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*Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition
in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*

Until quite recently the subject of older traditions that influenced Hatshepsut's achievements at Deir el-Bahari, although widely recognized in the scholarly literature, has rarely been explored in more than one or two statements.¹ The use of the Pyramid Texts, an Old Kingdom scheme of decoration in the offering chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, and a few iconographic elements throughout the temple, like the king as sphinx trampling enemies – were repeatedly given as examples.² It has also been noticed that the architecture of *Djeser-Djeseru* refers to much older schemes,³ although usually such remarks were restricted to some elements of the architectural design of the temple. Marcelle Werbrouck for example, suggested that Senenmut, when planning the courtyard for the temple at Deir el-Bahari, styled on the Fifth Dynasty royal mortuary temples at Abusir.⁴

Terraced layout, with porticoes on the façades of the steps, interpreted as deriving from *saff*-tombs, but a direct reference to the neighbouring building of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre, has been discussed in the broader context of the ideological background of Hatshepsut's kingship, and the way she referred (following in this respect her immediate predecessors) to her illustrious ancestors of the Middle Kingdom.⁵ It is perhaps not by chance that the name of the queen was copying a Middle Kingdom princess name.⁶ It must have been a deliberate choice by her father Thutmose I, who certainly referred to the Middle Kingdom tradition in a number of areas.⁷ Hatshepsut continued this attitude, of which there is explicit,⁸

* I am deeply indebted to Jadwiga Iwaszczuk for continuous discussion and many references and suggestions concerning the subject of this study.

¹ Already E. Naville in his publication noted, concerning the occurrence of the Pyramid Texts in the Chapel of Hatshepsut: *The presence of this text in this place is a proof of the desire which Hatshepsu shows in many ways, of going back as far as possible in her customs and her language. She was evidently fond of the archaic* (E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari I–VI*, London 1895–1906 [= *Temple*], London 1901, IV, p. 8).

² E.g. C. ALDRED, *Egyptian Art*, London 1980 [= *Egyptian Art*], p. 152; W.S. SMITH, *History of Egyptian Sculpture and Painting in the Old Kingdom*, Boston 1946, p. 204; *Id.*, *The Art and Architecture of Ancient Egypt*, revised with additions by W.K. Simpson, Ithaca-London 1981 [= *Art and Architecture*], p. 235.

³ R. STADELMANN, *Totentempel und Millionenjahrhaus in Theben*, *MDAIK* 35, 1970, pp. 303–321, sought the origin of some features of the temple of Hatshepsut and later 'Mansions of Millions of Years' in the Old Kingdom. Cf. DI. ARNOLD, *Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms*, [*in:*] B.E. Shafer (Ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London-New York 1997, pp. 31–85, Fig. 3.

⁴ M. WERBROUCK, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari*, Bruxelles 1949, p. 86. The author stressed also the differences: the courtyard at Deir el-Bahari is surrounded by a double peristyle, with polygonal and not floral columns. On the Old Kingdom inspirations see also *ibid.*, pp. 106–107.

⁵ E.g. F. HAIKAL, [*in:*] E. Hornung, B.M. Bryan (Eds), *The Quest for Immortality. Treasures of Ancient Egypt*, Munich-London-New York 2002, p. 10.

⁶ L. TROY, *Patterns of Queenship in Egyptian Myth and History*, Uppsala 1986, Appendix A. Royal Women (p. 158): 12.22 *HATSHEPSUT A. Daughter of Sesostris II and Neferet II (12.19). Titles : C4/1 z3t nsw 1. Stela Cairo 2039 cf. Lange and Schäfer 1902, 390 ff.* Scarabs with name of the Middle Kingdom princess Hatshepsut: J. SETTGAST, *Einige Skarabäen mit Königsnamen aus Kairiner Privatbesitz*, *MDAIK* 18, 1962, pp. 50–53; W. KAISER, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, Berlin 1967, p. 38, cat. no. 327.

⁷ On the general attitude of the kings of the Eighteenth Dynasty towards the Middle Kingdom, especially the Twelfth Dynasty, see: D.B. REDFORD, *The Concept of Kingship during the Eighteenth Dynasty*, [*in:*] D. O'Connor, D.P. Silverman (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Leiden 1995, pp. 157–184.

⁸ Semna temple was built by Hatshepsut in the 2nd year of Thutmose III, dedicated to Dedwen and deified Senwosret III: R.A. CAMINOS, *Semna-Kumma. I. The Temple of Semna*, London 1998 [= *Semna*]; cf. B. KEMP, *Ancient Egypt. Anatomy of a Civilisation*, London-New York 1989, p. 174, nn. 33–34. One of the scenes at

and implicit evidence.⁹ When she was a God's Wife and Great Royal Consort, she used a Middle Kingdom title of the One Who Embraces the White Crown.¹⁰ In her royal titulary (Female Horus and Daughter of Re) and iconography Hatshepsut directly followed Neferusebek of the Twelfth Dynasty.¹¹

Mentuhotep Nebhepetre was especially revered as her 'father'.¹² In parallel with his re-unification of the country, Hatshepsut allegedly re-established order after the Hyksos rule.¹³ A travertine vase, now in the Medelhausmuseet in Stockholm (inv. no. MM 14385) was dedicated by Hatshepsut to him.¹⁴ A shell shaped stone in Liverpool Museum (inv. no. 11929), with cartouches of Maatkare and Nebhepetre, bears a text on restoration of the temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁵ The temple of Mentuhotep was also an ideological inspiration for a joint cult of the king and god.¹⁶ The special attitude towards Mentuhotep Nebhepetre was extended upon his relatives: during the building of the temple of Hatshepsut a new access was made to the tomb of Neferu (TT 319).¹⁷

Semna represented Hatshepsut, still a queen regent, introduced by the goddess Satet to the illustrious ancestor (*Urk.* IV, 201.13–202.2; CAMINOS, Semna, Pl. 42). Cf. also scarabs with the names of Hatshepsut and Senwosret III (*H^c-k3w-R^c*) – F.S. MATOUK, *Corpus des scarabées égyptien. Les scarabées royaux*, Beyrouth 1971 [= *Les scarabées royaux*], p. 52; H. GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois II*, Cairo 1908, p. 248; W.M.F. PETRIE, *Historical Scarabs*, London 1889, p. 31, nos 944, 949–996.

⁹ Wolfram Grajetzki proved that not only the form and layout of Hatshepsut's sarcophagi were styled on the Middle Kingdom coffins, but also the texts were copying those on the sarcophagus of princess Neferuptah (W. GRAJETZKI, *The coffin of the "king's daughter" Neferuptah and the sarcophagus of the "great king's wife" Hatshepsut*, *GM* 205, 2005, pp. 55–65). For a parallel to Hatshepsut's sarcophagus from Wadi Gabbanet el-Qurud, cf. W.C. HAYES, *Royal Sarcophagi of the XVIII Dynasty*, Princeton 1935 [= *Royal Sarcophagi*], pp. 62–77. GRAJETZKI, *GM* 205, 2005, p. 61, states: *The Neferuptah coffin inscriptions confirm how extensively and how closely the Eighteenth Dynasty explored the works of an earlier period, in this case the late Middle Kingdom, a feature well-established in other branches of art.*

¹⁰ G. CALLENDER, A note on the *hnmt nfr hdt*, *SAK* 22, 1995, p. 45, commenting possible inscription of Hatshepsut on a block at Karnak: *It is therefore not inconceivable that on this occasion the queen might have been using an archaism, since her admiration for the Middle Kingdom rulers is well attested, and hnmt nfr hdt was a creation of those times.* Pace L. SABBAAHY, Comments on the Title *hnmt-nfr-hdt*, *SAK* 23, 1996, pp. 349–352, who denied the existence of the inscription at Karnak, the fragment indeed exists (see L. GABOLDE, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak*, *MIFAO* 103, Cairo 2005, Pl. IV (*Netjery-menou*, paroi 2 v°), and his comments on p. 39).

¹¹ On Neferusebek (with many references to Hatshepsut), see: G. CALLENDER, Materials for the Reign of Sebekneferu, [*in:*] C.J. Eyre (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge 3–9 September 1995, *OLA* 82, Leuven 1998, pp. 227–236; cf. J. VON BECKERATH, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, *MÄS* 49, Munich 1984, pp. 86–87 (*z3t-R^c*; the feminine ending *t*, accompanying the falcon figure at Neferusebek's serekh, has not been recorded).

¹² V.A. DONOHUE, Hatshepsut and Nebhepetre' Mentuhotpe, *DE* 29, 1994, pp. 37–44; KH. EL-ENANY, Le saint thébain Montouhotep Nebkhepetré, *BIFAO* 103, 2003, p. 181, 185.

¹³ Famous text of Hatshepsut at Speos Artemidos, speaking of the Hyksos who ruled 'without Re' (*m-hm-R^cw nj jr.jf m-wd-ntr nfrjt jr-hmt=j*). On Hatshepsut as a 'Heilskönig', see: J. ASSMANN, *Das Sendungsbewusstsein der Hatshepsut*, [*in:*] G. Moers *et al.* (Eds.), *jn.t dr.w*, Festschrift für Friedrich Junge I, Göttingen 2006, pp. 59–72.

¹⁴ B.J. PETERSON, Hatshepsut und Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, *CdE* XLII/84, 1967, pp. 266–268.

¹⁵ A. DODSON, Hatshepsut and 'her father' Mentuhotep II, *JEA* 75, 1989, pp. 224–226.

¹⁶ DI. ARNOLD, Vom Pyramidenbezirk zum "Haus für Millionen Jahre", *MDAIK* 34, 1978, pp. 1–8.

¹⁷ H. WINLOCK, The Egyptian Expedition 1924–1925. The Museum's Expedition at Thebes, *BMMA* 21, 1926, pp. 10–12, Fig. 7; ID., The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927. The Museum's Expedition at Thebes, *BMMA* 23,

The only attempt thus far to analyse deeper the references to earlier periods was made by Ann Macy Roth, who found in the decoration programme of the Deir el-Bahari temple a number of allusions to the Fifth Dynasty.¹⁸ Roth concluded that *Allusions to the Eleventh Dynasty (outside the temple) and Fifth Dynasty (inside it) appealed, respectively, to the Theban populace and Memphite officials, by reflecting a past period of glory familiar to each. With its references to Thebes where Hatshepsut's family originated, and also to Memphis, where she ruled, the temple ties two great periods of Egyptian history and the two most important cities of the Eighteenth Dynasty into a harmonious whole. (...) The allusions to the early Fifth Dynasty in the decoration may have been meant to emphasize an earlier juxtaposition. It was during the Fifth Dynasty that the city of Heliopolis, with its cult of the sun god Re, became the religious centre of the Egyptian state, forming a counterpart to the nearby administrative capital at Memphis. In Hatshepsut's reign, Thebes began to be called "Southern Heliopolis", marking it as the same kind of religious centre. Just as the early Fifth Dynasty kings had legitimized their rule by claiming divine birth and glorifying the city of their divine father, Re, Hatshepsut – by invoking their monuments – communicated to her court the parallel status that her construction projects and program of ritual processions conferred upon both herself and the city of her divine father, Amun-Re.*¹⁹

The architecture, relief decoration, and statuary program of the Deir el-Bahari complex, deserve further studies, exploring references to the Old and Middle Kingdoms, and possibly even to the Early Dynastic times.²⁰

In the opinion of William Stevenson Smith: *The building remains a unique conception, in a way that recalls the Step Pyramid group of Zoser at Saqqara. Like this famous old building of Dynasty III and the Luxor temple of Amenhotep III, it suggests the imprint of a single mind.*²¹

1928, pp. 4–6, Figs 2–3. F. MAURIC-BARBERIO, Le premier exemplaire du livre de l'Amdouat, *BIFAO* 101, 2001, pp. 332–333 suggested that the stone casing inside the tomb of Neferu, and its decoration including cursive passages from the Pyramid Texts and Coffin Texts, might have influenced Hatshepsut's blocks with the Amduat in KV20.

¹⁸ A.M. ROTH, Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple at Deir el-Bahri: Architecture as Political Statement [= Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple], [in:] C.H. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus, C.A. Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh*, New York 2005 [= Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh], pp. 147–151. Concerning the temple decoration Roth states that (...) *a very different set of historical precedents was invoked, alluding to the glory of Egypt during the Old Kingdom, when powerful kings built impressive pyramids near Memphis. A particular focus was placed on the early years (2465–2389 B.C.) of the Fifth Dynasty, a period of strong kings who stressed their ties to the cult of Re at Heliopolis, north of Memphis (ibid., p. 148).* Concerning the style Roth stresses that *Throughout the temple, the elegant raised relief resembles reliefs of the Old Kingdom in proportions and style (ibid., p. 150).*

¹⁹ ROTH, *Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, p. 150.

²⁰ It is perhaps not by chance that a scarab with names of *M3^ct-k3-R^c*, *Mn-hpr-R^c* and *Mnj* is the earliest record of the name Menes and suggests a special reverence of Hatshepsut to the mythical founder of the Egyptian state (MATOUK, *Les scarabées royaux*, p. 52; W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Part II: The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 B.C.)*, rev. ed. Cambridge, Mass. 1990, p. 105. Cf. D. WILDUNG, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, Berlin 1969, p. 6 n. 11).

²¹ SMITH, *Art and Architecture*, p. 226.

It is not by chance that *Djeser-djeseru* has been compared to the mortuary monument of Netjerykhet. Like the Step Pyramid complex, it is a monument settled in the earlier tradition that have influenced its architecture and decoration,²² and at the same moment revealing new, revolutionary ideological proposals that would eventually become standards. This is expressed in a large number of direct and indirect, explicit and implicit, references to the past, in the overall schemes and general rules of the architecture and decoration, as well as in details. In many cases it is difficult to trace an original source in a concrete period or monument, firstly because the comparative evidence (e.g. the decoration of the Middle Kingdom royal mortuary temples), is largely missing, and secondly because the temple archives (also inaccessible for our research) might have been widely used as a source of inspiration. Thus very often it is only safe to state that a feature is in line with a long, though recorded accidentally, tradition.

Recently discovered reliefs depicting an expedition to Punt under Sahure are an important evidence in this respect,²³ also in the context of copying themes by one king from another (e.g. the often cited example of the ‘Libyan Family’ theme). This is not to say that there was no expedition to Punt in the Year 9, but the choice of the subject for depiction might have been influenced by an already ancient tradition, and one has to be perhaps a bit more cautious about the historicity of depicted events, recorded names and details.²⁴

Hatshepsut’s interest in the past can be traced in various ways. It is explicitly stated by Senenmut, her closest collaborator, in an inscription on his statue from Karnak: *I was a noble, to whom one hearkened; moreover, I had access to all the writings of the prophets; there was nothing which I did not know of that which had happened since the beginning.*²⁵ That Hatshepsut sought for the ancient patterns not only in archives but *in situ* as well, is suggested by the graffiti left by her people at important Old Kingdom sites, e.g. at Saqqara,²⁶

²² It was even suggested that the inspiration for the temples at Deir el-Bahari was the Step Pyramid complex itself (P. GILBERT, *Architecture et politique aux trois temples de Deir-el-Bahari*, *Bulletin de la Classe des Beaux-Arts. Académie Royale de Belgique* 64, 1982, pp. 81–95).

²³ T. EL AWADY, *Sahure – the Pyramid Causeway. History and Decoration Program in the Old Kingdom*, *Abusir* XVI, Prague 2009, pp. 155–185, 253–257, Pls 5–8; cf. ID., *King Sahura with the precious trees from Punt in a unique scene !*, [in:] M. Barta (Ed.), *The Old Kingdom Art and Archaeology – Proceedings of the Conference Held in Prague May 31st – June 4th 2004*, Prague 2006, pp. 37–44. A.M. Roth already noticed the scenes of Sahure as the Fifth Dynasty antecedents for Hatshepsut’s scenes (ROTH, *Hatshepsut’s Mortuary Temple*, pp. 149, 151 n. 12).

²⁴ Elmar Edel already showed that the list of products from *J3m* in the inscription of Herkhuf and the list of products from Punt given by Hatshepsut are almost identical (E. EDEL, *Ein bisher falsch gelesenes afrikanisches Produkt in der Inschrift des Hrw-hwjjf (Herchuf)*, *SAK* 11, 1984, pp. 187–193).

²⁵ *BAR* II, § 353. This claim by Senenmut should not be underestimated, given numerous borrowings from earlier texts in his tomb TT 353 (e.g. the Pyramid Texts and ritual formulae, as well as list of decans influenced by the Middle Kingdom star clocks). Senenmut in TT 353 was represented bowing before large names of Hatshepsut (P.F. DORMAN, *Tombs of Senenmut, The Architecture and Decoration of Tombs 71 and 353*, New York 1991, Pls 61, 81) – exactly like Hapidjefa (I) from Asyut in his tomb, before the names of Senwosret I (cf. W. GRAJETZKI, *The Middle Kingdom of Ancient Egypt: History, Archaeology and Society*, London 2006, Fig. 22 on p. 106.).

²⁶ Graffito of Nakht in the Step Pyramid complex, dated to the Year 20, 3 month of Peret, day 2 of the joined reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: C.M. FIRTH, J.E. QUIBELL, *The Step Pyramid I*, Cairo 1935, p. 80;

and sites with Middle Kingdom monuments like Shatt el-Rigal.²⁷ An attitude towards ancestors and predecessors can be observed at some other sites. Hatshepsut was shown making offering to Ptah at Serabit el-Khadim followed by *nswt bjtj Snfrw*.²⁸ Two vases with the queen's name were found at Abydos.²⁹ A vessel inscribed with names of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III was found within the structure of the Second Dynasty 'Fort' at Hierakonpolis.³⁰ She founded a new temple at Hierakonpolis after, as it seems, a long hiatus there.³¹ Also a possible restoration by Hatshepsut of the early temple at Shedet in the Fayum can be perceived in this way.³²

The main area of Hatshepsut's activity was no doubt Karnak, where she constructed many new structures, after dismantling and rebuilding works of her predecessors.³³ Hatshepsut monuments at Karnak and Deir el-Bahari bear especially many references to works of Senwosret I.³⁴

Inspirations from earlier periods are most clearly visible in Hatshepsut's ultimate achievement: her *Djeser-djeseru*.

H. NAVRÁTILOVÁ, *The Visitors' Graffiti of Dynasties XVIII and XIX in Abusir and Northern Saqqara*, Prague 2007, pp. 90–92. Concerning the numerous Thutmose graffiti at Saqqara Navrátilová states: *One has also to notice that 18th Dynasty graffiti might be related to the general interest in the past, shown also in the contemporary royal ideology (ibid., p. 137)*. A curious find of a shabti of Puiemra, the second prophet of Amun and owner of TT 39, at the wall of the Step Pyramid complex, stresses the importance of this site in the times of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (B. GUNN, *A shawabti-figure of Puyamre from Saqqara*, *ASAE* 26, 1926, pp. 157–159).

²⁷ Inscription of Peniaty: H. WINLOCK, *The Rise and Fall of the Middle Kingdom at Thebes*, New York 1947, p. 73. Since at the site there are only trial-works of extracting stone in the New Kingdom, A.J. Peden assumed: *Perhaps Peniaty travelled to the desolate Wādi el-Shatt el-Rigāl solely for its splendid XIth Dynasty royal reliefs* (A.J. PEDEN, *The Graffiti of Pharaonic Egypt. Scope and Roles of Informal Writings*, c. 3100–332 BC, Leiden-Boston-Köln 2001, p. 82).

²⁸ A.H. GARDINER, T. PEET, J. ČERNÝ, *The Inscriptions of Sinai I*, London 1952, Pl. XLVII, no. 125c. A male figure wearing falcon feather crown between Maatkare and king Seneferu is unlabelled.

²⁹ CG 16027 found at Kom es-Sultan, and CG 16028 from south section of the site (PM V, 52, 90).

³⁰ R. FRIEDMAN, *New Observations on the Fort at Hierakonpolis*, [*in:*] Z.A. Hawass, J. Richards (Eds), *The Archaeology and Art of Ancient Egypt. Essays in Honor of David B. O'Connor I*, Cairo 2007, p. 328.

³¹ A tablet from the foundation deposit with names of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: J. WEINSTEIN, *A Foundation Deposit Tablet from Hierakonpolis*, *JARCE* 9, 1971–72, pp. 133–135.

³² L. SIST, *Un frammento di statua da Crocodilopoli*, *VicOr* 8/2, 1992, pp. 49–68.

³³ On the relation of Hatshepsut's projects to the structures of Senwosret I and Amenhotep I see recently: F. LARCHÉ, *Nouvelles observations sur les monuments de Moyen et Nouvelle Empire dans la zone centrale du temple d'Amon*, *CahKarn* 12/2, 2007, pp. 407–499; ID., *A Reconstruction of Senwosret I's Portico and Some Structures of Amenhotep I at Karnak*, [*in:*] P.J. Brand, L. Cooper (Eds), *Causing His Name to Live: Studies in Egyptian Epigraphy and History in Memory of William J. Murnane*, Leiden-Boston 2009, pp. 137–174. For a general account of vast building program of Hatshepsut is given see: E. BLYTH, *Karnak. Evolution of a temple*, London-New York 2006, pp. 51–67. On a vast background of Hatshepsut's achievements see recently: D. WARBURTON, *Architecture, Power, and Religion. Hatshepsut, Amun & Karnak in Context*, Zürich-Berlin 2012.

³⁴ See the article by J. Iwaszczuk in this volume. That the iconographic and textual repertoire of the Eighteenth Dynasty copied Twelfth Dynasty, which in turn referred to the Sixth Dynasty, was already noticed by P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, *Une chapelle de Sésoustris I à Karnak*, Le Caire 1969, p. 205 n. 2.

OVERALL STRUCTURE AND PARTS OF THE COMPLEX

In the case of Hatshepsut an overall scheme of the mortuary complex: tomb – upper temple – causeway – valley temple, resembles much the structure of the Old Kingdom ‘classical’ pyramid complexes (Fig. 1).³⁵ Contrary to the plan of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre, who built his entire tomb complex at Deir el-Bahari, only part of the mortuary complex of Hatshepsut was located in the valley. It was called *Djeser-djeseru* – ‘Holy of Holies’; the name referred, as it seems, to the upper temple in the Deir el-Bahari bay, as well as to the valley temple and the causeway with its kiosk (Fig. 2). It was not merely a mortuary temple, but a ‘Mansion of Millions of Years’,³⁶ the first one so vast, not only referring to its overshadowed predecessors, but constituting a template for the generations to come.³⁷

KV 20 AND *DJESER-DJESERU*

It has often been assumed that the case of Hatshepsut provides one of the earliest examples of a separation of the tomb proper from the ‘Mansion of Millions of Years’ related to it.³⁸ There is, however, a serious difference between what would become a standard for the rest of the New Kingdom, and the spatial organization of Hatshepsut’s mortuary complex. The tomb of Hatshepsut and her temple are in fact sharing the same space – the rock massif separating Deir el-Bahari from the Valley of the Kings that can be perceived as a pyramid of some sort. El-Qurn forms a natural pyramid, dominating the Valley of the Kings on the south, and it seems that together with the massifs of *gebel* surrounding the valley it constitutes a generic superstructure for all its tombs.³⁹ The arrangement is thus similar to the Old Kingdom pyramid complexes: the tomb is located inside the massif, and the mortuary temple is built against its eastern side. The tomb of Hatshepsut does not go under the temple (which has sometimes been expected and discussed by scholars),⁴⁰ nor the burial chamber conforms to the same rule as the burial chambers of the pyramids,

³⁵ Recognized already by H. CARTER, EARL OF CARNARVON, *Five Years’ Exploration at Thebes. A Record of Work Done 1907–1911*, London 1912, p. 40.

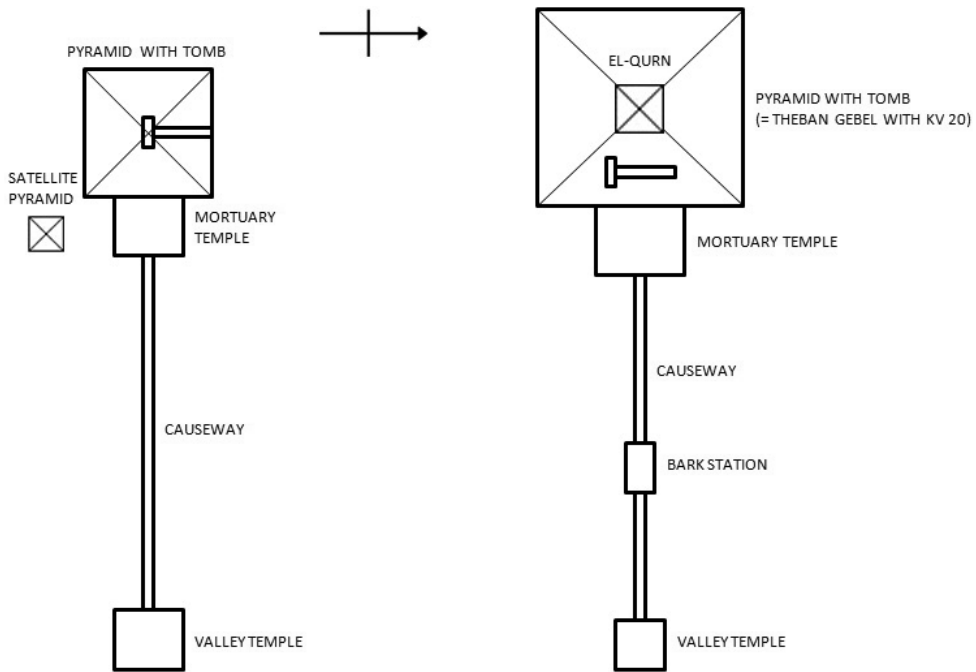
³⁶ The literature on this complex subject is extensive, see recently: S. SCHRÖDER, *Millionenjahrhaus. Zur Konzeption des Raumes der Ewigkeit im konstellativen Königtum in Sprache, Architektur und Theologie*, Wiesbaden 2010.

³⁷ The Mansion of Million of Years at western Thebes was a royal mortuary temple as well as a divine (solar) temple of rebirth, somehow joining the ideas of the Old Kingdom pyramid temples and sun temples.

³⁸ E.g. C. LEBLANC, *Quelques réflexions sur le programme iconographique et la fonction des temples de « millions d’années »*, [in:] S. Quirke (Ed.), *The temple in Ancient Egypt. New discoveries and recent research*, London 1997, p. 55: *Au Nouvel Empire tombe royale et temple de culte royal sont dissociés. On veut manifestement souligner une différence. Hatshepsout inaugure le principe pour marquer une justification de sa divinité.*

³⁹ One might imagine that the peak itself was thus a ‘pyramidion’ only, the bottom of the valleys being the ‘base’ level of this imaginary pyramid. The tombs were therefore hewn in and under the ‘pyramid’.

⁴⁰ Cf. HAYES, *Royal Sarcophagi*, pp. 17, 146–147. As rightly pointed by C.H. ROEHRIG, *The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut [= Two Tombs]*, [in:] Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh*, p. 187, n. 18, the tomb corridor turns rightwards almost immediately after the entrance, thus it is unlikely that it had ever been aimed straight to the temple.



1. Scheme of the Old Kingdom Royal Pyramid Complex (left) and Hatshepsut's Mortuary Complex (right). A comparison (Drawing: A. Ćwiek).

being aligned with the temple axis. However, the first planned burial chamber C1 is roughly aligned with the Offering Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult in the southern part of the Upper Terrace, the room which corresponds to the sanctuaries in the Old and Middle Kingdom mortuary temples. Moreover, the final burial chamber J2 in KV 20 is on the E-W axis with this room.⁴¹ Such an interpretation, of a direct spatial relation of KV 20 and the temple at Deir el-Bahari, obviously supports the assumption that Hatshepsut was the first ruler to build a tomb in the Valley of the Kings.⁴² D. Polz sees

⁴¹ The question of an internal chronology of KV 20, as well as the reasons of its extending in this particular form (looking for better layers of rock? conscious realization of a previous or developed plan?) seems to be still open. Cf. ROEHRIG, *Two Tombs*, p. 186. One may notice a resemblance of the plan of KV 20 to the 'cenotaph' of Senwosret III at Abydos, which might suggest another Middle Kingdom inspiration for Hatshepsut. A. STUPKO, *Sceny ofiarne w Kaplicy Hatszepsut (Deir el-Bahari). Diachroniczna analiza motywu*, unpublished PhD thesis, Warsaw University 2011 [= *Sceny ofiarne*], p. 16 made an interesting suggestion that the turn of the chamber towards west after a long approach from north may be a reflection of the internal structures of Old Kingdom pyramids.

⁴² Such is also the conclusion in D. POLZ, *Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut und das Tal der Könige – eine Skizze*, [in:] E.-M. Engel, V. Müller, U. Hartung (Eds), *Zeichen aus dem Sand. Streiflicher aus Ägyptens Geschichte zu Ehren von Günter Dreyer*, Wiesbaden 2008 [= *Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut und das Tal der Könige*], pp. 530–531. A possibility that KV 20 was begun by Thutmose I or Thutmose II inevitably deserves an assumption that the king planned his mortuary temple at Deir el-Bahari or even started building there, only being followed by Hatshepsut. Such a hypothesis (for Thutmose II) was indeed raised by ROEHRIG, *Two Tombs*, p. 186, referring



2. View of the *Djeser-Djeseru* complex, with the upper temple (A), causeway and kiosk (B) and the valley temple (C) (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

Mentuhotep Nebhepetre as a real ‘inventor’ of the site, with his tomb going west, towards the ‘entrance of the netherworld’ in the Valley of the Kings.⁴³ Hatshepsut followed her illustrious ancestor, and made a decisive step, choosing the place for her tomb and decorating her burial chamber with the first representation of Amduat. But no matter where the tomb entrance was, the complexes of Mentuhotep and Hatshepsut share the same feature: tomb below a natural pyramid and a temple on its eastern side. All later tombs are indeed separated from the related mortuary temples.⁴⁴

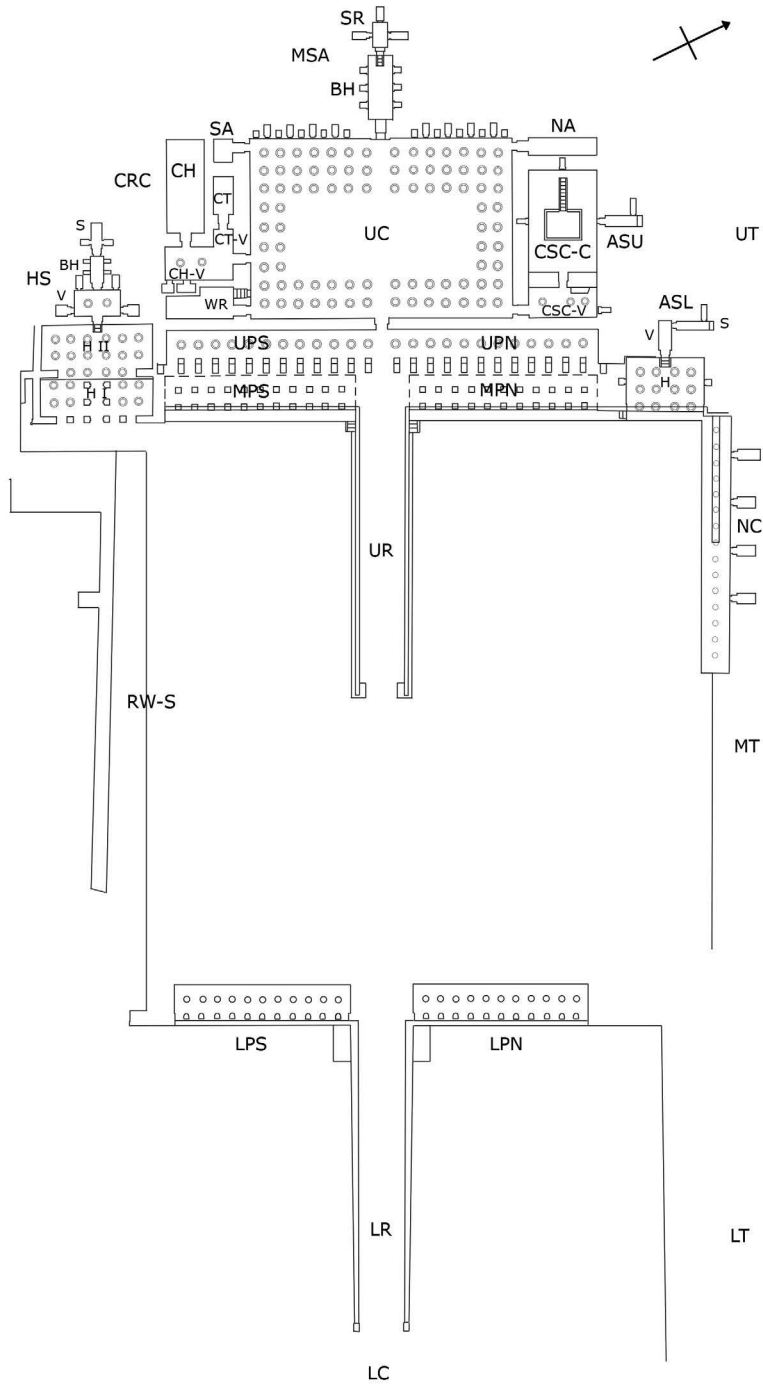
The close spatial and functional relation of Deir el-Bahari and Karnak, on both sides of the Nile, along the main world axis, parallels the relation of the royal pyramid sites of the Old Kingdom to Heliopolis.⁴⁵

to Z. WYSOCKI, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: Its Original Form, *MDAIK* 42, 1986, pp. 213–228, and ID., The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: The Raising of the Structure in View of Architectural Studies, *MDAIK* 48, 1992, pp. 233–254). However, Wysocki’s theory attributing the early phase of Deir el-Bahari temple to Thutmose II remains unsupported by any substantial evidence.

⁴³ POLZ, Mentuhotep, Hatshepsut and das Tal der Könige, pp. 525–533.

⁴⁴ Also the tomb of Thutmose I (KV 38) – this is perhaps another argument against its dating earlier than KV 20.

⁴⁵ Cf. S. QUIRKE, *The Cult of Ra. Sun-worship in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001 [= *Cult of Ra*], pp. 88–89, and Fig. 38. The complex relations of Karnak and Deir el-Bahari will be treated by the author in a separate paper.



3. Plan of the temple of Hatshepsut with designations of main structural parts (Drawing: A. Ćwiek).

OVERALL STRUCTURE OF THE TEMPLE

The sun cult complex in the temple of Hatshepsut and other Eighteenth- and Nineteenth Dynasty temples, identified as the ‘Shadow of Re’, is a New Kingdom version of the solar temple of the Old Kingdom.⁴⁶ The solar temple was located north of the Old Kingdom royal mortuary complex, and the *mrt*-building probably south of it. At Deir el-Bahari (**Fig. 3**) this rule is reflected in the position of the Complex of the Sun Cult on the north,⁴⁷ and the Hathor Shrine, playing the role of *mrt*,⁴⁸ on the south.⁴⁹ Also the location and complementary roles of the Hathor Shrine (south) and the Lower Anubis Shrine (north) are deeply rooted in the earlier tradition.⁵⁰

SOUTHERN RETAINING WALL OF THE MIDDLE TERRACE

A panelled wall with *serekhs* topped with Horus figures formed the face of the southern retaining wall of the middle terrace (**Fig. 4**).⁵¹ Such a panelled wall had a long tradition – from the Archaic Period through the Old and Middle Kingdom (Naqada-type mastabas, the Step Pyramid enclosure at Saqqara, pyramid complexes of Senwosret II at Lahun and of Senwosret III at Dahshur, etc.). A direct parallel of *serekhs* decorating vertical panels of the wall occurs in the complex of Senwosret I at Lisht.⁵² The retaining wall of the Middle Terrace acted somehow as a *pars pro toto* enclosure wall of the temple, referring to the early concept of the *Götterfestungen*.⁵³ At Deir el-Bahari *serekhs* decorated also the front faces of pillars in the Lower Porticoes, columns of the Upper Courtyard, and the original façade of the Hathor Shrine.

⁴⁶ R. STADELMANN, *Šwt-Rꜥw* als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reiches, *MDAIK* 25, 1969, pp. 159ff.

⁴⁷ J. KARKOWSKI, The Solar Complex in Hatshepsut’s Temple at Deir el-Bahari, *Deir el-Bahari* VI, Warsaw 2005 [= Solar Complex].

⁴⁸ DI. ARNOLD, *Rituale und Pyramidentempel*, *MDAIK* 33, 1977, p. 13; K. KONRAD, *Architektur und Theologie. Pharaonische Tempelterminologie unter Berücksichtigung königsideologischer Aspekte*, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 155–176. One should stress the complex role of the Hathor Shrine, with much developed structure and its own access ramp, conceived as an almost separate temple complementary to the main unit consecrated to Amun.

⁴⁹ The same scheme occurs later at Karnak and Amarna. It is related to cardinal points, and not the right-left position, e.g. in the *Akh-Menu* of Thutmose III the solar complex is on the north.

⁵⁰ For a discussion of complementary roles of Hathor and Anubis, rooted in the Old and Middle Kingdom tradition see A. ĆWIEK, *Relief Decoration in the Royal Funerary Complexes of the Old Kingdom. Studies in the Development, Scene Content and Iconography*, PhD thesis, University of Warsaw 2003 (cf. www.gizapyramids.org/pdf_library/cwiek_royal_relief_dec.pdf – accessed May 2013) [= Relief Decoration], pp. 309–313, 326–328; S. QUIRKE, *God in the Temple of the King: Anubis at Lahun*, [in:] S. Quirke (Ed.), *The Temple in Ancient Egypt*, London 1997, pp. 24–48.

⁵¹ A drawing of the remains of the wall: Z. WYSOCKI, *Deir el-Bahari 1977–1982*, *EtudTrav* XIV, 1990, Fig. 6 (on a leaflet). For a reconstruction see: E. DZIOBEK, *Eine Grabpyramide des frühen NR in Theben*, *MDAIK* 45, 1989, Fig. 3 (after A.M. LYTHGOE, *The Egyptian Expedition 1924–1925*, *BMMA* 21, March 1926, Fig. 11).

⁵² DI. ARNOLD, *The Pyramid of Senwosret I*, *MMAEE* 22, New York 1988 [= Pyramid of Senwosret I], pp. 58–63 with Pls 27–37, 87–88, 94); ID., *Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms*, [in:] B.E. Shafer (Ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, London-New York 1997 [= Royal Cult Complexes], p. 79: *This almost unique type of decoration was repeated only by Hatshepsut...*

⁵³ R. STADELMANN, *Die Wiederbelebung religiösen Gedankenguts des Alten Reiches in der Architektur des Totentempels Sethos’ I*, Qurna, [in:] P. Jánosi (Ed.), *Structure and significance. Thoughts on Ancient Egyptian Architecture*, Vienna 2005, p. 486. Cf. ARNOLD, *Royal Cult Complexes*, pp. 32–39 and Fig. 3.



4. *Serekh*-wall of the Middle Terrace (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

LOWER PORTICOES

The position of various scenes and motifs within the temple referred to the Old and Middle Kingdom mortuary temples. A good example is the king as sphinx trampling enemies⁵⁴ – a motif that in the Old Kingdom occurred at the foot of causeway or in the valley temple.⁵⁵ In the temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre such a scene was located in the lower portico,⁵⁶ and in the temple of Hatshepsut it is also placed in the lower porticoes, on the side walls adjoining the ramp.⁵⁷ The scenes of smiting enemies in the lower porticoes,⁵⁸ with the king grasping a whole group of enemies, were styled after Pepi II.⁵⁹ The names of foreigners occurring in the porticoes have archaistic forms.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ G. JÉQUIER, *Le monument funéraire de Pépi II*, vols II–III, Cairo 1936–1940 [= Pépi II], vol. III, p. ii: *Le tableau de Deir el-Bahari (...), quoique très mutilé, mérite une mention spéciale car on pourrait presque le prendre pour un calque d'un sphinx royaux de l'Ancien Empire*. For other OK scenes of *ptpt h3swt*, see: L. BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-Re^c I*, Leipzig 1913 [= Sa3hu-Re^c], Fig. 4; II, Pl. 8; ID., *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-user-Re^c*, Leipzig 1907 [= Ne-user-Re^c], Fig. 29, Pls 8–11; JÉQUIER, *Pépi II*, vol. III, Pls 15–16, 18.

⁵⁵ ĆWIEK, *Relief Decoration*, pp. 204–208. Cf. also F. PAWLICKI, *Skarby architektury starożytnego Egiptu. Królewskie świątynie w Deir el-Bahari*, Warszawa 2000 [= *Skarby architektury*], p. 157.

⁵⁶ E. NAVILLE, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari III*, *EEF* 32, London 1913, Pl. XIV [20], p. 23.

⁵⁷ NAVILLE, *Temple VI*, Pl. CLX.

⁵⁸ PAWLICKI, *Skarby architektury*, p. 154, Fig. 148.

⁵⁹ JÉQUIER, *Pépi II*, vol. III, Figs 2–5, Pls 36–38.

⁶⁰ PAWLICKI, *Skarby architektury*, p. 157.

SOUTHERN LOWER PORTICO

The scene of transportation of obelisks in the Southern Lower Portico ('Portico of Obelisks'), though itself unique, might have been inspired by parallel subjects occurring in the Old Kingdom mortuary temples.⁶¹ A neighbouring scene shows the obelisks standing in the Karnak temple.⁶²

NORTHERN LOWER PORTICO ('MYTHOLOGICAL PORTICO')

Northern Lower Portico ('Mythological Portico') contains a scene of Hatshepsut on a boat, performing a ceremony analogous to the Old Kingdom *zšš wꜣd*. It is done in front of Kamutef, who is a fertility deity, replacing here Hathor.⁶³ Accompanying fishing and fowling scenes were based on the Old Kingdom examples.⁶⁴ Like their predecessors they probably had double aim: controlling chaos and food supply.⁶⁵ It seems that some other old rituals with 'fertility' meaning, like the ritual of Driving the Calves (*ḥwt bḥsw*),⁶⁶ were also re-directed by Hatshepsut from Hathor towards Kamutef. Another scene from the

⁶¹ ROTH, Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, p. 149: *While the scene of transporting obelisks from Aswan has no exact parallel in the Old Kingdom, the causeway of Unis, last king of the Fifth Dynasty (r. 2353–2323 B.C.), has scenes depicting the transport of granite columns for his mortuary temple and may have been the inspiration for Hatshepsut's reliefs. (...) Hatshepsut's scenes would thus have combined Unis's narrative of transporting materials from the borders of Egypt to its capital with the solar symbol of the obelisk – the bbn stone so important in the earlier part of the Fifth Dynasty (ibid., p. 151 n. 10).*

⁶² Hatshepsut is the first in the New Kingdom to revive a custom of erecting obelisks (also in the names of her father and brother), attested thus far only for the kings of the Sixth Dynasty and Senwosret I at Heliopolis. Concerning the possible Old Kingdom inspirations of Hatshepsut, it has been suggested recently that Hatshepsut herself (and not Thutmose III) was responsible for walling the obelisks in *Wadjyt, composant ainsi la structure analogue à celle qui s'apercevait dans les temples solaires de la V^e dynastie au moins ceux d'Ouserkaf, de Neferirkarê et de Menkauhor...* (C. WALLET-LEBRUN, *Le grand livre de pierre*, Paris 2010, p. 73).

⁶³ PAWLICKI, *Skarby architektury*, p. 155. For a discussion of the meaning of this ceremony in the Old Kingdom and from the New Kingdom on, see: M. DOLIŃSKA, *Funkcja świątyni Totmesa III w Deir el-Bahari. Rola bogini Hathor w ideologii królewskiej*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Warsaw 2008, pp. 54–58, 87–91.

⁶⁴ NAVILLE, *Temple VI*, p. 8, Pl. CLXIII. PAWLICKI, *Skarby architektury*, p. 154 noticed a resemblance of a scene of fishermen pulling the net to those in the mastabas of the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties at Saqqara and Giza. ROTH, Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, p. 149 suggested an Old Kingdom antecedent for Hatshepsut's scenes in the pyramid temple of Sahure. The earliest Old Kingdom royal example, in the temple of Seneferu (A. FAKHRY, *The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur. II. The Valley Temple*, Cairo 1961 [= *Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur*], Figs 117a–c, 118) might have already been part of a ritual scene (Y. HARPUR, *Decoration of the Egyptian Tombs of the Old Kingdom: Studies in Orientation and Scene Content*, London 1986 [= *Decoration of the Egyptian Tombs*], p. 177 with n. 127, referring to M. ALLIOT, *Les rites de la chasse au filet, aux temples de Karnak, d'Edfou et d'Esneh*, *RdE* 5, 1946, pp. 57–118).

⁶⁵ Cf. J. KARKOWSKI, *Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, *EtudTrav XIX*, 2001, p. 88.

⁶⁶ Driving of the Calves occurs also on the W wall of the Upper Courtyard, above niche B. One may note that Thutmose I has already represented himself in the same ritual on the travertine chapel of Amenhotep I at Karnak (G. ROBINS, *Proportion and Style in Ancient Egyptian Art*, Austin 1994, Fig. 9.4 on p. 207). In this case, Hatshepsut followed only her father. On the Old Kingdom examples see ČWIEK, *Relief Decoration*, pp. 244–246. For the general discussion of the ritual and its connection with Consecrating the *Meret*-chests, see: A. EGBERTS, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-chests and Driving the Calves*, Leiden 1995.



5. Hathor Shrine Vestibule. Detail of representation of the facade of an Archaic sanctuary (Phot. M. Jawornicki).



6. Label for the scene of run for Hathor. Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine, W wall (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

Mythological Portico representing the Feast of the White Hippopotamus (*Hb-Hdt*) is one of rare occurrences of this old theme.⁶⁷

HATHOR SHRINE

Hathor Shrine is termed the *pr-wr* in the texts, and its decoration bears clear reference to its Archaic design. Façade of a shrine with fluted columns decorated with Hathor head capitals and horns, similar to those known once existing at the Step Pyramid complex, is represented on the W wall of the Hathor Shrine Vestibule (**Fig. 5**).⁶⁸

Scene of *jtt mjmj n Hwt-Hrw* ('bringing *mj mj*-grain for Hathor') on the N wall in the Vestibule is almost unique – the only parallel can be found in the mortuary temple of Sahure.⁶⁹ Scene of Hitting the Ball (*skr hm3*) usually assumed to occur at Deir el-Bahari for the first time,⁷⁰ might have had an Old Kingdom antecedent.⁷¹

Ceremonies of run before Hathor occur in the shrine (scenes on the W wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall: run with sticks and bird (*jtt gst*), and run with a steering-oar (*jtt hpt*)). The use of an Old Kingdom version of the hieroglyph *gs* (Gardiner's Sign List Aa14) in a label *gst Hwt-Hrw* may suggest the inspiration (**Fig. 6**).⁷² It is significant that the same ceremony was probably performed before Bastet, as suggested by a text on a block found at Birabi, coming either from the valley temple or the still unlocated *Kha-akhet*.⁷³ Hathor

⁶⁷ F. PAWLICKI, Une représentation inconnue de la Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc dans le Temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari, *EtudTrav* XIV, 1990, pp. 16–28; W. KAISER, Zwei weitere *hb-hd.t*-Belege, [in:] P.D. Manuélian (Ed.), *Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson II*, Boston 1996, pp. 451–459. An Old Kingdom parallel: JÉQUIER, Pépi II, vol. III, Pls 32–34, p. 20. For the discussion of the meaning of this festival, see: H. ALTENMÜLLER, Das "Fest des weissen Nilpferds" und das "Opfergefilde", [in:] C. Berger, G. Clerc, N. Grimal (Eds), *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, Cairo 1993, pp. 29–44; W. KAISER, Noch einmal zum *Hb-Hdt*, *MDAIK* 53, 1997, pp. 113–115.

⁶⁸ N. BEAUX *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor. Temple d'Hatchepsout à Deir el-Bahari. I. Vestibule et sanctuaires, Cairo 2012 [= La chapelle d'Hathor], Pl. 29. For the discussion of a possible reconstruction of the columns in the Step Pyramid complex and their similarity to the representation at Deir el-Bahari, see J.-P. LAUER, *Pyramide à Degrés I*, Cairo 1936, p. 161, Fig. 166; ID., *Pyramide à Degrés III. Complements*, Cairo 1939, pp. 49, 69 n. 1; L. BORCHARDT, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang, BABA 2*, Kairo 1938, pp. 27f., Fig. 8; H. RICKE, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches I, BABA 4*, Zürich 1944, pp. 77–84.

⁶⁹ BEAUX *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor, Pl. 9; L. BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs S'a3hu-Re*, Bd. II: Die Wandbilder. Text, Leipzig 1913 [= *S'a3hu-Re*], p. 114.

⁷⁰ BEAUX *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor, Pl. 6.

⁷¹ ĆWIEK, *Relief Decoration*, pp. 246–248. One may suggest a connection with the Pyramid Texts §§ 279–283: *Set the rope aright, cross the Milky Way (?), smite the ball in the meadow of Apis*. The text goes on: *Behold, she comes to meet you, the Beautiful West, (...) and she says: "here comes he whom I have born"* (transl. R.O. Faulkner). It is noteworthy in this respect that on the Chapelle Rouge occurs a rare scene of Run of Apis, of which the earliest example comes from the statue temple of Seneferu at Dahshur (FAKHRY, *Monuments of Seneferu at Dahshur II/1*, Figs 96–98).

⁷² There is no direct Old Kingdom example of the run with sticks and bird, nor with an oar, cf. however remarks in JÉQUIER, Pépi II, vol. II, p. 15.

⁷³ It is uncertain how far the decoration of the Valley Temple of *Djeser-djeseru* had been executed at the moment of Hatshepsut's death. It is therefore possible that the block in quest, as possibly many others lying at Birabi and along the cultivation, might have come from *Kha-akhet*, the name of which occurs on these blocks (J. KARKOWSKI, *Hatshepsut Temple. The Epigraphic Mission 1996, PAM VIII (Reports 1996), 1997*, p. 57). This last temple remains unlocalized. It is much probable, however, that it should be identified with the Thutmoseid

and Bastet were complementary goddesses in the Old Kingdom, with a special position in the pyramid temples.⁷⁴

The scene of suckling the king by Hathor in form of a cow in the Bark Hall and the Sanctuary of the Hathor Shrine⁷⁵ is attested before Hatshepsut only for Mentuhotep Nebhepetre.⁷⁶ Also a particular headdress worn in the sanctuary by Hatshepsut standing in front of the cow is borrowed from representations of the Eleventh Dynasty king.⁷⁷

LOWER ANUBIS SHRINE AND UPPER ANUBIS SHRINE

Important functions of Anubis were connected with mummification and rebirth, and in this role he occurs in the birth cycle at Deir el-Bahari.⁷⁸ However, it seems that another reason inspired the creation of two chapels, at the northern ends of the middle and upper terrace respectively, and his prominence there. A.M. Roth suggested that the choice of Anubis (and not Osiris) for these suits of rooms, might have been a conscious reference to a Fifth Dynasty tradition.⁷⁹ It seems, however, that the predominance of Anubis is explained by different roles played by both gods. Osiris' sphere confined to the tomb in the Valley of the Kings.⁸⁰ What influenced the building of the two chapels was not a general notion of 'mortuary' or 'chthonic', and even not Anubis' regenerating powers,⁸¹ but his specific role of a psychopompos, transferring the dead through the liminal sphere into the netherworld.⁸² It seems that both chapels of Anubis, with their niches in sanctuaries oriented

building at the area of the Ramesseum (CH. LEBLANC, À propos du Ramesseum et de l'existence d'un monument plus ancien à son emplacement, *Memnonia* XXI, 2010, pp. 61–108, Pls VI–LVII). At any rate, it is now certain that the name does not refer to the so-called Barakat's temple, identified recently by Jadwiga Iwaszczuk as *Khenemet-anekh*, the mortuary temple of Thutmose I (J. IWASZCZUK, The Temple of Thutmose I rediscovered, *PAM* XXI (Research 2009), 2012, pp. 269–277).

⁷⁴ ĆWIEK, Relief Decoration, pp. 308–313.

⁷⁵ BEAUX *et al.*, La Chapelle d'Hathor I, Pls 31, 32, 39, 40.

⁷⁶ Block in Kestner Museum Hannover 35.200.82.

⁷⁷ It is a rare headgear, resembling much the crown of Amun, lacking, however, the back sash. Beside the scenes in the Hathor Shrine, Hatshepsut is wearing it on the pillars B-II-8-N and P-II-1-N in the Porticoes of the Birth and of Punt respectively. This particular form should be distinguished from other feather crowns occurring throughout the temple. For Eleventh Dynasty parallels at Dendera, Tod, Konosso and Elephantine, see: J. DE MORGAN *et al.*, Catalogue des Monuments et Inscriptions de l'Égypte antique I/1, Vienna 1894, pp. 71, 73 (nos 31 and 44); F. BISSON DE LA ROQUE, Tôd, Cairo 1937, Pl. 32; L. HABACHI, King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods, *MDAIK* 19, 1963, pp. 43–44, Figs 7–8, 19–21, Pl. XIV; E.F. MAROCHETTI, The Reliefs of the Chapel of Nebhepetra Mentuhotep at Gebelein (*CGT 7003/1-277*), Leiden-Boston 2010, Figs 27, 30b.

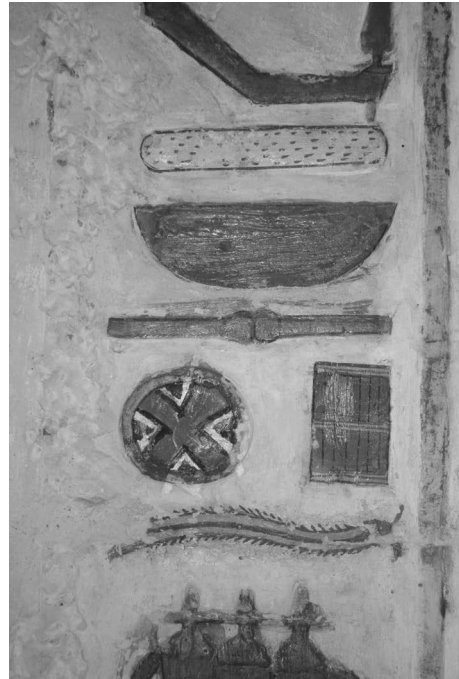
⁷⁸ R.K. RITNER, Anubis and the Lunar Disc, *JEA* 71, 1985, pp. 149–155.

⁷⁹ *Both Hathor and Anubis were particularly important in the period before the rise of Osiris in the late Fifth Dynasty* (ROTH, Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, p. 149).

⁸⁰ Therefore there was no 'exclusion' of Osiris (postulated by C. DESROCHES-NOBLECOURT, *La reine mystérieuse. Hatshepsout*, Paris 2002, pp. 278–279, 435–438). Cf. ĆWIEK, Relief Decoration, pp. 326–327 on the different roles of Osiris and Anubis in the Old Kingdom royal mortuary complexes.

⁸¹ Though this role is also clearly present in the scene of Anubis rolling the moon disk, on the N wall of the Portico of the Birth (RITNER, *JEA* 71, 1985, pp. 149–155).

⁸² T. DUQUESNE, Openers of the Paths: canid psychopomps in ancient Egypt and India, *JACiv* 10, 1995, pp. 41–53.



7. Lord of Sepa, epithet of Anubis. Upper Anubis Shrine, niche, N wall (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

towards west, served as termination points of two cycles of magical paths of the king.⁸³ Final rebirth before the coming back to the tomb is symbolized by the role of the *Imy-ut* in the decoration and texts of the chapels.⁸⁴ The ideology of transfer made by a canine deity can be traced back to the Old Kingdom; it was Wepwawet who performed this for the king.⁸⁵ At Deir el-Bahari this role is fulfilled by Anubis. It is significant that in both shrines Anubis bears an Old Kingdom epithet of Lord of Sepa, very probably reflecting the ‘transportation’ role (**Fig. 7**).⁸⁶

⁸³ The cycles start in the Offering Chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, and in the Hathor Shrine respectively. In the first case the kings were supposed to come from the tomb in the Valley of the Kings, emerging through the false doors. After having received offerings they were moving from south towards north following a complicated sequence of passages and transformations along the rooms of the Upper Terrace with the final stage of regeneration in the altar court of the Solar Complex (cf. KARKOWSKI, Solar Complex, p. 84). The creation of the Upper Anubis Shrine (a late addition to the architecture of the temple) was necessary to enable them the return to the tomb in the West. Anubis was acting there not once, but repeatedly, since the kings were repeating (magically, through the decoration as well as thanks to the rituals) their eternal life cycles.

⁸⁴ For an interpretation of the role of Anubis *Imy-ut* in the Upper Shrine of Anubis, see: Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI, Imiut in the ‘Chapel of the Parents’ in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, [in:] M. Dolińska, R. Gundlach (Eds), 8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, Warschau, 22.–25. September 2008, Interconnections between Temples – Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen, Wiesbaden 2010, pp. 187–196.

⁸⁵ Pyr. § 1090: *Wepwawet opens the way for me*. Cf. also: Pyr. §§ 463, 1638.

⁸⁶ Cf. V. LORET, Le mille-pattes et la chaise à porteurs de pharaon, *RdE* 6, 1951, pp. 5–20. It is perhaps not by chance that the same epithet occurs on the false door in Senenmut’s tomb TT 353. Cf. also: BORCHARDT, *Saḥu-Re* II, p. 104.



8. Lion on the throne base. Portico of Punt, N wall (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

SOUTHERN MIDDLE PORTICO ('PORTICO OF PUNT')

As mentioned above, the subject of an expedition to Punt occurred already in the Old Kingdom pyramid complex of Sahure.⁸⁷ In the scene with enthroned Hatshepsut on the N wall of the Portico of Punt, the decoration of the throne base include the figures of lions styled upon the Old Kingdom examples (**Fig. 8**).⁸⁸ The text on the royal seating, accompanying this scene, copies the format of the *Königsnovelle*, such as that of Senwosret I preserved on the Berlin Leather Roll (pBerlin 2029).⁸⁹

NORTHERN MIDDLE PORTICO ('PORTICO OF THE BIRTH')⁹⁰

Perhaps the largest number of the Archaic, Old Kingdom and Middle Kingdom references can be traced in the texts and iconography of the Birth and Coronation cycle in the Northern Middle Portico.⁹¹ Till quite recently only later parallels were

⁸⁷ Cf. n. 23 above. For an even earlier example of 'Punt trees' motif, see: E. EDEL, Studien zu den Relief-fragmenten aus dem Taltempel des Königs Snofru, [in:] P.D. Manuelian (Ed.), Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I, Boston 1996, pp. 199–204 and Fig. 1.

⁸⁸ M. PONGRACZ, Löwendarstellungen an Podesten der Königsthronen, *MDAIK* 15, 1937, pp. 213–220. R. Fazzini suggested even a direct borrowing from the decoration of a pedestal in the temple of Queen Neith of the Sixth Dynasty (Id., Some Egyptian Reliefs in Brooklyn Museum, [in:] *Miscellanea Wilbouriana* 1, Brooklyn, N.Y. 1972, pp. 60–61). Cf. G. JÉQUIER, Les pyramides des reines Neit et Apouit, Cairo 1933, Pl. V.

⁸⁹ H. GOEDICKE, The Berlin Leather Roll (P Berlin 3029), [in:] Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, Berlin 1974, pp. 87–104.

⁹⁰ The two porticoes of the Middle Terrace not only form an architectural unit, but are ideologically interconnected (C. BARBOTIN, Pount et le mythe de la naissance divine à Deir el-Bahari, *CRIPPEL* 24, 2004, pp. 9–14). In fact they constitute the central part of an ideological cycle, starting with the Hathor Shrine on the south and ending with the Lower Anubis Shrine on the north.

⁹¹ The reference of the birth myth of Hatshepsut to the story of Papyrus Westcar has been widely recognized, e.g. ROTH, Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, p. 151; cf. also H. ALTENMÜLLER, Geburtsschrein und Geburtshaus, [in:] P.D. Manuelian (Ed.), Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson I, Boston 1996, pp. 28–37, where a connection of the Divine Birth cycle with eschatological sphere of the Old Kingdom is discussed.



9. *Kas* and *hemusets* of Hatshepsut. Portico of the Birth, W wall (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

known.⁹² However, the discoveries made recently by the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at the causeway of the Senwosret III complex at Dahshur changed this situation radically. Some of the fragments found there come undoubtedly from the birth cycle (including the text of Re speaking of a birth, and parallels to Hatshepsut's scenes: two gods facing each other, presumably holding a royal child; Anubis bending over the lunar disk; the head of the goddess Heqet), proving that Hatshepsut has followed an already established iconographical pattern.⁹³ The fourteen *kas* of the king⁹⁴ are a motif that can be traced back to the Step Pyramid complex⁹⁵ and the Pyramid

⁹² Amenhotep III in the Luxor temple, Ramesses II in the Ramesseum, and the Third Intermediate Period scenes at Karnak. The subject of divine birth of the king was analysed by H. BRUNNER, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs. Studien zur Überlieferung eines altägyptischen Mythos*, 2nd revised ed., *ÄA* 10, Wiesbaden 1986.

⁹³ A. OPPENHEIM, *The Early Life of Pharaoh: Divine Birth and Adolescence Scenes in the Causeway of Senwosret III at Dahshur*, [in:] M. Bárta, F. Coppens, J. Krejčí (Eds), *Abusir and Saqqara in the Year 2010 I*, Prague 2013, pp. 171–188.

⁹⁴ NAVILLE, *Temple II*, pp. 17–18, Pl. LIII; *Urk.* IV, 230.15 (... *mn^c hm.s hm^c k3w.s nbw...*).

⁹⁵ The number fourteen is by no means accidental: F.W. VON BISSING, *Versuch einer neuen Erklärung des Ka'i der alten Aegypter*, [in:] *Sitzungsberichte der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-philologische und historische Klasse* 5, München 1911, pp. 3–15; A.H. GARDINER, *Some Personifications*, *PSBA* 38, 1916, pp. 83–95. That the fourteen dummy gates in the Step Pyramid temenos wall represented fourteen real doorways of the Memphite residence of the king was a view advocated by J.-P. Lauer (E. DRIOTON, J.-P. LAUER, *Sakkarah. Les monuments de Zoser*, Cairo 1939, pp. 9–10). However, it seems that they rather were giant false doors for the *kas* of the king. The number of the gates might have been conceived as 2 x 7 (doubling for Upper and Lower Egypt the seven lives of the pharaoh). The number and arrangement of the gates were subsequently copied in the complex of Sekhemkhet and on Middle Kingdom royal sarcophagi (S. IKRAM, A. DODSON, *The Mummy in Ancient Egypt*, London 1998, p. 252 and Fig. 347), as well as on the sarcophagus of Merenptah, reused by Psusennes (G. JÉQUIER, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne I*, Cairo 1924, p. 329,

Texts.⁹⁶ Even the distinction between *kas* and *hemusets* (Pyr. § 396) is here repeated in depictions of the divine figures nursing Hatshepsut (Fig. 9). More general issue of the nature and role of the royal *ka*, extremely important at Deir el-Bahari, seems to be deeply rooted in the Old Kingdom.⁹⁷

The mother of Hatshepsut, Ahmose, bears archaizing titles – *wrt hts*, *wrt hst*, *m33t Hrw Stj*.⁹⁸ They are rarely attested after the Middle Kingdom, and do not appear in the titulary of Ahmose elsewhere.

The text on the investiture of Hatshepsut in the upper register of Northern Middle Portico is repeating the phrases of the text of Amenemhat III from Arsinoe in the Fayum, preserved on blocks in Berlin.⁹⁹

The scheme of the text in the Youth Legend of Hatshepsut copies the dedicatory inscription of Senwosret I for Heliopolis temple.¹⁰⁰ The most important episodes are witnessed by Seshat, recording them on a papyrus. Goddess' figures copy the patterns from the Old and Middle Kingdom royal mortuary temples.¹⁰¹ In one of the scenes of the youth and coronation cycle, figures resembling the souls of Nekhen and Pe (kneeling with the *henu*-gesture), but of three kind, are depicted in three registers. Upper register: three jackal-headed *ntrw nbw h-ntr smc*. Middle register: three falcon-headed [*ntrw hntj(w) jtrt*] *smc*. Lower register: three human-headed *ntrw hntj(w) jtrt mhw*.¹⁰² This threefold division of the personifications

Fig. 222), and those of Padiamenope and Aspelta. On this issue see H. KEES, *Die 15 Scheintüren am Grabmal, ZÄS* 88, 1963, pp. 97–113. The occurrence of this unusual number in various architectural and textual contexts, not analysed here, can be explained by this primary meaning, reinforced by the importance for the ideology of birth and rebirth.

⁹⁶ PT 273–274 ('Cannibal Hymn').

⁹⁷ Cf. L. GREVEN, *Der Ka in Theologie und Königskult der Ägypter des Alten Reiches*, *ÄF* 17, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1952; U. SCHWEITZER, *Das Wesen des Ka im Diesseits und Jenseits der alten Ägypter*, Glückstadt-Hamburg-New York 1956, (esp. pp. 40–51); A. BOLSHAKOV, *Man and His Double in Egyptian Ideology of the Old Kingdom*, Wiesbaden 1997. On the case of Hatshepsut see B. OCKINGA, *Hatshepsut's Election to Kingship: the Ba and Ka in Egyptian Royal Ideology*, *BACE* 6, 1995, pp. 89–102.

⁹⁸ *Urk.* IV, 224.16; A. WIEK, *Fate of Seth in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, *EtudTrav* XXII, 2008, p. 48, Fig. 15; cf. L. TROY, *Patterns of Queenship in Egyptian Myth and History*, Uppsala 1986, pp. 163, 189.

⁹⁹ Berlin Inv. nos 15801–4 (*Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I. Inschriften von der ältesten Zeit bis zum Ende der Hyksoszeit*, part III: *Inschriften des Mittleren Reiches*, Leipzig 1904, p. 138, and J. BREASTED, *Ancient Records of Egypt II: The Eighteenth Dynasty*, Chicago 1906, p. 95). A partially preserved text with the cartouche of Senwosret III on one of the blocks (15801) speaks, as it seems, of taking the royal office by his co-regent. The text on another fragment (15803) records establishment of the royal names of Amenemhat III (for a restoration of the original relation of the blocks, based on NAVILLE, *Temple III, Pl. LXII*, see: *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin I, part IV: Inschriften des Mittleren Reichs und der Hyksoszeit*, Leipzig 1913, p. 268).

¹⁰⁰ N. GRIMAL, *Corégence et association au trône: l'Enseignement d'Amenemhat I^{er}*, *BIFAO* 95, 1995, p. 279. For the text of Senwosret I (leather roll P.Berlin 3029), see: H. GOEDICKE, *The Berlin Leather Roll (P Berlin 3029)*, [*in:*] *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptisches Museum*, Berlin 1974, pp. 87–104; E. BLUMENTHAL, *Die erste Koregenz der 12. Dynastie*, *ZÄS* 110, 1983, pp. 114–115. PH. DERCHAIN, *Les débuts de l'histoire*. [*Rouleau de cuir Berlin 3029*], *RdE* 43, 1992, pp. 35–47 opted for the early Eighteenth Dynasty date of the composition of this text (a view rebutted by A. PICCATO, *The Berlin Leather Roll and the Egyptian sense of history*, *LingAeg* 5, 1997, pp. 137–159).

¹⁰¹ For the examples and analysis of the theme, see: WIEK, *Relief Decoration*, pp. 209–210 and n. 872.

¹⁰² NAVILLE, *Temple III, Pl. LX*; *Urk.* IV, 253.11, 15; 254.3.

corresponds to the Old Kingdom scheme of divine shrines as represented by chapels in the Step Pyramid complex, and reliefs in Pepi II's mortuary temple.¹⁰³

Thutmose I in the scene of proclaiming Hatshepsut his successor wears the *khat*-headdress and the *heb-sed* robe.¹⁰⁴ Such a rare connection of attributes is attested in the Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁵ Hatshepsut is styled in the text *z3t ntr*, God's Daughter, a title not in use after the Old Kingdom.¹⁰⁶

Coronation date¹⁰⁷ is styled on the Old Kingdom patterns.¹⁰⁸ The sequence of the accession rites – *zm3-t3wj*, *phr h3 jnb*, *h^c-nswt* – copies exactly the one in the Fifth Dynasty annals (Palermo Stone).¹⁰⁹ The depicted coronation by Seth and Horus finds its parallels in the Old Kingdom scenes.¹¹⁰ Mentioned in the text in the final scene of the Portico of the Birth is the *hb-s3d* 'Festival of the diadem' – recorded on the Palermo Stone (reign of Shepseskaf).¹¹¹

¹⁰³ In the *Heb-Sed* Court of the Step Pyramid complex the western row of buildings represented the Upper Egyptian *pr-wrw* and *zh-ntr*-shrines and the eastern one the Lower Egyptian *pr-nw*-shrines. The same pattern occurred in the decoration of Pepi II's square antechamber. These three shrine types probably formed *jrt Šm^c*, *h-ntr Šm^c* and *jrt-Mhw* respectively.

¹⁰⁴ NAVILLE, Temple III, Pl. LXI.

¹⁰⁵ According to KARKOWSKI, *EtudTrav* XIX, 2001, p. 95, the occurrence of the *khat* in a *sed*-related scene is unparalleled, but in fact there exists an early example from the reign of Khufu (the king's depiction on a block found at Giza: G.A. REISNER, W.S. SMITH, *The Tomb of Hetep-heres the Mother of Cheops. A Study of Egyptian Civilization in the Old Kingdom, A History of the Giza Necropolis II*, Cambridge, Mass. 1955 [= *A History of the Giza Necropolis II*], Fig. 6a-b).

¹⁰⁶ *Urk.* IV, 258.2. The title is not attested in the Middle Kingdom, and Hatshepsut is its only bearer in the New Kingdom (B. SCHMITZ, s.v. *Gottestöchter*, *LÄ* II, 824–825).

¹⁰⁷ *Urk.* IV, 262.7–8; NAVILLE, Temple III, Pl. LXIII. The whole scene with the date of the coronation and depictions of beginning of the accession rites is separated from the former scenes by the *rnpt*-sign, copying the graphic tradition of the Early Dynastic year-labels and the Old Kingdom annals. The coronation date itself (I *3ht* 1) is the same as for the Twelfth Dynasty kings, from Senwosret I through Amenemhat IV: W. BARTA, *Thronbesteigung und Krönungsfeier*, *SAK* 8, 1980, p. 52.

¹⁰⁸ W. BARTA, *Rituale für Geburt und Krönung*, *ZÄS* 112, 1985, p. 12: *Mit den gleichen Stichworten wie im Alten Reich hat übringens auch Hatshepsut das Datum ihres 1. Regierungsjahres umschrieben*. P.F. DORMAN, *The Early Reign of Thutmose III: An Unorthodox Mantle of Coregency*, [in:] E. Cline, D. O'Connor (Eds), *Thutmose III: a New Biography*, Ann Arbor, Michigan 2006, p. 55: *The date on which the supposed coronation took place is given as 1 3ht 1, corresponding to civil New Year's Day, the day on which all new regnal years commenced during the Middle Kingdom; it is however, both symbolic and archaic in nature and therefore suspect as a true date*; p. 67 n. 115: *The format of the date is consciously archaizing, imitating the wording of annals dating back to the Old Kingdom. It would have been possible, of course, to "stage" a coronation ceremony any time after Hatshepsut assumed a full titulary, even on New Year's Day, without tampering with the current regnal dating system*.

¹⁰⁹ H. GOEDICKE, *Zm3-t3wy*, [in:] *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar I*, Cairo 1987, p. 319; A. ĆWIEK, M. SANKIEWICZ, *The Scene of 'Going Round the Wall' on the North Wall of the Portico of the Birth*, *PAM* XVIII (Reports 2006), 2008, pp. 290–294.

¹¹⁰ A. LABROUSSE, J.-P. LAUER, J. LECLANT, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, Cairo 1977, pp. 95–97, Figs 74–75 = doc. 47–49 (relief of Unis, JE 52021); JÉQUIER, *Pépi II*, vol. III, Fig. 27, p. 39, cf. also *Id.*, *Rapport préliminaire sur les fouilles exécutées en 1927–1928 dans la partie méridionale de la nécropole memphite*, *ASAE* 28, 1928, p. 57 and Pl. IV (box of Pepi II). Horus and Seth standing to the right and left of the king are mentioned in *Pyr.* § 601, cf. also *Pyr.* § 390.

¹¹¹ NAVILLE, Temple II, Pl. 63. As stated by S. SEIDLMEYER, *Town and State in the Early Old Kingdom. A View from Elephantine*, [in:] J. Spencer (Ed.), *Aspects of Early Egypt*, London 1996, p. 122: *...clearly derived from an ancient copy. Here we see the king after having been crowned in two h-palaces with the crowns of*

NORTHERN COLONNADE

Although this part of the temple, still under construction at the moment of the female pharaoh's death,¹¹² remained undecorated, it bears nevertheless an interesting evidence related to the problem of Hatshepsut's attitude towards her 'father' Mentuhotep Nebhepetre. Two architraves of the unfinished portico that had been placed on the columns, are made not of limestone as is usual in the temple, but of sandstone. Moreover, it is a specific kind of sandstone, attested only for Mentuhotep's complex.¹¹³ This fact, together with other instances of a supposed re-use of building material from the neighbour monument,¹¹⁴ raises the problem of the reason of this action.¹¹⁵ Contrary to the more complex case of the so-called Lisht blocks,¹¹⁶ it is difficult to interpret it in terms of a conscious symbolic 'founding' of rule by Hatshepsut on a material of her revered predecessor. The re-use of architraves would rather suggest pragmatic using of spolia left after an earthquake.¹¹⁷

UPPER COURTYARD

The Upper Courtyard (*wsht hbyt*, 'Festival Court') at Deir el-Bahri was once surrounded by a double row of polygonal columns, with a third row at the western side.¹¹⁸ The pattern

Upper and Lower Egypt proceeding, clad in a garment of a type he wears during the sed-festival, to the wsht-hb-sšd, the "court of the festival of the diadem". As is well known, the wsht-sign normally shows an h-palace in one corner so it seems logical to assume also the existence of the "palace of the diadem festival".

¹¹² It is clear that the Northern Colonnade was unfinished, but the reason for this is still disputable. In the opinion of Zygmunt Wysocki (ID., The Results of Research, Architectonic Studies and of Protective Work over the Northern Portico of the Middle Courtyard in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el Bahari, *MDAIK* 40, 1984, pp. 329–349), it was the existence of an earlier tomb TT 358 that endangered the portico. Much depends on the dating of the queen Merytamun, owner of TT 358, who seems to be the wife of Amenhotep I, and not the queen of Thutmose III (T.J. LOGAN, B. WILLIAMS, The Identity of the Meritamun Found by Winlock at Deir el-Bahri, *Serapis* 4, 1977–1978, pp. 23–29; G. ROBINS, Meritamun, Daughter of Ahmose, and Meritamun, Daughter of Thutmose III, *GM* 56, 1982, pp. 79–87).

¹¹³ It is a distinctive purple-coloured material, different from the 'standard' Gebel Silsila sandstone (H.E. WINLOCK, Excavations at Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931, New York 1942 [= Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931], p. 202). It source is still not recognized; Aswan was suggested (*ibid.*) as well as Nag el-Hammam or Gebel Silsila West (B. ASTON, J. HARELL, I. SHAW, Stone, [*in:*] P. Nicholson, I. Shaw (Eds), Ancient Egyptian Materials and Technology, Cambridge 2000, p. 55).

¹¹⁴ Blocks of the same sandstone were used in the foundations of the southern retaining wall of the Middle Terrace and the enclosure wall of the Lower Terrace.

¹¹⁵ The evidence of the re-used blocks of earlier kings at Karnak shows how complex this issue can be (G. BJÖRKMANN, Kings at Karnak. A Study of the Treatment of the Monuments of Royal Predecessors in the Early New Kingdom, Uppsala 1971).

¹¹⁶ H. GOEDICKE, Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht, New York 1971; DI. ARNOLD, Hypostyle Halls of the Old and Middle Kingdom?, [*in:*] P.D. Manuelian (Ed.), Studies in Honor of William Kelly Simpson, Boston 1996, pp. 39–54.

¹¹⁷ The same explanation has also been suggested by the author concerning the Lisht blocks (WIEK, Relief Decoration, pp. 347–348). One has to admit, however, that according to Arnold, it is difficult to point precisely the former location of the architraves in the structure of Mentuhotep's temple. Also WYSOCKI, *MDAIK* 40, 1984, p. 332, doubted such a provenance, stressing the fact that the architraves are bigger than other blocks in this temple.

¹¹⁸ Attempts have been made to argue that the third row, which certainly existed, was placed along the eastern side and not in front of the sanctuary (A. KWAŚNICA, Reconstructing the Architectural Layout of the Upper

of the column decoration, with a giant *serekh* in the upper part, and fecundity ('Nile') figures in the lower part, copies the arrangement on the panels of Senwosret I at Lisht.¹¹⁹ Peristyle courtyards are known from the Fourth Dynasty on, and the long tradition of pyramid temples of the Old and Middle Kingdom might have influenced Hatshepsut's architects. An atypical placement of an altar, located in the NW quadrant,¹²⁰ resembles the situation in the mortuary temples of Unis, Teti, Pepi II, and Senwosret I,¹²¹ as well as in the Sphinx temple.¹²²

The W wall of the courtyard is conceived as a giant façade of the sanctuary. Beside the gate to the Main Sanctuary of Amun, it comprises ten high niches with Osiride statues¹²³ and eight small and deep niches for seated statues.¹²⁴ Such an arrangement is a far reminiscence of the room with five statue niches on the front of the *Totenopfertempel* in the Old Kingdom mortuary temples, separated from the *wsh*t by the transverse corridor. The scenes in the upper registers of the W wall include Consecrating the *Meret*-chests and Driving the Calves.¹²⁵

On the E wall of the Upper Courtyard, in the scenes of the Opet Feast, occurs the name of the state ship *dw3-t3wj*.¹²⁶ It is exactly the same name that bore the pharaoh's ship in the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties.¹²⁷

Ancestors' statues represented in the scenes of Valley and Opet feasts are reflections of a custom introduced by Senwosret I.¹²⁸

Courtyard, [in:] Z.E. Szafranski (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2000, pp. 81–97), but this remains highly improbable.

¹¹⁹ ARNOLD, *Pyramid of Senwosret I*, p. 60, Fig. 20.

¹²⁰ This structure, almost unnoticed, was recognized by J. Iwaszczuk on the photos taken in 1960s, when the courtyard was being cleared.

¹²¹ H. RICKE, *Bemerkungen zur ägyptischen Baukunst des Alten Reiches II*, *BÄBA* 5, Cairo 1950, p. 65; ARNOLD, *Pyramid of Senwosret I*, p. 44.

¹²² One might speculate if a particular position of the altar might be related to the rock formation above the temple (cf. V.A. DONOHUE *The goddess of the Theban mountain*, *Antiquity* 66, 1992, pp. 871–885) just like the altar at Giza to the Great Sphinx (cf. R. ANTHES, *Was veranlasste Chefreden zum Bau des Tempels vor der Sphinx*, [in:] *Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke*, *BÄBA* 12, Wiesbaden 1971, pp. 47–58). In this respect it may be significant that Herbert Ricke and Siegfried Schott recognized 'solar' features of the Sphinx Temple (comprising, beside E and W sanctuaries and 12 statues, also 24 pillars), as architectural antecedents of the *Stundenritual* (H. RICKE, *Der Harmachistempel des Chephren in Giseh*, [in:] *BÄBA* 10, Wiesbaden 1970, pp. 36–39; S. SCHOTT, *Ägyptische Quellen zum Plan des Sphinxtempels*, [in:] *BÄBA* 10, Wiesbaden 1970, pp. 53–57).

¹²³ See on the Osiride statues program below.

¹²⁴ Their architecture (closed shrines) and decoration (kings seated in front of the offering table represented on the side walls), suggest strongly that they housed double (Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, II or III, according to the persons occurring in different niches) seated statues. Since nothing of the kind has been discovered among the known statuary of the temple, it is possible that the statues were made of wood, which would explain their complete destruction.

¹²⁵ See n. 66, above.

¹²⁶ *Urk.* IV, 309.

¹²⁷ The name is attested in the reigns of Seneferu (*Urk.* I, 236), Khufu (mastaba of *Mrj-jbj* at Giza – LD II, 22a-b; HARPUR, *Decoration of the Egyptian Tombs*, Fig. 62), and Sahure (K. SETHE, [in:] BORCHARDT, *Sa3hu-Re* II, p. 84).

¹²⁸ Statues of Sahure (JE 37131= CG 42004) and Niuserra (BM 870) dedicated by Senwosret I. Cf. D. WILDUNG, *Zur Frühgeschichte des Amun-Tempels*, *MDAIK* 25, 1969, pp. 212–219.

MAIN SANCTUARY OF AMUN

Windows in the eastern and western lunettes of the Bark Hall were copying the features in the Old and Middle Kingdom vaulted rooms.¹²⁹

COMPLEX OF THE ROYAL MORTUARY CULT

Offering chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were styled after the Old and Middle Kingdom examples.¹³⁰ The decoration in its general layout, depictions of the king seated before the offering table, offerings, offering lists, slaughter scenes and offering bearers, follows Pepi II's sanctuary,¹³¹ but the proportions of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (25 x 10 cubits) copy the version of the Fifth Dynasty.¹³² The decoration scheme is based on the Old Kingdom examples: on the long (N and S) walls the depiction of the king seated on a throne decorated with 'Nile' figures (**Fig. 10**) in front of the offering table,¹³³ with a list of offerings in front of him, and offering bearers in three rows approaching him, and slaughter scenes on the E wall. The depiction of the offering bearers proceeding in three registers towards the king has been recognized as almost a copy of the Old Kingdom example.¹³⁴ The men wear short wigs consisting of overlapping locks, with ears covered, in the Old Kingdom style, which was revived at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty.¹³⁵ Some of the offering bearers are labelled with the Old Kingdom titles, not used in the Eighteenth

¹²⁹ E.g. *pr-wrw* and possibly also the sanctuary in Teti's mortuary temple at Saqqara (J.-P. LAUER, J. LECLANT, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Têti*, Cairo 1972, pp. 13–15, 35) and *pr-wrw* in the mortuary temple of Senwosret I at Lisht (ARNOLD, *Pyramid of Senwosret I*, p. 43).

¹³⁰ A detailed study of the decoration of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, including all earlier parallels, has been made by STUPKO, *Sceny ofiarne*. An important difference to the Old Kingdom sanctuaries concerns the room layout, namely the entrance is directly from the east, and not through a door in the E part of the S wall of the sanctuary. This direct axial entrance is a borrowing from the Middle Kingdom pyramid temples. Another difference is the localisation of the room in the southern part of the temple, and not on its main axis, the layout which would become standard for other Temples of Millions of Years (*ibid.*, p. 15).

¹³¹ JÉQUIER, *Pépi II*, vol. II, pp. 54–55.

¹³² The offering room in the mortuary temple of Sahure measured 13.60 x 5.20m. These dimensions (26 x 10 cubits) were changed in later temples to 30 x 10 cubits (15.75 x 5.20m). The new proportions became standard in the Sixth Dynasty (attested in the sanctuaries of Teti, Pepy I, Merenra and Pepy II), appearing again in the Twelfth Dynasty in the complex of Senwosret I at Lisht.

¹³³ NAVILLE, *Temple IV*, Pl. CX. Standing 'Nile' figures bounding the heraldic plants around the *sema*-sign, flanked by a row of three proceeding 'Nile' figures on the base of the throne, are first attested for Pepi II (JÉQUIER, *Pépi II*, vol. II, Pl. 61; cf. vol. I, p. 5). In the case of Hatshepsut the standing Niles are accompanied by *rekhyt*-birds under the plants and the walking 'Niles' are in front of the throne dais. It is noteworthy that the latter figures are almost exact copy of Pepi II's form: handling trays with a loaf and two *hes*-vases, *was*-scepters, and three *ankh*-signs hanging on strings.

¹³⁴ However, there is a noticeable difference in that the offering-bearers in Hatshepsut's temple are anonymous, referred to only by their titles, while in the Old Kingdom mortuary temples they were labeled also with their proper names. This difference, though not easy to interpret, may reflect an important ideological change.

¹³⁵ H.G. FISCHER, *Egyptian Studies III. Varia Nova*, New York 1996, pp. 152–153. Soldiers and officials in the scenes of transportation of obelisks in the Southern Lower Portico, expedition to Punt in the Southern Middle Portico and in depictions of feasts on the Upper Courtyard walls wear similar wigs.



10. Nile gods on the S wall of the Offering Chapel of Hatshepsut (Phot. A. Ćwiek).



11. Offering bearers on the N wall of the Offering Chapel of Hatshepsut (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

Dynasty (e.g. *smr w^ctj, hrp-^ch, jmj-r3 hntjw-š* or *šd pr-^c3*) (**Fig. 11**).¹³⁶ Slaughter scenes are styled on the representations in the Old Kingdom royal mortuary temples.¹³⁷ On both lateral walls of the Offering Chapel of Hatshepsut appears the offering list of the type A/B,¹³⁸ as well as chapter 178 of the Book of the Dead, which have evolved from the PT 204–205, 207, 209, 212 (Pyr. §§ 118–133) and Coffin Text 607.¹³⁹ An additional text in the middle of the offering list is likewise of the Old Kingdom origin.¹⁴⁰ Offering formulas in the offering chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I mentioning the god Geb are borrowed directly from the Pyramid Texts (PT 172 = Pyr. § 101a-b).¹⁴¹

The ceiling and the two lunettes of the Offering Chapel of Hatshepsut bear the earliest depiction of the Ritual of Hours (Hour Vigil, *Stundenritual*).¹⁴² It includes the chapters 59 and 71 of the Book of the Dead, referring to the passages of the first to fourth night hours, which have appeared first (as Coffin Texts 222 and 631) in the Twelfth Dynasty burial of the chief lector-priest Sesenebef at Lisht.¹⁴³ Solar barks appearing in the lunettes of the offering room of Hatshepsut might have had Old Kingdom antecedents.¹⁴⁴

The false door in the Chapel of Hatshepsut was flanked by the vignettes and text of Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead. The false door in the Chapel of Thutmose I, however,

¹³⁶ Detailed analysis of the titles of offering bearers of Hatshepsut: STUPKO, *Sceny ofiarne*, pp. 308–319. It seems that under Hatshepsut some old titles were really revived (A.W. SHORTER, *Tomb of Ahmose, supervisor of the mysteries in the house of the morning*, *JEA* 16, 1930, p. 59).

¹³⁷ E.g. A. LABROUSSE, J.-P. LAUER, *Les complexes funéraires d'Ouserkaf et de Néferhétepès*, Cairo 2000, doc. 162–163 (pp. 113–114, Figs 234–235); BORCHARDT, *Sa3hu-Re^c* II, Pls 19, 28, 31, 57, 58; ID., *Ne-user-Re^c*, Fig. 56; JÉQUIER, *Pépi II*, vol. II, Pls 97–101. Cf. ĆWIEK, *Relief Decoration*, pp. 267–268.

¹³⁸ W. BARTA, *Die altägyptische Opferliste von der Frühzeit bis zur griechisch-römischen Epoche*, *MÄS* 3, Berlin 1963, pp. 72–79. The fullest version is preserved in the sanctuary of Pepi II, but it also corresponds to the Offering Ritual in the pyramid of Unis.

¹³⁹ S wall: NAVILLE, *Temple IV*, Pls CIX–CX; N wall: *ibid.*, Pls CXII–CXIII. Two blocks from the N wall with fragments of the BD 178 are in Berlin (ÄMP 14143 and 14144, *Aegyptische Inschriften aus den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin II*, Leipzig 1913, pp. 102, 113). This text occurred already on the Twelfth Dynasty stela of Nehi from Abydos. D. SILVERMAN, *The Nature of Egyptian Kingship*, [*in:*] D. O'Connor, D.P. Silverman (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Kingship*, Leiden 1995, p. 81 sees the occurrence of this text in the temple of Hatshepsut as an example of rare transfer from the private to royal sphere. On the BD 178, see: S. QUIRKE, *Book of the Dead Chapter 178: a late Middle Kingdom compilation or excerpts?*, [*in:*] S. Grallert, W. Grajetzki (Eds), *Life and Afterlife in Ancient Egypt during the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period*, London 2007, pp. 100–122.

¹⁴⁰ KARKOWSKI, *Solar Complex*, p. 75 n. 95, with references.

¹⁴¹ B. VAN DE WALLE, *Un bloc sculpté provenant de la chapelle des offrandes de Thoutmosis I^{er} au temple de Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari*, *CdE* 46/91, 1971, pp. 23–34.

¹⁴² NAVILLE, *Temple IV*, Pls CXIV–CXVI; M. BARWIK, *The So-called “Stundenritual” from Hatshepsut’s Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, [*in:*] C.J. Eyre (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge 3–9 September 1995, *OLA* 82, Leuven 1998, pp. 109–117; cf. E. GRAEFE, *Die Stundenritual in Thebanischen Gräbern des Spätzeit (über der Stand der Arbeit an der Edition)*, [*in:*] J. Assmann, E. Dziobek, H. Guksch, F. Kampp (Eds), *Thebanischen Beamtennekropolen, Neue Perspektiven archäologischen Forschung*, Internationales Symposium Heidelberg 9.–13.6.1993, Heidelberg 1995, pp. 85–93. J. Baines suggested that the hymns might go back to the Old Kingdom (J. BAINES, *Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions*, *JARCE* 27, 1990, pp. 10–11).

¹⁴³ QUIRKE, *Cult of Ra*, p. 58.

¹⁴⁴ NAVILLE, *Temple IV*, Pl. CXV (W wall; E wall unpublished). A possible Old Kingdom antecedent: JÉQUIER, *Pépi II*, vol. II, Pl. 105, p. 65; cf. ĆWIEK, *Relief Decoration*, pp. 270–271.

was flanked by representations of the Souls of Nekhen and Pe, which is a traditional Old Kingdom motif for such a place.¹⁴⁵

The courtyard and the vestibules of the offering chapels of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult – form a unit parallel to the *antichambre carrée* of the Old Kingdom royal mortuary temples.¹⁴⁶ Personifications of the Seasons in the vestibule of the offering chapel of Thutmose I in the Complex of the Royal Mortuary Cult refer to Old Kingdom antecedents.¹⁴⁷

COMPLEX OF THE SUN CULT

The Complex of the Sun Cult, in the northern part of the Upper Terrace was the earliest ‘Shadow of Re’ (though the name not yet attested) in the Theban mortuary temples. The northern position and an open courtyard with an altar reflect a Heliopolitan tradition. It was a strong reference to the tradition of cultic and economic ties of the sun temple with the mortuary temple in the Old Kingdom.¹⁴⁸

Theological hymns and treatises in the Vestibule of the Sun Cult Complex (Chapel of the Night Sun) may date from the Middle Kingdom.¹⁴⁹

VARIOUS PLACES

Numerous iconographic details and palaeographic features throughout the temple copied early forms. For example the *sj3t*-apron and the bird carrying the sun-disk (decorating kilts of figures of Thutmose III in the Statue Room in the Main Sanctuary of Amun, also the kilt of Thutmose I in a scene on the W wall of the Upper Courtyard,¹⁵⁰ and the kilt of the king in the Northern Lower Portico¹⁵¹) was styled upon the Old and Middle Kingdom examples.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁵ Unpublished (information thanks to Janusz Karkowski). On the Old Kingdom parallels, see: ĆWIEK, Relief Decoration, pp. 269–271.

¹⁴⁶ DI. ARNOLD, Vom Pyramidenbezirk zur Haus für Millionenjahre, *MDAIK* 34, 1978, p. 2, Fig. 1c; O. BIALOSTOCKA, Hatshepsut’s regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex of her temple at Deir el-Bahari, [in:] M. Dolińska, R. Gundlach (Eds), 8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung, pp. 20–21.

¹⁴⁷ F. VON BISSING, La chambre des trois saisons du sanctuaire solaire du roi Rathourès (V^e dynastie) à Abousir, *ASAE* 53, 1956, pp. 319–338; E. EDEL, Zu den Inschriften auf den Jahreszeitenreliefs der “Weltkammer” aus dem Sonnenheiligtum des Niusere II., *NAWG* 4–5, 1964, pp. 89–217, Pls 1–17; E. EDEL, S. WENIG, Die Jahreszeitenreliefs aus dem Sonnenheiligtum der König Ne-user-Re, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, *Mitteilungen aus der ägyptischen Sammlung* 7, Berlin 1974.

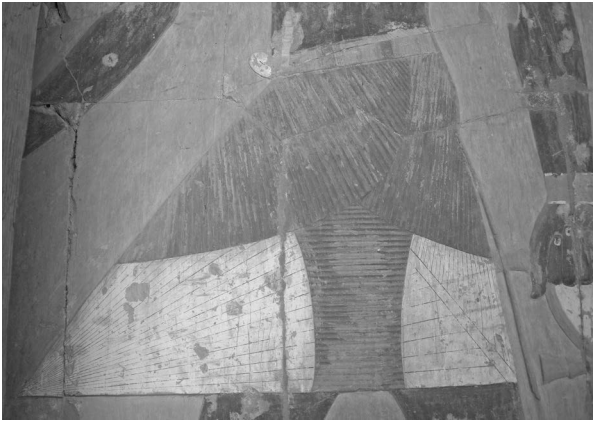
¹⁴⁸ STADELMANN, *MDAIK* 25, 1969, pp. 159–178.

¹⁴⁹ J. ASSMANN, Der König als Sonnenpriester. Ein kosmographischer Begleittext zur kultischen Sonnenhymnik in thebanischen Tempeln und Gräbern, Glückstadt 1970, pp. 10–14; J. BAINES, Restricted Knowledge, Hierarchy, and Decorum: Modern Perceptions and Ancient Institutions, *JARCE* 27, 1990, pp. 10–11.

¹⁵⁰ Unpublished.

¹⁵¹ Not recognized by PAWLICKI, *EtudTrav* XIV, 1990, Fig. 2.

¹⁵² See D.C. PATCH, A “Lower Egyptian” Costume: Its Origin, Development, and Meaning, *JARCE* 32, 1995, pp. 93–115. To the examples listed by Patch one can add also those from the ‘Statue Temple’ of Sneferu at Dahshur South (FAKHRY, Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur II/1, Figs 105–109), and a pillar of Senwosret I from Karnak (Cairo JE 36809; the side with falcon-headed Behedety).



12. Peculiar royal dress. Hathor Shrine, Second Hypostyle Hall, N wall (Phot. A. Ćwiek).



13. Protective emblems, once behind the king. Upper Anubis Shrine, E wall (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

Also another peculiar kind of dress, *šndyt* on a triangular apron, seems to be reintroduced by Hatshepsut after the Old Kingdom pattern (**Fig. 12**).¹⁵³

Monogram consisting of *ankh*-, *djed*- and *was*-signs placed upon a *neb*-sign – widely used in the temple (as well as in the Chapelle Rouge) – appeared first in the Old Kingdom.¹⁵⁴

In many scenes in the temple behind the royal person there is a set of protective emblems, which reflects an old tradition, revived by Hatshepsut. It consists usually of one or two fans, one or two half-skies, a scorpion and a *djed*-sign holding in upraised arms an oval with the *n*-hieroglyph inside (**Fig. 13**). The latter emblem, sometimes assumed to be non existing before the Eighteenth Dynasty¹⁵⁵ is in fact a creation of the Old Kingdom.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵³ This distinctive dress is worn by the kings in the Hathor Shrine: Thutmose III in the scene of presentation of an oar to Hathor on the north wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall and in the scene of Hitting the Ball on the east wall of the Vestibule (BEAUX *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor, Pl. 6), Hatshepsut in the niches B (= SW) and C (= NW) of the Vestibule (*ibid.*, Pls 22, 28). For the Old Kingdom parallels, see: BORCHARDT, *Saḥu-Re*^c II, Pls 33–36; JÉQUIER, Pépi II, vol. II, Pl. 37. For red colour of the *šndyt*, see: G. JÉQUIER, Les frises d'objets des sarcophages du Moyen Empire, Cairo 1921, p. 21. The only Eleventh Dynasty example is a relief of Mentuhotep Sankhkare from Abydos: MFA Boston 03.1968.1+2 (W.M.F. PETRIE, Abydos II, London 1903, Pl. 25).

¹⁵⁴ For the earliest example cf. JÉQUIER, Pépi II, vol. III, frontispiece ('frise bas d'un panneau du bois'). Supplemented with the phrase *r rdwj* (*Jmn-R*^c): P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak, Cairo 1969 [= Sésostri I^{er}], § 466, pp. 307–308.

¹⁵⁵ H. KEES, Der Opfertanz des ägyptischen Königs, Leipzig 1912, pp. 120–121.

¹⁵⁶ The emblem of *djed* holding an oval (lacking, however, the zigzag-sign) is attested, together with other elements of the set, in the statue temple of Seneferu at Dahshur (FAKHRY, Monuments of Seneferu at Dahshur II/1, Fig. 43). That a zigzag was introduced into the oval already in the Old Kingdom is proved by a figure of a man carrying such an object in a scene from Niuserra's *heb-sed* cycle (W. KAISER, Die kleine Hebseddarstellung im Sonnenheiligtum des Neuserre, [*in:*] Aufsätze zum 70. Geburtstag von Herbert Ricke, *BABA* 12, Wiesbaden 1971, pp. 87–105).

The texts in the temple include a number of Old Kingdom phrases (e.g. the shouts of the boatmen and nautical terms),¹⁵⁷ spelling variants of words,¹⁵⁸ and forms of hieroglyphs.¹⁵⁹ Some specific orthographies of phrases copy rare Twelfth Dynasty forms.¹⁶⁰

STATUARY

Granite striding statues, with the hands stretched flatly on a triangular apron (a distinctive gesture of devotion before the god), were styled on the Twelfth Dynasty models.¹⁶¹ On another statue (MMA 30.3.3) Hatshepsut wears an *wsh*-collar combined with the *Knoten-amulett* – a typical element of a royal dress of the Middle Kingdom, in the New Kingdom worn exclusively by her.¹⁶²

A specific dress, joining a female garment with the *nemes*-headdress (MMA 29.3.3 and Leiden F1928/9.2), was copying the iconography of Neferusobek.¹⁶³

SPHINXES

It is a curious fact that prince Amenmes – elder brother of Hatshepsut – was the first in the New Kingdom to express an interest in the Great Sphinx.¹⁶⁴ It seems that Hatshepsut

¹⁵⁷ ROTH, Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, p. 151 n. 18. The nautical Old Kingdom term *t3-wr* used at Deir el-Bahari (NAVILLE, Temple III, Pl. LXXIII) has numerous early parallels (the list given in A.M. ROTH, Egyptian Phyles of the Old Kingdom: The Evolution of a System of a Social Organization, Chicago 1991, p. 27).

¹⁵⁸ As noted by A. DAVID, Hatshepsut and the Image of Kingship *ink bik*, GM 224, 2010, p. 27: (in Hatshepsut's texts) even the first person is often phonetically spelled as in Old Kingdom texts. Archaizing palaeography of *3wt-jb* without the *t*-sign, occurring in the temple, can be referred to Third and Fourth Dynasty parallels (Netjerykhet's marker on Sinai and the texts from Heliopolis shrine, and one of the Sinai markers of Seneferu (JE 57103)). Other examples include, e.g. *stp-s3* instead of *stp-s3*, *jpn* (with a prothetic *j*) instead of *pn*.

¹⁵⁹ E.g. an Old Kingdom form of the sign Aa 14 (*gs* in *gst Hwt-Hrw*), in the scene of run before Hathor on the W wall of the second hypostyle in the Hathor Shrine, mentioned above. A.M. Roth states: *The hieroglyphic writing includes many Old Kingdom spellings, often indicating a plural with a tripled determinative rather than the three strokes that later replaced such tripling. Some of the captions also have Old Kingdom antecedents* (EAD., Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, p. 150).

¹⁶⁰ E.g. the phrase *hb-sd*, written without the hieroglyph of festival, and with *maat*-sign Aa11 instead of N20. J. IWASZCZUK, Atypical Spelling Variants from the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, *EtudTrav* XXII, 2008, pp. 72–73, Fig. 2b (cf. NAVILLE, Temple V, Pl. CXL). This form occurred only on the monuments of Senwosret I at Karnak (L. GABOLDE, « Le Grande Château d'Amon » de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak, Paris 1998, Pls XVIIa, XXVIII d, XXXII b and d; LACAU, CHEVRIER, Sésostris I^{er}, *passim*).

¹⁶¹ E.g. Cairo JE 11249/CG 594. See R. FREED, [in:] E. Hornung, B.M. Bryan (Eds), *The Quest for Immortality. Treasures of Ancient Egypt*, Munich-London-New York 2002, p. 83 (Cat. no. 4). Freed states that *here, the pleats of the kilt radiate out from a central narrow apron to each bottom corner, a fashion that began with sculptures of Senusret III's son, Amenemhat III. (...) It is probable that this statue was made for Hatshepsut around the middle of her reign, following a model of the Twelfth Dynasty (Ibidem)*.

¹⁶² A. GRIMM, S. SCHOSKE, *Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens*, Munich 1999, p. 37.

¹⁶³ E. STAHELIN, *Zum Ornat an Statuen regierender Königinnen*, BSEG 13, 1989, pp. 145–156; E. DELANGE, *Catalogue des statues égyptiennes du Moyen Empire, 2060–1560 avant J.-C.*, Musée du Louvre, Paris 1987, pp. 30–31.

¹⁶⁴ A naos from Giza, dedicated in the fourth year of Thutmose I (Louvre E. 8074): PM III.1, 46; *Urk.* IV, 91.1–15.

was so much impressed by this form that she not only ordered for her temple sphinxes of various forms and materials, but also created the first sphinx avenue. It was formed by *c.* 70 statues of three kind: wearing wigs, *nemes*- and *khat*-headdresses. Female wig sphinxes, unique of their kind, were most probably placed in front of the ramp to the Hathor shrine, those wearing *nemeses* and *khats* on the lower courtyard and along the causeway (to the kiosk located 1000 cubits E of the temple), to the south and north of the main temple axis respectively.¹⁶⁵

Hatshepsut's sphinxes with a lion mane¹⁶⁶ were styled upon the Twelfth Dynasty statues of Amenemhat III¹⁶⁷ (the so-called 'Hyksos' sphinxes').¹⁶⁸

OSIRIDE STATUES¹⁶⁹

In the *Djeser-Djeseru* temple complex there were no less than six sets of Osiride statues:

1. Four figures in the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary of Amun. Six cubits high;¹⁷⁰
2. Ten figures in the niches of the western wall of the Upper Courtyard. Six cubits high. (perhaps 1 and 2 to be counted as one set – the western wall is in fact a façade of the sanctuary, and the statues share the same iconography, holding *ankh*-signs. They are together fourteen – a symbolic number, reflecting the number of royal *kas*¹⁷¹);
3. Twenty-six figures on the façade of the Upper Portico. Nine cubits high (the two flanking the portico – ten cubits high). Holding the flail and *ankh* (right hand) and the crook and *was* (left hand);¹⁷²

¹⁶⁵ Over four thousand pieces of these sphinxes, excavated by Winlock and only superficially treated in his diaries, were rediscovered in 2005. A theoretical restoration of statue types and the avenue program was made by Agata Smilgin under the supervision of the author (A. SMILGIN, *Piaskowcowe sfinksy królowej Hatshepsut z Deir el-Bahari*, unpublished MA thesis, Adam Mickiewicz University, Poznań 2011; EAD., *Sandstone sphinxes of Queen Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari: preliminary remarks*, *PAM XXI* (Research 2009), 2012, pp. 255–260). The final publication will hopefully follow.

¹⁶⁶ Cairo JE 53113 and MMA 31.3.94.

¹⁶⁷ Cairo CG 393, 394, 530; Munich AS 7132. The latter is an excellent parallel, of similar material and size (limestone, H: 31cm), cf. D. Wildung (Ed.), *Ägypten 2000 v. Chr. Die Geburt des Individuums*, Munich 2000, no. 58. Cf. also a Thirteenth Dynasty granite example of Khaneferra Sebekhotep (Cairo CG 421) and a late Middle Kingdom limestone maned sphinx from El-Kab (Cairo CG 391).

¹⁶⁸ ALDRED, *Egyptian Art*, p. 153.

¹⁶⁹ There does not exist a sufficient publication of the temple Osirides. For the moment one may consult R. TEFNIN, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout. Portrait royal et politique sous la 18^e Dynastie*, *MonAeg IV*, Bruxelles 1979, pp. 37–70, Pls VIII–XIII. On the particular polychrome of the statues see A. WIEK, *Red, Yellow, and Pink. Ideology of Skin Hues at Deir el-Bahari*, *Fontes Archeologici Posnanienses* 43, 2007, pp. 22–50.

¹⁷⁰ The dimensions of Osirides given here are theoretical numbers, based on actual measurements of preserved figures.

¹⁷¹ Cf. n. 93 above.

¹⁷² This unique set of four attributes is a feature characteristic to Hatshepsut's Osirides. Beside Deir el-Bahari it occurs in the reliefs of the Chapelle Rouge and on a granite statue, coming from her bark-station in Luxor (M. Haeny (Ed.), *Das Museum für altägyptische Kunst in Luxor. Katalog*, Mainz a/Rhein 1981, no. 120, Luxor J.178C; identified as belonging to Hatshepsut by C. LEBLANC, *Le culte rendu aux colosses « osiriaques » durant le Nouvel Empire*, *BIFAO* 82, 1982, pp. 301–302 and Pls 53A, 55).

4. Two giant figures at the ends of the Southern and Northern Lower Porticos. Fourteen cubits high.¹⁷³ Iconography similar to 3;
5. Four(?) figures placed once at the western and eastern side of the Bark Station (Kiosk) at the causeway of the *Djeser-Djeseru* complex, 525m east of the entrance to the Lower Courtyard. Only the foundations were discovered during excavations of the site in 1931/32 by Walter Hauser, the architect of the MMA mission. According to Hauser, the statues were of similar size to those from the Upper Portico;¹⁷⁴
6. Eight small figures in niches of the capitals of Hathoric columns in the Second Hypostyle Hall in the Hathor Shrine. Wearing the *khat*-headdresses and holding attributes similar to those from the Upper Portico.

Sets 1–3 shared a similar iconography of headdresses: those on the S side of the temple axis wear the White Crown, those on the N side the Double Crown.¹⁷⁵ Counting together the Osirides of the sanctuary (4+10), those of the Upper Portico (26) and two giant statues of the Lower Terrace, gives the number of forty-two, which is another symbolic number.

Although Osiride statues were already used in the temple of Mentuhotep Nebhepetre,¹⁷⁶ it seems that Hatshepsut in both use (in porticos) and form ('mummiform' statues holding *ankh*-signs) followed especially Senwosret I's works at Lisht, Abydos and Karnak.¹⁷⁷

DECORATION OF THE UPPER RAMP

Decoration of the newel posts of the balustrade of the Upper Ramp had the form of a large figure of a falcon embracing with its wings a rearing cobra (whose body coils covered the upper surface of the balustrade upwards), crowned with the 'hathoric' horned sun disk, and placed on the *ka*-sign (**Fig. 14**).¹⁷⁸ This was a three-dimensional form of the cryptogram

¹⁷³ The northern statue has been restored erroneously by E. Baraize as too high and with a wrong head. To this statue belongs the large head displayed now at the area north of Northern Upper Portico.

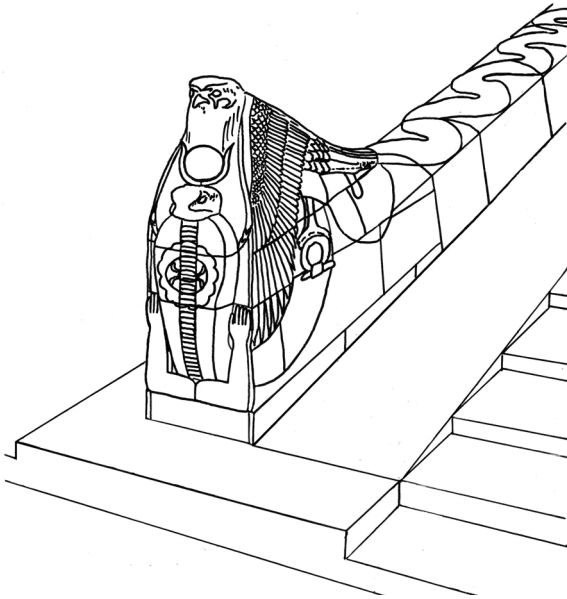
¹⁷⁴ H.E. WINLOCK, Notebook IX, photos MMA M14C.3-57, drawings by W. Hauser: AM 1524–1529, 4375, 4376, 4382. I am much grateful to Dorothea Arnold for the access to Winlock's archive and permission to use the documentation on the osirides, kiosk, and temple sphinxes (cf. n. 165 above).

¹⁷⁵ This 'assymetrical' iconography (where one would expect White and Red crowns) has a particular meaning and many parallels, see, e.g. E. Hornung, B.M. Bryan (Eds), *The Quest for Immortality. Treasures of Ancient Egypt*, Munich-London-New York 2002, catalogue no. 2 (pp. 78–79, entry by B.M. Bryan on a head of Thutmose I's Osiride from Karnak); cf. also the stele BM 347/690 from Deir el-Bahari with representation of Osirides of Mentuhotep II and Amenhotep I (E. NAVILLE, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I*, *EEF* 28, London 1907, Pl. XXV; *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae in the British Museum VI*, London 1922, Pl. 30).

¹⁷⁶ Beside the original statues of Mentuhotep also Osiride statues of Amenhotep I (J.F. ROMANO, *Observations on Early Eighteenth Dynasty Royal Sculpture*, *JARCE* 13, 1976, pp. 97–111; Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI, *Buried statues of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre and Amenophis I at Deir el-Bahari*, *MDAIK* 41, 1985, pp. 257–263, Pls 38–39). One should note that Mentuhotep Nebhepetre's statues are 'Osiride' only in pose, but they do not have a 'wrapped' form, which is first attested for Mentuhotep Sankhkare.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. H.G. EVERS, *Staat aus dem Stein. Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs I*, Munich 1929, Pls 31, 32, 35; ARNOLD, *Pyramid of Senwosret I*, pp. 21–22, Fig. 3, Pls 6–7.

¹⁷⁸ This reconstruction differs from the one made by WINLOCK, *Deir el-Bahri 1911–1931*, pp. 119–120 and Fig. 14. The whole composition on both newel posts suffered much during the action of Thutmose III against his



14. Reconstruction of the newel post of the Upper Ramp balustrade (Drawing: A. Ćwiek).

writing of Hatshepsut's *prenomen*.¹⁷⁹ The whole composition might have been styled on the royal statuary of the Old Kingdom, including the statues of Khafra (CG 14) and Raneferef (JE 98171), where the action of transferring the divine *ka* from the god Horus to the king was represented by the same gesture.¹⁸⁰ The only difference is that in the case of Hatshepsut the king was represented by his/her name and not *in persona*.

VARIA

Foundation deposits included stone vessels, either re-used or copying Archaic and Old Kingdom forms.¹⁸¹

stepmother, when the front parts have been chiseled away. The former existence of the 'hathoric' disk is confirmed by preserved traces on the southern sculpture; the *ka*-arms, however, have not been identified thus far among the fragments at the temple. The present form of the restored falcon figures, made in 2000 with an angle different from Winlock's reconstruction, seems to be wrong in this respect.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. M. SANKIEWICZ, Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, *EtudTrav* XXII, 2008, pp. 199–214. Several statues of Senenmut represented him kneeling and holding this cryptogram (e.g. Brooklyn 67.68, Fort Worth AP 85.2).

¹⁸⁰ C.C. DOCHNIAK, The Horus Falcon's Wings on the Seated Statue of Khafre as a Zoomorphic Substitution for the Ka Hieroglyph, *VA* 8, 1992, pp. 69–73; E. BLUMENTHAL, Den Falken im Nacken. Statuentypen und göttliches Königtum zur Pyramidenzeit, *ZÄS* 130, 2003, pp. 1–30, Pls I–VI.

¹⁸¹ C. LILYQUIST, Egyptian Stone Vessels. Khian through Tuthmosis IV, New York 1995, pp. 9–12, 18; Hatshepsut's vases: cat. 64, Fig. 76; cat. 72, Fig. 82 left. According to Lilyquist, the vessels were not re-used but copying early forms. Cf. also: J.M. WEINSTEIN, Foundation Deposits in Ancient Egypt, PhD thesis, University of Pennsylvania 1973, p. 121.

CONCLUSIONS

Vast and deep references to the past were not confined to Deir el-Bahari only, although they found their fullest expression there. The reason for such an extensive use of the Old and Middle Kingdom tradition by Hatshepsut was perhaps manifold. It could be a natural consequence of development of the ideology of kingship and its display, using well known forms. Best schemes, most proper forms could be sought in the works of the past. On the other hand, it might have reflected a need to additionally legitimize the rule that might be contested.¹⁸² At the same moment recalling the great past appealed to Memphite (Old Kingdom) and Theban (Middle Kingdom) dignitaries.

Hatshepsut's referring to the past had wider background in the archaizing tendencies in tomb decoration¹⁸³ and literary works¹⁸⁴ of the period. Thutmose III continued this attitude towards the past rulers.¹⁸⁵

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¹⁸² In the opinion of N. Grimal (GRIMAL, *BIFAO* 95, 1995, p. 278) it is not by chance that such compositions as Sinuhe and Instructions of Amenemhat I appeared at that time: *Le moment même où apparaissent ces premiers textes est loin d'être indifférent, puisqu'il nous ramène au délicat passage de pouvoir entre Aâkheperkarê Thoutmosis I^{er} et Hatchepsout, d'une part, Aâkheperenrê Thoutmosis II et Menkheperê Thoutmosis III, d'autre part, et nous trouvons, parmi les possesseurs des premières copies sur ostraca, Sennout...*

¹⁸³ Cf. e.g. T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs*, Oxford 1957, p. 16 on the scene of harpooning the hippopotamus derived from the Old Kingdom tradition: *All the Theban tombs in which this scene occurs (...) date from the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III...*

¹⁸⁴ E.g. G.P.F. VAN DEN BOORN, On the date of the "Duties of the Vizier", *Orientalia* 51, 1982, pp. 369–391, (dating this text to Hatshepsut's reign); H.M. HAYS, W. SCHENCK, Intersection of Ritual Space and Ritual Representation: Pyramid Texts in Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs, [*in:*] P.F. Dorman, B.M. Brian (Eds), *Sacred Space and Sacred Function in Ancient Thebes*, Chicago 2007, pp. 97–115.

¹⁸⁵ L. HABACHI, Devotion of Tuthmosis III to His Predecessors, [*in:*] *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, Cairo 1985, pp. 349–359; A. SPÄLINGER, Drama in History: Exemplars from Mid Dynasty XVIII, *SAK* 24, 1997, pp. 269–300.