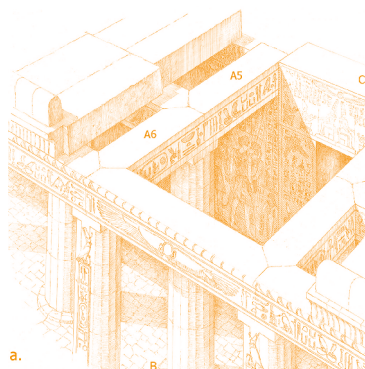


Arrangement of columns and architraves in the courtyard of the first temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari



Abstract: The three-terraced temple of Queen Hatshepsut, along with the Valley Temple and the processional avenue, was designed as a single complex immediately after the Queen's coronation. The central feature of this arrangement was the Upper Courtyard, where at least two rows of columns were constructed in front of each wall. This interpretation is widely accepted by scholars who have studied the temple's construction history.

However, research conducted between 1997 and 2017 on the remains of decorated architraves has challenged these findings. It was discovered that the Upper Courtyard originally featured two rows of columns only on the side of the Sanctuary. This suggests that, in its initial phase, the temple was significantly smaller, and that the large-scale expansion –including the addition of columns and the relocation of decorated rooms– occurred later. The courtyard with two rows of columns did not represent the first stage in constructing the three-terraced temple; rather, it was the completion of an earlier temple project that had likely already been finished.

An analysis of the preserved decorative fragments revealed that some architraves contained the original names of Thutmose II, placed there by Hatshepsut. These inscriptions were found exclusively on the architraves of the Upper Courtyard.

Keywords: Thutmose II, architraves, architectural modification, column arrangement, New Kingdom temple

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I would like to thank Agata Smilgin for her strong support in the selection and documentation of the architraves in the lapidarium at Deir el-Bahari. The documentation she prepared formed the basis for an important part of the graphic material included in this publication.

PREVIOUS RECONSTRUCTIONS OF THE COLUMN ARRANGEMENT IN THE UPPER COURTYARD

Scholars analyzing the architecture of Hatshepsut's temple have generally agreed that the Upper Courtyard was designed as a space surrounded by columns on all four sides. The first to reach this conclusion were Édouard Naville (1906: 1) and Somers Clarke, the architect of Naville's expedition (Naville 1908: 25), who determined that there were two rows of columns in front of each wall of the courtyard. Their conclusion was based on the preserved column bases — only a few of which remained in their original positions— and traces of stonework on the floor.

Naville and Clarke had the opportunity to examine the courtyard immediately after it had been cleared of rock debris and the remains of later structures. Nevertheless, the spatial layout of the courtyard as it existed in Hatshepsut's time remained difficult to decipher. The primary challenge was that, centuries after Hatshepsut's death, places of worship established by the Ptolemies (Łajtar 2005: 37–44) and later the Copts (Godlewski 1986: 21–51, 60–78) altered the layout of the courtyard to suit their needs. As a result, none of the original columns from the Pharaonic period remained in place.¹ Furthermore, earthquakes and rockslides left the walls preserved only in a few lower courses, making it impossible to verify where the

architraves resting on the columns had originally connected with the walls.²

Subsequent researchers, in an attempt to reconstruct the original placement of the columns, focused on identifying the column bases and determining their original locations. However, the conclusions drawn from this approach did not resolve the issue, as the bases had also been reused as secondary building material. The difficulty of interpreting this material is evident from the fact that Naville identified 33 original column bases (Naville 1906: Pl. CXIX), Leszek Dąbrowski (1964) identified significantly more —71 in total— and Zygmunt Wysocki recognized only 23 (research report from 17 March 1973).

Another research area that could provide insight into the arrangement of columns is the decorated panels that formed the outer faces of the columns on the courtyard side. These were flat, rectangular surfaces extending from the capital to the base of the column and bearing inscriptions. Apart from two larger fragments, only small pieces of these panels have survived, mostly broken into tiny pieces. The inscriptions included the names of Hatshepsut (later re-carved to those of Thutmose II), Thutmose III, and Thutmose I, oriented either to the left or right, depending on the position of the column. In the lower

1 The Ptolemaic Portico, constructed in front of the entrance to the Sanctuary, contained six columns built from fragments of Pharaonic columns. However, their form differed significantly from that of the original structures [Fig. 2].

2 The positions of the sockets for architraves within the wall can be identified by a characteristic decorative band that frames the architrave from below and along both sides.

section, depictions of Nile gods with symbols of Upper and Lower Egypt appeared, or alternatively, representations of *rekhyts*, also facing left or right [Fig. 1]

Wysocki conducted a detailed study on this subject, attempting to determine how many columns with decorated panels originally surrounded the courtyard and from which locations the repeated decorative motifs came. His analysis concluded that there was a double colonnade on three sides of the courtyard, while the western side had three rows of columns. However, it is now known that Wysocki made incorrect initial assumptions, placing the panels with *rekhyt* images in locations different from where they actually belonged.³ Had he positioned them correctly, the decoration would have ruled out the possibility of constructing three rows on the western side.

Summarizing the above research, it should be noted that, since the scope of these studies was limited to the analysis

of potential column bases and texts on decorated panels, the material was too incomplete to provide a definitive basis for reconstructing the placement of columns in the courtyard.

A new impetus for renewed research came from the inclusion of a small group of architraves from the courtyard in the analysis. Studies conducted by Janusz Karkowski demonstrated that, after the decoration of the architraves was completed, an additional row of columns was added — indicating that one of the courtyard's sides had three rows of columns. The evidence for this lies in remnants of architraves that bear traces of earlier decoration executed in sunken relief, which was later altered to raised relief [Fig. 2:b].⁴ Sunken relief was used on external surfaces, while raised relief was applied to internal ones. This distinction provided the simplest criterion for classifying architraves into those placed on columns directly surrounding the courtyard and those belonging to the inner row.

DISTINCTIVE FEATURES OF THE ARCHITRAVE GROUP

During the research process, it became evident that the architraves were key to reconstructing the column arrangement in the

Upper Courtyard.⁵ Changes in inscriptions from Hatshepsut's reign — successive erasures ordered by Thutmose III, the removal

3 Wysocki placed columns featuring images of *rekhyts* in the southern and northern rows in such a way that the hieroglyphs and figures faced toward the Sanctuary. This interpretation, however, has proved to be incorrect. Only the reconstruction of the architraves and their allocation to specific locations within the courtyard enabled the accurate determination of the orientation of the texts in each row. The inscriptions on the columns necessarily faced in the same direction as those on the corresponding architraves (Kwaśnica forthcoming b).

4 Janusz Karkowski, personal communication.

5 The first step involved identifying the positions of the sockets for architraves within the courtyard walls. Accordingly, the reconstruction of the upper decorative section of the Upper Courtyard walls, completed in 1997, marked the initial stage in reconstructing the courtyard's spatial organization. This work enabled the precise determination of all points where architraves were connected to the walls (Kwaśnica in preparation b).

of references to Amun and associated deities during Akhenaten's rule, and later restoration efforts during the post-Amarna

period— provided additional distinguishing features that enabled many architraves to be placed in their original locations.⁶

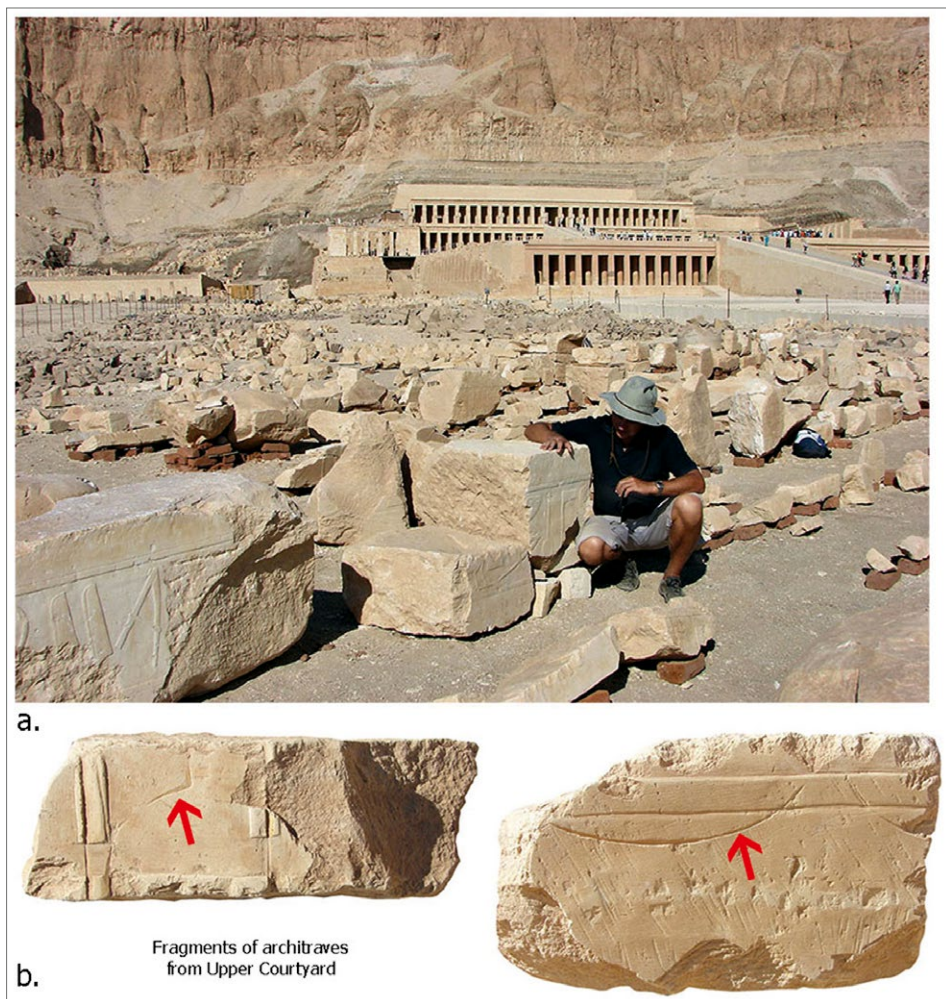


Fig. 2. Fragments of architraves collected in the lapidarium on the Lower Terrace: a – in addition to a small number of larger pieces, several hundred small decorated fragments were preserved. Only some had distinguishing features permitting their inclusion in the reconstruction (Photo A. Smilgin); b – sample blocks showing traces of earlier decoration (Photo A. Kwaśnica)

6 The primary criteria for assessing the provenance of individual fragments included their dimensional characteristics, hieroglyphic content, quality of relief execution, and the techniques used to erase previous decorations. These features made it possible to evaluate whether specific fragments may have originated from nearby locations.

Out of 113 architraves⁷ (excluding those from the Upper Portico), only a dozen or so larger fragments have survived, including two full-sized pieces suitable for placement on the reconstructed columns [Fig. 3]. Additionally, several hundred smaller fragments remain, and it is estimated that, together, they constitute 6–8% of the decorated surface of the Upper Courtyard architraves [Fig. 2:a].

The first group of analyzed fragments consisted of architrave remnants

that underwent decoration modifications during Hatshepsut's reign. This primarily refers to the previously mentioned transformation of sunken relief to raised relief [see Fig. 2:b]. As a result, architraves that had originally formed the outer face of the Upper Courtyard became interior architraves, necessitating the modification of their decoration. This also applied to short sections, with one architrave on each side of the lateral rows.

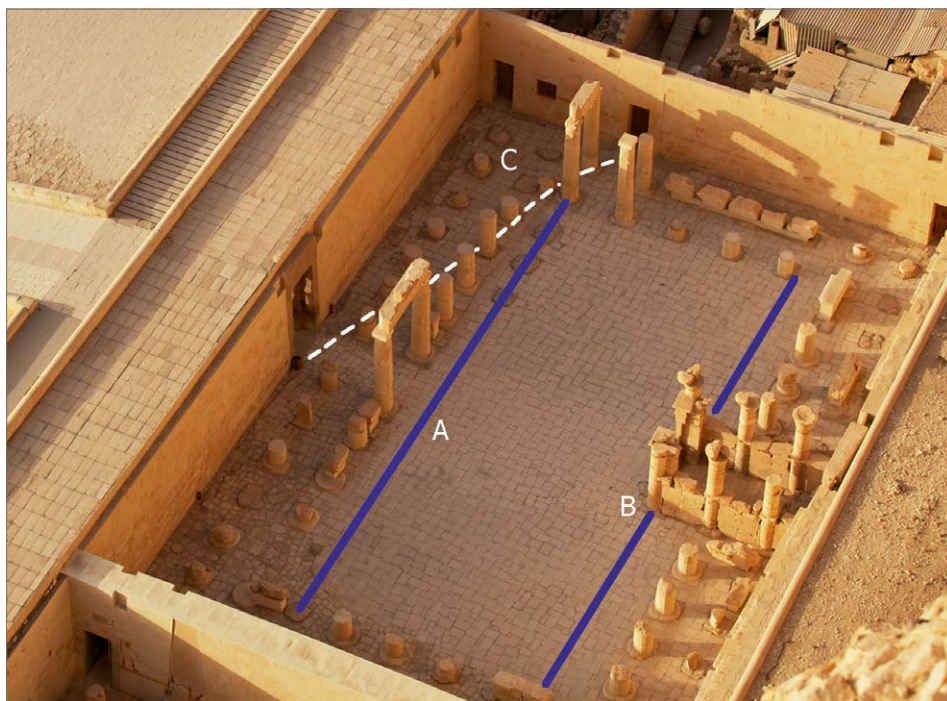


Fig. 3. Upper Courtyard, current state. Two rows of columns originally surrounded the courtyard on all sides. Blue lines indicate possible locations for an additional row of columns: A – on the eastern side; B – on the western side, aligned with the extended bases of the Ptolemaic Portico; C – an artificial platform where ground settlement occurred during the courtyard's expansion. This implies that rows A and B would have stood on solid rock (Photo M. Jawornicki, processing A. Kwaśnica)

7 A total of 104 architraves were originally located in the Upper Courtyard, five in the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, and four in the Vestibule of the Altar Courtyard. All these elements shared similar dimensions, in contrast to the larger architraves found in the Upper Portico and the Hathor Shrine.

ADDITIONAL ROW OF COLUMNS

The reason for these re-carvings was the expansion of the courtyard at a time when the temple was already in use. Initial analysis of the evidence suggested that an additional row of columns had been added. For many years, there was ongoing debate about whether this row had been added on the eastern or western side.⁸ The prevailing opinion held that it was located on the western side, supported by the presence of the two easternmost column bases in the Ptolemaic Portico, which were widely believed to be remnants of this row [Fig. 3:B].

However, recent research and the reconstruction of the architrave ar-

range in the Upper Courtyard have ruled out the possibility that the additional row was on the western side.⁹ Although this is not the primary focus of the present publication, it is necessary to briefly present key arguments and conclusions drawn from the reconstruction of several particularly significant architraves. These architraves served as key reference points for an important discovery, providing evidence of far more extensive spatial modifications than merely the addition of a single row of columns. These changes occurred in the Upper Courtyard during Hatshepsut's reign.

TWO ARCHITRAVE FRAGMENTS CONNECTED TO THE ADDITIONAL ROW

Two architrave fragments from the southern side of the courtyard proved particularly significant for the reconstruction, as the additional row had been inserted between them.

FRAGMENT 1 (A1)

This fragment contains the central part of a short text in raised relief, which was entirely placed on a single architrave, A1¹⁰

[Fig. 4:a]. It represents a typical text placed between two parallel rows of architraves.

At the center is an *ankh* sign; to the right was a cartouche that originally bore the name of Hatshepsut but was later reworked to display that of Thutmose II or III. To the left were the name of Amun and a text referring to the god. Both inscriptions face the *ankh*, forming a symmetrical composition.

8 For a summary of earlier theories, see Iwaszczuk 2017: 100–107; Alarcón Robledo 2018: 19–23.

9 The architraves provide multiple, independent lines of evidence supporting the addition of an extra row along the eastern side of the courtyard. These findings, together with the reconstruction of the newly added row and conclusions drawn from the construction process, will be published in due course (Kwaśnica in preparation c).

10 In this publication, the discussed architraves are labeled sequentially as A1, A2, A3, and so forth, according to the order in which they are analyzed. A detailed plan of the Upper Courtyard, indicating the locations of all analyzed architraves, is included at the end of the study [see below, Fig. 37].

The most crucial detail, however, is the presence of remnants of an earlier text in sunken relief, which extended beyond a single architrave [Fig. 4]. This original text represents the final portion of a longer inscription, with the hieroglyphs oriented to the right [Fig. 4:b].

The secondary text was added after the additional row was inserted to the right of the discussed architrave. This fragment confirms that the additional row was positioned where the original text ended, providing a key clue for the reconstruction.

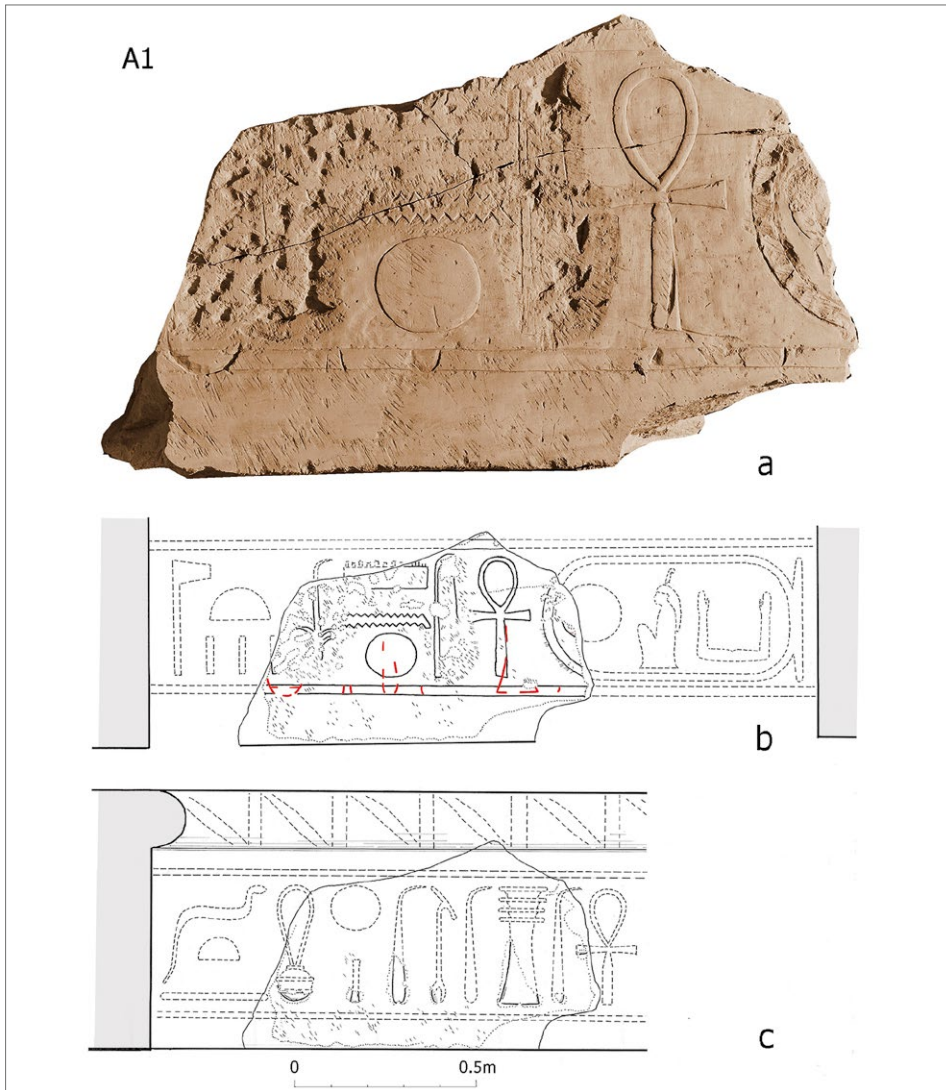


Fig. 4. Fragment of architrave A1: a – photo of the preserved fragment; b - reconstruction of the text executed in raised relief. Traces of the original decoration are marked in red; c – original text, executed in sunken relief (Photo, reconstruction, and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

FRAGMENT 2 (A2)

This is a fragment of an external architrave, with its left side cut at an angle of approximately 45 degrees and smoothed [Fig. 5:a]. A perpendicular architrave, similarly cut, was attached to this spot and must have been the outermost architrave of the added row of columns. The decoration features fragments of the cartouche of either Thutmose I or Thutmose III, followed by the preserved initial part of Amun's name. The remainder of the text was removed to accommodate the perpendicularly placed architrave.

However, to maintain the integrity of the inscription, a new short text —“true of voice”— was inserted in place of Amun's name. This leaves no doubt that the cartouche belonged to Thutmose I, as such a phrase was exclusively

used for a deceased person [Fig. 5:b]. The texts on architraves A1 and A2 originally formed a single inscription referring to the deceased Thutmose I, the father of Hatshepsut [Fig. 6:a].

The feminine form referring to Thutmose I, which appears here, was a practice observed during the early years of Hatshepsut's reign.¹¹ This phenomenon is not limited to Deir el-Bahari (Naviile 1896: 3–4) but also occurs in the Chapelle Rouge at Karnak (Lacau and Chevrier 1977: 48; Nims 1965: 128). It is also noted by T. Wilkinson (2010: 265).

The reconstruction of additional architraves in this row confirmed that the inscription regarding Thutmose I began in the middle of architrave A2. Beyond this point, an inscription facing the opposite direction referred to Hatshepsut.¹² Architrave A2 was thus a central



Fig. 5. Architrave A2: A – the preserved cartouche fragment could refer to either Thutmose I or Thutmose III. However, two signs following the cartouche (B, “true of voice”) clearly indicate a deceased person, hence Thutmose I. A – slanted surface where the architrave was inserted at a 45° angle. The graphic on the right shows a visualization (Photo and graphic A. Kwaśnica)

11 In several areas of the Upper Terrace, inscriptions referring to male members of the royal family appear in grammatically feminine form. Examples include the Upper Anubis Shrine, the Niche (with references to Thutmose I), the Southern Chamber of Amun (epithets of Thutmose III), and the ebony naos made for Thutmose II — all inscribed using feminine grammatical forms.

12 The inscription extended across four consecutive architraves and represented a dedication from Hatshepsut to Amun on the occasion of the temple's construction. A portion of this text was published by Karkowski (1983: 149).

element with a symmetrical text, both sides oriented toward a centrally placed *ankh* sign. This arrangement is logical, as beneath the architrave was the passage to the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, which contained the Chapel of Hatshepsut (Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016) and the Chapel of Thutmose I (Barwik and Dziedzic 2021). This provides further evidence supporting the placement of architraves A1 and A2 in the southeastern corner of the Upper Courtyard.¹³

Architrave A1 had another unique feature confirming its location. An unusual anomaly was observed: the lower

edge of the architrave was not parallel to the lower line of the secondary inscription but instead aligned with the original text [Figs 4:b, c]. This could only have occurred if, in the time between the carving of the first and second inscriptions, the ground beneath the left column had settled, causing the architrave to tilt slightly.

Such an event did, in fact, take place. The southeastern corner of the courtyard was artificially created during the first phase of temple construction.¹⁴ After the columns were erected, covered with architraves and roofing,

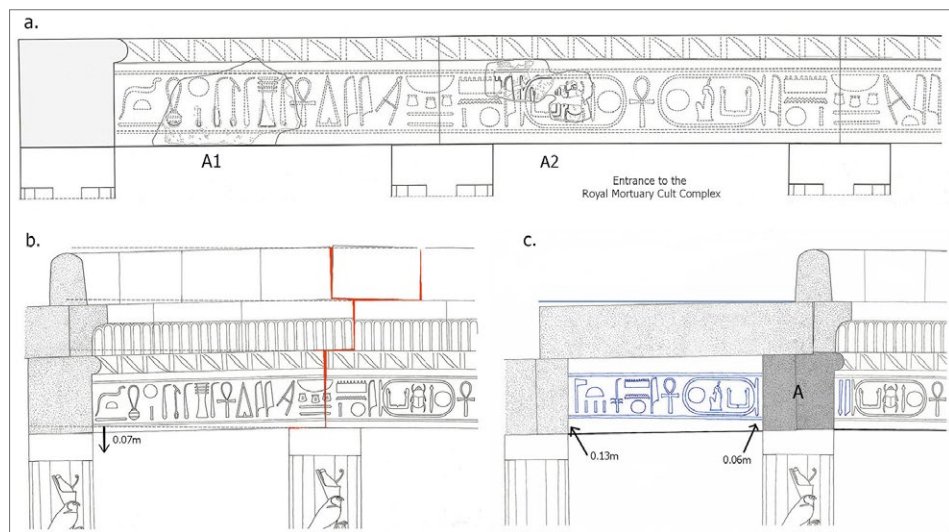


Fig. 6. Changes in the decoration of architraves A1 and A2: a – reconstruction of the original text; b – cracks in the courtyard façade caused by the settling of columns (by 0.07 m) on an artificial platform. Red markings indicate likely locations of delamination and fractures in the architraves and frieze; c – new decoration added after the construction of an additional row of columns, marked in blue. The raised-relief text band ran parallel to the ground but at an angle to the architrave's top and bottom edges. A – location of the outermost architrave from the added row of columns (Reconstruction and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

13 Additional evidence linking the analyzed architraves, the entrance to the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, and the added row of columns may be found in Kwaśnica 2001: 94–97.

14 Trial excavations along the southern wall of the Upper Courtyard confirmed that the bedrock in this area slopes steeply toward the east. Consequently, an artificial fill was constructed, rising up to 3.8 m above the bedrock in the southeastern corner (Stefanowicz 1991; Szafranski 1995).

and decorated, the ground beneath the left column (supporting architrave A1) sank by 0.07 m — similar to the eastern section of the southern wall of the Upper Courtyard.¹⁵ The right (western) column, positioned on solid bedrock, remained stable. This settling caused

cracks and damage, though it did not compromise the structural integrity of the architraves and ceiling¹⁶ [Fig. 6:b].

The most effective solution was to add an additional row of columns on solid ground¹⁷ to cover the resulting damage without dismantling the walls, columns,

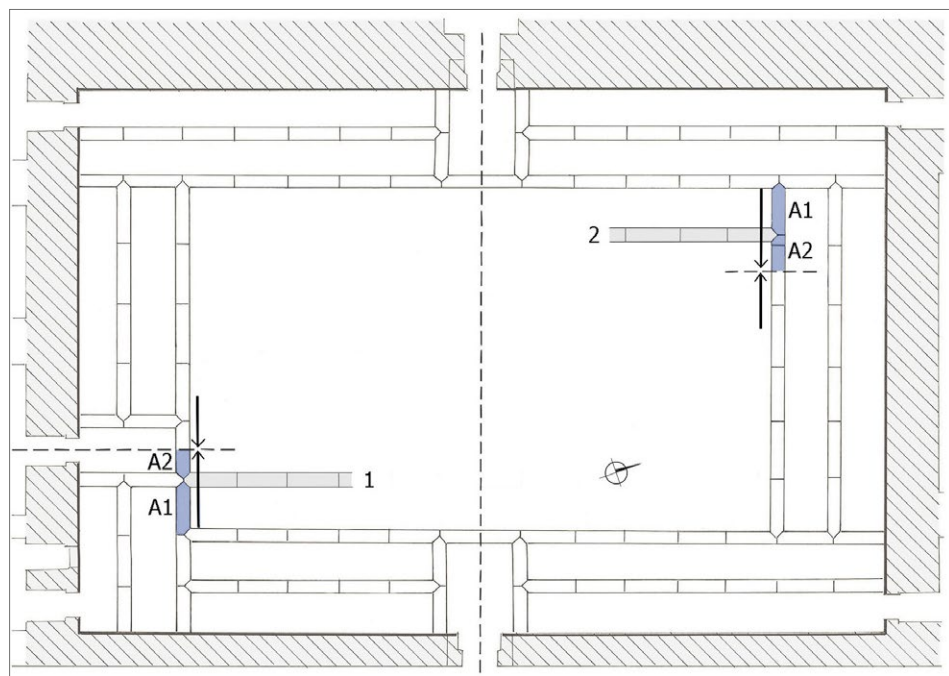


Fig. 7. Possible placements of architraves A1, A2, and the added row: either on the eastern (1) or western (2) side of the courtyard. Arrows indicate the direction of the inscriptions (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

- 15 Research undertaken by the author in 1993 demonstrated that the walls in the southeastern corner of the courtyard —extending from the portal leading to the Royal Complex to the granite portal in the Upper Portico— had undergone subsidence of approximately 0.06 to 0.08 m.
- 16 If the structural integrity of this area had been deemed compromised, it would have been necessary to dismantle the walls, columns, and ceiling in the entire southeastern corner of the Upper Courtyard, reinforce the foundations, and rebuild that section anew. However, such measures were not undertaken.
- 17 The edge of the artificial platform ran diagonally between the granite portal of the third portico and the entrance to the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex, indicating that the bases of the columns from the added row were positioned directly on bedrock [Fig. 3:C].

or ceilings.¹⁸ The newly added row necessitated a change in decoration, and here, the architects made an unusual decision. The new text, executed in raised relief, was placed on the architrave parallel to the floor, creating a slight angle relative to the lower and upper edges of the architrave. This was done intentionally, utilizing an optical illusion: the colorful decorative band, set against the shadowed ceiling, made it difficult for observers to perceive the structural curvature¹⁹ [Fig. 6:c].

This anomaly virtually eliminates the possibility of placing architrave A₁ in any other location within the courtyard. If the additional row had been situated in

the western part of the Upper Courtyard, architrave A₁ would have had to be positioned diagonally across the courtyard in the northern row [Fig. 7]. This placement would have resulted in the text referring to Thutmose I being oriented eastward — turned away from the Sanctuary — which is highly unlikely.

Even greater doubts arise from the fact that the column and the western side of the architrave would have had to settle by 0.7 m. In this part of the Upper Courtyard the foundation consists of stable, solid rock, making such subsidence of columns or walls in this location impossible.

ARCHITRAVES ON THE OPPOSITE SIDE OF THE ADDED ROW

On the opposite side of the added row, in the northeastern part of the courtyard, architraves were placed that mirrored A₁ and A₂ in decorative composition. The text on these architraves was originally the ending of a long sunken-relief inscription oriented westward — meaning it was directed to the left.

During the research, architraves A₃ and A₄ were identified as corresponding to the above characteristics. Architrave A₃

survived in two pieces but retained its full dimensions. Its distinctive shape, with cut corners, leaves no doubt that it was positioned between two parallel rows of architraves. It features a raised relief inscription, symmetrically oriented toward a central point, similar to A₁. However, no traces of the earlier text remain, as it was completely removed in this case. As a result, there is no tangible evidence confirming that a sunken relief inscription once existed there.

18 This ancient engineering solution — implemented around 3500 years ago — presented unforeseen challenges during modern reconstruction efforts. Prior to restoration, only the four lowest courses of the western wall of the Upper Portico were preserved in situ. Theoretical calculations of wall height, column height, and ceiling level were accurately performed by Wysocki, based on measurements taken in the southern corner of the portico. However, the slight southward tilt of the original structure had not been taken into account. In accordance with standard practice, the ceiling was reconstructed horizontally — resulting in the wall in the northern corner of the Portico being 0.08 m lower. Consequently, the final course of the original decorated blocks could not fit beneath the ceiling. The missing space corresponded precisely to the amount by which the ground had subsided in the southeastern corner of the courtyard.

19 Due to the complexity and scope of the compositional aspects of the added row, a comprehensive analysis of its decoration and implications will be presented in a forthcoming publication (Kwaśnica in preparation c).

Nevertheless, the unique shape and the content of the texts on both sides almost entirely eliminate the possibility that this architrave could have belonged anywhere else in the courtyard. The only alternative location that could have been considered was between two rows of architraves on the southern side of the entrance to the Sanctuary. Ultimately, this option was also ruled out. The key reason was the text on the opposite side of A3 [Fig. 8:d]. The inscription on its northern side was the conclusion of a long text, which could not

be connected to the preserved inscription on architrave A5, located directly in front of the Sanctuary. This issue is clarified and graphically illustrated in Fig. 9.

The Egyptological evidence also supports this conclusion. On the southern side of architrave A3 [Fig. 8:b], Amun's name appears to the right of Hatshepsut's name (later changed to that of Thutmose II). If this text had been located in front of the Sanctuary, it would imply that Amun was approaching Hatshepsut, who would have been positioned on the side of the

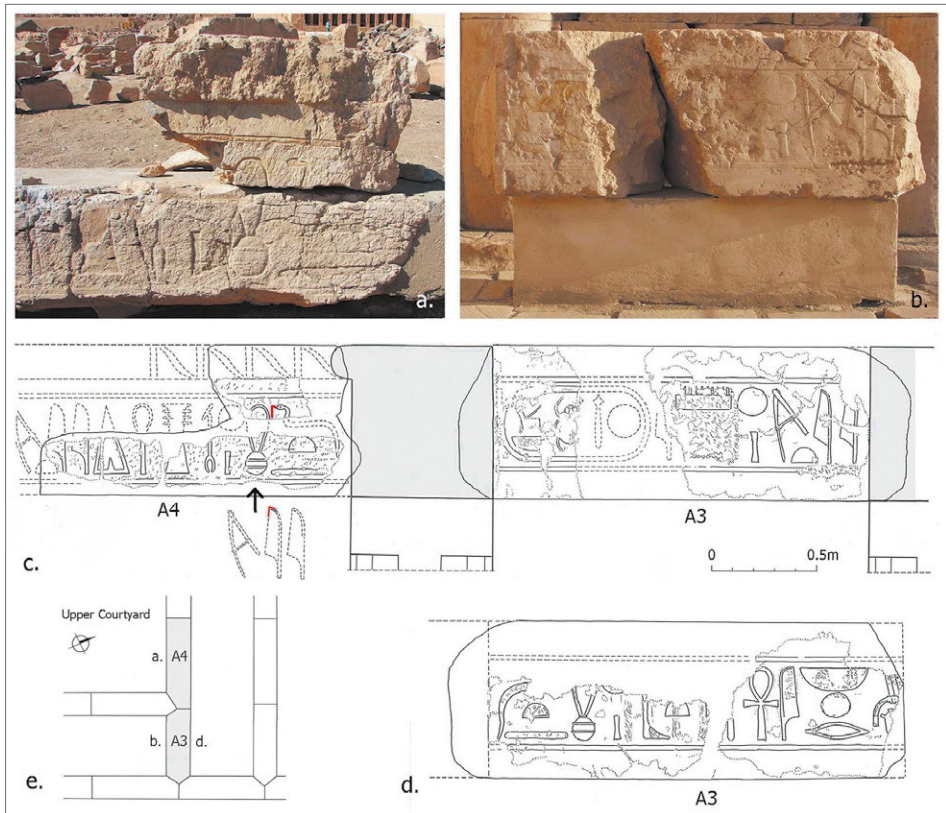


Fig. 8. Architraves A3 and A4, between which the additional row was inserted. On A4, remnants of an earlier inscription indicate continuity onto architrave A3. Below (d), decoration on the reverse of A3. This marks the end of a long inscription, most likely extending across six consecutive architraves. The secondary text and original traces show the change from feminine to masculine grammar (Photo a: A. Kwaśnica; photo b: M. Jawornicki; drawings A. Kwaśnica)

Sanctuary. However, such an arrangement would have been impossible, as the positions of the god and the king would have had to be reversed.²⁰ There is therefore no doubt that architrave A3 belonged to the northern row, positioned directly where the additional row was inserted. This architrave can be linked to the next one, A4, which was situated to its left.

A large fragment of A4 has been preserved, though it is in very poor condition. It was the final architrave in the sequence, with text carved in sunken relief. However, visible traces indicate that this text was shortened. Small remnants of an earlier inscription confirm that it was originally longer [Figs 8:a, c].

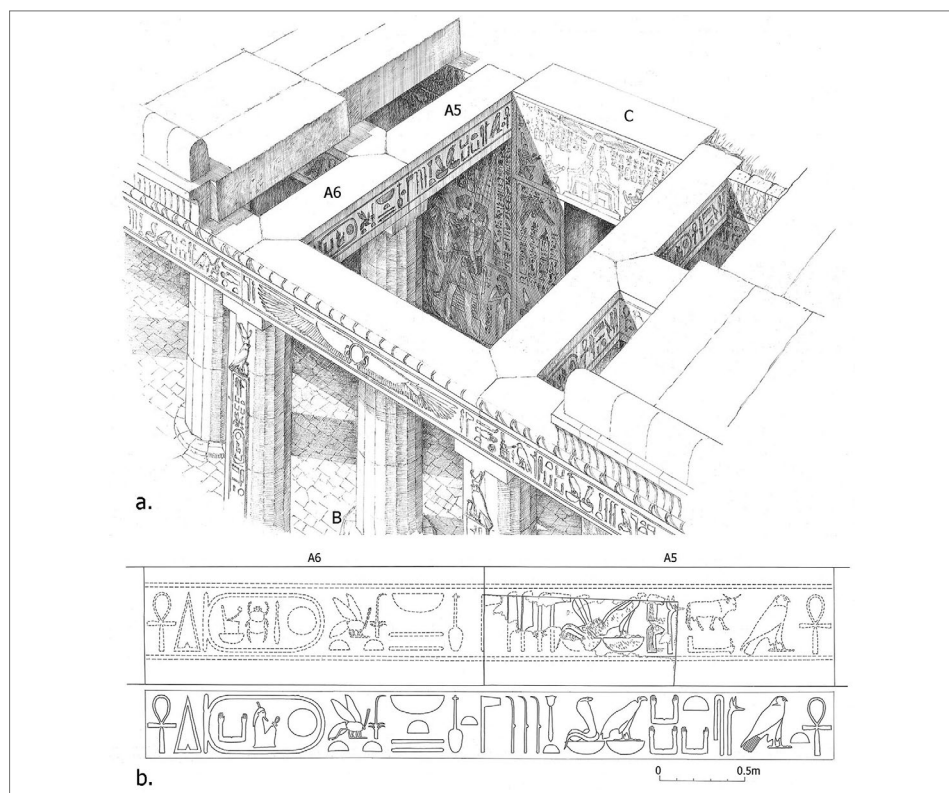


Fig. 9. Visualization of the architrave structure in front of the Sanctuary: a) B – a base reused in the Ptolemaic Portico [see Fig. 10:c, base A]; C – granite portal; b) reconstruction of architraves A5 and A6. The upper section shows text recarved by Thutmose III; the lower preserves the original text. Note: The entire inscription in front of the entrance was contained within two architraves. A large fragment of A5 preserves Hatshepsut's first and second names, later changed to Thutmose II (drawing b). This fragment was reused in the Ptolemaic Portico wall [Fig. 10:b]. Architrave A6 included the fourth cartouche name, which, along with the standard formulas accompanying the king's name, formed the complete text. A3 [see Fig. 8:d] cannot have been in A6's position due to text misalignment (Reconstruction and drawings A. Kwaśnica)

20 I am grateful to Jadwiga Iwaszczuk for drawing my attention to this issue.

TWO EASTERN BASES OF THE PTOLEMAIC PORTICO

A supplementary conclusion derived from the above analysis concerns the Ptolemaic Portico. Contrary to frequent assertions by scholars, the portico does not provide evidence for the addition of an extra row of columns on the western side of the courtyard. On the contrary, the two outermost bases —often cited as supporting evidence— actually support the opposite conclusion.

The portico was constructed using blocks repurposed from the architraves and columns of the ruined Upper Courtyard. The Ptolemies had access to a wide selection of damaged fragments from the earlier pharaonic structure, allowing them to obtain construction materials with minimal effort [Figs 10:a, b]. The two outermost bases beneath the Ptolemaic columns are indeed pharaonic in origin,²¹ but they



Fig. 10. The Ptolemaic Portico: a – view of the northern wall; b – fragment of architrave A5, reused in the Ptolemaic structure; c – the edges of pharaonic bases A and B, aligned along a red line, while base C, reused and repositioned by the Ptolemies, was shifted 0.2 m to the side (Photos and graphics A. Kwaśnica)

21 The southern column base is unquestionably of pharaonic origin; however, the northern base lacks the characteristic circular profile, leaving its origin uncertain.

were reused and originally belonged to a different location.²²

This conclusion is supported by the following evidence:

- The positioning of the southern base, which should align with

the two original bases installed by the temple builders, is shifted 0.2 m to the north [Fig. 11:c]. Such a misalignment in the placement of three columns flanking the entrance to a space as important as

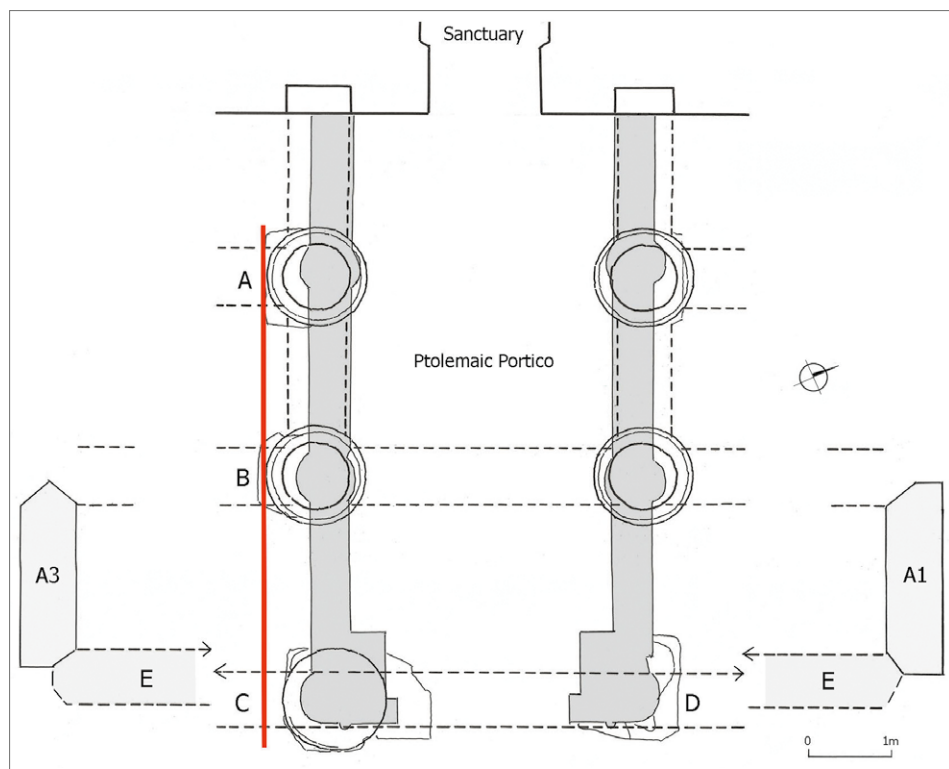


Fig. 11. Positioning of the Ptolemaic Portico on pharaonic bases. The Ptolemaic structure had wider column spacing than the four preserved *in situ* pharaonic bases. Dark grey – outline of the Ptolemaic Portico; A, B – *in situ* pharaonic column bases; C – reused pharaonic base; D – new Ptolemaic base lacking pharaonic features; red line – southern edge of the *in situ* bases; A1, A3 – architraves connected to the added row; E – hypothetical location of an added row in the western part of the courtyard. Note: The new row of columns could not have aligned with the protruding Ptolemaic bases (Graphics A. Kwaśnica)

22 Sergio Alarcón Robledo has argued that the easternmost bases in the Ptolemaic Portico (P1, P2) date to the reign of Hatshepsut and were placed during the construction of an additional column row along the western side of the courtyard. However, his analysis does not address the structural concerns related to the Ptolemaic Portico presented here, which undermine his conclusion (Alarcón Robledo 2018: 25–31). My comments regarding the incorrect positioning of the protruding column bases and the length of the side architraves were communicated to the author before the publication of the text, but were not taken into account.

the Sanctuary would have constituted a major architectural error.²³

- The easternmost bases are positioned at a different ground level than the remaining four (higher by 0.03–0.06 m),²⁴ suggesting that they were installed at a later date.
- After reconstructing the full dimensions of architraves A1 and A3, it was possible to calculate the distances between the columns that supported these architraves, thereby establishing the spacing of the additional row in relation to the original one. This distance was approximately 2.5 m (measured from the center of one column to the next). However, the distance between the outermost column bases of the Ptolemaic Portico and the previous bases is about 2.7 m. Therefore, the bases in the Ptolemaic Portico do not align with the column row defined by the lateral architraves A1 and A3 [Fig. 11], indicating that they could not have belonged to the added row.

It should also be noted that neither Naville/Clarke (Naville 1906: Pl. CXIX)

nor Wysocki (research report from 17 March 1973) considered the bases of the Ptolemaic Portico as part of the original courtyard plan from the Pharaonic period.

ARCHITECTURAL INTERPRETATION

- Architraves A1 and A3 originated from the eastern parts of the southern and northern rows of columns, respectively.
- Both architraves originally contained the endings of texts executed in sunken relief, oriented westward.
- The two outermost bases of the Ptolemaic Portico were not part of the original pharaonic courtyard plan.

These findings lead to the conclusion that the remaining architraves, which had been reworked from sunken to raised relief, must have belonged to a long row of eleven architraves located along the eastern side [Fig. 12]. The texts on the architraves and columns of this row were oriented toward the central architrave, which featured the winged solar disk of Horus *Behdeti*,²⁵ positioned along the courtyard's axis of symmetry.

23 This discrepancy posed no obstacle for the Ptolemaic builders. The column drums they employed were slightly smaller than their pharaonic predecessors, having been further trimmed to remove the original sixteen-sided profile. As a result, the Ptolemaic columns were not centered on the older pharaonic bases — a feature visible in [Fig. 11].

24 Theodolite measurements conducted in 1995 recorded a discrepancy of 0.06 m (Kwaśnica 2001: 89), while later measurements in 2013 recorded 0.03–0.04 m (Alarcón Robledo 2018: 25). Despite these variations, it remains evident that the outermost bases are located at a different elevation than the others.

25 Numerous fragments from both the added and the original outer rows of architraves have been preserved. Each of the central architraves bore the image of the winged solar disk of *Behdeti*, further confirming the symmetrical arrangement of the decorated architraves (Kwaśnica in preparation c).

EVIDENCE OF THE ADDITION OF SIDE ROWS OF COLUMNS

At first, it seemed that the above conclusions had definitively resolved the issues related to the addition of columns in the Upper Courtyard. However, during further research, an analysis of the decorated surface of another architrave (A7) revealed faint traces of an earlier sunken relief inscription, leading to an entirely unexpected discovery. The reconstruction of the original text indicated the existence of another architrave with characteristics identical to architrave A1, effectively making it a duplicate.

These characteristics include:

- the presence of a long, original inscription in sunken relief, oriented to the right;

- the termination of this text on the left side of the architrave;
- a new, short, symmetrical inscription, fitting entirely within a single architrave, analogous to the text on A1;
- evidence that an additional row of columns had been added to the right side of the architrave.

This evidence suggests that, prior to the introduction of the eastern row of columns, another reconstruction of the Upper Courtyard had taken place — one that also involved the addition of extra rows of columns. The original location of this architrave can be identified with some confidence: it must have been situated at

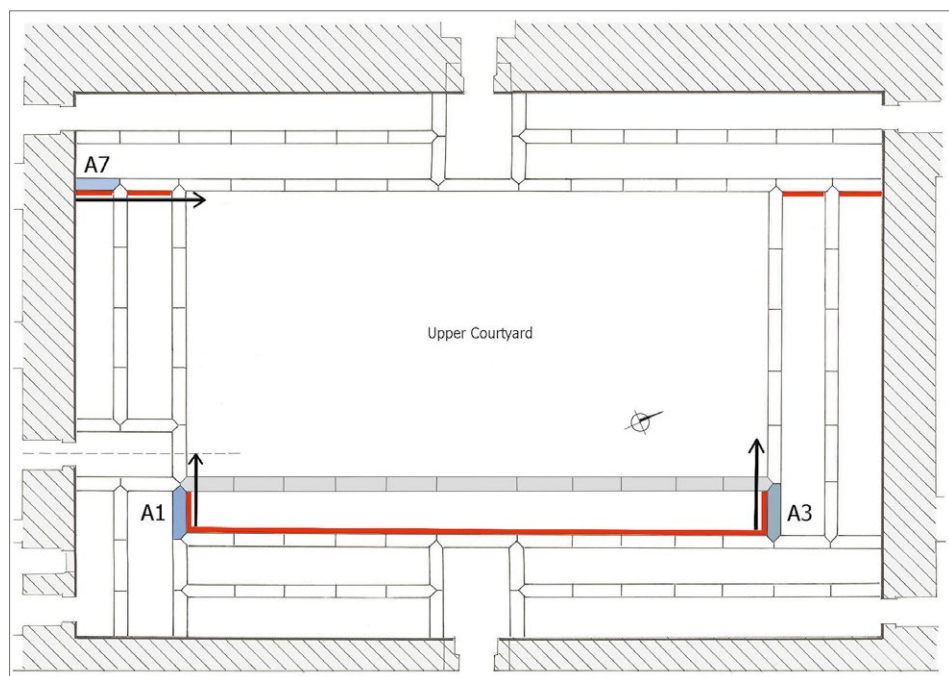


Fig. 12. Layout of architraves in the Upper Courtyard. Positions of A1, A3, and A7, where sunken relief inscriptions ended. Arrows indicate inscription direction. Gray – added column row; red – areas where external decoration was modified for internal display (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

the southern end of the external western row [see Fig. 12].

The texts on the architraves of the western row were oriented toward the courtyard's central axis, meaning that any shortening of the inscriptions would have needed to occur symmetrically on both sides. This suggests that, after the decoration of the columns and architraves of the external western row had already been completed, two additional side rows of columns were added along the northern and southern walls. This modification required not only the reworking of the two outermost architraves on the southern and northern sides, but also the shortening of inscriptions on adjacent architraves [see Fig. 12].

This hypothesis was further supported by the discovery of additional architrave fragments exhibiting signs of modifications to their decoration. In total, seven architrave fragments have been preserved, providing evidence for the significant transformations that occurred in the Upper Courtyard. A brief analysis of these findings is presented below.

ARCHITRAVE A7

A7 is a fragment of an architrave with decoration preserved on only one side [Fig. 13]. The text is short, symmetrical, and executed in raised relief, indicating that the architrave was originally placed either between two rows of columns or



Fig. 13. Architrave A7. Decoration altered from sunken to raised relief. Top - photo of the preserved fragment. Black arrows indicate areas where earlier decoration remains. On the right side of the block, a characteristic beveled surface (marked with the letter A) indicates the connection point with a perpendicular architrave. Bottom - Close-ups of the relevant fragments with continuations of the preserved lines marked in red (Photos M. Jawornicki)

between a wall and a row of columns. This interpretation is confirmed by the characteristic oblique cut on the right side, where the architrave connected perpendicularly with an adjacent one.

However, the most significant aspect is the presence of traces of an earlier inscription in sunken relief, preserved in three areas on the decorated surface [Figs 13, 14]. Based on these traces, individual hieroglyphs could be identified, allowing for the reconstruction of the context of the entire inscription, which proved to be the final section of a long, right-oriented text.

Further evidence confirming its original location near the southern wall [see Fig. 12] is found in a peculiar feature of the decoration: the presence of Amun's name in the secondary inscription. It is well

known that during the reign of Akhenaten, all names and epithets of Amun and associated deities were systematically removed. In Hatshepsut's temple, this erasure was typically carried out with great precision and consistency. In this case, however, Amun's name was only partially removed, with some hieroglyphs left intact on the left side of the architrave [see Fig. 13].

This suggests that the architrave had been located in a less prominent place, where poorly executed chiseling might have gone unnoticed. Such a location could have been the shaded space beneath the ceiling, on the exterior side of the entrance to the southern Chamber of Amun — an area outside the main passageways [see Fig. 12].

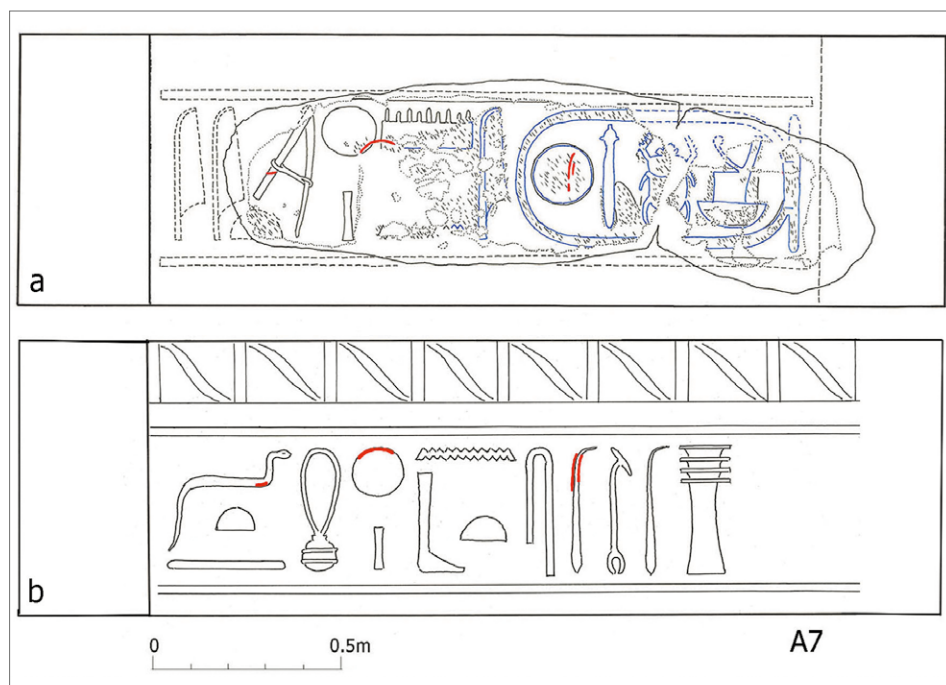


Fig. 14. Architrave A7: a - remnants of sunken relief marked in red, later changes made by Thutmose III in blue; b - reconstruction of the original inscription (Graphics A. Kwaśnica)

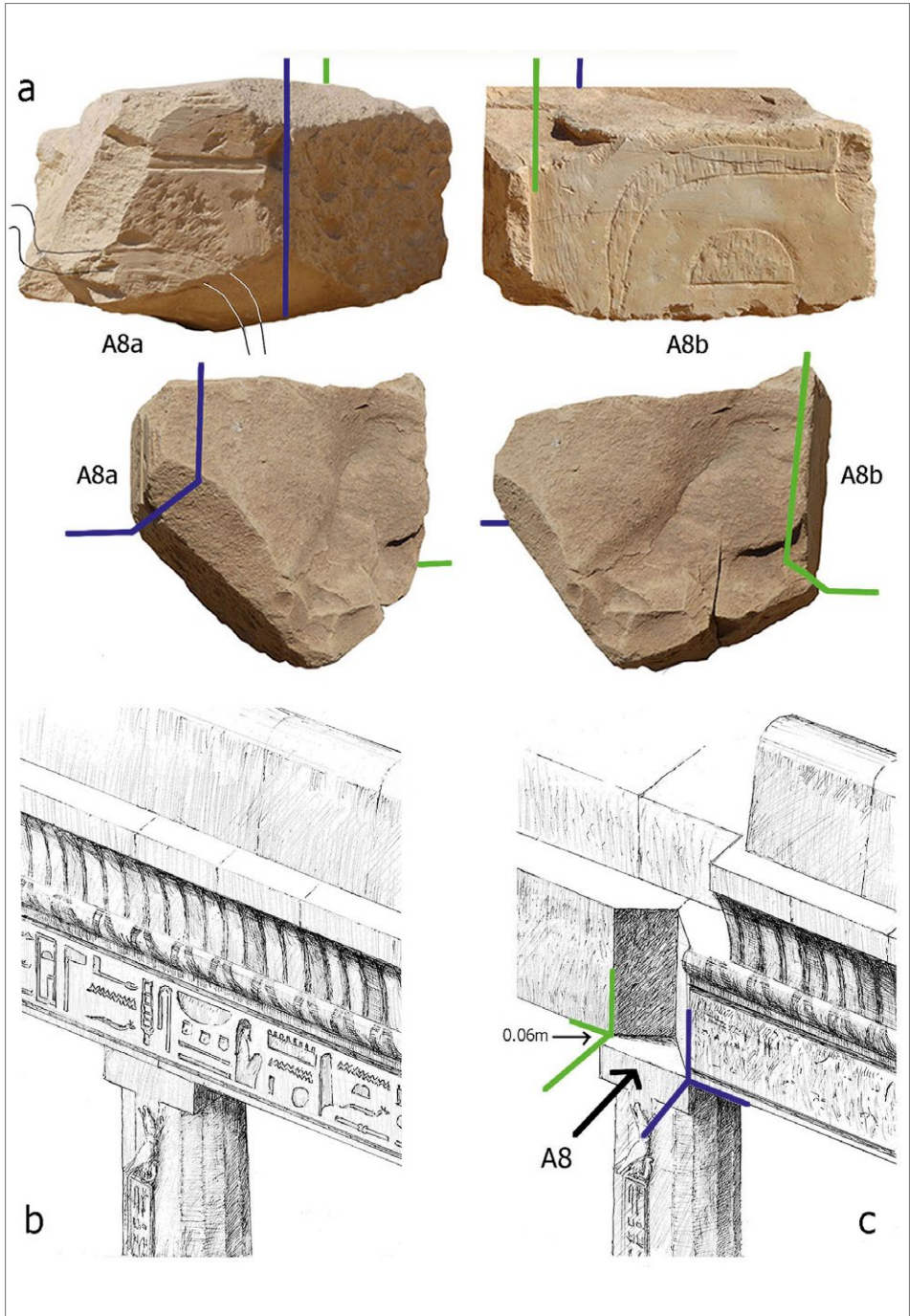


Fig. 15. Fragment of architrave A8: a – outer decoration on A8a ends differently than on the inner face A8b (Photo A. Kwaśnica); b – place where the perpendicular A8 architrave was to be placed; c – after chiseling, 0.06 m more was removed from the inner than outer side (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

FINAL FRAGMENT OF ARCHITRAVE A8

The next piece of evidence is a fragment of a terminal architrave, where the text on both sides ends in the same way, concluding with the expression *dt* [Fig. 15].

What distinguishes this architrave is its slanted termination, which features a remarkable characteristic: the slant extended between two adjacent perpendicular architraves and rested on a column capital [Fig. 15:b]. In a typical construction design, the vertical line where the decorative band ends and the slant of the architrave begins [Fig. 15:a – blue and green lines] should be aligned on both sides. This is logical, as the terminal architrave connected to two perpendicular archi-

traves whose external faces should form a single continuous surface [see Fig. 15:b].

However, in this case, the situation was different. The external faces of the adjacent architraves —one on the right with a sunken relief text and one on the left with raised relief— were not in the same plane. The measured discrepancy was 0.06 m [Fig. 15:c].

Such a difference could only have occurred if the architrave placed perpendicularly on the left side had been deeply re-carved to remove the sunken relief text and replace it with raised relief. In the first phase, the entire row of architraves featured external decoration, including torus molding and sunken relief inscrip-

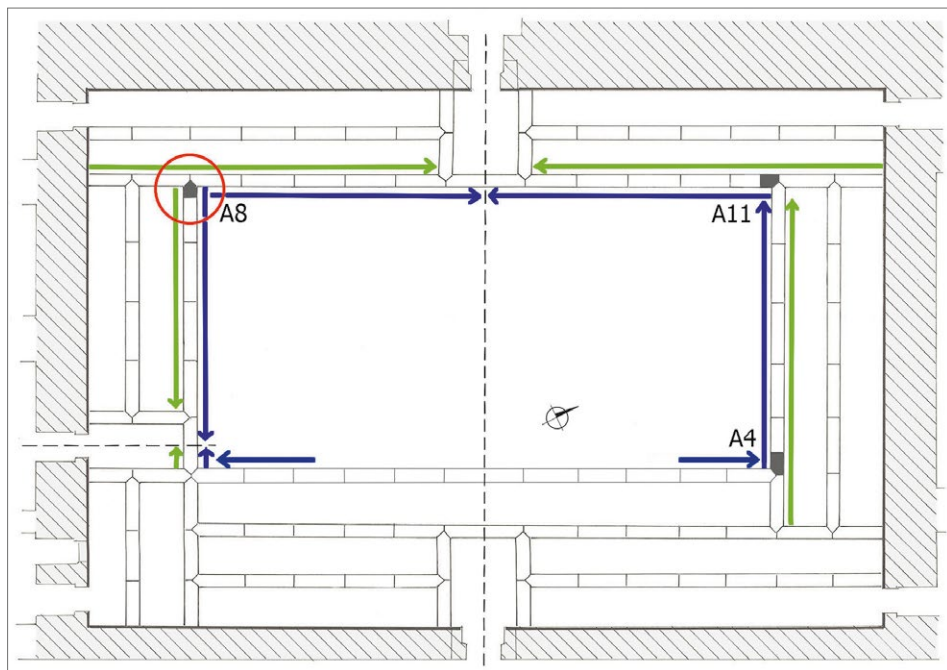


Fig. 16. Fragments from all four corners of the courtyard are preserved, with the final text oriented to the left (A4, A8, A11). All end with the phrase *dt*. Only in the southwestern corner do texts on both faces end at the same point, identifying the final A8 fragment's original placement. For A4 and A11, the inner text is longer. Blue arrows – sunken relief direction; green arrows – raised relief direction. Note: A11 is analyzed later in this publication (Graphics A. Kwaśnica)

tions. However, after the decision was made to add the perpendicular row (but before the architrave was installed), the faces of those architraves that would become internal were cut down.

Determining the original location of this architrave was not difficult. The sunken relief text ended at all four corners of the courtyard, but only in one location did the texts on both sides terminate at the same point. This was the final architrave on the western side of the southern row [Fig. 16].

ARCHITRAVE A9

This architrave belonged to the western row and preserved decoration on only

one side [Fig. 17]. The decoration, executed in sunken relief, features a dedicatory text related to the construction of the temple. However, the text was re-carved twice, as evidenced by the absence of the original background and the generally poor quality of the hieroglyphic carvings across the fragment.

The earlier modifications, dating to the reign of Hatshepsut, are visible on the right side and resulted from the shortening of a text that had originally spanned two consecutive architraves. Later re-carvings, carried out during the reign of Thutmose III, involved the removal of feminine grammatical forms and their replacement with masculine ones.

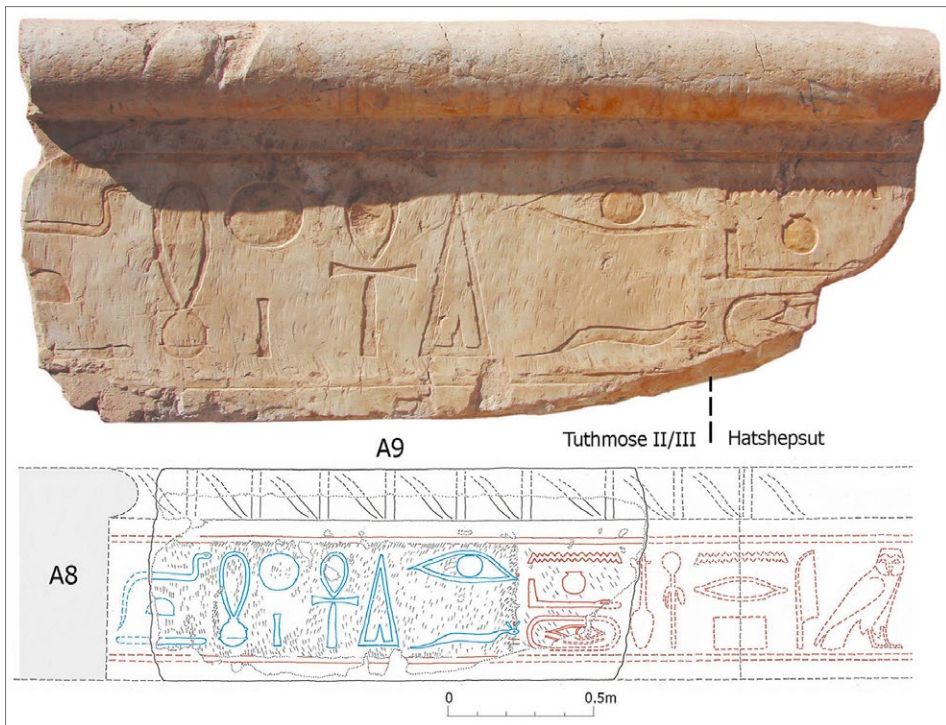


Fig. 17. Preserved fragment of architrave A9 with reconstruction. Blue text – later modification made by Thutmose III (changing feminine to masculine grammar). Earlier text – also a secondary inscription. A9 joined A8 perpendicularly (Photo and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

Further confirmation of the text's alteration is provided by the unusually short ending of the secondary inscriptions — an atypical feature in texts referring to Hatshepsut from the early phase of the temple's decoration. A longer, original version of this ending appears on the previously discussed architrave A7 [see *Fig. 14*]. The modification of the text was necessitated by the addition of an extra row of columns on the left side, where architrave A8 was located.

TWO SMALL FRAGMENTS OF ARCHITRAVE A10

Since architrave A9 contains a later-added dedicatory text referring to the construction of the temple, it is highly likely that the original text addressed the same topic. A small fragment of architrave A10 has been preserved [*Fig. 18*], and its decoration aligns with this context. This fragment was likely positioned between

A9 and A7. The hieroglyphs, executed in raised relief, belong to a secondary text; however, traces of an earlier sunken relief decoration are still visible.

The original text may have been part of a dedicatory inscription (including a fragment of the word “limestone”), preceding the inscription on architrave A7 [*Fig. 18:a*]. The secondary text was evidently a short inscription that fit within a single architrave, similar to the later text on architrave A7 [*Fig. 18:b*]. This is shown in the reconstruction of both the original and secondary decorations in *Fig. 18*.

Another small text fragment likely also belonged to architrave A10 [*Fig. 19*]. The phrase “erecting for him” is clearly part of a dedicatory inscription. However, this decoration appears to be original — characterized by a smooth background and neatly carved hieroglyphs— which contrasts with the secondary inscription on architrave A9.

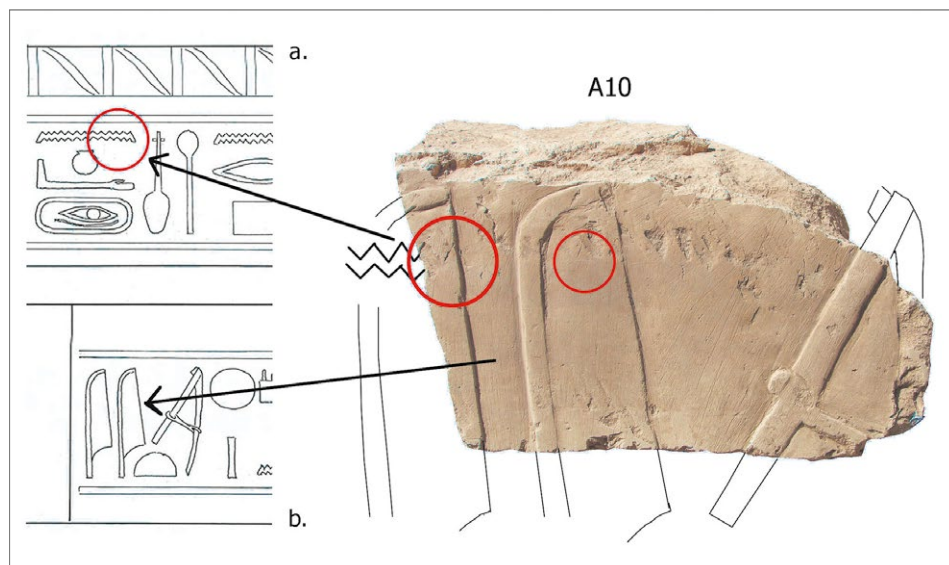


Fig. 18. Small A10 fragment. In addition to a roughly carved raised-relief inscription, faint traces of earlier sunken relief survive (Photo and graphics A. Kwaśnica)

An analysis of other architraves with sunken relief inscriptions indicated that no second dedicatory text oriented to the right could have existed among the architraves surrounding the courtyard. Therefore, this fragment must have belonged to the same original decoration.

The reconstruction of architraves A7, A9, and A10 —positioned above the three outermost columns on the southern side— helped resolve the issue [Fig. 20]. This fragment fit precisely into a cut-out section of architrave A10, where the perpendicular architrave A8 was inserted [see Figs 15:b, c]. It was therefore part of the original text that had been removed

during the construction of the additional row of columns.

SHORTENED TEXT ON THE ARCHITRAVES ON THE NORTHERN SIDE

As expected, two additional rows of columns were also added to the northern side of the courtyard. This is evidenced by fragments of two architraves that show clear traces of modifications to their decoration.

FINAL FRAGMENT OF ARCHITRAVE A11

This is a small fragment from the end of a text (*dt*), executed in sunken relief, showing traces of deep chiseling [Fig. 21:a].

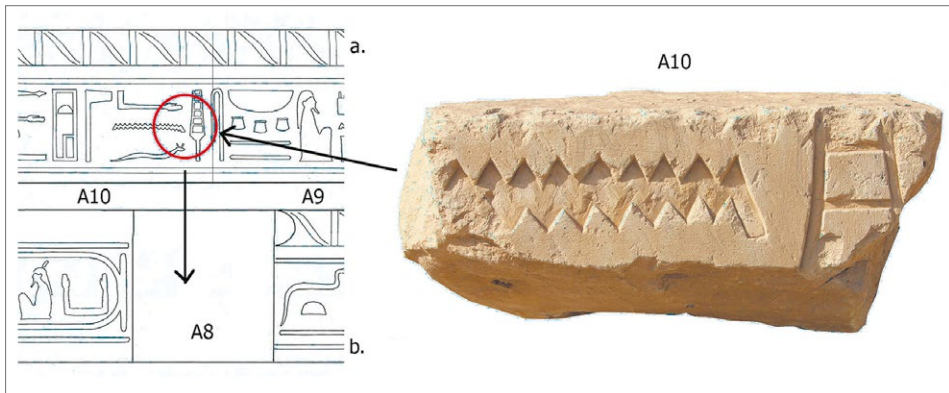


Fig. 19. A10 fragment with smooth background and finely carved hieroglyphs, likely part of the original decoration. This piece was probably cut away during seating preparation for A8 (Photo and graphics A. Kwaśnica)

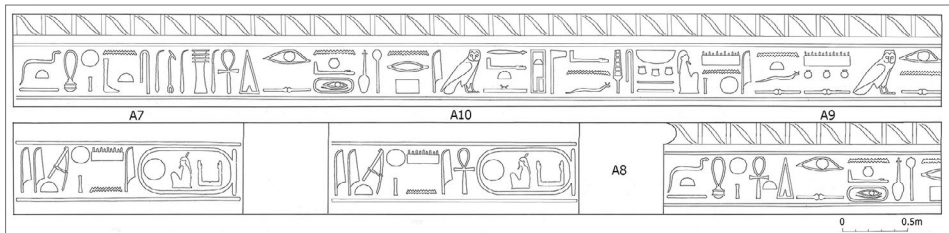


Fig. 20. Reconstruction of inscriptions on the final three architraves in the southern part of the western row: top – original sunken relief; bottom – modified decoration after the addition of two column rows (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

The text was oriented in the opposite direction from the previously discussed fragments, indicating that it originated from the northern side.

The surface of the architrave was completely cut down, including the upper decorative band, as evidenced by the uneven background texture and a protruding, uncut section on the right [see *Fig. 21:a*, marked with an arrow]. Typically, modifications made by Thutmose III involved the removal of feminine endings, replacing them with masculine forms referring to Thutmose II. However, in this case, the complete removal of the surface—including *dt*—indicates a total reworking of the final part of the text. The only plausible location for this architrave was the northwestern corner of the courtyard [see *Fig. 16*].

FRAGMENT A12

This architrave fragment preserves a slanted side surface, indicating that it was connected on the right side to a perpendicular architrave. The front face shows evidence of decoration modification. Deep chiseling of the original surface is evident from the protruding edge of the slanted side and the poor quality of both the background and the newly inscribed text [*Fig. 21:b*].

The preserved portion (*mrt*) represents the ending of a short inscription that originally appeared on an architrave positioned between two perpendicular rows. This text was analogous to those previously discussed on architraves A1, A3, A7, and A10.

The distinctive shape of the protruding side surface on the right [*Fig. 21:b*]

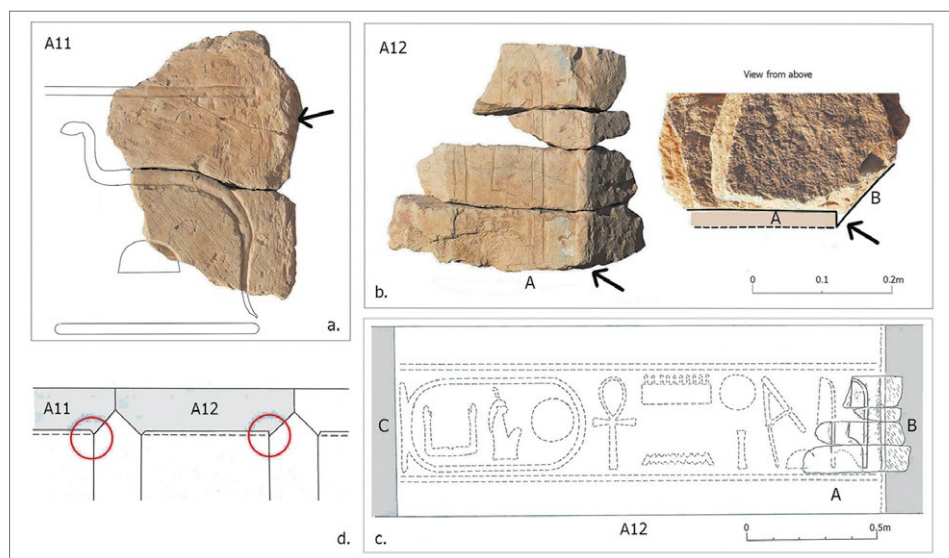


Fig. 21. Fragments of A11 and A12: a – arrow indicates an uncarved protruding section on A11. The uneven background surface further indicates secondary re-carving. (Photo and graphics A. Kwaśnica); b – A12 was cut down approximately 0.03 m. The entire surface (not just Amun’s name) was altered, suggesting a complete change from sunken to raised relief. A – secondary face; B, C – side faces for added perpendicular architraves (Photo and graphics A. Kwaśnica); c – reconstruction of A12 inscriptions; d – fragment of the courtyard plan indicating places shown in a and b (Plate A. Kwaśnica)

leaves no doubt that the architrave was reworked. The depth of the chiseling (approximately 0.03 m) suggests that the original text was executed in sunken relief. This fragment likely belonged to an architrave located immediately to the right of architrave A11 [Fig. 21:d].

ARCHITRAVES FROM THE CENTRAL SECTION OF THE WESTERN ROW

Further key information was provided by architraves A13 and A14 [Fig. 22], which preserve fragments of Hatshepsut's names later replaced with those of Thutmose II.

On fragment A13, remnants of Hatshepsut's third name have been preserved, while A14 retains traces of *nswt bjtj*, originally inscribed elsewhere, along with the queen's fourth name [marked in red in Fig. 22].

The reconstruction of the text confirms that all four of the queen's early names were originally present, indicating that the decoration of the earliest architraves was completed shortly before or just after her coronation in Year 7. These architraves were directly connected to the central architrave, positioned to their left [see Fig. 9:a].



Fig. 22. Architraves from the central section (A13, A14); a – text after Hatshepsut's names were removed by Thutmose III; b: original text. At the junction of A13 and A14, fragments of the earlier text (marked in red) were preserved, allowing for the reconstruction of Hatshepsut's third name at this location (Photo A13 A. Kwaśnica, photo A14 M. Jawornicki, reconstruction and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

SUMMARY

The preserved fragments of architraves from the outer row along the western wall leave no doubt that the original decoration of this row was shortened on both ends. In areas where inscriptions were erased, short texts were added, each fitting within a single architrave. This leads to the following conclusions:

- The outer western row was originally decorated with sunken relief along its entire length. At that time, the southern and northern walls of the courtyard had not yet been decorated;²⁶ decoration was

applied only after the lateral rows of columns were added.

- Hatshepsut was already using her full royal titulary, indicating that this version of the courtyard should be associated with her coronation in Year 7.
- The new rows of columns in front of the southern and northern walls were added later, as part of a major reconstruction of the Upper Courtyard that took place a few years after Hatshepsut's coronation.

ARCHITRAVES FROM THE INNER ROWS

The two inner rows formed a single line of columns and architraves, separated by transverse architraves flanking the entrance to the Sanctuary [see *Fig. 9*]. The decoration on both sides of these architraves was executed in raised relief. Due to the limited surface area available,²⁷ it can be inferred that these architraves conveyed the most significant messages that Hatshepsut intended to communicate to the gods and the select individuals granted access to the Upper Courtyard.

Three reconstructed texts addressed the following themes:

- A dedication to Amun, referring to the construction of the temple (eastern side of the northern row).
- The Heb-Sed festival (*hb-sd*),²⁸ linked to the queen's names and associated with the names of Thutmose III and Thutmose II (both sides of the architraves in the southern row).

Particular attention should be given to the unusual arrangement of texts concerning Thutmose II and Thutmose III. Typically, on decorative bands of architraves, texts referring to Hatshepsut were placed on one side, while those

26 No evidence of earlier decoration executed in sunken relief has been found on the southern or northern courtyard walls.

27 A total of 14 architraves were present, each decorated on both sides.

28 The Heb-Sed was one of the oldest royal festivals in ancient Egypt, celebrated after 30 years of reign and subsequently repeated every three years. These decorations, therefore, were not related to the actual celebration of the festival by any of the three rulers.

concerning Thutmose III appeared on the opposite side.²⁹ However, in this case, a different principle was applied:

- Opposite the texts referring to Hatshepsut, inscriptions mentioned both Thutmose II and Thutmose III together.

- Such a combined representation of royal names had not been previously observed in any other depictions at Deir el-Bahari.
- This arrangement applies exclusively to the original decoration of the architraves and not to the later

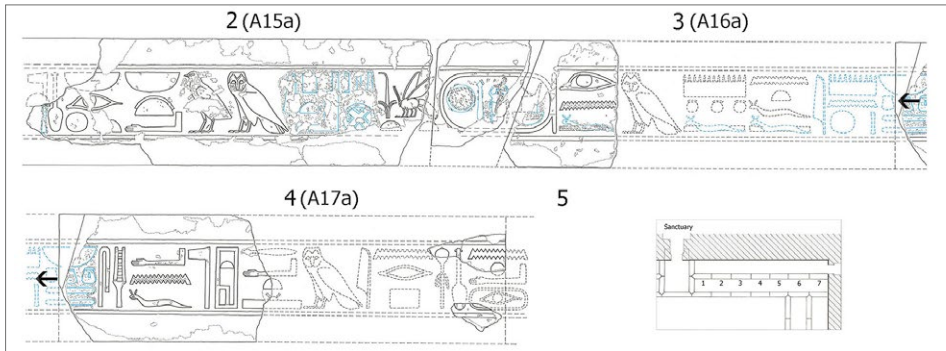


Fig. 23. Inner row on the northern side. The inscription refers to Hatshepsut, whose fourth name was replaced with that of Thutmose II. The text is a dedication related to the construction of the temple. (Reconstruction and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

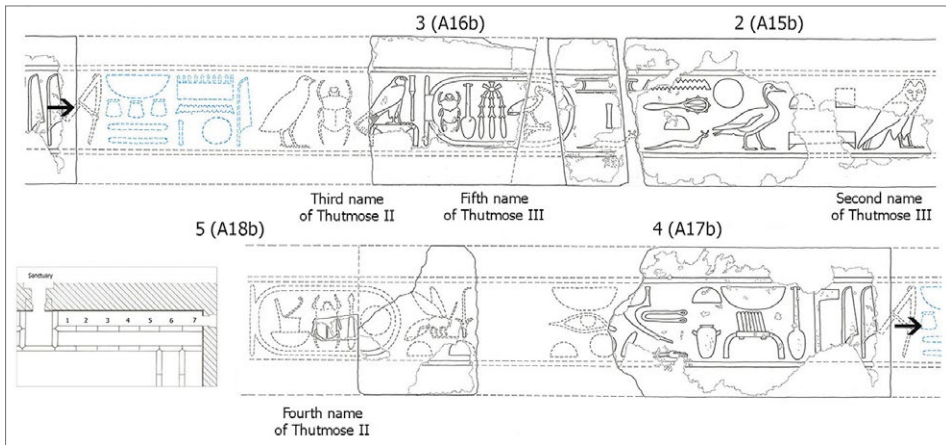


Fig. 24. Inner row on the northern side. The names of Thutmose III and Thutmose II were placed on the side of the architrave facing the western wall (Reconstruction and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

29 In certain instances, inscriptions dedicated to Hatshepsut may have adorned both faces of an architrave. By contrast, the decoration of architraves in the porticos followed a distinct pattern, determined by their continuous and linear architectural arrangement. In these extended sequences, the names of Thutmose III appear after those of Hatshepsut. The same principle — namely, placing Thutmose III's name after that of Hatshepsut— was applied in the decoration of the additional third row of columns in the courtyard.

modifications introduced during Thutmose III's sole reign.

The same pattern was maintained across both inner rows:

- On the western side of the architraves, the text referenced Thutmose II and Thutmose III.
- On the eastern side, facing the entrance to the courtyard, the text referred to Hatshepsut.

A large number of architrave fragments from these rows have been preserved. One of their distinctive features is the exceptionally high quality of the reliefs.

DECORATION FROM THE NORTHERN ROW

In the northern row, the decoration on the eastern side depicts Hatshepsut dedicating the temple to Amun [Fig. 23]. The reconstructed text on five of the seven architraves in this row appears to have had a more elaborate conclusion than the dedicatory inscriptions previously discussed on architraves A7, A9,

and A10. It is likely that this section included Hatshepsut's fifth name, similar to how Thutmose III's fifth name was incorporated into architraves with comparable themes in the Akhmenu Temple at Karnak (Pécoil 2001: Pls 100, 104, 108). Three large fragments containing Hatshepsut's fifth name, oriented to the left, have been preserved, strongly suggesting that one of them belonged to the final part of this text.

On the western side, the names of Thutmose III and Thutmose II were combined into a single inscription spanning the first four architraves [Fig. 24]. The sequence of names follows this order:

1. First name of Thutmose III;³⁰
2. Second name of Thutmose III;
3. Fifth name of Thutmose III, without any additional hieroglyphic signs;
4. Third name of Thutmose II;
5. Fourth name of Thutmose II.

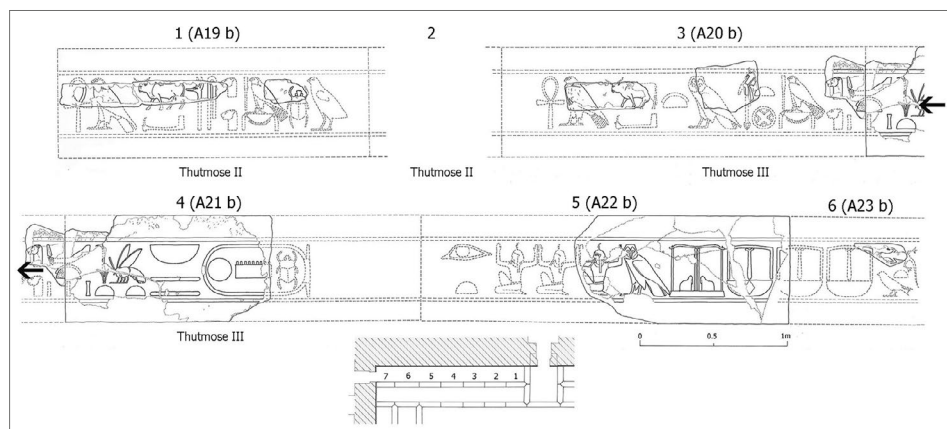


Fig. 25. Southern fragment of the inner row. Reconstruction of the later text referring to Thutmose III (blue lines). Below: reconstruction of the original text (black lines), referring to Hatshepsut and the Heb-Sed festival (Reconstruction and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

30 Two small fragments of this architrave have survived.

In total, five names are present, progressing from first to fifth, though they belong to two different pharaohs. The content following these names has not yet been determined. However, the inscription does not appear to have been extensive, as it spanned only two architraves, the last of which likely contained standard closing formulas. This sequence pertains to architraves A15, A16, A17, and A18.

DECORATION FROM THE SOUTHERN ROW

The decoration on the architraves on the southern side referenced the Heb-Sed festival on both faces [see *Figs 20, 23*]. On the eastern side, visible to a person walking toward the Sanctuary, the inscriptions referred to Hatshepsut [*Fig. 25*]. On the opposite (western) side, the decoration referenced Thutmose II and Thutmose III [*Fig. 26*].

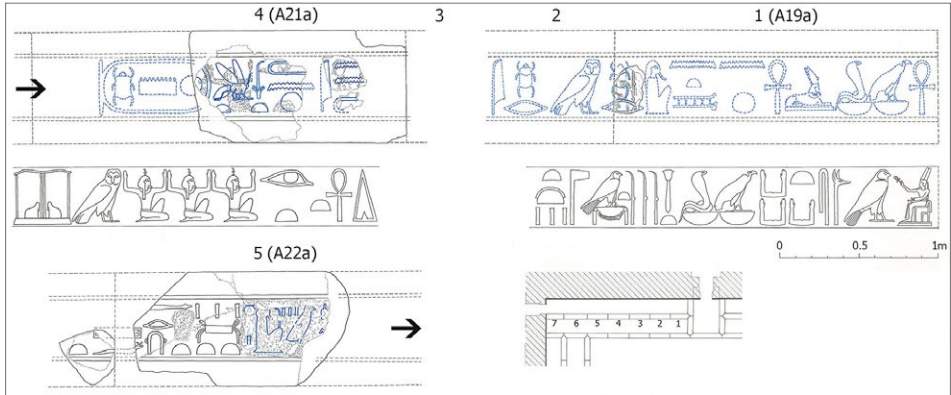


Fig. 26. Inner row on the southern side. The first four architraves bore the names of Thutmose II and Thutmose III. The remaining architraves referenced the Heb-Sed festival (Reconstruction and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

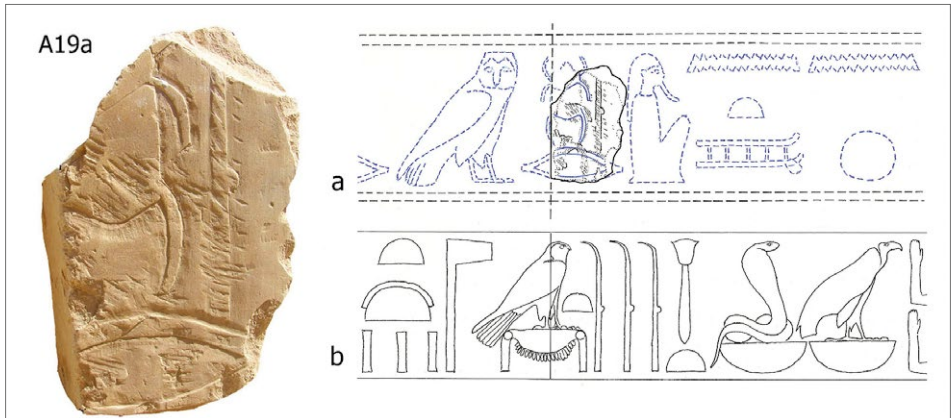


Fig. 27. Small fragment of architrave A19a. Visible remains of the original text that was cut away, including the end of Hatshepsut's second and the beginning of her third name (b). The new inscription (blue in the drawing) contains part of Thutmose III's second name (a) (Photo, reconstruction, and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

At a later stage, the texts related to Hatshepsut were completely erased and replaced with new inscriptions about Thutmose III. The reasoning behind this alteration is clear: since the western side of these architraves already contained inscriptions about Thutmose III and Thutmose II's participation in the festival, there was no need to retain a similar text on the eastern side. After Hatshepsut's names were erased, one of these two rulers had to be represented again [Fig. 27].

A small fragment from the end of the first architrave was crucial for the reconstruction [see Fig. 27]. This fragment preserves:

- Traces of the erased second and third names of Hatshepsut.

- A secondary inscription containing part of Thutmose III's second name.³¹

If the inscription on this architrave originally began with three of Hatshepsut's names, the third would have been positioned at the junction of the first and second architraves. This assumption is based on the amount of space occupied by the first and second names [see Fig. 26, A19a].

The sequence of father and son's names was determined based on architraves A20 and A21:

- One side contains the first, third, and fourth names of Thutmose III (A20b, A21b).
- The opposite side of the same architraves features traces of an

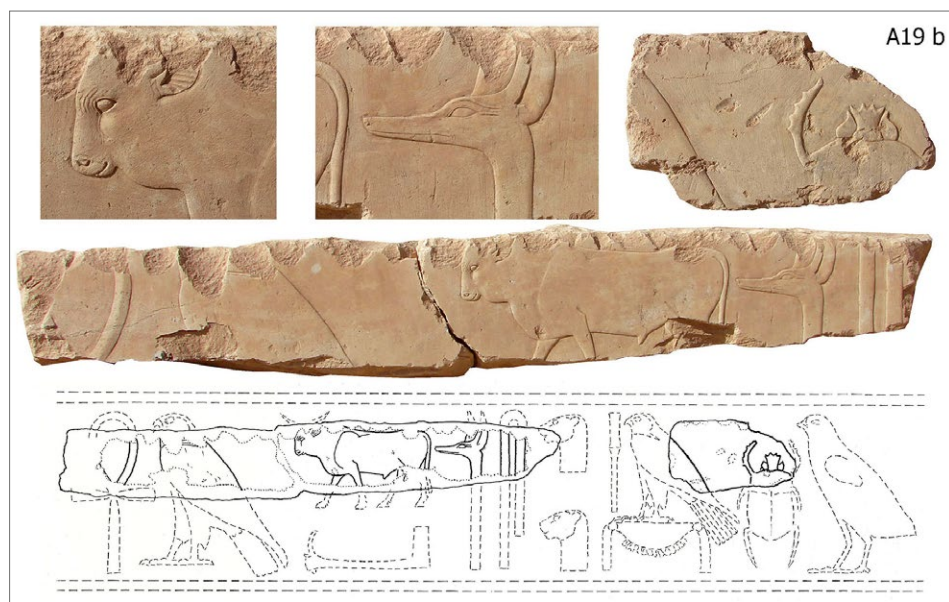


Fig. 28. Fragments of architrave A19b. The text begins with the first and third names of Thutmose II. This is the original decoration, unaltered and executed in high-quality relief (Photo and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

31 This is the only known instance within the Upper Courtyard where Hatshepsut's names were replaced by those of Thutmose III. In all other cases, her names were either substituted with those of Thutmose II or completely erased.

erased Heb-Sed text concerning Hatshepsut [Fig. 30].

If the original text had started with Thutmose III's names, there would not have been enough space to include Hat-

shepsut's names before the festival-related text on the opposite side. Therefore, the only plausible reconstruction is to place Thutmose II's names at the beginning of the inscription [see Figs 25, 26].

ARRANGEMENT OF COLUMNS ON THE MODULAR ARCHITECTURAL GRID

A partial reconstruction of the decoration on architraves A7–A23 allowed for a more precise determination of their dimensions and, in some cases, an estimation of their length. This, in turn, enabled the reconstruction of the spacing between the columns that supported these architraves.

Until recently, the only confirmed information regarding column spacing in

the courtyard came from the bases of four columns located in the Ptolemaic Portico, directly in front of the Main Sanctuary of Amun [see Fig. 11]. From this, it was possible to determine the distance between the axes of the first and second rows of columns, which measured 2.4 m. This dimension was confirmed by the decoration on the southern wall. In the reconstructed upper section of this wall,

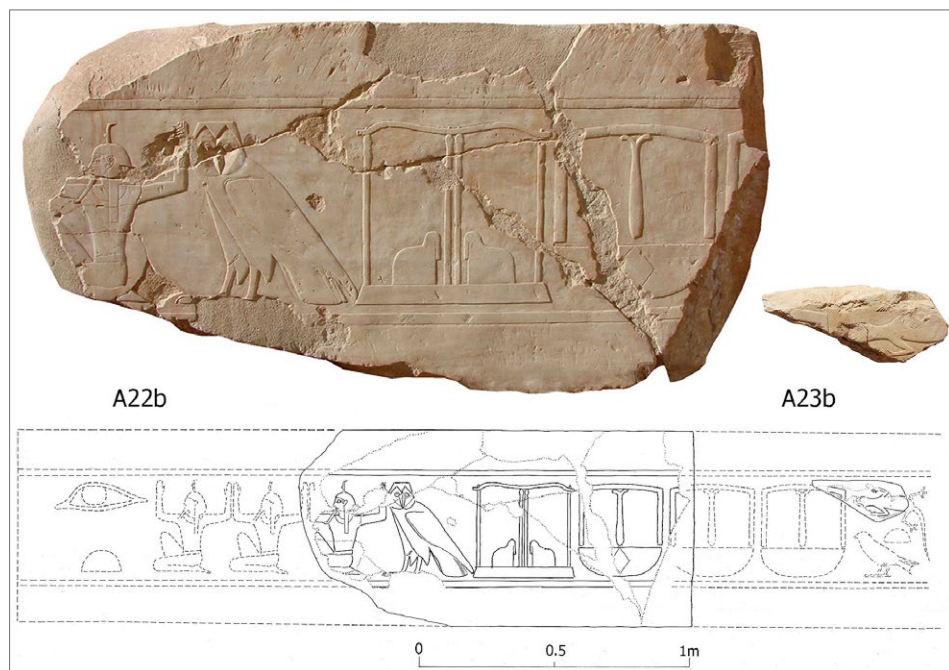


Fig. 29. Fragment of decoration related to the Heb-Sed festival (A22b, A23b), from the inner row on the southern side (Photo and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

the locations of two architrave sockets were precisely identified [Fig. 31]. These sockets were spaced at the same distance as the column bases in the Ptolemaic Portico.

This 2.4 m spacing aligned with the modular architectural grid system used in the construction of this section of the temple (see Połoczanin 1985: 63–67).

One module of the grid was a square measuring 1.5 royal cubits (2.4 m × 2.4 m). Both the niches in the western wall and the four column bases from the Ptolemaic Portico conformed to this grid layout. Theoretically, one might assume that all columns and niches were arranged at equal distances, following a square plan.

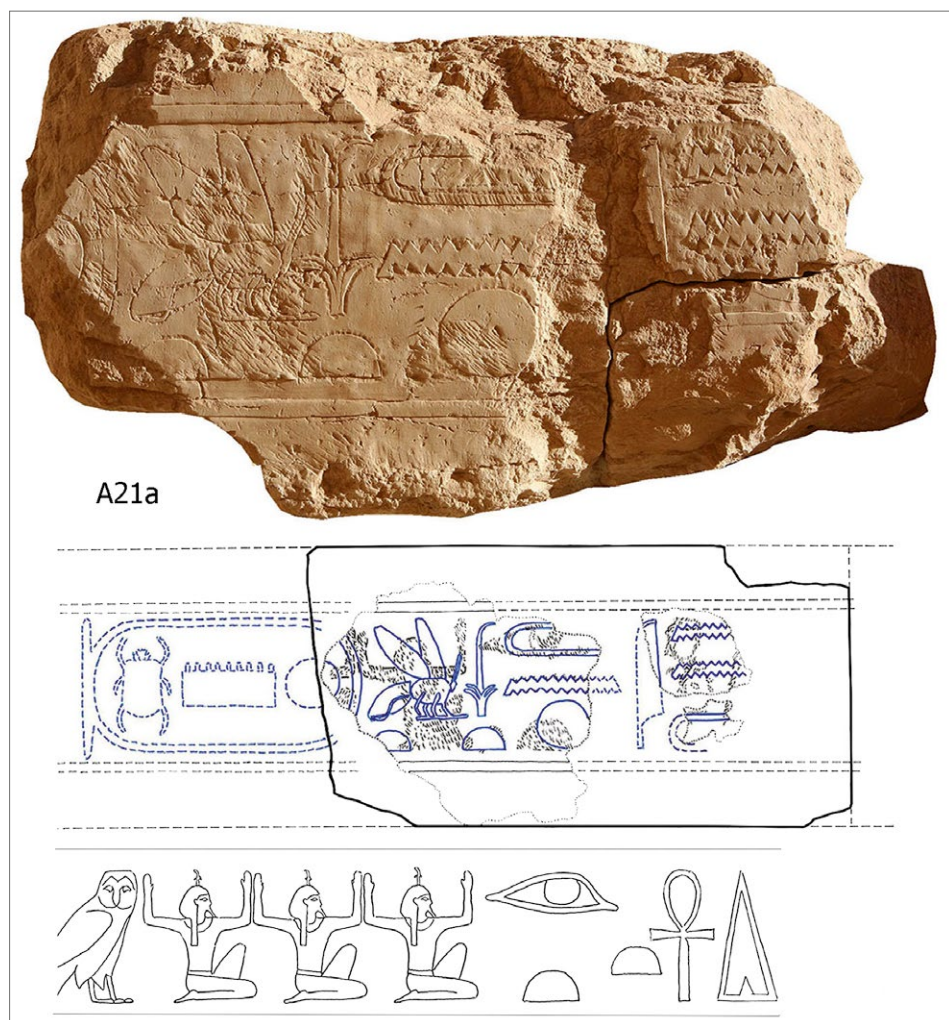


Fig. 30. Details of the decoration on architrave A21a. Erasures of the original Heb-Sed festival text are visible. The secondary inscription includes epithets and the beginning of Thutmose III's fourth name, as reconstructed from adjacent architraves [see Fig. 25] (Photo and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

However, the reconstruction of the architraves partially challenges this assumption. In the east–west direction, the columns aligned with the modular grid, maintaining a consistent 2.4 m spacing along their axes. In the north–south direction, however, the grid was applied only to the first four columns on either side of the Sanctuary entrance. These initial columns in each row adhered to a square

arrangement, while the subsequent columns were spaced slightly farther apart, at approximately 2.6 m [Fig. 32]. This distance was confirmed by the measurements of the only fully preserved architrave from the courtyard, which flanked the entrance to the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex (A29).

As a result, the outermost columns on both sides of the courtyard did not align with the niches — a fact previously

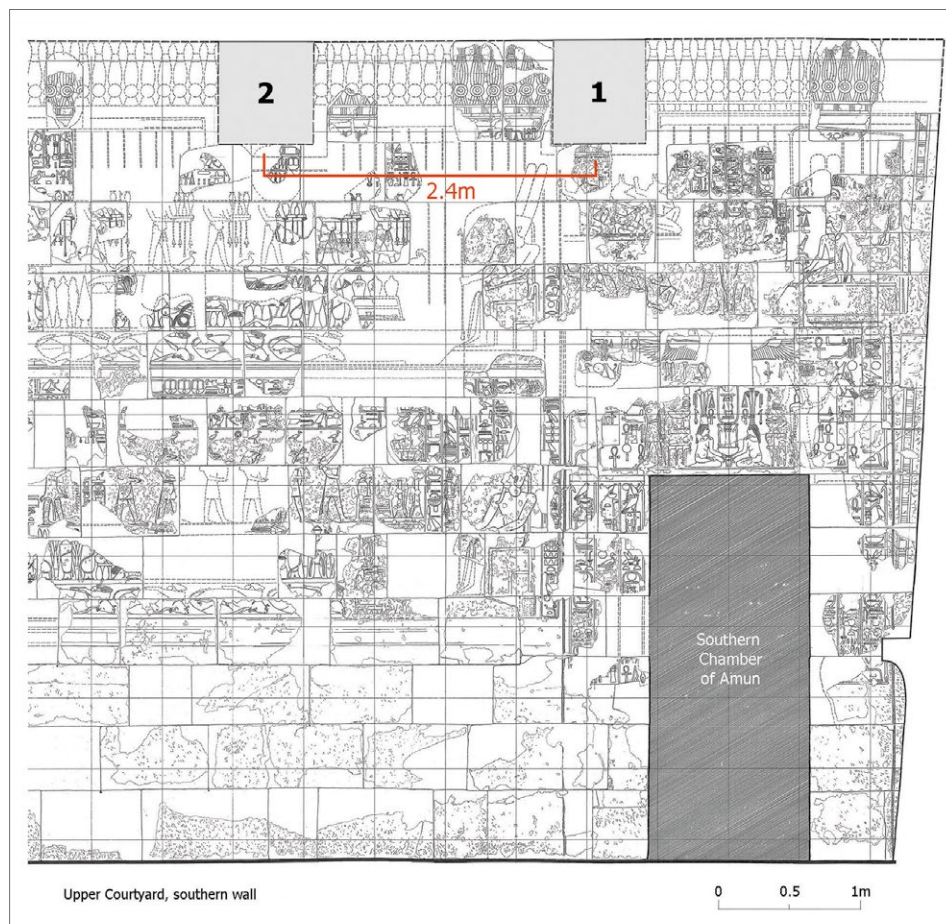


Fig. 31. Southern wall, western section. Points 1 and 2 mark the locations where architraves were inserted into the wall. The 2.4 m distance between column rows matches the spacing in front of the sanctuary entrance and conforms to the modular grid defined by Połoczanin (Block selection and documentation J. Karkowski; reconstruction and drawing A. Kwaśnica [1988]).

noted by Clarke in his report.³² The likely reason for this deviation was the need for a wider passageway leading to the chapels in the courtyard corners. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the columns flanking the entrance to the royal complex were spaced 2.65 m apart. Since this wider passage facilitated easy access to the Offering Hall of Hatshepsut, where offerings were presented, it would also have ensured

convenient access to the chapels in the courtyard corners.

It can therefore be concluded that, in the earliest phase of construction, the two oldest rows of columns were positioned using a module of 1.5×1.5 royal cubits. However, practical considerations related to facilitating access to the chapels led to adjustments that extended beyond the rigid framework of the modular grid.

DECORATIONS ON COLUMN PANELS

Given the two types of decoration found on the external column panels

(Nile deities and *rekhyts*), it is clear that the earliest columns were adorned

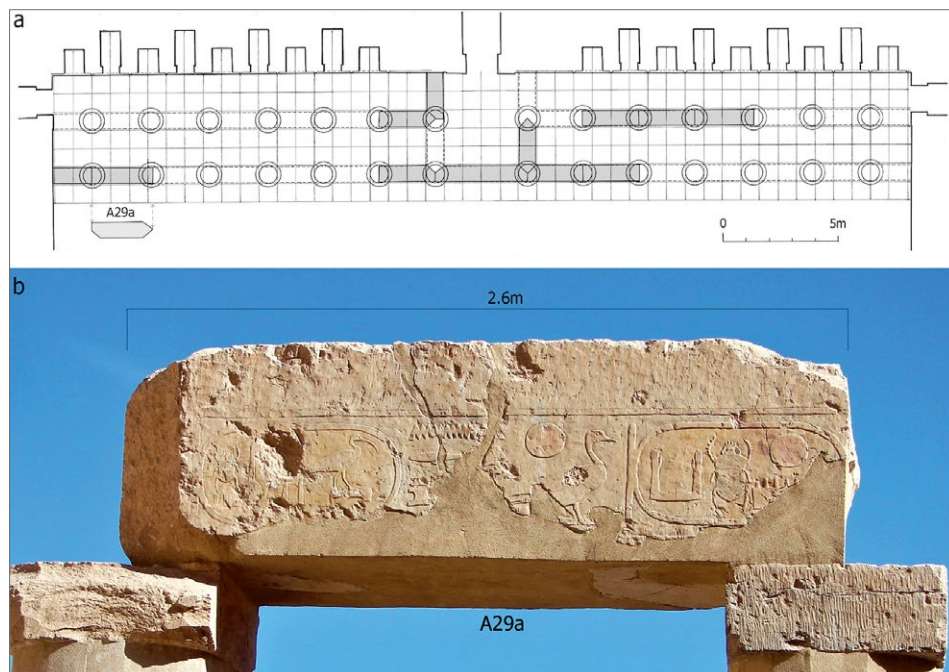


Fig. 32. a - Column arrangement based on the modular grid and reconstructed architrave lengths; b - The outermost columns on the northern and southern sides were spaced farther apart than the others. This is confirmed by the dimensions of the fully preserved architrave A29, which flanked the entrance to the Royal Complex (Photo and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

32 Clarke initially assumed that the column layout corresponded to the positioning of the tall niches. When this proved not to be the case, he concluded that there was no relationship between the columns and the niches along the western wall (Neville 1906: 25).

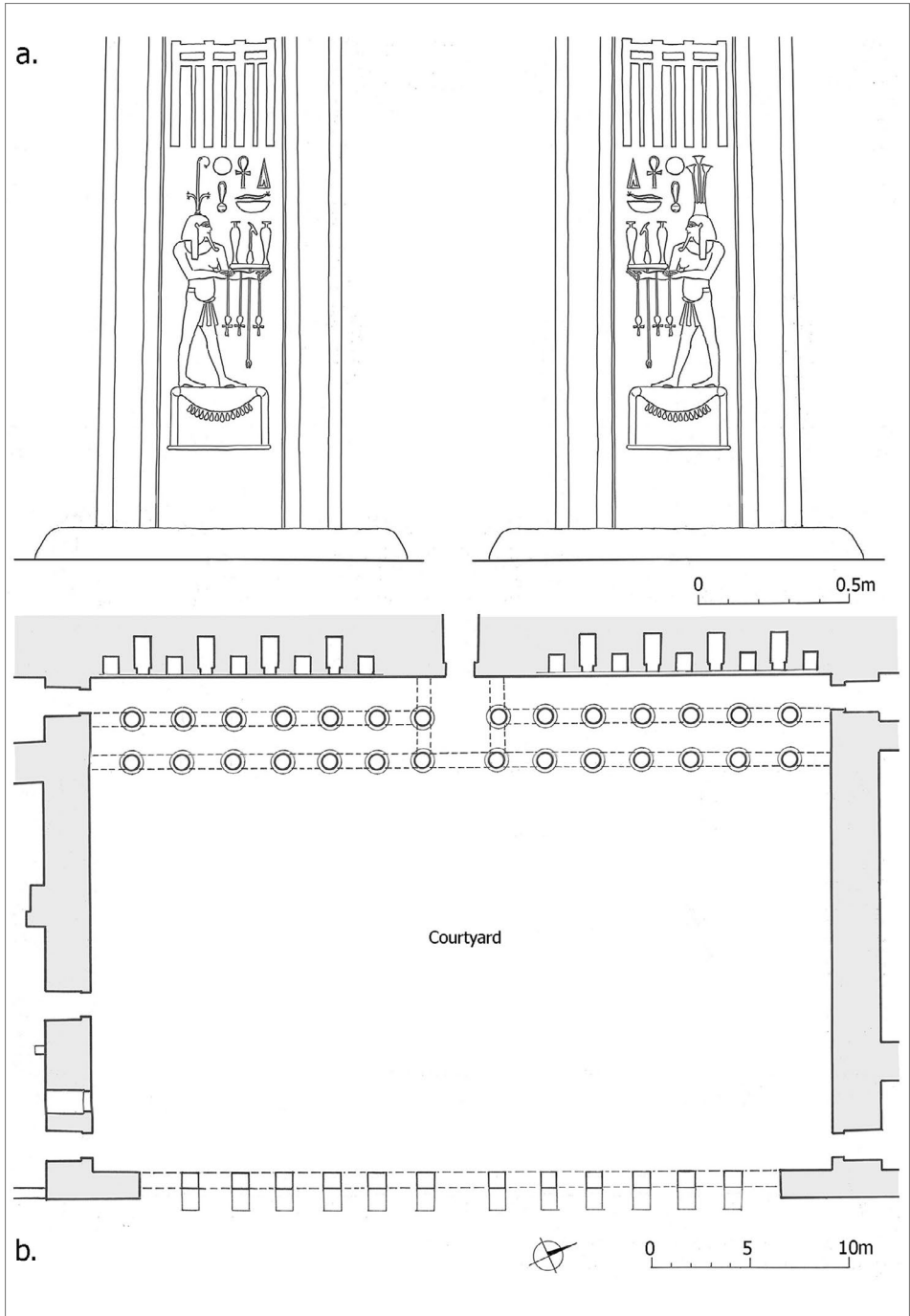


Fig. 33. Column arrangement in the courtyard: a – lower section of the decorative panels on the outer columns. Nile deities representing Upper and Lower Egypt face the temple’s compositional axis. b – plan of the courtyard (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

with depictions of Nile deities. As demonstrated by the analyses above, the texts on the architraves were oriented toward the central axis of the courtyard, and the figures and hieroglyphic inscriptions on the column panels had to follow the same orientation. As a result:

- Symbols of Upper Egypt were placed in the southern wing.
- Symbols of Lower Egypt were placed in the northern wing [Fig. 33:a].

These findings are consistent with the reconstruction proposed by Wysocki and Karkowski.

COURTYARD EXPANSION

The original layout of the courtyard, which featured only two rows of columns, underwent a significant transformation after several years. A new design was introduced, adding two additional rows of columns along the remaining walls. This alteration was undoubtedly linked to a change in the function of the Sanctuary — specifically, the conversion of its first room into the Bark Hall. As part of the reconstruction, the niches originally located there were dismantled and relocated, as their iconographic content conflicted with the new space's purpose. This required the dismantling of the southern and northern walls down to the first course (Kwaśnica 2023: 195–197, Fig. 27).

After the reconstruction, the courtyard became a “festival courtyard” (Gabolde 1993: 56–61; Iwaszczuk 2017: 95). The festive ceremonies held there — associated with the visits of Amun's bark from Karnak — were depicted in the decoration of the eastern and northern walls. Previously, the side walls of the courtyard (southern and northern) were undecorated, and there was no eastern wall at all (Wysocki 1992: 236, Fig. 1; Kwaśnica in preparation a). The realization of this project began with the addition of two rows of columns along the southern and northern walls. The initiation

of these works likely took place around the 9th or 10th regnal year of Thutmose III. This date is supported by two premises:

- It can be assumed that the decoration of the first architraves and the earliest wall decorations in the temple occurred around the same time. The dating of the earliest wall decorations is linked to depictions of Hatshepsut. There is no doubt that her official image evolved from purely feminine iconography to a distinctly masculine representation (Laboury 2014: 50). In these earliest depictions, Hatshepsut's body — with anatomical features suggesting femininity — was painted in a yellow or pink-ochre hue: an intermediate tone between the traditional yellow used for women and the red used for men (Ćwiek 2007: 24–27). Similar characteristics appear in the earliest Osirides and statues (Tefnin 1979: 37–43, 49–70, 139–146; Laboury 2014: 80–83). Laboury (2014: 85), who thoroughly analyzed the transformation of Hatshepsut's image, asserts that her rapid metamorphosis and full masculinization occurred in Year 8 of Thutmose III's reign. Based on

- The temple reconstruction project was most likely initiated around Year 9, prior to the expedition to Punt. Supporting evidence includes the trees brought back from Punt, which were depicted in the decoration of the Punt Portico. These trees were probably intended for the gardens at Karnak but were also likely incorporated into the landscape design of the Lower Terrace of the “new temple”.³⁴ It is plausible that they were first planted in the gardens at Karnak, as the Lower Terrace at Deir el-Bahari was not yet prepared. Construction work on this ter-

race began later, as indicated by the fact that the mudbrick temple of Amenhotep I still occupied the site and the construction of the ramps did not begin before Year 10.³⁵

The entire eastern side of the courtyard was completely rebuilt. Previously, it featured only two short walls, each about two meters long,³⁶ with a row of pillars between them [Fig. 33:b]. The new plan aimed to enclose the courtyard fully: a new wall was constructed in place of the pillars, featuring a centrally positioned granite portal. In front of this wall, two rows of columns were added, completing the eastern colonnade of the Upper Courtyard.

PROBLEMS WITH THE ARRANGEMENT OF COLUMNS

During the placement of columns in front of the southern wall, an unusual problem arose concerning the alignment of the pathway leading to the portal located in the central section of the wall. Behind this portal was a storage area that, following the temple’s expansion, was transformed into the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex. Such an important area required a wide, convenient, and ceremonial approach.

The issue was that the positioning of the portal and the window to the ritual slaughterhouse (the co-called “Room with a Window”) made it impossible to apply the standard 1.5 × 1.5-cubit grid. If the columns had been arranged according to the previously used module — with 2.4 m between their axes— the fifth column from the west would have ended up directly in the passageway leading

34 Clarke also described the discovery of two tree roots —*Persea (Mimusops schimperi)* of Abyssinia— on the lower terrace of the temple. These trees, native to Ethiopia and Somalia, likely originated from the expedition to Punt (Naville 1908: 19–20).

35 The temple of Amenhotep I, located on the site of the later lower ramp, was not dismantled before Year 10. This is evidenced by the stratigraphic context of bricks found in the Sen-en-Mut quarry (Dorman 1991: 84–85; Iwaszczuk 2016: 74) and by the use of bricks stamped with Amenhotep I’s name in the casing of foundation deposit Pit No. 9 (Winlock 1942: 89; Roehrig 2014: 153–154). As such, the gardens along the approach to the ramp could not have been laid out before Year 10.

36 These conclusions were first suggested by Wysocki and are corroborated by the author’s own research (Kwaśnica in preparation a). The difference is that Wysocki (1992: 235–236, Fig. 1) reconstructed a portico with columns on both sides of the wall, which the author rules out.

to the portal. A similar conflict would have occurred in the pathway leading to the window [Fig. 34:a]. Thus, the portal and the window precluded the regular spacing of columns according to the modular grid.

A compromise solution was therefore adopted, once again disrupting the principle of evenly spaced columns in the courtyard.

- First, the positions of the columns were adjusted to ensure a convenient passage to the royal complex, taking into account that the column bases were significantly wider than the columns themselves [see Fig. 34:a, variant C, Fig. 34:b, columns 6–7].
- Next, the 11-meter section between the column flanking the portal on the western side and the outermost column in the western row was divided into four equal parts. As a result, the average spacing between these columns was 2.75 m [see Figs 34:a, b].

The reconstruction of architraves bearing sunken-relief inscriptions confirmed this irregular spacing [Fig. 34:c]. Four architraves containing dedicatory texts³⁷ matched the column spacing of

2.75 m.³⁸ A similar design adjustment was made for the columns flanking the passage leading to the window of the ritual slaughter room.

As a result, the two rows of columns built in front of the southern and northern walls³⁹ represent a unique architectural solution in terms of spacing. According to standard practice, columns should be evenly spaced to produce a rhythmic and harmonious effect. In this case, however, each row of nine columns featured four different spacing intervals.

Additionally, the distance between the outer and inner rows in these sections (2.63 m) differed from the spacing between the rows built earlier in front of the western wall (2.4 m). Consequently, the southern and northern column rows did not form a unified structure with the western rows.

ARCHITECTURAL INTERPRETATION

The complications encountered by the architects during the expansion of the courtyard provide further evidence that the original design did not include columns along the side walls. This suggests that two different architectural plans for the central part of the temple were developed and ultimately executed.

37 The inscription was reconstructed by Karkowski (1983: 148–149).

38 The inscriptions on these architraves continue the narrative begun on architraves A1 and A2, located on the eastern side between columns 8 and 6, which refer to Thutmose I. An analysis of architectural and decorative solutions —emphasizing the second compositional axis formed during the temple's expansion— will be presented in an upcoming publication (Kwaśnica in preparation b).

39 The column arrangement along the northern wall must have mirrored that of the southern wall. This is indicated by the easternmost three columns, which had additional rows appended to them. Since these rows had to remain parallel to the eastern wall, the bases on both sides must have been arranged symmetrically.

THUTMOSE II ON THE ARCHITRAVES OF THE ADDED COLUMN ROWS

The reconstruction of architraves from the Upper Courtyard yielded another unexpected result: texts referring to Thutmose II were found not only on the two oldest rows of internal architraves but also on the architraves of the later-added rows, which were decorated around Years 10–12.

The same principle applied in front of the western wall was repeated. On the internal architraves, texts featuring the names of Thutmose III and Thutmose II were inscribed on the surfaces facing the walls [Fig. 35]. The names of father and son appeared in the two eastern rows and in the northern row, so that, in the final ar-

range, architraves bearing the name of Thutmose II surrounded the Upper Courtyard on three sides. Neither Thutmose II nor Thutmose III appeared in the decoration in front of the southern wall. Instead, on both sides of the architraves, the names of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I were inscribed — possibly due to the proximity of their mortuary chapels.

Even more intriguing is the fact that Hatshepsut placed the name of Thutmose II on the most recently decorated architrave, located in an additional third row on the eastern side [Fig. 36]. In the decoration executed in sunken relief and facing the court-

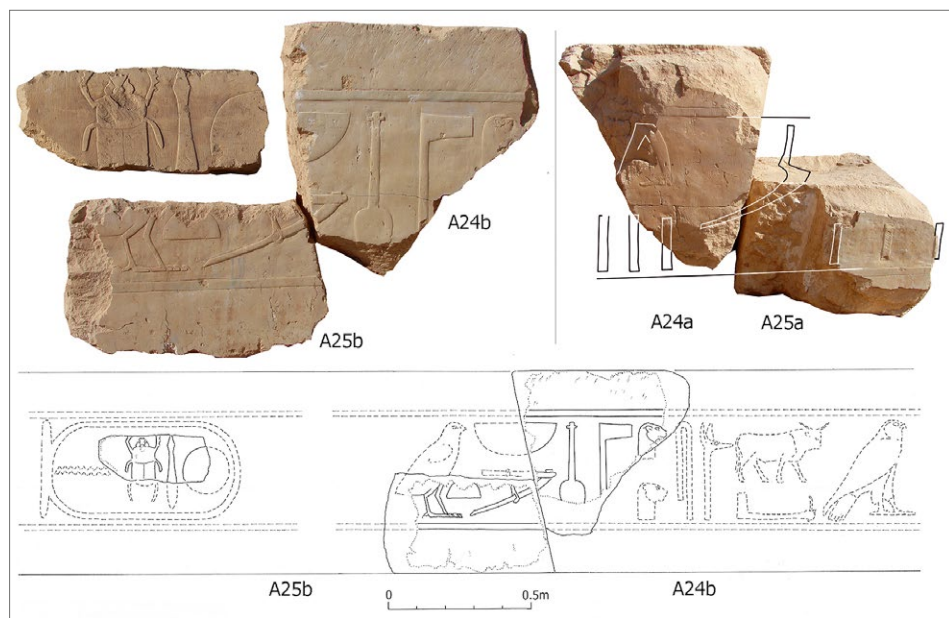


Fig. 35. The first and fourth original names of Thutmose II on architraves A24 and A25. The decoration on the opposite side shows that these architraves were the third and fourth in the inner row, counting from the beginning of the text. The two preceding architraves bore the names and titles of Thutmose III, while the opposite side referred to Hatshepsut, whose names occupied the first two architraves. Thus, this side (A24a, A25a) likely faced the courtyard or its entrance. These architraves most likely belonged to the northern row (Reconstruction, drawing, and photo A. Kwaśnica).

yard, the fourth name of Thutmose II was inscribed.⁴⁰ This suggests that, despite the passage of time,⁴¹ Hatshepsut still believed that Thutmose II's name should be present on the courtyard architraves. Nowhere else in the temple complex, outside the Upper Courtyard, does the name of Thutmose II appear on any other architraves.

The repeated placement of Thutmose II's name on the courtyard architraves has no parallel in the wall decorations. Depictions of Thutmose II appear in only four locations, all of which are confined to the Upper Terrace. However, his presence in these representations is not particularly distinguished.⁴²



Fig. 36. Original inscription referring to Thutmose II from an outer architrave. This cannot belong to the initial phase of construction, when it would have been placed behind Hatshepsut's names in the western row. This is contradicted by the later decoration on A14, added under Thutmose III. Since Hatshepsut's fourth name was replaced by that of Thutmose II, the adjacent cartouche could not have been his original fourth name. Therefore, this inscription must have come from the added column row, most likely from architrave A26a [see Fig. 37] (Photo and drawing A. Kwaśnica)

40 A small fragment of Thutmose III's fourth name has also been preserved, which may likewise have originated from this location.

41 The additional row was constructed and decorated around Years 15–16, after the settling of the artificial platform in the southeastern corner of the courtyard had finished.

42 His seated figure before an offering table appears on the side walls of two niches in the western wall of the courtyard, alongside Thutmose I, Thutmose III, and Hatshepsut, who are depicted in the adjacent niches. There was a total of 16 such scenes, and Thutmose II appears in only two of them. A third example is a depiction in the Bark Hall, where all members of Hatshepsut's family—both living and deceased—are shown; thus, Thutmose II, as an important family member, was also included. Thutmose II's name also appears in a scene showing the ship of King Aa-kheper-en-Re (Thutmose II) crossing the Nile during the Djeser-Djeseru Festival (the Beautiful Festival of the Valley), in which Amun appears to establish the reign of his son, Thutmose III. (This scene is preserved on a group of blocks from the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Ägyptisches Museum). Nevertheless, none of these depictions places particular emphasis on the importance of Thutmose II.

Another object associated with Thutmose II and the temple at Deir el-Bahari is the ebony naos dedicated to Amun and Amun-Min (Navelle 1896: 2–7), probably made around Year 12 at the command of Hatshepsut. The naos was likely placed on the Upper Terrace, in the Northern Chamber of Amun — a space created following the expansion of the chapel and the relocation of the Anubis Shrine to the Middle Terrace (Kwaśnica 2025, in this volume).

For some reason, Hatshepsut ensured that her deceased husband could participate in the daily ritual ceremonies dedicated to Amun and Amun-Min at Deir el-Bahari.

Could the Upper Terrace, then, be the place where Hatshepsut —albeit to a limited extent— consistently commemorated her predecessor? Considering that Thutmose II does not appear anywhere else in the temple, this association seems plausible.

CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the preserved fragments of the architraves confirms the thesis that the Upper Courtyard underwent significant transformations a few years after the queen's coronation. On the architraves placed on columns originating from the first phase of the courtyard's construction, Hatshepsut used all five of her royal names, indicating that the courtyard in this form was designed for Hatshepsut as the crowned king of Egypt. The fact that the decoration was completed means that the project was fully realized.

At that time, the temple was located on the Upper Terrace,⁴³ with its central point being a courtyard featuring two rows of columns. As evidenced by the previously described issues with the alignment of columns along the southern wall, there were originally no plans to expand the courtyard. Research on the construction of the temple's walls, conducted in recent years, confirms that the temple was initially located on

a single level. The studies have shown that several decorated rooms, originally situated on the Upper Terrace, were dismantled and moved block by block to different locations. This applies to the Anubis Shrine, initially located in the northwestern part of the Upper Terrace, as well as to the niches that were once found in the first room of the Sanctuary.

These previously unrecognized stages of the temple's expansion demonstrate that the Lower Anubis Shrine (to which the Sanctuary and Niche were relocated; see Kwaśnica 2025, in this volume) and the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex (which received the niches from the southern wall of the Sanctuary; see Kwaśnica 2023) were not part of the temple's original plan.

Research conducted in the Lower Anubis Shrine shows that the relocation of the Sanctuary and Niche initiated the construction of the Middle Portico and the Northern Colonnade. It can therefore be stated that during

43 An exception is the Hathor Shrine, built at the same time as a separate structure located on a lower level.

the period when the Anubis Shrine was still functioning on the Upper Terrace, the Middle Terrace had not yet been constructed (Kwaśnica forthcoming a).

There is also no doubt that the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex was built only after the dismantling of the Sanctuary walls. This crucial part of the “new temple” was erected on previously undeveloped ground, following the creation of an artificial platform that extended the Upper Terrace to the south (Kwaśnica 2023: 175–178, Fig. 3). Similarly, the Upper Portico did not yet exist — it was constructed only after the completion of the eastern wall of the courtyard and the installation of the granite portal.

In conclusion, two distinct phases of the temple’s construction can be clearly identified: before Years 7–8, and after Year 9. Given the massive scale of changes that took place after Year 9, the second phase of construction can be interpreted as the creation of an entirely “new” temple of Hatshepsut.

A natural consequence of the above statements is the question of the foundation deposits. All the deposits were found on the Lower Terrace, an area that remained undeveloped while the temple of the crowned Hatshepsut was already functioning on the Upper Terrace (Winlock 1928: Fig. 29; Roehrig 2014: 151–153). These deposits had noth-

ing to do with the plan of the temple located on the Upper Terrace. Can it then be assumed that Hatshepsut, when planning the temple on the Upper Terrace, had already envisioned its future expansion to be carried out several years later? If that were the case, all parts of the temple would have been planned from the outset, and there would have been no need to relocate the rooms of the Anubis Shrine or to add the eastern wall of the courtyard to create the Upper Portico. Furthermore, the construction of the three-tiered temple would have begun with the central ramps and the shaping of the Lower and Middle Terraces during the initial site preparation phase, including rock cutting and debris removal. However, it is known that the ramps were built only after Year 10, following the removal of Amenhotep I’s mudbrick temple (see above).⁴⁴

Therefore, the foundation deposits mentioned above marked not the boundaries of the “first” temple, but of the “second” one, referring to the newly added section extending eastward.⁴⁵ From this, another conclusion may be drawn: the name *Dsr-dsrw* (Djeser Djeseru), found on many of the objects deposited in the foundation pits, may have referred to the new three-terraced temple, which also encompassed the older part.

44 The ramp that enabled construction and provided the only access to the “first temple” was built along the southern edge of the Middle Terrace, making use of the enclosure wall surrounding the temple of Mentuhotep II. It was dismantled during the construction of the Middle Terrace. To this day, it is mistakenly interpreted by researchers as a ramp leading exclusively to the Hathor Shrine; see Kwaśnica forthcoming b.

45 Similar conclusions had previously been drawn by Wysocki (1986; 1992), who argued that the construction of the Upper Terrace began during the reign of Thutmose II and that Hatshepsut’s foundation deposits would therefore relate to a later reconstruction of the temple.

Regarding the appearance of the name of the deceased Thutmose II in the temple, it should be noted that only one scarab bearing his fifth name was found in the foundation deposits (Roehrig 2014: 154, Fig. 8.12, N), along with one scarab inscribed with the name of Thutmose I. In contrast, 30 scarabs inscribed with the name of Thutmose III and 18 with the name of Hatshepsut's daughter, Neferure, were included — clearly emphasizing these two figures. This distinction was also reflected in the wall decorations, as only Thutmose III and Neferure (until her early death) were allowed to participate in ceremonies related to the cult of Amun alongside Hatshepsut (Pawlicki 2007: 117). In this context, the placement of Thutmose II's names on structural elements of the colonnade on the Upper Terrace, even during the temple's expansion, may indicate an intention to commemorate him — although this was limited to a specific part of the temple.

This thesis may be further supported by another observation. When, after Year 42, the images, names, and texts related to Hatshepsut were removed on the orders of Thutmose III, the process was not carried out randomly. It is likely that a specific pattern was followed. This is why, in the Lower and Middle Porticos, as well as the Hathor Shrine,⁴⁶ the Chapel

of Hatshepsut, and the Upper Anubis Shrine on the Upper Terrace, the figures and texts related to Hatshepsut were cut out and left in that state. However, on the remaining walls, everything referring to her was replaced with figures and texts related to Thutmose II.

The result was that anyone visiting the temple after Year 42 would encounter nameless porticos and chapels on the first two levels. In all scenes, the place where the king should have appeared was left empty, and Thutmose III was depicted only occasionally. It was only upon entering the Upper Courtyard that it became clear this was the temple of Thutmose II. The walls had been completely restored, leaving no visible sign of a change in kingship, as everything was covered with new plaster and polychromy. The scenes depicted ceremonies in which the owner of the temple — Thutmose II — was the central figure, while Thutmose III appeared only marginally.⁴⁷

This division aligns precisely with the distinction between the first temple and the later additions. Could it be that Thutmose III intended to leave untouched the section of the temple begun by his father, while the part associated with *Dsr-dsrw* was meant to remain anonymous, with only minimal traces of his own presence?⁴⁸

46 Apart from the walls of Hypostyle Halls I and II —where depictions of Hatshepsut were chiseled out and later restored with the names of Thutmose II— and the final room of the Hathor Shrine, where the original figures remain unaltered and only the cartouches were changed to those of Thutmose II.

47 A similar conclusion was reached by Wysocki (1992: 234) based on his research. He stated that the places where Hatshepsut's names were replaced with those of Thutmose II corresponded to the first phase of the temple's construction, which was carried out by Thutmose II.

48 Evidence for Thutmose II's building activity at Deir el-Bahari will be presented in an upcoming publication (Kwaśnica in preparation a).

APPENDIX

Placement of the analyzed architraves on the plan of the Upper Portico [see Fig. 37]. The numbering of the architraves corresponds to the order in which they are discussed in the publication.

The schematic shape of each architrave, along with the locations of the fragments under discussion, is illustrated in [Figs 38–40].

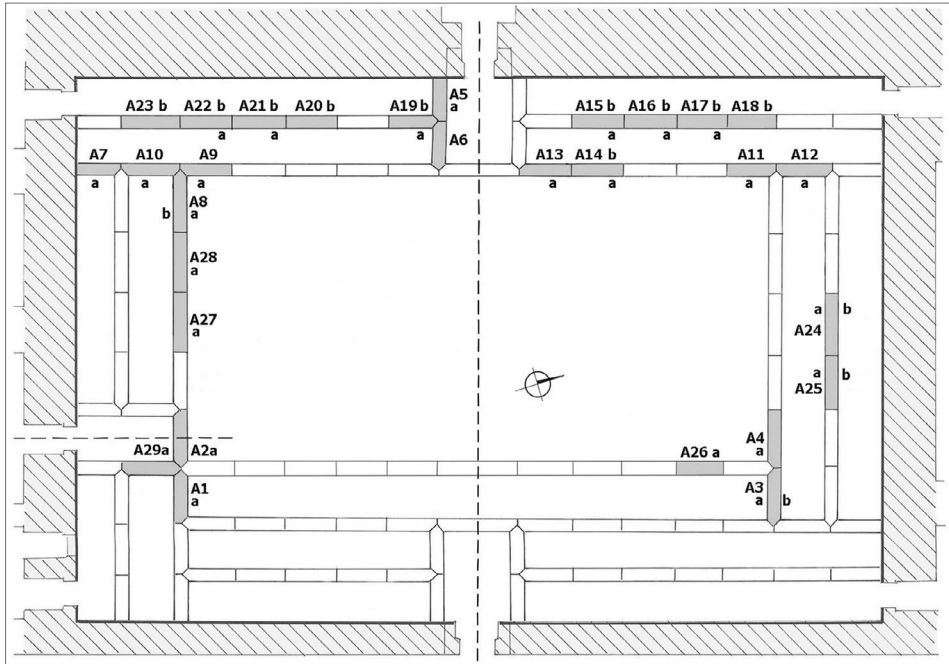
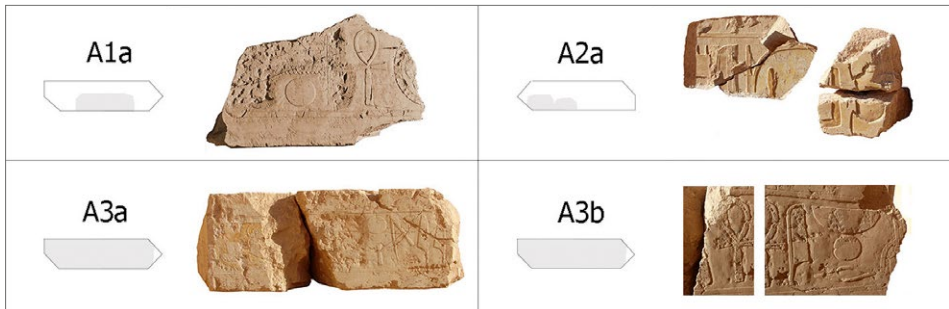


Fig. 37. Proposed placement of the architraves discussed in this publication. Also included are architraves A27, A28, and A29, which will be analyzed in a forthcoming study on the second compositional axis of the Upper Terrace (Kwaśnica in preparation b) (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)



Figs. 38. Overview architraves. To the left of each photograph: a schematic top view of the architrave, indicating the origin of the preserved fragment (Photos and graphics A. Kwaśnica)



Figs. 39. List of architraves. To the left of each photograph: a schematic top view of the architrave, indicating the origin of the preserved fragment (Photos of A14–A17a, M. Jawornicki; photos of A4–A13, 17b, and graphics A. Kwaśnica)

<p>A18b</p>  	<p>A20b</p>  
<p>A19a</p>  	<p>A19b</p>  
<p>A21a</p>  	<p>A21b</p>  
<p>A22a</p>  	<p>A22b</p>  
<p>A23b</p>  	<p>A26a</p>  
<p>A24a</p>  	<p>A24b</p>  
<p>A25a</p>  	<p>A25b</p>  
<p>A27a</p>  	<p>A28a</p>  
<p>A29a</p>  	

Fig. 40. List of architraves. To the left of each photograph: a schematic top view of the architrave, indicating the origin of the preserved fragment (Photos of A21b, A22, A29a, M. Jawornicki; photos A18b, A21b, A23b, A24–28 and graphics A. Kwaśnica)

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