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*Fate of Seth
in the Temple of Hatshepsut
at Deir el-Bahari*

Two parallel scenes flanking the entrance to the main sanctuary of Amun in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard bear incomparable significance for a proper understanding of the meaning and history of the *Dsr-dsrw*. They were reworked several times and these changes reflected the most fundamental developments of the ideology of the central part of the temple. The scenes represent the enthroned figures of Amun, seated with his back to the temple axis, giving life to Thutmose III, approaching him from outside. Behind the throne a small female figure stands with her back to the granite doorway, labelled as Ahmose. The original decoration, however, was quite different. There must have been a figure of Hatshepsut and it was Neferura, not Ahmose, who was standing close to the doorway. The iconography and labels of some figures were subsequently changed (Neferura to Jahmes) and erased (Hatshepsut replaced with the reworked figure of Amun?).¹ Later on the representations of Amun were erased and, still later, restored. This was an almost 'typical' fate of the temple decoration, reflecting subsequent historical events: execution of the original, still developed, programme; the persecution of Hatshepsut by Thutmose III and his new ideas about the function of the sanctuary; the Amarna iconoclastic attacks against Amun and other gods; Ramesside restorations.² Nevertheless, one element in both above described scenes remained constant: the figures of Thutmose III proceeding rightwards at the left-hand end in the southern scene, and proceeding leftwards at the right-hand end in the northern one. Both figures, strictly symmetrical (as the scenes were), represent Thutmose III approaching (in a rather passive attitude of veneration, with his hands down) enthroned Amun, who is now extending an *ḥnḥ*-sign towards the king's face. The king wore the *hprš*-crown³ and a peculiar costume, consisting of the figures of two falcons with their wings outstretched across the king's chest (**Fig. 1**). This is the so-called *Königsjacke* (king's jacket),⁴ a distinctive royal dress occurring since the Old Kingdom.⁵

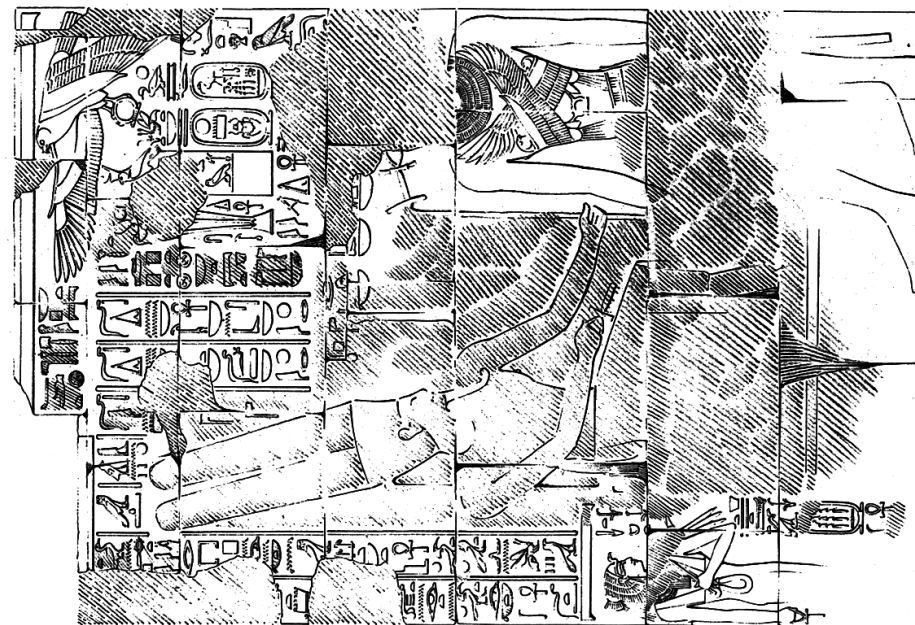
¹ These are only the outlines of the description (cf. J. KARKOWSKI, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari [= Decoration], in: Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI (ed.), *Hatshepsut and Her Temple 3500 Years Later*, Warsaw 2000, p. 140). The complex interpretation of these fundamental scenes is out of scope of the present article and beyond the reach of the author at the moment. One has to take into consideration new data from the part of the decoration hidden since antiquity behind the south wall of the Ptolemaic Portico and revealed only in 2006. It appeared that there was a female figure (Hatshepsut?, Hathor?) approaching Neferura, of which only a toe, painted yellow, is preserved. For two different reconstructions and interpretations of the scene, see: F. PAWLICKI, Princess Neferura in the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Failed Heiress to the Pharaoh's Throne?, *EtTrav* XXI, 2007 [= *EtTrav* XXI], pp. 109–127 and Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI, King (?) Neferura, Daughter of Kings Tuthmosis II and Hatshepsut, *EtTrav* XXI, 2007, pp. 139–150.

² One has to bear in mind that it is an oversimplification to speak about 'Ramesside restorations', since probably much of the work was done already under Horemheb. The precise dating to his reign can be proven, however, only for the restorations in the Main Sanctuary of Amun and the Hathor Shrine.

³ In both scenes the head of the king was cut off in the nineteenth century. The top of the crown is preserved, however, in the southern representation. It is possible that a fragment in Brussels (E 7700), with the upper part of the face of the king wearing *hprš*, belongs to the northern figure.

⁴ L. BORCHARDT, *Die Königsjacke*, in: *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten*, Leipzig 1933 [= *Königsjacke*], pp. 13–18.

⁵ To the early examples of Teti and Pepy II listed by Borchardt, *ibid.*, pp. 16–18, one may add the relief of Unis (A. LABROUSSE, J.-PH. LAUER, J. LECLANT, *Le temple haut du complexe funéraire du roi Ounas*, Le Caire 1977 [= *Temple haut*], Doc. 54 = Fig. 80, Pl. XXXIV, p. 101), where the king in *Königsjacke* is smiting an enemy (actually only the wing on the right side of the dress is visible), and a block of Mentuhotep Sankhkara from Tod (JE 66333, photo in: C. ALDRED, *Egyptian Art*, London 1980, Fig. 73). For a winged adornment



2. Scene on the west wall of the Upper Courtyard, north of the entrance to the Main Sanctuary of Amun (after NAVILLE, Deir el Bahari VI, Pl. CLXIV).



1. Thutmose III in the *Königsjache*. West wall of the Upper Courtyard, north of the entrance to the Main Sanctuary of Amun (Phot. J. Šliwa).

Only the northern scene was published by E. Naville.⁶ The drawing in his publication shows the king's jacket with two falcons' heads (**Fig. 2**). A closer examination reveals, however, that the head of the right-side 'falcon' has been erased and the traces show without any doubt the Seth animal head (**Fig. 3**).⁷ The figures on the royal dress in the parallel scene to the south of the entrance to the main sanctuary (not published by E. Naville), show the same features, with the difference that the Seth animal head was represented on the king's chest on the left side, as viewed by a spectator (**Fig. 4**).⁸

Further investigation revealed that a similar form of this dress appeared in several other instances in the temple. In the scene of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley on the north wing of the east wall of the Upper Courtyard, in the lower register, Thutmose III is depicted leaving the temple of Karnak. The king, proceeding leftwards with a stick in his hand, wears the *hprš*-crown and the *Königsjacke*, with the Seth animal head on the left. The head has been erased but is clearly recognizable (**Figs. 5 and 6**). A parallel figure of the king represented to the right of the latter, proceeding rightwards, wears *Königsjacke* as well, the Seth animal head being destroyed in a manner that makes it more difficult to recognize.⁹ In the upper register of the same wall the king is represented walking rightwards, following the sacred bark of Amun carried by priests. Only a small portion of the royal figure is preserved, nevertheless enough to show that he wore the *Königsjacke*.¹⁰ The king's jacket appears also on the large figure of the king in the coronation cycle on the

of a female dress, resembling *Königsjacke*, see: H. GOEDICKE, Re-used Blocks from the Pyramid of Amenemhet I at Lisht, New York 1971, No. 89, pp. 145–146. It has been suggested that a scarf dress of Den might have been a forerunner of the *Königsjacke* (H. BALCZ, Ein Vorläufer der *Königsjacke*, *AA* 1, 1938, pp. 48–50); cf. also a somewhat comparable dress of Sneferu in: A. FAKHRY, The Monuments of Sneferu at Dahshur, Vol. II. The Valley Temple, Cairo 1961, Fig. 154.

⁶ E. NAVILLE, The Temple of Deir el Bahari VI, London 1908 [= Deir el Bahari VI], Pl. CLXIV, 'Thotmes III before Amun'. For the drawing of the southern scene, see: PAWLICKI, *EtTrav* XXI, p. 120, Fig. 7.

⁷ Such graphic 'improvements' occur more often in Naville's publication. E.g. the figure of Nekhbet on the southern jamb of the entrance to the main sanctuary is drawn as if the wings were complete (NAVILLE, Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CXXXVII), though the jamb at this part had been damaged and a thick coating of black soot was deposited on it still in the antiquity or in the middle ages. On the contrary, some features has not been drawn at all, though clearly visible, as happened with the *phalloi* of Amon-Min figures in two scenes in the Lower Porticoes (on the west wall of the south wing in the final scene of the foundation ceremony = *ibid.*, Pl. CLVII, and on the west wall of the north wing in the scene of *hwt-bhsw* = *ibid.*, Pl. CLXI). One may speculate only that this was possibly caused by the Victorian decorum.

⁸ The position of Seth and Horus on the king's jacket seems thus to be consistent in these representations. According to the principle of a dominant rightwards orientation and rules for reversed figures, Seth, who is represented on the left when the king is oriented rightwards, and on the right when the king is turned leftwards, actually must have been adorning the king's right breast. One might suggest that such a placement of the gods' figures was deliberate and reflected the dominant position of Upper Egypt represented by Seth. However, the position of the two gods on the king's dress in the scene on the east wall of the Upper Courtyard seems to contradict this assumption, since Seth appears there on the left of the king turned leftwards. For the reconstruction of the way of fixing and knotting the *Königsjacke* see: BORCHARDT, *Königsjacke*, Bl. 6, Abb. 1.

⁹ In this case the king wears the *3tf*-crown; in all other instances in the temple the *Königsjacke* seems to be worn together with the *hprš*.

¹⁰ J. KARKOWSKI, Deir el-Bahari, the Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, *EtTrav* XIV, 1990, p. 354 and Fig. 6 (drawing on a loose leaf). Part of falcon's wing is visible on the front of the King's torso.



3. Detail of the king's jacket in the scene from Figs. 1 and 2 (Phot. A. Ćwiek).



4. Detail of the king's jacket of the figure of Thutmose III in the scene on the west wall of the Upper Courtyard, south of the entrance to the main sanctuary (Phot. A. Ćwiek).



5. Thutmose III in the *Königsjacke*. East wall of the Upper Courtyard, north part (Phot. J. Śliwa).

west wall in the north wing of the Upper Portico. The king's figure oriented leftwards is wearing the *šndjt*-kilt and the *Königsjacke* with a falcon on the left and the Seth-animal (erased) on the right (Fig. 7).

It seems that after its disappearance following the Eleventh Dynasty the *Königsjacke* was re-employed by the Thutmosids, possibly as a mark of their attitude towards the traditions of the past. Thutmose II was depicted wearing the king's jacket with two falcons on a bark shrine at Karnak in the scene of *hwt bḥsw*.¹¹ Numerous occurrences in the tem-

¹¹ L. GABOLDE, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak, MIFAO 103, Le Caire 2005* [= *Thoutmosis II et Hatshepsout*], Pl. XXXVI. Except for an uncertain example of Thutmose III in the tomb of Dj (Khokha, No. 200) ('sehr zerstört'), all the other New Kingdom examples



6. Detail of the king's jacket from Fig. 5 (Phot. J. Śliwa).



7. King wearing *Königsjacke*. West wall of the Upper Portico, north part (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

ple of Hatshepsut confirm the importance of this form of the royal dress. The form of the *Königsjacke* with Seth and Horus seems to be Hatshepsut's invention and is almost unparalleled.¹²

A closer look at the representations of Seth at Deir el-Bahari reveals more peculiar features, concerning both the god's original role and his subsequent fate.

The upper registers of the west and north walls in the Birth Portico contain a series of scenes representing Hatshepsut's enthronement rites. A label for the final set of these scenes says: *tpj 3ht, wpt-rnpt, tp rnpwt htpwt n h^c-njswt h^c-bjtj, sm3-t3wy, phr-h3-jnb, hb <s>šd*.¹³ Two scenes on the north wall of the Birth Portico represented Hatshepsut being crowned by Seth and Horus first with the White Crown (**Fig. 8**), and subsequently with the Red Crown (**Fig. 9**).¹⁴ Both ceremonies (separated by the scene of *sm3-t3wy, phr-h3-jnb*, 'Uniting of the Two Lands', 'Going Round the Wall') were performed and are represented in archaic style shrines and may be identified as *h^c-njswt* and *h^c-bjtj*, 'Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt' and 'Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt'.¹⁵ In both scenes the figure of Hatshepsut was erased by the agents of Thutmose III. Subsequently the gods' representations were removed during the Amarna period and later on restored under the Ramesides.¹⁶ The figures and texts for both coronation scenes were sketched in red as guidelines

listed by BORCHARDT, *Königsjacke*, pp. 13–18, are later than Hatshepsut and Thutmose III (including Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, Amenhotep III, Tutankhamun, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III).

¹² The only parallel is the costume of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel. The king, shooting enemies from his chariot during the battle of Kadesh, is wearing *Königsjacke* with two Seth animal heads (*ibid.*, p. 16: *Wenn man genug Originale kennt, kann man bei fast allen der alten Wiedergaben angeben wo sie fehlerhaft sind. Da ich sie ganz beiseite lasse, so enthalte ich mich auch, eine Ansicht über die Falken mit Seth-Köpfen zu äußern, die auf einem Bilde Ramses II aus Abu Simbel* [CHAMPOLLION, Mon. 13 = ROSELLINI, Mon. Reg., 81] *an der Falkenjacke vorkommen*). See the colourful drawing in: I. ROSELLINI, *I monumenti dell'Egitto e della Nubia*, Vol. I: *Monumenti Storici*, Pisa 1832, Pl. LXXXI, reproduced in: A. SILIOTTI, *Egypt. Temples, men and gods*, London 1994, pp. 80–81. In another scene of battle of Kadesh at Abu Simbel Ramesses II possibly wears what seems to be an exact parallel to Hatshepsut's examples, with both Seth and Horus heads represented (ROSELLINI, *Monumenti*, Pl. LXXXVII, not clearly recognizable).

¹³ *Urk.* IV, 262, 7–8. J. KARKOWSKI, *The Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari*, *EtTrav* XIX, 2001 [= *EtTrav* XIX, 2001], pp. 95–96, gives a brief account of the scenes in the upper register, also the unpublished ones. He misinterpreted, however, the 'title' inscription, giving the transliteration of the text following the date as '...n n-sw-bit' and translating: *Beginning of the peaceful years for the king of Upper and Lower Egypt*, while it is actually *n h^c njswt h^c bitj*, which means ...*(date) of/(beginning) with Appearance of the King of Upper Egypt (and) Appearance of the King of Lower Egypt*. Cf. already the translation by K. Sethe in *Urk.* IV.

¹⁴ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Vol. III, London 1896 [= *Deir el Bahari III*], Pl. LXIV. For the Old Kingdom parallels see: LABROUSSE, LAUER, LECLANT, *Temple haut*, pp. 95–97, Figs. 74–75, Doc. 47–49) – the king being crowned by Horus and Seth, 'Lord of Upper Egypt'; P. KAPLONY, *Rollsiegel des Alten Reiches*, Vol. I, Brussels 1977, Pl. 96 (*Wnjs* 19) – the king being crowned by two gods; Pl. 131 (*NN* 126) – the king being crowned by Horus and Seth. A box with a scene of coronation by Horus and Seth (JE 52021): G. JÉQUIER, *Le monument funéraire de Pepi II*, Vol. III: *Les approches du temple*, Le Caire 1940, Fig. 27, p. 39, cf. also *Id.*, *Le temple funéraire de Pépi II*, *ASAE* XXVIII, 1928, p. 57 and Pl. IV.

¹⁵ These rites were a part of intronisation ceremonies in the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom, as attested in the royal annals (Palermo Stone). It is another instance of revival of an ancient tradition by Hatshepsut.

¹⁶ Restoration text of Ramesses II is still partly preserved in the lower register of the north wall.



9. Seth and Horus crowning Hatshepsut with the Red Crown. Remains of the scene on the north wall of the Birth Portico, east part (right-hand scene) (Phot. M. Jawornicki).



8. Seth and Horus crowning Hatshepsut with the White Crown. Remains of the scene on the north wall of the Birth Portico, west part (left-hand scene) (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

for the restorers.¹⁷ These sketch drawings are preserved in the scene of the ‘Going Round the Wall’, behind the White Crown of Hatshepsut’s figure (**Fig. 10**), and in the final scene of the ‘Festival of the Diadem’, above the Red Crown of the queen (**Fig. 11**). The former one gives labels for Seth: *Nbwjt nb t3-šmꜥw*, and for Horus: *Bḥdtj ntr-ꜥ3*.¹⁸ Seth figures in both scenes were attacked once again, the head and parts of the body being chiselled out. The result is a serious damage (**Fig. 12**).¹⁹ Moreover, the sketches made by Ramesside restorers were attacked as well! In the case of the left-hand, ‘Upper Egyptian’ sketch drawing, the figure of Seth was chiselled away with multiple askew blows. In the sketch drawn for the right-hand, ‘Lower Egyptian’ scene, Seth was hit with a few blows and his figure and title was subsequently simply rubbed away.

The south wall of the Birth Portico bears the beginning of the Divine Birth of Hatshepsut story, with the representation of the Theban Ennead in two registers. In the upper row Seth occurs as a second-to-last figure, following Nephthys and preceding Hathor. What is quite rare in the iconography of the god, he is represented in a purely anthropomorphic form, with a human head and the divine beard (**Fig. 13**).²⁰ Both his figure and the accompanying label *Stḥ ntr-ꜥ3 ḥnḥ*²¹ were erased under Akhenaten and subsequently restored by the Ramessides.²² It is not clear whether the name of the god was not erased again since the traces are faint (**Fig. 14**).²³ Certainly the figure itself remained untouched in its ‘Ramesside’, restored form.

¹⁷ Such ‘dipinti’, intended to guide the craftsmen restoring damaged reliefs are preserved in numerous places in the Birth Portico. They give the relative position of erased figures, as well as the details of texts. None of them appeared, however, in Naville’s publication.

¹⁸ Pyr. § 514, apparently reporting the accession rites, speaks: *The King has tied the cords of the šmšmt-plant, the King has united the heavens, the King has power over the southern and northern lands and the gods who were aforetime, the King has built the city of the god in accordance with its proper due, for the King is the third at his accession.* (translation by R.O. FAULKNER, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, Oxford 1969, p. 101). Faulkner, referring to A.H. GARDINER, *The Baptism of the Pharaoh*, *JEA* 36, 1950 [= *JEA* 36], pp. 3ff, suggested that the two accompanying gods should be Horus and either Seth or Thoth. This latter often takes the role of Seth in the purification scenes and appears paired with Horus on other occasions, but the coronation rites were traditionally performed by Seth and Horus in their forms of *Nbwjt* and *Bḥdtj*. This is confirmed by the Old Kingdom scenes of coronation.

¹⁹ E. NAVILLE, in: N.G. DAVIES, *The Tomb of Hatshopsitu*, London 1906, p. 12 stated that: *these representations have been so illtreated that it is difficult to recognise one of the gods, who must be Set.*

²⁰ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, Vol. II, London, 1896 [= *Deir el Bahari II*], Pl. XLVI.

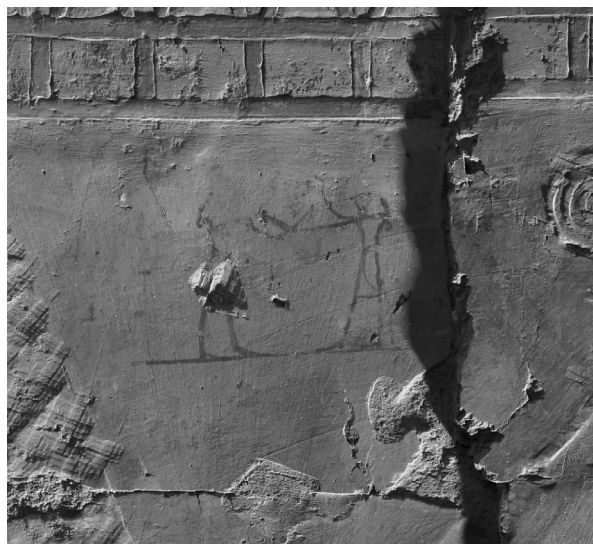
²¹ It is possible that the original text bore *nb ḥnḥ* but in the Ramesside restoration the *nb*-sign was omitted. Otherwise one should read ‘the Living Great God’, which sounds strange.

²² All the figures of gods represented in this scene were erased and restored, except for Atum, who was left untouched, apparently because he was considered a form of the solar god by Akhenaten’s people.

²³ It is not easy to interpret the tool marks that once damaged the hieroglyph. It seems that the neighbouring name of Hathor shows similar pattern of erasure. This would point to the Amarna period destruction. The texts were restored in a rather clumsy way and not in the raised relief, but simply incised in a surface covered with a substantial amount of plaster, which subsequently has fallen down, revealing the tool marks. This manner of saving time and work is typical for the Ramesside restorations of figures and texts throughout the temple. Sometimes it causes serious troubles for a researcher trying to discern and understand different phases of the decoration.



10. Sketch drawing by Ramesside workers of the figures and hieroglyphs to be restored in the scene of Fig. 8 (Phot. M. Jawornicki).



11. Sketch drawing by Ramesside workers of the figures and hieroglyphs to be restored in the scene of Fig. 9 (Phot. A. Ćwiek).



12. Detail of the scene of Fig. 8 showing the chiselled out head of Seth (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

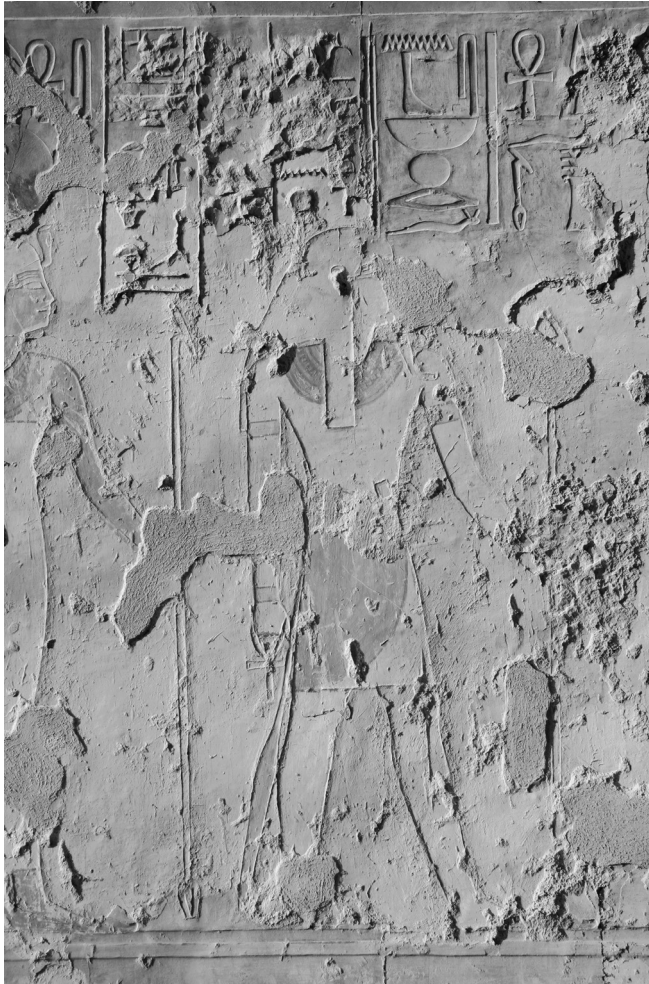
In the scene of ‘Annunciation’ to the mother of Hatshepsut by Thoth occurs *m33t Hr w Sth* as the title of Ahmose (precisely in the form *m33t Hr w m33t Sth*), with Seth hieroglyph erased (Fig. 15).²⁴ This title of queens was almost not used since the Old Kingdom.²⁵

In the scene at the northern end of the west wall of the Birth Portico, with Hapy and the milk-god Yat presenting newly born Hatshepsut to three gods, the label ends with *w^cb ms pr Hr w Sth*.²⁶ Like in the Birth cycle of Amenhotep III in Luxor this is only a marker

²⁴ *Urk.* IV, 224, 16.

²⁵ L. TROY, *Patterns of Queenship in Egyptian Myth and History*, Uppsala 1986, pp. 157–158, 163, 189.

²⁶ NAVILLE, *Deir el Bahari II*, Pl. LIII; *Urk.* IV, 232, 3.



13. Anthropomorphic Seth in the representation of the Ennead on the south wall of the Birth Portico (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

for a scene of purification not represented.²⁷ The hieroglyphs have not been destroyed. The following scene shows Thoth and Amun holding the (now erased) small figures of Hatshepsut and her *k3*.

There is also fragmentary and much destroyed scene of coronation of Hatshepsut with the Double Crown by Seth and Horus in the upper register of the same wall.²⁸ A neighbouring scene of *sm3-ḥwy* probably involved figures of Horus and Seth as well.²⁹

²⁷ H. BRUNNER, *Die Geburt des Göttekönigs*, *ÄA* 10, Wiesbaden 1964, pp. 140f, 172, Pl. 13; cf. W. BARTA, *Bemerkungen zur Existenz der Rituale für Geburt und Krönung*, *ZÄS* 112, 1985, p. 3.

²⁸ Unpublished. Cf. KARKOWSKI, *EtTrav* XIX, 2001, p. 92.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 93.



14. Detail of Fig.13: destroyed hieroglyph of the Seth animal (Phot. M. Jawornicki).

Seth's name was left untouched in the texts of the story of the youth of Hatshepsut, promising the queen *dj.n.(j) n.k pzšt Hrw m nh rnpwt St m w3s*, *I have given to you the share of Horus in life, and the years of Seth in dominion*.³⁰

In the texts of the same set of scenes occurs also *pzšt Hrw St m nh w3s the share of Horus and Seth in life and dominion*,³¹ and *rnpwt nbwj m 3wt-jb*, *years of the Two Lords in joy*.³² A damaged text in one of the following scenes recording establishing of Hatshepsut's regalia and titulary speaks of *...Horus and Seth*.³³

On the north wall of the Upper Portico Hatshepsut, running before ityphallic Amun-Min is promised with *years of the Two Lords*.³⁴ Similar promises occur in the South Chapel of Amun in the Upper Courtyard (**Fig. 16**).

The Seth animal hieroglyph appeared also in the 'historical inscription' in the Lower Portico.³⁵

In none of these instances was the name of Seth erased.

³⁰ NAVILLE, Deir el Bahari III, Pl. LVI; *Urk.* IV, 244, 16–17.

³¹ *Urk.* IV, 249, 14.

³² *Urk.* IV, 250, 7. Horus and Seth are here represented in an archaistic manner as falcons seated on *mnh*-signs.

³³ *Urk.* IV, 251, 11.

³⁴ W. POLOCZANIN, The Restoration of the Upper Portico, in: *The Temple of Hatshepsut*, Vol. 3, Warsaw 1985, p. 28, Fig. 9 (westernmost column of the text with Horus and Seth represented as two falcons).

³⁵ NAVILLE, Deir el Bahari VI, Pl. CLXV.



15. Thoth and Ahmose, east wall of the Birth Portico. Hieroglyph of Seth animal erased in the title of the queen (below the wrist of the god) (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

A heraldic scene above the entrance to the Offering Chapel of Courtyard showed a double shrine with enthroned figures of the king in Heb-Sed garment. The left-hand part of the scene included a standard with the Seth animal, described as *Nbwtyw nb t3-[\$m^c]*, presenting the king with millions of years.³⁶ The text of Seth in front of the king says: *dd mdw: dj.n.[j] n.[k] rnpwt Stħ m nsw ʿnhw nb(w) mj R^c dt* – *Recitation: I have given to you the years of Seth as the King of all the living like Ra eternally.* The hieroglyph representing Seth animal is perfectly preserved (**Fig. 17**).

However, Seth animal figure was erased on the east wall of the Courtyard in the Royal Cult Complex. It occurred there as the emblem on the head of the personification of the eleventh Upper Egyptian nome (**Fig. 18**). Also on another block, coming from the vestibule of the Royal Cult Complex, Seth's figure seated with a falcon Horus on *nb*-signs

³⁶ KARKOWSKI, *EtTrav* XIX, 2001, pp. 103–105 and Fig. 12.



16. Fragment of an inscription promising the king 'the years of the Two Lords', i.e. Horus and Seth, represented in hieroglyphs as two falcons on *mnh*-signs. East wall of the South Chapel of Amun in the Upper Courtyard (Phot. A. Ćwiek).



17. Seth animal in the inscription from the heraldic scene above the entrance to the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Royal Cult Complex (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

18. Seth figure as an emblem of the eleventh Upper Egyptian nome on a block from the east wall of the Courtyard of the Royal Cult Complex (Phot. A. Ćwiek).



has been chiselled out (**Fig. 19**).³⁷ Another fragment in the temple lapidaria bears a head of a restored figure of the Seth animal (**Fig. 20**).

Part of a large-size representation of Seth can also be recognized on another block from temple storerooms. It preserved an upper part of the head with the ears and brow, and a part of the caption [*nb*] *t3-šmꜥw* (**Fig. 21**).³⁸ Both the figure and the title were erased, the column of hieroglyphs [*dj*].*f* [*ꜥnh*] *nb dd w3s nb* in front of the god's face left untouched. The fragment comes from the upper register of the south wall in the vestibule of the Royal Cult Complex, where a row of deities proceeding rightwards (towards the offering chapel of Hatshepsut) was represented.³⁹ Seth appeared also in the scene of purification of Hatshepsut (together with Horus)⁴⁰ on the south wall of the Upper Courtyard (to the right

³⁷ The decoration of this wall will be published by Olga Białostocka to whom I am much grateful for the information about Seth's figures.

³⁸ Inv. No. B482. The block was identified in 2006. It is presently stored in the area of Thutmose III's temple.

³⁹ According to the attribution made by Edyta Kopp, to whom I am much indebted for this information.

⁴⁰ On the purification of the king by Horus and Seth, see: GARDINER, *JEA* 36, pp. 3–12. To the examples listed by Gardiner one should add the relief of Sethi I in the Graeco-Roman Museum in Alexandria (No. 26290; K. MYŚLIWIEC, The Purification of Sethos I – a New Scene, *EtTrav* VIII, 1975, pp. 113–116). This rite is an episode of the coronation ceremonies. According to Gardiner, Horus and Seth (and later more often Horus and Thoth) were acting as two of the four gods of the cardinal points, transferring to the King their power.



19. Erased Seth animal in the group *nbwj* on a block from the Courtyard of the Royal Cult Complex (Phot. A. wiek).



20. Head of a restored Seth animal figure on a block in the storeroom (Phot. A. wiek).

of the entrance to the Royal Cult Complex, in the lower register). Seth's figure is mutilated; the block with the head is missing.⁴¹ The scene of purification introduces depictions of the daily ritual performed by Hatshepsut for Amun-Ra, following westwards on the same wall.

The attitude towards Seth in the New Kingdom shows a clear ambivalence. He was much revered as the powerful god, but sometimes excluded from the contexts of burials and inner parts of the mortuary temples.⁴² In the case of *Dsr-dsrw* one might notice such

⁴¹ The scene was restored in the wall with an outline of Seth's head in artificial stone, cf. Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI, Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 1999/2000, *PAM* XII, 2001, p. 192 and n. 11; R.W. GAZDA, Conservation Work at the Temple of Hatshepsut 1999/2000, *PAM* XII, 2001, p. 207. The scenes on the south wall are described by KARKOWSKI, *Decoration*, pp. 132–137. For a graphic reconstruction of the scene, see: F. PAWLICKI, *Skarby architektury starożytnego Egiptu. Królewskie świątynie w Deir el-Bahari*, Warszawa 2001, p. 91, Fig. 84.

⁴² Anti-Osirian image of Seth caused even the specific graphic forms of royal names (excluding his name) in the Osiris temple at Abydos and in the Valley of the Kings (A. EL-SAWI, Some variations of writing of the names of Sety I at Abydos, *ASAE* LXX, 1984–1985 (Supplement), 1987, pp. 53–63). On the representations of Seth in the New Kingdom, cf. J. VANDIER, *Le dieu Seth au Nouvel Empire. À propos d'une récente acquisition du Louvre*, *MDAIK* 25, 1969, pp. 188–197.



21. Block with the upper part of representation of Seth from the south wall of the vestibule in the Royal Cult Complex (Phot. A. Ćwiek).

an exclusion only in that Seth does not occur in the sanctuary,⁴³ but he is well attested in the niches of the west wall of the Upper Courtyard. He is represented in one of the eight small niches in its façade (niche *D*, **Fig. 22**) together with his counterpart, Nephthys. He is labelled as *Nwbtj nb t3-šmꜥ, nꜥr ʿ3, nb pt* and is shown as a human-headed deity, similarly to his depiction on the south wall of the Birth Portico. Like in that latter case the figure seems to be a ‘Ramesside’ restoration, not destroyed for the second time. Seth appears also twice in the tall niches that housed Osiride statues of Hatshepsut. Lateral walls of these niches bear representations of the gods of the Theban Ennead. Seth, named *Nwbtj nb t3-šmꜥ*, is depicted in his human form together with Nephthys in niches *E* (**Fig. 23**) and *N* (**Fig. 24**). In both cases they are represented on the walls farther from the temple

⁴³ Seth does not appear among the gods represented in southern and northern niche of the second room of the sanctuary. In the N niche his expected position beside Nephthys is taken by Sokar. Since the decoration was much altered during the post-Amarna restorations, it is not clear which god was originally depicted here. One might suggest a parallel in a scene on the second shrine of Tutankhamun, where the Ennead is represented in the solar bark, with the figure of the king having taken place of Seth, cf. L. KAKOSY, Some Remarks on Tutankhamun’s Tomb, in: Tutankhamon i ego vremena, Moskva 1974, pp. 31–34. In the tomb of Ay Seth is likewise excluded from the representation of the Ennead on the solar bark.



22. Anthropomorphic Seth on the back wall of niche *D* in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard (Phot. A. wiek).



23. Anthropomorphic Seth in the niche *E* in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard (Phot. M. Sankiewicz).

axis, the closer walls being occupied by Osiris and Isis. Again Seth's figures are the post-Amarna restorations, not attacked for the second time.

An important position that Seth took from the beginning of Hatshepsut's rule is confirmed by the decoration of the 'monument à niches' at Karnak, where Thutmose II was represented crowned by Osiris and Isis,⁴⁴ and in a symmetrically placed scene Hatshepsut was given life by Seth, with Nephthys standing behind the queen.⁴⁵

An indication of the important role of Seth in Hatshepsut's temples may be also one of the finds in a building located in the cultivated area outside Assasif (probably to be identified with the enigmatic *H^c-3ht*): a stela with a rare representation of the sacred bark of Seth in a lunette.⁴⁶

It seems, however, that Hatshepsut followed a pattern established by her predecessors, especially concerning the position of paired Horus and Seth in various contexts. Beside the *Königsjackete* of Thutmose II and the title 'the one who sees Horus and Seth' of Jahmes,

⁴⁴ GABOLDE, Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout, Pl. XLIIa.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, Pl. XLIIc. L. Gabolde (*ibid.*, pp. 129–130) suggests that the decoration postdates the death of Thutmose II and was executed by Hatshepsut at the very beginning of her regency.

⁴⁶ A. EL Y. EL BARAKAT, A Primary Description of a New Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Qurna, in: *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, Vol. I, Warsaw 1980, pp. 105–106.



24. Anthropomorphic Seth in the niche *N* in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard (Phot. M. Sankiewicz).

there is also another motif that can be related to this issue. All the Osiride statues⁴⁷ in the temple at Deir el-Bahari displayed peculiar iconography: those placed to the north of the temple axis wore Double Crowns, while those on the south wore White Crowns.⁴⁸ This rare pattern was first used by Thutmose I at Karnak⁴⁹ and occurred only sporadically after Hatshepsut.⁵⁰ It was suggested that this strange, non-symmetrical arrangement reflects the idea of identification of the king with Atum and Osiris, the Double and White Crowns respectively being characteristic for these gods.⁵¹ While it seems plausible, another possibility exists, probably more in accordance with the ideology of the so-called Osiride

⁴⁷ There are four sets of Osiride statues: two flanking the Lower Porticoes, twenty six on the façade of the Upper Portico, ten in the niches of the west wall of the Upper Courtyard, and four in the Bark Hall of the main sanctuary. Additionally eight small Osirides decorate four column capitals in the Hathor Shrine. See R. TEFNIN, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout. Portrait royal et politique sous la 18^e Dynastie*, *Monumenta Aegyptiaca* 4, Bruxelles 1979, pp. 38–48; C.A. KELLER, *The Statuary of Hatshepsut*, in: C.H. ROEHRIG, R. DREYFUS, C.A. KELLER (eds.), *Hatshepsut. From Queen to Pharaoh*, New York 2005 [= ROEHRIG *et al.*, *Hatshepsut*], pp. 158–164.

⁴⁸ With an exception of the two biggest ones flanking the Lower Porticoes, which probably wore White and Red Crowns.

⁴⁹ The Osiride statues in the *w3djt*-hall between the Fourth and Fifth Pylon. It seems, however, that these statues might have been erected by Hatshepsut (Peter Brand's personal communication).

⁵⁰ Osiride statues in the pillared hall of the great temple of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel show the same pattern.

⁵¹ B.M. BRYAN, in: E. HORNUNG, B.M. BRYAN (eds.), *The Quest for Immortality. Treasures of Ancient Egypt*, Munich – London – New York 2002, pp. 78–79.

statues,⁵² namely that the White Crown, connected with the South, represents Seth and the Double Crown represents Horus, once the lord of the North and subsequently the ruler of both parts of the state.⁵³ The ideology of the crowns of Osirides thus would refer to the mythical division of the Two Lands between Horus and Seth.⁵⁴

Traces of the history of *Dsr-dsrw* following the New Kingdom are sometimes not easy to date and to interpret. However, it seems that there was a continuous cultic activity in the temple. Certainly Deir el-Bahari (and the adjoining Assasif area) assumed a new, important, role as the most prestigious burial ground of Theban lites in the Third Intermediate and Late Periods.⁵⁵ This is particularly clear for the end of the Twenty-fifth and through the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. The tomb complexes of this period built in Assasif were oriented towards the causeway of Hatshepsut's temple, which was apparently the main track of the 'Festival of the Valley.'⁵⁶ It seems that the Fourth Prophet of Amun, Montuemhat, the famous owner of TT 34, was particularly active in the temple. Fragments of a stelo-phorous statue representing him were found in the Upper Courtyard.⁵⁷ It seems that many members of his family were buried in the Hathor Shrine and south of the retaining wall of the middle terrace.⁵⁸ Also recent finds in shaft-tombs in the Chapel of Hatshepsut included funerary cones of Montuemhat's wives Shepenmut and Udjarenes.⁵⁹ The necropolis in the temple continued into the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.⁶⁰

⁵² As stated by D. ARNOLD, *Djeser-djeseru. The Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri*, in: ROEHRIG *et al.*, *Hatshepsut*, p. 138: *The uppermost terrace proclaimed the royal nature of the temple with an imposing row of twenty-six royal-statue pillars overlooking the temple terraces below (...). Because they resemble images of the mummified god Osiris they are termed „Osirides”, but they more probably symbolized eternal, divine kingship.*

⁵³ In numerous instances Seth is represented wearing the White Crown and Horus wearing the *pschent*.

⁵⁴ Upper Egypt given to Seth and Lower Egypt given to Horus, and subsequently the Two Lands given to Horus, the motif known best from the Shabaka Stone. H. BEINLICH, *Bemerkungen zum Schabaka-Stein*, *GottMisz* 122, 1991, pp. 15–20, who discussed lines 8–11 of the Shabaka Stone referring to the division of Egypt between Horus and Seth, suggested that the assignment of Upper Egypt to Seth is the consequence of a word pun involving *sw*, *swth*, *nsw*, etc., and is not based on a myth. However, regarding an old tradition connecting Seth with Upper Egypt and Horus with Lower Egypt, this puns can only be taken as secondary. Also the interpretation of H. GOEDICKE, 727 vor Christus, *WZKM* 69, 1977, pp. 1–19, who argues that this part of the text of Shabaka Stone reflects the political situation at the end of the eighth century, seems anachronistic.

⁵⁵ For detailed summaries of this issue, see: D.A. ASTON, *The Theban West Bank from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty to the Ptolemaic Period* [= Theban West Bank], in: N. STRUDWICK, J.H. TAYLOR (eds.), *The Theban Necropolis. Past, Present and Future* [= Theban Necropolis], London 2003, pp. 138–166; M. BARWIK, with a contribution by M. CZERNIEC, *New data concerning the Third Intermediate Period cemetery in the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari*, in: STRUDWICK, TAYLOR, *Theban Necropolis*, pp. 122–130, and C.M. SHEIKHOLESAMI, *The burials of priests of Montu at Deir el-Bahari in the Theban necropolis* [= Burials of Priests], in: STRUDWICK, TAYLOR, *Theban Necropolis*, pp. 131–137.

⁵⁶ ASTON, *Theban West Bank*, p. 150. The only exception is the earliest of those tombs, the one of Harwa (TT 37), with the entrance from the south.

⁵⁷ Cairo JE 1098. Cf. PM II, p. 239.

⁵⁸ SHEIKHOLESAMI, *Burials of Priests*, pp. 134–135.

⁵⁹ The shafts were explored in 2005–2007 and like the tombs excavated in 2000 in the North Chapel of Amun yielded a mass of funerary material of the Twenty-second–Twenty-fifth Dynasties.

⁶⁰ To the data collected by ASTON, *Theban West Bank*, pp. 150–151 one may add finds published by C. TRAUENECKER, *Le cercueil de Panehesy. Notice descriptive*, *Bulletin de la Socit d'Histoire Naturelle de*

25. Graffito on the leg of the king's figure in the scene of Fig. 1 (west wall of the Upper Courtyard, north part) (Phot. M. Jawornicki).



Most probably the ‘hunting’ of Seth in the temple should be dated to this period.⁶¹ The way it was realized seems rather haphazard. Seth animal emblems and hieroglyphs representing the god were erased, though also left untouched in many places; figures of Seth paired with Horus in a hieroglyphic group of two falcons were not attacked. Investigation by M. Patanè of the omissions and particular graphies of the name of Seth in late versions

Colmar 52, 1965–1966, pp. 9–16, and G. VITTMANN, *Zwei thebanische Totenstelen der 26. Dynastie im Seattle Art Museum*, *WZKM* 70, 1978, pp. 5–14.

⁶¹ It has generally been assumed that the proscription of Seth occurred in the Late Period. However, there is no consensus about its precise dating. Different suggestions concerning the reasons and date of this action were made: Seth as a ‘devil’ figure, the proscription under the Twenty-fourth–Twenty-fifth Dynasties (P. KLEMM, *Die Verfemung des Seth als Folge der Reform Echnatons*, *Studium Generale* 8/5, 1955, pp. 301–309); Seth as the enemy of Osiris, proscription during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, continued in the Saite times (G. SOUKIASSIAN, *Une étape de la proscription de Seth*, *GöttMisz* 44, 1981, pp. 59–68); Seth as god of foreigners, proscribed in the period following the Assyrian conquest (E. HORNING, *Seth. Geschichte und Bedeutung eines ägyptischen Gottes*, *Symbolon* 2, 1974, pp. 49–63); Seth as god of the foreigners, particularly as symbol for the Persians (E. OTTO, *Anerkennung und Ablehnung fremder Kulte in der ägyptischen Welt*, *Saeculum* 19, 1968, pp. 330–343). N. GRIMAL, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Oxford – Cambridge, Mass. 1988, p. 356, assigns the proscription of Seth to Psammetichus I as a mark of *restoration of original religious purity, or at least a return to the state of affairs before Asiatic influence*. One has to notice, however, the opinions dating ‘la persecution séthienne’ to the Twenty-first Dynasty (for Tanis, see: J. YOYOTTE, in: *Tanis. L’or des pharaons*, Paris 1987, p. 69; C. ZIEGLER, *ibid.*, p. 92; for Speos Artemidos see: S. BICKEL, J.L. CHAPPAZ, *Missions épigraphiques du fonds de l’égypologie de Genève au Speos Artemidos*, *BSEG* 12, 1988, p. 20).

of the Pyramid Texts has already shown that his proscription was not as radical as usually assumed.⁶² Another piece of evidence from Deir el-Bahari may suggest some explanation of this inconsistency.

The figure of Thutmose III on the west wall of the Upper Courtyard to the north of the main sanctuary (the king wearing the *Königsjacke* with an erased Seth animal head), described at the beginning of this paper, bears on the back leg a graffito representing a falcon-headed deity in a posture of hitting with a harpoon or a lance a (not represented) enemy (**Fig. 25**). It is tempting to connect this graffito with the action against Seth, since the figure resembles the well known late representations of Horus attacking a sethian hippopotamus. However, another possibility exists, an exactly opposite one, namely that the figure represents Seth himself, in his form of a falcon-headed man (which is the form promoted in his cult in the Late Period, especially in the oases⁶³), in an attitude known from the scenes of fighting Apopis at the prow of the sun bark. Could this suggest that not the person of the god, but only his ‘Sethian animal’ form was chased? In this respect it should be stressed that the human-headed Seth represented among the deities of the Ennead on the south wall of the Birth Portico, as well as the similar representations in the niches in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard, all destroyed under Akhenaten and restored by the Ramessides, were not attacked for the second time. Since these were large figures and not small hieroglyphs or details easy to be overlooked, this seems much significant.

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⁶² M. PATANÉ, Quelques remarques sur la présence de Seth dans les Textes des Pyramides à la Basse Époque, *BSEG* 14, 1990, pp. 69–74.

⁶³ O.E. KAPER, Temples and Gods in Roman Dakhleh. Studies in the indigenous cults of an Egyptian oasis, Groningen 1997, esp. chapter 3. On the falcon-headed Seth as a form specific for the oases, cf. also J. OSING, Seth in Dachla and Charga, *MDAIK* 41, 1985, pp. 229–233. Concerning a possible identification of the figure of the discussed graffito it should be noted that in a similar manner Amun-Nakht was represented, whose cult in the oases was in a way competitive to that of Seth (e.g. L. KRZYŻANIAK, Dakhleh Oasis. Research on Petroglyphs, 1998, *PAM* X, 1999, p. 133, Fig. 3).