

INSTITUT DES CULTURES MÉDITERRANÉENNES ET ORIENTALES
DE L'ACADÉMIE POLONAISE DES SCIENCES

ÉTUDES et TRAVAUX
XXVII
2014

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*The Legacy of Senwosret I
During the Reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III*

The kings of ancient Egypt venerated their royal ancestors in many ways, establishing or reactivating their cults, nominating their priests and giving them offerings of water and incense on many occasions. Among the rulers worshipped during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and later during the sole reign of Thutmose III, a special position was given to Senwosret I. It is important to emphasise that both kings, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, followed Senwosret I's architectural and decorative programme and reorganised his cult in Thebes. References to the cult of Senwosret I during their reign are not numerous, but highly significant.

Detailed study of all aspects of the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III has shown parallels in the religious policies of these rulers and their distant predecessor on the throne of Egypt, Senwosret I. One may suppose that this was a product of the means by which succession to the throne was handled over time.

There are many common features that characterise the reign of Senwosret I and the reigns of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III: co-regency,¹ doubts about the legality of succession, extensive building activity across the entire country and the role of influential officials who supervised building projects (the vizier Mentuhotep under Senwosret I and the steward Senenmut under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III).

The question is if there are any important causal factors that made these two different periods similar in so many aspects, for example the placing of Senwosret I in such a high position among royal ancestors. It seems that Hatshepsut and Thutmose III followed Senwosret I not only as a great king and builder. They also used their noble ancestor as a model informing some of their own religious policies.

THE ARCHITECTURAL AND DECORATIVE PROGRAMME OF TEMPLES

Hatshepsut and Thutmose III built their temples according to tradition, while also developing it creatively,² although it must be stressed that some features which characterised

* This study has been conducted within the research project of the National Science Centre no. 2012/05/N/HS3/01733 'Prowincja Egiptu od Synaju do Pierwszej Katarakty w czasach Hatshepsut [Province of Egypt from Sinai to the First Cataract during the reign of Hatshepsut]'.

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Ewa Laskowska-Kusztal and Dr. Andrzej Ćwiek for their helpful suggestions and stimulating discussion, as well as to Barbara Majchrzak and Dr. Jo B. Harper for correcting my English.

¹ The co-regency of Amenemhat I and Senwosret I has been doubted by many scholars. For arguments pro co-regency see: W.K. SIMPSON, *The Single-Dated Monuments of Sesostri I: An Aspect of the Institution of Coregency in the Twelfth Dynasty*, *JNES* 15, 1956, pp. 214–219; W.J. MURNANE, *In Defense of the Middle Kingdom Double Dates*, *BES* 3, 1981, pp. 73–82. For arguments against co-regency see: R.D. DELIA, *A New Look at Some Old Dates: a Reexamination of Twelfth Dynasty Double Dated Inscriptions*, *BES* 1, 1979, pp. 15–28; ID., *Doubts about Double Dates and Coregencies*, *BES* 4, 1982, pp. 55–69; W. HELCK, *Schwachstellen der Chronologie-Diskussion*, *GM* 67, 1983, pp. 43–49; ID., *Anmerkungen zum Turiner Königspapyrus*, *SAK* 19, 1992, p. 174; D. FRANKE, *Das Heiligtum des Heqaib auf Elephantine. Geschichte eines Provinzheiligtums im Mittleren Reich*, *SAGA* 9, Heidelberg 1994, pp. XI–XIII; C. OBSOMER, *Sésostri I^{er}. Étude chronologique et historique du règne*, *CEA* 5, Bruxelles 1995, pp. 45–145; C. VANDERSLEYEN, *L'Égypte et la Vallée 2. De la fin de l'Ancien Empire à la fin du Nouvel Empire*, Paris 1995, pp. 50–52; N. FAVRY, *Sésostri I^{er} et le début de la XII^e dynastie*, Paris 2009, pp. 49–51.

² See A. Ćwiek in this volume.

temple architecture and decoration at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty had been adopted precisely from Senwosret I's constructions.

One of the most important acts – and one with multiple ramifications – of Senwosret I was the construction of the temple of Karnak from scratch. The decision was probably taken in his 9th or 10th year on the throne,³ although, most of constructions were undertaken on the occasion of his first *sed*-festival.⁴ He created there ‘his place of coronation (*h^cw*) anew’, as he stated on the southern architrave of the *Chapelle Blanche*.⁵ The place of coronation of Senwosret I remains unknown, and we can only assume that it happened in Heliopolis.⁶ Hatshepsut and Thutmose III followed Senwosret I's act of creation of the temple and to a large degree repeated the arrangement of the temple complex.⁷ According to the inscriptions, the Karnak temple was the place of coronation for them.⁸

³ Cf. L. GABOLDE, Le « Grand Château d'Amon » de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak, *MAIBL* 17, Paris 1998, pp. 41–42, Pls IV–VI and references there.

⁴ This is noted for most of the constructions of Senwosret I: P. LACAU, H. CHEVRIER, Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak, Le Caire 1969 [= Chapelle de Sésostri I^{er}], Pls 10, 13, 14, 19–21, 25–27, 29, 33–36, 40, 41; GABOLDE, Grand Château d'Amon, Pls XIX, XX, XXXII, XXXIII; L. COTELLE-MICHEL, Présentation préliminaire des blocs de la chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} découverte dans le IX^e pylône de Karnak, *CahKarn* XI, 2003, pp. 348, 352, Figs 10, 13, Pl. IX.

⁵ LACAU, CHEVRIER, Chapelle de Sésostri I^{er}, p. 44, Pl. 10 [A2].

⁶ The place of coronation of most Egyptian rulers remains unknown. The assumption that Heliopolis was the place of coronation of Senwosret I can be based on some minor pieces of information, e.g. LACAU, CHEVRIER, Une chapelle de Sésostri I^{er} à Karnak, p. 99 (scene 1').

⁷ Most recently see e.g. J.-FR. JET, Sondages archéologiques dans l'avant-cour nord du VI^e pylône, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 355–372; ID., Recherches archéologiques dans la cour nord du VI^e pylône, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 285–326; G. CHARLOUX, Karnak au Moyen Empire, l'enceinte et les fondations des magasins du temple d'Amon-Rê, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 191–226; ID., Sondage dans la cour sud du VI^e pylône, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 227–246; ID., Typologie sommaire des poteries du début du Moyen Empire provenant des cours du VI^e pylône, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 247–260; ID., Une canalisation en grès du début de la XVIII^e dynastie et résultats complémentaires du chantier “Ha”, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 261–284; G. CHARLOUX, E. ARNAUDIÈS-MONTÉLIMARD, L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III et l'avant-porte du VI^e pylône, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 107–190; E. LANOË, Fouilles à l'est du VI^e pylône: l'avant-cour sud et le passage axial, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 373–390; F. LARCHÉ, Nouvelles observations sur les monuments du Moyen et du Nouvel Empire dans la zone centrale du temple d'Amon, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 407–592; F. BURGOS, F. LARCHÉ, La chapelle Rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout II, Paris 2008; J.-FR. CARLOTTI, E. CZERNY, L. GABOLDE, Sondage autour de la plate-forme en grès de la « Cour du Moyen Empire », *CahKarn* 13, 2010, pp. 111–193; L. GABOLDE, Mise au point sur l'orientation du temple d'Amon-Rê à Karnak en direction du lever du soleil au solstice d'hiver, *CahKarn* 13, 2010, pp. 243–256; J.-FR. JET, Sondages dans la cour nord du V^e pylône. Résultats et étude d'un dépôt de fondation de la XVIII^e dynastie, *CahKarn* 13, 2010, pp. 257–295; D. VALBELLE, E. LAROZE, Un sanctuaire de Thoutmosis III à la déesse Ipy Ouret, édifié à Karnak par le premier prophète d'Amon Menkhéperréséneb, *CahKarn* 13, 2010, pp. 401–428; G. CHARLOUX, R. MENSAN, Karnak avant la XVIII^e dynastie. Contribution à l'étude des vestiges en brique crue des premiers temples d'Amon-Rê, Paris 2012; L. GABOLDE, Le parvis et la porte du IV^e pylône: considérations sur une chapelle et des obélisques, [*in*.] Chr. Zivie-Coche, I. Guerneur (Eds), Parcourir l'éternité. Hommages Jean Yoyotte, *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, Sciences religieuses* 156, Turnhout 2012, pp. 459–481; ID., Remarques sur le chemisage des obélisques de la Ouadjyt et sa datation, *CahKarn* 14, 2013, pp. 383–399; D. LORAND, Une “Chapelle des Ancêtres” à Karnak sous Sésostri I^{er} ?, *CahKarn* 14, 2013, pp. 447–466.

⁸ Coronation of Hatshepsut: E. NAVILLE, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III. End of the Northern Half and Southern Half of the Middle Platform, *EEF* 16, London 1898 [= Temple of Deir el-Bahari], Pls 59–63; F. BURGOS, F. LARCHÉ, La chapelle Rouge. Le sanctuaire de barque d'Hatshepsout I. Fac-similés et photographies des

ARCHITECTURE

PROCESSIONAL CHAPELS

It is very likely that Senwosret I was responsible for the introduction of processional chapels to the temple complex. Two such chapels built by him are known from Karnak: the *Chapelle Blanche*⁹ and the small chapel found in the Ninth Pylon.¹⁰ This tradition was not continued¹¹ and Hatshepsut and Thutmose III cultivated and even improved it. The bark chapels and stations of different kinds were characteristic for temple architecture during the reign of these two rulers. In the Karnak temple they rebuilt the *Mn-mnw* chapel mentioned in the sources,¹² and Thutmose III also erected the alabaster chapel at the Sacred Lake.¹³ Under the reign of Hatshepsut, the processional chapels outside the main temple complex were attested for the first time. The most important and best known processional alley created by Hatshepsut consisted of six bark stations (mentioned in the sources, one still *in situ*) and led from Karnak to the Luxor temple.¹⁴ There was also a bark station on the west bank situated in the middle of the processional alley of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁵ In Asasif, the bark station at the processional alley leading to the *Dsr-3ht* temple was erected by Thutmose III.¹⁶ During his reign, processional chapels were not reserved for the Karnak temple only. In the area of North

scènes, Paris 2006 [= Chapelle Rouge I], pp. 30–42; coronation of Thutmose III: *Urk.* IV, 156.13–162.8; and recently: A. MIRONOVA, Коронация Хатшепсут и Тутмоса III: анализ политического мифа, *VDI* 3, 2011, pp. 95–106.

⁹ LACAU, CHEVRIER, Chapelle de Sésostris I^{er}.

¹⁰ C. TRAUNECKER, Rapport préliminaire sur la chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} découvert dans le IX^e pylône, *CahKarn* VII, 1982, pp. 121–126; J.-L. FISOLO, Note additionnelle sur trois blocs épars provenant de la chapelle de Sésostris I^{er} trouvée dans le IX^e pylône et remployés dans le secteur des VII^e–VIII^e pylônes, *CahKarn* XI, 2003, pp. 405–416.

¹¹ Namely, the processional chapel built in El-Kab by Sebekhotep III is attested (CH. EDLER, Die Barkenkapelle des Königs Sobekhotep III. in Elkab. Beiträge zur Bautätigkeit der 13. und 17. Dynastie an den Göttertempel Ägyptens, *Elkab* VII, Turnhout 2002, pp. 8–43, Pls 1–26). At the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty Amenhotep I copied the *Chapelle Blanche* in the newly reconstructed temple of Amun (C. GRAINDORGE, PH. MARTINEZ, Programme architectural et iconographique des monuments des Amenophis I à Karnak, *ASAE* 74, 1999, pp. 180–181, Fig. 1; C. GRAINDORGE, PH. MARTINEZ, Karnak avant Karnak: les constructions d’Amenophis I^{er} et les premières liturgies amoniennes, *BSFE* 115, 1989, pp. 47–51, Figs 10–12). Amenhotep I built also the *Mn-mnw* bark station (PM II.2, pp. 63–64).

¹² BURGOS, LARCHÉ, Chapelle Rouge I, pp. 63, 110.

¹³ PM II.2, pp. 173–174.

¹⁴ BURGOS, LARCHÉ, Chapelle Rouge I, pp. 18, 46–53; H. RICKE, Das Kamutef-Heiligtum Hatschepsuts und Thutmoses’ III. in Karnak, *BÄBA* 3.2, Kairo 1954, pp. 18–30, Pls 7–12, Plan 6.

¹⁵ F. ARNOLD, Pharaonische Prozessionsstrassen. Mittel der Machtdarstellung unter Königin Hatschepsut, [*in:*] E.-L. Schwandner, K. Rheidt (Eds), *Macht der Architektur – Architektur der Macht. Bauforschungskolloquium in Berlin vom 30. Oktober bis 2. November 2002* veranstaltet vom Architektur-Referat des DAI, Mainz a/Rhein 2008, pp. 21–23.

¹⁶ D. ARNOLD, J. SETTGAST, Dritter Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologisches Institut Kairo im Asasif unternommen Arbeiten (4. Kampagne), *MDAIK* 22, 1967, pp. 23–26, Fig. 1, Pls II–VII; D. ARNOLD, J. SETTGAST, Viertel Vorbericht über die vom Deutschen Archäologisches Institut Kairo im Asasif unternommen Arbeiten (5. und 6. Kampagne), *MDAIK* 23, 1968, pp. 14–16, Pl. V.

Abydos two processional chapels were discovered,¹⁷ one chapel was found in El-Kab¹⁸ and one in Tod.¹⁹

OBELISKS

The custom of erecting obelisks was known in the Sixth Dynasty in Heliopolis.²⁰ The next king whose obelisks were in Heliopolis is Senwosret I²¹ and after him the father of Hatshepsut, Thutmose I, who intended to place his pair of obelisks in Karnak but finished only the southern one.²² The northern obelisk dedicated to Thutmose I was erected by the queen.²³ Moreover, Hatshepsut set three pairs of obelisks in Karnak: one pair in *W3dyt*-hall,²⁴ and another one to her brother Thutmose II in the Festival Court,²⁵ and one pair of eastern obelisks.²⁶ Thutmose III finished one pair of his obelisks in the Festival Court²⁷ and initiated works on the single obelisk, which was finally erected by his grandson Thutmose IV.²⁸ He was also the one who restored the tradition of erecting obelisks in Heliopolis.²⁹

SEREKH PANELS IN ENCLOSURE WALL DECORATION

Among the architectural elements introduced in the times of Senwosret I that were used again during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III were *serekh* panels employed to decorate the enclosure walls. This type of palace façade is very well known from the Predynastic Period onwards.³⁰ The application of *serekh* panels as the decoration of

¹⁷ M.A. POULS WEGNER, *The Cult of Osiris at Abydos: an Archaeological Investigation of the Development of an Ancient Egyptian Sacred Center during the Eighteenth Dynasty*, unpublished PhD thesis, the University of Pennsylvania 2002, pp. 264–342, 361–366, Figs 36–44, 47, 49–52, 54, 57–59, 61–67, 69–80, 82–88, 95–97.

¹⁸ J.E. QUIBELL, *El Kab*, London 1898, pp. 16 [25], 20 [38], Pls XXI.1–16, XXVI; F.S.A. SOMERS CLARKE, *El-Kâb and its temples*, *JE* 8, 1922, p. 40, Pl. IV H.

¹⁹ J.-P. ADAM, G. PIERRAT-BONNEFOIS, *La chapelle de Thoutmosis III à Tôd*, *CahKarn* XI, 2003, pp. 65–132.

²⁰ R. BUSSMANN, *Die Provinztempel Ägyptens von der 0. bis zur 11. Dynastie. Archäologie und Geschichte einer Gesellschaftlichen Institution zwischen Residenz und Provinz*, *ProblÄg* 30, Leiden-Boston 2010 [= *Provinztempel Ägyptens*], p. 169, Figs 4.69, 4.70 and references there.

²¹ A.-K. SELIM, *Les Obélisques Égyptiens. Histoire et Archéologie I*, *CASAE* 26, Le Caire 1991 [= *Obélisques*], p. 5 and references there.

²² LARCHÉ, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 470–472.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 457–458, 474, 476, Pls LXII–LXIV and references there.

²⁴ F. MARUÉJOL, *Obélisques et légitimité*, [in:] Chr. Gallois, P. Grandet, L. Pantallaci (Eds), *Mélanges offerts à François Neveu par ses amis, élèves et collègues à l'occasion de son soixante-quatrième anniversaire*, *BiEtud* 145, Le Caire 2008, pp. 187–191.

²⁵ LARCHÉ, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, pp. 457–458, 474, 476, Pls LXII–LXIV and references there.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 491–492 and references there.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 471–472, 475–476, 496, Pls LXXXII, LXXXIII.

²⁸ CH. WALLET-LEBRUN, *Le grand livre de pierre. Les textes de construction à Karnak*, *ÉtudÉg* 9, *MAIBL* 41, Paris 2010, pp. 189–191; SELIM, *Obélisques*, pp. 83–89, 91 and references there.

²⁹ SELIM, *Obélisques*, pp. 71–79, 95–110 and references there.

³⁰ A.A. O'BRIEN, *The Serekh as an Aspect of the Iconography of Early Kingship*, *JARCE* 33, 1996, pp. 123–138; S.J. WIGNALL, *The Identification of the Late Prehistoric Serekh*, *GM* 162, 1998, pp. 93–106; J. JIMÉNEZ-SERRANO, *The Origin of the Palace-Façade as Representation of Lower Egyptian Élites*, *GM* 183, 2001, pp. 71–81; E.C.M. VAN DEN BRINK, *Some comments in the margins of The Origin of the Palace-Façade as Representation of Lower Egyptian Élites*, *GM* 183, 2001, pp. 99–111; S. HENDRICKX, *Arguments for an Upper Egyptian origin of the palace-façade and the serekh during Late Predynastic-Early Dynastic times*, *GM* 184, 2001, pp. 85–110.

the enclosure wall can be seen as a parallel of the enclosure wall encircling the complex of the Step Pyramid.³¹ However, the main feature of the panels that were carved on the enclosure wall of the complex of Senwosret I at Lisht³² as well as on the southern remaining wall of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari³³ was a decoration in the shape of the king's Horus name.

OSIRIDE PILLARS

Another new initiative of Senwosret I seems to have been the introduction of Osiride pillars into the architectural repertory of the temples of gods. The Osiride pillars used for the first time in front of the Karnak temple³⁴ differ in shape and their place of erection from those that were found in the mortuary temples of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre³⁵ and Senwosret I.³⁶

The oldest known Osiride statues were placed along the causeways leading to the temple in the Deir el-Bahari mortuary temple of Mentuhotep II,³⁷ and afterwards the causeway of the Lisht mortuary temple of Senwosret I.³⁸ They had small undecorated pillars at their back instead of being attached to decorated pillars. The free-standing Osiride figures recently dated to the reign of Mentuhotep II³⁹ were also found in Armant where at least six incomplete statues and two heads were excavated.⁴⁰

To summarise, one can suggest then that the Osiride statues were erected along the processional routes, while Osiride pillars constituted the façade of the temple. The first attested Osiride pillars stood in the front row of pillars forming a façade of the main building of the temple of Amun in Karnak in the times of Senwosret I. They were decorated from three sides with scenes representing the king next to the gods,⁴¹ in their lower part the text mentioned, among other things, the first *sed*-festival of the king.⁴² These pillars did not

³¹ J.-P. LAUER, *La pyramide à degrés*, Le Caire 1936, pp. 84–86, Pls I–II.

³² DI. ARNOLD, *The Pyramid of Senuseret I*, *MMA EE XXII*, New York 1988, pp. 58–63, Pls 27–37, 87–88, 94.

³³ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari: Its Plan, Its Founders, and Its First Explorers*. Introductory Memoir, *EEF* 12, London 1891, Pl. XIV; H.E. WINLOCK, *The Egyptian Expedition 1924–1925*, *BMMA* 21, March 1926, pp. 2, 14, Fig. 11; N. BEAUX, J. KARKOWSKI, *La chapelle d'Hathor du Temple d'Hatchepsout à Deir el-Bahari: Rapport préliminaire*, *BIFAO* 93, 1993, Figs 4, 9.

³⁴ Cairo Museum CG 397–399, 400–402, JE 38230, 48851; Luxor Museum J 174: GABOLDE, *Grand Château d'Amon*, pp. 66–70, Pls XIX–XXIII.

³⁵ DI. ARNOLD, *The Temple of Mentuhotep at Deir el-Bahari*, *MMA EE XXI*, Mainz a/Rhein 1979, pp. 46–47; CH. LEBLANC, *Piliers et colosses de type « osirique » dans le contexte des temples de culte royal*, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, pp. 71, 77–78, Fig. 3 [C.1]; Z.E. SZAFRAŃSKI, *Buried Statues of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre and Amenophis I at Deir el-Bahari*, *MDAIK* 41, 1985, pp. 260–263; MMA 26.3.29: <http://www.metmuseum.org/Collections/search-the-collections/544008?rpp=20&pg=1&ao=on&ft=26.3.29&pos=1> (accessed February 15, 2014).

³⁶ DI. ARNOLD, *The Pyramid of Senuseret I, The South Cemeteries of Lisht I*, *MMAEE XXII*, New York 1988 [= *Pyramid of Senuseret I*], pp. 21–22, Fig. 3, Pls 6–7.

³⁷ SZAFRAŃSKI, *MDAIK* 41, 1985, pp. 260–263.

³⁸ ARNOLD, *Pyramid of Senuseret I*, pp. 21–22.

³⁹ The statues bear the names of Merenptah, but had probably been usurped. For discussion concerning the dating see: BUSSMANN, *Provinztempel Ägyptens*, p. 67 and references there.

⁴⁰ R. MOND, O.H. MEYERS, *Temples of Armant. A preliminary survey*, London 1940, Pls 16–18, BUSSMANN, *Provinztempel Ägyptens*, p. 67, Pls 75–76.

⁴¹ GABOLDE, *Grand Château d'Amon*, pp. 63–70, Pls XIX–XX, XXII–XXV.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 65, Pls XIX–XX; LEBLANC, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, p. 82.

differ from regular ones⁴³ except for the statue erected on the front side that showed the king in a fully mummified form, with *ḥnh*-signs in his crossed arms.⁴⁴ The same features distinguished the Osiride pillars in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari⁴⁵ and those erected in front of the eastern temple of Thutmose III in Karnak.⁴⁶ Regarding the Osiride pillar's statues in Deir el-Bahari it should be emphasised that they held in their hands not only *ḥnh*-signs, but also *w3s*-sceptres, a *nhh3*-flail and a *hk3*-sceptre, which distinguishes them from any other known Osiride statues.

GRANITE OSIRIDE STATUES

The granite Osiride statues in the temples were attested for the first time during the reign of Senwosret I in Abydos.⁴⁷ No other statues of that kind were erected until Hatshepsut's reign. Her granite Osiride statue was found in the Luxor temple.⁴⁸ Its localisation inside the temple cannot be deduced, as the shape of the temple itself during the reign of the queen remains unknown.

DECORATION

The tendency to recall the personage of Senwosret I by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, which is so highly visible in architecture, is fully presented and directly stated in the temple decoration. Some scenes and ideas that were present in the temples of Senwosret I were

⁴³ For regular pillars of Senwosret I in Karnak, see: LACAU, CHEVRIER, *Chapelle de Sesostris I^{er}*, Pls 12–41; GABOLDE, *Grand Château d'Amon*, pp. 88–110. For regular pillars of Hatshepsut, see: NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pls 65–66; K. POLACZEK, *Reconstruction of the Pillar Decoration in the Porticos of the Middle Court of the Queen Hatshepsut Temple*, [*in:*] *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut. Results of the Investigations and Conservation Works of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Preservation Mission Deir el-Bahari 3*, Warsaw 1985, pp. 78–92, Pls 1–4. For regular pillars in the Akhmenu temple of Thutmose III, see: J.-F. PÉCOIL, *L'Akhmenou de Thoutmosis III à Karnak. La Heret-ib et les chapelles attenantes. Relevés épigraphiques*, Paris 2000, Pls 17–78.

⁴⁴ CH. LEBLANC, *Un nouveau portrait de Sesostris I^{er}. À propos d'un colosse fragmentaire découvert dans la favissa de la tribune du quai de Karnak*, *CahKarn VI*, 1980, pp. 285–292, Pls LXII–LXIII; GABOLDE, *Grand Château d'Amon*, Pls XIX–XXIV.

⁴⁵ J. KARKOWSKI, *An Archaeological Description of the Decoration of Osirid Pillars of the Upper Portico of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari*, [*in:*] *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut. Results of the Investigations and Conservation Works of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Preservation Mission Deir el-Bahari 2*, Warsaw 1980, pp. 44–55; LEBLANC, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, p. 82.

⁴⁶ A. VARILLE, *Description sommaire du sanctuaire oriental d'Amon-Rê à Karnak*, *ASAE L*, 1950, Pls XVII–XVIII, LXI; LEBLANC, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, pp. 82–83.

⁴⁷ *Cairo Museum CG 429*: A. MARIETTE, *Abydos II*, Paris 1880, Pl. 21a-c; CG 38230: G. DARESSY, *Statues de divinités I*, Le Caire 1906, Pl. XII, p. 66; L. BORCHARDT, *Statuen und Statuetten von Königen und Privatleuten im Museum von Kairo Nr. 1–1294 II*, Berlin 1925, Pl. 70, pp. 33–34; H.G. EVERS, *Staat aus dem Stein. Denkmäler, Geschichte und Bedeutung der ägyptischen Plastik während des Mittleren Reichs I*, München 1929, Pl. 35B.

⁴⁸ *Luxor Museum J. 178*: L. HABACHI, *Clearance of the Area to the East of Luxor Temple and Discovery of Some Objects*, *ASAE LI*, 1951, pp. 450–452; *Das Museum für altägyptische Kunst in Luxor. Katalog*, Mainz a/Rhein 1981, p. 92 [cat. no. 120]; LEBLANC, *BIFAO* 80, 1980, p. 74 (A7); CH. LEBLANC, *Le culte rendu aux colossus « osiriâques » durant le Nouvel Empire*, *BIFAO* 82, 1982, pp. 301–302, Pl. LV; L. BELL, *La reine Hatshepsout au temple de Louqsor*, [*in:*] *Louqsor. Temple du ka royal*, Dijon 1992, p. 26.

copied by these two successors, and they also used some details characteristic for that king employing them in their own decoration.

COPYING SCENES

Among the preserved representations and blocks found reused in the temples of Egypt are two scenes that were most likely edited by the decorators of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III on the basis of the decoration carved in the times of Senwosret I. The first of them adorned the outer south wall of the Palace of Maat.⁴⁹ It consisted of two parallel scenes that read from east to west, showing Senwosret I sitting on a throne in a pavilion. In front of him the text was probably planned to be carved with the so-called *Königsnovelle*. The decoration seems to be unfinished. Further to the west, a short list of feasts was inscribed, and the figure of Thutmose III was represented next. He was also sitting on a throne in a pavilion and in front of him the *Texte de la Jeunesse* was written. The similarity of these two pictures is highly noticeable. Nevertheless, to complicate the interpretation, L. Habachi demonstrated that these two scenes were designed most probably after an older one that came from the temple of Senwosret I which is placed by L. Gabolde on the temple's outer southern wall.⁵⁰ It should be stressed here that the copied scene with Senwosret I was used in a newly created iconographic programme without any parallel, and therefore should be treated not only as a copy of an older decoration, but also as an expression of the new religious policy of Thutmose III where the role of ancestors was very important.

The *Königsnovelle* is very well attested during the reign of Senwosret I. This type of literary stylistics was used in the text written on the Berlin Roll found in Thebes, where the deeds of the king at the renovation of Heliopolis were presented.⁵¹ Another text of this kind dating to the period of Senwosret I comes from Elephantine and, as well as in the case of the scene from the Palace of Maat, the inscription is accompanied by the festival calendar.⁵² A similar text was also preserved in the temple of Tod.⁵³ The *Königsnovelle* is also well known from the times of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the most important royal decrees being recorded in this way. On the north wall of the Southern Middle Portico (Punt Portico) at Deir el-Bahari, Hatshepsut was portrayed in a pavilion at the end of the Punt expedition.⁵⁴ A decree represented in the same manner can be found in Karnak on the south outer wall of Akhmenu, where Thutmose III was shown establishing donations

⁴⁹ A. MARIETTE, Karnak, Le Caire 1875 [= Karnak], Pl. 14.

⁵⁰ GABOLDE, Grand Château d'Amon, Pls III–VI.

⁵¹ Berlin Leather Roll 3029: A. DE BUCK, The Building Inscription of the Berlin Leather Roll, [in:] A.M. Blackman *et al.* (Eds), *Studia Aegyptiaca* 1, Roma 1938, pp. 48–57; H. GOEDICKE, The Berlin Leather Roll (P Berlin 3029), [in:] *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner Ägyptischen Museums*, Berlin 1974, pp. 87–104, Pls 8–9; A. PICCATO, The Berlin Leather Roll and the Egyptian Sense of History, *LingAeg* 5, 1997, pp. 137–159.

⁵² W. SCHENKEL, Die Bauinschrift Sesostris' I. im Satet-Tempel von Elephantine, *MDAIK* 31, 1975, pp. 109–125, Pls 33–39; W. HELCK, Die Weihinschrift Sesostris' I. am Satet-Tempel von Elephantine, *MDAIK* 34, 1978, pp. 69–78.

⁵³ CH. BARBOTIN, J.-J. CLÈRE, L'inscription de Sésostriis 1^{er} à Tôd, *BIFAO* 91, 1991, pp. 1–32, Pls 1–31, Figs 1–3 and literature there.

⁵⁴ NAVILLE, Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LXXXV–LXXXVI.

on the occasion of the victory at Megiddo. A festival calendar was placed at the end of the scene.⁵⁵

On Elephantine there is another scene copied from an older source. On the outer west wall of the temple of Satet decorated during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, the scene of the feast of the Nile led by Thutmose III in front of the goddess was depicted. Part of the feast constituted an image of the purification of priests.⁵⁶ A fragment of a similar scene of purification was shown on the block from the temple of Satet from the times of Senwosret I.⁵⁷

USE OF DETAILS INTRODUCED OR EMPLOYED BY SENWOSRET I

It is very likely that Senwosret I worshipped his ancestors in the temple in Karnak. Three statues of the earlier kings that were crafted, according to the dedication inscriptions,⁵⁸ at the request of the king, were described as coming from this temple. They represented Sahure, Niuserre and Intef-aa.⁵⁹ L. Gabolde mentioned the possibility that they served as a model for Thutmose III when he commissioned the building of Akhmenu.⁶⁰ This theory was recently studied by D. Lorand who suggested that they had been placed in niches around the so-called Middle Kingdom courtyard in Central Karnak and this idea was transferred by Thutmose III from three-dimension to two-dimension when he built his temple Akhmenu and decorated the Chamber of Ancestors.⁶¹ It seems important to emphasise that the attention of Thutmose III on his ancestors was not limited to the decoration of the Chamber of Ancestors: in the *Texte de la Jeunesse* he wrote about preparing(?) *the k3r-chapels of stone, door leaves of true cedars to accompany the statues of [my majesty] together with the statues of my fathers, kings of Lower Egypt.*⁶² The great esteem in which ancestors were held is present in the so-called *Coronation Text* of Hatshepsut preserved on the walls of the Chapelle Rouge, where Amun demanded from Hatshepsut: *make temples excellent according to what was ordered by predecessors* and stated that the king is *the one who protects the fathers (...)*.⁶³

⁵⁵ A.H. GARDINER, Thutmosis III Returns Thanks to Amūn, *JEA* 38, 1952, Pls II–VIII; PM II.2, p. 126 [462].

⁵⁶ W. KAISER, D. BIDOLI, P. GROSSMANN, G. HAENY, H. JARITZ, R. STADELMANN, Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. Dritter Grabungsbericht, *MDAIK* 28/2, 1973, p. 161, Pl. XL1a.

⁵⁷ Iid., *MDAIK* 28/2, 1973, p. 161, Pl. XL1b; W. KAISER, G. DREYER, H. JARITZ, A. KREKELER, T. SCHLÄGER, M. ZIERMANN, Stadt und Tempel von Elephantine. 13./14. Grabungsbericht, *MDAIK* 43, 1986, Pl. 9.

⁵⁸ S. GRALLERT, Bauen – Stiften – Weißen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierunginschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie I, *ADAIK* 18, Berlin 2001, p. 242.

⁵⁹ D. LORAND, Une ‘Chapelle des Ancêtres’ à Karnak sous Sésostri I^{er}?, *CahKarn* 14, 2013, pp. 447–466.

⁶⁰ GABOLDE, Grand Château d’Amon, pp. 141–142. For the Chamber of Ancestors, now in Louvre, E 13481, see: PM II.2, pp. 111–112 and recently É. DELANGE, Nouvelles clés de lecture de la Chambre des Ancêtres, [*in:*] J.-C. Goyon, Ch. Cardin (Eds), Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists. Actes du Neuvième Congrès international des égyptologues, Grenoble 6–12 September 2004, *OLA* 150, Leuven 2007, pp. 405–416; É. DELANGE, La Chambre des Ancêtres de Thoutmosis III (1479–1425 av. J.-C.). De la Bibliothèque nationale au Louvre, [*in:*] Visions d’Égypte. Émile Prisse d’Avennes (1807–1879), Paris 2011, pp. 53–61.

⁶¹ LORAND, *CahKarn* 14, 2013, pp. 463–466, Fig. 7.

⁶² *Urk.* IV, 168.15–169.2.

⁶³ BURGOS, LARCHÉ, Chapelle Rouge, p. 37 (block 24).

The festival calendar in the decoration of temples was not invented during the reign of Senwosret I. Its mention in this place has two justifications. The calendar was used for the first time in the temples of Sahure and Niuserre⁶⁴ and the next example of it comes from the temple of Satet built by Senwosret I on Elephantine,⁶⁵ showing the long gap in the use of this motif. This may be a result of the general destruction of early Egyptian temples or may have been caused by Senwosret I's attachment to tradition. On the other hand, the festival calendar constituted an integral part of the above-mentioned scene from the south wall of the Palace of Maat in Karnak, which must be taken into consideration while studying this scene.

After a long interval, the festival calendar came back as a decoration of temples during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. There are several examples where this motive was used on the outer walls of temples of that time. The oldest of them remains unpublished and comes from newly rediscovered temple of Thutmose I, *Hnmt-ꜥnh* (Fig. 1).⁶⁶ Two reliefs of Thutmose III depicted in Karnak, preserved on the walls of the Palace of Maat and of the Akhmenu have been mentioned above: the calendar represented on the north wing of the Sixth Pylon in Karnak must be included in this list.⁶⁷ Fragments of the festival calendar carved by artists of Thutmose III on the walls of temples in Semna,⁶⁸ on Elephantine,⁶⁹ in Armant⁷⁰ and in Abydos⁷¹ should be noted as well. The festival calendar was also represented on a stele of that king found in Buto.⁷² Some of the festivals mentioned in the times of Thutmose III seem to be typically local feasts, but there are others that have a wider range and appear to be general Egyptian festivals. Most of the latter are known from other Egyptian sources, including private ones, namely *wpt rnpt* (mentioned on the lists from Buto, Akhmenu, Elephantine and Semna), *nḥb-k3w* (Buto, Palace of Maat in Karnak) and *prt Spdt* (Buto, Elephantine). The festival of *tpj šmw 4*, attested in the festival calendars from Buto and the Palace of Maat, is probably reserved for the reign of Thutmose III as the day of coronation of that king. It is very interesting that on the lists of general Egyptian feasts there is no Beautiful Feast of the Valley and the Feast of Opet appears once, only

⁶⁴ SH. EL-SABBAN, *Temple Festival Calendars of Ancient Egypt*, Liverpool 2000 [= *Temple Festival Calendars*], pp. 2–12, Figs 1–5.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15, Fig. 6 and references there.

⁶⁶ Only fourteen small fragments from the whole scene were preserved. All fragments are carved in sunken relief painted yellow, where the colour is visible. On the discovery see: J. IWASZCZUK, *The Temple of Thutmose I Rediscovered*, *PAM XXI* (Research 2009), 2012, pp. 269–277.

⁶⁷ EL-SABBAN, *Temple Festival Calendars*, pp. 26–29, Fig. 10 and references there.

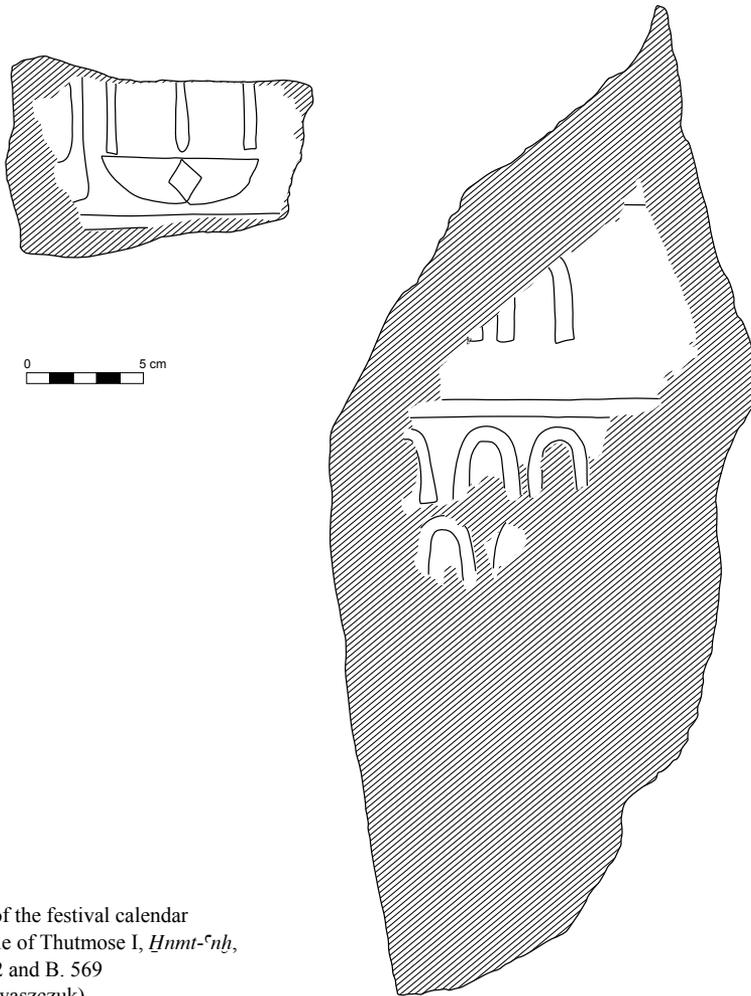
⁶⁸ In the temple in Semna the festival calendar is incorporated into the main text (without forming any separate table) accompanying the representation of Senwosret III sitting in a pavilion: R.A. CAMINOS, *Semna-Kumma I: The Temple of Semna*, *Archaeological Survey Memoir 37*, London 1998 [= *Semna-Kumma I*], Pl. 25.

⁶⁹ EL-SABBAN, *Temple Festival Calendars*, pp. 41–49, Fig. 12; M. BOMMAS, *Der Tempel des Chnum der 18. Dyn. auf Elephantine*, Heidelberg 2000, pp. 155–159 and references there.

⁷⁰ EL-SABBAN, *Temple Festival Calendars*, pp. 176–177, Fig. 13A and references there.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 16–22, Figs 7–8 and references there.

⁷² SH. BEDIER, *Ein Stiftungsdekret Thutmose III. aus Buto*, [in:] M. Minas, J. Zeidler (Eds), *Aspekte Spätägyptischer Kultur. Festschrift für Erich Winter zum 65. Geburtstag*, *AegTrev 7*, Mainz a/Rhein 1994, pp. 35–50; A. SPALINGER, *The Festival Structure of Thutmose III's Buto Stele*, *JARCE 33*, 1996, pp. 69–76.



1. Fragments of the festival calendar from the temple of Thutmose I, *Hnmt-ꜥnh*, inv. nos B. 362 and B. 569 (Drawing: J. Iwaszczuk).

on the list from Elephantine among other Theban feasts introduced into Elephantine's theology.

Among the new motives in the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III that could have had their sources in the times of Senwosret I there is also the presence of a specific form of Amun: *hnty/m jpwt.f*. This form of Amun appeared only in Karnak on the walls of the *Chapelle Blanche* and the main temple under the rule of Senwosret I, and next it can be found on monuments built and decorated during the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁷³

It seems that Senwosret I's works were the source not only of general patterns but some minute details as well. The orthography of the word *sd* with the determinative *mꜣꜥt*,

⁷³ For *Jmn hnty jpwt.f*, see: J. IWASZCZUK, *Jmn hntj jpwt.f* from the Middle Kingdom to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, *EtudTrav* XXVI, 2013, pp. 303–323.

that can be seen on walls of both Karnak constructions of Senwosret I, the *Chapelle Blanche* and the main temple, as well as on the wall of the gate to the Bark Hall of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, can serve as examples.⁷⁴ There is also a very rare identification of Atum and Amun attested on the monuments of Senwosret I, Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁷⁵

Another example of borrowing of detailed ideas from Senwosret I is the describing of Hatshepsut as a daughter of *Jmn-R^c* in place of the traditional title *s3 R^c*.⁷⁶ Hatshepsut used this title again in the description of Thutmose I's representation in the Upper Chapel of Anubis.⁷⁷ Senwosret I was characterised as *s3 Jmn-R^c nb nswt t3wj* on the wall of his 'grand palace of Amun' in Karnak.⁷⁸

CULT OF SENWOSRET I

REPRESENTATIONS CONNECTED WITH THE CULT

ISHED-TREE

The scene with the *ished*-tree was represented in connection with the *sed*-festival. The name of the king was written during that feast on the leaves of the *ished*-tree by Thoth or another god. The tree itself was described as growing in Heliopolis.⁷⁹ E. Welvaert posited that the *ished*-tree was pictured for the first time during the reign of king Thutmose I.⁸⁰ In fact, it seems very probable that this kind of scene is preserved on monuments erected for Thutmose I, but built and/or decorated during the joint reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, and, in most cases, with references to Senwosret I.

For the first time the scene of the *ished*-tree appeared in the treasury of Thutmose I in North Karnak.⁸¹ Only a few fragments of blocks are preserved, so the reconstruction must be purely theoretical. H. Jacquet-Gordon described three parts of the scene placed on the western wall which was added to the sanctuary built by this king: the king led by the

⁷⁴ For this orthography, see: J. IWASZCZUK, Atypical Spelling Variants from the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, *EtudTrav* XXII, 2008, pp. 72–73, Fig. 2b; see also COTELLE-MICHEL, *CahKarn* XI, 2003, Figs 4, 7, 9, Pl. III, V; BURGOS, LARCHÉ, La chapelle Rouge I, p. 127.

⁷⁵ J. KARKOWSKI, The Temple of Hatshepsut. The Solar Complex, *Deir el-Bahari* VI, Varsovie 2003, pp. 57–58, n. 10, Pl. 27–27bis and references there.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 134, 142, 226, 240, Pls 18, 21, 26, 40, 44 (the doors of the Solar Cult Complex), as well as the unpublished doors leading to the Northern Chapel of Amun, Southern Chapel of Amun and to the so-called Room with the Window. The fact was pointed out to me by Marta Sankiewicz and Dr. Andrzej Ćwiek.

⁷⁷ E. NAVILLE, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I. The North-Western End of the Upper Platform, *EEF* 13, London 1895, Pl. 9.

⁷⁸ GABOLDE, Grand Château d'Amon, p. 38, § 57; ID., Les origines de Karnak et la genèse de la théologie d'Amon, *BSFE* 186–187, 2014, p. 32.

⁷⁹ L. KÁKOSY, s.v. Ischedbaum, *LÄ* III, 182–183; W. HELCK, Ramessidische Inschriften aus Karnak, *ZÄS* 82, 1957, p. 117; s.v. Baumkult, *RÄRG*, 82–85.

⁸⁰ E. WELVAERT, On the Origin of the Ished-scene, *GM* 151, 1996, pp. 101–107.

⁸¹ J. JACQUET, Fouilles de Karnak Nord. Cinquième campagne 1972, *BIFAO* 73, 1973, pp. 207–216, Plan I, Pls XIX–XXV; H. JACQUET-GORDON, Le trésor de Thoutmosis I^{er}. La décoration, *Karnak-Nord* VI, *FIFAO* XXXII, Le Caire 1988 [= *Karnak-Nord* VI], pp. 213–220, Pls LXIV–LXV.

gods, the *ished*-tree and the great inscription in the middle.⁸² The date of the construction of the wall is worth discussion. The arguments for precise dating of the building phases of the treasury given by J. Jacquet do not fully stand up to scrutiny.⁸³ There are no indications for dating the second phase and the addition of the western wall to the reign of Thutmose I, but there are some that would allow it to be shifted to the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. J. Jacquet is convinced that the wall was added to the original construction of the sanctuary.⁸⁴ On the basis of stylistic features H. Jacquet-Gordon expressed the supposition that the so-called great inscription placed – probably – between the tree and the gods on the western wall, was carved by the workers of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III.⁸⁵

Another inscription that seems to be an allusion to the *ished*-tree was written on a fragment of a sandstone block discovered in the corridor of the *Texte de la Jeunesse*⁸⁶ and placed recently by J.-F. Carloti either as an architrave in the hall of the Fifth Pylon or as a lintel in one of the southern gates to the *W3dyt*-hall in the central part of the temple of Amun in Karnak.⁸⁷ On this fragment, the cartouche with the name of Thutmose I in the middle is visible, on both sides of it two *ished*-tree leaves with rebus-cartouches of Senwosret I and two dates, 8th and 9th years, were carved. It is worth emphasising that decorated sandstone blocks were not known from the reign of Thutmose I, but they were very popular at the end of the co-regency of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, during the sole reign of Thutmose III and later. Still, there is no reason to suspect any rulers other than Hatshepsut and Thutmose III to have had any interest in using Thutmose I's name in their political programme.

The representation of the *ished*-tree is also preserved on seven unpublished fragments of blocks from the temple of Thutmose I, *Hnmt-ḥnḥ* (**Fig. 2**). Although the temple was built for Thutmose I, its decoration clearly shows that it was fashioned during the reign of Hatshepsut and modified by Thutmose III.⁸⁸ On one of the fragments of blocks a short inscription is carved: [...] *the sed-festival Ennead of Re in Heliopolis* ([...] *ḥb-sd Psdt Rꜥ m Jwnw*).

The first fully preserved representation of the *ished*-tree was depicted in Medinet Habu on the inner south wall of the bark sanctuary.⁸⁹ Thutmose III led by Atum and Hathor approached the tree placed in *ḥwt-ḥt* according to the inscription. On the opposite side Amun-Re sitting on a throne was writing the name of the king on the leaves of the tree. The inscription above Amun-Re mentioned recording of the king's name *on the august*

⁸² JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord VI*, pp. 213–220.

⁸³ J. JACQUET, *Le trésor de Thoutmosis I^{er}. Étude architecturale, Karnak-Nord V, FIFAO XXX/1*, Le Caire 1983 [= *Karnak-Nord V*], p. 101.

⁸⁴ This addition is clearly visible: *ibid.*, Pls XXIII [C], XXIV [A, C] and plan.

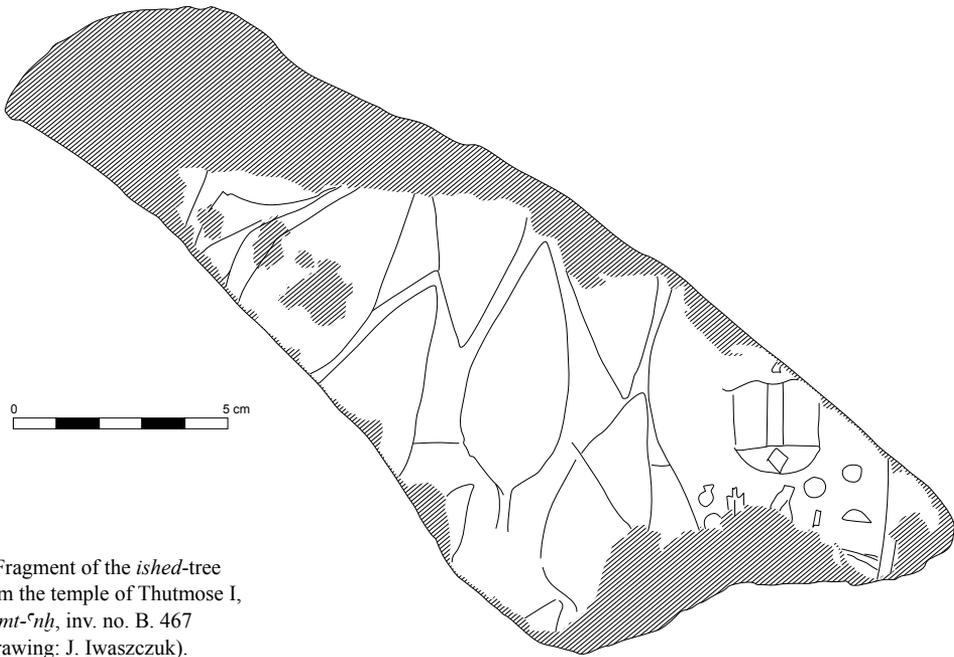
⁸⁵ JACQUET-GORDON, *Karnak-Nord VI*, p. 217.

⁸⁶ MARIETTE, *Karnak*, Pl. 32f.

⁸⁷ J.-F. CARLOTTI, *Le « siege d'intronisation d'Amon » et les « Annales des prêtres » de Karnak, CRIPEL 24*, 2004, pp. 84–85, 88, nn. 24–26.

⁸⁸ J. IWASZCZUK, *Unique Temple of Thutmose I, Annual Reports. PAN*, 2011, pp. 22–25; EAD., *PAM XXI (Research 2009)*, 2012, pp. 269–277.

⁸⁹ *LD III*, Pl. 37; *Urk. IV*, 596.14–597.8; HELCK, *ZÄS* 82, 1957, pp. 117–118, Fig. 1.



2. Fragment of the *ished-tree* from the temple of Thutmose I, *Hnmt-ꜥnh*, inv. no. B. 467 (Drawing: J. Iwaszczuk).

ished-tree in *hwt-ꜥ3t* [...] *Rꜥ*. The drawing of the scene published by R. Lepsius shows an erasure between the words *hwt-ꜥ3t* and *Rꜥ*,⁹⁰ which was filled by K. Sethe with the sign *mj*.⁹¹ It seems, however, that the name of Amun makes more sense in this gap and explains better the chiselled-out detail visible in the right lower corner of the column.⁹² Besides, it clarifies to an equal degree the presence of Amun-Re in the scene that should be reserved for Atum if the events took place in *hwt-ꜥ3t* of Re, which as a result would mean: in Heliopolis.

The theme of the *ished-tree* is rarely mentioned in texts of the Thutmose era. In Karnak, except for the above-mentioned depictions, there are only two sources that mention the *ished-tree*: these are texts preserved on obelisks of Thutmose I and Hatshepsut. The first of them refers to the writing of the *sed*-festival on the august *ished-tree*,⁹³ the other evokes the recording by Amun of the great name of *Mꜥt-k3-Rꜥ* on the *ished-tree* and in her annals for millions of years united with life, duration and prosperity.⁹⁴

In the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, on the western wall of the Second Hypostyle Hall of the Hathor Shrine, there was once an inscription carved that is mostly now destroyed. The scene shows Hatshepsut running with *hp* and an oar in front of Hathor and

⁹⁰ LD III, Pl. 37.

⁹¹ *Urk.* IV, 597.2.

⁹² HELCK, *ZAS* 82, 1957, Fig. 1.

⁹³ LD III, Pl. 6, *Urk.* IV, 93.11.

⁹⁴ LD III, Pl. 22; *Urk.* IV, 358.14–15.

the text written above the king speaks about Amun recording the great name of the queen on the *ished*-tree and in annals for millions of years.⁹⁵

Very important information can be found in another source from the reign of Hatshepsut. In the famous text from the temple at Speos Artemidos, the queen wrote about Amun that he is the one *who inaugurated the ished-tree, (namely) Amun, the lord of millions*.⁹⁶

On the London obelisk of Thutmose III erected originally in Heliopolis on the occasion of the king's fourth *sed*-festival, the text preserved on the northern and western walls states: *His father Atum recorded his great name as W3h-swt in hwt-ꜥ3t in Heliopolis giving him seat of Geb and office of Khepri. Lord of gods multiplied for him sed-festivals on the august ished-tree inside Hwt-bnw*.⁹⁷

All earlier representations and texts mentioning the *ished*-tree clearly indicate that this motif had its roots in Karnak. Only the text of Thutmose III from the London obelisk seems to show the theological change that took place in late years of Thutmose III and his shift from Karnak to Heliopolis.

SCENES REPRESENTING THE CULT OF SENWOSRET I

The scenes showing the cult performed in front of Senwosret I are very rare. Two such scenes dating to the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III are known from private sources; one was represented on the eastern wall of the Ancestors Chamber in Akhmenu.

The private stele most probably found in Thebes was made for *wꜥb*-priest of the king in *Hnkt-ꜥnh*.⁹⁸ On the stele, two kings facing each other were represented, on the left Senwosret I, on the right Thutmose III, and between them the offering table.

On the second stele⁹⁹ two kings, Amenhotep I and Senwosret I, were sitting on thrones in front of the offering table. On the other side of the offering table Kenamun worshipped both kings by pouring water and censuring.

The last representation shows that the cult of Senwosret I was not only attractive for popular religion, but also had its place in official religion. Thutmose III reserved one chamber in his Festival Temple Akhmenu for the cult of ancestors.¹⁰⁰ The scene from

⁹⁵ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV. The Shrine of Hathor and the Southern Hall of Offerings*, *EEF* 19, London 1901, Pl. XCIII; *Urk.* IV, 276.11–12; HELCK, *ZÄS* 82, 1957, p. 128.

⁹⁶ A.H. GARDINER, *Davies's Copy of the Great Speos Artemidos Inscription*, *JEA* 32, 1946, p. 46 [ll. 8–9], Pl. VI.

⁹⁷ *Urk.* IV, 591.10–12, 16–17; SELIM, *Obélisques I*, p. 178; II, p. 63 and references there.

⁹⁸ The Fitzwilliam Museum E.GA.3074.1943: K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Eighteenth Dynasty before the Amarna Period, Iconography of Religion XVI/5*, Leiden 1985, pp. 8, 35, Pl. XXIII/1; A. RADWAN, *Thutmosis III. als Gott*, [in:] H. Guksch, D. Polz (Eds), *Stationen. Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Ägyptens. Rainer Stadelmann gewidmet*, Mainz a/Rhein 1998, p. 335, Pl. 16c; G.T. MARTIN, *Stelae from Egypt and Nubia in the Fitzwilliam Museum*, Cambridge, c. 3000 BC–AD 1150, Cambridge 2005, p. 93.

⁹⁹ Metropolitan Museum of Art 28.9.6: L.S. BULL, *Two Egyptian Stelae of the XVIII Dynasty*, *MMS* II, 1930, pp. 76–84; W.C. HAYES, *The Scepter of Egypt. A Background for the Study of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art II. The Hyksos Period and the New Kingdom (1675–1080 B.C.)*, New York 1959 [= *Scepter II*], pp. 50–51, Fig. 24; KH. EL-ENANY, *La vénération post mortem de Sésostriis I^{er}*, *Memno- nia* XIV, 2003, p. 132.

¹⁰⁰ See *supra*, n. 60.

its eastern wall shows Thutmose III making an *hṯp-dj-nswt* offering for his predecessors. In the third register Senwosret I is depicted as the first king sitting in front of the offering table.

THE PRIESTS OF THE CULT OF SENWOSRET I

Although the cult of Senwosret I is attested from the Middle Kingdom, the names of his priests are known only from the New Kingdom,¹⁰¹ and all could probably be dated to the Thutmoside period.¹⁰² The first of them comes from the reign of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. The first priest, and the only one whose life may be well dated, was a brother of the vizier Useramun. The scene from the tomb of the vizier, TT 61, contains the representation of the inspection of storerooms(?). The inscription above the last figure introduces the title of the person shown beneath: *his brother, first lector-priest of Kheper-ka-Re Hor*.¹⁰³ Other priests who performed the cult of Senwosret I: Pahura and his son Amenemope are also attested.¹⁰⁴ Their stele cannot be dated precisely: it comes from pre-Amarna period, which can be deduced from the erasures of that time visible on it. On the basis of stylistic features it can be dated to the Thutmoside period.¹⁰⁵

CONCLUSIONS

At the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty Senwosret I appears to have been treated in a different way from other royal ancestors. This period can be characterised as a time of increasing attention paid to royal ancestors in general and the great importance of the immediate royal predecessors especially. The cult of royal ancestors is attested in different parts of the country and it is manifested mainly by giving offerings to them. In this way the cult of Mentuhotep II Nebhepetre in Thebes¹⁰⁶ can be seen. In Semna the worship of Senwosret III was expressed by building a new temple for him and renewing offerings there.¹⁰⁷ The cult of the immediate predecessors, especially well known from Thebes,¹⁰⁸

¹⁰¹ EL-ENANY, *Memnonia* XIV, 2003, pp. 129–137.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, pp. 129–137.

¹⁰³ E. DZIOBEK, Die Gräber des Vesirs User-Amun Theben Nr. 61. und 131, *AV* 84, Mainz a/Rhein 1994, pp. 24–25, Pl. 59.

¹⁰⁴ Stela Metropolitan Museum of Art MMA 24.2.20: EL-ENANY, *Memnonia* XIV, 2003, p. 137; HAYES, *Scepter* II, p. 168.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 167–168.

¹⁰⁶ KH. EL-ENANY, Le saint thébain Montouhotep Nebkhepetré, *BIFAO* 103, 2003, *passim* and literature there.

¹⁰⁷ CAMINOS, Semna-Kumma I, *passim*, especially pp. 41–48, 56–61, Pls 25, 29.

¹⁰⁸ Thutmose I, e.g. Osiride figures in Karnak erected for the king by Hatshepsut (LARCHÉ, *CahKarn* 12, 2007, Pls XLIX–LIV), niches in the Main Sanctuary of Amun (M. BUDZANOWSKI, Nisze kultowe na Górnym Tarasie świątyni Hatshepsut w Deir el-Bahari. Aspekty kultu królewskiego w Świątyni Milionów Lat *Dsr-dsrw* w okresie panowania królowej Hatshepsut, unpublished PhD thesis, Kraków 2004, p. 83, Pls 61B, 62A) and in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (K. MYŚLIWIEC, Le portrait royal dans le bas-relief du Nouvel Empire, *TCAM* 18, Varsovie 1976, Fig. 43); graffiti (CH. ROGAZZOLI, E. FROOD, Writing on the wall: two graffiti projects in Luxor, *EA* 42, 2012, p. 31 [lower, right]); seals impressions

but attested also in different parts of the country,¹⁰⁹ can be well explained by their importance attached to legitimising royal power, which at that time was in great need of strengthening. The actions undertaken by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III to revive the memory of Senwosret I seem to have a different dimension.

It appears then that it was of great importance to emphasise those elements of Senwosret I's activity which had a direct connection with the idea of kingship and its renewal. The programme of royal duties was copied and intensified by multiplication of the representation on the southern wall of the Palace of Maat in Karnak. The role of royal names was stressed in the representation of the *ished*-tree and in texts connected with the tree itself. Their importance and immortality were also shown by using the names on the external wall of the temple of millions of years of Hatshepsut, *Dsr-dsrw*. The meaning of the *sed*-festival was highlighted by the inscriptions adopted on the Osiride pillars, perhaps also by erecting the granite Osiride figures as well as by a carving of the scene with the *ished*-tree and was even stressed in details such as the determinative of *m3ʕt* in the word *hb-sd*. The position of royal ancestors as those who had indicated the path of kingship but who had also to be protected by the king was shown in the application of the idea of a special place for predecessors (the Chamber of Ancestors) inside the main temple of the state god, Amun-Re. The representations of Amun *hntj jpwt.f* that appeared in the times of Senwosret I and were revived under Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, are strongly connected with the ideology of succession to the throne and regeneration of royal power. Use of processional chapels was probably of great political importance for the king's appearance among his people.

The exploitation of the personage of Senwosret I in ideology, cultivated by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, also had another significance. It showed the importance of codification of the world by introduction, among other things, of festival calendars which organised the rituals and recorded the order for eternity. The scene of the *ished*-tree with royal names and *sed*-festivals registered forever can be understood in the same way.

The cult of royal ancestors was so important for the royal ideology of the time that its reflection can be seen in popular religion. The cult of Senwosret I, among other things, was chosen by private people as a main motive of decoration for the stelae they funded.

The reign of Senwosret I was the time of the renewal of the sacred landscape of Egypt and the regeneration of the sacred kingship, namely the *whm mswt* era and this is what

(N. DE G. DAVIES, M.F.L. MACADAM, *A Corpus of Inscribed Egyptian Funerary Cones*, Oxford 1957 [= Corpus], nos 361, 371, 372, 375);

Thutmose II, e.g.: T. SÄVE-SÖDENBERGH, *Four Eighteenth Dynasty Tombs at Thebes, Private Tombs at Thebes I*, Oxford 1957, Pl. XLVII; DAVIES, MACADAM, *Corpus*, no. 232.

¹⁰⁹ Thutmose I, e.g. A. RADWAN, *Der Königsname: Epigraphisches zum göttlichen Königtum im Alten Ägypten*, *SAK* 2, 1975, p. 219 [Dok. 6]; M. BOMMAS, *Tempel des Chnum der 18. Dyn. auf Elephantine*, unpublished PhD thesis, Universität Heidelberg 2000, pp. 105–108.

Thutmose II, e.g. H. SOUROUZIAN, *Inventaire iconographique des statues en manteau jubilaire de l'Époque thinite jusqu'à leur disparation sous Amenhotep III*, [in:] *Hommages à Jean Leclant I*, *BdE* 106/1, Le Caire 1993, p. 515 [26], Fig. 3b and references there; A.E.P. WEIGALL, *A Report on Some Objects Recently Found in Sebakh and Other Diggings*, *ASAE* 8, 1908, p. 44.

probably caught the attention of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. Their references to the place of primeval creation in addition to the personage of Senwosret I seems to be most significant in this context. It is remarkable since very little is said about this old cult centre in Heliopolis in the sources of the epoch. It is not *Jwnw*, but Atum Lord of *Jwnw* who is mentioned in texts¹¹⁰ and not by accident does he share this title with Amun.¹¹¹ *Jwnw* as a sacred place seems to be almost forgotten especially during the reign of Hatshepsut. Suddenly, the *Psdt R^c* in *Jwnw* appears in an unparalleled context of the *ished*-tree, the tree on which, most probably, the name of Hatshepsut's father, Thutmose I, was inscribed. The change of the religious importance of Heliopolis for Karnak that took place in the time of Hatshepsut is visible even in the details, i.e. in the above-mentioned royal titles. All this suggests that the intention of the religious policy of Hatshepsut, continued by Thutmose III into his late regal years, was the renewal of the idea of the kingship by recalling the renaissance era that took place at the beginning of the Middle Kingdom.

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¹¹⁰ The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, the west wall of the North Middle Portico: NAVILLE, Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls 57–58; Chapelle Rouge: BURGOS, LARCHÉ, Chapelle Rouge, pp. 69, 78, 119, 140, 141, 150.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 68, 70, 76, 166, 182, 226, 237, 256.