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BIFAO 71 (1972), p. 139-150

Helen Jacquet-Gordon

Concerning a Statue of Senenmut [with 5 photo-plates].

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CONCERNING A STATUE OF SENENMUT

Helen JACQUET-GORDON

During the 1970-1971 season of excavation, the expedition of the French Institute of Archaeology digging at Karnak North found several small fragments of a yellow-brown quartzite statue (Field Object Register N° KN-H817) in the debris of a round, red-brick enclosure designed originally as a protection for a tree. Of the 12 fragments recovered, only 7 display finished surfaces, the rest being from the interior of the statue. Of these 7, the most important (fragment 1) is a small head whose face and back are broken away, but enough of which remains to show that the person represented wore the side-lock of a young prince and an uraeus (Pl. XXVIII, A, frag. 1). Four fragments (n^{os} 2 to 5) fit together resulting in a form with two planes at right angles to one another. The larger surface presents parts of three columns of incised hieroglyphic text facing left (Pl. XXVIII, C, frag. 2-5, horizontal plane, and fig. 1); to the right of the third and last column, a rounded angle leads to the second surface on which the beginnings of two columns of text can be distinguished descending at right angles to the columns on the first surface (Pl. XXIX, A, frag. 2-5, vertical plane, and fig. 1). Fragments 6 and 7 likewise fit together, the combination resulting in an arrangement similar to that of fragments 2-5 except that the text on the upper surface faces right (Pl. XXVIII, B, frag. 6, horizontal plane, and fig. 2) and the second plane, on which are visible the remains of two columns of text, is here to the left instead of to the right of the first (Pl. XXIX, B, and C, frag. 6-7, vertical plane, and fig. 2).

The principal surfaces of fragments 2-5 and 6-7 appear to belong to the same plane — a horizontal, upper surface — while the planes at right angles to them on the left and right belong to the vertical sides of the statue. Such a disposition of the planes, as well as the rounded, slightly bulging form of the angles, suggests the contours of a block statue, and make it probable that it is with such a figure that we have to deal.

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To return to fragment 1, the head; its small proportions preclude the possibility of recognizing in it the head of the personage embodied in the block statue. Another factor lends support to this conclusion. Examination of the break at the back of the head reveals an incipient angle all around the edge which can be attributed only to the fact that the head was not freestanding but had been attached to something which extended out above and around it on all sides. This could not have been a dorsal pillar. We are thus lead to the conclusion that the head belongs to a secondary figure of smaller dimensions, held before him by the personage embodied in the block statue itself. These considerations, taken in conjunction with the fact that it is a royal child who is depicted, immediately bring to mind the statues of royal tutors or guardians such as that of Sebekhotep and the young Amenophis III (Brussels 6856) [1], Minmose and two princes (CGC 638) [2], Senenmut and the princess Neferurē (Berlin 2296, CGC 42114) [3], and Benermeryt with a daughter of Ramesses II (CGC 42171) [4]. The hypothesis that we have here the remains of a statue of a guardian with his royal pupil is happily confirmed by the text in the first of the 3 columns on fragments 2-5, which mentions the title :  « nurse of the king's daughter . . . ». The royal child is thus identified as a princess, not a prince; but a princess with pretensions to the throne — witness the uraeus.

The identification of the owner of the statue of which our fragments formed a part would have had to be abandoned to conjecture at this point, since his name is not preserved on the extant pieces, were it not for the inscription which appears on fragment 6 (fig. 2). This is a small bit on which is depicted a composite figure representing a vulture whose body is an oudjat eye, to which have been attached the head, wings and legs of the bird. The latter holds in its claws the hieroglyphic sign . This particular combination of symbols is known to us from three other sources, all three block statues of Senenmut holding the princess Neferurē on his

[1] Vandier, J., *La Statuaire Egyptienne*, pl. CLVIII/6.

[2] Borchardt, L., *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten*, II, pp. 186-187, pl. 117.

[3] Berlin 2296 : Königliche Museen zu Berlin, *Ägyptische und Vorderasiatische Alterthümer*, pl. 17. Cairo 42114 : Legrain, G., *Statues et Statuettes de Rois et de Particuliers*, I, (CGC), pl. LXVI, pp. 62-64.

[4] Legrain, G., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 37-38, pl. XXXV.

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lap: 1) Berlin 2296 [1]; 2) Cairo GC 42114 [2]; 3) a statue discovered by Pillet in 1922 in front of the IXth pylon at Karnak and summarily published by Daressy [3]. The composite figure in question is no longer to be seen on the latter statue, but that it once existed there is guaranteed by the presence of part of the inscription which accompanies it on the Cairo and Berlin statues in which Senenmut claims to be the author and original inventor of this particular symbol [4]. The appearance of this symbol on one of the pieces from Karnak North leaves no doubt that our fragments too are the remains of a statue of Senenmut holding his protegee, the princess Neferurē, daughter and heiress of Hatshepsut, on his lap. In form our statue must have been a replica of the three cited above, and our fragment 1 — the head — is, of course, the head of the princess.



Fig. 1. — Fragments 2 to 5.
Fragments of Senenmut's statue found at Karnak North.

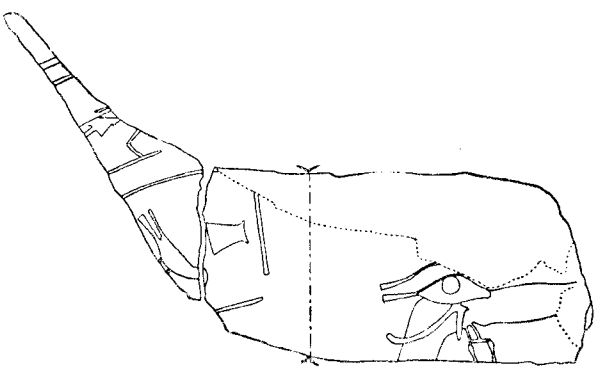


Fig. 2. — Fragments 6 and 7.
Fragments of Senenmut's statue found at Karnak North

Of the three parallel statues of Senenmut, that described by Daressy, of which no photograph has been published as far as I have been able to ascertain, was found reused in the late buildings excavated by Pillet southeast of the IXth pylon at Karnak [5].

[1] See n. 3 p. 140 above.
[2] See n. 3 p. 140 above.
[3] Daressy, G., *ASAE*, XXII, pp. 262-265.
[4] Gunn, B., *Studies in Egyptian Syntax*, p. 191, (17).
[5] Pillet, M., « Rapport sur les Travaux de Karnak (1921-1922) », *ASAE*, XXII, pp. 248-252.

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It is in comparatively good condition except that the heads of both Senenmut and the princess are missing and parts of the inscription on each side of the princess's head including the enigmatic symbol mentioned above have also disappeared. This statue closely resembles the Berlin statue in the choice and disposition of its texts. Both differ from Cairo 42114 in that the text on the front of the skirt containing the titles and general encomium on Senenmut has been somewhat abridged, and the sides, left blank on Cairo 42114, have been adorned with Chapters 56 and 106 of the Book of the Dead. The fragments from Karnak North can therefore be assimilated more closely to these two statues than to Cairo 42114, since these fragments show evidence that the statue to which they belonged was also inscribed on the sides.

Inspection of the list of all the known statues of Senenmut [1] — 22 in number if we exclude for the moment the fragments from Karnak North and the statue

[1] The statues known to me at present are the following :

1) Berlin 2296 — See n. 3 p. 140 above.
2) British Museum 174 — Hall, H.R., « The Statues of Senenmut and Menkheperre in the British Museum », *JEA*, XIV, pp. 1-2, pl. 2.
3) British Museum 1513 — *Ibid.*, pl. 1.
4) Brooklyn Museum 6768 — Bothmer, B.V., « Private Sculpture of Dynasty XVIII in Brooklyn », *Bklyn. Mus. Annual*, VIII, pp. 66-67.
5) Cairo Museum GC 42114 — Legrain, G., *op. cit.*, I, pp. 62-64, pl. LXVI.
6) Cairo Museum GC 42115 — *Ibid.*, p. 64.
7) Cairo Museum GC 42116 — *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65, pl. LXVII.
8) Cairo Museum GC 42117 — *Ibid.*, pp. 65-66, pl. LXVIII.
9) Cairo Museum GC 579 — Borchardt, L., *op. cit.*, II, pp. 127-130, pl. 99.
10) Cairo Museum JE 34582 — Bothmer, B.V., « More Statues of Senenmut », *Bklyn. Mus. Annual*, XI, part 2 (1969-1970), pp. 124-143.
11) Cairo Museum JE 47278 — the IXth pylon statue. See notes 3 and 5 p. 141 above.
12) Chicago Field Museum 173988 — Allen, G., « A Unique Statue of Senmut », *AJSL*, 44, pp. 49-55.
13) Louvre 11057 — Barguet, P., « Une Statuette de Senenmout au Musée du Louvre », *Chr. d'Egypte*, 28 (1953), pp. 23-27.
14) Metropolitan Museum of Art, N.Y. 481497 — Hayes, Wm., « Varia from the Time of Hatshepsut », *MDAIK*, 15, pp. 84-88, pl. 12.
15) Private Collection, N.Y. — Bothmer, B.V., *Bklyn. Mus. Annual*, XI, part 2, (1969-70), pp. 124-143.
16) Private Collection, Paris — *Ibid.*
17) Karnak, magazine called « Sheikh Labib » — Kindly brought to my attention by Claude Traunecker. Unpublished.
18) Karnak, magazine called « Caracol » — Labib Habachi kindly informed me of

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cut in the rock above his tomb (number 71 south of the Assassif [1]) — shows that 14 are of black granite [2], 1 of red granite [3], 3 of yellow quartzite [4], 1 of purple-red quartzite [5], 1 of red porphyry [6], 1 of black diorite [7], and 1 of grey-green schist [8]. Of the three yellow quartzite statues, British Museum 1513, a plain block statue without the princess, and Cairo GC 579, a kneeling statue holding a sistrum in front of it, belong to different form categories and do not concern us here. The third is the IXth pylon statue which thus emerges as the one most closely related to our fragments in material, form and disposition of texts. But how closely related is it?

If we consider Daressy's description of this statue, we note first that the two heads are missing. Among the fragments from Karnak North, fragment 1 is a head of the princess.

On Daressy's statue, the blow which detached the princess's head also removed parts of the horizontal surface around it originally adorned with two short inscriptions, including the symbolic vulture already described, and a second enigmatical figure. Little remains of these texts but they can be restored without difficulty by comparison with Berlin 2296 and Cairo 42114 where the same texts appear in the same positions. We here immediately notice that a considerable part of what is missing in Daressy's texts appears on the upper surfaces of fragments 2-5 and 6-7 from Karnak North (see fig. 3).

The texts from the Book of the Dead on the right and left sides of Daressy's statue are complete except for a few signs at the beginnings of the columns. The

the existence of this statue which I have not yet seen. Unpublished.

19) Deir-el-Bahari, Naville Excavations — Naville, G., *Deir-el-Bahari, Introductory Memoir*, p. 19.

20) Deir-el-Bahari, Polish Institute excavations — Marciniak, M., « Une Nouvelle Statue de Senenmout récemment découverte à Deir-el-Bahari », *BIFAO*, LXIII, pp. 201-207, pls. XXI-XXII.

21) Deir-Rumi (Valley of the Queens) — Fragment recently discovered by M. Dewachter, who kindly permits me to mention it here. See pp. 87-96 above.

22) Edfu — Weigall, A., « Upper Egyptian Notes », *ASAE*, IX, p. 106.

[1] Davies, N., *PSBA*, XXXV (1913), pp. 282-285. *PM*, I/1 (2nd Ed.), p. 141.

[2] N^os^ 1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 15, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22 of the list in n. 1 p. 142 above.

[3] N° 6 of the above list.

[4] N^os^ 3, 9, 11 of the above list.

[5] N° 10 of the above list.

[6] N° 13 of the above list.

[7] N° 14 of the above list.

[8] N° 16 of the above list.

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hieroglyphs which are preserved on the vertical plane representing the left side of the Karnak North statue (fragments 2-5) fit into the lacuna at the beginning of the second and third columns of Daressy's text from Chapter 106. Similarly, the signs on the vertical plane representing the right side of our statue (fragments 6-7) provide the first three hieroglyphs lacking in Daressy's column 4, as well as part of column 5 of Chapter 56. Such coincidences could not be fortuitous and even before I had the possibility of confronting the IXth pylon statue with the facsimiles of the Karnak North fragments, it was morally certain that the two belonged together (see fig. 3).

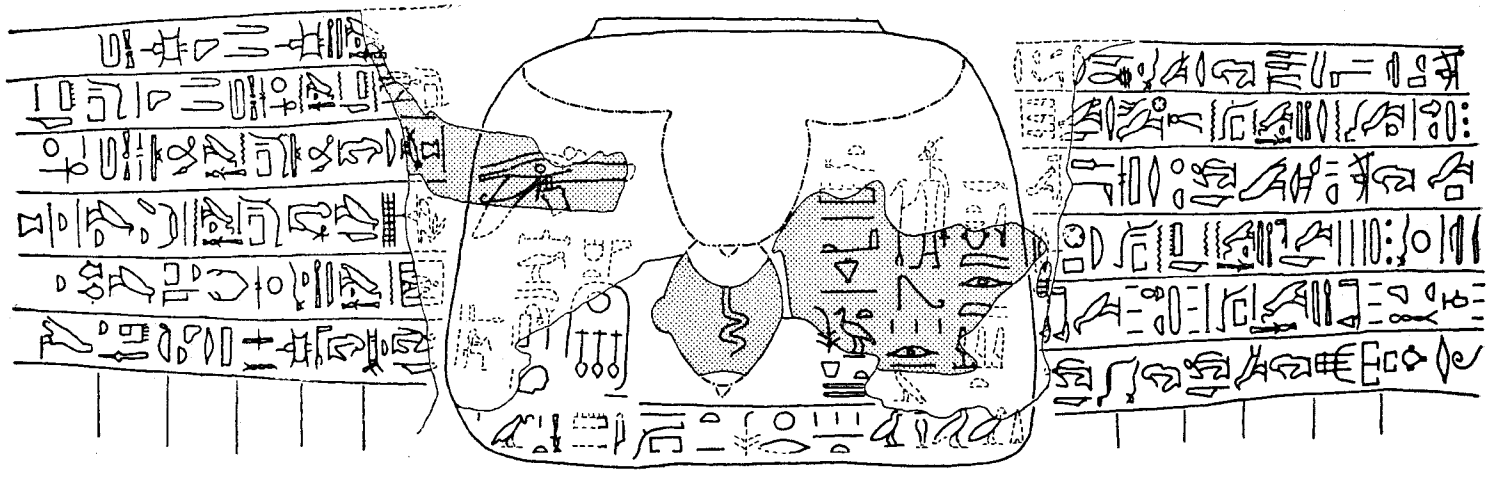
Since Daressy cited no Museum Entry Journal number for this object as he did for the other inscribed pieces found south of the IXth pylon at the same time, it seemed possible that the Senenmut statue had remained in one of the Karnak magazines. But a search of the latter proving fruitless, recourse was had to the Cairo Museum registers where the statue was shortly located under the JE number 47278. With the friendly assistance of Dr. Henry Riad, Director of the Cairo Museum, I was able to examine and photograph the statue [1], now kept in one of the reserve rooms not open to the public. This examination demonstrated beyond a doubt that the Karnak North pieces were fragments which had at an unspecified date been broken off from the IXth pylon statue.

The accompanying figure 3 illustrates the Karnak North fragments replaced in their original positions where they complement without entirely completing the damaged inscriptions on the top and sides of Cairo 47278. The inscriptions from the front and back of the statue are reproduced in fig. 4 and 5. A few remarks concerning these inscriptions may be permitted. Comparison of the Book of the Dead Chapters inscribed on the sides of this statue, with those on Berlin 2296 shows that the two differ slightly as to the disposition of the texts within each column, the orthography of certain words, and the choice of epithets accompanying the name of Senenmut which interrupts the texts at regular intervals. The Karnak North fragments, though exiguous, permit three corrections in the restorations proposed by Daressy for his lacunae. Column 4 of Chapter 56 shows the writing  as in the Berlin statue instead of the proposed . At the beginning of

[1] The excellent set of photographs of the statue were made by Cairo Museum photographer Sami Mitri to whom are due all my thanks.

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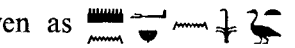
Karnak North fragments

IXth Pylon statue

Restored text

Reconstituted outlines

Fig. 3. — Reconstituted texts on the top and sides of Senenmut's statue.

column 5 of the same text, the lacuna must have held the title  of which the bottom of the sign  is visible on fragment 7. Finally, in the text on the lap to the left of the princess's head, Senenmut's title is given as  omitting the epithet *wr* which appears on both the Berlin and Cairo 42114 statues.

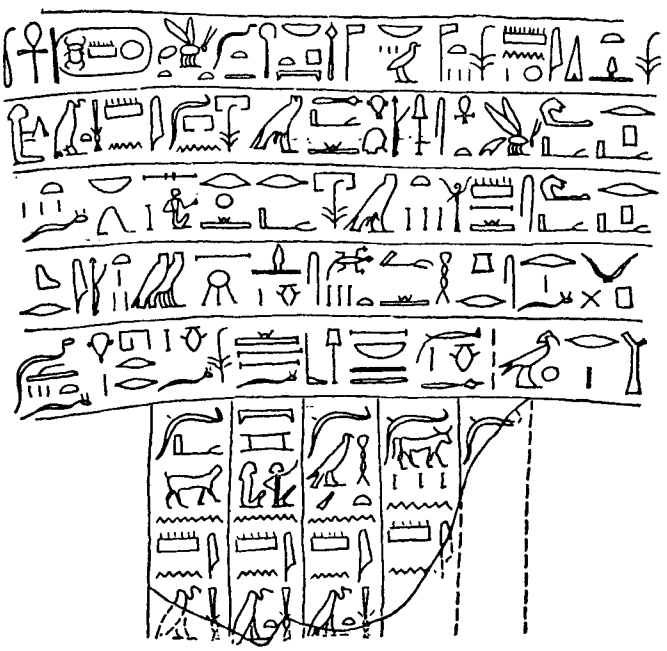


Fig. 4. — IXth pylon statue. Texts on the front.

Other slight rectifications of Daressy's copy can be gleaned from the accompanying facsimiles (fig. 3, 4, 5 and Pl. XXX-XXXII).

It may be recalled in passing that the enigmatic symbols — a composite vulture on the right side of the lap and a personage without a face, wearing a headdress composed of combined *ʿnḫ* and *wꜣs* signs on the left — which accompany the inscriptions on each side of the princess's head on Senenmut's three comparable statues, have been explained by the Abbé Drioton as rebuses dissimulating the cartouches of Queen Hatshepsut [1]. His very ingenious decipherment of these

[1] Drioton, Et., « Deux Cryptogrammes de Senenmout », *ASAE*, XXXVIII, pp. 231-238.

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symbols gains support from the fact that the cartouches of the reigning sovereign are what we would be most likely to expect in the positions which they occupy.

It is to be noted that apparently nowhere on this statue have the names of Senenmut or of Amun been intentionally damaged. However, closer examination brings out a remarkable fact which throws doubt on this assertion. Throughout the inscriptions on the statue, the letter « n » appears in two different forms : 1)  2) . The first form is used with one or two exceptions (left side, col. 5; front, line 2) only in the names of Senenmut and Amun; the second, also with one or two exceptions, (right side, col. 5; left side, col. 2) appears everywhere except in the names of Senenmut and Amun. This seems definitely to point to a partial refection of the texts. Moreover, if one examines the questionable areas in detail, one notes that the signs here tend to be slightly smaller and give the impression of being cramped for space; neither are they as carefully cut as the rest of the inscriptions. However, it must be admitted that nowhere can one discern identifiable traces of signs underlying the present ones, and the surface shows only a minimal difference in finish. The recutting, if such took place, and I am inclined to think that it did, was very carefully and ably accomplished.

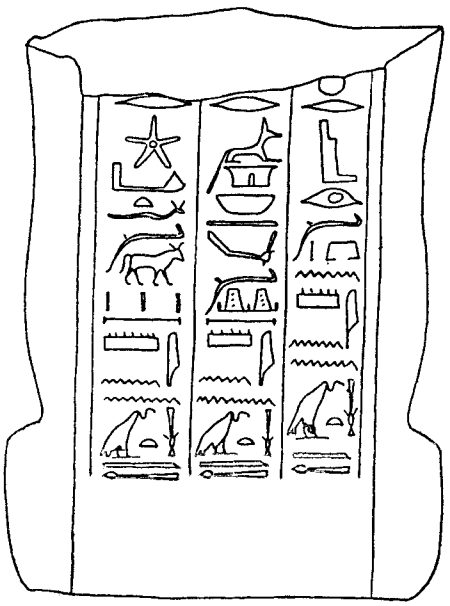
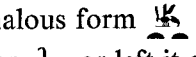


Fig. 5. — IXth pylon statue. Texts on the dorsal pillar.

Further support for this theory is supplied by a different set of observations centering about the cartouche of Tuthmosis III which appears at the end of the first line of text on the front of the statue. As far as I have been able to ascertain on the photographs, no trace of a surcharge is visible here either [1].

[1] Daressy thought that the cartouche had not been recut and accounted for the feminine *'nḫty* by saying that « le graveur travaillait juste au moment où se faisait la substitution du nom de Thotmes III à celui de la reine : il a bien modifié le cartouche mais oublié de changer le qualificatif ». *ASAE*, XXII, p. 265. It is worth noting that the enigmatic symbols

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Nevertheless, certain signs indicate that the end of line 1, including the cartouche, has been recut, but so neatly was this accomplished that hardly any trace of the work remains. The first thing which attracts the attention is the fact that the cartouche containing the name of Menkheperrē is followed by the feminine epithet *ʿnḫty*, a fact which would seem to indicate that originally the name of Hatshepsut stood here. Secondly, the title *nswt bity* which precedes the cartouche appears in the following anomalous form  as if the artist, in re-engraving his text, had either forgotten the sign , or left it out for lack of space. The  also has quite a different form from the in line 2. Finally, inspection of the outline of the upper front border of the statue (see fig. 3) shows that the right-hand angle (that above the cartouche) is slightly more rounded than the left-hand one, and that it projects forward to a lesser extent than the latter, just what one would expect if it had been cut down to provide a new surface. The inscription on the corresponding upper face, although still visible, appears to have suffered from the repolishing of the surface at this point.

All these considerations taken together lead to the supposition that the inscriptions on Senenmut's statue underwent extensive restoration in ancient times. The fact that the name of Amun figures among the restored texts confirms the conclusion that the restorations are post-Amarna, and suggests that the object of the erasures affecting Senenmut's name was not the person of the royal favorite but the hieroglyph depicting the goddess Mut. Possibly the person of Senenmut was not in any way involved in the proceeding. It was just his ill-luck to have held a theophoric name [1]. In any case it would be interesting to examine in detail the inscriptions on all of Senenmut's statues in order to ascertain to what extent similar restorations occur elsewhere and to determine what further conclusions can be drawn from the information thus gathered.

embodying the names of the queen (if indeed this interpretation is the correct one), being perhaps as enigmatic to the ordinary mortal of that day as they are to us, were left intact.

[1] A propos of this question see B.S. Lesko, « The Senmut Problem », *JARCE*, VI, pp. 113-118. The author's argument for a fall from grace during the reign of Hatshepsut herself does not seem entirely convincing. One is led to wonder whether the hypothesis of a « fall from grace » is not entirely gratuitous, and whether it will not be necessary to look for some other reason for the destruction of Senenmut's tombs.

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One may well ask how it is that fragments belonging to the same statue should be found at such a distance from one another as separates Karnak North from the IXth pylon — a distance of approximately 500 m. Consideration of the exact circumstances under which the pieces were found may throw some light on the question. Daressy, speaking of the statue, says : « Statue en quartzite jaune, trouvée le 4 février 1922 en avant de la face sud du IX[e] pylône, massif oriental » [1]. Pillet, describing the excavations, specifies that « les statues découvertes furent trouvées enfouies sous les constructions postérieures, à une distance variant entre 8 mètres et 15 mètres de la façade du pylône » [2]. The late buildings referred to, he describes as « de l'époque chrétienne, situées à environ 1 m. 50 cm. au-dessus du sol de la XVIII[e] dynastie et édifiées avec des matériaux antiques » [3]. From this it seems clear that the statue lay in debris of a very late period covering the floor of the northeast angle of the court between the IXth pylon and the temple of Amenophis II, at a height of approximately 1 m. 50, but below the level on which the Christian houses were built.

On the other hand, as already stated, the fragments from Karnak North were found in a circular enclosure of burnt brick situated at approximately 25 meters south of the southeast corner of the Harprē temple [4]. The enclosure is one of a series aligned parallel to the east walls of the Montu and Harprē temples, indicating the emplacement of an alley of trees planted at the very end of the dynastic period or in Ptolemaic times. The fragments, with the other debris which filled the enclosure, were thrown away there at an unspecified period after the planting of the alley and probably subsequent to its abandonment, consequently not before the end of the Ptolemaic period and perhaps as late as Roman times. We can therefore safely conclude from the evidence on both sides that the final disfiguration of the statue took place at a very late period.

As overseer of all the Queen's architectural works, Senenmut had constant access to all the temples of the Theban area and appears to have dedicated statues of himself in each of the main edifices of his time. Thus we know of statues of his which originally stood in the Mut temple precinct — no doubt in the temple

[1] Daressy, G., *ASAE*, XXII, p. 262.
[2] Pillet, M., *ASAE*, XXII, p. 251.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Jacquet, J., « Fouilles de Karnak Nord, Quatrième Campagne, 1971 », *BIFAO*, LXXI, pp. 151-160.

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built by Hatshepsut (Lepsius 16) or an earlier one now no longer visible (Cairo GC 579); in the Amon temple (Cairo GC 42114, 42115, 42116); in the granaries of Amon at Karnak (Cairo GC 42117); in Hatshepsut's Deir-el-Bahari temple [1]; in another sanctuary at Deir-el-Bahari [2]; and in the temple of Montu at Armant [3]. What more likely than that he had also placed a statue in the temple of Tuthmosis I (newly discovered by the French Institute expedition at Karnak North) [4] situated north of the main Amon temple enclosure in a position analogous to that of the Mut complex on the south? The walls of this temple, which lies slightly to the east of the spot where the fragments of Senenmut's statue were found, were dismantled during late Ptolemaic and Roman times by masons in search of limestone to aliment their lime kilns. They profited by the occasion to pillage whatever they found in their way, and statues of hard stone provided precious raw material for the manufacture of grain mortars and other useful objects. It is possible therefore to suppose that our statue, together with others of which fragments were found still lying in the trenches dug by the seekers of limestone, was dragged up to the surface, the heads broken off in order to form a more regularly shaped block, and the fragments thrown aside onto the nearest dump heap — namely our brick enclosure. The mutilated statue was hauled off to be used for other purposes and came finally to rest, we know not how or why, in front of the IXth pylon. It may be objected that we found only the princess's head and not that of Senenmut. However, several plausible explanations for this can be brought forward, the most probable being that the head had already disappeared long before. If it was still present at the moment when the statue was taken out of the ground, it could immediately have been seized upon by one of our hypothetical masons to serve as a grindstone or hammer. Just possibly, it still lies in the unexcavated area around the temple waiting to be found by the expedition in the course of a future season's work.

[1] The statue base found by Naville : see n° 19 in the list given above, and Hayes, Wm., *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89.

[2] The statue found by the Polish Institute Expedition in 1963 (F 4031) which Marciniak, in his article, supposes to have stood originally in the bark chapel called *Ḥ*ʿ-*ỉḫt*.

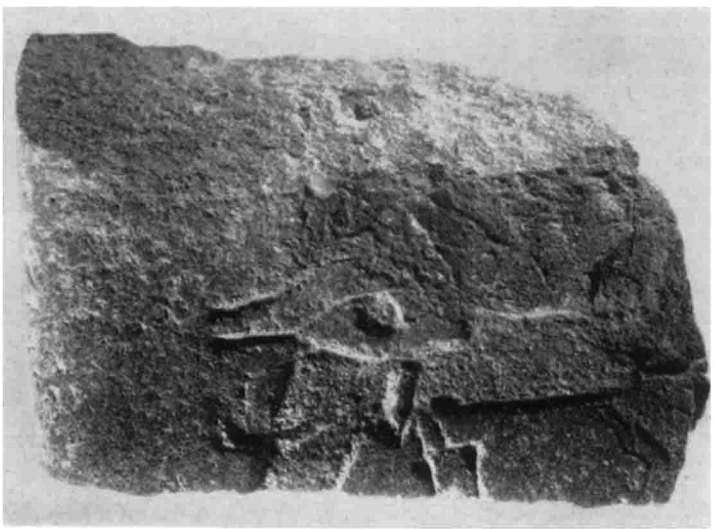
[3] N^os^ 4, 15 and 16 in the above list. See Bothmer, B.V., *Bklyn. Mus. Annual*, VIII (1966-1967), p. 61, n. 11 and the references cited above.

[4] Jacquet, J., « Trois Campagnes de Fouilles à Karnak Nord (1968-1969-1970) », *BIFAO*, LXIX, pp. 275-281.

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A. — Fragment 1 : Head seen from the top, showing uraeus and side-lock.



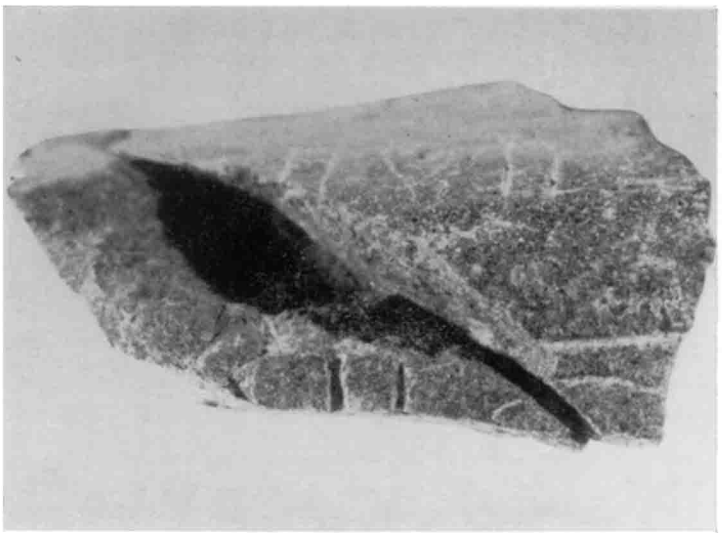
B. — Fragment 6 : Horizontal plane.



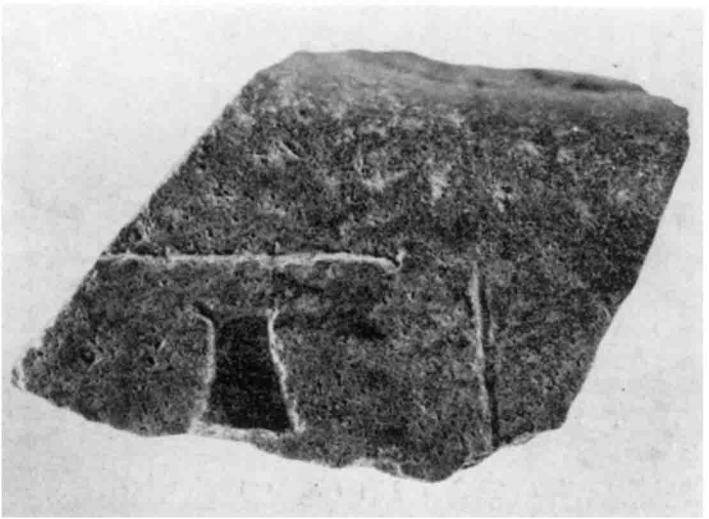
C. — Fragments 2-5 : Horizontal plane.

FRAGMENTS OF SENENMUT'S STATUE FOUND AT KARNAK NORTH.

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A. — Fragments 2-5 : Vertical plane.



B. — Fragment 6 : Vertical plane.



C. — Fragment 7 : Vertical plane.

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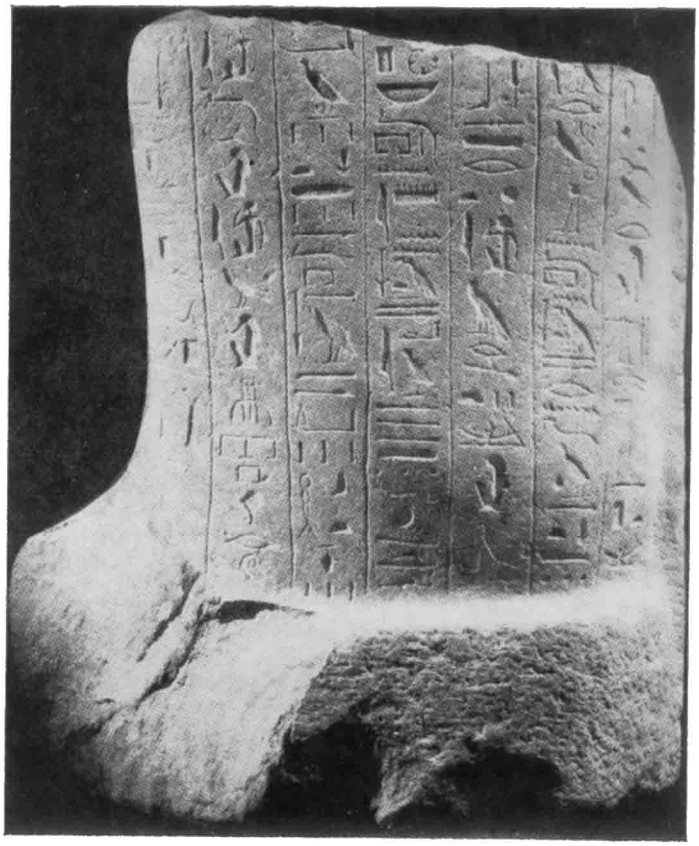
A. — Upper surface.



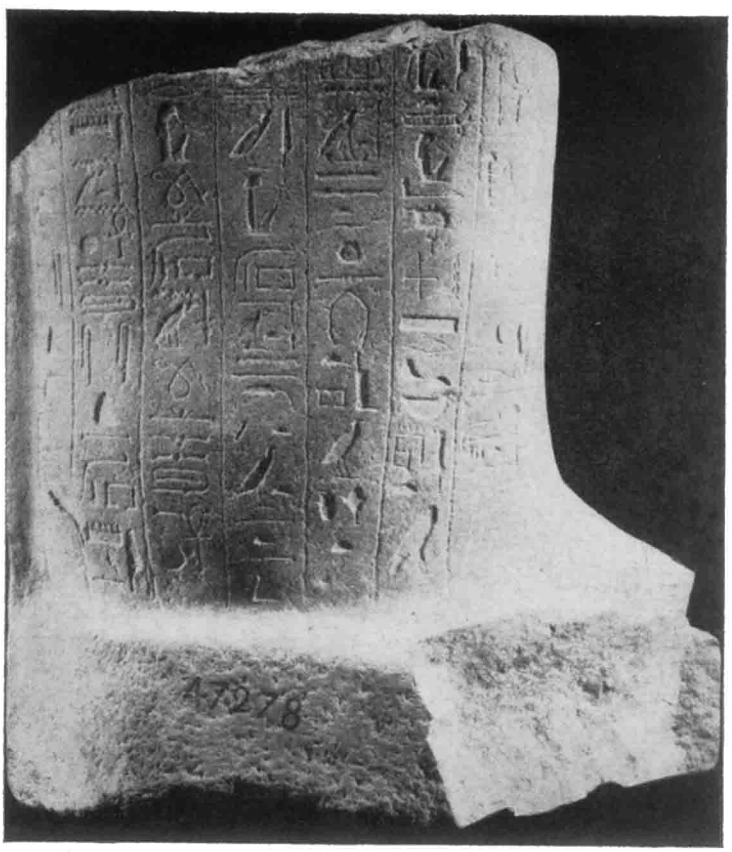
B.— Front.

IXth Pylon Statue.

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A. — Left side.



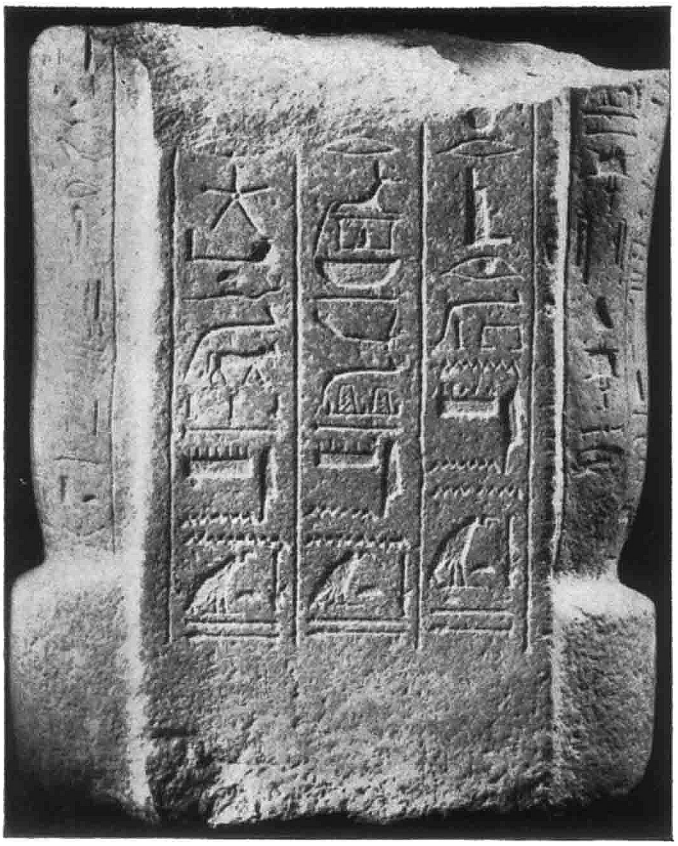
B. — Right side.

IXth Pylon Statue.

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A. — Detail of front.



B. — Dorsal Pillar.

IXth Pylon Statue.

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