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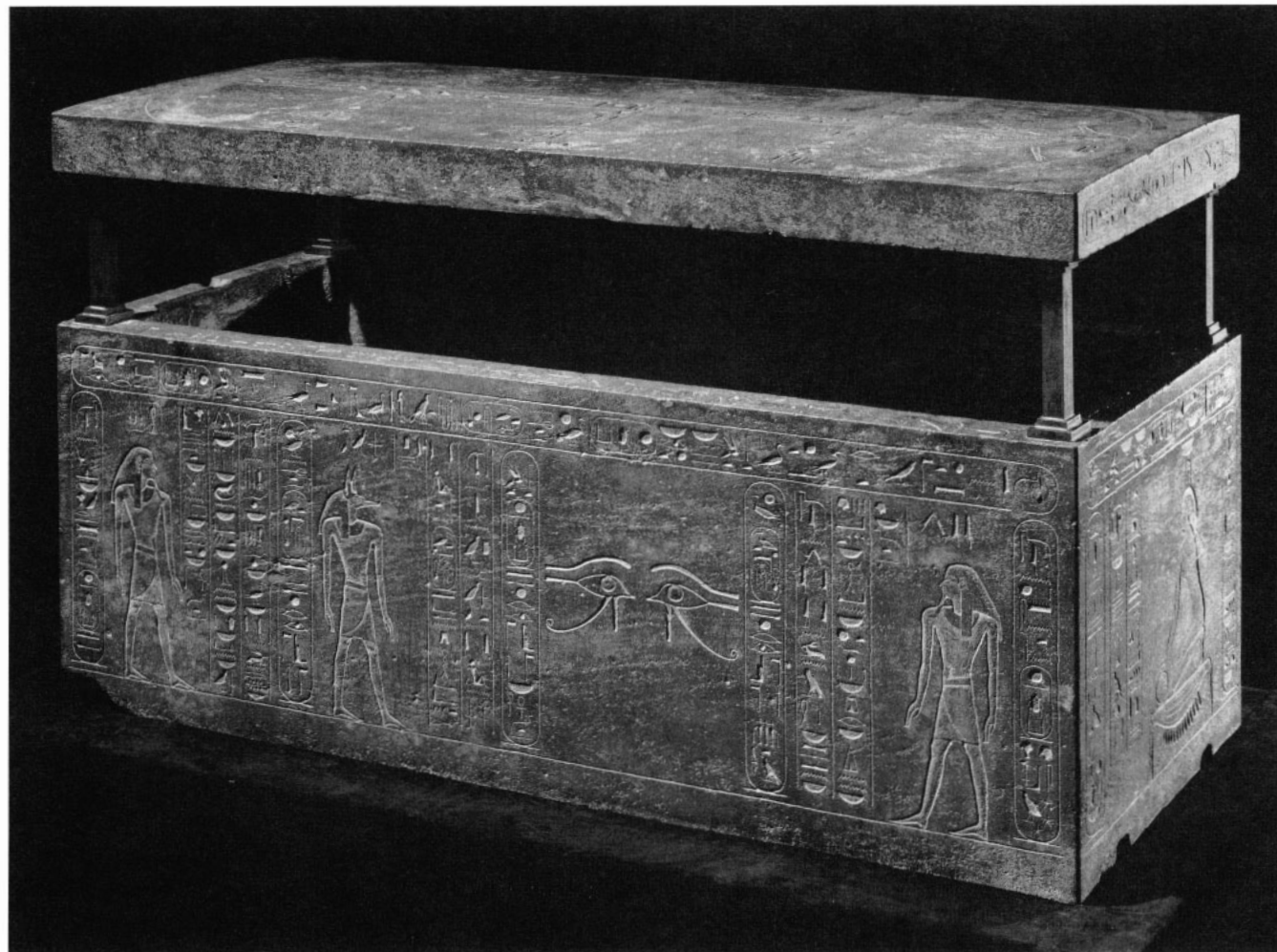


Fig. 1. Sarcophagus of Queen Hatshepsut, recarved for King Thutmose I (sarcophagus "C"), Quartzite, L. 2.25 m x W. 82 cm x total H. 99 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Theodore M. Davis, 04.278.

PETER DER MANUELIAN and
CHRISTIAN E. LOEBEN

From Daughter to Father The Recarved Egyptian Sarcophagus of Queen Hatshepsut and King Thutmose I

SOME OBJECTS are exquisite works of art, masterpieces that earn their own place in the realm of art history. Others are of critical historical import, but may be nothing much to look at. Still more objects may enlighten us on the religious and philosophical development of a particular culture. Rarely, however, are all of these features found in a single piece. When this is the case, the object in question is a treasure indeed. It is no exaggeration to assign the Museum's royal sarcophagus from the Egyptian Dynasty 18 (1570–1293 B.C.) to this elite category (fig. 1).

The Boston sarcophagus is one of only three royal stone sarcophagi currently on display outside Egypt,¹ and is one of very few from the eighteenth Dynasty to show multiple alterations and phases of decoration. It was originally prepared for Queen Hatshepsut (1503/1498–1483 B.C.), then recut for her father, King Thutmose I (1524–1518 B.C.), in what turned out to be a shuffling of royal burials and reburials. The sarcophagus is an artistic masterpiece from a royal atelier, a prototype for the funeral beliefs and traditions of a millennium, and a pivotal historical piece of the complicated puzzle of early New Kingdom political history.

The above claims raise the question as to whether such an important object has not already received the scholarly attention it deserves. The answer is a surprising negative; for all its significance, the sarcophagus has never been reproduced in more than one or two general views.² Its interior decoration, difficult of access since the lid is currently suspended above the box with little clearance, has never previously been studied or photographed. Furthermore, the original excavation report on the findspot of the sarcophagus, the tomb of Queen Hatshepsut in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes (tomb KV 20), is far from exhaustive.³ Even the seminal work by William C. Hayes, on the *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, left much work to be done.⁴ Hayes's book is useful for comparative study of the eight royal sarcophagi he described, but extremely inconvenient as a primary source for the study of any single one of them.⁵ His remarks on the manufacturing techniques used also deserve reevaluation (see below and the following article).

In the following pages the authors hope to provide a more unified treatment of the Boston sarcophagus, with all surfaces represented either in photographs or drawings.⁶ They will examine the excavation history of the piece, its role in the history of the early eighteenth Dynasty and its problems of royal succession, and the manufacture and

PETER DER MANUELIAN is Assistant Curator, Department of Ancient Egyptian, Nubian, and Near Eastern Art, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

CHRISTIAN E. LOEBEN is Instructor of Egyptology, Humboldt-Universität, Berlin.

decoration of the sarcophagus (see especially the appendix with materials analysis by Richard Newman), with particular emphasis on its multiple construction phases and alterations. Translations of some of the more important hieroglyphic texts are provided, with remarks on their religious context, and on the art-historical significance of the sarcophagus as a whole.⁷ But the first task is to summarize briefly the historical context of the early Egyptian New Kingdom as it relates to the sarcophagus.

The history of the New Kingdom began after a family of Theban princes expelled the last of several generations of foreign domination by the Hyksos (literally “rulers of foreign lands”). The Thebans reunited the country and firmly established their own dynasty, which has come to be numbered the eighteenth. These first pharaohs of the New Kingdom (Dynasties 18–20, 1570–1080 B.C.; see genealogy, fig. 2) then embarked on an imperialist course, leading military campaigns and raids in the northeast to Syria-Palestine, and in the south to Nubia (modern Sudan). The Egyptian sphere of influence was never greater than at this time.

One of the greatest (and earliest) of this family of warrior pharaohs was King Thutmose I (1524–1518 B.C.). Royal inscriptions list his successful campaigns in Nubia as well as Naharin, the land across the Euphrates river in the kingdom of Mitanni (modern Syria). Here Thutmose I erected a stela commemorating his victory. This pharaoh paved the way for future military ventures to the northeast, the most numerous and successful of which were carried out by his grandson, Thutmose III (1504–1450 B.C.). In addition to his ambitious construction projects at the temple of Karnak at Thebes and at the temple of Osiris, god of the underworld, at Abydos, he was the first of a long line of rulers to select the Valley of the Kings in western Thebes as the site of his tomb. The tomb was constructed “no one seeing, no one hearing,” by the mayor of Thebes and first chief architect in the Valley of the Kings, Ineni.⁸ Just which tomb Ineni carved out of the limestone cliffs is part of the puzzle involving the Boston sarcophagus.

Thutmose I’s son and successor, Thutmose II (1518–1504 B.C.), married his half-sister, Hatshepsut, whose name means “foremost of the noble ones,” possibly to solidify his claim to the throne.⁹ Hatshepsut, content to bear the title of “king’s great wife” (*hmt wrt nswt*) during the reign of Thutmose II, was destined to become a major figure in the struggle for succession following his comparatively uneventful reign and early death. Thutmose II’s son by a lesser queen, Thutmose III, was still too young to administer the country, and his aunt Hatshepsut stepped in as coregent. A few years later, she elevated herself to the position of pharaoh, while her young stepson was relegated to the background.¹⁰ Only twice before in Egyptian history had a woman taken the throne,¹¹ but this is possibly the first case of two “kings”

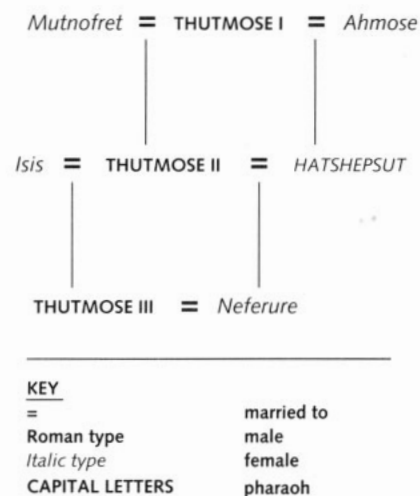


Fig. 2. Genealogy of the early Dynasty 18 royal family.



Fig. 3. Statuette thought to represent Hatshepsut as a queen of Thutmose II, Quartz diorite, H. 15 cm, Max. W. 8.5 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of Mrs. Joseph Lindon Smith, 52.347.



Fig. 4. Obelisk fragment of Queen Hatshepsut from Karnak, Red granite, H. 1.06 m, W. 46 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, Gift of the Heirs of Francis Cabot Lowell, 75.12.

occupying the throne simultaneously. Queen-turned-king Hatshepsut (1498–1483 B.C.) gradually introduced the radical step of representing herself as a man, complete with male torso and ceremonial royal beard.¹² A female pharaoh was almost a contradiction in terms, and at the very least posed problems for the scribes of the administration in assigning the “correct” gender pronoun in referring to Hatshepsut. The Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is fortunate to possess two important objects documenting the shift in representation of this fascinating woman. Figure 3 shows a fragmentary quartz diorite pair statuette showing a young queen thought to represent Hatshepsut, probably shown standing next to her husband, Thutmose II.¹³ The sunk relief fragment in figure 4 comes from one of her four red granite Karnak Temple obelisks, and portrays her after her assumption of the throne, with all the masculine attributes mentioned above.¹⁴ The important biographical inscription of Ineni mentioned above chronicles the events of Hatshepsut’s political “coup”:

... having ascended up to heaven, he (Thutmose II) joined with the gods, and his son (Thutmose III) arose in his place as king of the Two Lands [i.e., Upper and Lower Egypt]. [But] while he (Thutmose III) ruled upon the throne of the one who begat him (i.e., Thutmose II), [it was] his sister, the god’s wife Hatshepsut, who governed the affairs of the land, the Two Lands being under her control. Egypt was made to work for her with bowed head. . . .¹⁵

Supported by powerful administrators such as the vizier Hapuseneb and the high steward of Amun, Senenmut,¹⁶ “King” Hatshepsut completed just over two decades on the throne. Her reign was not the tranquil, campaignless eye of the storm of eighteenth Dynasty militarism that is sometimes claimed in the literature. In fact, like many rulers of the Thutmosid house, she is also credited with military ventures of her own.¹⁷ Nevertheless, her best-known accomplishments are perhaps her construction projects in the Theban area and in Middle Egypt,¹⁸ her transportation and erection of two pairs of towering granite obelisks at the temple of Karnak,¹⁹ and the expedition she dispatched to the foreign land of Punt, probably located on the Red Sea coast.²⁰ Punt was a land of palms and round-domed huts with ladder entrances. With the permission of the ruler and his steatopygic wife, the Egyptian expedition loaded all manner of products, including ebony, ivory, myrrh trees, leopard skins, and baboons onto their ships. Many of these events are described and portrayed on the walls of Hatshepsut’s terraced mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari, on the west bank at Thebes. But perhaps the most extraordinary scenes there are those of pure propaganda: the illustration of Hatshepsut’s divine conception by Queen Ahmose and the state god Amen, and her birth while King Thutmose I announces his daughter’s (“fully legitimate”) accession to the throne.

After twenty-one or twenty-two years, Hatshepsut’s reign came to an

end; exactly how remains uncertain. Her death and the demise of her supporting cast of high officials left Thutmose III finally in charge of the country (1504–1450 B.C.). He soon embarked on numerous military campaigns to Syria-Palestine. Regarding this era, earlier scholars construed acts of vehement rage and revenge on the part of the young king towards all inscriptions and symbols of Hatshepsut. He eventually erased, covered up, or otherwise obliterated the name of his aunt from countless monuments; she was customarily omitted from subsequent ancient Egyptian king lists.²¹ But more recent scholarship has proven that this purported lust for revenge cannot be substantiated for, in most cases, Thutmose III's erasure and/or usurpation of his aunt's monuments probably took place two decades after the king had taken sole rule and begun his series of military campaigns. Perhaps some of the walling up of Hatshepsut's monuments was related to their expansion and incorporation into Thutmose III's buildings, rather than to hiding all trace of her memory. Twenty years is, after all, a long time to hold a grudge.²²

It is during this complicated succession of pharaohs, muddled by differing scholarly theories formulated at the beginning of this century and by more recent reassessments of the tombs and tomb owners,²³ that the Boston sarcophagus presents in microcosm the events and priorities of the rulers of the age. It plays a critical role in our decipherment of the funeral politics at the beginning of the eighteenth Dynasty.²⁴

The Boston sarcophagus was the second of no fewer than three sarcophagi prepared for Hatshepsut, and it is a peculiar irony that probably none of them in the end ever actually held her mummy. Before taking the throne, Hatshepsut had prepared a tomb for herself in a secret cleft known as Wadi Sikkat Taqa el-Zeid, south of Deir el-Bahari. The tomb was investigated by Howard Carter in 1916, six years before he located the tomb of Tutankhamun.²⁵ Although neither completed nor used, her tomb contained a finished, crystalline sandstone sarcophagus (fig. 5).²⁶ In the sequence of early eighteenth Dynasty royal sarcophagi established by Hayes, this first sarcophagus of Hatshepsut was designated "A." It is a rectangular box with long sides divided into three panels, all of which are blank but for hieroglyphic *udjat* eyes (magically allowing the deceased a view out eastwards on the land of the living) incised on the left (east) side. Four vertical transverse bands of text adorn the long sides, and two the head and foot ends. A cartouche, or oval ring used to encircle royal names, is carved on the top of the lid, surrounding one vertical column of text. With the exception of a representation of the sky goddess Nut on the top of the lid, there are no figures on the sarcophagus.

After having herself crowned senior pharaoh, Hatshepsut clearly felt



Fig. 5. Sarcophagus "A" of Queen Hatshepsut, Crystalline sandstone, L. 197–199 cm, W. 72 cm., Total H. 90 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 47032. (Photograph: Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

Fig. 6. Map of the Valley of the Kings and overview map (inset) of Egypt.

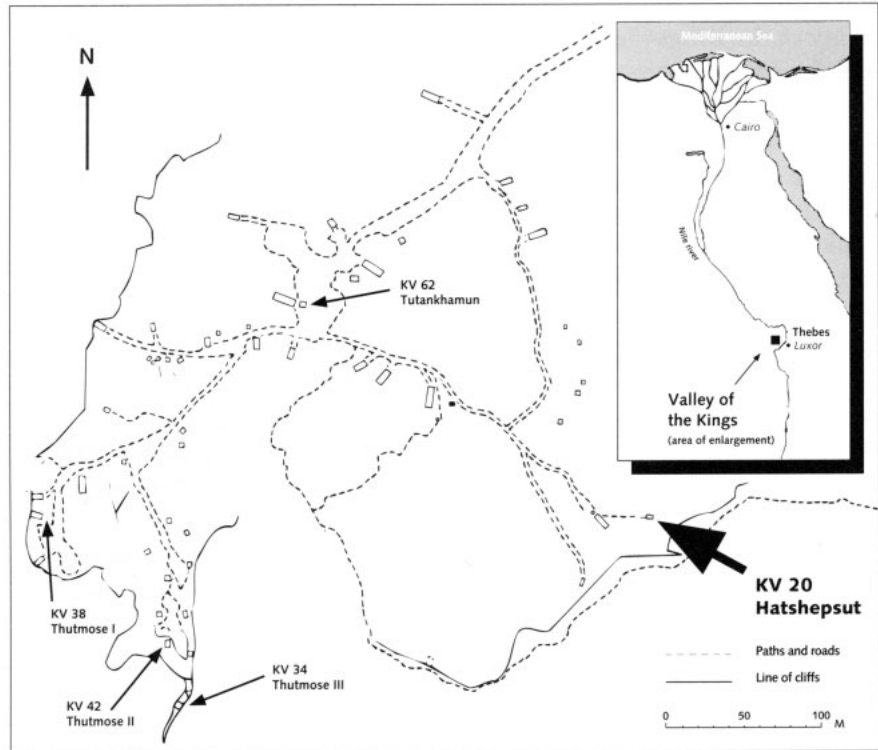
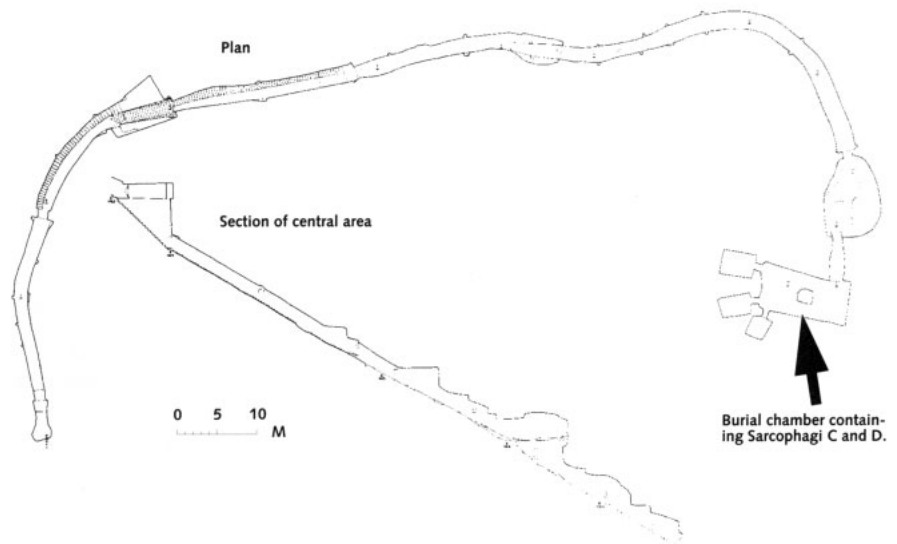


Fig. 7. Plan and partial section of tomb KV 20 of Queen Hatshepsut, Valley of the Kings, Thebes. (Drawing from K. Weeks, *The Berkeley Map of the Theban Necropolis*.)



that a new royal tomb was in order, this time, as befit a pharaoh, in the Valley of the Kings (fig. 6).²⁷ The cleft tomb mentioned above was abandoned, and excavation work began to create what is now known as tomb KV 20 in the Valley of the Kings (fig. 7).²⁸ This unique and impressive sepulcher was cut over 960 m below the surface and over 2,133 m into the cliff side on the same axis as the queen's mortuary temple of Deir el-Bahari. Unfortunately, the poor quality of the stone forced the tomb plan to curve around and double back on itself. No decoration survives on the walls today, although fifteen wall casing blocks with religious texts were found there.²⁹

The new tomb was provided with a new quartzite sarcophagus for the female king. This sarcophagus, Hatshepsut's second, is the Boston sarcophagus, now known in Hayes's sequence as sarcophagus "C."³⁰ This piece was cut, decorated, inscribed, and completely prepared for Hatshepsut. The situation should have been settled here. But many changes of plan were still to follow.

Early in her sole reign, Hatshepsut may have experienced difficulty in legitimizing her claim to the throne. While a twinge of sentiment towards her father, the long since deceased Thutmose I, makes for a romantic interpretation of the events that followed, it is more likely pure propagandistic motivation that caused a change of Hatshepsut's mortuary plans. We have already mentioned in passing Hatshepsut's divine birth scenes in her mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari, and the politically motivated representation of Thutmose I's blessing in announcing her as the "next" pharaoh (conveniently ignoring the intervening reign of Thutmose II). Probably between years 4 and 7,³¹ Hatshepsut decided to expand upon her association with her deceased father. She ordered the removal of the body of Thutmose I from his



Fig. 8. Sarcophagus "D" of Queen Hatshepsut, Quartzite, L. 2.45 m, W. 88 cm., Total H. 100 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 37678. (Photograph: Courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

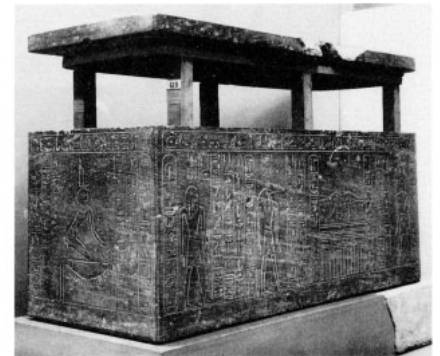


Fig. 10. Sarcophagus "E" of King Thutmose I, prepared by Thutmose III, Quartzite, L. 2.485 m, W. 90.5 cm., Total H. 100.5 cm. Egyptian Museum, Cairo JE 52344. (Photograph: Courtesy of The Metropolitan Museum of Art.)

LETTER	OWNER	MAKER	PROVENANCE	PRES. LOC.
A	Hatshepsut as queen	Hatshepsut	Wadi Sikkat Taqa el-Zeid	Cairo Museum 6024, JE 47032
B	Thutmose II	Thutmose II	KV 42	KV 42
C	Thutmose I	Hatshepsut	KV 20	Boston MFA 04.278
D	Hatshepsut	Hatshepsut	KV 20	Cairo Museum 620
E	Thutmose I	Thutmose III	KV 38	Cairo Museum 619
F	Thutmose III	Thutmose III	KV 34	KV 34

Fig. 9. Reference chart of early Dynasty 18 royal sarcophagi.

own tomb in the Valley of the Kings (tomb KV 38), and his reburial next to her sarcophagus in her own second tomb (KV 20), still under construction.³² Perhaps the reburial was accompanied by a “second” funeral procession for her father, designed to reaffirm publicly the link of political legitimacy between father and daughter. She relegated her second sarcophagus (Boston sarcophagus “C”) to Thutmose I, and ordered it to be refitted to house his mummified body and its original wood anthropoid coffin. As we shall see, this called for a complete resizing and redesign of the piece.

Now two sarcophagi the richer, but still lacking one for her own eventual mummification and burial, Hatshepsut ordered yet a third sarcophagus for herself, now known as sarcophagus “D” (fig. 8), a similar, though larger and more elaborate piece than the Boston sarcophagus “C.”³³

Eventually, the excavation of Hatshepsut’s tomb KV 20 was deep enough to accommodate both pharaohs, Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, to be buried in the innermost chamber.³⁴ Both sarcophagi may have been placed in the tomb at the same time (the tomb’s staircases show steps only on one side, to allow for the sliding descent of the sarcophagi, fig. 7). But at some point during the reinterment of Thutmose I’s mummy, it was suddenly discovered that its original anthropoid wood coffin was too large to fit inside Hatshepsut’s newly altered sarcophagus “C.” With apparent haste, the interior head and foot ends of the sarcophagus were widened from the inside, obliterating the decoration added for Thutmose I there and damaging the texts on the tops of the sarcophagus walls, also recently altered from Hatshepsut’s to Thutmose I’s benefit. Decoration was hastily reapplied to the interior head and foot ends, the king’s wood coffin was placed inside, and the lid was closed over him.

In modern times, tomb KV 20, the second (royal) tomb of Hatshepsut, was first examined by James Burton in 1824. Then, in 1903, Howard Carter, working in the Valley of the Kings on behalf of Newport, Rhode Island, lawyer and entrepreneur Theodore M. Davis,³⁵ cleared Hatshepsut’s tomb.³⁶ The largest finds were the two quartzite royal sarcophagi “C” and “D,” and the queen’s canopic jar container. Sarcophagus “C” had been tipped over and lay on its east side against one of the chamber’s three pillars, while its lid had been carefully left leaning against the wall. The larger sarcophagus “D” was right-side up, with its lid flipped over on its back on the floor several feet away. Both sarcophagi were empty, and both were removed by Carter from the tomb. While Hatshepsut’s third and final sarcophagus “D” went to the Cairo Museum, the director of the Egyptian Service des Antiquités, Gaston Maspero, presented the recarved sarcophagus “C” of Thutmose I to Davis. He in turn donated it in 1904 to the Museum of Fine Arts, along with

numerous finds from another season's work in tomb KV 43, the tomb of Thutmose IV.³⁷ The sarcophagus was shipped to Boston, and has remained on view in the Museum of Fine Arts ever since. For ease of reference, the Boston sarcophagus "C" is listed in the table above along with the other sarcophagi that bear on the present study (fig. 9).

Recent scholarship has suggested that tomb KV 20, traditionally taken as Hatshepsut's tomb, was actually that of Thutmose I from the beginning, rather than tomb KV 38. This would make for fewer moves for the much-traveled mummy of Thutmose I, for under this scheme, he would have lain in tomb KV 20 originally, to be moved merely to a new chamber in the same tomb, added by Hatshepsut, and provided with a new sarcophagus (Boston sarcophagus "C").³⁸ Tomb KV 38, by this theory, would have been built for Thutmose I by Thutmose III after the death of Hatshepsut, at which time the king would have been provided with the new sarcophagus "E." In support of this interpretation, it is true that very few of the objects discovered inside tomb KV 38 demonstrate that the tomb was in existence before the reign of Thutmose III. But this poses problems in regard to Hatshepsut's intentions in the Valley of the Kings. First of all, it necessitates explaining away the presence of Hatshepsut's foundation deposit objects at tomb KV 20's entrance, normally a typical and conclusive indication of a structure's original builder and owner. And it assumes that Hatshepsut, newly arrived at the Valley of the Kings, would have been content for two decades with merely adding a second burial chamber (and a smaller one at that) to the tomb of her father.³⁹ We have seen, however, that Hatshepsut was constantly concerned with upgrading and expanding upon her funerary equipment and provisions, most likely in order to reinforce her claim on kingly status. Rather than be satisfied with occupying the already extant tomb KV 20, Hatshepsut probably spent many years of her reign having a tomb constructed for herself. We will thus opt for the older interpretation of KV 38 remaining Thutmose I's original, contemporary resting place, and tomb KV 20, with its apparent orientation to the mortuary temple of Deir el-Bahari, as the original tomb of Hatshepsut. Newly arrived at both the monarchy and the Valley of the Kings, Hatshepsut would most likely have been determined to make her own unique statement there, bringing her father's mummy to her, rather than simply joining him in his tomb.

What became of the actual mummified bodies of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut? Neither was found in tomb KV 20. Thutmose I's travels did not end after his reburial in tomb KV 20 by his daughter Hatshepsut. Thutmose III, finally in complete control of the country after Hatshepsut's death, was not content to let his grandfather rest in silent support of his aunt's political legitimacy in her tomb, and sent his agents to reopen tomb KV 20, lift the mummy of Thutmose I out of

sarcophagus "C," and move it back to that king's original tomb, KV 38. Rather than use sarcophagus "C" for Thutmose I's reburial, which had been made by Hatshepsut and which still bore the names and titles of the female king, Thutmose III ordered a second stone sarcophagus made for his grandfather (sarcophagus "E"; fig. 10), even as his own sarcophagus ("F") had already been prepared in the same workshop.⁴⁰ This had the effect of removing Thutmose I from any monument or site that could be identified with Hatshepsut. But the king was moved again, and was eventually discovered in 1881 on the other side of the cliffs from the Valley of the Kings by Gaston Maspero in the royal cache of Deir el-Bahari, site of a secret reburial of numerous pharaohs and royal family members by priests of Dynasty 21.⁴¹ Thutmose I's body came to light here after burial upon reburial, placed within two anthropoid wood coffins that had been usurped by the high priest of Amen and self-proclaimed "king" Pinodjem I of Dynasty 21 (1055–1032 B.C.). A partial reconstruction of the original Thutmose I decoration of the outer coffin CG 61025, based upon study and collation in the Cairo Museum, may be found in figure 11. Both of these anthropoid coffins were probably too large to have ever fit inside the Boston sarcophagus "C," so Thutmose I's original coffin was either lost in the shuffle or survived only in the wood fragments discovered in tomb KV 20 by Carter.⁴² The body of Hatshepsut has yet to be definitively identified.⁴³ In fact, evidence suggests that Hatshepsut's sarcophagus "D" lid may never have been put in place, for it bears no signs of having been forcibly pried off by tomb robbers, as was the case with so many royal sarcophagi.

We turn now to the decoration and redesign phases of the Boston sarcophagus "C." The piece is currently exhibited with its lid propped up on modern metal pillars some 30.5 cm off the base to reveal the interior (fig. 12).⁴⁴ With the exception of the long sides of the lid, and of course the exterior bottom of the sarcophagus, the low sunk relief

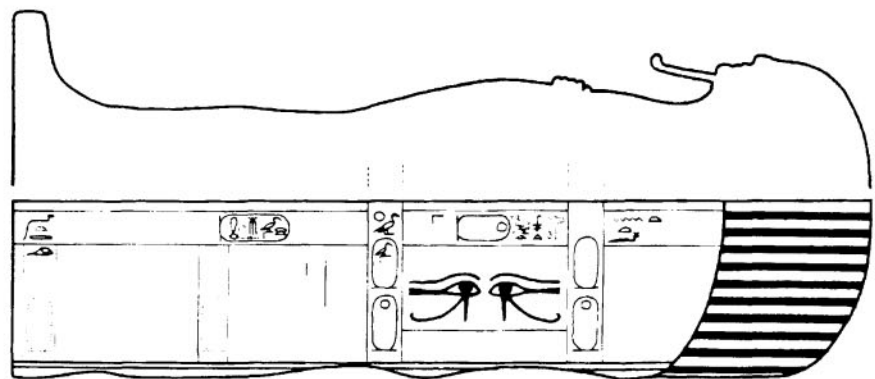


Fig. 11. Partial reconstruction of the original decoration of the outer coffin of Thutmose I, Egyptian Museum, Cairo CG 61025. (Preliminary drawing by Christian E. Loeben.)

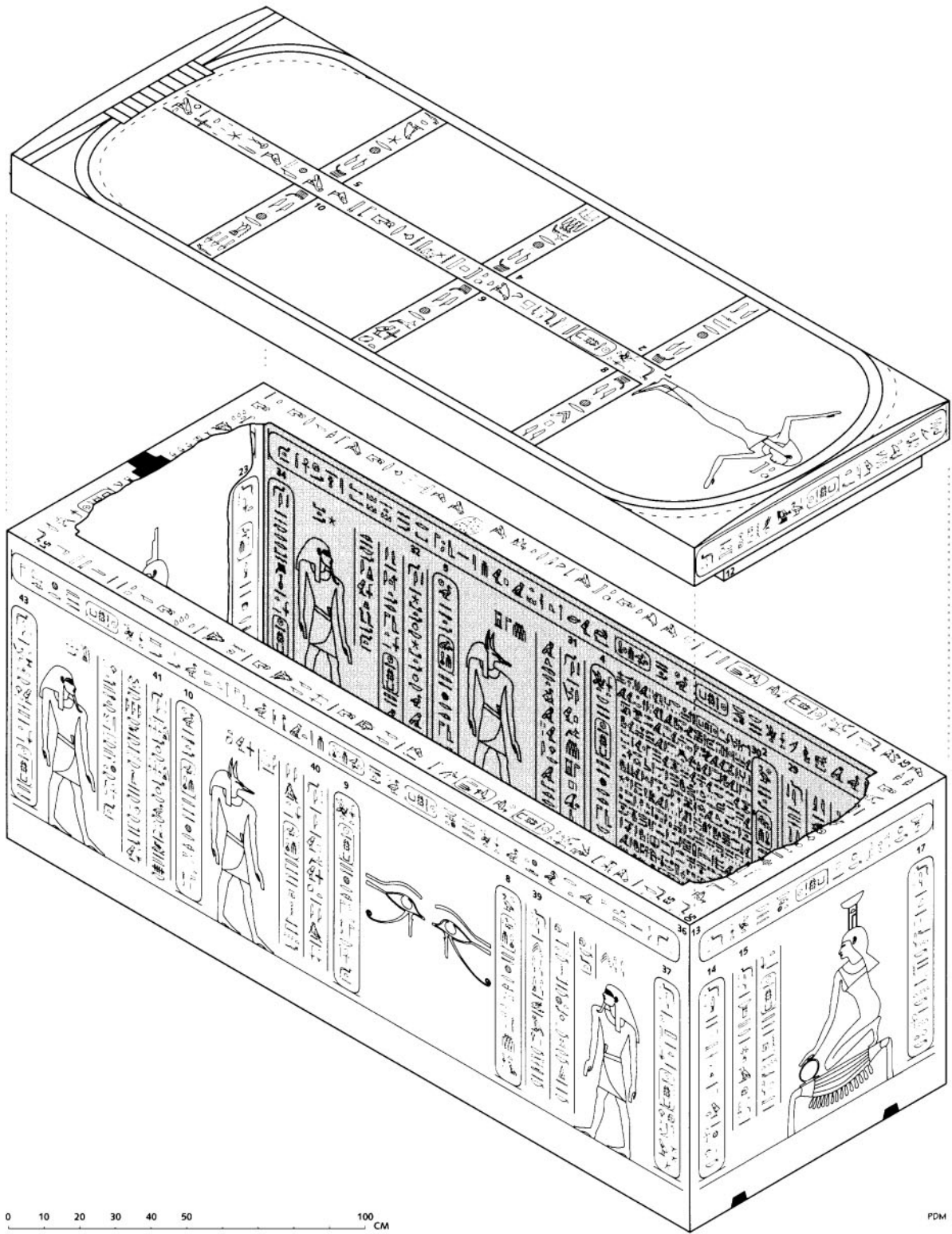


Fig. 12. Computer-generated isometric rendering of the Boston sarcophagus "C", showing the left (east) exterior, the head end, right (west) interior, and the top of the lid.

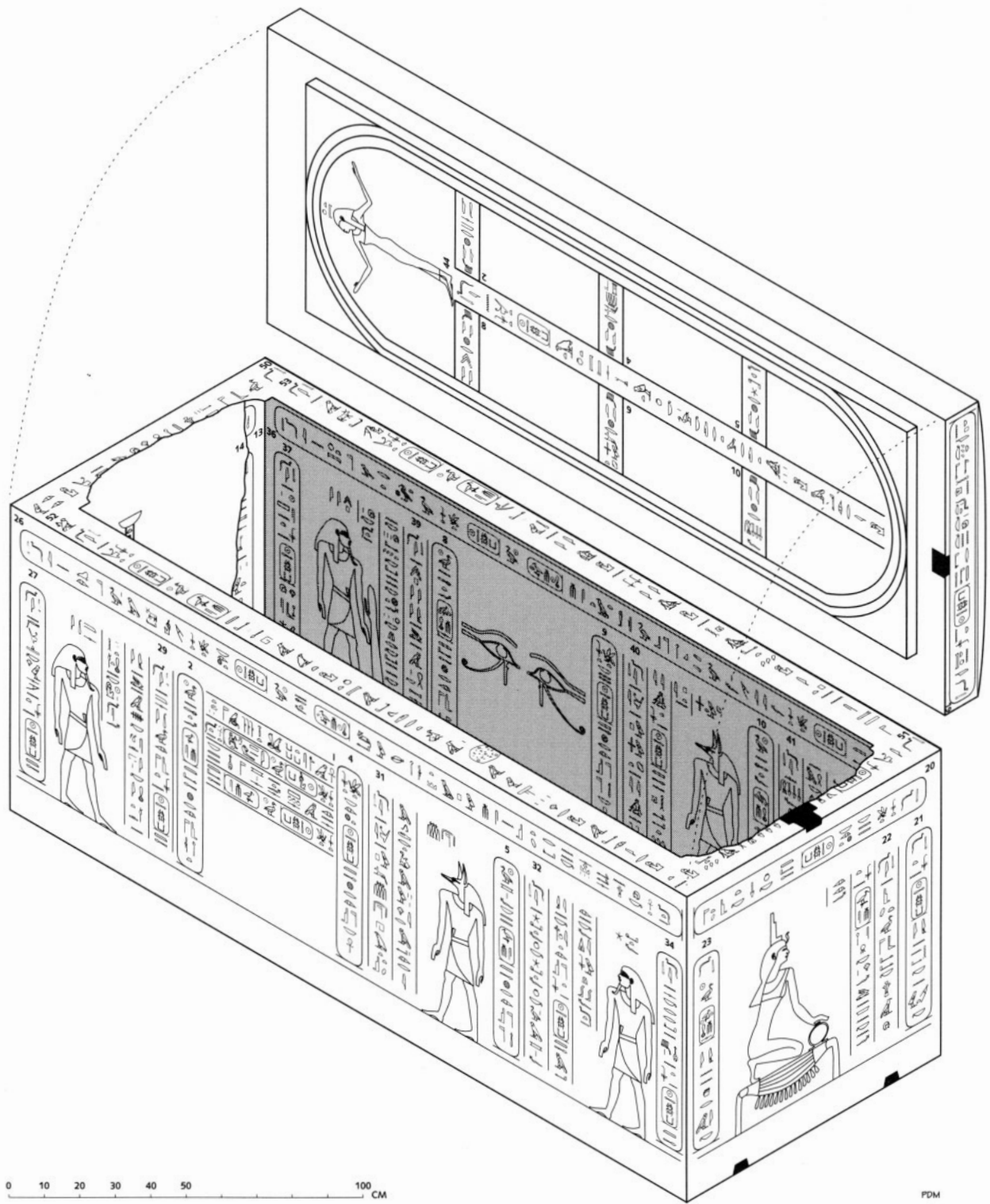


Fig. 13. Computer-generated isometric rendering of the sarcophagus, showing the right (west) exterior, the foot end, left (east) interior, and the underside of the lid.

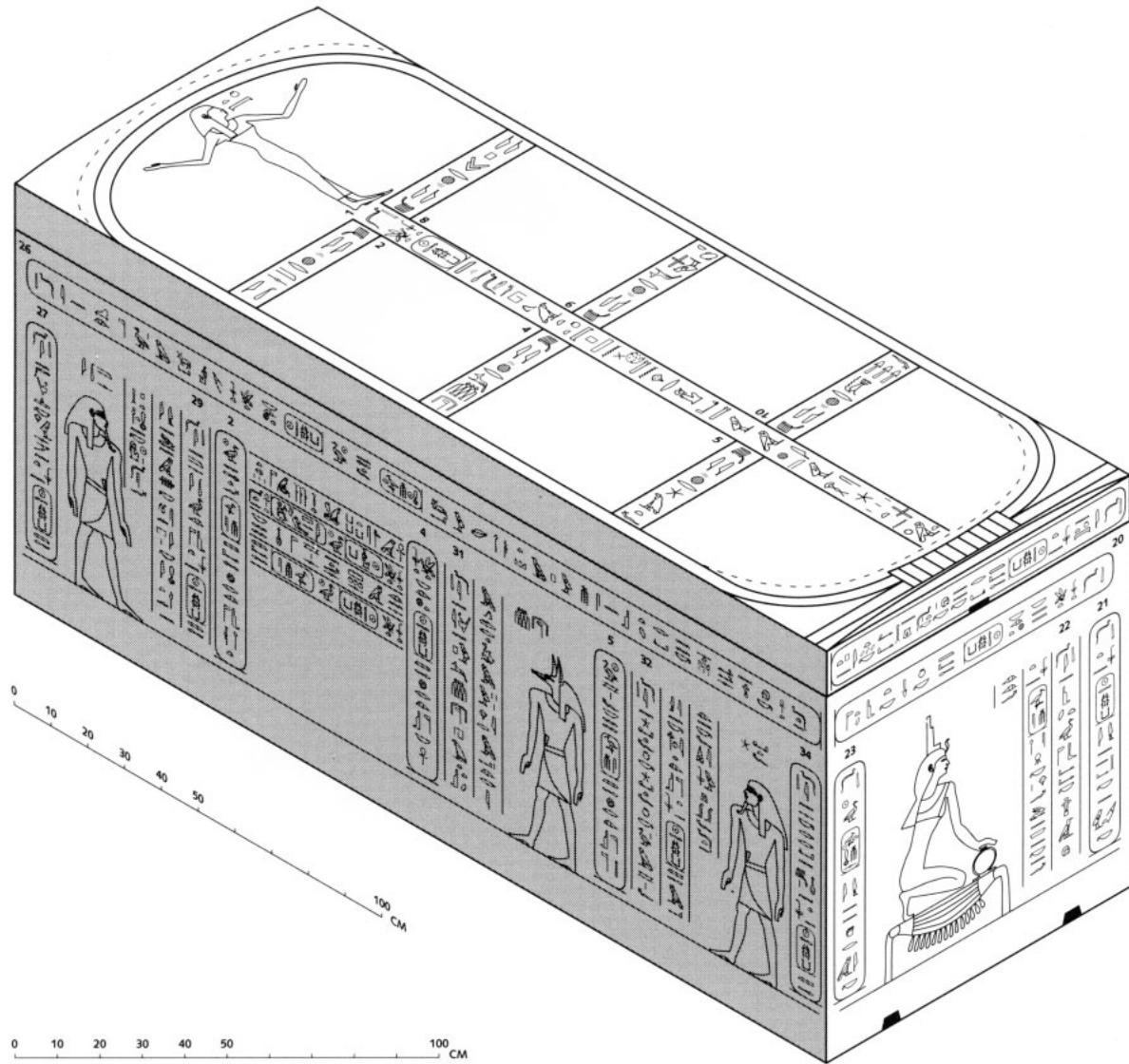


Fig. 14. Computer-generated isometric rendering of the sarcophagus, showing the right exterior, the foot end, and the lid in place.

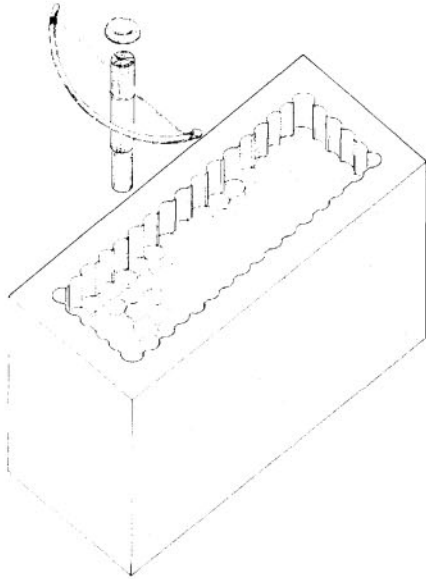


Fig. 15. One possible method for drilling sarcophagus cavities. (Drawing from D. Arnold, *Building in Egypt*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991, p. 51, fig. 2.29 after Stocks.)

decoration covers all surfaces of both lid and base, including the interiors and exteriors, the top and underside of the lid (figs. 12–14). Even the tops of the sarcophagus walls, which would have been covered by the lid, are inscribed. There is no detail carving in the interior of the sunk relief hieroglyphs. The corners are slightly beveled, and the overall workmanship and precision of the flatness appear flawless, a fact that is all the more impressive when one considers that the piece went through several carving stages.

The material chosen is brownish quartzite, one of the harder stones to carve, possibly quarried at Gebelein, about thirty miles south of Thebes. First used in the Middle Kingdom,⁴⁵ quartzite became the stone of choice for early eighteenth Dynasty royal sarcophagi; granite came to be preferred at the end of the dynasty. One solid piece was used for the lid and another for the box. Copper tools, picks, scrapers, and stone abrasives were used to complete the decoration. Figure 15 shows one possible method of drilling out the interior cavity. Flaws in the stone were often filled in with resin (see the following article for analysis). Most of the sarcophagi in our series were equipped with lugs, protrusions on the short ends of the lid for ease of placement. These were sliced off once the lid was in place; the only sarcophagus of our group to retain its lugs is the unfinished sarcophagus “B,” that of Thutmose II.⁴⁶ The Boston sarcophagus shows a pry-bar hole on the foot end of the lid whose location is matched by a similar slit on the top of the sarcophagus wall (figs. 12–13). In addition, the short ends of the sarcophagus itself show two slits towards the bottom for leverage beams to lift the entire piece off the ground (figs. 1, 12–14, 27–28).

Hatshepsut’s order for the alteration of the sarcophagus to accommodate the coffin of her father, Thutmose I, resulted in some surfaces being shaved and completely reinscribed, other (formerly blank) surfaces being inscribed for the first time, and still others being given only royal name changes and conversion of the grammatical endings from feminine to masculine (fig. 16). Four distinct decoration phases may be distinguished: figure 17 illustrates with gray shading which changes occurred where. Figure 18 is a table of hieroglyphic gender modifications from feminine to masculine forms. The major change resulted in the removal of a full 3 cm from the exterior side walls and lid (note how texts 52–53 no longer occupy the center of the tops of the sarcophagus walls, fig. 30), 1 cm from the foot end, .5 cm from the head end, and 3.5 cm from the interior head and foot ends. The last-minute enlargement of the interior head and foot ends for Thutmose I’s (unexpectedly) large wood, anthropoid coffin called for the removal of an additional maximum 6 cm from the interior, destroying parts of the inscriptions and figures.

The sarcophagus has a reddish hue which is particularly visible

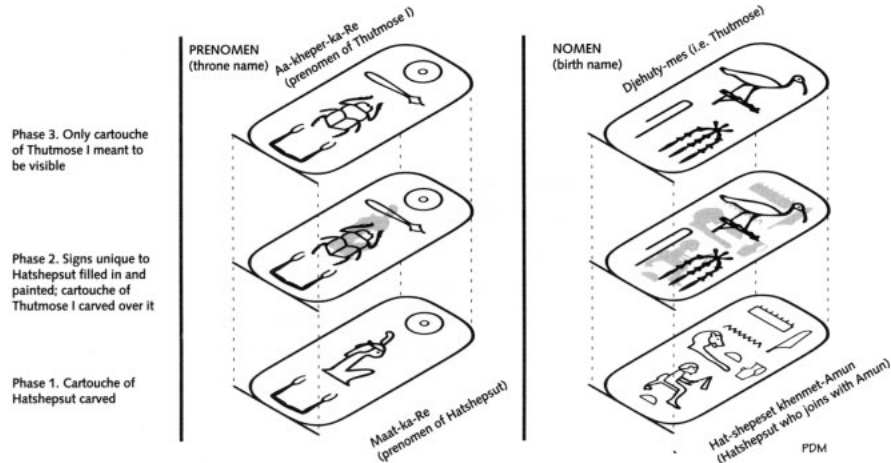


Fig. 16. Three phases involved in altering the cartouches of Hatshepsut into those of Thutmose I.

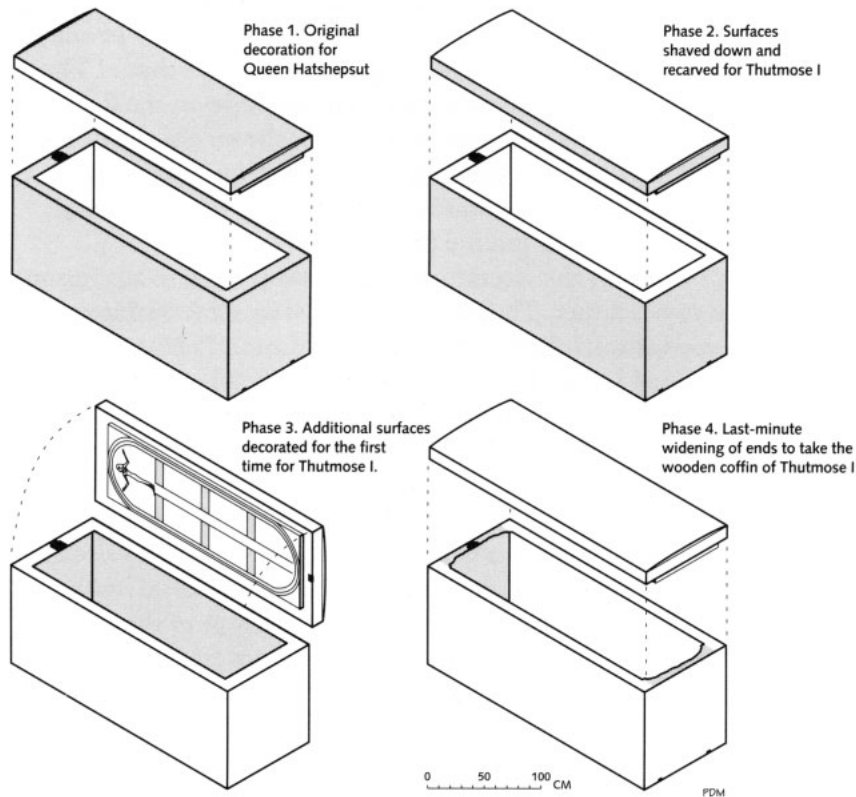


Fig. 17. Four phases of decoration of the Boston sarcophagus (areas described are shaded in gray).

Text number	Original version (Hatshepsut)	Recarved version (Thutmose I)
1, 53		
44		
51		
53		
53		
52, 53		
52, 53		
53		
52		
1, 54		
1		
2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10		
2, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10		
44		
54		
54		
54		

Fig. 18. Table of inscriptions alterations, showing feminine forms for Hatshepsut modified to masculine forms for Thutmose I.

inside the sunk relief decoration. Earlier descriptions attributed this color to a reddish/pink wash applied by the Egyptians to darken the quartzite from yellow to red, since yellow quartzite was apparently deemed less valuable than red quartzite.⁴⁷ But a better explanation suggests that the wash was actually added to highlight the polish of the sarcophagus. The Egyptians completed the carved decoration, added the wash, and then polished the stone with abrasives. The removal of the wash then revealed which areas had been suitably polished. This is why the wash is especially visible in the cracks and carved sunk relief decoration, indicating that the hieroglyphs were cut before the wash was added.⁴⁸

The layout of the sarcophagus's decoration reflects the fundamental Egyptian concern with proper orientation. The land of the northward-flowing Nile River was a strictly delineated country, where the east bank represented the land of the living and the rising sun, and the west bank the land of the dead and the setting sun. It is on the west bank of the Nile that most Egyptian necropoli are located, and this directional orientation assigned specific deities to the east and west sides of the sarcophagus. The east side generally belongs to the sun-god and the realm of the living, whereas the west side contains speeches by the god of the underworld along with spells from the Book of the Dead. The placement of the sarcophagus in the tomb also followed suit, with the head end to the north, and east and west sides oriented accordingly – in every case except that of tomb KV 20 and the two sarcophagi “C” (Boston; Thutmose I) and “D” (Cairo; Hatshepsut). The head ends of these were found facing south, and the “mortuary” (west) sides of the sarcophagi facing east (see plan, fig. 7). Far from a break in Egyptian funerary traditions this aberration may be explained by the plan of tomb KV 20 itself. Although the craftsmen were compelled to curve the sepulcher back around on itself due to the poor quality of the bedrock, they nevertheless seem to have treated the tomb as if it continued straight on its originally intended axis towards Hatshepsut's mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari. If this is indeed the case, then the placement of sarcophagi “C” and “D” actually did conform to standard orientation practices.

Many of the exterior columns and horizontal bands of inscription are framed by long cartouches. In multicolumned texts, the first column is enclosed while subsequent columns stand within dividing lines. This is typical of several of the early eighteenth Dynasty royal sarcophagi until the reign of Amenhotep II.⁴⁹

The inscriptions covering the sarcophagus fall into three categories: dedications by the deceased on behalf of specific deities, prayers for protection made by the deceased to specific deities, and speeches by specific deities promising such protection for the deceased. Eighteenth

Dynasty royal sarcophagi play a critical role in the development of early New Kingdom mortuary literature, that is, the evolution of the Theban version of the Book of the Dead, replacing the Middle Kingdom Coffin Texts, and their counterpart in turn, the Old Kingdom Pyramid Texts. Sarcophagus "C" provides some of the earliest versions of certain spells, particularly the long text 30 on the right (west) interior side, one of the first complete editions of Chapter 72, the "Book of going forth into the day and opening up the tomb" (fig. 23d). In fact, the layout of the entire sarcophagus decoration, with the standing figures of the four sons of Horus and the kneeling goddesses Isis and Nephthys, may even be termed a graphic representation of Chapter 151 of the Book of the Dead.⁵⁰

Before we turn to the religious inscriptions that cover the rest of the sarcophagus, there is one extremely important historical text to consider on the right (west) exterior side (text I). This dedication inscription tells us that Hatshepsut was responsible for "creating" ("reinscribing" would, of course be more accurate) the sarcophagus for her father (figs. 14, 19–20). Hatshepsut's sarcophagus "C" and the final sarcophagus prepared for Thutmose I by Thutmose III (sarcophagus "E"⁵¹) are the only ones in the sequence to bear historical dedication inscriptions.⁵² The text begins with the five-name titulary of the pharaoh, with the throne name (prenomen) and birth name (nomen) enclosed within their own cartouches:

Text I: (1) May the Horus, Weseret-kau (powerful of *kas*), the Two Ladies, Wadjet-renput (rejuvenated of years), Horus of gold, divine of appearances live, (2) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maat-ka-re, son of Re, Hatshepsut who joins with Amen. May she live forever. (3) She made [it; i.e., the sarcophagus] as her monument to her beloved father, the perfect god, Lord of the Two lands, (4) King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheper-ka-re, son of Re, Thutmose [I], justified (literally "true of voice").

The lid of sarcophagus "C" was discovered leaning against the wall of the burial chamber. This fact prompted Hayes to posit that it had been carefully opened by Thutmose III's agents for the removal and reburial of Thutmose I, because tomb robbers would have simply flipped the lid over onto the ground next to the sarcophagus.⁵³ The slightly convex top bears a large cartouche that surrounds the entire decoration (fig. 21). In the original decoration scheme (for Hatshepsut), the cartouche was double-banded, but the outside band was lost when the sarcophagus was recarved. The artists accordingly erased the curve of the double line at the head and foot ends as well to keep the new decoration consistent, although they were forced to erase the inside line at the foot end and the outside line at the head end (see fig. 21). Within the cartouche at the head end stands a figure of the sky goddess Nut (mirrored on the underside). The goddess stands atop a central



Fig. 19. General view of the right exterior side of the sarcophagus (Photograph courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

Fig. 20. Historical dedication text I of Hatshepsut; right (west) exterior side.



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vertical inscription (text 1) which shows alterations from Hatshepsut to Thutmose I. Alterations also appear on the transverse bands of text which begin on the lid and continue down onto the long sides of the sarcophagus. On the lid the feminine *.t* ending in the word *im₃hy.t*, "the revered one," has consistently been filled in with resin to change it to the masculine form *im₃hy*.

The underside of the lid underwent two decoration phases (figs. 21–22). For Hatshepsut it originally bore a standing figure of the sky goddess Nut plus a single column of inscription down the center (text 44). Later, during the refit for Thutmose I, it was given the transverse band texts naming the protective sons of Horus, matching and mirroring the texts on the top of the lid. Proof for this observation lies in the recarving of the cartouche on the central vertical text 44, for the *m₃'t* goddess hieroglyph belonging to Hatshepsut's prenomen (Maat-ka-re) is visible beneath the elements comprising the Aa-kheper-ka-re prenomen of Thutmose I, while the *im₃hy* texts ("the revered one . . .") in the transverse bands are clearly masculine and show no filled in *.t* signs from *im₃hy.t* as they do on the top side of the lid. They therefore could not have belonged to the original decoration scheme, but were added later for Thutmose I. A glance at the underside of the lid of Hatshepsut's third and final sarcophagus ("D") confirms our reconstruction of the original appearance of the sarcophagus "C" lid with text 44 only: it shows the figure of Nut and a central band of vertical inscription (likewise numbered text 44) without any transverse bands.⁵⁴

The lid also contains inscriptions of recitations by Nut on the exterior sides of the head and foot ends (texts 12 and 19). Sarcophagi "C" and "D" of Hatshepsut are the only ones in the early eighteenth Dynasty sequence to bear short end inscriptions on their lids (the long sides of the lid remain uninscribed). The text on the head end of the lid reads:

Text 12 (lid, head end; fig. 25): Recitation by Nut, mistress of the house of the bark of Sokar: (My) son (is) Aa-kheper-ka-re, his (grand)father (is) Shu, whom he loves; his (grand)mother is Tefnut, whom he loves.

A similar inscription fills the lid's foot end:

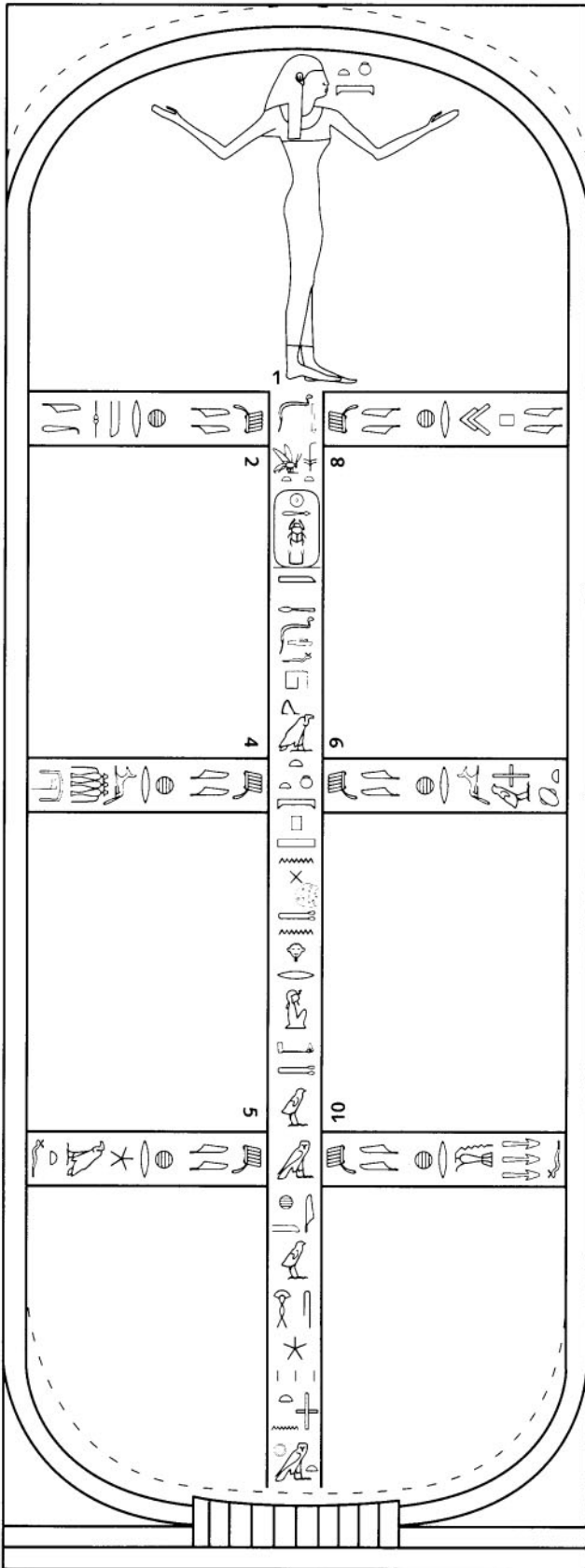
Text 19 (lid: foot end; fig. 25): Recitation by Nut: O' King Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified, I have given you your head and your body; these limbs of yours will not be weary.

The central vertical inscription down the center of the exterior of the lid contains a speech by the queen that has been modified and assigned to the king:

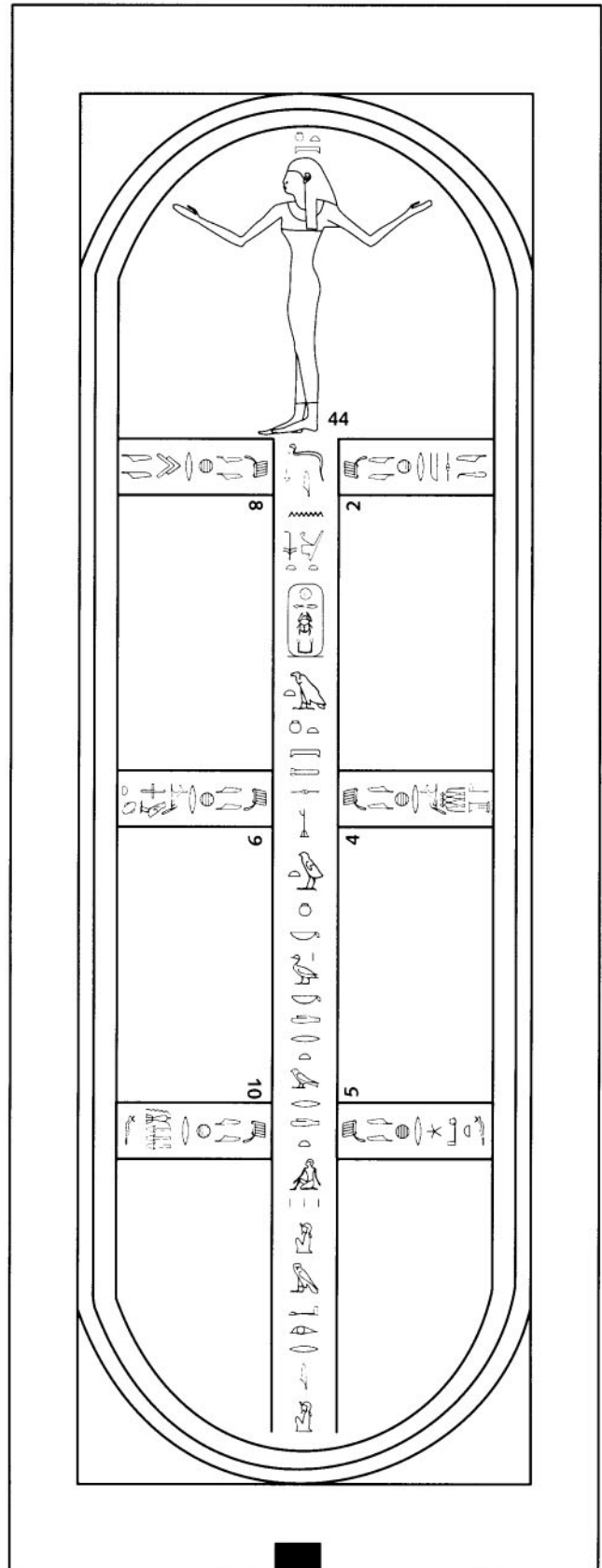
Text 1 (lid exterior; fig. 21): Recitation (by) the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheper-ka-re,⁵⁵ justified. He says: O' mother Nut, stretch yourself over me, that you might place me among the Indestructible Stars which are in you,⁵⁶ and I will not perish.

Fig. 21. Layout of the decoration of the top (left) and underside (right) of the sarcophagus lid.

Top of lid



Bottom of lid



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An interesting comparison of texts on the top and underside of the lid presents itself between text 1 (top) with its complementary text 44 (underside). While the top of the lid relates to Nut's function as the protective sky goddess stretched out in the heavens over the king in the land of the living, the complementary text down the underside focuses on more of a funerary and rebirth function. Here on the underside, the king asks the goddess for resuscitation:

Text 44 (lid, interior; fig. 21): Recitation by the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheper-ka-re: O' (my) mother, Nut, raise me up. I am your son. Remove my weariness along with him who acts against me.

The transverse bands of inscriptions perpendicular to text 1 actually continue down the vertical sides of the sarcophagus, where each is encircled by a tall cartouche, representing either the wood cross pieces of Middle Kingdom sarcophagi, or the bandage wrappings wound around the mummy itself. In the translations that follow, texts that continue from the lid over onto the exterior and interior sides (texts 2, 4, 5, 8, 9, and 10) use a dash (–) to indicate the change of surface from horizontal to vertical. Note that the top and underside of the lid, and indeed much of the sarcophagus, bear inscriptions that mirror each other, as if they penetrated through the thickness of the sarcophagus walls. In the following translations, attention will focus on the exterior texts. Variations provided by the interior versions will appear in footnotes.

The interior and exterior long sides of the sarcophagus bear the same basic decoration scheme: four panels interspersed with vertical bands of inscriptions, all surmounted by one long horizontal text (fig. 23). Three of the panels are filled with standing figures of protective funerary deities, the so-called four sons of Horus, accompanied by recitation speeches. The deities are the human-headed Hapy, Imseti, Duamutef, and Qebah-senuf, and the two forms of the jackal-headed Anubis: foremost-of-the-divine-booth or who-is-in-the-embalming-place.⁵⁷ Each deity sports a long wig, ceremonial beard, and a short kilt. The fourth panel is taken up either by an inscription (right, west side) or by the hieroglyphic *udjat* eyes (left, east side). In addition, the interior sides each bear an outstretched arm of the sky goddess Nut, the rest of whose body is shown on the sarcophagus floor; she thus once literally embraced the wood coffin placed inside (figs. 29–30).

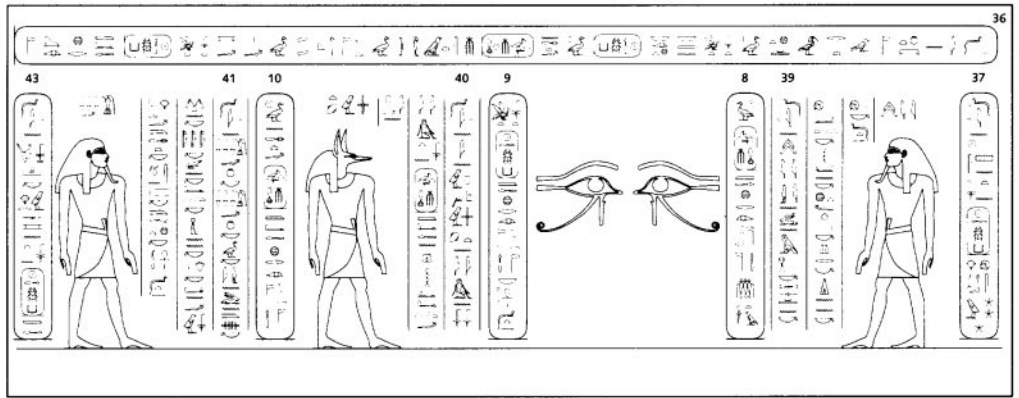
Text 2 (exterior and interior: lid and right (west) side; figs. 21, 23c–d): Revered before Imseti – bodily son of Re, Thutmose, justified before Osiris, ruler of the west.⁵⁸

Text 4 (exterior and interior: lid and right (west) side; figs. 21, 23c–d): Revered before Anubis foremost-of-the-divine-booth – King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the ritual,⁵⁹ Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified before Osiris, lord of life.

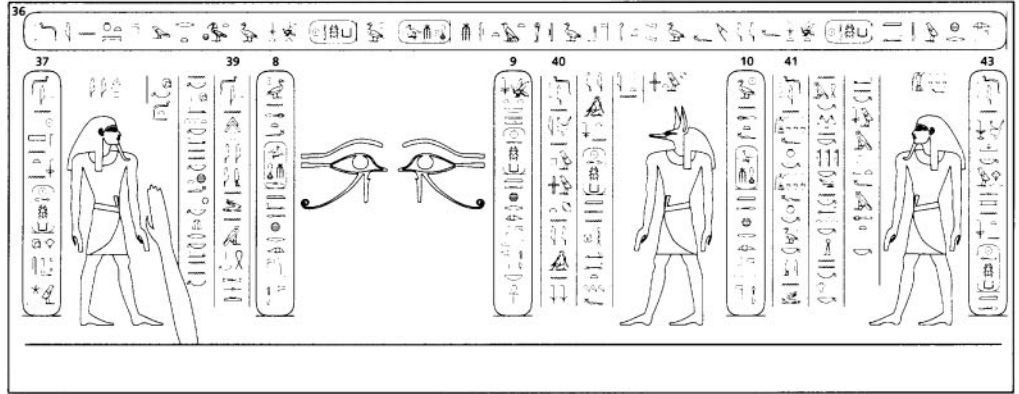


Fig. 22. Composite photograph of the underside of the lid. (Photograph: Rus Gant.)

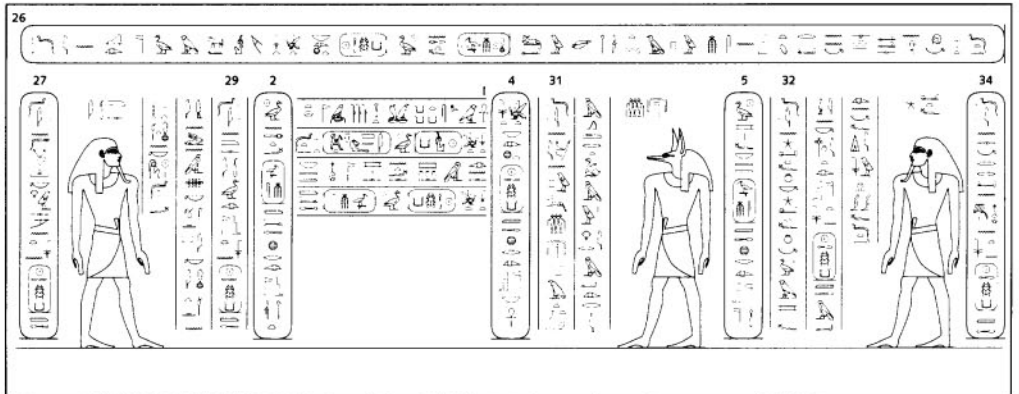
Fig. 23. Layout of the exterior and interior decoration of the long sides of the sarcophagus.



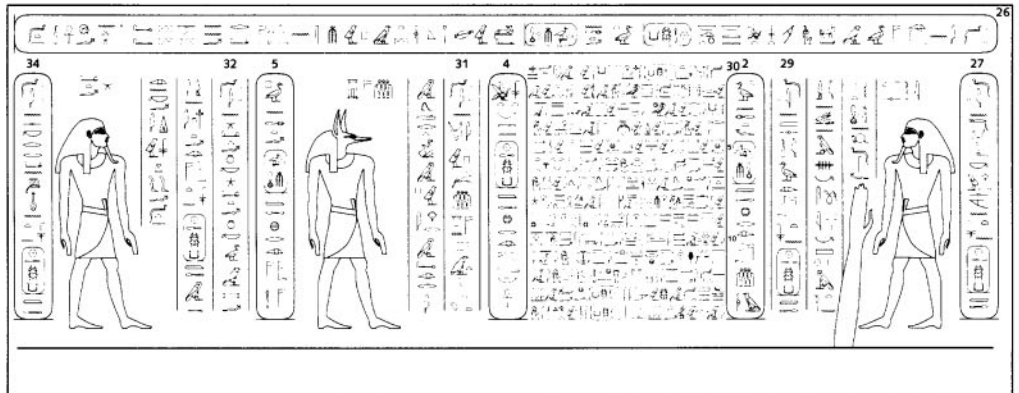
a Left (east) exterior



b Left (east) interior



c Right (west) exterior



d Right (west) interior

0 10 20 30 40 50 100 CM

Text 5 (exterior and interior: lid and right (west) side; figs. 21, 23c–d): Revered before Duamutef – beloved son of Re, lord of the Two Lands,⁶⁰ Thutmose, justified before Osiris, the great god.

Text 8 (exterior and interior: lid and left (east) side; figs. 21, 23a–b): Revered before Hapy – son of Re, Thutmose, who-appears-in-glory-like-Re, justified before Osiris, the great god, foremost of the westerners.⁶¹

Text 9 (exterior and interior: lid and left (east) side; figs. 21, 23a–b): Revered before Anubis who-is-in-the-embalming-place, King of Upper and Lower Egypt,⁶² Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified before Osiris, the great god, lord of life, ruler of eternity.⁶³

Text 10 (exterior and interior: lid and left (east) side; figs. 21, 23a–b): Revered before Qebah-senuf – bodily son of Re, Thutmose, who-appears-in-glory-like-Re, justified before Osiris, the great god.

Since the two long sides bear similar decoration both on the exterior and interior,⁶⁴ we will translate merely the left (east) exterior side in toto (fig. 23a).⁶⁵ We have already covered the central three inscriptions within tall cartouches that continue the inscriptions of the lid texts (8, 9 and 10). The long horizontal band across the top of the side reads:

Text 36 (exterior and interior: left (east) side; figs. 23a–b, 24): Recitation by Nut, great of beneficence: “(My) son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, lord of the ritual,⁶⁶ Aa-kheper-ka-re, bodily⁶⁷ son of Re, Thutmose-who-appears-in-glory-like-Re, offspring⁶⁸ of Geb, ruler of the two banks (i.e., of the Nile), his beloved son, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified before Osiris.

Since the well-proportioned *udjat* eyes (fig. 24) mark the location of the deceased’s head, all texts and figures on this side of the sarcophagus are oriented towards them. Thus Hapy faces south at the head end, while Anubis who-is-in-the-embalming-place and Qebah-senuf, on the other (southern) side of the eye panel, face north.

The first vertical text at the head end of the left (east) exterior side contains a speech by the sun god Re:

Text 37 (exterior and interior: left (east) side; figs. 23a–b, 24): Recitation by Re. I (have) established King Aa-kheper-ka-re over the stars.

Next comes the figure of Hapy (fig. 24), whose speech reads:

Text 39 (exterior and interior: left (east) side; figs. 23a–b, 24): Recitation by Hapy: I have come that I might be your protection, that I might bind (it) for you on your limbs, that I might smite⁶⁹ for you your enemies beneath you, when I have given you your head for eternity.

The second panel is filled with the *udjat* eyes; a similar pair of eyes carved on the left (east) interior side occupy precisely the same relative position. The black pigment on the pupils is much better preserved on the exterior than on the interior. In earlier coffins from the Middle Kingdom, the eyes occupy the first panel at the head end; by Hatshepsut’s time they have moved one panel down, closer to the foot end.⁷⁰ In



Fig. 24. General view of the left exterior side of the sarcophagus (Photograph courtesy Museum of Fine Arts, Boston).

the earlier Middle Kingdom coffins, the mummy lay on its side, with the head turned directly to the carved or painted *udjat* eyes. But by the New Kingdom, with its larger coffins, the mummy lay upon its back; thus it was less important which panel contained the *udjat* eyes, as long as they were on the east side.

The third panel contains the figure of Anubis who-is-in-the-embalming-place (fig. 24), facing north, or towards the eyes and head end. Text 40 contains his speech:

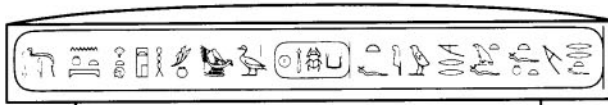
Text 40 (exterior and interior: left (east) side; figs. 23a–b, 24): Recitation by Anubis who-is-in-the-embalming-place: I have driven off the weariness of King Thutmose-who-appears-in-glory-like-Re, justified; these⁷¹ limbs of his will not be weary.

In front of the standing figure of Qebah-senuf in the fourth and final panel, is his speech, which reads:

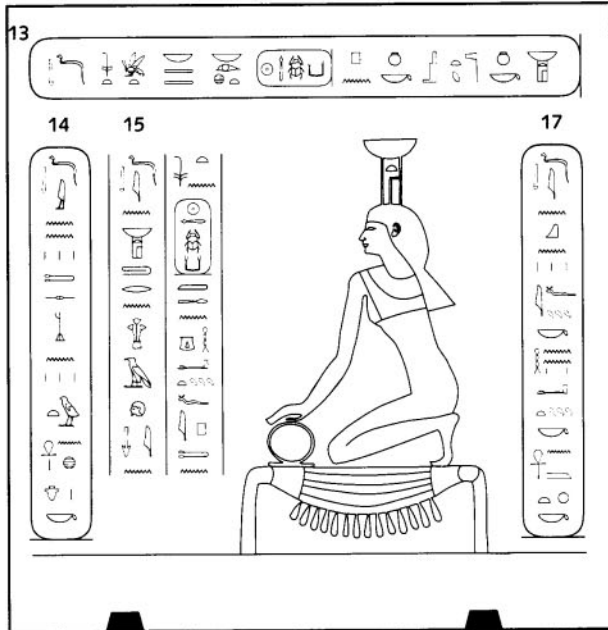
Text 41 (exterior and interior: left (east) side; figs. 23a–b, 24): Recitation by Qebah-senuf: I am Qebah-senuf; I am your son. I have come that I might be your protection, that I might unite your bones for you, that I might assemble your limbs for you, that I might bring you your heart, and put it for him⁷² in its (proper) place in your body.⁷³ I have strengthened⁷⁴ your house after you. May you live forever.

At the foot end of the left (east) exterior, behind Qebah-senuf is the final inscription of this side, a speech by the Southern Saite shrine:

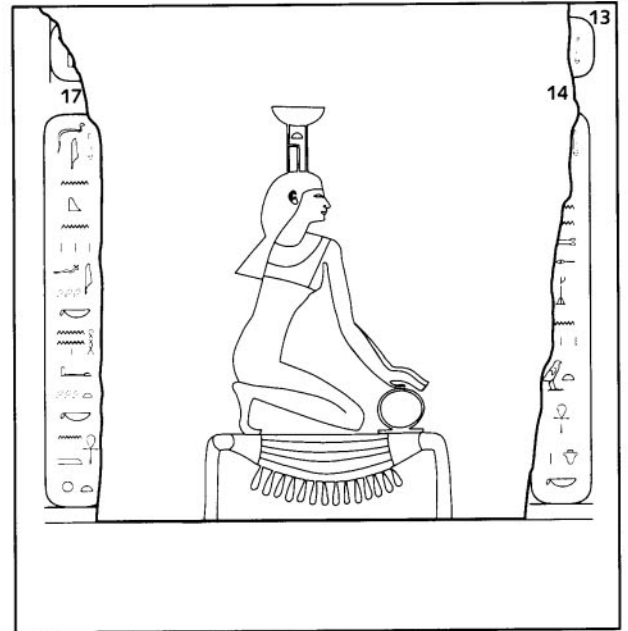
Text 43 (exterior and interior: left (east) side; figs. 23a–b, 24): Recitation by the Southern Saite shrine: I am content because of it, since I have loved King Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified.



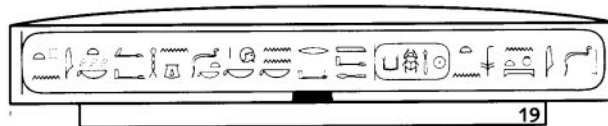
12



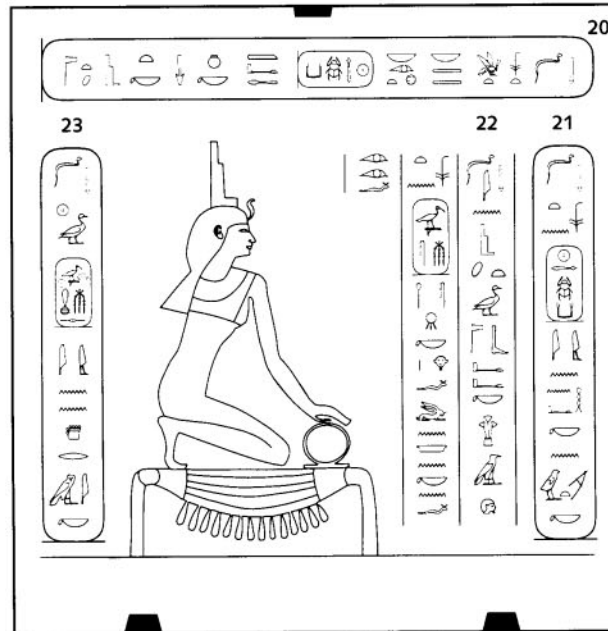
Head end, exterior



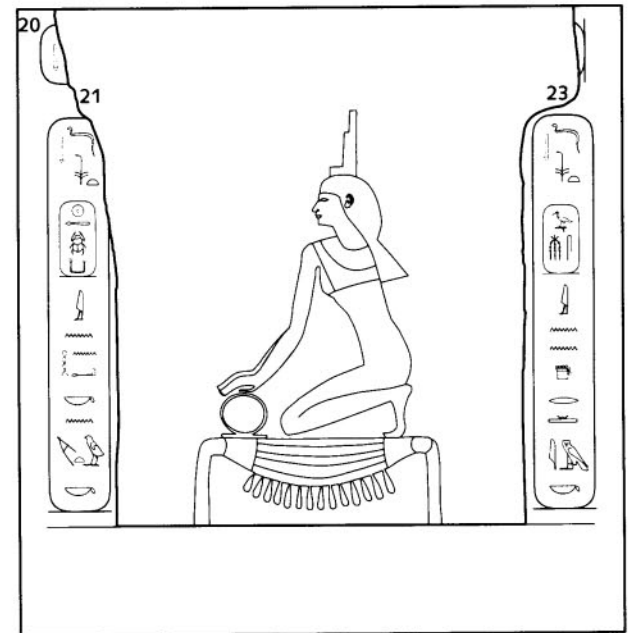
Head end, interior



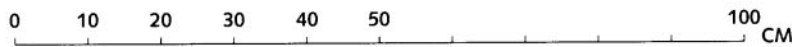
19



Foot end, exterior



Foot end, interior



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Fig. 26. Interior head end of the sarcophagus, with surface cut back to make room for the coffin of Thutmose I, and a crudely incised figure of Nephthys. (Photograph: Rus Gant.)

The short ends of the sarcophagus are decorated with inscriptions accompanying the typical kneeling figures of the goddesses Nephthys (head end) and Isis (foot end). Each wears a tight-fitting dress, and the so-called *khat* headdress. The goddesses kneel on the commonly shown *nbw* (“gold”) sign, a beaded collar which here stands for Seth, the god of chaos and enemy of his brother, the resurrection deity Osiris. Seth is thus vanquished beneath the goddesses. Both Nephthys and Isis hold a protective *šn* ring, from the verb *šni*, “to encircle,” a miniature cartouche which symbolizes the king’s control over all that the sun encircles, i.e., everything. The Isis figure on the exterior foot end is the only one to bear a royal uraeus serpent on her brow. The texts on the head end are translated below.

The horizontal band above Nephthys reads:

Text 13 (exterior: head end; interior destroyed; figs. 25, 27): Recitation: O’ this King of Upper and Lower Egypt, lord of the Two Lands, lord of the ritual, King Aa-kheper-ka-re. I am Isis; I am Nephthys.

In front of Nephthys at the east side, is a tall vertical cartouche:

Text 14 (exterior and interior: head end; figs. 25, 27): Recitation: We have come that we might raise you up, and that your heart might live.

The speech directly attributed to Nephthys fills the two vertical columns in front of the goddess:

Text 15 (exterior: head end; figs. 25, 27): Recitation by Nephthys: I have encircled my brother, King Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified; these limbs of his will not be weary.

The western edge of the head end closes with a final cartouche-enclosed speech:

Text 17 (exterior and interior: head end; figs. 25, 27): Recitation: We unite your flesh, we put your limbs in order. Live! You will not die.⁷⁵

The interior head and foot end figures are actually “second editions,” since the first versions were destroyed when the interior was hastily enlarged for the king’s coffin. That “haste” was the operative word may be seen in the quality of the figures; they are by far the crudest of the entire sarcophagus, coarsely incised towards the top and merely painted towards the bottom (see fig. 26). The best-preserved color of the entire sarcophagus survives on these figures, no doubt since they were protected on the interior. Traces of red outlines, white headdresses and cartouches, and blue collars, eyes, and eyebrows are still to be seen here. The interior figures also show the mark of a different artist (or workshop?) in that two hands are visible, where only one appears in the exterior figures (figs. 25–28). Perhaps a different crew was involved in this last-minute alteration, since it probably took place in tomb KV 20 itself, far from the original craftsmen’s atelier.

The interior floor bears the largest figure of the entire sarcophagus. A

Fig. 25. Layout of the decoration of the exterior and interior head and foot ends of the sarcophagus.



Fig. 27. Head end (left) of the sarcophagus.
(Photograph: Rus Gant.)



Fig. 28. Foot end (right) of the sarcophagus.
(Photograph: Rus Gant.)

third standing image of the goddess Nut, this time 96 cm tall, stretches her arms out in such a wide embrace around the (missing) coffin of the deceased that her arms actually change planes, extending up the left and right interior sides (see figs. 29–30). One vertical column of text is placed so close to her body that her forward foot actually interrupts the vertical column line. Appropriately for the sarcophagus floor, the earth god Geb is given the recitation:

Text 54 (floor; figs. 29–30): Recitation by Geb: As for this son of mine, Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified, whom I love, I have given him to be pure on earth⁷⁶ and effective in heaven.

The tops of the walls are among the more interesting areas of the sarcophagus (figs. 30–32). Since these surfaces did not have to be completely recarved in the redecoration process for Thutmose I, they bear their Hatshepsut version inscriptions, along with overwritten cartouches and word endings modified from feminine to masculine. In addition, the head and foot ends display texts mutilated by the last-minute widening of the sarcophagus interior to hold the wood coffin of the king (fig. 31). These texts (50–51) read:

Text 50 (top of sarcophagus wall, head end, fig. 30): Recitation: O' Geb, may your arms be around me. May you⁷⁷ illuminate (my) face, and open (my) eyes for me.

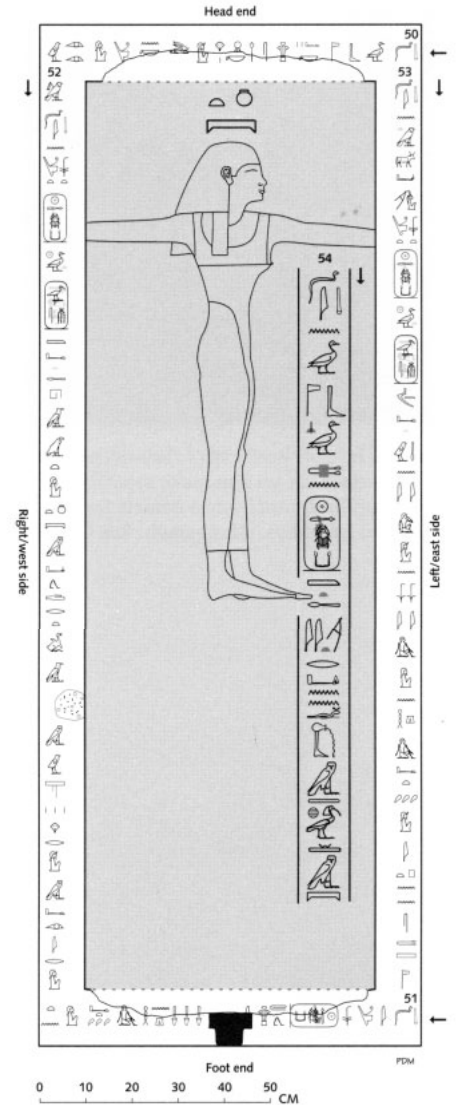


Fig. 30. Plan of the tops of the sarcophagus walls and floor decoration.

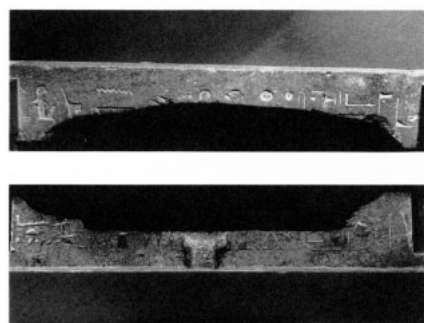
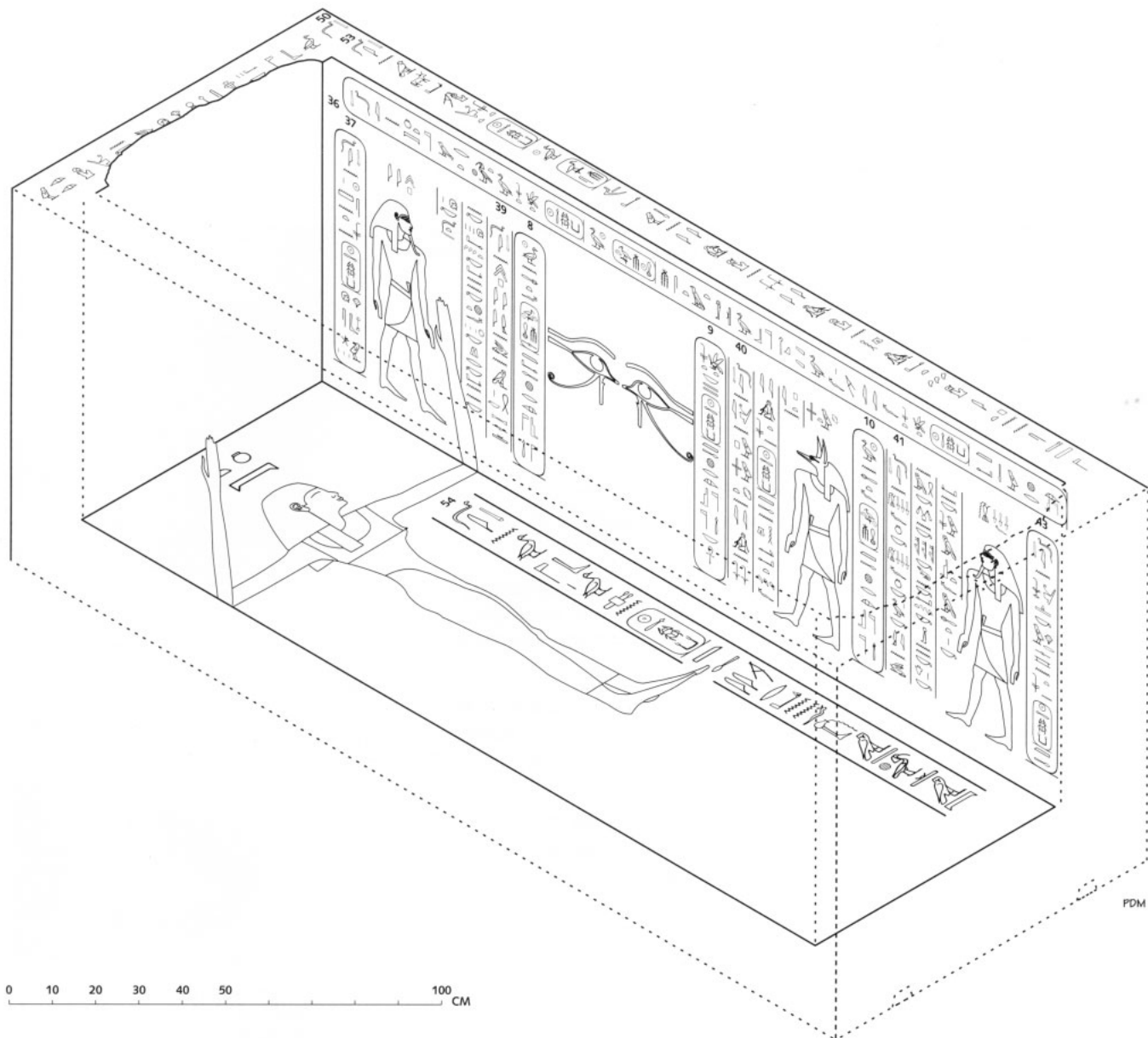


Fig. 31. Inscriptions at the head and foot ends of the top of the sarcophagus walls (texts 50–51), partially destroyed during enlargement of the interior cavity to make room for the coffin of Thutmose I. (Photographs: Rus Gant.)

Fig. 29. Computer-generated isometric rendering showing the decoration of the left (east) interior side and the floor, with the goddess Nut's arms extending up the sides of the sarcophagus to "embrace" the coffin of the deceased.

Text 51 (top of sarcophagus wall; foot end; fig. 30): Recitation by King Aa-kheper-ka-re: Surround me brothers!⁷⁸ These limbs of mine will not become weary.

Turning to the long sides, we find it is here that the drastic reduction of the thickness of the sarcophagus is most apparent, for texts 52–53 no longer occupy the center of the tops of the walls. So much has been shaved off that the texts now hug the (“new”) exterior edges of the sarcophagus. As for the modification of the inscriptions, fig. 32 shows the right (west) side (text 52) prenomen and nomen cartouches of Hatshepsut, with signs filled with a black resin, beneath those of Thutmose I. The two versions have been spatially separated in fig. 33. The long side texts 52 and 53 read:

Text 52 (top of sarcophagus wall; right (west) side; fig. 30): Recitation by Horus, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheper-ka-re, son of Re, Thutmose, justified: O’ my mother Nut, come that you might remove the bandages upon me along with him who acts against me.⁷⁹

Text 53 (top of sarcophagus wall; left (east) side; fig. 30): Recitation by the Horus, victorious bull, beloved of Maat, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-kheper-ka-re, son of Re, Thutmose, justified: I have driven off my weariness; these limbs of mine will not become weary because of Seth.

The longest and most important religious text occurs inside the sarcophagus on the interior right (west) side. One of the earliest versions of New Kingdom mortuary literature is preserved here in the form of Chapter 72 of the Book of the Dead, a series of spells for guiding the deceased through the netherworld. In most of the royal sarcophagi from Dynasty 18, this spell appears on the exterior right (west) side, and there is good reason to believe that it was once there in the original Hatshepsut version of the Boston sarcophagus decoration as well. But after Hatshepsut had ordered the sides to be shaved and their inscriptions erased, she decided to use the exterior for her dedication inscription (text I), the historical text stating her devotion to her father and her “creation” of this sarcophagus for him (figs. 19–20). Thus the Book of the Dead spell had to be moved, so that what were originally blank interior walls were inscribed in the recarving of the sarcophagus.⁸⁰ Chapter 72 was moved inside, and was accompanied by additional scenes of protective deities.

The artist has cramped a fourteen-line horizontal inscription with the spell in hieroglyphs that are much simpler, smaller, and more densely packed than those elsewhere on the object (see figs. 19, 33). There was not even room to include horizontal lines to divide one line of text from the next, as was done for the dedication inscription on the right (west) exterior (text I). The spell, now known as the “Book of going forth into the day and opening up the tomb,” (Book of the Dead Chapter 72) reads:



Fig. 32. The recarved prenomen (left) and nomen (right) of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, from the right (west) side top of the sarcophagus wall (text 52). (Photographs: Rus Gant.)



Text 30 (interior: right (west) side; figs. 33–34): (1) Recitation by King Aa-kheper-ka-re: Hail to you, owners of ka's, who are free of evil and who exist (2) forever to the end of eternity. I have gained access to you, for I am a spirit in my (own) form, and powerful in (3) my magic, and reckoned among my spirits. Rescue me from the aggression of this land of the righteous (4) and (give me?)⁸¹ my mouth, that I might speak with it. My offerings are placed in your presence, because I (5) know you, I kn[ow] your names, and I know the name of this great god (6) to whose nose you give offerings – his name is Tekem – as he gains access to the eastern horizon (7) of heaven, and as he alights in the western horizon of heaven. As he departs, so do I depart; and I flourish (8) as he flourishes. I will not be driven from the Milky Way.⁸² Rebels will have no power over me. I will not be turned back from your gates. (9) You will not seal your doors against me, because my bread is in Pe, and my beer is in Dep. (10) The excess of my arms(?) is in the temple, (the excess) which my father Atum has given to me, that he might establish for me an earthly house, (11) with barley and emmer therein without number. My festivals will be made for me there⁸³ by my (12) bodily son, and you will give me invocation offerings, incense, unguent, and every good and pure thing by which the god lives, (13) to exist and be established forever, in every form beloved of Aa-kheper-ka-re, that he might travel downstream in the Fields of (14) Reeds, and that he might reach the two fields of divine oblations. Aa-kheper-ka-re, justified, is the Double Lion (Ruty).

Some comments on the development of the sarcophagus form just prior to the New Kingdom might serve to put the Boston piece in its proper context. Egyptian sarcophagi came to emulate different elements and structures at various periods in their history. Several of



Fig. 33. Book of the Dead Chapter 72 inscribed on the right interior side of the sarcophagus (text 30) (Photograph by Rus Gant).



PDM

Fig. 34. Book of the Dead Chapter 72 in-
scribed on the right (west) interior side of
the sarcophagus (text 30).

these elements are conflated for the first time in the early eighteenth Dynasty corpus under discussion, with the Boston sarcophagus setting a developmental trend. These sarcophagi evolved out of the form of Middle Kingdom wood coffins, rectangular boxes seen as houses or shrines for the spirit. By the end of the Dynasty they developed away from the exterior simple box concept and closer towards being immediate containers for the body, incorporating elements from anthropoid coffins. Like their anthropoid counterparts, the earliest royal coffins of the eighteenth Dynasty were probably also made of wood. The original sarcophagus of Hatshepsut as queen (sarcophagus "A", fig. 5) was possibly the first stone sarcophagus of the series, and represents a translation of the form from one medium (wood) to another (stone). The transverse bands of inscriptions derive from the anthropoid coffins of the seventeenth and early eighteenth Dynasties. They represent the bandage wrappings wound around the mummy itself.⁸⁴

Sarcophagus "C" shows several innovations over the older, first sarcophagus ("A") of Hatshepsut (and the unfinished sarcophagus "B" of Thutmose II). First, the transverse lid inscriptions now continue down the sides of the sarcophagus, and second, the once empty panels between the vertical bands on the long sides of the exterior now bear decoration. This decoration takes the form of one of the four sons of Horus, of the *udjat* eyes allowing the deceased to "look out" of the sarcophagus, or of historical or religious inscriptions. The lid is rectangular, but bears, like its predecessor, sarcophagus "A," an oval cartouche on top. The rounded head end eventually takes over in subsequent sarcophagi to reflect the cartouche shape more thoroughly, and sarcophagus "C" may foreshadow this development further in the rounded widening of the short ends to fit the wood anthropoid coffin of Thutmose I (figs. 30–31). In addition, the lid of sarcophagus "C" is the first to show a convex top, a feature developed and exaggerated to a pronounced rounding in subsequent lids.

Sarcophagus "D" began to be prepared when Hatshepsut gave the order to recarve sarcophagus "C." It is larger than sarcophagus "C,"⁸⁵ and the standing deity figures are 54 cm high, compared to only 46 cm high on sarcophagus "C." The texts on sarcophagus "D" accordingly show some fuller spellings, since there is more room on the surfaces for decoration. Sarcophagus "D" is also the first in the series to show a fully rounded head end. The only area in which sarcophagus "C" surpasses "D" is in the number of inscriptions and figures, since its interior is decorated (albeit due to the redesign of the piece), while that of sarcophagus "D" is only partially so. Sarcophagus "C" has sixty-nine inscriptions with nineteen divine figures, whereas sarcophagus "D" has only fifty inscriptions with thirteen divine figures. Otherwise, both monuments contain thirty-six different magical recitations each;

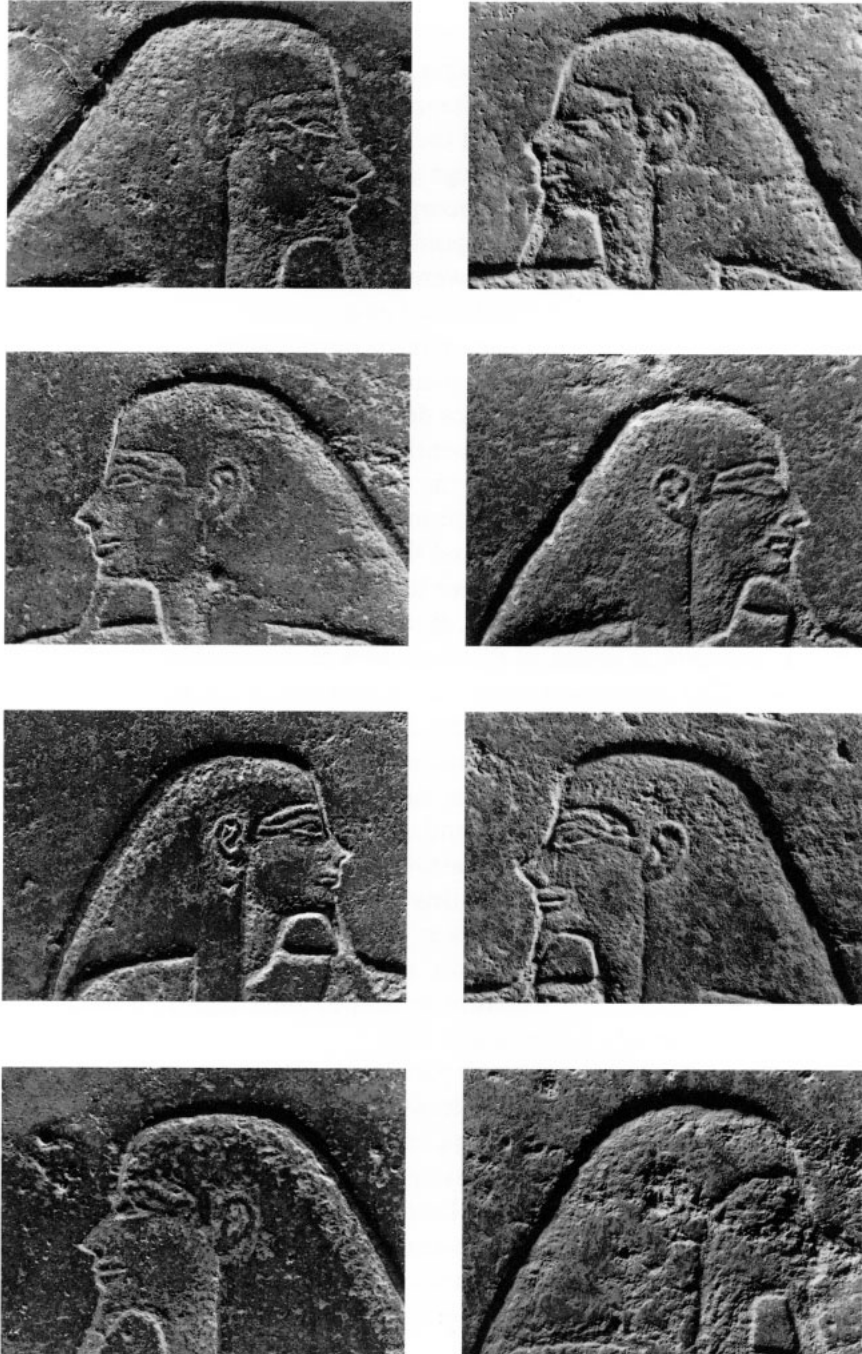


Fig. 35. Details of human-headed deities. Exterior faces are in the left column, while interior faces are in the right. The figures shown are, from top to bottom, the protective canopic deities, the four sons of Horus: Imseti (right/west side), Duamutef (right/west side), Qebeh-senuf (left/east side), and Hapy (left/east side). (Photographs: Rus Gant.)

twenty tutelary divinities are mentioned, and nine different divinities are represented.⁸⁶

The development of Hatshepsut's three stone sarcophagi also betrays her growing concern with bolstering her legitimacy on the throne. Each monument shows ever-increasing numbers of titles and epithets, a concern absent from the later sarcophagi of early Dynasty 18. Sarcophagus "A" (from Hatshepsut's cleft tomb at Wadi Sikkat Taqa el-Zeid) listed seven titles for the queen. Sarcophagus "C" has all of these except "lady of the Two Lands"; this title was eliminated in favor of six kingly epithets. On sarcophagus "D" these six kingly epithets are joined with five more.⁸⁷

In conclusion, it remains only to touch upon the stylistic features of the faces carved on the sarcophagus. Figure 35 shows details of all the male deities present on the interior and exterior of sarcophagus "C"; the best-preserved female faces of Isis and Nephthys may be seen in figs. 27–28. While these are strictly speaking not portraits of the queen (in either male or female form), such figures nevertheless do tend to take on the prevailing representational styles of the reigning monarch. Often, it takes some years into a new reign before a style can be distinguished from that of the preceding pharaoh.⁸⁸ The standing deity figures display a long cosmetic line behind the eye and a pronounced arching eyebrow. The modeling of the ears is well defined, and the lips are full. A ceremonial beard and long wig adorn each figure. The noses take a pug shape typical of early Dynasty 18. Later representations of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III tend to show much more of a bulge on the bridge of the nose.⁸⁹ In terms of determining different artistic hands for individual faces, there is apparently no discernible pattern, either between left and right sides or between the interior and exterior of the sarcophagus. The exterior figures are somewhat better carved and better preserved; in all likelihood more effort was expended in finishing and polishing the exterior surfaces. Only a few of the faces present any anomalies: the interior representation of Hapy on the left (east) side, due to its damaged condition, and those of Imseti on the right (west) interior and exterior sides, whose eyes and eyebrow modeling seem either worn away or less pronounced.

Hayes has spoken of sarcophagus "C" as representative, not of a reign, but of a period.⁹⁰ Perhaps no other monument embodies the fascinating period of early Dynasty 18 as well as the Boston sarcophagus. With its superlative craftsmanship, complex political history, and developmental and religious significance, the sarcophagus is indeed a microcosm for a dynasty on the rise to an era of prosperity and prominence.

NOTES

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1. The other two belong to Seti I (made of alabaster, in the Sir John Soane's Museum, London), and Ramesses III (made of red granite; lid in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, box in the Louvre Museum, Paris); see Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings I, The Theban Necropolis, Part 2, Royal Tombs and Smaller Cemeteries*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964), pp. 526 and 643.
2. See, for example, William Stevenson Smith, "Recent Discoveries in the Egyptian Department," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 40 (1942), pp. 48-49, fig. 10; idem, *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960), p. 118, fig. 68; W. M. Whitehill, *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. A Centennial History I* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), p. 253 with illustration on p. 254; Karol Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire* (Warsaw: Editions scientifiques de Pologne, 1976), fig. 65 (figure of Nephthys on exterior head end).
3. Theodore M. Davis et al., *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû* (London: Archibald Constable and Co., Ltd., 1906).
4. William C. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1935). From 1952 to 1963, Hayes was curator in the Department of Egyptian Art, The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
5. Hayes separated the elements of the early Dynasty 18 sarcophagi such that the resulting developmental tour de force leaves the reader without a clear overview of individual monuments. Moreover, some of his hieroglyphic hand-copies of the inscriptions are inaccurate, over-standardized, and often fail to follow the original arrangements of individual signs.
6. Given the tight quarters inside the sarcophagus (ca. 64 cm from side to side), and the fact that the modern posts holding the lid suspended 30.5 cm above the sarcophagus are fixed in place, the photographic logistics have proved a major challenge. True facsimile drawings and extensive comparative remarks on the development of the royal sarcophagi of Dynasty 18 lie outside the scope of this paper. Selected photographic views and line drawings using both digitized hand-drawn artwork and a computer-generated hieroglyphic typeface, will suffice to give an impression of the sarcophagus's decoration.

7. The authors have devoted a more extensive article to the sarcophagus in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79 (1993).
8. For the biography of Ineni, see Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV* (Berlin and Graz: J. C. Hinrichs, 1961), 57.3-5 (= line 11 of the ancient text); cf. more recently Eberhard Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni. Theben Nr. 81*, Archäologische Veröffentlichungen 68 (Mainz am Rhein: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), pp. 49-50, 54.
9. For the full titulary of Hatshepsut, see Jürgen von Beckerath, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen* (Munich: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 1984), pp. 84, and 226.
10. On the coronation of Hatshepsut, see Roland Tefnin, "L'an 7 de Touthmosis III et d'Hatshepsout," *Chronique d'Égypte* 48 (1973), pp. 232-42; Siegfried Schott, "Zum Krönungstag der Königin Hatschepsüt," *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, I Phil.-hist. Klasse* 6 (Göttingen, 1955), pp. 195-219; Jean Yoyotte, "La date supposée du couronnement d'Hatshepsout," *KEMI* 18 (1968), pp. 85-91; "William C. Hayes, Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 15 (1957), pp. 78-80.
11. On the queens Nitocris and Sobeknefru, see Christiane M. Zivie, "Nitokris," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), cols. 513-514; Jürgen von Beckerath, "Sobeknofru," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie IV* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1982), cols. 1050-1051; Alan H. Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), p. 102. On the topic of royal succession, see Barry J. Kemp, in Alan B. Lloyd et al., eds., *Ancient Egypt. A Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 218-219. For general reference works on the period, see Suzanne Ratié, *La reine Hatchepsout. Sources et problèmes* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979); Peter F. Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut, Studies in Egyptology* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1988); idem, *The Tombs of Senenmut* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1991); Christine Meyer, *Senenmut: eine prosopographische Untersuchung*, Hamburger Ägyptologische Studien 2 (Hamburg: Verlag Borg, 1982); Roland Tefnin, *La statue d'Hatshepsout*, Monumenta Aegyptiaca 4 (Brussels: Fondation Egyptologique Reine Elisabeth, 1979); idem, "L'an 7 d'Hatshepsout et de Touthmosis III," *Chronique d'Égypte* 43 (1973), pp. 232-242;

Wilfried Seipel, "Hatschepsut I.," in W. Helck and W. Westendorf, eds., *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), cols. 1045–1053; Gardiner, *Egypt of the Pharaohs*, pp. 181–189. A clear general introduction to the problems of the reign of Hatshepsut, removing some of the more romantic misinterpretations of the era, is provided by Emily Teeter, "Wearer of the Royal Uraeus: Hatshepsut," *KMT* 1 (1990), pp. 4–13, and 56–57. The same issue contains additional essays on the period by Catharine Roehrig and Dennis Forbes.

12. See Elisabeth Staehelin, "Zum Ornat an Statuen regierender Königinnen," *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 13 (1989), pp. 145–156.

13. For a discussion of this piece, see Cyril Aldred, "An Unconsidered Trifle," in W. K. Simpson and W. M. Davis, eds., *Studies in Ancient Egypt, the Aegean, and the Sudan. Essays in Honor of Dows Dunham on the Occasion of His 90th Birthday* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1981), pp. 11–13.

14. The fragment comes from the south obelisk at Karnak; see William Stevenson Smith, "Recent Discoveries in the Egyptian Department," *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 40 (1942), pp. 45–48; Edward L. B. Terrace, "The Age of Empire and Rebellion: the New Kingdom in Boston," *The Connoisseur* (September, 1968), pp. 49–56, fig. 2; William Stevenson Smith, *Ancient Egypt as Represented in the Museum of Fine Arts Boston*, 6th ed. (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1960), p. 117, fig. 67.

15. Sethe, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums IV*, 59.13–60.4 (= lines 16–17 of the ancient text); and Dziobek, *Das Grab des Ineni: Theben Nr. 81*, pp. 49–50, 54.

16. For recent discussions on Senenmut, see Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*; idem, *The Tombs of Senenmut*, and Meyer, *Senenmut: eine prosopographische Untersuchung*.

17. See Donald B. Redford, *History and Chronology of the Eighteenth Dynasty of Egypt: Seven Studies* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1967), pp. 57–87; Walter-Friedrich Reineke, "Ein Nubienfeldzug unter Königin Hatschepsut," *Ägypten und Kusch*, Schriften zur Geschichte und Kultur des Alten Orients 13 (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1977), pp. 369–376.

18. Susanne Bickel and Jean-Luc Chappaz, "Missions épigraphiques du Fonds de l'Égyptologie de Genève au Spéos Artémidos," *Bulletin de la Société d'Égyptologie Genève* 12 (1985), pp. 5–24.

19. Labib Habachi, *The Obelisks of Egypt: Skyscrapers of the Past* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press, 1984), p. 60.

20. Kenneth A. Kitchen, "Punt and How to Get There," *Orientalia* 40 (1971), pp. 184–208; Kemp, in *Ancient Egypt: A Social History*, pp. 136–137.

21. Just how soon after his accession Thutmose III began his campaign of erasures is uncertain; see C. F. Nims, "The date of the dishonoring of Hatshepsut," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 93 (1966), pp. 97–100; W. Seipel, "Hatschepsut I." in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie II* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1977), col. 1051, n. 72; idem, "Zur Verfehlung Hatschepsuts durch Thutmosis III.," *Acts of the 1st International Congress of Egyptologists* (Berlin: 1979), pp. 581–582; Meyer, *Senenmut: eine prosopographische Untersuchung*, pp. 268–270.

22. Nims, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 93, pp. 97–100. Dorman has successfully refuted the challenges of Seipel and Meyer (see preceding note) to Nims's original interpretation of the Karnak evidence for the proscription of Hatshepsut dating after Thutmose III's year 42: The Monuments of Senenmut, pp. 46–60, 180; idem, "Zur Verfolgung Hatschepsuts durch Thutmosis III.," in H. Altenmüller and R. Germer, eds., *Miscellanea Aegyptologica: Wolfgang Helck zum 75. Geburtstag* (Hamburg: Archäologisches Institut der Universität, 1989), pp. 119–126.

23. See Kurt Sethe, *Das Hatschepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht . . .* (Berlin: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1932); W. F. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1933); Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 141–146; idem, "Egypt: Internal Affairs from Thutmosis I to the Death of Amenophis III.," in *The Cambridge Ancient History II*, Part 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), chapter 9, pp. 315–322. On reassessments of royal tomb ownership, see Romer's article cited below in note 38.

24. One of the first scholars to sort out the history behind the evidence of the sarcophagus was H.E. Winlock, "Notes on the Reburial of Thutmosis I," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15 (1929), pp. 56–68.

25. Howard Carter, "A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut and Other Recent Discoveries at Thebes," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 4 (1917), pp. 107–108; and "A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut Discovered by the Earl of Carnarvon (October 1916)," *Annales du Service des Antiquités d'Égypte* 16 (1916), pp. 79–82; Nicholas Reeves and

John H. Taylor, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun* (London: British Museum Press, 1992), pp. 130–131.

26. The sarcophagus is now in Cairo, JE 47032. Both Dodson and Bradbury have argued that Hatshepsut's first sarcophagus ("A") was made after sarcophagus "B," that is, after the death of Thutmose II, but before Hatshepsut assumed sole rule; cf. Aidan Dodson, "The Tombs of the Kings of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty at Thebes," *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 115 (1988), pp. 116, 120–123; and Louise Bradbury, "Nefer's Inscription: On the Death Date of Queen Ahmose-Nefertary and the Deed Found Pleasing to the King," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 22 (1985), pp. 91, 94.

27. The best plan and section of KV 20 may be found in Kent Weeks et al., "The Berkeley Map of the Theban Necropolis, Report of the Third Season, 1980," *Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt* 113 (1980), pp. 38–39. Photographs of the interiors of both tombs KV 20 and 38 are now published by George B. Johnson, "No One Seeing, No One Hearing: KV38 & KV20: The First Royal Tombs in the Valley of the Kings," *KMT* 3 (1992–93), pp. 64–81.

28. Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography II*, 2, pp. 546–47; Davis et al., *The Tomb of Hâtshopsitû*, pp. 77–80, pl. 8; Elizabeth Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis of Thebes* (Princeton: Moorman, 1966), pp. 75–77; John Romer, *Valley of the Kings* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1981), pp. 192–195; Erik Hornung, *The Valley of the Kings* (New York: Timken Publishers, 1990), pp. 185, 209, 211; Reeves, *Valley of the Kings. The Decline of a Royal Necropolis*, pp. 13–17.

29. See Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography I*, Part 2, p. 547 ("finds"), and Erik Hornung, *Texte zum Amduat, Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 3/1987 (Basel and Geneva, 1987), p. X.

30. See Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 77–99. This makes sarcophagus "C" one of the earliest monuments of Hatshepsut as sole ruler.

31. Cf. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 146–149.

32. See below for another interpretation of tomb KV 20 being originally built for Thutmose I.

33. For a color photograph of the exterior foot end and a succinct description of sarcophagus "D," see Mohamed Saleh and Hourig Sourouzian, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo. Official Catalogue* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1987), cat. 131.

34. For notes on the architect of Hatshepsut's tomb, KV 20, whose statue is now in the Louvre, see P. E. Newberry, "A Statue of Hapu-senb: vezir of Thothmes II," *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* 22 (1900), pp. 31–36, and James Henry Breasted, *ibid.*, p. 94; *idem*, *Ancient Records of Egypt II* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1906), pp. 160–162, esp. § 389.
35. On Theodore M. Davis, see Warren R. Dawson and Eric P. Uphill, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*, 2nd ed. (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1972), pp. 78–79; Romer, *Valley of the Kings*, pp. 183–237.
36. Davis et al., *The Tomb of Hâtshopsitû*. Carter included a watercolor in the publication showing sarcophagus "D" as found, *ibid.*, pl. 9 (facing p. 78), reproduced in black and white in Romer, *Valley of the Kings*, p. 193. See also Reeves and Taylor, *Howard Carter before Tutankhamun*, pp. 78–79.
37. See the anonymous note in *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* 3 (1905), p. 13.
38. John Romer, "Tuthmosis I and the Bibân el-Molûk: Some Problems of Attribution," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60 (1974), pp. 119–133. Support for this interpretation may be found in C. Nicholas Reeves, *Valley of the Kings. The decline of a royal necropolis* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1990), pp. 13–17, and pp. 244–45, in Dodson, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 115, pp. 116, 120–123, and in Friedrich Abitz, "Die Entwicklung der Grabachsen in den Königsgräbern im Tal der Könige," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 45 (1989), pp. 1–2, who disputes the orientation of tomb KV 20 to the mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari. Interpretations that follow the earlier attribution of tomb KV 20 to Hatshepsut include Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 146–151; Winlock, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15, pp. 66–67, and Hartwig Altenmüller, "Bemerkungen zu den Königsgräbern des Neuen Reiches," *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 10 (1983), pp. 25–38.
39. In addition, Romer's arguments on the burial chamber plan and its resemblance to the Mentuhotep temple module square remain unconvincing, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 60, p. 124.
40. Note that, contra Hayes's interpretation, the completion of sarcophagus "F" predates that of sarcophagus "E"; see Christian E. Loeben, article in preparation.
41. Gaston Maspero, *Les Momies royales de Déir el-Bahari* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1889), pp. 581–82, pls. 7B, 8B; G. Elliot Smith, *The Royal Mummies* (Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale, 1912), pp. 25–28; pls. 20–22. See also J. R. Harris and E. F. Wente, "Royal Mummies of the Eighteenth Dynasty: A Biologic and Egyptological Approach," in C. Nicholas Reeves, ed., *After Tutankhamun. Research and Excavation at the Royal Necropolis at Thebes* (London: Kegan Paul International, 1992), pp. 2–20; Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, pp. 183–92.
42. Carter in Davis et al., *The Tomb of Hâtshopsitû*, p. 80.
43. On the female occupant of KV60, see Donald B. Ryan, "Who is Buried in KV 60?" *KMT* 1 (1990), pp. 58–59.
44. The lid measures 2.25 m in length by 82 cm in width and ranges from 12 to 13 cm thick. The base measures 2.25 m in length by 82 cm in width and 76.5 to 76.9 cm in height. The sarcophagus box weighs 1.4 tons, and the lid .65 tons. In 1985, several fragments of the sarcophagus were restored by Jean-Louis Lachevre, assistant conservator in the Museum of Fine Arts's Research Laboratory. Two fragments were added to the right (west) side of the top of the sarcophagus wall (beginning of text 52), three to the juncture of the right (west) and head end, and six to the undecorated left (east) side of the lid.
45. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, p. 31. See also Alfred E. Lucas and James R. Harris, *Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries*, 4th ed. (London: Histories & Mysteries of Man Ltd., 1989 reprint), pp. 62–63, 65, 60, and 418–419.
46. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pl. 2.
47. Hayes's assumption, *ibid.*, pp. 35–36. For remarks on the analysis of natural substances used on the sarcophagus, see the appendix by Richard Newman at the end of this article.
48. The hieroglyphs may once have been painted yellow in accordance with Egyptian paint conventions; see Christian E. Loeben, "Eine Bestattung der großen Gemahlin Nofretete in Amarna?" *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo* 42 (1986), p. 101, n. 23, but no traces are visible today.
49. *ibid.*, pp. 69–70. For general remarks on the layout of coffins and sarcophagi, see Henry G. Fischer, *The Orientation of Hieroglyphs, Part 1, Reversals*, *Egyptian Studies II* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1977), esp. pp. 38–40.
50. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 92–93, with fig. 25.
51. The dedicatory inscription on sarcophagus "E" is anonymous, stating that "It is his son who causes his name to live in establishing the monument of his father for the length of eternity," and "It is his son who causes his name to live, who made this monument for him, enduring for the length of eternity." See *ibid.*, p. 204, text IIa–b.
52. The numbering system used in this article for the texts was originally devised by Hayes and is retained here for the sake of consistency. Hayes laid out parallel texts side by side in his treatment of the early Dynasty 18 royal sarcophagi. Since the Boston example does not contain all texts, some of the numbers (such as text 3) will be absent from the list.
53. *ibid.*, pp. 11–12.
54. *ibid.*, pl. 19, sarcophagus "D," lid underside.
55. The original version for Hatshepsut has *M3't-k3-r'*.
56. I.e., the circumpolar stars.
57. For an interpretation of these heads as some sort of dog, rather than a jackal, see Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, p. 87.
58. The interior version has *Wsir hnty imntyw*, "Osiris foremost of the westerners."
59. The interior version has *nb t3wy*, "lord of the Two Lands," in place of *nb ir ht*.
60. The interior version has *n ht = f*, "of his body," in place of *mr = f nb t3wy*.
61. The interior version adds *n ht = f*, "of his body," after "son or Re," and omits the final epithet "foremost of the westerners."
62. The interior version has *nb t3wy*, "lord of the Two Lands," before the king's premen.
63. The interior version omits *hq3 dt*. The exterior version seems to have corrected an error of omission: the *hq3* sign has been subsequently(?) added off center to the left of the 'nh sign.
64. It is, however, interesting to note that texts 32 and 41 seem to be more correctly written on the interior of the sarcophagus than on the exterior; this could reflect the work of a more competent scribe, or a better copy of the papyrus text he worked from to inscribe the sarcophagus.
65. The authors will provide complete translations of all the sarcophagus's inscriptions in a forthcoming article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 79 (1993).

66. The interior version omits *nb t3wy nb ir(t) ht*.
67. The interior version omits *n ht = f*.
68. The interior version writes an additional *t* in *mstwt*, but this is not unusual; cf. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache II* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1971), p. 151.10–14.
69. The interior version reads *di.n = (i) n = k hftyw = k*, “when I have given you your enemies . . .”
70. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 64–66, figs. 16–19.
71. The interior version writes *iptn* instead of the *iptn* found on the exterior.
72. The interior version has the more correct *di = (i) n = k sw*, “that I might put it for you. . . .”
73. The interior version ends here.
74. It is doubtful whether the *n* of *srwd.n = (i)* is to be taken seriously here, indicating a past tense, and not as a mistake for the book-roll determinative. Additional versions of this text on the other early Dynasty 18 sarcophagi vary as to their inclusion or omission of *n*; see Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, p. 200 (text 41).
75. The passage shows a reversed *m* in *mt*, “die” (correct Hayes’s *m* in his text “c” to be reversed). The interior version omits the final pronoun *= k*, but writes the *m* in the correct orientation.
76. Because the *t3* sign is so thin, Hayes construed it as a mistaken carved bolt *s* sign, and claimed the same mistake had been made on sarcophagus “D,” proving a common source or manuscript for both sarcophagi; Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 100–102. Although it is true that the sign is thinner than a typical *t* sign, there is nevertheless no trace of the two “bumps” in the middle of the sign that make up part of the door bolt; conclusive proof that this is the bolt *s* is therefore lacking. Sarcophagus “D” has yet to be collated on this point.
77. The second person singular pronoun *= k* was destroyed in the process of widening the sarcophagus.
78. Some signs were damaged or destroyed in the process of widening the sarcophagus.
79. The same inscription may be found in text 31.
80. Among some of the interesting philological notes on the text is the full writing of the first person singular, both as divine determinative and as reed leaf; the negatival use of two water signs instead of the hanging arms; and good Middle Egyptian use of resumptive pronouns.
81. See Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead* (New York: Macmillan, 1985), p. 72.
82. On this heavenly and funerary place name, see Erman and Grapow, *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache II*, p. 149.15–16.
83. This phrase may be a case of telescoping of two *i*’s into one, or should alternatively be read as *r n = i m n*.
84. In the case of Tutankhamun’s mummy, the wrappings actually contain the recitations translated above; see Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen II* (New York: George H. Doran, 1927), pp. 83–84, pl. 27A, and Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 80–81, fig. 14.
85. The measurements of sarcophagus “D” are L: 245 cm; W: 88 cm; total H with lid in place: 100 cm; H of sarcophagus: 86.5 cm. These measurements were taken by Hayes, who gives additional dimensions in *Royal Sarcophagi*, p. 162.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 102–103. The smashed and fragmentary sarcophagus of Hatshepsut’s chief steward, Senenmut, from his upper tomb (TT 353) was also manufactured in the same atelier, and bears close resemblance to sarcophagus “D.” This sarcophagus is in The Metropolitan Museum of Art, no. 31.3.95, 65.274, 1971.206, and has been recently reconstructed; see Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, pp. 106–108, 154–155, 173, *idem*, *The Tombs of Senenmut*, pp. 70–76, pls. 30–34; and William C. Hayes, “The Sarcophagus of Senenmut,” *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 36 (1950), pp. 19–23.
87. See Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 102–103.
88. For physiognomy of Hatshepsut’s husband and predecessor, Thutmose II, see Luc Gabolde, “La chronologie du règne de Thoutmosis II, ses conséquences sur la datation des momies royales et leur répercussions sur l’histoire du développement de la Vallée des Rois,” *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 14 (1987), pls. 2–3, and Günter Dreyer, “Eine Statue Thutmosis’ II. aus Elephantine,” *Festschrift Wolfgang Helck*, *Studien zur altägyptischen Kultur* 11 (1984), pls. 19–22.
89. Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, pls. 17–31 for early Thutmosid representations with similar pug noses.
90. Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 136–137.