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*Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe
in Hatshepsut's Temple
at Deir el-Bahari*

During classification of blocks in the storerooms of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari in the seventies and eighties a group of fragments was identified depicting the king wearing a costume borrowed from *Sed*-festival iconography. It was possible to ascribe all of them to their original context in the queen's complex. These scenes and their restored contexts provide new information on the temple's decoration and, together with scenes published previously invite a few comments on their significance and historical importance.*

Royal figures that are linked to the *Heb-Sed* reveal some variations but, at the same time, show an amazing endurance. The first examples are attested on objects dating to the first two dynasties and they reappear until the Ptolemaic Period.¹

The typical costume specific to the *Heb-Sed* until the time of Amenophis III is a short robe reaching the middle of the thighs and covering the torso and arms with the exception of the hands. In relief, the robe frequently forms a sort of raised collar at the back of the neck. In contrast with the usual convention, the king's torso is frequently shown in profile. The front of the robe is vertical and results from a sort of formal compromise. In sculpture in the round the robe resembles a short coat that tightly covers the torso. The robe covers the arms and only the palms, crossed on the chest and holding insignia, are left uncovered. In relief, the vertical line at the front of the robe in seated figures is prolonged down the thighs. This leaves the fists free one above the other holding the insignia. Typically, the main state crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt or their combination, *i.e.*, the Double Crown, occur with the jubilee costume. The insignia held by the king are usually the *nh3h3*-flail and the *hk3*-scepter, in many cases taking the form of the *wt*-stick. In seated representations the king's legs are usually mummiform in that the further leg and foot are not shown.

In the decoration of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari there are seven scenes with royal figures that conform with the above description.

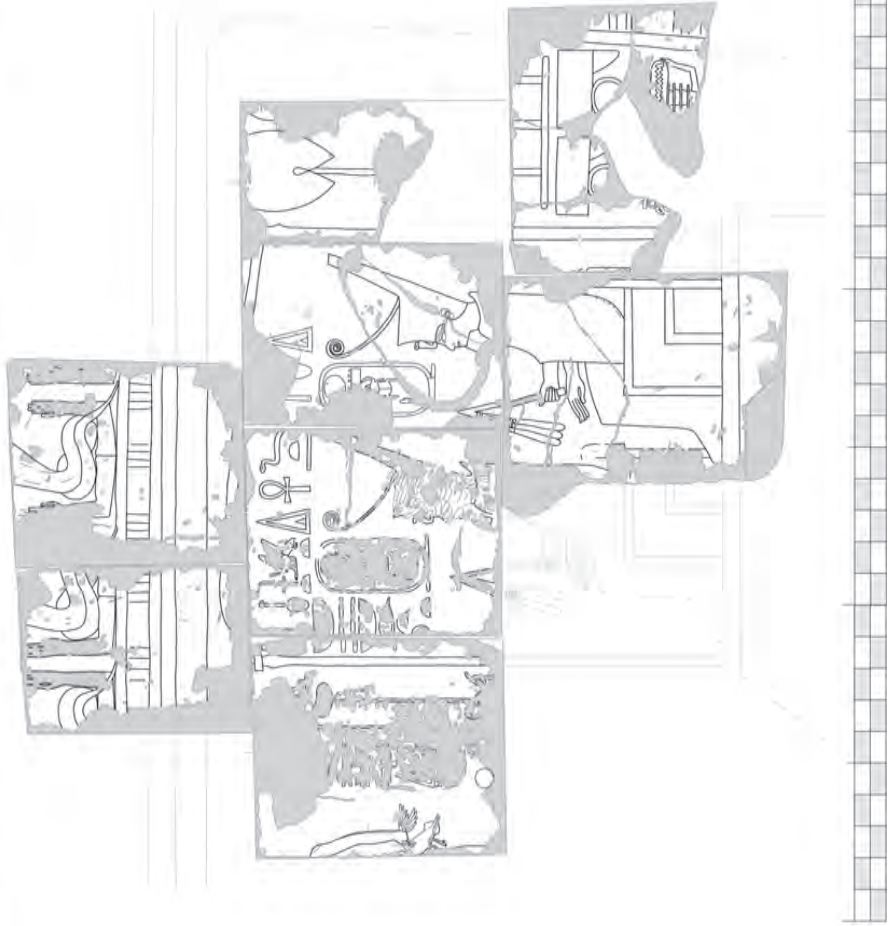
1) Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III inside pavilion by the Fishing and Fowling – scene on the west wall of the northern wing of the Lower Portico – Fig. 1.

This is the best-preserved of the new scenes. It is preserved on seven blocks identified and copied by the author in 1983. It shows a pavilion similar to half of the typical double *Heb-Sed*-pavilion placed on the *m3ʿt*-podium. Inside were two enthroned royal figures facing left, both wearing the Red Crown. The first figure is only partially preserved. It showed

* I am deeply grateful to Dr Katherine Spence (Cambridge) for correcting the English of this article.

¹ K. MARTIN, *LÄ*, V, pp. 782–790 with bibliography – plus Ch. SAMBIN, J.-F. CARLOTTI, Une porte de fête-sed de Ptolémée II remployée dans le temple de Montou à Médamoud, *BIFAO* 95, 1995, pp. 383–457; for the iconography cf. E. HORNING, E. STAHELIN, Studien zum Sedfest, *AH* 1, 1974 [= Sedfest], (especially list on pp. 16–49); K.-H. PRIESE, Die Statue des Naopatanischen Königs Aramatelqo (Amtelqa) Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum Inv.-No. 2249, Festschrift zum 150Jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums, *MittÄgSamml* VIII, 1975, pp. 211–232, Pls. 27–29; for sculpture in the round add H. SOUROUZIAN, Inventaire iconographique des statues en manteau jubilaire de l'époque thinite jusqu'à leur disparition sous Amenhotep III, *Hommage Leclant* I, pp. 499–530.

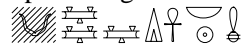
POLISH EPIGRAPHIC MISSION TO THE HATSZEPSUT TEMPLE AT DEIR EL-BAHARI



1. Reconstruction of the royal pavilion on the west wall of the northern wing of the Lower Portico, above the scene of fishing and fowling. (Drawing: J. Karkowski, 1990).

Hatshepsut apparently in the same attitude and costume as her companion. After the queen's death her figure and titulary was attacked with chisel. The queen held the *nh3h3*-flail. The text above her figure runs: *ntr nfr nb t3wy nb irt-ht nsw-bit M3t-k3-Rc di ʿnh dt.*² The completely preserved second figure depicts Tuthmosis III. He wears the typical *Heb-sed* garment that covers the king's body down to the upper thighs. In one of his hands Tuthmosis III holds the *nh3h3*-flail, the other hand is empty with the palm facing down above the uncovered part of the legs. The king's legs are mummiform and his torso is shown in profile. The face and part of the cartouche of Tuthmosis III is now in the Royal Museum in Edinburgh³ – Fig. 2. The text above the king identifies him: *ntr nfr Mn-hpr-k3-Rc di {ʿnh}*. The last sign was mistakenly not carved and might have been added in plaster or just painted in during the final corrections.


Behind the pavilion there is a group of symbols arranged in pairs one above the other. The lower pair consists of a partly preserved scorpion with seals on its pincers and the *Djed*-pillar with attached human arms supporting an oval with the sign for «water» inside. The middle pair contains two devices each formed by halves of the *pt*-sign with a *šn*-ring attached in the middle. Finally, the upper pair includes two fans shaped as lotus leaves attached to long poles standing on elongated *t3*-sign. The partly preserved vertical object between the fans apparently belongs to the *ʿnh*-sign that supported the fans with attached human arms.

In front of the pavilion there are traces of two standards supported by the signs *ʿnh* and *w3s* provided with human arms. The better-preserved standard, placed closer to the pavilion is *Nhn-n-nswt*.⁴ The preceding one can be identified thanks to the partly readable column of text in front of it:  [Wep]-wawet giving all life. The standards were destroyed, probably during the Amarna Period. Left of the standards is the arm of a person facing left and carrying a duck.

To the right of the scene there is a section of block border of the wall decoration which limits its possible context on the temple walls. It was in 1988 in cooperation with the archi-

² The lack of feminine endings in Hatshepsut's epithets is attested in many texts in the Deir el-Bahari temple. This omission seems to be insignificant, or at least no pattern has been established for its distribution in the temple.

³ The fragment Royal Scottish Museum Inv. 1951.132. 24 x 23 cm. The fragment with the face of Tuthmosis III was first published by C. ALDRED, *New Kingdom Art*, London 1961, Fig. 11, p. 45 and misdated to Amenhotep I. This error was later repeated by K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire*, Warsaw 1976, Fig. 19, p. 33. The block is shown complete in a photograph from Deir el-Bahari now in the Archives Lacau in Paris (B Vb, No. O4). This was taken during the restoration work of E. Baraize in the period between the two World Wars. A watercolour facsimile made at about the same time by Ch. K. Wilkinson again shows the complete block. This watercolour is preserved in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art – Ch. K. WILKINSON, M. HILL, *Egyptian wall paintings: the Metropolitan Museum of Art's collection of Facsimiles*, New York 1983, p. 73 (No. 48.105.27).

⁴ The name of the standard is written in the Tomb of Kheruef: *The Tomb of Kheruef*, Theban Tomb 192, OIP 102, Chicago 1980 Pls. 24, pp. 41–42, and in the *Heb-Sed* scenes of Osorkon at Bubastis, E. NAVILLE, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II. in the Great Temple of Bubastis (1887–1889)*, London 1892, Pl. IX, block 1; in later times the name was reinterpreted and the name *hns* is attested. cf. G. POSNER, *Le nom de l'enseigne appelée «Khons»* () , *RdE* 17, 1965, pp. 193–195.



Fragment Edinburgh 1951.132.

2. Fragment Edinburgh 1951.132 – detail of Fig. 1.

tect A. Kwaśnica that the scene was ascribed to the northern wing of the Lower Portico and placed in the uppermost register at the right-hand edge of the west wall. The two lower registers were occupied respectively by a fishing scene above a fowling with a net.⁵ According to Kwaśnica, the person partly preserved to the left of the standards belongs to a procession in two superimposed registers. The lower one showed the fishermen carrying fishes and fowlers carrying birds were depicted in the upper register. The procession faces left, thus it moves from the pavilion with the royal figures outwards and, at the same time, it moves towards the temple axis, thus symbolically into the temple.

This is, to my knowledge, a unique use of *Heb-Sed* iconography. However there is at least one piece of evidence showing that the connection of the festival with fish and fowl is

⁵ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari I–VI*, London 1895–1906 [= *Temple*], VI, 1908, Pl. CLXIII (part of the fowling scene). E. BARAIZE undertook much restoration of the scene. This author copied the texts on the replaced blocks at the beginning of seventies. In the late seventies F. PAWLICKI continued research in the northern wing of the Lower Portico, cf. ID., *Une représentation inconnue de la Fête de l'Hippopotame Blanc dans le Temple de Hatchepsout à Deir el-Bahari*, *EtTrav* XIV, 1990, pp. 15–28; a brief description of results of his research on the decoration of the portico can be found in PAWLICKI, *Królewskie świątynie w Deir el-Bahari*, Warsaw 2000, pp. 153–157, Figs. 146–148 (this is a guide for the general public and the comment on the fishing and fowling scene, p. 154 is not entirely reliable).

not a unique feature of Hatsheput's time. In the well-known scenes of the *Heb-Sed* on the gate of Osorkon in Bubastis there is a procession of men carrying birds and fishes.⁶ The *Heb-Sed* scenes of Osorkon are represented on the monumental gate in the mud-brick enclosure wall of the temple of Bubastis. They occupy the two faces and the reveals of the gate, with the exception of the middle part of the northern reveal that was hidden behind the opened door.

The scenes with fish and fowl consist of a procession that moves to the right; the accompanying texts give the list of names of divinities and the names of particular birds and fishes. Naville placed this procession on the northern jamb of the doorway.⁷ According to him, the first part of this procession was carved on the western face of the northern door-jamb. Its second part was on the inner side of the northern jamb. This means that the procession moved from the interior of the temple outwards. A similar procession may have occurred in the much-ruined Memorial Temple of Amenhotep III at Gurna, but of this scene only a small fragment remained.⁸

P. Montet proposed a link between the Osorkon episodes of the *Heb-Sed* featuring fish and fowl and the idea expressed much earlier in the Spell 534 of the *Pyramid Texts* (*PT*).⁹ His main argument for this is the occurrence of the same divinities in the spell and in the Osorkon scenes. A second argument is based on the archaistic spellings which point to an Old Kingdom source. Montet interprets the scenes as showing the exclusion of the priests of certain gods carrying fish and fowl from the participation in the royal jubilee. This, according to him, may perpetuate the outcome of some long-forgotten wars for the unification of the Delta.

The general meaning of the *PT* spell 534 is the protection of the royal tomb, clearly expressed at the beginning and at the end of the text.¹⁰ The middle part of the text contains a sort of litany in which each of the divinities in turn is forbidden to "come with this his (or her) evil coming". In other words this section of the text is aimed at preventing the gods from doing any harm to the eternal royal residence. The listed gods are the great state gods of Egypt including Osiris, Seth, Isis, Nephthys, Thoth, *etc.* who in other contexts, including the same spell, are protectors of the pharaoh or his eternal residence. At Bubastis the meaning of the fish-and-fowl scenes depicted on the entrance gate of the enclosure may very well encompass the protective function, since the gate forms the transition device between the sacred area and the profane sphere outside. Thus one of its functions is to protect the interior of the temple.

⁶ E. NAVILLE, *The Festival-Hall of Osorkon II in the Great Temple of Bubastis* (1887–1889). London 1892, Pls. XVIII.7–8–9; XXII.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Pls. XXX–XXXI. Cf. also W. BARTA, *Die Sedfest-Darstellung Osorkons II. im Tempel von Bubastis*, *SAK* 6, 1978, pp. 26–42, Pls. I–IV; Ch. C. VAN SICLEN III, *The Shadow of the Door and the Jubilee Reliefs of Osorkon II from Tell Basta*, *VA* 7, 1991, pp. 81–87, Fig. 4 – with the restored blank surface behind the door; also K. KURASZKIEWICZ, *Bemerkungen zur Rekonstruktion des Jubiläumsporthals Osorkons II.*, *GM* 151, 1996, pp. 79–93, Figs. 7–8.

⁸ G. HAENY, *Untersuchungen im Totentempel Amenophis III*, *BeitrBf* 11, Wiesbaden 1981, Pl. 40, 67.

⁹ P. MONTET, "Dieux et prêtres indésirables", *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 68, 1952, pp. 129–144.

¹⁰ *PT* §§ 1264a–1266c; 1277a–1279c; for the interpretation of *hrt* as "tomb", cf. R. O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969, pp. 200–201 with note 2 on p. 202.

resented as fecundity divinities. The expression *ḥbw nb* is listed with other food offerings that are brought by the divinities to the divinised king. This shows that the theme of food supply was one of the purposes of the Lower Portico Scene. This is additionally stressed by the expression *snmt s[tpw]* “food-supply of choice” that is preserved in front of the procession with birds and fishes in the same scene. This expression occurs in numerous offering scenes in different parts of the temple. Of course this meaning does not exclude Alliot’s interpretation of the scene as symbolising the fight against hostile powers. The polyvalent meaning of particular temple scenes and their set is quite common.

There is at least one more contemporary piece of evidence that may throw some light on the significance of this scene. On the northern wing of the south wall of the Great Hypostyle at Karnak the topmost register shows a sequence of scenes that could be yet another reformulation of the idea expressed at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁷ As at Deir el-Bahari they begin with the journey through papyrus marshland and the scene of fowling – the fishing scene has been omitted. The following two scenes differ from the Deir el-Bahari version. The first one shows Ramesses II offering the caught birds to the Theban Triad. The last scene in the register shows Ramesses II censuring and pouring fresh water on the offering table in front of Sety I and his *ka*. Again the food supply for the cult is the apparent meaning of the set of scenes. It is significant that in this obvious parallel to the sequence of Hatshepsut’s scenes there are no allusions to the *Heb-Sed*.

The omission of the fishing from the scenes is significant. In temples, fishes, unlike birds, do not appear among the offerings in the numerous offering scenes. This may result from the impure nature of fish that may be linked to the episode of a fish eating the dismembered parts of Osiris body after the god had been murdered by Seth.¹⁸ It may also derive from the aquatic nature of fish, placing them in habitat reminiscent of the chaotic condition of the universe before creation started. The Karnak scene of presenting the caught birds may correspond to the Deir el-Bahari procession of those who have caught birds and fishes in front of the pavilion containing figures of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III. These figures, in turn, may correspond to the last scene from Karnak in which the recipient of the offerings, censuring and libation is Sety I, the deceased father of Ramesses II, or in fact his *ka*-statue.¹⁹ It is interesting to observe that this statue holds the *ḥk3*-sceptre and the *nh3h3*-flail that are attested in scenes of the king clad in the *Heb-Sed*-garment from Deir el-Bahari – Nos. 2, 5–7 below.

On a more symbolic level one may ask if the Deir el-Bahari scene is not linked to the idea of avoiding the net that threatens the deceased during his ascension to heaven to take

¹⁷ H. H. NELSON, W. J. MURNANE, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I.1: The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106, Chicago 1981, Pls. 42–45, 259.

¹⁸ For the religious significance of fish cf. I. GAMER-WALLERT, *LÄ II*, Wiesbaden 1977, cols. 228–234.

¹⁹ In its attitude and insignia the figure strictly corresponds with many depictions of *ka*-statues from New Kingdom private tombs at Thebes and from Theban Temples, including depictions of statues of Hatshepsut and the Tuthmoside kings that accompany processions of the Amun bark. Two wooden statues found in the tomb of Tutankhamun, now in the Cairo Museum, may be such actual examples of temple statuary transferred from this king’s memorial temple near Medinet Habu, after it had been usurped by Ay.

place by the side of the sun god. This motif is well attested in the *Coffin Texts* and survived in the *Book of the Dead*.²⁰

Yet another suggestion may be derived from the more general context of the decoration of the two wings of the Lower Portico at Deir el-Bahari. The scene of the journey through the papyrus scrub and the fishing and fowling scenes in the northern wing of the portico are placed symmetrically with the famous scene of the transportation of obelisks and their dedication to Amen-Re in Karnak temple. Thus the general meaning of the scenes in the southern wing is to show the Queen as an outstanding builder. The scenes that follow further north on the same wall, namely the episodes of the foundation ritual of the Deir el-Bahari temple, additionally stress this role of Hatshepsut. This commemoration of the creation of the monument may include the meaning of protecting the temple additionally stressed by the depiction of the two pairs of the Karnak obelisks that delimit and protect the daily movements of the solar disc in the main state sanctuary of the period. The foundation scenes begin with the «stretching the cord» ceremony and end with the offering scene before Amen-Re. The later scene inaugurates the functioning of the temple as a new entity: a place where the link between the earthly sphere and the world of the gods takes place through ritual and through the presence of divinities. Erecting monuments for the benefit of the gods continues the process of creation of the universe. Its aim is to create new ideal microcosms, which strictly incorporate the principle of *maat*. In this sense the role of the queen parallels or continues the role of the creator god.

In the scenes in the northern wing of the Lower Portico, Hatshepsut takes part in the journey through the papyrus scrub in the company of the gods and is shown busy with the net along with Khnum and Horus-Behdety. The main meaning of these depictions may be the extension of the queen's power over the chaotic regions placed on the border of the organised world. At the same time, the protection of her monument is being secured – an idea additionally stressed by the scenes of smiting and trampling the enemies of Egypt. Having her power extended over the chaotic watery regions, the queen is able to use their resources to augment her eternal residence on the earth, *i.e.* her memorial temple, and simultaneously to do the same in her place of final destination, in heaven. In heaven her capacity to control the chaotic sphere secures her free and safe passage during her journeys through the liminal watery regions of the netherworld in the company of the solar god. This aspect of the pharaoh's power is depicted to the north of the temple axis in scenes that apparently reflect the origin of the ritual of fishing and fowling in the Delta, where watery regions with papyrus scrub were a characteristic feature of the landscape.²¹

The Deir el-Bahari complex included two T-shaped pools located in the Lower Court on either side of the processional way leading to the Hatshepsut temple terraces.²² They could very well have served the actual ritual which could have been repeated during all the religious ceremonies celebrated in the temple. The purpose of such stage-managed ritual would

²⁰ CT 343, 473, 474–480, 477–480; BD 153.

²¹ The same geographical rule is evident in the fish-and-fowl scenes of the Osorkon gate at Bubastis described above.

²² H. WINLOCK, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri 1911–1931*, New York 1942, p. 90, Pl. 44 (top).

have been to secure the safety of the temple interior, including processions entering the temple with divine statues and emblems, royal processional statues and offerings.

Three scenes (2-4) from the northern wing of the Middle Portico

All the three scenes belong to the upper half of the decoration.

2) Scene of the proclamation of Hatshepsut's kingship by the *Iunmutef*-priest and the gods in front of Amen-Re from the northern half of the Middle Portico – Fig. 4²³

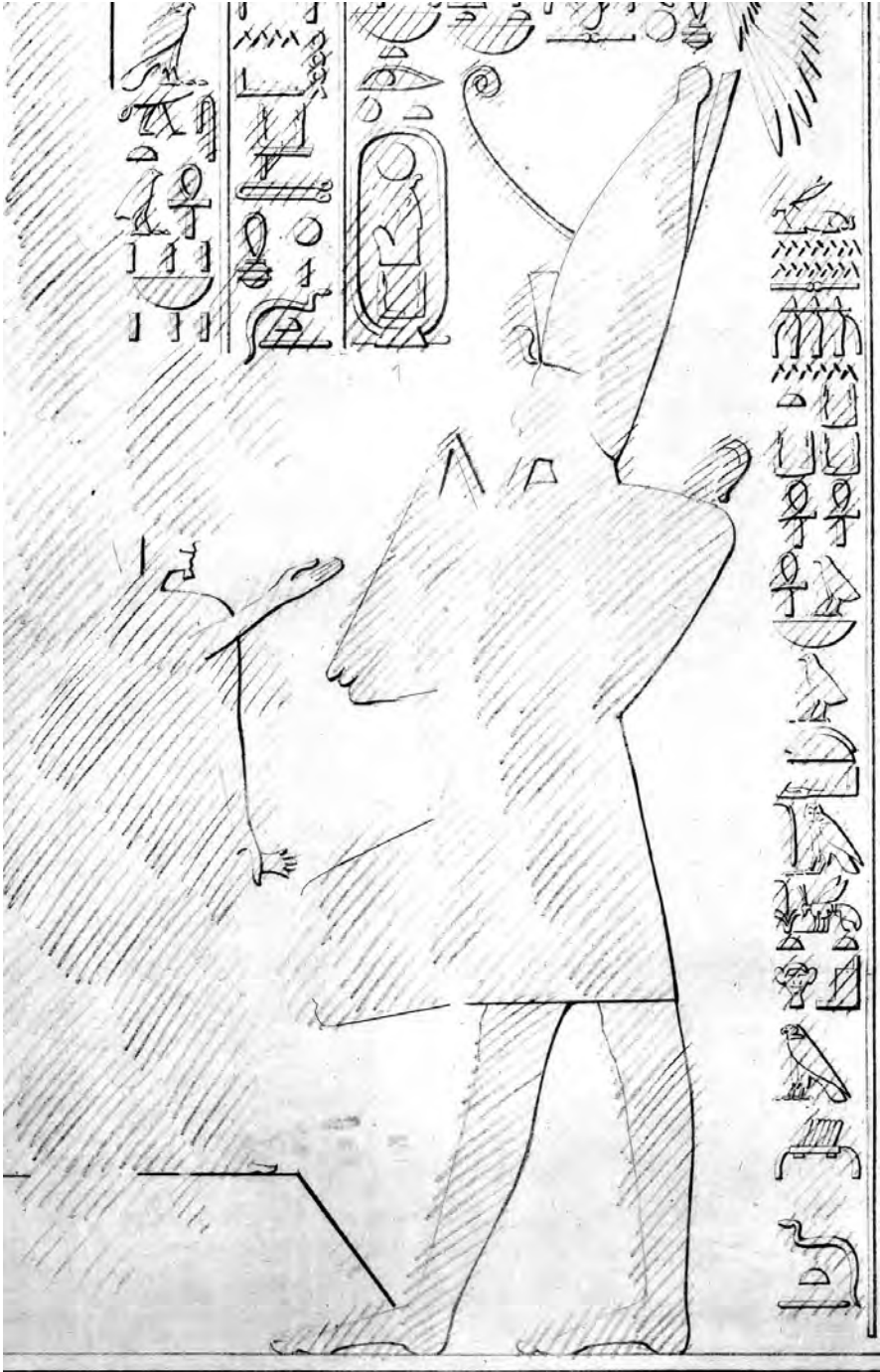
Most of this scene was damaged after Hatshepsut's death and during the period of Akhenaton's iconoclasm, but most of the details can be recognised. The queen occupies the centre of the scene. She is shown striding and facing left towards a pavilion on a *maat*-podium with the enthroned Amen-Re inside. In front of the pavilion but still on the podium the *Iunmutef*-priest addresses the queen. Behind the queen and facing in the same direction are kneeling gods arranged in three registers, each register with three figures. The queen was clad in the *Heb-Sed*-robe with an additional feature: an apron in front in the shape of a falcon's tail.²⁴ The queen's torso is shown frontally. Her hands are crossed on her chest. In her left hand she holds the *nh³h³*-flail and in her right the *hk³*-sceptre. The queen wears the ceremonial beard and the Double Crown. Above Hatshepsut hovers the vulture of Nekhbet. Most probably two more divinities, placed one above the other to the right of the scene, assist the ceremony. These are Seshat and Thoth who record the ceremony on papyrus rolls. The scene's texts all refer to the confirmation of Hatshepsut's royalty.

The subject of the scene is revealed in the speeches of the divinities. The speech of *Iunmutef* is the only one written retrograde. Its first column was completely destroyed under Akhenaton and no traces of signs can be recognised here. This first column most probably started with *ḏd-mdw in Twn-mwt.f* followed by his epithet followed in the next two lines by legible: *h^c.ti hr st Hr sšm.t ḥnw nbw 3wt-ib.t ḥn^c.ti hn^c k3.t mi R^c ḏt²⁵* – *May you appear upon the Horus' throne and may you govern all the living, may you be joyful and*

²³ NAVILLE, Temple III, Pls. LIX (right part) – LX (left part). Fig. 4 reproduces Hatshepsut's figure from Naville's publication with few additions after the photographs. The texts of the scene published by Naville and in Urk. IV, pp. 252.8–254.13 were checked on the wall by the author resulting in some additions and improvements.

²⁴ The same costume is attested from the time of Amenhotep I on an unpublished block from Karnak; also in tombs of the time of Amenhotep III belonging to Kheruef: The Tomb of Kheruef, Theban Tomb 192, OIP 102, Chicago 1980 Pls. 24, 26 (enthroned, wearing the Double Crown), 41–42 (striding, wearing the White Crown); and to Surer: T. SÄVE-SÖDERBERGH, Five Eighteenth Dynasty Private Tombs at Thebes I, Oxford 1957, Pl. XXXI (enthroned, wearing the *atef* on the *nemes*). In both tombs the costume is attested in the southern part of the transverse halls. The king figures in the northern part of the hall wear costumes which have no relation to the *Heb-Sed*. Cf. also J. LARSON, The Heb-sed Robe and the «Ceremonial Robe» of Tut'ankhamūn, *JEA* 67, 1981, pp. 180–181; C. ALDRED, The «New Year» Gifts to the Pharaoh, *JEA* 55, 1969, pp. 73 ff.; also remarks by P. KRIÉGER, Une statuette de roi-faucon au Musée du Louvre, *RdE* 12, 1960, pp. 37–58.

²⁵ Cf. Urk. IV, pp. 252–253.



4. Hatshepsut's figure in composite jubilee costume from the northern half of the Middle Portico (after Naville, Temple III, Pl. LIX).

may you live with your ka like Re forever. The remaining divine speeches addressed to the queen again express confirmation of Hatshepsut's kingship. The scene's title may be in the text placed in front of Seshat: *mꜣr s[p] n ḥꜥ n-sw-bit M3ꜣt-k3-Rꜥ ḥr st Ḥr dt²⁶ – Successful is the occasion of the appearance of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Maat-ka-Re upon the throne of Horus forever.* This is supplemented in the text in front of Thoth: *smn.n.(i) n.t ḥꜥw.t ipn n n-sw-bit ꜥnh.ti ḥr st ḥr dt²⁷ – I have established for you these your crowns of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, may you live upon the throne of Horus forever.*

The only mention of the *Heb-Sed* occurs in the speech of the three falcon-headed gods in the middle register to the right of Hatshepsut: *di n.s nꜣrw ḥntyw itrt Šmꜣt ꜥnh dd w3s nb snb ḥr.sn 3wt-ib nb ḥr.sn ḥtpt nbt ḥr.sn ir(t) Sd-ḥb(w) ꜥ33w wrt²⁸ – the gods, presiding over the conclave of Upper Egypt present her with all life, stability, divine power and health (coming) before them, all joy of heart before them, all offerings before them and the celebration of very numerous Sed-festivals.*

The scene belongs to the first part of the cycle of six scenes in the upper register of the northern wing of the Middle Portico. They start with (1) the purification of the infant Hatshepsut by Amun and Thoth.²⁹ Then follows the scene of the presentation of the child to the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt by Amun (2).³⁰ The next episode (3) starts with a long text in which the choice of Hatshepsut as pharaoh starts to be revealed in her physical perfection resulting from the constant presence of gods by her side. These are Hathor, Khnum and Wadjet whose name after damage in the Amarna Period was restored as Nekhbet. Under the protection of these three divinities, Hatshepsut approaches Amen-Re, Atum and Montu who are followed by gods arranged in three registers, each register with three gods. The accompanying texts are almost completely destroyed, but the aforementioned long text preceding the scene names *all the gods who are in Thebes, all gods of the South and North.* It is possible that, as in the following scene, these gods represent the Ennead.³¹

With the next scene (4) the establishment of the four royal names of Hatshepsut begins. First Amun proclaims her Horus name to the Ennead. The ceremony is recorded by two defaced enthroned divinities, probably Thoth and Seshat. This ceremony is followed by four divinities establishing the *nebtj*-name of Hatshepsut (5). The divinities mentioned in the text preceding the scene are Horus, Seth, Nekhbet and Wadjet. The scene is combined with placing the Double Crown and the double uraeus on Hatshepsut's head. The coronation is performed by Horus and Seth in the presence of Amen-Re and a god with the staff of years. The next episode (6) shows the establishment of the Horus-of-gold name and the

²⁶ Cf. Urk. IV, p. 254,13.

²⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 254,10–11.

²⁸ Cf. *ibid.*, pp. 253,15–254,1.

²⁹ NAVILLE, Temple III, Pl. LVI (left).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Pl. LVI (right) – J. ASSMANN, Die Zeugung des Sohnes: Bild, Spiel, Erzählung und das Problem des ägyptischen Mythos, in J. ASSMANN, W. BURKERT, F. STOLZ (ed.), Funktionen und Leistungen des Mythos, OBO 48, Freiburg-Göttingen 1982, pp. 17f., ascribes scenes (1–2) to the birth cycle from the lower half of the decoration of the same portico. However, the scenes from the upper half of the wall with the youth legend and coronation form a direct continuation of the birth cycle, thus such a distinction seems a little artificial.

³¹ NAVILLE, Temple III, Pls. LVII–LVIII.

throne name. The accompanying scene is only partly preserved and is difficult to read owing to the defacement under Akhenaton. However, the remaining traces show that this was a scene of *sm3-t3wy* – *Unification of the Two Lands*. Hatshepsut was placed on top of the *sm3*-symbol and two gods (Horus and Seth?) knot around it the plants of Upper and Lower Egypt. Again Thoth and Seshat record the scene on papyrus rolls.³²

All the enumerated episodes precede the actual coronation and even precede the decree of Tuthmosis I choosing Hatshepsut to be his successor. The latter scene constitutes an important moment when the divine will is proclaimed to the world of the living. This means that all the hitherto described episodes take place in realm that is accessible only to Hatshepsut and the gods, they are known only to them and remain secret to the world of the living. The scene with *Iunmutef* is the only one in the above sequence of scenes where Hatshepsut wears the *Heb-Sed* robe. The accompanying texts in the cycle sporadically name the jubilee feast along with other favours granted to the queen by the gods.³³

3) Tuthmosis I's proclamation of Hatshepsut as the future pharaoh in the northern wing of the Middle Portico – Fig 5.³⁴

This scene follows scene described above. Tuthmosis I is shown enthroned inside the pavilion on a podium. The king faces right and with his hands protects the striding figure of Hatshepsut which is carved at a smaller scale but facing the same direction. The king's body is shown in profile, his legs are mummiform and he is clad in the *Heb-Sed* garment which reaches the upper thighs. The costume includes a royal false beard and a *h3t*-head-dress. Behind the king is the lotus-leaf-shaped fan fixed to the *t3*-sign with a *sn*-ring. Hatshepsut wears a tight-fitting kilt with a rectangular apron fringed with pearl-shaped beads and on her head is the *hprš*-crown

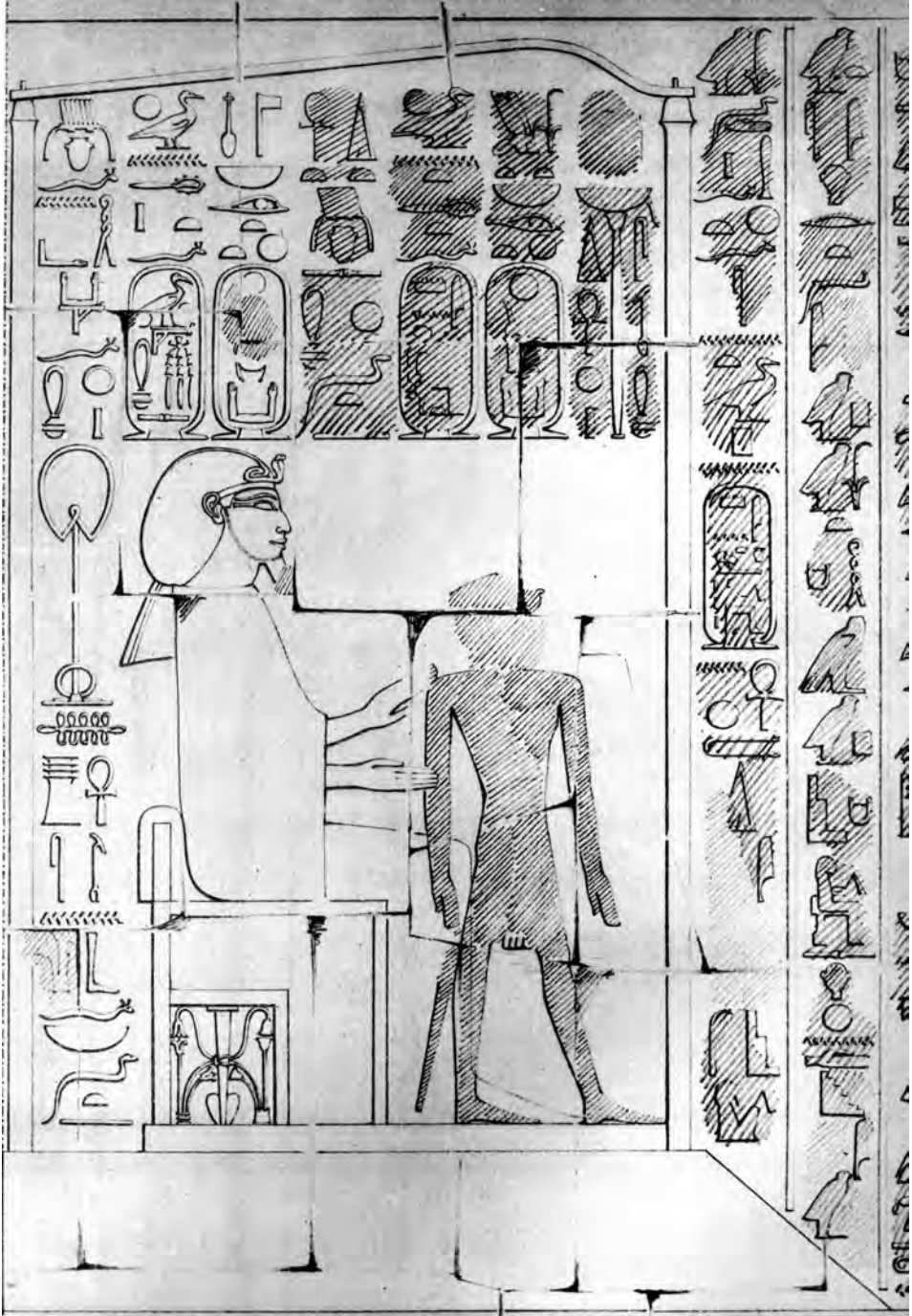
In front of the podium there are three rows of figures, each row comprising three officials: *smrw*, *s^chw* and *špsw-nsw*. The scene is accompanied by a long text divided into sections. The first part is placed to the left of the pavilion. The queen's father recognises Hatshepsut as his successor to the throne and calls the throne session. The next section placed between the pavilion and the dignitaries contains the throne speech of Tuthmosis announcing Hatshepsut's designation as the successor to the throne of Egypt. The section of the text to the right of the dignitaries describes their reception of the royal decree and the establishment of the royal titulary that *indeed the god has caused that the formulation of all her names appeared in their hearts (exactly as) he had formulated them aforesaid*.

The scene has no other parallels. The choice of the *Heb-Sed*-garment appears to have no connection with an actual celebration of the feast by Tuthmosis I, as his reign was too short for a jubilee. In interpreting the scene we have to bear in mind that it was made posthu-

³² Scenes 4–6 are unpublished with the exception of Seshat and Thoth in scene (6) – NAVILLE, Temple III, Pl. LIX (left).

³³ Middle Portico scenes (1) and (3) above, always in the speech of Amen-Re.

³⁴ After NAVILLE, Temple III, Pl. LXI with a few corrections from photographs.



5. The enthroned Tuthmosis I in the scene of the proclamation of Hatshepsut's succession to the throne (after Naville, Temple III, Pl. LXI).

mously, years after the king's death. The queen decided that this dress was the most appropriate for the ruling king during her own designation as heiress to the throne – this was, for her, the most important fact, although almost certainly fictitious. This way she was not only predestined to take the throne of Egypt, but her disputable right to the throne was continuously reconfirmed by her father in the never ending succession of jubilee celebrations in the divine sphere. This particular role of Tuthmosis I results in his headdress, uncommon in other scenes referring to a *Heb-Sed*.³⁵ The *h3t* occurs in the temple worn by officiating kings, especially in the episodes of the *Daily Ritual* and *Ritual of Hours*, and also in depictions of pharaohs as recipients of religious ceremonies. Examples of the latter occur in the Offering Halls of the Royal Chapels of Tuthmosis I and Hatshepsut and in the Upper Terrace niches. In all these scenes the *h3t* head-dress interchanges with the *nms*.³⁶

4) Hatshepsut's figure during the final episode of the same set of scenes in the northern wing of the Middle Portico – Fig. 6.³⁷

The scene depicts the queen striding to the right and wearing the *Heb-sed* garment. In her hands she holds the *ꜥwt*-stick and the *nḥ3ḥ3*-flail. The Red Crown is the last discernible element of Hatshepsut's dress. Above the queen the solar disc flanked by two uraei extends one wing in protection – the other wing is above the shrine to the left. In front of the queen there are two standards supported by an *ꜥnh*-symbol with human arms. Akhenaton's followers destroyed the tops of the standards, but there are traces of *Wepwawet* and *Nḥn-nswt*. In front of the queen there is the scene title: *Entering the Per-neser and the court of the sšd-diadem festival and coming back*.³⁸

The scene depicts the procession of Hatshepsut as the king of Lower Egypt. The scene forms the final episode of a sequence of scenes that begin in the middle of the western wall with the title: *tpy 3ḥt wp-rnpt tp rnpwt ḥtpwt n n-sw-bit sm3-t3wy phr ḥ3 inb ḥb <s>šd – The first day of the Akhet-season. Beginning of the peaceful years for the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the unification of the Two Lands, the going around the wall, the festival of the diadem sšd*.³⁹ The text is separated from the preceding scenes by a long year-stick. The following episodes show in turn the visit to the *per-wer* in the company of the *Iunmutef*-

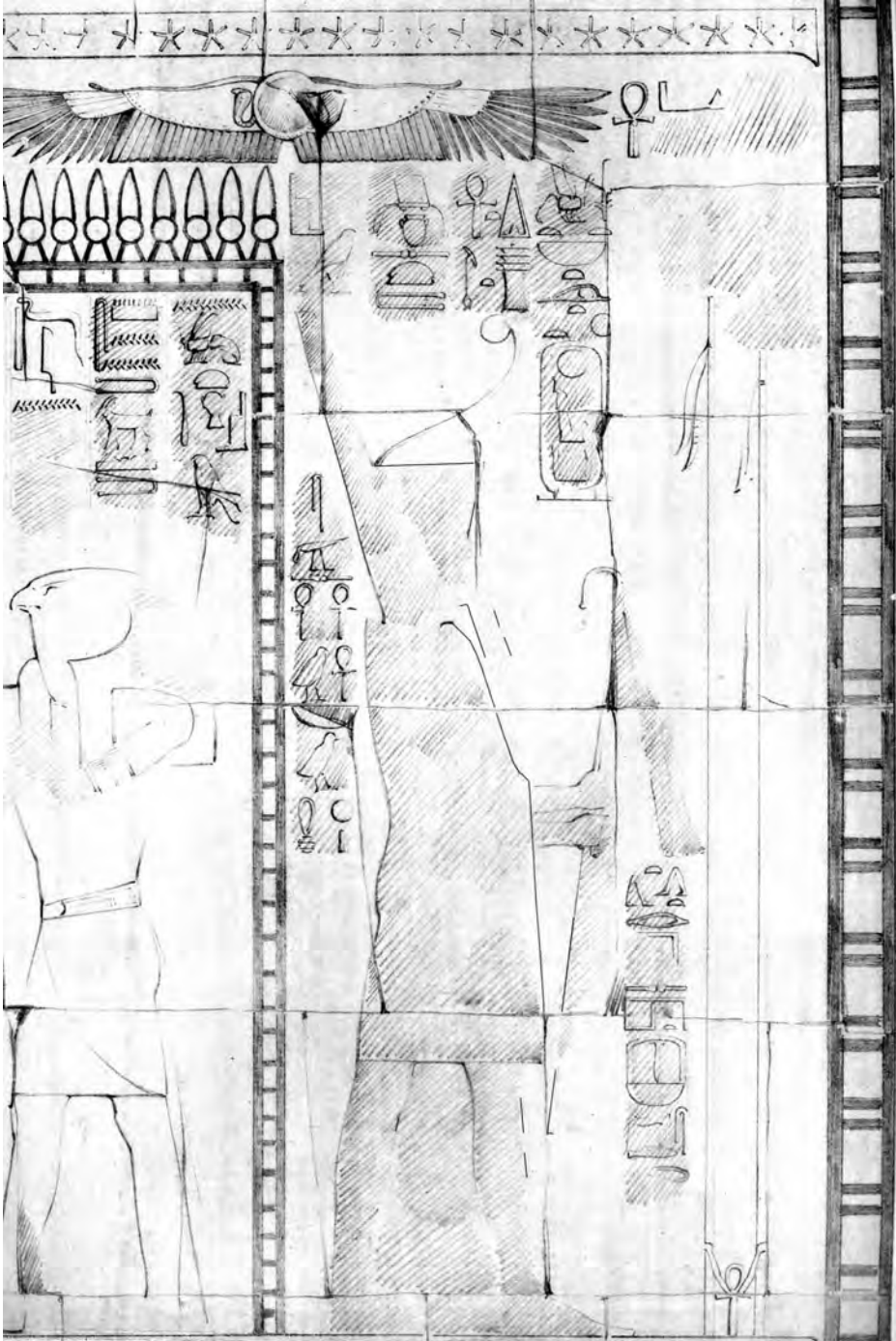
³⁵ Cf., however, the statue of Djoser from Sakkara wearing the *nemes* on top of the tripartite wig, Cairo, JE 43104: FIRTH-QUIBELL, *Step Pyramid II*, Cairo 1935, Pl. 29; the scene from the tomb of Surer listed above in note 24 with the king wearing the *atef* on top of the *nemes*, and the triade of Amenhotep III, Cairo JE 39507 wearing the Double Crown on top of the *nemes* – H. SOROUIZIAN, *Inventaire iconographique des statues en manteau jubilaire de l'Époque thinite jusqu'à leur disparition sous Amenhotep III*, *Homage Leclant I*, Fig. 6b on p. 530.

³⁶ E.g. NAVILLE, *Temple I*, I, Pls. IX–XI, XXI, XXIV; I, II, Pls. XXVIII, XLIV–XLV; IV, I, Pls. CV, CX, CXIV–CXVI; V, I, Pl. CXXXV.

³⁷ After NAVILLE, *Temple III*, Pl. LXIV (right scene) with some corrections from photographs.

³⁸ Urk. IV, p. 265,5.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 262, 7–8.



6. Hatshepsut in jubilee costume on the north wall of the Middle Portico (after Naville, Temple III, Pl. LXIV).

priest, purification by the god Ha, entering the *pr*-... in the company of Horus, establishing the dignity of the king of Upper Egypt by Horus and Seth, procession as the King of Upper Egypt, and establishing the dignity of the king of Lower Egypt by Horus and Seth.⁴⁰

In this sequence of scenes only the final one shows Hatshepsut in the *Heb-Sed* garment, although the feast is mentioned among the favours offered to Hatshepsut by Ha.⁴¹ The listed scenes apparently concern the coronation of the queen and not her jubilee.

5-6-7) Three figures from the eastern wall of the Upper Court depicting colossi of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III on board the royal ship during the river procession of the Opet Festival – Fig. 7, and the Valley Festival – Figs. 8–9.

The scene from the Opet Festival on the southern wing of the east wall is the best preserved. The details recognisable in the two superimposed scenes of the water processions at the beginning and end of the Valley Festival on the northern wing of the wall are almost identical. In all the three scenes the royal river barge is preceded by the three royal ships and is followed by the *Weser-hat* or the river bark of Amun.

At the centre of the royal bark is a royal pavilion with the completely preserved enthroned figure of Tuthmosis III. The king's legs are mummiform and his torso is shown in profile. He is clad in the *Heb-sed* robe, which covers the upper part of his thighs, and he holds two insignia: the *hk3*-sceptre and the *nh3h3*-flail. He also holds the rope which connects the royal barge to the towing ships and the Amun bark. The space in front of the king preserves traces of an erased figure of Hatshepsut. The preserved details show that she was seated on an identical throne as Tuthmosis III and was clad in the same jubilee garment. The only exception is that she wears the White instead the Red Crown worn by the king. The space in front of Tuthmosis III created by the erasure of Hatshepsut's figure was partly filled with a heraldic device showing Wadjet as cobra on a basket resting on a *w3d*-column. Wadjet extends the *nh*-sign to Tuthmosis III's face with a *w3s* sceptre which is attached to her body. This heraldic device and accompanying texts were destroyed by Akhenaton's adherents and its present form is the result of Ramesside restoration.

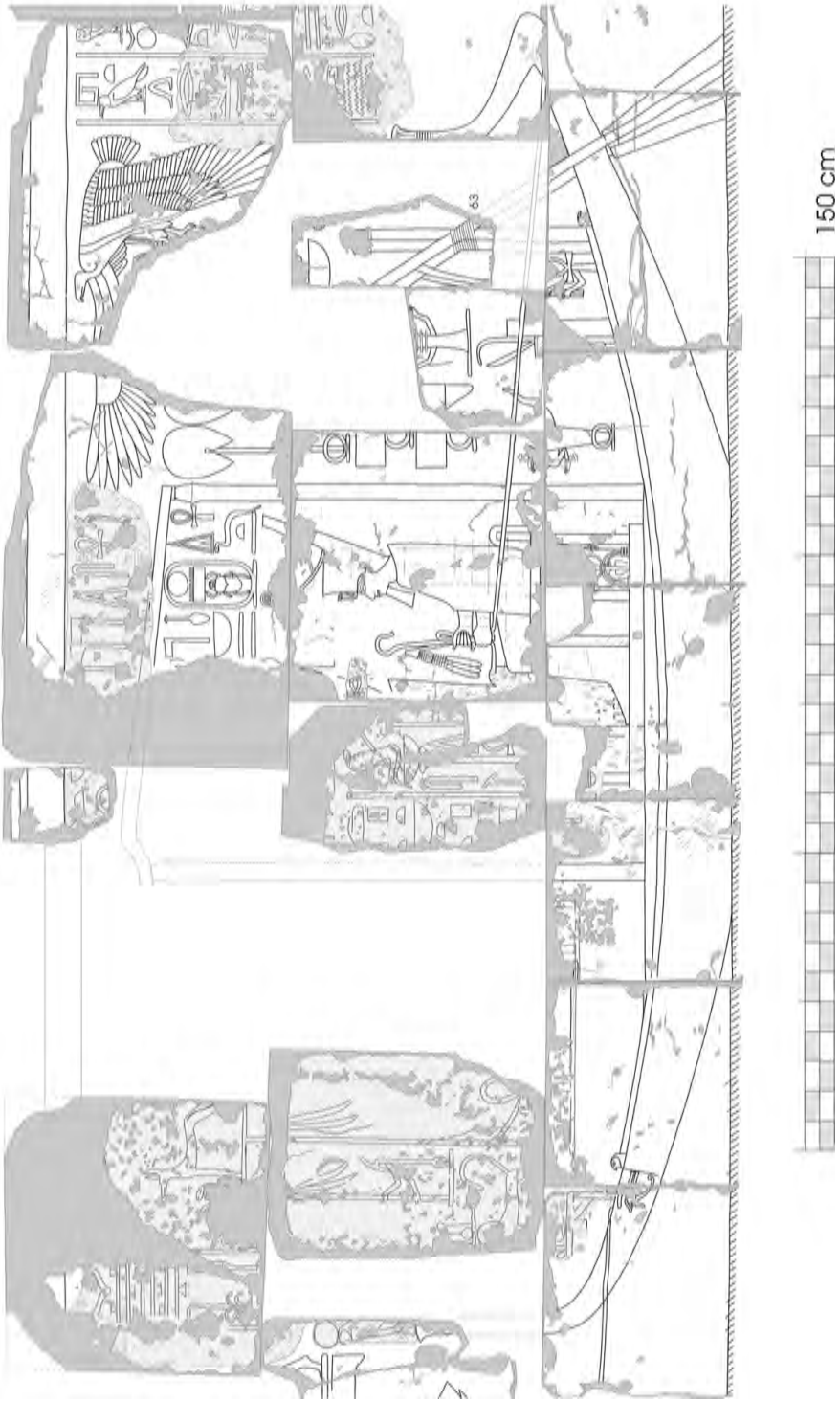
Behind the pavilion is the group of symbols which was depicted in scene 1 above. The scorpion with seals on its pincers is the first symbol. Above it there are two devices formed of halves of the *pt*-sign, each with a suspended *šn*-ring. To the right of them is the *Djed*-pillar with attached human arms holding an oval shape with the sign for «water» inside. Above these three symbols, two fans are depicted shaped like lotus leaves on long poles with attached *šn*-signs.

The hovering vulture of Nekhbet protects the pavilion with the royal figures. In front of it, at the prow of the royal barge, two standards are preserved supported by *nh* and *w3s* signs with attached human arms. These are the standards of Wepwawet and *Nhn-n-nswt*

⁴⁰ NAVILLE, Temple I, Pls. LIII–LXIV.

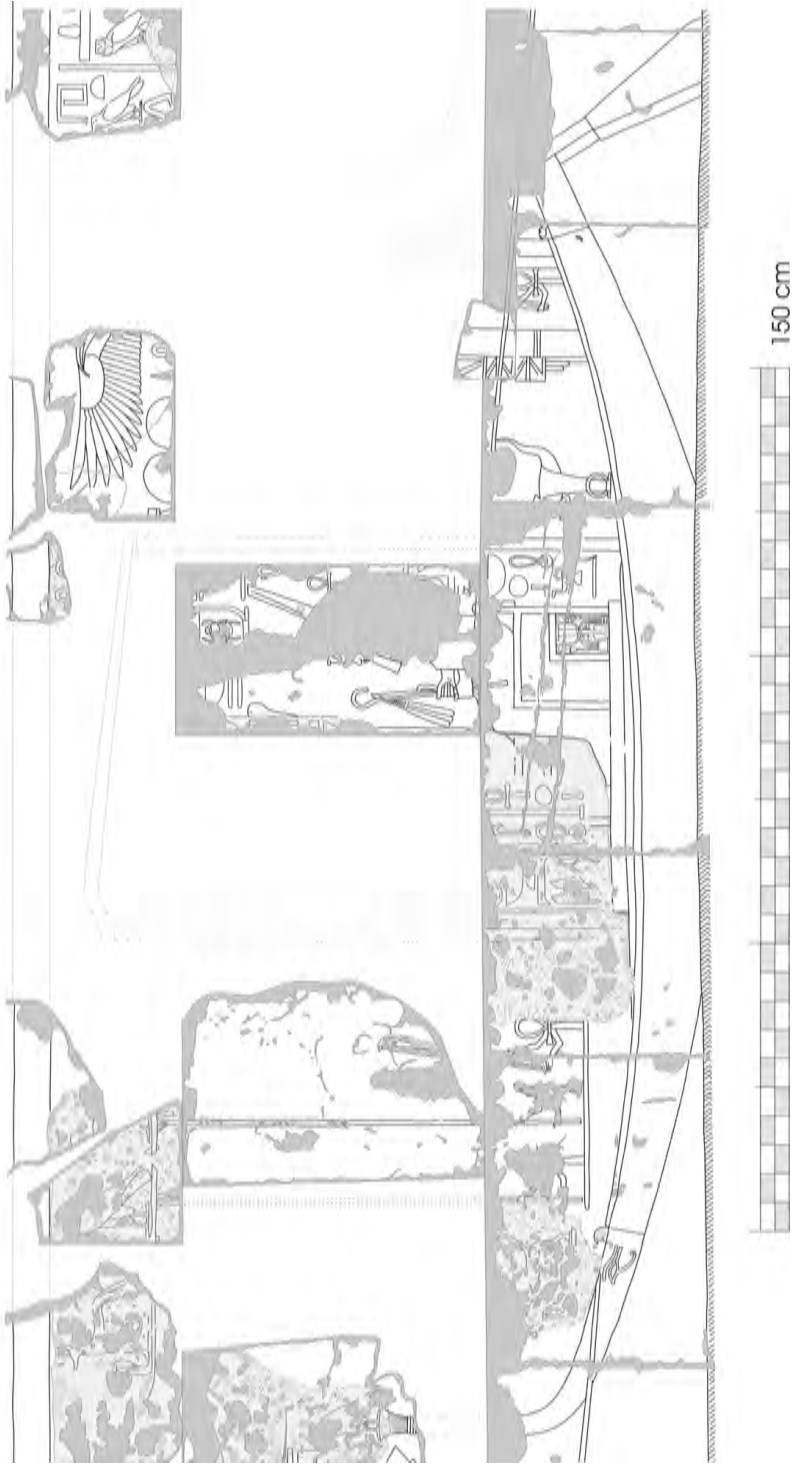
⁴¹ NAVILLE, Temple III, Pl. LXIII, middle.

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7. The royal river bark from the southern wing of the east wall of the Upper Court. (Drawing: J. Karkowski, 1991).

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8. The royal river bark during the westward river procession from the northern wing of the Upper Court. (Drawing: J. Karkowski, 1991).



9. Block with a depiction of the statue of Tuthmosis III on board the royal ship from the return river procession on the northern wing of the east wall of the Upper Court. (Drawing: J. Karkowski, 1990).

known from the scene in the Lower Portico (1 above). The remaining decoration belongs to the iconography of the royal bark and is outside the scope of this paper.

The remaining two scenes with the royal bark are not so well preserved. The royal bark in the westward water procession – Fig. 8 – shows identical royal figures to the Opet Festival. Again Tuthmosis III wears the Red Crown and part of the White Crown worn by Hatshepsut can be discerned. The only difference between the figures of Tuthmosis III in the two scenes is the absence of a carved line across the king's thigh marking the bottom of the jubilee garment. This means that contrary to scenes 1, 3, 5, 9 the body of the king is mummiform, although the torso takes the shape of the jubilee dress.⁴² The accompanying symbols behind the bark and the hovering vulture, so far as the preserved traces allow us to judge, are identical to the Opet scene. The vulture's head and name are not preserved so it is impossible to ascertain whether the geographical position of the wall north of the temple axis prevailed resulting in the cobra head of Wadjet. Another possibility is that more importance was given to the fact that the Valley Festival was celebrated in Upper Egypt making the vulture of Nekhbet more appropriate.⁴³ The only information that this scene adds to

⁴² That the line was merely marked in drawn line, now erased, cannot be excluded.

⁴³ In the remaining scenes of the Valley Feast no other vulture can be identified by the preserved name or head. The predominant protective bird seems to be falcon of Horus-Behdety.

the details not preserved in the Opet Festival depiction is the additional standards following the standards of Wepwawet and *Nḥn-n-nswt*. These are the falcon of Horus, the ibis of Thoth and the two bows, again supported by interchanging *ḥnh* and *wʒs* symbols provided with human arms.

Depiction of the same royal bark occurs in the decoration of the red quartzite shrine of Hatshepsut, again in the context of the two major Theban religious festivals.⁴⁴ It has been proposed that during the Middle Kingdom the royal river bark, attested in Karnak and in the Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari contained a shrine with statue of Amun alone or already in the processional bark.⁴⁵ When the river bark of Amun was introduced in the New Kingdom, the royal bark was reshaped to underline the royal cult associated to the cult of the god. In the two listed Middle Kingdom scenes the king rowing the royal bark wears no elements of the *Heb-Sed*-garment.

A bark of the same shape was chosen for the transportation of the figure of divinised Sesostri III the temple of Tuthmosis III at Semna.⁴⁶ Here again the royal figure wears the *Heb-sed* garment and the White Crown and holds the *nḥʒḥʒ*-flail. The *wʒs*-stick replaces the *ḥwt*-stick found at Deir el-Bahari to accentuate the divine status of the Middle Kingdom king.

6) Double scene showing Tuthmosis I inside a Heb-Sed pavilion above the doorway of Tuthmosis I's Offering Hall – Fig. 10.⁴⁷

From the temple stores fragments of 9 blocks have been identified that can be traced back to this scene. The preserved details permit the restoration of its composition. A double pavilion on a podium occupied the central part. Inside were two enthroned figures of Tuthmosis I placed back to back in the two halves of the pavilion. Of these figures, only mummiform feet of the figure on the right together with part of the throne and the lower end of the *ḥwt*-stick are preserved.⁴⁸ The texts inside the pavilion contain the titulary of Tuthmosis I. The preserved fragments show that they are identical and strictly symmetrical. After the preserved signs in the two versions the complete titulary can be restored as follows: *Hr*

⁴⁴ P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, Cairo 1979, Pl. 9, blocks 279 and 171 – in this abbreviated version the towing ships have been omitted.

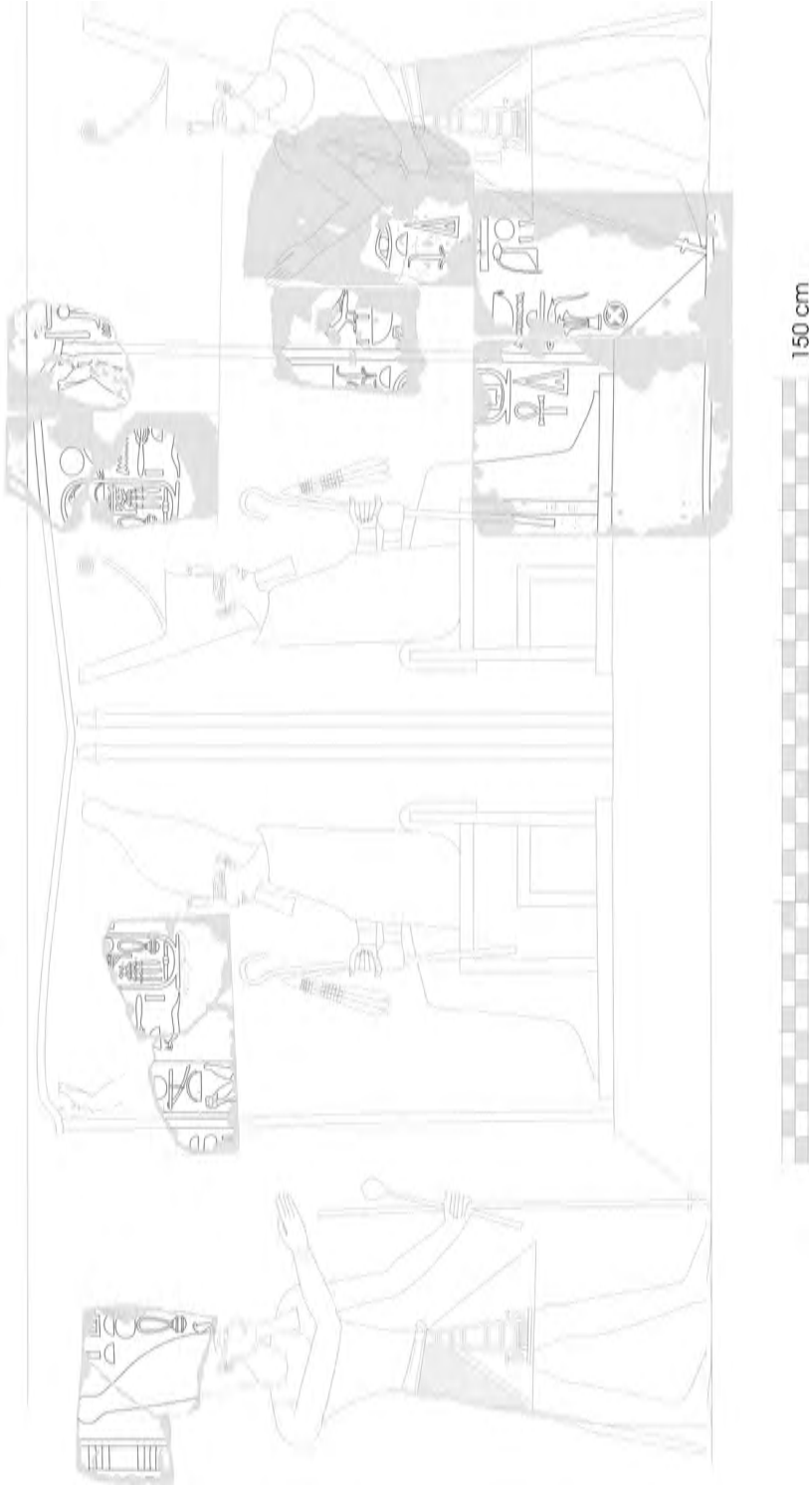
⁴⁵ L. GABOLDE, Le «Grand château «d'Amon» de Sésostris I^{er} à Karnak, Paris 1998, pp. 159 ff., Pl. IX. For the Mentuhotep's scene cf. D. ARNOLD, Der Tempel des Königs Mentuhotep von Deir el-Bahari, *AVDAIK* 11, 1974, Pls. 22–23.

⁴⁶ R. CAMINOS, The Temple of Semna, Semna-Kumma I, London 1998, Pls. 50, 57; cf. the similar shape of the processional bark of Dedwen, differing only in the covered sides of the pavilion and in the sphinx standard on the prow and royal statuettes behind and in front of the pavilion, *ibid.*, Pls. 51–52, 55–56.

⁴⁷ The decoration of the fragments was traced at 1:1 scale by the author and then photographically reduced, assembled and inked.

⁴⁸ The restoration of the crowns on Fig. 10 follows the geographical pattern. However the posthumous character of the commemoration of Tuthmosis I in this scene makes restoration of the Red and White Crowns uncertain – cf. comment to scene 10 above with note 35.

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10. Reconstruction of the double scene above the doorway of the Offering Hall of Tutmosis I. (Drawing: J. Karkowski, 1990).

Mry-R^c-ḥ^c-m-ḥdt n-sw-bit [3^c-ḥpr]-k3-R^c di ḥnh s3 R^c n ḥt.f Dḥwty-ms-ḥ^c-mi-R^c [ḥnh...] – Horus: Beloved-of-Re-Appearing-in-the-White-Crown, King of Upper and Lower Egypt ḥO-kheper-ka-Re given life, the bodily son of Re Tuthmosis-Appearing-like-Re [may he live...].

On both sides of the pavilion there are the remains of royal figures which face Tuthmosis I. Of these figures only two details remain: The king on the left wears the White Crown. Of the king on the right only the lower part of the staff and the toes of the right leg remain. The surface of the blocks above the title scene where the king's hand can be expected shows traces of chiselling. These details, the text to the right of the pavilion and the scene title permit restoration of the scene. The two royal figures were depicted in the recitation gesture. They most probably held the ḥd-mace in addition to the attested staff. The king's figure on the right should wear the Red Crown according to geographical principle.⁴⁹ The scene title is preserved to the right of the pavilion only: *irt ḥtp-di-nsw w^cb sp 2 – Making hotep-di-nesu-offering, purifying twice.* A longer line of text runs along the front of the pavilion. Atypically it contains the speech of the officiating king: *dd-mdw in.n.[(i) n.k ...] 3pdw nb m [...].k nt T3-mḥw – Recitation: I bring [you ...] and all the birds as your [...]of Northern Egypt.* One may expect a similar text to the south of the pavilion, but this time with the name of Southern Egypt. Indeed a small section of this text has been preserved: *[dd-mdw in.n(i) n.k... ḥtp]t nb [...], [Recitation: I bring you] all the food-offerings [...].*

The only preserved fragment of the titulary of the officiating king is to the left of the pavilion in front of the White Crown. It contains the ending-formula *di.t ḥnh mi R^c.* The feminine ending after *di* points to Hatshepsut as the pharaoh here – her body could be destroyed with chisel leaving the top of the crown untouched.

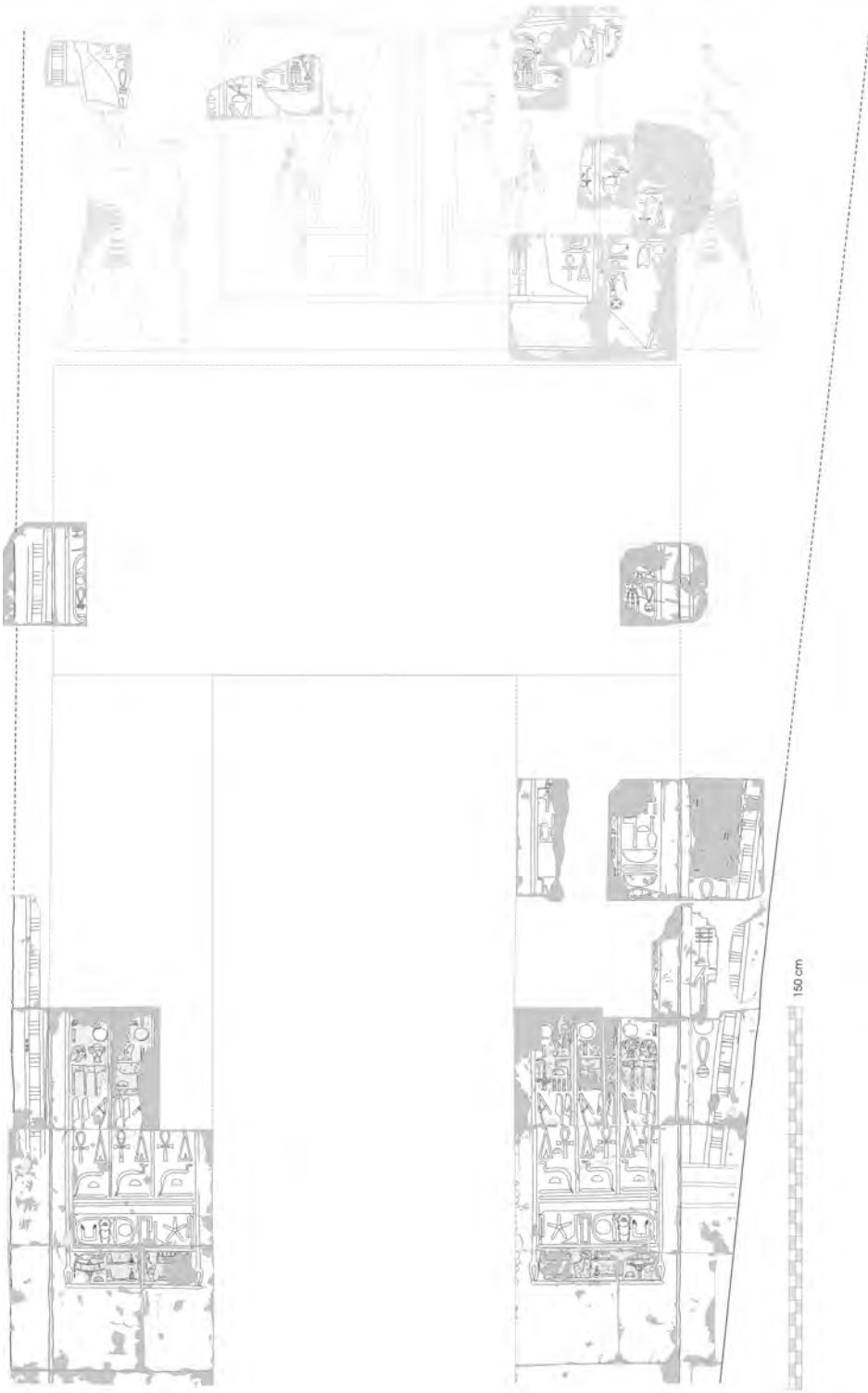
The restored scene is atypical and has no strict parallels known from other temples. The fact that the king depicted in the *Heb-Sed* pavilion is being posthumously commemorated required modification of the usual pattern known from other temples which show scenes of the jubilee pavilion of the owner of the temple.⁵⁰ The scene perfectly fits the space above the lintel of the doorway to the Offering Hall of Tuthmosis I in the southern part of the Upper Terrace – Fig. 11. Some fragments from the eastern wall of Offering hall of Tuthmosis I show that a niche was placed above the western or inner side of the doorway – cf. Fig. 13.

7) The double scene with Hatshepsut? and Tuthmosis III inside the *Heb-Sed* pavilion above the doorway of Hatshepsut's Offering Hall – Fig. 11.

Again, only fragments are preserved. The largest group of fragments was found in the rubbish covering the ruined temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari. They show enough details to permit restoration of an enthroned king with the torso in profile holding the

⁴⁹ Cf. e.g., the king with an identical gesture on the jambs of the doorways of the Vestibule of the Hathor Shrine, NAVILLE, Temple IV, Pl. XCV; the Outer Sanctuary of the Lower Anubis Shrine, PORTER-MOSS, TopBibl II, 1972, 354 (63) and the Bark Room of the Amun Sanctuary, NAVILLE, Temple V, Pl. CXXXVII.

⁵⁰ Cf. the examples with bibliography in HORNUNG, STAEHELIN, Sedfest, pp. 16–49.



11. Reconstruction of the facade of the Offering Hall of Tuthmosis I. (Drawing: J. Karkowski, 1990).

nh3h3-flail and *wt*-stick. The king is seated inside a pavilion as a preserved front column reveals. In front of it is a partly preserved standard with attached human arms. In one hand it holds towards the king a year-stick. On the bent elbow of its second arm it carries another year-stick. In its hand it holds a chain of symbols starting with a small bowl with attached hieroglyphs *hh* = milion, *šn*, “*hfn*” = numeral 100000, another *šn*. The rest is missing but one may expect the hieroglyphs for 10000 and 1000 ending with a final *šn*. The top of the standard is not preserved, but it apparently showed the animal of Seth,⁵¹ whose epithet *Nwbty nb t3 [šmʿ]* is preserved. The speech of Seth is inside the pavillion between the year stick and the royal figure: *dd-mdw di.n(i) n.[k] rnpwt Stš m nsw ʿnhw nb(w) mi Rʿ dt* – *Recitation: I give you the years of Seth as the King of all the living like Re forever*. The king’s titulary was placed in front of him and included the partly preserved *serekh* and prenomens. The signs inside identify the king as Tuthmosis III.

Of the right half of the scene only small fragments are preserved. They include part of the pavilion with the end of the year-stick and the beginning of the divine speech, the name of *Bhdty* identifying the standard below, part of another year stick and, to the right of the scene, the beginning of a divine speech in a vertical column.

The larger group of blocks from the left part of the scene has one important feature. At the back, it has part of the rear wall of a niche decorated at a smaller scale. This leaves only one place in the temple where the scene can be placed. This is the space above the lintel of the doorway leading to the Hatshepsut Offering Hall adjoining the Offering Hall of Tuthmosis I – Fig. 13. Thus the placing of *Heb-Sed* scenes above the lintels of the Offering Halls was the rule in the Complex of the Royal Chapels at Deir el-Bahari.⁵²

The two scenes together with the doorways below formed a sort of focal point of the two chapels towards which the remaining decoration was oriented. The results of research in the Complex of Royal Chapels carried first by the author and then by the Polish Epigraphic Mission up to 1991 permit better understanding of the decorative programme. The two chapels were accessed from a small, open court and were preceded by roughly square vestibules.⁵³ The vestibule of Hatshepsut had three wall niches, two in the east wall and one in the south wall. The dominant decorative feature of these walls were the long processions of divinities in registers on the east wall, eastern part of the south wall and on the west wall. The direction of movement was towards the Offering Hall of Hatshepsut, thus towards the described scene. On the western part of the southern wall of the vestibule the procession of divinities from the east wall and the eastern part of the south wall were

⁵¹ The same chain of numerals occurs on a lintel of Senwosret III from Medamud, *JARCE XXXI*, 1994, Fig. 5 on p. 60; and on one of Amenophis I from his Meniset temple at Gurna, H. E. WINLOCK, A Restoration of the Reliefs from the Mortuary Temple of Amenhotep I, *JEA* 4, 1917, Pl. 4; K. SETHE, Das Jubiläumsbild aus dem Totentempel Amenophis I, *NAWG*, 1921, pp. 31–35; Ch. C. VAN SICLEN III, The Temple of Meniset at Thebes, *Serapis* 6, 1980, Fig. 7 on p. 200, pp. 185–186.

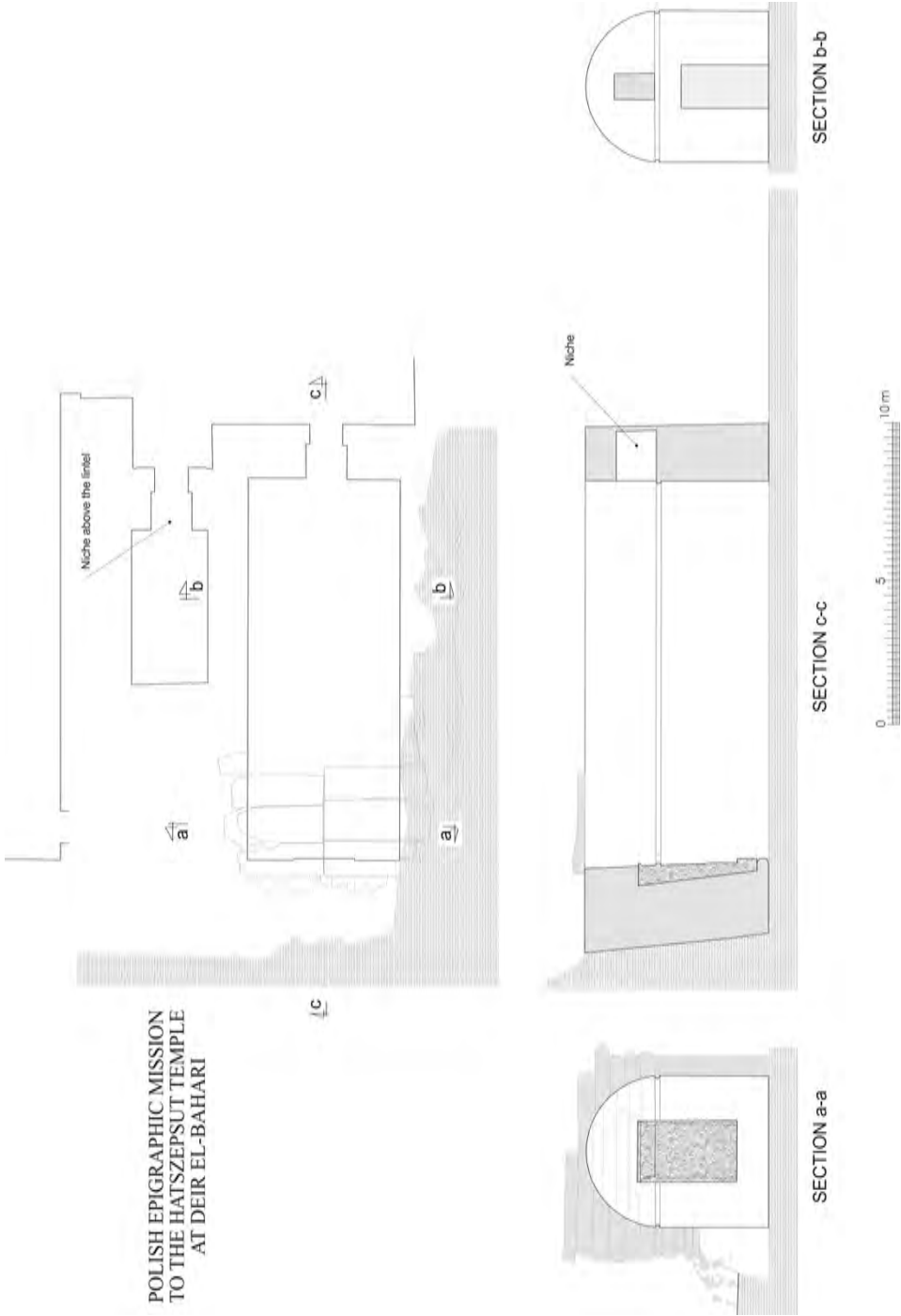
⁵² During earlier restoration the original lintel of the doorway of the Hatshepsut Offering Hall was replaced some 90 cm too high. This made the placement of the scene impossible and left no room to replace the fragments.

⁵³ D. ARNOLD, LÄ, I, Fig. 2 in colmn. 1018; cf. the construction of the roofing restored in KARKOWSKI, The Arrangement of the Architraves in Hatshepsut’s Temple at Deir el-Bahari, *EtTrav* XIII, 1983, Fig. 8 on p. 151.

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12. Reconstruction of the double scene above the doorway of the Offering Hall of Hatshepsut. (Drawing: J. Karkowski, 1990).



13. The Offering Hall of Hatshepsut: plan and sections showing emplacement of niches. (Drawing: J. Karkowski, 1992).

interrupted by scenes in two registers. In the lower register left of the wall niche Hatshepsut met the gods in procession, and, right of the niche, Hatshepsut was embraced by a goddess.⁵⁴ Above these scenes in the upper register was a depiction of a shrine decorated with a uraeus frieze and inside figures of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III.⁵⁵

The decoration of the smaller vestibule of the Tuthmosis I Chapel adheres to the same principle of orienting the decoration towards the entrance of the Offering Hall and the restored scene 6 above it. On the north wall the procession of gods was reduced to the lowermost register. The remaining 5 registers showed the procession of male fecundity figures called *pehu* and personifying the water reserves of the particular Egyptian provinces.⁵⁶ The southern wall had an even more interesting procession. The wall was divided into three registers, each headed by a larger personification of the seasons: *šmw* in the lower register, *Prt* in the middle register and *3ht* in the top register. Each was followed by eight personifications in two subregisters grouped in pairs of a male and female figure. Each pair apparently personifies a month of the particular season.⁵⁷

The decorative programme of the two vestibules of the royal offering halls may derive from the decoration of the so-called square antechamber (*antichambre carrée*) of the pyramid temples of the Vth and VIth Dynasties. Here the long processions of gods of Upper and Lower Egypt pay visit to the king in his eternal residence⁵⁸ This room precedes the offering hall with the false door that corresponds in its layout and decoration with the two offering halls at Deir el-Bahari. Lintels with similar scenes as our scene 7 are first attested in the Middle Kingdom.⁵⁹ A close parallel for the scene above the doorway of the Hatshepsut Offering Hall comes from the Men-iset temple of Amenhotep I at Gurna. Again like in the Middle Kingdom examples the scene was placed on a lintel.⁶⁰ Two more examples of the scene from the time of the same king come from the temple of Karnak. Again, the scenes are on door lintels.⁶¹

⁵⁴ The existence of the niche was established by the author in 1990, cf. the restoration in F. PAWLICKI, Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut Temple: Conservation Project 1993/1994, *PAM* VI, 1995, 59 and Fig. 2 on p. 58.

⁵⁵ F. PAWLICKI, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 1992 Season, *PAM* V, 1994, Fig. 1 on p. 88. The shrine may symbolise the palace. The same shrine surmounted with the uraei frieze is depicted in the Hathor Shrine at Deir el-Bahari – NAVILLE, Temple IV, Pl. LXXXVII, XCIV and XCVI.

⁵⁶ Following the recording of the preserved wall and the loose blocks by the author in 1991.

⁵⁷ Following the results of research and recording by the author in 1991.

⁵⁸ Cf. D. ARNOLD, Royal Cult Complexes of the Old and Middle Kingdoms, in: B. E. SHAFER, Temples of Ancient Egypt, London–New York 1998, pp. 67–70.

⁵⁹ Reused lintel of Amenemhet I from his pyramid temple at Lisht, Cairo JE 40484 – W. K. SIMPSON, Studies in the Twelfth Egyptian Dynasty, *JARCE* 2, 1963, 60–61, Pl. VIII; lintel of Sesostris III from Medamud – A. H. GARDINER, *JEA* 30, 1944, Pl. 4; another lintel of Amenemhet III from Tell Basta – Sh. FARID, *ASAE* 58, 1964, pp. 85 ff., Pl. 10; lintel of Amenemnet-Sebekhotep II from Medamud, F. BISSON DE LA ROQUE, Médamud 1930, FIFAO 8, Pl. 10 and R. COTTEVILLE-GIRAUDET, Médamoud 1931, FIFAO 9, Pl. 5. Cf. also H. O. WILLEMS, A Second Look at the Reconstruction of Two Festival Gates from the Middle Kingdom, *JARCE* 14, 1984, pp. 103–104, Pl. VII.

⁶⁰ Cf. references in note 51 above.

⁶¹ H. CHEVRIER, Rapport sur les travaux de Karnak (1947–1948), *ASAE* 47, 1947, p. 170, pl. 26 with a jubilee pavilion and two running scenes; G. LEGRAIN, Second rapport sur les travaux exécutés à Karnak, *ASAE* 4, 1903, p. 17.

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This examination of occurrences of the *Heb-Sed* garment shows that this costume was used alongside other royal costumes in different contexts throughout the temple decoration. Apparently the choice of the garment for these particular scenes had no connection with the celebration of an actual jubilee during the lifetime of the pharaohs that were depicted at Deir el-Bahari in this garment. However, in two scenes in the Middle Portico (scene 2 and 4 above) Hatshepsut is shown striding in the episodes that could fit the *Heb-Sed* context. However the cycle of episodes to which the two scenes belong do not seem to be part the Jubilee celebration but refer to the coronation or the confirmation of coronation.

The remaining scenes show the queen, Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III enthroned with mummiform legs that may refer to eternal celebrations of jubilees and not to the real feast. This type of royal iconography may have yet another expression in 42 so called Osirian statues of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.⁶² The lower part of their bodies are shown mummiform and the torso and arms crossed on the chest are covered by a garment identical to the *Hb-Sd* robe. The insignia held in the uncovered hands are similar to those in the scenes described above with the addition of the *ꜥnh* and *wꜥs*. The crowns are White Crowns and the Double Crowns. The queen wears the divine beard – a clear sign that the statues depict her as a divinity. These statues depict the idea of eternal kingship that indefinitely preserves the basic attributes of the queen, expressed in her insignia, crowns and beard.⁶³

At first glance, the occurrence in the Deir el-Bahari temple of the three pharaohs, Hatshepsut, Tuthmosis I and Tuthmosis III wearing the jubilee garment appears to support the idea of a common celebration of these three rulers. However, it seems more probable that each of these scenes, placed in a memorial temple, refers individually to celebrations of the jubilees of each monarch. It is only in association with Tuthmosis III's jubilee (Scenes 1 and 7), that the queen secures her eternal participation in his celebrations. Officiating before Tuthmosis I's *Heb-Sed* pavilion (Scene 6), she in turn shows her devotion to her dead father and at the same time secures her presence in his celebrations in the divine sphere. Finally, through all her father's jubilees in the hereafter, her rights to the throne are to be indefinitely reconfirmed (Scene 3).

Practically the only argument supporting an actual celebration of the *Sed*-festival by Hatshepsut in year 15-16 comes from the text on the northern side of her northern obelisk at Karnak.⁶⁴ The text begins with the four first names of the queen's titulary and then continues:

⁶² Two statues flanking the Lower Portico, twenty six statues decorating the facade of the Upper Portico, ten statues in the higher niches of the Wall with the Niches, and four statues in the corners of the Bark Room of Amun. In addition eight small statues decorated the southern and northern sides of the Hathoric-column capitals in the Hathor Shrine.

⁶³ Ch. LEBLANC, *Pilliers et colosses de type «osirique» dans le contexte des temples de culte royal*, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, pp. 69–89, Pls. 19–22; *Id.*, *Le culte rendu aux colosses «osiriques» durant le Nouvel Empire*, *BIFAO* 82, 1982, pp. 295–311, Pls. 49–56.

⁶⁴ Urk. IV, pp. 358,11–359,1–2.



Her father Amun has established her great name Maat-ka-Re upon the august ished-tree and her annals for millions of years (incessantly) combined with life, stability and divine power (and the name of) the son (sic!) of Re Henemet-Amun-Hatshepsut beloved of Amen-Re, King of the Gods as a [reward for this beautiful, firm and splendid monument] that she had made for him (for) the first occasion of the Sed-festival, she makes given life forever.

This text, together with mentions of *sp tpy Hb-Sd* in a formula repeated on the pillars of the Middle Portico⁶⁵ of Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, was understood literally by many authors. The Karnak text was carved on an obelisk erected in year 16,⁶⁶ thus this date is considered by many authors to be the date of the jubilee celebration of the queen.⁶⁷ The critical examination of the problem of the *Heb-Sed* was made to Prof. E. Hornung and his collaborators. They discuss the evidence for Hatshepsut's *Heb-Sed* in the context of other pharaohs whose jubilees seem to date to a different regnal year than the traditional year 30. Comparing this Karnak text and the Deir el-Bahari mentions of *the first occasion of the Sed-Festival* with the other occurrences of the formula, they show that they cannot be treated as a decisive proof of its actual celebration, but may instead express a wish.⁶⁸ Thus they show that the existing evidence does not prove Hatshepsut's celebration of this festival.⁶⁹ In reaction to this argument, B. Murnane argues that the historicity of the *sp tpy Hb-Sd* should not be necessarily discarded and considers the above Karnak text to refer to the real jubilee celebration.⁷⁰

Facing the difficulty of dating Hatshepsut's jubilee to year 16 of Tuthmosis III, contrary to the traditional 30 years principle, it has been proposed that the queen calculated her jubilee neither from her true coronation round year 7 of Tuthmosis III, nor even from the accession of the infant king but from the beginning of the rule of her father Tuthmosis I or from the beginning of reign of her husband Tuthmosis II.⁷¹ Unfortunately the length of

⁶⁵ The same formula is attested on the western side of the front pillars of the Upper Portico at Deir el-Bahari – J. KARKOWSKI, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, Warsaw 1980, Fig. 5 on p. 49.

⁶⁶ Urk. IV, p. 367, 3–4.

⁶⁷ Cf. the particularly uncritical approach in S. RATIÉ, *La reine Hatshepsout*, Leyden 1979, pp. 201–204 with detailed description of the Hatshepsut jubilee dated to year 15; but also recently, J. von BECKERATH, *Zum Jubiläum der Hatshepsut*, *Essays in Honour of Prof. Dr Jadwiga Lipińska*, Warsaw 1997, pp. 15–20 with references.

⁶⁸ HORNUNG, STAEHELIN, *Sedfest*, pp. 63–65.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁷⁰ B. MURNANE, *The Sed Festival: A Problem in Historical Method*, *MDAIK* 37, 1981, p. 369–376.

⁷¹ HORNUNG, STAEHELIN, *Sedfest*, p. 54.

Tuthmosis II's reign is uncertain and different authors opt for 3 years,⁷² or 13 years,⁷³ thus making it impossible to choose between the two Tuthmosid kings. This makes the idea of accepting Hatshepsut's choice of some year preceding the accession of Tuthmosis III as the ideological beginning of her rule a tempting speculation.

The text on the northern side of the standing Karnak obelisk with the phrase *sp tpy Hb-Sd* at the end concerns the writing of the throne name and of nomen of Hatshepsut on the *ished*-tree.⁷⁴ This may not refer to an actual ritual, but may take place in the divine sphere to express the divine intention at the birth or coronation of the king and may fit well with *Heb-Sed* themes, causing it to be repeated.⁷⁵ This means that mentioning the *sp tpy Hb-Sd* does not necessary refer to the date or reason for erecting the obelisks. It instead may be intended to secure celebration of the first jubilee, and then its never-ending repetition during Hatshepsut's lifetime and after her death at her destination among the gods. This mention of the first occasion of the jubilee festival corresponds to establishing Hatshepsut's annals for millions of years in the same text, again an act that takes place in the divine sphere.

Another possibility is that the phrase *sp tpy Hb-Sd* may merely mean that the monument on which it is carved was erected within a time period preceding the first jubilee and, because of its importance, anticipates use at the actual celebrations, real or posthumous. The Hatshepsut obelisks, through their symbolic significance and especially through their role in the solar cycle, provide a link with the divine sphere where the most important part of the celebration of the jubilee takes place during pharaohs' lifetime and after his death. At the same time, the reference to the first occasion of the anticipated celebration of the jubilee points to the beginning of the infinite further cyclic repetitions.

The Ancient Egyptian pharaoh achieved a status after his coronation that placed him high above his subjects and close to the Egyptian pantheon. Assuming the crown of the Two Lands he was granted the privilege of celebrating jubilee festivals. During the long history of Egypt the actual celebrations of the jubilee is well evidenced for only few kings. However, according to royal ideology, each king was to celebrate millions of jubilee festivals, even if, owing to a short reign, he did not live long enough to celebrate this festival during his lifetime. When queen Hatshepsut became female pharaoh in year 7 of Tuthmosis III, she also received the right for the infinite sequence of jubilees through which her royalty was to be renewed. Temples and their decoration, especially in the «temples of millions of years» was designed to perpetuate the royal cult forever. The *Heb-Sed* cycle constituted an

⁷² E. HORNING, *Untersuchungen zur Chronologie und Geschichte des Neuen Reiches*, ÄA 11, 1964; R. KRAUSS, *Sothis und Monddaten*, HÄB 20, 1986; GABOLDE, *La chronologie du règne de Thoutmosis II*, SAK 14, 1987, pp. 61–81.

⁷³ J. VON BECKERATH, *Chronologie des pharaonischen Ägypten*, MÄS 46, Munich 1997, pp. 120–123; Manetho gives 13 years to king Chebron whose name may derive from the throne name of Tuthmosis II. Year 18 is generally discarded – it was read by DARESSY, *La chapelle d'Uazmès*, ASAE 1, 1900, p. 99, in a now-lost text from the Wadjmose temple at Gurna that cannot be checked with the original.

⁷⁴ For the *ished*-tree, see L. KAKOSY, LÄ III, cols. 182–183.

⁷⁵ Cf. e.g., H. H. NELSON, W. J. MURNANE, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I, part 1: The Wall Reliefs*, OIP 106, Chicago 1981, Pl. 79 with Thoth writing «millions of *Heb-Seds* and years (numerous) as (grains) of sand» together with the names of Ramesses II on the leaves of the *ished*-tree; also Pl. 192 for Sethos I.

important step towards the transformation of the king into a cosmic being and member of the Egyptian pantheon equal to the other great gods.

Thus the iconography of the *Heb-Sed* suited the depictions of royalty at different occasions represented on temple walls and especially in the eternal royal residence of millions of years. This means that these depictions themselves cannot serve as a proof of the historical celebration of the jubilee festival. It is circumstantial evidence from the decoration of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari which can be used to support the weak hypothesis of a family *Heb-Sed* planned by Hatshepsut to celebrate the jubilee of the House of the Thutmossides; that is the joint jubilee of herself, her father Tuthmosis I, and her stepson and co-regent Tuthmosis III.⁷⁶ However, critical analysis of these scenes does not provide decisive proof of an actual celebration of the *Heb-Sed* under Hatshepsut. It is also apparent that later on Tuthmosis III entirely disregarded such an idea and celebrated his own first jubilee in accordance with tradition.

The main difficulty that Egyptology faces in interpreting the data from the temple decoration results from the fact that this decoration borrows iconography from historical events to represent the superior status of a pharaoh. In general, the temple scenes take place in a meta-reality of continuous interaction between the king and the gods. The earthly life of the king constitutes but a stage in the transformations that the king undergoes from his conception by the king of the gods through his accession to his ultimate destiny in the cosmic dimension. The king's death is only one stage on the passage towards this destiny which is realised in eternal cycles combined with cosmic events: the eternal repetition of the jubilee festivals is but one of them.

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In modern times it is outstanding personal merit and achievement that raises certain people to a special status paralleling the Egyptian idea of inherited greatness held by the main actors in the Jubilee Festival. Thus the subject of the present contribution suits well the celebration of the Jubilee of Prof. Kazimierz Michałowski to whom we all, his students and now also their students, owe so much.

⁷⁶ Tuthmosis II is not listed since none of his depictions at Deir el-Bahari is placed in the *Heb-Sed* context.