

# The gods bestow life. New material for the study of divine processions in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari



**Abstract:** The decoration of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the queen's temple in Deir el-Bahari resembles the decoration of the square antechamber known from the pyramid temples of the Old and Middle Kingdoms. However, the original decorative program of the vestibule, especially with regard to the processions of divinities, is obscured by changes and damage attributable to different periods. Two new blocks, proposed for the west wall of the vestibule, contribute new information on the relief decoration from the time of Hatshepsut. Egyptological studies of the decoration of the vestibule have also enabled a revision of the suggested architrave arrangement in this chamber.

**Keywords:** Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, Deir el-Bahari, divine processions, wall decoration, architraves

Blocks with decoration matching that of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut in the Royal Cult Complex of the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari were identified in storage during the 2008 season. Two of these blocks were joined [Fig. 1]. Their decoration, presumed original position in the walls and significance in the light of Egyptological studies contribute to the study of the decorative program of the vestibule, as well as to the architectural issue of the reconstruction of the architrave arrangement in this chamber.

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At the same time questions are raised about the original decoration from the time of Hatshepsut and its compliance with a Middle Kingdom tradition. The suggested positioning of the blocks is

somewhat dubious owing to the state of preservation of the blocks as well as of the walls, but the decoration on these surfaces follows the general decorative scheme identified in the vestibule.

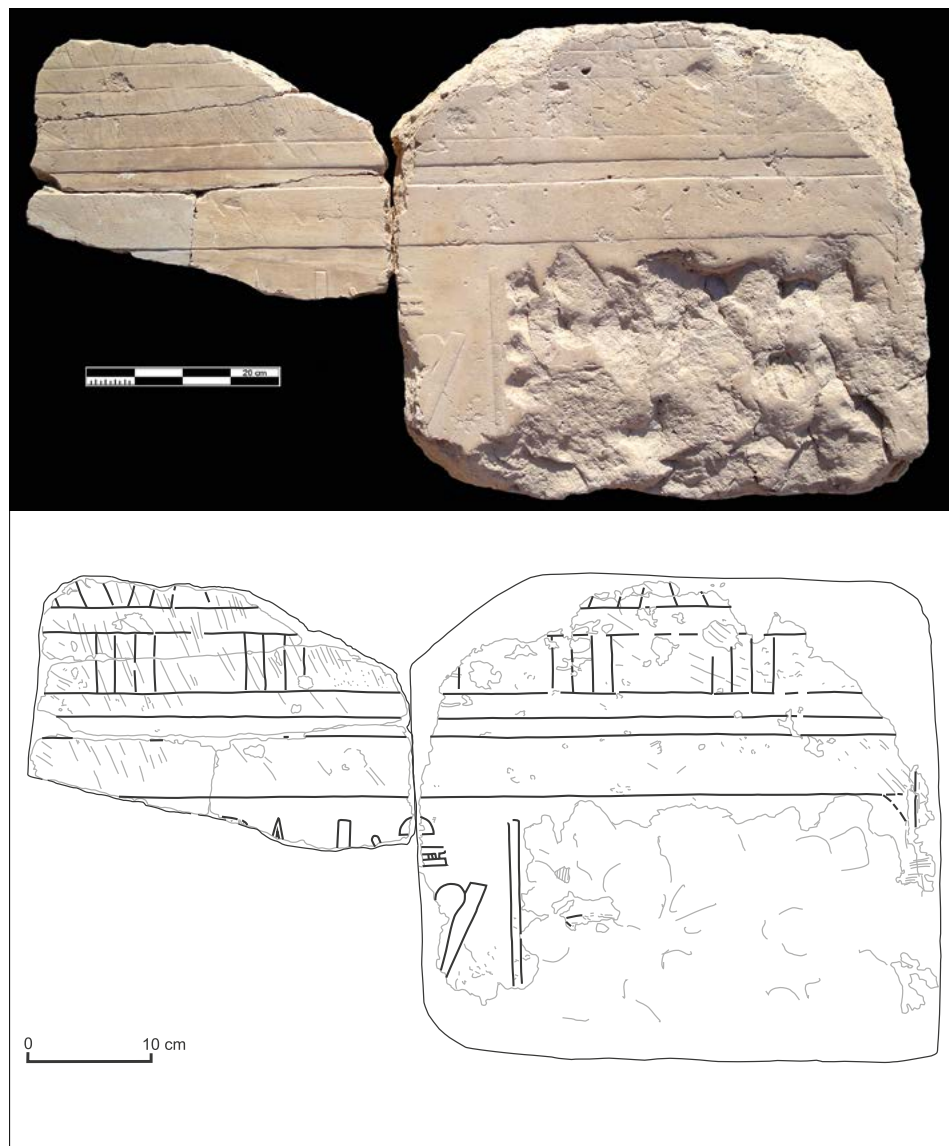


Fig. 1. New blocks B.1522 and B.1523 attributed to the west wall (PCMA UW Temple of Hatshepsut Project/photo D. Czerwik, drawing E. Kopp)

## DECORATION OF THE VESTIBULE OF THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT

A successor of the square antechamber of the Old and Middle Kingdom mortuary temples, the vestibule shares certain features with its predecessors (e.g., Arnold 1997: 67–70, 82). Chief among these is the presence of rows of gods on every wall of the room. The architectural form of the chamber is no longer square<sup>1</sup> but rectangular, and it also opens onto a courtyard, the consequence of this being three instead of four walls bearing decoration in raised relief. The prevailing motif on these three walls is a procession of the gods approaching the entrance to the chapel. The gods are male and female, human and animal-headed, occasionally mummiform. In similarity to the Middle Kingdom reliefs attributed to square antechambers, there are no chapels separating the gods.<sup>2</sup> The cartouche names of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis III appear in front of the gods at irregular intervals. In some cases, the names of the gods are given.

The present condition of the walls highlights a catalog of changes made to the decoration starting from the original construction, the damage incurred over centuries and, in part, modern, 20th

century reconstruction. The decorated surface of the walls as they stand today—the figures of gods and accompanying texts—was destroyed during the Amarna period, but in fact, these reliefs underwent a number of changes over time, starting with the removal of the names and female endings as well as representations of Hatshepsut, followed by the Amarna destruction of divine figures and names and, finally, the post-Amarna restoration of the latter. Later, Coptic and relatively modern, damage did not alter the basic idea behind the ancient decoration.

The decoration as seen today is the effect of the different alterations and ancient restorations. The original decorative program of the gods in procession is preserved solely as line traces in the areas of the feet and hands holding the *was*-scepter at the beginning of some registers or single signs of the text above the gods' heads. The cartouche names of Tuthmosis III are also original except for the sporadically destroyed *nfr*-sign<sup>3</sup> and so is part of a single throne name of Hatshepsut, which was evidently

1 The square form of this chamber is uncertain in the case of the room of Sesostri II at Lahun (it may have been square, Oppenheim 2007: 209) and the antechamber in the Sesostri III pyramid complex at Dahshur (Oppenheim 2002: 139).

2 For the Sesostri II room at Lahun, see Oppenheim 2007; for the Sesostri III room at Dahshur, see Oppenheim 2002: 139. Chapels were optional in the square antechamber of Pepi II (Oppenheim 2002: 139, Note 75).

3 This kind of alteration is difficult to date, but is known from other temples. The latest research takes it to be a way of avoiding a resemblance between the epithet of Tuthmosis III and the throne name of Amenhotep IV. It would have been done by the temple staff on an arbitrary basis and post-dated the Amarna period (Biston-Moulin 2012). However, such erasure is also attested in private tomb context (Dziobek 1994: 73).

left untouched.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the names and figures of the gods are an ancient restoration that is not dated by any restoration inscription. However, there is a foot of a god that was left untouched on the northern part of the west wall. The block attributed to this figure<sup>5</sup> helps to identify this god as Re-Horakhte, one of the two gods, Atum being the other one, whose figures and names were usually not destroyed in other parts of the temple.<sup>6</sup> The identification is based on the typical headdress depicted on this block, similar to one from the Solar Complex, for example (Karkowski 2003: Pl. 19A). Behind the god, in a text rendered in the first person, a god bestows wishes of life and dominium on the Horus name of Tuthmosis III. The presence of such texts next to the gods' names should be expected in other parts of the decoration as well, but hardly any relevant marks can be traced on the destroyed surface of the vestibule walls. There are blocks, complete and fragmentary (B.617, B.843, B.852, B.873, unpublished), showing these elements to a different extent: the destroyed figures of

gods, restored divine names and the cartouche names of Tuthmosis III. Distinct traces of texts with wishes are also visible under the hammered decoration.

The two blocks, B.1522 and B.1523 [see Fig. 1], share some of the described features. Their state of preservation is different: B.1522 is fragmentary (H. 22 cm, W. 31 cm), whereas B.1523 is complete (H. 39.5 cm, W. 42–42.5 cm, D. 16 cm), although evidently reused (smoothed, as if it had seen reuse as a pavement block) in addition to having the reliefs erased.<sup>7</sup> Neither block preserves any color or trace of undertaken restorations. The main element of the decoration preserved on B.1522 is the frame running around the composition: a decorative border with the lower parts of a *kheker*-frieze and a sky band. Three groups of signs are written below this band, facing left, each being the beginning of a text in a column: the upper part of an oval sign bearing delicate traces of destruction, a partly preserved sign *di* written as a forearm with a hand holding a conical loaf (Gardiner's list D37)

4 Such an interpretation of the fragmentary *ka*-sign in a cartouche is suggested by the position at the beginning of the register. One could possibly read the longer version of the throne name of Tuthmosis III here.

5 B.2481, proposed earlier, see unpublished reconstruction of the west wall in the PCMA archives.

6 The names and figures of these gods are left untouched in other parts of the temple: Solar Complex (Karkowski 2003: 54–55), Middle Terrace (Naville 1896: Pl. 46), northern part of the Middle Terrace (Naville 1898: Pl. 58). Solar elements, like the name of the god Re and the solar disks are also preserved, see Re and Khepri (as a winged scarab) in the Solar Complex (Karkowski 2003: 54–55).

7 The block bears another inventory number, F.224. Numbers starting with an F generally belong to the inventory of the PCMA UW Temple of Tuthmosis III research project at Deir el-Bahari. However, they were also used by the Polish mission to the Temple of Hatshepsut during the first seasons of work (Dąbrowski 1964: 41, 48), especially for the blocks and architectural elements included in the pavement of the Upper Court (Dąbrowski 1964: 47–48). The low number suggests that it could have come from there, but it is not mentioned among the blocks numbered by Dąbrowski.

and the half-a-bread sign and under it the beginning of the sledge sign (Gardiner's list U15). The upper part of B.1523 repeats the sequence of the partly preserved *kheker*-frieze and the sky below. The right end of the sky image has been preserved. The lower part of the block is decorated with a continuation of the text of B.1522: the second half-a-bread sign and the sledge. The back of the double crown is preserved below these signs. Behind the group of signs and crown there is a separating line and the entire area behind it was hammered out once.

Together B.1522 and B.1523 show a sequence of the two gods; such a theme of gods in procession is well attested on the walls of the vestibule. Atum, identified by his name, comes first; his iconography here was the same as in other parts of the temple (Naville 1896: Pl. 46; Karkowski 2003: 54 and Pl. 25B), although only the double crown is preserved. The second god was hammered out completely. This demonstrates how alterations were made to the reliefs in the vestibule: the bodies of the gods and the captions, as well as

the undecorated surface between other figures and texts were hammered out but afterwards restored. However, in the case of B. 1523 no evidence of restoration can be traced. The only place where B.1523 would have fitted in the vestibule, considering the direction of the decoration, is the northern part of the west wall, where the gods are facing left, toward the entrance to the Chapel of Hatshepsut (they face right on the southern part of the west wall on the opposite side of the chapel entrance). Moreover, the *kheker*-frieze on the matching blocks, measuring about 40 cm in height, points to the uppermost register of the wall, which in the case of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut has not been preserved and no blocks have been attributed to it yet. The west wall of the vestibule is inclined, requiring blocks to be inclined as well, although this is not evident for B.1522, which is too small, and is uncertain in the case of B.1523.<sup>8</sup> Other criteria should be used therefore in order to place these blocks in the original decorative program of this temple.

## ICONOGRAPHY OF SCENES WITH PROCESSIONS OF GODS

In Egyptian temple iconography the figures of gods are generally identified by their names, but also by specific texts depending on the scene type, usually expressing wishes bestowed on the pharaoh by the gods. The texts can take on various forms, but the verb used is usually *rdi* 'to give' in the third person form *sḏm=f*. Reliefs, dated to the Middle Kingdom

and later, customarily show this sentence in front of the name of the god facing the king; it is thus inserted between the divine giver of life and the royal recipient (Fischer 1977: 105). However, examples with the opposite arrangement are known; the sentence follows the god's name (Fischer 1977: Note 294). The wish formulae accompa-

8 Architects have expressed contradictory opinions regarding the sloping surface of block B.1523.

nied the gods in the square antechamber of the Old and Middle Kingdoms in a line or in columns above their heads or between them (Jéquier 1938: Pls 46, 50; Oppenheim 2002: 139). On the reliefs of the Deir el-Bahari Temple of Hatshepsut, the direct speech of the god is introduced by the *dd-mdw* 'recitation' and a verb in *sdm.n=f* form, usually *di.n(=i) n=k* (followed by wishes) (e.g., Naville 1898: Pl. 59; 1908: Pl. 154) or by a statement introduced by *in.n(=i)* (e.g., Naville 1908: Pl. 152) in column(s) reaching the level of the ground in front of the god (e.g., Naville 1898: Pl. 59). It can also have the form of a caption placed above the god as indirect speech with the god's name written at the end (e.g., Naville 1896: Pl. 41). Rarely, the name is introduced in front of a god by *dd-mdw in* 'recitation by' (e.g., last figure, left side, Naville 1906: Pl. 128). Very often, the name appears at the end of a text, occasionally with the epithet(s) (e.g., Naville 1898: Pl. 59; 1901: Pl. 92=Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 18a,b).<sup>9</sup> In scenes with a single god in front of the king, the god's utterance is placed behind (e.g., Naville 1896: Pl. 43) or above him because of composition issues, leaving the space in front for performing and describing activities. The caption in the third person (*di=f/di=s* wishes), in columns above the head of the gods, features a different writing of the verbal form using the conical loaf (Gardiner's list X8)<sup>10</sup> or the

sign of a forearm with hand holding the conical loaf (Gardiner's list D37);<sup>11</sup> however, the name of the god with the epithet(s) is at the end.

The original decoration of blocks B.1522 and B.1523 shows the name of the god following the wishes. The oval shape in front of them should be one of the cartouche names of Hatshepsut. On the west wall, the throne name is attested at the beginning of a few registers, but the birth name cannot be found. Therefore, the original decoration of the walls of the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut seems to feature the gods with individual wishes facing the throne name of Hatshepsut at the beginning of the registers and, irregularly, the two cartouche names of Tuthmosis III. The gods are striding, holding the *was*-scepter in one hand and the *ankh*-sign in the other. The wishes they pronounce could be formulated as the caption (in the third person) and as their speech in columns occupying the entire height of the registers. This could be the reason for the whole surface around the gods being destroyed in Amarna times. In fact, there are also a few blocks showing the rest of conventional wishes of the *di=f ʿnh nb* type under the destroyed surface, sometimes restored with the name of a god standing in front of one of the cartouche names of Tuthmosis III (see above, page 278). They could belong to the upper registers of the vestibule walls, where the hammering and resto-

9 There are cases, however, of a reversed order. For the royal *ka*, see Naville 1906: Pl. 131, not graphically, but written in retrograde, see Naville 1906: Pl. 127.

10 See, e.g., the texts above Hathor and Amun (Naville 1901: Pl. 99=Beaux 2012: Pl. 16).

11 See, e.g., the text above a god in the lower register (Naville 1901: Pl. 87=Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 2a,b,c,f).



rations appear not to have been done very carefully. As known from other parts of the temple, the hammering (at the order of Tuthmosis III as well as during the Amarna period) was often done inconsistently, omitting without any special reason parts of the wall decoration. An example of this can be found in the procession of the Ennead depicted in front of the enthroned Amun on the south wall of the Birth Portico on the Middle Terrace (Naville 1896: Pl. 46). The gods and their names, except for those of Atum which were divided into two registers, were destroyed during the Amarna period. However, in front of the restored Seth name, the caption to this god (*di=f nḥ w3s dd snb nb hr=f* 'He gives all life, dominium and stability from him') and the traces of a similar inscription next to Atum and also Hathor testify that each god was accompanied by conventional wishes. Additionally, the restoration inscription of Ramesses II suggests that restorations with only the divine names were done by this king. The decoration was restored in a similar way in the vestibule, but there is no renovation inscription to give a date to this action. It is viable, therefore, to assume that the vestibule restorations can be attributed to this ruler, although the issue requires further study.

Decoration changes effected by the restorations are attested, for example, in the Hathor Shrine. Traces of texts referring to the enthroned gods, represented in three registers on the eastern part of the south wall of the Vestibule, suggest that the text of a god's speech starting with the *dd-mdw* 'recitation' originally preceded each deity. The restorations, however, changed this scheme, introducing only the names next to each god (Beaux 2012: 29, Pl. 7).<sup>12</sup> Additionally, the order of the names was also changed.

The reconstruction introducing blocks B.1522 and B.1523 clearly shows that the decoration scheme was not homogeneous, additionally hampering the identification of epigraphic material from the walls of the vestibule. A good example of such decorative diversity is the east wall of the vestibule: a god depicted on the east wall in the lowermost register and facing the southern niche of the vestibule is clearly the first in the procession. The decoration of the east wall should therefore be assumed as an extension of that on the south wall. There, a two-column text of the speech of gods to the king appears in front of the three registers of small gods. This text matches the beginning of the decoration with the procession of gods, resembling the west wall where there

12 The preserved text in columns at the beginning of each register introduced by *dd-mdw* 'recitation' should be read *di.n(=i) (...) hr=n* 'I have given (...) from us'; for a different proposition, see Beaux 2012: 30–31. The idea that each god speaks individually, but refers to the community (*hr=n*) of gods, is not only clear by the different writing of *n* in each case, but also by the fact that in such a context (i.e., direct speech), the *sdm.n=f* form is expected, as well as visible traces of *dd-mdw* in the uppermost register, suggesting the original reconstruction with the speech of each god (Beaux 2012: 29).

were also single columns with a similar text in front of the gods on each part of the wall. No such text was attested on the east wall.

Groups of smaller-scale figures of gods in raised relief, expressing wishes of life, stability and dominium, are present in other parts of the Hatshepsut temple.

## SCENES WITH GODS FROM THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT IN DEIR EL-BAHARI

The general iconographical scheme is that gods who are not the object of ritual activity and are rendered in small scale, meaning their figures do not occupy the full height of the wall, usually approach the king, holding the *was*-scepter in one hand and the *ankh* in the other. Single striding gods in three registers can confront the king himself or his expected presence as in the Chapel of Tuthmosis I (Karkowski 2001b: 148–150) and the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Karkowski 2001b: Fig. 27 on page 148)<sup>13</sup> flanking the false doors. Single gods in two registers are represented on each wall of the higher niches with Osiride statues of Hatshepsut in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard (Karkowski 2001b: 137–138). In the Hathor Shrine on the Middle Terrace, in three scenes with a kiosk, single gods appear after the representation of Hathor in her cow form; twice a single god<sup>14</sup> and once a single god shown twice in two

registers.<sup>15</sup> On the south and north complete walls of the Bark Hall, two gods (or collective divinities, also the royal *kas*) in each of the three registers depicted behind the bark assist in the offering made by Hatshepsut to Hathor.<sup>16</sup> Two gods are shown standing, each in a separate register, in the northern part of the lowest terrace, in front of a scene presenting Hatshepsut as a sphinx trampling the enemies (Naville 1908: 7, Pl. 160).

In almost all these scenes the gods are surrounded by texts containing their speeches, but the Amarna destruction usually concentrated on the figures and names of gods. Different schemes of the arrangement of the divine name and caption were used within the frame of a single scene.<sup>17</sup>

Groups of three or more gods are less common, but they also express wishes of long life, health and happiness.<sup>18</sup> The mummiform gods are present on the east

13 Two gods in a row are depicted in the smaller registers next to the false-door stela in the Chapel of Hatshepsut.

14 The west wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall, see Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 20a,b,c,d (south part) and Pls 21 a,b,e,f (north part).

15 The north part of the facade of the Hathor Shrine, in sunk relief, see Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 2 a,b,e,f.

16 South wall, see Beaux 2012: 122–127, Pl. 31; north wall, see Beaux 2012: 134–136, Pl. 32.

17 Compare the scenes from the Bark Hall, where in most cases texts in the third person expressing wishes come first and are followed with a divine name. A reversed order occurs as well.

18 Scenes from the Solar Complex discussed below are exceptional. Except for the scene with Atum from the west wall of the Vestibule there, the other three scenes are poorly preserved, but the reconstruction suggests a different pattern.



wall of the southern niche in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Naville 1906: Pl. 127).

The solar bark depicted in the Solar Complex, on the west wall of the Vestibule of the Altar Courtyard, above the doorway (Karkowski 2003: 150, Pls 25B, 26), should hold a group of gods and include the king.<sup>19</sup> But the only divinity preserved as the original image is Atum with his name above the double crown and the caption in front: *di=f ḥnh dd w3s* 'He gives life, stability and divine power' (after Karkowski 2003: 150). Karkowski noted that his presence here was hypothetical, because the exact dimensions of the block are not known and it exists only in a photograph of the Egypt Exploration Fund. Karkowski also suggested that it could have belonged to the decoration of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut. The suggestion is plausible, but the dimensions that can be read from the images exclude it, namely, the scale of the figure seems to be too large.<sup>20</sup>

Another solar bark with a group of gods is restored in the middle of the northern part of the east wall of the Vestibule of the Altar Courtyard in the Solar Complex (Karkowski 2003: 157, 222, Pls 29, 30, 39). The gods are described only by name and a group of male gods in prayer was probably depicted below

the bark. Similarly, another bark with the gods was restored in the middle of the southern part (Karkowski 2003: 178, 224, Pls 34, 39).

The gods of Upper and Lower Egypt appear in the decoration of the Middle Terrace, represented symbolically in two rows of three male divinities, each with the *was*-scepter and *ankh*-sign (Naville 1898: 1, Pl. 56). The queen is being presented to them. The texts in the line above them explain that the gods of Upper Egypt express their good wishes in the upper register and those of Lower Egypt in the lower one.

The south wall of the Middle Terrace shows the Ennead in front of an enthroned Amun (Naville 1896: Pl. 46). Twelve gods are identified only by names, but this is a later restoration; the rest of the original decoration shows that the gods were accompanied by a standard text containing wishes. Another group of gods was depicted behind the enthroned Amun. A symbolic number of three kneeling gods gesturing in jubilation was represented in the three small registers in front of Seshat and Thot seated in a separate register: the uppermost group of the gods of the south is jackal-headed; then come the hawk-headed gods of the north, and in the lowermost register the gods with human bodies connected also with the north (Naville 1898: 4–5, Pl. 60).

19 Compare the bark from the Chapel of Hatshepsut: Naville 1901: 10, Pl. 115 and Karkowski 2003: 153 and Pl. 81.

20 The arrangement of the caption would point to a location in the vestibule (questioning the actual scheme of the procession of the gods in the original decoration), but without the actual dimensions and judging by the iconographical scheme, all that can be said is that the Atum on the block from the EEF photograph reconstructed by Karkowski in the solar bark should be part of a similar procession of gods from the Middle Terrace (Naville 1896: Pl. 46) rather than part of a bark scene (compare Naville 1901: Pl. 115 and Karkowski 2003: Pl. 81).

On the south side of the Lower Terrace, one finds a group of striding gods depicted next to a scene of the transport of obelisks (Naville 1908: 4, Pl. 154).<sup>21</sup>

Unlike all the described scenes with gods, the decoration of blocks B.1522 and B.1523 has one additional feature: the upper part of an oval sign bearing fine traces of destruction, which should be interpreted as the remains of a cartouche name. The scale of the gods here also seems to be smaller than in other places, although it is compliant with that of the *in situ* reliefs of the vestibule. The cartouche name in front of the gods is not introduced by any epithet. This manner of presentation of the cartouche names is characteristic of the decoration with the procession of gods in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut. Except for the east wall, where, curiously, only the birth name has been preserved, usually both cartouche names of Tuthmosis III appear in front of the gods. However, the remains of the cartouche name on block B.1522 seem to indicate Hatshepsut. On the west wall of the vestibule, the cartouches of Hatshepsut appear at the beginning of the three registers and they show her throne

name (although nothing but the *ka* sign is preserved in one case and it does not bear any trace of alterations). In the other five registers, either no trace of a cartouche can be found on the destroyed surface or, in two cases, the surface is totally unpreserved. There is no evidence of the birth name as the second cartouche in front of the next god in any case. However, identification by a single name is known from other contexts. For example, the throne name alone identifies Hatshepsut in the scenes from the Bark Hall next to Hathor in the cow form (Beaux 2012: Pls 31 and 32) and in speeches of the gods.<sup>22</sup> The scheme with a single cartouche name is supported by block B.2481 showing the upper part of a god identified as Re-Horakhte. The text behind this god with the Horus name of Tuthmosis III does not leave any room for a cartouche. However, it is also possible that there are other reasons for the absence of any traces, such as the smoothing of all cartouches by Tuthmosis III or destruction of the surface in the Amarna period. One could also consider there being no regular pattern to the decoration or changes being introduced during the process of decoration.

## ORIGINAL ORDER OF THE GODS

The order of the gods in the decorative program of the square antechamber in the Old Kingdom pyramid temples was geographical by intent (Oppenheim 2002: 140 with Note 88). In the best preserved square antechamber, belonging to the pyramid temple of Pepi II, the gods of Upper

Egypt were depicted on the south and west walls, while those of Lower Egypt on the east and north walls (Jéquier 1938: 35–53). For the Middle Kingdom, the geographical arrangement does not seem as certain. In the square antechamber of Sesostri III at Dahshur, the principle behind the or-

21 More blocks from this scene are in the temple stores.

22 For example, speeches of Hathor in the sanctuary of the Hathor Shrine (Beaux 2012: Pls 39, 40).

ganization of the deities is obscured by the state of preservation, but it may have been other than geography (Oppenheim 2002: 139–141); perhaps the ritual function of the gods should be considered there instead (Oppenheim 2007: 214).

However, a geographical division of the gods of Upper and Lower Egypt is present on temple gates that are judged to have entered the mortuary as well as other Middle and New Kingdom temple decorative programs from the decoration of the square antechamber (Arnold 1997: 82). These gates have the gods of Lower or Upper Egypt on the door frames, according to the geographical direction as confirmed by the main motif represented in the central place on the lintel: the double *sed*-festival pavilion scene.<sup>23</sup> The oldest attestation of the motif of a pavilion on the lintel together with gods accompanied by chapels on the door frames is the gate of Sesostri III from Medamud (Willems 1984: Pl. 7), which

clearly served as a model for the gate of Sobekhotep I (Eder 2002: 85; new drawing in Eder 2002: Pl. 43). No example of such a doorway from the Middle or New Kingdoms can be attributed to a square antechamber or its later equivalent.<sup>24</sup> Moreover, the inscriptions running in columns on both doorjambs are identical in the said temples, contrary to the vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, where they are different and run on the wall.

The doorways with the *sed*-festival scene could be an inspiration rather than a model or direct copy. The *sed*-festival scene on the west wall could suggest geographical factors and a division of the wall into the northern and southern parts. Thus, the gods may have referred originally to the two parts of the Egyptian state. Original figures of Atum and Re-Horakhte in the northern part of the west wall would correspond then to the Lower Egyptian divinities.<sup>25</sup> The cartouche names could have also been inspired by the decoration of the gates.

## ARRANGEMENT OF ARCHITRAVES IN THE VESTIBULE OF THE CHAPEL OF HATSHEPSUT

The placement of blocks B.1522 and B.1523 in the northern uppermost register of the west wall has an additional consequence, for it contributes to the data on the arrangement of the architraves in the vestibule. The decoration of the vesti-

bule was executed in raised relief, hence the space must have been roofed. In the Complex of the Royal Cult, raised relief decoration is present in both chapel vestibules, while sunk relief was used on the walls of the Courtyard. The Vestibule of

23 However, for the gate of Sobekhotep I, despite the division into Upper and Lower Egypt suggested by the chapels behind the gods, it was suggested that most of them belonged to Upper Egypt (Eder 2002: 94).

24 See, for example, lists of such doorways in Eder 2002: 92, Note 236; Karkowski 2001a: Note 59, and Arnold 1997: Note 151 on pages 269–270.

25 However, a clear geographical connection to the north is well known only from later sources, mainly temples: Leitz 2002/VII: 413 (H), Atum; 2002/IV: 631 (F), Re-Horakhte.

the Chapel of Hatshepsut was open on the north, sharing parts of the west and east wall with the Courtyard.

There are two approaches to the issue of the arrangement of the architraves in the Complex of the Royal Cult<sup>26</sup> and they share one feature: one architrave is positioned in the parts of the walls where sunk relief was used. In the vestibule itself, either two or one architraves are proposed. Two architraves placed parallel to the first one, aligned east–west, were put forward by Karkowski (1983: 150 and Fig. 8).<sup>27</sup> A single architrave perpendicular to the first one was suggested by Arnold (2003: 104). In light of new material and a verification of the proposed reconstructions, the following changes to both propositions can be made.

The decoration of blocks B.1522 and B.1523 suggests a change of the position of the architrave from the Courtyard wall decoration to the vestibule. One would expect an architrave to follow the small block with the decorative border directly behind block B.1523.<sup>28</sup> Consequently, the decoration in raised relief would appear under the architrave. Such an arrangement of the architrave, between

the sunk and raised relief sections, is attested in the Vestibule of the Chapel of Tuthmosis I in the Complex of the Royal Cult (Karkowski 1983: 150–151, Fig. 8; Barwik forthcoming), but also in the First Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine.<sup>29</sup> However, other divisions of the inner and outer relief forms are also present in this temple. For example, on the north and south walls of the Middle Terrace, the decoration in raised relief starts behind an architrave.

The position of architraves in the vestibule part of the east wall cannot be verified for lack of preserved decoration in the uppermost registers. But a reconstruction with blocks B.1522 and B.1523 excludes the presence of three architraves. Thus, one should take into consideration Arnold's proposition. A perpendicular architrave with its setting on the south wall seems to be the most probable despite there being no decoration on the wall itself either in favor or against this solution.

The presence of architraves necessitated changes in the wall decoration. The best example of the modification of a register that should be smaller under an

26 General temple plans do not as a rule include a reconstruction of the position of architraves and columns in the Complex of the Royal Cult.

27 After him, e.g., Iwaszczuk 2017: 114, Figs 78, 81. The arrangement of columns on a general plan presented in a later publication shows that Karkowski remained true to his original proposition (Karkowski 2003: Pl. B).

28 Assuming the presence of a single Hatshepsut cartouche name, the width of the architrave could be about 77 cm. Two cartouches would make room for one more god in front of both blocks and then the width of the architrave would be about 60 cm. However, the space for an additional god and cartouche would be very narrow. For the possible dimensions of the architraves in the temple of Hatshepsut, see Dąbrowski 1964: 54–58.

29 Clearly visible on the western part of the south wall (Beaux, Karkowski et al. 2016: Pls 8g [drawing] and 8h [photo]). The reconstruction of the north wall does not show any sign of the architrave, but changes of the decorative program can be observed there (Beaux et al. 2016: Pls 9g [drawing] and 9h [photo]).

architrave is the west wall of the square antechamber of the Pepi II pyramid temple. The proposed reconstruction shows that the number of striding gods was reduced and two pairs of baboons sitting in front of chapels and a short text were depicted directly under the architrave (Jéquier 1938: 44, Pl. 50). The new blocks reconstructed in the west wall of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut show also that the room available for individual gods differed from that in the lower (reworked) registers of the same wall.

The position of Atum in the uppermost register of the northern half of the wall suggests the direction for the reading of the decoration. In other places, the groups of gods with Atum are counted from the lowermost register. Atum was originally the second of the twelve gods in front of the enthroned Amun in the scene next to the Birth Portico (Naville 1896: Pl. 46).<sup>30</sup> In a scene from the Vestibule of the Hathor Shrine, a restored Atum is the third seated god in a group that was restored in its entirety (Beaux 2012: 29–32, Pl. 7).<sup>31</sup> In the

Complex of the Royal Cult, the reading of the scenes should be reversed. The original Atum in the uppermost register suggests a reading of the scenes from the uppermost to the lower registers.<sup>32</sup> Other decoration in this part of the temple supports this idea. The arrangement of the nome procession on the northern part of the east wall of the Courtyard of the Complex of the Royal Cult suggests an up-to-down reading (Białostocka 2014: 26). In this way, the nomes of Lower Egypt follow those of Upper Egypt. Such an arrangement suggests also that the gods in the procession on the southern part of the east wall could have originally belonged to both parts of Egypt. However, at least on the west wall of the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the original division, which may have been kept through the restoration, was for the northern wing to refer to the Lower Egyptian gods and the southern one to the Upper Egyptian ones, following in this the direction set by the *sed*-festival scene on the doorway lintel.

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30 For such a reading of the sequence of the Ennead, see Barta 1973: 65–73, especially 66 (14).

31 For the sequence of gods, see Barta 1973: 65–73, especially 66 (15).

32 Atum is often listed at the beginning of the divine groups, see Leitz 2002/VII: 412–413.

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