

On the Question of So-called Amun-vases Observations from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari

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Abstract: It is well known that during the post-Amarna period, depictions and texts vandalized in the course of the religious revolution of Akhenaten were restored. On the whole, they were reworked without changes. However, in the case of some elements of the wall decoration, the repaired image differed somewhat from the original one. This is the case of liturgical utensils represented in the offering table scenes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, where instead of *hes*-vases with conical covers so-called Amun-vases were restored. These were *hes*-vases with ram-headed lids which are known to have been carried in processions heading to the Nile during the New Year celebrations. The paper aims at answering the questions, what was the reason for the destruction of the mentioned cult implements during the Amarna period and why in the course of the post-Amarna repair some of the libation vessels were restored as ‘Amun-vases’.

Keywords: New Kingdom Egypt, temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari, iconography, Amarna iconoclasm, ‘Amun vases’

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It is well known that during the post-Amarna period, depictions and texts vandalized in the course of the religious revolution of Akhenaten were restored. At the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, this action can be dated to the early Ramesside period.¹ In most cases, the restored images were the same as the original ones (if we omit examples of obvious mistakes) though the technique and the quality of workmanship were different.² During restoration of some elements of the wall decoration, some changes were, however, introduced. One such instance is presented here.

¹ Barwik 2013: 96–101.

² The lower quality of the restored relief, often executed in plaster, has been commented in relevant publications (Brandt 1999: 43–44; Ćwiek, Sankiewicz 2008: 292–293). On the restoration sketches found in the Temple of Hatshepsut, see: Ćwiek, Sankiewicz 2008: 293, Figs 2–3.

The idea of this paper arose during the recording by the present author of the offering table scene depicted on the south wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (**Fig. 1a**).³ In front of the table there are piles of offerings represented. The part of the relief where the liturgical utensils would have been placed was destroyed in a way which is typical for the Amarna period (**Fig. 2a**). Despite this fact, however, tiny fragments preserved at the top and bottom of the composition allow the reconstruction of the initial repertoire and arrangement of the items (**Fig. 2b**). These were a *sema*-shaped jar with a spout,⁴ placed on its own stand beneath which a bowl with natron pellets was represented, and five *hes*- and *qebeh*-vessels (possibly with an *ankh*-shaped jar in the middle) standing in another rack with a censer beneath. The censer had a form typical for this period – that of a human arm with the handle in the shape of a falcon’s head. The entire composition was complemented by a pair of pot-stands and two lettuces.⁵

During the post-Amarna restoration, a different representation was placed here. Again, owing to the remaining relief fragments preserved on the borders of the composition, the items were identified as at least one *nemset*-flask on a stand and three *hes*-vases with ram-headed lids with *uraei* on the ram’s foreheads (**Fig. 2c**).⁶

From the corresponding composition placed on the opposite wall, only two blocks are preserved (**Fig. 3a**).⁷ Nothing but the conical lid of one *hes*-vase has survived of the original relief, so the reconstruction proposed here shows the same arrangement as that on the south wall (**Fig. 3b**). In the Ramesside layer of this relief, it seems that at least one rack with two *hes*- and one *nemset*-vessels can be recognized (a lotus flower may be reconstructed above the *nemset*-jar); a part of another rack with one *hes*-vase may be seen in front of it and one taller stand with, probably, one more *nemset*-vessel behind. No traces of the *hes*-vases lids have been preserved in this case (**Fig. 3c**).

In the adjacent Chapel of Thutmose I, on the south wall among the ritual objects initially represented in front of the offering table, only one conical cover of a *hes*-vase in the middle of the composition, and an oblong shape (a lotus leaf?) in its rear part can be observed. The latter could have belonged to a bouquet depicted on the top of a pot-stand, the bottom part of which seems to be preserved (**Fig. 4a-b**).⁸ In the secondary layer of the relief, two stands containing each two *nemset*-jars with lotus flowers flanking a rack with two *hes*-vases are visible (**Fig. 4c**). The upper parts of the *hes*-vases have not been preserved.

On the north wall (**Fig. 1b**), the original relief layer may be seen as the top parts of five conical lids of *hes*-vases and contours of lotus buds and flowers, probably shown above

³ The Southern Hall of Offerings according to: Naville 1901: 6–11, Pls CVII–CXVIII.

⁴ In the temple of Hatshepsut this form alternates sometimes with a *nemset*-jar.

⁵ The reconstruction of the original arrangement of the objects is based on the identical representation shown in the so-called ‘niche B’ located in the eastern wall of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

⁶ The size of the secondary image is slightly bigger than that of the original one.

⁷ Attributed to this place by Prof. Mirosław Barwik.

⁸ Reconstruction drawings shown in **Figs 4b-c** and **5b-c** are based on the drawing documentation by M. Barwik and M. Puskarski.

two *nemset*-flasks or two pot-stands (**Fig. 5a-b**). The front part of the composition is not preserved. In the restored relief, the arrangement seems to be the same as that depicted on the opposite wall. In this case ram-headed covers of two *hes*-vases with *uraei* on their foreheads can be identified (**Fig. 5c**).

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As in the typical offering scenes of the Old and Middle Kingdom,⁹ a set of libation and censuring utensils – objects which were commonly used at the beginning of the offering ritual¹⁰ – appears as a constant element in each of the numerous scenes of that type, which is also the case of those represented at the Temple of Hatshepsut.¹¹ Despite their great number, in none of them were the depictions of the cult items erased by the Amarna iconoclasts.¹² What is more, usage of items such as *nemset*-flasks and censers adorned with falcon heads is well attested in the sun cult during the reign of Akhenaten.¹³

As far as the Ramesside restoration is concerned, in two cases, on the south wall of the Hatshepsut chapel and on the north one of her father's chapel, *hes*-vessels with ram-headed covers with *uraei* on their foreheads are attested. Vessels of this shape, termed by E. Schott 'holy vases of Amun',¹⁴ are known to have been carried in a procession leading to the Nile during the New Year celebrations to draw fresh water which would then be used for the purification of the temple.¹⁵ In the light of this evidence, two questions concerning the liturgical utensils depicted in the offering chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I arise:

1. What was the reason for their destruction during the Amarna period?
2. Why in the course of the post-Amarna repair were some of the libation vessels restored as 'vases of Amun'?

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To start our investigation, it seems reasonable to recall scenes in which these sacred vessels are attested. Their images occur in three major contexts:

⁹ E.g. Brovarski 2006: 72–88; Newberry 1893: Pl. XVII; Blackman, Apdet 1953: Pls XV, XVII.

¹⁰ Barta 1963: 69; Radwan 1983: 88–90, 123–125, 171.

¹¹ Naville 1895: Pls VI–VII; 1906: Pls CXXXV–CXXXVI, CXLVI–CXLVII.

¹² This fact concerns also unpublished scenes (personal observation). Among the scenes representing offerings to the god in the Temple of Hatshepsut only two cases of the vessels' destruction are known to the present author. The first may be found in the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun. Depictions of cult objects on the two long walls of this room – in front of Amun's sacred bark – were destroyed along with the bark and then restored. The reworked images of the vessels (*qebeh*, *nemset* and *ankh*-shaped jars) show regular conical lids (unpublished, personal observation). The second scene, in which the vessels are placed in front of the enthroned Amun – depicted on the southern wall of the main courtyard, on the third terrace of the temple – will be discussed below.

¹³ Tawfik 1979: 335–344, Pls 45–47.

¹⁴ Schott 1970: 34–50.

¹⁵ Schott 1970: 44–46; Traunecker 1972: 211, 230, 232–236; Waitkus 2008: 278.

- I. Presentation of precious objects to the god;
- II. Certain ritual scenes (e.g. libations, offerings for the god, scenes with sacred barks);
- III. New Year processional scenes.¹⁶

I. The first category incorporates scenes from temples showing the presentation of precious object by the king to the god as well as those found in private tombs depicting the display of those objects for the king's approval. The oldest example of an image of an 'Amun-vase' is attested in the anonymous tomb TT 73 dated to the reign of Hatshepsut. The item in question is shown among the precious objects presented by the tomb-owner to the queen on the occasion of the New Year. The discussed vessel was probably adorned with a figure of the kneeling queen.¹⁷

Among the reliefs in Karnak, showing precious objects made at the behest of Thutmose III for Amun-Re, one depiction of an 'Amun-vase' is partly preserved in the scene decorating the Chamber of the Annals (**Fig. 14a–b**).¹⁸ A close analogy to the whole composition (along with two obelisks shown among the gifts) may be found in the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39). In the latter case, however, despite the fact that a set of ritual utensils is represented among the temple furniture (two pot-stands, *qebeh-*, *nemset*-vessels and censers), there is no depiction of any 'Amun-vases'.¹⁹

According to E. Schott, two 'Amun-vases' were made during the reign of Thutmose III. A golden one is mentioned in his 'Text of the Youth'²⁰ as a *hes*-vase measuring seven cubits in height, another one, made of silver, would be that represented among the silver objects in the Chamber of the Annals. One may assume, E. Schott states, that the first vase was represented in the scene among golden objects, on the upper part of the wall, now lost.²¹ If we suppose that the objects represented in TT 73 are shown to scale, the 'Amun-vase' in the reign of Hatshepsut could be of a similar height to that mentioned by Thutmose III (in TT 73, it is twice as tall as a chariot represented beside it).

Scenes showing Thutmose III consecrating ritual vessels to Amun along with different pieces of temple furniture are attested in four other rooms of the Karnak Temple:

1. In a room with a staircase in the 'Palace of Maat',²²

¹⁶ The classification is based on that suggested by C. Traunecker with some modifications. That proposed by the scholar includes: 1. scenes decorating storerooms of the temples; 2. vessels represented in front of the sacred bark; 3. vessels shown among cult objects in certain ritual scenes, also among gifts presented by the king to Amun on the occasion of the New Year (Traunecker 1972: 212), excluding New Year festival scenes to examine them separately (Traunecker 1972: 220–230).

¹⁷ Säve-Söderbergh 1957: 2–3, Pl. III, upper right corner.

¹⁸ *Urk.* IV, 634.3; Wreszinski 1935: Pl. 33a–b (90); Barguet 1962: Pl. XXIA; Schott 1970: Pl. IIb. The image of the vase was erased by Amarna iconoclasts, preserving only its stand. The stand is decorated with an image of the king represented during a ritual run with *hes*-vases, the so-called 'Vasenlauf' (on the symbolical meaning of this scene see: Kees 1912: 60–61).

¹⁹ Davies 1922: 97–101, Pl. XXXVIII.

²⁰ *Urk.* IV, 173.6–174.1.

²¹ Schott 1970: 41–42.

²² Tawfik 1979: 179–183, Pls VIII–IX; PM II.2, 105, Room XVIII (319); Traunecker 1972: 214, n. 2.1.

2. On the southern part of the façade of the ‘Palace of Maat’, to the north of the false door.²³ C. Traunecker believes that ‘Amun-vases’ might have been represented in one of the upper registers of this wall, now destroyed;²⁴
3. In the treasury of the Akhmenu;²⁵
4. In the fourth northern storeroom of the temple.²⁶

In all the dedicatory texts accompanying these scenes, the libation vessels are designated by the term *wḏḥw*.²⁷ Scholars seem to agree that these were items used for ritual purposes, stored in the temple’s treasury.²⁸ It is worth mentioning that in the original relief dated to the reign of Thutmose III, the covers of the libation vessels represented in the four scenes under discussion had a regular conical shape.²⁹

A scene showing Thutmose IV presenting the treasure to Amun once decorated the courtyard in front of the IV pylon at Karnak.³⁰ Two tall *qebeh*-vases and an *ankh*-shaped jar held by a kneeling king’s figure, all with ram-headed lids, are represented along with other precious objects (**Fig. 6**).³¹

An analogous scene, comparably to those represented in the Chamber of the Annals and in TT 39, was depicted in the tomb of Amunhotep-Sase (TT 75), Thutmose IV’s official, who, like Puyemre under Thutmose III, was the second prophet of Amun. Two *qebeh*-jars and one *hes*-vase held by the king depicted as a statue, all with ram-headed lids are represented among other items in this scene.³²

Similar compositions constitute the decoration of two rooms in the treasury of the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu. Consecration of the vases is shown in room 10,³³ room 11 (**Fig. 7**),³⁴ room 12³⁵ and room 13.³⁶ Along with common libation vessels (*hes*, *nemset* and *ankh*-shaped jars), the scenes show more elaborate forms supported by figures of the king, with their lids adorned not only with a ram’s head but also representing those of Mut and Khonsu.³⁷

²³ PM II.2, 95 (277); Traunecker 1972: 214, n. 2.2; 215–217, Fig. 4.

²⁴ Traunecker 1972: 217.

²⁵ PM II.2, 115, Room XIII (363); Traunecker 1972: 214, n. 2.4.

²⁶ PM II.2, 125, Room XLIB (450), Barguet 1962: 207–208 (Chambre 4); Traunecker 1972: 214, n. 2.5.

²⁷ *Urk.* IV, 869.17, 867.9, 867.11, 869.2, 870.16, 870.8 respectively; on the interpretation of the word, see: Schott 1970: 41–42; Traunecker 1972: 204–206; Cabrol 2001: 67–69; Sugi 2007: 243–245. On the title *sš wḏḥw* attested from the Old Kingdom onwards, see: Binder 2010: 1–13, though the translation of the term *wḏḥw* as ‘an offering table’, based on *Wb* I, 393 (15), ‘Gestell für Speisen und Getränke’, requires correction according to the results of the research by E. Schott and C. Traunecker (quoted above). Despite this fact, the libation context of the word pointed out by the author (Binder 2010: 2) is noteworthy.

²⁸ Tawfik 1979: 183; Traunecker 1972: 206.

²⁹ Changes of the relief visible on some of the described vessels will be discussed below.

³⁰ Letellier, Larché 2013: 68, 204–205, Pls 56–61.

³¹ Letellier, Larché 2013: Pl. 57.

³² Davies 1923: 12–14, Pl. XII; Vandier 1964: 620, Fig. 341. For a detailed comparison between two scenes, that of the court in front of the IV pylon and the one in TT 75, see: Letellier, Larché 2013: 205.

³³ *Epigraphic Survey* 1957: Pl. 322.

³⁴ *Epigraphic Survey* 1957: Pl. 327.

³⁵ *Epigraphic Survey* 1957: Pl. 328.

³⁶ *Epigraphic Survey* 1957: Pl. 331; Traunecker 1972: 217–219, Fig. 5.

³⁷ Sugi 2007: 246.

II. The second category encompasses several groups. To the first group of the second category may be attributed representations of different libation vessels (*ankh*-shaped as well as *nemset*- and *hes*-vases) placed in front of the sacred barks. Examples of this kind are to be found in the Luxor Temple, in its Colonnade Hall decorated with scenes of the Opet festival. The vessels in question are depicted in front of the barks of Mut and Khonsu, the lids decorated with the goddess' and falcons' heads respectively.³⁸ Vessels with the heads of falcons are represented also in front of the Amun's bark.³⁹ Both scenes were executed under Seti I.⁴⁰

In the temple of this king at Abydos, libation vessels with lids of various shapes were depicted in front of barks of different gods⁴¹ (**Fig. 8a-b**) and in front of the fetish of Imiut.⁴² Further examples of libation vessels occurring in the same context may be found in the mortuary temple of Seti I at Qurna,⁴³ in the great hypostyle hall of the Karnak Temple decorated under Ramesses II,⁴⁴ in the Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu⁴⁵ and in the first hypostyle court of the Khonsu temple at Karnak decorated by Ramesses XI and Herihor.⁴⁶

Another group of scenes shows vessels in question being used by the king participating in the temple service, such as purification of offerings or libation. These are attested in reliefs executed under Ramesses II,⁴⁷ Ramesses III⁴⁸ and under Ramesses XI and Herihor.⁴⁹

Moreover, two vessels of the type under discussion are attested among piled offerings presented by the king to the god.⁵⁰

More symbolical scenes showing an offering of cool water to the god are depicted as processions of the Souls of Nekhen and Pe bringing one lustration vessel each. In all cases the souls of the divine ancestors accompany the ruling king. Three scenes of this kind have been mentioned by C. Traunecker in the context of the discussion on the libation vessels:⁵¹ those from the temples of Seti I and Ramesses II at Abydos⁵² and that in the temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu.⁵³

³⁸ PM II.2, 314 (81), 198; *Epigraphic Survey 1994*: Pls 35 (episode 5, lower left corner), 43–44, 46–48 = Wreszinski 1935: Pls 195–196.

³⁹ PM II.2, 315 (82); *Epigraphic Survey 1994*: Pls 55–58 (episode 6) = Wreszinski 1935: Pls 197–198.

⁴⁰ *Epigraphic Survey 1994*: 19, 22.

⁴¹ Calverley 1933: Pls 6–7, 19, 27, 30–31; 1935: Pls 5, 10–11, 15, 18, 23, 35; 1958: Pl. 38.

⁴² Calverley 1933: Pls 10–11. Apart from the usual heads of rams, falcons and goddesses, examples of the heads of jackals and lions are also attested (Calverley 1935: Pls 23, 35).

⁴³ Stadelmann 2013: Fig. 5.

⁴⁴ Nelson 1981: Pl. 76.

⁴⁵ *Epigraphic Survey 1940*, Pl. 229.

⁴⁶ *Epigraphic Survey 1979*: Pl. 23; 1981: Pl. 185.

⁴⁷ In Karnak: Nelson 1981: Pl. 167.

⁴⁸ At Medinet Habu: *Epigraphic Survey 1940*: Pl. 242; 1957: Pls 289, 318, 337.

⁴⁹ In the temple of Khonsu at Karnak: *Epigraphic Survey 1979*: Pls 56, 59, 63, 91, 93.

⁵⁰ In the temple of Ramesses I at Abydos: Winlock 1921: Pl. VI; in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak: *Epigraphic Survey 1979*: Pl. 10.

⁵¹ Traunecker 1972: 222–225.

⁵² Calverley, 1935: Pl. 30; Traunecker 1972: Fig. 6.

⁵³ *Epigraphic Survey 1964*: Pl. 526; Traunecker 1972: Fig. 7; Sugi 2007: 242, Fig. 8.

The first scene is placed on the north wall of the royal offering chapel. The Souls of Pe and Nekhen, following Inmutef and Thoth, are represented in two registers. Behind them the king, accompanied by Montu and Atum, is represented. The procession heads towards the enthroned figure (of which only the feet are preserved). The Souls of Nekhen depicted in the lower register carry *hes*-vases with their lids in the shape of a king's head; the Souls of Pe depicted above present the same kind of vases with falcon-shaped lids, both types wearing sun-discs.

In the second example, the Souls of Pe and Nekhen are depicted again in two registers ahead of the king presenting three *hes*-vases. Only in the lower register showing the Souls of Pe are the vessels preserved: these are *hes*-vases with regular conical lids. The water offering in this scene is shown in front of a shrine of Osiris.

The third scene is found in one of the rooms behind the main sanctuary (**Fig. 9a**). In this case, Ramesses III is depicted in front of the procession presenting to Amun a *nemset*-vase adorned with a lid in the shape of a ram's head wearing the *atef*-crown. Behind him, in two registers the Souls of Pe and Nekhen are depicted (four of six figures preserved), carrying *hes*- and *nemset*-vases and *ankh*-shaped vessels, probably all with ram-headed lids. Text accompanying the king's figure terms the presented vessels as *wdhw*.

One more example should be added to this corpus, namely the scene represented in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, being thus the oldest in the whole set. Reconstructed by the Polish-Egyptian Mission, it is placed on the southern wall of the courtyard of the temple's third terrace.⁵⁴ The decoration of the entire wall represents selected episodes of the daily ritual performed for Amun-Re. In its western part there are two scenes depicting the enthroned god, one placed above the other, with two registers of scenes shown in front of each divine figure, ending with the depiction of Hatshepsut kneeling offering different goods.⁵⁵ In the lowermost of the four registers there are piles of offerings and slaughtered cattle depicted, in the second one a procession of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen carrying *hes*- and *nemset*-vessels with ram-headed lids (**Fig. 9b**). In front of this procession there is a panel filled with the depiction of ritual equipment: two pot-stands and a rack with two *nemset*-flasks with spouts flanking a *hes*-vase shown in the centre and a censer placed beneath. One of the preserved lids is that of the *nemset*-flask having the form of a falcon with the solar disc on the head. It must be emphasized, however, that the procession – along with the items in front of it – is preserved only in its post-Amarna restored shape; the original text that accompanies the scene may suggest that the initial composition in this place was the same, though the shape of the original vessels and their lids remains unknown.

⁵⁴ PM II.2, 358 (85); Karkowski 1978: 397–400, Fig. 1; 1979: 217–218, Fig. 2; Wysocki 1978: 393–395, Fig. 4, Pl. I; 1979: 208–211; Pawlicki 1995: 55–56; 1996: 70–72; 1997: 60–61; Szafranski 2001: 189.

⁵⁵ Karkowski 2001: 135–136; Pawlicki 2000: 91–92, Figs 84–86.

III. The third category of iconographic sources consists of scenes showing sacred vessels carried as cult objects in the New Year festival processions. The oldest known representation of the type may be dated to the reign of Amenhotep III. The scene in question is placed in the uppermost register on the west wall of the second antechamber of the Luxor Temple.⁵⁶ Three *hes*-vases with ram-headed lids are carried on a stretcher by eight persons,⁵⁷ the vases being twice as high as the human figures. Behind them sixteen priests are represented, each holding a vessel similar to those transported at the head of the procession, but three times smaller. At the end of the sequence Amenhotep III was depicted, of whom only the lower part has survived. The preserved fragment of the text in front of the king's figure mentions *wḏḥw šꜣw* relating most probably to the smaller vessels.⁵⁸ In the same register to the left, the scene of the so called 'Vasenlauf' (*ḥnp kbhw*) is represented, thematically related to the former.⁵⁹ Between the king running with two *hes*-vases and Amun, two stands containing three *hes*-vases each, with lids in the shape of a ram's head have been depicted.⁶⁰

The next two representations of the procession in question come from private tombs of the post-Amarna. The first example is to be found in the tomb of Panehesy (TT 16) dated to the reign of Ramesses II.⁶¹ The second scene is represented in the tomb of Imiseba (TT 65) from the time of Ramesses IX.⁶² Both compositions show the real course of the festival in which the tomb owners were participating.⁶³ In each case, only one 'Amun-vase' is depicted, carried by priests on a stretcher. Its size is smaller than that known from the pre-Amarna period.⁶⁴ Behind the big vases, a procession of priests carrying vessels of different forms (*nemset*, *hes* and *ankh*-shaped vases) with ram's heads on the lids is represented. Most probably, the vessels shown here depict real objects belonging to the cult equipment of the temple.⁶⁵ A fragmentarily preserved scene, reconstructed by E. Schott, dated to the times of Seti I – Ramesses II, seems to have belonged to a composition of the same kind.⁶⁶

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The corpus of sources presented above shows that during the reign of Hatshepsut there was at least one large 'Amun-vase', and that this number was augmented to two by the time

⁵⁶ PM II.2, 322, Room VIII (128, III.1); Gayet 1894: Pl. L, Fig. 106; Schott 1970: 42–44, Fig. 2; Traunecker 1972: 220–221; Waitkus 2008: 35–36 (vol. I); 45–46 (vol. II).

⁵⁷ According to E. Schott, the troupe of carriers consists of twelve people (Schott 1970: 42).

⁵⁸ Traunecker 1972: 206, n. 2. For the reconstruction of the text, see: Schott 1970: 44.

⁵⁹ Waitkus 2008: 36 (vol. I).

⁶⁰ PM II.2, 322, Room VIII (128, III.2); Gayet 1894: Pl. L bis, Fig. 105; Waitkus 2008: 36 (vol. I); 46 (vol. II).

⁶¹ Traunecker 1972: 226–228, Fig. 8; Schott 1970: 44–46, Fig. 3; Cabrol 2001: 436–438.

⁶² Traunecker 1972: 228–230; Schott 1970: 46–47, Fig. 4.

⁶³ The procession in the tomb of Panehesy (TT 16) is shown in front of the II pylon of the Amun Temple at Karnak (Schott 1970: 46).

⁶⁴ E. Schott assumes that huge silver and golden sacred vases of the Eighteenth Dynasty had been melted down during the reign of Akhenaten and in the post-Amarna period, when made anew, they were restored in a smaller size (Schott 1970: 44).

⁶⁵ Schott 1970: 45.

⁶⁶ Schott 1970: 34–39, 50, Figs 1, 5, Pl. Ila.

of Thutmose III. We know that one of them had a height of seven cubits (see above). Two vases were in use during the reign of Thutmose IV and three under Amenhotep III. From the scenes postdating the Amarna period, one vase of a smaller size is attested.

It seems that libation vessels of different forms (*qebeh*, *hes*, *nemset* and *ankh*-shaped ones) named *wḏḥw*, which either appear in the context of big ‘Amun-vases’ or are depicted separately, got their covers in the shape of the heads of different gods no earlier than the reign of Amenhotep III; the peak of the popularity of this motif falls, however, in the post-Amarna time.

It is important to note that the majority of libation vessels represented in the above-mentioned scenes postdating the Amarna period bear inscriptions on their bodies. This applies to the large-scale ‘Amun-vases’ as well as to the smaller *wḏḥw* containers.⁶⁷ The inscription in each case consists of three columns of text within a rectangular panel (sometimes with a *pt*-sign closing the square at the top). The text – written in the second and third columns – includes the names of royal dedicatee, designated as: beloved of + name of a deity (Amun-Re, Mut, Khonsu, Osiris, etc.). According to the rule of honorific transposition, this epithet is written in the first column with the hieroglyphs facing the king’s name. Sometimes the inscription consists of four columns, the first and fourth repeating the same text (or containing names of two different gods), flanking royal cartouches placed in the middle.

The images of vessels with such inscriptions are attested on temple walls from the reigns of Seti I (**Fig. 9**),⁶⁸ Ramesses III (**Figs 7–8**),⁶⁹ Ramesses XI and Herihor⁷⁰ as well as in TT 65 dated to the reign of Ramesses IX.⁷¹ Inscribed with the text in question are not only vessels with lids adorned with heads of gods, but also regular libation vessels with conical lids.⁷² In some cases only the rectangular frame of the text is visible (executed as a groove or in ink) which would mean that an inscription was written in ink and has not survived or that the interior of the frame was intentionally left blank (**Fig. 9b**).⁷³ This is also the case of the scene in TT 16.⁷⁴

The earliest example of the discussed text found on representations of vessels is attested at the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur. These were jars of different shapes (unguent containers among others) represented on stands, placed in a few registers. The gods named in the inscriptions are Nekhbet, Wadjet, Ptah and Hathor (**Fig. 10**).⁷⁵ Most

⁶⁷ Traunecker 1972: 213 and n. 5.

⁶⁸ In his temple at Abydos: Calverley 1935: Pls 10–11.

⁶⁹ At Medinet Habu: *Epigraphic Survey 1957*: Pls 324, 327, 331; *Epigraphic Survey 1964*: Pl. 526.

⁷⁰ In the temple of Khonsu at Karnak: *Epigraphic Survey 1979*: Pl. 91.

⁷¹ Traunecker 1972: 229; Schott 1970: 47, Fig. 4. In most cases, interdependence between the beneficiary god, the god’s name used in the text written on the vessel and the shape of its lid is observable within each particular scene, though exceptions from this rule are also possible (e.g. *Epigraphic Survey 1957*: Pls 327, 331; Traunecker 1972: 213, n. 5; Calverley 1935, Pls 10–11).

⁷² Calverley 1938: 31, 34, 40; 1958: Pl. 30; *Epigraphic Survey 1940*: Pls 207–208, 218, 221–222; *Epigraphic Survey 1963*: Pls 410, 457.

⁷³ E.g. Calverley 1933: Pls 19, 27, 30–31; 1935: Pls 5, 10–11, 23; 1938: Pls 4–5, 11, 36; 1958: Pl. 38B.

⁷⁴ Traunecker 1972: 226–228, Fig. 8; Schott 1970: 44–46, Fig. 3.

⁷⁵ Oppenheim 2002: 141–142, Pl. 161c; 2008: 376–378, Pl. 355; Morgan 1895: 57, 59, Fig. 127.

probably, these depictions were elements of a frieze decorating the upper sections of the walls in the eastern part of the king's offering chapel.⁷⁶

An inscription of this kind naming Thutmose III was possibly placed on a non-libation vessel represented in the tomb of Puyemre (TT 39) in the above-mentioned scene showing a display of the temple furniture.⁷⁷ This is the only New Kingdom example predating the Amarna revolution with which the present author is familiar.

Despite the modest number of iconographic sources, the text in question is widespread among the real libation and non-libation vessels found in both temple and funerary contexts and dated from the beginning of the New Kingdom onwards. Those discovered in the precinct of the Karnak temple were unguent containers naming Hatshepsut⁷⁸ and Thutmose III.⁷⁹ To the mortuary equipment, in turn, belong perfume jars naming Ahmes-Nefertari⁸⁰ and Hatshepsut (**Fig. 11a-b**),⁸¹ as well as faience models of libation vessels with the name of Amenhotep II⁸² and Thutmose IV (**Fig. 11c**).⁸³ The type of the text in question persists on vessels during the Amarna period⁸⁴ as well as after it (**Fig. 12a-b**).⁸⁵

At the same time, it is worth mentioning that some vessels depicted in the scenes quoted above and predating the Amarna period, bear traces of erasure typical for the time of Akhenaten and subsequent restoration activities.

The repair of the scene in the temple of Hatshepsut representing the Souls of Pe and Nekhen along with the vessels shown in front of them was described above. It is noteworthy, however, that in the register above this scene, cult utensils depicted in front of Amun-Re, though preserved only fragmentarily, survived the Amarna times in their original form (**Fig. 13**). These were two stands placed one above another with two censers laying under each of them with *nemset*-flasks standing on the upper stand and, most probably, *hes*-vases on the lower one. The lids of all preserved vessels have a conical form bearing no traces of figural representations. Luckily, the bodies of one *nemset*-flask and a half of

⁷⁶ Oppenheim 2008: 377–378.

⁷⁷ Davies 1922: 99, Pl. XXXVIII, 2nd register. The second and third columns are preserved while in the first one only a *j* sign at the top (the beginning of *Jmn?*) is visible.

⁷⁸ Lilyquist 2002: 119–124, Figs 1–4. A further example comes from one of Hatshepsut's foundation deposits at Deir el-Bahari (Roehrig 2005: 144–145, Fig. 76 (i)).

⁷⁹ Traunecker 1982: 307–308, Fig. 1.

⁸⁰ Carter 1916: Pl. XXI (8).

⁸¹ Davis, Naville, Carter 1906: 109–110, Figs 6–7.

⁸² Daressy 1902: 218–230, Pl. XLVI; *British Museum*: EA 43042, EA 48656, EA 53998.

⁸³ Smith 1960: 120, 124, Fig. 70; Hayes 1959: 151, Fig. 83. Libation vessels made of precious metals dating to the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty remain unknown, with the exception of those belonging to the foreign wives of Thutmose III (Lilyquist 2004: 127–128, 195, Figs 99–102).

⁸⁴ Radwan 1983: 126–127, Pl. 64 (353–354).

⁸⁵ Radwan 1983: 123, 172, Pls 64 (345), 83 (489A-B); *Tanis 1987*: 208–209. It must be admitted that the discussed formula is not restricted exclusively to vessels as it is attested on a wide variety of artefacts, e.g. from the scribe's palette and the emblems of Imiut discovered in the tomb of Tutankhamun (Carter, Mace 1927: Pl. VI; Hawass 2007: 77; Carter, 1933: 80–81, Pl. XXIIB) to the bases of sacred barks (e.g. Calverley 1933: Pls 19, 30–31) (**Fig. 8b**). Additionally, the text is attested on the *hnp*-shaped offering table of Thutmose III found in Karnak (Biston-Moulin 2010: 28 (4.1), 30 (5–6), Figs 8–9) and on a rack inscribed with the name of Ramesses II discovered in the tomb of Psusennes I (*Tanis 1987*: 206–207, Fig. 60).

the next one have been preserved. Traces of destruction with the use of a tool typical for the Amarna iconoclasm indicate that an inscription had originally been placed on them. The damaged surface occupies quite a lot of space on each vessel as if the texts were arranged in more than one column.

Further images of vessels with traces of Amarna damage are to be found in Karnak, in the scenes sculpted during the reign of Thutmose III. To this group belong those shown in the Chamber of the Annals, those decorating the southern part of the façade of the ‘Palace of Maat’ and those depicted in the fourth of the northern storerooms.

In the context of the present research, the scene in the Chamber of Annals is of particular interest (**Fig. 14a-b**). As has been noted above, among the images of items preserved in this scene, one ‘Amun-vase’ may be found⁸⁶ while vessels with lids in the shape of a ram’s head are much more numerous here. The execution of the latter, however, has to be dated to the period of restoration, for all they were carved as a secondary relief, on a surface obtained by smoothing out the damaged areas.⁸⁷ Some other vessels of non-libation function, in turn, bear traces of damage only on their bodies, in a few instances the erased areas being placed beside their central axis, as if only one column of the text, that containing the name of the god, was destroyed.⁸⁸ The rest of the libation vessels bear no traces of destruction or restoration.⁸⁹ Other items shown in the composition were erased as entire units leaving rectangular areas of damaged relief similar to those which may be observed in the Chapels of the Royal Cult at Deir el-Bahari.⁹⁰ The following explanation of these facts may be proposed: the items related directly to the cult were erased completely (it is noteworthy that not a single censer may be observed in the whole composition) along with inscribed libation vessels. From the non-libation containers inscribed with the formula ‘the king beloved of the god’ only the name of the latter was erased, while the non-inscribed libation vessels were left untouched.

In the scene decorating the southern part of the façade of the ‘Palace of Maat’, among the *wḏhw*-vessels represented in the lower register, two shown in the centre were erased completely so that their shape is impossible to determine, the adjacent *ankh*-shaped vase supported by the kneeling king represented as a statue has its cover reworked in a shape of a falcon’s(?) head, while the lid of a similar vase represented behind it was reworked to represent a ram’s head (personal observation). Other libation vessels with conical lids represented in this and in the upper register show no traces of damage.

In the fourth of the northern storerooms there is a representation of three stands placed in a vertical sequence containing *qebeh*-, *hes*- and *nemset*-vessels in front of ithyphallic Amun-Min. On the body of each vessel, to the right from its central axis, an oblong concavity – in some cases filled with plaster – may be observed. *Nemset*-flasks represented on the

⁸⁶ Wreszinski 1935: Pl. 33a-b (90).

⁸⁷ Wreszinski 1935: Pl. 33a-b (58, 59, 60, 68).

⁸⁸ Wreszinski 1935: Pl. 33a-b (17, 18, 19, 95, 201).

⁸⁹ Wreszinski 1935: Pl. 33a-b (28, 145, 146, 167, 194).

⁹⁰ These parts of the scene show no traces of relief restoration. It is possible that a repair in this case was executed in plaster, now lost.

upper and lower stands have their lids reworked to represent a ram's head with *uraeus* on its forehead. The rest of the lids show their original conical shape (personal observation).⁹¹

Ram-headed vessel lids executed in secondary relief may also be found in the Luxor temple. In the scene placed on the southern wall of the columned room behind the sanctuary, showing the presentation of offerings by Amenhotep III to Amun, three *hes*-vases with such lids are depicted in a rack among piled offerings shown in front of the enthroned god.⁹² Beside the mentioned vessels another rack with four *hes*-vases of a slightly smaller scale was depicted in this scene. Here, conical covers are executed in the original relief with no signs of their damage or repair, while traces of rectangular panels are visible on the body of both groups of the vessels.

*

In the light of this evidence, it seems quite possible that a text of the type 'the king beloved of the god' was written on the aforementioned *nemset*-flasks shown on the south wall of the Upper Courtyard in the temple of Hatshepsut. It is more than probable, too, that similar formulae were written on the libation vessels represented in the fourth northern storeroom of Thutmose III at Karnak (whose lids in some cases were later changed into ram's heads) and on some vessels depicted in the Chamber of the Annals. If so, one may assume that a similar text could have been written on the vessels represented in front of the offering tables in the chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I at Deir el-Bahari. In this case, the objects in question should be classified as belonging to the mortuary context in contrast to those – more frequently attested at least in the iconographic sources – which are attributed to the temple context in terms of the god's cult.⁹³

Answering the questions formulated at the beginning of the paper, it seems that the phrase 'the king beloved of the god' could be a feature linking both actions: defacing the ritual utensils in front of the offering tables in the Chapels of the Royal Cult and the reconstruction of some of them as 'Amun-vases'.⁹⁴ The Amarna attack on the items

⁹¹ The scene was described by C. Traunecker (Traunecker 1972: 214, n. 2 (5)) but the fact that the ram-headed covers do not belong to the original relief was passed over. I am indebted to Prof. Christophe Thiers for his kind permission to publish my observations concerning this scene as well as that decorating the façade of the 'Palace of Maat'.

⁹² Brunner 1977: 41, Pls 16, 60, 194, Scene XVII/26. 'Amun-vases' depicted in the court decorated by Thutmose IV at Karnak Temple bear no traces of Amarna iconoclasm as it was dismantled by Amenhotep III and used in the foundations of the III pylon (see: Letellier, Larché 2013: Pls 7–8).

⁹³ To the same mortuary context could be attributed the aforementioned vessels inscribed with the text in question, found among the funerary equipment, and the vessels belonging to the decoration of the offering chapel of Senwosret III at Dahshur, with no regard to the question whether they were only symbolic images, as A. Oppenheim assumes (Oppenheim 2008: 378), or represented the real equipment used in the cult.

⁹⁴ One example of liturgical vessels inscribed with the cartouches of different royal dedicatees (and among them two bearing the name of Amun) is attested in the scene representing offerings made to this god, placed in the upper shrine of Anubis (Naville 1895: 11, Pl. XVI; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2014: Fig. 4b). However, it is difficult to connect these vessels with the discussed material from the Chapels of the Royal Cult since the texts on the former seem to be a later addition which is hard to date.

inscribed with such text could have resulted from their – supposed – usage in the cult of the god(s) mentioned in the inscriptions since so many examples of that kind were indeed attested in the ritual scenes dating to the pre-Amarna time. According to this assumption, the destruction of the cult items would contribute to the annihilation of the cult itself. This would explain the damage of the whole compositions along with non-inscribed items (censers, racks, and lettuces) and not exclusively of the texts on the vessels. During the Ramesside restorative act the interpretation of the erasure could have been similar: since the libation vessels were damaged during the Amarna revolution they must have been connected to the cult of the god and were restored as such, this time in the shape popular after the heresy (i.e. with the head-shaped lids).

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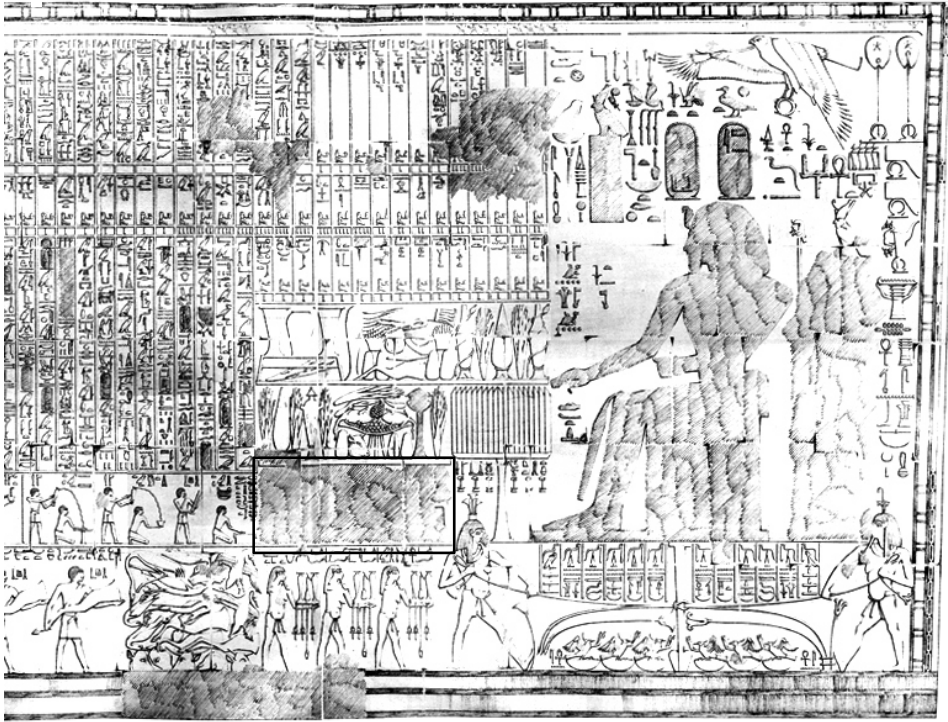
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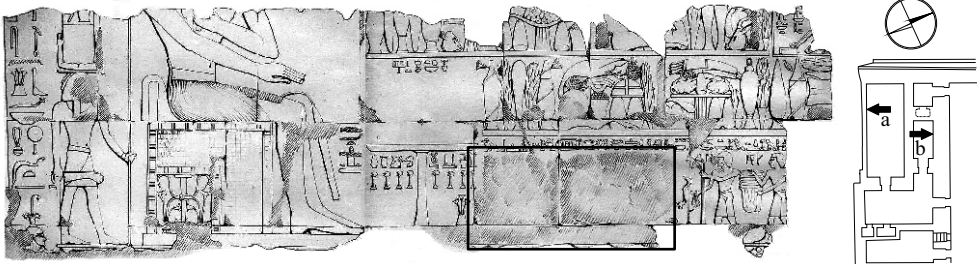
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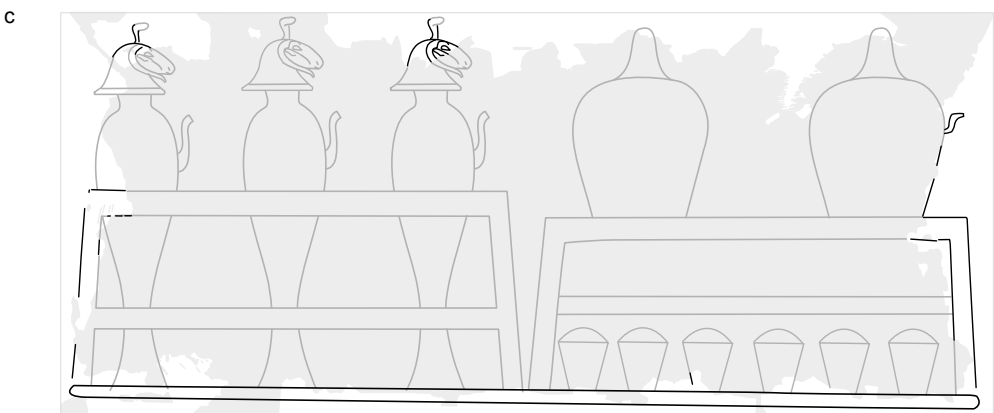
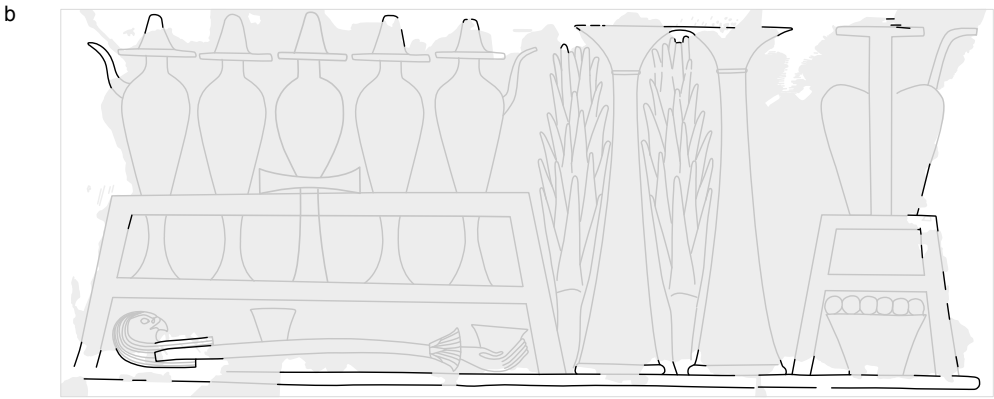
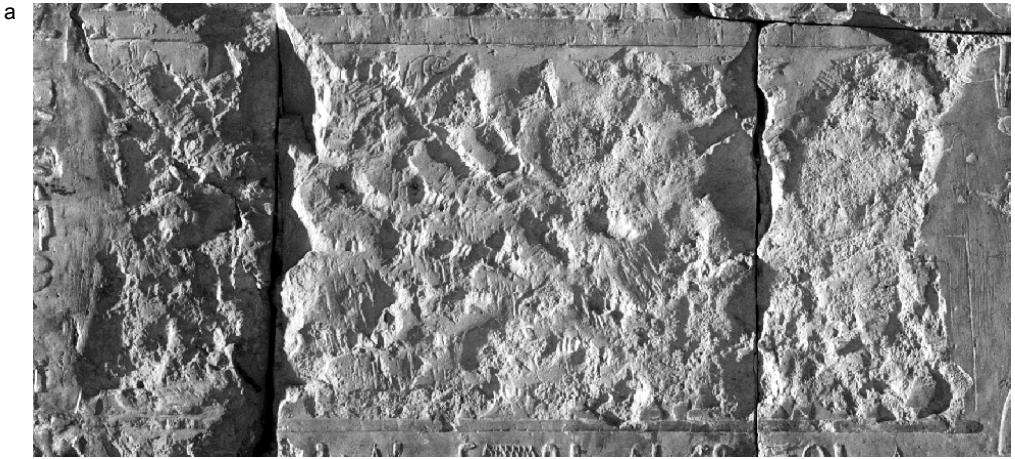
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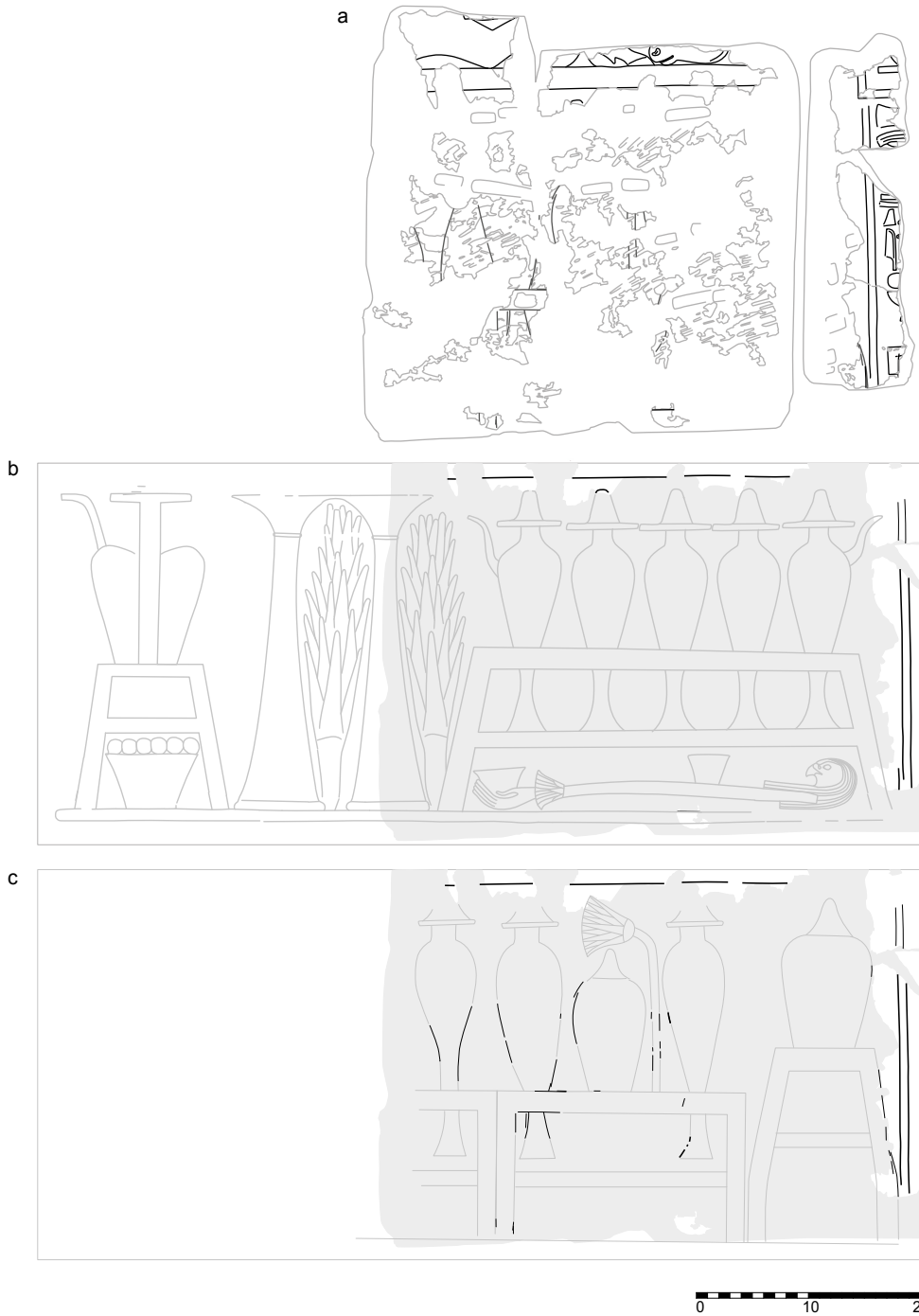


1. Offering scenes in the Chapels of the Royal Cult with ritual implements represented in front of the offering table: a. south wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut; b. north wall of the Chapel of Thutmose I (a. Naville 1901: Pl. CX, detail; b. Naville 1906: Pl. CXXXIX, detail).

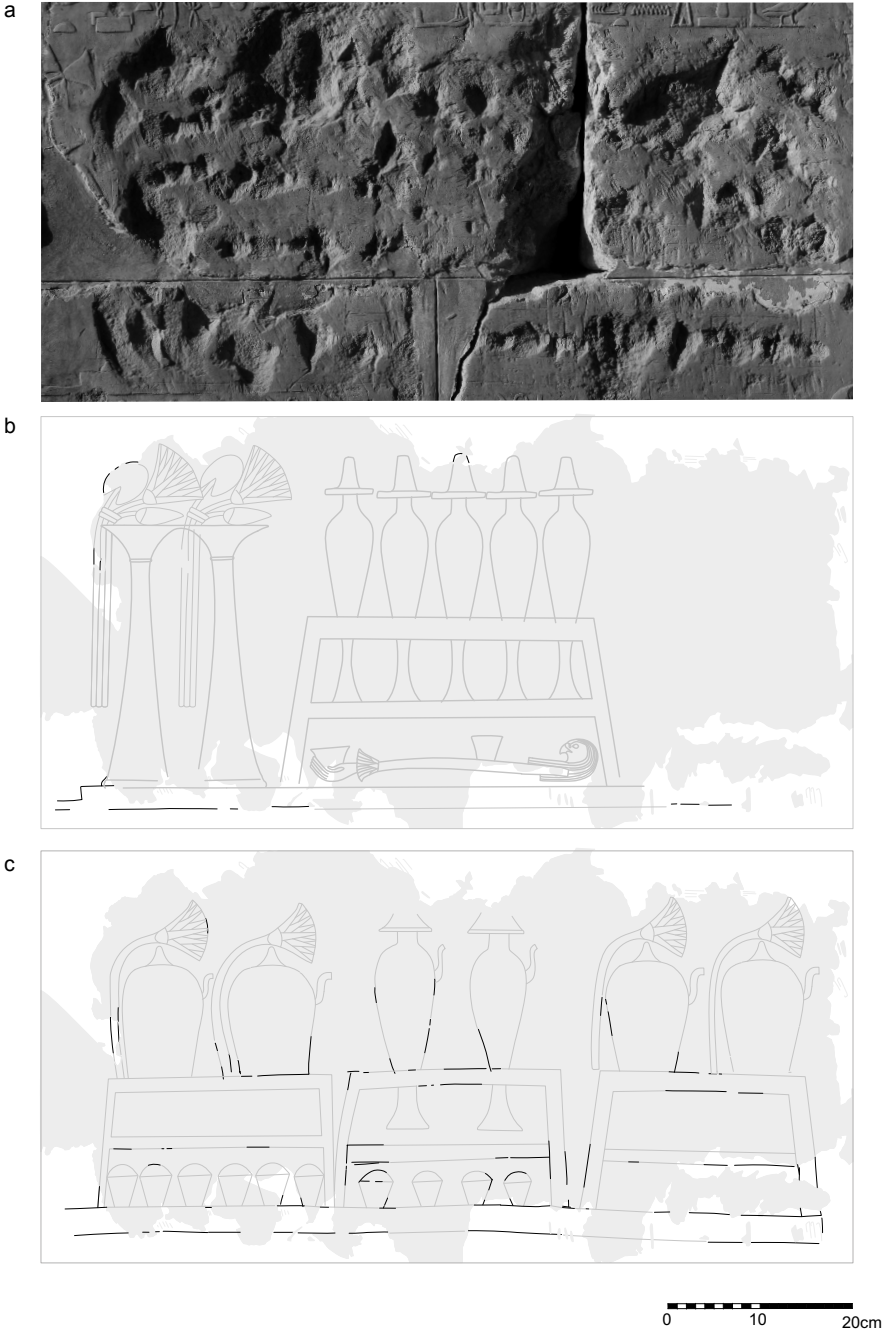


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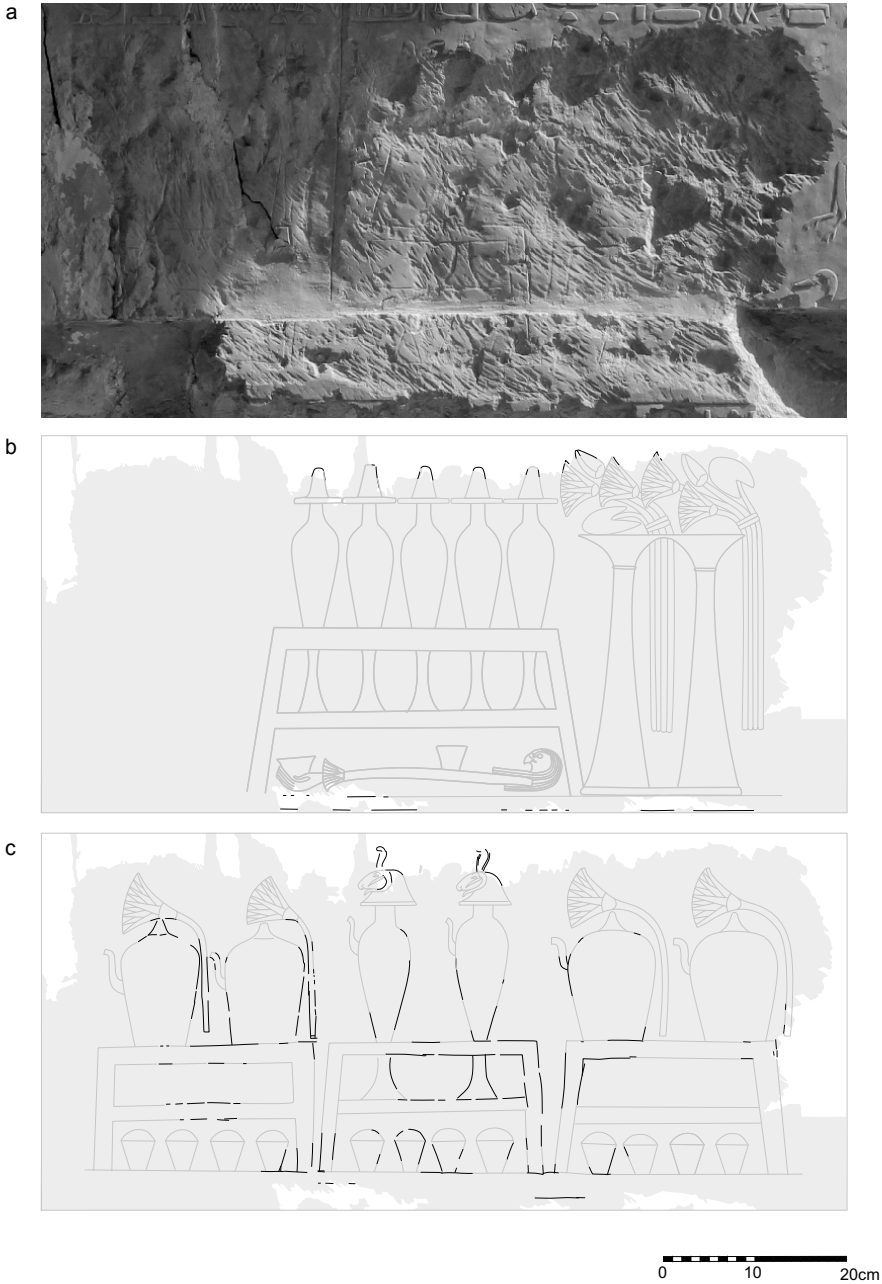
2. Ritual implements, south wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut: a. current state of preservation; b. reconstruction of the original relief; c. reconstruction of the Ramesside restoration (Phot. M. Jawornicki; drawing: A. Stupko-Lubczyńska).



3. Ritual implements, north wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut: a. current state of preservation; b. reconstruction of the original relief; c. reconstruction of the Ramesside restoration (Drawing: A. Stupko-Lubczyńska).



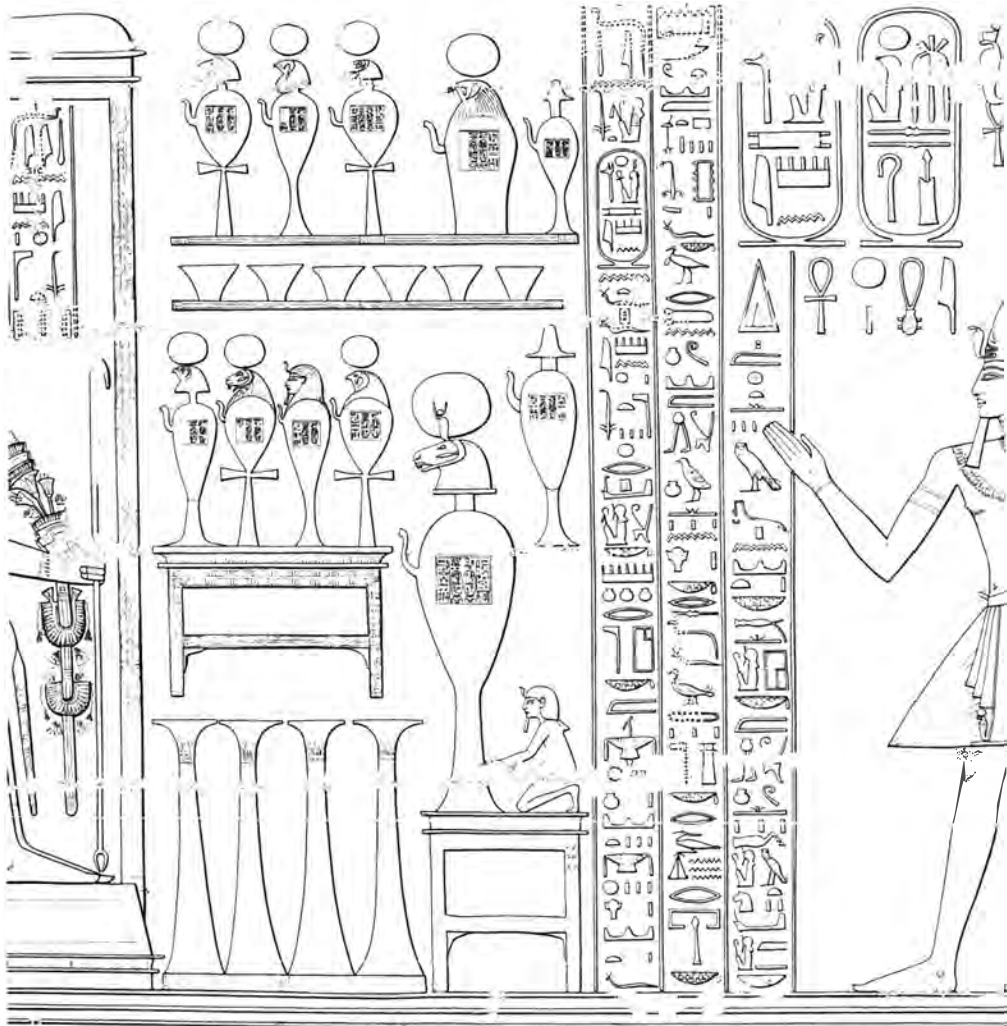
4. Ritual implements, south wall of the Chapel of Thutmose I: a. current state of preservation; b. reconstruction of the original relief; c. reconstruction of the Ramesside restoration (Drawing and Phot. A. Stupko-Lubczyńska).



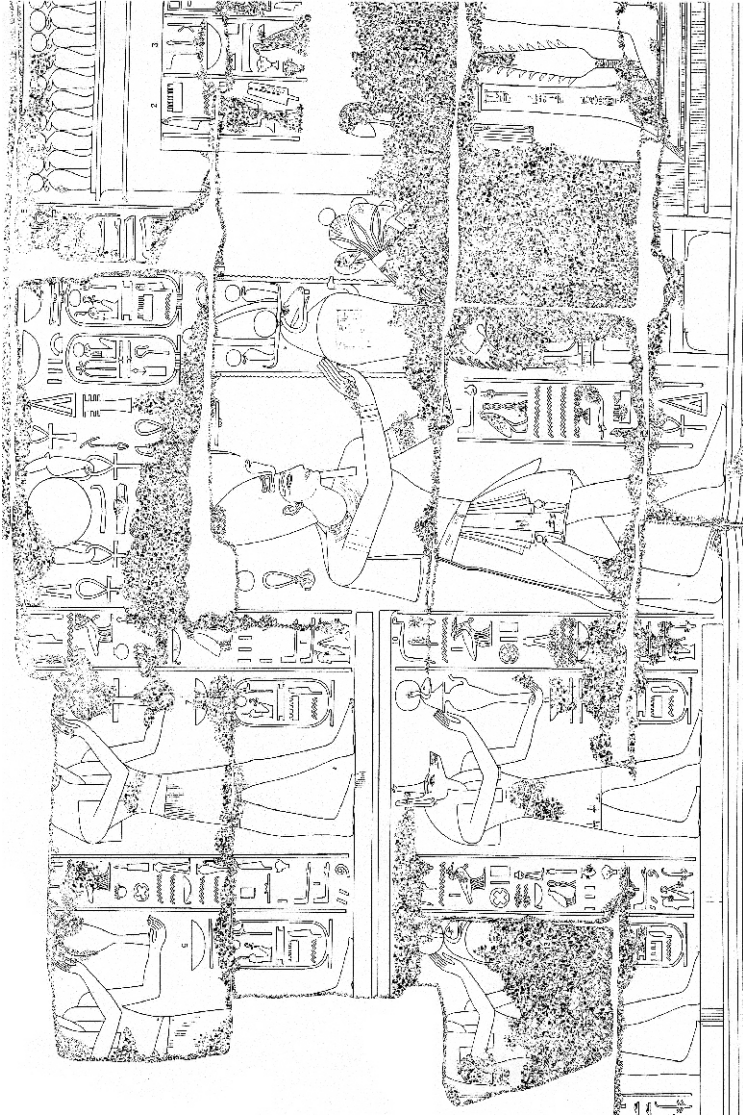
5. Ritual implements, north wall of the Chapel of Thutmose I: a. current state of preservation; b. reconstruction of the original relief; c. reconstruction of the Ramesside restoration (Drawing and Phot. A. Stupko-Lubczyńska).

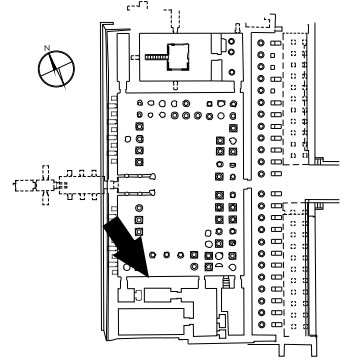
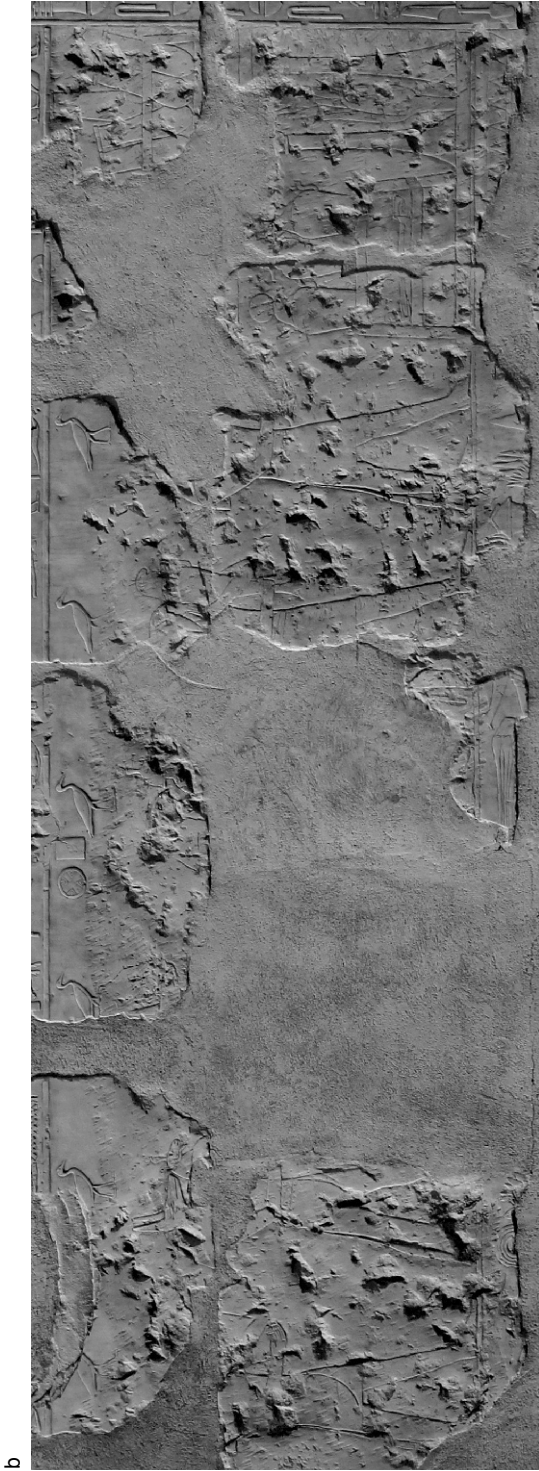


6. Treasure presented to Amun by Thutmose IV, courtyard in front of IV pylon at the Karnak Temple (L'etellier, Larche 2013: Pl. 57, detail).

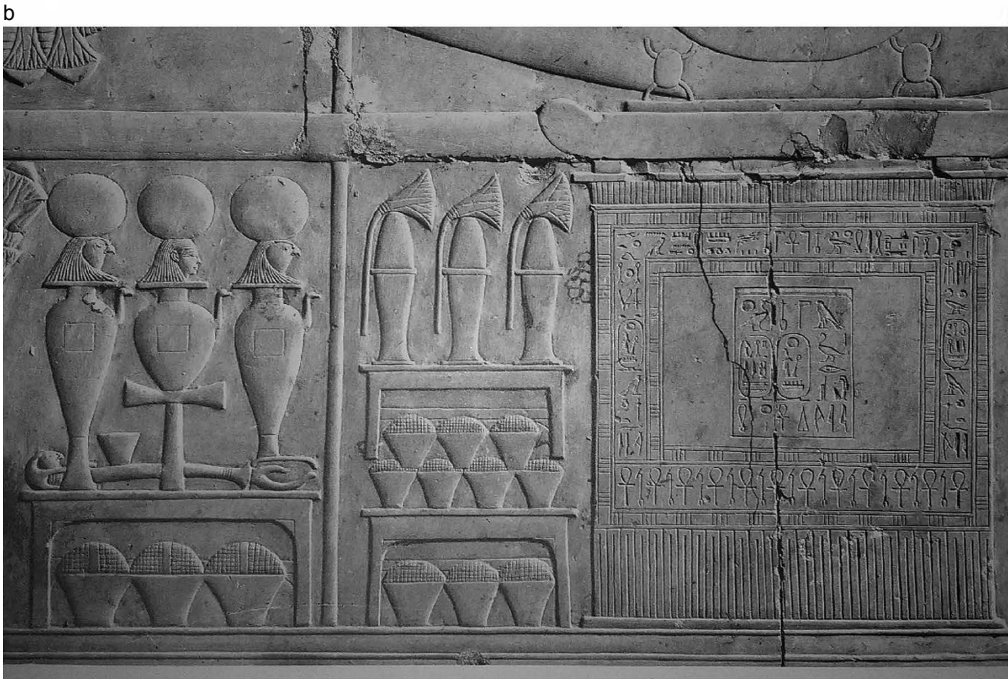
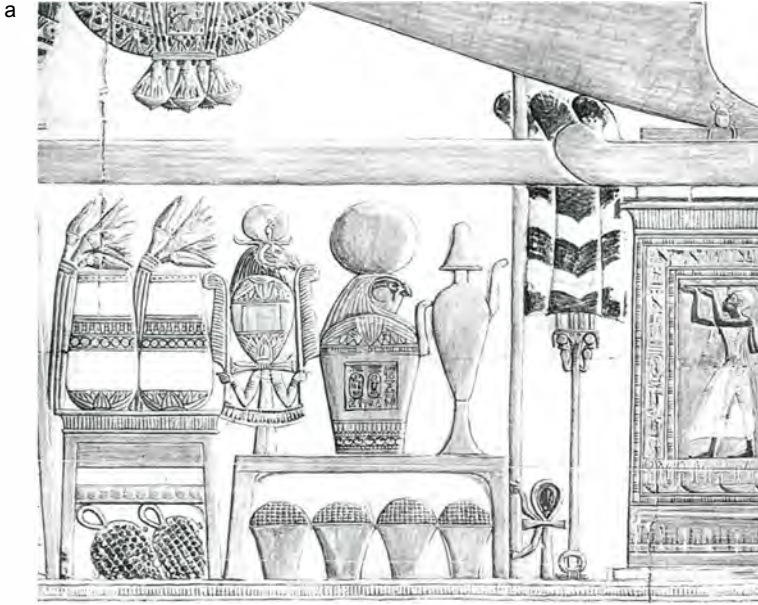


7. Libation vessels presented to Amun by Ramesses III, treasury of the temple at Medinet Habu, room 11, south wall (*Epigraphic Survey 1957: Pl. 327, detail*).

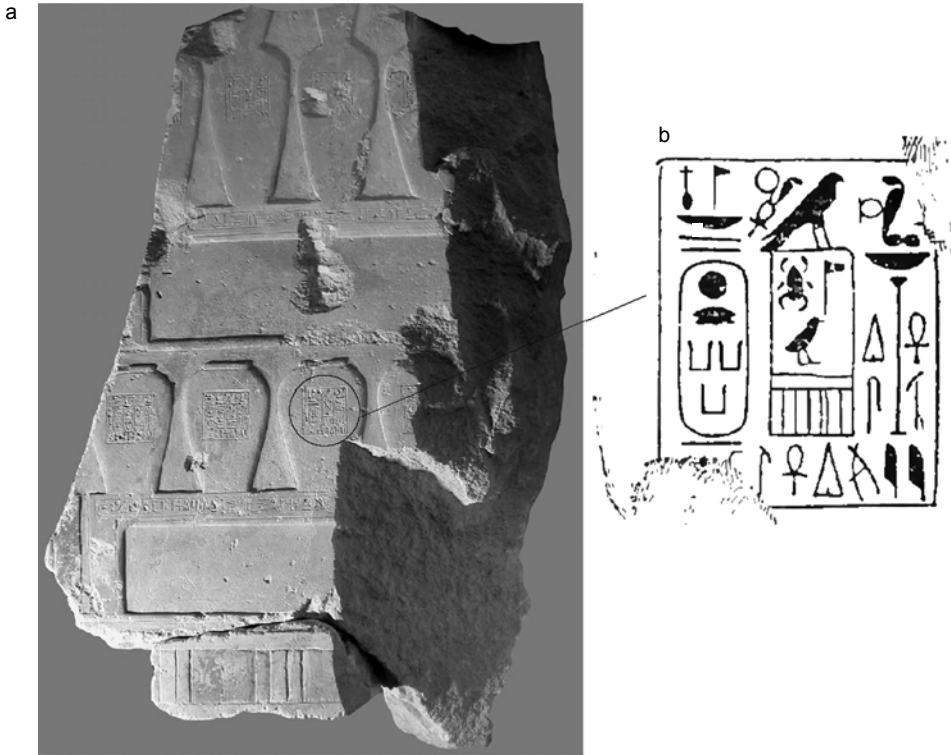




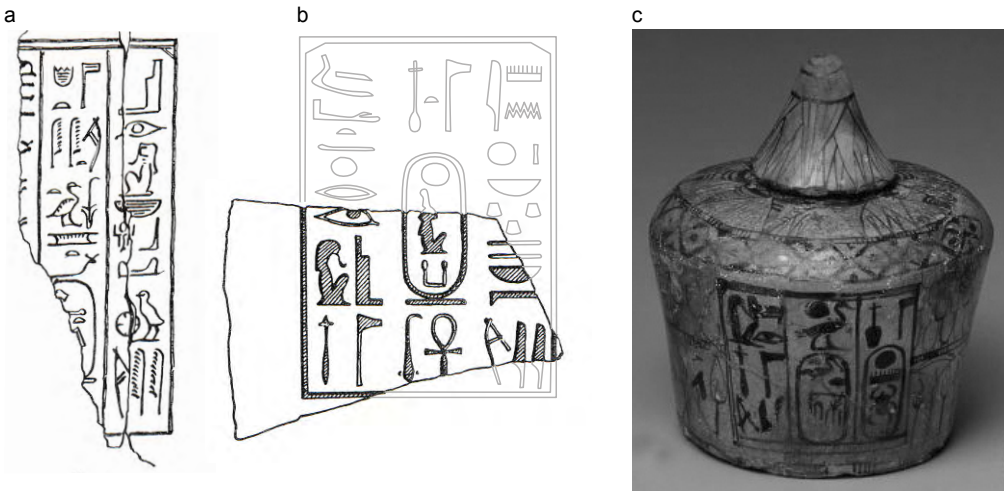
8. Procession of the Souls of Pe and Nekhen carrying libation vessels with ram-headed lids. a. Temple of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu, room 45, east wall; b. Temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, south wall of the Upper Courtyard (a. *Epigraphic Survey 1964*; Pl. 526, detail; b. Phot. A. Stupko-Lubezyńska; drawing: T. Dziedziec).



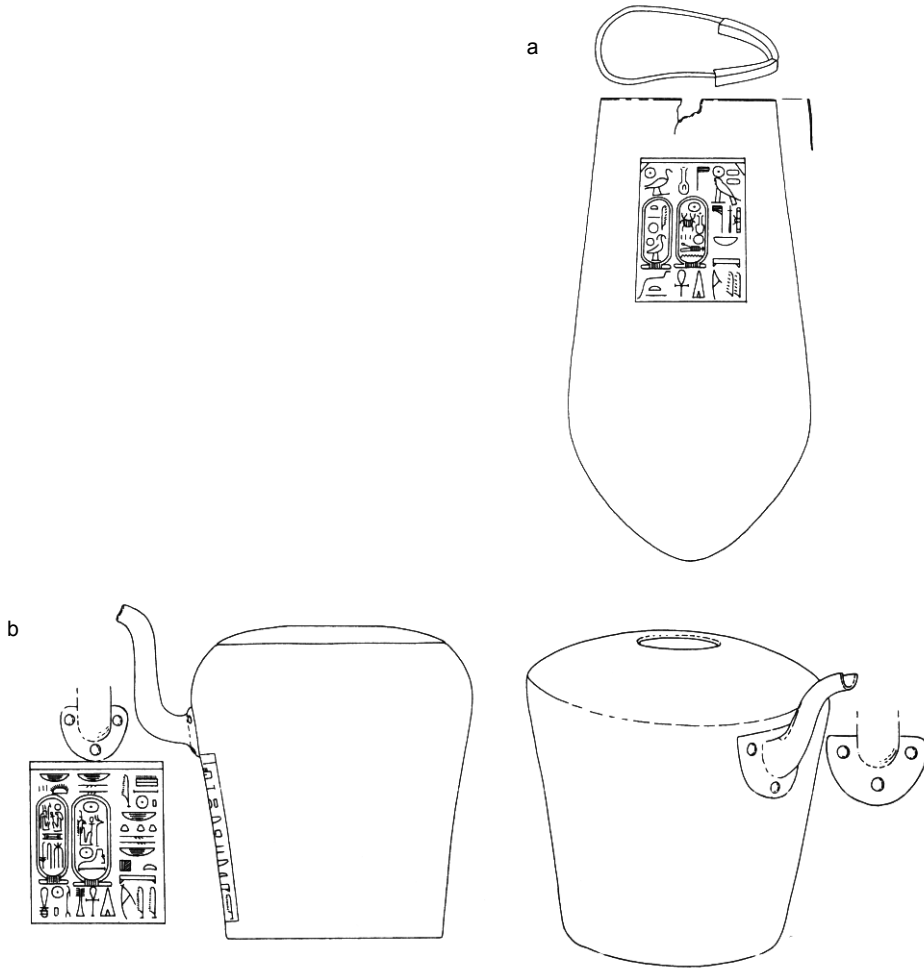
9. Libation vessels represented in front of the sacred barks of (a) Amun-Re and (b) Horus; the temple of Seti I at Abydos, chapels of Amun-Re and Horus, south walls (Calverley 1935: Pl. 11; 1933: Pl. 31, detail).



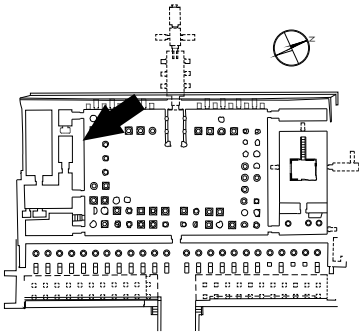
10. Inscribed vessels depicted in the offering chapel(?) of the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Dahshur (a. Oppenheim 2008: Pl. 355; b. Morgan 1895: Fig. 127).



11. Inscriptions on the vessels belonging to the funerary equipment: a-b. unguent containers naming Hatshepsut, KV 20; c. faience model of *nemset*-vessel naming Thutmose IV, KV 43 (a-b. Davis, Naville, Carter 1906: Figs 6–7; reconstruction drawing A. Stupko-Lubczyńska; c. Smith 1960: Fig. 70, detail).

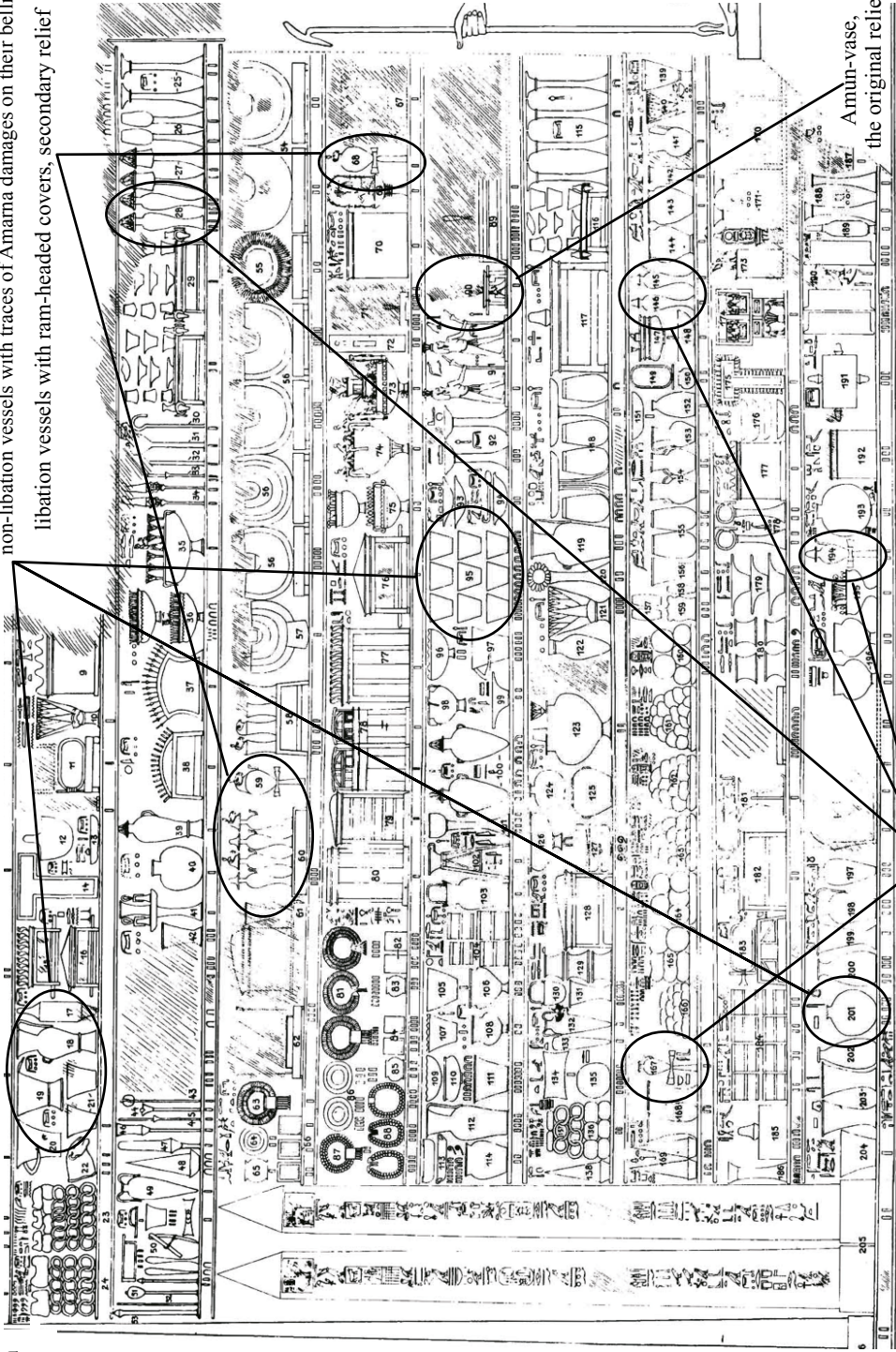


12. Inscribed vessels belonging to the temple furniture: a. Aton temple at Amarna; b. Hathor temple at Denderah (Radwan 1983: Pl. 64/345, 353).



13. Libation vessels presented in front of Amun, Temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, south wall of the Upper Courtyard; damaged areas indicated with arrows (Phot. A. Stupko-Lubczyńska; drawing: A. Stupko-Lubczyńska and T. Dziedzic).

non-libation vessels with traces of Amama damages on their bellies
libation vessels with ram-headed covers, secondary relief



Amun-vase,
the original relief

libation vessels with no traces of destruction or restoration



b

14a-b. Temple furniture presented by Thutmose III to Amun-Re. South wall of the North Rooms of Hatshepsut. Karnak Temple (Wreszinski 1935: Pl. 33a-b, detail).