

TRAVAUX DE L'INSTITUT DES CULTURES MÉDITERRANÉENNES ET ORIENTALES
DE L'ACADÉMIE POLONAISE DES SCIENCES

TOME 3

Jadwiga Iwaszczuk

Sacred landscape of Thebes
during the reign of Hatshepsut
Royal construction projects

Volume 2

Topographical bibliography
of the West Bank



SACRED LANDSCAPE OF THEBES
DURING THE REIGN OF HATSHEPSUT

ROYAL CONSTRUCTION PROJECTS

VOLUME 2

TOPOGRAPHICAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WEST BANK

PRACE INSTYTUTU KULTUR ŚRÓDZIEMNOMORSKICH I ORIENTALNYCH
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TOM 3

JADWIGA IWASZCZUK

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W CZASACH HATSZEPSUT
KRÓLEWSKIE PROJEKTY BUDOWLANE

TOM 2
BIBLIOGRAFIA TOPOGRAFICZNA
BRZEGU ZACHODNIEGO



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d'Hatchepsout à Deir el-Bahari (photo JADWIGA IWASZCZUK)

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A publication which lists the whole literature written on the subject of archaeological sites has a short “expiry date” and must be updated on a regular basis. As the forerunner of this volume, the work of Berta Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, was written in the first half of the previous century, it seemed necessary to supplement this book with a list of publications released over the recent years. This work has been compiled by only one author, which means that the possibility to avoid errors was limited. I would like to offer my sincere thanks to Dr Andrzej Ćwiek, Dr Aleksandra Hallmann, Katarzyna Kapiec, Dr Marta Sankiewicz, Dr Anastasiia Stupko-Lubczyńska and Filip Taterka for their help in correcting this volume and reading it both in the field and in the office.

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Introduction

Advantages of the excellent work written by Berta Porter and Rosalind L.B. Moss, concerning topography of ancient Egypt, was an inspiration to exploit a similar formula for preparation of the second volume of the publication devoted to ritual topography entitled “Sacred Landscape of Thebes during the reign of Hatshepsut”. Due to the significant progress in research, the new volume mostly supplements the literature cited in “The Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Statues, Reliefs and Paintings” with new references and sometimes corrects the discrepancies in data which have not been noticed before.

Owing to the limitations resulting from the subject of the work, spatial and temporal frameworks have been established. This volume is devoted to the studies of West Thebes, supposedly understood by ancient Egyptians as the area framed by the Valley of Kings in the north and west, the Nile in the east, extending as far south as the tomb of Hatshepsut carved in the Southern Valleys. The fundamental assumption was to refer only to the structures which were royal foundations and functioned during the reign of Hatshepsut as well as those whose construction began in that period but the building process was not completed for certain reasons.

The sequence of the scenes is represented, if possible, in such a manner that the logical development and ritual sense of the images remain preserved. It is a result of an arbitrary interpretation by the author, although partial publications of decoration from particular buildings have been useful. If it consistent with the logical development, the rooms are described according to the following format: first, the wall next to the entrance, then from left to right. Niches have been numbered in the same way. In some cases, this format was disturbed since the logical development and the direction of scenes indicated a different manner of reading. In order to avoid using high numbers for scenes, particular architectural units have been numbered separately. Each architectural unit is divided into rooms or spaces which are consistent in terms of the represented subjects, then into walls, which have been marked with Arabic numerals. Alterations made to the scenes have been included in the description. Descriptions of kings and gods (as well as their names) indicate the fact if the representation is not original but has been restored. In order to distinguish types of erasures of Hatshepsut’s silhouette, the phrase “replaced with” is used if the person who replaced the queen has been identified, or “changed” if the name is not known, or “erased” if the silhouette has not been restored. These changes of decoration are connected with the reign of Thutmose III. The word “restored” refers to the gods if they were carved from the start after the Amarna Period. If the identification of a represented person or reconstruction of a scene is uncertain, the general state of preservation of the image is also described.

Indication of the ritual direction of silhouettes is a new element in relation to the work compiled by Porter and Moss.

If it was possible to locate statues within a certain space, they were described exactly in the context of that space, e.g. Osiride statues which were initially connected with the walls of the Bark Hall in the *Dsr-dsrw* temple are recorded when the Bark Hall is detailed, and not at the end of the description of the temple as isolated artefacts. The intention was to create the most complete illustration of the rooms, together with the sculpted decoration. The same policy was implemented in the case of blocks stored at various museums, if it was possible to match them with particular walls, they were described as parts of these walls, not as isolated finds. The same system was applied to artefacts discovered in different parts of the temple.

The reference notes concern scientific literature. Popular literature is cited only when given artefacts or scenes have not been published in other types of publications. References to general views of the temples have not been usually made since a record of particular photographs of a structure of the class represented by the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari seems unjustified in the age of digital photography and tourism. However, if a given temple has never been






published, and a photograph of its general view is the only information about it, a reference note has been made.

Plans depict each building and room and plates were used to illustrate the walls of rooms. The plates show the scenes and their numbers.

The lists of references and abbreviations as well as indices constitute an integral part of the work. The running header might help to use the record: it provides the name of the building on the left-hand (even) page, on the right-hand (odd) – the name of the room or area.

This publication differs from the book by Porter and Moss in terms of graphic layout. In order to make the relations between elements more noticeable, indentation of margins has been used. Graphic signs have been introduced to indicate the type of frieze which decorated particular walls as well as the direction of the represented silhouettes. Artefacts have also been marked.

System of graphic signs

Hathor shrine	major element of the composition: a shrine, chapel, chamber or complex of chapels/rooms
North wall	wall
	pointed <i>kheker</i> frieze
	splay-topped <i>kheker</i> frieze
	frieze, type 1 ¹
	frieze, type 2
	frieze, type 3
→	direction of the silhouette
■	artefact

¹ Cryptogram frieze types according to: Sankiewicz, Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze, 199–214.

**Earlier temples
functioning during the reign
of Hatshepsut**

Temple of Mentuhotep II – *3h-swt*

Artefacts found in the area of the temple of Mentuhotep II

■ Plaque of Hatshepsut, faience, Bolton Museum, Bolton 1904.48:13, found in the North Court of the temple of Mentuhotep II

■ Pebble with dedicatory inscription, stone, Museum of Liverpool, Liverpool M11929

Dodson, Hatshepsut and “her Father”, 224–226, Pl. XXIX [2]
el-Enany, Le saint thébain, 181

■ Ostrakon with plan of bark station, British Museum, London EA41228, found in rubbish covering temple of Mentuhotep II, probably from *Dsr-dsrw*

PM I.2^o, 624
Glanville, Working Plan, 237–239, Pl. XLII.1
Polz, An Architect’s Sketch, 238–239, Fig. 3
Simon-Boidot, Encore une révision de l’ostrakon BM 41228, 361–373
Van Siclen, Ostrakon BM 41228, 75–77
Van Siclen, A Sketch Plan for a Shrine Reconsidered, 95

■ Statue of Djehuty, limestone, Petrie Museum, London UC 14351

Petrie, A Season in Egypt, Pl. 21.3
Urk. IV, 451.8–452.4

■ Bowl with dedicatory inscription, calcite, Medelhavsmuseet, Stockholm MM 14385

Björkman, Kings at Karnak, 43
Donohue, Hatshepsut and Nebhepetre^c Mentuhotpe, 38–40, Fig. 2
el-Enany, Le saint thébain, 181
Peterson, Hatshepsut und Nebhepetre Mentuhotep, 266–268
Medelhavsmuseet neg. 1973,1974

**Temples
built in the times of Hatshepsut**

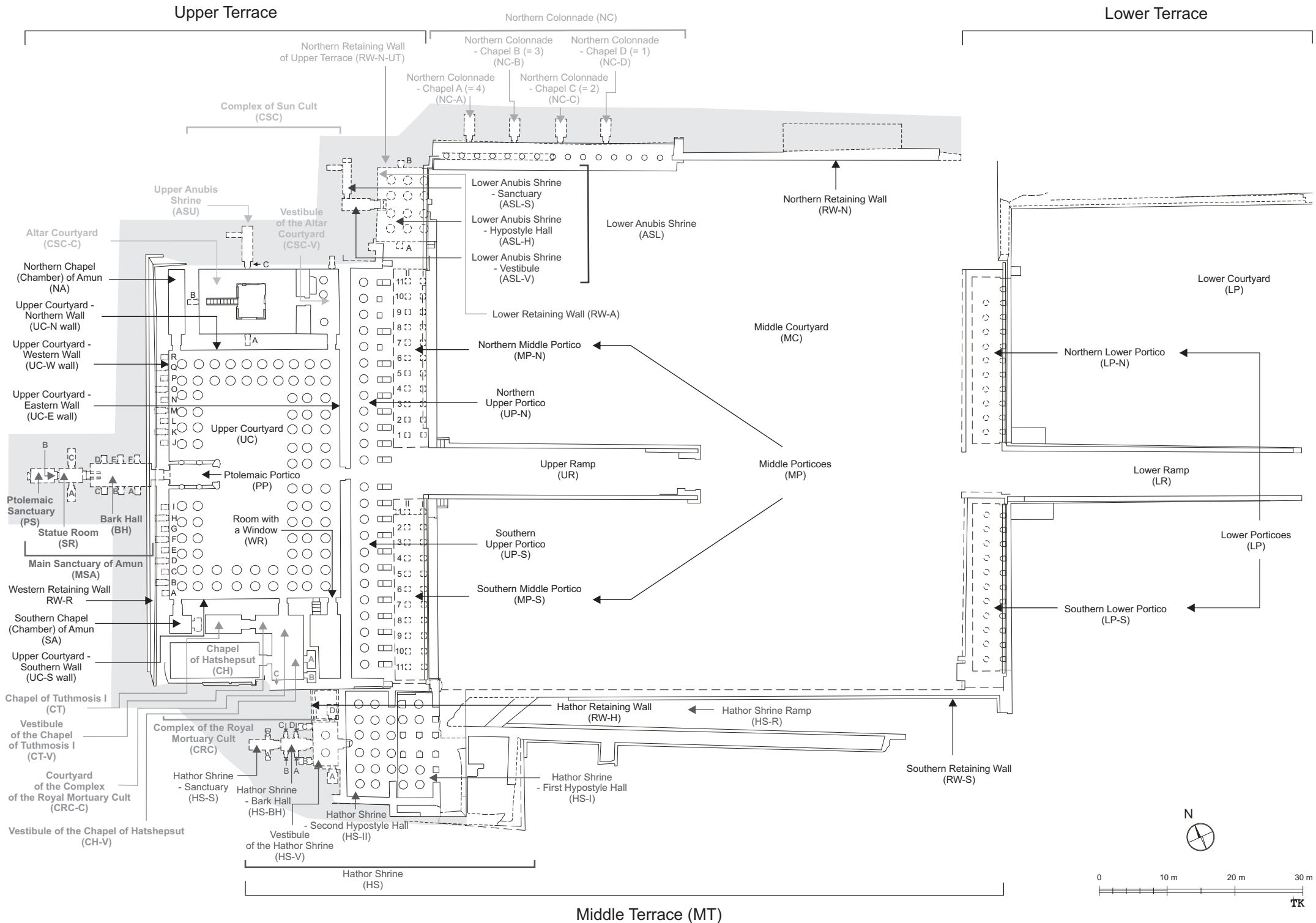


Fig. 1. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Lower Portico North (Portico of Hunting) (based on plan made by T. Kaczor; digitizing J. Iwaszczuk).

Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari

– *Dsr-dsrw*

Fig. 1a-b

Foundation

Building *dipinti*

Foundation of the south retaining wall of the Middle Terrace

Wieczorek, Building dipinti 2007/2008, 206–209

Foundation of the south wall of the Complex of the Royal Cult

Szafrński, Barwik, Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Season 2005/2006, Pl. XIV

Wieczorek, Building Dipinti, 285–289

Wieczorek, Some Remarks on Dates in the Building-Dipinti, 207–211, Fig. 106

Wieczorek, Building dipinti 2007/2008, 203–206

Loose blocks

Wieczorek, Building dipinti 2007/2008, 210

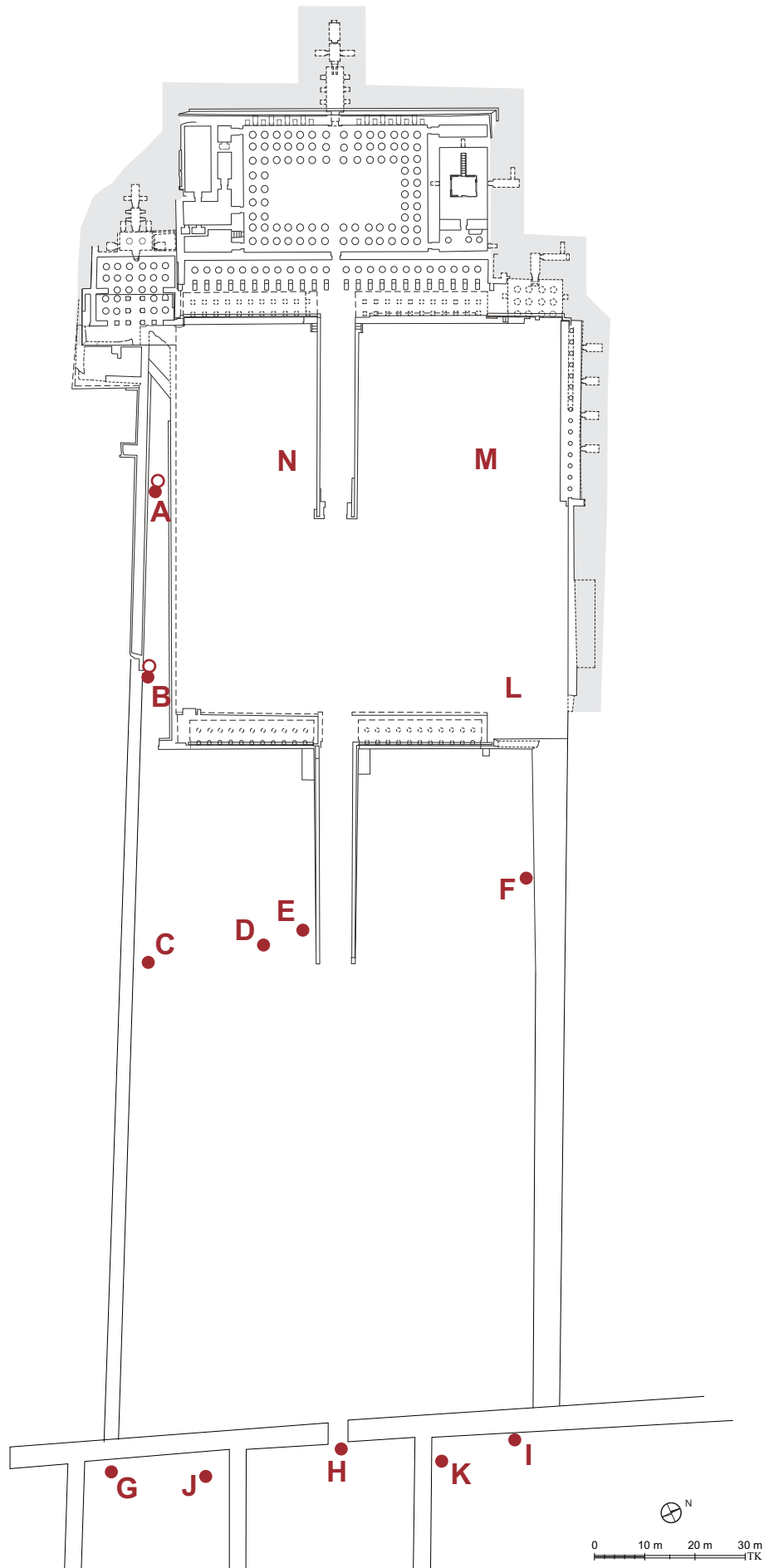


Fig. 2. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, foundation deposits (based on Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 151; Wysocki, *Deir el-Bahari, 1977–1982*, 344, Fig. 22, Pl. 5; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Foundation deposits

Fig. 2

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 84–88, Figs 46–48 (9 deposits)
 PM II², 368–369
 Reeves, *Two Name-beads of Hatshepsut and Senenmut*, 387–388
 Roering, *Beigaben aus einer Gründungsgrube*, 154–156
 Roehrig, *Foundation Deposits*, 141–145, Figs 62–76
 Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 139–155
 Serpico, *The contents of jars*, 843–883
 Spence, *Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy*, 353–371
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 151–164, Fig. 15
 Wysocki, *The results of analysis and studies*, 293–307

Main temple, deposit A = Deposit 1

Fig. 2

Naville, *The excavations at Deir el Bahari 1894–1895*, 36
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9, Pl. CLXVIII
 PM II², 368
 Spence, *Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy*, 355, 358–359, 367–368
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 155–157

■ Model hoe, pottery vessel, calcite vessel, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 13115, ÄM 13117, ÄM 13118

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 125
 Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, 89, Fig. 76 (ÄM 13115)
 Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, 58–59, Figs 630, 632 (ÄM 13115, ÄM 13118)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
 PM II², 368
 Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften II*, 265
Urk. IV, 380–381 (ÄM 13115)
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 156

■ Model rocker, two hoes, rush jar stand, rush mat, adze, model adze, bowl, jar, vase and lid, pot stand, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 95.1410–95.1420

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9, Pl. CLXVIII (95.1410, 95.1415)
 PM II², 369
 Roering, *Beigaben aus einer Gründungsgrube*, 154–156
 Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 148–149, Pls 8.11 (95.1410), 8.12 (95.1411, 95.1412)
 Smith, *Ancient Egypt*, 118
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 156

■ Model rocker, model hoe, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels E642, E643

Capart, *Nouvelles acquisitions*, 90 [6, 7]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
 PM II², 368 (E643 quoted as E543)
 Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 148–149, Figs 8.11 (E643 quoted as E543), 8.12 (E642)
 Seelers, *Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes*, 36 [122] (E643 quoted as E543), [127] (E642)
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 156–157

■ Calcite vessel, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo CG 16007 = JE 31332

Borchardt, *Miscellen*, 143 [upper]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
 PM II², 368
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 157

■ Tools, vases, painter's palette with date, etc., Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 31326–JE 31330

Maspero, *Guide*⁴, 527–528 [5305–5318]
PM II², 368

- Ten baskets, rope, brush, model rocker, model hoe, pot stand, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 2099–E 2109, E 9413–E 9415

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 148–149, Figs 8.11 (E 9413), 8.12 (E 9414)
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 157

- Model rocker, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin 1901.784

Murray, *National Museum of Science and Art*, 42
Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
PM II², 368
Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, Fig. 8.11

- Three rockers, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh A.1964.461–A.1964.463

PM II², 368

- Model rocker, model jar, two plaques, British Museum, London EA26276, EA26282, EA67075, EA67076

Budge, *A guide to the fourth, fifth and sixth Egyptian rooms*, 136
Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
PM II², 369
Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 148–149, Fig. 8.11
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 156

- Two vases and lid, model hoe, model adze, model axe blade, plaque, pot stand, adze, five bundles of grass matting, amulet, Petrie Museum, London UC 15862–UC 15871, according to M. Serpico provenience of UC 15862 uncertain

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
Petrie, *Tools and weapons*, Pls XLIX.37 (UC 15870), LXVIII.58 (UC 15864), LV.126 (UC 15869), LV.128 (UC 15865)
Petrie, *The funeral furniture*, 5, 17, Pl. XII, 133 (UC 15862), 134 (UC 15863)
PM II², 368
Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 148–149, Figs 8.11 (UC 15870), 8.12 (UC 15864)
Serpico, *The contents of jars*, 847, 851, 855, 856, 859, 861, 866, 868, 870–872, Tab. 1
Serpico, White, *Chemical Analysis of Coniferous Resins*, 1041
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 157

- Model rocker, model hoe, Brooklyn Museum, New York 02.226, 02.227

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 148–149, Figs 8.11 (02.226), 8.12 (02.227)
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 156

- Calcite vase and lid, model adze, *mesekhtiyu* instrument, model rocker, model hoe, pot stand, mat, calcite jar, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford AN1895.146–AN1895.152, AN1895.157

Ashmolean Museum. *Summary Guide*, 45
Hardwick *et al.*, *Sackler Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities*, Case 50, no. 8
Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
PM II², 368
Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 146, Fig. 8.10

- Model rocker, model hoe, pot stand, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia E 1036–E 1039

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 9
 Roehrig, The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, 148 (E 1039a, E 1039b), Figs 8.11 (E 1036), 8.12 (E 1037)
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 157

■ Model rocker, Palo Alto Stanford University Museum, Stanford

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 9
 PM II², 368
 Roehrig, The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, Fig. 8.11

■ Two model rockers, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto B.2844, B.2845

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 9
 PM II², 368
 Roehrig, The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, Fig. 8.11

Main temple, deposit B = Deposit 2

Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 84–88
 PM II², 369
 Roehrig, The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, 150
 Spence, Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy, 355, 358–359, 366
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 157–158
 Winlock, Excavations at Thebes, 29, Fig. 20
 Winlock, Excavations, 52–53, Pl. 42
 MMA Photos M.3.C. 61–70

Fig. 2

■ Two model sieves, model basket, model basketry tray, adze, mallet, stake, two chisels, model hoe, brick mold, four model sheets, polishing stone, two *tjes* knots, four fragments of charcoal, two conical loaves of bread, handle of model hoe, adze, mesekhitiyu instrument, model rocker, ointment jar, pot stand, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 22.3.240–22.3.248, 22.3.250–22.3.263, 22.3.288, 96.4.6–96.4.11, 96.4.13

Arnold, Building in Egypt, Fig. 6.29 (96.4.9)
 Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 86 (22.3.248), Fig. 47 (22.3.241, 22.3.244–22.3.247, 22.3.252, 22.3.258, 22.3.259)
 PM II², 369
 Roehrig, The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, 150
 Roehrig, Foundation deposits, 144, Fig. 76a (22.3.245), b (22.3.246), f (22.3.247), g (22.3.248)
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 158
 Winlock, Excavations at Thebes, 29, Fig. 20
 Winlock, Excavations, 89, Pl. 42

Main temple, deposits C-F

Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 84–86, Fig. 47
 Kees, Ägypten, 146, Pl. 22 (models of tools)
 PM II², 368–369
 Roehrig, Foundation Deposits, 144–145
 Spence, Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy, 355, 358, 360–365
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 158–159
 Winlock, Excavations at Thebes, 29, Fig. 20 (models of tools)
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924, 16–18, Figs 13–14
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, 24–25
 Winlock, Excavations, 89–90, 107

Deposit C = Deposit 3

PM II², 368–369
 Roehrig, The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, 149
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 158–159

Fig. 2

Winlock, *Excavations*, 89, Pl. 42
MMA Photos M.5.C. 44–45, 47–49, 79

- Four model adzes, five vases with lids, vase, two reed mats, two plaques, two model rockers, two adzes, saw, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.3.40–25.3.49, 25.3.90–25.3.93, 25.3.105–25.3.106, 25.3.111, 25.3.113, 25.3.120

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 84–86, Fig. 47 (25.3.44–25.3.49, 25.3.90)
PM II², 368–369
Roehrig, *Foundation deposits*, 144–145, Fig. 76c (25.3.120), h (25.3.46), i (25.3.47), k (25.3.40)
Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 150, Figs 8.14 (25.3.92–25.3.93), 8.15 (25.3.40–25.3.43), 8.16 (25.3.44–25.3.47, 25.3.49)
Serpico, *The contents of jars*, 846, 851–856, 866–867, 869–872, Tab. 1 (25.3.44a–25.3.49a)
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159
Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924*, 16, Fig. 14 (25.3.111)
Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1926)*, 16 (25.3.111)
Winlock, *Excavations*, 89, Pl. 42 (25.3.44–25.3.47, 25.3.49)

- Three model rockers, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 49177–JE 49179

Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 149
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159
Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924*, 16

- Pottery, axe, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (de-accessioned artefacts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 22.3.249, 22.3.270–22.3.287, 22.3.289–22.3.294)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158, n. 167

- Celery, New York Botanical Garden (de-accessioned artefacts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158, n. 167

- Food offerings, American Museum of Natural History, New York (de-accessioned artefacts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158, n. 167

Fig. 2

Deposit D = Deposit 4

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159
MMA Photos M.5.C. 71, 76–78

- String of beads, two crucibles, malachite, galena, basket, two pegs, three adzes, knife, six chisels, mallet, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.3.94–25.3.96, 25.3.107–25.3.110, 25.3.114–25.3.116, 25.3.121–25.3.128, 25.3.131

Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 149
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159
Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924*, 16 (25.3.108, 25.3.114–25.3.116, 25.3.122–25.3.128), Fig. 15 (25.3.114, 25.3.116)
Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1926)*, 18 (25.3.109, 25.3.110, 25.3.114–25.3.116)

- Two crucibles, two brick molds, two pegs, string of beads, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 49196, JE 49197, JE 49212, JE 49213, JE 49216, JE 49217, JE 49225

Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 149
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159
Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924*, 16
Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1926)*, 18 (JE 49196, JE 49213)

Fig. 2**Deposit E = Deposit 5**

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159
 MMA Photos M.5.C. 72–75

- Bowl of fat, bowl of raisins, bowl of jujube berries, bowl, bowl of dates, three adzes, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.3.50–25.3.54, 25.3.117–25.3.119

Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 149
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159
 Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924*, 16, Fig. 14
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1926)*, Fig. 18

Fig. 2**Deposit F = Deposit 6**

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159
 MMA Photo M.5.C. 167

- Two plaques, two model sticks, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.3.97–25.3.100

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159

- Two model sticks, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 49221, JE 49222

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 158–159

Artefacts from deposits C-F, provenience uncertain

- Two jars with lids, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.3.63a, b, 25.3.64a, b (deposits C-F)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159

- Model basketry tray, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.3.88 (deposits C or F)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159

- Four model hoes, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.3.101–25.3.104 (deposits D-F)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159

- Two axes, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 25.3.129–25.3.130 (deposits C-E)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159

Main temple, deposits G-I

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 85–88, Figs 47–48
 PM II², 368–369
 Roehrig, *Foundation Deposits*, 144–145, Figs 75, 76k, l
 Spence, *Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy*, 355, 366–367
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159–160
 Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927*, 25–30, Fig. 28

Winlock, Excavations, 132–135
 MMA Photos M.8.C. 49–56, 62–65, 67, 69, 71–72, 74, 231, 235–236, 238–239, 245, 316–321, 401–407

Deposit G = Deposit 7

Fig. 2

Spence, Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy, 355, 358
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 159–160

- 146 scarabs, two cowroids, two *wadjet* eyes, inscribed stone, block of wood, pebble, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.166–27.3.172, 27.3.174–27.3.175, 27.3.178–179, 27.3.181–27.3.190, 27.3.192–27.3.194, 27.3.196–27.3.197, 27.3.199, 27.3.203, 27.3.206, 27.3.208, 27.3.210, 27.3.211, 27.3.214, 27.3.216, 27.3.221–27.3.233, 27.3.238, 27.3.240, 27.3.242, 27.3.245, 27.3.246, 27.3.249–27.3.253, 27.3.257–27.3.259, 27.3.264, 27.3.266, 27.3.269, 27.3.272, 27.3.276, 27.3.278–27.3.285, 27.3.287–27.3.289, 27.3.291–27.3.296, 27.3.298–27.3.304, 27.3.306–27.3.308, 27.3.310, 27.3.312–27.3.316, 27.3.321, 27.3.323–27.3.325, 27.3.327, 27.3.330–27.3.333, 27.3.337–27.3.341, 27.3.343–27.3.344, 27.3.346–27.3.347, 27.3.349–27.3.352, 27.3.354, 27.3.356–27.3.359, 27.3.361–27.3.362, 27.3.364, 27.3.368, 27.3.370, 27.3.373–27.3.381, 27.3.385–27.3.390, 27.3.392–27.3.394, 27.3.396, 27.3.397, 27.3.400–27.3.402

Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 85, 86, 88, Fig. 48 (27.3.174, 27.3.178, 27.3.181, 27.3.210, 27.3.214, 27.3.230–27.3.232, 27.3.242, 27.3.251, 27.3.253, 27.3.278, 27.3.279, 27.3.281, 27.3.285, 27.3.287, 27.3.288, 27.3.292, 27.3.301, 27.3.313, 27.3.315, 27.3.316, 27.3.321, 27.3.323, 27.3.325, 27.3.327, 27.3.331, 27.3.333, 27.3.351, 27.3.364, 27.3.376)

PM II², 377

Roehrig, Foundation Deposits, 142–143, Fig. 75b (27.3.180), c (27.3.206), f (27.3.251), g (27.3.232), h (27.3.285), i (27.3.292), k (27.3.323)

Roehrig, The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, 150, 154, Fig. 8.19 (27.3.174, 27.3.181, 27.3.251, 27.3.281, 27.3.292, 27.3.298, 27.3.323)

Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 159–160

Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, Fig. 28 (27.3.174, 27.3.178, 27.3.181, 27.3.210, 27.3.214, 27.3.230–27.3.232, 27.3.242, 27.3.251, 27.3.253, 27.3.278, 27.3.279, 27.3.281, 27.3.285, 27.3.287, 27.3.288, 27.3.292, 27.3.301, 27.3.313, 27.3.315, 27.3.316, 27.3.321, 27.3.323, 27.3.325, 27.3.327, 27.3.331, 27.3.333, 27.3.351, 27.3.364, 27.3.376)

Winlock, Excavations, 132–135, Pl. 43 (27.3.174, 27.3.178, 27.3.181, 27.3.210, 27.3.214, 27.3.230–27.3.232, 27.3.242, 27.3.251, 27.3.253, 27.3.278, 27.3.279, 27.3.281, 27.3.285, 27.3.287, 27.3.288, 27.3.292, 27.3.301, 27.3.313, 27.3.315, 27.3.316, 27.3.321, 27.3.323, 27.3.325, 27.3.327, 27.3.331, 27.3.333, 27.3.351, 27.3.364, 27.3.376)

Deposit H = Deposit 8

Fig. 2

Serpico, The contents of jars, 846, 851, 854–856, 859, 860, 867–871, Tab. 1, Figs 4–7 (MMA 27.3.407a–412a)
 Spence, Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy, 355, 358

- Three cowroids, five scarabs, six vases with lids, bowl with grapes and dates, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.180, 27.3.198, 27.3.219, 27.3.220, 27.3.273, 27.3.274, 27.3.286, 27.3.297, 27.3.336, 27.3.407–27.3.412, 27.3.418

Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 87–88, Fig. 48 (27.3.180, 27.3.198, 27.3.286)

Roehrig, Foundation Deposits, 142–143, Fig. 75a (27.3.198), b (27.3.180)

Roehrig, The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple, 150, Fig. 8.19 (27.3.198)

Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 159–160

Winlock, Excavations, 132–135, Pl. 43 (27.3.180, 27.3.198, 27.3.286)

Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, Fig. 28 (27.3.180, 27.3.198, 27.3.286)

Deposit I = Deposit 9

Fig. 2

Spence, Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy, 355, 366–367

- 68 scarabs, two *tjes* knots, bowl of mud mortar, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.164, 27.3.165, 27.3.173, 27.3.176, 27.3.177, 27.3.191, 27.3.200–27.3.202, 27.3.204, 27.3.205, 27.3.207, 27.3.212, 27.3.213, 27.3.215, 27.3.217, 27.3.218, 27.3.234–27.3.237, 27.3.239, 27.3.241, 27.3.243–27.3.244, 27.3.247, 27.3.248, 27.3.254–27.3.256, 27.3.260–

27.3.263, 27.3.265, 27.3.267, 27.3.268, 27.3.270, 27.3.271, 27.3.275, 27.3.277, 27.3.290,
27.3.305, 27.3.309, 27.3.311, 27.3.320, 27.3.322, 27.3.326, 27.3.328, 27.3.329, 27.3.334–
27.3.335, 27.3.342, 27.3.345, 27.3.353, 27.3.355, 27.3.360, 27.3.363, 27.3.365–27.3.367,
27.3.369, 27.3.371, 27.3.372, 27.3.382–27.3.384, 27.3.391, 27.3.395, 27.3.398, 27.3.421

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 87–88, Fig. 48 (27.3.164, 27.3.173, 27.3.191, 27.3.212, 27.3.218, 27.3.235, 27.3.243,
27.3.267, 27.3.268, 27.3.271, 27.3.305, 27.3.309, 27.3.326, 27.3.345, 27.3.382)
Roehrig, *Foundation Deposits*, 142–143, Fig. 75d (27.3.164), e (27.3.277), l (27.3.326)
Roehrig, *The Foundation Deposits of Hatshepsut's Mortuary Temple*, 150, 154, Fig. 8.19 (27.3.164, 27.3.213, 27.3.243)
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159–160
Winlock, *Excavations*, 132–135, Pl. 43 (27.3.164, 27.3.173, 27.3.191, 27.3.212, 27.3.218, 27.3.235, 27.3.243, 27.3.267,
27.3.268, 27.3.271, 27.3.305, 27.3.309, 27.3.326, 27.3.345, 27.3.382)
Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927*, Fig. 28 (27.3.164, 27.3.173, 27.3.191, 27.3.212, 27.3.218, 27.3.235,
27.3.243, 27.3.267, 27.3.268, 27.3.271, 27.3.305, 27.3.309, 27.3.326, 27.3.345, 27.3.382)

Artefacts from deposits G-I

■ Three bowls of jujube berries, bowl of figs, bowl with sand, bowl of resin and butter, gold beads, silver beads, 65 faience rosettes, Hathor emblem, Bes amulet, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.413–27.3.417, 27.3.419, 27.3.444–27.3.448

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159–160

■ Pottery, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago (de-accessioned artefacts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.416–27.3.417, 27.3.420–27.3.422)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159–160, n. 171

■ Grinders, grindstones, bowl with natron, platter, faience beads, Hathor emblem (de-accessioned artefacts from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.403–27.3.406, 27.3.416–27.3.417, 27.3.420, 27.3.441–27.3.443, 27.3.447b)

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 159–160, n. 171

Main temple, deposit J = Deposit 10

Fig. 2

Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles*, 473–474
Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations*, 33
Spence, *Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy*, 355, 357, 368
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 160
Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927*, 28
MMA Photo M.5.C. 83

Main temple, deposit K

Fig. 2

Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles*, 473–474
Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations*, 30–31, Pls XXI–XXII, XXIV
PM II², 368
Spence, *Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy*, 355, 357, 368
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 161–162
Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927*, 28

■ Vase, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 20458

Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations*, 21, Pl. 22 [2]
Kaiser, *Ägyptisches Museum Berlin*, no. 631
Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften II*, 266
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 161, n. 173

- 11 objects, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford 1913.513–1913.523

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 161–162

- Jar with lid, cosmetic jar, dish, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 26.7.1433, 26.7.1435–26.7.1436

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 161–162

Main temple, deposits L-N

Guidotti, *Gli oggetti del deposito di fondazione*, 41–58
 Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 84–85
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 9
 Serpico, *The contents of jars*, 847
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 151, n. 156
 Winlock, *Excavations*, 153

Main temple, deposit Z

Spence, *Topography, Architecture and Legitimacy*, 354
 Wysocki, *The Results of Analysis and Studies*, 298

Valley temple, deposits A, B

Carnarvon, Carter, *Five Years' Explorations*, 39–40, Pl. XXX
 PM II², 423
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 162

- Adze blade, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 43171

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 162

Valley temple, deposit 5AFD2

Lythgoe, Lansing, Davies, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915–16*, 10, Fig. 3
 PM II², 423
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 162–163
 MMA Photos 5A 418–419, 424–429

- Three calcite jars, three linen sheets, adze, four chisels, leather fragment, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 16.10.481–16.10.483, 16.10.485–16.10.495

Lythgoe, Lansing, Davies, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915–16*, 10, Fig. 3
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 163

Artefacts from deposits

Bovot, *Dépôt de fondation du temple de Deir el-Bahari*, 148, Fig. 51
 Petrie, *History II*, 80, 94
 Petrie, *Naukratis I*, 32 (model hoes)
 Pier, *Egyptian Antiquities in the Pier Collection I*, 11, Pl. XI [3] (palette, flint)
 Pier, *Egyptian Antiquities, the Private Collection*, 21, Fig. on p. 17 [88] (palette, flint)
 PM II², 369
 Pritchard, *The Ancient Near East*, Fig. 116 (rocker, adze)
 Sotheby Sale Cat., May 20–21, 1930, 7 [46] (knife, axe-head, chisel fragments)
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 163–164
 Wiedemann, *Ägyptische Geschichte*, 339, n. 10 (models of hoes)

Fig. 2

- Rockers, model basketry tray, models of tools and vessels, axe, blade, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 13114, ÄM 13116, ÄM 13119, ÄM 20458–ÄM 20461, ÄM 23136–ÄM 23137

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 125 (13114)
 Lipińska, Dolińska, Aksamit (Eds), Geheimnisvolle Königin Hatschepsut, 126 [23] (13114), 126 [31] (13119), 127 [25] (20459), 127 [26] (20460), 127 [27] (20461), 127 [28] (23136), 127 [29] (23137), 128 [33] (20458)
 Kaiser, Ägyptisches Museum Berlin, 58–59, Figs 633–634, 636–637 (20458–20460, 23136–23137), 632
 Krebs, Einige Transportprobleme, Fig. on p. 92 (13116)
 Kühnert-Eggebrecht, Die Axe als Waffe und Werkzeug, 120 [MGD 5] (20460), Pl. XV [4]
 PM II², 369
 Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften II, 265
 Sethe, Untersuchungen I, 124 [p] (text, 13116)
Urk. IV, 380–381 [115] (text, 13116)
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 164

- Rocker, hoe, Bolton Museum, Bolton 1896.40:01, 1896.40:02

- Vases, cartouche plaque, fragments of a menat necklace, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 10736, JE 47649, JE 47715, JE 51814

PM II², 369 (JE 10736, JE 51814)
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 164 (C3) (JE 10736, JE 51814)

- Pottery, phallus, baskets, brush, stand, hammer stone, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 1673, E 2089, E 10753, E 28193, E 28963–E 28986, E 29000–E 29029, mainly from deposits B–I, de-accessioned from the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PM II², 369 (E 10753)
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 158 (n. 167), 159 (n. 168), 160 (n. 171), 163 [C2]

- Scarab with prenomen of Nefrura, Czartoryski collection, Cracow, probably from here

Śliwa, Queen Hatshepsut in Cracow, 67, n. 16
 Śliwa, Egyptian Scarabs, 46–47 [66]

- Hoe, rocker, McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock 1987.296, 1987.297

- Adze blade, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim 5961

Schmitz, Kleine Inschriften aus dem Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, 171–173, Fig. 2

- Vase, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden F. 1965/8.2

- Rocker, Museum of Liverpool, Liverpool 56.22.156

- Hoe, West Park Museum, Macclesfield

David, The Macclesfield Collection, Section L, no. 9
 PM II², 369

- Blade, Ägyptisches Museum – Georg Steindorff – der Universität Leipzig, Leipzig 5075

Thebes. City of Gods and Pharaohs, 237

- Chisel, model hoe, two rockers, British Museum, London EA20936, EA26277, EA49518, EA54991

Budge, A guide to the fourth, fifth and sixth Egyptian rooms, 136 [9] (EA54991)
 PM II², 369 (EA54991)
 Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 164 [C5] (EA54991)

- Three model hoes, model rocker, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford 2014/258–2014/261
- 14 rockers, two adzes, three hoes, two plaques, 6 *mesehtiyu* instruments, vase with lid, three lids, Louvre, Paris AF 9465, E 1877, E 1878, N 650, N 658, N 789, N 790, N 791, N 808, N 2253

Pharaon, 148 [51]

- Polished stone with prenomen of Hatshepsut, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo 1927.137
- Lid, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto B. 2198

PM II², 369

- Hoe, rocker, Anthropology Museum/University of Winnipeg, no number given
- Rocker, private collection

Binoche et Giquello, mercredi 30 mai 2012, Lot 22

Name stones

Found at the Valley temple

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 40, Pl. XXXII.1
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 146 (MMA 32.3.268)
 Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 88–89

- Six name stones of Hatshepsut, quartzite, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 33504–JE 33505, JE 52129 (with *graffito* of Sen-en-mut), JE 58810–JE 58813
- Name stone of Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 52129, probably from here

Gunn, Additions to the Collections of the Egyptian Museum, 94
 Meyer, Senenmut, 258

- Name stone of Hatshepsut, British Museum, London EA52882, probably from here

Dorman, The Monuments of Senenmut, 205
 Hall, Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae V, Pl. 28
 Meyer, Senenmut, 258
 Parkinson, Cracking Codes, 66 (bibliographic details)
 PM II², 424
 Reeves, Taylor, Howard Carter, 95
 Robins, Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom, no. 23

Shaw, Nicholson, *British Museum Dictionary*, 194 (bibliographic details)
Strudwick, *The Legacy of Lord Carnarvon*, 25–26 [5]

- Name stone of Hatshepsut, British Museum, London EA52883, probably from here

Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae V*, Pl. 27
Parkinson, *Cracking Codes*, Fig. 47 (bibliographic details)
PM II², 424

- Name stone of Hatshepsut, British Museum, London EA52884, probably from here

Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae V*, Pl. 26
PM II², 424

- Name stone of Hatshepsut, British Museum, London EA52885, probably from here

Hall, *Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae V*, Pl. 26
PM II², 424

46 name stones of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

- Name stone of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 32.3.268

Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 146
Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 88–89

- Name stones of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 12.181.306,
27.3.584, 32.2.7–32.2.9, 32.2.11, 32.2.13–32.2.17, 32.3.264, 32.3.266, 32.3.270, 32.3.271,
32.3.272, 32.3.277, 32.3.279, 32.3.280, 32.3.282, 32.3.284, 32.3.287

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 88–89

- Two name stones of Hatshepsut

Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 37–38, Figs 28–29

- Name stone of Hatshepsut

Carter, *The ‘Valley’-Temple*, 40 [4], Pl. XXXII [1]

- Four name stones of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan House storeroom 1, Qurna, probably from here

Iwaszczuk, *Surprising Name Stones*, 55–63, Figs 19–23

Name stones found beside north processional alley wall

- Name stone of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.584

- Name stone of Thutmose III, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.585

Two name stones found in the “Palace of Hatshepsut”, Birabi

Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, *Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis*, 37, Figs 28–29

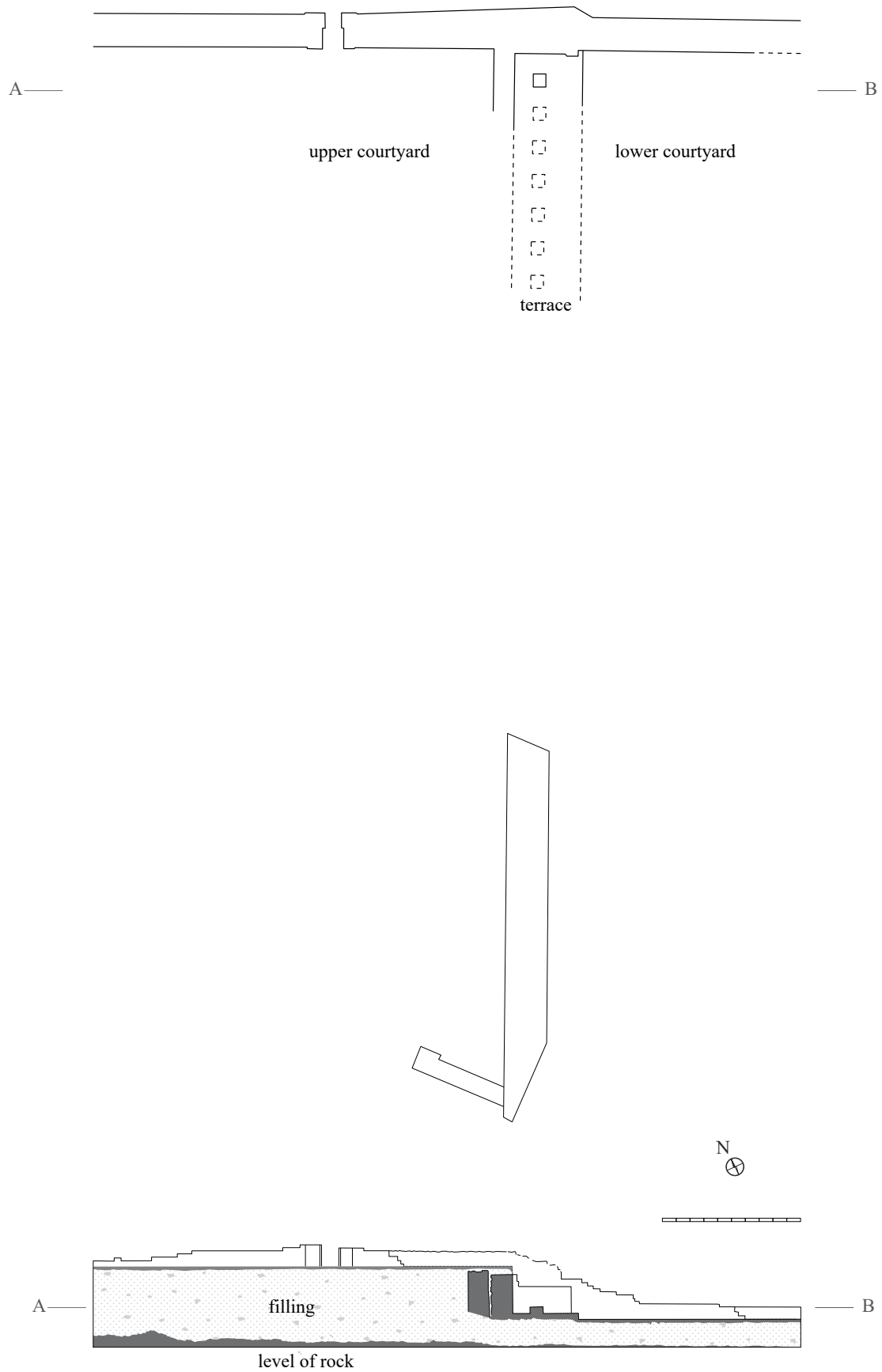


Fig. 3. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Valley Temple: plan of the Valley Temple (based on Carter, *The 'Valley'-Temple*, Pl. XXX; Lythgoe, Lansing, Davies, *The Egyptian Expedition 1915–16*, 11, Fig. 7; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Valley temple

Fig. 3

Arnold, Ein vergessenes Ensemble ägyptischer Architekten, 37, Figs 9–10
 Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 38–41, Pls XXX–XXXII
 Lythgoe, Lansing, Davies, The Egyptian Expedition 1915–16, 8–10, Figs 3, 7
 Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis, 37–40
 PM II², 423

Enclosure wall

Fig. 3

■ Stamped mud brick

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 40 (3), Pl. XXXII.2

■ Stamped mud brick

Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis, 37, 40, Fig. 36

■ Two stamped mud bricks of Hatshepsut and Nefrura, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 58815–58816

■ Scarab

Northampton, Spiegelberg, Newberry, Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis, 37

Temple building

Fig. 3

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 38–39, Pls XXX–XXXI
 Lythgoe, Lansing, Davies, The Egyptian Expedition 1915–16, 10, Fig. 7

■ Block with *dipinto*, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 12.181.304

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 41

■ Blocks with *dipinto* of Pui-em-Ra, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 12.181.305

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 39–40, Fig. 10 [upper right]

■ Block with *dipinto* of Pui-em-Ra

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 39–40, Fig. 10 [lower]

■ Block with *dipinto* of Pui-em-Ra, Metropolitan House storeroom 1, Qurna

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 39–40, Fig. 10 [upper left]

■ Block with *dipinto* of Sen-en-mut

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 40–41, Fig. 11

Artefacts from the Valley temple

■ Mason's mallet

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 40 [2]

■ Wooden hoe

Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 40 [1], Pl. XXXII [3]

Processional alley

Arnold F., Pharaonische Prozessionsstrassen, 21–23
 Arnold Di., Ein vergessenes Ensemble ägyptischer Architekten, 37–39, Figs 11–13
 Bissing, Baumeister und Bauten, 194, Pl. XIII [1]
 Carnarvon, Carter, Five Years' Explorations, Pl. XXIV
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 102
 PM II², 341
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 121–128
 Werbrouck, Le cirque de Deir el-Bahari, 6, Pl. I, Fig. 6
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1923), 28–31
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 10–14
 Winlock, Excavations, 209–214

Wall

Arnold Di., The Temple of Mentuhotep, Pl. 42
 Cabrol, Les voies processionnelles, 473–474
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 28 (plan)
 Winlock, Excavations, Fig. 1
 Winlock, The Rise and Fall, Pl. 16

Bark station

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1019 [5]
 Arnold Di., Ein vergessenes Ensemble ägyptischer Architekten, 39, Fig. 13
 Cabrol, Les voies processionnelles, 551
 Description de l'Égypte II, Pl. 38
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 102–103
 PM I.1², 624 [plan XXIII]
 Sankiewicz, Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze, 209, Fig. 6 (cryptogram frieze)
 Winlock, Excavations, Fig. 1
 Winlock, The Rise and Fall, 85

Sandstone sphinxes

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1019
 Arnold Do., The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut, 270, nn. 6–7
 Cabrol, Les voies processionnelles, 309–313
 Description de l'Égypte II, 19, 341
 Eaton-Krauß, The Khat Headdress, 34–35
 Lagier, L'Égypte, 175
 LD III Text, 102 [3–5]
 Lipińska, Kopf des Sphinxes, 98–99 [2]
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, 9
 Naville, Introductory Memoir, 1
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 31
 Smilgin, Sandstone sphinxes, 255–260
 Szafranski, Temple of Hatshepsut Season 2006/2007, 265, Fig. 13
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 121–128, Pls XXX–XXXIa
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 10, Fig. 5
 Winlock, Excavations, 172

■ Paw of a sandstone sphinx, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, ÄM 2300

Lipińska, Pfote des Sphinxes, 98–99 [3]

■ Head of a sandstone sphinx in a *nemes*, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin, ÄM 2301

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 112
 Fett, Mumier og sfinks, Pl. on p. 143
 LD III, Pl. 25 [c]
 LD Text II, 102, 307 [9]
 Lipińska, Kopf des Sphinxes, 98–99 [2]
 Maspero, Histoire II, Fig. on p. 239
 PM II², 370
 Schäfer, Statue eines Offiziers Thutmosis III., 71–79, Figs 36–37
 Schulze, Herrin beider Länder, 9
 Steindorff, Die Blütezeit, Fig. 22
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 122, Pl. XXIXb
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 10

■ Fragments of sandstone sphinx, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 56259

Arnold Do., The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut, 276, n. 17
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 112
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, 44, 47, Fig. 47
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 10–14
 Winlock, Notebook VIII, 70, 77, 85, 88, 92, 97

■ Head of a sandstone sphinx in a *khat*, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 56263

Eaton-Krauß, The Khat Headdress, 34 [7]
 Hill, Schorsch, A Bronze Statuette, 8, Fig. 5
 PM II², 370
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 121–128, Pl. XXXa
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 10, Fig. 5 [lower]

■ Head of a sandstone sphinx in a tripartite wig

Eaton-Krauß, The Khat Headdress, 35 [8–11] (described as wearing a *khat* headdress)
 PM II², 370
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 10, Fig. 5 [upper left]
 Smilgin, Sandstone sphinxes, 256, Fig. 1
 Szafranski, Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Seasons 2008/2009 and 2009/2010, Fig. 10 [upper]
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 123 [4], Pl. XXXIa

■ Head of a sandstone sphinx in a *khat*

Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 10, Fig. 5 [upper right]
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 123 [3], Pl. XXXb

■ Fragments of sandstone sphinxes

Smilgin, Sandstone sphinxes, 257, Fig. 2

Trees

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1019
 Cabrol, Les voies processionnelles, 447 [a] (two trees at the bark station)
 Hayes, A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca, 49, n. 9

Lower Terrace

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1019–1020
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 105–109
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 152–159
 PM II², 341–342

Trees in front of the main entrance

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1019
 Cabrol, Les voies processionnelles, 447 [b]
 Hugonot, Le jardin, 69–70, Fig. 53
 Naville, Un dernier mot, 52
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 1, Pls CLXXII, CLXXIV
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 31
 Wilkinson, Topographical Survey, 90 (interpreted as obelisks)

Lower Courtyard

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1019
 Arnold Di., The Temple of Mentuhotep, Pls 42, 44
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 105–107
 PM II², 341–342 (plan XXXV)

Retaining wall of the Middle Terrace

Osiride statues

■ Large Osiride statue (*in situ*, south)

Bissing, Baumeister und Bauten, 195, Pl. XIV [2]
 Giedion, The Eternal Present II, 428, Fig. 277
 PM II², 341 [3]
 Siegner, Ägypten, Pl. 204
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 49
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, Fig. 23 (upper fragment)
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1928–1929, 13, Fig. 16
 Winlock, Excavations, 163, Pl. 54

■ Large Osiride statue (*in situ*, north)

De Cenival, L'architecture universelle, 76–77
 Leblanc, Le culte rendu aux colosses « osiriaques », 301, Pl. LIVA
 PM II², 341 [2]
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 219
 Szafrński, The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut, Fig. 7.6
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 48–49
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, 22–23, Fig. 25 (reconstruction)
 Winlock, Excavations, 161, Fig. 9

Trees

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1019
 Cabrol, Les voies processionnelles, 447–449 [c]
 Hugonot, Le jardin, 68–73, Fig. 55
 Naville, The excavations at Deir el Bahari 1894–1895, 37
 Naville, Excavations at Deir el Bahari (1895–1896), 1
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 1
 Winlock, Excavations, 90

T-shaped ponds

Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 114 (north pond)
Geßler-Löhr, Die heiligen Seen ägyptischer Tempel, 91–93
Szafranski, Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000, 202–203, Fig. 15
Winlock, Excavations, Pl. 44

Artefacts from the Lower Courtyard

■ Letter of Tit, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.560

Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 178, Fig. 99
Hayes, Varia, Fig. 1 (O) (hieroglyphic transcription)

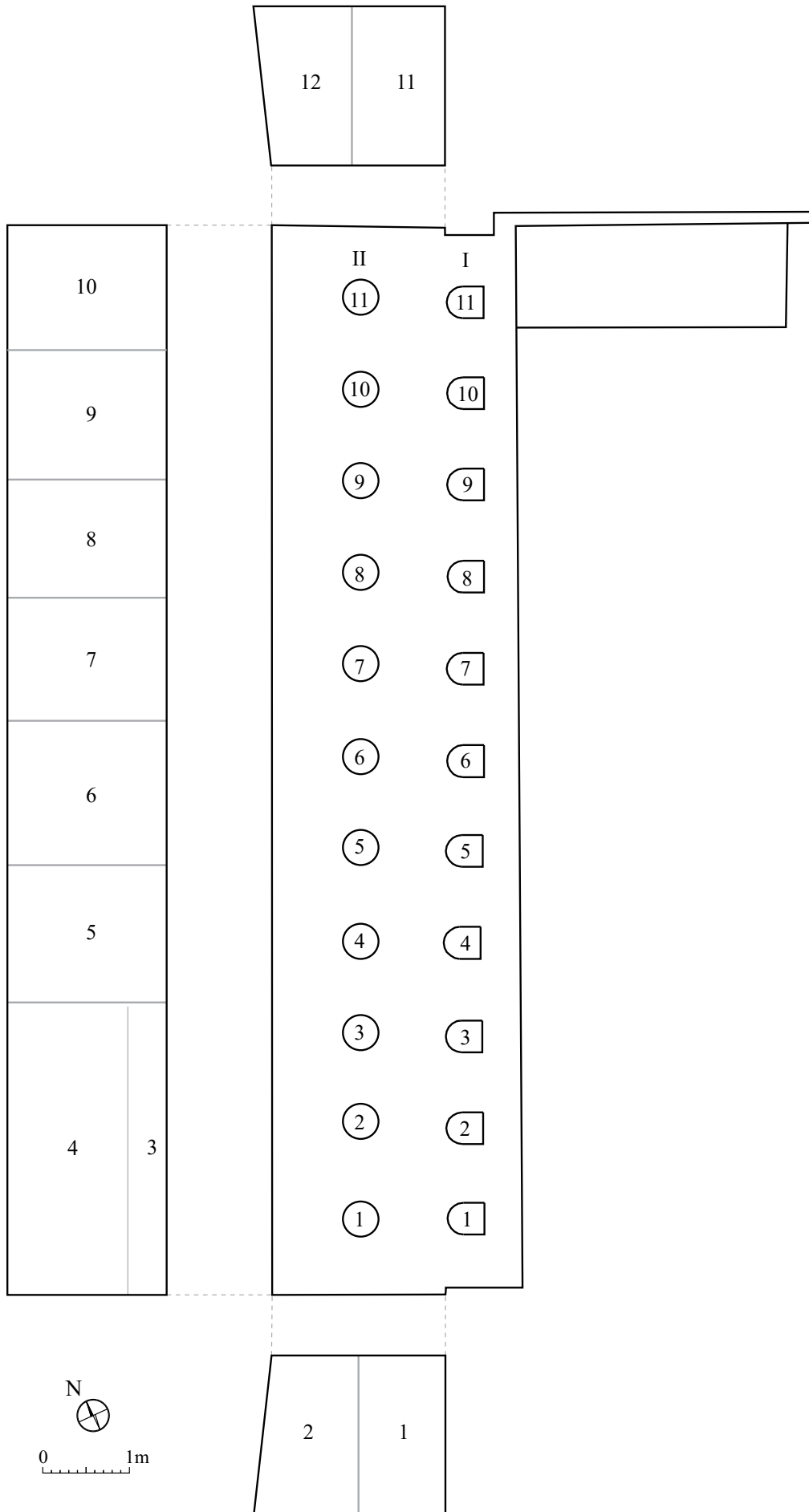


Fig. 4. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Lower Portico South (Portico of Obelisks) (based on plan made by T. Dzedzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Lower Portico South (Portico of Obelisks)**Fig. 4**

Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition, 73
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 107–109
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLI (plan and section)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 157–159
 PM II², 341–342

frieze un-
preserved**South wall**

1. Dedun(?) → and personifications of southern lands → in four registers

Naville, Trois inscriptions, 91
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, 11
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLII
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 158, Fig. 151 (captive)
 PM II², 341 [4]
Urk. IV, 315–316

2. Hatshepsut as sphinx ← trampling enemies (the whole scene erased)

frieze un-
preserved**West wall**

3. Procession of soldiers → ←, offering bearers → ← and butchers →

Duemichen, Flotte, Pls IV [lower], VII, VIII, X, XIII [left]
 Faulkner, Egyptian Military Standards, 16, Pls V [14–17] (standards)
 Legrain *et al.*, Catalogue I, Pl. 40 [1, 2] (part of the procession)
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Pl. 11
 Maspero, Histoire II, 215 (part of the procession)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pls CLIII–CLV
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 155, Fig. 149
 PM II², 342 [5.IV]
 Villiers Stuart, Nile gleanings, Pl. XXXI (part of the procession)
 Villiers Stuart, The Funeral Tent, 126–128, Pls 23–24
 Villiers Stuart, Egypt After the War, 394–396, Pls 23–24

4. Ships → transporting obelisks in three registers with an inscription in columns and procession of gods → above

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 114
 Carlens, Le transport fluvial de charges lourdes, 12, 26, 31 (details), Fig. 3
 Clarke, Engelbach, Ancient Egyptian Masonry, Fig. 39
 Duemichen, Flotte, Pl. XXI [lower] (details)
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 11 (details)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pls CLIII–CLV
 Naville, Transport of Obelisks, 6–7 [cover]
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 155, Fig. 149
 PM II², 342 [5.I–III]
 Steinmann, Einige Bemerkungen zum Schiffbrüchigen, 254, Fig. 7
Urk. IV, 517 (166) B. (name and titles of Sa-tep-ihu)
 Villiers Stuart, Egypt After the War, 394–396, Pls 23–24 (details)
 Villiers Stuart, The Funeral Tent, 126–128, Pls 23–24 (details)
 Wirsching, Das Doppelschiff, 401–406, Figs 7–10

■ Fragment of block with a part of a ship, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.GA.
 4502.1943

PM II², 342

■ Block with upper part of the royal ship, Bournemouth Natural Science Society Museum

Roberts, A Relief of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, 20–25

5. Hatshepsut → (erased) offering obelisks to Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored)

Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 257, Fig. 5
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLVI
 Niedziółka, On the Obelisks Mentioned in the Northampton Stela, 409
 PM II², 342 [6.1]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 45, Fig. 4

6. Thutmose III → running with the *mks* staff and *nh3h3* flail in front of goddess Meret
 ← (name unpreserved, restored) and ithyphallic Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored)

Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 256, Fig. 4
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLVII (Thutmose III described as Hatshepsut)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 156, Fig. 150 (running Thutmose III)
 PM II², 342 [6.2]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 45, Fig. 4

7. Hatshepsut → (erased) stretching the cord before Sefkhetabuy ← (name unpre-
 served, restored)

Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 255, Fig. 3
 Karkowski, 'A Temple Comes to Being', 113, Fig. 1
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLVIII
 PM II², 342 [6.3]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 45, Fig. 4

8. Hatshepsut → and her *ka* → (erased) scattering *bsn* grains

Karkowski, 'A Temple Comes to Being', 113, Fig. 2
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLIX
 PM II², 342 [6.4]

9. Hatshepsut → (erased) giving the temple (erased very deeply) to Amun ← (name
 unpreserved, restored)

Karkowski, 'A Temple Comes to Being', 113, Fig. 3
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLIX
 PM II², 342 [6.4]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 45, Fig. 4

10. Hatshepsut → (erased) before ithyphallic Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored)
 sitting in front of the offering table

Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 255–256, Figs 3–4 (fragments)
 Karkowski, 'A Temple Comes to Being', 113, Fig. 4

frieze un-
 preserved

North wall

Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 255–256, Figs 3–4 (fragments)
 Karkowski, 'A Temple Comes to Being', 113, Fig. 4

11. Scene almost entirely erased, at the end a small figure of Amun ← (name unpre-
 served, restored)

12. Hatshepsut as sphinx → trampling enemies (the whole scene erased)

I.1–11. Pillars

PM II², 342

II.1–11. Columns

Niwiński, Protodoric Columns with Inscriptions, 93

Architraves

Karkowski, The Arrangement of the Architraves, 140, Fig. 1 (plan)

Artefacts from the Lower Portico South

- Block with an inscription, found in the colonnade, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 66.57

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 8, Pl. CLXV [lower left]
PM II², 342

Lower Ramp

Beaux, King, lion and falcon, 62–67 (southern post), 67–68 (northern post), Figs 3–4, 8 [upper] (southern post), 5–7, 8 [lower] (northern post)
Bissing, Baumeister und Bauten, 194, Pl. XIII [1]
Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 109
Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 151, Fig. 144
PM II², 341

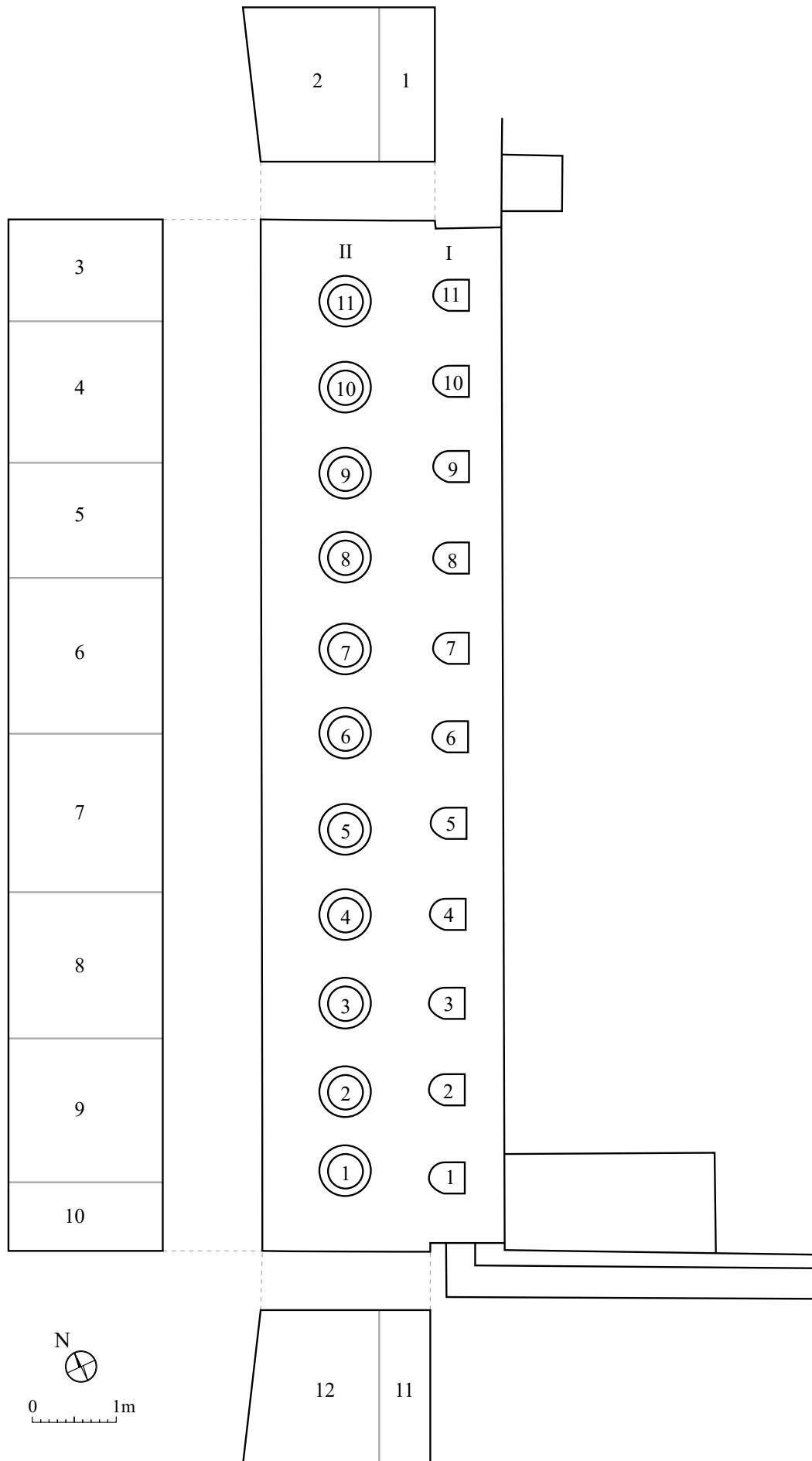


Fig. 5. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Lower Portico North (Mythological Portico) (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Lower Portico North (Mithological Portico)

Fig. 5

Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition, 73, 75
 Dąbrowski, The cornices in the Queen Hatshepsut Temple, 59 (cornice)
 Drioton, Visite à Thèbes, Pl. XVIII
 Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 362–363
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 106
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLI (plan and section)
 Pawlicki, Dekoracja dolnego portyku północnego, *passim*
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 153–157
 PM II², 342



North wall

1. Procession of gods ← (restored) in three registers

Pawlicki, Polnische Arbeiten, 50

2. Hatshepsut → and her *ka* → (in human form, both erased) smiting enemies (erased)

Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition, 72
 Pawlicki, Polnische Arbeiten, 50
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 154, Fig. 148



West wall

Dąbrowski, The cornices in the Queen Hatshepsut Temple, 59 (cornice)
 Drioton, Visite à Thèbes, Pl. XVIII
 Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 362–363
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLI (plan and section)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 153–157
 PM II², 342

3. A net of waterfowl drawn by Khnum ← (restored), Hatshepsut ← (erased) and Horus ← (restored) in the lower register, fishing in the middle register, bringing fishes and waterfowl to the sitting statues of Hatshepsut ← (erased) and Thutmose III ← in the upper register

Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition, 72–75
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari – Świątynia Hatszepsut. Prace egiptologiczne, 56, Fig. 9
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 87–88
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLXIII
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 153–154, Fig. 146
 PM II², 342 [7]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 37–39, Pl. V

■ Fragment of a block with the head of Thutmose I, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh 1951.132

Aldred, New Kingdom Art, (1951) Fig. 9, (1961) 45, Fig. 11
 Hill, Wilkinson, Egyptian Wall Paintings, 77 (facsimile, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 48.105.27)
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, Fig. 2
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 33, Fig. 19

4. God → (name unpreserved, restored) in the chapel in front of a boat in the marshes of papyrus, in the boat Hatshepsut ← (erased) and gods Hepui and Khededu ← (restored)

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 83–90, Fig. 1 (pavilion with Hatshepsut and Thutmose III)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 155
 PM II², 342 [7] (referred to as the royal statues on a boat)
 Wettengel, Zu den Darstellungen des Papyrusraschels, 73 (facsimile, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 48.105.27)

5. Thutmose III ← (name unpreserved) with the *mks* staff and *hd* mace leading two hippopotamuses ← (erased) in two registers before him

Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition, 72–75

Kaiser, Zwei weitere *hb-hd.t*-Belege, 454–458

Pawlicki, Une représentation inconnue de la fête de la Hippopotame Blanc, 15–28

6. Five royal statues in two registers ← (erased), Iunmutef ← and behind him Hatshepsut ← (erased)

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 43–44, Fig. 19

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 263, Pl. 52

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 7, Pl. CLXII

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 154, Fig. 147

PM II², 342 [8.1]

7. Hatshepsut ← (erased) with the *hd* mace and with *shn* scepter in a raised hand

8. Hatshepsut ← (restored) in front of an offering table (the whole scene erased)

9. Hatshepsut ← (name unpreserved) leading four calves before ithyphallic Amun → (name unpreserved, figure restored)

Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition, 74

Egberts, In Quest of Meaning I, 208

Giza-Podgórski, Royal Plume Dress, 106 (described as coming from the Punt Portico)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLXI

PM II², 342 [8.2]

10. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before enthroned Amun → (name unpreserved, restored)

frieze un-
preserved

South wall

11. Procession of gods → (restored) in three registers (only two registers preserved)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CLX

PM II², 342 [9]

12. Hatshepsut as sphinx ← trampling enemies (the whole scene erased)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari, VI, Pl. CLX

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 75, Fig. 63

PM VI², 342 [9]

I.1–11. Pillars

PM II², 342

Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924, 18–19, Figs 18–19

II.1–11. Columns

Architraves

Karkowski, The Arrangement of the Architraves, 140, Fig. 1 (plan)

Artefacts from the Lower Terrace

■ Ostrakon, found in the south-eastern corner of the Lower Terrace

Hayes, A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca, 36–37 [9], Pl. XI
Helck, Verwaltung, 288
Helck, Die Berufung des Veziars *Wsr*, 117
Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1923–1924, 20, Fig. 20
Winlock, Excavations, 91
MMA photos M5C.255, 256

Middle Terrace

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1020–1021
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 110–121
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 132–151
 PM II², 342–356

Middle Courtyard

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 132–133

■ Ostraca, found in the Middle Courtyard

Hayes, A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca, 31–32, 35 [2, 3, 7], Pls IX [2, 3], X [7]
 Winlock, Excavations, 208, 218, 219
 MMA photos CM 25, CN 29

Northern Colonnade

Baraize, Sur quelques travaux de consolidation, 150–151, Fig. 1
 Clarke, Architectural Description, 18
 Jéquier, L'architecture I, Pl. 30
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 121
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 54 [Doc. 33D]
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 37, Fig. 62 [G1, G4]
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, 8, Pls XXX, XXXII (plan, section, façade)
 Phillips, The Columns, Fig. 161
 PM II², 344
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 279–281, Fig. 2
 Wysocki, The results of research, 329–330, 332
 Wysocki, Architectural Investigations and Preservation Work, 10–34
 Wysocki, The Raising of the Structure, Pl. 47a

Chapel A

el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 54 [Doc. 33D]
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 37, Fig. 62 [G1]
 Wysocki, The results of research, Figs 3A (section), 7 (section)
 Wysocki, Architectural Investigations and Preservation Work, Pls 4, 10

Chapel B

Chapel C

Chapel D

el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 54 [Doc. 33D]
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 37, Fig. 62 [G4]

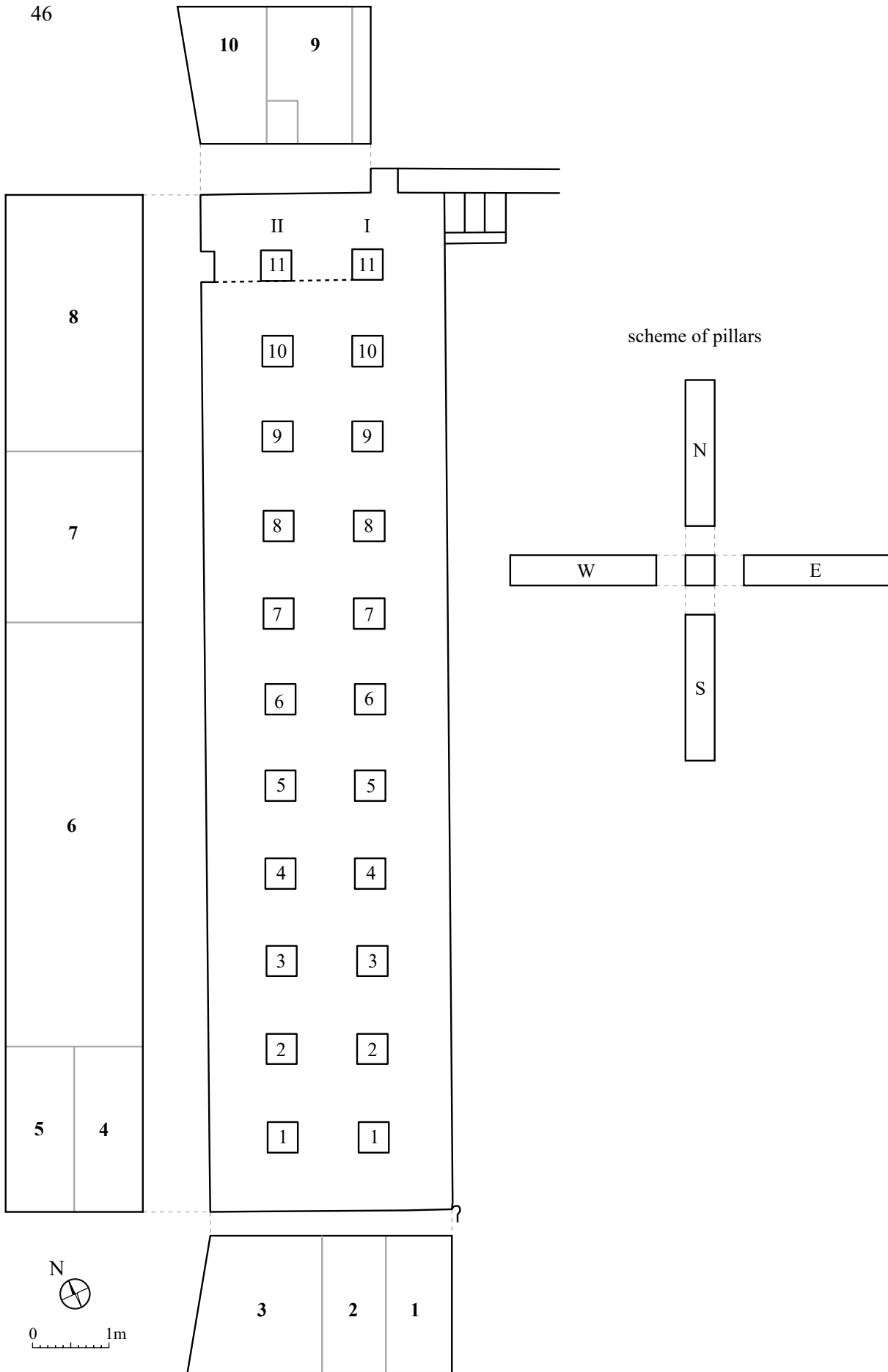


Fig. 6. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Middle Portico South (Portico of Punt) (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Middle Portico South (Portico of Punt)**Fig. 6**

Arnold Di., Deir el-Bahari III, 1020 [11]
 Barbotin, Pount, 11–13
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 113–115
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LXIX–LXXXVI
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 133–138

**South wall**

Capart, Werbrouck, Thèbes, 97–98
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Pl. 5
 Meyer, Bericht, 354, 560–561, 569–570
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LXIX–LXXI
 PM II², 344–345 [10.I–VI]
 Saleh, Some Problems, 140–158
 Smith, The Land of Punt, 59–60
 Smith, Interconnections, 137–139, Figs 173–174
 Block casts stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (nos 08.204.1.1–08.204.1.30, 08.204.1.32–08.204.1.35, 08.204.1.37–08.204.1.45, 08.204.1.47)

1. Inscription in sunken relief →

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIX (fragment)

2. Landscape of Punt →

Arnold Di., Die Tempel Ägyptens, 138 [upper] (huts)
 Capart, L'art égyptien III, Pl. 500
 Capart, Werbrouck, Thèbes, Figs 96, 98
 Champdor, Thèbes, Fig. on p. 96
 Danelius, Steinitz, The Fishes and Other Aquatic Animals, 15–24
 Duemichen, Flotte, Pls XV, XVI
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pls VIII, IX
 Groenewegen-Frankfort, Arrest and Movement, 116, Pl. XLII [a]
 Karkowski, Der Tempel der Hatshepsut, 38
 Kitchen 1983, Fig. 53.3
 Laurent-Täckholm, Faraos Blomster, Pls on pp. 184–185
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Pl. 5
 Martinez, Une expédition pacifique, 84–93
 Meeks, Locating Punt, Figs 4:1, 4:3 (trees, monkey, rhinoceros and giraffe)
 Meyer, Bericht, 562 (two men with baskets)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LXIX–LXXI
 Phillips, A Note on Puntite Housing, 206–207
 Pijoán, Summa Artis III, Fig. 327
 Pillet, Thèbes, Fig. 38
 Pirenne, Histoire II, Pl. 42
 PM II², 344 [I–IV]
 Roberts, Hathor Rising, Fig. 132
 Smith, The Land of Punt, 59–61
 Soulié, L'Égypte, 65 [left] (hut)
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XIV
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 1623 (hut and palm tree in Punt), 1624 (hut and palm tree in Punt)
 Archives Pillet B032 II 185

3. Rulers of Punt → meeting the Egyptian expedition ←

Breasted, A History of Egypt, Fig. 104
 Champdor, Thèbes, Fig. on p. 138
 Daumas, La Civilisation, Pl. 54
 Duemichen, Flotte, Pls XV [middle, left], XVI [right]
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pls VIII [lower], X
 Mackenzie, Egyptian Myth, Pl. facing p. 278
 Meyer, Bericht, 571
 Montet, Lives of the Pharaohs, Figs on pp. 88–89
 Naville, Introductory Memoir, Pl. VIII
 Pijoán, Summa Artis III, Fig. 326

Pirenne, Histoire II, Pl. 41
 PM II², 344–345 [10.V–VI]
 Roberts, Hathor Rising, Fig. 131
 Smith, The Land of Punt, 61
 Steindorff, Die Blütezeit, Fig. 47
 Weigall, Works of Art, Pl. on p. 132 [lower]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XI
 Wolf, Die Bewaffnung, Pl. 21
 Wolf, Die Kunst Aegyptens, Fig. 449
 Žába, Nejstarši civilizace, Pl. after p. 256

■ Fragment of block with a palm tree, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussel E. 2163

Lefebvre, Van Rinsveld, L'Égypte, 82, 102
 Martinez, Une expédition pacifique, 90
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 69, n. 1

■ Block with three men, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 14275

Breasted, Geschichte, 224
 Duemichen, Flotte, Pl. XV [middle, left]
 Maspero, Guide⁴, 134 [453, 2nd entry]
 Millet, A Fragment of the Hatshepsut Punt Relief, 55–57, Pls IV–V
 Nims, Swaan, Thebes, Pl. 13
 PM II², 345 [10.V]
 Smith, The Land of Punt, 61
 Sourouzian, Saleh, The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities Cairo, no. 130b [left]

■ Block with Queen of Punt, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 14276

Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 236
 Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 126
 Breasted, Geschichte Aegyptens, 223
 Champdor, Thèbes, Fig. on p. 142 (queen of Punt)
 Davies, The Egyptian Expedition 1929–1930, 31, Fig. 1 (sketch, queen of Punt)
 Duemichen, Resultate, Pl. at end
 Forman, Vrlimkova, Egyptian Art, Pl. 45 [right]
 Galassi, Il bassorilievo egizio, 350, Fig. 274
 Ghalioungui, Sur deux formes d'obésité, 303–304, Pl. X
 Harris, Egyptian Art, 13, Fig. 5
 Laurent-Täckholm, Faraos Blomster, Pl. on p. 180
 Leibovitch, Ancient Egypt, 112 [452], Fig. 84
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Pl. 13 (rulers of Punt)
 Mariette-Bey, Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte, Pl. 62
 Maspero, Histoire II, Fig. on p. 250
 Maspero, Guide⁴, 134 [452], Fig. 47
 Maspero, Roeder, Führer, Pl. 30
 Martinez, Une expédition pacifique, 86 [upper, left]
 Meyer, Bericht, 36
 Mitry, Cairo, no. 452
 Nims, Swaan, Thebes, Pl. 12
 PM II², 345 [10.V]
 Reisner, Borchardt, Works of Art, Pl. 25 (called cat. no. 54419)
 Riad, La médecine, 242, Fig. 58 (queen of Punt)
 Richer, Nouvelle anatomie, 190, Fig. 216
 Riesterer, Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo. I, Pl. 32 [right]
 Ruffer, On Dwarfs, 172–174, Pl. V
 El-Shahawy, Atiya, Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 162, no. 98, Fig. 98
 Smith, The Art and Architecture, Pl. 92 [B]
 Smith, The Land of Punt, 61
 Sourouzian, Saleh, The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities Cairo, no. 130a
 Wenig, Die Frau, Pl. 33 (queen of Punt)
 Wolf, Die Kunst Aegyptens, Fig. 450

■ Block with men carrying baskets, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 51951

Breasted, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 222
 Capart, *Documents*, Pl. 45
 Forman, Vrlimkova, *Egyptian Art*, Pl. 45 [left]
 Martinez, *Une expédition pacifique*, Fig. on p. 86 [upper, right]
 Meyer, *Bericht*, 562
 Mitry, *Cairo*, Fig. 452 [left]
 Riesterer, *Das Ägyptische Museum Kairo. I*, Pl. 32 [left]
 PM II², 344 [10.V]
 Smith, *The Land of Punt*, 61
 Sourouzian, Saleh, *The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities Cairo*, no. 130c
 Visite de S.M. Fouad I^{er}, Fig. on p. 27
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XIII

■ Block with a donkey and tree, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 89661

Bedman, Valentin, *Hatshepsut*, 237
 Bedman, Valentin, *Sen-en-mut*, 129
 Duemichen, *Flotte*, Pl. XV [middle, right]
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. VIII [middle, right]
 PM II², 345 [10.V]
 El-Shahawy, Atiya, *Egyptian Museum in Cairo*, 162, no. 98, Fig. 98
 Smith, *The Land of Punt*, 61

■ Block with a donkey, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo SR 11463, TR 12/11/26/6

Duemichen, *Flotte*, Pl. XV [middle, right]
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. VIII [lower, right]
 PM II², 345 [10.V]
 Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire de l'art égyptien II*, 420, Pl. 50
 Smith, *The Land of Punt*, 61
 Sourouzian, Saleh, *The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities Cairo*, no. 130b [right]

■ Block with a man with a donkey, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo TR 12/11/26/7

Tiradritti (Ed.), *The Treasures*, Fig. on p. 164 [upper right]

■ Fragment of block with a monkey climbing a tree, British Museum, London EA48079

■ Fragment of block with a palm tree and a cow, British Museum, London EA50055



West wall

Block casts stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (nos 08.204.2, 08.204.3.1–08.204.3.56, 08.204.3.58–08.204.3.85, 08.204.4–08.204.6).

Block casts stored in the Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto, no numbers given

4. Ships in two registers →

Capart, *L'art égyptien III*, Pl. 502 [lower]
 Duemichen, *Flotte*, Pls XX–XXIII
 Ebers, *Aegypten in Bild und Wort*, Figs on pp. 282, 283 [upper]
 Maspero, *Histoire II*, Fig. on p. 251
 Meyer, *Bericht*, 601–616
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pls LXXII–LXXXV
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 136, Fig. 126
 Petschel, Von Falck (Eds), *Pharao siegt immer*, 184–185
 Pijoán, *Summa Artis III*, 322, 325
 PM II², 346 [11.II–III]
 Schäfer, Andrae, *Kunst*, 363
 Steinmann, *Einige Bemerkungen zum Schiffbrüchigen*, 253, Fig. 5
 Szafranski, *Exceptional Queen, Unique Temple*, 72, Fig. 15
Urk. IV, 322–323 (106) D, 328–333 (106) H, J, K
 Ward, *Building pharaoh's ships*, Fig. 4

Archives Pillet B032 II 183
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 1888 (fish)
 Médiathèque de l'architecture et du patrimoine BNV0063G, BNV0062G
 Cast of the scene (seven blocks) stored in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 19.164

5. Bringing products of Punt (in two registers) →

Beeckman, *Hout in alle Tijden*, 445, Fig. 7.14
 Capart, *L'art égyptien III*, Pls 501–502
 Champdor, *Thèbes*, Figs on pp. 98, 153
 Eggebrecht, Eggebrecht (Eds), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 22 (group of men carrying trees)
 Galassi, *Il bassorilievo egizio*, 350, Fig. 273
 Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Figs 59, 232, 233
 Lange, *Ägypten*, Pl. 92
 Lange, *Lebensbilder*, Pl. 56
 Laurent-Täckholm, *Faraos Blomster*, Pls on pp. 182–193
 Lugn, *Kunst*, Fig. 56
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pls LXXIV, LXXVI
 Strömbom, *Egyptens Konst*, Fig. 118
 Weigall, *Works of Art*, Pl. on p. 134

■ Block with a man bringing gold, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford Ash.E. 700

Fischer, *Eleventh Dynasty Relief Fragments*, 33, 37, n. 18
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pl. LXXVI
 Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I*, 40, n. 3
 Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari III*, 23, Pl. XIII [5]
 Säve-Söderbergh, *Ägypten und Nubien*, 56, n. 2, Fig. 4 [upper left]

6. Hatshepsut → followed by her *ka* → consecrating two registers of products of Punt, Djehuty (name and titles erased) ← and three officials ← counting *'ntjw* before Thoth ← (restored) in lower register, and Horus → and Dedun → (both restored) weighting gold before Seshat ← (restored) in upper register

Capart, *L'art égyptien III*, Pl. 503 (incense trees)
 Casson, *Ancient Egypt*, Fig. on p. 140 (incense trees)
 Champdor, *Thèbes*, Fig. on p. 158 [lower] (donkeys)
 Duemichen, *Flotte*, Pls XVII, XVIII [a, l. 8 (lower)] (incense trees)
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls XVI–XVIII (Hatshepsut followed by her *ka*), XIX [right] (incense trees), cf. LXI, LXIV
 Gilbert, *La poésie*, Pl. III (incense trees)
 Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Fig. 231 (incense trees)
 Jéquier, *L'architecture I*, Fig. 33 [3] (incense trees)
 Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pls 7–8
 Meyer, *Bericht*, 574–579
 Naville, *Introductory Memoir*, Pl. X [lower] (incense trees), [upper] (weighing scene)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pls LXXVII (Hatshepsut followed by her *ka*), LXXVIII (incense trees), LXXIX (men measuring heaps of incense and Thoth writing on palette), LXXX (products of Punt), LXXXI (weighing scene with Dedwen, Horus, and Seshat)
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, Figs 122 (men measuring heaps of incense), 127 (weighing scene)
 Pijoán, *Summa Artis III*, Figs 321, 324 (incense trees), 328 (men measuring heaps of incense)
 PM II², 346 [12.I–II]
 Prisse d'Avennes, *Histoire II*, 400, Pl. 13 [1, 2] (donkeys)
 Schäfer, *Andrae, Kunst*, 364 [lower] (donkeys)
 Steindorff, *Die Kunst der Ägypter*, 69, Fig. 230 (incense trees)
 Szafrński, *Exceptional Queen, Unique Temple*, 72, Fig. 14 (incense trees)
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Figs on pp. 258 (men measuring heaps of incense), 259 (donkeys)
Urk. IV, 334.15–335.9 (incense trees), 335.10–336.12 (men measuring heaps of incense), 336.13–337.5 (donkeys), 337.6–338.7 (weighing scene), 338.12–339.2 (Seshat writing on a tablet)
 Weigall, *Works of Art*, Pl. on p. 135, Fig. 132 [upper] (incense trees)
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XVI (donkeys), Fig. on p. 253 (incense trees)
 Worringer, *Aegyptische Kunst*, Pl. 25 [upper and middle] (donkeys)
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 2027 (products of Punt)

7. Hatshepsut → (replaced with standards) and Thutmose III → offering incense to the bark of Amun ← in procession

Barbotin, Pount, 11 (translation of texts)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XIX [right]
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Pl. 9
 Mathieu, L'énigmatique Hatshepsout, 11
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 54–55, Fig. 86
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LXXXII (right)–LXXXIII
 PM II², 347 [13]
 Preys, La beauté divine, 36 (text)
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 260 (Thutmose III)
Urk. IV, 340.9–16
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 75, Pl. XVII

8. Hatshepsut → (erased) with a staff followed by her *ka* → in form of a standard before enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored) with Punt expedition text (erased) between

Duemichen, Flotte, Pl. XVIII
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XX
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Pl. 10
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LXXXIII (Hatshepsut followed by her *ka*), LXXXIV (Punt expedition text and Amun-Ra)
 PM II², 347 [14]
Urk. IV, 341.1–348.17



North wall

9. Enthroned Hatshepsut → (erased) followed by her *ka* → (in human form) in a shrine with Sen-en-mut ← and two other officials ← and Punt expedition text in front of her

Baines, Fecundity Figures, 50, Fig. 24 (the scene below the throne; described as coming from the south wall of the Middle Portico)
 Budzanowski, Sitting Statues of Hatshepsut, 26
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LXXXV (Hatshepsut in a shrine), LXXXVI (officials and Punt expedition text)
 PM II², 347 [15]
 Zivie, Un chancelier nommé Nehesy, 247–248 (Nehesy)
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 1189 (base of the throne with lions)

10. Text in sunken relief → (almost completely erased)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXXXVI

I.1–11, II.1–11. Pillars

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration, 18–19, 24, Fig. 8 [left]
 Champdor, L'Égypte des Pharaons, Pl. on p. 148 (pillar II.8, north face, upper part of the king)
 Lange, Ägyptische Kunst, Pl. 54 (pillar II.8, north face, upper part of the king)
 Pawlicki, Polaczek, Witkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 287–292, Figs 3–9
 PM II², 349 [a]
 Polaczek, Reconstruction of the Pillar Decorations, 78–92, Pl. 2, Figs 2–7

Architraves

Artefacts from Middle Porticoes

■ Blocks from Middle Porticoes built in the mud brick shrine of Aesculapius

PM II², 343–350

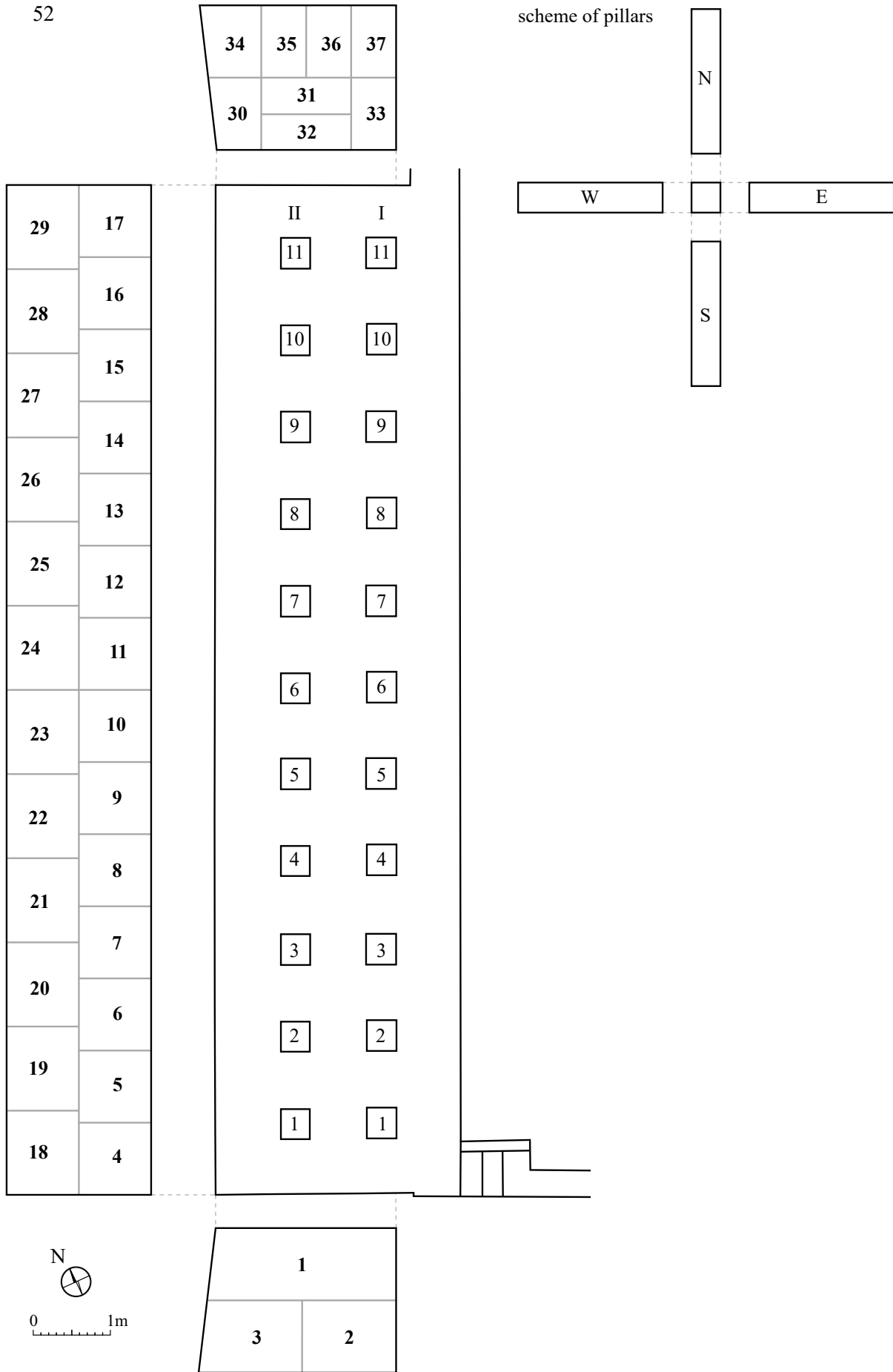


Fig. 7. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Middle Portico North (Portico of Birth) (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Middle Portico North (Portico of Birth)**Fig. 7**

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 138–142
 PM II², 347–350
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, 46–55, Pl. XXX (plan)

**South wall**

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, 13–14, Pl. XLVI
 PM II², 348 [16]
 Sankiewicz, *Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze*, 206–207, Fig. 2 (cryptogram frieze)

Lower register

1. Amun-Ra ← (restored) announcing the birth of Hatshepsut to the Ennead → (restored, Atum intact)

Brugsch, *Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum IV*, 729 [35] (names of gods)
 Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 12–21 [scene I (D)]
 Čwiek, *Fate of Seth*, 49, Figs 13 (Seth), 14 (inscription above Seth)
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. XXXIV [b, 1–12] (names of gods)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLVI
 Osing, *Die Patenschaft der Götter*, 361–383
 PM II², 348 [II.16]
Urk. IV, 216.1–218.7
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 100–101

Upper register

2. Ra-Harakhty → and ← Amun-Ra (restored) purifying Hatshepsut → (erased)

Landgráfová, *The oldest known scene of the purification*, 162, 163 (references to the purification scene)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, 1–2, Pl. LVI
 PM II², 347 [I.16.1]
 Smith, *Kingship, Water and Ritual*, 332–333 (references to the purification scene)
Urk. IV, 241.10–242.17
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 112–113

3. Gods of Lower and Upper Egypt → (restored) before enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pl. LVI
 Ockinga, *Hatshepsut's Election to Kingship*, 91
 PM II², 347 [I.16.2]
Urk. IV, 243.1–245.6
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 112–113

**West wall**

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pls XLVII–LIV
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III*, Pls LVI–LXIII
 Oppenheim, *The Early Life of Pharaoh*, 174–188
 PM II², 347–349

Lower register

4. Thoth ← before Amun-Ra → (both restored)

Barbotin, *Pount*, 10 (translation of texts)
 Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 22–89 [scenes II–VIII (D)]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLVII

PM II², 348 [II.17.1]
Urk. IV, 81.10–82.1, 218.8–219.5
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 42, 101–105

5. Thoth → led by Amun-Ra → (both restored)

Barbotin, Pount, 10 (translation of texts)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XLVII
 PM II², 348 [II.17.2]
Urk. IV, 219.6–220.6
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 102

6. Amun → giving life to queen Ahmes ← , both seated, supported by two goddesses seated on lion-couch (entire scene restored)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XLVII
 Ockinga, Hatshepsut's Election to Kingship, 90–91 (speech of Amun)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 138, Fig. 128
 PM II², 348 [II.17.3]
Urk. IV, 220.7–222.4
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 102–103
 Weindler, Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen, 6, Fig. 3 (queen Ahmes and Amun)

7. Khnum ← before Amun-Ra → (restored)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XLVIII
 PM II², 348 [II.17.4]
Urk. IV, 222.5–222.17
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 103

8. Khnum → accompanied by Heket ← (both restored) creating Hatshepsut on a potter's wheel → and her *ka* → (in human form, both restored)

Ernst, Zu Hatshepsut und einigen Reliefs, 36
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XLVIII
 PM II², 348 [II.17.5]
Urk. IV, 223.1–224.4
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 102–104
 Weindler, Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen, 6, Fig. 4

9. Thoth → (restored) before queen Ahmes ←

Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 47, Fig. 18
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XLVIII [right]
 PM II², 348 [II.17.6]
Urk. IV, 224.5–225.8
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 104

10. Khnum → and Heket → (restored) leading pregnant queen Ahmes → to the birth-room

Aldred, New Kingdom Art, Pl. 19 (upper part of queen Ahmes)
 Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 107
 Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 59
 Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 48–50, Figs 19, 20 (hands of queen Ahmes and Khnum), 21 (hands of queen Ahmes and Heket)
 Kikuo, Egypt, Pl. 82
 Lange, Hirmer, Aegypten (1955), Pl. 123, (1967), Pl. 129 (upper part of queen Ahmes)
 Maspero, Égypte, Fig. 328 (upper part of queen Ahmes)
 Mekhitarian, Egyptian Painting, Pl. on p. 16
 Naville, Introductory Memoir, Pl. XI
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XLIX
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXVII (upper part of queen Ahmes)
 Naville, La reine Aahmès, 339–342, Pl. XXIII (upper part of queen Ahmes), Fig. 1
 Naville, Davies, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsitû, Pl. III (upper part of queen Ahmes)
 Newberry, The Mother of Hatshepsut, 101, Fig. 5 (head of queen Ahmes)

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 138, Figs 129, 130 (queen Ahmes)
 Petrie, *History II*, Fig. 30 (head of queen Ahmes)
 PM II², 348 [II.17.7]
 Szafranski (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Pl. on p. 228
 Riad, *La médecine*, 278, Fig. 66 (queen Ahmes)
 Schott, *Zum Krönungstag der Königin Hatshepsut*, 198, Pl. 5 (upper part of queen Ahmes)
 Steindorff, *Die Blütezeit*, Fig. 16
 Tyndale, *Below the Cataracts*, Pl. facing p. 126 (upper part of queen Ahmes)
Urk. IV, 225.9–226.6
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 105
 Weindler, *Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen*, 8, Figs 5, 6
 Griffith Institute, Ross photo. 0004.

11. Nine gods in three registers → (restored) standing behind Amun → (name unpreserved, restored), in front of Amun – a text (almost completely erased)

Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 90–106 [scene IX (D)]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pls XLIX–L
 PM II², 348–349 [II.18]
 Weindler, *Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen*, 10–11, Fig. 7

12. Bed, souls of Pe and Nekhen under it → (restored), gods on a bed → ← (restored), queen Ahmes → giving birth of Hatshepsut and her *ka* (in human form, both erased), in the presence of Mesekhenet ← (restored)

Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 90–106 [scene IX (D)]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. LI
 PM II², 348–349 [II.18]
Urk. IV, 226.7–227.14
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 105–106 (text of Amun and Mesekhenet)
 Weindler, *Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen*, 10–11, Fig. 7

13. Seated Hathor ← (restored) presenting Hatshepsut ← (erased) to seated Amun → (name unpreserved, restored)

Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 107–134 [scenes X–XII (D)]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. LII
 PM II², 349 [II.19.1]
Urk. IV, 227.15–228.15
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 106–108
 Weindler, *Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen*, 14–15, Figs 7, 9, 10

14. Seated Amun → (name unpreserved, restored) receiving Hatshepsut ← (erased) from seated Hathor ←, Selkis ← (both restored) standing behind her

Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 107–134 [scenes X–XII (D)]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. LIII
 PM II², 349 [II.19.2]
Urk. IV, 228.16–230.7
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 106–108
 Weindler, *Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen*, 14–15, Figs 7, 9, 10

15. Queen Ahmes → (restored) accompanied by two cow-headed Hathors → (restored) suckling Hatshepsut and her *ka* (in human form, both erased), below two cows → (restored) and 12 wet-nurses ← (restored) with 12 *kas* of Hatshepsut (erased)

Brunner, *Die Geburt des Gottkönigs*, 107–134 [scenes X–XII (D)]
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 115, Fig. 10
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. LIII
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 140, Fig. 131 (figure reversed)
 PM II², 349 [II.19.3] (9 wet-nurses mentioned)
 Szafranski (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 230
Urk. IV, 230.8–231.14

Urk. IV Übersetzung, 106–108
Weindler, Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen, 14–15, Figs 7, 9, 10

16. Hapi → and Hekau(?) → (restored) presenting Hatshepsut → (erased) and her *ka* → (in human form, erased) to three seated gods ← (in three registers, restored)

Brunner, Die Geburt des Gottkönigs, 135–152 [scenes XIII–XIV (D)], Pl. 17
Daumas, Les Mammisis de Dendera, 466–467 (cryptographic text below children)
Jéquier, L'architecture I, Pl. 33 [4]
Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. LIII
Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 140, Fig. 131 (figure reversed)
PM II², 349 [II.20.1]
Urk. IV, 231.15–232.3
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 108
Weindler, Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen, 15–16, Figs 11, 12

17. Hatshepsut → and her *ka* → (in human form, erased) at the hands of Thoth → and Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Brunner, Die Geburt des Gottkönigs, 135–152 [scenes XIII–XIV (D)], Pl. 17
Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. LIV
PM II², 349 [II.20.2]
Urk. IV, 232.5–233.5
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 108
Weindler, Geburts- und Wochenbetts-Darstellungen, 15–16, Figs 11, 12

Upper register

18. Hathor → (erased) and goddess ← (name unpreserved, erased) leading Hatshepsut → (erased) to Atum ←, behind her Khnum → (erased) and Wadjyt → (erased) and text in 15 columns (erased) concerning the journey of Hatshepsut with Thutmose I

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 92
Navelle, Trois inscriptions, Pl. I facing p. 95
Navelle, Additions et corrections, 209–211
Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, 2–4, Pls LVI–LVIII
Ockinga, Hatshepsut's Appointment as Crown Prince, 253
PM II², 348 [I.17]
Urk. IV, 245.7–250.9
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 113–116

19. Amun proclaiming the Horus name of Hatshepsut to the Ennead, and Seshat and Thoth (in two registers, both restored) writing on a tablet (scene almost completely erased)

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 92

20. Four divinities proclaiming the *nbtj* name of Hatshepsut (scene almost completely erased)

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 92

21. Coronation of Hatshepsut with the double crown and double uraeus by Horus and Seth in presence of Amun-Ra and god (scene almost completely erased)

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 92

22. Proclaiming the Golden Horus and throne name (scene almost completely erased)

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 92

23. Hatshepsut (erased) led by a god (name unpreserved, erased)

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 92

24. *Sm3-t3wy* scene by two gods with Hatshepsut on the *sm3* symbol, behind Seshat ← (restored) and a god ← (erased) in two registers

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 93
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, 2–4, Pls LIX–LX
 PM II², 348 [I.18]
Urk. IV, 250.10–254.13
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 116–117

25. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before enthroned Amun → (name unpreserved, restored), Iunmutef → (restored), behind Hatshepsut kneeling figures in *hnw* gesture ← (in three registers, restored) and Seshat ← and Thoth ← (in two registers, both restored) writing on a tablet

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 90–93, Fig. 4
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, 2–4, Pls LIX–LX
 Ockinga, Hatshepsut's Appointment as Crown Prince, 253
 PM II², 348 [I.18]
Urk. IV, 250.10–254.13
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 116–117

26. Thutmose I → (erased) on the throne, a coronation text behind him, Hatshepsut → (erased) standing before Thutmose I, on the right continuation of the coronation text in seven columns, further nine standing officials ← (three rows, restored), a text concerning of the establishing titulary of Hatshepsut in twenty one columns

BAR II, § 235
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed, 93–95, Fig. 5
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LX–LXIII
 Naville, Trois inscriptions, Pl. II between pp. 96 and 97
 Naville, Additions et corrections, 211
 Ockinga, Hatshepsut's Election to Kingship, 93
 Ockinga, Hatshepsut's Appointment as Crown Prince, 253–256
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 10, Fig. 4
 PM II², 348 [I.19]
 Redford, History and Chronology, 82
Urk. IV, 254.12–262.1
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 118–121

27. Hatshepsut → (erased) led by Iunmutef → (restored)

Altenmüller-Kesting, Reinigungsriten, 145
 Ćwiek, Ha in Sheta, 83, Fig. 4
 Naville, Trois inscriptions, Pl. II [right], between pp. 96 and 97
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIII
 PM II², 348 [I.20.1]
 Rummel, Iunmutef, cat. no. 7B
Urk. IV, 262.2–262.12
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 118–121 (text)
 Weill, Notes sur l'histoire primitive, 130–131

28. Hatshepsut → (erased) purified by *H3 m št3* ← (restored)

Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 94
 Ćwiek, Ha in Sheta, 83–92, Figs 1–2, 6 (detail)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIII
 PM II², 348 [I.20.2]
Urk. IV, 262.13–263.6
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 118–121 (text)

29. Hatshepsut → (erased) led by Behedety ← (restored)

Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 94
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIII
 Ockinga, Hatshepsut's Appointment as Crown Prince, 253
 PM II², 348 [I.20.3]
Urk. IV, 263.7–264.4 (text)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 118–121 (text)



North wall

Lower register

30. Khnum → and Anubis → (both restored) bending over a large disc

Brunner, Die Geburt des Gottkönigs, 153–166 [scene XV (D)], Pl. 18
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. LV
 Oppenheim, The Early Life of Pharaoh, 177–180
 PM II², 349 [II.21]
 Ritner, Anubis, 149–155
Urk. IV, 233.9–234.4 (text)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 108–109 (text)

31. Hatshepsut → and her *ka* → (in human form, both erased) in the hands of nannies → kneeling before a god ← (name unpreserved, restored)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. LV

32. Hatshepsut → and her *ka* → (in human form, both erased) standing in the presence of nannies → and a goddess holding an ink vessel ← (name unpreserved, restored)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. LV

33. Seshat ← (restored) writing and Hapy ← (name unpreserved, restored) behind her

Baud, Les dessins ébauchés, 8 [d. 44]
 Campbell, The Miraculous Birth, Pl. facing p. 48
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. LV
 PM II², 349 [II.21]
Urk. IV, 234.5–234.10
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 109
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. IX

34. Hatshepsut → (erased) crowned by Seth → and Horus ← (both restored) with the white crown

Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, 45, 48, Figs 8, 12 (Seth)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIV
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 141, Fig. 132 (described as coming from the south wall)
 PM II², 348 [I.21.1]
Urk. IV, 263.15–264.4
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 122 (text)

35. Hatshepsut → (erased) preceded by five standards, scene of 'going round the wall' (restored)

36. Hatshepsut → (erased) crowned by Seth → and Horus ← (both restored) with the red crown

Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, 45, Fig. 9
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIV
 PM II², 348 [I.21.1]
Urk. IV, 264.11–264.17
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 122 (text)

37. Hatshepsut → (erased) in a *heb sed* robe

Goebis, King as God and God as King, 59
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 95–97, Fig. 6
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXIV
 Rummel, Weihrauch, Salböl und Leinen, 402–403, Fig. 11.3
Urk. IV, 265.1–265.5
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 122 (text)

I.1–11, II.1–11. Pillars

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration, 18–19, 24, Fig. 8 [middle]
 Capart, L'art égyptien III, Fig. 509 (pillar II.4, north face, upper part of Thutmose III)
 Capart, Werbrouck, Thèbes, Fig. 146 (pillar II.4, north face)
 Carrier, Thèbes, Pl. 62 (pillar II.4, north face, upper part of Thutmose III)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXIV [middle lower right] (text)
 Lange, Ägypten, Pls 90 (pillar II.4, north face, upper part of Thutmose III), 91 (pillar II.4, south face, upper part of Thutmose III)
 Lange, Hirmer, Aegypten, Pl. 120 (pillar II.4, north face)
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 53, 57, Fig. 82
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XXX (plan)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pls LXX–LXVI (pillar II.4)
 Naville, Davies, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, Pl. VI facing p. 20
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 9, Fig. 2
 Pawlicki, Polaczek, Witkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 287–292, Figs 3–9
 Petrie, History II, Fig. 89 (pillar II.4, west face, upper part of Thutmose III)
 Pillet, Thèbes, Fig. 31 (pillar II.4, north face)
 Pirenne, Histoire II, Pl. 44 (pillar II.4, north face, upper part of Thutmose III)
 PM II², 349–350 [b-f]
 Polaczek, Reconstruction of the Pillar Decorations, 78–92, Pls 1, 3–4, Figs 1, 8
 Ross, The Art of Egypt, Fig. on p. 159 [I] (pillar II.4, north face, upper part of Thutmose III)
Urk. IV, 280, 291, 293–294, 299, 355
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 128, 133–134, 136
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pls VII (text), VIII (pillar II.4, north face, upper part of Thutmose III)

Architraves

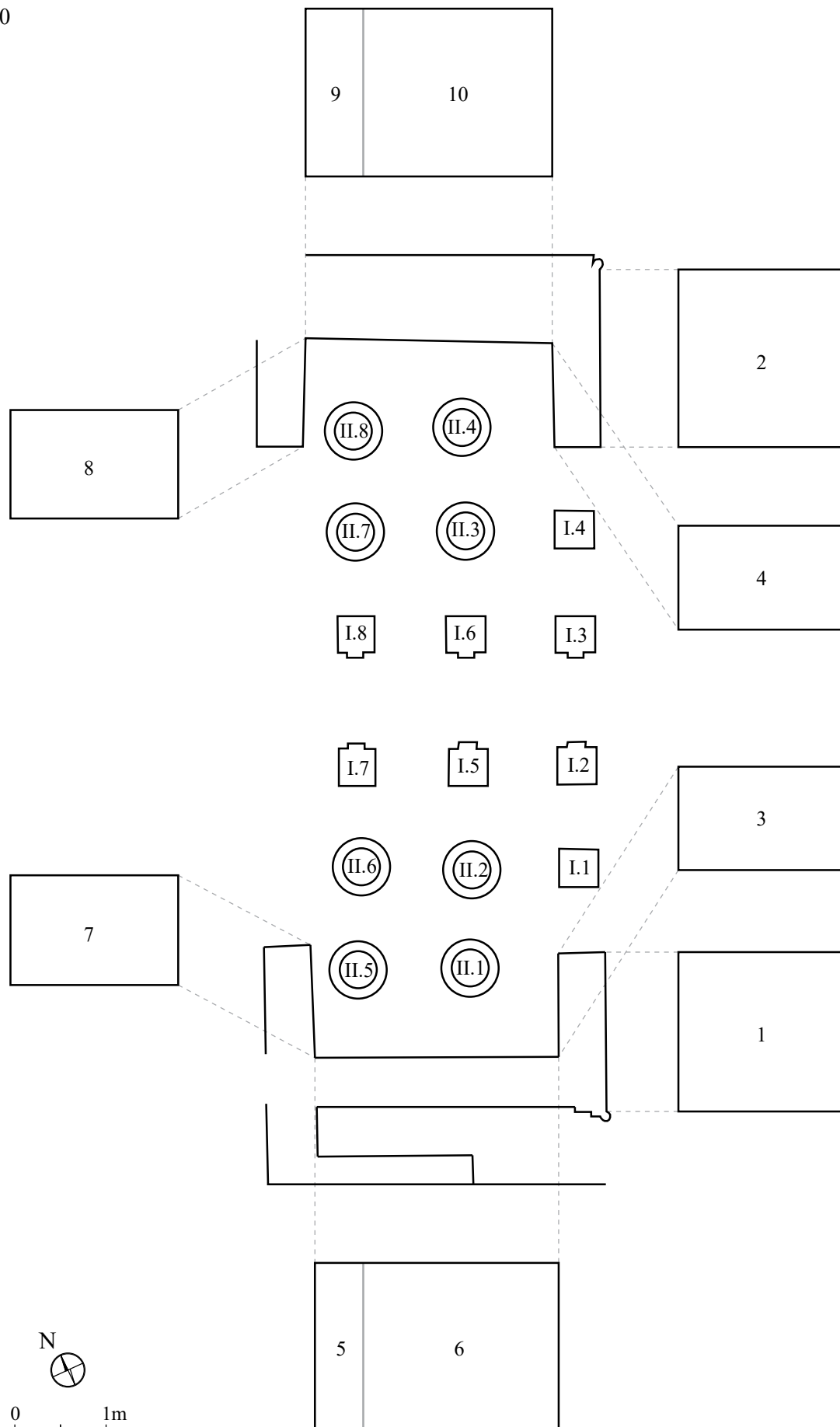


Fig. 8. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Hathor Shrine, First Hypostyle Hall (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Hathor Shrine

Beaux, Karkowski, La chapelle d'Hathor du Temple, 7–24
 Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, *passim*
 Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, *passim*
 Duemichen, Resultate, Pl. LVI (plan)
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 258
 Karkowski, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Season 1992, 77–79, Fig. 3 (plan)
 Karkowski, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 1993, 80, Fig. 1 (plan)
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Mission 1996, 47, Fig. 1 (plan)
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Documentation, 48, Fig. 3 (plan)
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 110–113, Figs 8–9A
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari III, Pl. LXVIII (plan, section, elevation)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, 1–6, Pls LXXXVII–CVI
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 24 (2 phases of building)
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXXV [lower]
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 145–151, Fig. 137 (plan)
 PM II², 350–353, Pl. XXXVI [1] (plan)
 Quirke, Gods in the temple of the king, 44–45 (references)
 Tefnin, La chapelle d'Hathor du temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari, 136–150

Façade

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 1–3d, Fig. 36
 Phillips, The Columns, Fig. 164



South wing

1. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) in a shrine and Hathor-cow →, licking the hand of Hatshepsut

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 1
 Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 112
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Documentation, 45, 47
 PM II², 350 [22]



North wing

2. Enthroned Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) in a shrine and Hathor-cow ← accompanied by two Anubises ← (in two registers, restored), licking the hand of Hatshepsut

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 2, Fig. 36 (detail)
 Grimal, Travaux de l'Institut 1994–1995, 562, Fig. 5
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, Figs 62, 138
 PM II², 350 [23]

First Hypostyle Hall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 3e-h, q-x, 4–11, Figs 6–18, 28, 40, 42 (details)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 148
 PM II², 350 [24–26] (called court)

East wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 6–7, Figs 28, 42 (details)



South wing

3. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) before Isis ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 6

Fig. 8



North wing

4. Hathor → (restored) presenting a *menat* necklace to Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 7, Figs 28, 42 (details)
Karkowski, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari. The Epigraphic Mission, 50, Fig. 2
PM II², 350 [24]



South wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 8
Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Documentation, Fig. 1

5. Dedicatory inscription in sunken relief →

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 8
Grallert, Bauen – Stiften – Weißen. Text, 404 [Hat/Wf013]
Grallert, Bauen – Stiften – Weißen. Anfang, 594 [Hat/Wf013]
Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Documentation, Fig. 1

6. Hathor-cow ← (restored) in a shrine suckling Hatshepsut → (erased) and protecting her, in front of her an offering table and Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose I or II)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 8
Karkowski, Epigraphic Mission at the Hatshepsut Temple 1995, 62, Fig. 1
Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Documentation, 44, Fig. 1

West wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 10–11

frieze un-
preserved

South wing

7. Thutmose III → before Hathor ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 10
Karkowski, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 1993, 81
Karkowski, Epigraphic Mission at the Hatshepsut Temple 1995, 64, Fig. 2

frieze un-
preserved

North wing

8. Hatshepsut ← (restored) before Hathor → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 11
PM II², 350 [26]

frieze un-
preserved

North wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 9, Fig. 40 (detail)
Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Documentation, 45, Fig. 2
PM II², 350 [25, 26]

9. Dedicatory inscription ←

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 9, Fig. 40 (detail)
 Brugsch, Recueil des monuments égyptiens II, Pl. LXIX [6] (part of inscription)
 Grallert, Bauen – Stiften – Weißen. Text, 403 [Wf012]
 Grallert, Bauen – Stiften – Weißen. Anfang, 594 [Wf012]
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Documentation, Fig. 2
 PM II², 350 [25]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. 34

10. Hathor-cow ← (restored) in a shrine suckling Hatshepsut → (erased) and protecting her,
 in front of her an offering table and Hatshepsut → (changed)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 9
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Documentation, 45, 46, Fig. 2
 Kühn, Der Terrasentempel der Hatshepsut, 27
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. LXXXVII
 PM II², 350 [25]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XLIV

I.1–8. Pillars

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 3e-h, q-x, Figs 3a-d, i-p, 8–17
 Bernhauer, Entstehung und Entwicklung, 29, 36, Fig. 2
 Niwiński, Miscellanea, 211–212, Fig. 6
 Phillips, The Columns, 163
 Pirelli, The Pillars of the Outer Hypostyle Hall, 221–244
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 1895 (capital, running king)

II.1–8. Columns

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 4
 Bernhauer, Hathorsäulen und Hathot Pfeiler, 46–52
 Niwiński, Les colonnes proto-doriques avec inscriptions, 101–104, Figs 10–11, 15–17
 Pawlicki, Inscriptions des colonnes proto-doriques, 68–72, Figs 1–2
 Roberts, Hathor Rising, Fig. 52 (capital)
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 1889 (capital, two cobras), 1897 (capital, face of Hathor), 1898 (capital, two cobras)

Architraves

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 5
 Karkowski, The Arrangement of the Architraves, 140–143, Figs 2, 3 (plan)
 Karkowski, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 1993, 82–83, Fig. 2

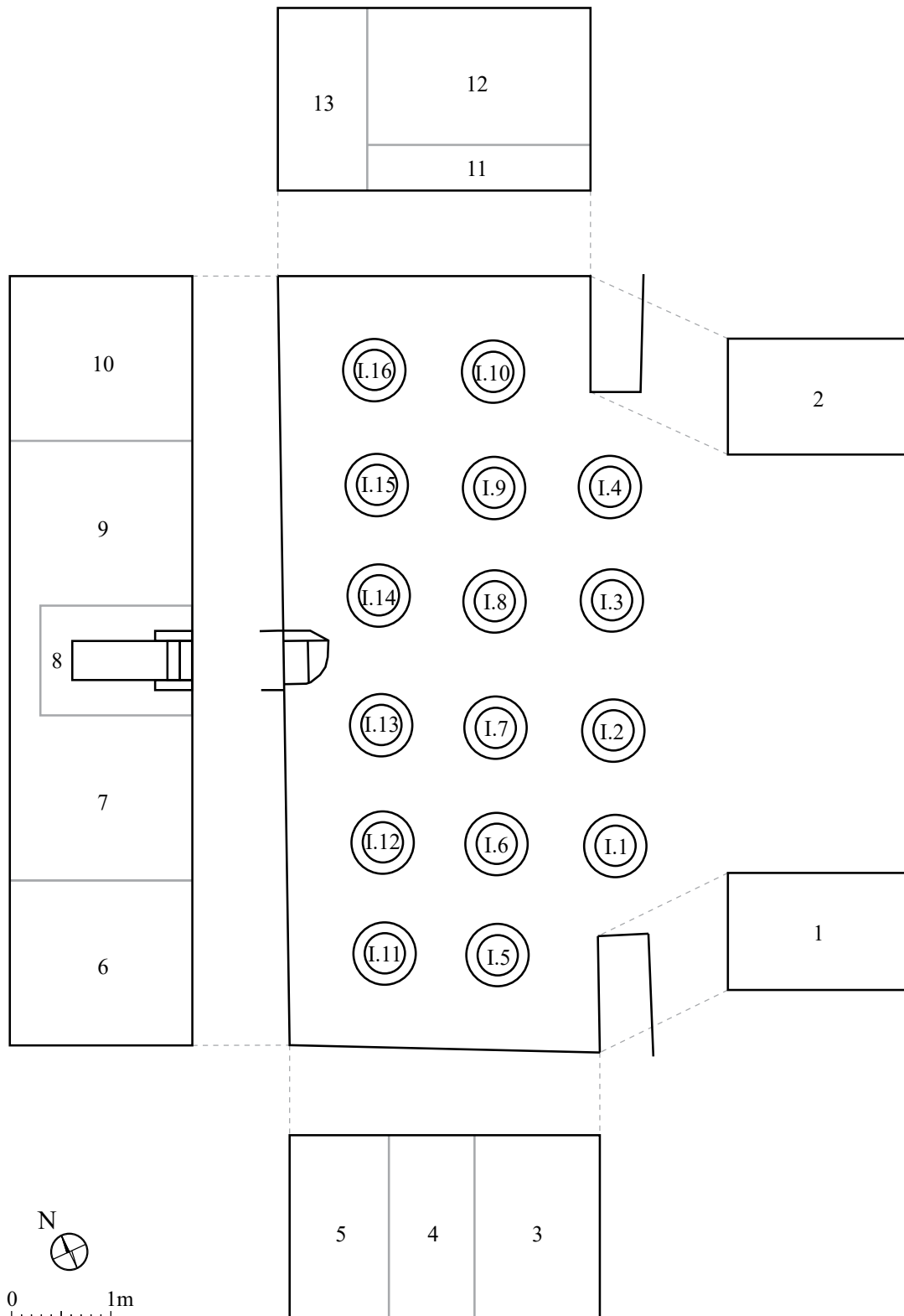


Fig. 9. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Hathor Shrine, Second Hypostyle Hall (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Second Hypostyle Hall**Fig. 9**

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 12–22, Fig. 18–27, 29–35, 37–39, 41–46 (details)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 48–149
 PM II², 350–351 [27–33]

East wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 15, Fig. 42 (detail)

frieze un-
preserved**South wing**

1. Hatshepsut → and Thutmose III → (theoretical reconstruction)

Beaux, Karkowski, La chapelle d'Hathor du Temple d'Hatchepsout, 24 (reference)

frieze un-
preserved**North wing**

2. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) and Thutmose III ←

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 15, Fig. 42 (detail)
 PM II², 350 [27] (mentioned that lower parts of god and king are preserved)

frieze un-
preserved**South wall**

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 16, Figs 27, 41 (details)
 Beaux, Karkowski, La chapelle d'Hathor du Temple d'Hatchepsout, 16–25, Figs 10–15

3. Procession with the bark of Hathor → and an accompanying bark → , two registers of priests → pulling cord

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 16, Figs 27, 41 (details)
 Beaux, Karkowski, La chapelle d'Hathor du Temple d'Hatchepsout, 16–21, Figs 10–12
 PM II², 350 [28–29]

4. Procession with the bark of Amun → (restored) and four registers of priests →

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 16
 Beaux, Karkowski, La chapelle d'Hathor du Temple d'Hatchepsout, 21, Figs 10, 13

5. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) in front of the offering table

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 16
 Beaux, Karkowski, La chapelle d'Hathor du Temple d'Hatchepsout, 23, Figs 10, 14

West wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 19–22, Figs 37, 38, 44–46 (details)



6. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) running with a bird and staves to Hathor ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 19
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXII [c] (upper part with text)
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 44–45, Fig. 46
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCVII
 PM II², 351 [32.1]

7. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) in a shrine followed by her *ka* ← (in human form), in front of them Hathor-cow → licking the hand of Hatshepsut and accompanied by Anubis → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 20, Figs 37, 44 (details)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXII [c] (upper part with text)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCVI
 PM II², 351 [32.2]
 Urk. IV, 238–240 (84) c, 275 (88) b 6 (text of Hathor-cow and Anubis, titulary of Hatshepsut)
 Urk. IV Übersetzung, 111, 126

8. Door frame, lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II); jambs: name of the gate and south jamb: Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) with the *mks* staff and *ḥḏ* mace, north jamb: Thutmose III ← with the *mks* staff and *ḥḏ* mace

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 9–12, Pl. 1, Figs R6a, R8, M29, D Ouadjet 1, D Horus de Behedet 1
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXIII [b]
 Grothoff, Die Tormamen, 213, 216 (name of the gate)
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 44, Fig. 42
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCV
 PM II², 351 [34a-b]
 Schott, Die Reinigung Pharaohs, 83 (Thutmose III), Pl. I b
 Urk. IV, 302 (name of the gate)
 Urk. IV Übersetzung, 137 (c)-(d) (name of the gate)
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 1890 (south jamb: name of the gate), 1893 (south jamb: Hatshepsut), 1894 (north jamb: Thutmose III)



9. Enthroned Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) in a shrine followed by her *ka* → (in human form), in front of them Hathor-cow ← licking the hand of Hatshepsut and accompanied by Hapy ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 21, Figs 38, 45 (details)
 Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 305
 De Buck, De Zegepraal van het Licht, Fig. 15
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXII [b]
 Helck, Ramessidische Inschriften, 128 [2] (persea mentioned in the text)
 Jéquier, L'architecture I, 34 [2]
 Myśliwiec, Eighteenth Dynasty, Pl. XXXII.1
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCIV
 Paribeni, Architettura, 136, Fig. 117 [upper] (Hathor-cow)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 149, Fig. 141 (Hathor-cow)
 PM II², 351 [33.2]
 Sperveslage, Pyramidentextspruch 337, 62, Fig. 16 (Hathor-cow)
 Urk. IV, 275–276, 236–238 (titulary)
 Urk. IV Übersetzung, 127 (titulary)
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA): 1896 (Hatshepsut before Hathor-cow licking her hand)

10. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) running with an oar to Hathor → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 22, Fig. 46 (detail)
 Myśliwiec Karol, Le portrait royal, 44–45, Fig. 45
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCIII
 PM II², 351 [33.1]
 Urk. IV, 376 (part of a text above Hathor)



North wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 17–18, Figs 29–35, 39, 43 (details)

11. Soldiers, a man with panther, dancing Libyans ←

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 17, 17-1, Fig. 30 (soldiers)
 Bates, The Eastern Libyans, 155, Fig. 63
 Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 56 (soldiers, fragment)
 Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 215 (soldiers, fragment, described as a scene from the Upper Courtyard)

Binder-Hagelstange, Ägypten, Fig. on p. 538 [a] (middle part)
 Boulanger, Weltgeschichte der Malerei, Pl. on p. 45
 Brugsch, Recueil des monuments égyptiens II, Pl. LXIX [5] (end of the text)
 Brunner-Traut, Der Tanz, 73–74, Fig. 41
 Dumas, La Civilisation, Pl. I facing p. 64 (soldiers)
 Duemichen, Flotte, Pls V, VI, XI (Libyans), XII [right] (man with panther), XIII [right] (third soldier on the right)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. LX [right] (man with panther)
 Faulkner, Egyptian Military Standards, 16, Pls V [12, 19], VI [23, 24] (standards)
 Galassi, Tehenu, 130–131, Fig. 114
 Hölscher, Libyer und Ägypter, 30–31, Fig. 3
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Pl. 12
 Maspero, Histoire II, Fig. on p. 220
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls LXXXVII–XCI
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 147, Fig. 140
 PM II², 350–351 [30.IV]
 Urk. IV, 307.17–308.8 (text)
 Urk. IV Übersetzung, 137–140, text
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XLV
 Werbrouck, Le cirque, 14, Pl. IV (fragment)

12. Boats with shrines in three registers ← and dedicatory inscription

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 17, 17-1–17-4, Figs 31–35 (details)
 Boulanger, Weltgeschichte der Malerei, Pl. on p. 154 (steersman and oarsmen of the middle boat in the lower register)
 Duemichen, Flotte, Pls V, VI, IX [upper right] (steersman of the right boat in the lower register)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pls XXII, LVIII [upper right]
 Duemichen, Photographische Resultate, Pl. XVI
 Mariette, Deir el-Bahari, Pl. 12
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls XXXVIII–XCI
 PM II², 350 [30.I–III]
 Werbrouck, Le cirque, 14, Pl. IV (fragment)

13. Procession of soldiers ←

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 17, 17-5

13. Thutmose III ← with an oar before Hathor → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 18, Figs 29, 39, 43 (details)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCII
 PM II², 351 [31]
 Urk. IV, 376 (fragment of a text above Hathor)

I.1–16. Columns

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pls 12–13, Figs 18–26
 Bernhauer, Entstehung und Entwicklung, 29, 36, Fig. 1 (capital)
 Bernhauer, Hathorsäulen und Hathotpeiler, 46–52
 Niwiński, Les colonnes proto-doriques avec inscriptions, 93–101, Figs 10–16
 Niwiński, Protodoric Columns with Inscriptions, 92–93
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 146, Fig. 139
 Phillips, The Columns, Figs 45 (capital), 166
 Schnittger, Hatshepsut, 32, Fig. 13

Architraves

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor II, Pl. 14

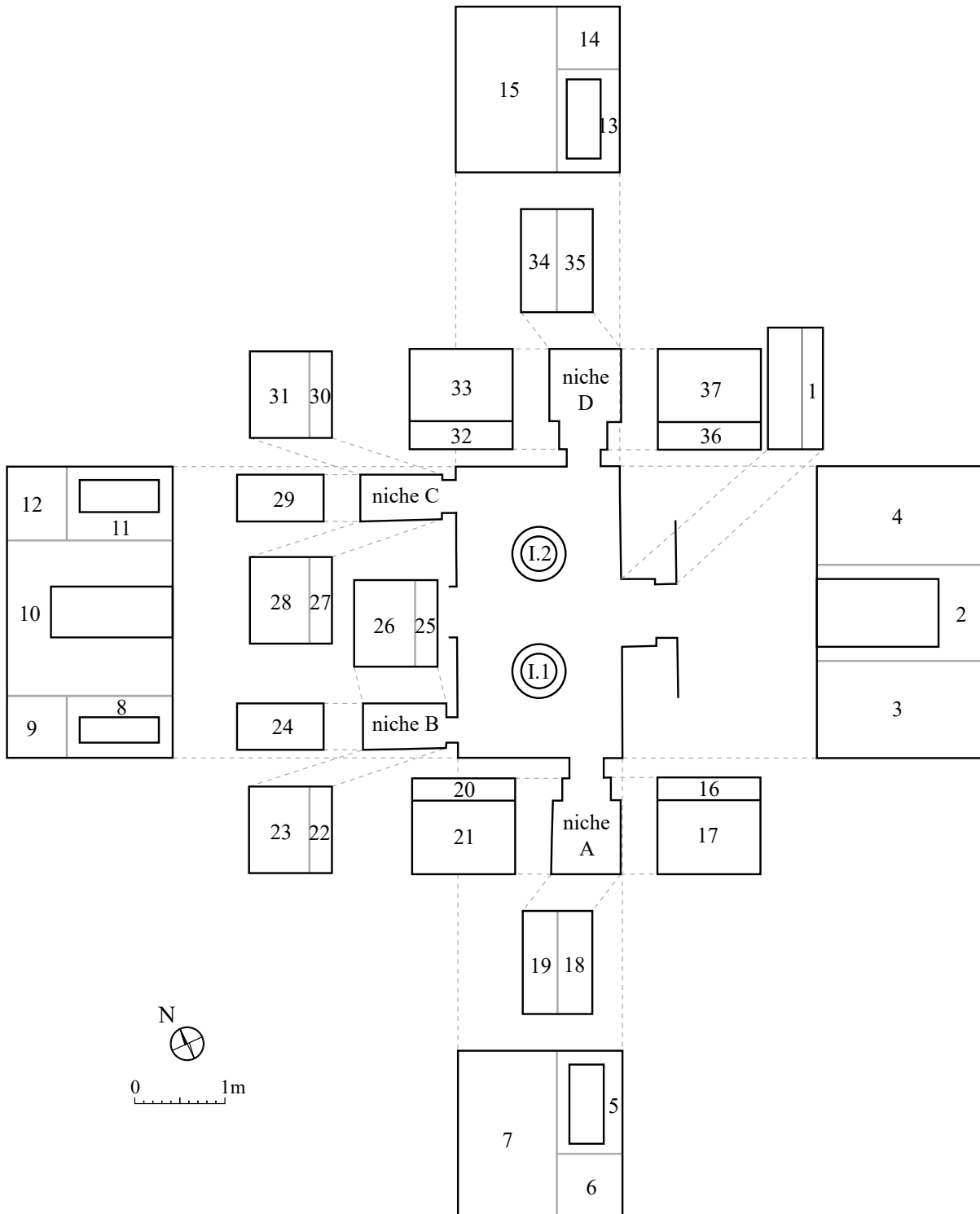


Fig. 10. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Hathor Shrine, Vestibule (based on plan made by T. Dzierdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Vestibule

Fig. 10

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 9–142, Fig. 2 (plan)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls XCVIII–CIII
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 149–151
 PM II², 351–352

Entrance

North reveal

1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 187, Pl. 44

East wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 17–28, Pls 5–6, Figs 15a1, M30, M34, M36, R4, R6b, D Hathor 1–2, D Nekhbet 1–3, D Oudjet 2–3
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. C
 PM II², 351 [34c-d, 35, 38]

2. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 13–14, Pl. 2, Figs 17, D Horus de Behedet 2
 PM II², 351 [34c-d]



3. Hatshepsut → (erased, name replaced with Thutmose II) followed by her *ka* (in human form) offering four *mrt*-chests to Hathor ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 22–28, Pl. 5, Figs D Hathor 1, D Nekhbet 1–2, R4, 28a, M34, M36
 Egberts, In Quest of Meaning I, 12, Pl. 12
 Nelson, Key Plans, DB 95
 PM II², 351 [35]
 Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 2025 (Hatshepsut)



4. Tuthmose III ← striking the ball before Hathor → and small figures of two priests → giving him balls

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 17–21, Pl. 6, Figs 18, 19, D Hathor 2, D Oudjet 2–3, R6b, D Nekhbet 3, M30
 Davies, Hatshepsut's Use of Tuthmosis III, 58, n. 25
 De Vries, A Ritual Ball Game?, 25, 31–35
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari. The Epigraphic Mission, 260, Fig. 6 (detail)
 Myśliwiec, Eighteenth Dynasty, Pl. XXXIII
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. C
 PM II², 351 [38]
Urk. IV, 291 (92) 3, 292–293 (93) b (epithets of Thutmose III and text above Hathor)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 133 (epithets of Thutmose III and text above Hathor)



South wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 29–37, 56–57, Pls 7–8, 13, Figs 15a2; 20a-c; 21; D Amonet, Montou, Atoum, Chou, Tefnout; D Geb, Nout, Osiris, Isis, Seth; D Nephthys, Horus 1, Hathor 1, Sobek, Iounet et Tjanenet; D Ouret-hekaou; D Amon 1; D Horus de Behedet 4
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CI
 PM II², 351 [36–37]

5. Door frame of niche A: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased on the lintel, replaced with Thutmose II on jambs)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 56–57, Pl. 13, Fig. 4f
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CI [left]
 PM II², 352 [43a]

6. Fifteen enthroned gods of Ennead → (restored) in three registers

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 29–32, Pl. 7, Figs 15a2, 20b, 20c, D Amonet, D Montou, D Atoum, D Chou, D Tefnout, D Geb, D Nout, D Osiris, D Isis, D Seth, D Nephthys, D Horus 1, D Hathor 3, D Sobek, D Iounet, D Tjanenet
 Brugsch, Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum IV, 727 [22] (Ennead)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pls XXXIV [a, 1–15] (Ennead)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CI [left]
 PM II², 351 [36]

7. Hatshepsut → (erased, cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) and Werethekau → (restored) offering *menat* necklace to enthroned Amun ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 32–37, Pl. 8, Figs 21; D Ouret-hekaou; D Amon 1
 LGG II, 493, 495 [48] (reference to Werethekau)
 Myśliwiec, Eighteenth Dynasty, Pl. XXXIV.1
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, 4–5, Pl. CI [right] (described as coming from the north wall and a coronation scene)
 Ouda, Did Werethekau 'Great of Magic' have a Cult?, 117 (reference to Werethekau)
 PM II², 351 [37]
 Urk. IV, 285 (90) a (speech of Werethekau)
 Urk. IV Übersetzung, 130 (speech of Werethekau)

West wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 46–55, 77–78, 86–88, Pls 11, 12, 21, 25, Fig. 26; D Hathor 6; D Hathor 7; D Ouadjet 6; D Ouadjet 7; D Horus de Behedet 6; D Horus de Behedet 9
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CII, CIII
 PM II², 351–352 [41–42, 45a, 46a]

8. Door frame of niche B: titulary of Hatshepsut (on lintel erased, on jambs replaced with Thutmose II)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 77–78, Pl. 21, Fig. 4b
 PM II², 352 [45a]

9. Hatshepsut → (erased, cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) censing before Hathor ←

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 46–49, Pl. 11, Figs D Hathor 6, D Ouadjet 6
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Mission 1996, 48, Fig. 2
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 113, Fig. 9A
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 150, Fig. 142
 PM II², 351 [41]
 Szafranski (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 229

10. Door frame in form of the *pr-wr* façade: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II) and Thutmose III (lintel, right) and name of the gate

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 107–113, Pl. 29
 Brugsch, Geographische Inschriften III, Pl. XIII [40]
 Brugsch, Recueil des monuments égyptiens II, Pl. LXIX [1] (south jamb)
 Brugsch, Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum VI, 1299 [lower]
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXIII [c]
 Grothoff, Die Tornamen, 213, 216 (name of the gate)
 Hamann, Ägyptische Kunst, Fig. 212
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CIII
 Phillips, The Columns, Fig. 167 (detail of Hathor capital)
 PM II², 352 [47a-b]
 Roberts, Hathor Rising, Fig. 54
 Urk. IV, 291 (titulary of Thutmose III), 302 (name of the gate)
 Urk. IV Übersetzung, 133 (titulary of Thutmose III), 137 (name of the gate)



Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XLVII
Das Digitale Schott-Archiv (DSA) 1891 (name of the gate)

11. Door frame of niche C: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased on the lintel, replaced with Thutmose II on jambs) and Thutmose III (lintel, right)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 86–88, Pl. 25
PM II², 352 [46a]



12. Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering *nḥnw* to Hathor →

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 49–54, Pl. 12, Figs D Hathor 7, D Ouadjet 7
Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CII
Roth, Erasing a Reign, 279, Fig. 100



North wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 38–46, 66–68, Pls 9, 10, 17, Figs D Hathor 4, D Hathor 5, D Ouadjet 4, D Ouadjet 5, D Horus de Behedet 3
PM II², 352 [40, 44a, 46 (2, b)]

13. Door frame of niche D: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased on the lintel, replaced with Thutmose II on jambs)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 66–68, Pl. 17
PM II², 352 [44a]

14. Hatshepsut ← (erased) giving *mm* grains to Hathor →

Arnold Di., Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 46 [2, b] (text)
Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 38–41, Pl. 9, Figs D Hathor 4, D Ouadjet 4
PM II², 351 [39]
Urk. IV, 303 (99) b (text above Hathor)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 138 (text above Hathor)

15. Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering *šbt* to Hathor →

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 41–46, Pl. 10, Figs D Hathor 5, D Ouadjet 5, D Horus de Behedet 3
PM II², 351 [40]

Niche A

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 56–66, Pls 14–16

Entrance

East reveal

16. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188, Pl. 45

West reveal

20. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188, Pl. 46

Fig. 10



East wall

17. Hatshepsut → (erased) presenting offerings to Horus ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 57–60, Pl. 14, Fig. D Horus de Dendera
PM II², 352 [43b]



South wall

18. Thutmose III → before Hathor ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 63–64, Pl. 16 [left], Figs D Hathor 8, R6c
Navielle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCIX
PM II², 352 [43d]
Urk. IV, 291 (royal titulary)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 133 (royal titulary)

19. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before Amun-Ra → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 65–66, Pl. 16 [right], Fig. D Amon 2
Navielle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCIX
PM II², 352 [43d]
Urk. IV, 276 (royal titulary)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 127



West wall

21. Hatshepsut ← (erased) presenting offerings to Sematawy → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 60–63, Pl. 15, Figs D Sema-taouy
Navielle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. XCVIII
PM II², 352 [43c]

Niche B

Fig. 10

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 77–86, Pls 22–24

Entrance

South reveal

22. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188, Pl. 49

North reveal

25. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188, Pl. 50



South wall

23. Hatshepsut → (erased) presenting offerings to Ra-Harakhty ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 78–80, Pl. 22, Figs D Rê-Harakhty, D Horus de Behedet 7
PM II², 352 [45b]

**West wall**

24. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before Amun-Ra → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 83–85, Pl. 24, Figs D Amon 4, D Ouadjet 8
PM II², 352 [45d]

**North wall**

26. Hatshepsut ← (erased) presenting offerings to Hathor → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 81–83, Pl. 23, Figs D Hathor 11, D Horus Behedet 8
Navielle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CII
PM II², 352 [45c]

Niche C

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 86–95, Pls 26–28

Entrance

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188–189, Pls 51, 52

South reveal

27. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188–189, Pl. 51

North reveal

30. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188–189, Pl. 52

**South wall**

28. Hatshepsut → (erased) presenting offerings to Nekhbet ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 88–91, Pl. 26, Figs D Nekhbet 6, D Horus de Behedet 10
PM II², 352 [46b]

**West wall**

29. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 93–95, Pl. 28, Figs D Amon 5, D Nekhbet 7
PM II², 352 [46d]

**North wall**

31. Hatshepsut ← (erased) presenting offerings to Wadjyt → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 91–93, Pl. 27, Figs D Ouadjet 9, D Horus de Behedet 11
PM II², 352 [46c]

Fig. 10

Niche D

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 66–77, Pls 18–20

Entrance**West reveal**

32. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188, Pl. 48

East reveal

36. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 188, Pl. 47

**West wall**

33. Hatshepsut → (erased) presenting offerings to Hesis ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 71–74, Pl. 19, Figs D Hesat, D Nekhbet 5
PM II², 352 [44b]
Roth, *Erasing a Reign*, 278, Fig. 96

**North wall**

34. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 75–77, Pl. 20, Fig. D Amon 3
PM II², 352 [44d]

35. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before Hathor → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 74–75, Pl. 20, Fig. D Hathor 10
PM II², 352 [44d]

**East wall**

37. Hatshepsut ← (erased) presenting offerings to cow-headed Hathor → (restored)

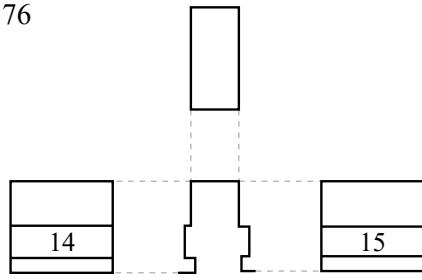
Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 68–71, Pl. 18, Figs D Hathor 9, D Nekhbet 4
PM II², 352 [44c]

I.1–2. Columns

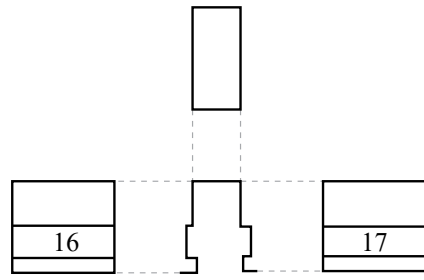
Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 14–16, Pl. 3
Niwiński, *Les colonnes proto-doriques avec inscriptions*, 92–93
Niwiński, *Protodoric Columns with Inscriptions*, 93

Architraves

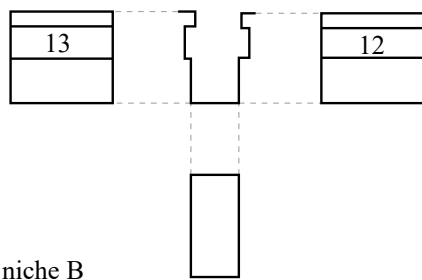
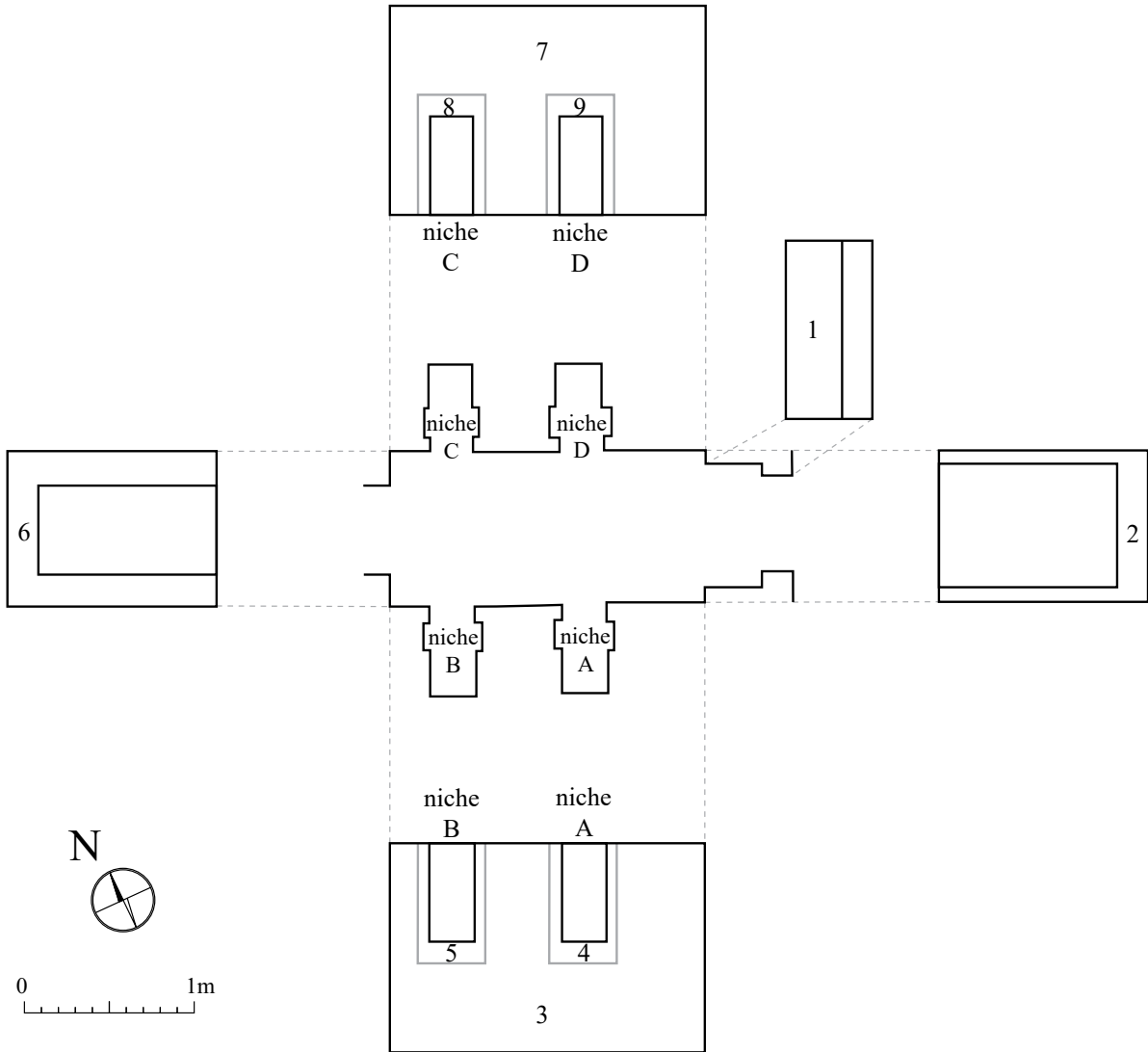
Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 16–17, Pl. 4
PM II², 352



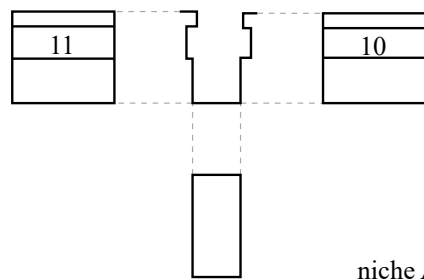
niche C



niche D



niche B



niche A

Fig. 11. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Hathor Shrine, Bark Hall (based on plan made by T. Dziedzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Bark Hall**Fig. 11**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 113–142, Pls 30–36**Entrance****North reveal****1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 189, Pl. 53

no frieze

East wallBeaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 113–140, Pls 30–34**2. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 113–114, Pl. 30
Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXIII [c]
PM II², 352 [47c-d]**South wall**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 115–128, Pl. 31, Fig. 4i
PM II², 352 [48]**3. Hatshepsut → (erased) with Ihy → (restored) holding sistrum before Hathor-cow ← in the bark, offering table between them, and with three registers of gods ← and mummified hawks ← behind**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 115–122, 127, Pl. 31, Figs D Nekhbet 9–10, D Ihy 1
Brugsch, Recueil des monuments égyptiens II, Pls LXIX [4, II.1–5], Fig. 1 (fragment)
Capart, Werbrouck, Thèbes, Fig. 140
Duemichen, Altägyptische Kalenderinschriften, Pl. XLII [a] (upper part of the scene)
Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pls XXXI, XXXII [d-f] (Hathor-cow and door of the niche)
Engberg, The Dawn of Civilization, Fig. on p. 166
Jéquier, L'architecture I, Pls 35 [4, left]
Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari. The Epigraphic Mission, 257, Fig. 2 (detail)
Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 151, Fig. 143
Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 280, Fig. 102
Urk. IV, 302–303 (text above Hathor-cow)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 137–138 (text above Hathor-cow)**4. Door frame of niche A: titulary of Hatshepsut (right side, erased) and Thutmose III (left side)**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 136–139, Pl. 33**5. Door frame of niche B: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 139–140, Pl. 34

no frieze

West wallBeaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 143–147, Pl. 37**6. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and Thutmose III (left lintel) and name of the door**

Arnaudiès-Montélimard, L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III, 152
 Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 143–147, Pl. 37
 Carotti, L'Arte, Fig. 192 [right]
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXIV [upper left]
 Grothoff, Die Tormamen, 213, 216 (name of the gate)
 Jéquier, L'architecture I, Pl. 35 [4, right] (fragment)
 PM II², 352–353 [50]
Urk. IV, 302.10 (name of the gate)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 137 (name of the gate)



North wall

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 128–138, Pl. 32, Fig. 4j
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXII [a]
 Giedion, The Eternal Present II, Fig. 274
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CIV
 PM II², 352 [49]
Urk. IV, 303–304 (text)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 138

7. Hatshepsut ← (erased) with Ihy ← (restored) holding sistrum before Hathor-cow → in the bark, offering table between them, and with three registers of gods → and mummified hawks → behind

Arnold Di., Die Tempel Ägyptens, Fig. 136 (shrine)
 Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 128–137, Pl. 32, Figs D Ouadjet 11–12, D Ihy 2
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXII [a] (gods)
 Giedion, The Eternal Present II, Fig. 274 (text of gods)
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari. The Epigraphic Mission, 257, Figs 2 (Hatshepsut suckled by Hathor-cow and in front of her), 5 (two registers of gods behind Hathor-cow)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CIV
 Roberts, Hathor Rising, Fig. 55
 Roth, Erasing a Reign, 277, Fig. 95 (shrine)
Urk. IV, 303–304 (99) c (text of gods)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 138 (text of gods)

8. Door frame of niche C: titulary of Hatshepsut (left side, erased) and Thutmose III (right side, partially erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 141–142, Pl. 36

9. Door frame of niche D: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 140–141, Pl. 35

no frieze

Niche A

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 189, Pl. 54–55

East wall

10. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 189, Pl. 54

West wall

11. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 55

Fig. 11

no frieze

Niche B**Fig. 11**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 56–57**East wall**

12. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 56**West wall**

13. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 57

no frieze

Niche C**Fig. 11**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 60–61**West wall**

14. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 61**East wall**

15. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 60

no frieze

Niche D**Fig. 11**Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 58–59**West wall**

16. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 59**East wall**

17. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 190, Pl. 58

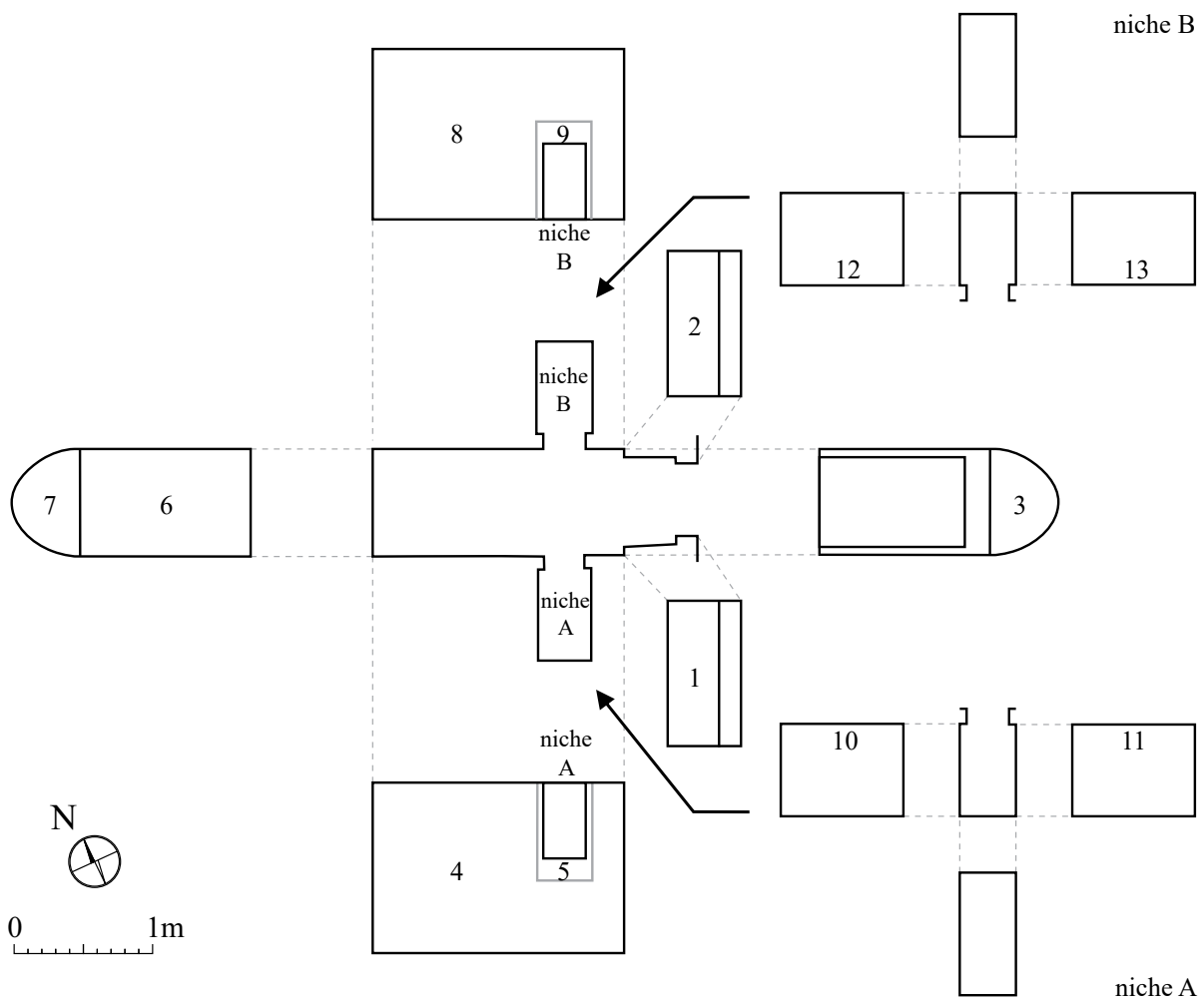


Fig. 12. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Hathor Shrine, Sanctuary (based on plan made by T. Dzie-
dzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Sanctuary

Fig. 12

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 143–173, Pls 38–43
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 127–128 (Doc. 108C)
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, Fig. 151 [C3] (section), 154
 Sankiewicz, Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze, 206, 208, Fig. 4 (cryptogram frieze of Hatshepsut)

Entrance

South reveal

1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 191, Pl. 62



North reveal

2. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 191, Pl. 63



East wall

3. Tympanum: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and cryptogram frieze

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 148–149, Pl. 38
 PM II², 353 [51]



South wall

4. Kneeling Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) with milk and Thutmose III → with *nw* vases in front of the offering table and Hathor-cow ←

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 150–155, Pl. 39
 Gilbert, Le sens des portraits intacts, 220, 222, Fig. 21 (queen kneeling and suckling the cow)
 Lange, Hirmer, Aegypten, Pl. 131 (queen suckling the cow)
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 49, Fig. 58 (detail)
 Myśliwiec, Eighteenth Dynasty, Pl. XXXII.2
 Pillet, Thèbes, Fig. 28 (Hathor-cow)
 Roth, Erasing a Reign, 280, Fig. 102 (queen kneeling and suckling the cow)
Urk. IV, 235–236 (84) a (fragment of a text above Hathor-cow)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 109 (fragment of a text above Hathor-cow)

5. Door frame of niche A: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 169–170, Pls 39, 42



West wall

6. Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) embraced by Hathor ← (restored) and receiving *nh* sign from Amun → (restored)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 162–166, Pl. 41
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 47, Fig. 66 (head of Hatshepsut)

7. Tympanum: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and cryptogram frieze

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 166–168, Pl. 41

North wall

8. Kneeling Hatshepsut ← (name erased) with milk and Thutmose III ← with *nw* vases in front of the offering table and Hathor-cow →

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 156–161, 170–171, Pls 40, 43

Gilbert, Le sens des portraits intacts, Fig. on p. 220 (queen suckling the cow)

Schott, Das schöne Fest vom Wüstantale, 805 (stand with lettuce, basket with *menat* necklaces in a pile of offerings), Fig. 10 (lettuce, basket with *menat* necklaces)

9. Door frame of niche B: titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 170–171, Pls 40, 43

Niche A

Fig. 12

East wall

10. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased) with text addressed to Hathor

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 191, Pl. 64

Dorman, The Royal Steward, 108, Fig. 45

Roberts, Hathor Rising, Fig. 124 (Sen-en-mut)

West wall

11. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased) with text addressed to Hathor

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 191, Pl. 65

Niche B

Fig. 12

West wall

12. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased) with text addressed to Amun

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 192, Pl. 67

Bedman, Valentin, Sen-en-mut, 115 (described as coming from the Upper Terrace)

Ernst, Zu Hatshepsut und einigen Reliefs, 37 [lower]

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 62, Fig. 55

East wall

13. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased) with text addressed to Hathor

Beaux *et al.*, La chapelle d'Hathor I, 191, Pl. 66

Artefacts from the Hathor Shrine

- Façade and side wall of the shrine, ebony, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Baltimore ECM 1888 (Eton College Myers Collection), probably from here

Spurr, Reeves, Quirke, *Egyptian Art at Eton College*, 22–23 [18]
Reeves *et al.* (Eds), *Egyptian Art at Eton College and Durham University*, 27–28 [64]

- Ear, faience, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Baltimore 2034 D
- Bead of Sen-en-mut, glass, Museum of Liverpool, Liverpool M11568

Eaton-Krauss, *Inscribed bead*, 169 [193]
Gatty, *Catalogue of the Mayer Collection*, 56–57, n. 358
PM II², 353
Reeves, *Two Name-beads of Hatshepsut and Senenmut*, 387–388
Schlick-Nolte, Werthmann, Loeben, *An outstanding Glass Statuette*, 15–16, Fig. 7
Stobart, *Egyptian Antiquities*, Pl. I [bottom left]
Urk. IV, 381.17
Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs II*, 141, n. 3

- Head of cow, calcite, British Museum, London EA42179, probably from here

Andrews, *Egyptian Treasures*, 60–61
Budge, *A guide to the fourth, fifth and sixth Egyptian rooms*, 163
Egyptian Treasures, 76–77 [15]
Guide to the Egyptian Collections in the British Museum, 128, Fig. 58
James, Davies, *Egyptian sculpture*, 67 [73]
Lange, *Pyramiden*, Pl. 20
Montet, *Lives of the Pharaohs*, Fig. on p. 214
Navelle, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I*, 69, Pl. XXV [c]
Navelle, Hall, *Excavations at Deir El-Bahari*, 7, Pl. IV [9]
Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 8, Pl. 9 [middle]
PM II², 394
Quirke, Spencer, *The British Museum Book*, 166, Fig. 127

- Two beads of Sen-en-mut, glass, British Museum, London EA26289, EA26290

Bimson, *Freestone, Some Egyptian Glasses*, 11, Fig. 1
Hayes, *Varia*, 88–89
Navelle, *Work at the Temple of Deir el Bahari*, 7
Navelle, *Introductory Memoir*, 19
Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, 12
Nicholson, Shaw (Eds), *Ancient Egyptian Materials*, 197, 212
Petrie, *History II*, 90
Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, Fig. 4 [middle left]
PM II², 373 (EA26290)
Reeves, *Two name-beads of Hatshepsut and Senenmut*, 387–388
Schlick-Nolte, Werthmann, Loeben, *An outstanding Glass Statuette*, 15, Fig. 6

- Votive stela with three Hathor-cows, limestone, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23.3.47, found in Hatshepsut Hole, probably from here

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 173
Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 85, 94
PM II², 626
Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 174 [97]
Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1923)*, 38, Fig. 33

- 42 fragments of *menat* necklaces, three balls, 26 cow plaques, three female votive figurines, boning rods, 20 eye plaques, rosette, two votive ears, two votive Hathor head plaques, votive ear plaque, bird figurine, girdle, 113 scarabs, Hathor emblem

seal, plaque bead, duck amulet, cowroid ring, six scarab necklaces, faience, wood, copper, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23.3.52–23.3.86, 23.3.93–23.3.120, 23.3.122, 23.3.128, 23.3.129, 23.3.131–23.3.163, 23.3.167–23.3.169, 23.3.171, 23.3.175–23.3.198, 23.3.200, 23.3.202, 23.3.206–23.3.211, 23.3.213–23.3.226, 23.3.228–23.3.231, 23.3.237–23.3.239, 23.3.242–23.3.245, 23.3.252, 23.3.253, 23.3.257, 23.3.260, 23.3.267, 23.3.269, 23.3.271–23.3.273, 23.3.275, 23.3.276, 23.3.278, 23.3.281, 23.3.283–23.3.285, 23.3.287, 23.3.290, 23.3.291, 23.3.294, 23.3.297, 23.3.300, 23.3.302, 23.3.304, 23.3.305, 23.3.307, 23.3.309, 23.3.311, 23.3.325, 23.3.336, 23.3.341, 23.3.348, 23.3.354, 23.3.357, 23.3.362, 23.3.365, 23.3.382, 23.3.390, 23.3.391, 23.3.394, 23.3.395, 23.3.398, 23.3.399, 23.3.402–23.3.404, 23.3.409, 23.3.411, 23.3.413, 23.3.417, 23.3.426, 23.3.427, 23.3.433, 23.3.441, 23.3.443, 23.3.450–23.3.460, found in Hatshepsut Hole, probably from here

Arnold Di., *Building in Egypt*, Fig. 6.8 (23.3.169)

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 173, 182 (23.3.137)

Pinch, *Votive Offerings*, 141, 151 (23.3.137)

PM II^f, 377 (23.3.80)

Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 174 (23.3.175, 23.3.189, 23.3.190, 23.3.226), 175 (23.3.225)

■ Bead of Sen-en-mut, glass, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 26.7.746

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 105

Reeves, *Two name-beads of Hatshepsut and Senenmut*, nn. 111, 117

Urk. IV, 381

Wilkinson, *The Manners and Customs II*, 141, no. 381, Figs 3–4

■ Pendant, carnelian (MacGregor Collection 18), probably from here or from the *H^c-zht* temple, see above, p. 261

Newberry, *Extracts*, 248 [32, a]

PM II^f, 353

Sotheby Sale Cat. (MacGregor), June 26 to July 6, 1922, no. 18

Urk. IV, 381.17

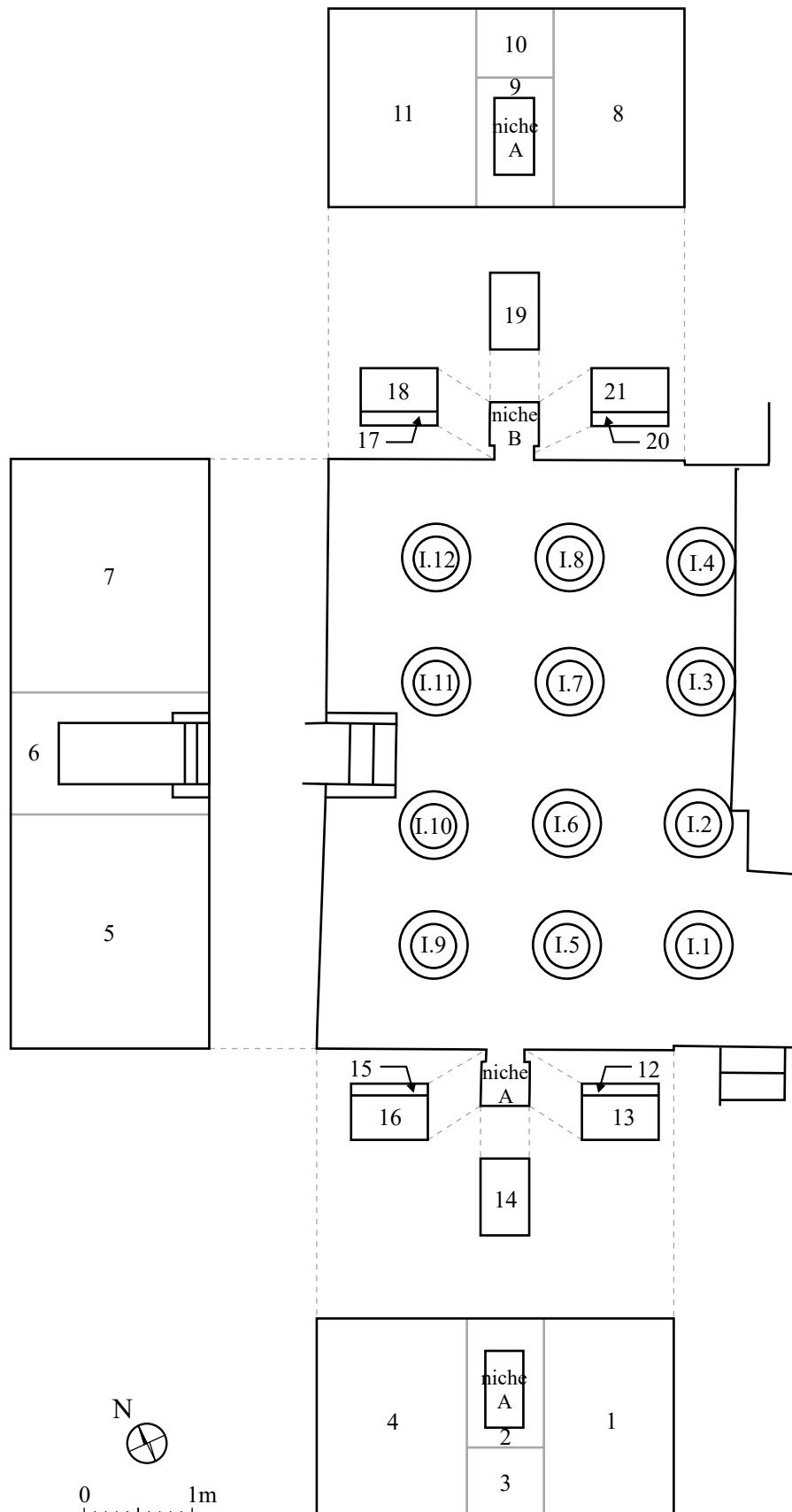


Fig. 13. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Lower Shrine of Anubis, Hypostyle Hall (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Lower Shrine of Anubis

Ćwiek, *Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition*, 76–77
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 118–120
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pls XXX, XXXI (plan and section)
 Nelson, *Key Plans*, Pl. XXXVI (plan)
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 142–145
 Pawlicki, Polaczek, Witkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977*, 293
 PM II², 353–356, Pl. XXXVI [2]
 Quirke, *Gods in the temple of the king*, 44–45 (references)
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, 113–118, Fig. 9
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 11–27, 39–138

Hypostyle Hall

Fig. 13

Arnold Di., *Die Tempel Ägyptens*, 134 [lower]
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 143–144
 PM II², 354 [57–62]
 Witkowski, *Quatre saisons des travaux*, 378–384



South wall

Bedman, Valentin, *Sen-en-mut*, 118 (cryptogram frieze)

1. Hatshepsut → (erased) introduced by Anubis → (restored)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XXXIII
 PM II², 354 [57.1]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 39–41, Pls 3, B
 MMA photo T.2460
 ZAŚ PAN photos 553–556/79–80

2. Door frame of niche A: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, XXXIV
 PM II², 354 [61a]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 64–65, Pls 4, 14, B
 MMA photos T.2461, 2463
 ZAŚ PAN photos 241–242/78–79, 557–560/79–80

3. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Osiris ← (restored)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, 9, Pl. XXXIV
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 80, Fig. 68 (Osiris)
 PM II², 354 [57.2]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 41–43, Pls 45, B
 MMA photos T.2461–2462
 ZAŚ PAN photos 243–244/78–79, 557–560/79–80

4. Hatshepsut → (erased) between Nekhbet → (restored) and Ra-Harakhty ← (restored)

Beatreux, *Harachte*, 156–157
 Jéquier, *L'architecture I*, Pl. 32 [2] (incomplete)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XXXV
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 77, Fig. 64 (Nekhbet vulture)
 PM II², 354 [57.3]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 43–45, Pls 6, B
 MMA photo T.2464
 ZAŚ PAN photos 563–566/79–80



West wall

5. Hatshepsut → (erased) followed by her *ka* → (in human form, erased) in front of an offering table before enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Farina, La Pittura egiziana, Pl. II
 Hamann, Ägyptische Kunst, Fig. 68
 Hill, Wilkinson, Egyptian Wall Paintings, 6, 72 (Nekhbet vulture, fascimile Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.4.138)
 Lange, Ägypten, Pl. 88
 Lange, Hirmer, Aegypten (1955), Pl. 122; (1967), Pls VII (detail of the fifth row of offerings), XVI (cryptogram frieze and Nekhbet vulture above the queen)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, 9–10, Pls XXXVI, XXXVIII (Nekhbet vulture)
 Nims, Swaan, Thebes, Pl. 6
 PM II², 354 [59]
 Szafranski (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 246 (Nekhbet vulture)
 Rachewiltz, La Valle dei Re e delle Regine, Fig. 34
 Schnittger, Hatshepsut, 133, Fig. 98 (cryptogram frieze and Nekhbet vulture above the queen)
 Smith, The Art and Architecture, 136, Pl. 92 [a] (upper part and second row of offerings)
Urk. IV, 280 (text above Amun)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 128 (text above Amun)
 Wilkinson, Egyptian Wall Paintings, 2 (fascimile of Nekhbet vulture)
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 46–49, Pls 7, C
 Colourful facsimile is stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.4.138 (Nekhbet vulture)

6. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and name of the door

Arnaudès-Montélimard, L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III, 153
 Grothoff, Die Tornamen, 216–217 (name of the gate)
 Nims, Places about Thebes, 118, 123, Fig. 2 [34]
 PM II², 354 [63-a-b]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 84–88, Pls 18, C, I
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, Figs 6 (north jamb), 7



7. Hatshepsut ← (erased) followed by her *ka* ← (in human form, erased) before the offering table before enthroned Anubis → (restored)

Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 209
 Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 109
 Capart, L'art égyptien III, Pl. 504
 Hill, Wilkinson, Egyptian Wall Paintings, 7, 73 (falcon, fascimile Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.4.139)
 Jéquier, L'architecture I, Pl. 35 [3]
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 118, Figs 11, 12
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, 10, Pls XXXVII, XXXIX (falcon)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, Figs 133 (enthroned Anubis, reversed), 134 (fragment of the offering table), 135 (fragment of the offering table)
 PM II², 354 [60]
Urk. IV, 299–300 (96) a, 375 (110) 1 (text above Anubis)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 136 (text above Anubis)
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XXXVII (Anubis and offering table)
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 49–53, Pls 8, C
 Colour facsimile is stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.4.139 (falcon)



North wall

8. Hatshepsut ← (erased) introduced by Anubis ← (restored)

PM II², 354 [58.1]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 58–60, Pls 12, D

9. Door frame of the niche B: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and Thutmose III (lintel, right)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XL
 PM II², 354 [62a]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 71–72, Pls 10, 16, D
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, 379, Fig. 5

10. Thutmose III ← offering wine to Sokaris → (restored)

Carlier, Thèbes, Pl. 63
 Correggiani, L'Égypte ancienne et ses dieux, 511
 Elisofon, The Nile, Pl. 193
 Jéquier, L'architecture I, Pl. 32 [1]
 Kikuo, Egypt, Pl. 12
 Kołodko-Dolińska, Studies on the Kheker Frieze, 37, Fig. 8a
 Lange, Ägypten, Pl. 89
 Moret, Les Rois et dieux, Pl. V
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XL
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 143, Fig. 136
 Pillet, Thèbes, Fig. 39
 PM II², 354 [58.2]
 Steindorff, Die Blütezeit, Pl. 92
 Szafrąński, Exceptional Queen, Unique Temple, 71, Fig. 13
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XXXVI
 Werbrouck, Le cirque, Pl. III
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 57–58, Pls 10–11, D
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, 383, Fig. 8

11. Hatshepsut ← (erased) with the emblem of Anubis → (restored) in a shrine and Hatshepsut ← (erased) approaching the shrine

PM II², 354 [58.3]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 53–56, Pls 9, D

Columns

Niwiński, Les colonnes proto-doriques avec inscriptions, 86–92, Figs 4–9
 Phillips, The Columns, Fig. 160
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 78–80, Pl. G

Architraves

Karkowski, The Arrangement of the Architraves, 140–141
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II, Pl. XLII
 PM II², 354
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 82–83, Pl. H
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, 385, Fig. 9

no frieze

Niche A**Fig. 13**

East wall

12. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 70, Pl. E

13. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Mut)

PM II², 354 [61b]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 65–66, Pl. E

South wall

14. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Amun-Ra ← (restored)

PM II², 354 [61d]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 66–67, Pls 15, E

West wall

15. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 70, Pl. E

16. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Wadjyt)

PM II², 354 [61c]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 67–68, Pl. E

no frieze

Niche B**Fig. 13****West wall**

17. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 77, Pl. F

18. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Nekhbet)

Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLIPM II², 354 [62c]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 72–73, Pl. F**North wall**

19. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before Anubis → (restored)

Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLIPM II², 354 [62d]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 73–75, Pl. F**East wall**

20. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 77, Pl. F

21. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Wadjyt)

Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XXXIVPM II², 354 [62b]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 75, Pl. F

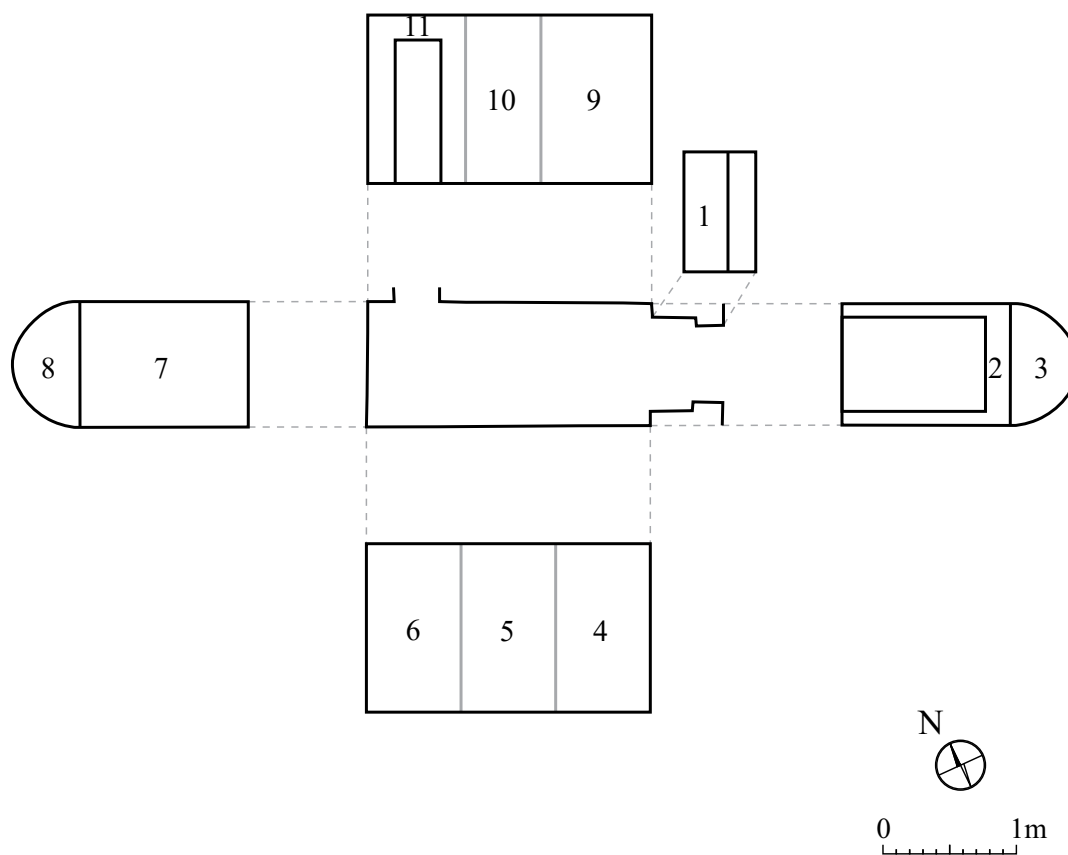


Fig. 14. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Lower Shrine of Anubis, Vestibule (based on plan made by T. Dzedzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Fig. 14

Vestibule

el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 126 (Doc. 108A)
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 101, 102, Figs 151 [A1] (section), 152a
 PM II², 354–355 [63–66]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 18–20, 88–104, 211–219, 237–240, Pls 19–25, J–L
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, 384–386

Entrance

Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 104

North reveal

1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 104

no frieze

East wall

2. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

PM II², 354 [63c-d]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 88–89, Pls 19, J

3. Tympanum: cartouches of Hatshepsut (erased) before lying Anubises (restored)

PM II², 354 [63c-d]
 Sankiewicz, Cosmological Frames, 175–176
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 88–89, Pls 19, J

**South wall**4. Hatshepsut → (erased) with a *nmst* vase before Amun-Ra ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [64.1]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 89–91, Pls 20, K

5. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Anubis ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [64.2]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 91–93, Pls 21, K

6. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Anubis ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [64.3]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 93–95, Pls 22, K

no frieze

West wall7. Hatshepsut → (erased) followed by her *ka* → (in human form) before a shrine with the emblem of Anubis ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [64.3]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 95–97, 99, Pls 23, J
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, 387, Fig. 10

8. Tympanum: in the middle, figures of kneeling Hatshepsut ← → (erased), facing jackals of Anubis on shrines, → on the left, ← on the right (both restored)

PM II², 355 [66]

Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 97–99, Pls 22, K



North wall

9. Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering incense and liquid offering to Amun-Ra → (restored)

PM II², 355 [65.1]

Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 101–102, Pls 25, L

10. Hatshepsut ← (erased) in front of an offering table before Anubis → (restored)

PM II², 355 [65.2]

Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 99–100, Pls 24, L

11. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

PM II², 355 [67a-b]

Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 104–106, Pls 26, L

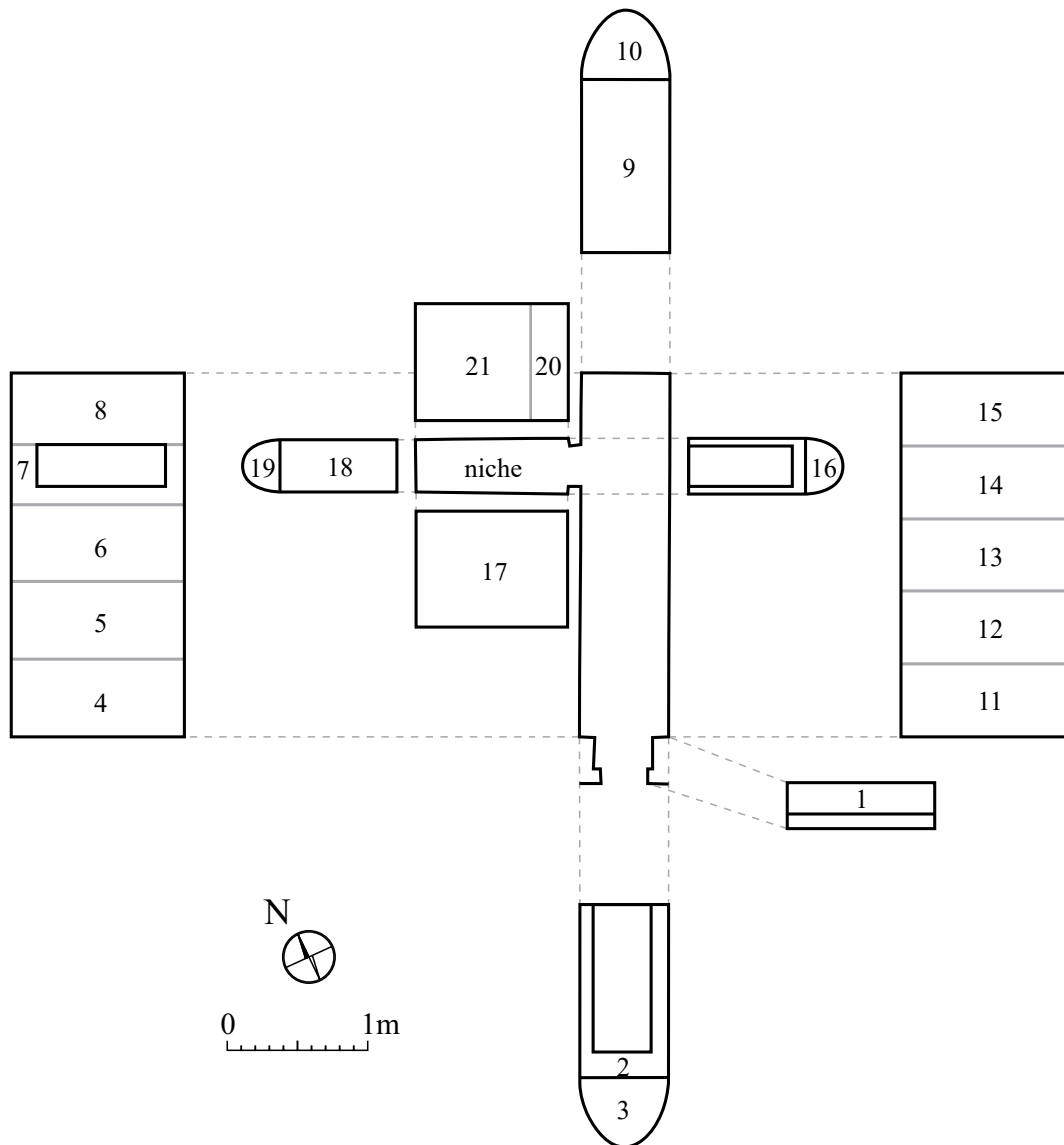


Fig. 15. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Lower Shrine of Anubis, Sanctuary (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Sanctuary**Fig. 15**

el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 126 (Doc. 108A)
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 101, 102, Figs 151 [A2] (section), 152b
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 144–145
 PM II², 355 [67–71]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 21–24, 104–138, 191–201, Pls 26–38, L–P
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, 386–389

Entrance

East reveal

1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 128

no frieze

South wall

2. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

PM II², 355 [67c-d]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 106–107, Pls 27, M

3. Tympanum (central part unpreserved)

PM II², 355 [67c-d]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 107, Pls 27, M

**West wall**4. Hatshepsut → followed by her *ka* → (in form of a standard, both erased) before Anubis ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [68.1]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 108–109, Pls 28, N

5. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Anubis ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [68.2]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 109–110, Pls 29, N

6. Hatshepsut → (erased) censing before Anubis ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [68.3]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 111–112, Pls 30, N

7. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut ← (erased)

PM II², 355 [71a]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 129–130, Pls 38, N

8. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Imentet ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [68.4]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 113–114, Pls 31, N

no frieze

North wallWitkowski, *Quatre saisons des travaux*, 389, Fig. 11

9. Hatshepsut ← (erased) between Anubis → and Hathor ← (both restored)

PM II², 355 [70]Roberts, *Hathor Rising*, Fig. 129Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 114–116, Pls 32, M

10. Tympanum: in the middle, cartouches of Hatshepsut (erased) on a gold sign, flanked by figures of jackals → ← lying on shrines (restored)

Gardiner, *Horus the Behdetite*, 48, Pl. VI [3] (winged sun disk)Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLIIIPM II², 355 [70]Sankiewicz, *Cosmological Frames*, 175–176Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 116–117, Pls 32, M**East wall**

11. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before jackal headed Anubis → (restored)

Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLIVPM II², 355 [69.1]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 124–125, Pls 37, O

12. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before jackal headed Anubis → (restored)

Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLIVPM II², 355 [69.2]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 122–123, Pls 36, O

13. Hatshepsut ← (erased) purifying Osiris → (restored)

Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pls XLIV–XLVPM II², 355 [69.3]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 120–122, Pls 35, O

14. Thutmose III ← purifying Sokaris → (restored)

Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLVPM II², 355 [69.4]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 119–120, Pls 34, O

15. Hatshepsut ← (erased) opening the shrine of Ptah → (restored)

Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XLVPM II², 355 [69.5]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 117–119, Pls 33, O

no frieze

Nicheel-Naggar, *Les voûtes*, 127 (Doc. 108A)el-Naggar, *Les voûtes. Planches*, 101, Fig. 151 [A3] (section)PM II², 355Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 129–138**East wall**PM II², 355 [71a]Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 130, Pl. P**Fig. 15**

16. Tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut (erased)

PM II², 355 [71a]
Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 130, Pl. P

South wall

17. Hatshepsut → followed by her *ka* → (in human form, both erased) in front of an offering table before enthroned Anubis ← (restored)

PM II², 355 [71b]
Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 130–133, Pl. P

West wall

18. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Anubis ← (restored, originally giving *nh* sign to the nose Hatshepsut)

PM II², 355 [71d]
Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XL
Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 133–134, Pl. P

19. Tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut (erased)

PM II², 355 [71d]
Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 134–135, Pl. P

North wall

20. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Hayes, Varia, 82, Fig. 1 [1] (text)
Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 138

21. Hatshepsut ← (erased) in front of an offering table before enthroned Anubis → (restored)

PM II², 355 [71c]
Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 135–137, Pl. P

Artefacts from the Middle Terrace

- Fragments of ebony shrine, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo CG 70001 = JE 30739, JE 30740, found on the roof

Arnold Di., Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 47
Barwik, Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple, Figs 1, 9–11
Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 91, 99, Pl. 11b
Forbes, *An Overlooked Artifact*, 43–48
Maspero, *Guide*⁴, 510–511 [4920], 524 [5225]
Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, 1–4, Pls XXV–XXIX
PM II², 355–356
Reisner, Borchardt, *Works of Art*, Pl. 24 (upper part of the left door leaf)
Roeder, *Naos*, 1–11, Pls 1–3, 67–73
Urk. IV, 275–277, 296 (titulary of Hatshepsut and dedicatory inscription)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 127, 135 (titulary of Hatshepsut and dedicatory inscription)

Upper Ramp

- Beaux, King, lion and falcon, 68–69, Fig. 9
Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 211 [upper] (falcon)
Ćwiek, Old and Middle Kingdom Tradition, 91–92, Fig. 14
Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 109–110, Fig. 7
Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 52–53
PM II², 343
Sankiewicz, Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze, 211, n. 77
Shaw, Balustrades, Stairs and Altars, 112–114, Pl. XI.3, Fig. 2
Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 213
Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 24, Figs 20, 21
Winlock, Excavations, 219–220, Fig. 14

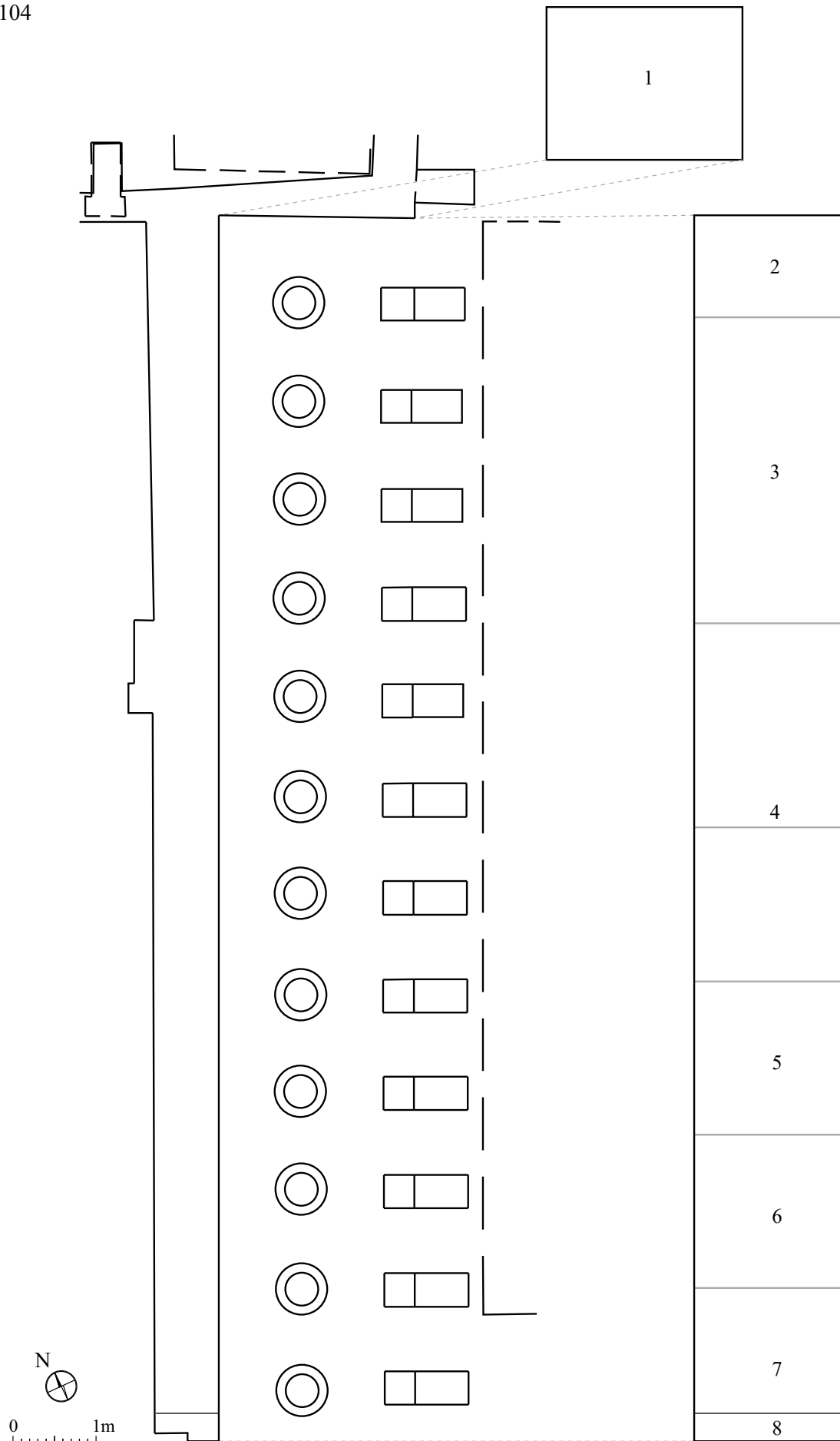


Fig. 16. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Portico (Coronation Portico), north wing (based on plan made by T. Dziejdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Upper Terrace

Karkowski, Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1971–1972, 341–348
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 154 (plan)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 81–82, Fig. 69 (plan)
 PM II², 356–368, Pl. XXXV (plan)
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 244–245

Upper Portico (Coronation Portico)

Dąbrowski, On the problems of the reconstruction of the Upper Portico, 67–70
 Dąbrowski, The cornices in the Queen Hatshepsut Temple, 59 (cornice)
 Kaczor, Historia badań i konserwacji architektury, 166, Fig. 12
 Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 360–362
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 121–124, Fig. 13
 Karkowski, Le texte oraculaire, 153–154, 311–314
 Karkowski, Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1971–1972, 342–345
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 82–85, Fig. 71 (section)
 Pawlicki, Polaczek, Witkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 285, Fig. 1
 PM II², 356–357 [78]
 Połozczanin, The Upper Portico, 66–90
 Połozczanin, The Restoration of the Upper Portico, 21–28
 Szafranski (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Figs on pp. 214–218
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 254–257, Figs 1–2
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 242–244, Fig. 6
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1974–1975, 208–212
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1975–1976, 224–226, Figs 1–2
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 282, Fig. 4
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 1977–1982, Figs 2, 11, 19



North wall

Połozczanin, The Restoration of the Upper Portico, 5–9

1. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) running with *hs* vases to ithyphallic Amun → (name unpreserved, restored)

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 83, Fig. 72
 PM II², 356 [76]



West wall

Połozczanin, The Restoration of the Upper Portico, Fig. 3

North wing

2. Historical coronation text of Hatshepsut

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 352–353, Figs 5, 10
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Mission 1996, 53–55, Fig. 4
 Karkowski, Le texte oraculaire, 153–154, 311–314
 Lacau, Chevrier, Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak, 97–138 (§§ 162–180), Fig. 16
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, 8–9, Pls CLXVI–CLXVII
 PM II², 356 [77.2]
 Sethe, Das Hatschepsut-Problem, 77 [lower] (remains of older text)

3. King ← (name unpreserved) in falcon jacket behind the bark of Amun ← (restored) carried by priests

Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, 40, 42, Fig. 7 (falcon jacket)

Fig. 16

4. King ← (name unpreserved, erased) led by Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored) giving 'nh sign o his nose

5. Mut → (restored) with *njnj* gesture

Karkowski, The Prospects for Projects of Further Restoration in Hatshepsut's Temple, Fig. 1

6. Offering table

PM II², 356 [77.4]

7. Werethekau ← (name unpreserved, restored) before the Theban Triad → (restored)

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 11
LD III Text, 103
PM V², 342

8. Door frame of the granite gate: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (jambs, left side of the lintel, replaced with Thutmose III) and Thutmose III (lintel, right) and name of the gate

Arnaudès-Montélimard, L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III, 151 (name of the gate)
Brugsch, Thesaurus Inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum VI, 1299 [lower middle], name of the gate (incomplete)
Capart, L'art égyptien I, Pl. 80
Capart, Werbrouck, Thèbes, Fig. 144
Champollion, Notices I, 573 [a] (text on lintel and right jamb)
ChronEg IV/7, 1928, Pl. on p. 42
Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXIV [upper right]
Gilbert, Le Classicisme, Fig. 18
Grothoff, Die Tornamen, 213 (name of the gate)
Jéquier, L'architecture I, Pl. 38 [3]
Koenigsberger, Die Konstruktion der ägyptischen Tür, Pl. X.1
Lange, Ägypten, Pl. 86
LD III, Pl. 20b
Miethe, Das Land der Pharaonen, Pl. 10
Miethe, Unter der Sonne Oberägyptens, Pl. on p. 201
Navelle, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXX
PM II², 356–357 [78a-b]
Rifaud, Voyage en Égypte, Pl. 10 (called tomb at Qurna)
Robichon, Varille, En Égypte, Pl. 110
Siegner, Ägypten, Pls 187, 201
Sved, Tzara, L'Égypte, Pl. on p. 100
Urk. IV, 274 (88) A I, 291 (92) 2, 295 (94) B (text of left jamb and titles from lintel)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 126, 134 (text of left jamb and titles from lintel)
Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XVIII, Fig. 88

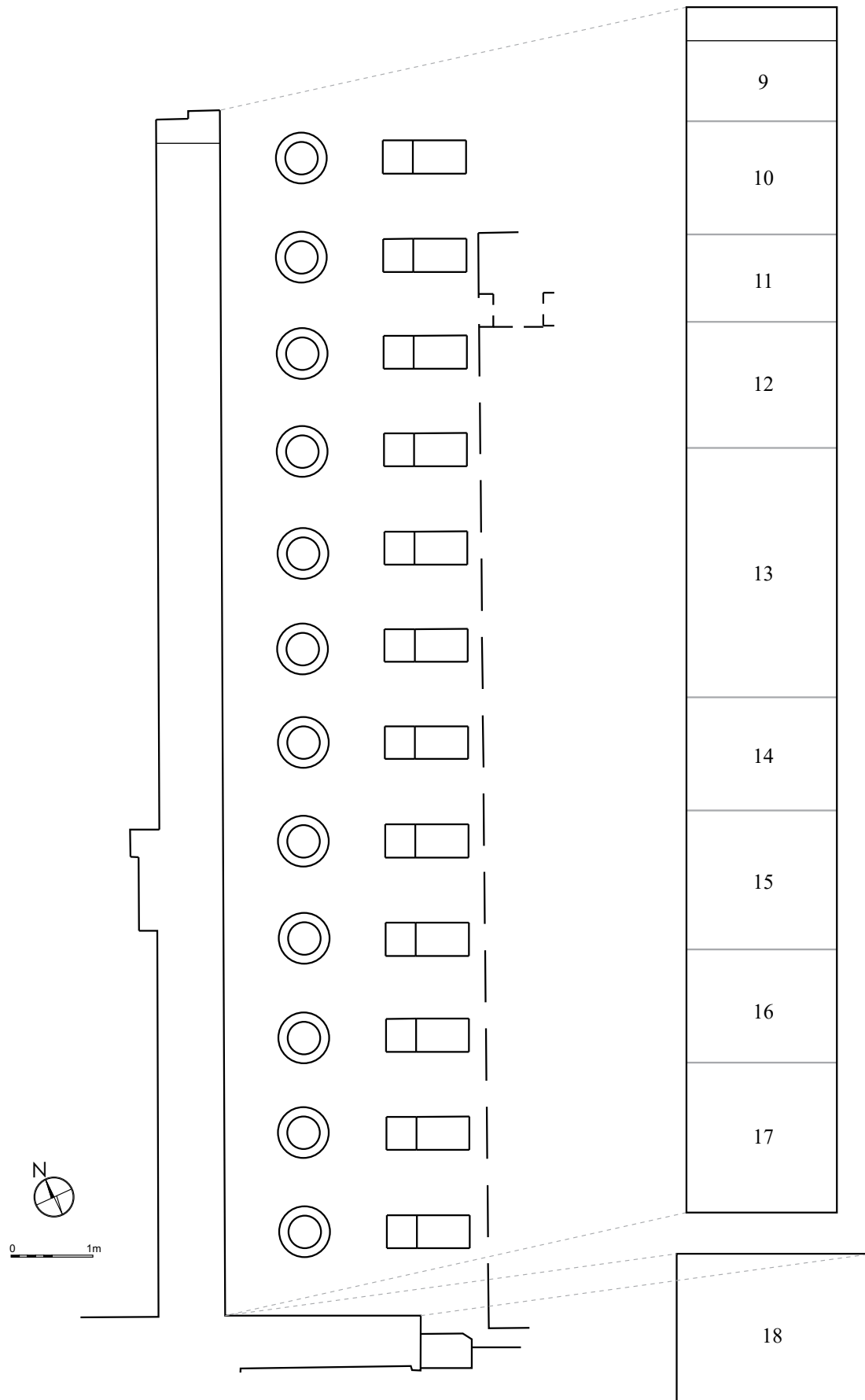


Fig. 17. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Portico (Coronation Portico), south wing (based on plan made by T. Dziejdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).



South wing

Fig. 17

9. Theban Triad ← (only Khonsu preserved, restored) in a shrine

10. Hatshepsut ← led by goddess ← (replaced with the shrine)

Hari, Horemheb et la reine Moutnedjemet, 393 [31], Pl. LX
 Karkowski, The Prospects for Projects of Further Restoration in Hatshepsut's Temple, 55, Fig. 1
 Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 350, Fig. 3
 LD III, Pl. 119 [c] (text)
 PM II², 356 [74.2]
 Urk. IV, 2134–2135 (836)
 Urk. IV Übersetzung, 413

11. Goddess ← (only legs preserved, name unpreserved, restored)

12. Enthroned gods ← (restored) represented in three registers

13. Text of Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) with the *mks* staff following the bark of Amun ← (restored) carried by priests

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 123

14. King ← (name unpreserved, restored) led by god ← (name unpreserved, restored) giving 'nh sign to his nose

15. Thutmose III ← and standards (erased) in front of an offering table

16. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (erased) in a falcon jacket

17. Hatshepsut (changed) kneeling twice: once wearing the white crown, for the second time wearing the red crown at the feet of an enthroned god (name unpreserved)

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 350, Figs 1–2



South wall

18. Hatshepsut → (erased) running with an oar before ithyphallic Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored)

Pillars

Barwik, The five faces of Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 173
 Bedman, Valentín, Senenmut, 117 (upper part of statue XII)
 Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration, 18–19, 24, Fig. 8 [right]
 Binder-Hagelstange, Ägypten, Fig. on p. 539 (statue 0)
 Boulat, A Close Up, Pl. on p. 71 (statue XXV)
 Champdor, L'Égypte des Pharaons, Pl. on p. 39 (statue XXV)
 Champdor, Thèbes, Fig. on p. 76 (statue XXV)
 Drioton, Sved, Art égyptien, Fig. 62 (statue XXV)
 Grimm, Schoske, Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens, 33, Fig. 26 (statue 0)
 Kaczor, Historia badań i konserwacji architektury, 170, Fig. 16
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 251
 Karkowski, An Archaeological Description of the Decoration of Osirid Pillars, 44–55
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 121, Fig. 13
 Karkowski, Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1971–1972, 346–348
 Kikuo, Egypt, Pl. 11
 Kusch, Ägypten, Fig. 123

Leblanc, Piliers et colosses de type « osirique », 70, 75, 82, Figs 1 (A7, A.10)
 Leblanc, Le culte rendu aux colosses « osiriaques », 301, Pl. LIVB
 Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, 196 [25, a], Pl. XL [31] (reconstructed head)
 Niepokólczycki, Fotogrametria w architekturze, Fig. on p. 18
 Pawlicki, Polnische Arbeiten, 44
 Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 53–54
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 160, Fig. 5
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, Figs 35, 70 (statue 0)
 Phillips, The Columns, Fig. 168
 PM II², 356 [72, 73]
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 161, Fig. 68
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Figs on pp. 173, 214–218
 Samivel, Audrain, The Glory of Egypt, Pl. 50 (upper part of statue XXV)
 Schnittger, Hatshepsut, Figs 28, 87–88
 Siegner, Ägypten, Pl. 207
 Szafrński, Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000, 200, Fig. 13
 Szafrński, Exceptional Queen, Unique Temple, Figs 18, 19
 Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2003/2004, 234
 Szafrński, The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut, Fig. 7.5
 Tefin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 44–48, Pls XIIa–XIIIa
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. X (statue XXV)
 Werbrouck, Le cirque, 10, Fig. 9

■ Head of Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 56259A-B

Ikram et al. (Eds), American Contributions, 53 (JE 56259A)
 Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 66 (JE 56259A)
 Hall, A New Portrait-Head of Tuthmosis III(?), 7–9, Pl. XV [2, 3]
 Müller, Ägyptische Kunst, Pl. 93
 PM II², 372 (described as coming from the niche in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard)
 Smith, The Art and Architecture, 135, Pl. 94b
 Sourouzian, Saleh, The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities Cairo, no. 129 (JE 56259A)
 Tefin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 45, Pl. XIIIb
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, 44, Fig. 47
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1927–1928, 22
 Winlock, Excavations, 141, Pl. 55 [lower]

■ Head of Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 56260

Ikram et al. (Eds), American Contributions, 53
 PM II², 372 (described as coming from the niche in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard)
 Tefin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 45, Pl. XIIIb
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1926), 16, Fig. 9
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1927–1928, 20, Fig. 8
 Winlock, Excavations, 214–215, Pl. 56 [upper right]

■ Torso of Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 56262 (the same statue as Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 56260)

Ikram et al. (Eds), American Contributions, 53
 El-Shahawy, Atiya, Egyptian Museum in Cairo, 157, no. 93, Fig. 93
 PM II², 372 (described as coming from the niche in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard)
 Sourouzian, Saleh, The Museum of Egyptian Antiquities Cairo, no. 129
 Smith, Egyptian Architecture, 135, Pl. 94A
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, 13, Fig. 8

■ Head and shoulders of Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.156

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 90, Fig. 49
 PM II², 372 (described as coming from the niche in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard)
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 45, Pl. XIIIa
 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 300
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932)*, Fig. 7

■ **Fragment of the head of Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.158**

PM II², 372 (described as coming from the niche in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard)
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 45
 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 300

■ **Fragment of the head of Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.159**

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 92, Fig. 50 [left]
 PM II², 372 (described as coming from the niche in the west wall of the Upper Courtyard)
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 45
 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 300
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1926)*, 16

Architraves

Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973*, 251
 Karkowski, *The External Row of Architraves*, 56–65
 Karkowski, *The Arrangement of the Architraves*, 143–144, Fig. 4 (plan)
 Karkowski, Wysocki, *Deir el-Bahari 1971–1972*, 346–348
 Wysocki, *Deir el-Bahari, Saisons 1982–1985*, 448

Space north of the Upper Portico

Baraize, *Sur quelques travaux de consolidation*, 150–154
 Kwaśnica, Szafranski, *The Problem of Reconstruction of the Retaining Wall*, 50–56
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari II*, Pl. XXXI
 Vandier, *Manuel II*, 671, Pl. 323.3
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XXXIV
 Winlock, *Excavations*, Pl. 68

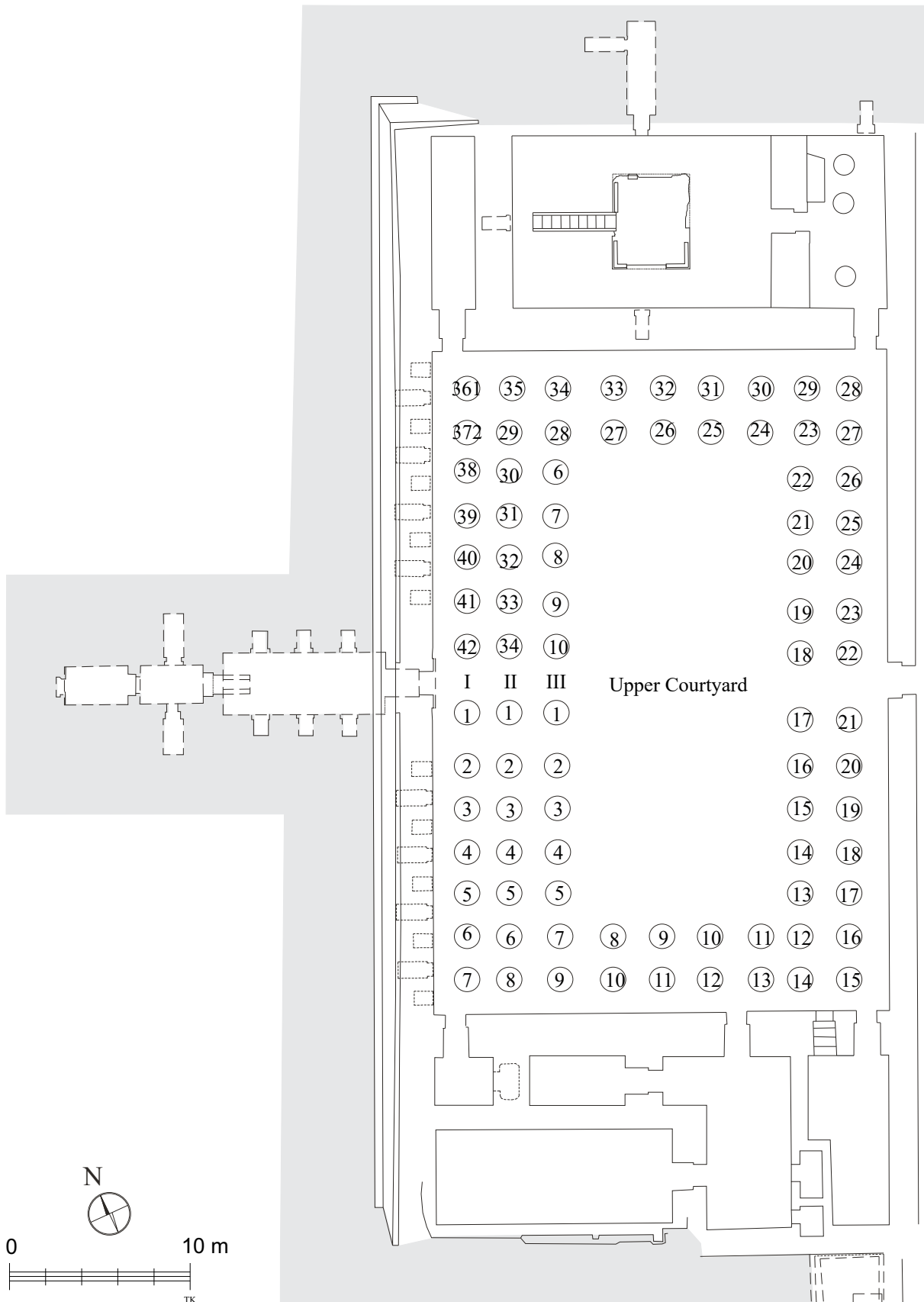


Fig. 18. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Upper Courtyard

Fig. 18

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 33–38
 Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe na Górnym Tarasie, 270–273 (proposition of the reconstruction of the statuary decoration)
 Dąbrowski, The Main Hypostyle Hall, 101–104, Pls XLVIII–LII (Pl. LI. 2: plan, incorrect reconstruction)
 Griffin, A Reinterpretation of the Use and Function of the Rekhyt Rebus, 68
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 126–139, Figs 15, 17
 Karkowski, Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1971–1972, 345
 Kwaśnica, Reconstructing the Architectural Layout, 81–97
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 85–86, Figs 25, 73
 PM II², 357–359 [79–85], Pl. XXXV (plan)
 Samborski, Conservatory-Reconstructional Works on the West Wall, 107–120
 Szafrński, Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000, 188, 193, 196 (pavement), Fig. 2
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Figs on pp. 193–199
 Szafrński, Exceptional Queen, Unique Temple, 74, Fig. 17A
 Szafrński, Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, 104 [upper]
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 257–259, Figs 2–3
 Wysocki, Investigations, Studies and Conclusions, 45–79
 Wysocki, The Upper Court Colonnade, Figs 1 (plan, incorrect reconstruction), 9
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 1977–1982, Fig. 4 (plan)

Pavement

Szafrński, Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000, 193, 196

I.1–42, II.1–34, III.1–10. Columns

Clarke, Architectural Description, 25
 Correggiani, L'Égypte ancienne et ses dieux, 166 (fertility figure)
 Dąbrowski, Preliminary report, 48–51, Pl. II
 Dąbrowski, Temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari, 3^e terrasse, 133–135, Pl. I
 Dąbrowski, Preliminary Report on the Reconstruction Works, 133–135, Pl. I
 Dąbrowski, The Main Hypostyle Hall, 101–104, Pl. XLVIII–LII, Fig. 1
 Gazda, Conservation Work, 211, Fig. 3
 Griffin, A Reinterpretation of the Use and Function of the Rekhyt Rebus, 69 Fig. 2
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut of the Upper Court Columns, 31–44
 Karkowski, Dekoracja kolumn górnego dziedzińca, 21–41
 Karkowski, Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1971–1972, 345, 347
 Lange, Ägyptische Kunst, Pl. 56 (upper part of column with the Horus name of Hatshepsut)
 Myśliwiec, Eighteenth Dynasty, Pl. XLV.1 (fertility figure on the *nb* sign)
 Niwiński, Les colonnes proto-doriques avec inscriptions, 103–108, Fig. 3, 18–21
 Niwiński, Protodoric Columns with Inscriptions, 91–92, Phot. 1–3
 Pawlicki, Inscriptions des colonnes proto-doriques, 75–77, Fig. 5
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 157
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, Figs 33, 34, 74 (fertility figure), Fig. 75 (*rekhyt*)
 Pawlicki, Polaczek, Witkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 285–286
 Phillips, The Columns of Egypt, Fig. 171
 Ricke, Die Schrift, 36, Fig. 11 (upper part of column with the Horus name of Hatshepsut with column with the fertility figure)
 Schnittger, Hatshepsut, 23, Fig. 7 (detail of column)
 Siegner, Ägypten, Pl. 200 (upper part of column with the Horus name of Hatshepsut)
 Szafrński, Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000, 191–193, 205, Fig. 5
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 257
 Wysocki, Badania, studia i wnioski, 33–62
 Wysocki, The Upper Court Colonnade, 54–69, Figs 1–9, Pls. VIII–IX
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■ Upper part of the column, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 07.534

Architraves

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 258, 272
 Karkowski, The Arrangement of the Architraves, 145–149, Figs 5 (plan), 6
 Kwaśnica, Reconstructing the Architectural Layout of the Upper Courtyard, 91–97, Figs 4–7

Pawlicki, *Polnische Arbeiten*, 48 (plan)

Pawlicki, *Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 1998/1999, 157 (fragment of a text on architrave), 158, Fig. 4

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 81, Fig. 69

Szafrński, *Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000*, 190, 205, Figs 4, 6

Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Figs on pp. 262 (above the entrance to the Complex of the Royal Cult), 263 (above the entrance to the Courtyard)

Szafrński, *Exceptional Queen*, 73, Fig. 17 (plan)

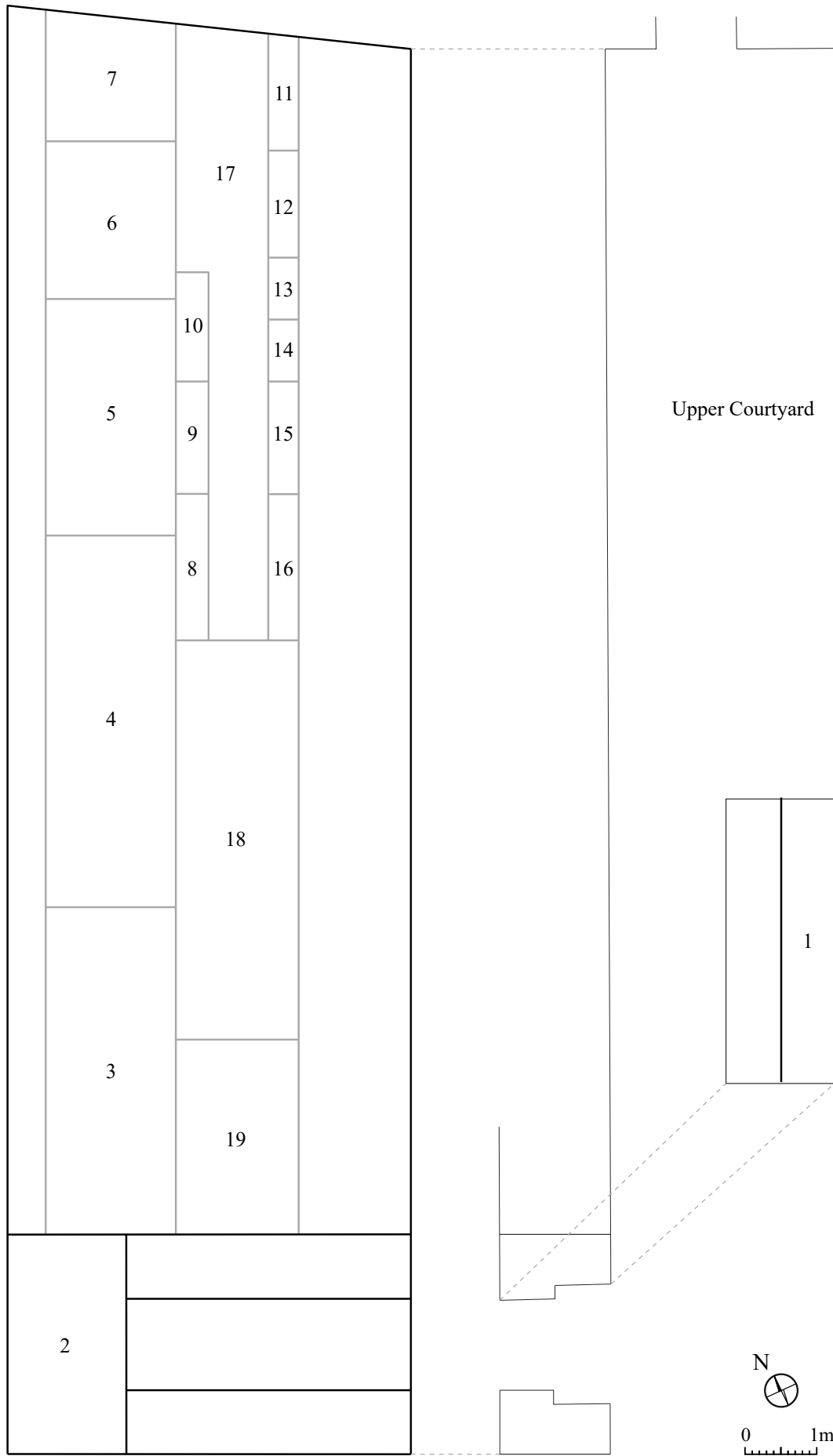


Fig. 19. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, east wall, south wing (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).



East wall

Fig. 19

Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, 65–78
 Garkiewicz, On the research and preservation of Queen Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, 47–64
 Karkowski, Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1971–1972, 347–348
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, 81–106
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 98–101
 Samborski, Conservatory-Reconstructional Works on the West Wall, 107–120

1. Granite gate: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose III)

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 124, Fig. 14
 LD III, Pls 20 [b], 27 [3]
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXI
 Phillips, The Columns, Fig. 170
 PM II², 357 [78c-d]
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 193

Passage

North wall

2. Sen-en-mut (erased)

South wing

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 38–42
 Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 262
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 254, Fig. 2
 Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 354–356, Figs 6, 7
 Kwaśnica, Reconstructing the Architectural Layout of the Upper Courtyard, 85–86, Figs 1–2 (details)
 Mironova, The Opet Festival, 126–127
 Mironova, The Relationship between the Space and the Scenery, 280–288
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 98–101
 PM II², 357–358 [79–80]

Upper register

3. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with an offering table) and Thutmose III ← censing before the bark of Amun → (restored) standing on a socle before ithyphallic Amun → (name unpreserved, restored)

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 7 (lower fragment of a scene)
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998, 128–130, Fig. 6

4. Thutmose III → and Hatshepsut → (replaced with a text) behind the bark of Amun → (restored) carried on shoulders of priests, below the bark priests → (restored) with offerings and standards, before the bark royal statues → and priests → (restored) with standards

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 39–41, Fig. 17a-b

5. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with an offering table) and Thutmose III ← censing before the bark of Amun → (restored), behind them four subregisters: lower register with dancers ← (restored) dancing the *jbj* dance, second register with priests ← (restored) with standards and two upper registers with representations of royal statues ←

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 39, Fig. 16
 Białostocka, Was Mutnofret depicted in *Dsr-dsrw?*, 7–10
 Szafrński, The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2004/2005, 232, Fig. 10

■ Block with representation of royal statues, Brooklyn Museum, New York 86.226.3

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 41, Fig. 21
 Fazzini *et al.*, *Ancient Egyptian Art*, Fig. 35
 Fazzini *et al.*, *Art for Eternity*, Fig. 35
 Fazzini *et al.* (Eds.), *The Collector's Eye*, 109–110, Fig. 76
 Franco, *Head of the colossal statue*, 3, Fig. 6

6. Hatshepsut(?) → (name unpreserved, feminine suffix erased) on one side and Thutmose III ← on the opposite side of the bark of Amun ← (restored) standing on a socle

Kwaśnica, *Reconstructing the Architectural Layout of the Upper Courtyard*, 91, Fig. 3 [right] (king before the bark)

7. Bark of Amun ← (restored) on a socle in a shrine

Lower register

Upper subregister

8. Soldiers →

9. Priests → ←

10. Soldiers ←

■ Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14507

Grimm, Schoske, *Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens*, 58 [14]
 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 166, Pl. 20b
 Lipińska, Dolińska, Aksamit (Eds.), *Geheimnisvolle Königin Hatshepsut*, 113 [13]
 Maspero, Roeder, *Führer*, 55, Fig. 27
 PM II², 375
 Priese (Ed.), *Ägyptisches Museum*, 76–77
 Roeder, *Ägyptische Inschriften II*, 113
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds.), *Hatshepsut*, 154 [82c]
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, 90

■ Block with a procession of soldiers, Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati 1997.5

Lower subregister

11. Butchery and offering scenes ←

Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls II, III
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXVI
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 97, Fig. 92
 PM II², 357 [79.1]

12. Soldiers ←

Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, (1961) Pl. 18
 Bedman, Valentin, *Sen-en-mut*, 128
 Capart, Werbrouck, *Thèbes*, Fig. 158
 Capart, *Schoonheidsschatten uit Oud-Egypte*, Fig. 20
 Capart, *L'art égyptien III*, Pl. 505 [upper]
 Duemichen, *Die Flotte*, Pl. XII [left]

Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls II, III, LX [left] (soldier with an axe)
 Faulkner, *Egyptian Military Standards*, 16, Pl. VI [20] (standard)
 Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Fig. 230 (fragment)
 Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. 4 [lower]
 Meyer, *Bericht*, 360
 Mironova, *The Relationship between the Space and the Scenery*, Fig. 7
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXXV, CXXXVI
 PM II², 357 [79.I]
 Szafrński, *The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut*, Fig. 7.4
 Yadin, *The Art of Warfare*, Fig. on p. 185
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XX [upper]

13. Men ← leading two cheetahs

Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, (1961) Pl. 18
 Champdor, *Thèbes*, Fig. on p. 143
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls II, III
 Karkowski, *Der Tempel der Hatshepsut*, 39
 Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. 4 [lower]
 Meyer, *Bericht*, 360
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXV
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 86, Fig. 77 (referred to as the Beautiful Feast of the Valley)
 PM II², 357 [79.I]
 Szafrński, *The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut*, Fig. 7.4
 Villiers Stuart, *Nile gleanings*, Pl. 29
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XX [lower]
 Cast of the scene (six blocks) stored in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 19.163

14. Men ← carrying throne

Capart, *L'art égyptien III*, Pl. 505 [lower]
 Capart, Werbrouck, *Thèbes*, Fig. 160
 Champdor, *Thèbes*, Fig. on p. 143
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls II, III
 Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. 4 [lower]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXV
 PM II², 357 [79.I]
 Villiers Stuart, *The Funeral Tent*, Pl. 22
 Villiers Stuart, *Egypt After the War*, Pl. 22
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XX [lower]

■ Fragment of a block with dignitaries, Brooklyn Museum, New York 74.98.2

■ Block with representation of seven people, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels E. 7945

PM II², 356 [77.2]

15. Butchery and offering scenes →

Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. 4 [middle]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXIV
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 98, Fig. 93
 PM II², 357 [79.I]

16. Soldiers →

Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. 4 [middle]
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXIV
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 98, Fig. 93
 PM II², 357 [79.I]
 Szafrński (ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 256

- Six blocks with representation of soldiers, Oriental Museum, University of Durham, Durham N500

Birch, *Catalogue of the Collection of Egyptian Antiquities*, 59–60

17. Procession of barks ← : 2 accompanying barks, royal bark and Userhat (restored)

Gazda, *Conservation Work*, 209, Fig. 2
 Karkowski, *Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe*, 97–101, Fig. 7
 Lacau, *Chevrier, Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, 189, Fig. 17 (royal bark)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pls CXXIV–CXXVI
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, Figs 92 (Userhat), 94 (royal bark)
 PM II², 357 [79.II]
 Rummel, *Wehrauch, Salböl und Leinen*, 403–403, Fig. 11.1 (fragment of the royal bark)
 Szafranski, *The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut*, Fig. 7.4 (royal bark)
 Wiercińska, *La procession d'Amon*, Fig. 7

- Fragment of a block with rowers, Brooklyn Museum, New York 86.226.7

Fazzini, *Some Egyptian Reliefs*, 46–47
 Fazzini *et al.* (Eds.), *The Collector's Eye*, 108, Fig. 75

- Fragment of a block with the crew of the ship, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels E.00412

Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, 90

- Block with representation of an oarsman, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.GA.4501.1943

18. Hatshepsut → (replaced with a text) and Thutmose III → censing before the bark of Amun ← (restored) carried on shoulders of priests, priests ← (restored) with offerings and standards and statue of Nefrura ← (replaced with a statue of Thutmose I) below the bark, priests ← (restored) with standards and royal statues ← behind the bark

Białostocka, *Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich*, 39, Fig. 15
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. I
 Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, 7 (upper fragment of the scene)
 Naville, *Un dernier mot*, Fig. on p. 53 (three priests and a statue of Thutmose I)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXIII
 Pawlicki, *Princess Neferure*, 116–117, Figs 3–4 (fragment of priests procession and changed figure of Nefrura)
 PM II², 358 [80.1]

- Block with representation of royal statues, Museum August Kestner, Hanover 1935.200.200

Busch (Ed.), *Megiddo – Tell el-Mutesellim – Armageddon*, 158–159 [24]
 Drenkhahn, *Ägyptische Reliefs*, 80–81 [24]
 Eggebrecht, *Eggebrecht (Eds), Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 191 [107]
 Karkowski, *11. Statuen der königlichen Familie*, 111 [11]
 Mynářová, *Onderka (Eds), Thebes*, 239–240
 Roehrig, *Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut*, 156 [85]

19. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with an offering table) and Thutmose III ← before the Theban Triad → (restored)

Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, Fig. 7 (upper part of the scene)
 Mariette, *Deir el-Bahari*, Pl. 4 [upper]
 PM II², 358 [80.2]

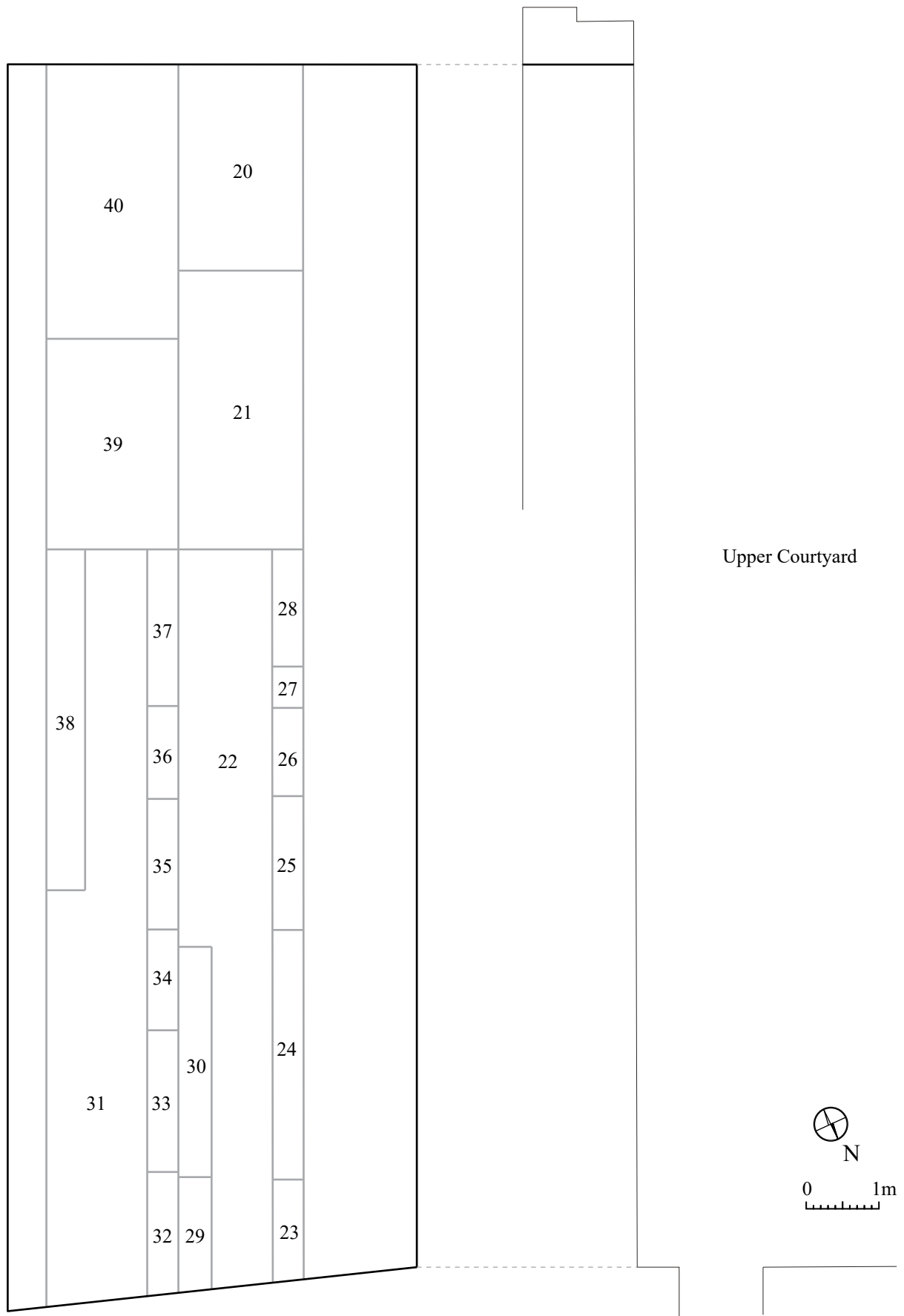


Fig. 20. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, east wall, north wing (based on plan made by T. Dziejic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

North wing

Fig. 20

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 260–262 (statues)
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, 216–219, Pls I–II
 Iwaszczuk, The Works of Seninefer, 39–46 (*dipinto* from the time of construction)
 Karkowski, The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 359–362
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 254, Fig. 1
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1974–1975, 220
 Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 155–166
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXII
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 87–88
 PM II², 358 [81–82]
 Samborski, Prace rekonstrukcyjno-konserwatorskie, Fig. 3
 Samborski, Conservatory-Reconstructional Works on the West Wall in the Upper Court, Fig. 3

Lower register

20. Hatshepsut → (replaced with an offering table) and Thutmose III → before the Theban Triad ← (restored)

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, 96, Fig. 3 (Thutmose III and a fragment of the offering table)
 PM II², 358 [81.1]

21. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with the text) and Thutmose III ← behind the bark of Amun ← (restored), below priests ← (restored), above royal statues ←

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 35, Fig. 10
 Ćwiek, Fate of Seth, Figs 5 (Thutmose III), 6 (falcon jacket of Thutmose III)
 Dąbrowska-Smektała, Remarks on the restoration of the Eastern Wall, 66–78, Pls I–III, Figs I–II
 Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 351, Fig. 6
 Leclant, Fouilles et travaux en Égypte et au Soudan, 1965–1966, 196 [25, a, b], Pls XXXIX–XL [29, 30]
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, 96, Fig. 3 (Thutmose III and fragment of a text)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 86, Fig. 76 (Thutmose III)
 PM II², 358 [81.2]

22. Procession of barks ← : 2 accompanying barks, royal bark and Userhat (restored)

Aegyptische und Vorderasiatische Alterthümer II, Pl. 104
 Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 113–114
 Duemichen, Die Flotte, Pl. IV [upper]
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXI [upper] (oarsmen)
 Faulkner, Egyptian Military Standards, 15 (fragment of standard of the bark)
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 97–101, Figs 8–9
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXII
 Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, 105, Fig. 4 (fragment of Userhat)
Urk. IV, 309–310 (101)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 140–141
 PM II², 358 [82.II]

■ Block with representation of four oarsmen, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14332

Casson, Ancient Egypt, Fig. on p. 28
 Donadoni, Arte egizia, Fig. 109
 Fehheimer, Die Plastik der Ägypter, Pl. 137
 Galassi, Tehenu, 187, Fig. 165
 Karkowski, 8. Ruderer, 108 [8]
 Ludwig, Le Nil, Pl. facing to 49
 Neuburger, The Technical Arts and Sciences, Fig. 652
 PM II², 375
 Wenig, Führer, 55
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 90

- Block with representation of oarsmen, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia E. 16216

PM II², 356

- Group of 8 blocks representing accompanying bark, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1636

Foucart, *La belle fête de la vallée*, 101
 Grimm, Schoske, *Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens*, 56–57, no. 13
 Karkowski, *7. Königliche Schiffe*, 106–107 [7]
 LD III, Pl. 17 [a]
 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 163–164, Pl. 23
 Petschel, Von Falck (Eds), *Pharao siegt immer*, 28–29
 PM II², 123
 Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften II*, 111–112
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, 90

Lower subregister

23. Butchery and offering scenes →

PM II², 358 [82.1]
 Szafranski, *The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2004/2005*, 233, Fig. 11

24. Soldiers → ←

PM II², 358 [82.1]

25. Butchery and offering scenes →

PM II², 358 [82.1]
 Szafranski, *The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2004/2005*, Fig. 14

26. Men carrying a throne ←

PM II², 358 [82.1]

27. Men leading two cheetahs ←

Bedman, Valentín, *Hatshepsut*, 218 (referred to as Opet Festival)
 PM II², 358 [82.1]

28. Butchery and offering scenes ← (restored)

PM II², 358 [82.1]

Upper subregister

29. Butchery and offering scenes →

Iwaszczuk, *Atypical Spelling Variants*, 70–72, Figs 1, 2a
 Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, 105, Fig. 6 [upper part]

30. Soldiers ← →

Niewalda, *A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall*, Pls 5, 9, Figs 2 [upper left], 3, 5 [lower]
 Pawlicki, *Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 1998/1999, 166, Fig. 10

Upper register

31. Procession of barks → : two accompanying barks, royal bark and Userhat (restored)

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pls 7 (Userhat), 8 (accompanying bark)

Lower subregister

32. Butchery and offering scenes ←

33. Soldiers →

34. Butchery and offering scenes ←

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, Pl. 6, Figs 2 [upper middle and right], 5 [upper]

35. Soldiers ← →

Niewalda, A Theoretical Reconstruction and a Modular Study of the East Wall, 105, Fig. 3

36. Men carrying a throne →

■ Block with men carrying a throne, Musée de Picardie, Amiens M.P.3053.108

Perdu, Rickal, La collection égyptienne, 106, no. 190 (under no. M.P.3057.108)

37. Soldiers → (restored)

Upper subregister

38. Soldiers →

39. Hatshepsut → (replaced with a text) and Thutmose III → behind the bark of Amun → (restored) carried on shoulders of priests

40. Hatshepsut → (replaced with an offering table) and Thutmose III → censing before the bark of Amun ← (restored) standing on a socle before ithyphallic Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored)

Artefacts from the east wall

■ Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14141

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 114
 Eggebrecht, Eggebrecht (Eds), Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht, 116–117 [16]
 Grimm, Schoske, Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens, 58 [14]
 Il senso dell'arte, 84–86 [3]
 Lipińska, Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple, 166–167
 Maspero, Roeder, Führer, 55
 PM II², 375–376
 Priese (Ed.), Ägyptisches Museum, cat. no. 46
 Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften II, 112
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 154 [82b]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 90
 Wildung (Ed.), Sudan: Antike Königreiche, cat. no. 146
 Wildung (Ed.), Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms, 146–147 [46]

■ Block with a procession of soldiers, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 18542

Capart, Le cheval et le dieu Seth, 230 (under no. 14994)
 Eggebrecht, Eggebrecht (Eds), Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht, 116–117 [17]
 Lipińska, Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple, 164–166, Pl. 19a
 Maspero, Roeder, Führer, 55
 PM II², 375–376
 Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften II, 113
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 154 [82a]
 Ross, The Art of Egypt, 158
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 90 (under no. 14994)
 Wildung (Ed.), Sudan: Ancient Kingdoms, 146–147 [147]
 Wreszinski, Atlas I, Pl. 94b (under no. 14994)

■ Fragment of block with a cartouche of Neferu-bity, British Museum, London EA1458

■ Fragment of block with vertical inscription, British Museum, London EA1556

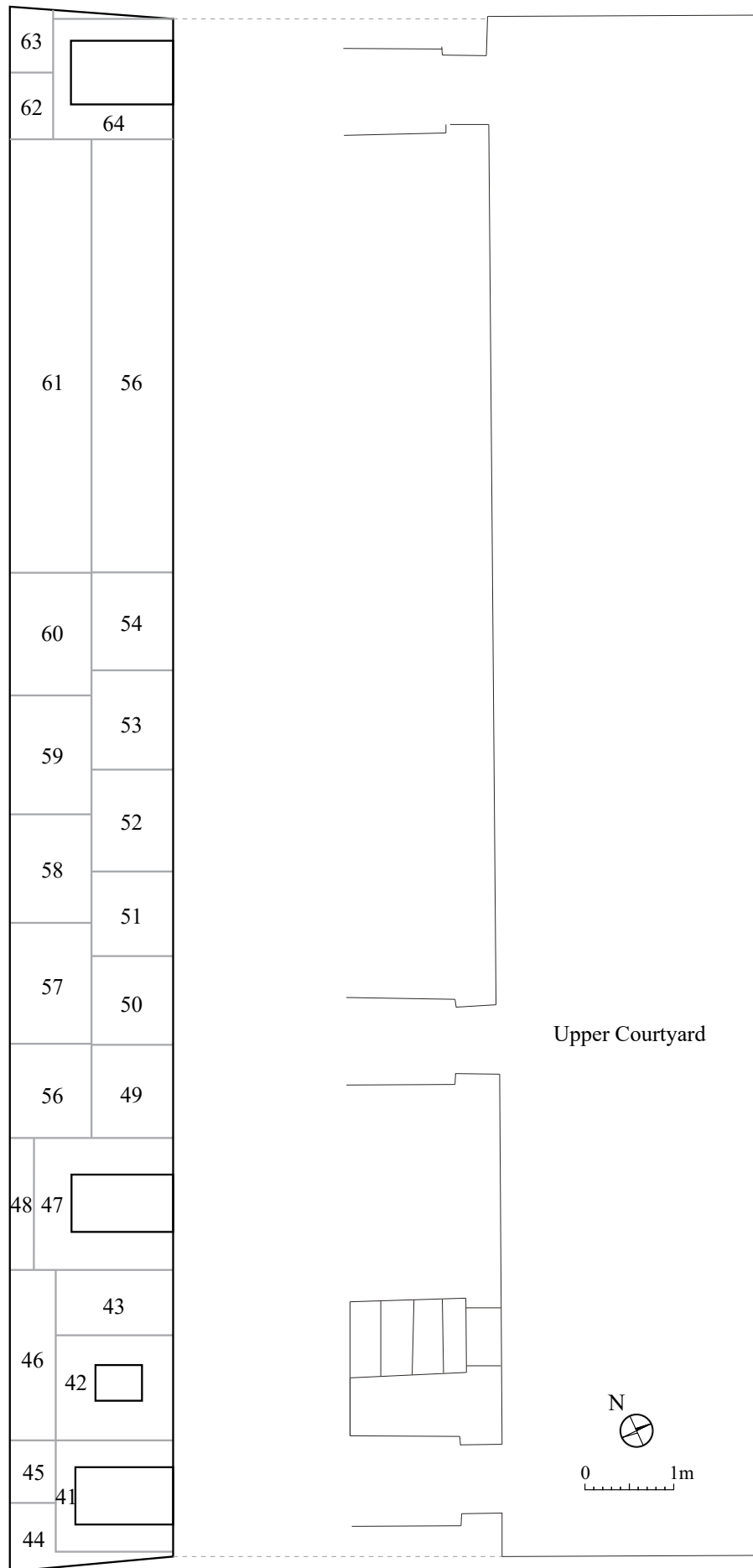


Fig. 21. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, south wall (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).



South wall

Fig. 21

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 42–43
 Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 175–176
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1973–1974, 397–400, Fig. 1
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1974–1975, 217, 218, Figs 1, 2
 Osing, Zum Kultbildritual, 321
 PM II², 358 [85]
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 91–92, Fig. 81
 Stefanowicz, An Analysis of the South Wall of the Upper Court, 42–49
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1973–1974, 393–394, Pl. I, Fig. 4

41. Door frame, jambs: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with titulary of Thutmose III), lintel: on the left: Amun ← (restored) giving 'nh sign to falcon → sitting on *serekh*; in the middle: kneeling fecundity figures → ← on two sides, Wadjyt → and Nekhbet ← sitting on nb sign and carrying a cartouche (preserved only one foot of the left fecundity figure); on the right: god → (not preserved) giving 'nh sign to falcon ← sitting on *serekh*

42. Butchery scene →, below dead cattle → lying on the ground and cattle legs carried by priests → to Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II)

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 90, Fig. 83 (Thutmose II)
 Szafranski (ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 254 (cattle)

43. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose III) in front of an offering table before enthroned Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored)

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 90, Fig. 83 (Thutmose II)

44. King → (name unpreserved) kneeling at the feet of a god → (name unpreserved, restored) inside a shrine, before them Iunmutef ← (restored)

45. Thoth → (unpreserved) before souls of Pe and Nekhen ← (restored)

46. Hatshepsut → (changed) and Thutmose III →, followed by goddess → (restored) and Thoth → (restored) holding palm fronds of millions of years, and led by Monthu → (restored) to Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored) who gives them 'nh sign, behind Amun Thutmose I ←, Hathor ← (restored) with sistrum, and god ← (unpreserved) and goddess ← (restored) holding palm fronds of millions of years

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 90, Fig. 82

■ Block with head and torso of Thutmose III, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 18541

Grimm, Schoske, Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens, 58 [15]
 Lipińska, Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple, 170, Pl. 23b
 Lipińska, Dolińska, Aksamit (Eds), Geheimnisvolle Königin Hatshepsut, 109 [9]
 Maspero, Roeder, Führer, 59, without inv. no.

47. Door frame, left door jamb: Hatshepsut (replaced with a king, name unpreserved) progressing into the temple; right door jamb: king (unpreserved) embraced by Amun (name unpreserved, restored); lintel, on the left: god ← (unpreserved) giving 'nh sign to falcon → sitting on *serekh* (Hatshepsut's name replaced with Thutmose II); in the middle: kneeling fecundity figures → ← on two sides, Wadjyt → and Nekhbet ←

(both unpreserved) sitting on *nb* sign and carrying a cartouche; on the right: Amun → (restored) giving *nh* sign to falcon ← sitting on *serekh*

48. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) and Thutmose III → led by two gods → (only shoulder of one of them preserved) to a god ← (unpreserved), behind the god lion-faced Mut ← (restored) and Hathor (restored) ← with *menat* necklace

Lower register

49. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) purified by Horus ← and Seth → (both restored)

Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession*, 13–14 (text)
Gazda, *Conservation Work*, 208, Fig. 1
Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 91, Fig. 84

50. Thutmose III → performing *dw3-ntr* four times before Amun-Ra ← (restored)

PM II², 358 [85.2]

51. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) giving a headdress to ityphallic Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored)

PM II², 358 [85.3]

52. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) purifying [Amun]-Ra ← (restored) with four *nmst* vases

PM II², 358 [85.4]

53. Thutmose III → anointing ityphallic Amun ← (restored, name partly preserved) with *mdt* oil

PM II², 358 [85.5]

54. Hatshepsut → (Horus name replaced with Thutmose II) bringing necklace to Amun ← (restored, name unpreserved)

Giza-Podgórski, *Royal Plume Dress*, 106 (b)
Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 92, Fig. 85
PM II², 358 [85.6]

55. Kneeling statue of Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) offering water and incense, offerings in lower register and kneeling statue of Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) followed by Nefrura → (replaced with queen Ahmes) offering *nw* vases and souls of Pe and Nekhen → (restored) followed by Iunmutef → (restored) in upper register, and Hatshepsut (replaced with an offering table) before enthroned Amun ← (restored, name unpreserved)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 262 (kneeling statues of Hatshepsut in two registers)
Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 92, Fig. 86 (Hatshepsut replaced with an offering table before Amun)

■ Fragment of block with queen Ahmes, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.GA.
3100.1943

Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 51, 54, Pl. XXXVII, Fig. 87
Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 163 [80]
Vassilika, *Egyptian Art*, 46–47 [19]

Upper register

56. Hatshepsut → (changed) and Thutmose III → led by Amun → (restored, name unpreserved)

■ Block with the head of Thutmose III, Cleveland Museum of Art, Cleveland 1920.1995

Berman, The Cleveland Museum of Art, 215, Fig. 159

57. Hatshepsut → (replaced with a king, name unpreserved) purifying and censuring before a divinity ← (figure and name of divinity unpreserved)

58. Thutmose III → (name unpreserved) before a god ← (restored, only legs preserved, name unpreserved)

59. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) offering incense to ithyphallic Amun ← (restored, name unpreserved)

60. Hatshepsut → (restored, only legs preserved, name unpreserved) before Amun-Ra ← (restored)

61. Kneeling statue of Hatshepsut → (changed) with vase, offerings in lower register and kneeling statue of Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) offering *nw* vases and fecundity figures → (restored) in upper register, before enthroned Amun ← (restored, name unpreserved)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 262, Pl. 51 (statues of Hatshepsut)

62. Thoth ← (restored) in front of two registers of kneeling souls of Pe and Nekhen → (restored)

63. Enthroned Geb ← (restored) with Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose III) kneeling at his feet; in front of him Inmutef → (restored)

64. Door frame, jambs: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II), lintel: on the left: Amun ← (restored, name unpreserved) giving *'nh* sign to falcon → on *serekh*; in the middle: kneeling fecundity figures → ← on two sides of cartouche of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II); on the right: Amun-Ra → (restored) giving *'nh* sign to falcon ← on *serekh* of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II)

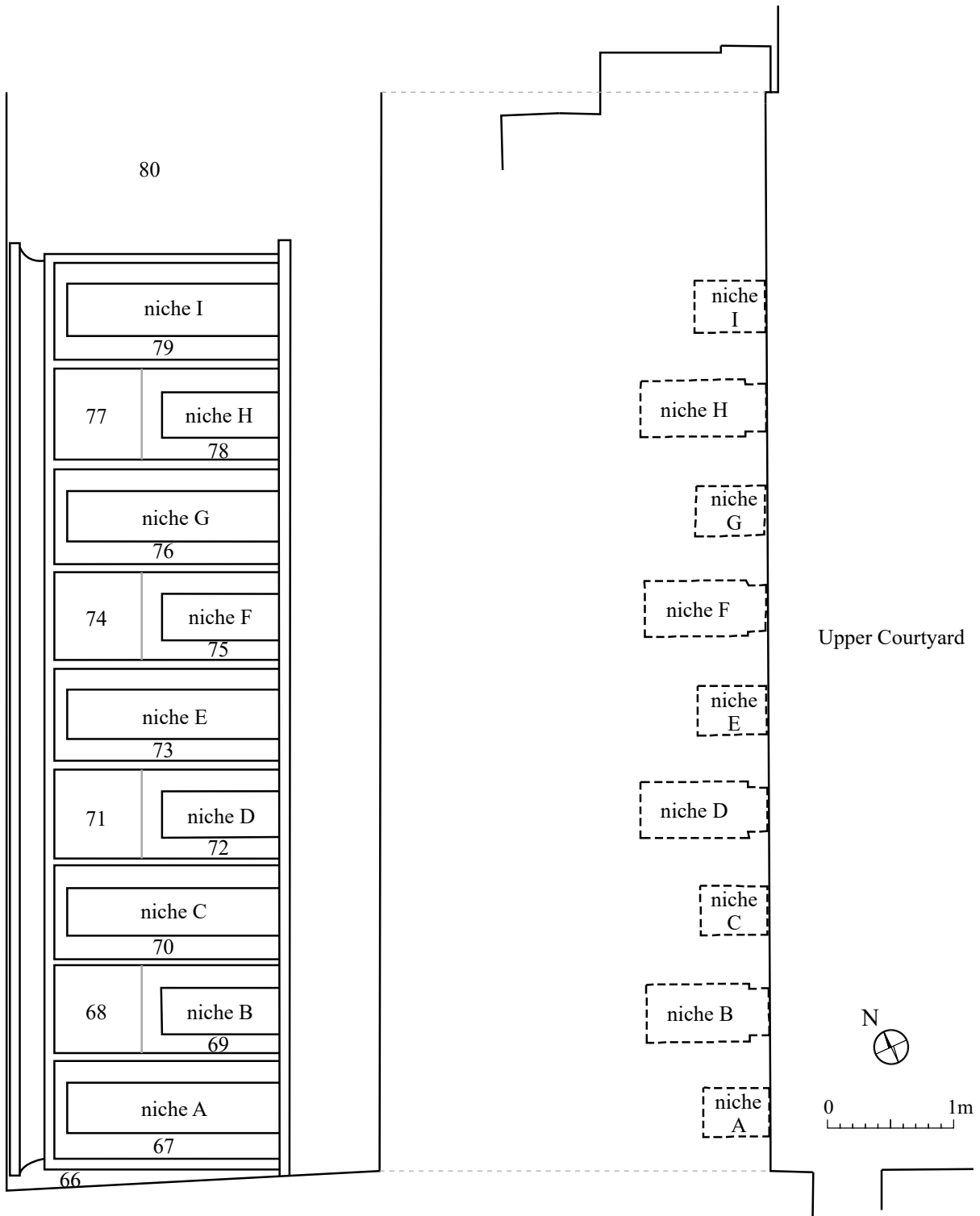


Fig. 22. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, west wall, south wing (based on plan made by T. Dziejdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).



West wall

Fig. 22

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 183–238
 Dąbrowski, Temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari, 3e terrasse, 39–45, Pls I–X, Figs 1–3
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973, 251, 254
 Karkowski, Epigraphic Mission at the Hatshepsut Temple 1995, 65, 67
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 138–139, Fig. 19 (north wing)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXIX
 Paribeni, Architettura, 126, 133, Fig. 111
 Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 54–55
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 102–105
 Pillet, Thèbes, Fig. 34
 Ricke, Borchardt, Egypt, Pl. 179
Urk. IV, 294 (94.) a (dedicatory inscription)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 134 (dedicatory inscription)
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pls XXI, XXIV
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 259, Fig. 260
 Wysocki, The Upper Court Colonnade, Fig. 5 (fragment of the wall)
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 1977–1982, 323–327, Fig. 3 on p. 326 (cross section of the wall)

66. Titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II)

67. Door frame of niche A

LD III, Pls 27 [6, 7]
LD III Text, 105–107
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXIV
 PM II², 364
 Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, 26–27
Urk. IV, 294

68. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) leading four calves to ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, Pl. 79C
 Dąbrowski, Temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari, 3e terrasse, Pl. I facing p. 40
 Egberts, In Quest of Meaning I, 208, Pl. 72b
 Giza-Podgórski, Royal Plume Dress, 104, 106, Fig. 3
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXIV
 Pawlicki, Polaczek, Witkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 286, Fig. 2
 PM II², 364 (B)

69. Door frame of niche B

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXIV

70. Door frame of niche C

PM II², 364
 Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, 28–29
Urk. IV, 294.4–16

71. Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose I) → holding *nw* vases, offering wine to enthroned Amun ← (restored, name unpreserved) who gives her 'nh sign; behind her, Nefrura → (replaced with queen Ahmes)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, Pl. 81B

72. Door frame of niche D

73. Door frame of niche E

PM II², 364
Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, 29–30

74. King → (name unpreserved) with the *sh*m scepter before ityphallic Amun ← (restored, name unpreserved)

75. Door frame of niche F

■ Block with a royal head, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum, Hildesheim 4538

Dodson, Two Royal Reliefs, 214
Echnaton – Nofretete – Tutanchamun, no. 73
Eggebrecht (Ed.), Pelizaeus-Museum Hildesheim, Fig. 41
Eggebrecht, Eggebrecht (Eds), Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht, 112 [12]
Götter und Pharaonen, Fig. 182
Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1974–1975, 218–220, Fig. 1
Kayser, Die ägyptische Altertümer, 28, 69, Figs 21, 43
Peck, Splendors of Ancient Egypt, 55, Pl. cover
PM II², 355 [66]
Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 155 [83]
Schott, Zum Krönungstag der Königin Hatschepsüt, 200, n. 17, Pl. 4
Schulz, Seidel, Egypt: The World of Pharaohs, 185 [71]
Seipel, Bilder für die Ewigkeit, no. 64
Seipel, Ägypten, no. 428
Steindorff, Die Blütezeit, 19, Fig. 17 (called Amun, seen *in situ*)

76. Door frame of niche G

77. Hatshepsut → (erased) and a king → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose I) pouring water and censing before enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, Pl. 84B
Dodson, Two Royal Reliefs, 212–214

■ Block with upper part of recarved Thutmose I, Museum of Liverpool, Liverpool
56.22.141

Bienkowski, Tooley, Gifts of The Nile, 24, Pl. 26
Dodson, Two Royal Reliefs, 212–214, Pl. XXVII.3
PM V², 376

78. Door frame of niche H

79. Door frame of niche I

Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, 31
PM II², 364

80. Thutmose III → and Hatshepsut → (erased, preserved toe of the front foot, as well as traces of name and feminine forms in the text) before enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored); behind the throne of Amun-Ra, standing Nefrura ← (headdress, attributes and name changed for the queen Ahmose), holding sistrum (replaced with 'nh sign)

Capart, *L'art égyptien* III, Pl. 508
 Ćwiek, *Red, yellow and pink*, 44, Fig. 15 (Nefrura)
 Ćwiek, *Fate of Seth*, 40–41, Fig. 4 (falcon jacket of Thutmose III)
 Daumas, *La civilisation*, Pl. 203
 Desroches-Noblecourt, *Les Religions égyptiennes*, Fig. on p. 258 [upper]
 Grimm, Schoske, *Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens*, 13, Fig. 10
 Lange, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Pl. 55
 LD III Text, 105 [middle] (texts)
 Mackenzie, *Egyptian Myth*, Pl. facing p. 286
 Myśliwiec, *Eighteenth Dynasty*, Pl. III.3 (head of queen Ahmes)
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 104, Fig. 99 (head of queen Ahmes)
 Pawlicki, *Princess Neferure*, 119–124, Fig. 6–8
 PM II², 365 [129]
 Ross, *The Art of Egypt*, Pl. 159 [2] (upper part of Hatshepsut)
 Roth, *Erasing a Reign*, 279, Fig. 99 (queen Ahmes)
 Szafrński, *King (?) Neferure*, 140–150, Figs 1–3, 6 (feet of Nefrura), 7 (foot of Thutmose III)
 Szafrński, *Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut*, 103 [upper] (head of queen Ahmes)
 Szafrński, *Temple of Hatshepsut Season 2005/2006*, 282–283, Figs 12, 13 (detail)
 Szafrński, *Imiut in the 'Chapel of the Parents'*, 193, Figs 2–3
 Szafrński, *The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut*, Figs 7.11–14
 Viollet, *Doresse, Egypt*, Pl. 109 (head)
 MMA photos T.2379–2381, 2383, 1567, 3364–3366

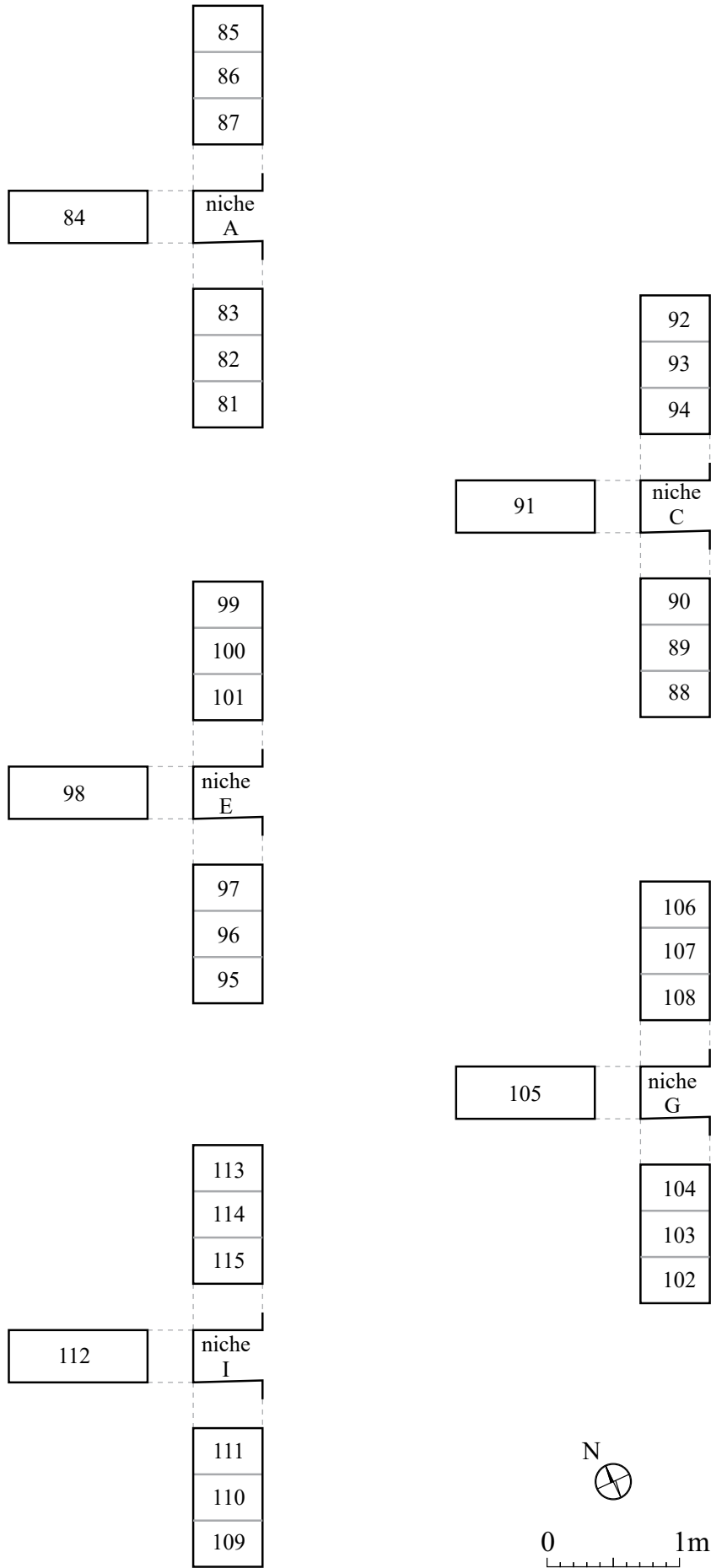


Fig. 23. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, west wall, south wing, Osiride niches (based on plan made by T. Dziejdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

no frieze

Osiride niches**Fig. 23****Niche A****Fig. 23**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 125–127, Pls 99–100

South wallBudzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 125–126, Pl. 99B, 100 [left]
Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXIV
PM II², 364 [AaII]

81. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving 'nh sign to the Horus name

82. Personification of the Theban nome → (restored)

83. Personification of Karnak → (restored)

West wall

84. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 126–127, Pl. 100 [right]

85. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving 'nh sign to the Horus name

Petrie MSS 5.8.96 [lower]

87. Iunyt ← (restored)

86. Tjenenet ← (restored)

Niche C**Fig. 23**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 127–129, Pl. 101

South wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 127–128

88. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving 'nh sign to the Horus name

89. Mut → (restored)

90. Sobek → (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, Pl. 101A

West wall

91. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 128–129
PM IF, 364 [CbII]

92. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving 'nh sign to the Horus name

93. Hathor ← (restored)

94. Horus ← (restored)

Niche E**Fig. 23**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 130

South wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 130

95. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving 'nh sign to the Horus name

96. Nephthys → (restored)

97. Ombite → (restored)

West wall

98. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 130

99. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving 'nh sign to the Horus name

100. Goddess ← (restored)

101. God ← (restored)

Niche G**Fig. 23**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 131–132
Samborski, Conservatory-Reconstructional Works on the West Wall, 109, Phot. 2 (corner block)

South wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 131

102. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving *nh* sign to the Horus name

103. Nut → (restored)

104. Geb → (restored)

West wall

105. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 131–132
PM II², 364 [GbII]

106. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving *nh* sign to the Horus name

107. Tefnut ← (restored)

108. Shu ← (restored)

Niche I**Fig. 23**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 132–134, Pls 102–103

South wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 132–133
Myśliwiec, Studien zum Gott Atum II, Fig. 3a, Pl. IIa
PM II², 364 [Ia I and II]

109. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving *nh* sign to the Horus name

110. Atum →

111. Ra-Harakhty → (restored)

West wall

112. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 133–134
PM II², 364 [Ib II]

113. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), Amun-Ra → giving 'nh sign to the Horus name

114. Monthu ← (restored)

115. Amun-Ra ← (restored)

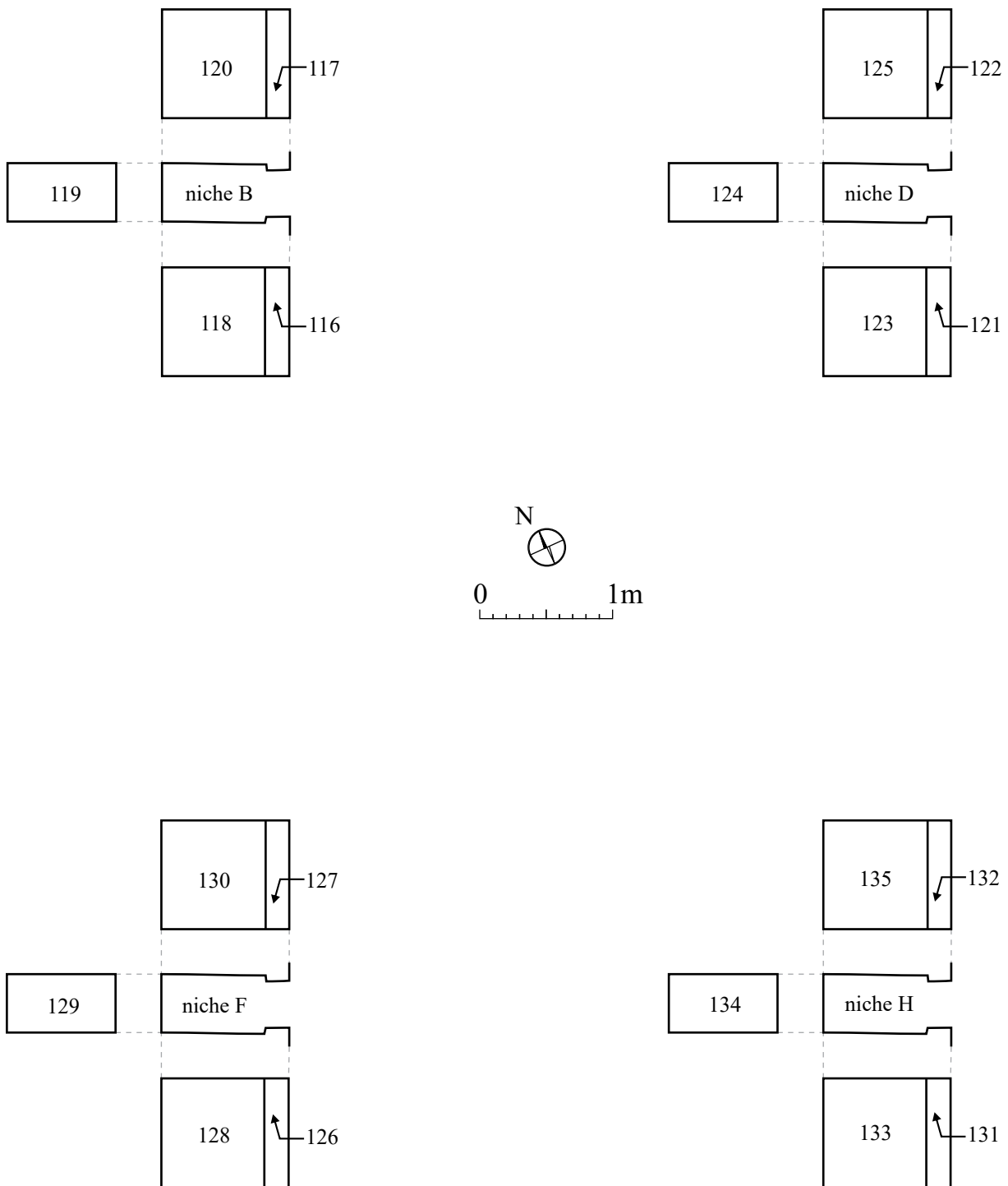


Fig. 24. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, west wall, south wing, small niches (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).



Small niches

Fig. 24

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 85–88, 90–96, 99–109, Pls 34 (plan and section), 35 (façade), 36 (axonometry), 45 [upper], 78–84
Rummel, Pfeiler seiner Mutter II, cat. no. 8 (Iunmutef in niches B, D, F, H)

Niche B

Fig. 24

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 99–101, Pl. 78

Entrance

MMA photo M.11.C.7

South reveal

116. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

North reveal

117. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South wall

118. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before an enthroned king ← (name unpreserved)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 100–101

West wall

119. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) embraced by Hathor → (restored) and Behdety ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 99–100, Pl. 79A (detail)
Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 43, Fig. 14

North wall

120. Thoth ← (restored), offering list and offerings before an enthroned king → (name unpreserved)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 101

Niche D

Fig. 24

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 101–104, Pl. 80

Entrance

Hayes, Varia, Pl. XI [2], 82

South reveal

121. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

North reveal

122. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South wall

123. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Thutmose III ←

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 103
Naviile, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXV

West wall

124. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) embraced by Nephthys → (restored) and Ombite ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 102, Pl. 81A

North wall

125. Thoht ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 103–104

Niche F

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 104–106, Pl. 82

Fig. 24**Entrance****South reveal**

126. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

North reveal

127. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South wall

128. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Thutmose I ←

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 105–106

West wall

129. Hatshepsut → (erased) embraced by Tjemenet → (restored) and Monthu ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 104–105

North wall

130. Thoth ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut →
(cartouche replaced with Thutmose II)

Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 44, Fig. 40 (bust of Thutmose II)
Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 106, Pl. 83 (Innmutef in front of an offering table)

Niche H**Fig. 24**

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 107–109, Pl. 84A

Entrance**South reveal**

131. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

North reveal

132. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South wall

133. Innmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Thutmose II ←

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 107–108
Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, Pl. V facing p. 14 (head of Thutmose II)
PM II², 364 [Ha]

West wall

134. Hatshepsut → (changed, name unpreserved) embraced by a god → (restored, name unpreserved) and a goddess (restored, name unpreserved)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 107

North wall

135. Thoth ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut →
(cartouche replaced with Thutmose II)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 108–109
Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXVI
PM II², 364 [Hb]

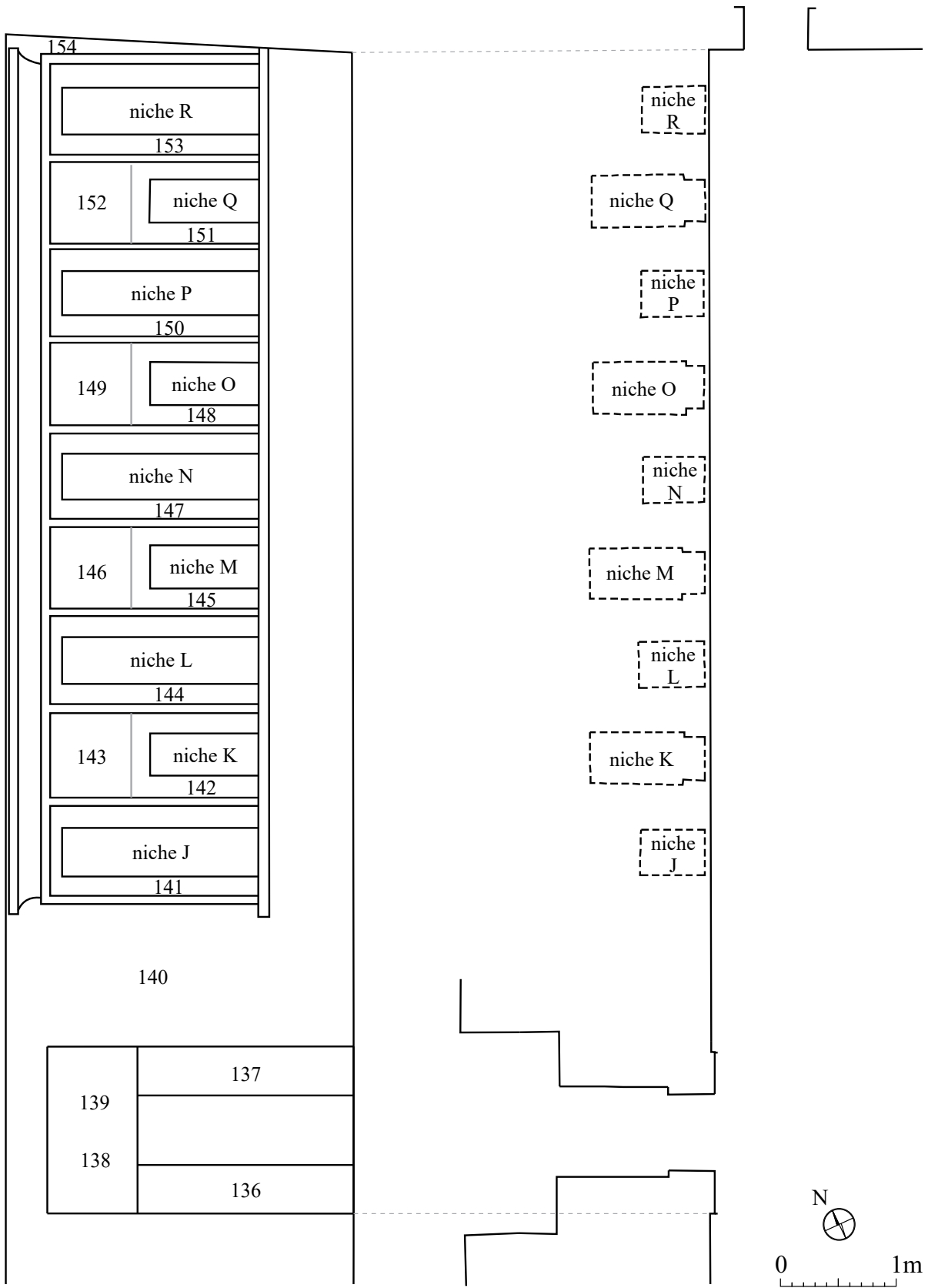


Fig. 25. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, west wall, north wing (based on plan made by T. Dziedzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Granite gate

Fig. 25

Arnaudiès-Montélimard, L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III, 151 (name of the gate)
 Grothoff, Die Tornamen, 213–214 (name of the gate)
 Jéquier, L'Architecture I, Pls 37, 38 [2]
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 202
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXVII
 Niedziółka, The Mysterious Structure *sj'rt-m3't*, 154
 Pawlicki, The Worship of Queen Hatshepsut, 47
 Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 58
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 105–106
 PM II², 365 [131a-b]
 Połoczanin, The Composition of the Building Development, 65–66
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XXII
 Witkowski, Der Tempel der Königin Hatschepsut, 43
 Wysocki, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 122
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 1977–1982, 325, 327
 Wysocki, The Raising of the Structure, 242, 251–252
 MMA photos T.2259, T.3361–T.3362, T.3364

Jambs

South jamb

136. Hatshepsut → (cartouches replaced with Thutmose III) wearing the white crown and holding the *mks* staff and *hḏ* mace, royal titulary of Hatshepsut

Giza-Podgórski, Royal Plume Dress, 106–107, Fig. 4

North jamb

137. Hatshepsut ← (cartouches replaced with Thutmose III) wearing the red crown and holding the *mks* staff and *hḏ* mace, royal titulary of Hatshepsut

Lintel

Champollion, Monuments, Pl. CXCIII [3] (reversed)
 Jéquier, L'Architecture I, Pl. 38 [2]
 LD III, Pl. 27 [4] (text above the king, south part)
 LD III Text, 104 [middle]–105 [upper] (text)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXVII
 PM II², 365 [131a-b]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XXII
 Lepsius MSS 234 [lower]
 MMA photos T.2259, T.3361–T.3362, T.3364
 Rosellini MSS 284, A4 (north text)

138. Kneeling Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose III) and Thutmose III → wearing white crowns offering *nw* vases to enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 240 (Hatshepsut)

139. Kneeling Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose III) and Thutmose III ← wearing red crowns offering *nw* vases to enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored)

Pawlicki, Polnische Arbeiten, 54 (head of Hatshepsut)
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 241

North wing

140. Thutmose III ← and Hatshepsut ← (erased, preserved toe of the front foot, as well as traces of name and feminine forms in the text) before enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored); behind the throne of Amun-Ra, standing Nefrura → (headdress, attributes and name changed for the queen Ahmose), holding sistrum (replaced with *nh* sign)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, Pl. 77B
 Ćwiek, *Fate of Seth*, 38–39, Fig. 1 (Thutmose III), 3 (falcon jacket of Thutmose III)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLXIV
 PM II^F, 365 [130]
 Samborski, *Conservatory-Reconstructional Works on the West Wall*, 118–120, Phot. 6, Figs 1, 3 (niches)
 Szafrński, *King (?) Neferure*, 146, Fig. 4
 Szafrński, *Temple of Hatshepsut Season 2005/2006*, 281, 283, Fig. 11
 MMA photos T. 1567, T.1656, T.2376–T.2383, T.3361–T.3363

■ Fragments of a block with a royal face, *Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire*, Brussels E. 7700

Gilbert, *Exposition des objets provenant des Fouilles d'El-Kab*, 5 [8]
 Lefebvre, *Van Rinsveld, L'Égypte*, 82
 Tefin, *Essai d'analyse formelle du visage royal*, 153–177
 Van Siclen III, *Queen Ahmose*, 21–24

■ Fragment of a block with the head of queen Ahmes, *Brooklyn Museum*, New York 57.76.2

Petrie, *History II*, Fig. 31
 PM II^F, 365 [130] (under no. 51.10)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI*, Pl. CLXIV (*in situ*)

141. Door frame of niche J

142. Door frame of niche K

143. Thutmose I ← and Hatshepsut ← (replaced with vessels with water) pouring water and censuring before enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored)

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 105, Fig. 100 (Thutmose I)

144. Door frame of niche L

145. Door frame of niche M

146. Thutmose III ← and his *ka* ← (in human form) offering milk to ityphallic Amun-Ra → (name unpreserved, restored)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, Pl. 89
 Karkowski, *The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari. The Epigraphic Mission*, 48–49, Fig. 1 (described as placed over niche N)

147. Door frame of niche N

148. Door frame of niche O

149. Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose I) and Nefrura ← (replaced with queen Ahmes) offering bread to enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored)

Karkowski, Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 9, Fig. 2
Pawlicki, Princess Neferure, 118–121, Fig. 5

150. Door frame of niche P

151. Door frame of niche Q

152. Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) offering four *mrt* chests to ity-phallic Amun-Ra → (restored)

Egberts, In Quest of Meaning I, 12

153. Door frame of niche R

154. Titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose)

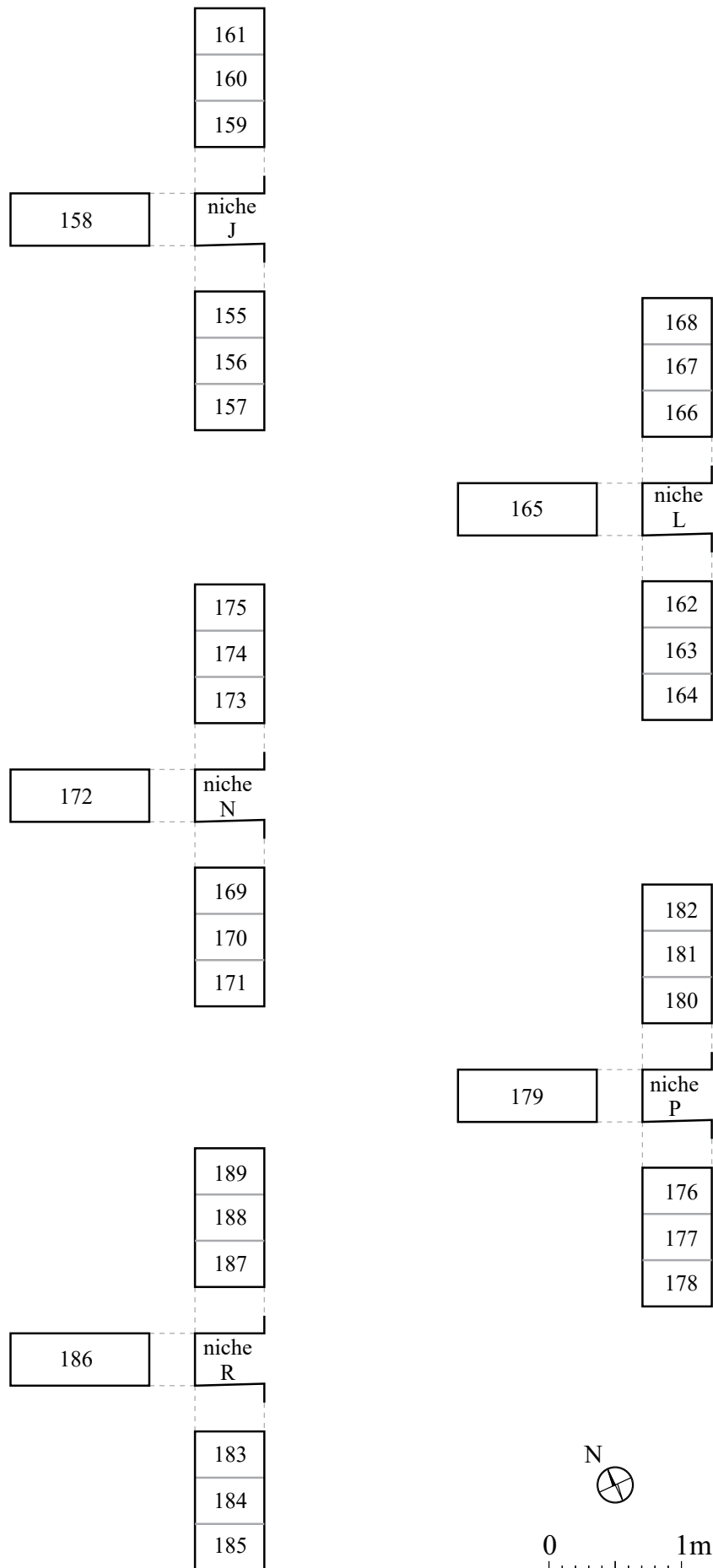


Fig. 26. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, west wall, south wing, Osiride niches (based on plan made by T. Dziedzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

no frieze

Osiride niches**Fig. 26****Niche J****Fig. 26**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 134–136

South wallBudzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 134–135
PM II², 364 [Ja II]

155. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

156. Amun-Ra → (restored)

157. Amunet → (restored)

West wall

158. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

North wallBudzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 135–136
PM II², 364 [Jb II]

159. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

160. Monthu ← (restored)

161. Atum ← (restored)

Niche L**Fig. 26**Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 136–137, Pls 104–106
LD III Text, 107 [a] (text of Hatshepsut)
Szafranski, Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000, 189, Fig. 3**South wall**Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 136, Pls 105–106
PM II², 364 [La II]

162. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

163. Shu → (restored)

164. Tefnut → (restored)

West wall

165. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 136–137, Pl. 106
PM II², 364 [Lb II])

166. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

167. Geb ← (restored)

168. Nut ← (restored)

Niche N**Fig. 26**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 137–139

South wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 137–138
PM II², 364 [Na I and II]

169. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

170. Osiris → (restored)

171. Isis → (restored)

West wall

172. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 138–139

173. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

174. Nebty ← (restored)

175. Nephthys ← (restored)

Niche P**Fig. 26**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 139–140

South wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 139

176. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

177. Horus → (restored)

178. Hathor → (restored)

West wall

179. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 139–140

180. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

181. God ← (restored)

182. Mut ← (restored)

Niche R

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 140–141

South wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 140

183. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

184. Tjenedet → (restored)

185. Goddess → (restored)

West wall

186. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

North wall

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 141
PM II², 364 [Rb II]

187. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut

188. Ptah ← (restored)

189. Personification of Thebes ← (restored)

Fig. 26

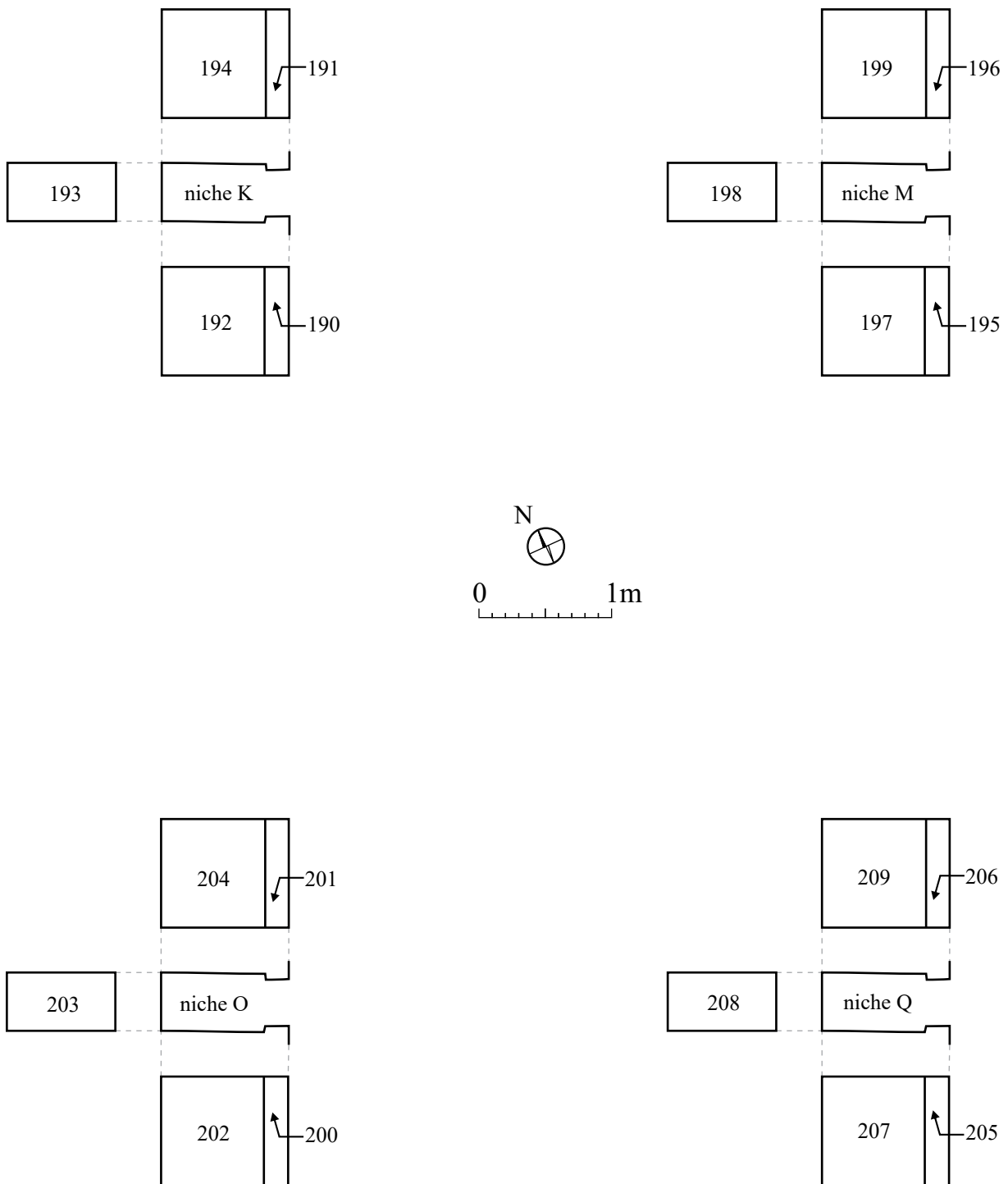


Fig. 27. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, west wall, south wing, small niches (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).



Small niches

Fig. 27

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 109–120, Pls 34 (plan and section), 35 (facade), 36 (axonometry), 85–97
 Rummel, Pfeiler seiner Mutter II, cat. no. 8 (Iunmutef in niches K, M, O, Q)
 Schott, Zum Krönungstag der Königin Hatshepsut, 219, Pls 6, 7 (head of Hatshepsut with a cartouche, west walls of niches K, M, O or Q)

Niche K

Fig. 27

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 109–112, Pls 85–86

Entrance

South reveal

190. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

North reveal

191. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South wall

192. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut
 ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II)

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 110–111

West wall

193. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) led by Atum → (restored)
 and embraced by Monthu ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 109–110, Pls 86, 97

North wall

194. Thoth ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut →
 (cartouche replaced with Thutmose III)

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 111–112

Niche M

Fig. 27

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 112–115, Pls 87–88

Entrance

South reveal

195. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

North reveal

196. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South wall

197. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut
← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 113–114

West wall

198. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) led by Tefnut → (re-
stored) and embraced by Shu ← (restored)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 112–113, Pls 88, 97

North wall

199. Thoht ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Thut-
mose III →

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 114–115

Niche O

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 115–118, Pls 90–92

Fig. 27

Entrance

South reveal

200. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

North reveal

201. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South wall

202. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut
← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 116–117

West wall

203. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) led by Nut → (restored)
and embraced by Geb ← (restored)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 115–116, Pl. 91–92, 97
Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 103, Fig. 98

North wall

204. Thoth ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Thutmose I →

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 117–118
Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, Fig. 43

Niche Q**Fig. 27**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 118–120, Pls 93–95

Entrance**South reveal**

205. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

North reveal

206. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South wall

207. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut
← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 119–120

West wall

208. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) led by Isis → (restored)
and embraced by Osiris ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 118–119, Pls 94–95, 97
Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 43, 44, Fig. 44

North wall

209. Thoth ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Thutmose III →

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 120

Artefacts from the West wall

Osiride statues

A Guide to the Collections I, (1936), Fig. on p. 12; (1939), (1940), Fig. on p. 14
 Leblanc, Piliers et colosses de type « osirique », 72–74 [A7 and A10]
 PM II², 372
 Tefnin, La statue d'Hatshepsout, 41–43, Pls X–XI
 MMA photos M.8.C.302, M.8.C.408–M.8.C.409, M.9.C. 333–M.8.C.334 [second left]

■ Head of an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.157

Aldred, New Kingdom Art, Pl. 15
 Donadoni, Arte egizia, Fig. 99
 Grimm, Schoske, Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens, 41, Fig. 38
 Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, Fig. 50 [right]
 PM II², 372
 Tefnin, La statue d'Hatshepsout, 41, Pl. X
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 16, Fig. 8
 Winlock, Egyptian Statues and Statuettes, Pl. 14
 Winlock, Excavations, Fig. 3 [left]
 MMA photo M.4.C.168

■ Head of an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.163

Daumas, La civilisation de l'Égypte, Pl. 35
 Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, Fig. 50 [left]
 Hoyningen-Huene, Steindorff, Egypt (1943), Fig. on p. 78; (1945), Fig. on p. 88
 Kaczor, Historia badań i konserwacji architektury, 159, Fig. 5 [right]
 PM II², 372
 Tefnin, La statue d'Hatshepsout, 41, Pl. XI
 MMA photo M.12.C.220

■ Head of an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.164

Bedman, Valentin, Hatshepsut, 179
 Franco, Head of the colossal statue, 390 [13]
 Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 90, Fig. 49
 PM II², 372
 Posener, Sauneron, Yoyotte, Dictionnaire, Fig. on p. 128
 Ratié, La reine Hatchepsout, 126
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 140 [74]
 Scott, Egyptian Statues, Pl. 10
 Tefnin, La statue d'Hatshepsout, 41

■ Head of an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 56261, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

PM II², 372
 Tefnin, La statue d'Hatshepsout, 41–43
 Winlock, The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932), 16, Fig. 16
 MMA photos M.12.C. 342–343

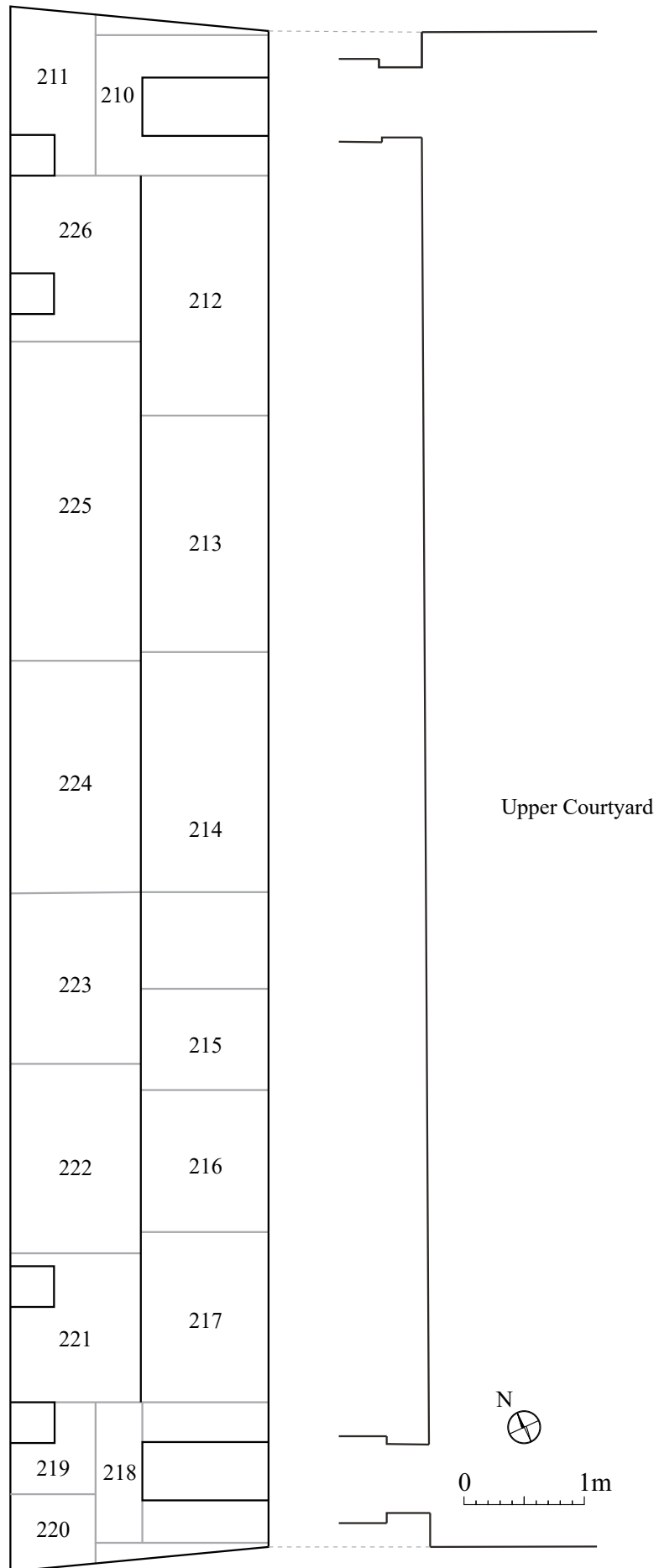


Fig. 28. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Courtyard, north wall (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).



North wall

Fig. 28

Karkowski, The Question of the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 362–364
 Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 351, Fig. 4A-B
 Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 155–166
 Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 55–57, Fig. 1
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 155, Fig. 2

210. Door frame, jambs: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II) and name of the gate (erased), lintel: on the left: Amun ← (restored) giving 'nh sign to falcon → sitting on *serekh*; in the middle: kneeling fecundity figures → ← on two sides, Wadjyt → and Nekhbet ← in the centre on *nb* sign carrying cartouche of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II); on the right: Amun → (restored) giving 'nh sign to falcon ← sitting on *serekh*

Grothoff, Die Tornamen, 213, 215–216 (name of the gate)
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 133–135, Pl. 18
 LD III Text, 108 [B] (royal titulary on jambs)
 Nims, Places about Thebes, 118, 123, Fig. 2 [33] (name of the gate)

211. Scene unpreserved

Lower register

212. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with barks of Mut and Khonsu) and Thutmose III ← behind the bark of Amun ← (restored), in front of the bark one register of *jbz* dancers → (restored), two registers of priests ← (restored) with standards, one register of royal statues ←, below the bark: priests ← (restored) carried offerings and cloth stretched on sticks, one priest → (restored) censuring before the bark of Khonsu

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 35–36, Fig. 11a-b
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 128
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 87, Fig. 78
 Schott, Das Löschen von Fackeln, 11 (men with torches), Pl. IV [a]
 Chic. Or. Inst photos 7282–7283, 7285

■ Block with representation of royal statues, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 24024

Grimm, Schoske, Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens, 58 [16]
 Gynz-Rekowski, Hasenhieroglyphe, 17 [24]
 Lipińska, Dolińska, Aksamit (Eds), Geheimnisvolle Königin Hatshepsut, 110 [10]

213. Hatshepsut → (replaced with an offering table) and Thutmose III → censuring before the bark of Amun ← (restored) standing on a socle, behind the bark one register of priests → (restored) and *jbz* dancers → (restored), two registers of acrobats → (restored), one register of royal statues →

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 36–37, Figs 12a-b
 Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, Figs 3 (acrobats), 5 (fragment of the bark of Amun)
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 128
 Lythgoe, Davies, The Egyptian Expedition 1925–1927, 66, 68, Fig. 13
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 56, Fig. 3
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 88, Fig. 79
 Watermann, Bilder aus dem Lande des Ptah und Imhotep, 23 (acrobat), Fig. 3 [c]

214. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with an offering table) and Thutmose III ← in front of an offering table before the bark of Amun → (restored) standing on a socle, below the bark torches in baskets, fecundity figures ← (restored) holding torches and standards → (restored)

Karkowski, Notes on the Beautiful Feast of the Valley, 161 Fig. 4 (torches in baskets and fecundity figures holding torches)
Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 88, Fig. 80

215. Thutmose III → censing before the Theban Triad ← (restored)

Gazda, Deir el-Bahari, 168, Fig. 1 (detail)
Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 128–129

216. Thutmose III ← and Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose I) led by Amun (restored) to Werethekau → (restored, only titles preserved) welcoming them with the *njnj* gesture, between them a long inscription of the 4th year of the reign of Thutmose III

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 129–130

217. Thutmose III ← led by Hathor ← (name unpreserved, restored) before the Theban Triad → (only figure of Amun preserved, his name unpreserved, restored)

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 130

218. Door frame, jambs, left jamb: royal titulary of Thutmose II; right jamb: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II), lintel: on the left: Amun ← (restored) giving *nh* sign to falcon → on *serekh*; in the middle: kneeling fecundity figures → ← on two sides of cartouche of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose III); on the right: Amun → (restored) giving *nh* sign to falcon ← on *serekh*

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Figs 4, 4B

219. Thoth → (restored) in front of two registers of kneeling souls of Pe and Nekhen ← (restored)

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Fig. 4, 4B
Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 56, Fig. 1

220. Enthroned Geb ← (restored) with Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose III) kneeling at his feet; in front of them Iunmutf → (restored)

Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, Figs 4, 4B
Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 56, Fig. 1

Upper register

221. Hatshepsut → (changed) and Thutmose III → led by a god → (restored, name unpreserved)

Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 56, Fig. 1

222. Procession of priests → with books and standards

223. Two registers of standing gods ← (restored) with *w3s* sceptres

224. Hatshepsut → (replaced with text) and Thutmose III → with the *mks* staff and *hd* mace leading procession of barks of the Theban Triad → (restored)

225. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with an offering table) and Thutmose III ← censing before

barks of the Theban Triad → (restored) placed in a bark station on a socle, behind Hatshepsut and Thutmose III one register of priests, two registers of acrobats ← (restored) and two registers of royal statues ← , behind the barks priests ← (restored) and royal statues ← in two registers

Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 37–38, Figs 13a-b, 14a-b
Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 88, Fig. 79

226. Hatshepsut → (replaced with barks of Mut and Khonsu) and Thutmose III → with the *mks* staff and *hd* mace leading procession of barks of the Theban Triad → (restored), below the bark of Amun priests with standards →

Kwaśnica, Reconstructing the Architectural Layout of the Upper Courtyard, 91, Fig. 3 [left]

■ Block with the bark of Mut, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 13676

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 118–119
Lipińska, Dolińska, Aksamit (Eds), Geheimnisvolle Königin Hatshepsut, 112 [12]
PM II², 536

Artefacts from Upper Courtyard

- Block with the head of recarved Thutmose II, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels E.3044

Capart, Une importante donation d'antiquités égyptiennes, 65–66, Fig. 7
 Capart, Une donation d'antiquités égyptiennes, 9, 22–24 [26], Fig. 6
 Capart, Documents, 57, Pl. 60
 Gilbert, De Wit, Oud-Egyptische Kunst, Pl. VIII
 Lefebvre, Van Rinsveld, L'Égypte, 81
 Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Bruxelles, Fig. 29
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 44, Pl. XX, Fig. 41
 PM II², 376
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 155 [84]
 Speelers, Recueil des inscriptions égyptiennes, 40 [157]
 Sée, Grandes villes, 73
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 127, Pl. XLVI

- Fragment of a block with a sphinx from the bark of Amun, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels E.05016

Naville, The XIth Dynasty Temple I, Pl. XIII [d]

- Block with a procession of royal statues, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14651

Lipińska, Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple, 170–171, Pl. 23c, Fig. 5
 Białostocka, Rozważania na temat przedstawień posągów królewskich, 38, Fig. 20

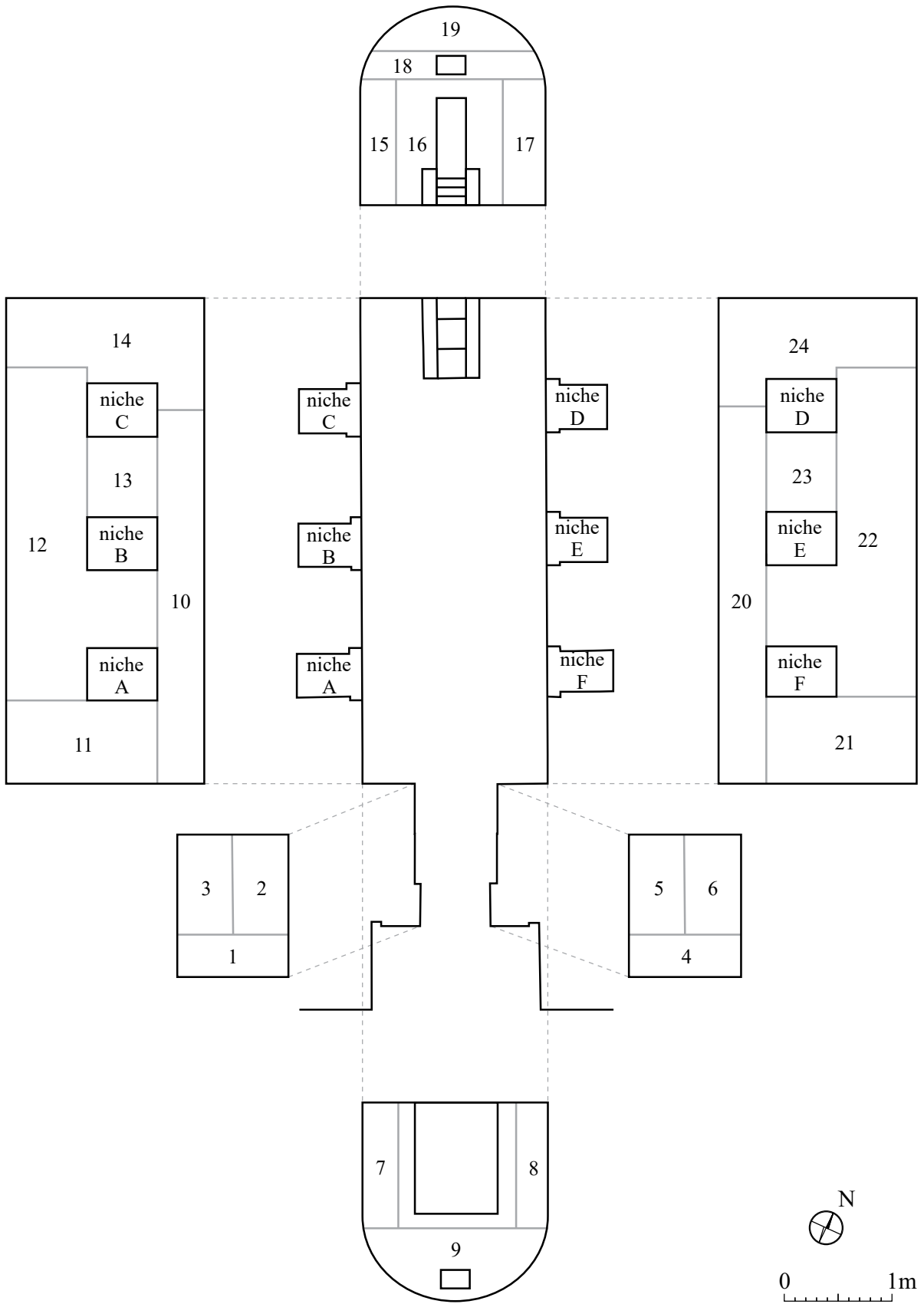


Fig. 29. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Main Sanctuary of Amun, Bark Hall (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Main Sanctuary of Amun

Arnold Di., Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 11
 Arnold Di., Pharaonic Stone Masonry, 186, 189, Fig. 4.122, 191 (section through ceiling and relieving structure)
 Champollion, Notices I, 572, 575–578 [f-k] (plan)
 Karkowski, Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980, 350
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 140–145, Figs 20–23
 Karkowski, Winnicki, Amenhotep, Son of Hapu and Imhotep, 94–101
 LD III Text, 111–117 [p-r] (plan)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXIX (plan and section)
 Osing, Zum Kultbildritual, 322, Fig. 2A-B
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 161–163, Figs 6–8
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 101–117, Figs 95 (plan and section)
 PM II², 365–367
 Van Siclen III, Queen Ahmose, 21–24
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 93–98
 Wysocki, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 214 (plan), 222–223
 Wild MSS II. C. 2–6

Relieving structure over the Bark Hall

Barwik, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Season 2001, 196–197
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 34, Fig. 58
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1974–1975, 212–216
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari 1975–1976, 226–228, Fig. 3
 Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari – Świątynia Hatszepsut. Prace Konserwatorskie, 49, Fig. 6

Bark Hall

Fig. 29

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 155–171, 179–182, 268–270 (reconstruction of the statuary decoration)
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 53 (Doc. 33A)
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 34, Fig. 58 (section)
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Mission 1996, 49–52
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 140–143, Figs 20–23
 Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 58–60
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 161, Fig. 6
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 37, Fig. 27
 PM II², 365–366 (Room X)
 Szafranski, Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, 103 [lower]

Entrance

South reveal

1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

2. Thoth ← with text

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXIX
 Pawlicki, The Worship of Queen Hatshepsut, 51, Fig. 1 (drawing reversed)
 Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997, 59

3. Kneeling Hatshepsut ← (replaced with a king, name unpreserved)

MMA photos T.2254–T.2258 (south side)

North reveal

4. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

5. Thoth → with text

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXL
 Pawlicki, *The Worship of Queen Hatshepsut*, 51, Fig. 1 (drawing reversed)
 Pawlicki, *Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997*, 59
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 105–106, Fig. 101
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 248 (fragment of text)

6. Kneeling Hatshepsut → (replaced with a king, name unpreserved)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXL [upper]
 MMA photos T.2250–T.2253

no frieze

East wall

PM II², 365 [131]
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 222

7. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and Osiride statue of Hatshepsut (removed)

8. Royal titulary Hatshepsut (erased) of and Osiride statue of Hatshepsut (removed)

9. Tympanum, north side: Hatshepsut → (erased) followed by her *ka* → (standard) kneeling before enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored) ; south side: Thutmose III ← followed by his *ka* ← (standard) before enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXXVIII, CXL
 PM II², 365 [131e-f]
 Szafrński, *Exceptional Queen*, 66, Fig. 8
 MMA photo T.1866



South wall

PM II², 365–366 [132]

10. Milk basins, fowl

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXLII
 PM II², 365–366 [132]
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 257 (detail)
 Schott, *Das Löschchen von Fackeln*, 1–3 (milk basins, texts), Pl. I [a]
 Wysocki, *Deir el-Bahari, 1977–1982*, Fig. 14 on p. 335
 MMA photos T.1661–T.1662, T.1861–T.1864, T.1865 [lower]

11. Hatshepsut → (erased) before Amun ← (name only partially preserved, restored)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXLI [left] (head and text of Amun)
 PM II², 365–366 [132.1]
 MMA photos T.1860, T.1865 [upper]

12. Thutmose III → accompanied by Nefrura → in front of an offering table before the bark of Amun ← (restored)

Bedman, Valentín, *Hatshepsut*, 139 (Thutmose III and Nefrura)
 Birch, *The Annals of Thothmes III.*, 144–145 (name and titles of Nefrura)
 Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. CXCII [3], CXCIV [1, 3] (Thutmose III and Nefrura)
 Champollion, *Notices I*, 577, 867 [l. 2 ‘tableau de gauche’] (text of Amun)
 Karkowski, *The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Season 1992*, 73–75, Fig. 1 and 2 (details of the bark)
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, Figs 22 (prow of the bark of Amun), 23 (Thutmose III and Nefrura)
 LD III, Pl. 27 [9] (text of Amun)
 LD III Text, 113 [middle] (text of Amun)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXLI [right] (Thutmose III and Nefrura)

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, Figs 103 (Thutmose III and Nefrura), 105 (prow of the bark of Amun)
 Pawlicki, *Princess Neferure*, 113, Fig. 1 (inscription over the head of Nefrura)
 PM II², 365–366 [132.2]
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 232 (prow of the bark of Amun)
 Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Pls II [8] (Nefrura, reversed drawing), XIX [23]
 Schott, *Das Löschen von Fackeln*, 10 (fecundity figures holding torches), Pl. I [b upper]
 Stupko-Lubczyńska, *Inscribed Vessels*, 2014, Fig. 4c (vessels in the offering list)
 Szafrński, *Deir el-Bahari. Season 1999/2000*, 195–196, Fig. 7
 Szafrński, *Exceptional Queen*, 68, Fig. 10 (bark of Amun)
 Szafrński, *King (?) Neferure*, 147, Fig. 5A (inscription over the head of Nefrura, described as coming from the north wall)
Urk. IV, 298–299 (95) e (text of Amun), 391 (121) b (name and titles of Nefrura)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 136 (text of Amun)
 Lepsius MSS 240 [middle] (text of Amun and text around bark), 240 [upper], 237 [lower] (cartouches)
 MMA photos T.1853–T.1859
 Prudhoe MSS Atlas, A. 1
 Rosellini MSS 284, A 5, A 6 (text of Amun and text around bark)
 Wilkinson MSS VIII. 44 [lower left] (text of Amun)

■ Fragment of a block with the head of Nefrura, McManus Dundee's Art Gallery and Museum, Dundee 1977–534

Champollion, *Monuments*, Pls CXCII [3], CXCIV [1, 3]
 Dodson, *Two Royal Reliefs*, 213, n. 6
 Kitchen, *A Long-Lost Portrait*, 38–40, Pl. VII/1
 Petrie, *History II*, Fig. 38 (reversed drawing)
 Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Pls II [8] (reversed drawing), XIX [23]

13. *Sm3-t3wj* scene

14. Royal ancestors, lower register: king ← (name unpreserved) followed by his *ka* ← (in human form); upper register: Neferubiti ← (name unpreserved), queen Ahmes and Thutmose I ←

Birch, *The Annals of Thothmes III.*, 144–145 (names and titles of Nefrura and Neferubiti)
 Ćwiek, *Red, yellow and pink*, 3233, Figs 2, 3 (Neferubiti)
 Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. CXCII [4, 5] (Thutmose I, Neferubiti and queen Ahmes)
 Gazda, *Deir el-Bahari*, 170 Fig. 2
 LD III Text, 113 [lower] (names and titles of Thutmose I, queen Ahmes and Neferubiti)
 Pawlicki, *Conservation and Preservation Project 1995/1996*, 64
 PM II², 365–366 [132.2]
 Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Pl. I [4] (head of queen Ahmes)
 Szafrński, *Exceptional Queen*, 70, Fig. 12
 Lepsius MSS 240 [lower] (names and titles of Thutmose I, queen Ahmes and Neferubiti)
 Rosellini MSS 284, A 7 (names and titles of Thutmose I, queen Ahmes and Neferubiti)

■ Block with the head of queen Ahmes, Museum of Liverpool 15.43

Dodson, *Two Royal Reliefs*, 212–214, Pl. XXVIII.1
 PM II², 376

no frieze

West wall

el-Naggar, *Les voûtes. Planches*, 35, Fig. 59a
 PM II², 367 [138a-b]
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 220
 Szafrński, *Exceptional Queen*, 69, Fig. 11
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932)*, 16–17, Fig. 10
 Winlock, *Excavations*, 217, Fig. 13
 Lepsius MSS 239 [upper]
 MMA photos T.1867–1868, 2239, 1837

15. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and Osiride statue of Hatshepsut (removed)

16. Door frame, left jamb: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose III), dedicatory inscription with the name of the gate; right jamb: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased), dedicatory inscription with the name of the gate; lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and Thutmose III

Arnaudiès-Montélimard Emmanuelle, L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III, 151 (name of the gate)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. IV
 Grothoff, Die Tornamen, 213–214 (name of the gate)
 LD III Text, 113 [a] (dedicatory inscription)
 PM II², 377

17. Royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and Osiride statue of Hatshepsut (removed)

18. Kneeling fecundity figures → ← with offerings

19. Tympanum, south side: kneeling Hatshepsut → (erased) before enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored); north side: kneeling Thutmose III ← before enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored)

Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 215
 Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 103
 Pawlicki, Polnische Arbeiten, 55 (Thutmose III)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 19, Fig. 12
 PM II², 367 [138a-b]
 Sankiewicz, Cosmological Frames, 172, 174–175, Figs 100–101
 Schnittger, Hatshepsut, 57, Fig. 29
 Szafranski (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 223 (Thutmose III)
 Szafranski, Exceptional Queen, 67, Fig. 9
 Szafranski, Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, 102 [lower] (head of Thutmose III)



North wall

LD III, Pl. 8 [b], 20 [a, c]
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXLIII–CXLV
 PM II², 366 [133]
 Lepsius MSS 235–236 [middle] (texts)
 MMA photos T.1845–1850, 2239

20. Milk basins, fowl

Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998, 123–125, Figs 3, 4
 PM II², 366 [133]
 MMA photo T.1852

■ Fragment of a block with papyrus flowers below a *dado* frieze, British Museum, London EA1451

21. Thutmose III ← followed by his *ka* ← (unpreserved)

Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 162, Fig. 7
 PM II², 366 [133.1] (described as Thutmose II)

22. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) and Thutmose III ← accompanied by Neferura ← in front of an offering table, before the bark of Amun → (restored)

Bedman, Valentín, Sen-en-mut, 83
 Champollion, Monuments, Pl. CXCIII [2] (Neferubiti)
 Champollion, Notices I, 577, 867 [l. 2 'tableau de droite'] (fragment of text above the bark)
 Cwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 36, Fig. 6

Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften* II, Pl. IV [upper left] (Thutmose I, queen Ahmes and Nefrubiti), [lower right and upper right] (offering list and text above Hatshepsut)
 LD III, Pls 20, 27 [8] (text above Hatshepsut)
 LD III Text, 112 *a* (titles of Nefrure)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari* V, Pls CXLIII–CXLV
 Pawlicki, *Conservation and Preservation Project 1995/1996*, 64
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 107, Fig. 102 (Thutmose III and Nefrure)
 Pawlicki, *Princess Nefrure*, 113–114, Fig. 2 (Nefrure)
 Petrie, *History II*, Fig. 34
 PM II², 366 [133.2]
 Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, Pl. XIX [24]
 Schott, *Das Löschen von Fackeln*, 10 (fertility figures holding torches), Pl. I [b lower]
 Szafrński, *King (?) Nefrure*, 147, Fig. 5B (Nefrura, referred to as coming from the south wall)
Urk. IV, 391 (121) *a*
 Burton MSS 25644, 130, 131
 MMA photos T.1845–1850, T. 2239
 Wilkinson MSS VIII. 44 [lower right] (text above the bark)

23. *Sm3-t3wj*-scene

Gazda, *Conservation Work* (2009), Fig. 2 (fertility figure)
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 110, Fig. 106
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 245, 249 (rekhyt)

24. Royal ancestors, lower register: Thutmose II → followed by his *ka* → (in human form); upper register: Neferubiti, queen Ahmose → and Thutmose I →

Arundale, *Bonomi, Gallery of Antiquities*, Pl. 31 [145]
 Bedman, *Valentín, Sen-en-mut*, 105
 Ćwiek, *Red, yellow and pink*, 34–35, Fig. 4, 5 (Neferubiti)
 Pawlicki, *Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 1998/1999, 162–163, Fig. 7
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 109, Fig. 104 (Neferubiti, queen Ahmose and Thutmose I)

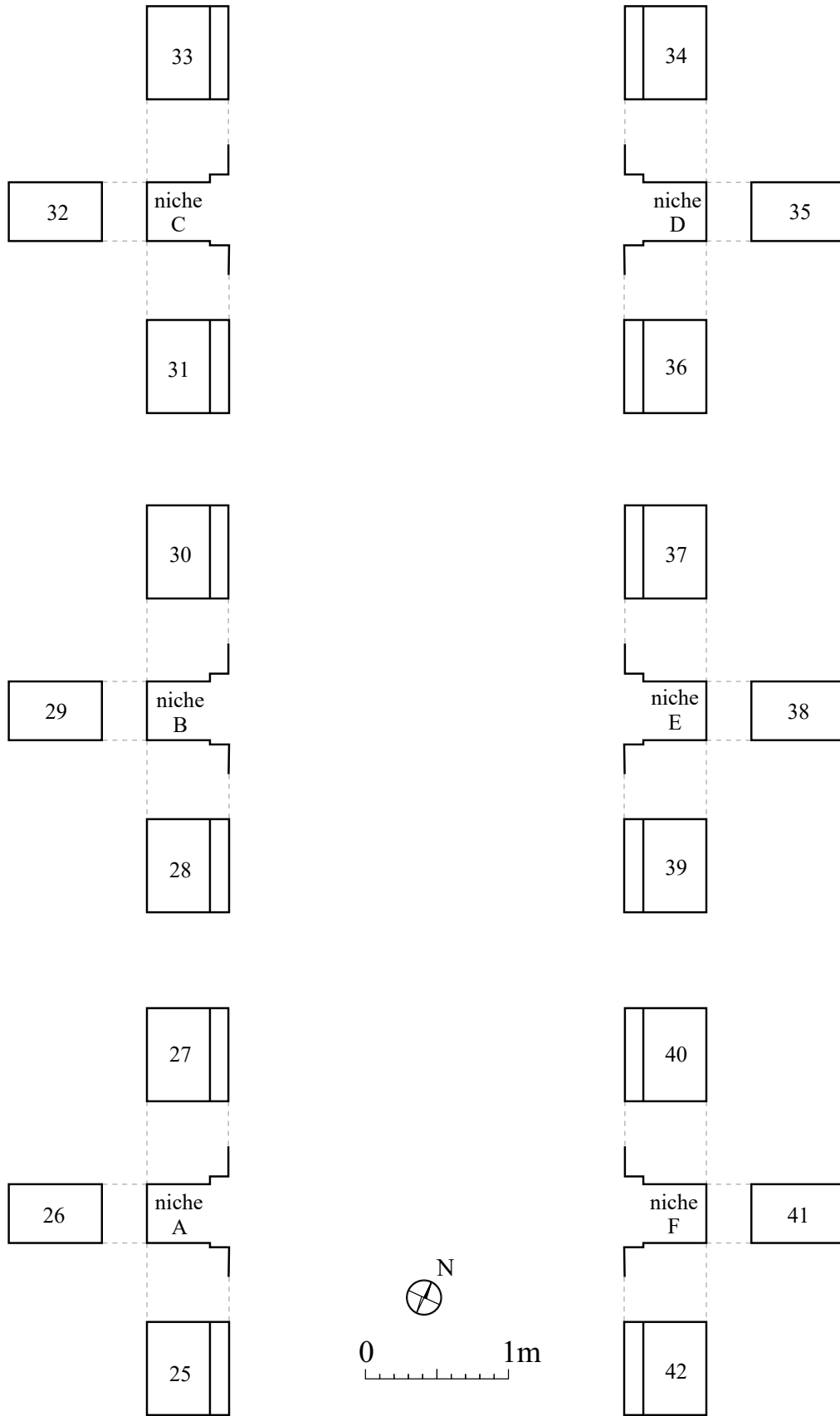


Fig. 30. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Main Sanctuary of Amun, Bark Hall (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Niches**Fig. 30**

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 79–98, Pls 31–33, 40–42, 56–74
Rummel, Pfeiler seiner Mutter II, cat. no. 10 (Iunmutef)

**Niche A****Fig. 30**

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 79–81, Pls 57–59 (nisza 1)
PM II², 366 [134]
MMA photos T.2247–2249

East wall

25. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (changed) in front of an offering table with an offering list, before her Iunmutef → (restored)

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 81, Pl. 56A
PM II², 366 [134a]

South wall

26. Hatshepsut → (erased) offering incense to Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 79–80, Pl. 57
PM II², 366 (134c)

West wall

27. Enthroned Thutmose III → in front of an offering table with an offering list, before him Iunmutef ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 80, Pls 58B, 59A (Thutmose III), 59B (throne)
LD III Text, 114
PM II², 366 (134b)

**Niche B****Fig. 30**

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 82–84, Pls 60–62 (nisza 2)
Wysocki, The Discovery and Reintegration of Two Niches, 361–370, Figs 1–6, Pls I–IV
Wysocki, Deir el-Bahari, 1977–1982, 341–342, Figs 20–21

East wall

28. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (erased) in front of an offering table with an offering list, before her Iunmutef → (restored)

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 83–84, Pl. 61A

South wall

29. Hatshepsut → (erased) offering *bd* natron to Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 82–83, Pl. 60

West wall

30. Enthroned Thutmose I → in front of an offering table with an offering list, before him Iunmutef ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 83, Pls 61B, 62A (Thutmose I), 62B (throne)

**Niche C**

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 84–87, Pls 63–65 (nisza 3)
 LD III, Pls 19 [2a-b], 27 [5]
 LD III Text, 114
 PM II², 366 [136]
 MMA photos T.2245–T.2246

Fig. 30**East wall**

31. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (erased) in front of an offering table with an offering list, before her Iunmutef → (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 87, Pls 65A, 65B (Hatshepsut)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. V [d, c] (offering list, incomplete)
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Mission 1996, 52, Fig. 3
 PM II², 366 (136a)
 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XIVa (Hatshepsut)

■ Fragment of a block with erased cartouches of Hatshepsut, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1635

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 115
 Eibner, Entwicklung und Werkstoffe, 582 [12]
 LD III, Pls 2a [upper right], 19
 PM II², 366 (136a)
 Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften II, 97
 Lipińska, Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple, 167, Pl. 21b

South wall

32. Hatshepsut → (erased) offering *nmst* vases to Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 85, Pls 63–64
 PM II², 366 (136c)

West wall

33. Enthroned Hatshepsut → (erased) in front of an offering table with an offering list, before her Iunmutef ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 86
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. V [c, d] (offering list, incomplete)
 LD III, Pl. 19 (2c)
 PM II², 366 (136b)
 Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften II, 97–98 (text)
 Lepsius MSS 241 [lower] (text of Iunmutef)

■ Block with enthroned Thutmose II, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1623

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 114
 Lipińska, Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple, 167, Pl. 21a
 LD III, Pls 2c, 19
 PM II², 366 [136b]
 Werbrouck Marcelle, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout à Deir el-Bahari, Bruxelles 1949, 97, n. 3



Niche D

Fig. 30

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 94–98, Pl. 73–76 (nisza 4)
 LD III, Pl. 19 [1a-b]
 PM II², 367 [137]
 MMA photos T.2242–T.2244

West wall

34. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (erased) in front of an offering table with an offering list, before her Iunmutef → (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 95–96, Pls 74A, 76A (Iunmutef), 76B (offering list)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXLVI
 PM II², 367 [137b]

North wall

35. Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering a *dšrt* vase to Amun-Ra → (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 94–95, Pl. 73
 LD III, Pl. 1
 PM II², 367 [137c]

East wall

36. Enthroned Ah-mes → in front of an offering table with an offering list, before her Iunmutef ← (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 96–97, Pls 74B, 75A (titles of queen Ahmes), 75B (throne)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXLVII
 Rummel, Generating “Millions of Years”, 196, Fig. 3
 PM II², 366 [137a]

■ Fragment of a block with Iunmutef, Yale Peabody Museum of Natural History, New Haven YPM ANT 006782.001

Rummel, Generating “Millions of Years”, Fig. 3
 Scott III, Ancient Egyptian Art, 86 [43]
 Scott III, The Past Rediscovered, 21 [224]
 Van Siclen III, Queen Ahmose, 21–24 (referred to as 6781)



Niche E

Fig. 30

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 91–94, Pls 69–72 (nisza 5)
 Wysocki, The Discovery and Reintegration of Two Niches, 361–370, Figs 1–6, Pls I–IV

West wall

37. Enthroned Thutmose I ← in front of an offering table with an offering list, before him Iunmutef → (restored)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 92–93, Pls 70A, 71A (throne), 71B (Thutmose I), 72A (titulary of Thutmose I)

North wall

38. Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering a *bd* natron to Amun-Ra → (restored)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 91–92, Pl. 69

East wall

39. Enthroned Hatshepsut → (cartouche erased) in front of an offering table with an offering list, before her Iunmutef ← (restored)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 93–94, Pls 70B, 72B (head of Hatshepsut)

Fig. 30**Niche F**

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 88–91, Pls 66–68 (nisza 4)
PM II², 366 [135]

West wall

40. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose III) in front of an offering table with an offering list, before her Iunmutef → (restored)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 89–90, Pls 67A, 68A (Thutmose III)
PM II², 366 (135b)
MMA photo T.2240

North wall

41. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose III) offering incense (replaced with *nw* vases) and *bd* natron to Amun-Ra → (restored)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 88–89, Pl. 66
PM II², 366 (135c)
MMA photo T.2241

East wall

42. Enthroned Thutmose III → in front of an offering table with an offering list, before him Iunmutef ← (restored)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 90–91, Pls 67B, 68B (Thutmose III)
PM II², 366 (135a)

Vaulted ceiling

el-Naggar, *Les voûtes*. Planches, 35, Fig. 59b
MMA photos T.2664–T.2666

Osiride statues

Ćwiek, *Red, yellow and pink*, 24–26, 42, Fig. 13
Pawlicki, *Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998*, 122
Pawlicki, *The Worship of Queen Hatshepsut*, 51, Fig. 1
PM II², 373
Tefin, *La statue d'Hatshepsout*, 38–40, Pls VIIIa–IX
Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932)*, 16–17, 20 (reconstruction), Fig. 10
Winlock, *Excavations*, 217 (reconstruction)

■ Head of an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
31.3.153

Capart, *L'art égyptien II*, Pl. 301
 Pawlicki, *Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998*, 122
 Pawlicki, *The Worship of Queen Hatshepsut*, 51, Fig. 1
 PM II², 373
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 38–48, Pl. VIIIa
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932)*, 20, Fig. 11 [right]
 Winlock, *Excavations*, 217, 330, Pl. 56 [lower right]
 MMA photo M.12.C.221

■ Head of an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
31.3.154

PM II², 373
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 38–48, Pl. VIIIb
 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 300

■ Head of an Osiride statue of Hatshepsut, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
31.3.155

Capart, *L'art égyptien II*, Pl. 300
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 159, Fig. 64
 Pawlicki, *Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998*, 122
 Pawlicki, *The Worship of Queen Hatshepsut*, 51, Fig. 1
 PM II², 373
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 38–48, Pl. IX
 Vandier, *Manuel III*, 300, Pl. 97.7
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XXIII
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932)*, Fig. 11 [lewo], 20
 Winlock, *Egyptian Statues and Statuettes*, Pl. 13
 Winlock, *Excavations*, Pl. 56 [lower left], 217
 MMA photo M.5.C.217

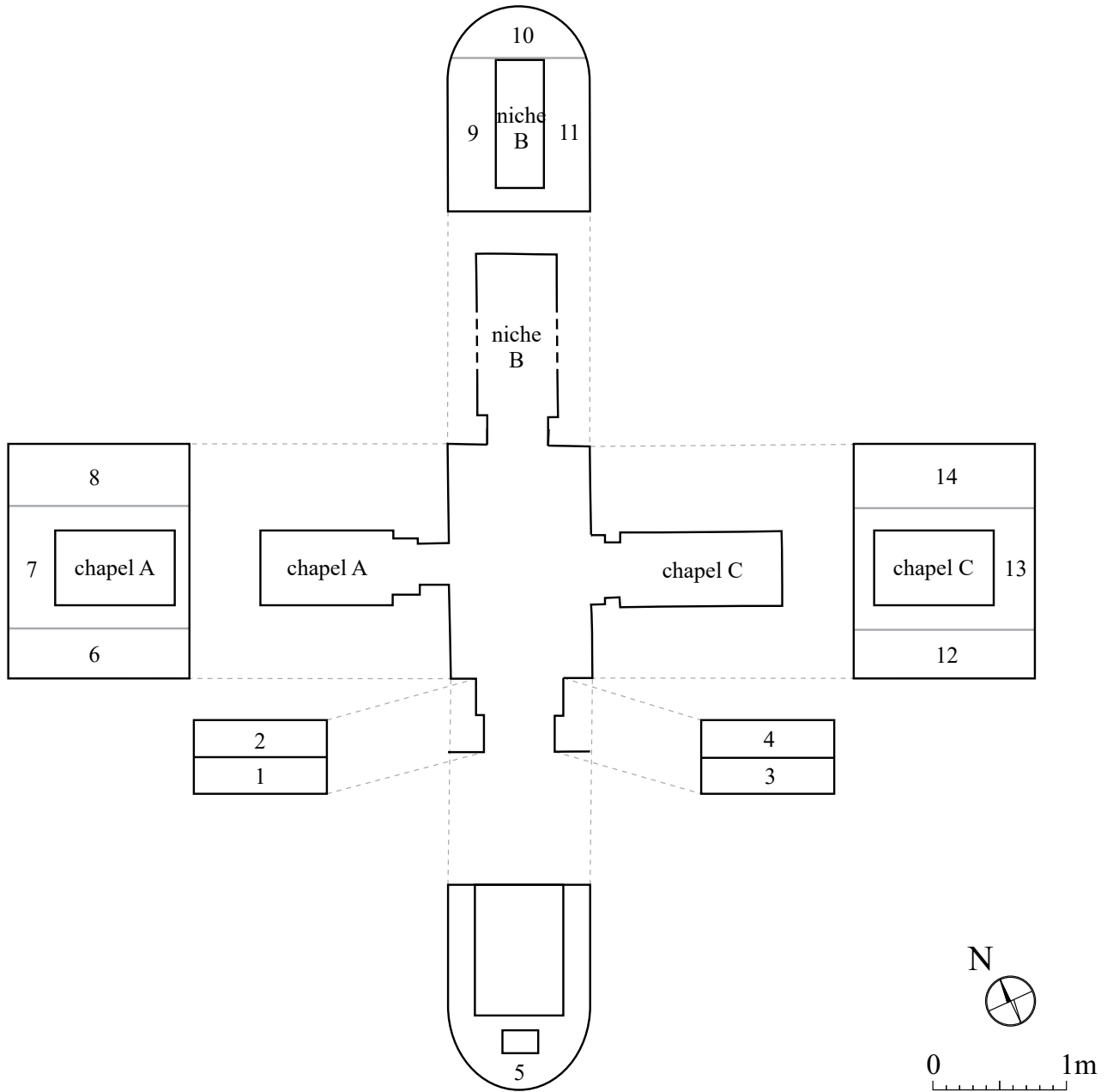


Fig. 31. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Main Sanctuary of Amun, Statue Room (based on plan made by T. Dziejdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Statue Room**Fig. 31**

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, 172–173
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 144–145
 Osing, Zum Kultbildritual, 322, Fig. 2A-B
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998, 124–127
 PM II², 367 [138–141] (Room XI)

Entrance**South reveal**

1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)
2. Personification of *Gmt-ꜣḥt* foundation bringing offerings

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXIX [left]
 Pawlicki, Conservation and Preservation Project 1995/1996, 64 (named *Dsr-ꜣḥt*)
 PM II², 367 [138c]

North reveal

3. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)
4. Personification of *Gmt-ꜣḥt* foundation bringing offerings

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXIX [right]
 Pawlicki, Conservation and Preservation Project 1995/1996, 64 (named *Dsr-ꜣḥt*)
 PM II², 367 [138d]

no frieze

East wall

5. Tympanum: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and window

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 111, Fig. 107

**South wall**

6. Hatshepsut → (cartouche erased) offering *sntr* to Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 37, Fig. 7
 Gilbert, Le sens des portraits intacts, 220, Fig. 17
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 68, Fig. 58 (face of Hatshepsut)
 PM II², 367 [139]
 Sankiewicz, The iconography of co-rule at Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 1 [left]
 Szafrński, Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, 102 [upper] (head of Hatshepsut)
 MMA photo T.1838

7. Door frame of Niche A: royal titulary of Hatshepsut

8. Hatshepsut → (cartouche erased) purifying Amun-Ra ← (restored) with *mw nmst*

Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 39, Fig. 9
 Gilbert, Le sens des portraits intacts, 220, Fig. 18
 PM II², 367 [140]
 Sankiewicz, The iconography of co-rule at Deir el-Bahari, Figs 2 [left], 4 [detail of the skirt]
 MMA photo T.1840

no frieze

West wall

Barwik, Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple, Fig. 1
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 53 (Doc. 33A)
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 36, Fig. 60
 Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari. The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut 1997/1998, 126, Fig. 5

9. Hatshepsut → (erased) with the *mks* staff and *ḥd* mace

Barwik, Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple, Fig. 1
 Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 42, Fig. 12

10. Tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut ← (erased) in the middle and two enthroned Amun-Ras → ← (restored) on both its sides

Barwik, Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple, Fig. 1

11. Hatshepsut ← (erased) with the *mks* staff and *ḥd* mace

Barwik, Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple, Fig. 1
 Karkowski, Winnicki, Amenhotep, Son of Hapu and Imhotep, 96, Fig. 1 (scene above Hatshepsut)

**North wall**

12. Thutmose III ← offering *bd* natron to Amun-Ra → (not represented)

Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 38, Fig. 8
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 46–47, Figs 38, 40
 PM II², 367 [141]
 Sankiewicz, The iconography of co-rule at Deir el-Bahari, Fig. 1 [right]
 MMA photo T.1843

13. Door frame of Niche C, jambs: dedicatory inscription; lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

14. Thutmose III ← purifying Amun → (restored) with *mw dšrt*

Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 40, Fig. 10
 PM II², 367 [142]
 Sankiewicz, The iconography of co-rule at Deir el-Bahari, Figs 2 [right], 3 [detail of the skirt]
 MMA photo T.1841

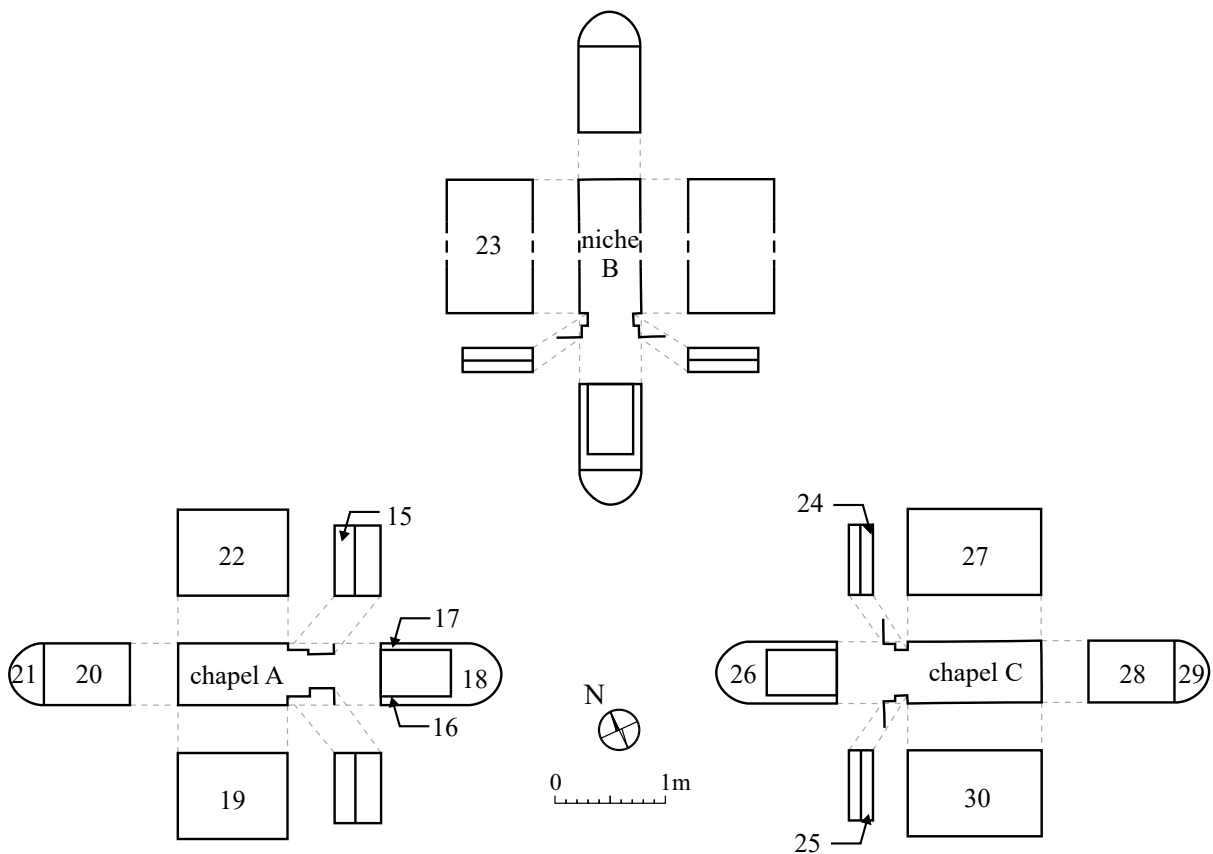


Fig. 32. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Main Sanctuary of Amun, Statue Room (based on plan made by T. Dziejdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Chapel A**Fig. 32**

PM II², 367 [143] (Side-room XII)
MMA photos T.1839, T.2224–T.2229

Entrance**West reveal**

15. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

no frieze

North wall

16. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

17. Door frame, tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut ← (erased) in the middle and two Amun-Ras → ← (restored)

Szafranski, *The Exceptional Creativity of Hatshepsut*, 136–137, Fig. 7.15

18. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

**East wall**

19. Thutmose III → in front of an offering table before Iunyt ←, Atum ← (both restored) and *ka* of Hatshepsut ← (standard)

PM II², 367 [143c]
Lepsius MSS 239 [lower], 242 [upper] (description, details and name of Iunyt)

no frieze

South wall

20. Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) offering *nw* vases to Amun → (name unpreserved, restored)

PM II², 367 [143e]

21. Tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut (erased) between two heraldic plants

**West wall**

22. Hatshepsut (cartouche replaced with 'ḏ-[...]-R') in front of an offering table before Horus → (restored), Hathor → (name unpreserved, restored), Tjenenet → (restored)

PM II², 367 [143d]

frieze un-preserved

Niche B

Barwik, *Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 1–12
Pawlicki, *Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 1998/1999, 163, Figs 8, 164 (earlier idea)

East wall

23. Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose I or II) with the *mks* staff and *ḥd* mace presenting offerings to enthroned Amun (not preserved)

Fig. 32

Ćwiek, Red, yellow and pink, 41, Fig. 11
Barwik, Sanctuary of the Hatshepsut Temple, Fig. 7

West wall (not preserved)

North wall (not preserved)

Chapel C

Fig. 32

Pawlicki, Deir el-Bahari: the Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, 1998/1999, 163
PM II², 367 [144f] (Side-Room XIII)
MMA photos T.1841–T.1843, T.2230–T.2238

Entrance

West reveal

24. Hatshepsut (erased, traces of original decoration)

East reveal

25. Thutmose III (erased, traces of original decoration)

no frieze

South wall

26. Door frame, tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut → (erased) in the middle and two Amun-Ras → ← (restored)



West wall

27. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with '3-[...]-R') in front of an offering table before Geb ← (restored), Nut ← (restored) and two other gods ← (unpreserved)

PM II², 367 [144e]

no frieze

North wall

28. Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering *nw*-vase and incense to Montu → (restored) and Atum → (restored)

29. Tympanum, west side: kneeling Hatshepsut → (erased) offering the *nw* vase to Atum ← (restored); east side: kneeling Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering the *nw* vase to Amun-Ra → (restored)



East wall

30. Thutmose III ← in front of an offering table before Osiris → (restored), Isis → (restored), Sokar → (unpreserved) and Nephthys → (restored)

PM II², 367 [144f]

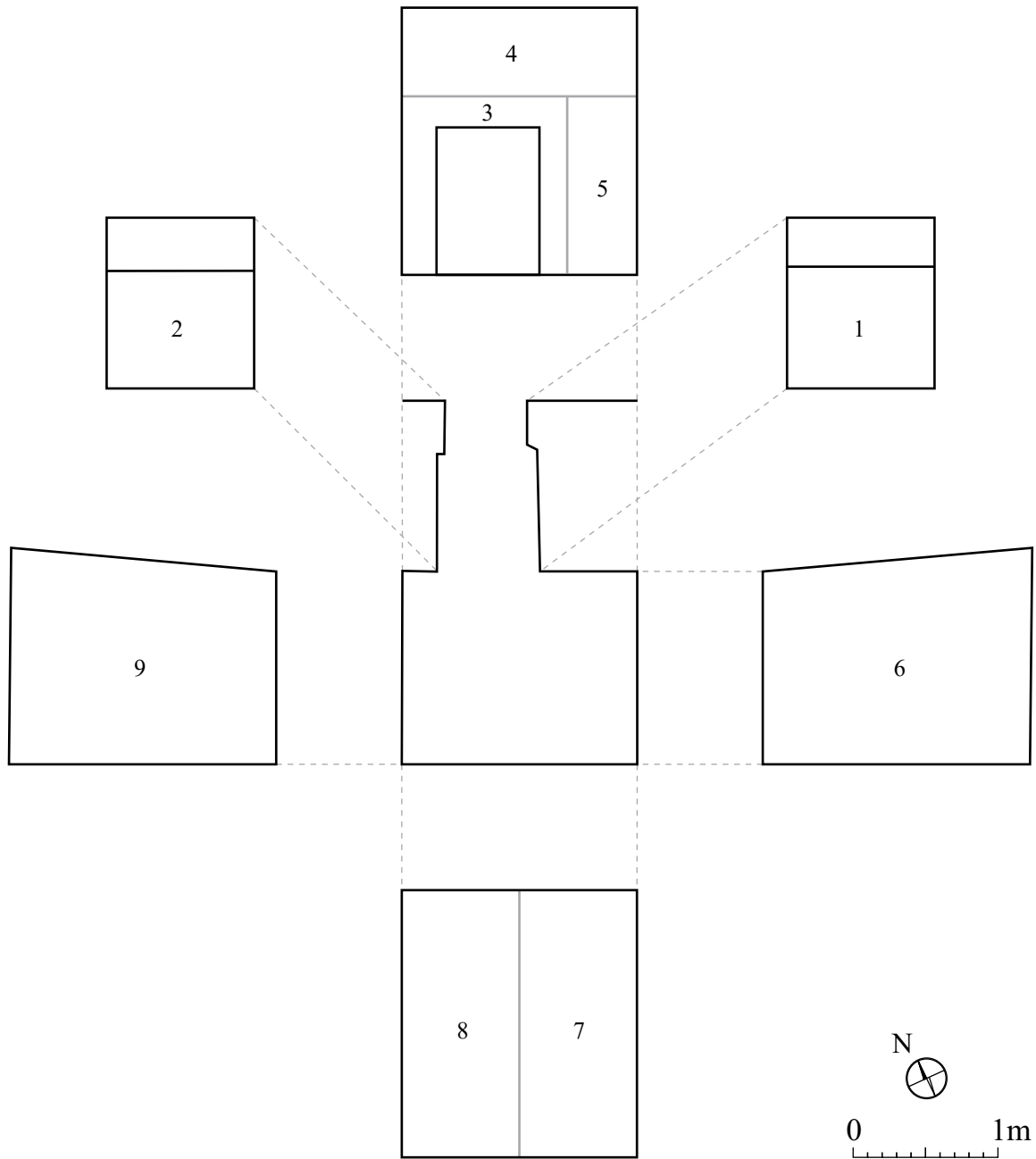
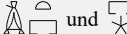



Fig. 33. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Southern Chamber of Amun (based on plan made by T. Dziejczak; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Southern Chamber of Amun

Fig. 33

Kees,  und , 1, n. 3
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 95–97
 PM II², 361–362 [108–111] (Storeroom V)
 Uchman-Laskowska, Conservation and Restoration of Wall Painting, 285–296

Entrance

East reveal

1. Standing Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

West reveal

2. Standing Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Bedman, Valentin, Hatshepsut, 221
 Bedman, Valentin, Sen-en-mut, 116
 Hayes, Varia, 81, Fig. 1 [M], 82
 PM II², 361 [108a]



North wall

3. Door frame, west part: royal titulary of Thutmose III; east part: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II)

Champollion, Notices I, 574 [lower] (lintel)
 PM II², 361 [108b]

4. Oils, oil vases and chests for textiles

Kapiec, Decoration of the Two Chests from the Frieze of Objects, 95–110 (chests)
 PM II², 361 [108c]
 Hay MSS 29827, 59

5. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) embraced by Amunet ← (restored)

Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 47, Fig. 72
 PM II², 361 [108d]



East wall

6. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) followed by her *ka* → (in human form, *serekh* replaced with Thutmose II) offering vases of *jbr* oil to ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Bedman, Valentin, Sen-en-mut, 104
 Guimet, Les âmes égyptiennes, 14–16, Fig. 6
 Karkowski, Deir el-Bahari – Świątynia Hatshepsut. Prace egiptologiczne, Fig. 7 (face of Hatshepsut)
 LD III, Pl. 21 [right] (king ang *ka*)
 LD III Text, 110 [a, β] (*ka* and text of the king)
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 47, Fig. 68 (face of Hatshepsut)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXI
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 9, Fig. 3

PM II², 361 [109]

Uchman-Laskowska, Conservation and Restoration of Wall Painting, 286, Fig. 5 (Hatshepsut and her *ka*)
MMA photos T.2264–T.2268



South wall

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXIII

PM II², 362 [111]

MMA photos T.2269–T.2274

7. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose I) offering the *mnht* cloth to Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 136, Fig. 18

Lagier, A travers la Haute Égypte, Fig. 40 (Hatshepsut)

LD III Text, 111 [upper] (replaced cartouches)

Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 47–48, Fig. 70

Petrie, Arts and Crafts, Fig. 60

Roth, Erasing a Reign, 278, Fig. 98

Uchman-Laskowska, Conservation and Restoration of Wall Painting, 286, Figs 1, 2 (face of Amun), 4 (face of Hatshepsut)

8. Thutmose III ← offering the *mnht* cloth to Amun-Ra → (restored)

Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 49, 53, Fig. 71



West wall

9. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with offerings) followed by her *ka* ← (in human form, *serekh* replaced with Thutmose II) offering vases of *stj hb* and *hkwn* oils to ityphallic Amun-Ra → (restored)

LD III Text, 111 [middle] (name of Amun)

Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 49, Fig. 74

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXXII

PM II², 362 [110]

Roth, Erasing a Reign, 278, Fig. 97

Uchman-Laskowska, Conservation and Restoration of Wall Painting, Fig. 3 (face of the royal *ka*)

Lepsius MSS 233 [middle] (*serekh* above *ka*)

MMA photos T.2275–T.2278

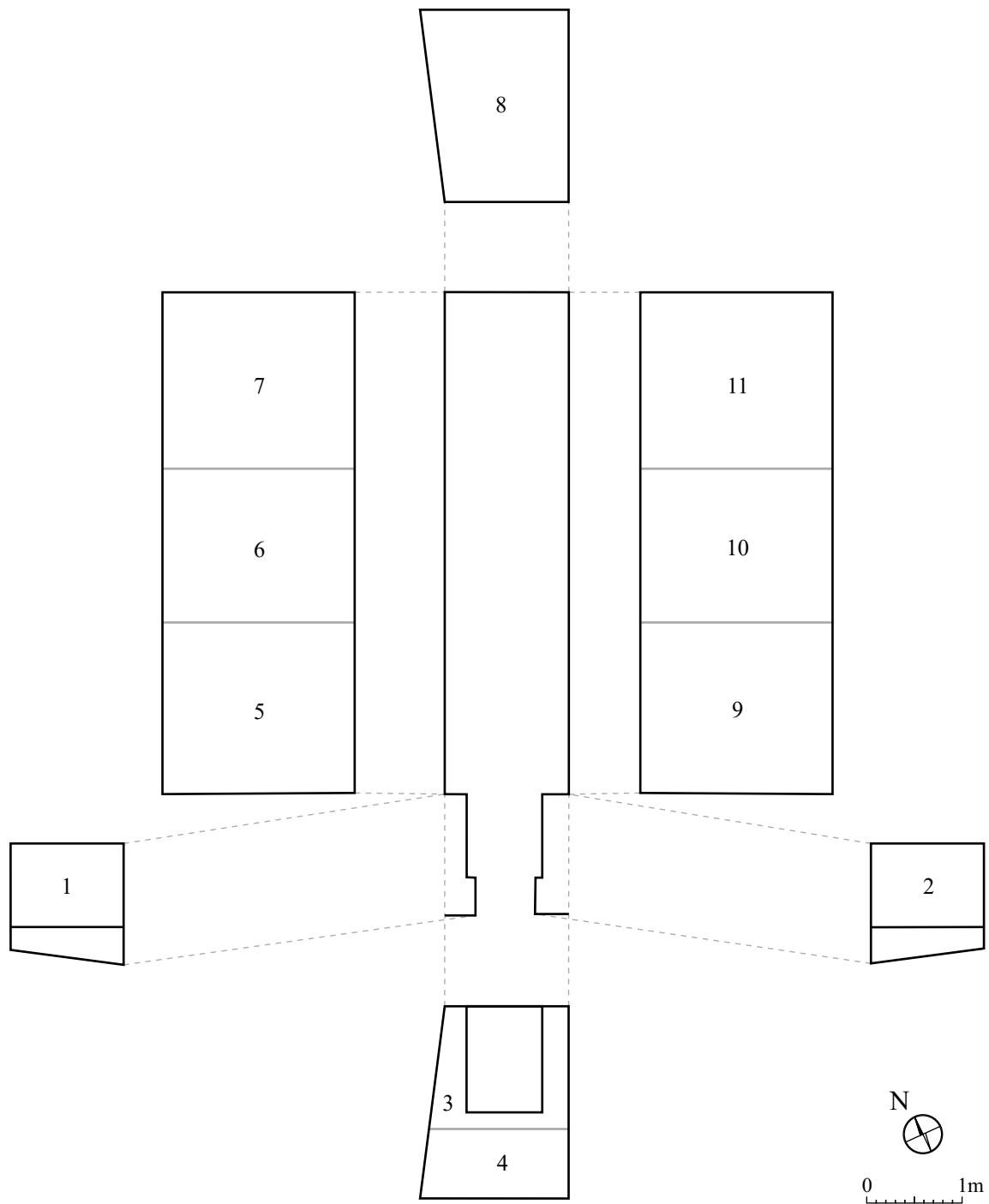


Fig. 34. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Northern Chamber of Amun (based on plan made by T. Dziejczak; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Northern Chamber of Amun**Fig. 34**

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 92–95
PM II², 363–364 [123–126]

Entrance**West reveal**

1. Sen-en-mut → (erased) and decree of Hatshepsut

Hayes, *Varia*, 80–84, Figs 2–3
Höber-Kamel, *Hatshepsut*, 19
PM II², 363 [123a]
Urk. IV, 278 (speech of Amun)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 128 (speech of Amun)
MMA photo M.10.C.50

East reveal

2. Sen-en-mut ← (erased) and decree of Hatshepsut

PM II², 363 [123b]

**South wall**

3. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XVII
Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 77, Fig. 65
PM II², 363 [123c-d]
MMA photos T.2279–T.2281

4. Hatshepsut → (erased) followed by her *ka* (standard) in front of an offering table before Amun ← (name unpreserved, restored)

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 93, Fig. 86

**West wall**

PM II², 363 [124]

5. Hatshepsut → (erased) running with *hpt* instrument and oar before Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XIX
PM II², 363 [124.1]
Urk. IV, 275 (88) b 4, 279–280 (89) d (text)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 126, 128 (text)

6. Hatshepsut → (erased) offering a loaf of bread to ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XX
PM II², 363 [124.2]

7. Thutmose III → presenting offerings to enthroned Amun-Ra (restored) ←

Hall, Head of a Monarch, 134 (head of Thutmose III), Pl. XXX [3]
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. XXI
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 94, Fig. 88 (Thutmose III)
 PM II², 124 [3]
Urk. IV, 292 (93) a (text of Amun)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 133 (text of Amun)



North wall

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. XVIII
 PM II², 364 [126]

8. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with Thutmose II) embraced by ityphallic Amun-Ra → (restored)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. XVIII
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 95, Fig. 89
 PM II², 364 [126]
Urk. IV, 278–279 (89) c (text of Amun)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 128 (text of Amun)
 MMA photos T. 2282–T.2284



East wall

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pls XXII–XXIV
 PM II², 363–364 [125]

9. Hatshepsut ← (erased) running with the *hs* vase before Amun-Ra → (restored)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. XXII
 PM II², 363–364 [125.1]
Urk. IV, 276 (88), b 14, 297 (95) A (text)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 127, 135 (text)

10. Thutmose III ← offering incense to ityphallic Amun-Ra → (restored)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. XXIII
 PM II², 363–364 [125.2]

11. Hatshepsut ← (erased) with the *mks* staff and *hḏ* mace presenting offerings to enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. XXIV
 PM II², 363–364 [125.3]
Urk. IV, 298 (95) c (text of Amun)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 135–136 (text of Amun)

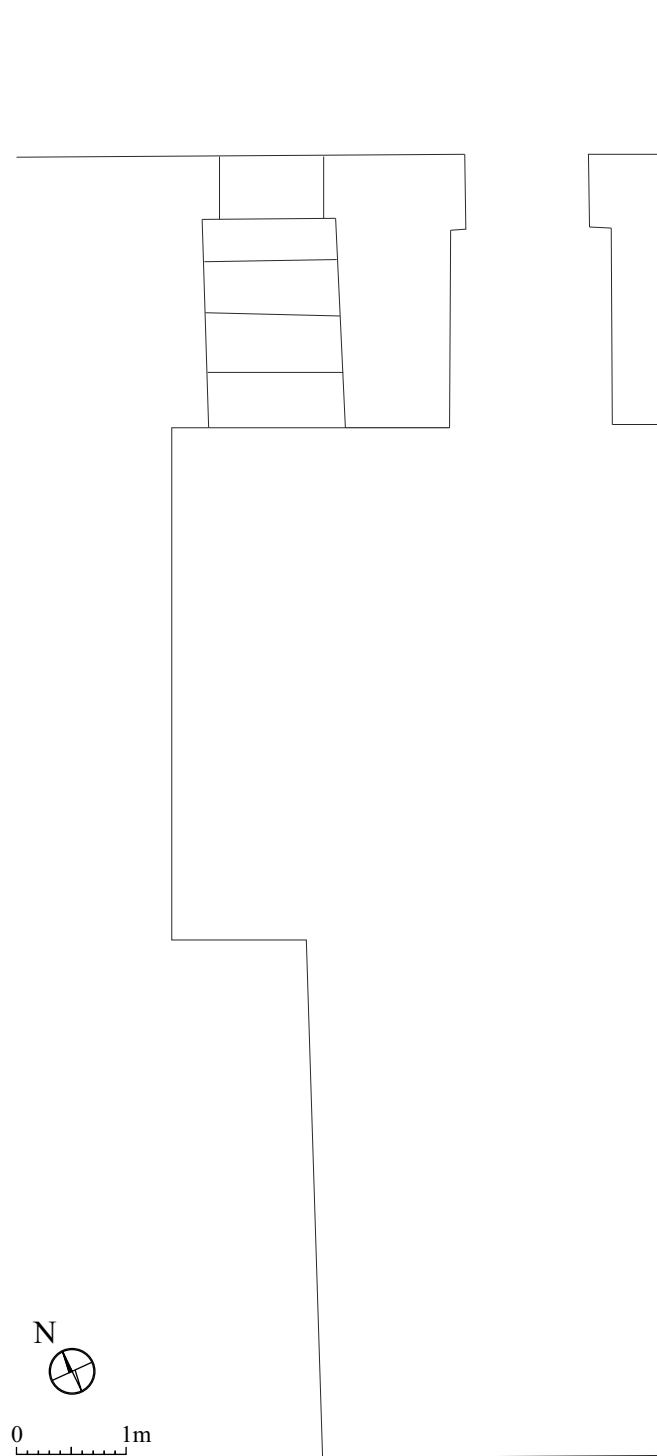


Fig. 35. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Room with the Window (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Room with the Window**Fig. 35**

Arnold Di., Erscheinungsfenster, 14
Arnold Di., The encyclopedia, 258
Białostocka, Palace or Slaughterhouse?, 37–60
Haeny, New Kingdom « Mortuary Temples », 95
Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 71, 92
Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 134
Space, The Palaces of el-Amarna, 172
Stadelmann, Tempelpalast und Erscheinungsfenster, 223
Vomberg, Das Erscheinungsfenster, 250–252
Wysocki, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. 1
Wysocki, The Raising of the Structure, 247, Pls 44c, 45b-c

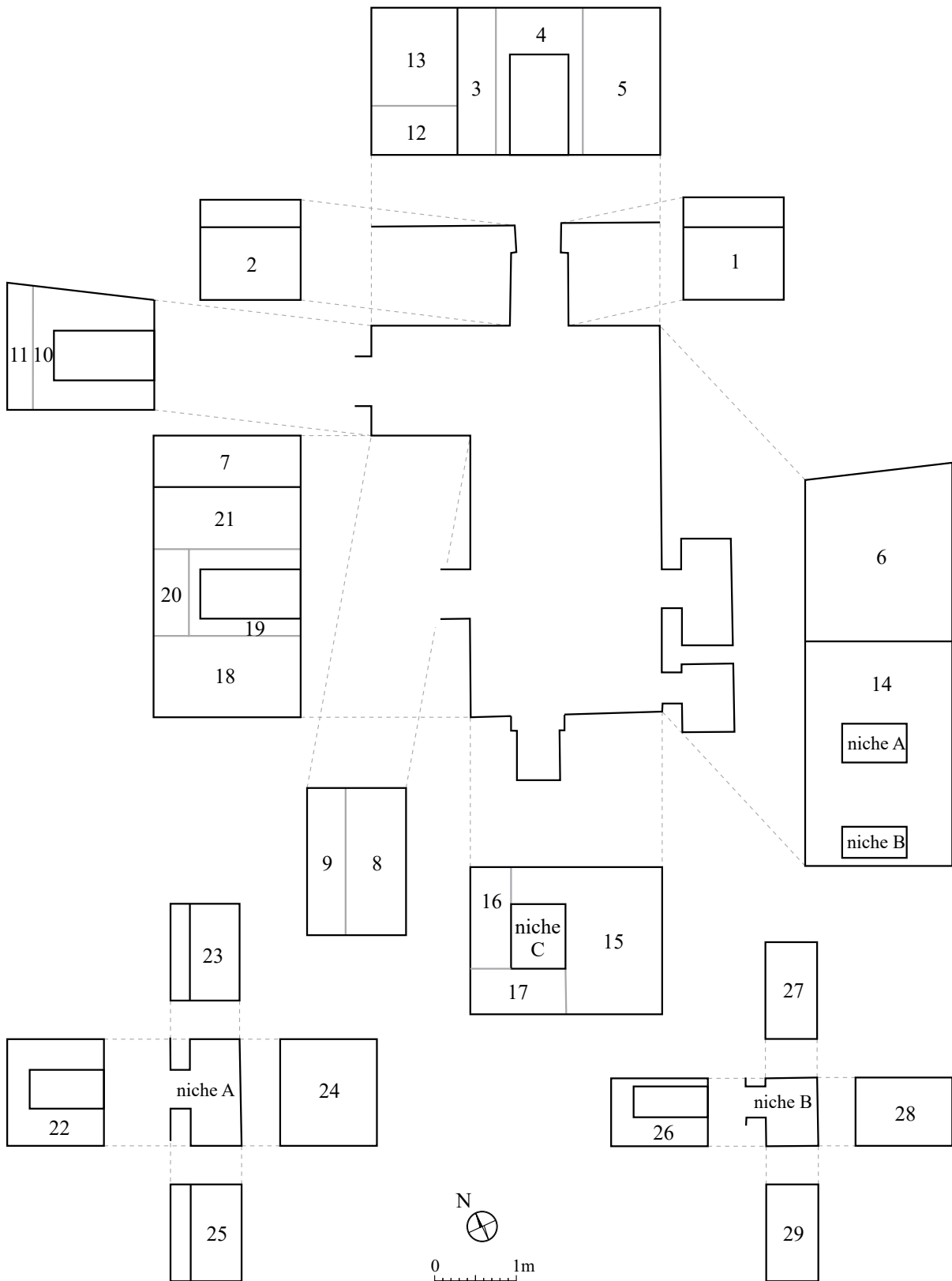


Fig. 36. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Complex of the Royal Cult, Courtyard of the Complex of the Royal Cult, Vestibule of the Chapel of Thutmose I, and Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Complex of the Royal Cult

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 13–24
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 146–153, Figs 26–28
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 124–132
 PM II², 359–361 [86–107]

Entrance

East reveal

1. Amun → (name unpreserved, restored) leading the king → (name unpreserved) accompanied by Hathor → (restored)

Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple: Conservation Project 1993/1994, 54–55, Fig. 1
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 124, Fig. 116
 PM II², 359 [86a]

West reveal

2. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 124

Courtyard of the Complex of the Royal Cult

Fig. 36

Białostocka, Courtyard, 269–272
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 147

frieze un-
preserved

North wall

3. King → (name unpreserved) before deity ← (name unpreserved)

PM II², 359 [87]

4. Door frame: royal titulary

PM II², 359 [86b-c]

5. King ← (name unpreserved) between two deities → ← (names unpreserved, restored)

PM II², 359 [88]

frieze un-
preserved

East wall

6. Procession of nome personifications → (four registers)

Białostocka, Palace or Slaughterhouse?, 19–36
 Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 15, Fig. 4, 7
 Białostocka, Courtyard, Fig. 2 (7th–9th Lower Egyptian nomes)
 Binder-Hagelstange, Ägypten, Fig. on p. 538 [b] (personifications)
 Capart, Thèbes, Fig. 91
 Collombert, Des pehou en Haute Égypte, 995
 Gazda, Conservation Work (2009), Fig. 1
 Jequier, L'Architecture I, Pl. 40 [j] (Heliopolitan nome)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXVIII, 5 (personifications)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 126, Fig. 118
 Szafranski, Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Seasons 2008/2009 and 2009/2010, Fig. 2A

PM II², 359 [89]
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, 100–101
 Arch. Lacau phot. B. II, b

frieze un-
 preserved

West wall

7. Text

Vestibule of the Chapel of Thutmose I

Fig. 36

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 148–149
 Kopp, Reconstruction Work, 273–277
 PM II², 361 [102–103]

frieze un-
 preserved

South wall

8. Procession of gods → (restored) in two registers

PM II², 361 [102]

9. Divinity → (name unpreserved) holding vases

frieze un-
 preserved

West wall

10. Door frame, jambs: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased) and name of the gate; lintel:
 royal titulary of Thutmose I

Grothoff, Die Tornamen, 213, 215 (name of the gate)
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, Fig. 11
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, 6
 PM II², 361 [104]

11. Enthroned Thutmose I → ← twice in the double pavilion, before him on each side
 a king (unpreserved)

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 15–16, Figs 5–6
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 101–103, Fig. 10–11

frieze un-
 preserved

North wall

Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 125, Fig. 117
 PM II², 361 [103]

12. Procession of seasons and months personifications ← in lower register

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 14
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 148
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, Fig. 117

13. Procession of fecundity figures personifying *phww* ← (restored) in three registers

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 14, Fig. 3
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 149
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, Fig. 117

Architrave

Karkowski, The Arrangement of the Architraves, 150–151, Fig. 8

Vestibule of the Chapel of Hatshepsut

Fig. 36

frieze un-
preserved

East wall

14. Procession of nome personifications → (restored) in six registers

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 14
Kopp, Reconstruction Work, 276
PM II², 359 [90]
Szafranski, Barwik, Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Season 2005/2006, Pls XV (location of blocks), XVI–XVII (blocks)



South wall

Kopp, Reconstruction Work, Fig. 1 (block)
Pawlicki, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 1992 Season, 88, Fig. 1
Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple: Conservation Project 1993/1994, 58–59, Fig. 2

Lower register

15. Hatshepsut ← (replaced) followed by her *ka* ← (replaced with a text) meeting procession of gods → (restored) in three registers

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 14, Fig. 2
Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 146–147
Kopp, Reconstruction Work, 276
Pawlicki, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 1992 Season, 88, Fig. 1
Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple: Conservation Project 1993/1994, 58, Fig. 2
PM II², 359 [91.2]

16. King ← (name unpreserved) embraced by Hathor →

Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple: Conservation Project 1993/1994, Fig. 2
Kopp, Reconstruction Work, 274

Upper register

17. Hatshepsut ← (erased) and Thutmose III ← in the pavilion

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 146
Kopp, Reconstruction Work, 273, 274
Pawlicki, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 1992 Season, 1994, Fig. 1
Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple: Conservation Project 1993/1994, 59

frieze un-
preserved

West wall

18 Procession of gods → (restored) in six registers

Kopp, Reconstruction Work, 276
PM II², 359 [92–93]

19. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II) and name of the gate

Arnaudès-Montélimard Emmanuelle, L'arche en granit de Thoutmosis III, 151 (name of the gate)
 Grothoff, Die Tornamen, 213, 215 (name of the gate)
 PM II², 359 [96]
 Sethe, Das Hatshepsut-Problem, 48, Fig. 17 (name of the gate from south jamb)

20. Enthroned Hatshepsut → (north, name unpreserved) and Thutmose III ← (south) in double pavilion, before them two palm fronds of millions of years on each side and gods on standards

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 15–16
 Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 103–108, Fig. 12

21. Procession of gods ← (restored) in six registers

Białostocka, Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex, 14
 Kopp, Reconstruction Work, 276

Niche A

Fig. 36

Janssen, Die Inschriften der Nische der Sieben Kühe, 86–92
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 146–147
 PM II², 359 [94]
 MMA photos T.2388–T.2392 (without scene above the door)



West wall

22. Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 147 (described as represented on the east wall)
 PM II², 359 [94a-b]



North wall

23. Hatshepsut → (erased) followed by her *ka* → (in human form) in front of an offering table

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 147



East wall

24. Seven celestial cows and bull ← → in two registers

Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXIV [middle] (bull and three cows)
 Karkowski, Hatshepsut's Temple at Deir el-Bahari, 10, Fig. 3
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 147 (described as represented on the west wall), Fig. 26
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 126–127
 PM II², 359 [94e]
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 255
 Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut Season 2005/2006, 273, Fig. 4
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XXV (cow)



South wall

25. Hatshepsut ← (erased) followed by her *ka* ← (in human form) in front of an offering table

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 147

Fig. 36

Niche B

Caban, *The niches of the Vestibule*, 76–82
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 147
 PM II², 359 [95]
 MMA photos T.2393–T.2397

**West wall**

26. Text on both sides of the door

PM II², 359 [95a]

**North wall**

27. Hatshepsut → (erased) followed by her *ka* → (in human form) in front of an offering table

Caban, *The niches of the Vestibule*, Fig. 2
 PM II², 359 [95b]

**East wall**

28. Eight mummiform deities → ←

Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 147–148 (in English version nine deities mentioned)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V*, Pl. CXXVII
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 127–128
 PM II², 359 [95d]

**South wall**

29. Hatshepsut ← (erased) followed by her *ka* ← (in human form) in front of an offering table

PM II², 359 [95c]

frieze un-
preserved

Niche C

Białostocka, *Hatshepsut's regeneration in the Royal Cult Complex*, 22, Fig. 2
 Karkowski, *Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe*, 105, n. 54
 Pawlicki, *Hatshepsut Temple: Conservation Project 1993/1994*, 59, Fig. 2

30. Only small feet entering the niche from one of the side walls preserved

Kopp, *Reconstruction Work*, 276

Architraves

Karkowski, *The Arrangement of the Architraves*, 151, Figs 8, 9 (plan)

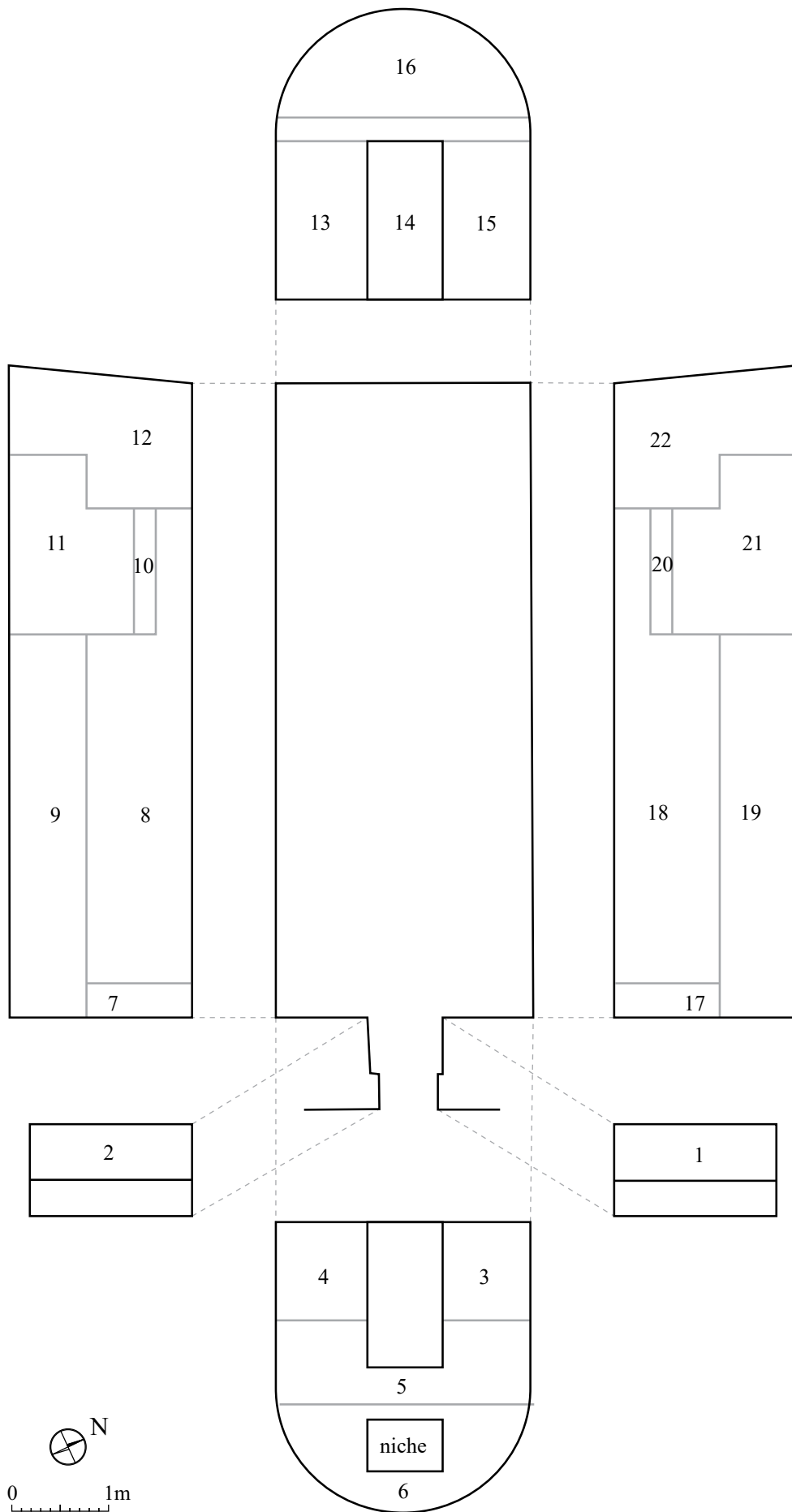


Fig. 37. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Complex of the Royal Cult, Chapel of Hatshepsut (based on plan made by T. Dziejczak; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Chapel of Hatshepsut

Fig. 37

Arnold Di., *Pharaonic Stone Masonry*, 189, Fig. 4.123 (section through the ceiling)
 Budzanowski, *Sitting Statues of Hatshepsut*, Pl. 2, Fig. 2
 Description de l'Égypte II, Pl. 39 [6-8], Texte II, 344–346; X, 56–157 (plan and section)
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 151–152
 el-Naggar, *Les vouîtes*. Texte, 53–54 (Doc. 33B)
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 128–131, Fig. 119
 PM II², 359–561 [96–101]
 Archive de Maurice Pillet, *Maison de l'Orient et de la Méditerranée B032-06*

Entrance

North reveal

1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

South reveal

2. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)



East wall

3. Butchery scenes →

Barwik, A “ghost” fragment from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, 44–48, Figs 2–3
 Capart, *L'art égyptien III*, Pl. 507
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. XXX (inaccurate)
 Jéquier, *L'Architecture I*, Pl. 40 [3] (incomplete)
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 78, Fig. 67 (north part of the wall)
 Pischikova, *Reliefs from the Tomb of the Vizier Nespakashuty*, Fig. 23a
 PM II², 359–360 [98]
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XXVII

4. Butchery scenes ←

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, 7, Pl. CVII
 PM II², 359–360 [97]
 Szafranski (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 226

5. Offerings ←

Barwik, A “ghost” fragment from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, 44–48, Figs 2–3
 PM II², 359–360 [97–98]

6. Tympanum: Hatshepsut → (erased) kneeling before personification of the twelfth hour of the night ← (erased) on the left; day bark of the sun god with Hatshepsut → (erased) and Isis → (erased) before Ra-Harakhty ← and Maat ← (restored) in the middle, Hatshepsut ← (erased) kneeling before personification of the first hour of the day → (erased) on the right

Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, 356–357, Fig. 8
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, Pl. 81A (solar bark)

Niche

Karkowski, *Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe*, 107, Fig. 13 (section C-C)

Fig. 37

South wall

Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls XXIII–XXV (incomplete, some offering bearers are from the north wall)
 Hoyningen-Huene, Steindorff, *Egypt*, (1943) Pl. on p. 84; (1945), Pl. on p. 90 (west part)
 Mazar, Avi-Yonah, Malamat (Eds), *Views III*, Pl. 262
 Naville, *Introductory Memoir*, Pl. VI (part)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, 7–8, Pls CVIII–CX
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XXVIII
 Devéria squeezes, E. 6170, B. 3-24
 MMA photos T.601–T.604

7. Iunmutef (restored) →

PM II², 360 (99)
 Rummel, *Pfeiler seiner Mutter II*, cat. no. 9

8. Offering bearers in three registers →

Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, Pl. 20
 Breasted, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 255
 Capart, *L'art égyptien III*, Pl. 506
 Duemichen, *Resultate*, Pl. LIV [lower, a-c]
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls XXXIV–XXXVII
 Farina, *La Pittura egiziana*, Pl. LII
 Hamann, *Ägyptische Kunst*, Figs 227–229 [middle part]
 Lange, *Lebensbilder aus der Pharaonenzeit*, Pls 57, 59
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pls CVIII–CX, CXVIII (crane, painted by H. Carter)
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 129, Fig. 121
 Petrie, *History II*, Fig. 41
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on pp. 251, 252 (offering bearer with a crane)
 Stupko, *Cranes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut*, 158–163, Figs 1–4
 Szafrński, *Temple of Hatshepsut and Activity*, Pl. 69.5 (offering bearer with three vessels)
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XXX (priest with foreleg)

9. Offerings in three registers →

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pl. CIX
 PM II², 360 [99]
 Stupko, *Cranes in the Chapel of Hatshepsut*, 157–178
 Stupko-Lubezyńska, *Inscribed Vessels*, Figs 2a-b, 3c (erased vessels), 6b (cartouches in the offering list)

10. Priests performing ritual acts →

Capart, *Thèbes*, Fig. 191 (lector priest)
 Capart, *Schoonheidsschatten uit Oud-Egypte*, Fig. 21
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls XXXIV–XXXVII
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 149–151
 Milne, *The Sanatorium*, Pl. XIII [2] facing p. 97 (two priests)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pls CIX–CX
 PM II², 360 [99]
 Werbrouck, *Le cirque*, 14, Fig. 10

11. Offering list →

Ćwiek, *Ha in Sheta*, 88–89, Fig. 5 (name of god Ha)
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls XXXV–XXXVII
 Duemichen, *Der Grabpalast des Patuamenap I*, Pl. XVIII–XXVI [m]
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 150–151
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pls CIX–CX
 PM II², 360 [99]

12. Enthroned Hatshepsut ← (erased) followed by her striding *ka* ← (erased), under the throne a *smꜣ tꜣwꜣ* scene performed by two fecundity figures → ←

Baines, *Fecundity Figures*, Figs 23, 55 (fecundity figures)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pl. CX
 PM II², 360 [99]



West wall

Jéquier, *L'Architecture I*, Pl. 36 [2]
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 150, Fig. 27
 Naggar, *Études préliminaires d'un ciel voûte*, Fig. 18a
 el-Naggar, *Les voûtes. Planches*, 36, Fig. 61a-b
 Paribeni, *Architettura*, 136, Fig. 115
 Pillet, *Thèbes*, Fig. 32
 PM II², 360 [101]
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on p. 224
 Werbrouck, *Le Temple d'Hatshepsout*, Pl. XXVI
 Winlock, *Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I*, 57, Pl. XII
 MMA photo T.699

13. Vignette and text of Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead →

Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 149
 PM II², 360 [101]

14. False door of Hatshepsut (decoration almost completely erased)

PM II², 360 [101]

15. Vignette and text of Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead ←

Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 149
 PM II², 360 [101]

16. Tympanum: Hatshepsut → (erased) kneeling before personification of the twelfth hour of the day ← (erased) on the left; night bark of the sun god with Hatshepsut → (erased) and Nephthys → (erased) before Atum ← and Maat ← (both restored) in the middle; Hatshepsut ← (erased) kneeling before personification of the first hour of the night → (erased) on the right

Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pl. XXXV [upper]
 Duemichen, *Resultate*, Pl. 17
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, Pl. 81B (solar bark)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pl. CXXV
 PM II², 360 [101]
 Szafrński (Ed.), *Queen Hatshepsut*, Fig. on pp. 233 and 243 (detail)

North wall

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV*, Pls CXI–CXIII
 Cast of the fragment of the scene, National Museum of Scotland, Edinburgh A.1951.3

17. Thoth ← (restored)

18. Offering bearers ←

Baikie, *A Century of Excavation*, Pl. 11
 Bissing, *Einführung in die Geschichte der ägyptischen Kunst*, Pl. VIII [2, 1] (man with a crane)
 Duemichen, *Historische Inschriften II*, Pls XXVI–XXIX (some offering bearers are from the south wall), LXIII [left] (man with a crane), LXII [upper right], LXIII [right] (gazelle and a man with an oryx)
 Carlier, *Thèbes*, Pls 64–67 (men with an oryx, geese, a calf and a gazelle)
 Duemichen, *Resultate*, Pl. 18
 Farina, *La Pittura egiziana*, Pl. XLIX
 Fol, *Catalogue du Musée Fol*, 281 [1304]

Jéquier, L'Architecture I, Pls 39, 40 [4] (three men with a crane)
 Lange, Ägyptische Kunst, Pl. 59 (man with a goose)
 Mekhitarian, Introduction à l'Égypte, Fig. on p. 93 (calf), Fig. on p. 94 (geese)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CXI–CXII, CXVII (man with a crane, painted by H. Carter)
 Pischikova, Reliefs from the Tomb of the Vizier Nespakashuty, Fig. 16b
 PM II², 360 [100]
 Szafranski (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 253 (man with a crane)
 Rachewiltz, Incontro con l'arte egiziana, 41, Pl. 26
 Schüz, Vögel der Pharaonen, Fig. on p. 370 (upper part)
 Stupko-Lubezyńska, Inscribed Vessels, Figs 1a-b, 3a-b (erased vessels), 6a (cartouches in the offering list)
 Werbrouck, Le cirque, 14, Pl. VI (two men with a goose)
 Devéria squeezes, E. 6170, B. 3–24
 MMA photos T.597–T.600, T.1124

■ Block with procession of offering bearers, Museo Egizio di Firenze, Florence 7611

Bosticco, Rilievo inedito, 19–22, Pl. VIII, Fig. 1
 PM II², 360

■ Block with offering bearer, Musée d'art et histoire de Genève, Geneva F. 1304

Ratié, La reine Hatchepsout, 163
 Deonna, Catalogue des sculptures antiques, 12, Fig. 9
 Schlögl (Ed.), Geschenk des Nils, 63, Fig. 198

19. Offerings ←

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CXII
 PM II², 360 [100]

20. Priests performing ritual acts ←

Barwik, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Season 2001, 192–193, Figs 1–2
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 149–151
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pl. CXII
 PM II², 360 [100]

21. Offering list ←

Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 150–151
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari IV, Pls CXII–CXIII
 PM II², 360 [100]

■ Two fragments of block with an inscription, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin
 ÄM 14143

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 115
 Eibner, Entwicklung und Werkstoffe, 582 [12]
 Lipińska, Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple, 169, Pl. 22b, Figs 3, 4
 PM II², 375
 Roeder, Aegyptische Inschriften II, 113

22. Enthroned Hatshepsut → (erased) followed by her striding *ka* → (erased), under the throne a *smꜣ tꜣwꜣ* scene performed by two fecundity figures → ←

PM II², 360 [100]

Ceiling

23. Ritual of the Day and Night Hours: Hatshepsut ← (erased) before personifications of day hours → (erased)

Barwik, The so called “Stundenritual” from Hatshepsut’s Temple, 109–114, Figs 1 (seventh hour), 2 (second hour)
 Graefe, Das Stundenritual des thebanischen Gräbern der Spätzeit, 85–93
 Karkowski, The Prospects for Projects of Further Restoration in Hatshepsut’s Temple, Fig. 3 (fifth hour)
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 151, Fig. 28 (eighth and ninth hours)
 el Naggar, Études préliminaires d’un ciel voûte, Fig. 16
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pls CXIV (seventh-eleventh hours)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 128, Fig. 120 (tenth and eleventh hours)
 PM II², 361
 Quirke, The Cult of Ra, 54–58 (ninth-twelfth hours)
 Naggar, Études préliminaires d’un ciel voûte, Fig. 16
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 231 (eighth and ninth hours)

24. Winged sun-disks, cartouches of Hatshepsut (erased) and inscriptions on two sides

el Naggar, Études préliminaires d’un ciel voûte, Fig. 16
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pls CXIV, CXVI
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 243

25. Ritual of the Day and Night Hours: Hatshepsut → (erased) before personifications of night hours ← (erased)

Barwik, The so called “Stundenritual” from Hatshepsut’s Temple, 114–117, Figs 3 (sixth hour), 4 (seventh hour)
 Duemichen, Historische Inschriften II, Pl. XXXV [left] (incomplete)
 Graefe, Das Stundenritual des thebanischen Gräbern der Spätzeit, 85–93
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 151
 el Naggar, Études préliminaires d’un ciel voûte, Fig. 16
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari VI, Pl. CXVI (second-sixth hours)
 PM II², 361
 Szafrński, The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2004/2005, 245, Fig. 4 (detail of the Ritual of the Night Hours)
 Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari. Seasons 2008/2009 and 2009/2010, Fig. 11

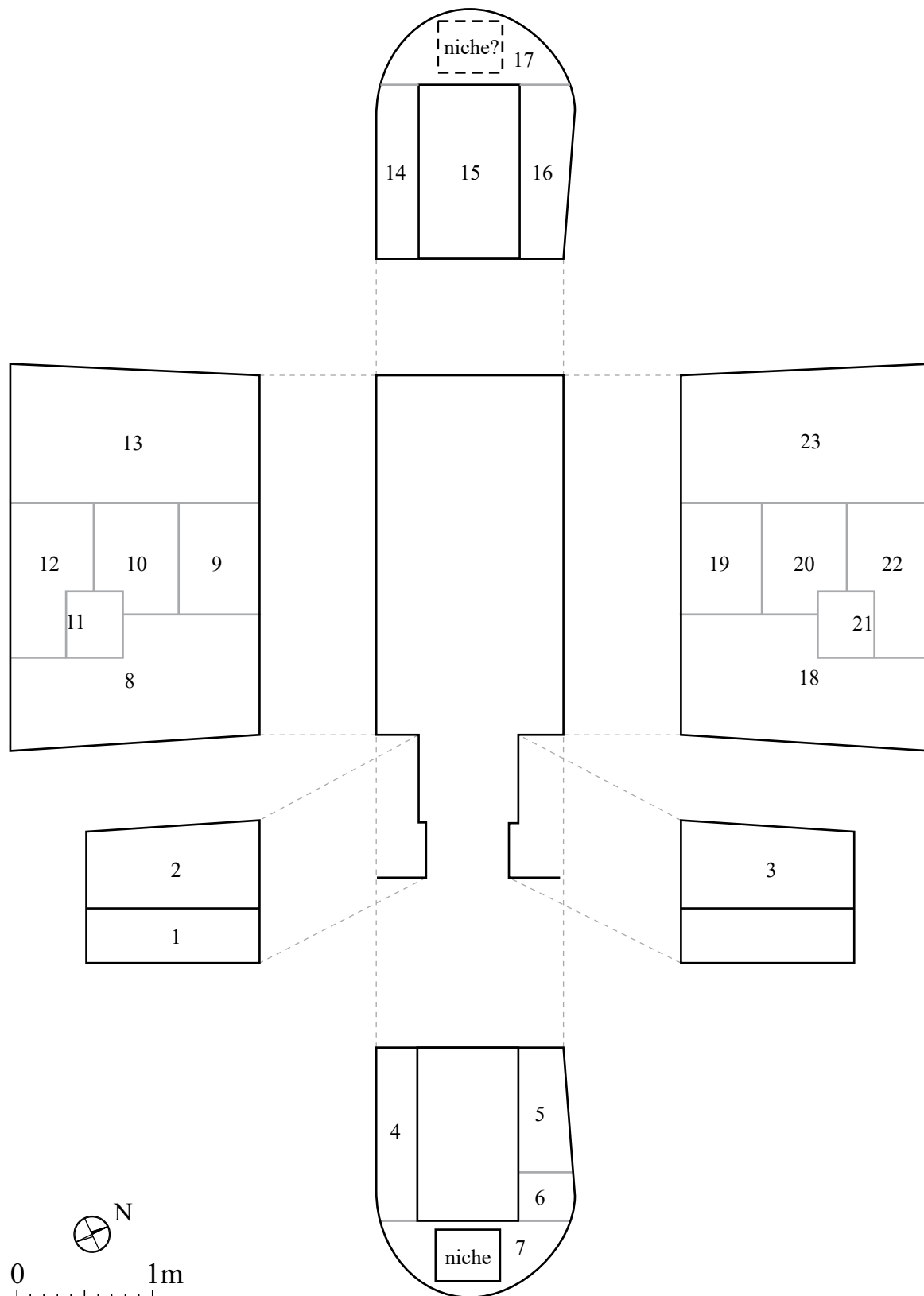


Fig. 38. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Complex of the Royal Cult, Chapel of Thutmose I (based on plan made by T. Dzedzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Chapel of Thutmose I**Fig. 38**

Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 149–150
 el-Naggar, *Les voûtes. Texte*, 54 (Doc. 33C)
 Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 131–132
 PM II², 361 [102–107]

Entrance**South reveal****1. Offering bearers →**

PM II², 361 [104c]

2. Vignette of Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead →

Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 148

North reveal**3. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)**

Hayes, *Varia*, 81, Fig. 1 [L], 82 (text addressed to Amun)
 PM II², 361 [104d]
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1926)*, 13–14, Fig. 9
 Winlock, *Excavations*, 105–106, Pl. 45 [upper left]
 MMA photo M.6.C.59

frieze un-
preserved

East wall**4. Text of Chapter 148 of the Book of the Dead**

Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 148
 PM II², 361 [104f]

■ Two fragments of blocks with an inscription, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 14144

Ausführliches Verzeichnis, 115
 Lipińska, *Studies on the Reconstruction of the Hatshepsut Temple*, 167–169, Pl. 22a, Fig. 2
 Roeder, *Aegyptische Inschriften II*, 102

■ Block with a vertical inscription, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen ÆIN 0713

Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt II*, 42–43, Fig. 4

5. Butchers → in three registers

PM II², 361 [104e]

6. Offerings

7. Tympanum: Kneeling Hatshepsut → (erased, name unpreserved) offering *nw* vases to the solar bark ←

Barwik, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Season 2001/2002, 207, Fig. 8 (upper part of the kheker-frieze)
Karkowski, The Solar Complex, Pl. 82A (solar bark)

Niche

Fig. 38

Karkowski, Pharaoh in the Heb-Sed Robe, 107, Fig. 13



South wall

PM II², 361 [105]

8. Hatshepsut → (name unreserved, erased)

9. Offering bearers → on two registers

Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 212 (referring as coming from the Chapel of Hatshepsut)

10. Offerings in two registers →

11. Offering ritual → in two registers

Barwik, A “ghost” fragment from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, 49–56, Fig. 4

12. Offering List →

13. Enthroned Thutmose I ← followed by his striding *ka* ← (in human form) in front of an offering table

Szafránski (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 244 (fragment of the fecundity figure below the throne)

frieze un-
preserved

West wall

Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, Pl. XIII

14. Procession of gods in two registers →

Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, Pl. XIII

15. False door of Thutmose I

■ False Door of Thutmose I, granite, Louvre, Paris C48

Boreux, Musée National du Louvre, 68
Lepsius, Auswahl, Pl. XI [upper middle]
PM II², 361 [107]
Ratié, La reine Hatchepsout, Pl. 4
Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), Hatshepsut, 156–157 [87]
Urk. IV, 313 (105)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 142
Vandier, Musée du Louvre, 5
Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, 57, 64–65, Pls XI [2], XIII
Archives phot. E. 11 2
Arch. Lacau phot. Q

16. Procession of gods in two registers ←

Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, Pl. XIII

17. Tympanum: unpreserved

Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, Pl. XIII

Niche?**Fig. 38****North wall**

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXIX
PM II², 361 [106]

18. Hatshepsut ← (name unpreserved, erased)

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXIX

19. Offering bearers in two registers ←

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXIX

■ Block with a procession of offering bearers, Louvre, Paris E 27462

Louvre. Guide du visiteur, 75
Walle, Un bloc sculpté, 23–34, Fig. 2

20. Offerings in two registers ←

Drioton, Sved, Art égyptien, Fig. 63
Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXIX

21. Offering ritual in two registers ←

Barwik, A “ghost” fragment from the Chapel of Tuthmosis I, 49–56, Fig. 5
Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXIX

22. Offering List ←

23. Enthroned Thutmose I → followed by his striding *ka* → (in human form) in front of an offering table

Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari V, Pl. CXXIX

Artefacts from the Royal Cult Complex

- Block with an inscription, British Museum, London EA842

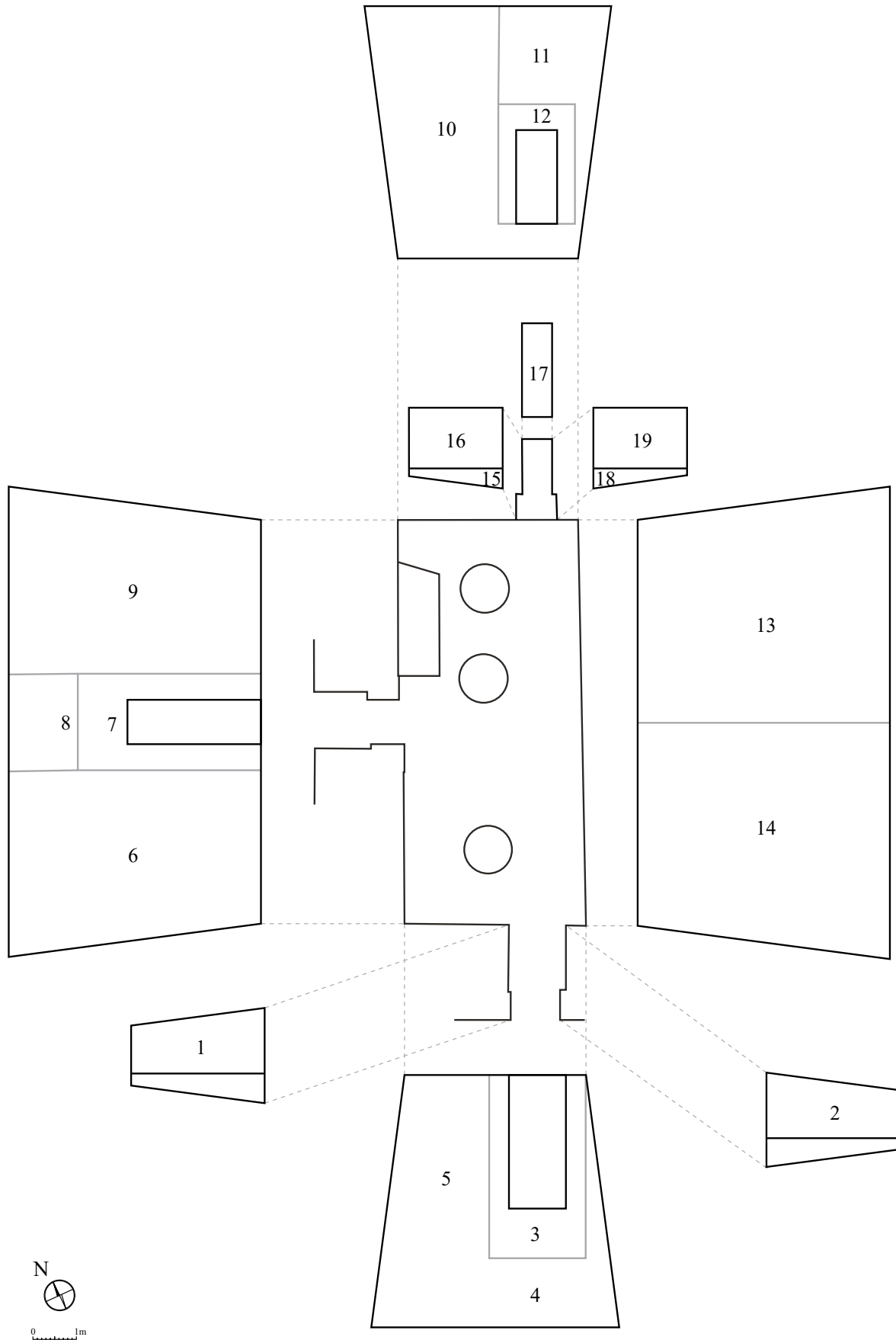


Fig. 39. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Complex of the Solar Cult, Vestibule (based on plan made by T. Dziezic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Complex of the Solar Cult

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 239–254, 274 (reconstruction of statue setting)
 Kaczor, Michiewicz, Restoration Work in the Solar Cult Complex, 278–284
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 153–155, Fig. 30
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, Pl. C, 1 (plan), 2B (section), 3 (section), 12 (plan, phase I), 13 (plan, phase II), 14A (section, phase I), 14B (section, phase II), 14C (section, phase III), 15 (plan, phase I), 16, 17A (phase I), 17B (phase III), 62A, 84 (direction of kings)
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 117–122
 Szafrński, Deir el-Bahari, Temple of Hatshepsut, 104 [lower]

Entrance

Fig. 39

no frieze

West reveal

1. Hatshepsut → (replaced with Thutmose II) led by Ra-Harakhty → and receiving 'nh sign from Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Beatreaux, Harachte, 157
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 8 (socket), 136–140, Pl. 19A, 19bis, 74A (Thutmose II), 74B (Amun)
 LD Tekst III, 108 [a]
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, 5, Pl. II
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 117, Fig. 110
 Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut Season 2006/2007, 254, Fig. 3

East reveal

2. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Hayes, Varia, Fig. 1 [j, k], 81 (traces of Sen-en-mut text behind the door)
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 140, Pl. 19B

Vestibule

Fig. 39



South wall

3. Door frame, jambs: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II); lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose I)

Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 141–143, Pl. 21
 Pawlicki, Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1994/5, 74, Fig. 2
 PM II², 362 [112d-e]

4. Kneeling Hatshepsut ← (replaced with offerings) and Thutmose III ← offering before enthroned divinity → (name and figure unpreserved)

Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 144–145, Pls 22, 22bis

5. Hatshepsut → followed by her ka → (both replaced with striding Thutmose II) embracing ityphallic Amun ← (name unpreserved)

Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 145–147, Pls 23, 23bis
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, 3
 PM II², 362 [113]



West wall

Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 148–153, Pl. 26

6. King ← embraced by enthroned Amun →, writing Thoth ← behind the king (scene reconstructed on the basis of scene 9)

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 148–150, Pl. 24A

7. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose II)

Kaczor, *Historia badań i konserwacji architektury*, 171, Fig. 18
Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 239–241, Pl. 44

8. Solar bark →

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 150, Pl. 24C, 44

■ Block with Atum, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto 910.34.59

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 150, Pl. [01.WL.W.02], Pl. 25B
EEF photo 198/1906

9. King → embraced by enthroned Amun ←, writing Thoth → behind the king (scene reconstructed, fragment of Thoth preserved)

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 150–152, Pls 24B, 25A
Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, 3 (mention)



North wall

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 153–157, Pls 27–28bis
Pawlicki, *Conservation and Preservation Project 1995/1996*, 61–63, Fig. 1
Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 118, Fig. 111

10. Thutmose III ← censing before Amun-Atum → (name restored)

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 154–155, Pls 27, 27bis, 74C (król), 76A (leg of Atum)
PM II², 362 [114]

11. Hatshepsut → (replaced with offerings) offering *nw* vases to enthroned Amun ← (name unpreserved)

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 155–157, Pls 28, 28bis

12. Door frame of the niche: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 225–227, Pls 40, 76 (fragment of the west part)



East wall

Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973*, 67–80
Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1973–1974*, 400–402, Figs 2–4, Pl. II
Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1974–1975*, 219, Fig. 3
Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari – Świątynia Hatshepsut. Prace egiptologiczne*, 54, Fig. 8
Karkowski, *Epigraphic Mission at the Hatshepsut Temple 1995*, 66, Fig. 3
Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 157–224, Pls 29–39
Pawlicki, *Hatshepsut Temple Conservation and Preservation Project 1996/1997*, 57–58

13. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with a king, name unpreserved) addressing the solar god at the beginning of the night, offerings, adoration of solar bark

Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 11–12
 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973*, 67–80, Pls 1–2, 5–6
 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1973–1974*, 400, Figs 2–3
 Karkowski, *Epigraphic Mission at the Hatshepsut Temple 1995*, 63, 66, Fig. 3
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 157–178, Pls 29–33, 76B (fragment of winged scarab)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, 3 (mention)

14. Hatshepsut → (replaced with a king, name unpreserved) addressing the solar god at the beginning of the night, offerings, adoration of solar bark

Assmann, *Der König als Sonnenpriester*, 10–14, Figs 4, 5, 7
 Karkowski, *Deir el-Bahari 1972–1973*, 67–80, Figs 1, 3, 4, 6
 Karkowski, *The Prospects for Projects of Further Restoration in Hatshepsut's Temple*, 58, Fig. 2
 Karkowski, *Temple of Hatshepsut: Egyptological Studies 1977–1980*, 357, Fig. 9
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 178–221, Pls 24–28
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, 3 (mention)

Niche in the north wall

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 152–154, Pls 113–115 (nisza SC4)
 Karkowski, *The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut*, 152, Fig. 29



West wall

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, ss. 153–154, Pl. 114A, 115 [right]
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 227–234, Pls 41A, 41bisA

15. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 252–254, Pl. 115 [middle]
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, Pls 41A (lewo), 41bis [left]

16. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut ← (cartouche erased)

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, Pls 41A [right], 41bisA [right]
 Naville, *Introductory Memoir*, Pl. XIII (fragment of Hatshepsut)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. IV
 Petrie, *History II*, Fig. 40 (head of Hatshepsut)
 PM II², 362 [115a]
 Rummel, *Pfeiler seiner Mutter II*, cat. no. 11A
 Strachey, *Woman: Her Status and its Influence on History*, Fig. on p. 373
 Werbrouck, *Le cirque*, Pl. V



North wall

17. Hatshepsut ← (erased) before Amun → (name partly preserved)

Grimm, *Zu einer getilgten Darstellung*, 93–94
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 235–236, Pls 41B, 41bisB, 77A (cartouche), 77B (fragment of tunic of Amun)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, 6, Pl. III
 PM II², 362 (115c)



East wall

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 154, Pl. 114B
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 227, 236–237, Pls 42A, 42bis, 74 (Hatshepsut), 78A (vulture), 78B (offerings), 79 (details of the offering list)
 PM II², 236 [115a]

18. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (erased)

Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 227, Pls 42A [right], 42bis [right]

19. Iunmutef ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut →
(erased, cartouche partly erased)

Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 236–237, Pls 42A, 42bis
Rummel, Pfeiler seiner Mutter II, cat. no. 11A

Columns

Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 237–239, Pls 9 (sections), 43
Niwiński, Les colonnes proto-doriques avec inscriptions, 108–109, Fig. 22
Niwiński, Protodoric Columns with Inscriptions, 93, 97 (blok C.78)

Architraves

Karkowski, The Arrangement of the Architraves, 150, Fig. 7
Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 239

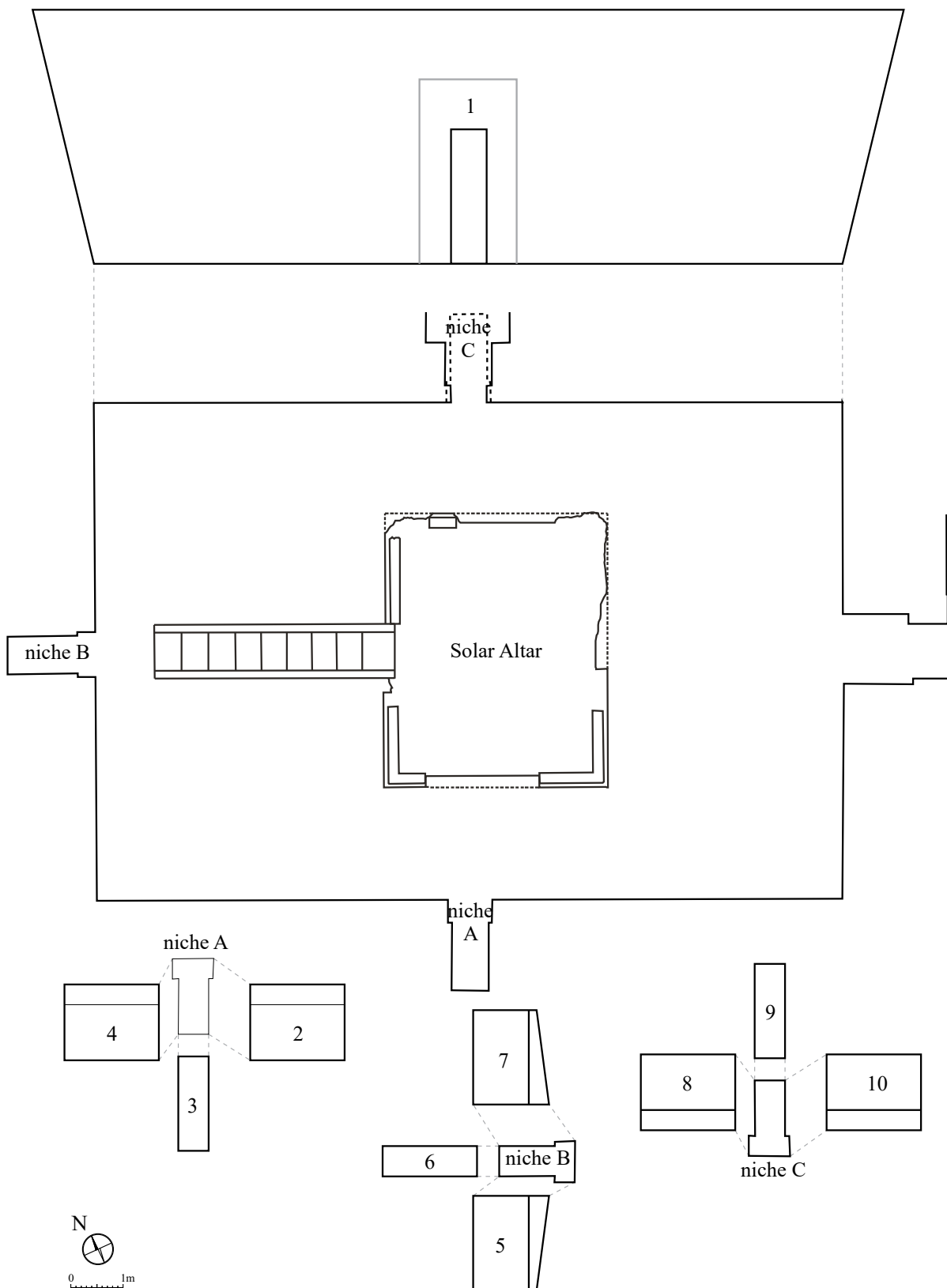


Fig. 40. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Complex of the Solar Cult, Courtyard of Sun Complex (based on plan made by T. Dziejdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Courtyard of Sun Complex

Fig. 40

Budzanowski, Nische kultowe, Pls 37 (plan, section, acsonometry of niches), 47
 Barwik, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Season 2001/2002, 200–206, Fig. 6, 7
 Kaczor, Historia badań i konserwacji architektury, 171, Fig. 17
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 154–155, Fig. 30
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 241–252, Pls E (plan), F (plan), 5 (section), 11 (cornice), 62B, 63B, 64A, 66B-D (corners), 67
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, 8 (plan, section), Pl. VIII
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 120–122
 Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2003/2004, Fig. 1 (wall between Vestibule and Courtyard)
 Szafrński, The Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2004/2005, Figs 1–3
 Szafrński, Imiut in the ‘Chapel of the Parents’, 194, Fig. 4
Urk. IV, 295
 Wysocki, The Results of Architectural Research over the North Part of the Upper Terrace, 267–276, Pls 34–35

no frieze

South wall

Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut and Activity, Pl. 70.6

no frieze

West wall

Barwik, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Season 2001/2002, Figs 6, 7
 Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2003/2004, Fig. 2
 Wysocki, The Raising of the Structure, Pl. 43a

no frieze

North wall

1. Door frame: royal titulary (only lower part of jambs and winged sun-disk preserved)

Karkowski, The Solar Complex, Pl. 73C
 PM II², 362
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 139

no frieze

East wall

Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut, Season 2003/2004, Fig. 1 (wall between Vestibule and Courtyard)

Solar Altar

Belmonte, Shaltout, Fekri, Astronomy, Landscape and Symbolism, 268, Fig. 8.45
 Beataux, Harachte, 158–159, cat. no. I-38.1.2.2.2.-3.-6.
 Bissing, Baumeister und Bauten, 206, Pl. XVI [1]
 Bonnet, Die ägyptische Religion, IV, Fig. 81
 Capart, L'art égyptien I, Pl. 81
 Gilbert, Le Classicisme de l'architecture égyptienne, Fig. 21
 Jéquier, L'Architecture I, Pl. 36 [1]
 Kaczor, Historia badań i konserwacji architektury, 161, Fig. 8
 Karkowski, The Hatshepsut Temple at Deir el-Bahari, Season 1992, 68–72
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 250–252, Pls 6 (plan), 7 (plan), 50, 50bis, 60C, 61, 69, 70, 71A
 Lagier, L'Égypte, Pl. 45
 Naville, Work at the Temple of Deir el Bahari, 3, Pl. II
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, 8, Pl. VIII
 Paribeni, Architettura, 136, Fig. 116
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, Figs 112, 113 (plan and elevations)
 PM II², 362 [116]
 Szafrński (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 264
 Schnittger, Hatshepsut, 58, Fig. 30
 Steindorff, Die Blütezeit, Fig. 100
 Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahari, Season 2007/2008, Fig. 2
Urk. IV, 295 (94) c (dedicatory inscription)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 134 (dedicatory inscription)
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XXXI

Niches**Fig. 40****Niche A****Fig. 40**

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 147–149, Pl. 110 (nisza SC2)
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 241–244, Pls 45A, 45bisA, 45B, 45bisB, 46, 46bis, 57

**East wall**

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 148–149, Pl. 110 [left]
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 241–242, Pls 45A, 45bisA
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, 4 (mention)

2. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut ←
 (erased)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 148–149, Pl. 110 [left]
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 241–242, Pls 45A, 45bisA
 Rummel, *Pfeiler seiner Mutter II*, cat. no. 11C

**South wall**

3. Hatshepsut → (erased) between Amun-Ra → (restored) and Ra-Harakhty ←

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 147, Pl. 110 [right]
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 243–244, Pls 45B, 45bisB

**West wall**

4. Iunmutef ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut →
 (erased)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 147–148
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 244, Pls 46, 46bis
 Rummel, *Pfeiler seiner Mutter II*, cat. no. 11C

Niche B**Fig. 40**

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 149–152, Pl. 111 (nisza SC3)
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 245–248, Pl. 73A-B (socket)

**South wall**

5. Iunmutef → (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut ←
 (erased)

Budzanowski, *Nisze kultowe*, 150–151, Pl. 111
 Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 245–246, Pls 47A, 47bisA
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, 7, Pl. VI
 PM II², 362 [117a]
 Rummel, *Pfeiler seiner Mutter II*, cat. no. 11B

**West wall**

6. Hatshepsut ← (erased) between Amun-Ra ← (restored) and Ra-Harakhty →

Beatreux, Harachte, 158
 Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 149–150, Pl. 111 [left]
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 246–247, Pls 47B, 47bisB
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, 6–7, Pl. V
 PM II², 362 [117c]



North wall

7. Iunmutef ← (restored), offering list and offerings before enthroned Hatshepsut →
 (erased)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 151–152, Pl. 111 [right]
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 247–248, Pl. 48, 48bis
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, 7, Pl. VII
 PM II², 362 [117b]
 Rummel, Pfeiler seiner Mutter II, cat. no. 11B

Niche C (replaced with Upper Shrine of Anubis)

Fig. 40

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 146, Pls 108–109 (nisza SC1)
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 248–250, Pls 49A-C, 49bisA-C



West wall

8. Iunmutef →, offering list and offerings

Barwik, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Season 2001/2002, 202, Fig. 3
 Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 146, Pls 108A (Iunmutef), 109B
 Budzanowski, Sitting Statues of Hatshepsut, 23 (nn. 27–29), 25, Fig. 4
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 248–249, Pls 49A, 49bisA



North wall

9. Amun ← (name unpreserved) embracing a king → (name unpreserved)

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 146, Pl. 109A
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 249, Pls 49B, 49bisB



East wall

10. Iunmutef ←, offering list

Budzanowski, Nisze kultowe, 146, Pl. 108B
 Karkowski, The Solar Complex, 249–250, Pls 49C, 49bisC

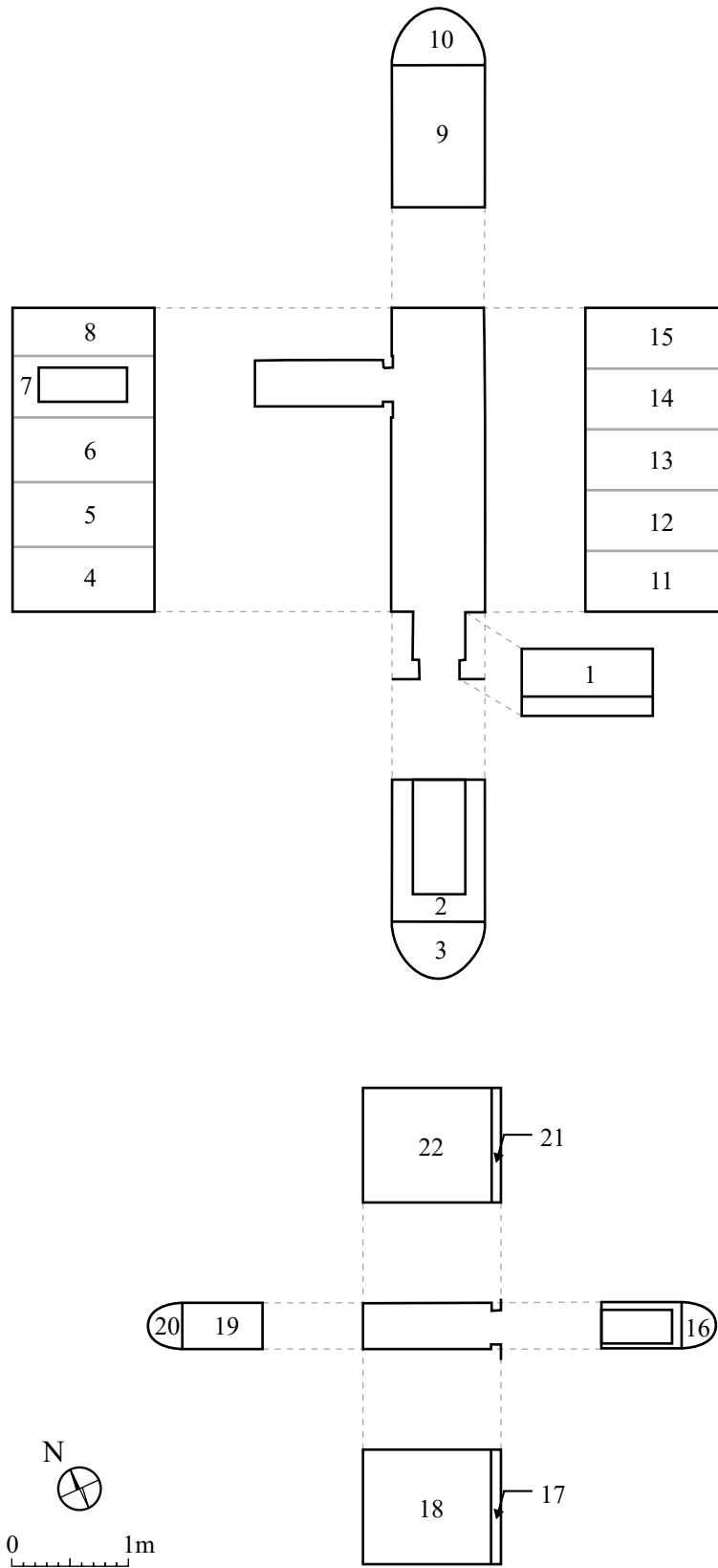


Fig. 41. Deir el-Bahari, temple of Hatshepsut, Upper Terrace, Upper Shrine of Anubis (based on plan made by T. Dziejdzic; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Upper Shrine of Anubis

Fig. 41

Arnold Di., Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 11–13
 Arnold Di., Pharaonic Stone Masonry, 193 (ceiling)
 Arnold Di., Die Tempel Ägyptens, 137
 Barwik, The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Season 2001/2002, 203, Fig. 5
 Karkowski, The Decoration of the Temple of Hatshepsut, 155
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 127 (Doc. 108B)
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 101, Fig. 151 [B1, B2] (section)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. IX–XVI
 Osing, Zum Kultbildritual, 322, Fig. 3A–B
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, 122–124
 Pawlicki, Polaczek, Witkowski, Deir el-Bahari 1976–1977, 293
 PM II², 362–363
 Quirke, Gods in the temple of the king, 44–45 (mentions)
 Szafrński, Temple of Hatshepsut Season 2005/2006, 270, Fig. 1
 Szafrński, Imiut in the ‘Chapel of the Parents’, 187–196
 Witkowski, Le rôle et les fonctions des chapelles d’Anubis, 431–440
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, 372–377, Figs 2–4

Entrance

East wall

1. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 161

no frieze

South wall

2. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

PM II², 362 [118]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 140–141, Pl. 40, Q
 ZAŚ PAN photo 238/78–79

3. Tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut → (erased) in the middle between two lying Anubises → ← (erased)

PM II², 362 [118]
 Sankiewicz, Cosmological Frames, 175–176, Fig. 103 (detail)
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 141–142, Pl. 40, Q
 ZAŚ PAN photo 238/78–79



West wall

el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, 103, Fig. 153a
 Sankiewicz, Cryptogram Uraeus Frieze, 206, 208, Fig. 5 (cryptogram frieze of Hatshepsut)
 Szafrński, Imiut in the ‘Chapel of the Parents’, Figs 6, 7

4. Hatshepsut → (erased) anointing Anubis ← (erased)

PM II², 363 [119.1]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 142–143, Pls 41, R
 MMA photo T.2419
 ZAŚ PAN photos 672–674/79–80

5. Hatshepsut → (erased) scattering sand before Anubis ← (erased)

PM II², 363 [119.2]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 143–144, Pls 42, R
 MMA photo T.2420
 ZAŚ PAN photos 666–668/79–80

6. Hatshepsut → (erased) offering incense to Amun-Ra ← (erased)

PM II², 363 [119.3]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 145–146, Pls 43, R
 MMA photo T.2421
 ZAŚ PAN photos 669–671/79–80

7. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (erased)

PM II², 363 [122a-b]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 162–163, Pls 51, R
 MMA photo T.2406
 ZAŚ PAN photos 660–662/79–80

8. Hatshepsut → (erased) receiving 'nh sign from Imentet ← (erased)

Roth, Erasing a Reign, 280, Fig. 101 (referred to as coming from the North Chapel of Thutmose I)
 PM II², 363 [119.4]
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 146–147, Pls 44, R
 MMA photo T.2423
 ZAŚ PAN photos 654–659/79–80

no frieze

North wall

Capart, Thèbes, Fig. 143
 Capart, Propos, Fig. 125
 Hamann, Ägyptische Kunst, Fig. 210
 Jéquier, L'Architecture I, Pl. 35 [1]
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. IX
 Szafranski (Ed.), Queen Hatshepsut, Fig. on p. 225
 Steindorff, Die Blütezeit, Fig. 90
 Szafranski, Imiut in the 'Chapel of the Parents', 194, Fig. 5
 Werbrouck, Le Temple d'Hatshepsout, Pl. XXXII
 Witkowski, Quatre saisons des travaux, 377, Fig. 3
 MMA photo T.2412

9. Hatshepsut ← (erased) and Thutmose I ← before emblem of Anubis → (erased) in a shrine

Bedman, Valentín, Hatshepsut, 211
 Champdor, La peinture égyptienne ancienne V, Pl. 10
 Davies, Ancient Egyptian Paintings I, Pl. XII (Thutmose I)
 Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, Pl. IV facing p. 6
 Myśliwiec, Le portrait royal, 40, Fig. 36
 Naville, Introductory Memoir, Pl. XII (head)
 Naville, The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I, Pl. IX
 Pawlicki, Skarby architektury, s. 121 Fig. 114 (Hatshepsut and Thutmose I)
 Petrie, History II, Fig. 26
 PM II², 363 [121]
 Rachewiltz, La Valle dei Re e delle Regine, Pl. 33
 Witkowski, Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires, 148–150, Pls 45, Q
 MMA photo T.2412
 ZAŚ PAN photo 240/78–79

10. Tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut ← (erased) in the middle between two lying Anubises → ← (erased)

De Cénival, *Living Architecture*, Pl. 82
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. IX
 PM II², 363 [121]
 Sankiewicz, *Cosmological Frames*, 172, 174–176, Fig. 99
 Troy, *Patterns of Queenship*, 128, Fig. 91
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 150, Pls 45, Q
 MMA photo T.2412
 ZAŚ PAN photo 240/78–79



East wall

Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 78, Fig. 66 (cryptogram frieze)

11. Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering *ntrj*-natron to Amun-Ra → (erased)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. X
 PM II², 363 [120.1]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 157–158, Pls 50, S
 MMA photo T.2418
 ZAŚ PAN photos 675–677/79–80

12. Hatshepsut ← (erased) offering *bd* natron to Anubis → (erased)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. X
 PM II², 363 [120.2]
 Schott, *Die Reinigung Pharaohs*, 79, Pl. Ia
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 156–157, Pls 49, S
 Chic. Or. Inst. photo 7290
 MMA photo T.2417
 ZAŚ PAN photos 663–665/79–80

13. Hatshepsut ← (erased) purifying Osiris → (erased)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pls X–XI
 PM II², 363 [120.3]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 154–155, Pls 48, S
 MMA photo T.2416
 ZAŚ PAN photos 681–683/79–80

14. Hatshepsut ← (erased) purifying Sokar → (erased)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XI
 PM II², 363 [120.4]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 152–154, Pls 47, S
 MMA photo T.2415
 ZAŚ PAN photos 684–686/79–80

15. Hatshepsut ← (erased) opening shrine of Ptah → (erased)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XI
 PM II², 363 [120.5]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 151–152, Pls 46, S
 MMA photo T.2414
 ZAŚ PAN photos 687–689/79–80

Niche in the west wall

el-Naggar, *Les voûtes*. Texte, 127 (Doc. 108B)

Fig. 41

no frieze

East wall

16. Tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut (erased)

PM II², 363 [122c-d]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 163, Pl. T

no frieze

South wall

17. Kneeling Sen-en-mut → (drawn with black paint)

Szafranski, *Imiut in the 'Chapel of the Parents'*, Figs 9, 11
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 173

18. Hatshepsut → (erased) accompanied by queen Ahmes → in front of an offering table before Amun-Ra ← (erased)

Barwik, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut, Season 2001/2002*, 203, Fig. 4 (detail)
 Ćwiek, *Red, yellow and pink*, 46, Fig. 17 (queen Ahmes)
 Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XVI
 PM II², 363 [122e]
 Stupko-Lubczyńska, *Inscribed Vessels*, 2014, Fig. 4a-b (vessels)
Urk. IV, 278 (89) a, 298 (95) d (speech of Amun)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 127, 136 (speech of Amun)
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 163–166, Pl. T
 MMA photos T.2407–2408

no frieze

West wall

el-Naggar, *Les voûtes. Planches*, 103, Fig. 153b
 Szafranski, *Imiut in the 'Chapel of the Parents'*, 195, Fig. 8
 Witkowski, *Quatre saisons des travaux*, 376, Fig. 2

19. Hatshepsut → (erased) receiving 'nh' sign from Anubis ← (erased)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XII
 PM II², 363 [122g]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 166–168, Pls 52, T
 MMA photo T.2409
 ZAŚ PAN photos 239/78–79

20. Tympanum: cartouche of Hatshepsut → (erased)

Naville, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XII
 PM II², 363 [122g]
 Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 167–168, Pls 52, T
 MMA photo T.2409
 ZAŚ PAN photos 239/78–79

no frieze

North wall

21. Kneeling Sen-en-mut ← (erased)

22. Thutmose I ← accompanied by Sen-seneb ← in front of an offering table in front of Anubis → (erased)

Capart, *L'art égyptien III*, Pl. 499
 Ćwiek, *Red, yellow and pink*, 45, Fig. 16 (Senseneb)
 Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsitû*, Pl. II facing p. 1 (upper part of Senseneb)

- Hill, Wilkinson, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, 73 (facsimile, Thutmose I and Senseneb)
Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 40–41, Fig. 37, 38
Navelle, *The Temple of Deir el-Bahari I*, Pl. XIII (Senseneb), XIV (Thutmose I), XV (offering table)
Pawlicki, *Skarby architektury*, 122, Fig. 115 (Senseneb)
Petrie, *History II*, Fig. 25 (upper part of Senseneb)
PM II², 363 [122–123]
Rachewiltz, *La Valle dei Re e delle Regine*, Pl. 35 (upper part of Thutmose I and Senseneb)
Szafrński, *Temple of Hatshepsut Season 2005/2006*, Fig. 2
Szafrński, *Imiut in the 'Chapel of the Parents'*, 196, Fig. 10
Tyndale, *Below the Cataracts*, Pl. facing p. 164
Urk. IV, 300–301 (96) b (text above Anubis)
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 137 (text above Anubis)
Witkowski, *Certains aspects du culte des dieux funéraires*, 168–170, Pl. T
MMA photos T.2410–T.2411
Colourful facsimile is stored in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.4.137 (Thutmose I and Senseneb)

Artefacts from *Dsr-dsrw*

Statues

Royal statues

Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 89–101
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932)*, 4 (reconstruction of the temple showing original position of some statues), Fig. 1
 Winlock, *Excavations*, 210, Fig. 12

Standing statues

- Standing statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 52458 (reconstructed)

Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, (1951) Pl. 24; (1961), Pl. 25
 Arnold Do., *The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut*, 274, n. 1
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- Standing statue of Hatshepsut wearing a *nemes*, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 28.3.18 (found in the Senenmut Quarry)

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- Seated female statue of Hatshepsut wearing a *nemes*, granite, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden F. 1928/9.2 (part of Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 29.3.3)

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- Seated statue of Hatshepsut wearing a *nemes*, indurated limestone, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 29.3.2 (found in the Senenmut Quarry, body earlier in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 2306)

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■ Seated statue of Hatshepsut wearing a *khat*, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.3.3 (found in the Senenmut Quarry and in the Lower Courtyard)

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■ Seated statue of Hatshepsut without the head, diorite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.168 (found in the Senenmut Quarry)

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■ Small kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 47702

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■ Small kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo
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Arnold Do., *The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut*, 274, n. 1
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■ Small kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 23.3.1 (found in the Hatshepsut Hole)

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■ Small kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
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■ Fragments of a small kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.160, 31.3.162 (found in the Senenmut Quarry and in the Mentuhotep II Causeway [31.3.160] and in the Hatshepsut Hole [31.3.162])

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■ Fragments of a small kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.161 (found in the Hatshepsut Hole)

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■ Large kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
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■ Large kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
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■ Large kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 30.3.2 (found in the Senenmut Quarry and in the Mentuhotep II Causeway)

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■ Large kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo
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■ Large kneeling statue of Hatshepsut, granite, Lapidarium of Deir el-Bahari

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■ Large sphinx of Hatshepsut, granite, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 53114 and JE 55191

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■ Front part of the large sphinx of Hatshepsut, granite, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 55190

Arnold Do., *The Destruction of the Statues of Hatshepsut*, 274, n. 1, Fig. 91 (head)
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■ Large sphinx of Hatshepsut, granite, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 2299 (head brought by R. Lepsius, body in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

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■ Large sphinx of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
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■ Head and shoulders of the large sphinx of Hatshepsut, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 31.3.167

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 Tefnin, La statuaire d'Hatshepsout, 129–130, Pl. XXXIb, XXXII
 Wenig, Die Frau, Pl. 35
 Winlock, The Egyptian Expedition 1928–1929, 12–13, Figs 13, 14
 Winlock, Excavations, 172, 337, Fig. 9, Pl. 48 [upper]
 Wolf, Die Welt der Ägypter, Pl. 52
 Wolf, Die Kunst Aegyptens, Fig. 374
 MMA photos M.9.C.14–M.9.C.15, M.9.C.192–M.9.C.198, M.10.C.51–M.10.C.54

■ Small sphinx of Hatshepsut, limestone, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
 31.3.94

Aldred, *New Kingdom Art*, (1951) Pl. 23, (1961), Pl. 24
 Bedman, Valentin, *Hatshepsut*, 304
 Cabrol, *Les voies processionnelles*, 308–309
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 166 [89]
 Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 91–92
 PM II², 370
 Schweitzer, *Löwe und Sphinx*, 44, 58
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 129–133, 140, 143, 187
 Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1928–1929*, 12
 Winlock, *Excavations*, 172–173, Pl. 48 [lower]
 MMA photos M.12.C.264–M.12.C.265

Others

- Fragment of a statue base of Hatshepsut, limestone, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23.3.172 (fragment left in Thebes), found in Hatshepsut Hole

Friedman, *A New Tutmoside Head*, 2, Fig. 4
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 166–167 [90]
 Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 100–102, Fig. 56 (fragment from New York)
 Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 48, Fig. 67
 Pillet, *Thèbes*, Fig. 118
 PM II², 374
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 134
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1923)*, 34–35, Fig. 31
 Winlock, *Excavations*, 79–80, Pl. 44 [lower]
 MMA photos M.4.C.137–M.4.C.139

- Head of Hatshepsut, granite, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 22.77, probably from here

Steindorff, *Catalogue*, Pl. XIX [102], 39
The Bulletin of the Walters Art Gallery 1.2, 1948, Fig. on p. IV

- Fragment of the head of Hatshepsut(?), granite, Cincinnati Art Museum 1945.63, probably from here

Adams, *Sculpture Collection of the Cincinnati Art Museum*, 14–15
A Guide to the Collections of the Cincinnati Art Museum, 7, Fig. on p. 5 [lower left]
Ancient Civilisations, no. 6
 Hall, *Some Ancient Egyptian Sculpture*, 14–15, Fig. 16
 PM II², 375
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 150

Private statues

- Statue of Sat-Ra with Hatshepsut in her lap, sandstone, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 56264

Delvaux, *Hatshepsout et le Gebel es-Silsileh*, 323
 Hornemann, *Types V*, Pl. 1273
 Roehrig, *The Statue of the Royal Nurse Sitre*, 1003–1010, Pls I–II
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatshepsout*, 134
 Winlock, *The Egyptian Expedition 1927–1928*, 14, 20
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1932)*, 5, 10, Fig. 6
 MMA photos M.12.C.232–M.12.C.233
 (Text on ostrakon Sat-Ra with primary version of complete text preserved on the statue, originally in Ambras Collection, now in Kunsthistorisches Museum, Wien AS 1018)

- Lower part of the statue of Sen-en-mut, diorite

Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 152
 Hayes, *Varia*, 88–89, Fig. 1 [n], Pl. XIII [1]
 Meyer, *Senenmut*, 45 [15], 319 [14]
 Naville, *Introductory Memoir*, 19
 PM II², 375
 Ratie, *La reine Hatchepsout*, 249
 Schulmann, *Some Remarks*, 41 [13]
Urk. IV, 416 (132) D
 MMA photos M.11.C.310– M.11.C.312

■ Fragment of statue of Sen-en-mut, Manchester Museum, Manchester 4624

■ Statue of Amenhotep, limestone, storeroom at Deir el-Bahari, the temple of Hatshepsut

Józefowicz, *A Priest from the Middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty*, 163–170

Blocks

■ Block with offerings, Allard Pierson Museum, Amsterdam APM 9238

Haarlem, Allard Pierson Museum Amsterdam, 16–17

■ Block, Johns Hopkins Archaeological Museum, Baltimore 9193

Williams, *The Archaeological Collection*, 17

■ Fragment of a block with procession of archers, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 22.98

Petschel, Von Falck (Eds), *Pharao siegt immer*, 79, Fig. 68
 Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 74, Pl. L, Fig. 252

■ Fragment of a block with rowers, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 22.102

PM II², 375
 Steindorff, *Catalogue*, 73, Pl. XL, Fig. 241

■ Fragment of a block with crew of the ship, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 22.322

Steindorff, *Catalogue*, Pl. XLVIII, Fig. 238

■ Block with a procession of soldiers, Antikenmuseum Basel Sammlung Ludwig, Basel BSAe 1009

Petschel, Von Falck (Eds), *Pharao siegt immer*, 78, Fig. 67
 Wiese, *Antikenmuseum Basel*, 90, Fig. 52

■ Block with a butcher, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 3064

Westheim, *Das Kunstblatt* 7 (1917), 214
 PM II², 375

■ Fragment of a block with the royal head, Bolton Museum, Bolton 1907.90:12

- Fragment of a block with Inmutef, Bolton Museum, Bolton 1907.90:14/2
- Fragment of a block with a cryptogram frieze of Hatshepsut, Bolton Museum, Bolton 1907.90:16
- Fragment of the upper part of the pillar, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 07.533
- Fragment of a block with uraeus and falcon legs, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 07.534
- Fragment of a block with male legs, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 07.537b
- Block with upper part of the Horus name, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels E.08056

Lefebvre, Van Rinsveld, *L'Égypte*, 82
Koninklijke Musea voor Kunst en Geschiedenis, no. 2

- Block offerings, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo CG 50023 = TR 10/6/15/2

Karkowski, Winnicki, Amenhotep, Son of Hapu and Imhotep, 97
Spiegelberg, *Die ägyptischen Denkmäler III*, 1–2, Pl. I

- Block with fragment of a ship, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.1.1992

Vassilika, *Egyptian Art*, 98 [45]

- Fragment of a block with a cartouche and the face of Thutmose III, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.GA. 3003.1943

Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 51 [23b], Pl. XXIV, Fig. 69
PM II², 376

- Fragment of a block with part of the Horus name of Thutmose III, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.SS.36

Budge, *Catalogue of the Egyptian collection*, 76 [60]

- Fragment of a block with a cartouche of Thutmose I, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge E.SS.39

Budge, *Catalogue of the Egyptian collection*, 75–76 [59]

- Block with an offering bearer, Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek, Copenhagen ÆIN 1068

Jørgensen, *Catalogue Egypt II*, 114–115, Fig. 37

- Fragment of a block with a text, Muzeum Archeologiczne, Cracow MAK/AS/121

Śliwa, *Queen Hatshepsut in Cracow*, 67, n. 16

- Fragment of a block with a cartouche of Thutmose I, McManus Dundee's Art Gallery and Museum, Dundee 1966.179

PM II², 376

- Fragment of a block with a recarved inscription, McLean Museum and Art Gallery, Greenock 1987.589
- Fragment of a block with the royal head, Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden F. 1933/12.1

Sotheby Sale Cat., July 27, 1933, cat. no. 22
 Eggebrecht, Eggebrecht (Eds), *Ägyptens Aufstieg zur Weltmacht*, 190 [106], under wrong number F. 1933/1.1
Egyptische kunst en beschaving in 's Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Fig. on p. 116
 Gilbert, *Couleurs de l'Égypte ancienne*, Pl. 18
 Giovetti, Picchi, *Egitto*, cat. no. IV.9
Il senso dell'arte, cat. no. 36
 Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, 53, Fig. 75jj, under wrong number F. 1933/1.1
 PM II², 376
 Schneider, *Raven, De Egyptische Oudheid*, 82 [66]
 Schneider, *Beeldhouwkunst*, 46–47 [16]
 Schneider, *Life and Death under the Pharaohs*, 54 [74]
 Wijngaarden, *Twee Egyptische koningsportretten*, 13, Fig. 1
 Wijngaarden, *Meesterwerken der Egyptische Kunst te Leiden*, Pl. 38
 Wijngaarden, *Aanwinsten*, 46, Pl. 1

- Fragment of a block with a vertical inscription, Museum of Liverpool, Liverpool 56.20.125
- Fragment of a block with a vertical inscription, Museum of Liverpool, Liverpool 56.20.126
- Fragment of a block with *ph* sign, Petrie Museum, London UC 14364

Capart, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens II*, Pl. LXIX
 Stewart, *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings*, 3, Pl. 2.5

- Block with a *kheker* frieze, Petrie Museum, London UC 16806

Stewart, *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings*, 2, Pl. 2.10

- Block with offerings, British Museum, London EA782

Parkinson, *Cracking Codes*, 77, Pl. 13 (6)
 Taylor, *Antoine, Ancient Lives*, 40

- Block with god Ha, British Museum, London EA43463
- Fragment of a block with recarved cartouches of Thutmose I or II, British Museum, London EA1456
- Fragment of the upper part of the pillar, British Museum, London EA1555
- Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA1828

Davies, Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities VII, Pl. 41

- Fragment of a block with a procession of soldiers, British Museum, London EA48077
- Fragment of a block with two rowers, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven 9.1.1953

PM II², 376

- Fragment of a block with a sail, Yale University Art Gallery, New Haven 8.1.1953

PM II², 376

- Block with a butchery scene, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.19.2
- Fragment of a block with *hr*-sign, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 50.19.3
- Fragment of a block with a cryptogram frieze, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford AN1896-1908 E.4303

Hardwick et al., Sackler Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities, Case 50, no. 5

- Fragment of a block with a soldier, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford AN1961.399

Hardwick et al., Sackler Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities, Case 50, no. 6, Fig. 44

- Fragment of a block with offerings, Louvre, Paris E 15590

Keimer, *La vache et le cobra*, 227–228, Fig. 12
PM II², 377

- Block with the head and cartouches of Thutmose III, Louvre, Paris E 12921 bis

Delpont, *Thoutmosis III*, 76, Fig. 8

- Block with a deity, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia E 11824

PM II², 398

- Block with soldiers, Musée des Beaux Arts et d'Archéologie Joseph Déchelette, Roanne no. not given

PM II², 377

- Block with a female head, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto 910.34.20 (identified by A. Ćwiek)

■ Block with Atum, Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto 910.34.59

Karkowski, *The Solar Complex*, 150 [01.WL.W.02], Pl. 25B

■ Block with two soldiers, Randall Collection

Ancient art in American private collections, 17 [7A], Pl. IV

■ Block with a soldier, private collection Australia

Sotheby Sale Cat., December 8, 2004, Lot 32 [left]

■ Block with a soldier, private collection Australia

Sotheby Sale Cat., December 8, 2004, Lot 32 [right]

■ Fragment of a block with the royal head, private collection, Switzerland

Geschenk des Nils, 62, Fig. 197

■ Fragment of a block with the head of Hatshepsut, private collection

Sotheby Sale Cat., May 31, 1997, Lot 32

■ Fragment of a block with a fragment of the bark of Amun, Lord Dufferin's Collection

Edwards, *Lord Dufferin's Excavations*, 27 [10], Pl. XII.5

■ Fragment of a block with an offering bearer, private collection

Sotheby Sale Cat., June 13, 2002, Fig. 32 [right]

■ Fragment of a block with a soldier, private collection

Christie's Sale Cat., October 6, 2011, Lot 42

Stelae

■ Stela of Senenu, limestone, nine fragments in the Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago 8798; one fragment in the Louvre, Paris E 6.244; four fragments in the storeroom at Deir el-Bahari, the temple of Hatshepsut

Brovarski, *Senenu*, 57–73, Pls XI, XIA
Pierret, *Recueil*, 11, 31

■ Stela with kneeling Hatshepsut sucking Hathor-cow, probably destroyed in fire in 1888

Schiaparelli, *Museo Archeologico di Firenze*, 154, n. 1
Wilbour, *Travels in Egypt*, 85, n. 1
Wilbour MSS 2 C. 32

■ Unfinished stela, limestone, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23.3.48, found in Hatshepsut Hole

Dorman, Harper, Pittman, *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, 48, Fig. 30
 PM I², 626
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes* (1923), 35, Fig. 30
 MMA photo M.4.C.128

Ostraca

Andrássy, *Zur Organisation und Finanzierung von Tempelbauten*, 152–160
 Hayes, *Varia*, 78–90
 Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 176, Fig. 98
 Hayes, *A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca*, 29–52
 Marciniak, *Une liste de fugitives*, 249–255
 Megally, *Notions de comptabilité*, 433, n. 2
 Megally, *Recherches*, 387, n. 1
 Megally, *Un intéressant ostracon*, 293–312
 Megally, *A propos de l'organisation administrative des ouvriers*, 305–309
 Winlock, *Excavations*, 80, 136, Pl. 41
 Wysocki, *The Discovery, Research, Studies and the Reconstruction of the Rock Platform*, 13, Figs 9, 10

■ Ostracon, British Museum, London EA40969

PM II², 398

■ Ostracon, Musées Royaux d'Art et d'Histoire, Brussels E.00736

Brunner-Traut, *Die altägyptischen Scherbenbilder*, 18
 Kunst voor de eeuwigheid, 28, no. 23
 Werbrouck, *Ostraca*, 95

■ Ostraca, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23.3.4, 23.3.6, 23.3.7, 23.3.8, 23.3.16, 23.3.17, 23.3.24, 23.3.25, found in Hatshepsut Hall

Arnold Do., *An Egyptian Bestiary*, 33 [35] (23.3.6), 54 [67] (23.3.8)
 Hill, Wilkinson, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, 6 (23.3.4)
 Roehrig, *Life along the Nile*, Fig. 66 (23.3.4)
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 45, Figs 22 (23.3.4), 23 (23.3.6)
 Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 174, Figs 95 (23.3.6), 96 (23.3.4)
 Wilkinson, *Egyptian Wall Paintings*, Fig. 21 (23.3.4)
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes* (1923), 34, Fig. 29 (23.3.6)

■ Ostraca, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 27.3.562, 27.3.563, 27.3.566, found in rubbish near foundation deposit I

■ Ostracon, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 05.4.122

■ Ostracon found in the area above the temple

Hayes, *A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca*, 30–31 [1], Pl. IX [1]
 MMA photo CO 9

■ Ostracon found above the Relieving Structure of the Bark Hall

Marciniak, *Un reçu d'offrande*, 165–170, Pl. LI
 Wysocki, *The Temple of Queen Hatshepsut*, 223–224, n. 7

■ Jar found in the courtyard of tomb MMA 110

Hayes, Varia, 78–79, Fig. I A
Dorman, The Monuments of Senenmut, 34–35

■ Ostraca found between processional alleys of Hatshepsut and Mentuhotep II

Hayes, A Selection of Tuthmoside Ostraca, 32–36, 37–38 [4, 5, 6, 8, 10, 11], Pls IX [4], X [5, 6, 8, 10, 11]
MMA photos 23001.39, 23001.48, 23001.85, 23001.107, 23001.208, CN 29

■ Ostrakon found in the layer of rubbish covering the temple of Thutmose III – *Dsr-3ht*, probably from here or from the temple of Thutmose III – *Dsr-3ht*

Marciniak, Un reçu de transport de Deir el-Bahari, 69–72

■ Ostrakon from the layer of rubbish of the processional alley, Austrian excavations

Bietak, Theben-West, Pl. IXb

■ Visitor's ostrakon, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo O.Cairo DeB. No. 432

Hassan, A visitor's hieratic ostrakon, 183–191

■ Group of ostraca, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo O.Cairo DeB. Nos 518, HO. Cairo 459

Hassan, Some 18th Dynasty Hieratic Ostraca, 179–230
Hassan, Three New Kingdom Ostraca, 34–36

Pottery

Daszkiewicz, Jelitto, Preliminary Report, 61–78
Szafranski, Pottery from Trial Trenches, 25
Szafranski, Pottery from the Time of Construction, 53–59
Szafranski, Deir el-Bahari 1994, 63–66

Small finds

■ Pebble of Senenmut, Walters Art Museum, Baltimore 41.30, probably from here

Sotheby Sale Cat. (MacGregor), June 26 to July 6, 1922, 83, no. 648
Spiegelberg, Varia, 91 [XXVIII]

■ Fragments of a *menat* necklace, scarab, faience, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston 97.907, 97.909, 97.931

■ Fragment of a *menat* necklace, faience, National Museum of Ireland, Dublin 1904.540

■ Fragment of a *menat* necklace, faience, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh A.1956.295, probably from here

- Dovetail, wood, National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh A.1964.460, probably from here

- Adze, plaque, British Museum, London EA26279, EA26281

- Two hoes, wood, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23.3.44a, b, 23.3.45, found in the Hatshepsut Hole

- Whip handle of Neb-iry, wood, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 23.3.46, found beside the Hatshepsut Hole

Dorman, *The Monuments of Senenmut*, 139
 Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 112, Fig. 59
 Helck, *Verwaltung*, 475 L
 Meyer, *Senenmut*, 261
 PM I.2², 626
 Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 56 [56]
 Winlock, *The Museum's Excavations at Thebes (1923)*, 31–32, Fig. 26
 MMA photo M.4.C.128.

- Fragment of a *menat* necklace, faience, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford E.2729 / 1964.221

Hardwick *et al.*, *Sackler Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities*, Case 50, no. 7

- Hieratic tablette, wood, seen in Egypt, probably from here

Vernus, *Omina calendérique*, 89–124

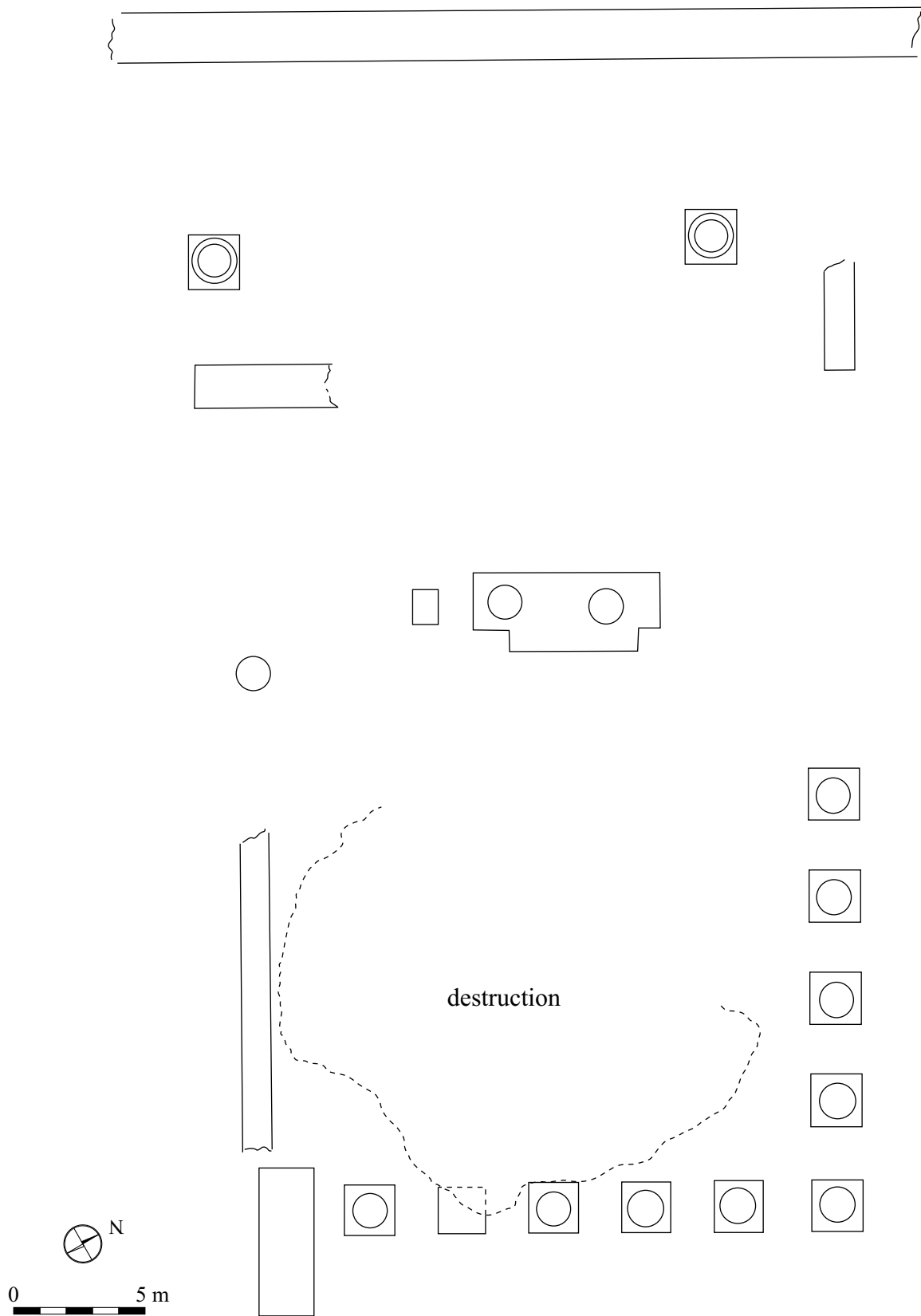


Fig. 42. Temple of Thutmose I – *Hnmt-`nh* (based on Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-`Akhet, Fig. 2; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Temple of Thutmose I – *Hnmt-ḥ*

Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-Akhet, 29–33, Pls 4–5 (interpreted as the *H-ḥt* temple)
Barakt, A New Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Qurna, 103–107 (interpreted as the *H-ḥt* temple)
Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 22–25
Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 269–277

Enclosure wall

Fig. 42

Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-Akhet, 30

Mud bricks

Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, 65–67
Carter, The 'Valley'-Temple, 40, Pl. XXXII.4

- Mud brick of Thutmose I, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo, no number given

PM II², 426
MMA photo M.17.C. CL, 14-18, 24

- Mud bricks stamped with the name of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 90.6.42, 90.6.43, from here or the *Hnkt-ḥ* temple

Main building

Fig. 42

Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-Akhet, 29–33, Pls 4–5, Fig. 2 (plan)
Barakt, A New Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Qurna, 104–106, Fig. on p. 104 (plan)
Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 22–25
Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 269–277

Outer wall

Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 273

- Fragment of a block with a festival list, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, The Legacy of Senwosret I, Fig. 1 [left]

- Fragment of a block with a festival list, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, The Legacy of Senwosret I, Fig. 1 [right]

Hypostyle Hall

Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-Akhet, 29–31, Pl. 4a
Barakt, A New Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Qurna, 104–106, Fig. on p. 104 (plan)
Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 22–25
Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 270–271, 273

Walls

- Fragments of blocks from a battle scene, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 24

- Fragment of block from a festival scene, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 24

Colonnade

Barakt, A New Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Qurna, 104–106, Fig. on p. 104 (plan)
 Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-'Akhet, 29–31, Pl. 4a
 Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 23
 Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 270–271

- Fragment of an architrave with a name of the temple, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 23, Fig. 3
 Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 270, Fig. 2 [lower]

Ramp

Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-'Akhet, 30–31

Offering hall

Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 24, Fig. 4
 Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 273, 275, Fig. 7

False door

Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 24, Fig. 4
 Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 275, Fig. 7

- Fragment from the false door with the head of a king, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, Fig. 4
 Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 275, Fig. 7

Niches

- Fragments of blocks from niches, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, Unique Temple, 23
 Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 275, Fig. 4

Ceiling

Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-'Akhet, 30
 Barakt, A New Temple of Queen Hatshepsut in Qurna, 105

Artefacts from the temple

Blocks

- Lintel, now stored in the tomb of Harwa (TT 37)

Barakat, The Temple of Kha'-Akhet, 31, Pl. 5a

- Two fragments with a name of the temple, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 270, Fig. 2 [upper]

- Fragment of a block from a niche with a *dado* frieze, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 271, Fig. 4

- Fragment of a block with a text and *kheker* frieze, traces of rebuilding, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 271, Fig. 5

- Fragment of a block with feet of a goddess, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 275, Fig. 6

- Fragment of a block with the *ished* tree, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, The Legacy of Senwosret I, Fig. 2

Statues

- Fragment of an Osiride statue, sandstone, now stored in storeroom no. 1 in the tomb MMA 828

Iwaszczuk, The Temple of Tuthmosis I, 275, Fig. 8

Artefacts in museums

- Wooden door, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 22.2.26

Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, Pl. XI [1]
Hayes, Scepter of Egypt II, 82–83, Fig. 44

- Head, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 35.3.297, found in the area of the area of Ramesside temple, perhaps from here or from the *H'-zht* temple, see below, p. 261

H^ꜥ-3ht temple

Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Mission 1996, 55–58
Karkowski, el-Bialy, Qurna, 237–245
Leblanc, À propos du Ramesseum, 61–108, Pls VI–LVII
PM II², 424
Ullmann, König für die Ewigkeit, 53–59

Foundation

Foundation deposit

- Peble with inscription

Leblanc, À propos du Ramesseum, 88–90, Pl. LII

Enclosure wall

- Mud brick with the name of the *Hnkt-^ꜥnh* temple

Leblanc, Note sur une mention du temple de millions d'années, 117–122

Blocks in temples

Temple of Ramesses VI at Qurna

- Block with a king embraced by a god

Bietak, Theben-West, Pl. XIIa

Small Ramesside temple at Qurna

Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Mission 1996, 56–58
Karkowski, el-Bialy, Qurna, 237–245

- Two blocks with the name of the *H^ꜥ-3ht* temple

Karkowski, Hatshepsut Temple, Epigraphic Mission 1996, 57

Temple of Ramesses II (Ramesseum)

Leblanc, Les remplois de blocs décorés, 83–109, Pls XXV–XXIX
Leblanc, À propos du Ramesseum, 61–108, Pls VI–LVII
Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres remplois de blocs décorés, 47–59, Pls VIII–XIII
Quibell, The Ramesseum, 5 [7], 16 [32], Pl. XIII [2]

Limestone structure in front of “mammisi”

- Blocks with fragments of texts

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, 68

■ Block with a bird

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, 68

■ Fragment of block with a cartouche of Thutmose III

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, 68

“Mammisi”

■ Fragment of a block with a sun disk, a royal titulary and a speech of a god

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, 70, Pl. XIB

■ Fragment of a block with a cryptogram frieze and a speech of a god

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, 70, Pl. XIII A

■ Fragment of a block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, 70, Pl. XIII B

■ Fragment of a statue base

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, 70, Pls XIV, XV A (described as an architrave)

Room of treasury

Row of columns

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pls XXB, XXIA, XXVII–XXIX

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pls XXIB, XXIII A

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pls XXIIB, XXIIB

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pls XXIV, XXVA

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pl. XXVB

■ Block with a vulture

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pl. XXVIA

Small hypostyle hall STA.SH

■ Pillar or pilaster

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pl. XXXIIA

■ Pillar or pilaster

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pl. XXXIIB

■ Drum of column cl.02s

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pl. XXXIIIA

■ Drum of column cl.02n

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pl. XXXIIIB

Room STA.SA01

■ Fragment of an architrave

Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pl. XXXIV

Sectors STB–E

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze and upper part of a scene

Leblanc, Saintilan, *Autres emplois de blocs décorés*, 92, 97, 100, Fig. 2, Pl. XIIB [R-BC.16]

■ Block with a titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, *Les emplois de blocs décorés*, 87, Fig. 2 [R-BC.24]

■ Block with a titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, *Les emplois de blocs décorés*, 84 [R-BC.30]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, *Les emplois de blocs décorés*, 97, Fig. 1, Pl. XXVIIIB [R-BC.31]

■ Block with a Horus name of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Saintilan, *Autres emplois de blocs décorés*, Pl. XA
 Leblanc, *Les emplois de blocs décorés*, 87, Fig. 1 [R-BC.41]
 Leblanc, *Á propos du Ramesseum*, Pl. XXXVIII A [STB.45]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze and upper part of a scene

Leblanc, Saintilan, *Autres emplois de blocs décorés*, Fig. 2, Pl. XIII A [R-BC.53]

■ Block with an erased cartouche

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 84 [R-BC.54]

■ Block with a text above the royal *ka*

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 1 [R-BC.71]

■ Block with offerings

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 3 [R-BC.72]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Pl. XIII B [R-BC.73]

■ Block with a titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 2 [R-BC.76]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 97 [R-BC.78]

■ Block from a niche with a titulary of Thutmose III

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 97, Fig. 3 [R-BC.97]

■ Block with a titulary of Thutmose III

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 85 [R-BC.99]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 97 [R-BC.114]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 97 [R-BC.116]

■ Block with a titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 84 [R-BC.117]

■ Block with a titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 84, 100 [R-BC.118]

■ Block with a king embracing Amun

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 3 [R-BC.146]

■ Block with a titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 84 [R-BC.147]

■ Block with a bird

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 2 [R-BC.155]

■ Block with feet

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Pl.IXA [R-BC.164–R-BC.165]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 97, Fig. 3, Pl. XXVIII A [R-BC.166]

■ Block with *ka* (standard) of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Pl. XB [R-BC.175]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 97 [R-BC.177]

■ Block with a titulary of Thutmose III

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 85 [R-BC.179]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 98, Fig. 1 [R-BC.206]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 98 [R-BC.212]

■ Block with a royal titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 84, Fig. 2 [R-BC.215]
Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXVIII B [STB.187]

■ Block with a bird and geometric frieze

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 2 [R-BC.222]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 98 [R-BC.223]

■ Block with a titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 85, 96, 102 [R-BC.226]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 98 [R-BC.227]

■ Block with a titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 85, Fig. 2 [R-BC.232]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 98 [R-BC.235]

■ Block with a king

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 1 [R-BC.238]

■ Block with a face of a king

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 96, Pl. XXVIIIB [R-BC.241]

■ Block with a king or a god holding 'nh signs

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 96, Fig. 3 [R-BC.248]

■ Block with offerings

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Pl. VIIIA [R-BC.254]

■ Block with a bird and a royal titulary

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 2 [R-BC.261]

■ Block with offerings

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Pl. XIB [R-BC.263]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 98 [R-BC.280]

■ Block with signs: 'nh, dd, w3s on nb sign

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, 98 [R-BC.287]

■ Block with offerings

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, Fig. 1 [R-BC.288]

■ Block with offerings

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Pl. VIIIB [R-BC.290]

■ Block with offerings

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Pl. XIA [R-BC.291]

■ Block with legs and a kilt

Leblanc, Saintilan, Autres emplois de blocs décorés, Pl. IXA [R-BC.308]

■ Block with a text

Leblanc, Les emplois de blocs décorés, Pl. XXVB

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XL [STB.43]

■ Block with a royal titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXIX [STB.44]

■ Block with a cartouche of Thutmose III

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XLI [STB.51]

■ Block with cartouches of Thutmose III

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XLI [STB.114]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XL [STD.190]

■ Block with cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XL [STD.191]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XL [STD.192]

■ Block with cartouches of Thutmose III

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XLI [STD.252]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XL [STD.253]

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XL [STD.254]

■ Block with a royal titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXVIIIID [STD.256]

■ Block with a royal titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. LVIIA-B [STE.267]

■ Block with cartouches of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXVIIIIF [STE.270]

■ Block with cartouches of Thutmose III

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XLI [STD.285]

- Block with a royal titulary of Hatshepsut

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXIX [STD.286]

- Block from a niche with a bird and a *kheker* frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXVIII E [STD.288]

- Block with a royal titulary of Hatshepsut and an offering list

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXVIII C [STB.289]

- Block with a text in a big scale

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXVI B

- Block from a door jamb with erased decoration

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XXXIX A

Nord processional alley

- Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XLVII A

West processional alley

- Block with a cryptogram frieze

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XLVII B

Columns

- Fragment of a base of a column

Leblanc, Á propos du Ramesseum, Pl. XVII B

Blocks in museums

found in the area of the above mentioned temples

- Block with changed decoration, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 1366

- Block with a cryptogram frieze, Petrie Museum, London UC 16802

Quibell, The Ramesseum, 5
Stewart, Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings, 2, Pl. 2.4

- Block with a cryptogram frieze, Petrie Museum, London UC 28748

Stewart, Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings, 2, Pl. 2.3

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze, Manchester Museum, Manchester 1888

Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 5
Stewart, *Egyptian stelae, reliefs and paintings*, 2, Pl. 2.4

■ Fragment of block with coronation scene with Atum, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 36.3.271

Lansing, Hayes, *The Museum's Excavations*, 4, Fig. 4
Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 89
PM II², 424, 425
Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 153 [81]

■ Fragment of block with the head of the king, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 26.7.1399

Fairservis Walter A., *The Ancient Kingdoms of the Nile, And the Doomed Monuments of Nubia*, New York 1962, Fig. on p. 130
Hayes, *The Scepter of Egypt II*, 118, Fig. 60
Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, Fig. 73
Roehrig, Dreyfus, Keller (Eds), *Hatshepsut*, 156 [86]
Pijoán, *Summa Artis III*, Fig. 335
PM II², 424

■ Lintel, University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, Philadelphia E 1823

Hatshepsut. *From Queen to Pharaoh*, 283, Fig. 199
Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, 16, Pl. XIIIa

Artefacts connected with the *H'-zht* temple

■ Pendant, carnelian (MacGregor Collection 18), probably from here or from the Hathor Shrine in the *Dsr-dsrw* temple, see above, p. 84

Newberry Percy E., *Extracts from my Notebook*, in: *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology XXIV*, 1902, 248 [32, a]
PM II², 353
Sotheby Sale Cat. (MacGregor), June 26 to July 6, 1922, no. 18
Urk. IV, 381 [116, 117]

■ Statue of Sen-en-mut, found in the temple of Thutmose III at Deir el-Bahari

Marciniak, *Une nouvelle statue de Senenmout*, 203

■ Head, granite, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 35.3.297, found in the area of the area of Ramesside temple, perhaps from here or from the *Hnmt-nh* temple, see above, p. 251

Grimm, Schoske, *Hatshepsut Königin Ägyptens*, 53 [5], Fig. 39

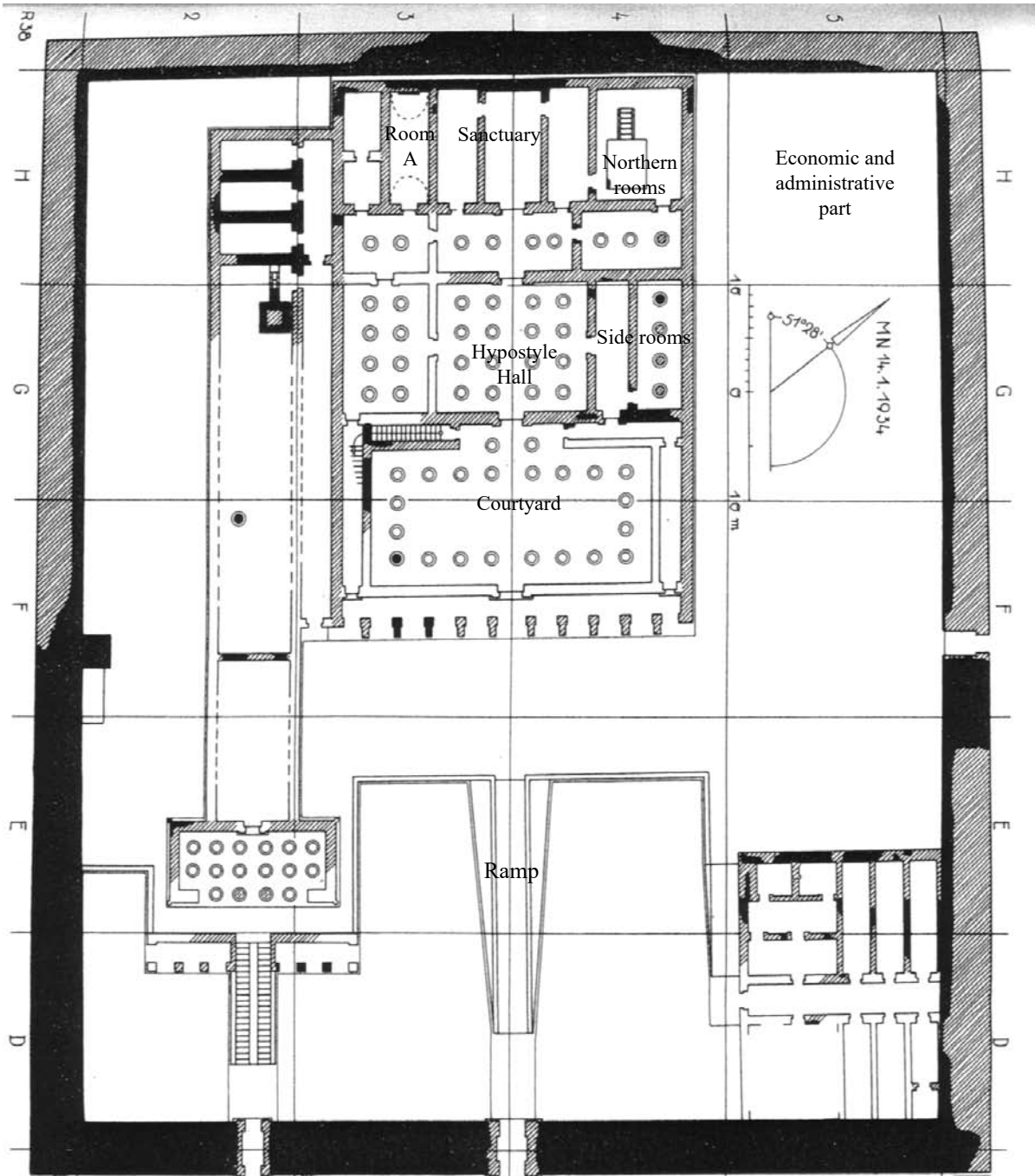


Fig. 43. Temple of Thutmose III – *Hnkt-nh* (based on Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, Pl. 5; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Temple of Thutmose III – *Hnkt-ḥ*

Foundation

Foundation deposits

PM II², 427
Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 32–33, Pls 4, 12
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 183–185, Fig. 8

Deposit below the Osiride statue

Fakhry, *Miscellanea*, 28–30, Pls II [B], III
PM II², 427
Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 32–33, Pls 4, 12
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 183–184

- Cattle head and leg, two incense vessels, 166 carnelian beads, 25 vessels, mud brick, charcoal, sandstone fragments

Fakhry, *Miscellanea*, 28–30, Pls II [B], III
PM II², 427
Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 32–33, Pls 4, 12
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 183–184

- Chisel, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 86952

Fakhry, *Miscellanea*, 30
PM II², 427
Urk. IV, 1250
Urk. IV Übersetzung, 15
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 184

Artefacts from foundation deposits

Petrie, *Forty-five Years Ago*, 478
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 185

- Adze, four chisels, three knife blades, three axes, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 16961–E 16963, E 16965–E 16972

Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 185

- Calcite pebble, British Museum, London EA18194

PM II², 427
Spiegelberg, *Varia*, 87
Urk. IV, 885.5–7
Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 184–185

- Axe, Hildesheim, Roemer- und Pelizaeus-Museum 5409

Schmitz, *Zwei Gründungsbeigaben*, 523–525, Fig. 2, Pl. 28

- Axe, Louvre, Paris E 27458

Vernus, Deux objets, 60–62, Pls II–III

Enclosure wall

Fig. 43

PM II², 426
 Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 19
 Seco Álvarez, Radwan *et al.*, First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 28

Stamped mud bricks

Assmann, Das Grab des Amenemope, 244, Pl. LXXIIIe-f
 Leblanc, Note sur une mention du temple de millions d'années, 117–122
 PM II², 429
 Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 35–36
 Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmosis III, 70, Fig. 5
Urk. IV, 884.11–17
 Weigall, A Repport on the Excavation, 128

- Three mud bricks stamped with names of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1515, ÄM 1523, ÄM 1524

LD III, Pls 25bis i, 26 [4]
 LD III Text, 2, 126
 Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 36 [15]

- Eleven mud bricks stamped with name of Thutmose III, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Berlin ÄM 1517, ÄM 1529, ÄM 1530, ÄM 1531, ÄM 1533–ÄM 1535, ÄM 1540

LD III, Pls 25bis i, 26 [4] (1515, 1523, 1524), 39f (1517), g (1531, 1533), i (1540), k (1534, 1535)
 LD III Text, 126 (1517, 1526, 1529, 1531, 1533), 139 (1540)
 Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 35 [2] (1529), [3] (1534, 1535), [9] (1540), [10] (1530); 36 [11] (1517), [12] (1531, 1533)
Urk. IV, 884 [264 a-c]

- Mud brick, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo, no number given

Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 4, n. 5
 Prisse d'Avennes, Monuments égyptiens, Pl. XXIII [10]
Urk. IV, 884 [264d]

- Mud brick stamped with names of Hatshepsut and Thutmose I, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo, no number given

Legrain, Répertoire généalogique, 47 [75]
 PM II², 429
 Weigall, A Repport on the Excavation, 129 [5]

- Mud bricks with the name of the *Hnkt-ḥḥ* temple, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo, no number given

Legrain, Notes d'inspection, 183
 Legrain, Répertoire généalogique, 47 [143]
 PM II², 429
 Weigall, A Repport on the Excavation, 121

- Mud brick, British Museum, London EA6011

Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 4, n. 5

- Four mud bricks, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 90.6.38, 90.6.39, 90.6.44, 90.6.45

First pylon

Fig. 43

PM II², 426
 Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 19
 Seco Álvarez, Radwan et al., *First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project*, 28

Courtyard

Fig. 43

Daressy, *Le voyage d'inspection*, 14, n. 3
 PM II², 426
 Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 19–20
 Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, *Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmosis III*, 59

Main building

Fig. 43

PM II², 426–427
 Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 9–14

Ramp

Seco Álvarez, Radwan et al., *First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project*, 32–33, Fig. 3

Façade

PM II², 426
 Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 14
 Seco Álvarez, Radwan et al., *First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project*, 31–32

Sanctuary

PM II², 427
 Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 10
 Seco Álvarez, Radwan et al., *First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project*, 28–30

Royal Cult Complex

Offering hall of Thutmose III (Room A)

el Naggar, *Études préliminaires d'un ciel voûte*, Fig. 18b (section)
 el-Naggar, *Les voûtes. Texte*, 55 (Doc. 34) (Room A)
 el-Naggar, *Les voûtes. Planches*, Fig. 63a (west wall of Room A), b (plan)
 PM II², 426 (called sanctuary)
 Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 10–11, Pls 8–19

False door of Thutmose III

PM II², 426, 461 [3]
 Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III.*, 11–12, Pl. 8

Ceiling

el Naggar, Études préliminaires d'un ciel voûte, Fig. 17
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Texte, 55 (Doc. 34) (Room A)
 el-Naggar, Les voûtes. Planches, Fig. 63a (west wall of Room A), b (plan)
 PM II², 426
 Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 10–11, Pl. 9

Northern rooms (Sun Cult Complex?)

Fig. 43

Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 12

Side rooms

Fig. 43

Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., Pl. 5

Economic and administrative part

Fig. 43

Daressy, Le voyage d'inspection, 14–15 [n. 3] (plan)
 Daressy, Sièges de prêtres, 236–237, n. 1
 PM II², 427
 Ricke, Der Totentempel Thutmoses' III., 16–17

Artefacts from the temple

Decorated blocks found in the area of *Hnkt-‘nh*

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 64–68, Pl. III, Figs 1–4

■ Block with a *kheker* frieze

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 64

■ Fragment of a block with a vulture

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 64

■ Fragments of blocks with parts of human body in different scale, a.o. 9015

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 64, Pl. IIIB
 Seco Álvarez, Radwan et al., First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 56, Fig. 25 [9015]
 Seco Álvarez, Recientes descubrimientos, 209 [photo 9]

■ Fragments of blocks with parts of Amun's body, a.o. RM 5893, RM 5109

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 64
 Seco Álvarez, Radwan *et al.*, First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 46, Fig. 6 [RM 5109]

■ Fragments of blocks with the bark of Amun, RM 5874

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 64, Fig. 1

■ Fragments of blocks with offering tables in different scale, a.o. RM 5023, RM 5125, RM 5881, RM 5883, RM 5898, RM 5900

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 64

■ Fragment of a block with an offering ritual, 1466

Seco Álvarez, Radwan *et al.*, First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 59, Fig. 31

■ Fragment of a block with an offering bearer, 5250, 5252

Seco Álvarez, Radwan *et al.*, First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 59, Fig. 32

■ Fragment of a block with an offering list, RM 5882

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 64, Fig. 2

■ Fragment of a block with cartouches

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 65

■ Fragment of a block with a text, RM 5013

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 65, Fig. 3

■ Fragment of a block with a text, RM 5866

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 65, Fig. 4

■ Fragment of a block with the text concerning *sed* festival RM 5147, RM 5820

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 65

■ Fragment of a block with text, SD 1540

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 67

■ Fragment of a block with list of foreign countries, a.o. RM 1309, SD 1715, SD 766

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 67

■ Fragment of a block with tribute(?), SD 760

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 67

■ Fragment of a block with cartouche of Mutnefret

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 68

■ Fragment of a block with head, SD 735

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 68

■ Fragment of a block with body in *hb-sd* cloak, RM 1049

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 68

- Fragment of a block with body in *hb-sd* cloak, 1000N2L108–2086

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmosis III, 68

- Fragment of a block with throne and body in *hb-sd* cloak, RM 893

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmosis III, 68

- Fragment of a block with body in *hb-sd* cloak, RM 930

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmosis III, 68

- Fragment of a block with five rowers, RM 1027

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmosis III, 68

- Fragment of a block with enthroned deities, 728

Seco Álvarez, Radwan et al., First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 56, Fig. 26

Fragments of battle scenes

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmosis III, 67
Seco Álvarez, Radwan *et al.*, First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 35–36

- Fragment of block with horse's legs, 1674, 2075

Seco Álvarez, Radwan *et al.*, First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 35 [1674, 2075], 57, Fig. 27 [1674]

- Fragment of block with archers, 1990, 2074

Seco Álvarez, Radwan *et al.*, First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 35, Figs 28 [2074], 29 [1990]

- Fragment of block with prisoners 1696

Seco Álvarez, Radwan *et al.*, First Season of the Egyptian-Spanish Project, 35, Fig. 28 [2074]

Blocks in museums

- Fragment of a block with cartouche of Thutmose III, Egypt Centre Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Swansea W1371

- Block with a royal bark, Landesmuseum, Mainz am Rhein PJG 72

Sammler-Pilger-Wegbereiter, 33, Fig. 2

Stelae

- Stela SD 2070 with fragments of royal torso and khepresh-crown

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmosis III, 67

- Stela SD 1959 with offering bearers

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 67

- Stela SD 324

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 68

Statues

- Fragments of statues of Thutmose III

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 69

- Statue of seal bearer Seninefer

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 68

- Statue of Paneferamun, 1000S3L109–9092

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 69

- Two altars, sandstone

Fakhry, Miscellanea, 28

Ostraca

14 ostraca

- Ostrakon, 940NIL108–9060

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 69

- Ostrakon, RM 9035

Seco-Álvarez, Radwan, Egyptian-Spanish Project at the Temple of Thutmose III, 69

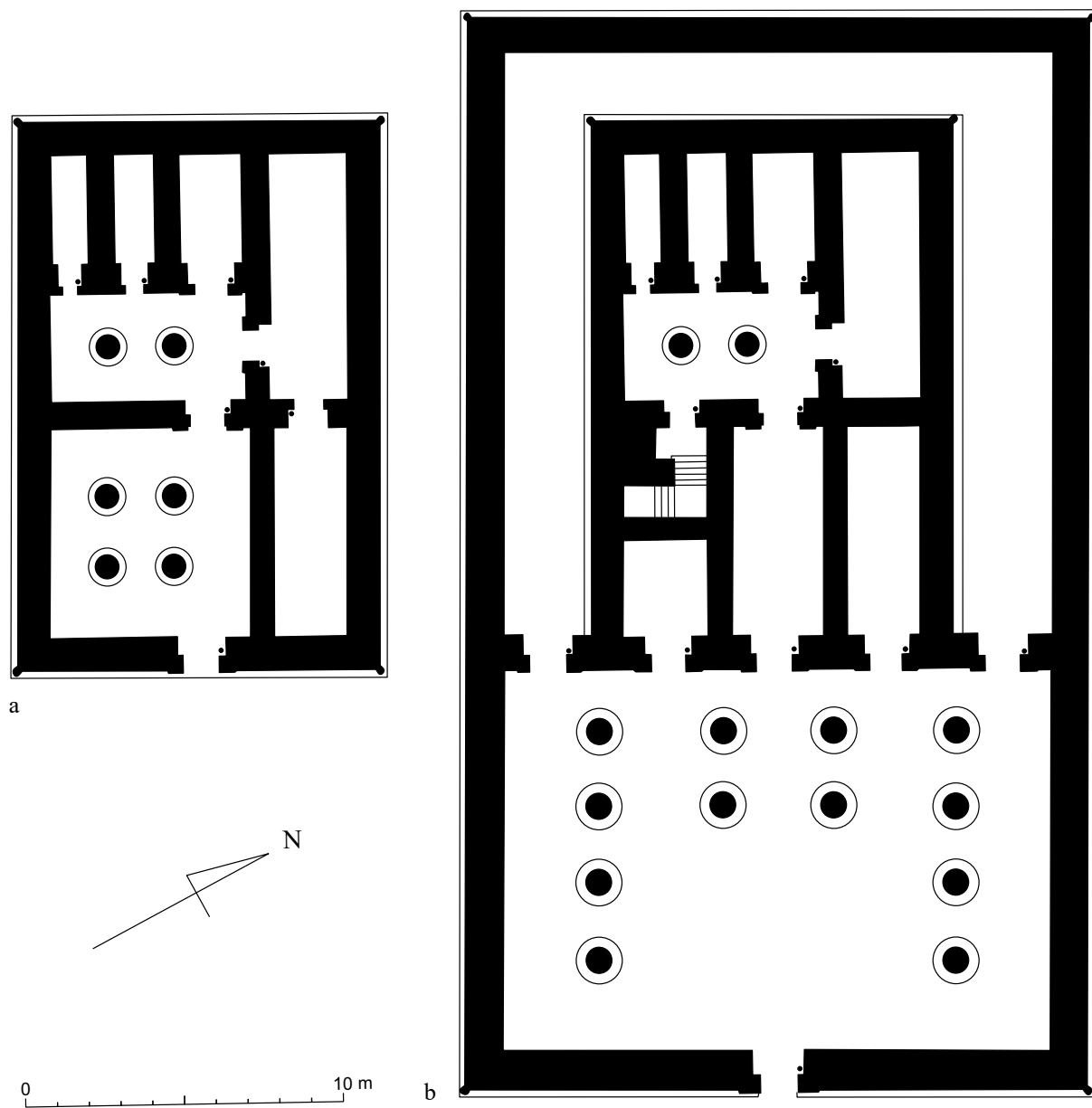


Fig. 44. *Šspt-‘nh* temple of Thutmose II, reconstruction of phases of the construction: a) phase I (times of Hatshepsut); b) phase II (times of Thutmose III) (based on Varille, *Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep*, Pl. VII, digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Temple of Thutmose II – *Šspt-ḥ*

Gabolde, Gabolde, Les temples ‘mémoriaux’, 128–139, 144–179, Pls XIV–XXII
Gabolde, Monument, 175–181
Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, Pl. 2 (plan)
Laboury, La statuaire de Thoutmosis III, 561, n. 1633
Laskowski, Monumental Architecture, 205–207
PM II², 456–457
Robichon, Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, 28, 31–34, Pls IV [2], VI, VII, cf. V, XLVIII
Robichon, Varille, Fouilles des temples funéraires, Fig. on p. 99 (plan)
Varille, Robichon, Quatre nouveaux temples, 238, Fig. 1 (plan)
Varille, Robichon, Nouvelles fouilles, 179–180, Pls I (plan), III [4]

Foundation

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 25–26

Foundation deposit(?)

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 9

Enclosure wall

Fig. 44

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 10, 32–33
PM II², 456

Courtyard

Fig. 44

Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 7

Colonnade

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 14, Fig. 8

Columns

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 50–51
PM II², 457
Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, 32, Fig. 5B
Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 7

Walls

North wall

Battle scene

- Fragments of blocks with battle scene

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 14, 40–42 [2°], Pls II–IV
 Harvey, The Cults of King Ahmose, 308, 315, 317–318, 354–361, 531 [B], 544, 545, 548–549
 Heinz, Die Feldzugsdarstellungen des Neuen Reiches, 235
 PM II², 456
 Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 5

South wall

Scene of the procession with statues

■ Fragments of blocks with scene of the procession with statues

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 14, 42–50, Fig. 23, Pls V–X
 Gabolde, Gabolde, Les temples ‘mémoriaux’, 128–139, 144–179, Pls XIV–XXII
 PM II², 456
 Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 13, 14

Gargoyle

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 33, 51, Fig. 17
 Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 7

Main building

Fig. 44

Platform

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 25–26, Fig. 14, Pl. I
 Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, Pl. I

Hypostyle Hall

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 25–26, Fig. 14, Pl. I
 Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, Pl. I

Changed plan: staircaise and two rooms

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 26
 Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, 32

■ Fragment of the staircase

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 30, 51, Figs 11, 15
 Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 7

■ Fragments of blocks with fecundity figures

Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 7

Vestibule

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 28
 Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, Pl. VII

Three narrow chapels

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 31
Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, 32

Two northern rooms

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 30–31
Vandier, Manuel II, 668
Varille, Le temple du scribe royal Amenhotep, 32

Artefacts from the temple

Blocks

Blocks and fragments of blocks with cryptogram friezes

Laboury, La statuaire de Thoutmosis III, 561, n. 1633
Gabolde, Monument, 175
Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 7, 10

■ Fragment of block with an inscription

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 51–52

■ Fragments of blocks with offering scenes

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 37–40 [1°], Figs 19, 20, 22
Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 10

■ Fragments of blocks with a representations of a king

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 39, 52–53, Figs 21, 24, 25
Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 6

■ Block with a *kheker* frieze and oil vases, found in the area of the temple of Aye

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 60, Fig. 31
Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II 101 [12], Fig. 83
PM II, 460
Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 6

■ Fragments of blocks with different offering lists

Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 7–9

■ Fragments of blocks with royal titulary

Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 8, 9
PM II², 457

■ Fragments of blocks with inscriptions

Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 9–10

■ Fragments of blocks with offerings

Bruyère MSS 1945–1946, 10

Statues

- Six fragments of the seated statue of Thutmose II wearing *nemes*, indurated limestone

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 55 [2°]
PM II², 457

Others

- Stela

Bruyère, Sondages au temple funéraire de Thoutmosis II, 56(2), Pls IX [2], XII [1]

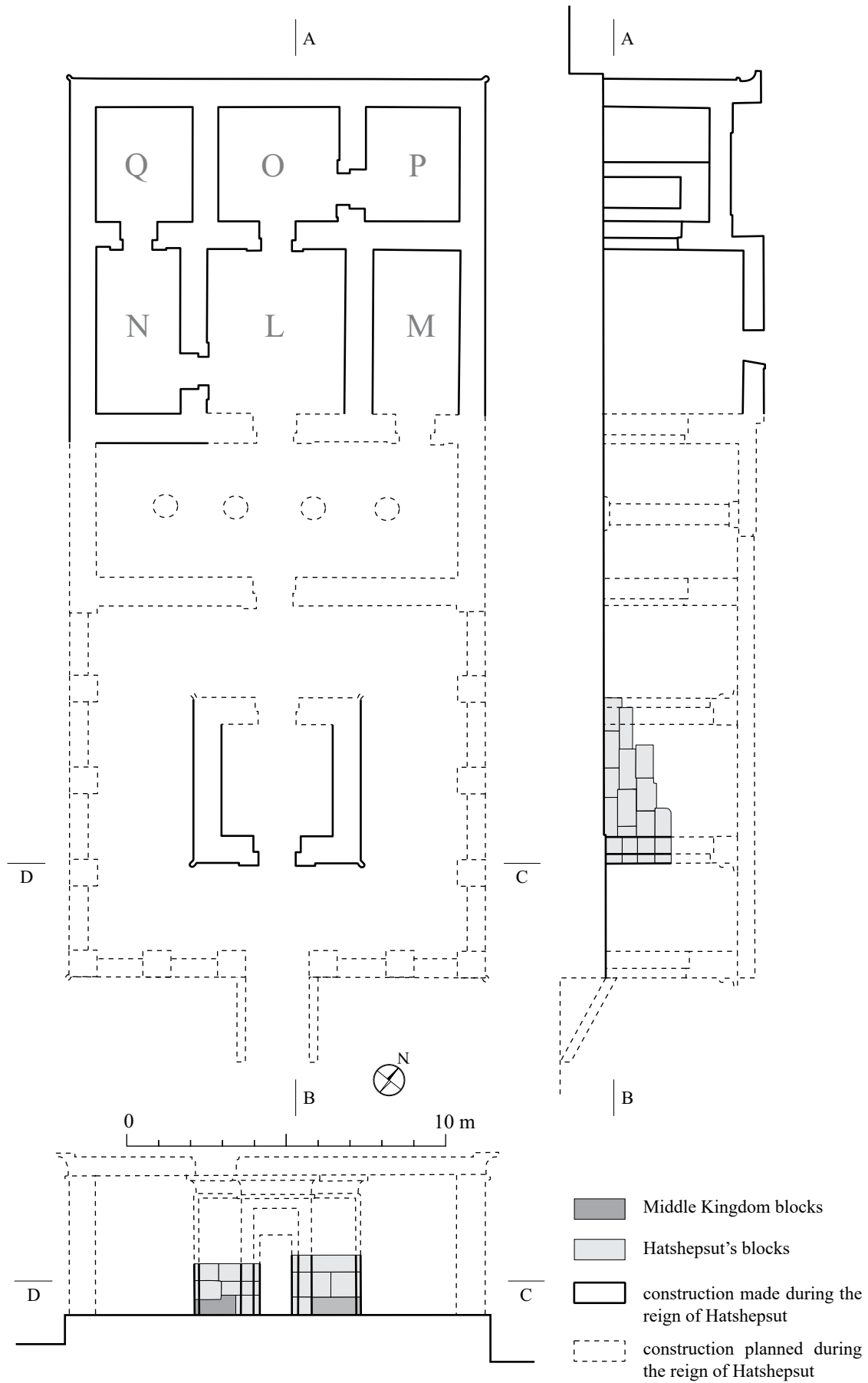


Fig. 45. *Dsr-st* temple at Medinet Habu, plan of the temple (based on Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 2; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

The temple at Medinet Habu – *Dsr-st*

Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, Pl. VI (plan)
Champollion, Notices I, 324–326, 332–335
Daressy, Notice explicative, 20–22
Demuß, *Dsr-st*, 3–5, 41–97, Figs 4, 21–23, 26, 33
Gabolde, Carlotti, Czerny, Aux origins de Karnak, 39, Fig. 7 (plan)
Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu I, Pls 5, 6 (plan)
Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, 6–13, 15–17, 32, 44–48, Pl. 2 (plan and sections), 4, Figs 5, 6a, 7–8, 10 (scheme of decoration), 41 (plan)
LD III Text, 150 (plan), 161–163
Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII (plan)
Nelson, United with Eternity, 77 (plan)–78
PM II², 470–472, Pl. XLV.1 (plan)
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, *passim*
Ullmann, Thebes: Origins of the Ritual Landscape, 18, Fig. 2.7 (plan)
Vandier, Manuel II, 745–750, Figs 369–370 [lower] (plan)

Foundation

Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, Pl. 2

Foundation deposit

- Throwstick, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 16006, probably from the foundation deposit
- Cosmetic Jar Lid, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 14535, probably from the foundation deposit

Enclosure walls

Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, 6–7, 32

Thicker mud brick wall

Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, 6, 32, Figs 5, 6a, 27, 28

Foundation

Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, 6, Fig. 61b

- Mud bricks, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 59901

Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, 6, 33, Fig. 6a
PM II², 474

- Faience plaque, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 14904

Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, 32 (field no. MH 27.32a)

Name stones

- Two name stones, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 14384 A, E 14385

Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, 45, Fig. 27 (E 14384 A)

- 11 name stones from the Ali Hasan Storage Museum at Qurna (Luxor)

Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, 45, Fig. 28 (field no. Mh. 27.32f)

Two thinner mud brick walls

Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, 6–7, 32, Fig. 5

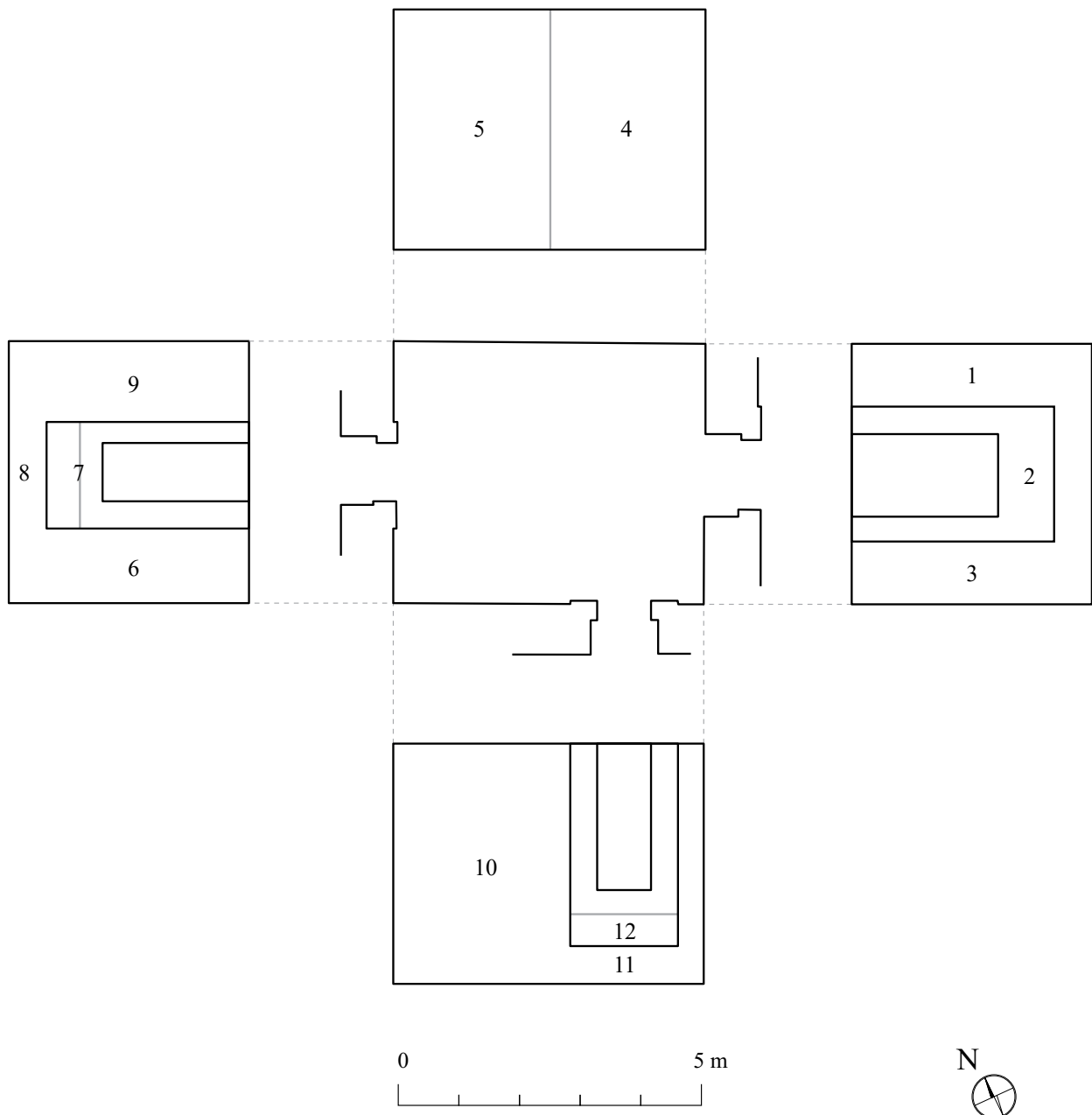


Fig. 46. *Dsr-st* temple at Medinet Habu, Room L (based on Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 2; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Room L

Fig. 46

Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 47–48
 Champollion, Notices I, 332–333
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, Pl. 4
 PM II², 470 [51–53]
 Chic. Or. Inst. photos 8156, 8163–8164



East wall

PM II², 470 [51–53]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 22–23, Pls 16–19

1. Thutmose III → embraced by Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 24]
 PM II², 470 [52]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 23, Pl. 19

2. Door frame: royal titulary of Thutmose III

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 25]
 PM II², 470 [51]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 22–23, Pls 16, 17
 Chic. Or. Inst. photos 1306, 8173

3. Thutmose III ← embraced by Amun-Ra → (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 26]
 PM II², 470 [53]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 23, Pl. 18
 Burton MSS 25646, 35



replaced with



North wall

PM II², 470 [53]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 24–26, Pls 22–25, 115

4. Thutmose III ← censuring and making a libation offering before ityphallic Amun-Ra → (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 27]
 PM II², 470 [53]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 24–25, Pls 22, 23, 115
Urk. IV, 555 [179] E44, 564 [180] T, 582 [184], 883 [262] A, B (part of the scene)
 Lepsius MSS 112 [upper] (text of Amun)
 Wilkinson MSS v. 204 [upper]

5. Thutmose III ← making offerings before enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored)

Champollion, Notice I, 332 (l. 20), 718 (fragment of a text)
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 28]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 25–26, Pls 24, 25, 116
 PM II², 470 [53]

West wall

PM II², 470 [53]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 26–28, Pls 27–29, 117



6. Amun-Ra → (restored) offering 'nh sign to Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose III)

Johnson, Annual Report 2002–2003, Figs 4, 7
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 29]
 PM II², 470 [53]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 27, Pls 27, 117

7. Door frame: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (cartouches replaced with Thutmose II)

Johnson, Annual Report 1998–1999, Fig. 3
 Johnson, The Epigraphic Survey, Pl. I
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 30]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 27–28, Pls 28, 29

8. Two rows of offerings

Johnson, Annual Report 1998–1999, Fig. 3
 Johnson, The Epigraphic Survey, Pl. I
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 31]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 27–28, Pls 28, 29



9. Amun-Ra ← (restored) offering 'nh sign to Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose III)

Grimal, Adly, Fouilles et travaux 2002–2003, Tab. XIII, Fig. 35
 Johnson, Annual Report 2002–2003, Figs 2, 7
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 32]
 PM II², 470 [52]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 26–27, Pls 26, 117



South wall

PM II², 470 [52]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 23–24, 44–45, Pls 20, 21, 114, 56, 57, 114

10. Thutmose III → in front of an offering table presenting offerings to enthroned Amun-[Ra] ← (restored, name partly preserved)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 33]
 PM II², 470 [52]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 23–24, Pls 20, 21, 114
 Chic. Or. Inst. photos 8156, 8163–8164

11. Offerings

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 34]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 44–45, Pls 56, 57, 114

12. Door frame, lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (left) and Thutmose III (right); jambs: royal titulary of Thutmose III (left) and Hatshepsut (right)

Johnson, The Epigraphic Survey, Pl. I
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 35]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 44–45, Pls 56, 57, 114

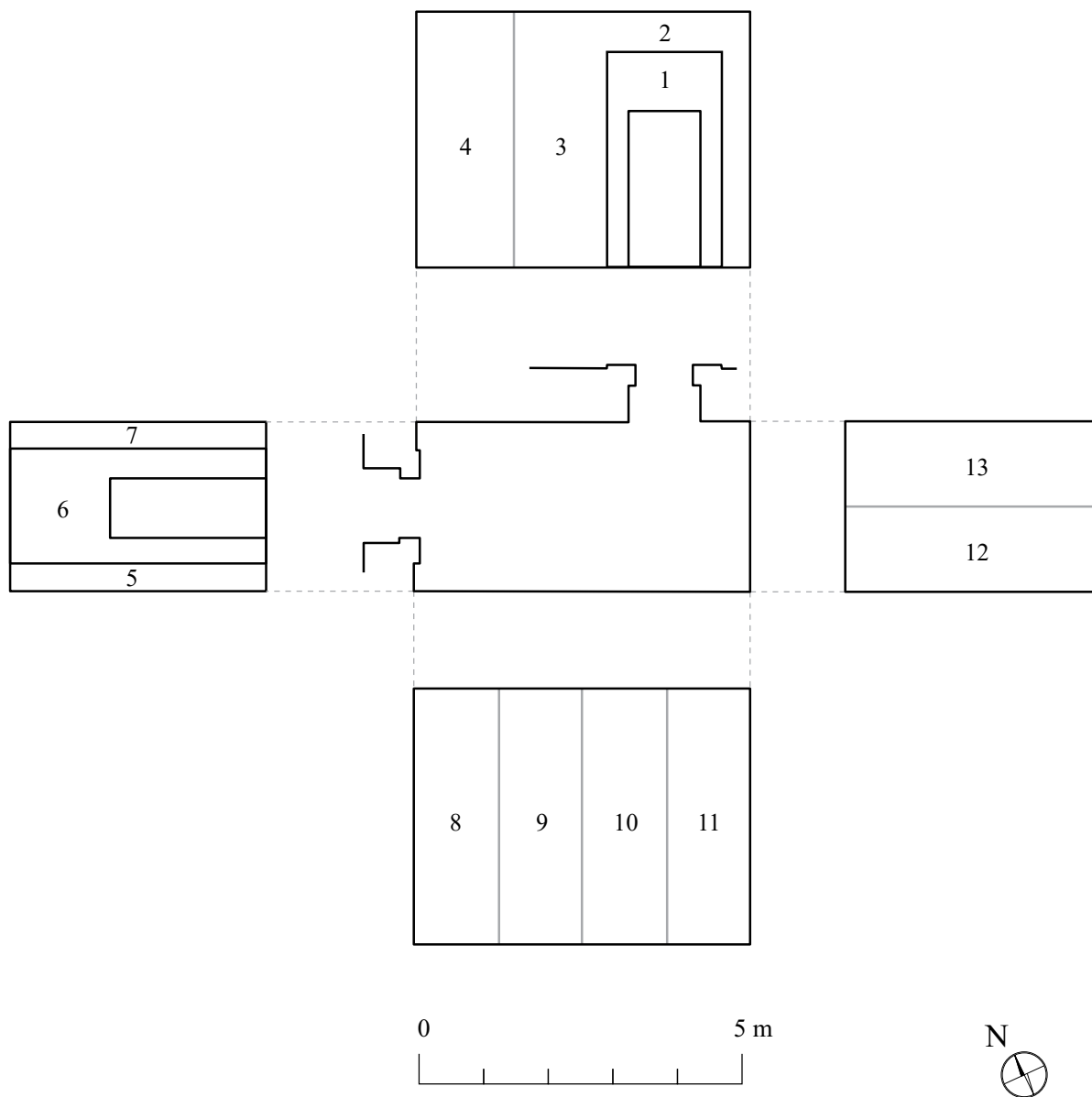


Fig. 47. *Dsr-st* temple at Medinet Habu, Room N (based on Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, Pl. 2; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Room N**Fig. 47**

Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 48
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, Pl. 7 (room N)
 Champollion, Notices I, 334
 LD III Text, 161–162 (room N)
 PM II², 470–471 [54–57] (room II)
 Lepsius MSS 11 5–11 6

**North wall**

1. Door frame, lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (cartouches replaced with Thutmose II); jambs: royal titulary of Thutmose III (left) and Hatshepsut (right)

The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 45, Pls 58, 59
 LD III, Pl. 27.2
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 53]
 Chic. Or. Inst. photos 1295 [right], 8148

2. Offerings

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 53a]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 45, Pls 58, 59

3. Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) offering milk to ityphallic Amun-Ra → (restored)

Champollion, Monuments, CXCVC [2,4]
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 54]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 50, Pls 66, 67, 129
 LD III, Pl. 17e

4. Hatshepsut ← (cartouche replaced with Thutmose I) offering wine to Amun-Ra → (restored)

Bell, Annual Report 1987–1988, 9
 Champollion, Monuments, CXCVC [2,4]
 Champollion, Notices I, 334, 718 (cartouches)
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 50–51, Pls 66, 67, 129
 Johnson, Annual Report 2001–2002, Fig. 1
 LD III, Pl. 7b
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 55]
 Rosellini MSS 285, B 15 (fragment of a text)

no frieze

West wall**5. Offerings**

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 56]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 51–52, Pls 68, 69, 130

6. Door frame, lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (cartouches replaced with Thutmose II); jambs: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (left) and Thutmose III (right)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 57]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 51–52, Pls 68, 69, 130

7. Offerings

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 58]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 51–52, Pls 68, 69, 130



South wall

8. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) offering lettuce to ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 59]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 49, Pls 64, 65, 128
LD III, Pl. 17b

9. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) offering white bread to Amun ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 60]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 48–49, Pls 64, 65, 128
LD III, Pl. 17d

10. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose I) offering a *nmst* vase to ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 61]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 48, Pls 62, 63, 127
LD III, Pl. 17c

11. Thutmose III → offering water to Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 62]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 47–48, Pls 62, 63, 127
Johnson, Annual Report 1999–2000, Fig. 3
LD III, Pl. 17c



East wall

12. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) censuring and making a libation offering before ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 63]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 46–47, Pls 60, 61, 126
Dorman, Annual Report 1995–1996, Fig. 1

13. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) offering bread to Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 64]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 46, Pls 60, 61, 126

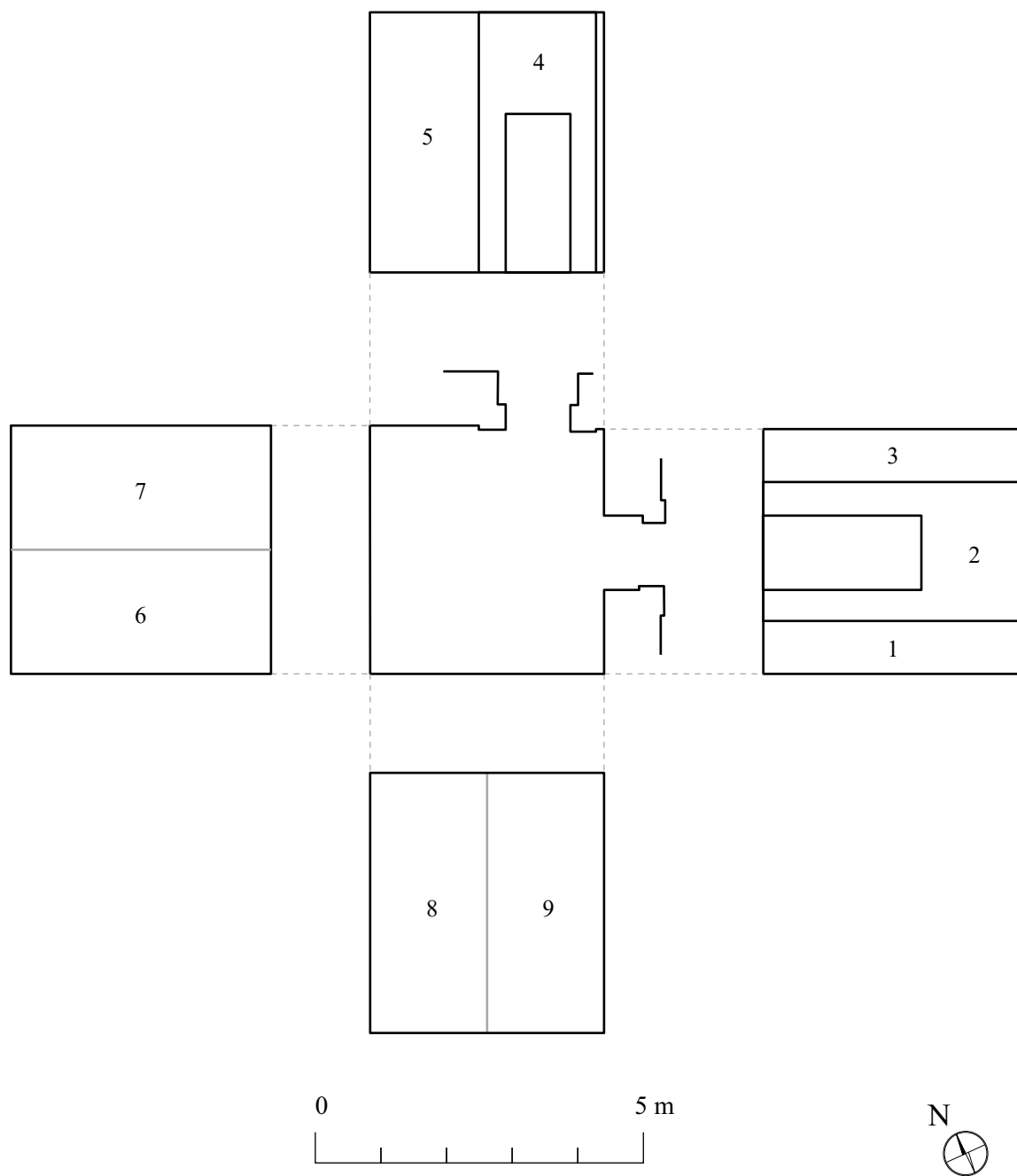


Fig. 48. *Dsr-st* temple at Medinet Habu, Room O (based on Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 2; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Room O

Fig. 48

Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 48
 Champollion, Notices I, 333
 LD III Text, 162 (room O)
 PM II², 471 [62–65] (room IV)
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, Pl. 5 (room O)
 Chic. Or. Inst. photos 1273–1276

East wall



1. Hatshepsut → (erased, cartouche erased) embraced by Amun-Ra ← (restored)

LD III Text, 161
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 36]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 29–30, Pls 33, 118

2. Door frame, lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (cartouches replaced with Thutmose II [left] and Thutmose I [right]); jambs: royal titulary of Thutmose III (left) and Hatshepsut (right, cartouche replaced with Thutmose I)

Dorman, The Proscription of Hatshepsut, 267, Fig. 86
 Jolles, Die antithetische Gruppe, 42 (lintel), Fig. 16
 LD III, Pl. 7c, d
 LD III Text, 162 [middle]
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 37]
 PM II², 470 [52]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 28–29, Pls 30, 31, 118



3. Thutmose III ← embraced by Amun-Ra → (restored)

LD III Text, 161
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 38]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 29, Pls 32, 118



North wall

4. Door frame, lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (cartouches replaced with Thutmose I [left] and Thutmose II [right]); jambs: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (cartouches replaced with Thutmose II)

LD III, Pl. 28.3
 LD III Text, 162
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 39]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 35–36, Pls 42, 43

5. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with an offering table) before Amun-Ra → (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 40]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 32–33, Pls 38, 39

West wall



6. Hatshepsut → (replaced with an offering table) and her *ka* (standard) before enthroned Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 42]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 33–34, Pls 40 [left], 41 [left]



7. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with an offering table) before enthroned Amun-Ra →
(restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 41]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 34, Pls 40 [right], 41 [right]



South wall

8. Hatshepsut → (replaced with an offering table) offering *ntrw* natron to Amun-
Ra ← (restored, in the name only *r*´ sign preserved)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 43]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 31–32, Pls 36, 37, 120

9. Thutmose III → and his *ka* → (standard) offering balls of *bd* natron to ityphal-
lic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 44]
The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 30–31, Pls 34, 35, 119

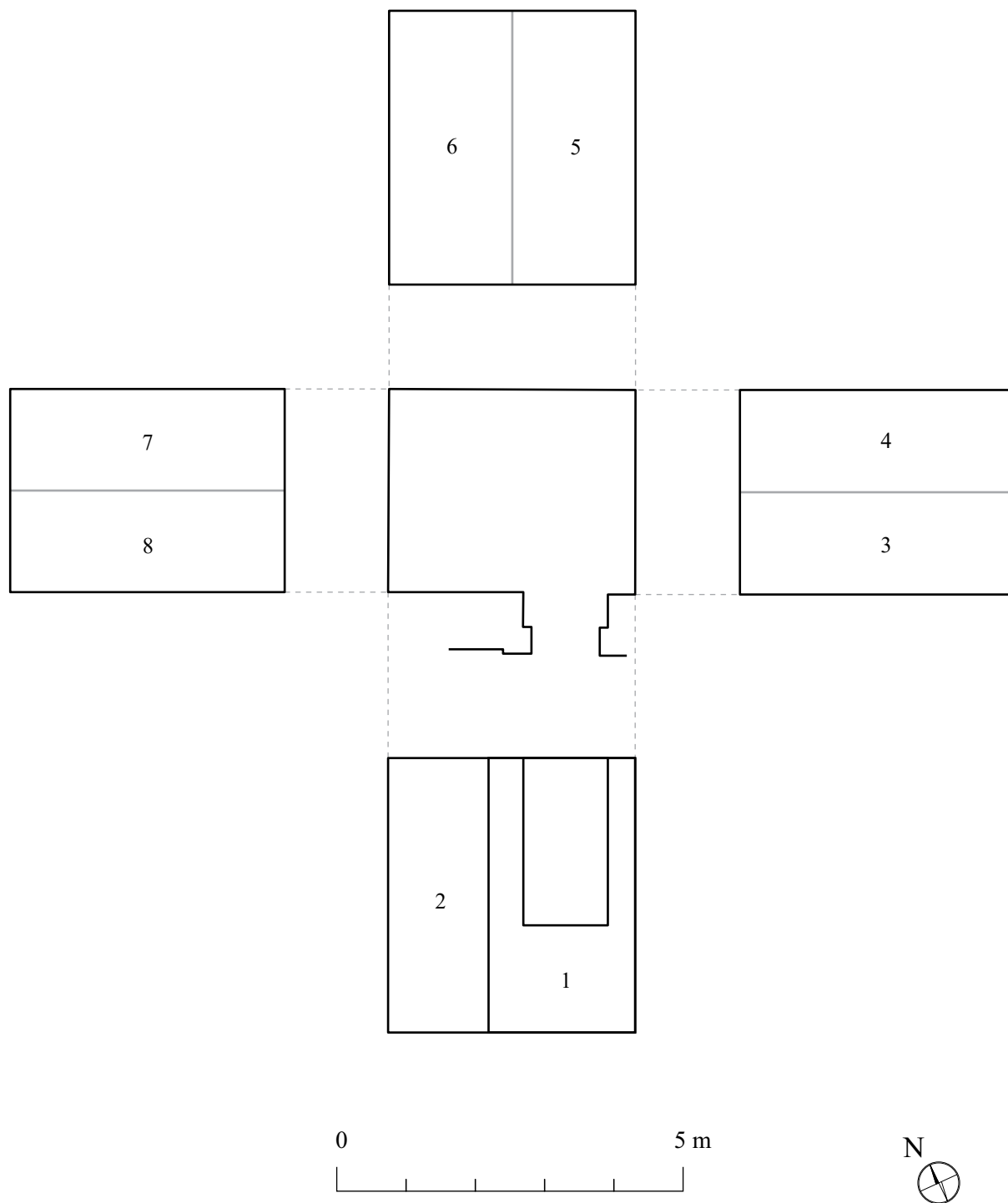


Fig. 49. *Ḍsr-st* temple at Medinet Habu, Room P (based on Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 2; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Room P

Fig. 49

Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 15
 Champollion, Notices I, 334
 Hölscher, The Excavations of Medinet Habu II, 11
 Johnson, The Chicago House Season, 2, Fig. 1 (plan)
 LD III Text, 150 (room P)
 Osing, Zum Kultbildritual, 324
 PM II², 471 [66–69] (room V)
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, Pl. 6 (room P)
 Chic. Or. Inst. photos 1275, 1277–1279, 7333



South wall

1. Door frame, lintel: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (cartouches replaced with Thutmose II [left] and Thutmose I [right]); jambs: royal titulary of Thutmose III (left) and Hatshepsut (right, replaced with Thutmose I)

Champollion, Notices I, 333–334 (cartouches)
 LD III, Pl. 27 [1]
 LD III Text, 162–163
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 45]
 PM II², 471 [66c, 66d]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 36, Pls 44, 45
 Chic. Or. Inst. photos 1275, 1277
 Lepsius MSS 114 [middle] (cartouches)
 Wilkinson MSS v. 205 [upper]

2. Thutmose III → offering milk to Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 52]
 PM II², 471 [67]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 36–37, Pls 46, 47, 121



East wall

Edgerton, Medinet Habu Graffiti, Pl. 4 [17, 18]
 PM II², 471 [68]

3. Thutmose III ← clothing ityphallic Amun-Ra-Kamutef → (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 46]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 38–39, Pls 50, 51, 122

4. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with an offering table) before Amun-Ra → (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 47]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 39–40, Pls 50, 51, 123



North wall

5. Hatshepsut ← followed by her *ka* ← (both replaced with an offering table and *nh*) purifying ityphallic Amun-Ra → (restored) with four *dšrt* vases

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 48]
 Nelson, Certain Reliefs, 221, Pl. 23
 PM II², 471 [69]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 42, Pls 52, 53, 124

6. Hatshepsut ← (replaced with two vessels on stands, a bouquet and *nh*) purifying Amun-Ra → (restored) with four *nmst* vases

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 49]
 Nelson, Certain Reliefs, 221, Pl. 23
 PM II², 471 [69]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 43, Pls 54, 55, 125



West wall

7. Thutmose III → scattering sand before ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 50]
 PM II², 471 [69]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 38, Pls 48 [right], 49 [right]

8. Thutmose III → censing before ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 51]
 PM II², 471 [69]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 37–38, Pls 48 [left], 49 [left]

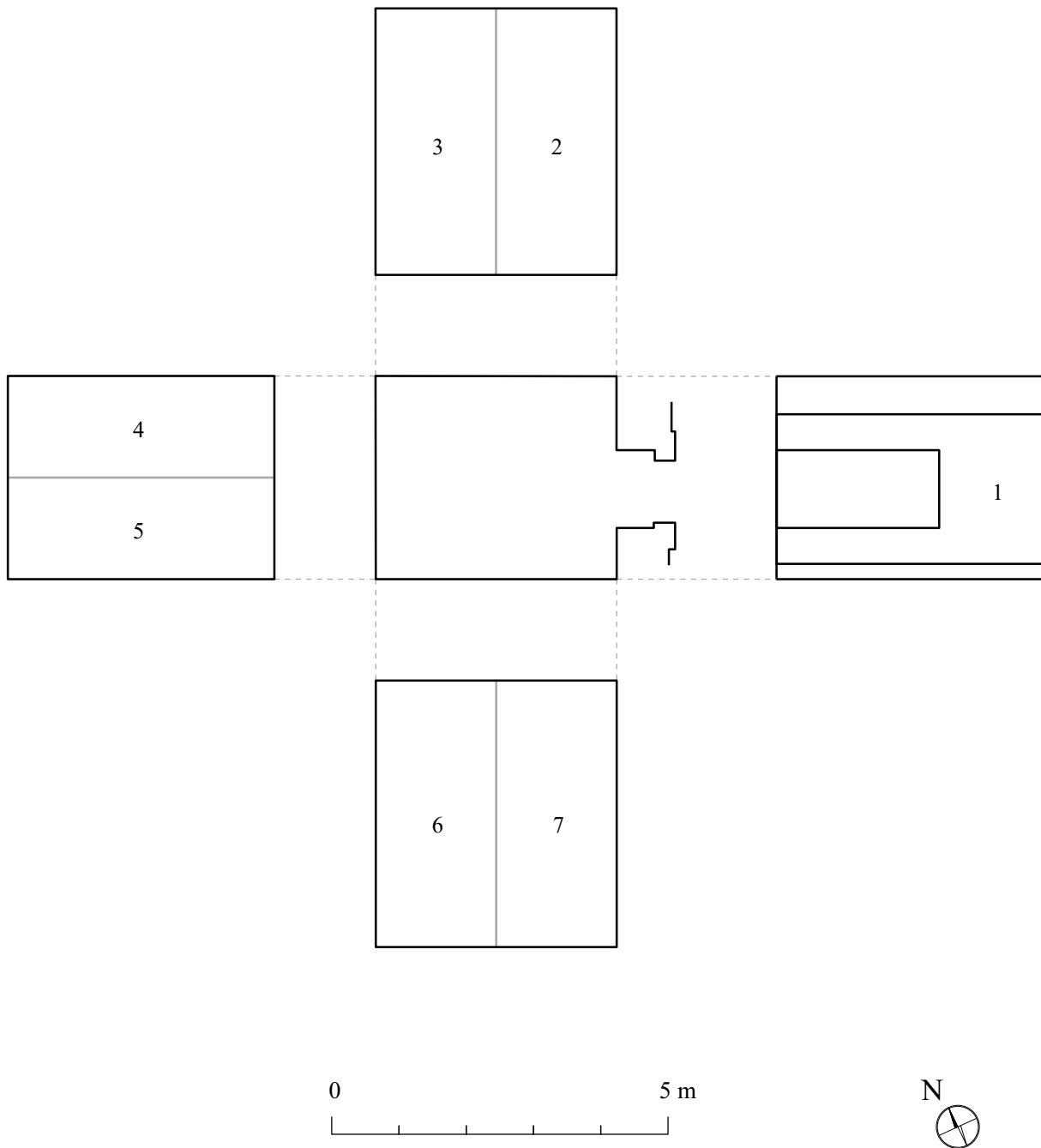


Fig. 50. *Dsr-st* temple at Medinet Habu, Room Q (based on Hölscher, *The Excavations of Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 2; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Room Q

Fig. 50

Arnold, Wandrelief und Raumfunktion, 15–16
 Champollion, Notices I, 334–335, 718–719
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, Pl. 8
 LD III Text, 163 (room Q)
 PM II², 471 [58–61] (room III)
 Chic. Or. Inst. photos 1286–1290

no frieze

East wall

1. Door frame, lintel: royal titulary of Thutmose III (left) and Hatshepsut (right, cartouche replaced with Thutmose II); jambs: royal titulary of Hatshepsut (replaced with Thutmose I [left] and Thutmose II [right])

Champollion, Notices I, 718, 334 [lower], 335 [A, B]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 52–53, Pls 70, 71, 131
 LD III Text, 163
 LD III.Pl. 27 [2], 7 [a]
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 65]
 PM II², 471 (58 c-d)
 Urk. IV, 310–311 [102]
 Urk. IV, Übersetzung, 141
 Lepsius MSS 116 [upper]
 Rossellini MSS 285, B 15



North wall

2. Thutmose III ← with *dsrt* vases before ityphallic Amun-Ra → (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 66]
 PM II², 471 [60]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 55, Pls 76, 77, 134

3. Hatshepsut ← (erased, cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) presenting offerings to enthroned Amun-Ra → (restored)

Bell, The Epigraphic Survey, Pl. 6B
 Johnson, Annual Report 1997–1998, Fig. 2
 Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 67]
 PM II², 471 [60]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 55–56, Pls 78, 79, 135



West wall

4. Thutmose III ← and his *ka* ← (standard) embracing ityphallic Amun-Ra → (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 68]
 PM II², 471 [61]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 57, Pls 80, 81, 136

5. Hatshepsut → (cartouche replaced with Thutmose II) and her *ka* → (standard) embracing ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 69]
 PM II², 471 [61]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 56–57, Pls 80, 81, 136



South wall

6. Hatshepsut → (erased, cartouche erased) in front of an offering table presenting offerings to enthroned Amun ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 70]
 PM II², 471 [59]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 54, Pls 74, 75, 133

7. Thutmose III → offering a cloth to ityphallic Amun-Ra ← (restored)

Nelson, Key Plans, Pl. XXVII [MH B 71]
 PM II², 471 [59]
 The Epigraphic Survey, Medinet Habu IX, 53–54, Pls 72, 73, 132

Artefacts from the Medinet Habu temple

- Statue of the third priest of Amun, Nefer, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 59868

Ikram *et al.* (Eds), *American Contributions*, 34

- Fragment of a statue of Thutmose II, peridotite, Ashmolean Museum of Art and Archaeology, University of Oxford, Oxford AN1965.881, probably from here

Hardwick *et al.*, *Sackler Gallery of Egyptian Antiquities*, Case 50, no. 4

**Artefacts from temples of Hatshepsut/
Thutmose III in West Thebes**

Temple of Merenptah at Qurna

Bickel, Blocs d'Amenhotep III, 13
 Bickel, Tore, 159–161, Pls 52, 95
 Jaritz, Der Totentempel des Merenptah, 165–166, Fig. 11, Pl. 26h

■ Block with a text and *dado* frieze

Jaritz, Der Totentempel des Merenptah, 165–166, Fig. 11, Pl. 26h

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Bickel, Tore, 159, Pls 52a, 95a [Block 94]

■ Block with a text

Bickel, Tore, 159, Pls 52b, 95b [Block 157]

■ Block with a text

Bickel, Tore, 160, Pls 52c, 95c [Block 153]

■ Block with an upper part of two scenes

Bickel, Tore, Pls 52d, 95d [Block 95]

■ Block with a lower part of a bird

Bickel, Tore, 160, Pls 52e, 95e [Block 337]

■ Block with a text behind a king and a geometric frieze

Bickel, Tore, 160, Pls 52f, 95f [Block 93]

■ Eight small pottery vessels, Petrie Museum, London UC 15948–UC 15954, dated to the times before Amenhotep II

Petrie, Six Temples, 4, Pl. IV [1–8]

Blocks in Theban tombs

Tomb of Amun-em-ipet (TT 148)

Ockinga, Macquarie Theban Tombs Project, 66
 Ockinga, Use, Reuse and Abuse of “Sacred Space”, 140, Figs 9.5–9.7

■ Block with royal titulary of Hatshepsut with some changes

Ockinga, Use, Reuse and Abuse of “Sacred Space”, 140, Figs 9.5

■ Block with two columns of a text

Ockinga, Use, Reuse and Abuse of “Sacred Space”, 140, Figs 9.6

■ Block with a cryptogram frieze

Ockinga, Use, Reuse and Abuse of “Sacred Space”, 140, Figs 9.7

Tomb of Djehuty-mes (TT 32)

Kákósy *et al.*, The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes, 14, Fig. on p. 14, n. 60, Pl. XIX [upper left]

■ Fragment of a block with a cryptogram frieze

Kákósy *et al.*, The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes, Pl. XIX [upper left]

■ Fragment of a block with a cryptogram frieze

Kákósy *et al.*, The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes, Fig. on p. 14

■ Fragment of a block with an upper part of a scene

Kákósy *et al.*, The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes, Fig. on p. 14

■ Fragment of a block with a text

Kákósy *et al.*, The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes, Fig. on p. 14

■ Two limestone fragments of blocks

Kákósy *et al.*, The Mortuary Monument of Djehutymes, 14

Tomb of Amun-mes (TT 373)

Seyfried, Thebanisches Kaleidoskop, 116, Fig. 21
Seyfried, Zweiter Vorbereit, 274, Pl. 40a
Seyfried, Das Grab des Amonmose, 231–235, Pl. 52/82–83

■ Fragment of a block with the royal face

Seyfried, Thebanisches Kaleidoskop, 116, Fig. 21
Seyfried, Zweiter Vorbereit, 274, Pl. 40a
Seyfried, Das Grab des Amonmose, 231, Fig. on p. 236, Pl. 52/82 [Obj. Nr. 1537]

■ Fragment of a block with a cartouche of Thutmose III

Seyfried, Das Grab des Amonmose, 279, Fig. on p. 278, Pl. 52/83 [Obj. Nr. 2318]

■ Fragment of a block with a blue crown

Seyfried, Das Grab des Amonmose, 274, Fig. on p. 235 [Obj. Nr. 2159]

■ Fragment of a block with an upper part of a god

Seyfried, Das Grab des Amonmose, 264, Fig. on p. 266, Pl. 52/84 [Obj. Nr. 1965]

Tombs of Hatshepsut

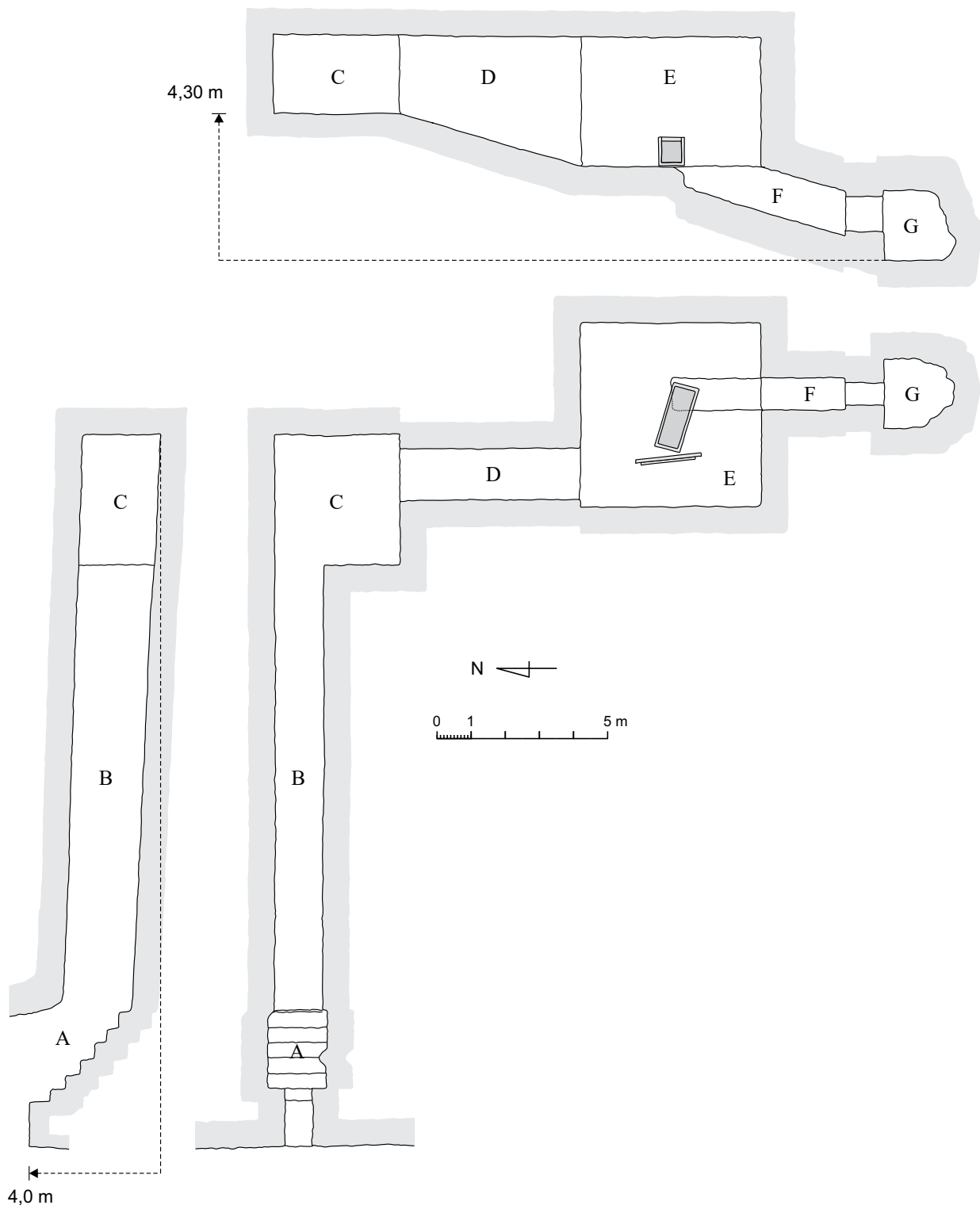


Fig. 51. Tomb of Hatshepsut in the Southern Valleys, plan and section of the tomb of Hatshepsut (based on Carter, *A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut*, Pl. XXI; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Tomb at Wadi Gabbanat el-Qurud

Sikket Taqet Zeid A1

Baraize, Rapport sur l'enlèvement et le transport du sarcophage, 175–182
Bedman, Valentin, Hatshepsut, 125
Carter, A Tomb, 179–182
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 107–118, Pls XIX–XXII
Carter, Mace, The Tomb of Tut-Ankh-Amen I, 81–82
Gabolde, Les tombes d'Hatchepsout, 51–52
Kurz, Graffiti de la Montagne Thébaine II,6, 201–202
Roehrig, The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut, 184–185, Fig. 73 (plan)
Thomas, The Royal Necropoleis, 195–196, Fig. 18
Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, 61–62

Staircase A

Fig. 51

Baraize, Rapport sur l'enlèvement et le transport du sarcophage, 179
Carter, A Tomb, 179
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 114

Gallery B

Fig. 51

Carter, A Tomb, 179
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 114

Antechamber C

Fig. 51

Carter, A Tomb, 179
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 114

Gallery D

Fig. 51

Carter, A Tomb, 179–180
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 114

Burial chamber E

Fig. 51

Carter, A Tomb, 180–182
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 114–118
Gabolde, Les tombes d'Hatchepsout, 52
Thomas, The Royal Necropoleis, 195–196

■ Sarcophagus of Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo CG 6024 / JE 47032

Baraize, Rapport sur l'enlèvement et le transport du sarcophage, 175–182
Bedman, Valentin, Hatshepsut, 127
Bedman, Valentin, Sen-en-mut, 80
Bradbury, Nefer's Inscription, 91, 94
Carter, A Tomb, 180–182
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 118
Dodson, The Tombs of the Kings, 120–123
Gabolde, Les tombes d'Hatchepsout, 52, Fig. 3
Grajetzki, The coffin of the "king's daughter" Neferuptah, 55–61
Hayes, Royal Sarcophagi, 155–156, Pl. I
Roehrig, The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut, 74
Thomas, The Royal Necropoleis, 196

■ Two fragments of jars

Carter, A Tomb, 181
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 115
Thomas, The Royal Necropoleis, 196

■ Limestone slabs

Baraize, Rapport sur l'enlèvement et le transport du sarcophage, 179
Carter, A Tomb, 180–181
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 114–115
Thomas, The Royal Necropoleis, 195–196

Passage F

Fig. 51

Carter, A Tomb, 180
Carter, A Tomb Prepared for Queen Hatshepsut, 114

Chamber G

Fig. 51

Baraize, Rapport sur l'enlèvement et le transport du sarcophage, 179
Carter, A Tomb, 180
Thomas, The Royal Necropoleis, 195

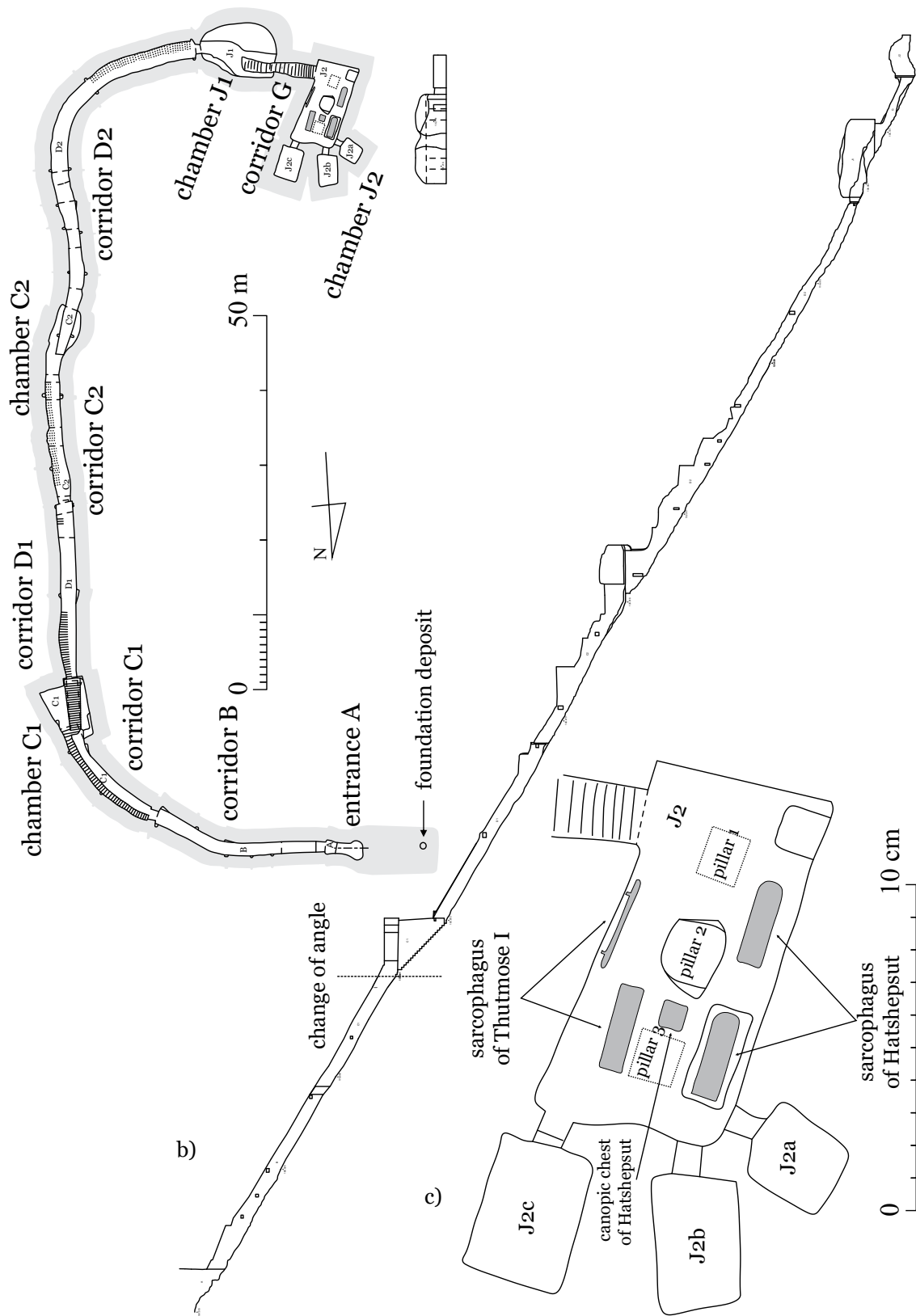


Fig. 52. Tomb of Hatshepsut in the Valley of the Kings (KV 20): plan and section of the tomb of Hatshepsut in the Valley of the Kings (KV 20) (based on http://www.thebanmappingproject.com/sites/browse_tomb_834.html, accessed 22 November, 2016; digitising J. Iwaszczuk).

Tomb KV 20

Abitz, Die Entwicklung der Grabachsen, 1–2
Carter, Report of Work, 119
Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 77–80
Gabolde, Les tombes d'Hatchepsout, 51–56
Hornung, The Valley of the Kings, 185, 209, 211
Manuelian, Loeben, New Light on the Recarved Egyptian Sarcophagus, 123, Fig. 1 (plan and section)
Manuelian, Loeben, From Daughter to Father, 29–30, Fig. 7 (plan and section)
PM I.2², 546–547
Reeves, Valley of the Kings, 13–17, Fig. 4 (plan and section)
Reeves, Wilkinson, Valley of the Kings, 91–94
Roehing, The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut, 85–87
Romer, Valley of the Kings, 192–195
Thomas, The Royal Necropoleis, 75–77
Weeks, The Berkley Map of the Theban Necropolis, 38–39 (plan)
Weeks, Atlas, 86–88 (plan, section and axonometry)

Entrance A

Fig. 52

Reeves, Wilkinson, Valley of the Kings, 92, Fig. on p. 92 [upper right]

Artefacts found next to the entrance

Foundation deposit

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 77, 105–106, Pls XIV–XV
Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 103
PM I.2², 547
Roehrig, Beigaben aus einer Gründungsgrube, 309–310
Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 164–166

- 21 objects from the foundation deposit (adze, saw, axe, two chisels, trowel, brick mould, *mesekhthiyu* instrument, three pieces of linen cloth, tied mats, palm frond stand, tjes knot, flabellum, calcite vase with a lid, three model loaves of bread, vase), Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 30.8.1–30.8.20, 30.8.1104

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 77, 105–106, Pls XIV–XV
Hayes, The Scepter of Egypt II, 103
PM I.2², 547 (MMA 30.8.1–30.8.3, 30.8.16)
Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 166

- 24 objects (two vases, three small bowls, vessel, calcite vessel with a lid, calcite vessel, four mats, three pieces of linen cloth, five chisels, adze, brick mould, basket), Museum of Fine Art, Boston 05.60–05.83

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 77, 105–106, Pls XIV–XV
PM I.2², 547
Roehrig, Beigaben aus einer Gründungsgrube, 309–310
Smith, Ancient Egypt, (1942, 1952) 107; (1960) 117
Weinstein, Foundation Deposits, 166

- Fragments of stone vessels with cartouches of Ahmes Nefertari, Thutmose I and Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 55614–JE 55617, TR 17/12/17/1

Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 77, 106, 108–111 [1–12], Figs 1–8, Pl. XIV [1]
 Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, nos 63 [2], 91, 92
 Lucas, Rowe, *Ancient Egyptian Measures*, 88–89
 PM I.2², 547, 559
 Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 27, nn. 7–8
 Weinstein, *Foundation Deposits*, 166
 Winlock, *Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I*, 60

- Elements of foundation deposit found beside the tomb of Thutmose IV (KV 43):
 usurped alabaster plate; faience scarab

Carter, Newberry, *The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV*, 2, no. 46004, Pl. XI
 Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 77

- Two small vessels, Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago E 29386, E 29402
- Two wooden hoes from foundation deposit probably from KV 20, Czartoryski Museum, Cracow MNK XI–1137a, b

Śliwa, *Queen Hatshepsut in Cracow*, 65–68, Pl. VI

- Five vases, five mesekhtiyu instruments, three adzes, knife blade, four mats, 19 hoes, 29 rockers, Museo Egizio di Firenze, Florence 2274–2337, 5316, 5318, probably from here

Bresciani, *L'expédition franco-toscane*, 13–15
 Champollion, *Monuments*, Pl. CCCCXXXIII [lower]
 Gabrieli, *Ippolito Rosellini e il suo Giornale*, 178
 Guidotti, *Gli oggetti del deposito di fondazione*, 42, Pls I–II
 Guidotti, *Vasi*, 160, n. 203
 Migliarini, *Indication succinte*, 53
 PM I.2², 547
 Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, 55, 173–174, 434, Pls LXVI [6, 7, 12], LXXXI [27]

Corridors B and C1

Fig. 52

Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 77–78

Artefacts found in corridor A

- A few small alabaster vases with names of Hatshepsut

Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 78

Chamber C1

Fig. 52

Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 78
 Reeves, Wilkinson, *Valley of the Kings*, 92–93, Fig. on p. 93 [middle]

Corridors D and C2

Fig. 52

Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 78

Chamber C2

Fig. 52

Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 78

Corridor D1**Fig. 52**Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 78**Chamber J1****Fig. 52**Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 78**Corridor G****Fig. 52**Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 79**Artefacts found in corridor G**

- Fragments of stone vessels with cartouches of Ahmes Nefertari, Thutmose I and Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 55608–JE 55613; British Museum, London EA65899, EA43401–EA43405

Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 77, 106, 108–110
 Lucas, Rowe, *Ancient Egyptian Measures*, 88–89
 PM I.2², 547
 Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 27, nn. 7–8

Chamber J2**Fig. 52**

Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 79–80
 Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 13

3 columns**Artefacts found in the corridor of chamber J2**

- Sarcophagus of Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 37678 and JE 52459

Bedman, Valentín, *Hatshepsut*, 288 [upper]
 Bedman, Valentín, *Sen-en-mut*, 153
 Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 93–100
 Gabolde, *Les tombes d'Hatchepsout*, 53, Fig. 5
 Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, 17–20, 44–48, 99–104, 161–163, Pls V–VI, XIXD, XXIID, XXIIID, XXVD (sarcophagus D)
 PM I.2², 547
 Sourouzian, Saleh, *The Egyptian Museum Cairo*, no. 131

- Sarcophagus of Thutmose I, Museum of Fine Art, Boston 04.278

Bedman, Valentín, *Hatshepsut*, 288 [lower]
 Davies, Naville, Carter, *The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû*, 81–91
 Gabolde, *Les tombes d'Hatchepsout*, 53, Fig. 6
 Hayes, *Royal Sarcophagi*, 19
 Manuelian, Loeben, *From Daughter to Father*, 24–61
 Manuelian, Loeben, *New Light on the Recarved Egyptian Sarcophagus*, 121–155
 Myśliwiec, *Le portrait royal*, Fig. 65 (Nephthys)
 Roehrig, *The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut*, 188–189 [108]
 Smith, *Ancient Egypt*, 118, Fig. 68
 Smith, *Two Fragments*, 48–49, Fig. 10
 Thomas, *The Royal Necropoleis*, 76–77

Whitehill, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, 253, Fig. on p. 254
Winlock, Notes on the Reburial of Tuthmosis I, 58–67

- 14 limestone slabs with the Book of Amduat, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo TR 10/12/13/14 / TR 31/5/25/7 / Sp. 12178

Hornung, Texte zum Amduat, X
Mauric-Barberio, Le premier exemplaire, 315–321, Pls Ib–V
PM I.2², 547
Reeves, Valley of the Kings, 13, n. 12
Romer, Thutmosis I and the Biban el-Moluk, 120
Romer, Royal Tombs, 200, n. 43
Thomas, The Royal Necropoleis, 76
Wente, Mysticism, 164, n. 26

- Limestone slab with the Book of Amduat, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo Sp. 2328, probably from here

Mauric-Barberio, Le premier exemplaire, 321, Pls VI–VII

- Limestone slabs with the Book of Amduat, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 33863 / CG 24990A–24990B / SR 2329–SR 2330, found in tomb KV 38

Mauric-Barberio, Le premier exemplaire, 316–317, 321, Pl. Ia

- Chest for canopic jars of Hatshepsut, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 38072, found in tomb DB 320

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 101

- Fragments of vases, bowls, and jars made of diorite, indurated limestone, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 55608–JE 55613

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 80, 108–111

- Some pottery, small plate, lamp(?), fragments of slightly burned wooden coffins and chests, fragment of the face and a foot of a wooden statue covered with bitumen, fragments of a faience box for shabtis

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 80, 111–112

Storage room J2a

Fig. 52

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 79

Storage room J2b

Fig. 52

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 79

Storage room J2c

Fig. 52

Davies, Naville, Carter, The Tomb of Hâtshopsîtû, 79

Artefacts from the tomb

■ Shabti of Hatshepsut, Museum-Meermanno-Westreenianum, Hague 79/130

Boddens Hosang, *De Egyptische verzameling van Baron van Westreenen*, 98
 Spiegelberg, *Die Ägyptische Sammlung des Museum-Meermanno-Westreenianum*, 3–4, Pl. IIIc
 Wiedmann, *Two Dated Monuments*, 183–184

■ Shabti of Hatshepsut, Musée d'Aquitaine, Bordeaux 1252

Maruéjol, *Un chaouabti de la reine Hatchepsout*, 285–293
 Orgogozo, *Égypte pharaonique: rites divins et funéraires*, 38, no. 124 (picture reversed)
 Orgogozo *et al.*, *Le Musée d'Aquitaine*, 118
 Tefnin, *La statuaire d'Hatchepsout*, VII, n. 1, Fig. 7

■ Box with a mummified liver or spleen from the cache in tomb DB 320, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo JE 26250

Bickerstaffe, *The Discovery*, 76
 Legrain, *Répertoire généalogique*, 56, no. 93
 Maruéjol, *Un chaouabti de la reine Hatchepsout*, 289
 Maspero, *Trouvaille de Deir-el-Bahari*, Pl. 19
 Maspero, *Les momies royales*, 584, 6°, Pl. XXIIa
 Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 28, n. 25

■ Fragments of coffins found in tomb of Ramesses XI (KV 4) by J. Romer

Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 121–123, 126–128, 244–245

■ Fragment of a wooden cartouche

Edwards, *The provincial and private collections*, 125–126, Pl. on p. 146
 Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*, 298–300, Fig. on p. 298

■ Knife handle, Museum August Kestner, Hanover 1935.200.152; fragment of a wand, Museum August Kestner, Hanover 1949.350; kohl container, Museum August Kestner, Hanover 1935.200.485, probably from KV 20

Loeben, *Ein „Riesen-Luxus-Zaubermesser“*, 275–284
 Loeben, *Ein Zaubermesser*, 64–66
 Munro, *Kestner-Museum Hannover*, no. 107 (1949.350)
 Warmenbol (Ed.), *Ombres d'Égypte*, 100, no. 96 (1949.350)

■ “Throne”, British Museum, London EA21613, EA21574

Baker, *Furniture in Ancient World*, 61, Pls 64–65
 Bickerstaffe, *The Discovery*, 71–77
 Bickerstaffe, *Afterwords*, 6
 Dreyfus, *Fittings from a Bed*, 257–259 [191]
 Edwards, *Pharaohs, Fellahs and Explorers*, 125–126
 Fischer, *Varia Nova*, 146–147
 Killen, *Ancient Egyptian Furniture I*, 10, Pl. I
 Lacovara, *Afterwords*, 6–7
 Petrie, *History II*, 92–94, Fig. 46
 PM I.2², 586
 Ratié, *La reine Hatchepsout*, 237–238, Pl. XIV
 Reeves, *Valley of the Kings*, 17
 Quirke, *Ancient Egyptian Religion*, 118, Pl. 70
 Tyldesley, *Hatchepsut*, 213

■ *Senet* game, Louvre, Paris E 913; British Museum, London EA21575–EA21577

Pusch, *Das Senet-Brettspiel*, 206–207, 279–280, no. 24, Pls 47–48, 72
 Budge, *A guide to the third and fourth Egyptian rooms*, 214–215
 Carter MSS I.A.268

■ Leopard head, Antikenmuseum, Basel

Roehrig, *The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut*, 188
 Wiese, *Antikemuseum Basel*, 91 [53]

■ Leopard head, Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, Cairo TR 26/7/14/52

Roehrig, *The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut*, 188

■ Leopard head, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 26.7.1452

Ratié, *La reine Hatchepsout*, 240
 Roehrig, *The Two Tombs of Hatshepsut*, 188 [107]
 Towry-Whyte, *Types of Ancient Egyptian Draughts-men*, 261, Pl. I [10], II [16]

References

Abbreviations

<i>ÄAT</i>	<i>Ägypten und Altes Testament</i>
<i>ADAIK</i>	<i>Abhandlungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo</i>
<i>ÆgLeod</i>	<i>Aegyptiaca Leodiensia</i>
<i>AegMonast</i>	<i>Aegyptiaca Monasteriensia</i>
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung. Internationale Zeitschrift für die Wissenschaft vom Vorderen Orient</i>
<i>ÄgForsch</i>	<i>Ägyptologische Forschungen</i>
<i>AntWelt</i>	<i>Antike Welt. Zeitschrift für Archäologie und Kulturgeschichte</i>
<i>AOAT</i>	<i>Alter Orient und Altes Testament</i>
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>BÄBA</i>	<i>Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde</i>
<i>BACE</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Australian Centre for Egyptology</i>
<i>BCE</i>	<i>Bulletin de liaison du Groupe international d'étude de la céramique égyptienne</i>
<i>BdE</i>	<i>Bibliothèque d'étude</i>
<i>BIE</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut égyptien</i>
<i>BIFAO</i>	<i>Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>BIFAO-suppl.</i>	<i>Supplément au Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>BMMA</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art</i>
<i>BMRAH</i>	<i>Bulletin des Musées royaux d'art et d'histoire</i>
<i>BrookMusB</i>	<i>The Brooklyn Museum Bulletin</i>
<i>BSAE</i>	<i>British School of Archaeology in Egypt</i>
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie de Genève</i>
<i>BSFE</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société française d'égyptologie</i>
<i>BMSAES</i>	<i>British Museum Studies in Ancient Egypt and Sudan (http://www.thebritish-museum.ac.uk/bmsaes)</i>
<i>CahKarn</i>	<i>Cahiers de Karnak. Centre franco-égyptien d'étude des temples de Karnak</i>
<i>CASAE</i>	<i>Supplément aux Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>CEDAE</i>	<i>Collection scientifique du Centre d'étude et de documentation sur l'Ancienne Égypte</i>
<i>ChronEg</i>	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
<i>CRIPPEL</i>	<i>Cahiers de recherches de l'Institut de papyrologie et égyptologie de Lille</i>
<i>DiscEg</i>	<i>Discussions in Egyptology</i>
<i>DossArch</i>	<i>Dossiers d'archéologie</i>
<i>EgUit</i>	<i>Egyptologische Uitgaven</i>
<i>ERA</i>	<i>Egyptian Research Account</i>
<i>EtTrav</i>	<i>Études et travaux (Institut des Cultures Méditerranéennes et Orientales de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences; previously: Centre d'Archéologie Méditerranéenne de l'Académie Polonaise des Sciences)</i>
<i>EVO</i>	<i>Egitto e Vicino Oriente. Rivista della sezione di Egittologia e Scienze Storiche del Vicino Oriente</i>
<i>FIFAO</i>	<i>Fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>GöttMisZ</i>	<i>Göttinger Miszellen. Beiträge zur ägyptologischen Diskussion</i>
<i>HÄB</i>	<i>Hildesheimer ägyptologische Beiträge</i>
<i>IBAES</i>	<i>Internet-Beiträge zur Ägyptologie und Sudanarchäologie (www.ibaes.de)</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JEOL</i>	<i>Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"</i>

<i>JGS</i>	<i>Journal of Glass Studies</i>
<i>JMFA</i>	<i>Journal of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>Kemet</i>	<i>Kemet – das schwarze Land. Ägypten</i>
<i>KMT</i>	<i>K.M.T. A Modern Journal of Ancient Egypt</i>
<i>LÄ</i>	<i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie I–VII, Wiesbaden 1975–1992</i>
<i>LD</i>	<i>K.R. Lepsius, Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien, 12 vols, Berlin 1849–1859</i>
<i>MÄS</i>	<i>Münchner ägyptologische Studien</i>
<i>MDAIK</i>	<i>Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo</i>
<i>MEEF</i>	<i>Memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund</i>
<i>MIFAO</i>	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale</i>
<i>MMAF</i>	<i>Mémoires publiés par les membres de la Mission archéologique française au Caire</i>
<i>MMJ</i>	<i>Metropolitan Museum Journal</i>
<i>MonAeg</i>	<i>Monumenta Aegyptiaca</i>
<i>MonPiot</i>	<i>Monuments et mémoires de la Fondation Eugène Piot</i>
<i>MOSAIKjournal</i>	<i>MOSAIKjournal. Raumdimensionen im Altertum (www.mosaikjournal.com)</i>
<i>NARCE</i>	<i>Newsletter of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>NAWG</i>	<i>Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse</i>
<i>OIP</i>	<i>Oriental Institute Publications</i>
<i>OLA</i>	<i>Orientalia Lovaniensia Analecta</i>
<i>OMRO</i>	<i>Oudheidkundige Mededelingen uit het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden</i>
<i>Orientalia</i>	<i>Orientalia. Commentarii periodici Pontificii Instituti Biblici</i>
<i>OrMonsp</i>	<i>Orientalia Monspeliensia</i>
<i>PAM</i>	<i>Polish Archaeology in the Mediterranean</i>
<i>PM</i>	<i>B. Porter, R.L.B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs and Paintings I–VIII, Oxford 1927–</i>
<i>ProblÄg</i>	<i>Probleme der Ägyptologie</i>
<i>PSBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology</i>
<i>RdE</i>	<i>Revue d'égyptologie</i>
<i>RecTrav</i>	<i>Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur</i>
<i>SAK Beihefte</i>	<i>Studien zur Altägyptischen Kultur Beihefte</i>
<i>SAOC</i>	<i>Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations</i>
<i>StudAeg</i>	<i>Studia Aegyptiaca</i>
<i>StudEgypt</i>	<i>Studies in Egyptology</i>
<i>Urk.</i>	<i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums I–VIII, Leipzig, Berlin 1903–1957</i>
<i>WZKM</i>	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i>
<i>ZÄS</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde</i>

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27.3.267	17	27.3.328	17	27.3.387	16
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27.3.269	16	27.3.330	16	27.3.389	16
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27.3.272	16	27.3.333	16	27.3.392	16
27.3.273	16	27.3.334	17	27.3.393	16
27.3.274	16	27.3.335	17	27.3.394	16
27.3.275	17	27.3.336	16	27.3.395	17
27.3.276	16	27.3.337	16	27.3.396	16
27.3.277	17	27.3.338	16	27.3.397	16
27.3.278	16	27.3.339	16	27.3.398	17
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