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**Title: TOMBS OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD IN THE UPPER TERRACE
OF THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT**

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TOMBS OF THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD ON THE UPPER TERRACE OF THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT

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Keywords: Temple of Hatshepsut, Third Intermediate Period tombs, royal family members, 23rd Dynasty, 25th Dynasty.

The Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari, ruined before 900 BC by an earthquake (see Karakhanyan and Avagyan 2010), was turned into a burial ground, most probably during the Twenty-second Dynasty. The necropolis was in use for about 150 years, until the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Barwik 2003: 122). The term “Third Intermediate Period” used in the title refers to the entire period of the Twenty-first through Twenty-fifth Dynasties, until 664 BC (see Aston 2009: 37). However, no funerary material earlier than the Twenty-second Dynasty was recorded in the backfill of the 17 rock-cut grave shafts reexcavated on the Upper Terrace. The temple seems to have been still in use during the Twenty-first Dynasty and was destroyed in a cataclysmic earthquake

that may have also contributed to the replacement of Theban rulers with princes from a Libyan family.

The tombs were already once explored in the 19th century, although little is known about the results of these works (conveniently recapitulated in Sheikh-oleslami 2003: 133, 137). They were rediscovered in the course of restoration work carried out by a Polish–Egyptian team from the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw in the upper part of the Deir el-Bahari area [*Fig. 1*]. Two tombs (I and II) were located to the west of the temple, hewn in the mountain behind the temple of Tuthmosis III (Dąbrowski 1968: Pls IV–VIII; Lipińska 1968: 142–143, Pls II–III). A third rock-cut tomb (III) was situated at the southern end of the rock

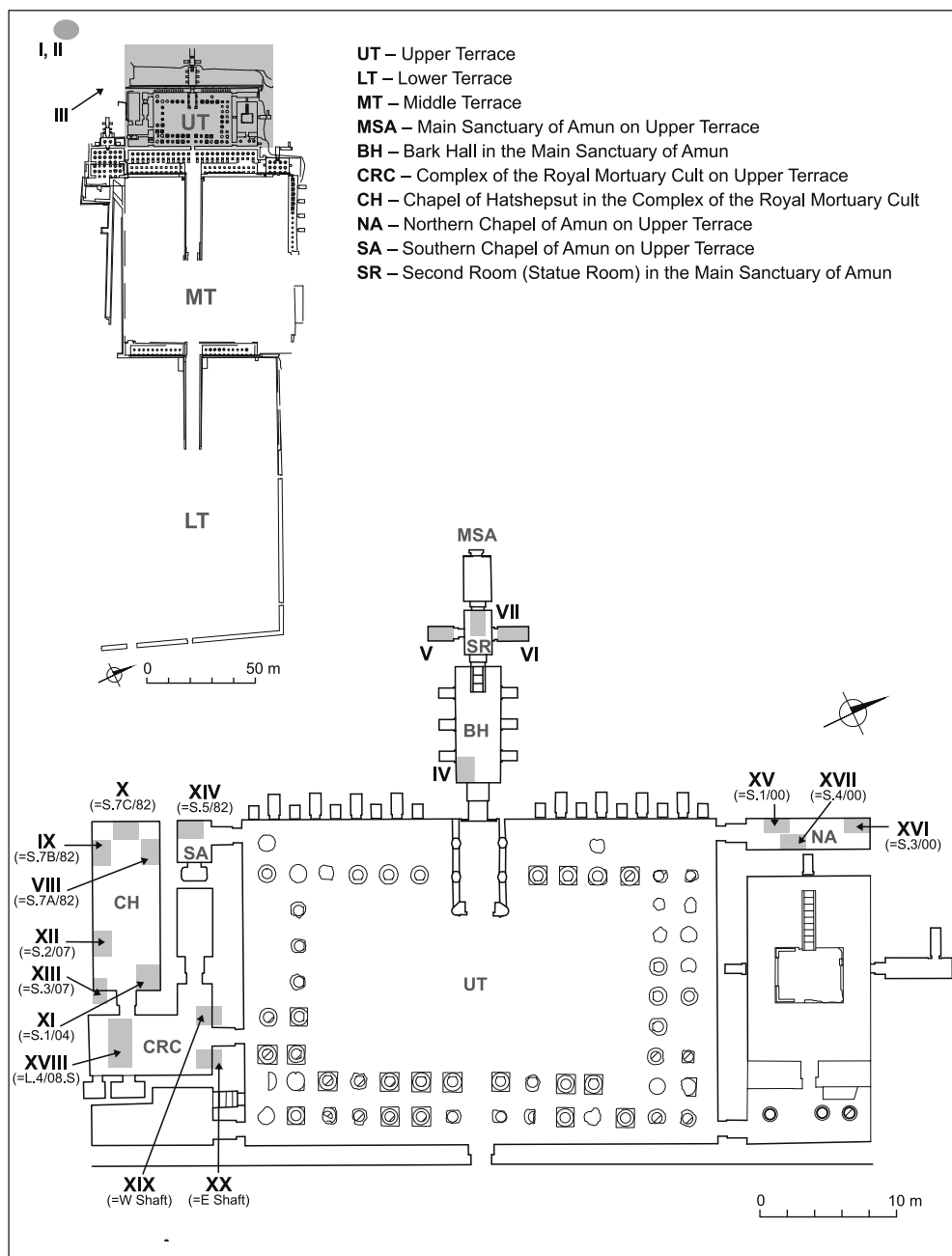


Fig. 1. Plan of the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari with location of shaft tombs IV to XX from the Third Intermediate Period (Drawing A. Kwaśnica, A. Brzozowska)

platform above the Upper Terrace of the temple (Dierżykray-Rogalski 1972: 94–96, Pl. 2). Restoration and conservation work in the Main Sanctuary of Amun resulted in the discovery of four tombs described as “family burials” of the “Third Intermediate Period” in the original report (Pawlicki 2000: 165 note 15). “Three shafts leading to four chambers” were found inside two niches (chapels) and in the western part of the Statue Room, that is, the second chamber of the main sanctuary (Pawlicki 2000: 165). During his visit to the sanctuary in 1854, Heinrich Brugsch may have actually seen the robbed shaft tombs inside the niches of this room (Brugsch 1855: 322–324). These have been numbered from V to VII. The tomb designated as IV was located in the Bark Hall, which is the first chamber of the sanctuary (Pawlicki 1999: 122). Four tombs were found in the Southern (XIV) and Northern (XV–XVII) Chambers of Amun (Szafranski 2001: 196–199, Fig. 8) and nine (VIII–XIII, XVIII–XX) in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult [see *Fig. 1*]. Three shafts of unfinished tombs were discovered in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, in the Northern Chamber of Amun, and perhaps in the Vestibule (“Night-Sun Chapel”) of the Complex of the Sun Cult (Karkowski 2003: 31–32, Pl. I, marked as “a”). Most of the recent discoveries came from continuing work that had been begun in the 1980s and which had been designed to check in shallow test trenches the condition of the temple wall foundations for the purposes of the architectural restoration project (e.g., test trenches S.5/82, S.6/82 and S.7/82; Wysocki 1992: 457).

The tombs were all violated in antiquity and once again during the

19th century. The shafts were backfilled evidently with little care for various small and broken objects of no use to the early excavators. The material coming from this backfill proved to be mixed but datable, containing numerous coffin and cartonnage fragments, grave goods in the form of pottery, faience, shabti figures (see Makowska 2015, in this volume) and boxes, wooden sculptures, canopy jars, cones of Mentuemhat’s wives and inscribed fragments of shrouds. Over one thousand small fragments of cartonnages and coffins were collected. Preliminary iconographic studies (especially by Hatshepsut Team members Mirosław Barwik, Agnieszka Makowska, Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczyńska, Frédéric Payraudeau, Anna Maria Kotarba Morley, Cynthia May Sheikholeslami and the author) have grouped these remains into “units” or individual cartonnages and inner, intermediate and outer coffins. Funerary equipment and written documents were found as well.

A decorated cartonnage fragment (Cg. [=Cartonnage] 14) from Tomb XIV was dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty based on the iconography of the collar (Szafranski 2007a: 120–121) [*Fig. 2*]. Closely similar decoration was attested on a coffin lid that belonged to Ankhefen-khonsu, an object today in the Náprstek Museum in Prague (P. 621), dated by Andrzej Niwiński to the early Twenty-second Dynasty, about 910 ± 10 BC, probably the reign of Osorkon I (Niwiński 2007: 169, 295). Another close parallel for the pattern on the collar is the cartonnage case of Panesy in Leiden (Inv. L.XII.3 [M.36]) dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty (Taylor 2003: Pl. 43). Tomb XIV [*Table 1*] is thus among the

earliest assemblages from the Upper Terrace necropolis.

Most of the assemblages discovered in the Northern Chamber of Amun may be dated to the “Libyan period” (Barwik 2003: 122–126), the “Theban” Twenty-third Dynasty. The three tombs discovered in this chamber (Szafrński 2001: 196–199, Figs 8, 9, 11) belonged among others to the Chantress [of the Residence of Amun] Shaimenimes, daughter of the prophet of Montu, lord of Thebes Pakharu and [mistress] Djedmutiusankh (Cf. [=Coffin] 1). Shaimenimes belonged to the royal family of Takeloth III (Barwik 2003: 122–124, Figs 2–4, 8, Pls 79–80; 2011: 395; Aston 2014: 29, 33). Two other owners of funerary equipment from the same period from tombs in this chamber,

Paenkharu (Cg. 4) and Padiamonet (Cf. 10) may be connected to these families, despite the absence of preserved titles (Barwik 2003: 124, 126, Figs 5–7, 9–10, Pls 83, 87; 2011: 395). An anthropoid coffin (Cf. 3) of the house mistress Tjesmutperet, dated by Mirosław Barwik to the early Saite period (Szafrński 2001: 198; Barwik 2003: 122, Fig. 1, Pl. 78), provides the latest date for this part of the necropolis.

The fine workmanship of the funerary equipment from the tombs unearthed in the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex points to the high status of the buried individuals. Three cartonnages have been reconstructed digitally by Frédéric Payraudeau (to be published separately). Equally telling are the various names



Fig. 2. Fragments of a cartonnage dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty from the fill of Tomb XIV (Photo M. Jawornicki)

and titles surviving on the fragmentary remains:

- cartonnage bearing the name of the Vizier Pa[miu?] (Cg. 32) dated to the Twenty-third Dynasty (Payraudeau 2009);
- cartonnage and coffin of the mistress Shepenhutaat (Cg. 31, Cf. 34A, Cf. 34B), likewise of Twenty-third Dynasty date (Payraudeau 2009);
- linen shroud from Tomb VIII, bearing an incomplete inscription “27th (regnal) year of the King of Lower and Upper Egypt User-maat-Re, son of Re...” (Szafrński 2007a: 122–123; 2007b: 251, Fig. 12; 2011: 144–145, Fig. 7a-b; Barwik 2011: 392–393, Fig. 6). The high regnal year date points to kings Osorkon III and Piye (von Beckerath 1997: 96, 191; 1999: 194–197, 206–207; see also Dodson 2014: 7–8);
- shroud inscribed with the name of the Vizier Padiamonet from Tomb IX, close to Tomb VIII (Szafrński 2007b: 251, Fig. 13; 2011: 144, Fig. 8; Barwik 2011: Fig. 5). Padiamonet was a prominent official who was buried in the Chapel of Hatshepsut at the end of the reign of King Osorkon III (Payraudeau 2009) or was more probably a contemporary of King Piye¹ of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Szafrński 2007a: 118; 2011: 144; Barwik 2011: 393);
- cartonnage (Cg. 30) belonging to the Vizier Padiamonet [i] (Szafrński 2005: 226–229, Fig. 4; 2007a: 118–119; Barwik 2011: 393, Fig. 7; Aston 2014: 29);
- inner coffin of a nobleman NN (name not preserved), who was perhaps a grandson(?) of the Vizier Padi[amonet] (Cf. 30);

- fragment of an outer coffin (Cf. 37) of the Vizier Nespaqashuty B (Payraudeau 2009), dated by Frédéric Payraudeau to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Payraudeau 2009);
- inner coffin (Cf. 31) of the priest Paenmiu, son of the priest Padiamonet, from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Szafrński 2008: Fig. 8 left; Payraudeau 2009). Paenmi(w) belonged to the family of Vizier Pami (see Kees 1957: 144);
- cartonnage bearing the name of a certain Padiamon (title not preserved), from Tomb XIX, also apparently of Twenty-fifth Dynasty date.

An important cachette of sarcophagi and diverse funerary objects that had once belonged to a family of high priests and viziers who lived immediately before the Saite period (Bruyère 1956; Aston 2014: 29–30), that is, during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (about 700 BC) had been discovered by Émile Baraize in 1932/1933 at the southern end of the Upper Terrace, in front of the entrance to the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The tomb contained four triple coffins. Principally, there were the sarcophagi and coffins of three persons from the same family: Priest of Montu Nespaqashuty, Priest of Montu Padiamonet, and mistress Heribsens, wife of Priest of Montu Pama and mother of Nespaqashuty; shabti boxes with the same names completed the information given by the coffins. The discovery encompassed two generations of the same family. Other biers and broken mummies were found around these coffins, for example, a fragment of cartonnage that had belonged to the Vizier Padiamonet [i]. Further pieces of his cartonnages were found in the

¹ In a letter of 2010 to the author, Jürgen von Beckerath suggested that the prenomen Usermaatre could be connected with the reign of King Piye. See also arguments in Dodson 2014: 8.

Chapel during the winter of 2003/2004 (Szafrński 2005: Fig. 4; 2007a: 118–119; 2007b: 251, Fig. 12; Barwik 2011: 395, Fig. 7 right). Several members of the family were indicated by the presence of their

shabti boxes, e.g., Diesenesyt, daughter of King Takeloth III (Bruyère 1956: 14), wife of Vizier Nespaqashuty. The priest of Montu Nespaqashuty, another great grandson of Takeloth III, was also found

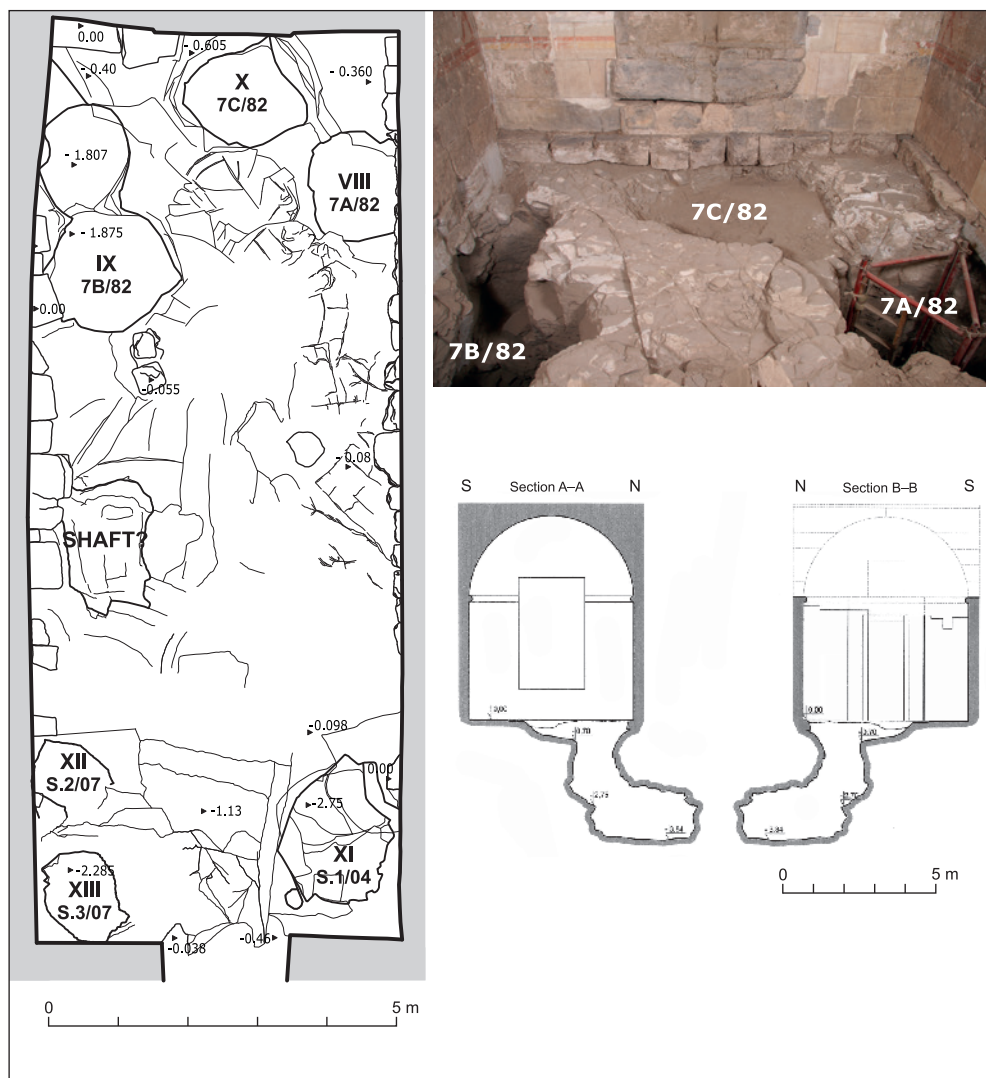


Fig. 3. Tombs in the Chapel of Hatshepsut: left, plan with marked locations of tomb shaft openings; top right, shafts of tombs VIII, X and IX (from right to left), view from the east; bottom right, Tomb XI in the eastern part of the chapel, sections B–B' with chapel entrance and A–A' looking in the opposite direction (Drawing T. Dziedzic, A. Brzozowska, G. Karpińska, D. Wieczorek)

at Deir el-Bahari (Bruyère 1956: Pls I–III; Payraudeau 2003: 140).

A project for X-ray examination and CT scanning of the complete coffins sets is underway and already three have been studied.² The tomb was reexcavated in the winter of 2009/2010 and fully documented (as Tomb XVIII) (Szafrński 2011: 142, Figs 4–5) [see *Table 1*].

Inscriptions and decoration of the coffins and cartonnages were executed in fine high relief, then painted and varnished. The work betrays an accomplished workshop. The fine

craftsmanship is illustrated by gilded parts of cartonnages and figurines, as well as inlaid panels filled with semi-precious stones: lapis lazuli, carnelian and turquoise. Some of the patterns and texts might have imitated features typical of Old and New Kingdom burials. Some of the burial objects like the openwork figures (Stupko 2008; see Stupko-Lubczyńska 2015, in this volume) are unparalleled. Despite political unrest, Theban art of the Twenty-third and Twenty-fifth Dynasties was of an exceptional excellence.

TOMB STRUCTURE

Tombs consisted of shafts that were cut in bedrock under the pavement of the temple, alongside walls in the different compartments and courtyards. Shafts opened into single burial chambers. More than one chamber appears to have been cut at the end of the Third Intermediate Period; four burial chambers are attested in Tomb II [see *Table 1*], dated to perhaps the late Twenty-fifth or the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

The shafts and burial chambers were undecorated and only roughly dressed without any trace of inscription or graffiti. Shafts measured from about 2.10 m (Tomb XIX) to 6.43 m (Tomb VIII) deep. In some of the shafts, there was a step cut in shaft wall, about 2–3 m below the pavement, to facilitate the transportation of the coffin and offerings into the chamber (Tombs III, IX, XI, XIV, XVIII) [*Fig. 3*; see *Table 1*].

Three, four (see Baraize 1933; Bruyère 1956) or more burials were placed within one chamber. The chamber of Tomb III is a small one, measuring about 1.95 m by 1.65 m, and about 1.20 m high. One of the biggest chambers is that in Tomb XVIII; Baraize found at least four intact burials there. There was a low stone bench in two of the burial chambers (Tombs XII and XIX). A hollow (Tombs XVIII and XIX) or hollows (Tomb II) excavated in the chamber floor were unknown before the Twenty-fifth Dynasty (see Aston 2003: 140) [*Fig. 4*].

No evidence of individual tomb superstructures were unearthed. Remains of mud-brick walls that were discovered above the shaft of Tomb XX (Szafrński 2013: 142, *Fig. 5* bottom) were part of the upper section of the west and south walls of the burial shaft. Indeed, it

² The examination is part of two ongoing studies: one on the burials of the priests of Montu originating in the Deir el-Bahari area, the other on mummification through the ages, focusing on well-contexted human remains; Cynthia May Sheikholeslami is the principal investigator. The radiography and examination of the mummies was carried out by Salima Ikram; the CT scans were executed at the laboratories of the Egyptian Museum in Cairo.



*Fig. 4. Burial chamber with a hollow in its western part, Tomb XVIII
(Photo Z.E. Szafrński)*



*Fig. 5. Chapel of Hatshepsut. Scene of offering bearers on the south wall above Tomb XII
(Photo M. Jawornicki)*

seems that the preserved architecture of Hatshepsut's temple (the walls were still standing apparently in the Third Intermediate Period) formed a religious (and functional) superstructure for the tombs executed inside the temple buildings [see *Fig. 3* bottom right]. The tombs were sunk by the walls with the figures of gods, offering inscriptions, tables of offerings and representation of offerings [*Fig. 5*], fragments of the Book of the Dead, texts of the Day and Night Hours on the ceiling in the

Chapel of Hatshepsut, etc. located above the entrance shafts. Tomb X was cut under the false door of Hatshepsut in her Chapel.

The archaeological material and architecture of the tombs is of importance for an understanding of religious development in Thebes in the 150 years that the burial ground was in use in the Third Intermediate Period. A full study of the burials (by the author with Frédéric Payraudeau, Cynthia May Sheikholeslami and Mirosław Barwik) is underway.

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Table 1. Plans and sections of tombs from the burial ground in the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari (Drawings S.A. Robledo – Tomb II; A. Misiorowski – Tomb III)

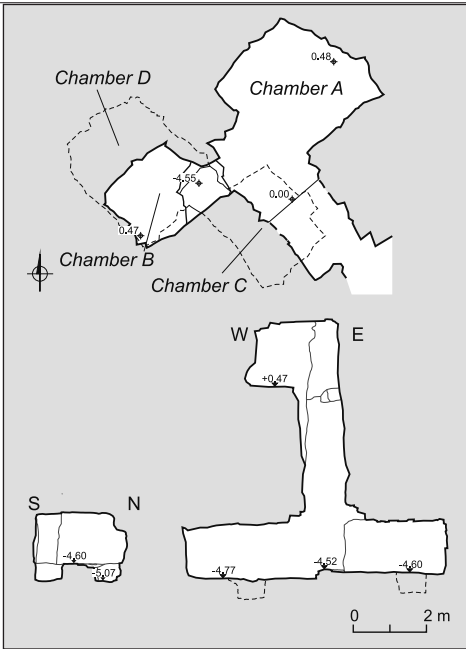
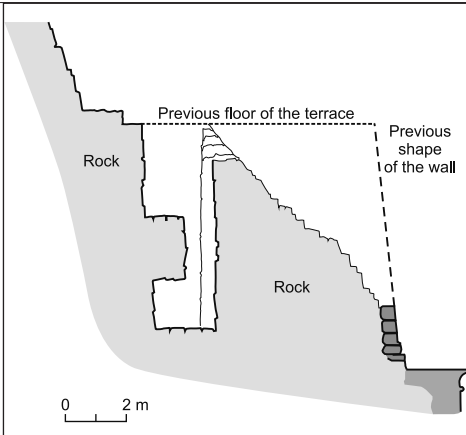
Tomb No.	Field number	Location	Plan and sections
I	Tomb I	Rock wall behind the temples, 6.19 m above the pavement of the Temple of Tuthmosis III	Not illustrated.
II	Tomb II	Rock wall behind the temples, 1.93 m above the pavement of the Temple of Tuthmosis III	
III		Southern part of rock platform ("fourth terrace"), above the Upper Terrace of the Temple of Hatshepsut	

Table 1 continued (* Data based on earlier records and references in the literature)

Dimensions Burial chamber(s) (m)	Dimensions Shaft and shaft-mouth (m)
Corridor tomb: two joined(?) chambers (A, B); * Southern chamber (A): approx. 2.50 to the side; height approx. 1.50 Source: Dąbrowski 1968: Pl. IV; Lipińska 1968: 142, Pl. II, Fig. 2.	* Two shafts: S shaft: approx. 1.50 (N–S) by 1.20; approx. 4.00 deep; N shaft: approx. 1.0 (N–S) by 1.10; approx. 4.00 deep
Corridor tomb: four chambers (A, B, C, D) A: approx. 3.00 by 3.20; height approx. 1.50–2.30 B: approx. 2.50 (W–E) by 2.0; height approx. 1.70 C: approx. 2.50–2.80 (W–E) by 2.30; height approx. 1.50; in the floor, two small hollows: approx. 0.70 by 0.70, approx. 0.5 deep Northern niche: approx. 0.60 by 0.30 (deep); height approx. 0.90 D: approx. 3.70 (W–E) by 2.80; height approx. 1.30–1.50; in the floor, two small hollows: approx. 0.60 to the side and approx. 0.70 to the side, both approx. 0.50 deep Causeway, upon the ruined temple of Tuthmosis III, leading to the tomb: approx. 4.0 long, approx. 2.50 wide; flanked by walls approx. 1.50 high, built of blocks from the temple	Shaft: approx. 1.30 (W–E) by 1.50; approx. 5.00 deep
Source: Lipińska 1968: 142–143	
Corridor tomb, one chamber: * Approx. 1.95 (N–S) by 1.65; height approx. 1.20	* Shaft: 0.90 (N–S) by 0.96; 6.20 deep; a step approx. 3.00 m below
Source: Dierżykray-Rogalski 1972: Figs I–III, drawing A. Misiorowski	

Table 1 continued (Drawings R. Gazda, K. Kapiec – Tomb IV; S.A. Robledo. E. Czyżewska, M. Michiewicz – Tomb VIII; T. Dziedzic – Tomb IX)

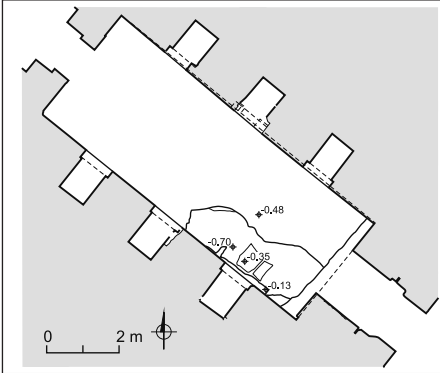
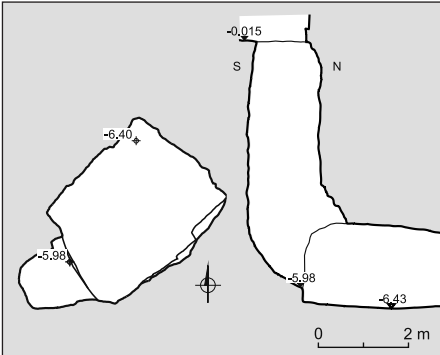
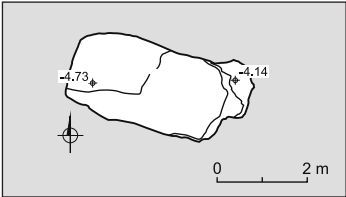
Tomb No.	Field number	Location	Plan and sections
IV		MSA-BH, southeastern corner	
V		MSA-ST.A (niche)	Not illustrated.
VI		MSA-ST.C (niche)	Not illustrated.
VII		MSA-ST, western part	Not illustrated.
VIII	S.7A/82	CRC-CH	
IX	S.7B/82	CRC-CH	

Table 1 continued (* Data based on earlier records and references in the literature)

Dimensions Burial chamber(s) (m)	Dimensions Shaft and shaft-mouth (m)
	* Shaft mouth approx. 3.75 (W–E) by 1.00–1.30; over 0.70 deep (not excavated deeper)
Source: Pawlicki 2000: 165	* Square in cross-section, measuring either 1.10 or 1.40 m to the side; approx. 4.00–4.20 deep
Source: Pawlicki 2000: 165	* Square in cross-section, measuring either 1.10 or 1.40 m to the side; approx. 4.0–4.20 deep
Source: Pawlicki 2000: 165	* Square in cross-section, measuring either 1.10 or 1.40 m to the side; approx. 4.0–4.20 deep
Approx. 3.00 by 3.50; height approx. 1.90	* Approx. 1.65 by 1.70; 6.43 deep
Approx. 1.90 by 3.50 (W–E); height 1.64	Shaft mouth: approx. 3.35 (W–E) by 1.20; shaft: approx. 1.60 (W–E) by 1.80; 4.73 deep; step approx. 1.80 below

Table 1 continued (Drawings T. Dziedzic – Tomb X; A. Brzozowska, D. Wieczorek – Tomb XI; A. Brzozowska – Tomb XII; G. Karpińska – Tomb XIII)

Tomb No.	Field number	Location	Plan and sections
X	S.7C/82	CRC-CH	
XI	S.1/04	CRC-CH	
XII	S.2/07	CRC-CH	
XIII	S.3/07	CRC-CH	

Table 1 *continued*

Dimensions Burial chamber(s) (m)	Dimensions Shaft and shaft-mouth (m)
Approx. 3.10 (N–S) by 2.30; height 1.60–1.90	Shaft mouth: approx. 2.50 (N–S) by 1.80; Shaft: approx. 1.10 to the side; 5.08 deep
Source: Szafrński 2008: 274–276, Figs 5–6	
Approx. 2.30 (N–S) by 2.0; height approx. 1.70	Shaft mouth: approx. 2.25 (W–E) by 1.85; Shaft: approx. 1.15 to the side; 3.84 deep; step approx. 2.75 below
Approx. 2.80 (W–E) by 2.40–2.70; height approx. 1.60; bench by south wall: approx. 2.0 (E–W) by 0.30; height 0.30	Approx. 1.40 to the side; approx. 3.70 deep
Source: Szafrński 2010: 258–259, Figs 4, 6	
Approx. 2.60 (W–E) by 1.00–1.20; height 1.05–1.20	Approx. 1.40 (W–E) by 1.15; approx. 2.90 deep
Source: Szafrński 2010: 258–259, Figs 4, 6	

Table 1 continued (Drawings Z.E. Szafrński, K. Kapiec – Tomb XIV; M. Budzanowski, K. Kapiec – Tomb XVI)

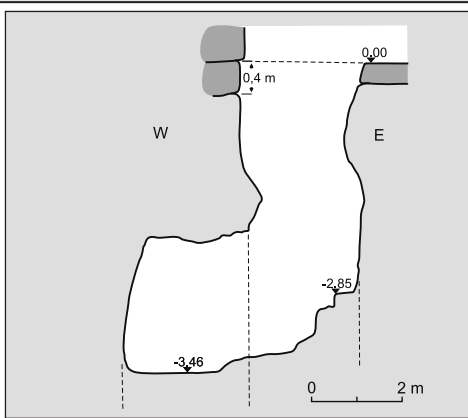
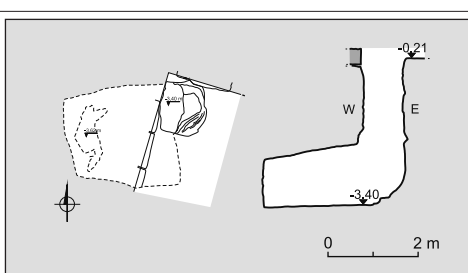
Tomb No.	Field number	Location	Plan and sections
XIV	S.5/82	SA	
XV	S.1/00	NA	Not illustrated.
XVI	S.3/00	NA	
XVII	S.4/00	NA	Not illustrated.

Table 1 *continued*

Dimensions Burial chamber(s) (m)	Dimensions Shaft and shaft-mouth (m)
Approx. 2.40 (N–S) by 1.10; height 1.50	Approx. 1.30 (N–S) by 1.40; 3.46 deep; step approx. 2.85 below

Source: Szafrński 2001: 196–197, Fig. 8

Approx. 2.50 (W–E) by 2.30; height approx. 1.00	Approx. 1.20 (W–E) by 1.20; 3.05 deep
Approx. 2.40 (W–E) by 2.20; height 1.10–1.40	Approx. 1.0 (W–E) by 1.20; 3.62 deep

Source: Szafrński 2001: 196–197, Figs 8, 9

Approx. 2.10 (N–S) by 2.60; height approx. 1.20	Approx. 1.70 (W–E) by 0.90; approx. 3.50 deep
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Source: Szafrński 2001: 196–197, Fig. 8

Table 1 continued (Drawings A. Brzozowska – Tomb XVIII; P.M. Barford, M. Franiec, J. Jańska – Tomb XIX)

Tomb No.	Field number	Location	Plan and sections
XVIII	L.4/08.S	CRC-V	
	["Montu Priests Tomb"]		
XIX	L.4/08.N	CRC-C	
	West Shaft		
XX	L.4/08.N	CRC-C	
	East shaft		
			Not illustrated.

Table 1 *continued*

Dimensions Burial chamber(s) (m)	Dimensions Shaft and shaft-mouth (m)
Approx. 2.0–2.65 by 3.75 (W–E), “niche” in east wall; total length of burial space over 6.00; height 1.30–2.80; in the floor, hollow: approx. 1.50 (N–S) by 0.80, approx. 0.40 deep	Shaft mouth: approx. 3.30 (W–E) by 2.00; 5.00 deep; step approx. 3.00 below

Source: Szafrński 2011: Fig. 3

Approx. 2.80 (N–S) by approx. 1.80;
height approx. 1.10–1.80;
in the floor, hollow: approx. 0.45 (W–E) by 0.15;
approx. 0.10 deep
bench by west wall: approx. 2.0 (E–W) by 0.30; height 0.10

Approx. 0.80 to the side;
approx. 2.10 deep

Source: Szafrński 2011: Fig. 4

Approx. 2.20 (N–S) by 0.70–1.10; height approx. 1.10–1.60
0.80 by 1.10 (N–S); approx. 2.40 deep
Source: Szafrński 2011: Figs 4, 5

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