

INSTITUTE OF MEDITERRANEAN AND ORIENTAL CULTURES, POLISH ACADEMY OF SCIENCES  
POLISH CENTRE OF MEDITERRANEAN ARCHAEOLOGY, UNIVERSITY OF WARSAW

DEIR EL-BAHARI

**JADWIGA IWASZCZUK**  
**FESTIVAL**  
**OF DJESER-DJESERU**

**PART 1.**  
**NORTH WING OF THE EAST WALL**  
**OF THE UPPER COURTYARD OF THE TEMPLE**  
**OF HATSHEPSUT AT DEIR EL-BAHARI**

IKŚiO  
PAN

HARRASSOWITZ VERLAG

DEIR EL-BAHARI  
XII



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Scientific editor  
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Front: Hatshepsut (replaced with an inscription) and Thutmose III leading the procession of priests with the portable bark of Amun

Back: Thutmose III with an oar and Hatshepsut (replaced with souls of Pe and Nekhen) on the deck of the river bark of Amun, Userhat

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Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures  
Polish Academy of Sciences  
72, Nowy Świat Street  
00-330 Warsaw, Poland  
[www.iksiopan.pl](http://www.iksiopan.pl)  
[sekretariat@iksio.pan.pl](mailto:sekretariat@iksio.pan.pl)

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AAP	<i>Acta Archaeologica Pultuskiensia</i>
ADAIK	<i>Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo</i>
<i>ÆgLeod</i>	<i>Aegyptiaca leodiensia</i>
ArchVer	<i>Archäologische Veröffentlichungen</i>
ASAE	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
ASEg	<i>Archaeological Survey of Egypt</i>
BAR-IS	<i>British Archaeological Reports, International Series</i>
BIFAO	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
BiOr	<i>Bibliotheca orientalis</i>
BMSAES	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan</i> ( <a href="http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/bmsaes">http://www.thebritishmuseum.ac.uk/bmsaes</a> ; accessed December 29, 2020)
<i>CahKarn</i>	<i>Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak</i>
<i>ChronEg</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>EtTrav</i>	<i>Études et travaux</i>
FIFAO	<i>Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>GöttMisz</i>	<i>Göttinger Miscellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i>
HÄB	<i>Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge</i>
JARCE	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
JEA	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JSSEA	<i>Journal of the Society of the Studies of Egyptian Antiquities</i>
KSG	<i>Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen</i>
<i>Kêmi</i>	<i>Kêmi. Revue de philologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes et copte</i>
LÄ	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie I–VII, Wiesbaden 1975–1992</i>
LD	<i>K.R. Lepsius, Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, 12 vols, Berlin 1849–1859</i>
LGG	<i>C. Leitz et al., Lexikon der ägyptischen Götter und Götterbezeichnungen, OLA 110–116, 7 vols, Leuven 2002</i>
<i>LingAeg</i>	<i>Lingua Aegyptia – Journal of Egyptian Language Studies</i>
MAIBL	<i>Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres</i>
<i>Man</i>	<i>Man. Monthly Record of Anthropological Science</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>
MMAEE	<i>Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition</i>
OIP	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
OLA	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
<i>Ostracon</i>	<i>The Ostracon. The Journal of the Egyptian Study Society</i>
OLZ	<i>Orientalistische Literaturzeitung</i>

PAM	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i>
PM	PM B. Porter, R.L.B. Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings I–VIII</i> , Oxford 1927–
ProblÄg	<i>Probleme der Ägyptologie</i>
PTT	<i>Private Tombs at Thebes</i>
RAPH	<i>Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire</i>
RdE	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
RPTMS	<i>Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series</i>
SAK	<i>Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur</i>
TdE	<i>Trabajos de Egiptología - Papers on Ancient Egypt</i>
TTS	<i>Theban Tombs Series</i>
TTSO	<i>Tut'ankhamun's Tomb Series</i>
UUÅ	<i>Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift</i>
VarAeg	<i>Varia aegyptiaca</i>
Wb.	A. Erman, H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache I–VI</i> , Leipzig, Berlin 1926–1963

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
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## CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The construction of one of the most famous 18th dynasty Theban temples, the temple of Hatshepsut *Djeser-Djeseru*, was commenced just after her coronation to the king of Egypt in the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Thutmose III, her co-ruler and stepson. The location of the temple in the valley of Deir el-Bahari in the West Bank of Thebes was not accidental. The place had a long tradition of performing the royal cult from the reign of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre, who built his mortuary temple in the valley. The royal cult was visible in both temples in many aspects, one of them being depictions of the festival carved on their walls.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the temple of Hatshepsut, Theban festivals were represented on the walls of the Upper Courtyard described by the ancient decorators of the temple as a festival courtyard.<sup>2</sup> The Opet Festival was represented in the southern part of the courtyard and its northern part was occupied by a representation of the Beautiful Festival of *Djeser-djeseru*, i.e. the festival of the temple of Hatshepsut. This festival decorated two courtyard walls, the north wing of the east wall and the north wall. The beginnings and the ends of the ceremonies are portrayed in two registers of the north wing of the east wall, while the middle part of the festival takes up space on the north wall.

Fragments of scenes from the lower register of the north wing of the east wall have been known to a wider public at least since the time of publishing the third volume of *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* by Karl Richard Lepsius in 1849.<sup>3</sup> The reproduction of some other scenes was added by Edouard Naville in 1906.<sup>4</sup> In 1924, George Foucart proposed connecting the representation from the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard and, in general, the representation of the procession of the bark of Amun, with the Beautiful Festival of the Valley, one of the most important festivals of New Kingdom Thebes.<sup>5</sup> It was Janusz Karkowski, who suggested joining the representations from this wall with the decoration of the north wall of the courtyard as the depiction of one festival.<sup>6</sup> Karkowski also connected these representations with festival scenes preserved on the north and south walls of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine in the temple of Hatshepsut presenting these scenes as episodes of the Valley Festival.<sup>7</sup>

The significant reconstruction of the Upper Courtyard was not carried out before the work of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut has been started in the 1961/1962 season. Over almost sixty years, the blocks from the walls of the Upper Courtyard had been collected, recognised, documented, and placed in their original positions. The search for new fragments in the lapidaries of the temple, as well as in museums, was ongoing from the very beginning of the works. The final documentation of the restored north wing of the east wall started in the 2004/2005 season. The next two seasons of work were fully devoted to tracing the reliefs from the wall and photographing them *in situ*. Two years later the documentation had been processed in the vector graphic programme. During the subsequent seasons, the correctness of the drawings was checked and results compared with the original reliefs. It is the moment now to present to the scientific world the work of three generations of researchers.

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1 Arnold, *Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep II*, Pls 22, 23, 24.

2 Niwiński, *Les colonnes proto-doriques avec inscriptions*, 105, Fig. 19.

3 *LD III*, Pl. 17a.

4 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, 3–4, Pl. CXXII.

5 Foucart, *La belle fête de la vallée*, 101–102, Pl. VIII.

6 Karkowski, *The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, 359–364; Karkowski, *Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, 155–166.

7 Karkowski, *Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, 164–165.

This publication has two goals: to show the remnants of the decoration of the north-east part of the Upper Courtyard and to re-interpret the festival. This is a big task as the decoration of both walls measures together approx. 43 m in length and 5 m in height and contains 39, sometimes very complex, scenes.

To deal with this task, the publication “Festival of *Djeser-Djeseru*” has been divided into three volumes:

- Part 1. North wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari;
- Part 2. North wall of the Upper Courtyard of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari; and
- Part 3. Interpretation.

The first volume is going to present the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard of the temple of Hatshepsut in the context of the whole temple of the queen. The presentation covers analysis of the architecture of the wall, with its construction, destruction, and reconstruction, as well as the description of the decoration showing the beginning and end scenes of the Festival of *Djeser-djeseru* and changes in the decoration. This volume presents 29 scenes, each accompanied by a description of its state of preservation, an analysis of the scenes and their accompanying texts, and a list of analogies for individual scenes from the temple of Hatshepsut and bibliographical references to each scene. In volumes one and two, the commentaries are focused on discussions of dating, reconstruction, and a short discussion on the practical details of scenes. The commentaries will be limited only to the studies on dating, reconstruction and a short discussion on the practical details of scenes.

The third volume will have quite a different character. The idea, introduced by Karkowski, of the interpretation of the festival depicted on walls of the Upper Courtyard and the walls of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine as the Valley Festival will be discussed here. Therefore, the study on the name and character of the festival and its occurrence in written sources will be the most important element of the introductory part of the third volume. The reconstruction of the course of the festival and in-depth study of details of festival representation, particular rituals, and their impact on the world of gods, will be the main task. Eventually, the meaning of the festival for the royal ideology will be examined. The festival will be presented against the broader background of Theban festivals and in the context of the changes that the temple underwent during later times. The changes in the decoration in the post-Amarna period will be widely discussed.

The reinterpretation of the Festival of *Djeser-Djeseru* will bring important corrections to the repertoire of the Theban festivals of the early New Kingdom.

## CHAPTER 2. ARCHITECTURE

The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (**Pl. A**) is integrated into the rock which surrounds it from two sides at a height of about 100 m. The temple is constructed on three levels, each of them equipped with a courtyard and surrounding structures. The richest architectural plan was planned for the Upper Terrace.

The temple had been built since the 7<sup>th</sup> year of the reign of Thutmose III, which is generally interpreted as the year of the coronation of queen Hatshepsut.<sup>1</sup> The plan of the temple changed several times during its construction and many of its elements were started, abandoned unfinished and later adapted into a new plan, some of them being executed and changed during the later phases of construction.<sup>2</sup> It is impossible to establish the precise dating of these modifications, only relative dating can be proposed.<sup>3</sup> These changes affected also the Upper Terrace.

The Upper Terrace was organised around the Upper Courtyard located in the centre (**Pl. B**), a large, partly open space, 25.3 m wide and 37.4 m long.<sup>4</sup> The Upper Courtyard was closed from the east by the east wall, which played the role of a façade. It was divided into two equal wings by granite gates, both north and south. This book concentrates on the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.

The Upper Courtyard of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari was partially constructed on an artificial platform and partially directly on the rock.<sup>5</sup> The north wing of the east wall of the courtyard (**Pl. C**) belongs to those structures set on the edge of the rock and was planned on this line from the beginning although originally in a different form, as will be presented below.

### ORIGINAL PLAN

The original plan assumed neither a portico around the courtyard nor the portico on the eastern side of the wall (today called the Upper (Coronation) Portico). Zygmunt Wysocki suggested that originally the full wall was not planned, instead, the arising of short wings on both sides had been started and that perhaps between them, in the place of the future wall, a colonnade was designed, as was in the case of the Hathor Shrine (**Pl. C**).<sup>6</sup> The remains of the original project can be seen on both sides of the east wall in the form of vertical joints through five layers of blocks (**Fig. C**).<sup>7</sup> These traces are also visible in the Upper Portico, i.e. on the opposite side of the wall.<sup>8</sup> The wall of the north wing was planned to be 3.45 m, i.e. approx. 6.5 royal

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1 For the beginning of the construction of the temple, see: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 1, 54–55. For the discussion on the coronation date, see a.o.: Yoyotte, *La date supposée du couronnement*, 85–91; Tefnin, *L'an 7 de Thoutmosis III et Hatchepsout*, 232–242; Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 18–45; Petty, *Redating the Reign of Hatshepsut*, 6–10.

2 Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 213–228, Pls 30–31; Wysocki, *The Raising of the Structure*, 233–254; Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 1, 58–124.

3 Cf. Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 1, 58–124.

4 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 1, 95.

5 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 1, 14.

6 Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 222, n. 4.

7 Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 222, n. 4 and Fig. 1 [e]; Wysocki, *The Raising of the Structure*, 235 (Phase I), 236, Figs 1 and 2 [8].

8 Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 222, n. 4.



Fig. 1. Remains of the original shape of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard in the form of vertical joints through five layers of blocks (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

cubits, long.<sup>9</sup> The blocks of this part of the wall were much wider and higher than the rest of the blocks of the wall. The first design of the east wall would resemble then the façades of the two Hypostyle Halls of the Hathor Shrine. It must be stressed that the length of the short walls on two ends of the east wall was not the same, therefore Wysocki finally rejected such a hypothesis.<sup>10</sup> Wysocki's argument here is weak, as the length of the wings of the outer façade of the Hathor Shrine also differs on both sides.<sup>11</sup> Basing his hypothesis primarily on the presence of the names of Thutmose II, Wysocki supposes that this phase of the construction was carried out during the reign of this king.<sup>12</sup> However, his arguments in favour of this hypothesis are also weak.<sup>13</sup> The change of names of Hatshepsut for those of Thutmose II in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari does not support the idea of the construction of the temple in the reign of Hatshepsut's spouse. The names of Hatshepsut were replaced with the name of Thutmose II in the same way in all other temples

<sup>9</sup> Author's personal observation.

<sup>10</sup> Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 222, n. 4. In fact, the length of the south wing of the original project was 2.47 m at the base and 2.62 m in the highest place, and the north wing was 2.41 m at the base of the wall and 2.66 m in the highest place (measurements taken from the orthophotography of the wall made by Mariusz Caban).

<sup>11</sup> Janusz Karkowski, personal communication.

<sup>12</sup> Wysocki, *The Raising of the Structure*, 235.

<sup>13</sup> See: Wysocki, *The Raising of the Structure*, 233–254. The discussion with Wysocki can be found in: Ollett, *Did Hatshepsut inherit Djoser-djeseru*, 158–169.

of the queen built in different periods of the queen's rule.<sup>14</sup> The lack of foundation deposits in the Upper Terrace does not prove there was a new builder of the temple, as Wysocki presumes, but rather is a result of the lack of excavations below the foundations in this part of the temple. Besides, Wysocki himself found a hole, which he interprets as the rest of the foundation deposit.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the east wall had been originally designed as a wall with two short wings, although in the course of construction, the plans changed and it was finally built as a full wall with a door in the middle.

## CONSTRUCTION OF THE WALL

The original plan was abandoned after laying five courses of blocks and the walls surrounding the Upper Courtyard were intended finally for supporting the roof of the colonnade.<sup>16</sup> The east wall also supported the roof of another colonnade, the Upper (Coronation) Portico, located on the other side of the wall (**Pl. A**).

The change of plans and the construction of a full wall caused the differences in the height of different courses of blocks. The newly added part of the wall was constructed of smaller blocks, and this disturbance was levelled at the height of the seventh course of blocks. The courses one to six were of equal height from the connection with the vertical joint of the original construction to the granite gate.

The colonnade of the Upper Courtyard was designed together with the pavement and the column bases were laid together with pavement slabs.<sup>17</sup> The situation differs on the other side of the wall, in the Upper Portico, the bases of columns rested on the pavement and were not the integral part of the floor.<sup>18</sup>

The decoration of the wall had been commenced after covering the portico with architraves and the roof.<sup>19</sup> The function of the east wall as an inner wall of two porticos determined its decoration which on both sides was originally carved in raised relief. This part of the temple was in the dark for almost the whole day. Only in the afternoons and only for a while would the sun have access to the portico.

## MODULE

The plan of the temple was designed with the use of a modular grid, which according to Waldemar Połoczanin, measured 1.5 royal cubits.<sup>20</sup> Waldemar Niewalda, who continued studies on the modular grid, states that it was applied not only to architecture but to the decoration design as well, although according to him the module used for architecture was about 41 cm, i.e. twenty-two digits.<sup>21</sup>

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14 Cf. e.g. temples in Karnak: Palace of Maat (Barguet, *Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, 145, Pl. XVd), enclosure gate of Thutmose I (Varille, *Karnak-Nord I*, Pl. XCVII; Christophe, *Karnak-Nord III*, 75), Mut temple (Fazzini, Report on the 1983 Season of Excavation, 304, Pl. IVb; Fazzini, *Some Aspects*, 63); 18<sup>th</sup> dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (*The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, passim*); the temple of Thutmose I in Gurna (Iwaszczuk, *The Temple of Tuthmosis I*, 273); temples of Satet (Delange (Ed.), *Les fouilles françaises d'Éléphantine*, vol. 2, *passim*) and Khnum (Bommas, *Der Tempel des Chnum, passim*) on Elephantine etc. For the discussion concerning the time of replacement of Hatshepsut's names, the so-called *damnatio memoriae*, see: Helck, (rev.) Dorman, Peter F. *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 399–400; Meyer, *Zur Verfolgung Hatschepsuts*, 119–126; Eaton-Krauss, *Four notes*, 209; Bommas, *Der Tempel des Chnum*, 88; Pirelli, *Some Considerations*, 462; Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 65; Laboury, *La statue de Thoutmosis III*, 57; Grimm, Schoske, *Hatschepsut Königin Ägyptens*, 30; Dorman, *The Proscription of Hatshepsut*, 267–269; Arnold Do., *The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut*, 270–276; Van Siclen, *New Data*, 85–86.

15 Wysocki, *Deir el-Bahari*, 1977–1982, 343, Fig. 22.

16 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 48.

17 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1*, 103.

18 Dąbrowski, *The reconstruction and conservation work on the upper portico colonnade*, 29–41; Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1*, 89, n. 335 and references therein.

19 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1*, 32.

20 Połoczanin, *The Composition of the Building Development*, 63–77.

21 Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 81–106.

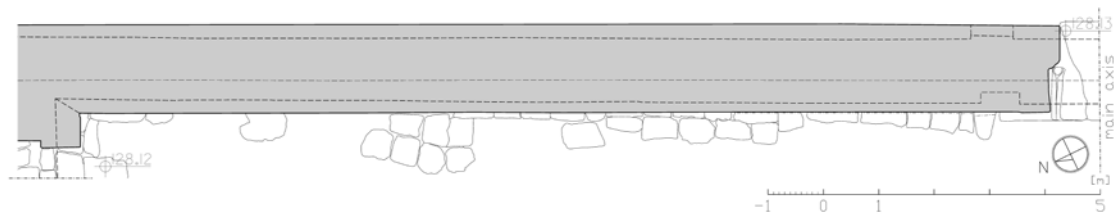


Fig. 2. The foundation of the north wing of the Upper Courtyard (drawing: M. Caban).

## FOUNDATION AND PAVEMENT

The foundation of the north wing of the east wall consists of one layer of roughly dressed blocks (**Fig. 2**). They were levelled with the slabs of the pavement and give the impression that they are part of the pavement. The foundation blocks differ in size but, as the surface of the rock on which they rest was levelled, their height is the same, i.e. approx. 23 cm.<sup>22</sup>

## THE SHAPE OF THE WALL, ITS DIMENSIONS AND CONSTRUCTION

The wall is trapezoidal in plan and section. Such a plan resulted from the shape of the neighbouring, sloping north wall, thicker at the base and thinner at the top. Therefore, at the junction, on the north end of the east wall, it gives a trapezoidal shape, shorter at the base and longer at the top. The south end of the north wing of the east wall joins the granite gate, so in the plan it is vertical.

The wall achieved its trapezoidal shape because it is sloping from two sides, i.e. from the side of the Upper Portico and the Upper Courtyard as well. The inclination of the wall measures approx. 7 cm per one metre,<sup>23</sup> although the east outer face of the wall had a slightly larger slope than the west inner face.<sup>24</sup>

The north wing of the east wall measures 16.9 m at the base and 17.36 m at the top in width and 5.85 m in height (the height of the granite gate).<sup>25</sup> Decoration starts on the fourth course of blocks at a height of 150.5 cm. It is the thinnest wall surrounding the Upper Courtyard, which can be explained only by the presence of niches and a window in three other walls which are not present in the east wall.<sup>26</sup> The granite gate was 1.58 m at the base and only 1.14 m in the upper part of the lintel.<sup>27</sup> The gate was slightly thicker than the wall itself, traces of bevelling recognised by Przemysław Gartkiewicz, suggested a 3.5–4 cm salient of the gate's frame

22 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. II.

23 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 53–56. Wysocki writes that the width of the wall was 1.6 m at the base and 1.1 m at the top (Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 213).

24 It was the feature of the granite gate as well (Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 53, Pl. III).

25 Measurements taken from the 3d scanning of the wall made by Mariusz Caban and Maciej Krzywka. The laser scanning of the temple of Hatshepsut was carried on in the framework of the project “Modern documentation in the research of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Hatshepsut Temple in Deir el-Bahari (Egypt): creation, management, sharing” of the Ministry of the Science and High Education (no. 088/DLG/2017/10) run by the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw (2017–2019).

26 Cf. Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 1, 16–17. Wysocki is of the opposite opinion: he believes that the thickness of the wall can be explained by its later construction, not connected with the construction of the three other walls of the Courtyard (Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 222), but it should be stressed that on the height of the fifth course of blocks, changes were still possible and adding the blocks to widen the wall would not have been a big effort. Therefore, the constructional explanation seems to be better justified.

27 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 55, Pl. III.

out of the wall face on the east outer face of the wall, but the west inner face had been surfaced with the wall line.<sup>28</sup> Based on the measurements of the granite gate, the width of the east wall can be calculated as 1.54 m at the base and 1.1 m at the top.<sup>29</sup> The height of the courtyard walls is reported differently by various scholars, according to Gartkiewicz, Niewalda and Wysocki the walls measured 5.745 m,<sup>30</sup> according to Mieczysław Samborski 5.83 m.<sup>31</sup>

The wall is constructed of limestone blocks delivered from the neighbouring quarry.<sup>32</sup> This particular limestone is characterised by its softness, fragility, quite high porosity, and a low resistance to weathering.<sup>33</sup> The blocks are rather small, the biggest block preserved in the north wing of the east wall is 102.8 cm wide. Their height is between 30 and 50 cm, on average it is approx. 45 cm and their depth is between 25 and 50 cm with an average depth of approx. 40 cm.<sup>34</sup> Their faces were polished very precisely, they were processed on their sides less carefully, with edge joints better dressed, and at the back, the blocks were only roughly cut. Except for blocks of full height and depth, stone patches



Fig. 3. The inner construction of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH\_1970\_1971\_negatywy\_0976).

28 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 56.

29 Gartkiewicz shows derogations from this averaged angle, which results from deformation of the wall as well as from errors during the dressing of the wall; the measurements were taken every ten metres (Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 53, n. 12 (b), Pl. I).

30 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 53; Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 64; Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 213.

31 The height of the west wall of the Courtyard; Samborski, *Prace rekonstrukcyjno-konserwatorskie*, 91; Samborski, *Conservatory-Reconstructional Works on the West Wall in the Upper Court*, 108.

32 The quarry was located not far from the entrance to the Valley of the Kings on the north side of the road (Klemm, Klemm, *Steine und Steinbrüche*, 183–185; Nishimoto, Yoshimura, Kondo, *Hieratic Inscriptions*, 20 (n. 6), 22). On the use of limestone in the temple of Hatshepsut, see: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1*, 10–11 and references therein.

33 Klemm, Klemm, *Stone & Quarries*, 135–136.

34 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 57, n. 17; 59.

were also in use to fill gaps in the blocks. The gaps, most probably, were the result of the worse quality of the stone.<sup>35</sup>

The construction of the whole wall was similar to the construction of the south and north walls of the Upper Courtyard. The wall was made of two parallel rows of blocks on two sides placed at some distance, with the polished face outside (**Fig. 3**). The space between the two rows was filled with stone debris, sand and rubbish, e.g. pottery etc. and lime mortar.<sup>36</sup> The filling had been added course by course, to keep the wall in its proper shape.<sup>37</sup>

The blocks were set in fourteen horizontally laid courses of different heights.<sup>38</sup> The height of blocks in courses sometimes changed, it was most probably a consequence of the supply of stones of a certain height from the quarry at one time and, therefore, the accessibility of stones.<sup>39</sup> If the change of height of blocks had happened, the blocks in the lower layer were cut to unify the height of the upper layer.<sup>40</sup> The difference between layers was levelled two layers higher.<sup>41</sup> The blocks of irregular width were set side-by-side and the space between them was filled with mortar. There was also another way of connecting blocks in the wall, joined by dovetail cramps placed on the upper surface of two blocks, every several metres in each course of blocks. The dovetails were 22–25 cm long, 6–10 cm wide in the thickest place and 3–4 cm wide in the thinnest places and were sunk 4–6 cm into the block surface.<sup>42</sup> The position of the next block was marked with a short outline engraved on the top side of the block after placing the previous one.<sup>43</sup>

Two lower courses of blocks seen from the side of the Upper Courtyard (i.e. the west face of the wall) have the same height as two lower courses seen from the Upper Portico (i.e. the east face of the wall). The third course of blocks corresponds to the new course that was set after the plan change. This means that the wall was built simultaneously at least up to the highest preserved course of blocks, i.e. the sixth.<sup>44</sup>

It is interesting to stress that the north wing of the east wall was constructed in some connection with the south wing. Four lower courses of blocks on the south side are equal in height to four lower courses of the original construction, but not to the later added blocks, which are lower. The fifth layer on the south side, surprisingly low, was added to align the height of courses in the south wing with the height of later added blocks on the north side. From the sixth layer the height of courses in both wings is the same (**Pl. C**).

On the other hand, it is necessary to add that the connection of the north wing of the east wall with the north wall suggests that these two walls were also built together at the beginning. The height of courses of both walls is the same up to the height of the sixth course, i.e. the original project of the north wing of the east wall. The change is caused by the introduction of the lintel of the gate leading to the Complex of the Solar Cult in the north wall, which is higher than typical blocks in the wall. Therefore, the corner block, as the lintel block at the same time, is cut on the side of the north wing of the east wall to align the seventh course of blocks of the east wall. Unfortunately, this is the last layer with original corner blocks. It seems then that after the change of plan it was important to build the east wall on both its sides in the same way, i.e. at the same time. The lintel in the north wall was built in earlier, which is attested by the cutting of the corner block from the seventh layer on the side of the east wall. The corner block (i.e. a lintel) must have been placed in

35 E.g. block Cat. no. 67.

36 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 57.

37 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 1, 15–16.

38 On the north: first layer: 41.8 cm; second layer: 44.6 cm; third layer: 49.1 cm; fourth layer: 53.7 cm; fifth layer: 50.8 cm; sixth layer: 40.6 cm; seventh layer: 36.3 cm; eighth layer: 41.9 cm; ninth layer: 44 cm; tenth layer: 46.8 cm; eleventh layer: 44.9 cm; twelfth layer: 48.5 cm; thirteenth layer: 42 cm.

On the south: first layer: 33.5 cm; second layer: 43.2 cm; third layer: 41.7 cm; fourth layer: 45.7 cm; fifth layer: 53.4 cm; sixth layer: 48.1 cm; seventh layer: 51.3 cm; eighth layer: 41.9 cm; ninth layer: 44 cm; tenth layer: 46.8 cm; eleventh layer: 4.9 cm; twelfth layer: 48.5 cm; thirteenth layer: 42 cm.

39 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 38.

40 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 57.

41 Cf. the course height disturbance in the fourth and fifth layers of blocks at Scenes 3.2 and 3.10 (in the front part of the second accompanying bark) and below, which was levelled at the height of the seventh layer of blocks.

42 Cf. Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 59, Pl. II.

43 See: Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 59, Pl. II; Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, *Preliminary Report*, Pl. II. The lines are marked with black triangles.

44 Measured based on orthophotography of both faces of the north wing of the wall made by Mariusz Caban.

the wall already when the east wall was constructed. In the north wall, on the west to the gate to the Complex of the Solar Cult, the height of the seventh course of blocks is also lower than the height of the lintel but is much higher than the corresponding course in the east wall, which indicates that the time of construction of these two walls starting from the seventh course differs.

## METHODS OF CONNECTING WALLS

The connection of the north wing of the east wall with the north wall of the Upper Courtyard is attested only on the height of seven courses of the north wing of the east wall. It seems to be obvious that these two walls must have been built together from the very beginning. The blocks of every even course were located mostly in the north wall and only a small part is visible on the east wall, while on the other hand, the larger part of blocks of every odd course was situated in the north wing of the east wall. Only the seventh row destroys this order because it is connected with the placement of the lintel above the door leading to the Vestibule of the Solar Cult Complex.

In its south part, the north wing of the east wall was adjacent to the granite gate leading to the Upper Courtyard (**Pl. C**). The gate was situated in the central position of the east wall. Gartkiewicz believes that the gate must have been installed at the same time when the wall was constructed. He explains that the section and height of the gate are the same as the section and height of the wall.<sup>45</sup> Wysocki is of the contrary opinion. He supposes that the gate was at first made of limestone and then replaced with a granite one, the same as with the second granite gate of the Upper Courtyard leading to the Main Sanctuary of Amun.<sup>46</sup> The gate was installed on the floor, which suggests its construction after the wall was built. The gate occupied the whole height of the wall, with jambs of 4.25 m high and a lintel 1.62 m high.<sup>47</sup>

The connection of the north wing of the east wall with the granite gate was loose. The blocks were adjacent to the wall, or rather the gate was added to the wall. The space between was filled with mortar as could be noticed on the connection on the south side of the gate (**Fig. 4a-b**).

## FINISHING THE UPPER PART OF THE WALL

The last, fourteenth, layer of blocks did not stand out from the rest of the wall. The wall was covered with roof slabs that rested on architraves on one side and the wall on the other. In the uppermost course of blocks, in the direct vicinity of the granite gate, the architrave nest was placed.<sup>48</sup> Unfortunately, no fragments of blocks with the block border<sup>49</sup> that should surround the architrave and could be surely assigned to the wall were found. At the moment the location of the architrave in the east wall can be proved only by the system of the architrave nests in the opposite, the west wall of the Upper Courtyard, which is in line with the Egyptian love for symmetry.<sup>50</sup>

The idea of adding the architrave nest to the wall seems to be a rather late concept. Maybe it was even added when the gate was set in its proper place. Usually, the blocks of architraves, if they were constructed together with the wall, were wider in the beginning and were cut to today's preserved size, therefore

45 Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 53.

46 Wysocki, *The Raising of the Structure*, 242. For the details of the construction of the granite gate leading to the Main Sanctuary of Amun, see: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1*, 99, Fig. 75.

47 Measurements taken from the 3d scanning of the wall made by Mariusz Caban and Maciej Krzywka.

48 All researchers working on the arrangement of the Upper Courtyard agree in this aspect, see especially: Karkowski, *The Arrangement of the Architraves*, 139–154; Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 81, Fig. 69; Szafranski, *Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000*, 190, Fig. 4.

49 For types of friezes in decoration of the wall, see Chapter 5. *Decoration*, p. 51.

50 Cf. traces of a block border in the north wing (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLXIV) and in the south wing of the west wall (Pawlicki, *Princess Neferure*, 120, Fig. 7).



a.

Fig. 4a. The connection of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard with a granite gate and a general view from the level of covering the Upper Courtyard with rubbish in season 1881/1882 (© Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, inv. no. Item Petrie MSS 5.6.07a [upper left] - [215] Granite gateway at Deir el Bahari); View on the granite gate from the west during the visit of William Matthew Flinders Petrie in the temple of Hatshepsut in season 1881/1882 (© Griffith Institute, University of Oxford, inv. no. Item Petrie MSS 5.6.07c [upper right] - [303] Granite gateway at Deir el Bahari).

constituting the part of the wall as well.<sup>51</sup> In the west wall, as well as in the case of some walls of the courtyard, however, the architraves were added when the wall was finished, because the block border which distinguishes the decoration from the architrave nest is preserved on the wall block and not on the architrave block.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>51</sup> See: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 1, 25–26, Fig. 17c.

<sup>52</sup> On the contrary, in the south wing of the east wall, the architraves seem to be planned from the beginning, since blocks adjacent to the architraves do not contain the block border (Kwaśnica, *Reconstructing the Architectural Layout of the Upper Courtyard*, 91, Fig. 3).



b.

## THE HISTORY OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE WALL AND ITS SURROUNDING – A SUMMARY

It seems that two narrow wings on two sides of the wall were the first built element of the wall. The plan for this part of the temple had changed and the next step was a prolongation of both wings and the creation of the full wall. Meanwhile or after the construction of the wall, the pavement was laid together with bases of columns. This was probably when the jambs of the granite gate were installed in the wall, as they are placed on the pavement. When the columns were constructed to their full height, the architraves were pulled in and laid on them. This happened, most probably before the granite lintel of the gate was placed in its proper position. In the end, the limestone slabs were placed on architraves and the wall covering the area around the courtyard's walls with a roof. The wall was not altered after its construction was completed.



## CHAPTER 3. HISTORY OF THE DESTRUCTION OF THE NORTH WING OF THE EAST WALL

The most serious destruction of the temple of Hatshepsut was caused by the earthquake. Its effects were felt in Thebes and touched not only the temple of Hatshepsut, but also several other Theban temples.<sup>1</sup> The earthquake took place around 1200 BC, in the early years of Merenptah, as is suggested by the team of Hourig Sourouzian.<sup>2</sup> It seems very probable that at this time, the fragments of rocks surrounding the temple fell on the Upper Courtyard of the temple of Hatshepsut destroying also its thinnest wall closing the courtyard from the east.

The north wing of the east wall of the temple of Hatshepsut had already been damaged when local priests and their families commenced using the temple area as a cemetery, which happened not before the 23<sup>rd</sup> dynasty.<sup>3</sup> At that time the south part of the north wing of the wall was destroyed almost to the ground and in the north part, the same happened to the whole upper register and the upper part of the lower register. This can be confirmed by the reuse of one of the blocks from the south part of the lower register (Scene 1).<sup>4</sup> On the block, the figure of Khonsu was engraved with a wide chisel (**Fig. 5**) but the block was then rotated 90 degrees and it is obvious it could not be situated in this position in the original wall. It is also possible that at that time, *Graffito* 1 was engraved on the block in the fourth layer of blocks next to the granite gate.<sup>5</sup>

The Coptic activity on the north wing of the east wall was concentrated on the destruction of human and sometimes animal representations, and especially their heads and limbs. The results can be observed in the lower register in the north part of the north wing, which survived the earthquake and was still *in situ*. It is especially well visible in Scenes 3.1–3.10 (**Fig. 6**). In contrast to the lower register, the upper register was not affected by chiseling out, probably because the blocks were not in the wall at that time.

The further devastation of the north wing of the east wall was caused by the modern robbery of the monuments. During his visit to the temple in 1845, Lepsius removed from the wall and transported to Berlin a fragment of two courses of blocks from the north part of the north wing, known now under number ÄM 1636, together with several blocks and other objects from the temple of Hatshepsut.<sup>6</sup> The action of removal is not described, but his visit to Deir el-Bahari is mentioned in one of his letters dated

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1 The subject was especially studied for the temple of Amenhotep III but the team of Sourouzian collected data from the whole Theban area (Karakhanyan, Avagyan, Sourouzian, *Archaeoseismological studies*, 199–222; Sourouzian *et al.*, Fifth Report, 273–327). To the catalogue of temples affected by the earthquake, it is possible to add the temple of Thutmose III, see recently: Seco Álvarez, Martínez Babón, *The Temple of Millions of Years*, 192, n. 20; Lurson, *Histoire d'une métamorphose*, 183–187.

2 Sourouzian *et al.*, Fifth Report, 303.

3 Barwik, *Third Intermediate Period cemetery*, 388.

4 See above, description of Scene 1, p. 59.

5 For a description of the *graffito*, see Chapter 6. *Graffito* and *dipinti*, pp. 303–304.

6 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 163–164, Fig. 7; Karkowski, *Königliche Schiffe*, 106–107 [7]. He brought several objects from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (under number 1636 there are nine blocks hidden): Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1623, ÄM 1635, ÄM 1636, ÄM 2279, ÄM 2299, ÄM 2301, ÄM 2300, ÄM 2306, ÄM 14141, ÄM 14142, ÄM 14143, ÄM 14144 (*Ausführliches Verzeichnis*, 113–114). Karkowski mentions also ÄM 14332 (Karkowski, Ruderer, 108). For group of blocks ÄM 1636 see below, Scene 3.10.



Fig. 5. Block with the re-carved representation of Khonsu (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 6. Coptic damages of the decoration (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 7. Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA48077 found in the area of the temple of Mentuhotep II at Deir el-Bahari. Picture taken probably by Marguerite Naville between 1903 and 1906 (© Museum of Art and History, City of Geneva, inv. no. A 2007-0024-02-008-038).

February 25, 1845.<sup>7</sup> All objects were treated as a personal gift of Muhammad Ali Pasha to Friedrich Wilhelm IV, King of Prussia. Lepsius describes the above-mentioned group of blocks ÄM 1636 in his *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, noticing the exact place of finding: “An der Innerseite der [östlichen] Mauer des Vorhofs E ist an der Nordostecke neben dem Eingang zur Kammer x bei dem Punkte y eine eigentümliche Darstellung eines Schiffes, das mit Anstrengung gerudert wird,”<sup>8</sup> he also gives a short description and in the volume of plates he publishes their drawing.<sup>9</sup> According to Karkowski, another fragment was also among the blocks brought by Lepsius, a small block with the representation of four oarsmen (ÄM 14332).<sup>10</sup> Jadwiga Lipińska, however, shows that the block was acquired by Carl August Reinhardt in 1899.<sup>11</sup> In the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin there is also a block, ÄM 18542, received from Georg Steindorff in 1907 in exchange for objects from Leipzig.<sup>12</sup>

During the excavations carried on by Naville, hundreds of small artefacts were sent to the sponsoring institutions and private people. Among them, a fragment of a block with a representation of the procession of soldiers became a gift to the British Museum in London (now inv. no. EA48077; **Fig. 7**).<sup>13</sup> It comes from the excavations carried out in the 1906/1907 season in the area of the temple of Mentuhotep II and was offered to the museum in 1907.<sup>14</sup> It seems possible then that the destruction took place during an earthquake, but

7 Lepsius, Briefe, 280–281.

8 LD Text III, 103–104.

9 LD III, Pl. 17a.

10 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 164, Pl. 18b, Fig. 7; Karkowski, Ruderer, 108 [8]. See below, Scene 3.10.

11 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 164. The same information is given on the webpage of the museum: <https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/763922>.

12 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 164, Pl. 19a.

13 Unpublished. See below, Scene 4.11.

14 Unpublished. See: [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA48077](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA48077). It appears on the institution list: <https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/documents/dist-14-01l> [no. 66].

Coptic monks were involved in it, too, moving the fragment further to the south. Another block stored in the British Museum, EA1828, was purchased from the Berkeley Galleries for the museum in 1963<sup>15</sup> but its earlier history is unknown.

The block representing a group of rowers (inv. no. E 16216) was given to the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology in Philadelphia 1891 by Edward W. Lehman,<sup>16</sup> its earlier history is unknown.

The last fragment of block taken from Deir el-Bahari and belonging to the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard is a block with men carrying two(?) thrones, stored in the Musée de Picardie in Amiens (inv. no. M.P.3053.108).<sup>17</sup> The block owned previously by Albert Maignan was acquired by the museum in 1927.<sup>18</sup> It is unknown, when and how the fragment left Deir el-Bahari. It is very probable that it comes from the excavations led by Naville, but it is impossible to recognise it on the distribution list.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup> See below, Scene 3.12.

<sup>16</sup> penn.museum/collections/object/66572. It was identified as coming from the east wall of the Upper Courtyard in PM II.2, 358. See below, p. 159, Fig. 49.

<sup>17</sup> Perdu, Rickal, *La collection égyptienne*, 106, no. 190 (under no. M.P.3057.108). See below, Scene 4.8.

<sup>18</sup> [http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde\\_fr?ACTION=RETRouver&FIELD\\_1=DOM-N&VALUE\\_1=&FIELD\\_2=Ctyob&VALUE\\_2=&FIELD\\_3=AUTR&VALUE\\_3=&FIELD\\_4=Clieu&VALUE\\_4=&FIELD\\_5=REPR&VALUE\\_5=&FIELD\\_6=Cdate&VALUE\\_6=&FIELD\\_7=DECV&VALUE\\_7=deir%20el%2dbahari&FIELD\\_8=LOCA&VALUE\\_8=&FIELD\\_9=Mat%e9riaux%2ftechniques&VALUE\\_9=&FIELD\\_10=Titre&VALUE\\_10=&NUMBER=5&GRP=0&REQ=%28%28deir%20el%2dbahari%29%20%3aDECV%20%29&USR-NAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=5&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=200&DOM=All](http://www2.culture.gouv.fr/public/mistral/joconde_fr?ACTION=RETRouver&FIELD_1=DOM-N&VALUE_1=&FIELD_2=Ctyob&VALUE_2=&FIELD_3=AUTR&VALUE_3=&FIELD_4=Clieu&VALUE_4=&FIELD_5=REPR&VALUE_5=&FIELD_6=Cdate&VALUE_6=&FIELD_7=DECV&VALUE_7=deir%20el%2dbahari&FIELD_8=LOCA&VALUE_8=&FIELD_9=Mat%e9riaux%2ftechniques&VALUE_9=&FIELD_10=Titre&VALUE_10=&NUMBER=5&GRP=0&REQ=%28%28deir%20el%2dbahari%29%20%3aDECV%20%29&USR-NAME=nobody&USRPWD=4%24%2534P&SPEC=5&SYN=1&IMLY=&MAX1=1&MAX2=1&MAX3=200&DOM=All).

<sup>19</sup> Cf. DIST.14.01a-n; <https://egyptartefacts.griffith.ox.ac.uk/document-type/multiple-institution-list>.

## CHAPTER 4. CONTEMPORARY RESTORATION WORK

### DOCUMENTATION, ANALYSIS, THEORETICAL RECONSTRUCTION

The destroyed temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari was unattractive for the early artists, travellers and visitors to Egypt. This was due to its state of preservation, as the temple was in great part covered with sand and the Upper Terrace was significantly ruined (Fig. 8).

The Upper Terrace with its Upper Courtyard remained unknown to the wider public. This was also the fate of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, which had largely collapsed and was masked by a pile of stone and sand, as well as remains of the Coptic monastery (Fig. 9). The first serious interest in the Upper Courtyard (Fig. 10) and the wall in question was shown by Lepsius. His expedition was not organised solely for cognitive reasons, although of course, this was the most important part of it. He brought a considerable number of objects from Egypt and Sudan to enrich the collection of the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The group of thirteen blocks belonging to the north part of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard was among his trophies and was partly published in his *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.<sup>1</sup>

The next documentalists, Auguste Mariette, who published drawings of a large part of the wall decoration of the temple of Hatshepsut,<sup>2</sup> as well as Johannes Duemichen, who was especially interested in navigation scenes,<sup>3</sup> did not document the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard at all.

The pictures stored in the archives of the Griffith Institute of the University of Oxford belong to the oldest known pictures of the temple of Hatshepsut. Among those pictures, two photos taken by W.M. Flinders Petrie show the granite gate leading to the Upper Courtyard with a small fragment of the neighbouring walls: south and north wings of the east wall (Fig. 4).<sup>4</sup> In 1881/1882, when the pictures were taken, the east wall did not adhere to the gate from the north and was covered with stones and sand to a considerable height.

The largest early documentation of the temple, but also of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard was executed by the mission of Naville<sup>5</sup> – delegated there by the Egypt Exploration Fund. The photograph taken in 1893 (Fig. 11), at the beginning of Naville's work, gives a similar picture of the state of preservation of the east wall as the one captured more than ten years earlier by Petrie.<sup>6</sup> Naville wrote in his diary: "Nous atteignons le bord septentrional du temple, la paroi de rochers a été taillée verticalement. On ne peut pas

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1 LD III Text, 103–104; LD III, Pl. 17a. Blocks are stored in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin in Berlin (ÄM 1636 – eleven blocks, ÄM 14332, ÄM 18542).

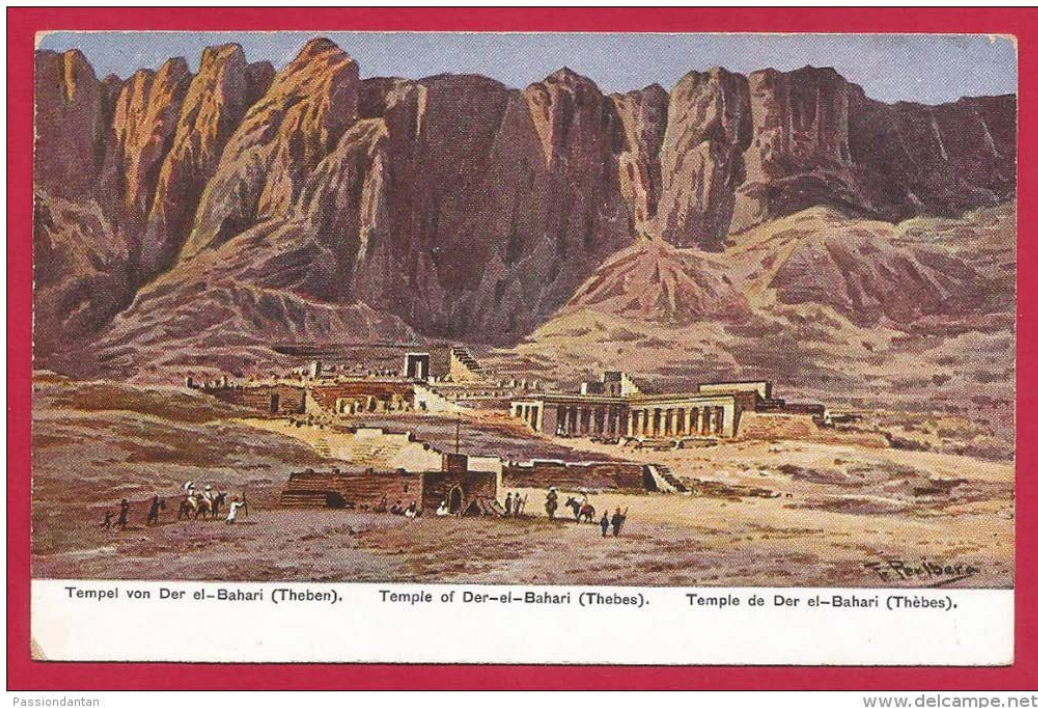
2 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, *passim*.

3 Duemichen, Flotte, *passim*.

4 Item Petrie MSS 5.6.07c [upper right] - [303] Granite gateway at Deir el Bahari (<https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-5-6-07c>) and Item Petrie MSS 5.6.07a [upper left] - [215] Granite gateway at Deir el Bahari (<https://archive.griffith.ox.ac.uk/index.php/petrie-5-6-07a>).

5 The fifth volume of his work is devoted a.o. to the Upper Courtyard (Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, 3–5, Pls CXXII–CXXVI).

6 Cf. also James, British activity, Fig. 3.



Passiondantan

www.delcampe.net

Fig. 8. A postcard with the representation of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (special collection of IMOC PAS, inv. no. P 616).

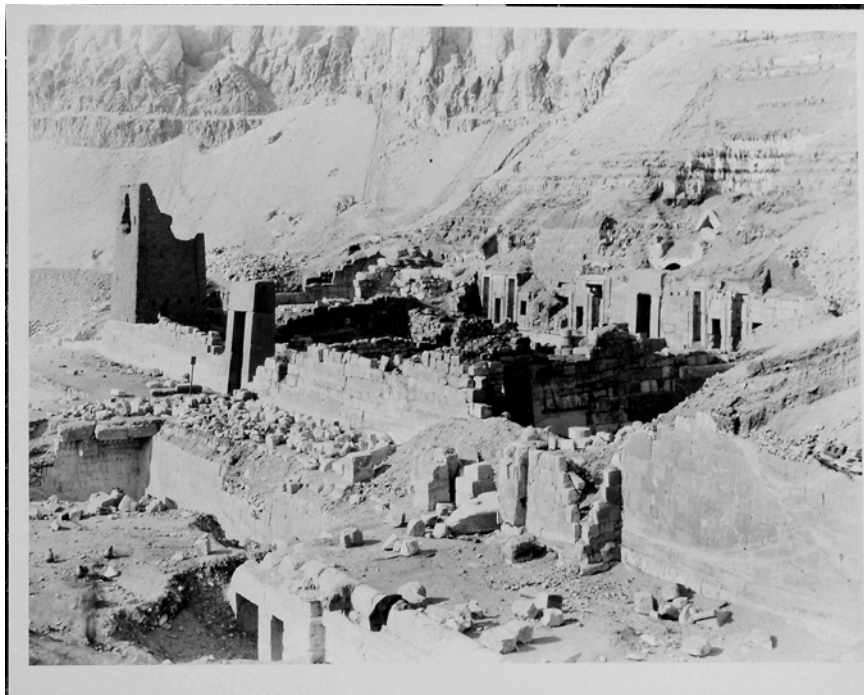


Fig. 9. View on the Upper Courtyard after Naville's excavations in 1893 (© Courtesy of The Egypt Exploration Society, neg. no. EEF\_DB-HAT.NEG.C.10).

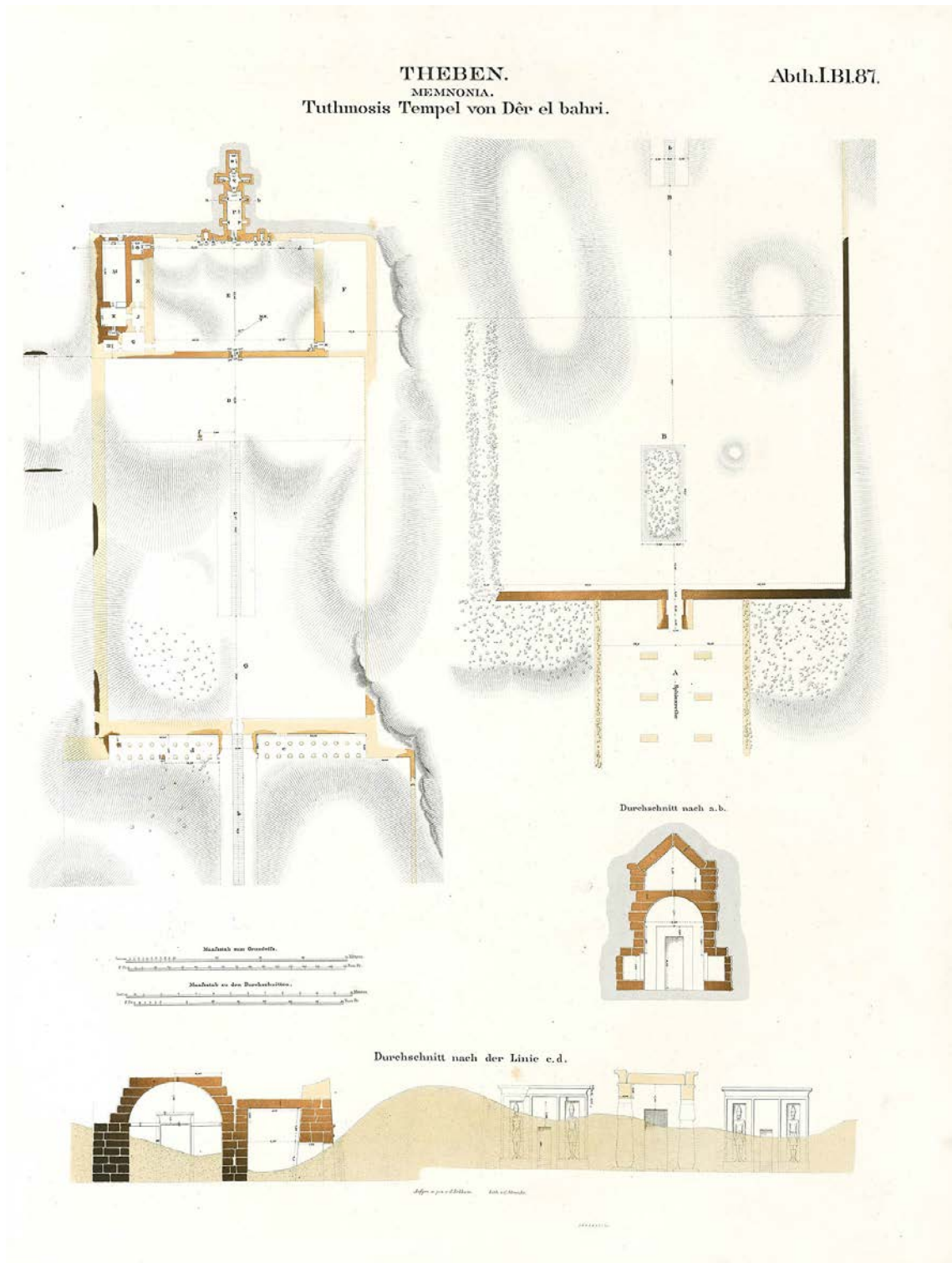


Fig. 10. The level of rubbish on the Upper Courtyard documented by the expedition of Lepsius in 1845 (LD I, Pl. 87).



Fig. 11. View on the granite gate from the west during the excavations by Naville, picture taken on the 15th of February 1893 by Isabelle Van Berchem, *de domo* Naville (© Museum of Art and History, City of Geneva, inv. no. A 2006-0030-214-07).



Fig. 12. Excavations of Naville in the north part of the Upper Courtyard with use of a line of railroads (© Museum of Art and History, City of Geneva, inv. no. Naville\_HM\_0051).



Fig. 13. View on the temple of Hatshepsut from the south-east (© Museum of Art and History, City of Geneva, inv. no. Naville\_HM\_0064).

déblayer l'angle auquel s'appuie la grande chambre à cause de la quantité de pierres et de sable qui tombent d'en haut. Je décide que les deux voitures qu'on doit nous envoyer seront employées en haut et qu'on va établir une ligne de ch[emin] de fer pour le déblaiement de la terrasse supérieure" (Fig. 12).<sup>7</sup> He also wrote about the state of preservation of the northern part of the Upper Courtyard: "As for the northern half, it was a huge mound extending also over the North-western Hall of Offerings and the Altar Court; here and there a few Coptic constructions could be seen, made of bricks or of blocks brought from various parts of the temple."<sup>8</sup> In 1893, Naville decided to clear the north part of the Courtyard down to the pavement. In 1894, Naville noted the reason behind his work in the temple: "Its aim is to bring to light one of the most interesting temples of Egypt, of which up to last year two-thirds were hidden by mounds of rubbish that sometimes reached a height of more than 40 feet. (...) From a rough calculation, we may say that during this two winters we have taken out of the temple nearly 60,000 cubic metres of rubbish and stones" (Fig. 13).<sup>9</sup> The cleaning of the area gave access to the north wing of the east wall. The documentation executed just after the excavations is now

7 Archives d'Édouard Naville. Fouilles du temple d'Hatchepsout à Deir el-Bahari (1893–1896); <https://www.segweb.ch/naville-temple-d-hatchepsout>.

8 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* V, 2.

9 Naville, *Work at the temple of Deir el Bahari*, 1.

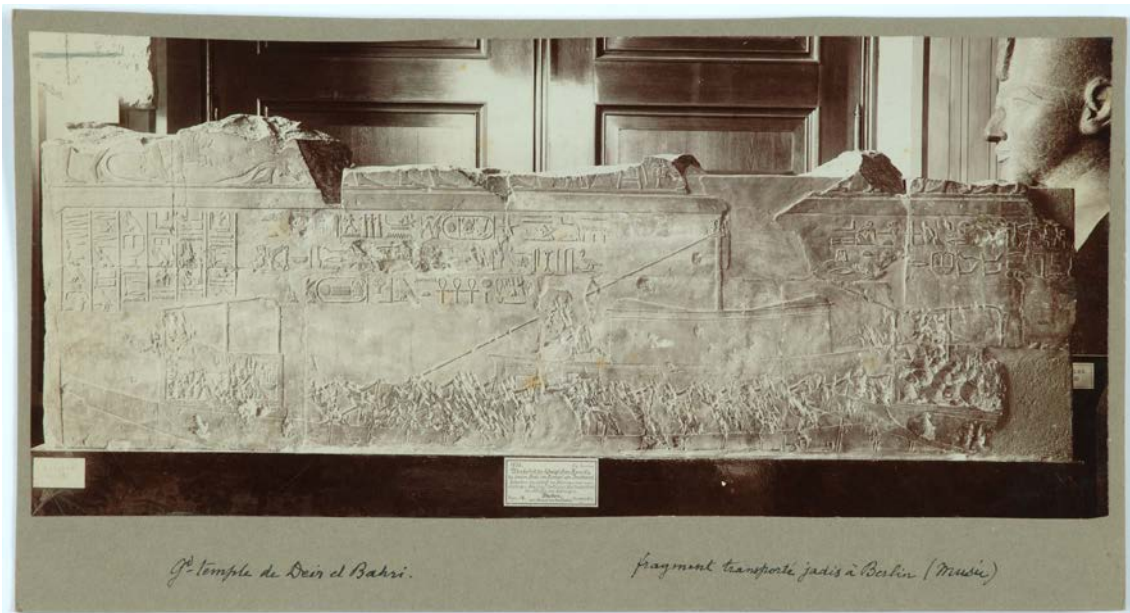


Fig. 14. Group of eight blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636 photographed in Berlin at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, author unknown (© Museum of Art and History, City of Geneva, inv. no. A 2007-0024-02-009-5).

stored in the archives of the Egypt Exploration Society<sup>10</sup> and the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève.<sup>11</sup> The drawings were made by Marguerite Naville, who wrote on 7<sup>th</sup> of February 1895: "J'arrive tard au temple où je ne puis faire que quelques corrections à mes dessins de hier (représ[entations] de barques)."<sup>12</sup> It seems most probable that she had the barks from the north wing in mind, as these are the only drawings of the barks that were made also from pictures. To prepare the final drawing Marguerite Naville made – in Switzerland – at least two sketches now stored in the Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève.<sup>13</sup> The state not only of preservation but also of knowledge concerning the north wing was published in the fifth volume of the monumental work of Naville's team, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari*.<sup>14</sup> The documentation of the north wing of the east wall published there is a compilation of drawing of the blocks from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 1636) together with the drawing of reliefs *in situ* and it contains only the representation of four boats from the lower register of the wall (Fig. 14), although the lower sub-register with Scenes 3.1–3.9 was still *in situ*. Only the first bark is fully visible from the rest, with mainly two lower courses of blocks depicted. It is uncertain if Marguerite Naville followed the method of drawing practiced by Howard Carter, although they for sure cooperated. Howard Carter's method of documentation is described by Thomas G.H. James as follows: "He laid out on his paper the 'skeleton' of the section he was about to copy, at a reduced scale, with the intention that his drawing would be further reduced to half-scale for the publication. He marked in salient features of the scene to be copied, using some mechanical aids – a straight-edge for drawing straight lines, a compass

<sup>10</sup> The photo documentation is accessible online: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/egyptexplorationsociety/albums>.

<sup>11</sup> The photo documentation is accessible online: [https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/recherche?search\\_api\\_fulltext=deir&f%5Bo%5D=lieu\\_represente%3A12034](https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/recherche?search_api_fulltext=deir&f%5Bo%5D=lieu_represente%3A12034).

<sup>12</sup> Archives de Marguerite Naville. Sixième voyage en Égypte : séjour à Louqsor (15 janvier - 10 avril 1895), 6 (Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève, <https://www.segweb.ch/m-naville-sixieme-voyage>).

<sup>13</sup> Preparatory drawings made by Marguerite Naville in 1895 (Musée d'art et d'histoire de Genève, inv. no. A 2006-0030-006-1, <https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/oeuvre/dessin/2006-0030-006-1>, and A 2006-0030-006-2, <https://collections.geneve.ch/mah/oeuvre/dessin/2006-0030-006-2>).

<sup>14</sup> Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* V, 3–4, Pl. CXXII.

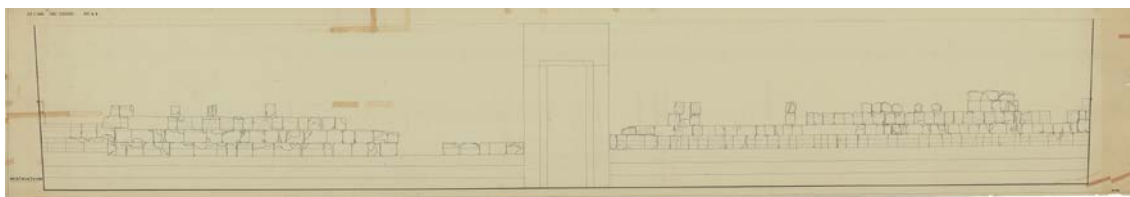


Fig. 15. A schematic inventory drawing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard prepared by Tomasz Mrówka in season 1961/1962 (PCMA UW | author unknown, inv. no. PCMA.3.128).

for drawing circular features: he set out a few finely drawn lines to establish the accurate relationship of the part of the scene. He then drew with a free hand (...).<sup>15</sup>

The studies on the east wall were left aside for a long time. The Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Conservation Mission at the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari commenced its work in the 1961/1962 season. The first, very schematic inventory drawing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard was prepared by Tomasz Mrówka, the architect of the mission (Fig. 15) during the first season of work.<sup>16</sup>

Serious research on the east wall was started in the 1965/1966 season by Elżbieta Dąbrowska-Smektała (Egyptologist) and Przemysław Gartkiewicz (architect).<sup>17</sup> During the preparation of work, blocks were classified and grouped according to their destination and decoration. From 200 joins of fragments of blocks found during this season, only twenty-seven blocks and fragments of blocks were assigned to the south part of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.<sup>18</sup> The blocks were photographed and drawn by Przemysław Gartkiewicz on a scale of 1:5, the plans and section were prepared on a scale of 1:20, the numbers were given to the blocks.<sup>19</sup> The documentation system differed from the later one, the drawings being made on graph paper with the precise measurements added to each drawing, as well as with cuttings, hammerings and alterations of decoration marked on them. The theoretical studies on fragments of blocks and analysis of the decoration were conducted on from the very beginning. In the context of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, the most important were those concentrating on dimensions, proportions of representations and relations between the dimensions of the *kheker*- and *dado*-friezes and the scale of the other representations.<sup>20</sup> This season was also devoted to studies on the construction of the east wall, and an inaccurate inclination of the granite gate was observed.<sup>21</sup> This research made possible the theoretical reconstruction of a fragment of the wall and a project of the reconstruction was prepared containing the partly reconstructed Scenes 1 and 2. Some fragments, however, were mistakenly assigned to the north wing of the east wall.<sup>22</sup>

Further studies on the reconstruction of this wall were undertaken a few years later by a new group of researchers, a group of specialists from the State Ateliers for Conservation of Cultural Property (PKZ) led by the architect Wysocki working in cooperation with Egyptologists from different scientific institutions sent by the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw, which started reconstruction work in the 1967/1968 season. The 1970/1971 and 1971/1972 seasons were dedicated to theoretical studies

<sup>15</sup> James, British activity, 47.

<sup>16</sup> The drawing is now stored in the PCMA UW archive, inv. no. PCMA.3.128.

<sup>17</sup> Several reports from this season were published: Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, 213–219; Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, 65–78; Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, 47–64; see also below, Catalogue of blocks from *lapidaria* at Deir el-Bahari, pp. 308–428.

<sup>18</sup> The blocks belong to Scenes 1 and 2. See: Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, 217–219, Pls I–II; Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I, Figs 7, 8 (Cat. nos 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 40).

<sup>19</sup> Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, 66, n. 7; Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, 62.

<sup>20</sup> Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, 214–216.

<sup>21</sup> Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, 216.

<sup>22</sup> E.g. Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, 76, Fig. 11 (join of blocks 2041–2042), Pl. III (several fragments, none of them was finally placed in the wall).

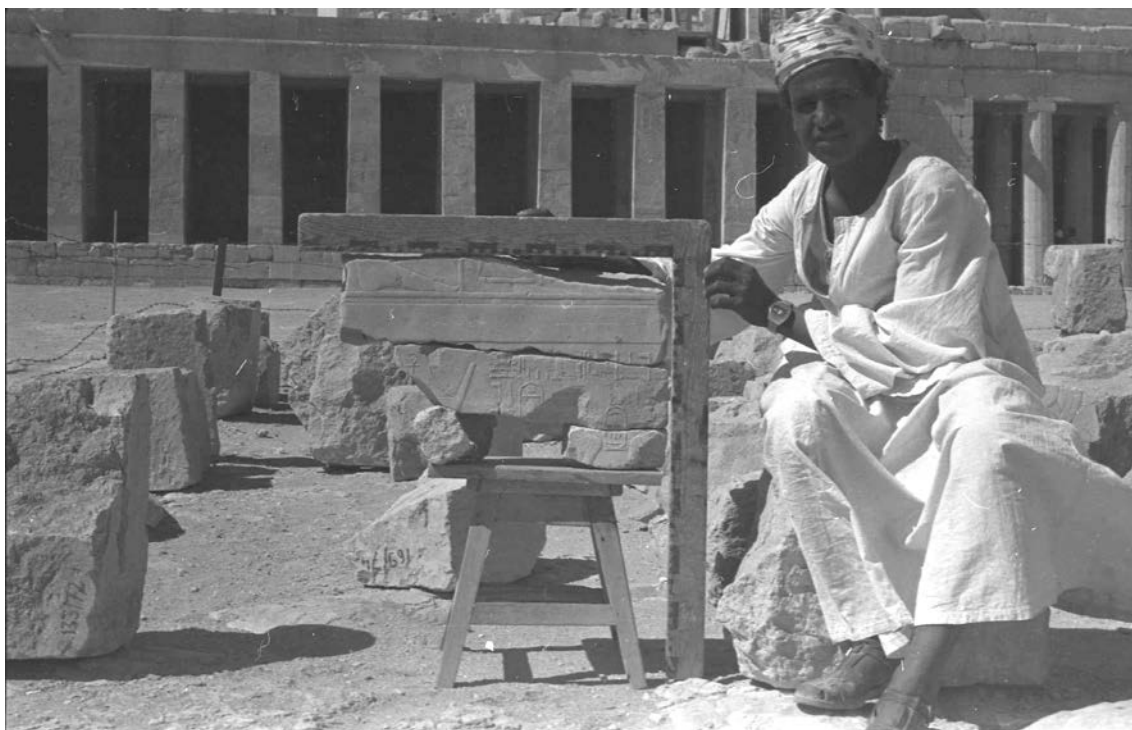


Fig. 16. The joint with the representation of the royal statues' procession recognised by Karkowski in season 1978/1979 (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, inv. no. DeB\_1975-1976\_kat-blok\_003\_1\_2).

on the north wing of the east wall and its documentation. A new theory of the reintegration of the east wall was presented by the director of the mission, Wysocki, to the High Committee of the Supreme Council of Antiquities according to which the reconstruction had to be carried out to the height of the last layer containing the original fragments and crowned with an irregular surface with setoffs.<sup>23</sup> This approved reconstruction project required further advancement of research. The work was entrusted to the architect, Niewalda. As a result, nine original blocks were selected for placing in the north wing of the east wall and new joins of blocks and fragments of blocks were recognised.<sup>24</sup> One of the most important discoveries of his work was the establishing of a module of decoration.<sup>25</sup> They belong to the upper register navigation scene (Scene 4.10, the Userhat bark and the royal bark). Studies by Niewalda let to reconstructing the scheme of the upper part of the wall and a division into scenes.

In the 1972/1973 season, four new blocks with the representation of priests carrying the portable bark of Amun from Scene 2, parallel to the south wing of the east wall, were added to the theoretical reconstruction.<sup>26</sup> This work was conducted by the Egyptologist Karkowski from the Research Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Sciences in cooperation with the architect Grzegorz Zamoyski. The drawings by Karkowski were traced directly from the wall onto transparent plastic film. They were checked, redrawn

23 Wysocki, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1971/72*, 7.

24 Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 81 (Cat. nos 58, 59, 67, 73, 74, 90, 91, 93, 94, 100, 102, 104, 107, 108, 110, 118, 120, 121, 124, 153, 155, 191); Karkowski, *The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, 360.

25 Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 81–106. See above, Chapter 2. *Architecture*, p. 5.

26 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973*, 254, Fig. 1 (Cat. nos 33, 34, 35, 36); Wysocki writes that eight blocks were found but they must be divided into two wings of the wall, four for each wing (Wysocki, *Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973*, 245; Wysocki, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1972/73*, 6, Figs II/1, II/2).

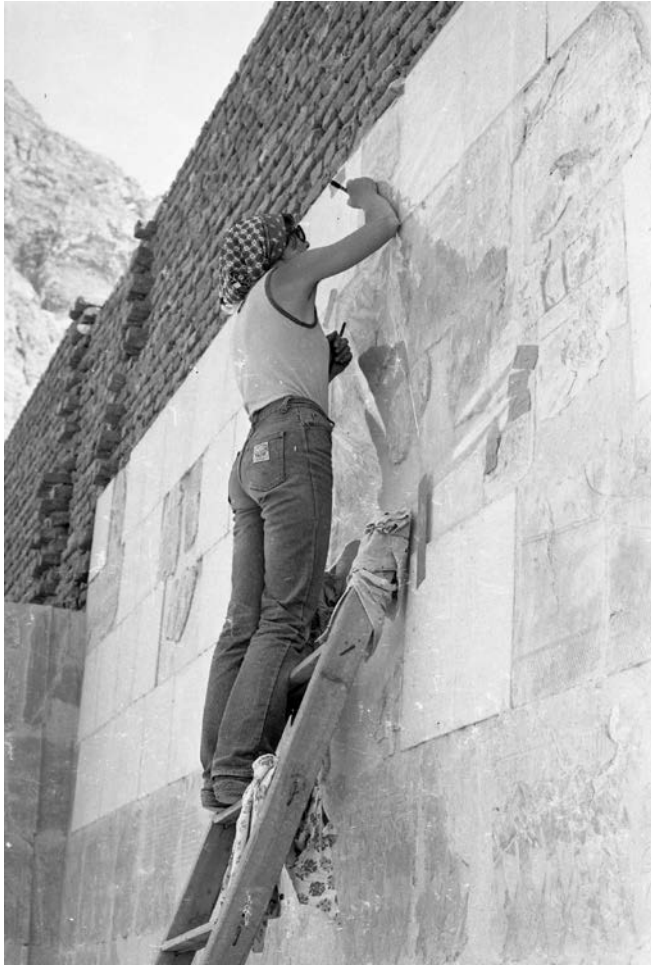


Fig. 17. Krystyna Polaczek documenting the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH\_skany\_10 (348)).

on a scale of 1:1 and then photographically reduced in size. The next step was to join the photographs and redraw them in ink.<sup>27</sup>

In the 1973/1974 season, Karkowski found six new blocks from the north wing of the east wall.<sup>28</sup> He reported this without any details. In the same year, he also documented in drawings most of the scenes from the east wall.<sup>29</sup>

The results of studies on the blocks and block fragments from the temple of Hatshepsut stored in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin by Lipińska were published in 1974. Among the blocks in the museum, she distinguished a group (Group I) of fifteen blocks belonging to two walls of the Upper Courtyard: the north wall and the north wing of the east wall.<sup>30</sup> The biggest set is the group of eleven blocks from Scene 3.10 (ÄM 1636), brought by Lepsius from his trip to Egypt and Sudan<sup>31</sup> and representing the first accompanying bark and from the lower part of Scene 3.11 (the sixth and seventh course of blocks), 2.3 m long. Lipińska also recognised two other fragments (ÄM 14332<sup>32</sup> and ÄM 18542) as coming from the north wing of the east wall.

In the 1974/1975 season, Karkowski worked on the documentation of walls of the Upper Courtyard and the east wall was also taken into consideration.<sup>33</sup>

In the 1978/1979 season, Karkowski added some new fragments to the repertoire of the north wing.<sup>34</sup> These come from the upper part of the wall and contained elements of Scenes 2, 4.11 and 5. The joint Cat. nos 44-50-49-51 was especially important

since it confirmed the existence of the royal statues' procession accompanying the festival procession of the portable bark of Amun (Fig. 16). The fragments were drawn and photographed.

In the 1989/1990 season, a team supervised by Karkowski completed the documentation of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Fig. 17).<sup>35</sup>

27 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 131.

28 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1973–1974*, 403. No numbers given.

29 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1973–1974*, 404.

30 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 163–167, Fig. 7, Pls 18b, 19a.

31 *LD III Text*, 103–104; *LD III*, Pl. 17a.

32 Block ÄM 14332 was assigned to Scene 3.10 and block ÄM 18542 – to Scene 4.3.

33 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1974–1975*, 220.

34 Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, 254–356, Fig. 6 (Cat. nos 44, 46, 49, 50, 51, 52, 170, 173, 198, 199, 201, 202).

35 Karkowski, *Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari 1989–1990*, 8.



Fig. 18. Block found in season 1998/1999 by the mission led by Pawlicki (Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari 1998/1999, 166, Fig. 10).

An article by Wysocki published in 1992 turned out to be important for the reconstruction of the history of the construction of this wall. He realised that in both wings there is an anomaly: in the lower part of the wall, vertical joins can be observed on several courses of blocks.<sup>36</sup> This information may be of some interest in the history of the wall's construction.<sup>37</sup>

The mission returned to the east wall in the 1996 season, when the checking and correcting of the scaled documentation was started under the supervision of Karkowski.<sup>38</sup>

The last block added to the wall, which contains a representation of a running official, from Scene 3.11 (Cat. no. 142), was found, documented and restored in its original position during the excavations in the Main Sanctuary of Amun in the 1998/1999 season led by Franciszek Pawlicki (Fig. 18).<sup>39</sup>

In the 2001 season, the previously executed documentation for the purpose of the reconstruction by Andrzej Kwaśnica was verified by the author.<sup>40</sup> This documentation was traced at a scale of 1:1 and was scaled with the help of a grid carved on a transparent plastic film placed at a scale of 1:1 drawing and drawn on a tracing paper at a scale of 1:10. In the 2003/2004–2007/2008 seasons,<sup>41</sup> the author and her team worked on replacing the documentation for reconstruction with drawings intended for publication. The north wing of the east wall was re-traced at a scale of 1:1 on the

transparent plastic film with permanent markers (Fig. 19). The pieces of plastic film were scanned at a scale of 1:1 and re-drawn in CorelDraw software, still at a scale of 1:1.<sup>42</sup> In the 2004/2005 season new fragments with the representation of soldiers, ships and royal statues were selected in the *lapidaria* and documented. The revision of the *lapidaria* resources allowed for the introduction of additional fragments into the reconstruction of the wall. In seasons 2007/2008, 2008/2009 and 2009/2010 traced drawings were checked with the wall and corrections were added to the CorelDraw drawings.<sup>43</sup>

Thanks to the laser scanning of the whole temple as well as a photo-scanning of some parts of the temple in 2019 by Mariusz Caban and Maciej Krzywka it was possible to check all drawings again and to confirm the exact shape of the decoration of the wall. The scanning finished the documentation of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.

36 Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 222, n. 4 and Fig. 1 [e]. See above, pp. 4–5.

37 See above, p. 4.

38 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari* 1996, 50, 53.

39 Pawlicki, *Deir el-Bahari* 1998/1999, 166, Fig. 10.

40 Barwik, *Deir el-Bahari* 2001, 196.

41 Szafranski, *Deir el-Bahari*, Season 2003/2004, 232–234, Fig. 11; Szafranski, *The Temple of Hatshepsut*, Season 2004/2005, 252, Fig. 14.

42 These drawings were prepared by the author in some cases accompanied by colleagues: Małgorzata Czapińska, Agnieszka Niemirka, Anastasiia Stupko, Eliza Szpakowska †, and Agata Urbaniak.

43 Szafranski, *Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari* 2007/2008, 198; Szafranski, *Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari* 2008/2009 and 2009/2010, 143.

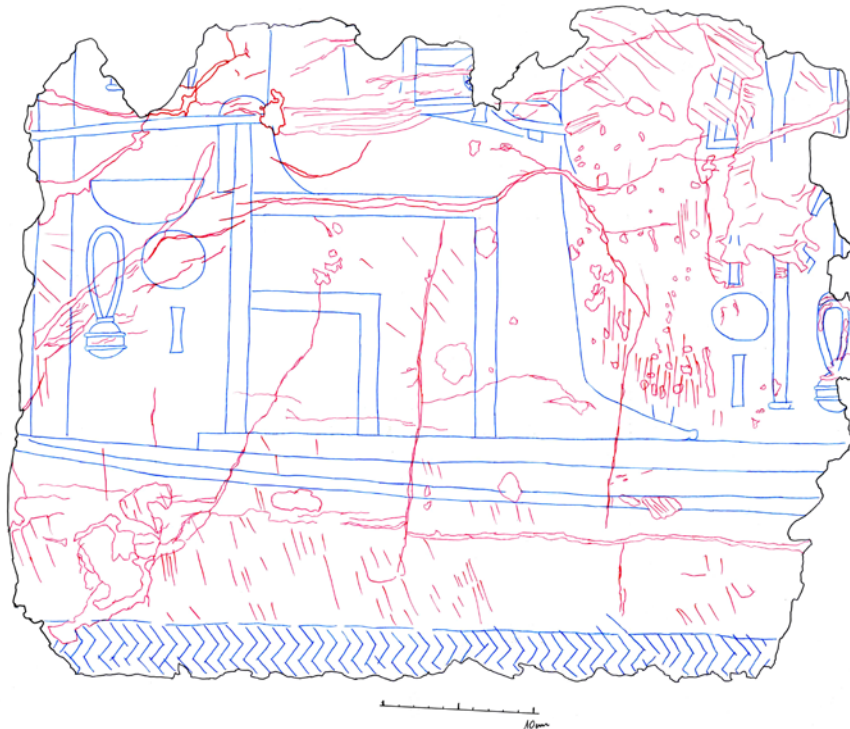


Fig. 19. Scan of a drawing on a transparent film, season 2004/2005 (drawing J. Iwaszczuk).

## PRACTICAL RECONSTRUCTION AND RESTORATION

Gartkiewicz recognised two main phases of modern restorations before the Polish Mission started its work.<sup>44</sup> The first phase of conservation included partial filling up of the wall and the granite gate and was executed before 1920.<sup>45</sup>

The next attempt at consolidation of the east wall was made before 1930 probably by Émil Baraize and concerned the reinstallation of the granite gate and rebuilding of the east wall in the sections flanking the Upper Portico.<sup>46</sup> Between 1920 and 1930, two courses, the third and fourth, of the north wing of the east wall were reconstructed, although the blocks were not always properly placed.<sup>47</sup> The blocks inserted at that time had numbers painted on their upper surfaces, consisting of numbers of blocks counting from the granite gate (not including missing blocks) and numbers of rows.<sup>48</sup>

When the work of the Polish Mission commenced in the 1961/1962 season, the state of preservation of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard was poor (**Fig. 20**). The wall was standing up to the seventh layer in the highest place and in the lowest – in the south part of the north wing – only three layers

<sup>44</sup> Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 52.

<sup>45</sup> Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 52. This conclusion bases on a series of pictures of the temple with the last one published by Gustave Jéquier in 1920 (Jéquier, *Les temples memphites*, Pl. 29).

<sup>46</sup> The results of their work have never been published. See: Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 52, n. 11.

<sup>47</sup> They differ in the inclination of the face surface from other the blocks of the wall. Cf. Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 60, n. 18 and Fig. 4.

<sup>48</sup> Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 60, n. 18.

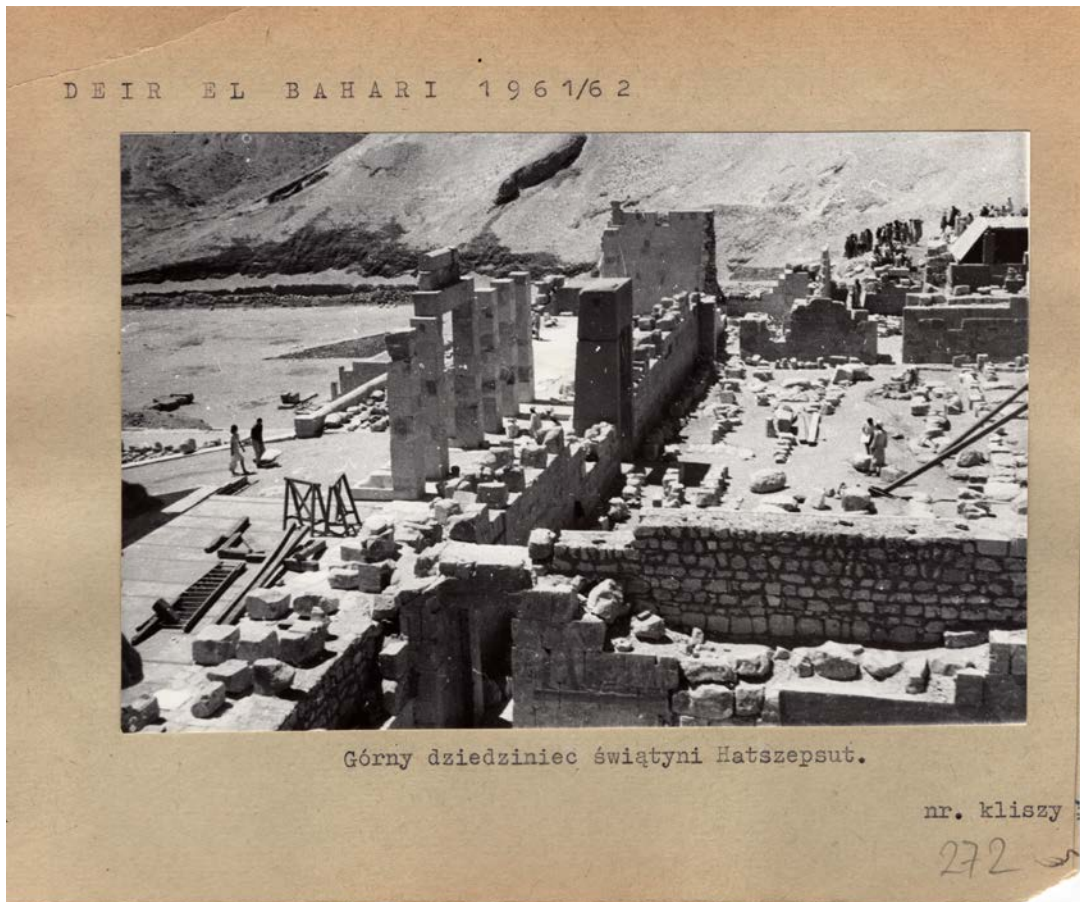


Fig. 20. View on the Upper Courtyard from the north, season 1961/1962 (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, inv. no. neg. 1961/62 no. 272).

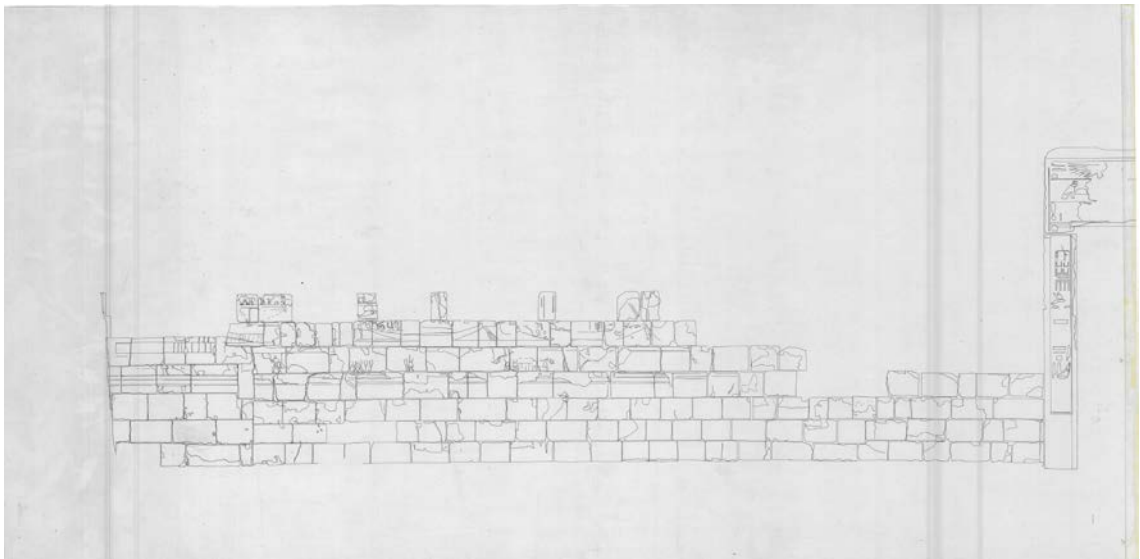


Fig. 21. Inventory drawing made by Mieczysław Niepokólczycki and E. Winiarska in November 1973 (PCMA UW | inv. no. PCMA.3.66).

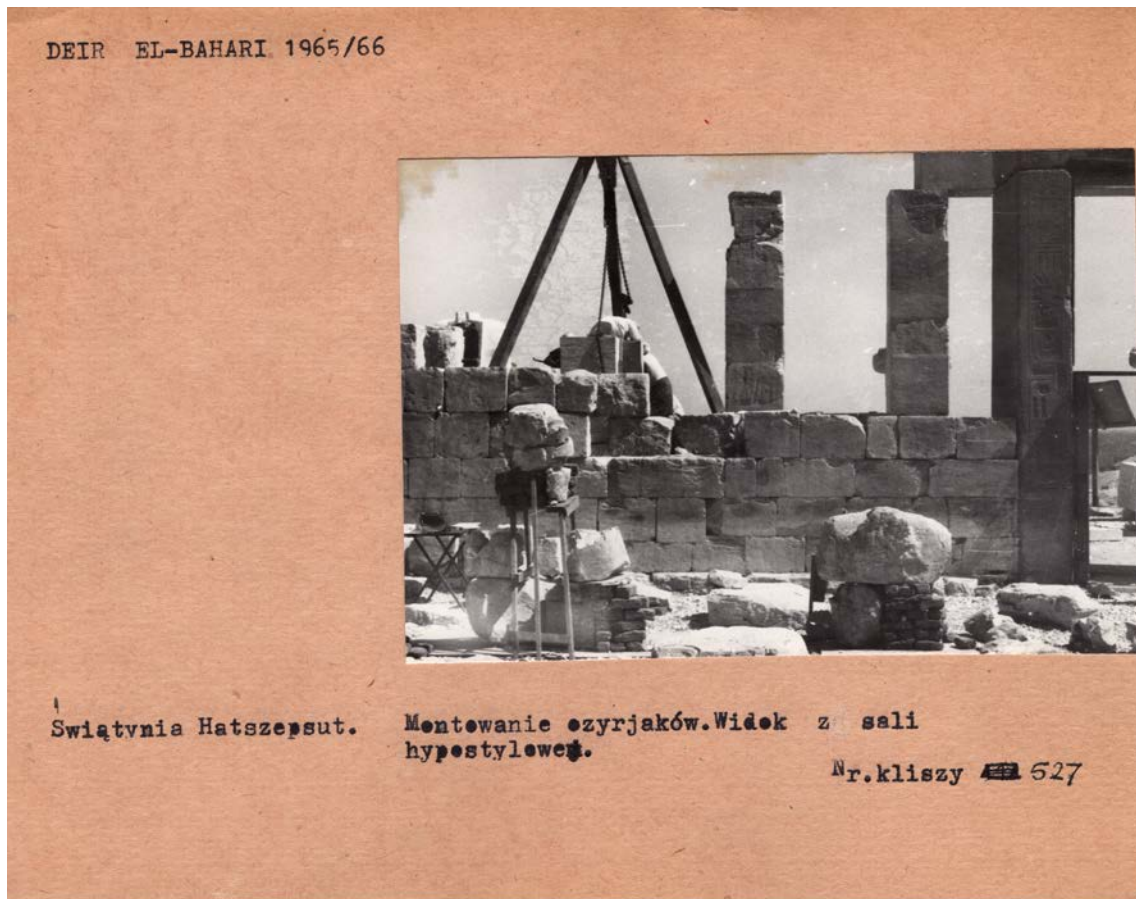


Fig. 22. North wing of the east wall, its south part next to the granite gate in season 1965/1966 (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, inv. no. neg. 1965/66 no. 527).

were visible (Fig. 21).<sup>49</sup> The blocks did not adhere together, and on the sixth layer, only some loose blocks were placed. The wall in its middle part was strongly bellied and the setting of the granite gate was an effect of the crack in the foundation which caused tilting towards the Upper Courtyard.<sup>50</sup> Because of an earthquake, the granite gate tilted, on the full height of the wall the deviation was approx. 15–20 cm, which resulted in the problem with the proper setting of the wall.<sup>51</sup>

An attempt at reconstruction of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard was undertaken in the 1965/1966 season under the supervision of Gartkiewicz. The inaccurate position of the granite gate, resulting from the destruction of this part of the temple was corrected.<sup>52</sup> This was especially important as the inclination of both wings of the east wall depended on the proper setting of the gate. The layers inserted by Baraize were removed (Fig. 22),<sup>53</sup> joins of blocks newly found by Dąbrowska-Smektała were prepared for restoration. The theoretically reconstructed fragment of the north wing of the east wall (Fig. 23) was inserted in its original position (part of Scenes 1 and 2, Fig. 24), although this reconstruction had a temporary character

49 See above, p. 23.

50 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1970/71, 14.

51 Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, 53.

52 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, 216.

53 Three blocks were removed completely, the rest was placed in the same position: Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, 64, Figs 4 (with removed blocks marked 'R') and 7.

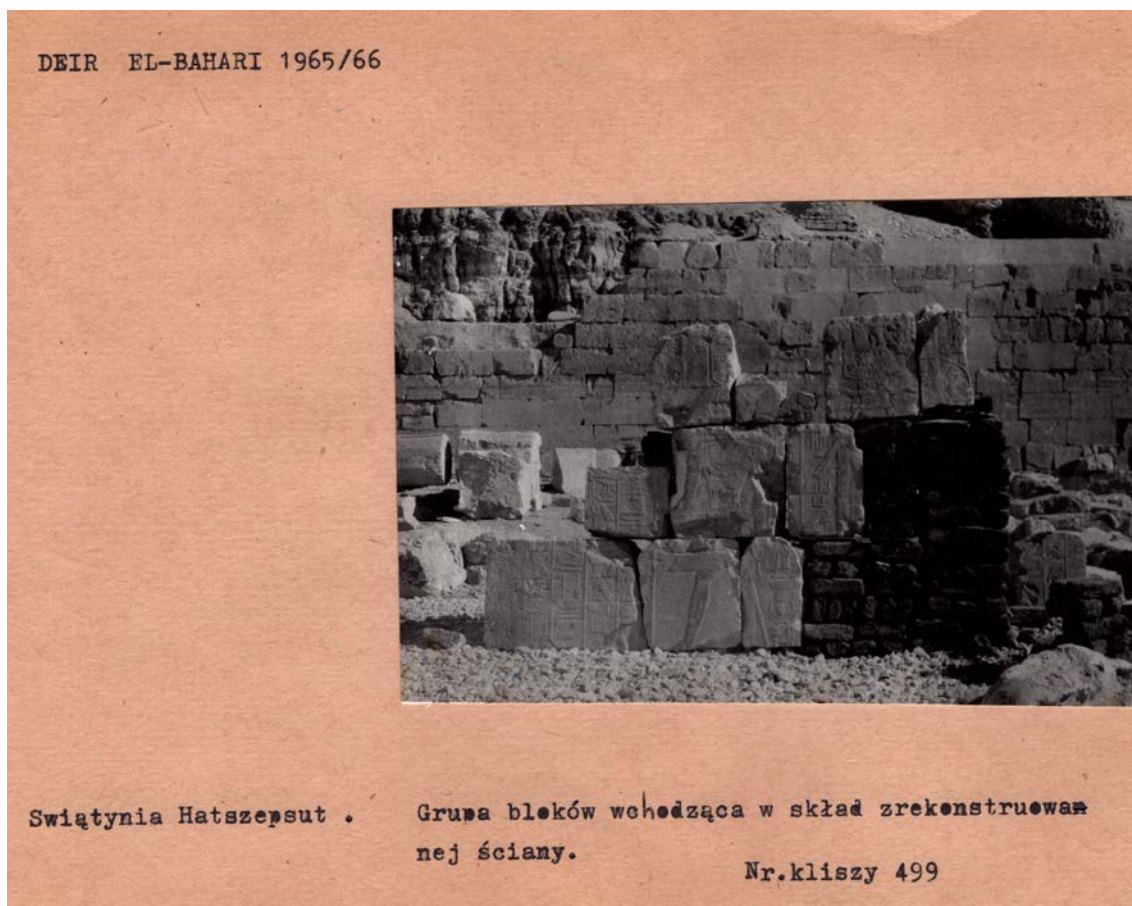


Fig. 23. Fragment of reconstructed Scenes 1 and 2, season 1965/1966 (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, inv. no. neg. 1965/66 no. 499).

outside the wall. For the constructions, small broken pieces of limestone jointed with mud were used and the wall face was filled up with mud bricks jointed with stone elements with the use of mud mortar (Fig. 25).<sup>54</sup>

This preliminarily reconstructed wall waited two years for final reconstruction (Fig. 26). In the 1968/1969 season, the joins of blocks were provisionally set in the wall with the use of the mud bricks and mortar, and the empty space between the original blocks was also filled with mud bricks and mortar (Fig. 27).<sup>55</sup> The slope of the wall was reconstructed based on the slope angle of the corrected granite gate.<sup>56</sup>

The serious reconstruction work on the east wall of the Upper Courtyard had been started as a side effect of the reconstruction of the Upper Portico in the 1970/1971 season and was continued in the subsequent seasons (Fig. 28).<sup>57</sup> In October 1971, the five-year programme of reintegration of the temple was accepted by the High Committee of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. In the beginning, the work concentrated on the north wing of the east wall. One of the first decisions was to partly dismantle the previously reconstructed wall after cataloguing the condition of the wall. During this activity, the loose filling from the inside of the wall was removed. The wall was aligned, the slope of the wall was corrected with the use of the original slope angle of the wall and the already known joins were placed back in the proper location.<sup>58</sup> The previous

54 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, 217.

55 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1970/71, 13.

56 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1970/71, 14.

57 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1970/71, 13.

58 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, 67.



Fig. 24. Temporary reconstruction of Scenes 1 and 2, season 1965/1966 (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, inv. no. DeB\_1966-1967\_0163).



Fig. 25. View of the north-east corner of the Upper Courtyard with the north wing of the east wall, season 1965/1966 (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, inv. no. DeB\_1966-1967\_0056).

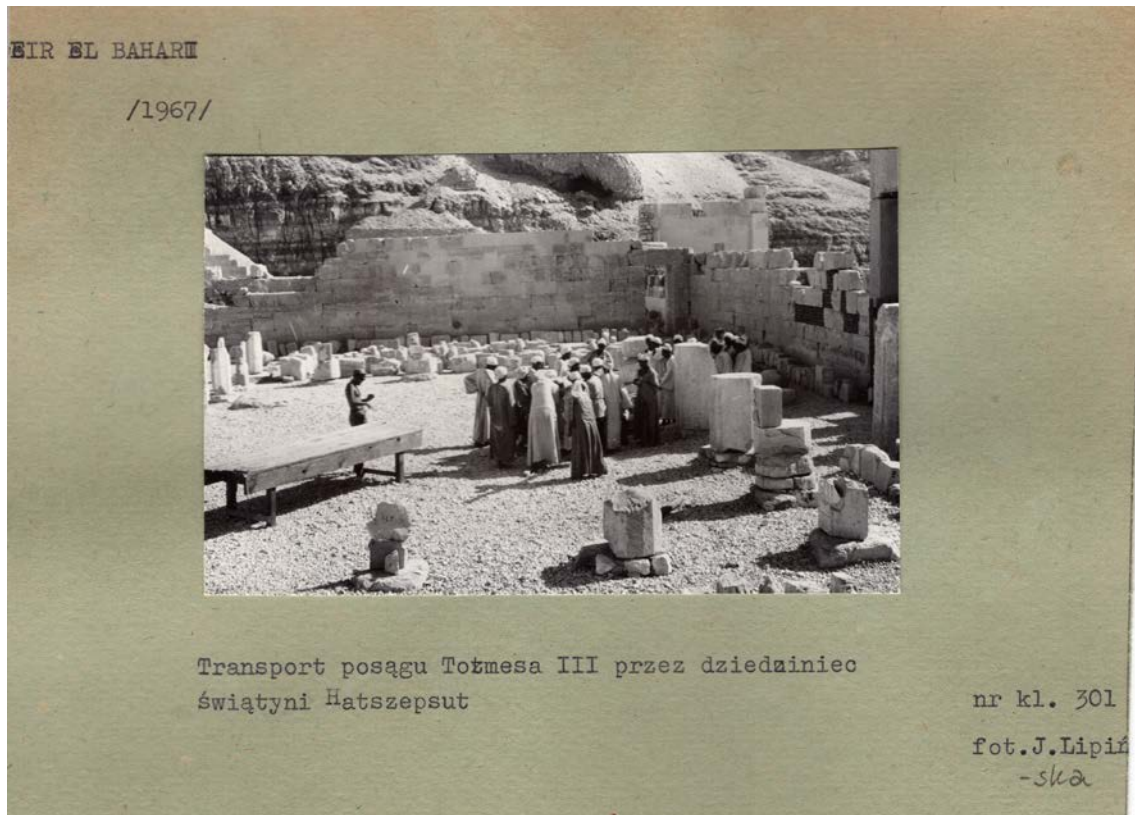


Fig. 26. View of the north-east corner of the Upper Courtyard with the north wing of the east wall, transport of the statue of Thutmose III in 1967 (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, inv. no. neg. 1967 no. 301).



Fig. 27. View on the north part of the Upper Courtyard and the north wing of the east wall from the west, season 1968/1969 (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH\_Negatywy\_22\_II\_88\_filtr\_1968-1969).



Fig. 28. View on the north wing of the east wall from the west during the reconstruction work, season 1970/1971 (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH\_1970\_1971\_negatywy\_1139).

inner filling was changed into stone chips bound with cement mortar.<sup>59</sup> Another challenge was searching for the new blocks and the joins of blocks necessary for the reconstruction of the upper layers to half of the original height of the wall.<sup>60</sup> The dismantled mud bricks were replaced with limestone blocks brought from a nearby quarry. The faces of the blocks had been polished. The restorers decided to paint the surface of the extracted blocks due to the difference in colour between the original blocks and new blocks and therefore, colour samples were made.<sup>61</sup> New joins of blocks were selected and prepared for further reconstruction. On the photographs from the beginning and the end of the 1970/1971 season it can be observed that some changes had been made since the provisional reconstruction from the 1967/1968 season (Fig. 29a, b). The block fragment at the end of the titulary of Thutmose III in Scene 1 containing a *djed*-sign (Cat. no. 17) was removed and a new block below *dado*-frieze was inserted. At the same time, the new blocks were added to the northern part of the north wing of the east wall.<sup>62</sup> The main idea was to level the layer of reconstruction to the seventh course of blocks, however some blocks from the eighth and even the ninth courses were provisionally put in their original places.<sup>63</sup>

59 The mortar composition: white cement mixed with comminuted limestone crushings (granulation max. 3 mm) at a scale of 1:3. The plastering was laid on the layer of Vinavil glue applied on the clean and dry surface: Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 94, n. 17.

60 Wysocki, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1970/71*, Fig. 6.

61 Wysocki, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1970/71*, 18.

62 Three groups of blocks were included in the reconstruction: Scenes 3.13, 4.6 and 4.7 (Cat. nos 73, 100, 102, 103, 104, 124), Scenes 3.11 and 3.12 (Cat. nos 83, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94), Scene 4.5 (Cat. nos 71, 119, 120, 121), and also two small fragments with the representation of water (Cat. nos 77 and 79).

63 The eighth course of blocks: Cat. nos 71, 73, 83, 92, 103, 104; the ninth course of blocks: Cat. nos 119, 120, 121, 124.



a.



b.

Fig. 29a. Temporary reconstruction executed in season 1867/1968, picture taken at the beginning of season 1970/1971 (PCMA UW | author unknown, inv. no. DBAH\_1970\_1971\_negatywy\_0119); b. Final reconstruction in season 1970/1971 (PCMA UW | inv. no. inv. no. DBAH\_1970\_1971\_negatywy\_0116).



Fig. 30. View on the east part of the Upper Courtyard and the north wing of the east wall from the north, season 1972/1973 (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH\_1972\_1973\_negatywy\_0102).

In the 1971/1972 season, the setting of the granite gate was corrected.<sup>64</sup> Tilted by the earthquake, the gate was placed more vertically, in line with the alignment of the walls. This was the only construction interference undertaken during this season because the change of the five-year programme of reintegration of the temple had been accepted by the High Committee of the Supreme Council of Antiquities. According to the new programme, the reconstruction was delayed and the search for the original blocks started.<sup>65</sup>

Four new blocks, which had their joins with the existing decoration, were placed in the wall during the 1972/1973 season (**Fig. 30**).<sup>66</sup> In this season, new rules of restoration had been established concerning the treatment of filling the gaps of lacking blocks. If the size of the original blocks was known thanks to the incised lines on the top of the lower blocks, the limestone blocks from the quarry were to fill the gap. In this case, the faces of the original fragments were to be aligned with the new limestone blocks. In other places, the space between the original material was to be filled with bricks inside and covered in the face of the wall with artificial stone slabs of different sizes. The use of the bricks served for easy removal of the filling if new fragments were matched.<sup>67</sup> During this season, it was possible to reconstruct up to the tenth course of blocks the central element of the decoration of the wall, the Userhat bark. The previously inserted two artificial slabs marking missing blocks were removed and replaced with original blocks,<sup>68</sup> and above them four new blocks from Scenes 4.2 and 4.10 were provisionally set.<sup>69</sup> Also, Scene 4.4 was partly reconstructed in that time,<sup>70</sup> as well as four blocks from Scene 2 with the representation of procession of priests were placed in their original

64 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1971/72, 7, Fig. 7.

65 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1971/72, 7.

66 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1972/73, 6.

67 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1972/73, 7.

68 Cat. nos 60 and 61.

69 Cat. nos 58, 59, 105 and 142.

70 Cat. nos 65 and 112.



b.

Fig. 31. Reconstruction of the north wing of the east wall, season 1976/1977 (a. PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH.1976-1977.006.007; b. PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH.1976-1977.006.013).



Fig. 32. Final effect of the reconstruction work in season 1976/1977 (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH.1976-1977.006.239).

position.<sup>71</sup> A previously removed fragment at the end of the titulary of Thutmose III from Scene 1 containing a *djed*-sign (Cat. no. 17) was restored.<sup>72</sup>

In the 1974/1975 season, the reconstruction of the wall was continued. The filling of the wall was constructed as two parallel walls 1.6 m wide at the bottom, with transverse walls every 1.5 m. First, the construction was carried out in the south wing and in the 1975/1976 season work was started in the north wing from the north.<sup>73</sup> In the 1976/1977 season, the work on the reconstruction of the full height of the wall in brick was finished (Fig. 31a, b).<sup>74</sup> For the construction, 40,000 bricks were used to raise the wall to its full height (Fig.

71 Based on a theoretical reconstruction by Karkowski, see above, footnote 22; Cat. nos 36, 37, 38, 39.

72 Cf. archive photo DBAH\_1972\_1973\_negatywy\_0164 (PCMA UW).

73 Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1975/76, 8–9.

74 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 283.

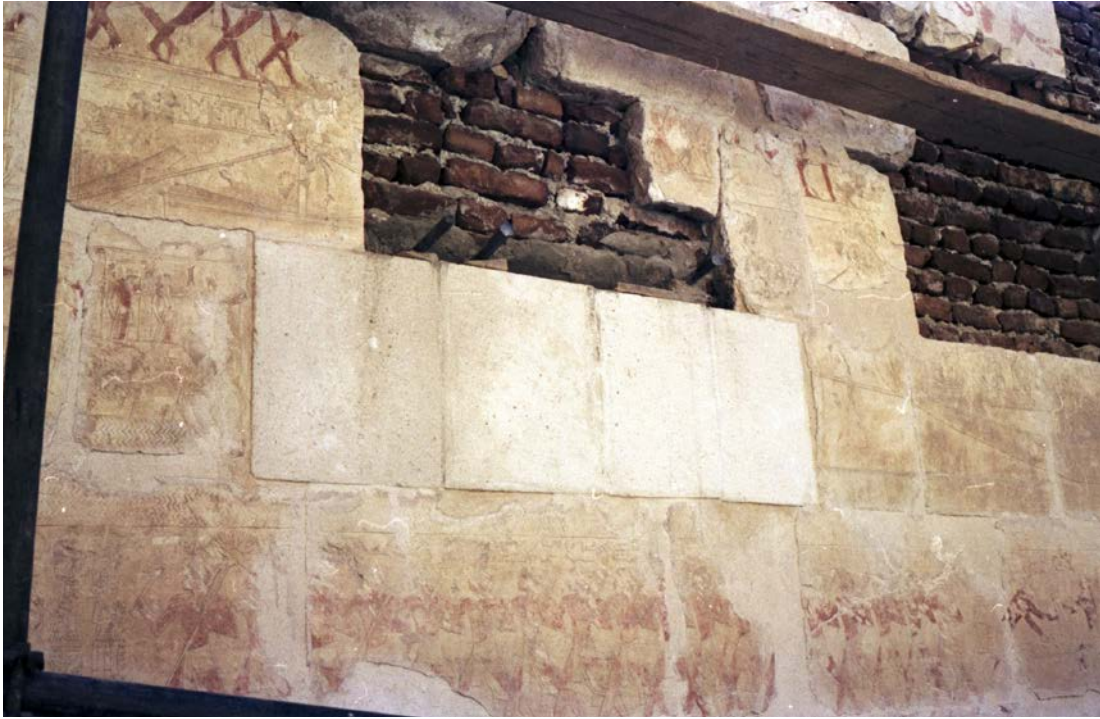


Fig. 33. Fragment of Scene 3.10 with the artificial stone slabs, season 1976/1977 (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH.1976-1977.006.020).



Fig. 34. View on the north wing of the east wall, season 1984/1985 (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, inv. no. DeB 1985\_006\_3).

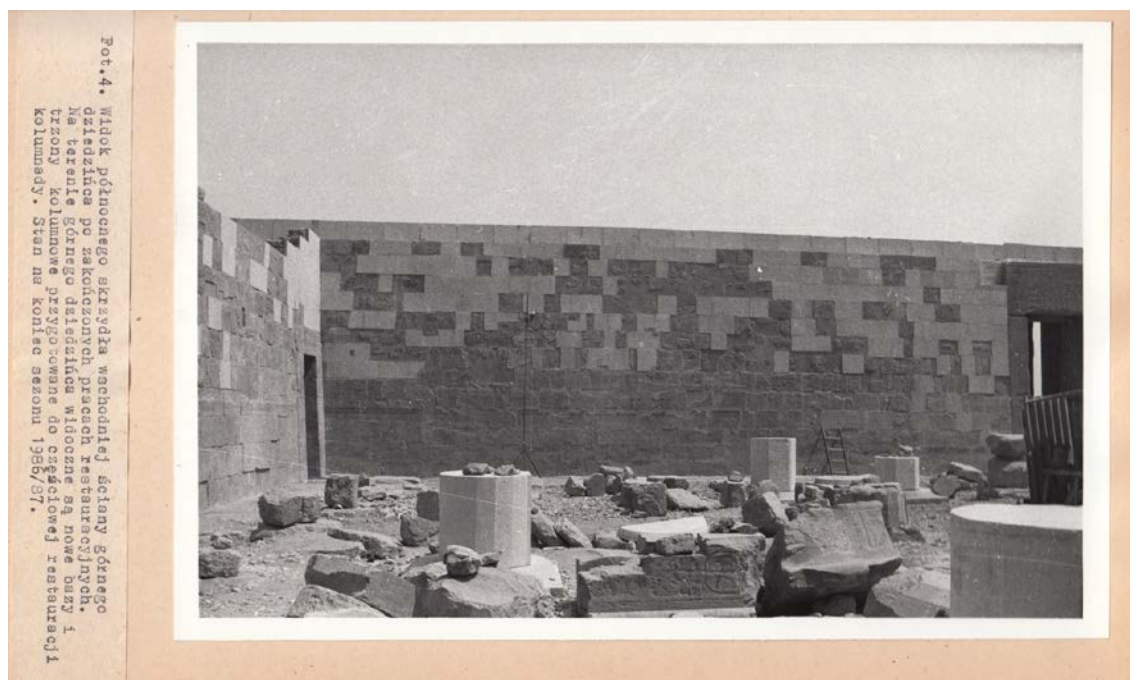


Fig. 35. The north wing of the east wall with the filling of artificial stone slabs, season 1986/1987 (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH\_1986\_1987\_Spr\_12\_4).

32).<sup>75</sup> The transport of bricks took place with the help of wheelbarrows and electric lifts. All works were supervised by a foreman, Wincenty Surzyn, and an architect, Połozanin. Meanwhile, the filling of the face of the wall with the artificial stone slabs was undertaken (Fig. 33). In that time several fragments were added to the reconstruction from Scene 1,<sup>76</sup> Scene 3.11,<sup>77</sup> Scene 4.1,<sup>78</sup> and Scene 4.4.<sup>79</sup>

According to the report by Wysocki, in the 1983/1984 season 18 blocks were replaced in the wall.<sup>80</sup>

The plans for the 1984/1985 season assumed building in about 50 blocks and block fragments in the north wing of the east wall (Fig. 34).<sup>81</sup> However, during the reconstruction works it appeared that there were some problems with their placement. Therefore, only 36 blocks and block fragments from different scenes were finally placed in the wall.<sup>82</sup> At the same time, 4 m<sup>2</sup> of the facing of the wall with prefabricated limestone slabs was executed and 28 slabs covered the places where blocks had most likely been missing.<sup>83</sup>

The reconstruction of the wall was finished in the 1986/1987 season. In this period, the mission, according to Wysocki, restored 65 fragments of blocks and 25 blocks in the upper register of the wall, mainly from the

75 Wysocki, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1976/77*, 12, Figs 8–9.

76 Cat. nos 4, 5, 8 and 10.

77 Cat. no. 143.

78 Cat. nos 107 and 108.

79 Cat. no. 118.

80 Wysocki, *Sprawozdanie z działalności Polsko-Egipskiej Misji 1983/1984*, 16–17. Only one number of block can be identified: Cat. no. 68.

81 Wysocki, *Deir el-Bahari, Saisons 1982–1985*, 460.

82 According to Wysocki, 36 blocks and blocks fragments were built in the wall (Wysocki, *The preliminary report 1984/1985*, 6; Wysocki, *Sprawozdanie z działalności 1984/1985*, 11), but the comparison of pictures from this season with those from the previous one shows that 40 new elements were added in the 1984/1985 season: Scene 2 (Cat. nos 30, 31, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52), Scene 3.10 (Cat. nos 55, 56, 57, 62, 64, 65, 66, 70, 75, 76, 78), Scene 4.4 (Cat. no. 117), Scene 4.8 (Cat. nos 134, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141), Scene 4.9 (Cat. no. 144), Scene 4.11 (Cat. nos 170, 173), Scene 5 (Cat. nos 196, 200, 201, 202), Scene 6 (Cat. nos 207, 208).

83 Wysocki, *The preliminary report 1984/1985*, 6; Wysocki, *Sprawozdanie z działalności 1984/1985*, 11.

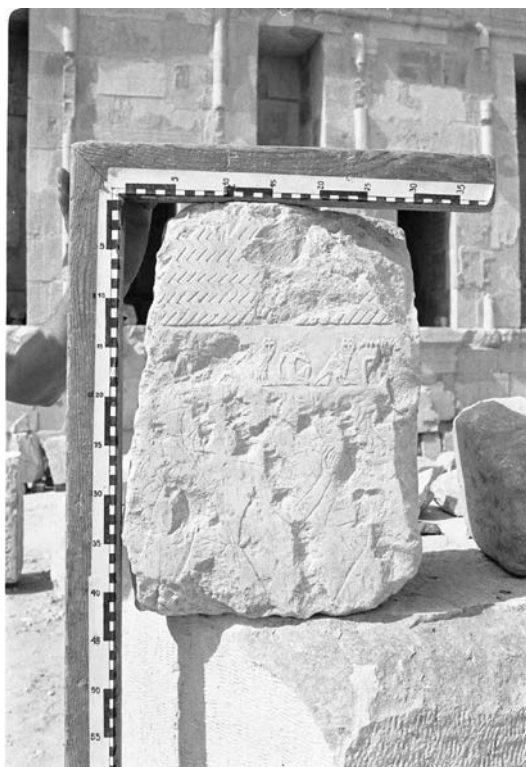


Fig. 36. Block from Scene 4.9 found during the excavations in the Main Sanctuary of Amun; season 1998/1999 (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH\_Skany\_26 (2517)).

upper courses of blocks (Fig. 35).<sup>84</sup> The missing blocks were replaced with the prefabricated limestone slabs recessed in the surface approx. 1 cm<sup>85</sup>

In an unexpected finding, the block with the representation of running official (Cat. no. 142) was excavated during the excavations in the Main Sanctuary of Amun in the 1998/1999 season and was placed in the wall under the supervision of Pawlicki (Fig. 36).<sup>86</sup>

An important stage of the project carried out in the temple was the restoration works and the work increasing the visual effect of the reconstruction, which also covered the east wall. In the 1998/1999 and 1999/2000 seasons, for better visibility of scenes, the missing outlines of the second accompanying bark and the royal bark were carved in the artificial stone by Rajmund Gazda (Fig. 37).<sup>87</sup>

In the 1999/2000 season all walls of the Upper Courtyard were cleaned and conserved (Fig. 38). The cracked plaster was replaced, all the structural fissures and cracks were consolidated and filled in. The deeper holes in the decorated surface of blocks in the walls were covered with the plaster, 1 mm deeper than the original

84 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1986–1988, 474, Fig. 8. On the basis of the comparison of photographs from this season with those from the previous one: Scene 1: Cat. no. 9; Scene 2: Cat. no. 45; Scene 3.3: Cat. no. 54; Scene 3.10: Cat. nos 63, 68, 80, 81, 82; Scene 3.11: Cat. nos 84, 85, 86, 87, 89; Scene 3.12: Cat. nos 95, 96, 97; Scene 3.13: Cat. nos 98, 99, 101; Scene 4.1: Cat. nos 105, 106; Scene 4.2: Cat. no. 109; Scene 4.3: Cat. nos 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116; Scene 4.5: Cat. nos 122, 123; Scene 4.6: Cat. nos 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130; Scene 4.7: Cat. nos 131, 132, 133; Scene 4.8: Cat. nos 135, 136; Scene 4.10: Cat. nos 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169; Scene 4.11: Cat. nos 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182; Scene 4.12: Cat. nos 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195; Scene 5: Cat. nos 197, 198, 199, 203, 204; Scene 6: Cat. nos 205, 206; *kheker*-frieze: Cat. nos 209–243.

85 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1986–1988, 474; Wysocki, The preliminary report 1986/1987, 3; Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności 1986/1987, 18. It is very probable that the reconstruction drawing made by Piotr Dąbrowski, an architect of the mission, and stored in the PCMA UW comes from this season (Deir el Bahari. Świątynia Hatszepsut, Dziedziniec. Ściana wschodnia – odcinek północny 1:10; inv. no. PCMA.3.133).

86 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari 1998/1999, 166, Fig. 10, the number not given.

87 Gazda, Deir el-Bahari, 171; Szafrński, Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000, 192.

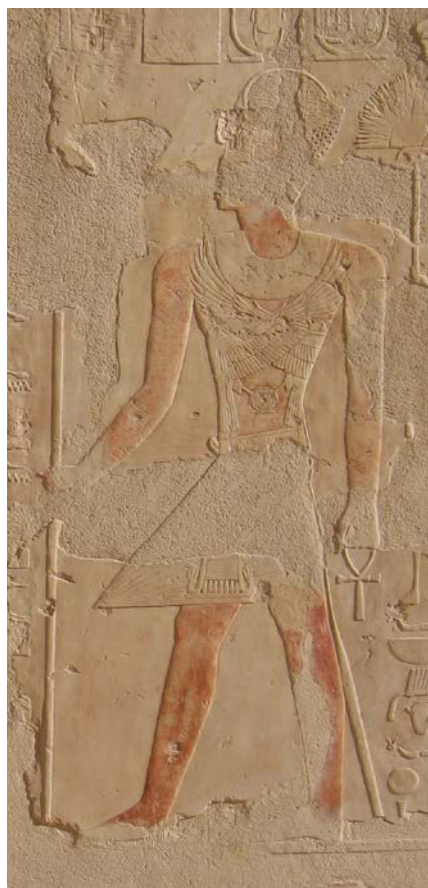


Fig. 37. Outlines of missing parts of decoration carved in the artificial stone (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 38. Fragments of blocks from Scene 4.4 during conservation, season 1999/2000 (PCMA UW | inv. no. DBAH\_skany\_6\_34 (9)).

surface.<sup>88</sup> The colour of the walls' plastering was unified to resemble in colour and texture the visual properties of limestone.<sup>89</sup> The surface of the walls was covered with mineral putties.<sup>90</sup> Some of the artificial slabs, used by Wysocki to give the impression of the wall structure with the division into blocks, were removed.<sup>91</sup> During the cleaning of the wall, *Dipinto* 1 in Scene 3.12 was discovered on the wall and conserved.<sup>92</sup>

88 Gazda, *Conservation Work*, 207. The mortar composition: white cement, powdered limestone, sand and mineral pigment in proportion: 1 : 1.2 : 2 : 0.3–0.5, the mineral fractions ranged from 0.15 mm to 1 mm of grain size.

89 To create the patina on new blocks and unify the colour of the wall, the plaster and putties with transparent paint on a silicaorganic base – Funcosil Silicon Pulverfarbe (Remmers) and Silica-organic paint Funcosil LA (Remmers) were used.

90 Gazda, *Conservation Work*, 206–207.

91 Szafrński, *Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000*, 192; Gazda, *Conservation Work*, 210.

92 Szafrński, *Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000*, 192. See below, pp. 304–305.



# CHAPTER 5. DECORATION

## METHODS OF DOCUMENTATION

### DOCUMENTATION PROCESS

The scenes of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard were recorded *in situ* using the standard methods introduced and described by Karkowski, although the further steps differ.<sup>1</sup> They were traced at a scale of 1:1 directly from the wall on a transparent plastic film 0.1 mm thick, max. 90 cm wide and 3 m long using permanent thin markers of different colours for different types of lines. The contour lines of the original relief surface, relief, restoration relief, destructed surface and colour traces were marked in different colours. The next step was scanning the plastic films, still on the original scale. Once the drawings were scanned, they were redrawn in CorelDraw software, in the original scale with preservation of the introduced division to the line types which were reflected in layers of drawings.

### CORRECTION OF DRAWINGS

Errors arising in the process of drawing are natural and must be corrected. They result mainly from the light used during the process of documentation, scanner standard errors, the technique of connecting scans as well as human mistakes. It is impossible to eliminate them completely, but the knowledge on their appearance lets one avoid making the most obvious ones, and modern techniques give tools to reduce them maximally.

The first step was the choice of the source of light. The experience shows that the best results can be achieved by using the natural light with help of the artificial light when needed as well as a mirror, which let direct the natural light in the desired direction. This was very important because of changes in decoration attested during the different historical periods, which are almost invisible without properly lightening them.

It is impossible to avoid scanner standard errors, but photo scanning of the wall compared with its 3d laser scanning helped to correct errors made during the process of scanning and of connecting plastic film scans.

The worse mistakes belong to the last category of human mistakes, one can include here lack of knowledge and experience, lack of skills as well as tiredness and distraction. To avoid most of this type of errors, some necessary remedies have been taken. Drawings were initially checked during the process of creation. They were next corrected three times *in situ* in different seasons to achieve different light and due to the level of experience of the draughtsperson which increased constantly. Some additional drawings were done, scanned, redrawn and connected with the previously prepared drawings during the process of correcting. Eventually, the final drawings were compared with the photo scanning results and additional corrections were made.

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<sup>1</sup> Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 131.



Fig. 39. *Dado*-frieze with preserved colours red and yellow (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## GENERAL DESCRIPTION

Originally, the north wing of the east wall was planned as a wall limiting the colonnade of the Upper Courtyard from the east. This portico was covered with a roof, therefore, the wall was decorated in raised relief and painted with colours. The shape of the wall was trapezoidal, which was caused by the shape of the north wall of the Upper Courtyard, wider at the base and narrower at the top.<sup>2</sup>

The wall was reconstructed of 342 blocks and fragments of blocks in a different state of preservation, 66 blocks and fragments of blocks have never been removed from the wall. Lower parts of the wall, which survived the earthquake and the historical changes *in situ*, are almost complete but higher parts are much worse preserved and lack many blocks. The colour of reliefs almost disappeared exposed during hundreds of years to everyday sunlight and rains hitting Egypt regularly. The only well-preserved colours today are red and yellow which were applied directly to the stone without a whitewash (Fig. 39). Other colours can be seen only on these fragments which fell down from the wall and were buried in the ground.

Decoration starts at the height of 142.5 cm and continues to the full height of the wall. Lower parts were most probably left whitewashed.<sup>3</sup>

The style of reliefs is typical for the early Thutmose era. Figures are slim and the details of faces, costumes as well as other elements of scenes are very precisely prepared. It must be mentioned, however, that

<sup>2</sup> See above, Chapter 2. Architecture, pp. 6–7.

<sup>3</sup> Lower parts of the walls in the temple of Hatshepsut were painted white or black in different parts of the temple. E.g. in the Punt Portico, the wall below a *dado*-frieze was painted black (unpublished, some blocks are still painted black today).

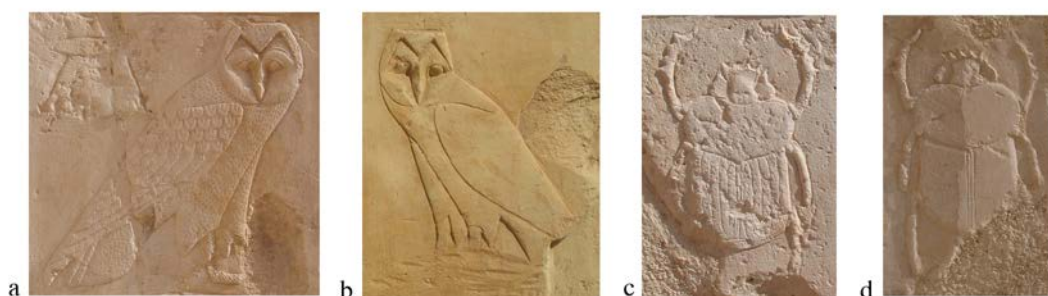


Fig. 40. Comparison of signs from the north wall (a, c) and north wing of the east wall (b, d) of the Upper Courtyard (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

the quality of decoration of this wall is different than this of the north and west walls, with fewer details carved (Fig. 40). It seems impossible that these walls were prepared in two different periods, though the explanation can be deduced in the way of organisation of work in that period: there were always two groups of workmen employed, maybe then the east wall was decorated by the group of less skilled craftsmen and the north and west walls were prepared at the same time by better artisans.

## PREPARATION OF DECORATION

The preparatory work<sup>4</sup> was executed with mallets and chisels, traces of which are still visible in many places of the wall (Fig. 41). The next step was to smooth the face of the wall and then to polish it to be ready for applying grid lines painted with red paint. Remains of such grids can be still found on the wall, especially in the representation of the Nile procession scene (scene 3) (Fig. 42). Using grids, the contour painter (*sš-ḳd*) painted decoration lines. Then the sculptors entered engraving the reliefs, some parts were carved by less skilled artisans, therefore, masters corrected reliefs, and again results of such activity can be found on the wall (Fig. 43a-b). On the other hand, we know that there were paints applied directly on the prepared surface of the stone (Fig. 44) and others that required the layer of whitewash below that (Fig. 45). Judging from how precise the lines painted on whitewash sometimes were, one can expect that in these parts the master applied colours as well as a whitewash. In the lower part of the wall, below *dado*-frieze, the whitewash covered the whole surface painted directly on the stone. Traces of black



Fig. 41. Traces of chisel from the time of preparation of the wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>4</sup> General description of the preparation process attested at the temple of Hatshepsut is given in: Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1, 32–35.



Fig. 42. Traces of red grid on one of auxiliary ships in the lower register of the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 43. Corrections of the relief made by master in the lower register of the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

colour partially preserved (**Fig. 46** and **Pl. 6**) show the level of fire that is attested on the Upper Courtyard as well as in some other rooms around.<sup>5</sup>

Almost nothing can be said about workers and artisans employed for the preparation of decoration of the temple. On the north wing of the east wall, however, the name of one of the workers was written together with short information giving the day date: *Sn.j-nfr sw 20* (**Fig. 47**).<sup>6</sup> The detailed study unveiled that his

5 E.g. Southern and Northern Rooms of Amun (personal observation, unpublished).

6 See below, Chapter 6. *Graffito* and *dipinti*, p. 304 (*Dipinto* 1).



Fig. 44. Red applied directly on the wall, without whitewash, upper register of the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



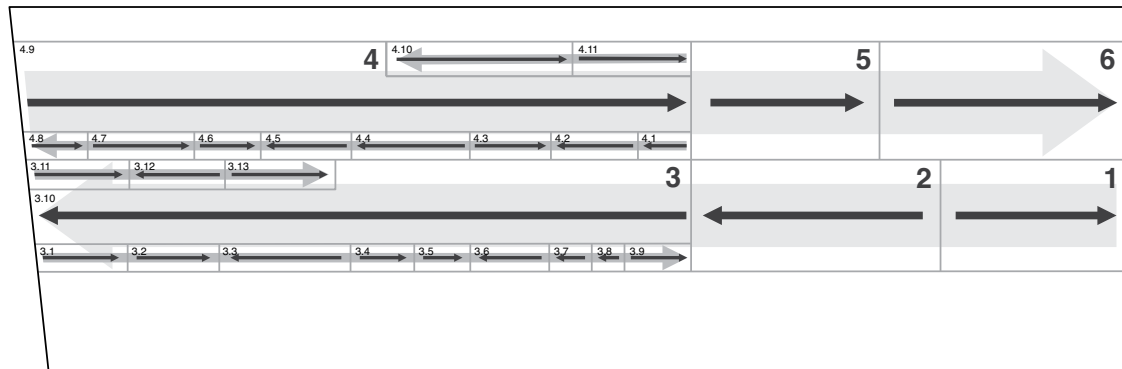
Fig. 45. Colours applied on whitewash, upper register of the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 46. Lower, south part of the north wing of the east wall with black traces left by fire (IMOC PAS and PCMA UW | phot. M. Caban).



Fig. 47. *Dipinto* of Seninefer from the lower register of the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).






-  General direction of the register
-  General direction of the subregister
-  Direction of the scene

Fig. 48. Scheme of decoration of the north wing of the east wall, numbers of scenes are given in right corners, light grey: general direction of the scene, dark grey: real direction of reading of sub-registers (drawing J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 49. Style of execution of *kheker*-frieze, upper register of the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

name, Seninefer, was known, most probably, from his activity in preparation of Senenmut's tomb TT 71.<sup>7</sup> It seems possible that his work was to smear with plaster,<sup>8</sup> or to smooth and lay plaster.<sup>9</sup> It is important to notice that the location of this *dipinto* on the background of the relief, between the legs of the soldier, suggests that his work was done after reliefs were prepared but before colours were painted. The date given in the *dipinto* mentions day 20, i.e. probably the 20<sup>th</sup> day of the month. This was a typical way for scribes to note the progress of work on the wall, such records at the temple of Hatshepsut are also known from the building *dipinti*.<sup>10</sup>

## COMPOSITION OF DECORATION

Scenes represented on the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard are divided into two registers: the upper and lower ones and each of them is partially divided into sub-registers placed in the northern part of the wall below and above the main parts of the scenes (Fig. 48).<sup>11</sup>

The lower register is about 1.77 m high and 17.2 cm long in the upper part and 17 m long in the lower part. According to the analysis of the decoration, it seems that scenes should be read from south to north (i.e. from

<sup>7</sup> Iwaszczuk, *The Works of Seninefer*, 39–46.

<sup>8</sup> *Wb.* I, 40.6; TLA (31. October 2012) DZA 20.297.690.

<sup>9</sup> Iwaszczuk, *The Works of Seninefer*, 42–45.

<sup>10</sup> Wieczorek, *Building dipinti*, 285–289; Wieczorek, *Some Remarks on the Dates in the Building-Dipinti*, 207–211, Figs 105–107; Wieczorek, *Observations on building dipinti*, 214–218; Wieczorek, *Building dipinti 2007/2008*, 203–211; Wieczorek, *Summarising four seasons of work*, 49–57; Wieczorek, *The Building Dipinti Documentation Project*, 139–147.

<sup>11</sup> Dąbrowska-Smektała, *Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall*, 65–78; Gartkiewicz, *On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, 47–64; Karkowski, *The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, 359–364.

Fig. 50. Lower south corner block with block border frieze, lower register of the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



right to left, cf. **Fig. 48**). Three main scenes were depicted there: offerings in Karnak, transportation of the portable bark of Amun to the river and the Nile procession. The two first scenes have the full height of the register, the Nile procession is divided into three sub-registers with the main scene in the middle, the lower sub-register covering the whole length of the scene and the upper sub-register which is placed above two accompanying river barks. Although the lower register as a whole should be in general read from south to north (i.e. from right to left), the scene of the riverine procession most probably must be read from north to south (i.e. from left to right, **Fig. 48**). The main scene of the Nile procession is composed of four ships: two accompanying barks, the royal bark, and the river bark of Amun, Userhat, all turned north (i.e. left). In the upper sub-register the butchery scene, offerings and processions of soldiers were portrayed, in the lower one, the same scenes were composed together with scenes of carrying the royal thrones and leading two cheetahs.

The upper register measures 1.75 m of height and 17.2 m of length in the lower part and 17.3 m in the upper part. The direction of decoration is opposite to the lower register and scenes must be read from north to south (i.e. from left to right, **Fig. 48**). This part is also divided into three main scenes: riverine procession, an offering of incense and offerings before ithyphallic Amun. Similarly to the lower register, also the riverine procession represented in the upper register is divided into three sub-registers and again, it must be read against the main direction of the decoration of the upper register, i.e. from south to north (i.e. from left to right, **Fig. 48**). The composition of all three registers seems to be the same as in the lower register.

The decoration is composed inside a block border-frieze that surrounds the whole wing of the wall from three sides: north (i.e. left), upper and south (i.e. right) sides. The upper register is crowned with a *kheker*-frieze (**Fig. 49**) and the *dado*-frieze is carved below the lower register (**Fig. 39**).

The *dado*-frieze, block border-frieze and *kheker*-frieze were usually treated the same way. They decorate less important parts of the wall and were prepared with lesser accuracy, usually in shallow relief on a worse prepared surface.

The *dado*-frieze closed the wall decoration from the bottom. It is almost completely preserved in the north part and only very partially preserved under the two first scenes. In total 23 blocks and two block fragments bear this type of decoration. This kind of frieze is a very simple one, consists of two stripes: yellow at the bottom and red at the top, limited with black narrower bands.<sup>12</sup> The size of this element of decoration differs depending on the part of the temple. On the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Terrace, the width of the whole frieze is between 18 and 19 cm, the width of black bands is 1.7–2 cm. The red and yellow stripes are not equal, the red one is narrower, i.e. the width of the red stripe is from 5.5 to 6.5 cm and the yellow one from 8 to 8.5 cm.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. also: Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 5; Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 136, 143, 148, 153, 157, 227, 235, 236.



Fig. 51. Upper north corner block with block border frieze, upper register of the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

A block border frieze is preserved on only one block from the south (right) side of the wall and three blocks on the north (left) side. Sixteen fragments of blocks reconstructed in the upper part of the wall decoration contains elements of this frieze, one of them being a corner fragment. The width of the frieze is 8.5 cm with parallel lines 2 cm width and sequence 5.5–6 cm long. The frieze represents a band of two parallel lines and between them, the sequence of transverse three stripes separated from another group with a rectangle. On these walls of the temple where colours are well preserved (e.g. in the Southern Room of Amun, the Upper Shrine of Anubis, the Lower Shrine of Anubis etc.), the sequence of colours in rectangles is as follows: green, yellow, blue and red. The colours of parallel lines are always the same: black, white and black.<sup>13</sup> Because sometimes this sequence is reversed (e.g. in the Bark Hall and the Statue Room of the Main Sanctuary of Amun, niche A of the Hypostyle Hall of the Lower Shrine of Anubis etc.), it is difficult to

reconstruct here colours of the block border-frieze. On the south fragment of the north wing of the east wall, colours disappeared entirely (Fig. 50), on the north blocks some delicate traces of green colour are detectable on two parallel lines, blue is preserved on the surface between block boeder-frieze and the corner of the wall (Fig. 51).<sup>14</sup> This part was usually painted blue with a black and white chain on it and here it is between 5 and 11 cm wide (narrower at the base of decoration and wider at the top) in the parts where it is possible to measure it. The blue colour is also preserved on some rectangle between sequences of stripes. In the upper part, some traces of black can be found on a stripe forming the sequence (Fig. 52).

The *kheker*-frieze decorated the upper part of the north wing of the east wall and is preserved on three blocks and 38 fragments of blocks. It belongs to the so-called splay-topped form.<sup>15</sup> Its height was 43–45 cm and the width of the separate *kheker*-sign was about 10 cm. The usual colours of this type of frieze, also in the temple of Hatshepsut, were blue (outer), green (middle) and red (inner).<sup>16</sup> Delicate traces of blue and green colours can be seen on some fragments (Fig. 52a), but only on very few fragments, colours are vivid (Fig. 52b). Preserved fragments of the *kheker*-frieze were engraved rather roughly and left unfinished in the upper part. It should be stressed that in the temple Hatshepsut the *kheker*-frieze of this type decorated most of the rooms of the Upper Terrace. The exceptions are niches of the Bark Hall, chapels of the Statue Room, and niches of the Complex of the Solar Cult, where pointed *kheker*-friezes were depicted, the niche of the Upper Shrine of Anubis, where any frieze was carved, as well as the Upper (Coronation) Portico and the Upper Shrine of Anubis, where the cryptogramme frieze of Hatshepsut was represented.

Registers are divided with help of horizontal divisions: *pet*- and *ta*-signs, vertical divisions were also used in the decoration of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard. The vertical lines distinguished most of the scenes, although in some cases they were omitted: there is no division line limiting scenes 2

13 Cf. also: Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 5.

14 Cf. also: Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 4.

15 Kołodko-Dolińska, Studies on the Kheker Frieze, 42–46.

16 Kołodko-Dolińska, Studies on the Kheker Frieze, 42.



Fig. 52. Block border frieze with preserved traces of black (a); painted *kheker*-frieze (b) from the north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 53. Fragment of block with preserved traces of black colour on *ta*-sign, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 54. Well preserved traces of the background, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

and 3 in the lower register, but most probably this is the fault of restorers, lines were never applied in upper and lower sub-registers.

Each register is closed by the *pet*-sign. When colours are preserved, it is painted blue with yellow stars on it.<sup>17</sup> However, the *pet*-sign in the case of the north wing of the east wall is attested only on 28 blocks and fragments of blocks closing the lower register and 12 blocks and fragments of blocks closing the upper register. It measures 5.8–6.2 cm of thickness in different sections of the lower register and 6–6.4 cm in different sections of the upper register. Except for registers, the *pet*-sign closed also Scenes 3.10 and 4.10, i.e. the water procession of four ships above two accompanying barks. It measured then 3.6–3.9 cm of thickness in the upper and 3.5–3.3 cm in the lower register respectively. In all cases, it is almost completely washed out of colours; only in some places delicate traces of blue colour are detectable (Fig. 53).

Contrary to the *pet*-sign, which is represented in every register, the *ta*-sign is not represented when *dado*-frieze appears. It was also not respected in the case of post-Amarna restorations when figures were striding directly on *pet*-signs of the lower register. Its dimensions vary: in the lower register its thickness is between 0.7 and 1.15 cm, the lower *ta*-sign in the upper register is 1.3–1.6 cm thick and the upper one in the same register is 0.75–0.9 cm thick, which means that these very narrow, long parts of the decoration, were not precisely determined and executed by hand, without the use of the grid. *Ta*-sign was always painted black, but the north wing of the east wall is almost completely deprived of colour in all *ta*-signs' representations. Some delicate traces of black can be seen on only one block (Fig. 54).

The traces of the background colour of the representations are preserved on several fragments of blocks. It is then possible to reconstruct the blueish-grey of the background of the whole wall (Fig. 55).

## MODIFICATIONS OF THE DECORATION

The wall has undergone numerous modifications at different times. It was decorated under Hatshepsut, and soon after, during the reign of Thutmose III, figures and titulary of the queen were changed to inscriptions

<sup>17</sup> Cf. e.g. Upper Shrine of Anubis (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pls 9–16; Witkowski, *Les Chapelles d'Anubis 1*); Solar Cult Complex (Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 19, 19bis, 41, 41bis, 42, 42bis); Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor I*, Pls 2, 5–17, 23–25, 29–32, 37, 39–41; Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pls 21, 22).



Fig. 55. Figure of Hatshepsut replaced with an inscription, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 56. Figure of Hatshepsut replaced with an offering table, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 57. Figure and names of Hatshepsut carefully erased, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 58. Traces of Hatshepsut's *atef*-crown replaced with an offering table, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

(Fig. 56), offering tables (Fig. 57) or erased in a careful way (Fig. 58).<sup>18</sup> Traces of chisels are very characteristic of the reign of Thutmose III (Fig. 59).

During the Amarna period, the representations of gods and barks of Amun suffered very severe destructions and chiseling out. Especially barks of Amun were removed brutally with a deep blow of the wide chisel (Fig. 60). Depictions of gods were usually treated better (Fig. 61) but were also erased completely. On the contrary to the modifications made by workers of Thutmose III, nothing can be seen now from the original decoration damaged during the Amarna period.

The reliefs erased by the Amarna iconoclasts have been reconstructed in the post-Amarna period. Nothing can be said precisely about the date of this restoration, there are only some pieces of evidence that can help in the understanding of this action. Seti I as well as Ramesses II restored a lot

of monuments. In all of them, they left their restoration inscriptions.<sup>19</sup> Seti I's inscriptions are not attested in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari,<sup>20</sup> on the contrary, restoration inscriptions of Ramesses II are widely spread in the porticos of the temple.<sup>21</sup> One of his inscriptions is even preserved on the column of the Upper Courtyard.<sup>22</sup> However, no inscriptions of this king were documented on the walls of the courtyard. It seems

<sup>18</sup> Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 155–166. It is important to mention that this part of the temple was treated in a different way than other parts, with reliefs representing Hatshepsut replaced with Thutmose II or erased. In the Main Sanctuary of Amun (e.g. Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pls CXL, CXLI) and the Sanctuary of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, Pls XXXIX–XLI), figures of the queen were not removed and only her names were replaced mainly with the names of Thutmose II.

<sup>19</sup> Brand, The Monuments of Seti I, 45–118; Józefowicz, Ramesside Restorations.

<sup>20</sup> Dedia, who was responsible for restoration of monuments during the reign of Seti I, did not mention Deir el-Bahari on his statue found in the *Cachette de Karnak* (<https://www.ifao.egnet.net/bases/cachette/ck191>). For a commentary on this document, see Biston-Moulin, Un nouvel exemplaire, 33, n. 67. I would like to thank Sébastien Biston-Moulin for this information.

<sup>21</sup> For Ramesses II's restoration inscriptions in the temple of Hatshepsut, see e.g. Karkowski, The Prospects for Projects of Further Restoration in Hatshepsut's Temple, Fig. 1 (Upper Portico); Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pls 46–50, 52 (Birth Portico); Józefowicz, Ramesside Restorations.

<sup>22</sup> Karkowski, The Decoration of the Upper Court Columns, 38, Fig. 1.

Fig. 59. Still preserved Amarna period erasures of the Userhat, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

that he did not restore this part of the temple and the reason was that it had already been reconstructed when Ramesses II started his programme of restoration. Therefore, two other candidates must be taken into consideration: Horemheb and Tutankhamun. Horemheb's cryptogramme name can be found in the naos decorating the bark of Amun depicted in the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun.<sup>23</sup> It should be underlined that Horemheb is famous for signing with his name the restoration work done by Tutankhamun.<sup>24</sup> Tutankhamun was the one who started the restoration action after the Amarna destructions, the fact is known from his restoration stelae.<sup>25</sup> In the Hatshepsut temple, an interesting restoration was done on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard – in its southernmost part of the lower register (**Fig. 61a**). The original reliefs are impossible to re-



construct, the scene shows priests using a blower to light a flame under a burning offering. It is very similar to the reliefs of the Opet Festival known from the Luxor temple (**Fig. 61b**).<sup>26</sup> This kind of scene is attested in the Amarna period<sup>27</sup> and disappears soon after. Therefore, the type of scene, style of reconstruction, the similarity with the Luxor temple colonnade wall decorated by Tutankhamun can be the important indications to date the restoration executed on the east wall of the Upper Courtyard. It seems to be especially true in the case of the south wing of the east wall, which was decorated with scenes of the Opet Festival, but the style of reconstruction looks the same in both wings of the east wall. Another argument is the restoration of scenes of the procession of the portable bark of Amun. The bark is accompanied by the procession of priests with

23 Pawlicki, *The Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re*, 11 [upper left], 13. There is a discussion here as to the date of the reconstruction of the bark: Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 334.

24 Biston-Moulin, *Un nouvel exemplaire*, 24–25, 30; *The Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet*, XVII.

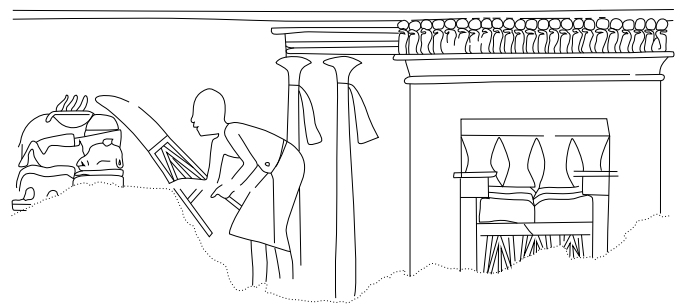
25 Biston-Moulin, *Un nouvel exemplaire*, 23–38 and references therein.

26 *The Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet*, Pls 35, 38, 39, 40, 63, 64, 66, 67.

27 Cf. Martin, *Royal Tomb at El-'Amarna*, Pl. 34.



Fig. 60. Khonsu carved in the post-Amarna period, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



b.

a.

Fig. 61. Priests using a blower to light a flame under a burning offering: a. south wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk); b. Luxor temple colonnade (after: *The Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet*, Pl. 38; digitised by J. Iwaszczuk).

liturgical objects. We can find the same objects surrounding the representation of the bark of Amun in the colonnade hall of the Luxor temple decorated during the reign of Tutankhamun.<sup>28</sup>

Some additions to the decoration of the north wing of the east wall may suggest that the decoration was changed after its restoration. No date can be established with certainty, however, the elements added to the

<sup>28</sup> *The Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet*, Pl. 7; see below, pp. 85–91, 102, 289–291.

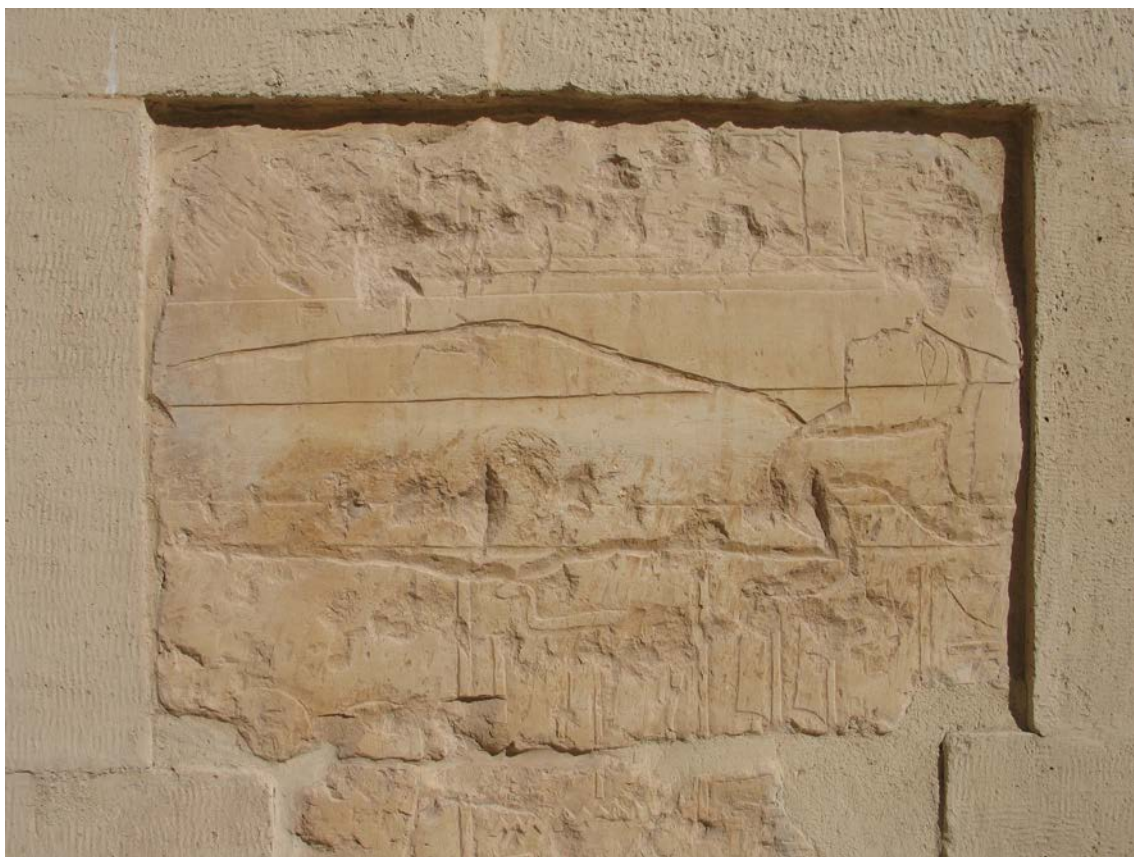


Fig. 62. Khonsu engraved in the Third Intermediate Period, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

decoration, a fan and a bouquet, are represented this way in the Ramesside period.<sup>29</sup> Taking into account the presence of Ramesses II in the decoration of the Upper Terrace (his name appears in the Upper Portico and on one of the columns of the Upper Courtyard),<sup>30</sup> it can be an indication to date these changes to his reign.

One block from the north wing of the east wall (**Fig. 62**) was reused in other monument built most probably during the Third Intermediate Period when this part of the temple served as a necropolis for higher officials' and priests' families.<sup>31</sup>

The last period of destruction of the decoration can be dated, most probably, to the Coptic period. These actions of vandalism may also show how high the wall was preserved at that time. Copts probably saw pagan divinities in most of the human representations, therefore, they used narrow chisels to destroy faces first of all (**Fig. 63**), as well as body parts connections dismembering the figures by cutting their elbows, knees etc. (**Fig. 64**).

It must be added that the measurements of the chisel marks, especially from the Amarna period, were taken according to the method described by Patryk Chudzik,<sup>32</sup> but they must be treated with reserve as the wall was in most cases prepared for the new decoration, so, the borders of chisel marks could be polished. The differences in the size of chisel marks are also an effect of their execution. The destruction of the wall

29 See below, Chapter 5. Scene 2, pp. 82–83.

30 Unpublished, personal observation.

31 Barwik, *New data concerning the Third Intermediate Period cemetery*, 122–130; Barwik, *Third Intermediate Period cemetery*, 387–398. See above, Chapter 3. *History of the destruction of the north wing of the east wall*, p. 13 and **Figs 5, 62**.

32 Chudzik, *An introduction*, 30–31.



Fig. 63. Face of a butcher destroyed most probably by the Copts, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

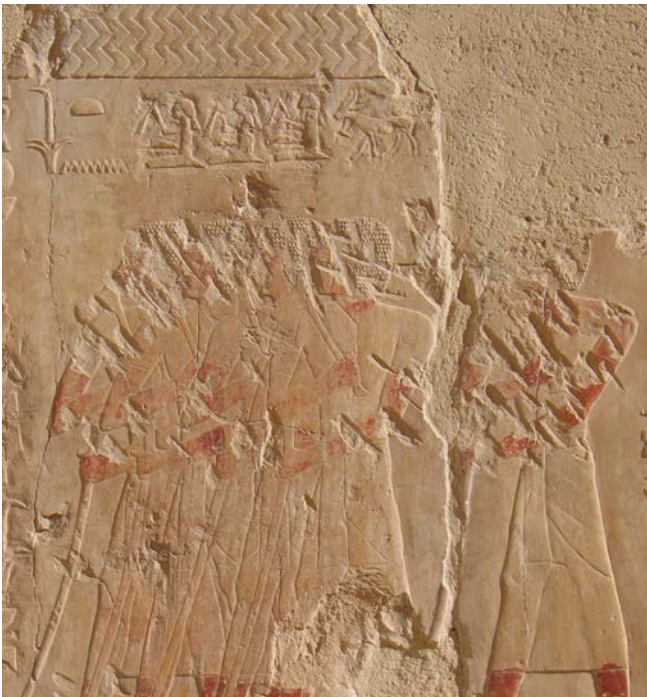


Fig. 64. Faces and elbows of royal officials destroyed most probably by the Copts, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 65. Reconstruction of Ra-Horakhte figure, Lower Shrine of Anubis, Vestibule, north wall (IMOC PAS and PCMA UW | phot. M. Jawornicki).

was done in hurry, the huge areas had to be removed during the Amarna period, as all temples' decoration in Thebes suffered from this action. Therefore, the chisel's hits were not precisely applied (Fig. 65).

## METHODS OF PRESENTATION

### PRESENTATION OF DOCUMENTATION

Documentation presented here comes from the archives of two institutions: the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences and the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw as well as from several institutions around the world. It is used here in several ways. First of all, archive and modern photographs and drawings illustrate the text inside the book. Information concerning the source of photographs and drawings as well as copyrights is supplemented by the data concerning the authorship of the photograph/drawing and a short description of representation. The list of figures is given also separately at the end of the book.

The documentation, mostly the archive one, is also used in the catalogue of blocks. Any kind of information that is stored in the archives and cannot be achieved in any other way was used here: data concerning the date of recognition and replacement in the wall, size, special marks on the blocks, archive photographs and drawings of loose blocks and fragments of blocks before their replacement in the wall etc. Information about the source of the photograph is given in the description. The description is completed with references to publications and the citations inside the book.

In Chapter 6. *Graffito* and *dipinti*, the presentation of each *graffito* and *dipinto* is pictured with a photograph and drawing.

The plates placed at the end of the book are the final presentation of documentation in the book. They are prepared with two types of documentation: drawings and photographs. The presentation of the contents of scenes is composed of two plates: the plate with the drawing and a plate with photographs superimposed on the drawing. This way the reader can see the interpretation of the representation in a form of a drawing and has a chance to compare it with the more impartial source of information, i.e. photographs. On the drawings, the phases of decoration are marked with colours and they are correlated with the phases of inscriptions quoted in the text, black lines are used to mark the original decoration, blue lines – for decoration from the sole reign of Thutmose III and red lines – for the post-Amarna reconstructions. All drawings and pictures in this part of the book were prepared by the author. The list of plates is given also separately at the end of the book.

## PRESENTATION OF INSCRIPTIONS

Hieroglyphs, as well as transliterations and translations, are marked in the texts with colours differentiated according to the time of execution:

<i>Mn-hpr-R</i> <sup>c</sup>	original text,
<i>Mn-hpr-R</i> <sup>c</sup>	text changed by Thutmose III,
<i>Mn-hpr-R</i> <sup>c</sup>	post-Amarna reconstruction.

Transliteration is done according to James P. Allen<sup>33</sup> with some modifications. Dots are used to distinguish feminine and plural endings. If the text contains more than one line or column, its number is given in a bracket. At the beginning of every column and line, the direction of the text is given:

columns:

- (←↓) for hieroglyphs turned left,
- (↓→) for hieroglyphs turned right,

lines

- (←) for hieroglyphs turned left,
- (→) for hieroglyphs turned right.

Brackets are used to mark the completion of the text:

- (...) for reconstruction of elements usually omitted, e.g. 1<sup>st</sup> person singular pronoun,
- [...] for lacunas and reconstruction of the text based on analogies and size of the destroyed or unpreserved surface.

Ellipsis marks lost fragments if sure reconstruction is impossible, with commentary giving the number of sign groups if possible.

The inscriptions are presented in detail. Their description contains information about the style of reliefs, their presentation with or without the division lines, the remarks concerning alterations applied in the texts. The width of groups of signs for inscriptions in columns and the height of groups of signs for inscriptions in lines are given in the description of inscriptions. This information is essential for justification for the reconstruction of reliefs and shows the spots of measurements taken while searching the missing blocks and blocks fragments. The description of inscriptions gives also the state of preservation, which was useful for block searches and can be meaningful for later interpretation. The data about the colours preserved on hieroglyphs are also included in the description. The detailed descriptions serve to justify the reconstruction.

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33 Allen, Middle Egyptian, *passim*.

## PRESENTATION OF SCENES

The proper description is divided into three different descriptions according to the time of alterations: original decoration, decoration of Thutmose III and decoration of the post-Amarna period. This description is accompanied by the description of different periods of destruction: the Amarna period and the Coptic times to give the impression of the decoration in every period when any type of changes was introduced.

The commentaries followed the descriptions are limited to the technical problems of the reconstruction, dating of the representations and recognition of the depictions. In this volume, only the reliefs inside the temple of Hatshepsut are discussed to show how internally coherent is the program of decoration of the temple. All other problems, and especially the comparison with the representations from other temples and tombs, the ideological issues, etc. and the interpretation of scenes will be studied in volume 3.

The descriptions are enriched in analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut and are listed separately to let the reader the possibility of comparing scenes inside the temple. The presentation finishes with references to publications of the scenes or the elements of the scenes if this is possible.

## LOWER REGISTER

### SCENE 1. HATSHEPSUT AND THUTMOSE III PRAISING/OFFERING TO AMUN(?)/THEBAN TRIAD IN KARNAK (PLS 2, 2\*, TX. 1–7; CAT. NOS 1–18)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 180 cm; width: 286.5 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is poorly preserved, reconstructed of eleven blocks and seven fragments of blocks set in five layers, big parts of decoration disappeared. The bad state of preservation of the relief is also the result of Thutmose III's alterations, the Amarna period destruction of more than half of the decoration and post-Amarna reconstruction activity. Any colours had almost completely disappeared, only the red on the body of Thutmose III, as well as the red and yellow of the *dado*-frieze, are still visible.

#### Description

##### *Original decoration*

The scene takes place in Karnak and shows Thutmose III (→) and Hatshepsut (→) praising Amun(?) (←), most probably enthroned (**Fig. 66**). A falcon-shape Behdety (→) was depicted above the king, today unpreserved, nothing is left of a similar bird, which could have been expected above Hatshepsut. The rest of the original scene is almost completely erased after two phases of changes of decoration (Amarna and post-Amarna alterations). Some lines are detectable in the place of the possible offering table, although their reconstruction is impossible. There is a fragment of inscription behind the deity as well as traces of some construction below and maybe a narrow socle can be seen at the rightmost part of the scene. The figure of Amun(?) is completely illegible.

##### Behdety

Blocks containing the representation of a figure of Behdety are not preserved. One could have expected Behdety's presence above the king because of an inscription with his name and fragment of his epithets preserved on one fragment of a block (**Fig. 67**), restored during the post-Amarna period. The location as well as the restored inscription suggest a falcon-shape deity floated above the king. Most probably another bird was depicted above Hatshepsut, although its representation has not survived until now.

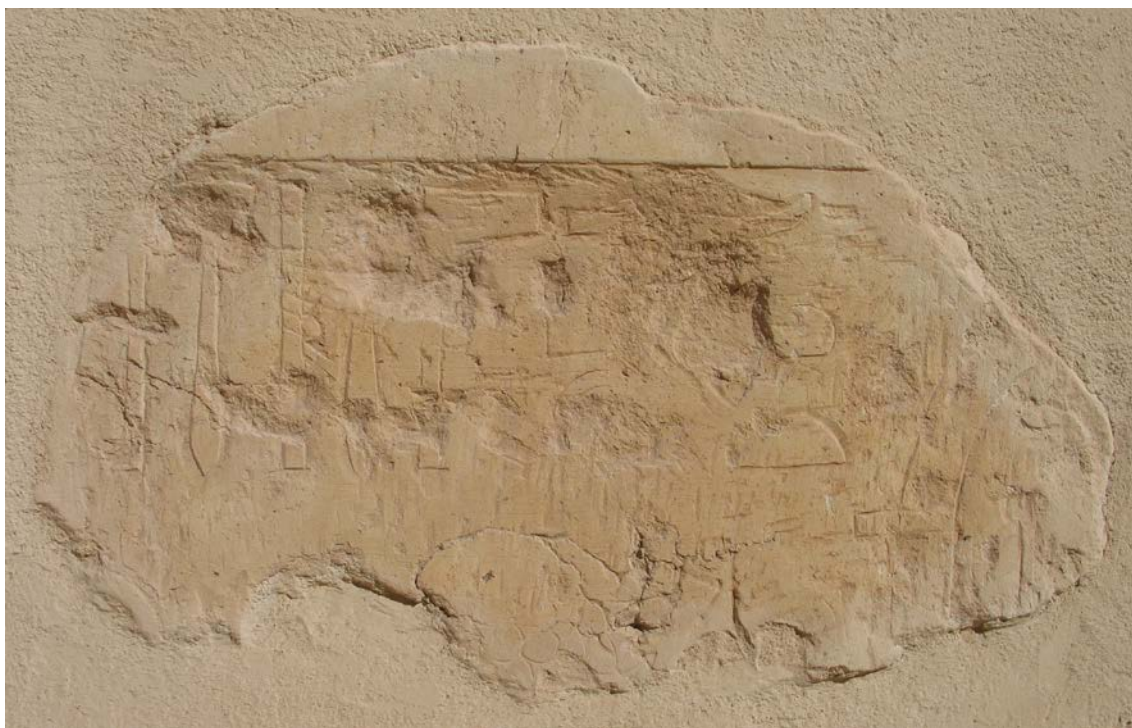


Fig. 66. Inscription containing name and epithets of Behdety, scene 1, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 67. *Atef*-crown of Thutmose III, scene 1, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### Thutmose III

The king is represented facing right, standing with his right hand along the body. Only his upper back part is visible on three blocks depicting his right arm and back side of a torso<sup>34</sup> and his foot can be seen on another block.<sup>35</sup> His head is adorned with an *atef*-crown enriched with two pairs of horns holding a sun disk. It lies on an *ibes*-wig tied with a *seshed*-band (Fig. 67). The king is clad in a falcon jacket and is barefooted. The kilt is not preserved but it seems very probable that he was dressed the same way as Hatshepsut, in a triangle apron. The gesture of the king is not preserved either, although one can expect him to be represented in the same position as Hatshepsut, i.e. in the position of praising god, with both arms along the body. This position can also be reconstructed thanks to the barely preserved inscription in front of the queen. The colours are washed out and the arm of the king is painted red. Above the king, his cartouches, as well as his titulary, are inscribed but only part of it is preserved. Behind the king, a column of an inscription was carved containing wishes for the king.

### Hatshepsut

The figure of Hatshepsut is represented on six blocks and fragments of blocks.<sup>36</sup> She was completely erased, and only some traces of earlier decoration are still visible. The queen is pointing right, the same way as Thutmose III. Not much can be said about her costume; she wears an *atef*-crown, traces of which are still detectable in the upper part (Fig. 58). It is possible that she was dressed the same way as Thutmose III, i.e. in a falcon jacket. Traces of destruction in the shape of a triangle apron are detectable. Her arms, most probably, were placed along the body with palms turned downwards, i.e. in the position proper for praising god. This can be reconstructed based on an inscription carved in front of the queen: *dw3 [ntr] sp [4]* (Tx. 5; Fig. 68).<sup>37</sup> The only possible position in this ritual is the one just described.<sup>38</sup>

### Offering table

The reconstruction of an offering table here is mainly hypothetical. It can be deduced from the space left between Hatshepsut and divinity and is based on a group of lines preserved under the later representation of Amun-Ra.



Fig. 68. Second register, right part, of offerings, traces of an inscription from the reign of Hatshepsut “praising god four times”, scene 1, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

34 Joint of blocks Cat. nos 14, 15, 16 and their location were reconstructed theoretically in the 1965/1966 season (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I).

35 Block left untouched in the wall, not included in the *Catalogue of blocks from lapidaria at Deir el-Bahari* (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I).

36 Joint of blocks Cat. nos 7, 11, 13, 16 and their location were reconstructed theoretically in the 1965/1966 season (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I).

37 This inscription was identified by Karkowski (Karkowski, The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 360; Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 155–156).

38 Cf. below, Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut, p. 73.



Fig. 69. First register of offerings, scene 1, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### Amun

His figure is not preserved, erased with a wide chisel deeply pounded. During the reign of Hatshepsut, the Theban Triad is not attested. It seems much more probable to see here Amun alone<sup>39</sup> although his form is difficult to determine. The two lines suggesting a socle may indicate a shrine behind an ithyphallic form of a god; it cannot be a socle of the god himself because he requires more space behind to accommodate his arm extended backwards. Traces of *d*-sign from word *djet* as an end of the text are detectable.

### *Decoration of Thutmose III*

During the reign of Thutmose III, the general scheme of the scene remained unchanged, but an important alteration had taken place. The figure of Hatshepsut, and in consequence her cartouches and titulary as well as a protective bird above the queen, were carefully erased and replaced with an offering table.<sup>40</sup> It seems that other elements of the scene were left untouched. The style of erasure is very delicate. The space of Hatshepsut's figure was polished and only the lines left by the chisel, can be seen on the surface. The new decoration was carved in the early Thutmoside style and is almost the same as the decoration prepared during the reign of Hatshepsut. The only difference is in the quality of execution, the reliefs from the times of Thutmose III are of worse quality.

<sup>39</sup> According to Karkowski, during the reign of Hatshepsut, Amun was accompanied by Hathor (Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 127).

<sup>40</sup> This practice is attested in other places in the temple of Hatshepsut (Upper Courtyard, north wall: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 167 [212], 168 [213], 169 [224]; Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, scene 6: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [40]; Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 123 [3, 5], 127 [19]; Upper Courtyard, south wall: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 136 [55]; Southern Room of Amun: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 194 [9]; Kapić, *The Southern Room of Amun 1*, 86, 126, Fig. 52, Pl. 5; Solar Cult Complex, Vestibule, south wall: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 223 [4]; Solar Cult Complex, Vestibule, south wall: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 224 [11]), as well as in other temples (e.g. Medinet Habu 18th dynasty temple: *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX*, Pls 36–41, 50–55).

### Offering table

An offering table is represented on four blocks and two fragments of blocks.<sup>41</sup> It is reminiscent of a pile of offerings arranged on the ground and three mats. The part with the stands is higher and the three mats with offerings are of the same height. The lower level consists of two long stands with bowls on which bouquets of flourish lotus flowers are deposited. Another stand was probably depicted on the right, but this block is not preserved. On the left, under a small table with four legs and bars between them, two jars with five natron balls each are portrayed, and on the table, a *nemeset*-vase inserted into the bowl can be seen with bouquets deposited above (Fig. 69).

On a second lower mat, many more offerings are represented. On the right, a pile consisting of two oval loaves of bread with a *t*-bread above, a vertically placed long cucumber, the head of a cow, with a round bread over it, another fruit or vegetable difficult to recognise, and atop them, a dead crane with its head laid on his feet (Fig. 68). The left part is organised around a round offering table with the foot. Below it, four oval loaves of bread are stored, two on each side of a table foot. On it, two geese, a bunch of onions, a bunch of grapes and ribs are shown (Fig. 70).

The third mat is poorly preserved, only fragments of the right and left parts are still visible (Fig. 68). On the right, two long vessels on short stands are pictured, surrounded by stalks of buds of lotus flowers and lettuces between them. On their left side, a small fragment of another stand can be recognised. On the left fragment of the mat, a small offering table of the same shape as on the lower mat with a round vase with a short neck and protruding rim standing it on, around which two flourish lotus flowers were depicted with crossed stalks close to the flowers (Fig. 58).

The uppermost mat is preserved very fragmentarily with an oval loaf of bread and probably a vase on it. Some rests indicate a basket of figs and another vessel surrounded by a stalk of a flower in the right upper part (Fig. 66) and the head of a cow and an oval loaf of bread on the left lower side of the mat (Fig. 58).



Fig. 70. Second register, left part, offerings, scene 1, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### *Destructions of the Amarna period*

The scene was very badly treated during the Amarna period. Half of the scene depicted on five blocks and four fragments of blocks, which most probably contained the representation of a god, maybe Amun, and an offering table, was hammered out very precisely with a chisel, 1.65 cm wide, in a style typical for the destruction of gods' representations of this time. Almost nothing can be recognised of the original scene. The same fate met the name and epithets of a protective bird above the head of Thutmose III.

<sup>41</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 7, 11, 13, 16; fragments of blocks Cat. nos 8, 10. Blocks Cat. nos 7, 11, 13, 16, were reconstructed in the 1965/1966 season; fragments of blocks Cat. nos 8 and 10 were reconstructed in the 1975/1976 season.

### *Decoration of the post-Amarna period*

The scene shows Thutmose III (→) standing in front of a multilayer offerings pile set before the Theban Triad (←). A falcon-shape Behdety (→) is depicted floating above the king. The bird's representation is not preserved but a fragment of a restored inscription mentioning his name and part of his epithets can be seen (Fig. 66). In the shrine, there are Amun and Mut seated on thrones and Khonsu standing behind them. Amun(?), represented there before, was chiseled out during the Amarna period and was replaced with the Theban Triad in a post-Amarna period. The scene was then rearranged with a gods' shrine in the place of the original offering table. The change affected half of a preserved scene, i.e. five blocks and four fragments of blocks. The surface was slightly lowered and roughly polished. Most probably it was levelled with plaster to cover the damages. The new decoration was engraved on the surface, it is very flat and reliefs are prepared in a different style, hieroglyphs are, however, slim and depicted with details.



Fig. 71. Figure of Amun reconstructed in the post-Amarna period, scene 1, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### *Shrine of the Theban Triad*

The shrine was reconstructed of ten blocks and fragment of blocks.<sup>42</sup> It was placed on a trapezoidal socle with a vertical back and sloping front part. It was constructed of two(?) columns in the front part, which supported a roof. The roof was higher in the front part and rounded and lowered in the back part. On the socle two thrones were set, one behind the other and behind them a small socle for Khonsu was located on the ground. Amun-Ra the first and his spouse, Mut, the second, were seated on two thrones. Above Amun-Ra and Mut short inscriptions were carved with their names, epithets and speeches. The inscription above Khonsu as well as the speech of Amun-Ra are not preserved.

Not much is preserved also of the figure of Amun-Ra (Fig. 71). He is turned left, and his head is adorned with the two feathers crown. He also wears a short simple apron and a bull's tail can be seen between his knees. He holds a *was*-staff in his right hand and an *ankh*-sign in his left hand. One column of probably three is preserved containing only his name and a fragment of one of his epithets.

Mut is not preserved, only one block contains the lower part of her figure: the lower part of her legs and a *was*-staff, which she held in her right hand. Above the goddess, three columns of the inscription can be read. They contain her name, epithet and beginning of the speech (Fig. 72).

Khonsu is in a much better state of preservation. His representation is preserved on one block and one fragment of a block. The block depicts the lower part of the god's body, his legs standing on a socle and lower part of a *was*-staff with a *djed*-pillar in its middle part. On the fragment of a block, one can see the central part of his mummy-form body, and both his hands are holding handles of a *was*-staff, a *heka*-sceptre and a *nekhakha*-flail (Fig. 60). On his shoulder, there is a front part of a *menat*-necklace represented. At his head, a curl is hanging.

<sup>42</sup> Joint of blocks Cat. nos 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, and their location were reconstructed in the 1965/1966 season (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I).

### *Later changes in the decoration*

The decoration was left intact probably to the time of the earthquake when this part of the wall collapsed. Some of the blocks were reused. Proof for this is a representation of Khonsu on the upper right block with the *pet*-sign above the scene and the fragment of a scene below it.<sup>43</sup> The relief is flat and roughly and deeply executed with a wide chisel although not without artistic skills.

## Inscriptions

### *General description:*

Inscriptions were carved above and beside all figures represented in the scene and come from two periods of decoration: from the reign of Hatshepsut and the post-Amarna period. They are in a different state of preservation, although none of them is complete. No colours are preserved. The state of preservation results from the period of their creation. Inscriptions from the original decoration are much more precisely prepared with more details, prepared on a polished surface and they have survived much better than those reconstructed in the post-Amarna times. Original inscriptions were carved by the artisans who had time, the surface was specially prepared, and the decoration was neatly sculptured. Hieroglyphs are well shaped, in a characteristic early Thutmose style. Restoration inscriptions were prepared rather quickly, which can be judged by the way the surface was prepared, being roughly levelled with holes necessary to merge the plaster layer with a stone. Hieroglyphs were engraved and not sculptured, the plaster layer was painted with details and the stone was not longer visible.<sup>44</sup>

Four Thutmose inscriptions were inscribed in Scene 1, all carved without separating lines. The size of the hieroglyphs is different in different texts. The first of them (Tx. 5), now almost completely erased, decorated space before Hatshepsut. It was a title of the scene giving the name of the ritual performed in this scene. Only two signs are partially visible, fragments of a star (Gardiner N14) and sign *sp* (Gardiner O50). The hieroglyphs are written in a column and facing right. The width of the group of signs is impossible to establish and neither of the two signs is full-width. The hieroglyphs were precisely polished and replaced with an offering table by workers of Thutmose III.

The second inscription (Tx. 6) is carved above the head of Thutmose III. Not much is preserved, only a fragment of the cartouche with a pronomen and two epithets. The inscription is preserved in two columns,



Fig. 72. Inscription above Mut reconstructed in the post-Amarna period, scene 1, north wing of the east wall (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>43</sup> Block Cat. no. 5. See also above, Chapter 3. History of the destruction of the north wing of the east wall, p. 13.

<sup>44</sup> This kind of reconstruction is still preserved in the Lower Shrine of Anubis (Fig. 27) where plaster did not fall off the wall.

and two more are absent, most probably. Signs are headed right, the width of the group of signs is 9.5 cm. The second column is in worse condition with a cracked surface of a block.

The third text (Tx. 7) is written behind Thutmose III in a column. It is divided into several parts by the horn of a king's crown and by a *seshed*-band, and is also partly preserved. The signs are turned to the right, in the same direction as a king. The width of the group of signs measures 10.3 cm.

The worse preserved inscription from the time of decoration is the text that was originally inscribed behind the god. Traces of it can be seen in the right lower corner of the scene. Only a vertical thick line on the right, which limited the inscription and was a column of a shrine, and a fragment of *d*-sign from word *djet* on the left can still be seen. The inscription was written in a column, although it is impossible to measure its dimensions, as too little is preserved.

Two post-Amarna inscriptions are represented in the upper part of the shrine of the Theban Triad, above the heads of deities. Both of them have the same character as a speech of gods. Above Amun-Ra, only one column of text is preserved which gives the name and epithets of the god and an introduction "words spoken by". The signs are headed left, in the direction of the gods, and nothing to the right has survived, so the speech of Amun-Ra remains unknown. The column is 13 cm wide and no traces of the division line can be seen, although judging by the inscription engraved above Mut, the columns were divided with division lines.

The speech of Mut is constructed in the same way as the speech of Amun-Ra, although much more of it is preserved. It is carved in columns separated by division lines, the first column containing an introduction "words spoken by" followed by name and epithet of the goddess is fully visible, the next two being in worse condition. The hieroglyphs are turned to the left, and columns are 11.5–12 cm wide above Mut. Although the surface here was less damaged, some holes are detectable. The surface had to be levelled with plaster, which has since disappeared.

The last post-Amarna period text gives the name and epithets of Behdety-bird above the king. The inscription was probably twice as long, judging from the preserved space. Contrary to the representation of gods, this inscription suffered more from Amarna workers' chisels. It was damaged much deeper and chisels left bigger holes, still visible on the wall. The hieroglyphs are facing right and written in the 10.2 cm high line without division lines distinguishing them from the scene.

### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 1 (behind Amun(?)):

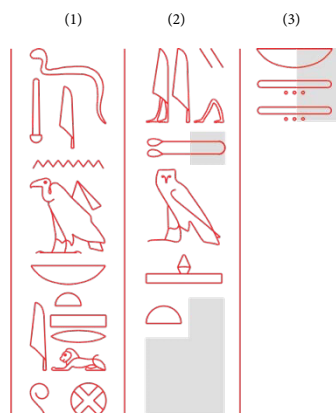


(←↓) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *d*[.t]

[...] fore[ver]

<sup>(a)</sup> Length of the inscription remains unknown, only one sign at its end is preserved.

## Tx. 2 (beside Mut):

(1) (←↓) *dd mdw jn Mw.t nb.t Jsr.w*(2) (←↓) *jj.t<sup>(a)</sup> m htp [...]<sup>(b)</sup>*(3) (←↓) *nb t3.wj [...]<sup>(c)</sup>*(1) **Words spoken by Mut, Lady of Isheru**(2) **You come in peace [...]**(3) **Lord of Two Lands [...]**

(a) Fragment of a horizontal sign *t* (Gardiner sign V13) with two loops is recognisable here. The vertical wide stroke on the left side most probably is a destruction as its width is similar to another stroke on the left of the owl's face below.

(b) Space for 1.5 group of signs.

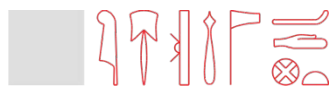
(c) Space for three groups of signs. The most probable reconstruction is a cartouche containing the birth name of the king.

## Tx. 3 (before Amun in the shrine):

(←↓) *dd mdw [j]n Jmn-R<sup>c</sup> [nswt] ntr.w [...]<sup>(a)</sup>***Words spoken [b]y Amun-Ra, [King] of Gods [...]**

(a) Theoretically, it is possible to have in this column another epithet, although it is not necessary. Most probably a short speech of the god, unpreserved today, could be engraved in the second and third columns.

## Tx. 4 (beside Behdety):

(→) *Bhdtj ntr 3 s3b šw.t [...]<sup>(a)</sup>***Behdety, Great God, Variegated of Plumage [...]**

(a) Space for 3.5–4 groups of signs. In the analogical scene in the south wing of the east wall, Nekhbet is represented. The next scene of the south wing shows Behdety with a preserved fragment of inscription: [...] *nb Msn dj.f 'nh dd w3s* (scene unpublished, *nb Msn* reconstructed in the post-Amarna times), however, other titles are also possible, especially *nb p.t* often follows *s3b šw.t* (cf. Northern Room of Amun: Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. XXIV; Birth Portico, west wall: Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. LIV; Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIII; Birth Portico, pillar: Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXVI).



## Commentary

It is worth emphasising that the scene has its title in the original layer of decoration: praising god four times. This title is important not only for the reconstruction of the position of figures of both kings, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, but it changes the interpretation of the whole scene. In the reign of Thutmose, the title of the scene had been removed and never reconstructed.

Above the shrine of the Theban Triad another figure of Khonsu was carved in a rather rough style (**Fig. 62**). This block represents an upper part of a lower register with a *pet*-sign closing the lower scene 1 and a lower part of an upper register with a *ta*-sign being a lower limit of scene 6. Khonsu's figure was definitely engraved when this block was not a part of an east wall anymore and was reused and rotated 90°. It probably happened after the earthquake, when this part of the temple was converted to a Third Intermediate Period cemetery.<sup>45</sup>

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

### *Praising god (four times)*

Hathor Shrine, Vestibule, niche A, south wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 74 [18, 19] and references therein

Hathor Shrine, Second Hypostyle Hall, north wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 67 [13] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 127 [19] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, south wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 136 [50] and references therein

Solar Cult Complex, Vestibule, south wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 223 [5] and references therein

Upper Shrine of Anubis, north wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 237 [22] and references therein

Witkowski, *Les Chapelles d'Anubis 1*, forthcoming

Ebony Shrine, the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo, CG 70001, JE 30740:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 107 and references therein

### *Offerings in front of a Theban Triad*

Upper (Coronation) Portico, west wall, south wing:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 115 [9, 10] and references therein

Upper (Coronation) Portico, west wall, north wing:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 112 [6, 7] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 127 [19] and references therein

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<sup>45</sup> See above, footnote 22.

## References

- Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, 66–78, Pl. I, Fig. 7 (back of Thutmose III)  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, 217–218, Pls I–II  
 Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 129 [20]  
 Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 156  
 Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3 (Thutmose III and fragment of a text)  
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, 96, Phot. 3 (Thutmose III and fragment of offering table)  
 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [81.1]

## SCENE 2. HATSHEPSUT AND THUTMOSE III LEADING THE PROCESSION OF PRIESTS WITH THE PORTABLE BARK OF AMUN (Pls 3, 3\*; Tx. 8–15; Cat. nos 19–49)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 192.5 cm; width: 395 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is long and attested on 20 blocks and 15 fragments of blocks set in five layers. It is quite well preserved in the lower part, almost all of the blocks from the second and third lower layers are still in the wall. On the other hand, only a few fragments could be placed in the reconstruction of two upper layers of blocks and a half of the first layer with a *dado*-frieze is lost. Much of this scene suffered particularly badly from the Amarna period iconoclasts' activity and as a consequence, also by post-Amarna restorers. The restored scenes were flatly hewed, the surface of the figures being the same as the surface of the background. As in the previous scene, colours almost completely disappeared, detectable only on some hieroglyphs, on the body of Thutmose III, on priests' bodies and blocks with *dado*-frieze.

## Description

### ORIGINAL DECORATION (Pls 4, 4\*)

Not much is preserved from the original decoration. Thutmose III (←) and Hatshepsut (←) (**Fig. 73**) guarded by vulture-shaped Nekhbet (←) above the head of the king leading a procession. Nothing is detectable from the original representation of the procession, but one can expect that the reconstructed decoration followed the original one. Only an inscription (←) above the procession is partially preserved. Part of the procession was created by the royal statues (←), still partially conserved in the wall.

### Thutmose III

Thutmose III, represented on four blocks and five fragments of blocks,<sup>46</sup> is shown striding on a *ta*-sign towards the left as the last person taking part in the procession. The king is faced left. His left arm falls along the body, he has an *ankh*-sign in his left hand and his right hand, slightly extended forward, he holds a *mekes*-staff. He is barefooted (**Fig. 74**) and wears a *khepresh*-crown with a uraeus on the forehead, a wide *wesekh*-collar, a falcon jacket, a triangle apron with a belt and a bull's tail. The crown is represented in detail with roundels

<sup>46</sup> Joint of blocks Cat. nos 19, 21, 27 and 29, and fragments of blocks Cat. nos 23, 24, 25 and 26; their position was reconstructed outside the wall in the 1965/1966 season (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I) and they were finally replaced in the wall in the 1968/1969 season (Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1970/71, 13). Another fragment of block Cat. no. 22 was theoretically added to the scene in the 2005/2006 season, it was not replaced in the wall.



Fig. 72. Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (replaced with an inscription) taking part in the procession of the bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 74. Lower part of Thutmose III's figure (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 75. Thutmose III in a *khepresh*-crown (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 76. Falcon jacket of Thutmose III (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 77. Procession of royal statues (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

carved on it (Fig. 75). With the same precision, the falcon jacket is shown with two falcons entwining the king's body with wings (Fig. 76). They are placed along the *wesekh*-collar and keep a *shen*-sign in their claws on the belly of the king. Wings have marked feathers. A triangle pleated apron above knees is also precisely carved, it is supported by a belt decorated with vertical stripes, from which a striped sash falls finished with two cobras on both sides and seven beads in the lower part (Fig. 74). A bull's tail is attached to the belt. The whole representation is almost fully deprived of colours, with some red preserved only on the king's arms and legs. Above Thutmose III, his cartouches and his titulary were carved but only part of it is now *in situ* (Fig. 73). Behind the king, a flabellum *behet* held by an *ankh*-sign and a column of the inscription containing wishes for the king was carved. Above the king, one of the protective birds was represented, most probably Nekhbet, which was later restored in this place. Judging by the space left above Thutmose III and Hatshepsut standing before him, name and probably epithets of the bird were carved below the right wing.

#### Hatshepsut

The figure of the queen was almost completely erased by her nephew's workers. Traces of her figure occupy the space of five blocks.<sup>47</sup> She strides in the same direction as Thutmose III, i.e. to the left. Only some delicate traces of legs of Hatshepsut, a *mekes*-staff probably held by her in her right hand, a left arm, as well as single lines of an inscription behind the queen and lower part of a *serekh*-name above her head, can be seen. One

<sup>47</sup> Joint of blocks Cat. nos 21 28, 29, 36; their position in the wall were reconstructed theoretically in the 1965/1966 season (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I) and they were finally replaced in the wall in the 1968/1969 season (Wysocki, Sprawozdanie z działalności Polskiej Misji Archeologicznej 1970/71, 13). Block Cat. no. 30 was replaced in the wall in 1985 (based on pictures of the wall from the 1984/1985 season).



Fig. 78. Fragment of block with procession of royal statues; Cat. no. 52 (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

can imagine that her position and dress were similar to these of Thutmose III. Probably above her head, there was also a representation of one of the protective birds. If it was so, there was no place for the name and epithets of the protective bird, they have to be carved below the right wing.

#### Procession of the bark of Amun

The procession itself was completely chiseled out in the Amarna period, only the upper part of the inscription above the bark is still preserved. It is possible that its height was similar to the height of the sub-register with royal statues.

#### Procession of the royal statues

A procession of royal statues (**Fig. 77**) accompanied the procession with the bark of Amun. It occupied a place of five fragments of blocks in the upper left sub-register,<sup>48</sup> located on a *ta*-sign. The figures are turned to the left. There are two male and two female statues and a toe from the end of the procession sequence, set on pedestals, but judging from other representations of the procession of the royal statues, seven statues were usually carved: four male and three female.<sup>49</sup> The first preserved figure, but probably the third in the row, is a male statue wearing a red crown, its upper part is still visible, the lower fragment of the figure is unpreserved. The second statue belongs to one of the kings: Thutmose I or II, though recognition is impossible since it lacks the most important fragment of the cartouche: Aa-kheper-[...]-Ra. Judging by other representation preserved in the first scene in the lower register of the north wall of the Upper Courtyard<sup>50</sup> it could be a statue of Thutmose II. He wears a kind of a lower crown, most probably a *khepresh*-crown. This headdress of the royal statue is known from the block with representation of royal statues, Museum August Kestner, Hanover 1935.200.200,<sup>51</sup> block with the representation of royal statues, Brooklyn Museum, New York 86.226.3<sup>52</sup> and block with the representation of royal statues, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14651.<sup>53</sup> The king has a *wesekh*-collar. His left hand is slightly extended forward (**Fig. 77**), a positioning of the hands typical for a person seated on a throne. This can be confirmed also by the space left between the first preserved statue and the statue of Thutmose,

48 Three fragments, Cat. nos 49, 50, 51 and 52, were parts of one block (see above, Catalogue of blocks from *lapidaria* at Deir el-Bahari, pp. 337–339). Together with another fragment, Cat. no. 44, they were recognised as coming from Scene 2 in the 1978/1979 season (Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 354, Fig. 6) and replaced in the wall in the 1984/1985 season (based on pictures of the wall from the 1984/1985 season). Fragment of block Cat. no. 52 was theoretically added to the scene in the 2006/2007 season, it was not replaced in the wall.

49 The same sequence can be observed in the first scene in the lower register of the north wall of the Upper Courtyard (Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 167 [211] and references therein) and on the block with the representation of royal statues, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14651 (Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 171 and references therein). See also: Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, *passim*.

50 Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 167 [211] and references therein.

51 Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 126 and references therein.

52 Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 124 and references therein.

53 Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 171 and references therein.



Fig. 79. Pedestals and lower parts of royal statues of Thutmose I or II, queen Ahmes and another figure (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

which is much wider than between the statue of Thutmose and the next statue, belonging to queen Ahmes (Figs 78–80). The head of the queen is decorated in a vulture headdress with an uraeus on her forehead, typical for her status as a queen, and she is clad in a long dress adhering to the body (Fig. 79). The next female figure was probably Nefrure. The identification is not certain, her figure seems to be smaller than the figure of queen Ahmes, which suggests a young person, on the other hand, her cartouche is not preserved in any procession of the royal statues in the temple.<sup>54</sup> This figure wears a long dress and the upper part of the figure is not preserved. The last figure, of which only a toe is visible (Fig. 79), was

most probably a representation of Nefrubiti, sister of Hatshepsut, who was dead at the time of decoration.<sup>55</sup> The presence of her statue in the procession of royal statues as well as her status as a dead person can be proved by the block from the upper register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.<sup>56</sup> The colours of the statues almost disappeared, delicate traces of yellow can be seen on the *wesekh*-collar of Thutmose. The left fragment of the block is partly covered in black (Figs 77, 80), probably an attestation of a fire that is visible in the lower part of the wall. This fragment comes from an upper part of the scene, which was completely destroyed by an earthquake.<sup>57</sup>

#### DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III (Pls 4, 4\*)

During the reign of Thutmose III, a part of the decoration containing a representation of Hatshepsut was altered to a four-columns



Fig. 80. Royal statues of a king, Thutmose I or II and queen Ahmes (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

54 Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 35.

55 She is unambiguously attested in the temple on the north (Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 177 [224] and references therein) and south walls (Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 175 [12] and references therein) of the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun, in the upper register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 123 [5] and references therein) and on the fragment of a block with a cartouche of Nefrubiti, British Museum, London EA1458 (Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 133).

56 Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 123 [5] and references therein.

57 See above, Chapter 3. History of the destruction of the north wing of the east wall, p. 13.



Fig. 81. Scene of procession of the bark of Amun accompanied by dancers, priests with liturgical objects and a statue of Thutmose III (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

inscription (←), which describes ritual activities performed by the king (see above). No other changes were made by this king.

#### *Destructions of the Amarna period*

Most of the scene was hammered out during the Amarna period. The procession of the portable bark of Amun, priests with liturgical objects and the name of Nekhbet were completely erased. Only Thutmose III and an inscription in front of him, a procession of statues and an inscription above the bark of Amun were left intact. The damages were executed with an approx. 1.65 cm wide chisel and were very deep and roughly done.

#### *Decoration of the post-Amarna period*

A big part of Scene 2 was altered (**Fig. 81**). The scene represents Thutmose III (←) taking part in the procession of priests with the portable bark of Amun (←), dancers (→) in a lower sub-register, three rows of priests carrying ritual objects (←), a statue of Thutmose III (←), and a row of royal statues (←). The figure of Thutmose III and the text in front of him, as well as royal statues, are remnants of the earlier decoration, other elements were re-carved in post-Amarna times and the procession of priests is divided into three sub-registers. They are separated with *ta*-signs and the *pet*-sign does not appear. The surface of the wall was damaged very badly during the Amarna period. It was impossible to level properly the surface as the holes



Fig. 82. Restored name of Nekhbet (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 83. Procession of the bark of Amun on shoulders of priests (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

were too deep, thus it was lowered and roughly levelled and haies were covered with plaster, which crumbled. The layer of plaster could not have been very thick, as some traces of the red colour are still visible on the bodies of priests. The new decoration was very flat, although still with some details marked in relief.

#### Thutmose III

The representation of Thutmose III was not erased in the previous periods. He is striding towards the left, behind the bark, with a *mekes*-staff in his hand. In front of him, the inscription carved during his reign can be seen. After removing the figure of Hatshepsut, the name and epithets of Nekhbet placed above the king could have been moved in front of the right wing on the bird. It is probable that they were moved since the

restoration inscription with the name of Nekhbet (**Fig. 82**) starts in the place where originally the right wing of the bird above Hatshepsut was located. This gave more space for the inscription which replaced the figure of Hatshepsut.

Priests carrying the portable bark of Amun (**Pls 5, 5\***)  
The main position in the procession takes the scene of carrying the portable bark of Amun placed more or less in the middle of the scene. It can be seen on seven blocks and three fragments of blocks.<sup>58</sup> This part of the decoration is executed in a rough style, incised rather than sculptured. The scene is slightly bigger than other scenes of the procession and covers the space of two upper sub-registers. It represents the bark carried on the shoulders of six rows of priests, three priests in each row. The procession is accompanied by two priests in the middle. The bark is carried on a thick rod rounded at its ends, one can imagine other rods for a second and a third priest in each row (**Fig. 84**). Above the bark, an inscription from the reign of Hatshepsut is partly preserved.

The scene depicts the bark facing left, with a ram's head on the prow and the stern and two big oars at the stern (**Fig. 83**). The ram's head is not preserved but thick *wesekh*-collars on both sides of the bark can still be seen. The bark is placed on a sledge. In the middle of the bark, a winged scarab and at least three kneeling figures without heads making a *henu*-gesture, are shown directly on the rod. In the front part of the bark, a big ostrich feather is placed and also a fan in the shape of a lotus flower. A feather, as well as a fan in the shape of a lotus flower, gives the impression of being added later in a different type of relief. They are incised with a wider chisel and deeper engraved (**Fig. 85**).<sup>59</sup> One can have the impression looking at another, bigger fan engraved behind the back of a king holding a fan (**Fig. 86**). In the middle part of the bark, on its deck, a naos in a shrine is represented together with a column supporting its roof. It was partially covered with a veil in the shape of a sail. In the front part, below the level of the roof, a standing king holding a fan is carved (**Fig. 86**), while below him, on a deck, a sphinx offering a vessel can be seen, although only hands and the vessel are still preserved, while another king kneels on a deck before the naos. Behind the naos a similar figure of a kneeling king is represented, holding the back pole of a naos in his hands (**Fig. 87**). It is very probable that above the bark, the representation of the winged sun disk was depicted, but it is not preserved today.

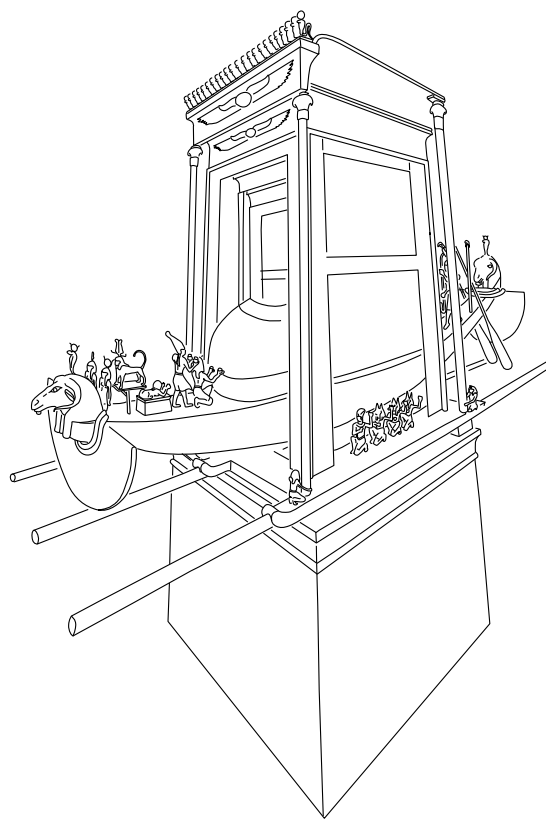


Fig. 84. Reconstruction of the bark of Amun from the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Terrace (digitising: J. Iwaszczuk, based on Karlshausen, *L'Iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, Pl. 28).

<sup>58</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 28, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39 and a block in the wall; fragments of blocs Cat. nos 41, 42, 43. Blocks Cat. nos 28, 34 were reconstructed in the 1965/1966 season (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I). Blocks Cat. nos 36, 37, 38, 39 were replaced in the wall in the 1972/1973 season; fragments of blocs Cat. nos 41, 42, 43 were built in the wall in the 1984/1985 season (based on pictures of the wall from the 1984/1985 season).

<sup>59</sup> Lotus flower is attested on earlier representations of the bark of Amun: from the Chapelle Rouge, Hatshepsut (Burgos, Larché, *La chapelle Rouge I*, 47–48, block 169); from the Luxor temple, Amenhotep III (Murnane, Tutankhamon on the eight pylon, Fig. 3); as well as from the Eighth Pylon in Karnak, restorations of Tutankhamun and Horemheb (Karlshausen, *L'Iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, Pl. 11), but their position here is characteristic for Ramesses II representations of bark (Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Pls 53, 180, 197) and later (cf. Karlshausen, *L'Iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, Pls 23, 27).



Fig. 85. Restored fans in shapes of lotus flower and an ostrich feather added to the previously restored decoration (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 86. Restored fan engraved behind the back of a king holding a fan (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 87. Kneeling king at the back post of the naos on the bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 88. The front group of priests carrying the bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

Priests carrying the bark (**Fig. 88**), turned to the left, are set in six rows, in each row three male priests standing side by side.<sup>60</sup> They walk on a *ta*-sign. Everyone is holding a rod with his left hand, with priests in the first row supporting it also with their right hands, which they put on the rounded endings of rods. All of them are shaved bald and are barefooted. The upper parts of their heads stick out from behind the rods and only their eyes and shaved tops of heads can be seen. Lower parts of their faces are invisible. Priests wear long dresses expanding downwards, with sashes that cover torsos, but it is difficult to determine their shape in the upper part. One can imagine that they finish under the arm and their border continues along their

<sup>60</sup> Joint of blocks Cat. nos 36, 37, 38 and 39 with the depiction of priests carrying the bark and their location were reconstructed theoretically in the 1978/1979 season (Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, Fig. 1).



Fig. 89. Two priests accompanying the bark procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 90. Three dancers and a priest carrying a box, lower sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



a.



b.

Fig. 91. The group of twelve priests holding liturgical objects, lower sub-register of priests' procession: a. five priests at the beginning of the procession; b. seven priests from the end of the procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

arms since sashes fall at elbow level and their arms are not covered. On the skin of the priests are a few traces of red laid directly on the stone.

Two personages in the middle (Fig. 89), turned to the left, accompanied the procession in the foreground. They are male priests, too, but their clothes are different than the attires of those who carry the bark. These figures are also shaved bald and barefooted. They are clad in a panther skin tied with its front paws under the right shoulders of the priests, with panther's heads on the bellies, covering the left shoulders and leaving the right parts of the torso uncovered. The back paws drop from the left shoulders of the priests. Panther skin is placed on the apron tied at the waist in a knot, but its length is impossible to determine. On the left arm of the first person, some red is preserved, painted directly on the stone.

#### Dancers (Pls 6, 6\*)

In the left part of the lower sub-register, on three blocks,<sup>61</sup> three male figures of priests face right, turned in the opposite direction to that of the procession (Fig. 90). They are shown on a *ta*-sign. They dance with their arms raised and slightly extended forward and with the palms facing out in a gesture of adoration. Their right

<sup>61</sup> All three blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore, they are not included in the catalogue.



Fig. 92. Three first priests holding liturgical objects, lower sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

legs are slightly raised, and their feet are drawn to the ground. The priests are shaved bald, they have bare feet and wear a simple kilt expanding downwards, long to the knees and tied at belly height. On it, they have panther skin also attached at belly height. The representation is completely deprived of colour.

#### Procession of priests in the lower sub-register (Pls 6, 6\*)

The biggest part of the lower sub-register is occupied by a group of twelve male priests walking on a *ta*-sign and represented on seven blocks and two fragments of blocks (Fig. 91).<sup>62</sup> They are heading left towards the dancers. This is the first of three sub-registers representing priests in the procession with liturgical objects.<sup>63</sup> The procession starts with a priest holding a box in his right hand with arms bent at the elbows and extended

62 Blocks Cat. nos 28, 32, 33, 34, 40, 44, 46, fragments of blocks Cat. nos 35, 45. The location of joint of blocks Cat. nos 28, 32, 33, 34, 35 and 40 was reconstructed theoretically in the 1965/1966 season (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I). Block Cat. no. 44 was replaced in the wall in the 1978/1979 season, block Cat. no. 46 – in the 1984/1985 season and block Cat. no. 45 – in the 1986/1987 season (based on pictures of the wall from seasons 1978/1979, 1984/1985 and 1986/1987).

63 Some of these objects are stored in the bark shrine represented on the north wall of the Upper Courtyard as well as on the north wing of the east wall in the naos of Userhat (Fig. 28). On the other hand, these objects represented here can be found in the bark shrine depicted in the northern section of the west wall of the colonnade hall of the Luxor temple (The Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet, Pls 7, 58, 112), in the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak (Nelson, The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Pls 76, 178), as well as in the east and west walls of room B temple of Ramesses III in Karnak (The Epigraphic Survey, Ramses III's Temple, Pl. 56).



Fig. 93. Three priests holding liturgical objects, lower sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

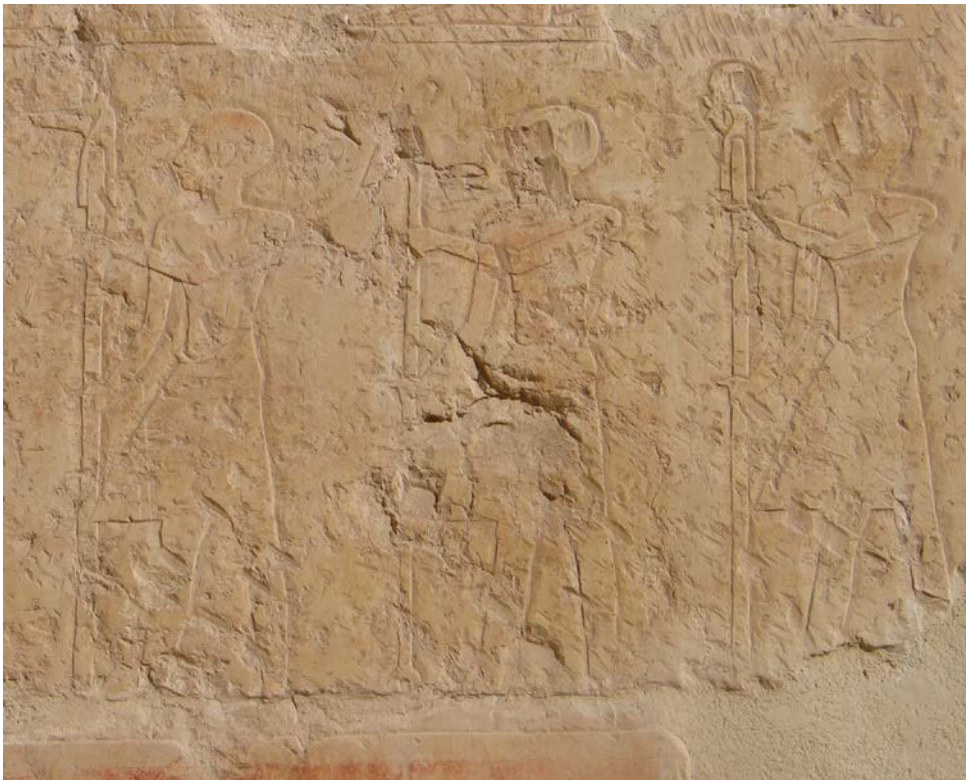


Fig. 94. Three priests holding liturgical objects, lower sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

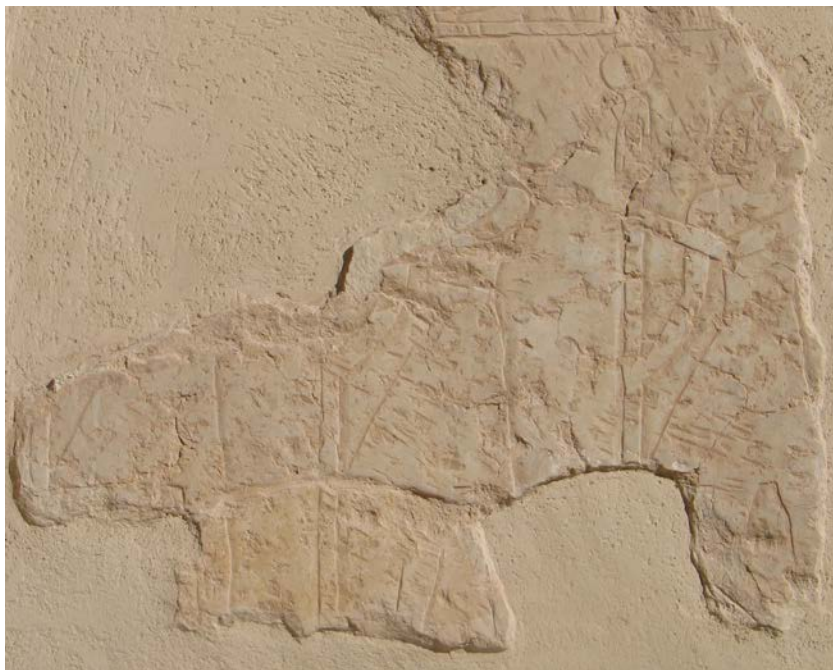


Fig. 95. Three priests holding liturgical objects, lower sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

forward (Fig. 92). His left arm is extended forward, with palm raised and faced outward in the direction of the roof of the box. The box is in the shape of a naos, narrow and high, with a roof rounded at the front and descending towards the back. The next group of nine priests go with staffs in both hands. They hold them with the right arms down and hands on the staffs at hip height and with left arms extended at shoulder height. Two priests have staffs that end with a jackal's head, followed by a priest with a *was*-sceptre (Fig. 93), then another with a staff with an ending ending in the shape of a falcon with a sun disk on its head (Fig. 94). The staffs of another two are preserved only in a lower part (Fig. 95). Behind them walks a priest with a falcon-shape staff with a sun disk on the head (Fig. 95), and two others with staffs that are impossible to recognise. The last two personages are also priests, but their position is different than ten others before them (Fig. 96). They have their left hands down along the body and right hands, with arms bent at the elbows and extended forward, in a gesture in invocation with flat hand and palms visible in a profile. All priests are shaved bald and barefooted, wearing



Fig. 96. Two last priests holding liturgical objects, lower sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 97. Group of four priests holding liturgical objects and a statue of Thutmose III, middle sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 98. Two first priests holding liturgical objects, middle sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

only a triangle kilt to the knees, expanding downwards and tied at belly height. On the bodies of most of the priests' figures, traces of red are preserved.

#### Procession of priests in the middle sub-register (Pls 6, 6\*)

The procession in the middle register (Fig. 97) consists of four priests striding on a *ta*-sign and heading left. They are represented on four blocks.<sup>64</sup> Two priests walk with staffs in their hands (Fig. 98), the third carries an unidentified object and the last one holds two vessels with a burnt offering (Fig. 99). The first priest has a cylindrical staff with a rounded ending, the second with a staff crowned with the head of Hathor and a human face, decorated with a modus with an uræus and a sun disk between horns. They hold them in both hands, like the priests in the first row. The object carried by the third priest is difficult to identify, it seems to be a big object since the priest has it in front of him and his left arm is retracted back. His right hand is unrepresented as

<sup>64</sup> Location of block Cat. no. 40 was reconstructed theoretically in the 1965/1966 season (Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. I). Three other blocks were not removed from the wall and are therefore not included in the catalogue.

Fig. 99. Two last priests holding liturgical objects, middle sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

well as a big part of the object. The arms of the fourth priest are bent at the elbows and extended forward and he holds in his hands two vessels, containing balls of incense with flames of fire above. The vessels have long feet or a stand widening downwards and an open form or a bowl in the upper part, the rim protrudes outwards. In each vessel, three balls are depicted. All priests are shaved bald and barefooted, they are clad the same way as priests in the lower sub-register, in a triangle kilt long to the knees expanding downwards and tied at belly height. Some red is preserved in the upper part of the body of the first and the second priest.



#### Statue of Thutmose III (Pls 6, 6\*)

In front of the bark, under the separate *pet*-sign, a statue of Thutmose III takes part in the procession (Fig. 100).<sup>65</sup> It is represented on two blocks.<sup>66</sup> The king stands facing left on a *ta*-sign. His feet are not preserved, but one can imagine a socle, otherwise, his figure would be too tall. He holds an *ankh*-sign in the left hand and his right hand is extended forward in a gesture of invocation. Thutmose III wears a *nemes*-headdress, simple *shendjyt*-kilt with a belt and a bull's tail. Two inscriptions are located around the king's statue: one, containing cartouche and epithets of the king, is carved above the statue and the second one, placed in front of the statue, gives a title of the scene. The scene is completely deprived of colour.

#### Procession of priests in the upper sub-register (Pls 6, 6\*)

In the upper sub-register, a group of six priests is represented. They stride on a *ta*-sign. This register is badly damaged, almost the whole central part is not preserved. The scene is

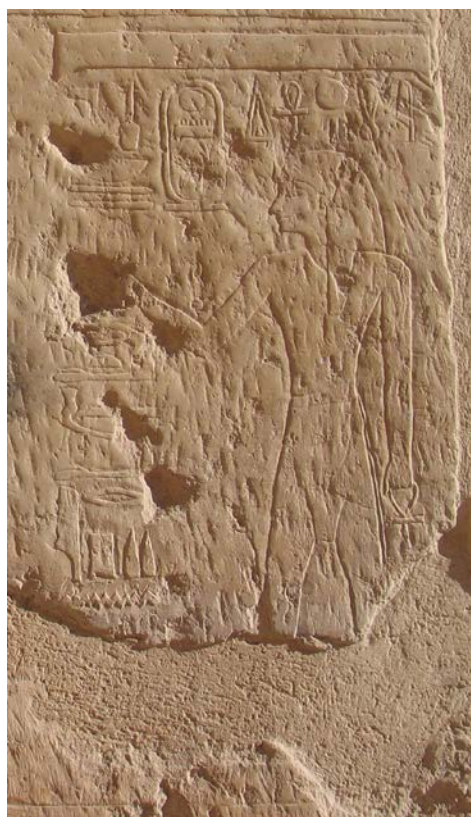


Fig. 100. Statue of Thutmose III in the middle sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>65</sup> Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, Fig. 1. In the analogical scene represented in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, the figure of Thutmose I was reconstructed in the post-Amarna period, replacing the statue of Nefrura (Pawlicki, Princess Neferure, 116–117, Figs 3–4).

<sup>66</sup> It was represented on block Cat. no. 40, see above, footnote 19. The lower block was not removed from the wall and is therefore not included in the catalogue.

Fig. 101. First priest holding a box, upper sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

depicted on three blocks and one fragment of a block.<sup>67</sup> The priest leading the procession carries a box (**Fig. 101**), which consists of a floorboard, front columns in a shape of a *hedj*-mace and a rounded part creating a backside and a roof. The next priest is preserved only partially and one can see the lower part of a staff in front of him and his head. The third priest is also fragmentarily preserved, with only the upper ending of the staff and his left foot visible. The staff is in the shape of a ram's head with an uraeus on the forehead (**Fig. 102**). From two following priests only the lower parts of legs, below the knees, and the lower fragments of the staffs can be seen. The last priest is in a better state of preservation, on the upper fragment of the block and a front part of his head with a staff ending are depicted. The ending represents the head, most probably of a falcon shape, with a sun disk on its top (**Fig. 103**). In the middle fragment of block Cat. no. 44, one can observe that the priest holds the staff in the gesture described above, with the right arm down and hand on the staff at hip height and left arm extended at shoulder height. On the lower fragment of block Cat. no. 44, the feet of the priest and a lower fragment of the staff are shown.



#### Procession of the royal statues

The procession of the royal statues was neither altered during the reign of Thutmose III nor removed in the Amarna period. For the description of this scene, see above.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

In this scene, seven texts were inscribed, four from the reign of Hatshepsut, one from the time of Thutmose III and one from the post-Amarna period.

Inscriptions from the original decoration are of a different size. The smallest ones were carved around the depiction of the royal statues (Tx. 14; **Fig. 104**). They are preserved on four fragments of blocks.<sup>68</sup> One line without division lines, facing



Fig. 102. Fragment of block with a staff in a shape of ram's head with an uraeus on the forehead, upper sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>67</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 40, 44, 46; a fragment of block Cat. no. 45. For block Cat. no. 40, see above footnote 19. Block Cat. no. 44 was reconstructed in the wall in the 1978/1979 season (Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, Fig. 6). Block Cat. no. 46 was replaced in the wall in the 1984/1985 season (based on pictures of the wall from the 1984/1985 season) but was recognised earlier, in the 1978/1979 season (Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, Fig. 6). Fragment of block Cat. no. 45 was replaced in the wall in the 1986/1987 season (based on pictures of the wall from the 1986/1987 season). The lower left block was not removed from the wall and is therefore not included in the catalogue.

<sup>68</sup> Fragments of blocks Cat. nos 49, 50, 51 and 52. See above, footnote 3.

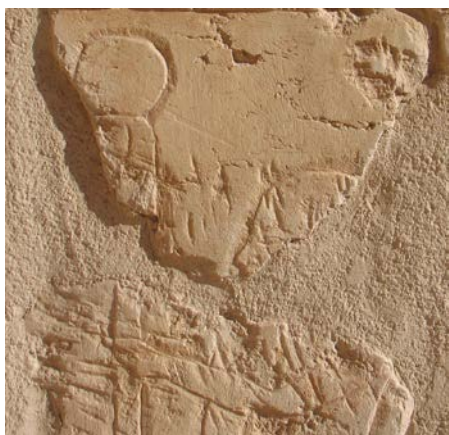


Fig. 103. Priest holding a staff in a falcon shape, with a sun disk on its top, upper sub-register of priests' procession (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 104. Inscription from the original decoration around the royal statues (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 105. Inscription from the original decoration above the bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

left, was written above the statues. This text was divided by the red crown of the first preserved statue. From the separate fragment of the inscription, only two signs survived: *dj nḥ*. The inscriptions identifying particular statues can be seen before every figure. They are inscribed in columns, without division lines and are also headed left, in the same direction as the royal statues. Two of them are preserved at the moment, containing the name and epithets of one of the Thutmoses, probably Thutmose II, and the name and epithets of queen Ahmes. The colours are not preserved. Neither the line nor the columns were divided from the representation by a division line. The height of signs in line is 4.8 cm and the width of the group of the signs in columns is approx. 4.2 cm.

Another text is preserved above the bark of Amun carried by the priests (Tx. 13; **Fig. 105**). It is written in columns and is separated with division lines, while five columns are still visible on two blocks.<sup>69</sup> It is very probable that this text starts in front of the bark where an *n*-sign (maybe from Amun's name judging by a deep depression) reconstructed in the post-Amarna times can be seen in front of the naos of the bark and continues along with the bark. Unfortunately, the part between the naos and the inscription preserved at the end of the bark is completely lost. The text at the end of the bark is very carefully prepared with *rekhyt*- and

69 Blocks Cat nos 47 and 48. They were placed in the wall in the 1984/1985 season (based on pictures of the wall from the 1984/1985 season).



Fig. 106. Inscription from the original decoration behind Thutmose III (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 107. Fragment of inscription which replaced the figure of Hatshepsut (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

*m*-signs carved with details (Fig. 105). The colours are not preserved except for a small stain of green is visible on a *neb*-sign under a *rekhyt*-sign. The width of signs in columns is approx. 10.6 cm.

The inscription above Thutmose III (Tx. 9) contained king's names and titles with an ending formula. The inscription was written on one block and two fragments of a block.<sup>70</sup> It is carved in four columns and signs are facing left, in the same direction as the royal figure. The width of the group of signs measures 10.9 cm. At the moment, the titles are almost gone, as well as the ending formula

and the upper part of the prenomen. The colours did not survived.

The last inscription from the original decoration is preserved behind the king (Tx. 10; Fig. 106), on two blocks and three fragments of blocks.<sup>71</sup> It is one column of text written without division lines. Hieroglyphs are headed left, the size of the group of signs is similar to the inscription above the bark of Amun, i.e. approx. 11.2 cm wide and colours are not preserved.

The inscription from the reign of Thutmose III replaced a representation of Hatshepsut (Tx. 11; Fig. 72). It consists of a four-column long text preserved on five blocks.<sup>72</sup> Columns were separated with division lines and the width of signs was 11.8 cm. Hieroglyphs are very similar in style to these from the times of the queen and executed precisely and with details. The surface was carefully prepared, and the original decoration is almost invisible under the layer of hieroglyphs. Because they were carved on the previous decoration, some imperfections and immersion of the surface are detectable (Fig. 107). Some signs were erased during the Amarna period and a sign representing Userhat (Fig. 108) was chiseled out with a wide chisel (its width cannot be established) but not as deeply as the bark carried by priests. It was restored in post-Amarna times, the surface was lowered and levelled with a wide chisel, 1.1 cm wide and the sign was engraved in the surface in a style typical for the post-Amarna reconstructions in flat relief. The text is almost completely devoid of

<sup>70</sup> Block Cat. no. 27 and fragments of block Cat. nos 25 and 26. See above, footnote 1.

<sup>71</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 14 and 19; fragments of blocks Cat. no. 22, 23 and 24. For block Cat. no. 14, see above, Scene 1, p. 65, footnote 34; for block Cat. no. 19 and fragments of blocks Cat. nos 22, 23 and 24, see above, p. 74, footnote 46.

<sup>72</sup> Block Cat. nos 21, 28, 29, 30 and 36. Block Cat. nos 21, 28 and 29 were replaced in the wall in the 1965/1966 season; block Cat. no. 36 – in the 1972/1973 season and block Cat. no. 30 – in the 1984/1985 season.

Fig. 108. Fragment of an inscription from the reign of Thutmose III which replaced the figure of Hatshepsut, the sign with representation of the Userhat bark was restored in the post-Amarna period (Courtesy of IMOC PAS, 1983/1984, neg. 215a-b).



colour. Some traces of whitewash can be seen on *mj*-sign with traces of the red colour at the end of the third column and in the middle of the same column again whitewash on *w*-bird's body and delicate remnants of red are attested on its claw; in the second column traces of green in the upper part of a *neb*-sign are visible.


There are also three restoration texts. The first of them gives the name of Nekhbet (Tx. 12; **Fig. 81**), which is engraved in line at the end of the fragment of the block,<sup>73</sup> and probably also her epithets, which are unrepresented, as a legend of a bird in a shape of a vulture, also unrepresented. Hieroglyphs are headed left, the height of the signs is approx. 10.5 cm. The inscription was roughly incised in an immersion; no traces of colours can be seen.

Next to the inscription Tx. 9, another text was carved on one block (Tx. 8).<sup>74</sup> It is a description of a cobra goddess seated on a *neb*-sign and turned in the direction of the king. Only two signs out of four are still preserved: *dj* and *'nh*, one above the other. The inscription is also headed right and is engraved in a prepared surface, lowered, levelled and roughly polished. The reconstruction is in flat raised relief, incised and not sculptured. The size of the group of signs cannot be reconstructed. Colours disappeared.

The last restoration text is part of a completely re-carved scene preserved on one block (Tx. 15; **Fig. 100**).<sup>75</sup> It was carved around the statue of Thutmose III in the middle register of priests striding in front of the bark of Amun. The king's name and epithets are written in two columns and the rest of the inscription is incised in the line above the king. In front of the king, the ritual activity is named in one column. In both cases, no division lines are attested. These hieroglyphs are small but much better carved in a proper raised relief. Above the king, signs in line are approx. 3.7 cm high and in line – approx. 4.5 cm wide, hieroglyphs in front of Thutmose III are approx. 5.4 cm wide. The inscription is devoid of colours.

#### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 8 (around two goddesses):

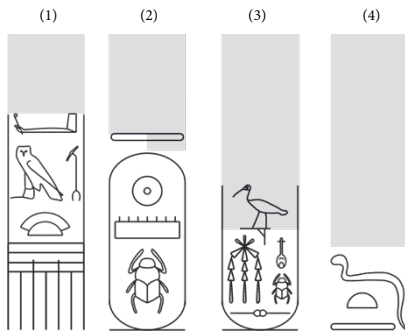
	<p>(←↓) <i>dj</i>[.s] <i>'nh</i> [<i>w3s</i>]</p> <p>[she] gives life [and prosperity]</p>
---	--

<sup>73</sup> Block Cat. no. 47. See above, footnote 24.

<sup>74</sup> Block Cat. no. 27. See above, footnote 1.

<sup>75</sup> Block Cat. no. 40. See above, footnote 19.

Tx. 9 (above the king):



- (1) (←↓) [*Hrw K3*]-*nh̄t-h̄'(.w)-m-W3s.t*
- (2) (←↓) [*n̄tr nfr nb*] *t3[.wj] Mn-h̄pr-R'*
- (3) (←↓) [*s3 R' mrj.f*] *D̄hw.tj-ms-nfr-h̄pr*
- (4) (←↓) [...] [*mj R'*] *ḏ.t*

- (1) [Horus] Strong-[bull]-who-appears-in-Thebes
- (2) [Perfect God, Lord] of [Two] Land[s] Men-kheper-Ra
- (3) [Son of Ra, his beloved] Djehuti-mes-nefer-kheper
- (4) [...] [like Ra] forever.

Tx. 10 (behind the king):



(←↓) *s3 'nh̄ ḏd [w3s sn]b h3.f nb 3w(.t)-jb.f mj R'*

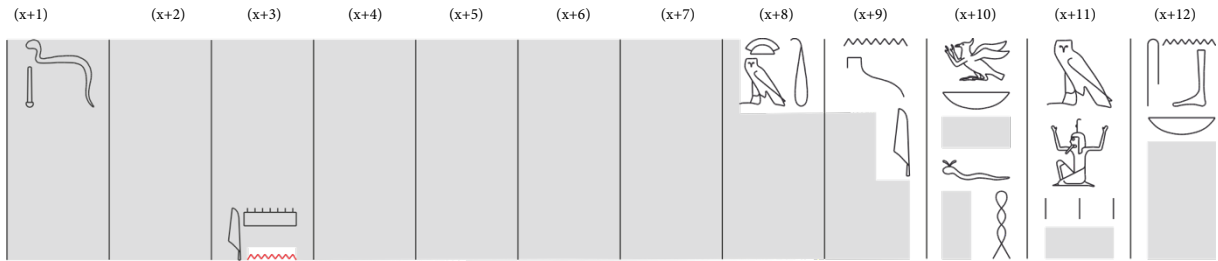


All protection, life, stability, [health, prospe]rity behind him, his joy like Ra





## Tx. 13 (above the bark):

(1) [*ḏḏ mdw jn Jmn*] [...] <sup>(a)</sup>(2) [...] <sup>(b)</sup>(3) [...] <sup>(c)</sup> [*Jm*]*n*(4) [...] <sup>(d)</sup>(5) [...] <sup>(e)</sup>(6) [...] <sup>(f)</sup>(7) [...] <sup>(g)</sup>(8) (←↓) [*s*]*ḥ* <sup>(h)</sup> .*tj m* [...] <sup>(h)</sup>(9) (←↓) *nwy*[...] <sup>(i)</sup>(10) (←↓) *rhy.t nb*[.t] [...] <sup>(i)</sup> .*f* [...] <sup>(k)</sup> *ḥ* [...] <sup>(l)</sup>(11) (←↓) *m ḥḥ.w* [...] <sup>(m)</sup>(12) (←↓) *snb nb* [*mj R* <sup>(m)</sup> *ḏ.t*]

(1) [Words spoken by Amun] [...]

(2) [...]

(3) [...] [*Amu*]*n*

(4) [...]

(5) [...]

(6) [...]

(7) [...]

(8) you make the appearance in [...]

(9) water(?) [...]

(10) all *rekhyt*-people [...]

(11) in millions of [...]

(12) all health [like Ra forever].

(a) Space for 2.5 groups of signs.

(b) Space for 2.5 groups of signs.

(c) Space for 2.5 groups of signs.

(d) Space for 2.5 groups of signs.

(e) Space for 1.5 groups of signs.

(f) Space for 1.5 groups of signs.

(g) Space for 0.5 groups of signs.

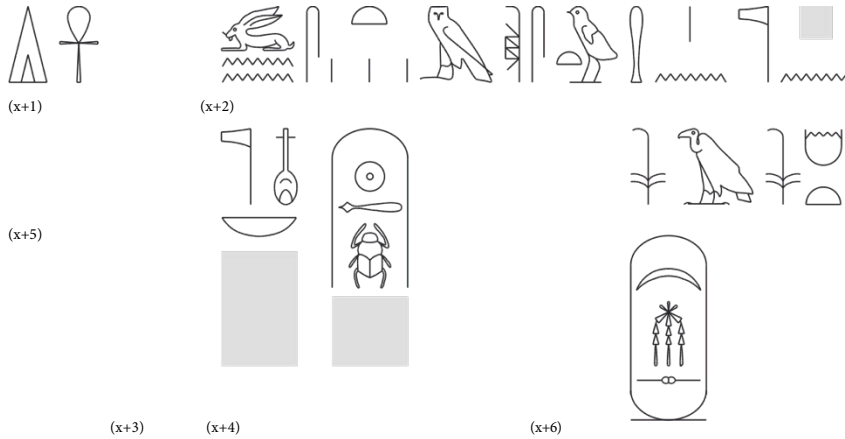
(h) Space for 0.5 groups of signs.

(i) Space for 1.5 group of signs. Judging from the spelling, both versions of the word, *nwy* (*Wb.* 2, 221.3–13) and *nwy.t* (*Wb.* 2, 221.14–19), can be reconstructed here. It also seems possible to reconstruct after the word *nwy(.t)* the word *dw3* (*Wb.* 5, 426.6–428.7) in a sentence: *dw3.tj (n) rhy.t nb.t* (“you are praised (by) all *rekhyt*-people”).(j) Space for one group of signs. It is possible to reconstruct here sign *t* and sign *jr* below it.(k) Together with sign *ḥ* at the end of the word there is space for one group of signs. It is possible that it is a word *nḥḥ* (*Wb.* 2, 299.2–302.9) in a sentence: [*jr*].*f* [*nḥḥ*]*ḥ* (“he makes the Eternity”).

(l) Space for 2/3 group of signs.

(m) Space for 2 groups of signs.

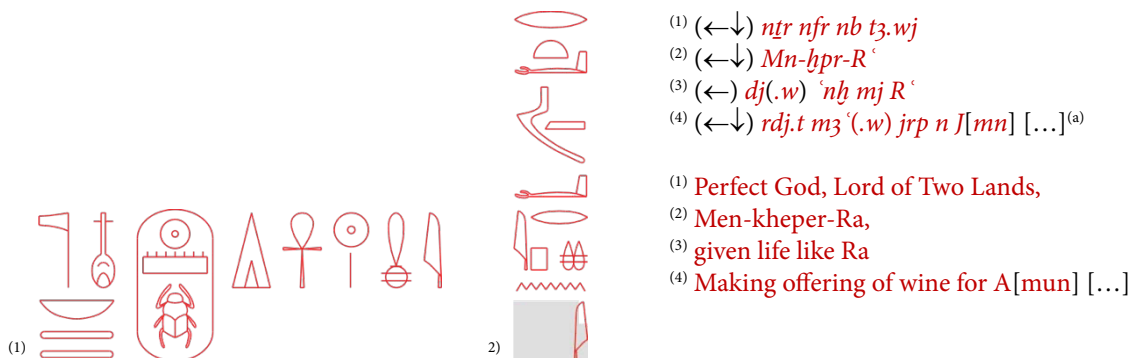
Tx. 14 (around the royal statues):



- (x+1) (←) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *dj(.w) 'nh* (x+1) [...] given life  
 (x+2) (←) *wnn st m šms.tw hm n ntr [p]n [...]* <sup>(b)</sup> (2) They accompany the majesty of this god [...]  
 (x+3) (←↓) *ntr nfr nb [t3.wj]* (3) Perfect God, Lord of [Two Lands]  
 (x+4) (←↓) *'3-hpr-[k3]-R'* (4) Aa-kheper-[ka]-Ra  
 (x+5) (←) *mw.t nswt hm.t nswt* (5) King's Mother, King's Wife Ah-mes  
 (x+6) (←↓) *'h-ms* <sup>(c)</sup>

- (a) It is impossible to establish the number of groups of signs. In the lacuna, there is space for eleven groups of signs, but if other kings wear also high crowns, e.g. white or red crown (and this can be confirmed by block Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 24024 which represents kings in white and red crowns in turn) then the text should be cut in small sections.  
 (b) Space for 4.5 groups of signs.  
 (c) Among representations of royal statues, on the block Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14651 queen Ahmes bears the titles King's Wife and King's Mother (Karkowski, Statuen der königlichen Familie, 110 [10]), the same in the representation of the Opet Festival on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (scene unpublished). In the Upper Shrine of Anubis, she is entitled King's Great Wife, King's Sister, King of Two Lands (Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. XVI), her most elaborated titulary was carved on the west wall of the Upper Courtyard: King's Sister, King's Great Wife, Mistress of Two Lands of Atum, King's Mother (south wing: Pawlicki, Princess Neferure, Figs 7, 8c; north wing: Szafranski, King (?) Neferure, Fig. 4). Although there is a space above the queen, in the representation of royal statues, Ahmes bears only two titles, both present in the inscription.

Tx. 15 (around the statue of Thutmose III):



- (a) The name of Amun is reversed and headed opposite to the bark of Amun. Theoretically, there is a space for one group of signs with the epithet of Amun but no traces of the inscription are detectable in the lower part.

## Commentary

Karkowski remarks that the bark of Amun was reconstructed in an old (i.e. Hatshepsut's) fashion with three priests in each of six rows carrying the bark instead of five of them in each row.<sup>76</sup> There is, however, an important difference in representations from the reign of Hatshepsut and from the time of restoration of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard: in scenes from the Chapelle Rouge, there are three priests in front and three at the back of the bark, not three in each row.<sup>77</sup>

Such a developed procession, with so many participants, is attested in the Luxor temple,<sup>78</sup> but in later temples, this part of decoration was reduced and neither in the Great Hypostyle Hall,<sup>79</sup> in the Medinet Habu temple,<sup>80</sup> nor in Ramesses III temple in Karnak<sup>81</sup> do any scenes with a procession of the bark contain it with liturgical objects.

Tutankhamun introduced some changes in the depiction of the bark of Amun, which can be seen in the representation of Scene 2: goddess Maat as first instead of Hathor, additional king standing with a *nemeset*-vase between a sphinx with as *nemeset*-vase and a kneeling king with *nu*-vases.<sup>82</sup>

There are some features of the bark of Amun in Scene 2 that might suggest, however, that the restoration was introduced during the reign of Horemheb: the souls of Pe and Nekhen and a wide *wesekh*-collar were added by this ruler,<sup>83</sup> as well as pectoral, but on the north wing of the east wall there are no traces of pectoral (Fig. 82), which, of course, could have been painted and not carved. The *wesekh*-collar is wide, but is reminiscent rather of a collar from the times of Tutankhamun or even earlier. The frieze below the roof of the naos is not preserved but the oblique line suggests that the *was*-sceptre was depicted there, and therefore, the frieze of falcons and cobras typical for Horemheb can be expected. The bark is preserved fragmentarily, so other features are not visible in this scene.

Concluding, in Scene 2 some features of the restoration suggest that it was undertaken during the reign of Tutankhamun, some took place under the rule of Horemheb and some are untypical. It seems that probably the scene was first restored by Tutankhamun, maybe even at the beginning of his reign and with the use of old sketches from the time of Hatshepsut, and the bark was altered later by the artisans of Horemheb.<sup>84</sup>

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

### *Procession of the bark of Amun*

Hathor Shrine, Second Hypostyle Hall, south wall:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 65 [4] and references therein

76 Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 156.

77 Burgos, Larché, La chapelle Rouge I, 46 (block 170), 47–48 (block 169), 50 (block 305), 51 (block 26), 53 (block 226), 64 (block 66), 98 (block 40), 111 (block 303), 114 (block 126).

78 The Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet, Pls 4, 17, 35, 36, 42, 68, 100.

79 See: Nelson, The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Pls 53, 180–181, 197.

80 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IV, Pl. 231.

81 The Epigraphic Survey, Ramses III's Temple, Pl. 21.

82 Cf. Karlshausen, L'évolution de la barque processionnelle, Figs 8–9; Karlshausen, L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle, 40–43.

83 Cf. Karlshausen, L'évolution de la barque processionnelle, Fig. 9; Karlshausen, L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle, 43–45.

84 Cf. discussion on the use of archives to reproduce scenes from the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: Schenkel, Zur Frage, 417–441. I would like to thank Sébastien Biston-Moulin for this information.

Southern Middle Portico (Punt Portico), west wall:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 48 [7] and references therein

Upper (Coronation) Portico, west wall, north wing:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 112 [3] and references therein

Upper (Coronation) Portico, west wall, south wing:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 115 [13] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, upper register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 123 [4] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 126 [18] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, upper register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [39] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, north wall, lower register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 167 [211] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, north wall, upper register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 169 [224, 225] and references therein

*Procession of the royal statues*

Northern Lower Portico (Mythological Portico), west wall

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 38 [6] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, north wall, lower register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 167 [211, 212] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, north wall, upper register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 169 [224] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 126 [18] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, upper register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 123–124 [4, 5] and references therein

Block with the representation of royal statues, Brooklyn Museum, New York 86.226.3

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 124 and references therein

Block with the representation of royal statues, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14651

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 171 and references therein

Block with the representation of royal statues, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 24024

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 167 and references therein

Block with the representation of royal statues, Museum August Kestner, Hanover 1935.200.200

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 126 and references therein

*Procession of priests with liturgical objects*

Hathor Shrine, Second Hypostyle Hall, south wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 65 [4] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 126 [18] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, upper register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 123 [4] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, north wall, lower register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 167 [211] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, north wall, upper register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 169 [224, 225] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, upper register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [39] and references therein

## References

- Białostocka, *Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich*, 35, Fig. 10  
 Ćwiek, *Fate of Seth*, Figs 5 (Thutmose III), 6 (falcon jacket of Thutmose III)  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, *Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall*, 72–78, Pl. I, Figs 7–8  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, *Preliminary Report*, 217–219, Pls I–II  
 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 129 [21]  
 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973*, 252–254, Fig. 1  
 Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, 354, Fig. 6 (procession of the royal statues and the upper register of the priests' procession)  
 Karkowski, *Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, 156  
 Karlshausen, *L'iconographie de la barque processionnelle*, 334 [d] (bark of Amun)  
 Leclant, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966*, 196 [25, a, ß], Pls XXXIX–XL [29, 30]  
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIV (clapping priests from the lower register)  
 Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 3 (Thutmose III and a ragment of a text)  
 Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 96, Phot. 3 (Thutmose III and a fragment of a text)  
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 86, Fig. 76 (Thutmose III)  
 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [81.2]

## SCENE 3. THE NILE PROCESSION (Pls 7, 7\*; Tx. 16–55; Cat. nos 54–104)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 179.75 cm; width: 1,020.75 cm at the bottom and 1,041.80 cm at the top;  
*dado-frieze* height: 19.70 cm

**State of preservation:** This scene, especially in its lower part, is the best-preserved part of the wall. It was depicted, together with a *dado*-frieze, on 79 blocks and 36 block fragments set in five layers of blocks<sup>85</sup> and covers more than half of the wall's length. The most important damages were caused by the bruising of block corners. The upper sub-register and upper parts of the second accompanying bark and the royal ship depicted in the middle sub-register, however, are reconstructed from small fragments of blocks and – for the greatest part – they are missing blocks. The biggest loss is a result of transport of fragment of the wall to the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin,<sup>86</sup> one fragment of a block is also stored in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology,<sup>87</sup> and one in the British Museum in London.<sup>88</sup> Small fragments of reliefs were erased carefully during the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>89</sup> Heavy destruction of the decoration was caused during the Amarna period and later in post-Amarna periods.<sup>90</sup> This was especially the case of the southernmost part of the scene: the Userhat bark of Amun and the last two scenes of butchery and offerings were chiseled out and subsequently restored in these times. The way of treating of both these scenes, however, was different. The bark was removed with a wide chisel, hammered in deeply, in a very rough manner, while scenes of butchery and offerings were erased in the same style as the Theban Triad in Scene 1, in a shallower and more delicate way. Parts of the decoration restored in the post-Amarna period were flatly hewed, the surface of the reconstruction was almost the same as the surface of the background.<sup>91</sup> Colours almost completely disappeared; only on a *dado*-frieze and human bodies were red and yellow colours painted directly on the stone and are still well visible.<sup>92</sup> It is characteristic that in many cases the bodies of the offering bearers, butchers, officials and soldiers were originally painted light red and were later repainted with not very precisely applied dark red. On the other hand, some human figures were painted dark red from the beginning. In the upper sub-register, between legs of marching soldiers, a *dipinto* with an inscription is preserved.

#### Blocks in the museums:

- Group of eight blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636 (Fig. 148)
- Block with the representation of four oarsmen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14332 (Fig. 148)
- Block with the representation of oarsmen, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia E 16216 (Fig. 150)
- Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA1828 (Fig. 202)

#### General description

The shape of Scene 3, rhomboidal, wider in the upper part and narrower in the lower part, results from the architecture of the neighbouring inclined north wall of the Upper Courtyard. The angle of this inclination gives the shape to the north (left) border of Scene 3 and, as a consequence, to the north limits of its northernmost scenes.

85 Blocks Cat. nos 46, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 66, 69, 70, 72, 73, 74, 83, 90, 100, 102, 103, 104; blocks fragments Cat. nos 54, 55, 56, 62, 63, 64, 65, 67, 68, 71, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101. Cat. nos 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 100, 102, 103, 104 were replaced in the wall in the 1970/1971 season; Cat. nos 67, 71, 77, 79, 83 – in the 1971/1972 season; Cat. nos 58, 59, 60, 61, 72, 73, 74 – in the 1972/1973 season; Cat. nos 46, 55, 56, 57, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 70, 75, 76, 78 – in the 1984/1985 season; Cat. nos 54, 68, 80, 81, 82, 84, 85, 86, 87, 90, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 101 – in the 1986/1987 season. Fragment Cat. no. 88 is not placed in the wall. 60 blocks and two blocs fragments were found *in situ*. The date of the replacement of block Cat. no. 69 remains unknown.

86 See below, pp. 159–167, 199–200.

87 See below, pp. 161, 200.

88 See below, pp. 2-6–2-9.

89 See below, pp. 166, 170, 176–177, 180.

90 See below, pp. 166, 170, 177–178, 180–186.

91 For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

92 For the process of applying paint on the wall, see: Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1*, 33, Figs 26, 27; see also above, pp. 45–49.

Contrary to the two previous scenes, this part of the decoration was composed not in one register but was divided into three sub-registers. Two of them occupy the whole length of the scene, the upper one placed above two accompanying barks of the middle sub-register.

Sub-registers are not equal in height, the middle one is higher than the two others, which emphasises its importance. It measures 85.5 cm in height, the upper one is 51.35 cm high and the lower one – 43.5 cm high.

The general direction of Scene 3 was from left to right (i.e. from the north to the south) which means that the first scenes of two sub-registers (upper and lower), as well as the first accompanying bark in the middle sub-register, are placed northernmost and the subsequent scenes follow them (Fig. 48). Individual scenes are directed mainly to the south (i.e. right) but not all of them follow this pattern. From 13 scenes in two sub-registers, seven are headed south (i.e. right)<sup>93</sup> and five north (i.e. left) (Fig. 48).<sup>94</sup>

The upper sub-register is separated by a *ta*-sign, middle register – by a wide strip of water and the lower register is placed directly above a *dado*-frieze. In two upper sub-registers above the whole scene, the *pet*-sign is represented. Scenes are separated without division lines and can be distinguished by the inscriptions,<sup>95</sup> sometimes by a change of direction,<sup>96</sup> and sometimes by the subject of the scene.<sup>97</sup>

The leading topic of Scene 3 is the crossing of the Nile by four ships: the river bark of Amun – Userhat, the royal ship and two accompanying barks represented in the middle sub-register (Scene 3.10).

In the lower sub-register, there are nine scenes carved:

- 3.1. Offering and butchery scenes (→),
- 3.2. Procession of soldiers (→),
- 3.3. Procession of soldiers (←),
- 3.4. Offering and butchery scenes (→),
- 3.5. Offering and butchery scenes (→),
- 3.6. Carrying two thrones (←),
- 3.7. Leading two cheetahs (←),
- 3.8. Offering scene (←),
- 3.9. Offering and butchery scenes (→).

The upper sub-register contains only three scenes:

- 3.11. Offering and butchery scenes (→),
- 3.12. Procession of soldiers (←),
- 3.13. Procession of soldiers (→).

## LOWER SUB-REGISTER (Pls 8, 8\*; Tx. 16–36; Cat. no. 54)

**Dimensions of the lower sub-register:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 1,020.75 cm

### SCENE 3.1. OFFERING AND BUTCHERY SCENES (Pls 9, 9\*; Tx. 16–17)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 131.75 cm (upper part) and 128.7 cm (lower part)

<sup>93</sup> Scenes 3.1. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.2. Procession of soldiers, 3.4. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.5. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.9. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.11. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.13. Procession of soldiers.

<sup>94</sup> Scenes 3.3. Procession of soldiers, 3.6. Carrying two thrones, 3.7. Leading two cheetahs, Scene 3.8. Offering scene, 3.12. Procession of soldiers.

<sup>95</sup> Scenes 3.1. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.2. Procession of soldiers, 3.3. Procession of soldiers, 3.4. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.5. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.6. Carrying two thrones, Scene 3.8. Offering scene, 3.9. Offering and butchery scenes, 3.11. Offering and butchery scenes.

<sup>96</sup> Scenes 3.12. Procession of soldiers, 3.13. Procession of soldiers.

<sup>97</sup> Scene 3.7. Leading two cheetahs.



Fig. 109. Scene 3.1. Offering and butchery scenes (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

**State of preservation:** The scene is carved on six blocks<sup>98</sup> set in two layers. It is the northmost fragment of the wall in the lowest part of the decoration and the best-preserved fragment of the whole wall.<sup>99</sup> The north border of this part of the wall is of a rhomboidal shape, expanding in the direction of the north upper corner. The south ending of the scene is vertical. The decoration is almost complete, only very small gaps are a result of the bruising of block corners and the last right block lacks its right upper corner. The destructions of the surface come from the time of Thutmose III in part of the horizontal inscription. There are also Amarna period erasures of some parts of both inscriptions, as well as their restorations. Finally there is Coptic chiseling out human bodies with a special emphasis on faces, knees and elbows.<sup>100</sup> Most of the colours have disappeared, although the red colour of an upper stripe of a *dado*-frieze and human bodies, and the yellow colour of a *dado*-frieze, both applied directly on the stone, are well preserved.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene consists of two separate parts united under one inscription (**Fig. 109**). It represents bringing offerings on a small offering table and cutting the foreleg of a bull. Three men (→) approach the offering table, the first one puts the foreleg and a goose on the offering table, the second one carries a censer, while the third one holds a bowl with a cone of incense and a duck (**Fig. 110**). Behind offering bearers, the scene of cutting the bull's foreleg by two butchers (→) (←) takes place (**Fig. 111**). Above the whole scene and in front of it a hieroglyphic inscription is carved.

An offering table (**Fig. 112**) is a kind of small altar on a long stand tapering upwards. The upper part of it is lost. On the offering table two oval and one round loaves of bread and cow's head are depicted in the lower layer, then ribs, a bull's foreleg and a duck laid on a ridge with the head hanging down. On two sides of the altar, a pair of lettuces inside and long vessels with sharp ends and oval bottoms, placed on short stands and surrounded by lotus flowers outside are set up. Between the offering table and the first man, a bowl with

98 The blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

99 Interestingly, Naville wrote: "The procession that was engraved below the boats has been entirely destroyed on this side" (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* V, 4). It is difficult to understand this statement, this part of the wall was still *in situ* at the time of uncovering, as the scene with the boats was placed on it, Lepsius removed blocks stored now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 1636) directly from the wall, see above, pp. 13, 15, 17, 25. Maybe this part was covered with mud and rubbish when Naville saw it and only later was cleaned.

100 For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.



Fig. 110. Offering of a duck (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 111. Bull lying on the ground (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

a cone of incense<sup>101</sup> is placed on the ground. Figures of offering bearers<sup>102</sup> are shown walking towards the altar. They are turned right. Two of them have their hair cut short, the third is shaved bald and all of them are

101 In Scene 4.4 similar bowl with a cone is described as *sntr*, see below, pp. 234, 240, Fig. 228.

102 The figures of offering bearers are represented in several places of the temple of Hatshepsut. The most complex scenes are known from the south and north walls of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Neville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pls CVIII–CXII; Stupko-Lubczyńska, *Offering Scenes, passim*) and the north and south walls of the Chapel of Thutmose I (Neville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIX). Offering bearers are also depicted in festivals representations on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Neville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CLV) and the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Neville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXIV and CXXVI). In the north wing of the east wall, it appears in Scenes 3.4, 3.5, 3.8, 3.11, 4.2, 4.4, and 4.5.

Lower register, lower sub-register



Scene 3.1

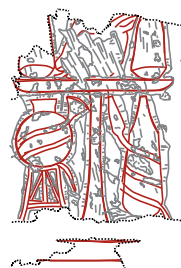


Scene 3.4

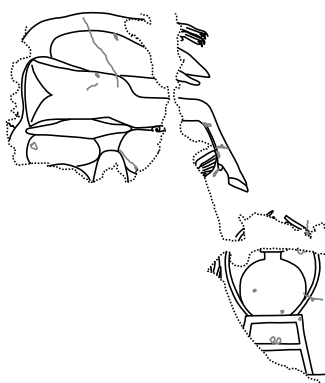


Scene 3.8

Lower register, upper sub-register



Scene 3.9

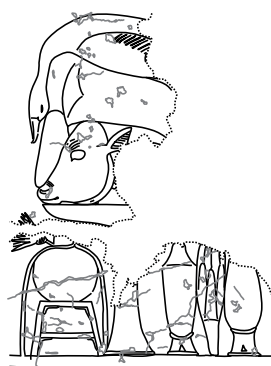


Scene 3.9

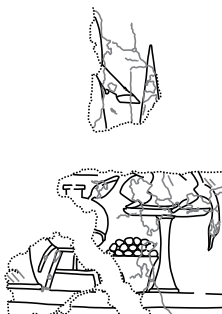


Scene 3.9

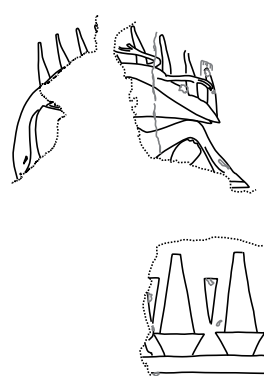
Lower register, lower sub-register



Scene 4.2



Scene 4.2



Scene 4.2

Fig. 112. Offering tables represented in the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (drawing J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 113. Brazier from the tomb of Amenhotep, below the tomb of Senenmut (TT 71), reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 36.3.165, not to scale (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548873>).

barefooted. The first of them in his left hand, extended forward and straight, holds the bull's foreleg placed already on the offering table. He has just put the goose on the altar with his right hand and is adding the foreleg with his left hand. In his left hand, bent at the elbow, the second offering bearer holds an incense pot on a long foot at shoulder height (Fig. 113). His right hand, also bent at the elbow, is extended forward and raised with the palm facing outside. The last man has both hands occupied: he bears the duck by the wings with his right hand and a bowl with a cone of incense with his left hand. The first two men wear knee-length triangle kilts expanding downwards and tied at the belly in a knot.<sup>103</sup> They are made of one piece of textile and in the front part it has an edge of material widely rolled up. The kilt of the first man is preserved only in the front part, and also the middle part of the kilt belonging to the second offering bearer has been destroyed. The last offering bearer is clad in a simple kilt down to the knees, adhering to the

body and supported by a waistband. It was made of a wrapped piece of cloth.<sup>104</sup>

Behind the group of offering bearers, two butchers<sup>105</sup> stand above as laying short-horn bull (Fig. 111).<sup>106</sup> The bull's body is shown frontally but his head is seen in profile. It has a tail tucked under the body, a head with closed eyes supported on nostrils with tongue out. Its three legs are tied in a knot. The tying is precisely prepared, the two back legs embrace its left foreleg and all of them are twisted nine times with a thick rope. The bull's throat is cut in half along the entire length of the neck. Its right foreleg is raised and held in this position by two butchers. The left man leans over the bull and is strongly extended forward. His left hand is straight, and he holds the bull's foreleg in an elbow. His right hand is slightly bent at the elbow and holds the same foreleg in the middle of its forearm. At the same time, the right butcher leans over the bull and with his left hand he keeps the right foreleg at the hoof and with his right hand he cuts out the bull's foreleg in the groin with a long and wide knife with a recurvate handle (Figs 114, 115).<sup>107</sup> The attire of these two men

<sup>103</sup> This type of kilt is represented on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CLV) and the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXVI). It is depicted also in Scenes 3.4, 3.5, 3.8 and 4.2 in the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.

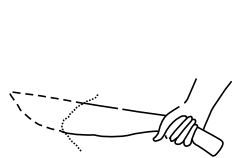
<sup>104</sup> This type of kilt is characteristic for the offering bearers from the south and north walls of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pls CVIII–CXII; Stupko-Lubczyńska, *Offering Scenes, passim*) and the north and south walls of the Chapel of Thutmose I (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIX). Offering bearers from the Opet Festival are also dressed this way (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV). It is also worn by the royal officials during the same festival (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV). It is probably represented in Scene 4.5 of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.

<sup>105</sup> The scenes with butchers are represented together with the depictions of offering-bearers. In the temple of Hatshepsut, they are attested on the east wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pl. CVII; Barwik, A "Ghost" Fragment from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, Figs 2–3) and the east wall of the Chapel of Thutmose I (scene unpublished). Butchers also take part in festivals on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CLV) and the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXIV and CXXVI). Butchers are represented also in Scenes 3.4, 3.5, 3.10, 3.11, and 4.1 of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.

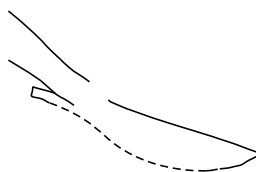
<sup>106</sup> For general information concerning the short-horn cow, see: Osborn, Osbornová, *The Mammals*, 195–196.

<sup>107</sup> Cf. knives in the butchery scenes in the temple: Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pl. CVII; Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIII; Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV; Barwik, A "Ghost" Fragment from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, Figs 2–3. See also Scenes 3.1, 3.4, 3.5, 3.9 and 4.4 of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard. The typology of knives is studied in: Ikram, *Choice cuts*, 66–67, Fig. 14; Bussman, *Sacrificial slaughter*, 101–109, Fig. 109 and references therein.

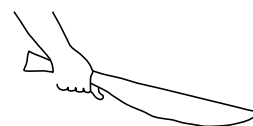
Lower register, lower sub-register



Scene 3.1



Scene 3.4



Scene 3.5



Scene 3.9



Scene 3.9

Upper register, lower sub-register



Scene 4.4

Fig. 114. Knives represented in the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (drawing J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 115. Bronze knife from the tomb of Neferkhawet (MMA 729), reign of Thutmose I–early sole reign of Thutmose III, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 35.3.29, not to scale (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/549132>).

is simple (Fig. 116). They are clad only in a simple kilt in a type of the third offering bearer in this scene, which is supported by a waistband with a knife sharpener attached to the bottom edge of the kilt and stuck by the waistband.<sup>108</sup>

Most of the colours have disappeared and only the yellow and red on a *dado*-frieze and the red of all bodies of two groups of people, butchers and offering bearers, were applied directly on the stone and are still well visible. A brown stain on a whitewash can be also seen on a knife's blade.

#### *Later destructions of decoration*

Judging by the style of destruction, one object was erased during the Amarna period. It was a censer held in the hand of the second offering bearer. The

<sup>108</sup> A knife sharpener is depicted in all scenes with butchers except for the scenes from the lower register of the Opet Festival, which are reconstructed in the post-Amarna period, see above, footnote 17.

erasure is the same kind as damage as sign *hh* (Gardiner sign C11) and is reminiscent of the Amarna style of the destruction of gods in other parts of the temple.

Like most of the scenes in the lower sub-register, this scene was damaged most probably in Coptic times with a narrow chisel of approx. 0.6 cm wide (Fig. 116). The first offering bearer's legs are largely covered with traces of a chisel, while his upper part was left intact. In the representation of the second offering bearer, the traces of the chisel concentrate on the upper part and his left leg. The upper part of the body had the same type of destruction as in the case of the third offering bearer, but also the front parts of his legs, as well as his feet and especially ankles, are chiseled out with many chisel hits. The right butcher was treated the same way, although his right leg is intact, while the rest of the body is densely covered with chisel hits. The face, elbows and the only visible, right, leg of the left butcher are erased, while his torso did not suffer any damage. There are also traces of narrow chisel hits on animal hieroglyphs.



Fig. 116. Butcher at work (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

There are two inscriptions connected with this scene preserved on three blocks. The first of them is strongly damaged. This inscription was executed in a column, without the division lines. The width of a group of signs measures approx. 6.2 cm. It contains the name and epithet(s?) of Amun-Ra. Nothing can be said about the original inscription, the lowering of the surface is deep and at the same time wider than the width of the original text (it also includes the head of a snake in word *dd*) of which only the sign *wdn* remained. Only one epithet of Amun-Ra is preserved, *nb ns.wt t3.wj*, but there is still *lacuna* for three groups of signs. Judging by the lower part of decoration at a *dado*-frieze, the text did not occupy the entire possible space and there was still a place for a stalk of a lotus flower surrounding the long vase on a stand.

The second text was carved above the heads of represented personages on the whole length of the scene, in one line of the text and is a continuation of the text in the column. The inscription is not distinguished from the scene using the division lines (Tx. 17). Hieroglyphs are headed left and proportional to the size of the scene and clearly smaller than in Scenes 1 and 2 except for the text preserved around the small royal statues in Scene 2. The height of the signs is approx. 5.2 cm.

Almost the whole middle part of the horizontal inscription was changed. There are two alterations, and their style differs. In the first case, the original phrase was replaced with the phrase *.k nb ntr.w*, which suggests the activity of Amarna period workers. The surface is deeply recessed and exceeds the area of hieroglyphs overlapping adjacent signs. It was cut out with a thick chisel, approx. 1.3 cm wide, with four chisel impacts in the middle of the line of the text. The surface then was polished, but four holes left by the chisel are still visible.


The second erasure is much longer and also much flatter. It was cut out in a rectangular shape and the area of damage covers only the space of the hieroglyphs. It combines alterations from different periods. The original phrase began, most probably, under signs *šsp bw nfr*. The style of this alteration is reminiscent of the style of the inscription which replaced the figure of Hatshepsut in Scene 2, although these signs are much smaller and therefore less carefully executed. The surface, after removing the original part of the inscription following *šsp bw nfr*, was prepared carefully and has not recessed significantly. It seems very probable then, that in the times of Thutmose III the empty space replaced the cartouche of Hatshepsut and one group of signs behind the name of Amun, which directly followed the phrase *šsp bw nfr*. Traces of a vertical line, which was probably the back line of the cartouche, can be seen on both signs *t3* and *t* in the epithet of Amun added in

the post-Amarna period. The part of the inscription behind the name of Amun was not erased by Amarna period iconoclasts because the surface was then empty, without a name of the god. It is noteworthy that in the Amarna period another part of the horizontal inscription was also erased in a style which is similar to the destructions of gods in the Amarna period but on a smaller scale: the sign *hh* (Gardiner sign C11) was delicately hammered out. In the post-Amarna period, it was decided that the text should be reconstructed, and signs were embedded in a slightly lowered surface. The name of Amun was restored and is now more recessed than the epithets of the god, which replaced the empty space left by workers of Thutmose III. At the end of the inscription another destruction can be seen that comes from the same time as the damages made to the bodies of the butchers and offering bearers, i.e. possibly from the Coptic times. This time, signs *m* (Gardiner sign G17) and *hpr* (Gardiner sign L1) were removed with a narrow chisel. Some traces of chisel hits of the same size can be seen accidentally on signs Gardiner sign I10 in word *dd*, Gardiner sign M23 in word *nswt*, and Gardiner sign O23 in word *hb sd*. All signs that replaced the original text in both periods were much more poorly executed, in a rough style, and visibly recessed. The post-Amarna signs were, however, even worse made than these from the reign of Thutmose III.

The colours of the inscriptions are generally not preserved, only the sign *b* (Gardiner sign D38) bears traces of red. It is difficult to say, however, if this is its original colour or a drop of paint that had run down, while used for technical notes on the wall or Coptic paintings. A similar drop fell on a breast of a duck on an offering table. Traces of the red line, probably an outline, are detectable on edges of signs *b*, *w*, *nfr* and *r* in the phrase *šsp bw nfr*.

*Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 16 (before an offering table):

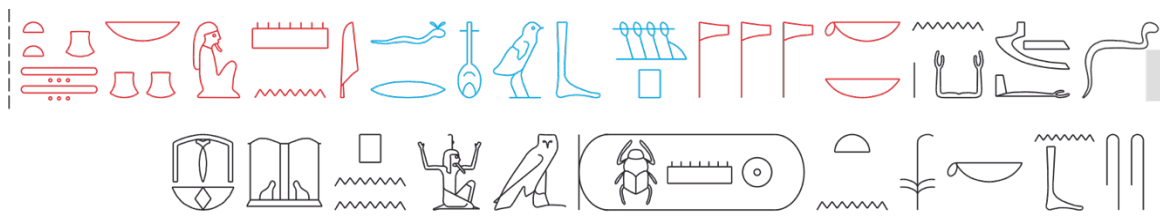


(↓→) *w**d**n*<sup>(a)</sup> [*n*] *Jmn-R' nb ns.wt t3.wj* [...]<sup>(b)</sup>

Offering for Amun-Ra, Lord of Thrones of Two Lands [...]

(a) The sign is damaged for the greatest part.  
 (b) Max. three groups of signs.

Tx. 17 (above butchers and offering bearers):



(→) *dd*<sup>(a)</sup> [*mdw*]<sup>(b)</sup> *m3' n k3.k nb ntr.w šsp bw nfr Jmn*<sup>(c)</sup> *nb ns.wt t3.wj ssnb.k nswt*<sup>(d)</sup> *Mn-hpr*<sup>(e)</sup>-*R' m*<sup>(f)</sup> *hh*<sup>(g)</sup> *pn n hb sd*<sup>(h)</sup>

[Words] spoken: offering for your **ka, Lord of Gods, take good things, Amun, Lord of Thrones of Two Lands**, so that you make healthy the king Men-kheper-Ra in this million of *Sed*-festivals.

- (a) The sign Gardiner sign I10 and its surroundings are damaged with six chisel hits, the width of the chisel of 0.48 cm wide indicates that it was done in the Coptic period.
- (b) The sign can be seen in a negative – the line of destruction follows the left edge of the sign.
- (c) Post-Amarna name of Amun is deeper inserted than the rest of the alteration.
- (d) Sign *sw* in word *nswt* is touched by two chisel hits, 0.48 cm wide, probably in the Coptic period.
- (e) Sign *hpr* and its surroundings are damaged with three chisel hits, probably in the Coptic period.
- (f) Sign *m* is damaged with nine chisel hits, probably in the Coptic period.
- (g) Sign *hh* is damaged with minor chisel hits, probably in the Amarna period.
- (h) Sign of a shrine (Gardiner sign O23) is damaged with eight chisel hits, probably in the Coptic period.

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

Southern Lower Portico (Obelisks Portico), west wall, lower register, lower sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 33 [3] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, lower register, lower sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 130 [28] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, lower register, upper sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 130 [29] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, upper register, lower sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [32, 34] and references therein

For offering scenes, see: Scene 3.8.

For butchery scenes, see: Scene 3.9.

### References

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 130 [25]

PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]

Szafrański, The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2004/2005, Fig. 11

## SCENE 3.2. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 10, 10<sup>\*</sup>; Tx. 18–19)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 42.2 cm; width: 144.2 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is depicted on five blocks<sup>109</sup> set in two layers, one lower block with a *da-do*-frieze is missing. The state of preservation is different for each block, the middle fragment of the decoration of the scene is lost for the greatest part. The surface of this part of the wall has been altered to a small degree during the reign of Thutmose III, has been damaged in the Amarna period and suffered more serious de-

<sup>109</sup> The blocks were not removed from the wall and therefore are not included in the catalogue.



Fig. 117. Scene 3.2. Procession of soldiers (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 118. Long spear with a leaf-shaped blade, tomb of Senenmut (TT 71), reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York MMA 36.3.206c, not to scale (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/577573>).

struction during the Coptic times.<sup>110</sup> Colours, like in other cases, are preserved in this place where the paint was applied directly on the wall: the red colour of human bodies, red and yellow on a *dado*-frieze and white on the kilts of soldiers can be well seen.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene represents a troop of nine soldiers (→) marching on a *dado*-frieze and headed to the right (Fig. 117). They belong to a group of infantry chosen and entrusted by the king: followers of the pharaoh (*šms.w-pr.wj- 3*).<sup>111</sup> Two inscriptions are carved, one in front of them and another one above their heads. They all are barefooted with simple black wigs on their heads. All of them are armed and they wear a simple garment

<sup>110</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>111</sup> The same troop is represented on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-1). See also Scene 4.12 below. On followers of the pharaoh, see: Faulkner, *Egyptian Military Organization*, 36–39, 44; Helck, *Der Einfluss der Militärführer*, 41.



a.

Fig. 119. Splayed axes, not to scale: a. bronze axe, Courtyard CC 41, Tomb 47, Burial 31, Asasif, New Kingdom, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York MMA 26.7.839 (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547023>); b. bronze axe blade, tomb of Senenmut (TT 353), reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.475 (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548911>).



b.

– a knee-length, white kilt<sup>112</sup> made of one triangular piece of cloth tied around the waist with two ends of the material, while the third end is stretched between the legs and plugged behind the knot. The kilt is fastened with a waistband with rectangular tips falling to half thigh.

The first soldier is headed right. His arms are raised and bent at the elbows. He is armed with a splayed axe (**Fig. 118**) carried in his left hand, raised and stretched forward. He holds a spear and a shield in the right hand. The spear is very long, and its leaf-shaped blade reaches above the soldier's head (**Fig. 119**). The shield is rounded, wider at the top, at the bottom it is straight and narrower. It is held at shoulder level. The figure of the soldier is almost entirely preserved, only his right leg is in the *lacuna*.

The second soldier turned right, has a splayed axe in his left hand at face height and a military standard (**Fig. 120**) in his right hand at chest height. His arms are raised and bent at the elbows. The standard belongs to the commonest type of standards representing flabellum *behet* depicted behind the king.<sup>113</sup> The man is preserved from the waist up, and his left arm and right elbow are damaged.

Only the right heel, an edge of a shield and a leaf-shaped blade of a spear are all that remain of the third soldier.

<sup>112</sup> This type of kilt is the most popular one and is represented in Scenes 3.2, 3.12, 4.6, and probably 4.7. In the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari it is depicted also on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV); on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1); on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIV).

<sup>113</sup> Faulkner, *Egyptian Military Standards*, 13, Fig. 1. This type of standard appears also in the temple of Hatshepsut in other scenes: on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall, Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1); in the lower register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (six blocks from Oriental Museum, University of Durham, Durham N500: Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 59–60); on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV). See also below, scenes: 3.3, 3.13, 4.6, 4.12.

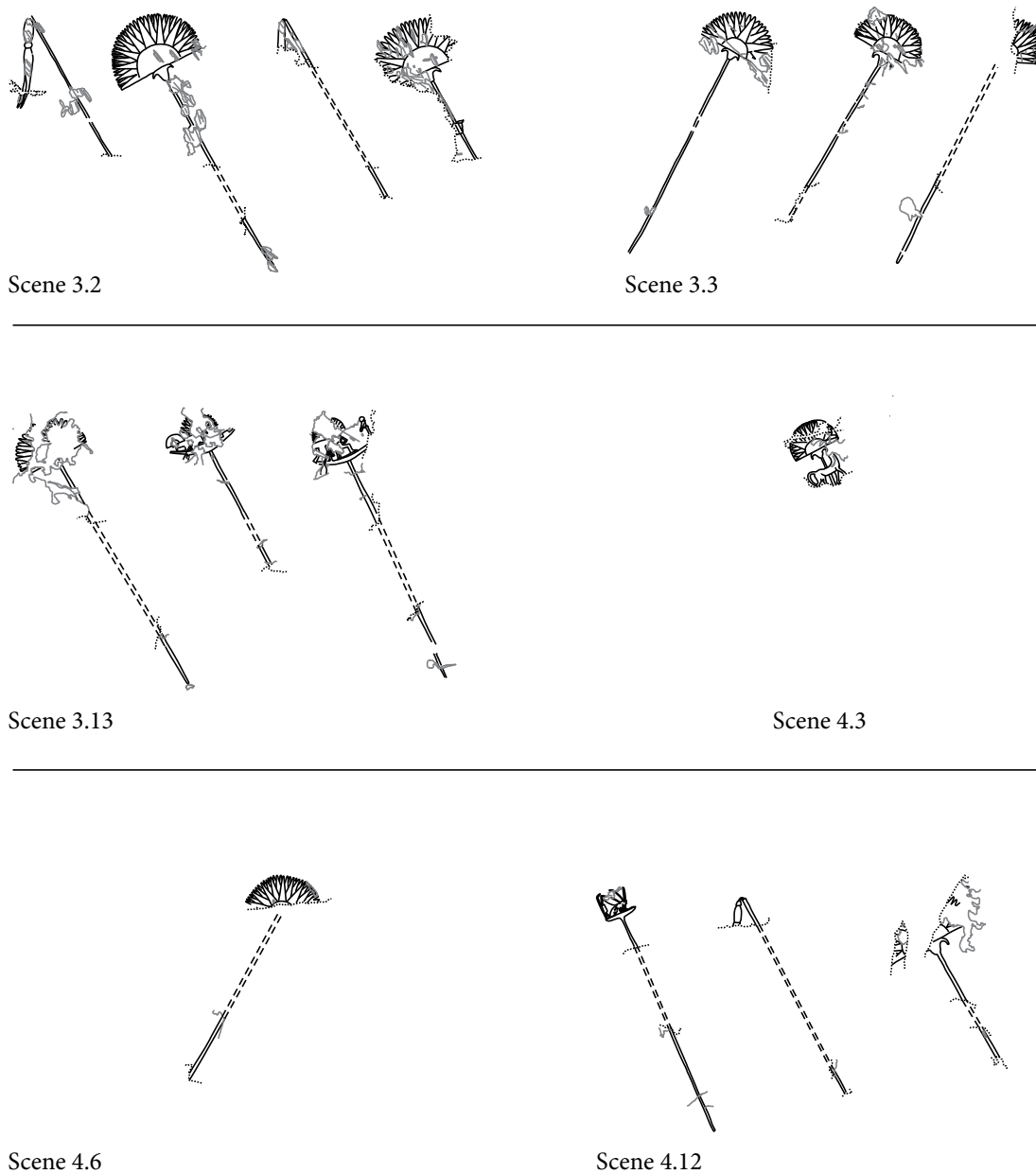


Fig. 120. Standards represented in the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (drawing J. Iwaszczuk).

The fourth soldier holds in his right hand a standard of a type described by Raymond O. Faulkner as “some curious objects pendant from long staves.”<sup>114</sup> It consists of a long staff and probably a piece of material attached by a quite thin rope. The figure of the soldier is preserved from the waist down. Only a small fragment of his kilt and the left heel and the right leg can be seen.

<sup>114</sup> Faulkner, *Egyptian Military Standards*, 16, Figs 23, 27, 30. This type of standard appears also in the temple of Hatshepsut in other scenes on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d’Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1) and the lower register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (six blocks from Oriental Museum, University of Durham, Durham EG500: Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 59–60). See also below, scene: 6.2.



Fig. 121. Parallel beginning of Scene 3.2 and 3.3 (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The fifth soldier, looking right, holds in the left hand a *khepesh*-sickle sword<sup>115</sup> and in the right hand, a shield and a spear with a leaf-shaped blade. Only the tip of the blade is preserved, however. It is similar to the weapon of the seventh soldier. The shape of the shield and the spear as well as the position of hands are the same as in the case of the first soldier. The middle part of the figure and his left leg are lost. From the position of the shield it can be deduced that at least his right arm is raised and bent at the elbows.

The sixth soldier walks right but his head is turned left as if he is looking back. His figure is preserved from the waist down. His arms are raised and bent at the elbows. In his left hand, he holds a splayed axe by the handle, and in the right hand, he carries a bow case<sup>116</sup> and two quivers.<sup>117</sup> The quivers are clearly made of skin, as can be seen on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine.<sup>118</sup>

<sup>115</sup> A similar *khepesh*-sickle sword is depicted in the lower register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (six blocks from Oriental Museum, University of Durham, Durham N500: Birch, Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, 59–60). On a *khepesh*-sickle sword, see: Lenk-Chevitch, Note Concerning the Distribution of the Sickle-Sword, 81–84; Müller, Zwei weitere Sichelschwerter, 215–222; Galán, Victory and Border, 69–73; Martínez Babón, Historia de la espada curva, *passim*; Wernick, A Khepesh Sword, 151–155; Vogel, Hieb- und stichfest, 271–286; Vogel, Icon of Propaganda and Lethal Weapon, 71–87; Forstner-Müller, A new scimitar from Tell el-Dab'a, 207–211.

<sup>116</sup> Similar bow cases are depicted on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-1); lower register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (six blocks from Oriental Museum, University of Durham, Durham N500: Birch, Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, 59–60) and on the south wall of the Punt Portico (Neville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIX). On the bow cases, see: Veidmeijer, Ikram, Deconstructing and Construction, 35–45. See also Scenes 4.6 and 4.11 below.

<sup>117</sup> Bow cases and quivers are usually represented together, cf. representations listed in footnote 27. On quivers, see: Veidmeijer, Ikram, Deconstructing and Construction, 35–45. See also Scenes 4.6 and 4.11 below.

<sup>118</sup> Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-1.

The seventh soldier is faced right. He carries a *khepesh*-sickle sword in his left hand at shoulder level. In his right hand, also at shoulder level, he holds a spear and a shield, both the same as in type as are represented in the hand of the first soldier. His arms are raised and bent at the elbows. The back part of his kilt is preserved, his left leg is lost, only the rests of the left foot are still visible.

The next soldier, eighth in a row, is turned right. In his left hand, he holds a splayed axe by a shaft faced towards the torso, at shoulder level. In his right hand, he carries a flabellum *behet*-shaped standard, the same as the second soldier. Both his hands are raised and bent at the elbows. The depiction of his garment is destroyed. Only a waistband is preserved and a *lacuna* covers his belly and right leg. The right foot is not destroyed.

The last soldier walks right. In his left hand, he holds a splayed axe in the same way as the previous soldier. In his right hand, he carries a standard: a piece of material with a knot attached to a long stave.<sup>119</sup> The figure of the soldier is completely preserved from the waist up, the middle part of his kilt and lower parts of his legs and feet are also visible. Both his arms are raised and bent at the elbows.

The red and yellow colours of a *dado*-frieze, as well as the red colour of bodies, are very well preserved. It is, however, worth mentioning that the red of the soldiers' bodies was originally much lighter and was repainted with a dark red paint later.

#### *Later destruction of decoration*

The later destructions have a strange character. They concern the text represented in front of soldiers and figures of soldiers.

The upper inscription is almost left intact, the only change during the reign of Thutmose III was the replacement of suffix *-s* to *-k* in a phrase *dj.f n.s/k*.

During the Amarna period, the word *hnmw* in the vertical inscription was damaged, together with the neighbouring word *hnmw* in the inscription in front of another troop of soldiers headed left from Scene 3.3 (Fig. 121). Deep chisel hits left four big holes. Other damage executed with a narrow chisel or a burin covers a large fragment of a text containing the name of the crew of the king's ship. The sign *dd* (Gardiner R11) in the horizontal inscription bears traces of hits by a narrow chisel or burin, most probably from the Amarna period,<sup>120</sup> although the selection of signs seems to be accidental. Hieroglyphs destroyed with a narrow chisel or a burin were left intact by the restorers.

This horizontal inscription was partially destroyed during the Coptic period. Chisel hits are the same as in the previous scene, approx. 0.48 cm wide. The same type of destruction as on animal hieroglyphs can be observed on the figures of soldiers. They are the same as Coptic damages described in Scene 3.1, made with a thin chisel. Destructions include the heads, arms and legs of figures. The first soldier has four chisel hits on his head but most of the face is intact, his left arm is completely destroyed with eight chisel hits, some accidental hits can be seen on his belly and a shield, his knee is removed with one accurate hit, two hits touched the calf and another one can be seen on an ankle. The second soldier's head was damaged with six chisel hits and one hit can be observed on his left arm. The right foot of the fourth soldier was also attacked with a narrow chisel together with the lower part of the right leg of the fifth man. This soldier has his face destroyed with at least three hits by a narrow chisel. The left forearm and the head of the sixth man in the row were treated the same way. The whole face of the seventh soldier was erased with chisel hits, some destructions can be also observed on his left arm and right leg together with the right leg of the next, eighth man. The body of this soldier was chiseled out more deeply, his face removed with three chisel hits, his torso and the right arm are covered with chisel hits of the same style and even his axe was hammered. The right foot of the eighth man together with the left foot of the ninth soldier were also erased and his left leg was also chiseled out. As in the case of the eighth soldier, the ninth one also has the upper part of his body, his face and even the upper part of the standard treated with chisel hits.

119 Faulkner, *Egyptian Military Standards*, 16, Fig. 23.

120 Cf. the destruction of the sign *hh* (Gardiner sign C11) in Scene 3.1.

## Inscriptions

### General description

There are two inscriptions in Scene 3.2, the vertical one on the right side of the scene and the horizontal one above the scene, along its whole length.

The vertical inscription is represented on one block (Tx. 18). It is depicted in front of soldiers at the right end of the scene, at almost full height, carved in one column without the division lines. Signs are headed right. The width of the group of signs is approx. 5 cm. All signs can be read although their conditions are rather poor. This is a result of damage from the Amarna period: most of the signs are erased with a narrow chisel or burin. The style and size of the original hieroglyphs is similar to those from the previous scene (3.1). Only the word *hnw* was deemed necessary to be re-carved for the restorers in the post-Amarna period, in a recessed round surface, while the signs *nw* and determinative Gardiner sign A8 were reconstructed in stone, most probably word *jr.t* and sign *h* were reproduced in plaster because of holes in stone, and later the plaster fell off. The style of reconstructed Gardiner sign A8 is reminiscent of the reconstruction of the figure making the *hnw* gesture on the bark of Amun. Most of the signs in this inscription were erased with the use of a narrow chisel or a burin.

The inscription in the upper part of the decoration is preserved almost completely (Tx. 19). It is a continuation of the vertical inscription. It is preserved on three blocks, carved in a single line placed above the soldiers' heads and pointing right. No division lines distinguish it from the scene. The height of the hieroglyphs is approx. 4.7 cm. In the reign of Thutmose III suffix *-s* was changed to *-k* in a phrase *dj.f n.s/k*. The only hieroglyph destroyed during the Amarna period, and most probably never reconstructed, is a *dd*-sign (Gardiner sign R11). The main corpus of damages of the inscription come from the Coptic period and concerns animal representations.

### Transcription, Transliteration, Translation

Tx. 18 (before soldiers):

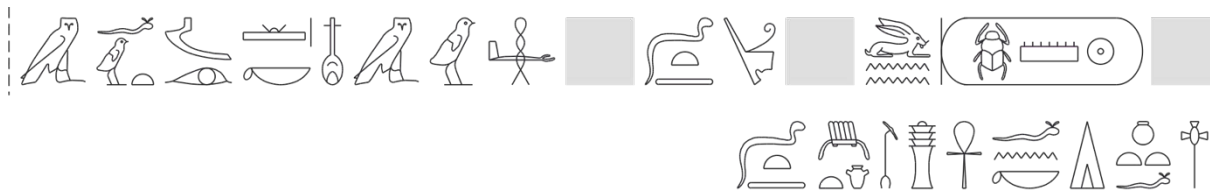


(↓→) [jr.t] *hnw*<sup>(a)</sup> *jn*<sup>(b)</sup> *šms.w*<sup>(c)</sup> *pr.wj-ʿ3* *nḥ*<sup>(d)</sup> *wd3 snb*<sup>(e)</sup>

[Making] **jubilation** by the followers of the pharaoh, may he live, be healthy and be well

- (a) Word *hnw* was erased with a wide chisel and partially reconstructed together with the opposite word *hnw*. Sign *h* is unpreserved, signs *nw* and Gardiner sign A8 were restored in stone.
- (b) Gardiner sign A27 in word *jn* was erased with a narrow chisel or a burin and never restored. The shape of the sign is well visible.
- (c) Word *šms.w* (signs Gardiner signs T18, S29 and D55) was erased with a narrow chisel or a burin and never restored, only three strokes at the end of the word were left intact.
- (d) Sign *nḥ* (Gardiner sign S34) was erased with a narrow chisel or a burin and never restored.
- (e) Sign *s* (Gardiner sign S29) was erased with a narrow chisel or a burin and never restored.

Tx. 19 (above soldiers):



(→) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *Mn*<sup>(b)</sup>-*hpr-R* ' *wnn*<sup>(c)</sup>[.k] [...] <sup>(d)</sup> *n* *d.t*<sup>(e)</sup> [*jb.f*]<sup>(f)</sup> *h* ' *w*<sup>(g)</sup> *m nfr.k m33.f tw m*<sup>(h)</sup> *ndt.t.f*<sup>(i)</sup> *dj.f n.k*<sup>(j)</sup> ' *nh dd*<sup>(k)</sup> *w3s 3w.t-jb d.t*<sup>(l)</sup>

[...] Men-kheper-Ra, you are [...] forever, [his heart] rejoices in your perfection, he sees you as his protector(?), he gives you life, stability, power, and joy for eternity.

- (a) Space for one group of signs. Judging from Tx 21, *nswt bjtj* can be reconstructed here.
- (b) On sign *mn* (Gardiner sign Y5) there are traces of two, probably accidental, hits of a narrow chisel, probably from the Coptic period.
- (c) Sign *wn* (Gardiner sign E34) was hit vertically with a narrow chisel probably in the Coptic period.
- (d) Space for one group of signs if any.
- (e) Gardiner sign I10 was removed with four chisel hits probably in the Coptic period.
- (f) Space for one group of signs.
- (g) Gardiner sign G43 was removed with four chisel hits probably in the Coptic period.
- (h) On Gardiner sign G17 three hits in the preserved back part can be seen.
- (i) Sign *f* was damaged in the central part with a narrow chisel or a burin and never restored.
- (j) Suffix *-s* was replaced with *-k* during the reign of Thutmose III.
- (k) Sign *dd* (Gardiner sign R11) was damaged with a narrow chisel or a burin and never restored. The shape of the sign is detectable.
- (l) Gardiner sign I10 was destroyed with four chisel hits probably in the Coptic period.

## Commentary

The troop of followers of the pharaoh, which is represented in this scene, is the most entrusted group by the king. Its presence in the festival suggests the actual presence of the king as well. The followers of the pharaoh are not homogeneous and belong to different groups of people consisting not only of soldiers armed with axes, spears and shields. The incomplete name *šms.w pr.wj- 3* appears also in Scene 4.12, although the garment represented there differs from the one in Scene 3.2. Another group of servants carrying the throne appears in Scene 3.6. Their dress is the same as the dress of soldiers in Scene 3.2 and they are also referred to as *šms.w pr.wj- 3*. Similar groups are represented in Scenes 4.6 and 4.11. They are clad in kilts with waistbands long to the thigh and they are armed with bows. The same group as in Scene 3.2 is also depicted on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine.<sup>121</sup> In the scenes of the Opet Festival represented in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, the group called *s3 n.w km3.w* is described “as followers of the pharaoh” (*m šms.w pr.wj- 3*).<sup>122</sup> They hold long staffs and axes in their hands and are represented as fat people with big bellies clad differently: they wear a very short kilt or an apron with a patch at the back and a naval loincloth. This dress is characteristic of a ship’s crew. The group of followers of the pharaoh did not take part in all festivals represented in the temple: they do not appear on the occasion of the arrival of ships with obelisks decorating the west wall of the Obelisks Portico.

121 Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d’Hathor II, Pl. 17-1.

122 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXV.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

- Southern Middle Portico (Punt Portico), south wall, lower register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 44 [3] and references therein
- Southern Lower Portico (Obelisks Portico), west wall, lower register, lower sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 33 [3] and references therein
- Hathor Shrine, Second Hypostyle Hall, north wall, lower register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 67 [11] and references therein
- Hathor Shrine, Second Hypostyle Hall, north wall, upper register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 67 [13] and references therein
- Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, lower register, upper sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [30] and references therein
- Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, upper register, lower sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [30] and references therein
- Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, upper register, upper sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [38] and references therein
- Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register, upper sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [33, 35, 37] and references therein
- Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register, lower sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 125–126 [12, 16] and references therein
- Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14507  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 124 and references therein
- Block with a procession of soldiers, Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati 1997.5  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 124
- Six blocks with the representation of soldiers, Oriental Museum, University of Durham, Durham N500  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 126 and references therein
- Block with men carrying a throne, Musée de Picardie, Amiens M.P.3053.108  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 and references therein
- Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14141  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 133 and references therein
- Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 18542  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 133 and references therein
- Block with a procession of soldiers, Antikenmuseum Basel Sammlung Ludwig, Basel BS Ae 1009  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 248 and references therein
- Fragment of a block with soldiers, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.G.A. 4503.1943  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 248 and references therein

- Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA1828  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 250 and references therein
- Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA48077  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 250 and references therein
- Fragment of a block with a soldier, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford AN1961.399  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 250 and references therein
- Block with soldiers, Musée des Beaux Arts et d'Archéologie Joseph Déchelette, Roanne, no number given  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 251 and references therein
- Block with two soldiers, Randall Collection  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 251 and references therein
- Block with a soldier, private collection, Australia  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 251 and references therein
- Block with a soldier, private collection, Australia  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 251 and references therein

## References

- Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 130 [24]  
PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]

## SCENE 3.3. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 11, 11\*; Tx. 20–21; Cat. no. 54)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 42.25 cm; width: 208.5 cm

**State of preservation:** Scene 3.3 is represented on eight blocks and two fragments of blocks<sup>123</sup> set in two layers. The condition of the blocks is different for each block. Most of the blocks have chipped off corners and edges. One block is incomplete and preserved in two pieces. Some alterations of the decoration can be dated to the reign of Thutmose III, more to the Amarna period and the biggest group of damages can be connected with the Coptic times.<sup>124</sup> Colours are not preserved except in these places where they were applied directly on the stone: red and yellow on a *dado*-frieze, the red of the bodies of soldiers and the white of their kilts. In some cases, the black colour of their wigs is detectable. Sometimes also the blue greyish colour of a background can be seen. On some hieroglyphs survived very delicate traces of different colours.

<sup>123</sup> The blocks and one fragment of the block were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue. Fragment of block Cat. no. 55 was replaced in season 1986/1987.

<sup>124</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.



Fig. 122. Scene 3.3. Procession of soldiers (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Description

### *Original decoration*

Opposite to the group of the followers of the pharaoh comes the twice-as-big troop of the crew of the king's ship (←) (**Fig. 122**). Eighteen soldiers are marching to the left. Their silhouettes seem to be very similar to the silhouettes of the previous troop, but they differ in dress and weapon. All soldiers, as in Scene 3.2, are barefooted and their heads are decorated with simple black wigs. Most of them have no navel marked. In their hands, they hold splayed axes and twigs of the persea tree (*Mimusops laurifolia*). Their dress belongs to the traditional naval attire: a simple short white kilt made of triangle textile of which two corners were tied together on the belly and the third was pulled between the legs and under the tied corners hanging down. This hanging down corner is sometimes cut flat at the end and in some cases is oval. The back part of the kilt is always painted. Over the kilt, another piece of garment, a naval loincloth,<sup>125</sup> was put on. It was made of webbed leather with a square patch at the seat and fastened around the waist with a thin strip of leather.

The group of two soldiers is represented on the first block (**Fig. 121**). The first soldier turned left, is walking with his right leg stretched forward. His arms are raised and bent at the elbow. In his right hand, he holds a splayed axe at face height and a military standard of a shape of a flabellum *behet* (**Fig. 120**) in the left hand at chest height.<sup>126</sup> His right foot is damaged as well as the toes of the left foot. A square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth is not depicted, the corner of his kilt, which hangs down, is cut flat.

The second soldier is only semi-preserved. His back part is cut off by the destruction of the block. He is headed left, marching with his right leg stretched forward. He holds a splayed axe in his right hand at face height, right arm is raised and bent at the elbow, while his left arm is not missing. The lower part of the right foot and the left leg below the knee are damaged. He wears the same dress as the first man, although the only part at the seat that was only painted is not preserved.

The representation of a group of eighth soldiers occupies the surface of the second block (**Fig. 123**). The third soldier is moving left, his left arm cannot be seen as the stone is destroyed in this place, however, he is carrying an axe in his right hand as the top of the axe can be seen behind the head of the second soldier, his right arm is raised and bent at the elbow, he carries a twig of the persea tree in his left hand. The lower parts

<sup>125</sup> Säve-Söderberg, *The Navy*, 75–78. This kind of garment was found in the tomb of Maiherpri, buried in the Valley of the Kings (KV 36) during the reign of Hatshepsut (Carter, Report, 46, Pl. II [right]), one piece is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 03.1035 (<https://collections.mfa.org/objects/130310/loincloth-of-maiherpra>), other pieces from the New Kingdom are stored in the British Museum, London EA2564 ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA2564](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA2564)), EA21999 ([https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA21999](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA21999)). For this kind of garment, see: the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV [twice]); the west wall of the Punt Portico (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pl. LXXIV); the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1); the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXV–CXXVI). Less precisely represented are the oarsmen on boats and in the cases of the Obelisks Portico, the Punt Portico, and Hathor Shrine one can only guess that they are wearing this type of garment. See also Scene 3.13 below.

<sup>126</sup> See above, footnote 24.



Fig. 123. Group of eight soldiers (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

of his legs are almost totally gone, only a right calf is partly visible. He is clad the same way as the rest of the group and the corner of his kilt, which hangs down, has an oval shape.

From the next soldier, fourth in the row, only the upper part from the hips can be seen as a part of the block is missing. The man faces left. The gestures of his hands are the same as in other cases, his arms are raised and bent at the elbow. He holds a splayed axe in his right hand at face height and in his left hand at chest height he carries a military standard of a shape of a flabellum *behet* (Fig. 120). The staff of the standard was added later as it is cut by the belly line. His dress is preserved only in the upper part, but it seems that it was similar to the dress of the other soldiers, and no square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth was depicted.

The fifth soldier's state of preservation is similar to the previous one. Like all the other soldiers, he is marching left, with his hands raised and bent at the elbow. He holds a splayed axe in his right hand at face height and a twig of the persea tree in his left hand. His legs are in the main not preserved, only a thigh of his left leg and upper part of the right thigh can be seen. He is clad the same way as the others, with a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth. Some natural destruction of the stone surface can be noticed on his right arm, chest and belly.

The direction of march, the posture, requisites and dress of the sixth soldier are the same as those of the fifth one. His right leg from the knee down and toes of his left foot are not preserved. A square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth is not depicted and the corner of his kilt, which hangs down, is cut flat.

The seventh soldier is moving the same way, he wears the same garment, although the hanging down corner of his kilt is oval. Nothing can be said about a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth as some traces of the chiseling out can be observed there. He also has a splayed axe in his right hand at face height and a twig of the persea tree in his left hand. His feet are not preserved.

The eighth man is going in the same direction and is clad the same way, with the corner of his kilt, which hangs down, cut flat and without a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth. He carries the same requisites the same way as the previous soldiers. His feet are gone, as the edge of the block is destroyed in the lower part.

The ninth soldier resembles the previous ones: the posture, dress, requisites and direction are the same. The corner of his kilt which hangs down is oval, there is a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth. His right foot and part of the left one are gone. His belly is a little bit bigger, which was corrected by the painter.

The next, tenth soldier is represented on two blocks. Their edges are not preserved, and the middle part of the soldier's body is lost too. Again, the representation of this soldier is similar to the previous ones, the

corner of his kilt hanging down is cut flat, nothing can be said about a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth as it was depicted on the surface now destroyed. The tip of his left feet and the ankle of the right foot are damaged as well as his left forearm and the back of his head.

The third block is decorated with a part of the tenth, eleven, twelfth and a part of the thirteenth soldiers (Fig. 124). The eleventh soldier is rather well preserved. He is marching left, his attire, gestures and requisites are the same as these of the previous soldiers. The corner of his kilt hanging down is oval, he has a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth. His left foot and the middle part of the right one, as well as his right forearm, are destroyed.

Another, twelfth soldier, is preserved only partially. The block is broken and the head of the soldier together with his left shoulder and left arm are gone. Also, the lower part of his left leg down from the knee and his right foot are not preserved. He has navel marked. His posture was probably the same as evidenced by the preserved right arm and rests of a twig of the perseae tree on his chest. His dress is similar to the dress of the other soldiers, the corner of his kilt hanging down is cut flat and a square patch of his naval loincloth is carved at the seat.

The thirteenth soldier is almost completely destroyed. Only his right leg, a fragment of a calf and tip of a left foot are still visible. It is possible to say that he holds a military standard of the shape of a flabellum *behet* (Fig. 120): the lower part of a long stave and an upper part of a flabellum can be seen on the next block.

The last, fourth block is decorated with the representation of five soldiers (Fig. 125). The fourteenth soldier has the same posture, dress, requisites and is going in the same direction as the previous ones. The corner of his kilt, which hangs down is cut flat and a square patch of his naval loincloth is depicted at the seat. His right side, i.e. the right arm and leg from the thigh down and a tip of his left foot are damaged. His navel is marked. He holds a twig of the perseae tree in his left hand.

The fifteenth soldier is marching left but he has his head turned away and he looks right. Again, his attire, as well as gestures and requisites are the same as these of the previous soldiers. The corner of his kilt hanging down is oval and he has a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth. His left foot and right ankle are destroyed. His left shoulder and the part of a chest are cut through by a lime insertion in the stone.

The sixteenth soldier is marching left. His head is almost totally chiseled out, thus the direction of the head is not clear. It may be judged by the position of an axe in the hand of the seventeenth soldier, which would be covering his face, that he is also looking left. The soldier wears the same attire as other soldiers, the hanging down corner of his kilt is cut flat and he has a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth. His gestures and requisites resemble the gestures and requisites of the other soldiers, only the axe in his right hand is turned and its head is faced right and not in the direction of the march. His neck and right shoulder are cut through by a lime insertion in the stone.

The seventeenth soldier is headed the same way as other soldiers. His gestures, requisites and dress are also similar, the hanging down corner of his kilt is oval and a square patch at the seat of his naval loincloth is not depicted. The navel is marked. The neck and lower part of the head are cut through by a lime insertion in the stone. His right ankle and a middle part of the left foot are destroyed as they were depicted at the edge of two stones which have by now been chipped off.



Fig. 124. Group of four soldiers (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 125. Group of five soldiers (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The last, eighteenth soldier resembles the other soldiers in posture, gestures, requisites, attire and the direction of march. The upper part of his head was depicted in the place of the broken fragment of the block and is gone. The corner of his kilt hanging down is cut flat and a square patch is depicted at the seat of his naval loincloth. The right ankle and the middle part of the left foot were represented at the edge of two blocks and are lost.

In this scene, some colours are still visible. The best-preserved is the red colour of a *dado*-frieze and bodies of soldiers, as well as the yellow of a *dado*-frieze, i.e. the colours which were painted directly on the stone. Traces of the white colour of kilts are detectable on most of the soldiers' hips. On the wigs of soldiers, rests of black paint can be seen.

As in the previous scene (Scene 3.2), the red of the soldiers' bodies was repainted, the original one was much lighter. It does not look, however, like an accidental state of preservation of the colour, because in the case of Scene 3.3, the last group of soldiers is represented on the same block as the butcher from Scene 3.4 and the body of the butcher is originally dark red painted while all soldiers have the lighter red colour of the skin.

#### *Later destruction of decoration*

The character of later destructions is similar to the previous Scene 3.2. It concerns the inscriptions as well as figures of soldiers.

In both inscriptions carved in Scene 3.3 changes were made. A large part of a horizontal inscription above the soldiers' heads has been damaged over different periods. The first destruction had taken place during the reign of Thutmose III when the cartouche of Hatshepsut was erased very smoothly, and the only horizontal

upper line of cartouche can still be seen. Names and epithets of Amun were chiseled out during the Amarna period with deep hits of 1.1 cm wide chisel.

Together with the word *hnw* in the vertical inscription from Scene 3.2 the word *hnw* in the vertical inscription of Scene 3.3 (Fig. 121) was erased and restored. This destruction was done with four wide chisel's deep hits (1.3 cm wide), a reconstruction, most probably, was executed partly in plaster. Some signs in the vertical inscription were treated with a narrow chisel or burin, most probably from the Amarna period in a style of destruction typical for the damages of gods' figures in the Amarna period. The signs selection seems to be accidental and they have not been restored.

Some traces of chisels from the Coptic period, approx. 0.48 cm wide, can be observed on signs representing animals in the horizontal inscription. The destructions caused by the chisel of the same size are visible also on the figures of soldiers. These kinds of damages were not restored. The style of destruction is the same as in the case of Scene 3.2 and it concerns the heads, arms and legs of figures. There are erasures of head and right forearm of the first soldier, the second, fourth, fifth, sixth, ninth, eleventh, fourteenth, and sixteenth soldiers have their heads and right shoulders treated with chisel hits, and in the case of the third soldier, only the head is chiseled out. The third, seventh, and eighth men have traces of chisels on their heads, the tenth soldier as well as rests of soldiers twelfth and thirteenth are almost intact, the fifteenth one has traces of chisels on the top of his head, on the upper part of the torso and the left elbow. The seventeenth and eighteenth soldiers were much more destroyed, almost the whole figures were damaged with dense chisel hits.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

There are two inscriptions represented around Scene 3.3. The vertical inscription gives the beginning of the text and the horizontal one is its continuation.

The vertical inscription is depicted on the same block as the vertical inscription in Scene 3.2 and, similarly to the representation of this scene, it is carved in front of marching soldiers, i.e. in the left end of the scene (Tx. 20). The column of the inscription, without the division lines, is headed left. The width of the group of signs is approx. 5.5 cm. The inscription covers almost the whole height of the scene and is a little bit shorter than the parallel vertical inscription from Scene 3.2. This happens, most probably, because the vertical inscription is an introduction to the horizontal one which is the continuation of a sentence; when the name of Hatshepsut at the beginning of the horizontal inscription was removed, sign *n* at the end of the vertical inscription was not necessary anymore and was removed by Thutmose III.<sup>127</sup> The first part of the inscription containing the word *hnw* is recessed as it was destroyed in the Amarna period and reconstructed later in plaster, as can be deduced from traces: destruction was deep and the only signs in its flatter part are carved in stone (signs *nw* and Gardiner sign A8), the word *jr.t* and the sign *h*, placed in a deeply recessed round surface, are gone. The style of reconstructed Gardiner sign A8 representing the kneeling man with a *hnw*-gesture is reminiscent of the reconstruction of the same figure on the bark of Amun from Scene 2. Gardiner signs A27, Aa206, P3, M23 and N35 were erased with a narrow chisel or burin in the Amarna period. The style and size of the original hieroglyphs are similar to those from the previous scenes (3.1 and 3.2).

The horizontal inscription above the heads of the soldiers is erased and partly restored in the beginning part and almost intact in the middle and back parts (Tx. 21). It is preserved on five blocks and one fragment of a block. There are no division lines, the inscription is written in a single line pointing left. The height of the hieroglyphs is approx. 4.1 cm. The text was divided into parts by the presence of high standards. The inscription suffered three different types of damages. The first alteration of the inscription was done during the reign of Thutmose III and concerns the cartouche of Hatshepsut, which has been erased and the surface has been polished. The shape of the cartouche is still detectable, but the name inside cannot be read. The original inscription would be then symmetrical to the horizontal inscription in Scene 3.2. Another change from the time of Thutmose III is the replacement of the suffix *-s* with the suffix *-k* in the phrase *jr.k nn m hḥ.w*

<sup>127</sup> The same situation had taken place in case of the representation of the crew of the king's ship represented on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico, but there the sign *n* was left intact (Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLV).



(←) [*nswt bjtj M3 't-k3- R'*]<sup>(a)</sup> *šms(.w) Jmn [...]*<sup>(b)</sup> *n Jmn [j]*<sup>(c)</sup> *w m dsr.w jb.f htp hr mnw.f dd [j]n s3.f mrj.f [...]*<sup>(d)</sup> *s [...]*<sup>(e)</sup> *nfr [...]*<sup>(f)</sup> *hb.w jr.k nn m hh.w n.w rnp.wt mj [R'] d.t*

[King of Lower and Upper Egypt, Maat-ka-Ra, is the one who] **he accompanies Amun** [...] of **Amun** [while he is coming] in *Djeseru*, his heart is satisfied because of his monument. Said by **his son, his beloved** [...] festivals. May you do it for thousands of years like [Ra] forever.

- (a) Two groups of signs. The surface was erased and polished. Remains of the cartouche of Hatshepsut are still detectable.
- (b) One and a half group of signs.
- (c) One group of signs in the reconstructed surface.
- (d) A half group of signs above the sign *n*.
- (e) Two groups of signs in length. Above sign *s* there is space for a half group of signs. Just behind the *lacuna*, the upper part of one group of signs can be seen, erased with the use of a narrow chisel or burin in the Amarna period. Their shape is difficult to recognise. They were carved probably in the reign of Thutmose III because they were inserted on the flat, slightly lowered surface and cut the left edge of the sign before the sign *nfr*.
- (f) One and a half groups of signs.

## Commentary

The crew of the king's ship (*'pr.w wj3 n nswt*<sup>128</sup>) takes part also in other festivals represented on walls of the temple of Hatshepsut. They are depicted in the lower register of the west wall of the Obelisks Portico.<sup>129</sup> The same group marches during the procession of the Hathor Festival represented on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine.<sup>130</sup>

There are also groups of soldiers wearing the same dress with a naval loincloth as in Scene 3.3 but if they belonged to the crew of the king's ship remains uncertain as the inscriptions describing them are partially lost and the names of the troop are lost. In this group, the soldiers represented in the lower register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard,<sup>131</sup> as well as in Scene 3.13 can be listed.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

## References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [24]  
PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]

128 Jones, *A Glossary*, 71 [88].

129 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV.

130 Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1; Jones, *A Glossary*, 71 [88].

131 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXV–CXXVI.



Fig. 126. Scene 3.4. Offering and butchery scenes (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### SCENE 3.4. OFFERING AND BUTCHERY SCENES (Pls 12, 12\*; Tx. 22–24)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 50.5 cm; width: 98.7 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is depicted on five blocks set in two layers.<sup>132</sup> The decoration is almost complete, although there are some damages: the lower parts of figures which were originally carved on two lower blocks are now missing, the lower left corner of the right upper block and the upper right corner of the left upper block are lost, too. There is some destruction to the surface, which can be observed in alterations of the inscriptions: some of them come from the Amarna period and concentrate on the name and epithets of Amun, while there are also those from Coptic times which concern human figures and animals' representations.<sup>133</sup> The colours of representations are not preserved, only traces of the red of the upper stripe of a *dado*-frieze and of human bodies, the yellow of a *dado*-frieze and rests of yellow pinkish on the whole surface of the kilt of the offering bearer, all applied directly on the stone, are in a good state of preservation.

#### Description

##### *Original decoration*

The scene is composed of two separate scenes surrounded from left, right and above by one continuing inscription (Fig. 126). The right part is occupied by an offering bearer (→) bringing a foreleg of a bull to a small offering table. In the left part of the scene, two butchers (→) (←) cutting the bull's foreleg are represented.

An offering table resembles the one represented in Scene 3.1 (Fig. 127). Its shape is the same, it consists of a plate on a long stand tapering upwards (Fig. 112). The right part of the offering table is missing as it was carved on the edge of the block. The set of offerings is the same as on the offering table in Scene 3.1: in a lower layer, are depicted a cow's head and three loaves of bread, one of them round (Fig. 128), another probably oval, the third one, oval and elongated, laying on them. In the second layer, ribs and the bull's foreleg are being

<sup>132</sup> The blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>133</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

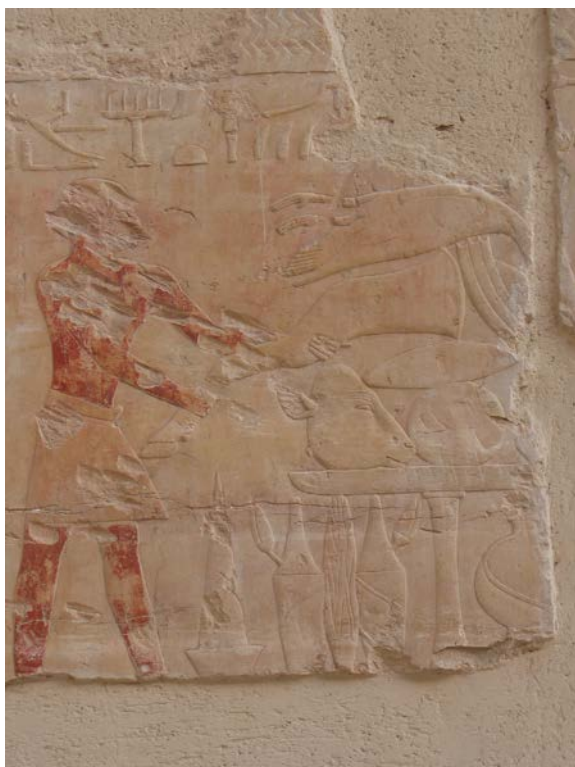


Fig. 127. Offering bearer bringing a foreleg of a bull to a small offering table (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 128. Loaf of round bread, tomb of Hatnefer and Ramose, below tomb of Senenmut (TT 71), reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 36.3.73, not to scale (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548984>).

held by an offering bearer, and at the top, a duck laid on a ridge with the head hanging down can be seen. Offerings are also placed on both sides of the offering table. On the right side only one round vessel with a narrow rim, entwined with a lotus twig and set on a wooden stand or a small table.<sup>134</sup> On the left side, there are two vases, also entwined with lotus flower twigs and separated by lettuce. In

front of the offering table, a bowl with a cone of incense is put on the ground.

An offering bearer is turned right and walks towards the altar (**Fig. 128**). He has his hair cut short and is barefooted. In both hands extended forward and straight, he holds the bull's foreleg placed already on the offering table. He wears a knee-length triangle kilt expanding downwards and tied at the belly in a knot. The kilt is made of one piece of textile and in the front part and has an edge of material widely rolled up.

Two butchers are busy cutting off the bull's foreleg (**Fig. 128**). The bull belongs to the short-horn cattle, it is represented frontally with his head seen in profile and with a tail represented above the body. His eyes are closed, and the head is probably supported on nostrils as was represented in Scene 3.1. This part of the block is, however, chipped off. The bull has three legs tied in a knot, two back legs embrace its left foreleg and all of them are twisted nine times with a thick rope. The bull's testicles are represented, so it is certainly a male. The bull's throat is cut in half along the entire length of the neck and the butchers hold its right foreleg raised. The man on the right is turning to the left, stands upright with the right leg at the bull's head and he puts the left one on the horn. His arms are extended forward and straight and with his right hand he holds the right foreleg at the hoof and his right hand rests below. The man standing on the left and facing right is leaning and strongly extended forward, while both his hands are also extended forward and straight. He holds the bull's foreleg above the elbow with the left hand and with the right hand he cuts out the bull's foreleg in the groin with a long and wide knife fastened to a recurvate handle (**Fig. 113**).<sup>135</sup> Both of them are dressed in a simple kilt supported by a waistband with a knife sharpener attached to the bottom edge of the kilt and stuck by the waistband.

<sup>134</sup> This type of vase stand was popular during the New Kingdom, see e.g. The British Museum, London EA2470 (Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, 70, Fig. 37).

<sup>135</sup> See above, footnote 107.



Fig. 129. Two butchers cutting the bull's foreleg (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

Most of the colours are missing. Only the colours applied directly on the stone survived: the yellow and red on a *dado*-frieze and the red of all bodies of two groups of people: both butchers and the offering bearer can still be seen. A stain of the brown on a hoof and black on the *kheper*-sign are detectable. The kilt of the offering bearer was yellow pinkish as well as the colour of hairs of the butchers and the offering bearer.

#### *Later destruction of decoration*

The later destructions attested in this scene have a similar character to those from the previous scenes of the lower sub-register. They can be found on inscriptions as well as on human figures.

The destructions are attested on two of three parts of the inscription; the right vertical one and the horizontal one. There are no erasures from the reign of Thutmose III. During the Amarna period, the name and epithets of Amun were chiseled out with thick and deep chisel hits, 1.3 cm wide. In the right vertical inscription, the destruction was restored in the stone. In the horizontal inscription, restoration was done partially in plaster. Only the signs restored in the flatter part of the destruction were executed in the stone. The part reconstructed in plaster is now gone. The sign *tp* (Gardiner sign D1) was erased with several hits of a narrow chisel or burin, most probably also in the Amarna period.

Most of the destructions were done in Coptic times and, as in other cases, were performed with the use of a narrow chisel, approx. 0.5 cm wide. They concentrate on the human bodies, especially heads, arms, torsos and legs, but also on the belly of the bull and his foreleg as well as the bull's foreleg placed on the offering table. The kilts of two right men also suffered from chisel hits. Unlike in Scene 3.1, a bowl with a cone of incense in front of the offering table was destroyed this way, too.

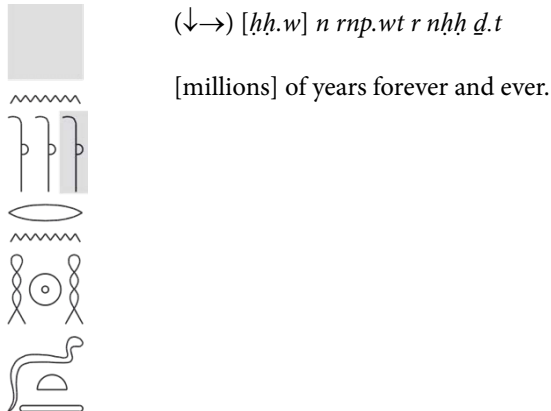




Fig. 130. Scene 3.5. Offering and butchery scenes (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

- (b) One-third of the height of the group of signs. It is probable that in the *lacuna* the sign *r* (Gardiner sign D21) could be written, as it is indicated by traces of destruction. Another possible solution is that it was a phrase *hrj-tp 'nh wḏ3 snb nswt bjtj Mn-hpr-R*; cf. e.g. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV; Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1 and, probably, Scene 3.8 (Tx. 33 and Tx. 34). This phrase was also used in the inscription of Senenmut: Barwik, *Two Portraits of Senenmut*, 16–17, Fig. 2a. It remains unclear why this phrase was chiseled out and restored. For the phrase *hrj-tp 'nh wḏ3 snb*, see: Kopp, *Der Pharao erhält die Gunst*, 49–53.

Tx. 24 (behind butchers):



### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For butchery and offering scenes together, see: Scene 3.1.

For butchery scenes, see: Scene 3.8.

For offering scenes, see: Scene 3.7.

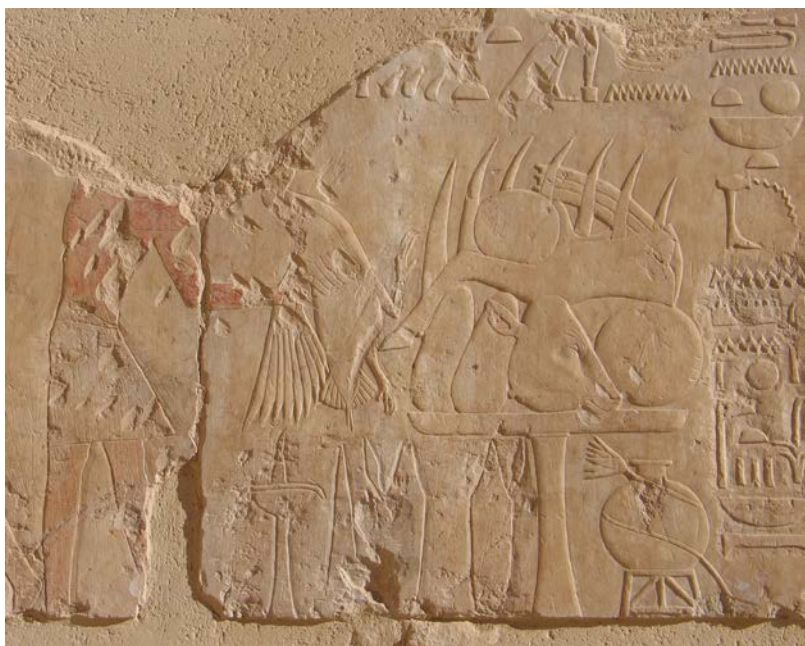


Fig. 131. Offering bearer bringing a duck to a small offering table (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [25]

PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]

Szafrański, *The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2004/2005*, Fig. 14

## SCENE 3.5. OFFERING AND BUTCHERY SCENES (Pls 13, 13\*; Tx. 25–26)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 48.5 cm; width: 88.5 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene was carved on five blocks set in two layers.<sup>136</sup> The central part is very well preserved but the middle upper part of the scene, as well as the left corner of the upper left block and the upper edges of three lower blocks, are missing. More than half of the upper horizontal inscription is lost. The decoration was altered to some degree, the name and epithets of Amun were erased and restored in the vertical and horizontal parts of the inscription. The change of decoration under the offering table can be observed. In the Coptic period, human figures and animal representations were chiseled out with a narrow chisel or burin.<sup>137</sup> The scene is deprived of colours, although the colours applied directly on the stone, as in other scenes, are well conserved here. This concerns especially the red of an upper stripe of a *dado*-frieze and human bodies, as well as the yellow of a *dado*-frieze. In some places, traces of the whitewash and the blue greyish colour of the background can be noticed.

<sup>136</sup> The blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>137</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

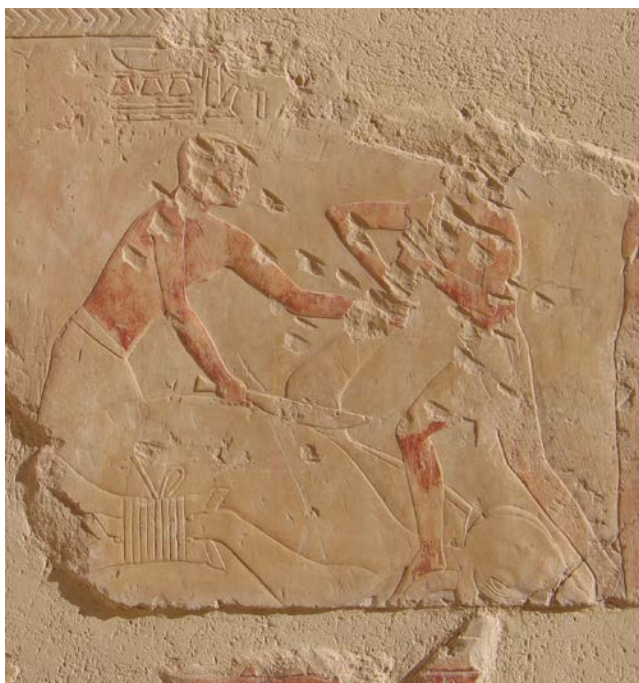


Fig. 132. Two butchers cutting a bull's foreleg (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene is parallel to Scene 3.4 and is divided into two parts, the right one with the representation of an offering scene and the left one containing a butchery scene (Fig. 130). On the right and above, the scene is limited by vertical and horizontal inscriptions. In the right part of the scene, an offering bearer (→) in front of an offering table is shown (Fig. 131), two butchers (→) (←) cutting the bull's foreleg are depicted on the left (Fig. 132).

The offering table represented here is very similar to these from Scenes 3.1 and 3.4 (Fig. 112). It is constructed of a plate on a long stand tapering upwards. It is in a good condition, only the lower part of the stand is missing. The offerings depicted in this scene are very similar to those from Scenes 3.1 and 3.4. On the plate in the lower layer, a cow's head and three loaves of bread are placed, two of them are oval and one is round. On loaves of bread, a bull's foreleg was laid down

and on it another round bread and ribs. Under the offering table, on two of its sides, other offerings were put on the ground. A round vessel with a narrow rim, entwined with a lotus twig and set on a wooden stand or a small table was placed on the right. The left part was rearranged, and nothing can be said about the original decoration. The only difference between this offering table and these from Scenes 3.1 and 3.4 can be noticed in the presence of seven flames on the top of the table.

The offering bearer approaches the offering table faced right (Fig. 131). His head is lost. The left leg is extended forward, his left hand is bent at the elbow and raised and in the right hand, bent at the elbow and slightly lowered, he holds a duck by the wings. This is the only kind of offering that is missing on the offering table in comparison to the previous scenes of this type. He wears a knee-length triangle kilt expanding downwards.

The butchery scene is constructed the same way as the previous one. There are two butchers above a dead short-horn bull laying on the ground. The bull is represented frontally with its head seen in profile. The head is supported on nostrils (Fig. 132). Three bull's legs are tied in a knot, two back legs embrace the bull's left foreleg and all of them are twisted nine times with a thick rope. The bull's throat is cut in half along the entire length of the neck and its right foreleg is raised and kept in this position by both butchers. The right butcher stands leaning out. He is headed left, his right leg is extended forward and bent at the knee and he places the right foot on the bull's horn. His left leg is backed up and he rests on tiptoes. With both hands he holds the bull's foreleg clenching hands on the forearm. He keeps his elbows bent and extended outwards. The second butcher, placed behind the bull, is faced right. He leans and is strongly extended forward. With the left hand he holds the bull's foreleg at the elbow and with the right hand he cuts out the bull's foreleg in the groin with a long and wide knife with a recurvate handle (Fig. 114).<sup>138</sup> The first butcher is clad in a simple kilt supported by a waistband, with a knife sharpener attached to the bottom edge of the kilt and stuck by the waistband. The second one wears a simple kilt, too, but a knife sharpener is not attached to it.

Colour paints did not survive. Only these applied directly on the stone can still be seen. The yellow and red on a *dado*-frieze are recognisable as well as the red of the bodies of the butchers and the offering bearer.

<sup>138</sup> See above, p. 108, footnote 107.

It must be stressed, however, that the colour of bodies was repainted with the dark red paint. The original colour was much lighter. The stain of the brown on a wooden stand of a round vase below the offering table, on a plate of the offering table and in the ear of the cow's head on the offering table and dots on a round loaf of bread on the top of the offering table are detectable.

### *Later destruction and changes in decoration*

Later destructions of the decoration concern inscriptions, representations of men and – to a lesser degree – animals.

The change that can be surely dated to the reign of Thutmose III is the removal of the cartouche of Hatshepsut (**Fig. 132**).

During the Amarna period, names and epithets of Amun were removed. These changes can be observed at the ends of both inscriptions.

The post-Amarna action included the restoration of the name and epithets of Amun at the end of the vertical inscription (**Figs 130, 131**). They were done in the lowered surface of the size of the inscription, in a very flat raised relief, recessed on the surface. The same style can be noticed in the restoration of the name and epithet of Amun in the case of the horizontal inscription at its end (**Figs 130, 132**).

On the left of the offering table, four vessels of different types replaced the original decoration: two vases entwined with a lotus twig are carved leaving the free space usually reserved for lettuce, although in this case it is not represented. Next to it, a bowl with a cone of incense and a censer on a long foot are placed on the ground. All these four vessels were engraved in the rectangular, recessed surface, the original decoration is undetectable, therefore it is impossible to date the time of erasure of this fragment of decoration. The style of these changes resembles the executed in the post-Amarna time changes of the Amun's name and epithets carved on the right side of the offering table (**Fig. 131**).

The left leg of the right butcher and the lower part of the offering bearer from the waist down are lowered and clearly restored and painted with a different colour, more pinkish, than the other parts of the body (**Fig. 131**). The style of this erasure is very similar to other changes in the post-Amarna period activity.

The last damages of the decoration were done in the Coptic period. At that time the human figures and some of the animals' representations were chiseled out with the chisel or burin 0.48 cm wide. The left butcher was treated better than the other butcher and the offering bearer, only his head, neck and arms were hammered out, two other figures were destroyed much more (**Figs 130–132**). The right butcher's upper part from the knees up was chiseled out, traces of chisel can be also seen on the torso, left hand, kilt and legs of the offering bearer. Only two chisel hits can be observed on the bull's body (**Fig. 132**), but a duck was hammered out in the middle part of the body (**Fig. 131**). In the horizontal inscription, signs *nm* (Gardiner sign U21) and *m* (Gardiner sign G17) were destroyed with several chisel hits.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscription surrounds the scene from two sides: from the right and from above. The content of the text is almost identical to the text around Scene 3.4.

The vertical inscription is almost completely preserved, only the upper right corner of the sign *wdn* (Gardiner sign M11) is lost (Tx. 25). The text is faced right, the width of the group of signs is approx. 5.7 cm. The sign *t* in word *w' b.t* was not written, contrary to the similar inscription in Scene 3.4 where it was written, erased and restored. It is possible then that here the sign was destroyed in the Amarna period and not restored in the post-Amarna times. Half of the inscription containing the phrase *n Jmn-R' nswt ntr.w nb p.t* was damaged and reconstructed in one recessed and rounded surface in the post-Amarna period.

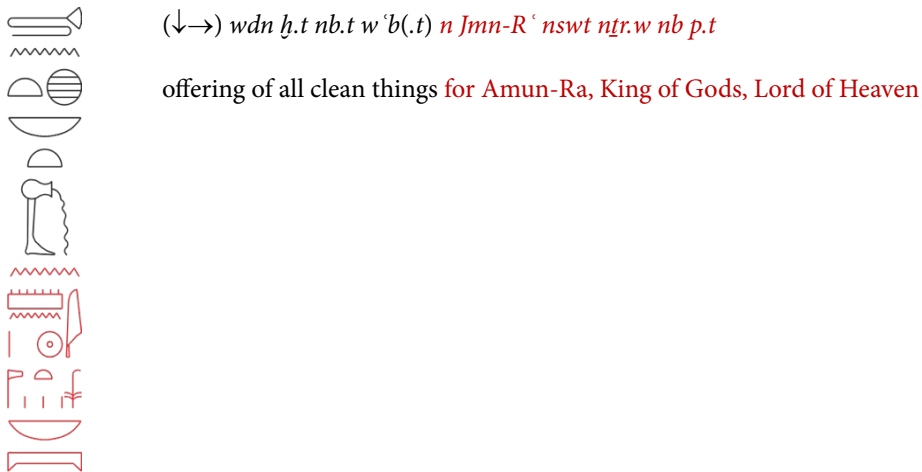
The horizontal inscription, located above the heads of the butchers and the offering bearer, is mostly missing, as the upper corners of two blocks are chipped out (Tx. 26). The height of a group of signs is approx. 5.3 cm.

Judging by the preserved text, it was very similar to the inscription from Scene 3.4, however, destructions and restorations done in the reign of Thutmose III, as well as in the Amarna and post-Amarna periods, changed the meaning of the text. The only change is attested in the end part of the inscription, where primarily the cartouche of Hatshepsut and the name and epithet(s?) of Amun were carved. The lowered surface prepared in the post-Amarna time is wider than the reconstructed text. Moreover, it does not cover the whole remaining surface, leaving space for one group of signs (among them the word *ḏd.tj*, i.e. Gardiner signs R11 and U33, is detectable). It is possible then that the contents of the original inscription differed from the reconstructed one. Most probably, originally in this place, after the name of Amun, the cartouche of Hatshepsut was carved. The cartouche itself is not visible anymore, but parallelism of iconography and inscriptions of Scenes 3.4 and 3.5 let us suppose that the first of them was prepared for Thutmose III and the other one – for Hatshepsut. Another argument emerges from the character of alterations – the end of the horizontal inscription was erased and polished and the last hieroglyphs, *ḏd.tj* (Gardiner signs R11 and U33), which are still possible to recognise, suggests a feminine ending singular 3<sup>rd</sup> person.

The colours of inscriptions have not survived, only traces of whitewash on Gardiner signs M33 in word *stp.t* are discernible.

### Transcription, Transliteration, Translation

Tx. 25 (before an offering table):



Tx. 26 (above butchers and offering bearers):



(→) *snm.t stp.t [hr] [...]<sup>(a)</sup> [Jm]n-[R ] nb ns.wt t3.wj<sup>(b)</sup>*

food supply, piece of meat [on] [...] [Am]un-Ra, Lord of Thrones of Two Lands

<sup>(a)</sup> 6.5 groups of signs. The text seems to be almost identical to the text from Scene 3.4, so, most probably the lacuna contained originally the phrase: *stp.t hr ḥm.t m3 `t n k3.k nb ntr.w hr `nh wd3 snb nswt bjtj M3 `t.k3-R `*.

<sup>(b)</sup> Behind the epithet of Amun, traces of two erased signs *ḏd.tj* (Gardiner signs R11 and U33) can be seen.



Fig. 133. Scene 3.6. Carrying two thrones (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### Commentary

The content of Scene 3.5 is almost identical to that of Scene 3.4. The composition of these two scenes was parallel, Scene 3.4 was devoted to Thutmose III and Scene 3.5 – to Hatshepsut. The differences between scenes seem to be insignificant: Scene 3.4 is surrounded by the inscription from three sides, Scene 3.5 only from two sides. However, the right vertical inscription of Scene 3.4 dividing both scenes is placed above the back part of the bull from Scene 3.5 which makes them connected in a specific way. The most important difference lies in the way of the representation of offerings. In the case of Scene 3.5, the duck was brought by the offering bearer and in Scene 3.4 he carried the bull's foreleg. The flames on the offering table in Scene 3.5 are not attested in Scene 3.4.

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For butchery and offering scenes together, see: Scene 3.1.

For butchery scenes, see: Scene 3.8.

For offering scenes, see: Scene 3.7.

### References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [25]

PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]

Szafrański, *The Temple of Hatshepsut*, Season 2004/2005, Fig. 14

### SCENE 3.6. CARRYING TWO THRONES (Pls 14, 14\*; Tx. 27–30)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 42.5 cm; width: 126.5 cm



Fig. 134. Group of five officials (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

**State of preservation:** The scene was depicted on seven blocks set in two layers.<sup>139</sup> The lower blocks are in a worse state of preservation, with upper edges chipped off. In the upper layer, almost all corners are also broken off. Some parts of the horizontal inscription, as well as the lowermost text under the throne, are lost. The decoration is original with only one later change in the horizontal inscription containing the title of the first group of officials. During the Coptic times, destructions of the throne with a narrow chisel of human figures and lions' heads had taken place.<sup>140</sup> The colours of the scene almost entirely disappeared, the only survived colours are: the red colour on an upper stripe of a *dado*-frieze and on human bodies as well as some hieroglyphs, the yellow colour of a *dado*-frieze which were applied directly on the stone and the yellow pinkish colour of the first group of officials' dress. Stains of the blue greyish colour of the background and whitewash are detectable in some places. Traces of the black colour can be seen on the wigs of officials.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene of carrying thrones consists of two elements (**Fig. 133**). To the right, the group of five men (←) walks in the front of the procession (**Fig. 134**), the left part represents twelve officials (←) carrying two empty thrones (**Fig. 135**).

The group of four officials described as royal dignitaries lead the procession. Each of them is holding a splayed axe in the right hands, with the fists on the chest, in the left hands they hold the *tisu*-staffs. These are long staffs with a slight kink in the upper part forming a handle.<sup>141</sup> The fifth man, armed the same way, follows the group in some distance. All five officials face left, all of them have short wigs. Although all five are similarly equipped, they are differently dressed. The group of four men wear shirts with short sleeves adhering to the body, with triangle cleavage tied at the neck with a short slit below, long skirts on which

<sup>139</sup> The blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>140</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>141</sup> They seem to come from Nubia, their representation can be found in the temple of Hatshepsut among objects imported from Nubia depicted on the unpublished block from the west wall of the Punt Portico (Taterka, *Przez morze do Ziemi Boga*, 398–399, n. 2143) as well as twice in the representation of the Opet Festival on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV; today: *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels E.07945); see also Scene 4.8 below.



Fig. 135. Carrying two thrones (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 136. Two thrones (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

are placed narrow kilts above the knee and aprons made of a triangle piece of textile tied at the waist.<sup>142</sup> The fifth man is clad in a long skirt and an apron with a shirt and a narrow kilt. The face of the fifth official is not preserved as well as the lower parts of the legs and feet of the whole group. The second group proceeds behind five officials. The group consists of twelve royal *wab*-priests lined up by three in four rows. They carry rods with two thrones (Fig. 136) tied to them.<sup>143</sup> The thrones had lion legs placed on small supports fixed to the flat base which was longer than the thrones themselves and on which there was a place for rectangular support for feet in the front part. The base had also small supports in the corners from the bottom side. In the front part of the thrones, two heads of lions were carved at the base of the armrest at the height of the seat. One of them is now almost completely erased. The thrones are attached to the rods with a thick rope with a loop in the front part of the base and tied to the sides of the thrones.

Although only one rod can be seen, in fact there are three rods, each one carried by four royal *wab*-priests with the inscription "Follower of the Pharaoh" behind, two at the rods' ends and two in the middle. The rods rest on

142 The same attire is depicted only once in the temple of Hatshepsut, in the representation of the Opet Festival in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIV; today: *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels E.07945).

143 Two thrones are represented in the temple of Hatshepsut also in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV). Similar thrones are depicted on the barks on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pls 17-2, 17-3). This type of chair was very popular during the New Kingdom, although the lion heads are typical for the royal chairs (Fig. 137); for royal chairs, see: Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture*, 58-63, esp. Fig. 32.



Fig. 137. Carpenter making a chair, tomb of Rekhmire, TT 100, reign of Thutmose III–Amenhotep II, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.6.29 (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/544640>).

men's shoulders and they hold the rods with both hands. Priests' heads are decorated with short wigs, they wear knee-long kilts. Each kilt is made of a triangle piece of textile with a sewn long band which is tucked into the waistband with a side loop and has a loosely flowing tip. The pointed end is threaded through the waistband and hangs from the front.<sup>144</sup> Feet are not preserved as they were carved at the edges of the blocks.

The colours of the scene are washed out except for those applied directly on the stone: the red and yellow of a *dado*-frieze and red of human bodies. It seems, however, that some human bodies were repainted. The original colour of the skin of the first group of officials in comparison to the men carrying the thrones is much lighter and traces of dark red are detectable on it. It is possible to reconstruct a whitewash on kilts of priests carrying the throne, the black colour of the wigs and yellow

pinkish on long skirts of the first group of officials. The background was blue greyish as it is attested in several places.

#### *Later destruction and changes in decoration*

The scene is very well preserved even if there were some later destructions. They have a similar character to those in the previous scenes. It seems that during the post-Amarna period only one change was introduced: in the inscription above the heads of the first group of officials, the titles were changed.

The main destruction of the scene come from the Coptic times and can be observed mainly on human faces and hands as well as on heads of lions represented on the thrones. The first two men of the group of dignitaries have their heads, shoulders and arms chiseled out with many narrow chisel hits approx. 0.46 cm wide. Heads and arms and especially elbows of two next officials are also destroyed. The body of the fifth man walking separately was destroyed from the waist up with the same type of chisel. The royal *wab*-priests carrying the throne has destructions of their heads and arms with some sporadic chisel hits on different parts of bodies: on legs in the case of those in front of the throne and waists of the last group at the back of the throne. One head of a lion on the throne is completely destroyed and the second one has two chisel hits on it. Some accidental chisel hits can be found on both thrones.

<sup>144</sup> The same costume is represented in Scene 3.12, in a parallel scene in the representation of the Opet Festival on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV), it is also worn by seven soldiers and one of the dancers (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1), as well as some soldiers on the barks on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pls 17-2, 17-3, 17-4); the soldiers sent to the land of Punt are also clad this way (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pl. LXIX). Men with whips, probably the overseers of work, and some soldiers depicted on barks on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico have the same attire (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLIII). People carrying the throne in the scene of the approaching to the temple depicted in the tomb of Useramun, TT 131, are dressed the same way and the man with fan represented there wears the same garment as two men with fans behind the throne in Scene 3.6 (Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vesirs User-Amun*, Pl. 83).

## Inscriptions

### General description

In Scene 3.6 there are several groups of inscriptions. Every group of people is described independently, most of the inscriptions are carved above the heads of officials. The first group of dignitaries is separated from the men carrying two thrones by the inscription and another inscription runs above officials' heads, above four groups of the royal *wab*-priests, four inscriptions mention their titles and below the throne, the last inscription is carved. All inscriptions are headed left, in the same direction as the whole procession.

The first inscription carved above the heads of officials is destroyed in the back part and the titles it gives are only partially preserved (Tx. 27). The inscription is carved in a line without the division lines. The height of a group of signs is approx. 4.7 cm. The title can be reconstructed based on the similar inscription represented in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, today also destroyed when block E.07945 was extracted from the wall and transported to the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels.<sup>145</sup> The plural word *s'ḥ.w* was added later, during the post-Amarna activity. The content of the original inscription cannot be determined, the surface was lowered, and the new inscription was engraved in the rectangular depression, no traces of the earlier hieroglyphs survived.

The second inscription is vertical, depicted in front of the royal *wab*-priests, also without the division lines, and gives another title of the officials (Tx. 28). The width of a group of signs is approx. 5.2 cm.

Four identical titles make up the third inscription. They consist of two signs: the *w'ḥ*-sign (Gardiner sign D60) and the *sw*-sign (Gardiner sign M23), written in one line without the division lines above the heads of priests carrying thrones (Tx. 29). The title of the third row of priests is damaged and sign Gardiner sign M23 is lost. The height of a group of signs is approx. 4.7 cm.

The most extended text in Scene 3.6 is the inscription below the throne (Tx. 30; **Fig. 136**). The width of a group of signs is approx. 5.2 cm, distances between the division lines are 6 cm – 5.8 cm – 6.2 cm – 5.8 cm respectively. The text is written in four columns separated by the division lines. In the parallel scene from the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, division lines are not carved, and the inscription differs significantly.<sup>146</sup>

On the contrary to the previous scenes, the inscriptions of Scene 3.6 did not suffer from the Coptic activity.

### Transcription, Transliteration, Translation

Tx. 27 (before officials):

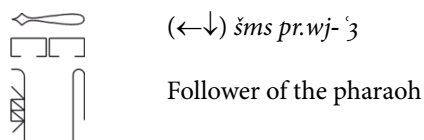


<sup>(a)</sup> The length of the lacuna is difficult to reconstruct. The title was reworked in the post-Amarna period. In the parallel scene of the lower register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, the title reconstructed during the post-Amarna period is as follows: *s'ḥ.w smr.w nswt* (Dignitaries (and) royal friends); Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV.

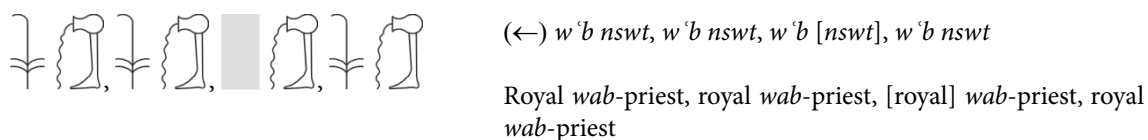
<sup>145</sup> The intact block was documented by Naville (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV) but the block was later cut from the wall and is now kept in the *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire* in Brussels (inv. no. E.07945). It is deprived of the upper part which was left in the wall and partially destroyed.

<sup>146</sup> Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV.

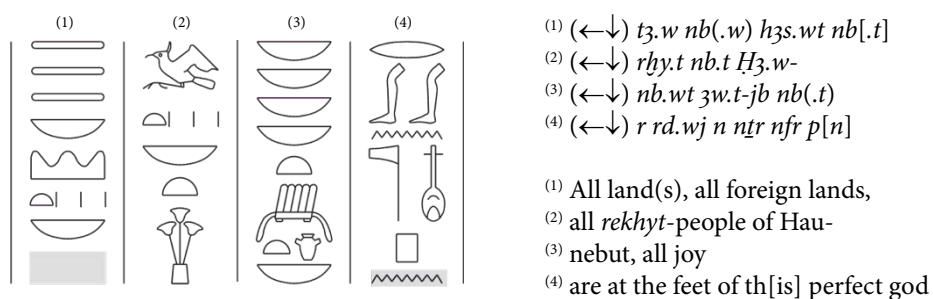
Tx. 28 (before carrying thrones):



Tx. 29 (above priests):



Tx. 30 (below the thrones):



## Commentary

The scene of carrying empty throne(s) is rare in the temple repertoire.<sup>147</sup> In the temple of Hatshepsut only three times this scene of land transport of two thrones is represented: twice during the Festival of *Djeser-djeseru* (Scenes 3.6 and 4.8) and once during the Opet Festival,<sup>148</sup> all three represented on the east wall of the Upper Courtyard. The transport of empty thrones is also attested on barks during different festivals in the temple: the Hathor Festival depicted on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall in the Hathor Shrine,<sup>149</sup> and the festival of transport of obelisks to Karnak carved on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico.<sup>150</sup> In all these cases, however, only one singular throne is represented.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register, lower sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 125 [14] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, upper register, lower sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [36] and references therein

<sup>147</sup> Kuhlmann, Thron, 85–89.

<sup>148</sup> Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXV.

<sup>149</sup> Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 17-2, 17-3.

<sup>150</sup> Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLIV.

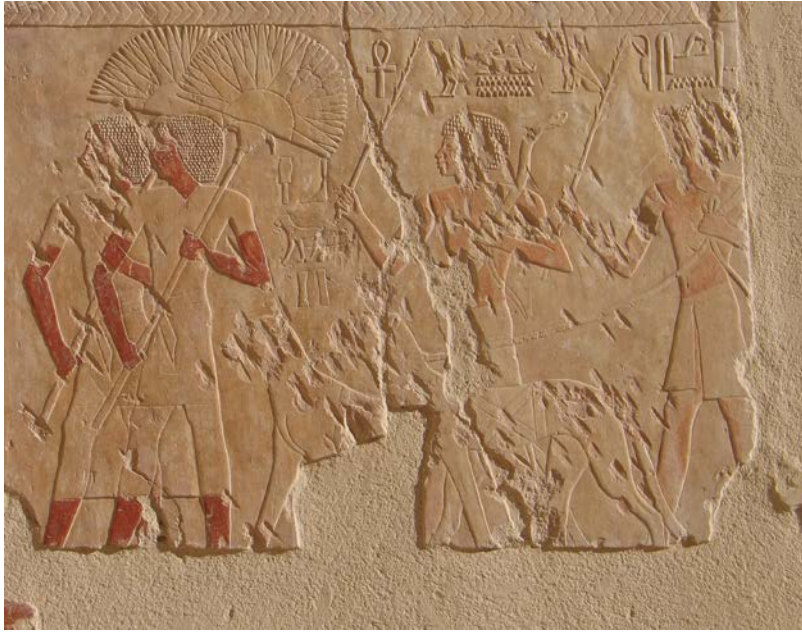


Fig. 138. Scene 3.7. Leading two cheetahs (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

Block with men carrying a throne, Musée de Picardie, Amiens M.P.3053.108  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 and references therein

## References

- Bartos, *Le lion dans les supports mobiliers*, 535–536 [Si/NE/i/3a-b]  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [26]  
Karkowski, *Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, 156  
Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 86, Fig. 76 (two men carrying two thrones; photo reversed)  
PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]

## SCENE 3.7. LEADING TWO CHEETAHS (Pls 15, 15<sup>\*</sup>; Tx. 31)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 41.2 cm; width: 60 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene was decorated on four blocks set in two layers.<sup>151</sup> The lower blocks are in a much worse state of preservation than the previous one, their upper parts are chipped off. The biggest block is broken into two parts and its edges are damaged. The upper right block lost its whole upper left corner, and the right end of the scene does not exist anymore. The scene was not significantly changed during the reign of Thutmose III and did not suffer from the Amarna period chiseling out. The only serious destruction of this representation comes from Coptic times.<sup>152</sup> The scene is deprived of most of the colours. Only these colours which were applied directly to the stone, are still visible. The red and yellow colours of a *dado*-frieze

<sup>151</sup> The blocks were not removed from the wall and therefore are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>152</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

and red of human bodies are well conserved. Traces of yellow on the head of the first cheetah, stains of black on wigs of officials as well as blue greyish traces of the background are noticeable.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The procession (Fig. 138) is led by two men (←) with standards or fans. Behind them, two big felids go on leashes side by side guided by two men (←).

The first pair of officials is headed left, moving also side by side (Fig. 139). Each one holds a standard or a fan in the shape of flabellum *behet*<sup>153</sup> with a long stave, kept in both hands, with the right hand placed in the lower part of the stave and the left hand in its upper part, elbows sticking out. Their position at the court is unknown, there is no inscription determining their function. Both men have short wigs. They are dressed the same way and both wear a tight shirt tied under the neck with short sleeves, a half-calf transparent skirt and a short kilt on it, tied at the waist.<sup>154</sup> Their feet are not preserved as they were carved on the edge of the lower block, which now is chipped off.

The standard/fan bearers are followed by the other group consisting of two animals and two men, probably their trainers. The whole group is faced left. The animals walk in front, side by side (Fig. 140), with the right legs stretched forward and left ones retracted. They are big and slim, together with the head they reach their human companions to the waist. Their heads are raised, they have short muzzles and rounded small ears, their long tails are lowered along the body. The identification of animals is obvious, their posture and the distinctive shape of the head indicates that they are cheetahs. It is, however, impossible to determine their sex;<sup>155</sup> sexual characteristics were not marked in the relief. Their bodies are decorated with a kind of a vest:<sup>156</sup> in the central part of the body two stripes run

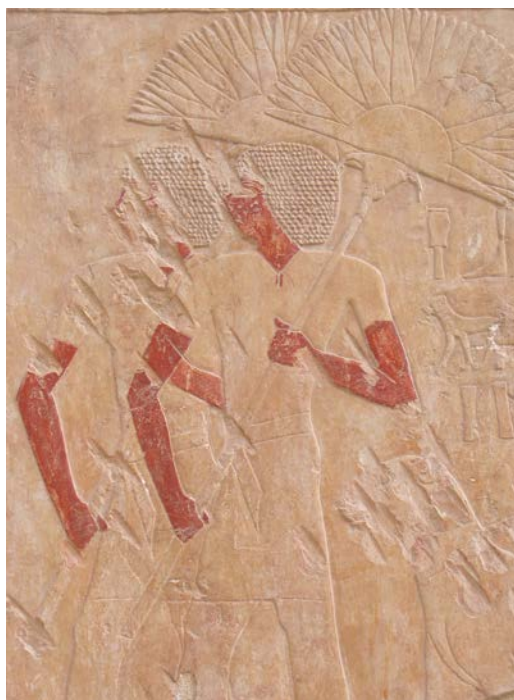


Fig. 139. Two men with fans (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>153</sup> For the standard in the shape of flabellum *behet*, see above, p. 114, footnote 113.

<sup>154</sup> Their attire resembles the costume of a steersman of the bark with Hathor's emblem on the prow and the stern illustrated on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-2 [right boat]) as well as a steersman of the royal bark from the same scene (Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-3). Steersmen on the boat transporting obelisks depicted on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLIV) is clad in the same garment. It is worn also by two officials with standards/fans leading the procession with cheetahs, steersmen of the accompanying barks and the group of seven officials with *tisu*-staves shown in the lower register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pls CXXIV, CXXV). Two steersmen of the first accompanying bark in Scene 3.10 are clad in this attire.

<sup>155</sup> In this case it is impossible to recognise "slight differences in the physiognomy of both animals", as stated by Filip Taterka (Taterka, *Przez morze do Ziemi Boga*, 379) because their heads in both scenes of the Upper Courtyard are in great part chiseled out. It is, however, very probable that the cheetahs represented on the walls of the Upper Courtyard are the same animals as those imported from Punt, as Taterka noticed (Taterka, *Przez morze do Ziemi Boga*, 378).

<sup>156</sup> The same "vest" can be observed on the representation of a lion under the throne depicted on the north wall of the Punt Portico (Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXXXV). I would like to thank Katarzyna Kapiec for this remark.

Fig. 140. Two cheetahs  
(phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



in parallel, embracing the chest and the waist, and between them, two other stripes are crossed and attached to them. The animals have also thick collars to which a leash is fixed.<sup>157</sup>

Trainers march at some distance from the animals and each other. They face left. In their right hands, at chest height, they carry the branches with protrusions on their sides.<sup>158</sup> In the left hands, on the chest height, they hold the shortened leashes and the wrinkles on the cheek sticks with the endings in the shape of a snake's heads.<sup>159</sup> The trainers of cheetahs wear short wigs and are clad in simple knee-length kilts made of narrow rectangular pieces of textile with straps tied up at the bellies, the piece of textile did not cover the whole width of the body leaving a gap in front, which only partially is veiled in the front part by the falling tied straps. The paws of animals, as well as the feet of their trainers, are not preserved, they were chipped off from the edge of the lower block.

<sup>157</sup> A "vest" together with a collar can be proof of their tameness (**Fig. 141b**). In comparison to leopards, cheetahs can be easily domesticated (Castel Ronda, Panthers, leopards and cheetahs, 20, Chart 2) or rather tamed as cheetahs as a species that has never been permanently domesticated (for traits of domestication as well as conditions necessary for it, see: Zeder, The domestication, 161–190, especially 166, Fig. 1). There can be also observed a difference in the treatment of these two Felidae species: in the Punt Portico as well as in the Hathor Shrine leopards have no "vests" (**Fig. 141d, f**), only collars and among the products brought from the Punt expedition, where the animals are represented without human companions, cheetahs have ribbons tied on their necks (**Fig. 140a**) and leopard's neck is not decorated (**Fig. 141e**).

<sup>158</sup> The branches were also brought by the Punt expedition as it is depicted on the west wall of the Punt Portico (Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXXX) and were used for the same purpose as in Scene 3.7 during the Opet Festival represented on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXV), and during the Hathor Festival pictured on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-1). They are interpreted by Taterka, with some doubts, as *ti-shepeses*-wood (Taterka, *Przez morze do Ziemi Boga*, 369, n. 1910).

<sup>159</sup> The snake-shaped throwsticks are portrayed in the similar scene of leading two cheetahs on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXV), although the trainers hold a leash, a branch and a throwstick in their left hands, and they clench the right hands on a leash not far from the animals' heads. The snake-shaped throwsticks were used for bird hunting and the military purpose during the 18th dynasty (McDermott, Ancient Egyptian Footsoldiers and Their Weapons, 156–162), such objects were found in the tomb of Amenhotep II, KV 35 (The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo CG 24332, CG 24333; Daressy, Fouilles, Pl. XXII). In the tomb of Nebamun TT 90, the owner hunts with the snake-shaped throwing stick (**Fig. 142**; The British Museum, London EA37977; Strudwick, Masterpieces, 170–173); a similar scene can be found in TT73 (Säve-Söderberg, Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tomb, Pl. VII). It is noteworthy that, although throwsticks appear in the context of cheetahs, they are not carried by the trainer of a leopard in the scene of the Hathor Festival (Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-1). Therefore, the snake-shaped throwstick can be seen as the object connected in general with the activity, training or the tameness of cheetahs.

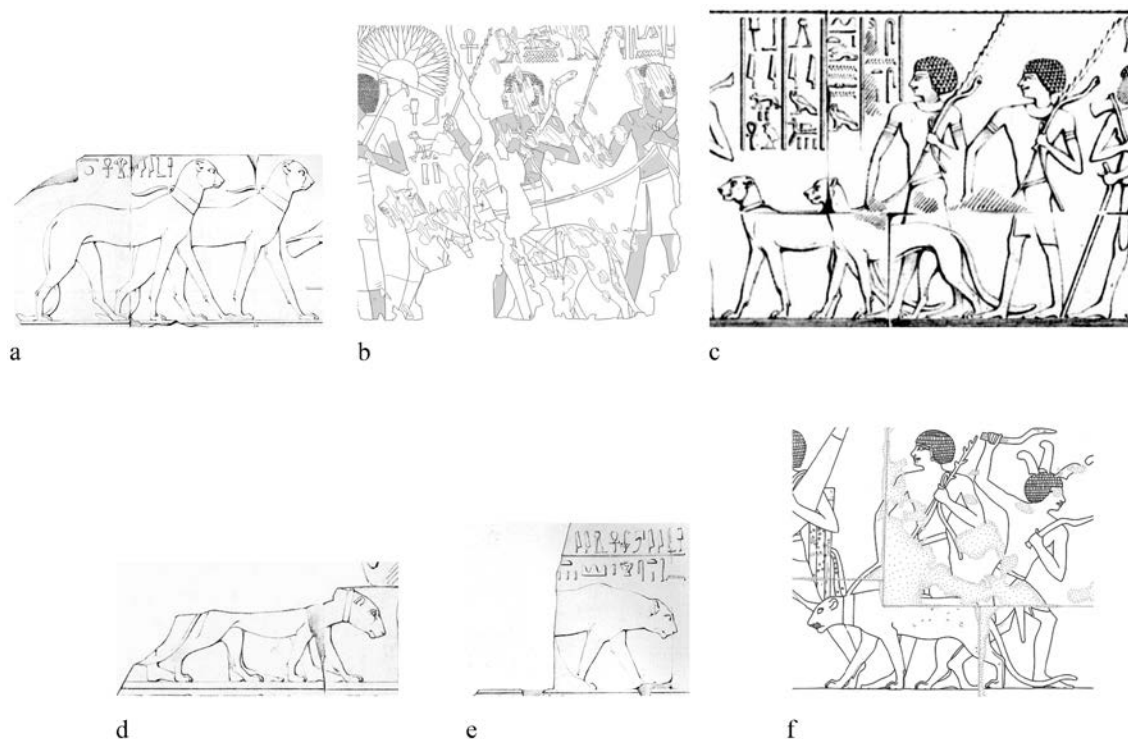


Fig. 141. Cheetahs and leopards from the temple of Hatshepsut, not to scale: a. two cheetahs, Punt Portico, west wall (Neville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pl. LXXX); b. two cheetahs, Scene 3.7 (drawing J. Iwaszczuk); c. two cheetahs, Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, Opet Festival (Neville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV); d. leopard, Punt Portico, west wall (Neville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pl. LXXX); e. leopard, Punt Portico, west wall (Neville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pl. LXXX); f. leopard, Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine, north wall, Hathor Festival (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1).

The background of the scene was blue greyish, traces of it are still observable. It is possible to say that cheetahs were painted yellow as this colour is preserved on their heads, unfortunately, black rosettes are not visible. The colour of the bodies of cheetahs' trainers differs from the colour of two other men, there are covered with much lighter paint.<sup>160</sup> There are some traces of the dark red on the lighter colour of their skins indicating that they might be re-painted with the colour, which usually was applied as a colour of the skin. As both groups were carved on the same block, it is



Fig. 142. The tomb of Nakht (TT 52), reign of Amenhotep II–Amenhotep III, the owner hunts with the snake-shaped throwing stick, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 15.5.19e, 1-m (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/548578>).

<sup>160</sup> The same feature can be observed in the representation of the Hathor Festival (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1), where the skin of the leopard's trainer is much lighter, too.

impossible that there was a difference in the storage conditions, the block has never been removed from the wall (cf. **Fig. 15**) and the light conditions are the same in this place.

#### *Later destruction and changes in decoration*

The scene was re-worked to a limited degree. Most probably in the reign of Thutmose III or even in the times of Hatshepsut, a word describing the animals, *3bj.wj*, was re-carved on the original inscription. Another change, which can be dated to the activity in the Thutmose III sole reign, is the change of the suffix from the feminine one (-s) to the masculine one (-f) in the word *hm.f*.

As in other scenes of the lower sub-register, also here bodies of humans and animals were chiseled out during the Coptic period with special emphasis on faces, hands and knees. Animals were much more affected by the chisel hits than the human figures.

The first of two men at the beginning of the procession has his face, the right shoulder and the right elbow damaged with several chisel hits, four traces of chisel can be found on the stave he holds. The second man was much better treated with only three chisel hits on his face, two hits on his arms and accidental two hits on his garment.

The first trainer is badly damaged in the upper part, the whole torso and middle part of his face are chiseled out with many chisel hits. His companion also suffered from chisel hits, his right hand and right shoulder are treated with many chisel hits and his head is almost completely erased, there are also traces of chisel use on his right knee.

The heads of the cheetahs, their torsos, back legs, tails and even their leashes are very much destroyed.

Three hieroglyphs representing animals were also partially erased. The upper part of a chick *w* (Gardiner sign G43) and an owl *m* (Gardiner sign G17) are chiseled out, as well as the whole figure of a hare *wn* (Gardiner sign E34).

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

An inscription inscribed in Scene 3.7 starts above the cheetahs' heads and continues above the heads of the cheetahs' trainers. In both cases, it is carved without the division lines.

Over the nape of the neck of two cheetahs, between the men with standards/fans and the animals' trainers, an inscription was introduced after the decoration was finished and the background polished (Tx. 31). It is faced left and written in a column. The width of the column is 3.8 cm. This inscription gives the name of the two animals – *3b(j).wj*. Traces of the original text can be recognised in the same place, from the antecedent inscription only the front part of a determinative of the animal survived. The shape of this animal differs from the one reconstructed in this place. In the original decoration, the animal resembled another animal, also imported from Nubia – a leopard, *Panthera pardus* (Linnaeus, 1758). Its posture was typical for this animal, with head stretched forward and lowered below shoulders, and a longer and more massive muzzle, as it can be seen on the west wall of the Punt Portico (**Fig. 141d-e**)<sup>161</sup> and the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (**Fig. 141f**).<sup>162</sup> The same determinative for cheetah can be observed today in a parallel scene from the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard as a determinative of the word *3b(j).wj*. This determinative was also re-carved while the animals below are the same as in Scene 3.7 (**Fig. 141c**).<sup>163</sup> The style of the new inscription Tx. 70 looks like the Thutmose style, although the spelling variant with its determinative, is different than the original inscription preserved in the Punt Portico and, on the other hand,

161 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pls LXXVI, LXXX.

162 Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1.

163 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV.

more similar to the inscription from the representation of the Opet Festival depicted in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.

The continuation of the inscription, which starts above cheetahs, runs in the line above the human heads (Tx. 31). The height of signs measures 4.7 cm. The text is faced left and divided by the upper parts of branches into three parts. Although the inscription is cut at the end as the corner of the next block is chipped off, it could not possibly continue further than half of the group of signs, the next scene (Scene 3.8) is too close.

### Transcription, Transliteration, Translation

Tx. 31 (above cheetahs and above the scene):



(1) (←↓) *3b(j).wj*<sup>(a)</sup>

(1) two living cheetahs

(2) (←) *'nh.w wnn m šms n ḥm.f*<sup>(b)</sup> (2) who are in the retinue of his majesty

(a) The whole column re-carved. Traces of the original determinative of the animal can be seen below the new inscription. The determinative of the cheetah was also replaced in the case of the Opet Festival (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXV; McDonald, *Animal metaphor*, 282, 335). The date of this change cannot be fixed.

(b) The feminine suffix *-s* changed to the masculine suffix *-f*.

### Commentary

Cheetahs, *Acinonyx jubatus* (Schreber, 1775), are attested in other places of the temple. Two cheetahs were brought to Egypt during the Punt expedition depicted on walls of the Punt Portico. The animals are carved on the west wall of the Portico in the upper register, among objects imported from Nubia, and called there *3bj mhj 'nh*, i.e. the northern panther.<sup>164</sup> They are represented again as taking part in another festival – the Opet Festival – on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.<sup>165</sup> The legend describes them as “<sup>(1)</sup> two living cheetahs <sup>(2)</sup> brought as wonders <sup>(3)</sup> of a foreign country <sup>(4)</sup> which are in the retinue of her majesty (<sup>(1)</sup> *3bj.wj 'nh.w* <sup>(2)</sup> *jn.y m bj3.w* <sup>(3)</sup> *ḥ3s.t wnn.sn m* <sup>(4)</sup> *šms n [ḥm].s*” (Fig. 141b). Cheetahs were attested in the times of Hatshepsut, among others three jasper gaming pieces with the cartouche of the queen on the top of



Fig. 143. Jasper gaming piece with the cartouche of the queen on the top of the animal's head, reign of Hatshepsut/Thutmose III, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 26.7.1452, not to scale (<https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/547625>).

164 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pl. LXXX; see also: Taterka, *Przez morze do Ziemi Boga*, 375–377.

165 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXV.

the animal's heads are stored now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (26.7.1452) (**Fig. 143**), in the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities in Cairo (TR 26/7/14/52) and in Antikenmuseum Basel Sammlung Ludwig in Basel.<sup>166</sup> Another illustration of cheetahs' presence in the times of Hatshepsut can be found among objects brought during the Punt expedition<sup>167</sup> and in the scenes of the ritual activity (**Fig. 141a**):<sup>168</sup> the cheetah skin can be recognised in a pelt vestment of some priests during the bark processions.<sup>169</sup> It is very interesting then, that cheetahs had to be transported from Nubia, as they were known to ancient Egyptians and lived in the western desert in the northern part of Egypt in historical times,<sup>170</sup> which might explain its connotation with the north in its Egyptian name “*3bj mhj 'nh*”. The reason for their transport from the south might be their size, as it is proved that sub-Saharan cheetahs are much bigger than the ones from the Egyptian western desert.<sup>171</sup>

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register, lower sub-register:

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 125 [13] and references therein

## References

- Bartos, Le lion dans les supports mobiliers, 226, Fig. 104  
 Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 218 (referred to as the Opet Festival)  
 Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 130 [27]  
 McDonald, Animal metaphor, 282 (inscription over cheetahs)  
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 77 (two men with fans and two trainers; photo reversed)  
 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]  
 Taterka, Przez morze do Ziemi Boga, 375–377, Fig. 91

<sup>166</sup> Roehrig, The Two Tombs, 188 [107]. These pieces are usually described as heads of leopards, but they are very similar to the gilded-wood cheetah head from the tomb of Tutankhamun, KV 62 (Gilbert, Holt, Hudson (Eds), Treasures of Tutankhamun, Pl. 3). There are some distinctive traits of cheetahs, among others raised position of the head, short mane (males), short muzzles, round small ears and the black spot in the shape of a teardrop running from the inner angle of the eye to the corner of the mouth (Castel Ronda, Panthers, leopards and cheetahs, 17–28 and esp. 19, Chart 1; McDonald, Animal metaphor, 226–227). The second, third, fourth and fifth traits can be observed on the jasper gaming pieces with the cartouche of Hatshepsut (**Fig. 143**). Even though, the Gardiner sign F9 in general concentrates features of leopards, cheetahs and even lions (see discussion in: McDonald, Animal metaphor, 226–232, 334; McDonald, The curiosity of the cat, 361–379; Brachmańska, Duże zwierzęta kotowate, 20, n. 57), in the case of jasper gaming pieces, the representation was made based on the cheetah's silhouette. I would like to thank Malwina Brachmańska for the bibliographical suggestions and discussion on cheetah's features, habits and juxtaposing the features of cheetahs and leopards in Egyptian art.

<sup>167</sup> Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXXX.

<sup>168</sup> Burgos, Larché, La chapelle Rouge I, 46 [block 170], 48 [block 160b], 50 [block 305], 51 [block 26])53 [block 226], 62 [176], 64 [block 66], 98 [block 40], 111 [block 303], 114 [block 126].

<sup>169</sup> The traits marked on the relief decoration are as follows: long neck, round small ears and a spot in the shape of a teardrop running from the inner angle of the eye down, as well as a length of the skin, which is more suitable for a garment material, cheetahs are much longer than leopards and protruding claws (Castel Ronda, Panthers, leopards and cheetahs, 20, Chart 2).

<sup>170</sup> Osborn, Osbornová, The Mammals, 121–123.

<sup>171</sup> Saleh, Helmy, Giegengack, The cheetah, 177–194. Based on the cranial measurements, it can be said that the modern Egyptian/Libyan cheetah is about 20% smaller in comparison to the modern South/East African cheetah forms (Saleh, Helmy, Giegengack, The cheetah, 183, Tab. 1).



Fig. 144. Scene 3.8. Offering scene (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### SCENE 3.8. OFFERING SCENE (Pls 16, 16\*; Tx. 32–34)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 40.8 cm; width: 60 cm

**State of preservation:** Scene 3.8 covers three blocks set in two layers.<sup>172</sup> The scene is entirely re-worked in the post-Amarna period, and only some traces of the original decoration can be noticed. The right upper corner is chipped off, which means that almost half of the scene is lost with the whole line of inscription running above the scene. The lower edges of the upper block are ragged, the upper parts of the two lower blocks and especially their edges are chipped off. The narrow chisel hits indicating the damage from the Coptic period are not attested.<sup>173</sup> The scene is almost washed off colours, only the yellow and red colours of a *dado*-frieze and very delicate traces of red on the body of the offering bearer and some signs are detectable, as well as brown on stems of flowers and the left vase.

#### Description

##### *Original decoration*

The original layer of decoration is unpreserved, only very thin, almost invisible lines give an idea of its original design. The decoration was probably similar, but it seems that the scene was originally narrower and later moved 8.5 cm right as can be read from traces of the offering table and traces of the next scene. The line of a vessel on the ground can be seen to the right of the offering table and some lines of the back line and a torso of a butcher from the neighbouring scene. On the lower blocks, the foot turned left is carved. The back leg of the man is withdrawn, the position of the upper part of the body is upright.

<sup>172</sup> The blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>173</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

### *Later destruction and changes in decoration*

The destruction time is difficult to determine. In the post-Amarna period, new reliefs were carved. The surface was lowered but is still covered with holes, which suggests the Amarna period as the time of erasure of the original decoration. The newly prepared decoration is very flat and the raised relief was obtained by recessing the relief into the surface, which is typical for post-Amarna reconstructions.

The scene represents an offering bearer (←) approaching an offering table (**Fig. 144**).

The offering bearer is depicted on the right side of the scene and is turned left, striding towards the offering table. The head is lost as well as the right forearm. The right arm is also chipped off, but the negative of the relief made by the chisel recessing still can be seen. The man comes along, holding in both hands the duck by the wings to place it on the offering table. His right hand was stretched forward and bent at the elbow, the left arm was also stretched forward and only slightly bent at the elbow. The offering bearer is barefooted and wears a knee-length triangle kilt expanding downwards, tied at the belly in a knot and made of one piece of a textile with a part of an edge widely rolled up in the front.

An offering table in front of the man belongs to the same type as in Scenes 3.1, 3.4 and 3.5 (**Fig. 112**): it is constructed of a plate on a long stand tapering upwards. The offerings represented on the table and around it are similar to those from Scenes 3.1, 3.4 and 3.5, although in less quantity than in the previous scenes. On the offering table, only the first row of offerings is preserved, with two loaves of oval bread and with a cow's head between them. The rest of the boons is chipped off. Two vases stand under the table. On the left, a round vase is set on the wooden stand on long legs with three crossbars attached at the bottom on a cross board, and at the top joined together. A developed form of a lotus flower is wrapped twice around the vase. On the right, a long vase with a round base is placed on a short stand. The long stem with the bud of the lotus flower is wrapped three times around the vase.

The lower parts of the offering table and the wooden stands, as well as feet of the offering bearer, are not preserved as they were represented on the edges of two blocks and are chipped off.

The colour of the background is not preserved as well as most of the other colours. As usual, the red and yellow colours of the *dado*-frieze are well visible, the figure of an offering bearer was painted with the red paint applied directly on the stone. The stems of flowers and at least the left vase on the stand below the offering table were painted brown. Traces of whitewash in many places suggest that other colours, including the background, were applied to it and not directly on the wall.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The scene was surrounded by the inscription from three sides, the texts were carved on the left, on the right and above, and were not separated from the scene by the division lines. Only the ending survived from the left inscription, the upper inscription is entirely missing, while the right one is in a good condition. Both preserved inscriptions are, like the scene, restored in the post-Amarna period.

The left inscription was carved in the column (Tx. 32). The text is faced left, the width of the group of signs measures approx. 6 cm. Signs were carved in the same style as the whole scene, with flat raised relief obtained by recessing the relief into the surface. Their height is uneven, and they are crookedly inserted. Only five hieroglyphs can be read now, the rest was chipped off with the rest of the upper left corner of the block.

This right inscription is also written in the column (Tx. 34), faced left and the width of the group of signs is approx. 6.2cm. It is well preserved with only one breakage which, however, let read a complete text. Signs are a little bit better composed than in the case of the left inscription, the style of engraving is the same as in the left text.

*Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 32 (before the offering scene):



(←↓) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *hrj-tp 'nh wḏ3 snb*

on behalf of the life, prosperity and health (of)

<sup>(a)</sup> Four and a half groups of signs. The text here seems to contain royal epithets. The text should continue in the line above the scene, unfortunately, the whole line is missing.



Tx. 33 (above the scene):

(←) [...] <sup>(a)</sup>

[...]

<sup>(a)</sup> Seven groups of signs. Traces of the last sign can be seen at the end of the line, but its identification is impossible. After the phrase “*hrj-tp 'nh wḏ3 snb*” in Tx. 32, the royal prenomen preceded by the phrase *nswt bjtj* may be expected at the beginning of Tx. 33; see above, commentary (c) to Tx. 23 in Scene 3.4.

Tx. 34 (behind the offering scene):



(←↓) *hb sd 3w.t-jb.f mj [R'] ḏ.t*

*Sed*-festival, may he be joyful like Ra forever.

**Commentary**

Scene 3.8 belongs to the group of small scenes completely rearranged, although, of first sight, it seems to be a neutral one. The original layer has almost not survived, there are only scanty remains of the original decoration. There are also other scenes from this group represented in the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard: Scene 3.9 with the depiction of the butchery activity at the end of the upper sub-register of the lower register, Scene 4.8 illustrating the carrying of two thrones and Scene 4.9 with a procession of soldiers at the end of the lower sub-register of the upper register. It appears that the end of the procession in all cases deserved a change of decorations for reasons that are difficult to determine.

A similar situation can be observed in the case of the Opet Festival sculptured in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard where the last small scenes with the representation of offerings and butchering have been re-carved.<sup>174</sup> In this representation, however, one additional scene in the middle was also removed and replaced with offering and butchery scenes.<sup>175</sup> The situation does not repeat in two other depictions of festivals where the activity of priests, soldiers etc. is attested, i.e. in the Festival of Hathor<sup>176</sup> and festival on the occasion of the transport of granite obelisks from quarries.<sup>177</sup>

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

Southern Lower Portico (Obelisks Portico), west wall, lower register, lower sub-register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 33 [3] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register, lower sub-register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 124 [11], 125 [15] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, lower register, lower sub-register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [23, 25] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, lower register, upper sub-register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [29] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, upper register, lower sub-register:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [32, 34] and references therein

Royal Cult Complex, Chapel of Hatshepsut, south wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 212 [8] and references therein

Royal Cult Complex, Chapel of Hatshepsut, north wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 213–214 [18] and references therein

Royal Cult Complex, Chapel of Thutmose I, south wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 218 [9] and references therein

Royal Cult Complex, Chapel of Thutmose I, north wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 219 [19] and references therein

Block with procession of offering bearers, Museo Egizio di Firenze, Florence 7611

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 214 and references therein

Block with offering bearer, Musée d'art et histoire de Genève, Geneva F. 1304

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 214 and references therein

Block with a procession of offering bearers, Louvre, Paris E 27462

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 219 and references therein

Fragment of a block with an offering bearer, private collection

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 251 and references therein

174 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXVI.

175 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIV.

176 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV.

177 Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pls 17-1, 17-5.

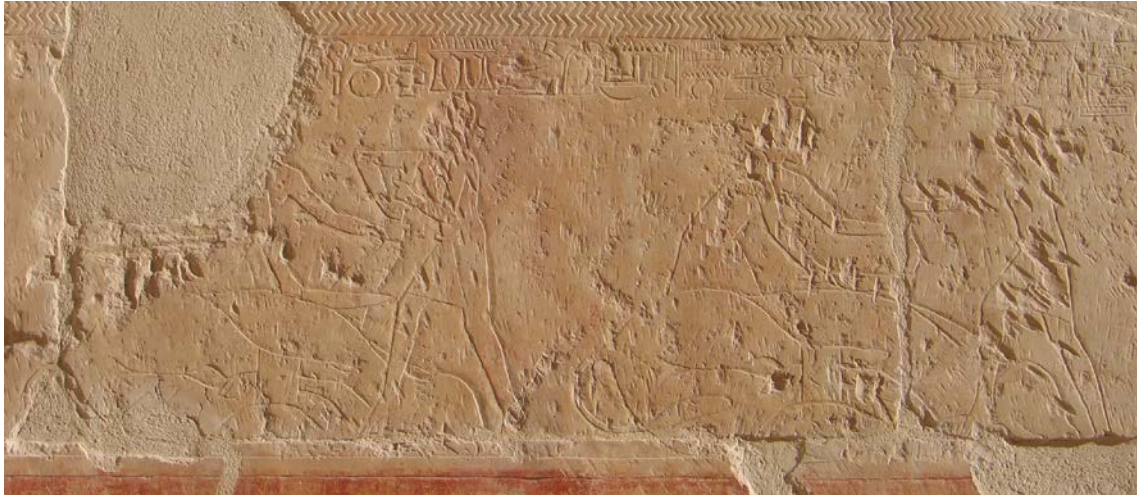


Fig. 145. Scene 3.9. Butchery scene (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [28]  
 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]

## SCENE 3.9. BUTCHERY SCENE (Pls 17, 17\*; Tx. 35)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 42.2 cm; width: 108.5 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is depicted on five blocks set in two layers.<sup>178</sup> The decoration as a whole was restored in the post-Amarna times, however, some traces of the original decoration are still detectable. The left upper corner of the left block from the upper layer is missing as it was chipped off. In the lower layer, only the right upper corner of the rightmost block is lost. In general, the whole scene is in a good condition with no large fragments missing, only edges of blocks are ragged. The Coptic activity is attested, and narrow chisel hits can be observed on human bodies with a special emphasis on faces, and on animals and hieroglyphs representing animals – to a lesser extent.<sup>179</sup> Colours are mainly not preserved, only some traces of the red paint can be seen on human bodies and, as in all other cases, the red and yellow of a *dado*-frieze are visible. The blue grey of the background can be noticed in the upper left corner of the scene.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The original decoration, as in the case of the previous scene, is unpreserved. The whole scene was re-carved, only some tiny traces of the original reliefs are noticeable, and one can suspect that the subject of the original scene was similar, but the direction of the scene has been changed. In the right part of the scene, the long

<sup>178</sup> The blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>179</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 83–91.

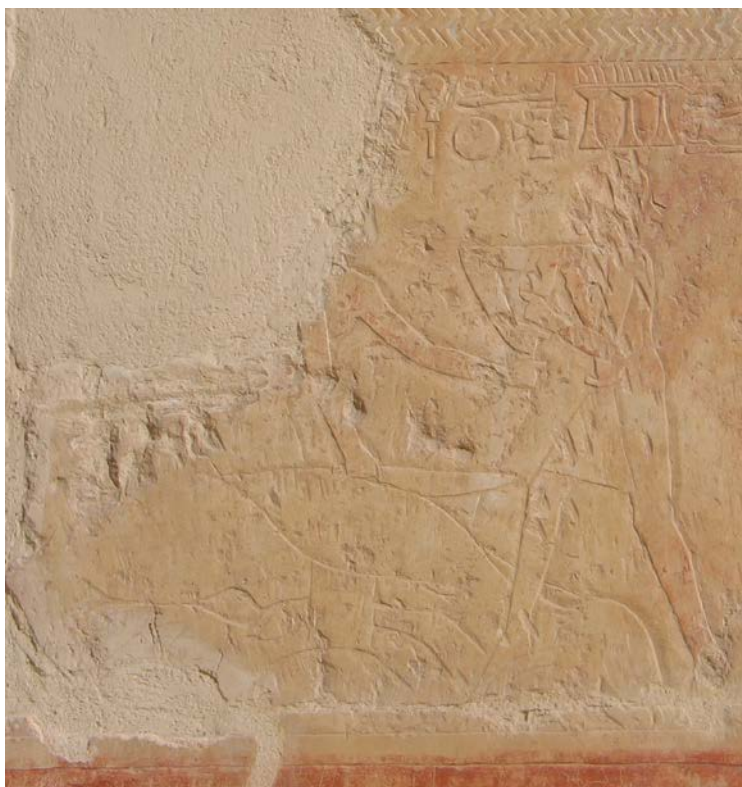


Fig. 146. Left butchery scene (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

scene was reworked in the post-Amarna period. Like in Scene 3.8, the surface was lowered, and a flat raised relief was obtained by recessing the relief into the surface, in the style typical for the post-Amarna reconstructions.

On the newly prepared surface, the double butchery scene is depicted. It represents two butchers (→) (←) in each scene who cut the bull's foreleg (**Fig. 145**). The scene is closed from the above by a line of the inscription.

The left part of the scene is occupied by two butchers bent over the laying short-horn bull. Its body is depicted frontally but the head is seen in profile (**Fig. 146**). Its tail is tucked under the body, the head with closed eyes supports on nostrils. The bull has three legs tied in a knot with a thick rope: two back legs embrace its left foreleg and all of them are twisted with a rope. The throat is cut in half along the entire length of the neck and the butchers pulled away from the right foreleg from the body to cut it.

From the left butcher, only the left arm, the left shoulder and the right arm survived; the rest was represented on the piece of the block now chipped off. The butcher leans over the bull strongly extending forward. He cuts the bull's right foreleg with the right hand holding a wide knife (**Fig. 114**).<sup>180</sup> With the left hand, he holds firmly the right foreleg of the bull at the knee. His legs are hidden behind the bull. The second butcher stands straight with his right leg stretched forward and placed on the bull's horn and the left leg is retracted back and the foot is supported on toes. His hands are raised and bent at the elbow, and he holds the bull's foreleg at the hoof with both hands. Both of them are barefooted. The attire of two butchers is the same, they are clad in a knee-length triangle kilt expanding downwards and tied at the belly in a knot, similar to the kilt worn by the offering bearers in Scenes 3.1, 3.4 and 3.8.<sup>181</sup> The kilt is made of one piece of textile and in the front part has an edge of material widely rolled up. This piece of garment differs from the butcher's dress depicted in the previous scenes, both butchers have also no knife sharpener attached to the bottom edge of

line of a back and a leg can be seen. The second bull was placed much further to the left, traces of the butcher's leg can be seen on the leg of the offering bearer from the previous scene. The second bull lies in the opposite direction, the nostrils can be seen on the lower left block above a *dado*-frieze. It seems then that the restored scene has been shifted right about 25 cm compared to the original one. It seems probable that originally it was one scene composed of two parts; likewise the case of Scenes 3.1, 3.4 and 3.5. It can be deduced from the position of the back leg of the butcher from Scene 3.9 placed across the leg of the offering bearer from Scene 3.8.

#### *Later destruction and changes in decoration*

It is difficult to date the destruction phase of the decoration. The presence of deeper holes in the surface suggests the Amarna period. The

180 For the butcher's knives, see above, p. 108, footnote 107.

181 For this type of attire, see above, p. 108, footnote 103.

the kilt and stuck by the waistband.

The right scene is composed in the same manner (Fig. 147). Two butchers lean over a bull. The bull lies on the side with the head supported on nostrils, closed eyes, and the tail tucked under the body. His three legs are tied in a knot, two back legs embrace the left foreleg and all of them are twisted with a thick rope. The right foreleg is pulled up. His throat is cut in half along the entire length of its neck.

The left butcher, hidden partially behind the bull, is bent and stretched forward. As in the previous case, he is occupied with cutting the bull's foreleg; in the right hand he holds a wide knife with a thin, recurvate handle (Fig. 114), and in the left hand, he holds a bull's foreleg at the knee. The right butcher is slightly leaning

over the bull, his arms are extended forward at the chest height, in both hands he holds the bull's foreleg at the hoof. His right foot is placed on the horn and the left foot stands on the ground in front of the bull's mouth, although the foot itself is not preserved, as it was represented in the corner now chipped off. Both butchers are shaved bald and are barefooted. They are clad in kilts similar to the one worn by the butcher from the left scene, i.e. a knee-length triangle kilt expanding downwards and tied at the belly in a knot.

The scene is deprived of colours, only some delicate traces of red on the human figures, especially in the left scene indicate that the whole figures were painted red. The red and yellow of a *dado*-frieze painted directly on the stone are well visible. The background was covered with blue greyish paint, traces of it can be seen in several places of the scene.



Fig. 147. Right butchery scene (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscription of Scene 3.9 was restored in the post-Amarna period (Tx. 35). Some traces of the original inscription can be found, and it seems that it differs from the post-Amarna reconstruction. The restored text is carved above the heads of butchers in one line without the division lines. The height of the line is uneven, the group of signs *n k3.k* measures 5.6 cm and the group of signs *n tp* – 5.2 cm. The text is faced left. Signs were carved in a flat raised relief obtained by recessing the relief into the surface. It is very interesting that the first sign in the line was chiseled out and not restored. The inscription ends much too far to the right and the last word is surprisingly written in the column and not in the line, almost overlapping the figure on the right from Scene 2, which suggests that it was not precisely designed. The hieroglyphs are in general too high and were carved when the decoration had already been finished. It forced the decorators to change the height of signs above the head of the right butcher in the left scene and to narrow the distance between signs above



Upper Courtyard, south wall, above the window:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 135 [42] and references therein

Royal Cult Complex, Chapel of Hatshepsut, east wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 211 [3, 4] and references therein

Royal Cult Complex, Chapel of Thutmose I, east wall:

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 217 [5] and references therein

Block with a butcher, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 3064

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 248 and references therein

Block with a butchery scene, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.19.2

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 250 and references therein

## References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [28]

PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.I]

## MIDDLE SUB-REGISTER (Pls 18, 18\*; Tx. 36–50; Cat. nos 55–82)

### SCENE 3.10. PROCESSION OF BOATS (Pls 18, 18\*; Tx. 36–50; Cat. nos 55–82)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 136 cm; width: 1016 cm at the bottom and 1028 cm at the top

**State of preservation:** The scene is preserved partially, mainly due to the removal of ten blocks to the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin by Lepsius. The scene is depicted on 49 blocks and 23 fragments of blocks.<sup>182</sup> It is in a quite good state of conservation in the lower part, while in the upper part most of the blocks are missing. The left part of the third lower block from the left and the fourth upper block from a group of blocks stored in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 1636) are now chipped off, but they were seen by Lepsius<sup>183</sup> and Johannes Duemichen<sup>184</sup> in the mid-19th century. Especially affected is the prow of the second accompanying bark; almost half of the bark is lost and only some small fragments of blocks can be reconstructed there. The

<sup>182</sup> Block Cat. nos 56, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 67, 70, 71, 73, 74, 75; block fragments Cat. nos 57, 63, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 72, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83. Blocks and fragments Cat. nos 68, 72, 78, and 80 were replaced in the wall in season 1971/1972 (Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Phot. 5–6, Pls 1–4); blocks and fragments Cat. nos 59, 60, 61, 62, 73, 74 and 75 – in season 1972/1973; blocks and fragments Cat. nos 56, 57, 58, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 71, 76, 77, and 79 – in season 1984/1985; blocks and fragments Cat. nos 69, 81, 82, and 83 – in season 1986/1987 (on the basis of pictures of the wall from seasons 1972/1973, 1984/1985 and 1986/1987). The date of replacement of block Cat. no. 70 is uncertain. The group of nine blocks representing accompanying bark (ÄM 1636) and block with the representation of four oarsmen (ÄM 14332) is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, the block with the representation of oarsmen (Philadelphia E 16216) is in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the rest of blocks was not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>183</sup> LD III, Pl. 17a.

<sup>184</sup> Duemichen, *Die Flote*, Pl. IV.



Fig. 148. Group of 8 blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636 ((© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung / Sandra Steiß, CC BY-SA 4.0).

royal bark is also in a bad condition, with only four blocks from the upper layer still in the wall. The upper layer of the prow part of the Userhat bark is also not preserved. There are also bigger gaps behind the naos, in the stern part of the Userhat bark and above it, as well as in front of the naos. Almost all blocks' edges are chipped off to some degree. The barks were treated differently during the reign of Thutmose III. Two kiosks on the prows of both accompanying barks were chiseled out with a wide chisel, while the figure of Hatshepsut on the royal bark was similarly erased. In the Amarna period and, as a consequence, in post-Amarna times some changes can be observed. The quarter of the whole scene, i.e. the river bark of Amun – Userhat, was erased with deep hits of the wide chisel and restored. All names and epithets of Amun were erased and later reconstructed as well. The Coptic period destructions can be very well recognised as they were executed with a narrow chisel.<sup>185</sup> They especially concern human figures and representations of animals. Most of the colours disappeared, as in other cases, only colours applied directly on the stone survived: the red of the upper stripe of a *dado*-frieze and human bodies, and the yellow of a *dado*-frieze.

#### Blocks in the museums:

- Group of nine blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636 (Fig. 148)
- Block with the representation of four oarsmen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14332 (Fig. 149)
- Block with the representation of oarsmen, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia E 16216 (Fig. 150)

### Description

The scene is divided into four separate scenes taking place on four separate river barks.<sup>186</sup> The procession is led by two accompanying barks with oarsmen (←) which transport two other barks on thick ropes: the royal bark (←) and the bark of Amun – Userhat (←). Hieroglyphic inscriptions were carved above two accompanying barks. Fragments of inscriptions can also be seen above the other barks.

<sup>185</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>186</sup> The same types of boats, as the accompanying bark towing the royal bark, were used also in private pilgrimages to Abydos of this period (cf. e.g. Davies, Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pl. XII [upper register]; Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê II*, Pl. XLVIII [tympanum]), although in this case, the scale is smaller, there is only one rudder and the boats are powered by sails, and not only by oarsmen. The comeback had taken place without sails, as the river gave the main power (middle register).



Fig. 149. Block with the representation of four oarsmen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14332 ((© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung / Sandra Steiß, CC BY-SA 4.0).

*First accompanying bark (Pls 19, 19\*)*

*ORIGINAL DECORATION*

The first accompanying bark is depicted on 16 blocks and three fragments of blocks<sup>187</sup> and measures 293.5 cm at the bottom and 301 cm at the top of the scene. This scene has a trapezoid shape, wider at the top and narrower at the bottom, as the neighbouring wall was sloping. Most of the scene is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 1636) in Berlin (Fig. 148), only the lower part of the boat and its foredeck can still be seen *in situ* (Fig. 151). This bark belongs to the group of two very similar barks which were

used to pull two ships: the royal bark and the bark of Amun, Userhat.

The hull of the first bark is round-bottomed and of a shallow draught, with elongated finials and a 'fish-tail'-shape prow and stern.<sup>188</sup> Deck beams are protruding through the planking along the sides of the bark, which is marked by rectangular elements along the hull. In the central part of the bark, a single mast is mounted through the deckhouse roof. The forestay and backstay are looped around the mast through the upper halyard block squared. It has two eye holes a side knotted to the mast with much thinner ropes (Fig. 152). The rigging of the sail is not marked in the relief; maybe it has been painted on the background with paint only but the upper yard and a boom have not been carved which suggests rather that although the mast was permanently fixed to the bottom of the bark, sails were not in use during the short trip from the east to the west bank and were left in the harbour or laid on the deck of the boat. The bark sailed through the river driven by oars. They have been fastened to the boat thanks to the round fasteners in the brim.

The deck is located below the edge of the gunwale, while the fore- and afterdecks are slightly raised, and several constructions are situated on it. At the end of the foredeck and the end of the afterdeck two openwork, shrine-shaped kiosks facing amidships are built. Each kiosk stands on the raised platform. Amidships is an elongated two-storey deckhouse.

The front kiosk is situated on the platform just before the prow of the bark. It has a sloped ceiling, bulging at its front, which is supported on three columns with papyrus-form heads on each side. The side wall, reaching half of the height of the kiosk is decorated in the middle with a bull trampling an enemy. The



Fig. 150. Block with the representation of oarsmen, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia E 16216 (Object E 16216. Courtesy of the Penn Museum).

<sup>187</sup> The group of nine blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636. The rest of the blocks was not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>188</sup> The shape of this boat is well known from the models found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, KV 62, cf. Carters objects nos 276, 321, 336; Jones, Model boats, 16 (type C).



Fig. 151. The lower part of the first accompanying bark preserved *in situ* (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

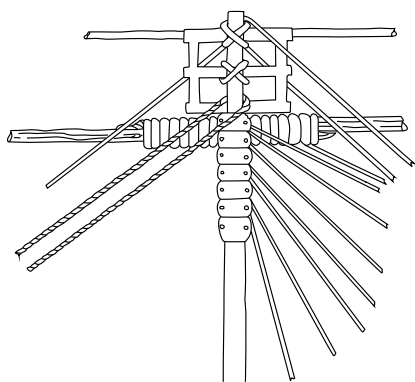


Fig. 152. Masthead rigging construction (after Jones, *Boats*, Fig. 49; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

bull is higher than the side wall and its head is decorated with a *shuty*-crown with a sun disk between its horns which almost touches the ceiling of the kiosk. In front of the bull, in an upper left corner of the side wall, a cartouche of Thutmose II can be seen.<sup>189</sup> Behind the bull, in the upper right corner of the side wall, a winged sun disk is carved embracing from up and right the erased cartouche resting on the *neb*-sign.

In the middle of the first accompanying bark, a two-storey deckhouse is located. The lower storey is twice as long as the upper one placed above, in the middle of the lower storey. The lower level has a flat roof while the upper level's roof is flat in the middle and raising at the ends. Both roofs follow the curve of the deck. The deckhouse has at least two doors in the front part of the lower storey, both doors are decorated with a cornice. Its middle part is adorned with red paint applied directly on the stone. The decoration starts with a block boeder-frieze above the heads of oarsmen; below it, a spiral decoration is partially

preserved and, in several places, only a rhomboidal pattern of spaces between spirals survived, the lower part of the decoration is lost.

The forward kiosk is placed on the platform with steps just before the stern (Fig. 153). Three columns with papyrus-form heads support the roof in the front and back part and in the middle. The roof is rounded in the front part and it slopes down in the back part, so two external columns are equal and the middle one is higher. The floor of the kiosk slopes down forward. The inclined side wall which follows the slope of the floor can be seen more or less in the middle of the height of the kiosk. Below the side wall, on two sides of the kiosk, two striding sphinxes with Horus-shape faces are represented with their right paws stretched forward.<sup>190</sup> Their heads are decorated with the double crowns placed on the *nemes*-headdresses. A cartouche

<sup>189</sup> Naville (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, 3) suggested that the name of Thutmose II could be added later but nothing supports this idea, there are no traces of alteration.

<sup>190</sup> A pair of sphinxes is interesting in the context of other representations of this type of barks: in the forward kiosk of models nos 276 and 321 from the tomb of Tutankhamun, KV 62 (Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 61329 and JE 61330: Jones, *Model boats*, 38–40, Pls XXIII, XXIV) and model boat from the tomb of Amenhotep II, KV 35 (Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo CG 4944: Daressy, *Fouilles*, 240, XLVIII–XLIX), a single sphinx is represented; on the bark depicted in the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari, also one sphinx is carved on the openwork of the forward kiosk (Dolińska, *Temple of Tuthmosis III 2010–2011*, Fig. 4B).



Fig. 153. The forward kiosk of the first accompanying bark on the platform with steps (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

with the throne name of Thutmose II is carved behind their backs, in the corner of the side walls, between the wings of the winged sun disk.<sup>191</sup> A fan in the shape of the flabellum *behet* is set behind the back column.

Just before the back-stern kiosk, a pair of long and thick steering oars were supported on vertical forked stanchions and fixed with thick, taut ropes attached to the protruding deck beams and secured at the ends by collars fixed to the gunwales (Fig. 154). At the butts of both steering oars, royal heads were placed with the *shuty*-crowns on the simple *ibes*-wigs (Fig. 155).<sup>192</sup> The heads had false beards. Just below them, an emblem in the shape of the *aper*-sign<sup>193</sup> is hanging. Their prows are attached to the barks hulls while their blades

<sup>191</sup> See above, footnote 8.

<sup>192</sup> The decoration of butts of the steering oars differs in each representation. In Scene 4.10 only the steering oar of the second accompanying bark survived with the royal head earring the *khefresh*-crown. The first pair of the steering oars in the case of the representation of the accompanying barks in the Opet Festival has undecorated endings (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIV) and in the second pair the endings were decorated with heads wearing a crown, probably also a *khefresh*-crown (unpublished). On the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine, the only boat without the emblems on the prow and stern, unfortunately, has no steering oars preserved (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-4). The steering oars of the accompanying barks on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico were in greatest part undecorated except for the first boat in the lower row where the butts were decorated with panther(?) heads (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLIV).

<sup>193</sup> Most probably such an emblem is also held by one of the soldiers in Scene 3.2.

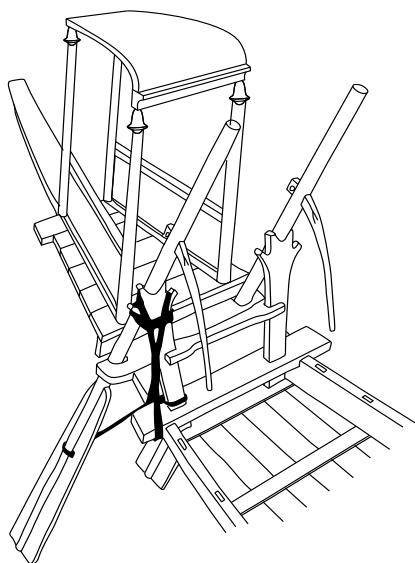


Fig. 154. Double steering gear construction (after Jones, *Boats*, Fig. 50; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 155. The butts of both steering oars of the first accompanying bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

are immersed in water. The tillers are attached to the top of the rudder to allow two helmsmen to turn the steering oar.

Except for constructions, a group of people is represented on the deck of the accompanying bark. They are playing various roles although all of them are the crew of the boat. Most of them belong to oarsmen, there are also two steersmen, a man on the prow and a man on the roof of the deckhouse.

Twenty oarsmen on each side were engaged are paddling, which can be counted thanks to the number of oars represented on a block preserved *in situ* (Fig. 151). Only seventeen of them are preserved now in the wall. The oarsmen are placed in regular distance one to each other with the oars' blades submerged in water, more or less in the same position; they stand while paddling, all of them turned towards the stern. They all wear the traditional naval dress: a simple short white kilt made of triangle textile of which two corners are tied together on the belly and the third one is pulled between the legs and under the tied corners hanging down. This corner hanging down is cut flat at the end. Over the kilt, a naval loincloth made of webbed leather, sometimes with a marked square patch at the seat, was put on and fastened around the waist by a thin strip of leather.<sup>194</sup> On their heads, they have simple wigs. At the prow part of the boat, it seems to be rather crowded. The men are depicted in three rows: two outer rows consist of oarsmen, five on each side, although the oars of the oarsmen from the right side (i.e. the backside) of the boat are invisible. They all stand on a deck

<sup>194</sup> For the naval dress, see above, p. 122, footnote 125.

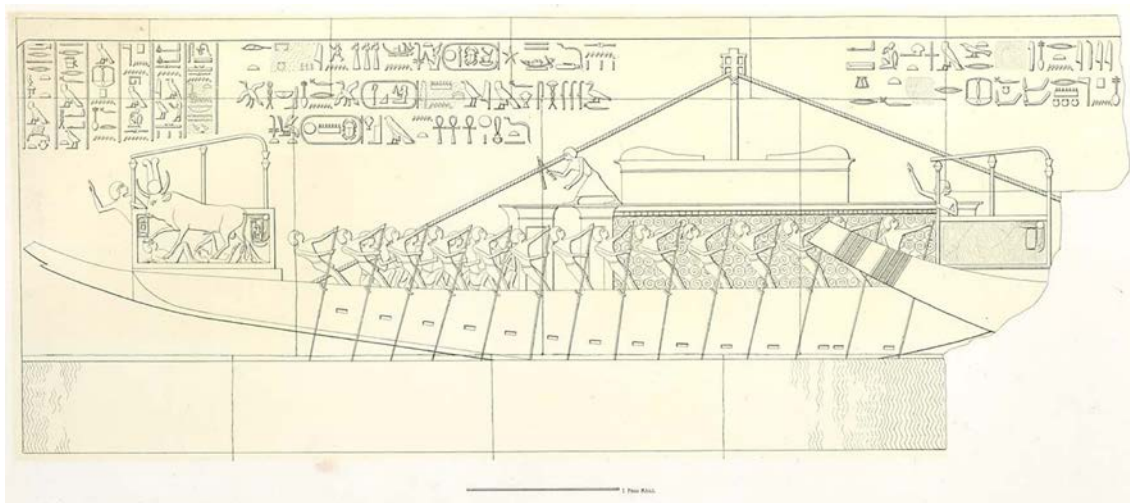


Fig. 156. The first accompanying bark documented by Lepsius (*LD III*, Pl. 17a).

and are strongly leaning strongly backwards and are balanced in such a way to push the oars hard.<sup>195</sup> The oarsmen hold the oars in their both hands, the left hand is at the end of the oar's loom while the right hand is on the chest level. In the middle, a group of six men is sitting on a deck with their knees protruding in front of them. There is also one man in front of the first (left) door of the deckhouse, who stands on the deck with his right hand placed on the left shoulder and holds the wrist of his right hand with his left hand. On the next, incomplete block, the group of nine oarsmen is shown against the background of the deckhouse. Their position and garments are the same as other oarsmen on the boat. Three other oarsmen depicted on the block *in situ* paddle on the left (i.e. front) side of the boat. They took the same position and are dressed the same way as other oarsmen.

At the prow, a man leans out of the kiosk holding on to the column with the left hand. He is visible from the waist up. His right arm is extended forward, raised and bent at right angles. He turns his head towards amidships. The dress of the man is hidden behind the kiosk, he is wearing a simple wig. His duty was, most probably, piloting the boat.

Another man was running on the roof of the lower storey of a deckhouse in its front part. His position is difficult to reconstruct, the upper part is lost since the left part of the block is gone. In the times of Lepsius, however, this part of the block was in place and the position, as well as the function of the man, seems to be clear (**Fig. 156**).<sup>196</sup> From the already preserved fragment, it may be said that the right leg of this man is strongly extended forward and his left leg is bent at the knee with a foot in the rear.<sup>197</sup> The upper part of the man is damaged. From the drawing by Lepsius, it can be added that the man leans forward strongly, wearing a long kilt, wide at the bottom, and a simple wig. He holds a whip in his right hand and his left arm is pushed forward, slightly bent at the elbow with his hand clenched into a fist. This man was, most probably, the overseer of oarsmen mobilising them to work hard with a whip.

195 Naville (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, 3) writes: "The oarsmen are standing, because they are represented at the moment of landing". It seems, however, that they are represented in the most characteristic moment of the journey showing their hard work. It can be stressed by the representation of the oarsmen on the second accompanying bark whose position is slightly different because they do not have to work so hard, because the bark is partly powered by the first accompanying bark.

196 *LD III*, Pl. 17a.

197 The position of the left foot in the Lepsius's drawing differs from what can be read on the preserved block: Lepsius draught it as placed flat on the roof while in reality, it is in the air allowing the man to keep the balance (*LD III*, Pl. 17a).

Two steersmen can be seen, each holds a tiller in his left hand at the level of his chest. They wear a tight shirt tied under the neck with short sleeves, a half-calf transparent skirt and a short kilt on it, tied at the waist.<sup>198</sup> On their heads, they have simple wigs.

Not many colours had survived. Red and green stains are attested on hieroglyphs, red is also well preserved on bodies of oarsmen and other sailors. The wigs of sailors are black, traces of it can be seen on the blocks. A red spiral decoration of the deckhouse is visible. Water was painted blue and the rests of this colour are still preserved on almost every block. Some delicate traces of the blue greyish of the background are detectable as well.

### DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III

Thutmose III's artisans were consistent in destroying the names of Hatshepsut which is attested in this scene twice. Her cartouche was erased at the end of an inscription in the left upper corner of the scene (Tx. 36) and replaced with another text. For the second time, the cartouche and even the protective bird above it were removed in the decoration of the side wall of the front kiosk, behind the bull.<sup>199</sup> They seem to be vertically scratched. This element was not replaced.

### DESTRUCTIONS OF THE AMARNA PERIOD

Destructions of the Amarna period concern only the name and epithets of Amun and the word *hnw*. *Hnw* was chiseled out at the beginning of the second inscription from the left (Tx. 36), in the same text the name of Amun with an epithet was erased. In the third inscription from the left (Tx. 37), once again, the name of Amun was removed.

### COPTIC DESTRUCTIONS

In the case of the first accompanying bark, the biggest destruction comes from the Coptic period. This is attested on some animals and on almost all human figures. The bull in the decoration of the side wall of the front kiosk has its legs and crown chiseled out with hits of a narrow chisel, 0.55 cm wide, there are also several chisel hits on its body. Some hieroglyphs were treated the same way, especially birds (*m*, 3, *w*, *p3*, i.e. Gardiner signs G17, G1, G43, and G40) and snakes *ḏd* (Gardiner sign I10). There are also two sphinxes removed in the same way, but in their case, the whole figures were hammered with a narrow chisel, together with the cartouche of Thutmose II, the protective bird above it, and even a fan behind it, i.e. the whole decoration of the side wall of the forward kiosk was erased.

Human figures and heads were removed throughout the boat. As to the sailors, they were treated the same way as other figures from Scenes 3.1–3.9: the Copts especially erased their heads, legs and arms but in some cases, whole figures were chiseled out with the use of the narrow chisel. The first figure from the left, the pilot, is removed in the bigger part, only the back of his head and his right arm are intact. The next group of two oarsmen and one sailor has their heads, arms and legs erased. Three next seated figures and an oarsman were left almost without chisel hits. Further, four oarsmen and six sailors between them have their heads removed, sometimes also arms, and sometimes legs. The man with his hand on its breast is almost intact. The next oarsman represented in front of the left door is treated badly, with only the left shoulder, the right forearm and the middle part of his back left untouched. From nine oarsmen, the second and the third ones are a little less destroyed, i.e. their torsos and legs of the second one are not chiseled out. Also, the faces

<sup>198</sup> For this type of dress, see above, pp. 139–140, footnote 142.

<sup>199</sup> Lepsius saw the cartouche *M3 't-k3-R'* below the scratched surface (LD III, Pl. 17a).



Fig. 157. The second accompanying bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

of the first one and the third one are intact. The rest is erased carefully; only the wigs of the fourth, sixth, seventh and eighth oarsmen are still visible. The legs of the man on the roof are also treated with a narrow chisel. Two last oarsmen were also removed but carelessly, and mainly their shoulders were touched. Two steersmen have heads hammered out with a narrow chisel and some traces of the chisel hits can be seen on the belly of the first man. Not only the human figures were erased. Two heads on the tips of the oars' looms were also removed with the narrow chisel hits. There is also the *hr*-hieroglyph at the end of the second line of the second inscription from the left that was erased.

*Second accompanying bark (Pls 20, 20\*)*

*ORIGINAL DECORATION*

The second accompanying bark is represented on nine blocks and 13 fragments of blocks (Fig. 156)<sup>200</sup> and is 297 cm wide and 82 cm high. The front part of the bark is depicted on three right blocks from the group of blocks stored in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 1636).<sup>201</sup> The prow of the bark obstructs the stern of the first bark. The second bark is very similar to the first one; they both serve to haul two other barks, the royal bark and Userhat.

<sup>200</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 71, 72, 73, 74; fragments of blocks Cat. nos 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83. The group of three blocks with the representation of the second accompanying bark is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636. The rest of the blocks was not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>201</sup> Karkowski, *Königliche Schiffe*, 106–107 [7].



Fig. 158. Two doors in the front part of the lower storey of the second accompanying bark (phot J. Iwaszczuk).

The hull of the second bark is of the same shape as the first one, round-bottomed and with a shallow draught. It has elongated finials and a 'fish-tail'-shape prow and stern. The prow is decorated with three columns of pattern resembling bracelets, and three columns are repeated in a short distance. Deck beams are protruding through the planking along the sides, in the same way as in the first bark. A single mast mounted in the central part of the bark protrudes through the deckhouse roof. It is supported with forestay and backstay made of thick ropes and looped around the masthead through the upper halyard block squared with two eye holes a side also knotted to the mast but with much thinner ropes (Fig. 152). The oars were fastened to the brim by round fasteners.

The deck is also placed below the edge of the gunwale and the front- and afterdecks are slightly raised. Like on the deck of the first accompanying bark, two openwork kiosks facing amidships are built on the raised platforms, one at the end of the foredeck and the other one at the end of the afterdeck. The steering gear is not preserved. Also as in the case of the first accompanying bark, the elongated two-storey deckhouse is constructed in the centre of the boat.

The front kiosk is depicted on block ÄM 1636 from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The shape of the kiosk is the same as the front kiosk of the first accompanying bark and it is also constructed on a platform just before the prow of the bark. The sloped roof of the kiosk is supported on each side on three columns with papyrus-form heads. The motif decorating the side wall of the kiosk is difficult to recognise; the whole surface of the side wall was destroyed with a thick chisel. It is possible to see an upper fragment of the cartouche, a foot and a bottom of an enemy which was probably trampled by an animal. The shape of the animal is impossible to establish, although the position of its head is different than in the front kiosk of the first accompanying bark; it is much closer to the middle column.

The middle part of the second accompanying bark is occupied by a two-storey deckhouse. The right part of it is not preserved but judging from its shape on the first accompanying bark it seems very probable that the lower storey was twice as long as the upper one, which is located above, in the middle of it. The flat roof of the lower storey follows the curve of the deck, the upper roof is flat in the middle and raising at its ends. In the front part of the lower storey, two doors with a cornice above are marked (Fig. 158).

The forward kiosk is located on the platform just before the stern (Fig. 159). Its front part is not preserved. The sloping roof is rounded in the front part. It is supported on three columns with papyrus-form heads on each side, the front one is missing, two external columns are equal and the middle one is higher. The floor



Fig. 159. The forward kiosk of the second accompanying bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 160. Oarsman of the second accompanying bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

of the kiosk slopes down forward. The side wall is decorated but this decoration was chiseled out and almost nothing is visible. In the back corner of the side wall, traces of the winged sun disk and a tail of a sphinx are detectable. Behind the back column, a fan in the shape of the flabellum *behet* is set.

The deck of the second accompanying bark is also crowded. A row of oarsmen moves the bark forward and a man at the front kiosk pilots the boat. The figures of steersmen are not preserved. In contrast to the first accompanying bark, there are no additional sailors on the bark.

A man, most probably a pilot of the boat, stands in the front kiosk looking straight ahead. The side wall covers him from the waist down. He holds onto the rear column with his left hand and his right arm is extended forward, raised and bent at right angles. He has a simple wig on his head.

There are at least twenty-two oarsmen on the deck of the second accompanying bark of whom only fifteen are preserved today. They are placed at regular intervals and face in the opposite direction to the movement of the boat. All of them are dressed in the traditional naval dress: a simple short white kilt with a flat cut corner hanging down and over it,



Fig. 161. Two groups of rowers from the first and second accompanying barks (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

a naval loincloth made of webbed leather was put on and fastened around the waist by a thin strip of leather (**Fig. 160**). They wear simple wigs, one of them, standing in front of the second door, has no marked waves on the wig (**Fig. 157**). Their position is similar to the position of oarsmen on the first accompanying bark. They are leaned back but not as much as those on the first bark (**Fig. 161**) and hold the oars in both hands; while the left hand is at the end of the oar's loom, the right hand holds the oar at chest level.

The bodies of the sailors were painted red directly on the stone and are well preserved. Their wigs were black. Traces of brown are attested on ropes of the steering gear and oars held by oarsmen. The water was painted blue and paint stains can be found on almost every block with water decoration.

#### *DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III*

It is difficult to decide if the removing of the side wall decoration of the forward kiosk was done during the reign of Thutmose III. It was chiseled out with a thick chisel, 1.8 cm wide, in a quite different style than the destructions from the Amarna period.

#### *DESTRUCTIONS OF THE AMARNA PERIOD*

The only destruction from the Amarna times is the erasing of the word *hnmw* in the inscription above the boat, executed with a wide chisel, 1.9 cm wide.



Fig. 162. The royal bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

#### COPTIC DESTRUCTIONS

Coptic destructions are of the same type as in the case of the first accompanying bark. They were done with the use of the narrow chisel, 0.55 cm wide and cover similar areas as those on the first bark. Only the human figures are destroyed, while hieroglyphs were not. Most of the faces were erased, only the face of the first and eleventh oarsmen from the left and the larger part of the body of the first and ninth as well as whole bodies of oarsmen represented on two separate fragments of blocks were left in a better state of preservation. The rest is in the bigger part chiseled out.

These parts of the body of the man in the front kiosk which were represented outside the kiosk, have been removed but these parts which are inside the kiosk were left intact.

#### Royal bark (Pls 21, 21\*)

#### ORIGINAL DECORATION

The space used for the representation of the royal bark (Fig. 162) is much higher than the one above the accompanying barks. It measures 245.5 cm in width and 136 cm in height. It happened because the artists had to find some space to place three small scenes (Scenes 3.11–3.13) above



Fig. 163. Papyrus-shaped front finial of the royal bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

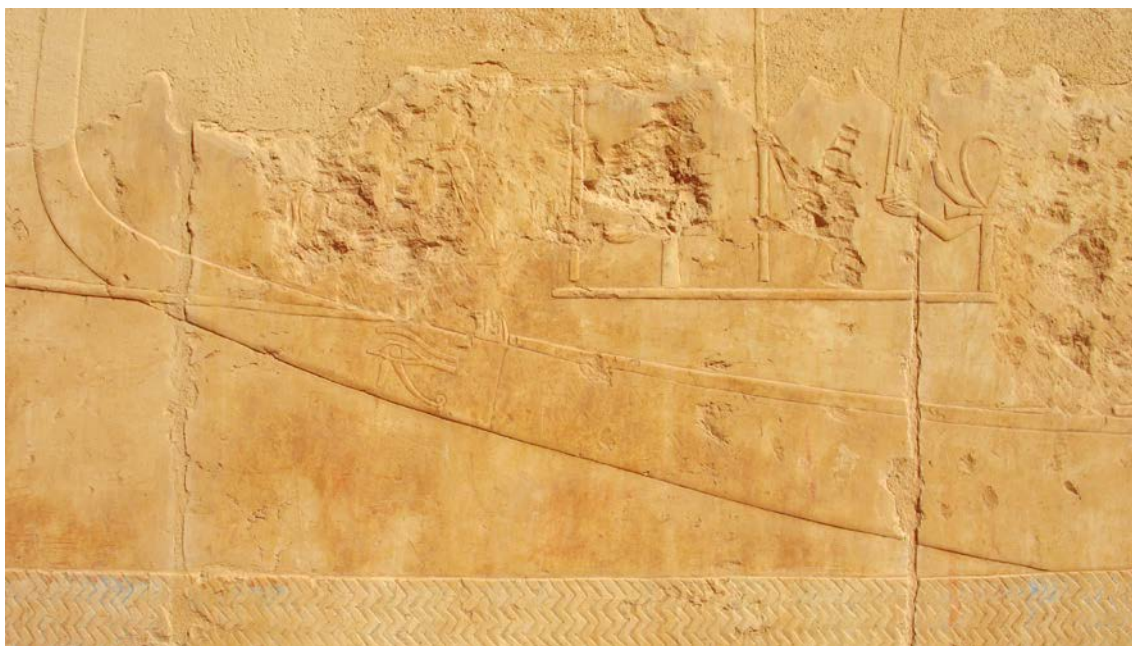


Fig. 164. The front part of the hull of the royal bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

and probably two accompanying barks were not as important as the boats they were hauling. The bark is represented on thirteen blocks and three fragments of blocks.<sup>202</sup>

The hull of the royal bark is round-bottomed and of a shallow draught, with a palm-shaped front finial (Fig. 163).<sup>203</sup> Judging by the destruction and the reconstruction above the front finial, some decoration was there. As the reconstructed emblem is the representation of the falcon-shape Horus, it is probable that there was the same emblem or even, because of two thrones on the bark, two Horuses in this place before the destruction had taken place. The hull in the front part is decorated with an *wedjat-eye* (Fig. 164). The first accompanying bark tows the boat on a thick rope, the rest of it can be seen on two blocks, just above the *wedjat-eye*. Above the right corner of the *wedjat-eye*, the head of a falcon is represented on a deck which is the left end of a gunwale. The space directly above the *wedjat-eye* was once decorated although no traces of the original decoration can be seen now as the surface was chiseled out and then restored in the post Amarna period. To the right of this space, above the deck, is a space where two standards are set: the first from the left is held by the *ankh*-sign with hands stretched up, the second one – by the *was*-sign (Fig. 165). It is impossible to say what emblems were represented on the standards since they are completely erased. The third figure is the *ankh*-sign lifting two arches. The construction to the right of standards was placed on a low platform covering a bigger part of the bottom of the boat. This space is completely erased with a deep and wide chisel, only the thick pole being a front column of a shrine on the right and some traces of a vertical line to the left of it can be seen. Most probably another requisite was represented here, which can be judged by the vertical line closing this part of the scene of which some traces survived. This emblem or requisite was rather low, as the space at the height of two arches was not erased and placed on the level of a deck. Another platform, twice as thick, starts just behind the pole. Two royal thrones are placed in its right corner. The front throne is well visible

<sup>202</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 67, 70, 71, 73, 74; blocks fragments Cat. nos 68, 69, 72. The rest of the blocks was not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>203</sup> This bark was also represented on the outer walls of the Chapelle Rouge (Burgos, Larché, La chapelle Rouge I, 61 [block 171], 112 [block 179]), although some elements differ: three standards on the prow are not the same as well as figures holding them, behind Serket, there is no the *shemes*-sign attached with a rope to the thick pole (cf. Burgos, Larché, La chapelle Rouge I, 61 [block 171]). The shape of this boat is well known from the models found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, KV 62, cf. Carters objects nos 285, 286, 307, 311; Jones, Model boats, 16, 44–48 (type F).



Fig. 165. Standards on the prow of the royal bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

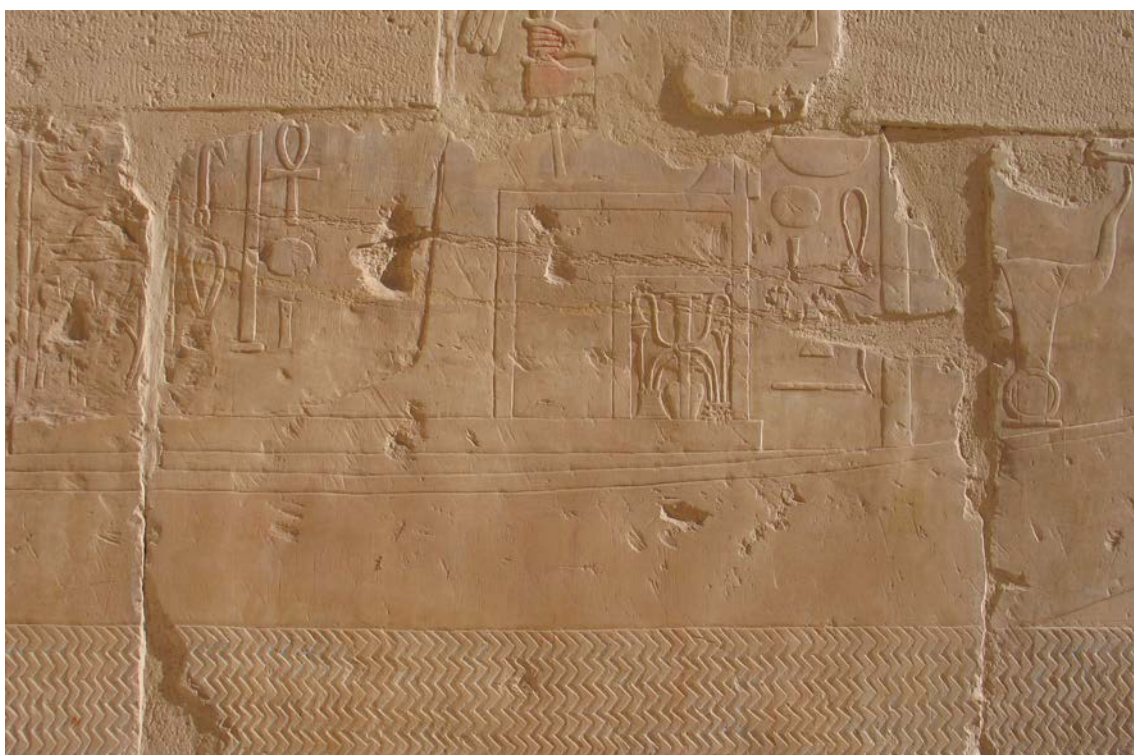


Fig. 166. Throne of Thutmose III on the royal bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

Fig. 167. The seated statue of Thutmose III in the red crown and traces of erased statue of Hatshepsut in the white crown (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

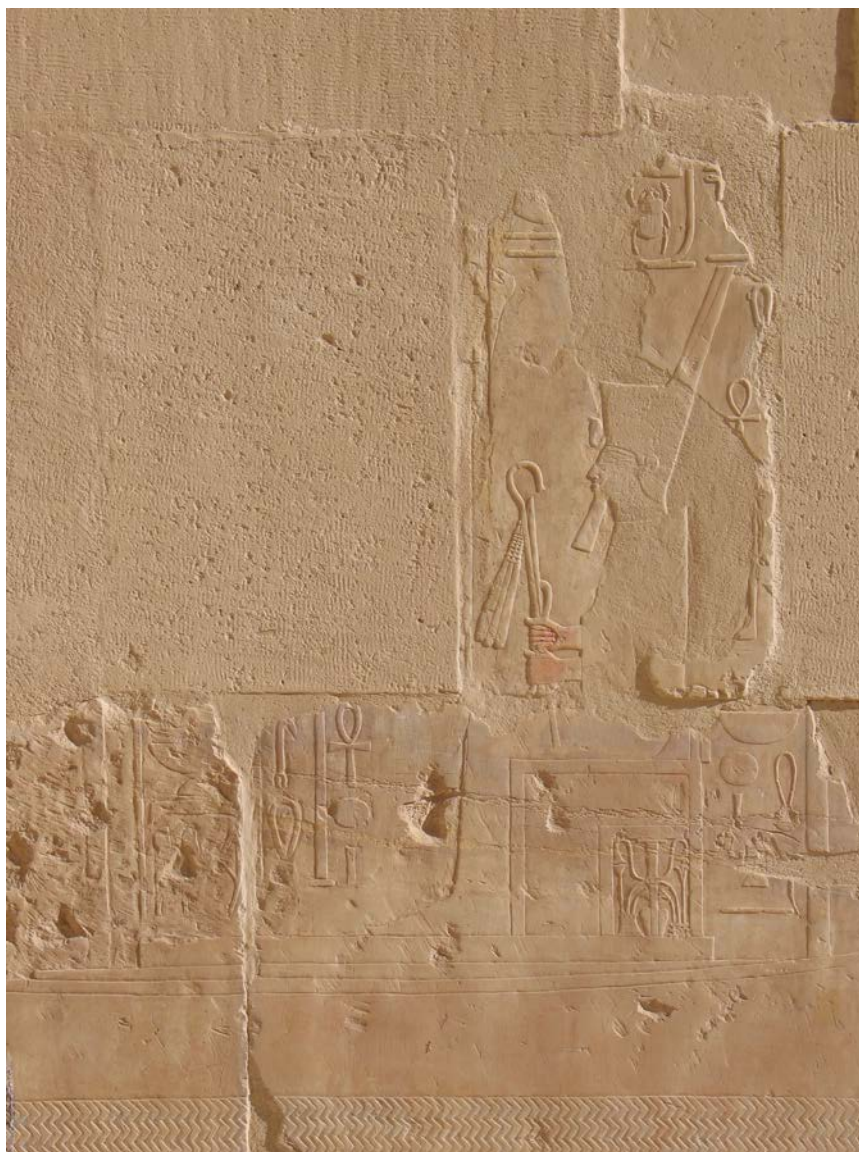


Fig. 168. The protective bird above the shrine of the royal bark with the tip of the back column of the shrine in the left lower corner of the block (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

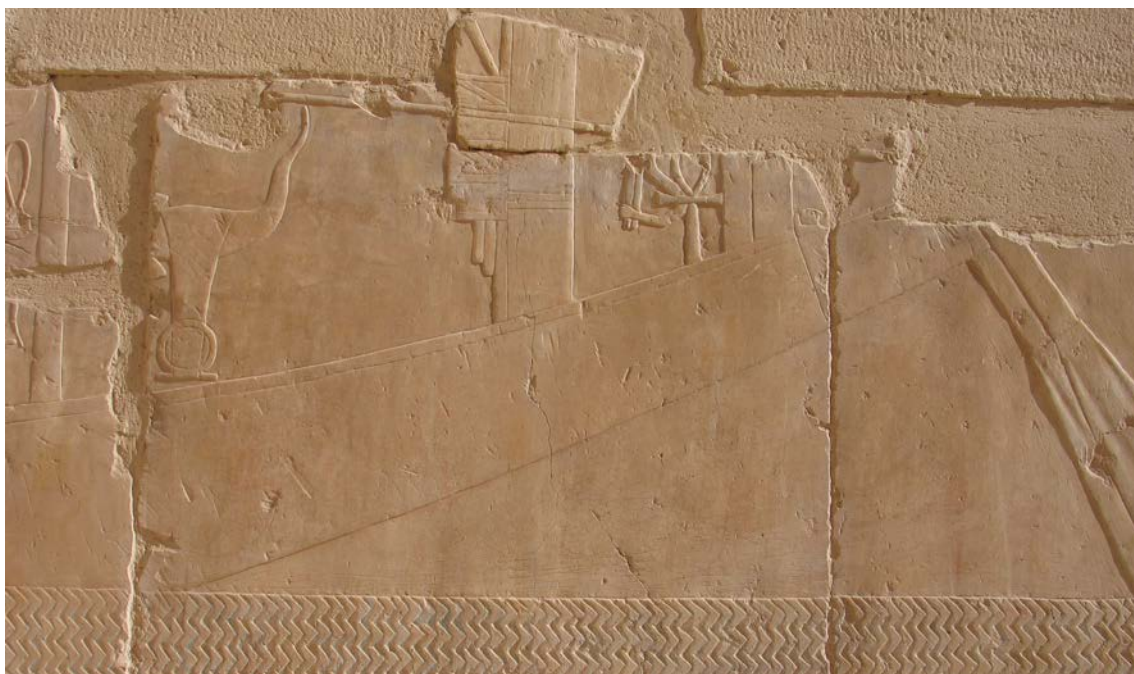


Fig. 169. A *shemes*-sign attached with a rope to the thick pole in the stern part of the royal bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

and is decorated with the *sema-tawy*-scene (Fig. 165). On the left (front) throne (Fig. 167), Thutmose III is seated. He wears the so-called *heb-sed* robe<sup>204</sup> covering his body from feet to the neck. In both hands, he holds the *nekhakha*-flail, the *he-ka*-sceptre and a loop of a fastening rope connecting the royal bark with the Userhat bark. On his head, he has a red crown<sup>205</sup> with an uraeus on his forehead and a false beard. On the same platform, another throne was depicted once but now the surface is polished and only some traces of the decoration can be seen. The backrest of the throne is located behind the knees of Thutmose III. Some traces of the throne seat, as well as the *sema-tawy*-panel, can be seen under the new decoration. It was most probably Hatshepsut who is seated on this throne; traces of her feet, back and the white crown are well detectable. The fastening rope was, most probably, long enough to be held also by Hatshepsut seated side by side with the king.<sup>206</sup> Behind the right throne



Fig. 170. A pair of big oars partially submerged in the water (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

204 Karkowski, *Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe*, *passim*, and especially 99, Fig. 8.

205 Marcel Werbrouck supposed that in the representation of this festival kings wore the red crown in opposition to the representation of the Opet Festival (Werbrouck, *Le temple d'Hatshepsout*, 88–89), Karkowski, however, pointed out that the king wears the red crown also during the Opet Festival (Karkowski, *The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley*, 360). It should be stressed that although the statue of Thutmose III on the bark is in both cases decorated with the red crown, the statue of Hatshepsut was crowned with the white crown.

206 The same can be observed in the representation of the royal bark on the south part of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard in the depiction of the Opet Festival (Karkowski, *Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe*, 98, Fig. 7).

a back column of the shrine erases, it is preserved up to the backrest of the Thutmose III's throne, its upper tip can be seen on another block (Fig. 168). To the right, just above the deck, the figure of scorpion-shape Serket with the *shen*-sign rises (Fig. 169). Above the goddess, other protective symbols are represented of which only the tops of the fans on the *shen*-signs are recognisable. After some space, the *shemes*-sign attached with a rope to the thick pole can be seen (Fig. 169). Next to the right, another *ankh*-sign holds in hands the ends of two tillers which were tied to two poles (Fig. 169). Only their lower parts are visible at the moment. The stripe of a gunwale runs just behind the steering gear. A pair of two big oars is partially submerged in the water (Fig. 170). The back finial is not preserved. In front of the backrest of the Thutmose III's throne, Serket, the *shemes*-sign and the steering gear, fragments of a fastening rope appear that connects the royal bark with the Userhat bark. Above the stern of the bark, one of the protective birds spreads its wings at right angles.

Not many colours survived in the representation of the royal bark. The hands of Thutmose III are red, but the colour is faded. The water and the *pet*-sign were blue, as can be judged by the paint stains on them. The traces of the blue-greyish background can be observed. There are also traces of the red grid, which was used to correctly draw the relief lines.

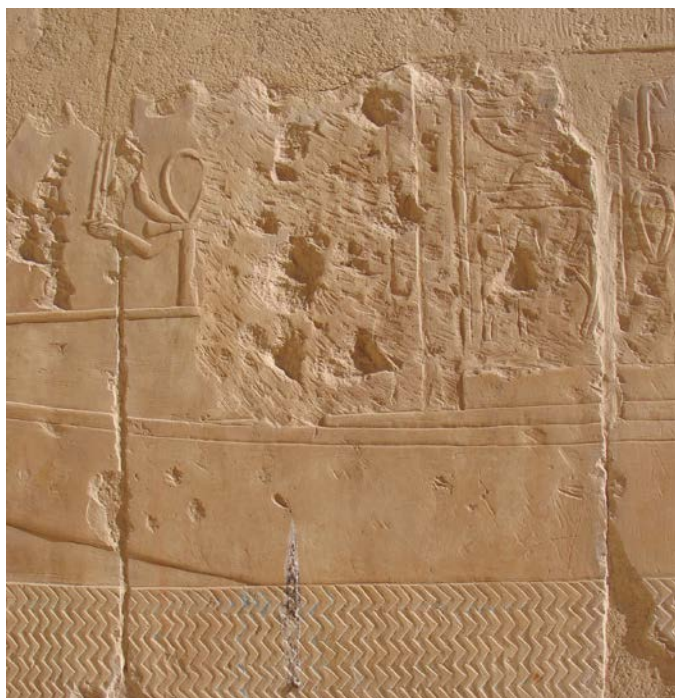


Fig. 171. The space before the shrine, the front column of the shrine and the inscription inside the shrine destroyed during the Amarna period and partially reconstructed later (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III

The most important change during the reign of Thutmose III is the removal of the throne and the figure of Hatshepsut (and, most probably, the royal protocol but this part of the representation is not preserved). The surface of the block was very well polished and only some traces of the original decoration can be seen below the inscription.

Just below the epithet of the king in the shrine, on the hull of the boat, there is also a surface lowered in the style of Thutmose III and polished. It is difficult to say if this is accidental, the same place in the representation of the Opet Festival, unfortunately, cannot confirm it as it is destroyed at the junction of two blocks.

### DESTRUCTIONS OF THE AMARNA PERIOD

The Amarna period interference appears to be significant. Understandably, all emblems in connection with gods were erased. In the first place, there were emblems at the prow of the boat. Although they now cover a small surface (Fig. 162), the area destroyed beneath them is much larger and takes up space from the front finial to the end of the register (i.e. about 58.5 cm), being also wider (i.e. about 23 cm wide) than the falcon on the finial (which now measures 16 cm in height and about 11 cm in width). No traces of the original dec-

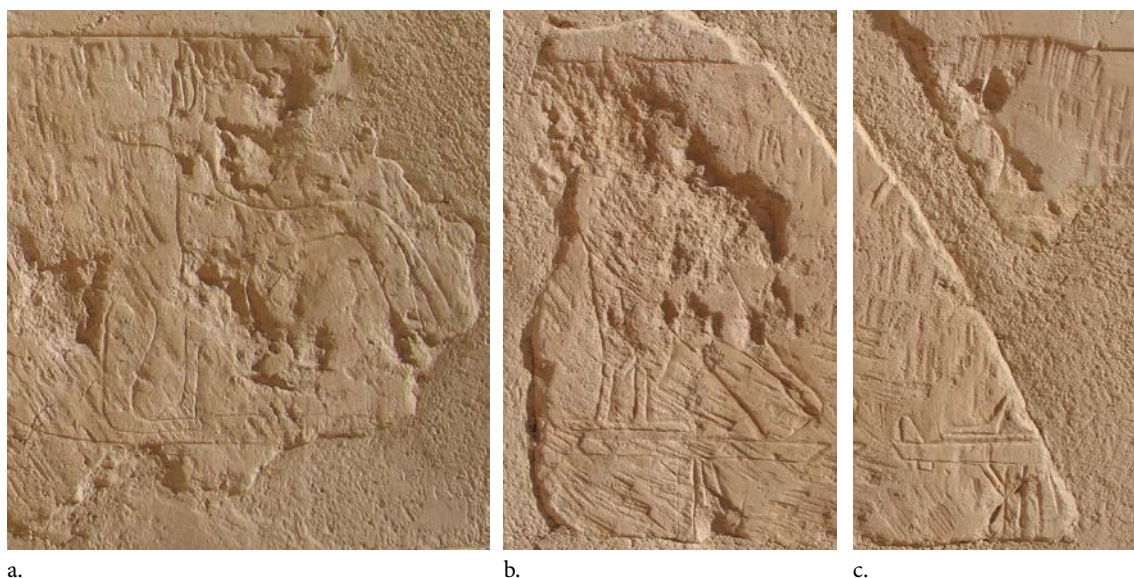


Fig. 172. Standards on the prow of the royal bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

oration cannot be seen now. The surface was chiseled out deeply with a thick chisel, about 1.5 cm wide and their traces are attested as deep holes. The figures of the *ankh*- and *was*-signs were also almost totally erased with the same tool and not reconstructed in the post-Amarna times (Fig. 164).

In the front part of the prow, before the standards, a space was erased, again, with a thick chisel, about 1.5 cm wide (Fig. 164).

Another area affected by Amarna period destructions covers the space just in front of the shrine with a throne, the front column of the shrine and the inscription inside the shrine (Fig. 171). Here also a space was chiseled out with a wide chisel, about 1.6 cm in width. It is important to mention that the area just in front of the shrine with a throne was never reconstructed and has been destroyed to the level of a desk. The upper part of it is, however, not preserved.

The last Amarna period destructions can be found to the left of the protective bird (Fig. 168). This area contained once a name and epithets of a bird, at the moment only the upper and right fragments of it can be seen but the hole made during the destruction process is wider than it. This could be a result of Amarna period destruction or post-Amarna preparation of the surface.

#### DECORATION OF THE POST-AMARNA PERIOD

During the post-Amarna period, some changes were made. The emblem on the tip of the boat's front finial was re-carved and a falcon represented there (Fig. 163). All emblems on poles held by the *was*- and *ankh*-signs were re-carved too. New emblems (Fig. 172) represent, from left to right: a jackal on a standard standing on an uraeus, which seems to be a post-Amarna addition, a falcon, which is the first from the left represented on an original long pole and ibis, the second one on the original pole. The surface was prepared by the restorers, traces can be still visible as rows of parallel lines. The holes that were too deep to be polished were filled, most probably, with a plaster which is gone now.

Just above the *wedjat*-eye, a sphinx is restored on a standard; it stands on a cobra, with back legs stretched back and a tail raised and curved (Fig. 163). Its upper part of the sphinx, which was represented on a block above, is lost.

The front column of the shrine with a throne (Fig. 166) was reconstructed during the post-Amarna period together with space just behind the column with a protective goddess on the *neb*-sign, the titular of the king beloved by the goddess and the post on which, probably, one of the protective goddesses rested on the *neb*-



Fig. 173. The river bark of Amun, Userhat (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

sign, and with an inscription around the column. It is possible that it replaced a similar or identical inscription carved in the reign of Thutmose III, although no traces of it survived. The upper part of it, however, is missing.

Another reconstruction can be observed in the epithets of a protective bird (Fig. 168). Not much is preserved, a wider than hieroglyphs, lowered surface was prepared for the restoration covering also tips of feathers of the bird.

#### COPTIC DESTRUCTIONS

Coptic activity at the destruction of the decoration of the royal bark is very limited. The left end of a gunwale in the shape of the head of a falcon was destroyed with four chisel hits about 0.55 cm wide (Fig. 164). Also, a *djed*-sign in the inscription between the throne of Thutmose III and a right column of the shrine was cut in the middle with three of the same chisel hits. Except for the obvious destruction, there is also a left lower corner of the *shemes*-sign located between the scorpion-shaped goddess Serket and tillers. Three chisel hits of the same width were applied there.

#### *Amun's river bark – Userhat (Pls 22, 22\*)*

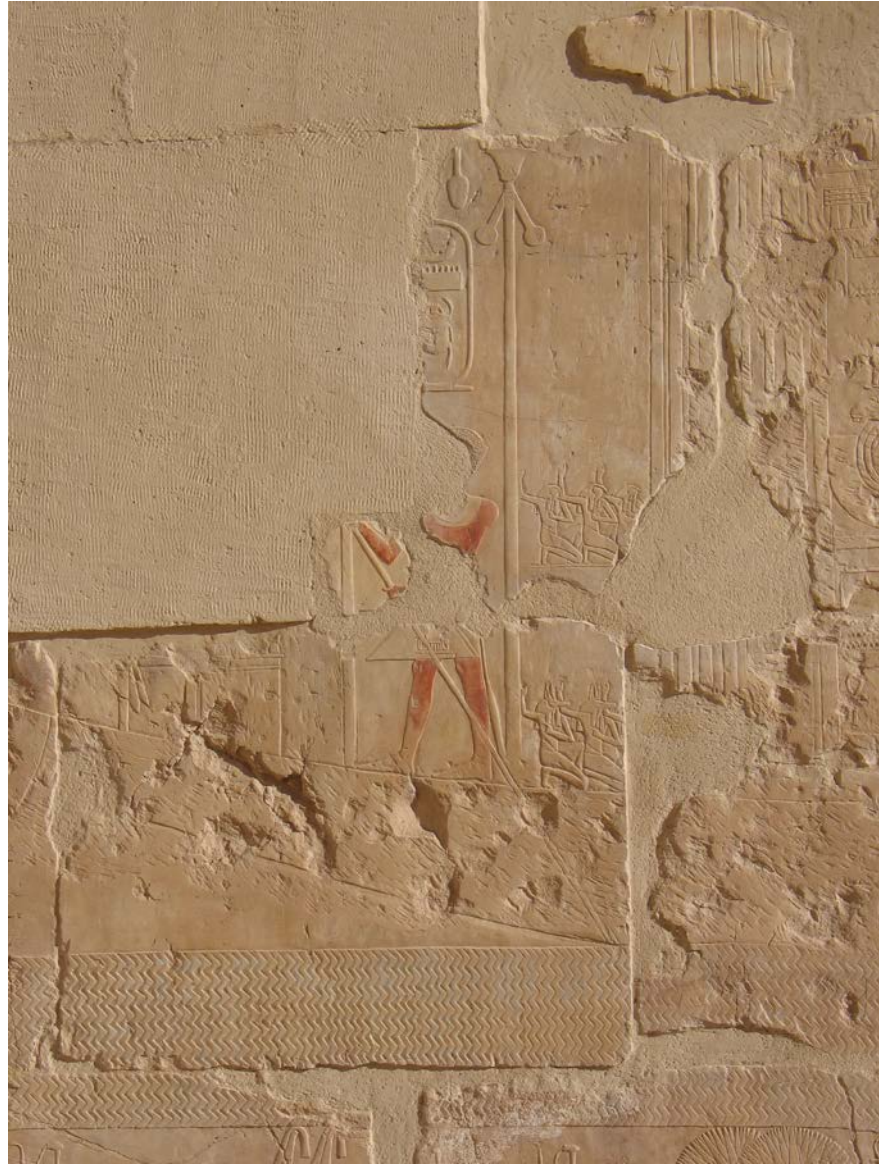
#### ORIGINAL DECORATION

The last bark in the row is the river bark of Amun (Fig. 173). It is represented on 21 blocks and 10 fragments of blocks<sup>207</sup> and measures 311 cm in width and 136 cm in height. The original shape of the bark can be imagined based on the representation from the outer walls of the Chapelle Rouge.<sup>208</sup> The bark depicted on the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Terrace was reworked during the post-Amarna period. Only a little survived

<sup>207</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 58, 59, 60, 61, 62; blocks fragments Cat. nos 56, 57, 63, 64, 65, 66. The rest of the blocks was not removed from the wall and therefore are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>208</sup> This bark was also represented on the outer walls of the Chapelle Rouge (Burgos, Larché, La chapelle Rouge I, 60 [block 104], 113 [block 291]). The most important difference is that Thutmose III stands here behind the shrine and not on the prow. Naville believed that on the boat, a statue of Hatshepsut was represented beside the statue of Amun (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, 3–4).

Fig. 174. Thutmose III on the prow of the bark with an oar (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



intact: water, the inscriptions above the bark carved in front and behind the bark, figure of Thutmose III with his cartouche above and with standards behind him and in front of him on the prow of the bark, a fragment of the roof of the shrine for the portable bark of Amun, standards in front of the shrine, a winged sun disk.

Thutmose III standing on the prow of the bark holds an oar in both hands and is rowing (**Fig. 174**). His right hand is raised to the level of the shoulders, while the left hand is clenched on the oar at the level of the belly. The king is barefooted. He wears the *khepresh*-crown and the wide *wesekh*-collar. A triangle apron above knees is supported by a belt from which a sash with stripes falls. The sash is decorated with two cobras on both sides and six beads in the lower part. A bull's tail is attached to the belt. Above the king, a royal protocol is carved.

In front of the king and behind him, two standards were erected (**Fig. 174**). The front one is preserved only in the lower part, to the height of the king's arm. The back standard is in much better condition. It is crowned with an unfolded papyrus flower; below it, two counterpoises similar to those used with the *menat*-necklace stick out on two sides. They are fixed to the pole with a rope. The surface over the lotus flower was also deco-

rated, and it represents the lower part of the cartouche with two uraei on its sides.<sup>209</sup>

Behind the back standard, a standing Hatshepsut with her back to Thutmose III is represented (Fig. 174). Only delicate traces of her figure can be seen now. She also wears the *khepresh*-crown and a knee-long apron. Her gesture, however, cannot be identified. She probably makes a gesture of praising god (*dw3 ntr*) in front of the bark.<sup>210</sup> Above Hatshepsut, her royal protocol is detectable. In front of her, before the shrine, two thin poles or masts can be seen.

Here the roof of the shrine was simple and without decoration (Fig. 175). It had a sloped ceiling, bulging at its front, supported on columns. The small detail, a uraeus on the ram's head on the prow and on the stern that remained after the Amarna period destruction can be also observed.

A winged sun disk spreads its wings above the shrine (Fig. 176). Its central part is missing.

Other elements of the bark come from the post-Amarna period.

The scene is almost washed out of colours. The blue of the water is well attested on all blocks, while the red of the skin of Thutmose III is also well preserved. Very delicate traces of black on the *khepresh*-crown and a blue stripe on the *wesekh*-collar are detectable. In some places, not reworked by the post-Amarna artisans, stains of the blue greyish of the background can be observed.



Fig. 175. The roof of the shrine on the river bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III

The only preserved action of Thutmose III's artisans was the removal of the representation of Hatshepsut and her protocol. The surface was very well polished, and only delicate traces of her figure can be seen now and her figure was not replaced by Thutmose III with any other representation (Fig. 177).

### DESTRUCTIONS OF THE AMARNA PERIOD

The river bark of Amun was almost completely erased during the Amarna period (Fig. 173). The surface that was chiseled out was bigger than the reconstruction. The worse destruction can be observed on the prow and stern part of the hull, on the shrine and around the stern. The hull, prow and the back part of the boat from the shrine to the stern disappeared. Although the winged sun disk above the bark outlasted, its name

209 Cf. Burgos, Larché, La chapelle Rouge I, 60 (block 104), 113 (block 291).

210 Cf. Burgos, Larché, La chapelle Rouge I, 60 (block 104), 113 (block 291).



Fig. 176. A winged sun disk above the river bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

was chiseled out by the Amarna iconoclasts. All this was executed with an about 1.6 cm wide chisel and very deep chisel hits.

#### DECORATION OF THE POST-AMARNA PERIOD

Most of the decoration visible today comes from the times of the post-Amarna reconstruction. At that time the bark was completely changed, only the elements described as carved originally and those from the reign of Thutmose III were left intact.

The hull of the Amun's bark is round-bottomed and of a shallow draught, with prow and stern finials in the shape of rams' heads and the wide *wesekh*-collars (Fig. 173). The central part of the bark is occupied by the shrine containing the portable bark of Amun. The deck seems to be located at the edge of the gunwale, the front- and afterdecks are slightly raised, and several constructions are situated on it.

The hull had once, most probably, a reach decoration, however, only an *wedjat*-eye at the prow was important enough to be carved and not painted.<sup>211</sup> The painted decoration is entirely lost.



Fig. 177. Erasure of the Hatshepsut's figure and name on the river bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>211</sup> A similar situation is in the decoration of the bark of Amun in the Great Hypostyle Hall in Karnak (Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, Pl. 38).

Not much is preserved of the prow and stern finials. The ram's head at the prow is lost, only a part of the *atef*-crown with two uraei on the left side with the sun disks on their heads and a fragment of an uraeus on the right side and the upper part of a horn are visible (Fig. 178). The wide *wesekh*-collar is in a better state of preservation, although the painted decoration<sup>212</sup> disappeared completely. More of the ram's head can be seen at the stern finial (Fig. 179). The crown is destroyed in its middle part but two uraei on the left, the outer with the sun disk and the inner with the sun disk on the cow's horns are depicted. On the right side, only one uraeus with a sun disk is carved. The same situation is attested on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.<sup>213</sup> The ram's muzzle with a short beard, an ear and partially preserved horn. The wide *wesekh*-collar without any decoration is almost complete. The rams' heads are turned left, in the direction of the movement of the bark.

At the prow, a standard was depicted with a standing sphinx on it, just behind it an offering table with products on it (preserved only in the lower part) can be seen (Fig. 180).

Behind Thutmose III, in front of the shrine, in the place where Hatshepsut was removed, two rows of representations of souls of Pe (in the lower row) and Nekhen (in the upper row) (Fig. 174) were added in front of two obelisks (Fig. 181), also added before four standards were executed in the reign of Hatshepsut.

The shrine was completely reworked during the post-Amarna period (Fig. 182). It had a flat ceiling, supported on columns and decorated with the frieze of the uraei with sun disks placed on their heads. The outer shrine contains the inner one with the roof decorated similarly. Its side wall is carved in its upper part with a frieze of two *djed*- and two *sa*-signs alternately. The central part of the shrine is intended for the portable bark of Amon resting on a socle. The socle is a simple rectangular construction placed on a narrow base, slightly protruding on both sides. No traces of the decoration can be found now. The upper part of the socle is lost. On the left of it, four columns of an inscription are carved; on the right, seven staffs and rests of two boxes or shrines are set vertically (Fig. 183). The right part of sacred objects is destroyed. It is possible to recognise only two of staffs: first from the left is



Fig. 178. The prow finial of the river bark of Amun in the shape of the ram's head (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>212</sup> Cf. the decoration of the Amun's bark represented in the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun in the temple of Hatshepsut: Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, Fig. 105; Szafranski, *Exceptional Queen, Unique Temple*, Fig. 10; Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, Fig. 22; Szafranski (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 232; Pawlicki, *The Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re*, Figs on pp. 10–13, 15 [upper left], 32 [lower right].

<sup>213</sup> Unpublished. In both cases, the uraeus with the sun disk between the cow's horns is the remnant of the original decoration of the bark.



Fig. 179. The stern finial of the river bark of Amun in the shape of the ram's head (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 180. A standing sphinx and an offering table at the prow of the river bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 181. The shrine for the portable bark represented on the river bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 182. The space below the portable bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 183. The portable bark of Amun (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

Amun's staff with a ram's head and an uraeus with a sun disk between the cow's horns. The second from the left is a human face with the uraeus with a sun disk between the cow's horns. Both staffs have counterpoises similar to those used with the *menat*-necklace. The third from the left had a sun disk with an uraeus on the head.<sup>214</sup> Heads of other staffs are lost in the *lacuna*. The lower box is set on skids and it had, most probably, the shape of the *kari*-shrine – a similar shrine is held by the first priest in the lower register of Scene 2.<sup>215</sup> Only one stroke is preserved from the next sacred object.

On the socle, long poles were located which were used to drag a bark (Fig. 181). On them, the bark itself was set. It was almost a copy of the river bark (Fig. 183). Like the bark on the deck of which it is located, the portable bark has a round-bottomed hull with prow and stern finials in the shape of a ram's head and wide *wesekh*-collars. The front finial is placed lower than the back one. In the central part of the bark, the shrine has been constructed. The deck is placed at the level of the gunwale, the front- and afterdecks are slightly raised, and, as in the case of the bigger river bark, some constructions are situated on it.

Behind the bark, between a shrine and steering gear, a schematically depicted papyrus flower with a long stalk sticks out.

On the poles, in the central part of the bark, a winged scarab with a sun disk on its upper legs, as well as one human- and two jackal-faced souls of Pe and Nekhen are represented.

The finials are finished with rams' heads. On the prow finial, the muzzle of the ram with a short beard, an eye and a horn are depicted; part of the horn is destroyed. The head is decorated with an *atef*-crown. There

<sup>214</sup> The same sequence is represented on the south wall of the Bark Hall of the temple of Hatshepsut: Pawlicki, The Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re, Fig. on p. 13.

<sup>215</sup> Cf., e.g. The Epigraphic Survey, The Festival Procession of Opet, Pl. 78; The Epigraphic Survey, Ramses III's Temple, Pls 57, 58; Nelson, The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak, Pls 76, 178.



Fig. 184. The stern finial of the portable bark of Amun in the shape of the ram's head (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

are two types of necklaces hanging around the neck: a *wesekh*-collar and another round double necklace. The stern finial is worse preserved, only the lowermost fragment on an *atef*-crown survived (Fig. 184). The muzzle of the ram is in the *lacuna*, but its eye, ear and horn are well visible. As in the case of the prow finial, around the neck a *wesekh*-collar and another round double necklace are hanging.

Behind the prow finial, three figures look in the direction of the bark: Maat, a goddess, most probably Hathor, and a standing sphinx on a standard (Fig. 183). Another human-face sphinx, this time turned right, lies on a pedestal and holds in its hands a vase. In front of it, a king strides in the direction of the shrine, only his back part is preserved. Another royal figure kneels on the deck at the base of the front column of the shrine. His head is destroyed. The shrine is decorated in the same way as the shrine of Userhat: it has a flat roof with an uraeus frieze with sun disks on the heads, the rest of the shrine is veiled, and the decoration of the veil is not preserved.

Behind the shrine, another king kneels at the base of the back column of the shrine, but he is not preserved except for the uraeus.

The steering gear of the portable bark of Amun is well conserved. It consists of two vertical poles; which support a pair of long and thick steering oars fixed to them with thick, taut ropes. The tillers are attached to the top of the oars and a helmsman stands close to them with both hands stretched forward.

Behind the shrine on the Userhat bark, on a deck, two other figures are represented; the goddess, maybe Mut,<sup>216</sup> and Khonsu (Fig. 185). From the goddess, only her legs on the pedestal and an edge of a long dress survived. Khonsu also stands on the pedestal. He has new and full moons and a sash with an uraeus on his head, a god's false beard and a *menat*-necklace with a counterpoise on the back. His body is mummified. In both hands, he holds the *ankh*-, *djed*- and *was*-staffs on a long pole ended at the bottom with the *was*-staff ending, as well as the *heka*-sceptre and the *nekhakha*-flail.

Behind a pair of gods, steering gear of the Userhat bark is constructed (Fig. 186). It has a typical shape, with two vertical poles and two steering oars with tillers fixed to them. The oars are immersed in water. They differ, however, in finishing. At the tips of both poles and both steering oars, the heads of rams with the uraei with sun disks between the cow's horns can be found. They are well preserved at the tips of poles, and at the tip of the left steering oar only a ram's head can be seen, the right one is lost as the block is chipped off. No traces of a helmsman can be found in relief.

The colours are not preserved.

<sup>216</sup> Judging by the similar representation of the Userhat bark in the procession of the Opet Festival represented on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard. This fragment of the scene remains unpublished.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscriptions carved in this scene come from two periods: from the time of the original decoration and the period of the post-Amarna reconstruction. They are inscribed around each boat and in some cases, inside the boats. The changes made in different periods can be observed: rework of the text from the reign of Thutmose III, the Amarna erasures, the post-Amarna reconstructions and, finally, the Coptic period destructions.

### *First accompanying bark*

There were three inscriptions around the first accompanying bark (Fig. 148). The first of them is carved in front of the first accompanying bark, in six columns distinguished by the division lines (Tx. 36). The columns reach their full length in the two first columns and are gradually shorter in the four next columns. The width of the signs is 5.2 cm, the distance between the division lines is 5.8 cm wide. The signs are headed to the left. The end of the inscription, which originally contained the cartouche, was reworked and replaced with the phrase “*nswt nb t3.wj*”. The traces of the cartouche are still visible, traces of the sign *maat* (Gardiner C10) are detectable, the erasure was very flat, and the surface was polished before the carving of another inscription. This is a style of erasure typical for the reign of Thutmose III. In the Coptic times, some destructions were made. The signs *m* (Gardiner G17) in the second, third and fourth columns, *3* (Gardiner G1) and *w* (Gardiner G43) in the fifth column were erased with a narrow chisel, about 0.5 cm wide.

The second inscription was carved above the first accompanying bark in three lines, without the division lines (Tx. 37). The signs are slightly bigger than in the case of the first inscription, their height is 5.2 cm. The two first lines commence in the same place, at a small distance, about 5.2 cm, to the right of the first inscription, and end in one line. The third line is slightly shifted to the right to make space for the roof of the front kiosk. It is also much shorter because of the forestay, which is represented to the right of it. Hieroglyphs are headed left. There are two types of destructions observed in this text. The word *hnw* was removed during the Amarna period with wide (about 1.5 cm) and deep chisel hits and reconstructed in post-Amarna times. The surface was polished before the reconstruction and holes made by the chisel, too deep to be polished, were filled with plaster. A part of the signs must have had to be carved in the plaster. Traces of plaster, however, are not pre-



Fig. 185. Figures of Mut and Khonsu behind the shrine of the Userhat bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

served, as well as the parts of the signs carved in it. At the same time, the name of Amun was also erased with deep and wide chisel hits. As in the case of the word *hnw*, the surface was levelled, polished and filled with plaster in the post-Amarna period. The polishing covered also two subsequent signs which were replaced with the phrase “*ḥ.w*” (signs Gardiner N23 and G43), the destruction was much flatter in this place. The original signs are invisible but each of them took more or less the same space. During the Coptic period, another interference in the decoration took place. Some signs were destroyed with the narrow chisel hits, c. 0.5 cm wide. These signs belong to animals and human representations of groups of signs: the animal signs *p3* (Gardiner G40), *w* (Gardiner G43), *m* (Gardiner G17), *bj tj* (Gardiner L2) and *ḏ* (Gardiner I10); human representations signs: *ḥr* (Gardiner D2) and, surprisingly, *sw* (Gardiner M23).

The third inscription is worse preserved and the right part of it is known only from the publication by Lepsius (Tx. 38).<sup>217</sup> The text is written in lines without division lines and the signs are headed left. The hieroglyphs are of the same size as in the second inscription; their height is approx.

5.4 cm. On the right upper block ÄM 1636 from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, only the beginning of the inscription is attested. Two changes can be observed on it: the name of Amun was chiseled out with the wide and deep chisel hits during the Amarna period, and was reconstructed in the post-Amarna times, when the surface was levelled, polished and filled with plaster, and signs were re-carved. The letter *f* (Gardiner I9) was destroyed much later, in the Coptic period, with narrow chisel hits.



Fig. 186. A steering gear of the Userhat bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### *Second accompanying bark*

Above the second accompanying bark, there is one short inscription written in one line separated from the scene with a division line (Tx. 39; **Fig. 43**). The end of it is lost, the block was removed from the wall and destroyed, only some small fragments without inscription have been found so far. The size of the inscription is similar to both inscriptions from the previous scene, the height of hieroglyphs is approx. 5.3 cm. Signs are

<sup>217</sup> LD III, Pl. 17a.



Fig. 187. An inscription above the second accompanying bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

headed left, in the direction of the bark. There is only one change attested, the word *hnw* was removed in the Amarna times with wide and deep chisel hits. As in the second inscription above the first accompanying bark, during the post-Amarna period this part was reconstructed after the surface was levelled, polished and filled with plaster. Because the plaster disappeared, only delicate traces of signs can be seen now.



Fig. 187. The royal protocol carved above Thutmose III (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### Royal bark

Five fragmentary inscriptions were carved in different periods around and inside the representation of the royal bark. The original inscriptions concentrate around the figure of Thutmose III and below the protective bird. The first of them contains the royal protocol. It is written above the king and preserved on two fragments of one block (Tx. 41; **Fig. 188**). It is carved in three columns without division lines, while the signs are headed left, in the same direction as the king. The reconstructed width of the hieroglyphs is approx. 6.4 cm. The first column contains a titulary, the second one a cartouche and the third one ends the text with a wish for a king, although only the word “*d.t*” survived. The hieroglyphs are very carefully sculptured, with details of the wings of the scarab in the cartouche. The white crown of Hatshepsut, the tip of which was once depicted below the first column, forced the artisans to finish this column slightly higher than the second one. The same happened with the third column because of the tip of the red crown of Thutmose III.

Behind the king, another inscription begins which contains the wishes for the king (Tx. 42; **Fig. 189**). It is written in one column, also without division lines. It can be seen on two blocks, one above another, and is only partially conserved, especially in its upper part, because the right fragment of the upper block is lost. The part of the text preserved on the lower block is almost complete. The hieroglyphs measure approx. 7.4 cm in width and are faced left. The only traces of later changes are narrow chisel hits, between 3.5 and 4.0 cm wide, which destroyed the D-sign at the end of the inscription.

The last fragment of the original inscription was written below the protective bird between the tips of two fans on the left and the wings of the bird on the right (Tx. 44; **Fig. 168**). The signs are headed left and no division lines are attested. The reconstructed height of hieroglyphs is about 0.5 cm. The upper part of two signs survived, expressing a wish “*dj.s*”, but the objective of the wish is lost; it was inscribed on the other, unpreserved, block.

In the space covered originally by the representation of the seated statue of Hatshepsut, alterations were made twice: the first time by artisans of Thutmose III, the second time in the post-Amarna period. In front of the seated figure of Thutmose III, headed in the opposite direction to the king, the representation of a column with the protective goddess on the *neb*-sign was added. Around the column, a short inscription containing wishes that the goddess may bestow the king with life and prosperity can be seen (Tx. 40.2; **Fig. 166**). The style of the signs is typical for the Thutmosid period. The hieroglyphs are of similar size as in the inscription behind the king, they measure approx. 8.5 cm in height. The upper part of the inscription, most probably containing the phrase “*dj.s*”, is lost as the block disappeared.

Next to the Thutmose III’s inscription, still inside the shrine, another inscription was carved in one column, distinguished from the scene by the division lines on both sides (Tx. 40.1; **Fig. 166**). The direction of it is the same as the direction of Thutmose III’s text – the signs are headed right. The beginning of the inscription is lost, it contained, most probably, the titulary of Thutmose III, as the preserved end of the inscription contains the phrase “beloved of Mut, Lady of Heaven”. The hieroglyphs are similar in size to these from the reign of Thutmose III and measure approx. 8.5 cm in width and 8.5 cm in height. The surface below the inscription was polished in a way typical for the post-Amarna period reconstructions and the style of the signs is also typical for this period.

The last inscription around the royal bark is inscribed in the extension of the left wing of the protective bird (Tx. 43; **Fig. 168**). It contains the tips of two signs, *s* and *nh*, in a depression made by the wide chisel during the Amarna period, levelled and polished during post-Amarna times. Interestingly, the depression is much wider than the inscription itself. This fragment of the inscription is at its end after the name of the protective goddess and her epithets. What kind of wish was expressed at the end of this inscription remains unknown.



Fig. 189. The inscription behind Thutmose III (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

#### *Amun’s river bark – Userhat*

Five inscriptions were carved around the Amun’s river bark. The first is located above the prow of the bark; it starts even before the bark itself (Tx. 45; **Fig. 190**). It consisted of a maximum five columns separated with division lines and only fragments of four of them are preserved now. The hieroglyphs are headed left, and their width is approx. 9.5 cm. The first three columns contain the text engraved during the time of the preparation of the original decoration. In the fourth column, the name and epithet of Amun were re-carved by post-Amarna restorers. The text is very fragmentary, from two first columns only the beginning, the height of two and a half signs, survived on one block. The block below is lost. From two blocks, where the third column was inscribed, only a very thin fragment is preserved of the height of a full lower block, the lower right part of the inscription can be read. On the same fragment of the block, also the lower left piece of text can be recognised. The rest of the inscription is lost.

Above the head of Thutmose III standing with an oar at the prow, the royal protocol can be found containing the prenomen of the king (Tx. 46; **Fig. 177**). It is incised in one column without the division lines. The size of the signs is similar to the previous text and their reconstructed width measures about 9.5 cm. The direction of the hieroglyphs is the same as the direction of the king, i.e. they are headed left. A cartouche of Hatshepsut with the nomen of the queen was the same size and composition, although facing in the opposite direction (Tx. 47; **Fig. 177**). This royal protocol, however, was erased in the times of Thutmose III and not replaced with any other inscription. The surface was polished and whitewashed and traces of it can still be seen on the wall.

The last inscription from the reign of Hatshepsut is represented above the stern (Tx. 50; **Fig. 191**).<sup>218</sup> It is probably the continuation of the inscription carved above the prow, as the size of hieroglyphs, the direction, as well as the existence of the division lines, suggest. The signs are approx. 10.1 cm wide and are turned left. The distance between division lines is 11.5–12.3 cm wide depending on the column. The text is written in five columns. The length of columns depends on the space left by the depiction of the stern of Userhat, therefore each column is of a different length, while the fifth column is shorter than the others. The inscription was left almost unchanged, the determinative of *wj3* representing the Userhat bark was erased in the Amarna period and restored later. The word *w' b* was re-carved, as it had been destroyed, most probably, during the reconstruction of the bark's stern finial.

Three other inscriptions come from the time of the post-Amarna period. The first one is engraved in the shrine, below the portable bark of Amun to the left of the socle (Tx. 49; **Fig. 192**), the second one – above the portable bark. The text below the bark consists of four columns separated with the division lines and is headed left. The surface, especially in the upper part, was better polished than the surface of other reliefs. The hieroglyphs are faced left, they are 6.2 cm wide and the distance between columns measures 6.7 cm in width. The construction of each column is the same and their length is also the same: they start with the phrase “*dd mdw*” and finish with the sign *nb*, the god announces that he offers gifts to the king. The columns three and four are worse preserved, the corners of three from four blocks on which they are inscribed, are chipped off.

On the level of a roof of the shrine of the portable bark of Amun, an inscription on two sides of the bark is carved (Tx. 48; **Fig. 193**). The signs are again headed left, and they are similar in size to those below the portable bark. Their height is about 5.6 cm. They are written in lines without division lines. The inscription engraved above the prow of the portable bark contains the name and epithet of Amun-Ra. At the stern, there are four signs: *s3*, *nh*, *dd*, *w3s*. They are engraved in the surface prepared before, levelled and polished and filled with plaster if necessary. Their height is about 5.1 cm and they are headed left.



Fig. 190. The inscription above the prow of the Userhat bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

218 Block Cat. no. 46 was localised by Karkowski in the 1978/1979 season (Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6).



Fig. 191. The inscription above the stern of the Userhat bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

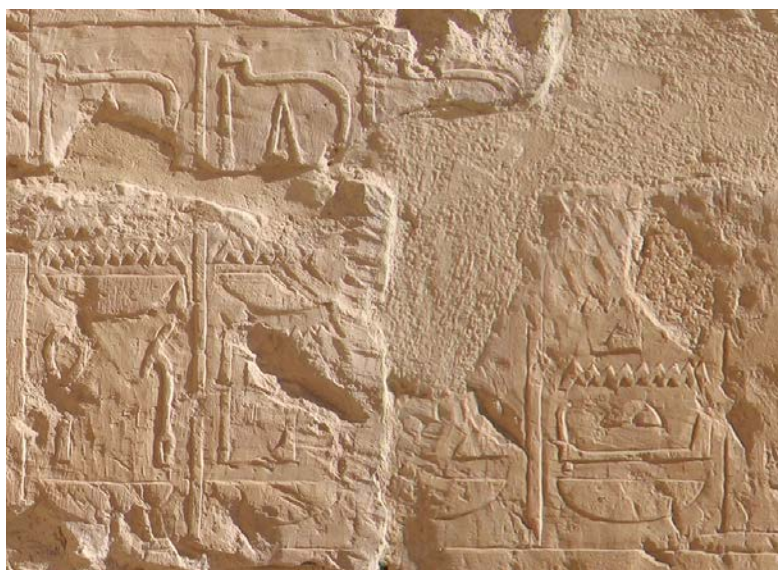


Fig. 192. The inscription below the portable bark of Amun in the shrine of the Userhat bark (phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



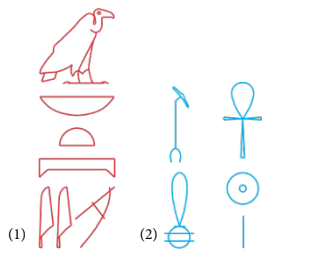


(←) *jr.t [hnw] jn 'pr.w wj3 n nsw[t]*

Making **jubilation** by the crew of the king's ship [...].

Around the royal bark:<sup>219</sup>

Tx. 40 (in front of the royal statues):

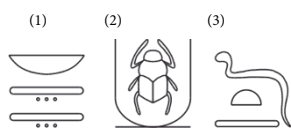


(1) (↓→) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *mrj Mw.t* <sup>(b)</sup> *nb.t p.t*  
 (2) (↓→) [...] <sup>(c)</sup> *'nh w3s mj R'*

(1) [...] **beloved of Mut, Lady of Heaven**  
 (2) [...] life, prosperity like Ra.

(a) Unknown number of groups of signs.  
 (b) From the name of the goddess Mut only the lower part of the claws remained.  
 (c) Unknown number of groups of signs.

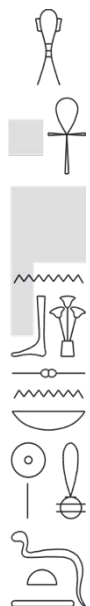
Tx. 41 (above the royal statues):



(1) (←↓) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *nb t3.wj*      (1) [...] Lord of Two Lands  
 (2) (←↓) [...] <sup>(b)</sup> *Mn]-hpr[-R']*      (2) [...] Men]-kheper[-Ra]  
 (3) (←↓) [...] <sup>(c)</sup> *d.t*      (3) [...] forever.

(a) One group of signs.  
 (b) Half group of signs.  
 (c) Half group of signs.

Tx. 42 (behind the royal statues):




(←↓) *s3 'nh [...]* <sup>(a)</sup> *[s]nb h3.sn nb mj R' d.t*

protection, life [...] all [h]ealth around them like Ra forever.


(a) Half group of signs beside the *ankh*-sign. One and a half groups of signs below it.

219 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 99, Fig. 8.

Tx. 43 (to the left of the protective bird):

 (←) [dj].s 'nh  
[may] she [give] life.

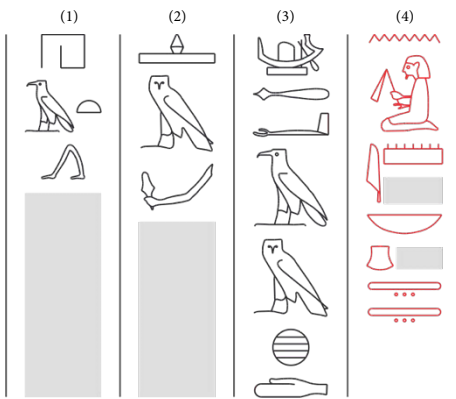
Tx. 44 (below the protective bird):

 (←) dj.s [...] <sup>(a)</sup>  
may she give [...].

(a) Maximum one and a half groups of signs.

Around Userhat:

Tx. 45 (before Userhat):



(1) (←↓) h3.t [r ... r] <sup>(a)</sup>  
 (2) (←↓) htp m dsr[...] <sup>(b)</sup>  
 (3) (←↓) [...] <sup>(c)</sup> wj3 '3 m hd  
 (4) (←↓) [jn hm n ntr p] <sup>(d)</sup> n šps Jmn nb ns.wt t3.wj  
 [...] <sup>(e)</sup>

(1) Going down [to ... to]  
 (2) rest in Djoser[-djoseru ...]  
 (3) [...] great boat in the travel downstream  
 (4) [by the majesty of th]is august [god] Amun, Lord of  
 the Thrones of Two Lands  
 [...].

(a) 3.5 groups of signs.


(b) 3.5 groups of signs.

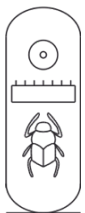
(c) Two groups of signs.

(d) Reconstructed based on the analogical text carved in front of the Userhat bark from the representation of the Opet Festival depicted on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, the fragment of the inscription published in: Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, Fig. 7; another fragment of the same text published in: Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, Fig. 92.

(e) Unknown number of columns.

Tx. 46 (above figure of Thutmose III):

 (←↓) [ntr] nfr Mn-hpr-R '  
Perfect [God] Men-kheper-Ra.





- (a) Half group of signs.
- (b) One group of signs.
- (c) One group of signs.
- (d) Two and one-third groups of signs.
- (e) Unknown number of groups of signs.

## Commentary

The system of the transportation of two barks: the royal one and that of Amun is very interesting.<sup>220</sup> Two accompanying barks haul two other barks. The first rope goes from the first accompanying bark to the second one. In the first bark, all oarsmen are working very hard, which can be observed in their position: they are strongly leaning back to push the oars hard. On the second accompanying bark, on the other hand, they are leaning back only a little, thus the strength they use is lesser. On the first bark, a group of seated sailors is represented. Their presence can be explained by the fact that they could replace the oarsmen when those were tired. There are no additional oarsmen on the second accompanying bark. All this leads to the conclusion that the first bark was responsible to a much greater extent for the movement of the water procession. The sails were not in use as the barks started directly opposite the goal of the procession and the river current carried it northward. The direction had to be corrected then and the wind went probably more or less from the west or north-west. The tacking was impossible because of the river current, so the only possible way of the boats' propulsion was paddling.

Another rope connects the second accompanying bark with the royal bark. We can see this rope on the prow of the royal boat, but the direction is rather clear, and it goes to the stern of the second accompanying bark. Judging by the location of the mooring hook in the representation of the Opet Festival,<sup>221</sup> the place of the fastening of the rope to the royal bark was located just in front of the sphinx on the standard in the prow. The place of fastening of the rope on the second accompanying bark cannot be precisely established, it remains invisible on both representations.<sup>222</sup>

The river bark of Amun is fastened to the royal bark in quite a different way. It goes below the hull and disappears behind the necklace of the ram's head on the prow of the boat, so it was tied to a fastening element of the boat which was located between two representations of Amun's emblem. Then we find the rope going in front of the steering gear and the protective symbols, and after that, can trace it in front of the backrest of the royal throne. The end of it is held in the hand by Thutmose III and finally, by Hatshepsut, which is not preserved now, but we can see that the rope goes further, and is taut, so we can imagine, where is its end.<sup>223</sup>

All this shows that this procession was very long, the boats went one after another, and one accompanying boat did not serve for transportation of only one bark. In fact, the bark of Amun is hauled by two rulers.

While studying the procession of barks, the question of the date of the post-Amarna restoration appears. If one compares the changes of the shape of the bark and requisites depicted on it, the elements present in the representation of the portable bark of Amun placed on the Userhat bark, several elements are the same: the flat roof of the naos and a frieze of falcons and cobras, the presence of souls of Pe and Nekhen on the sledge, the *atef*-crown on the prow and the stern. These features are typical for the representations of the

<sup>220</sup> The work of the Polish Mission made it possible to reconstruct the system of hauling the barks which for Naville was impossible to distinguish. He rather believed that each of two bigger barks was pulled by one accompanying bark (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, 3).

<sup>221</sup> This is invisible on the plate by Naville (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV) but in the reliefs, one can see that the rope goes further than on the drawing by Naville and something oval protrudes over the brim of the boat.

<sup>222</sup> It is not tied to the round fastener of the oar, as it is represented on the Naville's drawing (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV), but disappears behind the brim of the boat.

<sup>223</sup> This is much clearer in the depiction of the Opet Festival (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV) as the representation of the rope is preserved better there.

bark from the reign of Horemheb.<sup>224</sup> There are also some differences: the lack of a second kneeling figure of the king, double necklace instead of triple necklace on the prow and the stern, which is characteristic for Thutmose IV and Amenhotep III according to Christina Karlshausen.<sup>225</sup>

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, upper register, middle sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [31] and references therein

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register, middle sub-register:  
Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 126 [17] and references therein

### References

- Aegyptische und Vorderasiatische Alterthümer II, Pl. 104  
 Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 113–114  
 Duemichen, *Die Flotte*, Pl. IV [upper]  
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. XXI [upper] (oarsmen)  
 Faulkner, *Egyptian Military Standards*, 15 (fragment of standard of the bark)  
 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 129 [22]  
 Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, Fig. 6 (stern of the Userhat bark and fragments of the inscription above)  
 Karkowski, *Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe*, 97–101, Figs 8–9  
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, 3–4, Pl. CXXII  
 Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 5–6, Pls 1–4  
 Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 105, Phot. 5–6, Pls 1–4  
 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 358 [82.II]  
 Seyfried, *Bemerkungen und Quellen*, 60–61 [6c]  
*Urk. IV*, 309–310 (101)  
*Urk. IV Übersetzung*, 140–141  
 Lepsius MS. 243 (Tuthmosis II as bull trampling foes, and text in front of first boat)
- Block with the representation of four oarsmen, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14332*  
 Casson, *Ancient Egypt*, Fig. on p. 28  
 Donadoni, *Arte egizia*, Fig. 109  
 Fechheimer, *Die Plastik der Ägypter*, Pl. 137  
 Galassi, *Tehenu*, 187, Fig. 165  
 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 129–130  
 Karkowski, *Ruderer*, 108 [8]  
 Lipińska, *Studies on Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 164 [2], Pl. 18b  
 Ludwig, *Le Nil*, Pl. facing p. 49  
 Neuburger, *The Technical Arts and Sciences*, Fig. 652  
 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 375  
 Wenig, *Führer*, 55  
 Werbrouck, *Le temple d'Hatshepsout*, 90

Group of 8 blocks representing accompanying bark, *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636*

<sup>224</sup> Karlshausen, *L'évolution de la barque processionnelle*, Fig. 9.

<sup>225</sup> Cf. Karlshausen, *L'évolution de la barque processionnelle*, Figs 1–9.

Foucart, *La belle fête de la vallée*, 101  
 Grimm, Schoske, *Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens*, 56–57, no. 13  
 Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130  
 Karkowski, *Königliche Schiffe*, 106–107 [7] (without the last upper block)  
 LD III, Pl. 17 [a]  
 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 163–164 [1], Pl. 23  
 Petschel, Von Falck (Eds), *Pharao siegt immer*, 28–29  
 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 123  
 Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften II*, 111–112  
 Werbrouck, *Le temple d'Hatshepsout*, 90

Block with the representation of oarsmen, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia E 16216

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130  
 PM II<sup>2</sup>, 356

## UPPER SUB-REGISTER (Pls 23, 23\*; Tx. 51–54; Cat. nos 83–104)

**Dimensions of the upper sub-register:** height: 49.5 cm; width: 474.5 cm (upper part) and 467 cm (lower part)

### SCENE 3.11. OFFERING AND BUTCHERY SCENES (Pls 24, 24\*; Tx. 51–52; Cat. nos 83–90)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 49.5 cm; width: 148.5 cm (upper part) and 141 cm (lower part)

**State of preservation:** The scene is depicted on six blocks and six fragments of blocks<sup>226</sup> set in two layers. The biggest part of the lower layer of blocks is preserved on blocks ÄM 1636 stored today in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin. The scene has a rhomboidal shape, expanding in the direction of the north upper corner, while the south ending of the scene is vertical. The middle part of the scene is lost as the lower corners of the upper blocks and upper corners of the lower blocks are chipped off. Not much is preserved of blocks placed in the middle of the scene, they were broken into pieces and part of them is now lost. There are some fragments of inscriptions changed in the time of Thutmose III, the vertical inscription was almost entirely erased in the Amarna period and it was restored in the post-Amarna times. The face of the left butcher was chiseled out by the Copts.<sup>227</sup> Most of the colours are lost, the red painted directly on the stone is, however, well preserved.

Blocks in the museum:

- Group of four blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636 (Fig. 148)

<sup>226</sup> Block Cat. nos 84, 91; blocks fragments Cat. nos 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90. Block Cat. no. 91 was replaced in the wall in the 1970/1971 season; block Cat. no. 84 – in the 1971/1972 season; block fragments Cat. nos 85, 86, 87, 88, 90 – in the 1986/1987 season (based on pictures of the wall from seasons 1970/1971, 1971/1972 and 1986/1987). The date of the replacement of block fragment Cat. no. 89 is unknown. The group of four blocks (ÄM 1636) is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin.

<sup>227</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 83–91.



Fig. 194. Scene 3.11. Offering and butchery scenes (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene is composed of two sub-scenes placed under one inscription (**Fig. 194**). The scene is very similar to the one located in the northmost end of the lower sub-register and consists of the offering table scene and the butchery scene. Three offering bearers (→) are engaged in bringing offerings to the small offering table located in the right end of the scene. Only one of them is preserved enough to know what he is doing. To the left of the offering table scene, the butchery scene is represented: two butchers (→) (←) cut the bull's foreleg. A hieroglyphic inscription is carved above the whole scene and in front of the scene.

The most important difference between the scene depicted in the lower sub-register and Scene 3.11 is the shape of the offering table. The middle part of the offering table is not preserved; it is a small altar on a long stand tapering upwards. Only two boons can be seen on it: a round loaf of bread and a bull's foreleg. Above the bull's foreleg, five flames can be noticed (**Fig. 195**), the rest is missing. Below the altar, on both sides, other offerings are placed on the ground (**Fig. 196**). On the right of the stand, a small wooden stand or a table holds a round vessel entwined with a lotus twig. On the left, a lettuce and two vessels are set on the ground. The leftmost vessel is a bowl with a cone of incense and next to it an elongated vessel on a short stand surrounded by lotus flowers can be observed. Between a bowl with a cone of incense and an elongated vessel on a short stand, a cone upside down is depicted,<sup>228</sup> the upper part, however, is lost.



Fig. 195. Block with the beginning of two scenes: 3.12 and 3.13 with an offering table, a hand of a soldier with a splayed axe and the beginning of three inscription (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>228</sup> Similar cones can be noticed in Scene 4.5, see above, p. 237, **Fig. 228**.



Fig. 196. The lower part of an offering table (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

Fig. 197. The first offering bearer with a duck in flames (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Three offering bearers are headed right and walk towards the offering table. It is possible to count them because their feet are preserved; all of them are barefooted. A little more can be said only in the case of the right man, who leads the procession (**Fig. 196**). The offering bearer is shaved bald, in his left hand, he holds a plate and a long stand with a duck in flames. His left hand is raised at head level, and he places it on the tail of a duck. He wears a knee-length triangle kilt expanding downwards preserved in a front part. Muscles are marked on the leg of the last offering-bearer (**Fig. 197**).

Here to the left of the offering bearers, two butchers and another man stand above the laying bull. Two of them are busy cutting off the bull's foreleg. The third one is placed to the left of this scene. The bull belongs to the short-horn cattle and is depicted frontally with the head in profile and with a tail tucked under the body. It has closed eyes supported on nostrils with tongue out. The throat is cut in half along the neck. The bull's legs are tied in a knot, two back legs embrace the left foreleg and all of them are twisted with a thick rope while the butchers keep its right foreleg raised. It is possible to determine the sex of the animal as a male, its testicles are represented. The middle part of the scene is lost as it was carved on the edge of three blocks. Left butcher is faced right (**Fig. 198**). He leans and is strongly extended forward, his both hands are straight and also extended forward. With his right hand, he holds the right foreleg at the hoof and the right hand rests below. The activity of the right butcher is difficult to determine, his upper part is missing. He stands leaning



Fig. 198. Legs with muscles marked on them (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

and extended forward, which can be seen from the position of his legs. The garment of both butchers is not preserved. To the left of them, another human figure is depicted. Only two standing or striding legs can be seen, the rest is lost. There is not such a person among other butchery scenes on the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard.

The scene is almost deprived of colours. Only the red of human bodies, especially well preserved on legs depicted on the left block stored in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 1636) and on the small block in the wall as well as on the body of the left butcher. There are also blue stains visible on the block with the representation of the upper part of the offering table.

#### *Later destruction of decoration*

During the sole reign of Thutmose III, only small changes were made in the decoration of Scene 3.11. At the end of the horizontal inscription (Tx. 52), the cartouche of Hatshepsut was replaced with two words *pn nfr* and at the beginning of the text, a sign, maybe *l* (Gardiner sign V13), was replaced with *k* (Gardiner sign V31) or *nb* (Gardiner sign V30).

In the Amarna period, the name and the epithet of Amun were erased with a wide chisel, approx. 1.65 cm wide, and then restored in the post-Amarna times. Before the restoration was made, the surface was levelled and polished and probably filled with plaster, although no plaster is preserved now.

There are also Coptic destructions which destroyed the face of the left butcher and some signs. They were made with a narrow chisel, approx. 0.45 cm wide.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

There are two inscriptions in Scene 3.11, one vertical on the right side of the scene and one above the scene, along its whole length.

The vertical inscription is preserved only partly on two blocks, its beginning and end are still visible while the middle part, which was located on the join of three blocks, did not survive (Tx. 51; **Fig. 199**). The signs are headed right and are inscribed in one column without the division lines. The width of the group of signs is approx. 5.5 cm. The phrase *n Jmn nb ns.wt [t3.wj]* at the beginning of the text is the restoration from the post-Amarna times. The surface was destroyed and then prepared anew. It is a bit wider than signs themselves and a deeper hole in the name of Amun suggests the main place of the destruction. This restored surface narrows at the height below two signs *ns.wt*, so, most probably, Amun had only one epithet here. The rest of the text, except for the lowermost four signs of words *hr h3.wt*, is missing.

The continuation of the vertical inscription is carved on four blocks as a horizontal inscription above the scene (Tx. 52; **Fig. 200**). Here, again, the middle part is missing. The hieroglyphs are headed right and are written in one line. They are not separated from the scene with the division lines. The height of signs measures approx. 5.5 cm. It is worth mentioning that the last two words *spd sft* are distinguished from the inscription with the vertical stroke suggesting that they should be read separately, while genitival *n* points out that the last two words belong to the text. There are some changes observed. The first one can be found at the beginning of the inscription, where the subject of the text was replaced with the suffix *.k* which suggests the times of Thutmose III for dating of this alteration. On the next block, the word *ssnb* seems also to be changed although



Fig. 199. Upper part of the butcher and a fragment of the inscription above him (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 200. A vertical inscription in front of Scene 3.11 *in situ* (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

it is impossible to decide when this alteration had taken place, the block is eroded or erased in the upper part and has two holes, no traces of the original decoration, if it was, can be observed. Another alteration was done on the last block where the cartouche of Hatshepsut *M3'.t-k3-R'* was replaced with two words: *pn nfr*. This inscription suffered also from the Coptic chiseling out. On the knee of the *hh*-sign (Gardiner sign C11), as well as on the sign *m* (Gardiner sign G17) traces of the narrow chisel can be seen.

*Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 51 (before an offering table):

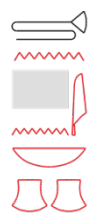
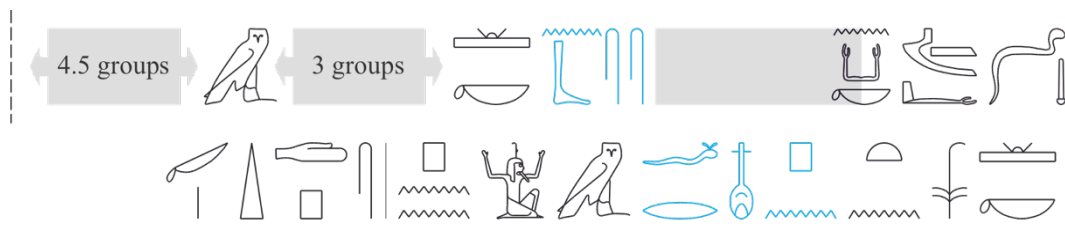

(↓→) *wdn n Jmn nb ns.wt [t3.wj] [...]<sup>(a)</sup> hr h3.wt*  
offering for Amun, Lord Thron[es] [of Two Lands] [...] on the altars.  
(a) Three groups of signs.





Fig. 201. A horizontal inscription above Scene 3.11 (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

Tx. 52 (above butchers and offering bearers):



(→)  $\underline{d}d\ m\dot{d}w\ m\dot{z}^{\prime}\ n\ k_3.k^{(a)}\ [\dots]^{(b)}\ \underline{ssnb}^{(c)}.k\ [\dots]^{(d)}\ m\ [\dots]^{(e)}.k\ nswt\ \underline{pn\ nfr}^{(f)}\ m\ \underline{hh}\ \underline{pn}\ n\ \underline{spd}\ \underline{ds}$

Words spoken: offering for your ka [...] may you **make healthy** [...] in [...] you [...] **this perfect** king in this million of sharpening of a knife.

- (a) Below the sign *k*, another sign was originally written. It was replaced with *k* which suggests the action of artisans of Thutmose III. It is impossible, however, to read the sign below.
- (b) Two groups of signs.
- (c) It seems that in the middle of signs consisting of word *snb*, sign *t* was erased (see Fig. 197).
- (d) Three groups of signs.
- (e) Four and a half groups of signs.
- (f) Originally below two words *pn nfr* the cartouche of Hatshepsut was carved, signs *R'* (Gardiner sign N5) and *k<sub>3</sub>* (Gardiner sign D28) are well detectable.

## Commentary

Scene 3.11 is similar to other butchery and offering scenes represented on the walls of the temple of Hatshepsut. There is, however, one element of this scene that is not repeated anywhere: the presence of the standing human figure behind the butchers. This figure is not attested in the butchery scenes nor the representation of the transport of the obelisks in the Lower Southern Portico,<sup>229</sup> of the Opet Festival on the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard,<sup>230</sup> on the south wall of the Upper Courtyard,<sup>231</sup> neither in the north wing of the east wall of the Chapel of Thutmose I.<sup>232</sup> In the butchery scenes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, it happens six times on the south wing of the east wall<sup>233</sup> and three times on the north wing of the east wall<sup>234</sup> that the third figure appears, it is mainly an offering bearer, the person who brings the meat offering in a bowl or a single foreleg, twice – a butcher who sharpens his knife, twice a person who ties legs of the bull. In all cases,

229 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV.

230 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXXIV–CXXXVI.

231 Scene unpublished.

232 Scene unpublished, one block, known only from a copy, can be found here: Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. XXX; republished recently: Barwik, A “Ghost” Fragment from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, Fig. 1.

233 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pl. CVII.

234 Barwik, A “Ghost” Fragment from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, Fig. 3.

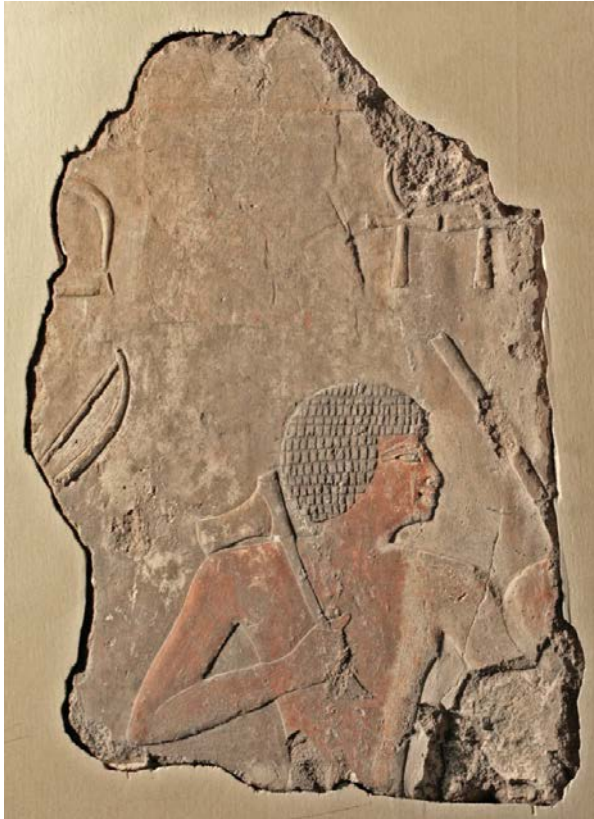


Fig. 202. Fragment of a block EA1828 from the British Museum with a procession of soldiers (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

he raises something in his hands. The gesture of the figure in Scene 3.11 cannot be determined, however, it is less probable that he holds an offering in his hand. The fragment of the inscription above him (*spd sft*), which seems to be distinguished from the text by a vertical line might be a description of his activity, then he should be a butcher who sharpens his knife.

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For butchery and offering scenes together, see: Scene 3.1.

For offering scenes, see: Scene 3.7.

For butchery scenes, see: Scene 3.8.

### References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [29]

Iwaszczuk, *Atypical Spelling Variants*, 70–72, Figs 1, 2 [a]

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 6 [upper part], Pl. 1

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 105, Phot. 6 [upper part], Pl. 1

Taterka, *Kryptografia egipska*, Fig. 8

## SCENE 3.12. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 25, 25\*; Tx. 53; Cat. nos 91–97)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 49.5 cm; width: 152.5 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is carved on six blocks and seven fragments of blocks.<sup>235</sup> The left lower part of the scene is represented on blocks ÄM 1636 from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, the right upper corner is depicted on block EA1828 from the British Museum. The blocks are set, as in the previous scene, in two layers. The middle part of the scene in the upper layer is not preserved, only a few fragments of blocks survived. The second left upper block is in a worse state of preservation, its left part is cracked, and the relief is almost invisible. The upper parts of the blocks taken to Berlin were broken into pieces and some pieces are lost now. On the survived blocks and fragments of blocks, the decoration is rather well preserved. The only change detectable today can be observed in the inscription above the scene and is a witness of the Amarna times destruction

<sup>235</sup> Block Cat. no. 91; blocks fragments Cat. nos 88, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98. Block and blocks fragments Cat. nos 91, 92, 93, 94, and 95 were replaced in the wall in season 1970/1971, block fragments Cat. nos 96, 97 and 98 – in season 1986/1987 (based on pictures of the wall from seasons 1970/1971 and 1986/1987). The group of two blocks (ÄM 1636) is now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin; the block with the representation of the procession of soldiers is stored in the British Museum in London (EA1828). Two blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.



Fig. 203. Scene 3.12. Procession of soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

and the post-Amarna period restoration. No traces of the Coptic times destructions are attested in this scene.<sup>236</sup> Colours are generally lost, only the red applied on the stone and traces of the blue can be seen.

Blocks in the museum:

- Group of five blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636 (Fig. 148)
- Block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA1828 (Fig. 202)



Fig. 204. Fragment of the inscription containing the name of a troop of recruits (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene represents a troop of recruits (*hwn.w-nfr.w*) (←) marching left (Fig. 203).<sup>237</sup> The group consists of 13 soldiers (Fig. 204). Above their heads, an inscription is carved. The scene is closed with the thick *pet*-sign from the above and with a narrow line of the ground at the bottom. All soldiers are barefooted and wear simple black wigs on their heads. Except for the right hand of the first soldier, their hands are not preserved, as the middle part of the scene did not survive. They all march with right legs extended forward with feet flat on the ground and left legs stretched back and placed on the tips of the toes. They all are armed with bows and at least one of them has an axe in his hand. Their dress is simple, they are clad in a knee-length kilt fastened with a waistband with rectangular tips falling down to half thigh. The kilts are made of one triangle piece of

<sup>236</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>237</sup> The same troop is represented in Scene 4.11, on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV), and in the lower register of the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1). On recruits, see: Faulkner, *Egyptian Military Organization*, 43–44.



Fig. 205. The group of soldiers with bows and arrows (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

cloth tied around the waist with two ends of the material, while the third end is stretched between the legs and plugged behind the tiding.

The first soldier is marches left and has a splayed axe (**Fig. 200**) carried in the right hand, raised and stretched forward, and in the left hand, he has a bow. The bow is in the type of a self bow and is strengthened by binding with a cord (**Fig. 205**).<sup>238</sup> The upper part of the soldier, from the waist up, is not preserved, only the right fist holding an axe can be seen.

The second soldier is better preserved. He is headed left and holds a self bow and arrows. It is possible to determine the length of the bow which was long from the ground to the shoulder of the soldier. There is a *lacuna* in the representation of the second soldier, which covers his chest, shoulders and face, the wig is preserved, as well as the upper tip of the bow.

From the third soldier only the lower part, from the waist down, survived. He also carries a self bow strengthened by binding with a cord. His left leg is missing in large part, just a thigh and a tip of the foot can be seen.

The fourth soldier is equally badly preserved, although in his case the right calf is lost. It is impossible to say if he was armed or not.

The position of the fifth soldier differs from the others, he carries a double-skin drum<sup>239</sup> hanging at belly level and hits it with his left hand. The drum is elongated and oval-shaped and is held horizontally by a drummer.

Only feet remain of the sixth soldier. The right foot with a fragment of a calf of the seventh one and the left foot with a fragment of a calf of the eighth one can be seen.

The ninth soldier is only a little bit better preserved. The lower fragment of his right leg and the foot are hidden behind the butts of the steering oars in the shape of the royal heads with the crowns from the first accompanying bark represented below. The left leg and the fragment of the kilt are still visible. Between his left leg and the right leg of the next soldier, a small *dipinto* painted with red paint (*Dipinto* 1) can be observed.<sup>240</sup>

<sup>238</sup> This type of the bow is represented in Scene 4.11; it is depicted also on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV) and in the upper register of the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-5).

<sup>239</sup> Similar drums are attested in Scene 3.13, on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV) and the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1).

<sup>240</sup> See below, pp. 304–305.



Fig. 206. Lower part of soldiers with feet destroyed by Copts (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The next soldier, the tenth in the row, is preserved from below the waist down. Here, again, the lower part of a self bow strengthened by binding with a cord is depicted.

The eleventh soldier is preserved in a similar way, only his left calf is missing. He also holds a self bow strengthened by binding with a cord, of which only the lower fragment can be seen.

The twelfth man lost his upper part, and only the foot of the right leg and the left leg with a fragment of the kilt are visible. The weapon did not survive.

The last person in a row is preserved from the waist down. His both legs and a kilt are well visible. He holds a self bow strengthened by binding with cord, of which the lower part and the upper tip can be seen. The tip of the bow is represented on the block EA1828 from the British Museum (Fig. 202).<sup>241</sup>

In Scene 3.12 most of the colours are missing. The red of the bodies applied directly on the stone is best preserved. In the upper part of the block with *dipinti*, some traces of the blue greyish colour of the background are detectable. A stain of the blue colour can be observed also on the *pt*-sign closing the scene from the above.

#### *Later destruction of decoration*

The only change that can be observed in Scene 3.11 is the erasure of the word *hnmw* in the Amarna period and its reconstruction by the post-Amarna artisans.

There are also destructions from the Coptic times executed with a narrow chisel, approx. 0.45 cm wide. They affected only the feet of eighth to thirteenth soldiers (Fig. 205). The rest of the scene is intact.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscription that was engraved above the heads of soldiers, is not preserved in the larger part. Only the beginning and the very end of the text depicted on three blocks survived (Tx. 53; Fig. 207).

<sup>241</sup> [https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y\\_EA1828](https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/Y_EA1828).



Fig. 207. A horizontal inscription above Scene 3.12 *in situ* (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The inscription is carved in one line without the division lines. The height of the group of signs is approx. 5.3 cm. The hieroglyphs are pointing left. The word *hmnw* was erased in the Amarna period with a wide chisel, the precise width of the chisel is difficult to determine as only the lowermost part of the hole is preserved. In the post-Amarna times, the surface was levelled, polished and, most probably, filled with plaster. The plaster, however, did not survive. The fragment of the inscription preserved on the next block is in a bad state of preservation, its left part is crushed, and it is impossible to read one group of signs. The condition of other signs is only a little better. The block containing the end of the inscription is stored in the British Museum (EA1828). On this block, only the back part of Gardiner signs I10 and N17 are attested.

One sign has traces of colour – the sign *jr* (Gardiner sign D4) has a pupil painted red.

#### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 53 (above the scene):



(←) *jr.t* [*hmnw*]<sup>(a)</sup> [...] <sup>(b)</sup> [*j*]*n hwn.w-nfr.w* [...] <sup>(c)</sup> *dt*

Making [jubilation] by the recruits [...] forever.

- (a) Traces of restoration.
- (b) One groups of signs.
- (c) 18 groups of signs.

#### **Commentary**

The troop of recruits (*hwn.w nfr.w*) is represented in the temple of Hatshepsut four times: on the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard in Scenes 3.12 and 4.12, on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico<sup>242</sup> and on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine.<sup>243</sup>

The group depicted in Scene 3.12 is clad in a knee-length, white kilt made of one triangle piece of cloth tied around the waist with two ends of the material, while the third end is stretched between legs and plugged behind the tiding. The kilt is fastened with a waistband with rectangular tips falling to half thigh. They are armed with self bows and arrows, the first of them has also a splayed axe in his hand, one of them hits a drum. The name of this troop of soldiers is *hwn.w nfr.w*.

<sup>242</sup> Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV.

<sup>243</sup> Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1.

The group from Scene 4.12 is described in the same way: *ḥwn.w nfr.w*. Their dress is the same. They are armed with self bows and arrows and some of them hold a twig of the persea tree in their hands.

In the scene of the transport of the obelisks represented on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico, another troop is represented. They wear the same garment as other troops and slightly richer weapon. They are led by the trumpeter, most of them have self bows, arrows and throwsticks or splayed axes, one has only a throwstick and a twig of the persea tree. They carry also two standards, one with a cartouche  $M_3$  't-k<sub>3</sub>-R' with the *atef*-crown and the other one with a reed *sw* between the arms of sign *k<sub>3</sub>*. They are described as *ḏ<sub>3</sub>m.w n.n.w šm<sup>i</sup>.j mḥw.j ḥwn.w n.n.w W<sub>3</sub>s.t nfr.w*.

The last troop was represented as taking part in the Hathor Festival. This group consists of soldiers of different formations, as described in front of them and above their heads: *ḥpr.w n.n.w wj<sub>3</sub>.w nswt ḏ<sub>3</sub>m.w n.n.w W<sub>3</sub>s.t ḥwn.w nfr.w n.n.w mš<sub>3</sub>*. It is difficult to distinguish the specific troop. There are, then, soldiers from the crew of the boat in a typical naval dress: a simple short kilt made of a triangle textile of which two corners were tied together on the belly and the third one was pulled between the legs and under the tied corners hanging down. Over this kilt, a naval loincloth was put on, made of webbed leather with a square patch at the seat and fastened around the waist by a thin strip of leather. They are armed with splayed axes and throwsticks, some of them hold a twig of the persea tree or a twig of acacia in their hands and twice standards in the shape of the flabellum *behet*<sup>244</sup> and one standard in the shape of a royal bark with a flabellum *behet* above. The second soldier hits a drum. The other group wear a knee-length kilt made of a triangle piece of textile with a sewn long band which is tucked into the waistband with a side loop and a loosely flowing tip, while the pointed end is threaded through the waistband and hangs from the front. They are armed with splayed axes and throwsticks; all of them carry a twig of the persea tree or a twig of acacia in their hands, one of them has a standard in the shape of a horse with a feather crown.

It is interesting, then, to stress that the recruits represented in the temple of Hatshepsut belong to different troops: not specified troop of *ḥwn.w nfr.w* takes part in the Festival of *Djeser-djeseru*, the troop from Thebes (*ḥwn.w n.n.w W<sub>3</sub>s.t nfr.w*) welcomes the arriving obelisks and recruits of the army (*ḥwn.w nfr.w n.n.w mš<sub>3</sub>*) take part in the Hathor Festival. It is possible that the troop *ḥwn.w nfr.w* and *ḥwn.w n.n.w W<sub>3</sub>s.t nfr.w* is the same troop as in Scene 3.12, they are clad and armed the same way, but for sure the recruits of the army have different garment and weaponry.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

## References

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [30]

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 2

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 2

<sup>244</sup> For the standard in the shape of flabellum *behet*, see above, p. 108, footnote 113.



Fig. 208. Scene 3.13. Procession of soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk, processed by M. Caban).

### SCENE 3.13. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 26, 26\*; Tx. 54; Cat. nos 98–104)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 49.5 cm; width: 174 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is preserved on seven blocks and four fragments of blocks<sup>245</sup> set in two layers. The left upper block is stored now in the British Museum (EA1828). The lower part of the scene is worse preserved, some blocks were broken into pieces. The corners of the blocks are chipped off. Two upper blocks are in a bad condition, their surface is crushed, and colours disappeared. The only alteration that can be dated to the reign of Thutmose III is the replacement of the cartouche of Hatshepsut with another text. In the Amarna times, the name of Amun was removed. No Coptic destructions are observed.<sup>246</sup> The scene is deprived of most of the colours. The red painted directly on the stone is still visible on the bodies of soldiers and a blade of the axe on the block EA1828 from the British Museum. The traces of the black are detectable on the same block. The blueish-grey background is also visible on several blocks. One of the blocks has traces of scorching.

**Block in the museum:**

- Block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA1828 (Fig. 202)

### Description

*Original decoration*

In the opposite direction to Scene 3.12, a group of seventeen soldiers marches (→) (Fig. 208). They all are faced right. This scene is not distinguished from the previous one by a division line or even by an empty space: the legs of the last soldier from Scene 3.12 and the last one from Scene 3.13 cross (Fig. 209). From the right, the scene is also not fenced off by the division line. The natural border of the scene from the right is the edge of the ground (the *ta*-sign). The scene is closed by the *pet*-sign above. It is impossible to determine precisely to what troop of soldiers they belong, the name of the troop is not mentioned in the inscription. It

<sup>245</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 70, 74, 100, 103, 104; block fragments Cat. nos 98, 99, 101, 102. Blocks and blocs fragments Cat. nos 100, 102, 103, and 104 were replaced in the wall in season 1970/1971; blocs fragments Cat. nos 98, 99 and 101 – in season 1986/1987 (based on pictures of the wall from seasons 1970/1971 and 1986/1987). The block with the representation of the procession of soldiers is stored in the British Museum in London (EA1828). Three blocks were not removed from the wall, therefore they are not included in the catalogue.

<sup>246</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.



Fig. 209. The limit of two scenes: the crossed legs of the last soldiers from Scenes 3.12 and 3.13 (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

may be said, however, that they are the crew of a boat, judging by their dresses. All of them are barefooted and go with their right legs stretched forward and left legs set back. Their hands are raised at chest height and bent at the elbow. Their heads are decorated with simple black wigs and they wear traditional naval dresses. Their costume (**Fig. 210**) consists of a short kilt made of a triangle textile with two corners tied together on the belly and the third one, pulled between the legs and under the tied corners, is cut flat or oval and is hanging down. They use also a naval loincloth made of webbed leather fastened around the waist by a thin strip of leather as an outer layer of a dress. The first two figures are clad differently, the same way as soldiers in the previous scene: they wear a knee-length kilt made of one triangle piece of cloth tied around the waist with two ends of the material, while the third end is stretched between legs and plugged behind the tiding. The kilt is fastened with a waistband with rectangular tips falling to half thigh.

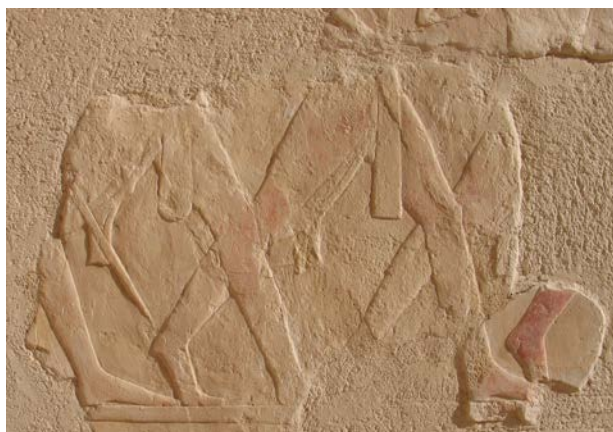


Fig. 210. The garment of members of the crew of a boat (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The first soldier is headed right (**Fig. 211**), his right foot is placed flat at the edge of the ground, i.e. at the end of the scene. The belly and both arms are lost as they were represented on the edge of two blocks. He has his hands lowered down and his left hand is straight and bent into a fist while the right one is bent at the elbow and he touches a long object with his outstretched hand. The tip of the object is missing. It must be stressed, however, that it is held in a special way, not attested anywhere else in the temple. The object in the hands of the second soldier is most probably an instrument, the kind of a long flute.<sup>247</sup>

<sup>247</sup> Hickmann, *Instruments*, 117–122, Pl. LXXXIV; Hickmann, *Classement et classification*, 18–20. The instrument is held almost vertically, therefore it should be treated differently than the long flutes for private use where the musician held the flute pointing downwards at an angle of 45° (e.g. in the scene of the approaching to the temple in the tomb of Useramun, TT 131: Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vesirs User-Amun*, Pl. 96 [upper register]). It suggests that the technique of playing was different in both cases.

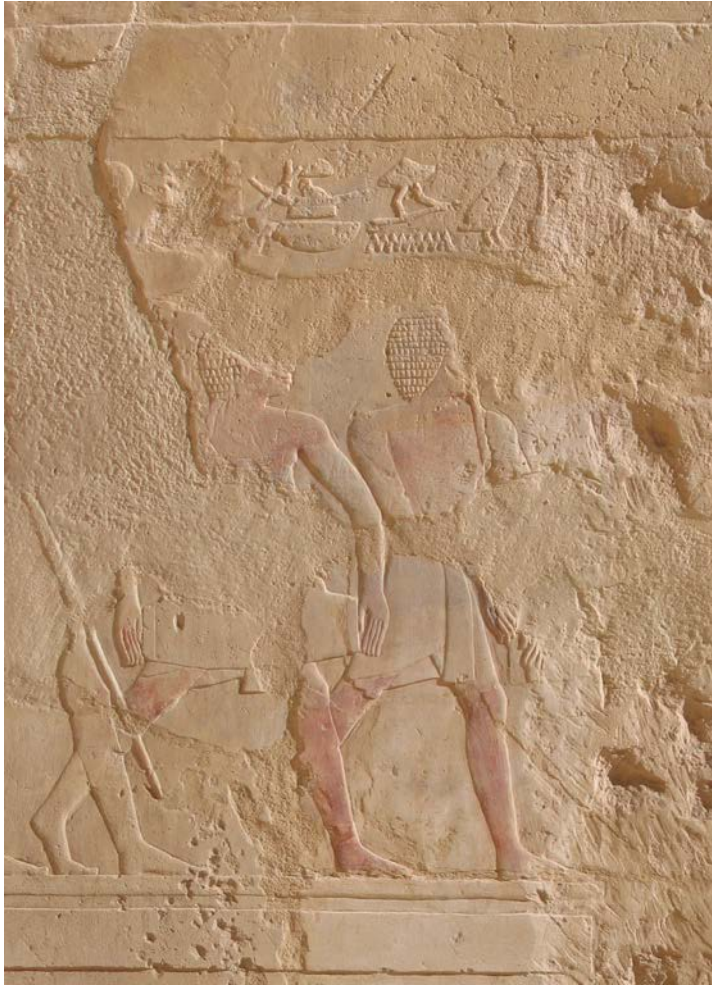


Fig. 211. Two first soldiers from Scene 3.13, the first one playing long flute and the second one hitting a drum (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The second figure is the drummer (**Fig. 212**). He is faced right. He holds a double-skin drum hanging at belly level and he hits it with his both outstretched hand from two sides. The drum is similar to the one from Scene 3.12, it is also elongated and oval-shaped and is placed horizontally. The upper part of the head of the drummer, as well as his left shoulder, are lost because of the chipped off corners of three blocks on which it was once represented.

The block with the upper parts of the third to eighth soldiers is in a bad condition, its surface is crushed and lacks colours; their faces are chiseled out (**Fig. 213**). The third soldier is worse preserved as he was carved on the edges of three blocks with chipped off corners. His breast, torso and kilt are missing. The rest of the naval loincloth is visible on his left leg. He is faced right and holds a standard in the shape of the royal bark with a falcon crowned with a sun disk on the front finial, an enthroned king in the middle of the boat, and a steering gear with a flabellum *behet* above.<sup>248</sup>

The fourth man is headed right, he has a splayed axe in his right hand, the left arm is lost as was represented on the edge of the block. Most probably it was raised at chest height and bent at the elbow and the left hand was bent into a fist. The face was chiseled out as all faces depicted on this block. The kilt is missing as well, and the rest of the naval loincloth can be seen on the left leg.

The fifth soldier is much better preserved, only his face and waistband are lost. He is turned to the right and in his right hand, he holds a gently curved stick which starts at the belly height and finishes just above his head, his left hand is bent into a fist. His short kilt has an oval corner hanging down.

The lower part of the sixth man is poorly preserved. The soldier is headed right. His face is chiseled out and the rests of his wig are visible. In his right, raised hand, he holds a splayed axe at chest height and his left hand is bent into a fist at the same height. Most of his kilt is lost, only a flat corner hanging down can be seen. His right leg is in the main part destroyed, just the part of a calf and a foot are still visible.

In the case of the seventh soldier facing right, he also has erased face, his cloth, right leg and left foot are missing, the rest of the naval loincloth on the left leg is preserved. The left hand is bent into a fist at chest height. In his right hand placed at the same height, he carries a standard with the representation of the ac-

<sup>248</sup> A similar standard is represented on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV) and the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1).



Fig. 212. The block with the upper parts of soldiers with two standards: from the royal bark (right) and from the accompanying bark (left) (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

accompanying bark in type C of Dilwyn Jones.<sup>249</sup> It has a two-storey deckhouse in the central part, two kiosks on two sides of the boat, the simplified flabellum *behet* behind the forward kiosk and a steering gear in front of it. Another flabellum *behet* is located above the centre of the boat as a finial of the mast.

The face of the last, eighth soldier from a group represented on the second upper right block, is turned left, he looks back at the rest of the soldiers. The face itself is chiseled out. His right shoulder and a waistband are cut off as they were represented on the edge of three blocks, now chipped off. His right arm is raised at chest height and bent at the elbow, the right hand is bent into a fist. The weapon he carries is not preserved. The corner of the short kilt hanging down is cut flat.

Only the lower part of the ninth soldier survived. The lower fragment of a dress is preserved. The corner of the short kilt hanging down is oval and the rest of the naval loincloth on the left leg of the soldier can be seen. His left calf and foot except for a heel, as well as the front part of the right foot, are missing.

Not more can be seen from the eleventh soldier. Because the upper part of his figure was carved on the chipped off edges of two blocks, it is unpreserved, only the upper outline of his head is detectable. He also lost his left leg from the knee up and the left leg from the knee down. The corner of the short kilt hanging down is cut flat, the rest of the naval loincloth can be noticed on the left leg.

The figure of the next, the twelfth man, is almost entirely in the *lacuna*. He is headed right, his face is chiseled out, but the wig is visible. He carries a gently curved stick similar to the one held by the fourth soldier. In the lower part, the left leg below the knee is carved on a fragment of the block and an outline of the right calf is represented on another fragment.

<sup>249</sup> Jones, Model boats, 16 (type C).



Fig. 213. An inscription above Scene 3.13 as preserved in the wall (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk)

From the thirteenth man, only a head on the upper block and the fragment between the waistband and a knee on a fragment of block survived. The upper block is in a bad condition, its surface is crushed and deprived of colours. The soldier is turned right, surprisingly, his face is preserved. The weapon is missing, and he wears a naval dress: the corner of the short kilt hanging down and cut flat and the rest of the naval loincloth can be seen.

Almost nothing rested of the fourteenth soldier, in the corner of the lower block the right foot destroyed with a chisel is attested.

The right leg with a fragment of the naval loincloth indicates the presence of the fifteenth soldier.

The last two soldiers wear the same naval dress with the corner of the kilt which hangs down cut flat and the naval loincloth visible on their right legs. The sixteenth soldier is armed with a gently curved stick ending just above his head. The stick's end is preserved on block EA1828 from the British Museum.

The kilt of the seventeenth man is shaped by the lack of red paint. His upper part is very well preserved on block EA1828 stored in the British Museum (**Fig. 202**). The block was not chiseled out, the details of the face are well visible. The man is headed right, the right arm is bent at the elbow at chest height and he holds a splayed axe in his right hand. His left hand is stretched forward but only the shoulder was carved on the block from the British Museum.

The colours are badly preserved except for these painted directly on the stone: the red colour of bodies, the black colour of the wig attested on block EA1828 from the British Museum and delicate traces of the blueish grey of the background.

#### *Later destruction of decoration*

In the Amarna period, only one change was made to the decoration of Scene 3.13. The fragment of the name of Amun-Ra, namely Amun was chiseled off with a wide chisel, the width of the chisel is difficult to determine as it is covered by a modern mortar. If the name was restored, it must have been done in the plaster, there are no traces of the preparation of the surface typical for the post-Amarna restorations.

The destructions executed by the Copts can be observed only on the faces of the soldiers, other parts of their bodies are intact. The erasures were executed with a narrow chisel, although it is difficult to determine the width of the chisel because of the destruction of the surface of the block. Especially two blocks from the upper layer suffered from chiseling out, they are in a worse state of preservation and it is possible that they were longer exposed to weather conditions. Most probably other fragments of the scene were not in the wall in the time of Coptic activity, they fell with their faces down, the surface of their faces is in a much better condition, as are the colours.

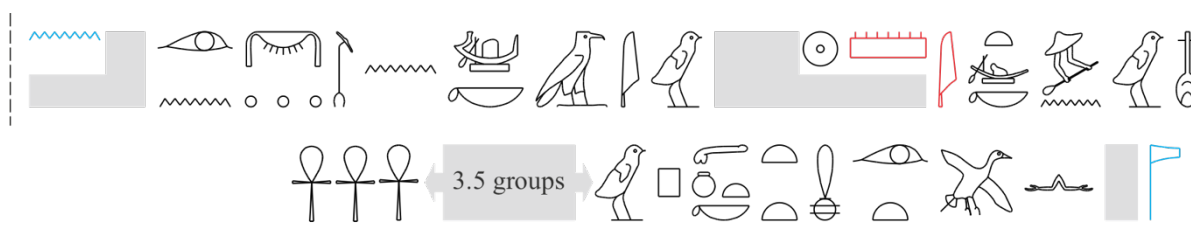
## Inscriptions

### General description

The only text carved in Scene 3.13 is inscribed above the scene and below the *pt*-sign (Tx. 54; Fig. 213). The text is written in one line without the division lines, the height of the group of signs is approx. 5 cm and the hieroglyphs are faced right. The inscription starts at the beginning of the scene in its upper right corner and finishes a few centimetres before the end of the scene in the upper left corner of the scene. The inscription is divided into four parts by the high standards that raise above the scene. The beginning of the text is on the edge of the reconstructed surface of the neighbouring scene with the royal bark and therefore it is slightly damaged. On the join of the second and the third upper right blocks, the cartouche of Hatshepsut was replaced by signs *n* (Gardiner sign N35), *ntr* (Gardiner sign R8) and vertical Gardiner sign Y1. The name of Amun was erased in the Amarna times and there are no traces that it was restored. On the second upper right block some signs seem to be destroyed intentionally, i.e. *w* (Gardiner sign G43), *m* (Gardiner sign G17), determinative of the *wj3*-bark (Gardiner sign P3), *jr* (Gardiner sign D4). The style of destructions is difficult to determine as the surface of the stone is crushed but the choice of hieroglyphs suggests that these damages were executed during the Coptic period.

### Transcription, Transliteration, Translation

Tx. 54 (above the scene):



(→) *nfr.w(j) hn.t.k Jmn<sup>(a)</sup>-R<sup>c</sup> [m] wj3.k n d<sup>c</sup> m jr.n[.j] n[.k nb] ntr.w<sup>(b)</sup> n p3 jr.t mjt.t mtn.k pw [...]<sup>(c)</sup> 'nh.w*

How beautiful is your water procession, Amun-Ra, [in] your bark of electrum, which I have made for you, Lord of the Gods. There was nothing done alike. This is your reward [...] the living.

<sup>(a)</sup> The name Amun was erased, there are no traces of restoration.

<sup>(b)</sup> The phrase *n ntr* replaced the cartouche *M3 't-k3-R'*. The shape of the cartouche is visible. The fragment “which I have made for the god” originally was as follows: “which was made by Maat-ka-Ra” (*jr n M3 't-k3-R'*).

<sup>(c)</sup> Three and a half groups of signs.

## Commentary

The scene represents a group of soldiers (Fig. 208). Unlike in other scenes, where the troops are named, this time the inscription does not mention the military formation. On the other hand, the garments of most of the soldiers suggest their naval provenience. Only the first two soldiers seem to belong to the group of recruits judging by their dress and the presence of a drum. Two standards, one with the representation of the accompanying bark and the other one with the representation of the royal bark, carried by the soldiers are important in this context. Behind the soldier with a standard representing the royal bark, four soldiers



Fig. 214. Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 18542 (© Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung / Sandra Steiß, CC BY-SA 4.0).

march and nine soldiers stride behind the man holding the standard with the depiction of the accompanying bark. The number of soldiers from the accompanying bark doubles the number of these from the royal bark. Most probably we are dealing here with the delegacy of the crews of the ships taking part in the procession, five from each boat.<sup>250</sup> However, in the representation of the royal bark, no crew is observed, unlike the case of the royal bark carved on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine.<sup>251</sup> The most important difference between these barks in the Hathor Festival and the Festival of *Djeser-djeseru*,<sup>252</sup> as well as of the Opet Festival<sup>253</sup> where the scene is almost identical, is that in the last two festivals, the royal bark transported two royal statues and Thutmose III was a oarsman, while during the Hathor Festival, the empty throne was on the board of the royal bark and the boat was moved by the oarsmen. It seems that, although in general the water procession is represented in detail, in the case of the royal bark, the stress is put on the presence of the king and not the realistic entourage.

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

### References

- Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [30]  
 Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 5, Pls 1, 3  
 Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Phot. 5, Pls 1, 3

<sup>250</sup> The same number of soldiers, i.e. five, of different military formations can be observed in the scene of approaching the temple in the tomb of Useramun, TT 131 (Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vesirs User-Amun*, Pl. 83 [upper register]).

<sup>251</sup> Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pls 17-3, 17-4.

<sup>252</sup> See: Iwaszczuk, *Hathor Festival, Festival of Djeser-djeseru and Tpj šmw Festival*, 115–118.

<sup>253</sup> Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXV–CXXVI.



Fig. 215. Fragment of a block with men carrying a throne, Musée de Picardie, Amiens M.P.3053.108 (Perdu, Rickal, La collection égyptienne, 106, no. 190).

## UPPER REGISTER

### SCENE 4. THE NILE PROCESSION (Pls 27, 27\*; Tx. 55–78; Cat. nos 5, 31, 47, 48, 49, 53, 58, 59, 67, 71, 73, 83, 85, 90, 105–195)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 176.8 cm; width: 1,034 cm at the bottom and 1,050.3 cm at the top; *kheker*-frieze height: 44.5 cm; block boeder-frieze height: 7.7 cm.

**State of preservation:** This part of the wall was badly destroyed by the earthquake and it is reconstructed of 24 blocks and 76 fragments of blocks set in five layers of blocks.<sup>254</sup> As in the case of Scene 3, Scene 4 covers more than half of the wall's length. The scene is reconstructed in the lower part basing on the continuation of scenes that start on the lower blocks and fragments of blocks and the analogies from the lower register as well as the lower register of the neighbouring, south wing of the east wall. The scene with barks (Scene 4.10), and especially the royal bark and the Userhat bark are in a very bad condition. Except for fragments with the depiction of water, the scene with the royal bark is reconstructed from one block and two fragments of blocks and the river bark of Amun consists of two blocks and twelve fragments of blocks. The rest of the blocks have disappeared. Two fragments and one block can be found in different museums. Some blocks are still in the *lapidaria* not placed in the wall. During the reign of Thutmose III, small fragments of decoration were changed. The biggest alterations come from the times of the Amarna and post-Amarna periods. Scenes 4.9 and the Userhat bark were completely re-decorated in this period.<sup>255</sup> Scene 4 is almost deprived of colours, only the red applied directly on a stone is preserved on human bodies, some traces of blue can be seen in the representation of water and the *pet*-sign closing the scene in the upper part, the black of wigs is detectable, too. The stains of the blueish-grey background are attested in several places. The first accompanying bark was decorated with red spirals painted directly on a stone.

<sup>254</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 57, 58, 72, 89, 102, 103, 109, 112, 118, 119, 120, 123, 136, 141, 142, 143, 148, 149, 152, 157, 158, 159, 172, 194; blocks fragments Cat. nos. 70, 84, 85, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 137, 138, 139, 140, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193. Cat. nos 70, 89, 102, 103, 118, 119, 120, 123 were replaced in the wall in the 1970/1971 season; Cat. nos 57, 58, 72, 109, 146 – in the 1972/1973 season; Cat. nos 106, 107, 117, 142 – in the 1976/1977 season; Cat. nos 116, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 143, 169, 172 – in the 1984/1985 season; Cat. nos 84, 85, 104, 105, 108, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 121, 122, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 144, 145, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 170, 171, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194 – in the 1986/1987 season; Cat. no. 141 – in the 1998/1999 season.

<sup>255</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.



Fig. 216. Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA48077 (© The Trustees of the British Museum).

#### Blocks in the museums:

- Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 18542 (Fig. 214)
- Fragment of a block with men carrying a throne, Musée de Picardie, Amiens M.P.3053.108 (Fig. 215)
- Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA48077 (Fig. 216)

#### General description

Scene 4, for the same reason as Scene 3, is rhomboidal, wider in the left upper part and narrower in the left lower part. It is organised in three sub-registers. The lower and the upper ones are of similar height, subsequently 43.5 cm and 49.5 cm high, the middle one is higher, it measures 83.8 cm in height in the lower part and 136.7 cm in the higher part. The lower and the middle sub-registers occupied the whole length of the scene while the upper one is much shorter, it takes the space above the first and the second accompanying barks.

Like in the case of Scene 3, the general direction of the scene differs from the directions of particular scenes (cf. Fig. 48). All three sub-registers are headed right (i.e. to the south), the first scenes of the lower and the upper sub-registers and the first element of the middle sub-register are located at the southmost part of the scene and the last ones – in the northmost part of the sub-registers. Not

all scenes go according to the general pattern. From twelve scenes, seven face right (i.e. to the south)<sup>256</sup> and five of them are directed left (i.e. to the north).<sup>257</sup>

Two sub-registers, the lower and the upper ones, are situated on the *ta*-signs, the middle one was separated from them by a wide strip of water. In the upper part, two upper scenes are distinguished from the other by the *pet*-signs. The *pet*-sign above the two accompanying barks is almost two times thinner than the upper one. The whole wall together with Scene 4 is crowned with the *kheker*-frieze.<sup>258</sup>

The divisions between scenes were not marked and, in some cases, inscriptions above the scenes suggest the limits,<sup>259</sup> some scenes are separated by a larger space between scenes<sup>260</sup> and some scenes stand out from others by the change of the subject of the scene.<sup>261</sup> Most of the scenes, however, are not well enough preserved to determine their limits.

The scene that is the most important by its size and topic is Scene 4.10 in the middle sub-register which shows the crossing of the Nile by four ships: the river bark of Amun – Userhat, the royal ship and two accompanying barks.

In the lower sub-register there are nine scenes carved with the repertoire similar to the lower register's scenes:

256 4.3. Procession of soldiers, 4.7. Procession of soldiers, 4.8. Carrying two thrones, 4.9. Procession of soldiers, 4.10. Procession of boats, 4.11. Procession of soldiers, 4.12. Procession of soldiers.

257 4.1. Butchery scenes, 4.2. Offering scenes, 4.4. Offering scene, 4.5. Offering and butchery scenes, 4.6. Procession of soldiers.

258 The blocks and blocks fragments of the *kheker*-frieze are separately catalogued, blocks Cat. nos 210, 215, 217, 229; blocks fragments Cat. nos 181, 192, 194, 209, 211–214, 216, 218–228, 230–243.

259 4.6. Procession of soldiers, 4.7. Procession of soldiers, 4.5. Offering and butchery scenes.

260 4.11. Procession of soldiers, 4.12. Procession of soldiers.

261 4.9. Procession of soldiers.



Fig. 217. Scene 4.1. Butchery scenes (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

- 4.1. Butchery scenes (←),
- 4.2. Offering scenes (←),
- 4.3. Procession of soldiers (→),
- 4.4. Offering scene (←),
- 4.5. Offering and butchery scenes (←),
- 4.6. Procession of soldiers (←),
- 4.7. Procession of soldiers (→),
- 4.8. Carrying two thrones (→),
- 4.9. Procession of soldiers (→).

Only two scenes are depicted in the upper sub-register:

- 4.11. Procession of soldiers (→),
- 4.12. Procession of soldiers (→).

### **LOWER SUB-REGISTER (Pls 28, 28\*; Tx. 55–69; Cat. nos 105–144)**

**Dimensions of the lower sub-register:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 1034 cm at the bottom and 1038.4 cm at the top

## SCENE 4.1. BUTCHERY SCENES (Pls 29, 29\*; Tx. 55; Cat. nos 105–108)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 47.9+x cm

**State of preservation:** Only four fragments survived from Scene 4.1 and they are part of one block.<sup>262</sup> The exact length of the scene is impossible to determine, only its right limit of it is known. The surface of the blocks is in a very good condition, traces of destructions or reconstructions from the times of Thutmose III, the post-Amarna times and the Coptic period can be noticed.<sup>263</sup> The colours have mainly disappeared and only the red colour of bodies is still visible.

### Description

#### *Original decoration*

The scene represents two butchers (→) (←) leaning over a bull (←) (Fig. 217). The bull is not preserved; only the upper part of a forearm, a hoof and a small fragment of a belly at the leg of the right man can be seen.

The left man leans over the bull, he holds the bull's foreleg in an elbow with his left, slightly bent hand and his straight right hand is placed a bit higher. He stands over the bull with the left leg bent at the knee and resting on the bull's horns. The right butcher (Fig. 218) stands leaning, strongly extended forward, and he holds the right foreleg at the hoof with the left hand. His right hand is missing. The figures of the butchers are not preserved below the knees. Both butchers are shaved bald. They wear a simple kilt, long to the knees and adhering to the body, supported by a waistband. The right man has a knife sharpener attached to the bottom edge of the kilt and stuck by the waistband.

The blocks with the representation of the rest of the scene are lost.

The colours have almost not survived at all. Only the red and light red applied directly on the stone are well visible on the bodies of butchers. On the left block, the body is painted light red while on the two right blocks the body is painted red. On all three fragments of the block, however, the colour was applied irregularly, and the lighter colour shows from under the darker colour above. It may have been accidental.

#### *Later destruction of decoration*

The destructions that can be observed in the decoration of Scene 4.1 come from the reign of Thutmose III and the Coptic period.

Under Thutmose III, the beginning of the preserved inscription was replaced. It is difficult to determine when the inscription between the heads of two butchers was removed although traces of polishing seem to be characteristic for the times of Thutmose III. The post-Amarna period restoration can be observed in word *mnj.t* and most probably after the *mer*-sign at the end of the text.

The blocks could not be in the wall during the Coptic times, most probably then it was laying on the ground with an uncovered face exposed to weather conditions. The face of the left butcher and the face of



Fig. 218. The right butcher (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>262</sup> Blocks fragments Cat. nos 105, 106, 107, 108. Fragments Cat nos 107, 108 were replaced in the wall in season 1976/1977, Cat. nos and Cat. nos 105, 106 – in season 1986/1987.

<sup>263</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.





Fig. 219. Scene 4.2. Offering scenes (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

the lower register (Scene 3.1), perhaps the next scene was part of this one. Then the scene started with two parallel offering scenes, in the left scene (Scene 4.2), three offering bearers performed the ritual and, on the right, behind the last offering bearer, the butchery scene had taken place. If this reconstruction is proper, the number of scenes, i.e. the number of rituals performed during the return of the bark was smaller than during the beginning of the procession.

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For butchery scenes, see: Scene 3.9.

### References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [32]

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Pls 1 [detail 7], 5 [detail 7]

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Pls 1 [detail 7], 5 [detail 7]

## SCENE 4.2. OFFERING SCENES (Pls 30, 30\*; Tx. 56; Cat. nos 58, 59, 109–110)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width:  $x+86.9+x$  cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is preserved on three blocks and one fragment of block<sup>264</sup> set in two layers. As in the case of Scene 4.1, it is impossible to determine the length of the scene; its limits are not known. The surface of the blocks and fragments of blocks is in a good condition. The inscription was altered most probably during the reign of Thutmose III and the Coptic time destruction can be observed.<sup>265</sup> The scene is almost deprived of any colours, only the light red of the human bodies is still visible.

### Description

#### *Original decoration*

The scene consists of two separate scenes which are depicted under one inscription (**Fig. 219**). The scenes are parallel, the left one represents an offering bearer (←) approaching an offering table with a duck in his hands. The second is very similar although it is impossible to determine the kind of offering in the hands of an offering bearer (←). Above the heads of offering bearers, along the whole scene, a hieroglyphic inscription is carved.

In the left scene, an offering table was represented once but now the block is lost, only offerings placed on it can be described. The offerings were represented in layers. In the lower layer a round loaf of bread, an oval loaf of bread and a head of a cow turned left can be seen. Only upper parts of loaves of bread survived and an ear of a cow can be recognised. Above them, two other loaves of bread – oval, long and rhomboidal – are laid, on them and a bull's foreleg with a hoof turned right and extending out of the offering table are placed. On top of it, a goose with its neck drooping on the left along the offerings can be noticed. The height of the offerings on the offering table is equal to human height. On the right of an offering table, the rests of a lettuce can be seen which was, most probably, twisted around the vase. On the right of the offering table, a small, perhaps wooden table is set. On it, a round vase is located. It has a short neck and a protruding edge and is surrounded from both sides by two stalks of the lotus flowers starting from the bottom of the vase and running around the vessel.

An offering bearer approaches the offering table from the right. The man is facing left. He carries a duck on an offering table. Both hands are extended forward and straight, the right hand is slightly raised and holds a neck of the duck at the head, the offering bearer's left hand is clenched on the bird's wing. The duck's feet almost touch the lotus flowers placed around the vessel on the small wooden offering table place below. The man is barefooted and shaved bald. He wears a knee-length triangle kilt expanding downwards, tied at the belly in a knot, and made of one piece of textile. In the front part, it has an edge of material widely rolled up. The kilt is supported by a waistband.

The right scene is very similar although, in general, it is in a much worse condition. There is no precise limit between these two scenes, only a narrow empty space. The direction of the scene is the same, i.e. from the right to the left. An offering table, on the contrary, is better preserved. It is a kind of small altar with a plate rounded at the bottom and set on a long stand tapering upwards. The right part of it is chipped off. On it, a similar composition as on the previous one can be observed. An oval loaf of bread is adjacent to the fully preserved bull's head. To the right, the rest of a round loaf of bread, almost completely destroyed, can be seen. Above the first layer, a bull's foreleg with a hoof hanging once on the right, although now lost, is placed and directly on it, a duck in the same position as on the left offering table is laid. Below the offering table, on both sides, other offerings are set. A small offering table stands on the left, slightly smaller than in

264 Blocks Cat. nos 58, 59, 110; block fragment Cat. no. 109. Blocks Cat. nos 58, 59, 110 were replaced in the wall in season 1972/1973; block fragment Cat. no. 109 – in season 1986/1987.

265 For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

the previous scene. It is represented more precisely, with binding elements at the corners. A round vase is placed on it. It has a short neck and a protruding rim, and two stalks of the lotus flowers are twisted around its neck and fall straight to the ground. Below the main offering table, on the right, three offerings can be recognised. The leftmost one is a vase on a short stand, it is oval with a lid tapering towards the top. Another vase is located to the right. It is oval and tapers towards the top, its body was decorated with a stalk of a lotus flower and now only delicate traces of it are detectable in the middle of the vase. The upper part of the vase is lost as the block is chipped off in this place. Between the vases, a vertically set lettuce is depicted.

To the right of the offering table, a striking man was represented and only the lower fragments of his legs survived. He is barefooted and nothing more can be said about him as the upper block is missing.

Few colours survived. The only colour visible now is the light red colour of human bodies painted directly on the stone.

### *Later destructions of decoration*

The alterations from the reign of Thutmose III are attested twice in the inscription carved in the uppermost part of the scene. The surface was polished after erasing and then redecorated.

The scene was the subject of the destruction in the Coptic period when the face of the offering bearer was chiseled off with a narrow chisel, approx. 0.65 cm wide.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscription is carved on one block and one fragment of the block above the scene, most probably on the whole length of the scene (Tx. 56). It is written in one line and is not separated from the scene by the division line. The hieroglyphs are faced left, their height is approx. 4.85 cm. The text is incomplete; its beginning and end are lost as the adjacent blocks did not survive. The text was changed, most probably during the reign of Thutmose III. After the chiseling out, the surface in two places was polished and redecorated. The new hieroglyphs were prepared less carefully but still in the style typical for the Thutmoside period. It seems that the sense of the sentence was completely altered by the interference of Thutmose III's artisans to remove the presence of Hatshepsut and reduce it to one ruler only.

One narrow chisel trace, 0.52 cm wide, can be observed on the face of the *m*-hieroglyph (Gardiner sign G17).

There are no traces of colours on the surface of the inscription.

### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 56 (above the offering bearers):



(←) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *nh wd3 snb nswt* [*bjtj*]<sup>(b)</sup> *h' .w*<sup>(c)</sup> *m hh pn n rnp.wt m w3h-nsw.yt*<sup>(d)</sup> *nswt bjtj Mn-hpr[-R']* [...] <sup>(e)</sup>

[...] in life, prosperity (and) health, **King of [Lower] and Upper Egypt who appears** in this million of years **as Enduring Kingship**,<sup>(f)</sup> the King of Lower and Upper Egypt Men-kheper[-Ra] [...].<sup>(g)</sup>

<sup>(a)</sup> It is impossible to determine the number of lacking groups of signs.

<sup>(b)</sup> One group of signs.

- (c) Altered, most probably during the reign of Thutmose III. It is possible that the fragment *nswt bjtj ḥ'.w* replaced the cartouche of Hatshepsut, most probably containing her prenomen as a parallel to the cartouche of Thutmose III still visible in the text.
- (d) The phrase *w3ḥ.t nsw.yt* replaced the phrase *'nh wḏ3 snb* of which only sign *wḏ3* (Gardiner U29) is detectable now. There are no traces of the original sign below the *m*-sign which was also reworked.
- (e) It is impossible to determine the number of lacking groups of signs.
- (f) A *nebty*-name of Thutmose III (Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, 136–137 [XVIII, 6, N2<sup>o</sup>]).
- (g) Originally it should be read: [...] in life, prosperity and health, King of Lower and Upper Egypt Maat-ka-Ra in this million of years and in life, prosperity and health, King of Lower and Upper Egypt Men-kheper-Ra [...].

## Commentary

For a general comment concerning the length of the scene, see: a commentary to Scene 4.1.

The light red colour of human bodies in the case of Scene 4.2 is similar to the colour in Scenes 3.3, 3.5, 3.7 and 4.1. The same colour in Scene 4.2 is attested on three separated blocks which, most probably, fell out from the wall a long time ago, i.e. were exposed to the influence of different weather conditions. However, the light red remains unchanged.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For offering scenes, see: Scene 3.8.

## References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [32]

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Pls 1 [detail 6], 4 [detail 6]

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Pls 1 [detail 6], 4 [detail 6]

## SCENE 4.3. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 31, 31\*; Tx. 57; Cat. nos 111–116)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 100.25 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is reconstructed based on two blocks and five small fragments of blocks.<sup>266</sup> The biggest reconstructed fragment is stored in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 18542). The surface of the preserved fragments is in a good condition, on the right upper fragment the traces of preparation of the surface are well visible. One of the alterations of decoration may come from the reign of Hatshepsut. The Amarna destruction and the post-Amarna reconstruction can be noticed in the inscription. The Coptic period destructions are not attested.<sup>267</sup> A *nfr*-sign painted red can be seen. No colours survived except for the red of the human bodies applied directly on the stone.

<sup>266</sup> Block Cat. no. 113; blocks fragments Cat. nos 111, 112, 114, 115, 116. They were replaced in the wall in season 1986/1987. One block is now stored in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (ÄM 18542).

<sup>267</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

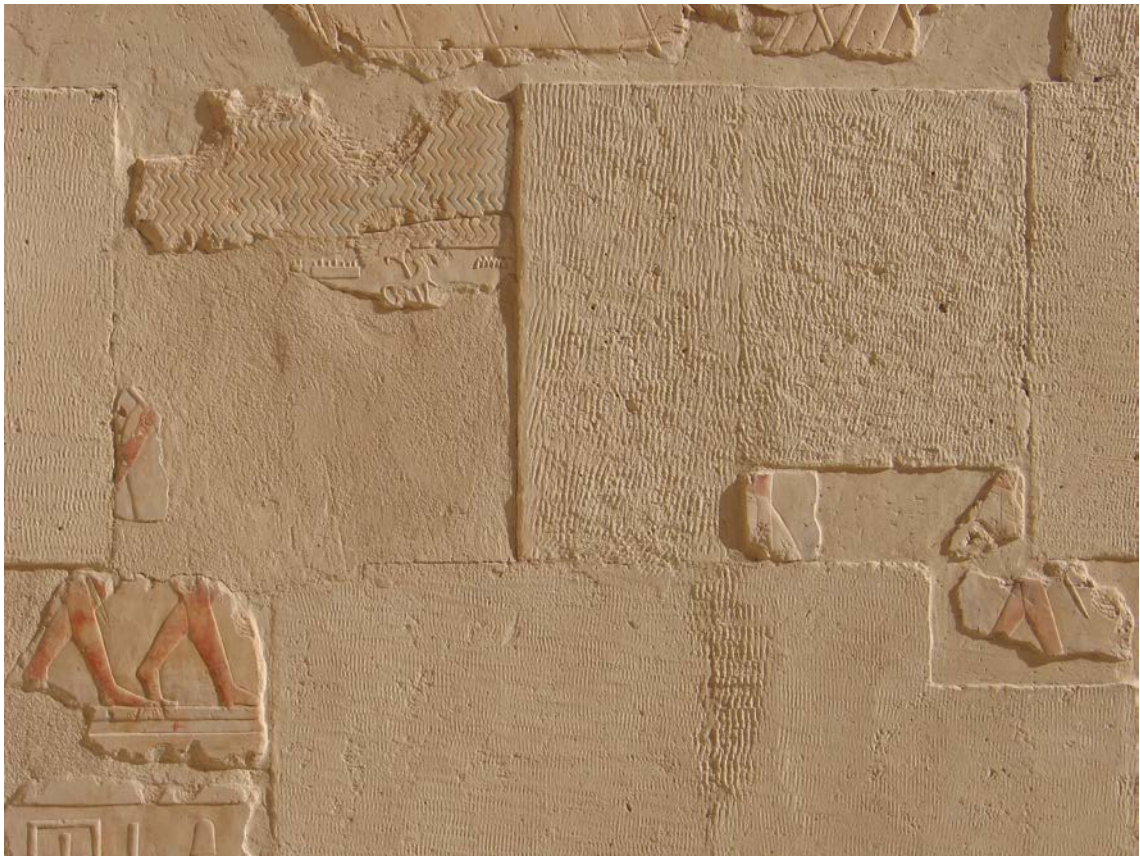


Fig. 220. Scene 4.3. Procession of soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

**Block in the museum:**

- Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 18542 (**Fig. 213**)

**Description**

*Original decoration*

The scene represents a troop of soldiers (→) marching to the right (**Fig. 220**). Their number can be counted taking into consideration the space reserved for the scene. If the last fragment is the left limit of the scene, the scene must have covered the space of at least thirteen soldiers. Above their heads, the line of the inscription was carved.

The position of at least four fragments of blocks in the wall is uncertain. Block ÄM 18542 from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin is the biggest fragment that can be assigned to this part of the wall.<sup>268</sup> On the block, five soldiers walking right are represented. All of them are barefoot and wear simple black wigs on their heads and their faces, as well as hands, were not chiseled out in the Coptic times. They are armed and are clad in a simple garment: a knee-length white kilt made of one triangle piece of cloth tied around the waist with two ends of the material, while the third end is stretched between the legs and plugged behind the tying.

<sup>268</sup> The block was placed by Lipińska just below water depiction in the lower sub-register of the upper register of the north wing of the east wall (Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, Fig. 19a).



Fig. 221. Fragments of block Cat. nos 115, 116 representing legs of two soldiers and the lower tip of the standard in front of the left one (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 222. The upper part of the standard with the representation of a horse (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

the perseae tree. His left hand is lost as it was carved on another block. In his right hand, he holds a throw stick. Behind him, the third man, also visible from above the knees up, looks straight ahead. He has a twig of the perseae tree in the left hand and a splayed axe in the right hand. Both his hands are bent at the elbow. The fourth soldier, whose torso and head are preserved, faces right. He also holds a twig of the perseae tree in the left hand but unlike his followers, he has a standard in the right hand. His right forearm is missing as the block is chipped off in this place. The soldier seems to be older than other men, wrinkles on the cheek can be observed.<sup>269</sup> The standard he carries differs from other ones known from the temple. On the thick and flat surface of the socle, two horses facing each other are depicted. They are carefully carved with strands of hair marked on the mane. The horses meet in the middle of the socle, almost touching each other with their hooves, their long tails are raised, as well as heads. Their heads are decorated with heads of falcons with a feather crown on a sun disk – clearly a representation of Montu. Some mistakes of the less-skilled artisan or traces of later addition can be noticed: on the feathers, the lines of water are engraved. The last soldier represented on the block marches right. Only the upper left part of his torso, the head and the fragment of the left forearm can be seen. His hand is bent into a fist, but he holds nothing in it. The block is incomplete, it was cut for transportation, its depth is 6.5 cm<sup>270</sup> while the original depth differs but usually extends over 40 cm,<sup>271</sup> one can also suspect that its upper part was cut off too, the lower part seems to be intact and fits only to this part of the temple. Its placement in the wall cannot be determined precisely but it must have been located in the middle of the scene. The first soldier represented on the block is, at least, the second in the row.

This fragment can probably be joined with the fragment representing the legs of two soldiers and the lower tip of the standard in front of the left one (Cat. nos 115, 116, **Fig. 221**). They have a very similar feature: the stave added later when the relief had been already finished. If this fragment can be located above the

269 This portrait is represented similarly to the portrait of Senenmut in his tomb TT 353 (Dorman, *The Tombs of Senenmut*, Pl. 57a).

270 See: <https://recherche.smb.museum/detail/769235>.

271 See above, p. 7.



Fig. 223. The representation of two soldiers and *Dipinto 2* (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

inscription in front of the Userhat bark,<sup>272</sup> and block ÄM 18542 was located above it, legs of two last soldiers on block ÄM 18542 are depicted here.

There are two other fragments, with the representation of the lower part of the stave of the standard but their location cannot be determined with certainty. The lower fragment was decorated with the representation of two legs and a lower tip of the standard while on the upper one, the fragment of a dress, a belly and a middle part of a stave are carved. This fragment may be connected with two other fragments on which the upper part of the standard (Fig. 222) and a fragment of an inscription are shown. The standard was higher than the scene, it is carved partly on the representation of water from the scene above.<sup>273</sup> The socle of the standard is lost, the upper part represents a horse facing right, in the position known from the previous standard but less carefully carved. The mane is only schematically engraved, while on the other hand, a horse's penis is marked. In the middle of the horse, a flabellum *behet*-shaped standard is depicted behind the horse. The head and back hooves of the horse are missing.

The last, small fragment of the block from Scene 4.3 contains fragments of the representation of two soldiers (Fig. 223). The first of them holds a shield, a fragment of which can be seen on the block, the second man has a handle of an axe in the left hand.

The colours are rather badly preserved except for block ÄM 18542. As in most cases, the colours which were applied directly to the stone are well visible. It concerns especially the red colour of human bodies and the black colour of wigs. On the flabellum *behet*-shaped standard, which is a part of the standard with a single horse, delicate traces of red are detectable. A shield has traces of the yellow colour on it (Fig. 224). A *dipinto* with the representation of the *nfr*-sign painted red (*Dipinto 2*) can be seen below the feet of the last preserved soldiers.

#### *Later destructions of decoration*

The traces of destruction of the decoration can be observed on block ÄM 18542 and concern only the inscription. The name of Amun was chiseled out and later reconstructed in a plaster.

<sup>272</sup> The destruction from the lower fragment with an inscription continues on the upper fragment with soldiers.

<sup>273</sup> Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, Fig. 2a. Pennis is not marked on the drawing.



In the temple of Hatshepsut, only in one place the standard representing a horse is attested, in the depiction of the Hathor Festival carved on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine.<sup>274</sup> It differs, however, from two standards known from Scene 4.3: the standard in the Hathor Shrine shows a horse on a socle and its head is decorated with a feather crown. As this is the last standard depicted in the scene, it could belong to *nfr.w n.w mš3* mentioned as the last military formation in the inscription above. The troop from the Hathor Shrine is armed only with splayed axes, no throw sticks, no shields are represented there, their garment is also different.

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

*Standards with the representation of a horse*

Hathor Shrine, Second Hypostyle Hall, north wall, lower register  
Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-1

### References

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [33]

Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 18542  
Rommelaere, Les chevaux du Nouvel Empire, 152–153 [8]

## SCENE 4.4. OFFERING SCENE (Pls 32, 32\*; Tx. 58; Cat. nos 67, 117–118)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width:  $x+47.15+x$  cm

**State of preservation:** It is impossible to determine if the scene was a part of the next scene or was treated separately, its limits remain unknown. The scene is carved on three fragments of blocks.<sup>275</sup> The biggest fragment of the upper edge is preserved; the blocks were set in two layers. The left side edge can be seen on the smallest fragment of a block.<sup>276</sup> The upper fragment has its lower edge in the wall covered with modern plaster.<sup>277</sup> The surface of the lower fragments is in a better condition, in the representation of the offering table the block delaminated, and fragments of the upper layer fell off. Similar destruction can be observed on the upper

<sup>274</sup> Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 17-1.

<sup>275</sup> Fragments Cat. nos 118 and 67 were added to the reconstruction drawing in seasons 1970/1971 and 1971/1972 (Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Figs 1 [detail 5], 2 [detail 5]; Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Figs on pp. 83 [detail 5], 85 [detail 5]). Fragment Cat. no. 67 was replaced in the wall in season 1971/1972; fragment Cat. no. 118 – in season 1876/1977.

<sup>276</sup> Block fragment Cat. no. 117 (two fragments). These two fragments were part of the same block (Cat. no. 67), as it can be seen on the reconstruction drawing prepared in seasons 1970/1971 and 1971/1972 (Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Fig. 2 [detail 5]; Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Fig. on p. 85 [detail 5]). Fragment Cat. no. 117 was replaced in the wall in season 1984/1985.

<sup>277</sup> Block Cat. no. 118. The lower edge is marked on the reconstruction drawing (Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Fig. 2 [detail 5]; Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Fig. on p. 85 [detail 5]).



Fig. 225. Scene 4.4. Offering scene (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

fragment. There are no alterations of decoration neither from the Amarna, the post-Amarna nor the Coptic periods.<sup>278</sup> The colours have mostly disappeared, only the light red painted directly on the stone is well visible. There are also traces of another layer of red applied to the light red.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene depicts bringing an offering. At least two offering bearers (←) approach an offering table with offerings placed on it (Fig. 225). The first man brings a cone of incense. The scene is incomplete.

An offering table is of the same shape as in other offering scenes, it is a kind of small altar on a long stand tapering upwards. Most of the representation is missing; only the lower fragment of a stand and the right fragment of a plate can be seen now. On the table, one can recognise an oval loaf of bread in the lower row of offerings, a bull's foreleg on in and probably another oval loaf of bread above. On the right side, below the offering table, a wooden stand with a round vase entwined with a lotus flower stalk is placed on the ground (Fig. 226). On the right, a pot filled with small fruits (figs?) and a small, long stand tapering upwards with a small plate on which a plucked duck and a cone of incense or a conical loaf of white bread<sup>279</sup> are deposited.

Both offering bearers go left towards the altar. They are preserved only partly. Both are barefooted, the part of the scene with the representation of their garments is missing. The first man survived in a much better condition (Fig. 227), his legs are preserved from the knees down and the forearms can be seen on another



Fig. 226. An offering table (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>278</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>279</sup> It is difficult to determine because the lower part is not preserved and both objects are conical; incense is served on a pot while the bread is shown without any vessel.



Fig. 227. An offering bearer with a cone of incense (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

fragment of a block. The arms were bent at the elbow and raised. He holds a pot with a cone of incense in the left hand and secures it with the right hand placed on the cone.

From the second offering bearer, only the right leg from the knee down is visible.

Most of the colours disappeared and only the light red of human bodies placed directly on the stone is still well visible. The bodies were repainted and stains of another layer of the red can be seen on the light red. The delicate traces of the blueish grey background are detectable behind the representation of the small wooden stand of the round vase. There are also small stains of the brown on the head of a duck. On the small lower fragment, the ground painted black can be observed


## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscription is preserved very fragmentarily; only the word *sntr* can be read (Tx. 58, Fig. 227). It cannot be excluded that this inscription is a continuation of the text from Scene 4.5. The hieroglyphs in the word *sntr* are divided by the tip of the cone of incense carried by the offering bearer. The inscription is written in a horizontal line and faced left without division lines. The reconstructed height of signs is approx. 5.3 cm. No colours can be seen on the inscription.

### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 58 (above a man with a cone of incense):


 (←↓) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> [*sn*]*tr* [...] <sup>(b)</sup>  
 [...] [in]cense [...]

<sup>(a)</sup> The number of groups of signs is difficult to determine, the inscription may be a continuation of the inscription from Scene 4.5.

<sup>(b)</sup> The number of groups of signs is difficult to determine due to the lack of a precisely defined right limit of the scene.

## Commentary

The scenes with the representation of a cone of incense brought by a non-royal figure are rather rare in the temple of Hatshepsut repertoire. The most similar scene can be observed in the lower register of the north wing of the east wall where the offering bearer brings a duck in one hand and a cone of incense on a pot in the second hand; in front of him another offering bearer carries a burnt incense in a censer.<sup>280</sup> In the reconstructed scene carved on in the lower register of the south wing of the east wall, the first priest behind the row

<sup>280</sup> See above, Scene 3.1.

of priests with *medu*-staffs holds again an incense burnt in a censer.<sup>281</sup> In the scenes with three ritual barks depicted below the barks with obelisks in the Obelisks Portico, among the offerings it is carried as a burnt incense in a censer and as a cone of incense placed on a pot.<sup>282</sup> Such scenes, however, are not depicted on other boats during festivals represented on walls of the temple, where instead conical loaves of white bread are shown.<sup>283</sup> The rarity of cones of incense may have been due to their price, as they were, most probably, very expensive. Even among the offerings represented in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, they are depicted only once: an offering bearer carved on the north wall carries two such pots with cones of incense.<sup>284</sup>

In the context of a small number of representations of this kind of offering it is interesting to stress that the cone of incense in a pot appears much more often in scenes of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard than anywhere else. It is attested in Scene 3.1 as an offering under an offering table and in the hand of the offering bearer, it can be found again under an offering table in Scenes 3.4 and 3.5. It is impossible to determine the objects in the hands of the offering bearers in Scene 3.11, but once again a cone of incense in a pot is represented under an offering table. It is also depicted in Scene 4.4 on a small offering table and in the hands of an offering-bearer, as well as twice in Scene 4.5 under an offering table.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For offering scenes, see: Scene 3.8.

### *Offering a cone of incense by an offering bearer*

Lower Southern Portico (Obelisks Portico), west wall, middle register

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 33 [4] and references therein

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLIV [the third bark from left of the lower sub-register]

Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing, lower register, lower sub-register (post-Amarna reconstruction)

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 126 [18] and references therein

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIII [upper; ninth offering bearer from the right, a cone of incense not marked]

Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing, lower register, lower sub-register

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 130 [23] and references therein

Chapel of Hatshepsut, north wall, lower register

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 213–214 [18] and references therein

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pl. CXI

Stupko-Lubczyńska, *Offering Scenes*, Pl. 13 [N:I/29]

## References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [34]

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Pls 1 [detail 5], 2 [detail 5]

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Pls 1 [detail 5], 2 [detail 5]

<sup>281</sup> Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIII. The cone is not marked on Naville's drawing although is well visible on the wall.

<sup>282</sup> Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLIV.

<sup>283</sup> Cf. Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pls 17-2 (together with a burnt incense in a censer), 17-3 (together with a duck). It cannot be excluded that cones of incense were also represented without pots.

<sup>284</sup> Stupko-Lubczyńska, *Offering Scenes*, Pl. 13 [N:I/29].



Fig. 228. Scene 4.5. Offering and butchery scenes (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### SCENE 4.5. OFFERING AND BUTCHERY SCENES (Pls 33, 33<sup>\*</sup>; 59–62; Cat. nos 71, 119–123)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 96+x cm

**State of preservation:** The scene was carved on one block and six fragments of blocks<sup>285</sup> set in two layers. The decoration is much more complete than in the case of the four previous scenes. This scene may have continued in Scene 4.4. The surface of blocks is well preserved, on the biggest block a vertical vein of lime in a stone can be noticed. Traces of preparation of the surface are visible on cones of incense in pots and on the ground line. The scene was chiseled out in the Amarna times and some alterations come from post-Amarna times. In the Coptic period, parts of bodies of human figures and some hieroglyphs were treated with a narrow chisel.<sup>286</sup> The only preserved colour is the red colour of human bodies painted directly on the stone.

<sup>285</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 119, 120, 121, block fragments Cat. nos 71, 122, 123. Blocks and fragments of blocks Cat. nos 71, 119, 120, 121 were replaced in the wall in season 1970/1971, block fragments Cat. nos 122, 123 – in season 1986/1987.

<sup>286</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene is divided into two parts, the left one with the representation of offerings and the right one containing a butchery scene (Fig. 228). It is possible that Scene 4.4 was once a part of this scene. Several inscriptions cut the scene into smaller parts. The scene is also limited from above by a horizontal inscription and from the left by a vertical inscription. The left part contains the depiction of an offering bearer (←) with two torches in his hands approaching an offering table. On the right, two butchers (→) (←) cut the bull's foreleg.

From the offering table, only a lower tip of the long stand survived. The lower layer of offerings is not preserved; on the top of them, a piece of meat offering (probably the heart) and a bull's foreleg are deposited and above them, a goose with a head drooping down. The offering table is crowned with eight flames. This is a very similar representation to Scenes 3.5 and 3.11. Below the offering table, on the right, two cones of incense on pots are placed on the ground. The tips of the cones are cut and placed separately aside with their tips down (Fig. 229).<sup>287</sup>

The offering bearer faces left and approaches the offering table (Fig. 230). He is barefooted and shaved bald. His hands are raised and slightly bent at the elbow. He holds torches in both hands at face level. His right leg is extended forward. The garment is in the greater part missing, only a waistband with a knot can be seen. The belly is marked with a line that perhaps suggests the girth of the man.

The scene of butchery is much worse preserved. The bull is laying on the ground with the right foreleg raised vertically. Only the upper part of the breast is preserved in the corner of the block. Two men lean over the bull. The left butcher is slightly extended forward and turned right (Fig. 231). He raises the left leg bent at the knee and puts the foot on the bull's head or the horn and his right leg is straight, extended outwards and touches the right foot of the offering bearer. His arms are straight, raised and extended forward, he holds the bull's foreleg in both hands; with the left hand he holds the bull's right foreleg at the hoof and the right hand is placed above the elbow. His attire is typical for his profession. He wears a simple, knee-length kilt made of one piece of textile with an edge of material widely tucked up in the front part. The kilt is supported by a waistband. The figure of the right butcher is lost almost completely, only the left arm with a hand placed on the bull's leg, between hands of the left man and the right hand clenched on the knife are carved on the preserved block. He cuts out the bull's foreleg in the groin with a long and wide knife (Fig. 114).



Fig. 229. Two cones of incense on pots placed on the ground with tips of cones placed separately (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 230. An offering bearer with torches (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Scene 3.11.



Fig. 231. Butchers cutting a foreleg of a bull (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 232. Vertical inscription and beginning of the horizontal one (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The scene is almost deprived of all colour. The light red of the human bodies applied directly on the stone is well seen. Some brown lines on the foreleg on the offering table are detectable. Delicate traces of the blueish grey colour of the background are visible. On two blocks in the upper layer on the left, black stains, probably traces of fire, and red paint, maybe the Coptic drawing, can be seen.

#### *Later destructions of decoration*

The scene was altered several times. Probably in the reign of Thutmose III, the cartouche of the ruler was changed to an epithet of the king. It is also possible that another part of the upper inscription was also changed, but, unfortunately, this fragment is preserved only fragmentarily. Some impossible to reconstruct erasure was executed in the Amarna period at the end of the text and the space was re-carved in post-Amarna times. The preserved fragment is too small to determine the nature of the text, although most probably this fragment contained the name or epithet of Amun. The biggest destruction of the scene comes from the Coptic period. The head of the offering bearer and the face of the left butcher, as well as his belly and arms, were treated with hits of the narrow chisel, approx. 0.42 cm wide. The same was done to some hieroglyphs. All Coptic destructions are concentrated on one block only, which suggests that the face of this block was exposed to the public view while other fragments were laying on the ground with their faces down and therefore invisible. Blocks from this part of the wall fell off the wall during the earthquake.

## **Inscriptions**

### *General description*

The scene is surrounded by at least two inscriptions from left and from above, the subsequent parts of the scene are distinguished by inscriptions. On the left, a vertical inscription carved in a column without the di-

vision lines can be observed on the upper layer fragment of the block (Tx. 59, **Fig. 232**). The hieroglyphs are faced left, in the general direction of the scene. The width of the group of signs is approx. 5.1 cm. The upper part of this text containing the name Amun-Ra was re-carved in the post-Amarna period. The name of the god was reversed, indicating that the god, invisible in this scene but to whom the inscription is addressed, is headed right or placed on the left or the axis of the temple. The lower part of the inscription is not preserved.

Above the scene, another inscription was engraved (Tx. 60, **Figs 231, 232**). The end of the inscription is missing. The block at the beginning of the text is fragmented and part of the inscription is lost, too. The text is carved in one line without the division lines. The signs are headed left. The height of the signs is approx. 5 cm. This text was altered in several places. The beginning of the inscription after the phrase *m3' n k3.k* was changed, as in other cases,<sup>288</sup> as it probably contained an epithet or a name of the god. It was chiseled out in a manner typical for the Amarna period, with a thick chisel, approx. 1.2 cm wide. The surface was not prepared for the reconstruction by polishing, but in the lower part, are fragments of reconstructed hieroglyphs. The deep hole made by the Amarna chisels was filled probably with plaster and then re-carved. Another alteration can be observed after the phrase *ssnb.k* where the cartouche of the king, probably Hatshepsut, was erased and replaced with the phrase *jtj nht*. Although, judging by the context of the changes, one can expect the hand of the artisans of Thutmose III, the style of engraving is quite different. The signs resemble the post-Amarna style. It is possible then, that in the reign of Thutmose III the cartouche was erased, the surface was polished and perhaps covered with plaster, while the reconstruction is the work of the post-Amarna artisans. Two signs at the end of the block with Coptic destructions (Cat. no. 121), the sign *hr* (Gardiner sign D2) and a falcon (Gardiner sign G5), were destroyed by the hits of the narrow chisel, approx. 0.42 cm wide.

Three small inscriptions separate fragments of the scene with different activities. In front of the offering bearer, a short column of text naming the act of censuring is carved without the division lines (Tx. 61). The signs are headed left. The inscription was placed on the join of two blocks, therefore the middle part of the hieroglyphs *sn* (Gardiner sign T22) and *ntr* (Gardiner sign R8) is lost.

Another short inscription comments on the activity of the left butcher and is placed behind his back (Tx. 62.1). It is also written in a column without the division lines but is headed right, in the direction of the butcher. The destruction of the face of the *h3.t*-sign (Gardiner sign F4) seems to be accidental, but some Coptic chisels are detectable on the *šd*-sign (Gardiner sign F30).

The last compact inscription is located above the bull's leg at the head level of butchers (Tx. 62.2). It is written in one line without the division line. The hieroglyphs are faced right, the right butcher who cuts the bull's foreleg, however, is headed left. The sign *stp* (Gardiner sign U21) is damaged but it seems to be accidental.

The colours of the hieroglyphs has almost disappeared, only the green colour on the *j*-signs in the reconstructed fragment *jtj nht* remains visible.

### Transcription, Transliteration, Translation

Tx. 59 (in front of the scene):



(←) *wdn n Jmn-R<sup>(a)</sup> snm.t stp hps̄ [...]<sup>(b)</sup>*



Offering for **Amun-Ra**, food supply, taken out a foreleg [...]



<sup>(a)</sup> The name of Amun-Ra is reversed.



<sup>(b)</sup> Maximum three groups of signs.



<sup>288</sup> Cf. the inscriptions in Scenes 3.1, 3.4 and 3.11.



## References

- Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes* 2, 131 [34]  
 Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 6, Pls 1 [detail 4], 2 [detail 4]  
 Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Phot. 6, Pls 1 [detail 4], 2 [detail 4]

### SCENE 4.6. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 34, 34\*; Tx. 63–64; Cat. nos 73, 103, 104, 124–130)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 143.8 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is depicted on four blocks and seven fragments of blocks<sup>289</sup> set in two layers. The condition of the three lower blocks is rather bad; they are almost completely deprived of colours, chiseled out and polished by the wind or other climate conditions. In contrast, the surface of the fragments of blocks is in a much better state of preservation, on one of them the colours are almost completely preserved. In the lower layer, all blocks are *in situ*, the upper layer lacks a big part of blocks. The decoration was not altered, no traces of Amarna and Coptic destructions can be noticed.<sup>290</sup> The colours painted directly on the stone are well preserved: the red of human bodies can be seen on most of the fragments, as well as the traces of the blueish grey of the background. One fragment is colourful with paints applied on whitewash but also directly on the stone. Some stains of whitewash can be also observed on other fragments.

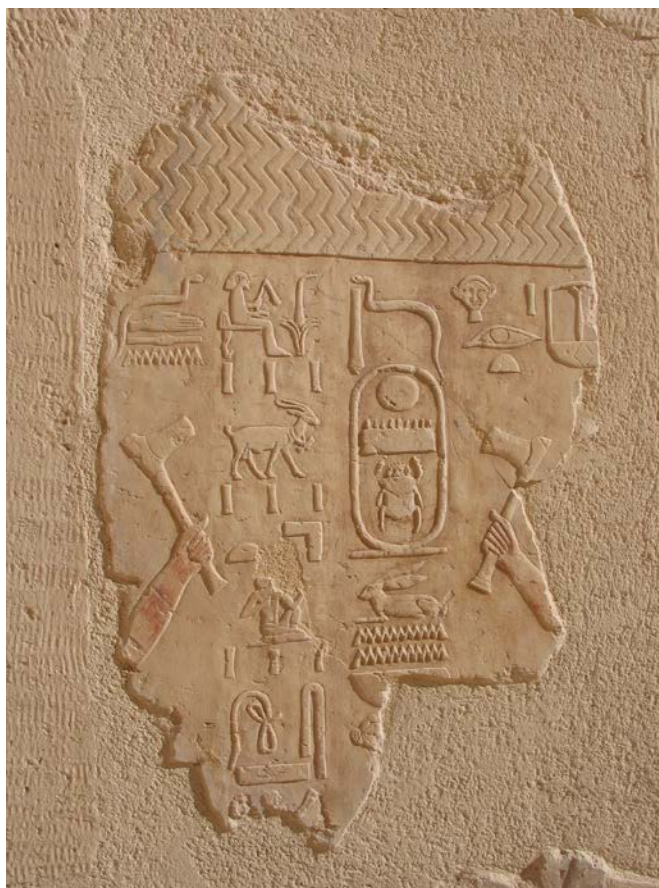


Fig. 233. The first soldier from the left and inscription in front of him and above from scene 4.6 (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene represents the troop of eleven soldiers (←) marching left. Two inscriptions surround this scene: one in front of the troop and another one above their heads.

<sup>289</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 73, 103, 104, 124; blocks' fragments Cat. nos 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130. Blocks and blocks' fragments Cat. nos 103, 104, 124 were replaced in the wall in season 1970/1971, block Cat. no. 73 – in season 1972/1973, blocks' fragments Cat. nos 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130 – in season 1986/1987.

<sup>290</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

Fig. 234. Torsos of two soldiers armed with axes (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



The soldiers are barefooted and wear simple black wigs. They march with their right legs extended forward, while the left ones are extended backwards with feet resting on the toes. They are armed, although with different weapons in their hands, and are clad in a knee-length, white kilt fastened with a waistband, with flat cut tips falling to half thigh. It was made of one triangular piece of cloth tied around the waist with two ends of the material, the third end is stretched between legs and plugged behind the tiding.

The first man can be seen on the block connecting Scene 4.6 and 4.7 (Cat. no. 124, **Fig. 233**), he is armed with a splayed axe carried in the right hand. Only his right arm and the right foreleg are preserved.

The next three are partly preserved, only the feet of the second soldier, a left foreleg of the third man and both forelegs of the fourth one survived. On the first from the right fragment of the block (Cat. no. 125, **Fig. 234**), a shield is represented belonging to the fourth soldier.

The reconstruction of the middle part of the scene is theoretical; there are no connections between the layers below and above. It must be stressed, however, that these fragments come neither from the Opet Festival nor the Hathor Festival and the lower register of the transport of obelisks,<sup>291</sup> because these scenes are almost complete. On the other hand, the weaponry represented there differs from the one represented in Scene 4.6; the direction of soldiers must be taken into consideration, too. The finding spot of fragments of blocks reconstructed in Scene 4.6 remains unknown. The last two fragments (Cat. nos 126 and 127, **Fig. 235**) can be connected with the layer of blocks they are placed in based on their lower border, the cutting is characteristic for this layer. The first two fragments (Cat. nos 125 and 126) can be reconstructed in



Fig. 235. Fragments of two soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

<sup>291</sup> The upper register of the west wall of Lower Southern Portico which probably also contained the representation of soldiers has not been reconstructed yet, but judging from the preserved blocks in the *lapidarium*, the direction of the scene was from left to right (author's observation during the searching for blocks from the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard).

this place because of the direction of figures and their weaponry.<sup>292</sup>

Two fragments of the fifth soldier are preserved on one block and one fragment of block (**Fig. 234**),<sup>293</sup> legs below the knees, torso with arms and a neck can be seen. The man marches left looking in the same direction. His right arm is extended forward and bent at the elbow. He holds a splayed axe in the right hand and a stave of a spear or a standard in the left hand at chest height. The representation of his garment is missing.

The sixth soldier is represented on the same fragments of blocks as the fifth one, although he is in a worse state of preservation. His left arm and left leg are lost. In the right hand at the shoulder level, he carries a handle of an axe, while its head is missing, the right arm is extended forward and bent at the elbow. He holds kind of a stave in his left hand but in a different position than the previous soldier, almost vertically. In the same fist, he has also other objects, most probably a bow case and two quivers very fragmentarily preserved (**Fig. 234**).<sup>294</sup> The right leg can be seen below the knee, there is also a fragment of his left foot on a small fragment of the block on the right. The dress is not preserved.

The seventh soldier is depicted on two blocks and two fragments of blocks.<sup>295</sup> The man is marching left, the position of his head cannot be determined as it is missing. His right hand with a handle of an axe is visible on a left fragment of the block. On the right fragment, the right part of his shield can be seen. His right leg is preserved on the lower left block from the calf down, and the left foot is on the right block. As in other cases, his dress is lost.

The eighth soldier goes left. He is depicted on two fragments of blocks and one block (**Fig. 235**).<sup>296</sup> Most of the figure, except for the front part of the torso, the right arm without a hand, the left elbow, the right foot and the left leg below the knee are missing. The preserved arm is extended forward and bent at the elbow. In his left hand, he holds a standard stave or a spear shaft. No garment is preserved.

The ninth soldier can be seen on two fragments of blocks and one block.<sup>297</sup> One of the fragments of blocks (Cat. no. 127) is the only fragment in the wall with fully preserved colours (**Fig. 236**). A torso with a shield, a dress, and both legs below the knees can still be seen. The man is armed and carries a spear and a shield.

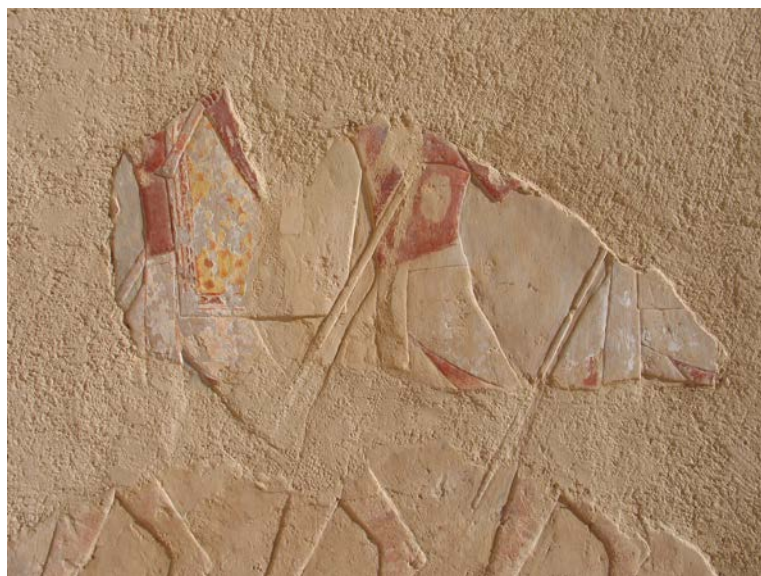


Fig. 236. Fragments of three soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

292 There are only several scenes in the temple of Hatshepsut with soldiers headed left but the infantry armed this way is represented only in Scene 4.6: cf. the west wall of the Lower Southern Portico (the crew of the king's ship, completely preserved: Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV); the lower register of the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (the crew of the king's ship, recruits, completely preserved: Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-1); the upper register of the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine (archers: Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-5); the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, Scenes 3,3 (the crew of the king's ship) and 3.11 (archers); the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (crew of the ship, almost completely preserved; Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXV-CXXVI).

293 Cat. nos 104, 125.

294 Cf. Scene 3.2, where the sixth soldier also has these objects in his hands.

295 Cat. nos 73, 104, 125, 126.

296 Cat. nos 73, 126, 127.

297 Cat. nos 73, 127, 128.

The spear shaft seems to be represented as held in the right hand and therefore hidden behind the soldier, but the spear should be carried in the left hand together with a shield and the right hand should hold an axe, as it is depicted in other cases.<sup>298</sup> It was, most probably a mistake of a sculptor who did not mark the spear on the belly of the soldier. On the other hand, an object carried in the right hand differs slightly from the axe handle, it does not widen at the bottom. The shield is rounded and wider at the top and straight and narrower at the bottom and is held at shoulder level. It has a colourful decoration preserved only on its left half (i.e. on the block fragment Cat. no. 127). Its central panel is painted yellow with orange-brown dots imitating a panther skin, the outer part surrounding the central panel is divided into two stripes distinguished with thin, light red lines. In the inner stripe, red semicircles are attached to the red line on a white background and the outer stripe is white without an additional pattern. The dress is painted light pinkish orange and its white end stretched between legs has light red thin border lines on two sides. The waistband is also white with light red border lines.

The position of the tenth soldier is similar to the previous ones. He marches left. The man is depicted on three blocks' fragments and one block.<sup>299</sup> His head, shoulders and knees are missing, he holds an axe in the right hand and a standard in the shape of flabellum *behet*<sup>300</sup> in his left hand. The axe handle was painted light red with a black lower end. His dress is almost completely preserved although colours are lost. His legs are visible from the knees down.

The last soldier in the troop is preserved only on one fragment of the block and one block.<sup>301</sup> He also goes left. The right elbow is bent. It is impossible to decide whether he carries any object in his right hand, but he holds a spear or a standard in the left hand. Its small, uppermost fragment is visible above the soldier's head, but its shape is inconclusive. His dress is mostly preserved and is similar to other kilts wear by soldiers in this troop. His right leg is extended forward, and his left leg is missing.

The scene is almost deprived of colours except for one fragment of block described above. The red painted directly on the stone is well preserved on the blocks from the upper layer and only slightly visible on the lower blocks. The background was painted blueish grey and traces of this paint can be found on the colourful fragment of the block Cat. no. 127 and on some other fragments. The stains of whitewash are detectable on the kilts of soldiers.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscription is preserved on two blocks.<sup>302</sup> It consists of two texts, the vertical one which starts the inscription and the horizontal one which seems to be a continuation of the vertical one. The vertical inscription is carved in front of the soldiers, in one column, without the division lines (Tx. 63, **Fig. 233**). The hieroglyphs are faced left, i.e. in the general direction of the scene. The width of the group of signs is approx. 5.15 cm. It is mostly preserved; two groups of signs are lost in the middle. The state of preservation is good, although the fragment visible on the lower block is eroded and polished perhaps by the wind with sand.

The horizontal inscription was originally carved above the heads of soldiers (Tx. 64, **Fig. 233**). At the moment, only a very short fragment is a witness of it. Judging by the composition in Scene 3.2, the inscription was divided into parts by spears' blades and a standard or standards. It written in one line and no division lines separate it from the scene. The height of the hieroglyphs is approx. 4.9 cm.

No traces of any intentional destructions can be observed on both inscriptions. The colours of hieroglyphs vanished.

298 Cf. Scenes 3.2, 4.12.

299 Cat. nos 73, 127, 128, 130.

300 For the standard in the shape of flabellum *behet*, see above, p. 114, footnote 113.

301 Cat. nos 73 and 128.

302 Cat. nos 103, 124.

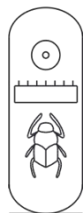
*Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 63 (in front of the scene):



(←↓) *ḏḏ mdw Mn-ḥpr-R' wnn.k ḥr [...]*<sup>(a)</sup>*n.t*

Words spoken: Men-kheper-Ra, you shall be [...]



<sup>(a)</sup> One and a half groups of signs.



Tx. 64 (above the scene):



(←) *ḥr jr.t ḥb [...]*<sup>(a)</sup>

celebrating [...]

- <sup>(a)</sup> Theoretically, there is space for 19 groups of signs, but one must remember that there are soldiers with high objects of different width: spears and standards, so the text was interrupted by them. It is impossible then to count the real length of the inscription, especially that at the end of it, before the standard in the shape of the flabellum *behet*, there are no traces of signs on space of two and a half groups of the signs that was probably left empty between two standards.

**Commentary**

It is possible that the soldiers belong to infantry and are followers of the pharaoh (*šms.w pr.wj-ʿ3*). This is indicated by their attire and weaponry similar to those from Scene 3.2. However, in this case, there are eleven soldiers, not nine as in the lower register. In Scene 4.12, a similarly dressed and armed troop consists also of eleven men. The inscription is not preserved, as well as standards. There is only one standard carried also by other troops, i.e. the standard in the shape of flabellum *behet*.<sup>303</sup> As in the representation in Scene 3.2, the standard is carried by the last but one soldier.

303 See above, p. 114, footnote 113.

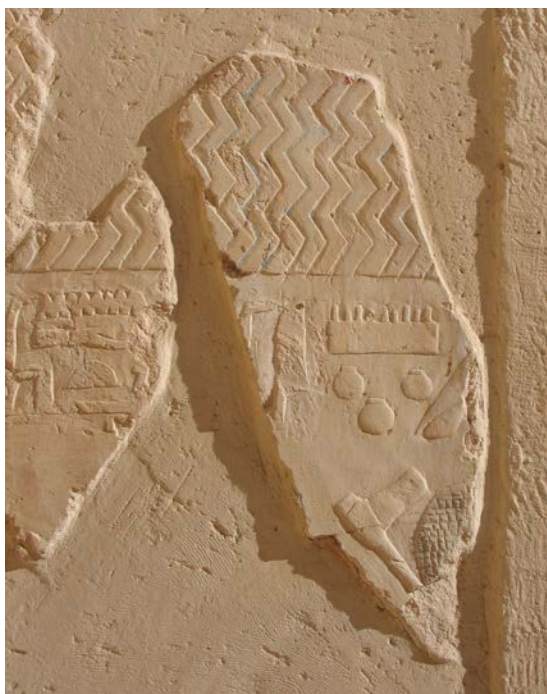


Fig. 237. The first soldier with a splayed axe (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

## References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1*, Fig. 26 (block with soldier)

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [35]

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 5, Pls 1 [detail 3], 3 [detail 3]

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 105, Phot. 5, Pls 1 [detail 3], 3 [detail 3]

## SCENE 4.7. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 35, 35\*; Tx. 65–66; Cat. nos 103, 124, 131–133)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 104.3 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is depicted on two blocks and six small fragments of blocks,<sup>304</sup> originally set in two layers. The lower and middle part of the scene almost completely disappeared, only the first and the last feet of soldiers are preserved, as well as the inscription in front of the scene, therefore, the length of the scene can be determined. The surface of the lower, right block is cracked. The inscription was altered, probably as a post-Amarna period reconstruction.<sup>305</sup> The scene is almost washed off the colours, only the red colour on human bodies and black on the wig and *ta*-sign can be seen. The traces of the blueish grey colour of the background are visible.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The troop of seven soldiers (→) is represented in Scene 4.7. The scene is in a very bad condition and the number of figures can be calculated based on the space reserved for the scene. The men march right on the *ta*-sign. They are described as nobles of the king, dignitaries and council and if the weapon is maintained, they are armed in splayed axes. Their garment is not preserved and only in two cases have fragments of wigs survived. The soldiers are barefooted. Two inscriptions are carved, the vertical one in front of the scene and the horizontal one above it.

The first soldier holds a splayed axe in the left hand, raised and stretched forward (Fig. 234). Only his left arm and leg are attested on two blocks,<sup>306</sup> most of his figure is missing. The second soldier is completely

<sup>304</sup> Blocks Cat. nos. 103, 124; blocks fragments Cat. nos 131, 132, 133. Blocks Cat. nos 103, 124 were replaced in the wall in season 1970/1971; blocks fragments Cat. 131, 132, 133 – in season 1986/1987.

<sup>305</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>306</sup> Blocks Cat. nos. 103, 124.

Fig. 238. The foot of the last soldier (on the left, Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



lost. From the third soldier, a tip of the head can be seen, decorated with a black wig. The fourth man holds a splayed axe (**Fig. 237**), but the whole figure is not preserved. Nothing survived from the fifth soldier. The presence of the sixth man can be recognised thanks to his right foot and the tip of the wig. The seventh soldier's foot is depicted on a lower left small fragment of the block (**Fig. 238**). The man carried a standard in his hand, but the standard was carefully erased and only delicate traces of it are detectable now in the upper part of the decoration.

The scene is almost deprived of colours. On the right upper block, the traces of the red of the soldier's arm can be observed. The colours are more visible on the left lower block (Cat. no. 134, **Fig. 238**): the red foot of the last soldier, the stain of the black of the *ta*-sign and traces of the blueish grey of the background are still preserved.

#### *Later destructions of decoration*

As the scene is in a large part lost, the alteration is attested only on the horizontal inscription. The style of hieroglyphs resembles the post-Amarna period reconstruction.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

Two inscriptions were carved around Scene 4.7.

The vertical inscription is represented in front of the scene (Tx. 65, **Fig. 234**). It is written in one column without the division lines. The width of the group of signs is approx. 5.1 cm. The text is almost complete, only the last but one group of signs is missing. No intentional destructions or reconstructions can be observed.

The horizontal inscription seems to be a continuation of the vertical text and is depicted on four fragments of blocks and one block above the whole length of the scene (Tx. 66, **Fig. 239**).<sup>307</sup> Its middle part is lost. It is carved in one line without the division lines, with signs headed right. The height of the line is approx. 4.75 cm. There are neither Amarna period destructions, nor the Coptic time chiseling out. The only alteration that can be observed, covers one-third of the inscription and is done on a flat surface but in a style characteristic for the post-Amarna period. It is possible then, that this part of the text was erased during the reign of Thutmose III and the surface was polished in a way typical for this time and next, during the post-Amarna times, the missing fragment was reconstructed. Space was damaged as little as necessary, which can be seen in the left

<sup>307</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 123, 130, 131, 132, 135.

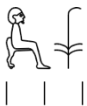


Fig. 239. Horizontal inscription (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

part, rectangularly cut. The hieroglyphs are very flat. This can be confirmed by the character of the altered fragment which consisted of the description of the monument mentioned in the text, probably starting with the cartouche of Hatshepsut, judging by the traces of destruction.

#### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 65 (in front of the scene):



(↓→) *šps.w nswt s 'h.w knb.t sw3š.s[n] ntr nfr n*

Nobles of the king, dignitaries, council, they pay honour to perfect god for



Tx. 66 (above the scene):



(→) *dd.sn* [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *m mnw jt[j]* <sup>(b)</sup> *nh̄t nswt* [...] <sup>(c)</sup> *rnp.wt dj.f n.f nh̄ dd 3w.t-jb hntj nh̄.w*

They say: [...] in monument of **the strong ruler, the king** [...] **years, may he give him** life, stability (and) joy in front of the living ones.

- (a) Eight and a half groups of signs.
- (b) Traces of a cartouche below the new inscription: the round ending of a cartouche and the *ra*-sign were removed carelessly.
- (c) Half of a group of signs. The remains of the sign resemble sign *h3* (Gardiner sign M16).

## Commentary

The group of officials is represented several times on the walls of the temple of Hatshepsut. In every case, there is only one group depicted in the festival, but not all groups of officials take part in every festival. It is impossible to say if there was such a group also in the Hathor Festival because the scene from the upper register with the representation of procession of soldiers is preserved only on one block and most of it is lost.<sup>308</sup> On the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, the group of nobles of the king, dignitaries, companions and followers of his majesty (*šps.w nswt s'h.w smr.w šms.w hm.f*) is represented as a group taking part in the Opet Festival.<sup>309</sup>

On the west wall of the Obelisks Portico, another group of officials is represented. It consists of companions, dignitaries, council and *mnf3.t*-soldiers (*smr.w s'h.w knb.t mnf3.t*).<sup>310</sup>

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

## References

Iwasczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [35]

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 5, Pls 1 [detail 3], 3 [detail 3]

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 105, Phot. 5, Pls 1 [detail 3], 3 [detail 3]

308 Beaux *et al.*, *La chapelle d'Hathor II*, Pl. 17-5.

309 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV.

310 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV.



Fig. 240. Scene 4.8. Carrying two thrones (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### SCENE 4.8. CARRYING TWO THRONES (Pls 36, 36\*; Tx. 67; Cat. nos 85, 90, 134–141)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 156.5 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is carved on fourteen fragments of blocks.<sup>311</sup> Originally the blocks were set in two layers. One fragment of a block is currently stored in the Musée de Picardie in Amiens (M.P.3053.108). The beginning of the scene is determined by the foot of the first personage with a *tisu*-staff, its end – by the foot of the last official from the group accompanying the priests carrying the thrones. This gives arguments to determine the length of the scene. The fragments are in various states of preservation. The lower layer is in a better condition, while the surface of the right upper fragments is strongly damaged. The preserved parts of the scene were not altered in the Amarna and post-Amarna period, they do not bear traces of the Coptic period destructions either.<sup>312</sup> The colours survived on three fragments of blocks from the lower register, these are the red of human bodies, the blueish grey of the background and a black stain on the ta-sign at the bottom of the scene.

<sup>311</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 90, 137; blocks fragments Cat. nos 85, 134, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141. Block Cat. no. 90 was replaced in the wall in season 1970/1971, blocks fragments Cat. nos 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141 – in season 1984/1985, blocks fragments Cat. nos 85, 134, 135 – in season 1986/1987.

<sup>312</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.



Fig. 241. Three men carrying the throne(s) (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

#### Block in the museum:

- Fragment of a block with men carrying two(?) thrones, Musée de Picardie, Amiens M.P.3053.108 (Fig. 215)

#### Description

##### *Original decoration*

The scene represents three groups of people: official(s?) with *tisu*-staves (→), twelve priests carrying two(?) empty thrones (→) and the group of five men (→) at the end of the procession (Fig. 240). The scene is in a very poor condition and not many fragments of blocks are placed in the wall, therefore many questions must remain not answered.

The procession is led by a man with a *tisu*-staff (Fig. 238) and it is difficult to confirm if there were more people here. Judging by a space left in the wall, as well as by a single leg of a man, he was the only person in front of the procession. A small fragment of a block (Cat. no. 135) containing the representation of a leg directed right, the lower tip of the *tisu*-staff and a foot of a man running or marching in the same direction are proof for that. This block must have been located on the border of two scenes, one with the procession of soldiers and the other one with the procession with

a throne(s?) as this is the only place where people with *tisu*-staves appear.<sup>313</sup> He is probably the person going at some distance in Scene 3.6, while other people represented in this scene are following the procession.

Behind the man with a *tisu*-staff, the proper procession with the throne(s?) approaches. Twelve men, described as the royal *wab*-priests, are involved in carrying the throne(s?). There are three rods on which the throne(s) are transported, priests holding them are set in two rows in front and in two rows at the back. Only three groups of priests, the front one and two from the back are preserved now. They are barefooted and wear simple wigs. Their dresses were, most probably, similar to those from Scene 3.6, although the lower parts are not conserved. In the upper parts, waistbands and overlapping material of the kilt can be seen (Fig. 241). The small fragment of the block, now stored in the Musée de Picardie, Amiens (M.P.3053.108, Fig. 215) shows three men carrying a front part of rods on their shoulders. They hold it with the left hands stretched forward and clenched on rods and with the right hands slightly withdrawn and also clenched on rods. In the end, two other groups are better maintained. In the case of the first three men, only the part from their knees to their thighs is missing, the second group lost most of their legs, only feet are left. The surface of the fragments of blocks with two groups of the *wab*-priests at the back is polished and the details of the reliefs are hardly visible.

On the rods, the throne or, more probably, two thrones were carried. Not much is preserved of them, only one lion leg and an armrest are represented of two fragments of blocks (Fig. 242).

<sup>313</sup> Cf. the representation of the Opet Festival, the lower sub-register of the lower register of the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV; today: Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels E.07945) and in the representation of the Festival of *Djeser-djeseru*, the lower sub-register of the lower register of the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Scene 3.6).



Fig. 242. Fragment of a throne with a lion's head (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

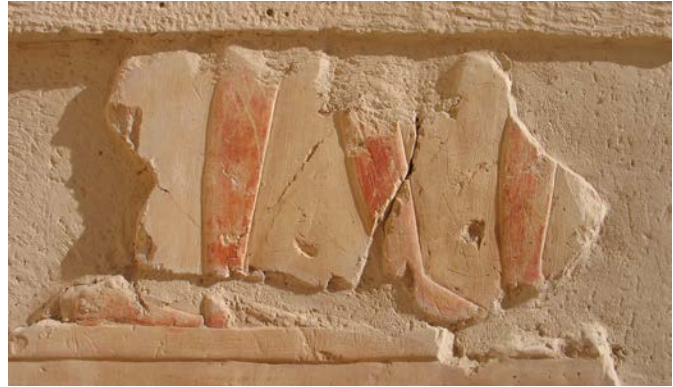


Fig. 243. Group of men behind the throne (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

At the left end of the scene, a group of five man (**Fig. 243**), judging by the space left, proceeds the procession.<sup>314</sup> Legs below knees belonging to four of them are preserved, they go separately, person by person. It is impossible to guess their function in the procession, no dress, attributes and inscriptions determining their role can be observed.

The colours are visible only on some fragments of blocks in the lower layer. As in other cases, the red of the bodies applied directly on the stone can be seen on legs. On one small fragment (Cat. no. 135, **Fig. 238**), the blueish grey of the background is well detectable, as well as stains of black on the *ta*-sign.

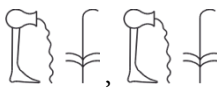
## Inscriptions

### *General description*

In Scene 4.8, the short inscription giving titles of the men carrying the throne(s?) is carved above the scene (Tx. 67; **Fig. 244**). From four titles attested in Scene 3.6 above heads of four priests' groups, only two titles above two groups of people survived in Scene 4.8. The title above the first group is mainly visible as the surface of the block was not damaged. On the fragment of the block with the first three man at the back of the throne(s?) (Cat. no. 138), the hieroglyphs are very poorly preserved, as the surface was polished. The signs are faced right, no division lines separating them from the scene as well as no traces of any alterations and intentional destructions can be observed.

### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 67 (above priests):



(→) *w' b nswt*, (→) *w' b nswt*

royal *wab*-priest, royal *wab*-priest

<sup>314</sup> Two fragments of blocks with feet of four men were placed in the reconstruction drawing by Niewalda: Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Figs 1 [detail 2], 2 [detail 2]; Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modułowe ściany wschodniej, Figs on pp. 84 [detail 2], 85 [detail 2].

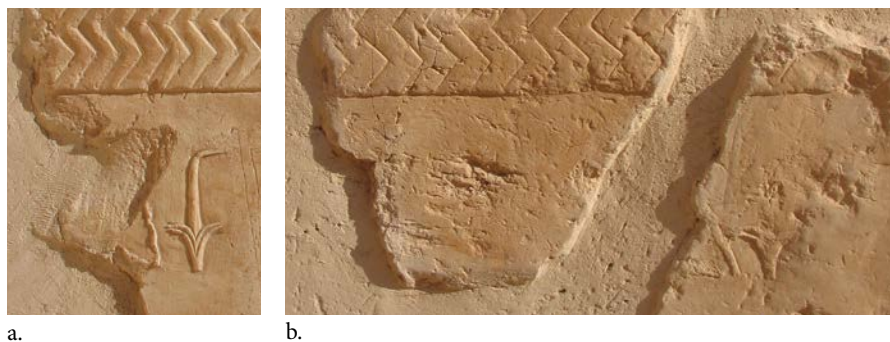


Fig. 244. Titles of *wab*-priests: a. in front of the throne(s); b. behind the throne(s) (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### Commentary

It is impossible to calculate if there were two thrones on the shoulders of priests or only one. The indication may be three rods which are too much if there is one chair only,<sup>315</sup> as well as the fact that in the opposite direction two empty thrones were carried,<sup>316</sup> so it seems logical that two of them will be brought back.

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For the carrying thrones representation, see: Scene 3.6.

### References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [36]

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Pls 1 [detail 2], 2 [detail 2]

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Pls 1 [detail 2], 2 [detail 2]

Fragment of a block with men carrying two(?) thrones, Musée de Picardie, Amiens M.P.3053.108

Perdu, Rickal, *La collection égyptienne*, 106, no. 190 (under no. M.P.3057.108)

## SCENE 4.9. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 37, 37\*; Tx. 68–69; Cat. nos 83, 85, 142–144)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 43.5 cm; width: 100.5 cm at the bottom and 104.5 cm at the top

**State of preservation:** Scene 4.9 is depicted on four blocks and one fragment of block<sup>317</sup> set in two layers. The larger part of the scene is preserved but the condition of the decorated surface is very bad. The whole scene,

<sup>315</sup> Cf. e.g. Dziobek, *Die Gräber des Vesirs User-Amun*, Pl. 83, where the throne is carried by eight men, i.e. two in front and two at the back for each of two rods.

<sup>316</sup> C.f. Scene 3.6.

<sup>317</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 83, 142, 143, 144; block fragment Cat. no. 85. Block Cat. no. 83 was replaced in the wall in season 1971/1972, block Cat. no. 143 – in season 1976/1977, block Cat. no. 144 – in season 1984/1985, block fragment Cat. no. 85 – in season 1986/1987, block Cat. no. 142 – in season 1998/1999.



Fig. 245. Scene 4.9. Procession of soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

except for small fragments of inscriptions and the left tip of the *ta*-sign, was erased in the Amarna period, judging by deep holes executed with a thick chisel, and restored in the post-Amarna times with the use of plaster.<sup>318</sup> The scene is short and rhomboidal at the left edge, as the left corner of the north wing of the east wall connects with the sloping north wall of the courtyard. The corners and edges of the blocks are chipped off, the upper edge of the fragment of the block is missing. The scene is completely deprived of colours.

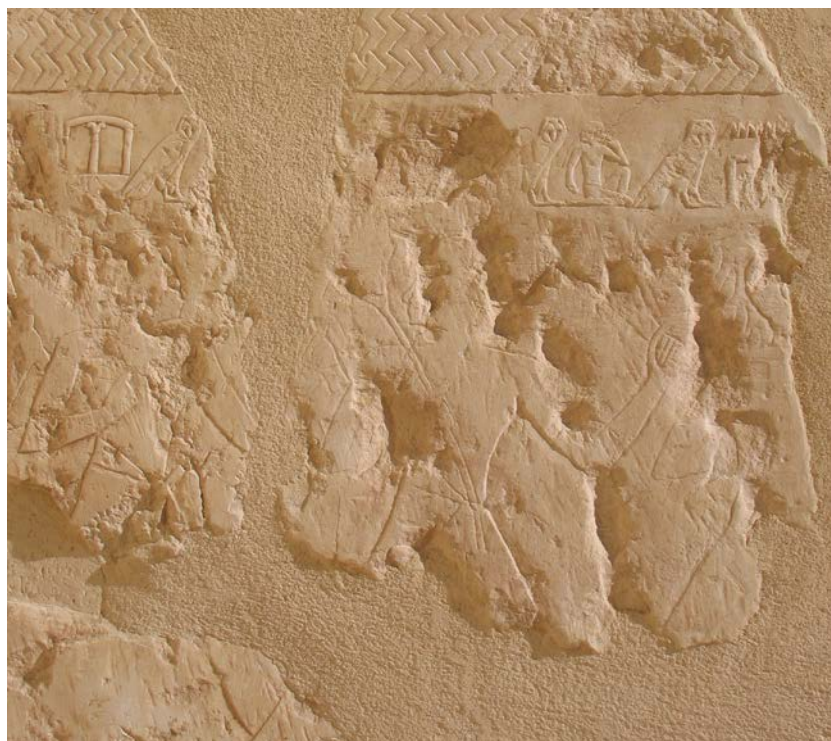
## Description

### *Original decoration*

The original decoration did not survive, almost the whole scene was rearranged. The destructions are so extensive that only the lower corner of the scene with the *ta*-sign and some part of both inscriptions seem to be untouched. No traces of the original layer are detectable.

<sup>318</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

Fig. 246. The first and second men (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



#### *The post-Amarna reconstruction of decoration*

The scene shows the group of four men running right (→) (**Fig. 245**). Their run is stressed by the length of their steps, they need much more space than soldiers represented in other scenes. They move with the left legs extended forward and with the heels slightly raised. The right legs are stretched back and placed on the tips of the toes. The schematic representation, as well as lack of plaster and the large part of destroyed and reworked surface, impedes the identification of objects they carry.

The men are barefooted, and their heads are decorated with simple wigs. Their clothes are only partly preserved. At least two of them, the second and the third ones, wear knee-length triangle kilts expanding downwards, tied at the belly in a knot and made of one piece of a textile with a part of an edge widely rolled up in the front. The first man is most probably dressed the same way, as he has the edge of kilt similarly rolled up.

The first and second men are depicted on one block (**Fig. 246**).<sup>319</sup> The procession is led by a running person with his left leg stretched strongly forward and the right leg withdrawn backwards. He holds in his right hand a twig of the persea tree, the right arm is raised and bent at the elbow. Only his back half without calf and foot is preserved. The man is shaved bald, his head is faced right. The second man also runs right but his head is turned left. He wears a wig. His arms are raised and bent at the elbow, in the left hand he holds an object expanding towards the top, probably a vase, while his right hand is occupied by a long twig of the lotus flower. His feet are represented on a fragment of another block.

The third and the fourth men are carved on two blocks. The first of them is headed right and runs in the same direction with arms raised and bent at the elbow. The elbow of the left hand, the part between knees and hips and the front fragment of his left foot are missing. It is difficult to recognise the object he carries in the left hand, only its lower part survived. In the right hand, he holds a twig of the persea tree. The upper front part of the last man and his legs below knees can be seen, the rest is lost. He runs with his head facing right.

<sup>319</sup> Block Cat. no. 142 was found during the excavations in one of the shafts of the Main Sanctuary of Amun and placed in the wall in season 1998/1999: Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari 1998/1999, 166, Fig. 10 (third upper left block).



Tx. 69 (behind the scene):



(↓→) *Jmn-R* [nb] *p.t*<sup>(a)</sup> *w3h rnp.[w]t s3.t*<sup>(b)</sup> *fjr[.s]* [...]<sup>(c)</sup>

**Amun-Ra** [Lord] of **Heaven**, who endures years of his daughter, [he] caused [...]



(a) The name and epithet of Amun-Ra are hardly recognisable. No traces sign *nb* and no space for it are detectable.



(b) Surprisingly, the ending *.t* was not erased.



(c) Approx. two groups of signs.



## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

## References

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [37]

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1 [detail 1]

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1 [detail 1]

Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari 1998/1999, 166, Fig. 10 (third upper left block)

## MIDDLE SUB-REGISTER (Pls 38, 38\*, Tx. 70–76; Cat. nos 106–108, 113, 119–124, 129–133, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142–169)

### SCENE 4.10. PROCESSION OF BOATS (Pls 38, 38\*, Tx. 70–76; Cat. nos 106–108, 113, 119–124, 129–133, 136, 137, 139, 140, 142–169)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 133.5 cm in the higher part and 83.8 cm in the lower part; width: 1038.5 cm at the bottom and 1050.3 cm at the top

**State of preservation:** The scene is in a very bad state of preservation, only single blocks and fragments of blocks are identified as coming from this scene. It is fully reconstructed of 16 blocks and 31 fragments of blocks



Fig. 247. The first accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

set in five layers,<sup>321</sup> no block was found *in situ*. The length of Scene 4.10 corresponds to the length of Scene 3.10 and covers more the half of the length of the whole register and the height of the scene is equal to the height of the upper register. A large part of the preserved decoration was altered, mainly in the post-Amarna period but also during the reign of Thutmose III.<sup>322</sup> The scene is almost completely deprived of colours, only some colours painted directly on the stone are detectable: the red in representations of the human bodies, as well as in the decoration of the first accompanying bark and oars, and the blue of the water.

### Description

The scene is very similar to Scene 3.10. It consists of four separate depictions of river barks. Two barks of bigger importance, the royal bark (→) and the river bark of Amun – Userhat (→), are transported by two accompanying barks (→). The space dedicated to the royal bark and bark of Amun is higher than the space taken by two accompanying barks.

321 Blocks Cat. nos 113, 119, 120, 121, 124, 137, 142, 143, 144, 149, 150, 153, 156, 158, 159, 160; blocks fragments Cat. nos 106, 107, 108, 122, 123, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 139, 140, 145, 146, 147, 148, 151, 152, 154, 155, 157, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169. Cat. nos 119, 120, 121, 124 were replaced in the wall in season 1970/1971; Cat. no. 147 – in season 1972/1973; Cat. nos 107, 108, 143 – in season 1976/1977; Cat. nos 136, 137, 139, 140, 144 – in season 1984/1985; Cat. nos 106, 113, 122, 123, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169 – in season 1986/1987; Cat. no. 142 – in season 1998/1999.

322 For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.



Fig. 248. The central part of the first accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 249. The construction of the hull of the first accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### *First accompanying bark (Pls 39, 39\*)*

#### *ORIGINAL DECORATION*

The scene with the first accompanying bark is attested on two blocks and eight fragments of blocks but three fragments and one block contain only the representation of water (Fig. 247).<sup>323</sup> The scene measures 271 cm in width and 83.8 cm in height. As in the lower register, the representations of the first and second accompanying barks in Scene 4.10 are lower than the representations of two other barks. It makes the space for another sub-register with two scenes above: Scene 4.11 and 4.12. Three elements of the first accompanying bark are in some part preserved: the central part of the hull (Fig. 248), a fragment of a mast and a fragment of the stern with the forward kiosk. The first accompanying bark together with the second one, like in Scene 3.10, serve for pulling two other boats, the royal bark and the bark of Amun, Userhat.

The hull of the first accompanying bark is round-bottomed and of a shallow draught. A fragment of a stern finial can be seen on the block with a second accompanying bark (Cat. no. 150) and a 'fish-tail'-shape can be recognised. As in the lower register, also here deck beams are protruding through the planking along the sides of the bark which is marked by rectangular elements along the hull (Fig. 249). The single mast is located in a central part of the boat, only the upper part of it survived on a small fragment of the block together with a forestay (Cat. no. 145, Fig. 250). The bark is powered by oars fastened to the boat thanks to the round fasteners in the brim.

The deck, situated below the edge of the gunwale, houses several constructions, the fore-deck is clearly raised. The stern part of the boat is obscured by the second accompanying bark shown in the foreground. At the end of the afterdeck on a raised platform, an openwork kiosk in the shape of the shrine is placed, headed right, to the centre of the bark. In the centre, a deckhouse is built, although only the rests of it can still be observed.

The forward kiosk is placed on the platform, the back part of which is still preserved on

323 Blocks Cat. nos 149, 150; fragments of blocks Cat. nos 106, 107, 108, 110, 145, 146, 147, 148.



Fig. 250. The mast of the first accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

a block with the representation of the second accompanying bark (Cat. no. 150, **Fig. 251**). The front part of the sloping ceiling bulging at the front survived on the upper fragment of the block. It was supported on columns, but only the lower part of the middle column can be seen. Probably a single sphinx headed right was leaning against the column, as three lion-shaped paws are placed on the platform, two in front of it and one behind. The front and the upper part of the kiosk, except for the roof, are missing.

A deckhouse located in the amidships is poorly preserved. Its lower fragment of a central part was decorated with spirals placed in a grid of squares and painted red directly on the stone (Cat. no. 147, **Fig. 252**).

As in the case of the first accompanying bark in the lower register, the boat moved thanks to the paddling rowers (**Fig. 249**). From the big scene, only one block with the representation of legs of three men with oars survived and one small fragment with the additional oar (Cat. nos 147, 148). Judging by the distance, another oar was represented between these two fragments of blocks. The men are placed in regular distance one to each other, the oars' blades are submerged in water. The rowers are strongly leaned back balancing in

this way to push the oars hard. They are clad in a traditional naval costume, as can be observed in the case of the third man who wears a naval loincloth fastened around the waist by a thin strip of leather (**Fig. 253**).

The preserved fragments were not altered.

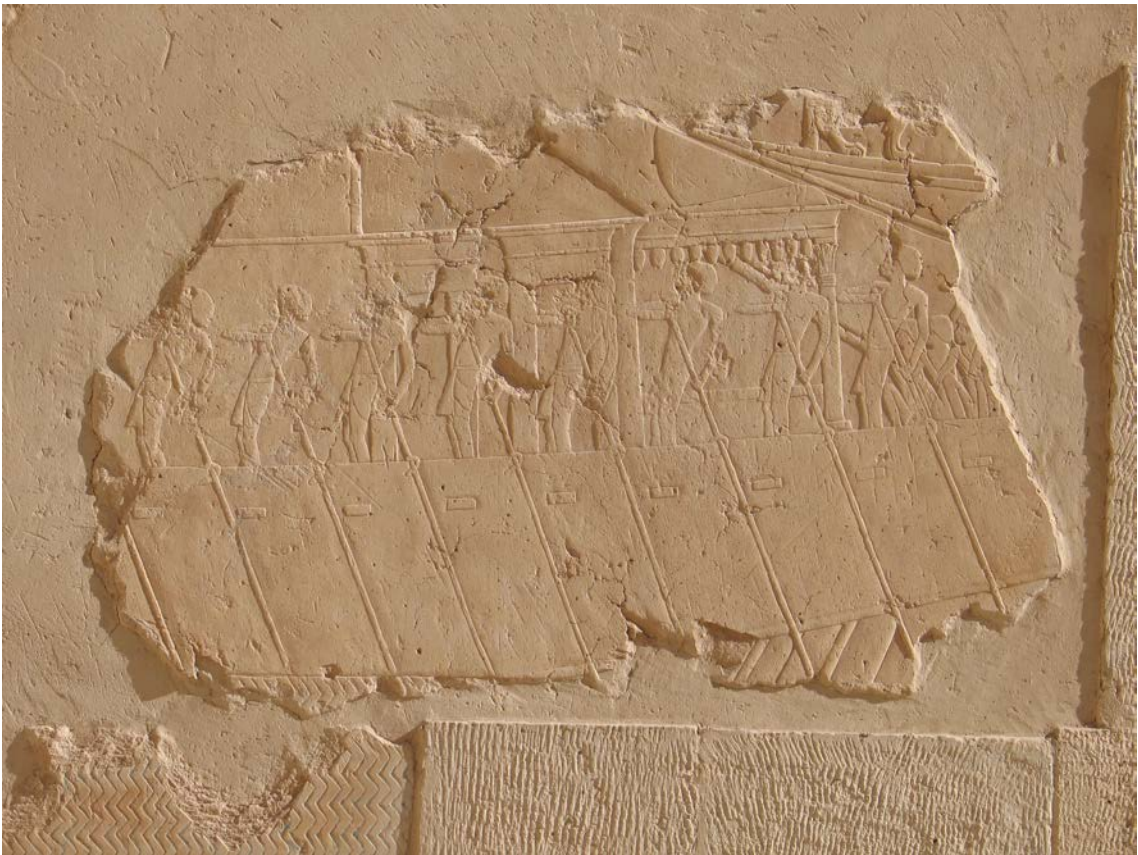


Fig. 251. The second accompanying bark with the forward kiosk of the first accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 252. The decoration of the deckhouse of the first accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 253. The oarsman on the first accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The colours did not survive except for the red colour of human bodies, oars and spirals in a grid of squares decorating the deckhouse, as well as the blue colour of the water.

#### *Second accompanying bark (Pls 40, 40\*)*

##### *ORIGINAL DECORATION*

The remains of the scene are carved on four blocks and eight fragments of blocks (Fig. 254).<sup>324</sup> This fragment of Scene 4.10 depicts the second accompanying bark, elements of the bark itself can be seen on two blocks and four fragments.<sup>325</sup> The scene covers the space 211.5 cm wide and 83.8 cm high. As in the case of other accompanying barks, the hull of this bark is also round-bottomed and of a shallow draught. The bark has an elongated stern finial and a 'fish-tail'-shape stern. The stern is decorated with three columns of pattern resembling bracelets and probably repeated in a short distance, as the beginning of one of them can be seen.<sup>326</sup>

The construction of the boat is similar to other accompanying barks, the deck beams protruding through the planking along the sides of the bark are regularly spaced and marked by rectangular elements along the hull. The mast is located in the centre of the boat with the forestay and backstay looped around the mast through the upper halyard block squared (Fig. 255). The oars used to power the boat were fastened to the boat through the round fasteners in the brim.

Judging from the representation of the oarsmen whose feet are hidden below

the edge of the gunwale that the deck was also placed below. The two-storey deckhouse was constructed on it, as well as the kiosk at the afterdeck. The representation of the front kiosk is not preserved.

The central part of the boat is occupied by a two-storey deckhouse (Fig. 251). Its lower level is twice as long as the upper one. The lower storey has a portico in front. A column decorated with the palm capital is placed on a base and supports a roof. The roof is placed on a cornice; it is rounded in the front part and it slopes down in the back. The side walls are decorated in an openwork style. Below the roof, an oval shape pattern is carved and in the lower part, a crossbar closes the wall leaving the middle part open. In the front part

<sup>324</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 113, 149, 150, 153; fragments of blocks Cat. nos 122, 123, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 157.

<sup>325</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 150, 153; fragments of blocks Cat. nos 151, 152, 154, 156.

<sup>326</sup> Unlike the case of the second accompanying bark in the lower register, here the details of the bracelets are not marked.



Fig. 254. The second accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 255. A mast of the second accompanying bark with an erased inscription on the left (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

of the lower storey, just behind the portico, two gates are located, also finished with a cornice. The upper storey is marked in a very simple way and is undecorated. Only two side walls and a flat roof are marked.

From the forward kiosk, only the left part of the fan in the shape of flabellum *behet* survived; it had originally been set behind the back column (Fig. 256).

The last preserved element of the second accompanying bark is the upper part of one of two long and thick steering oars (Fig. 257). The steering oar was decorated at the butt with a royal head wearing a *khepresh*-crown.<sup>327</sup> Just below the heads, an emblem in the shape of the *aper*-sign(?) is hanging.

The crew of the second accompanying bark is partly preserved on one block (Fig. 251). They are represented in the central part of the boat. Judging by the number of figures and oars, ten oarsmen are represented with oars in their hands. In the back part of the boat, four oars set in the opposite direction can be seen, propelled by oarsmen seated on the other side of the boat. Next three figures seat on the deck in the right side of the block. The oarsmen are placed at regular intervals; they stand while paddling with oars' blades submerged in

water and are headed in the opposite direction to the direction of the boat. They all wear simple wigs and the traditional naval costume consisting of a simple short white kilt with a flat cut corner hanging down and a naval loincloth made of webbed leather put on and fastened around the waist by a thin strip of leather. They are strongly leaned back and hold the oars in both hands, while their right hands are clenched on the end of the oar's loom, the left ones hold the oar at chest level with an elbow extended forward. The group on the right seats on the deck with knees in front of them. Their arms are extended forward and bent at elbows and their hands are clenched into fists.

The scene is completely deprived of colours except for the representation of water which in some places has traces of blue paint.

<sup>327</sup> The steering oars of the second accompanying bark in the lower register is not preserved, therefore it is difficult to compare the shape of these ends. Cf. Scene 3.10, p. 163, footnote 192.



Fig. 256. The stern finial of the second accompanying bark and the rest of the forward kiosk (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 257. A fragment of the steering oar of the second accompanying bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

#### DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III

The only activity that can be ascribed to the reign of Thutmose III is the erasure of the inscription carved originally next to the backstay from the left side of the mast (**Fig. 255**). The traces suggest a careful chiseling out and polishing of the surface, and only a small fragment of a hieroglyphic sign impossible to recognise can be seen. This style of erasure is typical for artisans of Thutmose III.

#### COPTIC DESTRUCTIONS

The Coptic destructions are noticeable on human figures on only one block (Cat. no. 150). Almost all faces and sometimes also hands were chiseled out with a narrow chisel. The block is polished, and the shape of the chisel hits is blurry, the width of the chisel can be measured only on two figures, the first and the sixth ones. It is 0.43 cm wide.

#### Royal bark (Pls 41, 41\*, Tx. 70, 71)

##### ORIGINAL DECORATION

The scene is represented on five blocks and eight fragments of blocks (**Fig. 258**).<sup>328</sup> The bark itself, however, decorates only one block and two fragments of blocks,<sup>329</sup> on other fragments and one block, the depiction of water in the lower part of the scene and *pet*-sign in the upper part is carved. The scene measures 168.5+x cm of width (based on Scene 3.10 – 243.5 cm) and 133.5 cm of height. The representation of the royal bark takes the space of the full register height.

The hull of the bark is round-bottomed and of a shallow draught. Only the front finial is preserved and has a palm shape and probably with the representation of the falcon-shaped Horus on it, although the preserved falcon is restored (**Fig. 259**). As in the decoration of the royal bark, the *wedjat*-eye decorates the front part of the hull (**Fig. 260**). The bark is towed on a thick rope, its remnants can be seen only in hands of the

<sup>328</sup> Cat. nos 119, 120, 121, 124, 158; fragments of blocks Cat. nos 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 136, 156, 157.

<sup>329</sup> Cat. nos 156, 157, 158.



Fig. 258. The royal bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 259. The finial of the royal bark (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

statue of Thutmose III in the middle of the bark and behind him, still on the same block (Cat. no. 158). On the deck some decorative elements were placed, unfortunately, they were chiseled out during the Amarna period.

To the left from the finial, the middle part of a standard pole can be seen, supported by an *ankh*-sign. Because the surface is in a bad condition, it is difficult to decide if the standard was original or added later.

The central part of the boat carved on one block (Cat. no. 158), was occupied by two royal statues representing Thutmose III and Hatshepsut set on a platform and headed

right (**Fig. 261**). Both kings sit on the thrones placed one next to another inside the shrine. The back outline of Hatshepsut's legs is still detectable. The shrine is almost entirely lost, only the back column can be observed on the block. The figure of Hatshepsut was later erased and only the traces of her backside and the backrest of the throne are detectable now. The lower part of the statue of Thutmose III is preserved. The king is clad in the so-called *heb-sed* robe under which only the hands stick out. In clenched hands, the king holds a handle and a rope. Most probably Hatshepsut was attired the same way. Behind the king, an inscription is written.

The hands of Thutmose III are painted red with the wide undecorated space left for the wristlet. The blue colour covered originally the representation of water (**Fig. 262**), now some traces of it can still be observed.



Fig. 260. The front part of the hull of the royal bark with the *wedjat-eye* (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 261. The central part of the royal bark with a statue of Thutmose III (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The last restored space was located to the left from the standard, directly on the deck of the boat (Fig. 260). The figure of a sphinx standing on the standard was carved. Its back legs and a large part of a standard can still be seen. To the left, in some distance above the deck, on a thin line, another sign holding a standard was depicted. It is impossible to recognise what sign it is, only hands survived and the fragment of a pole.

### DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III

Some modifications of the decoration were done during the reign of Thutmose III (Fig. 261). The most important alteration was the removal of the figure of Hatshepsut seated in front of Thutmose III and replacing her with a goddess on the column with an inscription around. The upper part of the column with a goddess is not preserved. It was probably at this time that the decoration of the hull of the bark was erased. Nothing survived and it is impossible to detect its original shape.

### DESTRUCTIONS OF THE AMARNA PERIOD

During the Amarna period, the decoration was chiseled out in several places. On the top of the front finial of the boat, an emblem, most probably a falcon-shaped Horus was removed (Fig. 259). An *ankh*-sign holding a standard located next to it was also hammered with a wide chisel, approx. 1.8 cm wide (Fig. 259). In the same way, a sphinx on the standard and another figure holding a standard were treated, the whole space was chiseled out (Fig. 260).

### DECORATION OF THE POST-AMARNA PERIOD

The places erased during the Amarna period were restored in the post-Amarna times and the surface was levelled and roughly polished, it was also plastered if necessary. The space at the top of the front finial was redecorated and the figure of a falcon was carved there (Fig. 259). The destruction, like in the case of the royal bark in the lower register, is wider and higher than the reconstruction.

It is difficult to decide if the figure of an *ankh*-sign holding a standard was reconstructed (Fig. 259). If so, it was probably done in plaster.

*Amun's river bark – Userhat (Pls 42, 42\*, Tx. 72–76)*

#### ORIGINAL DECORATION

The only fragment of this scene is the representation of water. It is preserved on four blocks and two fragments of blocks.<sup>330</sup> The upper limit of water preserved on block Cat. no. 159 is lost due to the Amarna period destructions. The blue colour of the water completely disappeared.



Fig. 262. The blue painted representation of water (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

#### DESTRUCTIONS OF THE AMARNA PERIOD

The whole surface of the bark of Amun was deeply chiseled out with the approx. 1.8 cm wide chisel during the Amarna period. No traces of the original decoration can be observed.

#### DECORATION OF THE POST-AMARNA PERIOD

The bark of Amun flows at the end of the procession (Fig. 263). This part of the scene is depicted on six blocks and eleven fragments of blocks.<sup>331</sup> Its length is 225+x cm at the bottom and 235+x cm at the top<sup>332</sup> and its height is 133.5 cm. The trapezoid shape of the wall, wider at the top and narrower at the bottom, is determined by the neighbouring sloping north wall of the Upper Courtyard. The scene is headed right. The depiction of the bark of Amun is entirely the result of the post-Amarna reconstruction.

The shape of the hull of the bark cannot be determined as its lower limit is not preserved. The bark is of a shallow draught and the deck is raising at its back part, the front part is missing, as well as the prow and stern. The deck is located at the edge of the gunwale. The only elements of the bark that can be recognised are the central part with a shrine containing the portable bark of Amun and an afterdeck.

In the front deck, two shafts of narrow obelisks and poles of four standards can be seen (Fig. 264).

The central part of the boat is occupied by a shrine. It has a double portico in front, as in the bigger shrine, the proper shrine for the bark of Amun was placed. Each of these two shrines has columns in front and at the back to support a roof. The outer, bigger shrine is almost unpreserved, only two columns in front and at the back can be recognised. The inner shrine is in a much better state of preservation. Two columns in front and at the back support a roof decorated with a cobras' frieze, visible only on one fragment of the block (Cat. no. 163). The side walls are decorated, just below the roof, with a frieze containing two *djed*- and two *sa*-signs alternately. In the centre of the shrine, a socle is set to place the portable bark of Amun. The socle is preserved up to the cornice. It is a simple rectangular construction placed on a narrow base with no traces of carved decoration. On the right, at least three columns of an inscription (Tx. 74) are written separated with *medu*-staffs (Fig. 265). The first two staffs were ended probably with royal heads, the third one is not preserved high enough to see the ending. On the left of the socle, three *medu*-staffs, two different boxes and a preserved lower part of a sistrum are placed together with a column of an inscription (Fig. 266, Tx. 75). The first liturgical

<sup>330</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 137, 142, 143, 144; blocks fragments Cat. nos 139, 140.

<sup>331</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 137, 142, 143, 144, 159, 160; blocks fragments Cat. nos 139, 140, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169.

<sup>332</sup> The total length of the bark of Amun can be reconstructed based on its representation in Scene 3.10, it measures there 311 cm in width.



Fig. 263. Amun's river bark – Userhat (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 264. A fragment of a block with the representation of two obelisks and four standards in front of the shrine on the Amun's river bark – Userhat (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 265. The representation of the socle in the middle of Amun's river bark – Userhat and *medu*-staffs and an inscription on the right (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

object is a box in the shape of a naos, narrow and high, with a roof rounded at the front and descending towards the back. Next to it, a staff with an oval ending is set. Behind the staff, another shrine in the shape of the *kari*-shrine is placed on the deck. The staff with a Hathor's head decorated with a sun disk between horns is next in the row. The only traces of a sistrum survived in front of the staff with an ending in the shape of a royal head wearing a *nemes*-headdress and a counterpoise similar to this used in the *menat*-necklace. Nothing survived from the bark itself. Above the bark, on the right, a short inscription is written (Tx. 73).

Behind the shrine, two fans separated by a pole are set on the deck. The ending of the pole is missing but it is probable that it was a *was*-staff of goddess Mut. She is represented just behind two fans, standing on a socle and with the head decorated with a double crown (Fig. 267). She and Khonsu represented behind her, were, most probably, placed together below one *pet*-sign, now the *pet*-sign is visible only above Mut. Between the *pet*-sign and Mut, an inscription (Tx. 76) is carved. Khonsu also stands on a socle. He has a full and new moon on his head (Fig. 268). His head is decorated also with a sash with a uraeus and a god's false beard. His body is mummified. He holds *ankh*, *djed* and *was*-signs on a long pole ended at the bottom with a *was*-staff ending, as well as a *heka*-sceptre. The inscription above him is missing.

The afterdeck ends with a steering gear (Fig. 269). It is constructed of two vertical poles which support a pair of long and thick steering oars. The vertical poles are ended with ram's heads with uraei on them. To the top of the oars, the tillers are attached. The lower part of the steering gear with a helmsman is not preserved.

The scene is completely deprived of colours.



Fig. 266. The representation of *medu*-staves, boxes and an inscription on the left of the socle in the middle of Amun's river bark – Userhat (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 267. The representation of goddess Mut and an inscription above (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

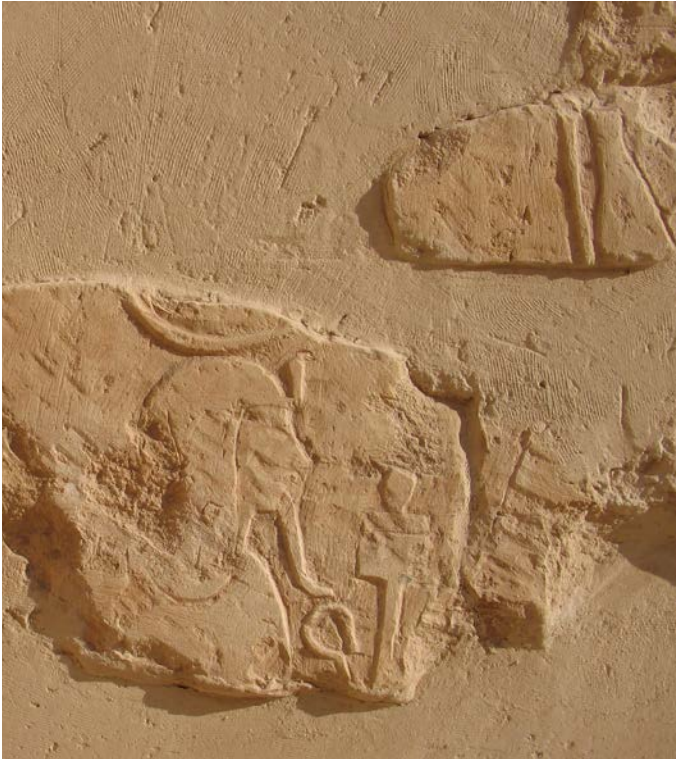


Fig. 268. The representation of Khonsu (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscriptions in Scene 4.10 were carved in three periods: during the reign of Hatshepsut, under Thutmose III and in the post-Amarna period, the destructions in the time of Thutmose III and the Amarna period can be observed and some alterations were made in the post-Amarna period. The inscriptions are located around as well as inside the barks. Because of the fragmentary condition of the upper register, the inscriptions are also in a poor condition. The only preserved texts concern the royal bark and the Userhat bark. The paints on the inscriptions did not survive.



Fig. 269. A steering gear of Amun's river bark – Userhat (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

### *Royal bark*

Only two inscriptions inside the shrine on the royal bark can be seen now. The first text as an element of the original decoration from the reign of Hatshepsut is carved behind the throne of Thutmose III (Tx. 70; **Fig. 261**). This is an end of the standard inscription with wishes for the king. The hieroglyphs are written in a column without the division lines, and headed right, in the same direction as the king. Only four last signs survived and the rests of another one. The width of the group of signs is approx. 8.1 cm. Judging by the style and a character of erasure, the removal of the suffix *.sn* was executed during the reign of Thutmose III and the signs were carefully erased and the surfaced polished. No alterations can be noticed.

Another inscription was added to the decoration during the reign of Thutmose III and replaced the figure of Hatshepsut (Tx. 71; **Fig. 261**). It is carved in

front of the figure of Thutmose III, around the column on which a bird-shaped goddess sits. The hieroglyphs are facing left, in the direction of the goddess and are written without the division lines. They are grouped in two columns on two sides of the column with the representation of the goddess. Almost the whole inscription is

preserved, only some fragments of signs on the right are missing. The upper part of the text was chiseled out with approx. 1.8 cm wide chisel in the Amarna period when the goddess was erased, and it was reconstructed by the post-Amarna artisans partly in stone and partly in plaster which later fell off. The text is very short, three signs, with fragment of another one come from the Thutmose period and the rest is reconstructed.

#### *Amun's river bark – Userhat*

The original fragment of the inscription is engraved above the bark, behind its stern (Tx. 72). Three signs are preserved from the whole inscription and only two of them come from the original decoration. The inscription is carved in columns separated with the division lines, the hieroglyphs point right, in the direction of the bark. The width of the group of signs is impossible to determine. The style of decoration is typical for the early Thutmose times, with signs sculptured in the raised relief. The name of Amun-Ra was erased with approx. 1.8 cm wide chisel during the Amarna period together with the rest of the decoration and reconstructed in the post-Amarna times. The division line was also partly erased by the Amarna workers and restored in the post-Amarna period.

The rest of the inscription is dating to the post-Amarna period, they are grouped inside the Userhat bark and were chiseled out together with the bark itself and reconstructed with the bark in the post-Amarna times. They were engraved rather than sculptured, lowered in the surface and preserved only partially as the surface was largely damaged and later polished with holes filled with plaster, which fell off and a part of signs is lost.

The first inscription is placed inside the shrine with the portable bark of Amun, above the bark, just below the frieze of *sa-* and *djed-* signs (Tx. 73; **Fig. 264**). It is written in one line without the division lines, the hieroglyphs are headed right, in the same direction as the portable bark of Amun. The reconstructed height of the group of signs is approx. 8 cm. The text contains the name and epithets of Amun-Ra, although the epithets are only partly preserved. The inscription on the other side of the bark is unfortunately lost.<sup>333</sup>

Below the bark, on the right side of the socle, another inscription is visible (Tx. 74; **Fig. 265**). It is carved in at least three columns and instead of division lines, the *medu-* staffs are depicted. The signs are faced right, in the same direction as the bark above, the width of the group of signs is approx. 4.9 cm. Two last columns are well preserved, the only destructions are the result of the falling off the plaster.

On the left side of the socle, below the bark, another inscription (Tx. 75; **Fig. 266**) precedes the group of *medu-* staffs, boxes and a sistrum. Unlike the inscription on the other side of the socle, it is not separated from the box by the *medu-* staff. It is written in one column, the hieroglyphs are headed right. The reconstructed width of the group of signs is approx. 4.9 cm. The central part of the text is missing.

The last inscription of Scene 4.10 is carved above the head of goddess Mut, just behind the shrine of the portable bark of Amun (Tx. 76; **Fig. 267**). It is carved in two columns, the first longer with gifts for the king and the second one shorter with the name of the goddess. The columns are separated by the division lines. The hieroglyphs, like the goddess, are faced right. The width of the group of signs is approx. 6.2 cm. All signs of this inscription are preserved.

#### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Around the royal bark:<sup>334</sup>

333 Such an inscription usually contains the phrase “*s3 'nh dd w3s*”, cf. Tx. 51.

334 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 100, Fig. 9.

Tx. 70 (behind the king):



(↓→) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *h3* <sup>(b)</sup> *nb mj R* <sup>c</sup>  
 [...] all [...] around all like Ra.

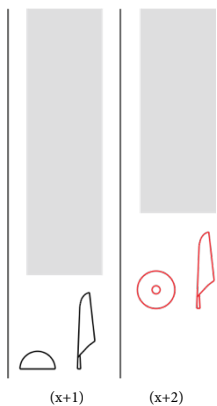
- (a) Three groups of signs based on the inscription in Scene 3.10. In the representation of the Opet Festival where another royal bark is depicted, no inscription behind the royal statue was carved (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV).
- (b) The suffix *.sn* was removed, most probably during the reign of Thutmose III.

Tx. 71 (around a goddess on the *nb*-sign):



(←↓) *dj.s 'nh w3s mj R* <sup>c</sup>  
 May she give life (and) prosperity like Ra.

Around the Userhat bark:



Tx. 72 (behind the Userhat bark):

<sup>(x+1)</sup> (↓→) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> [*Jmn*]-*R* <sup>c</sup>  
<sup>(x+2)</sup> (↓→) [...] <sup>(b)</sup> *j.t*

<sup>(x+1)</sup> [...]  
<sup>(x+2)</sup> [...].

- (a) Two and a half groups of signs.
- (b) Three groups of signs.

Tx. 73 (above the Userhat bark):

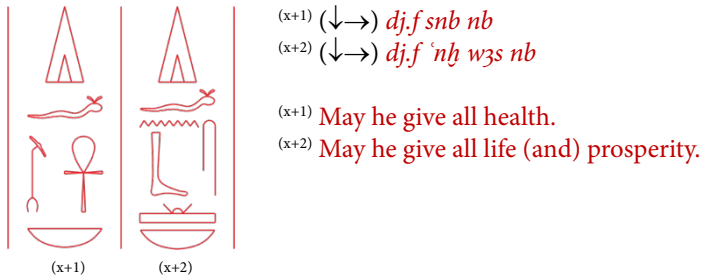


(→) *Jmn-R* <sup>c</sup> *nb ns.wt* [*t3.wj*] *hr* [...] <sup>(a)</sup>

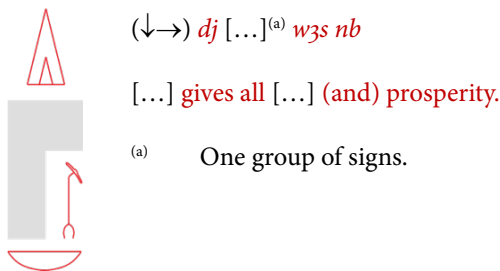
Amun-Ra, Lord of Thrones of [Two Lands] on [...].

- (a) Not more than one group of signs. The length is determined by the position of the naos of the portable bark of Amun.

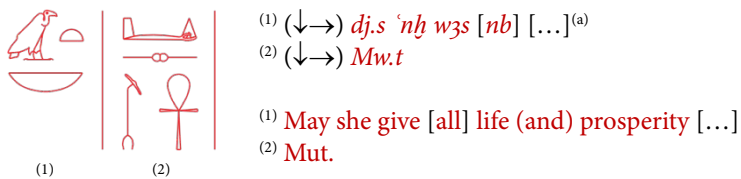
Tx. 74 (in the Userhat bark on the right):



Tx. 75 (in the Userhat bark in the middle):



Tx. 76 (above Mut):



(a) Not more than half of the group of signs. If any other sign was carved below, it is possible to reconstruct sign *nb*.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For analogies of the Nile procession, see: Scene 3.10.

## References

- Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [31]  
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 100, Fig. 9  
 Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 7 (Userhat), 8 (accompanying bark)  
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 7 (Userhat), 8 (accompanying bark)

## UPPER SUB-REGISTER (Pls 43, 43\*; Tx. 77–78; Cat. nos 146, 149, 170–195)

**Dimensions of the upper sub-register:** height: 49.7 cm; width: 447 cm

### SCENE 4.11. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 44, 44\*, Tx. 77; Cat. nos 146, 149, 170–190)

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 49.7 cm; width: 308.5 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is represented on two blocks and 21 fragments of blocks set in two layers.<sup>335</sup> The upper edges of the fragments from the lower layer are well visible. The fragments are mainly small and the central part of the scene is almost empty. The surface was left almost intact during the Amarna period, only a small fragment of the inscription was erased and then restored during the post-Amarna times. A space in front of the first soldier from the second troop together with the fragment of the inscription above are erased, although it is impossible to date this destruction.<sup>336</sup> The colours did not survive except for the red of the bodies, the black of wigs and the *ta*-sign at the bottom of the scene. Some traces of whitewash can be observed.

#### Blocks in the museums:

- Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA48077 (Fig. 216)

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene represents two troops of soldiers united under one inscription (Fig. 270a and b). It is separated from the next scene on the right, Scene 5, by the division line. The scene has also two other borders; it is isolated by the *ta*-sign at the bottom and the *pet*-sign at the top. Only the left border is not marked. The troop of seventeen men marches right (→) and another troop of twelve soldiers (→) follows them in the same direction.

The first troop is described as a troop of recruits, *hwn.w-nfr.w* (Fig. 271).<sup>337</sup> All soldiers are barefooted, and their heads are decorated with simple black wigs. They march very close to each other, with left legs extended forward with feet flat on the ground and the right legs stretched back and placed on the tips of the toes. Both hands are raised and stretched forward. The soldiers are armed with self bows<sup>338</sup> and arrows and some of them have a twig of the perse tree in their hands. They are clad in knee-length kilts<sup>339</sup> made of one triangle piece of cloth tied around the waist with two ends of the material, while the third end is stretched between legs and plugged behind the tiding. The kilts are fastened with a waistband with rectangular tips falling to half thigh.

<sup>335</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 149, 173; blocks fragments Cat. nos 146, 170, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190. Cat. nos 170, 173 were replaced in the wall in the 1984/1985 season; Cat. nos 146, 149, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190 – in the 1986/1987 season.

<sup>336</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>337</sup> For the representations of this troop on the walls of the temple of Hatshepsut, see the description of Scene 3.12 above, pp. 207–211, footnote 237.

<sup>338</sup> This type of bow is described in Scene 3.12, see p. 208 and footnote 238.

<sup>339</sup> This type of kilts is the most popular and is represented in Scenes 3.2, 3.12, 4.6, and probably 4.7.



a.



b.

Fig. 270. Scene 4.11. Procession of soldiers: a. left troop of seventeen soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk); b. right troop of twelve soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

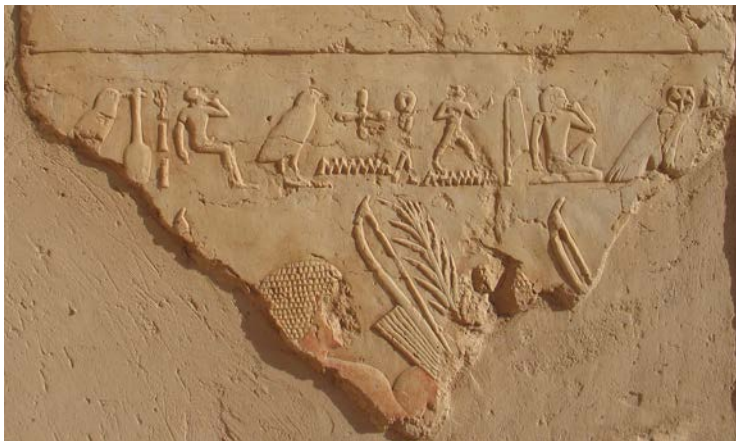


Fig. 271. Beginning of the inscription naming recruits carved above the left troop of soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The first group of six soldiers is carved on one block and five fragments of blocks (Fig. 272).<sup>340</sup> The first soldier goes right. He is represented as close to the right division line of the scene as possible. His face and most of the head are missing, as well as his both hands. He holds in the right hand a self bow. The middle part of the right leg and the left foot are lost, as these parts of the blocks did not survive.

The second person is headed right. The tip of his head with a wig, the right shoulder, the right leg and the left calf are preserved, the rest of the figure is missing. He holds

<sup>340</sup> Cat. nos 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175.

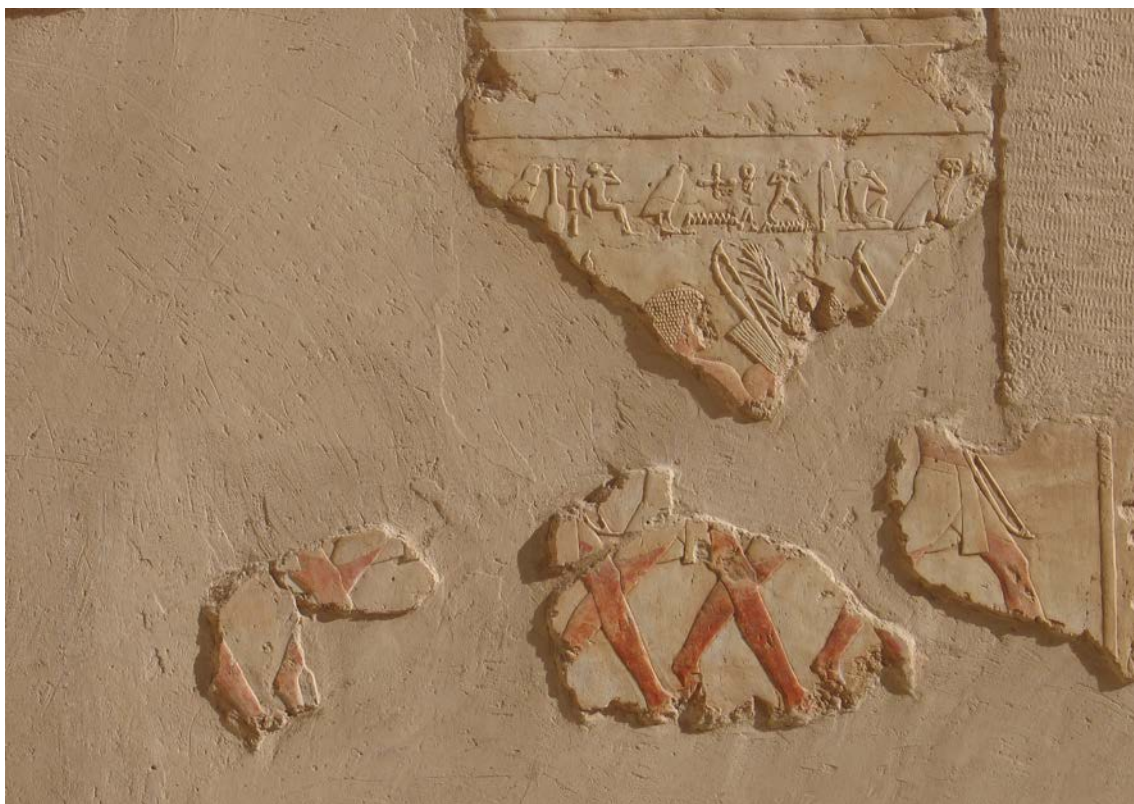


Fig. 272. Six soldiers from the left troop (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 273. Four soldiers from the left troop (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

in his right hand a self bow and a bunch of arrows.

The third soldier faces right. Most of his head and his left shoulder are visible, as well as almost the whole figure from the waist down, except for feet. His left hand is occupied by a twig of the persea tree and he has a self bow in his right hand.

The fourth man is only partly preserved. It is possible to recognise a self bow he holds, as its lower tip survived. His left leg is visible on two lower fragments of blocks.

Even less can be seen from the fifth soldier, he marches right, and his right leg and the fragment of a dress are pre-

served. The silhouette of the sixth man is almost entirely missing, only his right knee, tigh and the lower part of the flat cut fragment of his dress can be seen.

The representation of the seventh man is lost almost completely, only the left calf is still visible.

The eighth man is lost completely.



Fig. 274. Two last soldiers from the left troop (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 275. First soldier of the right troop (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The second group of soldiers is depicted on four fragments of blocks<sup>341</sup> and the rests of four soldiers are visible there. From the ninth soldier in the row, only a right calf survived (Fig. 273).

The legs without feet belonging to the tenth soldier are represented on two small fragments of blocks.

On the same fragments, the legs of two other soldiers can be found. Three small upper fragments show fragments of their upper parts. The eleventh soldier is preserved from the waist down, except for the feet, the tip of his head is also visible. He holds the self bow and a bunch of arrows in the right hand.

The last soldier of this group, the twelfth man in the row, walks right with the self bow and a bunch of arrows in the right hand. The lower fragment of his head and shoulders are preserved on the upper fragments and the lower part of the body from the waist down, without the right leg and the left foot can be seen.

The block containing the representation of three next soldiers disappeared.

The last two soldiers are depicted on a group of four fragments of blocks (Fig. 274).<sup>342</sup> Only a tip of his head, a self bow and a bunch of arrows survived of the sixteenth man who is also faced left.

The seventeenth man is much better preserved. His head had been carved on one fragment of a block, his right part from a torso to a calf – on another.<sup>343</sup> The right foot is visible on the lower fragment of the block. The left part of the soldier is missing. He is armed with a self bow and in the left hand, he holds a twig of the persea tree. His dress differs from the dress of other soldiers in this troop. A knee-length kilt is straight trimmed at the bottom and is fastened with a waistband.<sup>344</sup> The front part did not survive.

It is very probable that in this part of the scene the fragment from the British Museum can be placed. The fragment of block in question, inv. no. EA48077 (Fig. 216), contains the representation of the shoulders and the head of a man armed in two bows and a hand of another man behind with a twig of a persea tree. The exact place of it is impossible to determine.

The first troop is separated from the next one by a flat space, i.e. these troops go in some distance to each other (Fig. 270b).

As the inscription above the second troop is not preserved, the name of the second troop remains unknown. This troop consists of twelve men walking in

341 Cat. nos 176 (two fragments), 177 and a fragment of the block from the British Museum, London EA48077.

342 Cat. nos 146, 179, 180, 181, 182.

343 Cat. nos 179 and 180.

344 This dress is similar to the one from Scene 4.12, but its partial condition does not allow for comparison.



Fig. 276. Six soldiers from the right troop (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

the same direction as the troop of recruits. They go shoulder to shoulder, very close to each other. Their left legs are extended forward with feet flat on the ground and their right legs are stretched back and placed on the tips of the toes. Their hands are raised and stretched forward. They are barefooted, and they have simple black wigs on their heads. The men are clad in the same dress as those from the first troop. The soldiers are armed in splayed axes, spears, shields, and quivers. Some of them carry standards of different shapes.

The figure of the first soldier (**Fig. 275**) is represented on three fragments of blocks.<sup>345</sup> He is headed right and is erased together with the space in front and the fragment of the inscription above. He lost also his shoulders, the left leg except for a foot and the right leg below the calf. He held an axe in his left hand, but only a tip of a shaft is preserved now. In his right hand, he carries a standard in the shape of a flabellum *behet*.<sup>346</sup>

The second man is carved on four small fragments of blocks.<sup>347</sup> He marches right and has a splayed axe in the left hand and a shield in the right hand. His shoulders, the left leg below the knees, and the right leg are missing.

Fragments of six soldiers, from the third to the eighth one, are preserved on one bigger fragment of a block (**Fig. 276**).<sup>348</sup> The third soldier is depicted partly also on another, smaller fragment of a block.<sup>349</sup> He is faced right and carries a spear in the left hand and a bow case in the right hand. His shoulders, back, left leg and right thigh are not preserved.

The next, fourth man is represented on two fragments of a block.<sup>350</sup> He has a splayed axe in the left hand and a quiver in the right hand. His figure from the waist up is lost, as well as his left foot. The tip of the axe shaft can be seen on the small fragment of the block on the right.

The fifth soldier is preserved only on the bigger fragment of the block from the torso down. He is armed with a spear and a shield decorated with a fox fur coat attached to it which he holds in his right hand. It is impossible to determine if he had anything in the left hand.

345 Cat. nos 146, 182, 183.

346 For the standard in the shape of flabellum *behet*, see above, p. 114, footnote 113.

347 Cat. nos 182, 183, 184, 185.

348 Cat. no. 149.

349 Cat. no. 184.

350 Cat. nos 149, 184.



Fig. 277. Seventh and eighth soldiers from the right troop (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 278. The upper block with representation of blades of spears and standards (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

attached to a long pole.<sup>354</sup> The upper part of the standard is preserved on the upper fragment of the block, a fragment of a pole is visible close to the kilt of the man.

The eleventh man is represented on three fragments of blocks.<sup>355</sup> He holds a spear and a shield in the right hand. His right leg is preserved above the knee and the left one above the calf. A fragment of his shoulder can be seen on the small, middle fragment close to the shield. The leaf-shaped blade of the spear is depicted on the upper fragment of the block.

The sixth soldier is preserved only on the bigger fragment of the block, from the waist down. He has a self bow and a quiver in his right hand. His head, shoulders, arms, except for elbows, and most of his torso are missing.

The figure of the seventh man (Fig. 277) is visible on three fragments of blocks.<sup>351</sup> On the upper one, the back part of his head and an upper part of the shield are visible, on the left lower one, the lower part of the shield and the rear, and on the bigger fragment, his dress, the left leg and the left elbow. He is armed with a spear and a shield carried in the right hand.

Fragments of the eighth soldier (Fig. 277) are preserved on the same three fragments of blocks as the previous one. The face, the left arm, and the right fist can be seen on the upper fragment of the block. A fragment of his left thigh is visible on the small, left fragment and the left foot is depicted on the bigger fragment. The man is headed right and carries a bow case in the right hand.

The only witness of the presence of the ninth man is a leaf-shaped blade of the spear in the upper part of the scene, above heads of soldiers. It is preserved on a long fragment of a block (Fig. 278),<sup>352</sup> together with two blades of the spear and two standards.

The tenth soldier is depicted on two fragments of blocks.<sup>353</sup> On the lower fragment, only the kilt, the right leg to the calf and the left thigh can be seen. He holds a standard in the shape of a piece of textile with a knot

351 Cat. nos 146, 186, 187.

352 Cat. no. 190.

353 Cat. nos 188, 190.

354 For this kind of standard, see above, pp. 115 and footnote 114, 147, and below pp. 279, 283; see also Fig. 120.

355 Cat. nos 188, 189, 190.



Fig. 279. Fragment of inscription reconstructed probably by workers of Thutmose III (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

The twelfth soldier is preserved also on the same three fragments of blocks as the eleventh one. His face and left hand with a splayed axe are visible on the small, middle fragment. The man has also a standard in the right hand, probably with a fragment of textile, as a straight pole is seen to the end of its height on the upper fragment of the block. The fragment of a pole is also detectable on the lower fragment of the block together with his left tight.

The scene is almost deprived of colours. The colours applied directly on the stone can be recognised here: the red of human bodies, the colour of soldiers' wigs and the *ta*-sign in the lower part of the scene. The traces of whitewash are observable in some places.

## Inscriptions

### General description

The inscription above the first troop of soldiers is partly preserved on five fragments of blocks,<sup>356</sup> while the inscription above the second troop is entirely lost (Tx. 77). The text is divided into parts by tips of spears and standards carried by soldiers.

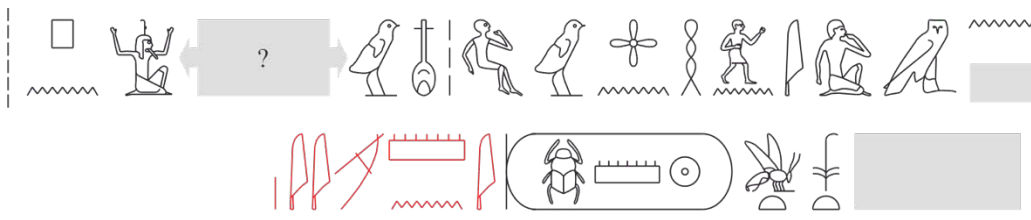
The inscription above the first troop is headed right. It is written in one line without division lines. The height of the group of signs is approx. 5.3 cm. It starts at the very beginning of the scene and continue to the end of the representation of the first troop and even behind, as the last signs can be seen above the head of the first soldier of the second troop.

Two fragments of the inscription were chiseled out and later restored. The first one, of which only words *hh pn* are preserved, was most probably executed during the reign of Thutmose III, as the destruction is very flat (Fig. 279). The second fragment was erased during the Amarna period and in the post-Amarna times, the words *Jmn* and *mry* were restored (Fig. 275).

As the inscription is preserved behind the representation of a soldier belonging to the first troop, perhaps the inscription continues further and finishes before the block with tips of spears and standards,<sup>357</sup> although any single sign did not survive. There were only two spaces where the signs could be written above the second troop of soldiers. Behind the spear of the second man but before the spear of the fifth one and above the head of the sixth man, as other places were occupied by spears and standards.

### Transcription, Transliteration, Translation

Tx. 77 (above the scene):



356 Cat. nos 173, 178, 179, 180, 183.

357 Cat. no. 190.

(→) *n[h]m jn ḥwn.w-nfr.w [...]<sup>(a)</sup> ḥḥ pn [...]<sup>(b)</sup> nswt bitj Mn-ḥpr-R<sup>c</sup> mry Jmn<sup>(c)</sup>*

Re[joi]cing<sup>(d)</sup> by a troop of recruits [...] [in] **this million** [...] King of Upper and Lower Egypt Men-kheper-Ra **beloved of Amun**.

<sup>(a)</sup> 17.5 groups of signs.

<sup>(b)</sup> Three groups of signs.

<sup>(c)</sup> Maximum twelve groups of signs but is necessary to mention that soldiers carried long objects in their hands: spears and standards that divided the inscription into parts. It is also possible that in the space above the heads of the second troop of soldiers there was no inscription at all as it can be proofed by block Cat. no. 189 where no hieroglyphs were carved between the blades of spears and standards.

<sup>(d)</sup> See above, Tx. 36 [4] and Tx. 68.

## Commentary

The name of the second troop represented in Scene 4.11 is not mentioned in the text. The soldiers there are armed and dressed as the followers of the pharaoh from Scene 3.2, and their standards are of the same types as those from Scene 3.2. They wear knee-length kilts fastened with a waistband with rectangular tips falling to half thigh and made of a triangle piece of cloth tied around the waist with two ends of the material, and with the third end stretched between legs and plugged behind the tiding. They are armed with splayed axes, spears, bow cases and shields and hold typical standards in their hands: the standards in the shape of the flabellum *behet* (Fig. 275), another in the shape of a piece of textile with a knot, and probably the last standard was made of a piece of textile without a knot (Fig. 278).<sup>358</sup> The only difference in comparison with Scene 3.2 is that two men of the second troop of Scene 4.11 carry quivers, but it must be stressed that not the whole procession in Scene 3.2 is preserved. A similar group is represented in Scene 4.6 but also without the identifying inscription. As in Scene 4.11, they have a weapon, garment and standards typical for the followers of the pharaoh and the first group, according to the inscription, also belongs to the followers of the pharaoh and has a standard of the followers of the king of Lower Egypt, probably the troop represented in Scene 4.11 as a second troop may be described as the followers of the king of Upper Egypt. For other representations of the followers of the pharaoh, see: Commentary to the Scene 3.2.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

## References

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [38]

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6 (beginning of the procession)

Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA48077  
unpublished

<sup>358</sup> The same group of standards is carried by soldiers in Scene 3.2; in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard on blocks now stored in Oriental Museum, University of Durham in Durham, EG500 (Birch, Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities, 59–60).



Fig. 280. Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 22.98 (The Walters Art Museum, Baltimore, <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/40449/wall-fragment-of-men-with-bows/>, © CC 0).

**SCENE 4.12. PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS (Pls 45, 45\*, Tx. 78; Cat. nos 153, 155, 156, 191–195)**

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 49.7 cm; width: 137.5 cm

**State of preservation:** The scene is carved on three blocks and five fragments of blocks set in two layers.<sup>359</sup> Most of the scene is not preserved. The fragments are generally in a good condition. There is only one erasure executed during the reign of Thutmose III. The scene as well as the inscription were not damaged during the Amarna and Coptic periods.<sup>360</sup> Two fragments of blocks are now in the collections of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore. The colours generally disappeared except for the red of the human bodies.

**Block in the museum:**

- Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 22.98 (Fig. 280)

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene represents the troop of fourteen soldiers marching right (→) (Fig. 281). It is separated from the previous scene by a space between troops of soldiers without a division line. An indication that there are two separate scenes is the inscription above heads of soldiers which starts at the beginning of the scene, above the head of the first soldier of the troop. The scene is distinguished from the others by the *ta*-sign at the bottom and the *pet*-sign at the top.

The name of the troop appears in the inscription above, the soldiers belong to the followers of the pharaoh (*šms[.w] pr.wj- 3*),<sup>361</sup> and in their standard the name of followers of the king of Lower Egypt (*šms.w bjtj*) is carved. The soldiers are barefooted and wear simple wigs. Their hands are raised and stretched forward, and they are situated very close to each other. They march with left legs extended forward with feet flat on the

<sup>359</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 153, 156, 195; blocks fragments Cat. nos 155, 191, 192, 193, 194. All blocks and blocs fragments from this scene were replaced in the wall in the 1986/1987 season.

<sup>360</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>361</sup> For representations of the followers of the pharaoh, see: Commentary to Scenes 3.2 and 4.11.



Fig. 281. Scene 4.12. Procession of soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

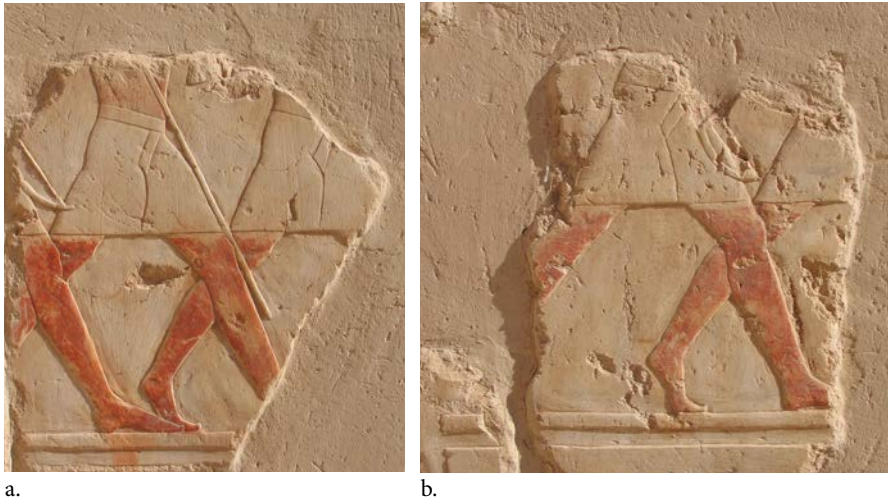


Fig. 282. Dress of soldiers from Scene 4.12 (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

ground and right legs stretched back and placed on the tips of the toes. They carry self bows as a weapon. The soldiers wear knee-length kilts straight trimmed at the bottom and fastened with a waistband (Fig. 282a, b).<sup>362</sup>

The first group of soldiers is depicted on three fragments of blocks (Fig. 282a, 283).<sup>363</sup> It contains the representation of three men. The first soldier marches right, he is preserved from the waist down, except for the left leg. Also, the right elbow can be seen.

The second man, carved on one fragment of a block, is visible from the torso down. His right leg from knee down and the left foot are missing. He holds a standard in his right hand, which contains an inscription *šms bjtj*.

Only the left leg and the tip of the head survived from the third soldier. He was armed with a self bow held in the right hand.

<sup>362</sup> This is a kind of kilt worn also by men described as the followers of his majesty, represented in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXV). It appears also in the procession of soldiers on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico – the second group in the southmost scene (Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLV).

<sup>363</sup> Cat. nos 191, 192, 193.



Fig. 283. Group of three soldiers (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

Soldiers from the fourth to the sixth one are not preserved.

The depiction of the second group of soldiers was executed on one fragment of block.<sup>364</sup> Fragments of four men can be seen there. The right leg below knee seen on the right part of the block belongs to the seventh soldier in the row.

The second man on the block and eighth in the row is visible from the waist down. His left leg below knee is missing.

The ninth soldier in the row is also preserved from the waist down, although his left foot and a fragment of a calf are lost.

The tenth soldier is in the same condition as the third one: his left leg can be seen as well as the tip of his bow.

On two fragments of a block, the lower and the upper ones, fragments of four soldiers can be recognised.<sup>365</sup>

The figures of eleventh and twelfth soldiers are missing but their presence can be traced on the upper block (Fig. 284). The eleventh man carries a standard that was erased and the surface carefully polished. Judging by the delicate traces of it, it represented a cartouche on a standard surrounded by two uraei with a piece of textile hanging down. On the top of a cartouche, a horn, an uraeus and probably a fragment of a *shuty*-feather can be seen in the left upper corner.<sup>366</sup> The twelfth man holds a self bow and a twig of a palm tree, tips of them are visible on the upper fragment of the block.

The thirteenth soldier survived very fragmentarily, his left leg and fragment of a backside, and a tip of his head are still recognisable on three fragments of blocks.<sup>367</sup> He carries a self bow, an upper tip of which can be seen on the upper fragment of the block.

The fourteenth man, the last in the row, is better preserved, he is headed right. The soldier lacks the lower part of the head, the torso, the arms, the right leg from a calf down and the front part of the left foot. He is armed with a self bow, tips of which can be seen on the upper block, the rest of his weapon is missing. His left heel is placed at the edge of the scene, the *ta*-sign finishes exactly in this place.

It is very probable that from this scene comes a fragment of the block stored now in the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore (inv. no. 22.98, Fig. 280) with the representation of the procession of soldiers. Its exact

<sup>364</sup> Cat. no. 153.

<sup>365</sup> Cat. nos 154 and 195.

<sup>366</sup> The same standard is represented on the west wall of the Obelisks Portico (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* VI, Pl. CLV).

<sup>367</sup> Cat. nos 155, 156, 195.



Fig. 284. Group of four soldiers at the end of the scene (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

place, however, is impossible to determine. The height of bows held by the archers, the direction of their march, as well as the space between them suggest the location of this fragment of the block within Scene 4.12.

The colours disappeared in a great part of the decoration. Typically for the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, the colours painted directly on the stone survived. It concerns in the first place the red of human bodies. The delicate stains of black on wigs can also be observed.

#### *Later destruction of decoration*

The scene was altered to a very limited extent. The standard carried by the eleventh soldier was carefully removed, and the surface polished (**Fig. 283**). The traces of this action are still visible on the wall and it was not replaced with any other representation. This change, most probably, comes from the time of the sole reign of Thutmose III.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

The inscription is preserved on three fragments of blocks (Tx. 78). It is carved above the scene, in one line, without division lines separating it from the scene. The text is divided into parts by long standards. The height of the group of signs is approx. 5 cm.

The beginning of the inscription *jr.t hnw* (**Fig. 285**) also commences the inscriptions on this wall in Scenes 3.2, 3.3, 3.12. It is probable then, that this is the beginning of the scene and not the continuation of the previous one. The last hieroglyphs are written at the very end of the scene.

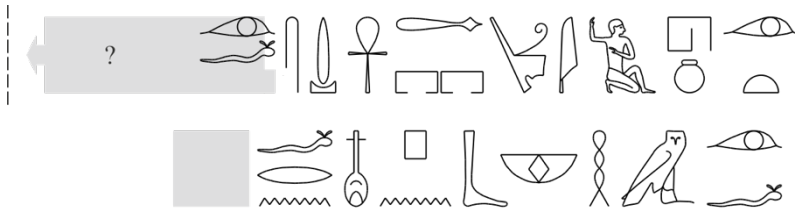
The inscription was not altered, even the words *jr.t hnw*, usually erased in the Amarna period, seem to be untouched.

Fig. 285. Beginning of inscription above Scene 4.12  
(Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



*Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 78 (above the scene):



(→) *jr.t hnw jn šms[.w] pr.wj- 3 'nh wd' snb<sup>(a)</sup> jr.f [...]<sup>(b)</sup> jr.f m hb pn nfr n [...]<sup>(c)</sup>*

Making jubilation by the follower[s] of the pharaoh, may he live, be healthy and be well [...] which he did in this beautiful festival of [...].

- (a) The honorific transposition.
- (b) Twelve groups of signs.
- (c) One group of signs.

### Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For soldiers' representations, see: Scene 3.2.

### References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [38]

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 9, Pls 1, 5

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Phot. 9, Pls 1, 5

Fragment of a block with a procession of archers, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 22.98

Petschel, Von Falck (Eds), *Pharao siegt immer*, 79, Fig. 68

Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 74, Fig. 252, Pl. L



Fig. 286. Scene 5. Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (replaced with an inscription) leading the procession of priests with the portable bark of Amun (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

**SCENE 5. HATSHEPSUT AND THUTMOSE III LEADING THE PROCESSION OF PRIESTS WITH THE PORTABLE BARK OF AMUN (Pls 46, 46\*, Tx. 79–82; Cat. nos 47, 48, 49, 54, 170, 196–204)**

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 176.8 cm; width: 305 cm.

**State of preservation:** The condition of the scene is a result of the earthquake, most of the blocks disappeared. Only six blocks and eight fragments of blocks set in five layers have survived.<sup>368</sup> The height of the layer is equal to the height of the upper register. One of the fragments, the one with the representation of the right foot of the king, served probably as a pavement slab as it is polished in a specific way. During the reign of Thutmose III, the figure of Hatshepsut was replaced by an inscription. The bigger fragment of the scene, with the representation of the portable bark of Amun,

was chiseled out in the Amarna period and re-carved in the post-Amarna times. The figure of a protective bird was hammered out in the Amarna times and not reconstructed.<sup>369</sup> The only colours that survived, are the red painted directly on the stone and coming from two phases of decoration: dark red from the reign of Hatshepsut and light red from the post-Amarna period.

## Description

### *Original decoration*

The scene takes place on the east bank of Thebes. It shows Thutmose III (→) and Hatshepsut (→) leading the procession with the portable bark of Amun. The protective bird (→) was depicted above the king, today unpreserved, although traces of it can still be seen. A similar bird above the queen is lost. The bigger part of the scene is completely removed; it was erased during the Amarna period and restored in the post-Amarna

<sup>368</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 47, 48, 54, 196, 199, 202; blocks fragments Cat. nos 49, 170, 197, 198, 200, 201, 203, 204. Cat. nos 47, 48, 49, 54, 170, 196, 200, 201, 202 were replaced in the wall in the 1984/1985 season; Cat. nos 197, 198, 199, 203, 204 – in the 1986/1987 season.

<sup>369</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.



Fig. 287. Fragment of block with a kilt and *hedj*-mace of Thutmose III (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

times. The part above the third register of priests and the bark of Amun is totally unpreserved. It is possible that a procession with the royal statues and an inscription were located there, parallel to the lower register Scene 2, although no fragments of blocks from here can be identified either in the temple *lapidaria* or in the museums.

#### *THUTMOSE III (PLS 47, 47\*)*

The figure of Thutmose III is depicted on one block and three fragments of blocks, the bigger part is missing (Fig. 286). The king strides on a *ta*-sign. His right arm is placed along the body and the left arm is slightly extended forward, he holds a *hedj*-mace horizontally in the right hand and a *mekes*-staff in the left hand (Fig. 55), placed on the ground.<sup>370</sup> Except for the *hedj*-mace, he probably had also an *ankh*-sign in the right hand, but it is missing now. His head is lost, as well as a torso and the right shoulder, most of the right arm and the left forearm. His left shoulder and a small part of a torso can still be seen, and it is possible to reconstruct the costume he wears. He was clad in a falcon jacket, a *sendjyt*-kilt with a triangle pleated apron with a belt and a bull's tail. The jacket is lost in great part, only the right ending of a wing with tips of feathers is visible. It can be deduced from the preserved fragments that his arms and legs were not decorated with armlets, wristlets and anklets. The *sendjyt*-kilt can be recognised only at the back, the front part is covered with the pleated apron above knees (Fig. 287). A sash with stripes falls from the supporting belt. The lower part of the dress is not preserved. The middle and lower fragments of a bull's tail can be recognised behind the king. The legs of the king are missing but his feet are carved on the lower fragment of the block. The front part of his right foot is lost. Thutmose III is barefooted. Above the king, a protective bird and the royal protocol are carved and behind him is a very badly preserved fragment of an inscription.

The figure of the king is deprived of colours. The traces of the red painted directly on the stone are still preserved on the arms, the left shoulder and the right foot of Thutmose III.

#### *PROTECTIVE BIRD*

The bird above Thutmose III is completely chiseled out with the approx. 1.2 cm wide chisel (Fig. 288). It is impossible to determine what bird it was. Only its direction is known, in line with the direction of the king. The bird holds a *shen*-sign in its claws.

<sup>370</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 49, 201 and 202 with the representation of the king were localised by Karkowski in the 1978/1979 season (Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6).

*HATSHEPSUT*

Not much can be seen from the figure of Hatshepsut (Figs 286, 287). The shape of the crown, her face and neck are well preserved on two fragments of the block and one block. The queen wears a *khepresh*-crown. It is very probable that she was attired in the same costume as Thutmose III but nothing of her garment survived.

*Procession of the bark of Amun*

The procession of the bark of Amun was entirely chiseled out in the Amarna period and no traces of the original scene can now be observed.



Fig. 288. Fragment of block with an erased protective bird and an inscription above Thutmose III's head (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

*DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III (PLS 47, 47\*)*

During the reign of Thutmose III, an alteration was executed in the decoration of Scene 5. The figure of Hatshepsut was carefully erased, and the wall was polished and redecorated. In the place of the royal figure, an inscription in columns was engraved. The scene was then reduced to Thutmose III leading the procession. No other changes can be noticed.

*DESTRUCTIONS OF THE AMARNA PERIOD*

During the Amarna period, a big part of the scene was chiseled out deeply with the 1.2 cm wide chisel. The destruction covers at least the space of the procession of the bark of Amun and three rows of the procession of priests. The surface erased during the Amarna times is attested on two fragments of blocks and four blocks.<sup>371</sup>

*DECORATION OF THE POST-AMARNA PERIOD (PLS 48, 48\*, 49, 49\*, 50, 50\*)*

During the post-Amarna period, a big part of Scene 5 was re-carved. The scene shows Thutmose III (→) leading the procession of the portable bark of Amun (→) in a company of the procession of priests carrying liturgical objects, depicted in three rows (→). The priests surround the bark of Amun from the bottom and the right. It is possible that the scene was much more developed but nothing more survived. Above the king a protective bird was represented and in front of the king, an inscription was engraved. The scene is limited from three sides, the upper border is not preserved. From the bottom, a *ta*-sign is carved; the scene is separated from others by the division lines on two sides. The surface of the wall, after the Amarna-period destructions, was prepared for the decoration, roughly polished, the biggest holes in the surface were filled with plaster and

<sup>371</sup> Cat. nos 47, 48, 196, 197, 198, 199.

Fig. 289. Portable bark of Amun carried by priests (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

the whole reconstructed surface was covered with the plaster, too. The new decoration was executed in a very flat raised relief in a style characteristic for post-Amarna decoration.

#### THUTMOSE III (PLS 47, 47\*)

The figure of Thutmose III was not altered during the previous periods. The king strides right, behind the procession, holding a *mekes*-staff and a *hedj*-mace in his hands. An inscription in front of him introduces the purpose of the procession. It is not certain if above the king a protective bird was represented. There are no traces of preparation of the surface usually preceding the reconstruction activity.

#### Priests carrying the bark of Amun (PLs 48, 48\*)

The central place in the procession is reserved for the portable bark of Amun. The bark is carried on the shoulders of priests. Only one row of them, with three men in a row, is visible on one

block and one fragment of a block that remained from the big scene.<sup>372</sup> Four other priests are in the procession and are pictured in two groups in the middle of the bark. A thick rod supporting the bark can be seen on the relief, two other rods were not represented and only the number of priests in a row can witness it.

The portable bark of Amun is turned right (Fig. 289).<sup>373</sup> Only the central part of it is preserved. The bark is placed on a sledge. A small fragment of a *wesekh*-collar can be found in the back part of the bark. Two winged scarabs are carved on the rod from two sides of the bark. Between them, four kneeling figures making a *henu*-gesture and headed right are depicted. The head of the first figure belongs to a human, the second and the fourth have the falcon shape, the third is missing. The middle part of the bark is occupied by a naos. It was covered with a veil in the shape of a sail. From figures on the deck of the bark being typical equipment of the bark, only a kneeling figure of a king before a shrine can be observed.

The number of priests carrying the bark can be reconstructed based on Scene 2. Most probably originally there were three rows of priests striding shoulder to shoulder to the right in the front of the bark and three at the back. The representation of only one row can be seen, the rest is missing. The priests walk on a very thin *ta*-sign. They hold the rods with their left hands slightly extended forward and with their right hands placed



<sup>372</sup> Cat. nos 198 and 199.

<sup>373</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 198 and 199 were localised by Karkowski in the 1978/1979 season (Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6).



Fig. 290. Legs of priests in the lower sub-register of the procession of priests with liturgical objects (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 291. The eighth priest in the lower sub-register of the procession of priests with liturgical objects (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

closer to the bodies. They are barefooted. The upper parts of shaved bald heads of priests stick out over rods, the tips of their heads, eyes and ears are visible, the rest is hidden behind rods. They are clad in long dresses expanding downwards, with sashes that cover the torso, but their upper parts are difficult to determine.

The priests depicted in the middle of the bark in the foreground, are headed right. They are shaved bald and barefooted, but they differ in their attire from priests carrying the bark. The long dresses they wear are very similar to those seen on the priests at rods, but their torsos are covered with panther skins. The front paws are placed under the right shoulders of the priests with panther's heads on the bellies, covering the left shoulders and leaving the right shoulder uncovered. The back paws hang from the left shoulders of the priests.

Delicate traces of the red painted directly on the stone are visible on arms and hands of priests carrying the bark of Amun.

#### *Procession of priests in the lower sub-register (Pls 49, 49\*)*

In the lower sub-register there is a place for twelve priests taking part in the procession with liturgical objects, but remnants of only six of them are preserved. They are carved on six fragments of blocks. The priests walk on a *ta*-sign. The lower part of the *ta*-sign seems to be a vestige of the original line, while the upper part is a post-Amarna reconstruction.

The first man is missing completely. Only the legs survived from the four next priests (Fig. 290). They were barefooted. The seventh man carries a *medu*-staff but not much can be recognised on a very small fragment of a block.<sup>374</sup> His left arm and a middle part of the *medu*-staff are visible. The eighth one is in a better condition (Fig. 291). In both hands, he holds a staff ended with a human head, his right hand is placed high at shoulder level and the left hand is clenched on a cane at thigh level. He is shaved bald and wears a kilt supported by a belt. The lower part of the eighth priest is missing.

The traces of the red painted directly on the feet of the fifth priest and arm of the seventh and eighth ones are detectable. On the hair of the head at the top of the staff, the stains of black also applied directly on the stone, can be found.

374 Block Cat. no. 198.



Fig. 292. Fragment of block with the representation of two priests from the second and the third sub-registers of the procession of priests with liturgical objects (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).



Fig. 293. Priest carrying a statue of a striding king (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

*Procession of priests in the middle sub-register (Pls 50, 50\*)*

Only remains of one priest can be seen in the second sub-register on one fragment of a block (Fig. 292). Most of his figure is missing, the left shoulder, arms and head are preserved. The man is shaved bald, he carries in the left hand a figure of a striding king in a *nemes*-headdress, clad in a simple kilt and wearing a false beard.<sup>375</sup> The statue is placed on a flat socle. The priest supports the figure with the right hand. The gesture of the priest is a copy of the gesture performed by the king's statue (Fig. 293). The priest almost touches the division line being a limit of the scene.

*Procession of priests in the upper sub-register (Pls 50, 50\*)*

On the same block as the priest in the second register, the remnants of another priest can be seen in the register above (Fig. 292). On the single incised line, the left leg, the right foot and a corner of a kilt expanding downwards are represented. The priest is located exactly over the one with a statue of a king, probably he also carried a liturgical object in his hand, but this fragment did not survive.

<sup>375</sup> In the temple of Hatshepsut, a priest carrying a statue, also restored in the post-Amarna times, is represented once more, in the south wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard in the parallel procession of priests with liturgical objects accompanying the procession of the bark of Amun during the return of the procession to Karnak in the representation of the Opet Festival (Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* V, Pl. CXXIII).

*LATER ALTERATIONS OF DECORATION (PLS 47, 47\*)*

One alteration of Scene 5 may be dated to the time after the post-Amarna reconstruction (Fig. 289). In the place where originally Hatshepsut was carved and later replaced by an inscription, round and horizontal lines are roughly and deeply engraved. It is possible that they were added as an element of a scene with the procession of the portable bark of Amun. In parallel Scene 2 with the representation of the procession of the bark of Amun, there were also some later additions executed in the same style.<sup>376</sup>

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

There are four inscriptions from different periods carved in this scene on two blocks and six fragments of blocks.<sup>377</sup> All of them are depicted around the figure of Thutmose III. Three of them come from the reign of Hatshepsut as an element of the original decoration, one replaced the figure of Hatshepsut and was executed by the artisans of Thutmose III. No inscription from the post-Amarna period survived. The texts were not altered. The size of hieroglyphs is similar in all four inscriptions.

The first inscription (Tx. 79) was engraved above the head of Thutmose III and contains the royal protocol.<sup>378</sup> Hieroglyphs are headed right, in the same direction as the figure of the king. It is carved on three fragments of blocks. The inscription is written in four columns without division lines. The width of the group of the signs is between 9.0 and 10.2 cm. It is very probable that, although the columns did not start on the same level, at least two first were finished at the same height, just above the king's head. The two first columns were equal, but the two next were shorter due to the space needed for the representation of the protective bird. The last column is almost entirely lost, only the sign *mj* (Gardiner sign W19) can still be seen under the wing of the bird.

The second inscription (Tx. 80) was originally very short, now the fragment of the sign *'nh* is visible on the fragment of a block. The inscription was carved on two sides of a column on which a goddess seated on a *nb*-sign. Originally four signs were depicted on two signs of the column, the whole text was as follows: *dj.s 'nh w3s* and should be read in lines. The height of the reconstructed *'nh*-sign is approx. 8.5 cm. The inscription is headed left, in the direction of the goddess.

The third inscription (Tx. 81), in a very fragmentary state of preservation, is located behind the king. The beginning of it is missing; only two partly preserved hieroglyphs in the middle and three signs at the end are detectable. The inscription was written in a column without division lines, the width of the column cannot be reconstructed with certainty. The hieroglyphs are headed right. The last sign is placed on the level of the bull's tail end.

The biggest inscription of Scene 5, inscription Tx. 82, was carved in front of the king.<sup>379</sup> It was executed in the reign of Thutmose III when the figure of Hatshepsut was erased and the surface polished very carefully. The text was carved in columns with division lines. The *mekes*-staff of the king serves as the last division line. The width of the group of signs is approx. 10.9 cm. Only three out of probable four columns survived. Unlike the similar inscription in Scene 2, which replaced the figure of Hatshepsut, the inscription in Scene 5 was not altered. The sign Gardiner P3, that was replaced by the image of the Userhat bark in Scene 2, here is left intact. The inscription finishes at the same height as the inscription Tx. 81, just above the *ta*-sign. The hieroglyphs are of worse quality than other signs in this scene.

The inscriptions are almost deprived of colours. Only the red colour of pupils in two signs *jr* (Gardiner sign D4) in columns three and four, applied directly on the stone, is detectable.

<sup>376</sup> See above, pp. 83–84, Figs 85, 86.

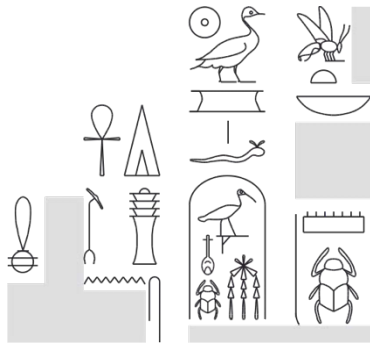
<sup>377</sup> Cat. nos 49, 54, 170, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204.

<sup>378</sup> Block Cat. no. 170.

<sup>379</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 49, 200 and 202 were localised by Karkowski in the 1978/1979 season (Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6).

*Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*

Tx. 79 (above Thutmose III):



(x+1) (↓→) [*nswt*] *bjtj nb* [*t3.wj*] *Mn-hpr*[-R ]  
 (x+2) (↓→) *s3 R ' mrj.f Dhw.tj-ms-nfr-hpr*  
 (x+3) (↓→) *dj 'nh dd w3s sn[b]*  
 (x+4) (↓→) *mj* [*R ' d.t*]

(x+1) [King of Upper] and Lower Egypt, Lord of Two Lands, Men-kheper[-Ra]  
 (x+2) Son of Ra, his beloved, Djehuti-mes-nefer-kheper  
 (x+3) given life, stability, prosperity (and) heal[th]  
 (x+4) like [Ra, forever].

Tx. 80 (in front of the goddess on the *nb*-sign):

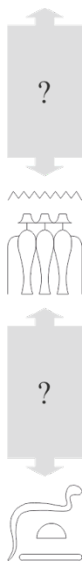


(↓→) [*dj.s*] *'nh* [...]<sup>(a)</sup>

[May she give] life [...]

<sup>(a)</sup> Usually in this place the inscription *dj.s 'nh w3s* is written, most probably then, two signs, each one on one side of the column, can be expected.

Tx. 81 (behind Thutmose III):



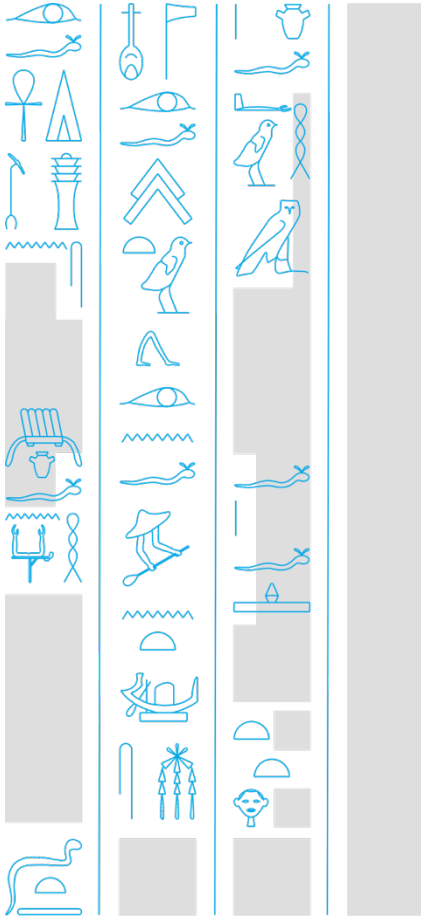
(↓→) [...]<sup>(a)</sup> *n hnt* [...]<sup>(b)</sup> *d.t*

[...] foremost [...] forever.

<sup>(a)</sup> One and three-fourth groups of signs.

<sup>(b)</sup> Two and half groups of signs.

Tx. 82 (in front of Thutmose III):



[...]  
 (x+1) (↓→) *jb.f [h] 'w m [...](a) f.f htp [...](b) hr [...](c)*  
 (x+2) (↓→) *ntr nfr jr.f hp.t<sup>(d)</sup> jr.n.f hn.t ms [...](e)*  
 (x+3) (↓→) *jr.f dj 'nh dd w3s sn[b] 3w.t[-jb].f hn' k3.f [...](f) d.t*

[...]  
 (x+1) His heart rejoices over [...] his [...]  
 (x+2) perfect god, he did a run after he did a water-procession of the one who begot [him].  
 (x+3) he did, given live, stability, prosperity, health (and) joy together with his *ka* [...] forever.

- (a) One group of signs.
- (b) Three groups of signs.
- (c) One group of signs.
- (d) For word *hp.t*, see: Postel, « Rame » ou « course », 377–420.
- (e) Half group of signs.
- (f) One group of signs.

## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For the representation of the procession of the bark of Amun, see: Scene 2.

For the representation of the procession of priests with liturgical objects, see: Scene 2.

## References

Iwaszczuk, *Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2*, 131 [39]

Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, Fig. 6



Fig. 294. Scene 6. Hatshepsut and Thutmose III censuring before the portable bark of Amun and ithyphallic Amun (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

**SCENE 6. HATSHEPSUT AND THUTMOSE III CENSURING BEFORE THE PORTABLE BARK OF AMUN AND ITHYPHALLIC AMUN (Pls 51, 51\*, Tx. 83–86; Cat. nos 205–208)**

**Dimensions of the scene:** height: 176.8 cm; width: 385 cm.

**State of preservation:** The scene is very fragmentarily preserved, it is depicted on five blocks and two fragments of blocks set in five layers,<sup>380</sup> although any fragment from the fifth, the uppermost layer, was found. The scene is completely reconstructed, not a single block survived in the wall. The height of the scene is equal to the size of the register. A big part of the scene was altered, partly during the reign of Thutmose III when the figure of Hatshepsut was erased and partly in the post-Amarna times when the Amarna period destructions of the shrine with the bark of Amun, as well as an inscription behind the king, were restored. Besides, offerings in

<sup>380</sup> Blocks Cat. nos 5, 196, 205, 207, 208; blocks fragments Cat. nos 31, 206. Cat. no. 5 was replaced in the wall in the 1975/1976 season; Cat. nos 31, 196, 207, 208 – in the 1984/1985 season; Cat. nos 205, 206 – in the 1986/1987 season.



Fig. 295. Thutmose III and Hatshepsut (replaced later with offerings) (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

front of the king were added in the space left after the removal of the queen's figure. The restored scenes were flatly hewed and in consequence, the surface of the figures was the same as the surface of the background.<sup>381</sup> Most of the colours have disappeared although the dark red colour of the king's body and the lighter red colour of the lotus flower painted directly on the stone are well visible.

## Description

### *ORIGINAL DECORATION (Pls 52, 52\*)*

The original decoration is reconstructed on the basis of three blocks.<sup>382</sup> The scene represents Thutmose III (→) and Hatshepsut (→) censing in front of the shrine with the bark of Amun (←) and ithyphallic Amun behind it (←) (Fig. 294). The big part of the scene on the right was chiseled out during the Amarna period, the destructions are deep, and nothing is detectable from the original decoration in this part of Scene 6.

### *THUTMOSE III CENSING BEFORE THE BARK OF AMUN*

Thutmose III is headed right (Fig. 295) and most probably stands on a *ta*-sign, fragments of which are visible below the offering table. Not much is preserved of his figure, on left fragment of block his shoulder a fragment of his backside can be seen (Fig. 56). On the neighbouring block, his arms are represented (Fig. 44). The rest of his figure is missing. He wears a *sendjyt*-kilt and a bull's tail. His right hand was decorated with a wristlet,

<sup>381</sup> For the style and techniques of destructions and alterations, see above, pp. 53–61.

<sup>382</sup> Cat. nos 196, 207 and 208.



Fig. 296. The block with representation of offerings. Traces of erased Hatshepsut still visible on the left (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

but the paint disappeared and only an unpainted stripe on the red of his arm can be seen. In the left hand, he holds a pot with a burning incense and he adds seven balls of incense to it with the right hand (**Fig. 295**). The inscription (Tx. 83) confirms that the ritual of censuring takes place here.

The colours are generally washed out but the red of his arms and in the inscription, applied directly on the stone, is almost perfectly preserved.

#### *HATSHEPSUT*

The figure of Hatshepsut was erased but a negative of destruction shows traces of her left leg and

a knee-length kilt detectable on the fragment of a block with offerings as well as her back on the block with hands of Thutmose III (**Figs 295–296**).<sup>383</sup> Nothing further can be said about her garment and the gesture of her hands. The colours are not preserved.

#### *DECORATION OF THUTMOSE III*

During the reign of Thutmose III, the figure of Hatshepsut was carefully erased although traces of her figure can still be seen, as well as traces of a chisel that was used to remove her silhouette (**Figs 44** and **297**). After the erasure, the empty space was polished and, most probably, covered with plaster. No traces of the Thutmoseid replacement of her figure are detectable on the wall. All colours are missing.

#### *Destructions of the Amarna period*

During the Amarna period, a big part of the decoration was deeply chiseled out with an approx. 1.3 cm wide chisel (**Fig. 295**). It covered not only the representation of the shrine but also a space directly adjacent to the figure of the queen as well as an inscription behind Thutmose III, which was hammered together with a fragment of neighbouring Scene 5.

#### *Decoration of the post-Amarna period (Pls 53, 53\*)*

In the post-Amarna period, the surface was prepared for new decoration, it was polished, and the deeper holes were filled with plaster. The whole surface was covered with plaster, too. Traces of polishing are attested behind the king and in front of Hatshepsut, where the lowering of the surface is still visible. The relief is very flat, only incised and not sculptured.

<sup>383</sup> Cat. nos 207 and 208.



Fig. 297. The representation of the portable bark of Amun on a socle (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

#### *THUTMOSE III CENSING BEFORE THE BARK OF AMUN*

The figure of Thutmose III was left intact by the artisans in the post-Amarna times. However, the inscription located behind his back was re-carved together with the next part of the scene and the division line. The space was lowered, which suggests that possibly originally no inscription behind the king was inscribed there and it was part of the originally wider Scene 5. At the level of the king's shoulder, a lower part of a fan in the shape of flabellum *behet* supported by an *ankh*-sign is represented.

#### *OFFERINGS*

Another addition to the decoration of the Thutmoside period was complementing of the empty space left after the removal of the figure of Hatshepsut with the image of offerings. The space in front of the queen was lowered as well and erased in the Amarna period. The offerings, however, covered more space than only the remnants of the Amarna destruction and bouquets can be seen very close to the figure of Thutmose III.

The offerings were represented on three fragments of blocks (Fig. 297). The lower part of the offering pale concentrates around two long stands widening upwards and downwards set directly on a *ta*-sign, on which lay two bouquets of lotus flowers and their stems fall to the ground. On the left, a very schematically depicted representation of lettuce stands on the ground. Above the stands, a mat is carved and on it, different kinds of



Fig. 298. An inscription in front of Thutmose III (Phot. J. Iwaszczuk).

offerings are shown. Only the left part of this pale is preserved, the boons are placed in layers. In the lower layer, an offering difficult to identify and an oval loaf of bread are laid and in the upper layer, there are collected a bunch of grapes and a basket with an offering – that is impossible to recognise – inside. To the left of this pale of offerings, a very big bouquet is depicted, schematically represented. The bouquet was constructed of at least four tiers of flowers and fruits on a very wide stem creating its core.

The stains of the light red colour painted directly on the stone are attested on the stems of two bouquets of lotus flowers.

#### BARK OF AMUN

The image of the portable bark of Amun is represented on one block and one fragment of a block (Fig. 297).<sup>384</sup> The bark was placed in a shrine of which the back lower part is depicted on the block just at the granite gate.<sup>385</sup> The shrine was disposed on the socle and a thick column supported its roof. The lower part of the column can be recognised on the same right lower block. The middle part of the bark is represented on a block and a fragment of a block.<sup>386</sup> The bark is set up on a socle. The decoration of the socle is limited to marking a cornice in the upper part.

To the left of the socle, a column of an inscription (Tx. 86) is carved. It is impossible to recognise the decoration on the right of the socle, only one sloping line can be seen.

Directly on the socle, two rectangular supports are depicted, on which rests a sledge of the bark. On a low and short socle set between sledge skids, a bark headed left is placed. Only the central part of it is preserved, the hull of the bark with a naos in the middle can be noticed. The decoration of the bark is well visible. On the sledge, on two sides of the naos, two winged scarabs with sun disks between their forelegs are carved, between them, four figures faced left knee in the *henu*-gesture, the first one has a human face, three others – canid faces. There are three kings' figures on the deck. Two of them are located on two sides of the naos and are headed in the direction of the naos. They support the columns of the naos with both hands. They wear a *nemes*-headdress with an uraeus on the heads and a false beard is attached to the beard of the left king, they are barefooted, their costume is not marked in the relief. On the left, a kneeling king holding *nu*-vases in his raised at shoulder level and extended forward hands is represented. His head is missing, he is barefooted and is clad in a kilt with a knot on the belly.

Above the kneeling kings on the left, another king, this time standing is depicted. He holds a pole of a fan, although the fan is lost now. Behind the king, another inscription was written.

Traces of the light red painted directly on the stone are detectable on the socle.

#### ITHYPHALIC AMUN(?)

Behind the shrine of the bark of Amun, a high socle with toes of a foot can be seen on one block (Fig. 62).<sup>387</sup> The location of the block is fixed as the representation covers two scenes (Scenes 1 and 6) from the upper

384 Cat. nos 205 and 206.

385 Cat. no. 5.

386 Cf. footnote 4.

387 Cat. no. 5.

and lower registers and the inscription which describes goddess Mut in Scene 1 in the lower register must be located above the goddess. The figure represented in Scene 6 is moved forward which may happen in two cases: either there was an inscription behind the god, or the representation of the god should be wider than usual. The only god represented on a socle who needs more space at the back is ithyphallic Amun with his arm raised behind his head and with a garden or shrine behind his legs. Taking into consideration that the bark of Amun returned to Karnak from its journey, it seems most probable that the toes represented here belong to ithyphallic Amun.

The block is deprived of the traces of colours.

## Inscriptions

### *General description*

There are four inscriptions carved in this scene in two different periods: one of them is written in front of the king during the reign of Hatshepsut, and three of them are engraved around the bark and behind the king's back.

The first inscription, dating to the time of Hatshepsut, describes the activity of the king and is carved on one block, directly below the king's hands with a censer (Tx. 83; **Fig. 298**).<sup>388</sup> Hieroglyphs are headed right, in the same direction as the king. The width of the group of signs is approx. 10 cm. The text is written in one column without division lines. The end of the inscription is missing.

The second inscription was added behind the back of Thutmose III during the post-Amarna period (Tx. 84; **Fig. 295**). It is written on one fragment of a block<sup>389</sup> in a column, without the division lines. Only the beginning of the text consisting of three signs survived. The hieroglyphs are very roughly incised. The signs are headed right, the width of the group of signs is 10.4 cm.

The third text is incised on the fragment of block inside the shrine, on the right of the naos of the bark (Tx. 85; **Fig. 297**).<sup>390</sup> The inscription is very badly preserved and most of it was carved in plaster, which is gone now, as a result, signs are difficult to recognise. In this place, one can expect the name of the god and his epithets. The direction of the hieroglyphs should be in line with the direction of the bark. The preserved fragment is the end of the inscription written in line without division lines. It is impossible to determine the height of signs, their upper part is missing.

The last inscription is carved in the shrine, below the representation of the bark of Amun, on its left side (Tx. 86; **Fig. 297**). On one block only the beginning of the last column of the inscription is preserved.<sup>391</sup> In other representations of the bark on the socle it consists of four parallel columns with the boons given to the king by the god. The signs are headed left, in the direction of the bark. The reconstructed width of the group of signs is 8.8 cm.

The colours of inscriptions are not preserved, except for the red of a pupil in the sign *jr* (Gardiner sign D4) in inscription Tx. 83, which was painted directly on the stone.

### *Transcription, Transliteration, Translation*



Tx. 83 (in front of Thutmose III):



(↓→) *jr.t sntr*



Making censings



388 Cat. no. 208.

389 Cat. no. 196.

390 Cat. no. 206.

391 Cat. no. 205.

Tx. 84 (behind Thutmose III):



(↓→) *s3 'nh h3* [...] <sup>(a)</sup>

Protection, life around [...]



<sup>(a)</sup> Maximum five groups of signs.



Tx. 85 (in the shrine above the bark):



(←) *snn [Jm]n-[R'] nswt ntr.w*

image of [Am]un-[Ra], King of Gods

Tx. 86 (in the shrine below the bark):



(←↓) [...] <sup>(a)</sup> *dd mdw dj* [...] <sup>(b)</sup>

Words spoken: [I] gave [you] [...]

<sup>(a)</sup> Probably three columns are missing.

<sup>(b)</sup> Approx. two groups of signs.



## Analogies from the temple of Hatshepsut

For the representation of the procession of the bark of Amun, see: Scene 2.

For the representation of the procession of priests with liturgical objects, see: Scene 2.

## References

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 2, 131 [39]



## CHAPTER 6. GRAFFITO AND DIPINTI

Words *graffito* and *dipinto* are used here for the distinction of two different techniques applied to the preparation of inscriptions. For this publication, it is assumed after Dawid F. Wiczorek that under the term *graffito*, inscription is scratched on the surface and the word *dipinto* describes an inscription written in paint.<sup>1</sup>

Unlike in other parts of the Upper Courtyard, additional inscriptions are almost fully unattested in the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard. Only four of them are preserved: one *graffito* and three *dipinti*. The authors of the *dipinti* made with red paint may be linked with the makers of the decoration. The dating of the *graffito* must include a broader chronological framework, as it is related to a certain accessibility of the Upper Courtyard. The location of this type of inscription on the north wing of the east wall seems to be accidental, only in one case the location of the inscription can be precisely explained. One *dipinto* can be dated based on its context and contents.

### FIGURAL GRAFFITO

#### GRAFFITO 1. BIRD

Location: Below Scene 1, on the block with the *dado*-frieze adjacent to the granite gate, 13.5 cm from the gate,

7 cm below the *dado*-frieze, 1344 cm from the walking level, on the fourth course of blocks; cf. Pls 2–2\*

Dimensions: height: 5.9 cm; width: 6.7 cm

Dating: unknown, possibly Pharaonic period

Description: Schematic representation of a bird scratched on the stone surface.

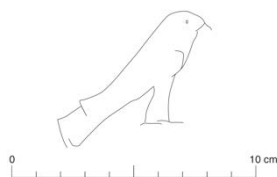


Fig. 299. *Graffito* 1. Bird (Phot. and drawing J. Iwaszczuk).

Commentary: The location of the *graffito* suggests that it was made by somebody who had free access to the Upper Courtyard and could rest on the floor. On the other hand, it is not a copy of any sign carved close to the place where the “artist” sat, the direction of the sign excludes the copy from Scene 1, no falcon hieroglyph (Gardiner sign G5) without the crown, i.e. similar to the scratched one, is engraved on

<sup>1</sup> Wiczorek, Observations on building dipinti, 214–215; Wiczorek, The Building Dipinti Documentation Project, 139–140.

the nearby granite gate. Such a representation is not attested in the temple of Hatshepsut neither in the Coptic repertoire,<sup>2</sup> nor in the published repertoire of the *graffiti* in the temple from the pharaonic period.<sup>3</sup> However, single representations of different kinds of birds appear in other temples.<sup>4</sup>

References: Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pl. I

## HIERATIC DIPINTI

### DIPINTO 1. DIPINTO OF SENINEFER

Location: Scene 3.12, between legs of ninth and tenth soldiers; cf. Pls 25–25\*

Dimensions: height: 1.3 cm; width: 4 cm

Dating: reign of Hatshepsut

Description: A well preserved hieratic text written in a horizontal line painted with the red paint directly on the stone.<sup>5</sup> It is placed asymmetrically, slightly to the left, between the legs of two soldiers. It contains two ligatures: the first one for two Gardiner signs A1 (one as a determinative and the other one for the first-person sing. suffix)<sup>6</sup> written one under another and the second one for signs *f* and *r*.<sup>7</sup> The *nfr*-sign has a characteristic turn of the upper end of the sign to the right, known a.o. from the papyrus Golenischeff.<sup>8</sup>

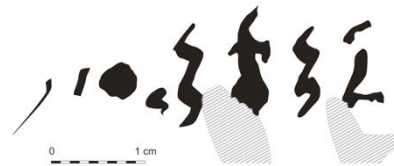


Fig. 300. *Dipinto* 1. *Dipinto* of Seninefer (Phot. and drawing J. Iwaszczuk).

Transcription: 

Transliteration: *Sn.j-nfr sw 20*

Translation: Seninefer, day 20

<sup>2</sup> For the repertoire of the Coptic *dipinti* and *graffiti* at the temple of Hatshepsut: Godlewski, Le monastère de St. Phoibammon, 91–107; Pawlikowska-Gwiazda, Christian Secondary Epigraphy, 139–162.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Niwiński, Miscellanea, 197–227.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Edgerton, Medinet Habu Graffiti, Pls 39 [126] (ibis?); 40 [129] (ibis?); Jacquet-Gordon, The Graffiti on the Khonsu Temple Roof, 53 [Graffito No. 140], Pl. 53 (duck); 65 [Graffito No. 178], Pl. 67 (falcon); 92 [Graffito No. 264], Pl. 102 (ibis?).

<sup>5</sup> This type of inscription is also attested on: pillar 1a east; pillar 8a east; pillar 5 west and pillar 9 of the Birth Portico (Niwiński, Miscellanea, Figs 22 [lower right], 19 [upper left], 16 [upper right], 20 [upper] respectively).

<sup>6</sup> Not given in Möller, Hieratische Paläographie I.

<sup>7</sup> Möller, Hieratische Paläographie I, 68 [VIII, Westcar, Ebers].

<sup>8</sup> Möller, Hieratische Paläographie I, 16 [180, Golen.].

Commentary: The style of the *dipinto* is characteristic of the Westcar, Golenischeff and Ebers Papyri from Hieratische Paläographie by Georg Möller;<sup>9</sup> i.e. for the beginning of the 18th dynasty. The context of the inscription, which was written on the surface of the background and was intended to be covered with whitewash and paint, suggests that it was prepared during the time of the execution of the decoration. The name of Seninefer is known from other sources as the name of a worker who lays plaster, and it is very probable that the man marked here his daily work limit.<sup>10</sup>

References: Iwaszczuk, The Works of Seninefer, 39–46; Szafranski, Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000, 192 (mention)

## DIPINTO 2. *NFR*-SIGN

Location: Scene 4.3, partly on a *ta*-sign, below the right leg of the soldier with a shield on the last fragment of the block from this scene; cf. Pls 31–31\*

Dimensions: height: 2.2 cm; width: 1.45 cm

Dating: uncertain, probably reign of Hatshepsut

Description: A hieratic sign painted with red paint directly on the stone. Its upper part is painted on the lowered background while the lower part – on the raised *ta*-sign, therefore the upper part of the sign is much better visible than the shabby lower one.

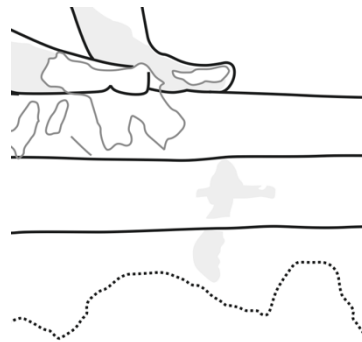
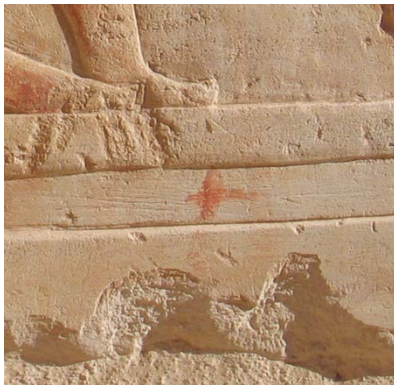



Fig. 301. *Dipinto 2. Nfr*-sign (Phot. and drawing J. Iwaszczuk).

Transcription:   
 Transliteration: *nfr*  
 Translation: Perfect

Commentary: The red of the sign, with the same shade of red as preserved on the leg of the above carved soldier, suggests the reign of Hatshepsut, i.e. the time of decoration of the wall, as the date of its execution.

References: unpublished

<sup>9</sup> Möller, Hieratische Paläographie I.

<sup>10</sup> For the detailed discussion on the occupation of Seninefer, see: Iwaszczuk, The Works of Seninefer, 39–46; see also: Hassan, Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca, 185, 187, Pl. 2, Figs 3–6 (O. Cairo DeB. No. 407); 210–212, Pl. 8, Figs 27–30 (O. Cairo DeB. No. 486).

## FIGURAL *DIPINTO*

### *DIPINTO* 3. LOTUS FLOWER

Location: Scene 4.10, on the hull of the first accompanying bark; cf. Pls 39–39\*

Dimensions: height: 2.85 cm; width: 2.28 cm

Dating: ?

Description: The schematic drawing of the lotus flower painted with the red paint directly on the stone.

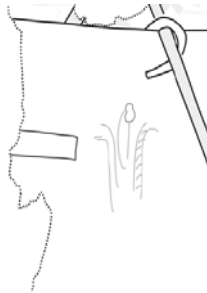


Fig. 302. *Dipinto* 3. Lotus flower (Phot. and drawing J. Iwaszczuk).

References: unpublished

# CATALOGUE OF BLOCKS FROM *LAPIDARIA* AT DEIR EL-BAHARI

The blocks and fragments of blocks described in this publication were mainly found in the *lapidaria* of the temple of Hatshepsut and were built in the wall in course of reconstruction. Some blocks are stored in the different museums of the world. At the moment, they are inaccessible and covered in great part with plaster with only a relief decoration visible. Their original shape remains unknown. Therefore, the correctness of the reconstruction must be taken as granted without the possibility of checking it. To let the reader fully understand the reconstruction, the catalogue of blocks from *lapidaria* was prepared with the collection of all accessible data concerning blocks and fragments of blocks. The reconstruction as well as the uncovering/ excavating of blocks were executed years ago, therefore sometimes it was impossible to find an information on particular blocks, including their pictures; the old catalogue of blocks is not preserved. It must be admitted that it was not commenced with the beginning of the reconstruction and, unfortunately, only its part is kept in the Metropolitan House in Qurna. This is the reason why not all blocks and fragments of blocks are presented here. The presented here catalogue of blocks does not include the blocks which were *in situ* when the reconstruction was started. Blocks and fragments of blocks are distinguished here according to the catalogue of block if it is only possible, therefore in some cases several fragments constituting one block are given under one number, or each fragment is numbered separately.

The catalogue is organised according to scenes and at the end, blocks and fragments of blocks decorated with *kheker*-friezes as separate element of decoration are presented. During the reconstruction, the new blocks and fragments of blocks were not incorporated to all scenes, some scenes were left without additional fillings.

The catalogue entries contain the inventory and old catalogue of block's numbers, inventory number(s) of its archive photographs, archive pictures of the blocks or blocks fragments, the date of the recognition of the block and its replacement in the wall, references to the publications (if it was published), references to places of citation in this book, as well as comments and additional information if it is available. The dimensions of blocks are not given. In most cases, the precise measurements are not included in the archival documentation.

The different block numbering systems developed over the years of reconstruction work should be noted. The first team, Przemysław Gartkiewicz and Elżbieta Dąbrowska-Smektała, had been painting the single numbers with a black paint, this system was probably inherited from Émil Baraize. The next group, directed by Wysocki, had been carving numbers in the back surface of the block and filling it with a black paint. The numbers consisted with the digits and a year date (in most cases abbreviated to the last two digits) after a slash. Some block numbers published by Karkowski have "o" before the number. They belong to the group numbered by Émile Baraize. Simultaneously with the second system, the catalogue of blocks was created with separate numbers system but identical with the previous one, i.e. digits with a year date separated with a slash. The team under direction of Zbigniew Szafranski, started a new system with "B." before the number. For the clarity of the information, if a block has more than one number, all numbers are quoted here. It happens that the block was not registered, i.e. has no number, but it was included in the old catalogue of blocks, then the number c.b. is given (e.g. c.b. no. 65/85). Some fragments were registered under one number, in these cases, the information is added in "Comments and additional information".

The catalogue presents archival photos of blocks and fragments of blocks, and in some cases the drawings from this documentation showing the borders of blocks were placed are included. In the few cases of incompleteness of the archive, the actual photographs picture of the block in the wall are used.

Not in all cases it was possible to establish the date of recognition of blocks and their replacement. The date of recognition sometimes can be suggested on the basis of the catalogue of blocks numbers which in several cases contain a date of introduction to the catalogue. The date of replacement in the wall could be fixed thanks to photographs of the wall taken after almost each season. In season 1983/1984 only pictures before replacements were taken.

The documentation recording blocks and fragments of blocks is kept in two institutions: Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences (IMOC PAS) and Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw (PCMA UW), therefore their inventory numbers are distinguished.

## SCENE 1

(11 blocks and 7 fragments of blocks)

### 1. *Block no. 76*



Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:* IMOC PAS: DB 508/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 9

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 68

*Comments and additional information:* -

### 2. *Block no. 75*



Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 435/1965-66; DB 4134/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 9

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 68

*Comments and additional information:* -

### 3. Block fragment no. 2056; Baraize no. o295



*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:* IMOC PAS: DB 514/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 9

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 68

*Comments and additional information:* -

### 4. Block no. 134/72; Baraize no. x93



*Date of recognition:* probably 1972

*Date of replacement:* season 1975/1976

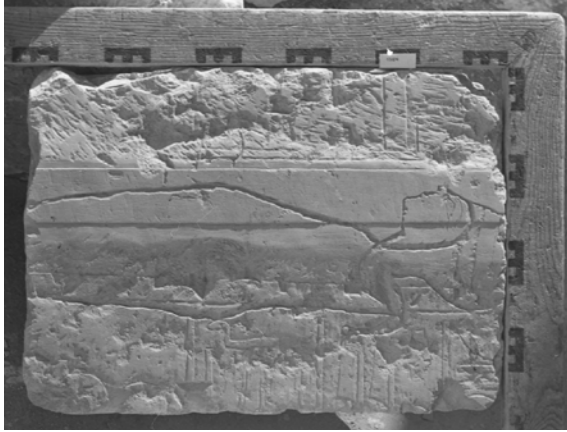
*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 63

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**5. Block no. 1354; c.b. no. 24/74**

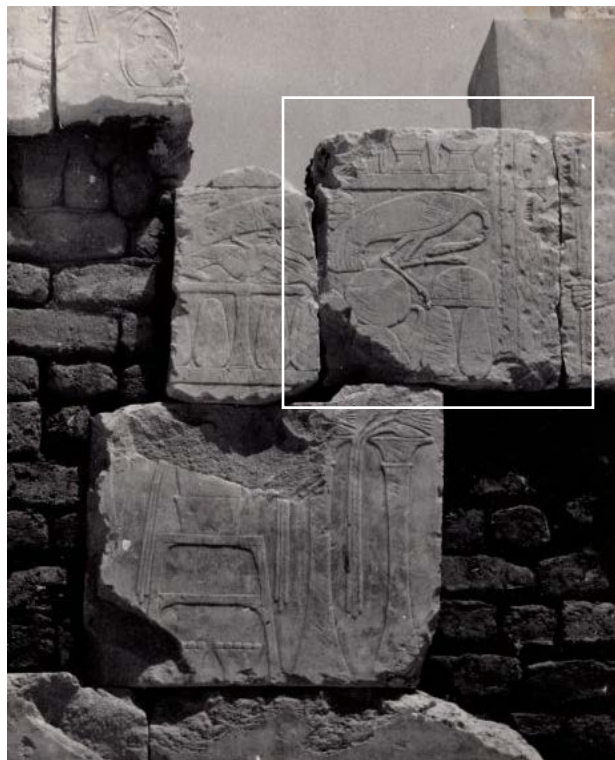
*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1975/1976  
*Photo no.:*  
 IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0038  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 63, 69, 219, 295, 299  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**6. Block no. 70**

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966  
*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966  
*Photo nos:*  
 IMOC PAS: DB 509/1965-66; DB 4134/1965-66  
*References:*  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II  
 Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 9  
 Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29  
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1  
 Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 68  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**7. Block no. 69**

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DB 433/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 9

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 65, 67, 68

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**8. Block fragment no. 378/74; c.b. no. 522/74**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1975/1976

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0539

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 63, 67

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

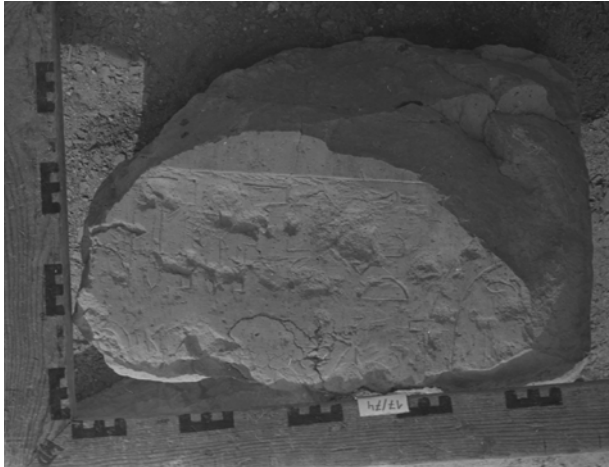
### 9. Block fragment c.b. no. 274/82



*Date of recognition:* probably 1982  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 63  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

### 10. Block fragment no. 17/74; c.b. no. 42/74; Baraize no. o289



*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1975/1976  
*Photo no.:*  
 IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0064  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 63, 67  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**11. Block no. 73**

Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 456/1965-66; DB 433/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Figs 9, 10

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 65, 67

*Comments and additional information:* -

**12. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* probably season 1975/1976

*Photo nos:* -

*References;*

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 63

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**13. Block no. 701**

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DB 433/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 9

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 65, 67

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**14. Block no. 81**

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 419/1965-66; DB 499/1965-66; DB 501/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Fig. 7, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Figs 9, 10

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

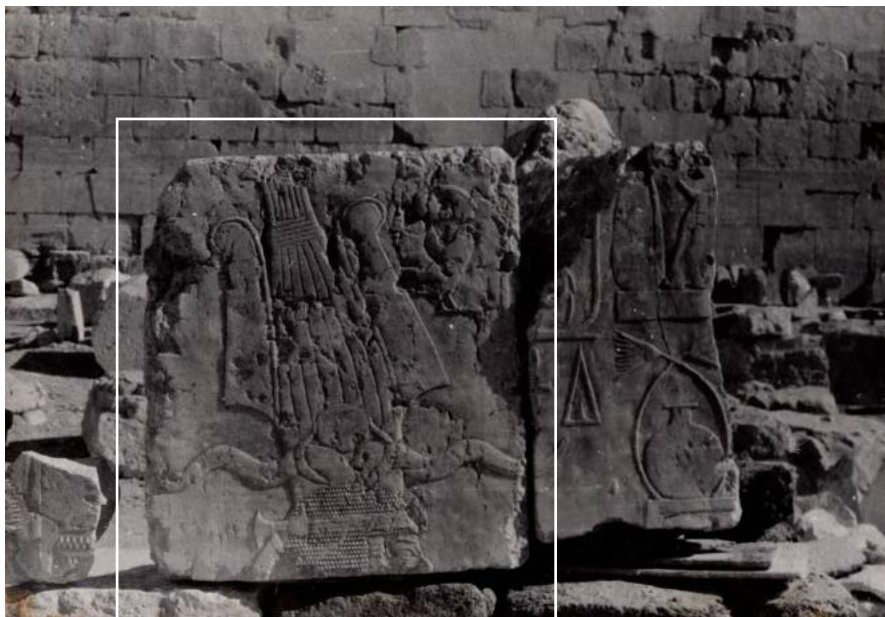
Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 65, 94

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**15. Block no. 2069**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documen-  
tation of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 418/1965-66; DB 499/1965-66; DB 500/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Figs 9, 10

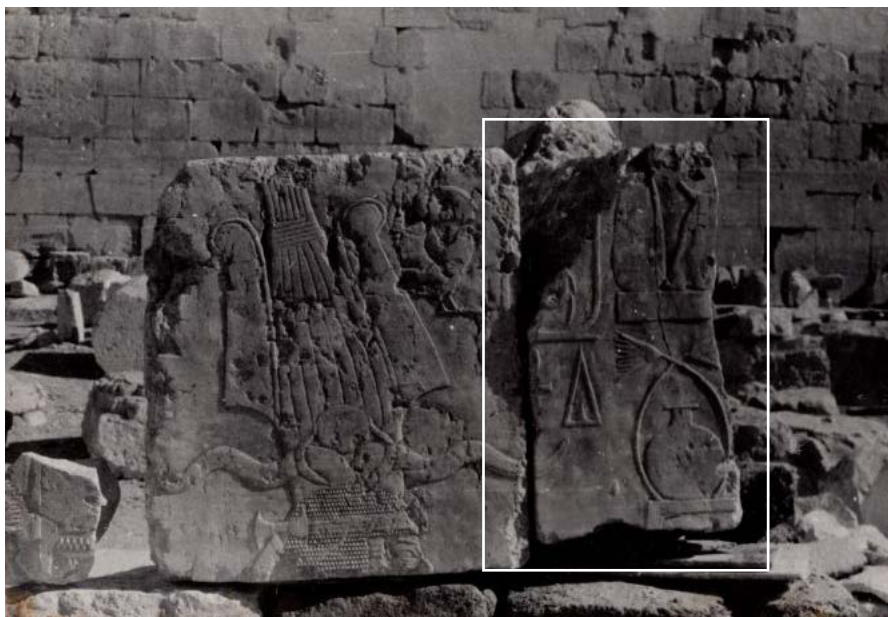
Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 65

*Comments and additional information:* -

**16. Block no. 881**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documen-  
tation of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 418/1965-66; DB 499/1965-66; DB 500/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Figs 9, 10

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63, 65, 67

*Comments and additional information:* -

**17. Block fragment no. 2115**

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, Fig. 5

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Figs 9, 10

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXX-IX, Fig. 29

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 33, 37, 63

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 18 from Scene 1, and Cat. nos 23, 24. Removed in season 1970/1971, replaced in 1972/1973.

### 18. Block fragment no. 1059



Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documenta-  
tion of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 501/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Gartkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Figs 9, 10

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

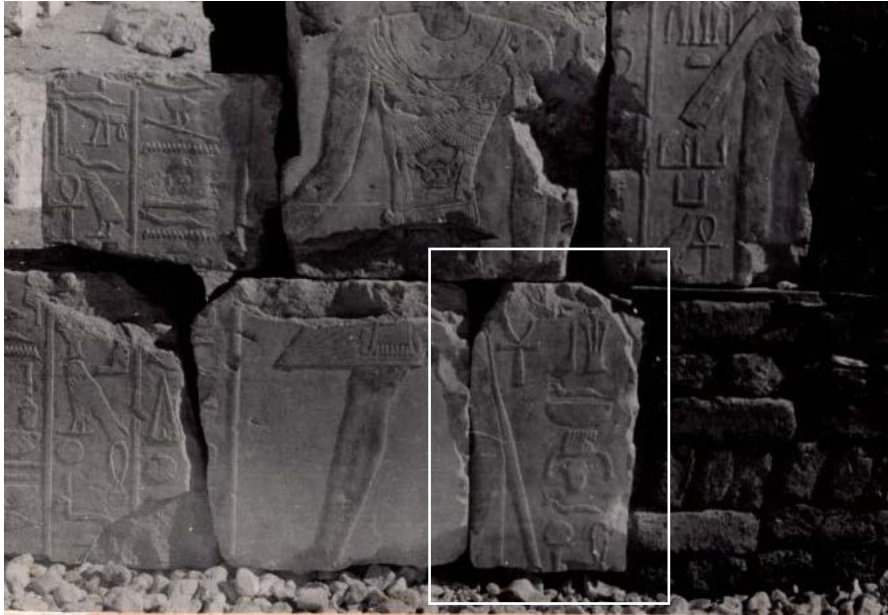
*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 63

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 17 from Scene 1, and Cat. nos 23, 24.

## SCENE 2

(20 blocks and 15 fragments of blocks)

### 19. Block no. 78



Phot. courtesy of  
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tion of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 502/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, Fig. 5

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pls XXXIX, Fig. 29; XL, Fig. 30

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 94

*Comments and additional information:* -

**20. Block no. 2087**

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

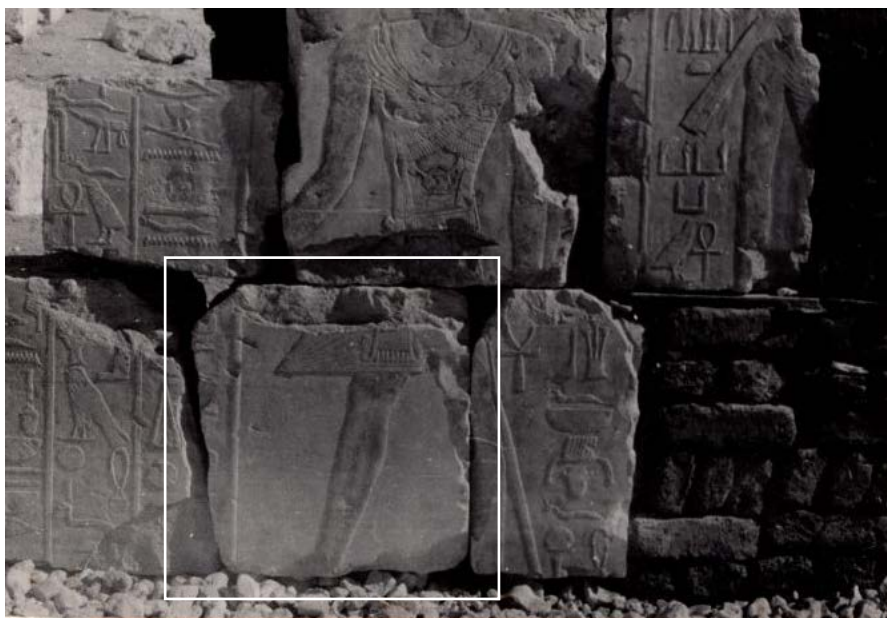
Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II  
Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pls XXXIX, Fig. 29; XL, Fig. 30

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74

*Comments and additional information:* -

**21. Block no. 79**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documenta-  
tion of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 502/1965-66; DB 512/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, Fig. 5

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pls XXXIX, Fig. 29; XL, Fig. 30

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 77, 94

*Comments and additional information:* -

**Block no. 81** (see Cat. no. 14, Scene 1)

**22. Block fragment 1/2005-06**



*Date of recognition:* season 2005/2006

*Date of replacement:* not built in the wall

*Photo no.:*

PCMA UW: cat. 1/2005-06

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 74, 94

*Comments and additional information:* dimensions: L ... cm; H ... cm; D. 3.9 cm

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**23. Block no. 72**



Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documenten-  
tation of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 501/1965-66; DB 511/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

- Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, Figs 5, 6  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II  
 Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pls XXXIX, Fig. 29; XL, Fig. 30  
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1  
 Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1  
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 94

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 24.

**24. Block fragment no. 67**

Phot. courtesy of  
 Department of the  
 Scientific Documenta-  
 tion of the IMOC  
 PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 501/1965-66; DB 511/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

- Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, Figs 5, 6  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II  
 Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pls XXXIX, Fig. 29; XL, Fig. 30  
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1  
 Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1  
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 94

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 23.

**Block fragment no. 2115** (see Cat. no. 17, Scene 1)

**Block fragment no. 1059** (see Cat. no. 18, Scene 1)

**25. Block fragment no. 1930**



Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documenta-  
tion of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 501/1965-66; DB 511/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Ćwiek, *Fate of Seth*, Fig. 5

Dąbrowska-Smektała, *Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall*, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, *Preliminary Report*, Pls I, II

Leclant, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966*, Pls XXXIX, Fig. 29; XL, Fig. 30

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 94

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 17, 18 from Scene 1, and Cat. no. 26.

**26. Block fragment no. 1154**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documen-  
tation of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 501/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Ćwiek, *Fate of Seth*, Fig. 5

Dąbrowska-Smektała, *Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall*, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, *Preliminary Report*, Pls I, II

Leclant, *Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966*, Pls XXXIX, Fig. 29; XL, Fig. 30

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 94

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 17, 18 from Scene 1, and Cat. no. 25.

**27. Block no. 82**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documenta-  
tion of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 501/1965-66; DB 511/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pls XXXIX, Fig. 29; XL, Fig. 30

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 3, Pl. 1

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 94, 95

*Comments and additional information:* -

**28. Block no. 80**

*Date of recognition:* season  
1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB  
512/1965-66; DB 437/1965-66; DB  
163/1966-67

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the  
restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Pre-  
liminary Report, Pls I, II

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au  
Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Phot. courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of  
the IMOC PAS

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 77, 82, 87, 94

*Comments and additional information:* -

## 29. Block no. 71



Phot. courtesy of  
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Scientific Documen-  
tation of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 499/1965-66; DB 502/1965-66; DB 511/1965-66; DB 512/1965-66; DB 163/1966-67

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 77, 94

*Comments and additional information:* -

**30. Block c.b. no. 93/73; Baraize no. x66**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1973

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 77, 94

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**31. Block fragment c.b. no. 553/80**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1980

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo no.:*

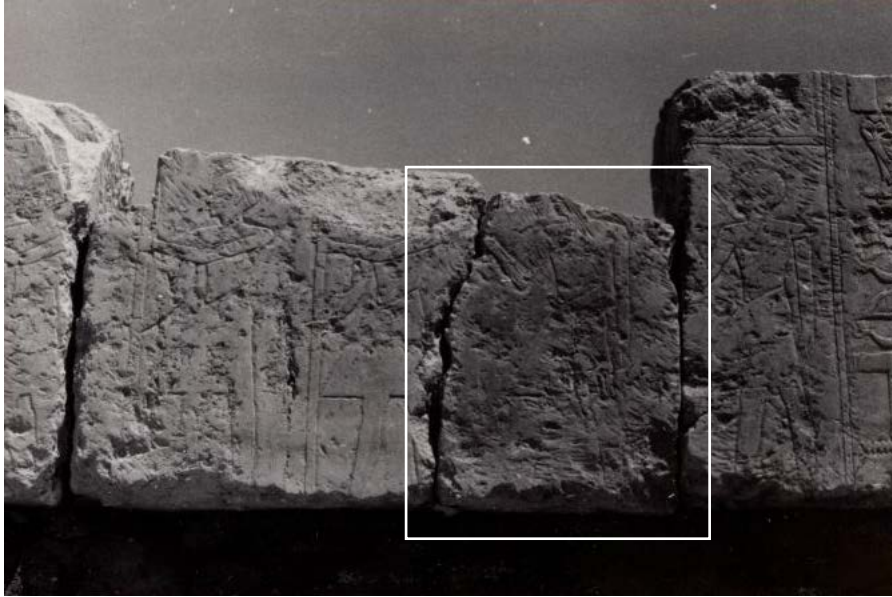
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 74, 219, 295

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**32. Block fragment no. 675**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documenta-  
tion of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DB 455/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

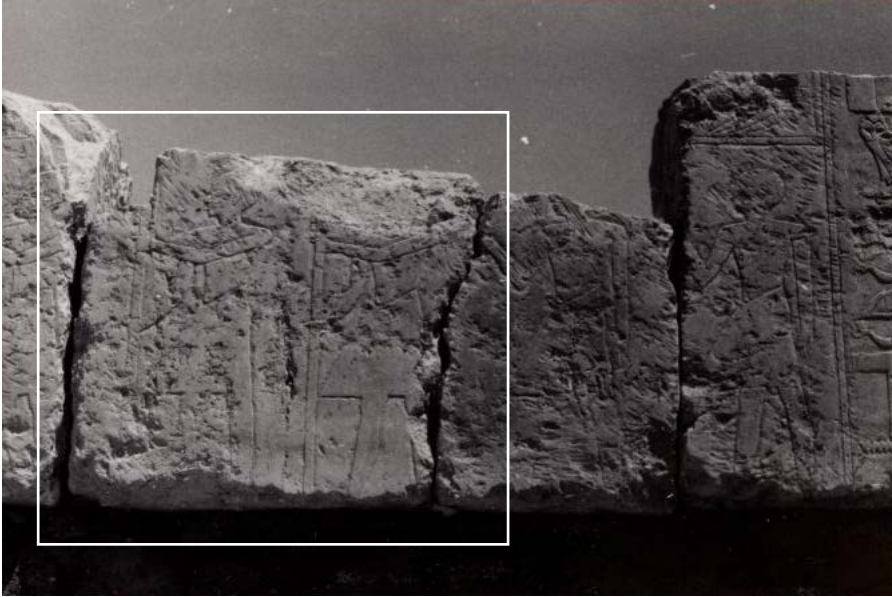
Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 87

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 33.

**33. Block fragment no. 2112**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documenta-  
tion of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DB 455/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 24, 74, 87

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 32.

**34. Block no. 2111; Baraize no. 360**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documen-  
tation of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DB 454/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

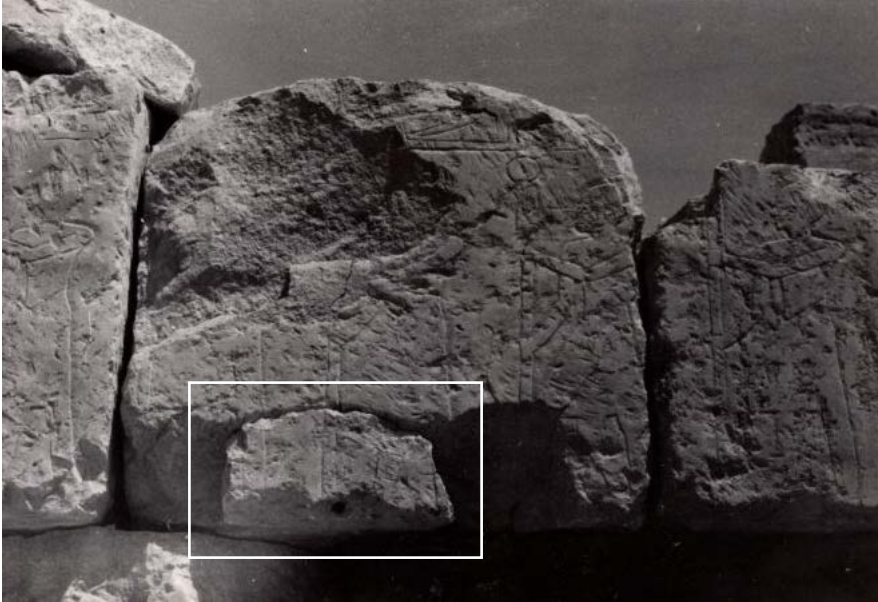
Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 24, 74, 82, 87

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 35.

**35. Block fragment no. 2113**

Phot. courtesy of  
Department of the  
Scientific Documen-  
tation of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966

*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DB 454/1965-66

*References:*

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II

Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 24, 74, 87

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 34.

**36. Block no. 14/72**

*Date of recognition:* season 1972/1973

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, Fig. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 37, 74, 77, 82, 84, 94

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**37. Block no. 206; Baraize no. o383**

*Date of recognition:* season 1972/1973

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, Fig. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 37, 74, 82, 84

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**38. Block no. 207; Baraize no. o182**

*Date of recognition:* season 1972/1973

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, Fig. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 37, 74, 82, 84

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**39. Block no. 211**

*Date of recognition:* season 1972/1973  
*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:*  
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, Fig. 1  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 37, 74, 82, 84  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**40. Block no. 518**

*Date of recognition:* season 1965/1966  
*Date of replacement:* season 1965/1966  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:*  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, Pl. 1  
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Gartkiewicz, Preliminary Report, Pls I, II  
 Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 157, Fig. 1 (fragment)  
 Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 29  
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1  
 Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

*Citation in this book (pages):* 23, 74, 87, 90, 91, 92, 95  
*Comments and additional information:* -

**41. Block fragment no. 195/75; c.b. no. 329/75**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari  
- Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39,  
74, 82

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**42. Block fragment no. 127/73; c.b. no. 285/73**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1973

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari  
- Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39,  
74, 82

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat.  
no. 43.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**43. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 74, 82

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 42.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**44. Block no. 37/72**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1972

*Date of replacement:* season 1978/1979

*Photo no.:*

PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.006.463

*References:*

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 35, Fig. 10

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 354, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 39, 74, 78, 87, 92

*Comments and additional information:* Three fragments of blocks registered under one number.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**45. Block fragment no. 415/74; c.b. no. 941/74**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1973-1974 kat-blok\_046\_2\_4; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 74, 87, 92

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**46. Block no. 174; Baraize no. 069**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 12/74; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia; DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0009

*References:*

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977-1980, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 39, 74, 87, 92, 103, 191

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**47. Block no. 241/75; Baraize no. x90**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 351/75; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari – Varia

PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.007.332

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 74, 95, 219, 286, 288

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**48. Block no. 2114 = 588**

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1976/1977

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 186/80; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari – Varia

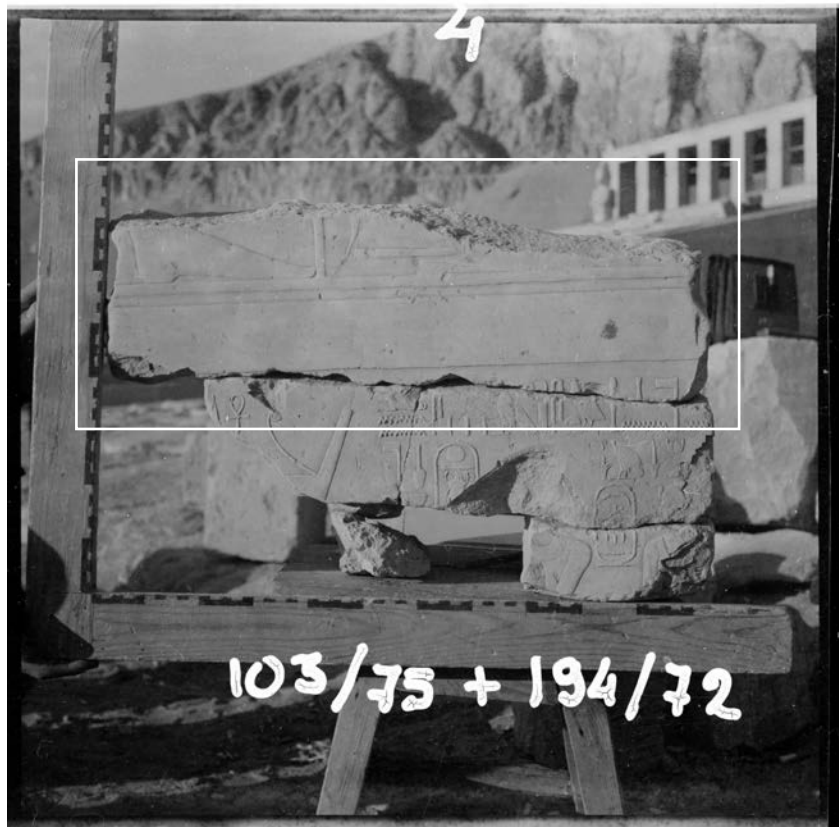
PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.007.212; DBAH.1976-1977.007.249; DBAH.1976-1977.007.313

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 74, 219, 286, 288

*Comments and additional information:* Three fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**49. Block fragment no. 194/72**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_003\_1\_2; DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_003\_1\_4

PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.006.485; DBAH.1976-1977.007.236; DBAH.1976-1977.007.329

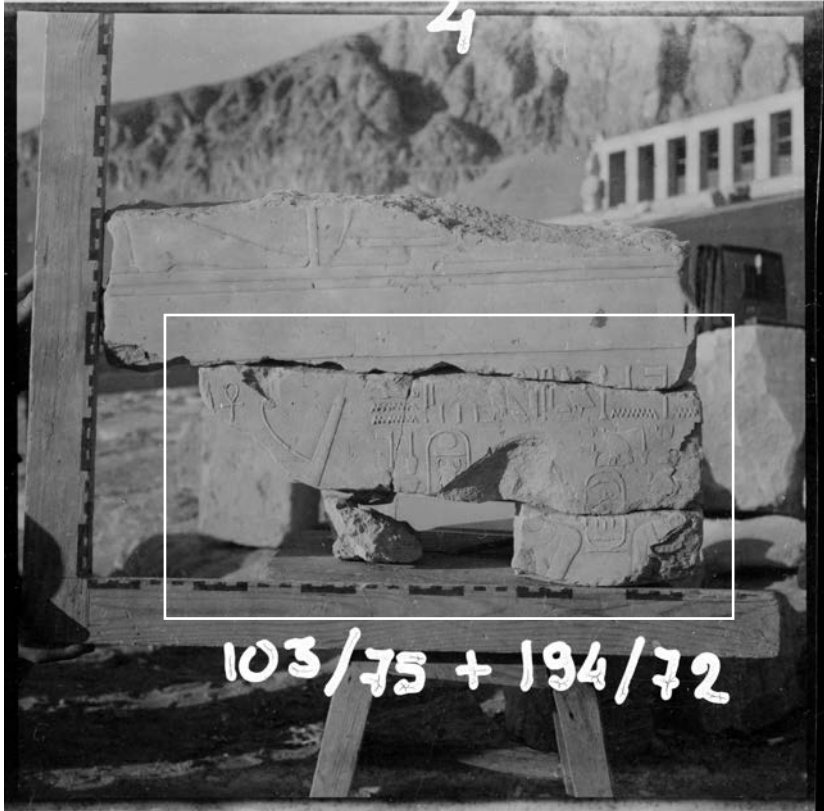
*References:*

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 35, Fig. 10

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977-1980, 354, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 39, 74, 78, 92, 219, 286, 287, 292

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 50, 51, 52.

**50. Block fragment no. 103/75**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_003\_1\_2; DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_003\_1\_4

PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.006.485; DBAH.1976-1977.007.236; DBAH.1976-1977.007.329

*References:*

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 35, Fig. 10

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977-1980, 354, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 39, 78, 92

*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number; one block together with Cat. nos 49, 51, 52.

**51. Block fragment no. 790/74**

*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1973-1974 kat-blok\_056\_3\_4; DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_003\_1\_2; DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_003\_1\_3; DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_003\_1\_4

PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.006.485; DBAH.1976-1977.007.236; DBAH.1976-1977.007.329

*References:*

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 35, Fig. 10

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 354, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 39, 78, 92

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 49, 50, 52.

**52. Block fragment 465/88**

*Date of recognition:* season 2006/2007

*Date of replacement:* not built in the wall

*Photo nos:*

PCMA UW: cat. 20/2006-07

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 78, 92

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 49, 50, 51.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**53. Block no. 220**

*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* 1984

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari – Varia

*References:*

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 219

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**SCENE 3.3**

(1 fragment of block)

**54. Block fragment no. 483/74; c.b. no. 110/75**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari – Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 104, 121, 286, 292

*Comments and additional information:* Together with one of blocks *in situ* from Scene 3.3.

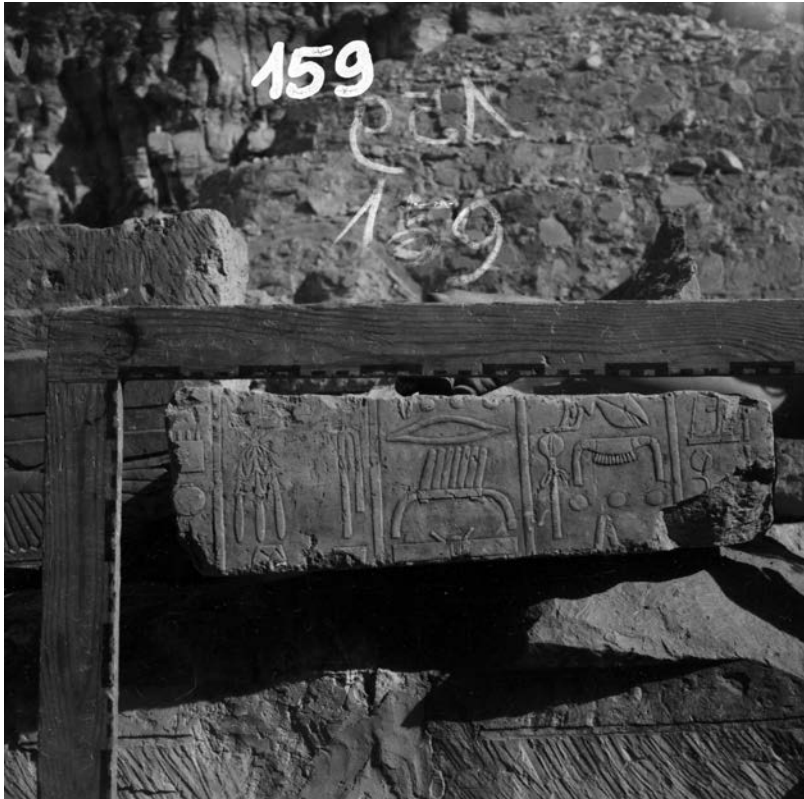
Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

## SCENE 3.10

(8 blocks and 17 fragments of blocks)

**Block no. 174; Baraize no. 069** (see Cat. no. 46, Scene 2)

### 55. Block fragment no. 159



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1983

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

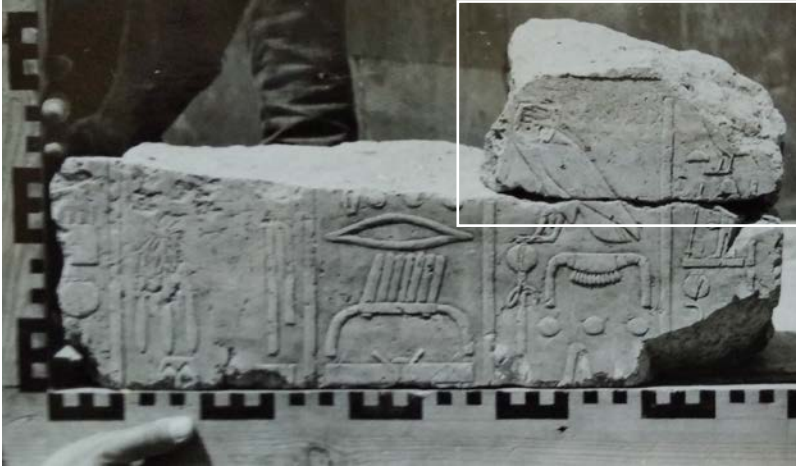
*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 60/83; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari – Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 121, 159

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 56.

**56. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari – Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 178

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 55.

**57. Block no. 178**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1973

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 245/73; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 178, 219

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**58. Block no. 22; Baraize no. o294**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 4

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 4

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 35, 102, 103, 159, 178, 219, 225

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**59. Block no. 15**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 4

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 4

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 35, 102, 103, 159, 178, 219, 225

*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**60. Baraize no. o149**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 4

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 4

*Citation in this book (pages):* 35, 102, 103, 159, 178

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 61.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**61. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

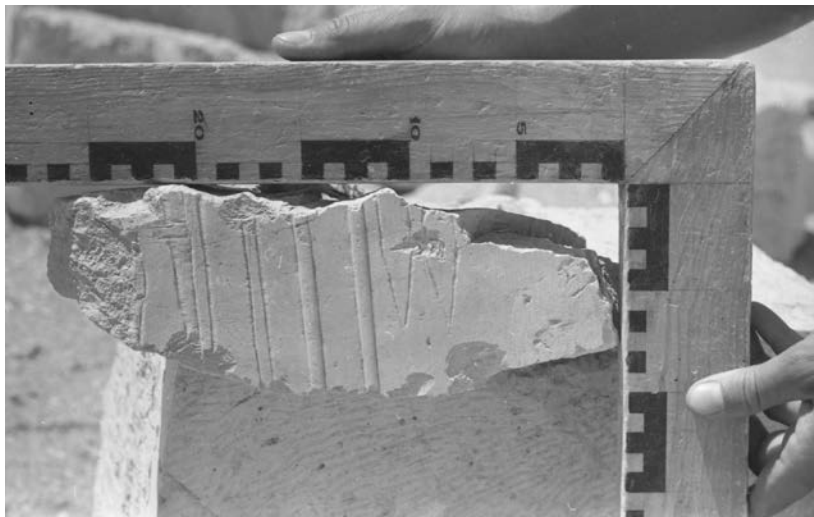
Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 4

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 4

*Citation in this book (pages):* 35, 102, 103, 159, 178

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 60.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**62. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1979/1980

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 136/80; DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_009\_4\_4; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 178

*Comments and additional information:* -

**63. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* after season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 159, 178

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**64. Block fragment no. 160**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 984/74; DeB 1973-1974 kat-

blok\_048\_2\_5; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.006.417

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 178

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**65. Block fragment no. 175/74**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DB 292/74; I 3/18: Deir

el-Bahari - Varia

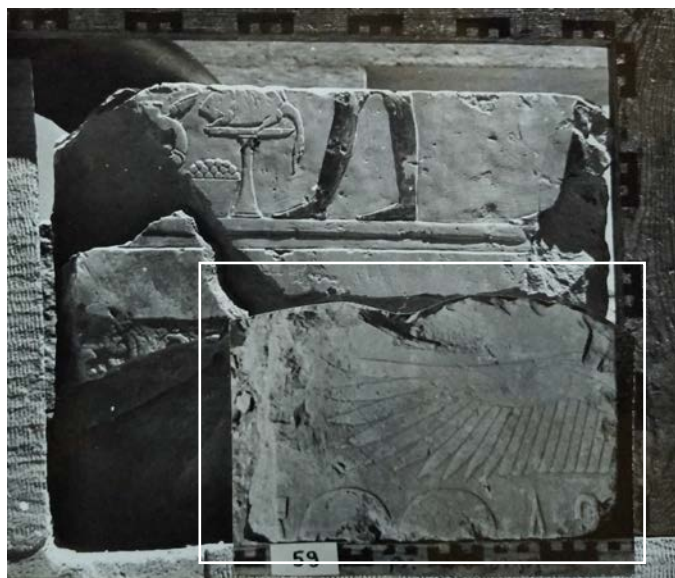
*References:*

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, Fig. 8 (fragment)

*Citation in this book (pages):* 35, 39, 102, 103, 159, 178

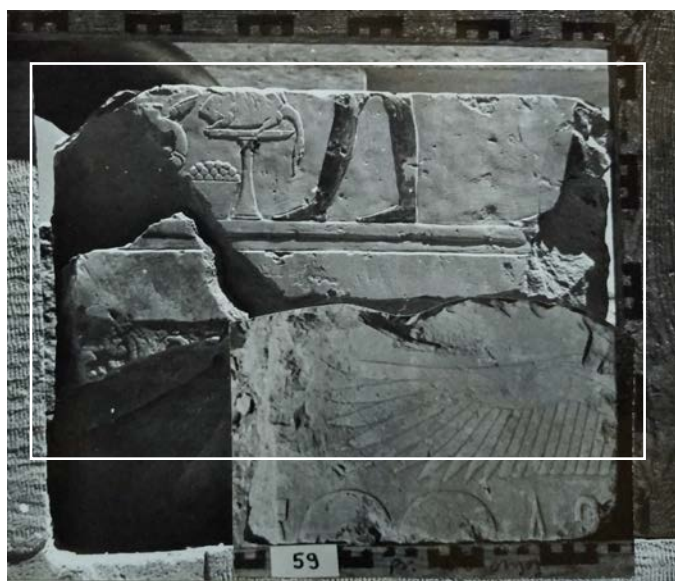
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**66. Block no. 59**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985  
*Photo no.:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari  
 - Varia  
*References:*  
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed  
 Robe, Fig. 8  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102,  
 103, 159, 178  
*Comments and additional information:*  
 One block together with Cat. no. 117  
 from Scene 4.4 and Cat. no. 67.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**67. Block fragment no. 2089; 1043/81; Baraize no. x14**

*Date of recognition:* 1971  
*Date of replacement:* season 1971/1972  
*Photo no.:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari  
 - Varia  
*References:*  
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction  
 and a Modular Study of the East  
 Wall, Pls 1, 2  
 Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja  
 i studia modularne ściany wschodniej,  
 Pls 1, 2  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 8, 24, 102,  
 103, 159, 172, 219, 232  
*Comments and additional information:*  
 Two fragments of block registered  
 under one number; one block together  
 with Cat. no. 117 from Scene 4.4 and  
 Cat. no. 66.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**68. Block fragment c.b. no. 1327/81**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1981

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 40, 102, 103, 159, 172

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**69. Block no. 195; Baraize no. 351**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1976/1977 lub 1983/1984

*Photo no.:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 102, 103, 159, 172

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**70. Block no. 237/75; c.b. no. 388/75**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

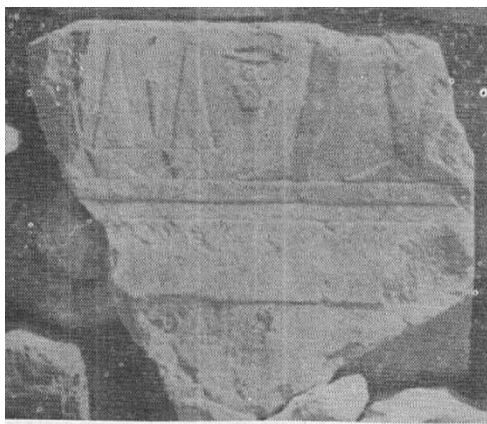
*References:*

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, Fig. 8

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 172, 212, 219

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 71.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**71. Block no. 203**

*Date of recognition:* season 1970/1971

*Date of replacement:* 1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 6, Pls 1, 2

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 6, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 33, 102, 103, 159, 167, 172, 219, 236

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 70.

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 6

**72. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* season 1970/1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, Fig. 8 (fragment)

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5, Pls 1, 3

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5, Pls 1, 3

*Citation in this book (pages):* 102, 103, 159, 167, 172, 219

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**73. Block no. 40**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, Fig. 8 (fragment)

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5, Pls 1, 3

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5, Pls 1, 3

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 102, 103, 159, 167, 172, 219, 241, 243, 244

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**74. Block no. 2110**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5, Pls 1, 3

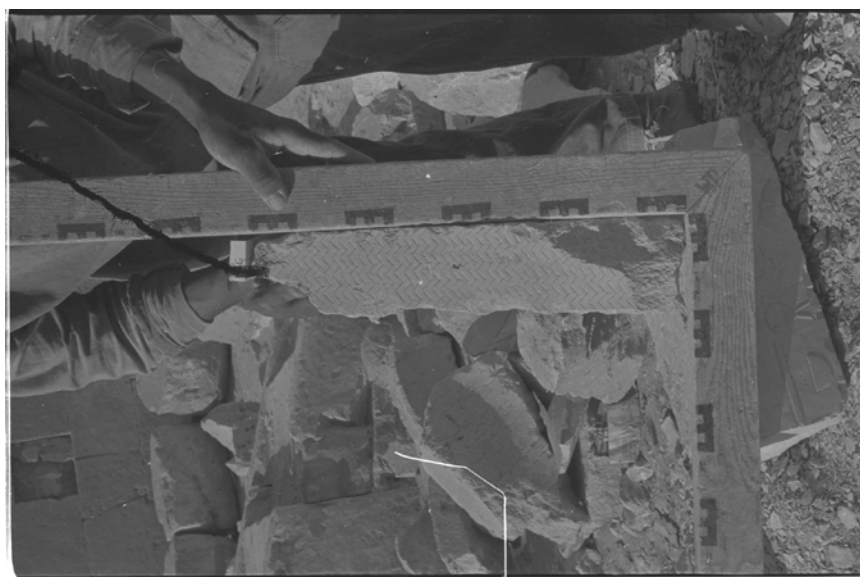
Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5, Pls 1, 3

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 102, 103, 159, 167, 172, 212

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 102 from Scene 3.13.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**Block fragment no. 483/74; c.b. no. 110/75** (see Cat. no. 54, Scene 3.3)

**75. Block fragment c.b. no. 1029/74**

Phot. J. Karkowski,  
courtesy of Department  
of the Scientific Docu-  
mentation of the IMOC  
PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1973-1974 kat-blok\_050\_2\_1; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159

*Comments and additional information:* -

**76. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 167

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**77. Block fragment no. 2118**

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1970/1971

*Date of replacement:* 1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 167

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**78. Block fragment no. 143; c.b. no. 98/74**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0092; I 3/18:

Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 167

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**79. Block fragment no. 189**

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1970/1971

*Date of replacement:* 1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5, Pl. 1

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5, Pl. 1

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 167

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**80. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 167

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**81. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_062\_4\_5; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 167

*Comments and additional information:* -

## **82. Block fragment not registered**



*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 102, 103, 159, 167

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

## **SCENE 3.11**

(1 block and 5 fragments of blocks)

## **83. Block not registered**



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1970/1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1971/1972

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Iwaszczuk, Atypical Spelling Variants, Figs 1, 2 [a]

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 1

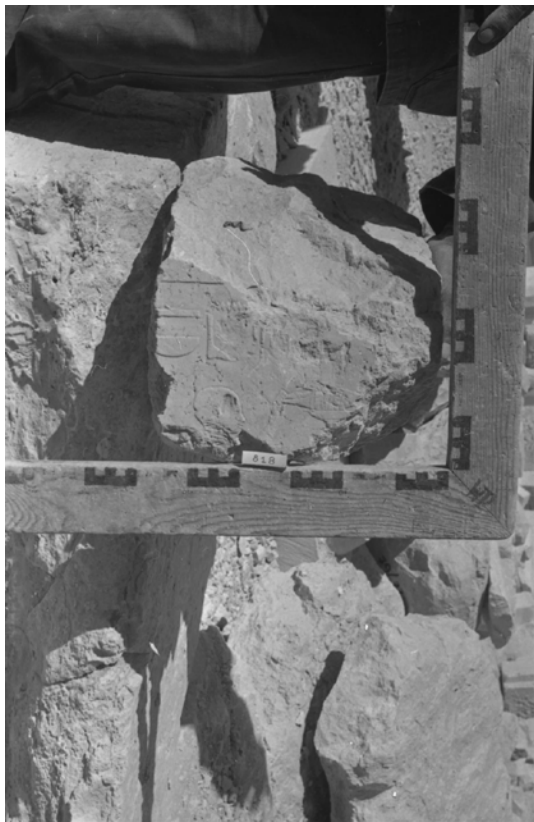
Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pl. 1

Taterka, Kryptografia egipska, Fig. 8

*Citation in this book (pages):* 33, 102, 103, 167, 200, 219, 253, 256

*Comments and additional information:* -

#### **84. Block fragment no. 818; c.b. 37/87**



*Date of recognition:* probably 1985

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0076

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 219

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 85.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**85. Block fragments no. 75/85; c.b. no. 37/87**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1985

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 219, 250, 253

*Comments and additional information:* Three fragments of block registered under one number; one block together with Cat. no. 84.

**86. Block fragment no. 1304/81; c.b. no. 95/1987**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1981

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 91, 92 from Scene 3.12, Cat. no. 87, and a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

### 87. Block fragment c.b. no. 95/1987



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 90, 91 from Scene 3.12, Cat. no. 86, and a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

### 88. Block fragment not registered



*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* not built in the wall

*Photo no.:* -

*References:* -

*Citation in this book (pages):* 102, 103, 200, 206

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. M. Jawornicki

**89. Block fragment c.b. no. 109/79**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Iwaszczuk, *Atypical Spelling Variants*, Fig. 1

Taterka, *Kryptografia egipska*, Fig. 8

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 219

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

**90. Block no. 68**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Pls 1, 2

Niewalda, *Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej*, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 102, 103, 200, 219, 250

*Comments and additional information:* Three fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

## SCENE 3.12

(1 block and 7 fragments of blocks)

**Block no. 68** (see Cat. no. 87, Scene 3.11)

### 91. Block fragment no. 2098



Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 2

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 102, 103, 200, 206

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 86, 87 from Scene 3.11, Cat. no. 91 and a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

### 92. Block fragment no. 2124



Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 2

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 33, 102, 103, 200, 206

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 86, 87 from Scene 3.11, Cat. no. 91 and a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

**93. Block fragment no. 2099**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 2

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 102, 103, 200, 206

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 94, 95, 96 and a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**94. Block fragment no. 33**

*Date of recognition:* 1971



*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 2

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 102, 103, 200, 206

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 93, 95, 96 and a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**95. Block no. 192**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 206

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 93, 94, 96 and a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**96. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 206

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 93, 94, 95 and a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**97. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

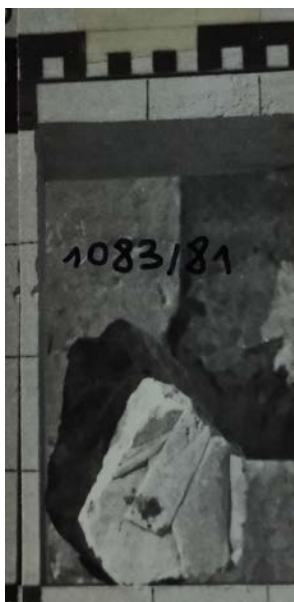
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 206

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with a group of blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**SCENE 3.13**

(6 blocks and 4 fragment of block)

**98. Block fragment no. 1083/81**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1981

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 206, 212

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 82 from Scene 3.10 and Cat. nos 99, 100, 101.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**99. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 212

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 82 from Scene 3.10 and Cat. nos 98, 100, 101.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**100. Block no. 61**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 102, 103, 200, 212

*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number; one block together with Cat. nos 82 from Scene 3.10 and Cat. nos 98, 99, 101.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**101. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 102, 103, 200, 212

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 82 from Scene 3.10 and Cat. nos 98, 99, 100.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**102. Block no. 50**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 102, 103, 200, 212, 219

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 74 from Scene 3.10.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**Block no. 2110** (see Cat. no. 74, Scene 3.10)

**103. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* season 1970/1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 33, 102, 103, 200, 212, 219, 241, 244, 246

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**104. Block no. 88; Baraize no. 098**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 5

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 102, 103, 200, 212, 219, 241, 243

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**Block no. 40** (see Cat. no. 70, Scene 3.10)

**SCENE 4.1**

(4 fragments of blocks)

**105. Block fragment c.b. no. 1097/81**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1981

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 35, 40, 219, 221, 222

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 106, 107, 108.



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**106. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 222, 257, 258, 259

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 105, 107, 108.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**107. Block fragment no. 175**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1976/1977

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 5

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 39, 219, 221, 222, 257, 258, 259

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 105, 106, 108.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**108. Block fragment no. 45**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1976/1977

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 5

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 39, 219, 221, 222, 257, 258, 259

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 105, 106, 107.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

## SCENE 4.2

(3 blocks and 1 fragment of block)

**Block no. 22** (see Cat. no. 58, Scene 3.10)

**Block no. 15** (see Cat. no. 59, Scene 3.10)

### 109. Block fragment not registered



*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 225

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

### 110. Block no. 35



*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 4

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 4

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 219, 221, 225, 259

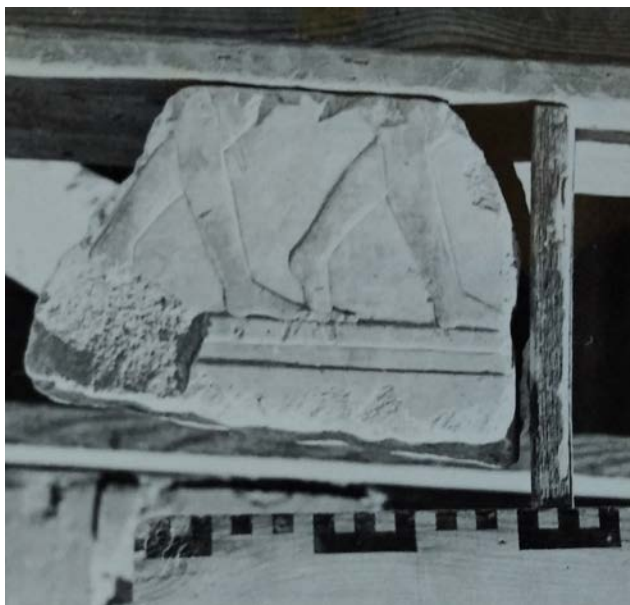
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

## SCENE 4.3

(1 block and 5 blocks fragments)

### 111. *Block fragment c.b. no. 16/1978*



*Date of recognition:* probably 1978  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo no.:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 227  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

### 112. *Block fragment not registered*



*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 35, 40, 219, 221, 227  
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 113.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**113. Block c.b. no. 282/73**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1973  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo no.:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari  
 - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 227, 257, 258, 261  
*Comments and additional information:*  
 Two fragments of block registered under one number; one block together with Cat. no. 112.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**114. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 227  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**115. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 227, 229  
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 116.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

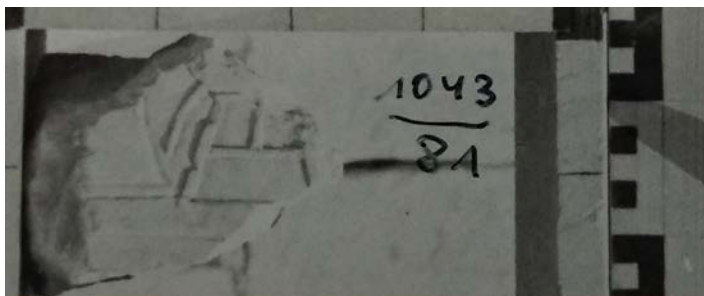
**116. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 229  
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 115.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**SCENE 4.4**

(4 blocks fragments)

**117. Block fragment no. 1043/81**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1981  
*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985  
*Photo no.:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 232  
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 66, 67.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**118. Block fragment no. 1044/81**

*Date of recognition:* 1971  
*Date of replacement:* season 1976/1977  
*Photo nos:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia  
*References:*  
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 2  
 Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 2  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 39, 219, 221, 232  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

## SCENE 4.5

(3 blocks and 3 blocks fragments)

**Block fragment no. 203** (see Cat. no. 71, Scene 3.10)

### 119. Block no. 28



*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:*

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 6, Pls 1, 2

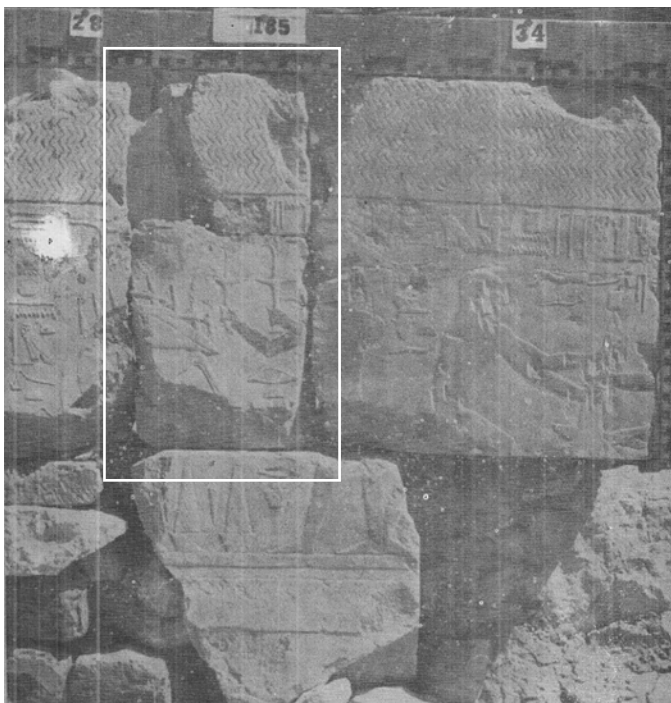
Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 6, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 33, 219, 221, 236, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

### 120. Block no. 185



*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 6, Pls 1, 2

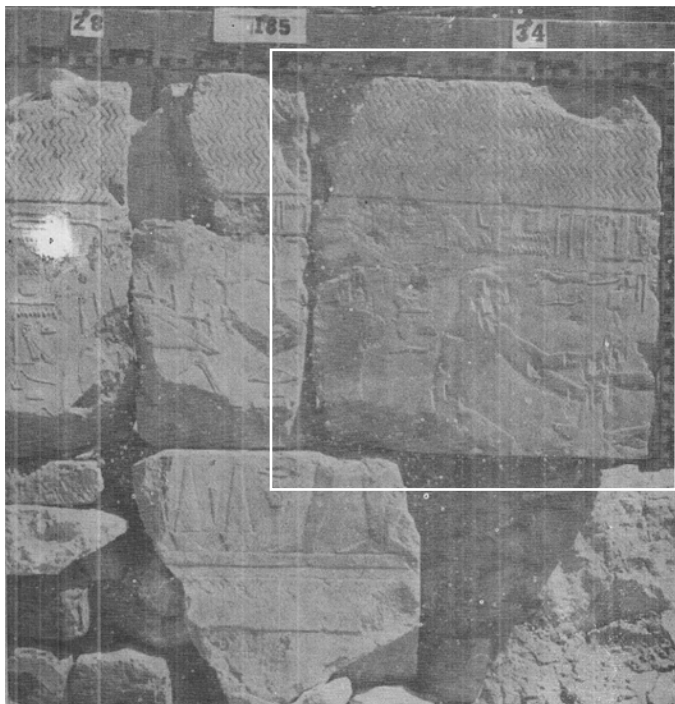
Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 6, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 219, 221, 236, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:*

Two fragments of block registered under one number.

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 6

**121. Block no. 34**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

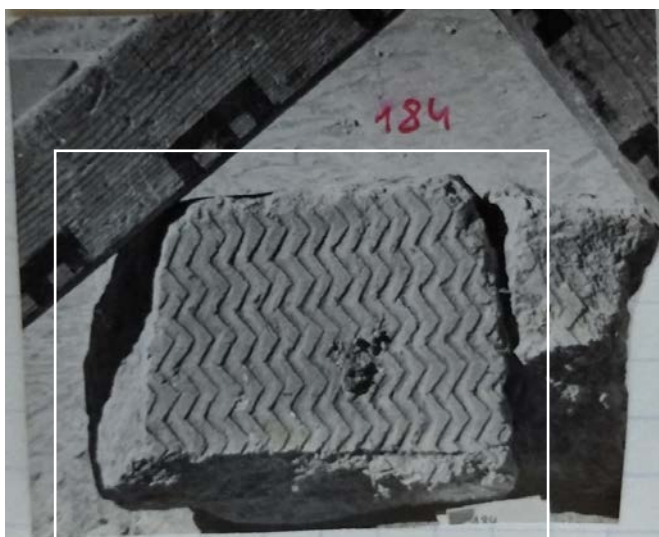
Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 6, Pls 1, 2

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 6, Pls 1, 2

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 219, 221, 236, 239, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* -

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 6

**122. Block fragment no. 184; c.b. no. 10/74**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

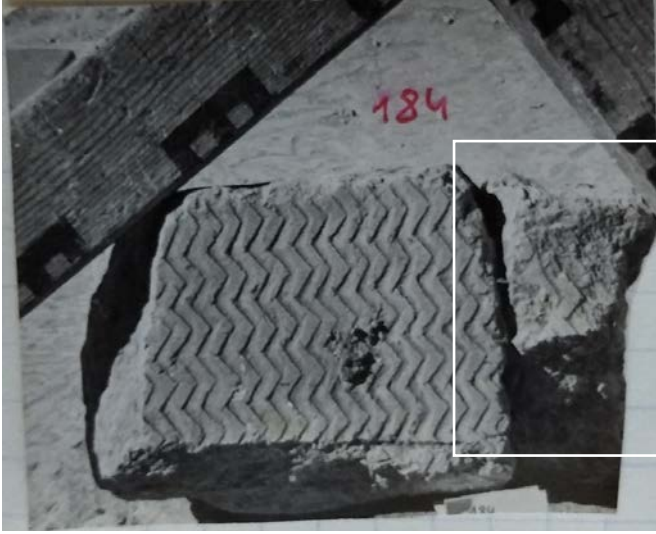
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 236, 257, 258, 261

*Comments and additional information:*  
One block together with Cat. no. 123.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**123. Block fragment c.b. no. 1229/80**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1984

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 236, 247, 257, 258, 261

*Comments and additional information:*

One block together with Cat. no. 122.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**SCENE 4.6**

(4 block and 6 blocks fragments)

***Block not registered*** (see Cat. no. 103, Scene 3.13)

***Block no. 88*** (see Cat. no. 104, Scene 3.13)

***Block no. 40*** (see Cat. no. 73, Scene 3.10)

**124. Block no. 27**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1970/1971

*Photo nos:* -

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 3

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 3

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 33, 219, 221, 241, 242, 244, 246, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**125. Block fragment c.b. no. 12/1978**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1978

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 241, 242, 243

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**126. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 241, 242, 243

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**127. Block fragment c.b. no. 65/83**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1983

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Iwaszczuk, Sacred Landscape of Thebes 1, Fig. 26

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 241, 242, 243, 244

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 128, 129, 130.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**128. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

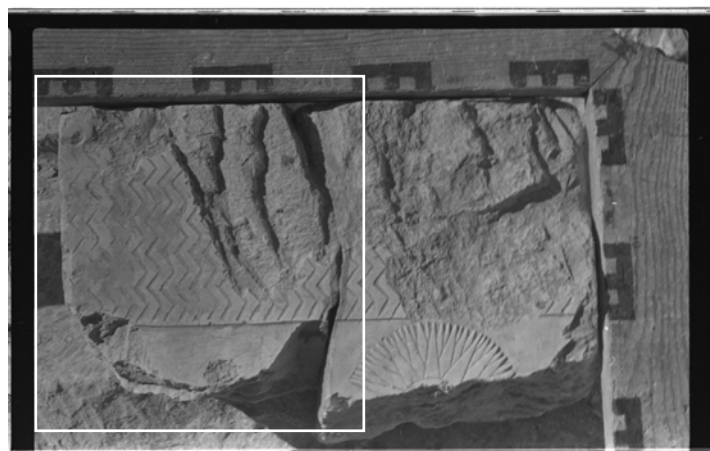
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 241, 243, 244

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 127, 129, 130.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**129. Block fragment c.b. no. 6/74**

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1973/1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_

Phot\_1973-1974\_0014;

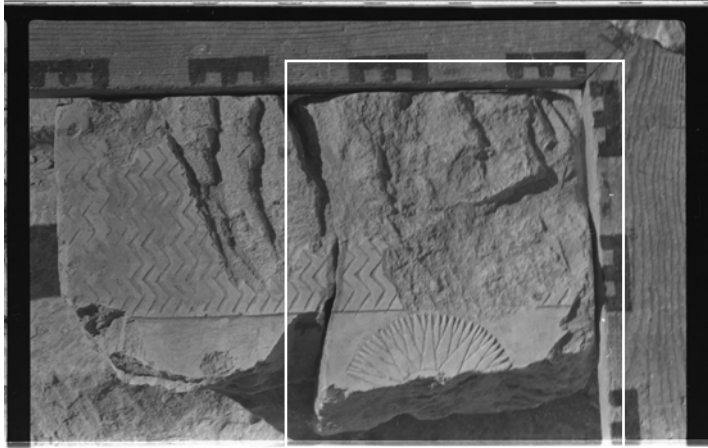
DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0015

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 241, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 127, 128, 130.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**130. Block fragment c.b. no. 7/74**

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1973/1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_

Phot\_1973-1974\_0014;

DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0015

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 241, 244, 247, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 127, 128, 129.

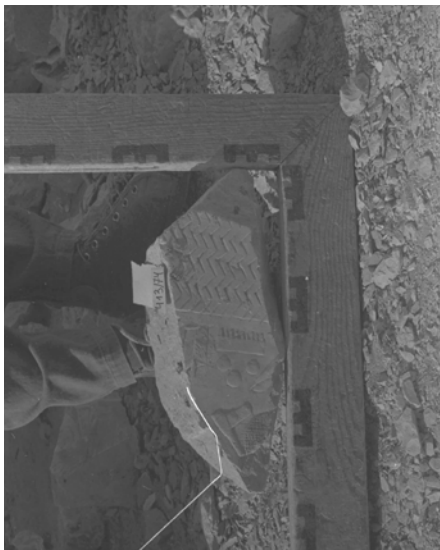
Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**SCENE 4.7**

(2 block and 3 blocks fragments)

***Block not registered*** (see Cat. no. 103, Scene 3.13)

***Block no. 27*** (see Cat. no. 124, Scene 4.6)

**131. Block fragment no. 413/74; c.b. no. 939/74**

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1973/1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

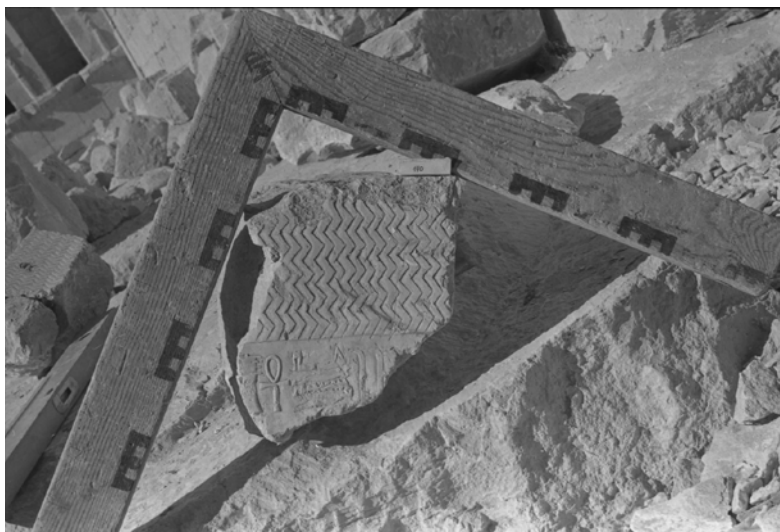
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 244, 247, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 132, 133.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**132. Block fragment no. 170; c.b. no. 76/85**

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1973/1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

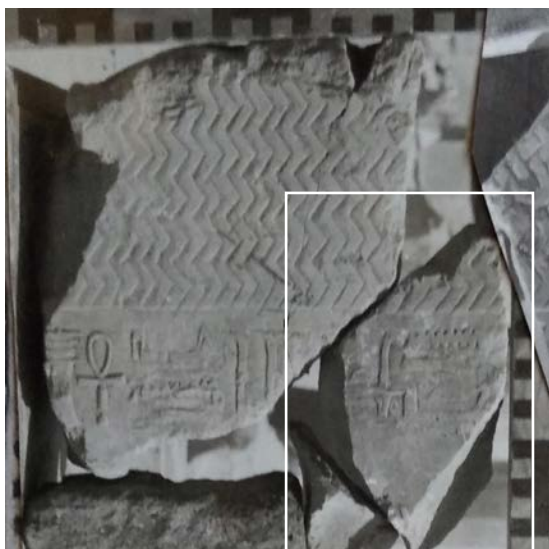
IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0013; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 244, 247, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 131, 133.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**133. Block fragment no. 1013/81; c.b. no. 8/74**

*Date of recognition:* probably season 1973/1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

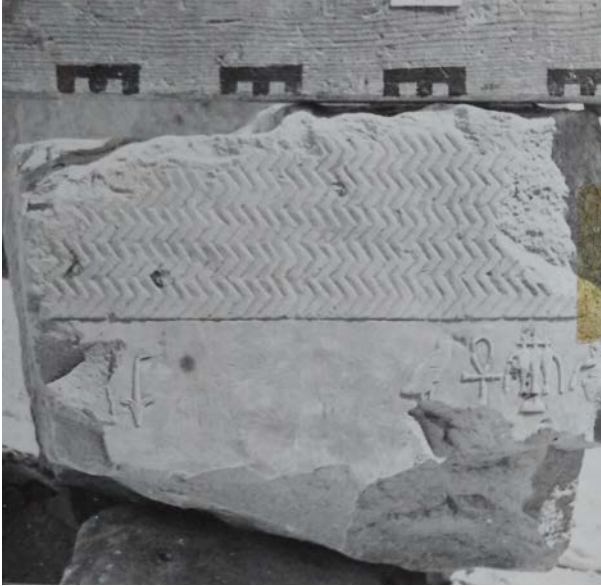
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 244, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 131, 132.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**134. Block fragment c.b. no. 238/73**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1973  
*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985  
*Photo no.:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 247, 250  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**SCENE 4.8**

(2 blocks and 7 blocks fragments)

**135. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 247, 250, 251, 252  
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 136.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**136. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 221, 250, 257, 258, 263

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 135.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**Block no. 68** (see Cat. no. 90, Scene 3.12)

**Block fragments no. 75/85** (see Cat. no. 85, Scene 3.11)

**137. Block c.b. no. 289/73**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1973

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 250, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**138. Block fragment no. 256; c.b. no. 14/83**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1983

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo no.:*

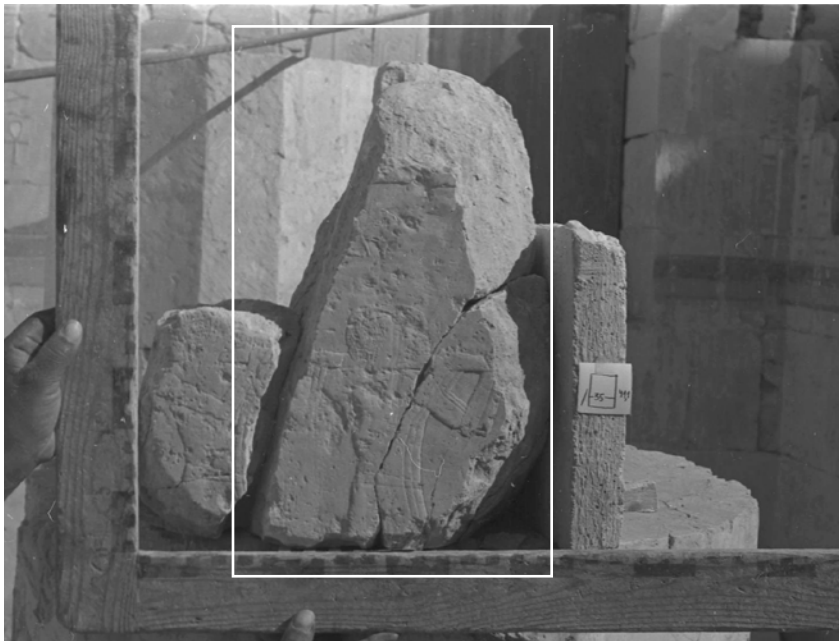
IMOC PAS: DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_001\_1\_3; DeB 1973-1974 kat-blok\_046\_3\_3; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 250, 252

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 139, 140, 141.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**139. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1983

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_001\_1\_3; DeB 1973-1974 kat-blok\_046\_3\_3; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 250, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 138, 140, 141.

#### **140. Block fragment no. 481/74; c.b. no. 14/83**



*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 250, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 138, 139, 141.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**141. Block fragment no. 456/74; c.b. no. 14/83**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1975-1976 kat-blok\_001\_1\_3; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 250

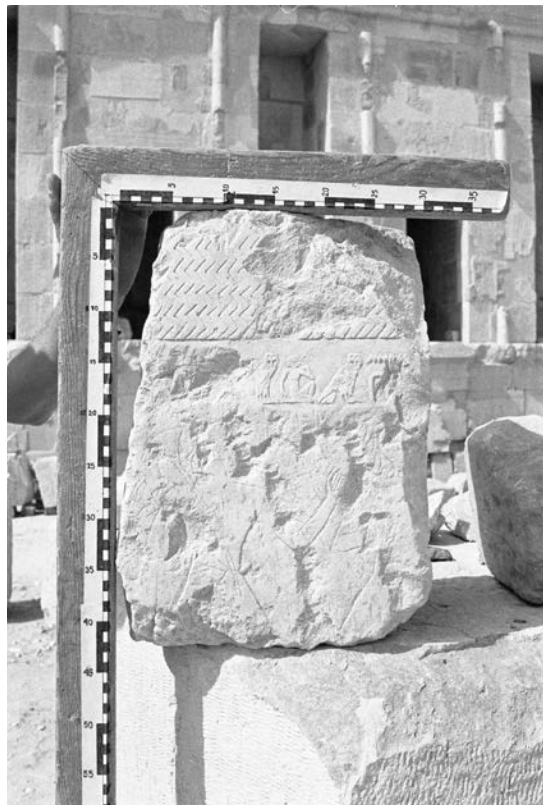
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 138, 139, 140.

**SCENE 4.9**

(4 block and 1 block fragments)

***Block fragments no. 75/85*** (see Cat. no. 85, Scene 3.11)

***Block c.b. no. 109/79*** (see Cat. no. 89, Scene 3.11)

**142. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* season 1998/1999

*Date of replacement:* season 1998/1999

*Photo no.:*

PCMA UW: DBAH\_Skany\_26 (2517)

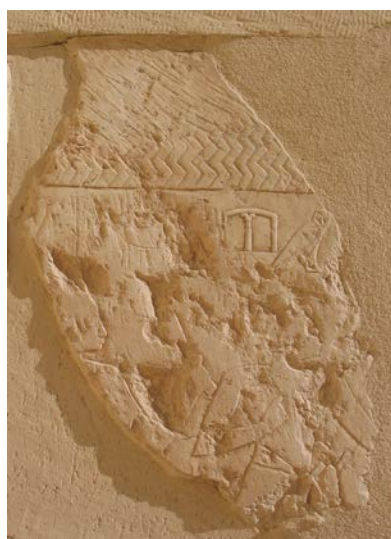
*References:*

Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari 1998/1999, 166, Fig. 10

*Citation in this book (pages):* 26, 35, 40, 219, 221, 253, 255, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* Found during the excavations in the Main Sanctuary of Amun (Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari 1998/1999, 166).

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**143. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1976/1977

*Photo nos.:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 253, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**144. Block no. 288/73; Baraize no. o251**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1973

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 219, 221, 253, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* -

**SCENE 4.10**

(17 blocks and 26 blocks fragments)

***Block fragment not registered*** (see Cat. no. 106, Scene 4.1)

***Block fragment no. 175*** (see Cat. no. 107, Scene 4.1)

***Block fragment no. 45*** (see Cat. no. 108, Scene 4.1)

**145. Block fragment c.b. no. 1183/80**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1980

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAN: DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_060\_4\_1; I 3/18:

Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 259

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**146. Block fragment no. 181; c.b. no. 23/75**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAN: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 259, 273, 276, 277, 278

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 182 from Scene 4.11.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**147. Block fragment no. 200**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1972/1973

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 219, 257, 258, 259, 260

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 148.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**148. Block fragment no. F 8760; c.b. no. 316/75**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 259, 260

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 147.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**149. Block no. 43**

Phot. J. Karkowski,  
courtesy of Department of the Scientific  
Documentation of the  
IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Photo\_1973-1974\_0031; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 259, 261, 273, 277

*Comments and additional information:* -

**150. Block no. 12/74; c.b. nos 97/74 = 51, 54/74**

Phot.  
J. Karkowski,  
courtesy of  
Department of  
the Scientific  
Documentation of the  
IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0047 DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0050; DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0091;  
I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 8

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 8

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261

*Comments and additional information:* -

***Block c.b. no. 282/73*** (see Cat. no. 113, Scene 4.3)

***151. Block fragment not registered***



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_060\_3\_3

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 261

*Comments and additional information:* -

**152. Block fragment c.b. no. 74/85**

Phot. J. Karkowski,  
courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1985

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_005\_3\_1; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 261

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 191 from Scene 4.12.

**153. Block no. 24; c.b. no. 34/85**

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 9, Pls 1, 5

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 9, Pls 1, 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 40, 219, 257, 258, 261, 281, 283

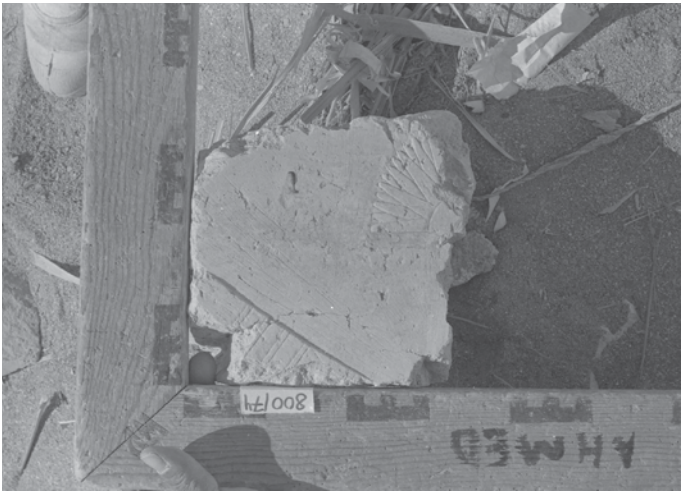
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

***Block fragment no. 184; c.b. no. 10/74*** (see Cat. no. 122, Scene 4.5)

***Block fragment c.b. no. 1229/80*** (see Cat. no. 123, Scene 4.5)

**154. *Block fragment no. 800/74***



*Date of recognition:* probably 1984  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:*  
 IMOC PAS: DeB 1973-1974 kat-  
 blok\_056\_2\_5; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari  
 - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219,  
 257, 258, 261, 283  
*Comments and additional information:*  
 One block together with Cat. no. 155.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documenta-  
 tion of the IMOC PAS

**155. *Block fragment no. 41***



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0083; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 5

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 40, 219, 257, 258, 261, 281, 283

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 154.

### 156. Block fragment not registered



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

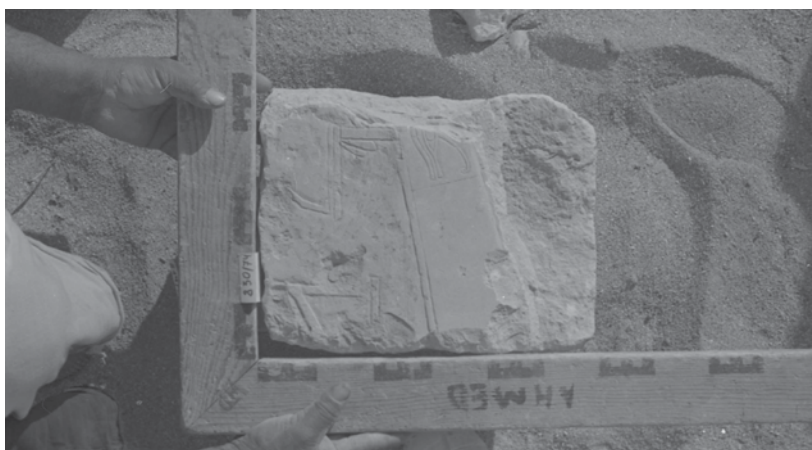
PCMA UW: DBAH\_ska-ny\_24 (152); DBAH\_ska-ny\_24 (153); DBAH\_ska-ny\_24 (192)

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 261, 263, 281, 283

*Comments and additional information:* -

### 157. Block fragment no. 830/74; c.b. no. 1149/74



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1973-1974 kat-blok\_055\_4\_2; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 261, 263

*Comments and additional information:* -

**Block no. 28** (see Cat. no. 119, Scene 4.5)

**Block no. 185** (see Cat. no. 120, Scene 4.5)

**Block no. 34** (see Cat. no. 121, Scene 4.5)

**Block fragment c.b. no. 6/74** (see Cat. no. 129, Scene 4.6)

**Block fragment c.b. no. 7/74** (see Cat. no. 130, Scene 4.6)

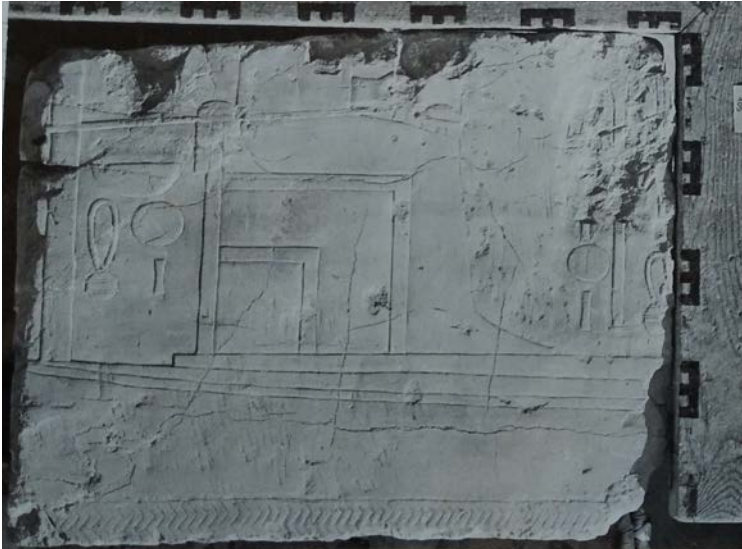
**Block no. 27** (see Cat. no. 124, Scene 4.6)

**Block fragment no. 413/74; c.b. no. 939/74** (see Cat. no. 131, Scene 4.7)

**Block fragment no. 170; c.b. no. 76/85** (see Cat. no. 132, Scene 4.7)

**Block fragment no. 1013/81; c.b. no. 8/74** (see Cat. no. 133, Scene 4.7)

**158. Block no. 105; c.b. no. 244/73**



*Date of recognition:* probably 1973

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, Fig. 9

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 263, 263, 264

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

***Block fragment c.b. no. 238/73*** (see Cat. no. 136, Scene 4.8)

***Block c.b. no. 289/73*** (see Cat. no. 137, Scene 4.8)

***Block fragment not registered*** (see Cat. no. 139, Scene 4.8)

***Block fragment no. 481/74; c.b. no. 14/83*** (see Cat. no. 140, Scene 4.8)

***Block not registered*** (see Cat. no. 142, Scene 4.9)

***Block not registered*** (see Cat. no. 143, Scene 4.9)

***Block no. 288/73*** (see Cat. no. 143, Scene 4.9)

**159. Block Baraize no. 139**



*Date of recognition:* season 1971/1972

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 7

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 7

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**160. Block no. 861; c.b. no. 194/73**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1971/1972

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

PCMA UW:

DBAH.1976-1977.006.491

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Phot. 7

Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Phot. 7

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**161. Block fragment c.b. no. 66/85**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1985

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**162. Block fragment no. 153; c.b. no. 197/73**

*Date of recognition:*  
probably 1973  
*Date of replacement:*  
season 1986/1987  
*Photo no.:*  
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir  
el-Bahari - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book*  
*(pages):* 40, 219, 257,  
258, 266  
*Comments and addi-*  
*tional information:* Two  
fragments of block  
registered under one  
number.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**163. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_023\_1\_3; DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_026\_4\_2; DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_026\_4\_3

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 263, 266

*Comments and additional information:* -

**164. Block fragment c.b. no. 65/85**



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

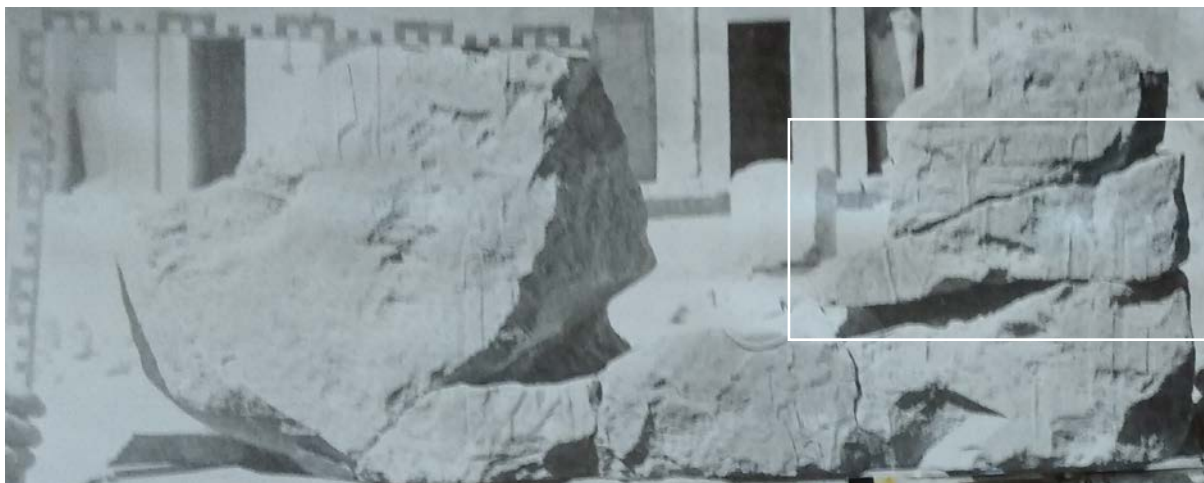
*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_045\_1\_2

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 165, 166, 167, 168, 169.

**165. Block c.b. no. 65/85**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 164, 166, 167, 168, 169.

**166. Block fragment c.b. no. 65/85; Baraize no. 326**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

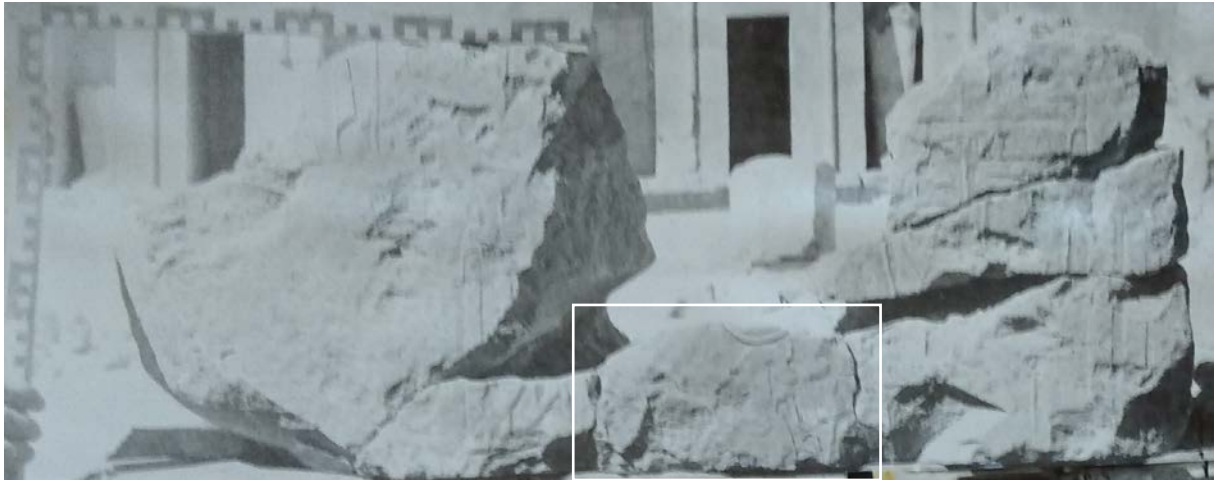
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 164, 165, 167, 168, 169.

**167. Block fragment c.b. no. 65/85**



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 164, 165, 166, 168, 169.

**168. Block fragment c.b. no. 65/85**

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

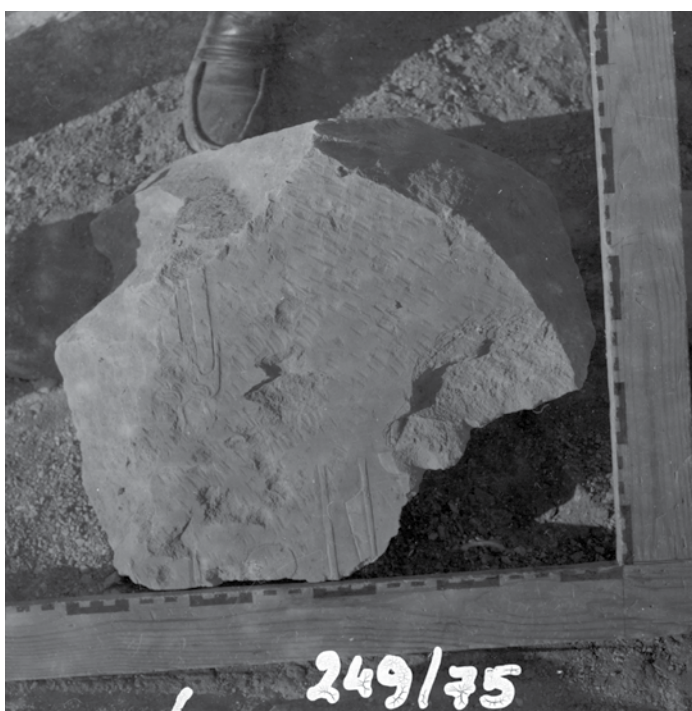
*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 164, 165, 166, 167, 169.

**169. Block fragment no. 249/75; c.b. no. 65/85**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.007.209

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 257, 258, 266

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 164, 165, 166, 167, 168.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

## SCENE 4.11

(1 block and 13 blocks fragments)

### 170. Block fragment no. 9/74; c.b. no. 41/74



Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0021; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

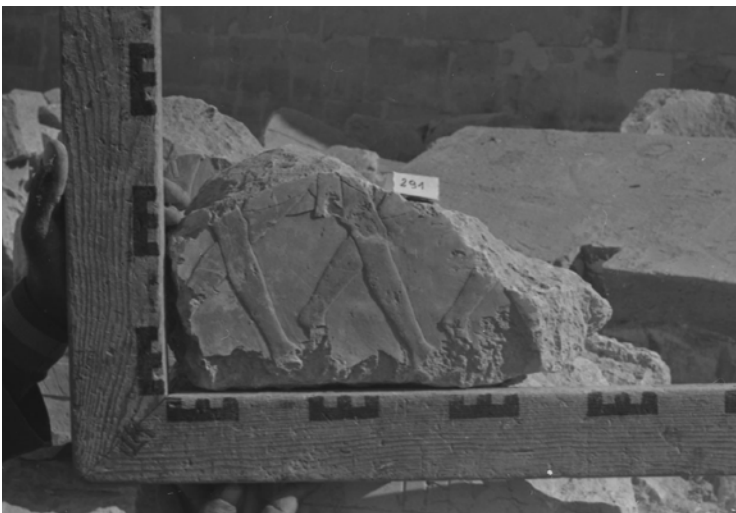
*References:*

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 39, 219, 273, 274, 286, 292

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 203 from Scene 5.

### 171. Block fragment no. 291; c.b. no. 38/74



*Date of recognition:* probably 1974

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0024; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 274

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 172.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**172. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 274

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 171.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**173. Block no. 10/74; c.b. no. 89/71; Baraize no. 061**

Phot. J. Karkowski,  
courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Photo\_1973-1974\_0023; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 39, 219, 273, 274, 279

*Comments and additional information:* -

**174. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 274

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 175.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**175. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 274

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 174.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**176. Block fragment 179 [upper]; both fragments c.b. no. 16/1978**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1978

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 276

*Comments and additional information:* Three fragments of block registered under one number; one block together with Cat. no.

177.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**177. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 276

*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number; one block together with Cat. no. 176.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**178. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 276

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**179. Block fragment no. 52/75; c.b. no. 62/87**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 276, 279

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 180, 181 and 183.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**180. Block fragments no. 8/75; c.b. no. 60–61/87**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1975

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 276, 279

*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number; one block together with Cat. nos 179, 181 and 183.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**181. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos.:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 220, 273, 276

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 179, 180 and 183.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**182. Block fragment c.b. no. 13/1978; Baraize no. o226**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1978

*Date of replacement:* season

1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 276, 277

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 146 from Scene 4.10.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**Block fragment no. 181; c.b. no. 23/75** (see Cat. no. 146, Scene 4.10)

**183. Block fragment c.b. no. 11/1978**



*Date of recognition:* probably 1978

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 277, 279

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 179, 180, 181 and 183.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**184. Block fragment c.b. no. 59/1987**



*Date of recognition:* probably 1987

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

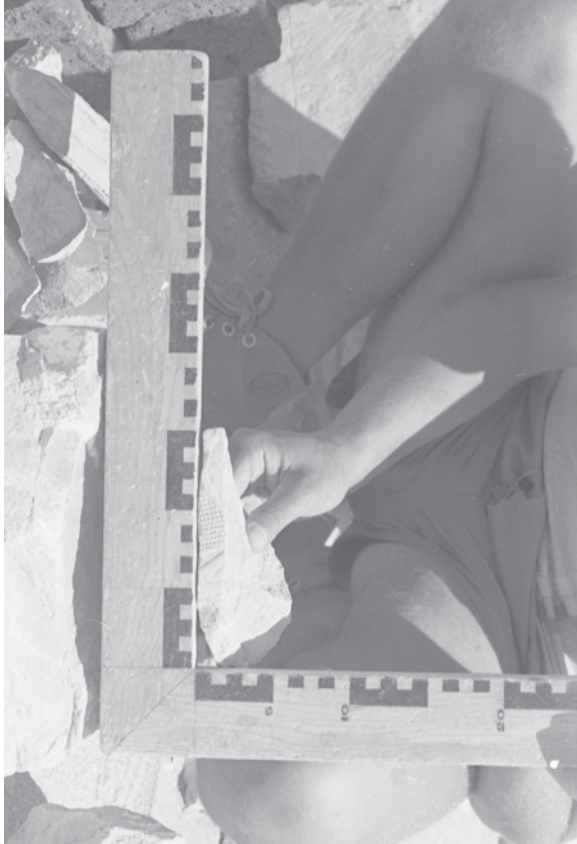
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 277

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**185. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1979-1980 kat-blok\_059\_1\_4

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 277

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**Block no. 43** (see Cat. no. 149, Scene 4.10)

**186. Block fragment c.b. no. 106/1979**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 278

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 187, 188, 189.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**187. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 278  
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 186, 188, 189.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**188. Block fragment c.b. no. 103/1979**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1979  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:*  
 IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 278  
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 186, 187, 189.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**189. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 278, 280

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 186, 187, 188.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**190. Block fragment c.b. no. 13/85**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1985

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1979-1980  
kat-blok\_048\_2\_1; I 3/18:

Deir el-Bahari – Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 278, 279

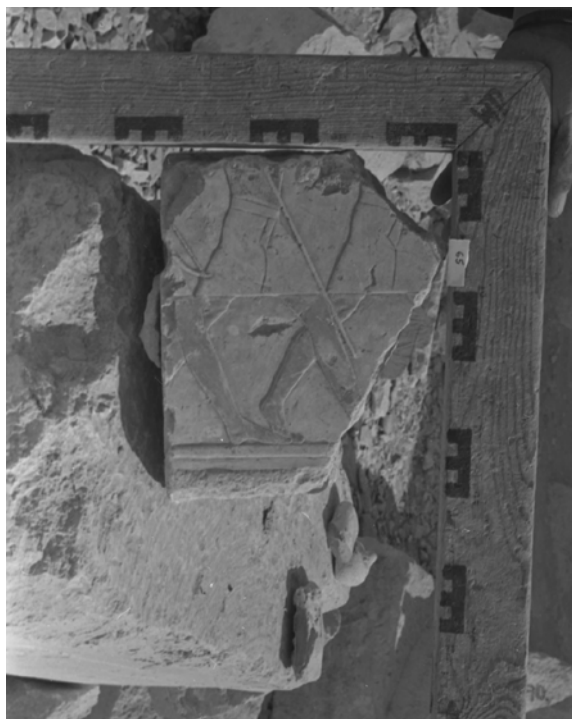
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

## SCENE 4.12

(3 blocks and 5 blocks fragments)

### 191. *Block fragment no. 65*



*Date of recognition:* 1971

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-1974\_0025; I 3/18:

Deir el-Bahari – Varia

*References:*

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 1, 5

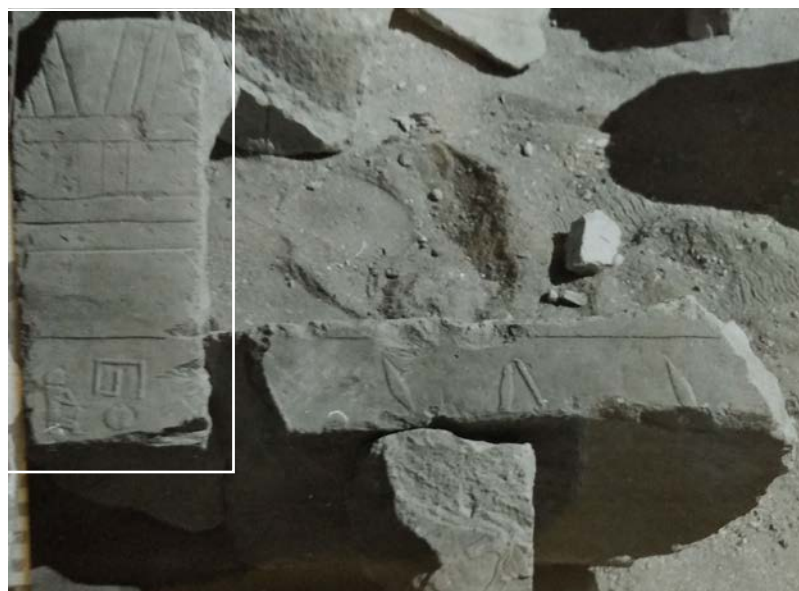
Niewalda, Teoretyczna rekonstrukcja i studia modularne ściany wschodniej, Pls 1, 5

*Citation in this book (pages):* 24, 40, 219, 273, 281, 282

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 152 from Scene 4.10.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

### 192. *Block fragment not registered*



*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 220, 273, 281, 282

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**193. Block fragment c.b. no. 12/85; Baraize no. x43**

*Date of recognition:* probably 1985

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 281, 282

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 194.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**194. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 220, 273, 281

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 193.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

***Block no. 24; c.b. no. 34/85*** (see Cat. no. 153, Scene 4.10)

***Block fragment no. 41*** (see Cat. no. 155, Scene 4.10)

**195. *Block no. 146; c.b. no. 239/73***



*Date of recognition:* probably 1973

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 219, 273, 281, 295

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

***Block fragment not registered*** (see Cat. no. 156, Scene 4.10)

## SCENE 5

(6 blocks and 8 blocks fragments)

### 196. *Block no. 661*



*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 286, 288, 295, 296, 300

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

***Block no. 241/75*** (see Cat. no. 47, Scene 2)

***Block no. 2114 = 588*** (see Cat. no. 48, Scene 2)

### 197. *Block fragment not registered*



*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

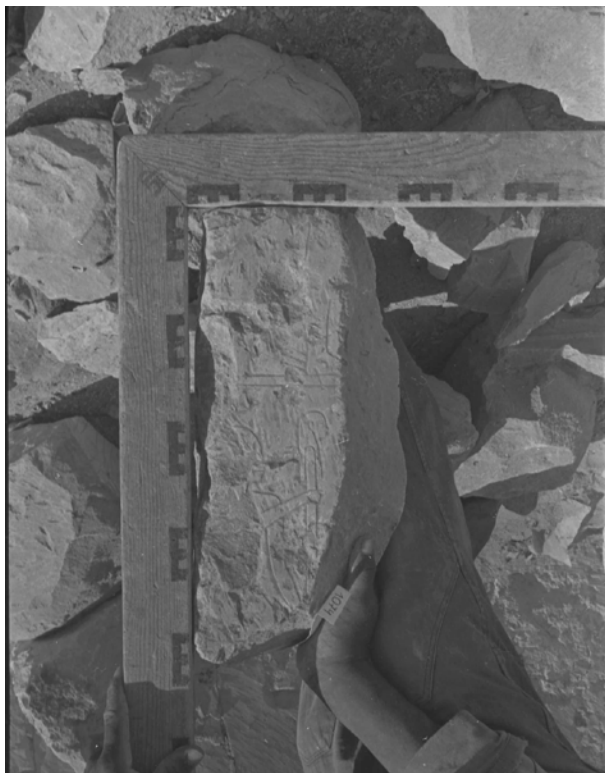
*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 286, 288

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**198. Block fragment no. 1074; c.b. no. 1001/74**

*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB 1973-1974 kat-blok\_049\_1\_6;

I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977.007.214

*References:*

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977-1980, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 40, 286, 288, 289, 290

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**199. Block no. 170; c.b. no. 16/74**

*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:*

IMOC PAS: DeB\_Phot\_1973-

1974\_0005; I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

PCMA UW:

DBAH.1976-1977.006.476

*References:*

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977-1980, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 40, 286, 288, 289

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**Block no. 220** (see Cat. no. 53, Scene 2)

**Block fragment no. 194/72** (see Cat. no. 49, Scene 2)

**200. Block fragments no. 33/75; c.b. no. 7/83**



*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

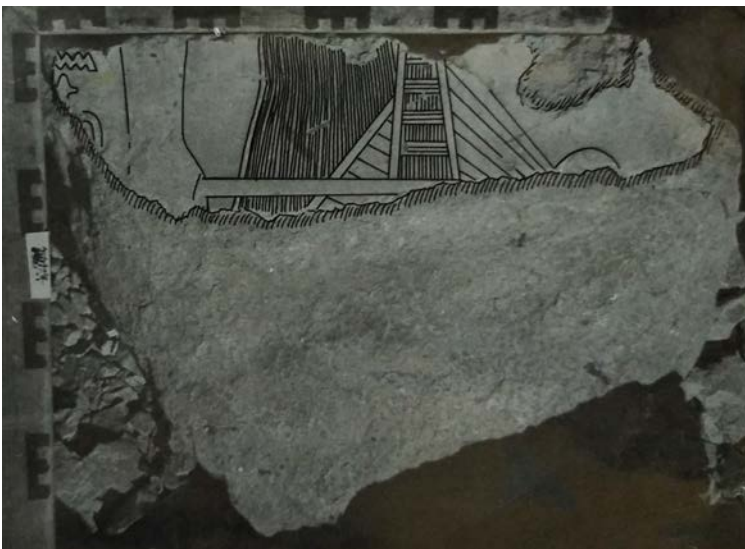
Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 286, 292

*Comments and additional information:* Three fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**201. Block fragment no. 895; c.b. no. 315/73**



*Date of recognition:* season 1978/1979

*Date of replacement:* season 1984/1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:*

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 6

*Citation in this book (pages):* 25, 39, 286, 287, 292

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**202. Block no. 522**

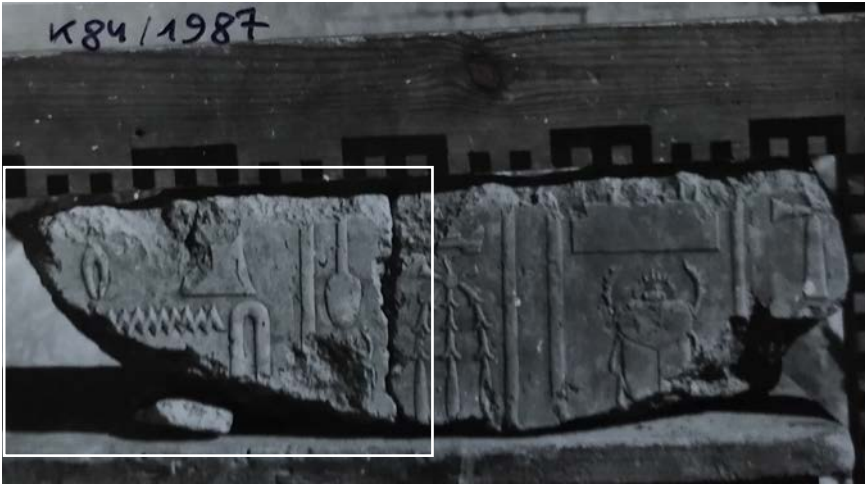
*Date of recognition:* season  
1978/1979  
*Date of replacement:* season  
1984/1985  
*Photo no.:*  
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari  
- Varia  
*References:*  
Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut:*  
*Egyptological Studies* 1977–1980,  
Fig. 6  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 25,  
39, 286, 287, 292  
*Comments and additional infor-*  
*mation:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**203. Block fragment no. 166; c.b. no. 84/1987**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo no.:*  
IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 286, 292  
*Comments and additional information:* One block  
together with Cat. no. 204.

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**204. Block fragment c.b. no. 84/1987**

Phot. J. Karkowski,  
courtesy of Department of the Scientific  
Documentation of the  
IMOC PAS

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 286, 292

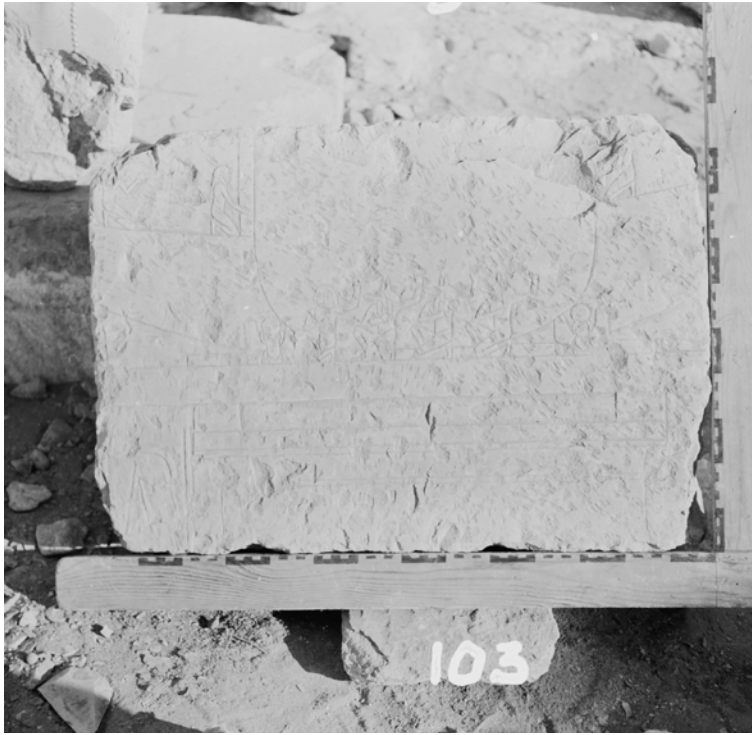
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. no. 203.

***Block fragment no. 9/74; c.b. no. 41/74*** (see Cat. no. 170, Scene 4.11)

## SCENE 6

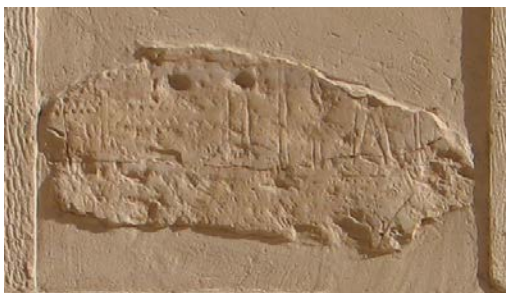
(5 blocks and 2 blocks fragments)

***Block no. 1354; c.b. no. 24/74*** (see Cat. no. 5, Scene 1)

**205. Block no. 103**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:*  
 PCMA UW: DBAH.1976-1977. 007.234; DBAH.1976-1977. 007.235  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 295, 299, 300  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**206. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 295, 299, 300  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**Block fragment c.b. no. 553/80** (see Cat. no. 31, Scene 1)**207. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 295, 296, 297

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**208. Block c.b. no. 254/73**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* 1985

*Photo no.:*

IMOC PAS: I 3/18: Deir el-Bahari - Varia

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 39, 295, 296, 297, 300

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Karkowski, courtesy of Department of the Scientific Documentation of the IMOC PAS

**Block no. 661** (see Cat. no. 196, Scene 5)

## BLOCKS WITH A *KHEKER*-FRIEZE

(3 blocks and 32 fragments of blocks)

### 209. *Block fragment not registered*



*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. M. Caban

### 210. *Block not registered*



*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

### 211. *Block fragments not registered*



*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**212. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**213. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**214. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**215. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**216. Block fragments not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**217. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**218. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**219. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**220. Block fragments not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**221. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**222. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**223. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**224. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**225. Block fragments not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* Two fragments of block registered under one number.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

***Block fragment not registered*** (see Cat. no. 192, Scene 4.12)

***Block fragment not registered*** (see Cat. no. 194, Scene 4.12)

***Block fragment not registered*** (see Cat. no. 181, Scene 4.11)

**226. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

**227. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**228. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**229. Block not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**230. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 231, 232, 233, 234, 235.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**231. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

*Date of recognition:* unknown*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987*Photo nos:* -*References:* unpublished*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 230, 232, 233, 234, 235.**232. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

*Date of recognition:* unknown*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987*Photo nos:* -*References:* unpublished*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 230, 231, 233, 234, 235.**233. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

*Date of recognition:* unknown*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987*Photo nos:* -*References:* unpublished*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 230, 231, 232, 234, 235.**234. Block fragment not registered**

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

*Date of recognition:* unknown*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987*Photo nos:* -*References:* unpublished*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 230, 231, 232, 233, 235.

**235. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* season 1986/1987

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* One block together with Cat. nos 230, 231, 232, 233, 234.

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**236. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* unknown

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**237. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown

*Date of replacement:* unknown

*Photo nos:* -

*References:* unpublished

*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220

*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**238. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* unknown  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**239. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* unknown  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**240. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* unknown  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. J. Iwaszczuk

**241. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* unknown  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. M. Caban

**242. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* unknown  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. M. Caban

**243. Block fragment not registered**

*Date of recognition:* unknown  
*Date of replacement:* unknown  
*Photo nos:* -  
*References:* unpublished  
*Citation in this book (pages):* 40, 220  
*Comments and additional information:* -

Phot. M. Caban

# GLOSSARY

## ABBREVIATIONS

adj.	adjective	neg.	negative
adv.	adverb	num.	number
art.	article	part.	particle
caus.	causative	pl.	plural
dem.	demonstrative	prep.	preposition
div.	divinity	pron.	pronoun
fem.	feminine	RN	royal name
imper.	imperative	sing.	singular
imp.	impersonal	trans.	transitive
intrans.	intransitive	vb.	verb
loc.	locality	2ae gem.	<i>secundae geminatae</i>
masc.	masculine	3ae inf.	<i>tertiaae infirmae</i>
n.	noun	4ae inf.	<i>quartaae infirmae</i>

## GLOSSARY

### 3

- 3w* (1) adj. vb. “to be wide, to be joyful (of heart), to rejoice”:  
(2) n. masc. “width”: Tx. 51 [x+3]
- 3w.t-jb* n. fem. “joy”: Tx. 10; Tx. 19; Tx. 30 [3]; Tx. 34 (restored); Tx. 36 [1]; Tx. 49 [3]; Tx. 66; Tx. 82 [x+3]  
and in the following compounds:
- *dj 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 49 [3]
  - *dj 'nh ɔd 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 66 (partly restored)
  - *dj 'nh ɔd w3s 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 19
  - *dj 'nh ɔd w3s snb 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 82 [x+3] (partly preserved)
- 3b(j)* n. masc. “cheetah”: Tx. 31

### j

- j* first-pers. sing. suffix pron. “I, me”: Tx. 11 [2]
- j3.w* n. masc. “praise”: Tx. 36 [5]
- jb* n. masc. “heart”: Tx. 10; Tx. 19; Tx. 21; Tx. 30 [3]; Tx. 34 (restored); Tx. 36 [1]; Tx. 49 [3]; Tx. 66  
(twice, once partly restored); Tx. 82 [x+1]

- and in the following compounds:
- *3w.t-jb*: Tx. 10; Tx. 19; Tx. 30 [3]; Tx. 34 (restored); Tx. 36 [1]; Tx. 49 [3]; Tx. 66
  - *dj 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 49 [3]
  - *dj 'nh dd 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 66 (partly restored)
  - *dj 'nh dd w3s 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 19
- jm* prep. adv. “there”: Tx. 37 [2]
- jmj* n. masc. “what is within, who is within”: Tx. 38 [1]
- Jmn* div. “Amun”: Tx. 15 [2] (restored, partly preserved); Tx. 17 (restored); Tx. 21 (twice, restored); Tx. 22 (restored, partly preserved); Tx. 37 [2] (restored); Tx. 45 [4] (restored); Tx. 51 (restored, partly preserved); Tx. 57 (restored, partly preserved); Tx. 77 (partly preserved, restored)  
see also: *H3.t-šps.wt-hnm.t-Jmn*
- Jmn-R* div. “Amun-Ra”: Tx. 3; Tx. 16 (restored); Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 26 (restored, partly preserved); Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 48 [1] (restored); Tx. 54 (restored, partly preserved); Tx. 59; Tx. 69 (restored); Tx. 72 [x+1] (restored, partly preserved); Tx. 73 (restored); Tx. 85 (restored, partly preserved)
- jmnt.t* n. fem. “west”: Tx. 11 [4]; Tx. 36 [1]
- jn* prep. “by”: Tx. 18; Tx. 20; Tx. 21 (partly preserved); Tx. 37 [1]; Tx. 39; Tx. 53; Tx. 77; Tx. 78
- jrj* vb. 3ae inf. “make, do, perform”: Tx. 11 [1, 4]; Tx. 21; Tx. 37 [1]; Tx. 39; Tx. 53; Tx. 54 (twice); Tx. 61; Tx. 64; Tx. 69; Tx. 78 (three times); Tx. 82 [x+2] (twice); Tx. 82 [x+3]; Tx. 83
- jrp* n. masc. “wine”: Tx. 15 [2] (restored)
- Jšrw* loc., n. masc. “Isheru”: Tx. 2 [1]
- jtj* n. masc. “ruler”: Tx. 38 [1]; Tx. 60 (restored); Tx. 66
- ‘
- ‘3 adj. “great”: Tx. 4; Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 45 [3]; Tx. 55  
and in the following compound:
- *ntr* ‘3: Tx. 4
- see also: *pr.wj-‘3*; *‘3-hpr-k3-R*‘; *‘3-hpr-n-R*‘
- ‘3-hpr-n-R‘ RN “Aa-kheper-en-Ra (prenomen of Thutmose II)”: Tx. 37 [1]
- ‘3-hpr-k3-R‘ RN “Aa-kheper-ka-Ra (prenomen of Thutmose I)”: Tx. 14 [x+4] (*k3* unpreserved)
- ‘pr.w n. masc. “crew (of a ship)”: Tx. 20; Tx. 37 [1]; Tx. 39
- ‘nh (1) vb. “to live, to be alive”: Tx. 18; Tx. 23; Tx. 32 (restored); Tx. 56; Tx. 78  
and in the following compound:
- *‘nh wd3 snb*: Tx. 18; Tx. 23; Tx. 32 (restored); Tx. 56; Tx. 78
- (2) n. “life”: Tx. 6 [1]; Tx. 10; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 14 [x+1]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 19; Tx. 40 [2]; Tx. 42; Tx. 43; Tx. 48 [2] (restored); Tx. 66; Tx. 71; Tx. 74 [x+2] (restored); Tx. 76 [x+1] (restored); Tx. 79 [x+3]; Tx. 80; Tx. 82 [x+3]; Tx. 84 (restored)
- and in the following compounds:
- *dj ‘nh*: Tx. 6 [1]; Tx. 8; Tx. 11 [4]; Tx. 14 [x+1]
  - *dj ‘nh w3s*: Tx. 49 [1]; Tx. 71; Tx. 74 [x+2] (restored); Tx. 76 [x+1] (restored)
  - *dj ‘nh dd w3s*: Tx. 11 [3]
  - *dj ‘nh dd 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 66 (partly restored)
  - *dj ‘nh dd w3s 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 19
  - *dj ‘nh dd w3s snb*: Tx. 79 [x+3] (partly preserved)
  - *dj ‘nh dd w3s snb 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 82 [x+3] (partly preserved)
- (3) n. masc. “the living (one)”: Tx. 7; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 54; Tx. 66
- (4) adj. “alive, living”: Tx. 31
- ‘h-ms RN “Ahmes (name of queen Ahmes)”: Tx. 14 [x+6]
- ‘h n. masc. “brazier”: Tx. 35 (restored)
- ‘š-h3.t n. masc. “pilot”: Tx. 38 [1]

**W**

- w3h* intrans. vb. “to live long, to endure”: Tx. 56; Tx. 57; Tx. 69  
and in the following compound:
- *w3h nsw.yt* (*nepty*-name of Thutmose III): Tx. 56
- w3s* n. masc. “dominion”: Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 19; Tx. 40 [2]; Tx. 48 [2] (restored); Tx. 49 [1]; Tx. 70; Tx. 74 [x+2] (restored); Tx. 76 [x+1] (restored); Tx. 79 [x+3]; Tx. 82 [x+3]  
and in the following compounds:
- *dj 'nh w3s*: Tx. 49 [1]; Tx. 74 [x+2] (restored); Tx. 76 [x+1] (restored)
  - *dj 'nh dd w3s*: Tx. 11 [3]
  - *dj 'nh dd w3s 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 19
  - *dj 'nh dd w3s snb*: Tx. 79 [x+3] (partly preserved)
  - *dj 'nh dd w3s snb 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 82 [x+3] (partly preserved)
- W3s.t* loc., n. fem. “Thebes”; see: *K3-nht-h'-m-W3s.t*
- w'b* (1) adj. “clean, pure”: Tx. 22; Tx. 25; Tx. 35 (restored)  
(2) n. masc. “the clean (one), *wab*-priest” in the following compound:  
*w'b nswt*: Tx. 29 (four times); Tx. 67 (twice)
- wj3* n. masc. “sacred bark”: Tx. 11 [1]; Tx. 20; Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 37 [1]; Tx. 39; Tx. 45 [3]; Tx. 50 [1] (restored); Tx. 54; Tx. 55  
and in the following compound:
- *wj3 '3 n tp-jtrw*: Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 55
- wnn* vb. “to be, exist”: Tx. 7; Tx. 14 [x+2]; Tx. 19; Tx. 31; Tx. 63
- wr.t* n. fem. “the great one (i.e. sacred bark)”: Tx. 38 [1]
- wdj* vb. 3ae inf. “to place, to put”, in the following compound:  
*wdj r t3*: Tx. 36 [1]
- wdn* vb. “offer”: Tx. 16; Tx. 22; Tx. 25; Tx. 51; Tx. 59
- wq3* vb. “to be prosperous”, in the following compound:  
*'nh wq3 snb*: Tx. 18; Tx. 23; Tx. 32 (restored); Tx. 56; Tx. 78

**b**

- b3k* intrans. vb. “work”: Tx. 50 [x+2]
- bjtj* n. masc. “King of Lower Egypt”, in the following compound:  
*nswt bjtj*: Tx. 21 (erased); Tx. 23; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 56 (twice); Tx. 77
- bw* n. masc. “place”: Tx. 17
- Bhd.tj* div. “Behdety”: Tx. 4

**p**

- p3* def. art. masc. sing. “this, the”: Tx. 17; Tx. 37 [2] (twice); Tx. 50 [4]; Tx. 54
- pw* dem. “this”: Tx. 54
- pn* dem. masc. sing. “this”: Tx. 14 [x+2] (partly preserved); Tx. 30 [4]; Tx. 36 [3, 4]; Tx. 38 [2]; Tx. 52 (twice); Tx. 60; Tx. 77; Tx. 78
- pr* n. masc. “house”: Tx. 57
- pr-3* n. masc. “pharaoh”: Tx. 18; Tx. 28; Tx. 78  
and in the following compound:  
*sms.w pr.wj-3*: Tx. 18; Tx. 28
- ph.wt* n. fem. “stern”: Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 55
- p.t* n. fem. “heaven”: Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 40 [1] (restored)  
and in the following compounds:

- *nb p.t.*: Tx. 25 (restored)
- *nb.t p.t.*: Tx. 40 [1] (restored)

*f*

*f* third-pers. sing. m. suffix pron. “he, his”: Tx. 10 (twice); Tx. 11 [1 (three times), 2, 3 (twice), 4 (twice)]; Tx. 19 (three times); Tx. 21 (three times); Tx. 31; Tx. 34 (restored); Tx. 36 [2]; Tx. 37 [2] (twice); Tx. 38 [2]; Tx. 62 [1, 2]; Tx. 66 (twice, once restored); Tx. 69; Tx. 74 [x+1, x+2] (restored); Tx. 78 (twice); Tx. 79 [x+1]; Tx. 82 [x+1] (twice); Tx. 82 [x+2] (twice); Tx. 82 [x+3] (three times)

*m*

*m* prep. “in, from”: Tx. 2 [2]; Tx. 11 [1]; Tx. 13 [x+8, x+11]; Tx. 14 [x+2]; Tx. 17; Tx. 19; Tx. 21 (twice); Tx. 31; Tx. 36 [1, 2, 3]; Tx. 45 [2]; Tx. 45 [3]; Tx. 50 [2 (twice), 4]; Tx. 52 (twice); Tx. 56 (twice); Tx. 60; Tx. 66; Tx. 68 (twice); Tx. 69; Tx. 78; Tx. 82 [x+1]

*m33* trans. vb. 2ae gem. “to see, to inspect”: Tx. 19

*m3*<sup>˘</sup> (1) vb. “present, offer, make presentation”: Tx. 15 [2] (restored); Tx. 17; Tx. 23; Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 52; Tx. 60

(2) adj. “true”: Tx. 23

*M3*<sup>˘</sup>.*t-k3-R*<sup>˘</sup> RN “Maat-ka-Ra (prenomen of Hatshepsut)”: Tx. 21 (erased)

*mj* prep. “like, as, even as, inasmuch as”: Tx. 7; Tx. 10; Tx. 11 [4]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 21; Tx. 32 (restored); Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 40 [2]; Tx. 42; Tx. 70; Tx. 71; Tx. 79 [x+3] and in the following compound:

- *mj R*<sup>˘</sup>: Tx. 7; Tx. 10; Tx. 11 [3, 4]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 21; Tx. 34 (restored); Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 40 [2]; Tx. 42; Tx. 71; Tx. 79 [x+3] (partly preserved)

*mjt.t* n. fem. “the like”: Tx. 54

*Mw.t* div. “Mut”: Tx. 2 [1] (restored); Tx. 40 [1] (restored); Tx. 76 [x+2] (restored)

*mw.t* n. fem. “mother”: Tx. 14 [x+5]

*mn* intrans. vb. “to be firm, established, enduring”: Tx. 57

*mnj.t* n. fem. “mooring post”: Tx. 38 [1]; Tx. 55 (restored)

*Mn-hpr-R*<sup>˘</sup> RN “Men-kheper-Ra (prenomen of Thutmose III)”: Tx. 6 [1]; Tx. 9 [2]; Tx. 11 [3] (partly preserved); Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 17; Tx. 19; Tx. 23; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 41 [2] (partly preserved); Tx. 46; Tx. 56 (partly preserved); Tx. 63; Tx. 77; Tx. 79 [x+1] (partly preserved)

*mnw* n. masc. “monument”: Tx. 21; Tx. 38 [2]; Tx. 50 [x+1]; Tx. 66

*mrj* vb. 3ae inf. “to love”: Tx. 21; Tx. 77 (partly preserved, restored); Tx. 79 [x+1]

*msj* vb. 3ae inf. “give birth, create, make, fashion”: Tx. 11 [1]; Tx. 50 [x+2]; Tx. 82 [x+2]

see also: *Dhwtj-ms-nfr-hpr*

*mtn* n. masc. “reward”: Tx. 54

*mdw* n. masc. “word, speech”, in the following compound:

- *ḏd mdw*: Tx. 2 [1]; Tx. 3; Tx. 17 (partly preserved); Tx. 49 [1, 2, 3] (restored); Tx. 52; Tx. 59; Tx. 63; Tx. 86 (restored)

*n*

*n* prep. “to, for”: Tx. 11 [2]; Tx. 15 [2] (restored); Tx. 17; Tx. 19 (twice); Tx. 22; Tx. 23; Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 30 [4]; Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 49 [1, 2, 4]; Tx. 51 (restored); Tx. 52; Tx. 59; Tx. 66 (restored)

*n/n.t/n.w* indirect genitive part. masc. sing.: Tx. 11 [4] (twice); Tx. 14 [x+2]; Tx. 17; Tx. 20; Tx. 21; Tx. 24; Tx. 30 [4]; Tx. 32; Tx. 35 (four times); Tx. 36 [3]; Tx. 37 [1, 2, 3]; Tx. 38 [1, 2]; Tx. 39; Tx. 45 [4]; Tx. 50 [x+5]; Tx. 52; Tx. 54; Tx. 55 (twice); Tx. 56; Tx. 60; Tx. 78

- n* neg. part. “not”: Tx. 54
- nb* (1) n. masc. “lord”: Tx. 11 [2]; Tx. 16 (restored); Tx. 17 (twice, restored); Tx. 23 (restored); Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 26 (restored); Tx. 30 [3]; Tx. 36 [6]; Tx. 41 [1]; Tx. 45 [4] (restored); Tx. 51 (restored); Tx. 68; Tx. 73; Tx. 79 [x+1]  
and in the following compounds:
- *nb jr ht*: Tx. 11 [2]
  - *nb p.t*: Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 69 (uncertain, restored)
  - *nb nswt t3.wj*: Tx. 16 (restored); Tx. 17 (restored); Tx. 26 (restored); Tx. 45 [4] (restored); Tx. 51 (restored, partly preserved); Tx. 73 (restored, partly preserved)
  - *nb ntr.w*: Tx. 17 (restored); Tx. 23 (restored); Tx. 68
  - *nb t3.wj*: Tx. 36 [6]; Tx. 41 [1]; Tx. 79 [x+1] (partly preserved)
- (2) adj. “any, every, all”: Tx. 10; Tx. 11 [2, 3]; Tx. 13 [x+10, x+12]; Tx. 14 [x+3]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 22; Tx. 25; Tx. 30 [1 (twice), 2, 3 (twice)]; Tx. 42; Tx. 49 [1, 2, 3, 4]; Tx. 68 (twice, once restored); Tx. 70; Tx. 75 [x+1, x+2] (restored); Tx. 75
- nb.t* n. fem. “lady”: Tx. 2 [1]; Tx. 40 [1] (restored)  
and in the following compound:
- *nb.t pt*: Tx. 40 [1] (restored)
- nfr* (1) adj. “good, beautiful, perfect”: Tx. 11 [2]; Tx. 14 [x+3]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 17; Tx. 19; Tx. 21; Tx. 30 [4]; Tx. 36 [3]; Tx. 37 [2]; Tx. 38 [1, 2]; Tx. 46; Tx. 52; Tx. 65; Tx. 78; Tx. 82 [x+2]  
and in the following compound:
- *ntr nfr*: Tx. 11 [2]; Tx. 14 [x+3]; Tx. 15 [1]; Tx. 30 [4]; Tx. 38 [2]; Tx. 46 (partly preserved); Tx. 65; Tx. 82 [x+2]
  - see also: *Dhwtj-ms-nfr-hpr*
- (2) vb. “be beautiful, be perfect”: Tx. 54
- nn* dem. pron. “this, these”: Tx. 21
- nhm* vb. “to rejoice”: Tx. 36 [4]; Tx. 68; Tx. 77 (partly preserved)
- nhh* n. masc. “eternity, forever”: Tx. 24
- Nhb.t* div. “Nekhbet”: Tx. 12
- nht* adj. vb. and adj. “mighty, victorious, powerful”: Tx. 60; Tx. 66 (restored)  
see also: *K3-nht-h<sup>c</sup>-m-W3s.t*
- ns.t* n. fem. “throne, seat”: Tx. 16 (restored); Tx. 17 (restored); Tx. 26 (restored); Tx. 45 [4] (restored); Tx. 51; Tx. 73 (restored)
- nswt* n. masc. “king”: Tx. 14 [x+5] (twice); Tx. 16; Tx. 17; Tx. 20; Tx. 23; Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 26 (restored); Tx. 27; Tx. 29 (four times); Tx. 36 [6]; Tx. 37 [1]; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 39; Tx. 48 [1] (restored); Tx. 50 [5]; Tx. 52; Tx. 56 (twice); Tx. 65; Tx. 77; Tx. 79 [x+1]; Tx. 85 (restored)  
and in the following compounds:
- *nswt bjtj*: Tx. 21 (erased); Tx. 23; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 56 (twice); Tx. 77; Tx. 79 [x+1] (partly preserved)
  - *nswt ntr.w*: Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 48 [1] (restored); Tx. 85 (restored)
  - *nb nswt t3.wj*: Tx. 16 (restored); Tx. 17 (restored); Tx. 26 (restored); Tx. 45 [4] (restored); Tx. 51 (restored, partly preserved)
- ntr* n. masc. “god”: Tx. 3; Tx. 4; Tx. 11 [2]; Tx. 14 [x+2, x+3]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 17 (restored); Tx. 23 (restored); Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 30 [4]; Tx. 36 [4]; Tx. 38 [2]; Tx. 54; Tx. 65; Tx. 68; Tx. 82 [x+2]; Tx. 85 (restored)  
and in the following compounds:
- *nb ntr.w*: Tx. 17 (restored); Tx. 23 (restored)
  - *nswt ntr.w*: Tx. 25 (restored); Tx. 48 [1] (restored); Tx. 85 (restored)
  - *ntr* 3: Tx. 4
  - *ntr nfr*: Tx. 11 [2]; Tx. 14 [x+3]; Tx. 15 [1]; Tx. 30 [4]; Tx. 38 [2]; Tx. 46 (partly preserved); Tx. 65; Tx. 82 [x+2]
  - *dw3 ntr*: Tx. 5 (partly preserved)
- ndt.t* n. fem. “protection”: Tx. 19

*r*

- r* prep. “to, at, from”: Tx. 11 [4]; Tx. 30 [4]; Tx. 36 [1, 2]; Tx. 38 [2] (twice); Tx. 50 [x+3]  
*r*ˁ n. masc. “day”: Tx. 11 [2]  
*R*ˁ div. “Ra”: Tx. 7; Tx. 10; Tx. 11 [3, 4]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 21; Tx. 34 (restored); Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 40 [2]; Tx. 42; Tx. 70; Tx. 71; Tx. 79 [x+1]  
 and in the following compounds:  
 • *mj R*ˁ: Tx. 7; Tx. 10; Tx. 11 [3, 4]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 21; Tx. 34 (restored); Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 40 [2]; Tx. 42; Tx. 70  
 • *s3 R*ˁ: Tx. 79 [x+1]  
*rnpij* vb. 4ae inf. “to be young”: Tx. 11 [1]  
*rnpi.t* n. fem. “year”: Tx. 21; Tx. 24; Tx. 37 [2]; Tx. 56; Tx. 60; Tx. 66; Tx. 59  
*rhy.t* n. fem. “*rekhyt*-people”: Tx. 13 [x+10]; Tx. 30 [2]  
*rd* n. masc. “foot”: Tx. 30 [4]  
*rdj* vb. 3ae inf. “give, grant, cause”: Tx. 15 [2] (restored); see also: *dj*, *ddj*

*h*

- h3j* vb. 3ae inf. “to descent, to fall”: Tx. 45 [1]  
*hnw* n. masc. “praise (of god or king)”: Tx. 18 (restored); Tx. 20 (restored); Tx. 37 [1] (restored); Tx. 39; Tx. 78

*ḥ*

- ḥ3* prep. “around, surrounding”: Tx. 10; Tx. 30 [2]; Tx. 42; Tx. 70; Tx. 84 (restored)  
*ḥ3.t* n. fem. “heart”: Tx. 62 [1]  
*ḥ3.t* see: *ḥ3.t-šps.wt-ḥnm.t-ḥmn*  
*ḥ3t.t* n. fem. “stem”: Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 53  
*ḥ3.t-šps.wt-ḥnm.t-ḥmn* RN “Hat-shepesut-khenemet-Amun (nomen of Hatshepsut)”: Tx. 47  
*ḥˁj* vb. 3ae inf. “to be joyful, to rejoice”: Tx. 19; Tx. 82 [x+1]  
*ḥˁˁ.wt* n. fem. “joy”: Tx. 36 [2]  
*ḥwj* vb. 3ae inf. “to drive”: Tx. 68  
*ḥwn.w-nfr.w* n. masc. “troop of recruits”: Tx. 53; Tx. 77  
*ḥb* n. masc. “feast, festival”: Tx. 21; Tx. 36 [3]; Tx. 37 [2]; Tx. 38 [2]; Tx. 64; Tx. 68; Tx. 78  
 and in the following compounds:  
 • *ḥb-sd*: Tx. 17; Tx. 34 (restored)  
 • *ḥb.w n.w Dsr-dsr.w*: Tx. 38 [2]  
*ḥp.wt* n. fem. ‘run’: Tx. 82 [x+2]  
*ḥm* n. masc. “majesty”: Tx. 14 [x+2]; Tx. 31  
*ḥm.t* n. fem. “wife”, in the following compound:  
 • *ḥm.t nswt*: Tx. 14 [x+5]  
*ḥm.t* n. fem. “copper”: Tx. 50 [x+2]  
*Ḥrw* div. “Horus”, in the following compound:  
 • *ḥr st Ḥrw*: Tx. 7; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 60  
*ḥr* prep. “on, upon, with, because of”: Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 21; Tx. 23 (twice); Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 51; Tx. 60; Tx. 63; Tx. 64; Tx. 73 (restored)  
 and in the following compound:  
 • *ḥr st Ḥrw*: Tx. 7; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 60  
*ḥrj-tp* nisbe adj. “on behalf of”, in the following compound:  
*ḥrj-tp nḥ wd3 snb*: Tx. 23 (partly restored), Tx. 32 (restored)

<i>hh</i>	num. “million”: Tx. 13 [x+11]; Tx. 17; Tx. 21; Tx. 52; Tx. 56; Tx. 60; Tx. 77
<i>hk<sub>3</sub></i>	n. masc. “ruler”: Tx. 37 [2]
<i>htp</i>	n. masc. “peace”: Tx. 2 [2]; Tx. 21; Tx. 45 [2]
<i>hd</i>	n. masc. “silver”: Tx. 50 [4]

*h*

<i>h<sub>3</sub>.wt</i>	n. fem. “altar”: Tx. 23; Tx. 51
<i>h<sub>3</sub>s.t</i>	n. fem. “foreign country”: Tx. 30 [1]
<i>h j</i>	vb. 3ae inf. “to appear (in glory)”: Tx. 6 [2]; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 13 [x+8]; Tx. 37 [2] (restored); Tx. 56; see also: <i>K<sub>3</sub>-nh<sub>t</sub>-h<sup>ˁ</sup>-m-W<sub>3</sub>s.t</i>
<i>hpr</i>	see: <i>Dhwtj-ms-nfr-hpr</i>
<i>hps̃</i>	n. masc. “foreleg, (mighty) arm, strength, might”: Tx. 59; Tx. 62 [2]
<i>hnt</i>	prep. “in front of, before”: Tx. 81 and in the following compound: • <i>hnt k<sub>3</sub>.w nh.w</i> : Tx. 7
<i>hntj</i>	adj. “foremost (one)”: Tx. 66
<i>hsf.w</i>	n. masc. “approach”: Tx. 68
<i>h.t</i>	n. fem. “thing, offering(s)”: Tx. 22; Tx. 25
<i>hdj</i>	vb. 3ae inf. “to travel downstream, to travel northwards”: Tx. 45 [3]

*h*

<i>hnm</i>	see: <i>H<sub>3</sub>.t-šps.wt-hnm.t-Jmn</i>
<i>hn.t</i>	n. fem. “water procession”: Tx. 11 [4] (determinative restored); Tx. 54; Tx. 82 [x+2]
<i>hr.t</i>	prep. “possession, belongings, requirements”: Tx. 38 [2]

## S

<i>s</i>	third-pers. sing. suffix pron. “she, her”: Tx. 43; Tx. 44; Tx. 71
<i>s.t</i>	n. fem. “seat, throne, pedestal”: Tx. 7; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 60 and in the following compound: • <i>hr st Hrw</i> : Tx. 7; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 60
<i>st</i>	pron. comp. “they”: Tx. 14 [2]
<i>s<sub>3</sub></i>	n. masc. “protection”: Tx. 10; Tx. 42; Tx. 48 [2] (restored); Tx. 84 (restored)
<i>s<sub>3</sub></i>	n. masc. “son”: Tx. 21; Tx. 37 [2]; Tx. 79 [x+1] and in the following compound: • <i>s<sub>3</sub> R<sup>ˁ</sup></i> : Tx. 79 [x+1]
<i>s<sub>3</sub>.t</i>	n. fem. “daughter”: Tx. 69
<i>s<sub>3</sub>b</i>	adj. “variagated”: Tx. 4
<i>s<sup>ˁ</sup>h</i>	n. masc. “dignitary”: Tx. 27 (restored); Tx. 65 and in the following compound: • <i>s<sup>ˁ</sup>h.w nswt</i> : Tx. 27 (partly restored)
<i>sw</i>	third-pers. sing. masc. dependent pron. “he, him, it”: Tx. 11 [1]
<i>sw<sub>3</sub>h</i>	vb. caus. “to make endure, to endure”: Tx. 37 [2]
<i>sw<sub>3</sub>š</i>	vb. “to pay honour to, to praise”: Tx. 36 [6]; Tx. 65
<i>sw<sup>ˁ</sup>b</i>	vb. caus. “to cleanse, to purify”: Tx. 50 [x+3]
<i>sp</i>	n. masc. “time, occasion”: Tx. 5
<i>spd</i>	n. masc. “to be sharp, to make sharp”: Tx. 52

- sn* third-pers. pl. suffix pron. “they, their”: Tx. 36 [4, 5, 6]; Tx. 37 [1]; Tx. 42; Tx. 65 (partly preserved); Tx. 66; Tx. 70
- snb* (1) n. masc. “health”: Tx. 6 [2] (partly preserved); Tx. 10 (partly preserved); Tx. 13 [x+12]; Tx. 42 (partly preserved); Tx. 74 [x+1] (restored); Tx. 79 [x+3]; Tx. 82 [x+3] (partly preserved)  
and in the following compounds:
- *dj nh dd w3s snb*: Tx. 79 [x+3] (partly preserved)
  - *dj nh dd w3s snb 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 82 [x+3] (partly preserved)
  - *dj snb*: Tx. 49 [2]; Tx. 74 [x+1] (restored)
- (2) vb. “be healthy”: Tx. 18; Tx. 23; Tx. 32 (restored); Tx. 56; Tx. 78  
and in the following compound:
- *nh wd3 snb*: Tx. 18; Tx. 23; Tx. 32 (restored); Tx. 56; Tx. 78
- snm.t* n. fem. “food supply”: Tx. 23; Tx. 26; Tx. 59
- sntr* n. masc. “incense”: Tx. 11 [1]; Tx. 58 (partly preserved); Tx. 61; Tx. 83
- shtp* vb. caus. “to propitiate, to please, to satisfy”: Tx. 11 [2]
- ssnb* vb. caus. “to heal, to keep healthy”: Tx. 17 (restored); Tx. 52; Tx. 60
- ssm* vb. “to lead, to guide”: Tx. 11 [3]
- stp* n. masc. “to cut up”: Tx. 23; Tx. 26; Tx. 59; Tx. 62 [2]

## š

- šw.t* n. fem. “plume”: Tx. 4
- šps* adj. “august, noble”: Tx. 45 [4] (restored); Tx. 65  
and in the following compound:
- *šps.w nswt*: Tx. 65
- see also: *H3.t-šps.wt-hnm.t-Jmn*
- šms* (1) vb. “to follow, to accompany, to bring”: Tx. 14 [x+2]; Tx. 21 (restored); Tx. 28; Tx. 31  
(2) n. “follower”: Tx. 18
- šsp* vb. “to receive; to take possession of”: Tx. 17
- šdj* vb. 3ae inf. “to take (away, out)”: Tx. 62 [1]

## k

- k* second-pers. sing. masc. suffix pron. “you, your”: Tx. 17 (twice); Tx. 19 (twice); Tx. 21; Tx. 23; Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 49 [1, 2]; Tx. 52 (three times); Tx. 54; Tx. 60 (twice); Tx. 63
- k3* n. masc. “ka-soul”: Tx. 7; Tx. 11 [2]; Tx. 17; Tx. 23; Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 52; Tx. 81 [x+3]
- K3-nht-h'-m-W3s.t* RN “Ka-nakht-kha-em-Waset (Horus name of Thutmose III)”: Tx. 9 [1]

## k̄

- k̄nb.t* n. fem. “council”: Tx. 65
- k̄n.t* n. fem. “valour, strength”: Tx. 49 [4]

## t

- t3* n. masc. “land”: Tx. 9 [2]; Tx. 11 [2]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 16 (restored); Tx. 26 (restored); Tx. 30 [1]; Tx. 36 [1, 2, 6]; Tx. 36 [6]; Tx. 37 [1]; Tx. 41 [1]; Tx. 45 [4] (restored); Tx. 47
- tj* second-pers. sing. qualitative ending: Tx. 13 [x+8]
- tw* imp. pron. “one”: Tx. 14 [x+2]; 19

*tw.t* n. masc. “statue, likeness, image”: Tx. 50 [5]  
*tp-jtr.w* n. masc. “head of canal”: Tx. 35 (restored); Tx. 55

t

*t* second-pers. sing. fem. suffix pron. “you, your”: Tx. 63

d

*dj* vb. “give”: Tx. 6 [1]; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 14 [x+1]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored); Tx. 19; Tx. 44; Tx. 49 [1, 2] (restored); Tx. 66 (restored); Tx. 71; Tx. 74 [x+1, x+2] (restored); Tx. 75; Tx. 76 [x+1] (restored); Tx. 79 [x+3]; Tx. 82 [x+3]; see also: *rdj*, *ddj*

and in the following compounds:

- *dj 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 49 [3]
- *dj 'nh*: Tx. 6 [1]; Tx. 8; Tx. 11 [4]; Tx. 14 [x+1]; Tx. 15 [1] (restored)
- *dj 'nh w3s*: Tx. 49 [1]; Tx. 71; Tx. 74 [x+2] (restored); Tx. 76 [x+1] (restored)
- *dj 'nh dd w3s*: Tx. 11 [3]
- *dj 'nh dd 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 66 (partly restored)
- *dj 'nh dd w3s 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 19
- *dj 'nh dd w3s snb*: Tx. 79 [x+3] (partly preserved)
- *dj 'nh dd w3s snb 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 82 [x+3] (partly preserved)
- *dj snb*: Tx. 49 [2]; Tx. 74 [x+1] (restored)

*dw3* vb. “to praise, to worship”: Tx. 5; Tx. 37 [1]

and in the following compounds:

- *3-hpr-k3-R dw3 t3.wj* (name of the royal ship): Tx. 37 [1]
- *dw3 ntr*: Tx. 5

*ds* n. masc. “knife”: Tx. 52

*ddj* vb. “give, grant, cause”: Tx. 36 [5]; see also: *rdj*, *dj*

d

*d'm* n. masc. “electrum”: Tx. 50 [x+3]; Tx. 54

*dr* n. masc. “end, limit, boundary”: Tx. 36 [2]

*Dhw.tj* see: *Dhw.tj-ms-nfr-hpr*

*Dhw.tj-ms-nfr-hpr* RN “Djehuty-mes-nefer-kheper (prenomen of Thutmose III)”: Tx. 9 [3]; Tx. 79 [x+1]

*dsr.w* n. masc. “the Holy”: Tx. 21; see also: *Dsr-dsr.w*

*Dsr-dsr.w* n. masc. “the Holy of Holies (the name of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari)”: Tx. 38 [2]; Tx. 45 [2] (partly preserved)

*d.t* n. fem. “eternity”: Tx. 1; Tx. 7; Tx. 9 [4]; Tx. 11 [3, 4]; Tx. 19; Tx. 21; Tx. 24; Tx. 34 (restored); Tx. 37 [3]; Tx. 41 [3]; Tx. 42; Tx. 53; Tx. 81; Tx. 82 [x+3]

*dd* vb. “to say, to tell”: Tx. 2 [1]; Tx. 3; Tx. 17; Tx. 21; Tx. 37 [1]; Tx. 49 [1, 2, 3] (restored); Tx. 52; Tx. 60; Tx. 63; Tx. 66; Tx. 86 (restored)

and in the following compound:

- *dd mdw*: Tx. 2 [1]; Tx. 3; Tx. 17 (partly preserved); Tx. 49 [1, 2, 3] (restored); Tx. 52; Tx. 59; Tx. 63; Tx. 86 (restored)

*dd* n. masc. “stability, duration”: Tx. 10; Tx. 11 [3]; Tx. 19; Tx. 48 [2] (restored); Tx. 66; Tx. 79 [x+3]; Tx. 82 [x+3]

and in the following compounds:

- *dj`nh`dd w3s*: Tx. 11 [3]
- *dj`nh`dd 3w.t-jb*: Tx. 66 (partly restored)
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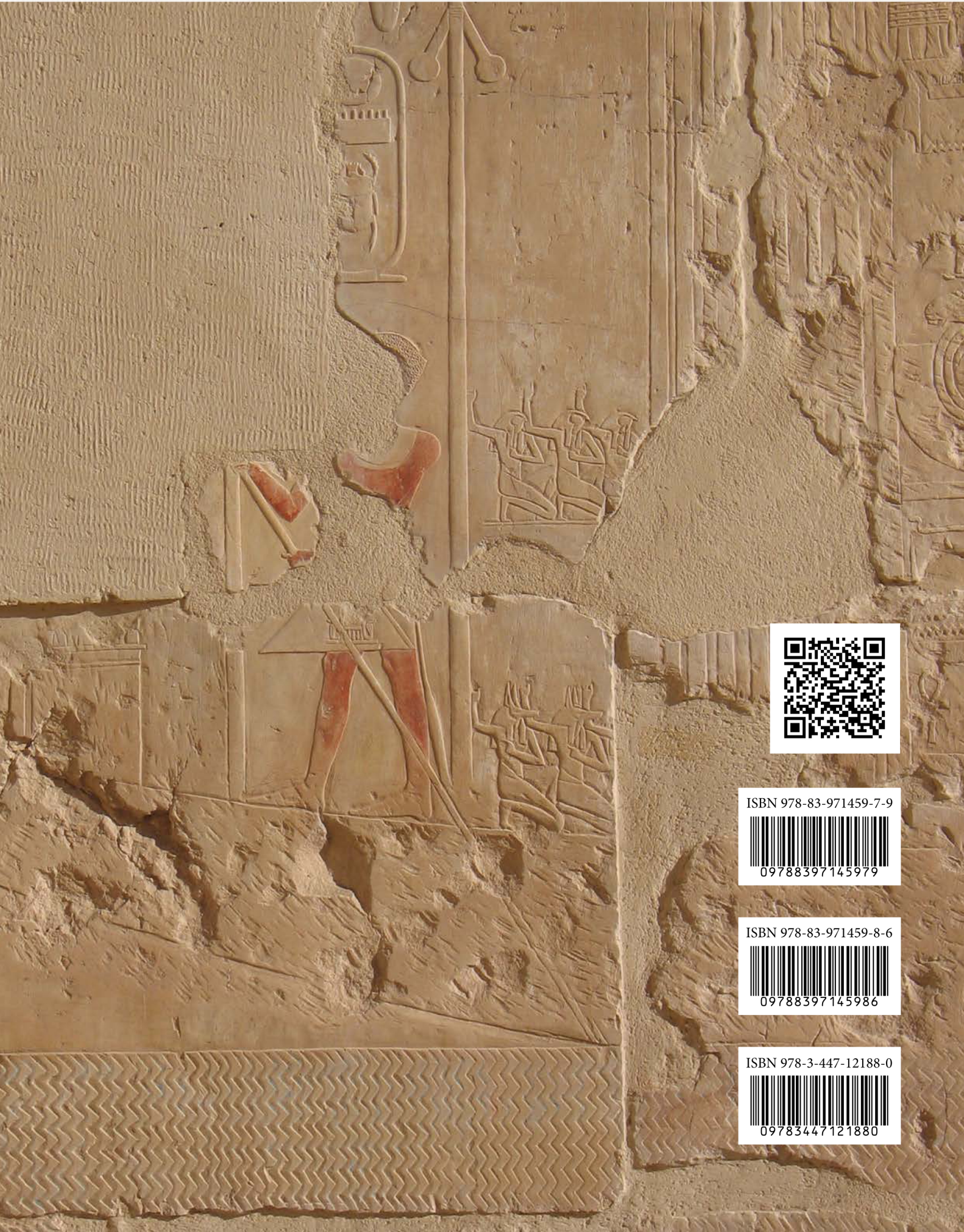
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