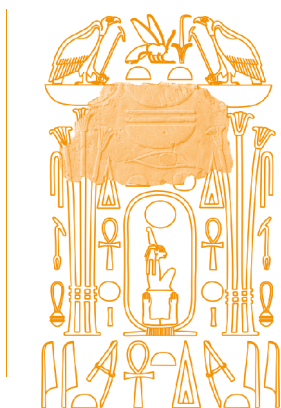


# Lintel decoration types from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari and their meaning



**Abstract:** Examination of the set of preserved gate lintels from the Temple of Hatshepsut in Deir el-Bahari has revealed two models of the iconographic decoration: one that emphasizes pictorial content in the form of scenes of a cultic or symbolic nature, with inscriptions playing merely a complementary role, and the other based on the textual message alone. The use of a given model of lintel decoration appears to be a measure either of the function of the room or, more broadly, of the space, accessed through the gate, or of the context of the wall decoration around the entrance.

**Keywords:** lintel, decoration, gate, Hatshepsut temple, Deir el-Bahari

Egyptian temple gates are greatly varied in size, architectural solutions for closing, and manner of decoration, including both stone and wooden elements. The gate opening was almost always clearly delineated on the wall surface, either by physical projection from the surface or by a frame around it (exceptions from the principle being side exits and small unimportant doorways leading to side rooms). Be it a monumental pylon or a small passage from room to room, the doorway consisted of flanking jambs, a lintel, a system for fixing the movable parts of the door, and the door-leaves. Reliefs decorating the stone jambs and lintels are the best known,

**Adrianna Madej**

University of Warsaw

### **Acknowledgments**

I would like to express my gratitude to Prof. Mirosław Barwik for his knowledgeable help and support.

The research project to study the Complex of the Royal Cult in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari is financed by National Science Centre, Poland, Grant No. 2018/29/N/HS3/02625.

this because of the nature of the material; other parts, like those made of wood, are seldom preserved.

The gate decoration consists of two separate elements: the lintel and the jambs (Koenigsberger 1936: 65–73), which could both be part of the decoration regardless of which of the two principal forms of decoration is involved. The shared elements include signs of the sky (*pt*) and earth (*t3*) forming the upper and lower boundaries of the decorated area, and *w3s*-sceptres or vertical lines framing the sides; these symbols are present on almost every temple gate from the New Kingdom.

The first of the two principal forms of lintel decoration is epigraphic in essence. The decoration consists of an inscription on the lintel, the composition topped with a winged solar disk.<sup>1</sup> The only option for lintels decorated in this manner is the royal titulary, either the full protocol with five names and additional epithets or just a part of it, mostly names in cartouches with epithets. The inscription could be arranged in horizontal lines, either one or more, composed symmetrically around a vertical axis determined by a *ḥ*-sign.

Two kinds of inscriptions can be found on the jambs. The most frequent choice is the royal titulary and next to it there are short dedicatory formulas related mainly to a king's founding of particular architectural components, less often the whole temple (Grothoff 1996: 218–221; Grallert 2001: 48–49). The text was written in columns, from one to three but usually two, and was identical or almost identical on both sides of the gateway.

The alternative form of decoration was a composition in which the center-piece was a specific iconographic scene. In this case, the epigraphic elements, mostly the names and epithets of kings or a god, as well as the names of ritual acts, are of secondary importance, explaining and complementing the message. In the case of compositions of this kind, the graphic elements were usually symmetrical in relation to the gateway axis, and the orientation of the side scenes was directed toward the room, as was the decoration on the jambs below them. The central element could be formed of the same divine figures arranged in antithetical order, a double image of the king performing a ritual or cult, or some part of the royal titulary, mainly cartouches. Representations appearing on lintels included also offering scenes or compositions with a king in the presence of a deity. However, the specificity of the space on the lintels definitely limited the possible range of motifs used on this architectural element.

In the case of most of the temple gates, there is no coherent decorative program for either the jambs or the lintel. The two parts were separate as a rule, each one set off inside a frame, and they could be decorated with either one of the two models described above. In principle, the same model was applied to both the jambs, and an effort was made to keep the two sides of the gateway at least similar if not identical. The application of a royal protocol as decoration on one jamb automatically determined the use of the same scheme

1 On the role of the winged solar disk see Derriks 2009: 283–301; Shonkwiler 2014: 67–70.

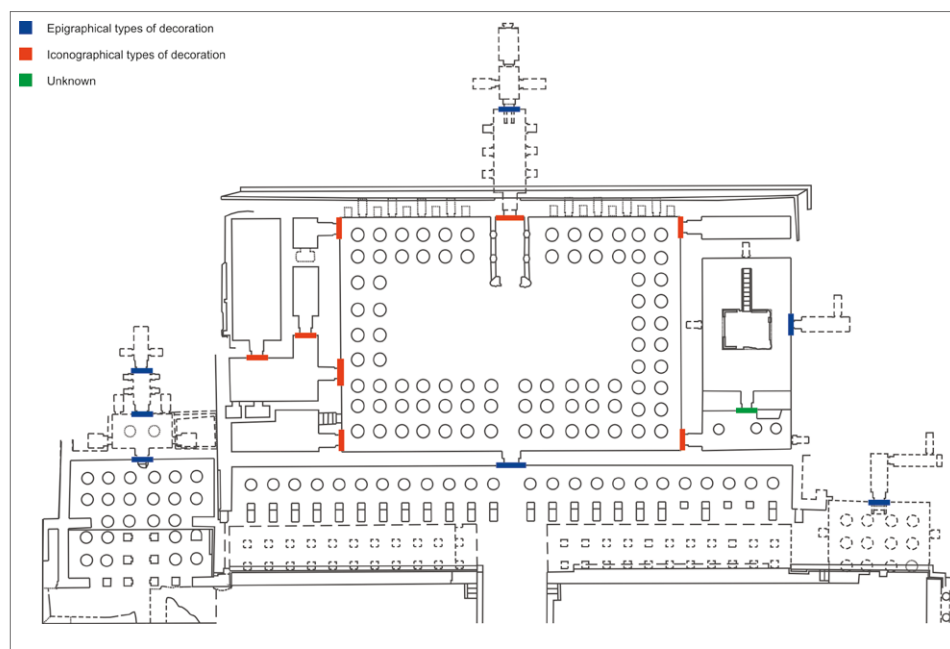


Fig. 1A. Location of different types of lintel decoration on the Upper Terrace of the temple (PCMA UW | editing A. Madej, original plan T. Dziedzic)

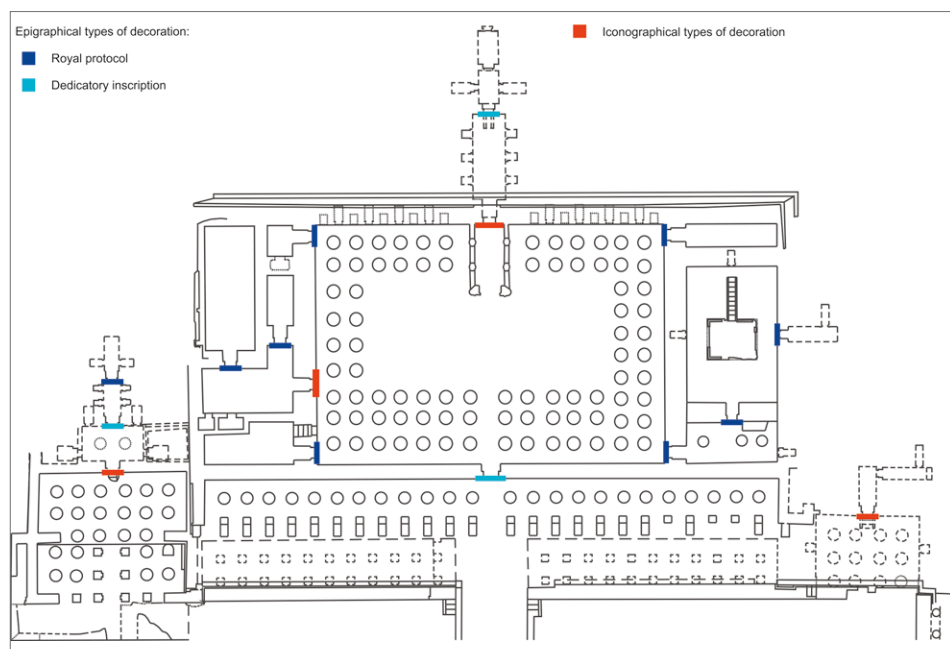


Fig. 1B. Location of different types of jamb decoration inside the temple on the Upper Terrace (PCMA UW | editing A. Madej, original plan T. Dziedzic)

on the other.<sup>2</sup> There are no confirmed examples of the occurrence of, for instance, a royal titulary on one jamb and a dedicatory inscription on the other, or paired epigraphic and iconographic renderings.

The terraced design of the Hatshepsut temple occasionally importuned the location of doors in different parts of the complex. There are no preserved blocks from the gates on the Lower Terrace, leading from outside into the temple area. On the Middle Terrace doorways limited entry to two separate cult complexes, that of the

Hathor Shrine and of the Lower Shrine of Anubis. The largest number of gates was on the Upper Terrace where most of the temple rooms were located. These doorways had decoration on both the jambs and the lintels (and in most cases an inscription containing the royal titulary also on the inside of the door) [Fig. 1A; 1B]. Some of these gates had names (Iwaszczuk 2011: 111–114). Four of the doorways in the Middle Courtyard, which were part of the unfinished Northern Colonnade, did not have any decoration.<sup>3</sup>

## ICONOGRAPHIC DECORATION OF THE LINTELS

Notwithstanding that examples of iconographic decoration of the lintels are present only on the Upper Terrace of the Hatshepsut temple, it cannot be assumed that this decoration model is associated with a specific level of the temple complex. The epigraphic form of the decoration is present on some of the other gates on this terrace.

Decoration in the form of an offering scene occurs only once, on the main axis of the Upper Courtyard, in the entrance to the Main Sanctuary of Amun (Naville 1906: Pl. CXXXXVII). It is associated with a row of rooms where cult practices dedicated to this god were performed daily. This is reflected in the decoration of both of the jambs (the king is holding the *mks*-staff and *hd*-mace, and raising his arm in a ritual gesture) and the lintel (an identical scene duplicated but in an

antithetical arrangement with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III kneeling before the enthroned god and offering him *nw*-vases). A similar scheme but with one king is very well attested from other temples (e.g., Gabolde 1993: Pl. XV; 2003: Pl. X; 2005: Pls X, XVIII; Carlotti and Gabolde 2003: Pl. XIXb; *Medinet Habu* 1963: Pls 450, 459, 468; Rieke, Hughes, and Wente 1967: Pls 18, 32). Interestingly, this motif is out of the ordinary at Deir el-Bahari, although complexes of the same character, focused on the cult of a particular deity, had only a royal titulary inscribed on the lintels. It cannot be ruled out that the reason for this is an effort to emphasize the primary role of the Amun cult in the temple. Scenes of a similar nature, referring to the daily cult and depicting Amun sitting on a throne before the king, appear on the

2 This applies to inscriptions in at least two columns. The same royal names were used in the same order, but not necessarily with the same epithets. Jambs narrow enough for just one column of inscriptions could contain different titularies on either side of the doorway: mainly the throne name and accompanying epithets on one jamb, and the praenomen on the other.

3 However, some fragments of gateway frames found in the temple lapidaria could well have belonged to dismantled doors.

walls of the “tympanum” inside the Main Sanctuary (Naville 1906: Pl. CXXXVIII). However, one should keep in mind that the gate to the complex is not an original element. Hatshepsut built it without a doubt, but the preserved granite portal replaced a gate that was originally smaller. The decoration of this earlier, completely dismantled entrance is unknown (Wysocki 1992: 242, 251–252).

Other examples of iconographic decoration on the lintels are also known from the Upper Courtyard and the Complex of the Royal Cult, and they are completely different from the scene seen on the lintel of the entrance to the Main Sanctuary. Two composition schemes, quite similar in principle, can be distinguished: a central cartouche with the throne name flanked by two symmetrical pairs of the

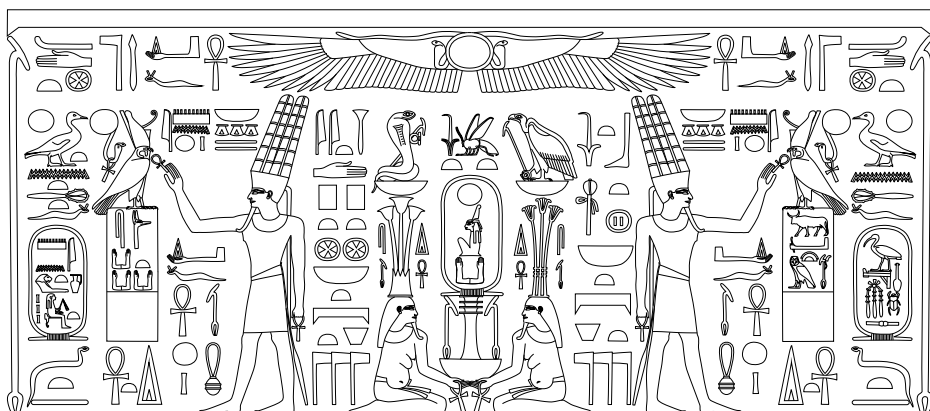


Fig. 2. Hypothetical reconstruction of the original decoration scheme on the lintel of the Complex of the Sun Cult on the Upper Terrace (A. Madej, based on Karkowski 2003: Pl. 18)

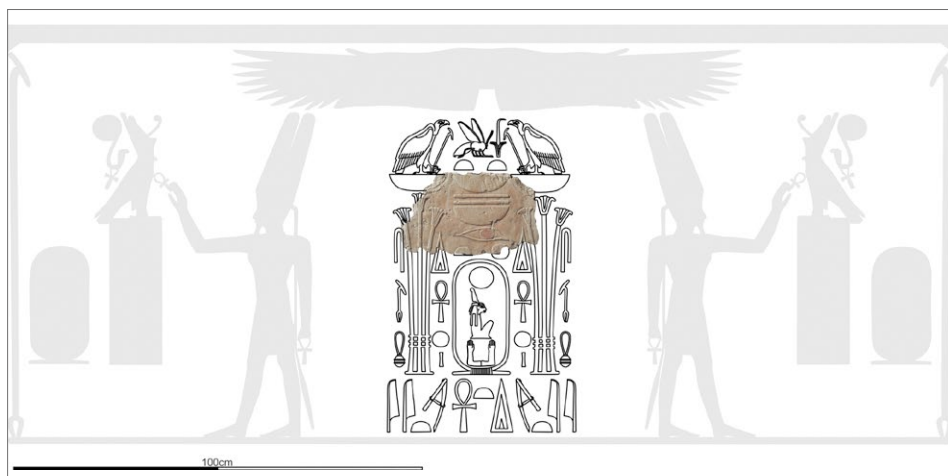


Fig.3. Reconstruction of the central motif on the lintel of the gate to the Complex of the Royal Cult in the Upper Courtyard (Photo, drawing and processing A. Madej)

Horus name and praenomen [Fig. 2]. The king's Horus names—crowned falcons on a *serekh*—are shown receiving ‘*nh*’-signs from Amun, while the throne name in the middle is part of a composition associated with the *sm3-t3wy*-motif. The use of additional columns or lines of text is due to the differences in the size of specific lintels. It is the central element that distinguishes the two decoration schemes.

In the first version, present on gate lintels from the Upper Courtyard, there are two fecundity figures personifying Upper and Lower Egypt. Each has a heraldic plant on their heads and together they hold the *nb*-sign with *dd*- and *w3s*-signs acting as a stand for the cartouche (Karkowski 1990: Fig. 4; 2001a: 136; 2003: 135, Pl. 18). The second version is reduced to heraldic plants on either side of the throne name depicted in the middle. A similarly reduced motif also occurs on the lintel from Elephantine (Habachi 1957: Pl. XVIIa; see also Larché 2019: Pl. 24). It is present on the gates of the Hatshepsut Chapel and it cannot be ruled out that the same scheme appeared also on the lintel in the entrance to the Chapel of Thutmose I.<sup>4</sup> A very similar motif was applied on the lintel of the gate of the Complex of the Royal Cult, but an atypical variation makes it unique: two lilies of Upper Egypt in place of the plants symbolizing Upper and Lower Egypt [Fig. 3]. This strange composition does not appear to be a planning mistake, but the reason for its use here remains obscure. In general, the iconographic composition used on this lintel is

a reduced version of that found on the gate of the Chapel of Hatshepsut, adapted to the proportions of this lintel. It would appear that the same decorative scheme was used throughout the Complex, variations resulting from the different sizes of the upper parts of the gates involved. At the same time, the slight differences, observed only in the central part of the composition, mean that the lintel decoration of the gate leading to the courtyard of the Complex corresponded to the decoration of the lintels on other gates in the lateral walls of the Upper Courtyard.

The fact that the said lintel compositions are related neither to the jamb decoration nor to the specific function of particular rooms and complexes that the gates led to suggests that a link should be sought to the iconographic program depicted on the temple walls in the immediate vicinity. It is highly improbable that the very similar composition scheme of the lintel decoration here had anything to do with the asymmetrical arrangement in the Upper Courtyard or the location of the gates in the outer part of the Upper Terrace. For example, the decoration of the gate lintels at the corners of the Upper Courtyard is, for one, not a logical continuation of the wall decoration next to the entrance, and it is also a completely different type of scene from that found in the reliefs on the north and south walls of the courtyard. On the south wall, the continuity of scenes in the upper part is intact, while in the lower part it is interrupted by the entrance to the Complex of the Royal Cult. However, in the case

4 The preserved blocks come from the lateral parts of the lintel and the decoration suggests a composition with a cartouche near the side end. Therefore, it is a probable example of lintel decoration based on a certain type of the *sm3-t3wy*-motif; see Karkowski 2001b: Fig. 11.

of all of the other gates, the lintel decoration above them is not strictly related to decoration of the rest of the walls.<sup>5</sup>

In the corners of the Upper Courtyard, those responsible for the decoration opted for a coronation scene. In this representation, a deity—Geb according to the inscriptions preserved above the entrances to the North and South Room of Amun—is enthroned inside a kind of pavilion with a pedestal (located near the wall corner). The king is shown kneeling before the god and Iunmutef is standing in front of the pavilion. Thot stands to the left of Iunmutef, in front of the kneeling souls of Pe and Nekhen (Karkowski 2001a: 137–138). The main actors in the coronation scenes, the king and the god, as well as Thot, are oriented to the center of the wall, while the other figures are depicted facing them. It has been suggested that coronation scenes from the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty were rather a reference to an actual act of coronation that took place in the past, which could be repeated during various ceremonies (Liszka 2007: 1160). In the said case, however, we are dealing with a symbolic transformation that took place probably after the king's death. The more commonplace presence of Geb, as the one who performs the act of coronation instead of Amun, in such scenes can be associated with the transformation of the king into a deity (Karkowski 2001a: 137–138), or it can refer to the revival and cyclical repetition of the ritual in the afterlife (Assmann 1989: 140–142).

The decoration above the gates of two chapels in the Complex of the Royal Cult presented scenes not directly related to the decoration of the walls of the relevant chapel vestibules. In both cases, it is a double composition showing a king inside a *hb-sd*-pavilion (Karkowski 2001b: 101–108, Figs 10–12). The compositions are essentially different because of their location within the temple (Karkowski 2001b: 111–112; Białostocka 2010: 15–16; 2016: 76–77), but both are based on the notion of royal power, even if they do not refer to the coronation and renewal of royalty in an earthly sense. The king is presented here as Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt, the one who united the Two Lands. It is not to be ruled out that these lintels were treated as a base for the wall decoration above them. The emphasis on the dual character of the country, which is to be observed in the middle of the lintel scenes, is also typical of the decoration of royal thrones, highlighting the king's role in a symbolical unification process (Kuhlmann 1977: 53–56). Thus, the purpose of the lintel decoration is to emphasize the role of unification.

It is worth pointing out that the 'pure' *sm3-t3wy* motif does not appear on the lintels in the temple. The heraldic plants are never intertwined. The kneeling fecundity figures are a connecting element in the case of the gates in the corners of the Upper Courtyard or, more precisely, it is the cartouche on the *w3s*- and *dd*-signs, placed on the *nb*-sign and supported by personifications of Upper and

5 Despite damage, the decoration scheme of the gate lintels in the Complex of the Sun Cult (not preserved) and the Room of the Window (poorly preserved) most likely reproduced the one known from the Upper Courtyard gates; see Karkowski 1990: Fig. 4; Pawlicki 1998: 56, Fig. 1; 2000: 92; Iwaszczuk 2016: 135, 168.



Lower Egypt. On the gates of the Complex of the Royal Cult, the papyrus and the lily in their characteristic pots are placed on both sides of the throne name without touching one another. The symbol of the unification of the Two Lands, in the form known for example from throne decoration, does not appear in the decoration of the gates. However, there is no doubt that both arrangements have a similar meaning. Moreover, the lintel decoration was unwaveringly different from the compositions above each lintel.

The scene above the gateway leading to the South Room of Amun shows the king kneeling before the god in the pavilion while being crowned. Neither the country's dualism, nor the representations of geographical directions, are visibly marked. The lintel scenes may, therefore, symbolize control over the Two Lands in a general sense, although in the said scene it is presented in a literal way—the personifications of Upper and Lower Egypt hold the *nb*-sign, as if in recognition of the power of the person whose cartouche is above. The central composition as a whole could also be understood as a graphic form of a common epithet, usually placed after the throne name of the “lord of Upper and Lower Egypt” with the wishing formula. In the Complex of the Royal Cult, the king is shown twice on the throne, with the white crown on his head on the southern side and the red one on the northern side. This scene has a clearly dual character which also corresponds to the separation of heraldic plants depicted on the lintel—their arrangement matches the location of the two parts of Egypt, as in the previously described scene.

While the use of an additional unification motif was not a requisite, there are instances of motifs of this kind being included below relevant scenes: referring to the coronation or depicting the king enthroned in majesty (e.g., Gardiner 1935: Pls 30, 37; Larché 2008: Pls I, III; see Nelson 1981: Pl. 69; *The Temple of Khonsu* 1981: Pl. 161). The scene from the Bark Hall of the Main Sanctuary could be interpreted in a similar vein. A large image of the *sm3-t3wy* motif placed between the two doorways of the niches in the north wall is a similar case in point. Although it is visibly separated from the scene above, it acted as a symbolic base for the divine bark. In this case, however, the arrangement is associated with the statue of Amun sitting in the procession bark on a pedestal. Therefore, it is not the king but the deity that unifies Egypt (Karkowski 2001a: 141–143).

The extraordinary appearance of the two lilies on both sides of the cartouche on the lintel of the entrance to the Complex of the Royal Cult is a visible departure from the traditional motif. The use of one type of plant in symmetrical depictions occurred only in cases where two scenes, one for Upper and the other for Lower Egypt, were depicted on the two opposite walls of a room or on the sides of a throne or pedestal, which is definitely not the case here. The gates in the north and south walls of the Upper Courtyard are not disposed symmetrically with regard to the main temple axis. The south wall obviously refers to Upper Egypt, but there is no equivalent gate in the north wall. Moreover, the composition of the Complex of the Royal Cult lintel is not associated with

any of the scenes above the gates. The upper part of the wall here is preserved in an extremely poor condition, with only a few blocks being returned to their position in the reconstruction. On the right, there are two goddesses, the lion-headed Mut and Hathor with the *mnt*-necklace, preserved only in the part of the heads, shoulders and feet. The composition was a fragment of the Ritual of the Ancestors (Karkowski 2001a: 134–135), presented in the upper part of the wall, and has no association with the ideological aspect of royal power. Furthermore, there are no defined transfers of the north and south symbols to the eastern or western direction in the Hatshepsut temple (Karkowski 1990: Fig. 4; 2003: Pl. 18; Pawlicki 2000: 110–111, Fig. 106; Stupko-Lubczyńska 2016: Pl. 1; see Sankiewicz 2009). Therefore, an attempt to connect the symbol of Upper Egypt with the west and the location of the netherworlds would be improbable,<sup>6</sup> as would a link between the lintel decoration and the function of the Complex of the Royal Cult.

Since the central motif referred primarily to the throne name of Hatshepsut, the same may have been true of the un-

preserved parts of lintels of the Complex of the Royal Cult and the Room of the Window.<sup>7</sup> The compositions on both sides of the central cartouche, referring to other royal names, are their mirror images. As a rule, the names of Hatshepsut were on one side (the west in every case), and the name of her coregent was on the other (east) side (Karkowski 2003: Pl. 18). A preserved fragment with the Horus name of Hatshepsut on the eastern side indicates that there is nothing to argue for a Thutmose III presence in the decoration of the gates of the Complex of the Royal Cult. This is not surprising, considering the purpose of the Complex and who was worshipped there.

The interpretation of the lintel decoration model and its connection with other parts of the walls, as presented in this article, need not be restricted to the Hatshepsut temple alone. Similar decorative schemes are confirmed also in other religious buildings. However, in most cases, the parts originally placed above the lintels have been lost or, if preserved, are without a well identified context (e.g., Petrie and Quibell 1896: Pl. LXXVII; Gabolde 1993: Pl. XVII = 2003: Pl. XII; 2005: Pl. XXXIX).

## EPIGRAPHIC DECORATION OF THE LINTELS

The other form of lintel decoration consists of inscriptions as their main part. The compositions were topped with a winged solar disk, same as in the case of the entrances with scenes above the doorways. As said

earlier, the only attested type of text on a gateway element is the royal titulary. Considering the preserved lintel inscriptions, not a single example of a full royal titulary has been recognized in the Temple.<sup>8</sup>

6 The “left side” is sometimes identified with where the dead came from, and the southward direction with the west. However, the great number of exceptions that are known leads one to doubt the correctness of this concept. See Fitzenreiter 2004: 139–244.

7 In the case of the lintel of the Thutmose I Chapel, the central cartouche could contain the throne name of this king.

The text consisted of three lines as a rule, divided into two symmetrical parts by the *ꜥnh*-signs placed in the middle. The three names given in these inscriptions were arranged in the following manner: the Horus-name in the first line, a cartouche with the throne name in the second line, and a cartouche with the praenomen in the third line (for the granite gate of the Upper Court see Naville 1906: Pl. CXX; for the gate of the Hathor Shrine, Beaux et al. 2012: Pls 1, 29, 37; and for the gate of the Lower Shrine of Anubis, Witkowski 1990: Fig. 7). The sole lintel with only the names in cartouches, composed in two lines, is the one in the entrance to the Statue Room. It may have been prompted by the need to properly locate the ‘window’ through which sunlight streamed inside, which, in turn, necessitated a reduction in lintel height. In addition to the Hatshepsut names, which are placed on every gate, there is also the original titulary of Thutmose III, which repeats with precision successive elements of Hatshepsut’s protocol—certain types of names and epithets, as well as wishing formulas at the ends. The reference to the second king is always on the right (north)

side (all gates with a double protocol are located on the main axis of the temple). Even if the second ruler was not mentioned in the inscription on the lintel, he was noted in the decoration of the jambs, as on the gate to the vestibule of the Hathor Shrine. However, the state of preservation does not allow the same to be confirmed in the case of the gate in the Lower Shrine of Anubis.

Just as every inscription on the lintel mentions the name of the temple founder, every titulary on these lintels refers to the main deity worshipped in *Djeser-djeseru*, namely Amun. His name appears as part of the royal epithet following the cartouche-name. Amun (or Amun-Ra) occurs in all of the preserved examples of the royal protocol on the gates in the Upper Terrace. It is also well attested in the royal titulary in complexes dedicated to the other gods, Hathor and Anubis, where these gods are also mentioned (Witkowski 1990: Fig. 7; Beaux et al. 2012: Pls 1, 29, 37). This is based on the same solution as the protocols of the two kings. In a symmetrical sequence of names and titles on both sides of the vertical axis of the lintel, Amun is on one side and the second deity on the other.

## SUMMARY

The terraced design of the Hatshepsut Temple meant that its different parts were located on different levels instead of being separated by walls and doorways, which contributed to a comparatively modest—for a building of its size—number of gates. The ones that exist present all the types of decoration that Koenigs-

berger distinguished for the jambs and lintels, as well as their possible combinations. Confirmed examples of iconographic and epigraphic lintel decoration are more or less equal in number. However, there is a disproportion between the distribution of the types depending on the temple levels. The iconographic

8 The text above the entrance to the Upper Anubis Shrine cannot be reconstructed, and in the case of the gate leading to the Courtyard of the Sun Cult it is impossible even to determine the type of decoration; see Karkowski 2003: 241, Pls 26, 44.

model is attested only on the Upper Terrace, although it seems not to have been related to the functions of the room accessed through the gates decorated in this way. This is because these rooms included single auxiliary chambers (such as the Room of the Window), as well as complexes important from the point of view of the cult performed in the temple. However, there are also lintels with inscriptions containing the royal titulary.

The only decoration directly related to the room function are the scenes of a cultic character showing elements of the offering

ritual. Still, decoration of this type is not to be found in every place where the offering ritual was performed and rituals were certain to be performed also outside the Main Sanctuary of Amun. In other cases, it can be assumed that the iconographic decoration was associated rather with the motifs located above the lintel scenes.

Therefore, it seems that the royal titulary used on lintels was more universal. Whether the full protocol was used or just certain names depended only on the lintel height. It was equally suited to monumental gates and smaller entrances.

#### Adrianna Madej

<https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4607-6647>

PhD Candidate

University of Warsaw

ada.madej@yahoo.com

**How to cite this article:** Madej, A. (2021). Lintel decoration types from the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari and their meaning. In P. Chudzik and Z.E. Szafrński (eds), *Deir el-Bahari Studies 3 (=Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean 30/1)* (pp. 143–156). Warsaw: WUW <https://doi.org/10.31338/uw.2083-537X.pam30.1.04>

#### References

- Assmann, J. (1989). Death and initiation in the funerary religion of ancient Egypt. In W.K. Simpson (ed.), *Religion and philosophy in ancient Egypt* (=Yale Egyptological Studies 3) (pp. 135–159). New Haven, CT: Yale Egyptological Seminar, Yale University.
- Beaux, N., Karkowski, J., Majerus, E., and Pollin, G. (2012). *La chapelle d'Hathor: Temple d'Hatchepsout à Deir El-Bahari I.3. Vestibule et sanctuaires. Planches* (=Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 129). Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale.
- Bialostocka, O. (2010). Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex of her Temple at Deir el-Bahari. In M. Dolńska and H. Beinlich (eds), *8. Ägyptologische Tempeltagung: Interconnections between temples; Warschau, 22.–25. September 2008* (pp. 13–24). Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz.
- Bialostocka, O. (2016). *Temples of Millions of Years in light of older architectural models: Hatshepsut's dsr-dsrw as the temple of rebirth of the divine k3* (=Deir el-Bahari 8). Warsaw: IKSIO PAN.
- Carlotti, J.-F. and Gabolde, L. (2003). Nouvelles données sur la Ouadjyt. *Cahiers de Karnak*, 11, 255–338.

- Derriks, C. (2009). Le soleil, le roi et le rite de passage. Une mutation de forme du disque solaire. In W. Claes, H. de Meulenaere, and S. Hendrickx (eds). *Elkab and beyond: Studies in honour of Luc Limme* (=Oriental Lovaniensia Analecta 191) (pp. 283–301). Leuven: Peeters
- Gabolde, L. (1993). La « cour de fêtes » de Thoutmosis II à Karnak. *Cahiers de Karnak*, 9, 1–99
- Gabolde, L. (2003). Compléments sur les obélisques et la « cour de fêtes » de Thoutmosis II à Karnak. *Cahiers de Karnak*, 11, 417–469
- Gabolde, L. (2005). *Monuments décorés en bas relief aux noms de Thoutmosis II et Hatchepsout à Karnak I–II* (=Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale 123). Cairo: Institut français d'archéologie orientale
- Gardiner, A.H. (ed.). (1935). *The temple of King Sethos I at Abydos II. The chapels of Amen-Re, Re'-Harakhti, Ptah, and King Sethos*. London: Egypt Exploration Society
- Grallert, S. (2001). *Bauen – Stiften – Weißen. Ägyptische Bau- und Restaurierunginschriften von den Anfängen bis zur 30. Dynastie* (=Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 18). Berlin: Achet
- Grothoff, T. (1996). *Die Tormen der ägyptischen Tempel* (=Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia 1). Aachen: Shaker Verlag
- Habachi, L. (1957). Two graffiti at Sehel from the reign of Queen Hatshepsut. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*, 16(2), 88–104
- Iwaszczuk, J. (2011). The names of the doors and domains in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Question of erasures of the feminine endings. *Études et Travaux*, 24, 109–115
- Iwaszczuk, J. (2016). *Sacred landscape of Thebes during the reign of Hatshepsut. Royal construction projects II. Topographical bibliography of the West Bank*. (=Travaux de l'Institut des Cultures Méditerranéennes et Orientales de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences 3). Warsaw: IKŚiO PAN
- Karkowski, J. (1990). Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological studies 1977–1980. *Études et Travaux*, 14, 349–363
- Karkowski, J. (2001a). The decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. In Z.E. Szafrński (ed.), *Królowa Hatszepsut i jej świątynia 3500 lat później* = *Queen Hatshepsut and her temple 3500 years later* (pp. 99–157). Warsaw: Agencja Reklamowo-Wydawnicza A. Grzegorzcyk
- Karkowski, J. (2001b). Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed robe in Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari. *Études et Travaux*, 19, 81–112
- Karkowski, J. (2003). *The Temple of Hatshepsut: The Solar Complex* (=Deir el-Bahari 6). Warsaw: ZAŚ PAN; Neriton
- Koenigsberger, O. (1936). *Die konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür* (=Ägyptologische Forschungen 2). Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin
- Kuhlmann, K.P. (1977). *Der Thron im alten Ägypten: Untersuchungen zu Semantik, Ikographie und Symbolik eines Herrschaftszeichens* (=Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo, Ägyptologische Reihe 10). Glückstadt: J.J. Augustin

- Larché, F. (2008). Nouvelles observations sur les monuments du Moyen et du Nouvel Empire dans la zone centrale du temple d'Amon. *Cahiers de Karnak*, 12, 407–592
- Larché, F. (2019). *L'anastylose des blocs d'Amenhotep I<sup>er</sup> à Karnak III*. Dépliants (=Études d'égyptologie 18), Paris: Soleb
- Liszka, K. (2007). Tracing stylistic changes within coronation scenes. In J.C. Goyon and C. Cardin (eds), *Proceedings of the Ninth International Congress of Egyptologists, Grenoble, 6–12 septembre 2004*, II (=Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta 150) (pp. 1151–1161). Leuven–Paris–Dudley, MA: Peeters
- Medinet Habu VI.2. *The temple proper. The Re chapel, the royal mortuary complex, and adjacent rooms with miscellaneous material from the pylons, the forecourts, and the first hypostyle hall*. (1963). (=Oriental Institute Publications 84). Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Naville, É. (1906). *The temple of Deir el Bahari V. The Upper Court and Sanctuary* (=Egypt Exploration Fund Memoir 27). London: Egypt Exploration Fund
- Nelson, H.H. (1981). *The Great Hypostyle Hall at Karnak I.1. The wall reliefs* (=Oriental Institute Publications 106). Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
- Pawlicki, F. (1998). Deir el-Bahari: Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/97, *Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean*, 9, 51–60
- Pawlicki, F. (2000). *Skarby architektury starożytnego Egiptu: Królewskie świątynie w Deir el-Bahari* [Architectural treasures of Ancient Egypt: The royal temples at Deir el-Bahari]. Warsaw: Arkady (in Polish)
- Petrie, W.M.F. and Quibell, J.E. (1896). *Naqada and Ballas, 1895*. London: B. Quaritch
- Ricke, H., Hughes, G.R., and Wente, E.F. (1967). *The Beit el-Wali temple of Ramesses II* (=Oriental Institute Nubian Expedition 1). Chicago: The University of Chicago
- Sankiewicz, M. (2009). Cosmological frames on the lunettes in the Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. In J. Popielska-Grzybowska and J. Iwaszczuk (eds), *Proceedings of the Fifth Central European Conference of Young Egyptologists: Egypt 2009. Perspectives of research, Pultusk 22–24 June 2009* (=Acta Archaeologica Pultuskiensia 2) (pp. 171–180). Pultusk: Pultusk Academy of Humanities
- Shonkwiler, R.L. (2014). *The Behdetite: A study of Horus the Behdetite from the Old Kingdom to the conquest of Alexander* (Ph.D. diss.). University of Chicago
- Stupko-Lubczyńska, A. (2016). *Offering scenes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut: Diachronic development of their composition and content* (=Deir el-Bahari 7). Warsaw: IKSio PAN; Fundacja “Artibus Mundi”
- The Temple of Khonsu II. Scenes and inscriptions in the court and the first hypostyle hall*. (1981). (=Oriental Institute Publications 103). Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago
- Witkowski, M.G. (1990). Quatre saisons de travaux de documentation dans les chapelles d'Anubis au Temple de la Reine Hatchepsout à Deir el-Bahari. *Études et Travaux*, 14, 369–392
- Wysocki, Z. (1992). The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari: The raising of the structure in view of architectural studies. *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo*, 48, 233–254