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*A Nome Procession from the Royal Cult Complex
in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*

The term 'nome procession' refers to an iconographic sequence of nome personifications depicted mostly on the lowest level of temples or shrines. The figures are usually represented in a procession around the edifice, bringing offerings for the cult of the deity or the king worshiped inside. They follow the geographic order from south to north, in line with the traditional Egyptian system of orientation which gives precedence to the southern direction.¹

The present study deals with one such procession of nome personifications represented in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. The scene in question covers the eastern wall of a small, open courtyard in the Complex of the Royal Cult situated south of the main Upper Courtyard of the Temple. The small court precedes two vestibules which further lead to adjacent two cult chapels. The bigger vestibule, belonging to the Chapel of Hatshepsut, is attached to the southern side of the courtyard, whereas on the western side of the latter lie the second, much smaller vestibule and a cult chapel dedicated to the Queen's father, Tuthmosis I.

From the architectural point of view, the eastern wall of the small courtyard partly delimits the Royal Cult Complex from the east. Iconographically, the whole eastern wall of the Complex is divided into two sections, each one belonging to a different piece of this cultic compound: the northern part, decorated in sunken relief, stretches for 3.71m (which equals 7 cubits) and belongs to the said small courtyard; the southern section – 5.81m long (approx. 11 cubits), in raised relief, constitutes the eastern wall of the aforementioned bigger vestibule. In the open courtyard, all representations were executed in sunken relief, conforming to Egyptian rules of relief decoration on outer and inner walls of buildings. The change in the style of reliefs – from sunken to raised – observed in the decoration of the eastern wall of the Complex proves that the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut was originally covered with a roof.

The figures in the nome procession are represented walking southward. They are male and female, depending on the grammatical gender of the toponym they personify, and they imitate a standard image of a geographic personification or a fecundity figure. Male figures are represented as Nile gods with attributes of fecundity, such as hanging breasts and a big protruding belly, wearing characteristic clothes: a loincloth covering phallus, a wide belt, and a collar. Women are very slim. They wear tight dresses with straps, and collars. All figures have long wigs. Additionally, male personifications have divine beards. All of the figures, regardless of gender, are represented in the same attitude and hold identical attributes. They carry an offering table with two *hs*-vases and a piece of bread on it. A *w3s*-sceptre intersects the bread, and three *ꜥnh*-signs hang from the arms of each nome figure.

In standard geographical processions, nome and domain personifications are often represented together with gods and various fecundity figures in one iconographic composition. Such scenes can sometimes be spread over several walls. The personifications are represented either walking, standing, or kneeling, rarely squatting. On their heads, they carry attributes denoting the notion they personify. Nome personifications are often divided into two groups, arranged in two separate processions – of Upper and Lower provinces; the

¹ J. BAINES, *Fecundity Figures*, Warminster 1985 [= *Fecundity Figures*], p. 183.

two groupings are then represented symmetrically, in order to emphasise the duality of the country.² The nome personifications in the Temple of Hatshepsut are all depicted walking one after another in one line. In this particular case, the nome procession is represented on a single wall, with the figures that personify both parts of the country being disposed in registers. The vertical arrangement of the scene results most probably from the scarcity of space that the artists had at their disposal. The scene of the procession that begins in the courtyard of the Royal Cult Complex continues throughout the adjoining vestibules, as well; yet, instead of the nome personifications, gods and different fecundity figures are further represented approaching the chapels of the royal cult. All the personifications, standing for various Egyptian concepts, namely seasons, *phww*, or nomes are depicted bearing goods for the Queen and her father venerated in the cult chapels.

The present author began research on the eastern wall of the courtyard in 2005. At that time, it was composed of twelve layers of blocks which constituted five registers of the decoration. The state of the wall was a result of the restoration activity undertaken in the Temple by the *Service des Antiquités* team, led by French architect Émile Baraize in the first half of the twentieth century.³ Back then, the wall was erected on an already standing reconstruction of two registers of the nome procession scene, which had been executed in the years 1893–1899 by the Egypt Exploration Fund mission directed by Edouard Naville.⁴ Further alterations to the decoration were made by Polish researchers working in the Temple in the 1990s;⁵ yet, no greater work has been done to it ever since the time of É. Baraize. Thanks to his activity at Deir el-Bahari, lots of original decorated blocks have been preserved incised in the walls of the Temple. However, the results of É. Baraize's restoration in the small courtyard of the Royal Cult Complex are not fully satisfying; from the Egyptological point of view, they exhibit too many inaccuracies, the wall bearing signs of a purely architectural reconstruction. According to the recent research, the wall was originally higher. Architectural measurements allowed for assessing that it reached 5.85m in height

² For more on nome processions and other kinds of lists of personifications, and the examples thereof, see: H. JACQUET-GORDON, *Les noms des domaines funéraires sous l'Ancien Empire Égyptien*, Le Caire 1962 [= *Les noms des domaines funéraires*], *pass.*; W. HELCK, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, *TAVO Beihefte* 5, Wiesbaden 1974 [= *Die altägyptischen Gaue*], pp. 2–5; BAINES, *Fecundity Figures*, *passim*.

³ Unfortunately, the activities of the French architect in the Temple of Hatshepsut, which fell on the years 1925–1944, were not properly documented. Therefore, some of our assumptions concerning his work may be dubious.

⁴ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V. The Upper Court and Sanctuary*, *EEF* 27, London 1906 [= *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*], p. 5, Pl. CXXVIII. The foundations of the eastern wall were checked during the recent fieldwork season. The mortar used by E. Naville's team was discovered beneath the wall, which proved that the scholar had not found the wall *in situ*.

⁵ I owe this information to Rajmund Gazda. It is not explicitly documented but may also be traced back by comparing the arrangement of the blocks in the eastern wall as it was documented by the present author in 2005 with two architectural drawings executed probably sometime in the 1990s by Paweł Dąbrowski ('The eastern wall before recent reconstruction', scale 1:5) and by Piotr Dąbrowski ('The reconstruction of the eastern wall', scale 1:10); the second one showing repositioned blocks and new additions to the wall. Both drawings are undated and unpublished. None of them corresponds exactly with the state of the wall from 2005.

(approx. 11 cubits). In the meantime, Egyptological research proved that it was constructed with fourteen layers of blocks, the decoration being composed of six, instead of five registers and additionally surmounted by a *kheker* frieze. A considerable number of loose decorated pieces belonging to the walls of the small courtyard were found in the Temple's *lapidaria*.⁶ Over fifty thereof have been attributed to the eastern wall. With all this material at hand, it was possible to reconstruct anew a significant part of the scene of the nome procession. Apart from loose blocks that made collations with those already integrated in the frame of the 'Baraize wall', four additional blocks discovered during excavations in the tombs in the Chapel of Hatshepsut have been ascribed to the reconstructed decoration.⁷ Since 2006, a new project of restoration of the eastern wall of the courtyard has been prepared by the present author in collaboration with the Mission's architect Teresa Kaczor. Taking into account the importance of eventual alterations that would affect the wall, should it be corrected, it was decided that it would be better and with benefit for the wall's aesthetic exposition to dismantle it and erect anew. Consequently, in 2007, the said wall was reduced to the level documented by E. Naville.⁸ Building activities on the new restoration started in 2009. Until present, four layers of decorated blocks have been reinstalled in the wall.⁹

The Complex of the Royal Cult was added to the Upper Terrace of the Temple in consequence of changes in the initial architectural concepts concerning the form of the edifice.¹⁰ The small courtyard's northern wall was formerly the outer, southern wall of the whole Upper Terrace. Due to the inclination of this wall, the courtyard's eastern wall, added later, broadens upwards. Thus, the uppermost registers of its decoration are wider. Every register is divided into rectangular units, each approximately 0.5m wide and 0.75m high. The composition of units remains the same; it includes one nome personification and three columns of text apiece. The size of the figures and hieroglyphs changes slightly depending on the place in the wall. The higher, the more squeezed the reliefs are. Consequently, in the top registers of the decoration, the units are narrower. This irregularity in the width of the representations results from the arrangement of the scene, and the mentioned

⁶ The great work of arranging loose blocks in the *lapidaria* was done by the many Polish scholars who have been serving in the Temple since the 1960s. It is their meticulous work, studying and selecting the fragments once scattered all around the place, that has been facilitating studies on the Temple for many years until present.

⁷ On the excavations in S.7A/82, S.7C/82, S.1/88 and S.2/07: Z. SZAFRAŃSKI, Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2003/2004, *PAM XVI* (Reports 2004), 2005, pp. 229–230, and Id., Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2004/2005, *PAM XVII* (Reports 2005), 2006, pp. 247–248.

⁸ NAVILLE, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, p. 5, Pl. CXXVIII; cf. O. BIAŁOSTOCKA, Courtyard of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, *PAM XIX* (Reports 2007), 2010, pp. 269–272.

⁹ The aforementioned drawing by Piotr Dąbrowski was very useful as an architectural basis for the Egyptological reconstruction of the wall. Moreover, the information on the edges of the blocks gained by dismantling the 'Baraize wall' helped in establishing more of the connections with loose fragments found in the *lapidaria*. Some of the significant connections have been omitted by previous scholars clearly due to the lack of data on the original size and shape of the blocks that had been fixed in the wall at the time of earlier reconstruction attempts.

¹⁰ Z. WYSOCKI, Świątynia Królowej Hatszepsut w Deir el-Bahari – Fazy i Etapy Budowy, Gdańsk 1989, pp. 26–28; Id., The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Its Original Form, *MDAIK* 42, 1986, pp. 213–228.

shape of the wall. Given the space occupied by a single unit in the lowermost registers, as well as the changes in scale of the reliefs, it is possible to assess the number of units occupying every register of the decoration. It seems reasonable to conclude that, while the four first registers from the bottom up were composed of seven units with representations of nome personifications, the two uppermost may have been divided into as many as eight parts. It would give us the total number of forty-four personifications represented on the eastern wall. However, in order to reconstruct the geographical procession of Hatshepsut, the number of nomes and their sequence relevant for the Eighteenth Dynasty must be established in the first place.

The term *sp3t* was used to describe a unit in the system of administrative division of Egypt since the very beginning of the Pharaonic Period. The number of *sp3wt*, known more commonly by the Greek term *nomes*, was not constant in the long history of Egypt. Contrary to the number of twenty-two nomes of Upper Egypt that has remained unchanged since at least the Eighth Dynasty, or probably even since the Fourth Dynasty,¹¹ the amount of provinces in the Delta varied over the course of time. This development can be observed thanks to the geographical lists that have been compiled since the Old Kingdom. But also indirectly through another type of representation in which nome personifications used to be included, namely the so-called ‘processions of royal domains’. Depicted in royal funerary complexes of the Memphite area in the Old Kingdom,¹² they were composed of personified royal foundations (*hwt* and *niwt*), the revenues of which were allotted for the maintenance of the funerary cult of the pharaoh.¹³ Domain processions did not function as lists of nomes. The figures of Egyptian provinces were included in these compositions merely to specify regions within which the mentioned foundations lay. Therefore, these assemblages are by and large too fragmentary to constitute a good point of reference for establishing the number of nomes existing in the Old Kingdom; certain provinces might have been omitted from such lists simply because they did not encompass any foundations of the ruler. Moreover, this type of representation disappeared after a relatively short existence to reappear no earlier than in Saite times.¹⁴

Since the number of Delta subdivisions changed, modifications in the official order of provinces had to follow. In the Twelfth Dynasty, there were certainly at least sixteen nomes in the Delta; the number recorded on the plinth of the White Chapel of Senwosret I in

¹¹ The earliest evidence of the division of Upper Egypt into twenty-two nomes is the list of Coptos dated to the Eighth Dynasty. But the name of the 22nd province is already attested in the Temple of King Sneferu in Dahshur, which allows to presume that the system of division of the country’s southern part was entirely developed as early as under the Fourth Dynasty rule: A. FAKHRY, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II. The Valley Temple, part I. The Temple Reliefs*, Cairo 1961, p. 18, Fig. 18; cf. HELCK, *Die altägyptischen Gaue*, pp. 128–129.

¹² Identified for Sneferu, Cheops, Userkaf, Sahure, Niuserre, Isesi, Unas, Pepi II and Neferkauhor. Not all of the fragments with representations of domain personifications were discovered within the funerary complexes of the mentioned rulers. Yet, the purpose of these scenes is so strongly connected to the funerary cult of the pharaoh that it almost naturally seems to appoint the place of their origin. The same kind of procession can also be found in private tombs: H. JACQUET-GORDON, s.v. *Güterprozession*, *LÄ* II, 919–920.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 919–920. More on *hwt* and *niwt* as royal domains, in: EAD., *Les noms des domaines funéraires*, pp. 3–25, 28–30.

¹⁴ *Loc. cit.*

Karnak.¹⁵ These sixteen Lower Egyptian provinces might have existed already since at least the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁶ In the Sun Temple of Niuserre at Abu Gurob, representations of fifteen Lower Egyptian nome personifications are well attested. Yet, the space left behind the last figure allows to imagine three additional personifications.¹⁷ The nomes were arranged in the following sequence: 1 to 9, then 12-11-10-15-X-X-X. The 13th and 14th nomes missing in the sequence probably completed the list. They might have been preceded by yet another province – the 16th. The nome procession from Abu Gurob is possibly the oldest evidence of the number of nomes in the Delta known thus far. The irregular order of provinces, 16-13-14, attested in the Sun Temple is justified by an identical sequence registered in the mentioned White Chapel.¹⁸ In fact, the pair of the 15th and 16th nomes preceding the 13th and 14th constituted a standard arrangement of Lower Egyptian provinces in nome lists until the rule of Ptolemy VII,¹⁹ when a more regular order took precedence. Lower Egypt was probably divided into sixteen nomes until as late as the New Kingdom.²⁰ What exactly influenced the addition of the 17th province, *Bḥdt*, sometime in the Eighteenth Dynasty remains a question. The toponym *Bḥdt* appeared already in the list from the White Chapel of Senwosret I,²¹ but it did not stand for a nome of Egypt at that time. It represented merely a *niwt*, the northernmost town in Egypt,²² the name being written without the usual *sp3t*-sign. When the new 17th nome was established, the town of *Bḥdt* became its capital and shared its name with the whole province.²³ Since then, *Bḥdt* was considered the last, northernmost nome and as such was enumerated at the end of the sequence of Lower Egyptian provinces until the end of Greco-Roman times.²⁴ *T3-sti*, the 1st nome of Upper Egypt, and *Bḥdt*, the 17th nome of Lower Egypt, constituted the beginning and the end of Egypt, accordingly.

The 17th nome was established most probably during the reign of Hatshepsut.²⁵ *Bḥdt* occurs for the first time as a *sp3t* of Lower Egypt on the outer walls of the Queen's Red Chapel in Karnak in the procession decorating the lowermost register of the decoration of the bark station. Its name is written above the head of a female personification and placed on a *sp3t*-sign.²⁶ The geographical procession represented in the Temple of Hatshepsut

¹⁵ P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak*, Le Caire 1956 [= *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*], p. 251.

¹⁶ E. EDEL, S. WENIG, *Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Königs Ne-user-re*, Berlin 1974, Pls 4–7.

¹⁷ JACQUET-GORDON, *Les noms des domaines funéraires*, p. 113.

¹⁸ LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, Pl. 42.

¹⁹ A.H. GARDINER, *Horus the Behdetite*, *JEA* 30, 1944, p. 38, n. 4.

²⁰ LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, p. 236.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 43.

²² On the question of the identification of the town of *Bḥdt* with *Sm3-Bḥdt* and with the site of Tell el-Balamun in the Delta: GARDINER, *JEA* 30, 1944, pp. 24, 35–37, 40–42.

²³ G. STEINDORFF, *Die ägyptischen Gaue und ihre politische Entwicklung*, Leipzig 1909, p. 871.

²⁴ GARDINER, *JEA* 30, 1944, p. 38. It is then that the 18th to 20th Lower Egyptian nomes were added.

²⁵ Cf. W. HELCK, s.v. *Gaue*, *LÄ* II, 400; E. OTTO, s.v. *Behedeti*, *LÄ* I, 683.

²⁶ P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle d'Hatchepsout à Karnak II*, Le Caire 1979 [= *Une chapelle d'Hatchepsout*], Pl. 5; F. BURGOS, F. LARCHÉ, *La chapelle Rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatchepsout I*, Paris 2006 [= *La chapelle Rouge I*], p. 25.



1. Fragment of the Lower Egyptian nome procession after recent restoration: representations of the 7th, 8th, 16th, and 13th nome personifications from two lowermost registers of the scene; eastern wall of the Courtyard in the Royal Cult Complex (Phot. O. Białostocka).

seems to confirm the introduction of the 17th nome of the Delta into the Egyptian administrative system under the reign of the Queen. The lowest register of the scene from the eastern wall of the small courtyard provides us with a good insight into the subject and structure of the represented composition. This short, but very well preserved part of the sequence of nomes, depicting the end of the geographical procession, helps to determine the order of the whole assemblage. In two lowermost registers, four Lower Egyptian nome personifications are easily distinguishable: the 7th nome followed by the 8th in the second register from the bottom, and the 16th followed by the 13th in the one below it (**Fig. 1**). The emblem of the geographical figure depicted behind this last nome in the line is damaged and recarved which makes its identification questionable. Furthermore, at the very end of the nome sequence, four geographical personifications of a different type are represented; they stand for one royal foundation and three *phww* of Egypt (**Fig. 2**). Apparently, within the six registers of the whole scene, Lower Egyptian nomes were depicted at the bottom of the wall, presumably below their Upper Egyptian counterparts. Hence, the order of the procession corresponded perfectly with the mentioned standard geographical sequence, within which the representations of northern provinces followed their southern equivalents.

In the Temple, the names of the nomes are represented on *ibt*-supports placed on *sp3t*-signs. In the case of four last figures, either only the *ibt*-support is depicted (the sole case of a royal foundation) or the geographical emblem is inscribed just above the figure's head (as is the situation with *phww*). As for the damaged, unidentified personification that follows the nomes of Lower Egypt, it is depicted with neither a *sp3t*-sign nor a *ibt*-support. The figure is a woman. Her name, as it can presently be traced, is not original but recut. Its identification is uncertain.²⁷ The traces of alterations leave no doubt that a nome standard could not have been depicted above the figure's head. Hence, it was not a nome personification that originally stood at the back of the procession of Lower Egyptian provinces. A *niwt*-sign in the toponym helps to define the personification as a town. The arrangement of signs constituting the name, together with the rear position of the personification in the geographical order, and the female gender of the figure allow to expect that the town of *Bhdt* was initially represented in this very place of the procession (**Fig. 3**). The fact that the name was altered is also of some significance. Presumably, it is an example of an erroneous destruction of the town's name taken for the name of the god Horus the Behdetite. The hieroglyph for *Bhdt* used as the name of the falcon god was regularly erased during the Amarna Period.²⁸ The writing of *Bhdt*, whether denoting the town or the nome, usually contained a *niwt*-sign. Yet, in the example discussed, the lack of the *sp3t*-sign makes the meaning 'town' prevail over the name of the nome. Only the personification that follows the hypothetical *Bhdt* raises some questions concerning its status as a town. The figure

²⁷ E. Naville read an unidentified name *Khetkhet* in it (NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, p. 5, Pl. CXXVIII); P. Lacau and H. Chevrier suggested to reconstruct the name of *Bhdt* at this place (LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle d'Hatchepsout*, p. 88).

²⁸ Horus the Behdetite as a winged disc was regularly depicted on the lintels above entrances to temples. The name *Bhdt* which usually appeared beside the wings was most often chiselled out. This kind of alteration is very common in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, as well.



2. Representations of the *p/mw* of Egypt from the courtyard of the Royal Cult Complex (Phot. O. Białostocka).



3. Presumed recarved representation of the town of *Bḥdt*; eastern wall of the Courtyard in the Royal Cult Complex (Phot. O. Białostocka).

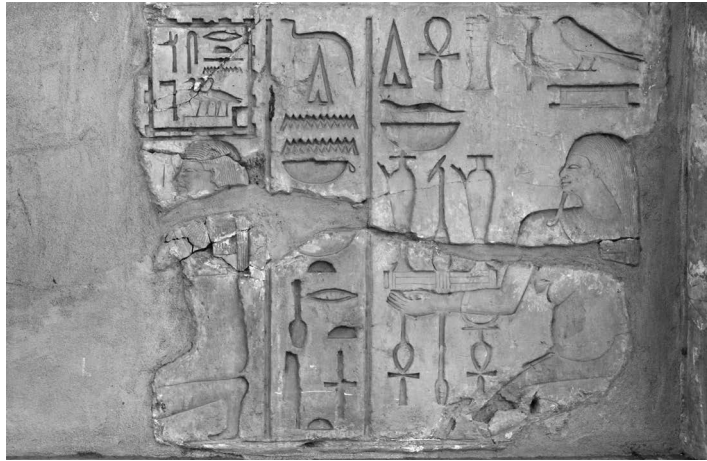
in question is the sole personification of a royal foundation named ($\text{C}^3\text{-}hpr\text{-}k3\text{-}R^{\text{C}}$) *mry Itm*. According to E. Naville, it represents a temple with a brick enclosure called *Mertum Aakheperkare*; ‘the Meïdoom of Thothmes I’, which may be the same as the Meïdoom in the neighbourhood of Memphis.²⁹ In a typical procession, royal domains described as *hwt* precede those labelled as *niwt*.³⁰ This would not be the case in the example described, should *Bḥdt* be a *niwt*-town and ($\text{C}^3\text{-}hpr\text{-}k3\text{-}R^{\text{C}}$) *mry Itm* a *hwt*-domain. The hieroglyph symbolising the troublesome royal foundation indeed looks like a *hwt* with a buttressed enclosure wall.³¹ Yet, a graphy of the *hwt*-sign with such a wall is not attested. Additionally, it is a male figure that personifies this particular domain in the procession at Deir el-Bahari. If it were the *hwt*-hieroglyph, the name would be carried by a female figure, in compliance with the rules of the figure’s gender matching the toponym’s grammatical gender. The rule of the formal alternation – a male figure alternating with a female one³² – is not observed

²⁹ NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, p. 5, Pl. CXXVIII. The scholar also suggested that the name of Tuthmosis I in the cartouche was not original but had replaced Hatshepsut’s; yet, an epigraphic analysis of the toponym did not allow for confirming this hypothesis.

³⁰ JACQUET-GORDON, *Les noms des domaines funéraires*, p. 32.

³¹ A slight difference between the *hwt*-sign and the sign discussed herein consists in a small rectangle constituting a regular element of the *hwt*-hieroglyph. In the case of the *hwt*-sign, it is most frequently located in the right lower corner of the enclosure depicted, whereas in our example, it appears in the left corner.

³² The sequence of figures in domain processions, which usually followed the natural, geographical order, became structured in the Fourth Dynasty. Since then, male personifications were represented alternately with female ones: JACQUET-GORDON, *Les noms des domaines funéraires*, p. 26.



4. Representation of the domain *S-n-wsrt ntr b3w*; White Chapel of Senwosret I (Phot. O. Białostocka).

in the Temple of Hatshepsut; as much as it can be assessed, the gender of the personifications in the procession corresponded with the grammatical gender of the toponyms.

The author managed to find only two examples of hieroglyphs similar to the one discussed, namely that of *S-n-wsrt ntr b3w* enclosure depicted in the White Chapel list (Fig. 4),³³ and of the name of the Amenhotep III temple in Soleb preserved on the walls of the temple proper.³⁴ According to P. Lacau and H. Chevrier, the first toponym belonged to one of the *mnw*-fortresses of Senwosret I, similarly to another geographical name represented further in the same procession.³⁵ It should be said though that the toponym in question is personified by a female figure, whereas the second ‘fortress’ in the list – by a male one.³⁶ Since the scholars considered the word *mnw* to be an appropriate description of *S-n-wsrt ntr b3w* enclosure, the female figure was clearly regarded by them as an error.³⁷ However, it is possible that each of the mentioned figures from the White Chapel personified a different kind of a royal domain or fortress. Different Egyptian words could have been used to name each of them, the more so that the hieroglyphs in both cases are not identical. The small, inner rectangle belonging structurally to the *hwt*-hieroglyph is visible only in the toponym personified by the female figure. Moreover, it was not a common element of the fortress symbol in the Egyptian writing. As for the temple of Amenhotep III in Soleb, the name *H^c-m-w3st* written inside a buttressed *hwt*-sign appears inscribed several times on the walls of the edifice;³⁸ at least once, the word *mnw* is also included in the

³³ LACAU, CHEVRIER, Une chapelle de Sésostris, p. 210.

³⁴ M. SCHIFF GIORGINI, Soleb III. Le temple. Descriptions, Le Caire 2002, p. 328, n. 87; EAD., Soleb V. Le Temple. Bas-reliefs et inscriptions, Le Caire 1998 [= Soleb V], Pls 145, 147, 149, 151, 152, 193.

³⁵ LACAU, CHEVRIER, Une chapelle de Sésostris, pp. 208 (Fig. 41), 210. The name of the pharaoh is not enclosed in a cartouche.

³⁶ *Loc. cit.*

³⁷ *Loc. cit.*

³⁸ SCHIFF GIORGINI, Soleb V, Pls. 145, 147, 149, 151, 152, 193.

name.³⁹ Whether the domain represented in the Temple of Hatshepsut was a simple *hwt*, a *mnw* fortress-town, a *hwtm*-fortress, a palatial fortress, or some other kind of a secular or religious construction remains an open question. Since the status of (^c3-*hpr-k3-R^c*) *mry Itm* is not clear, it cannot be assumed that the *niwt* of *Bhdt* should necessarily follow and not precede its personification. Whatever the type of the foundation, the figure of *Bhdt* symbolically closed the procession of northern provinces. Both as the town and later as the nome, it delimited Egypt on the north as the northernmost border of the country. The unidentified royal domain could have simply belonged to the northernmost town of *Bhdt*, which would explain its rear position in the procession.⁴⁰ Or, it was just located somewhere in ‘the hinterland’ of the Delta and was therefore represented together with the *phww*.

The nome processions depicted in the Temple of Hatshepsut and the Red Chapel confirm the introduction of the 17th Lower Egyptian nome to the list of provinces by the administration of the Queen. The erection of the Temple for Hatshepsut preceded the construction of the Red Chapel. Respectively, the town of *Bhdt*, represented in the Temple, historically functioned earlier than the nome with the same name, attested in the Red Chapel.⁴¹

On the whole, Egypt was divided into thirty-eight nomes until the Eighteenth Dynasty, and then the additional province was created. According to the proposed new reconstruction of the eastern wall of the small courtyard in the Temple of Hatshepsut, the scene of the nome procession was structurally composed of forty-four rectangular units fit to accommodate geographical personifications. Since the last four figures in the sequence did not represent provinces, forty units remained for the Upper and Lower Egyptian nomes. Presumably, the personifications of twenty-two Upper Egyptian provinces followed the natural array of nomes along the Nile. The sequence of their Lower Egyptian counterparts may only be reconstructed on account of similar geographical assemblages preserved in other temples and shrines.

The wall in question was not preserved *in situ*. It is restored from the very foundations. Since some of the fragments with depictions of nomes are hitherto not found, the proposed arrangement of the nome personifications is in some part hypothetical. Noticeably, the blocks with the representations of the heads of figures are usually missing. At the same time, a number of preserved blocks bear traces of regular, intentional cutting, especially around the heads and the attributes of the figures. This could be one of the reasons why intact representations of geographical personifications are so rare among the preserved

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Pl. 193. W. Helck read the name of the temple in Soleb as *hwt-mnw-H^c-m-w3st*: W. HELCK, *Materiellen zur Wirtschaftsgeschichte des Neuen Reiches* (Teil II), Mainz a/Rhein 1961, p. 933.

⁴⁰ Usually, if royal foundations were represented in geographical processions, they were depicted directly after the nome in which they were located.

⁴¹ The administrative status of *Bhdt* must have changed after the 16th, but probably no later than in the 21st year of the reign of Tuthmosis III. If we assume that the decoration of the Red Chapel was finished after the disappearance of the Queen, the 25th year of the reign of Tuthmosis III, which is the *terminus ante quem* for the dismantling of the quartzite bark station, should then also be considered the *terminus ante quem* for the creation of the 17th Lower Egyptian nome. In this case, however, Tuthmosis III should be regarded as a probable candidate for the introduction of the new nome in the Delta: D. LABOURY, *La statue de Thoutmosis III. Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royal dans son contexte historique*, *AegLeod* 5, Liège 1998, pp. 55–56.

blocks. It seems that most of the blocks with nome emblems found in the Temple are simply the fragments rejected after an unsuccessful attempt to cut them out⁴² or left due to the fact that the respective heads were carved on more than one block. Regarding the regularity and uniformity of the decoration, the loose blocks that could not be easily attributed to a particular place or even register of the scene were fitted in the wall either on the grounds of the style and size of reliefs, the shape of blocks, or on account of any visible traces of intentional damage left on their surface. In order to create as credible an image of the procession as possible, the new project of reconstruction of the eastern wall drew also from analogous representations found at other sites. They might have constituted the source of inspiration for Queen's artists or, on the contrary, might have been themselves inspired by the nome procession represented in her Temple.

Quite logically, the scene of the procession preserved in the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut in Karnak seems to be the closest analogy to the representations from the Temple.⁴³ The sequence of Lower Egyptian personifications in the Chapel runs as follows: (missing)-3-4-5-(missing)-8-9-11-10-12-15-16-(missing)-17.⁴⁴ Regarding the fact that the rulers of the Eighteenth Dynasty often referred to achievements and objectives of their predecessors from the Twelfth Dynasty, one is tempted to compare this sequence to the geographical order in the already mentioned list from the Chapel of Senwosret I. The procession recorded in the Eighteenth Dynasty edifice seems to reproduce the Twelfth Dynasty sequence of: 1-2-(missing)-9-(missing)-16-13-14.⁴⁵ A juxtaposition of both versions allows for restoring the complete order of nomes: 1-2-3-4-5-6-7-8-9-11-10-12-15-16-13-14-17.

The result of this combination matches almost perfectly the sequence of Lower Egyptian nomes preserved in the Temple at Deir el-Bahari. The only exception is the 14th nome, which does not appear behind the 13th province. The block with the symbol of the 14th province has not been hitherto found. But the unit directly behind the 13th nome is already occupied by the representation of the town of *Bḥdt*. Could it be that the 14th province was represented in some other position in the procession, or was it omitted at all? If the 14th nome was repositioned in the sequence, one would expect it to appear somewhere beside the 15th province. Yet, there is no free space to accommodate it. The position of the 9th and 15th Lower Egyptian nomes in the decoration is fixed (**Fig. 5**). Only three more personifications may fit in between them. If the above sequence may be used to restore that of Hatshepsut, the 11th, 10th, and 12th nome figures should occupy these spaces. Although only the representation of the 10th nome has hitherto been confirmed in the archaeological material from the Temple, the omission from the procession of either the 11th or the 12th province, and their replacement with the 14th nome figure, would be inexplicable. The 15th nome is further

⁴² Some stones have cavities and cracks resulting from deliberate cutting.

⁴³ Apart from Senwosret's White Chapel and Hatshepsut's Red Chapel representations, there is yet another geographical procession which would offer new solutions for the reconstruction of the sequence of nomes in the Temple at Deir el-Bahari, were it better preserved. The scene in question covers the northern face of the 6th pylon in Karnak, decorated by Tuthmosis III. Unfortunately, the reliefs are in such poor condition (only the lowest register of the decoration being partly preserved) that it cannot constitute a reference for the list at Deir el-Bahari.

⁴⁴ LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle d'Hatchepsout*, Pl. 5; BURGOS, LARCHÉ, *La chapelle Rouge I*, pp. 23–25.

⁴⁵ LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, pp. 231–236.

followed by the 16th and 13th provinces, both depicted in the lowest register of the decoration. Consequently, the omission of the 14th nome personification seems more probable than its repositioning. Although the reason for such an exclusion remains unknown, it is probably not an exception. Perhaps, in the sanctuary of Alexander the Great in the Luxor Temple, the 14th Lower Egyptian province has been similarly omitted from the nome procession.⁴⁶

Assuming that the 14th nome was excluded from the list in the small courtyard of the Temple of Hatshepsut, one is left with thirty-eight figures of nomes and forty units to accommodate them. Hence, there are two extra spaces for some additional personifications. One more time, the Red Chapel offers a possible solution. There is a supplementary figure personifying the whole Upper Egypt represented on the western façade of the chapel, in the lowest register of the decoration.⁴⁷ Possibly, the matching Lower Egypt personification complemented the scene, thus emphasising the Egyptian geographic duality. The nome figures in the Deir el-Bahari Temple, though represented consecutively in one continuous line cut into registers, seem to form two processions – of Upper and of Lower Egyptian provinces, each of them represented in three of the six registers of the decoration. Taking into account this geographical division visible in the decoration of the wall, it is possible that appropriate personifications of Upper and Lower Egypt headed each section of the procession, thus solving the problem of two blank units.

The three last figures of the geographical sequence represented in the Temple of Hatshepsut personify some of the *phww* of Egypt, namely: *W3d-wr*, *Km-wr*, and *Šn-wr*. All three are usually recognised as the bodies of water, but their exact identification is still not clear. *W3d-wr* can be associated with the ‘sea’⁴⁸ or the ‘green vegetation being a result of the inundation of the Nile’.⁴⁹ *Km-wr* is most often looked for in the region of the ‘Bitter Lakes’,⁵⁰ whereas *Šn-wr* is generally taken for the ‘Ocean’.⁵¹ The earliest known extensive listing of Egyptian *phww* is preserved on the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut,⁵² beside nome personifications and figures representing Hatshepsut foundations in the Theban region. The presence of the *phww* in this geographical procession seems more than just a matter of aesthetics. The list of these personifications is definitely too long to have been added to the core procession without any special purpose, just to fill up the space left behind the nome representations. In most of Egyptian geographical lists known today, *phww* accompanied the figures of nomes with which they constituted the country. Since together they

⁴⁶ PM II, 325 (147, 149); GARDINER, *JEA* 30, 1944, p. 38, n. 6; cf. M. ABD EL-RAZIQ, *Die Darstellungen und Texte des Sanktuars Alexander des Grossen im Tempel von Luxor*, Mainz a/Rhein 1984, pp. 48, 54, Pl. 10; although the scholar reconstructs the representation of the 14th nome personification after the figure of the 16th province, at the same time, for an unknown reason, he omits the 17th nome from the list.

⁴⁷ BURGOS, LARCHÉ, *La chapelle Rouge I*, p. 16.

⁴⁸ BAINES, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 158.

⁴⁹ CL. VANDERSLEYEN, *Ouadj our, w3d wr. Un autre aspect de la vallée du Nil*, Bruxelles 1999, *pass.*, esp. pp. 155–156. According to the researcher identification of *w3d wr* with the ‘sea’ is unfounded: p. 158.

⁵⁰ BAINES, *Fecundity Figures*, p. 158.

⁵¹ *Loc. cit.*

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 166; LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}*, Pl. 4; BURGOS, LARCHÉ, *La chapelle Rouge I*, pp. 25–29.

formed an entity, the presence of the *phww* could not have been insignificant. Contrary to the representation in the Red Chapel, only a few personifications of *phww* were depicted in the geographical procession in the Temple at Deir el-Bahari. In this particular case, they look like a ‘supplement’ to the list of nomes, their number visibly dictated by the scarcity of space. However, although poorly represented, they still seem to be intentionally joined to the figures of nomes. Representations of nomes, *phww* and other fecundity figures are found in various religious contexts. Their meaning might have been projected not only on this world but into the mystical realm of the gods, as well. In this sense, every part of Egypt, both on earth and in the netherworld likewise, was submitted to gods and the king, while the *phww* represented a region where the enemies of the gods, especially of Osiris, were neutralised with the food offerings brought for the deceased king.⁵³

As was already mentioned at the beginning of this paper, in each of the forty-four units of the nome procession at Deir el-Bahari, three columns of text⁵⁴ are inscribed beside every personification. Each first column is longer than the succeeding two of every section; the first one runs vertically through the whole register, the other two end in the 1/3 of it. Personifications are represented behind the text. The composition of the inscription is simple. Only two verbs – *rdi* and *ini* describe the act of giving performed by all the figures. These two verbs are used alternately, which may be clearly observed in the lowermost register, almost completely preserved. Yet, since large parts of the decoration in the upper registers are missing, a more irregular arrangement in these parts of the scene cannot be definitely excluded. In the first column of each unit, the text begins with *dd-mdw*, followed by a formula: *ini.n(i) n.t* or *di.n(i) n.t* – ‘I have brought to you’ or ‘I have given to you’. The subject should be identified with the personification represented behind each particular inscription. The choice of the feminine suffix with the dative shows clearly that the receiver of the offerings is nobody else than Hatshepsut. It is her cult chapel that constitutes the final destination of the whole procession. There is only one unit where the formula differs from two aforementioned variations. The unusual *ii.n(i) hr.k* – ‘I have come to you’ appears next to the *Šn-wr* figure, at the very end of the assemblage. Noteworthy is the masculine suffix *.k*. The phrase is addressed to the king *nsw t3wy*,⁵⁵ and that is undoubtedly the reason why the masculine pronoun was used instead of the female one. Following the *ini.n(i) n.t* and *di.n(i) n.t* formulae, offerings brought for the Queen are named. Among the goods mentioned are: *ih**t* – things, *df3* – provisions, *hnkt* and *htpt* – offerings, *rnpt* – vegetables, *hw* and *hb* – food and catch of fish and fowl, as well as *3wt-ib* – joy. In some cases, the offerings are described as being *imyt.i* (‘what is in me’) or *hr.i* (‘what depends on me’); their provenience is thus emphasised. In every second and third column, the formulae *di.f* (or *.s*) – ‘He (or she) gives’ is repeatedly applied with *nh*, *w3s*, *snb*, *dt*, or *3wt-ib* offerings. The suffixes *.f* and *.s* used with the verb *rdi* in *sdm.f*-form certainly refer to male and

⁵³ P. BARGUET, Une liste des pehou d’Égypte sur un sarcophage du Musée du Louvre, *Kémi* XVI, 1962, pp. 19–20. On the coffins from the Late Period, zodiac signs were sometimes added to the lists of nomes, as well. Thus, heaven also joined the homage of the earthly world.

⁵⁴ The columns are separated by dividing lines, omitted in only a few cases.

⁵⁵ Quite unusual use of the *nsw t3wy* form instead of the common *nsw-bity nb t3wy*.

female nome personifications. However, the pronoun does not always correspond with the gender of the personification to which it refers. In the lowest register, for instance, two female figures personifying the 16th nome of Lower Egypt and the presumed town of *Bhdt* are referred to with masculine suffixes (**Figs 1 and 3**).

Regarding the restricted diversity of formulae and the uniformity of the scene, it is very difficult to find the original place in the decoration of a loose block with only a fragment of inscription preserved. Sometimes, the attribution of such a piece to at least the right layer of blocks may be of crucial importance. Features such as the style, size, and the way the surface is damaged are taken into account with troublesome fragments. Unfortunately, the linear order of blocks in the eastern wall is not always observed; the wall must have been built in quite a rush, thus very carelessly, which makes the reconstruction work even more demanding.

Nome processions may be a proof of the growing importance of the pharaoh in relation to the gods. Going a little further, one may even assume that they constitute an evidence for the ongoing process of the king's divinity being attained during the lifetime of the ruler. In the Old Kingdom, only personifications of domains established by the pharaoh were represented in processions in front of the king. They made offerings of their revenues for the upkeep of the ruler's mortuary cult. In the same time, nome personifications were depicted in the temples dedicated to the gods. They paid tribute to the *ntrw* by bringing them goods.⁵⁶ Later, the ideas and concepts concerning the relationship between the pharaoh and the gods started to change. Slowly, the king began to benefit from the privileges earlier reserved to the gods. In the Middle Kingdom, Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre was worshipped in his temple at Deir el-Bahari together with the god Amun. He even adopted an additional Horus name, *Ntri-hdt* 'the divine one of the white crown', to further emphasise his divine character.⁵⁷ The idea of the king participating in the cult of the gods, introduced first by Mentuhotep II in the sanctuary of his temple, became the central religious concept in the New Kingdom. The pharaoh of Egypt was hence aligned to the gods, and the offerings brought to them were received by the king likewise. To endow the ruler with a new life, first the god in his earthly image had to be provided with offerings. After that, the same goods assured the cult of the ruler himself. In the New Kingdom, the bond between the king and the gods became so strong that the earthly ruler finally 'merged' with the god-creator to be worshiped in the temple of millions of years as one of his forms.

One of the means to express this changing status of the ruler was perhaps the introduction of the nome procession composition to Hatshepsut's temple of millions of years at Deir el-Bahari. On the columns in the Upper Courtyard of the Temple, personifications of Upper and Lower Egypt are represented bringing offerings for the god Amun worshipped

⁵⁶ The tradition probably reaches to the Old Kingdom. The representations from the so-called 'Weltkammer' in the Sun Temple of Niuserre at Abu Gurob are the only examples from this period known thus far.

⁵⁷ L. HABACHI, King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods, *MDAIK* 19, 1963, pp. 16–52.

in the Main Sanctuary. The figures are shown walking towards the 'holy of the holies'. To the south of the Main Court, in the small open courtyard of the Royal Cult Complex, the nomes of Egypt arranged in a procession approach the Cult Chapel of Hatshepsut. They come to the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the god of the earthly world and the netherworld. It seems that by adding the geographical procession to the decoration of the Royal Cult Complex the divine character of the ruler, and not only the economic dependence of his cult on the revenues from the royal foundations, was to be emphasised. A process of change in the royal ideology is herein metaphorically expressed by a shift from the literal meaning of the domain procession to a more figurative sense of the nome list. The first one illustrated the reality – authentic revenues of royal foundations, whereas figures of nomes played on the symbolic dependence of Egypt on the god, the divine king.

Hatshepsut may be the first ruler to use the iconographic motif of the nome procession in this function. Surprisingly, her successors did not employ the concept in their monuments; at least not until Seti I who copied the idea in his temple of millions of years in Abydos.⁵⁸ The king's chapel was there aligned with six sanctuaries, each one dedicated to the cult of a different god, namely Ptah, Re-Horakhty, Amun, Osiris, Isis, and Horus. Each of the chapels constituted a religious focus of the temple. Thus, the unity and equality of all seven gods, including Seti I, worshiped in one temple of millions of years was emphasised, and the divine character of the pharaoh confirmed.

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⁵⁸ A.M. CALVERLEY *et al.*, *Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, London-Chicago 1933–38, Pls 11, 42, 44, 46–48, 51.