 m = 12 royal cubits, matched that of the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

An open niche was placed in the space above the false-door stela decorating the west wall. Its approximate dimensions were established based on egyptological studies of decorated fragments. The floor of the niche was probably 4.75 m above the chapel pavement and it neared a square in proportions, measuring about 2 royal cubits to the side; the bottom depth could have been 1.45 m, that is, $2\frac{3}{4}$ royal cubits. A similar open niche was fitted into the space above the doorway in the east wall. Its floor was at a height of 4.10 m, lined up with the base of the *khoker* frieze. It was shallower than its counterpart in the west wall, being no deeper than about 1.00 m = roughly 2 royal cubits, but the height and width could have been very similar.

The doorway was 3.02 m high = $5\frac{3}{4}$ royal cubits. The height was established primarily on the grounds of the extent of the decoration on the southern reveal. The doorway reduced the width of the passage by 15 cm (2 palms) on either side. A socket for the door pivot was preserved in the

chapel floor by the northern jamb [see *Pl. 27*]. It measures 25 cm by 20 cm and has irregular edges showing much use-wear; it is to be expected that the original hole was smaller and more regular.

The door can be reconstructed as a heavy wooden door turning on a pivot. Such doors were made of wooden boards secured in place and reinforced by a series of semicircular slats fixed with round wooden pegs. The board on one extreme edge was usually thicker than the others and terminating in heavy, round tenons at top and bottom. These tenons allowed the door to turn in the sockets, which were cut in the floor of the passage and the underside of the lintel part, aligned so that the wooden leaf of the door fitted into the door opening. The reinforcing slats were usually on the inside of the door panel (Fischer 1996: 91). Their fixing pegs were made of hard wood hammered into round holes. Some of the slats were fitted together using a tongue-and-groove technique (Koenigsberger 1936: 15–17). An example of the joinery technique that could have been used on this door is given by a wooden shrine that Naville discovered in 1893 on the platform above the Lower Chapel of Anubis (Barwik 2010: 4). The door of this naos, which is now on display in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo, was made of small boards of ebony wood (ebony rarely grows to sufficient size to allow larger panels to be made), held together by slats fixed with wooden pegs; larger pieces were used for the frame and crosspieces (Naville 1896: 1–2). The species of wood of which the chapel door was made cannot be specified. The size of the door would have made it heavy, hence the pivot system rather than hinges, which, although they were known to the ancient Egyptians, were not used on doors in fear of deformation under the weight of the wood. Moreover, the pivot system did not require a doorframe to be fitted into the doorway. Instead, it made use of socket holes for the pivots, the bottom pivot turning in a hollow in the threshold or a hard stone block, the upper pivot merely anchored into a hole in the lintel piece, the weight of the panel being transferred vertically and directly to the lower pivot (Koenigsberger 1936: 19–20; Clarke and Engelbach 1990: 163–165). Hard wood used for the pivot board ensured durability, whereas the pointed end made turning in the socket easier, even when the door had settled and was wearing down the floor, as attested in this case by the rubbing marks on the surface of the stone paving slab in the entrance, still in place.

A socket recorded in the southern side of the doorway indicates that the chapel door was bolted shut when the shrine was not in use. This is the last technical issue to be considered. Securing the interior with a bolt in the doorway was intended not so much against violent entry as to seal the chapel symbolically from the outside. It would have sufficed to prevent unauthorized entrance. Had the door been a double-door, it would have been enough to tie a rope around the bolts fixed to the leaves and to attach seals (Koenigsberger 1936: 45, 63). In the case of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, the evidence attests a single-leaf door that would have been closed with a wooden bolt fitted into the socket preserved in the southern jamb [*Pl. 31:B*]. The housing for this bolt would have been fixed to the inside face of the wooden door. Since the door opened inside, the bolt had to be worked from the outside. A possible solution is illustrated, showing how the bolt could have been inserted into the wall socket. A rope would have been fixed to both ends of the bolt, one section of the rope would be free, the other attached at the other end to the housing. Managing the two ropes, one could insert the bolt into the housing and pull it out of the wall socket and into the housing groove. In order to open the door, one would have to return it back into the wall socket. Bolts of this kind, marked with stamps, were discovered by Bernard Bruyère at Deir el-Medina (Koenigsberger 1936: 59–60).

Chapel vestibule

The vestibule through which one entered the Chapel of Tuthmosis I was a space open from the front, covered by a flat stone ceiling supported on the walls and the architrave [see *Pls 32, 33*]. Its height, 5.85 m, matched that of the Festival Court and the Vestibule of Re-Horachte in the Sun Cult Complex.

The north wall was built inclined, the angle from 83° to 85°. The lowest five courses are in place, needing only to be stabilized during the restoration works. The reconstruction is based on epigraphic studies. The west wall with the portal was also inclined, the face at an angle of 84.5°. The portal, which was once closed with a wooden door (see above), had a frame formed of a band projecting approximately 1.5 cm from the wall face, 1.13 m wide at the top and 0.62–0.64 m on the sides. The south wall was vertical, its corner adjoining the west wall of the courtyard. The west wall of the courtyard was reconstructed in the early 20th century, wrongly assuming an inclination of 88°, which resulted in the blocks from the wall of the vestibule being spread apart, leaving excessively wide gaps. Pushing the blocks back together and restoring the correct inclination of the wall gave a difference of 2°, which, while small, had its consequences for the reconstruction of the upper parts of the south wall of the vestibule.

Ceiling slabs were supported on the two lateral walls and the architrave joining them above the entrance to the chapel. The location of the socket for the architrave in the north wall was identified based on how the decoration was executed. In the south wall, the architrave was placed on the said corner of the south vestibule wall and the east courtyard wall. The 2° difference in the inclination of the wall described above shifted the top of the corner 15 cm westward, thus allowing the architrave to rest perpendicularly in relation to the side walls. The architrave is 3.60 m long, the sockets at both ends were each 17.5 cm deep. The socket at the southern end from the side of the courtyard was not closed, revealing the architrave end in full. Three ceiling slabs lay on the architrave, supported on the west vestibule wall, the two lateral slabs additionally resting on the north and south walls. These slabs could have been 0.62 m thick, 2.365 m long and either 1.30 m (two slabs) or 1.00 m (one slab) wide. The sections supported measured 17.5 cm.

A series of cornice blocks added to the load on the architrave, as did the blocks of the balustrade and the flat roof with its possible surface paving. The cornice presumably took on a simple form with partly cut-back upper surface. It was 0.62 m high and 0.80 m wide, and projected 0.35 cm from the line of the architrave. This design in the reconstruction was adopted from the cornice blocks found in the Sun Cult Complex on the other side of the Festival Court (Karkowski 2003: 124–125). There, an analogous block retained traces of a stonemason's line marking the position of the cornice in relation to the wall. The balustrade blocks were also modeled on those from the Sun Cult Complex. The dimensions of the architrave, cornice and balustrade were established as a result of architectural research on the height of the walls of the courtyard of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, where the *kheker* band was the highest element of the decoration. It suggested a simple cornice instead of a *cavetto* and *torus* as a finishing of this wall.

An endurance test of the architrave was conducted as part of the architectural study. The load-bearing capacity of the architrave was tested taking into consideration the ceiling slabs, cornice and balustrade. The objective was to determine whether the section of the beam acting as the architrave was sufficient to carry the load independently without extra support in the middle.

Calculations made by construction engineer Mieczysław Michiewicz assumed that the volumetric weight of the limestone was 23.0 kN/m^3 (according to Arnold [1991: 28], the volumetric weight of porous limestone is in the range of $1.7\text{--}2.6 \text{ kg/l [dm}^3\text{]})$. The conditions assumed for the calculations were not exceeded, confirming the load-bearing capacity of a roof system with an architrave and without a supporting element. A small section of the floor paving preserved in the vestibule, approximately 1.66 m from the chapel entrance, next to the south wall, extending 1.78 m northward, also revealed no evidence of any kind of support in this place. The width of the preserved pavement ranged here between 0.55 m and about 1.00 m. Moreover, a shaft tomb from the Third Intermediate Period burial ground that occupied the ruins of the royal complex (West Shaft, Tomb 2/09) lay east of the chapel, reaching the north wall of the vestibule and the courtyard of the complex (Szafrński 2013: 139) and precluding the existence of a foundation for any kind of vertical support.

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Documentation of the wall decoration

All documentation drawings and photos from PCMA UW field documentation

M. Puzkarski: Pls 8 (documentation drawing), 10–16; M. Puzkarski and A. Madej: Pls 5, 5.3, 6, 6.2, 6.3, 7, 7.3; A. Madej: Pls 5.1, 5.2, 6.1, 7.1, 7.2; T. Dziedzic: Pl. 8 (architectural drawing); M. Caban: Pl. 8 (photo)

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- Pl. 16. False-door stela in the west wall of the chapel

Blocks and fragments attributed to the walls

All photos PCMA UW field documentation | M. Jawornicki, unless otherwise stated

Other sources courtesy of:

- *Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung*, Berlin, Inv. No. ÄM 14144 | photo S. Steiß (decorated block 20 on Pl. 22.5)
- *Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge*, Inv. No. E.SS.39 (decorated block 15 on Pl. 25.3)
- *Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences* (decorated block 12 [Inv. No. F. 381] on Pl. 24.3)
- *Musée du Louvre, Paris*, Inv. No. E 27462 (decorated block 40 on Pl. 24.5); C 48 (false-door stela on Pl. 26) | © *Musée du Louvre* | photo C. Décamps
- *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen*, Inv. No. ÆIN 713 | photo O. Haupt (decorated block 24 on Pl. 22.6)
- *PCMA UW* archival documentation (decorated blocks 18 on Pl. 20.2 and 27 [Inv. No. 54/94] on Pl. 25.3)
- *Sotheby's New York, Egyptian, Classical and Western Asiatic Antiquities Department* (decorated block 45 on Pl. 23.8)

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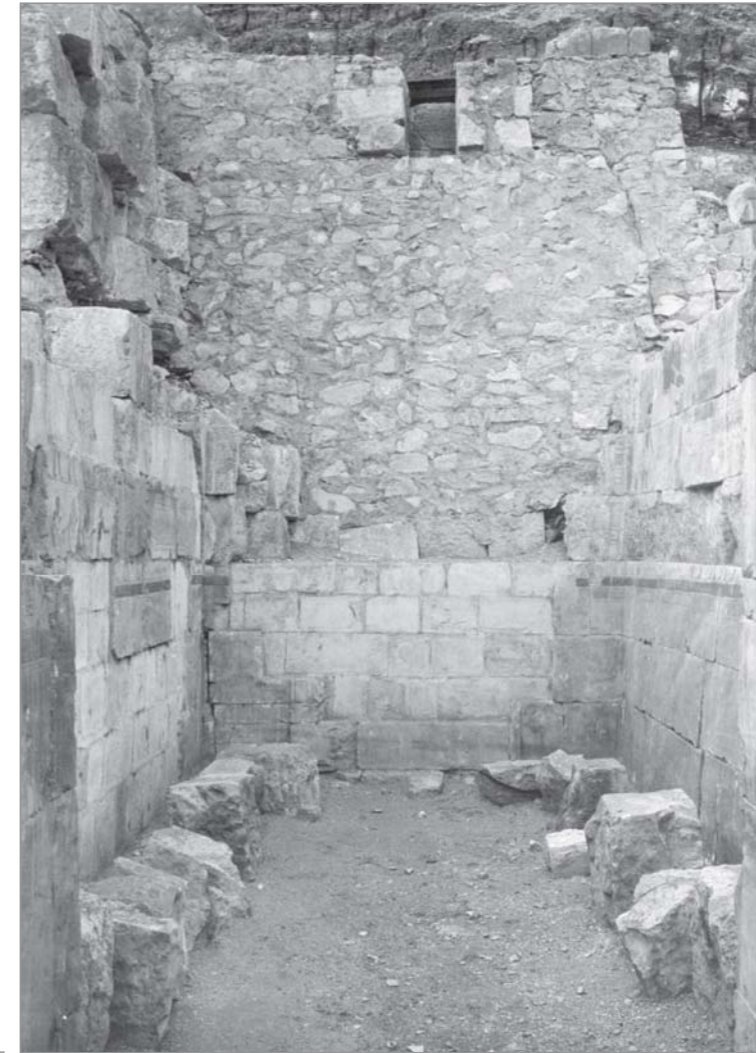
Figure in the text (page 68):

Layout of inscriptions on the false-door stela (Drawing M. Puzkarski)



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Upper terrace of the Hatshepsut temple with the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex in its southern part, during Édouard Naville's excavations (Archives of the Egypt Exploration Society, London; after Godlewski 1986: Fig. 12)



B

Chapel of Tuthmosis I, state at the time of Winlock's activity in the temple (Courtesy Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

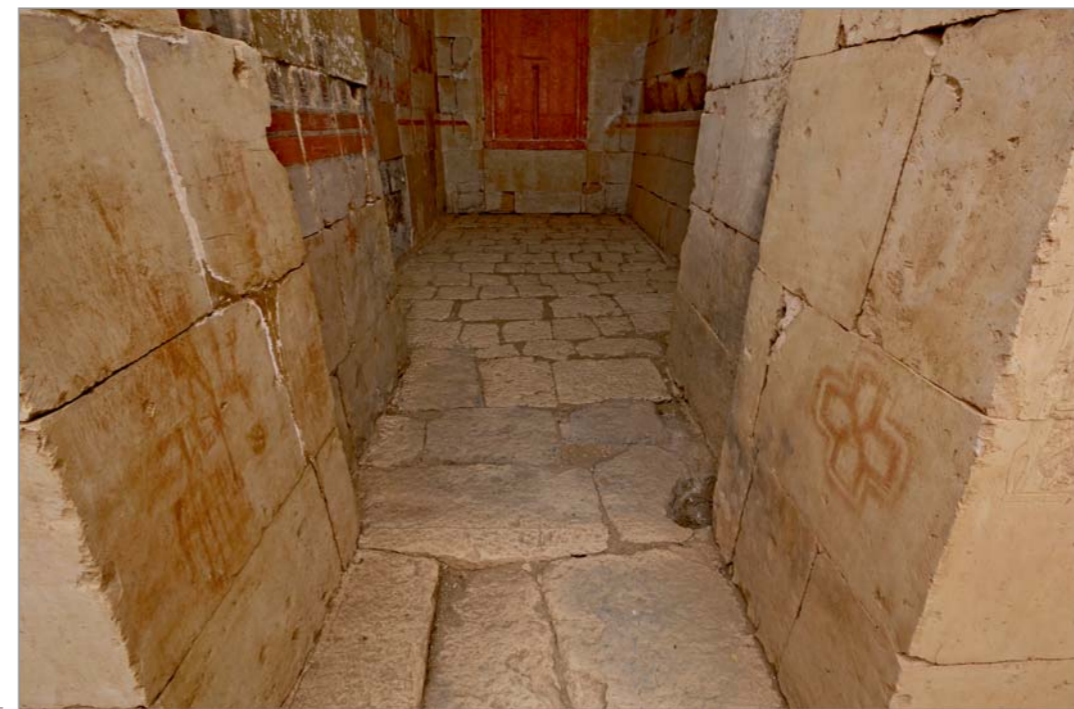


C

Chapel of Tuthmosis I, bedrock exposed during excavations of the Polish project



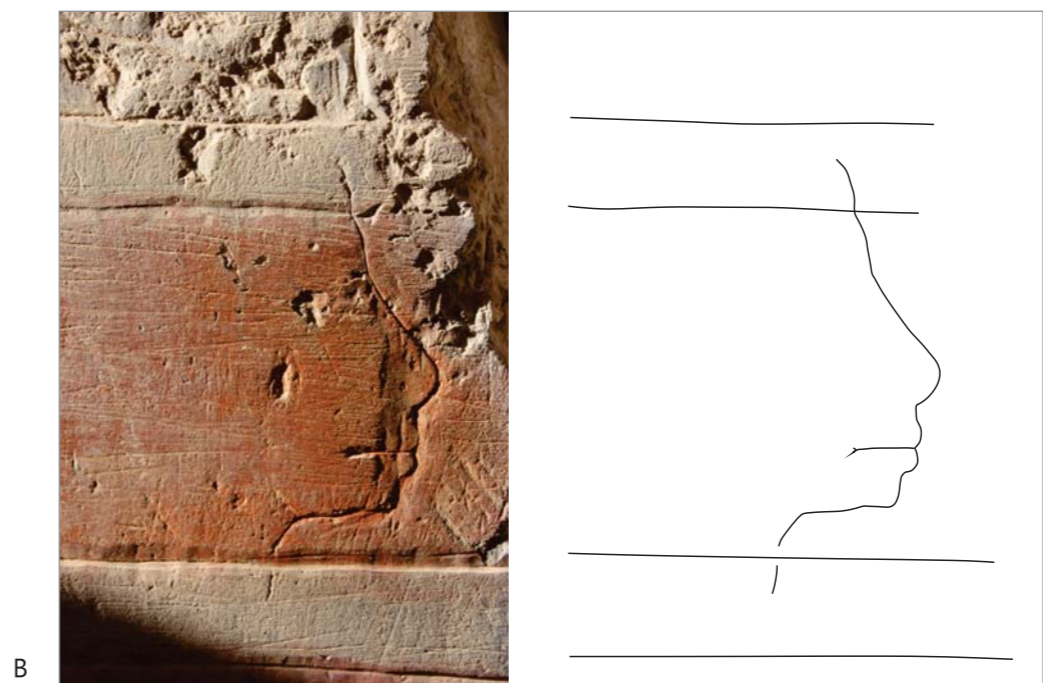
D



Chapel of Tuthmosis I, present state



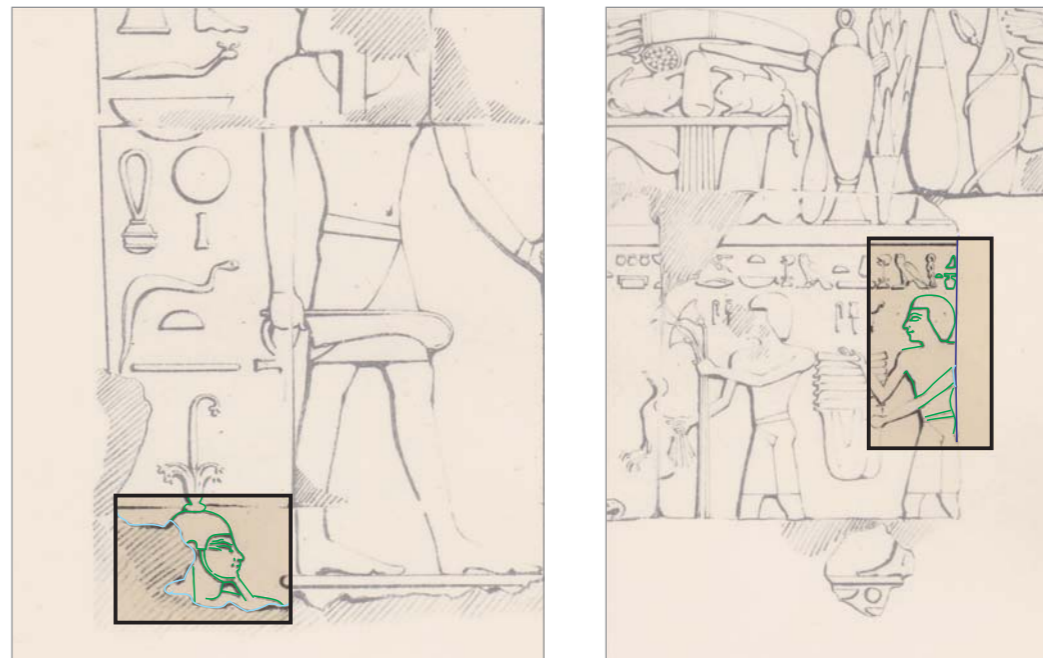
A | Detail of the block from the eastern lunette of the chapel



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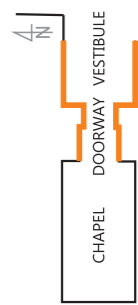
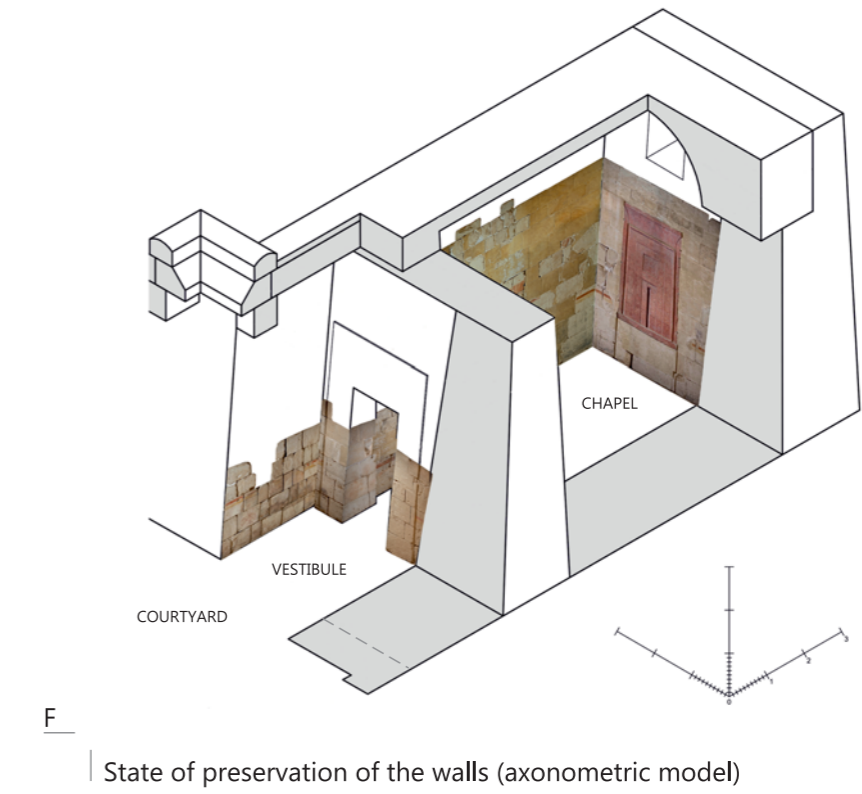


C | Unfinished decoration in the lowermost register of the northern part of the east wall of the chapel



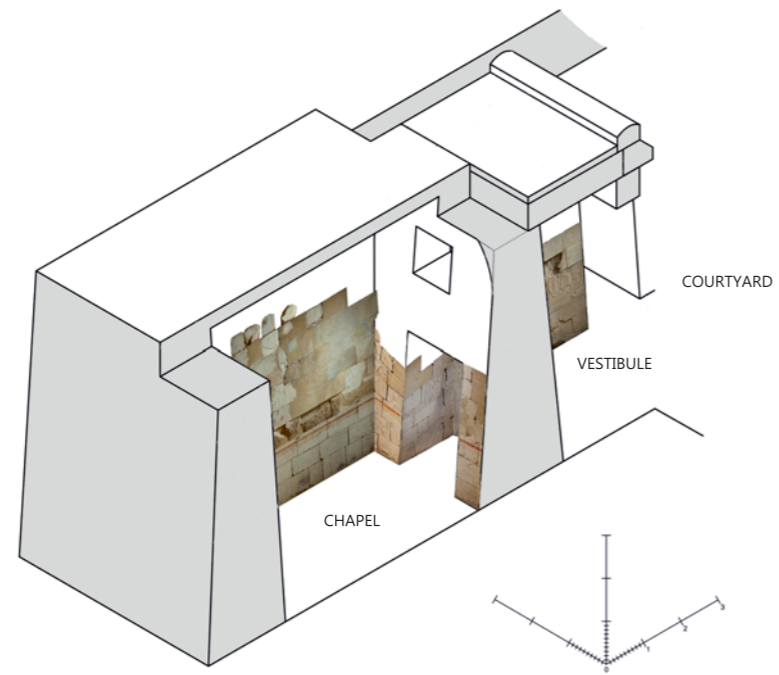
D-E | Details of the decoration from the north wall of the chapel, now lost, illustrated in Naville's publication (After Naville 1906: Pl. 129)

Plate 3. Present state of preservation of the vestibule walls and doorway (including axonometric model)



0 1 m

Plate 4. Present state of preservation of the chapel walls (including axonometric model)



A | State of preservation of the walls (axonometric model)



B | East wall



C | South wall



D | West wall



E | North wall

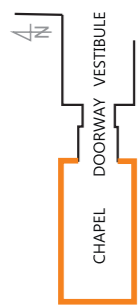


Plate 5. Vestibule south wall

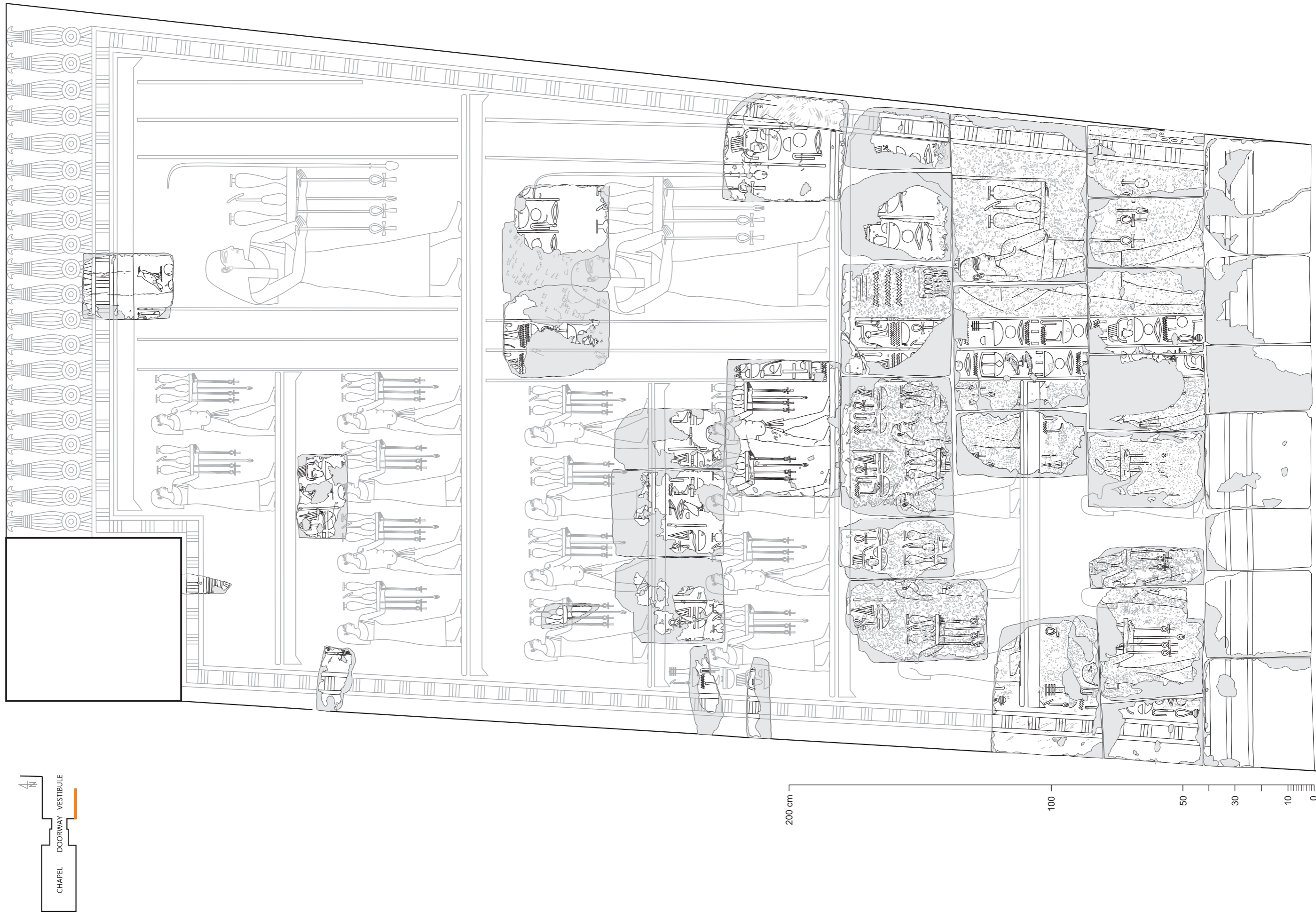
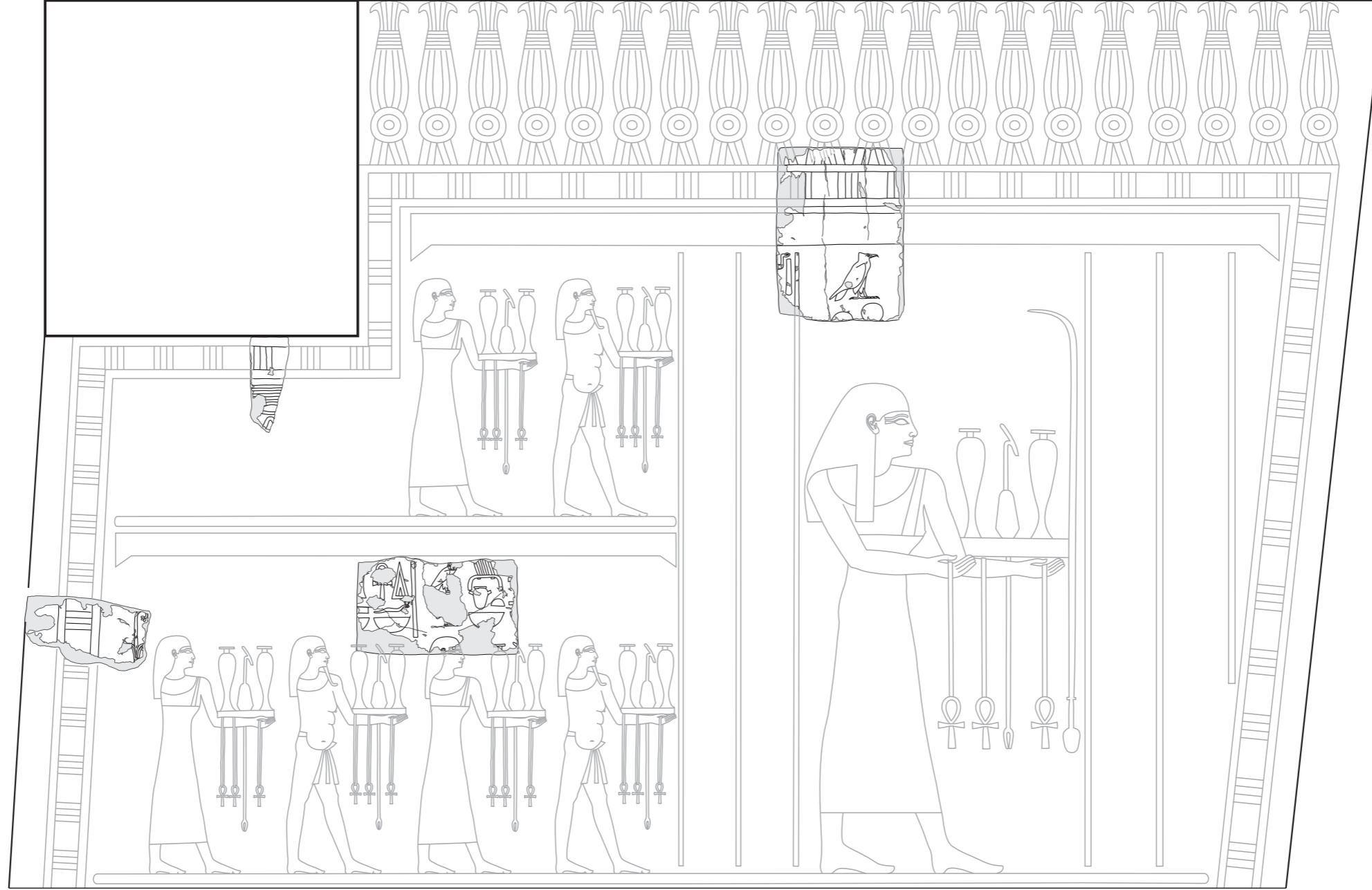
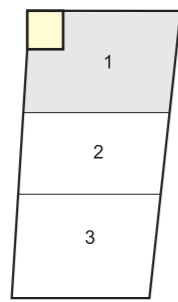
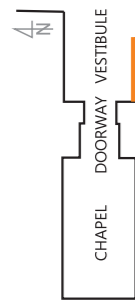
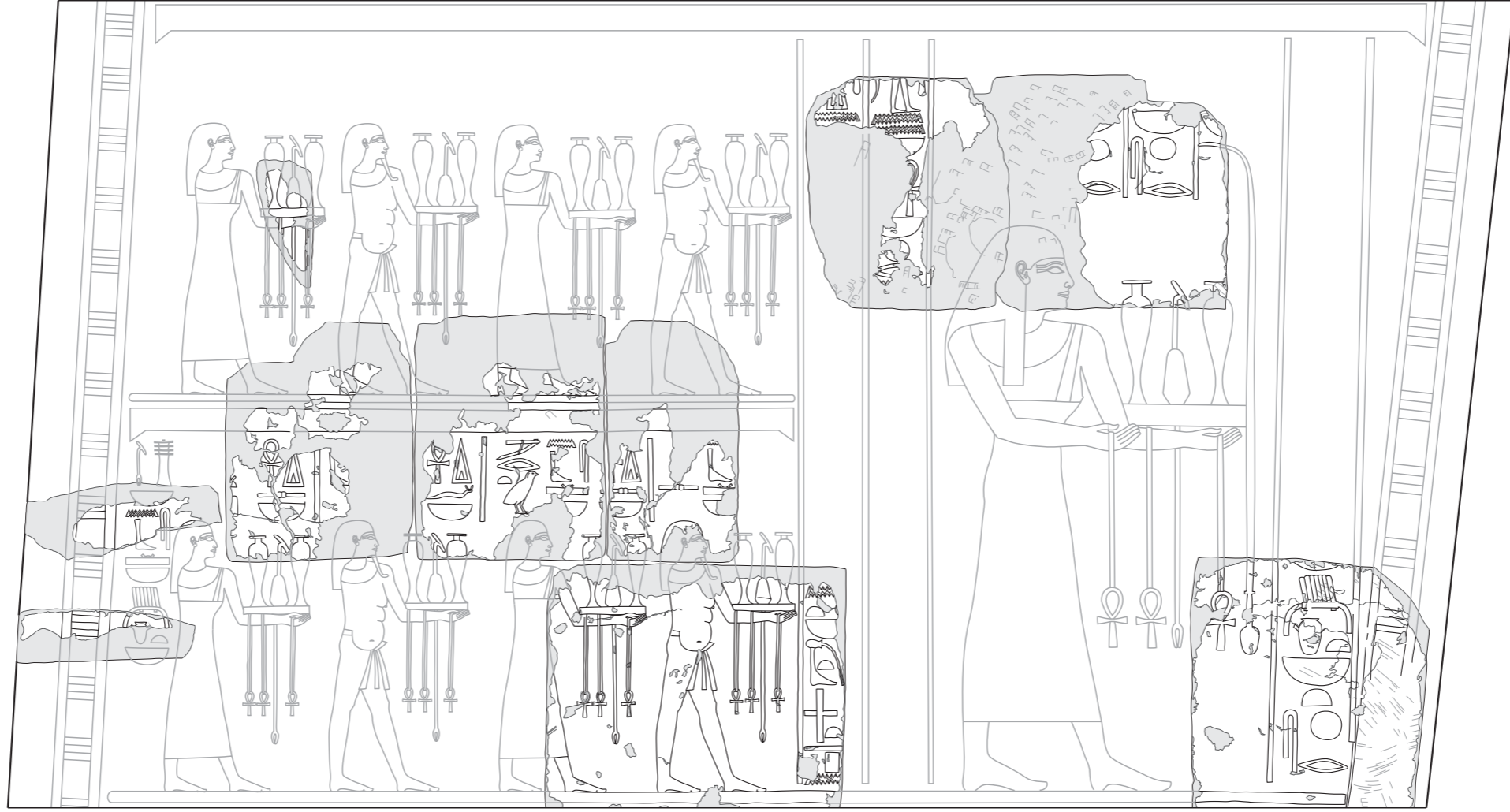
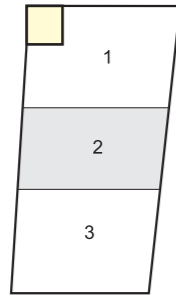
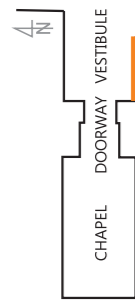


Plate 5.1. Vestibule south wall – zone 1



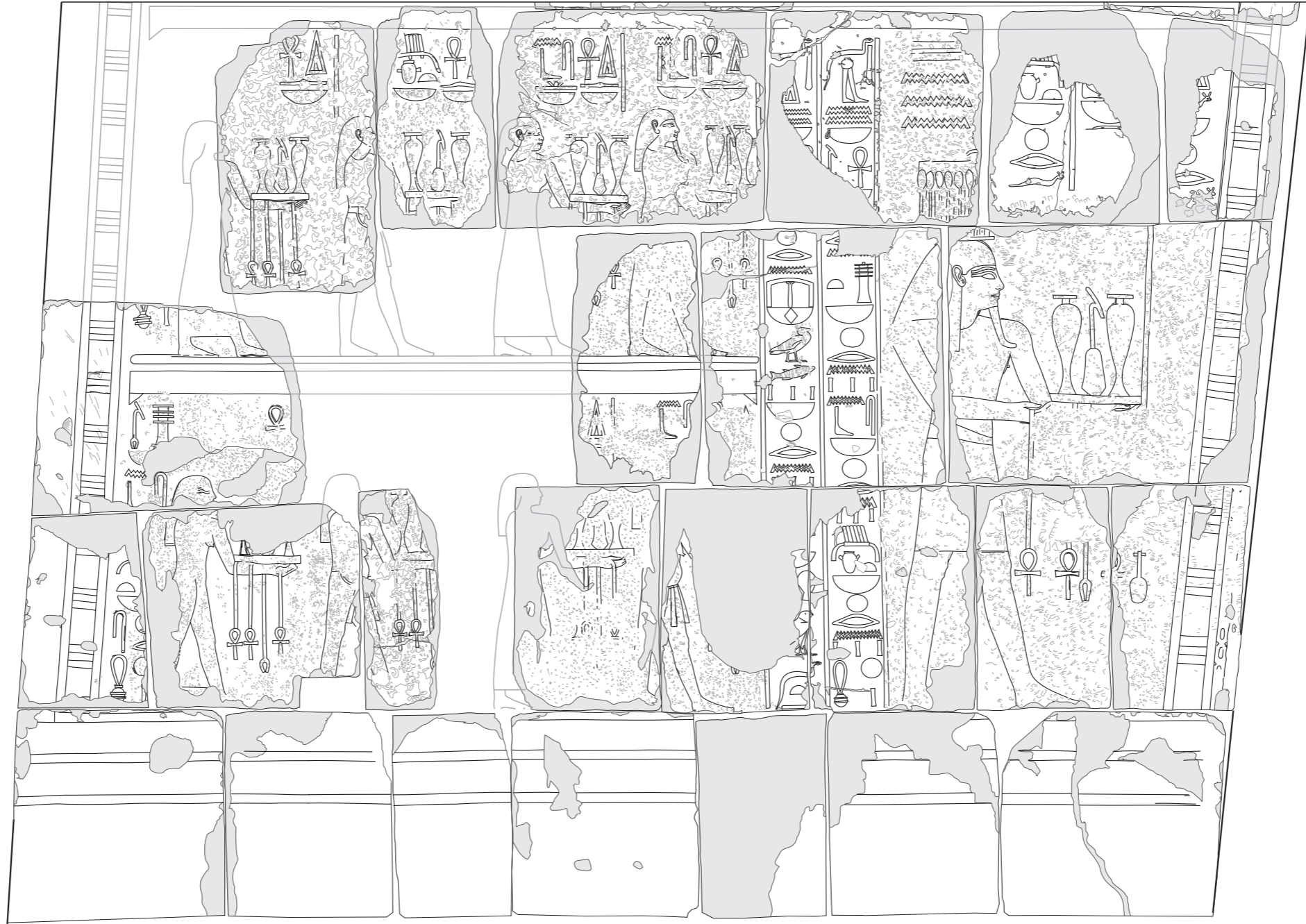
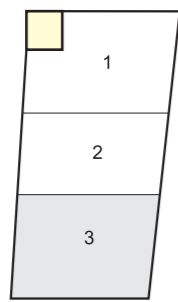
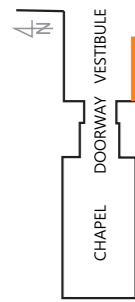
0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 5.2. Vestibule south wall – zone 2



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 5.3. Vestibule south wall – zone 3



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 6. Vestibule north wall

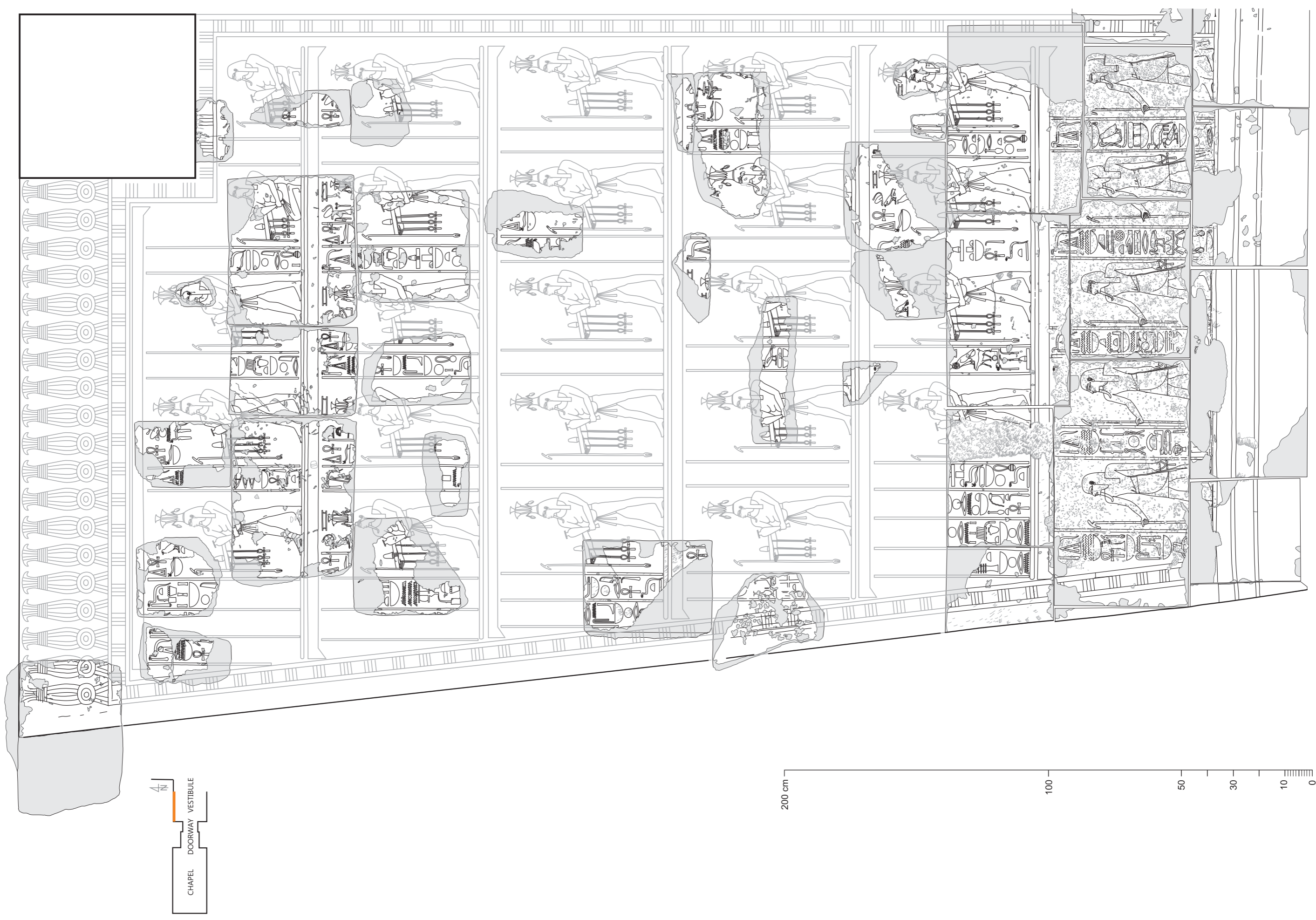
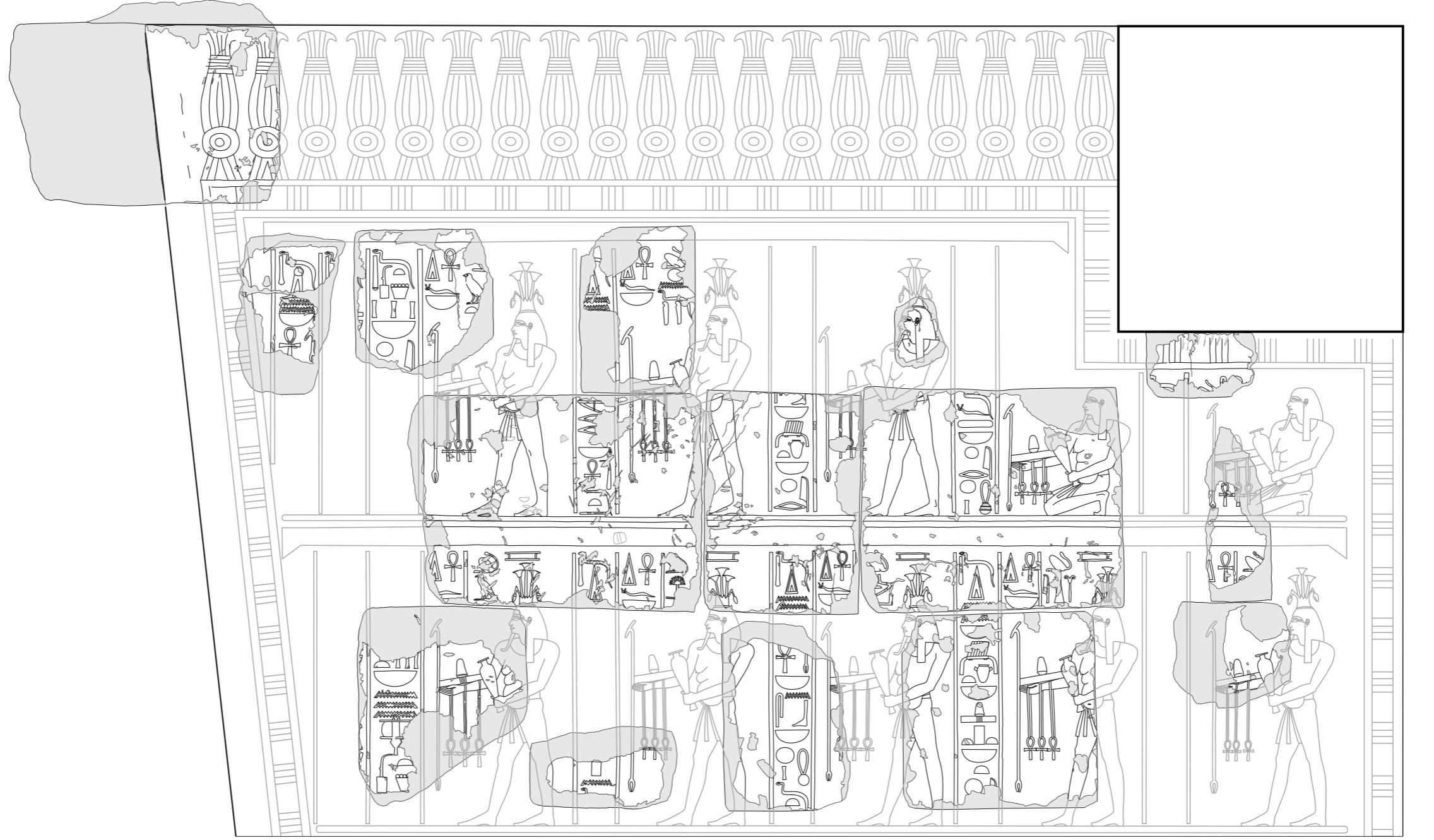
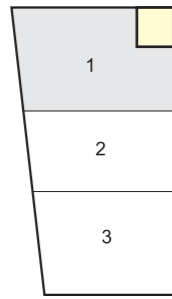
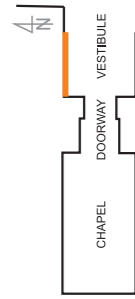
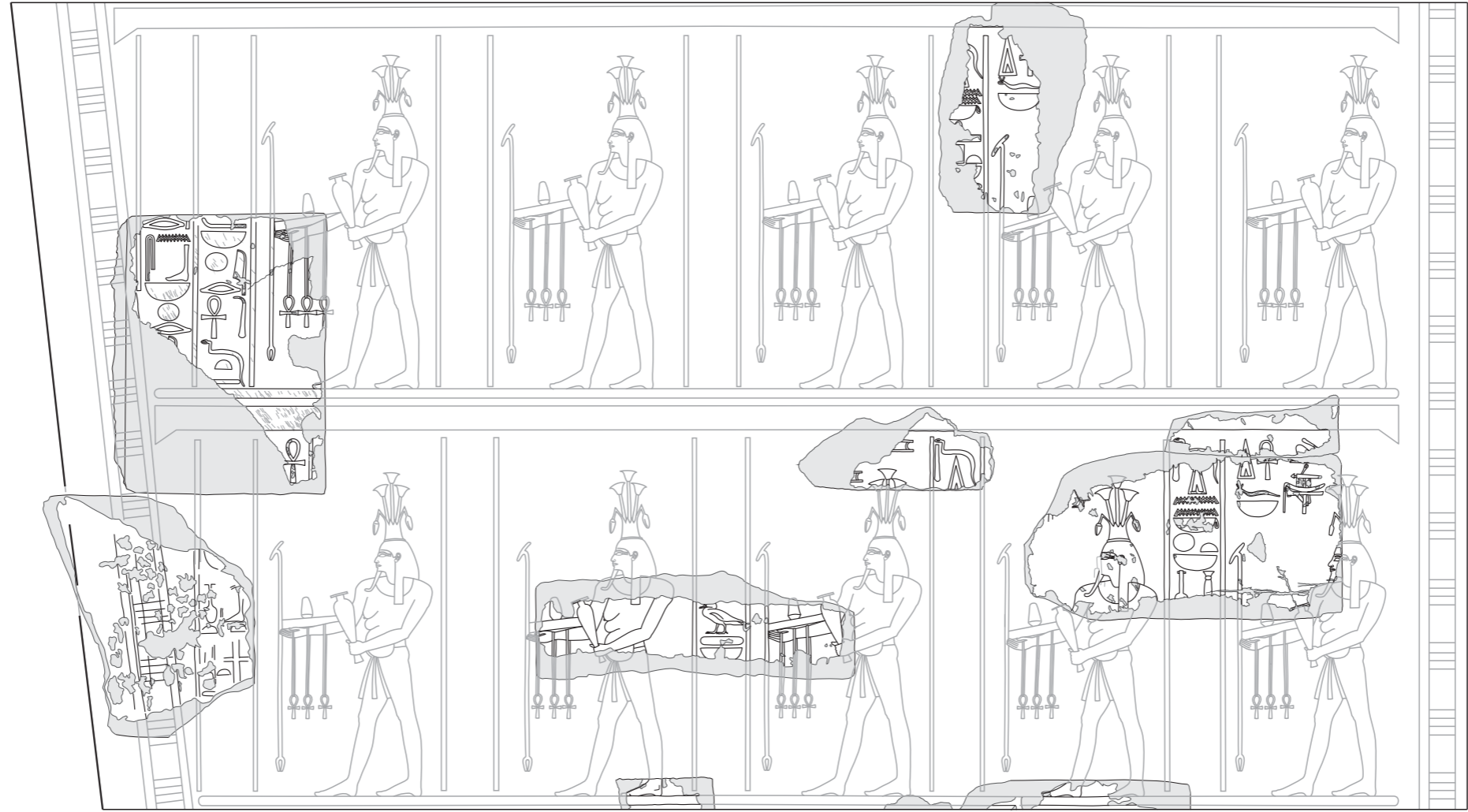
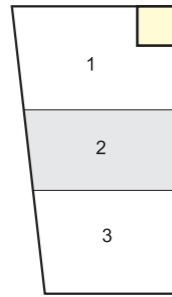
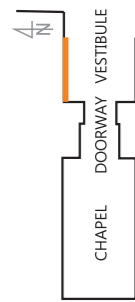


Plate 6.1. Vestibule north wall – zone 1



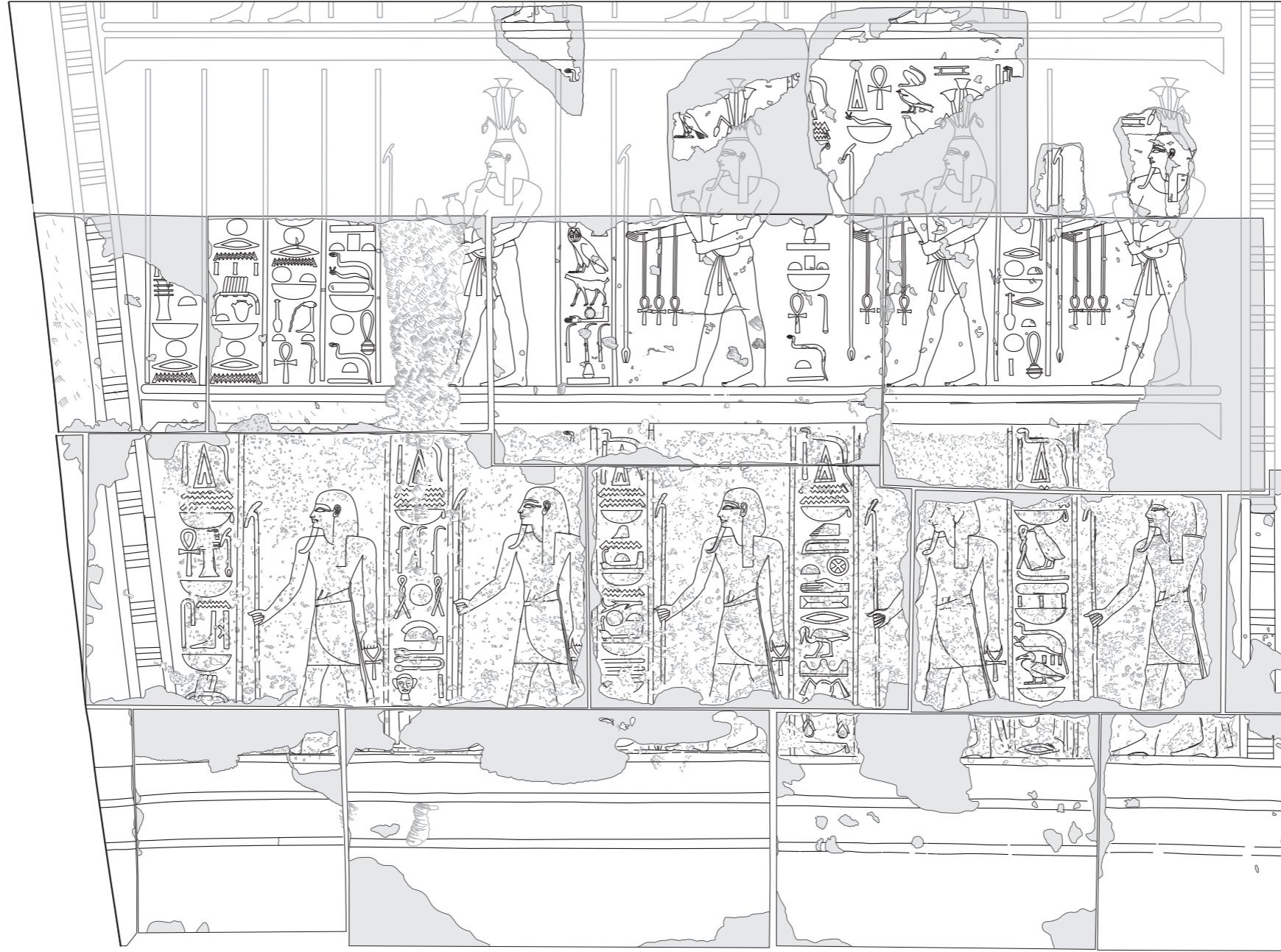
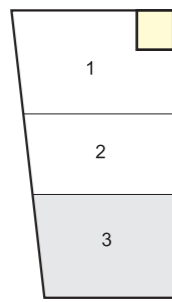
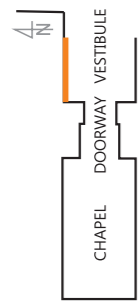
0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 6.2. Vestibule north wall – zone 2



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 6.3. Vestibule north wall – zone 3



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 7. Vestibule west wall and portal

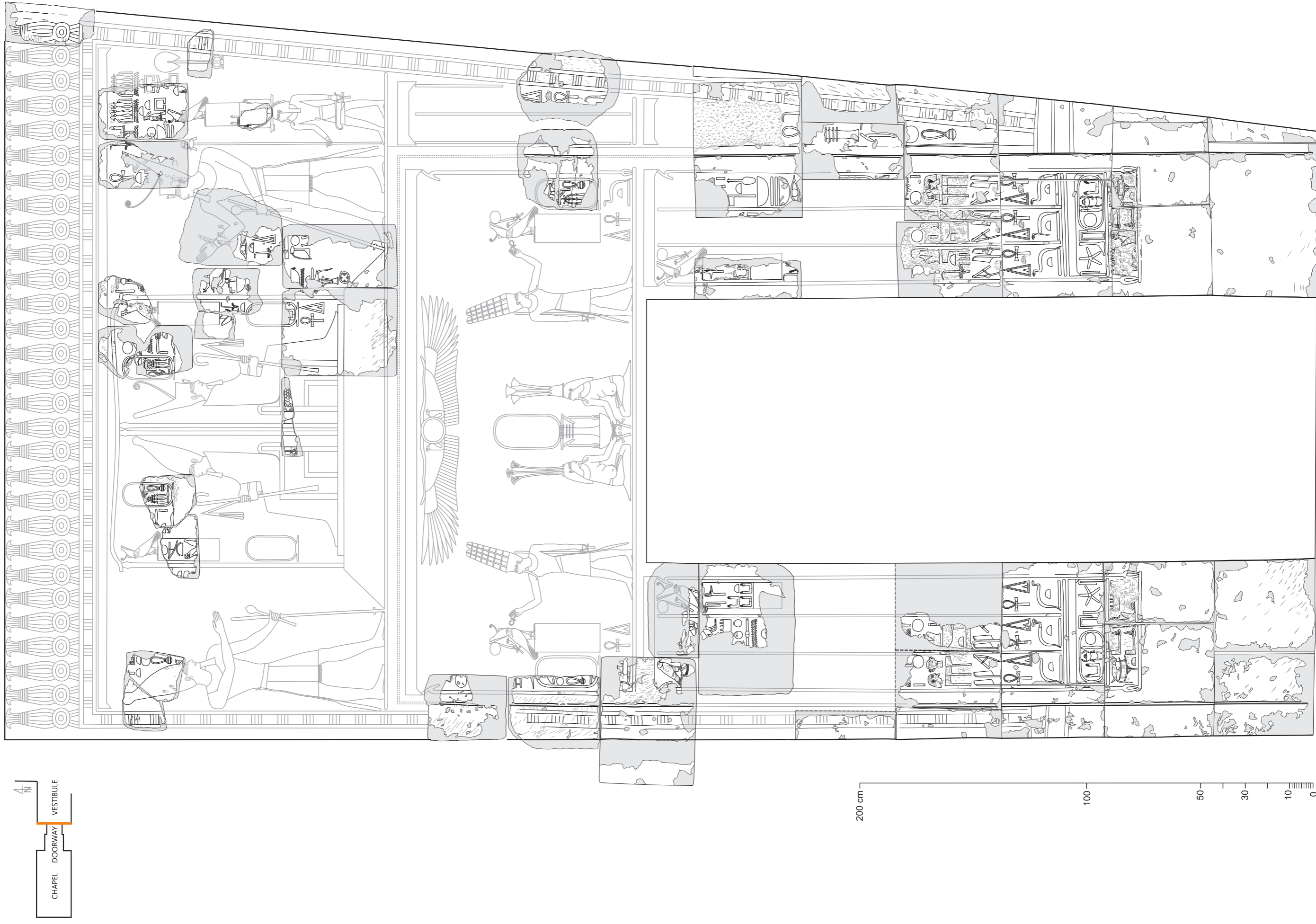
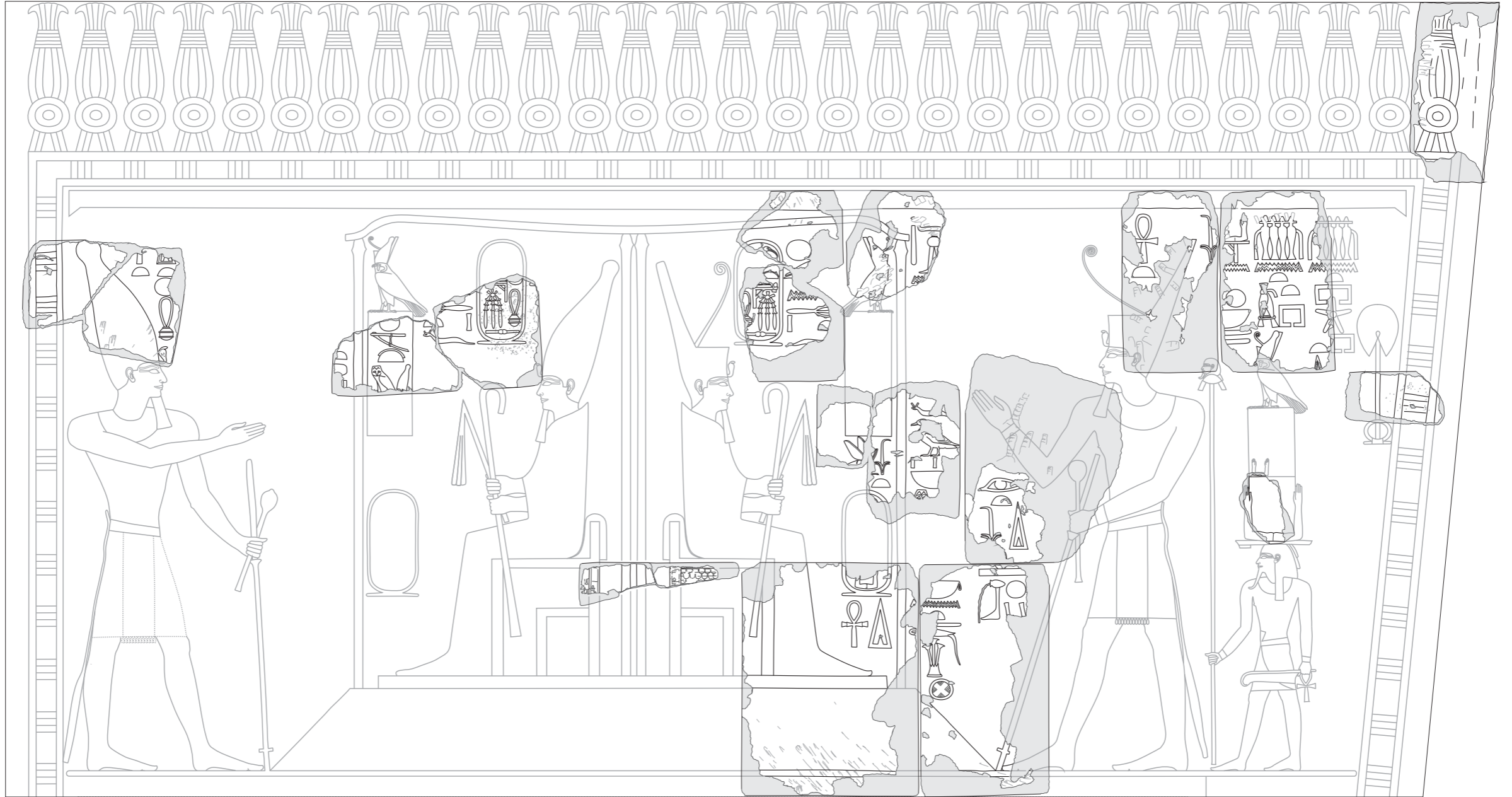
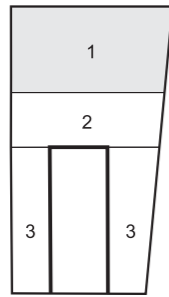
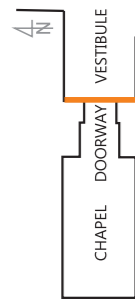


Plate 7.1. Vestibule west wall and portal – decoration above the lintel of the portal



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 7.2. Vestibule west wall and portal – lintel

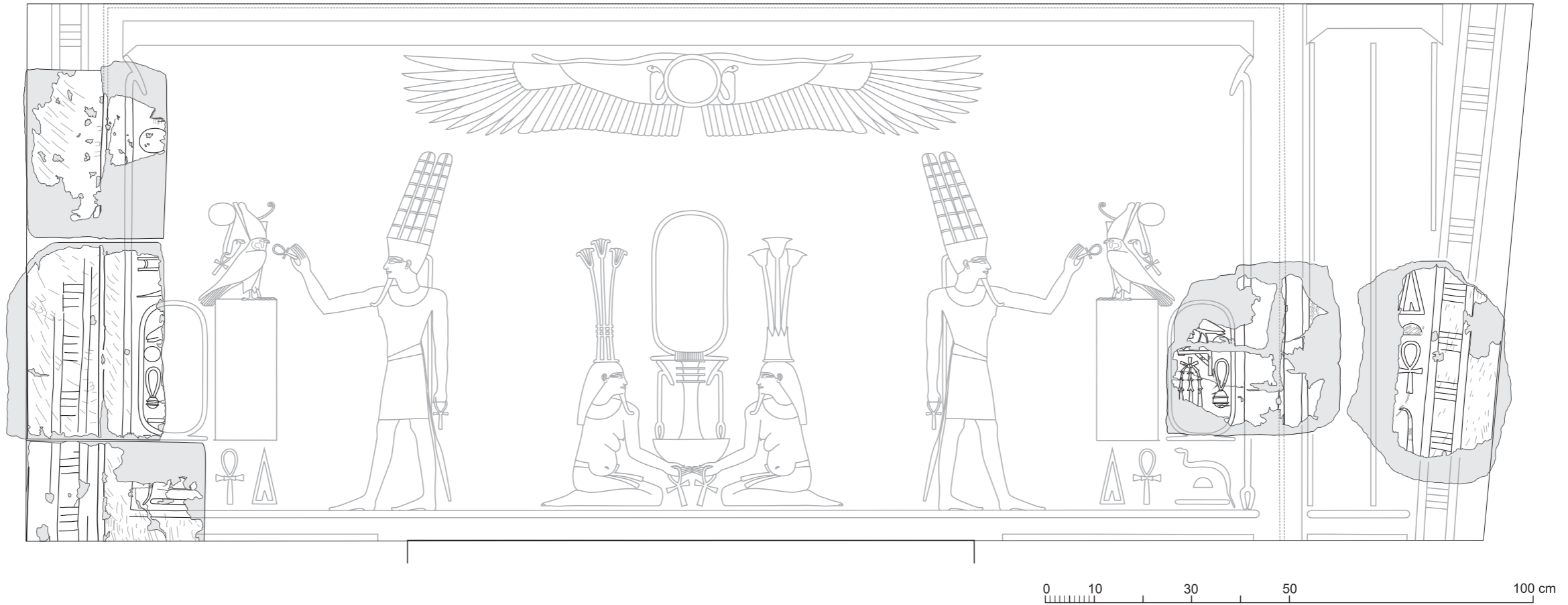
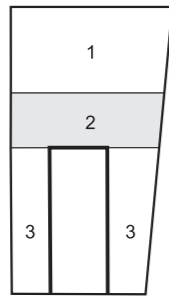
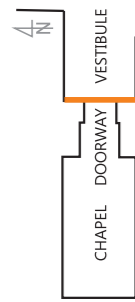
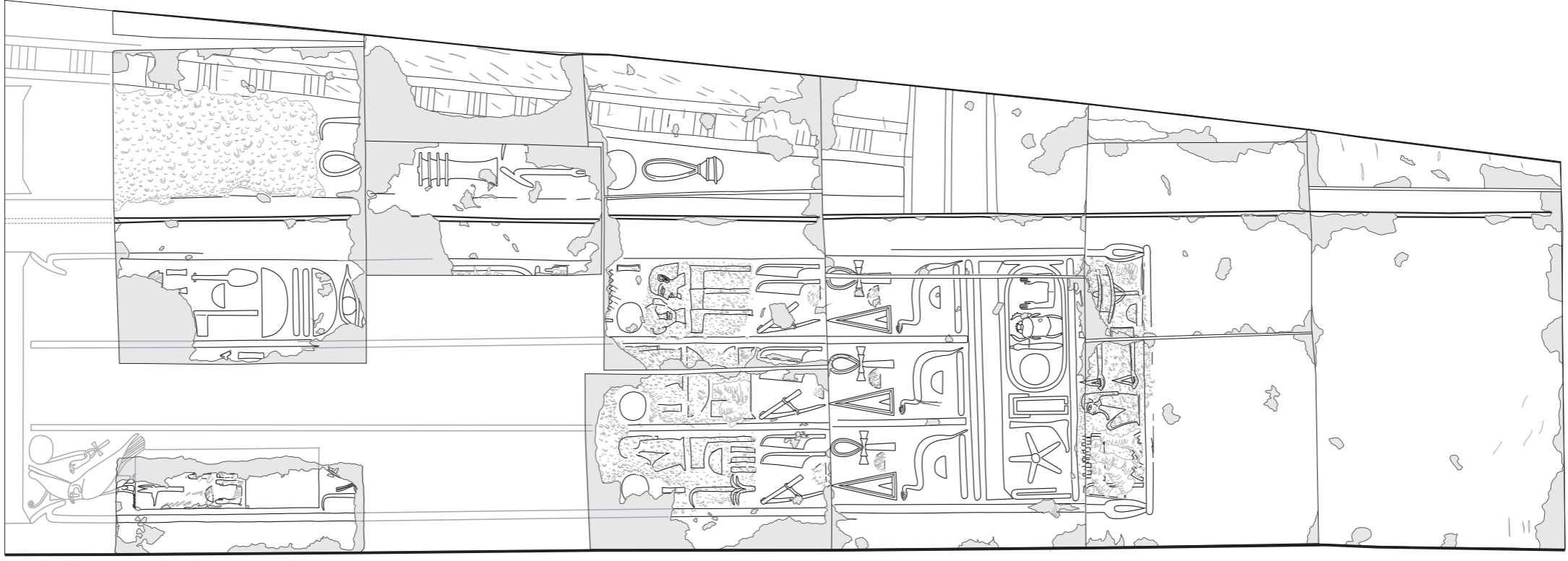
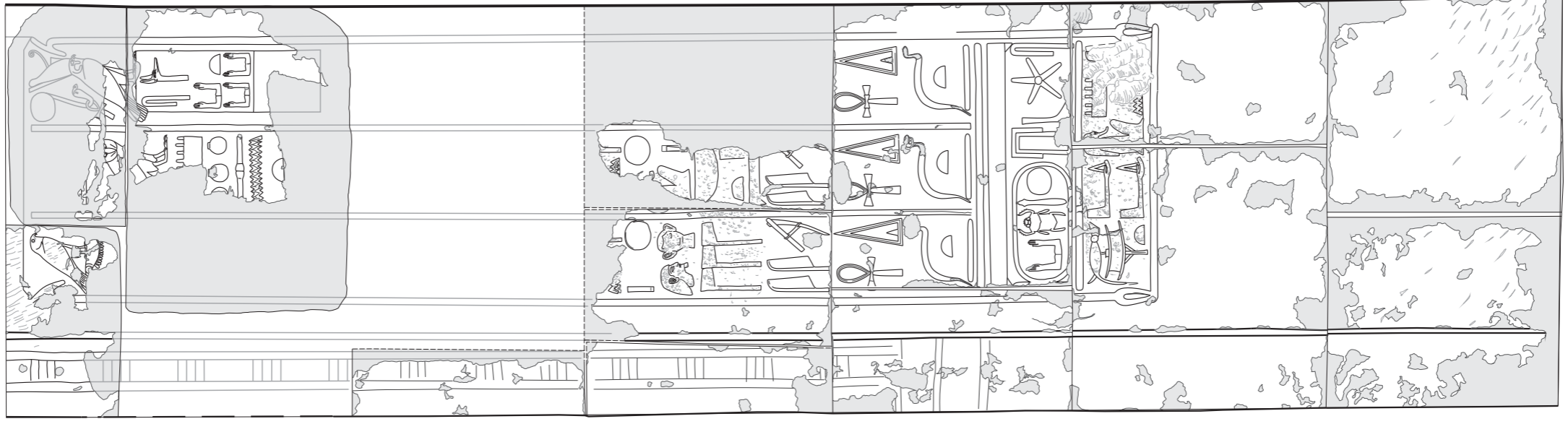
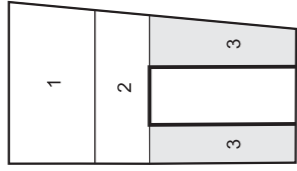
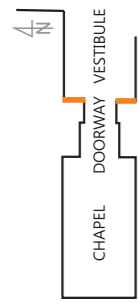
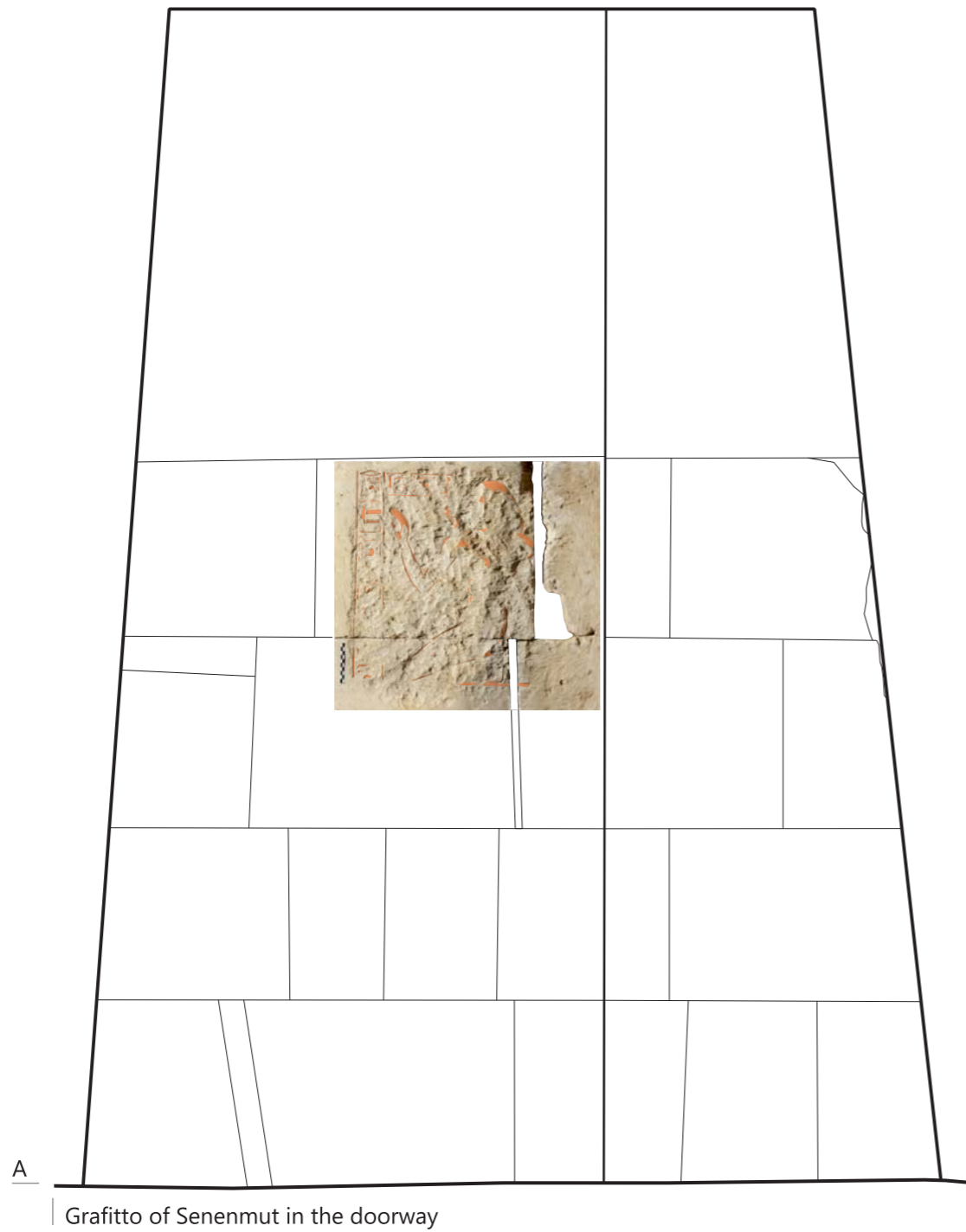
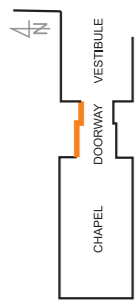


Plate 7.3. Vestibule west wall and portal – left and right doorjamb



100 cm
50
30
10
0

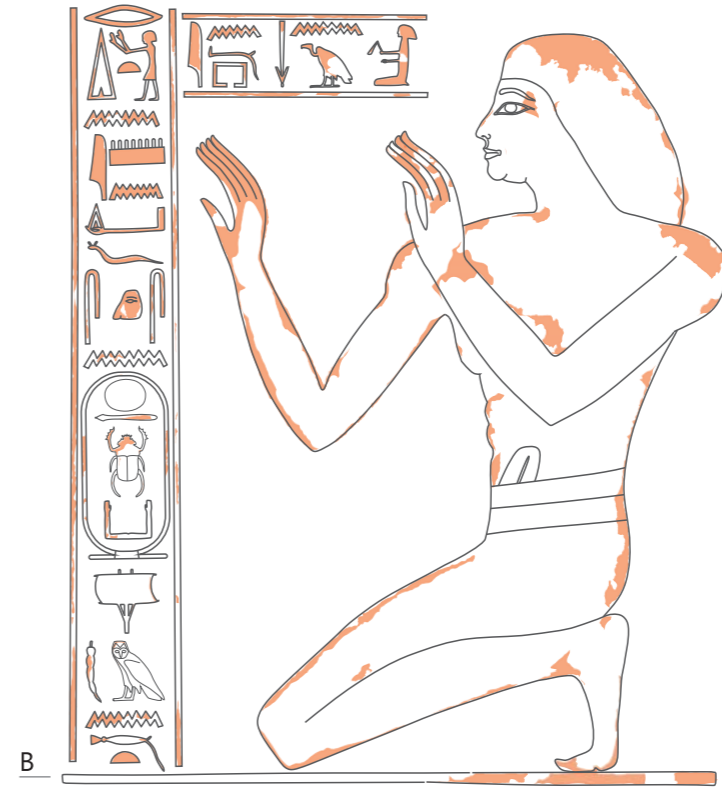
Plate 8. North side of doorway behind the door with graffito of Senenmut



A

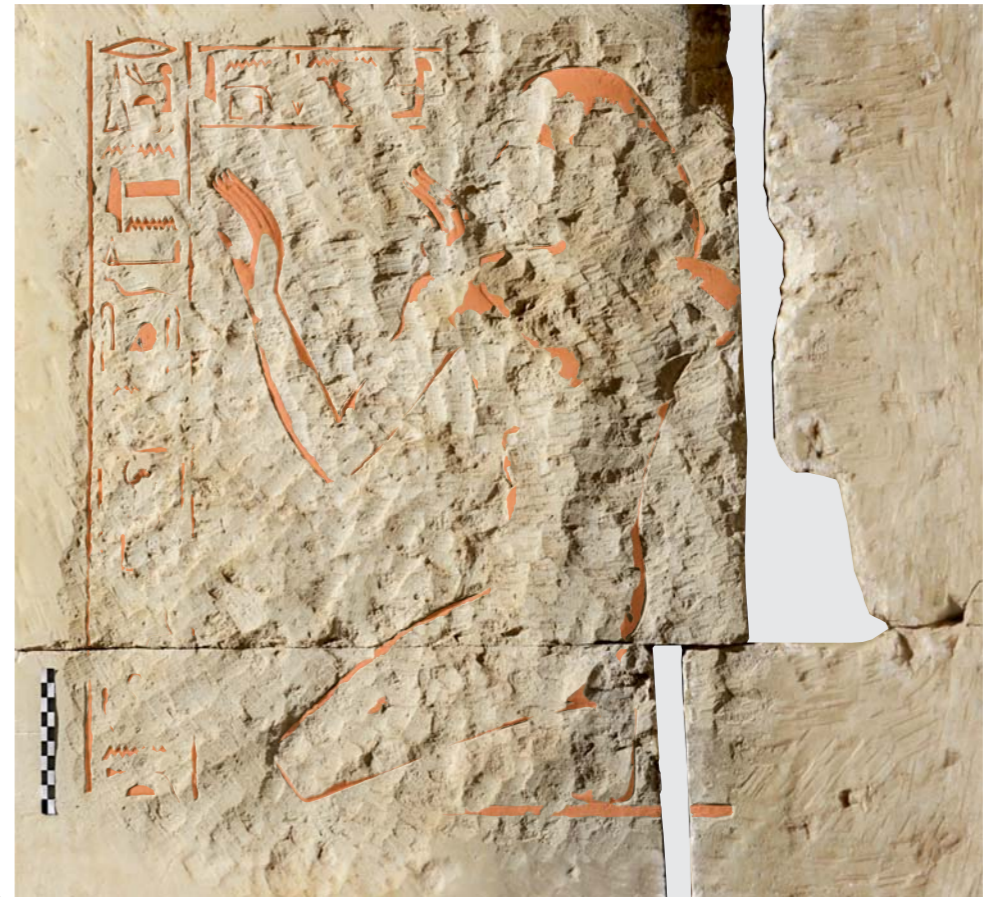
Graffito of Senenmut in the doorway

0 0.25 0.5 1 m



B

Reconstruction



C

State of preservation highlighted in color

0 10 20 cm

Plate 9. Southern reveal of the doorway

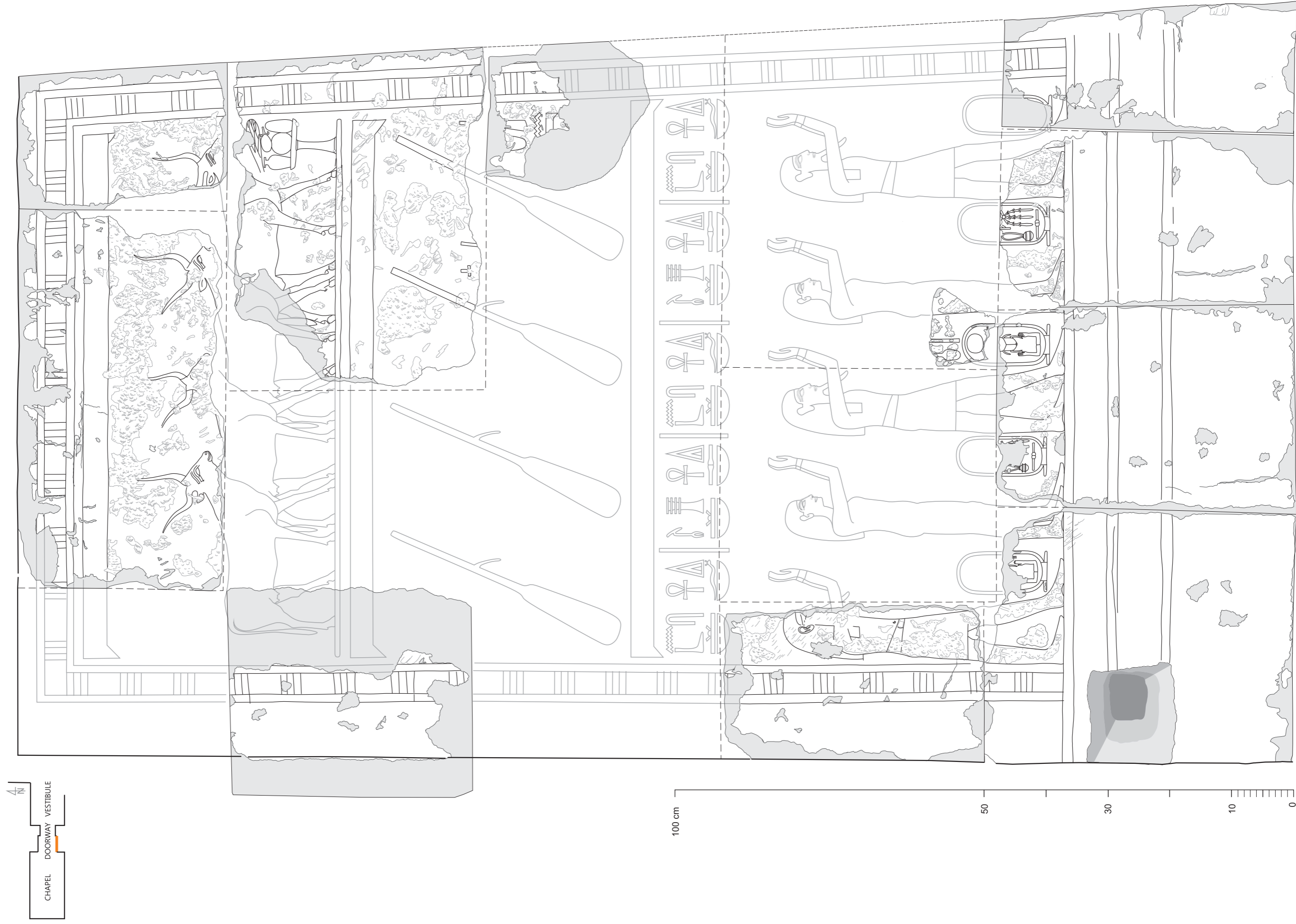


Plate 10. Chapel east wall

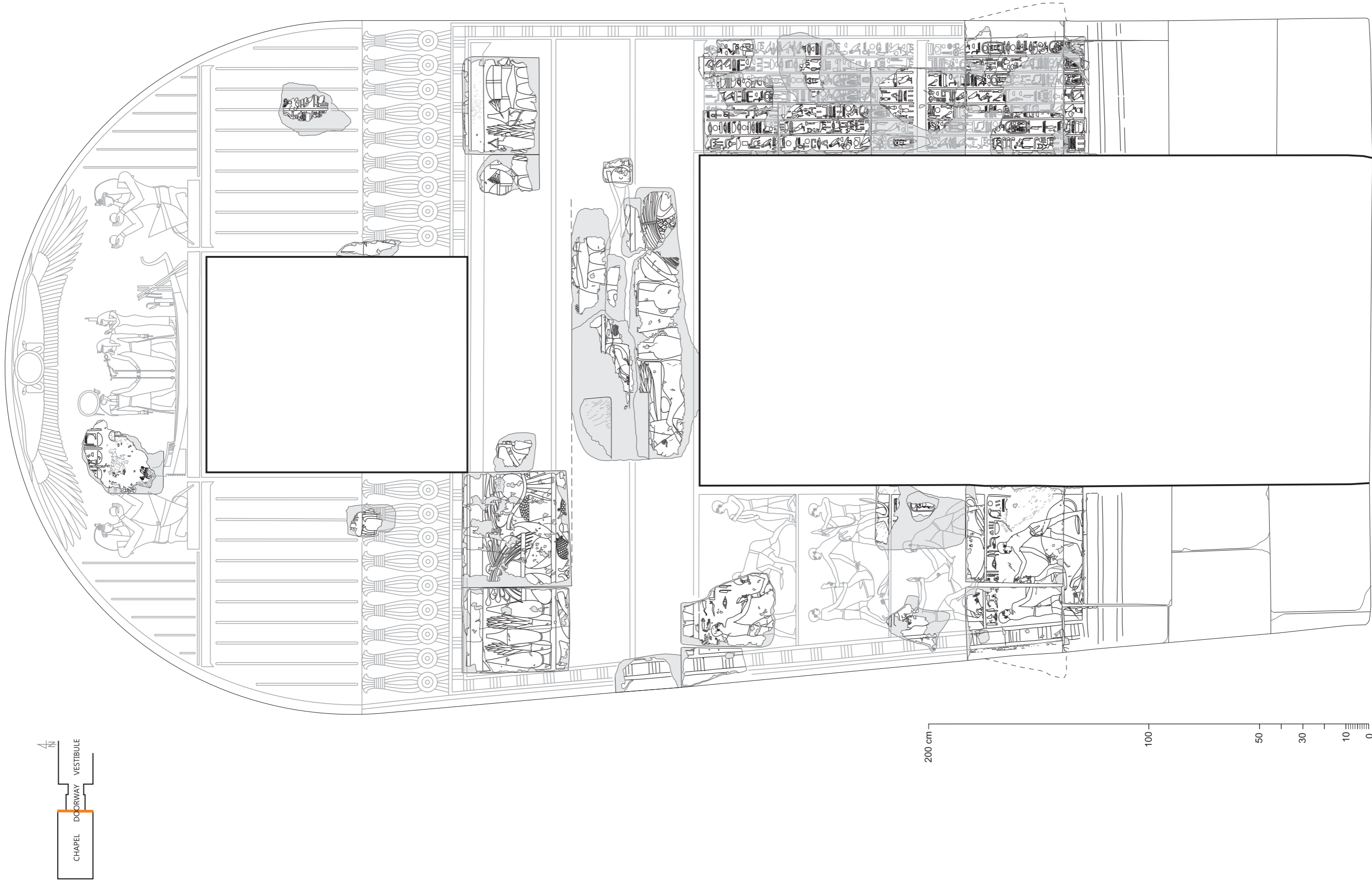
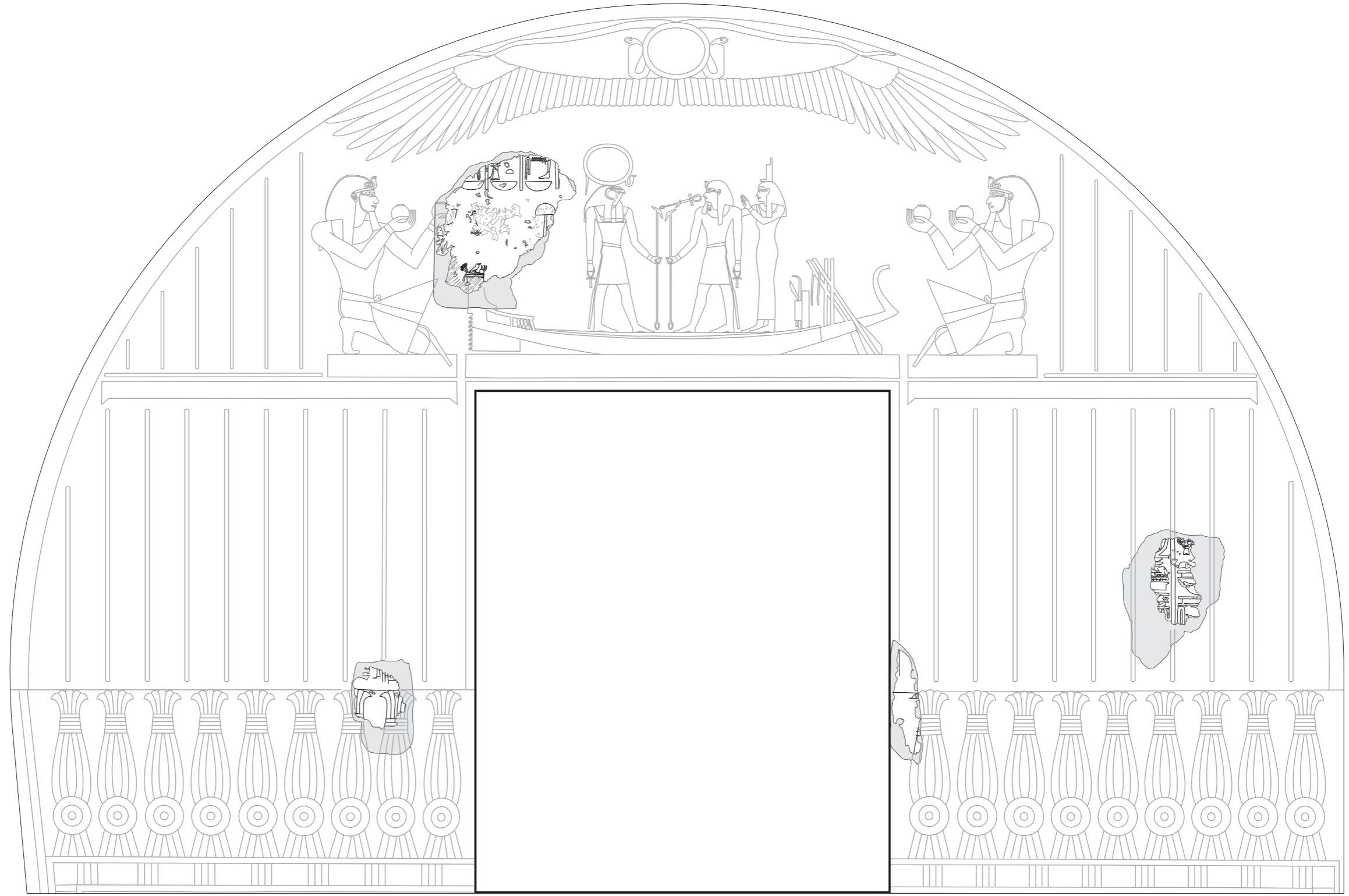
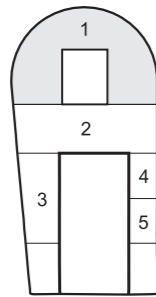
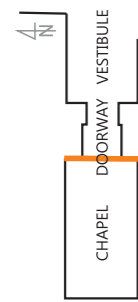


Plate 10.1. Chapel east wall – decoration of the lunette



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 10.2. Chapel east wall – decoration above the door

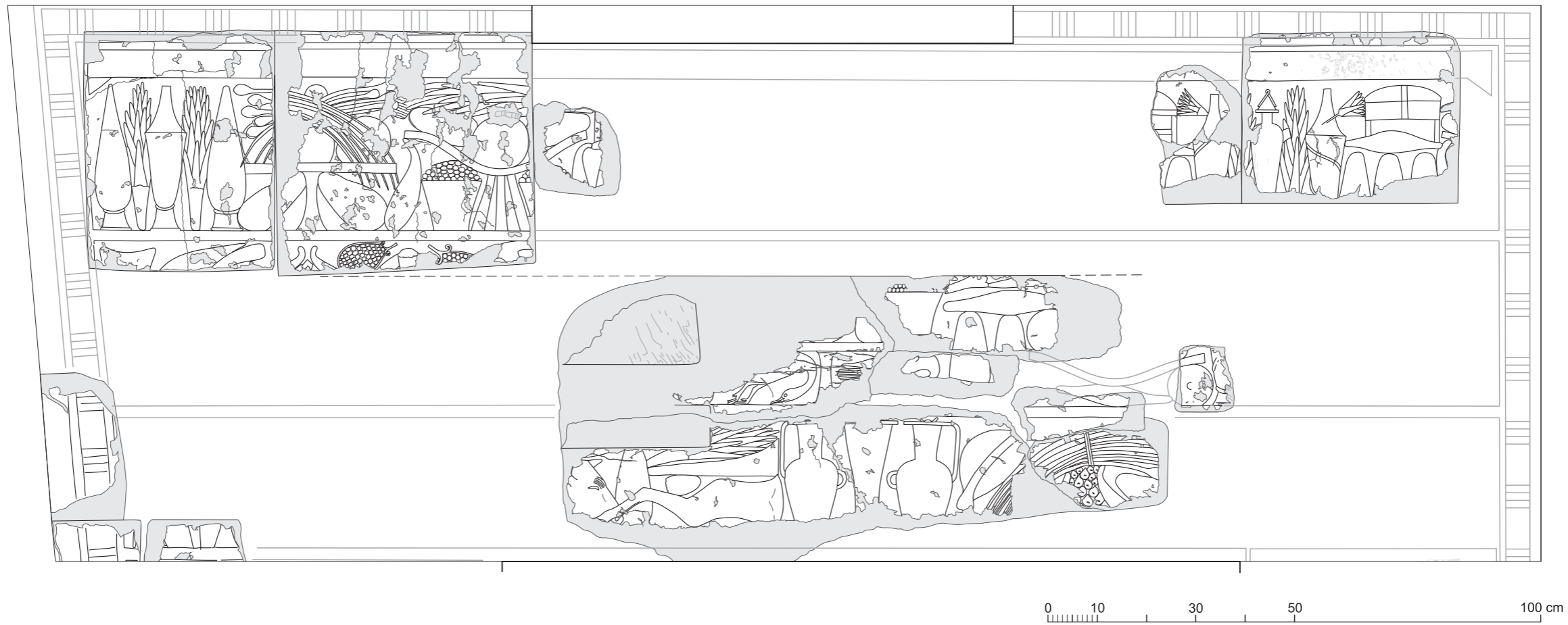
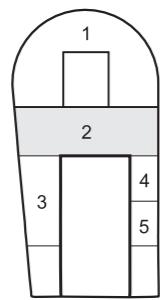
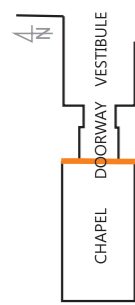


Plate 10.3. Chapel east wall – left side: zone 3

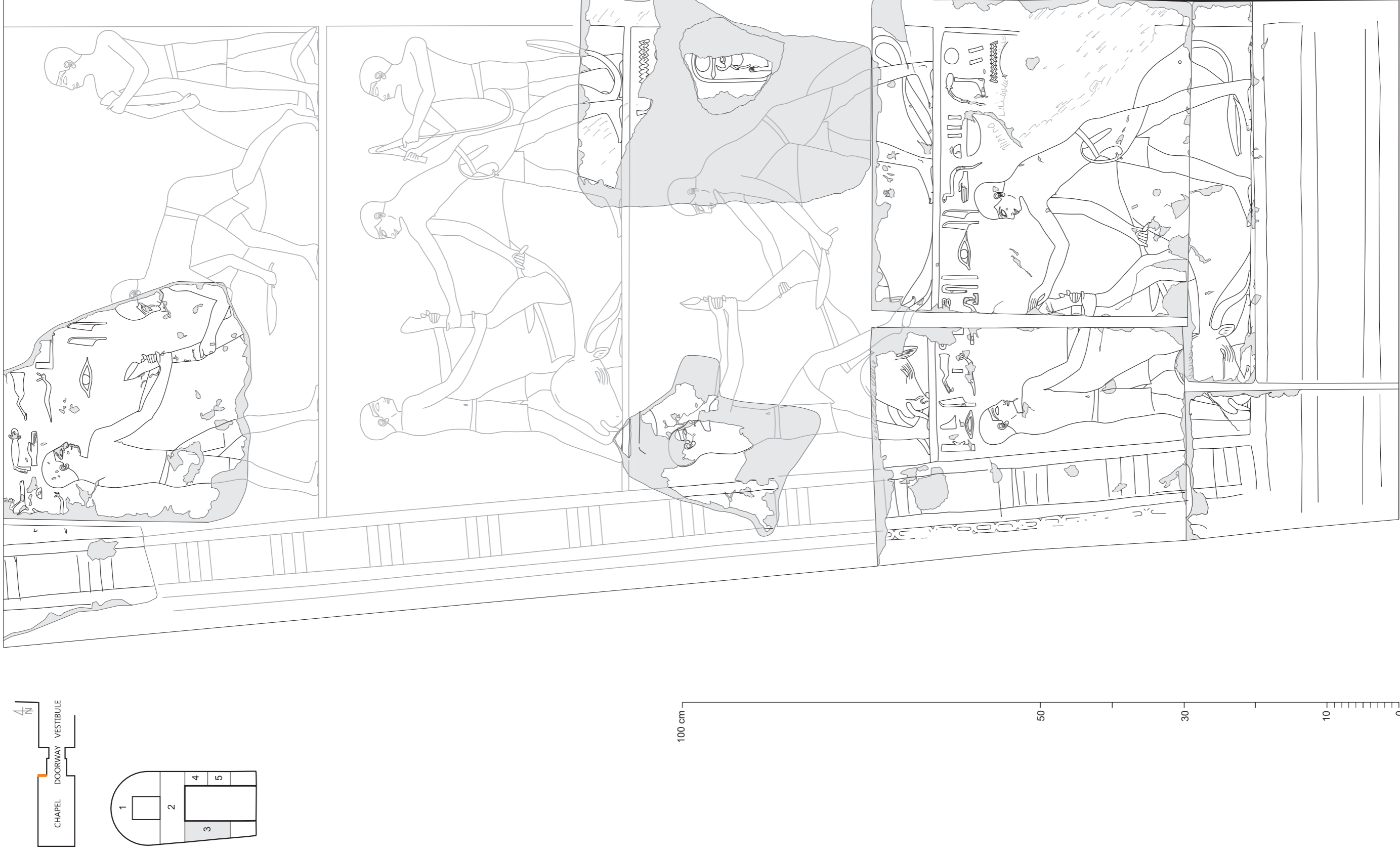


Plate 10.4. Chapel east wall – right side: zone 4

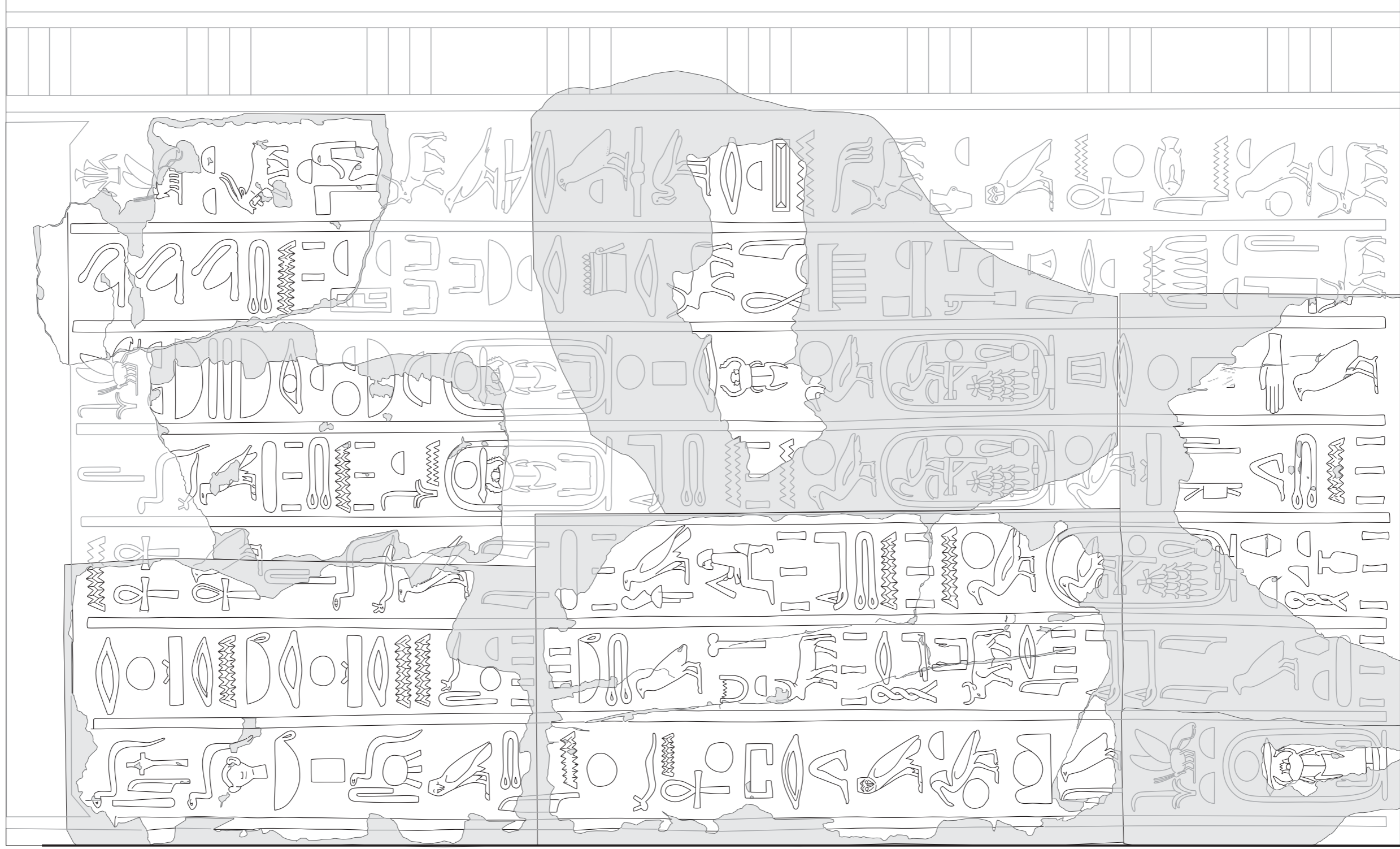
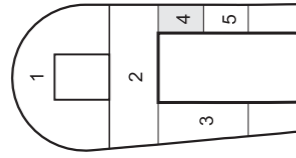
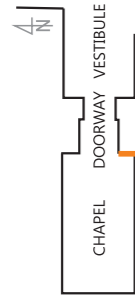
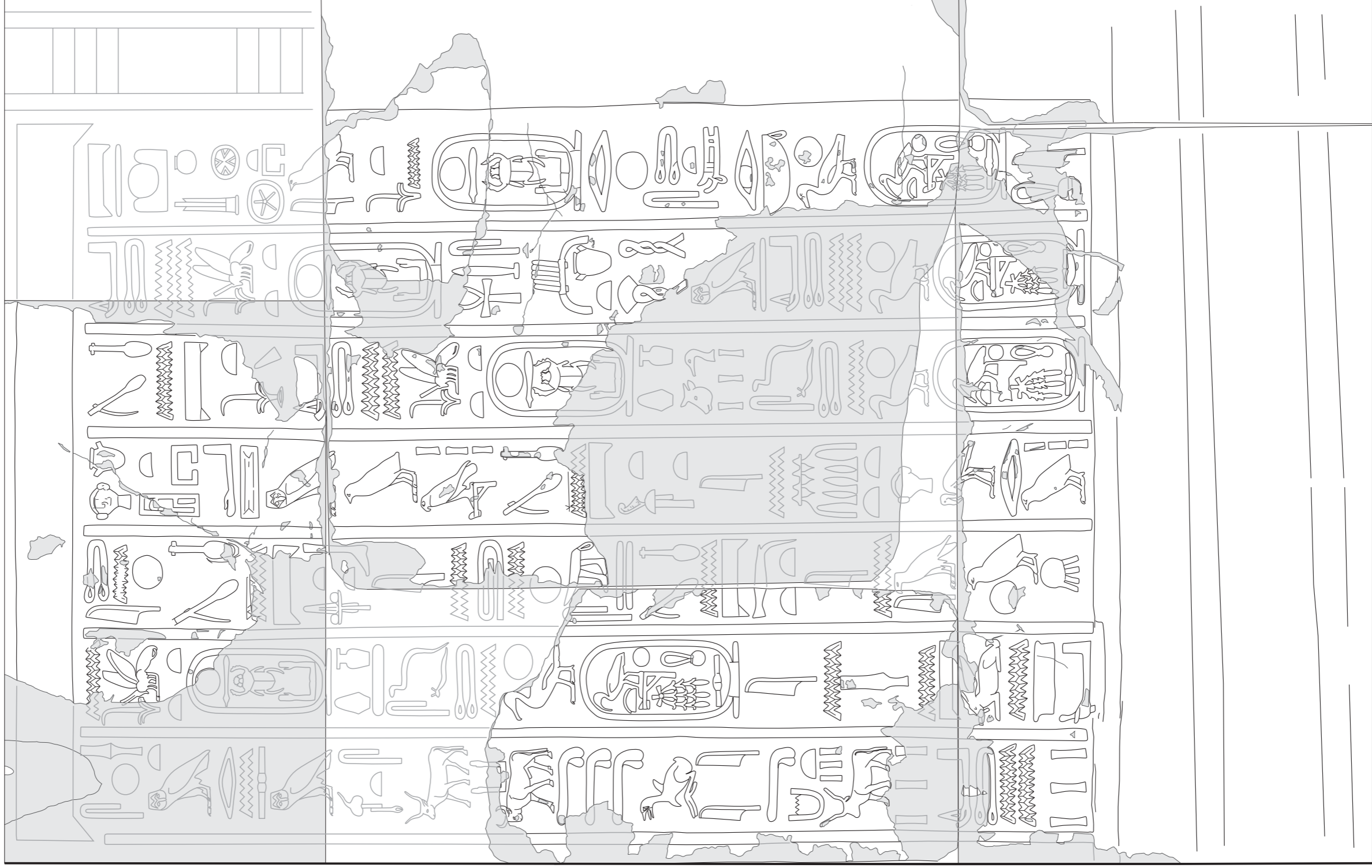
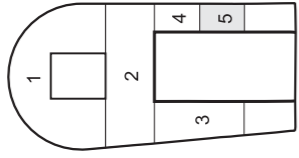
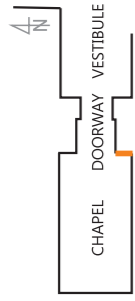


Plate 10.5. Chapel east wall – right side: zone 5



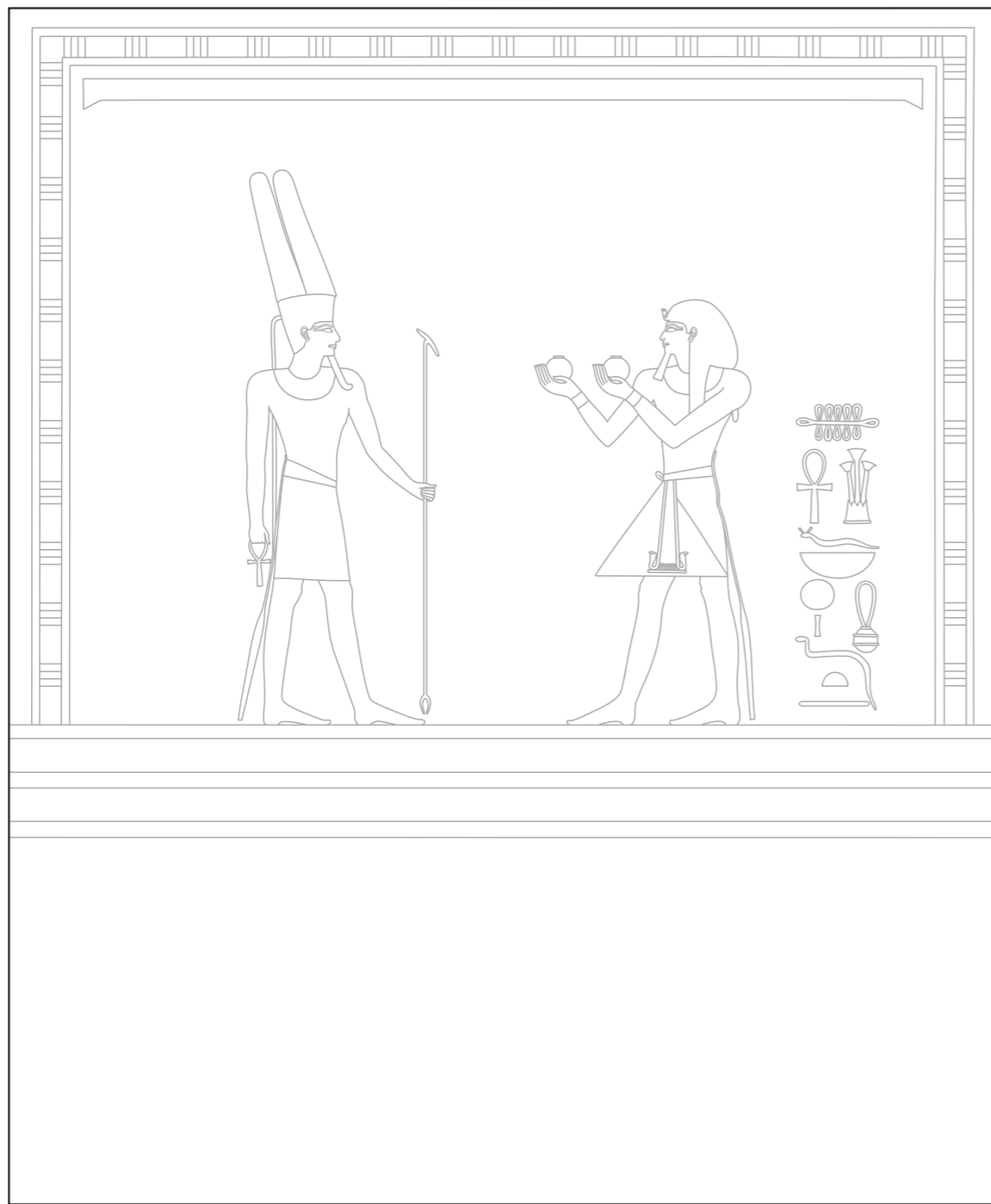
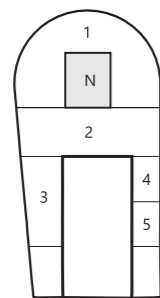
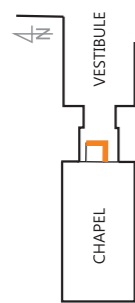
50 cm

30

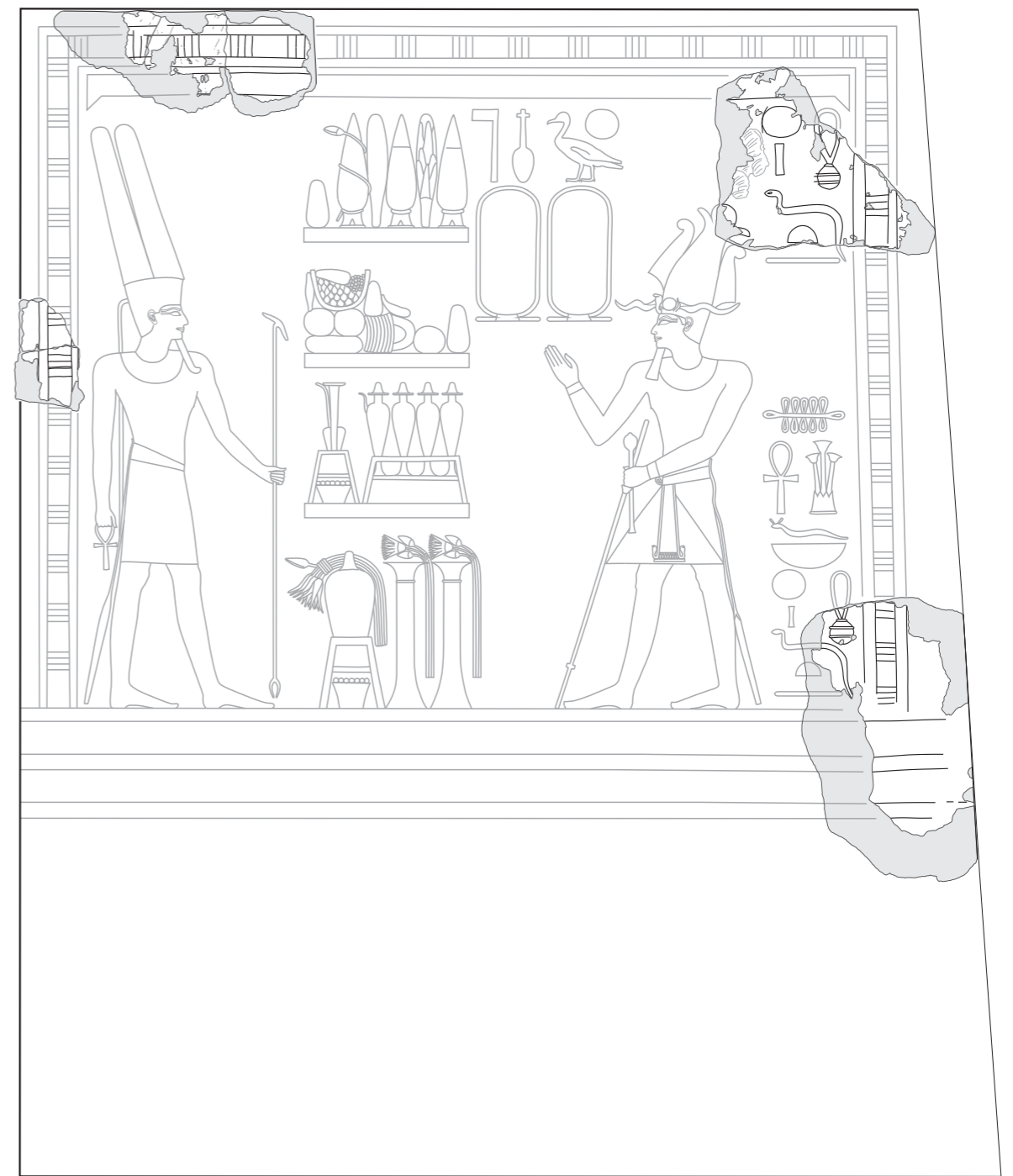
10

0

Plate 11. Chapel east wall – niche above the entrance



Rear wall



Right wall

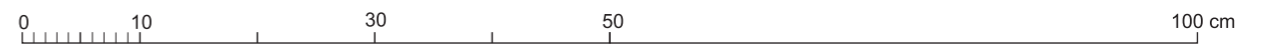


Plate 12. Chapel south wall

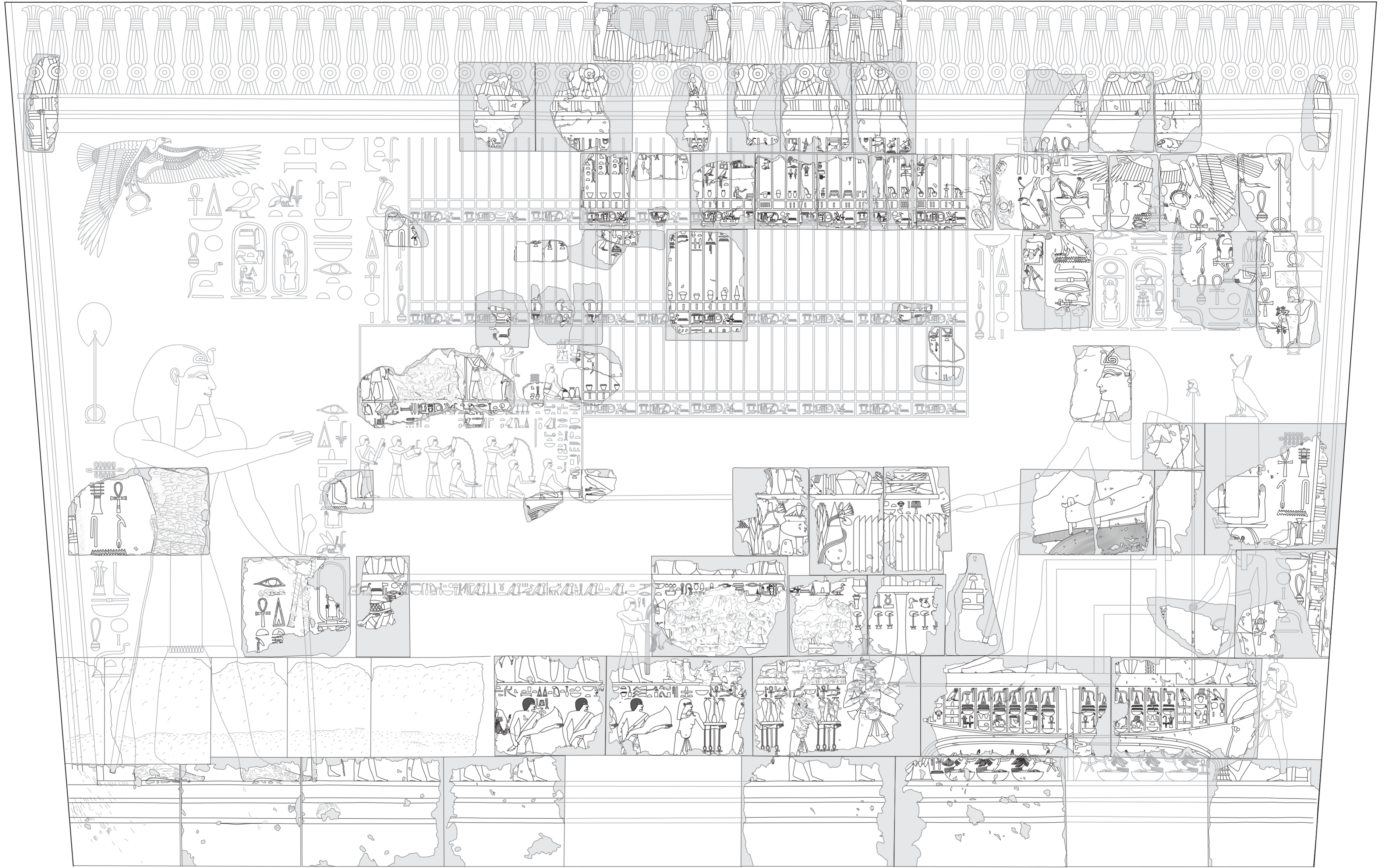
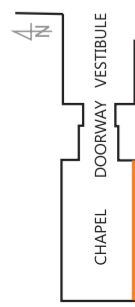


Plate 12.1. Chapel south wall – left side: zone 1

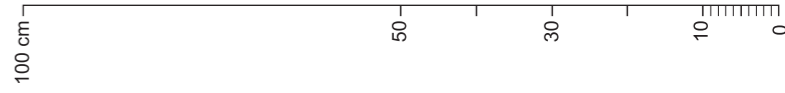
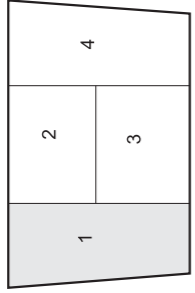
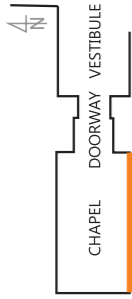
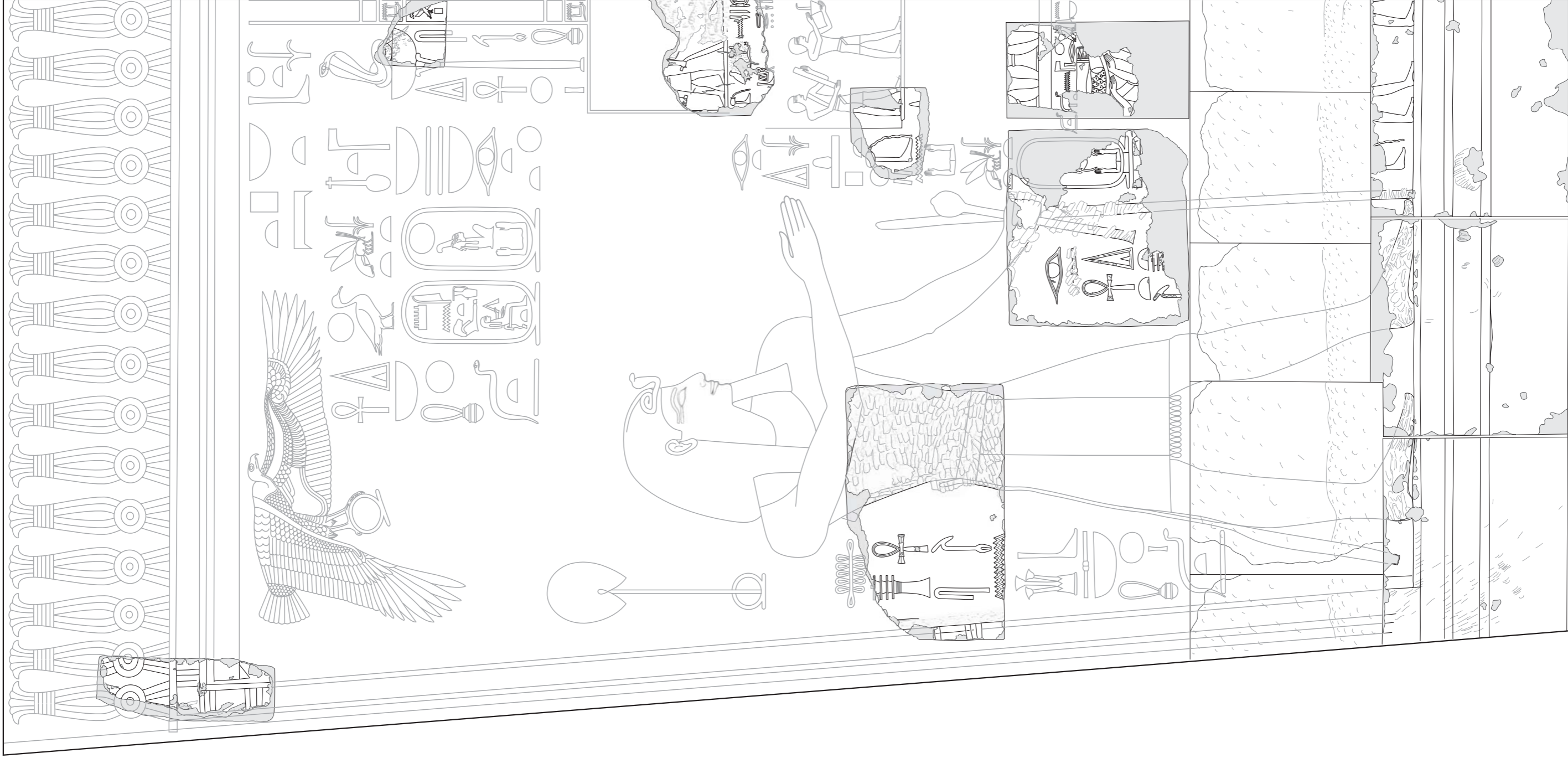
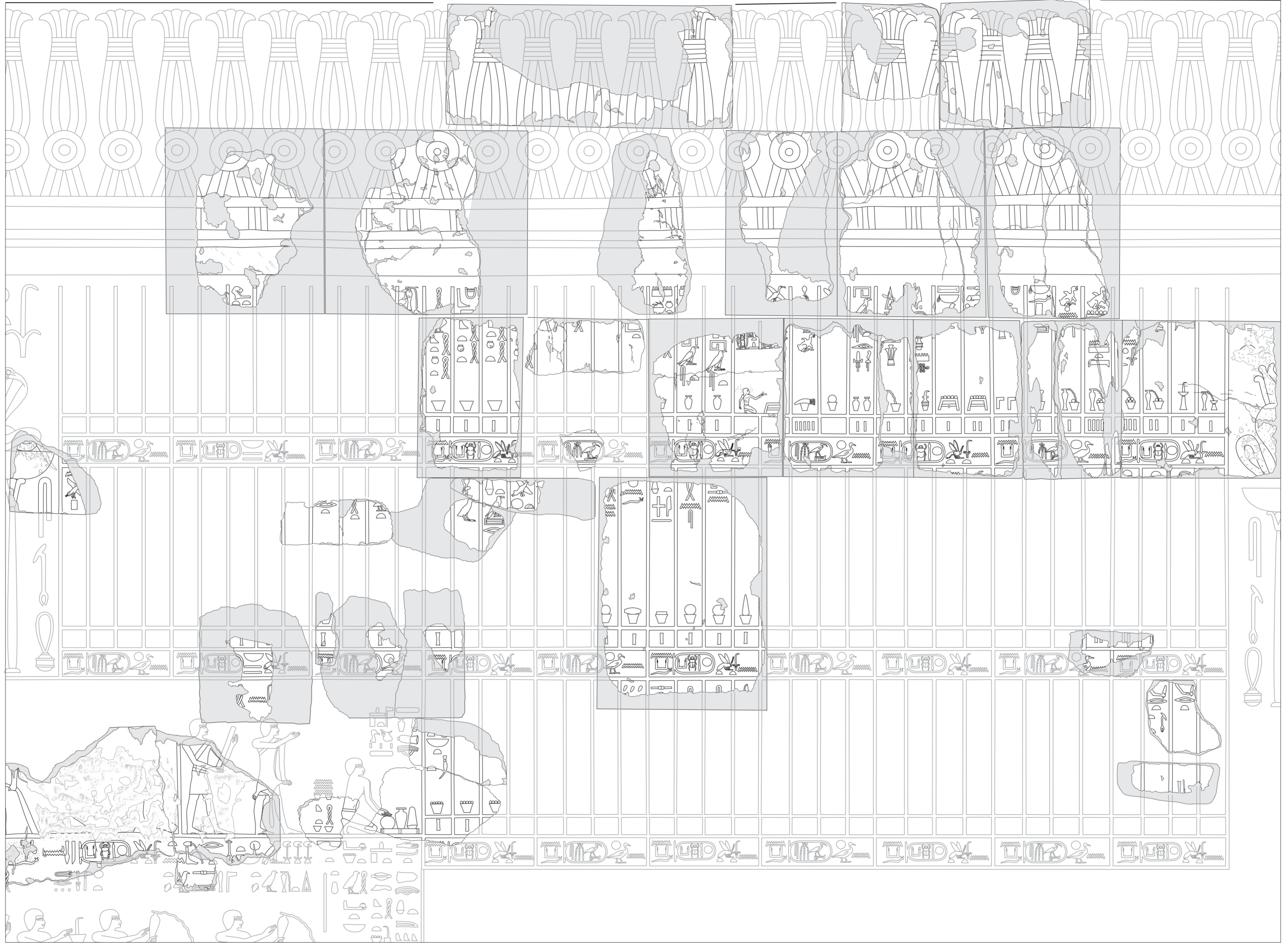
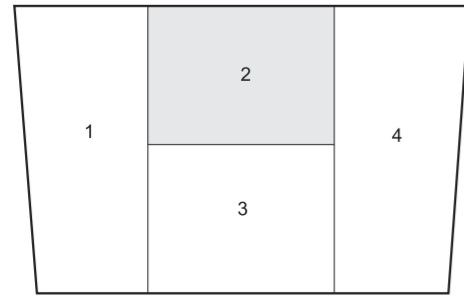
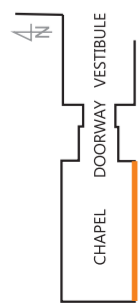
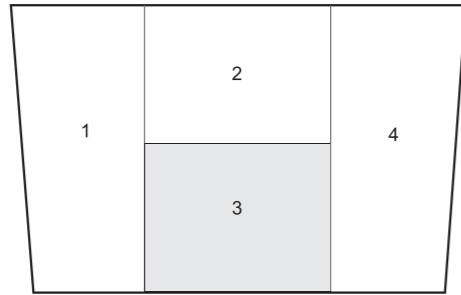
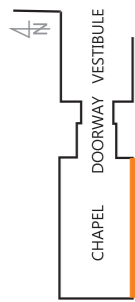
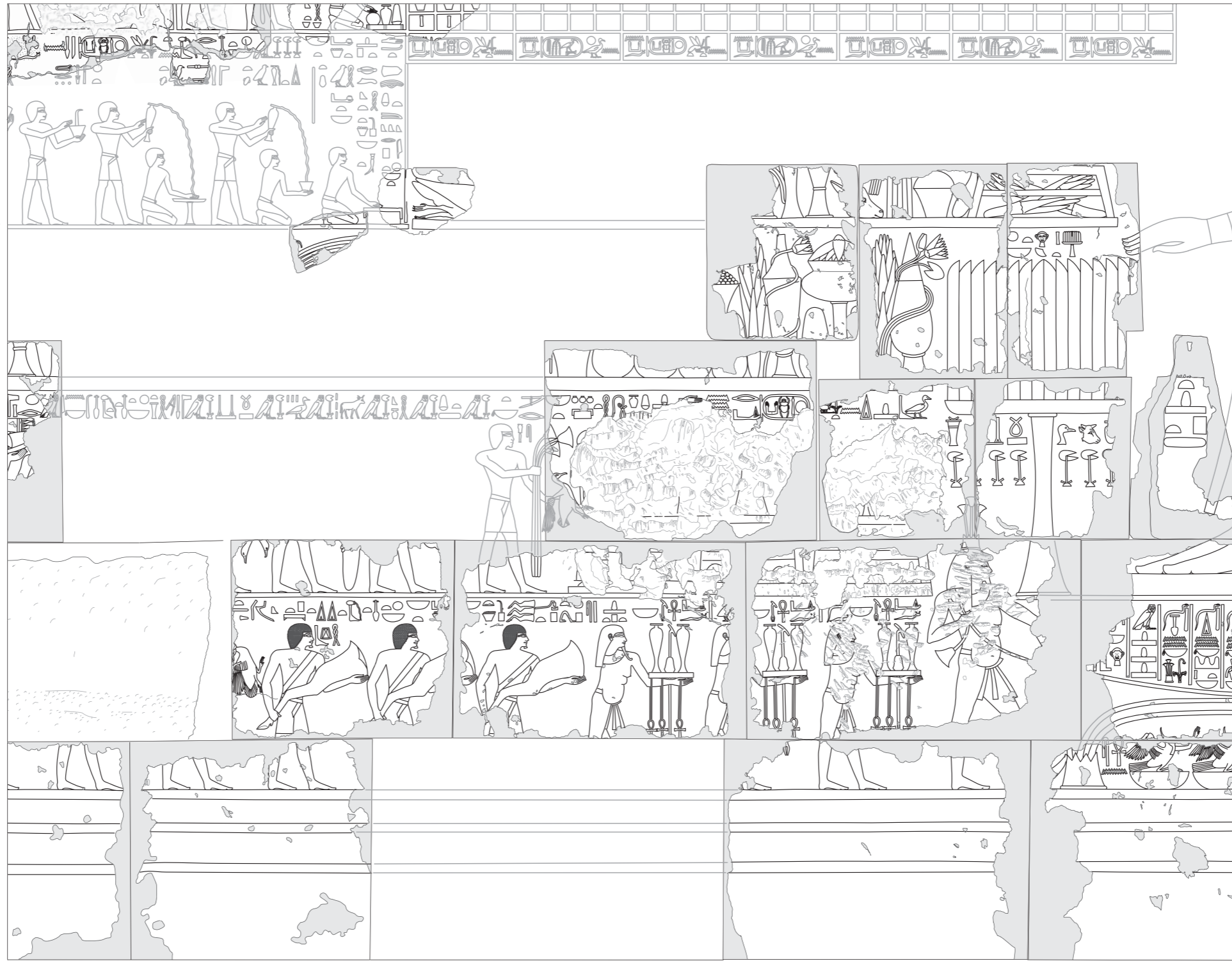


Plate 12.2. Chapel south wall – center: zone 2



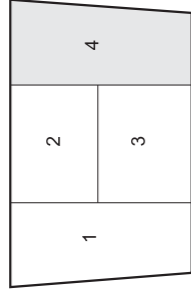
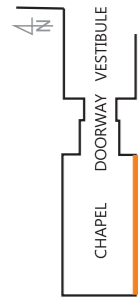
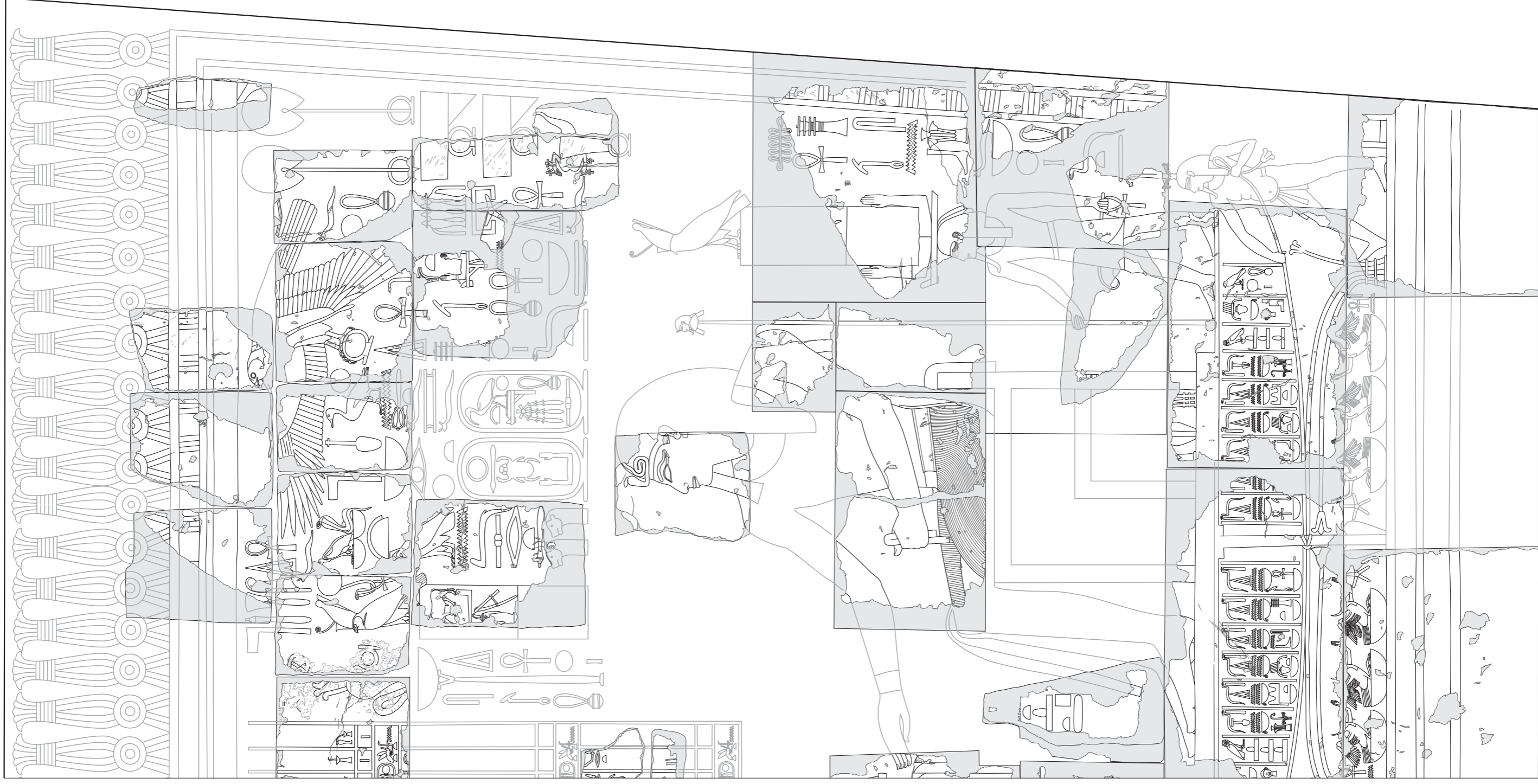
0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 12.3. Chapel south wall – center: zone 3



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 12.4. Chapel south wall – right side: zone 4



100 cm
50
30
10
0

Plate 12.5. Chapel south wall – detail of the decoration: Offering Ritual scenes

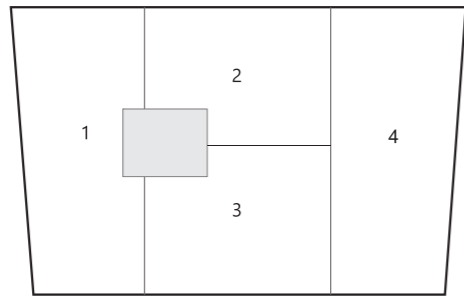
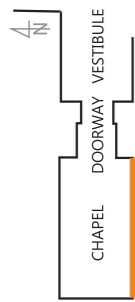
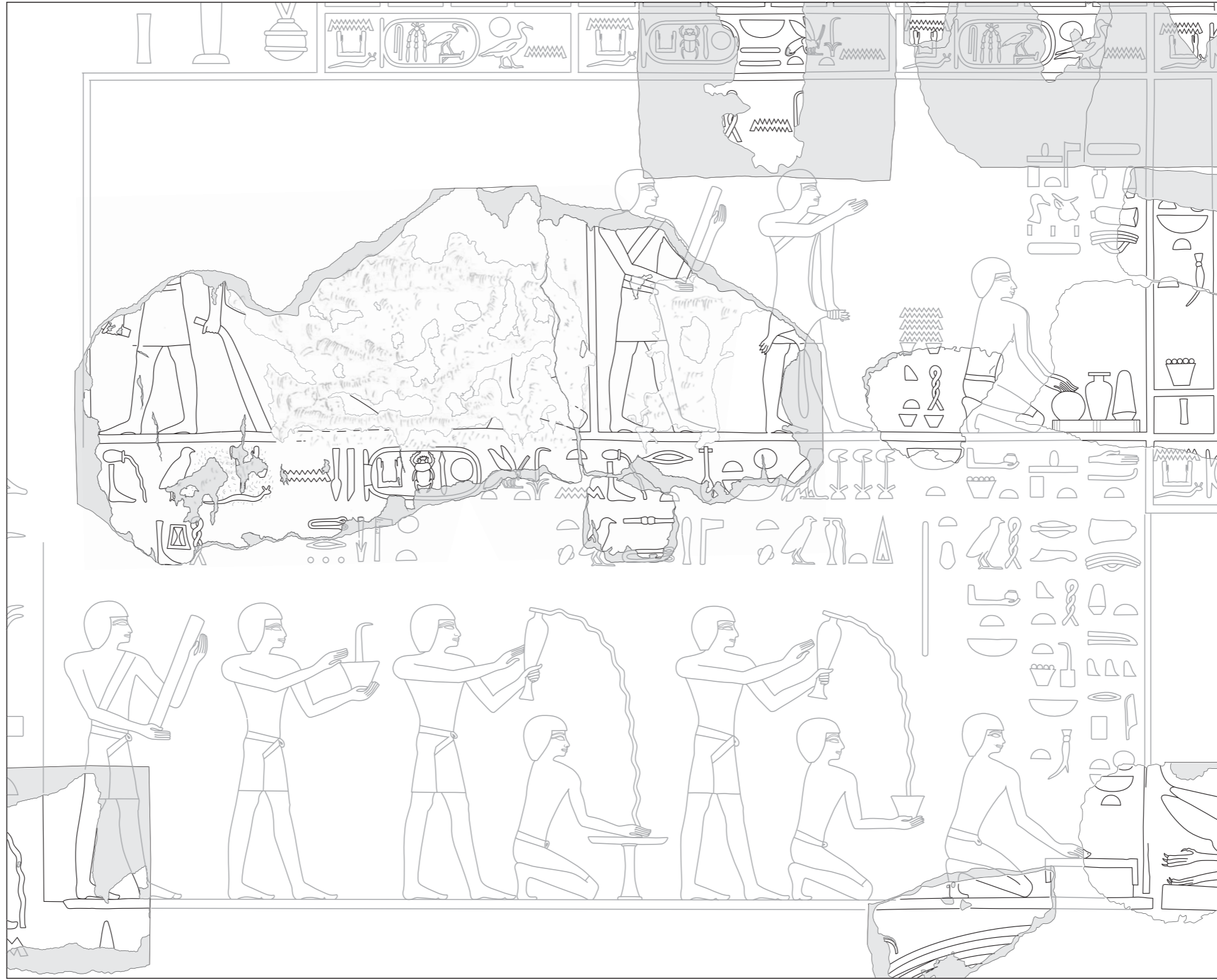
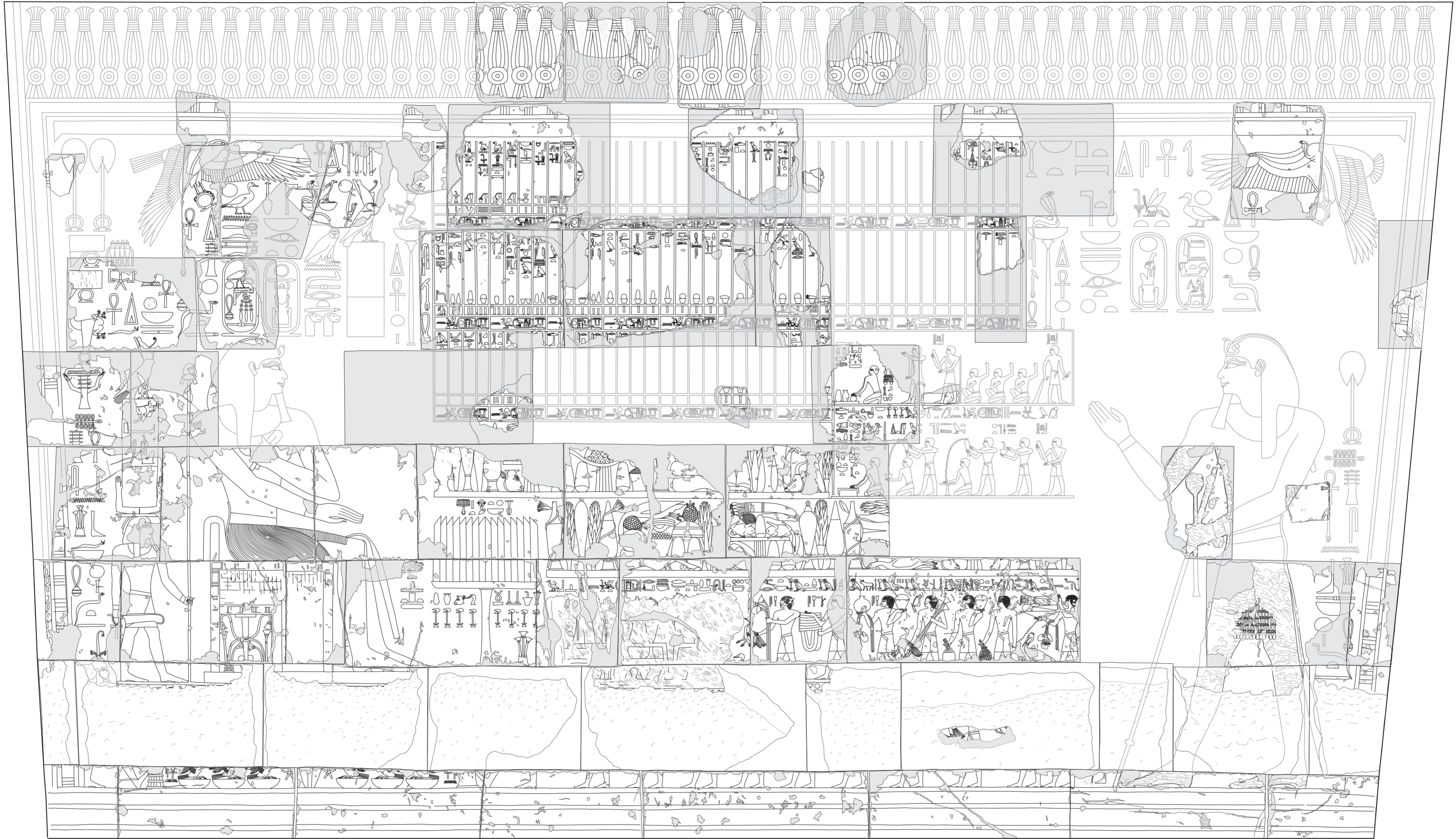
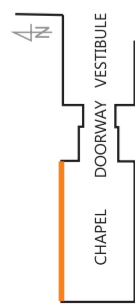
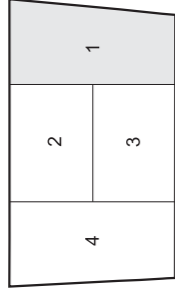
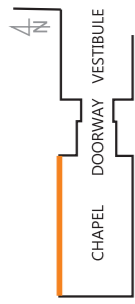
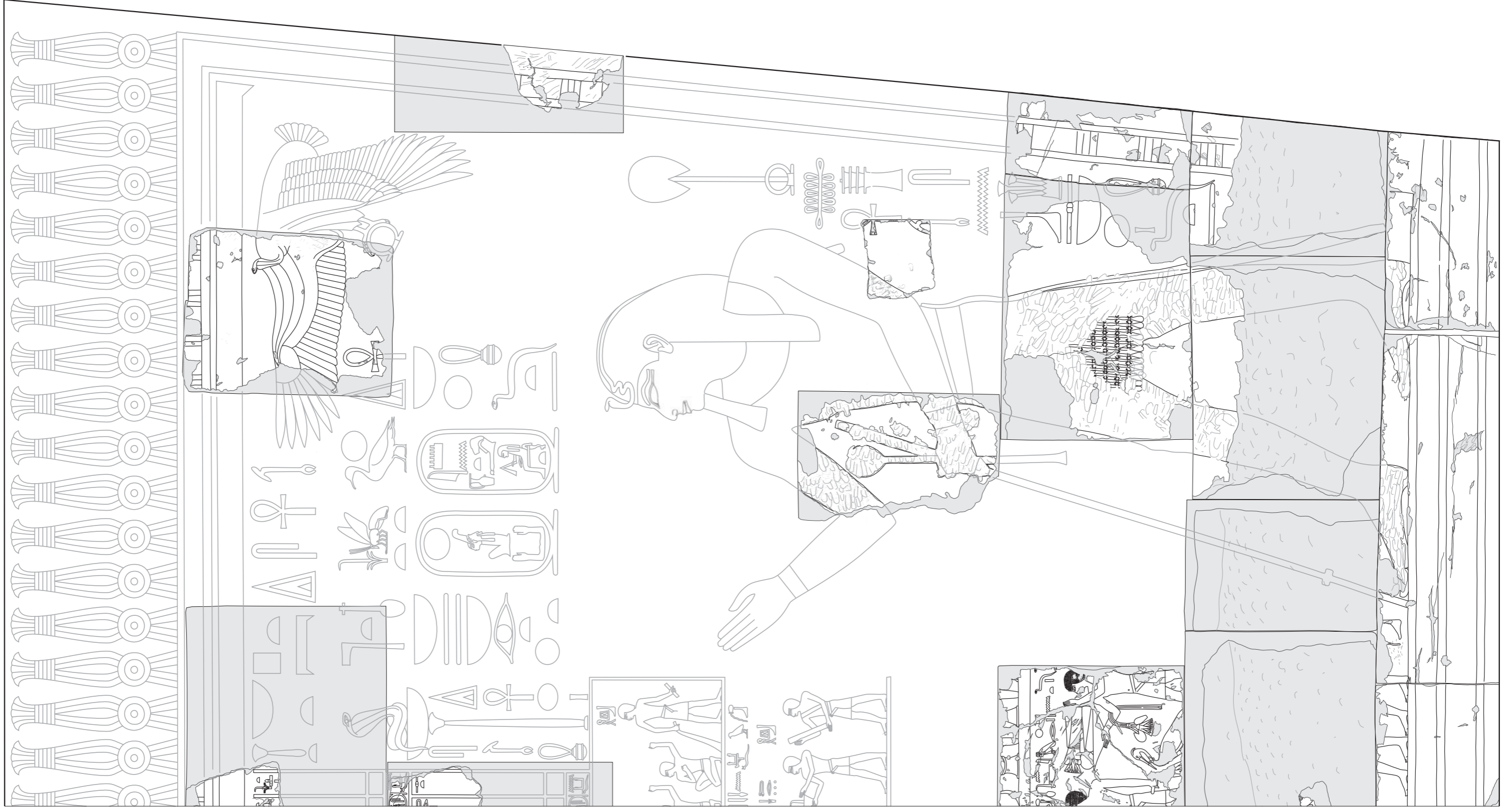


Plate 13. Chapel north wall



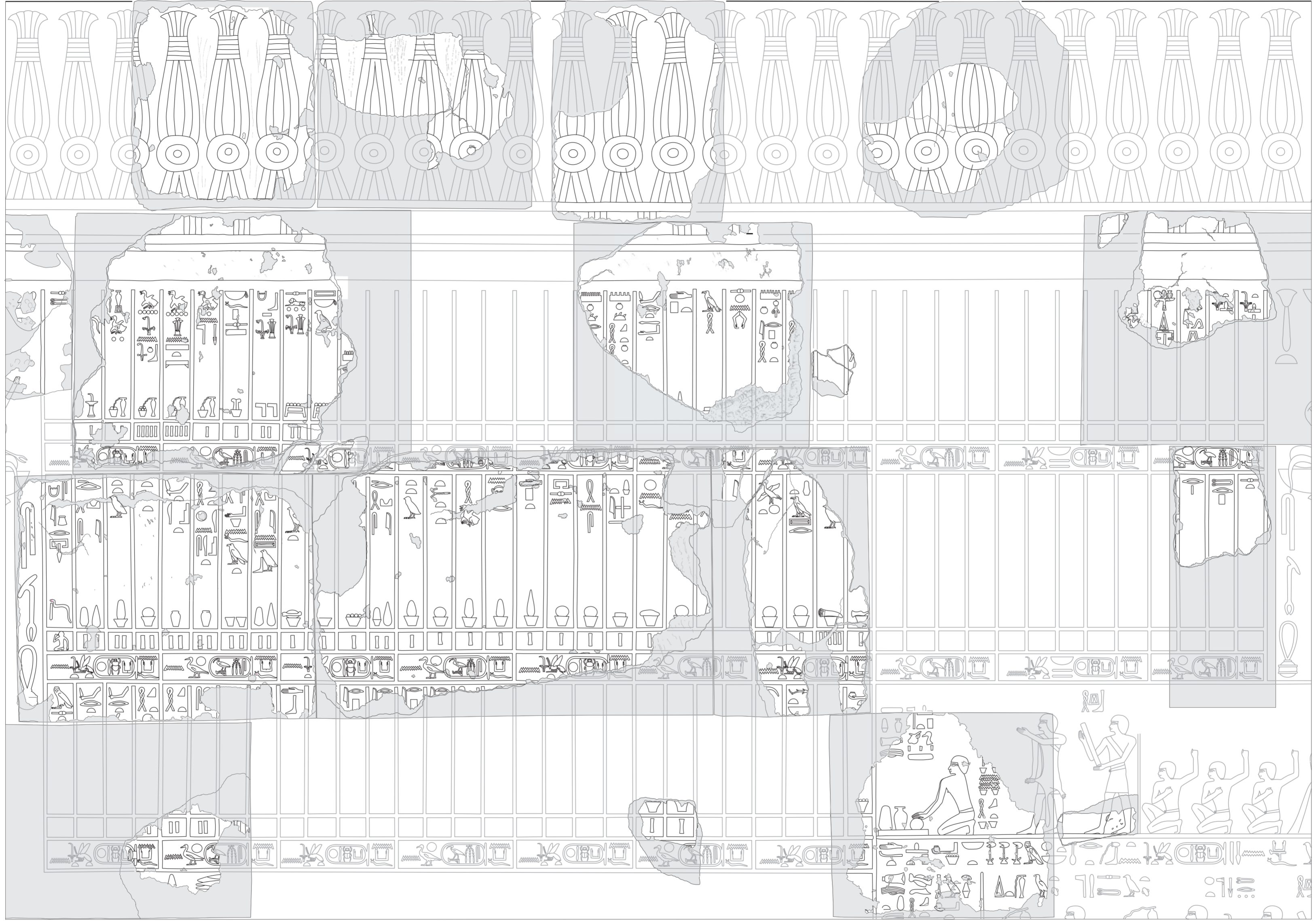
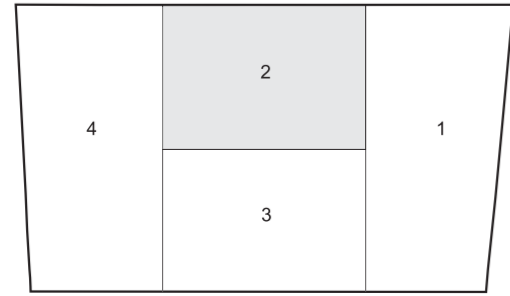
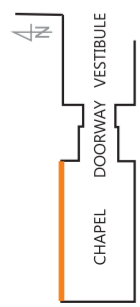
0 10 30 50 100 200 cm

Plate 13.1. Chapel north wall – right side: zone 1



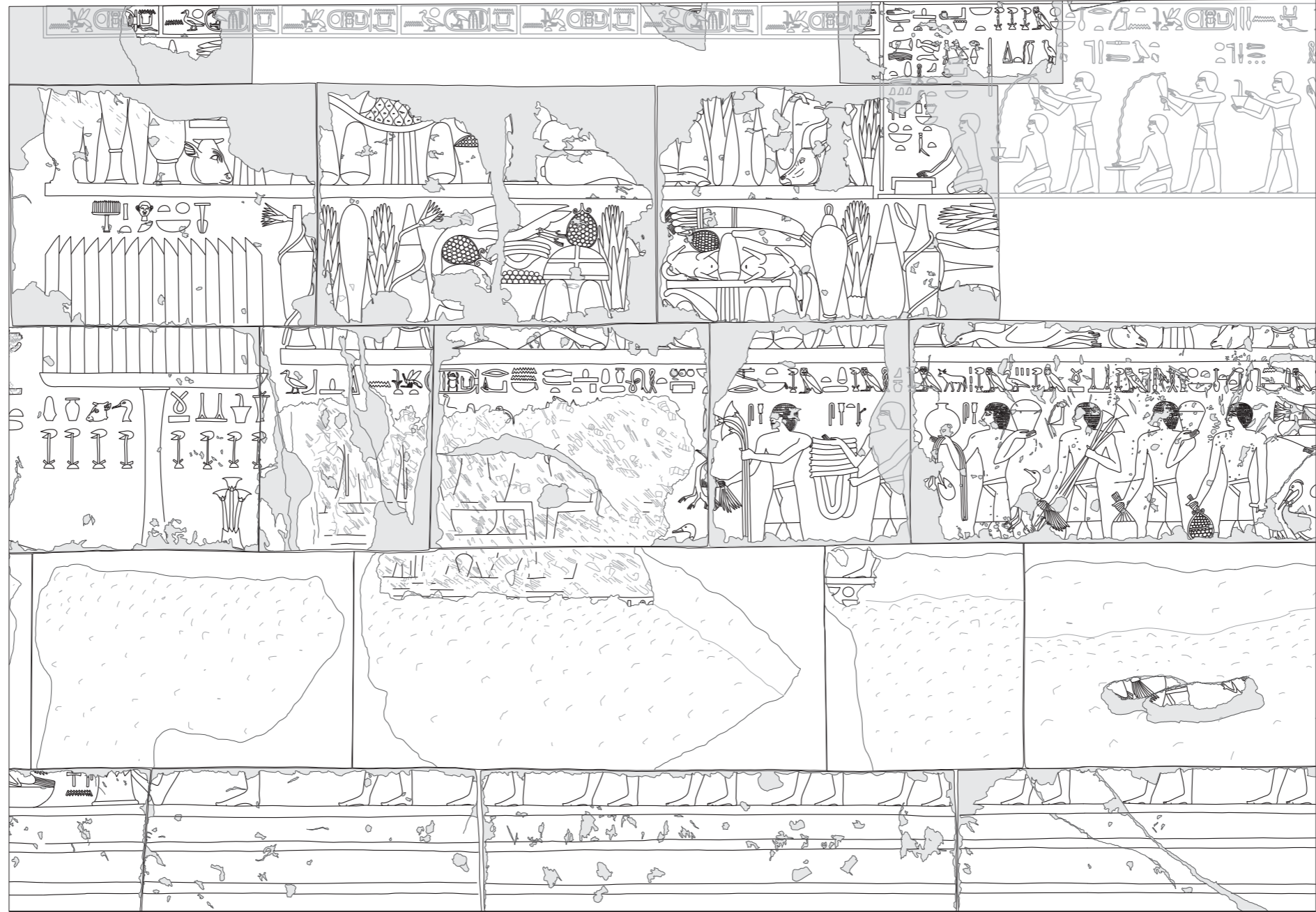
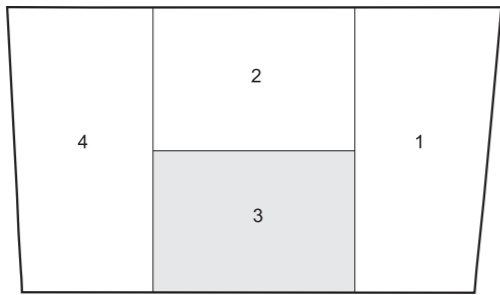
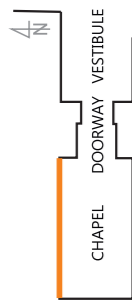
100 cm
50
30
10
0

Plate 13.2. Chapel north wall – center: zone 2



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 13.3. Chapel north wall – center: zone 3



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 13.4. Chapel north wall – left side: zone 4

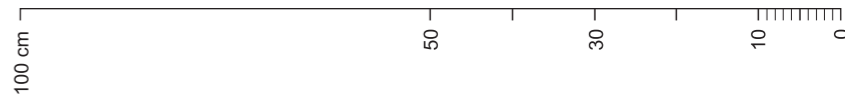
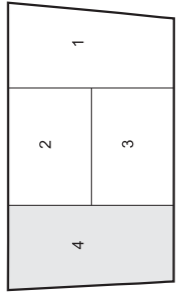
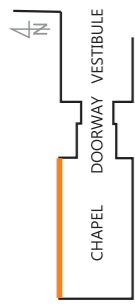
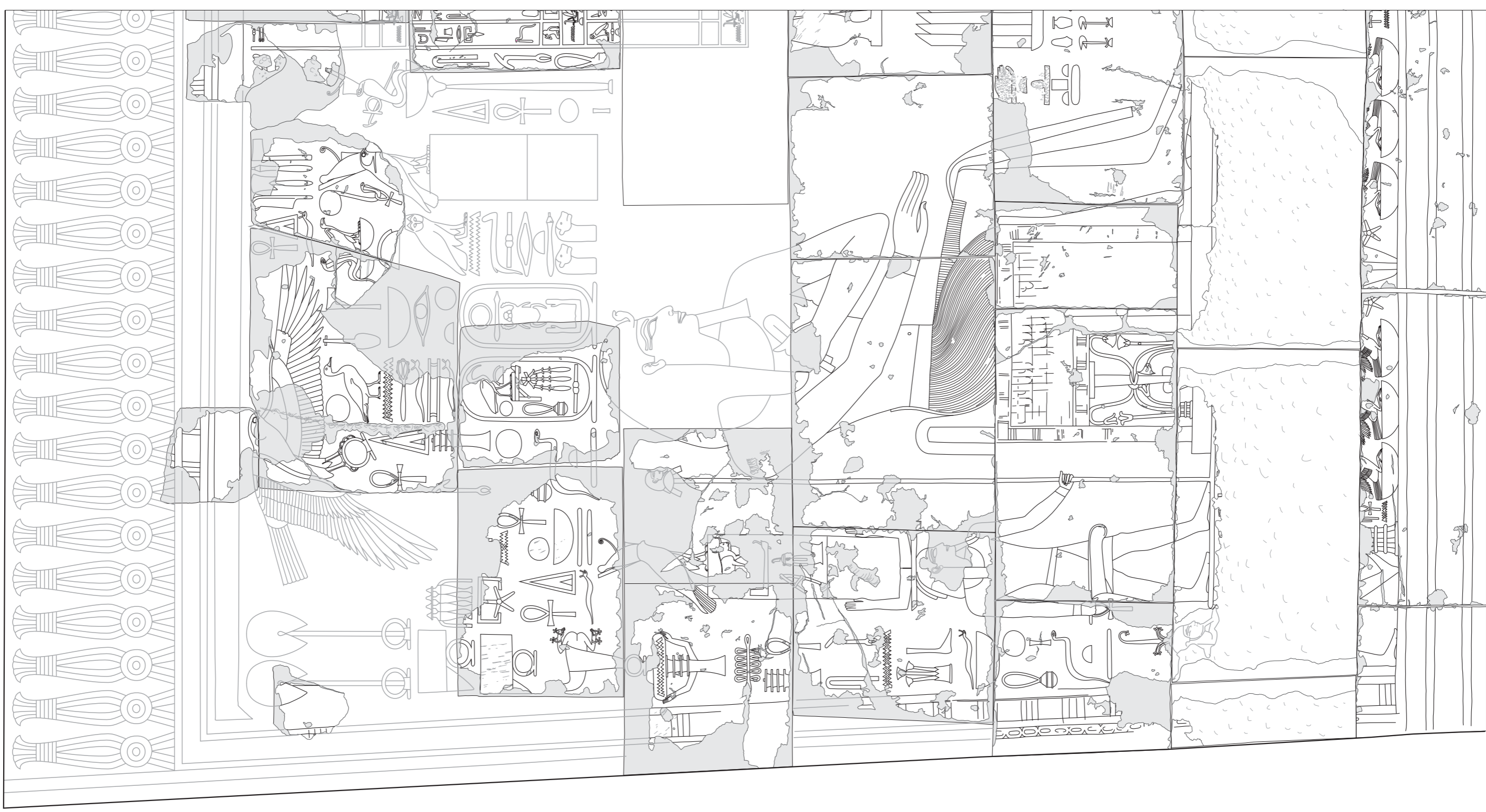


Plate 13.5. Chapel north wall – detail of the decoration: Offering Ritual scenes

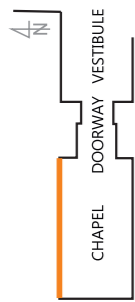
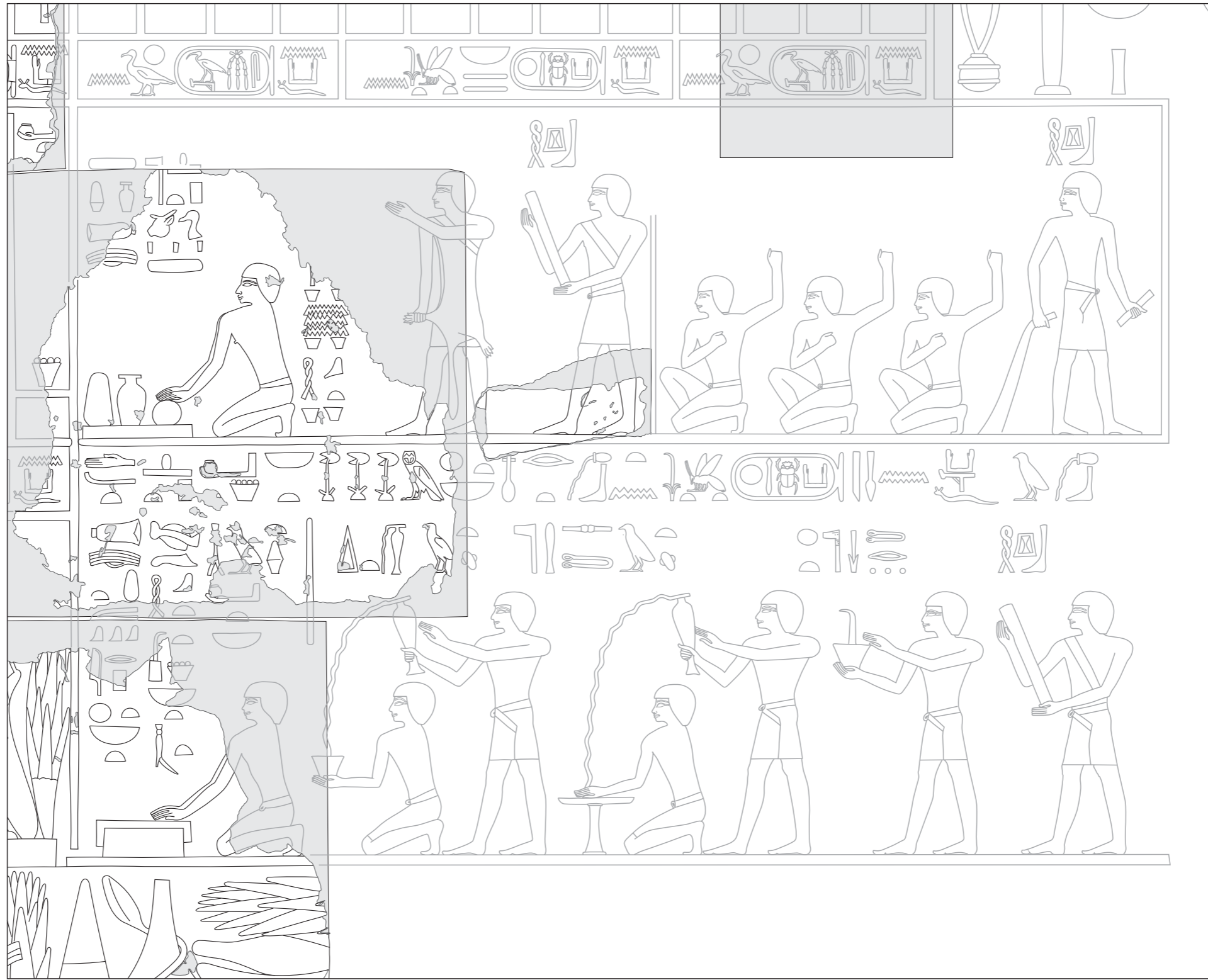


Plate 14. Chapel west wall

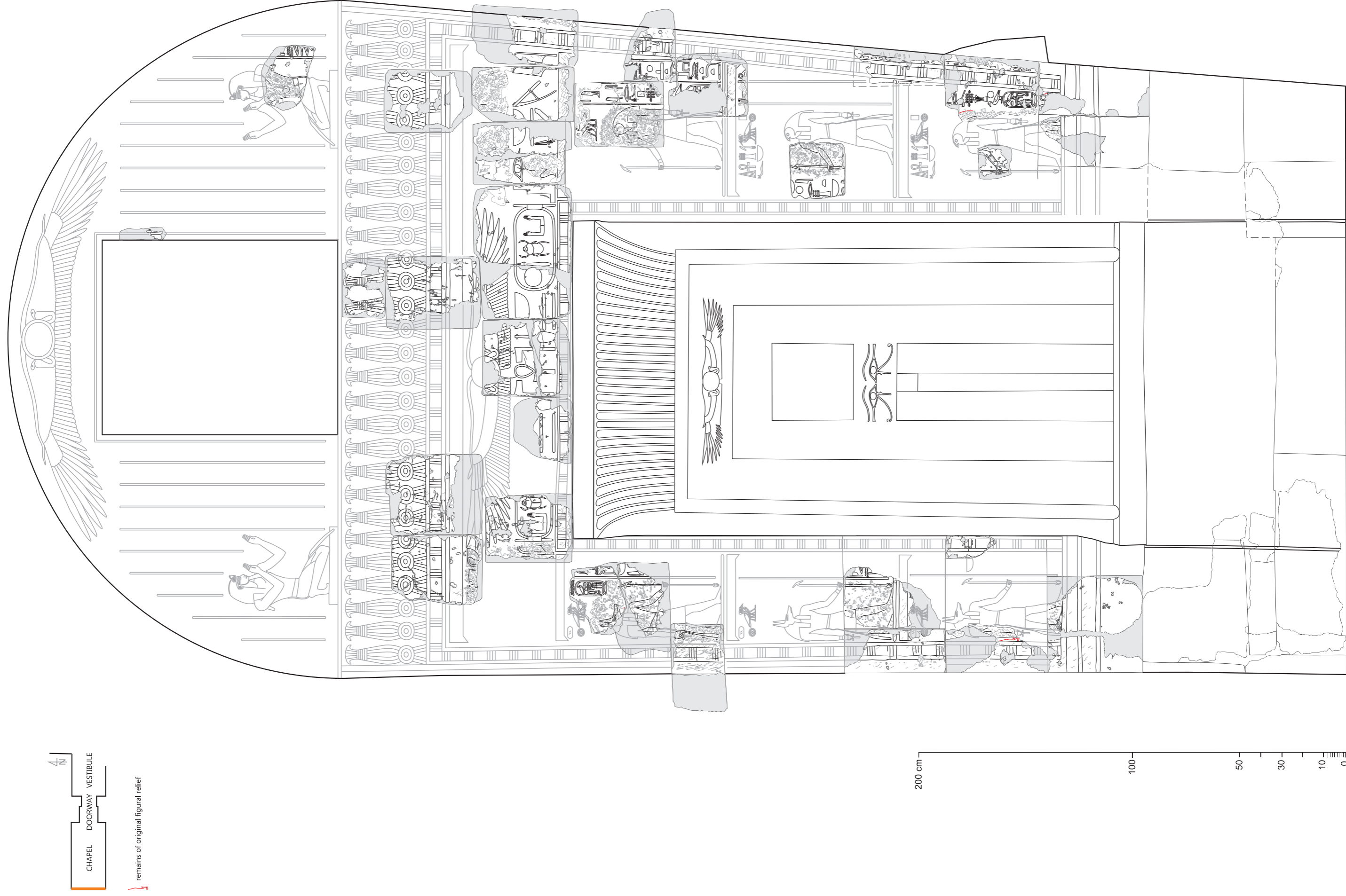
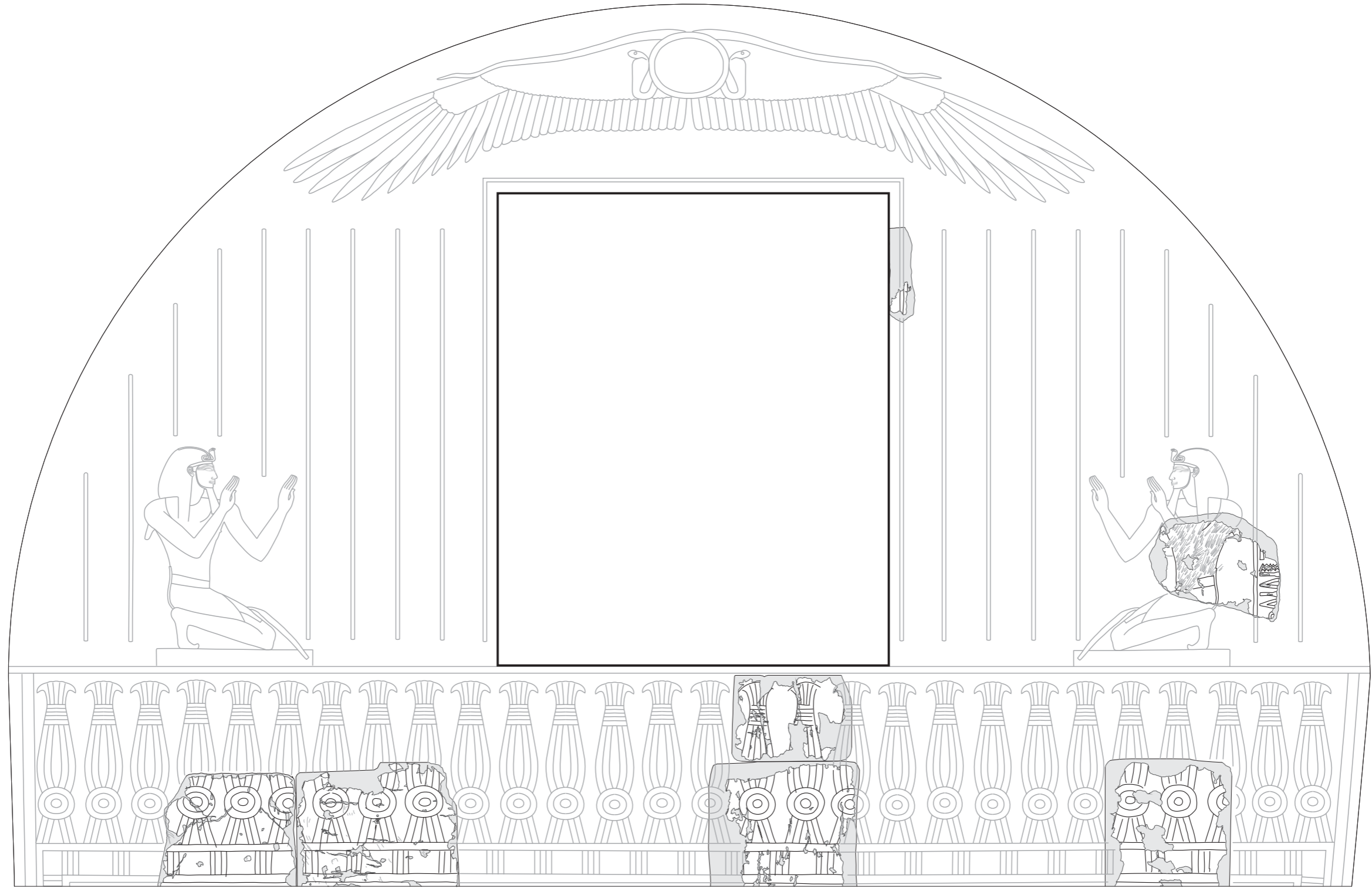


Plate 14.1. Chapel west wall – decoration of the lunette



0 10 30 50 100 cm

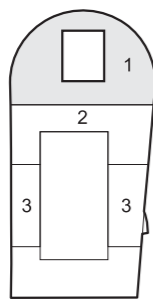
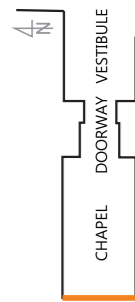


Plate 14.2. Chapel west wall – decoration above and on both sides of the false-door stela: zone 2

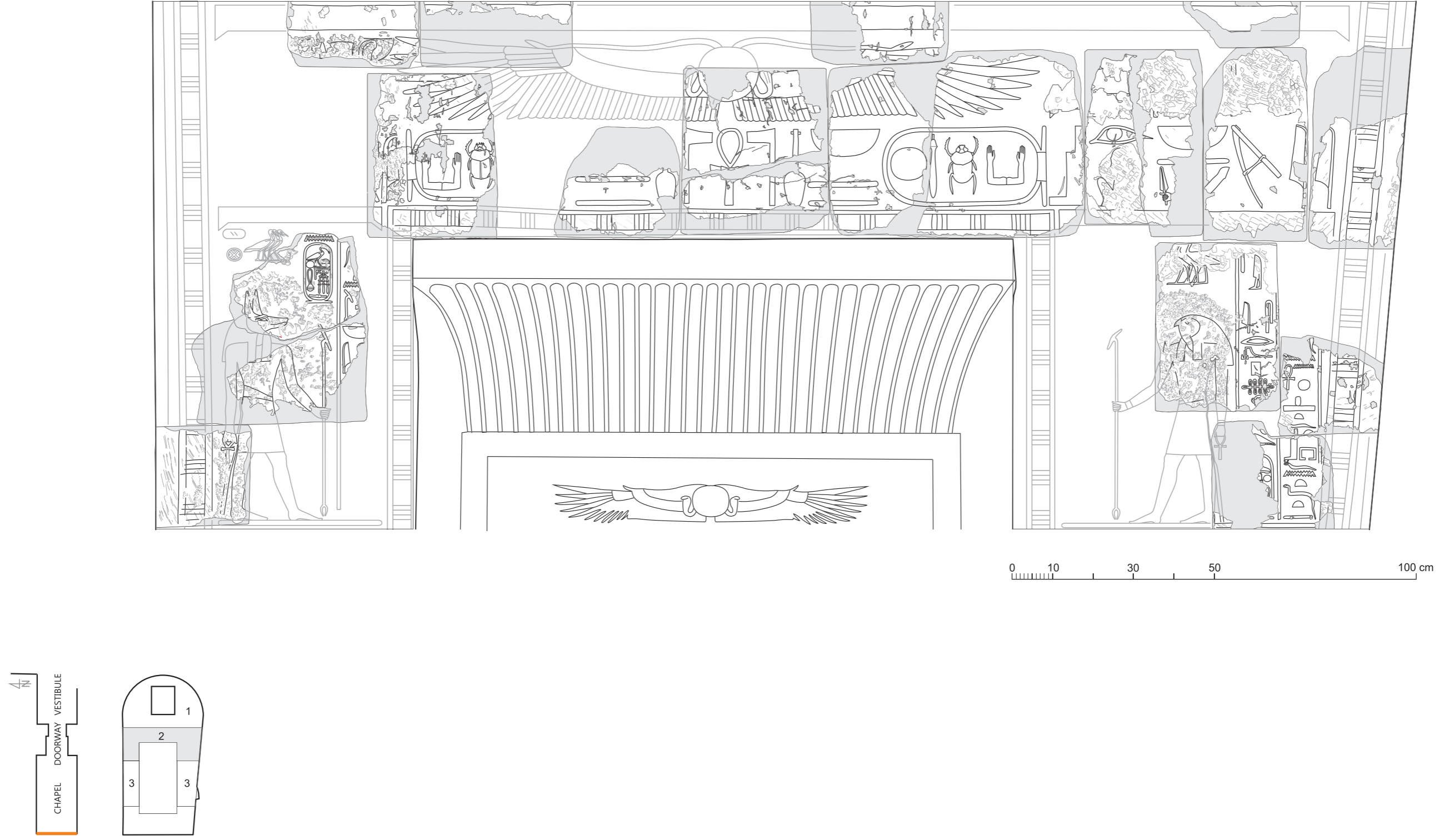
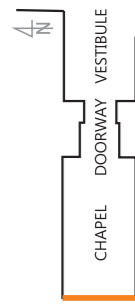
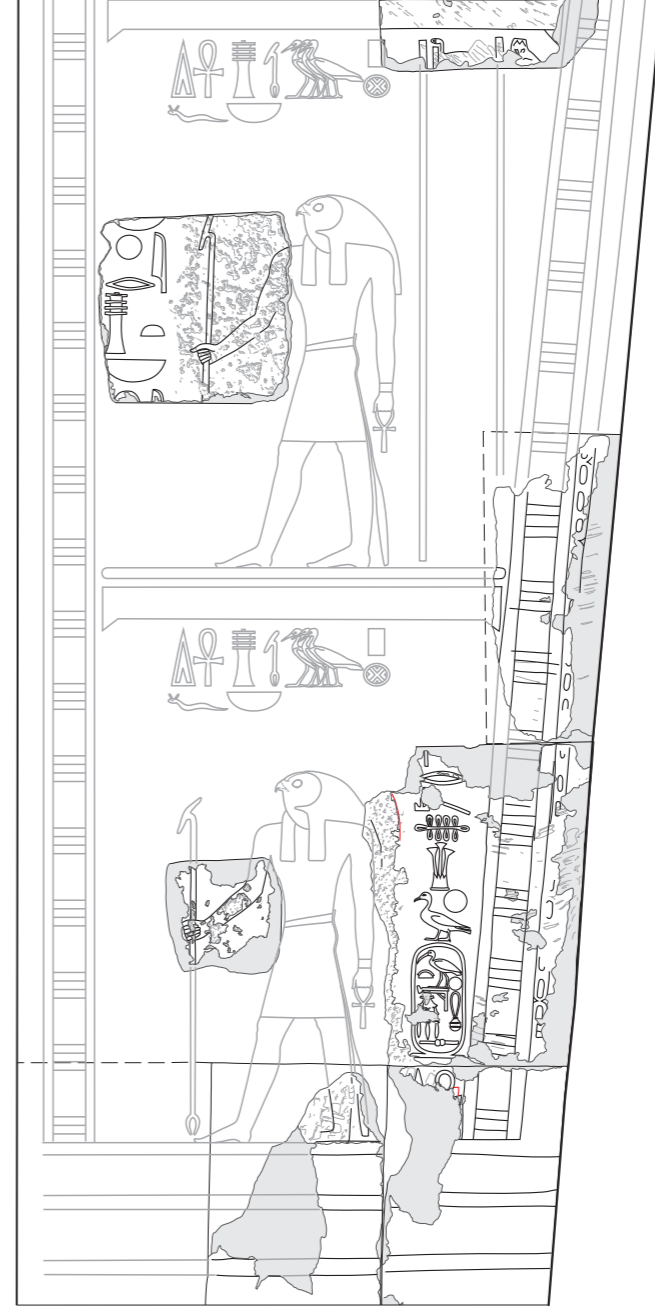
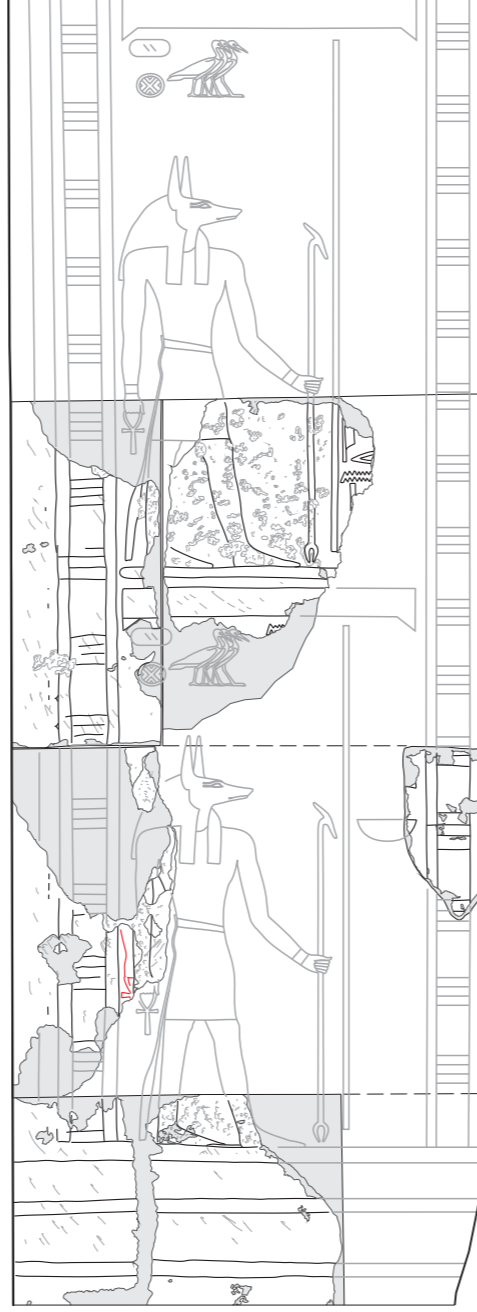
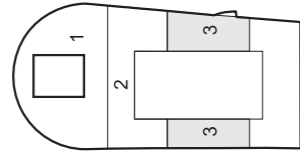


Plate 14.3. Chapel west wall – left and right side: zone 3

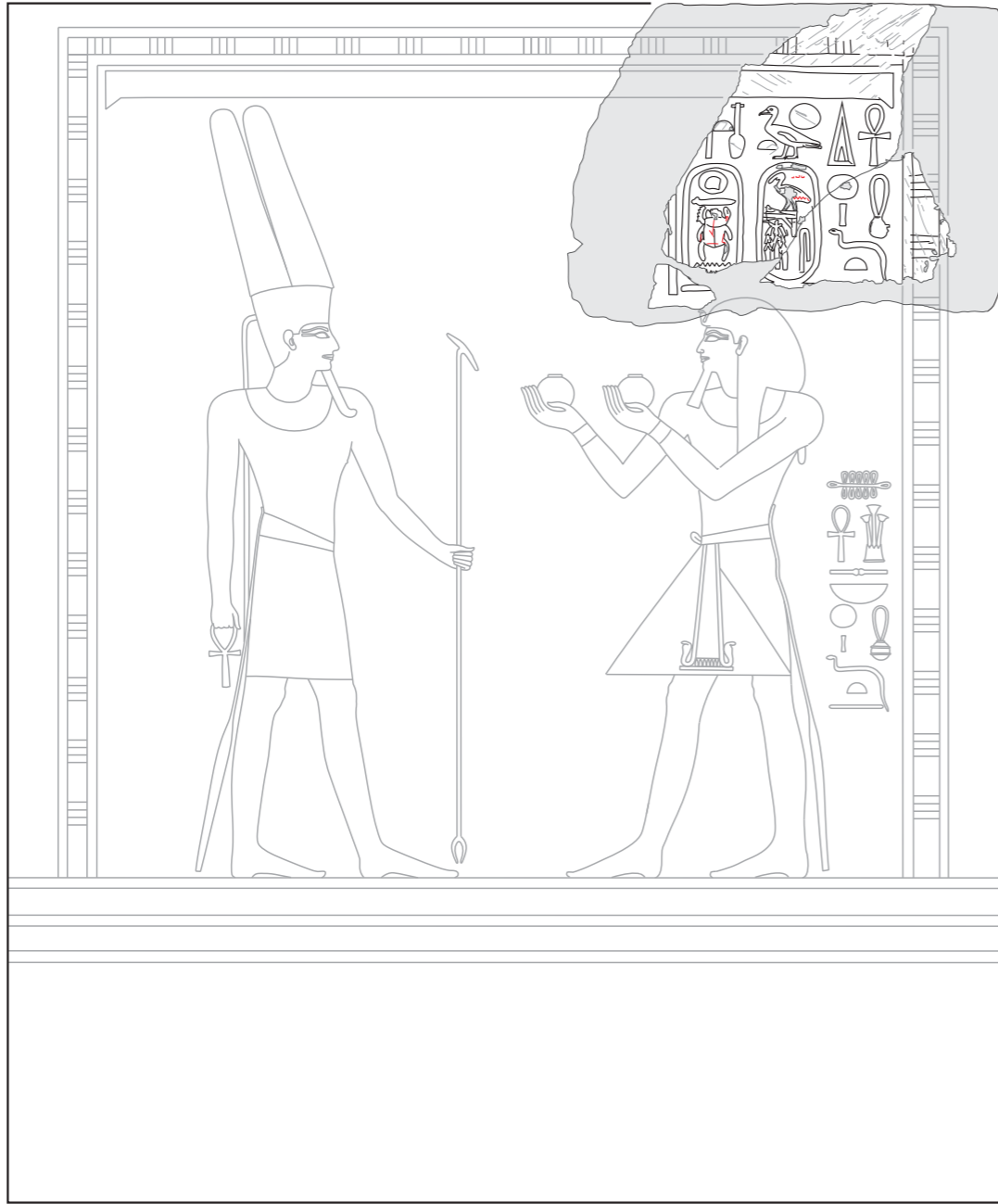
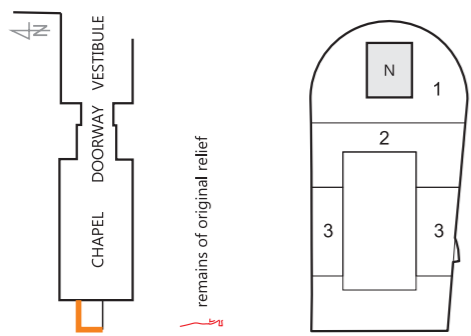


remains of original figurial relief

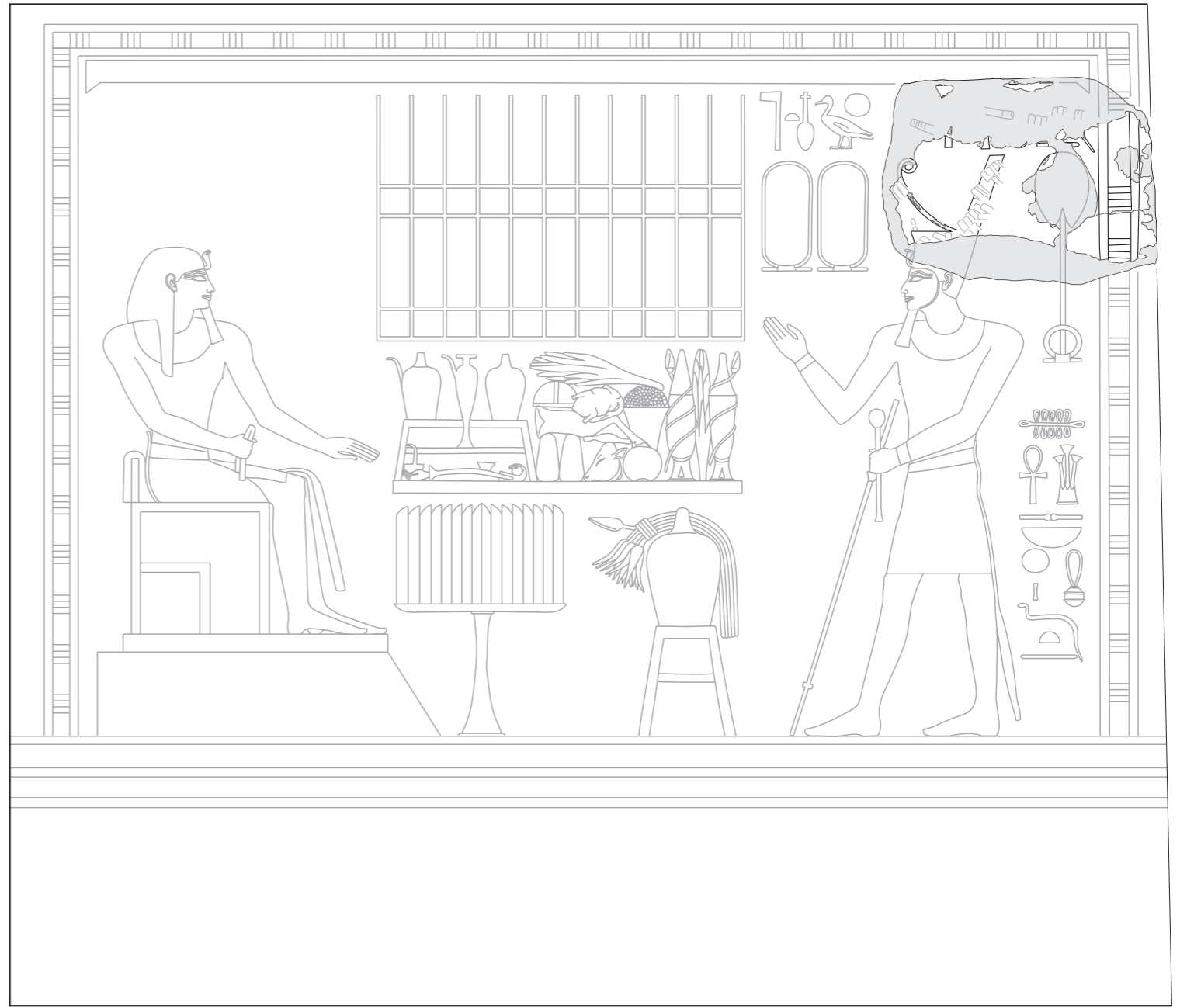


0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 15. Chapel west wall – niche above the false-door stela



Rear wall



Right wall

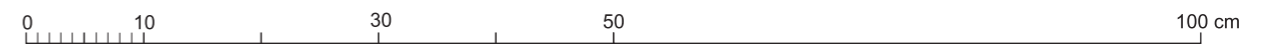


Plate 16. False-door stela in the west wall of the chapel

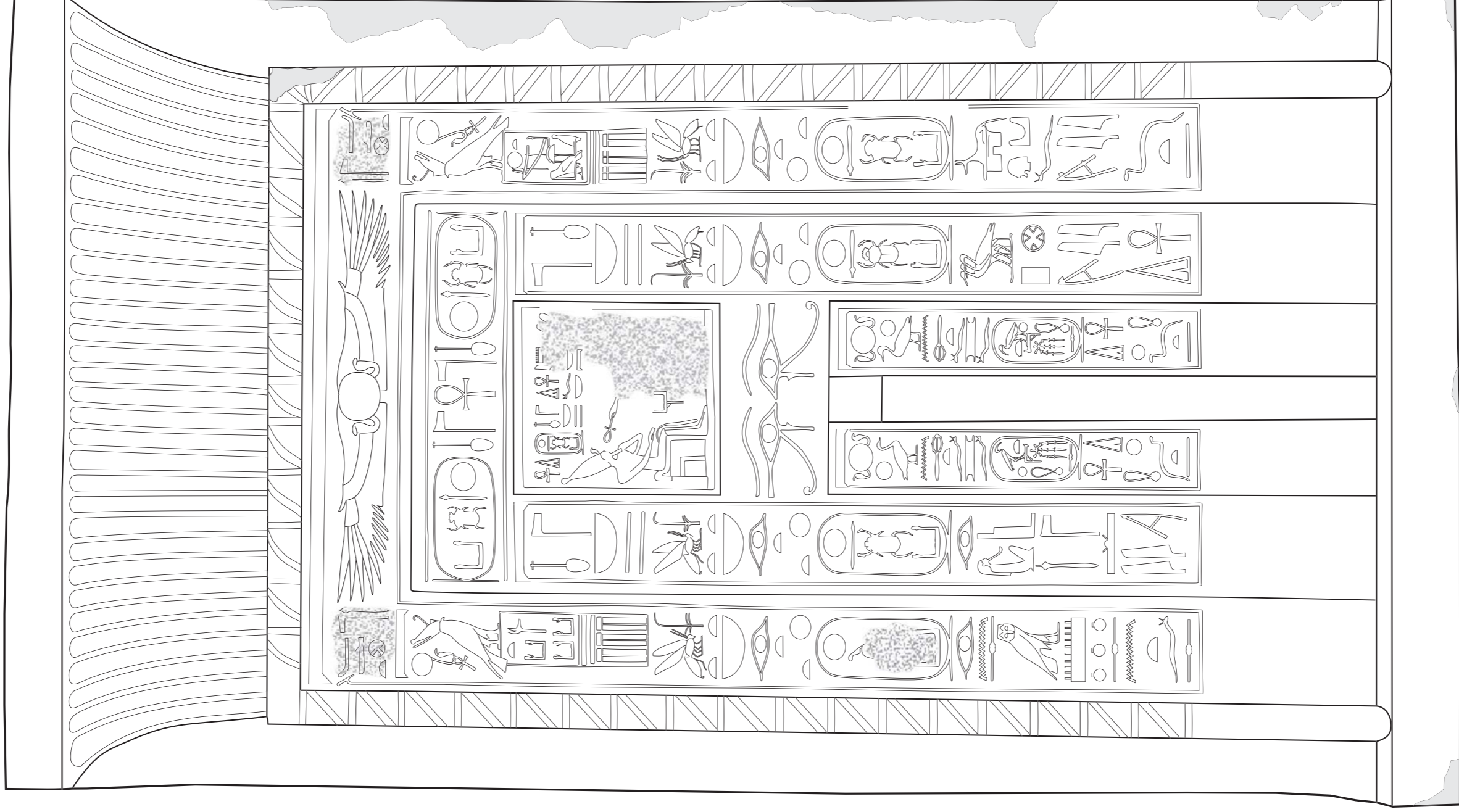
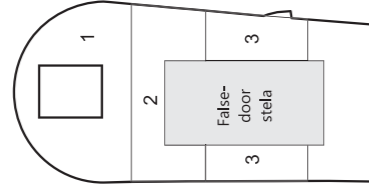
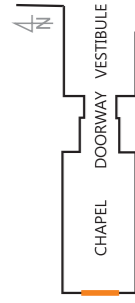
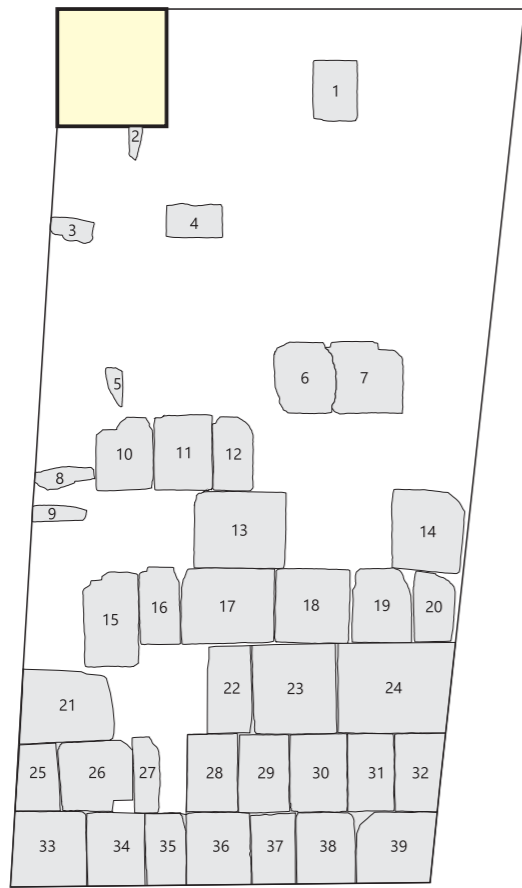
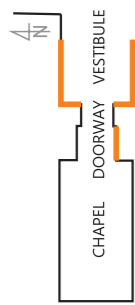
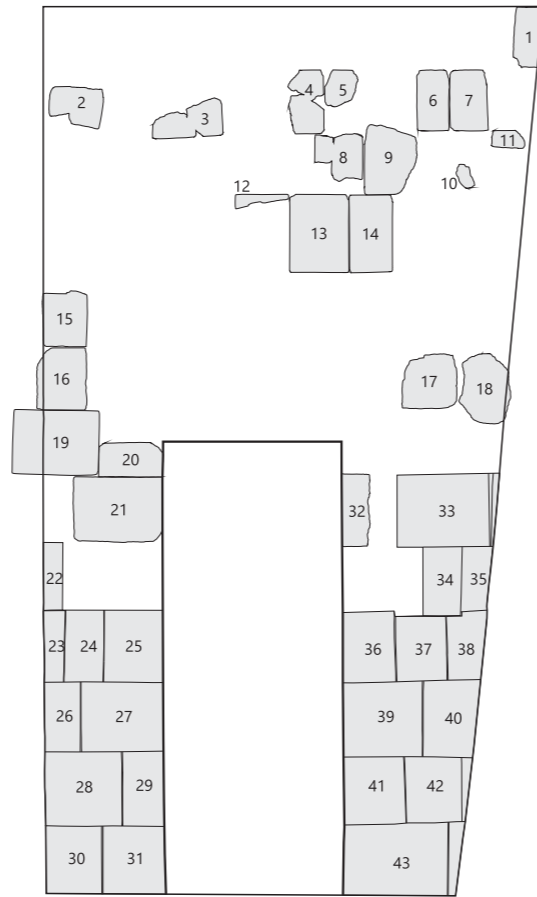


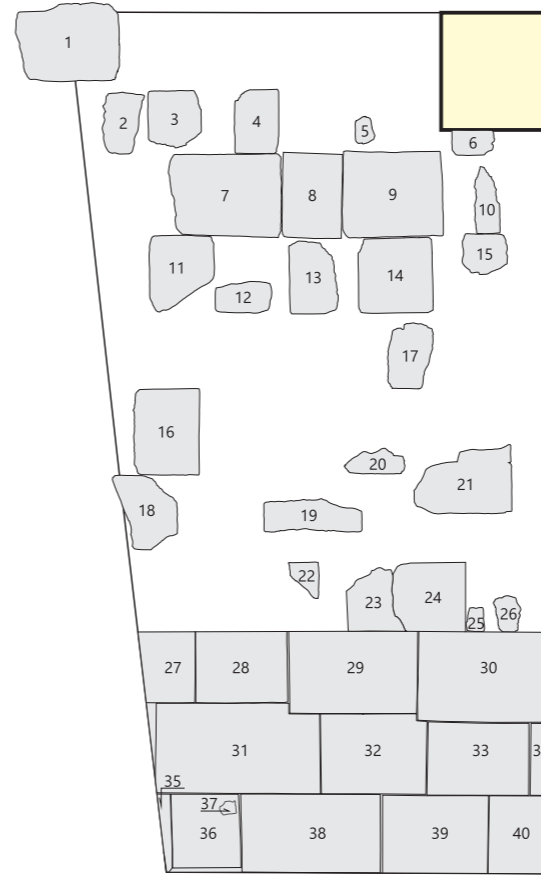
Plate 17A. Key plans of blocks and fragments attributed to the vestibule walls (south, north and west) and southern reveal of doorway



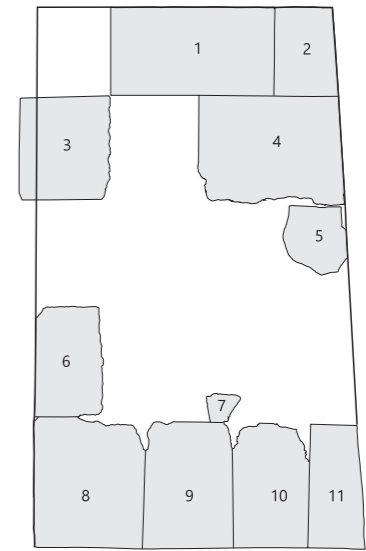
Vestibule: south wall



Vestibule: west wall and portal

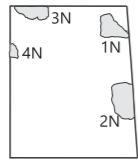
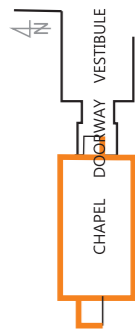


Vestibule: north wall

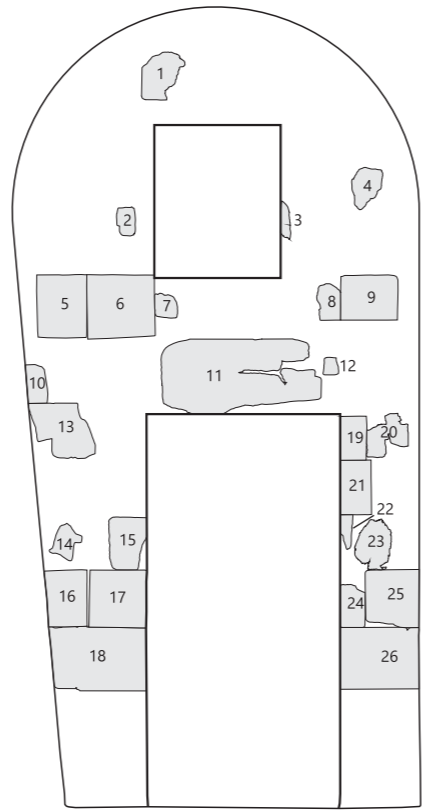


Doorway: southern reveal

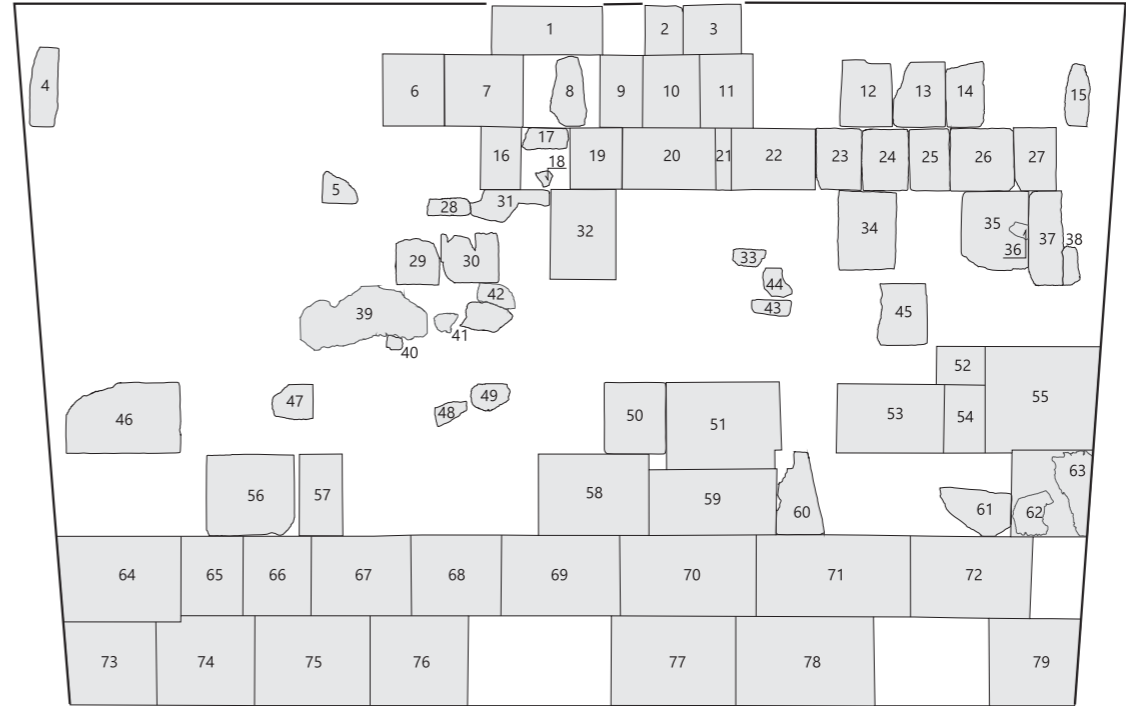
Plate 17B. Key plans of blocks and fragments attributed to the chapel walls: east wall and niche in lunette, south wall, north wall, west wall and niche in lunette



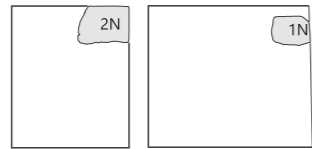
Niche in eastern lunette (right wall)



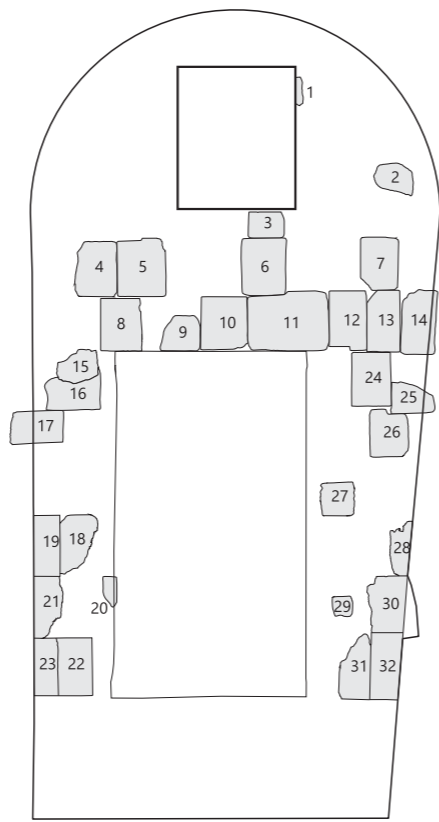
Chapel: east wall



Chapel: south wall



Niche in western lunette (right and rear walls)



Chapel: west wall



Chapel: north wall

Plate 18.1. Vestibule south wall: zones 1 and 2



Plate 18.2. Vestibule south wall: zone 2



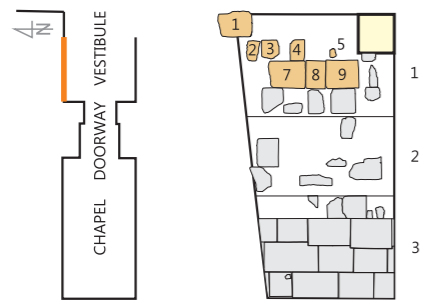
Plate 18.3. Vestibule south wall: zone 3, right side



Plate 18.4. Vestibule south wall: zone 3, left side



Plate 19.1. Vestibule north wall: zone 1



0 10 30 50 cm

Plate 19.2. Vestibule north wall: zone 1, lower part

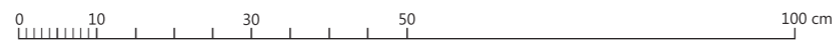
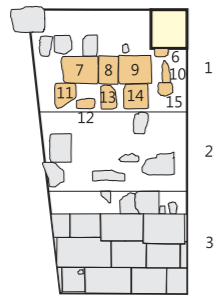
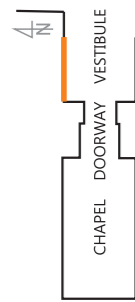
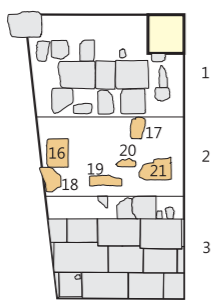
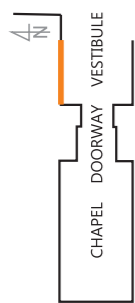


Plate 19.3. Vestibule north wall: zone 2



16



17



18



20



19



21

Plate 19.4. Vestibule north wall: zone 3, left side



Plate 19.5. Vestibule north wall: zone 3, right side



Plate 20.1. Vestibule west wall: zone 1

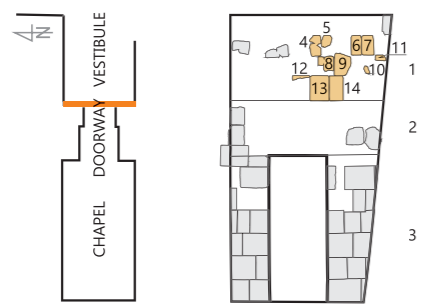


Plate 20.2. Vestibule west wall: zones 1 and 2



Plate 20.3. Vestibule west wall: zone 3, left doorjamb



Plate 20.4. Vestibule west wall: zone 3, right doorjamb

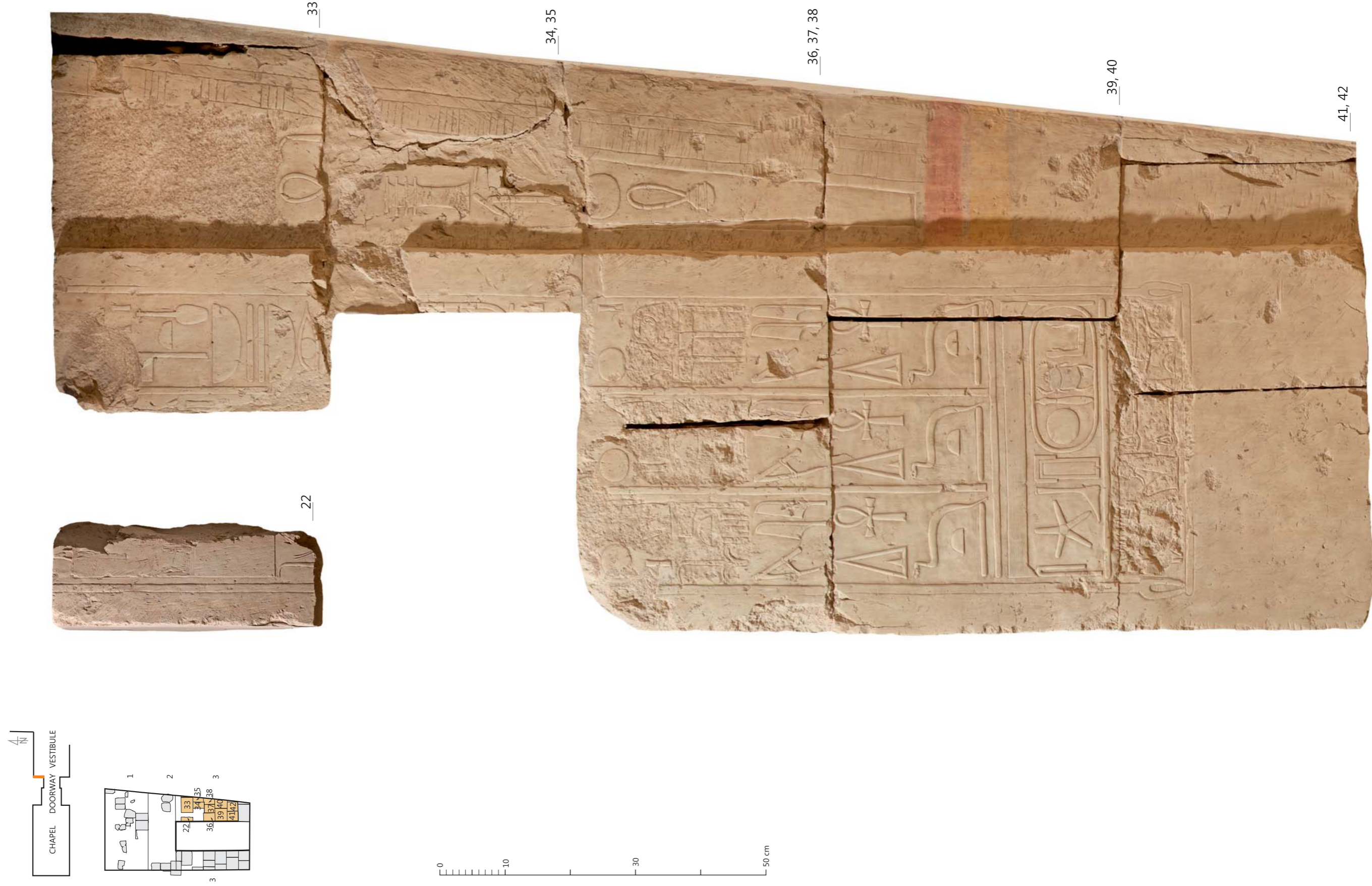
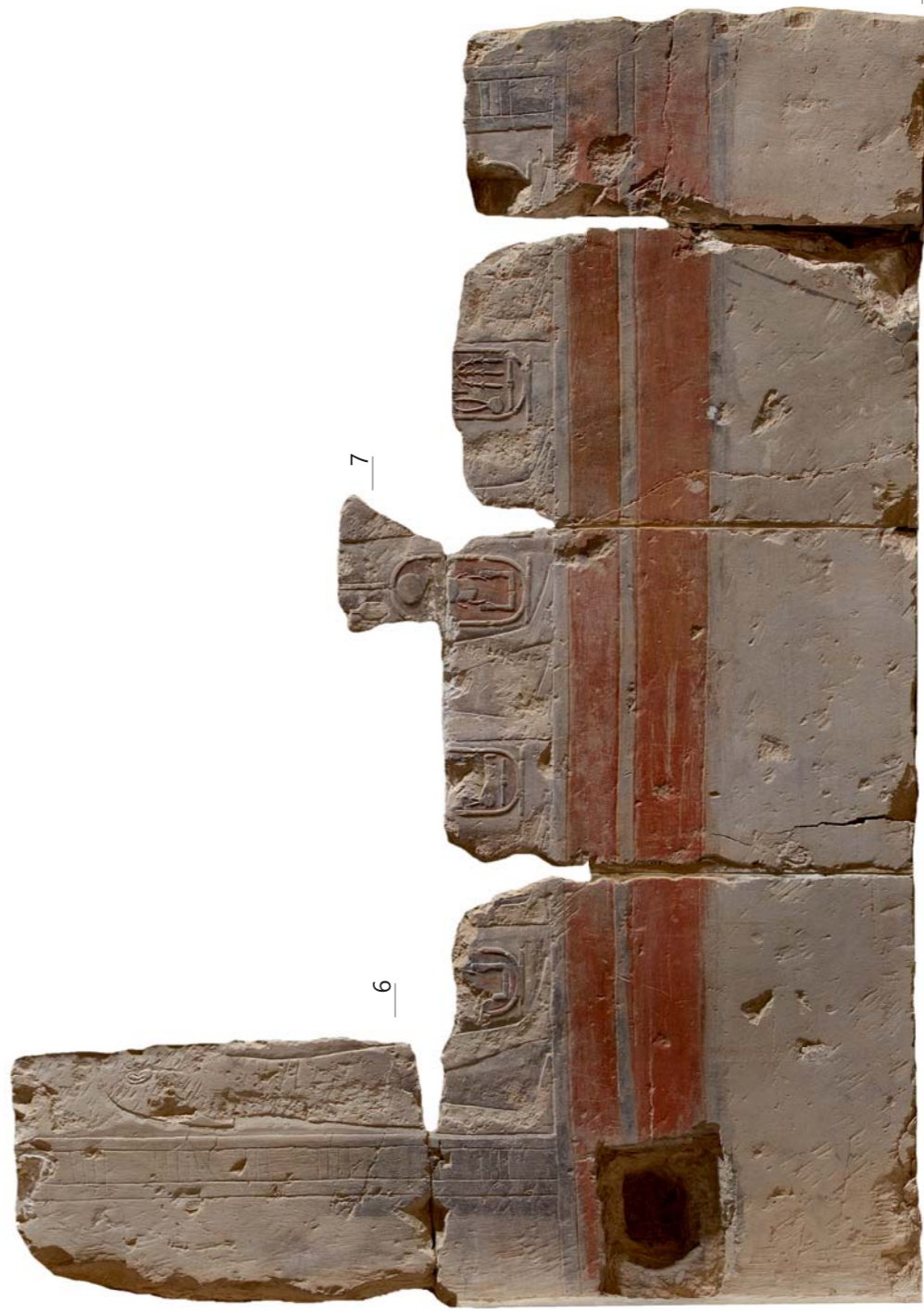
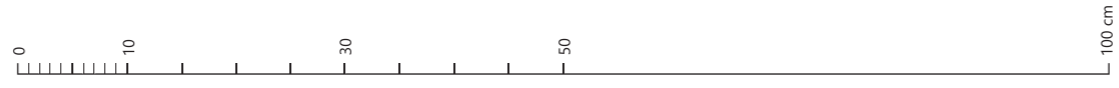
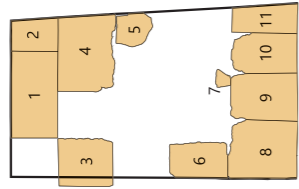
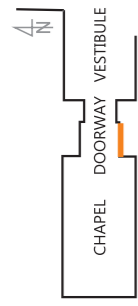


Plate 21. Doorway: southern reveal



8, 9, 10, 11

Plate 22.1. Chapel east wall: lunette (zone 1) and niche

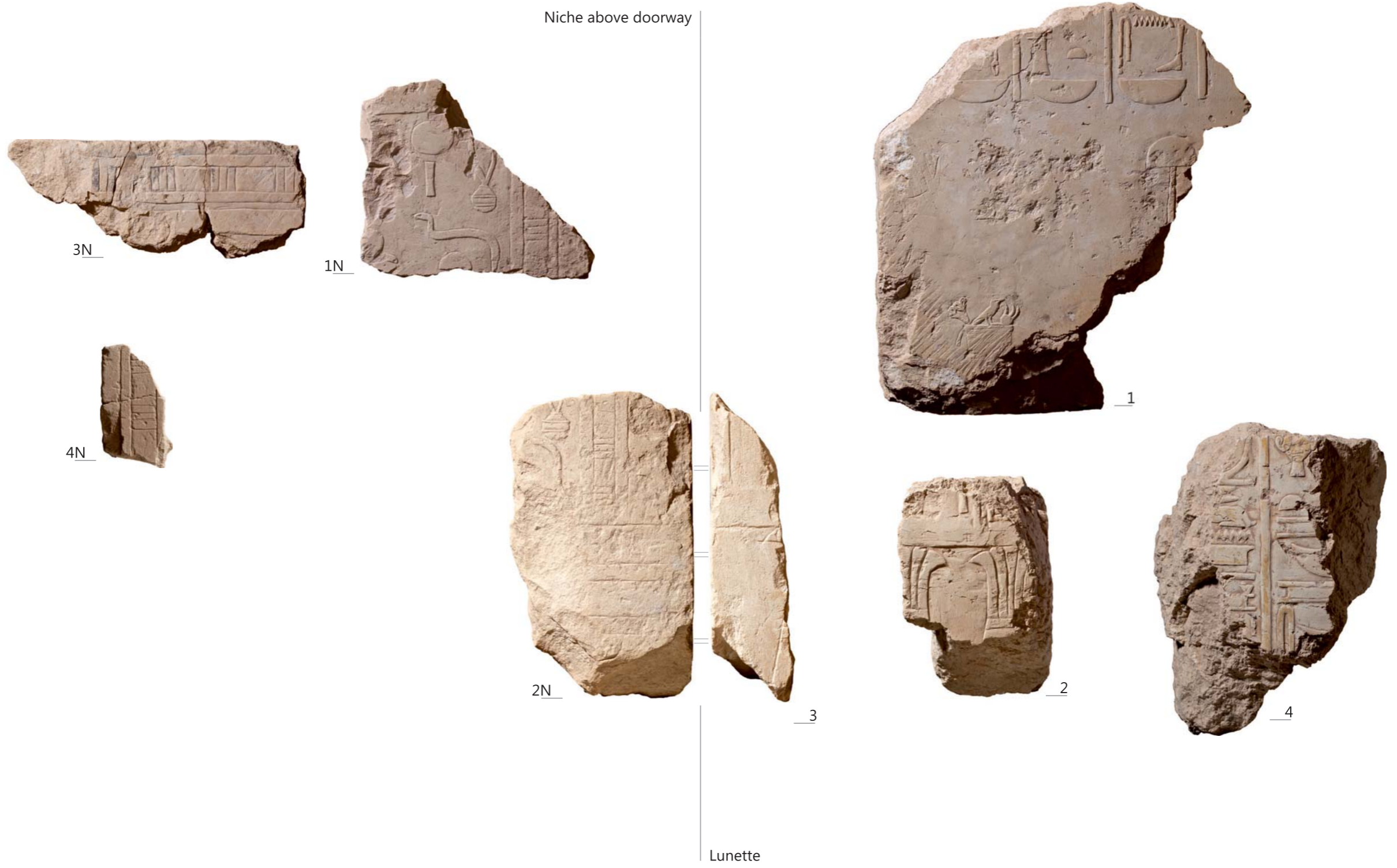
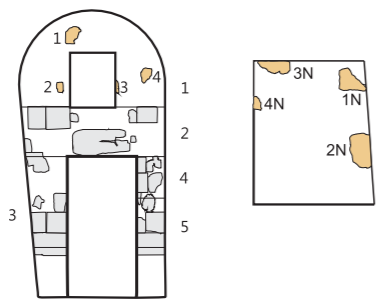
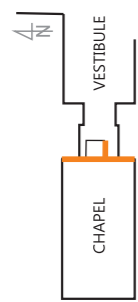


Plate 22.2. Chapel east wall: zone 2

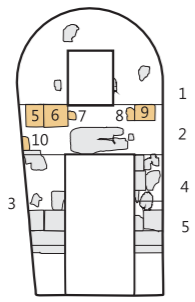
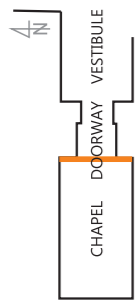
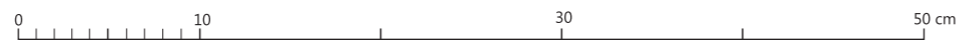
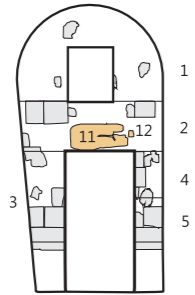
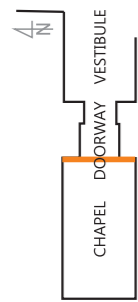


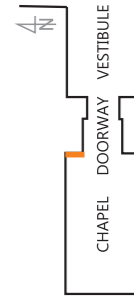
Plate 22.3. Chapel east wall: lintel in zone 2



11

12

Plate 22.4. Chapel east wall: northern side, zone 3



18

16

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14

13

Plate 22.5. Chapel east wall: southern side, zone 4

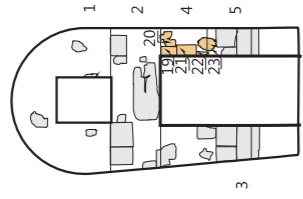
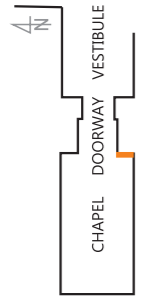
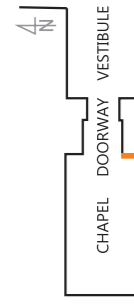


Plate 22.6. Chapel east wall: southern side, zone 5



22



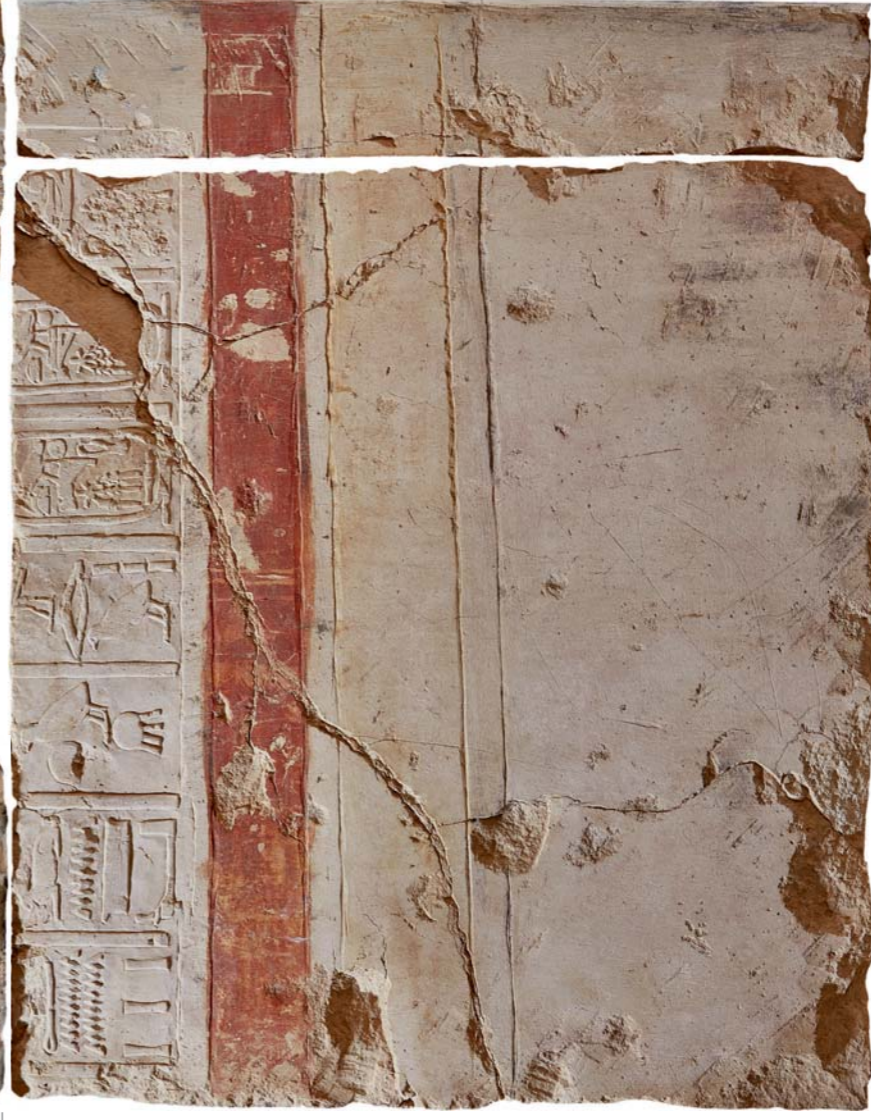
23



24



25



26



Plate 23.1. Chapel south wall: zone 2, left part with a fragment from the left upper corner (zone 1)

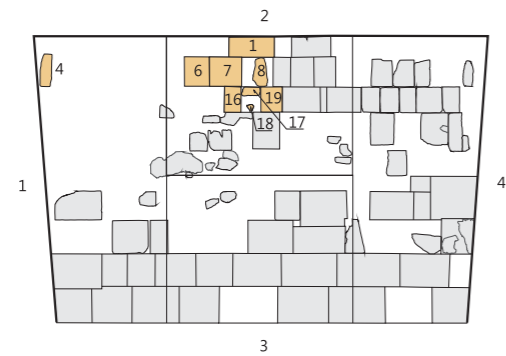
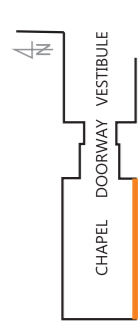


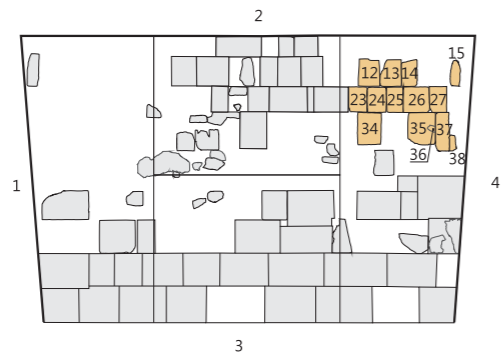
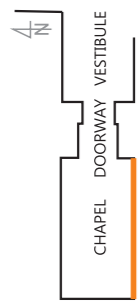
Plate 23.2. Chapel south wall: zone 2, right part



Plate 23.3. Chapel south wall: zone 2, lower part



Plate 23.4. Chapel south wall: zone 4, upper part

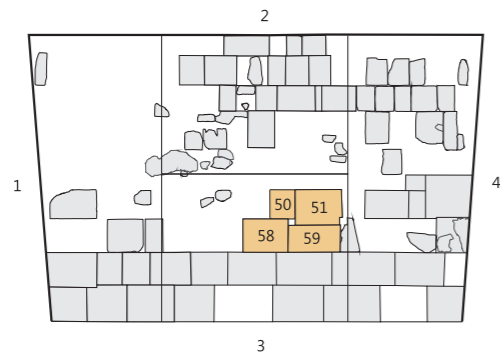
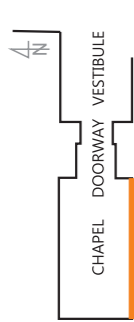


0 10 30 50 cm

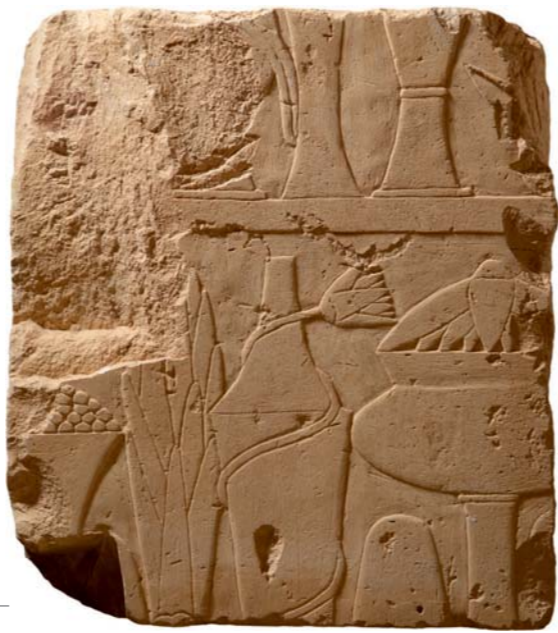
Plate 23.5. Chapel south wall: zone 1, lower part with two fragments from zone 3



Plate 23.6. Chapel south wall: zone 3, upper part



58



50

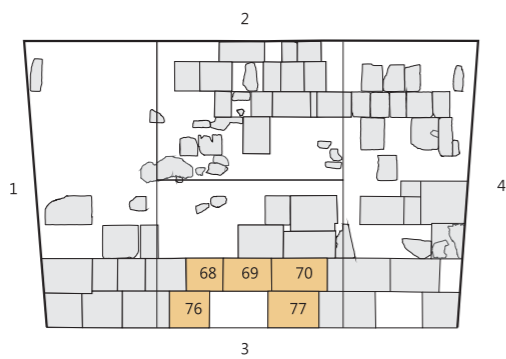
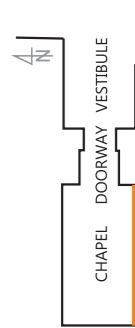


59



51

Plate 23.7. Chapel south wall: zone 3, lower part



0 10 30 50 cm

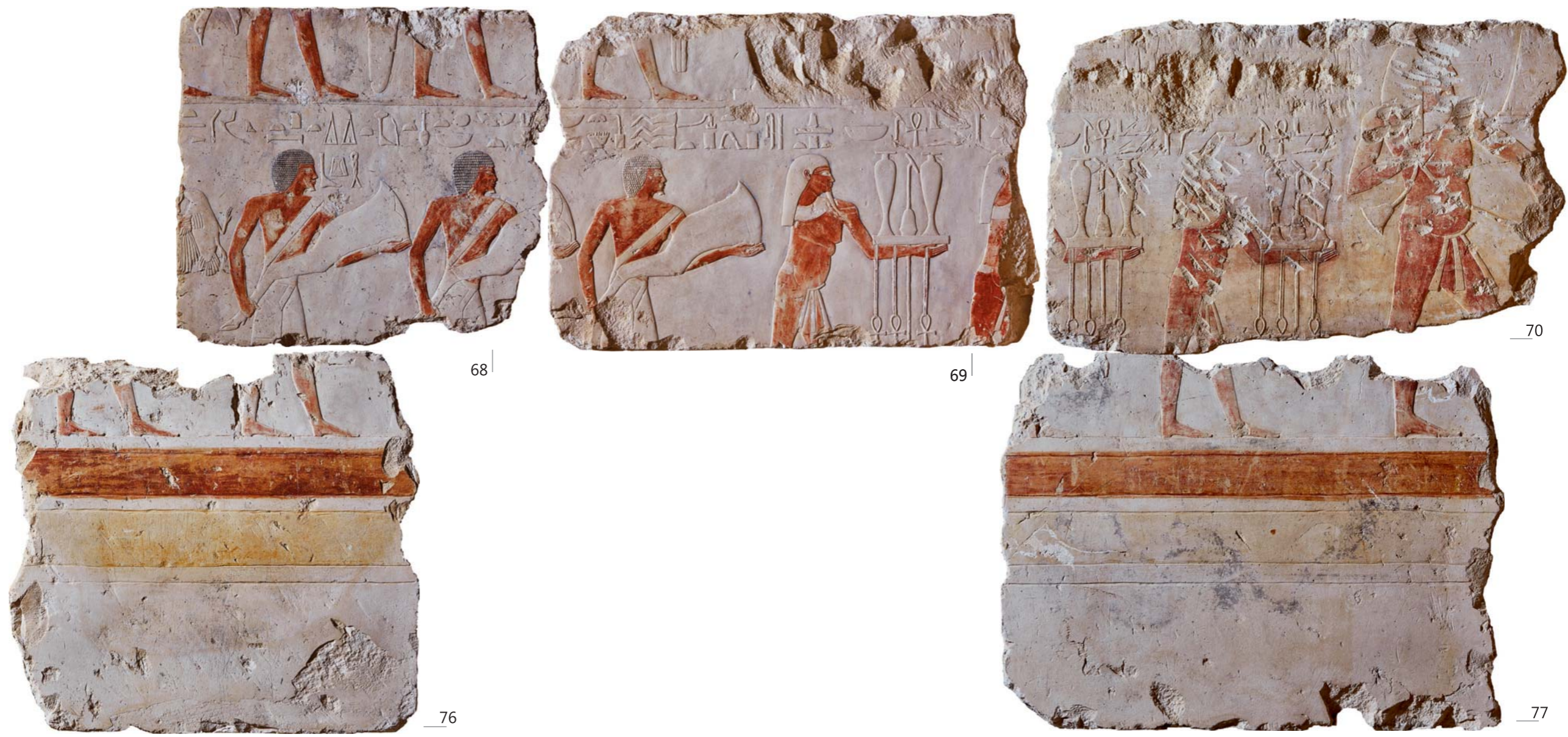
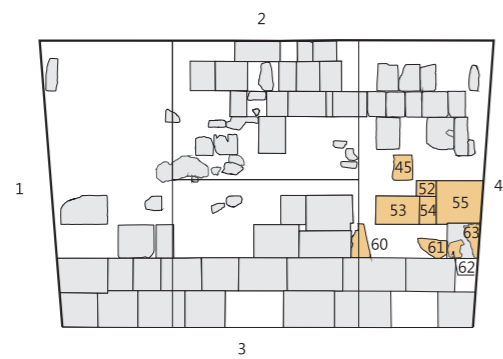
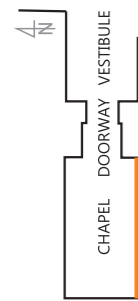


Plate 23.8. Chapel south wall: zone 4, middle part



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 23.9. Chapel south wall: zone 4, lower part

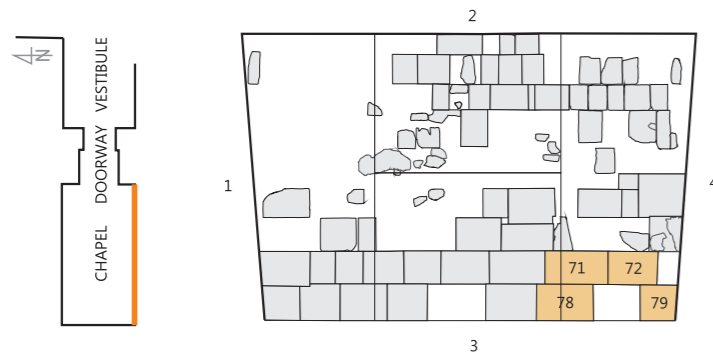


Plate 23.10. Chapel south wall: zones 1, 3 and 4, lowermost parts

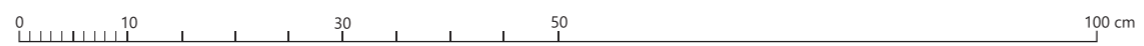
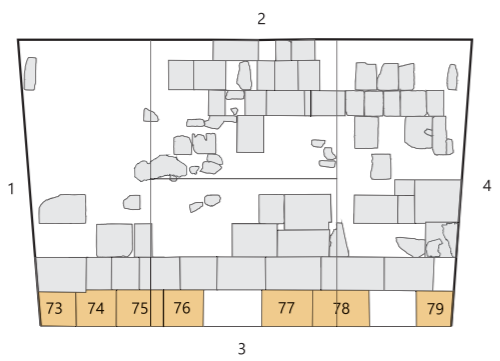
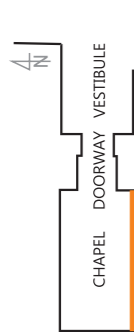
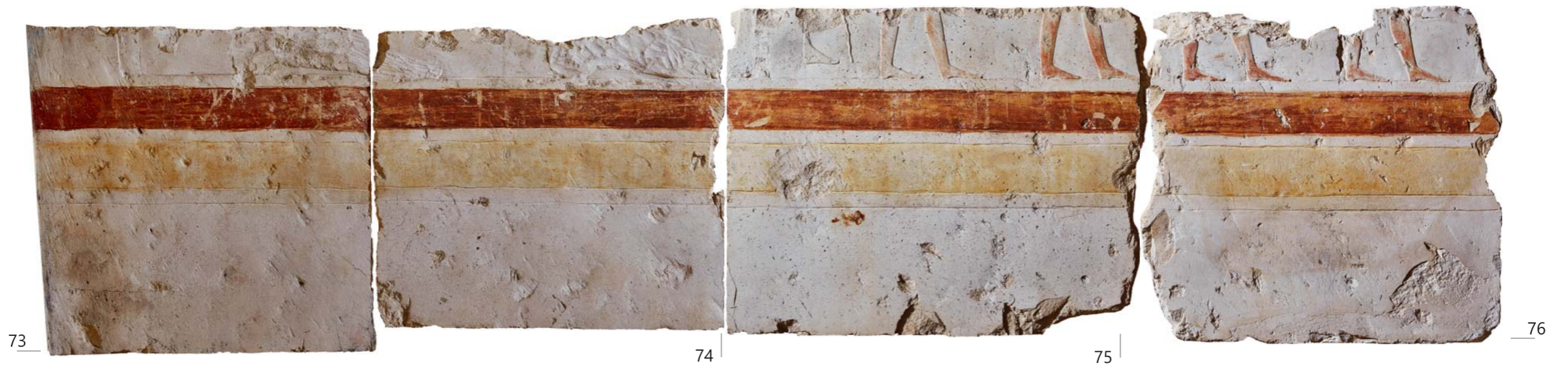
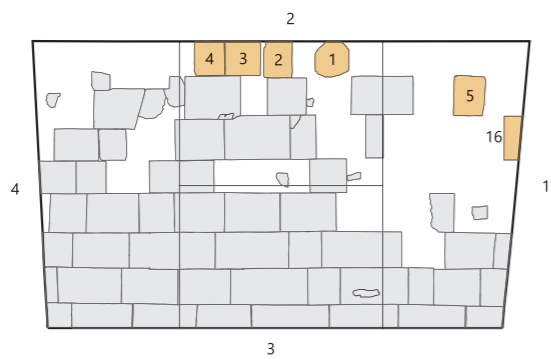
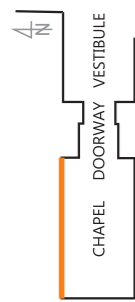


Plate 24.1. Chapel north wall: zones 1 and 2, upper parts



0 10 30 50 cm

Plate 24.2. Chapel north wall: zone 2, right part



Plate 24.3. Chapel north wall: zone 4, upper part, and zone 2, left part



0 10 30 50 cm

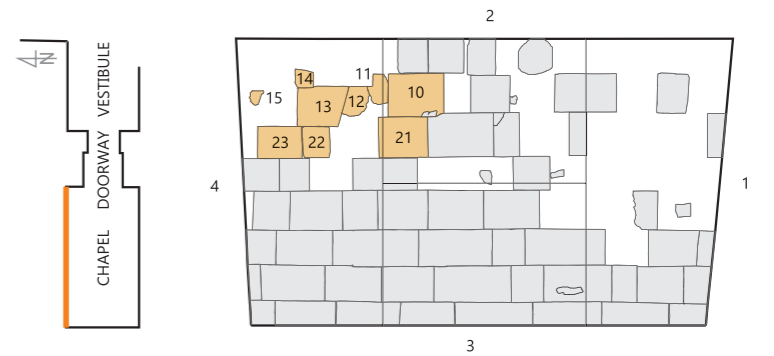


Plate 24.4. Chapel north wall: zone 4, middle part, and zone 3, left upper part

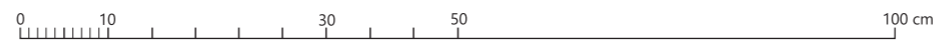
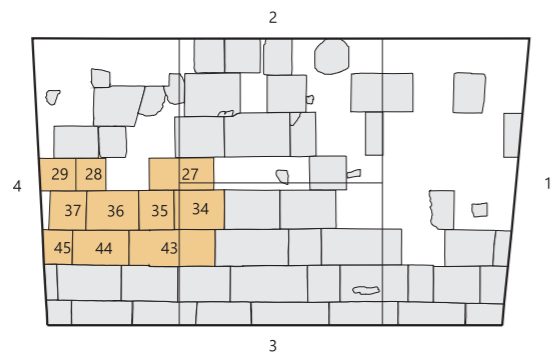
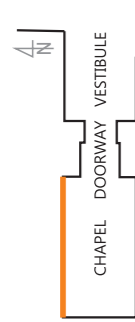
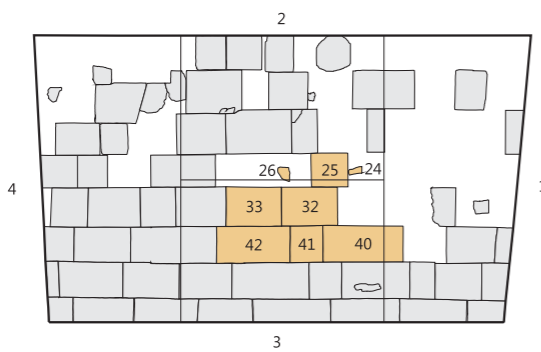
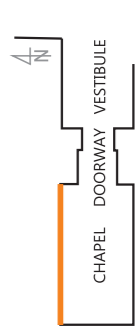


Plate 24.5. Chapel north wall: zone 3, upper part, and zone 2, lower part



0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 24.6. Chapel north wall: zone 1, lower part



Plate 24.7. Chapel north wall: zones 1, 3 and 4, lowermost parts

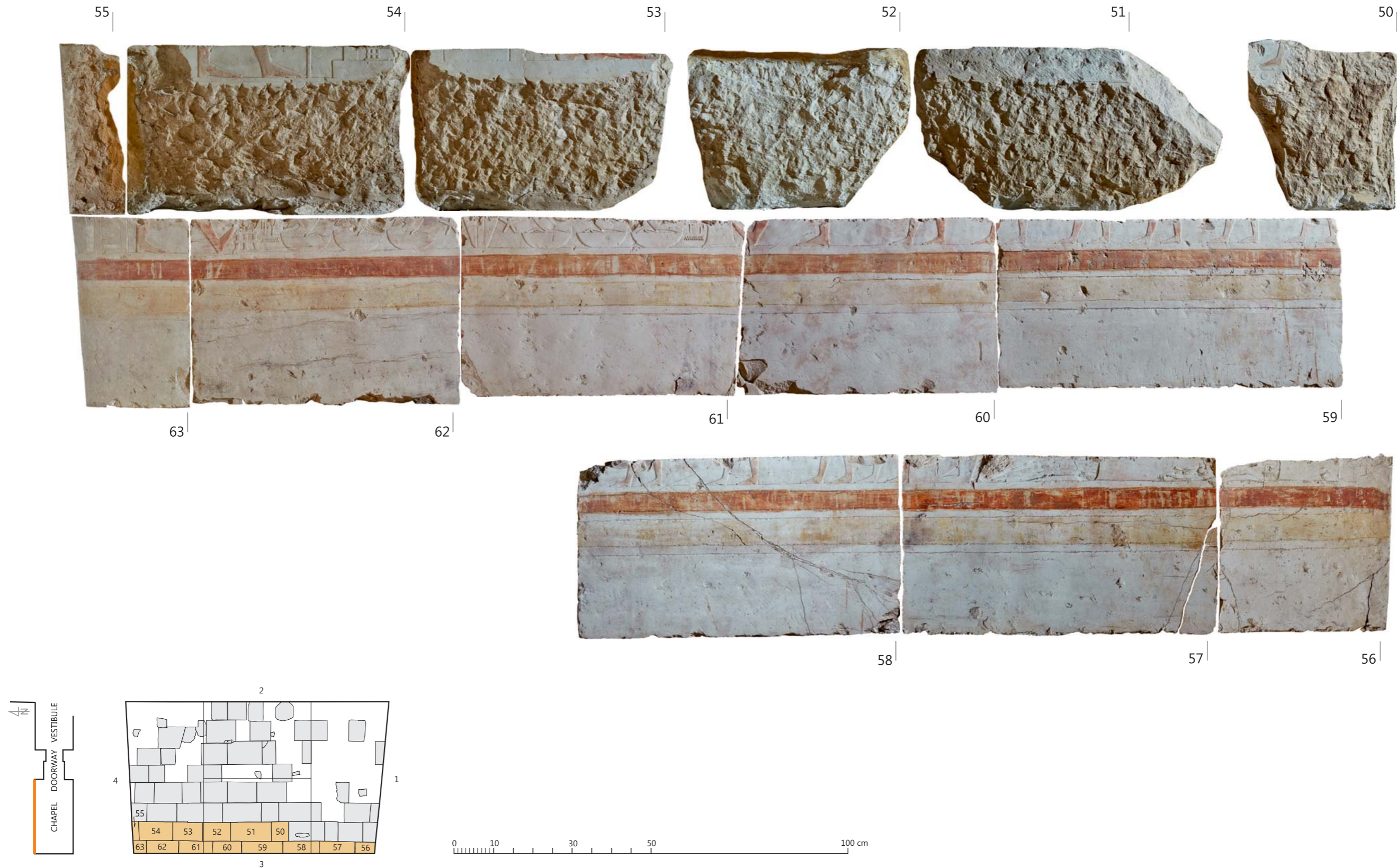


Plate 25.1. Chapel west wall: zones 1 and 2 (right part) and niche

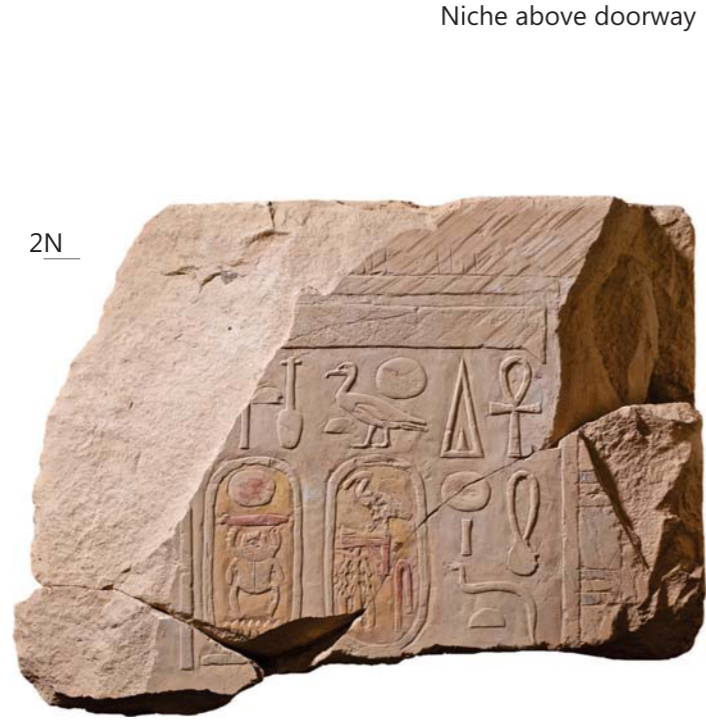
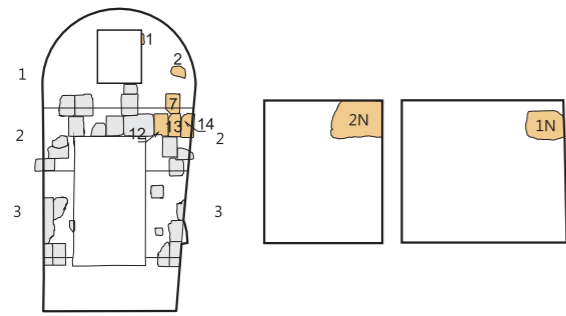
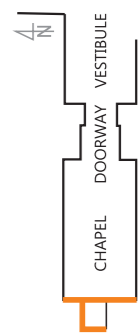
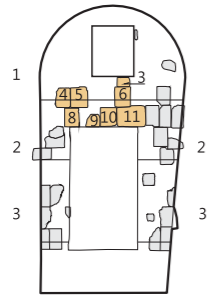
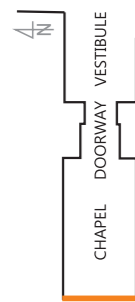


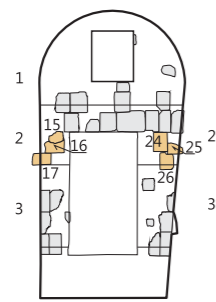
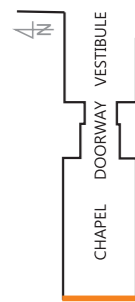
Plate 25.2. Chapel west wall: zone 2, upper part, and zone 1, lower part



0 10 30 50 cm



Plate 25.3. Chapel west wall: zone 2, lower part on both sides of false-door stela



17



16



15



24



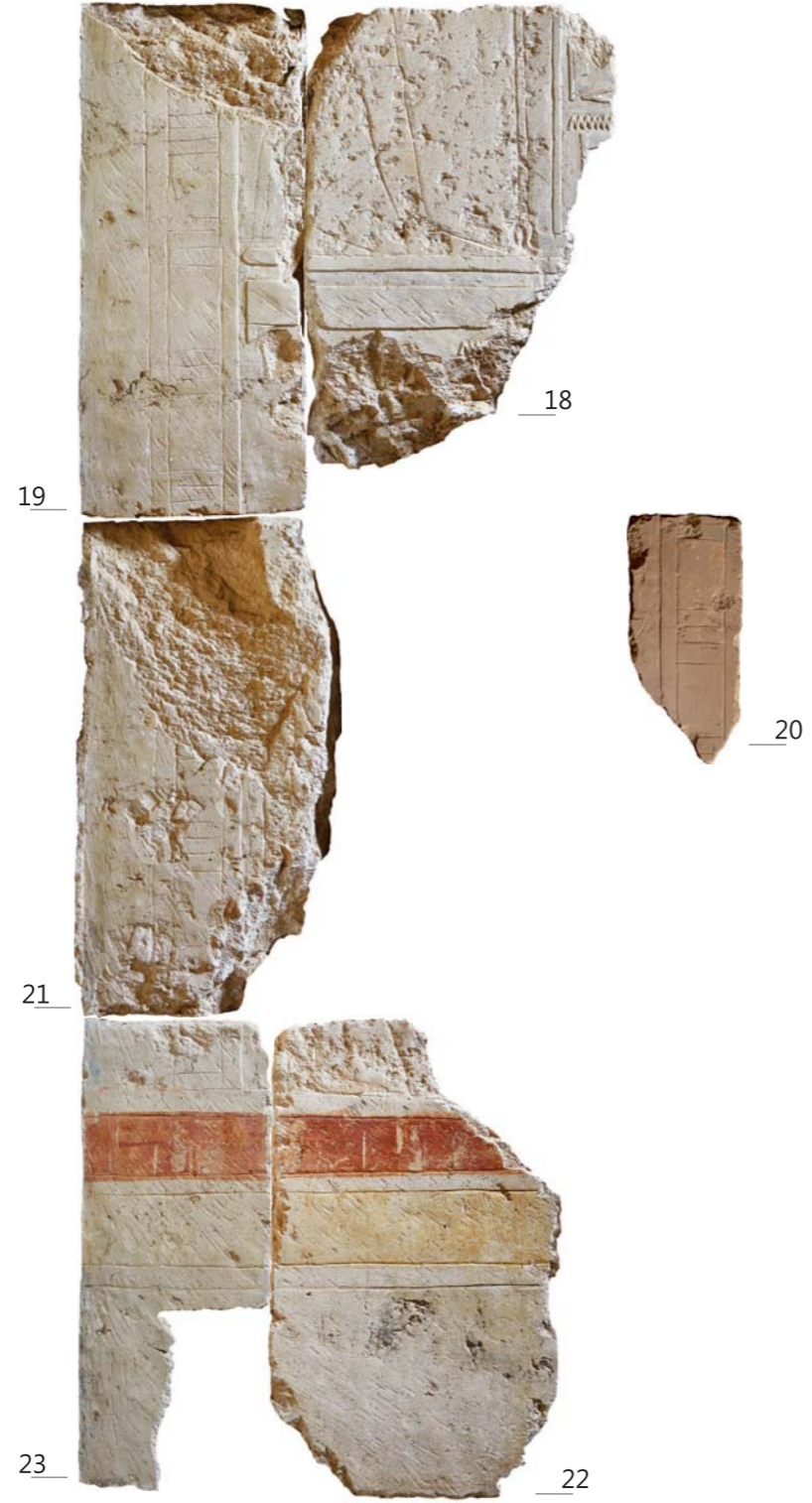
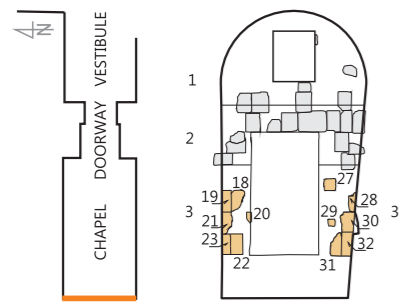
25



26

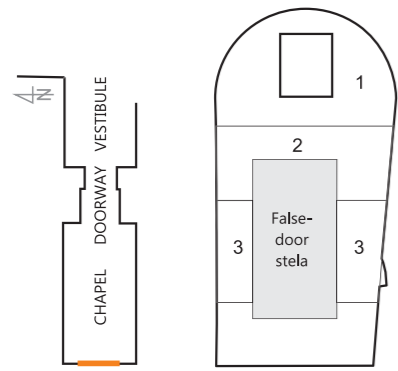


Plate 25.4. Chapel west wall: zone 3

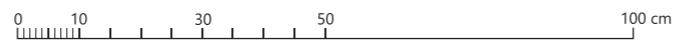


0 10 30 50 100 cm

Plate 26. False-door stela, Louvre C 48 (Courtesy Musée du Louvre, Paris)



Stela



Detail

Plate 27. Plan of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex (CRC)

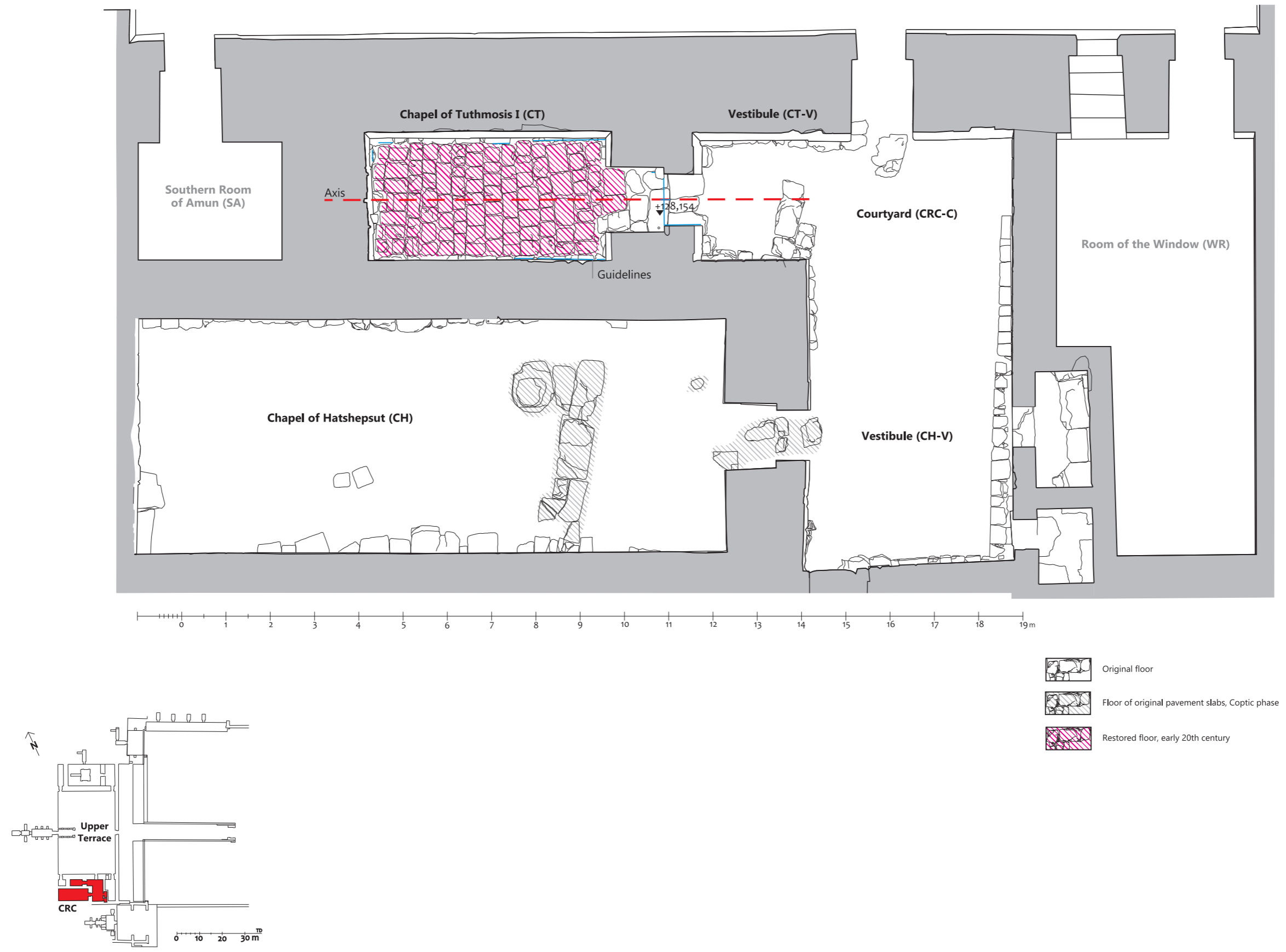
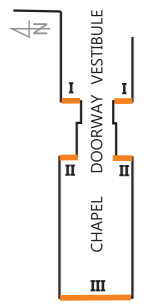
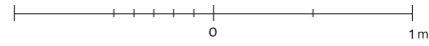


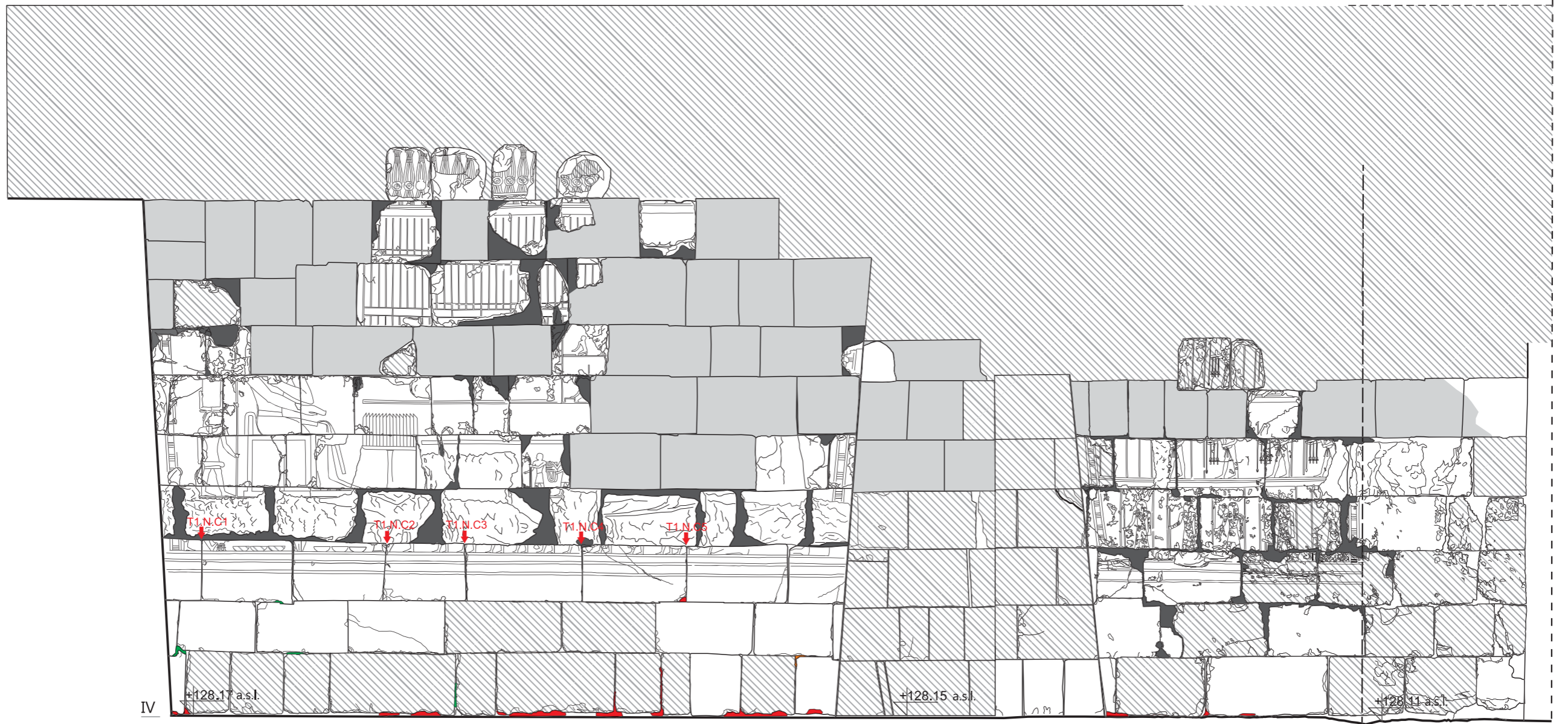
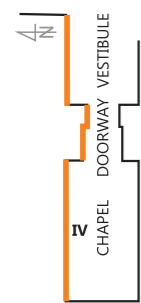
Plate 28. State of preservation of the walls in the vestibule and chapel



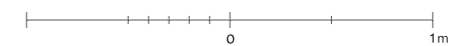
Mortar

- Lime-gypsum, New Kingdom phase
- Mud, Coptic phase
- Wall reconstruction, early 20th century
- Modern replacement, early 20th century
- Replica of false-door stela, early 20th century
- Modern restoration, second half of 20th century
- Wall reconstruction, second half of 20th century

Plate 29A. State of preservation of the north side: walls of the chapel, doorway and vestibule; bottom, dovetail sockets in the original wall courses



North side of the chapel and vestibule (part of the courtyard wall at far right)



T1.N.C1



T1.N.C2



T1.N.C3



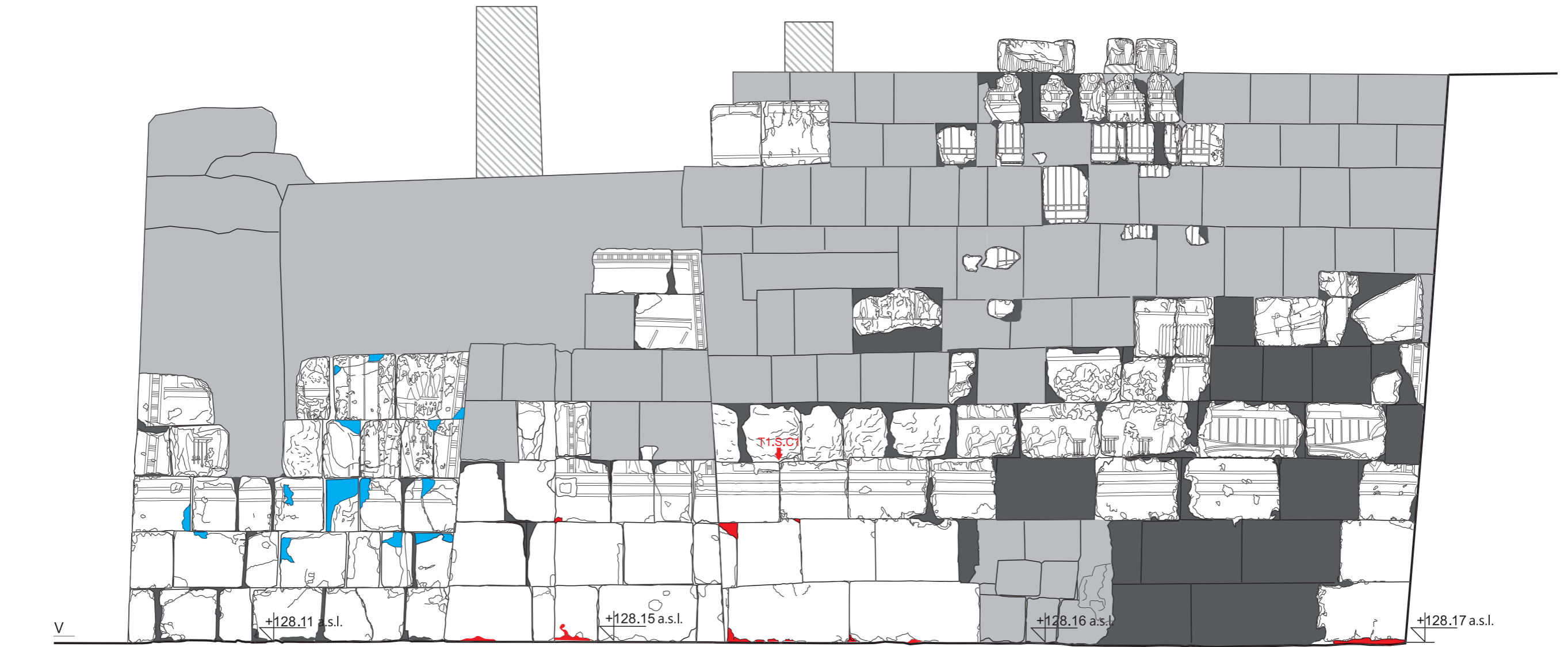
T1.N.C4



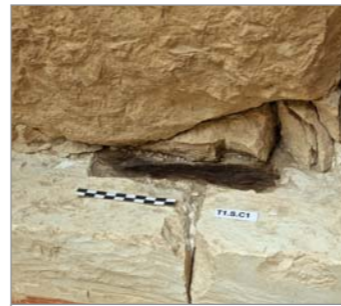
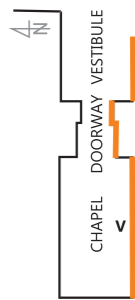
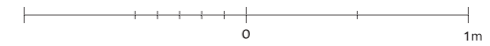
T1.N.C5

- Lime-gypsum, New Kingdom phase
 - Mud, Coptic phase
 - Wall reconstruction, early 20th century
 - Modern replacement, early 20th century
- Mortar**
- Modern restoration, second half of 20th century
 - Wall reconstruction, second half of 20th century

Plate 29B. State of preservation of the south side: walls in the vestibule, doorway and chapel; bottom, dovetail socket in the original wall course



South side of the chapel and vestibule

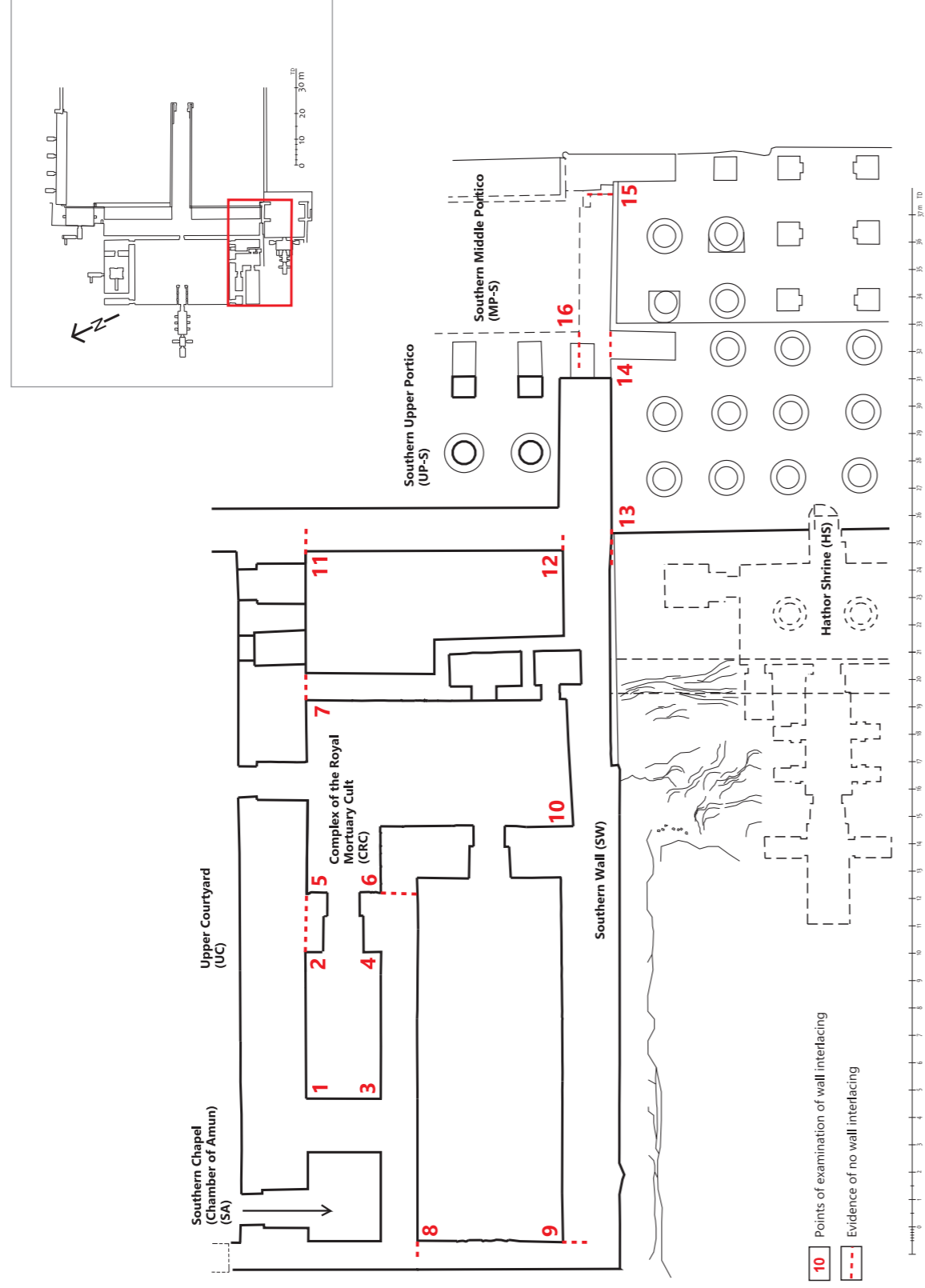


T1.S.C1

Mortar

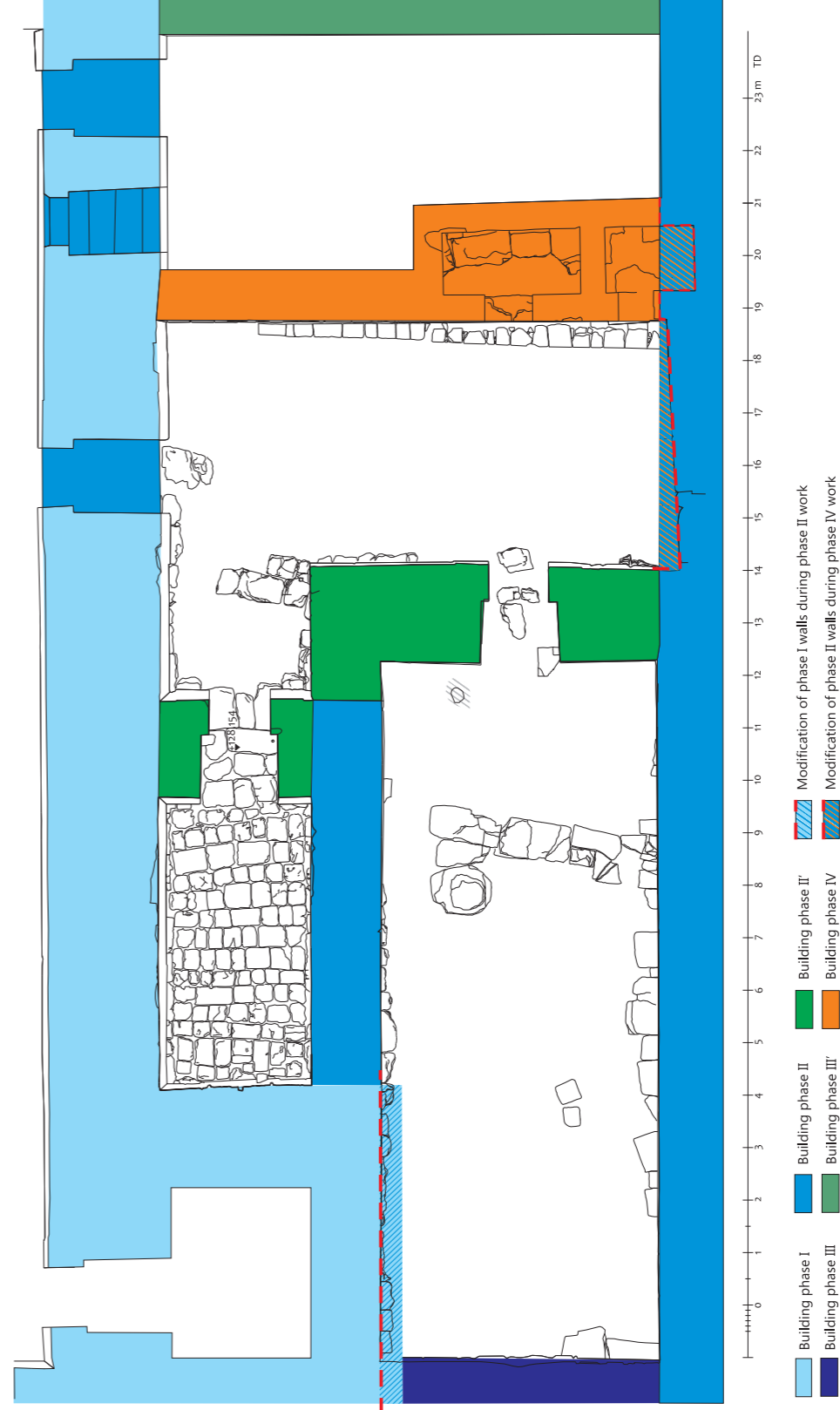
- Lime-gypsum, New Kingdom phase
- Mud, Coptic phase
- Wall reconstruction, early 20th century
- Modern replacement, early 20th century
- Modern restoration, second half of 20th century
- Wall reconstruction, second half of 20th century

Plate 30. Wall interlacing and building phases



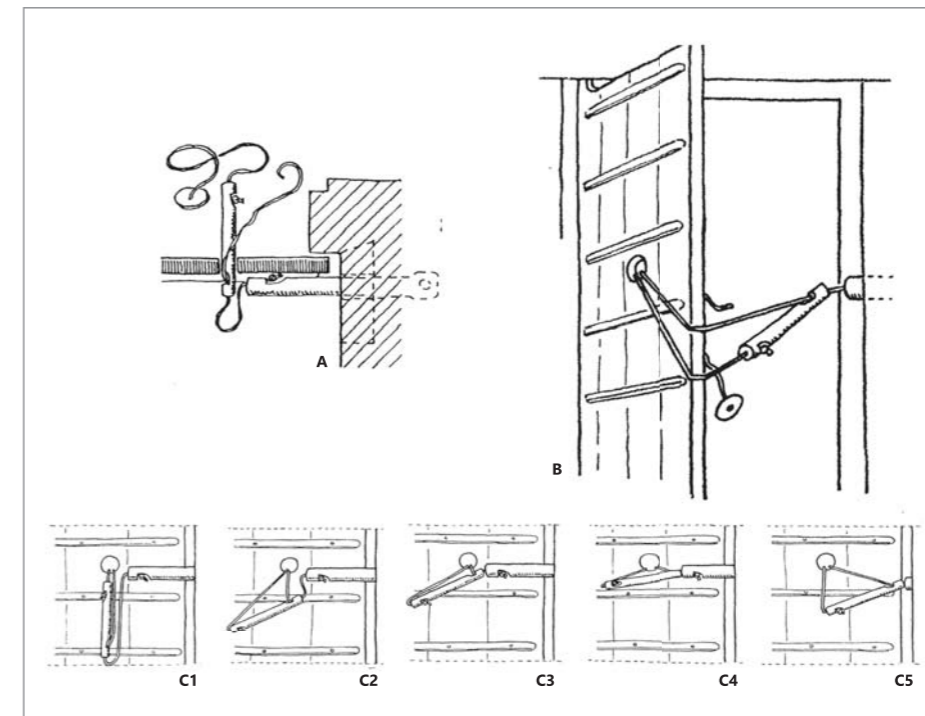
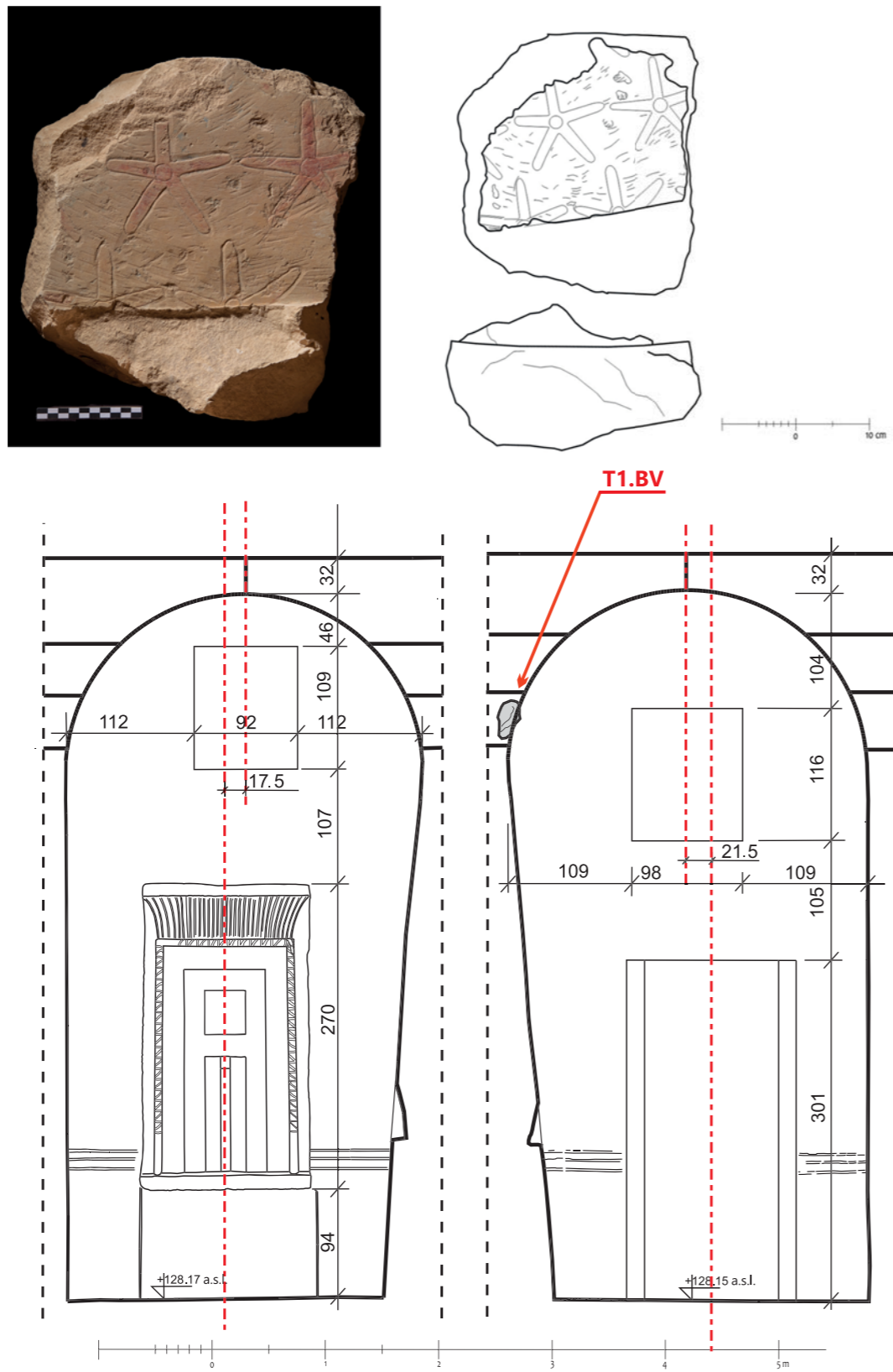
A

Wall interlacing in the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex



B

Building phases

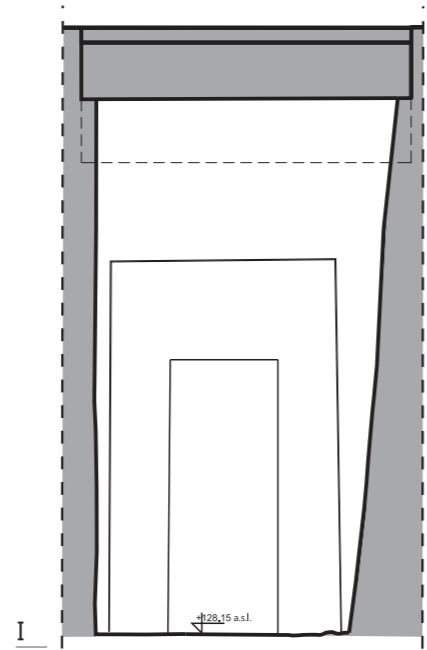
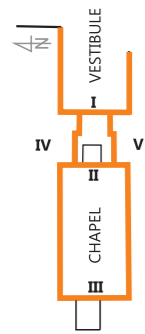


Reconstruction of the wooden door to the chapel with the bolting device, view from inside; top left, top section of the bolting device; bottom, five phases of working the door lock from outside

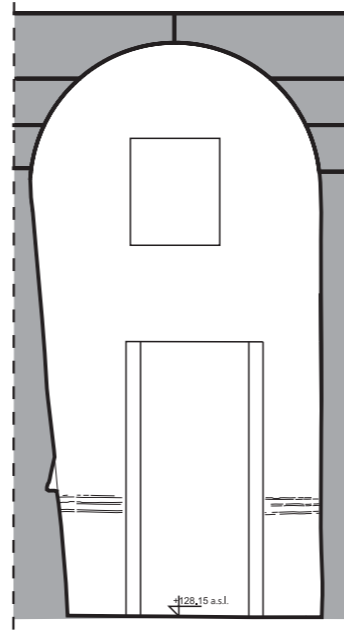
A

Reconstruction of the vault: schematic views of the west wall (bottom left) and east wall marking the line of symmetry of the chapel and the vault; top, block T1.BV with star decoration (front and section view), location of block marked in the section drawing

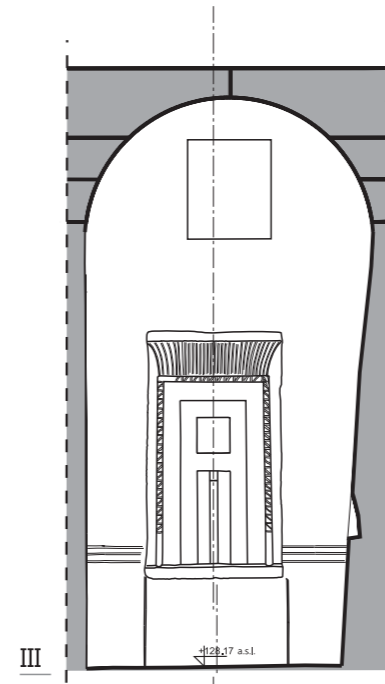
Plate 32. Chapel and vestibule interior: reconstruction sections



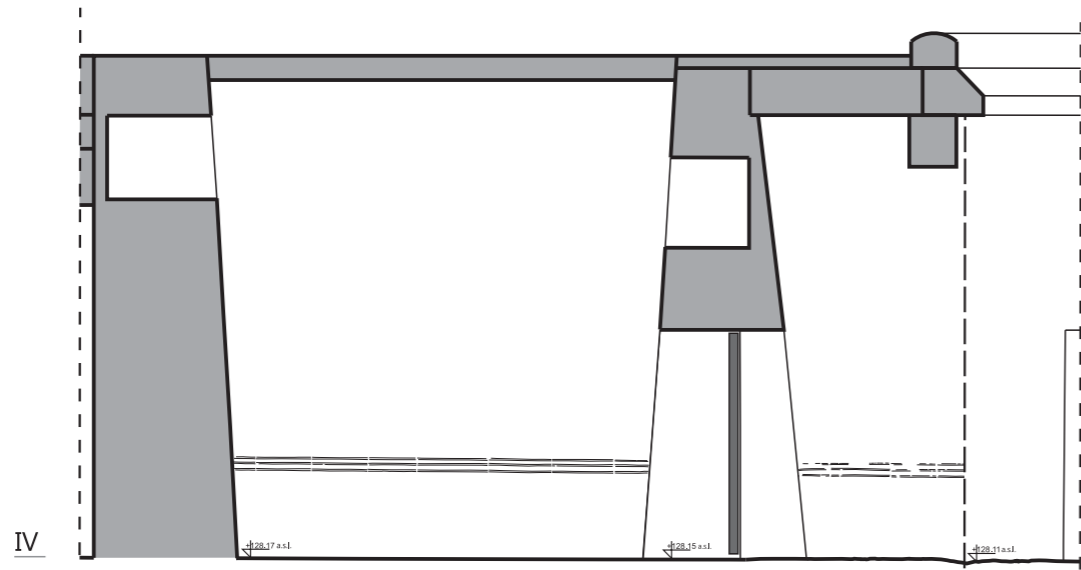
I Vestibule: N-S section looking west



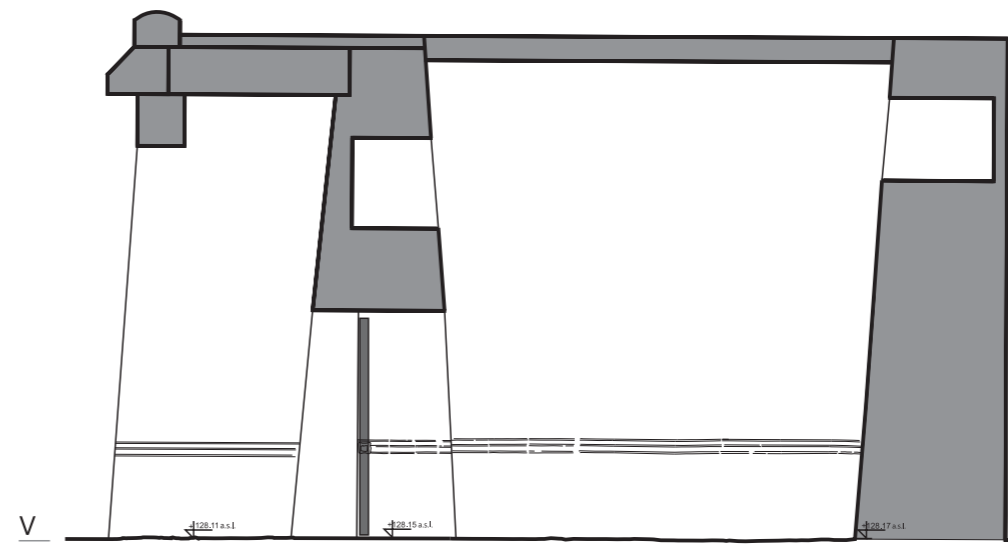
II Chapel: N-S section looking east



III Chapel: N-S section looking west



IV Chapel and vestibule: E-W section looking north



V Chapel and vestibule: E-W section looking south

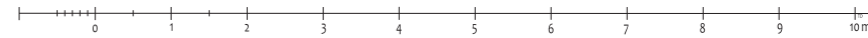


Plate 33. Axonometric reconstruction of the Chapel of Tutthmosis I

