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*Inscribed Vessels  
Represented in the Chapel of Hatshepsut  
at Deir el-Bahari?*

The decoration of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, as was the case throughout the temple of the queen at Deir el-Bahari, witnessed modifications which reflected turning points in Egyptian history. The image and name of Hatshepsut were attacked at the behest of Thutmose III,<sup>1</sup> the depictions of gods were erased in the course of the Amarna revolution and then restored during the reign of Horemheb and later by Ramses II.<sup>2</sup> Most frequently, the erasure techniques from each particular epoch differ considerably,<sup>3</sup> and it is often possible to reconstruct the original depictions on the basis of their traces or by analogies preserved elsewhere. In some examples, however, one cannot unequivocally interpret the traces in the destroyed areas. This paper presents one such case.

Some vessels shown among piled offerings represented above the procession of offering bearers on the north wall of the Chapel are noteworthy. There are three ointment jars on a stand, while underneath them are represented three bowls with natron pellets, with a tall vase depicted beside them. On the belly of each vessel, deep gouges have been observed, damage which seems typical for vandalism of the Amarna period. These erased areas were marked on a plate published by E. Naville showing the decoration of the north wall (**Fig. 1a**), although they were not mentioned in its description. Closer examination executed during the recent documentation work conducted in the Chapel has revealed similar damage to the images of all the beer jars depicted on the described portion of the

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<sup>1</sup> The research project aiming at documentation, theoretical reconstruction and study of the reliefs decorating the chapels in the Royal Cult Complex of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari is financed from the funds of the National Science Centre granted on the basis of the decision no. DEC-2012/05/D/HS3/03680.

Cf. e.g. P. BRAND, *Usurpation of Monuments*, [in:] W. Wendrich (Ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2010 (<http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0025h6fh>, accessed 1 June 2013), pp. 3–4; P.F. DORMAN, *The Proscription of Hatshepsut [= The Proscription]*, [in:] C.H. Roehrig *et al.* (Eds), *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh*, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York-New Haven-London 2005 [= *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh*], pp. 267–269; A.M. ROTH, *Erasing a Reign [= Erasing a Reign]*, [in:] *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh*, pp. 277–281; C.C. VAN SICLEN, *New Data on the Date of the Defacement of Hatshepsut's Names and Images on the Chapelle Rouge*, *GM* 107, 1989, pp. 85–86; P.F. DORMAN, *The Monuments of Senenmut: Problems in Historical Methodology*, London 1988, pp. 46–65; CH.F. NIMS, *The Date of Dishonoring of Hatshepsut*, *ZÄS* 93, 1966, pp. 97–100.

<sup>2</sup> *Urk.* IV, 2134–2135 (836); *KRI* II, 643, § 245.4; 927, § 398; *KRITANC* II, pp. 429–430, 631; M. EATON-KRAUSS, *Restorations and Erasures in the Post-Amarna Period*, [in:] Z. Hawass (Ed.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century II*, Cairo 2002, pp. 197–198; P. MARTINEZ, *Restaurations post-amarniennes commanditées par Ramsès II: un cas d'école à Deir el-Bahari*, *Memnonia* XVIII, 2007, pp. 157–176, Pls XXXVI–XLV.

<sup>3</sup> In the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the erasures attributable to the agents of Thutmose III were executed with a wide-bladed tool which have left typically wide and shallow, parallel toolmarks (for this information I am grateful to D.F. Wiczorek). For such a tool opts also DORMAN, *The Proscription*, p. 267. The term 'scratching' applied by A.M. Roth to this technique seems rather misleading, the author wrongly assumes it to be executed by a 'pointed tool', cf. ROTH, *Erasing a Reign*, p. 277. Erasures of this type are shallow, allowing the original decoration to be read in silhouette, whereas erasures of the Amarna period, were mainly carried out using a chisel, and the technique was more brutal, gouging deep into the surface of the monument, sometimes to a depth of a few centimeters, cf. P. BRANDT, *Methods Used in Restoring Reliefs Vandalized During the Amarna Period*, *GM* 170, 1999, p. 40.

wall, and on a jar of the same kind carried by an offering bearer, represented in the upper register of the offering procession (**Fig. 1b**). Further damage of the same type has been observed on a *hes*-vase, the image of which has been preserved on a loose block assignable to the destroyed part of the composition of piled offerings depicted on this wall. The only example of an attack on the image of a vessel detectable on the south wall of the Chapel was that of a carinated bowl covered with lotus-shaped lid standing on a high stand. The image of the vessel in question, represented among the piled offerings in front of an offering table, has been destroyed entirely, along with its stand. The erasure technique in this case is also that typical of the Amarna period damage (**Fig. 2**).<sup>4</sup>

To attempt to interpret the reasons for this phenomenon, the state of preservation of the images of the vessels depicted in the other rooms of the Deir el-Bahari Temple was examined. Erased areas have been observed on the forms shown as an element of the piled offerings represented on the north and south walls in the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun on the third terrace of the temple. As is the case in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, these are depictions of beer and wine jars, as well as unguent containers (**Fig. 3**). During their ancient restoration, the defaced surfaces were smoothed down to form round-shaped depressions, though a few traces of the deepest chisel marks have remained. Probably the whole surface of the images was then repainted (remains of the paint are still visible in their erased and restored parts). By contrast, traces of later repair on the depictions in question are not apparent in the Chapel of Hatshepsut.<sup>5</sup>

The similarities between the deep gouges observed on the images and names of the gods throughout the temple and those on the vessels shown in the Chapel of Hatshepsut might lead us to assume that the latter were inscribed with some texts of a 'divine' nature, which would thus arouse aversion among the followers of the new monotheistic religion. Images of vessels with such inscriptions have been preserved in the Upper Shrine of Anubis at the Solar Cult Complex of the temple.<sup>6</sup> These are two libation vases bearing the name of Amun on their bellies, shown standing among those inscribed with the names of the queen's family members (**Fig. 4a-b**).

In the room dedicated to the mortuary cult of Hatshepsut, however, the presence of vessels depicted as inscribed with the name of a god seems quite difficult to justify. It would be more reasonable to assume the appearance in this place of the queen's name,

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<sup>4</sup> This is not the place to discuss the matter of the libation vessels and other liturgical utensils depicted in front of the offering tables, on the north and south walls in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and in the Chapel of Thutmose I, which were erased by order of Akhenaten and restored during the post-Amarna period. This topic seems a somewhat different issue from that raised here and will be the subject of further research.

<sup>5</sup> If any restoration here took place, it was executed in plaster which has not been preserved. Repair work executed in this medium is attested at many places of the temple, including in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. It has been noted that the choice of renovation technique depended on the nature of the damage. If the Amarna iconoclasts had penetrated the original surface shallowly, the surface was merely smoothed down. If, however, they had penetrated deeply into the stone, the area was covered with plaster and the destroyed image was recarved in this medium. Cf. the remarks on this matter by P. Brandt: BRANDT, *GM* 170, 1999, pp. 41–43.

<sup>6</sup> E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I. The North-Western End of the Upper Platform*, *EEF* 13, London 1895, p. 11, Pl. XVI.

especially in view of the fact that examples of such a usage are attested in other rooms of the temple: one of the mentioned libation vases represented in the Upper Shrine of Anubis (**Fig. 4a**) and bowls shown beneath the names of products in the offering lists in the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun (**Fig. 4c**) are inscribed with the cartouche of Maatkare.

Examples of vessels with texts naming Hatshepsut originate from the tomb of the wives of Thutmose III in Wady Qurud.<sup>7</sup> These are cosmetic containers with inscriptions written in rectangular frames, which, apart from the name of the queen and her titles from the period preceding her ascending the throne of Egypt, include the formulae *ʿnh.tj dd.tj mj R<sup>c</sup> dt*, ‘may she live and endure like Re forever’, or *ʿnh.tj*, ‘may she live’ (**Fig. 5a-b**).<sup>8</sup> The remaining ointment storage jars and precious vessels attributed to the tomb were inscribed with the name of Thutmose III (**Fig. 5c**).<sup>9</sup>

An inscription of a different kind is attested on a vessel found in the tomb of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I (KV 20).<sup>10</sup> This consists of three columns of text (of which first two have been preserved) surrounded by a rectangular panel: *hmt ntr mrjtt s3t nswt mrjtt.f H3t-špswt [...] mrjtt(t) Wsjr nb 3bdw*, ‘God’s beloved wife, the king’s beloved daughter, Hatshepsut [...], beloved of Osiris, lord of Abydos’. According to the rule of honorific transposition, the divine name was written in the first column with the hieroglyphs facing the queen’s name (**Fig. 7a**). In another text of the same structure, written on the lid of a vessel found in this tomb, in the first column the name of Amun-Re may be reconstructed on the basis of preserved epithets, so that the whole text would be given as follows: *ntrt nfr(t) M3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-R<sup>c</sup> ʿnh.tj [m3<sup>c</sup> hrw hr] Wsjr ntr ʿ3 mrjtt(t) [Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nb nswt] t3wj nb pt*, ‘The good goddess M3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-R<sup>c</sup>, may she live, justified by Osiris, great god, beloved by Amun-Re, lord of the thrones of the Two Lands, lord of heaven’ (**Fig. 7b**).<sup>11</sup> Another text of this kind on a pithos-shaped ointment jar found in the Karnak Cachette reads: *ntrt nfr(t) M3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-R<sup>c</sup> s3t R<sup>c</sup> H3t-špswt hnmt-Jmn dj(t) ʿnh dt mrjtt Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> nswt ntrw nb pt*, ‘The good goddess M3<sup>c</sup>t-k3-R<sup>c</sup>, daughter of Re H3t-špswt hnmt-Jmn, given life forever, beloved of Amun-Re, king of the gods, lord of the sky’ (**Fig. 7c**).<sup>12</sup>

The structure of these texts is the same as of those written on the vessels depicted in the decoration of the offering chapel or an adjacent room in the mortuary temple of

<sup>7</sup> CH. LILYQUIST, *The Tomb of Three Foreign Wives of Tuthmosis III*, New Haven-London 2004 [= *Three Foreign Wives*], pp. 141–142, 206–207, Figs 127a, 128a (Cat. 54, 57).

<sup>8</sup> Note the similarity of shape between the globular jar and the four jars represented in the Main Sanctuary of Amun (**Fig. 3c**).

<sup>9</sup> LILYQUIST, *Three Foreign Wives*, pp. 139–151, 204–209, 214–219.

<sup>10</sup> H. CARTER, E. NAVILLE, T.M. DAVIS, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû: The Life and Monuments of the Queen*, London 2004 (repr.) [= *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*], pp. 109–110.

<sup>11</sup> The exact epithets of the god are attested in the text of the same kind naming Ramses II, written on a bronze libation flask (A. RADWAN, *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße Ägyptens (Von den Anfängen bis zu Beginn der Spätzeit)*, München 1983 [= *Die Kupfer- und Bronzegefäße*], p. 123 (Kat. 345), Taf. 64. The rest of the reconstruction shown in **Fig. 7b** was based on a text written on another vessel found in KV 20 (CARTER, NAVILLE, DAVIS, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, p. 109, Fig. 5).

<sup>12</sup> CH. LILYQUIST, *Pithoi of Hatshepsut’s Time*, [in:] E. Ehrenberg (Ed.), *Leaving no Stones Unturned: Essays on the Ancient Near East and Egypt in Honor of D.P. Hansen*, Winona Lake, Ind. 2002 [= *Pithoi*], p. 121.

Senwosret III at Dahshur (**Fig. 7d-e**).<sup>13</sup> According to their description by A. Oppenheim: *With one exception the right sides of all panels show Nekhbet or Wadjet as a vulture or a cobra standing on a nb-basket balanced on a top of a flower, facing Senwosret's name. (...) In at least a few instances Hathor and Ptah are substituted for the crown goddesses.*<sup>14</sup>

Assuming that texts of this kind were inscribed on the vessels represented in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the damage of the Amarna period, aimed at the names of gods in front of the queen's name would be justified. Some features of the erasures themselves, however, contradict this hypothesis. The erased areas are situated exactly in the middle of the vessel's belly. If erasing of a god's names had been the aim of the attack, one would have expected the damage to be located to the right of the center.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, if one compares the area of the belly of the vessel occupied by the inscription in question and the damaged areas on the vessels depicted in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the latter seem too small to 'host' such a text (especially in the case of the image of three bowls with natron pellets and the beer jar carried in the offering procession). It seems that another possibility should therefore be taken into consideration.

In the religious texts incorporated into the offering lists on the north and south walls of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the nomen of the queen alternates with her prenomen. Though it seems obvious that both cartouches were damaged during the reign of Thutmose III, there are significant differences in the erasure techniques applied. In the queen's prenomen (*M3ʕt-k3-Rʕ*) the *m3ʕt*- and *k3*-signs had been erased with the wide-bladed chisel, while the divine name (*Rʕ*) within it had been left intact (this was spared also by the Amarnan iconoclasts). The whole name is legible. In the case of Hatshepsut's nomen (*H3t-špswt hnm̄t-Jmn*), the approach is different. In only a few examples are erasures of the kind typical of that used by the agents of Thutmose III visible on the signs *šps* and *t*. In the remaining cartouches, all the signs have been attacked in the same manner as those parts of the described texts where divine names were originally written (**Fig. 6a-b**). During the post-Amarna restoration, these fragments of the inscriptions and the name of Amun within the cartouches were recarved. These observations indicate that during the reign of Thutmose III, the actual nomen (*H3t-špswt*) had been erased, while the divine name (*Jmn*) in her epithet had been

<sup>13</sup> A. OPPENHEIM, Aspects of the Pyramid Temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur: The Pharaoh and Deities, unpublished PhD thesis, New York University 2008 [= Aspects], pp. 376–378, Pl. 355; EAD., Appendix: Relief Decoration of the King's Temples and Queens' Chapels, [in:] DI. ARNOLD, The Pyramid Complex of Senwosret III at Dahshur. Architectural Studies, New York 2002 [= Relief Decoration], pp. 141–142, Pl. 161c; J.M. DE MORGAN, Fouilles à Dahchour: mars-juin 1894, Vienne 1895 [= Dahchour], pp. 57, 59, Fig. 127.

<sup>14</sup> OPPENHEIM, Relief Decoration, p. 141. It seems that an inscription of this kind naming Thutmose III was placed on a vessel represented in the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39) in a scene showing a display of the temple furniture (second register), N. DE G. DAVIES, The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes I, New York 1924 [= Puyemrê I], Pl. XXXVIII. Texts following this pattern are also attested on vessels of a later date (see *supra*, n. 13 and RADWAN, Die K pfer- und Bronzegef sse, p. 126 (Kat. 353), Taf. 64).

<sup>15</sup> It seems that texts of the described type were written on the libation vases depicted in one of the rooms against north girdle wall of the Great Temple of Amun. Here, the damaged areas are located to the right of the center parts of the vessels' bellies (personal observation). The scene represents Thutmose III consecrating the vases in question to Amun, see: PM II.2, p. 125, Room XLIB (450), P. BARGUET, Le Temple d'Amon-R  à Karnak. Essai d'ex g se, Le Caire 1962, pp. 207–208 (Chambre 4); *Urk.* IV, 870 (255).

left intact, whereas during the Amarna revolution, the whole name was attacked one more time, along with its previously damaged, but still legible part.<sup>16</sup>

The most likely solution of this problem is that it was the nomen of the queen that was written on the vessels in question. This is indicated by the position of the damaged areas on the vessels (in the center), their size, and character (two-three blows with a chisel executed vertically, from the top to the bottom of the probable text). It appears that the cartouches *H3t-špswt hnm-t-Jmn* made in paint were erased for the first time by Amarna iconoclasts, who were damaging the same name in the texts incorporated into the offering list.

As was emphasized above, all the erasures described here were observed exclusively on the vessels portrayed among the piled offerings above the procession of offering bearers on the north wall of the Chapel, though on the opposite one a corresponding panel of decoration has been preserved to a much greater degree.<sup>17</sup> Assuming that our reconstruction of the presence of the queen's nomen in the inscriptions on the north wall of the Chapel is correct, the explanation of the absence of traces of similar erasure on the vessels represented on the south wall opposite may be that it was the queen's prenomen written on their bellies.<sup>18</sup> It seems that the inscriptions placed on their painted surface (now lost) were for some reason omitted during the proscription of Hatshepsut by Thutmose III,<sup>19</sup> and the lack of traces of destruction shows they would have been left intact also by the agents of Akhenaten.

Such a pattern in placement of the queen's two names has been suggested by H.E. Winlock in relation to her sandstone sphinxes which most probably stood along the processional way leading to the gate of the temple as well as on its Lower Terrace.<sup>20</sup> In his opinion, the original location of sphinxes wearing the *nemes*, with the prenomen of Hatshepsut inscribed on their chests, was on the south side of the temple's axis, while those in the *khat* head-cloth, inscribed with her nomen, would have been placed on the

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<sup>16</sup> A.M. Roth, who has also noticed the difference in the manner of erasure of Hatshepsut's nomen and prenomen, assumes that *greater damage to the nomen may result from Amarna-period attacks on the name of Amun within it (...) and perhaps the šps hieroglyph (...) was offensive*, ROTH, *Erasing a Reign*, p. 277. According to Ch. Lilyquist, also in the case of the inscription on the pithos-shaped jar mentioned above, the nomen of Hatshepsut had been erased along with Amun's name during the Amarna period. Strangely, both names were later restored, LILYQUIST, *Pithoi*, p. 121.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV. The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Half of the Middle Platform*, *EEF* XIX, London 1901, Pl. CIX.

<sup>18</sup> For this suggestion I am indebted to Prof. Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal.

<sup>19</sup> The same situation has been observed in the case of the vessels with the cartouches of *M3ʿt-k3-Rʿ* depicted in the Main Sanctuary of Amun and in the Upper Shrine of Anubis, see *supra*.

<sup>20</sup> H.E. WINLOCK, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes. The Egyptian Expedition 1927–1928*, *BMMA* 23 (December 1928), sect. 2, pp. 17–18; *Id.*, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes: Excavations at the Temple of Hat-shepsut. The Egyptian Expedition 1930–1931*, *BMMA* 27 (March 1932), sect. 2, pp. 10–12, 14; *Id.*, *Notebook VIII. The Metropolitan Museum of Art Theban Expedition 8, Hatshepsut Statues and Sphinxes*, compiled ca. 1929–1932, unpublished, Archives of the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York [= *Notebook VIII*], pp. 101–142; *Do. ARNOLD*, *The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari, [in:] Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh*, p. 270 and nn. 6–7.

opposite side.<sup>21</sup> According to the Egyptian hierarchy of the cardinal points, with the most prominent place given to the south, from where the Nile flows,<sup>22</sup> the assignment of the prenomen to the south side of the axis of both the temple and the Chapel and nomen to the north reflects the general principles of the symmetrical and axial decoration of the temple at Deir el-Bahari, maintaining thus the proper sequence of the last two names in the queen's titulary.

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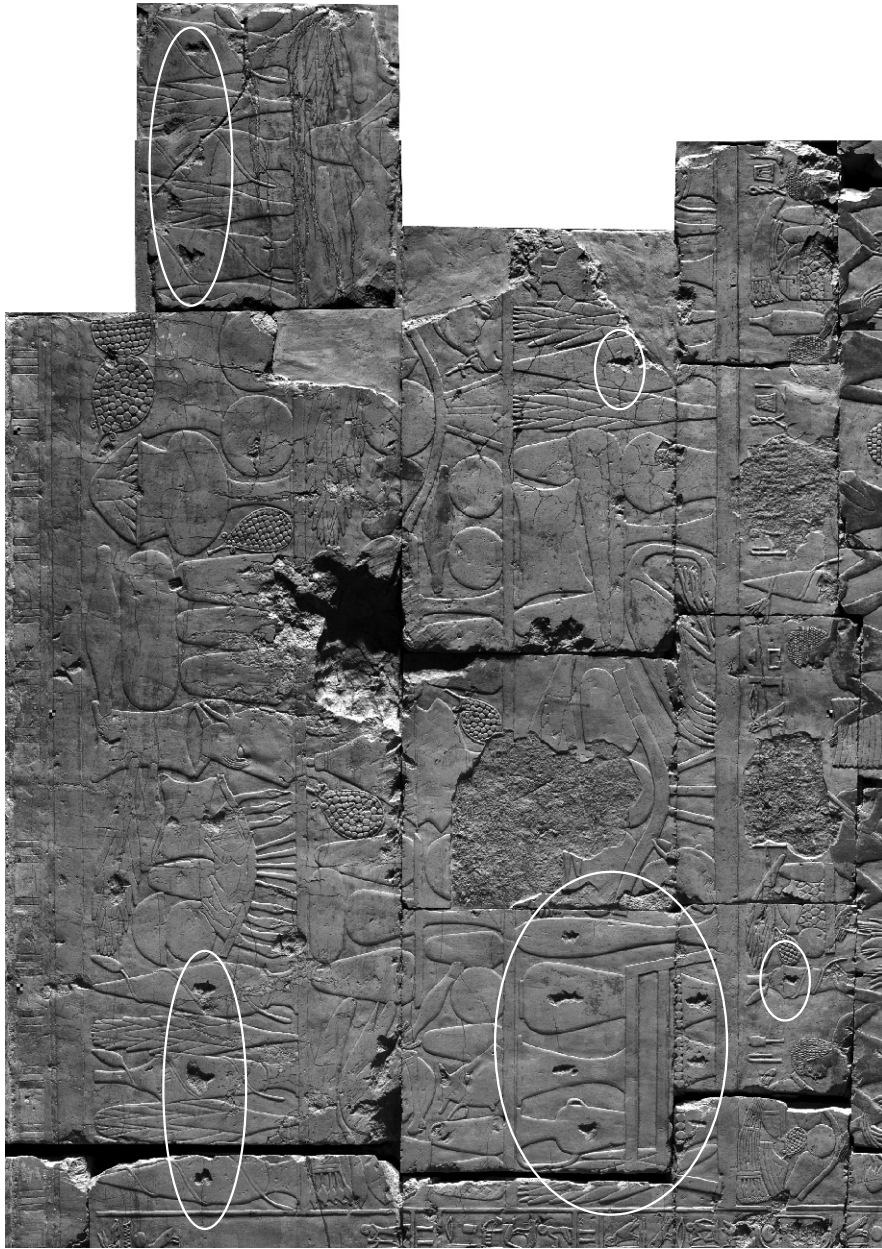
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<sup>21</sup> WINLOCK, Notebook VIII, pp. 105, 135–136. The hypothesis of H.E. Winlock may have been recently confirmed by Agata Smilgin in the course of her research on this material (see: A. SMILGIN, Sandstone Sphinxes of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, unpublished MA thesis, Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań 2011, pp. 125, 138–141).

<sup>22</sup> G. POSENER, Sur l'orientation et l'ordre des point cardinaux chez les Egyptiens, [*in:*] S. Schott (Ed.), Göttinger Vorträge vom ägyptologischen Kolloquium der Akademie am 25. und 26. August 1964, *NAWG* 2, Göttingen 1965, pp. 69–78. The prominence of the south in the axial decoration has been attested not only for the Temple of Hatshepsut, cf. F. PAWLICKI, Skarby architektury starożytnego Egiptu. Królewskie świątynie w Deir el-Bahari, Warszawa 2000, p. 113; see also: OPPENHEIM, Aspects, p. 45; A. Ćwiek, Relief Decoration of the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom. Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warsaw 2003, pp. 307–308.

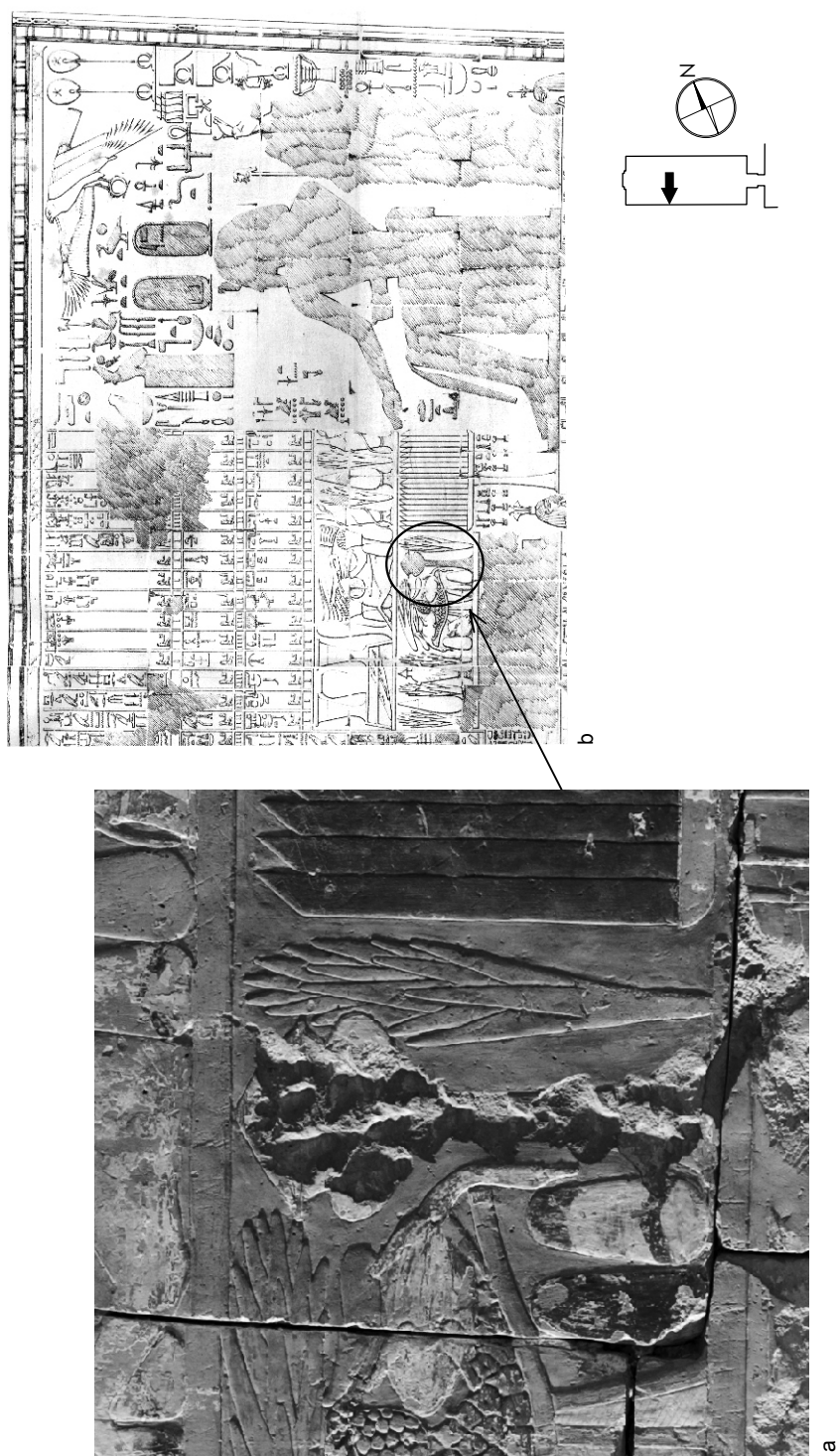


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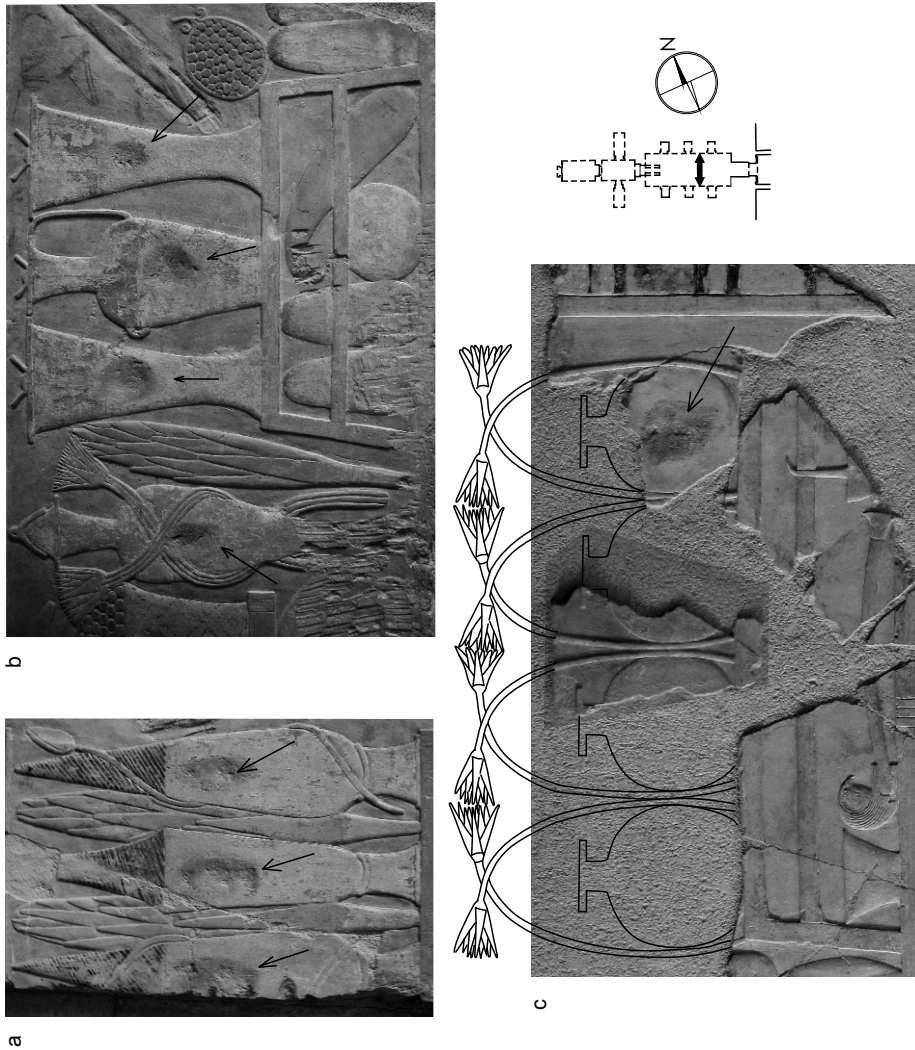


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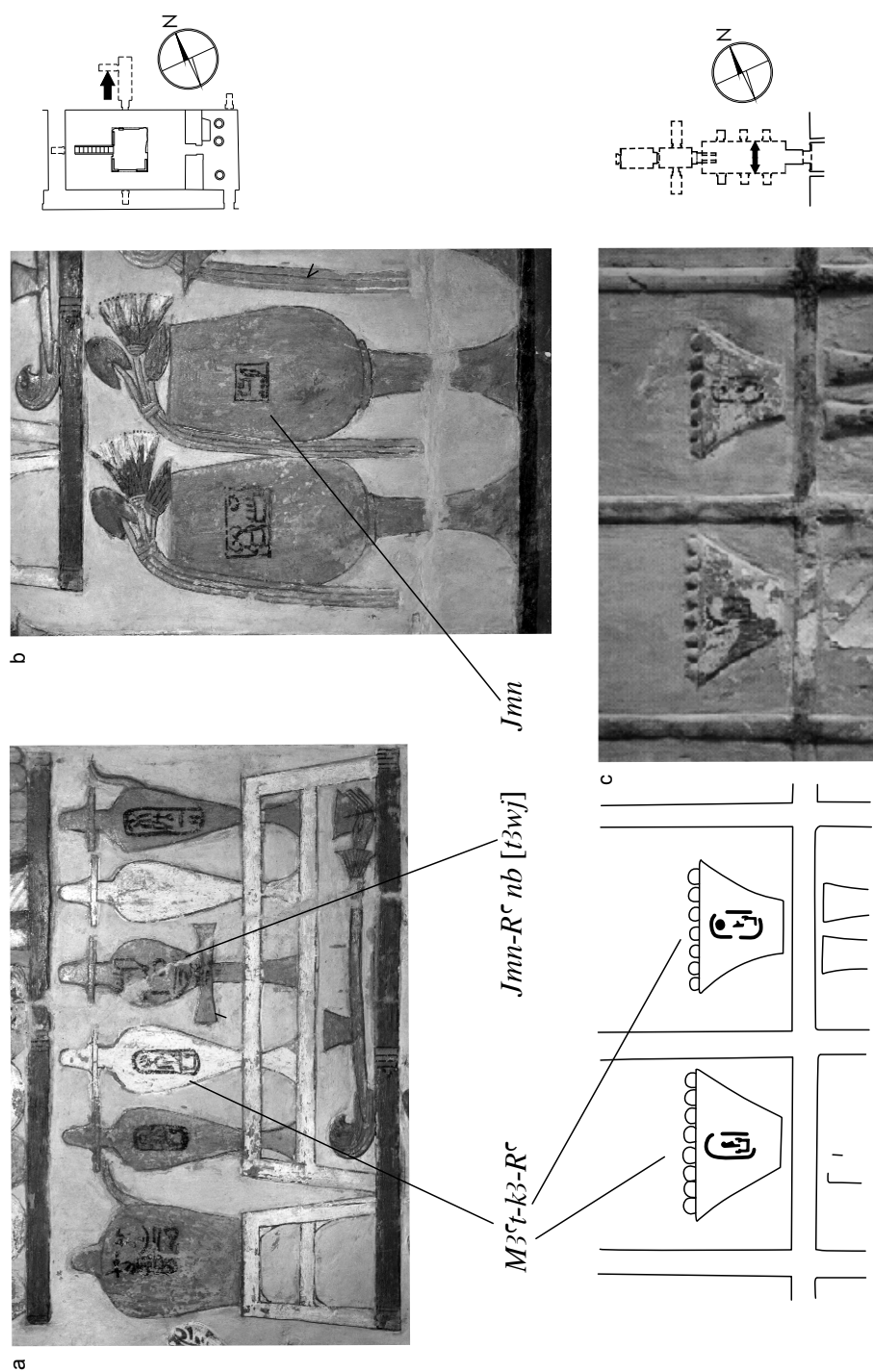
1a-b. North wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, piles of offerings and the upper register of offering bearers – destroyed surfaces of depicted vessels indicated with circles (a. NAVILLE, *Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pl. CXII, detail; b. Phot. M. Jawornicki).



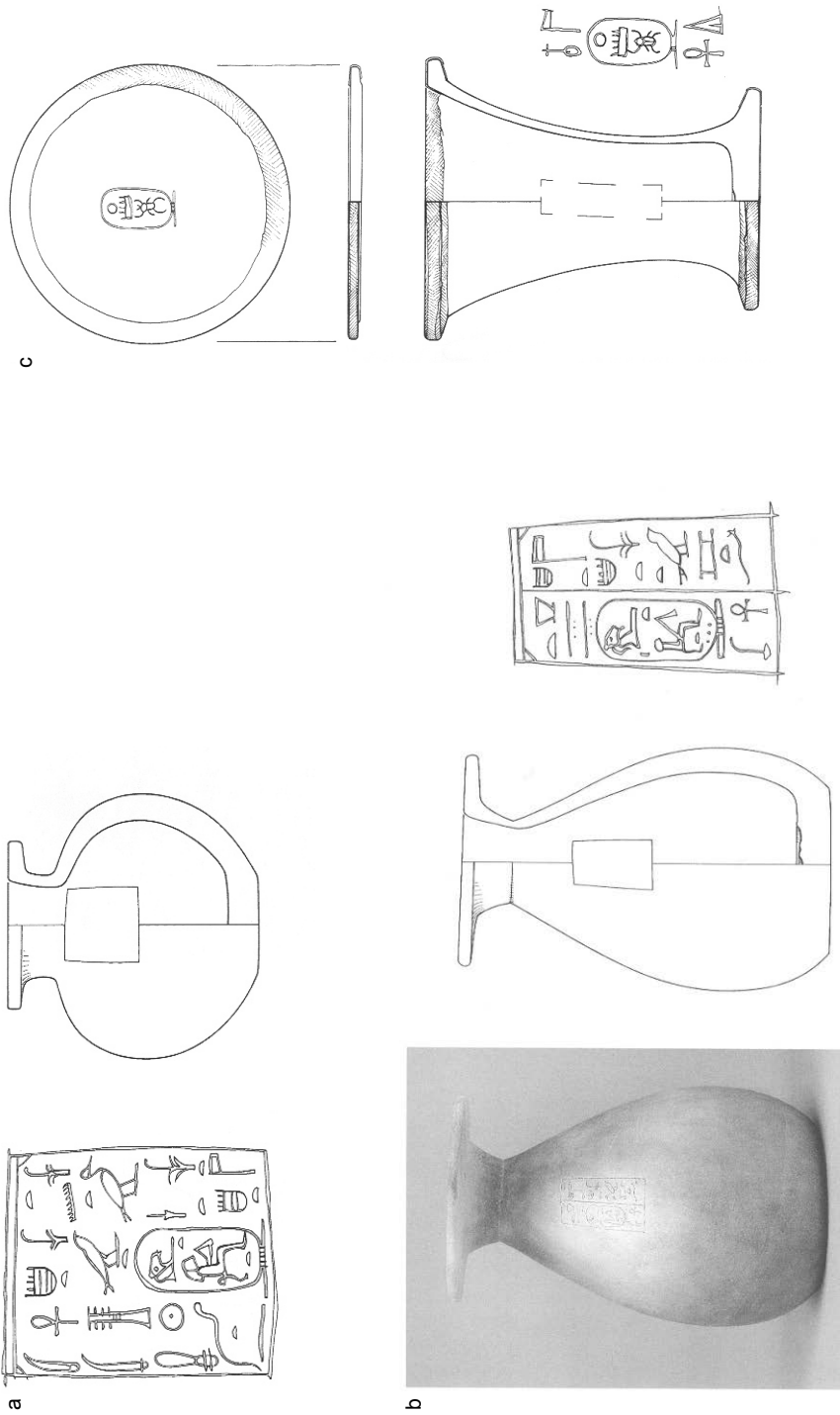
2a-b. South wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, erased bowl on a stand (a. Phot. M. Jawornicki; b. NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CX, detail).



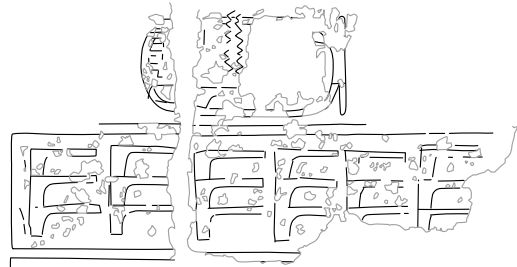
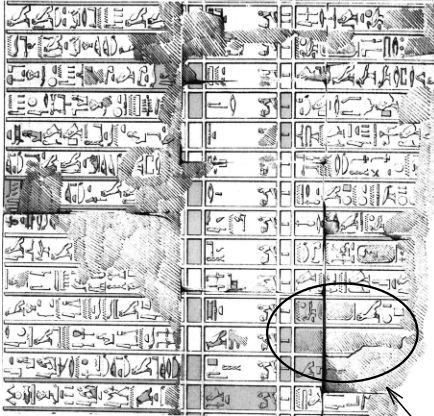
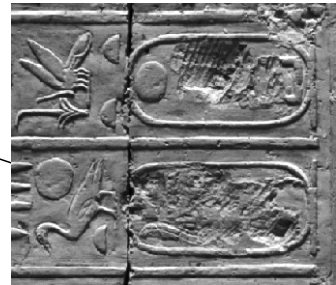
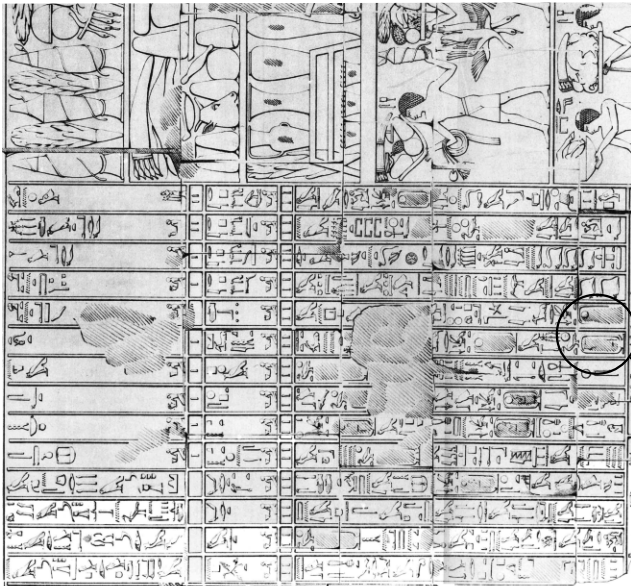
3a-c. Vessels represented on the north (a-b) and south wall (c) of the Bark Hall in the Main Sanctuary of Amun. Erased areas indicated with arrows (a-b. Phot. M. Jawornicki; c. Phot. K. Braulińska).



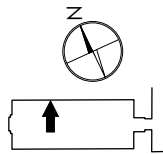
4a-b. Inscribed vessels in the Upper Shrine of Anubis (Phot. Z. Doliński); c. inscribed vessels in the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

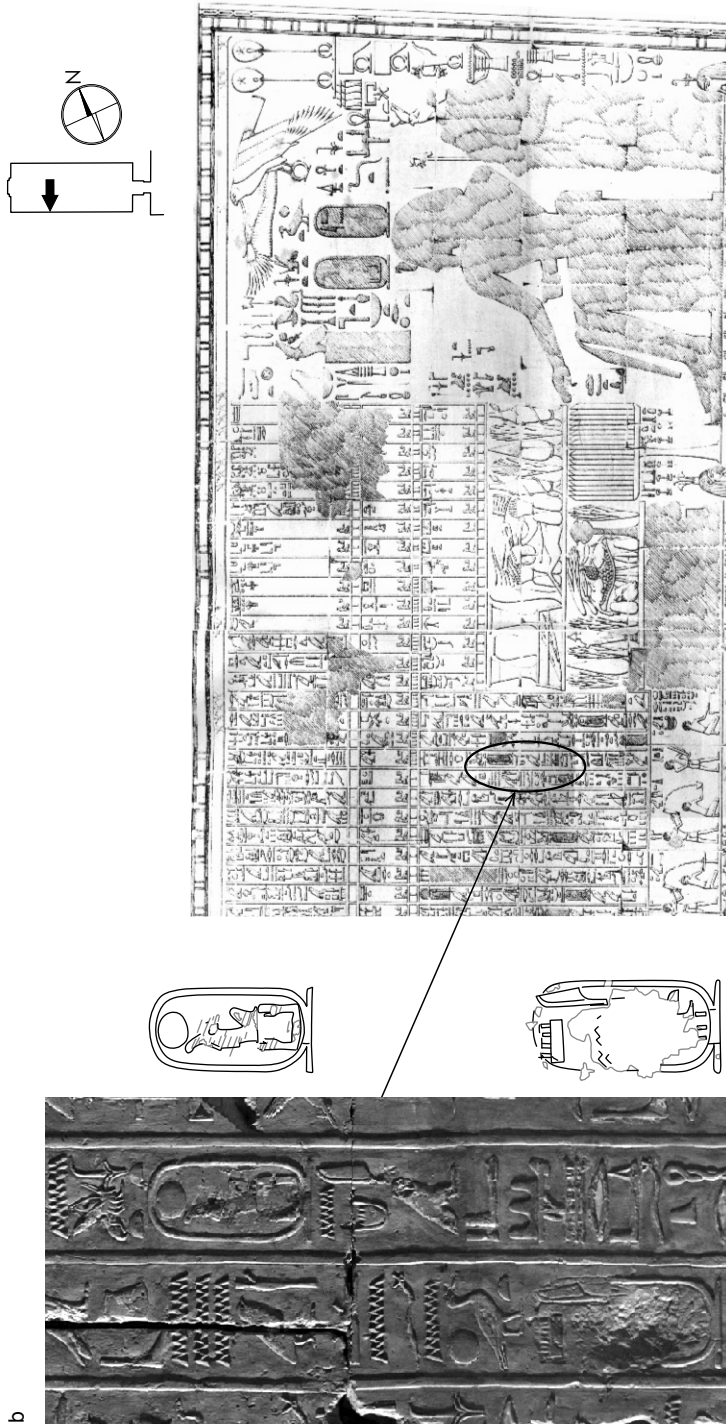


5. Vessels inscribed with the name of Hatshepsut (a-b) and Thutmose III (c), found in the tomb of foreign princesses in Wady el-Qurud (LXL10157, Three Foreign Wives, Figs 127a, 128a, 136a).

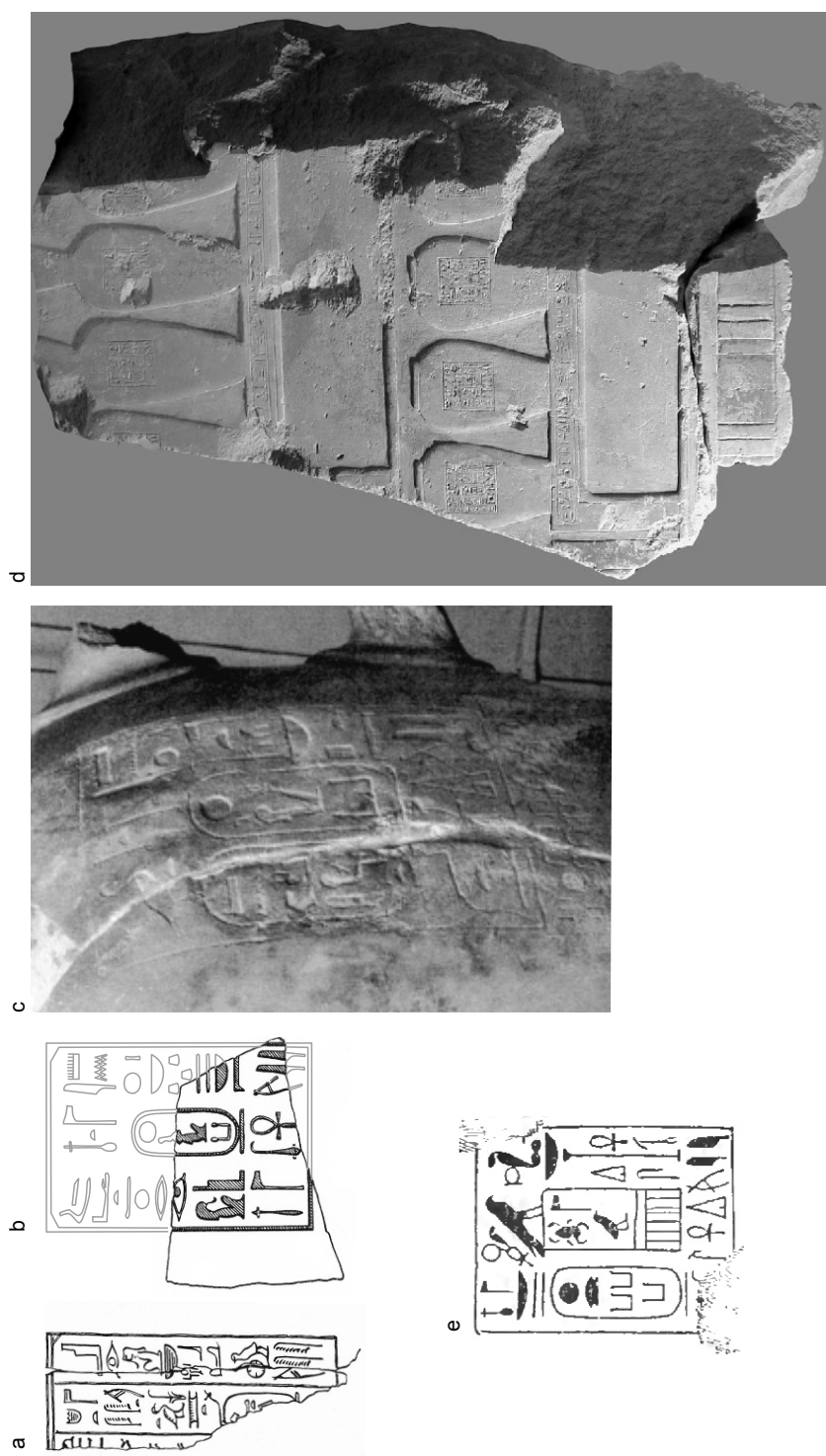


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6. Examples of erasures in the religious text incorporated into the offering list on the north (a) and south (b) wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut: a. the Dual Ennead (*psdtr*), the prenomen and nomen of Hatshepsut (NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CXII–CXIII, detail); b. the prenomen and nomen of Hatshepsut (NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CX, Phot. M. Jawornicki).



7a-b. Inscriptions on the vessels found in KV 20 (CARTER, NAVILLE, DAVIS, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsûtî*, Figs 6–7); c. inscription on the pithos-shaped vessel from the Karnak Cachette (LUXQUIST, *Pithoi of Hatshepsut's Time*, Fig. 6, detail); d-e. Inscriptions on the vessels depicted in the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur (OPPENHEIM, *Aspects*, Pl. 355; DE MORGAN, *Dahchour*, Fig. 127).