

The Sacred Scents

Examining the Connection Between the *'ntjw* and *sft* in the Context of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty Temples

KATARZYNA KAPIEC

Abstract: On the inner north wall of the Southern Room of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari there is a depiction of the so-called frieze of objects, arranged in two rows. In the upper one vessels with oils containing four out of the so-called seven sacred oils and *'ntjw* were located. It can be observed that in the sequence of the oils from the 'seven sacred oils', the third one – *sft* – has been replaced by *'ntjw* and the two last oils are not depicted at all. In this paper the possible reasons for such a replacement as well as the role of both aromatic substances in the temple ritual in the early Eighteenth Dynasty are examined.

Keywords: *'ntjw*, *sft*, 'seven sacred oils', Southern Room of Amun, Temple of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari, early Eighteenth Dynasty, temple ritual

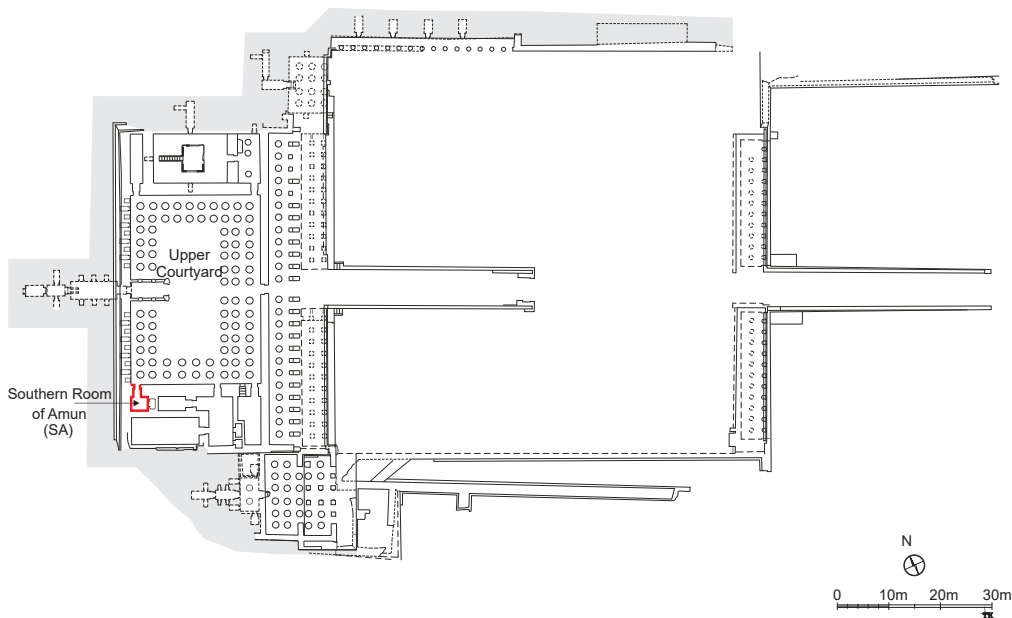
Katarzyna Kapiec, Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures, Polish Academy of Sciences, Warszawa; k.kapiec@poczta.onet.pl

The starting point for this paper is the decoration of the Southern Room of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (**Fig. 1**), and the oils depicted there in the so-called frieze of objects (**Fig. 2**). The following scenes have been represented on the walls of this room: offerings of oils performed by Hatshepsut for Amun-Kamutef (west and east walls),¹ offerings of two different kinds of linen performed by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III for Amun-Re (double scene on the south wall)² and scene of embracing Hatshepsut and Amunet on the east side of the north inner wall.³ The scene that is the subject of this paper is located on the same wall, just above the lintel. It is arranged in two rows. In the upper one there are vases with oils, grouped in three. In the second row there are five chests with sloping lids containing various kinds of linen. An inscription labelling the content of the

¹ Naville 1906: Pls CXXXI–CXXXII.

² Naville 1906: Pl. CXXXIII; Sankiewicz 2011: Fig. 8. Figure of Hatshepsut on the west wall was replaced by an offering table during Thutmose III's sole rule (see: Naville 1906: Pl. CXXXII).

³ Naville 1906: Pl. CXXX.



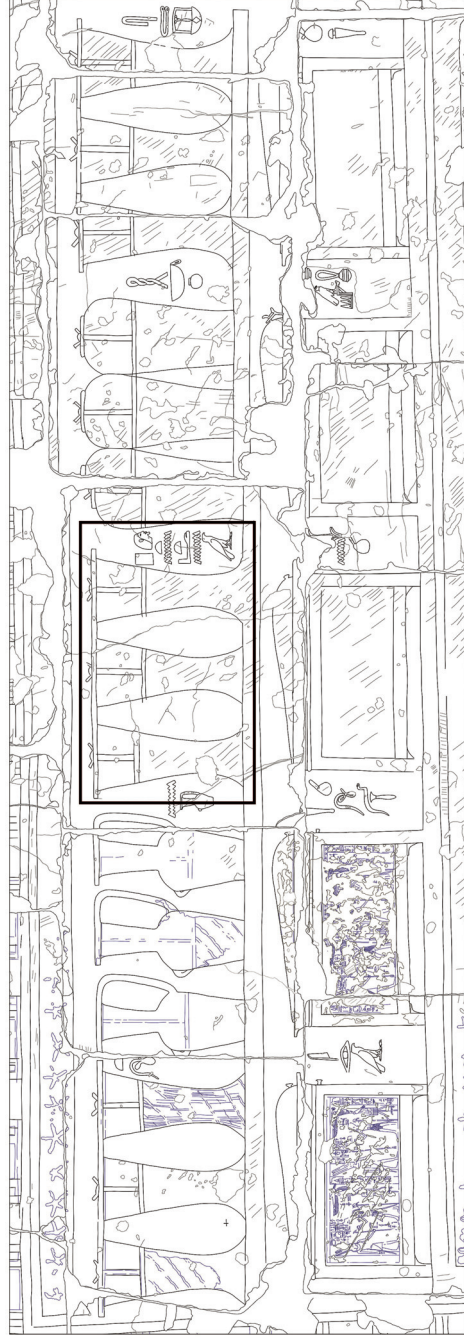
1. Plan of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari with marked Southern Room of Amun (Drawing: T. Dziezic; processing: K. Kapiiec).

vases and chests is found next to each group of vases and each chest. In the upper row, there are four oils and *'ntjw*. The oils represented here come from the set of the so-called seven sacred oils,⁴ which canonically consists of the following ointments: *stj-ḥb*, *ḥknw*, *sft*, *nḥnm*, *tw3.wt*, *ḥ3t.t n.t š* and *ḥ3t.t n.t ḥnw*. The oils represented in the Southern Room of Amun are identified as: *stj-ḥb*, *ḥknw*, *tp.t n.t 'ntjw*, *nḥnm* and *tw3.wt*. Therefore, it can be observed that in the Southern Room of Amun, the third oil – *sft* – from the ‘seven sacred oils’ is replaced with *'ntjw* and two last oils are not depicted at all. The Southern Room of Amun seems to preserve the only occurrence of this change. Sometimes *'ntjw* could be added to the sequence of the ‘seven sacred oils’, at the end⁵ or even in the middle of the sequence,⁶ but it could not have been exchanged with any of the oils whenever the sequence of the seven oils is mentioned. In the case under discussion from the Temple of Hatshepsut, the classical sequence of oils, invented as early as the Fifth Dynasty, is, however, disturbed.

⁴ The so-called seven sacred oils were chosen from among many others and incorporated into the offering list during the Fifth Dynasty (Barta 1963: 47); they appear in the *Pyramid Texts* (§§ 50b–51c, spells 72–76), and the *Coffin Texts* (VII 134a–j, spell 934). Moreover, they are frequently represented in Old and Middle Kingdom tombs’ decoration (funerary processions, so-called friezes of objects etc.); for more information, see: Koura 1999: 29–50.

⁵ Bissing 1904: 140–143 (CG 18662–77); Willems 1996: 56–79, 83–88, 393–403, Pl. 16; Koura 1999: 38. On the coffin CG 28004 *'ntjw* and *sft* are depicted together; see: Kanawati 1982: Pl. 17.

⁶ Junker 1940: 171, Pl. 31c.



2. 'Frieze of objects' in the Southern Room of Amun (Phot. M. Jawornicki, drawing: K. Kapiec).

In searching for a reason of this change, it is worth examining the *'ntjw* and *sft* and their role in the temple ritual in the early Eighteenth Dynasty temples. Two tables given below (**Tab 1** and **2**) show occurrences of those two products in the temples dating to the reigns from Hatshepsut to Amenhotep III. Other oils depicted in the 'frieze of objects' in the Southern Room of Amun are briefly discussed below to present the context of the replacement.

• *'ntjw*

GENERAL INFORMATION

'ntjw, or more precisely *tp.t n.t 'ntjw*⁷ as it is called in the aforementioned 'frieze of objects', is usually identified with myrrh⁸ (Lat. *Commiphora*)⁹ or frankincense,¹⁰ specifically as a gum-resin from the incense trees (Lat. *Boswellia*).¹¹ The exact identification of the substance is, however, a matter of controversy among the scholars.¹² In order to show how difficult it is to conclude in this matter, it should be mentioned that the ancient Egyptians most likely used one single term for both species or simply confused them.¹³

'ntjw was brought to Egypt from Punt already at the beginning of Fourth Dynasty. The first attestation comes from the so-called valley temple of the Bent Pyramid of Snefru at Dahshur.¹⁴ It is also explicitly mentioned as a Puntite product on the Palermo stone.¹⁵ Although some sources describe *'ntjw* as a substance imported also from the Levantine region (the *Annals* of Thutmose III),¹⁶ most scholars believe that it is not a proof that these trees actually grew there, but it is rather an indication of trade routes, and the product in question could have been brought to Egypt through the Arabian Peninsula and then the Levant.¹⁷

⁷ Baum 1999: 438–439.

⁸ E.g. Ebbell 1937; Faulkner 1962: 44; Helck 1963: 708–709; Allen 1974: 40, 47, 81, 100, 140, 149, 212; Germer 1979: 63; 1985: 106–107; 2002: 94–101; 2008: 230–232; Ghalioungui 1987: 32; Baum 1994: 17; 1999: 421–443.

⁹ Serpico 2000: 439–442.

¹⁰ *Wb* I, 206; Gardiner 1956: 537; Lefebvre 1956: 72.

¹¹ Serpico 2000: 438–439.

¹² For this discussion, see: Lucas 1937: 27–29; Chassinat 1968: 217; Dixon 1969: 59–60; Hepper 1969: 70; Baum 1994: 17; 1999: 421–443; Edel 1996: 202–203; Nunn 1997: 158, 217; Manniche 1999: 26–28; Manzo 1999: 8; Serpico 2000: 442; Germer 2002: 94–101; 2008: 45; El Awady 2009: 255–256; Diego Espinel 2017: 24–25.

¹³ Manniche 1999: 26, 28; Germer 2008: 45.

¹⁴ Edel 1996: 202–203, Fig. 1; Diego Espinel 2017: 25.

¹⁵ PS v. IV.1; see: Wilkinson 2000: 168.

¹⁶ *Urk.* IV, 706, 11.

¹⁷ Dixon 1969: 55, n. 5; Germer 1985: 107; Raven 1990: 8; Diego Espinel 2017: 27, 33–34. Moreover, according to the sources from the Ptolemaic times, there were various kinds of *'ntjw* available in Egypt, at least during that period. Texts from Edfu and (upper Egyptian) Athribis enumerate fourteen of them (Manniche 1999: 27–28). It is possible that some of them were imported from the Levant to serve

From the Old Kingdom onwards this resin became a valuable product, as is evidenced in the ritual texts and decoration of temples and tombs.¹⁸

In the textual sources (e.g. the *Pyramid Texts*¹⁹ and the *Coffin Texts*²⁰) the well-known aromatic properties of 'ntjw are primarily emphasised. In the *Coffin Texts* there are statements such as 'my nose is full of (the scent of) 'ntjw',²¹ 'ntjw and incense, with which the gods live'.²² Another passage from the *Coffin Texts* reads: 'I wish I could breathe with the air full of 'ntjw'.²³ In the treasury in Karnak, 'ntjw is mentioned as a 'scent of the God's Land' (Punt).²⁴ In these references 'ntjw appears as a product which emitted a very pleasant scent. It is described as so exceptional that it was associated with the divine sphere. The divine aspect is also underlined in the origins of the 'ntjw in Punt – the God's Land. Its recalling in the funerary texts might be connected with the creation of the sacred space.²⁵ The same aspect is found in the *Book of the Dead*, usually in the context of anointing the dead.²⁶

In the reliefs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty temples 'ntjw is represented as an oil/ointment in the offering scenes or as a burned product in the fumigation scenes. It can be depicted in different layouts and take various forms: fresh or incense as pellets (**Tab. 1:** 18, 20, 30, 32, 36), as incense in censer (**Tab. 1:** 20, 29, 32), as oil/ointment in closed (**Tab. 1:** 17, 35) or open *b3s*-vases (**Tab. 1:** 12, 18, 28, 30, 36). Fresh 'ntjw occurs mainly in texts in the connection to Punt (as its source; **Tab. 1:** 9, 10, 13, 22). In iconography it is depicted only once in Deir el-Bahari temple, in the Southern Middle Portico, just after the sequence representing an expedition to Punt (**Tab. 1:** 12). The processed product, used in the temple ritual (see below), can be formed as pellets or as an oil/ointment.

Unique representations of the 'ntjw-trees are attested in the Southern Middle Portico of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (**Tab. 1:** 2, 7, 8, 10, 11); it is also shown as piles of red clumps in the same portico and in the 'ntjw-treasury in Karnak, the one built by Thutmose III (**Tab. 1:** 11, 27).²⁷

as a replacement for the best 'ntjw from Punt. The main argument in this hypothesis is the fact that 'ntjw seems to be used quite often in a private and a temple context and the amounts brought from Punt could have been insufficient.

¹⁸ Diego Espinel 2017: 26–27, n. 82. Apart from the ritual and medicine context (see below notes 28, 29), the 'ntjw-resin was used as a perfume in unguent to be applied on the skin (Davies 1943: Pl. LXXVI; Manniche 1999: 94–95).

¹⁹ *PT* 318, § 512a-b; 347, § 563a.

²⁰ *CTI*, 204f (spell 47); II, 49b (spell 84); III, 112i (spell 194), 135h (spell 203), 238a (spell 225); IV, 183b (spell 334); V, 37f-i (spell 374); VI, 213a (spell 594), 284r (spell 660); VII, 134h (spell 934), 169l (spell 954), 226w (spell 1011), 248lr (spell 1028).

²¹ *CTV*, 37f-i (spell 374).

²² *CTVI*, 284r (spell 660).

²³ *CTVI*, 213a (spell 594).

²⁴ Lacau 1952: 192 = *Urk.* IV, 853, 12.

²⁵ Sauneron 1952: 2, 23, 30, 43.

²⁶ Spells 30b, 40b, 99c, 125c, 148a, 149k, 189h; see: Allen 1974: 40, 47, 81, 100, 140, 149, 212.

²⁷ *Urk.* IV, 853, 8–12; Lacau 1952: 185–198; Arnold 1962: 81; *PM II*², 93; Awad 2002: 23.

'*ntjw* occurs sometimes together with other sacred oils and very often with *sntr*.²⁸ Apart from its well-known aromatic properties, it was also used in medicine.²⁹ Moreover, it was one of the ingredients of other oils, for instance *hknw* or *md.t*,³⁰ also popular ointments. The '*ntjw* of the best quality seems to have been used mainly in temple context and its availability was restricted, probably due to the limited access to it. The importance of this product is emphasised by the existence of the already mentioned separate treasuries for it built in Karnak, by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III respectively. In the inscriptions from these monuments it is specified that the purpose of the buildings was to store the '*ntjw* from the God's Land, as Punt was often described.³¹

TEMPLE CONTEXT

In the Eighteenth Dynasty temples (up to the reign of Amenhotep III) '*ntjw* appears in various contexts (**Tab. 1**). The largest source of information on the origins of that product from Punt is the Southern Middle Portico in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (**Tab. 1**: 2–16).

In the ritual context, the '*ntjw* appears in the sequence of libation, anointing, offering eye-paints and clothing (**Tab. 1**: 1, 18–20, 28–32, 34–36). It appears twice in the Ritual of Ancestors,³² which Nikolaus Tacke incorporates to the Offering Ritual.³³ The first occurrence comes from the episode 19³⁴ which is entitled 'censing with '*ntjw*'. This episode is known from the p. Turin (CGT 54041) and a scene in Ramesses III's temple at Medinet Habu.³⁵ In the latter case,³⁶ the king and Amun-Re are represented, between them there are two stands for burning the incense and an offering table. The king holds a censer in one hand while pulling the other one towards the stand. Above the stands, there is a fragmentarily preserved text which can be read as 'causing censing with '*ntjw*'. The text refers to the act of burning '*ntjw*, emphasising the purification and regeneration aspects as well as the presentation of the offerings. Tacke states that this episode separated the parts of the ritual performed in front of the temple from more sacred sections.³⁷ After burning the '*ntjw* the sacred atmosphere was created to enable the connection with the divine sphere. This fact corresponds to the emphasis of the '*ntjw*-fragrance in other textual sources (see above). Moreover, the text refers to the mythological inundation of the Nile, which corresponds to the association of Hathor with '*ntjw*. Hathor is described in the texts as the 'Lady of '*ntjw*'

²⁸ Koura 1999: 208–215.

²⁹ E.g. pEbers 91, 95, 112, 116, 130, 140, 145, 155, 198, 209, 258, 299, 336, 339, 357, 367–368, 377, 387, 391, 424, 444–445, 447, 491, 529, 545, 564, 594, 613–614, 637, 649, 650–652, 656–657, 663, 679, 688, 708, 735, 792 (according to the numeration adopted in Ghalioungui 1987).

³⁰ Dixon 1969: 31; Koura 1999: 214; Manniche 1999: 37–41, 43–45.

³¹ *Urk.* IV, 853, 8–12; Lacau 1952: 192; Awad 2002: 23.

³² Nelson 1949: 230.

³³ Tacke 2013a: 98–99, 130–131; 2013b: 99–102, 123–125.

³⁴ Numeration according to Nelson 1949.

³⁵ This episode comes from the middle section of the presentation of the food offerings; see: Nelson 1949: 230.

³⁶ *Epigraphic Survey* 1940: Pl. 242.

³⁷ Tacke 2013b: 100.

and she appears in the myth of the *Return of the Distant One* linked with the inundation.³⁸ In another version of this myth,³⁹ the content of the *b3s*-vases is recalled. It is connected with the efflux of the goddess (Bastet in this case), giving the protection to the king when applied on his skin. According to the interpretation of Jens Blach Jørgensen,⁴⁰ this might be treated as a counterweight for the negative influence of menstrual blood, having a calming effect on the goddess. The purity obtained by the anointing might emphasise this connection. As mentioned above, *'ntjw* as an oil or ointment was always depicted in the *b3s*-vases. Following this interpretation, the red colour of *'ntjw* clumps may be connected with blood as well. Furthermore, *'ntjw* was associated with cult of other goddesses – Mut and Tefnut (see **Tab. 1:** 36–38), who appear in the same myth.

In the Ritual of Ancestors, *'ntjw* appears for the second time in episode 24, known from p. Turin (CGT 54041) and p. Chester Beatty IX (BM 10689).⁴¹ This episode is the penultimate section of the presentation of the food offerings and concerns burning the *'ntjw*. The text once again refers to the regeneration aspects of the substance in question.

'ntjw was usually offered by the king to the gods,⁴² but there is one example, where the god ensures the king that he would provide him with *'ntjw* (see **Tab. 1:** 31).

• *Sft*

GENERAL INFORMATION

The first attestation of this product dates back to the Second Dynasty, or more precisely to the reign of Khasekhemui.⁴³ Since then, *sft* appears frequently, mainly in tomb contexts due to its occurrence in the offering list. This oil was identified as a product made from the *š*-tree resin (probably Lat. *Cilicica Abies*),⁴⁴ imported from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean Sea.⁴⁵ The term *sft* was also used to designate the resin alone.⁴⁶ The name of the product does not have any specific meaning.

Textual sources underline the healing⁴⁷ and aromatic properties of this substance.⁴⁸ Moreover, the *sft*-oil is attested in funerary rituals, as an oil essential in the hereafter.⁴⁹ As one

³⁸ Graves-Brown 2010: 168–171.

³⁹ Jørgensen 2015: 135–145.

⁴⁰ Jørgensen 2015: 143–144.

⁴¹ Nelson 1949: 230; Tacke 2013a: 130–131; 2013b: 123–125.

⁴² Brunner 1977: Pls 133 (room XIX/125), 160 (room XVIII/162).

⁴³ Lacau, Lauer 1959: Pl. 10.51; Koura 1999: 177.

⁴⁴ Helck 1963: 702; Germer 1979: 16; 1985: 7; 2008: 48–49, 233; Manniche 1999: 28.

⁴⁵ *Urk.* IV, 718, 7, 722, 11; Germer 1979: 12; 1985: 7; Lucas, Harris 1989: 319; Raven 1990: 8; Serpico 2000: 431–433.

⁴⁶ Germer 1979: 16–18; Manniche 1999: 28.

⁴⁷ E.g. pEbers 75, 77, 90, 114, 124, 209, 246, 449, 473, 487, 491, 519, 522, 535, 541, 544, 546, 617, 652, 679, 719, 807 (according to the numeration in Ghalioungui 1987); Germer 1979: 18–19; 2002: 65–66.

⁴⁸ Manniche 1989: 64–65; 1999: 28.

⁴⁹ Koura 1999: 84–88, 177–180.

of the ‘seven sacred oils’, *sft* appears in the sequences where these oils are mentioned, for instance in the *Pyramid Texts*.⁵⁰ It is attested in a similar context in the *Coffin Texts*.⁵¹ Worth noting is that in spell 845 (CT VII, 49a-e) *sft* is mentioned together with the *md.t*-oil, the one which demanded ‘*ntjw* as one of its ingredients.’⁵²

Sft, as a resin as well as an oil, was used in the mummification process. In the form of the resin it was applied as reinforcement, an adhesive. When mentioned in the ritual texts as an oil, its aromatic properties are underlined. Burning resin in the place of an incense was also practiced during the funerary rites.⁵³

In the iconography, *sft* appears usually in the funerary context: in the processional scenes with offering bearers who are carrying the tomb endowment⁵⁴ or in a group of offerings needed for the deceased. In the latter case it could be depicted in various ways: on the walls of the burial chamber,⁵⁵ beside the false doors,⁵⁶ or in the so-called friezes of objects (late Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom).⁵⁷ In the temple context, it is depicted in the sequence of the ‘seven sacred oils’.⁵⁸ Usually it is represented as being inside the *hnm*-vase – the one with a long neck and vertical handle. This remark concerns the general manner of depicting this oil. It is different for the early Eighteenth Dynasty temples’ context as it can be observed in **Tab. 2**. At that time *sft* was mainly represented in the *b3s*-vases, open or closed. The accompanying inscription provides the information about the content of the vessel.⁵⁹

There is no direct depiction of *sft* without a vase showing the product itself. It can only be assumed that it could have been delivered in red-brownish clumps as the gum of the ‘š-tree, which is represented in the tomb of Rekhmira (TT 100), in the scene of presenting the tribute from Syria.⁶⁰

The existence of the *sft* is also attested among the burial equipment. There are a number of travertine vases still containing traces of oil or resin, some of them in this particular form in which *sft* was usually represented. The significant role of the ‘seven sacred oils’ in the funerary sphere is also emphasised by the common finds of slabs for these products among the tomb equipment.⁶¹

As the *sft* is one of the ‘seven sacred oils’, it is sometimes difficult to separate it and define its own properties. These oils were mentioned together as an essential group of products used during the rituals.

⁵⁰ *PT* 74, § 51a.

⁵¹ *CT* VII, 49a-e (spell 845), 134b (spell 934), 138f (spell 936).

⁵² *Urk.* IV, 503, 8–11; for the ingredients of the *md.t*-oil see: Manniche 1999: 44–45.

⁵³ Koch 1990: 60a; Raven 1990: 11–12, 16.

⁵⁴ E.g. Kanawati, Aber-Raziq 2004: Pl. 54.

⁵⁵ Kanawati *et al.* 2011: Pl. 101.

⁵⁶ Mysliwiec *et al.* 2004: Pls XVIII, LIc; 2010: Pl. XCIII, Fig. 54.

⁵⁷ Willems 1988.

⁵⁸ Brunner 1977: Pls 164, 167; Naville 1901: Pl. CIX.

⁵⁹ Type D according to Jéquier 1921: 144.

⁶⁰ Davies 1943: Pl. XXI; Helck 1963: 702; Lucas, Harris 1989: 320.

⁶¹ E.g. *Brooklyn Museum*: inv. no. 31.796; *British Museum*: inv. no. EA29421; Taylor, Strudwick 2005: 158–159.

EARLY EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE CONTEXT

While Harold H. Nelson stated that the ‘scenes depicting the use of myrrh are unusual’,⁶² the occurrences of *sft* in the temple context are far more uncommon (see **Tab. 2**). *Sft* is never depicted outside of the context of the ‘seven sacred oils’; even if the list is incomplete, it never appears alone, always in the sequence of at least three products (**Tab. 2**: 1, 3–6). It does not play its own role in the temple ritual, but it is treated collectively with other oils. In the early Eighteenth Dynasty temple context, *sft* appears mostly together with other oils as an accompanying oil placed on the offering table in the main scene of offering of *md.t* (**Tab. 2**: 3–6). An unique representation of the offering of the seven oils, including *sft*, is attested in the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the temple at Deir el-Bahari in the procession of the offering bearers (**Tab. 2**: 1), that was inspired by the decoration of the offering rooms of the Old Kingdom pyramid temples and private tombs.⁶³

- *Stj-hb*

This oil is for the first time attested by the end of the Third Dynasty⁶⁴ and was in use until Ptolemaic times.⁶⁵ The meaning of its name is ‘the scent of the festival’.⁶⁶ According to the sources from the Edfu temple, it was made as a mixture of different seeds, frankincense and flowers.⁶⁷ In the *Pyramid Texts*, *stj-hb* together with the *md.t*-oil are mentioned in the context of healing the eye of Horus.⁶⁸ In the *Coffin Texts* it appears in a similar context,⁶⁹ as well as in the *Book of the Dead*.⁷⁰ On the west wall of the Southern Room of Amun, there is an offering scene, where originally Hatshepsut was presenting *stj-hb* and *hknw* to Amun-Kamutef.⁷¹ Similar offering scenes, where *stj-hb* and other oils from the ‘seven sacred oils’ are presented to Amun, are attested in the treasury of *'ntjw* in Karnak⁷² and in the Luxor temple (**Tab. 2**: 3–6).⁷³

⁶² Nelson 1949: 223.

⁶³ Stupko-Lubczyńska 2017: 223–246.

⁶⁴ Koura 1999: 36, 155.

⁶⁵ Koura 1999: 157.

⁶⁶ *TLA*: lemma no. 149100.

⁶⁷ Manniche 1999: 108.

⁶⁸ *PT* 72, § 50b.

⁶⁹ *CT* VII, 134a, 138c.

⁷⁰ Spell 145b; Allen 1974: 129; Dorman 1991: 121.

⁷¹ Naville 1906: Pl. CXXXII.

⁷² Koura 1999: 156–157 (together with other oils from the list of the ‘seven sacred oils’); Lacau 1952: 193–198.

⁷³ Room XVIII/166, 169 (among five oils from the list of the ‘seven sacred oils’), XIX/100 (together with *hknw* and *'ntjw*); Brunner 1977: 53, 63–64, Pls 117, 164, 167; Koura 1999: 156.

• *Hknw*

Hknw was one of the most popular oils in ancient Egypt throughout. It is known since the Predynastic times, being attested the whole dynastic period up to the Coptic times. In the self-presentation of Herkhuf (Sixth Dynasty) it is described as a natural product brought from foreign lands.⁷⁴ Peter Kaplony and Kurt Sethe argued that the name of this oil is connected with the verb ‘to praise’.⁷⁵ *Hknw* is mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts*,⁷⁶ the *Coffin Texts*⁷⁷ and the *Book of the Dead*.⁷⁸ It was also used in the medicine.⁷⁹ A detailed recipe carved on the wall of one of the rooms in the temple of Edfu reveals that *hknw* was made of ‘*ntjw*, the so-called ‘*b*-resin, identified as styrax, and acacia seeds.⁸⁰ It was an universal oil, very popular, often mentioned not only together with the ‘seven sacred oils’ but also with many others (Tab. 2: 3–6).⁸¹

• *Nhnm*

The *nhnm*-oil is attested for the first time in the Fifth Dynasty.⁸² The meaning of its name is ‘reunion’.⁸³ According to the recent chemical analyses of the content of the Middle Kingdom’s alabaster pot with the inscription of this oil’s name on the vessel’s cover, this product might have been made of the pine resin.⁸⁴ In the Ptolemaic sources *nhnm* is described as an oil made of wood pitch, pine and bitumen.⁸⁵ Apart from the attestations in the *Pyramid Texts*⁸⁶ and the *Coffin Texts*,⁸⁷ it was used in the mummification process.⁸⁸ *Nhnm* almost always appears in the connection with the ‘seven sacred oils’ (Tab. 2: 4–6) and seems to have had no separate use.

⁷⁴ *Urk.* I, 127, 1.

⁷⁵ Koura 1999: 175; *TLA*: lemma no.110800.

⁷⁶ *PT* 73, § 50c; 301, §§ 453–454.

⁷⁷ *CT* IV, 183b–e (mentioned together in group with *stj-hb* and ‘*ntjw*’); VII, 134c–d, 138b, 169l–n.

⁷⁸ Spells 134, 145g; Allen 1974: 110, 130.

⁷⁹ pEbers 813 (according to the numeration in Ghalioungui 1987).

⁸⁰ Dümichen 1879: 97–123; Chassinat 1931: 162,9–164,6; Baum 1999: 437, 442–443; Manniche 1999: 37–41.

⁸¹ Koura 1999: 173–175.

⁸² Saleh, Sourouzián 1987: 58; Koura 1999: 171.

⁸³ It is worth noting that in the name of the oil there is a sign of a jar (type D according to Jéquier 1921: 144), which can be read as *hnm* (G W9, *TLA*: lemma no.123410), and this oil is represented here in the Southern Room of Amun in this very kind of vessel. It is not a rule though as it could be depicted in other types of vessels as well. For instance, in the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the same temple this oil is represented in a globular jar (Naville 1901: Pl. CIX).

⁸⁴ Hamm, Bleton, Tchaplá 2004: 240–241.

⁸⁵ Manniche 1999: 108.

⁸⁶ *PT* 75, § 51b.

⁸⁷ *CT* VII, 134e, 138d.

⁸⁸ Koura 1999: 172.

- *Tw3.wt*

Tw3.wt is the last oil depicted in the so-called frieze of objects in the Southern Room of Amun. For the first time it is attested in the Fifth Dynasty, being already incorporated in the set of the 'seven sacred oils'.⁸⁹ Its name means 'support, assistance'.⁹⁰ According to the late Ptolemaic sources, it was made of the wood pitch, frankincense and pine.⁹¹ *Tw3.wt* is mentioned in the *Pyramid Texts*⁹² as well as in the *Coffin Texts*.⁹³ Just as the *nḥnm*-oil, it is almost always attested in the connection with the 'seven sacred oils' (**Tab. 2:** 4–6) and seems to have had no separate use.

CHANGE IN THE SEQUENCE OF OILS

After examining 'ntjw, sft, and other oils from the 'frieze of objects' in the Southern Room of Amun, it can be observed that there are many physical similarities between 'ntjw and sft. As the fragrant resins, if we consider sft as a resin and not as an oil or ointment, they played similar role in the rituals as burned incense and both could be used in the mummification process. Both products have been depicted in red-brownish colour and in similar shape,⁹⁴ were often used in medicine, and had special aromatic properties, emphasised in texts. Even more significant is that Dioscorides compared fir resin (identified with sft, Lat. *Cilicica Abies*) to frankincense, stating that their scents were similar.⁹⁵

There are, however, some differences between these two products, which actually can be helpful in explaining the exchange between them in the Southern Room of Amun. The most significant difference is that the sft-oil was a more common, more available and more widely used product, for example, in medicine or as an ingredient of cosmetics. It appears frequently in the funeral sphere, not only as an essential oil for the deceased in the hereafter, but also as one of the substances used in the mummification process. In temple ritual, it appears very rarely and only in the context of the 'seven sacred oils'. 'ntjw, especially the one from Punt, was more valuable, possibly because of the limited accessibility. The great significance of the Punt expeditions was always emphasised by the rulers and their officials who took part in them.⁹⁶ Moreover, 'ntjw seems to be far more connected with the temple context due to its incorporation to the Ritual of Ancestors, where regeneration and rebirth aspects are highlighted in the text and through the association with the repeated inundation.

⁸⁹ Walle 1978: 24, Pl. 1; Koura 1999: 181.

⁹⁰ Koura 1999: 181.

⁹¹ Manniche 1999: 108.

⁹² *PT* 76, § 51c.

⁹³ *CT* VII, 134j, 138e.

⁹⁴ This may imply solar connotations, what is also expressed in the texts where the sun is portrayed as the power which makes resins soft and releasing fragrance (Raven 1990: 16).

⁹⁵ *On Medical Matters*: I, 92.

⁹⁶ Davies 1961: 19–23, Pl. 4; Zivie 1984: 245–522; Bács 2015: 16, Fig. 10.

From all five oils displayed in the ‘frieze of objects’, *sft* was the most suitable to be replaced with *'ntjw* – these two products were the most similar to each other, both were known in form of resins while other products were oils or ointments, and, moreover, their properties were similar. If the aim of the person responsible for the design of the decoration of this room was to stress the significance of *'ntjw*, the choice of replacing *sft* was the most reasonable. This exchange seems to have been intentional. When there was a task to put *'ntjw* in this frieze of objects instead of one of the sacred oils, the most similar product was chosen to be exchanged with it.

As mentioned above, depictions of *'ntjw* are quite rare and when one takes into consideration the fact that more than a half of the attestations of *'ntjw* in Karnak is dated to the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III,⁹⁷ the significance of this product during that time becomes clear. Incorporating *'ntjw* to the most precious oils in the sequence represented in the Southern Room of Amun was another way to underline its role in temple context and its high value for Hatshepsut, already expressed in the decoration of the Punt Portico in the Temple of Hatshepsut and in the treasury in Karnak.

Acknowledgements

The research project aiming at studying the Southern Room of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari is financed by National Science Centre, Poland, granted on the basis of the decision no. 2015/19/N/HS3/02153. I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal, Dr. Jadwiga Iwaszczuk and Dr. Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczyńska for reading the draft and their valuable comments. I would like to thank Dr. Zbigniew E. Szafranski for giving me the opportunity to work in the Southern Room of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. I also thank Dr. Filip Taterka for correcting my English.

References

- Aksamit, J. 2007: Room C in the Temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari, [in:] Haring, B., Klug, A. (Eds), 6. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume, Leiden, 4.–7. September 2002, *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen* 3/1, Wiesbaden, 1–10
- Allen, T.G. 1974: The Book of the Dead or Going forth by Day. Ideas of the Ancient Egyptians concerning the Hereafter as expressed in their Own Terms, *SAOC* 37, Chicago
- Allen, T.G. 2002: The Speos Artemidos Inscription of Hatshepsut, *BES* 16, 1–17
- Aly, M., Abdel Hamid, F., Dewachter, M. 1967: Le temple d'Amada. IV. Dessins, *Collection Scientifique du CEDAE*, Le Caire
- Arnold, D. 1962: Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches, *MÄS* 2, Berlin

⁹⁷ *KIU*: vocable 302.

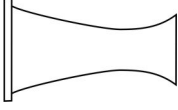
- Awad, K.A.H. 2002: Untersuchungen zum Schatzhaus im Neuen Reich: Administrative und ökonomische Aspekte, unpublished PhD thesis, Georg-August-Universität zu Göttingen, Göttingen
- Bács, T.A. 2015: Researches in the funerary complex of Hapuseneb, high priest of Amun at Thebes (TT 67): an interim report, [*in:*] Bács, T.A., Schreiber, G. (Eds), Current research of the Hungarian archaeological mission in Thebes 2014–2015, Cairo, 9–21
- Barguet, P. 1962: Le temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak. Essai d'exégèse, *RAPH* 21, Le Caire
- Barta, W. 1963: Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche, *MÄS* 3, Berlin
- Baum, N. 1994: *Sntr*: une revision, *RdE* 45, 17–39
- Baum, N. 1999: L'organisation du règne végétal dans l'Égypte ancienne et l'identification des noms de végétaux, [*in:*] Aufrère, S. (Ed.), Encyclopédie religieuse de l'univers végétal. Croyances phytoreligieuses de l'Égypte ancienne 1, Montpellier, 421–443
- Bissing, F.W. von 1904: Steingefässe, Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire (Nr. 18065–18793), Le Caire
- Biston-Moulin, S., Thiers, Ch. 2016: Le temple de Ptah à Karnak 1. Relevé épigraphique, 2. Relevé photographique (Ptah, nos. 1–191), *BiGen* 49, Le Caire
- British Museum*: http://www.britishmuseum.org/research/collection_online/search.aspx (accessed November 9, 2017)
- Brooklyn Museum*: <https://www.mfa.org/collections/search> (accessed November 9, 2017)
- Brunner, H. 1977: Die südlichen Räume des Tempels von Luxor, *ArchVer* 18, Mainz a/Rhein
- Burgos, F., Larché, F. 2006: La chapelle Rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout I. Fac-similés et photographies des scènes, Paris
- Chassinat, E.G. 1931: Le temple d'Edfou VI, *MMAF* XXII, Le Caire
- Chassinat, E.G. 1968: Le mystère d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, Fasc. II, Le Caire
- Davies, N. de G. 1943: The tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē' at Thebes, *PMMA Egyptian Expedition* XI, New York
- Davies, N.M. 1961: A fragment of a Punt scene, *JEA* 47, 19–23
- Diego Espinel, A. 2017: The scents of Punt (and elsewhere): trade and functions of *sntr* and *'ntjw* during the Old Kingdom, [*in:*] Incordino, I., Creasman, P.P. (Eds), Flora trade between Egypt and Africa in Antiquity. Proceedings of a conference held in Naples, Italy, 13 April 2015, Oxford, 21–48
- Dixon, D.M. 1969: The Transplantation of Punt Incense Trees in Egypt, *JEA* 55, 55–65
- Dorman, P. 1991: The Tombs of Senenmut. The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353, *PMMA Egyptian Expedition* XXIV, New York
- Dümichen, J. 1879: Ein Salbölrecept aus dem Laboratorium des Edfutempels, *ZÄS* 17, 97–128
- Ebbell, B. 1937: The papyrus Ebers: the greatest Egyptian medical document, Copenhagen
- Edel, E. 1996: Studien zu den Relieffragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru, [*in:*] Manuelian, P. der (Ed.), Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson 1, Boston, 199–208

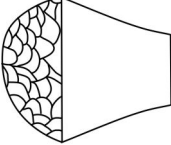
- El Awady, T. 2009: Sahure – The Pyramid Causeway: History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom, *Abusir* 16, Prague
- Epigraphic Survey 1940: Festival Scenes of Ramses III, Medinet Habu IV, OIP* LI, Chicago 1940
- Faulkner, R.O. 1962: *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian*, Oxford
- Gabolde, L. 2009: Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak, *MIFAO* 123, Le Caire
- Gardiner, A.H. 1946: Davies's Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription, *JEA* 32, 43–56
- Gardiner, A.H. 1956: *Egyptian Grammar Being an Introduction to the Study of Hieroglyphs*, London-Oxford
- Gayet, A. 1894: Le temple de Louxor, Constructions d'Aménophis III. Cour d'Aménophis, salle hypostyle, salle des Offertoires, salle du Lever et sanctuaire de Maut, *MMAF* 15, Le Caire
- Germer, R. 1979: *Untersuchungen über Arzneimittelpflanzen im Alten Ägypten*, Hamburg
- Germer, R. 1985: Flora des pharaonischen Ägypten, *SDAIK* 14, Mainz a/Rhein
- Germer, R. 2002: *Die Heilpflanzen der Ägypter*, Düsseldorf-Zürich
- Germer, R. 2008: *Handbuch der altägyptischen Heilpflanzen*, *Philippika* 21, Wiesbaden
- Ghalioungui, P. 1987: *The Ebers Papyrus. A new English translation, commentaries and glossaries*, Cairo
- Graves-Brown, C. 2010: *Dancing for Hathor: women in ancient Egypt*, London-New York
- Hamm, S., Bleton, J., Tchaplá, A. 2004: Headspace Solid Phase Microextraction for Screening for the Presence of Resins in Egyptian Archaeological Samples, *Journal of Separation Science* 27/3, 235–243
- Helck, W. 1963: *Materialien zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches IV/III. Eigentum und Besitz an verschiedenen Dingen des täglichen Lebens, Kapitel P-AH, Abhandlungen der Geistes- und Sozialwissenschaftlichen Klasse* 1963/3, Wiesbaden
- Hepper, F.N. 1969: Arabian and African frankincense trees, *JEA* 55, 66–72
- Jéquier, G. 1921: *Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire*, *MIFAO* 47, Le Caire
- Jørgensen, J. 2015: Myths, Menarche and the Return of the Goddess, [in:] Nyord, R., Ryholt, K. (Eds), *Lotus and Laurel: Studies on Egyptian Language and Religion in Honour of Paul John Frandsen*, *CNIP* 39, Copenhagen, 133–164
- Junker, H. 1940: Giza: Bericht über die von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien auf gemeinsame Kosten mit Dr. Wilhelm Pelizaeus unternommenen Grabungen auf dem Friedhof des Alten Reiches bei den Pyramiden von Gîza IV. Die Maštaba des K3jm 'nh (Kai-em-anch), *Denkschriften / Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philologisch-Historische Klasse* 71/1, Wien-Leipzig
- Kanawati, N. 1982: *The Rock Tombs of El-Hawawish: The Cemetery of Akhmim III*, Sydney
- Kanawati, N., Aber-Raziq, M. 2004: Mereruka and his family. Part I. The Tomb of Meryteti, *Australian Centre for Egyptology: Report* 21, Oxford
- Kanawati, N., Woods, A., Shafik, S., Alexakis, E. 2011: Mereruka and his family III/2. The Tomb of Mereruka, *Australian Centre for Egyptology: Report* 30, Oxford

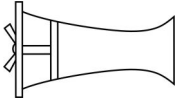
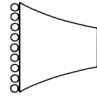
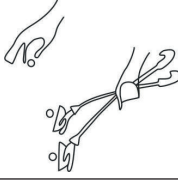
- Kapiec, K. 2016: Decoration of the Two Chests from the Frieze of Objects in the Southern Room of Amun in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, *EtudTrav* XXIX, 95–110
- KIU: <http://sith.huma-num.fr/karnak> (accessed November 9, 2017)
- Koch, R. 1990: Die Erzählung des Sinuhe, *BiAeg* XVII, Bruxelles
- Koura, B. 1999: Die “7-Heiligen Öle” und andere Öl- und Fettamen. Eine lexikographische Untersuchung zu den Bezeichnungen von Ölen, Fetten und Salben bei den Alten Ägyptern von der Frühzeit bis zum Anfang der Ptolemäerzeit (von 3000 v. Chr.–ca. 305 v. Chr.), *AegMonast* 2, Aachen
- Lacau, P. 1952: Deux magasins à encens du temple de Karnak, *ASAE* 52, 185–198
- Lacau, P., Chevrier, H. 1977: Une Chapelle d’Hatshepsout à Karnak I, Le Caire
- Lacau, P., Lauer, Ph. 1959: La pyramide à degrés. Inscriptions gravées sur les vases. Planches, Le Caire
- Lefebvre, G. 1956: Essai sur la médecine égyptienne de l’époque pharaonique, Paris
- Legrain, G. 1902: Le temple de Ptah Rîs-anbou-f dans Thèbes (suite), *ASAE* III, 97–114
- Letellier, B., Larché, F. 2013: La cour à portique de Thoutmosis IV, *EtudEg* 12, [Paris]
- Lucas, A. 1937: Notes on Myrrh and Stacte, *JEA* 23, 27–33
- Lucas, A., Harris, J.R. 1989: Ancient Egyptian Materials and Industries, London
- Manniche, L. 1989: An ancient Egyptian Herbal, London
- Manniche, L. 1999: Sacred luxuries: fragrance, aromatherapy, and cosmetics in ancient Egypt, Ithaca-New York
- Manzo, A. 1999: Échanges et contacts le long du Nil et de la Mer Rouge dans l’époque protohistorique (III^e et II^e millénaires avant J.-C.) : une synthèse préliminaire, *BAR-IS* 782, *Cambridge Monographs in African Archaeology* 48, Oxford
- Muhammad, M.A.-Q. 1966: Recent finds, *ASAE* 59, 143–158
- Myśliwiec, K., Kuraszkiwicz, K.O., Czerwik, D., Rzeuska, T., Kaczmarek, M., Kowalska, A., Radomska, M., Godziejewski, Z. 2004: The Tomb of Merefnebef, *Saqqara* I, Varsovie
- Myśliwiec, K., Kuraszkiwicz, K.O. with contributions by Kowalska, A., Radomska, M., Rzeuska, T.I., Kaczmarek, M., Kozieradzka, I., Godziejewski, Z., Zatorska, A. 2010: The Funerary Complex of Nyankhneferem, *Saqqara* IV, Varsovie
- Naville, E. 1898: The Temple of Deir el Bahari III. End of Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform, *MEEF* 16, London
- Naville, E. 1901: The Temple of Deir el Bahari IV. The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings, *MEEF* 19, London
- Naville, E. 1906: The Temple of Deir el Bahari V. The Upper Court and Sanctuary, *MEEF* 27, London
- Nelson, H.H. 1949: Certain Reliefs at Karnak and Medinet Habu and the Ritual of Amenophis I. Concluded, *JNES* VIII, 310–345
- Nunn, J.H. 1996: Ancient Egyptian medicine, London
- On Medical Matters: Dioscorides, De materia medica*, transl. T.A. Osbaldeston, Johannesburg 2000

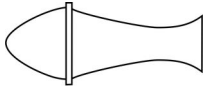
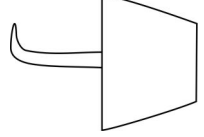
- Raven, M.J. 1990: Resin in Egyptian magic and symbolism, *OMRO* 70, 7–22
- Saleh, M., Sourouzian, H. 1987: The Egyptian Museum Cairo: official catalogue, Mainz a/Rhein
- Sankiewicz, M. 2011: The ‘co-regency’ of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III in the light of iconography in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, [*in:*] Horn, M. *et al.* (Eds), *Current Research in Egyptology 2010. Proceedings of the eleventh annual symposium. Leiden University, The Netherlands, 5–8 January 2010, Oxford-Oakville*, 131–144
- Sauneron, S. 1952: Rituel de l'embaumement : Pap. Boulaq III [et] Pap. Louvre 5.158, Le Caire
- Serpico, M. 2000: Resins, amber and bitumen, [*in:*] Nicholson, P.T., Shaw, I. (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Material and Technology*, Cambridge, 430–474
- Sethe, K. 1905: Eine bisher unbeachtet gebliebene Episode der Puntexpedition der Königin Hatshepsowet, *ZÄS* 42, 91–99
- Stevenson Smith, W. 1962: The Land of Punt, *JARCE* I, 59–61
- Stupko-Lubczyńska, A. 2017: Reading the Offering Procession in the Chapel of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, *SAK* 46, 223–246
- Tacke, N. 2013a: Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches, 1. Text, *OLA* 222, Leuven
- Tacke, N. 2013b: Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches, 2. Übersetzung und Kommentar, *OLA* 222, Leuven
- Taylor, J.H., Strudwick, N.C. 2005: *Mummies: Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, Santa Ana
- TLA: Thesaurus Linguae Aegyptiae*, <http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/index.html> (accessed November 9, 2017)
- Walle, B.M.J.G. van der 1978: *La chapelle funéraire de Neferirtenef*, Bruxelles
- Wilkinson, T. 2000: *Royal annals of ancient Egypt: the Palermo Stone and its associated fragments*, London
- Willems, H. 1988: Chests of life: a study of the typology and conceptual development of middle kingdom standard class coffins, *MVEOL* 25, Leiden
- Willems, H. 1996: The coffin of Heqata (Cairo JdE 36418). A case study of Egyptian funerary culture of the early Middle Kingdom, *OLA* 70, Leuven
- Zivie, A.-P. 1984: Un chancelier nommé Nehesy, [*in:*] *Mélanges Adolphe Gutbub, OrMonsp* 2, 245–252

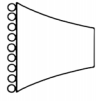

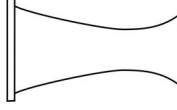
Tab. 1. Attestation of *'ntjw* in the temple context in the early Eighteenth Dynasty period (Hatshepsut-Amenhotep III)

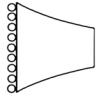
| No. | Temple | Dating | Context | Vessel/form of the product | References |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|---|---|--|
| 1. | Karnak, Netjerymenu, wall 2 | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Hatshepsut performing an offering of <i>'ntjw</i> for Amun in a scene where Thutmose II is addressing the offering table to Amun. Nefereu is represented between Thutmose II and Hatshepsut. The product is depicted in the simple <i>bys</i> -vase. The depiction is in the sequence of scenes representing the temple ritual. |  | Gabolde 2009: Pl. III |
| 2. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, south wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Scene representing i.a. trees of <i>'ntjw</i> being carried as a part of tribute. The depiction is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXIX; Stevenson Smith 1962: 61; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 328, 3 |
| 3. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Middle Portico, south wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | <i>'ntjw</i> is mentioned as a part of the Punt's name ('terraces of <i>'ntjw</i> ' – <i>htjw 'ntjw</i>). The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXIX; Stevenson Smith 1962: 61; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 325, 13 |
| 4. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, south wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | <i>'ntjw</i> is mentioned as a part of the Punt's name ('terraces of <i>'ntjw</i> ' – <i>htjw 'ntjw</i>). The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXIX; Sethe 1905: Pl. V; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 316B, 317S |
| 5. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, south wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | <i>'ntjw</i> is mentioned in the historical inscription concerning the land of Punt. The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXX; Sethe 1905: Pl. V; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 317F |
| 6. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, south wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | <i>'ntjw</i> is mentioned in a fragment of an inscription. The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXX; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 326, 9 |
| 7. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, south wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | <i>'ntjw</i> is mentioned in a fragment of a scene representing bowed people next to the trees. The depiction is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXXX; Stevenson Smith 1962: 61; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 327, 6 |
| 8. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, south wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | <i>'ntjw</i> is mentioned in a fragment of a scene representing offerings and trees. The inscription concerns collecting the resin from trees. The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXX; Stevenson Smith 1962: 61; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 327, 3 |

| No. | Temple | Dating | Context | Vessel/form of the product | References |
|-----|--|-----------------------------|---|---|--|
| 9. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, west wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | ' <i>ntjw</i> and trees of fresh ' <i>ntjw</i> are mentioned in the inscription concerning the loading the ships. The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXXIV; <i>Urk. IV</i> , 329, 3–4 |
| 10. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, west wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Scene representing i.a. trees of fresh ' <i>ntjw</i> . The depiction is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pls LXXVIII–LXXIX; <i>Urk. IV</i> , 334, 16 |
| 11. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, west wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Scene representing trees and a big pile (red clumps) of ' <i>ntjw</i> , five men working by the pile and Thot writing down the measurements of ' <i>ntjw</i> . The depiction is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXXXIX; <i>Urk. IV</i> , 335, 11, 13 |
| 12. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, west wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Thutmose III performing an offering of fresh ' <i>ntjw</i> to the bark of Amun. The product is depicted in an open vase with small pile of red clumps visible on the top. The depiction is located after the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. |  | Naville 1898: Pl. LXXXII; <i>Urk. IV</i> , 340, 13–16 |
| 13. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, west wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Fresh and first quality ' <i>ntjw</i> are mentioned in the inscription summarising the Punt expedition of Hatshepsut. The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXXXII; <i>Urk. IV</i> , 339, 4–340, 8 |
| 14. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, west wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | ' <i>ntjw</i> is mentioned as a part of the Punt's name ('terraces of ' <i>ntjw</i> ' – <i>htjw</i> ' <i>ntjw</i>) in the inscription introducing the oracle of Amun about the Punt expedition. The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXXXIV [5]; <i>Urk. IV</i> , 342, 14 |
| 15. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, west wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | ' <i>ntjw</i> is mentioned seven times in the speech of Amun (twice as a part of the Punt's name 'terraces of ' <i>ntjw</i> ' – <i>htjw</i> ' <i>ntjw</i>). The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXXXIV [10, 13, 18, 20]; <i>Urk. IV</i> , 344, 8; 345, 3, 10, 12; 346, 13–14; 347, 8 |

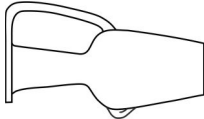
| | | | | | |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|--|---|---|
| 16. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Middle Portico, north wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | ' <i>ntjw</i> ' is mentioned three times in the inscription of Hatshepsut. The text is part of the sequence of scenes representing Hatshepsut's expedition to Punt. | – | Naville 1898: Pl. LXXXVI [11, 13, 22]; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 352, 3, 13; 354, 7 |
| 17. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, Southern Room of Amun, north wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Group of three closed <i>b3s</i> -vases described as <i>tp.t n.t</i> ' <i>ntjw</i> '. The depiction is located in the so-called frieze of objects. |  | Kapic 2016: 96–97, Fig. 2; Naville 1906: Pl. CXXX |
| 18. | Karnak, Chapelle Rouge, south outer wall, third register | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Thutmose III performing an offering of ' <i>ntjw</i> ' to Amun-Re (block no. 182). The product is depicted in an open vase with a row of pellets visible on the top. The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located in the sequence of scenes representing libation, clothing, anointing. |  | <i>KIU</i> : 1255; Burgos, Larché 2006: 57; Lacau, Chevrier 1977: 208 |
| 19. | Karnak, Chapelle Rouge, north outer wall, third register | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Hatshepsut and her <i>ka</i> performing an offering of ' <i>ntjw</i> ' to a god (block no. 319). The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located in the sequence of scenes representing libation, clothing, anointing. | not preserved | <i>KIU</i> : 1344; Burgos, Larché 2006: 102; Lacau, Chevrier 1977: 400 |
| 20. | Karnak, Chapelle Rouge, sanctuary, north wall, sixth register | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Hatshepsut performing an offering of three pellets of ' <i>ntjw</i> ' in two censers to Amun-Re (block no. 274). The depiction is part of the sequence of scenes representing offerings of eye-paint, natron and salutation with the <i>nms.t-jar</i> . |  | <i>KIU</i> : 1663; Burgos, Larché 2006: 226; Lacau, Chevrier 1977: 364 |
| 21. | Karnak, block found in the foundations of the III Pylon | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Right jambs with the description of the original purpose of the room – treasury for ' <i>ntjw</i> '. | – | Lacau 1952: 185–198 |
| 22. | Speos Artemidos, lintel of the façade | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | Fresh ' <i>ntjw</i> ' is mentioned in the restoration inscription of Hatshepsut in connection with Punt. | – | Allen 2002: 1–17; Gardiner 1946: 43–56; <i>Urk.</i> IV, 383–391 |

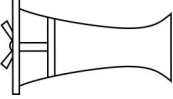
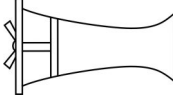
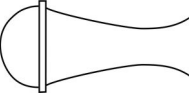
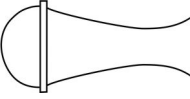
| No. | Temple | Dating | Context | Vessel/form of the product | References |
|-----|--|--------------|--|--|--|
| 23. | Karnak, VI Pylon, inner face of east wall, southern part | Thutmose III | ' <i>njw</i> ' is enumerated in the <i>Annals</i> of Thutmose III as part of the offerings needed for the temple in Karnak. | – | <i>KIU</i> : 3475; <i>PM II</i> ² , 90; <i>Urk</i> . IV, 756, 11 |
| 24. | Karnak, central court by the VI Pylon, north wall | Thutmose III | ' <i>njw</i> ' is enumerated three times in the part of <i>Annals</i> of Thutmose III covering years 29–39 (as a prey from Punt, twice, and Retjenu). | – | <i>KIU</i> : 5230, 28; 5230, 34; 5230, 57; <i>PM II</i> ² , 243–244; <i>Urk</i> . IV, 702, 5; 706, 11 |
| 25. | Karnak, Akhmenu, Room V | Thutmose III | Thutmose III performing an offering of ' <i>njw</i> ' to Amun. Only lower part of the scene is preserved with the caption mentioning ' <i>njw</i> '. The depiction is in the sequence of <i>hb-sd</i> scenes. | not preserved | Barguet 1962: added photograph no. 167 (53848); <i>Urk</i> . IV, 876, 16–877, 2 |
| 26. | Karnak, north court by the VI Pylon, second room, jambs | Thutmose III | Jambs with the description of the purpose of the room – treasury for ' <i>njw</i> '. | – | <i>KIU</i> : 5726; Lacau 1952: 185–198; <i>PM II</i> ² , 93; <i>Urk</i> . IV, 853, 9 |
| 27. | Karnak, north court by the VI Pylon, second room, north wall | Thutmose III | Piles of ' <i>njw</i> ' and ' <i>njw</i> ' presented by the king to Amun. The scene is part of the decoration programme of the treasury for ' <i>njw</i> ' where other oils from the list of the 'seven sacred oils' and ' <i>njw</i> ' are represented. | – | <i>KIU</i> : 5754; Lacau 1952: 185–198, Fig. 4; <i>PM II</i> ² , 93 |
| 28. | Karnak, Temple of Ptah, northern chapel, east wall | Thutmose III | Thutmose III anointing Ptah with ' <i>njw</i> '. The product is depicted in a shape of a pile in an open <i>b3w</i> -vase. The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located in the sequence of scenes representing libation and clothing. |  | <i>KIU</i> : 2344; Biston-Moulin, Thiers 2016: 246–247; Legrain 1902: 106; <i>PM II</i> ² , 201 |
| 29. | Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Thutmose III, Room C, east wall | Thutmose III | Thutmose III performing an offering (possibly fumigation) of ' <i>njw</i> ' to ithyphallic Amun. The product is shown being burned in the vessel (as typical depiction of <i>sntr</i>). The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located in the sequence of scenes representing other offerings. |  | Aksamit 2007: 1–10, Fig. 4 |

| | | | | | |
|-----|--|-------------------------------|--|---|--|
| 30. | Amada, Room R, scene 6 | Thutmose III/ Amenhotep II | Thutmose III performing an offering of <i>'ntjw</i> to Re-Horakhte. The product is depicted in an open vase with a row of pellets visible on the top. The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located in the sequence of scenes representing offerings of eye-paints, oil (<i>mg.t</i>) and salutation with the <i>nms.t</i> -jar. |  | Aly, Abdel Hamid, Dewachter 1967: Pl. R 6–10 |
| 31. | Luxor temple, Room XIX, south wall, scene 121 | Amenhotep III | <i>'ntjw</i> from Punt is mentioned in the speech of Amun in the offering scene where Amenhotep III is offering <i>tp.t</i> -oil jar (in a form of kneeling king). The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located in the sequence of scenes representing libation, clothing and offering oils. | — | Brunner 1977: Pl. 130; PM II ² , 332 |
| 32. | Luxor temple, Room XIX, east wall, scene 125 | Amenhotep III | Amenhotep III performing an offering of <i>'ntjw</i> to Amun. Product is shown being burned in the vase while king is putting three pellets inside the vessel. The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located in the sequence of scenes representing libation, clothing and offering oils. |  | Brunner 1977: Pl. 133; PM II ² , 331 |
| 33. | Luxor temple, Room XIX, north wall, scene 100 | Amenhotep III | Vases with <i>'ntjw</i> and other oils (<i>sjt-hb</i> , <i>hkmw</i> and <i>jbr</i>) are represented on top of the offering table that Amenhotep III is addressing to Amun. The product is depicted in the simple <i>b3s</i> -vase. The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located next to the scenes representing fanning the fire and roasting meat. |  | Brunner 1977: Pl. 117; PM II ² , 331 |
| 34. | Luxor temple, Room XXVIII, south wall, scene 162 | Amenhotep III | Amenhotep III performing an offering of <i>'ntjw</i> to a god. Only lower part of the scene is preserved with the caption mentioning <i>'ntjw</i> . The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located among other scenes representing temple ritual. | not preserved | Brunner 1977: Pl. 160; PM II ² , 331 |
| 35. | Luxor temple, Room VIII, east wall, first register | Amenhotep III | Amenhotep III performing an offering of <i>'ntjw</i> to Amun and Mut. The product is depicted in closed vases of different types, grouped in four rows. The scene is located in the sequence of bringing the vases as an offering (no other names of oils are preserved). | not to determine | Gayet 1894: 73–74, Pl. XXXIX, Fig. 130; PM II ² , 321 |

| No. | Temple | Dating | Context | Vessel/form of the product | References |
|-----|---|---------------|---|---|---|
| 36. | Luxor temple, Room VIII, east wall, fourth register | Amenhotep III | Amenhotep III performing an offering of <i>ḥtjw</i> to Tefnut. The product is depicted in an open vase with a row of pellets visible on the top. The depiction is part of the temple ritual and is located in the sequence of scenes representing offerings of eye-paint, cloth, incense, wine, and milk. |  | unpublished |
| 37. | Luxor temple, Room IV, east wall | Amenhotep III | <i>ḥtjw</i> is enumerated in the offering list in the scene with the bark of Mut. The depiction is a part of scenes devoted to the cult of Mut. | — | Gayet 1894: Pl. XXVI, Fig. 85; PM II ² , 319 |
| 38. | Luxor temple, Room III, north wall | Amenhotep III | <i>ḥtjw</i> is enumerated in the offering list in the offering scene with Mut. The depiction is part of scenes devoted to cult of Mut. | not preserved | Gayet 1894: Pl. LXX, Fig. 209; PM II ² , 327 |
| 39. | Luxor temple, Room east of S and V(?) | Amenhotep III | <i>ḥtjw</i> is enumerated in the offering list. | — | <i>TLA</i> : card no. 21882880 |

Tab. 2. Attestation of *sfj* in the temple context in the early Eighteenth Dynasty period (Hatshepsut-Amenhotep III)

| No. | Temple | Dating | Context | Vessel/form of the product | References |
|-----|---|-----------------------------|--|--|--|
| 1. | Deir el-Bahari, Complex of Royal Cult, Chapel of Hatshepsut, south wall | Hatshepsut/ Thutmose III | <i>Sfj</i> -oil carried by the servant. The scene is part of the procession of offering bearers in the offering ritual. The product is depicted in the <i>hnm</i> -vase. <i>Sfj</i> is a part of the sequence of offerings of the 'seven sacred oils', eye-paints and linen. |  | Naville 1898: Pl. LXIX; Stupko-Lubezyńska 2017: Fig. 1a |
| 2. | Karnak, passage around granite sanctuary | Thutmose III | <i>Sfj</i> is enumerated twice in the <i>Annals</i> of Thutmose III (as a prey from the Syrian military campaigns). | — | <i>LD</i> III, Pl. 31a, 6–7, 12–13; <i>TLA</i> : card no. 29176720 |

| | | | | | |
|----|---|---------------|---|---|--|
| 3. | Karnak, north court by the VI Pylon, second room, east wall | Thutmose III | Thutmose III offering three oils – <i>sj-ḥb</i> , <i>ḥknw</i> and <i>sft</i> – to ithyphallic Amun and to Hathor. The product is depicted in the closed <i>b3s</i> -vase. The scene is part of the decoration programme of the treasury for <i>'ntjw</i> where other oils from the list of the 'seven sacred oil' and <i>'ntjw</i> are represented. |  | <i>KIU</i> : 5756; PM II ^e , 93; <i>Urk</i> . IV, 853, 16 |
| 4. | Karnak, Portico of Thutmose IV, wall B, scene 22 | Thutmose IV | <i>Sft</i> -oil is represented in the sequence of oils ('seven sacred oils', <i>ḥbw</i> , <i>md.t</i> and <i>b.k</i>) in the scene where king is offering the <i>md.t</i> -oil to ithyphallic Amun. The oils are depicted in the two stands between the king and the god. The product is depicted in the closed <i>b3s</i> -vase. The depiction is located among the other offering and ritual scenes (e.g. censuring and libation, offering of white bread, <i>gsr.t</i> -vases, wine). |  | <i>KIU</i> : 2963; Letellier, Larche 2013: 230–231, Pl. 52; Muhammed 1966: Pl. VIIIb |
| 5. | Luxor temple, Room XVIII, east wall, scene 166 | Amenhotep III | <i>Sft</i> -oil is represented in the sequence of five oils from the list of the 'seven sacred oils' in the scene where the king together with his <i>ka</i> is offering the <i>md.t</i> -oil to a god. The oils are represented under the offering table. The product is depicted in the open <i>b3s</i> -vase. The depiction is located next to the scene with an offering list. |  | Brunner 1977: Pl. 164; PM II ^e , 331 |
| 6. | Luxor temple, Room XVIII, east wall, scene 169 | Amenhotep III | <i>Sft</i> -oil is represented in the sequence of the five oils from the list of the 'seven sacred oils' in the scene where the king is offering the <i>md.t</i> -oil to an ithyphallic Amun. The oils are depicted under the offering table. The product is depicted in the open <i>b3s</i> -vase. The depiction is located next to the scene with an offering list. |  | Brunner 1977: Pl. 167; PM II ^e , 331 |

ÉTUDES et TRAVAUX

XXXI / 2018



Institut des Cultures Méditerranéennes et Orientales
de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences



COMITÉ DE RÉDACTION SCIENTIFIQUE

Maciej Makowski – rédacteur en chef

Jadwiga Iwaszczuk – rédacteur

Mariusz Drzewiecki – secrétaire de la rédaction

Karol Mysliwiec – rédacteur thématique du volume

CONSEIL SCIENTIFIQUE DU JOURNAL

M. Kobusiewicz (IAE PAS, Warszawa), E. Laskowska-Kusztal (IMOC PAS, Warszawa)

D. Michaelides (University of Cyprus, Nicosia)

J.Ch. Moretti (IRAA-MOM, Université de Lyon 2/CNRS)

D. Raue (Ägyptisches Museum der Universität Leipzig), P. Reynolds (ICREA, España)

D. Welsby (British Museum, London)

COMITÉ SCIENTIFIQUE DE LECTURE

H.D. Baker (University of Toronto), P. Ballet (ArScAn-ESPRI, Université Paris Nanterre),

N. Beaux Grimal (IFAO, Cair/Collège de France, Paris), A. Dodson (University of Bristol),

L. Gabolde (CNRS), C. Gobeil (Egypt Exploration Society, London),

J. Holaubek (Institut für Ägyptologie, Wien), S. Ikram (American University in Cairo),

K. Innemée (Universiteit Leiden), Ch. Leitz (Universität Tübingen),

A. Loprieno-Gnirs (Universität Basel), Ch.E. Loeben (Museen für Kulturgeschichte, Hannover),

S. Ortisi (Universität München), A. Peignard-Giros (HiSoMA-MOM, Université de Lyon 2/CNRS),

E. Rova (Università Ca' Foscari Venezia), A. Sasson (San Diego Natural History Museum),

G. Schreiber (Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest), E. Teeter (University of Chicago),

Y. Tristant (Macquarie University, Sydney), V. Vaelske (independent researcher),

V.W.J. van Gerven Oei (independent researcher), H. Vymazalová (Charles University, Prague),

K. Winther-Jacobsen (Danish Institute at Athens),

J.A. Ostrowski, E. Papuci-Władyka, J. Śliwa (IA JU, Kraków),

R. Czerner (WUST, Wrocław), A. Ćwiek (IA AMU, Poznań),

K. Domżański (IAE PAS, Warszawa), M. Pinker (FOS UW, Warszawa),

Ł. Niesiołowski-Spanò (IH UW, Warszawa), M. Gawlikowski (PCMA UW, Warszawa),

K.O. Kuraszkievicz (DE FOS UW, Warszawa), M. Barwik, P. Dyczek, W. Godlewski,

S. Rzepka, J. Żelazowski, A. Niwiński (IA UW, Warszawa)

RÉDACTION TECHNIQUE

Maciej Makowski, Jadwiga Iwaszczuk

CORRECTION LINGUISTIQUE

Jo Harper

ÉTUDES et TRAVAUX
XXXI

INSTYTUT KULTUR ŚRÓDZIEMNOMORSKICH I ORIENTALNYCH
POLSKIEJ AKADEMII NAUK

STUDIA i PRACE

XXXI



WARSZAWA
2018

INSTITUT DES CULTURES MÉDITERRANÉENNES ET ORIENTALES
DE L'ACADÉMIE POLONAISE DES SCIENCES

ÉTUDES et TRAVAUX

XXXI



VARSOVIE
2018

Publication scientifique financée dans le cadre du programme
du Ministre de la Science et de l'Éducation Supérieure
« Programme National de Développement de l'Humanistique » pour les années 2016–2021
(projet n° 3bH 15 0099 83)



**NARODOWY PROGRAM
ROZWOJU HUMANISTYKI**

Copyright ©
Instytut Kultur Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych PAN
et les Auteurs
Warszawa 2018

ISSN 2084-6762
(avant 2011 : 0079-3566)
e-ISSN 2449-9579

Version première en papier, imprimée en Pologne – 150 copies
Version électronique accessible sur
<http://www.etudsettravaux.iksiopan.pl>

Édition: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne et Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warszawa

Conception générale de couverture : J. Iwaszczuk
Photo de couverture : P. Moser © Schweizerisches Institut
für Ägyptische Bauforschung und Altertumskunde in Kairo
(terre cuites d'Aswan/Syene)

Table des matières

| | |
|---|-----|
| KAROL MYŚLIWIEC (<i>ET=EtudTrav/50</i>) x 30 | 9 |
| HASSAN AGLAN Hatshepsut and the Apis Race: New Quartzite Relief Fragments from Dra' Abu el-Naga | 17 |
| AMGAD JOSEPH Divine Wrath in Ancient Egypt | 27 |
| AMGAD JOSEPH Pain Infliction, Inflictors and Healers in Egyptian Religious, Magical and Literary Perceptions | 67 |
| MIROSLAW BARWIK New <i>Dipinti</i> in the Birth Portico of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari | 101 |
| KRZYSZTOF BORYSLAWSKI, ANNA NIWIŃSKA, ANDRZEJ NIWIŃSKI, AGNIESZKA TOMASZEWSKA, <u>KRYSTYNA WASYLIKOWA</u> , AGNIESZKA ŻELAŻNIEWICZ A Bulb of Narcissus on the Egyptian Mummy from University of Wrocław Collection | 111 |
| LINDA CHAPON Some Reliefs Representing the King in the <i>Heb Sed</i> Robe Discovered in the <i>Henket-Ankh</i> | 123 |
| PHILIPPE GUILLAUME Debunking the Latest Scenario on the Rise of the Pork Taboo | 145 |
| MARIOLA HEPA A Clay <i>Gladius</i> Scabbard from Area 13c in the Ancient Roman Town of Syene | 167 |
| EMANUELE E. INTAGLIATA Pinpointing Unrest at Palmyra in Early Islamic Period. The Evidence from Coin Hoards and Written Sources | 181 |

| | |
|---|-----|
| KATARZYNA KAPIEC | |
| The Sacred Scents: Examining the Connection Between the <i>'ntjw</i> and <i>sft</i> in the Context of the Early Eighteenth Dynasty Temples | 195 |
| DOMINIKA MAJCHRZAK | |
| Remarks on the Iconographic Motif of the Birdman in Mesopotamian Glyptic Art of the Third Millennium BC | 219 |
| KAROLINA PAWLIK | |
| Stone Artefacts from Late Roman Occupation Phases in Nea Paphos | 235 |
| ABRÉVIATIONS | 261 |

THE VOLUME IS PUBLISHED TO CELEBRATE

THE 50TH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE

ÉTUDES ET TRAVAUX

ESTABLISHED IN 1966