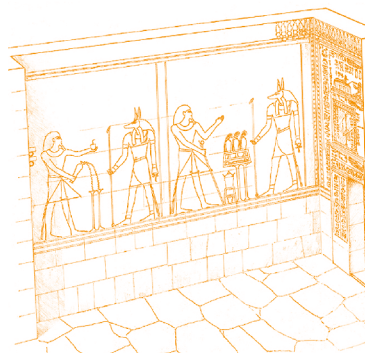


Dismantling, relocation, and reconstruction of the internal rooms of the Lower Anubis Shrine in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari



Abstract: The article seeks to address the cause of the significant structural damage observed in the walls of the two rearmost rooms of the Lower Anubis Shrine – namely, the Sanctuary and the Niche. Previously, this damage was attributed to the pressure exerted by the surrounding rock in the northern part of the temple’s Middle and Upper Terraces. However, recent research indicates that both rooms were relocated from another part of the temple during Hatshepsut’s reign. The process of dismantling and transporting the walls during this relocation appears to have caused serious damage to the blocks. The relocation of the Anubis Shrine was part of a grand plan to expand the temple, yet the reasoning behind its new location remains unclear.

Keywords: Anubis Shrine, non-standard wall constructions, temple expansion, room relocation, reused wall blocks

INTRODUCTION

LOCATION AND STATE OF PRESERVATION

The Lower Anubis Shrine is located on the northern edge of the Middle Terrace of the temple. As it stands today, it consists of four rooms: the Hypostyle Hall, Vestibule, Sanctuary, and Niche [*Figs 1, 2*].

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Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 34.1 | Kwaśnica 2025: 581–618

<https://doi.org/10.37343/uw.2083-537X.pam34.1.06>

received 9 December 2024 | received in revised form 23 January 2025 | accepted 9 March 2025 | available online 31 December 2025

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Acknowledgments

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Franciszek Pawlicki for his scholarly support – particularly in the field of Egyptology – throughout several years of research on the Anubis Complex. Our numerous discussions contributed significantly to shaping the final form of this study, which was ultimately divided into two parts due to the extensive analytical material involved. Given the importance of the discovery, it was necessary to analyse and document even the smallest pieces of evidence and suggestions that contributed to the formulation of the final conclusions. I would also like to thank Prof. Andrzej Niwiński and Dr. Zbigniew Szafrński, who, after reviewing both studies, confirmed the validity of the conclusions resulting from my analysis of the structural layout of the rooms of the Lower Anubis Shrine and supported my decision to publish these two, at first sight controversial, studies.

The classical façade of the first room of the Lower Anubis Shrine is a continuation of the elevation of the Northern Middle Portico and also serves as a symmetrical counterpart to the façade of the Hathor Shrine, which closes off the Middle Portico from the south. Further inside, aligned with the hypostyle axis, is the entrance to the next room — the Vestibule. This classical arrangement, typical of small sacred buildings (so-called Sanctuary Temples), was dictated by religious rituals and ceremonies, including daily rites and festival processions, performed within.

The next room, the Sanctuary, is not aligned with this same axis but is oriented perpendicular to it, toward the north.

The last and smallest room, the Niche, was also set perpendicular to the Sanctuary's axis and oriented westward.¹ All the rooms are constructed with limestone block walls, while only two lintels are made of sandstone.

The Lower Anubis Shrine is one of the few parts of Hatshepsut's temple where the stone structure has remained intact since pharaonic times. The excellent state of preservation of the shrine's structure can be considered a testament to the skill of its builders. The entire complex has survived largely because three of the rooms were carved into the rock, while the Hypostyle Hall was supported on three sides by rock walls lined with limestone blocks.² This method of construction survived all dis-



Fig. 1. Location of the Lower Anubis Shrine in the northern part of the Middle Terrace (Photo M. Jawornicki; processing A. Kwaśnica)

- 1 For descriptions of the rooms and their dimensions, see Iwaszczuk 2017: 85–87; see also Witkowski 1990: 377–390.
- 2 During Hatshepsut's reign, similar small rock-cut sacred structures were created at Beni Hassan, and during the reign of Thutmose III at Ellesiya and Gebel Doshia in Nubia; see Curto 1989: 72–74, Phot. 105.

asters related to earthquakes and tectonic shifts. The chapel remained buried under rubble and rock dust until 1893, when it was unearthed by Naville's expedition. Thanks to this, it also escaped damage from interventions and destruction caused by successors of the pharaohs who reused the Deir el-Bahari area in subsequent centuries.³ As a result, the richly decorated walls of the rooms and the colonnade of the Hypostyle Hall have remained *in situ*. The last known intervention was the restoration of the

decoration during the Ramesside period, when images of gods and texts related to Amun and other deities were re-carved following their destruction during Akhenaten's religious reforms. Earlier depictions of the queen and related texts had also been erased, as is well known, due to decisions of Thutmose III. However, despite this damage, the inscriptions from Hatshepsut's reign are still relatively legible. The uniqueness of these rooms lies not only in their iconographic program but, perhaps

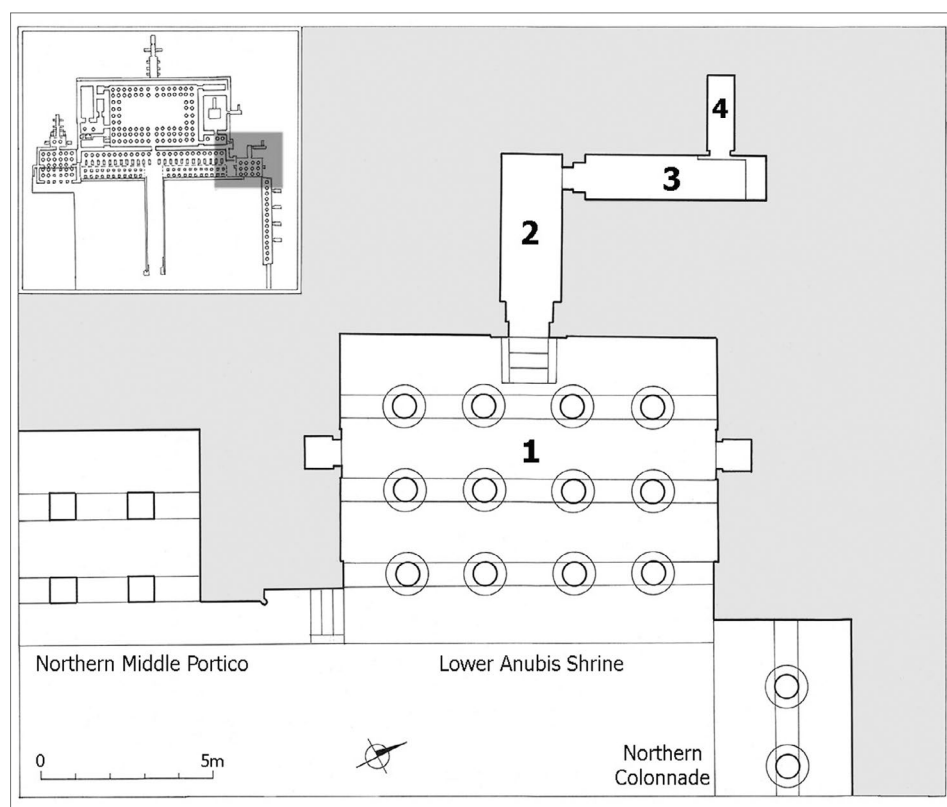


Fig. 2. The Lower Anubis Shrine, located in the northern part of the Middle Terrace, consists of four rooms: 1 – Hypostyle Hall, 2 – Vestibule, 3 – Sanctuary, 4 – Niche (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

- 3 As Naville describes, the Hypostyle Hall and its surroundings were filled almost to the ceiling with debris and rock, and burials took place there. The oldest of these graves date to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, indicating that access to the chapel's interior was completely blocked during that time (Naville 1896: 4–6).

most importantly, in the unusual method of their construction.

UNUSUAL ARCHITECTURAL AND CONSTRUCTION FEATURES

In recent decades, scholarly interest in the Lower Anubis Shrine has been limited, focusing mainly on interpreting the purpose of the structure, offering brief descriptions of its architecture, and analyzing preserved scenes. Regarding the construction period of the complex, most researchers agree that Hatshepsut included these rooms in the temple's initial spatial plan, although the construction of the complex itself was completed after the Upper Terrace. Wysocki further notes that this part of the Middle Terrace was constructed last, following the completion of the Northern Middle Portico (Wysocki 1992: 251).

The construction of the chapel incorporates architectural solutions that raise important questions, which require detailed analysis:

- Why is the Sanctuary oriented to the north rather than the west? What was the reason for such a non-standard layout of the rooms?
- Why are there no niches in the side walls of the Vestibule? In the symmetrically located Hathor Shrine and the Main Sanctuary of Amun, numerous niches are present, yet they are absent here. a comparison of these layouts with that of the Lower Anubis Shrine reveals a significant difference in this regard [Fig. 3]. What influenced this architectural decision?

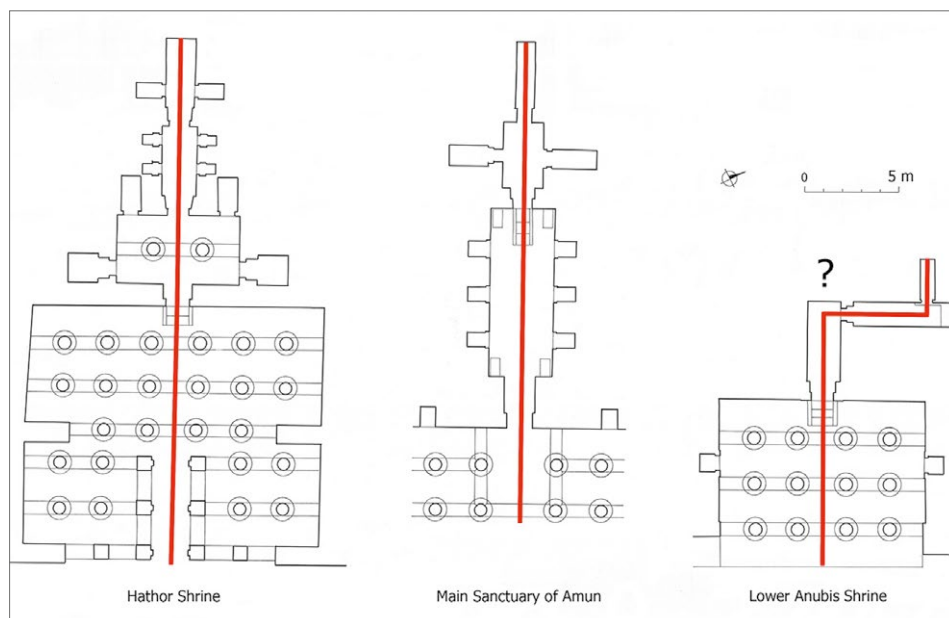


Fig. 3. Sanctuaries are typically built with symmetrical axial alignment (marked with a red line). This principle was not followed when constructing the Lower Anubis Shrine. Additionally, there are no niches in the Vestibule, unlike in similar complexes where they are numerous (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

- Why are the walls of the subsequent rooms not bonded together with stonework joints? Could this suggest that the Lower Anubis Shrine was not originally conceived as a unified spatial project? Each of the four rooms appears to have been constructed separately and at different times (see also Karkowski 2001: 120 on the later construction of the final two rooms). They differ in block-laying technique, wall condition (with mechanical damage confined to two rooms), and decorative details. However, while each room was built independently, the decoration was carried out in two phases — first in the Sanctuary and Niche, and later in the Vestibule and Hypostyle Hall.
- Why was the Upper Anubis Shrine —a replica of the Sanctuary and Niche of the Lower Anubis Shrine— placed on the Upper Terrace in the Altar Courtyard? It replaced a niche from an earlier design, suggesting that the Upper Anubis Shrine was not part of the temple's original concept. Could this reflect a shift in the temple's religious program?

Architectural interpretation

The accumulation of seemingly inexplicable spatial solutions and construction decisions sets the Lower Anubis Shrine apart from other parts of the temple. The construction of a copy of the Anubis Shrine on the Upper Terrace also raises questions about the origins of this project, especially since such duplication is uncommon in Egyptian temple programs.



Fig. 4. The eastern wall of the Sanctuary. The wall blocks lack sharp edges, with large gaps at their joints (Photo A. Kwaśnica)

SANCTUARY AND NICHE

This analysis focuses the final two rooms of the complex — the Sanctuary and the Niche. The wall decorations depicting deities in both rooms are in very good condition. However, this positive impression is somewhat diminished by the visible defacement of figures and inscriptions associated with Hatshepsut. The overall aesthetic of the rooms is further compromised by their poor technical condition.

The polychrome reliefs are crisscrossed with cracks and gaps at nearly every joint between the wall blocks [Fig. 4].

POOR CONDITION OF THE WALLS

The first observation is that the construction quality of these two rooms is noticeably inferior to that of the rest of the complex. Numerous gaps and holes are visible at the joints between



Fig. 5. Eastern wall of the Sanctuary. The large gaps between blocks are filled with crushed stone covered with polychrome plaster (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

the wall blocks, and in many places the blocks do not align properly, leaving empty spaces between them. Now that most of the masking plaster has fallen off, the poor condition of the decorated block edges is clearly visible. It gives the impression that the wall blocks were installed without adjusting their side surfaces, and the gaps between them were filled afterward.

The gaps and misaligned block edges in the Sanctuary and Niche are now partially concealed by fragments of plaster and small pieces of limestone blocks, some still bearing decoration from the time of Hatshepsut and the post-Amarna period. Any interference with the wall

structure after the decoration was applied—such as shifting blocks—would have caused irreversible damage, as the decorated surfaces would have detached.

Thus, it is implausible that the “faulty” assembly of the wall blocks in these two rooms was the result of Ramesside restoration. Any such movement of the blocks within the wall would have destroyed decorations made during Hatshepsut’s reign. The same conclusion applies to any interventions by modern restorers over the past century⁴ [Fig. 5].

This indicates that the flawed assembly was original to the construction of the walls, and that a significant portion of the decoration was intended to be applied to

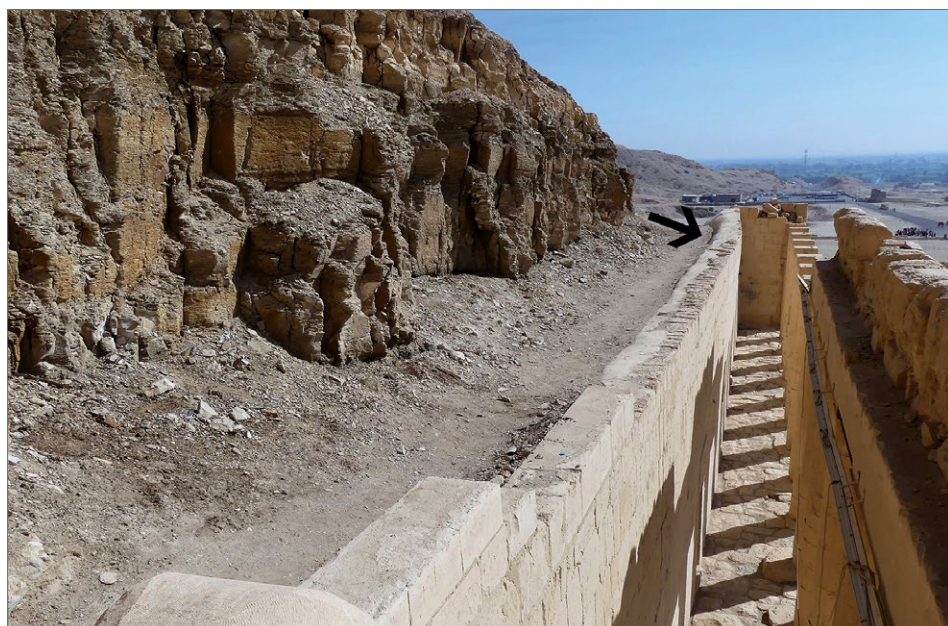


Fig. 6. Bulging wall in the Northern Colonnade. The arrow indicates the area of greatest rock pressure. During repairs, the rock along the entire wall length was cut away, and the wall’s structure was reinforced on the rock-facing side (Photo A. Kwaśnica)

4 Repairs were carried out in the room preceding the Sanctuary, involving the reinforcement of the Vestibule portal; see Naville 1896: 7–8; for other emergency interventions in this room, see Witkowski 1990: 386.

plaster from the outset. Indeed, it was in this condition that Naville discovered these rooms.⁵ There is no doubt that the wall construction we see in both rooms is the work of builders from the time of Hatshepsut.

WHAT CAUSED SUCH A SUDDEN CHANGE IN BUILDING STANDARDS IN BOTH ROOMS?

Until now, it was believed that the different appearance of both rooms could have been caused by earthquakes or tectonic movements of the rocky massif surrounding this part of the temple.⁶ Due to the

pressure of the external rock on the limestone blocks of the chapel, it was assumed that the blocks might have cracked and broken. However, this explanation must be definitively rejected, as the analysis of wall damage described above contradicts this theory.

In the walls of the Sanctuary, there are also blocks whose edges do not touch the neighboring blocks at all, yet the decoration remains perfectly aligned [Fig. 7]. Moving a block within such an empty space to the right or left would be impossible, as it would disrupt the depiction of the figures.

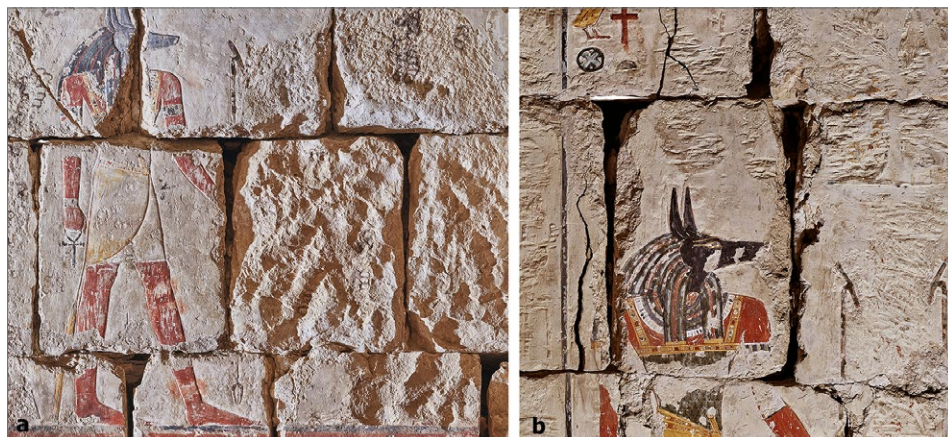


Fig. 7. a) Blocks inserted into the wall without side surface adjustment. b) A wall block with a depiction of Anubis that does not touch adjacent blocks at the edges, yet the figure's drawing remains accurate. The decoration prevents the block from being shifted laterally (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

- 5 Naville 1896: Pls XXX–XXI, XXXIII–XLV; Witkowski 1990: 370, Fig. 1 (the plan of the complex showing scenes and corresponding numbered plates in Naville's publication).
- 6 The rock surrounding the Lower Anubis Shrine exerted pressure on the temple walls. As a result, the retaining wall of the Northern Colonnade bulged significantly, threatening collapse [Fig. 6]. The wall above the Hypostyle Hall was displaced by Esna shale and disintegrated in the central section. Both walls were subsequently reinforced and reconstructed as part of the Polish-Egyptian Archaeological and Preservation Mission's work (Kwaśnica and Szafranski 1991). Interestingly, nearly identical damage was observed in the same section of the retaining wall above the Hypostyle Hall during the English mission's work in 1895, as seen in a photograph taken by Howard Carter (Kwaśnica and Szafranski 1991: 52, Fig. 2). This wall was rebuilt in 1906 by Émile Baraize (1906).

These observations, however, apply only to the walls of the Sanctuary and Niche. The situation is entirely different with the western wall of the Hypostyle

Hall, which is parallel to the eastern wall of the Sanctuary and located just 4 m away [see Fig. 2]. This wall, like the others in the room, is constructed



Fig. 8. Wall fragments of the Sanctuary. Marks show where rods (wedges) were inserted between blocks to pry them apart during dismantling. The rods acted as levers, damaging the edges of adjacent blocks (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

from blocks laid with such precision that there are no visible gaps between them. The construction is so well executed that, even when standing close, it is difficult to discern where the joints between the blocks are. How is it possible that two walls so close together were built to such drastically different standards?

Architectural interpretation

The Ramesside restorers encountered the walls of the Sanctuary and Niche with large gaps at the joints between the blocks. In order to recreate the figures of the gods, they first had to smooth and plaster the damaged sections of the walls

to produce a flat surface; only then could they recreate the damaged decoration. The gaps had originally been filled with plaster from the time of Hatshepsut, which was also decorated. This plaster had fallen off during two distinct phases of destruction: first, when the images of Hatshepsut were defaced on the orders of Thutmose III, and later during Akhenaten's reign, when images of the gods were destroyed.

The damage to the edges of the blocks was not caused by tectonic movements or pressure from the surrounding rock. Instead, it must have occurred during the dismantling of the decorated walls and their transportation to another lo-

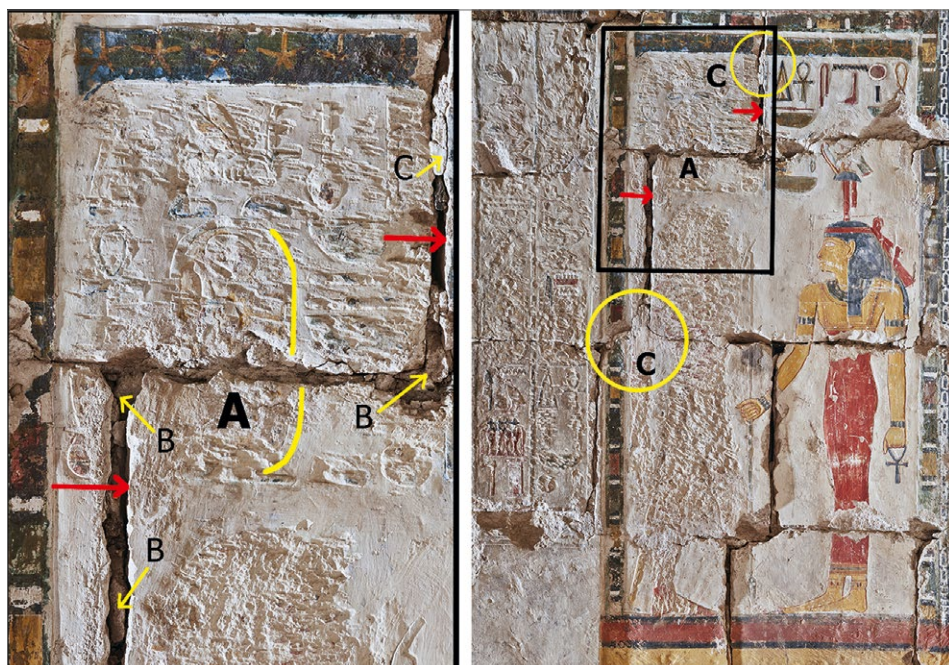


Fig. 9. The western wall of the Sanctuary. Left: enlarged detail of a scene; right: full scene. On two adjacent blocks, the decoration is misaligned. The frame of Hatshepsut's cartouche (A) does not continue properly onto the block below. Red arrows indicate the block movements needed to correct the drawing, which are blocked by infill (B) and plaster (C) (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki, graph A. Kwaśnica)

cation. This action was likely associated with changes to the Upper Terrace resulting from the temple's expansion. The

rooms of the Sanctuary and Niche were dismantled and moved block by block to a new location on the Middle Terrace.

EVIDENCE OF THE CHAPEL'S RELOCATION

TRACES OF THE DISMANTLING OF THE DECORATED ROOMS

Traces of the dismantling of the Sanctuary and Niche are preserved on nearly every block, revealing the technique used to disassemble both structures. The blocks were pried apart using crowbars (rods), and wooden wedges were likely driven into the gaps between them [Fig. 8]. This process caused damage not

only to the block being removed but also to the adjacent or underlying block.

There is also evidence that after the blocks were moved, they were reassembled imprecisely, resulting in errors in the decoration. An example can be seen on the western wall of the Sanctuary, where the defaced figure of Hatshepsut stands before the goddess Imentet. The frame of Hatshepsut's cartouche on the upper



Fig. 10. Damaged walls during dismantling of the Niche: a) southern wall, b) northern wall. Damage on both walls was caused by prying the blocks apart with rods during the wall's disassembly. The marks show they were shifted sideways (to the left) using three rods simultaneously at the top, bottom, and middle. The central lever pressure caused severe damage to the blocks on the right side (PCMA UW | Photo M. Jawornicki)

block does not align properly with the lower block. The lines are misaligned — something that would not have occurred had the blocks not been moved after the decoration was completed [Fig. 9]. It is now impossible to realign the blocks to restore the correct depiction, as the gaps between them were filled with fragments of rock debris. This indicates that the misalignment occurred during the wall's reassembly.

The dismantling technique can also be observed in the Niche. Based on the damage, it is possible to reconstruct how the blocks were shifted sideways [Fig. 10]. a rod was placed at mid-height

of a block and used as a lever, which simultaneously caused damage to the adjacent block.

However, most of the damage is visible along the lower edge of the barrel-vaulted ceiling. This is not surprising, as dismantling would have had to begin with prying up and removing the ceiling. During this process, many blocks were severely damaged. Both large surface chips and smaller, pinpoint marks are visible in areas where rods were inserted [Fig. 11].

An additional explanation for this damage (surface chipping) could be pressure exerted by the ceiling on the

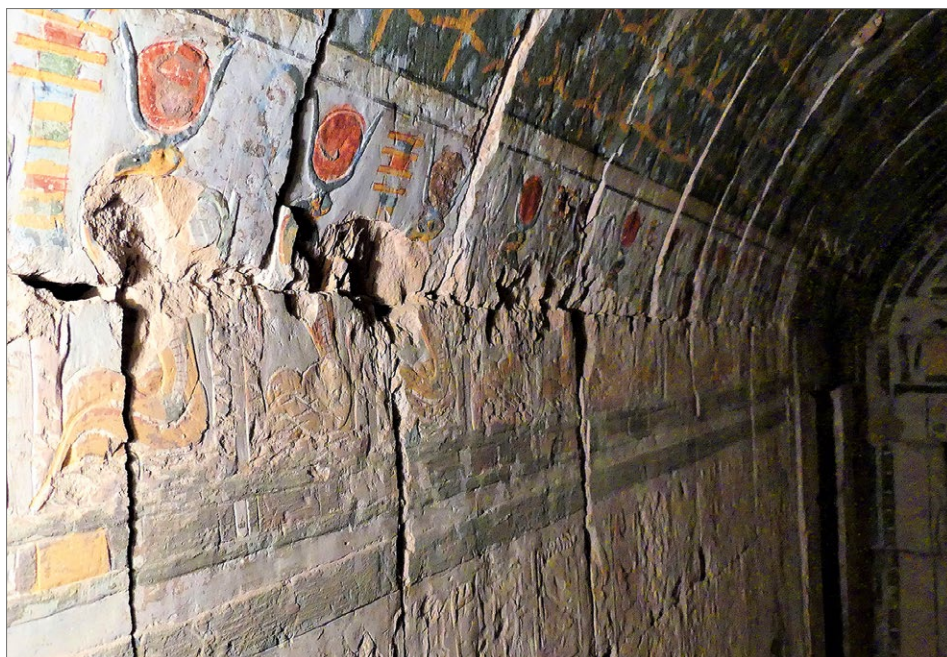


Fig. 11. The western wall of the Sanctuary. Dismantling began by prying off the vault blocks. After relocating and reconstructing the chapel, significant damage is visible along almost the entire length of both side walls (Photo A. Kwaśnica)

walls, either due to the pressure from the surrounding rock⁷ or the weight of the ceiling itself. This might suggest that the upper layer of ceiling slabs was incorrectly placed, perhaps not fully in contact with the upper surface of the wall blocks, thus exerting uneven pressure on the decorated surfaces below.⁸

Other imperfections in the reassembly of the rooms are also visible. On the eastern wall of the Sanctuary, not all blocks formed a flat surface after being repositioned. To compensate, the protruding edge of a block was trimmed, which simultaneously damaged the decoration [Fig. 12]. a similar practice is known from another part of the temple: when the decorated niches were

moved from the first room of the Main Sanctuary of Amun to the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, the surfaces of neighboring blocks were also leveled, cutting into previously executed decoration (for more on this see Kwaśnica 2023: 187).

The extent of the damage inside the Sanctuary and Niche can be illustrated by the following figures:

- In the Sanctuary, there are 137 decorated blocks. Within the joints between these blocks, approximately 200⁹ instances of mechanical damage have been recorded, caused by the insertion of rods or wedges used to pry apart or shift the blocks (personal research).



Fig. 12. The outer face of each block was shaved, including the decoration, to align the exterior surfaces of neighboring blocks after reassembly. This method was used in the Sanctuary (a) and in niches transferred to the Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (b) (a: PCMA UW | photo M. Jawor-nicki; b: photo and processing A. Kwaśnica)

- 7 This scenario is unlikely, as inserting the relocated rooms would have required cutting away large sections of rock to access the decorated blocks from the outer sides of the walls and ceiling during installation.
- 8 This may have been a design error that should not have occurred in a properly constructed room. The error may have resulted from the blocks in the gable wall being slightly displaced —by approximately 1 cm on each side— which caused the wall to widen. As a result, the ceiling blocks were also slightly shifted, and the lower surface of the vault blocks did not make full contact with the upper surface of the wall blocks, thereby increasing stress on the decorated surface.
- 9 The exact number is difficult to estimate due to the plaster covering the joints.

- In the Niche, there are 52 decorated blocks and 59 instances of similar mechanical damage.

This indicates that nearly every block was pried or shifted, with the larger blocks likely requiring the simultaneous use of at least two tools.

Architectural interpretation

Most of the mechanical damage to the blocks resulted from inserting rods or wedges into the joints between them.

This provides evidence that the decorated blocks were pried apart. The extent of this damage supports the theory that both decorated rooms were dismantled and relocated to the Middle Terrace from another part of the temple. Imperfect block reassembly is also evident at the new location, including unevenly laid courses of blocks that resulted in errors in the decoration or individual blocks protruding from the wall surface.

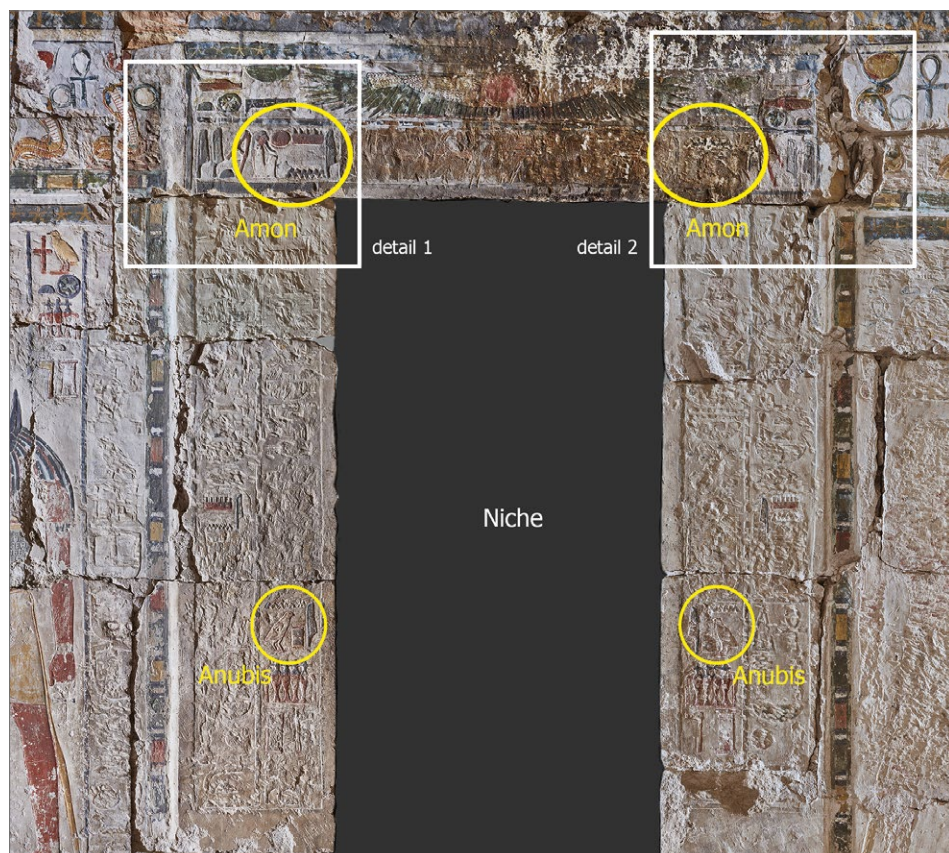


Fig. 13. Portal in the western wall of the Sanctuary leading to the Niche. The sandstone lintel was installed after the room's relocation to the Middle Terrace. On both jambs, Anubis accompanies Hatshepsut, while the lintel bears the name Amun-Ra (and Horus *Behdetite*, Lord of the Sky in the upper register), with no mention of Anubis. The name Amun is reconstructed on the jambs in small scale as part of Hatshepsut's erased cartouche (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki, processing A. Kwaśnica)

NEWLY CONSTRUCTED LINTEL FROM THE PASSAGE BETWEEN THE SANCTUARY AND NICHE

The dismantling of the walls also caused more significant damage. It was found



Fig. 14. a) Detail 1. Lintel of the portal in the western wall of the Sanctuary. Note, that the vertical strip does not align properly with the jamb. This part of the lintel preserves original decoration from the time of Hatshepsut. The cobra, the wing of the goddess, texts, and the bands are rendered consistently. The decoration differs on the opposite side of the portal (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki, processing A. Kwaśnica); b) Detail 2. Right side of the portal lintel. The quality of the relief is markedly lower, as it was carved on a previously chipped surface. The most intriguing feature is the connection of the lintel block with the wall. To insert the lintel, a portion of decorated limestone blocks had to be cut out. A – filler material used to compensate for the mismatched edges between the lintel and wall, consisting of limestone rubble and mortar (no longer preserved). B – absence of the *pet* sign; text is only partially painted and lacks relief (Photo M. Jawornicki, graphic A. Kwaśnica)

that the lintel of the portal between the Sanctuary and the Niche had been severely damaged and had to be replaced. The new lintel was made of sandstone, even though the entire Sanctuary and Niche were built from limestone blocks [Fig. 13].

This is confirmed by several inconsistencies in the lintel's decoration. The vertical bands do not align with their continuations on the jamb blocks below, on either side of the portal [Fig. 14:a]. Additionally, some of the hieroglyphs on the lintel are only painted, whereas the texts on the limestone walls were carved in raised relief. Furthermore, the *pet* band is missing from the lower right side of the lintel, although it is present in the symmetrical position on the left [Fig. 14:b].

The missing plaster on the right side of the lintel reveals how it was installed. The sandstone block was not evenly cut, resulting in an uneven surface. It was not well-fitted to the existing wall blocks, so to position it correctly, the decorated limestone block had to be trimmed. This was very roughly done, and the resulting gap was filled with limestone rubble and plastered over [Fig. 14]. This disrupted the wall decoration, which was likely recreated on the plaster.

There is no doubt that the lintel was decorated separately from the surrounding wall. The sandstone block was likely prepared and decorated on the ground and then installed on the jambs after completion.

All of this confirms earlier observations that the work was carried out carelessly, with little attention to flaws in the final appearance. The priority was likely speed rather than the quality of the decoration.

THE ABSENCE OF AMUN'S DEPICTIONS IN THE ORIGINAL DECORATION OF THE SANCTUARY AND NICHE

Another important element to consider is that when the Sanctuary and Niche were in their original location, they did not contain a single depiction of Amun, nor did any texts refer to this god. After the rooms were relocated, a new concept for the Anubis Chapel emerged. In this new expanded version, Amun played an important role, and his images (alongside those of Anubis) appeared on the newly decorated walls of the adjacent rooms — the Vestibule and Hypostyle Hall.

As one moves from the Hypostyle Hall through the Vestibule and into the Sanctuary and Niche, Amun “disappears” from the decoration, leaving Anubis as the leading deity. However, the designers of the Anubis Chapel's new arrangement clearly sought to incorporate the cult of Amun, the most important god of Thebes, into the decoration of the previously completed Sanctuary and Niche.¹⁰ This is confirmed by the decoration of the new lintel, which refers to Amun rather than Anubis, whose name undoubtedly appeared on the original lintel. Amun's name was inserted alongside Hatshepsut's cartouches [Fig. 13]. In contrast, the text on the jambs below refers only to Anubis, as it belongs to the original decoration. Undoubtedly,

the designers considered it important to include Amun within the chapel's interior — at minimal cost and without chiseling off the existing decoration.¹¹

THE NEW PORTAL LEADING FROM THE SANCTUARY TO THE VESTIBULE

The southern wall of the Sanctuary, which is almost entirely occupied by the portal leading to the Vestibule, is largely a newly constructed feature added after the relocation of the dismantled chapel. The lintel is made of sandstone, indicating that it was also a later addition and not part of the original room. The tympanum above the portal and the three lower courses of the jambs may be original fragments of the wall.

During the construction of the new portal, care was taken to ensure the proper representation of the gods: the left side of the portal is dedicated to Anubis, and the right side to Amun.

Architectural interpretation

Originally, there were no depictions of Amun in either room. In the new program for the Lower Anubis Shrine, Amun became just as important as Anubis. This is evidenced by the names and texts related to Amun placed on the new lintels and in the two newly constructed rooms — the Vestibule and Hypostyle Hall. This further confirms that the original Anubis Shrine was transformed into the Lower

10 It is unlikely that the name of Amun was added by Ramesside restorers. In several places within the chapel, traces of earlier decoration have been preserved, indicating that figures and texts related to Amun were reinserted only where they had previously existed. There is no known instance in the temple where the restorers introduced a figure or name of Amun in a location where it had not originally been present.

11 Other deities associated with the king's burial ritual also appear in the Sanctuary, which will be discussed later in the text.

Anubis Shrine, with an expanded spatial layout and an enriched iconographic program.

TWO CRYPTOGRAM FRIEZE TEMPLATES

An important piece of evidence suggesting that the Sanctuary was built at a different time than the Vestibule and Hypostyle Hall lies in the upper part of the decoration of these rooms, specifically in the cobra frieze. This frieze is a graphic representation of Hatshepsut's name (Sankiewicz 2008; Beaux 2012: 4–5). Despite minor differences in execution of the frieze —attributable to the individual styles of the craftsmen¹²— templates were used to decorate the walls. The frieze in the Sanctuary (referred to as Template

A) features different proportions for the *djed* and *ankh* signs and a different color scheme for the cobras compared to the stencil used in the adjacent Vestibule and Hypostyle Hall (referred to as Template B).¹³

A comparison of the two friezes, A and B, from the two neighboring rooms is shown in [Fig. 15]. There are two key differences between the templates:

1. The size of the *ankh* and *djed* signs — in Template A, these signs are significantly larger than in Template B.
2. The color scheme — in Template A, the cobra's torso includes a white stripe, while in Template B it is dark yellow.

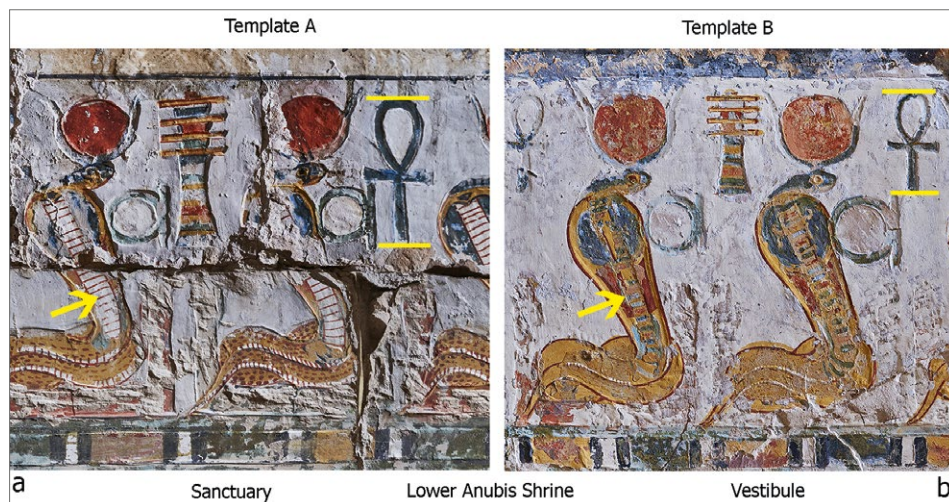


Fig. 15. a) Cryptogram frieze, Template A. Sanctuary of the Lower Anubis Shrine, with large *ankh* and *djed* signs and a white stripe on the cobra's body. b) Cryptogram frieze, Template B. Vestibule in the Lower Anubis Shrine, with smaller *ankh* and *djed* signs and a dark yellow stripe on the cobra's body (PCMA UW | Photos M. Jawornicki; graphics A. Kwaśnica)

¹² Witkowski 1990: 377, Fig. 4 (for the Upper Anubis Shrine) and Fig. 12 (for the Lower Anubis Shrine).

¹³ The Niche lacks a frieze, which could be explained by the high floor level in relation to the Sanctuary, which reduced the room's height.

It is important to note that Template A from the Sanctuary does not appear in any other room of the temple, except for the Sanctuary in the Upper Anubis Shrine [Fig. 16], which is a copy of the relocated chapel.¹⁴ The design used in Template A is undoubtedly the earliest version of the cryptogram representing the queen's name, applied as a frieze in the temple at Deir el-Bahari.¹⁵ When the additional rooms of the Lower Anubis Shrine (Vestibule and Hypostyle Hall) were built, Template B was introduced [see Figs 15, 16]. Template B was also used

in the decoration of the rooms on the Middle Terrace, although various versions of the frieze were based on this template.¹⁶ The frieze in the Lower Portico was also created using Template B. This pattern is consistent with other Hatshepsut structures where frieze fragments have been preserved. Template B appears in the Valley Temple of Hatshepsut,¹⁷ in decorations created during her reign at Medinet Habu (The Epigraphic Survey 2009: Pls 126–129), in the small Temple of Thutmose I built by Hatshepsut (Iwaszczuk 2017: 142, Fig. 98), and in the Karnak

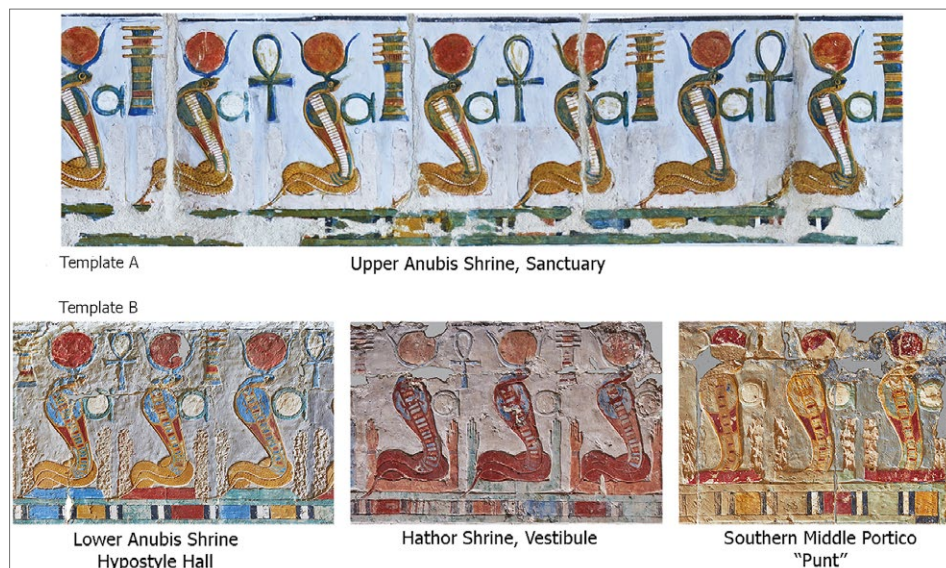


Fig. 16. Comparison of friezes A and B from different parts of the temple (PCMA UW | photo M. Jawornicki)

- 14 The artists copying the side walls of the Sanctuary likely used Template A for the frieze, even though Template B—used for friezes in other rooms of the Lower Anubis Shrine—was probably already available. For more on the Upper Anubis Shrine, see the the following sections.
- 15 All other rooms on the Upper Terrace —the oldest part of the temple— featured a heker frieze.
- 16 This template was used unchanged in all rooms — except for the niches in the Hathor Shrine complex [Fig. 14]. In the porticoes, the frieze decorations varied: the southern portico (Punt) lacked coils as well as the *ankh* and *djed* signs, while the northern portico (Birth) lacked coils but included the symbols.
- 17 Author's documentation.

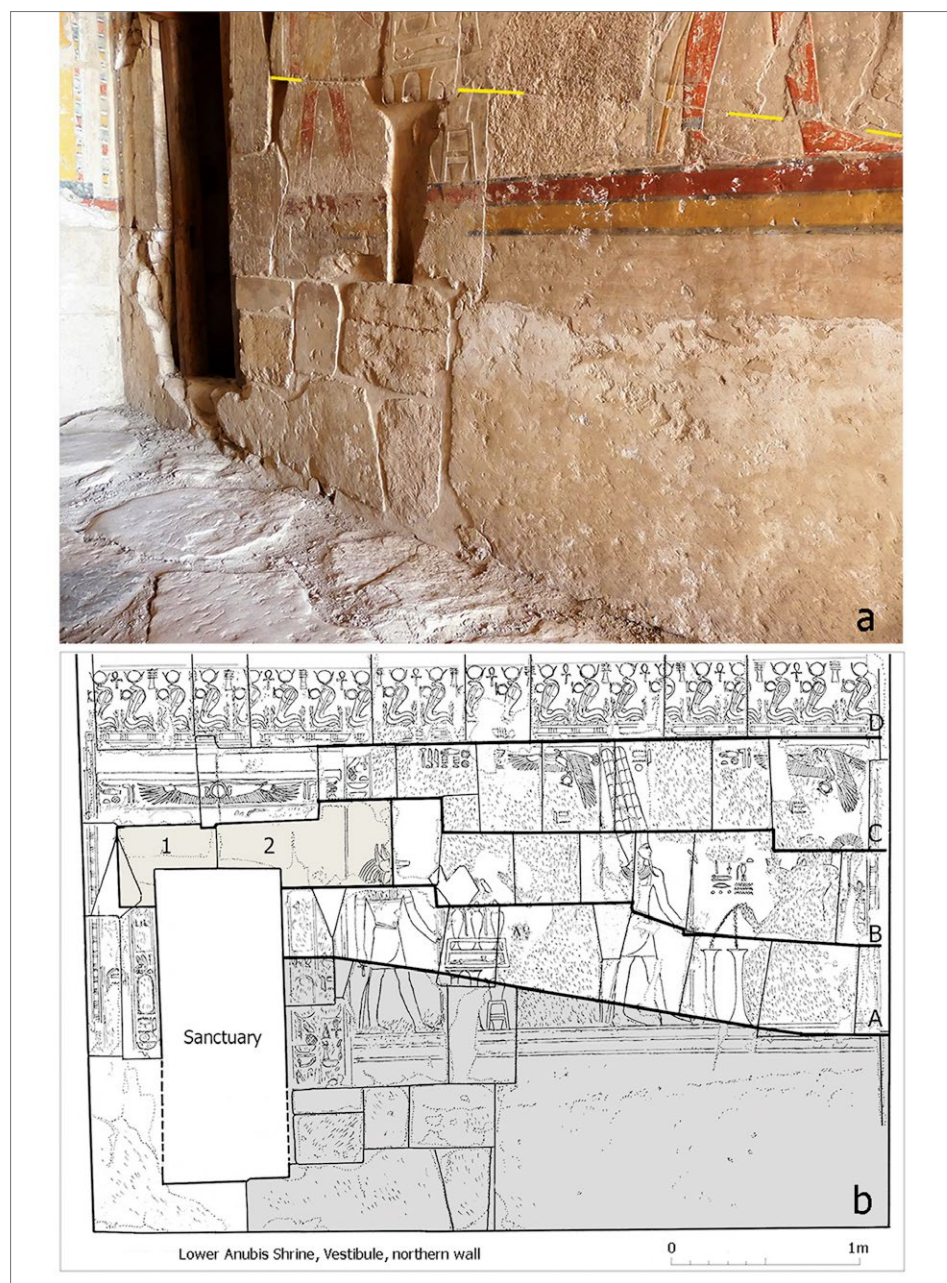


Fig. 17. Northern wall of the Vestibule. a) The edge of the ramp is highlighted by yellow lines. A chaotic group of blocks in front of the Sanctuary entrance continues the ramp (Photo A. Kwaśnica); b) An enormous limestone block near the entrance (lower right) was shaved at the top to shape the ramp. A – top edge of the ramp, B, C, D – successive wall courses laid to level the slope of layer A. 1, 2 – lintel blocks laid in course B. The construction gives the impression that the entrance opening was cut after the entire course was laid (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

Temple (room XII, Sankiewicz 2008: 210). The only other known instance of large *ankh* and *djed* signs being used —apart from the Anubis Sanctuary— is the kiosk by the Causeway at Deir el-Bahari. However, it is uncertain whether this used Template A, as the colors of the polychromy on the block found by Winlock have not survived (Sankiewicz 2008: 209).

Architectural interpretation

The decoration of the Sanctuary and Niche predates that of the Vestibule, Hypostyle Hall, and other rooms on the

Middle Terrace. Therefore, these two rooms belonged to a pre-existing chapel that was in use before the construction of the Lower Anubis Shrine.

CONSTRUCTION RAMP

On the northern wall of the Vestibule, from which one enters the Sanctuary, there are clear traces of a construction ramp that was essential for building the upper layers of the Sanctuary's walls and ceiling. This ramp had a 12% incline¹⁸ and, after the reconstruction of the Sanctuary and Niche, became part of the Vestibule wall.



Fig. 18. Lintel of the portal leading to the Sanctuary. Two reused decorated blocks inserted into the wall. Dashed lines indicate the original block shapes. A – indicates *pet* stripes; two *pet* stripes with a gap between them form a decorative element not seen elsewhere in the temple. Originally, this must have been the lower level of the scene above. B – indicates remnants of hieroglyphic text added after the decoration above (Photo and graphic A. Kwaśnica)

18 The incline of the ramps leading to the Middle and Upper Terraces, as well as the remains of the ramp by the outer wall of Mentuhotep II's temple, was approximately 11–12% (Kwaśnica forthcoming b).

Since the Sanctuary's walls were built from already decorated blocks, extreme care had to be taken to avoid damaging the decoration. In traditional construction, wall and ceiling blocks were cut and fitted on-site, and any minor losses during assembly were masked with small limestone inserts. When reassembling decorated blocks, the lower and middle courses posed little difficulty, but laying the upper courses and closing the room

with the ceiling was more challenging. This process required simultaneous work both inside and outside the rooms. To facilitate this, a ramp was built to haul up the upper blocks and ceiling elements, allowing them to be laid from above and behind. The ramp was formed by leaving a large block from the previously existing wall;¹⁹ its upper surface was cut to create the incline, and the rest was filled in with small, irregularly

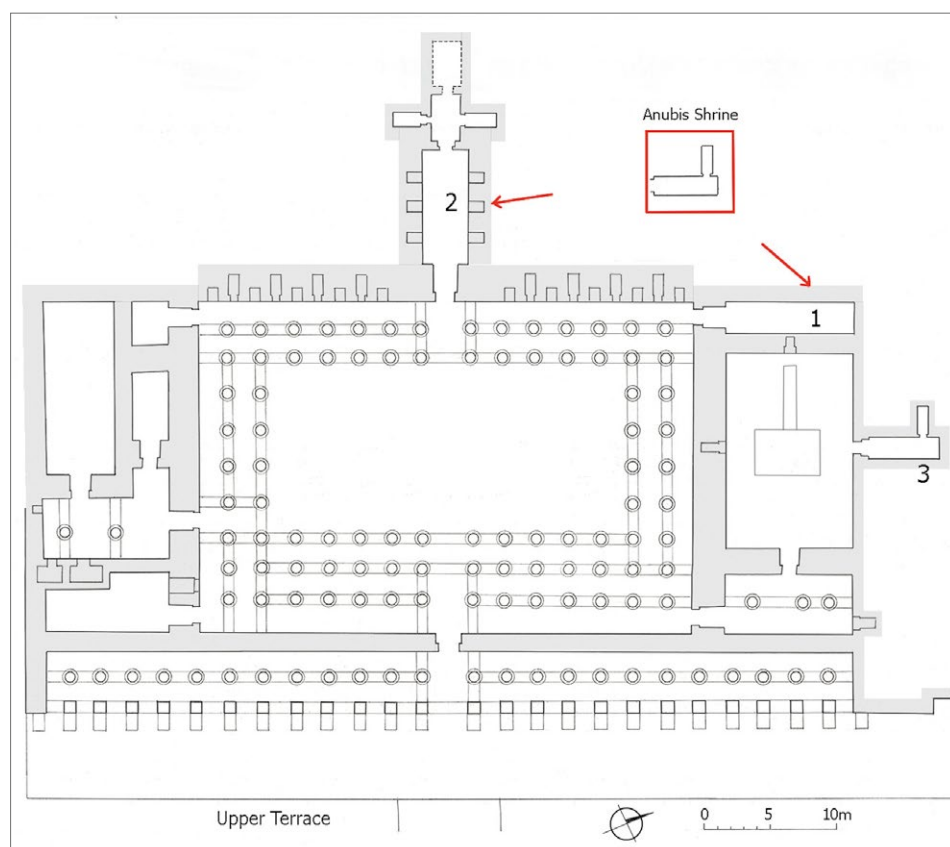


Fig. 19. Plan of the Upper Terrace, showing potential original locations of the Anubis Shrine: 1. Northern part of the Northern Chamber of Amun, 2. Northern wall of the Bark Hall in the Main Sanctuary of Amun, 3. Upper Anubis Shrine (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

19 The southern wall of the Vestibule also contains blocks of similar size. This topic is addressed in the analysis of the remaining rooms of the Lower Anubis Shrine (Kwaśnica forthcoming a).

placed blocks. After the reconstruction of the chapels was completed, the ramp became part of the wall, with upper sections added to complete it. This formed the eastern wall of the Vestibule, where the block arrangement does not follow traditional construction methods. Regular horizontal courses only appear at the level of the ceiling slabs. Their upper edge had to align with a level plane, as it would have been impossible to lay the ceiling slabs otherwise [Fig. 17:b].

ENTRANCE PORTAL TO THE SANCTUARY

Further deviations from traditional building methods can be observed in the portal leading from the Vestibule to the Sanctuary. The portal does not have a traditional lintel in the form of a single large block resting on the jambs. Instead, it consists of two layers of individual blocks meeting above the entrance [see Fig. 17:b]. These two lintel layers form a construction method not seen elsewhere in Egyptian architecture. The irregular shapes of the lower layer of lintel blocks resulted from the need to compensate for the incline of the construction ramp [see Fig. 17:b]. The second lintel layer consists of three blocks, with the central block presenting a complete contradiction to the standard lintel construction. This narrow, central block is much taller than the two side blocks, cutting into both the layer below and the layer above — a clear construction anomaly [Figs 17:b, 18]. Traditional construction principles would call for a single large stone beam over the entrance, especially since the jambs are only 0.70 m apart.

A possible explanation for this unusual arrangement is that the two blocks of the second lintel layer were part of an earlier decoration, also relocated from the Upper Terrace. This is supported by the upper fragment of the decoration, which does not match the scene on the portal (for the double *pet*, see [Fig. 18:A]), and the decoration above the entrance opening, which was added later [Fig. 18:B]. The builders likely sought to preserve the previously decorated blocks, so they undertook the task of fitting them into the new lintel construction. There is no doubt that the central fragment is a broken piece of the block to the right, which was later cut from both above and below. The block with the left wing of the *Behdeti* originally had its upper edge aligned with the central block. This suggests that the blocks bearing the winged solar disk did not fit into the layers above or below, and their upper and lower surfaces had to be trimmed.

Architectural interpretation

The large block in the lower layer of the northern wall of the Vestibule is a remnant of the previously existing wall. It was used as a stable component of the ramp required to rebuild the Sanctuary and Niche. The construction work carried out here is characterized by extremely poor quality and a failure to adhere to traditional Egyptian construction standards. This is confirmed by the design of the lintel, which completely deviates from the norms used in portal construction.

THE ORIGINAL LOCATION OF THE ANUBIS SHRINE

There is no doubt that the original location of the Anubis chapels must have been on the Upper Terrace. It must have been a place that underwent significant

reconstruction, where the entrance to the chapel was located on the northern wall, as the Niche should have been oriented to the west. Only two places meet these

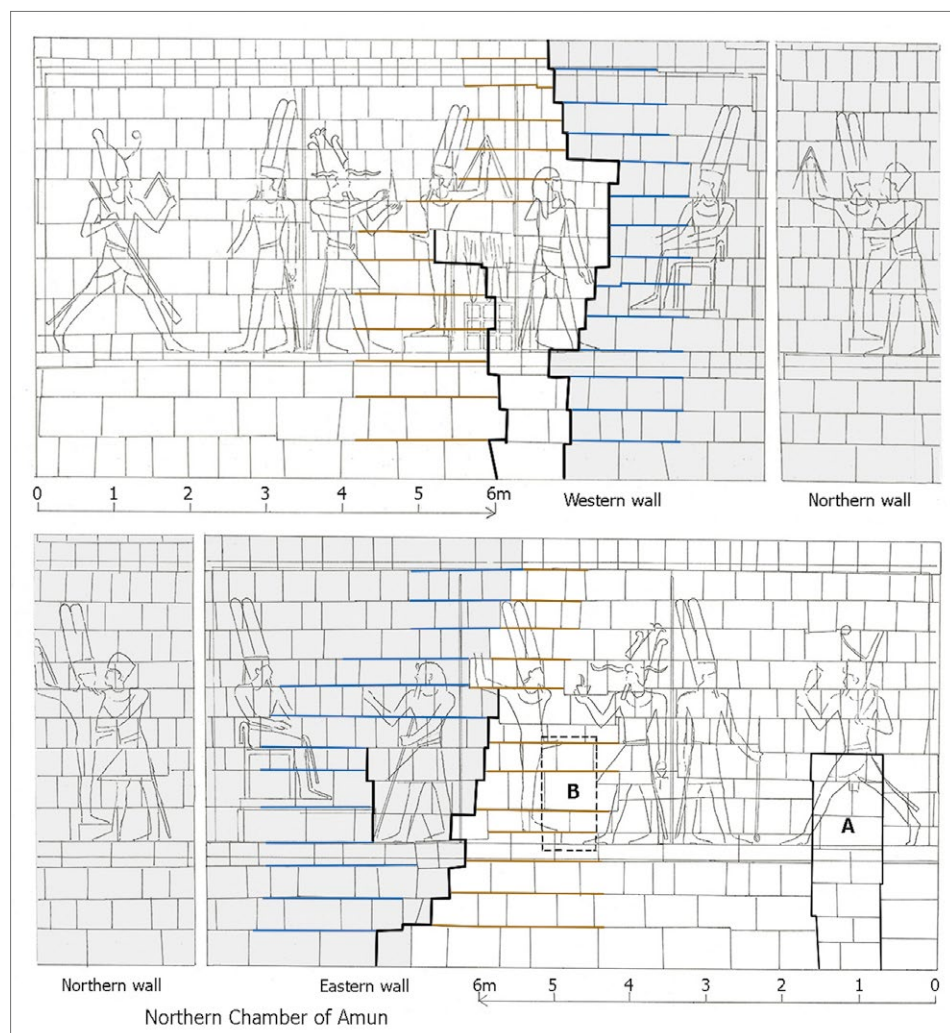


Fig. 20. Construction of the walls in the Northern Chamber of Amun. The northern, eastern, and western walls were built in one phase (gray). The block courses are evenly aligned; disturbed courses are marked with black lines. A – unfinished portal blocked by wall blocks. B – niche facing the Altar Courtyard. The thickness of its back wall is approximately 0.20 m, while the rest of the wall is 2.1 m thick at the base (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

criteria: the Main Sanctuary of Amun and the Northern Chamber of Amun²⁰ [Fig. 19].

There is no doubt that the Sanctuary was significantly rebuilt during the reign of Hatshepsut. The walls of the first room were dismantled down to the first course, and the niches originally in the southern

wall were moved to the Royal Mortuary Cult Complex (Kwaśnica 2023: 195–196). In the northern wall (a potential location), there were also two niches that were later relocated to the Hathor Shrine during the expansion of the chapel (Kwaśnica forthcoming c), effectively ruling out this space

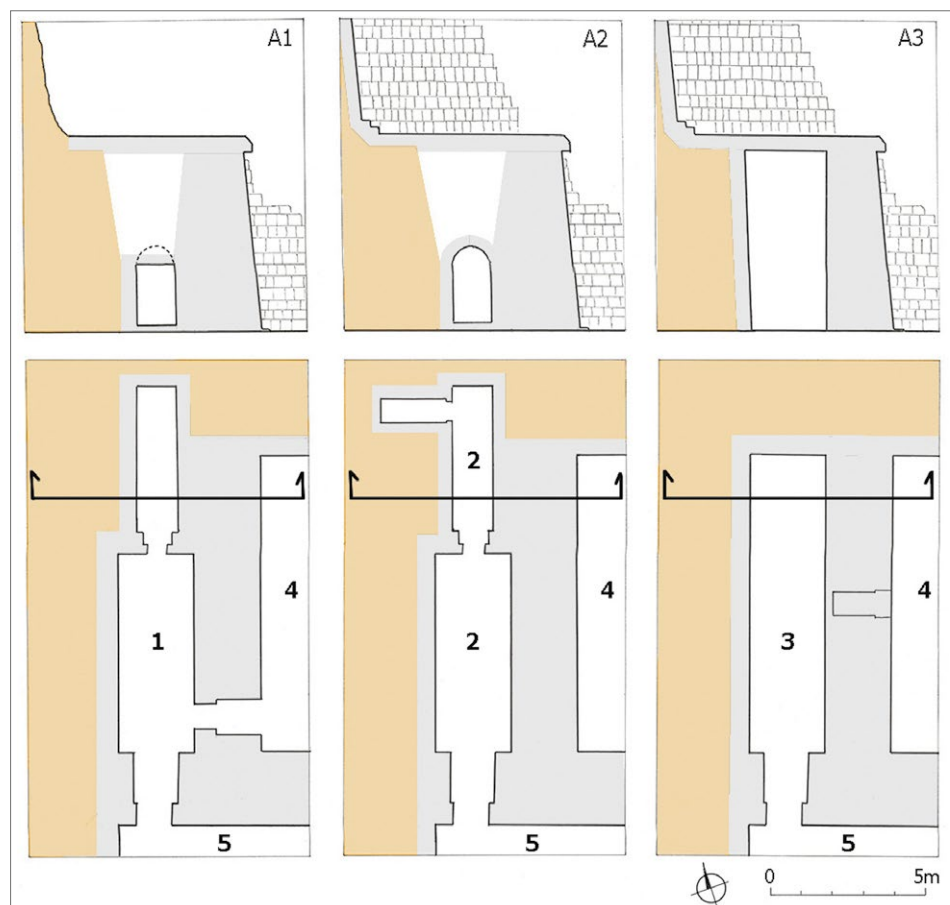


Fig. 21. Phases of transformation of the Northern Chamber of Amun. The lower section shows the room plans, while the upper section shows cross-sections at the points marked by the black line and arrows. A1 – the oldest phase, Vestibule connected to the Altar Courtyard, connected to another room to the north. A2 – after the eastern wall's portal was removed and a west-facing niche was added, forming the Anubis Shrine. A3 – after the Sanctuary and Niche were dismantled and relocated, the room was extended and served a new function as the Northern Chamber of Amun. Legend: 1. Vestibule, 2. Anubis Shrine, 3. Northern Chamber of Amun, 4. Altar Courtyard, 5. Upper Courtyard (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

²⁰ The northern wall of the Vestibule of the Altar Courtyard was not rebuilt; the block courses date to the first phase of the temple's construction, ruling out this location.

as the location of the Anubis Shrine.

Further analysis clearly indicates that the relocated chapels came from the Northern Chamber of Amun. The traces of reconstruction in this room are easily noticeable.²¹ The northern wall of the chapel, along with the adjoining western and eastern side walls, forms a well-integrated structure. The courses of blocks run through all three walls, with their upper and lower joints forming straight, parallel lines. There is no doubt that this part of the chapel was built in a single construction phase. However, about 3 m from the northern wall, the construction of the side walls changes, with discontinuities in the courses on both sides. The southern part of the chapel has a different block pattern and is clearly separated from the northern section. This construction reveals without doubt that the room was expanded. The

pattern of the masonry suggests that the original northern wall was located about 6.5 m from the entrance [Fig. 20].

In its original design, the room served a completely different purpose. It was most likely intended as the Vestibule of the Altar Courtyard (Chapel of the Night Sun), which ultimately was built on the eastern side of the Altar Courtyard. Evidence for this is the blocked passage in the eastern wall [see Fig. 20] (see Karkowski 2003: 42–43). This indicates that Hatshepsut changed the original plan, eliminating the portal and passage before the decoration was completed.

Originally, however, this room was not closed off by a solid northern wall [Fig. 21]; instead, there was a passage to another, smaller room. This smaller room was later transformed into the Sanctuary of the Anubis Shrine. It likely had a flat

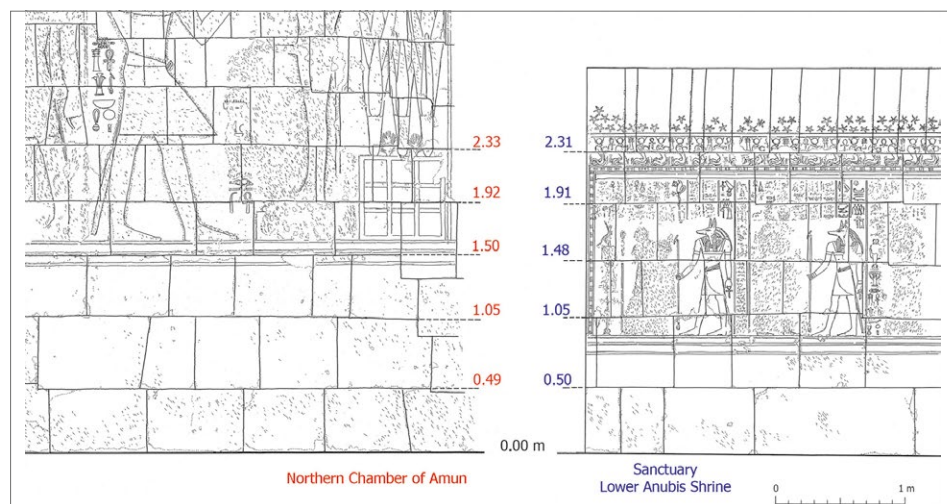


Fig. 22. Comparison of the block courses of the western wall in the Northern Chamber of Amun and the Lower Anubis Shrine. The dimensions match nearly across the full height of the Sanctuary (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

21 Zygmunt Wysocki (1992: 242) previously noted that this chapel had been expanded, suggesting the expansion occurred during the second phase of the temple's initial construction, under Thutmose II.

ceiling, with the barrel vault added at a later stage.²² At this early stage, there was also no internal niche facing west.²³

There are two pieces of evidence related to the wall construction that support this theory:

1. Measurement of the height of the lower courses of the walls in the Northern Chamber of Amun and the western wall of the Sanctuary of the Lower Anubis Shrine yielded an unexpected result. It turns out

that the five lower courses of blocks in the western wall of the Amun Chapel (with the sixth course being the vault) are almost identical in height to the blocks in the five lower courses of the western wall of the Anubis Sanctuary [Fig. 22]. The same applies to the eastern walls of both rooms, where the lower courses also match.²⁴ This cannot be coincidental, especially since the lower courses in both rooms

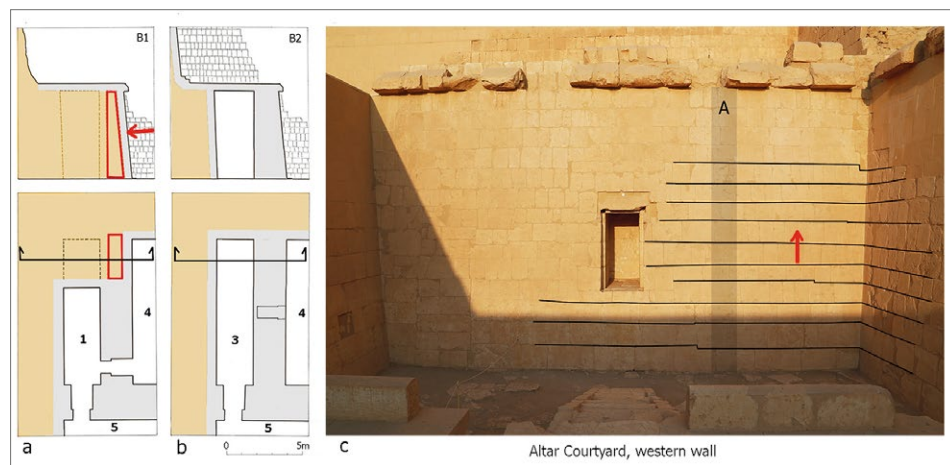


Fig. 23. Technical aspects of extending the Northern Chamber of Amun. a) Plan and cross-section of the variant where the rock in the northwest corner of the Upper Terrace was not cut. The red rectangle indicates a section of rock (5.8 m high and only 0.7 m thick at the top) that would have remained had the room been expanded. This would have posed a risk of wall collapse. b) Plan and cross-section without the rock section. c) The western wall of the Altar Courtyard, with block courses marked, connecting to the northern wall. A. The original end of the Northern Chamber of Amun before expansion. The red arrow indicates the part of the wall that would have needed dismantling if the rock behind had been removed (Photo M. Jawornicki, drawings A. Kwaśnica)

- 22 By analogy, the chapels of the Great Ennead in the Main Sanctuary of Amun originally had flat ceilings; they were later remodeled, and the ceilings were replaced with barrel vaults.
- 23 This is evidenced by the completely different arrangement of the block courses in the Sanctuary and the Niche, indicating that they are two separate constructions.
- 24 This does not apply to the fourth course and above, which may have been affected by the reconstruction of the eastern wall approximately 5 m from the entrance [see Fig. 20], likely in connection with the insertion of the niche [see Fig. 23c], in the western wall of the Altar Courtyard (Karkowski 2003: Pls 3A, 5A).

are taller than usual.²⁵ This strongly suggests a continuation of the same wall. Therefore, the first room must have originally served as the vestibule of the Anubis Chapel.

2. An analysis of the block courses shows that the original Northern Chamber of Amun was approximately 6.5 m long, while the corresponding wall on the other side

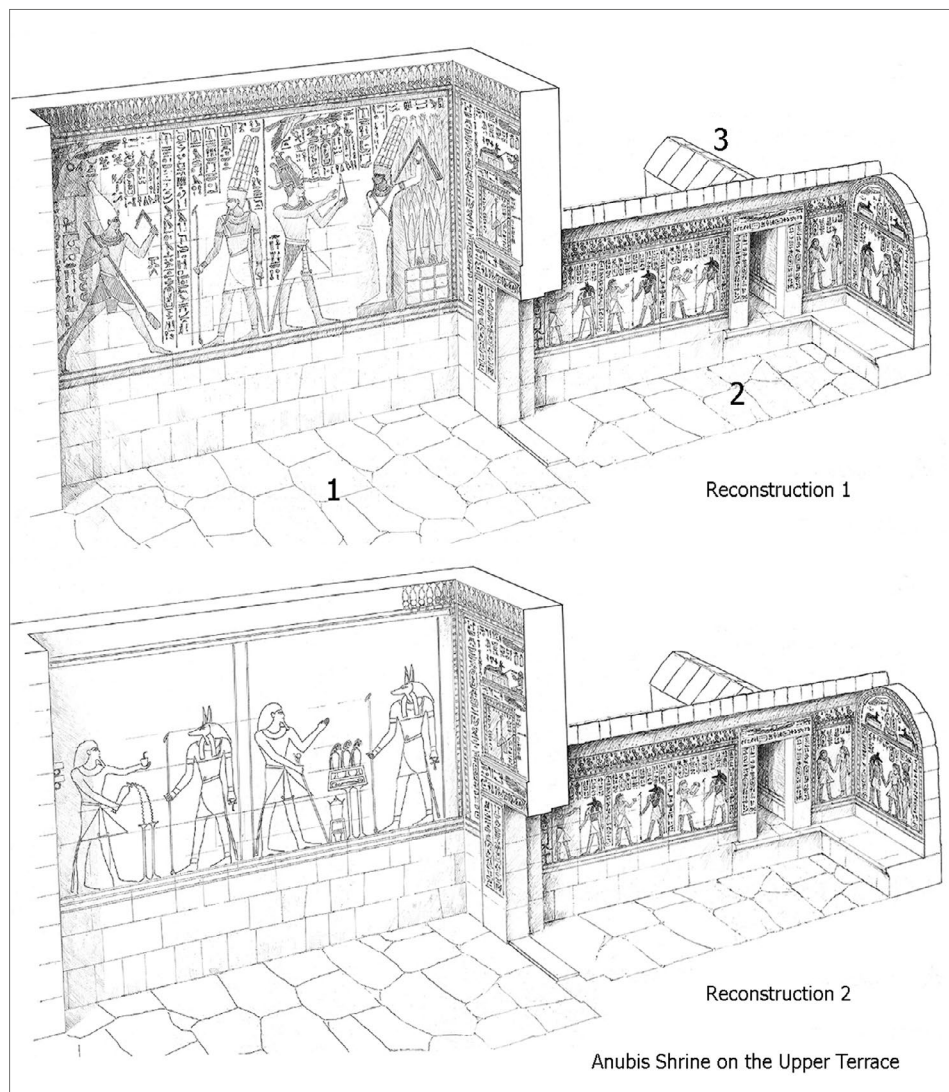


Fig. 24. Visualization of the original Anubis Shrine on the Upper Terrace. 1 – Vestibule (now Northern Chamber of Amun), 2 – Sanctuary, 3 – Niche (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

²⁵ Outside of the rooms on the Upper Terrace, the heights of the block courses range from 0.42 to 0.45 m (author's measurements).

(the western wall of the Altar Courtyard) measures 9 m. This discrepancy must have influenced the wall's construction. In the southern part, the wall was faced on both sides, with a base thickness of 2.1 m. Had there not been a second room (the later Sanctuary), rock would have remained in the northwest corner of the leveled rectangular platform prepared for the construction of the Upper Terrace. The blocks of the northern wall of this room, as well as those of the northern section of the western wall of the Altar Courtyard, would have rested on this rock [Fig. 23:a]. The western wall of the Altar Courtyard is slightly slanted, so the blocks on the inner side would have had to be laid against a leveled rock surface.²⁶ If the rock had been removed, the construction would have led to a collapse of the wall. It is almost certain that the extension of the Amun Chapel involved removing a narrow strip of rock [see Fig. 23:a]. Doing so would have required dismantling the northern section of the western wall, which, due to its slant, had to rest on that rock. However, this was not done, as evidenced by the arrangement of the courses in the

western wall of the Altar Courtyard [see Fig. 23:c]. This proves that when the platform was prepared for construction, the area was leveled as a rectangle. Thus, there was no rock in the northwest corner — only another room [Fig. 21:A1]. Due to the thickness of the walls, the dismantling of the Sanctuary did not affect the structure of the western wall.²⁷

Another issue concerns the decoration of the Northern Chamber of Amun. The relocation of decorated blocks from the Sanctuary and Niche to the Middle Terrace indicates that those rooms were already completed. However, doubts remain regarding the first room — the Vestibule (i.e. the southern part of the Northern Chamber of Amun). Did the decoration that survives today originate at the same time as that of the Sanctuary, or was it added later, in connection with the chapel's new function? The point where the western wall of the Vestibule originally stood aligns with the end of the second scene, which is symmetrically arranged on both sides of the room. This raises the question of whether the first two scenes on the eastern and western walls were originally part of the decoration of the Sanctuary and Niche. This reconstruction is illustrated in [Fig. 24, Reconstruction 1].

26 The facing of the retaining wall above the Upper Terrace was also constructed in this manner, with the wall being inclined. Engineer Andrzej Misiorowski conducted studies on the remains of the retaining wall when the rock ledge was being exposed. He noted that the wall blocks were tightly fitted against the rock, indicating that the rock had been cut and leveled before the limestone facing was installed (Misiorowski 1971: 190).

27 The wall in this area was approximately 2.65 m thick (the second room was narrower than the first). Given this thickness, it would have been possible to remove the wall blocks from the Sanctuary without compromising the structure of the western wall of the courtyard [Fig. 21].

This issue can only be resolved through Egyptological interpretation. However, it is highly likely that the scenes we see today form a coherent whole, suggesting that the decoration was executed after the chapel was expanded to include the northern section. The uncertainty surrounding the connection between the decoration of the Northern Chamber of Amun with the Anubis Chapel leads to the conclusion that, at the time of the chapel's dismantling, the decoration of the Vestibule of the Anubis Shrine was still in its early stages (either sketched or only partially executed).

Regarding the content of the scenes originally planned for the eastern and western walls of the Vestibule, it can be stated with high probability that this program was later realized in the Vestibule of the Lower Anubis Shrine. These likely included scenes of offerings to Anubis.²⁸ It is plausible that two such scenes were intended for each wall, as suggested by a theoretical reconstruction of the decoration based on the decoration of the Vestibule of the Lower Anubis Shrine [see Fig. 24, Reconstruction 2].

There is less uncertainty regarding the probable content of the decoration

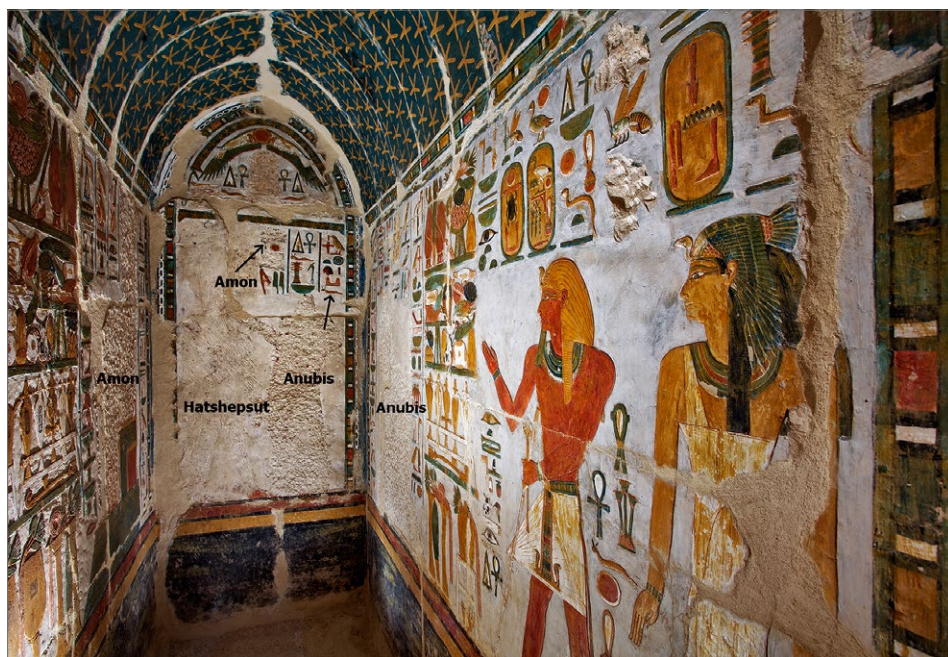


Fig. 25. Niche in the Upper Anubis Shrine. Thutmose I and his mother Seneneb present offerings to Anubis, whose figure has been erased. In order to maintain the balance between the figures of Anubis and Amun in the decoration of the west wall, the name of Amun was added, even though only the figure of Anubis was present (Photo M. Jawornicki)

28 This assumes that not only the Sanctuary and Niche lacked representations of Amun, but that this also applied to the Vestibule.

on the dismantled and now-lost northern wall of the Vestibule. This decoration may also have been only partially completed, although the analysis presented below suggests that its main elements were already finished. It is clear that a portal once led to the Sanctuary, and there was ample space for decoration above it, as the room is very tall (5.8 m). It is possible to determine with a high degree of confidence which scenes were placed there, as —consistently with the builders' pragmatism in reusing decorated walls— a fragment of this wall has been preserved. The scene directly above the portal was moved only a few meters away, to the Upper Anubis Shrine, a contemporary copy.

Architectural interpretation

The Northern Chamber of Amun is the location from which the Sanctuary and Niche were relocated. This is confirmed by visible traces of reconstruction and the continuity of block courses in the Northern Chamber of Amun and the Sanctuary. This is further supported from an analysis of the construction of the eastern wall of the Northern Chamber of Amun.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE UPPER ANUBIS SHRINE

It is evident that the Upper Anubis Shrine is a copy of the rooms relocated to the Middle Terrace — namely, the Sanctuary and the Niche. The spatial

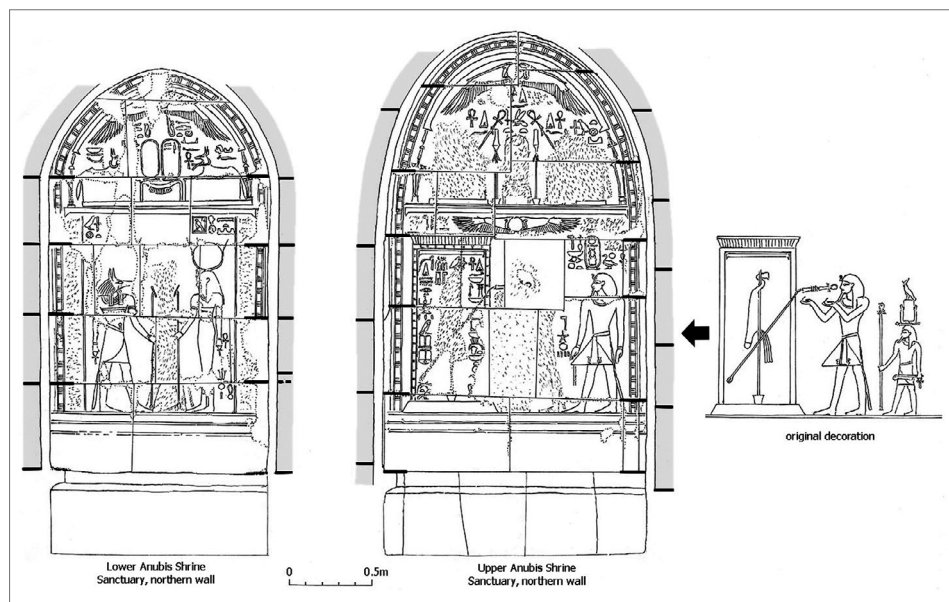


Fig. 26. Comparison of the northern Sanctuary walls in the Lower and Upper Anubis Shrines. The Upper Anubis Shrine wall is wider and, consequently, has a larger vault. The dark outer bands around the walls represent the block courses in the side walls. In the lower chapel, the courses on all three walls align, whereas in the upper chapel, the side wall courses do not align with the gable wall, which was built independently. On the right side is a reconstruction of the original decoration depicting Hatshepsut and her *ka* before the chapel with Anubis's emblem (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

layout and dimensions of these rooms closely correspond to the originals. The same applies to the decoration: identical rituals are depicted in successive scenes, presented in a consistent style. The scenes illustrate episodes from the *Daily Ritual*, the ceremonies performed every day. In addition to Anubis, the representations also include gods associated with the protection of cemeteries, such as Imenet, Hathor (patroness of the Theban necropolis), and Osiris, Sokar, and Ptah (guardians of the Memphite necropolis) (Karkowski 2001: 120). However, significant changes were made

to the decoration of the Upper Anubis Shrine. In the final room, instead of Hatshepsut and her *ka* making offerings, Hatshepsut and Thutmose I are depicted, accompanied by their mothers, Iahmes and Senseneb (Karkowski 2001: 154). Additionally, figures of Amun were introduced — a god absent from the original decoration of the Sanctuary and Niche [Fig. 25].²⁹ The most significant change, however, appears on the northern wall of the new sanctuary, where the decoration was entirely altered. In the

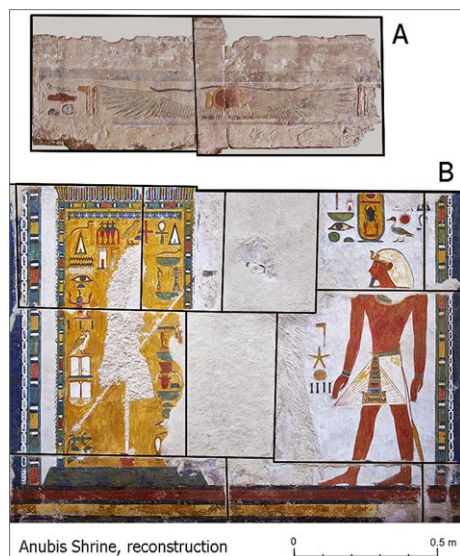


Fig. 27. Two wall fragments originally above the entrance portal to the Sanctuary. A – scene reused in the Vestibule of the Lower Anubis Shrine [see Fig. 18], B – scene reused in the Sanctuary of the Upper Anubis Shrine (PCMA UW | Photo M. Jawornicki)

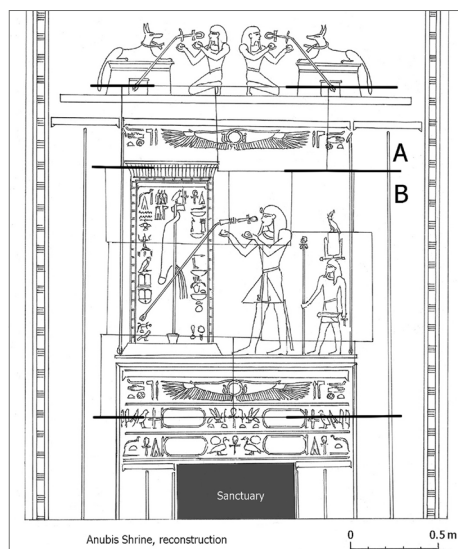


Fig. 28. Reconstruction of the upper fragment (now lost) of the Anubis Shrine's northern Vestibule wall. A – fragment relocated to the Vestibule of the Lower Anubis Shrine, B – fragment relocated to the Sanctuary of the Upper Anubis Shrine. In the upper part (A), above the scene is a *pet*; the band above it represents the floor of the upper scene. After relocation, two *pets* were created from the bands (Drawing A. Kwaśnica)

29 In the original design, both rooms featured nine figures of Anubis. In the new version of the chapel, three of these figures were replaced with depictions of Amun, and one was removed [see Fig. 26]. The only depiction of Thutmose III was also removed and replaced with that of Hatshepsut.

original version, Hatshepsut stood between Amun and the goddess Hathor. This scene was replaced with one showing Hatshepsut and Thutmose I standing before the chapel of Anubis. It is apparent that the figure of Thutmose I was added later, replacing Hatshepsut's *ka* [Fig. 26].

An analogous scene of Hatshepsut and her *ka* standing before the chapel of Anubis was placed in the Lower Anubis Shrine, in the Vestibule before the entrance to the Sanctuary. This is the logical location for such a representation, as it accurately reflects the intended sequence of events: first, the approach to the chapel of Anubis is shown, followed by the depiction of the rituals performed inside after entering the sanctuary. However, this is not the case in the Upper Anubis Shrine, where the introductory scene appears before the entrance to the Niche, after the ritual scenes. From a purely technical perspective, this reversed sequence is understandable, as the Upper Anubis Shrine has no vestibule; one enters the sanctuary directly from the Altar Courtyard [see Fig. 19]. But why was the scene placed in a location that contradicts its narrative content? The answer lies in the construction of this wall. It is wider than the original, and the vault's arch extends higher to match the increased dimensions [see Fig. 26]. As a result, the scene on the northern wall led to an enlargement of the sanctuary compared

to the original. Most importantly, the northern wall is not bonded to the eastern and western walls, indicating that it was built independently [see Fig. 26]. It should also be noted that the side walls of both chapels and the two niches are identical in dimensions.

Architectural interpretation

The northern wall of the Sanctuary in the Upper Anubis Shrine is a reused section of a decorated wall that was originally created elsewhere. Its initial location was above the entrance to the sanctuary in the vestibule of the dismantled structure [see the visualization in Fig. 24], which later became the Northern Chamber of Amun. Although the decorated northern wall of that room was entirely dismantled, it could not be reused in the Vestibule of the Lower Anubis Shrine on the Middle Terrace due to the vestibule's smaller dimensions and the semicircular form of the wall's upper section. Therefore, the scene was incorporated into the design of the new chapel. However, the adaptation required modification. The function of the new chapel had changed: it was now dedicated to Thutmose I, and his image had to be added. Thus, the decoration was altered by removing the *ka* standing behind Hatshepsut and replacing it with the figure of Thutmose I.³⁰

In addition, the upper part of the decoration on the northern wall of the

30 The alternative suggestion that it was Thutmose III —not Hatshepsut— who placed the figure of Thutmose I in this location is highly doubtful. In Hatshepsut's temple at Deir el-Bahari, there is not a single example of Thutmose III inserting an image of his grandfather Thutmose I into revised decoration. Moreover, had he intended to do so, he would have replaced the first figure (that of Hatshepsut) with Thutmose I, rather than the *ka* figure standing behind her.

sanctuary had to be created anew, as the remaining decoration from the lintel of the Vestibule could not be reused due to the curvature of the barrel-vaulted ceiling.

REUSE OF THE LINTEL

It turns out that another fragment of the aforementioned scene was reused in another room. It was a section of the lintel located directly above the discussed scene, which featured the winged solar disk of Horus *Behdetite*. The decorated blocks were installed in the vestibule of the Lower Anubis Shrine, in the lintel above the entrance to the Sanctuary. This scene has been discussed earlier (see above, “Entrance portal to the Sanctuary”) due to its unusual lintel construction. The connection between these lintel blocks and the scene transferred to the Upper Anubis Shrine clarifies the situation. The step in the lower layer of the lintel blocks matches the step in the upper part of the scene depicting Hatshepsut and her *ka* (later replaced by Thutmose I) standing before the chapel [Figs 27, 28]. The lower part of the lintel blocks (with the

winged solar disk of *Behdetite*) was cut on the right side because the original texts behind Hatshepsut (and above her *ka*) had to be replaced with texts referring to Thutmose I in the revised version. It was easier to cut the course of blocks and align it with the adjacent block than to trim just the inscription and reconstruct it afterward. The conclusion is that the creators of the new concept for the Anubis Shrine acted with maximum pragmatism in reusing existing decorated blocks — though this significantly compromised the quality of the final result. This may once again suggest that the work was carried out under considerable time pressure.

ARCHITECTURAL INTERPRETATION

The Upper Anubis Shrine was built at the same time as the Lower Anubis Shrine. Blocks from the dismantled original chapel on the Upper Terrace were reused in both new structures. The rooms of the Upper Anubis Shrine were most likely intended for ceremonies related to the cult of Thutmose I, meaning the modern name of the chapel does not accurately reflect its original function.

CONCLUSIONS

The decision to expand the temple, which was entirely located on the Upper Terrace and already functioning, led to a change in the function of some rooms³¹ — including the Chapel of Anubis. In the new design, the chapel was to be relocated to the Middle Terrace, prompt-

ing its dismantling and reconstruction at the new site. As this area was originally a rocky slope, significant leveling work was required before construction could begin. The vestibule of the Anubis Chapel (the first room), which was likely still in the process of being decorated at

31 Niches from the Main Sanctuary of Amun were among the items transferred to the newly constructed Royal Mortuary Cult Complex (Kwaśnica 2023).

the time, was left in place and, under the new spatial plan, was entirely dedicated to the cult of Amun and Amun-Min. In the area where the Sanctuary had previously been located, a new section was added, extending the room by 3 m. In this newly created space, wall scenes were added depicting Hatshepsut (on the eastern wall) and Thutmose III (on the western wall) standing before an offering table and making offerings to Amun. As a result, the function of the room changed completely.³² It was likely at this stage that Hatshepsut decided to place the ebony naos she had made for her husband and predecessor, Thutmose II, in this room.³³

At the same time, the decision was made to relocate the Sanctuary and Niche to the Middle Terrace. Two identical rooms were constructed approximately 15 m away [Fig. 19:3], embedded into the northern wall of the Altar Courtyard, at the site of an unfinished niche.³⁴ The work appears to have been so well synchronized that when the northern wall of the vestibule was dismantled, its decorated section was

immediately installed in the sanctuary of the new chapel, now known as the Upper Anubis Shrine. However, the function of the new chapel was revised. Now, it was dedicated to the cult of Thutmose I, who, together with Hatshepsut, is shown making offerings to Anubis and Amun in the company of their close family members. The decoration was accordingly modified by adding the figures of Amun—absent from the original version—while four depictions of Anubis and the figure of Thutmose III were removed. To accommodate the reuse of a pre-existing scene from the original Anubis Chapel's lintel, the new sanctuary had to be slightly enlarged. During the dismantling and relocation of the blocks, many were severely damaged. Subsequent repair work concealed this damage beneath plaster and fresh paint.

Understanding the history of the Anubis Shrine raises another question: Were there really two Anubis Shrines—Upper and Lower—in the temple? If that had been the original plan of the temple's designers, then the complicated

32 The function of the Northern Chamber of Amun is analyzed by Jadwiga Iwaszczuk (2017: 121–122).

33 The surviving decoration on a fragment of the naos shows scenes where Thutmose II offers sacrifices alternately to Amun and Amun-Min. This may allude to the wall decorations of this room. Another argument supporting the connection between the naos and the transformation of the original Anubis Shrine into the Northern Chamber of Amun is the fact that the naos was made of precious ebony, likely brought from an expedition to Punt (as suggested by Naville 1896: 2), which took place after the ninth year of Thutmose III's reign. The chronology of events indicates that the relocation of the Anubis Shrine to the Middle Terrace probably occurred around the eleventh or twelfth year, making this an appropriate time for the creation of the naos.

34 Evidence of this can be seen in the remains of the northern niche, which was dismantled, and replaced by the Upper Anubis Shrine. Several decorated blocks from this niche were reused in the construction of the chapel's portal (Karkowski 2003: Pls 49, 49 bis). The original relief was preserved in excellent condition, although no traces of pigment remain. Based on this, it can be assumed that the three niches in the Altar Courtyard were decorated around the 11th year, just before the Anubis Shrine was relocated to the Middle Terrace.

dismantling and relocation of the first Anubis Shrine to the Middle Terrace, as well as simultaneously building a new copy on the Upper Terrace —disrupting the symmetrical layout of the Altar Courtyard— would have been unnecessary. It would have been simpler to construct new rooms on the Middle Terrace and leave the upper ones undisturbed. Logic suggests that there was only one Chapel of Anubis in the Temple of Hatshepsut — the one that changed location. The new rooms, modeled on the design of the Anubis Chapel, were built specifically to honor Thutmose I and were connected to the creation of the Offering Chapel of Thutmose I in the newly built Royal Mortuary Cult Complex.³⁵

At the new location, the Sanctuary was built into the north wall of a previously undecorated room (How did this chamber come to be here? After all, there should only be a rocky slope at this spot). This space was transformed into the Vestibule, to which the Hypostyle Hall was added at the front. However, one question remains: why was the relocated Sanctuary placed in the side wall

of the Vestibule rather than in the western wall, directly opposite the entrance? The designers were free to choose the position of the relocated room, and placing it along the axis of symmetry, directly opposite the entrance, would seem the obvious solution. Was the final orientation of the Niche to the west the sole determining factor, or were other considerations involved?

Perhaps the most important question is why the Chapel of Anubis was relocated to the Middle Terrace in the first place. It seems that in the original plan, the chapel was situated in a favorable location — at the northwest corner of the Upper Courtyard, with an entrance shaded by columns³⁶ and close to the Main Sanctuary of Amun. Yet it was moved to the far end of the Middle Terrace, near the rocky slope of the valley.

The results of the research on the two remaining rooms of the Lower Anubis Shrine —the Hypostyle Hall and the Vestibule— will be presented in the next publication (Kwaśnica forthcoming a). Answers to the questions posed above will also be explored there.

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How to cite this article: Kwaśnica, A. (2025). Dismantling, relocation, and reconstruction of the internal rooms of the Lower Anubis Shrine in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, 34.1, 581–618. <https://doi.org/10.37343/uw.2083-537X.pam34.1.06>

35 This may also be supported by the replacement of representations of Neferure with depictions of Thutmose I on the southern and eastern walls of the Upper Courtyard (Pawlicki 2007: 116–117, Fig. 4).

36 At this time, there were only two rows of columns along the western wall of the Upper Courtyard (Kwaśnica 2025).

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