The Chapel of Hatshepsut
as an Inspiration for the Theban Tombs Decoration
The Case of TT 39 (Puyemre)
The Chapel of Hatshepsut, situated in the Royal Cult Complex on the third terrace of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari (E. Naville’s ‘Southern Hall of Offerings’), when its architecture and decoration is concerned, presents undoubtedly an effect of inspiration by the sanctuaries of Old and Middle Kingdom mortuary temples, the canon of which was established during the reign of Sahure. At the same time the reliefs in the Chapel itself constituted an inspiration for the decoration of tombs built simultaneously in the Theban Necropolis. The best example of such a reference is the tomb built for Puyemre (TT 39), the second priest of Amon under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The architecture of this tomb with its columned portico and transverse hall leading to three chapels is unique compared to typical T-shaped tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The prime example of the reference to the Hatshepsut Chapel decoration is an A/B offering list placed in TT 39 on the southern wall of its northern chapel, which is a counterpart of two symmetrical versions of the list, located on its western part of the southern and northern walls of the Chapel (Fig. 2a-b). All three examples written in three registers with 50 columns each, incorporated two texts: the CT spell 607, an integral part of the first register and the composition originating from the Pyramid Texts, added to the end of the third register (Fig. 1). It is interesting to note that, according to N. de G. Davies,
the PT text in TT 39 is identical with that in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, while CT 607 was copied from another and less trustworthy source.7

As for the list itself, the version in TT 39 follows accurately the composition of its royal prototype consisting of 90 items, despite the fact that non-royal examples of A/B-type usually list them in a number of 95,8 with differences occurring only in the last two columns. In the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the penultimate column a phrase rnpt nbt, 1 (‘all green plants, 1’) (A/89) was placed, and in the last one – lknt ht nbt hnr, 1 (‘a lknt-offering and all sweet stalks, 1’) (A/90 extended on the model of A/88). In TT 39 in the penultimate column two phrases, A/89 and A/90, were combined as rnpt nbt lknt, 2, while the last column houses the phrase hnt (t) nfrt, 1, (‘every good thing, 1’). In all the remaining columns the version of TT 39 is identical with the list in the Chapel, including the numbers of the items placed below their names.9

In an offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, which as such was following the Old Kingdom model, some representations unattested in the earlier scenes of this kind were incorporated. In the lowest register of the offering procession shown on the southern wall men carrying vessels with incense, bags of eye-paint and strips of linen were represented (Fig. 3a). Inscriptions written beside each figure give the names of these products in the same order as they usually appear (as items A/3–A/12) in the A/B offering lists.10 In a number of Fifth and Sixth Dynasty tombs motifs similar to this were placed in separate rooms, so-called ‘magazines’, connected to the offering chapels,11 which referred with all

7 DA VIES, Puyemrê II, p. 11, n. 3.
8 BARTA, Opferliste, pp. 50, 71. N. de G. Davies wrongly claims that the Puyemre’s list consists of 95 items (DA VIES, Puyemrê II, p. 10).
9 Discrepancies between the numbers, resulting from the copyists’ mistakes, were not numerous (noticed in A/10, A/11, A/27, A/28, A/34).
10 Fragrant substances sTj Hb, Hknw, sfT, nXnm, TwAwT, HAtt nt AS, HAtt nt THnw, eye-paint WIDW and msdmt, wnhw strips.


Fragments of this text, preserved on two blocks coming from the sanctuary of the Amenemhat III mortuary temple in Dahshur, show that a tradition to locate it nearby the offering table is earlier than the Hatshepsut times (see J.M. DE MORGAN, Fouilles à Dahchour: mars-juin 1894, 1895, Wien 1895, pp. 116–117, Fig. 271; D. ARNOLD, R. STADELMANN, Dahschur. Erster Grabungsbericht, MDAIK 31/2, 1975, Pl. 111b).
probability to the store-rooms located to the north of the sanctuaries in the contemporary mortuary temples.  

On the opposite wall of the Chapel, on the eastern part there are offering bearers leading a calf, a gazelle, an antelope and an ibex represented (Fig. 4a). The following inscriptions accompany the figures with the wild animals: sjṛʾt ʿghs ‘bringing a gazelle’, sjṛʾt [m3]-ḥd jn jmj-r3 nw(w) ‘bringing an antelope by a supervisor of hunters’ and sjṛʾt njʾw ‘bringing an ibex’. A structure of these texts (‘bringing’ + a name of a species) resembles the Old Kingdom scenes showing the presentation of livestock to the tomb owner, usually located in outer parts of the tomb or mortuary temple.

In TT 39 the only repast scenes incorporating an offering procession were shown in the southern chapel. These representations (though modest compared to those in the Chapel of Hatshepsut) correspond with them regarding the selection of gifts presented to the deceased: incense on the southern wall and animals on the northern one (Figs 3b and 4b).

A continuation of the procession carrying fragrances, eye-paints and wnhw-strips on the southern wall of the Chapel of Hatshepsut is a procession of men bringing linen. The first two are represented with ideograms indicating a cloth measure: 100 square cubits (šn.tj). An accompanying inscription refers to a type of material carried by these men as wdb. Fifteen remaining figures in the register were represented each with ḫālīl-sign,
an ideogram for \textit{mnht}, ‘cloth’.\textsuperscript{19} This word was written in front of each figure, while the word \textit{\$\$w}, ‘many’, was placed behind the last one, depicted with two ideograms instead of one (Pl. 5a). In TT 39 a scene corresponding to that described above is located in the lowest register of the composition represented in the transverse hall, on the southern part of its western wall.\textsuperscript{20} The first person in the procession is shown with two strips of cloth in his hands what reminds of the offering-bearer with \textit{wnhw(j)} in the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Linen carried by the next eight men in the tomb is depicted in the form of packages and strips hanging from their outstretched hands (Fig. 5b). According to N. de G. Davies, the scene in question was taken over from an earlier found in TT 81 (Ineni), where it is shown on the corresponding wall.\textsuperscript{21} It seems that this motif was a popular decoration in the early Eighteenth Dynasty tombs as it is attested in the same place in TT 17 (Nebamon)\textsuperscript{22} and also in TT 100 (Rekhmire),\textsuperscript{23} in the last case in the corridor leading to the cult area, on the eastern part of its southern wall.\textsuperscript{24} What links the scene in TT 39 and that in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, apart from the presented product, are the titles of the bearers. All of them in TT 39 are described as \textit{hrj mr(w)t}, ‘an overseer of \textit{mr(w)t}-people’. Seven of fifteen men in the Chapel of Hatshepsut are entitled \textit{sS Hrj mr(w)t}, ‘a scribe (of) an overseer of \textit{mr(w)t}-people’, while the figures with this title tend to concentrate in the end of the register.\textsuperscript{25}

\textsuperscript{19} \textit{Wb} II, 87: ‘Kleid’, ‘Gewand’. The sign \textsuperscript{20} \textsuperscript{21} \textsuperscript{22} \textsuperscript{23} \textsuperscript{24} \textsuperscript{25} 

\textsuperscript{20} \textsuperscript{21} \textsuperscript{22} \textsuperscript{23} \textsuperscript{24} \textsuperscript{25}
Two scenes shown in the opposite northern part of the TT 39 vestibule are of particular interest for our research. They include the scene representing an inspection of cattle, which can be seen among other activities of the Delta, and the scene depicting wild animals led by hunters, an element of a desert hunt scene (Fig. 6). The described above representations of animals led in the offering procession of the Hatshepsut Chapel (Fig. 4a) seem to be related to the scenes of this kind: an inscription that accompanies the figure with the antelope in the Chapel is sfr.t [m3]-hd jn jmj-r3 nw(w), ‘bringing an antelope by a supervisor of hunters’, while the offering-bearer leading the calf is entitled wr 30 Mhw, ‘the greatest (of) the Thirty of Lower Egypt’. It is interesting to note that in the sources from the Old Kingdom to the times of Hatshepsut reference to this title has not been attested. The closest term is wr 30 Šmr, ‘the greatest (of) the Thirty of Upper Egypt’ known from the documents from the Middle Kingdom to the Late Period, and wr Šm r Mhw, ‘the greatest (of) Upper and Lower Egypt’ attested in the so-called ‘Ramesseum Dramatic Text’ dated to the late Middle Kingdom, found also among honorific titles of Senmut. The fact, that in the Chapel of Hatshepsut the only expression used in the title was Mhw, is significant since the person it nominates leads the calf – an animal which, along with fowl and fish, constituted a typical ‘product’ of Lower Egypt.

It is worth mentioning that in the early Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, such as TT 81 (Ineni) or TT 83 (Ahmose), similarly to the Middle Kingdom saff-tombs of this area, scenes depicting a desert hunt, a typical Upper Egypt activity, are placed in the southern parts of their columned porticoes. In the tombs dated from the Hatshepsut reign on, in turn, in TT 39 among others, those scenes were moved to the northern part of the vestibule, where they joined the scenes of hunt in the Delta marshes. Similarly in the Chapel of Hatshepsut the representations of the men bringing wild animals (of Upper Egypt) and

was hrj mr(w)t n Jmn m Drs-drsw, an overseer of people mr(w)t of Amon in Drs-drsw (E. Brovarski, Senenu, high priest of Amun, JEA 62, 1976, p. 59 and n. (m) on p. 63; Eichler, Verwaltung, p. 110).

26 Other, better preserved examples of such a procession shown in the lowest register of desert hunt scenes are attested in TT 21 (User), TT 20 (Montuherkhepeshef), TT 123 (Amenemhat), and TT 84 (Janunedjeh); N. de G. Davies, Five Theban Tombs (Being those of Montuherkhepeshef, User, Daga, Nehemaway and Tati), ASEg 21, London 1913, Pls XII, XXII; PM I, 237 [10] and 169 [15].


28 Both titles seem to originate from the regular Old and Middle Kingdom epithet wr 10 Šmr, ‘the greatest (of) the Ten of Upper Egypt’ (S. Quirke, The Administration of Egypt in the Late Middle Kingdom, The Hieratic Documents, New Maiden 1990 [= Administration], p. 194; Helck, Zur Verwaltung, pp. 51–53). On this title see also Jones, Index, p. 388 (1437); Quirke, Administration, pp. 78–81. According to W. Helck, ‘the Ten’, and later ‘the Thirty’, was a group of vizier’s counselors, who were engaged, among others, in accounting and distribution of farm produce (Helck, Zur Verwaltung, p. 52).

29 K. W. Butzer, s.v. Delta, LÄ I, 1049; L. Störk, s.v. Rind, LÄ V, 259.

30 Engelmann von Carnap, Struktur, p. 240; E. Dziobek, Das Grab des Ineni, Theben Nr. 81, AV 68, Mainz a/Rhein 1981, Pl. 16, p. 62; N. de G. Davies, Scenes from Some Theban Tombs (nos. 38, 66, 162, with excerpts from 81), PTT 4, Oxford 1963, Pl. XXI.

31 According to B. Engelmann von Carnap, a common subject – the hunt – has played a vital part for the combination of these two representations, traditionally connected with different parts of Egypt (Engelmann von Carnap, Struktur, p. 240).
the man with the calf (from Lower Egypt), were both placed on the northern wall in its eastern part, which can be interpreted as an ‘outer’ part of this room, corresponding to the northern part of the tomb vestibule.

In the end of the offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut two figures with the recitation gesture were shown, Iunmutef on the southern wall and Thot on the northern one (Fig. 7a). In TT 39 an equivalent of these representations was depicted in the middle chapel, in a form of a sem-priest on the southern wall, and a lector-priest on the northern wall, both shown with the same gesture in front of the tomb owner sitting at the offering table (Fig. 7b). The following text was placed above the figure of lector-priest shown in TT 39:

(1) htp dj nswt psḏt ꜥst (2) Wsјr psḏt wrt ḫtrt (3) ṣmṯt mḥt dj.sn ḫẖ m t ḫnkt ḫẖ m ḫḏw ḫẖ m (4) [ḥsrw] tšwrt ḫẖ ṝrw ḫẖ trp (5) st sr mnwt ṣnhṯ nṯr jm (6) htp-nṯr ṣp snw n Wsјr Pw-jm-Rˁ mḏ-hrw

(1) A boon which the king gives, and the Great Ennead, (2) Osiris, the Small Ennead and the Chapels (3) of Lower and Upper Egypt. They give thousands of bread and beer, thousands of cattle and fowl, thousands of (4) chosen roasted cuts, thousands of ṝrw and trp geese, (5) st geese, sr ducks, and pigeons, on which a god lives, (6) a divine offering, double pure for Puyemre, true of voice.

An inscription above the figure of Thot in the Chapel of Hatshepsut is in its original version preserved only as fragments of hieroglyphic signs (Fig. 7a). Its transcription should be given as follows:

1. [dj mdw jn Dhwtfj] ...[Wsjr]
2. ...
3. ...
4. [dj.sn]...
5. [ḥẖ m]...
6. [w]ḏbd [ṣp] snw n ṣḏt Rˁ [Hnmt-Jmn ḫẖ ṣpswrt]...

In the first column, in a place of a lacuna (two groups of signs missing) one should expect one of Thot’s epithets, nb ḫmnw, ‘the Lord of the Ogdoad’ or nb mdw nṯr ‘the

32 The scenes had been destroyed in the Amarna Period, than reconstructed during the Ramesside times. In the E. Naville’s publication of the Chapel reliefs, the scene depicting Iunmutef has been presented as its Ramesside restoration (Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CIX, p. 7) – which is better visible also at present – while almost completely destroyed scene with Thot has been omitted. The figure of this god has been identified in its place by J. Karkowski (see J. KARKOWSKI, The temple of Hatshepsut. The Solar Complex, Deir el-Bahari VI, Warsaw 2003, p. 60 and n. 25). U. Rummel in her study misinterprets the figures on both walls as Iunmutef (see U. RUMMEL, Pfeiler seiner Mutter – Beistand sense Vaters. Untersuchungen zum Gott Iunmutef vom Alten Reich bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches, Hamburg 2003 [= Iunmutef], vol. I p. 124; vol. II Kat.-nr. 9).

33 On identification of Iunmutef with the sem-priest and Thot with the lector-priest and their function in the royal mortuary cult, see B. SCHMITZ, s.v. Sem(priester), LÄ V, 833; J. ASSMANN, s.v. Totenkult, Totenglauben, LÄ VI, 664–665; H. TE VELENDE, s.v. Iunmutef, LÄ IIIII, 212–213; RUMMEL, Iunmutef, pp. 123–124, 243–250; H. SPEISS, Untersuchungen zum Gott Thot bis zum Beginn des Neuen Reiches, Hamburg 1991 [= Untersuchungen], pp. 149–150, 164–165, Anl. 2. It should be stressed that the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari is the first place where the pair of gods is attested in the offering scene context (RUMMEL, Iunmutef, p. 123).

34 For the translation of N. de G. Davies, different from the one given here, see DAVIES, Puyemrê II, p. 20.
Lord of divine speech’ and the *htp dj nswt* phrase, so that the beginning of the inscription may be translated as *The words to be said by Thot, the Lord of the Ogdoad (or the Lord of divine speech): a boon which the king gives, and Osiris*. The following part of the text may be reconstructed on the basis of the inscription in TT 39 given above. In the second and third columns a listing of gods should be placed to continue the sentence from the previous column: *psdt ³t jrtlj šmft nht psdt wrt ntrw nbw, the Great Ennead, the Chapels of Lower and Upper Egypt, the Small Ennead, and all gods.* In the fourth and fifth columns, after *dj.sn*, *they give*, in all likelihood there was a list of products: *ḥ3 m t ḫnkt ḥ3 m k3 ṣpwdw, thousands of bread and beer, thousands of cattle and fowl, etc.* finished with the phrase *‘nht ntr jm ḥtp ntr, on which a god lives, a divine offering...*, the continuation of which is preserved in the last column: *[w]ṭb [sp] snw n sAt Ra [‡nmt-Jmn ḥ3t ṣpswt]..., double pure for the daughter of Re, Hatshepsut beloved by Amon...*.36

The last representation, which finds the analogy in the Chapel of Hatshepsut is the butchery scene, placed on the eastern wall of the TT 39 middle chapel (Fig. 8a-b). Despite the fact that both scenes were placed on eastern walls, which reflects the tradition of decoration in the Old Kingdom offering rooms,37 a recipient of the ritual act in each case is different: while in the Chapel of Hatshepsut it is the queen, in TT 39 the sacrifice is made for Amon, Hathor and Atum,38 which corresponds with the scenes representing offerings to gods made by Puyemre and on his behalf, shown on the side walls of the same room, next to the described above scenes with *sem* and lector-priest.39

In any of the Theban tombs, including those of Senmut (TT 71 and TT 353), an accumulation of motifs taken from the Chapel of Hatshepsut is bigger than in TT 39. Though none of them presents the exact copy of the scenes in the Chapel, their correspondence – regarding the walls orientation as well as the placement (inner/outer) within the Chapel and the tomb – is significant. Moreover, motifs in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, which may be seen as an inspiration for the TT 39 decoration (excluding the scene of butchery), such as

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35 Offering formulae of this type are attested on a number of Middle Kingdom coffins as well as in tombs of that date, see S. SCHOTT, Die Opferliste als Schrift des Thoth, ZÄS 90, 1963, pp. 103–109; CT VII, 104 (spell 894); R.O. FAULKNER, The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts III, Warminster 1973, pp. 54–55; H. WILLEM, Chests of Life, Leiden 1988, pp. 197–198; F.LL. GRIFFITH, P.E. NEWBERRY, El Bersheh II, ASEg, London n.d., Pl. XVII, pp. 35, 40, 46; H. WILLEM, Dayr al-Baršā I: The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht (No. 17K74/1), Khnumnakht (No. 17K74/2), and Iha (No. 17K74/3), OLA 155, Leuven-Paris-Dudley 2007, p. 36 (2), Pl. XLVI (17K74/1 = No. 10); p. 73 (1), Pl. LII (17K74/3 = No. 8).); A.M. BLACKMAN, The Rock Tombs of Meir II. The Tomb-chapel of Senbi’s Son Ukh-Ḥotp (B, No. 2), ASEg 23, London 1915, Pl. VI, p. 16; SPEISS, Untersuchungen, p. 82 (Doc. 37). In a vertical inscription in front of the Thot figure represented in the Chapel of Hatshepsut traces of hieroglyphs indicate words ‘Ennead’ and ‘the Chapels of Upper and Lower Egypt’ (Fig. 7a).

36 It is difficult to interpret explicitly the text written above the figure of Iummutef in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, though more fragments of its hieroglyphs has been preserved compared to the text above the image of Thot (the research on this subject is in progress). At this stage it seems quite sure, however, that the text of glorification nature, placed above the *sem*-priest figure in TT 39 (DAVIES, Puyemrê II, pp. 20–21) differs from it significantly.

37 JEQUIER, Pepi II, II, Pl. 97. Correspondence between the scene in TT 39, the one in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and their Old Kingdom prototypes has been noticed by N. de G. Davies (DAVIES, Puyemrê II, p. 16, n. 2).

38 Ibid., p. 19.

39 Ibid., pp. 17–19, Pls LIII–LIV.
the non-standard offering list, the motifs of incense, linen, and animals incorporated into the offering procession, and finally, the figures of Iunmutef and Thot, in the Chapel itself are outstanding when compared to the typical Old and Middle Kingdom offering scenes, which constituted the prototype of its decoration.

It is highly dubious that aiming to prepare the interior of his tomb, Puyemre could order copying of some depictions in the Chapel of Hatshepsut, one of the most sacred places of the Deir el-Bahari temple, after it was finished, though as the second priest of Amon he was undoubtedly admitted there. It seems more probable that he dealt with the scenes in the Chapel in the course of their creation. Could he be involved in their design? The only direct evidence of Puyemre’s engagement in building activities commissioned by Hatshepsut is a kneeling statue of him dedicated to the temple of Mut in Karnak. An inscription on the statue lists services provided by Puyemre for the temple, such as the erection of an ebony sanctuary inlaid with electrum, and a double gate of the finest white limestone. The involvement of Puyemre in the construction work at Deir el-Bahari, in turn, is suggested by his signatures on the masonry of the Lower Temple. H. Carter believed that these inscriptions name Puyemre as an architect of the temple. According to N. de G. Davies, their presence in such a place indicated that Puyemre ‘was superintending the work there’ and ‘was responsible to Queen Hatshepsut for the construction of the outwork of her temple’. The hypothesis was reiterated by B. Engelmann von Carnap, who defined Puyemre as ‘Baumeister des Hatschepsuttempels von Deir el-Bahari’. It should be stressed, however, that though the definitions given by these scholars are justified to a certain extent, the inscriptions themselves indicate only an inspection of some stage of work in the temple, the exact kind of which remains unknown.

The name of Puyemre has been found also on a number of name stones coming from the area of the Lower Temple at Deir el-Bahari. According to the most common interpretation, hieratic inscriptions naming officials on these stones were made for those of the

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40 Davies, Puyemrê I, p. 21, Pl. LXV (B); Urk. IV, 520–521.
41 These were three hieratic texts written in ink upon the under surfaces of the stone blocks from the walls, naming his title and his name (hm-nfr snw n Jmn Pw-jm-Ra), the earl of Carnarvon, H. Carter, Five Years’ Exploration at Thebes. A Record of Work Done 1907–1911, London-New York-Toronto-Melbourne 1912, p. 39, Fig. 10.
42 Ibid., loc. cit.
43 Davies, Puyemrê I, p. 20.
44 Ibid., p. XVII.
45 Engelmann von Carnap, Struktur, p. 35, refers to Davies, Puyemrê I, p. 20, quoted above.

courtiers, who contributed to the construction of the temple as a whole,\textsuperscript{47} though again, the precise kind of their contribution is difficult to ascertain.\textsuperscript{48}

In the light of this evidence it seems not completely groundless to assume that Puyemre could be responsible for the design (and possibly execution) of the Hatshepsut Chapel decoration. The character of the scenes in TT 39 described above in relation to their prototype in the Chapel indicate a creative approach, which was possible only provided that Puyemre had had access to certain sources that were then used by him (or applied by his order) for the decoration of his own tomb.

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\textsuperscript{47} IWASZCZUK, ‘Name-Stones’, p. 59, and p. 61, nn. 58–61. According to J. Iwaszczuk, all name stones from Deir el-Bahari belong to the Valley Temple, what is justified by differences in the construction of the foundations of the Valley Temple and the temple proper: only in the former the sand, which was necessary to put a name stone in, was used to fill the foundation trenches (\textit{ibid.}, p. 56).

\textsuperscript{48} I am grateful to Jadwiga Iwaszczuk for drawing my attention to the ‘name stones’ of Puyenre and his inscriptions on the masonry of the Lower Temple at Deir el-Bahari.
1. Composition scheme of the offering lists in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and TT 39.
Plans and images are not to scale

NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CIX–CX, fragm.
2. Offering list in the Chapel of Hatshepsut and TT 39.
Plans and images are not to scale

NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CIX, fragm.
3. Presentation of ointments as an element of the offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a) and TT 39 (b).
4. Presentation of animals as an element of the offering procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a) and TT 39 (b).
Chapel of Hatshepsut

NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CVIII, CXI, fragm.

Plans and images are not to scale
5. Presentation of linen in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a) and TT 39 (b).

DAVIES, Puyemrê II, Pls LXII (1), XLII (3), XLIII.
Plans and images are not to scale

DAVIES, Puyemrê I, Pls VII-VIII (1).
6. Presentation of wild animals (a) and cattle of Delta (b) in TT 39.

DAVIES, Puyemrê I, Pls VIII (3), XII.
7. Iunmufef and Thot in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a), *sem*-priest and lector-priest in TT 39 (b).

DAVIES, Puyemré II, Pls LIII–LIV, fragm.
Plans and images are not to scale

Chapel of Hatshepsut

NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CVII.
8. Butchery scenes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (a) and TT 39 (b).