

THE *KHEPRESH* CROWN OF PHARAOH¹

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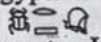
During the New Kingdom, the ancient Egyptian pharaoh was frequently represented wearing a type of crown called *khepres*.² Not only was the *khepres* portrayed in its most common form with the uraeus serpent, but it was represented in more complex versions as well. To these crowns were sometimes added ram horns, feathers, a sun disk, and another type of ram horn specifically associated with the god Amun. Because not one of the actual headdresses survived to the present time, the *khepres* can be observed only in reliefs and statuary. Although its variant forms are seen so frequently in New Kingdom representations, no texts explicitly state its significance to the ancient Egyptians.

Scholars have studied this crown since the early 1900s, but its meaning remains vague. Not only is the significance and purpose of the *khepres* still unclear, but misconceptions have arisen among scholars as well. For instance, the *khepres* is often called the "war crown"³ because it was worn so often in representations of battle scenes from the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, the period when Egypt was building and attempting to retain its empire. Because the king wore the *khepres* in other situations as well, this crown is thought to have become so popular that it simply replaced other royal headdresses.⁴

The purpose of this paper is to clear up misconceptions concerning the *khepres*, to study the development of its form, and to clarify its meaning when worn by the king. Because of the many representations of variants of this crown, as well as the lack of ancient references to it, a new approach was taken. First a chart of development was prepared of the earliest representations of each variant of the *khepres* through the thirty dynasties of the pharaonic period. Then, a comparative study was made with kingship in ancient Egypt as its features developed through the same period. This was a feasible method, because the features of kingship, like the form of the *khepres*, changed throughout history and to develop into a more and more complex form as time progressed. Conclusions based on the results of this comparison were then supported by a study of reliefs depicting particular situations in which this crown was worn.

Before engaging in such a study, it is necessary to detail the appearance and terminology of the *khepres*. The shape of this crown can best be described as a tall cap, bulbous at the front, with an angle at the back that rises from a ridge along the sides of the crown. The

texture was sometimes smooth, and other times covered with circlets. When representations of the *khepresh* are painted, the color is blue. The material from which it was made is not known, but it is thought that the crown was made of leather with circlets of metal attached like a form of armor. The crown itself, however, may have been made of metal because of its blue color.⁵ The most complex versions of the headdress include a sun disk, ram horns and feathers, as well as the uraeus serpent.

The ancient Egyptian name of the *khepresh* is written in hieroglyphic form as .⁶ It is transcribed as *ḥprš* and attested since the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is thought to have had a foreign origin because the word has four consonants, which is more like Semitic. Egyptian words, on the other hand, characteristically have only three consonants.⁷ The possible Semitic origin of the word led to speculation that the crown, or at least the term, was introduced by the Hyksos, whose origin was in part Semitic based and who had successfully invaded Egypt at this time.

The earliest scholars to study the *khepresh* concentrated mostly on its form. Borchardt believed that this headdress was a wig and that the circlets represented curls of hair. His opinion was based in particular on a relief and on a statue of a woman of the Middle Kingdom which have small locks of hair similar to the circlets on the *khepresh*.⁸ This view was opposed because the crown and the circlets were represented in different colors, and hair was not depicted in Egypt in these colors.⁹ Wigs in the New Kingdom, however, were, like the *khepresh*, frequently represented in blue, such as those of Tutankhamun and Ankhesanamun on the back of the golden throne from Tutankhamun's tomb.¹⁰


Although the earliest attested date for the *khepresh* is recorded as the Eighteenth Dynasty,¹¹ a recent article traces the term as far back as the Thirteenth Dynasty. Davies showed that the *khepresh* developed into its traditional form first seen in the Eighteenth Dynasty from the much earlier cap crown. He showed that the earliest *khepresh* crowns are so designated by the Egyptian term *ḥprš*, but their shape differed markedly from the final form that appeared in the Eighteenth Dynasty. These early examples are referred to as cap crowns because of their shape, but we know they were *khepresh* crowns because of the ancient Egyptian term, for the determinative hieroglyph at the end of the word is shaped like a cap. Davies found two instances of this term which referred to such a cap crown: a limestone statuette from the Eleventh Dynasty temple at Deir el Bahri listed the *ḥprš* as a crown among the insignia of royal power;¹² a text on a stela of Neferhotep III from the

Thirteenth Dynasty describes the king as '*prw m hprš*', "being adorned with the *hprš*"¹³

The chart of development of the *khepreš* is organized chronologically by reign of kings within each dynasty. Only the first appearance of a particular variant is included, and these range from simple to complex within each reign. For clarification, each new added element is in bold print. The types were created according to this particular format because it will most clearly show the development of the *khepreš* when compared historically to changes in the features of kingship.

Chart of Development

- Type I - cap crowns (called *khepreš* but shaped like cap)¹⁴
 Type II - traditional *khepreš* crowns
 Type III - variants of the *khepreš* which always have feathers, ram horns and a sun disk

Type I	Type II	Type III
First through Twelfth Dynasties: None		
Thirteenth Dynasty:		
----- (Sekhemre-khutawy Ammenemes)		
Ca.Cr. #3 ¹⁵		
		
cap crown prototype + uraeus + circlets		

(Menkhaure Senaib)

Ca.Cr. #4¹⁶cap crown
+ uraeus
+ striations

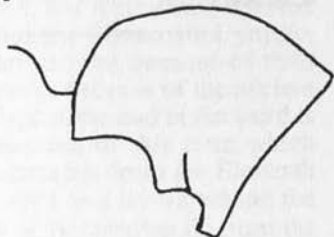
(Sekhemseneferkhau Wepwawetemsaf)

Ca.Cr. #5¹⁷cap crown
+ uraeus

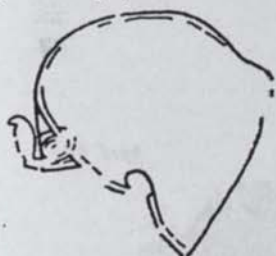
Fourteenth - Seventeenth Dynasties: None

Eighteenth Dynasty:

(Ahmosis)

hprš #1¹⁸*hprš* prototype
+ uraeus*hprš* #2¹⁹*hprš* prototype
+ uraeus

(Amenhotep I)

*hprš* #320*hprš* prototype
+ uraeus

(Thutmosis I)

*hprš* #421*hprš**hprš* #522*hprš*
+ uraeus

(Akhenaten)

*hprš* #623*hprš*
+ uraeus
+ uraei band

Nineteenth Dynasty:

(Seti I)

*hprš* #724

hprš
 + uraeus
 + Amun ram horns
 with 2 uraei and
hdt + *dšrt*

*hprš* #925

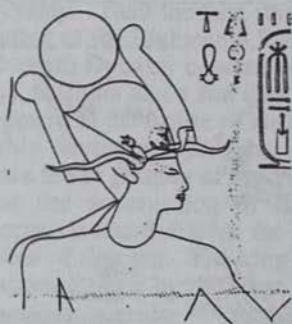
hprš
 + uraeus
 + ram horns
 + feathers
 + sun disk
 + Amun ram
 horns

Twentieth Dynasty:

(Ramesses III)

*hprš* #1026

hprš
 + uraeus
 + ram horns
 + feathers
 + sun disk

*hprš* #1127

hprš
 + uraeus
 + ram horns
 + feathers
 + sun disk
 + uraeus
 with
 Osiris
 crown

*hprš* #1228

hprš
 + uraeus
 + ram horns
 + feathers
 + sun disk
 + 2 uraei
 with *h d t*
 and *d š r t*

*hprš* #1329

hprš
 + uraeus
 + ram horns
 + feathers
 + sun disk
 + 2 uraei
 with
 sun disks

Twenty-first - Twenty-ninth Dynasties: None

Thirtieth Dynasty:

(unknown)



hprš #8³⁰

hprš
+ uraeus
+ falcon with
sun disk

Only three variants of the *kheprseh*, in the form of its cap crown predecessor, are seen until the crown appears in its traditional form in the early Eighteenth Dynasty. All are smooth in textures (such as Ca.Cr. #5) except for two from the Thirteenth Dynasty.³¹ One of these has cross-hatch lines (Ca.Cr. #4), and the other has circlets (Ca.Cr. #3) which resemble locks of hair.

A prototype of the *kheprseh* (*hprš* #1) is depicted on Ahmosis, the founder of the dynasty and the king who reunified Egypt at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Tutmosis I was the first king depicted wearing *kheprseh* (*hprš* #4) in its final traditional form.³² In the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties variants of the *kheprseh* appeared in new, more ornate, forms. All these except one are of Type III, those crowns which always have ram horns, feathers and a sun disk. One (*hprš* #9), worn by Seti I in a relief in his temple at Abydos, has a uraeus, ram horns, feathers, a sun disk and an Amun ram horn. Another *kheprseh* (*hprš* #7) worn by the same king has an Amun horn from which two serpent heads protrude. One wears a Crown of Upper Egypt, while the other wears a Crown of Lower Egypt. A *kheprseh* from the Twentieth Dynasty worn by Ramesses III in a relief at Medinet Habu is unusual because it is not symmetrical in form. This crown has a uraeus, ram horns, feathers, a sun disk, and a second uraeus wearing the crown of the god Osiris. By the reign of Seti I in the Nineteenth Dynasty, variants of the *kheprseh* appeared which always included feathers and ram horns among its added elements. Four such increasingly elaborate variants (*hprš* #10, 11, 12 and 13) are represented on Ramesses III of the Twentieth Dynasty.

In summary, then, the *khepresh* appeared for the first time in a cap form in the Thirteenth Dynasty. Then the first traditional form of this crown is seen at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, and from the reign of Seti I in the Nineteenth Dynasty onward, all new variants except one included ram horns, feathers and a sun disk. The next task is to consider points of development in the nature of kingship.

The features of kingship developed, like the *khepresh*, from simple to complex forms. Since the beginning of the First Dynasty the pharaoh was believed to be the incarnation of the god Horus. Mythologically he was, as Horus, descended from the sun god Atum-Re through the Heliopolitan line of descent. The king's identification with Horus is seen on the Narmer Palette by the First Dynasty, when the country was united totally under one ruler.³³ By the Fifth Dynasty, the deceased king was identified with the god Osiris, father of Horus, while the new heir to the throne became the new incarnation of Horus. This is known from the Pyramid Texts, inscribed in royal tombs of the Fifth Dynasty.³⁴ From these same texts and from the addition to the king's titulary, "son of Re," we know that he was thought to be son of the sun god.³⁵ By the end of the Sixth Dynasty, economic failures, drought and famine had begun to erode the king's role as central figure and Egypt entered what modern scholars call the First Intermediate Period, a time characterized by power in the hands of many minor rulers. By the time of the reunification of Egypt at the end of the First Intermediate Period, in the Eleventh Dynasty, a god of more ancient origin had been coming to prominence in the southern, Theban area of the country, which was gradually becoming united. As the southern part of Egypt became more powerful, the king came to be identified with him. More specifically, Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, the Theban pharaoh who reunited country at the end of the First Intermediate Period, was depicted in reliefs in the form of the god Amun or wearing the traditional crown of this god.³⁶ By the Twelfth Dynasty Amun Re was called *hri-tp ntrw*, "chief of the gods," and *hri-tp t3wi*, "chief of the two lands,"³⁷ the king was called "son of Amun."³⁸

In the Eighteenth Dynasty the nature of the king's ties to Amun became more complex in the form of the Kamutef theology. According to the Kamutef theology the god Amun came to the queen in the form of the king and impregnated her with the next heir to the throne. The result was that the god Amun was born again in the body of the child conceived by this union, the future king. The term *k3 mwt.f* literally means "bull of his mother."³⁹ The significance of it lies in the fact that the queen believed to be impregnated by Amun then became the mother of Amun when the child was born. Amun was then reborn within the child who resulted from this union and who was heir to the throne. The

consequence of this union is that this queen became both the spouse of Amun and the mother of Amun simultaneously. Evidence for this is depicted in scenes of the divine birth of Amenhotep III are represented in the temple of Luxor at Thebes.⁴⁰ The reliefs depicting these events show first the god Amun and the queen sitting side by side. Then the child born of the union is offered to Amun-Re and nursed by various goddesses.⁴¹ The significance of the Kamutef Theology, then, is that the god Amun is reborn in the body of each new heir to the throne.⁴² Meanwhile, the king kept his original identification with Horus, as well as the later connections with Osiris and Re.

From the time of the first unification of Egypt at the beginning of the First Dynasty, then, the features of Egyptian kingship became increasingly complex, as new features were added without discarding earlier ones. The main events to occur in kingship as it developed consisted of the king as incarnation of Horus, as the son of Re, his fusion with the god Osiris after death, his taking the form of Amun, and, finally, his begetting an heir to the throne in whose body the god Amun is reborn. The chronological parallels of kingship with that of the *khefresh* are more clearly seen when displayed in chart form:

Time Chart

Date ⁴³	Dyn.	History	Kingship	Crown
2920	I		king incarnation of Horus	
2575	IV		king son of Re	
2465	V		deceased king identified with Osiris	
2134	IX/X	First Int. Per.	Amun rises in importance in Thebes	
2061	XI	Reunification	Amun creator and national god king has form of Amun evidence of Kamutef theology cult of king's ka begins	
1585	XIII	Sec. Int. Per.		cap crown
	XVI/XVII	(Hyksos rule/Theban kings)		
1550	XVIII	Reunification		<i>hprš</i> prototype <i>hprš</i> crown
		Beg. of empire empire Amerna period	Amun reborn in new king	
1353				
1307	XIX	traditional gods worshipped again	king's incarnation of both Horus and Amun emphasized	<i>hprš</i> with ram horns and feathers
	XXV	Ethiopian kings		<i>hprš</i> only traditional crown not worn by Ethiopian kings

Summarized, this chart shows that the *khepresh*, introduced first in cap form as the god Amun was rising in importance is connected with this god. When Egypt was reunified at the end of the Second Intermediate Period a prototype of the traditional *khepresh* appeared, at the same time that the king was believed to have been a form of the god Amun, who had now risen as one of the major national gods. The period in which the *khepresh* was most frequently worn was that of the height of the Kamutef theology, which meant that the god Amun was reborn in each succeeding heir to the throne. By the Nineteenth Dynasty, a new type of variant had appeared, which consistently included ram horns, feathers and a sun disk. This pattern of elements represents the main portions of headdresses which associated the king with the gods Horus and Osiris.⁴⁴ Now, however, we must turn our attention to reliefs in order to study the specific situations in which the *khepresh* was worn. This method of study will also clear up existing misconceptions concerning this crown, as well as to further clarify the comparison between the developmental features of the *khepresh* with kingship.

By the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, the empire built in the Eighteenth Dynasty had long been lost, and foreigners, Ethiopian kings, were ruling the country. These rulers wore all the traditional crowns of Egypt, except for the *khepresh*. It was replaced by a headdress referred to by scholars as the Kushite cap, and its features were unlike any of the traditional Egyptian headdresses. Minor rulers in the northern delta area where Ethiopian rule did not reach, however, continued to wear the *khepresh*.⁴⁵ What this means is not clear.

Reliefs depicting the king wearing the *khepresh* shed light on the misconception by scholars that this crown is particularly associated with war,⁴⁶ when it was worn so frequently during the New Kingdom when Egypt built its empire. In actuality the king did not always wear the *khepresh* in battle. There are many examples from the New Kingdom which show the king wearing other crowns into battle. At Karnak, the king wears a wig in two battle scenes.⁴⁷ King Seti I is represented at Karnak in eleven military scenes: in only four of these does he wear the *khepresh*; in the remaining seven, he wears the cap crown⁴⁸ once, the Crown of Lower Egypt twice, and the wig four times.⁴⁹ Also at Karnak, Ramesses III is shown in two scenes smiting enemies; in one he wears the Crown of Upper Egypt, and in the other he wears the Crown of Lower Egypt.⁵⁰ In the small temple at Abu Simbel, Ramesses II wears the Double Crown and the Crown of Lower Egypt in two similar scenes.⁵¹

Another misconception by scholars is that the *kheprsh* was the crown predominantly worn by the king from the Eighteenth Dynasty onward. This is understandable, considering the frequency with which it is seen in reliefs. Gardiner, in fact, believed that by the Eighteenth Dynasty the *kheprsh* replaced other crowns in a sort of change of fashion. He came to this conclusion because the coronation text of Horemhab alluded in particular to this crown only. Also, the ancient Egyptian term for crowns, *ḥ'w*, was determined with a *kheprsh* crown sign.⁵² In truth, however, *ḥ'w* had a variety of crowns in this same period as determinative sign: the Crown of Upper Egypt, the Double Crown and the *atef*, as well as the *kheprsh*.⁵³

Reliefs depicting situations in which the king wore the *kheprsh* reflect a connection with the god Amun and, hence, between the king and Amun when he wears the *kheprsh*. In 1939 Bruyere observed such an association. At Deir el Medineh, Amenhotep I was depicted wearing only three different headdresses: the *nemes*, the *kheprsh* and a feathered crown. He showed that the *nemes* and the *kheprsh* symbolized the king as ruler over the two parts of Egypt: the *nemes* with rule over Lower Egypt under the sponsorship of the sun god Re, and the *kheprsh* with rule over Upper Egypt under the tutelage of Amun.⁵⁴ There are, however, more complex connections between this crown, the god Amun and the king.

There are many situations in which the king is depicted as an infant or young child, and in the majority of these he wears the *kheprsh*. In the few remaining instances, he wears instead the sidelock of youth. Although in a number of instances the heir to the throne actually did become pharaoh while still a child, the frequency of representations of child kings even when it is not historically true symbolizes new or renewed life. Hence, the wearer of the *kheprsh* can be considered as a recipient of renewed life, both in this world and in the next. More specifically the infant king represents the form of the god Amun reborn in the heir to the throne through the Kamutef theology.

Kings represented in the form of small squatting figures of a child, often with a finger to his mouth, most often wear the *kheprsh*. Examples of these consist of a tiny gold statuette of Amenhotep III found in a small mummiform coffin in Tutankhamun's tomb,⁵⁵ three figures of Akhenaten,⁵⁶ and four more figures of Akhenaten from Amarna, one of which has the headdress broken off.⁵⁷ Of the remaining three, two wear the *kheprsh* and the last wears the Amun Crown. Tutankhamun is represented with the features of a child on two child-size staffs, one of gold, the other of silver.⁵⁸ On both he wears

the *khepresh*. Ramesses II, wearing this crown, is shown as a newborn child formed by the god Khnum on his potter's wheel.⁵⁹

Frequent scenes of the king as an infant suckled by a goddess likewise depict him wearing the *khepresh*, such as the one at the entrance to the chapel of Amun-Re in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, where Seti is shown being nursed by Mut, the spouse of Amun-Re.⁶⁰ An unusual scene in this same temple makes even more clear how the representation of the king indicates him as the new heir to the throne. Here Ramesses II is shown first as an infant being nursed by Isis, then as a boy suckled by Hathor: as an infant the king wears the *khepresh*, and as a boy he wears the Crown of Upper Egypt.⁶¹ The many representations of the king as a child wearing the *khepresh* mean more than that he is the new heir to the throne through Amun.

Color was used symbolically to portray the infant king wearing the *khepresh* as the recipient of renewed life and powers of kingship in both the world of the living and of the dead. Two representations of Tutankhamun wearing the *khepresh* are unusual and must be noted because they associate this crown with renewed life. In one of these, he is represented four times on a cartouche-shaped box found in his tomb.⁶² On one side he is shown twice as a child with a sidelock of youth, which means the head is shaven except for a long braid down one side. The images face each other, and each is enclosed in a cartouche. On the opposite side of the box, two more images of the king as a child face each other, both inside cartouches but wearing *khepresh* crowns instead of sidelocks. The representations of the king with the sidelocks are alike, but those in which he wears the *khepresh* differ: in one the king's face is gold while the crown is blue, and in the other both his face and his crown are black.⁶³ This black color could hardly be a coincidence due to discoloration of the gold, because there is another example of the same king represented this way. Here Tutankhamun is shown on a pectoral as a child between the two deities Ptah and Sekhmet.⁶⁴ Both his face and his *khepresh* crown are again colored black. The god Osiris, who symbolizes fertility and new life, is sometimes depicted with a black face, and Plutarch associated this feature with moist fertility.⁶⁵ Perhaps the fact that the king is the new heir to the throne is meant to be emphasized. At any rate, fertility or new life is definitely a factor, and it is connected with the king wearing the *khepresh*.

The small golden shrine of Tutankhamun found in his tomb shows an even stronger association between the *khepresh*, the child king being suckled by a goddess, and fertility. Inside the shrine, a necklace was found wrapped in strips of linen, and appears to have been deliberately placed inside the shrine. On one side of its pendant,

Tutankhamun, wearing a *khepresh*, is depicted as a small child being suckled by the cobra goddess, Weret-hekau. The other side of the pendant has a text which is translated, "May the King of Upper and Lower Egypt live, Nebkheperure, given life, beloved of Weret-hekau, Lady of Heaven."⁶⁶ Furthermore, the predominant crown worn by the king in the seventeen scenes on the inner and outer walls of this shrine is the *khepresh*. In eight of the seventeen representations the king wears the *khepresh*. In the nine remaining depictions, he wears the wig five times, a headband two times, the *nemes* once and the Crown of Lower Egypt once.

The gold shrine itself, found inside the room called the annex by Carter, was the chamber of rebirth in the Netherworld and renewal of life and kingship in that realm. Scholars have differing views as to the symbolism of this shrine, but that most clearly in evidence is that of rebirth and fertility.⁶⁷ The strong erotic symbolism of the scenes probably indicated that such activity among the deceased was not merely an omen of rebirth, but further, that the scenes were necessary in order for rebirth to take place in the Netherworld.⁶⁸ In these scenes the queen played the role of both wife and mother. The deceased king, then, represents the Kamutef, or "Bull of his Mother".⁶⁹

Still another type of evidence, like the representations of the child king wearing the *khepresh* and the scenes on the golden shrine of Tutankhamun, may associate the *khepresh* with renewal of life. A frequent scene in temples shows the king censuring the sacred boat of a god. In these the most frequently seen crown worn is the *khepresh*. Here the king is depicted offering food, libations or incense. The same is true when scenes in other temples are compared:

	Karnak	Abydos	Medinet Habu
<i>hprš</i> :	6 times ⁷⁰	7 times ⁷¹	4 times ⁷²
cap crown:	4 times ⁷³	0 times	1 time ⁷⁴
wig:	1 time ⁷⁵	3 times ⁷⁶	1 time ⁷⁷

These scenes are important because there is some evidence indicating that the sacred boat was considered a place of rebirth and renewal. For instance, Sokar is a god of death with potential life, and his boat represents a place of new life in the realm of the dead.⁷⁸ In fact, the boat of Sokar is even identified with the god, and the god's name is determined by his boat.⁷⁹ Furthermore, the same symbolism is found much later in the Ptolemaic period. In a Ptolemaic text from Edfu concerning the myth of Horus, Horus fights Seth from a boat. Seth is a

hippopotamus in the water, and the boat is called the warship of Horus. The text adds: "the mother nurses Horus in the water."⁸⁰

The Sed Festival was celebrated by the pharaoh at thirty year intervals of his reign, at least theoretically. Some kings had more frequent Sed Festivals. The purpose of its rituals was to renew the powers of kingship.⁸¹ Here again the *khepresh* was the predominantly worn headdress. In Sed Festival scenes of Karnak temple and in that of Ramesses III at Medinet Habu the *khepresh* is the most frequently seen crown as well. The king is depicted sixteen times, and in nine of these he wears the *khepresh*.⁸² In the remaining seven figures, he wears five different crowns: the Crown of Lower Egypt, the Double Crown, the *khat*, the Crown of Upper Egypt and the cap crown.⁸³ In the tomb of Kheruef, where there are scenes of the Sed Festival of Amenhotep III, the king again wears the *khepresh* crown.⁸⁴

The wearer of the *khepresh* crown, furthermore, connects the king to his ancestor kings. He is portrayed wearing this headdress as the living heir of kingship from a line of deceased kings. At Medinet Habu a series of royal statues is represented in scenes of the Min Festival.⁸⁵ Behind Ramesses III, who offers incense to Min-Kamutef in his shrine is a row of nine statues of kings. The name in the cartouche before each of king indicate that the first figure represents the living king, while the eight following depict deceased kings of the past. The living king wears the *khepresh*, while the eight deceased kings all wear *nms* headdresses. That is, the one who wears the *khepresh* represents the reigning king, while those wearing the *nemes* signify past kings, i. e., a line of kingship.

In summary, when the king wears the *khepresh* crown he is identified with the god Amun through the Kamutef theology. This means that the king is the true heir to the throne because Amun was born again in the body of the new heir. This is true because the development of the *khepresh* crown paralleled that of the king's identification with Amun. Furthermore, the predominant crown worn by the king in situations which emphasized the king as the new and rightful heir to the throne was the *khepresh*.

NOTES

¹Revised, from my doctoral thesis, "The Crowns of Pharaoh: Their Development and Significance in Ancient Egyptian Kingship."

- ²Modern scholars generally refer to the *khefresh* as the "blue crown," because of the color sometimes given it. G. Steindorff, "Die Blaue Königskrone," *Zeitschrift für Ägyptische Sprache Altertumskunde* 53 (1917), p. 59 and H. Schäfer, "zur 'blauen Krone,'" *ZÄS* 70 (1934), p. 13.
- ³F.W. von Bissing, "Die Älteste Darstellung des Königs im 'Kriegshelm,'" *ZÄS* 41(1904), p. 160.
- ⁴A.H. Gardiner, "The Coronation of King Haremhab," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 39 (1953), p. 27. In the Horemheb coronation text, no other crown was alluded to except the *khefresh*.
- ⁵Steindorff, "...Königskrone," p. 60-61.
- ⁶A. Erman and H. Grapow, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprache*, Berlin 1957, v. III, p. 268.
- ⁷Müller, "Der Kriegshelm der Pharaonen," *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1908, p. 236-37.
- ⁸Borchardt 1905: 82.
- ⁹von Bissing, "Kriegshelm," : 160.
- ¹⁰I.E.S. Edwards, *Tutankhamun: His Tomb and Its Treasures* (New York, 1976): cover.
- ¹¹Erman, *Wörterbuch der Ägyptischen Sprachen*, v.3: 268.
- ¹²W.V. Davies, "The Origin of the Blue Crown," *JEA* 68 (1982), p. 70 and pl.VIII.4.
- ¹³Davies, "Origin...," p. 70 and pl.VII.1.
- ¹⁴Examples of cap shaped crowns exist from earlier periods, such as that on an alabaster bust of King Shepseskaf of the Fourth Dynasty (see C. Aldred, *Egypt to the End of the Old Kingdom*, New York 1965, p.114) and on a statue of King Pepi II of the Sixth Dynasty (see J. Vandier, *Manuel d'archéologie égyptienne*, Paris 1958, pl.1 and 2) but these are not included here for two reasons: the representations may actually portray stylized hair, and no textual references to these crowns exist that early which call such cap crowns *khefresh*.
- ¹⁵Davies, "Origin...," fig.1.
- ¹⁶E.L.Ertman, "The Cap-crown of Nefertiti: Its Function and Probable Origin," *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt* 13 (1976): pl. XIII.
- ¹⁷Davies, "Origin...," fig.4.
- ¹⁸Davies, "Origin...," fig.12.
- ¹⁹Davies, "Origin...," fig.13.
- ²⁰Davies, "Origin...," fig.15.
- ²¹Davies, "Origin...," p.74.
- ²²E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahri*, London 1901-08, III: pl.82.
- ²³R. Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Berlin, 1849-56, III: pl.107.
- ²⁴A.M. Calverley and A.H. Gardiner, *The Temple of King Sethos I at Abydos*, London and Chicago, 1938, v.3: pl.38.

- 25 *Ibid.*, v.4: pl.44.
- 26 H. Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, Chicago, 1930-70, v.5: pl.335.
- 27 *Ibid.*, v.4: pl.237.
- 28 Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III: pl.2.
- 29 A.J. Spalinger, *Aspects of the Military Documents of the Ancient Egyptians*, New Haven and London, 1982: frontispiece.
- 30 Brunner-Traut, "Ein Königskopf der Spätzeit mit dem 'Blauen Helm' in Tübingen," *ZÄS* 97 (1971), p.
- 31 Davies, "Origin..." p. 71-73.
- 32 By the reign of Seti I in the Nineteenth Dynasty the cap crown, which had ceased to be represented when the *zpr*-crown appeared, was again represented on the king. This cap crown had a distinct shape, unlike that preceding the appearance of the *kheprsh*. The term *zpr*, moreover, now referred to the traditional *kheprsh* crown, while there were no designations anywhere in texts for the cap crown, although this headdress appeared as more elaborate variants later on in the reign of Ramesses III. Since these examples are shown to have a different significance than the cap crown predecessors of the *kheprsh* in the doctoral thesis this study is part of, they are excluded from this paper.
- 33 H. Bonnet *Reallexikon der Religionsgeschichte*, Berlin 1952, p.381.
- 34 Bonnet, *Real.*, p. 384.
- 35 Bonnet, *Real.*, p.383.
- 36 L. Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep: His Monuments, Place in History, Deification and Unusual Representations in the Form of Gods," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 19 (1963), p. 41-44.
- 37 *Lexikon der Ägyptologie*, Wiesbaden, 1975, v.1: 243
- 38 Habachi, "King Nebhepetre Mentuhotep...", p.43.
- 39 *LÄ*, v.3, p. 309.
- 40 Porter and Moss, v.2: 326-27.
- 41 H. Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, Wiesbaden 1964, pl.11.
- 42 This theology has such an impact, that even today it is reflected in traditional religion in other parts of Africa. In a comparative study of kingship in Egypt and Ghana, the Ntoro cult was found to have similar features. E.L.R. Meyerowitz, *The Divine Kingship in Ghana and Ancient Egypt*, London, 1960, p.98 and 102.
- 43 J. Baines and J. Malek, *Atlas of Ancient Egypt*, New York 1980, p.36-7.
- 44 Evidence for this in my thesis.
- 45 E.R. Russman, *The Representation of the King in the XXVth Dynasty*, Buxelles-Brooklyn, 1974: 28.
- 46 von Bissing, "Kriegshelm,"
- 47 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v.2: pl.82.
- 48 This is not the predecessor to the *kheprsh*, but a later cap crown which was no longer called *kheprsh* and which had a different meaning.

- 49 Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v.4: pl.3, 4-6, 12, 15, 17, 27-28, 31 and 34.
- 50 H. Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions at Karnak*, Chicago, 1936-86, v.1: pl.4-5.
- 51 C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Le Petit Temple d'Abou Simbel*, Cairo, 1968, v.2: pl.XXXIII.
- 52 Gardiner, "Coronation...": 27.
- 53 *Wb* III: 241.
- 54 Bruyere, *Deir el-Medineh*, Le Caire, 1939, p. 177.
- 55 C. Desroches-Noblecourt, *Tutankhamun*, New York 1963: pl.IIIa.
- 56 E. Feucht, "Verjungung und Wiedergeburt," *SAK* 11 (1984): pl.13A.
- 57 *Ibid.*, fig.2, p.405.
- 58 Edwards, *Tutankhamun*: p.94-95.
- 59 E. Feucht, "Verjungung und Wiedergeburt," *SAK* 11 (1984): fig.3, pl.407.
- 60 Calverley, *King Sethos*, v.4: pl.23.
- 61 K. Bosse-Griffiths, "The Great Enchantress in the Little Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun," *JEA*, 59, 1973, fig. 1.
- 62 I.E.S. Edwards, *Treasures of Tutankhamun*, New York 1976, pl.12.
- 63 This box has been interpreted to represent the king in three stages of life: childhood, adulthood and death (Silverman 1980: 236).
- 64 C. Aldred, *Jewels of the Pharaohs: Egyptian Jewelry of the Dynastic Period*, London 1971, pl.12.
- 65 *LÄ*, v.4: 628.
- 66 K. Bosse-Griffiths, "The Great Enchantress in the Little Golden Shrine of Tutankhamun," *JEA* 59 (1973).
- 67 The shrine could represent the coronation of the king because of the prominence of the goddess Werat-hekau in the scenes, the presence of the full titulary of the king, and the inclusion of the epithet of Ankhseamun, "great beloved wife of the king" (Bosse-Griffiths 1973: 103, 107-8). Or perhaps the shrine was made to legitimize the joint rule of Tutankhamun with Ankhseamun, daughter of Akhenaton (Eaton-Krauss and Graefe 1985: 25-27, 29-30).
- 68 W. Westendorf, "Bemerkungen zur 'Kammer der Wiedergeburt' im Tutanchamungrab," *ZÄS* 94 (1967): 140-41.
- 69 *Ibid.*: 142-43.
- 70 H. Nelson, *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak*, v.1, Chicago, 1981: pl.38, 53, 76, 152; Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions*, pl.57-58.
- 71 Calverley, *King Sethos I*, v.1: pl.6, 19, 22; v.2: pl.5, 10, 15, 18.
- 72 Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions*, v.4: pl.223, 227, 229; v.5: pl.335.
- 73 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*: pl.197; Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions*, v.1: pl.24, 65-66.
- 74 Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions*, v.6: pl.480.
- 75 Nelson, *Hypostyle Hall*: pl.178.

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- ⁷⁶Calverley, *King Sethos I*, v.1; pl.27, 30; v.2: pl.23.
- ⁷⁷Nelson, *Reliefs and Inscriptions*, v.4: pl.221.
- ⁷⁸W.B. Kristensen, "De Symboliek van de Boot in de Egyptische Godsdienst," *Symbol en Werkelijkheid*, 1954: 182-83.
- ⁷⁹Wb III: 487.
- ⁸⁰Kristensen, "De Symboliek van de Boot..": 186.
- ⁸¹LÄ, v.5, p. 782-83.
- ⁸²Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v.4: pl.197, 200, 205, 207, 210-211, 214-215.
- ⁸³*Ibid.*, v.4: 201, 205, 209-210, 213, 215-216.
- ⁸⁴E. Wente, "Hathor at the Jubilee," *Studies in Honor of J.A. Wilson*, 1969: fig.6.
- ⁸⁵Nelson, *Medinet Habu*, v.4: pl.206.