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The Regional Supply Chain of Djehutihotep's *Ka*-Chapel in Tjerty

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The scene showing the transport of the colossal statue of Djehutihotep depicted in his tomb at Dayr al-Barshā is among the most well-known Middle Kingdom tomb reliefs.² It has for this reason been depicted in many publications, and has been intensively studied. However, the interest mostly focused on one aspect: the scene as a source of information on the technology of heavy stone transport. It almost invariably plays a role in investigations into the question of how the blocks were transported with which the pyramids were built.

The actual dragging of the statue in fact only forms one element in a much larger scene, which extends both to the right and left of the depiction, and which spans almost the entire width of the top register of the west wall of Djehutihotep's tomb chapel (*Figs 1-2*).³ To the left, a large figure of Djehutihotep accompanied by his relatives, guards, and high officials is depicted following the transport of the colossus.⁴ To the right, the

location is shown towards which the statue was transported. While this latter scene is damaged, it clearly shows the doorway of a building in front of which several activities are taking place. This element of the scene has so far hardly attracted any attention, and this is what this paper focuses on.

In 1894 P.E. Newberry published a drawing of this doorway⁵ (*Fig. 3*) based on older publications such as that of K.R. Lepsius.⁶ Making a facsimile drawing was no longer possible in Newberry's day since it had already been hacked out at the time when he recorded the tomb in the winter of 1891. In preparing his book, Newberry also consulted numerous unpublished drawings made earlier in the nineteenth century.⁷ He was one of the very few scholars to pronounce a judgement on what the building represents: "it was either the nomarch's palace or a country residence of his, or a chapel intended only to receive his *ka*-statues."⁸ In discussing the mode of transportation, he suggests that it seems likely that the statue would have been loaded on a ship

1. This research was supported by the Special Research Fund of KU Leuven and the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO).

2. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I. The Tomb of Tehuti-Hetep*, ASE 3, London, <1894>, pl. XV.

3. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, pl. XII.

4. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, pl. XIII.

5. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, pl. XVI.

6. LD II, 118, pl. 135a-d.

7. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 4-5.

8. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 25.



Fig. 1 : Photo of the west wall of Djehutihotep's tomb chapel, showing in the top register the scenes of the transport of the colossal statue of the governor to his *ka*-chapel (© Dayr al-Barsha Project, KU Leuven, photo M. De Meyer, 2014).

to float downstream to Hermopolis, ancient Khemenu (currently called al-Ashmūnayn).⁹ The idea that the statue would have been erected at Djehutihotep's governorial palace, and that this is what the scene at the far right (*Fig. 3*) depicts, was afterwards endorsed by J.H. Breasted,¹⁰ D. Kessler,¹¹ Di. Arnold,¹² and B. Kemp.¹³

Recent work by H. Willems, Chr. Peeters and G. Verstraeten, however, led to a quite different conclusion.¹⁴ They argued that nothing in the text that once stood behind the back of the statue¹⁵ justifies the idea that the monument was shipped across the Nile. This inscription describes that it was erected in a village called Tjerty, which was recently argued to be the name of a Middle Kingdom settlement located in the area of the modern village of Dayr al-Barshā.¹⁶ The statue would thus have remained on the eastern side of the Nile, where it was erected in or near the modern village of Dayr al-Barshā. According to the same text, it stood amongst a whole group of cult places for earlier governors of the Hare nome. The text suggests that these cult places stood on the bank of the Nile, which arguably ran very close to the present-day village during the Middle Kingdom.¹⁷ H. Willems

suggested that the structure that was apparently the destination of the journey of the statue was probably Djehutihotep's *ka*-chapel, although the passage in the text that names the building is lost.¹⁸ Therefore, Djehutihotep, and probably his predecessors as well, had two cult places at Dayr al-Barshā: 1) a *ka*-chapel containing an altar and a statue near the river bank in Tjerty, and 2) a tomb with a cult chapel approximately one kilometer further east, on the high hills of the Eastern Desert.¹⁹

This whole debate was hitherto based on Newberry's publication of the scene, and not on a fresh inspection of the wall painting itself. In 2012, however, the Dayr al-Barshā project was invited by Fl. Morfoisse and G. Andreu to participate in the preparation of the exhibition "Sésostriis III. Pharaon de légende" in the Palais des Beaux-Arts at Lille. For this exhibition, a virtual 3D reconstruction of the tomb was made, which was presented to the audience both as a digital walk-through on screen and as an actual scale model of the building.²⁰ This reconstruction was re-mounted with certain additions in the exhibition "Djehoetihotep. 100 jaar opgravingen in Egypte/Djehoutihotep. 100 ans de fouilles en Égypte", which ran at the Royal Museums of Art and History in Brussels (5 November 2015-30 April 2016).²¹

9. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 24.

10. J.H. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt I*, Chicago, 1906, p. 309-310.

11. D. KESSLER, s.v. "Hermupolis Magna", *LÄ II*, col. 1138; ID., *Historische Topographie der Region zwischen Malawi und Samalut*, TAVO Beihefte, Reihe B, 30, Wiesbaden, 1981, p. 99.

12. DI. ARNOLD, *Building in Egypt. Pharaonic Stone Masonry*, New York-Oxford, 1991, p. 61.

13. B. KEMP, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilization*, London-New York, 2006, p. 340, fig. 117.

14. H. WILLEMS, CHR. PEETERS, G. VERSTRAETEN, "Where Did Djehutihotep Erect His Colossal Statue?", *ZÄS* 132, 2005, p. 173-189.

15. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, pl. XIV.

16. H. WILLEMS, "A Note on the Ancient Name of Dayr al-Barshā", *ZÄS* 140, 2013, p. 188-192.

17. H. WILLEMS, CHR. PEETERS, G. VERSTRAETEN, *ZÄS* 132, 2005, p. 173-189. For the location of the Nile, see in more detail G. VERSTRAETEN, I. MOHAMED, B. NOTEBAERT and H. WILLEMS, "The Dynamic Nature of the Transition from the Nile

Floodplain to the Desert in Central Egypt since the Mid-Holocene", in J. Dahms, H. Willems (eds.), *The Nile: Natural and Cultural Landscape in Egypt. Proceedings of the international symposium held at the Johannes-Gutenberg-Universität Mainz, 22-23 January 2013*, Bielefeld, 2017, p. 242-247.

18. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, pl. XIV, line 12, top.

19. Most recently H. WILLEMS, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects of Egyptian Funerary Culture. Religious Ideas and Ritual Practice in Middle Kingdom Elite Cemeteries*, CHANE 73, Leiden-Boston, 2014, p. 98-123.

20. We express our gratitude to the firm Ingeo, and especially O. Huyghe, for realizing the 3D modeling of the tomb. For the catalogue of the exhibition, see Fl. Morfoisse, G. Andreu-Lanoë (eds.), *Sésostriis III. Pharaon de légende*, Gand, 2014.

21. Again, our team was able to benefit from the input of Ingeo. For the digital reconstruction, see M. De Meyer, "Épigraphie in Dayr al-Barsha/L'épigraphie à Dayr al-Barcha",

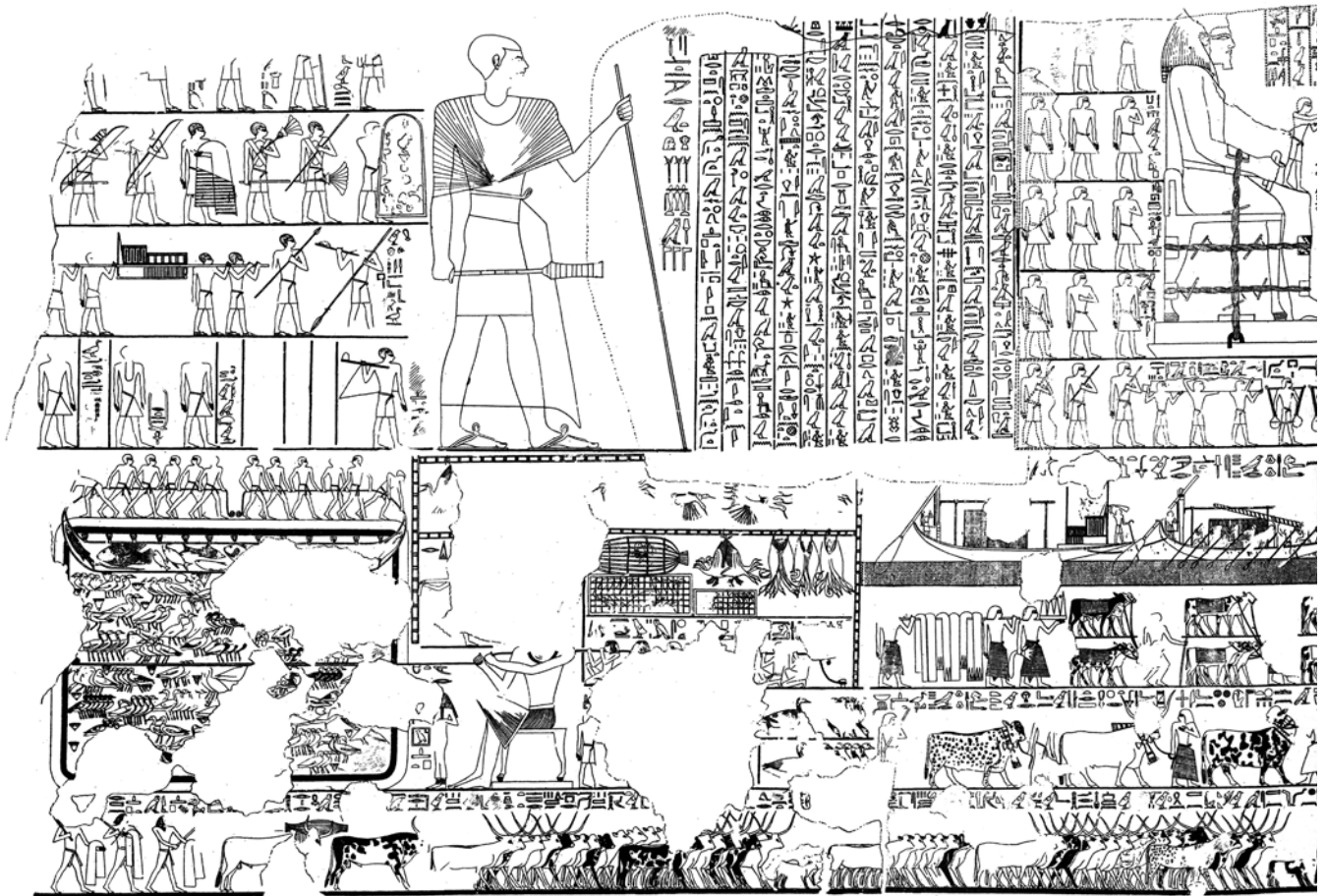


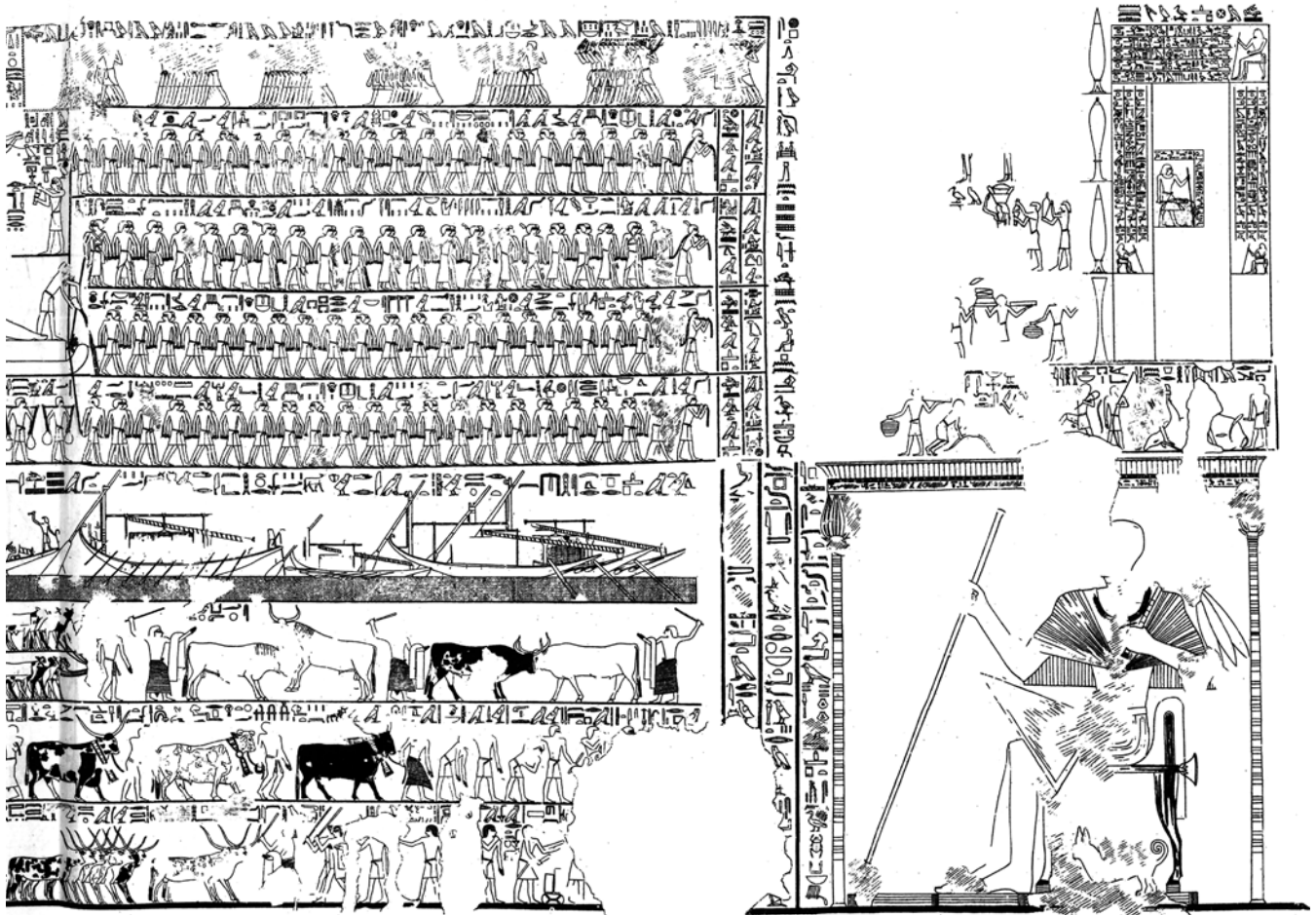
Fig. 2 : The west wall of Djehutihotep's tomb chapel as published by P.E. Newberry. The scenes of the transport of the colossal statue of the governor to his *ka*-chapel are on the top register (after P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, pl. XII).

In preparation of the 3D model, high resolution photographs were made of the entire tomb, a task which was carried out in March and April 2014 by M. De Meyer. In the course of this work, several inaccuracies, omissions, and

mistakes were noticed in Newberry's published copy of the tomb. The most notable examples of this were found in the scene depicting the destination of the transport of the Djehutihotep statue.

In this article we will reanalyze this scene based on this new information. However, today some parts of the scene are missing that still existed in the early nineteenth century. Therefore

in M. De Meyer, K. Cortebeeck (eds.), *Djehutihotep. 100 jaar opgravingen in Egypte/Djehutihotep. 100 ans de fouilles en Égypte*, Leuven, 2015, p. 153-158.



we will first study the early records, after which we will present the recent photographic evidence. In a final section we will discuss the implications of the new information for the interpretation of the scene.

The Early Drawings (Figs 4-6)

The earliest record of a drawing being made of the scene of the colossus dates to 1817, when

W.J. Banks and H.W. Beechey visited the tomb along with C.L. Irby and J. Mangles.²² Although

22. These drawings are referred to in C.L. IRBY, J. MANGLES, *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria, and Asia Minor, during the Years 1817 and 1818*, London, 1823, p. 165. For the discovery of the scene, see also W.J. Banks (ed.), *Narrative of the Life and Adventures of Giovanni Finati, Native of Ferrara; who, under the Assumed Name of Mahomet, Made the Campaigns against the Wahabees for the Recovery of Mecca and Medina; and since Acted as Interpreter to European Travellers in Some Parts Least Visited of Asia and Africa*, vol. II, London, 1830, p. 302-303.

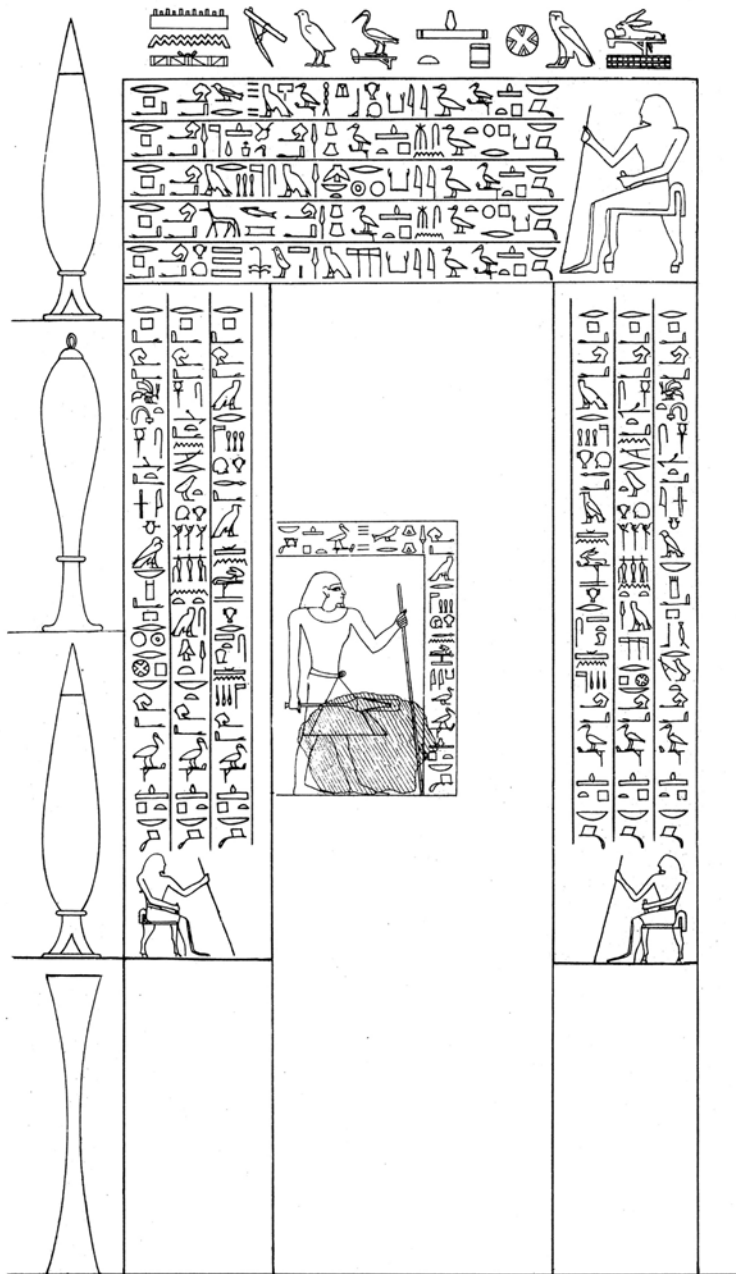


Fig. 3 : Detail of the ka-chapel of Djehutihotep, as published by P.E. Newberry (after P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh* I, <1894>, pl. XVI).

Bankes' original drawing has not been located, a copy of it was published by J. Gardner Wilkinson in 1837.²³ The earliest rendering of the scene to appear in print was published in 1824 by Baron von Minutoli,²⁴ but he only shows the actual dragging of the colossus and not the part of the scene that interests us here. In 1833 Robert Hay sent J. Bonomi and F.V.J. Arundale to the site, where the latter made some incomplete drawings of the tomb of Djehutihotep, including the scene under discussion (cf. *infra*).²⁵ The drawing that I. Rosellini²⁶ published in 1834 again only shows the transport of the statue, and not its broader context. In 1838, Nestor l'Hôte may also have copied the scene, but as P.E. Newberry points out "the greater part of his drawings and squeezes were lost at sea."²⁷ In 1841, however, Nestor l'Hôte returned to the tomb and made a copy of part of the scene that interests us here.²⁸ In the same year, J. Gardner Wilkinson also made sketches in the tomb, of which P.E. Newberry used copies, but which have not been accessible to us.²⁹ The tomb was subsequently visited by K.R. Lepsius in 1843, who published a part of the scene we are here interested in.³⁰

As regards the scene displaying the destination of the statue transport, the harvest from all these efforts is thus quite meagre. Renderings of part of the scene only appear in the drawings by Arundale (*Fig. 4*), Nestor l'Hôte

(*Fig. 5*), and K.R. Lepsius (*Fig. 6*), and they all concentrate on the gate in the eastern part of the scene. None of them copy the activities taking place in front of this gate. This is likely due to the fact that this part of the scene was only painted and not executed in sunk relief, as the gate is. At a time when this paint was still covered in a layer of dirt, as it still partially is today, it would have been very difficult to discern the image. Since the depiction of the gate was hacked out in 1890³¹ and therefore could not be inspected *in situ* either by P.E. Newberry or by ourselves, these ancient drawings are of some importance, and they will be studied first.

K.R. Lepsius' drawing (*Fig. 6*) is unfortunately useful only to the extent that it renders the texts of the door jambs and lintels, an element also accurately reproduced by Nestor l'Hôte. For the rest, however, it is of not much use, since it features the decorated panels as separate units, and not in their correct position.

31. The blocks depicting the two doorjambs (*Fig. 11*) entered the Museo Egizio in Florence in 1892 and are registered as 7596-7597. They were bought in Egypt in 1891-1892 by Ernesto Schiaparelli on behalf of the Museo Egizio, but no information is preserved as to where exactly he bought them (personal communication, Maria Cristina Guidotti). P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 22 mentions that Petrie already photographed them in the Florence museum in 1893. The lintel of the gate has never surfaced in any collection, nor has the element depicted within the opening of the gate. All these blocks were probably hacked out at the same time as the text behind the colossal statue of Djehutihotep, of which a photo taken by Major Brown in 1889 gives a clear *terminus post quem* (W.V. DAVIES, "Djehutyhotep's Colossus Inscription and Major Brown's Photograph", in W.V. Davies (ed.) *Studies in Egyptian Antiquities: A Tribute to T.G.H. James, BM Occasional Paper 123*, London, 1999, p. 29-35). In a letter by Charles Edwin Wilbour dated 24 January 1890, mention is first made of the destruction in the tomb of Djehutihotep: "Professor Sayce and his friend arrived and called in the evening. He reports that at Bersheh the famous tomb of the Colossus on the Sledge has been "smashed," and that a very pretty and perfect little tomb below it, half of which I once copied, has been quite broken up and carried away. Luckily he had copied the whole of it." (J. Capart (ed.), *Travels in Egypt (December 1880 to May 1891): Letters of Charles Edwin Wilbour*, Brooklyn, 1936, p. 547).

23. J. GARDNER WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. 3, London, 1837, p. 328; P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 3-4.

24. J.H.K.M. VON MINUTOLI, *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon, in der Libyschen Wüste, und nach Ober-Aegypten in den Jahren 1820 und 1821*, Berlin, 1824, pl. 13.

25. Referred to by P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 4 as British Museum MS 29,814 fol. 3-8. They are currently being kept in the British Library, with the same numbers.

26. I. ROSELLINI, *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia II.2: Monumenti civili*, Pisa, 1834, pl. XLVIII.

27. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 4.

28. Now kept in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, NAF 20396, p. 253 recto.

29. See P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 5, n. 3.

30. LD II, 118, pl. 135a-d.

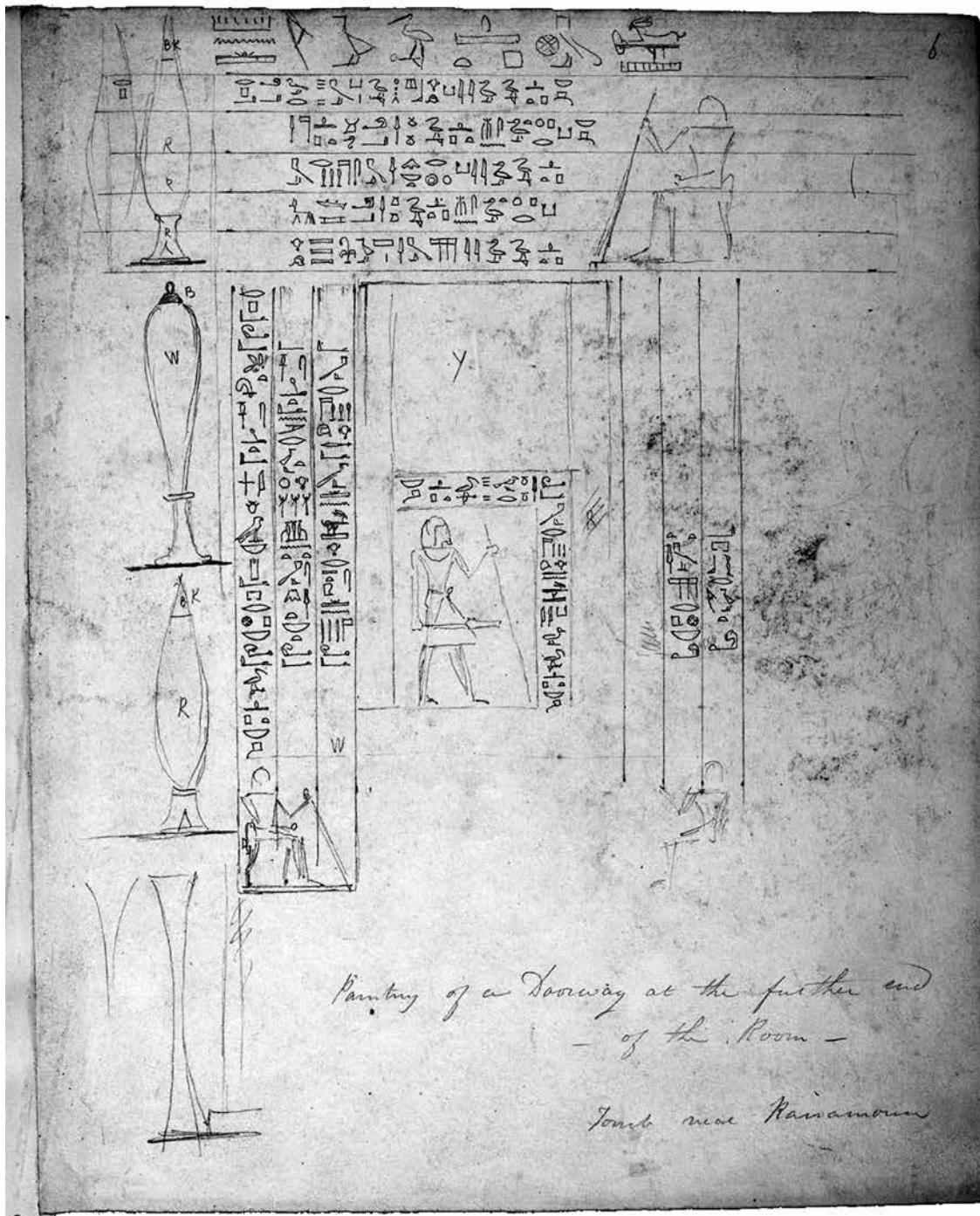
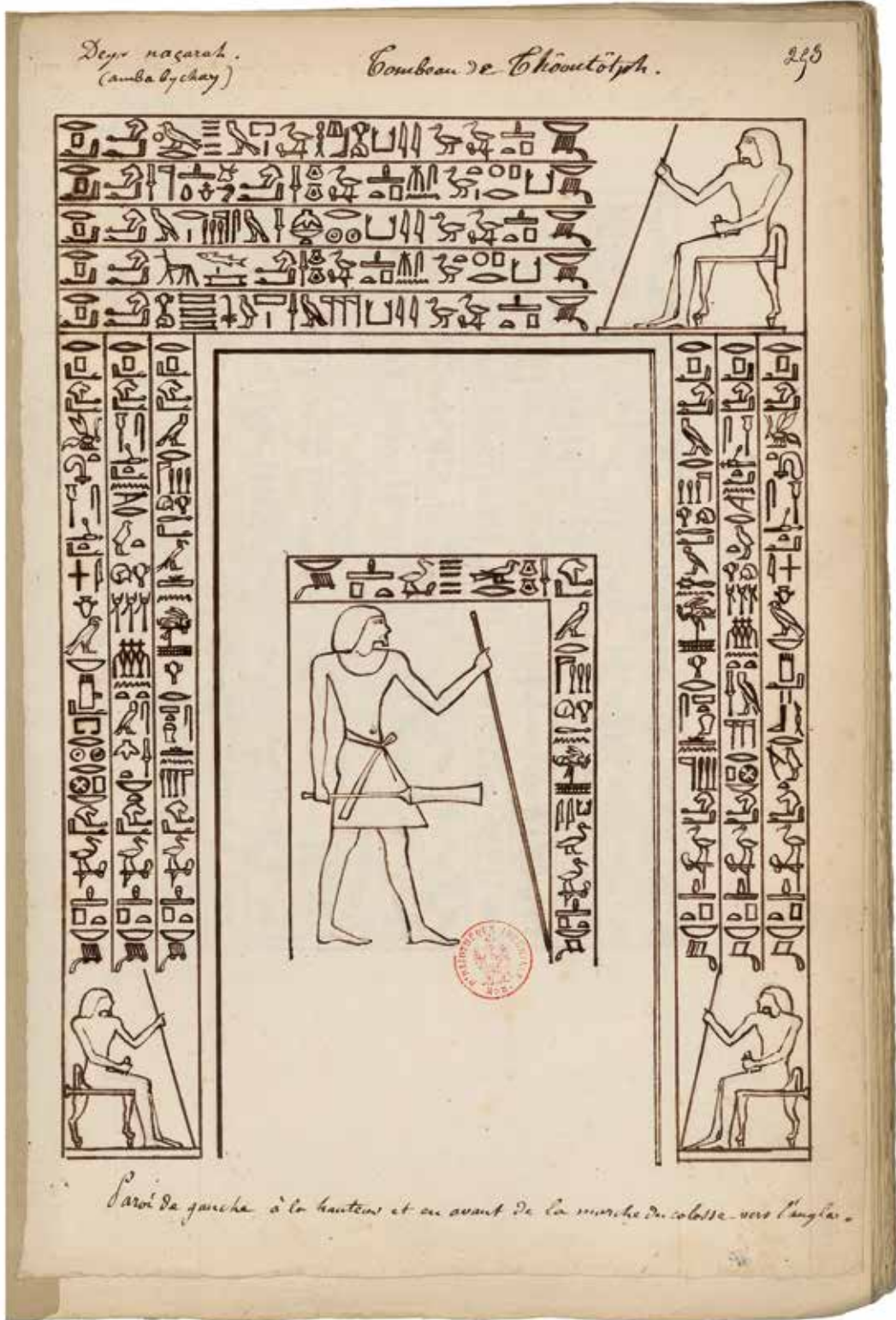


Fig. 4 : F.V.J. Arundale's drawing of the gate of the *ka*-chapel (© British Library, London, MS. 29,814 fol. 6).

Fig. 5 : Nestor l'Hôte's drawing of the gate of the *ka*-chapel with the caption "paroi de gauche à la hauteur et en avant de la marche du colosse - vers l'angle" (© Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, NAF 20396, p. 253 recto).



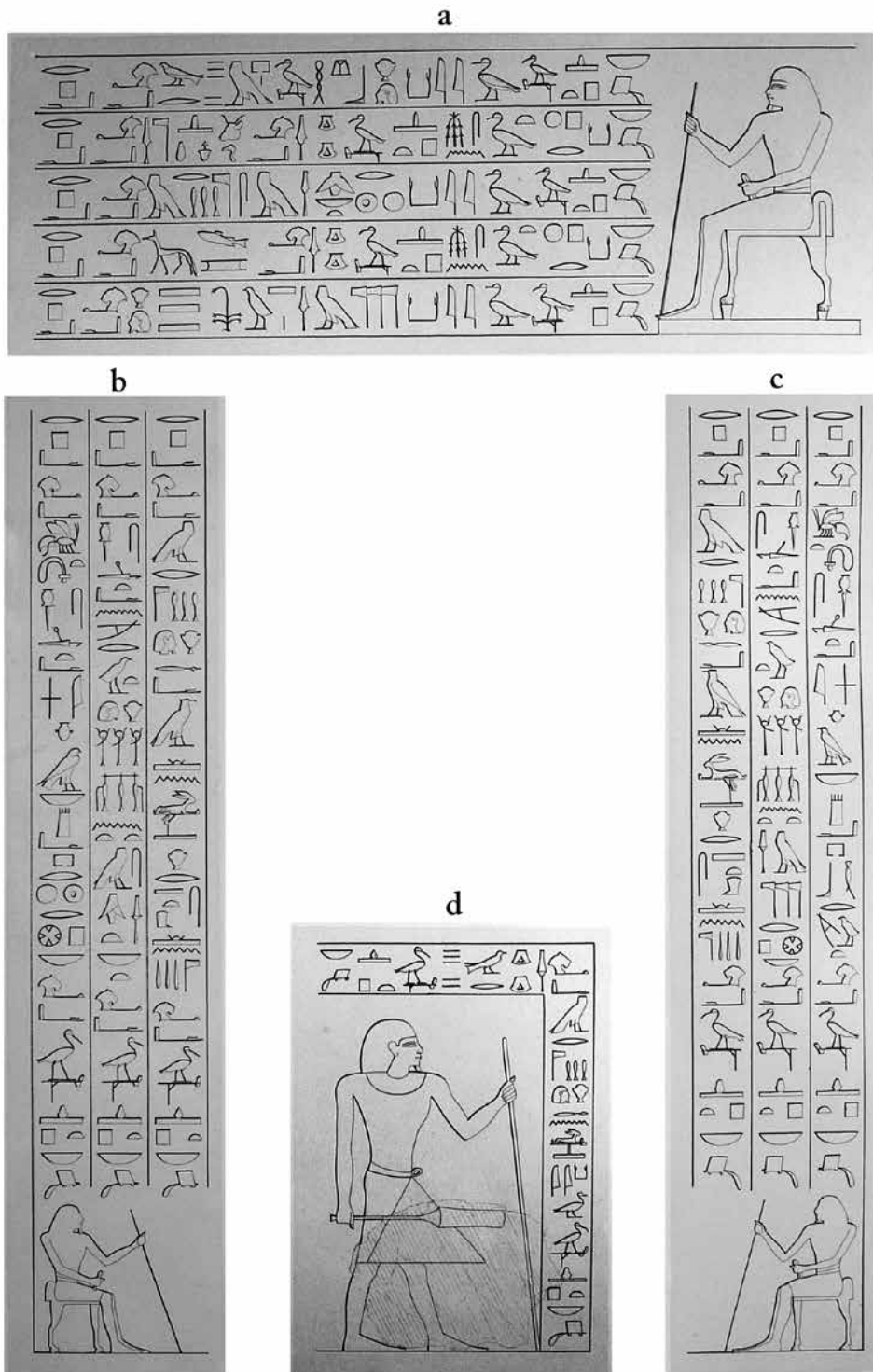


Fig. 6 : K.R. Lepsius' drawing of the gate of the *ka*-chapel (after LD II, pl. 135 a-d).

According to F.V.J. Arundale's (*Fig. 4*) and Nestor l'Hôte's (*Fig. 5*) renderings the scene depicts a decorated monumental gate. The lintel is decorated on the far right with a depiction of Djehutihotep seated on a throne, facing left (←). In front of him are five lines of hieroglyphs (←) presenting Djehutihotep's name, titles and filiation. The door jambs are each decorated with three columns of hieroglyphs facing inwards. The lower part of each door jamb is occupied by a seated figure of Djehutihotep of the same kind as the one on the lintel, and each of these figures faces inwards as well.

In the centre of the doorway, Nestor l'Hôte depicts a rectangle containing a large, striding image of Djehutihotep facing right (*Fig. 5*). In his left hand he is holding a tall stick, in his right he has a *shm* scepter. In front of him is a text column, the inscription of which continues over his head. Again, the text presents the name and titles of Djehutihotep. Nestor l'Hôte's rendering does not clearly indicate how this latter scene relates to the door frame. The same structure was also copied by F.V.J. Arundale (*Fig. 4*), who added two details that are missing in the other versions. The most important is that his sketch places the rectangular panel more or less in the centre between the door jambs. The slight offset to the left may not be intentional. More importantly, Arundale extends the left and right vertical sides of the rectangle to the top, and adds a baseline below it, although this is drawn only on the left.³²

These details are absent in all other versions, and were disregarded in the version P.E. Newberry published of the scene. In the latter's rendering, the perhaps unintentional, very slight leftward offset of the rectangular panel in Arundale's drawing may have led to

32. Another detail provided by F.V.J. Arundale is that, above the panel, he includes the colour code "Y" for "yellow", and to the right of the panel the code "R" for "red".

the panel being attached to the left doorjamb.³³ H. Willems' previous observation³⁴ that the left doorjamb retains traces of a vertical red line to the right of the three columns with hieroglyphs, which would be the remains of the left delineation of the central panel, should be corrected here. These traces in red paint do not form a straight line, and their colour is identical to that of the red Coptic crosses that were painted over the scene at a later point in time. It is therefore more likely that these traces form the remains of a Coptic cross that was painted over the central panel, as is the case everywhere in the decoration of the tomb of Djehutihotep.

Based on the evidence now available it seems unlikely that P.E. Newberry was correct in placing the central panel against the left door jamb. The two columns flanking the central panel in F.V.J. Arundale's drawing make a centered position for this element more plausible. However, this does not make it easier to interpret what the panel represents. Since its baseline is on a much higher level than that of the two door jambs, it is not likely to be a building standing beside the gate. Rather it seems to represent a structure within the gate, perhaps located further in the background, and visible through the gate. Our suggestion would be that the central panel represents a niche in the rear wall of the building, in which a cult image of Djehutihotep is depicted accompanied by his

33. From P.E. Newberry's description (*El Bersheh I*, <1894>, p. 22) it is clear that he was unable to make much sense of the damaged remains of the scene as a result of the fact that the doorjambs had been removed and sent to the Florence Museum. In fact, these two parts were hacked out so violently that large areas around it were also cut out, obliterating almost the entire depiction of the gate (see *Fig. 11*). P.E. Newberry makes clear that he relied heavily on Arundale's work.

34. H. WILLEMS, "Fragments d'une scène de la tombe de Djéhouthotep (Florence, Museo Egizio 7596 et 7597)", in Fl. Morfuisse, G. Andreu (eds.), *Sésostri III*, 2014, p. 209.

name and titles. Such a niche also occurs in the rear wall of the tomb chapel of Djehutihotep.³⁵

The scenes to the left of and below the gateway (Figs 7-11)

The scenes in front of the gateway are introduced by a vertical line of text (line 1). Four registers of offering bearers are represented to the right of it (registers 2-5), and one runs below both column 1 and the gateway (register 6). While the painted decoration in these registers is not well preserved (Fig. 9), close observation nevertheless allows to identify all figures in these registers, as well as their accompanying inscriptions. However, in P.E. Newberry's drawing (Fig. 7), only parts of these registers are represented, most likely because in 1891 this scene was still covered with dirt. Moreover, a significant mistake crept into P.E. Newberry's publication, due to the figures in the registers being mixed up. The man carrying a large joint of meat (rib cage) in his right hand at the end of register 5, is in fact the same man who is depicted first in register 6, and both he and the two men in front of him, should have been placed in register 6. The figures that P.E. Newberry rendered in registers 3 and 4, actually belong in registers 4 and 5. The reason for this mistake may well be that P.E. Newberry let text column 1 continue in register 6, while in fact it stops above

35. For the ground plan of the tomb, see P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, pl. 2. At Balat the archaeologically best attested parallels for non-royal *ka*-chapels occur. These *ka*-chapels date to the 6th Dynasty and early First Intermediate Period, and generally consist of an oblong antechamber that leads to three sanctuaries. In the case of the *ka*-chapel of Medunefer, only one room was constructed, in which a cult statue was found. This statue stood in the direct axis of the entrance door to the chapel (G. SOUKIASSIAN, M. WUTTMANN, L. PANTALACCI, *Balat 6: Le palais des gouverneurs de l'époque de Pépy II. Les sanctuaires de ka et leurs dépendances*, *FIFAO* 46, Cairo, 2002, p. 37-95, and fig. 62-63; for the cult statue of Medunefer: N. CHERPION, "La statue du sanctuaire de Medou-Nefer", *BIFAO* 99, 1999, p. 85-101).

it. But in P.E. Newberry's version, there would not have been enough space left in register 6 to fit in the two offering bearers in front of the man carrying the large rib cage. Figure 8 shows the corrected version of what P.E. Newberry's drawing should have looked like.

But even the improved Figure 8 is incorrect, as it lacks many elements that are nowadays clearly visible. Figure 9 shows a photo taken in 2014, on which the preliminary new line drawing in Figure 10 is based. Figure 11 shows the same drawing, but with the integration of the two blocks from Florence and the drawing of Nestor l'Hôte, to evoke where the gate originally would have been located. All registers are first described in detail, and their inscriptions translated, before the implications of this new evidence are discussed.



Line 1 (Fig. 10)

The text column (1) preceding the offering bearers and the gate labels the scene as follows:



*shp.t h3.t wdḥ.w*³⁶ *inn.t sp3.wt=f im.y.t Wn.t n twt pn n h3.ty-ꜥ Dhwtj-ḥtp nb im3ḥ*

"Bringing the best of the offering table that his districts, which are in the Hare Nome, bring forth to this statue of Lord³⁷ Djehutihotep, lord of reverence."

36. The sign  after *h3.t* most closely resembles the *is*-sign , but then without the knot. An *is*-sign makes no sense here, and it seems the sign should be read as *wd*, although we are unable to explain its form.

37. It will never be possible to find an entirely adequate translation of *h3.ty-ꜥ*; for the rendering proposed here, see H. WILLEMS, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, 2014, p. x.

Register 2 (Fig. 11)

The top register in front of the gate depicts two female offering bearers wearing long white dresses, both carrying a basket with offerings on their heads that they support with their right hands. The first woman is holding two ropes in her left hand, each of which is connected to the hind leg of a calf, of which the one in the back has a black-spotted skin. The second woman only holds one calf on a leash, which also has a black-spotted skin. While there is certainly space for a text column in front of the first female offering bearer, no hieroglyphs can be discerned. This is somewhat strange, since the three registers below all have an inscription in this location, mentioning the provenance of the offerings depicted in that register. Behind the two women, a large offering table is preserved, with offerings piled up to the top of the register. More offerings appear behind this offering table, but this section is heavily damaged throughout, making it very difficult to identify which offerings exactly are depicted. The layout of this register strongly resembles that of register 4.

Register 3 (Fig. 11)

In the second register two male offering bearers wearing tight-fitting white kilts are depicted. Both carry a beer jar around which a lotus flower is wrapped in their right hand, and a tray with two large conical loaves of bread in the other. Behind the men two large beer jars on pot stands are depicted, followed by a pile of food offerings of which it is difficult to make out the details. In front of the first offering bearer, a hieroglyphic inscription is preserved:³⁸

38. Due to the arrangement of the beer jar in the offering bearer's right hand, the word *šn^c* is in fact written above his head, but the genitive-*n* before *Dḥwty* makes it clear this should be read first.



*šn^c n Dḥwty nti*³⁹ m Ḥmnw
 "The storehouse of Thoth who is in Khemenu (al-Ashmūnayn)."

Register 4 (Fig. 11)

In the third register two female offering bearers are depicted carrying baskets on their heads. The basket of the first woman is filled with beer jars, bread loaves, and vegetables; that of the second woman likewise has beer jars and vegetables, but instead of the bread loaves a bunch of grapes is placed in between the beer jars. The women support the baskets on their heads with their right hands. The first woman is holding a goat on a leash with her left hand, while the second uses the left hand to hold a bundle of birds. Behind the offering bearers, a large pile of food offerings is depicted, containing meat cuts, fruit, vegetables, and bread. In front of the first female offering bearer, a hieroglyphic inscription is preserved:



ḥw.t Dḥwty-ḥtp ḥnt.y-š=f
 "The domain of Djehutihotep and his orchard."

It is difficult to assess with precision what reality lies behind this passage, as both the terms *ḥw.t* and *ḥnt.y-š* are not clearly defined.

J.C. Moreno García has defined the function of a *ḥw.t* in the Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period, but his account makes clear that the essentials would still hold in the Middle Kingdom. To him, it is 1) essentially a royal

39. Note that the text uses the Old Egyptian form of the relative marker *nti*: E. EDEL, *Altägyptische Grammatik II*, *AnOr* 39, Rome, 1964, p. 543-544.

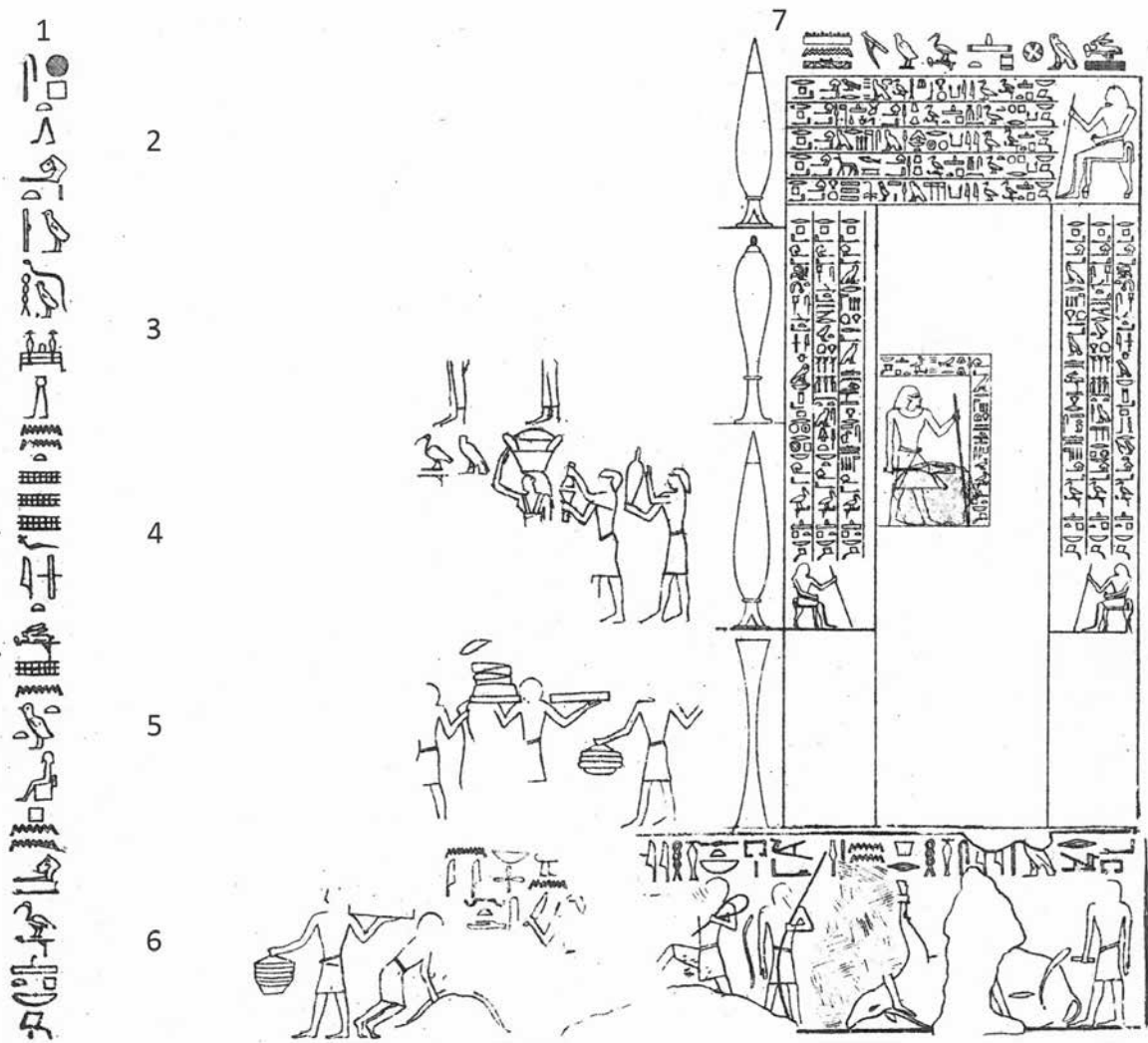


Fig. 7 : Detail of the offering bearers in front of the *ka*-chapel of Djehutihotep, as published by P.E. Newberry (after P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh I*, <1894>, pl. 12). The line numbers are added by the authors.

institution. In case private persons make use of the yields of a *ḥw.t*, this would be the case not because they owned the institution, but because they enjoyed the privilege of being entitled to usufruct. 2) A *ḥw.t* is not a domain only producing agricultural products, it also serves for the storage and distribution of products, and

these products are not necessarily agricultural. Therefore the designation “domain” would be inappropriate. 3) A *ḥw.t* can also have a protective function.⁴⁰ In essence, it would be “a kind of royal

40. J.C. MORENO GARCÍA, *Ḥwt et le milieu rural égyptien du III^e millénaire. Économie, administration et organisation*

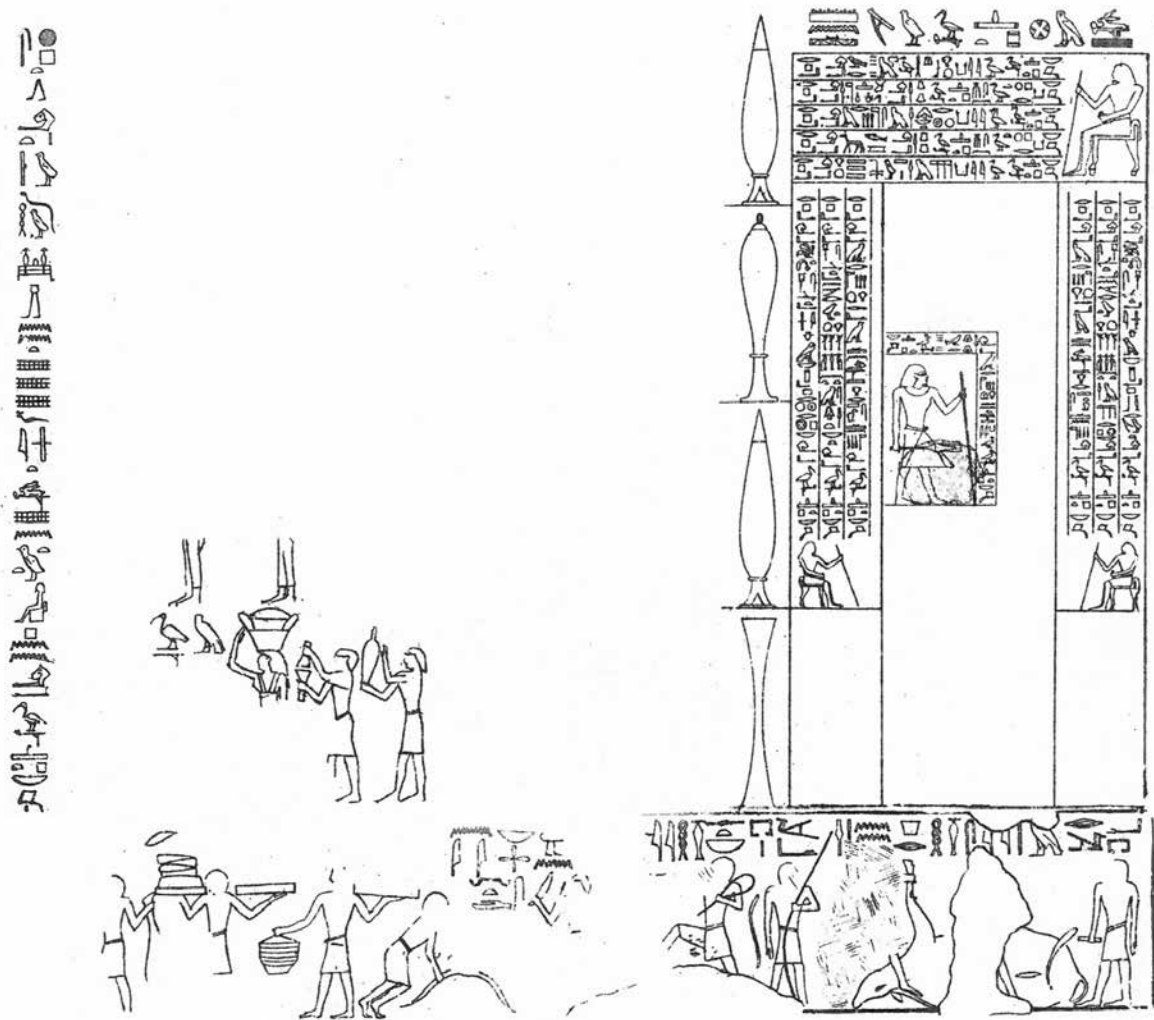


Fig. 8 : Corrected version of P.E. Newberry's drawing (M. De Meyer).

farm, warehouse, processing and administrative center, and defensive building.”⁴¹ These “crucial

links in the geographical tax system of the Old Kingdom” would have “finally declined at the beginning of the second millennium.”⁴²

territoriale, Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études. Sciences historiques et philologiques 337, Paris, 1999, p. 151-208.

Leiden-Boston, 2013, p. 88.

41. J.C. MORENO GARCÍA, “The Territorial Administration of the Kingdom in the 3rd Millennium”, in J.C. Moreno García (ed.), *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, HdO 104,

42. J.C. MORENO GARCÍA, in *Ancient Egyptian Administration*, 2013, p. 129.



Fig. 9 : Photo of the offering bearers in front of the *ka*-chapel of Djehutihotep
(© Dayr al-Barsha Project, KU Leuven, photo M. De Meyer, 2014).

Despite J.C. Moreno García's misgivings (see 2) we will continue to use the rendering "domain" for *ḥw.t*.⁴³ Secondly, the scene published here shows that domains were still a reality during the later 12th dynasty. Significantly, in the designation "domain of Djehutihotep" the term *ḥw.t* quite

43. See H. WILLEMS, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, 2014, p. 8, n. 11.

clearly does not designate a *royal* domain, but a domain of a high-ranking provincial official. The evidence provided by the text is too restricted to allow us to specify precisely how this domain worked and how it fitted into the wider socio-economic network of its time. The terminology at least suggests that the domain was considered to be owned by the nomarch.

The expression *hnt.y-š=f* here seems to refer to the source whence the offerings derive and accordingly it is more likely to designate an agricultural area than the title *hnt.y-š*. According to Wb. III, 310,11 the term *hnt.y-š* “Baumgarten” is not attested prior to the New Kingdom, when it is still very exceptional. Another Middle Kingdom attestation is however found in CT II, p. 125h [111], where the meaning is not clear. The term is however certainly identical with *hntš*, which occurs in an account papyrus from Kahun P. UCL 32186,8 and 12,⁴⁴ and which dates to approximately the same time as our text and designates a type of land plot.⁴⁵

Register 5 (Fig. 11)

The fourth register opens with a bovid wearing a large collar around its neck. While its hind legs are damaged, it is likely that it was held on a leash by the female offering bearer behind it. Her left arm is very damaged as well though, making it unclear whether she was in fact holding a rope. The woman is carrying a basket on her head filled with beer jars, bread, and vegetables, which she is supporting with her right hand just like the female offering bearers in the first and third registers.

In front of the female offering bearer, and above the bovid, a hieroglyphic inscription reads:






hwt-k3 mn mrw.t Dhwtj-htp m Wn.t
“The *ka*-chapel ‘The love of Djehutihotep is enduring in the Hare Nome’.”


This female offering bearer is followed by a series of six male priests, all wearing a tight-


44. M. COLLIER, S. QUIRKE, *The UCL Lahun Papyri: Accounts, BAR-IS 1471*, Oxford, 2006, p. 74-75.

45. For a doubtful early case in *Urk. I*, p. 239,14, see P. POSENER-KRIEGER, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai (Les papyrus d'Abousir)*, BdE 65/2, Cairo, 1977, p. 578.

fitting white kilt and white sandals. The sandals clearly set them apart as priests, and no other male figures in this broader scene wear sandals. The six priests all perform different actions. The first priest is burning incense: he is holding an incense burner with a cover in both hands. Above his head his title is partially preserved:  *wt.y* “embalming priest”. The second male priest is holding a large, yellow *kbh*-vase in his left hand, while he is holding up his right hand behind it. The man carries the title  *hm-k3* “*ka*-servant”, as does the third priest in the row. The latter seems to be holding a large, yellow ointment jar in the palm of his right hand, while he raises his left hand behind.

The fourth priest is very damaged, and it is difficult to make out what he is holding. He seems to be clenching a large *hs*-jar with both his arms. Above his head, a *k3*-sign is preserved, and while there is space for another sign above it, this area is too damaged to make out anything (). However, it seems that his function is not *hm-k3*, since that is written differently in this scene (see priests three, four, and five).

The fifth priest again carries the title  *hm-k3* “*ka*-servant”. He is holding a *kbh*-jar over his left shoulder, which he cups with his left hand at the height of his navel, while his right hand holds it at the level of his chest.

The last priest in this register grasps a long yellow stick with his right hand in front of his chest, while his left arm either simply hangs alongside his body, or clenches the long stick at a lower point. This area is too damaged to decide on either option. Above his head traces of hieroglyphs are preserved. Although they are difficult to interpret, we suggest the reading  *sh.y-ntr* “he who belongs to the divine booth (of Anubis)”.⁴⁶

46. D. JONES, *An Index of Ancient Egyptian Titles, Epithets*

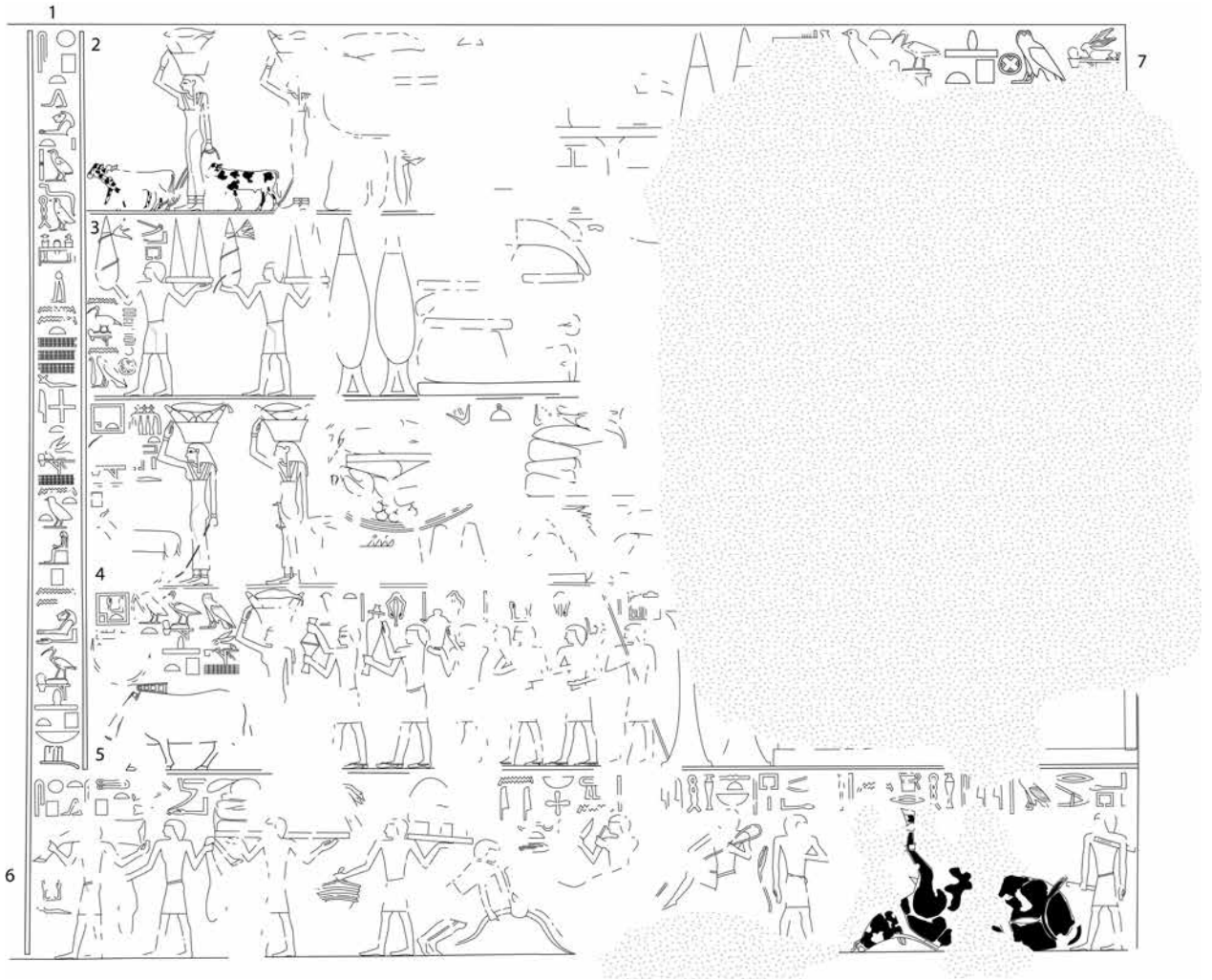


Fig. 10 : New preliminary drawing of the offering bearers in front of the *ka*-chapel of Djehutihotep
(© Dayr al-Barsha Project, KU Leuven, drawing M. De Meyer).

Behind the last priest, two large red pot stands are partially preserved, one of which is also drawn on pl. XII of P.E. Newberry, *El Bersheh I*.

and *Phrases of the Old Kingdom*, vol. 2, BAR-IS 866, Oxford, 2000, p. 832 (3035). The signs behind *sh* are unclear. The bottom one could be a *pr*-sign as a determinative with *sh*. For the sign on top we are unable to offer an interpretation.

Register 6 (Fig. 11)

The lowermost register 6 continues below the depiction of the *ka*-chapel and runs all the way to the edge of the wall. In this register, bulls are shown being slaughtered, the meat cuts being presented as offerings. At the top left of the register, the title of this sequence is preserved:

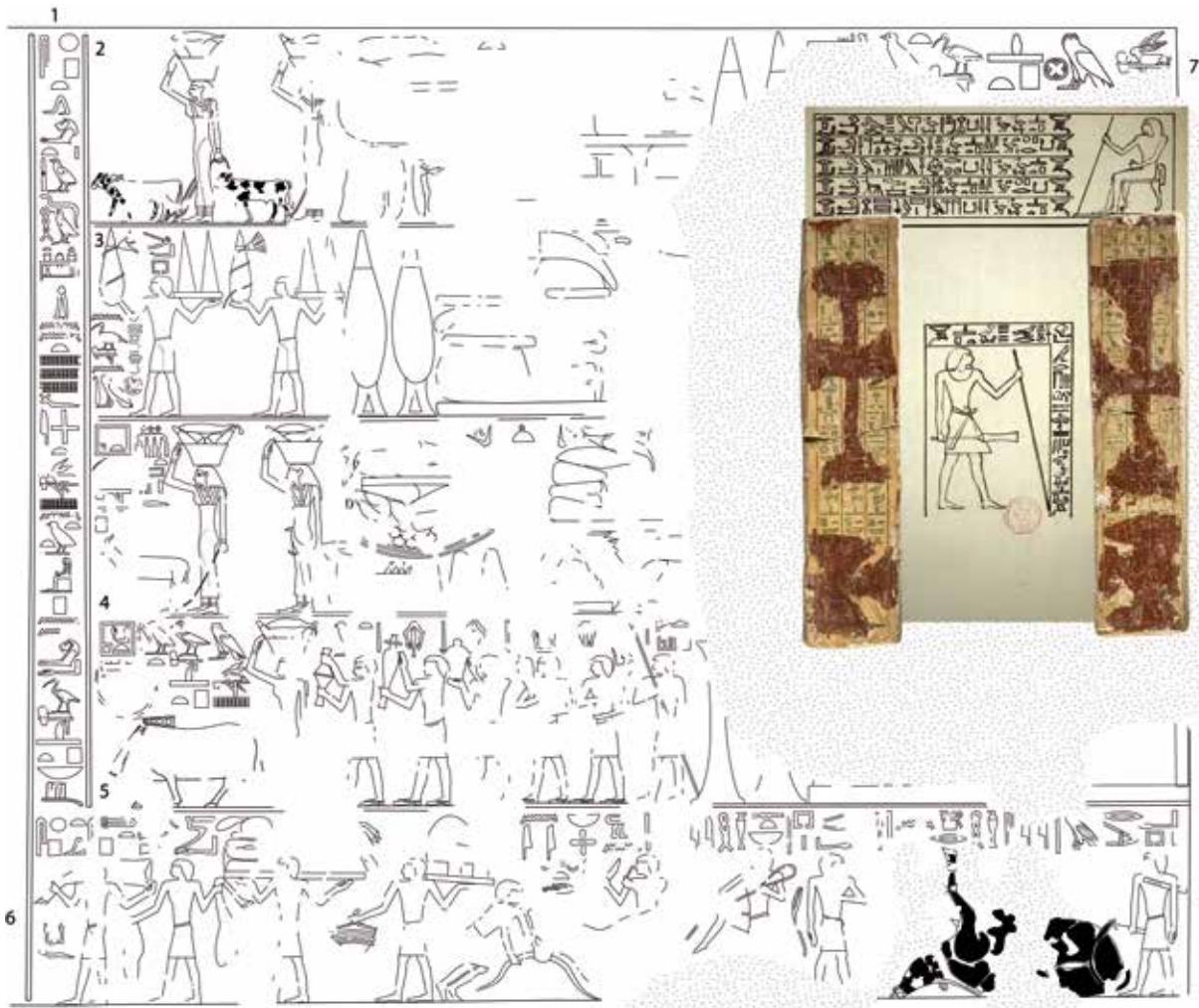
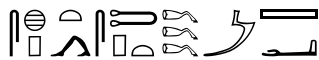


Fig. 11 : New preliminary drawing of the offering bearers in front of the *ka*-chapel of Djehutihotep, with integration of the two blocks of the Museo Egizio in Florence (© Ministero dei Beni e delle Attività Culturali e del Turismo - Museo Archeologico/Museo Egizio di Firenze, 7596-7597) and the drawing of Nestor l'Hôte (© Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris, NAF 20396, p. 253 recto) (drawing M. De Meyer).



The line continues in front of the kilt of the first offering bearer with



shp.t stp.wt m3^c [n] k3=f

“Bringing choice cuts of meat, presenting [to] his *ka*”.⁴⁷

47. The phrase *m3^c n k3=f* also occurs in a bull slaughtering scene on the western wall of the niche in the rear wall of Djehutihotep's tomb (P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh* I, <1894>, pl. XXXII).

The four male offering bearers carrying meat cuts all simply wear a white kilt. The first offering bearer is carrying a large bovine foreleg (*hps*) over his shoulder, supporting it near the hoof with his right arm, and cupping the rear end with his left arm behind his back. The second offering bearer is holding two meat cuts in his hands. The one in front of him is badly damaged and cannot be identified, but the one behind him is again the leg of a bull. There is clearly a hoof, and the lowest part of the leg is white, as is the case with the foreleg that the first offering bearer is holding. However, the upper part of the leg near the shoulder is rounded, and not angular as is the case with a *hps*.

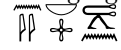
The third man is carrying a huge tray on his shoulders, which is stacked full of meat cuts on the left side. On the righthand side, a pile of birds is depicted on the tray. Behind him, the final offering bearer is carrying a large rack of ribs with his right arm in front of him, while supporting with his left arm a tray with more meat cuts, which rests on his shoulder.


Two scenes depicting the slaughtering of bulls follow: on the left a white bull is being wrested to the ground and fettered, while on the right the slaughter of a black-and-white-spotted bull is depicted. In the scene on the left, three men are taking part in the action. On the left a man is pressing the head of the bull to the ground by pushing down one of its horns.⁴⁸ On the right a man puts his right leg on top of the bull and keeps a rope with which the animal's legs are fettered. In the middle, a man standing behind the bull is shown sharpening his knife. He is holding the knife in his right hand, with the

48. The unusual mode of representing this action, with the horns being depicted in frontal view and the head of the bull in lateral view, occurs in an almost identical depiction on the eastern wall of the central niche of the tomb of Djehutihotep (P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh* I, <1894>, pl. XXXIV). See also A. EGGBRECHT, *Schlachtungsbräuche im alten Agypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Fachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*, München, 1973, p. 27-28.


sharp edge turned towards him, while in his left hand he is holding a whetstone.


Three short inscriptions accompany this scene. On the left, a line is written from right to left because it is the speech that accompanies the man facing right, who is holding the bull by the horns:

 *iti n=k wn.y* "Seize it, you, quickly!"⁴⁹


Below this text and oriented in the opposite direction  *pd.t ds* "sharpening the flint knife" is written. This text belongs both in orientation and in content with the man with the whetstone who is sharpening his knife.⁵⁰

Accompanying the man holding the rope with which the bull is tied, is the text:

 *[ir.]y[=i] hsi.t=k* "I [do] what you wish."⁵¹


49. While the handle of the  basket is not visible, it seems that this is what is implied. This expression occurs several times with slaughtering scenes in Old Kingdom tombs, where the construction usually is *iti r=k wn.y*; see for instance H. ALTENMÜLLER and D. JOHANNES, *Die Wanddarstellungen im Grab des Mehu in Saqqara*, AV 42, Mainz am Rhein, 1998, p. 198, pl. 74 (Sz. 47.3.2); S. HASSAN, *Excavations at Giza 3: 1931-1932*, Cairo, 1941, p. 147, fig. 144. For a comparable case of *=k* being written *nb*, see P. MONTET, "Les tombeaux de Siout et de Deir Rifeh", *Kêmi* 3, 1930-1935, p. 54, n. 2; here the full sign was indicated in the preliminary drawing, while the handle was omitted in the carved version.

50. The words *pd.t ds* also occur in the nearly identical depiction of a bull during slaughter on the eastern wall of the central niche in the tomb of Djehutihotep (P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh* I, <1894>, pl. XXXIV). See also A. EGGBRECHT, *Schlachtungsbräuche im alten Agypten und ihre Wiedergabe im Fachbild bis zum Ende des Mittleren Reiches*, München, 1973, p. 255-256: the caption *pd.t ds* otherwise only occurs during the Old Kingdom, making it an archaizing feature in Djehutihotep's tomb. This agrees with other Old Egyptian features in this tomb, for instance in the text on the rear wall of the niche in the back of the tomb (the use of the plural demonstrative pronoun *iptn* (left, col. 3); the prothetic *i-* in the imperative *i-sdm* in right, col. 3 (P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh* I, <1894>, pl. XXXIII), or in the text behind the colossal statue (the use of the active stative of a transitive verb) or the Old Kingdom title *z3b 'd-mr*; P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh* I, <1894>, pl. XIII,2 (*di kw*) and 10. Another example is the writing of the relative marker *nty* as *nti* in scene 3 above (see note 39).

51. Here as well the handle of the  basket is not visible, but it is certain that this is how the sign should be read. This same text occurs in the bull-slaughtering scene

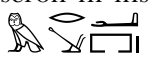
The scene on the right features the slaughter of a black-and-white-spotted bull, which is thus a different animal from the one on the left, which has a monochrome white skin. In this scene, the foreleg of the bull is severed by two men, while two other men are passively standing by, flanking the animal on the right and the left. Interestingly, this scene has suffered some intentional damage, as the two men who were cutting off the foreleg have almost entirely been hacked away following the contours of the figures. However, enough remains to reconstruct their position. The man on the left had one foot on the bull's horns, while his other foot was on the ground. He is grasping the foreleg of the bull with both arms, while the other man bends over the bull to cut off the leg with a knife. The tip of the knife is still visible behind the leg.

A short text above the bull identifies the action in this scene:

 *ndr ḥs.y* "Seize, oh praised one".

This butchery scene is being supervised by two men standing to the side. On the left stands a man facing right, with his right arm hanging alongside his body behind his back, and his left arm bent in front of his chest. Above his head, his title is preserved:

 *hrp šn^c* "Director of the storehouse."

On the right a man facing left is carrying a scribal palette under his left armpit and a papyrus scroll in his right hand. He is designated as  *im.y-r šn^c* "overseer of the storehouse", meaning that he was clearly in charge of keeping accounts of the offerings.

on the eastern wall of the central niche in the tomb of Djehuthotep (P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh* I, <1894>, p. 40, and pl. XXXIV).


Line 7 (Fig. 11)

This line of text gives the name of the building below, namely:



mn mrw.t Dḥwty-ḥtp m Wn.t

"The love of Djehutihotep is enduring in the Hare Nome".

It is apparent from the text in register 5 that this is the name of the *ka*-chapel of Djehutihotep, and therefore the gate below represents the entrance to this *ka*-chapel. This text is mostly still preserved on the wall today, although it has suffered some damage when the scene below was hacked out. The fact that the name of the *ka*-chapel bears the determinative , indicates that the Egyptians conceived of it as a place name.

Discussion

The previously unidentified scenes and their labels studied here offer important new indications about the place where the colossal statue was erected, and on how its functioning was financed. The most important single piece of evidence is the label to register 5. Here, the offering bearers carry victuals that are related to "the *ka*-chapel 'The love of Djehutihotep is enduring in the Hare Nome'". The same name occurs in line 7, which is a label to the building depicted in the right half of the scene. This is unequivocal proof of the hypothesis put forward earlier that this building is a *ka*-chapel.⁵² Moreover, it is likely that this *ka*-chapel stood near the eastern bank of the Nile at Tjerty/Dayr al-Barshā, and that a processional road connected the quarter of the nomarchal *ka*-chapels with the

52. For this hypothesis, see p. 35 above.

tombs of the nomarchs on the north hill of Dayr al-Barshā, in the eastern desert⁵³.

Registers 2-5 depict four groups of offering bearers walking away from the *ka*-chapel in the direction of the groups of men dragging the statue. The text in column 1 gives information about whence these offerings derive and what they are intended for: they are “the best of the offering table that his districts, which are in the Hare Nome, bring forth to this statue of Lord Djehutihotep”. This suggests a number of interesting things. Firstly, the *ka*-chapel clearly already possessed a functioning offering cult at the time the statue arrived, because otherwise no offerings could have come from its offering table.⁵⁴ Since Djehutihotep himself is shown escorting the transport of the statue, it is clear that this cult already started before his death. Secondly, we seem to be witnessing an offering ritual of a kind not otherwise attested: a ritual addressed to the statue at the moment of its arrival. It would thus be a kind of inaugural ritual.

Thirdly the text points out that the offerings have been brought by the “districts, which are in the Hare nome”. The term here used for “district” is *sp3.t*. It is well known that this term can refer to different kinds of units. On the one hand, it is often used for “nomes”, but it can also designate smaller entities, and when used in this sense, Egyptologists usually adopt the translation “district”.⁵⁵ Since our text itself states explicitly that the *sp3.wt* are located within the Hare Nome, we are certainly facing the latter type of “district”. However, hitherto it was not quite clear how such “districts” should be conceived of.

53. H. WILLEMS, CHR. PEETERS, G. VERSTRAETEN, *ZÄS* 132, 2005, p. 173-189.

54. For other instances of private cults already functioning before the death of their beneficiaries, see H. WILLEMS, *Historical and Archaeological Aspects*, 2014, p. 210-211.

55. For the meaning “nome”, see *Wb.* IV, 97,4-98,21. For other kinds of units, see *Wb.* IV, 98,22-99,6.

The scene discussed in this article offers fresh evidence in this regard, for it seems likely that the “districts” bringing their produce are identical with the groups of offering bearers rendered in registers 2-5. If this reasoning is correct, the districts are the “storehouse of Thoth who is in Khemenu (al-Ashmunayn)” (register 3), the “domain of Djehutihotep and his orchard” (register 4), and the “*ka*-chapel ‘The love of Djehutihotep is enduring in the Hare Nome’” (register 5).

These designations merit to be looked into somewhat closer. In the Middle Kingdom, a *šn^c* “storehouse” seems to have served in part for storing commodities, but in part also for producing them.⁵⁶ *Šn^c.w* operated at different hierarchical levels: at the royal court, but also at nomarchs’ courts and in temples.⁵⁷ Our text makes clear that the *šn^c* of the god Thoth provided offerings, suggesting that the temple of this god in Khemenu was involved.

56. A good example of a *šn^c* that is archaeologically attested, is the temple production area excavated next to the mortuary temple of Senwosret III at Abydos (J.W. WEGNER, *The Mortuary Temple of Senwosret III at Abydos; Publications of the Pennsylvania-Yale-Institute of Fine Arts Expedition to Egypt* 8, New Haven and Philadelphia, 2007, p. 287-293).

57. For a detailed discussion of the *šn^c.w*, see H. WILLEMS, *Dayr al-Barsha I. The Rock Tombs of Djehutinakht (17K74/1), Khnumnakht (17K74/2), and Iha (17K74/3). With an Essay on the History and Nature of Nomarchal Rule in the Early Middle Kingdom, OLA* 155, Leuven, 2007, p. 94, which in all essential regards recapitulates the conclusions drawn by D. FRANKE, “Die Stele Inv. Nr. 4403 im Landesmuseum in Oldenburg: zur Lebensmittelproduktion in der 13. Dynastie”, *SAK* 10, 1983, p. 158-177. This reconstruction of the *šn^c* recalls that proposed by H. Papazian for the *pr šn^c* in the Old Kingdom (*Domain of Pharaoh. The Structure of the Economy of Old Kingdom Egypt, HÄB* 52, Hildesheim, 2012, p. 59-66). For him, the *šn^c* is a part of the *pr šn^c*, but he has not incorporated D. Franke’s fundamental study in his analysis. Possibly, the Middle Kingdom situation studied by D. Franke differs from the one in the Old Kingdom. The Old Kingdom evidence was recently studied in detail by J. Florès, who shows that the emergence of (*pr.w*-)*šn^c* as institutions linked to local high administrators can be traced back to the late Old Kingdom (J. FLORÈS, *Les céréales. Analyse d’une gestion au Protodynastique et sous l’Ancien Empire, BSAK* 17, Hamburg, 2015, p. 157-163).

The second institution supplying offerings is designated in register 4 as the “domain of Djehutihotep and his orchard”. We have seen above that “domains” (*hw.wt*) may originally have been regional branches of the central, royal administration, through which the collection of taxes was organized. This may still have been the case in the Middle Kingdom, but the reference to Djehutihotep’s domain suggests it was considered to be owned by him, which of course does not rule out that he had to pay taxes over the revenues of his landed property.

The third source of revenues is Djehutihotep’s *ka*-chapel. This type of institution served the celebration of an individual’s personal cult. Its founding may have been dependent on royal authorization, but in terms of financing it seems often to have depended on contractual engagements between the beneficiary of the ritual and the personnel of the *ka*-chapel: the beneficiary transferred certain amounts of property to the cultic practitioners, who in return had to carry out ritual tasks and who had the usufruct of the landed property conferred to them by the beneficiary. The contracts of Hapidjefa from Asyūt provide detailed information on how this worked in practice. They make a sharp distinction between investments made by the local governor from *pr it=i* “the house of my father” (inherited private property) and *pr h3.ty-ꜥ* “the house of the Lord” (property linked to the official title borne by the incumbent)⁵⁸. One might accordingly expect that the ruler could use his private property for whatever purpose he liked, but that the capital linked to his official function could only be used during his tenure. However, in the case of the Hapidjefa contracts it is clear in several cases that he could use his official funding for making financial arrangements for his cult,

58. E.g. D. FRANKE, *Altägyptische Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen im Mittleren Reich*, Hamburg, 1983, p. 272-273.

which would of course continue long after the end of his tenure⁵⁹. It is not clear how the financial arrangements work in the case of Djehutihotep.

It may be useful also to cast a brief glance at the scenes on the lower half of the west wall of Djehutihotep’s tomb, below the sequence that depicts the transport of the colossal statue (Fig. 2). The four lowermost registers also concern “districts in the Hare Nome” (*sp3.wt Wn.t*), and the taxes levied from these districts⁶⁰. It is not unlikely that these districts are identical to, or at least represent similar entities as those mentioned in column 1, and these scenes offer some important information on how Djehutihotep’s wealth was constituted. The uppermost of the four registers shows a row of ships which formed the cortege that transported Djehutihotep to the tent in which the cattle count took place. Below this, three registers with cattle are depicted that are assembled for the cattle count. All four registers face right towards a large image of Djehutihotep seated in a roofed pavilion, who supervises the count. The hieroglyphic text accompanying these scenes states about the ships: “Arriving in peace, approaching the tent of the great count of his herds from the king, together with his herds of the family property (*d.t*)⁶¹ in the districts of the Hare Nome by (... [Djehutihotep])”. This text suggests that both cattle belonging to Djehutihotep’s family property, as well as cattle

59. In Hapidjefa’s first contract, column 275, the cult to be celebrated on the first epagomenal day is said to be performed in recompense for “the piece of offering meat that comes forth for the Lord” (*h3.ty-ꜥ*). The New Year’s Day offerings detailed in the second contract are said to derive from the “house of the Lord” (col. 279). The eighth contract concerns offerings to be given during the wag-festival. The source of the payment is again the “house of the Lord” (col. 309). For the publication, see P. MONTET, *Kémi* 3, 1930-1935, p. 55-56, 65.

60. P.E. NEWBERRY, *El Bersheh* I, <1894>, pl. XII and pl. XVIII, register 1.

61. We here follow the interpretation of *d.t* advocated by M. FITZENREITER, *Zum Toteneigentum im Alten Reich*, Achet A 4, Berlin, 2004.

belonging to the king, were kept in the districts of the Hare Nome and counted by Djehutihotep. Both categories of cattle are referred to as being “his (= Djehutihotep’s) herds” (*idr.w=f*). The counting of cattle serves no other purpose than to calculate the taxes to be levied on it, and thus the districts (*sp3.wt*) were clearly subject to taxation.

In conclusion, examining the broader setting of the scene depicting the transport of the colossal statue of Djehutihotep has revealed new information regarding the financial backing of the cult that was carried out in the governor’s *ka*-

chapel at Tjerty. For the first time some insight is offered in the regional supply chain of this chapel, which drew income from different types of institutions of a royal, private, and religious sphere. All these institutions are generally labelled as “districts” (*sp3.wt*) of the Hare Nome. The fact that Djehutihotep himself is shown accompanying the transport of his statue at the moment when it arrives at the *ka*-chapel, and that the supply of offerings from these districts was clearly already functioning, suggests that the cult of Djehutihotep’s *ka* was already in existence during his lifetime.

RÉSUMÉ

Bien que la scène bien connue représentant le transport de la statue colossale de Djéhouthotep ait été intensivement discutée, son contexte n’a guère retenu l’attention. Cela est partiellement dû au fait que la copie publiée par P.E. Newberry (*El Bersheh* I, London, <1894>) est fragmentaire. Une copie récemment faite de la scène montre que la destination de la statue était la chapelle de *ka* du gouverneur. De surcroît, les inscriptions accompagnant la scène permettent de reconstruire la chaîne d’approvisionnement dont dérivent les offrandes présentées au cours du culte célébré dans cette chapelle.

ABSTRACT

While the well-known scene of the transport of the colossal statue of governor Djehutihotep in his tomb at Dayr al-Barshā has already been discussed at length, the wider context of this scene has not received much attention. In part this is due to its fragmentary copy in P.E. Newberry, *El Bersheh* (London, <1894>). A new recording of the scene that shows the destination towards which the statue is dragged demonstrates that it was to be located at the *ka*-chapel of the governor. In addition, new inscriptions allow to reconstruct the supply chain from which the offerings derive that were intended for the cult at this chapel.