

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

ÉTUDES et TRAVAUX
XXVII
2014

OLGA BIAŁOSTOCKA

Palace or Slaughterhouse?

*The Function of the Room with a Window
in the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari*

The Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple at Deir el-Bahari is divided into three complexes: the Main Sanctuary of Amun, on the main axis of the temple, the Solar Cult Complex, north of it, and the Complex of the Royal Cult, which occupies the southern part of the terrace. The latter of them consists of two cult chapels – the bigger one dedicated to Hatshepsut, and the smaller one to her father Tuthmosis I – each preceded by a vestibule, and a square open courtyard at the entrance to the Complex. East of the compound lies a small, undecorated room of an irregular shape customarily called ‘a room with a window’.¹

Scholars tend to refer to it as a palace, following R. Stadelmann’s assumption that the room with a window in the Deir el-Bahari temple of Hatshepsut was a precursor of the later temple palaces.² Stadelmann based his interpretation on the location of the room within the temple and the existence of the window in the façade wall of the structure. He compared this opening in the northern wall of the room to a window of appearance, a feature characteristic for the Ramesside temple palaces, though known best from relief representations preserved in the palaces of Amarna.³ Only a few scholars questioned this interpretation, pointing to the atypical, irregular shape and, again, location of the structure,⁴ as well as the form and the positioning of the window.⁵ A completely different approach is represented by J. Karkowski, who considers the room to be a slaughterhouse.⁶ In contrast to Stadelmann, Karkowski based his interpretation of the said space on the relief decoration preserved on the façade of the room, namely the scenes of slaughtering of animals and bringing of the

* I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Dr. Karol Myśliwiec for his comments on the first draft of this paper as well as his constant support of my research. No less cordially, I thank Dr. Zbigniew E. Szafrński for entrusting to me the material from the Hatshepsut temple. Special thanks go to Dr. Eng. Teresa Kaczor and Jadwiga Iwaszczuk for counsels and valuable remarks.

The paper is a result of the research undertaken by the present author in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, which was made possible thanks to the financial support of the Foundation for Polish Science (Kolumb programme fellowship for Young PhDs). I am much indebted to Dr. Dieter Arnold, Dr. Dorothea Arnold, Dr. Adela Oppenheim, Dr. Diana Craig-Patch, Dr. Catharine Roehrig and the rest of the staff of the Department of Egyptian Art at the Museum for stimulating discussions as well as for a warm welcome and all their help in making my fellowship fruitful.

¹ Z. WYSOCKI, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Its Original Form, *MDAIK* 42, 1986, Fig. 1; J. KARKOWSKI, The Temple of Hatshepsut: the Solar Complex, *Deir el-Bahari VI*, Warsaw 2002 [= *Deir el-Bahari VI*], p. 71.

² R. STADELMANN, Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster in den Thebanischen Totentempeln, *MDAIK* 29, 1973, p. 223; G. Haeny quotes R. Stadelmann’s interpretation but admits that the purpose of these structures remains uncertain, see: G. HAENY, New Kingdom ‘Mortuary Temples’ and ‘Mansions of Millions of Years’, [in:] B.E. Shafer (Ed.), *Temples of Ancient Egypt*, Ithaca 1997, p. 95.

³ More on this architectural feature in: DI. ARNOLD, s.v. Erscheinungsfenster, *LÄ* II, 14; P. VOMBERG, Das Erscheinungsfenster innerhalb der amarnazeitlichen Palastarchitektur: Herkunft – Entwicklung – Fortleben, Wiesbaden 2004 [= *Erscheinungsfenster, pass.*]; DI. ARNOLD, The encyclopedia of ancient Egyptian architecture, Princeton 2003 [= The encyclopedia of ancient Egyptian architecture], p. 258.

⁴ K. SPENCE, The Palaces of el-Amarna: Towards an architectural analysis, [in:] R. Gundlach, J.H. Taylor (Eds), 4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology. Egyptian Royal Residences, London, June, 1st–5th 2004, Wiesbaden 2009 [= *Palaces of el-Amarna*] p. 172.

⁵ VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, pp. 250–252.

⁶ KARKOWSKI, *Deir el-Bahari VI*, pp. 71, 92; Id., The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari [= *Decoration*], [in:] Z.E. Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut and her temple 3500 years later*, Warsaw 2001 [= *Queen Hatshepsut*], p. 134.

foreleg *hps* which were represented above and on the sides of the window.⁷ The scholar compared the room with a window to the slaughterhouses that formed part of the New Kingdom temples of millions of years of Seti I in Gurna and Abydos, Merenptah in Gurna, and Ramesses III in Medinet Habu.⁸

To my knowledge, no similar relief representations have been recorded in any of the known temple palaces or any other type of royal residences. However, no windows have been attested in any of the mentioned slaughterhouses, either.

D. O'Connor distinguished three types of royal palaces with regard to purpose: residential, where the king actually lived, governmental, which constituted the royal administrative seat, and ceremonial.⁹ P. Lacovara, in turn, divided royal dwellings into two main groups: residential and ceremonial, the latter playing also the role of an administrative center. He paired the two types together¹⁰ and distinguished the so-called 'harim' palaces as a different category of buildings.¹¹ Yet another approach was proposed by K. Spence who suggested to divide the palaces according to their layout rather than their function. Consequently, the palaces were classified by her into axial, non-axial, and semi-axial buildings.¹²

Temple palaces associated with some of the New Kingdom temples of millions of years are known from the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. They have been attested in the (mortuary) Theban temples¹³ of Ay/Horemheb, Merenptah, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III.¹⁴ A palace was also attached to the temple of Seti I at Abydos.¹⁵ All the

⁷ KARKOWSKI, *Decoration*, pp. 133–134.

⁸ A slaughterhouse was also suggested for Ramesseum: H. JARITZ, *The Temple of Millions of Years of Merenptah. The Recovery of an Almost Lost Site*, [in:] Ch. Leblanc, G. Zaki (Eds), *Les temples de millions d'années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire. Sciences et nouvelles technologies appliquées à l'archéologie*, Colloque International, Louqsor 3–5 Janvier 2010, Le Caire 2010 [= *Temple of Millions of Years of Merenptah*], p. 154.

⁹ D. O'CONNOR, *City and Palace in New Kingdom Egypt*, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, p. 76. For Egyptian terms for palaces, see: SPENCE, *Palaces of el-Amarna*, p. 168 and n. 12.

¹⁰ P. LACOVARA, *The Development of the New Kingdom Royal Palace*, [in:] R. Gundlach, J.H. Taylor (Eds), *4th Symposium on Egyptian Royal Ideology. Egyptian Royal Residences*, London, June, 1st–5th 2004, Wiesbaden 2009 [= *Development of the New Kingdom Royal Palace*], pp. 85–96.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 98–101, 104–106; ID., *The New Kingdom Royal City*, London-New York 1997 [= *Royal City*], pp. 24–41.

¹² SPENCE, *Palaces of el-Amarna*, pp. 174–179.

¹³ Called 'mortuary temples' in many publications, these structures did not function as the known Old and Middle Kingdom temples dedicated to the mortuary cult of the pharaoh. Therefore, describing them simply as 'mortuary' is a simplification as it narrows their purpose. However, among the known temples of millions of years, one can, indeed, distinguish structures that contained 'offering chapels', where the cult of the divine *k3* of the king was held in front of the false door. The origin of this group of temples may be drawn from the mortuary temples of earlier periods. More in: M. ULLMANN, *König für die Ewigkeit. Die Häuser der Millionen von Jahren. Eine Untersuchung zu Königskult und Tempeltypologie in Ägypten*, Wiesbaden 2002 [= *König für die Ewigkeit*], pp. 671–673; S. SCHRÖDER, *Millionenjahrhaus. Zur Konzeption des Raumes der Ewigkeit im konstellativen Königtum in Sprache, Architektur und Theologie*, Wiesbaden 2010 [= *Millionenjahrhaus*], pp. 17–22; O. BIAŁOSTOCKA, *Temples of millions of years in light of older architectural models. Hatshepsut's *Dsr-dsrw* as the temple of rebirth of the divine *k3* [= Temples of millions of years]*, *forthcoming*.

¹⁴ A temple palace has been recently suggested for the temple of Amenhotep III at Kom el-Hittan: SCHRÖDER, *Millionenjahrhaus*, p. 376.

¹⁵ E.B. GHAZOULI, *The palace and magazines attached to the Temple of Sety I at Abydos and the façade of this temple*, *ASAE* 58, 1964, pp. 99–166. The existence of a temple palace in Seti I temple of millions of years

known temple palaces are essentially square in shape, situated on the south side of their respective temples, perpendicular to the temple axis, with an off-axis doorway (except the palace in Abydos) or two entrances located symmetrically on both sides of the axis. The layout of the palaces is rather standard, the typical elements being: a columned courtyard with a centrally located window of appearance that opened into the first courtyard of the temple,¹⁶ a throne room with a throne on a raised dais in its center, and additional store-rooms and private suites in the rear of the palace. D. O'Connor described temple palaces as replicas of the governmental residences; herein the presence of the ruler was to be marked by a statue of the enthroned king.¹⁷ The scholar juxtaposed residential and governmental palaces (and thus also temple palaces) in terms of form.¹⁸ P. Lacovara, in turn, compared the layout of palaces attached to temples with the arrangement of space in the ceremonial (administrative) palaces,¹⁹ given that temple palaces served ceremonial purposes, as well. Regarding K. Spence's classification of royal residences, temple palaces fall into the axial palace group, even though they were accessed through an off-axis door. The space of the axial palaces was arranged to enable the visibility between the entrance and the throne room, while preventing the easy access to the king. According to K. Spence, this ordering may suggest that in temple palaces the pharaoh was present in his divine aspect.²⁰

Symbolic in nature, temple palaces are generally considered never to have been used in the lifetime of the king, but erected to serve the deceased pharaoh.²¹ Their decoration is little known, the reason for that being the state of preservation of these structures built mainly of bricks. Typical relief representations in the palaces, not only those within temples, included scenes showing the king smiting or trampling foreigners, and groups of bound captives depicted mostly on the dais and throne bases. The space below and on the sides of the window of appearance was usually covered with the representations of the king in the company of gods presenting him with 'jubilees', and the scenes of the animal world,²² including hunting in the desert. In the inscriptions, among texts mentioning king's appearance on the throne or in his palace, there are also fragments mentioning the pharaoh doing inspections or participating in the Theban festivals of Opet and Beautiful Feast of the

at Abydos shows that these structures were not so much connected to the mortuary cult of the deceased king as to the cult of the king-god.

¹⁶ In Abydos, the palace was situated between the first and the second court, with the entrance located centrally in the façade wall, in line with the second pylon of the temple.

¹⁷ O'CONNOR, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, p. 78.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 76. Noteworthy, in the residential palace of Amenhotep III in Malkata, a throne base has been found in the centrally located large hall, whose rear wall was decorated with a scene of hunting in the desert. In the room adjacent to this 'throne hall' from the south, a painted false door niche, a feature characteristic of the temple palaces, has been preserved: LACOVARA, *The Development of the New Kingdom Royal Palace*, pp. 86–88.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 99–100.

²⁰ SPENCE, *Palaces of el-Amarna*, p. 175. Cf. *supra*, n. 15.

²¹ O'CONNOR, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, p. 78; DO. ARNOLD, *The Royal Palace. Architecture, Decoration and Furnishings*, [in:] Ch. Ziegler (Ed.), *The pharaohs*, New York 2002 [= *Royal Palace*], p. 273; VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, p. 261: she describes it as 'jenseitige Architektur'.

²² U. HÖLSCHER, *The Excavation of Medinet Habu III, The Mortuary Temple of Ramses III, part 1*, *OIP* 54, Chicago 1941 [= *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*], pp. 46–50.

Valley.²³ In the rear wall of the throne rooms, behind the throne, a double false door was usually inserted.

The irregular shape of the room with a window in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari as well as its location within the building do not match well the arrangement of space in the late Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasty temple palaces. First of all, the room is situated on the uppermost terrace of *Dsr-dsrw*, it has no internal division whatsoever, not much space for a columned court, not mentioning a throne room. Moreover, the walls of the room were left completely undecorated. The entrance is located in the south-eastern corner of the Upper Courtyard of the temple, which is also the corner of the room itself. The window, in turn, instead of being situated centrally in the façade wall, opened in its northern end. It gave out to the Upper Courtyard right next to the wall that separated the said room from the Royal Cult Complex. Since such asymmetrical layout seems strange for a temple room of any purpose, it makes one wonder if that was how the southern part of the Hatshepsut temple was intended to look like originally, or perhaps some alterations to the initial form of the southern compound resulted in this atypical ordering of the room with a window. Noteworthy, the plan and decoration of some other parts of the temple at Deir el-Bahari underwent several changes in the time of Hatshepsut before obtaining their final form.²⁴

Reconstruction of the original arrangement of rooms in the Royal Cult Complex is not an easy task owing to the troubled history of this part of the temple; not only did the Complex fall victim to an earthquake which damaged it substantially, it was also used as a burial place by the priests of Amun and Montu in the late Third Intermediate Period; later, on the ruins of the ancient monument, Coptic monks erected a monastery crowned by a brick tower that still stood in the south-eastern corner of the Upper Courtyard of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple when E. Naville started his work at Deir el-Bahari at the end of the nineteenth century. Taking into account the long use of the southern part of the temple for different purposes after the reign of Hatshepsut, alterations introduced by the queen herself are hard to distinguish, except for the rather obvious changes done to the decoration of the walls – such as the replacement of feminine suffixes and pronouns with the masculine ones. The first archaeological excavations in the temple, unfortunately, did not make the image clearer. To the contrary, the published documentation of the Egypt Exploration Fund excavations in the Temple, led by E. Naville, is inconclusive. For instance, the wall separating the Complex of the Royal Cult from the room with the window was, at least in some part, erected from foundations by the EEF expedition and not found *in situ*, a fact that seems omitted from E. Naville's publications.²⁵

The aforesaid wall was added by Hatshepsut in one of the phases of the temple construction²⁶ to separate the vestibules of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I, their cult chapels and the

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

²⁴ Z. WYSOCKI, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: The Raising of the Structure in View of Architectural Studies, *MDAIK* 48, 1992, pp. 233–254; KARKOWSKI, *Deir el-Bahari* VI, pp. 35–51.

²⁵ O. BIAŁOSTOCKA, Courtyard of the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, *PAM* XIX (Reports 2007), 2010, p. 269.

²⁶ WYSOCKI, *MDAIK* 48, 1992, p. 247.

open courtyard from the room with a window. Initially, the space in front of the chapels was much bigger and perfectly square. It might have had two entrances opening to the Upper Courtyard on each end of its façade wall, or just one. The window situated between them would, however, fall off-axis, if it were the same opening that later belonged to the room with the window. Apparently, in the initial form, the square space in front of the cult chapels of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I closely resembled the layout of the same area as observed in the temple palaces of the Ramesside era. Given the fact that the whole southern part of the Upper Terrace was added by Hatshepsut to the Upper Courtyard as an afterthought,²⁷ it is likely that the area now occupied by the room with the window was also originally envisaged in a different form, and later modified. Other elements of the royal complex have also been altered in the course of rebuilding of the southern compound. For instance, the chapel of Hatshepsut was first designed to be smaller, its façade planned to be probably at the height of the façade of the Tuthmosis I chapel.²⁸

No traces of any additional walls that would have divided the original square space in front of the Hatshepsut chapel into rooms, vestibules or antechambers had been recorded. Therefore, when trying to establish the architectural arrangement of a possible palace that once might have occupied the south-eastern corner of the Upper Terrace, one can only use the standing walls, or else add structures that would have left no visible traces when removed. If the square space in front of the offering chapels were a palace, it should have had a dais with a throne, probably situated centrally at the rear of the structure, turned toward the palace's façade. The dais with a throne would have had columns on the sides supporting a canopy made of a framework of lintels surmounted by a cavetto cornice.²⁹ If positioned in the centre of the 'palace' area, the dais in our case would have been aligned with the later added wall that separated the Royal Cult Complex from the room with a window. The wall would have actually marked the axis of thus reconstructed palace. Apparently, the existing window in the northern wall of the structure would have fallen in the wrong spot.

Since the wall separating the room with a window from the Royal Cult Complex stands on the axis of the presumed original palace, it must have replaced or incorporated the once existing dais. The latter must have adjoined the southern wall of the palace, which was simultaneously the southern wall of the Upper Terrace.³⁰ The joint between the two structures – the dais and the southern wall – has a very irregular cutting from the side of the room with a window, which may attest to alterations done to this corner of the building. The niches situated in the division wall, opposite the chapel of the queen, were erected 96cm above ground level, which resembles the height of the dais of Ramesses II in Qantir.³¹

²⁷ *Loc. cit.*

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Pl. 43b.

²⁹ K.P. KUHLMANN, s.v. Throne, [in:] W. Wendrich (Ed.), *UCLA Encyclopedia of Egyptology*, Los Angeles 2011 [= Throne], 5 (online resource: <http://digital2.library.ucla.edu/viewItem.do?ark=21198/zz0026w9gt> [accessed May, 2013]).

³⁰ WYSOCKI, *MDAIK* 48, 1992, Pls 44c (the right corner of the photograph), 45b-c.

³¹ ARNOLD, *Royal Palace*, p. 282: the dais was 80cm high. A much simpler dais was reconstructed in the palace of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu (I phase) – HÖLSCHER, *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*, Fig. 31. A similarly simple one stood in the temple of Merenptah: KUHLMANN, *Throne*, Fig. 9.

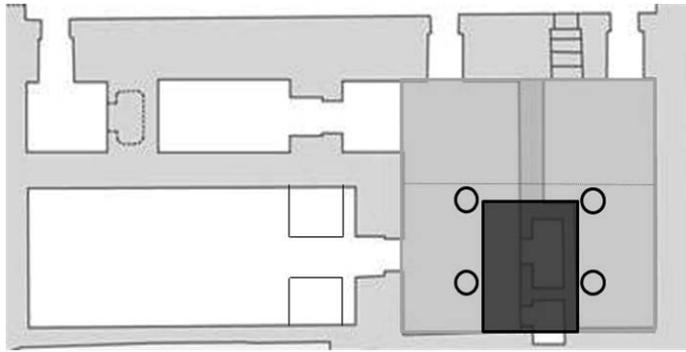
The blocks in the three layers below the openings of the niches differ in shape and size from the blocks out of which the niches and the rest of the dividing wall were constructed. They are more elongated and regular. It may be that these blocks once constituted the dais on which Hatshepsut's throne would have stood. The corner created by the rear wall of the niches and the wall separating the open courtyard of the royal complex from the room with a window might have once constituted the eastern corner of the dais; the western one, together with the other half of the dais, was probably removed when the space was refurbished to build the division wall. This other half would have mirrored the existing part and would have been located symmetrically in relation to the N-S axis of the palace-to-be. The columns that carried the weight of the canopy above the royal throne must have been placed symmetrically on both sides of the dais. On its western side, they would have later been used to support the roof over the vestibule of Hatshepsut. Their eastern counterparts would have been removed from the room with a window. Since the exact position and number of columns that originally stood in the aforementioned vestibule is not known, the size of the reconstructed dais and thus also of the canopy may be helpful in establishing the right position as well as the right number of these supports.

The existence of columns from the side of Hatshepsut's cult chapel is certain. Although their bases have not been found, it is obvious that the ceiling of the vestibule was somehow supported. Different numbers of columns in this space can be considered – from a single one, as in an *antichambre carrée*, to two, flanking the entrance to the chapel of the queen, to three, as in the vestibule of the Solar Cult Complex, on the opposite side of the Upper Courtyard.³² However, there is much less space for the columns in the southern complex than in the one north of the temple's axis. The columns stood probably only in the vestibule of the chapel of Hatshepsut, for the space right at the entrance to the royal complex was occupied by an open courtyard. That was not the case in the Solar Complex. It would be difficult, if not impossible, to put three columns in such a limited space. A single column next to the edge of the dais would fit better. However, since symmetry was essential to Egyptian art, of which the temple of Hatshepsut is a great example, two columns flanking the entrance seem much more plausible. A single column in the middle of the vestibule of Hatshepsut would be plausible, taken into account that the vestibule of Hatshepsut evoked an *antichambre carrée*.³³ However, positioned this way, it would not only get in the way of the to-be-dais but would also be standing directly in front of the doorway to the Hatshepsut chapel, thus obstructing the entrance. Such a solution seems highly improbable.³⁴ Therefore, two columns situated on both sides of the doorway to the cult chapel of the queen, in line with the axis marked by the main entrance to the royal complex and the niche in

³² ARNOLD, The encyclopedia of ancient Egyptian architecture, p. 104.

³³ The decoration of the vestibule corresponds with the scenes that were typically represented in the Old Kingdom *antichambre carrée*, see: O. BIAŁOSTOCKA, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex of her Temple at Deir el-Bahari, [in:] M. Dolińska, H. Beinlich (Eds), 8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples, Warschau, 22.–25. September 2008, Wiesbaden 2010, pp. 20–21.

³⁴ The doorways in the *antichambre carrée* were not located centrally in the walls of the room, thus a single column in the middle of the space did not obstruct the entrance.



1. Plan of the proposed temple palace of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari (Drawing: O. Białostocka according to the plan of the Hatshepsut temple by T. Kaczor).

the southern wall of the Hatshepsut vestibule, seem to fit best, also when considered as elements supporting the canopy of the throne dais in the palace of the queen (**Fig. 1**).³⁵

The presence of the mentioned dais is hypothetical. However, four fragments of blocks with decoration executed in sunken relief and bearing representations of bound foreigners may attest to its actual existence. On the fragments, found in the temple's *lapidaria*, at least two captives with their hands bound behind their back are visible. The representation is the more interesting that the two prisoners are depicted in a very unusual position, bending backwards (**Fig. 2**). The 'walled cartouches' identifying the foreign lands from where the captives came are shown to the side, not as part of the latter's bodies. The motif was typical for the decoration of the daises, thrones and windows of appearance.³⁶ It appeared frequently on the bases of sphinxes and colossal royal statues, as well. Bound captives do appear in one place in the Hatshepsut temple decoration, namely the Punt portico on the Middle Terrace. However, the scene represented there, encompassing images of captured enemies, was executed in raised relief. There is no other place in the temple where the fragments in question could fit, given not only the theme of the representation but, most of all, the type of relief it was executed in.³⁷ The fragments could not have belonged to the base of a sphinx or any other royal statue either, for these were usually made of one piece of stone, whereas the pieces in question belonged to more than one limestone block. The estimated size of the blocks corresponds with that of the oblong blocks constituting the base of the niches in the eastern wall of the Hatshepsut vestibule. Assuming that the reliefs depicting captives were indeed part of the decoration of the dais would mean that the building phase of the palace was actually completed before the layout of the southern part of the temple was changed.

In the reconstruction of the palace proposed herein, the window in the position it occupied in the later room with a window seems misplaced. Since its place in the wall could not

³⁵ The throne kiosks usually consisted of four columns supporting a canopy: KUHLMANN, *Throne*, 5.

³⁶ It represented bound captives or a pharaoh smiting enemies: ARNOLD, *Royal Palace*, p. 282; KUHLMANN, *Throne*, 6.

³⁷ Sunken relief was used to decorate the walls only in a few places in the temple at Deir el-Bahari.



2. Representation of captives on the blocks found in the *lapidaria* of *Dsr-ḏsrw* (Phot. O. Białostocka).

have been changed without any traces being left, there is a possibility that the window did not exist in the early palace, but was added in the later architectural development of this place. Indeed, the function of the window and the character of the palace-to-be in the temple at Deir el-Bahari may actually rule against the existence of the window in the structure.

The window of appearance is considered to derive from a kiosk-like building.³⁸ Judging from the preserved two-dimensional representations of this architectural element, it was more a balcony-like opening with a split upper lintel.³⁹ Steps leading up to it were situated in the inside of the palace, the window opening to an open court.⁴⁰ P. Vomberg questions the identification of the window in the Hatshepsut temple as the window of appearance. She argues that the opening in the southern wall of the Upper Courtyard was a singular feature that had nothing to do with the true windows of appearance and that was simply omitted in the later temples.⁴¹ The scholar believes that it was Akhenaton who introduced the concept of a window of appearance to royal palaces.⁴² Thus, she completely rejects

³⁸ VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, pp. 271–280; see also: K.P. KUHLMANN, *Der Thron im Alten Ägypten: Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikonographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens*, Glückstadt 1977 [= *Thron im Alten Ägypten*], *passim*.

³⁹ ARNOLD, *Royal Palace*, p. 282; SPENCE, *Palaces of el-Amarna*, pp. 180–184; VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, pp. 271–280. It was depicted either as closed or in use.

⁴⁰ In the temple palaces, it was usually the first court of the temple; within his division into residential, ceremonial and governmental palaces, D. O'Connor distinguishes courts that formed part of the ceremonial palaces and included a colonnade, as well as those in governmental palaces that were situated in front of the palace façade and usually did not include a colonnade: O'CONNOR, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, p. 76, Figs 1–2.

⁴¹ VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, p. 251.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 252; hence she also rejects P. Lacovara's reconstruction of the window in the Amenhotep III temple in Malkata – LACOVARA, *Royal City*, Fig. 21; ID., *Development of the New Kingdom Royal Palace*, p. 90; cf. D. O'Connor's reconstruction of this window: O'CONNOR, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, Figs 1–2.

the possibility that it might have come into being before the Amarna period. She also excludes from the category all the openings that diverged in form from the model that she presumes to be established by Akhenaton and from the only complete window of appearance preserved, discovered in Medinet Habu.⁴³ Meanwhile, our knowledge of windows of appearance from the reign of Akhenaton is based only on two-dimensional representations, for no real window of appearance has thus far been found in the city of Amarna. The window in Medinet Habu was also but a three-dimensional representation of an object, not the object itself.⁴⁴ Having assumed that the window of appearance was invented by Akhenaton, P. Vomberg argues further that one should not expect to find temple palaces in Thebes before the Amarna period;⁴⁵ a rather bold statement, considering the fact that the idea of a window of appearance being born under Akhenaton is merely a supposition, as is the implication that a temple palace could not exist without a window. The development of palatial architecture should rather be analyzed based on the function of the temple palace and of the window. Understanding the true purpose of a royal residence integrated with a cult place, and the reason behind the creation of an opening in the form of a window in the palace façade should explain the necessity, or lack of it, for erecting a temple palace at a specific place and moment.

Although no representations of a pharaoh appearing in a window are known from the time preceding the reign of Akhenaton, there are numerous representations of a pharaoh sitting on a throne in what looks like a pavilion or a kiosk⁴⁶ and receiving goods. Since the window of appearance may have originated from a kiosk, one could assume that the temple palaces replaced these kiosks which vanished at the time when the window was introduced; that is, indeed, what P. Vomberg seems to imply. However, the statement would only be valid if these kiosks served basically the same purpose as the temple palaces, which is rather improbable taking into account the many rooms – private suites, magazines – that a Ramesside temple palace encompassed, as well as the depictions of kiosks, also with elements of a window, in the relief decoration dating from the post-Amarna time.⁴⁷ Moreover, if the kiosks preceded the temple palaces, where were they placed? Inside the temples? Inside temple enclosures? Palaces were erected within the *Talbezirke*, as well as the so-called ‘fortresses of gods’ from the Early Dynastic period onward.⁴⁸ Yet, these structures are little known and it is impossible to say at the present state of research if

⁴³ It is the only complete window of appearance preserved, attested in writing and in reliefs: VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, p. 251; HÖLSCHER, *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*, Pl. 3. For P. Vomberg’s arguments against the window at Deir el-Bahari being a window of appearance, see: VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, p. 252, and against windows at the Amenhotep III temple in Malkata and the temple of Merenptah in Memphis: p. 259.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 268.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 262. The scholar actually recognizes the temple palace of Eje/Horemheb as the first example of a structure of this type and considers it a ‘relict’ from the time of Akhenaton.

⁴⁶ The earliest example dates to the Middle Kingdom: KUHLMANN, *Throne*, 5.

⁴⁷ VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, p. 283.

⁴⁸ For more on the royal mortuary enclosures and the ‘fortresses of gods’ as well as the association between the two, see: BIALOSTOCKA, *Temples of millions of years*.

The mentioned early palaces stood in the southern corners of the enclosures.

the New Kingdom temple palaces were associated with them in any way. However, even these early palaces were more than just simple kiosks.⁴⁹ Therefore, it may be suggested that a two-dimensional representation of a kiosk-like building with the pharaoh enthroned inside was only a simplified, rather symbolic image of a royal palace, showing the most important part of the residence, namely the throne on a dais under a canopy.⁵⁰ In fact, in the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, a representation of the queen seated on a throne in a pavilion and addressing three officials is accompanied by an inscription stating that she was in her palace.⁵¹

The window of appearance, like the double false door behind the throne, is believed to represent and guarantee constant presence of the pharaoh-god on earth.⁵² The king was supposed to appear (*hꜥj*) in his window to grant his subjects with gifts and blessings. Consequently, the monarch was always represented standing in the window, as if giving out to the gathered people. He was also to *hꜥj* on his throne. While seated on the throne under a canopy, he received delegates, offerings, bounty. This difference in the way the king was depicted – standing in the window, seated in the pavilion – may attest to different functions of the two structures – the throne room (represented in the form of a pavilion or kiosk) and the window. Seated on his throne, the king was passive, while the window was the place where he was represented acting.

In the Theban temple palaces of Seti I, Ramesses II and Ramesses III, a double false door was represented in the wall behind the dais in the throne room.⁵³ The door was associated strictly with the cult of the royal *k3* during lifetime and after the death of the monarch.⁵⁴ It was a feature of the divine cult that the king received in association with the gods.⁵⁵ Consequently, it should be assumed that the symbolic temple palace served the living and the dead monarch, it functioned as the residence of the divine being – the *k3*. The divine

⁴⁹ Studies of G. Dreyer on the Predynastic royal palaces enabled the scholar to reconstruct such a royal 'residence'. It shows that the palaces were fully developed already in this early period of Egyptian history: ARNOLD, *Royal Palace*, p. 281, Fig. 22.

⁵⁰ In a similar, simplified manner Hatshepsut might have represented her temple at Deir el-Bahari on the walls of the Red Chapel in Karnak: CH. LEBLANC, *Le culte rendu aux colosses « osiriaques » durant le Nouvel Empire*, *BIFAO* 82 (1982), Pl. LII B. The throne is usually depicted elevated, standing on a dais and surmounted by canopies, or inside a kiosk consisting of four columns supporting a canopy made of a framework of lintels and surmounted by a cavetto cornice.

⁵¹ E. NAVILLE, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, London 1898, Pls LXXXV–LXXXVI.

⁵² ARNOLD, *Royal Palace*, p. 282. The window of appearance, the false door and a serdab are said to belong to the same category of openings that served the purpose of communication with the dead: G. HAENY, s.v. Fenster, *LÄ* II, 168.

⁵³ At Medinet Habu, it was attested in the palace of the first phase. No remains of a false door were found in the palace that followed, but it is assumed the door existed there then, as well, cf. HÖLSCHER, *Excavation of Medinet Habu III*, Fig. 28.

⁵⁴ M. ULLMANN, *Die Mittelstützenscheintür im Tempel: Ikonographie und Funktionsbestimmung*, [in:] C.J. Eyre (Ed.), *Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists*, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995, *OLA* 82, Leuven 1998 [= *Die Mittelstützenscheintür im Tempel*], p. 1189; Id., *König für die Ewigkeit*, p. 218. According to P. Vomberg, the false door in the temple palaces imagined the private sphere of the deceased king, namely his tomb.

⁵⁵ ULLMANN, *Die Mittelstützenscheintür im Tempel*, pp. 1177–1189.

aspect of the king would appear as a god in the window in front of his people and receive offerings in the throne room, having entered the royal abode through the false door. The above-mentioned post-Amarna representations of a king in what was a combination of a kiosk and a window attest to this dual function of the palace.⁵⁶ The dual nature of the king is also understandable, given the fact that all the known temple palaces were erected within the temples of millions of years in which the cult focused on the divine nature of the king and, thus, extended beyond the life or the death of the pharaoh.

It can be assumed then that the king represented at the window was the living *k3* – the living god. That would explain why the windows of appearance were so common in the reign of Akhenaton, the pharaoh who considered himself to be the sun god on earth. Furthermore, it would be understandable to find this architectural feature in the post-Amarna temple palaces; in the Nineteenth Dynasty, the idea of the pharaoh being a god in his lifetime was already well established. In fact, the cult of the living king as a god might have started already much earlier, in the time of Amenhotep III or even Tuthmosis IV.⁵⁷ Thus, it is possible that the temples of millions of years of these kings also included some sort of window openings, if they contained temple palaces, at all.⁵⁸ Accordingly, windows of appearance were probably associated only with the temples where the cult of the king as a living god was held. It does not imply, however, that no temple palaces existed earlier. Their function was probably broader than that of the window, for instance, since they represented the dwellings of the divine royal *k3*, while being also residences of the deceased king, who was god through his *k3*.

Assuming that the palace at Deir el-Bahari occupied the space which was later taken by, among others, the vestibule in front of the Hatshepsut cult chapel, the offering hall of the queen must have opened directly into the throne room.⁵⁹ Consequently, the false door inserted in the west wall of the chapel was aligned with the throne dais. Such an arrangement of the space seems to have the same meaning as the false door behind the thrones in the later Ramesside temple palaces. It enabled the divine *k3* of the pharaoh, worshiped in the temple, to appear (*h^cj*) on the throne and receive offerings. Before the cult of the living king-god was introduced to the temples, the *k3* must have needed a hypostasis.

⁵⁶ STADELMANN, *MDAIK* 29, 1973, pp. 241–242, speaks about an active and a contemplative king. He associates the two functions with the living and the deceased king respectively. The scholar recognizes two aspects in the representations of the window from the Medinet Habu temple palace of Ramesses III, which, as was shown by P. Vomberg, usually depicted a ‘conglomerate’ of a window with a kiosk. Therefore, the reliefs in question should probably be understood as representations of the king in his palace – in the window and on his throne.

⁵⁷ CH. LEBLANC, Quelques réflexions sur le programme iconographique et la fonction des temples de “Millions d’Années”, *Memnonia* VIII, 1997, p. 54; B. BIRKSTAM, Reflections on the association between the Sun-god and divine kingship in the 18th dynasty, [*in.*] G. Englund, M. Hamrén, L. Troy (Eds), *Sundries in Honour of Torgny Säve-Söderbergh*, *BOREAS* 13, Uppsala 1984, p. 39; cf. K. MYŚLIWIEC, Reading a Statue of a Statue: A Testimony of three-dimensional Cryptography, *Imago Aegypti* 1, 2005, pp. 84–85.

⁵⁸ *Supra*, n. 14.

⁵⁹ Alterations done to the chapel of Hatshepsut are clearly visible on its north wall. They attest to the chapel being extended. See *supra*, n. 28. How the space in front of the chapel was arranged in the original plan is difficult to say. A small vestibule might have been planned.

Therefore, a statue of the queen, most probably representing her seated on a throne, may be envisaged on the elevated dais.⁶⁰

Five seated statues of Hatshepsut are known today.⁶¹ Two of them represent king Hatshepsut in a female dress.⁶² The three remaining are probably the earliest statues of Hatshepsut depicted as a male ruler.⁶³ Taking into account the early date of the possible temple palace as well as its meaning, the portrayal that seems to fit best on the dais is the black diorite lifesize image of Hatshepsut seated on a block throne in a *khat*-headcloth (MMA 30.3.3). Considered the earlier of the two portrayals of the king in a female guise,⁶⁴ it depicts Hatshepsut in a sheath dress, with a necklace and other jewelry. Both hands of the queen are placed flat on her thighs; a pose that can be linked to a representation of a king or a queen.⁶⁵ There is no doubt, however, that we are dealing with a king. The statue is inscribed with complete royal titulary, though with feminine gender endings. Nine bows – the hieroglyphic symbol of foreigners – are carved under Hatshepsut's feet. The feminine traits of the queen attest to the early date of the statue, which corresponds perfectly with the early date of the construction of the palace.⁶⁶ The nine bows depicted on the footstool, in turn, would match well the representation of bound enemies that might have covered the sides of the royal dais.⁶⁷ The headcloth *khat* that the queen is wearing gives us additional information on the nature of the king represented. It suggests that the statue actually represented the divine *k3* of the king.⁶⁸ Given the function of the temple palaces as dwellings of the royal *k3*, the black diorite portrayal of Hatshepsut would correspond well to the location.

The block throne of statue MMA 30.3.3 was decorated with a *sema-tawy*-sign. According to the arrangement of the heraldic plants – lily on the front of the throne, papyrus on the rear – the statue must have faced southern or western direction. Hence, it would seem that the orientation of the *sema-tawy*-sign excludes placing the statue in question in the palace. However, a detailed analysis of cultic streams in the temple at Deir el-Bahari would actually confirm the proposed positioning of this three-dimensional image of Hatshepsut on the dais, namely that the statue would have faced north toward the entrance of the palace.

⁶⁰ Since in the Nineteenth Dynasty the living king was already divine, no statue was needed in the palace. The king himself was the hypostasis for his *k3*.

⁶¹ MMA 30.3.3 – diorite, lifesize statue (C.H. Roehrig, R. Dreyfus, C.A. Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut: From Queen to Pharaoh*, New York 2005 [= *From Queen to Pharaoh*], Fig. 65), MMA 29.3.3 – granite, over lifesize statue (*ibid.*, cat. no. 95), MMA 29.3.2 – limestone, over lifesize statue (*ibid.*, cat. no. 96), MMA 27.3.163 – granite over lifesize statue (*ibid.*, Fig. 66), MMA 31.3.168 – porphyritic granite under lifesize statue (*ibid.*, Fig. 67). Cf. R. TEFNIN, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout. Portrait royal et politique sous la 18^e Dynastie*, Bruxelles 1979 [= *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*], pp. 1–31.

⁶² MMA 29.3.3 and MMA 30.3.3.

⁶³ C.A. KELLER, *The statuary of Hatshepsut*, [*in:*] Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *From Queen to Pharaoh*, p. 159.

⁶⁴ *Loc.cit.*

⁶⁵ TEFNIN, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, p. 24.

⁶⁶ The palace had to be constructed before the queen started to fully legitimize her reign through her affiliation with Tuthmosis I. The portrayal in question is considered the earliest of the seated statues of Hatshepsut.

⁶⁷ Nine bows were usually represented on footstools or the dais: KUHLMANN, *Throne*, p. 6, Fig. 9 (dais from the temple of Merenptah); ARNOLD, *Royal Palace*, p. 288 (dais from Qantir).

⁶⁸ D. WILDUNG, *Die Rolle ägyptischer Könige im Bewusstsein ihrer Nachwelt*, Berlin 1969, p. 135, n. 3. Cf. also M. EATON-KRAUSS, *The Khat Headdress to the End of the Amarna Period*, *SAK* 5, 1977, pp. 21–39.

The cultic residence of the *k3* proposed in this paper was situated opposite the Night-Sun Chapel of the Solar Cult Complex, across the Upper Courtyard. The entrances to the structures were located symmetrically with respect to the temple's main axis. The symmetry created this way seems intentional and reveals the connection between the two structures. In the Solar Complex, the sun god was worshiped under four aspects associated with four cardinal points and marked by four niches located in the walls surrounding the solar court – he was Re-Harachte in the East, Amun-Atum in the West, Atum in his night barque associated with Osiris in the North, and Re-(Amun) in the day barque in the South.⁶⁹ Adopting this scheme to the arrangement of rooms around the Upper Terrace, it can be observed that the Royal Cult Complex served the divine king whose *k3* participated in the Osirian cult and the journey of the sun in the night barque, while the Solar Cult Complex was the place of cult of the sun god from which benefiting was also the king.⁷⁰ In the middle of the solar court stood an altar dedicated to Re-Harachte. This part of the complex was thus ascribed to the god associated with the East. East of the court was the Night-Sun Chapel⁷¹ where the hidden part of the solar cycle took place. The Chapel housed Amun-Atum, the aspect of the sun god associated with the West.⁷² Surprisingly, the directions in the Solar Complex were, apparently, reversed. Applying this reversed scheme to the southern complex, the cult of Atum associated with Osiris would be based in the Chapel of Hatshepsut (as northern direction corresponded to the eastern in Egyptian theology) and Re-(Amun) on his journey in the day barque would be worshiped as the god linked to the southern direction in the reconstructed palace of Hatshepsut (**Fig. 3**).

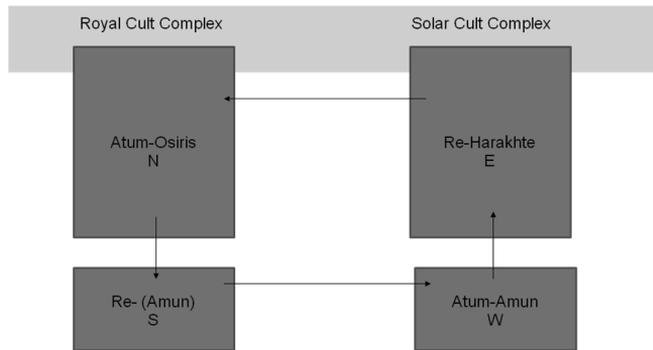
As the described scheme shows, the cult chapel of the queen functioned as an equivalent of the Night-Sun Chapel, whereas the palace corresponded to the solar court, but in the royal sphere. Not only were the directions reversed; both spheres – royal (southern complex) and divine (northern complex) – were linked to each other using the religious orientation and not the real directions. Cultic North in the Royal Cult Complex would thus correspond to the cultic East of the Solar Complex, not the real eastern direction, and South would go together with the West of the Solar Complex, not the real western direction. This specific 'upturned' orientation may be linked to the beliefs of ancient Egyptians who saw the Netherworld as the 'world upside down'. It is evoked also in the way the sky goddess Nut was usually represented – upside down – which indicated the inversed course of the sun traveling to the horizon and in the Netherworld. The reversed direction applied in this scheme

⁶⁹ More on the cult of the sun god connected to different phases of the sun journey in: BIAŁOSTOCKA, *Temples of millions of years*; M. BUDZANOWSKI, *Nisze kultowe na Górnym Tarasie świątyni Hatszepsut w Deir el-Bahari. Aspekty kultu królewskiego w Świątyni Milionów Lat *Dsr-dsrw* w okresie panowania królowej Hatszepsut*, unpublished PhD thesis, Kraków 2004 (herein, I would like to thank the author for the permission to use his work for my studies); R. STADELMANN, *Šwt-R^{sw} als Kultstätte des Sonnengottes im Neuen Reich*, *MDAIK* 25, 1969, p. 161; J. ASSMANN, *s.v. Sonnengott*, *LA⁵ V*, 1088; *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu VI, The Temple Proper 2*, *OIP* 84, Chicago 1963, Pl. 425.

⁷⁰ BIAŁOSTOCKA, *Temples of millions of years*.

⁷¹ KARKOWSKI, *Deir el-Bahari VI, pass.*; in other publications it is usually described as vestibule.

⁷² The same configuration, but in the opposite direction, was repeated in the decoration of the tympana in the chapel of Hatshepsut.



3. Scheme of the orientation of the solar cycle on the Upper Terrace of the temple of Hatshepsut (Drawing: O. Białostocka).

can also explain the orientation of the *sema-tawy*-sign on the seated statue mentioned above from the temple palace. In line with the direction set up by the heraldic plants, the image should have faced south or west. However, adopting the reverse cultic orientation, the statue placed on a dais and turned toward the entrance of the palace faced geographic north, but cultic south, which corresponded to the eastern direction – thus cultic west.

Consequently, the sun god who was born as Re-Horakhty each morning traveled on the horizon from east to west (geographical directions, visible part of the journey), where he died and spent the night crossing the night sky from west to east in his night barque as Atum-Osiris (invisible, ‘inversed’ part of the journey). After reuniting with Osiris in the Netherworld, he resurrected to continue his travel in the day barque as Re-(Amun) (again from east to west, cultic directions), only to set again in the West as Atum-Amun. As the sun rose in the east (geographical) and set in the west (geographical), it also traveled from north (cultic east) to south (cultic west).

Both parts of the temple complemented each other and the connection between both aspects of the god creator – Osirian and solar – was expressed in the interrelation of the king and the sun god joined together for the journey through twelve hours of the night and twelve hours of the day. The sun journey E↔W was represented on the ceiling and the tympana of the Chapel of Hatshepsut – the sequence of day hours covered the southern side of the ceiling and went from E to W, while in the northern part, the hours of the night were represented from W to E.⁷³ In the eastern tympanon of the said chapel, the queen was depicted in the company of the god Re-Horakhty in the daily barque of Re,⁷⁴ and on the opposite side, in the western tympanon, she was represented in an analogical scene but in the night barque with Atum-Amun.⁷⁵

⁷³ M. BARWIK, The so-called ‘Stundenritual’ from Hatshepsut’s Temple at Deir el-Bahari, [in:] Ch.J. Eyre (Ed.), Proceedings of the Seventh International Congress of Egyptologists, Cambridge, 3–9 September 1995, OLA 82, Leuven 1998, p. 112.

⁷⁴ KARKOWSKI, *Deir el-Bahari* VI, Pl. 81A.

⁷⁵ The figure of the god was partly damaged, but it can be assumed that the syncretic god Atum-Amun was represented in the scene: BIAŁOSTOCKA, Temples of millions of years.

A corpus of texts that corresponded to the liturgy of hours from the Royal Cult Complex has also been preserved in the Solar Complex (Night-Sun Chapel). A two-part *Theological Treatise* (morning and evening solar accompaniments) was a theological discourse on the solar cult and the transformations of the sun during the day and the night.⁷⁶ The ruling king was represented in the text as the priest of the sun cult. The role was bestowed on him due to his filial connection with Re, and not on account of his office. The texts from the Chapel of Hatshepsut and the Night-Sun Chapel apparently complemented each other, just as different manifestations of the sun god constituted a unity. The journey of the solar bark connected the solar cycle to the cult of the king, in consequence of which Hatshepsut's regeneration in the realm of Osiris was taking place alongside the transformation of the sun who descended into the Netherworld for the night, only to rise again and continue the journey during day hours.

The connection between the two complexes might have been additionally emphasized by the presence of twelve small kneeling statues placed along the axis joining the palace with the Night-Sun Chapel.⁷⁷ There might have been as many as twelve such statues representing Hatshepsut kneeling and presenting a *nemset*-vase and a *djed*-pillar. The queen was depicted wearing a *khat*-headdress. The statues were inscribed on the back pillar with the prenomen or nomen of Hatshepsut – nomen always with the epithet *s3(t)-R^c nt ht.f*, prenomen with *nb jrt ht* or *nb t3wj*.⁷⁸ The hieroglyphs faced left or right which suggests that the statues were placed in two facing rows.⁷⁹

It has been proposed that they stood in 'an architectural setting characterized by rhythmic repetition, such as a portico or peristyle court'.⁸⁰ Do. Arnold placed them in the Upper Courtyard along the way where the festive procession of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley took place.⁸¹ However, given the axis that linked the Night-Sun Chapel with the palace and the nature of both structures, it can be envisaged that the kneeling statues stood along that path, a route that the sun god traveled on his journey through twelve hours of the night and twelve hours of the day. They might have occupied the space in the *intercolumnia* (as in the eastern row, there were exactly six of them on each side of the main axis of the temple). It is noteworthy that the headdress of the kneeling statues was the same as that of the figure that might have stood in the palace – a *khat*, which could signify that the person represented was actually the *k3* of Hatshepsut. If, indeed, the statues of the queen were placed along the N-S axis, Hatshepsut, who was represented offering to the sun god

⁷⁶ J. ASSMANN, *Egyptian Solar Religion in the New Kingdom: Re, Amun and the Origin of Polytheism*, London-New York 1995, p. 18; S. QUIRKE, *The Cult of Ra. Sun Worship in Ancient Egypt*, London 2001, p. 54.

⁷⁷ In the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York: 23.3.1 (Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *From Queen to Pharaoh*, cat. no. 91), 23.3.2, 31.3.160–162; in Ägyptisches Museum, Berlin: 22883; in Egyptian Museum, Cairo: JE 47702–3 – DO. ARNOLD, *The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut from Deir el-Bahari*, [in:] Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *From Queen to Pharaoh [= Destruction of the Statues]*, pp. 274–275 (nn. 1–3).

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 276 (n. 15).

⁷⁹ *Loc.cit.*

⁸⁰ Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *From Queen to Pharaoh*, cat. no. 91.

⁸¹ ARNOLD, *Destruction of the Statues*, p. 270.

on his journey to the horizon and in the Netherworld, would also be the beneficent of this cult as she accompanied Re in his passage.

If the window of appearance was used by the living god, it had no use in the proposed palace of Hatshepsut. The symbolic residence of the queen was directly connected to the queen's offering chapel where her divine *k3* received mortuary cult. Apparently, the temple palace of Hatshepsut functioned as the residence of the deceased divine king (god), and was accessible to the royal *k3* through the false door of the offering chapel. Hence, the palace in such a form was probably not equipped with a window. The opening must have been added later, on the occasion of the refurbishment of the southern part of the Upper Terrace. That such a restructuring took place is attested, among others, by the erection of the wall that separated the Royal Cult Complex from the room with a window.

Judging from the function of the palace and its connection to the Night-Sun Chapel, the whole southern complex in its original form had only a single entrance. The palace and, further, the chapel of the queen were, possibly, accessed through the doorway in the south-east corner of the Upper Courtyard. The second entrance might have been added as part of the mentioned rebuilding of the southern part of the Upper Terrace in order to open the way between the now isolated space of the royal offering chapels and the Upper Courtyard. Concurrently, the third row of columns in the eastern colonnade of the Upper Courtyard would have been added.⁸² It marked a new axis of *Dsr-dsrw* leading from the center of the Courtyard to the cult chapels of Hatshepsut and Tuthmosis I.

The refurbishment of the Hatshepsut temple palace resulted in turning the symbolic residence of the royal *k3*, manifested in the deceased pharaoh (god) and traveling in the day barque of Re, into a residence of the sun god in its aspect of the day sun. Concurrently, the transformation of the Upper Terrace shows the transition of the southern part of the temple from a cult place of the divine *k3* in its Osirian aspect into a space where Hatshepsut was worshiped as a form of the sun god, the son of Amun-Re, the daughter of Kamutef.

The transformation of the southern complex of *Dsr-dsrw* demonstrates that the different architectural alterations of Hatshepsut's temple had their source in the theological and ideological background of Hatshepsut's reign and not just in the changing concepts of the temple's design.⁸³

The palace must have been in an advanced stage of construction – the decoration of the dais already started if not completed, and the statuary equipment prepared – when Hatshepsut ordered a refurbishment of the Upper Terrace. Supposedly, the transformation of the southern compound was part of a bigger rebuilding plan and took place around the same time as the restructure of the Solar Complex. North of the temple's axis, the Upper Chapel of Anubis in shape of a rock speos was created in place of the niche in

⁸² More on the third row of columns in the eastern colonnade in: A. KWAŚNICA, Reconstructing the Architectural Layout of the Upper Courtyard, [in:] Szafranski (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, pp. 94–97.

⁸³ WYSOCKI, *MDAIK* 48, 1986, *pass.*; F. PAWLICKI, The worship of Queen Hatshepsut in the temple at Deir el-Bahari, [in:] *Warsaw Egyptological Studies* I, Essays in honour of Prof. Dr. Jadwiga Lipińska, Warsaw 1997, pp. 45–52.

the northern wall of the sun court. Later it was enlarged and its decoration altered, the most important change being probably the introduction of the cult of Hatshepsut's father into the room.⁸⁴

The original niche situated in this place symbolized the aspect of the sun traveling through the Netherworld. After the niche was turned into a chapel and became a place of cult, this aspect of the sun was associated with the cult of the deceased king. Thus, originally the cult of Hatshepsut in the Upper Chapel of Anubis was mortuary (Osirian) in nature. Introducing the figure of the deceased father Tuthmosis I to the composition equaled acquiring by Hatshepsut the position of the son of Osiris – (Amun-)Re, whose divine cult was performed during the lifetime of the ruler in the solar courtyard.⁸⁵ Taking into account the ideological meaning of the northern compound – Upper Chapel of Anubis as a room dedicated to the cult of the god Tuthmosis I and celebrated by his son Hatshepsut, and the sun court as a space where the cult of the sun god and of Hatshepsut took place – it is possible that the same configuration – space for the cult of the father on the north and of the son on the south – was created in the southern complex at the same time.

Consequently, the cult chapel of Tuthmosis I preceded by a vestibule might have been added to the Chapel of Hatshepsut only when the Royal Cult Complex was separated from the palace, and simultaneously with the introduction of the cult of Hatshepsut's father north of the temple's axis. The presence of Tuthmosis I in the cult chapel in the Royal Cult Complex and in the Upper Chapel of Anubis in the Solar Complex not only legitimized Hatshepsut's reign as a king but also converted her cult as Osiris into the cult of Hatshepsut as Amun.⁸⁶

The refurbishment of the southern part of the Upper Terrace included the dismantling of a part of the dais and erecting instead a dividing wall which separated the royal offering chapels from a room in the façade of which a window was then created. The complex with the cult chapels was given a direct access to the Upper Court through a newly created doorway. The importance of the new cult space was perhaps emphasized by the addition of a third row of columns in the eastern colonnade of the Upper Courtyard.⁸⁷ Separation of the Royal Complex from the palace resulted in turning the offering chapel of Hatshepsut into a sanctuary equal to the Main Sanctuary of Amun-Re. Since then the chapel of Hatshepsut, the sanctuary of Amun-Re, and the court in the Solar Complex, all together functioned as chapels of a *hwt-k3* that the Upper Terrace thus constituted. The divine *k3* of the king was

⁸⁴ It is not known what exactly the function of the speos that preceded the Upper Chapel of Anubis was, or what kind of cult was held in it. Apparently, the niches in the Solar Cult Court were never finished. More on the stages of construction of the Upper Chapel of Anubis: KARKOWSKI, *Deir el-Bahari* VI, p. 49; M. WITKOWSKI, *Deir el-Bahari et l'énigme des chapelles redoublées*, *DossArch* 187, 1993, p. 82; *Id.*, *Le rôle et les fonctions des Chapelles d'Anubis dans le Complexe Funéraire de la reine Hatshepsout à Deir el Bahari*, [*in.*] S. Schoske (Ed.), *Akten des 4. Internationalen Ägyptologen Kongresses München 1985*, *BSAK* 3, Hamburg 1988, pp. 431–440.

⁸⁵ More on this change of function of the Upper Chapel of Anubis in: BIALOSTOCKA, *Temples of millions of years*.

⁸⁶ BIALOSTOCKA, *Temples of millions of years*.

⁸⁷ Further studies will be needed to confirm whether the transformation of this space was connected, maybe run simultaneously, to the addition of the third row of columns on the Upper Courtyard.

worshiped as a manifestation of the sun god, together with other *hprw R^c*.⁸⁸ Meanwhile, the room south of the Royal Complex, now with a window, continued to function as a palace, though of a different kind. It no longer housed a dais with a throne, nor the statues that could have previously stood in it. It was turned into a palace of the sun god Re himself and was still ritually connected to the Night-Sun Chapel.

Whether Hatshepsut ‘appeared’ in the window as the personification of the god Re is not known. It would have been probably considered a sacrilege in her times. However, the fact that the palace was located on the Upper Terrace – which was considered the divine sphere – as well as the analysis of the arrangement of space and the iconography of *Dsr-dsrw* allow for suspecting that the intention of the queen may have indeed been to represent herself as god. Since the palaces of both phases served the cult of the sun god,⁸⁹ it may explain why the walls of the room with a window were not decorated. They corresponded in this respect to the Solar Cult Complex open court, which was also left undecorated; the sunbeams lightening these sacral spaces were to be reflected in the limestone walls.

J. Karkowski reconstructed the room with a window as partly roofed, with the southern part covered and an open court in the front,⁹⁰ R. Stadelmann suggested an entirely open space in this place,⁹¹ while S. Miszczak envisaged the room as completely covered.⁹² It is hard to assess which of these theories is more correct from the architectural point of view, the more so that the interpretations of the place differ among the scholars. However, if one considers the undecorated walls of the palace, as well as the latter’s function as a place where Re was worshiped during the twelve hours of his daily journey, an open air space seems the most plausible.

J. Karkowski has already suggested to associate the room with a window with the Night-Sun Chapel of the Solar Complex. However, the scholar considered the space in the southern corner of the Upper Terrace to be a slaughterhouse. Few slaughterhouses have been identified within the temples of millions of years, even fewer had any decoration preserved. They usually occupied several rooms⁹³ and were placed in different parts of the temples – some were located north of the temple axis (as in the Merenptah and Ramesses III Theban temples),⁹⁴ others south of it (temples of Seti I in Gurna

⁸⁸ BIAŁOSTOCKA, Temples of millions of years.

⁸⁹ R. Stadelmann draws comparisons between the temple palace and the so-called ‘Benben house’, a palace of Re-Atum attested much later in Heliopolis: STADELMANN, *MDAIK* 29, 1969, p. 229.

⁹⁰ KARKOWSKI, *Deir el-Bahari* VI, p. 72.

⁹¹ STADELMANN, *MDAIK* 29, 1969, Fig. 1, p. 230.

⁹² As shown by the three-dimensional model of the temple created by the architect, see: Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. 1 on p. 58.

⁹³ In the temple of Ramesses III in Medinet Habu: square court with a central pillar and an additional chamber; in the temple of Seti in Gurna: three rooms; in Seti I temple in Abydos: five rooms: DI. ARNOLD, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion in ägyptischen Tempeln des Neuen Reiches, *MÄS* 2, München 1962 [= Wandrelief und Raumfunktion], pp. 88–93.

⁹⁴ Ramesses III: The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu III. The Calendar, the ‘Slaughter House,’ and Minor Records of Ramses III, *OIP* 23, Chicago 1934 [= Medinet Habu III], Fig. 5; Merenptah: JARITZ, Temple of Millions of Years of Merenptah, p. 154.

and Abydos).⁹⁵ The slaughterhouses were purely symbolic structures, like the temple palaces, probably representing three-dimensional maquettes.⁹⁶ Their meaning is still far from being truly understood.⁹⁷ However, no matter where located, they seem to be connected to the cult of the sun god in his two aspects – the daily sun and the night sun. Noteworthy, all the slaughterhouses known from the Old Kingdom, namely one erected for Neferirkare situated in the NW part of his mortuary temple at Abusir, two found in the sun temple of Niuserre at Abu Gurob in the NE and NW sector of the temple, and another one excavated in front of an ‘unfinished pyramid’ of Raneferef at Abusir,⁹⁸ were also connected to sun temples. The evidence from the Old Kingdom shows existence of some economic and probably cultic interdependence between the sun temples and the mortuary complexes in the Fifth Dynasty.⁹⁹ The slaughterhouses, whose meaning was rather symbolic and ritualistic, could have been an element of this interconnection.¹⁰⁰

The decoration most characteristic for the slaughterhouses included representations of dedication of offerings, butchery scenes, and processions of offering bearers carrying forelegs of the slaughtered animals.¹⁰¹ The scenes of slaughtering were of symbolic and apotropaic nature. They represented the triumph of the king over the enemies of the sun god and the forces of chaos.¹⁰²

In the Temple of Hatshepsut, the scenes that could be associated with the decoration of the slaughterhouses were depicted above and on both sides of the window, on the side facing the Upper Courtyard. On the western side, a king facing east was depicted in a scene of dedication of offerings. On the eastern side of the window, a butchery scene was represented. Above the window, in turn, a procession of offering bearers carrying ox forelegs can be reconstructed. Since the decoration around the window is composed of ritual scenes, the room with the window apparently functioned as a cult place.¹⁰³ Given the existence

⁹⁵ Seti I, Gurna: R. STADELMANN, *The Mystery of the Unification of King and Amun in the Mortuary Temple of Seti I at Qurna*, [in:] Ch. Leblanc, G. Zaki (Eds), *Les temples de millions d’années et le pouvoir royal à Thèbes au Nouvel Empire. Sciences et nouvelles technologies appliquées à l’archéologie*, Colloque International, Louxor 3–5 Janvier 2010, *Memnonia. Cahier Supplémentaire 2*, Le Caire 2010, p. 101; Seti I, Abydos: A. MARIETTE, *Abydos: description des fouilles exécutées sur l’emplacement de cette ville*, Paris 1880 [= Abydos], Pl. 3.

⁹⁶ ARNOLD, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 90; VOMBERG, *Erscheinungsfenster*, p. 268; A. EGGBRECHT, s.v. *Schlachthof*, *LÄ V*, 640.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, the actual places where the animals were killed were usually situated outside temples.

⁹⁸ M. VERNER, *A Slaughterhouse from the Old Kingdom*, *MDAIK 42*, 1986, pp. 181–189.

⁹⁹ More on the interrelation between sun temples and mortuary temples: BIALOSTOCKA, *Temples of millions of years*.

¹⁰⁰ VERNER, *MDAIK 42*, 1986, p. 189; P. POSENER-KRIÉGER, *Les archives du temple funéraire de Néferirkarê-Kakai II*, Le Caire 1976, p. 519.

¹⁰¹ ARNOLD, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 89; *The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu III*, Pl. 173; MARIETTE, *Abydos*, Pl. 48.

¹⁰² E. OTTO, *An Ancient Egyptian Hunting Ritual*, *JNES 9*, 1950, pp. 164–177; KARKOWSKI, *Deir el-Bahari VI*, p. 92; VERNER, *MDAIK 42*, 1986, p. 189.

¹⁰³ Scenes depicting real activities, such as leading the animals or slaughtering them, were represented in lower registers of the decoration, while scenes of similar type but with mythological significance, such as dedication of offerings or killing of the enemies, were usually bigger and represented higher on the wall, to make them more visible: ARNOLD, *Wandrelief und Raumfunktion*, p. 90.

of a window in the façade of the room, it is more probable, though, that the structure functioned as a symbolic temple palace, rather than a ‘slaughterhouse’. Moreover, lack of wall reliefs would be quite surprising for a ‘model’ of a slaughterhouse; for the preserved examples from the New Kingdom temples of millions of years were abundantly decorated.

Since the slaughterhouses were associated with the cult of the sun, symbolic scenes of butchering of animals represented on the façade of the palace of the sun god seem rightly in place. And as the slaughtered oxen symbolized beaten enemies of the god creator, they corresponded well to the representations of the pharaoh’s triumph over foreigners that typically decorated windows of appearance. It may also be suggested that in the Temple of Hatshepsut the function of a slaughterhouse was symbolically translated into the decoration of the area around the window. The sun god rising from the Netherworld and appearing to his subjects in the window of his palace was thus protected against his enemies. On another level yet, it was the pharaoh, identified with the solar deity, who triumphed over his foes. The provisions presented to the god were offered also to the king with whom Re was one.¹⁰⁴

The motif of the triumphant pharaoh was frequently used in the decoration of the thrones. On the armrests, royal sphinxes were usually depicted trampling Egypt’s enemies, and figures of lions and sphinxes stood flanking the king’s throne in front of or on the dais.¹⁰⁵ Sphinxes might have also constituted the three-dimensional decorative elements of the Hatshepsut palace. Two statues of that kind, in particular, can be attributed to the royal cultic residence at Deir el-Bahari, namely the twin maned limestone sphinxes – one presently in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (MMA 31.3.94), the other in the Egyptian Museum in Cairo (JE 53113). The sphinxes in question have visibly feminine traits and were painted yellow, which was considered by the Egyptians the female body color. On these grounds they can be dated to the earliest phase of Hatshepsut’s reign.¹⁰⁶ Two types of thrones can be distinguished in two- and three-dimensional representations. The armchair-type lion-throne, very common from the New Kingdom onward,¹⁰⁷ was a ‘secular’ seat. Concurrently, the block-throne was considered the ‘sacred’ one, the seat of the gods and of the king – their heir.¹⁰⁸ Such a throne was represented in the diorite seated statue of the queen that probably stood in her temple palace. The mentioned sphinxes, placed either on the dais or before it, might have flanked the ‘elevated seat’ of the pharaoh.¹⁰⁹ K.P. Kuhlmann suggested that the sphinxes were symbols of royal and apotropaic power.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ The same symbiosis might have existed in Old Kingdom temples, where the meat was brought from the slaughterhouses of the sun temples to the mortuary temples of the kings, see: VERNER, *MDAIK* 42, 1986, pp. 186–189.

¹⁰⁵ KUHLMANN, *Throne*, 7.

¹⁰⁶ TEFNIN, *La statuaire d’Hatshepsout*, p. 133; Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *From Queen to Pharaoh*, cat. no. 89.

¹⁰⁷ KUHLMANN, *Throne*, 3.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, 1.

¹⁰⁹ Remarkable lion figures were also adjoined to the dais of Ramesses II from Qantir: they were represented ‘squatting’ at the foot of the throne pedestal holding bound, kneeling enemies in their paws: ARNOLD, *Royal Palace*, p. 282.

¹¹⁰ KUHLMANN, *Throne*, 4.

They guarded, for instance, Akhenaten's palanquin while the king appeared in his window in front of the public.¹¹¹ However, given the well-known ideology of that pharaoh, which made him the sun god on earth, the protective function of sphinxes probably went far beyond the royal and into the divine sphere.

Representations of lions were, next to the depictions of rows of bound foreigners, one of the oldest motifs that decorated sidewalls of throne daises (and throne kiosks), as well.¹¹² A platform of a throne kiosk served the same function as that of a divine chapel. In both cases, it evoked the primeval hill on which the sun god appeared at the beginning of the time.¹¹³ The king as the earthly manifestation of Re appeared (*hrj*) on his throne placed on a dais and, consequently, he repeated the act of creation. Since the throne dais was a symbol of the world, the king seated on his *st wrwt* was the one whose power, represented by the figures of lions, protected the rule of *m3t* against the dangers of chaos, personified by the captives. Accordingly, the pharaoh who was in the center of this mythological scene played the role of Re.

However, the lions depicted on the throne daises or, as in the case of Hatshepsut, the statues of sphinxes that flanked the throne might have also had another meaning. Two antithetic lions (*rwtj*) formed *3kr* which symbolized the horizon, the boundary between the day and the night. The sun disk which appeared from behind the horizon was born each day after the night. *3kr* guarded the western and eastern horizon, the gates of the morning and of the night, securing the passage of the sun god traveling in his boat from west to east during the hours of night.¹¹⁴ The presence of the lions of *3kr* at the sides of Hatshepsut, who in the palace embodied Re rising in the horizon after the passage through the Netherworld (traveling from west to east), not only confirms the divine nature of the southern part of the Upper Terrace, but also emphasizes the identification of the queen with the solar god.

A similar 'lion gate' has been represented on the balustrade of the ramp leading to the Middle Terrace,¹¹⁵ thus creating an impression as if the sun god Amun-Re coming out of his sanctuary was rising on the horizon. The statue of the god placed in an ebony naos in the shape of a *hwt-ntj*¹¹⁶ that stood in the central niche of the statue room was symbolically 'flanked' by the lions represented on the lowest terrace, which acted as the 'dais' of *Dsr-dsrw*. As in the case of the sphinxes placed beside the statue of Hatshepsut in her palace, the lions from the ramp were depicted symmetrically which in the two-dimensional art would be expressed by an antithetic representation.¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹¹² KUHLMANN, Thron im alten Ägypten, p. 77.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 93.

¹¹⁴ K. KONRAD, Architektur und Theologie. Pharaonische Tempelterminologie unter Berücksichtigung königsideologischer Aspekte, Wiesbaden 2006, pp. 227–229; G. HART, The Routledge dictionary of Egyptian gods and goddesses, New York 2005, p. 11.

¹¹⁵ Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 108.

¹¹⁶ M. BARWIK, Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, [in:] M. Dolińska, H. Beinlich (Eds), 8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between Temples, Warschau, 22.–25. September 2008, Wiesbaden 2010, pp. 1–12; BIAŁOSTOCKA, Temples of millions of years.

¹¹⁷ For instance, relief representations of a *sed*-pavilion which are believed to show two chapels standing beside each other, not back to back.

Temple palaces were symbolic, three-dimensional models of royal palaces used as arenas for religious festivals during which the rituals of kingship were enacted.¹¹⁸ They might have played a part in the celebrations of feasts, such as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, Opet, and *sed*, held in the temples of millions of years and focusing on the rejuvenation of the ruling king, which further led to the renewal of the *m3ʿt* order.¹¹⁹ The window in temple palaces represented the ‘heavens from which the king shines’.¹²⁰ The cult in these sacred spaces, as in all other parts of the temples of millions of years, did not focus on the deceased monarch but on the divinity of the king, his *k3* manifested in different images of the ruler (also in his living person at some point).

The window was the opening through which the divine pharaoh, the living god was coming out to greet his subjects and grant gifts. He was the manifestation of the sun god on earth. D. O’Connor believes that Egyptian palaces had a cosmological significance.¹²¹ They imitated the cosmos and thus, on a symbolic level, resembled the temples.¹²² The scholar compared both the elevated sanctuary and the throne on a dais to the primeval mound, and the role of the god worshiped in the temple to that of the king receiving cult in his palace.¹²³ In the case of Hatshepsut’s temple, such an interpretation is in line with the place and the symbolic of the *3kr* depicted twice, on the lowest ramp acting as a ‘dais’ for the sanctuary of Amun and in the temple palace, on (or in front) of the dais of the king’s throne.

The solar cult that reached its apogee in the time of Akhenaton has always been a part of ancient Egyptians beliefs. It seems that it is with the growing importance of the solar religion in the New Kingdom¹²⁴ that one should associate the development of a window of appearance, rather than just to ascribe it to a personal innovation of a specific pharaoh. The form of the window might have changed, but its purpose remained the same through the years. And it is this purpose that should rule against or for the existence of the windows of appearance in the temples of millions of years before Akhenaton.

In the temples of Ay/Horemheb, Seti I, Ramesses II, and Ramesses III in Western Thebes, the palaces were all opening to the first courtyard of the respective monuments. In the case of the Seti I temple in Abydos, the palace was situated deeper into the structure of the building. Hatshepsut had her temple palace built on the last, uppermost terrace, next to the main courtyard. According to K. Spence, ‘the practice of placing a small free-standing palatial structure within the grounds of the temple seems to be an innovation of the Amarna Period and is likely to represent a significant step in defining and modulating the relationship

¹¹⁸ ARNOLD, *The Royal Palace*, pp. 286–294.

¹¹⁹ On the significance of a temple palace in the context of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, Opet Feast, and *sed*, see: O’CONNOR, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, p. 82; STADELMANN, *MDAIK* 29, 1969, pp. 240–242.

¹²⁰ ARNOLD, *The encyclopedia of ancient Egyptian architecture*, p. 258.

¹²¹ D. O’Connor believes that the window evoked the notch of a temple pylon, while the elevated façade called to mind the pylon itself behind which, in the notch, the sun appeared every day bringing renewal to the world: O’CONNOR, *CRIPPEL* 11, 1989, p. 76.

¹²² *Loc.cit.*

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

¹²⁴ K. MYŚLIWIEC, *Amon, Atum and Aton: The Evolution of Heliopolitan Influences in Thebes*, [*in:*] *L’Égyptologie en 1979 II*, Paris 1982, pp. 285–289.

between king and god. It might thus be read as a deliberate move by Akhenaten to express his close relationship with the god...'.¹²⁵ The above statement can be very accurately attributed to Hatshepsut. She tried to demonstrate her connection to the sun god in every room, chapel, courtyard, every part of her temple.¹²⁶ Building her palace on the Upper Terrace of the *Dsr-dsrw* temple does not only seem intentional but may have also been a declaration issued by the queen. For it is in the third terrace that Hatshepsut was worshiped as a god; the upper portico with a granite portal in the middle constituted a threshold which delimited the sphere of the pharaoh's divinity.¹²⁷ In later times, the palaces were moved to the front of the temples, as pharaohs were gods already in their lifetime and, hence, their earthly dwellings became divine residences in their entirety.

Hatshepsut left a message concerning her divinity in the form of her temple. Although her reign fell in the time when, it seems, it was still too soon to speak of the divine living pharaoh, the queen was way ahead of her time in terms of her divine ideology of kingship. Her choices of architectural forms, as well as the decorative program used in her temple of millions of years, allow for recognizing in Hatshepsut a ruler that pushed the limits. The temple palace at Deir el-Bahari may be yet another example of this quality of hers.

Could it thus be that the proscription of Hatshepsut was a consequence of this blatantly manifested divine cult of hers that she introduced? It has already been argued that the process of 'erasure' of Hatshepsut was not a result of a personal vengeance of Tuthmosis III.¹²⁸ It has also been suggested that the proscription was driven by concerns related to the royal succession.¹²⁹ However, this does not explain why the images of the queen were not reinscribed for other Tuthmosids instead of being irrevocably destroyed. They must have been powerful portrayals of an idea that was against the accepted norms and thus, it would have been the idea that needed to be destroyed, not just the person who represented it. Such an interpretation may also explain why the statues of the queen were smashed only after having been dragged outside the sacred area.¹³⁰

Olga Białostocka
Centrum Archeologii Śródziemnomorskiej
im. K. Michałowskiego, UW
Warszawa
olbi00@yahoo.com

¹²⁵ SPENCE, *Palaces of el-Amarna*, p. 172.

¹²⁶ On the identification of Hatshepsut with different aspects of the sun god in her temple: BIAŁOSTOCKA, *Temples of millions of years*.

¹²⁷ The upper portico of Hatshepsut's temple with a doorway in the middle played a role of a façade and separated the most sacred part of the temple from the outside world. In this sense, it can be compared to the transversal hall in the classic pyramid temples, with the portal imitating the 'gate of Nut', a narrow passage in the center of the hall which delimited the *sacrum*.

¹²⁸ A.M. ROTH, *Erasing a reign*, [in:] Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *From Queen to Pharaoh*, p. 281.

¹²⁹ P.F. DORMAN, *The Proscription of Hatshepsut*, [in:] Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *From Queen to Pharaoh*, p. 269.

¹³⁰ ARNOLD, *Destruction of the Statues*, p. 273.