

## I The Temple in the Valley

The archaeologist digs, explores, searches and if he is lucky – because knowledge is not everything – he will make a discovery (**fig. 1**). And when he does, he is enjoined to interpret, protect and publish his results. Otherwise his work would be little more than an Indiana Jones approach – a thrilling adventure, but nothing to do with science.

Interpretation is the most difficult as a rule and it is impossible without a thorough analysis of the material. The process can take many years. The case of the temple of Tuthmosis III was special in many ways. Before it could be studied, the building discovered by a Polish mission had to be first meticulously put together from pieces, tens of thousands of fragments great and small, and some blocks of considerable size.

The effect was well worth the effort. Satisfaction was guaranteed, from the simplest form of joy experienced by the successful puzzle doer, when pieces join and the multicolored stone debris slowly turns into figures of gods and people, emblems, plants and animals, individual signs and longer texts, to the deep feeling of fulfillment that accompanies the reconstruction of a splendid monument and its restoration. Added to this is the everyday contentedness with dealing with art of the highest quality, meaning the painting and relief of ancient Egypt, and the less obvious reason for satisfaction, one more difficult to achieve, but fascinating in itself, i.e., intellectual probing into the nuances of ancient Egyptian thinking, symbolism, rituals, beliefs and myths embodied in the temple and the scenes decorating it. Discovering the reasoning that led rulers, architects and theologians to situate a temple, design it and choose the iconographic program to decorate it, is extremely satisfying in itself.

This most gratifying phase for the researcher is preceded by a painstaking search for the joining pieces, parts of larger scenes, individual scenes and ultimately sequences of scenes filling entire walls. Considering that there are tens of thousands of fragments, cut from sandstone and limestone, and that no model picture of the puzzle exists to show what the reconstructed temple should look like (parallels can be found among standing temples, but one should be mindful of the fact that no two temples were alike, nor were sequences of scenes and details of the decoration the same), it is hardly surprising that after more than thirty years the job is still unfinished. The results to date are impressive enough, much more than ever expected by the team, which originally undertook work in the Tuthmosis III storeroom. It was in that modest building with asbestine tile roof, situated to the north of the courtyard of the temple of Hatshepsut, that nearly everything surviving from this grand temple and discovered by the team excavating in 1961–67, was collected (**fig. 2**).<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Successive stages of research on the temple of Tuthmosis III were summarized in a previous issue of the *Journal*, see Monika Dolińska, Tomasz Górecki, Andrzej Reiche, Alfred Twardecki, "The Collection of Ancient and East Christian Art and Archaeological Excavations of the National Museum in Warsaw," *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie / Journal of the National Museum in Warsaw*, 2(38) (2013), pp. 46–55.

How can one recapitulate the results of the many years devoted to a study of this material?

Firstly, the plan of the temple was recreated, still by Prof. Jadwiga Lipińska.<sup>2</sup> Undisturbed architectural remains in the form of fragments of pavement with the guidelines for walls and partly preserved column bases and shafts made it possible to reconstruct the plan of the upper terrace, despite the fact that nearly half of the structure, originally built on an artificial terrace, had been lost without trace (**fig. 3**). An earthquake during the 21<sup>st</sup> Dynasty (after 1070 BC) brought down tons of rock from the cliff above the temple, ruining the upper terrace and covering it completely with debris. But even earlier, during the 20<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, when the temple was already out of use, possibly desecrated by damages caused by an earlier earthquake for which there is some circumstantial evidence, the walls started to be dismantled by stonecutters. Limestone and sandstone blocks and columns were cut into smaller pieces, turning the sandstone into building material and the limestone into large stone basins that were apparently in high demand (dozens of unfinished basins were discovered in the temple area). Close to 80 per cent of the temple disappeared in this fashion. The rest was sealed under the rock debris from a later earthquake, the tumble paradoxically protecting the vivid colors of the painting from sun and wind. Shattered stone blocks were left in place, colorful chips from the stone-cutting that had gone on at the temple site, the unfinished basins (**fig. 4**) and stone tools, left behind in a panic, perhaps when the workers fled the rain of rocks collapsing from the cliff.

The colorful stone debris excavated by archaeologists was transported to a nearby storeroom built specially for the purpose, where it was placed on shelves and benches, in baskets and boxes. From 1967 to 1978 it gathered dust (the few months between seasons are enough for a thick layer of dust to obscure the reliefs), until Jadwiga Lipińska organized a team to sort the finds in the hope of possibly joining a few of the pieces and perhaps even reconstructing a scene or two. A feast procession evidently dominated the decoration. It consisted of scenes, full of painted details that are not usually preserved, depicting the journey of Amun in a richly decorated bark from the temple in Karnak to visit the valley of Deir el-Bahari. These scenes, outstanding compared to the more ordinary, typical representations of offerings and daily rituals, were studied provisionally from black and white images even before the team members arrived in Egypt.<sup>3</sup> It was on the spot, however, that researchers could finally appreciate the richness of the details and take in all the nuances of the decoration (**fig. 5**).

The first six-month season of the mission was devoted to sorting the pieces of decoration in an effort to get a preliminary idea of the work that was in store.<sup>4</sup> Tens of thousands of limestone and sandstone fragments, all being vestiges of images of daily and festive rituals which had once been of great importance to the king, his subjects and all of Egypt, because their regular, uninterrupted celebration ensured the lasting of the world. The king paid homage and made offerings to the gods, the gods in return kept the world in motion: the sun rose and set, the Nile flooded when it should, plants grew and animals multiplied to the benefit of mankind, men were born and died and in dying they were reborn to a new eternal life. It was

<sup>2</sup> Jadwiga Lipińska, *The Temple of Tuthmosis III. Architecture* (Warsaw, 1977). Deir el-Bahari, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Two master's dissertations were written on the subject in 1977, see Janina Wiercińska, *Piękne Świąto Doliny w dekoracji świątyni Totmesa III w Deir el-Bahari* and Hubert Górski, *Rekonstrukcja dekoracji sali na barkę w świątyni Totmesa III w Deir el-Bahari* (Archives of the Institute of History of the University of Warsaw).

<sup>4</sup> The archaeological mission to the Temple of Tuthmosis III was instituted in the 1978–79 season. Two of the original team members, Monika Dolińska and Janina Wiercińska, are on the reactivated team, which returned to the storeroom in 2008.

how things should be as long as the eternal order of things – Maat – was preserved, an order that the king guaranteed (**fig. 6**). All the temples of Egypt were filled with images ensuring the lasting of this order and some of these had a special significance that Egyptologists today seek to understand.

The temple at Deir el-Bahari was one of these sanctuaries with a special purpose. In Western Thebes, on the west bank opposite Karnak and Luxor, rulers of New Kingdom raised temples that were once referred to as mortuary, but are now called more appropriately memorial temples or simply royal sanctuaries, where a form of the god Amun united with the ruler was worshipped already in the king's lifetime. These temples were designated as "Mansions of Millions of Years." At the beginning of his reign Tuthmosis III built a temple of this kind under the name Heneket-ankh ("Offering-Life"), on the fringe of the cultivated fields, near the future Ramesseum. He built many other temples during his life, including those called "Mansions of Millions of Years." At the end of his life he desired to construct yet another sanctuary that would distance in splendor and beauty all the others in the sacred valley of Djeseret, known today as Deir el-Bahari, these being the temple of Mentuhotep and especially the temple of Hatshepsut, his predecessor and co-regent in the early years of his reign (formally Hatshepsut, his aunt and stepmother, acceded to the throne in the seventh year of the reign of the underage Tuthmosis III and exercised power in his name until her death in 1482, i.e., for 21 years). In his later years, Tuthmosis decided to restore dynastic order disturbed by a woman's rule and remove her name and all mentions of her reign from the walls of temples and all records. The beautiful temple of Hatshepsut, Djeser-djeseru ("Holy of Holies"), stopped being her memorial and was dedicated instead to the gods, while every instance of her name in writing was replaced with the names of her husband and father, Tuthmosis II and I. The highest-lying place located centrally in the valley of Djeseret was taken up by a new building, the Djeser-akhet ("Sacred Horizon").

It may have been the main place in the valley, but it was hardly the best of locations. The rock slope between the earlier temples had to be cut down and a platform had to be constructed to accommodate the hypostyle hall and porticoes. The biggest challenge was foremost to design a harmonious whole that would have a stable foundation. This last task was not successful, considering the catastrophe that the temple succumbed to. As for design harmony, achieving it was a task fraught with difficulty in the narrow space restricted by the rising steps of the rocky cliff. A genius among architects was required to plan the terraces, porticos and ramps, skillfully raising the edifice to the heavens, while at the same time incorporating the standing structures, i.e., the chapel of Hathor by the temple of Hatshepsut to the north and the terraces of the temple of Mentuhotep on the south, while preserving the character of a sacred place. Were the talents of the architect sufficient? We cannot say for sure, because we are faced today with the problem of reconstructing the appearance of the temple to the same high demands that the ancient builder dealt with, while making sure that whatever we imagine fits the remains preserved on the ground after 3500 years (**fig. 7**).

Why had Tuthmosis been so pressed to build this last temple of his and in this particular location? A reconstruction of the iconographic program selected for the Djeser-akhet could provide clues, hence many years were spent on painstakingly joining different fragments into figures and then scenes of related events, identifying the texts describing these activities and ultimately reconstructing sequences of scenes on the respective walls. A proper reconstruction of the rituals on the walls of particular rooms remains an important step toward a functional analysis. Some of these belong to the standard repertoire in all temples (which does not mean that the decoration was identical), such as the hypostyle (colonnaded) hall, bark room,

offering room and sanctuary; in other cases, however, the decoration of a room is helpful in understanding its function, as for example, a storeroom of ritual vessels and royal cult halls. Reconstructing the decoration scheme of most of the rooms helped also to revise the temple plan reconstructed initially by Jadwiga Lipińska. It turned out, for instance, that the entrance to chambers adjoining the bark room led untypically not from outside, from the hypostyle hall, but from this chamber. In turn, a study of the texts preserved on column fragments indicated that the central part of the hall rested on twelve instead of eight 32-faceted columns, and was surrounded by 76 lower ones that were 16-sided.<sup>5</sup>

A long ramp in two sections led to the temple, which stood on a platform rising approximately 20 m above ground level. The ramp had a landing on the middle terrace. It started from the enclosure of an eminent ancestor, the pharaoh Mentuhotep of the 11<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. A processional avenue, set between the older roads of Mentuhotep and Hatshepsut, approached the new temple. In keeping with Old Kingdom custom, a valley temple at the beginning of this road acted as a mooring place for the boats and barks that sailed across the Nile, down the river and channels. It was where rituals were celebrated before a procession was formed to proceed down the road to the temple. In a land where the Nile was always the chief topographic and religious axis, the gods travelled in barks and the bark, sumptuously decorated, depicting images of the gods, king and sacred symbols, was also the chief tabernacle of a god. The holy bark crossed the Nile on board of a huge processional bark towed by boats manned by oarsmen (and symbolically also by the king in the royal bark), after which the bark with an effigy of the god was taken ashore, mounted on wooden poles and carried on the shoulders of priests to its destination (**fig. 8**), in our case the upper terrace of the temple of Tuthmosis III and the Chapel of Hathor, built by Tuthmosis III on the level of the middle terrace, which joined the platform of the temple of Mentuhotep. Festive ceremonies took place there, the purpose being, depending on the kind of feast, a renewal of royal power, confirmation of the ruler's divinity, *hieros gamos* – royal wedding of Amun, Lord of Karnak, with Hathor, Lady of the Western Valley. Hathor was present at Deir el-Bahari probably from the times of the Old Kingdom<sup>6</sup> and was one of the main deities in the temple of Mentuhotep, even though no sanctuary of hers from either the Old or the Middle Kingdom was ever discovered in the valley.<sup>7</sup> Hatshepsut built a separate chapel for the goddess, attached to the south side of her own temple and Tuthmosis III did the same despite being so restricted in space. Hence the atypical location of the chapel, practically inside another temple, as shown by the plan (**fig. 9**). Hathor's role in royal ideology, highly important during the Old Kingdom, was deeply accentuated in the buildings of Tuthmosis III; his strong relation to the goddess was manifested in multiple ways, for example, by his calling himself "born of the Lady of Dendera" (i.e., Hathor) on an obelisk now in New York.<sup>8</sup>

Hathor was the hostess in Tuthmosis' temple at Deir el-Bahari, even though it was Amun, in his ordinary form as Amun-Re and the ithyphallic version as Amun-Kamutef, who was the

<sup>5</sup> Rafał Czermer, Stanisław Medeksza, "The New Observations on the Architecture of the Temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari," in *Atti VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia*, vol. 1 (Turin, 1992), pp. 121–23.

<sup>6</sup> Mohamed Saleh, *Three Old Kingdom Tombs at Thebes* (Mainz am Rhein, 1977). *Archäologische Veröffentlichungen*, 14. The wives of the tomb owners were priestesses of Hathor; thus one is entitled to assume that the cult of Hathor in Thebes went back to the 5<sup>th</sup> Dynasty at the very least (date of the oldest of these tombs).

<sup>7</sup> Geraldine Pinch, *Votive Offerings to Hathor* (Oxford, 1993), p. 25.

<sup>8</sup> Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie. Historisch-biographische Urkunden*, 4, Abteilung, vol. 2, Georg Steindorff, ed. (Berlin, 1984) (reprint of the 1906 edition), p. 593.

chief addressee of the cult. With Amun together Hathor greeted the bark arriving from Karnak, which was escorted by the king, who censured and made offerings along the way. The goddess was present in many scenes in the temple, meeting the king and embracing him warmly, greeting him with the sound of the *sistrum* and nursing him on her divine milk.

The festive procession was represented in the hypostyle hall, on the eastern and northern walls (similarly as in the temple of Hatshepsut).<sup>9</sup> The upper register on the eastern wall was composed of scenes of the river processions with boats, oarsmen, the royal bark, the divine bark, water under the keel and the sky above. On the north wall the procession continued on land, priests shouldering the bark, priestesses shaking the *sistra*, priests reciting formulas, female dancers doing acrobatics. Beside the king, who is the main officiating figure, royal statuettes of the king and his ancestors also took part in the proceedings. The procession headed for the chapel where Amun and Hathor were seated enthroned (**fig. 10**). The bottom register on both walls depicted scenes of the king's visit (including purification, the gods presenting the king to Amun, Hathor greeting the king), and of the offering ritual in which the king offered diverse gifts to Amun. The god promised him in return a reign of millions of years, the promise being written down in the annals by the goddess of writing Sefkhet-abui, and his coronation was also confirmed by the god himself, the solar god-creator, guardian of royal power.

Nearly nothing has been preserved of the southern wall and the southern section of the eastern wall, which were built on the platform. Blocks from the collapsed walls here may have been the first to be reused by stonecutters taking advantage of ready building material. Fragments may perhaps be identified in the collections of museums, which co-funded activities of the Egypt Exploration Fund in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In return for financial contributions, sometimes very modest, toward excavations carried out by the EEF, participating institutions received finds in proportion to their contribution. In this manner objects, among others from Deir el-Bahari where excavations for the EEF were conducted by Edouard Naville, found their way into several dozen museum collections around the world, Sydney and Tokyo included.<sup>10</sup> To date, fragments from the Tuthmosis III temple have been identified in the British Museum in London, the Fitzwilliam Museum in Cambridge, museums in Manchester and Bolton,<sup>11</sup> and the Nicholson Museum in Sydney.<sup>12</sup> Further searches should bring more positive identifications. Some of the rediscovered fragments have already been incorporated into drawings of reconstructed walls (in rooms G and H).

The west wall of the hypostyle hall, which was at the same time the façade of the western chambers, bore just one register of decoration, but it was impressive in terms of the size of the figures of the king and gods, as well as their very precise modeling. This part of the temple was

<sup>9</sup> The reconstruction of the decoration of the hypostyle hall is the effect of studies undertaken by Janina Wiercińska, who is also in the course of examining the architecture of this part of the temple, as well as the intricate history of how the design was modified and altered. See Janina Wiercińska, "The change of dimensions of the bark of Amun in the light of recent studies on the temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari," in 8. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Interconnections between temples*. Warschau, 22.–25. September 2008, Monika Dolińska, Horst Beinlich, eds (Wiesbaden, 2010), pp. 221–32. *Königtum, Staat und Gesellschaft früher Hochkulturen*, 3, 3.

<sup>10</sup> The correspondence in the matter of the distribution of these finds can be accessed in the archive of the Egypt Exploration Society (formerly EEF).

<sup>11</sup> The author has been able to see the fragments in these museums in August 2013; searches in successive museums are intended in the future.

<sup>12</sup> Janina Wiercińska, "Fragment of a Wall Relief from the Temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari," in *Egyptian Art in the Nicholson Museum Sydney*, Karen N. Sowada and Boyo G. Ockinga, eds (Sydney, 2005), pp. 303–12, pl. 56.



well lit by sun rays streaming in from the east through windows in the central part of the hall which featured the higher columns. It must have made a dazzling impression, glowing with color among the forest of columns. The main theme of the decoration was the close relation between the king and Amun, expressed by the embrace attesting to the unity between king and god. The gesture is interpreted as the transfer of divine power, analogous to the embrace of Atum, by which he imparted life and instilled the power of *ka* in his children.<sup>13</sup> The coronation scene is repeated, this time in big scale, celebrated by Amun in the presence of the Ennead, gods representing a gathering of the divinities and deified ancestors of the king. On the two sides of the granite portal, a monumental gate on the temple axis leading to the bark room (where the bark of Amun from Karnak was set up), the king was shown being led by Atum (representing Heliopolis) and Montu (Lord of Thebes) to Amun seated on a throne. Amun once again legitimized the king's rule with a warm embrace (**fig. 11**).

The decoration in the bark room (A) unfolded in two registers.<sup>14</sup> The relief was particularly fine and executed with care – it was after all one of the most important chambers of the temple, the residence of the bark of Amun from Karnak arriving for the great feasts and staying the night in the light of blazing torches, which were extinguished ritually in the morning in milk.<sup>15</sup> The bark on its pedestal, the king shown kneeling before it and presenting offerings, was the chief motif on the northern and southern walls. The king was also the chief addressee of cult rituals depicted above the entrance to room D where he was shown enthroned with a table of offerings before him. Royal statues were known to participate in temple processions and this was surely an image of such a processional effigy. The walls of the hall were also decorated with representations of rituals connected with legitimizing royal authority and emphasizing the king's role as heir to Osiris, guarantor of a cyclic renewal of vegetation, vanquisher of Egypt's enemies and guardian of his people. Some of these, such as the king's "run with vases and an oar," "driving four calves" and "dragging the *meret* boxes," were depicted regularly in bark halls; others, like the ritual of "shaking a papyrus plant," were included in the temple of Tuthmosis presumably on account of the goddess Hathor, who naturally played an important role in this fertility-related ritual.

Some of the scenes from the west wall of the hall have not been fully reconstructed as yet; studies are in progress on identifying successive elements of the offering ritual represented there. Progress was made in the most recent season with certain elements of the decoration of the next room in a row, the offering room (B), being finally reconstructed.<sup>16</sup>

This room opened onto two other chambers, one on the north and the other on the south. Their function has proved difficult to determine as the decoration is extremely fragmentary. Regarding the northern sanctuary C, the entire length of the east wall has been reconstructed, but only in the lower register.<sup>17</sup> With regard to the fact that much of the decoration

<sup>13</sup> Kurt Sethe, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte nach den Papierabdrücken und Photographien des Berliner Museums*, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1910), §1653 a–d.

<sup>14</sup> The decoration of the bark room was reconstructed and is being studied by Janina Wiercińska.

<sup>15</sup> François Labrique, "Du lait pour éteindre les torches à l'aube, à Deir el Bahari," in *Agypten im afro-orientalischen Kontext. Aufsätze zur Archäologie, Geschichte und Sprache eines unbegrenzten Raumes. Gedenkschrift Peter Behrens*, Daniela Mendel, Ulrike Claudi, eds (Cologne, 1991), pp. 205–12; Siegfried Schott, "Das Löschen von Fackeln in Milch," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 73 (1937), pp. 1–25.

<sup>16</sup> The study of the decoration of the offering room is also the domain of Janina Wiercińska.

<sup>17</sup> This room was investigated by Janina Wiercińska and Joanna Aksamit.

was preserved, compared to existing gaps and to the presence of a niche in this wall on the side of chamber D, this wall was chosen for reconstruction of the original blocks, supplemented with artificial stone<sup>18</sup> (fig. 12). The surviving scenes were identified as successive episodes of a New Kingdom offering ritual that is often referred to as the Ritual of Amenhotep I.<sup>19</sup> Thus, we have grilling of meat, roasting, offering libation with beer – the priests can be said to have known their business, especially in view of the fact that the meal prepared for the main god of the temple passed onto the altars of the other gods and the royal forefathers, to end up ultimately on the tables of the priests and temple personnel. The upper register, like the other walls, was made undoubtedly of sandstone blocks, hence it was sought out especially by the stonecutters dismantling the temple walls. Nearly nothing has been preserved, except for fragments with offerings above the entrance and with the frieze at the top of the wall (fig. 13).

Only one scene of the decoration of the so-called southern sanctuary (J) has been located. It occupied the southern wall and showed the king making offerings to an ithyphallic Amun-Kamutef. Images of Amun-Re and Amun-Kamutef were represented alternately throughout the temple. The former bore the standard designations: Lord of the Heavens, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Ruler of Thebes, Chief of the Gods (or King of the Gods) and occasionally beside this a topographic epithet, Foremost in Djeser-Akhet (i.e., the temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari) and Resident in Ipet-sut (meaning Karnak). The latter deity was referred to in reverse, i.e., Foremost in Ipet-sut and Resident in Djeser-Akhet. The difference seems insignificant and yet the consistency of the use of these terms leaves one wondering: are these two forms of Amun of which one (Amun-Kamutef) had closer ties with Karnak and the other with Deir el-Bahari?

In the northern and narrowest room (E), one scene and part of a second were reconstructed: offering of the four victims to ithyphallic Amun and adoration of Amun-Re.

Three more rooms need to be discussed, two in the southern part of the temple (G and H) and the hall of the bark D with four columns and a niche, located to the north. All three appear to have been associated with the worship of the king, his ancestors and the royal *ka*. Being the author's chosen field of studies, they will be treated here in greater detail.<sup>20</sup>

The two southern rooms featured a similar decoration and Hathor appeared in both of them. The last chamber on the south (G) was dedicated in part to the royal ancestors, the father and grandfather, who sat before a table laden with offerings in the first scenes on the northern and southern walls.<sup>21</sup> Their cartouches appeared on the jambs of the entrance,

<sup>18</sup> Successive blocks were reconstructed by restorers: Leonard Bartnik, Edward Tarkowski, Magdalena Gawłowska, Zbigniew Godziejewski, Joanna Lis, Andrzej Karolczak.

<sup>19</sup> Joanna Aksamit, "Room C in the temple of Tuthmosis III at Deir el-Bahari," in 6. *Ägyptologische Tempeltagung. Funktion und Gebrauch altägyptischer Tempelräume*, Leiden, 4.-7. September 2002, Ben Haring and Andrea Klug, eds (Wiesbaden, 2007), pp. 1-10. See also Nikolaus Tacke, *Das Opferritual des ägyptischen Neuen Reiches* (Leuven, 2013), pp. 280-310. *Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta*, 222. Tacke argues persuasively that the so-called Ritual of Amenhotep I is in essence a version of an offering ritual from the New Kingdom that was part of a daily ritual celebrated in front of the cult image.

<sup>20</sup> It should be noted that a large part of the reconstruction is a team effort. The reconstruction of the arrangement and analysis of the decoration of particular rooms are tasked to individual team members.

<sup>21</sup> The formula accompanying these scenes was *fAi ix.wt smA-r-x.t*, i.e., "elevating the offerings and reception of offerings" or "partaking of offerings." Rulers thus represented (seated regularly in the bark rooms) participated in the divine cult on equal terms, partaking of the offering, see Monika Dolińska, "Some Remarks about the Function of the Tuthmosis III Temple at Deir el-Bahari," in *Ägyptische Tempel – Struktur, Funktion und Programm (Akten der Ägyptologischen Tempeltagungen in Gosen 1990 und Mainz 1992)*, Rolf Gundlach and Matthias Rochholz, eds (Hildesheim, 1994), pp. 33-45. *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge*, 37.

under the scene on the lintel of the entrance depicting an offering of wine and water to Amun seated on a throne, that of Tuthmosis I on the south wall and that of Tuthmosis II on the north one. In the next scene on both walls the reigning king consecrated a great offering to an enthroned Amun, whereas the last scene took place before the goddesses. On the south wall, it was Hathor who extended her arms to embrace the king accompanied by his royal *ka* (fig. 14), on the north wall a fragment of the name of Mut has survived. The name, like everything that concerns divinities other than Atum, has been restored, hence there is no certainty that it was this goddess who was depicted here originally; examples from the temple of Hatshepsut indicate that the figures (and barks) of Mut and Khonsu were added as part of the post-Amarna restoration. It could have been so here, because in this period Mut was a frequent companion to Hathor, complementing her or even constituting a pair with her, although not as consistently as Nekhbet and Wadjet or Isis and Nephtis. In a certain sense and in certain circumstances, Mut was an alternate personality to Hathor: like Hathor she was Amun's wife in the temples at Deir el-Bahari, just as Mut was a wife of Amun in Karnak (although, especially in this period, she shared this position with Amaunet). Mut's great career at the side of Amun was in the budding, promoted by Hatshepsut. In the Djeser-djeseru temple, Mut was present a number of times among other deities, for example, in the two Osiride niches of the Upper Courtyard. In both instances she was accompanied by Hathor. The same could have been true of the Djeser-akhet. In his temple of "Millions of Years," Tuthmosis as a form of Amun of Karnak could have considered both Hathor and Mut as his wives, although Hathor naturally was the more important of the two.

The decoration of the second chamber from the south (H) generally recalls that of the above described room, but there are certain differences. The ruler offering milk and presumably wine to an enthroned Amun appeared in the lintel scene. The first scene from the entrance on both long walls presented Tuthmosis III in the same situation as his forefathers in room G, i.e., before a table laden with offerings (fig. 15). He was designated as "born of Hathor, Lady of Dendera." The second scene, similarly as in the neighboring room, was a great offering to an enthroned Amun. In the third scene on both the northern and southern walls, Tuthmosis was represented between two goddesses. Some of the texts preserved on the southern wall suggested that it was Hathor, residing in Djeser-akhet, who stood before the king, followed by Mut, Lady of Isheru (a name for the enclosure of the sacred pool in Karnak). Hathor extended a ritual *menit* necklace toward the king and shook a *sistrum*, whereas Mut placed one hand on his shoulder and raised the other in a gesture of protection (fig. 16). The king was shown holding in his hands an emblem with the symbols of life, endurance and power, and an *ankh*, which he had presumably been given a moment before. The preserved fragments of the scene on the northern wall suggested the same arrangement of the goddesses around the figure of the king.

The gesture of extending a *menit* necklace and a *sistrum* toward the king is associated with soothing, putting in a good mood, and an erotic disposition – from this it is a short step to *hieros gamos*.<sup>22</sup> The *sistrum* and the *menit*, especially its counterweight, are also of significance for fertility, birth and renewal.<sup>23</sup> The king is indeed chosen by Fate and Hathor, and he also

<sup>22</sup> Wolfhart Westendorf, "Bemerkungen zur „Kammer der Wiedergeburt“ im Tutanchamungrab," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache*, 94 (1967), p. 145.

<sup>23</sup> Paul Barguet, "L'origine et la signification du contrepoids de collier-menat," *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, 52 (1953), pp. 103–11.



receives splendid gifts from her and from Mut: a promise of rebirth and eternal nuptials with the goddess, ensured fertility and eternal rule. Let us keep in mind, however, that Mut is not only Amun's spouse with motherly characteristics as shown mainly in the Ramesside reliefs present everywhere in Karnak. Testimony from the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> Dynasty suggests that Mut was one of the dangerous goddesses to be handled with special care (i.e., to be soothed, among others, by inebriation), part of the myths of the Solar Eye, uraeus deities spitting fire, capable of taking on the shape of a lioness as well. Here she embraces the king, becoming his championess and protector, assuaged perhaps by the atmosphere created by Hathor.

A passage led from room H to room K. The decoration of the latter is practically unknown, beside a few offering scenes of little consequence in the northeastern corner.

Last but not least, there is chamber D. It is a special room, much wider than the other chambers described above, furnished with four columns and a niche in the west wall. A special processional way ran between columns that were spaced more widely, leading to this chamber through the hypostyle hall and emphasizing the significance of this room. The decoration of the walls was closely related to the royal cult and there could have been an enthroned statue of the king set up once between the four columns.<sup>24</sup> A scene of the unification of the Two Lands, a motif that was frequent on the sides of thrones, appeared on the eastern wall, above the entrance, here in a variant with the Nile divinities tying lily and papyrus stems. A scene depicted in the northern section of the same wall represented the king being nursed by Hathor in human form. The king was represented as an adult, but in slightly smaller scale. The third figure in the scene was presented only as a pair of male hands (possibly Khnum, as in the central building of Hatshepsut in Karnak). On the other side of the entrance, in the southern part, a rare scene of the presentation of cows with calves and bulls to Kamutef has been restored hypothetically. One of the cows carried a child between the horns, evoking Mehet-uret, nurse of the solar child. Scenes of the king being nursed by a goddess and presentation of animals, both with the "milk nursing" theme, could occur in pairs.<sup>25</sup> According to Caminos and Gabolde, these were animals that were bred not for offerings, but dedicated to Amun, and their milk was associated with ritual nursing of the king, similarly as in the case of his being nursed by a goddess.

In the case of scenes of a ruler being nursed with the milk of a goddess, as Leclant demonstrated already long ago,<sup>26</sup> the purpose was to supply a divine liquid with nourishing, regenerative and protective properties, embodying the victorious power and legitimization

<sup>24</sup> Found during excavations in this room, on the foundations of the western wall, see Jadwiga Lipińska, *The Temple of Tuthmosis III. Statuary and votive monuments* (Warsaw, 1984), pp. 12–14, figs 7–17. Deir el-Bahari, 4; Dimitri Laboury, *La statuaire de Thoutmosis III. Essai d'interprétation d'un portrait royale dans son contexte historique* (Liège, 1998), pp. 257–59. *Aegyptiaca Leodiensia*, 5. However, it is equally possible that this statue originally was located in the sanctuary.

<sup>25</sup> E.g., in Buhen, in the temple of Horus, Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III, see Ricardo Caminos, *The New Kingdom Temples of Buhen*, II (London, 1974), pp. 38–40, pls 41 and 48. See also Luc Gabolde, *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatshepsout à Karnak* (Cairo, 2005), pp. 113–18. Gabolde discusses the said scene. Most examples come from the times of Tuthmosis III.

<sup>26</sup> Jean Leclant, "Le rôle du lait at de l'allaitement d'après les Textes des Pyramides," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 10 (1951), pp. 123–27; id., "The suckling of the pharaoh as a part of the coronation rites in Ancient Egypt. Le rôle de l'allaitement dans le ceremonial pharaonique du couronnement," in *Proceedings of the IXth International Congress for the History of Religions, Tokyo and Kyoto 1958* (Tokyo, 1960), pp. 135–45; id., "Sur un contrepoids de menat au nom de Taharqa. Allaitement et « apparition » royale," in *Mélanges Mariette*, Jean Sainte Fare Garnot, ed. (Cairo, 1961), pp. 251–84. *Bibliothèque d'études*, 32.

of the pharaoh. Nursing on divine milk was of cardinal importance at three of the most important moments in a ruler's life, constituting a ritual of passage: at birth (predestination to rule), coronation (the king's birth as a ruler) and after death (being born to a new life in the underworld, unification with the solar deity). Different goddesses used to be nurses, but Hathor was identified with this function in the strongest terms and it is she who was referred to most often as mother of the pharaoh. Amenhotep III changed that, replacing Hathor with Mut in this role.

The northern wall was taken up by three scenes: driving four calves (*Hwt-bHsw*) to Kamutef, the *heb sed* jubilee before Kamutef and a fragmentarily preserved scene with Amun. *Hwt-bHsw* is usually juxtaposed with scenes of dragging the *meret* boxes and with running with an oar and vases.<sup>27</sup> In the bark hall of Djoser-akhet, a similar situation ensued, but the scene was deprived of the usual company. The presence in this ritual of deities associated with fertility, such as Hathor (in the Old Kingdom), and then, until the 19<sup>th</sup> Dynasty, most often Min / Kamutef, confirmed its agricultural-breeding aspect. Based on texts one could think that the *Hwt-bHsw* ritual was incorporated into the program of Min festivities, the great harvest feast celebrated in the first month of the *shemu* season, which was at the same time a feast of the ruler's renewal.<sup>28</sup> The Osirian interpretation, connected with legitimization of the ruler as successor of Osiris, also fits into the sphere of royal themes, making it difficult to decide which understanding of the scene determined its choice for the decoration of room D. Regardless of the interpretation, it was a ritual that was "royal" to the core and its celebration during a festive procession identified the king as the rightful Horus, vanquisher of Egypt's enemies and protector of the people, who took care to feed them. On this occasion the king wore a special feathery dress, decorated with colorfully painted falcon's feathers, and an *atef* crown on his head.

Next was a scene of the *heb sed* jubilee. The celebration was a ritual of the ruler's physical rejuvenation, reconfirming after thirty years of rule the king's right to rule his kingdom. This he achieved by running around the perimeters of his residence, thus encompassing all of his land with his royal power (the power of his *ka* was reinforced in this ritual).<sup>29</sup> The king ran light, his dress limited to a *shendjit* loincloth which was red like his crown. He held in his hand the signs of royal authority, the *nekhakha* whip and the *mekes*, which contained the documents entitling him to the royal heritage, also called a testament sometimes. The standards with the jackal Upuaut and the throne cushion were borne in front of him. Upuaut, as his name suggests ("Opening the Way"), cleared the trail. Indeed, he was considered an embodiment of the living king. An animate *ankh* sign behind the figure held a spread fan, symbol of the royal shadow, over the royal crown, throwing shade on the ruler and endowing him with divine might.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>27</sup> The *Hwt-bHsw* scene was studied thoroughly by Arno Egberts, *In Quest of Meaning. A Study of the Ancient Egyptian Rites of Consecrating the Meret-Chests and Driving the Calves* (Leiden, 1995).

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 387.

<sup>29</sup> Dietrich Wiedemann, "Lauf," in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, vol. 3, Wolfgang Helck and Wolfhart Westendorf, eds (Wiesbaden, 1980), pp. 939–40; Lanny Bell, "Luxor Temple and the Cult of Royal Ka," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 44/4 (1985), p. 276. The royal *ka*, royal aspect of the ruler, was a vehicle of legitimization. It was the part of his personality received during coronation, power that he drew from his deified father and the fathers of his father. *Ka* was reborn in each successive ruler, imparting on him a divine, supernatural force to renew life, testifying to unity, even identity with the ancestors, even as the forms of manifestation changed.

<sup>30</sup> Lanny Bell, "Aspects of the Cult of the Deified Tutankhamun," in *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, Paule Posener-Kriéger, ed. (Cairo, 1985), pp. 33–35. Bibliothèque d'étude, 97.

Nothing that has remained of the third scene on the wall can help in identifying the nature of the representation. It concerned a non-ithyphallic Amun. It could have been a scene depicting an act of adoration of the god, for example.

The entire opposite wall, passage to the hall of the bark excluded, was occupied by a very elaborate scene of a great sacrifice before an enthroned Amun. The king was presented here in full majesty, with his three titles (**fig. 17**), accompanied by his *ka* (**fig. 18**), and with a dedication of the temple to Amun-Re. The heap of offerings was an exceptionally rich composition, as is only expected in a temple that was the goal of a feast procession (**fig. 19**). The preserved fragment of Amun's speech concerns the "splendid seat of the first occasion," which means that we are dealing with the cosmic context of an eternally repeated first day of creation, on the primeval mound where life began. Texts from the Temple of Hatshepsut precised this place of "first occasion" to be "in the neighborhood of the Lady of Life,"<sup>31</sup> meaning Hathor, and the same phrase can be found in the chapel of Hathor.<sup>32</sup> It follows that the entire valley of Djeseret was considered as the place of the primeval creation of the world with the Hathor Chapel acting as the core, the nucleus.<sup>33</sup> Thus we have here a reference to the role of Hathor as wife of Atum, the female principle or the female aspect of the creator god.

An image of the king seated in front of a table of offerings may have been represented above the doors to the hall of the bark (as in rooms G and H and the bark room, above the same passage). A fragment of a royal throne of appropriate scale and coloring has survived. The king here is a joint addressee of cult actions and partakes of the collected offerings. It can be imagined that in representations of this type it is a royal statue (the king and his ancestors) brought to the temple in procession and erected in the temple.

There was a niche in the center of the west wall and it was the only decorated niche in the temple.<sup>34</sup> The contrast with the neighboring temple of Hatshepsut is striking in this respect. There the deities of the Ennead were shown in the numerous niches; here, in the temple of Tuthmosis, the Ennead appeared a number of times as a collegiate body in the different chambers. In the sole niche found in the temple of Tuthmosis there was no divinity, just an image of the royal *ka*. Thus it was the pharaoh's divinity, representing the divine aspect of the ruler, that was worshipped here. The case is exceptional as nowhere else did the *ka* appear independently, especially in a cult niche, where a ruler, if he does appear, it is never alone but in the company of gods. The king was represented in typical fashion on the side walls of the niche: seated and facing a traditional table laden with halves of bread loaves, under a list of offerings. Iunmutef was shown reciting the proper formulas. The *ka* image may thus be associated with images of the king, although this does not seem justified. It is more logical to associate the *ka* with a statue of an enthroned king, which may have stood once in front of the niche, whereas the unique composition formula of the niche decoration was selected in order to emphasize all that was embodied in the concept of the royal *ka*.

<sup>31</sup> Martina Ullmann, *König für die Ewigkeit. Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren* (Wiesbaden, 2002), pp. 26–36. Ägypten und Altes Testament, 51.

<sup>32</sup> Sethe, *Urkunden...*, op. cit., p. 303.

<sup>33</sup> Regardless of the fact that a similar term may be found in the small temple of Medinet Habu (Sethe, *Urkunden...*, op. cit., pp. 881–82), as well as in the Luxor temple (*ibid.*, p. 1709 and 2040).

<sup>34</sup> Beside it there are two other undecorated niches for Osiride statues, as determined by Janina Wiercińska, on either side of the granite portal leading to the western part of the temple.

Two scenes were placed in symmetrical arrangement on either side of the niche (**fig. 20**). The outer one depicted the king in ceremonial dress, Lower Egyptian on the northern side, decorated with a vertical band of a net with colored beads and a swallow-shaped amulet,<sup>35</sup> and presumably Upper Egyptian on the southern side,<sup>36</sup> with a staff and mace in his hands. The king faced a goddess, clearly Hathor on the southern side and Mut on the northern one, depicted so close together that despite the upper part of the scene on the northern side not being preserved (and only the feet surviving on the southern side) there can be little doubt that the goddess had extended some object, a *sistrum*, *menit* or simply an *ankh*, to his face. In the following scene, right next to the niche, the king was greeted by an enthroned Amun, who also embraced him so heartily that the two figures were almost one. Indeed, that was more than likely the message – a joining with the goddess and unity with the god. A fan was spread out above the king's head in this scene as well, symbolizing divine presence. Above the niche there was a scene of Amun extending the *ankh* sign to a falcon with the Horus name, thus reinforcing the power of the royal *ka*. Thus it was that Tuthmosis III, armed with the might of his divinity, rejuvenated, confirmed and reinforced by the celebration of all the feast rituals, stood in one line with the most important gods of the temple, being worshipped and reborn for “millions of years.”

Translated by Iwona Zych

<sup>35</sup> Diane Patch, “A ‘Lower Egyptian’ Costume. Its Origin, Development and Meaning,” *Journal of American Research Center in Egypt*, 32 (1995), pp. 93–116.

<sup>36</sup> The counterpart of Patch's Lower Egyptian costume is a white robe featuring a vertical band decorated with horizontal color bars. This band is attached to the royal belt with stylized flowers of a lily (papyrus umbels in the Lower Egyptian costume). Completing the costume was a dagger stuck in the belt and the white crown. Such a geographical juxtaposition of the two kinds of dress outside the temple of Tuthmosis III may be found in the Chapelle Blanche, for example, see Pierre Lacau, Henri Chevrier, *Une Chapelle de Sésostris I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak* (Cairo, 1956), scenes 3', 8', 10', 21' (Upper Egyptian costume and white or alternately double crown) and 4' (Lower Egyptian costume and red crown). By the reign of Amenhotep III the adherence to this principle was not strict anymore.