Tomasz Podgórski

Cracow

THE HORUS DRESS AS REPRESENTED IN THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP III IN LUXOR

Among the royal attire of the 18th Dynasty, the Horus dress had undoubtedly played the foremost role. This special ceremonial feathered garment, richly endowed with magical meaning, has been identified for the first time as being used by the pharaoh for the pure incarnation of Horus among the painted reliefs of the temple of Thothmes III at Deir el-Bahari\(^1\). However, it may date back even to the Middle Kingdom, and its first certain instance comes from the early 18th Dynasty when it was depicted on the south exterior wall of the alabaster shrine of Amenhotep I in Karnak (Fig. 1)\(^2\). From then onwards, it was widely represented in most major temples of the 18th Dynasty, both cult and funerary, with altogether 34 examples known to the present writer. Among others, a very good example of this dress comes from the 18th Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, where it was worn by the king led by Atum and Montu in a scene located left to the entrance to room I\(^3\).

The Horus dress is also abundant in the Luxor temple, particularly in its southern part. The present paper aims at an analysis of its appearance in some chambers together with the scenes in which it was employed (Fig. 2).

Beginning with the sanctuary, on the north wall left to the entrance (XIX 187), there is a scene where the king is led by Atum and Horus to Amun. In this exceptional case the king's torso remains bare, and he has only the lower

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\(^1\) T. Podgórski, *Royal Plume Dress of XVIII Dynasty*, MDAIK 40, 1984, pp. 103–121.


part of the Horus dress (a developed šnáwt) with a hprš as headdress (Fig. 3).
This scene is situated in the vicinity of the scene of fanning the fire and that of sacrificing the offerings.

Another important chamber is the hall with columns (XVII), performing the function of the room of offering table to the sanctuary. In the new Kingdom temples, this room used to be located as an intermediary between the hypostyle halls and the cult chambers in the rear part of a temple. Here, this Opfertischsaal lies symmetrically on temple’s axis and is situated transversely occupying almost the entire width of the temple. On the east wall (169) in the lower register, the king is led (bs n nsw) by Montu to Amun in the presence of Mut and Dptt. He wears the Horus dress and hprš (Fig. 4). In the same room on the west wall in the middle register (173) the king performs hwt bḥsw before Amun-Min (?). He wears here the Horus dress with an jbs (Fig. 5).

Next, in the small cult chamber XXII, on the east wall left to the entrance there is the bs n nsw scene (198) in which the king is conducted by two gods (one of them is Atum). Only the lower part of the royal figure has survived.

Another example of the Horus dress to be found in this temple is in room XIV, where in the fifth scene of the lower register on the west wall (157) the king is led by Atum and Horus to Atum. The headdress in this case is an 3tf. The function of this chamber remains obscure in spite of many reliefs being contained in it.

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8 Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume...*, Pl. 16, 74.
9 Ibid., Pl. 12, 42.
11 Brunner, *Die südlichen Räume...*, Pl. 31, 34.
2. Southern part of the Luxor temple with marked locations of the scenes with the Horus dress and the cult route; reproduced from PM II (2nd edition), Pl. XXXII

In the birth room (XIII) on the north wall in the third scene of the lower register (153) the king performs the hwt bhsw ritual before Mut (sic!). The appearance of this goddess in such a ceremony is most unusual in this period, but it can be partly explained by the role she played in this very chamber, being the patron goddess of king's mother. The upper part of king's figure is damaged.

In due course, the Horus dress appears in the room of the sacred bark of Amun (XI) in the fourth scene of the middle register on the east wall, where the king wearing also an jbs performs hwt bhsw before Amun (138).

The last instance of this dress in the southern part of the temple is in the room VIII/125 on its north wall, where the king makes hwt bhsw before Amun-Min. The Horus dress is provided with a pendant. This chamber is the room of offering table for the chapel of the sacred bark of Amun.

Apart from this southern complex, the Horus dress is also to be found in more frontal parts of the temple. On the north wall of the processional
to ensure fertility and good crops in a magical way. This scene often used to be situated in the context of such events as the Sed feast, coronation, and sometimes st3 mrwt, running with oar and vases, and hoeing the earth. The headdress coming most often with ceremony is the 3if crown, which is also the case in the Luxor temple (once in combination with an jbs) with four instances of this particular crown. There are three instances of the jbs wig (once with the 3if crown), and two times it is the hpr3 helmet that accompanies the Horus dress. In the two remaining scenes the headdress in unknown. Very often, hwí sw used to be performed before Min, or the syncretized aspect of Amun-Min (Kamutef), which comes as no surprise regarding the nature of this god, being also connected with Horus as early as the Pyramid Texts (PT 1948 b).

Another rite involving very often the Horus dress is bs n nsw, belonging to the coronation cycle as an entry episode15. In this case, the function of the said dress is obvious, since the king acts as the "newly risen Horus"16. The scene of receiving the king by the god(s) has similar significance, and usually precedes bs n nsw (in the Luxor temple very close to the entrance).

T. v. Schuller-Götzburg has reconstructed the cult route pursued by the king in the Luxor temple17, giving the following sequence of chambers: V—VIII—XI—XIV—XV—XVII—XIX—XVIII—XVI—XX—XXI—XXII—XXIII—IX—V (cf. Fig. 2). It can be observed that the Horus dress is present in the most important chambers of the temple (Schuller-Götzburg has excluded from this route room XIII, regarding its peculiar character); specially considering bs n nsw, it must have existed a purposeful location of this scene in this temple, very close to the important entrances.

The Horus dress appears for the last time in the Luxor temple on such a wide scale in the New Kingdom. With the decline of the 18th Dynasty, it became discarded in its classic form and other kinds of feathered attire came into vogue, to testify until the last days of independent pharaonic state to the most strongly rooted dogma, identifying the king with Horus.

16 C. Aldred, The New Years Gifts to the Pharaoh, JEA 55, 1969, p. 76.
17 Götzburg, Zur Semantik..., p. 16.
3. King Amenhotep III wearing the lower part of the Horus dress and a $hpr$ in the $bs\ n\ nsw$ scene; reproduced from Götzburg, Zur Semantik..., Pl. VII, 135, and Pl. IX, 135

4. King Amenhotep III wearing the Horus dress a $hpr$ in the $bs\ n\ nsw$ scene; reproduced from Götzburg, Zur Semantik..., Pl. VIII, 37 and Pl. IX, 37

5. King Amenhotep III wearing the Horus dress with an $jbs$ (not shown) in the $hwt\ bhsw$ scene; reproduced from Götzburg, Zur Semantik..., Pl. VIII, 9

The colonnade of Amenhotep III, right to the entrance to the hall of Ramses II, in the second of the lower register Tutankhamun (or Amenhotep III), usurped by Horemhab, wearing the Horus dress with an $3tf$ is received in the temple after leaving the palace by Amun and Mut. On the opposite side of the entrance there is a similar scene arranged symmetrically, with the same deities and the king wearing the same paraphernalia.

Finally, on the east wall of the hypostyle of Amenhotep III, the scene first on the left represents the king in the $hwt\ bhsw$ scene before Amun, in which the former wears the Horus dress with the combined headgear of an $3tf$ and $jbs$.

Altogether, eleven known examples of the Hors dress appear in this temple: five in the scene of $hwt\ bhsw$, four in the ceremony of $bs\ n\ nsw$ and two in the reception of the king by the gods.

The ceremony of $hwt\ bhsw$, i.e. driving the four calves before a god, is an ancient rite known from the Old Kingdom temples of Wenis and Sahure. It seems to be connected with agriculture and resembles threshing, being meant

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14 A. M. Blackman, Significance of the Ceremony $hwt\ bhsw$ in the Temple of Horus at Edfu, JEA 36, 1950, p. 76 ff.
13 L. Borchardt, Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sa3hu-Re II. Die Wandbilder, Leipzig 1913, Pl. 47.