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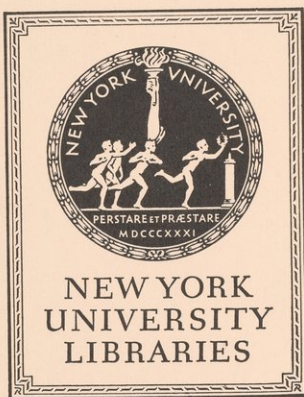
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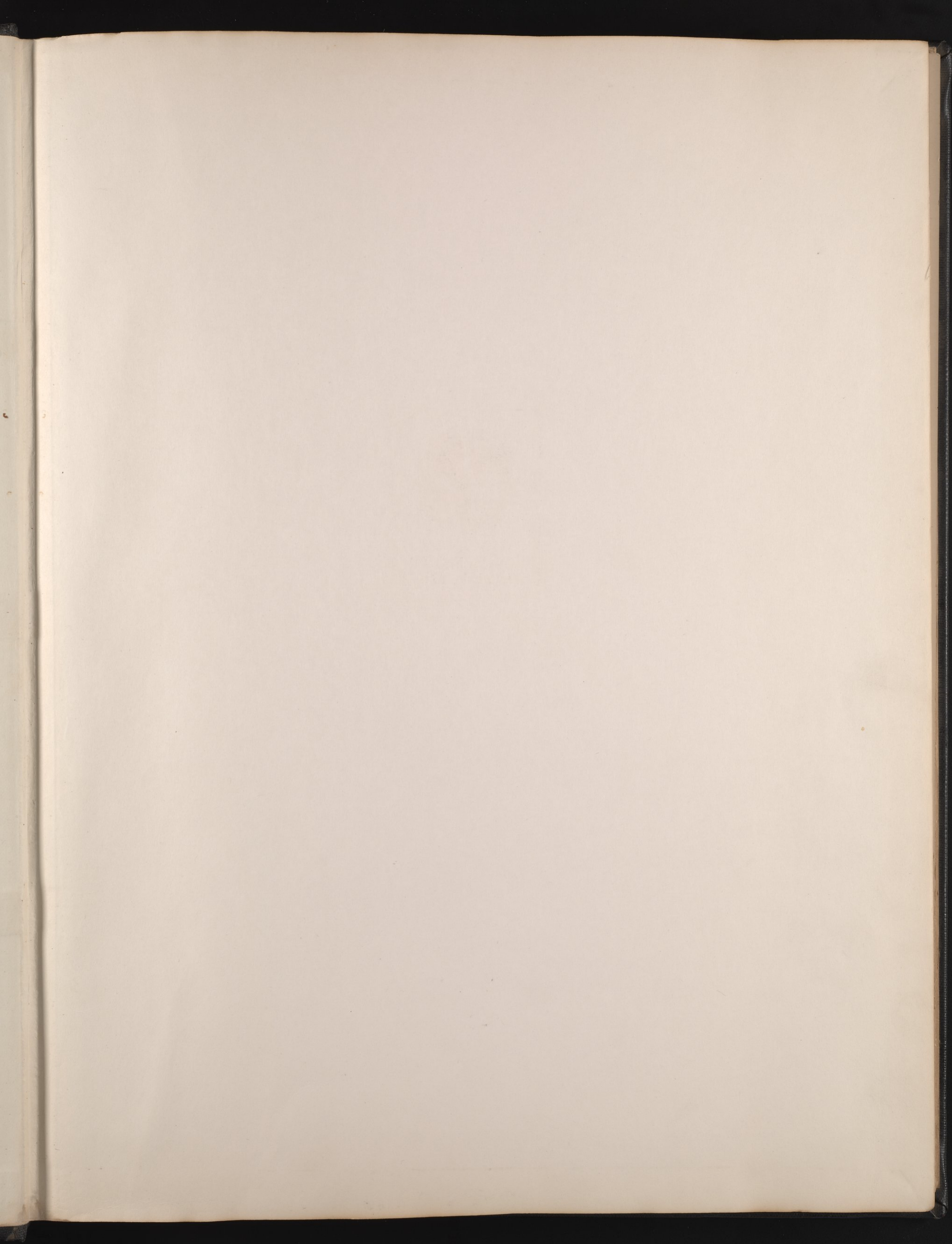
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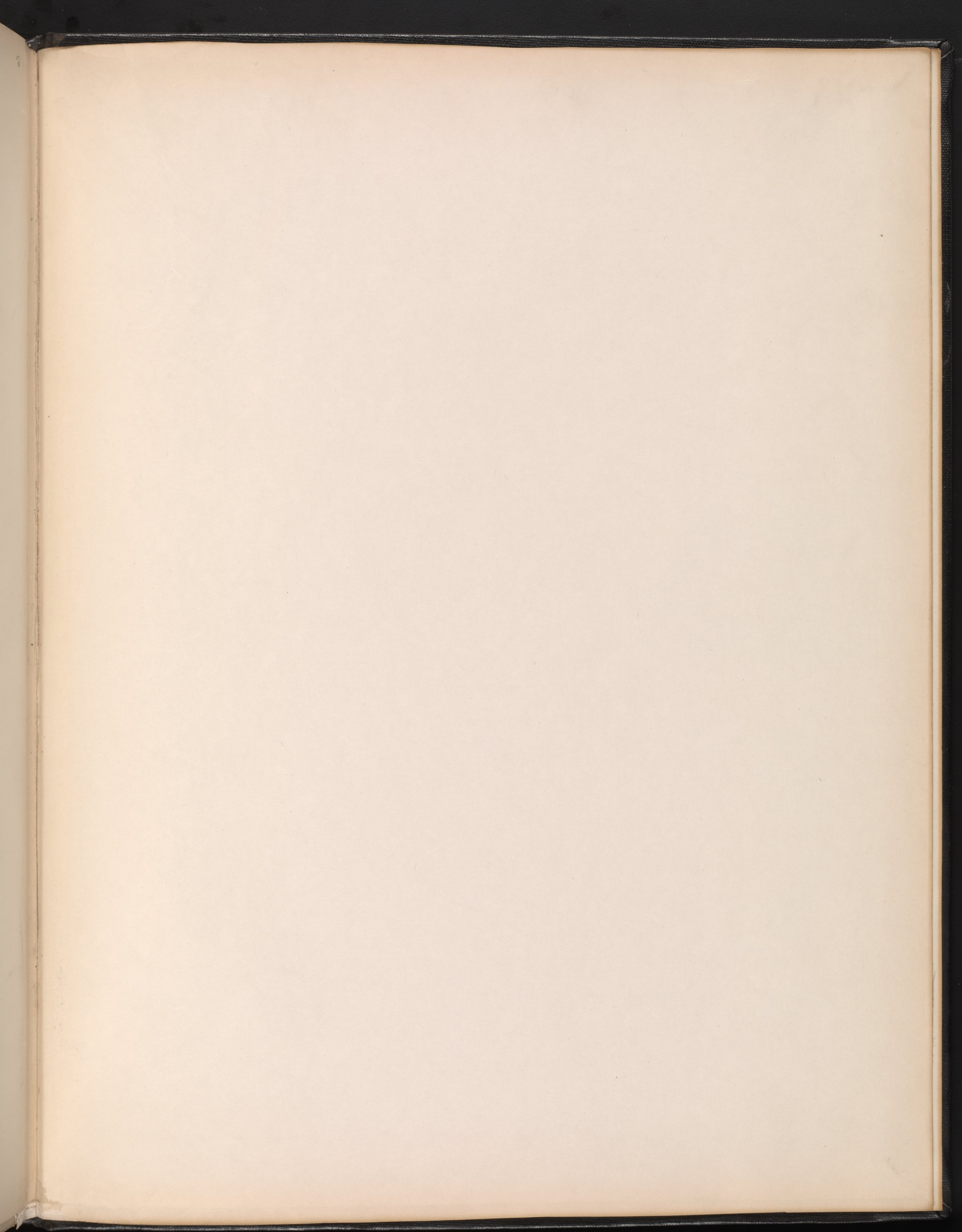
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14th Memoir

THE
TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE

D.C.L., PH.D., LITT.D., HON.F.S.A.

Correspondent of the Institute of France; Fellow of King's College, London.

PART II.

PLATES XXV.—LV.

THE EBONY SHRINE. NORTHERN HALF OF THE MIDDLE PLATFORM.

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE.

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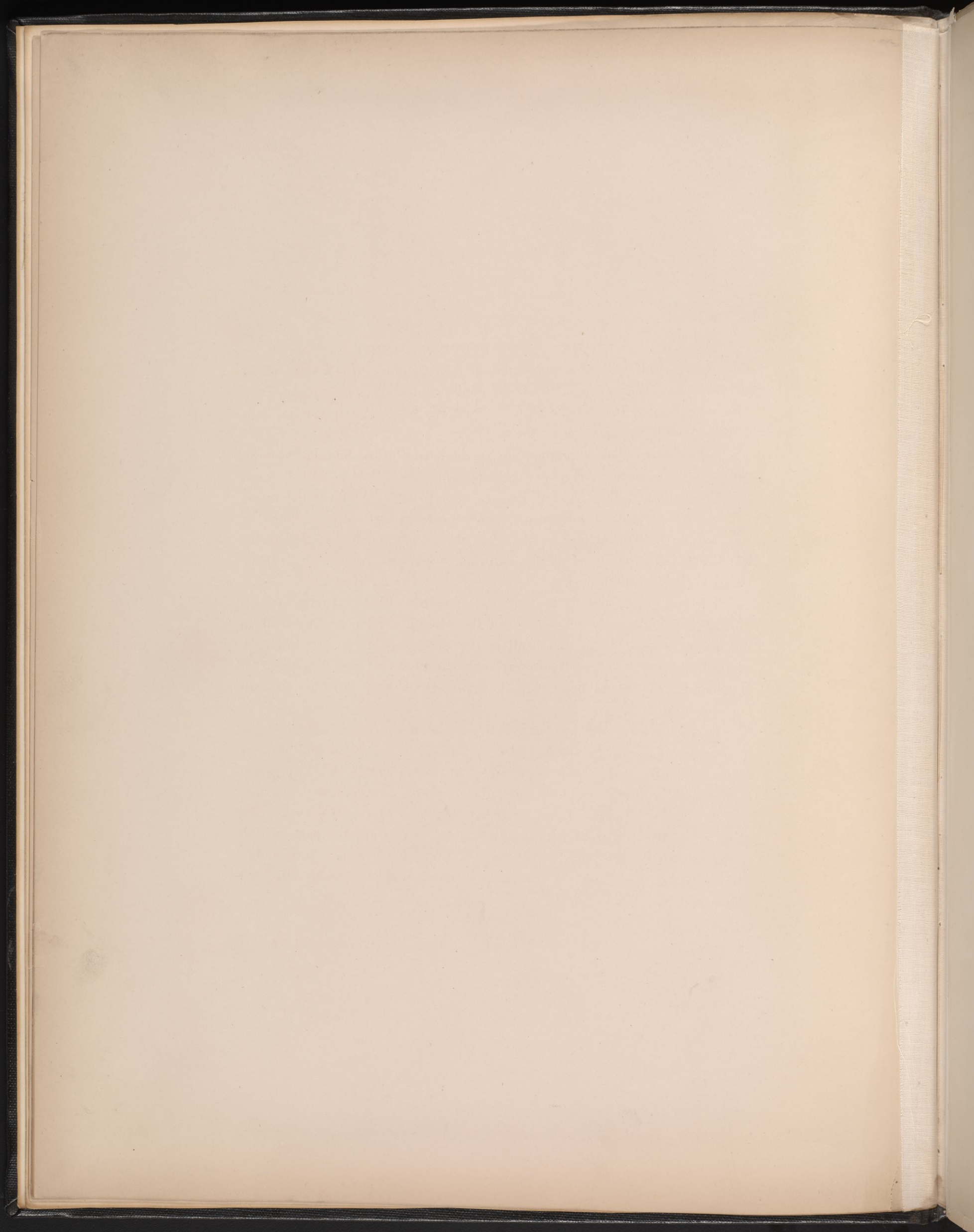
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PREFACE.

THIS Part begins with the representation of a fragment, at present unique of its kind. It is a panel of ebony which formed part of a shrine, and which lay buried in the *débris* on the roof of the Northern Speos. It is described with that portion of the building where it was found.

All the other Plates illustrate the Northern Half of the Middle Platform, which is on a lower level than the Altar-court described in Part I.

These Plates, like those of Part I., are all new. None of the representations here published is to be found in any of the previous works on the Temple by Duemichen or Mariette; for, except the top of the Shrine of Anubis, all that side of the building was buried deep in rubbish before our excavations began.

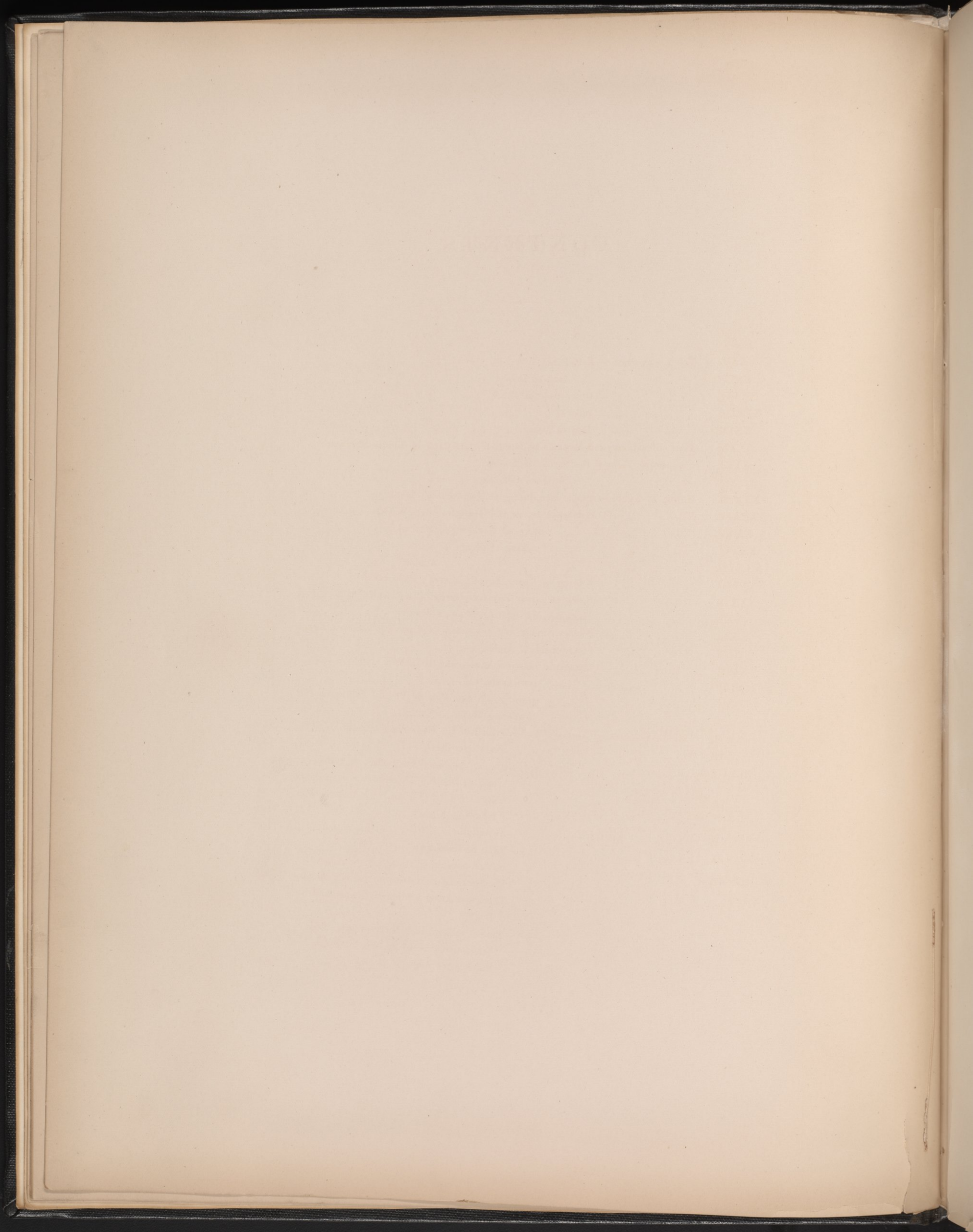
The sculptures and inscriptions are of various kinds. In the Anubis Shrine they are merely religious. In the Middle Colonnade they refer to the queen herself. The back wall of the Colonnade, in its whole length north and south of the Causeway, was devoted to the biography of Hatshepsu; the scenes begin with her miraculous birth, and go on with her education.

In this volume we give only that portion of the legend which refers to her divine origin and to her early childhood. Her coronation by her father, as well as the most important event of her reign, her expedition to the land of Punt, will form the subject of the next number.

As in Part I., Mr. John Newberry kindly undertook to draw the plans and write the architectural descriptions. The artistic part of the work, in which the same skill will be recognized which earned the admiration of the readers of the previous number, is due to Mr. Howard Carter and Mr. Percy Brown.

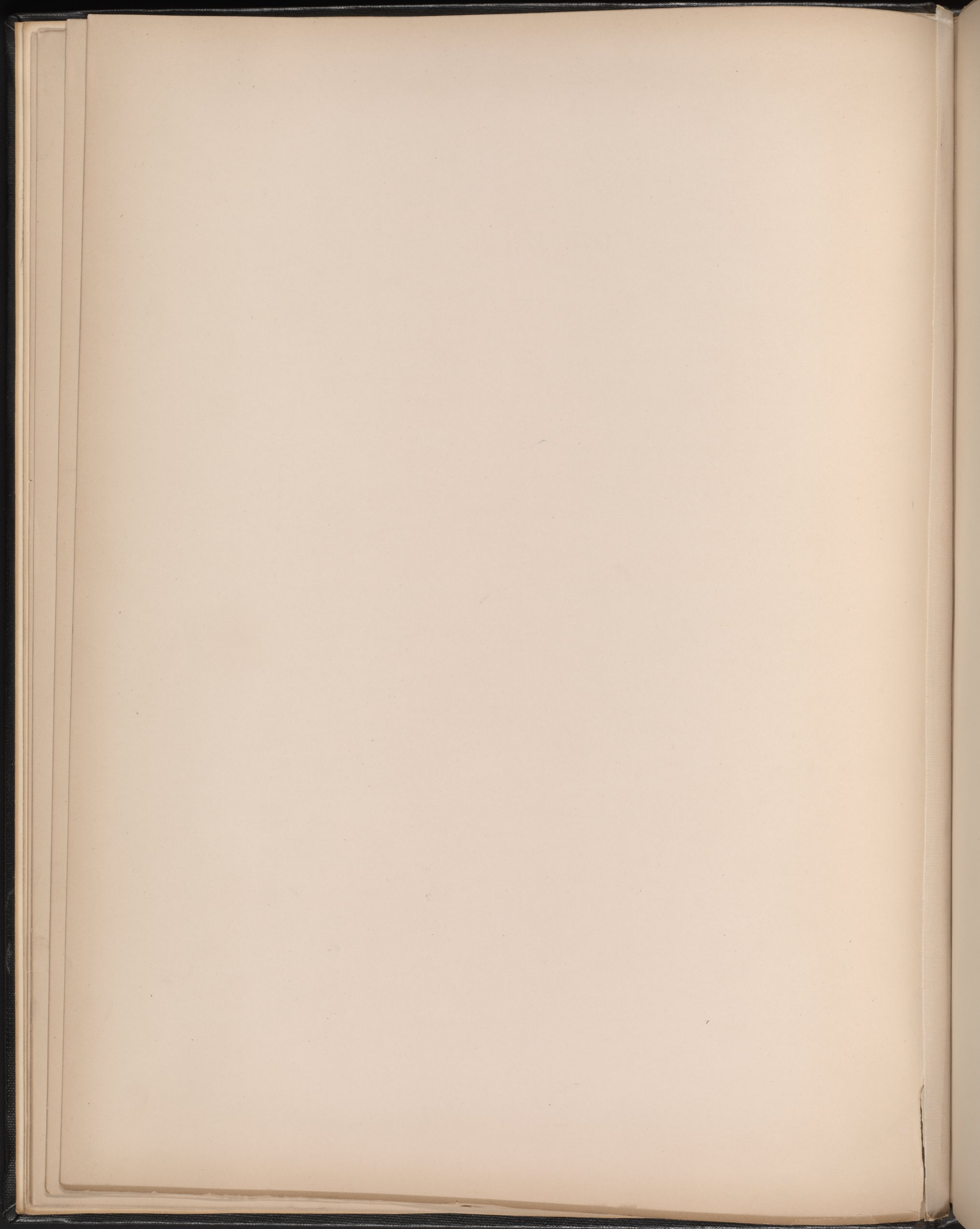
EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY,
December, 1896.



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THE TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATES XXV.—XXIX.

THE EBONY SHRINE.

IN every Egyptian temple the room constituting the sanctuary, the *σηκός* as Strabo calls it, contained a shrine or naos, in which were hidden the emblems of the god to whom the temple was dedicated. These shrines were often monolithic monuments, sometimes even of large dimensions, like that of the god Sopt found at Saft el Henneh, part of which has been preserved. In that case they rested on fixed bases, varying in height according to the size of the shrines. But generally they were made of wood, so that they could be moved, and either placed on sacred boats or carried by means of staves, as was the ark of the Israelites. At the great festivals, when the processions were formed, priests of a certain order took the shrine out of the sanctuary and carried it on their shoulders round the temple, and perhaps even outside. We know that this was done with the shrine of the goddess Hathor at Denderah, in order, as the inscriptions say, "that she might see the face of her father—the sun."

All the wooden shrines have perished, except one which belongs to the museum in Turin. It is very small, only one foot high, and evidently had been deposited in a tomb. Except this, all those which are still extant are made of stone, a few of them being still *in situ*, as the Shrine of Horus at Edfu, while all the rest are scattered in various museums. One of the best finds, therefore, made at Deir el Bahari was certainly that of a wooden panel, which formed one of the sides of a large shrine more than

six feet high, together with one of the leaves of the door (pls. xxv., xxvi.).

On the 1st of March, 1893, while clearing the platform above the Sanctuary of Anubis, the workmen quite unexpectedly came across the panel, lying flat, about two feet above the floor; close to it was the leaf of the door. Considerable care was necessary in lifting the panel from the ground, on account of its weight. Moreover, as it is made up of a great number of small pieces, any shock or any attempt to set it upright would undoubtedly have caused its collapse. However, we succeeded in laying it upon a large board, on which it was carried to my house in the village of Gûrneh. There it was packed carefully under the supervision of Mr. John Newberry, and afterwards conveyed to the Ghizeh Museum, where it is now exhibited.

The fact of its having been left on the floor shows that even in ancient times the place on which it was found was not used as a terrace; it was merely the roof of the Hypostyle Hall in front of the Shrine of Anubis. Very soon after the destruction of the naos, of which it had formed part, the panel must have been thrown where it lay and covered by the rubbish falling from the cliff; otherwise it would not have escaped destruction by the Copts.

These two fragments, the panel and the door, show that the whole naos was made of small bits of ebony, held together by pegs of the same wood. The ebony tree never grows to a sufficient height or

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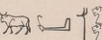

thickness to yield large pieces of timber, and it is only towards the core of the trunk that the wood takes the fine black colour which gives it its value. Hence it was, that to obtain a large surface, it was necessary to join together a great number of small pieces, the larger beams being used for the frame and for the cross-bars which strengthened the structure.



As far back as the Old Empire we find that ebony was among the kinds of wood held as the most valuable, and for this reason it was employed in manufacturing various objects of temple furniture, such as shrines, &c.

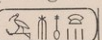
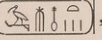
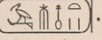


A late text from Denderah mentions an ebony case which resembled in size the Shrine of Deir el Bahari. It was 3 cubits (about 5 ft.) high, 2 cubits (3 ft. 6 in.) wide, and $3\frac{1}{4}$ cubits (5 ft. 6 in.) deep, and contained the bed on which the metal frame of Osiris Sokaris lay.








The Pharaohs of the Old Empire drew their ebony from Ethiopia, in the region of the Upper Nile. In the inscriptions recording the naval expedition to the land of Punt, ebony is mentioned as one of the products of that country brought back to Egypt by the ships of the queen. It is therefore quite possible that our shrine was made of ebony from the land of Punt, if it was dedicated after the return of the fleet from its voyage to the coast of the Red Sea.

The naos affords a very clear indication of the time of its construction. It dates from the brief period when Thothmes II. reigned together with his sister Hatshepsu. We find in its inscriptions the titles and standard-name which belong to that king; his cartouches are the original ones; they have not been inserted afterwards in inscriptions which were not engraved for Thothmes II.

His standard-name is  *ka nekht user pehti*, "the mighty bull eminent through his bravery," exactly as we find it on the stele which he caused to be engraved at Aswan in remembrance of his victories over Ethiopia. Moreover in one of the scenes of offerings he is seen holding the long sceptre and the mace, which were the insignia of a king actually in possession of regal power, and the first in rank if he was associated with another ruler on the throne. I am therefore compelled to consider the solitary mention of the cartouche of Thothmes I. occurring on one of the vertical inscriptions of the frame as a mistake of the engraver (pl. xxvii.). The artist engraved in the cartouche a , which is the last sign of the



cartouche of Thothmes I., instead of  or , with which that of Thothmes II. ends, and which distinguishes his name from that of his father. The mistake is proved by the fact that the accompanying titles are those of the son, and not of the father.

There are other instances of evident mistakes, which seem to show that the engravers in wood were not as well trained as those who worked in stone. Thus the correct spelling of the second cartouche of Thothmes II. is , but in one of the horizontal lines on the outside of the panel it is written , and in another . On the door, also, the cartouche at the top is written  the second sign, , having been omitted.

These are evident errors, and there can be no doubt about them; but the case is different with other irregularities, which tend to prove the presence of the queen on the throne as an associate of Thothmes II., at the time when the shrine was erected. I allude to the feminine pronoun which occurs several times in the vertical lines. It is easily discernible in the phototypes (pls. xxv., xxvi.) that near the end of two of these lines stood the signs  "she made for him," and that in both cases the  has been carefully erased. Although the two inscriptions are identical in this part, it would be extraordinary that the engraver should have twice made the same mistake at the same place. In the line which is engraved on the stile or edge of the panel (pl. xxvii.), we find  instead of  "to her father Amon Ra." Again, in the scenes of offerings (pls. xxviii., xxix.) we twice read , the  having been erased. Lastly, in another vertical inscription (pl. xxviii.), these signs  "and to her ka," have been preserved, and enough of the beginning to show that it consisted of the names and titles of Thothmes II.






All this indicates that Hatshepsu did not wish to be forgotten, even in inscriptions referring to the king. It is quite possible that the other sides of the Shrine were covered with scenes and inscriptions devoted to the queen, and for this reason it is much to be regretted that the back of the Shrine has not been preserved. There the most important representations must have been engraved, and it would have been interesting to see whether Hatshepsu claimed for herself the merit of having dedicated to Amon this beautiful work of art. Judging from the panel, the Shrine seems to have been the special gift of Thothmes II. to Amon. It may have been dedicated in order to commemorate





the king's successful campaign in the Soudan, when, according to his own account, in the first year of his reign he crushed a rebellion of the negroes who had been subject to his predecessors. As a token of gratitude he may have presented the god with this beautiful gift, the value of which was considerable. However, neither its precious material nor its exquisite workmanship could protect it against the blind hatred of Khuenaten towards the god Amon and his priests; for here, as everywhere else in the temple, the figure of Amon has been wantonly cut away.






The panel formed the left side of the Shrine, and the leaf of the door was also that on the left. The shrine opened in front; it was covered with sculptures inside and out, except the door, which was sculptured on the inside only, while the outside was strengthened by cross-bars, and still bears the bronze rings into which the bolt shot. The outward ornamentation of the panel consists of dedicatory inscriptions and representations of amulets; while inside four scenes of offerings cover the greater part of the surface. The amulets figured are of two kinds, arranged alternately in pairs: the  *te-t* and the  *te-t*. These often occur together, and seem to have had the same significance of stability and duration. They were placed on mummies or in the coffins, and are among the commonest funerary objects found. Both were considered as having magic influence. Probably their being represented on the monument was supposed to ensure its preservation and its everlasting duration. The lower register on both sides is carved with the so-called false door, a *motif* which appears also along the base of the retaining wall of the Middle Platform.






Plates XXV., XXVI.—PHOTOGRAPHS OF THE SHRINE.
(See above.)






Plate XXVII.—OUTER FACE OF PANEL. Three out of the four vertical columns of inscription on the panel are practically identical, and the variation in the fourth would seem to have been but slight (pl. xxviii.). They contain the formula of dedication to Amon.




				
<i>neter nefer</i>	<i>neb to-<i>ui</i></i>	<i>neb <i>ar</i> <i>khet</i> tet</i>	<i>nefer</i>	
god good	lord of the two lands	lord pious taking good		

			
<i>hez</i>	<i>to-<i>ui</i></i>	<i>suten nt</i>	<i>Áa <i>kheper</i> n <i>Rá</i></i>
the white crown	of the two lands	King	Aakheper en Ra

				
<i>sa <i>Rá</i></i>	<i>n</i>	<i>khet-f</i>	<i>Tehutimes</i>	<i>ár-nf</i>
son of Ra	of	his body	Thothmes	he made


				
<i>n <i>tef</i></i>	<i>Amon <i>Rá</i></i>	<i>árt-nf</i>	<i>neter</i>	<i>hez</i>
to his father	Amon Ra	was made for him	holy	shrine

				
<i>sheps</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>hebni</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>tepu setu</i>
precious	of	ebony	of	mountaineers


		
<i>taf-t</i>	<i>Rá má</i>	<i>zello</i>
established	like Ra	eternally


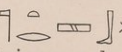
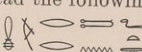

"The good god, lord of the two lands, the pious lord, who takes possession of the crown of the two lands, the king Aakheper en Ra, the son of Ra, of his loins, Thothmes, he made his buildings to his father Amon Ra. He made a sacred shrine of great value of ebony of the mountaineers (of Nubia); (the god) made him living and well established for ever."

In each of the horizontal lines it is stated that Thothmes is a worshipper of Amon Ra, who dwells in Serui (Deir el Bahari), the inscriptions differing only in the epithets. In the top line the king is said to be "the living god, the good one who rises as the eldest son of"; l. 2, "the living god the good one (who conquered all lands) by his victories"; l. 3, "the living god, the good one, the lord of joy"; and in l. 4 he is called "the very brave (like Mentu), his living image on earth." In each line Thothmes II. alone is mentioned: ll. 1, 3, 4, by his coronation name, and ll. 2, 5, by his second name, incorrectly written in both cases.

Plate XXVIII.—INNER FACE OF PANEL. Above the dado, which on the inner as well as the outer face of the panel consists of a row of "false doors" surmounted by one of amulets, we find four scenes of offerings, the first of the series being that on the left of the lower row, and the last that just above the first, in the upper row. We begin with Thothmes II. before Amon, consecrating to the god a table of offerings, now entirely erased. The legend reads:  *suáb u, "consecrate a table of offerings." Thothmes holds in his hand the long staff or lance and the mace, which were the insignia of the reigning king. It was*

customary in the Egyptian ritual, that the king should bear these insignia when presenting the god with an altar or a table covered with a huge pile of vegetable and animal offerings (see pls. xiv., xvi., xxiv.). Above the king's head are engraved the usual titles and promises.

Next to the last-named scene, on the right, comes an offering of frankincense and cold water,  *art seneter gebh*, "offering of incense and cold water." The incense, which is one of the numerous kinds of resins used by the Egyptians in their religious rites, is represented as burning. The offering of water consisted of sprinkling two altars placed before the god with water poured from a tall and slender vase.

Above is a scene somewhat obscure, the upper sign of the explanatory text having been destroyed. The king, who holds the  in his right hand, seems to be addressing the god; at the same time he is said to bring to Amon what is called  *neter sheb*, which may be either a food offering or a clepsydra. Behind Amon we read the following promise: "I give thee years eternal,  *mâ merer t n(â)* zetto, because of thy love to me eternally." Here we have an instance of the erasure of the feminine pronoun .

In the last scene Thothmes II. is represented turn-


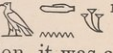


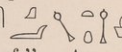
ing away from Amon Khem and going out. The explanatory text reads:  *ant rat*, "to bring back the foot," i.e. to retrace one's steps. In his left hand the king holds a long band, which we know from other texts to have been called  *haf en*. According to Brugsch's explanation, it was a long strip of papyrus, stuck down the seam of the door so that it should be closed hermetically.

Plate XXIX.—LEAF OF THE DOOR. The outer surface has no sculptures, only cross-bars, likewise of ebony, and the bronze rings for the bolt. On the inner face are two scenes of offerings. Below the king is represented wearing the head-dress of Upper Egypt, and in the act of adoration:  *neter tua sep âft*, "adoration (repeated) four times." We have already seen the same act performed by Thothmes I. (pl. ix.). In the erased inscription containing the usual promises we can still trace the feminine pronoun .

The upper scene represents the offering of the white pointed loaf:  *seq ta hez*, "to prepare the white loaf." A corresponding scene occurs in the North-western Hall of Offerings (pl. xx.), where the presentation is made by Hatshepsu. Here, as in the former instance, the offering is brought to Amon Khem.

PLATES XXX.—XXXII.

PLAN, ELEVATIONS, SECTIONS AND PERSPECTIVE VIEWS; NORTHERN HALF OF MIDDLE PLATFORM.

SITUATION AND EXTENT.

Plate XXX.—PLAN, ELEVATIONS AND SECTIONS OF NORTH-WESTERN HALF OF MIDDLE PLATFORM. This plate gives the plan of the north-west portion of the Middle Platform, namely, that part which lies between the northern cliffs and the Central Causeway. Its level is some twenty feet below that of the Upper Platform. Here are comprised the northern half of the Middle Colonnade, the Northern Speos with its Hypostyle Hall and Chambers beyond, and the Northern Colonnade. Plates xxxiii.-lv. are also to be referred to the same section of the building.

EXCAVATION.

The excavation and complete clearing of the northern half of the Middle Platform was by far

the largest piece of work that had to be done in the whole temple. It was begun on the 22nd of March 1893, shortly before the end of the first season. Four days only were given to it, but the result enabled me to form an idea of what the inscriptions were which covered the wall behind the Middle Colonnade. During the whole of the next season, from the 14th of December to the 14th of March, a large body of men with tramways and trucks were busy removing the mounds between the Causeway and the cliff. A considerable mound, however, still remained, and nearly six weeks of the third season were occupied in removing it. On the 17th of January, 1895, the northern side of the platform was

¹ MARIETTE, *Abydos*, i., p. 56.

at last absolutely cleared. The time spent on the clearance will give some idea of the amount of rubbish which lay heaped upon the spot.

In 1893, before our work was begun, the Terrace which runs along the Upper Court was covered with ruins of Coptic buildings. The Middle Platform had been filled up level by pulling down and breaking up the walls of the Pharaonic temple, and the remains of the convent extended on this higher level over the Middle Colonnade and the upper part of the Causeway. Beyond, the rubbish rose in high mounds, the top layers consisting of the *débris* thrown there by Mariette when he excavated the southern side of the temple. With the exception of two capitals, the whole of the Northern Colonnade was entirely hidden in the *débris*, and no one could tell its length, nor where and how it ended. The corner of the retaining wall of the Upper Terrace was visible, and a few of the square pillars along that wall. In the corner towards the Anubis Shrine, M. Maunier, the French consular agent, had excavated two mummy-pits and discovered several coffins. This was about the year 1854, and in 1893 the refuse of his excavation was still to be seen. Mariette, following in his footsteps, penetrated into the Hypostyle Hall, the vestibule of the Anubis Shrine, which was full of mummies of a late epoch. These he removed, leaving behind the rough stone coffins which had contained them. He did not, however, clear out the Hypostyle Hall; he left it full of earth, and as rubbish had fallen from the adjacent mounds, it was barely possible to creep into it beneath the architraves. Mariette also discovered the westernmost columns of the Northern Colonnade, and the entrance to the first chamber behind them. This appears in the plan made by his architect, M. Brune.

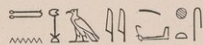
The materials of which these high mounds were composed were of various kinds. At the top were the *débris* from Mariette's excavations: further down was rubbish, being waste matter and ashes from the Coptic convent. At this level we collected ostraca and inscribed pieces of limestone, most of which had been through fire. Beneath the convent itself were blocks and fragments of stone from walls broken down by the Copts in order to fill up the Platform and raise the level for the continuation of their own buildings. A great deal of loose rubbish must have fallen from the cliffs before the Copts came. It covered burials, of which we found many dating as


far back as the Saite period. Finally, there were enormous heaps of limestone chips from the mountain, unmixed, and apparently untouched. Doubtless they were contemporary with the construction of the temple; this part of the temple having been built last of all, and never finished. In the Northern Colonnade the architrave was not carried further than the eighth column; it remained roofless; no paintings nor sculptures adorned the chambers prepared for them. In the Hypostyle Hall, the vestibule of the Anubis Shrine, a dedicatory inscription on one of the columns was left off before the cartouche of the queen was finished. Evidently, the completion of the building had been prevented by the death of the queen or some other political event; the result was that the heaps of chips produced by the levelling of the ground for the pavement and from the cutting down of the rock where the wall was to be built against it, were left where they lay. Strange to say, no one took the trouble to remove them. This part of the temple, therefore, has never been so fully displayed as at the present time.

In the course of the excavations we found that the rubbish mounds had been used for a burial-ground, as indeed was the case with the whole of the temple, in which many mummy-pits had been dug, chiefly for the priests of Mentu. On the top were Coptic mummies. The bodies were wrapped in linen, with thick exterior bandages, but without amulets or ornaments. Several wooden labels inscribed in Coptic or Greek proved the late date of these burials. A few were of a richer class.¹ On the outer wrapping in front was sewn a painted cloth, reaching to below the waist, with a mask for the head. On the mask was moulded a wreath of flowers. These mummies are doubtless Christian. To one of them a Coptic label was attached by a piece of string. The hands, also painted, hold an ear of corn and a glass containing red liquid, i.e. wine. These two symbols I take to be those of the Eucharist; but here, as in the paintings in the catacombs at Rome, there is a mixture of Pagan symbols with the Christian. Below the waist is painted the boat of Sokaris, with a figure of Anubis on either side.

Underneath the Coptic burials were some Pharaonic interments, many being in rude mummy-shaped coffins, with painted heads. Most of them seem to

¹ See *Archaeological Report*, 1894-5, pl. ii.

have belonged to the XXVIth Dynasty. This is certainly the case with one that we discovered lying on the pavement of the Platform, and which was the only fine one of the lot. It is the coffin of a woman, the head being remarkably well cut. Mythological scenes are carefully painted over the whole coffin, as well as on the cartonnage case in which the body was enclosed. The bandaging of the mummy was good, but there were no amulets or ornaments. This woman was called  *Tenkhaikhetes*, without any title. It is curious that this fine mummy should have been among those of so much poorer a class. Probably it was to be put into a mummy-pit, but either want of room or neglect caused it to be left among the dead whose coffins were merely covered with sand or rubbish, and whose relatives could not afford to have a pit cut for them.

When the Northern Colonnade was cleared, we found that brick walls had often been built between the columns, forming small cells or chambers. From the remains found in them, consisting of broken beads, fragments of papyri, and pots containing nitre, we gathered that these chambers were occupied by embalmers who dwelt also on the slope outside the temple. There we found, in the second year of our excavations, very clear indications of the presence of such craftsmen. Just above the wall of the Colonnade were several large jars, some of which were filled with chopped straw used for stuffing the mummies, while others contained numbers of little bags of nitre or some salt used in mummification. Among the jars was a very fine coffin, well painted, with the face dark brown. The inscriptions showed that it had been made for a priest of Mentu of the XXIIInd Dynasty called  *Namenkhetamon*, who was of high birth, his great-grandfather being King Osorkon I. of the XXIIInd Dynasty. When the coffin was opened it was found that there was no body inside, but several hundreds of little bags full of nitre. It is to be presumed that the coffin was not paid for, or that the purchasers, having changed their minds, had left it, and the embalmers used it for storing their chemicals.

Near the causeway a few pillars have been built up, without order or plan, with blocks taken from various parts of the building, and regardless of the sculptures upon them. It is not improbable that this also was the work of the embalmers, who may have put them up to support an awning or shelter, made perhaps

of cloth or of durra stalks, for protection from the sun while they were at work.

Now that the Middle Platform is entirely cleared, its large level area, bounded on two sides by colonnades, produces a very fine effect. In my opinion it corresponds in purpose to the colonnaded courts built at the entrance of other great temples.

THE NORTHERN HALF OF MIDDLE COLONNADE.¹

This portion is illustrated on pl. xxx. in plan and elevation.

Its pavement is 3 feet 4 inches above the Middle Platform, from which it is approached at the south end by four steps placed against the retaining wall of the Central Causeway, and on the north by three steps next to the Hypostyle Hall. It measures 87 feet 3 inches in length and 20 feet 9 inches in width, to the edge of the pavement. The western boundary forms the retaining wall to the Terrace above, the Central Causeway being on the south, and a thick wall dividing it from the Hypostyle Hall on the north.

Twenty-two square pillars in two rows formerly supported longitudinal architraves, on which rested a flat stone ceiling, painted blue with yellow stars, of which only fragments now remain at the northern and southern ends. The pillars are set out at regular intervals, and vary from 2 feet 7 inches to 2 feet 9 inches square at the base, tapering to 2 feet 5 inches at the top, which is also the width of the architrave. The pillars measure 13 feet 3 inches in height, the total height from floor to ceiling being 15 feet 6 inches: their angles are very slightly rounded, and they are ornamented with incised dado lines round them and sculptures in low relief above. Nearly all of them have their upper portions destroyed, probably by the giving way of the ceiling above.

The pavement is well preserved: a mummy-pit, some 10 feet deep, was discovered between the four northernmost pillars, and another in the corner near the wall of the Hypostyle Hall: both of them had been rifled. The four pillars still erect next the Hypostyle Hall support a stone architrave, upon which rests the ceiling above, with a piece of the lower member of its cornice. This appears to show conclusively that the cornice and parapet on the

¹ The following architectural descriptions have been written by Mr. JOHN E. NEWBERRY.

Hypostyle Hall were continued across the Middle Platform, interrupted only by the Causeway, the upper sides of the ceiling-stones forming a continuation of the Terrace pavement, as is still the case with those of the Hypostyle Hall.

The western or end wall has a considerable slope or "batter," and is in good condition, except for some stones that probably fell from the upper part with the ceiling. The side walls are nearly vertical and are quite complete. A dado, marked off by incised lines similar to and of the same height as that on the pillars, is carried round these walls, their upper part being sculptured in low relief.¹

THE NORTHERN SPEOS OR SHRINE OF ANUBIS.

The Northern Speos comprises the Hypostyle Hall with the three chambers behind it, and is illustrated architecturally on plates xxx. and xxxi. Its situation is immediately north of the Middle Colonnade, and it occupies the north-western angle of the Middle Platform, the surrounding cliffs evidently having been excavated to receive the various chambers.

The Hypostyle Hall is in a very perfect state: the flat stone ceiling resting on massive architraves, and the columns supporting the latter being all intact. This ceiling is painted blue and powdered with yellow stars; the architraves are also painted. Internally the measurements average about 36 feet 5 inches in width by 21 feet 7 inches in depth, and 18 feet 4 inches in height from floor to ceiling.

The twelve columns are sixteen-sided, measuring 2 feet 7 inches in diameter just above their shallow circular bases, and they are 15 feet 9 inches in height. Their upper diameter is 2 feet 4 inches. The *abacus* is square and flush with the square of the shaft. A simple band of hieroglyphs expressing a dedication, in some cases to Amon Ra, in others to Anubis, appears on the west (inner) side, or sometimes on the east side, of each. The spacing of the columns is wider in the centre, to form a better approach to the chamber beyond. Externally the columns are surmounted by a cornice and parapet similar in design to those of the Altar, and consisting of a large bead or *torus* worked on the architrave and a hollow or *cavetto* above. The parapet is 1 foot 5 inches wide, 1 foot 10.5 inches high, and is slightly rounded on the top.

¹ For the scenes and inscriptions on these walls, see pls. xlv. *et seqq.*, and the description of them on p. 12 *et seqq.*

Plate XXXI.—PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE NORTHERN SPEOS, OR SHRINE OF ANUBIS. A perspective view, drawn on the spot, of the façade of the Hypostyle Hall, and embracing its four external columns with those behind appearing between. The slope of the steps leading to the Middle Colonnade is shown on the left, and a part of the first column of the Northern Colonnade appears on the right. A portion of the retaining walls, which are built against the surrounding cliffs, are shown above the parapet (see also pl. xxx., Section and Elevation looking north, and Elevation looking west).

The pavement consists mostly of the solid rock, and is 2 feet 6 inches below that of the Middle Colonnade, and only slightly raised above the Middle Platform. Opposite to each other and in the centre of the north and south walls are two small niches with flat ceilings: they are 3 feet wide by 3 feet 6 inches deep, and vary from 6 feet 2 inches to 6 feet 0.5 inches in height. In the centre of the west wall is a flight of four steps leading up to a lofty doorway, which gives access to the chambers beyond: it measures 9 feet 5 inches in height and 3 feet 7.5 inches in width, and the jambs have a slight projection worked upon them of 0.5 inch. (See pl. xxx., section through Hypostyle Hall looking west, in which the two central columns are omitted in order to show this doorway completely.)

The First Chamber opening out of the Hypostyle Hall measures 13 feet 10 inches in length by 6 feet in width and 10 feet 6 inches in height, and its axis is arranged centrally with that of the outer Hall. The ceilings of this chamber and of those beyond are of an approximately elliptical form similar to those in the Chapel of Thothmes I.: like them they have level instead of radiating joints, as would be the case in a true arch.

The Second Chamber opens out of the north wall of the first, and is at right angles to it. Its dimensions are 17 feet 3 inches in length by 4 feet 4 inches in width and 9 feet 7 inches in height, and its floor is raised 6 inches above that of the First Chamber. When this part was excavated the jamb-stones of the doorway leading to the chamber were found to have been displaced, and there was danger of the lintel and upper part falling in. It had therefore to be very carefully shored up, the jambs taken out, the interior of the wall built solidly in cement, and the old stonework carefully put back in its original position. At the north end of this chamber is a stone seat, 2 feet

wide and 1 foot 8·5 inches high, the projecting moulding or nosing of which is carried along the western wall, and forms the threshold to the doorway of the innermost chamber. It may be noticed that the dimensions and architectural arrangement of this and the innermost chamber are very similar to those of the Chapel of Thothmes I. (see pl. i.).

The Third Chamber or Niche is raised 1 foot 8·5 inches above the outer floor, and measures 6 feet 11·5 inches in length by 2 feet 7 inches in width.

The curved ceilings throughout these Chambers have yellow stars painted on a blue ground; their walls also, as well as those of the Hypostyle Hall and its niches, are all elaborately painted with scenes and inscriptions, most of which are restorations, the original bas-reliefs having been erased.¹

THE NORTHERN COLONNADE.

The Northern Colonnade is shown in plan, elevation and section on pl. xxx. and in perspective on pl. xxxii. It is built against the steep cliffs on the north side of the Middle Platform, and consists of a retaining wall 117 feet 3 inches long, pierced with four small chambers, and a colonnade in front of the wall composed of a single row of sixteen-sided columns, fifteen in number. The whole stands on a pavement, which is raised some 1 foot 9 inches above the Middle Platform, and is 12 feet 11·5 inches wide. The architrave, cornice and parapet line with and form a continuation of those of the Hypostyle Hall, but the material of the architraves is here a sandstone. This was probably because the limestone used everywhere else in the temple had been found brittle and not to be relied upon.

Plate XXXII. is a perspective view, drawn on the

spot, and gives the general effect of this part of the temple: on the left a small piece of the architrave to the Hypostyle Hall is visible, and above the parapet are seen the retaining walls beyond. The steep cliffs which occur above are not shown. In the foreground are pieces of the cornice and parapet found during the excavations.

The four chambers are raised one step above the Colonnade level. Their dimensions vary from 5 feet 0·5 inch to 5 feet 2 inches in width, and 10 feet 4·5 inches to 8 feet 7 inches in length. The three eastern chambers have raised seats across their northern ends, similar to the seat in the Second Chamber of the Northern Speos. The ceilings are of an approximately elliptical form, but neither they nor the walls show any trace of ever having been painted.

Apparently this Colonnade was the last portion of the temple undertaken, and it was never completed. The walls and columns have been covered with a thin coating of plaster, but there is no sign of any decoration having been applied.

A displaced ceiling stone was found here, measuring 8 feet by 2 feet 11 inches by 1 foot 8 inches, but it does not appear that the ceiling was ever formed for the greater part of the Colonnade.

When this portion of the temple was excavated, rough mud brick walls were found to have been built in the Colonnade, forming small apartments about 6 feet high, and it is supposed that in them some embalmers of the XXIInd Dynasty carried on their trade. The bricks of these walls measured 14 inches by 7 inches by 4·5 inches. A quantity of broken pottery, blue beads, scarabs, &c., were also discovered here; but these will be described in a subsequent volume.

PLATES XXXIII.—XLII.


HYPOSTYLE HALL OF NORTHERN SPEOS (SHRINE OF ANUBIS).






Plate XXXIII.—EAST END OF SOUTH WALL. With this plate we enter the Hypostyle Hall which formed the Vestibule leading to the Shrine of Anubis. This part of the temple is particularly well preserved. The colours are very bright. Unfortunately the erasures






here are very extensive, and affect the inscriptions as well as the figure of Hatshepsu. Here and there a few signs or little bits of text have been restored; but as they do not always fit in exactly with the old text a translation is sometimes hardly possible.

The first ceremony performed in a temple or in a sanctuary was always the introduction of the king by the gods. They take him by the hand and lead him

¹ For the scenes and inscriptions from these walls see pls. xxxiii.-xlvi., and the description of them below.





themselves to the place where he is to act as their priest. The scene of the introduction, therefore, is always at the entrance. Here it is Anubis alone who performs this duty for the queen. Hatshepsu, whose figure has been entirely destroyed, was seen standing, and wearing the head-dress called *skhent*, the emblem of the dominion over both parts of Egypt.  "Anubis Amut, the lord of Toser," holds her by the hand, and shows her the way into his sanctuary. The text reads:

    
yt an suten bes m neter hez
going in going out royal introduction into the sacred shrine

    
nt Anepu tep fu-f khent Serui
of Anubis on his mountain in Serui






"The going in and out, the introduction of the king into the sacred shrine of Anubis on his mountain, who resides in Serui."

The other columns of text, nearly destroyed, contained the usual promises:

   
m as u nen ar nt n(a)
as reward for those things thou hast done for me








"as a reward for all thou hast done for me."







Plate XXXIV.—MIDDLE OF SOUTH WALL. At the top the queen (erased), making an offering of cold water to Osiris:




    
Usar khenti Ament neter au neb pet
Osiris residing in the West the great god the lord of the sky

Beneath is the entrance to the southern niche. The inscriptions around it contain nothing but the name and titles of the queen, mostly erased.






Plate XXXV.—WEST END OF SOUTH WALL. The queen, of whom nothing is visible, stood between the goddess Nekheb of Upper Egypt and Harmakhis. The goddess says to her:






      
y n(a) ha n meru tof-ui meh m ankh uas
I came full of joy loving my hands full of life purity

     
neb sat mert unn(a) hem her sotep sa-t
all daughter beloved I am indeed protecting thee



  
am neteru neb
among gods all

"I have come full of joy because of my love to thee, my hands are full of all life and purity. I am protecting thee among all gods." Harmakhis says:
"I give thee millions of years



    
m suteny to-ui nes Seb
with the royal power two lands the throne of Seb

    
Tum dau pesshti m ankh
and of Tum dignity of the two halves with life






with the royal power over the two lands, the throne of Seb and Tum, the dominion over the two halves (of Egypt), with life and purity, because of thy love to me, eternally."






Plates XXXVI. and XXXVII.—WEST WALL, SOUTH AND NORTH OF THE DOORWAY. The west wall of the Vestibule, in which is the doorway to the Sanctuary, is still remarkable for the beauty of its colours, wherever the sculptures have not been destroyed. It is covered with two scenes symmetrically arranged, one on each side of the door. The text has been erased, but not so completely as to be illegible; as to the figure of the queen, it can no longer be distinguished. As usual in such cases, the two scenes are connected with the division of the country into North and South. The scene on the left of the door is the Southern, and is marked by the beautiful vulture, the colours of which are perfect (pl. xxxviii.); it is the emblem of Nekheb, the goddess of the South, and spreads its wings over the queen. On the right side, corresponding to it, is the hawk of Horus, here an emblem of the North (pl. xxxix.). If the figures of the queen had been preserved, we should have found that on the left she wore the white head-dress, , and on the right the red one, .






The gods are Amon on the South, and Anubis on the North. Both of them are preserved, even Amon, and both are painted red. In front of them are



collected offerings of all kinds, of the produce of the land: vases containing liquids, wine, milk, vinegar; all kinds of vegetables, especially onions and lettuce; lotus-flowers of various colours; meat offerings, joints of slaughtered bulls, calves, and antelopes, and also dressed geese. We have already seen in the chapel of Thothmes I. the king and the queen making the same offerings, but on a smaller scale (pls. xv. and xvi.). Here, as before, the ceremony is called  *art utenmu*, "making a presentation," and further,  *tu mā āat*, "giving rightful offerings in great number."

Amon Ra, lord of the throne of the two lands, lord of the sky and prince of Thebes, of course gives to the queen the usual reward for her great munificence: "I will give thee all life, all health, all joy in my possession."

 *smen*  *khāu-t*  *āpen*  *neferu*  *seru*  *ān-t*
established thy diadems those beautiful sacred handsome






 *m*  *nefer-t*  *ur-t*  *m*  *sekhem-t*  *to-u* *neb*
through thy beauties great by thy might lands all





 *kher*  *tebt-t*  *tu (t)*  *sat*  *nezt*  *art*
under thy sandals for thou art daughter diligent making




 *mennu*  *neferu*
buildings beautiful

"These beautiful and sacred diadems are well established (on thy head), thou art fair through thy beauties, thou art great through thy might. All the lands are under thy sandals; for thou art my daughter, the diligent one who makes beautiful buildings."

And the god adds:







 *sma n(ā) n-t*  *to-ui*  *m*  *hotepu*  *utes-t*
I will join for thee the two lands in peace thou raisest






 *khā-t*  *āms*  *n*  *āa*
the double crown thou shinest through it for great






 *bau-t*  *her*  *to-u*
thy will over the lands







"I will join for thee the two lands in peace, thou raisest the double crown, thou shinest with it, thy will is powerful over all lands, like Ra Tum in his years of rising, full of joy, on the throne of Horus for ever."





Anubis (pl. xxxvii.) is not less grateful than Amon. "Said by Anubis Amut, the great god, the lord of Toser, the lord of the sky:

 *yu n(ā) sep sen*  *m*  *hotep*  *set*  *nt*  *khet* *Rāmāka*
come to me, twice, in peace daughter of body Ramaka

 *mert*  *nezt*  *mennu*  *sentt*  *pa*
beloved diligent making buildings planning my house

 *smen*  *ranu*  *smenkh*  *pat*  *szeft*
establishing names increasing offerings enriching


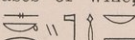
 *khātu*  *art*  *mer*  *m*  *art*  *n khet neb*
altars making (what I) love in giving all things

 *nefert*  *uābt*  *ruṭ*  *menkh*
good pure plentiful abundant

"Come to me, come in peace, daughter of my loins, Ramaka beloved, diligent, making buildings, planning my house, establishing the names (of the gods), increasing the offerings, enriching the altars, doing what pleases me when thou bringest in abundance all things good and pure. I will give thee as reward all life, stability and purity, like Ra. I will renew for thee millions of Sed periods in great number, thou art crowned as king on the throne of Horus, the lord of all living beings, like Ra eternally."

Plates XXXVIII. and XXXIX. — VULTURE AND HAWK FROM WEST WALL. Coloured drawings of the symbolical birds mentioned in the description of pls. xxxvi., xxxvii.

Plate XL.—MIDDLE OF NORTH WALL. In the corner of the North wall was a representation, nearly destroyed, of the queen standing before Anubis Amut. The god is in the form of a skin on a pole, a very frequent emblem, already shown on pl. ix. Next to it comes

a scene in a perfect state of preservation. Thothmes III., painted dark red, offers two vases of wine,  *arp*, to the god Sokaris.  *Sekeri neter áa neb pet*, "Sokaris the great god, the lord of the sky." Sokaris is one of the forms of Osiris. He is generally represented as here, under the form of a man with a hawk's head. The formulae consist of promises of health, joy, and millions of Sed periods.

Beneath is the entrance to the Northern niche. The inscriptions contained the cartouches of Hatshepsu and of her nephew. Everything referring to the queen on the lintel and on the door-posts has been erased, while the names and titles of Thothmes III. have been respected.

Plate XLI.—THE THREE SIDES OF THE NORTHERN NICHE. The Northern niche was dedicated to Anubis; while opposite to it the Southern one had Amon for








its god. We have on this plate the three sides of the niche. At the end stands the god Anubis; the queen, who was before him, is now completely destroyed. On the two sides are the goddesses of North and South. The goddess of the South,  *Nehebt*, promises the queen  *gent neb*, "all power,"  *neht neb*, "all strength,"  *áh-a*, "my duration." The goddess of the North,  *Tept*, on the right, promises also power, strength and joy. It is to be remarked that, although the goddesses speak to the queen, the pronoun *to thee* is in the masculine form,  *tu n(á) nk*, "I will give thee."

Plate XLII.—ARCHITRAVES OF THE HYPOSTYLE HALL. The inscriptions of the architraves in the Vestibule contain nothing except the name of the queen, who is said to be a worshipper of Amon and Anubis, the two gods to whom the shrine was dedicated.


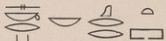
PLATES XLIII.—XLV.

INNER CHAMBERS OF THE NORTHERN SPEOS, OR THE SHRINE OF ANUBIS.

Leaving the Hypostyle Hall, we enter the Shrine, which opens out of the western wall. It consists of two separate chambers, the second being at right angles to the first. In the western wall of the second, exactly as in the chapel of Thothmes I., is a raised niche. In the first chamber, which is the larger, we see several representations of Amon standing; the figures of the queen who was officiating before him are destroyed. Amon holds here a similar position to that which he occupies in the Altar Court. He is the god of the whole temple, but he allows a shrine or altar to be dedicated to another god, Anubis; this explains why he is figured at the entrance to this shrine, as on the door and in the Vestibule leading to the Altar Court belonging to Harmakhis.

Plate XLIII.—END WALL OF SECOND CHAMBER. In the second chamber, we see at the end Anubis and a goddess,  *Hat hor her tep set*, "Hathor, the lady of the mountain." They both promise to

the queen, who stood between them, long life and protection.

Plates XLIV. and XLV.—EASTERN WALL OF SECOND CHAMBER. The side walls of the second chamber were decorated almost exactly like those of the chapel of Thothmes I., to which we may refer (pls. ix.-xi.). The scenes of offerings are well known. First comes Anubis, twice represented, to whom probably were offered grains of frankincense called  *bet* (compare pl. ix.). After him comes Osiris, who receives four red vases of water (compare pl. xi.). In the next scene it is Thothmes III. who officiates; his head is beautifully sculptured, and in a very good state of preservation. He offers four vases, called *hun* or *nem*, to Sokaris, who is called here  *Sekeri neb qerert*, "Sokaris, lord of the cave."

In the last scene we see the queen again. She opens the shutters of the shrine of Pthah and draws away the veil from the face of the god (compare pl. xi.).

PLATES XLVI.-LV.

MIDDLE COLONNADE, NORTHERN WALL (LOWER REGISTER).

These following plates reproduce the sculptures and inscriptions engraved on the north side of the retaining wall of the Upper Platform. The scenes on this wall are particularly interesting, because they describe the birth of the queen and her education up to the time when her father thought her old enough to become his associate on the throne.

But her enthronement by her father was not sufficient to establish the claim of Hatshepsu to regal power; probably her rights were contested in consequence of strong opposition to a woman occupying the throne. She wished therefore to emphasize the fact that she was the legitimate heir to the kingdom by attributing to herself a divine origin. According to the legend which she caused to be engraved on this wall, she was the daughter of Amon himself; "the great god, the lord of the sky, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, who resides at Thebes," was her father, and her birth might thus be considered as miraculous.

We have here the oldest version known of a legend, the origin of which probably goes back as far as the Old Empire. An allusion to a fable of the same nature occurs in connexion with the three first kings of the Vth Dynasty, who were supposed to be sons of Ra.¹ But the legend in its whole length and with all its details is found here for the first time.

One of the successors of Hatshepsu, Amenophis III. of the same dynasty, also desired to be considered as the son of the god whose name was incorporated in his own, and left in the temple which he erected at Luxor a record of his divine birth. East of the sanctuary of this great temple, the walls of a whole room are covered with sculptures, beginning with the announcement by Thoth to the queen Mutemua that she will be the mother of a son, and ending with the coronation of Amenophis III. by Amon himself. Champollion was the first to notice these interesting sculptures, part of which are to be

found published in the great posthumous work which appeared under his name.² Since then they have been copied again and published by Mr. Gayet.³ If we compare the texts and sculptures at Luxor with those which we have at Deir el Bahari, we find a striking similarity. There are a few variants in the scenes, but several of the texts are identical, word for word; so that it is evident that Amenophis III. merely copied most of what he found inscribed on the walls of Deir el Bahari.

This legend of divine paternity, which, as we have stated, probably goes back as far as the Old Empire, was current as long as the Egyptian religion endured; but curiously, with the exception of the cases of Hatshepsu and Amenophis III., we never find it referring to human beings, i.e. to kings or queens. It seems to be the stereotyped form of the description of the birth and enthronement of the gods, especially in Ptolemaic temples. We find these identical scenes in all the so-called *mammisi* or birth-temples, which are generally small edifices in close vicinity to the great sanctuaries; some of them have been preserved with their sculptures at Denderah, Erment, Edfoo, Philae and elsewhere. At Ombos the *mammisi* is nearly destroyed. At Esneh, the latest of the Roman temples, the birth-scenes have been engraved in the great columned hall at the entrance. Even at Philae, where Horus is said to be the son of Osiris, Amon is the prominent divinity as at Luxor, and asks Khnum to shape the body of the young god. We have here an example of the extraordinary persistence of legends in Egyptian worship. Moreover, we are led by this fable to one of the creations of Greek mythology. As has been observed, this myth bears an extraordinary resemblance to that of Jupiter and Alcmena. According to the Greek poets, the god took the form of Amphytrio, Alcmena's husband, exactly as Amon appears to the queen Aahmes under the form of her husband Thothmes I.

This wall and the chapel of Thothmes I. are the

¹ *Pap. Westcar*, pl. ix., l. 21, et seqq.

² *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie*, vol. iv., pls. 339-342.

³ *Mission Archéologique Française au Caire*, T. xv., pl. 62, et seqq.

parts of the temple where erasure has been most completely carried out. Nothing of the original work has been spared, except two figures of Aahmes, one of Thothmes I. enthroning his daughter, and two of Tum of Heliopolis. Apart from these, all the figures now extant have been restored; they are carved and painted on a thin coating of plaster. The names of the gods have been re-engraved, and only a few hieroglyphs added. These new signs are incised, instead of being sculptured in relief like the original work, as it may be seen in the signs accompanying the figures which have escaped destruction. Several times we come across the ever-recurring inscription of Rameses II., saying that "he renewed these buildings to his father Amon." This inscription is often cut right through the old text without any regard for what was underneath. Evidently Rameses II. was concerned only with the restoration of the figures, and did not care for the text, which gave prominence to the queen, whose legitimacy as a ruler of Egypt he did not recognize.

Who was the author of this wanton destruction thus imperfectly repaired? I have no doubt that it was the heretic king Amenophis IV., Khuenaten, who erased unmercifully all that referred either to the queen or to the Theban gods. I cannot attribute it to Thothmes III., for I see no reason why he should have defaced all the figures of the gods. If, as is generally supposed, the hatred which he felt towards his aunt drove him to eradicate as much as possible everything connected with the remembrance of Hatshepsu, he undoubtedly would have respected the figures of the god whom he himself worshipped. The king who ordered this destruction was certainly no friend of Amon and of the priests of the great god of Thebes; on the other hand, he dared not touch the figure of Tum, the great Heliopolitan deity. This fact clearly points to Amenophis IV., whose constant efforts were directed towards wiping out of Egypt the worship of Amon. His reason probably was a political one; he was afraid that the growing power of the priests of Thebes might become a danger to the throne, and therefore he established and upheld in the whole land another cult, which, however, was not new, for its Heliopolitan nature and origin are clearly discernible.

In spite of the restorations which Rameses II. boasts to have made, most of the texts are still very

fragmentary; some of them have been entirely rubbed away. A complete translation is therefore impossible, and we must be satisfied with ascertaining the purport of the inscriptions accompanying each scene. In a few places some help may be derived from the publication of the text of Luxor already referred to.

The wall on which our scenes are engraved is about fifteen feet high, and is divided into two horizontal registers of equal height. The series of representations begins with the lower row on the left side, the first scene being on that part of the retaining wall of the Causeway which limits the Colonnade on the South. The next scenes follow in succession on the retaining wall of the Platform from end to end, the last scene being at the North angle of the Colonnade, on the wall which separates it from the Hypostyle Hall. For the second part of the series we have to go back to the South end, where the upper row begins and runs parallel to the lower one. In the second part of the legend the queen is no longer a child; we see there what happened in her youth and the ceremonies of the coronation.

Plate XLVI.—FIRST SCENE. So little remains of the inscription, that the explanation to be given of the meaning of this scene is not quite certain. Amon is seated on a throne; he has summoned before him the great gods of Egypt. These gods are twelve in number, headed by one of the great divinities of Thebes, Mentu, "the lord of Thebes," the hawk-headed god wearing two feathers and a disk. He is followed by Tum, the great god of Heliopolis, and his cycle, consisting of Shu, "the son of Ra," Tefnut, "the lady of the sky," Seb, "the father of the gods," Nut, "the mother of the gods," Osiris, "who dwells in the West," Isis, "the lady of the sky, the sovereign of the two lands," Nephthys, "the sovereign of all the gods," Set, "the great living god." With these come also Horus, "the son of Isis, the great god, the lord of eternity," and Hathor, "the lady of the West, the sovereign of the two lands." All these figures have been restored except that of Tum, which is painted in bright red and is original.

This council of the gods seems to have been called together to receive an important announcement from Amon. The great god of Thebes probably told them that a mighty princess would be born, that her reign would be glorious and powerful, and he asked them

to grant her their protection and to help as much as they could to make her prosperous and rich. As for himself, his intentions towards her are nothing but kindness; we may judge of them by the few signs left:

saṃ n(ā)	ns	to-ūi	m	hotep
I will join	for her	the two lands	in	peace

āu	rtun(ā)	ns	to-ū	nebu	setu	neb
I will	give	to her	lands	all	countries	all

"I will join for her the two lands in peace. . . . I will give her all lands and all countries." We cannot see the answer of the put *neteru*, "the cycle of the gods."

The whole scene is an introduction to what is to follow, viz., the birth of the queen, her education and her coronation, all which events have been agreed upon and prepared in an assembly of the gods.

Plate XLVII.—SECOND TO FOURTH SCENES. The first two scenes on this plate are very much erased. It is hardly possible even to recognize the figures. Moreover, the restorations of Rameses II., having been made right across the old text, add to the defacement of the original inscriptions.

In the first scene we see Amon and Thoth. This last god plays in this legend very much the same part as that which is given to Hermes or Mercury in the comedy of *Amphitryo*. He addresses Amon, he names to the god queen Aahmes, and he induces him to visit her, and cause her to inhale the breath of life. In the next scene Thoth again holds Amon by his hand, and leads him to the entrance of the palace of the queen.

Further, we see Amon, who, as the text says, has taken the form of the queen's husband, the king Aakheperkara, Thothmes I., sitting opposite the queen and giving her the , the sign of life, which she receives in her hand and in her nostrils. God and queen are supported by two goddesses, Neith on Amon's side and Selk on the queen's. The two goddesses are seated on a couch. The interview between the queen and the god is described in the accompanying text, which ends by Amon saying that the daughter to whom Aahmes will give birth will

exert with might her royal power over the whole land; she will rule over the two parts of Egypt and guide the living.

All this scene had been completely destroyed; the figures have been restored in paint over a thin coating of white plaster, and their artistic value is not to be compared with the few remains of the original work, some specimens of which exist in the further scenes. The short lines above the heads of the figures are also restored. But, strange to say, the engraver did not restore the name of Queen Aahmes, the wife of Thothmes I.; he introduced another, that of the wife of King Aahmes I., the queen Aahmes Nefertari, who at the time of Rameses II. had already been deified, and was often represented in the tombs among the deities protecting the deceased. The visit of the god to the queen is never omitted where the birth of a king or of a deity is described; hence we find similar scenes at Denderah, Edfoo, Philae, Esneh and Luxor.

Plate XLVIII.—FIFTH TO SEVENTH SCENES. After leaving the queen, Amon calls on Khnum, the ram-headed god who will shape the body of the offspring of Amon and also of its *ka* or double. Khnum is the potter, *qeten*; his residence is the city of *Herur*, in Middle Egypt, in the XVIth nome, the nome of the oryx, the metropolis of which had for its cemetery the famous tombs of Beni Hasan. Mr. P. Newberry identifies *Herur* with the present village of Hūr, four miles north of Beni Hasan. There Khnum had a temple with his divine consort, the frog-headed Heket, whom we shall see appearing in the next scene. It is much to be regretted that most of the inscriptions have been lost, and that we have not much more than the ever-recurring inscription of Rameses II. Amon is standing before Khnum and addressing this god. He is evidently asking him to model the body of his daughter, who will exceed in glory and power all her predecessors, and who is particularly dear to him, for he will join for her the two lands (in peace), and he himself is protecting her every day "with the god who is in his day."

Khnum, who has been sent for by Amon, answers that he is ready to comply with the wish of Amon, and that he is going to shape the body of his daughter according to his desire. We can trace his answer in the few signs left:

qefen n(ā) *sat* *ten* *āru-s* *r*

 I will shape daughter this her appearance above

neteru *m* *sāhu-s* *āa* *n suten nt*

 gods because her dignity high of king of Upper and Lower Egypt

"I will shape for thee thy daughter [I will endow her with life, health, and strength, and all gifts], I will make her appearance above the gods, because of her dignity of king of Upper and Lower Egypt."

The potter is not slow in executing what he has promised to do, as is shown by the scene before us. We must remember that all these scenes were engraved by Hatshepsu's command, and that the chief desire of the queen was always to be represented as a man. Hence we see on the god's table two boys, both exactly alike, one being the little queen and the other her *ka*, her Double, which is indissolubly united to her from the day of her birth. These two human beings are lifeless. When Khnum has finished his work, when the two boys are standing before him, life is given them by his divine consort, the frog-headed Heket, who holds before their nostrils the sign of life.

The first two columns of the speech of Khnum are incomplete; they probably read as follows: Said by Khnum, the potter, the lord of Herur: "I have shaped thee with these limbs, daughter of the lord of Thebes."

y n(ā) *nt* *r* *qema(m)* *t* *r* *neteru*

 I have come to thee to create thee above gods

nebu *tu n(ā)* *nt* *ānkh* *uas* *neb* *tef-t* *nebt*

 all I will give thee life purity all stability all

āuābt *nebt* *kher-ā*

 joy all within me

"I have come to thee to create thee higher than all the gods. I will give thee all life, all purity, all stability, all joy within me." The other promises are those repeatedly met with, "I will give thee all health, all lands, I will give thee all countries, all mankind. I will give thee all offerings, all

abundance. I will give thee to rise on the throne of Horus, like Ra."

tu n(ā) *nt* *unen* *khent* *kau* *ānkh* *neb*

 I will give thee to be the first of beings living all

khāt *m* *suten nt* *nen mā* *ut*

 rising as king of Upper and Lower Egypt these as ordered

n-tef *t* *Amon Rā* *merer* *tn*

 thy father Amon Ra who loves thee

"I will give thee to be the first of living beings, when thou risest as king of Egypt. This is all according to the order of thy father Amon Ra, who loves thee."

Amon has appeared to the queen; Khnum has shaped the body of the child which is to be born. Now Thoth addresses the queen, and declares to her all the dignities which will be bestowed upon her, all the titles which will be added to her name, since she is to be the mother of such an illustrious offspring.

This part of the wall is particularly interesting, for here we have a figure which is untouched, that of Queen Aahmes, and also portions of the original text. The figure of Aahmes and the hieroglyphs which are in front of her are of the most exquisite workmanship. The whole of the inscription which is under Thoth's arm is original, except the group reading *ba*, which occurs twice, and which, meaning the ram, refers either to Amon or to Khnum, both of which gods were the objects of the hatred of Khuenaten. The following is what remains of the words of *Tehuti neb Shmun neb neter āa*, "Thoth, the lord of Hermopolis, the lord, the great god":

..... *m* *sāhu-t* *āa* *n* *rpāt* *urt*

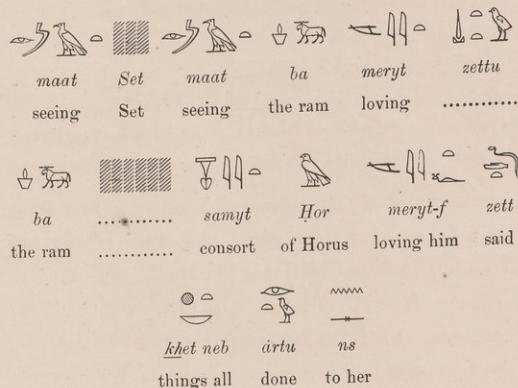
 in thy dignity great of princess the great

āmtu *urt* *hestu* *hont*

 of the favourites the great of the preferred the sovereign

nezem āb *urt* *bert* *āat* *mert* *Hor*

 well pleasing the great of affection the great of love Horus



"..... in thy high dignity of princess, the head of the favourites and the head of the preferred, the well-pleasing mistress, very affectionate and loving, who sees Horus and Set, who loves the sacred ram, the sacred ram, the consort of Horus, who loves him; these are the things done to her."

If we compare these titles with those of the queens of the Old Empire, we find a remarkable similarity, especially in two of them, which have a symbolical meaning. Hor samyt, "she who is united to Horus," the consort of Horus, is generally joined to the analogous title, Hor semert, "the friend of Horus," which occurs in the next plate. Both together form a combined expression, Hor semert samut, "the friend and consort of Horus."

In this expression "Horus" is probably not a god; it is the divine name of the king, whose titles generally begin with Hor nub, "the golden Horus." I have supplied the name of Set in the erasure under the arm of Thoth, on the analogy of the titles of the queens of the Old Empire, who are styled Hor Set maat, "who sees Horus and Set." I can give no explanation of this title, which may mean that the queen's dominion extended over both parts of Egypt. Later we shall see the god Set appearing at the coronation of Hatshepsu.

Pls. XLIX. and L.—EIGHTH SCENE. Aahmes is being led by Khnum and Heget into the chamber where she will give birth to Hatshepsu. The hieroglyphs engraved above her head are similar to those in the preceding plate; they give her titles and dignities, with the addition of hont hemtu neb, "the sovereign of all women." The figure of Aahmes is perhaps the finest piece of work in the whole temple. Though it is in a very low relief,

the admirable modelling of the delicate and refined features, and the smiling expression, give to her face a beauty which bears witness to the skill of the Egyptian artists, and causes us to regret more keenly that so little has been left of the original work.


Beyond stood three rows of divinities, twelve in number; they seem to be accompanying Aahmes into the chamber, whither she is led by Khnum and Heget. The long text which was engraved in front of Amon (pl. L.) is completely destroyed.

Plate LI.—NINTH SCENE. BIRTH OF HATSHEPSU AND OF HER ka (DOUBLE). A scene much erased; the figures have been partially restored, but only in paint. The queen Aahmes, the royal mother, is seated on a throne placed upon a long couch. She has the child in her arms. In front of her are divine nurses and midwives, holding in their hands several of the ka of the future queen. Behind the queen-mother is an unknown goddess, touching the head of Aahmes with the sign of life, together with Nephthys, Isis and other deities. Beneath the couch are genii with crocodile and human heads, also holding the sign of life. These I take to be the genii of the East and of the West, for on the lower row are other genii with heads of jackals and hawks which are well known: they are called the spirits of Pe, and Nekhen, viz. of North and South. Thus at the birth of Hatshepsu the deities presiding over the four cardinal points are all present.

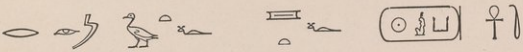
Just below the seat of the queen are two human figures with raised hands, having on their heads the palm of years. This probably means that millions of years or of Sed periods are given to the child which is just born, that she is to have eternal duration. The same idea is expressed by the and the which are between these figures.

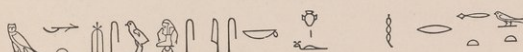
In the lower row, towards the right, we find two divinities, generally represented on the cornices or on the entrances of the *mammisi* or birth temples. The grotesque appearance of both, and especially of the male god, suggested that such buildings were dedicated to Typhon: the old guide-books often speak of a Typhonium, built close to a great temple. These deities are the dwarf god *Bes*, and the female hippopotamus, called either *Thueris*, *Reret*, *Api*, or *Apet*. The large blank space next to *Bes* contained a text having symbolical connexion with the birth. It referred to the lighting of a flame or

of a lamp by Api. A flame was supposed to be an emblem of life; therefore, when life began, at the birth, or on anniversaries like the Sed festival, when the duration of the king's life was celebrated, or in the other world when life was supposed to be restored to the deceased, we find the ceremony of lighting a lamp. At Luxor, in the scene of the birth of Amenophis III., there are a few words left of this text, which must have been very like Chap. 137 of the Book of the Dead. At the time of the XVIIIth Dynasty this chapter was written in two different versions. The vignette¹ which accompanies one of them shows a female hippopotamus, called "Api the goddess of protection," lighting a lamp with the symbol of fire which she holds in one of her paws.

In front of the couch a goddess is seated. She is called  *Meskhent*; she is another form of Heqet or Nekhebt. Meskhent appeared at the cradle of the child at the instant it was born. She is the head-nurse of the young queen, and therefore she says to her: "I am protecting thee behind thee like Ra." The long text which is above her head is a mere repetition of the commonplace promises which occur in nearly every scene. These promises of health, strength and prosperity are made to the queen and to her *ka* as well.

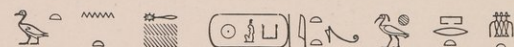
Pl. LII.—TENTH AND ELEVENTH SCENES. Amon has not yet seen his daughter, and probably is impatient to make her acquaintance. The introduction of the child to her father is the object of two scenes. It is Hathor herself who shows Hatshepsu to Amon. The goddess is seated on a chair and holds the little boy on her hand. What remains of the text shows that Amon came expressly—


r maa sat-f mert-f Rámaka ánkht
 to see his daughter who loves him Ramaka living

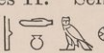

m khet mesu-s ásk áb-f nezem r áat urt
 after her birth for his heart pleased very much


"to see his daughter who loves him, the queen Ramaka, for his heart was exceedingly pleased."

At the sight of the child the god addresses her in the following words:

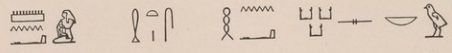

sat nt khet(á) Rámaka átt kku pert khet
 daughter of my body Ramaka form sacred issue first

"daughter of my loins, sacred form, my first issue as king thou takest possession of the two lands on the throne of Horus like Ra."

Amon is well pleased with the sight of his daughter. He takes her from the hand of Hathor; the text says that he loves her exceedingly; he kisses her and embraces her; he salutes her with the formula which we have had before repeatedly: "Come to me, come to me in peace, daughter of my loins, beloved Ramaka, thou art the king who takes possession of the diadem on the throne of Horus of the living, eternally." On the right is the goddess Selk. Probably in front of her stood another figure, now destroyed and covered by the inscription of Rameses II. Selk is said to be the lady of a place called  *Qetenem*, the site of which is unknown. I should think from Selk being mentioned on the next plate that she was one of the goddesses who superintend the suckling of the child.

Pl. LIII.—TWELFTH AND THIRTEENTH SCENES. The queen-mother is kneeling on a high couch, underneath which is a row of  *te-t* amulets. A female figure places on her head the head-dress known by the Latin name "modius." Before her two cow-headed Hathors are suckling Hatshepsu and her *ka*. Below them are also two Hathors represented as cows. These figures are not original; they have been restored on a reduced scale. On the walls there are traces of the original horns, showing the size of those which have been defaced. The artist who painted the new figures did it quite carelessly; he forgot the two most important ones, the two boys under the cows being suckled by the sacred animals.

In the text, which is very much destroyed, among the usual repetitions we find the command:


mená hont-s hná kau-s nebu
 to suckle her majesty and her *ka* all

"to suckle her majesty and all her *ka*."

A human being might have as many as fourteen *ka*. In this scene we see the execution of the order

¹ NAVILLE, *Todt.*, i., pl. 151.

just given. Twelve nurses are holding children in their arms. The nurses have as head-dress alternately the sign \square and the emblem of Neith in the Saitic nome. The children are all *ka* of the queen, and if we add to them the two suckled by the Hathors we arrive at the sum of fourteen.

The nurses hand over the children to two male figures, who present them to three seated gods. If we compare this scene with the representation at Luxor, the first figure, the one that holds the children, would be Hapi , "the Nile," and the other Hekau , a god who is little known, and who is considered as representing the "magic power of speech." If this be so, Hapi would give to the child the power of growth, and Hekau that of speech. The hieroglyphs are obscure; they seem to mean that these men take Ramaka out of the room where she was born, in order that she may be purified by Horus and Set. We shall see further on this kind of Egyptian baptism, performed for Hatshepsu, not however by Horus and Set, but by Horus and Amon.

Pl. LIV.—FOURTEENTH SCENE. The child passes through the hands of several gods; we do not see exactly why. Hatshepsu and her *ka* now appear in the hands of Thoth and Amon. It may be that Amon entrusts her to Thoth in order that this god may determine what her future will be, and may grant her a reign of many years. Thoth and his consort Safekhabui are the divinities presiding over the measurement of time.

Pl. LV.—FIFTEENTH SCENE. This scene is also somewhat obscure. The texts which are still legible are only common-place formulas, and do not give any clue to the meaning of the representation.

First we see Anubis rolling a large disk. We find the same god with his disk in all the birth-temples, except at Luxor, where he is seen holding a sceptre. From the text at Denderah I gather that this disk is the moon, and that the god is presiding over the renewal of the moon, which means that he regulates the calendar of the gods. Among the promises which he makes to the queen he grants her

<i>tou</i>	<i>nebu</i>	<i>setu nebt</i>	<i>rekhytu</i>	<i>nebt</i>	<i>Hanebtu</i>	
lands	all	countries all	Rekhyt	all	Hanebtu	
<i>nebt</i>	<i>Hamemtu</i>	<i>nebt</i>	<i>Patu</i>	<i>nebt</i>		
all	Hamemtu	all	Patu	all		

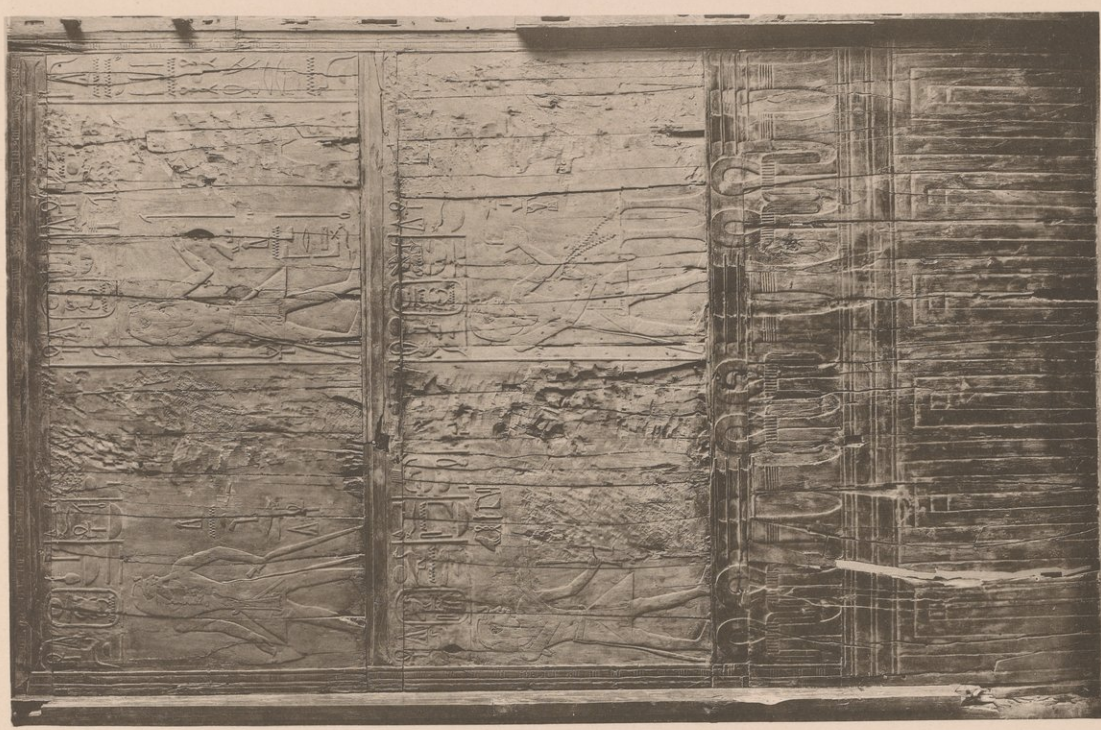
"all lands, all countries, all inhabitants of Egypt, all strangers, all future and all past generations."

In front of Anubis stands Khnum. Next we see in the upper room the queen and her *ka* being still carried on the hands of a nurse, who seems to hand them over to a man who receives them.

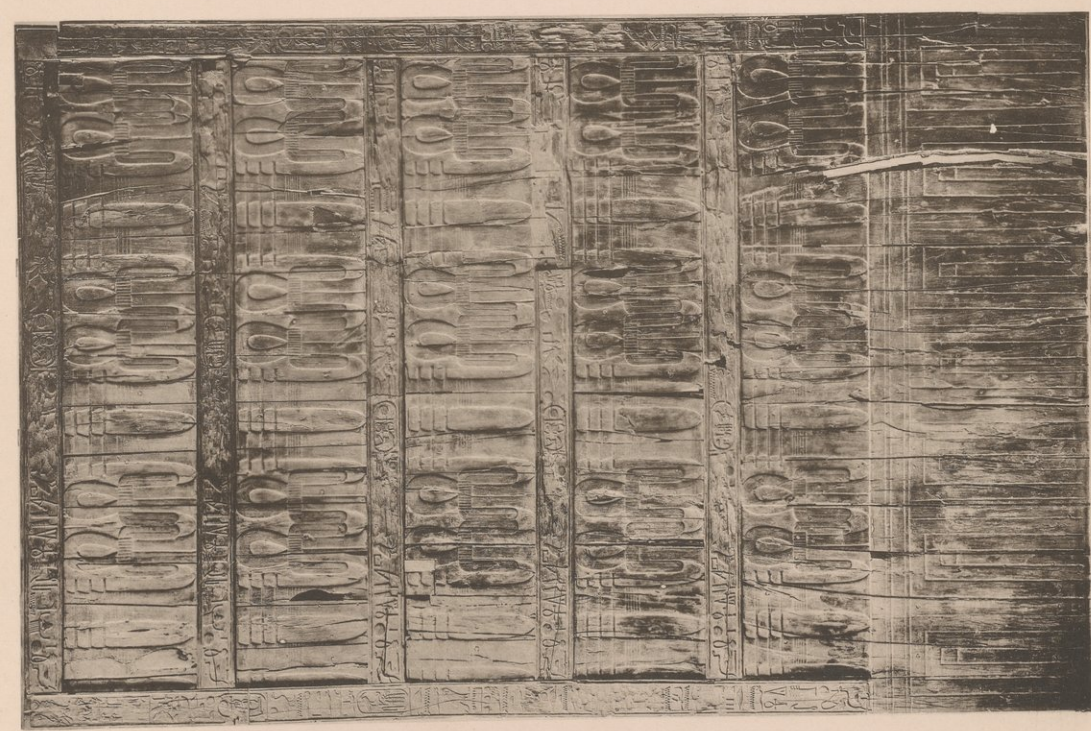
Underneath we see again the two nurses, but the children are older, they are able to walk. In front of them a woman holds an inkstand, in which the goddess Safekhabui dips her reed in order to record that she has allotted to the young queen a great number of years: millions of Sed periods on the throne of Horus. I cannot explain who is the man behind the goddess holding a long staff and the ankh .

This is the last scene of the lower row. We have now to go back to the other end of the terrace, where we shall find various episodes of the childhood and youth of Hatshepsu, beginning with her purification by the gods.

EBONY SHRINE.



LEFT PANEL.



EBONY SHRINE.

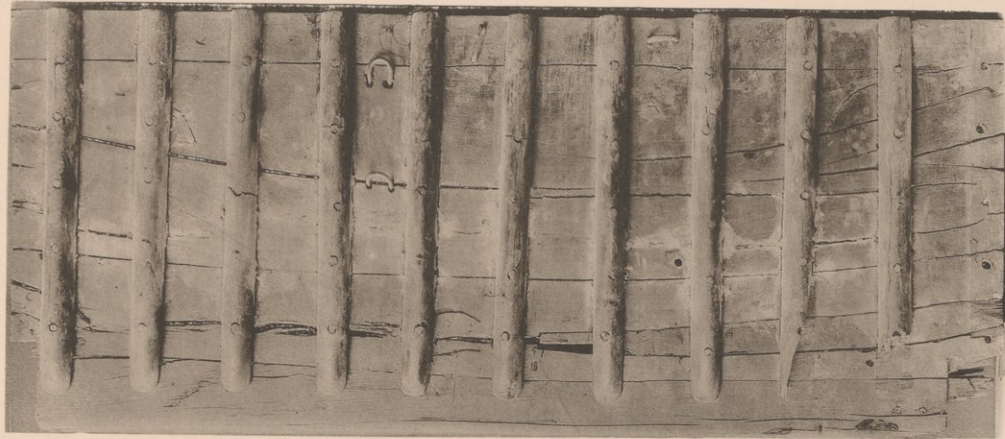
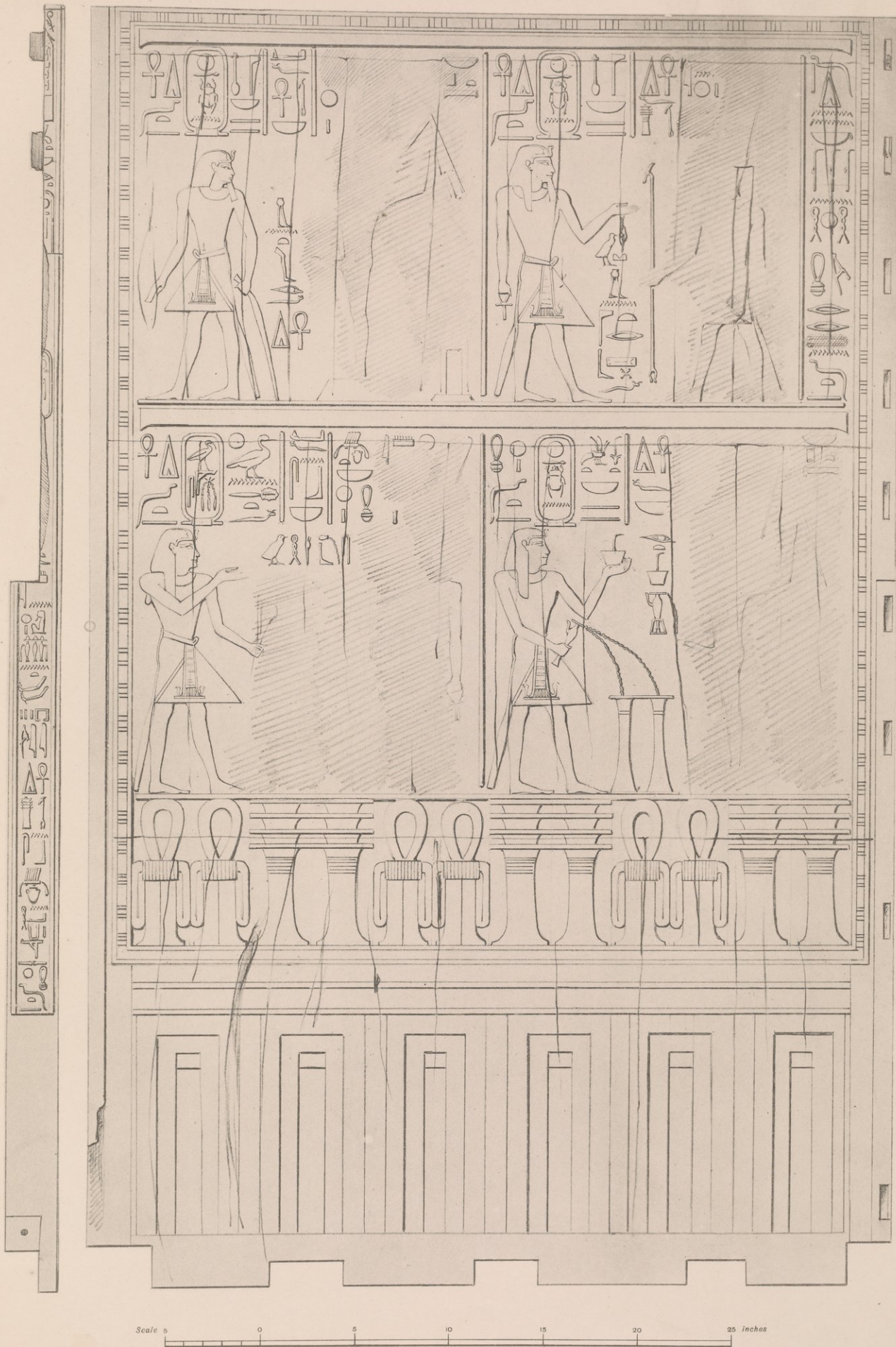


PLATE XXVI.

LEFT LEAF OF THE DOOR.



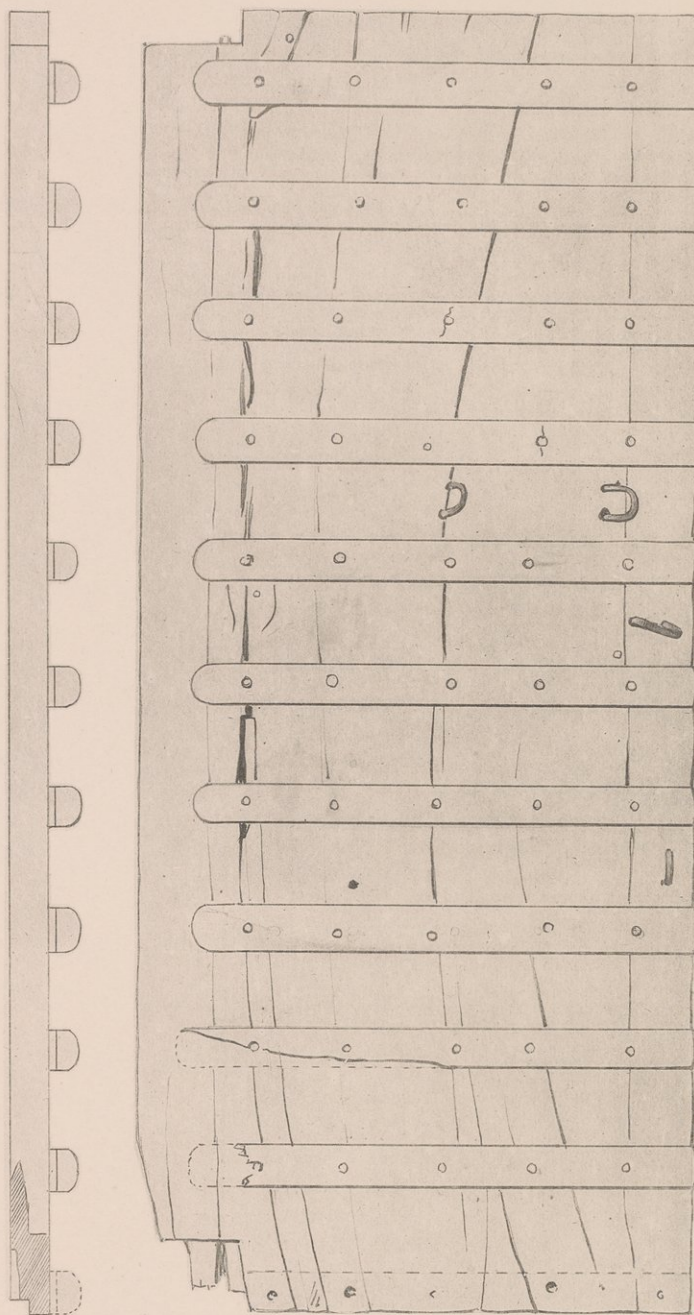
OUTER SURFACE OF PANEL.



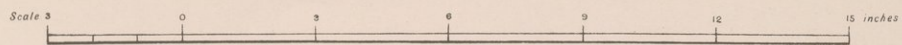
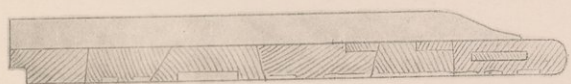
INNER SURFACE OF PANEL.



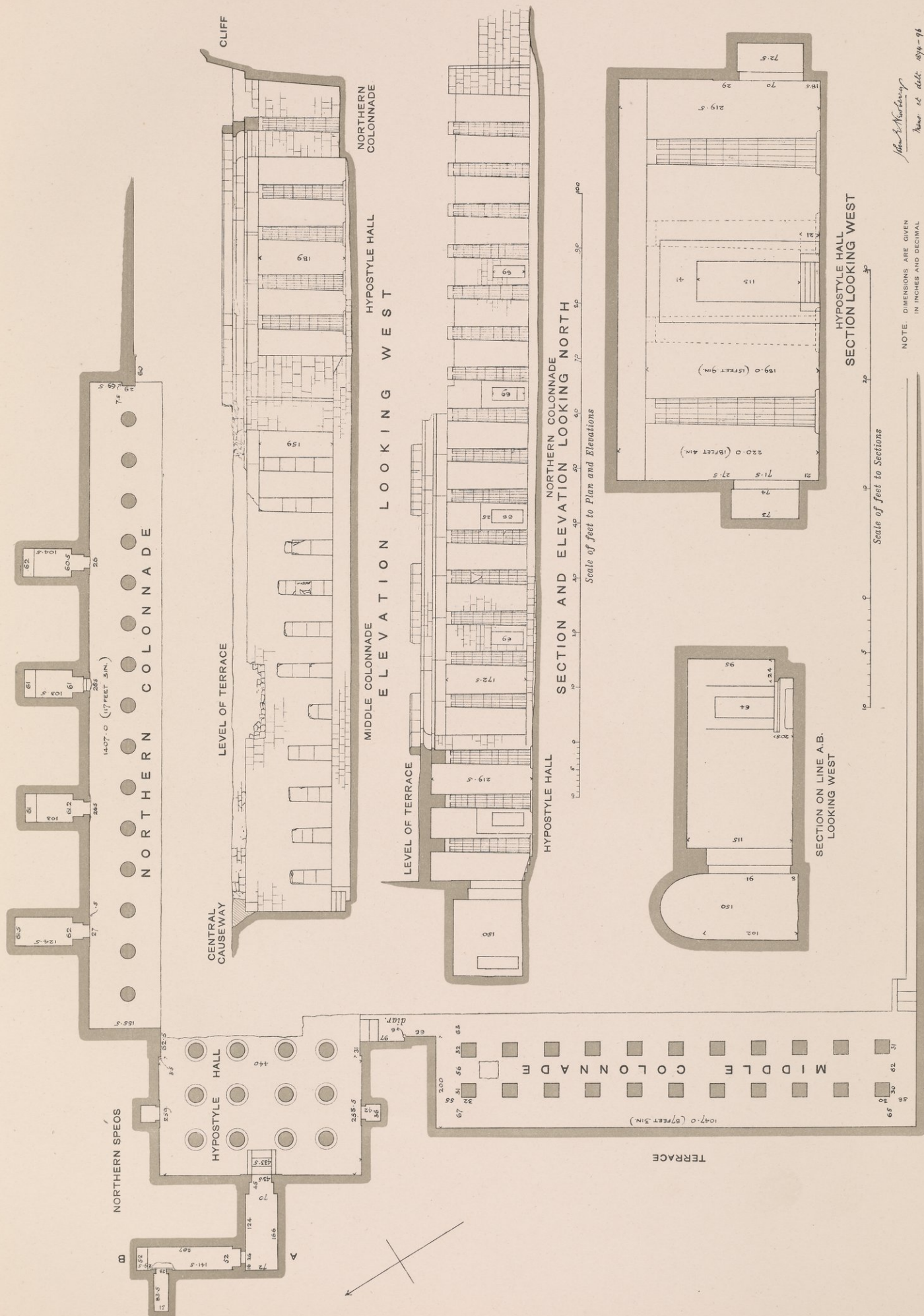
INNER SURFACE



OUTER SURFACE



LEAF OF THE DOOR.



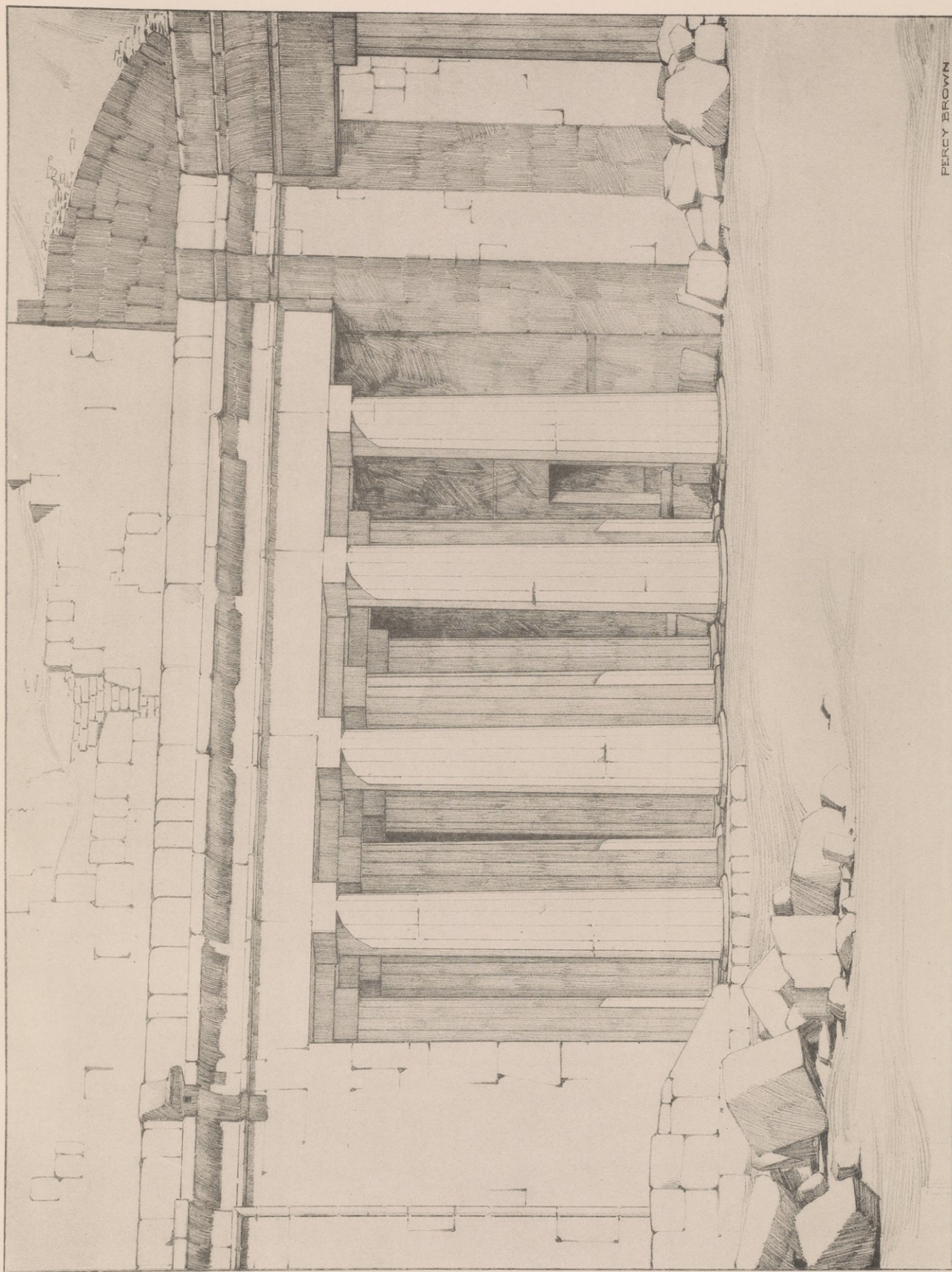
Howe & Hartung
New York City 1894-95

NOTE. DIMENSIONS ARE GIVEN
IN INCHES AND DECIMAL
PARTS

CENTRAL CAUSEWAY

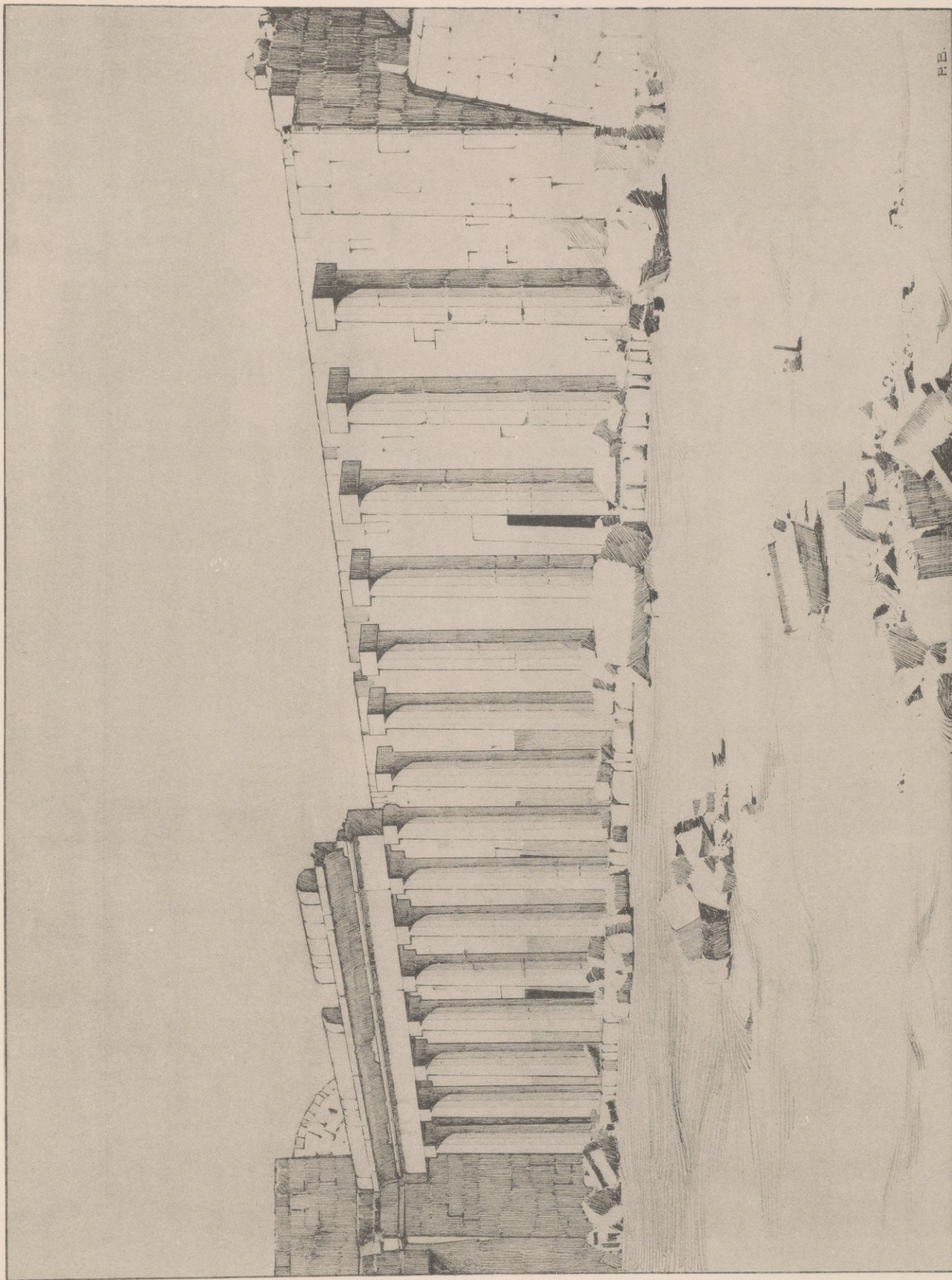
PLAN, ELEVATIONS AND SECTIONS OF NORTHERN HALF OF MIDDLE PLATFORM.

NORTHERN SPEOS. HYPOSTYLE HALL.

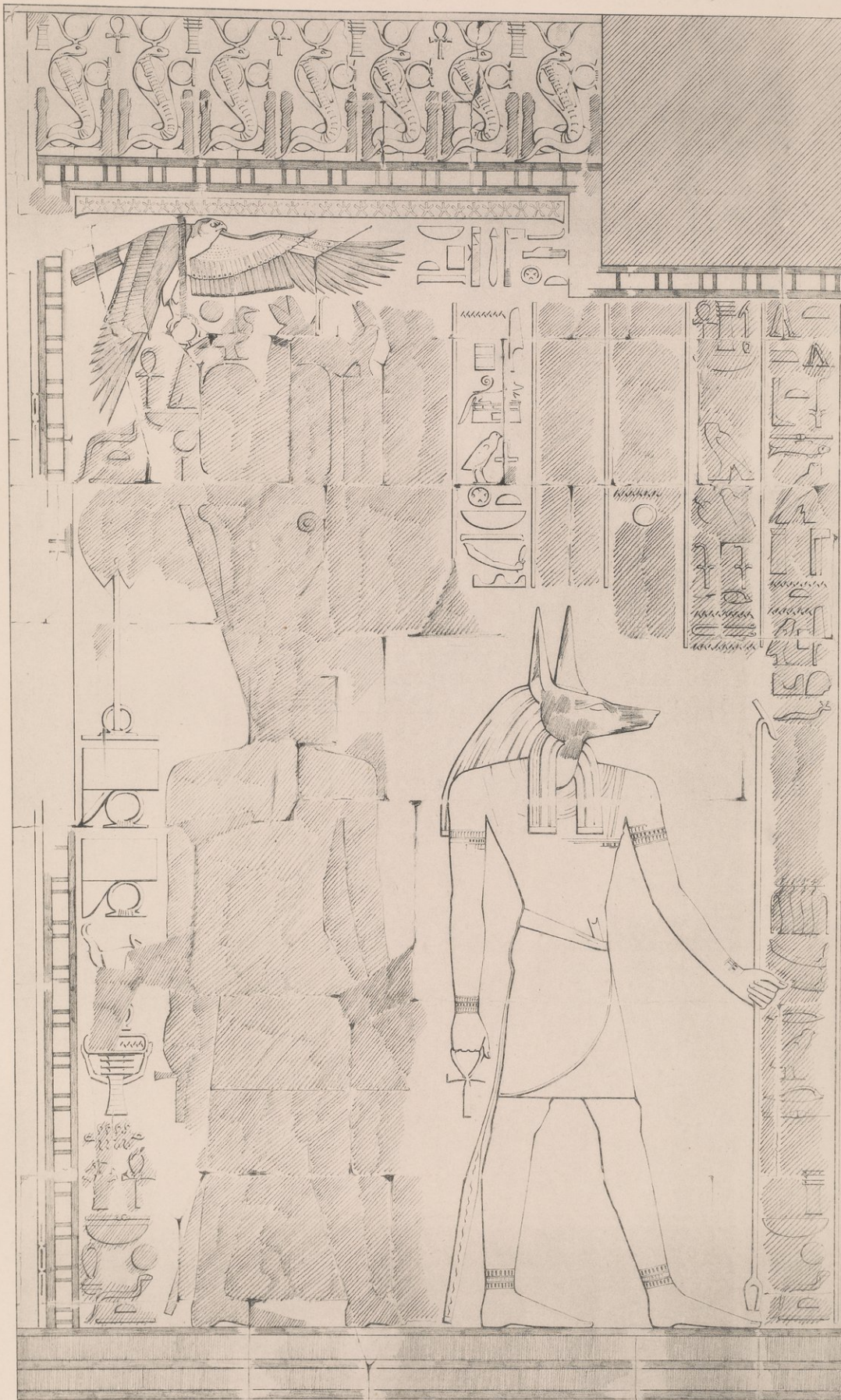


PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE SHRINE OF ANUBIS.

MIDDLE PLATFORM.

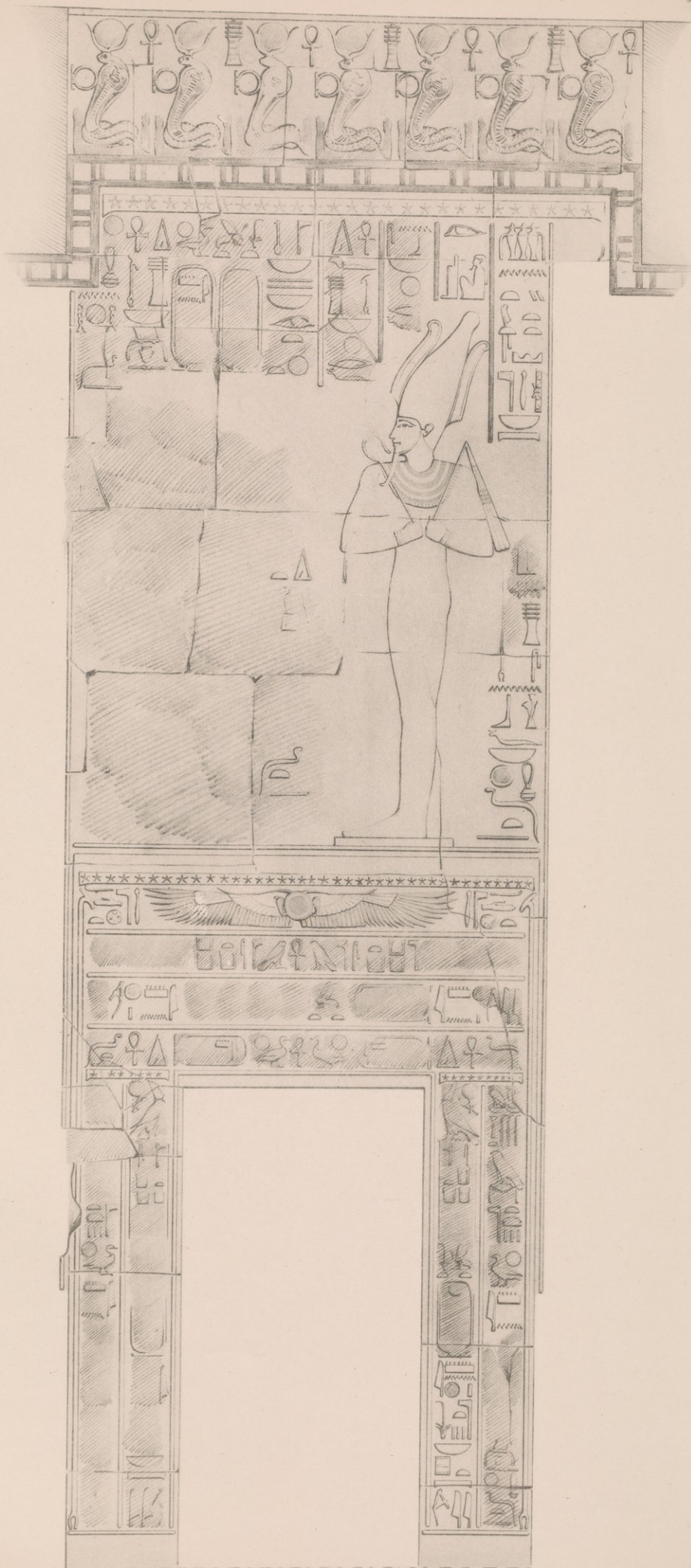


PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF THE NORTHERN COLONNADE.



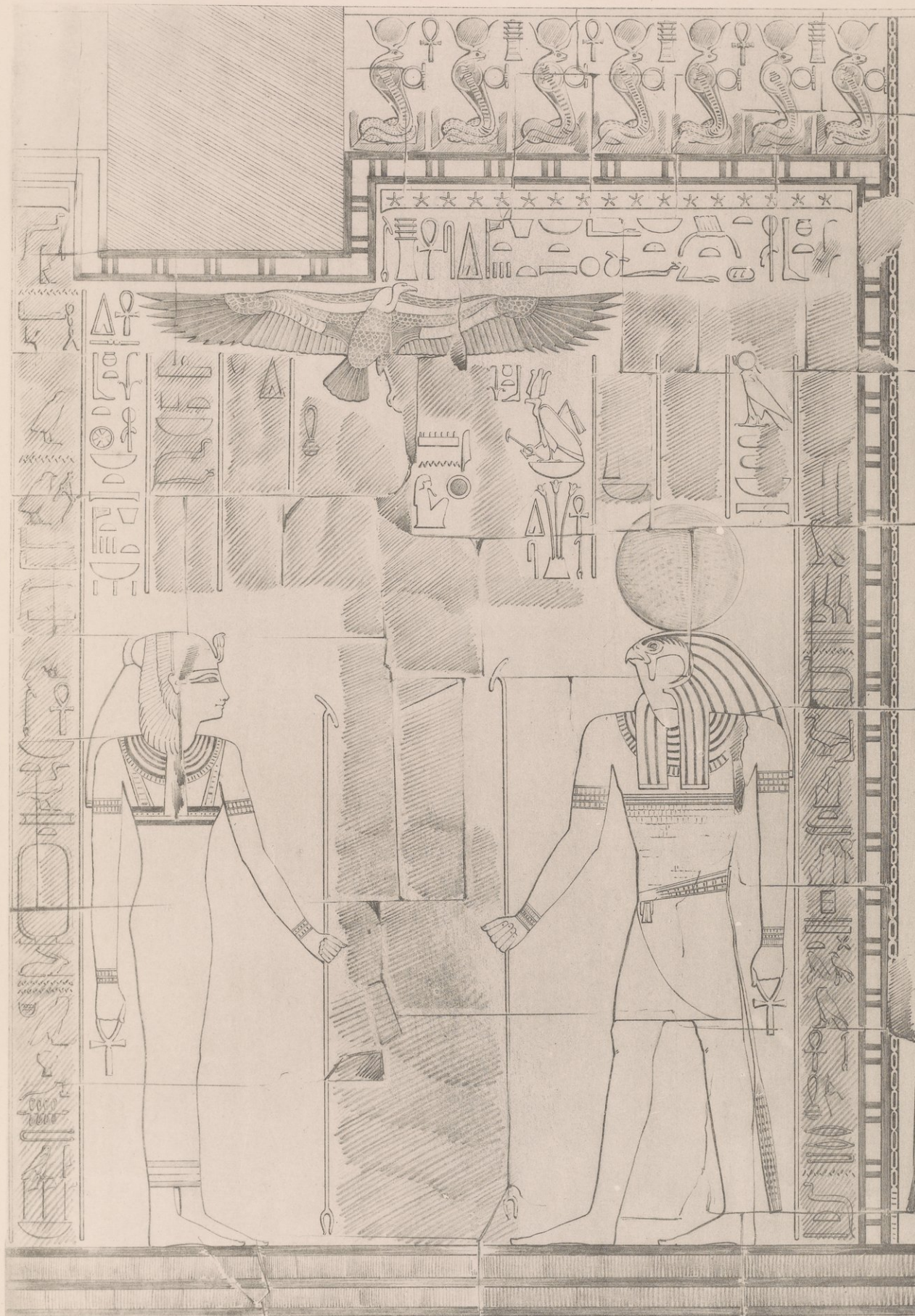
Scale 0 6 12 24 36 48 60 inches

ANUBIS INTRODUCING HATSHEPSU INTO THE SHRINE.



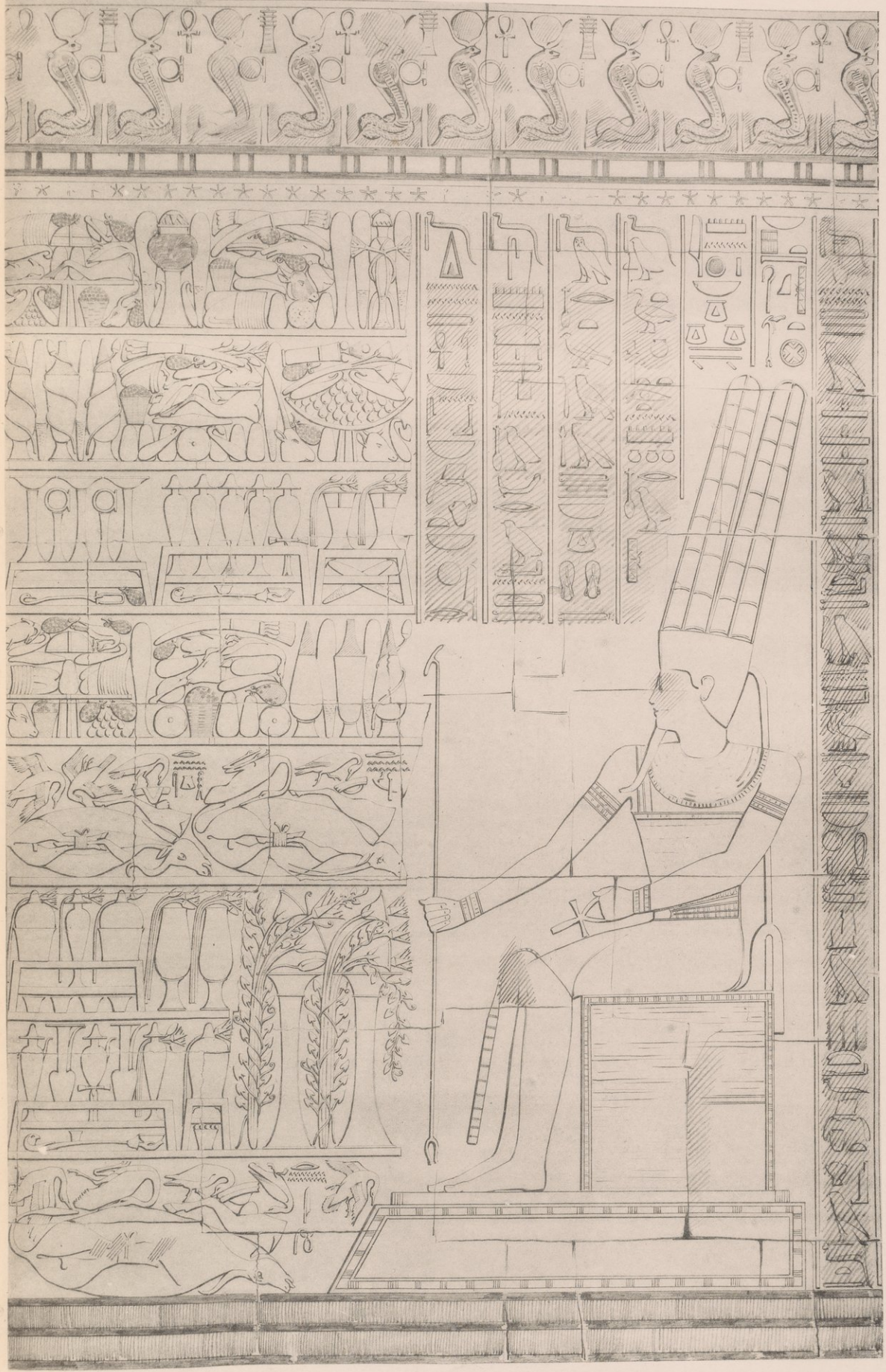
Scale 0 6 12 24 36 48 60 inches

HATSHEPSU BEFORE OSIRIS. ENTRANCE OF A NICHE.



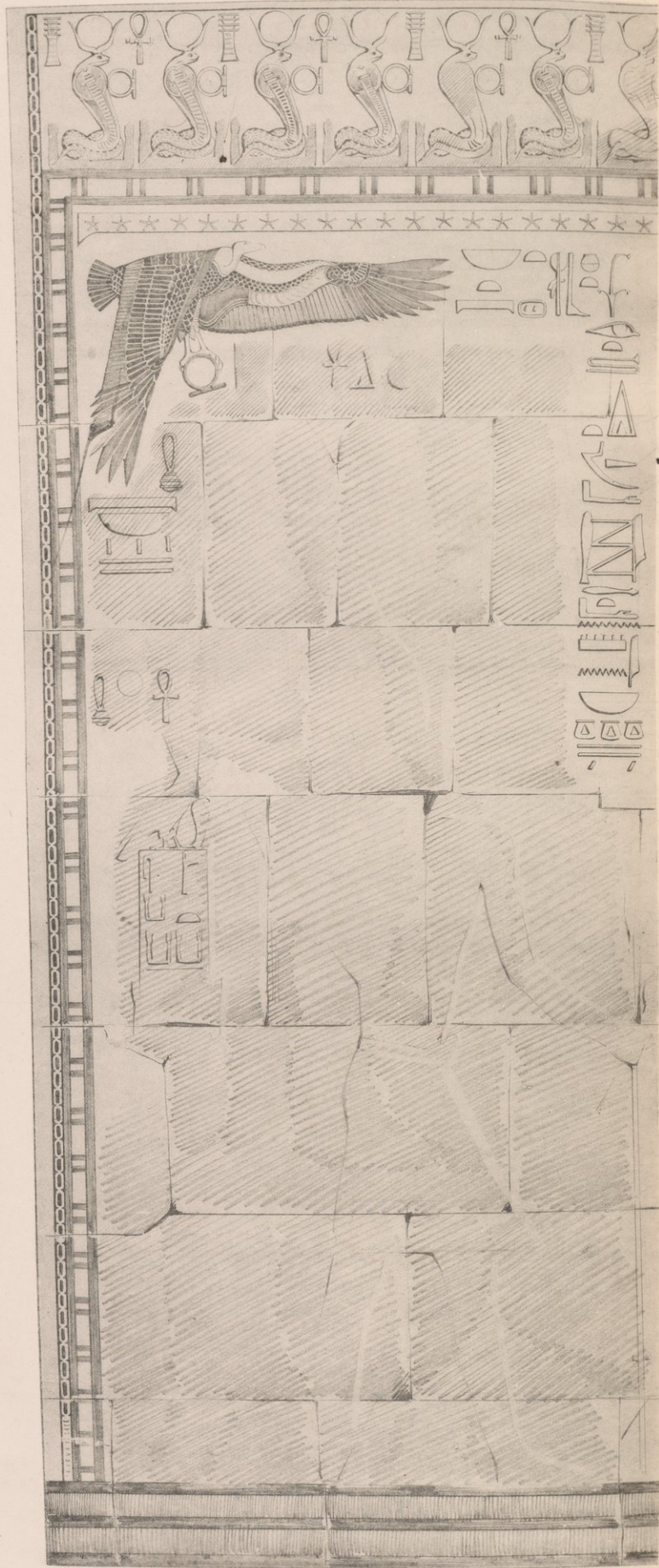
Scale 12 6 0 12 24 36 48 60 inches

HATSHEPSU (ERASED) BETWEEN NEKHEB AND HARMAKHIS.



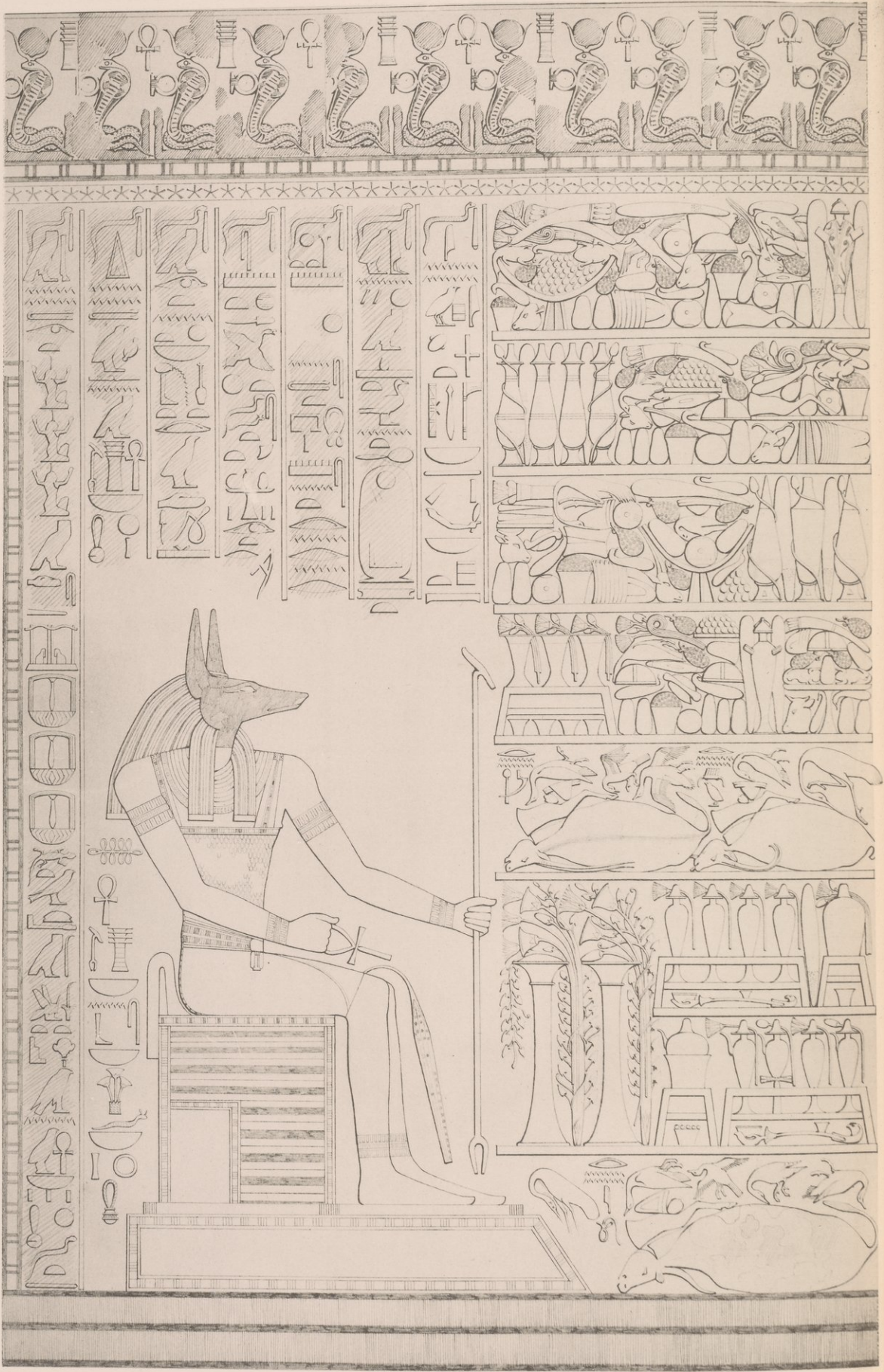
12 24 36 48 60 inches

HATSHEPSU MAKING OFFERINGS TO AMON.



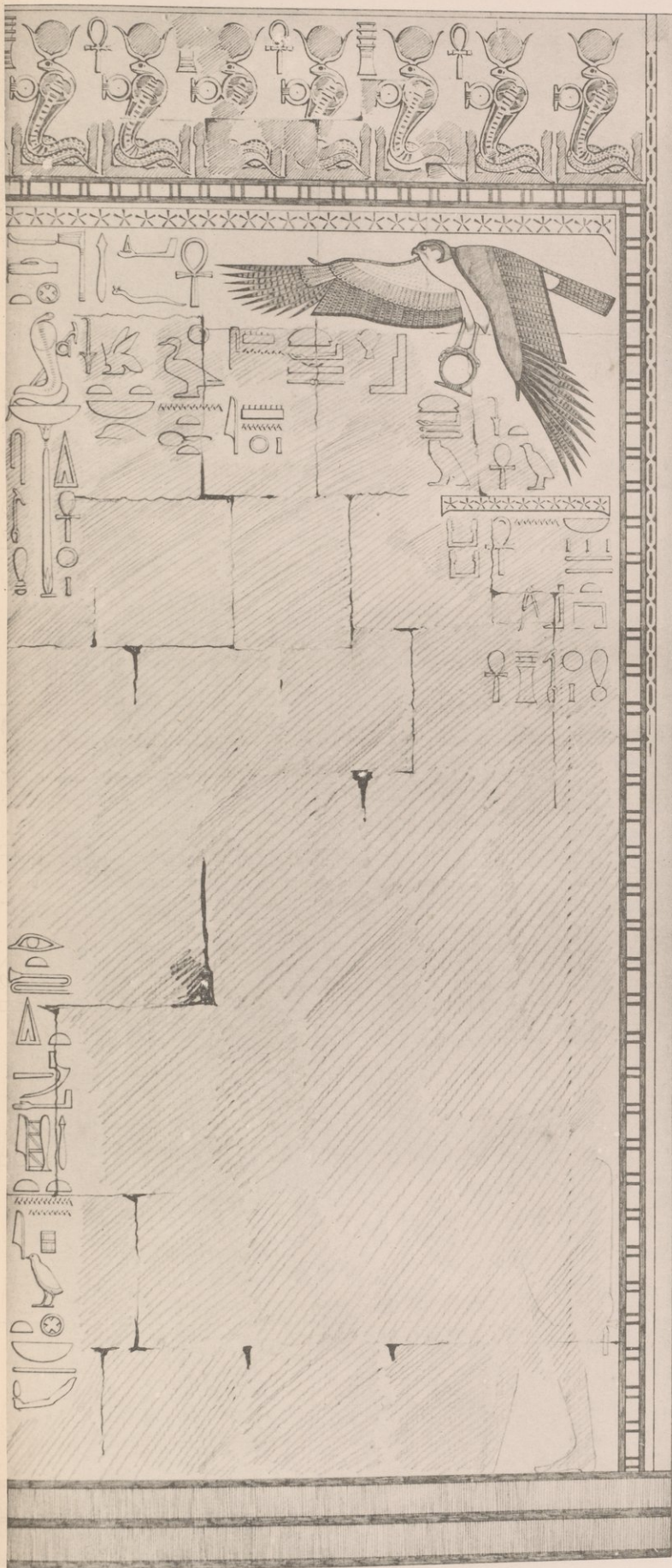
Scale 12 0 0 12

HATSEPSU



Scale 12 0 0 12 24 36 48 60 inches

HATSHEPSU MAKING OFFERINGS TO ANUBIS.



SHRINE OF ANUBIS.



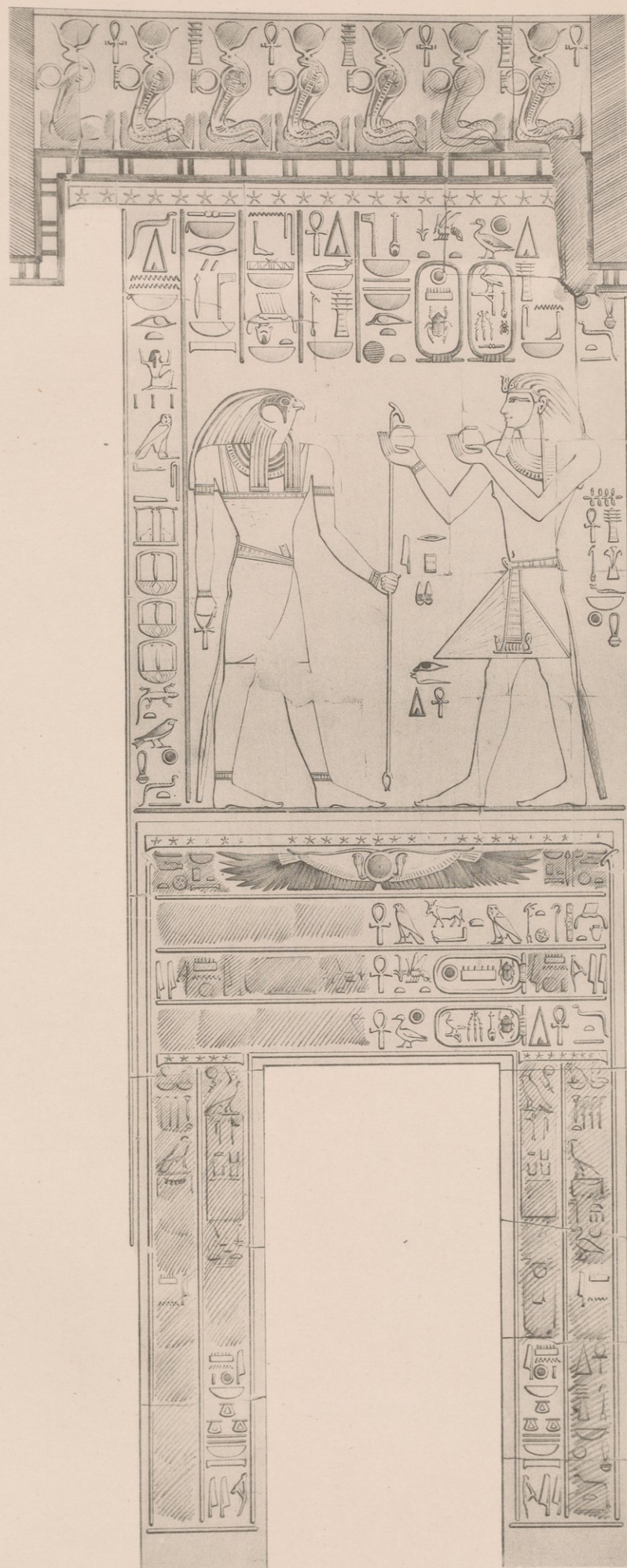
Ternet Carter.

THE VULTURE OF UPPER EGYPT (PL. XXXVI).
Scale two-fifths of original

SHRINE OF ANUBIS.



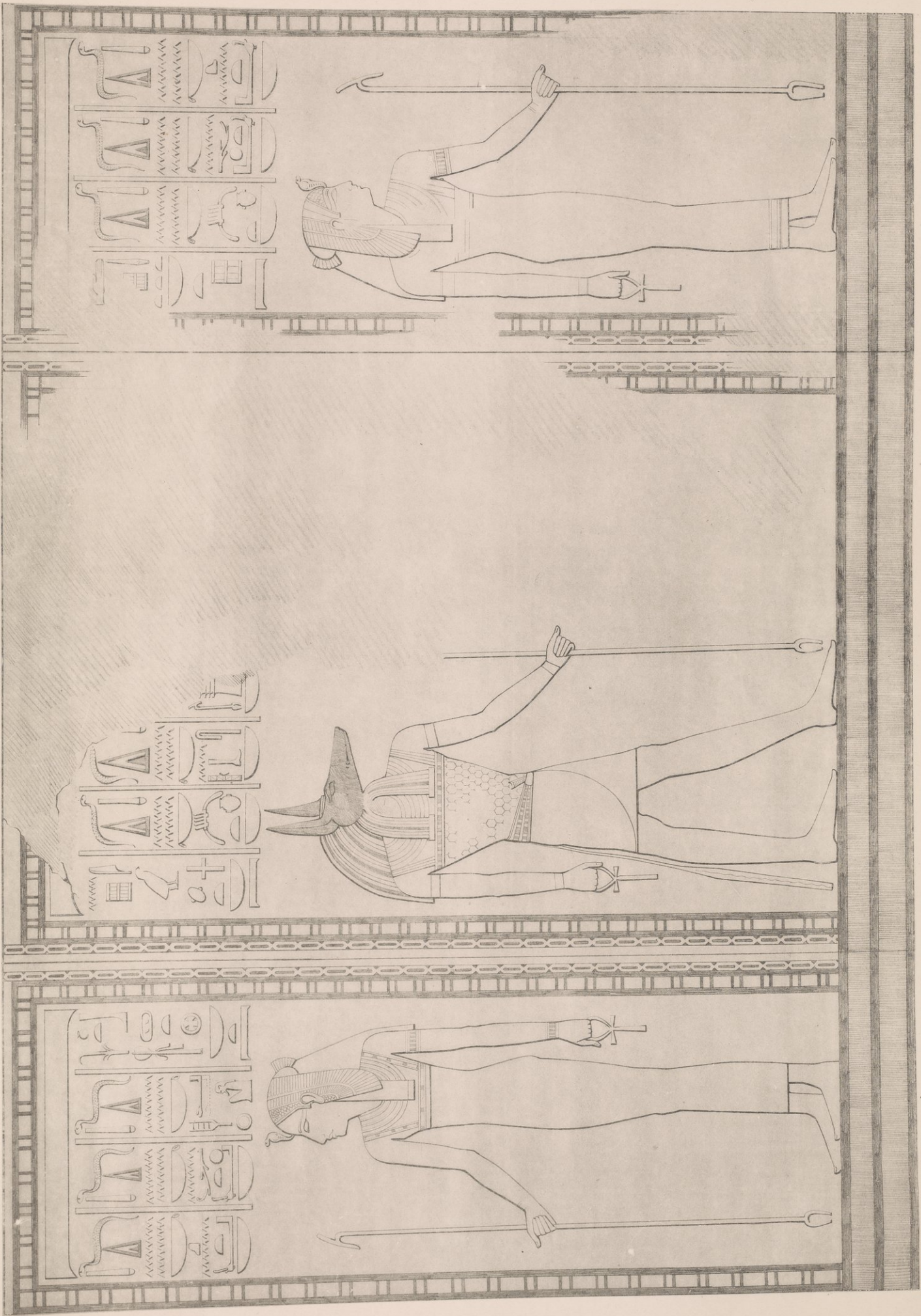
THE HAWK OF LOWER EGYPT (PL. XXXVII).
Scale two-fifths of original



Scale 12 0 0 12 24 36 48 60 inches

THOTHMES III. OFFERING WINE TO SOKARIS.

SHRINE OF ANUBIS. NICHE.



GODDESS OF UPPER EGYPT.

ANUBIS.

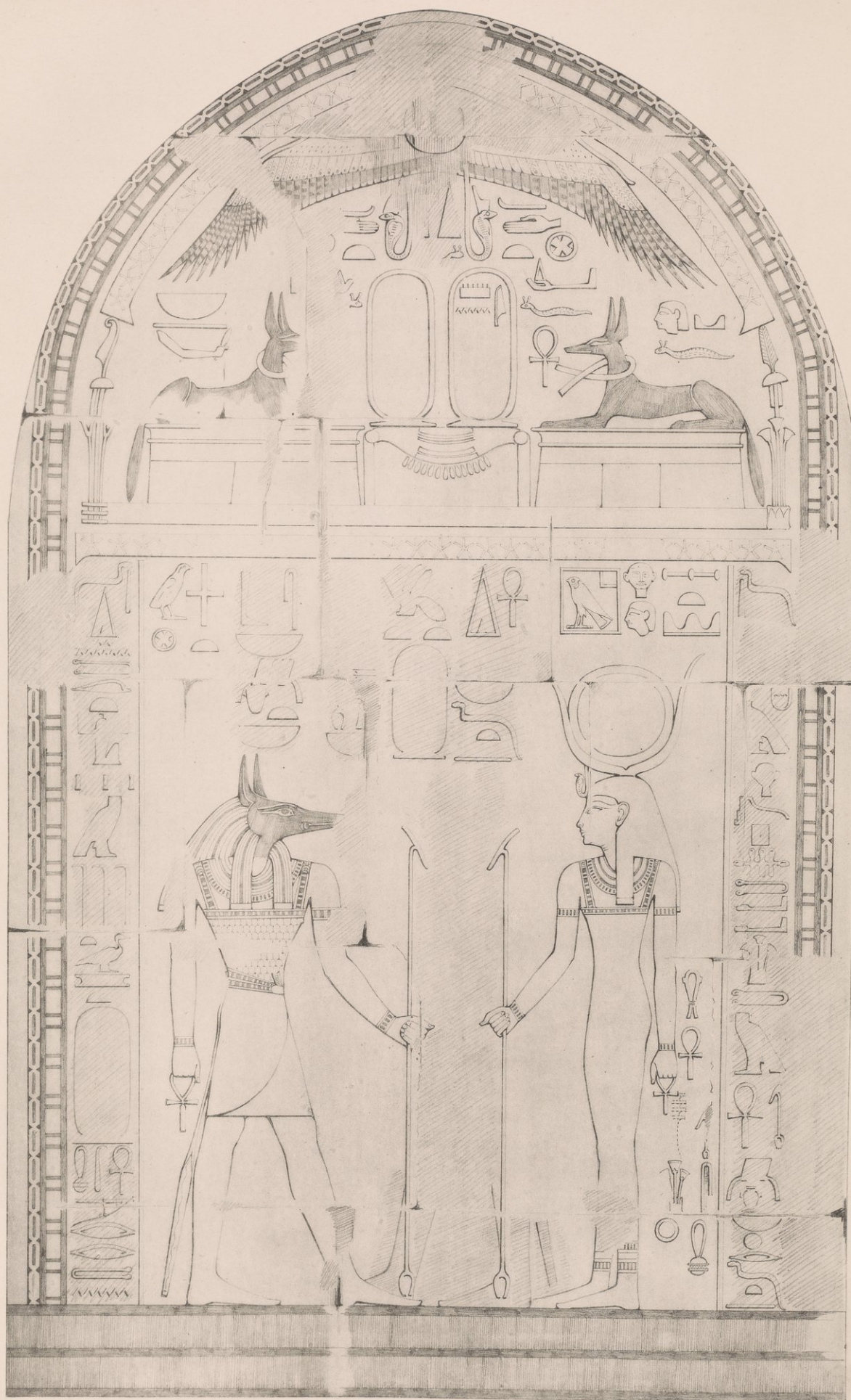
GODDESS OF LOWER EGYPT.

SHRINE OF ANUBIS.



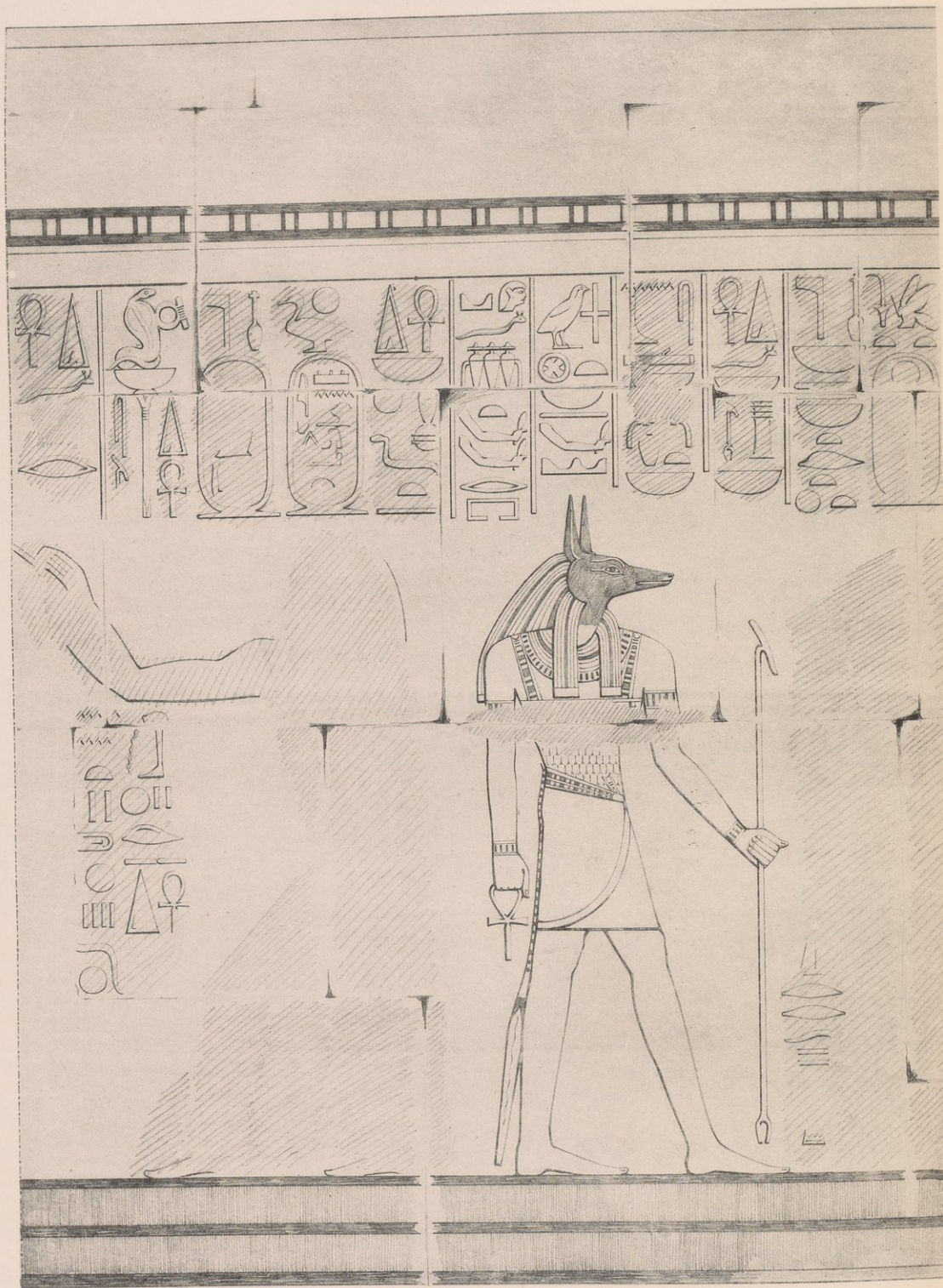
INSCRIPTIONS ON ARCHITRAVES.

Scale one-thirtieth of original.



Scale 6 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

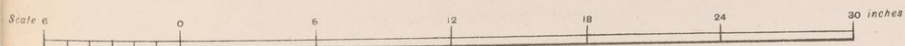
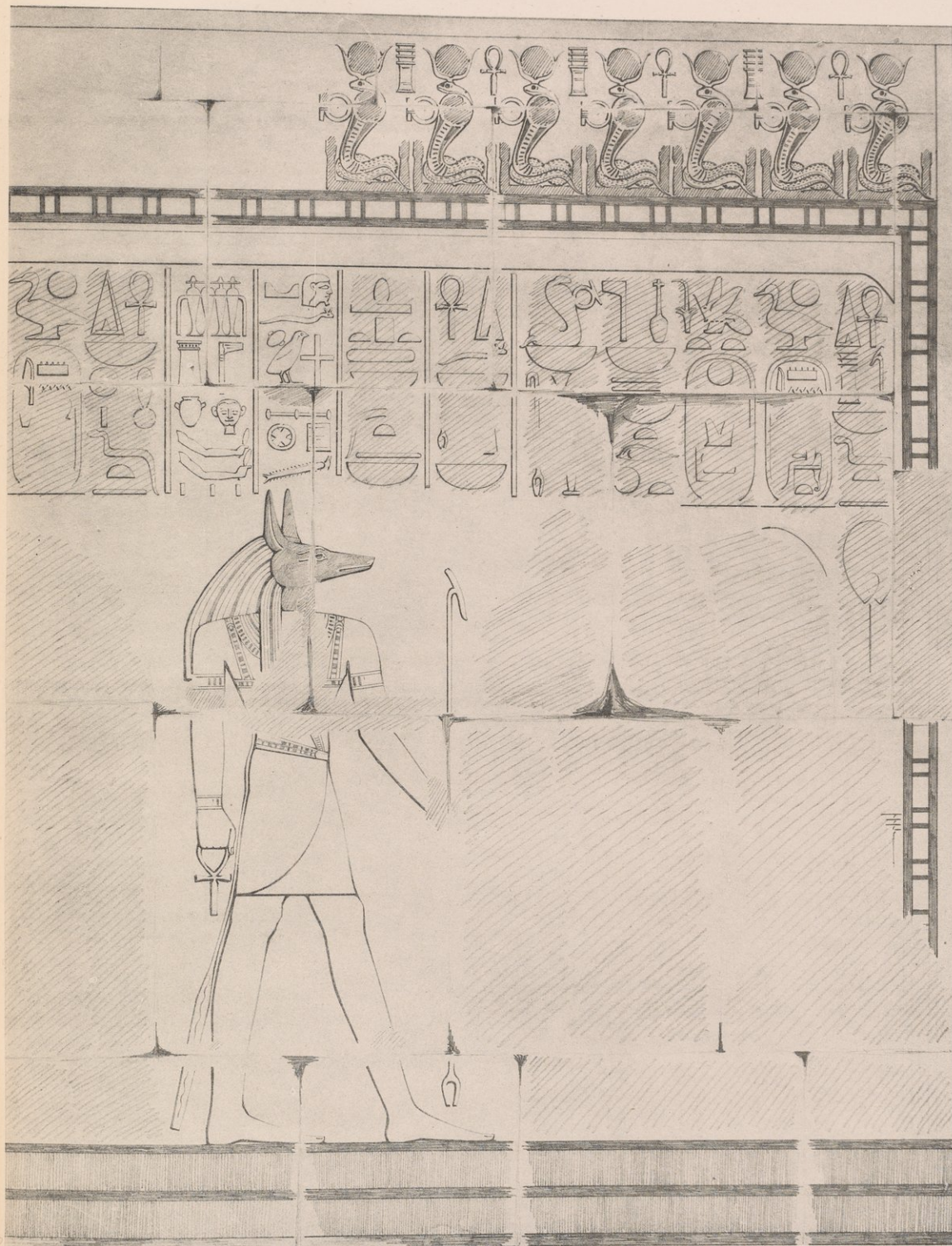
HATSHEPSU BETWEEN ANUBIS AND HATHOR.



HATSHEPSU.

ANUBIS.

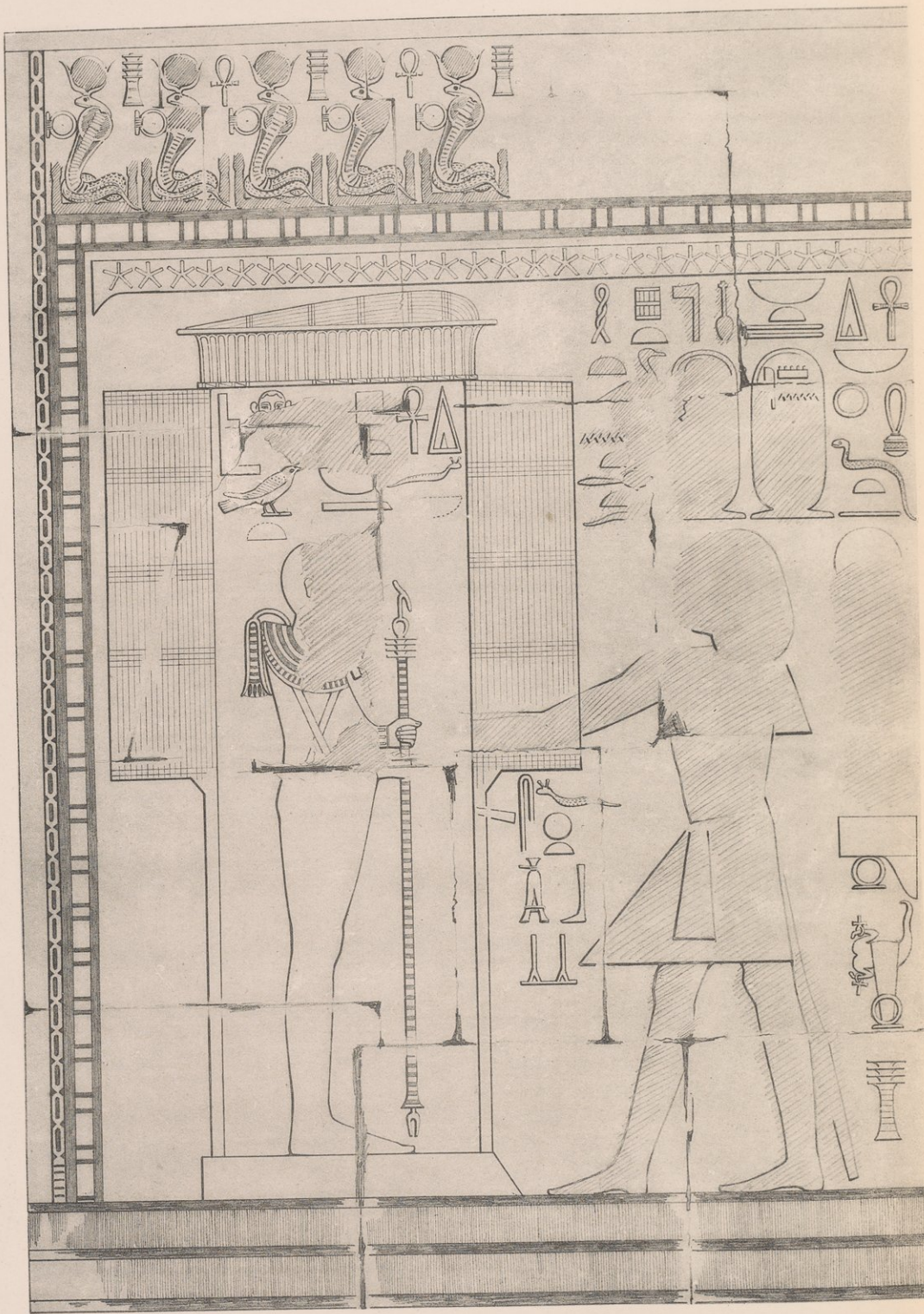
HATSHEPSU ERASED.



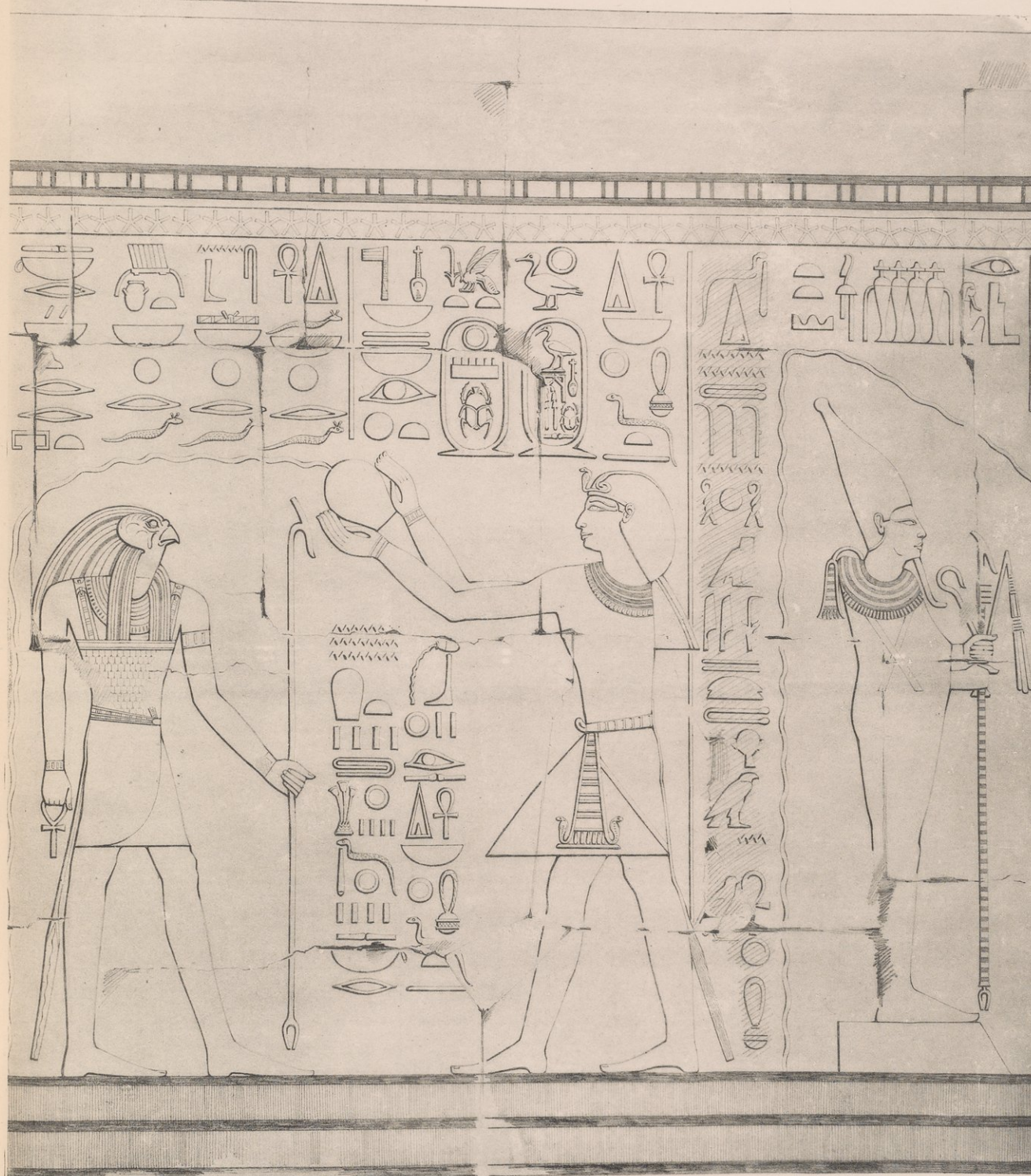
ANUBIS.

HATSHEPSU.

ERASED

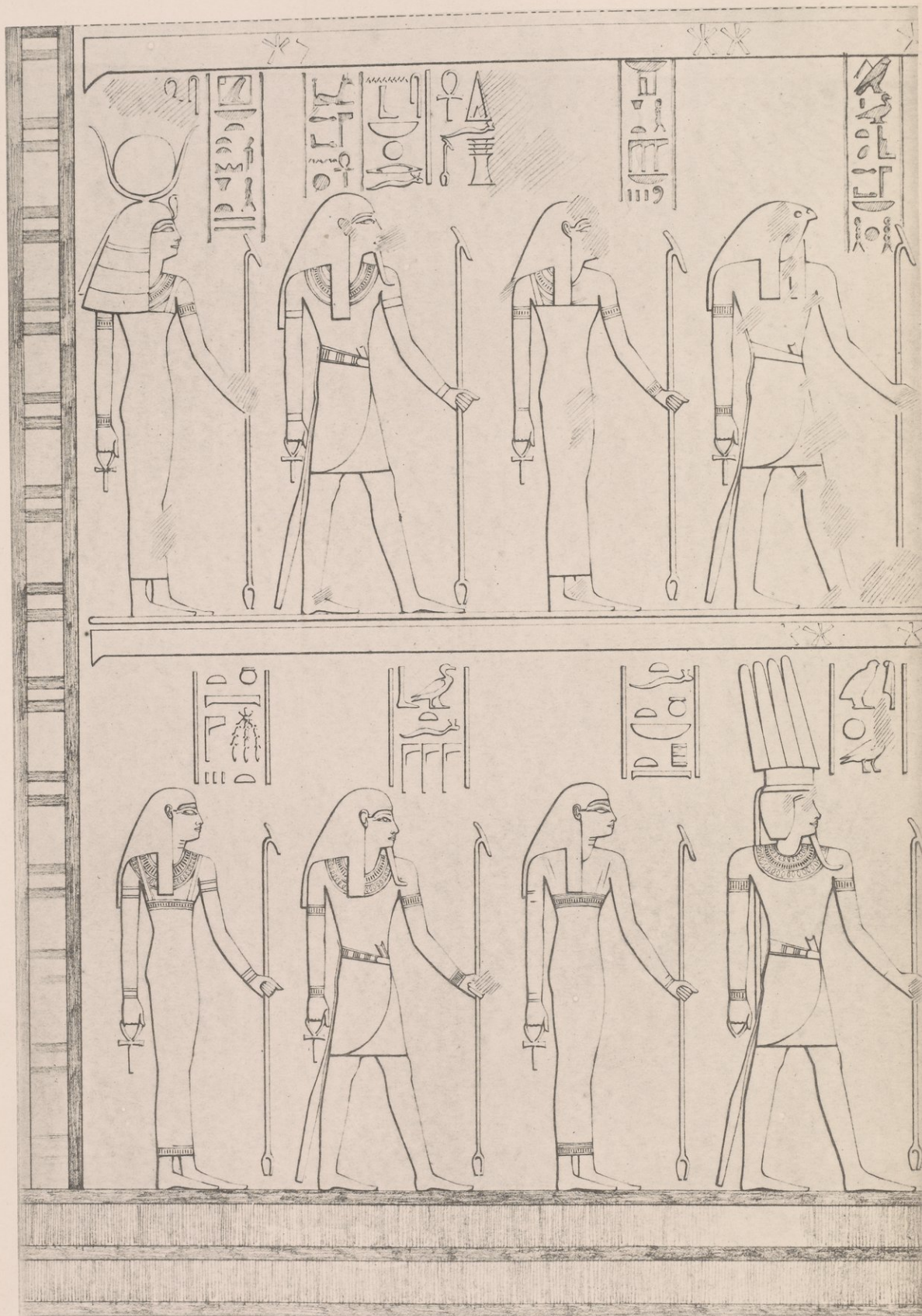


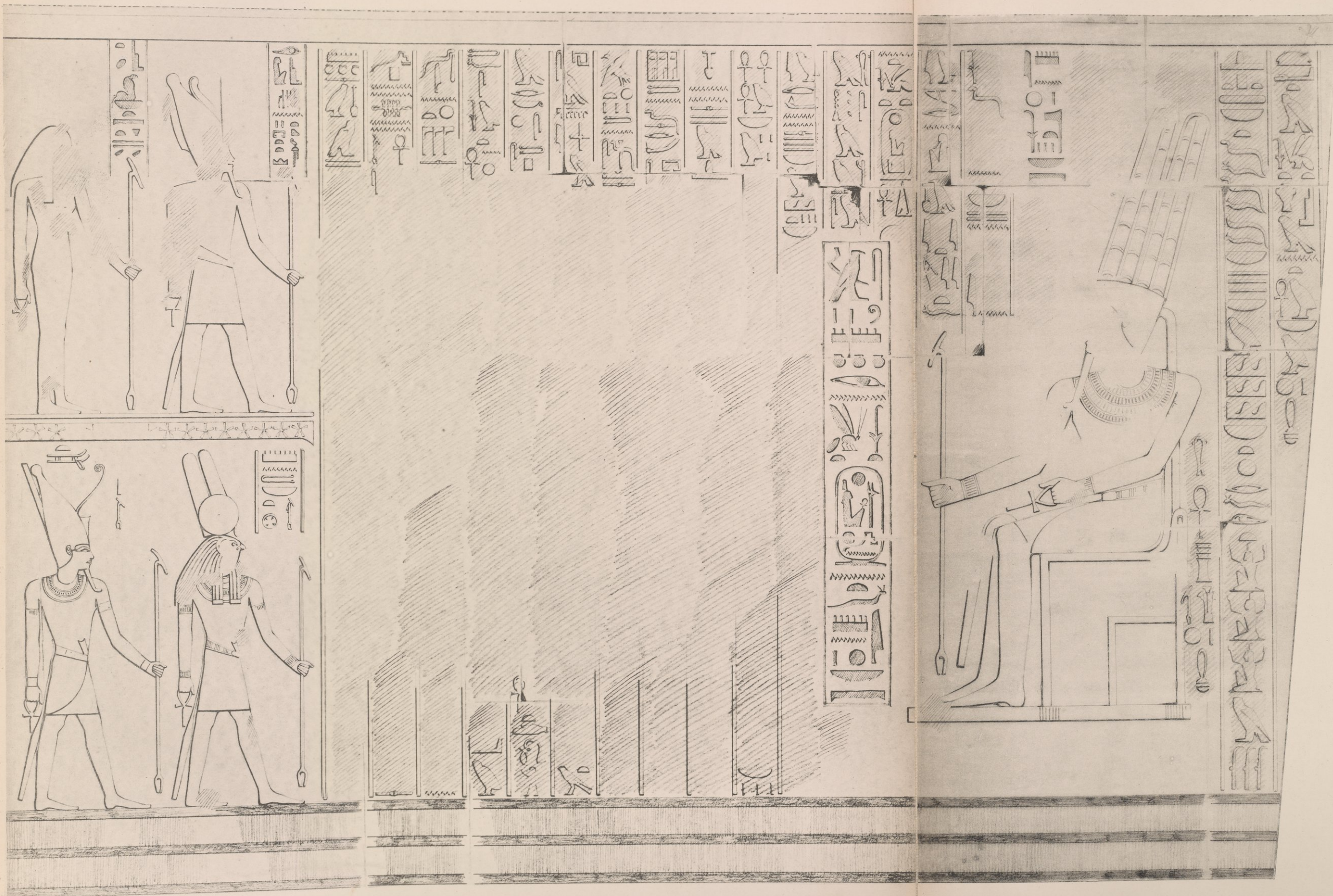
HATSHEPSU DRAWING OFF THE VEIL OF PHTAH.



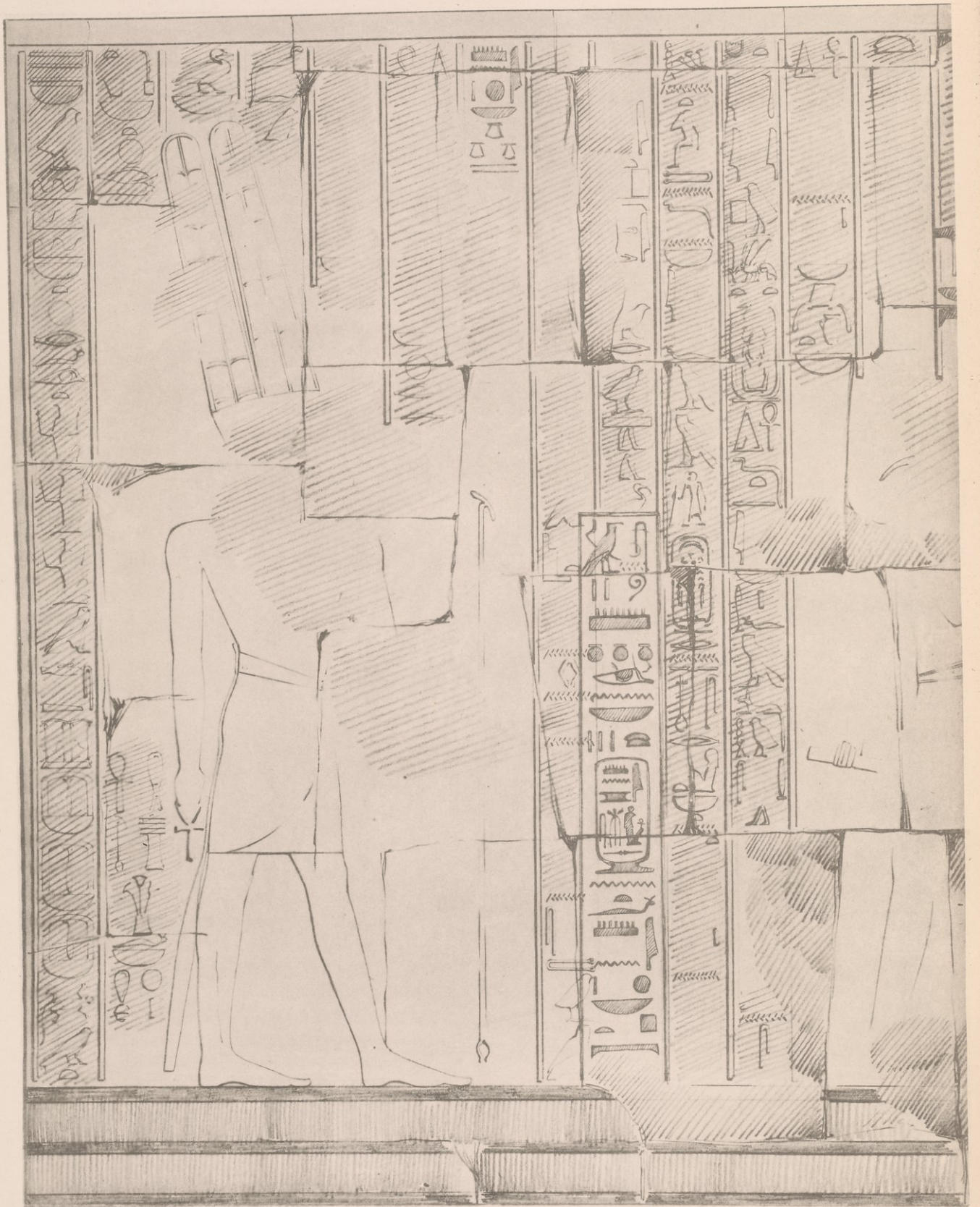
THOTHMES III. OFFERING WATER TO SOKARIS.

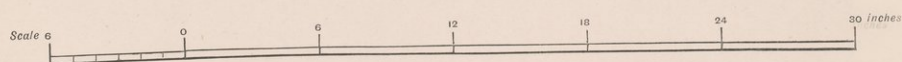
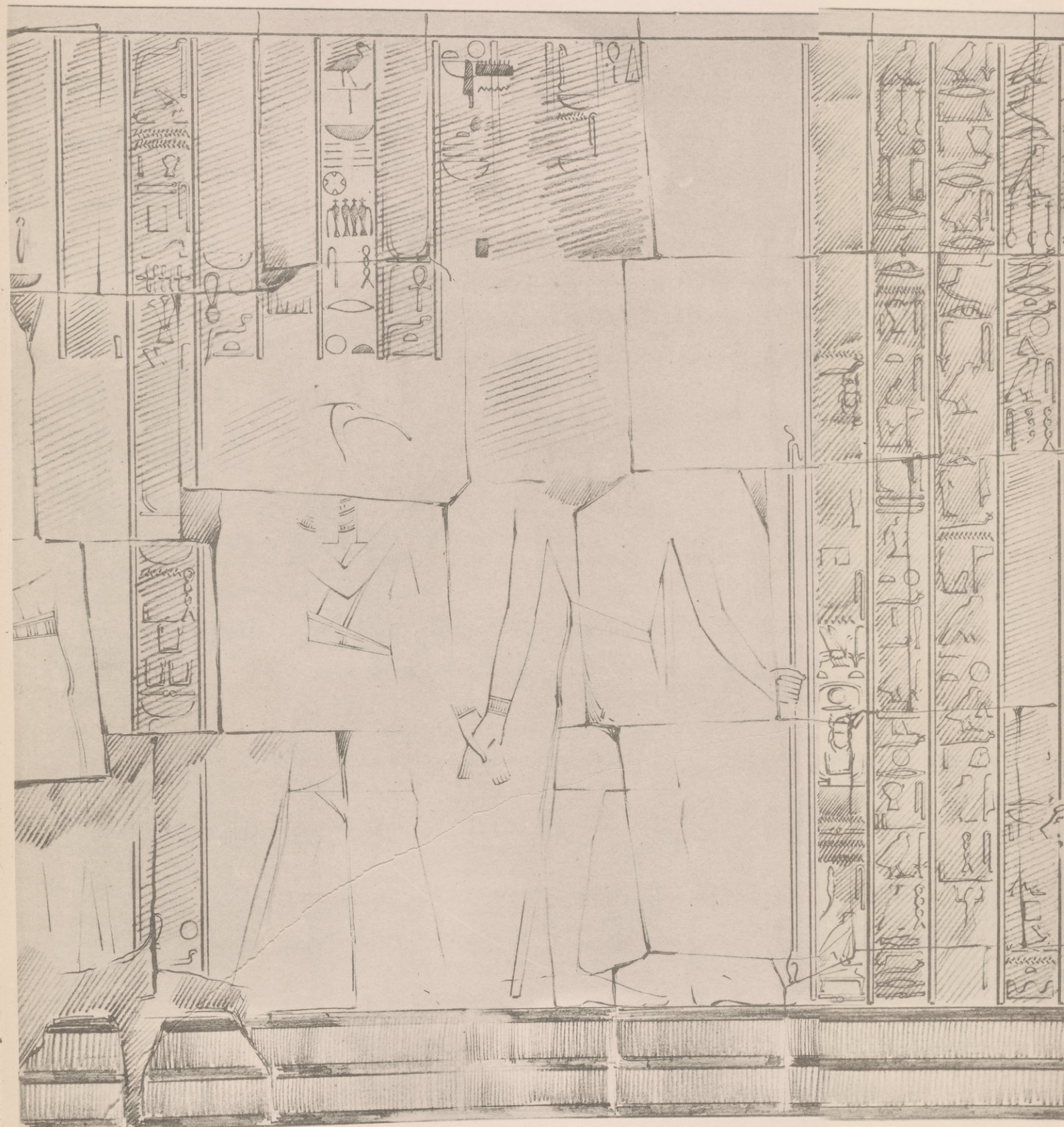
OSIRIS.



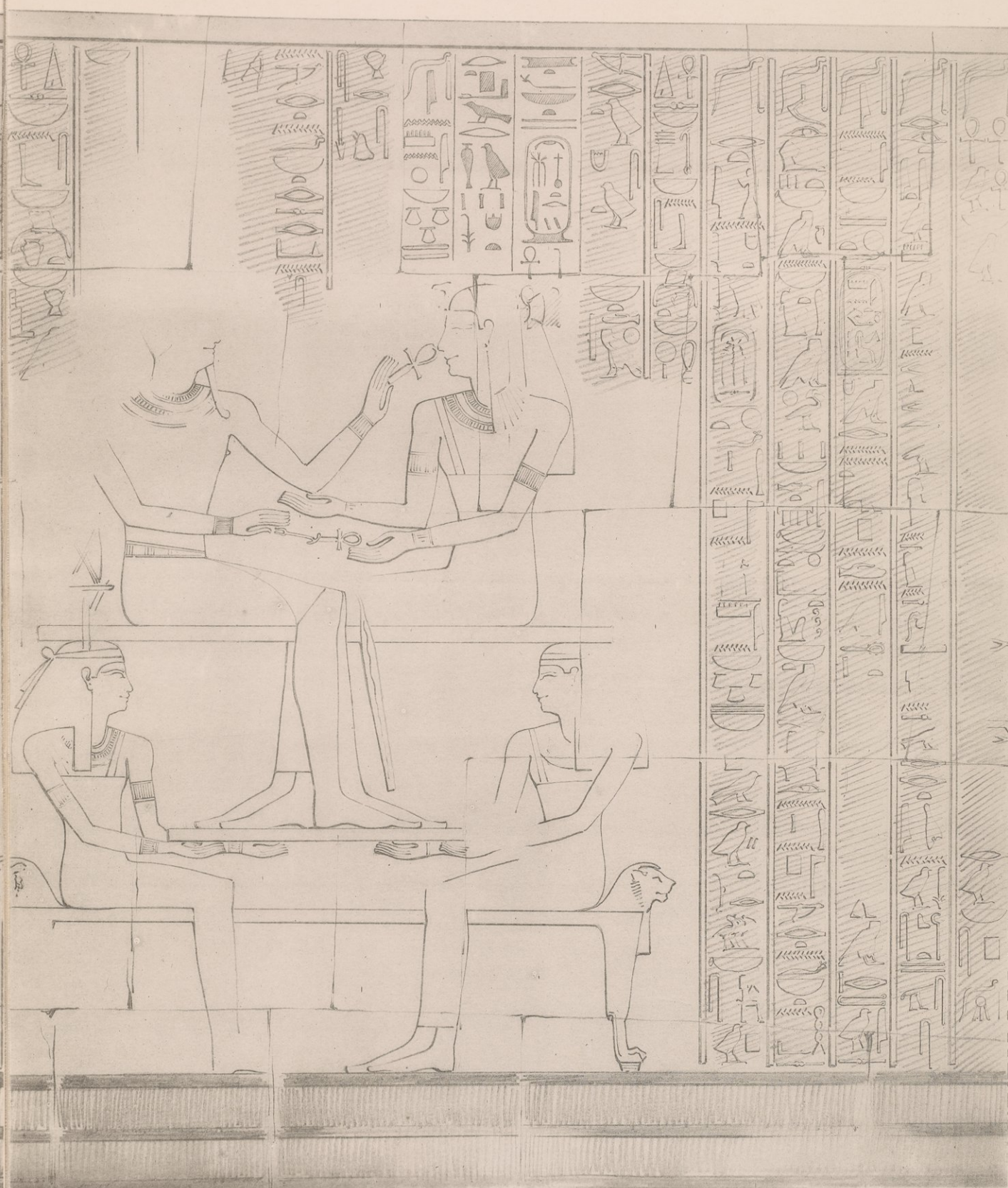


COUNCIL OF THE GODS BEFORE AMON.





AMON AND THOTH.



AMON WITH QUEEN AAHMES.

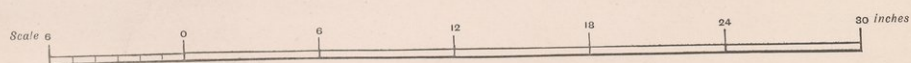




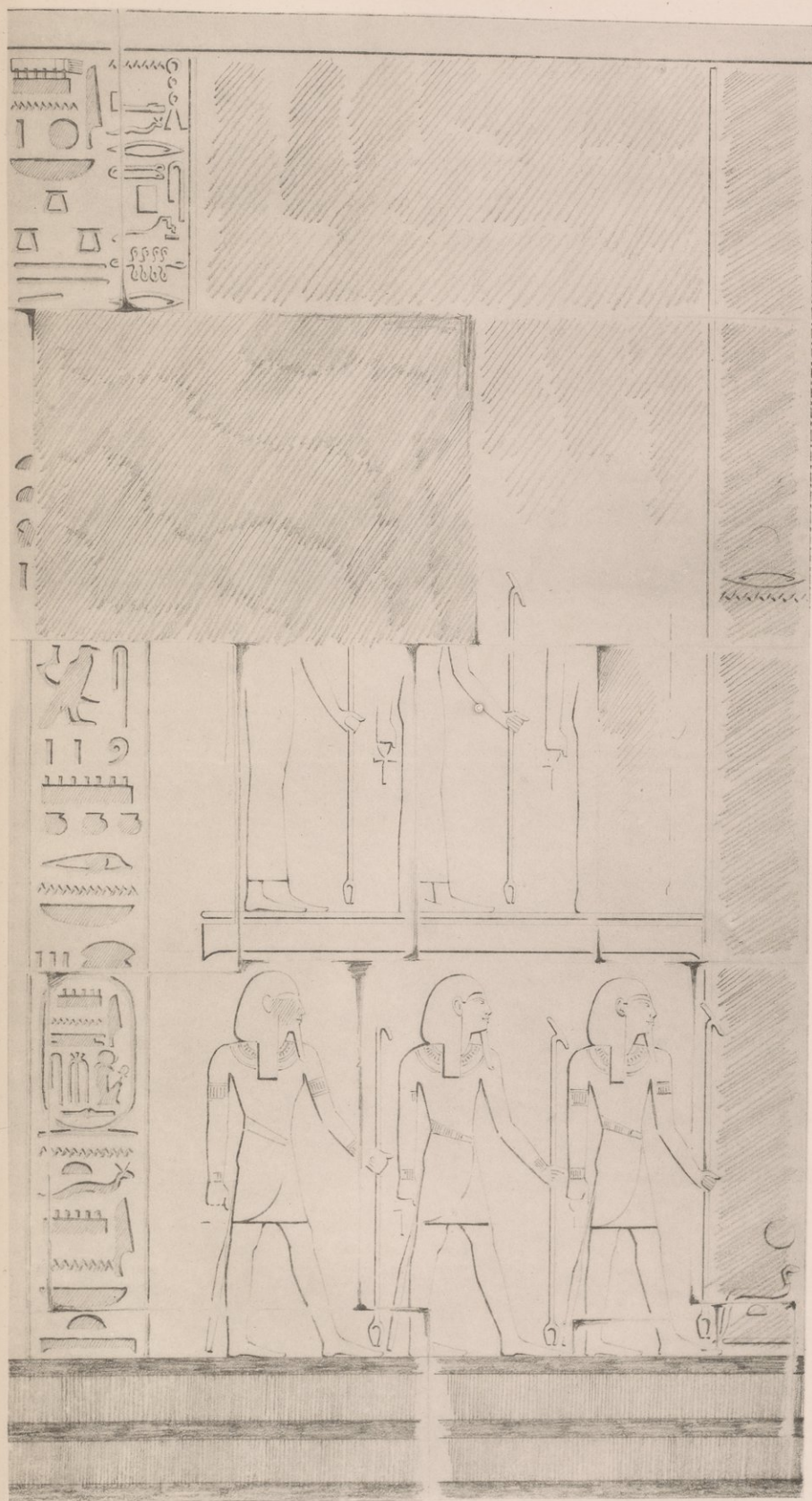
Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

KHNUM MOULDING THE BODIES OF HATSHEPSU AND HER DOUBLE.

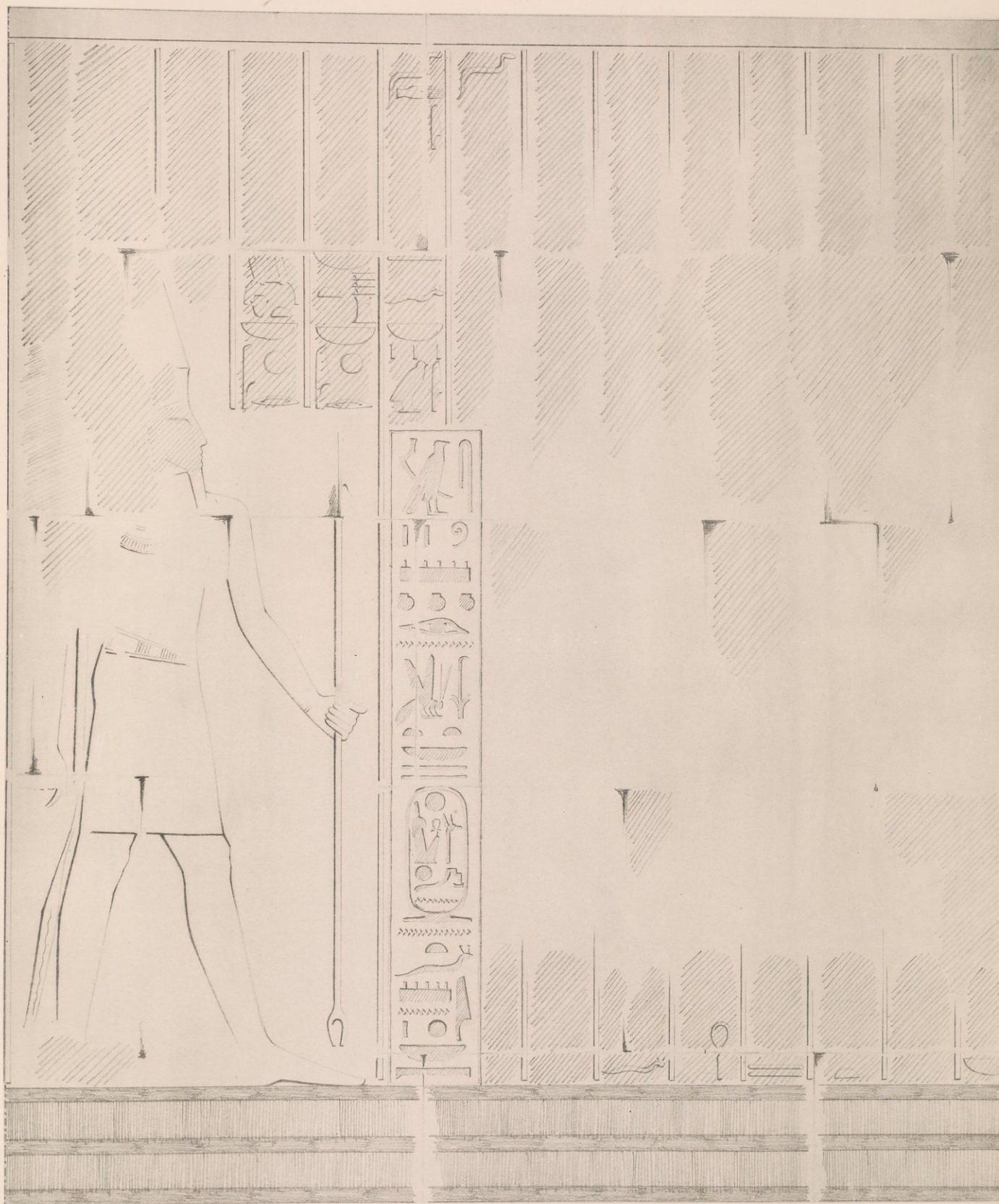
THOTH ADDRESSING AAHMES.



AAHMES LED BY KHNUM AND HEQET.

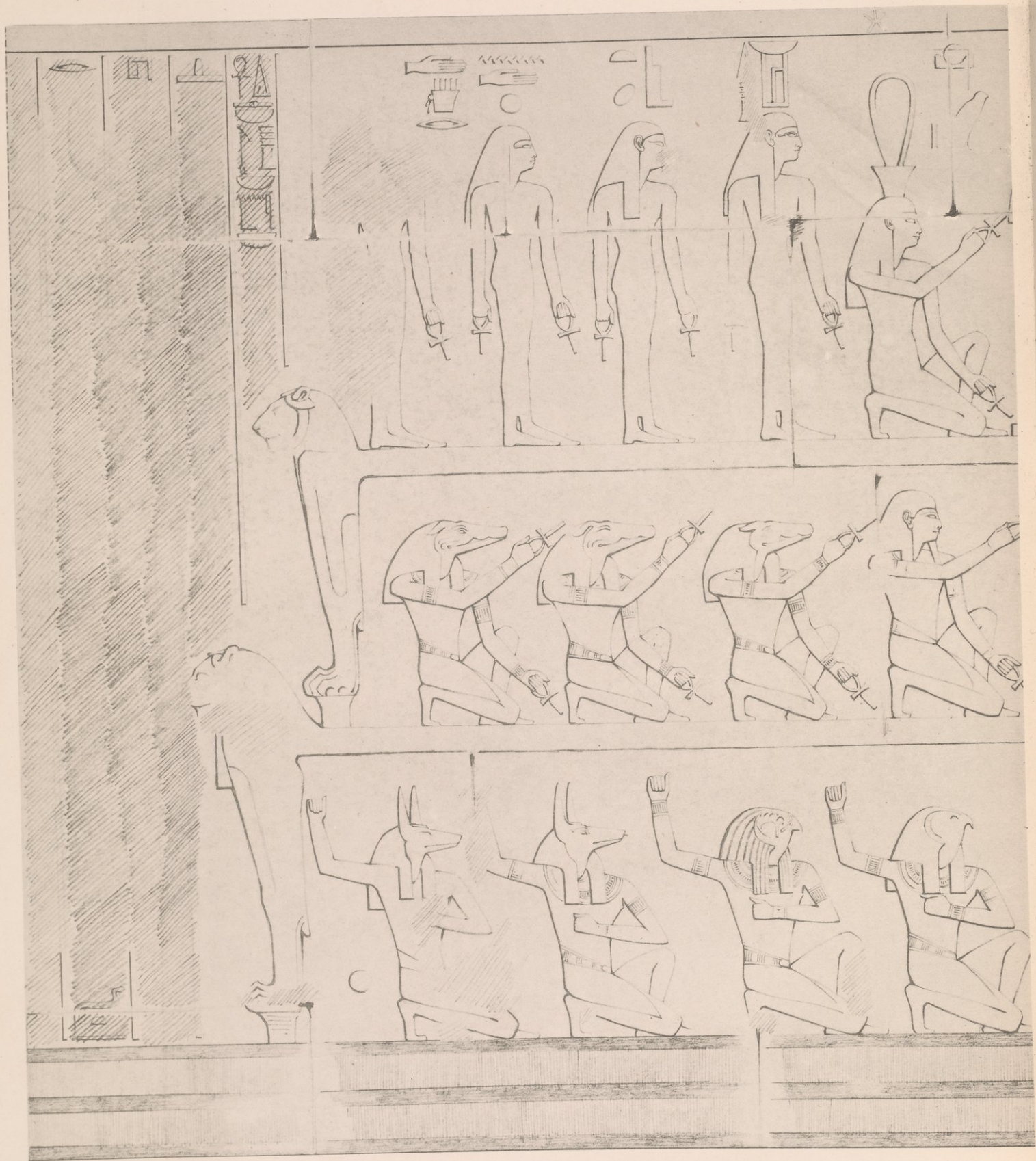


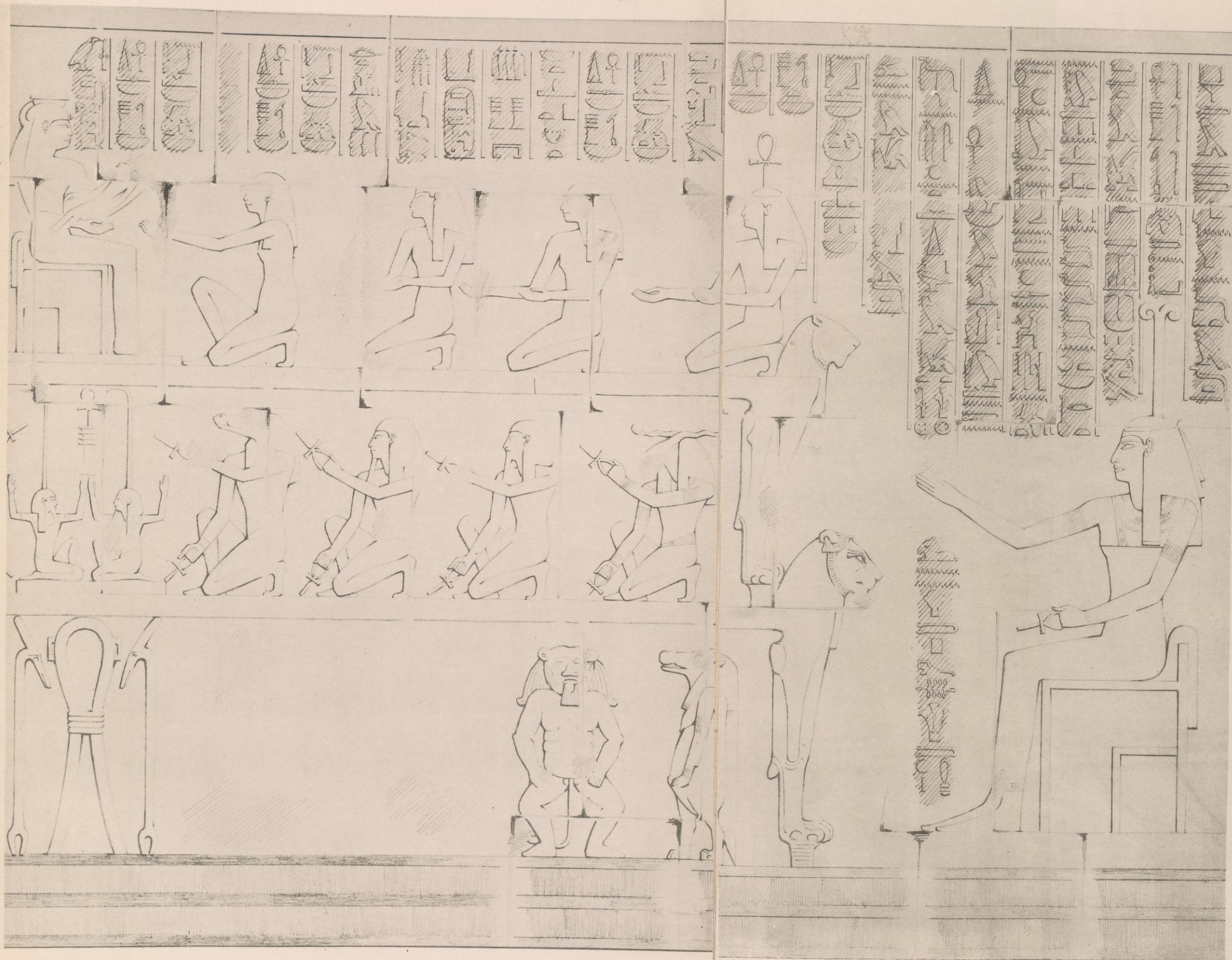
GODS FOLLOWING AMON.



Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

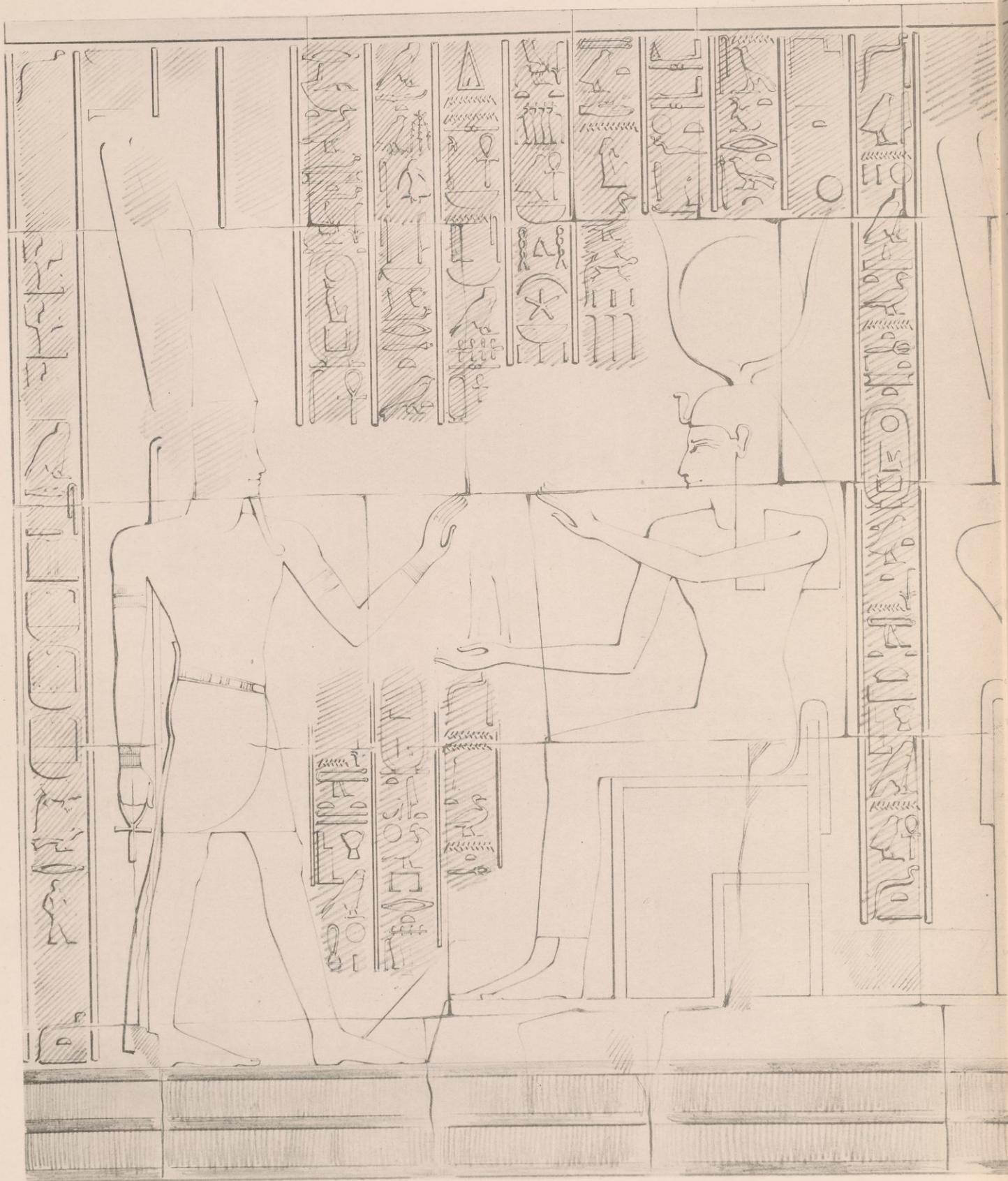
AMON.

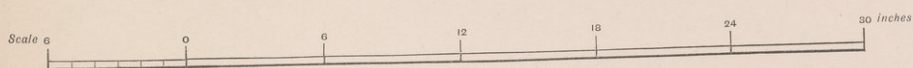
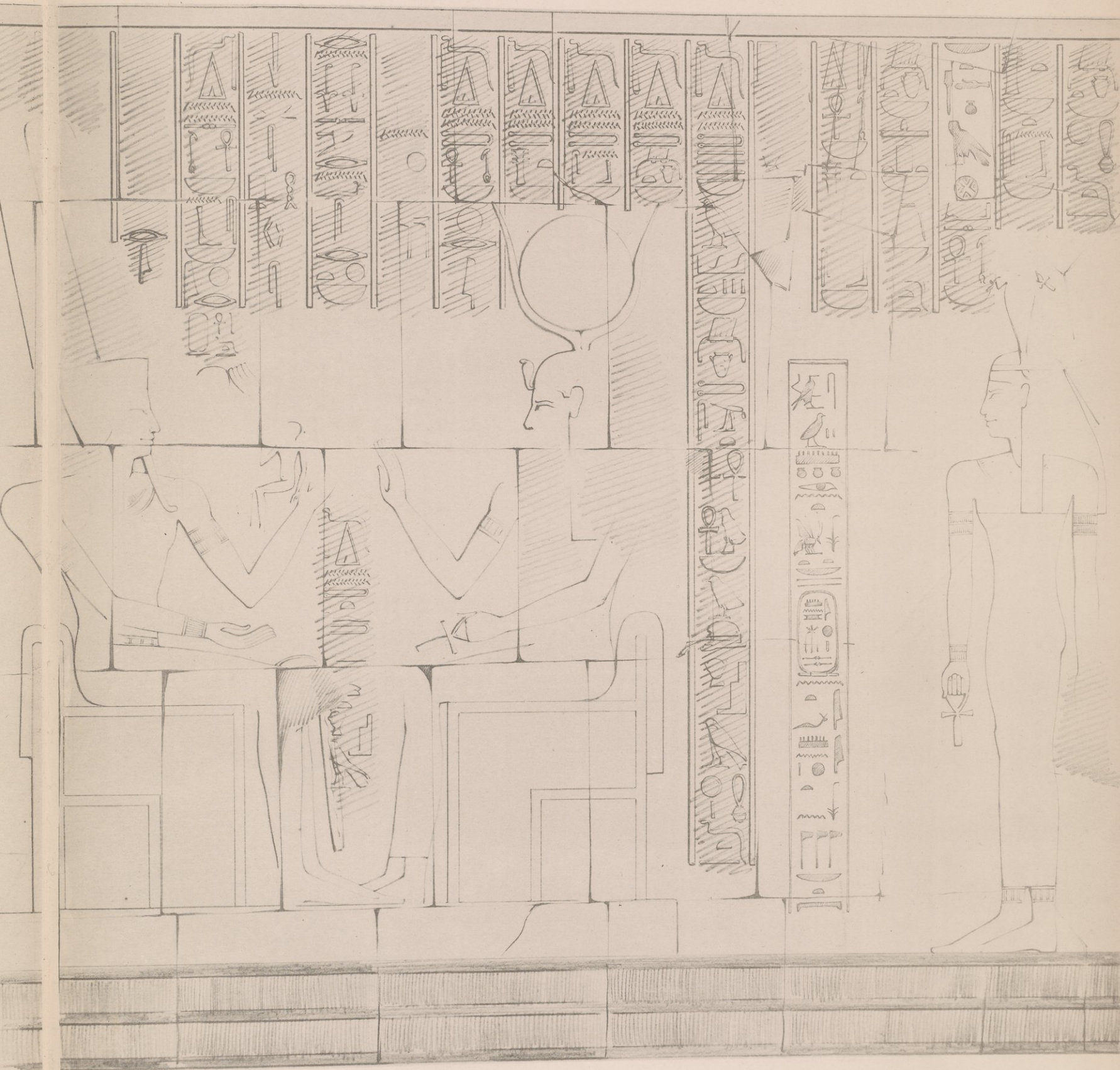




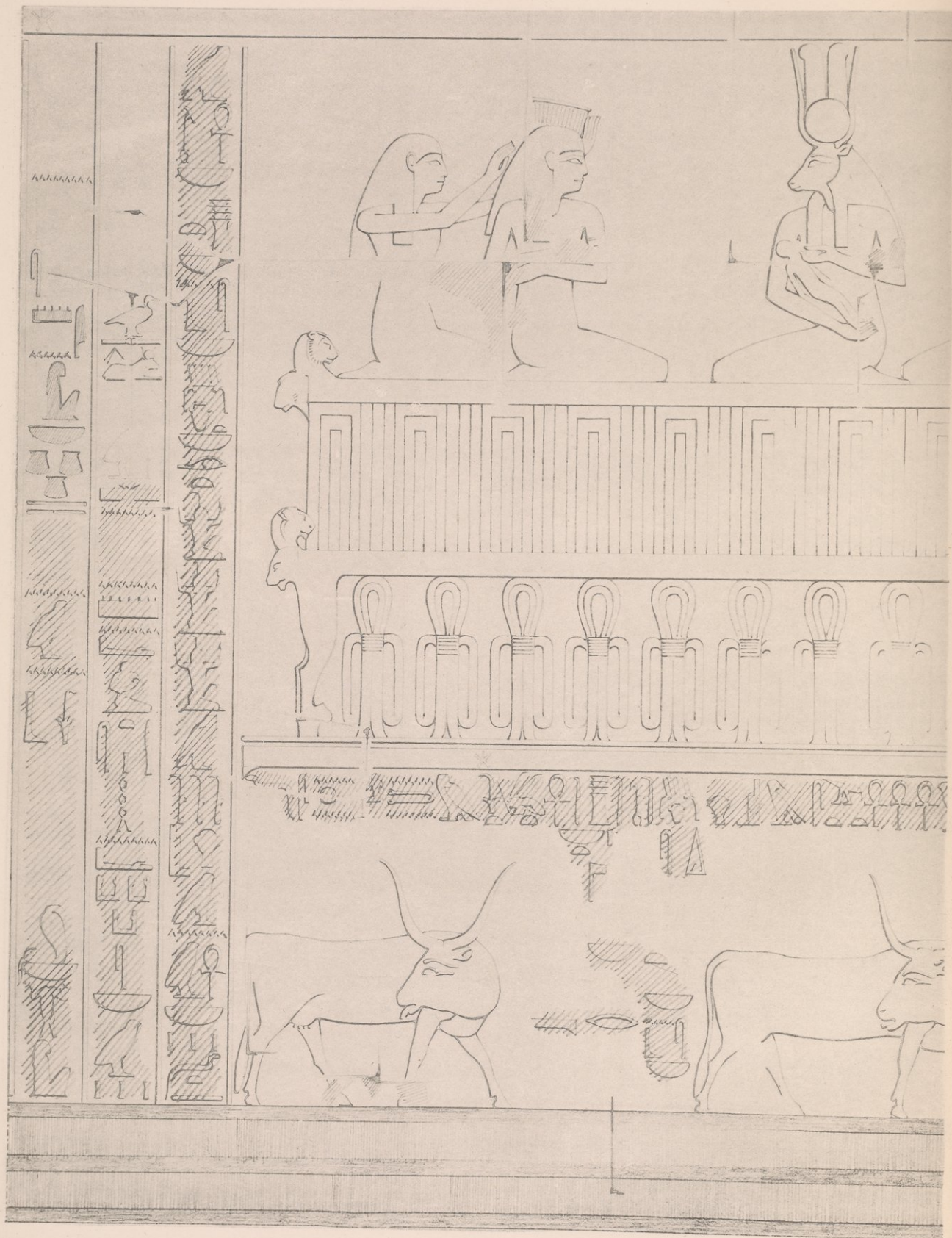
Scale 6 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

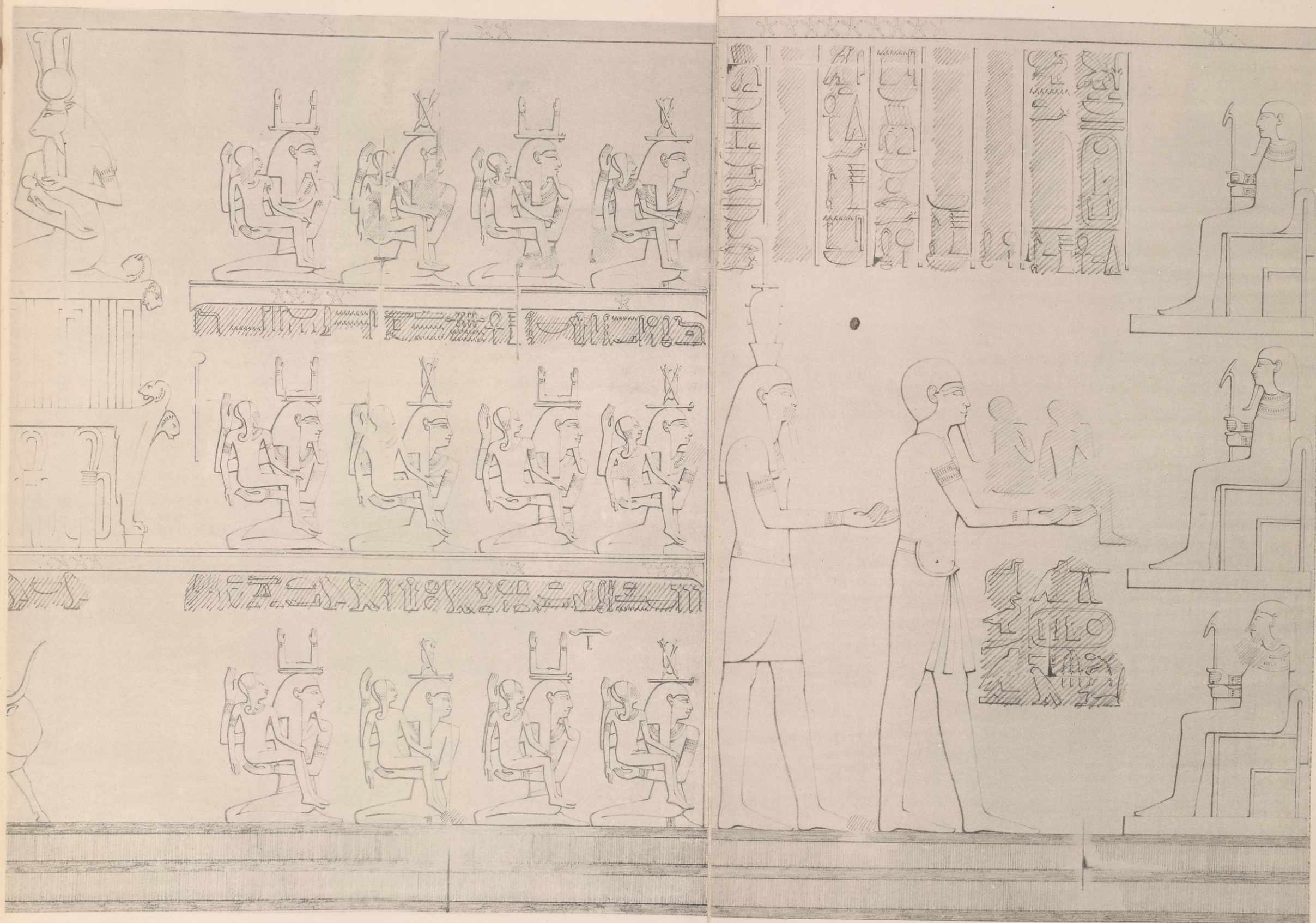
BIRTH OF HATSHEPSU.





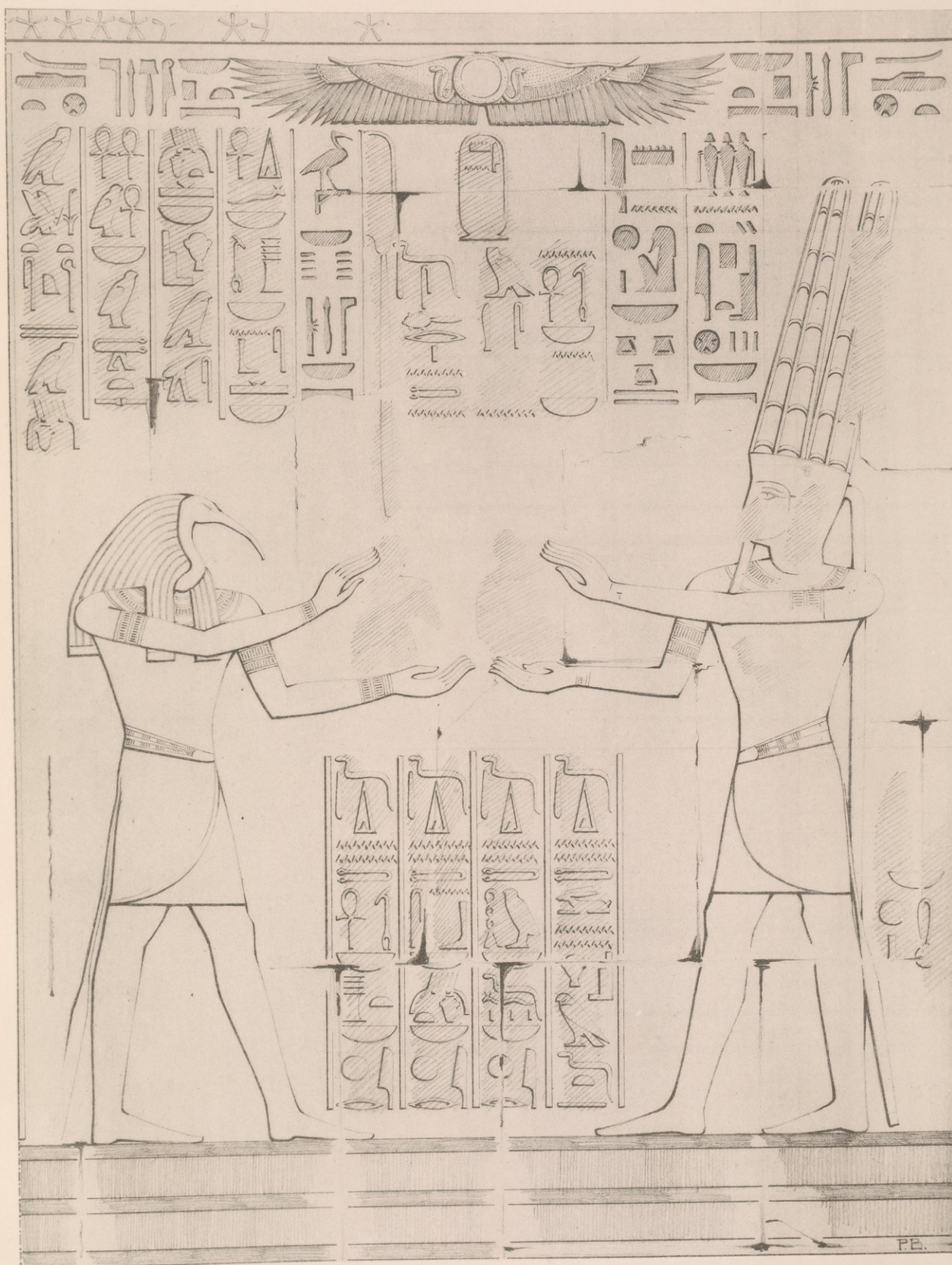
HATHOR PRESENTING HATSHEPSU TO AMON.





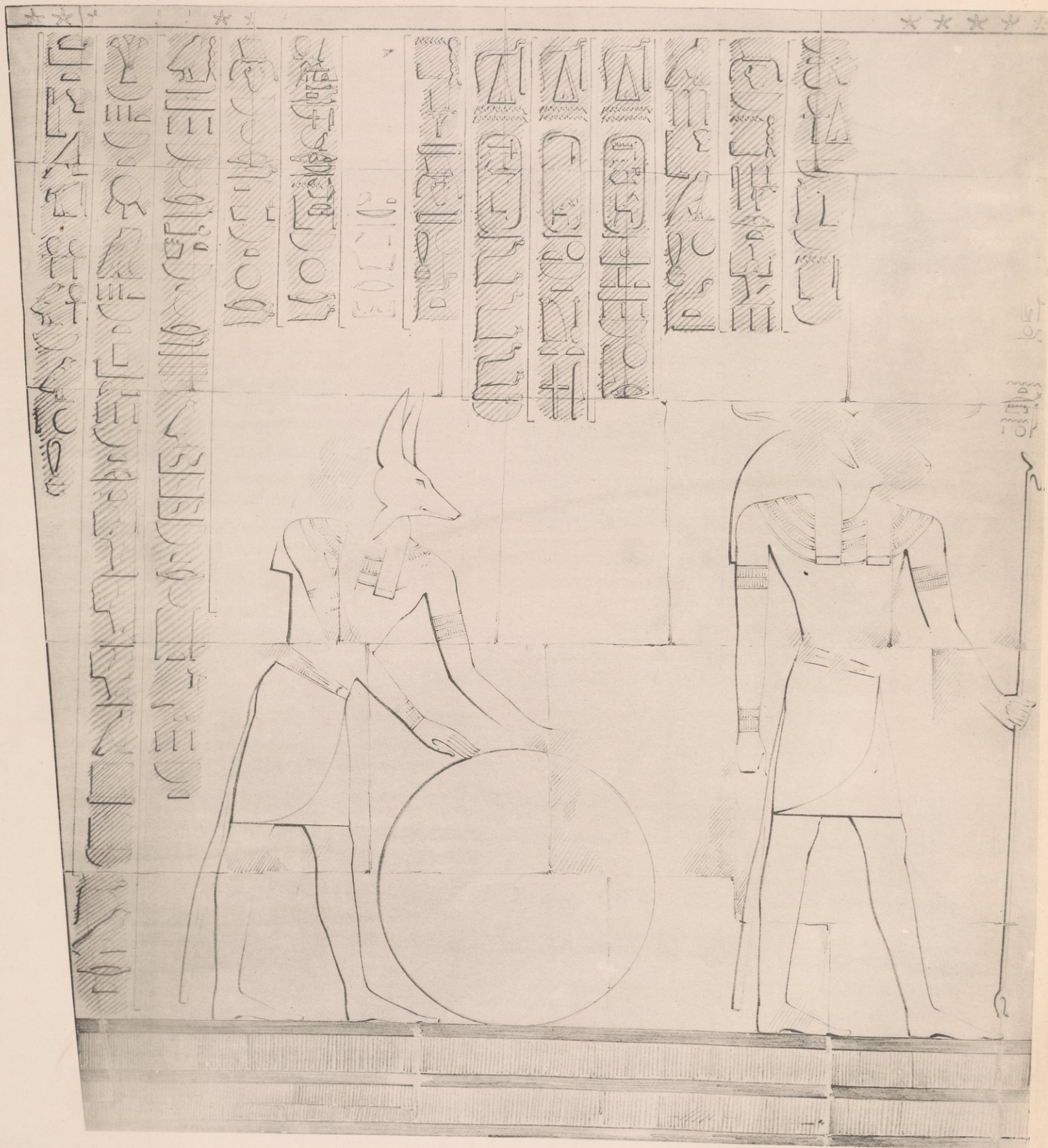
Scale 0 12 18 24 30 inches

THE SUCKLING OF HATSHEPSU AND HER DOUBLES.

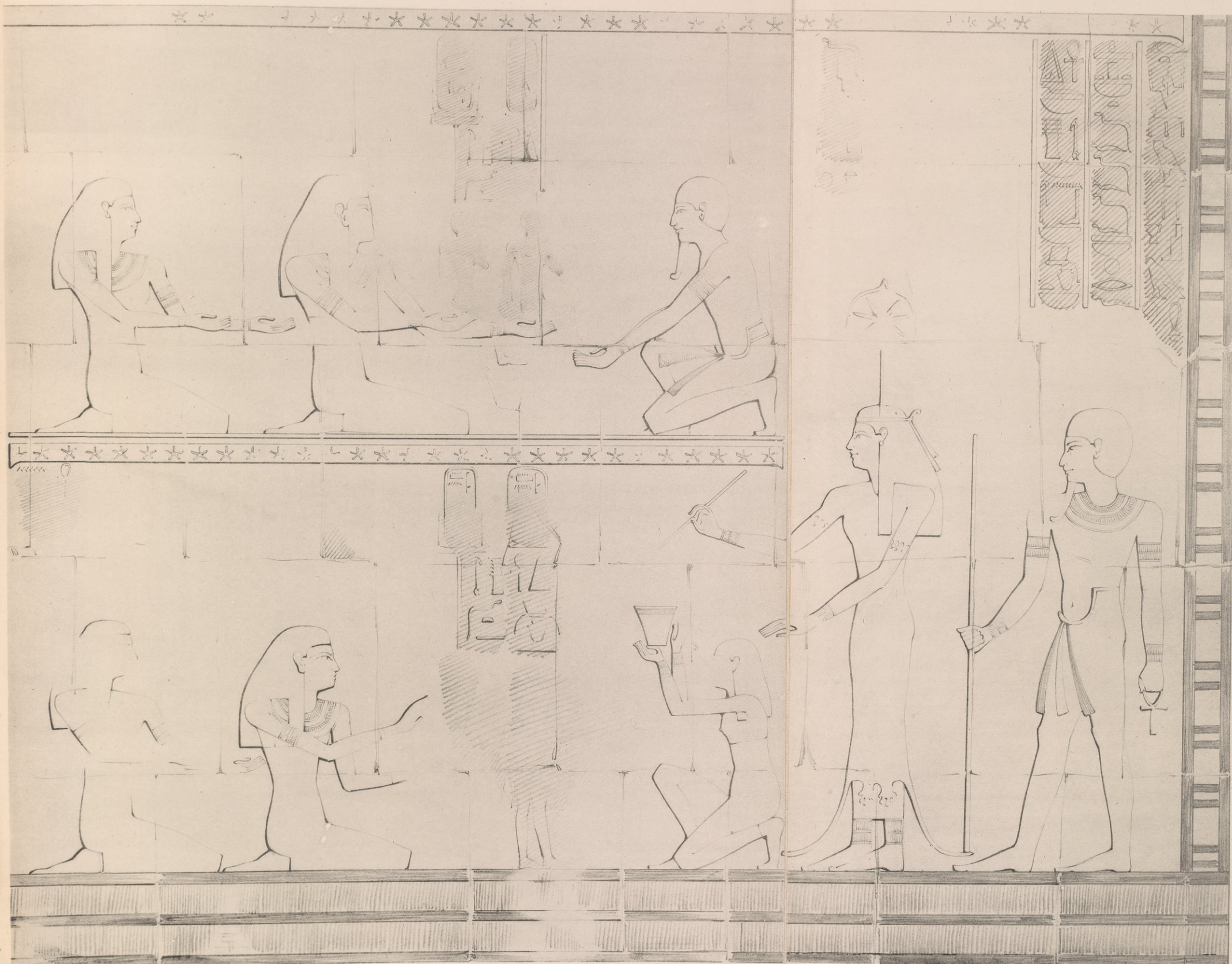


Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

THOTH AND AMON HOLDING HATSHEPSU AND HER DOUBLE.

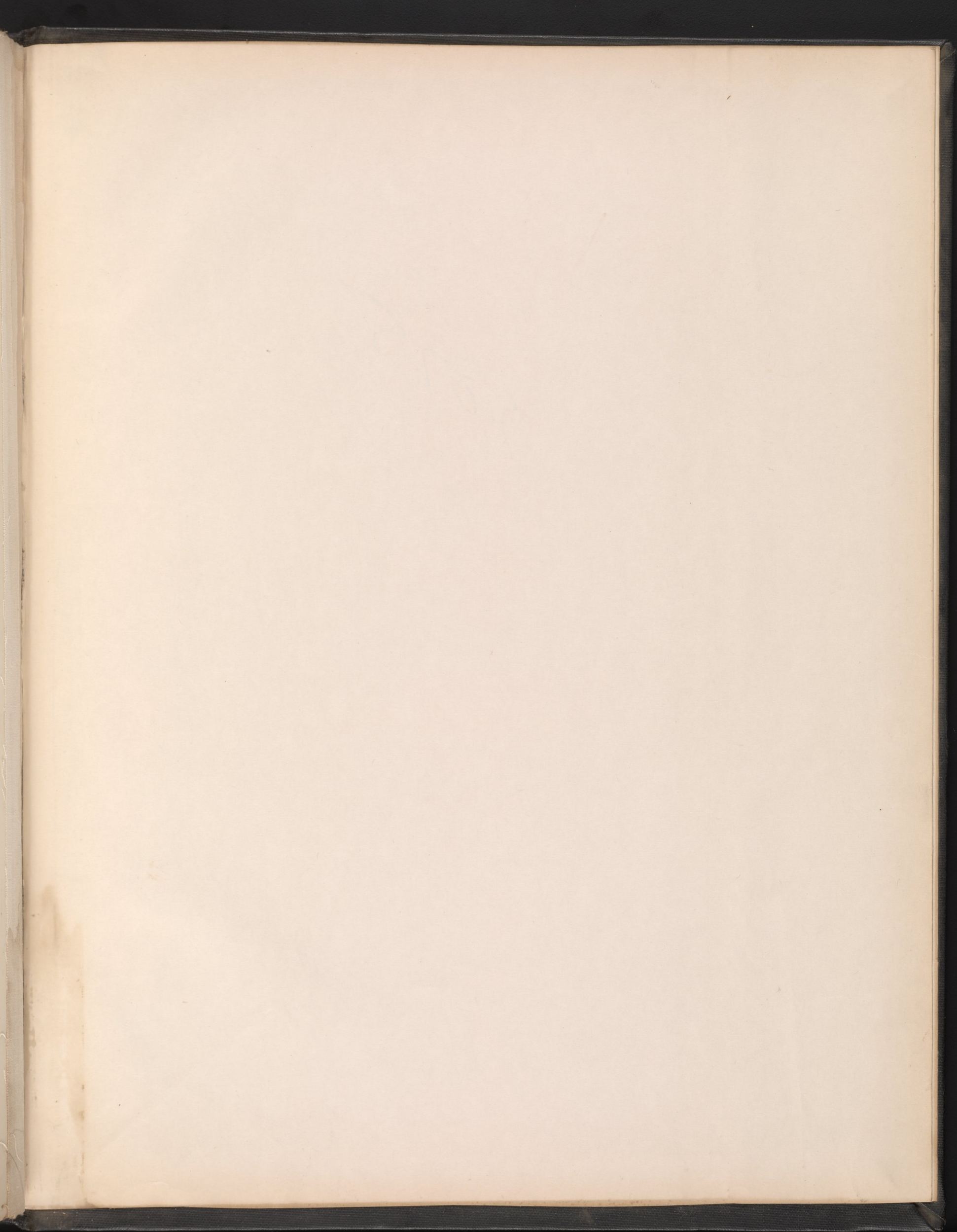


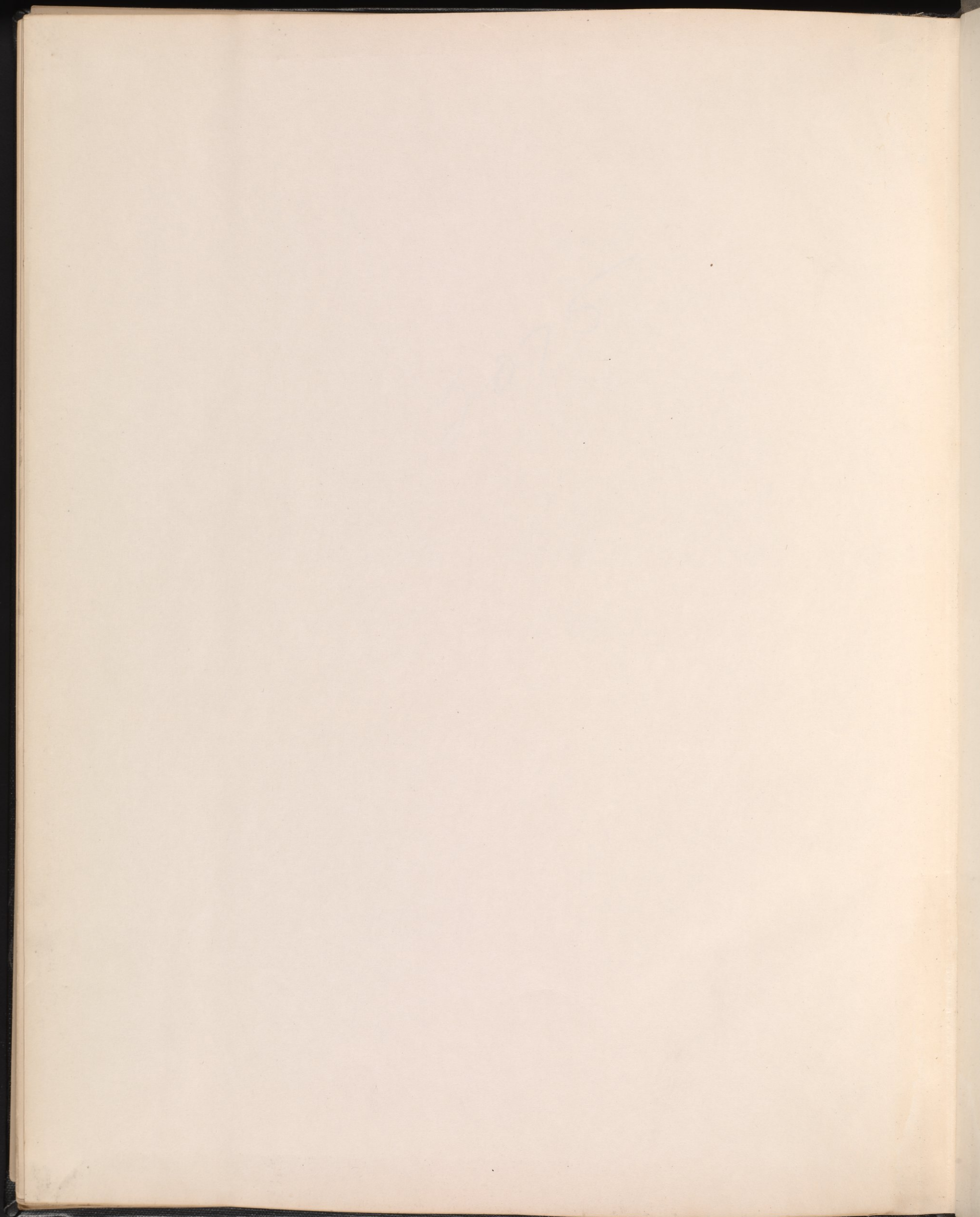
ANUBIS ROLLING THE DISK OF THE MOON.



Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

SAFEKHABUI RECORDING THE DURATION OF HATSHEPSU'S REIGN.







OV

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