

## Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut

By WILLIAM C. HAYES

(Plates X—XIII)

Though meagre fare for a scholar much of whose professional life has been spent amid the grandeur of the Pyramid Age and the pioneer achievements of Neolithic Man it is hoped that the following potpourri of unpublished minutiae from a single reign of the Eighteenth Dynasty may nevertheless serve as a token of respect and admiration for Professor JUNKER's long and brilliant career and for the monumental contributions which he has made to the study of ancient Egypt.

Most of the material discussed was excavated or recorded by the Theban expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art under the directorship of HERBERT E. WINLOCK and AMBROSE LANSING, the movable items being divided between the Metropolitan Museum in New York and the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.

## 1. Dated Inscriptions of „Regnal Year 7“

In his important article on the date of Hatshepsut's coronation as king Dr. SIEGFRIED SCHOTT cites two inscriptions at Karnak which prove beyond a doubt that this event took place late in Thutmose III's second regnal year<sup>1</sup>), not five years later, in Regnal Year 7, as evidence from our Theban excavations had led Winlock, Lansing, and myself to suppose<sup>2</sup>). As SCHOTT points out, however, the seventh year of the reign was an eventful one — especially for the queen's steward and head architect, Sennemut. In this year the first, modest plans for Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el Bahri were abandoned and shortly thereafter work was inaugurated on the great terraced structure known to us today<sup>3</sup>). In this year, too, Sennemut commenced work on his own tomb-chapel (No. 71), high up on the southeastern slope of the el-Wet esh Sheikh el-Kurneh. The same year witnessed the death of the great man's mother, Hatnufer, and her burial, together with his already deceased father and other members of his household, in a small tomb below the as-yet-uncompleted forecourt of Tomb 71.

The evidence for the date of the first of these three events, though frequently referred to<sup>4</sup>), has itself not been published. It is a fragment of the shoulder of an inscribed pottery oil-jar unearthed by WINLOCK during the winter of 1926—1927 while conducting excavations in the el-Asasif valley east of Deir el Bahri. The jar had been broken and discarded in the forecourt of an Eleventh Dynasty tomb (*MMA* No. 110)<sup>5</sup>) 190 meters east of the temple gateway. Subse-

<sup>1</sup>) *Nachr. Göttingen*, I. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 1955, Nr. 6, pp. 212 ff.

<sup>2</sup>) WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, p. 147; LANSING and HAYES, *BMMA* January 1937, Sect. II, pp. 36—39. See, however, my *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, pp. 145—147.

<sup>3</sup>) WINLOCK, *Op. cit.*, pp. 134—135

<sup>4</sup>) WINLOCK, *BMMA* February 1928, Sect. II, p. 26; *Excavations*, p. 133; HAYES, *Royal Sarcophagi*, p. 146 n. 31; SCHOTT, *Op. cit.*, p. 211.

<sup>5</sup>) This is the tomb in which rows of pottery funerary cones were found still in position along the top of the facade (WINLOCK, *BMMA* February 1928, Sect. II, pp. 6—7, figs. 1, 4, 5).

quently its fragments were covered, along with the rest of the tomb courtyard, by the embankment of the avenue leading up to the temple site. Since it was along this avenue that the material used in the building of the temple had to be brought we may assume, with WINLOCK, that the avenue itself was the earliest part of the complex actually constructed. Obviously, then, the commencement of work on the present temple of Hatshepsut postdated, though perhaps by only a few weeks, the discarding of the oil-jar and, by a somewhat longer period, the date on which the jar was sealed and labeled.

The label in question is reproduced and transcribed in fig. 1 (A). As can be seen, it tells us that the jar had contained "fresh ben oil, a decantation of the first (?) day"<sup>1</sup>). More important, it is dated to "Regnal Year 7, Month 3 of Proyet, Day 25" (25. VII), of a reign which we can hardly doubt was that of Thutmose III. Since Thutmose III had come to the throne in 4. IX of the civil calendar this means that our oil-jar was sealed toward the end of the eleventh month of his seventh year as king and that work on the temple could hardly have begun until some time in the eighth year of his reign.

Seven days after the sealing of this jar eleven stonemasons began the cutting of the forecourt of Sennemut's Sheikh 'Abd el Kurneh tomb, progressing one cubit into the side of the hill on their first working day. This fact is recorded on a limestone ostrakon found in 1920 by NORMAN DE GARIS DAVIES in the forecourt of the tomb and published by me in *Ostraka and Name Stones from the Tomb of Sen-mūt*<sup>2</sup>). The ostrakon is dated to "Regnal Year 7, Month 4 of Proyet, Day 2" (2. VIII), and its text is headed by the words, "Beginning of work in the tomb on this day".

Shortly before work was started on Sennemut's tomb his parents were buried in a small chamber hewn in the hill slope 3 meters below the level of his projected forecourt, in such a position that, once the cutting of the main tomb was commenced, the entrance of this chamber was almost immediately submerged beneath the cascade of limestone chip and other debris from the excavation above<sup>3</sup>). It remained so until January 11, 1936, when it was found by LANSING and myself with its sealing intact and its contents complete and undisturbed since the day of burial.

Among the more interesting items which the little room contained are four sealed pottery oil-jars, their mud stoppers stamped in three instances with the names and titles of Hatshepsut, their shoulders inscribed with hieratic labels which in two cases are dated (Plate X and fig. 1, B—F).

The seal impression of fig. 1 (B) occurs four times on the cylindrical mud stopper of a big pottery amphora<sup>4</sup>). It measures 8.4 × 4.1 cm. and contains the name and title of Hatshepsut as queen ("the God's Wife, Hatshepsut") accompanied by the expression, "every offering" (*smw[?] nb*). The shoulder of the amphora bears the short ink inscription transcribed in fig. 1 (D). This consists of the date, "Regnal Year 7", and what appears to be a male personal name of foreign

<sup>1</sup>) *b3k w3d šf n(y) hrw tpy* (?). On *b3k*, "ben oil", see *JNES* X, p. 193 and nn. 136—140. The absence of a preposition or genitival adjective before *šf* makes it more likely that this is the word meaning "a careful pouring-out" (*Wb.* IV, p. 342 [5]) rather than the designation of a locality in Upper Egypt (GARDINER, *AEO* II, p. 29\* [On. Am. no. 342]). *n(y) hrw tpy* (?) probably indicates that the oil—a product "of the first day(s)" squeezing—is of prime quality. The expression, "of the first day", occurs again, in the *mrht* label of fig. 1 (E).

<sup>2</sup>) No. 62, pp. 4, 7, 21, pl. XIII.

<sup>3</sup>) HAYES, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, pp. 3 ff; LANSING and HAYES, *Op. cit.*, pp. 37—38.

<sup>4</sup>) "No. 4" in the tomb plan of *BMM.A.* January 1937, Sect. II, fig. 27 (see also figs. 28 and 39 = *MM.A.* acc. no. 36. 3. 83). On p. 30 of this report it is erroneously stated that there are nine impressions of this type and only four with the name and title of Hatshepsut as king. Actually the reverse is true.

type, perhaps to be read *Satuwina* (*štwyns*)<sup>1</sup>). Since, as we have seen, Hatshepsut was crowned king in Thutmose III's second regnal year it is interesting to find her in Regnal Year 7 still using a title and form of her name which she had borne as the consort of Thutmose II. The explanation may be that these sealings refer not to Hatshepsut personally, but to "(the Estate of) the God's Wife, Hatshepsut," which continued functioning under its original name long after the queen herself had abandoned her earlier titular<sup>2</sup>).

The other seal impression (fig. 1, C), with Hatshepsut's throne-name and title as king ("the Good Goddess, Ma'karē") appears nine times in all, on the stoppers of two similar amphorae, found stacked with the one we have just been discussing against the rear wall of the tomb chamber<sup>3</sup>). An ink inscription on the shoulder of one of these jars ("No. 3") describes its contents as "Oil, best quality, of the *ti-šps(y)* tree"<sup>4</sup>) (fig. 1, F); while a much faded label on the opposite side of the same jar tells us that it had seen earlier use in "Regnal Year 5". No labels are discernible on the dirty, oil-stained surface of the third amphora.

Since it provides a *terminus post quem* for the burial of Hatnufer and her husband the most interesting jar-label from this tomb is a three-line inscription written on the shoulder of a long-necked globular jar of greenish white "Kena" ware (Plate X and fig. 1, E)<sup>5</sup>). According to this label the jar, freshly filled with "a small quantity (*nkt*)" of "*mrht*-unguent of the first day"<sup>6</sup>), was sealed and dated in "Regnal Year 7, Month 2 of Proyet, Day 8" (8. VI).

Thanks to these inscriptional odds and ends we can draw up a "timetable" of the events which were crowded into the last quarter of Thutmose III's seventh regnal year:

1. Between 8. VI and 2. VIII: Burial of Sennemut's parents.
2. 2. VIII: Commencement of work on Sennemut's first tomb (No. 71).
3. After 25. VII: Commencement of work on Hatshepsut's terraced temple.
- (4. 4. IX: Beginning of Regnal Year 8).

## 2. Sennemut behind the Doors at Deir el Bahri

Counting those of its larger cupboards and statue niches the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri boasts over sixty doorways, each of which was provided with a wooden door or with a pair of doors opening inward in such a way as to mask from view the rebated surfaces of its reveals. On almost every one of these normally hidden surfaces Sennemut, the architect of the temple, caused to be carved a small figure of himself kneeling or standing with hands upraised

<sup>1</sup>) I am indebted to Professor W. F. ALBRIGHT for the following information: "Your name *St-w-i-na* is most curious and interesting. I have identified it among the personal names of the 15th century B. C. at Alalakh where it is spelled *Ša-tu-wi-na*. It is true that Wiseman transcribed that as *Šatuwana* but the sign *PI* is read equally well *wa* and *wi*. . . The name is Indo-Aryan and is included among the names which Lambdin and I had already collected from Alalakh. . . These Alalakh names all date from the middle decades of the 15th century B. C., only a generation or two after the reign of Hatshepsut."

<sup>2</sup>) See SCHOTT, *op. cit.*, p. 215.

<sup>3</sup>) The amphorae are numbered "3" and "6" in the tomb plan referred to on p. 79, footnote 4. No. 3 is in New York (*MMA* acc. no. 36. 3. 84), N. 6 in the Cairo Museum.

<sup>4</sup>) Oil of cinnamon? See LORET, *La flore pharaonique*, pp. 24 (No 52) and 63; CAMINOS, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 209 (An. IV, 15, 3) and 468 (Turin B, vs. 1, 8); etc.

<sup>5</sup>) "No. 5". Found resting on amphorae 4 and 6. See above, p. 79, footnote 4. The mud sealing of this jar bears the impression of a scarab with the name of the god "Amun Rē' Goodly-of-Years" (*Nfr-rnpwt*).

<sup>6</sup>) See above, p. 79, footnote 1.

in the act — as the accompanying inscriptions tell us — of “giving praise to Amun (or Hathor) on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of Ma'karē' (Hatshepsut)” (Plate XI and fig. 1, G—K, M) or, in one instance, “giving praise to Amun that he may cause 'Akheperkarē' (Thutmose I) to breathe the sweet wind of the north” (fig. 1, L).



Fig. 1. Inscriptions of the Reign of Hatshepsut.

In the niches of the inner sanctuary of the Hathor shrine four of the figures and texts have escaped destruction at the hands of Sennemut's enemies, and since DUEMICHEN's day have been well known to students of the temple and its period (Plate XI, 1)<sup>1</sup>. Sixty-six of the other panels, though extensively erased and subsequently whitewashed, are still visible, portions of their figures, inscriptions, and baselines appearing here and there amid the obliterating chisel gouges (Plate XI, 2). They are found throughout the Hathor and Anubis shrines and in the vast majority of the doorways of the temple's upper terrace, including both of the granite gateways, the entrances of all the principal chambers, and the eight deep niches along the west side of the upper court. They do not occur in any of the smaller niches because these either had no doors or were provided with doors which of necessity opened outward. Their absence from the four small chambers opening off the north portico of the middle court suggests that these chambers, which belong to the latest stage of the temple's construction, were not yet finished at the time of Sennemut's fall from grace.

In size the Sennemut panels range from 21 × 25 cm. to 46 × 165 cm. depending upon the space available on the doorway reveals, the pose of the figure (kneeling or, less frequently, standing), and the length and arrangement of the inscriptions. Most of the panels are of the squarish type shown in Plate XI, the two examples illustrated both measuring 24 × 28 cm., though they are in different parts of the temple<sup>2</sup>). The figures seem in all cases to have been first drawn in red outline on grids of proportion squares<sup>3</sup>) and then somewhat hastily carved in *relief en creux* in a style distinctly inferior to that of the adjoining temple reliefs. In most cases the figures and inscriptions were colored red, but on the reveals of the red granite gateways the remaining traces are green.

Seven of the nine types of inscriptions recorded are given in fig. 1, G—M, more or less in the order of their frequency. Type H is found only in the Hathor shrine, Type I in the Anubis shrine, Types J and K in rooms adjoining the Northern Altar Court, Type L in the Chapel of Thutmose I, and Type M in the small chamber at the southwest corner of the upper court. In contrast to his prayers for "the life, prosperity, and health" of Hatshepsut the boon which Sennemut asks in behalf of Thutmose I is of a funerary nature appropriate only in connection with a deceased person<sup>4</sup>).

Because active participation of a man of non-royal rank in the rituals of a royal mortuary temple would normally have been regarded as a sacrilege and because of the care taken by Sennemut to place his figures where there was little likelihood of their being seen it was once thought that the carving of the panels was a secret known only to Sennemut himself and the sculptors to whom he entrusted the task<sup>5</sup>).

On the broad reveals of the doorway leading into the so-called Northwest Hall of Offerings<sup>6</sup>), however, there are the remains of two large panels, the partially erased inscriptions of which

<sup>1</sup>) PORTER-MOSS, *Top. Bibl.* II, p. 122 (64); NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, p. 19; MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*, II 1, pp. 116—117; WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, pp. 105—106; WERBROUCK, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, p. 132; etc.

<sup>2</sup>) "B" is in the fourth niche from the south end at the back of the upper Court. "A", as already noted, is in the north niche of the inner sanctuary of the Hathor Shrine.

<sup>3</sup>) The individual squares varying from 2 to 5 cm. on a side according to the size of the panels.

<sup>4</sup>) The formula used was no doubt taken from the name of the doorway in which it was carved. See NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Part V, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup>) WINLOCK, *Excavations*, p. 105; WERBROUCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 101—102. See, however, WINLOCK, *Excavations*, p. 174; HAYES, *CdE* XXV (1950), pp. 78—79.

<sup>6</sup>) PORTER-MOSS, *Top. Bibl.* II, pp. 120 and 126 (IX); NELSON, *Key Plans*, pl. XXXVI, 375/376 and 377/378.

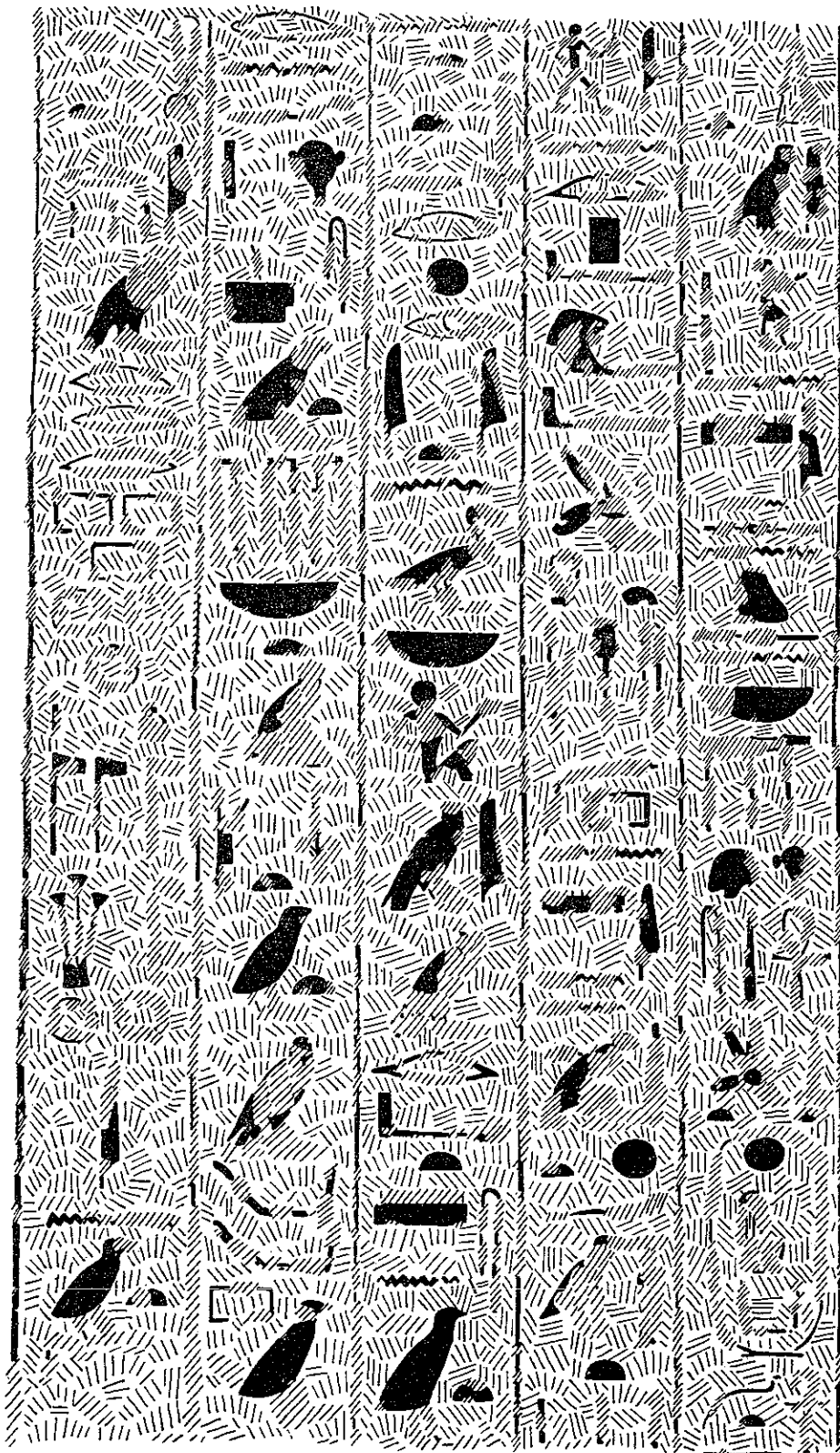


Fig. 2. Inscription of Sennemut in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri (facsimile)

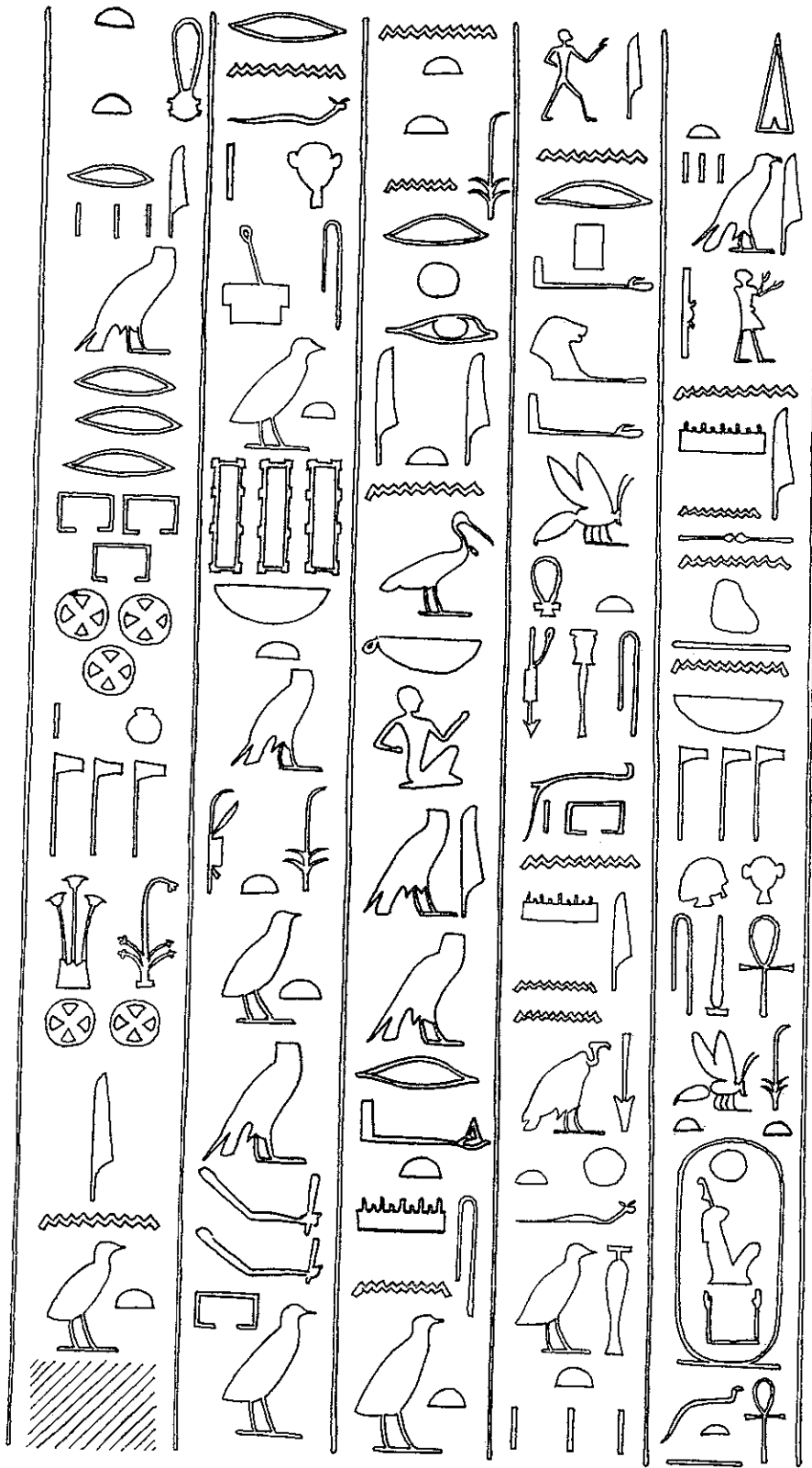



Fig. 3. The inscription of fig. 2 restored.



indicate clearly that this was not the case. The inscriptions, comprising in each case five columns of incised hieroglyphic text, once surmounted standing figures of Sennemut, 81 cm. in height, facing north toward the interior of the hall with hands uplifted in the usual attitude of adoration () . With an overall height of 165 cm. and a breadth of 46 cm. these panels are easily the largest of the whole series. Of the two inscriptions the one on the west reveal is the better preserved; and it is this inscription which has been selected for illustration — first, in a facsimile drawing made by LINDSLEY HALL on a photograph of the original (fig. 2) and, second, in a restored version of the text by the present writer (fig. 3).

Here — with some minor restorations derived largely from the companion text on the east reveal — we read:

(1) "Giving praise to Amun and smelling the ground to the Lord of the Gods on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ma'karē' (May he [*sic*] live forever!), (2) by the Hereditary Prince and Count, the Treasurer of the King of Lower Egypt, the Sole Companion, the Steward of Amun, Sennemut, in accordance with a favour (3) of the king's bounty<sup>1)</sup> which was extended to this servant in letting (4) his name be established on every wall, in the following of the king, in Djeser-djeseru<sup>2)</sup> (5) and likewise in the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt. Thus spoke the king"<sup>3)</sup>.


The last column of this text suggests that panels of this type exist not only at Deir el Bahri, but in other temple buildings erected by Sennemut for his royal mistress — as, for example, at Medinet Habu and in parts of the great complex at Karnak<sup>4)</sup>. Similar panels of Sennemut's near-contemporary, the Viceroy of Nubia, *Nehy*, are found on the reveals of some of the doorways in the temple of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III at Buhen<sup>5)</sup>.

### 3. Sennemut Presents a Sistrum to Mût

In 1896 the Misses BENSON and GOURLAY discovered in the ruins of the temple of Mût at Karnak the great red quartzite statue of Sennemut familiar to students of New Kingdom sculpture and Eighteenth Dynasty history as "Cairo 579"<sup>6)</sup>. One meter and fifty-five centimeters in height, it represents Hatshepsut's favored official kneeling and holding before him a large votive sistrum of the elaborate Hathorian type () , mounted on the shaft of a *tyet*-symbol () . Perhaps even better known than the statue itself are the long and intensely interesting biographical texts which cover its broad back pilaster, the top and sides of its base, and the top and sides of the sistrum-block<sup>7)</sup>. Carved by a master sculptor of the royal atelier from a block of quartzite brought to

<sup>1)</sup> Emend to read . . . *n(y)t hr nsw*

<sup>2)</sup> (*Imn-dsr-dsrw*, the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el Bahri (OTTO, *Unt.* 16, pp. 60 f.).

<sup>3)</sup> *in.tw*, literally "said One". See Pap. Anastasi V, 24, 6 (GARDINER, *Bibl. Aeg.* VII, p. 70; CAMINOS, *Late-Egyptian Miscellanies*, pp. 266, 268—269). All that appears to be gone here is the kingly determinative .

<sup>4)</sup> None, so far as I can discover, have been recorded.

<sup>5)</sup> RANDALL-MACIVER and WOOLLEY, *Buhen*, pp. 23, 42, 43, pls. 10, 11, 16. On the date of *Nehy* see SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Ägypten und Nubien*, pp. 175 ff., 178 ff.

<sup>6)</sup> PORTER-MOSS, *Top. Bibl.* II, p. 92 (23).

<sup>7)</sup> *Urk.* IV, 407—415; BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 349—358. See also the references cited by PORTER-MOSS, *Loc. cit.*



Thebes by a royal quarrying expedition, the figure is quite properly stated in its inscriptions to have been a gift of the king, in this case, of course, Hatshepsut.

The admiration with which Sennemut himself regarded this statue is attested by the fact that he had it reproduced in polished black diorite at a scale of 1:7, or one palm to the cubit. The resulting statuette, which stands 22 cm. in height, was acquired as a loan by the Metropolitan Museum in 1935, and in 1948, through the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. GEORGE D. PRATT, its former owners, it came into the Museum's permanent possession (Plate XII)<sup>1</sup>. Its provenance is unrecorded, but there can be little doubt that it is from Thebes and probably from a small shrine of the goddess such as might have been found in Sennemut's house.

Though obviously intended as a replica of the Karnak statue our statuette is not a mechanically accurate copy. Its face is leaner and more animated than that of its prototype and there are quite evident differences in the treatment of the locks of the flaring headdress and in the proportions of the naos which forms the sound-box of the sistrum. Some detail has been lost in the great reduction in scale, but the workmanship in general is quite the equal of that of the larger figure. Moreover, there are details not found on the Cairo statue, such as the cartouche of Hatshepsut engraved on the right shoulder of the figure, the dowel hole for attaching a head made of metal, glass, or colored stone to the uraeus in the sistrum naos, and the fact that the uraeus here rests between the arms of a [ ]-sign, thus forming the well-known cryptographic writing of Hatshepsut's throne-name, "Ma<sup>c</sup>-ka-Rē<sup>c</sup>"<sup>2</sup>).

At some stage in its history the statuette had seen use as a grinding stone, resulting in the wearing away of portions of the inscribed back pilaster and the flattening of the outer surfaces of both arms. Otherwise the damage suffered is relatively slight and nowhere are there signs of the deliberate erasure of names or titles in the inscriptions.

These, as we might have expected, are made up of selections from and abridged versions of the texts appearing on Cairo 579 (fig. 4)<sup>3</sup>.

As on the Cairo statue they begin on the top of the sistrum-block with the words:

"Given as a favour of the king's bounty to the Hereditary Prince and Count, the confidant of the Female Horus Wosretkau, the trusted one of the Horus Kha'emwast (Thutmose III), who executed their eternal monuments and remained in favour with them each day."

This is followed, on the two sides of the sistrum and the top of the base, by a fragmentary text which on the statue is complete on the righthand side of the sistrum:

"... Sennemut, the one in honour . . . give . . . noble . . . He [carries] Hathor, Mistress of Thebes, he causes her to appear . . . on behalf of the life, prosperity, and health [of] . . . [Ma<sup>c</sup>]ka[rē<sup>c</sup>] and the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheperre<sup>c</sup>. May she grant a goodly burial to the spirit of him who is over the secrets of the West Side, Sennemut, the justified."

On the back pilaster the text continues with five columns of hieroglyphic inscription taken in its entirety from the left side of the sistrum-block of Cairo 579:

(1) "[May she (the goddess) give] glory in heaven and power on earth to the spirit of the [Great] Ste[ward of] the King, Sennemut, the justified. May she give the offerings

<sup>1</sup>) Accession No. 48.149.7. *BMAA* December 1940, p. 239, fig. 2; Scorr, *Egyptian Statuettes*, fig. 15.

<sup>2</sup>) DRIOTON, *ASAE* XXXVIII (1938), pp. 239ff; etc.

<sup>3</sup>) Cf. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten*, II, pp. 127—130

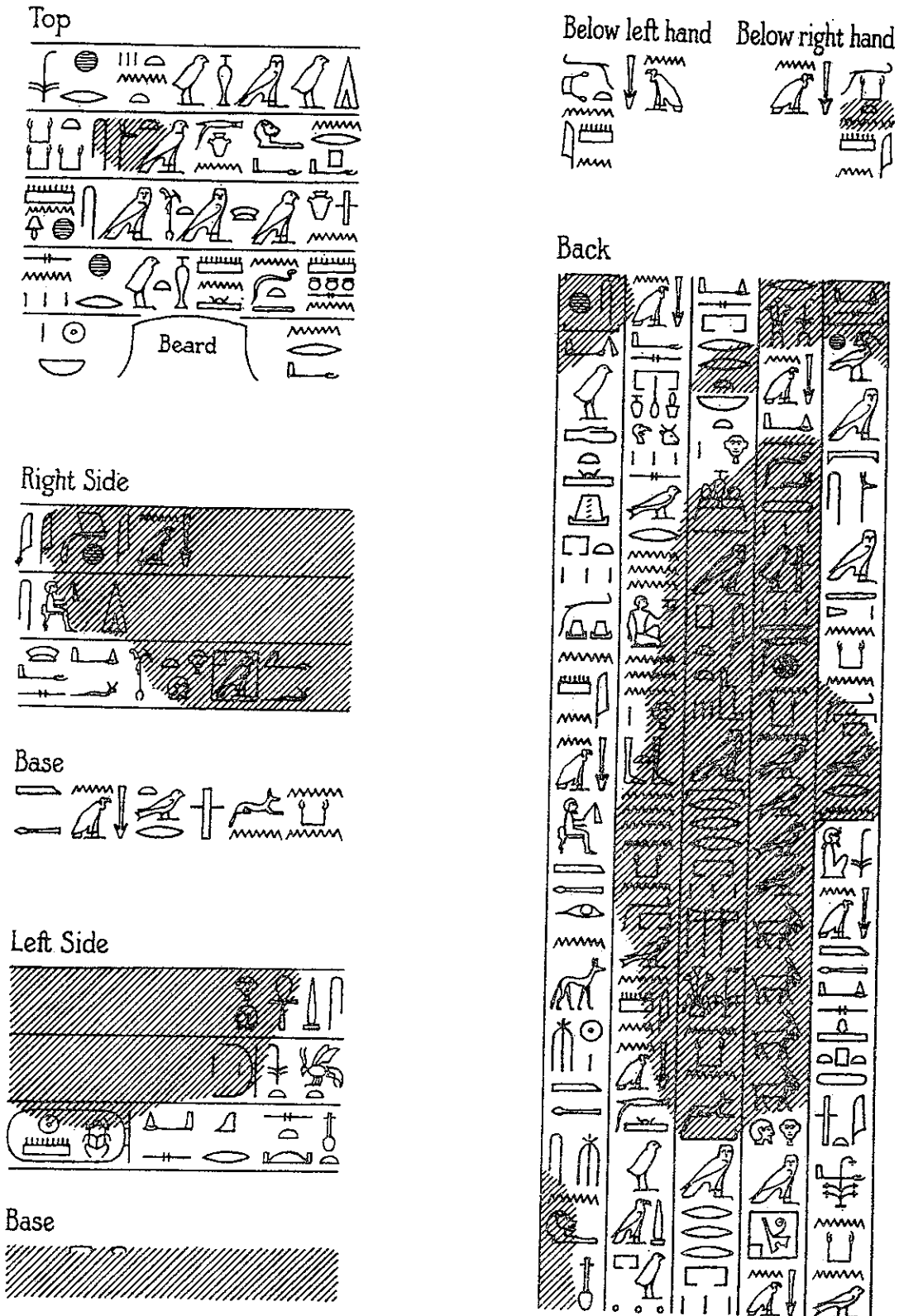


Fig. 4. The Inscriptions on the New York Statuette of Sennemut (hand copies).

which are in Upper Egypt to the spirit of the Mag- (2) nate of the Tens of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sennemut. May she give the food which is in Lower Egypt to the spirit of the greatest of the great ones, the noblest of the nobles, the Chief in the Mansion of the Red Crown, Sennemut. (3) May she give everything which comes forth from upon her offering table in Most-Select-of-Places (Karnak) and in [the temples of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt to the spirit of him who is over the secrets] in the temples, (4) Sennemut. May she give a funerary offering of bread and beer, beef and fowl, and a drinking of water at the flowing stream to the spirit of the Great Steward of Amun, Sennemut, who filled the storehouses and (5) [cram]med the granaries, the Overseer of the Two Granaries of Amun, Sennemut, the justified, engendered of the worthy Ra'mose, the justified, and born of Hatnufer."

Below the left hand of the figure we read, "the Overseer of the Field(s) of Amun, Sennemut" and, below the right hand, "the Overseer of the Works of Amun, Sennemut".

The long autobiographical text which occupies the back pilaster of Cairo 579 and is one of its chief points of interest<sup>1)</sup> finds no place at all on its small replica.

The fact that in the inscriptions on both the Cairo statue and the New York statuette Sennemut is careful to associate himself with Thutmose III as well as with Hatshepsut suggests a date fairly early in the joint reign of the two "kings". On most of Sennemut's later monuments, including his unfinished tomb at Deir el Bahri, Thutmose III is not mentioned.

#### 4. The Naville Statuette of Sennemut

On page 19 of the Introductory *Memoir* to his five volumes on The Temple of Deir el Bahri EDOUARD NAVILLE, at the end of a reference to Sennemut, remarks that "the base of a squatting statuette of this great personage in black granite and a broken glass bead inscribed with his name were found in the course of our recent excavations". The word "recent" refers to the winter of 1894. KURT SETHE's keen eye picked up the reference and the statuette is mentioned under "D" on p. 416 of the *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, but dismissed with the notation, "unpubliziert".

During the season of 1923—1924 NAVILLE's abandoned expedition house at Deir el Bahri was demolished to permit excavation of the site to be completed and in its ruins was found what in all probability is the statuette in question — the lower part of a much battered kneeling figure in dark gray diorite (Plate XIII, 1 and fig. 1, N). With the approval of the local Inspector of Antiquities the piece at that time was transferred to a magazine of the Metropolitan Museum's house, a few hundred yards away, and there, so far as I know, it still remains.

At present the figure, broken off a trifle below the waist line, measures 22.5 cm. in height and 26 cm. in length. When complete it was between 45 and 50 cm. in height and, since there are no traces of the hands or arms on the existing fragment, it is evident that they were held up above waist level, probably in the position shown in our sketch restoration (fig. 1, N). This, as will have been remarked, is exactly the same attitude of adoration in which Sennemut appears in his panels in Hatshepsut's temple (Plate XI). Here, however, he wears the long, ankle-length kilt which he seems to have favored in real life. In style and finish the figure was on a par with most of Sennemut's other statues and statuettes, the forms well, if somewhat conventionally, modeled, the incised inscriptions regular and well cut.

<sup>1)</sup> *Urk.* IV, 408—412.

The short inscription down the front of the kilt and those carved on the sides of the monument, on the vertical surfaces between the legs of the figure and the top of the base, tell us nothing that we do not already know about the owner of the statuette (fig. 1, N, "front" and "sides"). What is preserved of the four-column text on the back pilaster contains, however, one or two points of interest. Here the divinity named as the recipient of Sennemut's prayer is "[Osiris] Onnophris, . . ., the Great [God], Lord of the Gods at Djoser-akhet". The shrine referred to is the chapel to Amun and Hathor constructed or reconstructed by Thutmose III on the north side of the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el Bahri<sup>1</sup>). It was presumably in or in front of this chapel that the NAVILLE statuette once stood; but that we have here another association between Sennemut and Thutmose III is doubtful, since the latter's building activities at Deir el Bahri do not seem to have begun until late in his reign<sup>2</sup>).

In the inscription on the kilt of the figure the name of Amun and the vulture hieroglyph in the name of Sennemut have been erased. This suggests that the statuette was set up in a fairly public part of the chapel where it caught the eye of Akhenaten's agents.

What became of NAVILLE's "broken glass bead" with the name of Sennemut I cannot say.

### 5. An Administrative Letter to Thuty

The papyrus letter illustrated in Plate XIII (2) and transcribed in fig. 1 (O) was found at Deir el Bahri during the season of 1926—1927 in the rubbish near the northeast corner of the forecourt of the temple of Hatshepsut, not far from Foundation Deposit I of WINLOCK's plan<sup>3</sup>). It had been folded twice lengthwise and twice crosswise to form a little rectangular packet just large enough to carry on the outside, or verso, the address, "Tet to his lord, Thuty", the name of the addressee being reversed in relation to that of the originator, as indicated in the transcription. When unfolded it was found to comprise a rectangular piece of papyrus 17.5 cm. long by 4.5 cm. wide, not too neatly torn from a larger sheet and inscribed on the recto (the side where the horizontal fibres lie uppermost) with three fairly long lines of hieratic text. The handwriting is the characteristic "business" hand of Hatshepsut's day — small and neat with thickset, squarish signs and very few ligatures<sup>4</sup>). The form of the letter and the formulae used find parallels in the approximately contemporary letters of Ahmose of Peniaty<sup>5</sup>).

Its contents, though politely presented, is terse and to the point:

- (1) "Tet greets his lord, Thuty (l. p. h.), by the favour of Amun Rē. It is a dispatch to (2) acquaint my lord with the situation regarding Ptahsokar, forasmuch as it is you who has transgressed against him in the matter of the people (3) of Heliopolis. Speak with the Herald Goregmenefer so that (the two of) you may send a letter concerning him to the Greatest of Seers."

The originator of the letter seems to be otherwise unknown<sup>6</sup>), but there can be little doubt that the addressee was Hatshepsut's well known treasurer and architect, Thuty<sup>7</sup>), whose acti-

<sup>1</sup>) OTTO, *Unt.* XVI, p. 61; WINLOCK, *Excavations*, pp. 80—81, 203; PORTER-MOSS, *Top. Bibl.* II, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup>) WINLOCK, *Loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup>) *Excavations at Deir el Bahri*, end papers. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum (accession no. 27 3.560).

<sup>4</sup>) HAYES, *Ostraka and Name Stones*, Nos. 63—69 and 71—79 (see p. 6).

<sup>5</sup>) GLANVILLE, *JEA* XIV (1928), pp. 294—312, pls. XXX—XXXV.

<sup>6</sup>) The only New Kingdom *tt*, spelled as here, who is listed by RANKE (*PN* I, 383, 20) being a woman.

<sup>7</sup>) PORTER-MOSS, *Top. Bibl.* I, p. 58 (Tomb 11); etc.

vities at Deir el Bahri are variously attested<sup>1</sup>). No New Kingdom occurrences of the name Ptahsokar (*Pth-skr*) are listed by RANKE in his *Personennamen* (141, 11). The Herald Goregmennefer (*Grg-mn-nfr*), on the other hand, was the owner of two alabaster canopic jars now in the Museum of Art in Cleveland, Ohio<sup>2</sup>). On these he is called the King's Chief Herald, a title which he probably acquired toward the end of his career.

Our brief note was certainly only one of several communications dealing with the problem of Ptahsokar. Out of its context it does not, of course, give us anything like a complete picture of the situation. It would appear, however, that a group of Heliopolitan temple workmen had been sent to Thebes by the Greatest of Seers, or high priest of Heliopolis, to assist Hatshepsut's architects in the construction of her mortuary temple; and that they or their leader (?), Ptahsokar, had been in some way misused or insulted by Thuty, one of the Theban officials in charge of the work. To straighten matters out it is suggested by the writer of the note that Thuty confer with the Memphite (?) herald, Goregmennefer, and that, in collaboration with this representative of northern Egyptian interests at Thebes, he compose a conciliatory letter to the Heliopolitan high priest. The Memphite personal names, Ptahsokar and Goregmennefer ("Founder-of-Memphis"), leave little room for doubt that here the place-name *'Iwnw* does actually refer to Heliopolis itself and not figuratively to Thebes or Erment, as is sometimes the case.

In the participial statement of Line 2 there is no missing the strong emphasis placed on the second-person subject, here expressed by the independent pronoun *twt* in its elaborate New Egyptian spelling<sup>3</sup>). In Line 3 the omission of the preposition *hn*, "with", after *mdw* has been emended by writing the word in immediately below the position where it belongs.

<sup>1</sup>) *Urk.* IV, 422; SPIEGELBERG, *RT* XXII (1900), pp. 116—117; BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, II, §§ 369, 375; HAYES, *Op. cit.*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup>) WILLIAMS, *JEA* V (1918), p. 278.

<sup>3</sup>) *Wb.* V, 360 (5, 7); GARDINER, *Eg. Gramm.* § 64, p. 53.