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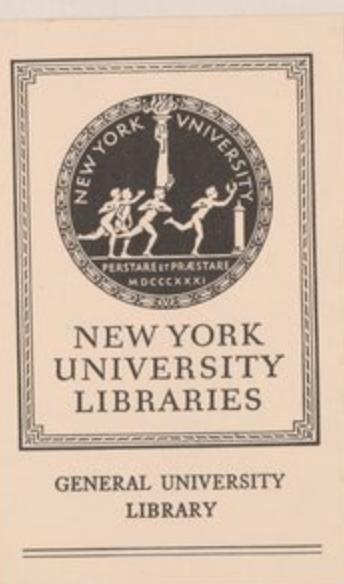
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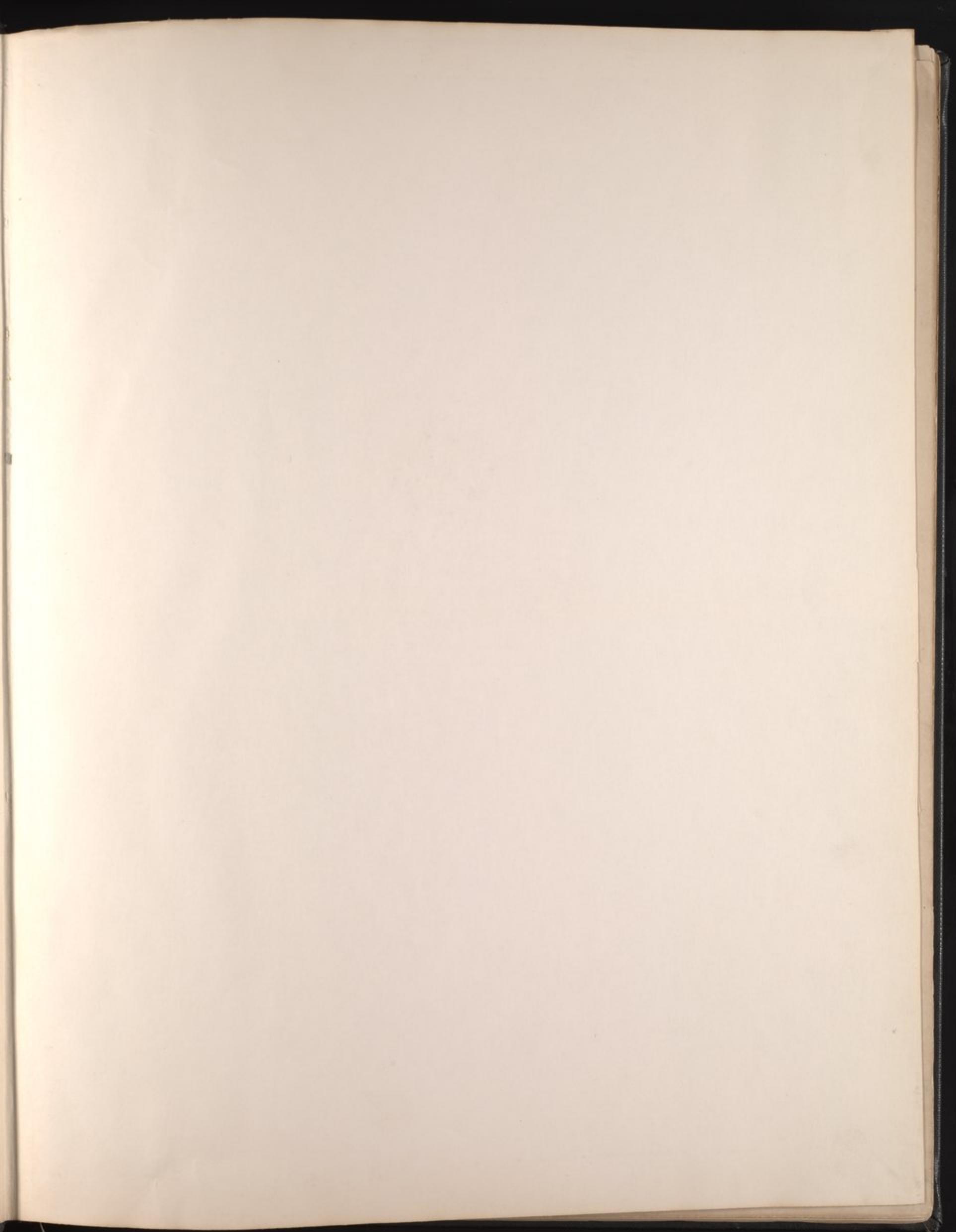
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16TH Mémoire

THE
TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE

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

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PART III.

PLATES LVI—LXXXVI.

END OF NORTHERN HALF AND SOUTHERN HALF OF THE
MIDDLE PLATFORM

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE

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PREFACE.

THE first twelve Plates in this volume contain the end of the sculptures and inscriptions relating to the childhood of Hatshepsu, and also to her coronation. It is natural that every record of that important event of her life, which probably was seen with much displeasure by her subjects, should have suffered more than anything else from the hatred of her successors. All the figures and inscriptions have been completely destroyed, and were never restored, except here and there the name of Amon or another god, sometimes quite out of place. These texts are therefore very difficult to copy. Considering their great importance, we did not spare any effort to make them as correct and complete as the state of the wall allowed us. We revised them over and over again in different lights, so that now I believe that the errors have been reduced to the smallest possible number. In that toilsome work I received considerable help from Mr. Howard Carter and Mr. Percy Brown, the two artists to whose skilful hands we owe the Plates of this volume.

We worked on the same principle at the Plates of the second part of this volume, which describe the naval expedition to the Land of Punt. Here most of the texts had been already published; but I think that this publication compares favourably as to correctness and beauty with the former ones of Duemichen and Mariette. The reader will notice the fragments recovered during our excavations, which give us very interesting information about the Land of Punt, its inhabitants and its animals.

I have to thank Mr. Somers Clarke for the architectural description of the Southern part of the Middle Platform, and Mr. C. R. Peers for the plan which represents that part of the building.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

MALAGNY,
July, 1898.

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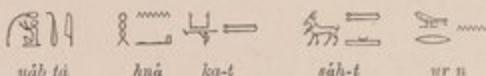
DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATES LVI.—LXVII.

MIDDLE COLONNADE, NORTHERN WALL (UPPER REGISTER).

Plate LVI.—SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH SCENES.
We now pass to the upper row of the sculptures. It begins at the southern corner with two scenes engraved on the wall of the causeway, exactly above the long scene of the assembly of the gods (pl. xvi.). After having had her years numbered and determined for the first time by the goddess Safekhabui (pl. lv.), Hatshepsu is undergoing a regular baptism. Her figure is so entirely destroyed that we have to turn to the similar scene in the temple of Luxor, where the same legend is applied to Amenophis III., in order to see what her appearance was like. She must have been represented as a young man standing between two divinities; for though her *ka* is mentioned in the text, it is not probable that it was engraved. The reason of this is that what we have before us is not an imaginary performance, supposed to take place in another world at the hands of the gods, but a real ceremony preliminary to her coronation, something similar to what we should call her coming of age, when she is declared fit to occupy the royal throne. We have to suppose that for this ceremony two priests adopted the appearance of the gods whose office they performed, just as in the funerary rites a man assumes the figure of Anubis, who watches over the mummy. The gods here represented are Amon and Horus, who both pour water over the head of the queen. At Luxor Amenophis III. is baptized by Menthu and Tum.

The words pronounced by the gods are the same in both cases:


uâb tâ hnâ ka-t sâh-t ur n
thou art purified with thy ka (for) thy dignity great


suten nt
of King of Upper and Lower Egypt

"Thou art purified with thy *ka*, to receive thy great dignity of King of Upper and Lower Egypt." The gods add the usual promise of a great number of Sed periods.

SEVENTEENTH SCENE. After having been purified, the queen is shown to the gods of the South and the North. Amon is seated with the boy standing on his knees. With his right hand the god draws towards him the head of the boy, that he may kiss him; with his left he holds emblems which are destroyed, but which we know from Luxor to have been a sceptre, a hook, and a flail. The figure of the boy has been completely restored, that of the god only imperfectly. The gods of the South and the North are in two rows, in the semblance of men, each holding a sceptre and the $\frac{1}{2}$. There are three of them in each row; not that six was their real number, but because three is the ideographic representation of the plural.

The text engraved between Amon and the gods is

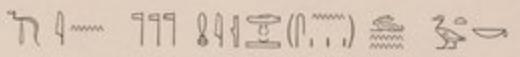
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fairly well preserved. It is a good example of the carelessness and ignorance with which some of the restorations of Rameses II. were made. Several times the name and titles of Amon have been inserted without any regard for what came before or after, or instead of the cartouche of the queen.

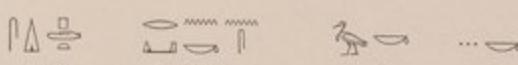
The lines recording the words of Amon have suffered most of all. They begin with a restoration which covers more space than was allotted in the original inscription to the name of Amon, whose titles were much shorter: "Said by Amon Ra, the lord of the sky, the king of the gods." From a few signs left we may gather that the following words read thus: "To the cycle of the gods. Look at the daughter of Amon, (give her) life and purity, love her, endow her with ... life in peace ... (I grant) she may be seen by all the gods of the South and the North who came to see her, kissing"

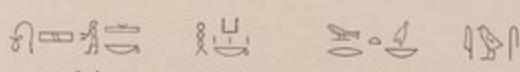
The answer of the gods is better preserved:

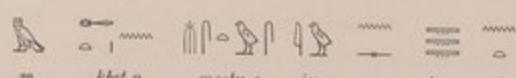

mez dn neteru mägeten (sen) unn sat-k
Said by the gods all of them is thy daughter

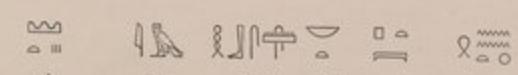

ten ankht helepun(u) her-s m ankht hotep
this Hatshepsu living we bestow upon her life and peace

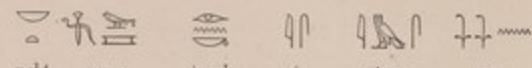

tut-as sat-k nt att-k uttu-k
she is thy daughter of thy form thou hast begotten

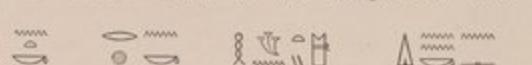

septt rfu nk ns ba-k thy spirit thy k
perfect thou hast given her thy spirit thy ...

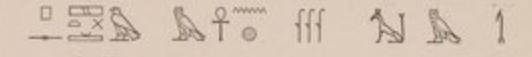

uash-k heku-k urt du-s
thy felicity thy magic power of the diadem she was


m khet n mestu-s du ns to-u nt
in the womb of her mother was to her lands and


setu am hebst nebt pet shennt
countries in possession covers all the sky surrounds

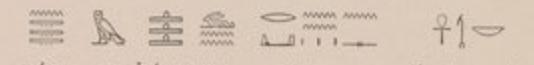

nebt uzur dr-nk os dm-s nen
all the sea thou makest for her possession these

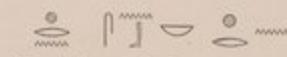

ntek rekh nk hunti tu nnk ns
thou thou knowest the periods thou wilt give her


pes sht Hor m ankh respetu Set m was
the share of Horus of life the years of Set in purity


tu n(u)ns n
we will give

Here comes a gap, an erasure which was filled up with the names and titles of Amon.


n to-u m hotepu unn r tu nnu ns ankh was neb
of lands in peace is we will give her life purity all


kher n(u) senb nb kher n(u)
within us health all within us

"As this thy daughter Hatshepsu is living, we bestow upon her life and peace, for she is thy daughter of thy form, the perfect one whom thou hast begotten. Thou hast given her thy spirit thy thy felicity, the magic power of thy diadem. When she was still in the womb of her mother, all lands and countries were in her possession, all that is covered by the sky and surrounded by the sea. Thou hast granted her the possession of all this; thou knowest the periods of time, thou wilt give her the share of life of Horus and the years of purity of Set of lands in peace. Therefore we will give her all life and purity which belongs to us, all health which belongs to us, all joy which belongs to us," &c.

Plates LVII. and LVIII.—Here we have the first inscription that may be called historical, in so far as it relates something done by the young princess. Hatshepsu has been introduced to all the gods of Egypt by her divine father Amon; now she is going herself to visit those divinities in company with the king, Thothmes I., her earthly father.

This journey may have had a political purpose.

Thothmes I. intended to raise his daughter to the throne, to give her not only the rank and the power, but even the titles of a king. He perhaps foresaw that this act would not meet with general approval, and that the Egyptians would not like to see the throne occupied by a woman, even with the garb and attire of a man; therefore it was good policy to show the young princess to her future subjects, and especially to court the goodwill of the priests, a numerous and influential class. This seems to me the explanation of the visits to the various gods of the land.

The journey of the king and his daughter is related in a long inscription, now erased, some parts of which were very difficult to copy. Nothing has been restored except here and there the name of Amon, not always at the right place.

Line 1. *dn (honi-s) man-s nen zeses magefen zef-s n remtu selenu kher kher sheft am sen*
 2. *kheper kher honi-s áata r khet nebt nefer maa-s m khet neb ámm-s m neter qefen-s m neter ár-s*
 3. *khet nebt m neter khu-s m neter kheper honi-s m hunt nefert renpt wázt ámt Hor pehlt-s*
 4. *suash-ns áru-s n neter m ár qem st mät nebt drt khet ár sep n honi-s*
 5. *r to mehu m khet tef-s suten nt 4a kheper ka Ra áankh zetto yu kher mut-s Hathor her tept uast uazt Tep Amen neb nestu to-úi*
 6. *Tum neb An Mentu neb Uast Khnum neb Qebhu her neteru nebu amu Uast neteru nebu amu res meh hes*
 7. *ám-s sem sen ns natu nefertu yu ánn-sen áankh uas neb kher-sen zetep-sen sa-sen ha-s uá seb*
 8. *u sennu-f ám sennu-sen ha-s rá neb zef sen yu sep sen sat Amon Ra maa nt tep ret-t m to ker-t*
 9. *su, sruft-selb-f árt menuf-t m hatu ten (?) szef-t khatu utt ten, khens to-n áh-t*
 10. *setu neb áshtiun upnu-t m teben tmá-t m seq Anu sen-t tepu nu menfus am-t*
 11. *ura nu Retenu kher shátu sep nu tef-t ánu-t m sa hehu m haqtu khepsht sem-t*
 12. *m sa khan r rou peru tet-t áabtu m Aptu ruf n suten Amen Ra neb nestu to-úi nt*
 13. *neteru m renpetu hetem-sen ten m áankh uas hekennu-sen ten rfu n ab sen sa n subt*
 14. *qem n tu sen iash-t r usekh n pet r teru keku samu meh to-ni kher mesu mesu-t*
 15. *áshu tennut nt pertu t qem-t m abu pátu-t sat pu nt ka mut-f merert*

Line 1. (Her Majesty) seeing them herself all of them speaks to her servants bowing down because of the great fear in them.

2. It came to pass that Her Majesty was increased above all things, beautiful to look at above all things, her voice was that of a god, her frame was that of a god, she did

3. everything like a god, her spirit was that of a god. It came to pass that Her Majesty was a beautiful maiden, the (goddess) Uazt which is in Horus caused her strength to grow,
 4. She made her blessed in her appearance of goddess Her Majesty started
 5. for the land of the North, following her father, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aakheperkara living eternally. She went to her mother Hathor the princess of Thebes, Buto the lady of Tep, Amon the lord of the thrones of the two lands.
 6. Tum the lord of Heliopolis, Menthu the lord of Thebes, Khnum the lord of Elephantine, the chief of all the gods of Thebes, and to all the gods of North and South. They were well pleased
 7. with her, leading her in all the good ways, for they come and bring her all life and purity which is within them. They grant her their protection (standing) behind her. One anticipates
 8. another, when they pass behind her every day; they say to her, Come, come, daughter of Amon, thou wilt see thy instructions (carried out) in the land (since) it is in thy possession.
 9. thou restorest what was decaying, thou raisest thy statues in thy temples, thou enrichest the altars of him who begat thee, thou goest over the plains and thou explorest
 10. mountains in great number, thou strikkest with thy sword, thou smitest with thy mace the Nubians, thou cuttest the heads of their soldiers, thou takest hold
 11. of the chiefs of the Retenu through thy blows instead of thy father, thy tributes are men by millions, prisoners of thy sword; thou leadest
 12. thousands of men into the temples, thou bringest offerings to Thebes to the staircase of the king Amon Ra the lord of the thrones of the two lands thou
 13. the gods for years; they enrich thee with life and purity; they praise thee, they put in their hearts to make illustrious their offspring (lit., egg)
 14. which they created; they cause thy frontier to have the width of the sky and to reach the limits of darkness; the two lands are full of the children of thy children
 15. in great number as much as grain; thou art found in the hearts of all mankind, for thou art the daughter of the husband of his mother (Amon) beloved.

Judging from what is said in the first line, it seems that this long eulogy is pronounced by the queen herself, in presence of her attendants lying down flat on the earth, in accordance with the customary way of showing respect to the sovereign. In spite of the bombastic tone, which is common to most of the official inscriptions of Egypt, it is clear that this text relates a visit paid by the queen with her father to the chief sanctuaries of Egypt. For although the queen speaks only of going North, she mentions gods of various parts of the land, from Elephantine to Buto. A journey of this kind was generally the occasion chosen by the sovereign for reorganizing the worship

in the temples, and providing resources for keeping it up, in land, revenue and servants.

Hatshepsu speaks here of restoring what was decayed. In a later inscription, engraved towards the end of her reign, she describes the restorations which she had caused to be made. Evidently the land had not yet recovered from the devastation wrought by the Hyksos, and the North must have suffered particularly from the effects of the rising against the foreign rulers. These were the ruins which the queen restored, thus earning the gratitude of the gods, who as a reward promise her a complete victory over the Syrians and the Nubians, two nations which her father fought against.

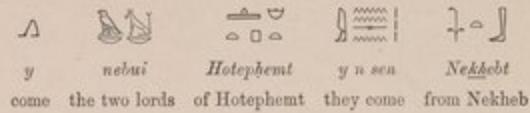
The sculptures that follow the inscription referred to the journey made in order to visit the gods; and in accordance with what is said, that the gods and goddesses "are well pleased in her, leading her in all the good ways," we see them in the sculpture giving to the queen the best proof of their goodwill in conducting her themselves to the great god of Lower Egypt, Tum of Heliopolis. Hathor is standing behind her, and holding her by the hand; the goddess was followed by Khnum and another divinity, whose name and figure are entirely erased (pl. lviii.). In front of the queen probably stood the lion-headed goddess Sekhmet or Bastit, whose sceptre only is visible.

Here again, as in pl. xlvi., the figure of Tum is intact; it has not suffered in the least from the wanton and thorough destruction practised on the whole of this wall, showing that the king who ordered these erasures was a worshipper of Tum. This fact clearly indicates as the author of that destruction Khuenaten, the persecutor of Amon and his priests, and the protector of the worship of the solar disk, the Heliopolitan origin of which is undeniable.

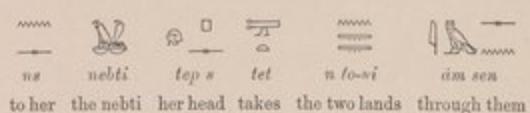
Between Plates LVIII. and LIX. there is a large gap. Sculptures and text are so completely erased that it is hardly possible to distinguish anything. They probably contained further information about the visit of the queen to the gods, and words pronounced by the gods declaring that she had full rights to the royal power. The queen was seen receiving from the gods the various head-dresses which belonged to royalty; this presentation was so solemn that Thoth and Safekhabui had to register it on their tablets.

In one of those scenes, very much destroyed, the

head-dress called  *nebti* was offered to the queen; the closing sentence only has been preserved:

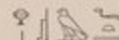

y nebui Hotephemt y n sen Nekekhet
come the two lords of Hotephemt they come from Nekheb


uazt nebti m tot sen zef sen rfu nnu
Buto the nebti is in their hands they say we will give


ns nebti top s tet n lo-si dm sen
to her the nebti her head takes the two lands through them

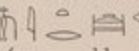
"The two lords of Hotephemt have come, they came from Nekheb and Buto. The *nebti* is in their hands; they say, We will give to the queen the *nebti*, her head takes possession of the two lands through their power." The magical power of the head-dress called *nebti*, "the two goddesses," conferred upon her who had a right to wear it the dominion over the two parts of Egypt. But it had also another effect, which we learn from the following sentence, with which the next scene began:





The *nebti* diadem had a special name for each king, which was fixed, like all the other royal titles, on the day of coronation. For Hatshepsu it was called , "abounding in years." This sentence, which is somewhat obscure, and which must be taken in connection with another on pl. xxxvi., seems to indicate that the *nebti* diadem, the , brought to the queen not only the dominion over the land, but an everlasting joy; it was a kind of amulet for good luck.

Plate LIX. The first figures which we can distinguish, after a long space absolutely destroyed, are Thoth and Safekhabui inscribing something on their tablets in reference to the name of the queen. Then comes a scene where Amon is seated on his throne in a pavilion. Before him stands Hatshepsu; she wears the double diadem, and holds the flail and the hook, the emblems of Osiris. In front of her is her priest of the order called the Anmutef; he is clad in the panther's skin, and stretches his hand towards her. He may have been a member of the royal family, but his name is destroyed. Here Hatshepsu is not only

crowned, she is deified; she is attended by a train of genii (pl. lx.) in three rows, who are worshipping her. In the top row are the gods of the South with jackal heads, while the gods of the North are hawk-headed. Below are the gods , residing in the Northern division (presumably the gods of Heliopolis, of the cycle of Tum), to whom Hatshepsu had been solemnly introduced. The words uttered by these various divinities are the monotonous promises which the queen seems never tired of hearing.

Behind the gods, Thoth and Safekhabui are sitting, occupied in recording what has taken place.

Plates LX.—LXIII.—THE CORONATION OF HAT-
SHEPSU. We now reach one of the chief events in the life of the queen, her coronation by her own father, who took her as his associate. We may assign various reasons for this act of Thothmes I., which was customary with the kings of the XIIth Dynasty. The Amenemhats and the Usertesens, those mighty rulers whom the early kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty endeavoured to imitate, had repeatedly put their sons on the throne without abdicating it themselves, and had entrusted them with the duties of royalty. Thothmes I. had lost two of his sons, whose names we know, and who probably died young. His daughter Hatshepsu, being of royal descent on her mother's side, united in her person double claims; moreover, we may suppose that her father recognized in her the ability necessary for wielding royal power. All these motives induced him to give her a share of the duties and privileges of the king. In this partnership Hatshepsu seems to have had the lion's share; it is even possible that Thothmes I. abdicated on the occasion, or soon afterwards. It is certain that from this time he lapses into obscurity, and finally disappears we know not when or how.

In raising his daughter to his own rank, Thothmes I. clearly acted against the feelings of his people. The Egyptians were averse to the throne being occupied by a woman, otherwise Hatshepsu would not have been obliged to assume the garb of a man; she would not have disguised her sex under male attire, not omitting the beard. Even long after her reign, when the Dynasty had changed, the kings would not admit that a queen had been one of their predecessors; and this explains why erasures were practised not only by her immediate successors, but even by Rameses II., who could not have had a personal grudge against her,

as may have been the case with Thothmes III. How strong this feeling was in Hatshepsu's own time is shown by the fact that she never dared to disregard it in her sculptures, where she never appears as a woman. As for the inscriptions accompanying those sculptures, it was different; they generally are in the feminine, or sometimes show a curious mixture of masculine and feminine pronouns. But the text was of less importance than the pictures. It is probable that only a few well-educated persons could read the hieroglyphs. Whenever the common people looked at a wall adorned with sculpture or picture of Hatshepsu, their eyes were struck by the sight of a man having two cartouches, as usual; the inscriptions had no meaning for them—most could not read them, and Hatshepsu was not obliged to make use of the same stratagem as in her portraits in order to deceive her subjects.

The long document which describes the coronation of the princess is in some parts very difficult to understand. It contains several official words which occur here for the first time. The text of the first two lines is very uncertain. Moreover, with the exception of the figure of Thothmes I., the whole inscription is erased, and there are no restorations of any kind.

Plate LX.

Line 3. *ret an ns han-f m(a)y rt khut tu n(a) m khen*
(remenui?) a
4. *maa-t top ref-t m ahā árt kau-t shepsu shep-t sāh urrt khut*
5. *m hoku-t useret m poh-t sekhem-t m to-ui (tel)-t khaku*
6. *khā-t m ahā kheker hāt-t m sekhemt hotepi m top auāt a¹*
mest n(a)
7. *sat hext meryt uast tu nt khāt an khont uslu neteru*
8. *tu an kau-a antu nf suten shepsu sāhu smemu*
9. *sheniu² nt khon hāt rekhya r árt sen ut her tut bon n*
10. *sat neter pen m khen (remenui?) f m ahā-f n ast khepert*
her usl suten selef
11. *m zatu n amurt (sa) an remtu apea her khetu sen m setep*
sa

Line 3. Said to her by His Majesty: Come thou blessed one,
I will take thee in my arms,
4. that thou mayest see thy directions (carried out) in the
palace; thy precious images were made, thou hast received
the investiture of the double crown, thou art blessed
5. by thy magic power; thou art mighty by thy valour, thou
art powerful in the two lands, (thou destroyest) the rebels.
6. When thou risest in the palace, thy brow is adorned with
the double crown united on thy head, for thou art my heir,
to whom I have given birth

¹ For , read .

² For , read .

7. daughter of the white (Southern) diadem, beloved of Uazt (the Northern goddess) the royal crowns will be given thee by those who inhabit the dwellings of the gods.
 8. His Majesty (lit. my Majesty) ordered that there should come before him the royal officers, the noblemen, the royal friends,
 9. the chamberlains of the inner palace, the chief of the *rekhya*, that they might obey his commands when he took the
 10. Majesty of his daughter in his arms in his palace of ceremonies, and she was put in the place of the king himself
 11. in his pavilion of the West, all these servants bowed down (lit. on their bellies) protecting her.

Plate LXI. Here the inscription is interrupted by a sculpture representing the scene which has just been described. The king, wearing the head-dress called *nems* and a long gown, is seated in a pavilion made of wood, and raised on steps, which had been erected for the occasion. We see that this pavilion could be taken to pieces and moved wherever it was wanted. It consisted of poles supporting a roof fastened by pegs projecting above it, as in a tent of the present day. The figure of the king and the inscriptions referring to him are intact; neither Thothmes III. nor Rameses II. attempted to erase them. In front of Thothmes stands a youth, represented as going out of the pavilion. His father with one hand seizes the boy's right arm near the elbow, while he puts his left on the young man's shoulder. This young man is the queen. Her person and her names and titles are erased, but we can still recognize her figure; her arms are hanging down, she is bare-headed, and wears no insignia. This picture seems to me one of the best proofs of the opposition which the rule of a woman met with among the Egyptians of the XVIIIth Dynasty. In this solemn circumstance, when Hatshepsu was proclaimed by her father as his associate and heir, in the presence of all the grandees of the land, she was obliged to conceal her sex and to appear as a man. I believe that when this ceremony actually took place, and when she showed herself for the first time to her new subjects, she was clad in man's attire.

The text goes on as follows:

Line 12. *su zef hou-f kheft sen sat pen Khnumt Amen Hâtshepsu ânkh-tu* *ut a*
 13. *tu(t) as her nest-a pu sat hem pu hem-s-s her kheat-a*
 14. *ba utul-s mefu n rekhya m uslu nebt nt âhâ sut hem eom-s ten*
 15. *setem ten mefu-s zemt ten her utul-s tuat-f-s sut ânkh-f zett-f khet tu m*
 16. *na hout-s sut met-f ar herz selent-f neb tem renn hout-s*

17. *sut hem gut-f her tot r sârt suten kher mî m art her renu-d ãa sut*
 18. *neter ten sat neter dst ãa neteru âhâ her-s selep sen sa sen ha-s râ neb mî nt n tef-s neb netern*
 Line 12. Then said His Majesty before them: This my daughter, Khnumt Amen Hatshepsu, living I put her in my place
 13. as she is on my throne, henceforth she will be sitting on the staircase¹
 14. marvellous; she utters her words of command to the *rekhya* in all their dwellings of the palace; henceforth she guides you;
 15. listen to her words, and submit to her commands. Whoever praises her, he will live; but he who speaks evil
 16. against Her Majesty, he will die. Whoever obeys in everything, submitting to the name of Her Majesty
 17. surely he will go at once to the royal terrace (?) as it was (for those who submitted) to the name of My Majesty; also
 18. let divine honours be conferred upon my royal daughter, for all the gods fight for her, they give her their protection, (standing) behind her every day, according to the command of her father the lord of the gods.

Here again there is an interruption in the text. Three rows of men are seen walking towards the king in his pavilion; they are the high dignitaries summoned by the king to witness the raising of Hatshepsu to the throne, and to pay homage to their new sovereign. Those whose names are preserved are the noblemen and the royal friends.

Plate LXII.

Line 19. *setem ãa suten zhepsu sâbû bât rekhya*
 20. *ut mef n ntes khont sâb n sat-f suten nt Râmâka ânkh zetto sen ãa sen r to r rel-f khor mefu*
 21. *suten ãa sen tua sen neteru nebû n sulen nt Åakheperka Râ ânkh zetto per ãa sen r sen*
 22. *bâb abekh sen na ben-f sen setem rekhya nebt steru u*
 23. *nebu nu khent yu dinen r sen bâb na (h)en n sen rkhet neb steru steru*
 24. *am up m ren-f meneftiu meneftiu her dru abekh sen ak sen*
 25. *n âti aba sen met-sen met-sen ren n hout-s m suten (â)sk hout-s m Anepu ask neter âa*
 26. *m khaf abu sea n sat-f Râmâka ânkh zetto ask sen rekhya d sat neter us pu sk*
 27. *sen hem menkh m bau-s âa r khet nebt ar sa neb merersi m ab-f tua-s râ neb*
 28. *sekhet khâ-f uaz-f r khet neb ar sa neb mefu m ren n hout-s tot(u) neter met-f her tot*

¹ I suppose this is an allusion to a ceremony depicted at Babastis (Festival Hall, pl. ii., 8, p. 13). The king, under the appearance of Osiris, is seen on a platform, to which access is given by four staircases (▲ ▲), each of them turned towards one of the cardinal points. Priests bring to the king various emblems, while others are lying quite flat on the ground, ▲ ▲ ▲ ▲, 1. 11.

29. *ast an netern setepu sa ha-s rā neb setem hon n tef-s pen
nen fent n rekhyt neb*
 30. *ren n sat-f teu r suten ask hout-s m Anepu n dm au ab n
hon-f am r khet neb*
 31. *ut hcn-f ast kherhebu r met renu-s uru nu shep sdu
srl-s*
 32. *n suten nt khā tu m ket m khatem neb n samt to-ui ver ha
teb neteru nebu nu samt to-ui*
 33. *r hru-f nefer n khāu n npt renpet m hāt teru heupt nt ar-s
hebu m*
 34. *sef hebu ash urt met aisen renu-s nu suten nt ask hem*
 35. *rtu n neter kheper m abu sen art renu-s mafeten ar-nf dm
m bāh*

Line 19. They listened, the royal officers, the noblemen, the chief of the *rekhyu*
 20. to the words said in behalf of her, on account of the investiture of his daughter, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt living eternally; they threw themselves on the ground before his feet, struck down by the voice
 21. of the king, they praised all the gods of the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aankheperka Ra living eternally; they went out together,
 22. they rejoiced and danced for joy, because of what he had ordered them to do; all the *rekhyu* heard it in the dwellings
 23. of the inner palace, they came together, rejoicing exceedingly over what has been commanded to them, dwelling and dwelling¹
 24. is showing his (her) name, soldiers and soldiers are dancing and leaping
 25. because of their joy, they publish, they publish the name of Her Majesty as king, when (although) Her Majesty is still a youth, for the great god
 26. inclined their hearts towards his daughter, for they know of the divine daughter
 27. for surely they are benefited by her will, above everything. Whoever loves her in his heart, and praises her every day,
 28. his field is prosperous, and grows exceedingly; but whoever utters the name of Her Majesty, the hands of god will kill him at once;
 29. for the gods are protecting her, standing behind her every day. The Majesty of her father heard these things, how all the *rekhyu* submitted
 30. to the name of his daughter, when Her Majesty was still a youth before them. The heart of His Majesty was exceedingly pleased
 31. His Majesty ordered that the Kherhebu should be summoned, in order to fix her royal names, because she received the investiture of the double crown
 32. and of the kingly power; and also that there should be made works and all the seals (?) for her who joins the two lands, who goes round the Northern Hall,² and rewards all the gods of her who joins the two lands,

33. in the festival day of her coronation; when the first day of the year and the beginning of the seasons should be united, when should be given her millions
 34. of Sed periods in great number. They fixed her names of King of Upper and Lower Egypt, for
 35. the god put in their hearts that her names should be like those which were in time past.

Plate LXIII. One of the most important acts of the coronation was the determination of the , the great or royal names of the sovereign. This, according to our text, was made by the *kherhebu*, priests of high rank entrusted with the sacred books, and generally represented with a roll of papyrus in their hands. The royal names consist of a series of epithets divided into four parts, each of them here written in a separate column.

First comes the name of the *ka*, or the double of the sovereign, inscribed in a sign interpreted in various ways; it has been called a standard, it has also been explained as being the door to the tomb in which the *ka* resided. This sign is always surmounted by a hawk. In the case of Hatshepsu her *ka*-name is  *usert kau*, she who is rich in *kas*, who has a great number of *kas*.

The second part is introduced by the signs  *nebti*, which, according to Le Page Renouf, mean lord of East and West, but which also, as we saw before, apply to a crown or diadem. This second part is  *uazt renpetu netert nefer art khetu*, abounding in years, the good goddess, the pious lady. It is only after the XIIth Dynasty that this part of the name began to differ from the first. Up to the time of Useres II. the *ka*-name and that introduced by  are always identical,  being frequently used like , meaning the sovereign or the king.

The third part is the so-called Horus-name, preceded by , the golden hawk; it reads  *netert khāu*, the divine one, in her risings, or with her diadems.

Lastly comes the coronation-name  (usually read Ramaka or Makara, but which I believe should be transcribed Kamara,³ "the real image of Ra." The second cartouche, being the name given her at her birth, is no part of the predicates and titles given her by the *kherhebu*.

¹ From here to the middle of line 25 everything is in the dual form.

² This line is very obscure. See text to pl. lxiii.

³ The Babylonian transcription of the name of Amenophis III.,  *Nimuryia*, shows that the syllable  must be read in the middle of the name.

These formulas, with the second cartouche, are the complete name of the queen, which will appear in the official documents and wherever the queen wished all her titles to be recorded. Here again, although some of the forms are in the feminine, we can trace the desire of the queen to come forward as a man, and be considered as a king. The form of her name is that which was adopted by all the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and we know of no princess before Hatshepsu, who took masculine titles with feminine endings.

Below the royal names, there is a blank which may have been destined to contain a figure holding the palm, which is generally the emblem of the measurement of time, and is often connected with dates. The curved palm, with the two columns next to it, looks like the beginning of a calendar of the same kind as that found on a stone at Palermo, which refers to the Old Empire. The statement which we read here is very important: "The first day of Thoth, the beginning of the year, the beginning of the seasons, united for the queen of Upper and Lower Egypt, with the double diadem, who joins the two lands, who goes round the Northern Hall in the festival of Seshet, the daughter of Ra who loves him, Hatshepsu."

It seems to me that we have here an allusion to a reform in the calendar,¹ such as the one which took place occasionally when the variable year of 365 days and the fixed year of 365 $\frac{1}{4}$, based on the recurrence of natural phenomena, like the rising of the Nile, were made to start anew from the same day, viz., the first day of the month of Thoth. The titles here given to the queen are unusual; they probably go back to a very high antiquity, certainly to the Old Empire. We find them several times on the calendar of the Palermo stone, and always after indication of days of the month.

Under the blank we read these words: *sk hem ren-s pu má ár n neter m báh*, for her name is truly that which the god made before.

The coronation is followed by religious ceremonies, by new purifications, which take place in a hall called                             <img alt="Hieroglyph of a house" data-bbox="262 3325 2

elapsed between her installation by her father and this ceremony; the two pageants probably followed at a short interval, so that Thothmes I. must have been still alive when the queen received the two diadems. As she does not mention Thothmes I., this would point to her father having abdicated in her favour.

Plates LXV. and LXVI. In front of the wall on which is engraved the legend of the miraculous birth of Hatshepsu are two rows of eleven square pillars, supporting the colonnade and adorned with religious scenes very much alike, five of which have been reproduced. They represent Amon in conversation with the king, taking him by the arm, or putting his hand on his shoulder. The king may be Hatshepsu or Thothmes III. In most cases it is Thothmes III., who has here the cartouche (O — ♀ L) *Men kheper ka Rā*. I noticed all through the temples of Deir el Bahari that this cartouche occurs during the association of Hatshepsu and Thothmes, but only when the king, being alone, might be considered as the real ruler, or at least as on the same rank and footing as Hatshepsu. This cartouche, containing L, one of the elements of the name of the queen, is the sign of the subordinate position of Thothmes. In the places where both sovereigns occur together, such as the North-Western hall of offerings, the pre-eminence of Hatshepsu is so clearly indicated that Thothmes III. takes his usual cartouche (O — ♀) *Men kheper Rā*, which he will keep when, after Hatshepsu's death, he is alone on the throne.

Amon is usually erased; and when Hatshepsu was represented with him, both figures have been destroyed, and Amon alone restored (pl. lxvi.). The god makes his usual promises to the king or to the queen. Under the feet of the group are two lines of text, the

second of which varies alternately. It reads either as follows:

ankh fet was r refui neter pen neter
life stability purity before the feet this god good
* —
— —
praise rekhyt nebt
praise rekhyt all

"Life, stability and purity are put at the feet of this good god, who is praised by all the *rekhyu*." These last words, which occur frequently, must have had a special sense which is still undetermined. I suppose they mean something like "magnanimous."

The other reading is this:

sep tep sef heb ar-s ash urt
anniversary first of sed periods it is numerous very

"On the first anniversary the Sed periods are given in great number."

Plate LXVII. The fine head, which is here given nearly in its real size, represents queen Aahmes, led by Heket and Khnum to the hall where she will give birth to Hatshepsu (pl. xlxi.). Aahmes has escaped destruction; her figure, as well as the hieroglyphs which record her titles, are quite intact, and we may judge from these few remains of the remarkable beauty of the sculpture which originally adorned this wall. The fine modelling of the features of the queen, though in very low relief, the purity of the drawing, and the charming expression, make this one of the finest specimens of sculpture which occur in the temple of Deir el Bahari. From it we may gain some idea of the losses which Egyptian art has suffered by the barbarous treatment to which the temple was subjected, from Hatshepsu's immediate successor down to the Coptic monks.

PLATE LXVIII.

PLAN, ELEVATIONS AND SECTIONS.

The northern half of this Colonnade has been already drawn and described (*Temple of Deir el Bahari*, vol. ii., p. 6, and pl. xxx.).

¹ This architectural description has been written by Mr. SOKER CLARKE.

The southern half is an exact pendant in all respects of the northern, corresponding with it in length, breadth, height, and the number of intercolumniations. It is not until we reach the southern end of it that we find any difference. At this end, however, there are indications of a change in design. As ultimately finished, the façade of the Hathor Speos which lies

south of the Middle Colonnade, whilst it differed considerably in detail, was made to balance in all its chief features the façade of the Northern Speos. It presented a front of five intercolumniations, flanked on the right and left by a massive pier, and surmounted by a cornice carrying on the horizontal line common to the whole colonnade. From a distance the two façades must have looked almost alike.

As first built, the wall forming the southern end of the Middle Colonnade ended with its face on a line with the east faces of the columns. It balanced exactly with the north end of the north half of this Colonnade. A terrace, the depth of the Middle Colonnade, was left in front of the original façade of the Hathor Speos. In result, the front of the temple at this level was not evenly balanced, the Northern Speos standing forward whilst the Southern was retired. A change in the scheme was made, and that not long after the Middle Colonnade was finished. A portico of five intercolumniations in the front, but seven within, was added to the original front; and although the columns in the south portico differed from those in the north, a general appearance of similarity and balance was established.

Before this addition was built, the east face of the south wall of the Colonnade had been so far finished that the stonework had been dressed down to a smooth face, the torus or roll moulding had been cut on the outer angle, and shallow-sunk panel-work had been cut just above the ground level. The new portico was built against this and hid it, the torus being cut away.

The Southern or Hathor Speos consists of a Hypostyle Hall and an Inner Hall, from which open out eleven chambers more or less subordinate one to the other.

As first built, the Hypostyle Hall was, as it still is, at a lower level than the floor of the adjoining Colonnade, in this, as in many other general features, balancing the Northern Speos. The front was of five intercolumniations, its depth of three. In front of it, and at a very slightly lower level, was added the outer part of the Hall, with a front of five intercolumniations and a depth of three. A sloping ascent in the middle intercolumniation took one up the few inches of difference which exist between the floors of the outer and inner parts of the Hall.

In the middle of the western wall of the Hall is a doorway approached by four shallow steps. This opens upon a small rectangular hall, its roof supported

by two sixteen-sided columns. The walls and roof of this hall are in a very perfect state, retaining much of their original colour. From the north and south walls respectively opens out a small chamber. In the west wall is a central doorway flanked on either side by a small door. The central doorway opens into a narrow corridor, leading westward into the side of the hill, and from this, on either side, open out three small chambers.

The walls, roof, sculptures, and colouring in this corridor are exceedingly well preserved.

EXCAVATION.

This part of the temple had been excavated before the Fund began to work at Deir el Bahari. In 1858 Mariette discovered the wall of the Punt expedition, as well as the Hathor shrine. He cleared the shrine; at its end was a large mummy-pit containing a great number of coffins, which were taken to the Boolak Museum with many other ones found in the pits of the Eastern Platform. The Hypostyle Hall was excavated by Mariette only deep enough to free the door of the shrine, and to allow visitors to enter it, so that several feet of rubbish still covered the pavement. When we cleared this away, between two columns on the northern side we discovered a pit which had not been touched. It was about twelve feet deep; on the western side was a door closed by bricks and stones; when this had been removed, we entered a small chamber cut in the rock, of sufficient size to contain three rectangular coffins with arched lids. They were covered with wreaths of flowers; on the poles at the four corners stood wooden hawks, another bird was placed across the legs, and a wooden jackal at the feet. Several boxes contained hundreds of rude porcelain "ushabti." The style of the coffins clearly pointed to the XXVIth Dynasty, when the temple was used as a cemetery. Each mummy was enclosed in three coffins. The finest, placed in the middle, belonged to a prophet of Menthu called              <img alt="Egyptian cart

PLATES LXIX.—LXXXVI.

THE NAVAL EXPEDITION TO THE LAND OF PUNT.

THE LAND OF PUNT.

The fragments of inscriptions found in the course of the excavations at Deir el Bahari show that during Hatshepsu's reign wars were waged against the Ethiopians, and probably also against the Asiatics. Among these wars that which the queen considered the most glorious, and which she desired to be recorded on the walls of the temple erected as a memorial of her high deeds, was the campaign against the nations of the Upper Nile.

On the short wall closing the Eastern Colonnade, on the south side, there was a sculpture describing that campaign. The god of Nubia, Tetun, was seen bringing to the queen a series of captive nations or places, each of them represented, as usual, by a crenellated cartouche surmounted by a negro head. This sculpture had been entirely carried away by the Copts to the upper part of the temple; nothing of it remained *in situ* except the end-signs of some of the cartouches. However, several blocks have been recovered; among them the figure of the god Tetun and a few of the prisoners. Most of these blocks were built into the supporting wall of the central court. The names which have been recovered are:



They all belong to the land of *Kush*, and they are called by Tetun or *Khasetu resu* or *Antiu Khent*, the nation of the South or the Anti of Nubia. This explains why on pl. lxxvi. we see chiefs, evidently not natives of the Land of Punt, who are bringing their tributes to the queen. If they were subjects, they could not have been conquered by the few ships she sent out for trading purposes rather than for war. It is true that before Hatshepsu, her father, Thothmes I., had made several successful campaigns against the Ethiopians and had reduced them to vassalage; but the history of the kings of the XVIIIth Dynasty, and even of the powerful rulers of the XIIth, shows that the subjection of the negroes of Kush never lasted longer than the life of the sovereign who had conquered them. Whenever there was a change of king they rebelled, and

the first campaign of the new ruler was always on the Upper Nile. This inscription proves that it was the same with Hatshepsu as with her father, and that her campaign against the Ethiopian rebels was successful, whether made by herself or through a general.

Hatshepsu did not prize her military laurels as high as her naval expedition to the Land of Punt, which probably proved more beneficial to the country, since it established a commercial intercourse between Egypt and the nations of Inner Africa. Therefore it could not be omitted on the walls where the events of the queen's life were to be narrated. The chief episodes of it were engraved on the southern wall of the Middle Colonnade, being symmetrical to the legend of the miraculous birth, on the other side. The considerable space which these sculptures cover, the fulness of the details, and the exquisiteness of the work, all prove how highly the queen valued the achievements of her ships, and took pride in their results.

Where was the Land of Punt? Few geographical names occur so often in Egyptian inscriptions from a remote antiquity. Generally Punt is written without the sign indicating a foreign country, and it is often employed as synonymous with *Neterto*, "the divine land." The frequent mention of Punt in mythological inscriptions seems to show that the Egyptians considered they were in some way connected with that country. There may have been a vague and ancient tradition that they originally came from the Land of Punt, and that it had been their home before they invaded and conquered the lower valley of the Nile.

As to its site, I believe it an error to consider the name of Punt as applying to a territory with definite boundaries, to a state or kingdom, or to a group of states. It is a vague geographical designation, covering a region of vast extent, situated to the east of Egypt, the resort of several nations belonging to different races and not connected with one another. Since Mariette first discovered the sculptures of Hatshepsu's expedition, the opinion has prevailed that Punt was Somaliland, the country which, with the opposite coast of Arabia, produces frankincense. Punt—the land of ointments and of all sorts of fragrant gums, whither the Egyptians repeatedly sent expedi-

tions merely on purpose to get the anti, one of the best kinds of incense—could be nothing else than the Aromatifera regio of the Greeks and Romans, which extended on both sides of the Red Sea. But, as Prof. Krall very forcibly pointed out, it is most improbable that the Egyptians, who were not good sailors, but are known to have had a strong dislike for the sea, should have faced, with very inadequate craft, the difficulties and dangers of navigation in the open sea, beyond the Straits of Bab el Mandeb. The Greek kings, who belonged to a nation of seamen, who had fleets and knew how to handle them, never ventured so far; and Ptolemy Philadelphus was satisfied with founding the city of Ptolemais Epitheras much farther north than the Straits, probably at one of the outlets of a valley or a river, where trade could be carried on with the people of the valley of the Nile, and of the inner part of the country. In this case, therefore, Punt must be considered as being the coast of the Red Sea between Souakin and Massowah, or even farther south on the Abyssinian coast, but certainly north of the Straits.

Although it is undeniable that the names of Punt and Neterto, "the divine land," often extend to the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, there can be no doubt that the place where the soldiers of Hatshepsu landed was in Africa. The animals represented in the sculptures are exclusively African, as well as part of the population. It is much to be regretted that the wall where the Land of Punt was sculptured has suffered grievously, not only from destruction in old times, but also from the carrying away of several of the most interesting stones not many years ago, so that before our excavations it was more ruined than when Mariette and Duemichen first saw it. But the fragments discovered in the course of our excavations, small as some of them were, have given us a great deal of useful information as to the nature of the country, and they have put beyond question the fact that the expedition was directed to Africa and not to the Arabian coast.

Plate LXIX.—The picture of the Land of Punt was divided into four rows. In two of them the separation is made by a line of water, supposed to be the Red Sea, in which fishes and tortoises are swimming. What is seen above the water may be considered as taking place in the immediate vicinity of the shore, whereas

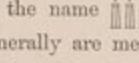
where there is a simple line under the figures they are meant to be further inland.

On the shore we find the huts of the people; they are built on poles, with ladders giving access to them, evidently in order to protect the inmates against wild animals. These huts, very similar to those described by modern travellers in Central Africa, are made of wickerwork, probably of palm-stalks; they are all of the same shape and construction, although the inhabitants belong to totally different races. They stand under the shade of date-palms, and of other trees having a conventional form, which, judging from the inscriptions, may signify frankincense and ebony trees. Near the huts they are certainly ebony trees, the branches of which are cut down by the Egyptians "in great quantities" (pl. lxx.), and which are high enough for the cattle to rest under their shade.

According to M. Maspero, the nearness of the huts and of the trees to the water shows that the landing-place of the Egyptians was not the sea-shore itself, but probably the mouth of some river, up which the ships ran sufficiently high to escape the effects of the tide. This idea seems the more natural, since from the variety of the population, where Arabian and African races are mixed together, we may conclude that we have here the picture of a place where trade was carried on, and where the goods of the African nations were brought for barter, probably with the populations of the opposite coast. The road which negroes or Africans would follow in bringing their goods to the coast would be one of the rivers flowing into the sea from the Abyssinian mountains, or some wady following the same direction. The mouth of a river is a natural harbour, and would be the best and safest for the rude craft of those people, even for the ships of the Egyptians; and it seems probable that most commercial cities in that region which are known to us from classical writers, for instance Ptolemais Epitheras, were built in localities of this kind.

The population consists of different races. The Puntite is a tall, well-shaped man, of a type which certainly belongs to the Caucasian race; his hair is flaxen, and is divided in well-made plaits; his nose is aquiline, his beard long and pointed; he wears only a loin-cloth with a belt in which a dagger is fixed. The left leg of the chief is covered with a bracing of rings which seem to be metal. The Puntites are

painted red, but not so dark as the Egyptians. In the second row we see the wife of the chief of Punt,¹ and on a stone which Mariette copied, but which has since disappeared, could be seen the daughter of the princess, showing in a less degree the same appearance as her mother. Their stoutness and deformity might be supposed at first sight to be the result of disease, if we did not know from the narratives of travellers of our own time that this kind of figure is the ideal type of female beauty among the savage tribes of Inner Africa. We can thus trace to a very high antiquity this barbarous taste, which was adopted by the Puntites, although they were probably not native Africans.

Side by side with the Puntites, and living in huts of the same description, are negroes of two different colours, brown and black, the brown ones being perhaps Gallas. The negroes are probably included in the name  the "Anti of Khent," who generally are mentioned as inhabitants of the valley of the Nile. This name has induced Prof. Lieblein to suppose that the sculptures of pl. lxxvi. refer to two different campaigns, one by sea to Punt, and one by land to the Upper Nile. But as we find negroes and Puntites living together in the same village of huts, it is not necessary to have recourse to that supposition. What is represented on this wall is a settlement for commerce, where various peoples are established side by side. They do not trade in exactly the same goods; what is brought to the Egyptians by the negroes is not quite the same as what is offered by the Puntites.² However, whether the goods come from the valley of the Nile, probably brought by caravans of negroes, or whether they are products of the soil of Punt like the frankincense trees, they are all loaded together from the same place on the Egyptian ships.

There is no doubt that the black and brown negroes belong to the same race, notwithstanding their difference in colour. Their faces have the same characteristics; and what is typical, and what the Egyptians seldom failed to represent, they have the same figure, with a strong curve in the spine produced by the pelvic bone projecting backwards.

Various opinions have been expressed as to the

origin of the Puntites. It is still doubtful whether they may be considered as the ancestors of the Phoenicians; but certainly they were closely related to the Egyptians. If we compare the types of both nations when we see the men engaged together in the same work, carrying frankincense trees, it is clear that the two types differ much less than a Puntite does from a negro, and their relationship is undeniable. At the same time the fact that the Puntites live on the shore, close to the sea, and with Africans of a totally different type, would lead us to think that they were immigrants from the other side of the sea, from the Arabian coast. Recent researches have brought to light the very close connection which existed from a remote antiquity between Abyssinia and Southern Arabia. The Puntites seem to be an example of this connection: they were not native Africans; they must have come from the opposite coast, probably later than the Egyptians themselves, who belonged to the same race. For it does not seem possible to admit, with Chabas, that the Puntites belonged to the Semitic stock, to the Syro-Aramaean type. The appearance of the Puntites, such as we see them portrayed at Deir el Bahari, shows that they formed part of the Hamitic stock, and that their original home was Arabia.

The fauna of Punt consists entirely of African animals. We see there cattle belonging to two different breeds, with short and long twisted horns. This last breed is still common in Southern Africa. It has always been largely exported from the Soudan to Egypt, from the early Pharaohs down to our own time.

With the cattle we find the giraffe, one of the animals brought down to Egypt as an object of curiosity. White dogs with long hanging ears are led by negroes to the ships; these dogs are also represented keeping watch over the huts of their owners (pl. lxxi.). An ass carried the ponderous princess, who probably was unable to walk. Various kinds of monkeys are seen climbing the trees, and being put on board the ships, among them the cynocephalus, the emblem of Thoth. The skins of panthers were used in Egypt for the garments of a certain order of priests; therefore a great number of these skins are loaded; but besides, living animals are brought down, looking like leopards or panthers, which were used for hunting.

A small fragment, the top of which is destroyed, shows the lower part of an animal which looks like a hippopotamus. But as it is seen walking

This stone is now in the Ghizeh Museum.

² This does not exclude the idea that the Ethiopians had been conquered in a previous campaign.

on land, and not near the water as is generally the case in Egyptian sculptures, it is possible that the artist intended to represent the rhinoceros, which at that time as at the present day must have been found in the same countries as the giraffe. It is extraordinary that we have not yet found a single picture of a rhinoceros, although certainly it must have been seen by the Egyptians in their expeditions towards the Upper Nile. The reason of this is perhaps that, besides not being native to Egypt, it was never brought down like the giraffe or the elephant. It is just possible that we have among the products of Punt the horn of the rhinoceros, bearing the name which we generally translate "ivory." On pl. lxxviii. the objects called ivory, have a shape much more like rhinoceros horns than elephant tusks.

In the ebony trees, under the shade of which the huts are built, birds have made their nests and laid eggs, which are being taken away by the Egyptians. It is difficult to recognize what birds they are, owing to the incorrectness of the proportions. The birds seem to be at least the size of pigeons; but why are their eggs carried away? is it for food, or for any other purpose? We do not know; it may have been for use in burials, for in the tombs of the necropolis of Ssedenet, which belong to the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, in small niches cut in the rock, eggs of the size of pigeons' eggs were often found together with funeral objects.

These nests give us an indication as to the season when the expedition to Punt took place. It must have been in the spring; and this agrees with other circumstances: in the spring the rivers or wadys which come down from the Abyssinian mountains, like that which flows into the sea at Tokar, are full of water, and would allow Egyptian ships to sail up a certain distance from the shore and from the tide.

Plates LXXII. and LXXIII.—The description of the expedition begins with these two plates. Here we see five Egyptian ships arriving. The first two are already moored, and have struck their sails, while the three others are coming up with canvas spread; on the last one the reis or pilot gives the word of command: "to the port side." The first ship has sent out a boat, which is unloading bags and large jars or amphoras, probably containing the food and drink which is to be presented to the chief of

Punt. The inscription in large characters above the ships is as follows:

*segefentu m uazur shep top uat nefert r neter to fu r to m
hotep r khasef Punt an mshau n neb to-ut kheft tept ro
neb neteru Amon neb nestu to-ut r ant nf bau tu set
nebt n dat n mererf (Rameses II.) pu r kuitiu kheperu m
to pen zelto*

The navigation on the sea, the starting on the good journey to the Divine Land, the landing happily in the Land of Punt by the soldiers of the king, according to the prescription of the lord of the gods, Amon, lord of the thrones of the two lands, in order to bring the precious products of the whole land, because of his great love towards [here the name of Hatshepsu is erased with some signs which followed, and it has been replaced by the name of Rameses II.] (never did such a thing happen) to the kings who were in this land eternally.

We now go back to Plate LXIX. On the shore Hatshepsu's messenger has landed; he is followed by a small escort of an officer and eight soldiers.¹ We know from another inscription the name of this messenger: he is called Nehasi, the negro. His mission is quite peaceful. On a small table he has placed the presents offered by the queen, which are not of great value: necklaces, probably made of blue porcelain beads, an axe, a dagger and a few bracelets, trinkets like those which are used at the present day in trading with the negroes of Central Africa. The text above the table reads:

*(y)t suteu upr r neter to hná mshau ntí m khet f top m uru
Punt, seb m khet nebt nefert u selep u ankh uza seneb
n Hather nebt Punt her ankh uza seneb hout-s*

The landing of the royal messenger in the Divine Land, with the soldiers who accompany him, in presence of the chiefs of Punt, to bring all good things from the sovereign (life, strength and health) to Hathor, the lady of Punt, in order that she may grant life, strength and health to Her Majesty.

The chief of Punt, Parohu, seems afraid; he is raising his hands towards the Egyptians.

*yt an uru nu Punt m kesu m uab top r shep mshau pen n
suteu fu sen daui n neb neteru Amon*

The coming of the chiefs of Punt, bowing and stooping in order to receive these soldiers; they give praise to Amon (probably put there instead of the queen).

Behind Parohu stood his wife, two sons and his daughter, as may be seen from Mariette's publication. But this most valuable block has unfortunately disappeared, as well as the text it contained, which expressed the astonishment of the Puntites at the sight of the strangers. I give a translation of their words

¹ See Introductory Memoir, pl. viii.

as reproduced by Mariette : "They say in asking for peace: you arrived here on what way, to this land which the Egyptians did not know? Have you come through the ways of the sky, or have you travelled on water to the green land, the divine land to which Ra has transported you? For the king of Egypt there is no closed way, we live of the breath which he gives us."

From what we see on the upper row the intercourse between the messenger and the Puntites soon becomes cordial. A tent has been pitched by order of the messenger, before which Parohu and his family, "the chiefs of Punt," appear again.

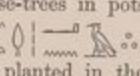
yt an ur n Punt kher anu-f r kesui uazur tep m suten (upt)
the coming of the chief of Punt, bringing his goods on the shore
in presence of the royal messenger.

The objects which are brought, and which are called tributes, are properly goods to be exchanged against the products of Egypt; they consist of gold in rings, a heap of boomerangs, the same weapon which Parohu has in his hand, and a big heap of the famous incense called anti, of which there were several varieties, and of which the Egyptians made such great use that the procuring of it was the main reason which induced them to send expeditions to Punt.

The messenger is said to receive these things, but his queen has ordered him to be generous, and to show something of her royal hospitality. Nehasi will entertain the chiefs of Punt to a banquet in his tent, as we learn from the inscription :

*her am nt suten upt hná mesháu-f mkket ánti nu Punt her kesui
uazur r shep uru nu khaset ten ab nsen tau heqt arp ifu
tegeru khet neb m Tomeri ma utt m selep sa ankh uza
senetb*

The preparing of the tent for the royal messenger and his soldiers, in the harbours of frankincense of Punt, on the shore of the sea, in order to receive the chiefs of this land, and to present them with bread, beer, wine, meat, fruits, and all the good things of the land of Egypt, as has been ordered by the sovereign (life, strength, health).

Above, in the rows of which little is left, we see the Egyptians and the Puntites doing the same work, carrying towards the ships frankincense-trees in pots or baskets. These trees, called , lit. the sycamores of anti, are to be planted in the garden of Amon. They are difficult to identify; according to several botanists, they would be the *Boswellia thurifera* or *Boswellia Carterii*, which produces the incense on the Arabian coast and in Somaliland. The Egyptians valued these trees very highly; another inscription says that thirty-one of them were

brought to Thebes. In the text which accompanies the sculptures were fragments of conversation. The Puntite who looks backward in the upper row complains that his load is very heavy.

The considerable part of this wall which is lost contained very interesting scenes, of which fragments only have been recovered (pls. lxx. and lxxi.). There could be seen the huts of the negroes with the big dog crouching at the door; the Egyptians felling branches of ebony-trees, "cutting ebony in great quantity," the wood being carried to the ships by the negroes, who brought also their dogs, which may have been used in Egypt for the chase of the antelope and the wild bull. The Egyptians were seen also taking the eggs from the nests of the birds. All this was already destroyed in ancient times. The places where the fragments were found would make us think that this wall was ruined before the occupation of the temple by the Copts.

Plate LXXIV.—The various scenes on this wall are not arranged with the same regularity as on the other side of the Colonnade. They sometimes occupy the whole height of the wall, as for instance the description of the Land of Punt, or they are put one over the other, as is the case here. Above the ships arriving empty (pl. lxxii.) are the ships being loaded. They are alongside the coast, and the Egyptians are bringing the cargo on bridges. The loading is nearly completed. We see on the ships bags of incense and gold, ebony, tusks of elephants, skins of panthers, monkeys, and several frankincense trees. Some more are being brought by the sailors. The loading is described as follows :

*atep ábáu r ást urt m bitu khaset Punt khau neb nefer n
Neter to, ábáu m qmiqu nt ánti m nhtu nt ánti uaz m
hebni her ab uáb m nub uaz n ámu m teheps khésytu m
dhemtu, senetru, mesfomtu m ánat kefu tesemu m cinemu
nu abyu kemá m mer ... hná mesu sen ás sep ant mätt nen
n suten neb kheper ter put to*

The loading of the cargo-boats with great quantities of products (lit. marvels) of the land of Punt, with all the good woods of the divine land, heaps of gum of anti, and trees of green anti, with ebony, with pure ivory, with green (pure) gold of the land of Amu, with cinnamon wood, khesit wood, with balsam, resin, antimony, with cynocephali, monkeys, greyhounds, with skins of panthers of the south, with inhabitants of the country and their children. Never were brought such things to any king, since the world was.

Plate LXXV.—The next scene describes the voyage back to Egypt, and the happy arrival of the expedition at Thebes.

*sgefennu yt m hōlep tu r to r Apetu m áutib áin mesháu n neb
to-ui uru mkket sen n khaset ten dānsen ntt ántu mātt
sen n kiutiu m biu khaset Punt n áat n bas n neter pes
Amen Rá neb nestu to-ui*

The navigation, the arrival in peace, the landing at Thebes with joy by the soldiers of the king; with them are the chiefs of this land, they bring such things as never were brought to any king, in products of the land of Punt, through the great power of this venerable god Amon Ra, the lord of the thrones of the two lands.

If the expedition really landed at Thebes, we must suppose that at that time, long before Rameses II., who is said to have made a canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, there was an arm of the Nile forming a communication with the sea, which extended much farther north than it does now. The other expeditions sent to Punt before Hatshepsu by Sankhara of the XIth Dynasty, or after her by Rameses III., are said to have started from a harbour on the Red Sea, which was reached from Koptos, probably the present Kosseir, and to have returned there.

The top of Plate LXXIV. and Plate LXXVI., which is to be placed over LXXV., shows us the landing from the ships at Thebes in the presence of the queen. This representation, of which nearly all the upper part has been lost, is particularly interesting, because we see Africans in great number who have come to Egypt with the ships.

Beginning at the end of the long train which marches towards the queen, we see (pl. lxxiv.) Puntites carrying ebony, boomerangs, and driving cattle of the "sanga" breed, which is still common in Central Africa. Before them are Egyptians bringing the precious frankincense-trees. Next come (pl. lxxvi.) two rows of men, each row being divided in two at the beginning. In the lower one we find again Puntites with amphoras, probably filled with balsam, and baskets containing anti. One of them leads a cynocephalus. The long pointed loaves and the obelisks are resin to which that shape has been given. In front of the procession of Puntites are four chiefs kneeling, with hands raised towards the queen, and imploring her to be merciful to them.

*zet kher sen febh sen hōlepu kher hont-s ánes her-t suten to Merá
rát pesf mā aten*

they say, imploring her Majesty, hail to thee, King of Egypt, lady Ra, shining like the solar disk

The Puntites have the same type and dress as we

saw in the description of their country. Above them are the chiefs of the Ilim, as M. Maspero reads their names, who according to Brugsch are the Blemmyes. As far as we can judge from what is left of the head of the kneeling chief and from the standing man who follows, and who may be one of them, the Ilim are not negroes. Like the Egyptians and the Puntites, they belong to the Hamitic branch; they bring gold and a leopard or a panther.

Above are two negroes, called the chiefs of Nemyu (Nubia?); these men are the same as those seen near the huts. The block on which they are represented was recovered in pulling down one of the upper walls.

All these men are supposed to be in presence of the queen, who, however, does not seem to have been herself represented. On a kind of stand adorned like a throne was her cartouche and her *ka* name. The text which was next to it is destroyed to nearly half of its height.

*..... sen to n useret kau áin uru nu Punt
..... Anti Khent nu khenthunnefer khaset nebti nu
..... m uah tep kher ánu sen r bu kher hont s
..... uatu tem khet sen áin kuin
..... khaset nebti m nezti u hont s hesob tu
..... neb Apetu m heteri r tonnu renpet
..... utu nset tef s Ámen ta to-n neb kher tebtu s zetto
..... the bowing down before Userkau (Hatshepsu) by the
chiefs of Punt
..... the Anti of Nubia of khenthunnefer, all lands of
stooping, bringing their goods in the place where is her
Majesty.
..... roads which never had been trodden by others; it was
reckoned
..... the lord of Thebes, as a tribute for each year.
..... as was ordered to her by her father, who put all lands
under her feet living eternally.*

Plate LXXVII.—In order to express her thankfulness to Amon, who had shown the way to her ships and brought them back safely, Hatshepsu must consecrate the best things of Punt to the god. This we see her doing in a scene which occupies the whole height of the wall. Hatshepsu standing, wearing the *atef* crown, holding the insignia of royal power, and followed by her *ka*, dedicates to Amon the choice products of the foreign countries.

*suten zoof suten nt Rámáka kherp báu n Punt shépessu n
Neter to m áb ánu n khasetu rest nu beku n Kes [sic] khet
kantu nt to Neħas n Ámon Ra neb nestu to-ui, khet Apetu
suten nt Rámáka ánkhet tet-t áu ábs hq s to-ui Rá má zetto
The king himself, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramaka
takes the good things of Punt, and the valuables of the
Divine Land, presenting the gifts of the southern countries,*

the tributes of the vile Kusch, the boxes (of gold and precious stones) of the land of the negroes to Amon Ra, the lord of the throne of the two lands. The king Ramaka, she is living, she lasts, she is full of joy, she rules over the land like Ra eternally.

Plates LXXVIII.—LXXXI.—The valuable cargo which the queen feels bound to offer to Amon is represented in the four following plates. The wall is here divided into two rows. Beginning at the bottom, we see first (pl. lxxviii.) the products which are properly those of the Land of Punt, four large trees, frankincense-trees planted in the garden of Amon, where they have prospered and reached such a height that cattle may easily walk under their branches. Various things have been collected in the shade of the trees:  abu, which generally means ivory, but which I believe may here apply also to rhinoceros horn. Under the tusks is a substance called *kash*, the meaning of which is doubtful, but which, judging from the determinative, I consider to be tortoise-shell. Tortoises are seen several times with the fishes in the Red Sea (pl. lxxix.).

The cattle are the short-horned "sanga" breed, found at present in Somaliland, while above (pl. lxxx.) are the sanga with long and twisted horns, now found chiefly near the Zambesi river and in the Transvaal. Further we see ebony, bags of the substance called  mesetem (antimony ?) used for dyeing the eyes, then the boomerangs, the  adamu of the Puntites, and rings and boxes full of the metal  asem, the *ηλεκτρον*, also called in Egyptian papyri *ασημας*, an alloy of gold and silver.

Plate LXXIX.—The frankincense anti, of which there were as many as fourteen different sorts, was the most important product of Punt. We see here that the numerous bags of that substance which were the chief part of the cargo of the ships, have been emptied, and the incense, after having been measured by means of bushels, is gathered in large heaps. The text explains that "these are heaps of green (fresh) anti in great number; the measuring of green anti in great quantity to Amon, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, from the marvels of the Land of Punt, and the good things of the Divine Land." Above the heaps are frankincense-trees in pots. "Trees of green anti thirty-one, brought among the marvels of Punt to the Majesty of this god, Amon Ra, the lord of the throne of the two lands; never was such thing seen since the world was."

Behind the four men emptying their bushels stood a man whose figure has been rubbed off. He is called "the writer, the steward Thoth(mes?)." We do not know why his figure has been erased; he may have been one of the friends and supporters of Hatshepsu, and therefore his name and figure were destroyed. We shall see other instances of names of officials being erased.

The god Thoth himself acts as writer, and keeps a record of all that has been brought from Punt and offered to the god:

sment m ssh heceb teanu temt sam hebu hefennu tebu khan shau khasetu Punt.

to record in writing, to make up the accounts; altogether millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, hundreds (an infinite number) of good things of the Land of Punt, given to Amou Ra.

Thoth, who is said to reside in a temple, the name of which is doubtful, and who is called the chief of the *rekhbytu*, has been erased. This destruction is certainly not the work of any of the Thothmes, and must be assigned to a later date.

Plate LXXX.—Above the products of Punt are those which are supposed to come from the southern countries, viz. the regions of the Upper Nile, inhabited by the negroes whom we saw represented before, and by the Anti of Nubia. These goods must have been brought by caravans, showing that there was already a regular trade established between the valley of the Nile and the coast. We see here a giraffe, long-horned cattle, two kinds of panthers or leopards: the "southern," which is larger, and which seems to have been only an object of curiosity, while "those of the north" are held by collars, and were probably more or less tame, so as to be used for hunting. As in the case of Punt we see great quantities of asem, in rings and boxes, boomerangs and ebony, besides skins of panthers, bows, feathers, and ostrich eggs.

Above the large gap in the middle of the plate we see the tops of several columns of text and fragments of a cartouche which seems to be that of Thothmes I. It probably refers to his campaign in Asia, towards the Euphrates, as far as a place called  Niy, where Thothmes III., his grandson, as we know from the biography of one of his officials, hunted elephants, killing a great number of them. The few signs left point to an inscription of the same kind as that which relates the deeds of the younger king.

Plate LXXXI.—All the good things from the southern countries are brought to Amon by the god Tetun, the god of Nubia, who is present at the weighing of the precious metals. This weighing is superintended by Horus:

*m̄khat m̄ett n̄t nt Thuti r utes k̄z nub k̄hesbet mafkat.*¹

The balance, the right one of Thoth, for weighing silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite.

On the sculpture there is only the weighing of *asem* in rings; below are the weights  *tebennu*, some of which have the form of bulls. As Thoth did in the case of Punt, Safekhabui here records an unlimited number of good things from the lands of the south.

Plate LXXXII.—The five lines of text with which this plate begins refer to the offerings made by the queen to Amon.

Line 1. *suten z̄zef suten nt Rāmāka k̄shep āpt ult tof r up t̄bāu sep tep ārt lu nefer k̄ha ānti uaz r Amon neb nestu to-ui neb pet.*
 2. *tep shemu m bāu k̄haset Punt neb shmu smen m s̄shu Safekhabui her h̄eseb tennutu hout-f*
 3. *z̄zes² ārt m tot-ui s̄ hātu ānti her ātu s neb k̄henemu-s m neter ātt ātu sel-s ābekh m Punt ānemu s nub m āsem*
 4. *her āb mā ār sebu m k̄hen us̄ekh hebt k̄heft her u to r ter-f ārt henu ān rekhytu neb tu sen āau n neb neteru*
 5. *suash sen Rāmāka m sepu uu neterer sen āat n bytu k̄hepertu ān k̄hepert mātt k̄her neteru nebu bāh ter put ārs fut ānkh Rā mā zetto.*

Line 1. The king himself, King Ramaka, takes a bushel; she stretches forth her hand to measure the heaps; the first time it is an object of rejoicing, to measure the fresh anti to Amon, the lord of the throne of the two lands, the lord of the sky.
 2. The first day of the summer the good things of the land of Punt. The lord of Shmu (Thoth) records it in writing. Safekhabui makes up the accounts. His Majesty
 3. herself put with her own hands oil of anti on all her limbs, her fragrance was like a divine breath; her scent reached as far as Punt, her skin is made of gold (lit. electrum),
 4. it shines like the stars in the hall of festival, in view of the whole land. The *rekhytu* are rejoicing; they give their praises to the lord of the gods,
 5. they celebrate Ramaka; at the same time they worship her, as she is such a great marvel. She had no equal among all the gods who were before, since the world was. She is living like Ra eternally.

The remaining part of the wall is covered with two ceremonies which are connected together. Thothmes III., the young associate of the queen, offers frankincense to the sacred boat of Amon, in front of which are the standards of various gods. The offering is called *m̄d m̄ tep ānti*, to give the choice of the anti.

Plate LXXXIII.—The sacred boat is carried on the shoulders of the priests; it contains a shrine in which is hidden the emblem of the god, probably a golden ram. This boat is entirely erased, probably by order of Khuenaten, as well as the figure of the queen, who wears the double headdress, and holds the insignia of royal power.

Plate LXXXIV.—Thothmes III., the young prince who is always in the second rank, is worthy only of offering incense to the sacred boat; but the queen appears before the god himself, who is sitting on his throne, and makes a long speech to her. Figures and text are completely erased.

Line 1. *Hor usert kau, nebti uazt renpetu Hor nub netert k̄hāu suten nt Rāmāka tet nt Āmea mert nf un-s her nest-j suaz nf ns ānāt to-ui suteny res meht tu nf ns*
 2. *shent āten ārft Qeb Nut ān regu-s mm resu ān ātenu s m mehtin pet k̄hasetu nebt qemt n neter beksen ns*
 3. *māqefen yu sen ns m ib senz heru tepu sen m uah top māu sen her pestu sen hāku sen ns m mesu sen sebtu*
 4. *r tut n sen nif n ānkh n dat bau tef n Āmen rfu to-u nebu k̄her tebtu-s suten z̄zef suten nt Rāmāka sper hon n setep sa ānkh uza seneb r ref n*
 5. *neb neteru setem utu m ust urt nektu ro nt neter z̄zef z̄ar uatu r Punt āb matennu r k̄hetu ānti*
 6. *sem n mshāu her mu her to r ānt bāu m Neter to n neter pen qem neferu-s ar ānta māt-ut n nebt hon n neter pen sheps mai ust hout-s r mert-s tut ānkh tet uas Rā mā zetto.*
 7. *mez ān Āmen Rā neb nestu to-ui yu n(a) sep sen m k̄etep sat benrt āmt āb-s suten nt Rāmāka ārt n(a) mēnnu neferu snābt ust nt pnt neteru āat r per ā m skhal-s*
 8. *tut suten tot to-ui Hātsh̄epsu āat āabtu uābt sheshu shopt p̄t āb r ter neb tu n(a) nt ānkh uas neb k̄herā tet neb k̄herā seneb neb k̄herā*
 9. *ānābt nebt k̄herā tu n(a) nt to-u nebu k̄hasetu nebt ānābt dām sen ser n(a) nt set ua māu set hānti r nen āshu m renpetu k̄hemtu n ārt n k̄hātu*
 10. *tu n(a) nt Punt mageten-s rmen m tou neteru neter to temu k̄hent-f k̄hel n ānti k̄hem n renatu autu selemuf m ro n ro*
 11. *m szetu nu āmu (hātu) ānāntu bāu danu am k̄her tefu-t kuitiu m nā n nā ter rek*
 12. *tertiu n suteny k̄heperu ter m āan tebu āshuu ān pch set up her smenit-t ān hem r r̄fut k̄hent set mshāu-t*
 13. *sem n(a) set her mu her to utebtu shetatu heb n(a) k̄hetu nu ānti u pu ser n Neter to ust-ā pu k̄her nt skhemk̄h āb dr n nā-s ār sutebi*

¹ The initial  is omitted in the sculpture.

² There is a curious mixture, in this inscription, of masculine and feminine endings and pronouns.

14. *ab(a) hná mut Hather urert nebti Punt nebti Urtheku kont netern zá sen ánti merert sen atep sen áháu r hólept ab sen*

15. *m nhetu nt ánti uaz mán neb nefer n khaset ten Puntiu khemu remtu khobstiu nu Neter to sám n(a) set n merert fu sen nt*

16. *iau mā neternsen biu t khet khaset rekh n(a) neen nok neb sen sa n(a) nok ult Amen Ra sat uáfu nebti suten nt (Rámáka) ár n(a) n set nok lef-t rfu :ent-t*

17. *m petu ásk sen khert yu sen m hólepu r neteru nebti ánnsen baytu set khet nebti nefert nt Neter to hab sen kont ár sáháu m*

18. *gemytu nt ánti nehut men kher ánti uaz ab m usekht hebty maa n neb neteru sruf-k m set hont(a) mez neter hat(a)*

19. *r skhemkh ab(a) mm sen renpu khent neteru nt pu khent ánkhu nebti zetlo pet to báh m seneter khemenu m hatur smáit n(a) set uáb*

20. *tu r nenut mezet neter hán shest ánti árt fu mezt shet ákhemat á m heb? ásku(a) her árt*

21. *nt nini ab pu m tehnu maa nt bayt sheps nt ásh sep sen n her t nefer neb mert merery maa neferu-f*

22. *ab á
Line 1. The Horus rich in *kas*, wearing the diadem (called) abounding in years, with the divine headdress, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ramaka who takes possession of Amon who loves him, for he transferred to her the inheritance of the two lands, the royal power over South and North, he gave her*

2. *the orbit of the solar disk, all that encompass Keb and Nut; she has no enemies among the Southerners, and no opponents among the Northerners, the sky and all lands, creations of the god, are tributary to her*

3. *all of them; they come to her with a heart full of fear; their chiefs are bowing down, their presents are on their backs, they carry to her their children, which are brought*

4. *in order that the breath of life may be given them, through the great power of her father Amon, who put all the lands under her feet, she the king himself, lord of Upper and Lower Egypt. His royal Majesty repaired towards the staircase*

5. *of the king of the gods, bearing his orders in the palace, the speech of the god who investigates the roads to Punt, and who opens the ways to the harbours of incense*

6. *who leads the soldiers on water and on land, that they may bring the good things from the Divine Land to this god who created her person. All was done as was ordered by this venerable god, according to the wishes of her Majesty, as she liked it, the living, the enduring, the pure like Ra eternally.*

7. *Said by Amon, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, Come, come in peace, my daughter, the graceful, who art in my heart, king Ramaka, who makest for me fine buildings, who dost consecrate the dwelling of the great gods in my abode as a remembrance of her (thy) love (to them).*

8. *Thou art the king who takes possession of the two lands, Hatshepsu rich in gifts and consecrating her offerings. Thou givest pleasure to my heart at all times; therefore I will give thee all purity and life within me, all stability within me, all health within me,*

9. *all joy within me. I will give thee all plains and mountains in which thou delightest. I have destined them to thee from afar, seeing them from a long period*

10. *I will give thee Punt, the whole of it, as far as the Divine Lands. The Divine Land had never been explored; the harbours of incense had never been seen by the men of Egypt; it had been heard of from mouth to mouth*

11. *through the sayings of the ancestors; its good things were brought, they were brought to thy fathers, the kings of Lower Egypt one after the other since the age*

12. *of the forefathers, and to the kings of Upper Egypt who were before, in exchange for large payments; nobody had reached them (these lands) except thy messenger. Henceforth I will cause them to be walked over by thy soldiers,*

13. *I will lead them (thy soldiers) by land and by water, on mysterious shores which join the harbours of incense, the sacred territory of the Divine Land, my abode of pleasure I will convey them (thy soldiers)*

14. *myself (lit. my heart) and thy mother Hathor, and Urert, the lady of Punt, and Urheketu the queen of the gods. They (the soldiers) will take incense as much as they like; they will load their ships to the satisfaction of their hearts*

15. *with trees of green incense, and all the good things of the land. The Puntites who did not know the Egyptians, the cultivators of the Divine Land, I will win their hearts in order that they give thee*

16. *their praises, and that they adore thy will which reigns over the land. I know them, for I am their master. I have distinguished thee, I who have begotten thee, Amon Ra, daughter of mine, who chastisest all the lands, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, whom I have created. I am thy father, I grant that the fear thou inspirist pervade*

17. *the barbarians; then they will come in peace [towards all the gods],¹ they will bring all their marvels, all the good things of the Divine Lands. My Majesty sent them to collect*

18. *gum of anti, and strong trees bearing green anti before the hall of festival, under the eyes of the king of the gods. Thou causest to grow my temple*

19. *in order that my heart may be delighted; renewed before the gods, thy name is before the living eternally. The sky and the land abound with incense; there are good scents in the great temple, which I have offered, purifications,*

20. *pouring of water, melting of the balm for the divine limbs; anti is offered; holy oil is given; festivals celebrated in honour of my statue, for I cause*

21. *make homage to thee; my heart is full of joy in seeing thee; thou art a very great marvel, because of thy beautiful face; the most beloved; whoever sees thy beauties loves thee.*

22. *I swear*

Here the text is too much destroyed for the translation to be continued. What remains of the two lines behind the god is a mere repetition of the promises, which we have already met with many times, of long life, and millions of Sed periods. This long inscription is a good example of that high-sounding and bombastic phraseology of which the Egyptian kings seem to have never tired, and the monotony and emptiness of which they failed to realize.

¹ Restored words quite out of place in this sentence.

Plates LXXXV, and LXXXVI.—The last scene on this side of the Colonnade is engraved on the supporting wall of the causeway. Probably the sculptures were to be carried farther; the last line was to belong to another scene; the signs there are hollowed out, and the words: "Hathor, the lady of the anti, opens her arms to thee, bringing gum," indicate that the goddess was to be represented as well as the queen.

Plate LXXXV.—We here see the queen appearing in state, and addressing her officers herself. It is a speech from the throne. Hatshepsu is sitting in a pavilion reached through a flight of steps; behind her is her *ka*. She holds the long stick and the mace. On the base of the pavilion is a stereotyped inscription which occurs frequently wherever a throne is depicted. It is nearly the same as that which is engraved on the pillars: "all life, stability, health and joy, all lands and all countries of strangers are under the feet of this good goddess; she is praised by all the *rekh* living."

Before the steps are three men, who are supposed to represent the crowds of officers and attendants of all kinds, gathered round the throne in order to hear the voice of the sovereign. Among them is Nehasi, the officer who led the soldiers to Punt, and also Senmut, the architect of the temple, who might be styled the minister of public works of Hatshepsu. Nothing at all indicates that in the year nine, when this speech was pronounced by the queen, there was another king on the throne with her; so this solemn appearance must have taken place after the death of Thothmes II., before Thothmes III. was associated with her. On the other hand, the ships sent to Punt had already returned, the trees which they had brought back were already adorning the garden of Amon, so that the expedition to Punt must be placed at the beginning of Hatshepsu's reign.

Plate LXXXVI.

Line 1. *respet psit kheper hemset m zatu suten khāt m atef her ust ur n aisen m khen sera nu abā-f sebt uru nu selep sa ar sefen sem n utut*
 2. *suten utu n shepsu-f neter alesu suten someru shesā nbeh m heru ten m (her) utt mert n tef(a) au rfunu m abā ur m ait tu a*
 3. *usekh mesu-ā m ser n tef ser-ā nf uabu-f nebu khent n tefu-ā tef aū ary-ā m urt*
 4. *n neb nbeh tu-ā ha her aryti ter aū-d r rfer zefu n mukhet neferui kheperu nea her-s n dat n menkh-ā nf ab*
 5. *hāti-a her her shāt nf nok khum-f m test (?) ak ku m qefennu neter sheps ab nf*

6. n gem nf tu rekh nf khu-ā zet-ā urt tu-ā suten shes sen ten tep to n ank
7. neter ten sepu-ā nok neter shau kheper aā bez n per n ro-ā merlā
8. n rā mert nf meh ten kheft shat n dhaū ten pu m ank
āmt ro-ā mten menkh ten
9. nn mkket m tu ten rf utu n bont-ā ser uabu nu mesu-ā
sān mezt
10. r sen r pat kheper m teptu nt aua uab r senem kher m uab
11. bont-ā rftu m her-s r sebt r khet aāt ab natu-f her tep zet-f rekh ver-f sensh mātenu-f kheft utu tef-ā Amen
12. r nenuf shepsu r nenuf mezt neter bāu shat nā n
neb neteru r sek hepu nu per-f fet nhutu m to neter tu m to m
13. n suten neteru aāt kher aāt am r nenuf mezt neter
bāu shat nā n neb neteru zet bont aā tu aā rekh ten m
nit utt kher aāt aāt setem n(a) kher tef-ā
14. t nf rftu m her-s sment nf Punt m khen perf ut
menu nu to Neter her kemi neter hat-f m khentesh-f mā
ut nf kheper sea r smenkh uab shat n(a)
15. usf aāt bunt nf meh ten kheft tef r tef-ā dn unt rāt n ro
her-s ab nf uā m amt ab-f rekh n smert nf nebt neter pu
kher
16. fust ab-f mert nf tet-s ary-ā nf Punt m khentesh-f mā
rftu nf m her-s r uast aā nf si sut-f kher-s

- Line 1. In the ninth year it came to pass, he was sitting in his pavilion, wearing his royal *atef* crown, on the great seat of silver-gilt in the holy place of his palace. Then came the chiefs, the royal friends, of the sovereign hearing the word of command,
2. the royal proclamation to his nobles, to the divine fathers, and to the royal friends. I illuminate your faces for ever (I bear you an everlasting gratitude) because of your love to my father. He made my heart to be great in what I have done; I will
3. enlarge (enrich) my parent in what I destined to my father. I have granted to him all offerings which were unknown to my fathers, my ancestors. I have done much
4. for the lord of eternity. I have done more than had been done before, I will cause to be said hereafter: It is good, what took place on account of her; for I have greatly benefited his heart.
5. for my heart keeps what it has proposed. I am his splendour in I came with the appearance of the venerable god, he opened
6. what he has erected. He knows my intelligence. I speak great things, I cause your (?) to illuminate you in the land of the living.
7. in my stead. I am the god who existed at the beginning; there is no transgressing what comes out of my mouth, loving
8. he loved the beginning of your life, by the oath of my mouth; you increase
9. hereafter, if you accomplish the order of my Majesty, bestowing offerings on my parent, increasing the holy oil
10. to them more than was before, with balm of sacred bulls, in order to fill afterwards with offerings
11. my Majesty put before her eyes to reach the harbours of incense, to open its ways fully (?) to know its circumference, to throw open its roads according to the orders of my father Amon

12. with precious ointment, in order to cook the balm of the divine limbs which I have vowed to the lord of the gods, in order to observe the laws of his house, digging up sycamores in the Divine Land, and putting them in the earth in
13. to the king of the gods; they brought afterwards anti in order to cook the balm of the divine limbs which I vowed to the lord of the gods. Says my Majesty: I let you know what was ordered to me. I was obedient to my father.
14. he put before me to establish Punt in his house, digging up fruit-trees in the Divine Land for the two sides of his divine dwelling in his garden. As he ordered so it was in order to increase the offerings which I vowed to him
15. (I have not) neglected what he ordered, which was accomplished (?) according to my prescriptions; there was no transgressing of what my mouth gave out on this subject; he opened me a place in his heart, to me who knows all he loves. Afterwards the god
16. the place of his heart. What he loves he takes hold of it. I brought to him Punt, in his garden, as he put it before me, to Thebes; he enlarged it, he walked in it.

In this long inscription, the style of which is very similar to the preceding one, Hatshepsu when

speaking of her father always means Amon himself. It was the god who, as we saw before, was supposed to have induced the queen to make an expedition to Punt, who opened the ways, and led the soldiers successfully to that remote land.

In front of the men who appear before the throne, and between them, are the following words:

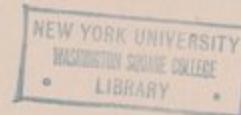
art utu ntu m fu-sen setep sa ḩnk̄ uza senet n ḩp̄(h̄)
bāt semer nā mr sāh Nehasi r seb mshān Punt.

When it was ordered by they give protection, life, strength, health, to the prince, the chancellor, the first friend, the holder of the collar, Nehasi, that he bring soldiers to Punt.

And further:

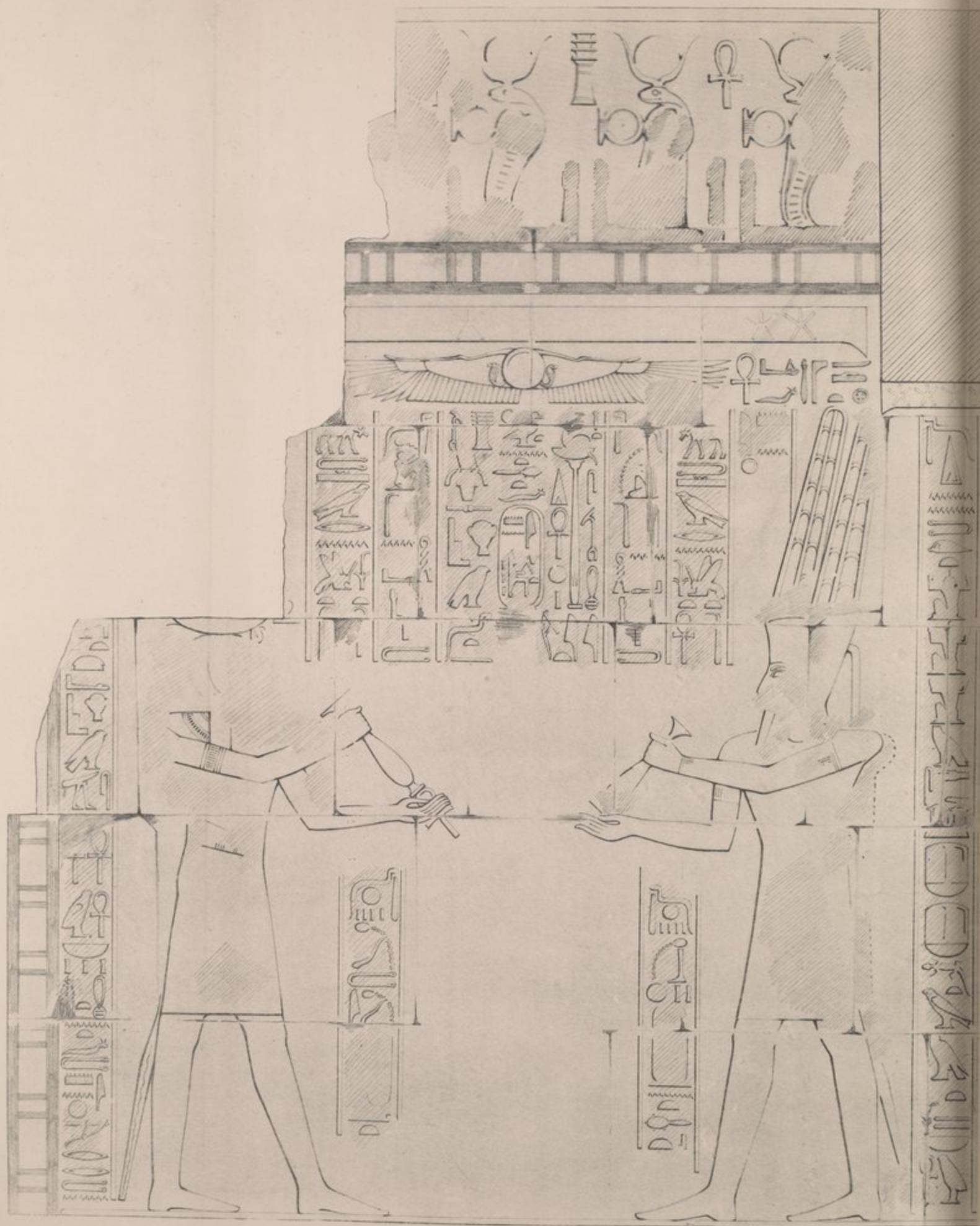
mr per n Āmen Senmut, the steward of Amon, Senmut.

The row of pillars in front of the Punt wall is much more ruined than that on the northern side; as far as we can judge from what remains, the sculptures and inscriptions were the same on both.



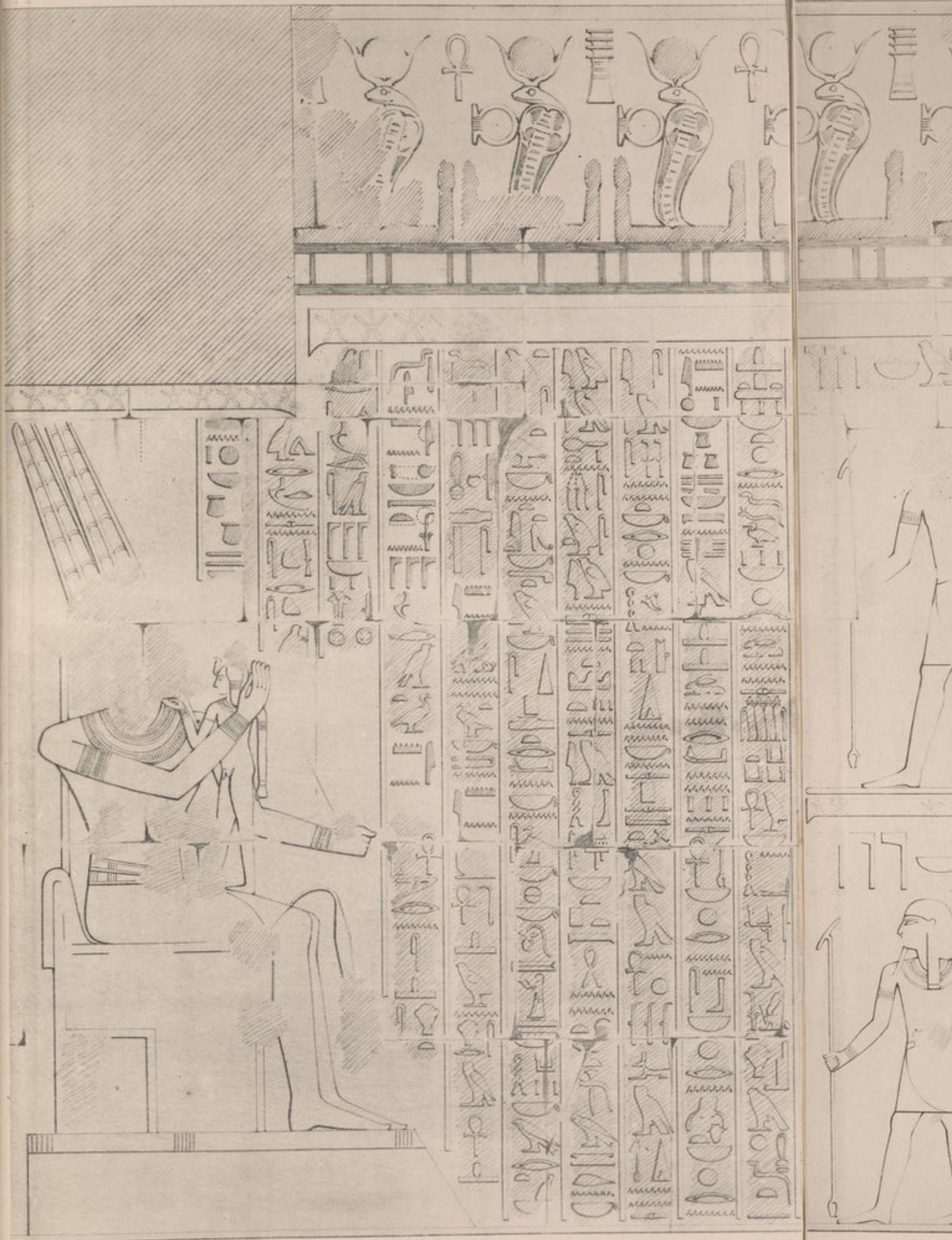


PLATES.



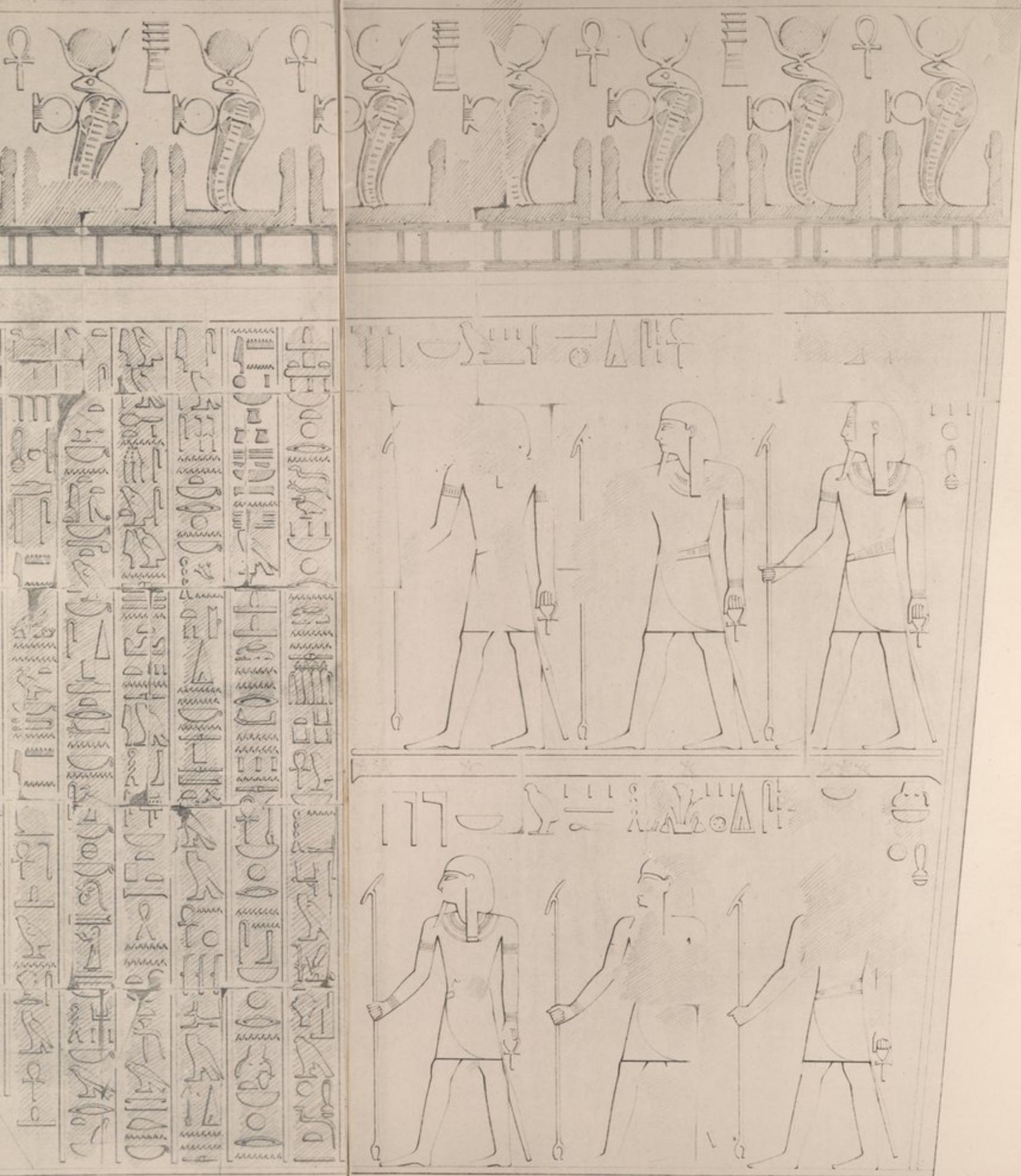
HORUS AND AMON POURING WATER ON HATSHEPSU.

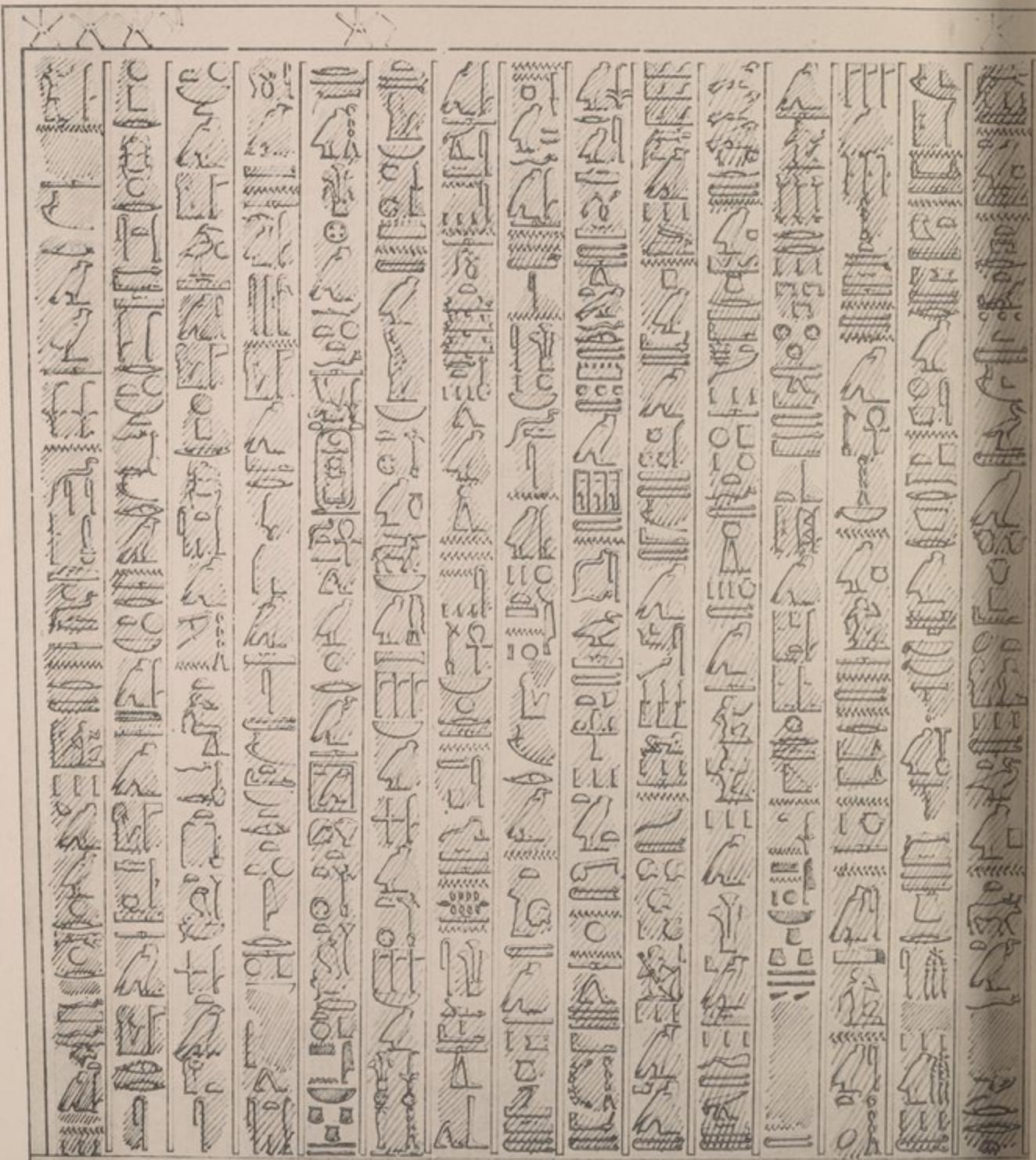
MIDDLE COLONNADE, NORTHERN WALL.



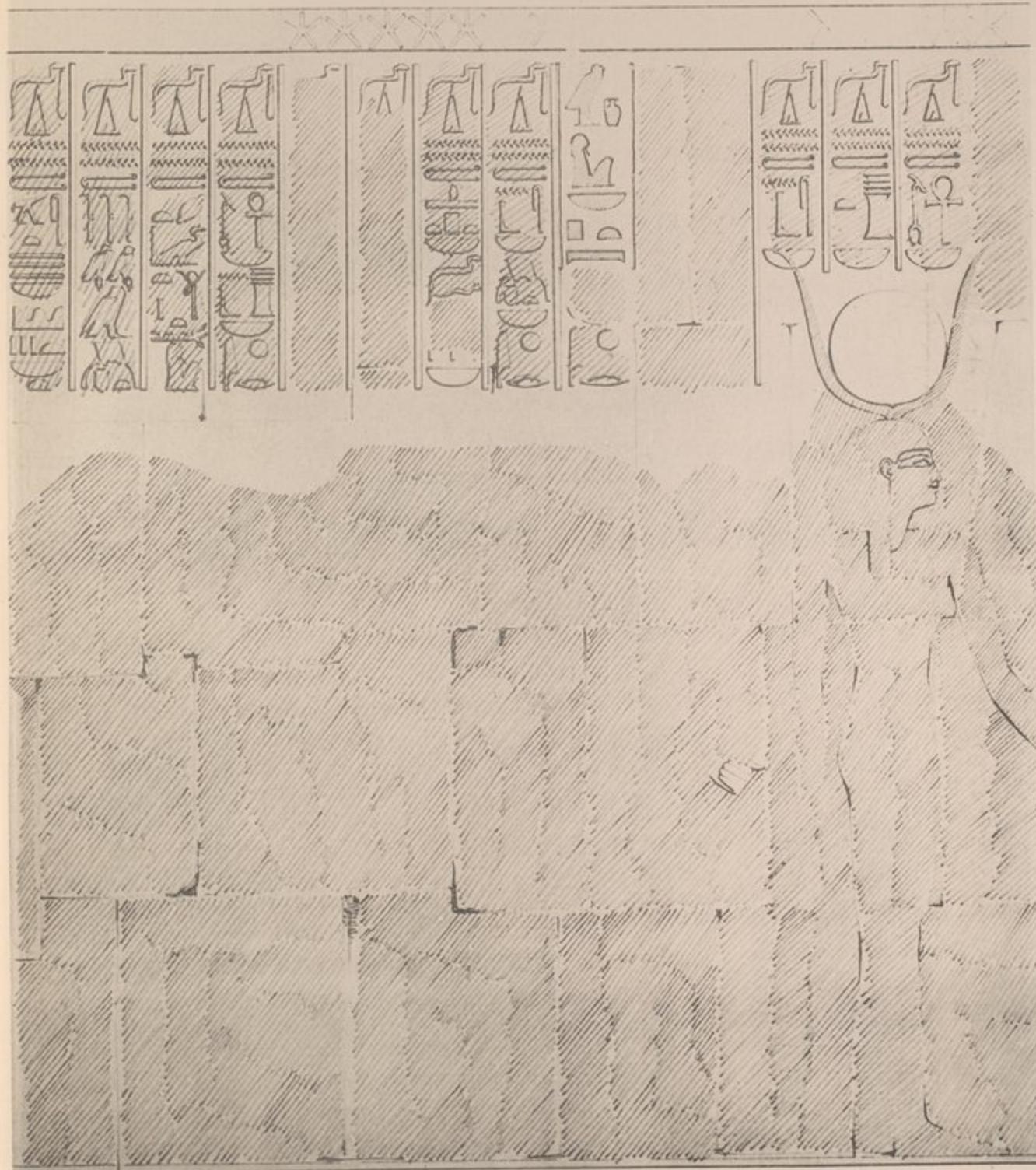
Scale 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 inches

INTRODUCTION OF THE CHILD BY AMON TO THE GODS OF SOUTH AND NORTH.





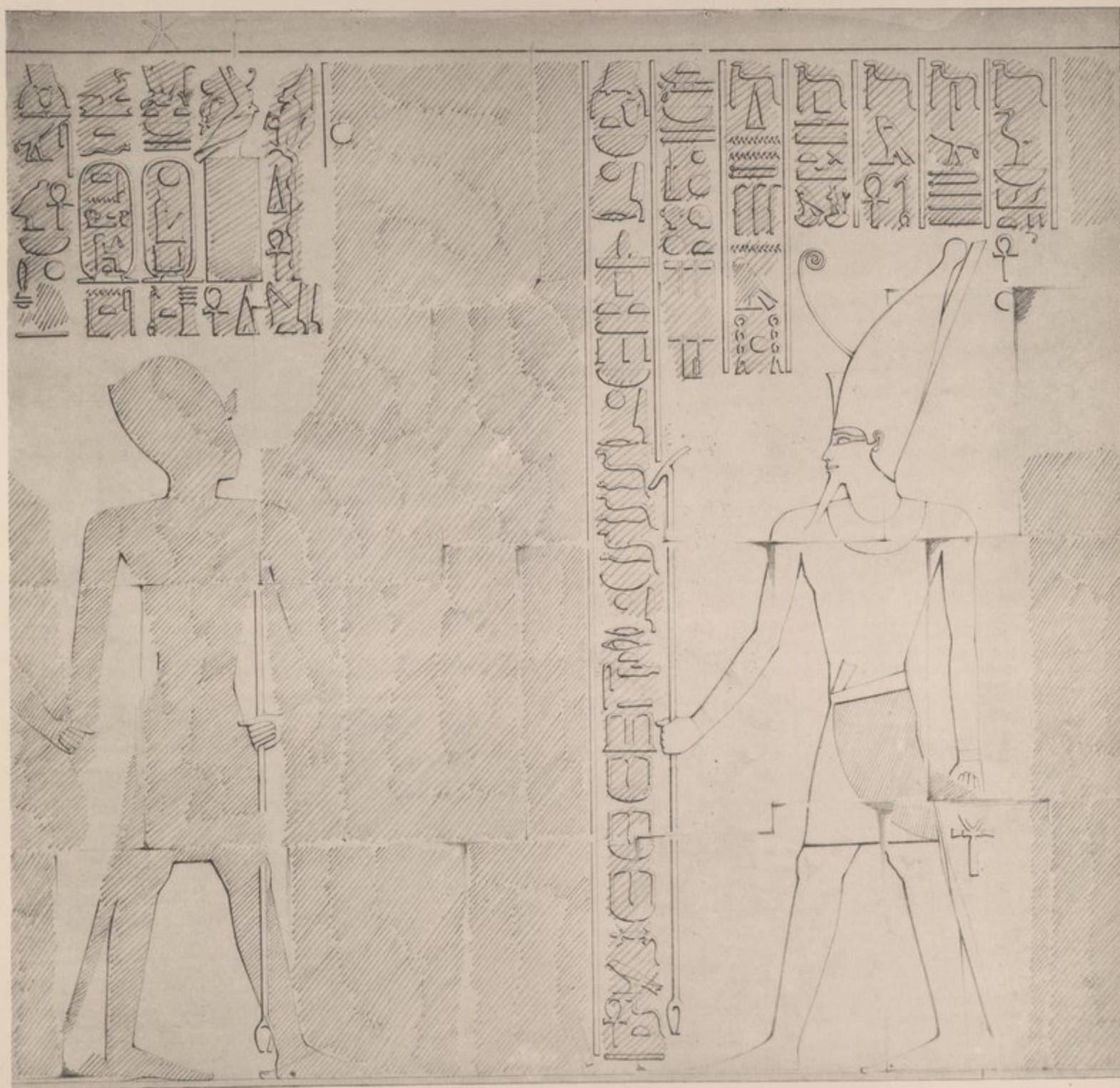
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15



Scale a

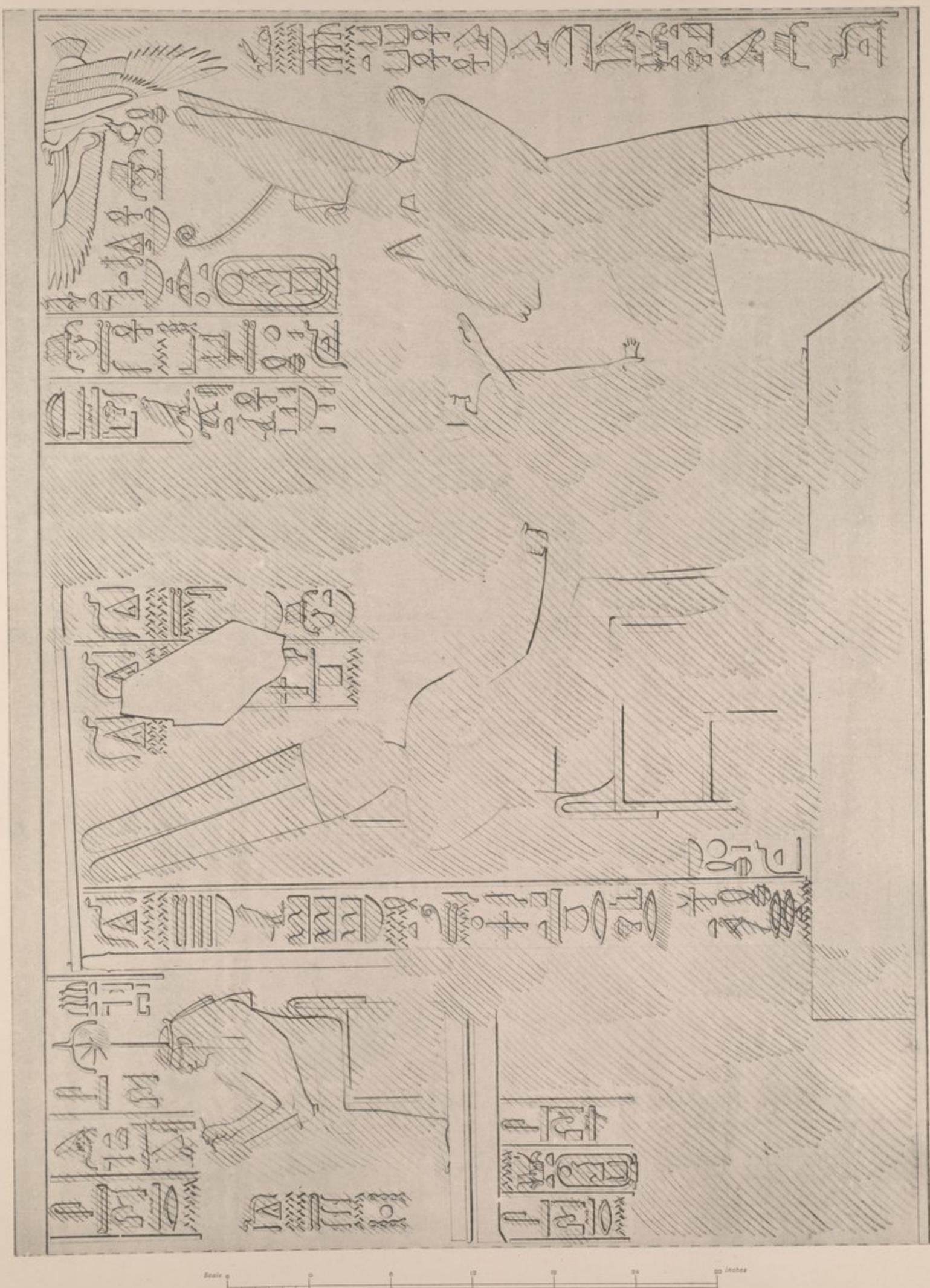
0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

INSCRIPTION DESCRIBING THE JOURNEY TO VISIT THE GODS OF EGYPT.

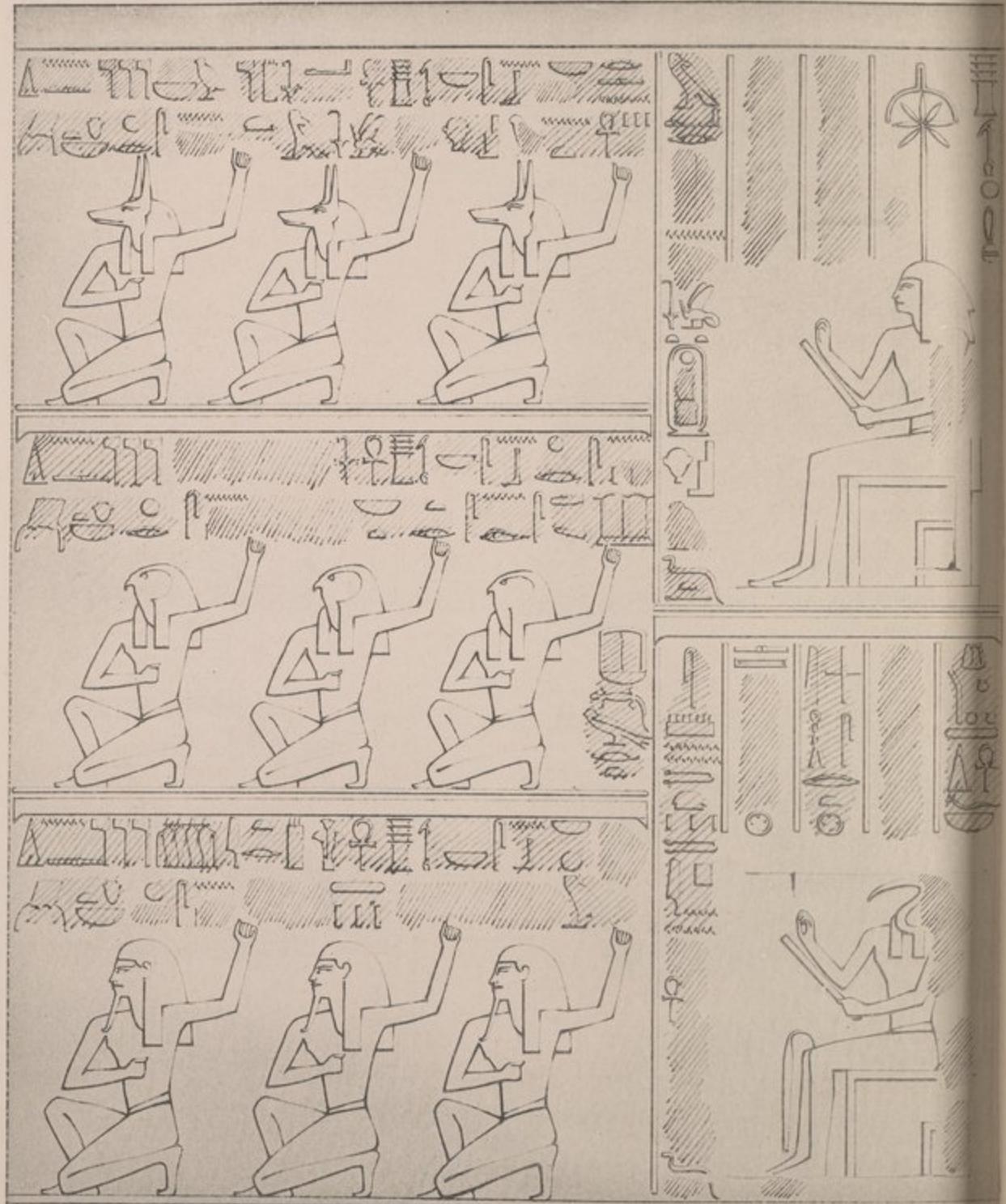


Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

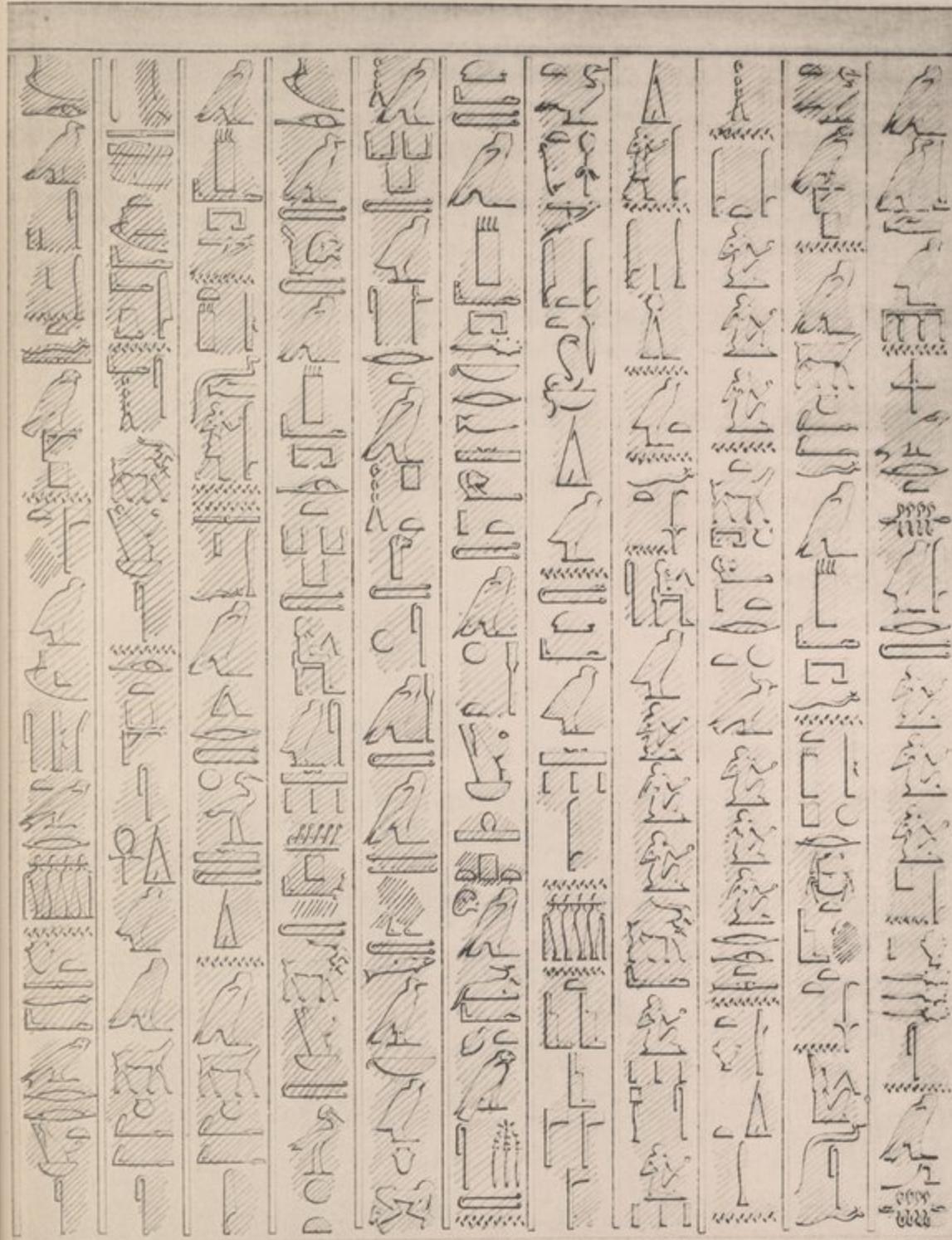
THE QUEEN BEFORE TUM OF HELIOPOLIS.



THE QUEEN BEFORE AMON.



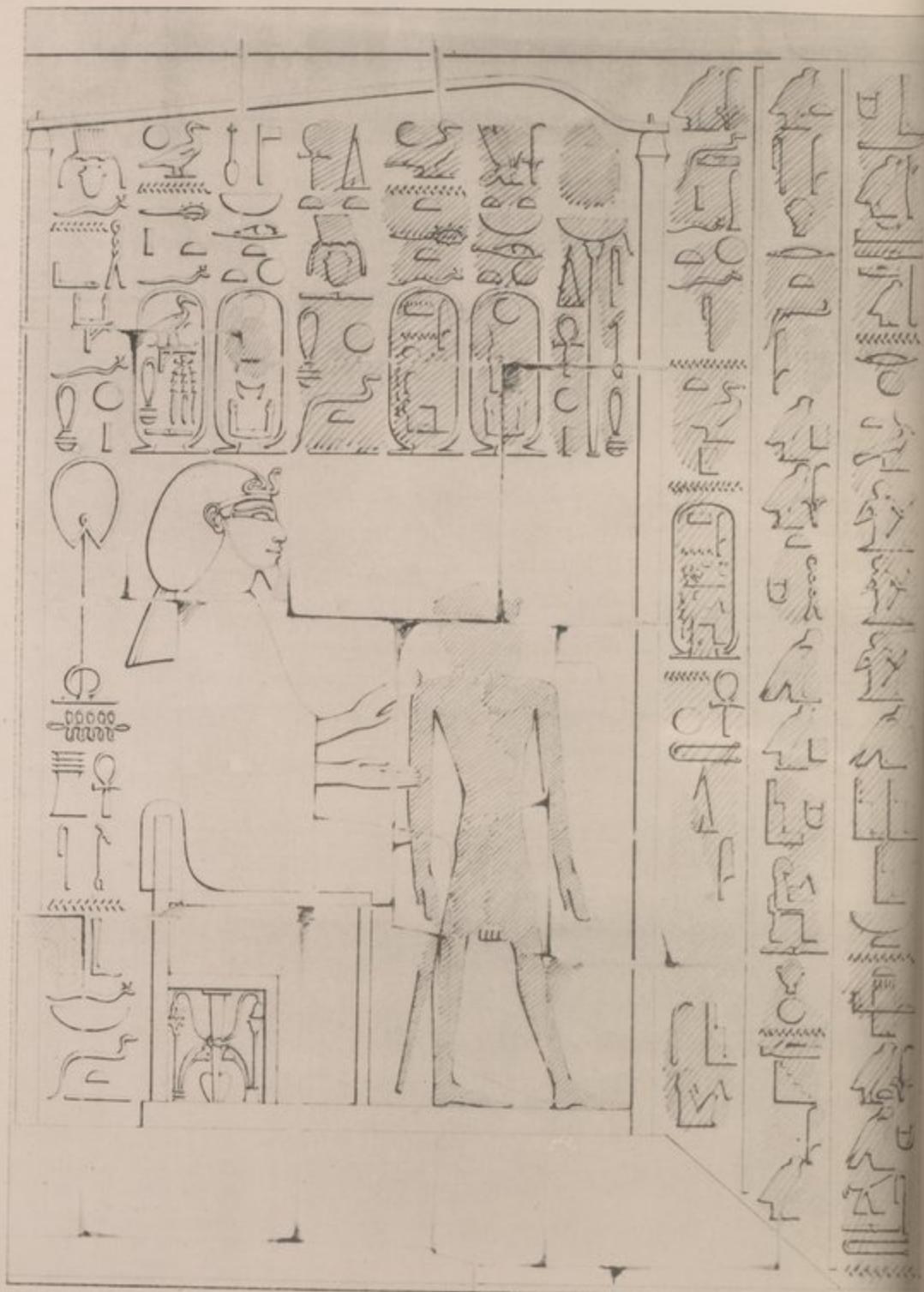
SAFEKHABHUI AND THOTH.

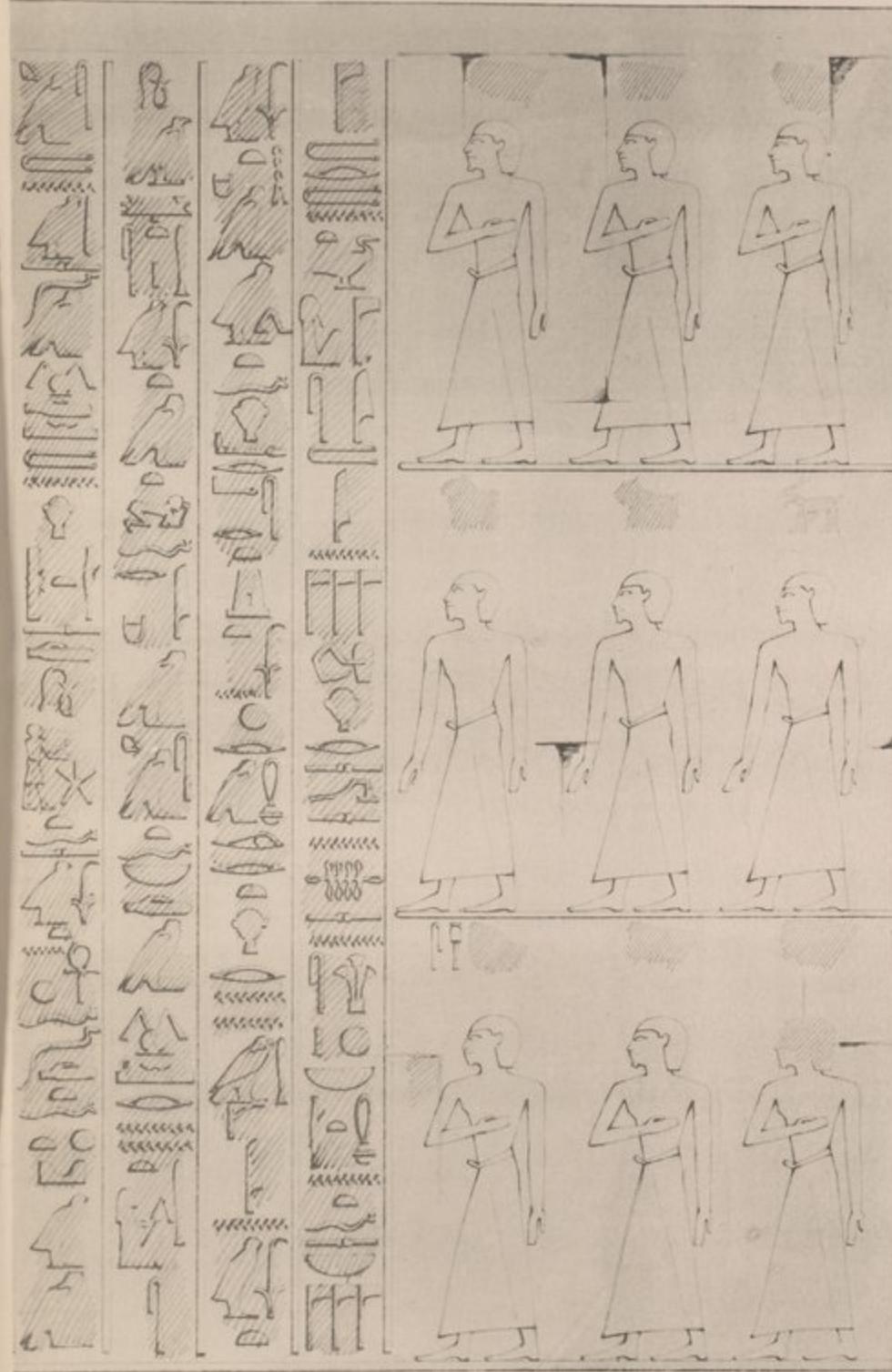


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

BEGINNING OF THE INSCRIPTION OF THE CORONATION.



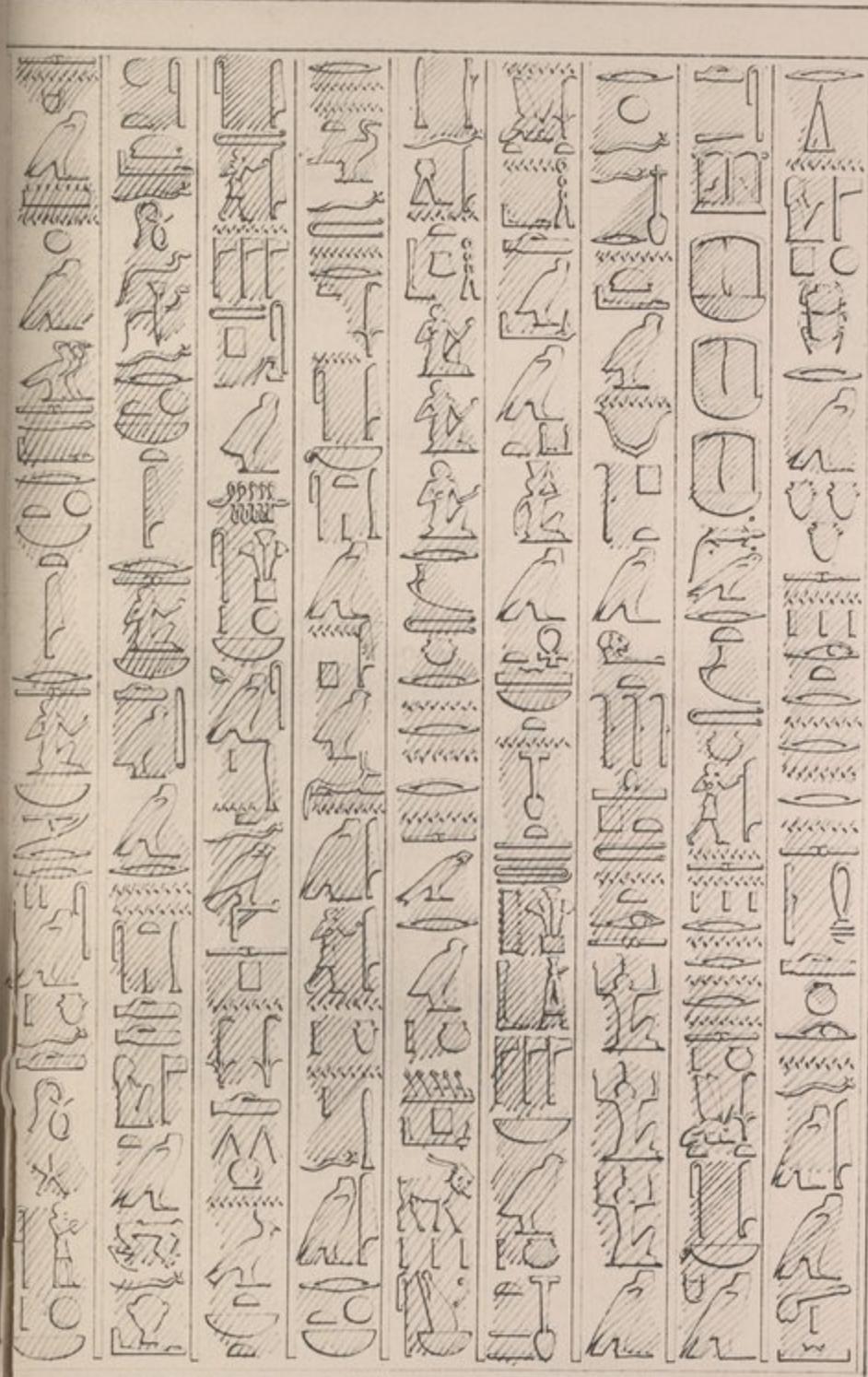


15 16 17 18

Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

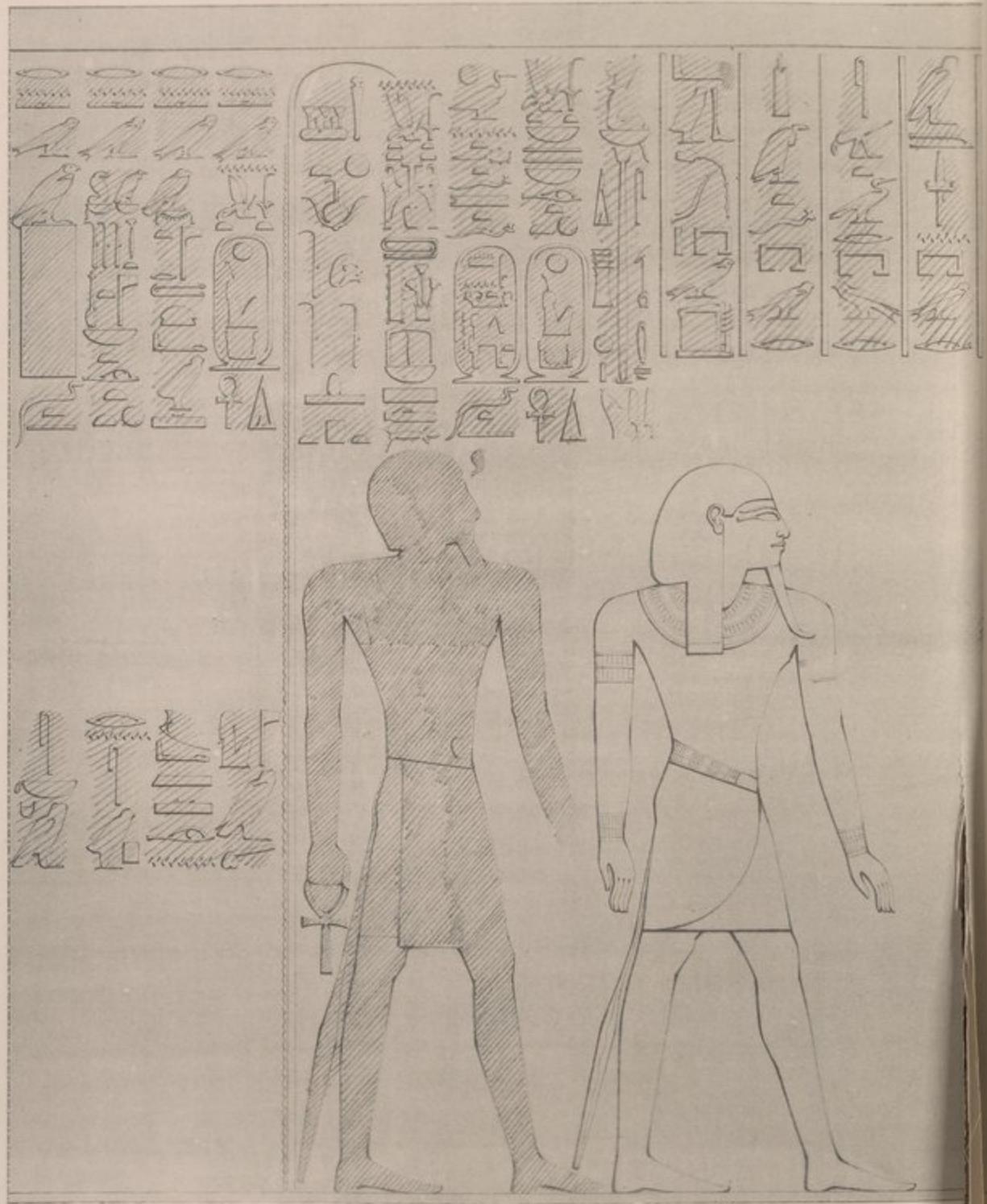
HATSHEPSU CROWNED BY HER FATHER IN THE PRESENCE
OF THE HIGH OFFICERS OF THE KINGDOM.

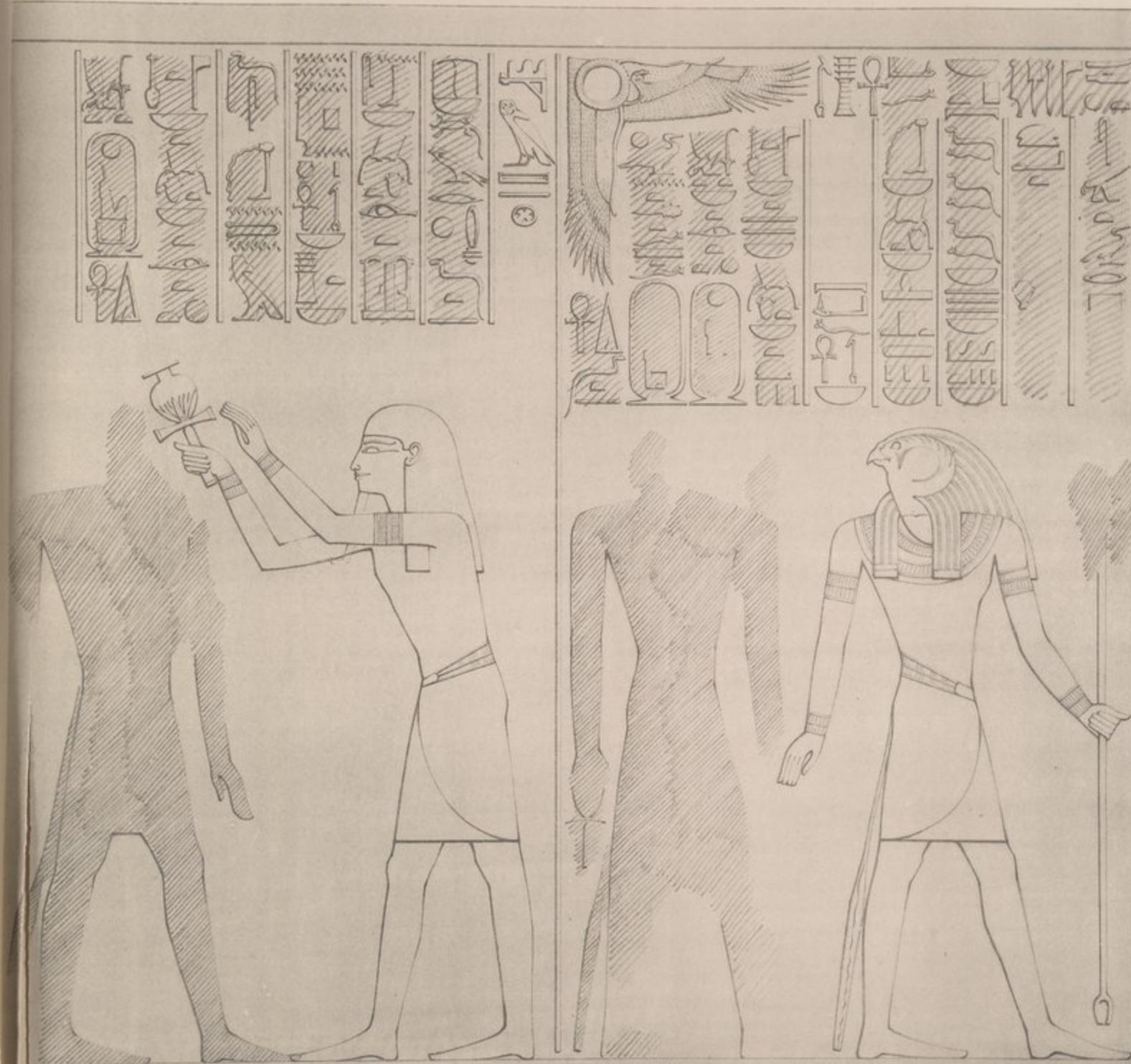




Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

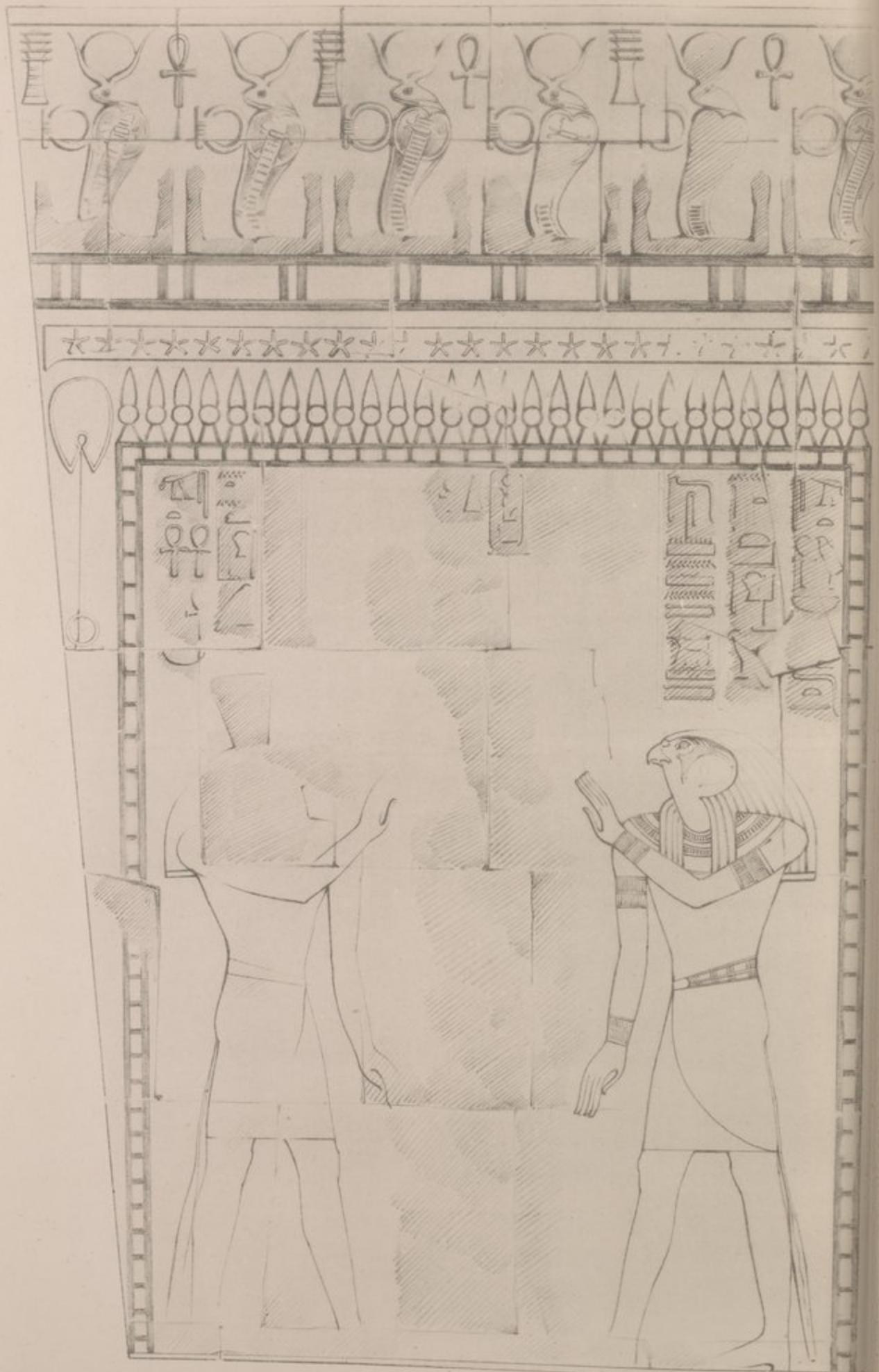
END OF THE CORONATION-INSCRIPTION.





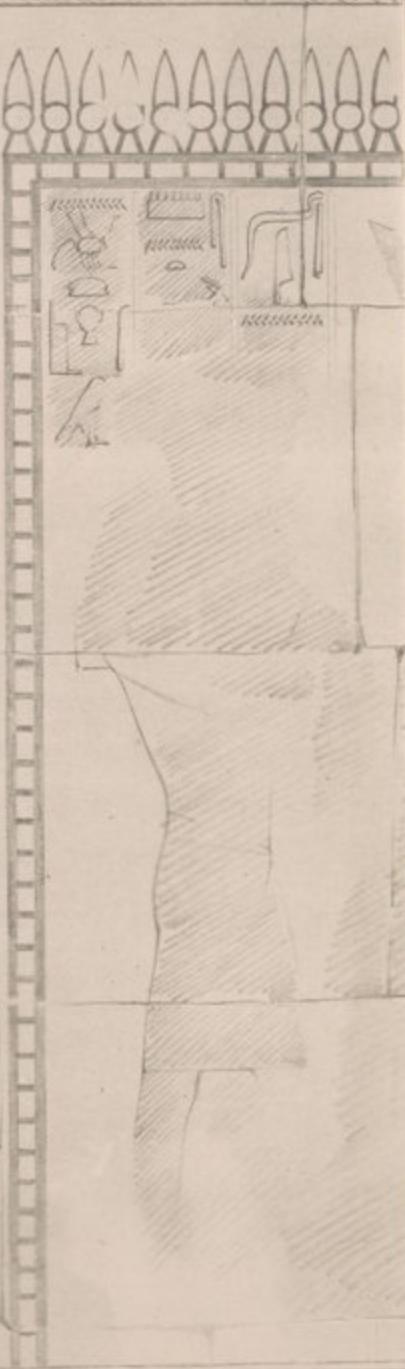
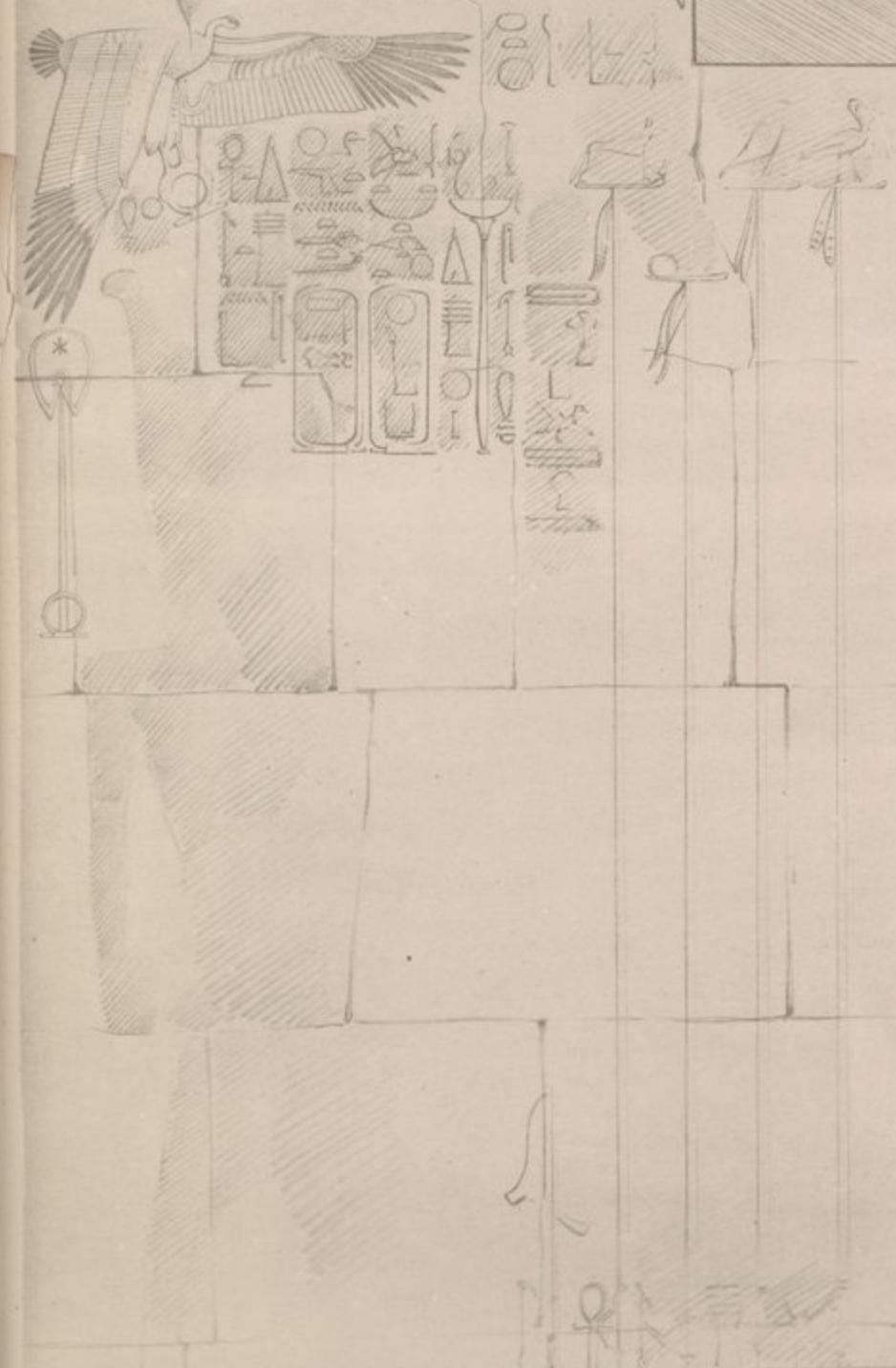
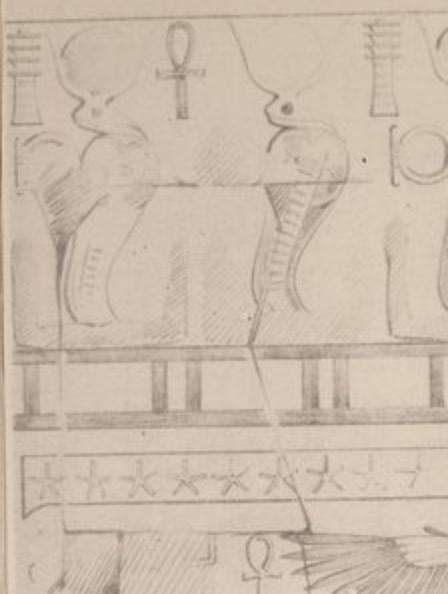
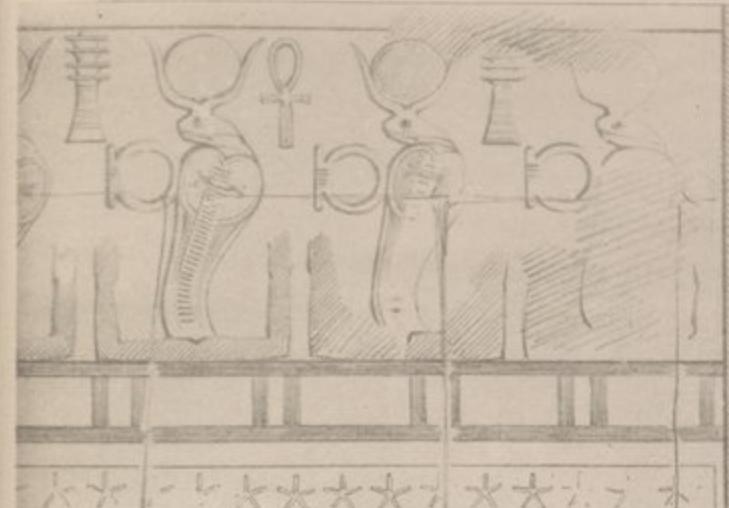
Scale 0 5 10 15 20 25 30 inches

RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES CONNECTED WITH HATSHEPSU'S CORONATION.

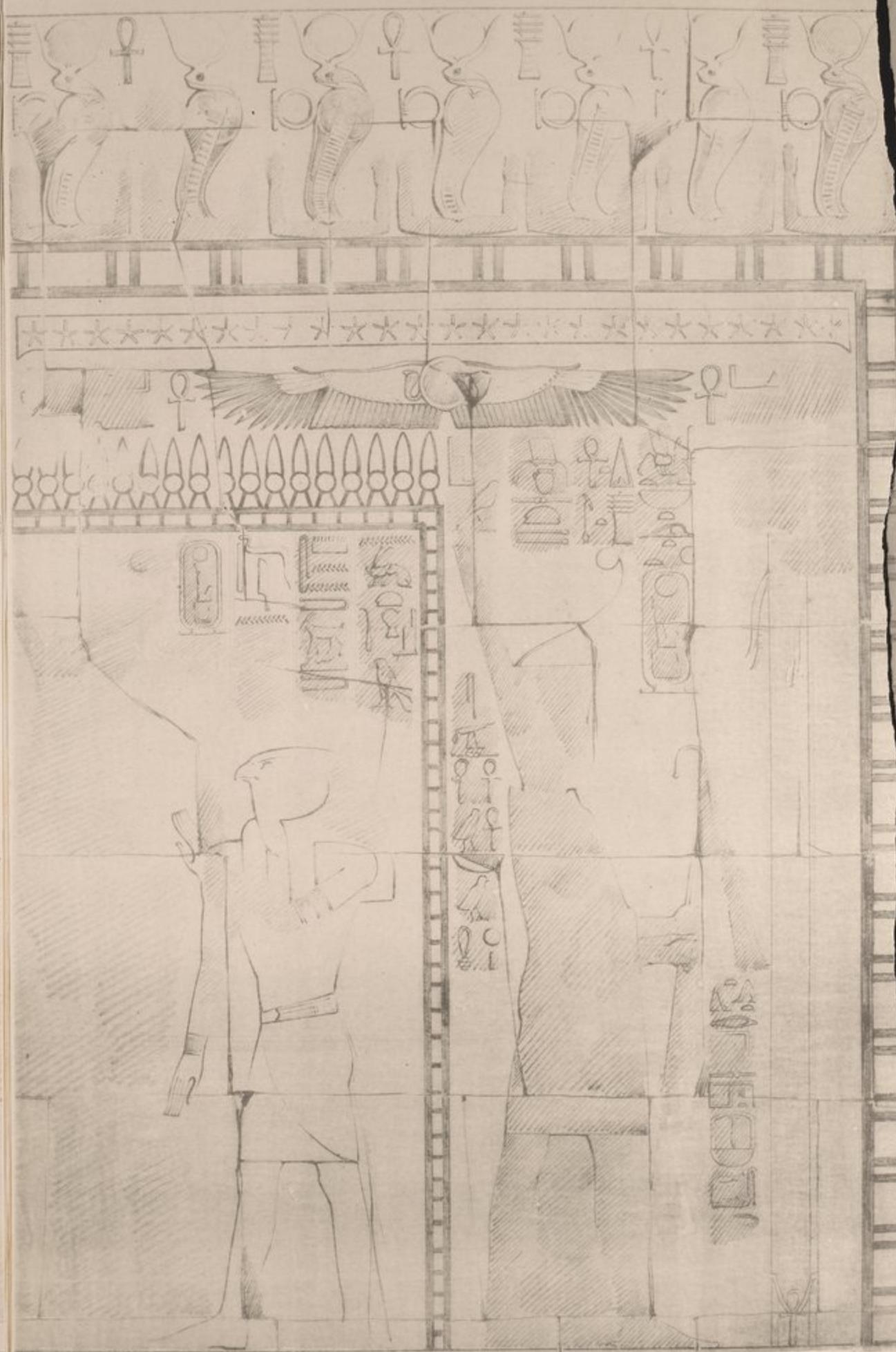


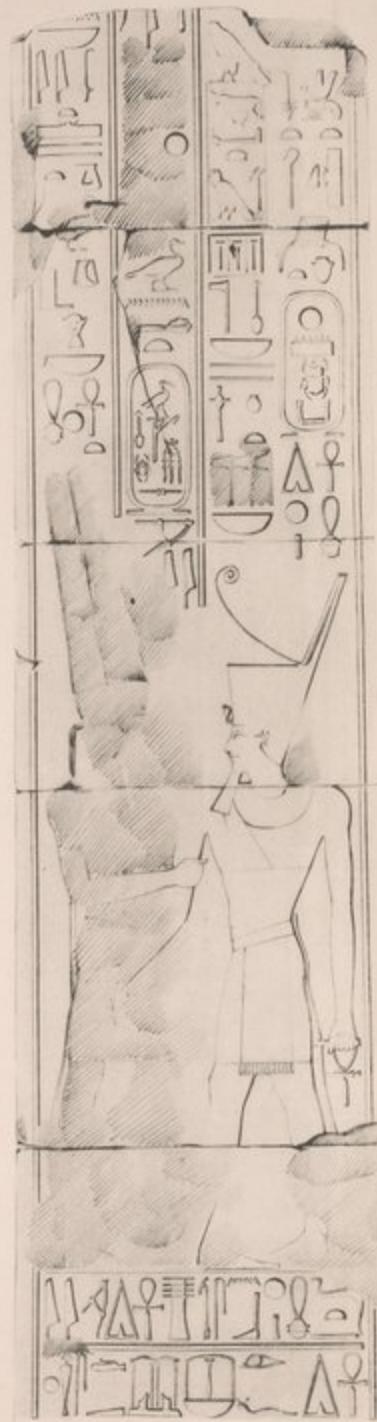
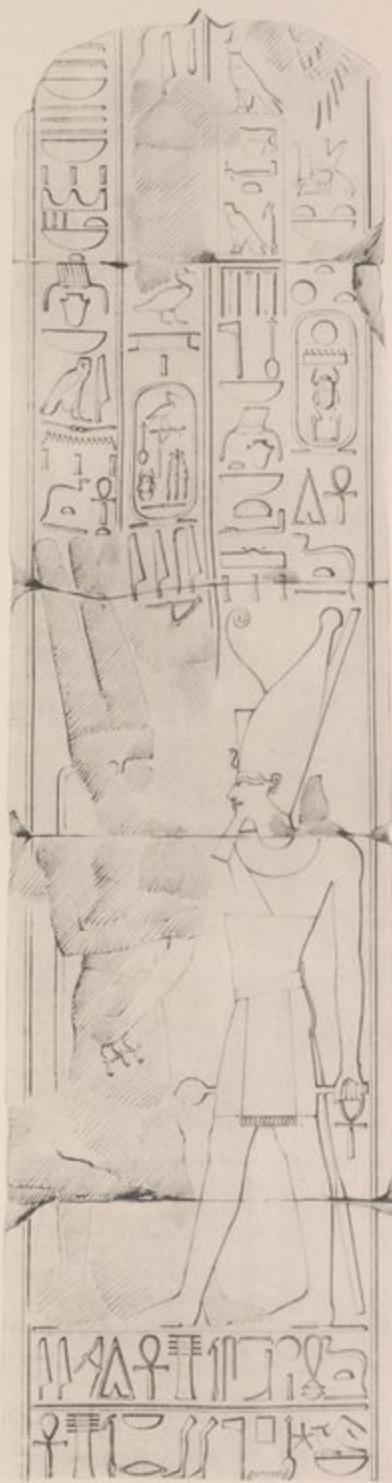
HATSHEPSU RECEIVING THE CROWN OF UPPER EGYPT
FROM SET AND HORUS.

MIDDLE COLONNADE, NORTHERN WALL.



Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches





Scale 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 inches

AMON WITH THOTHMES III.



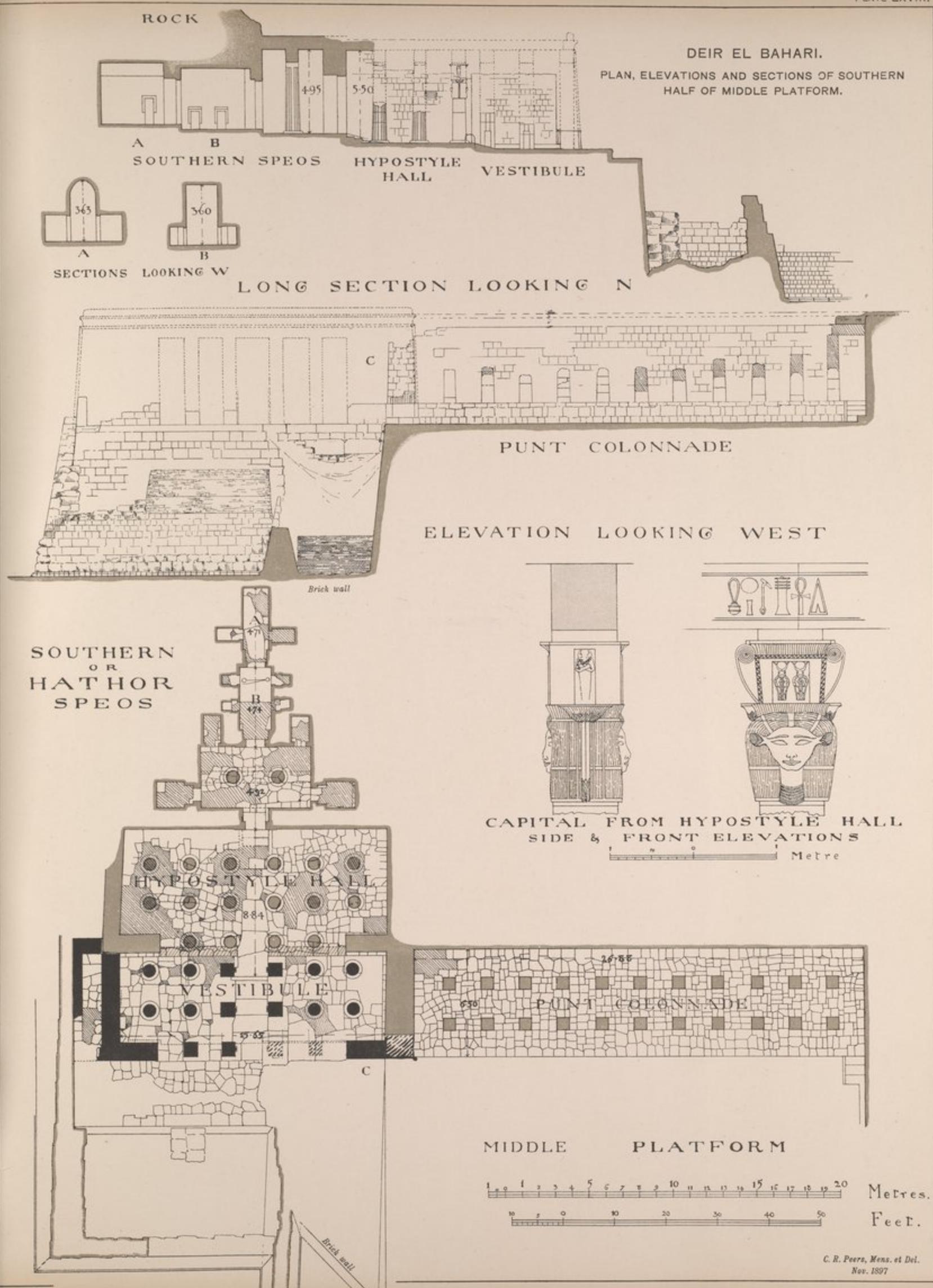
Scale 0 10 20 30 40 50 inches

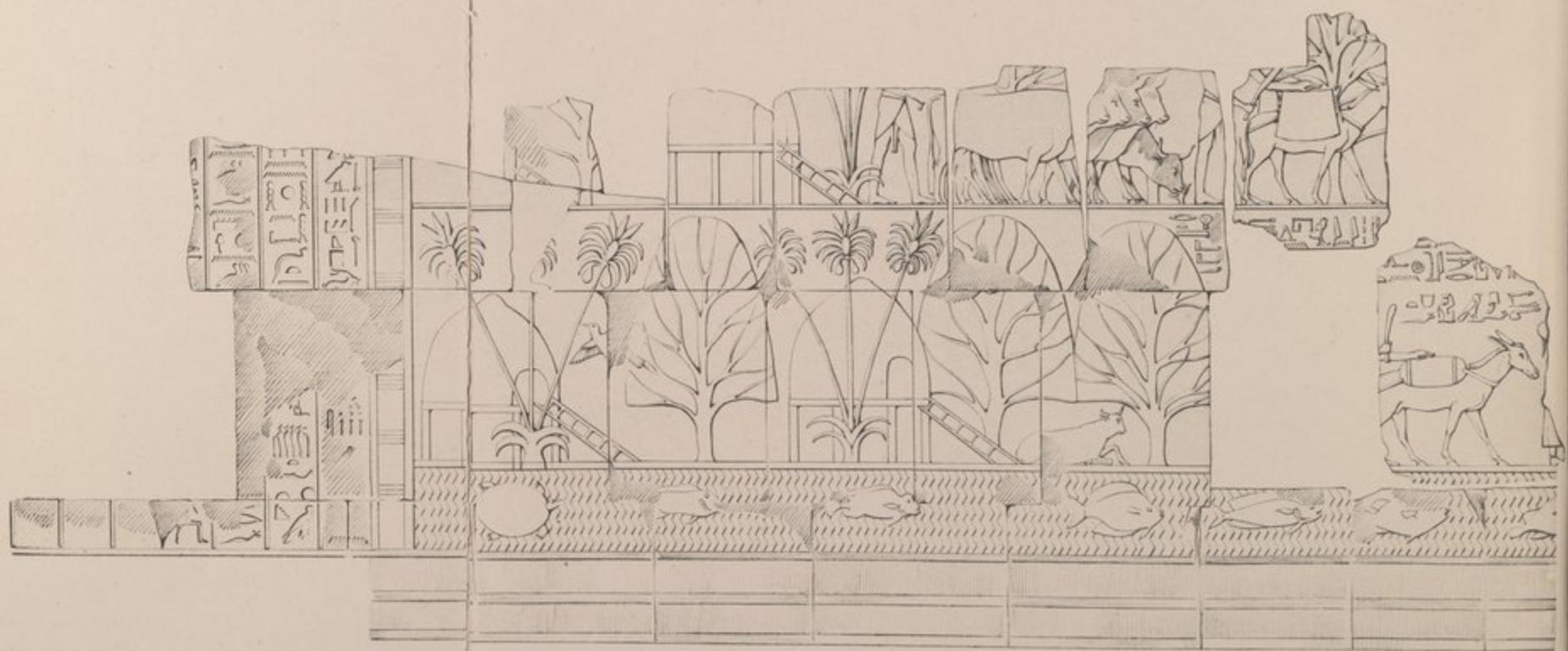
AMON WITH THOTHMES III. AND HATSHEPSU.

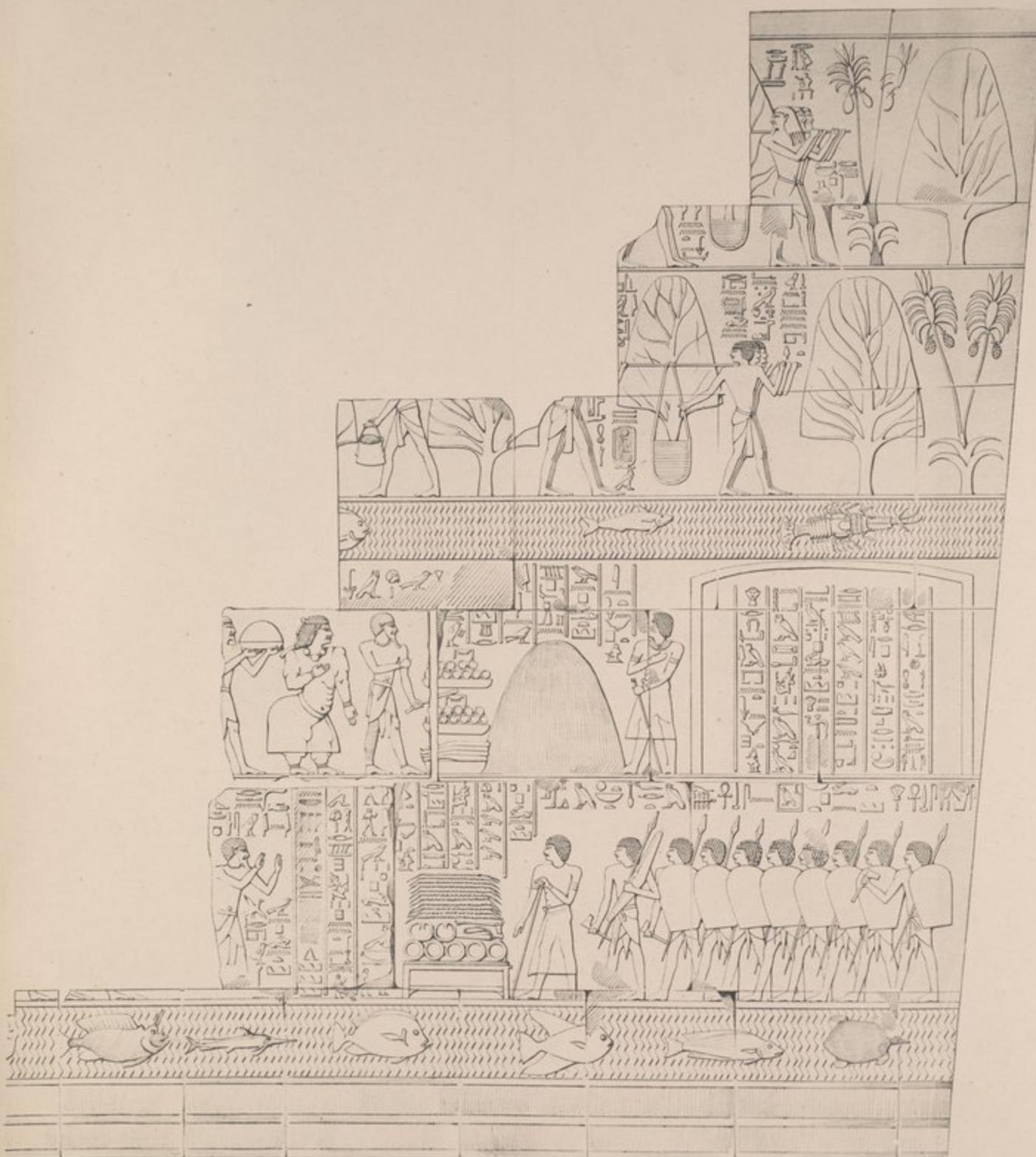


QUEEN AAHMES (SEE PL XLIX).

Scale three-fourths size of original.

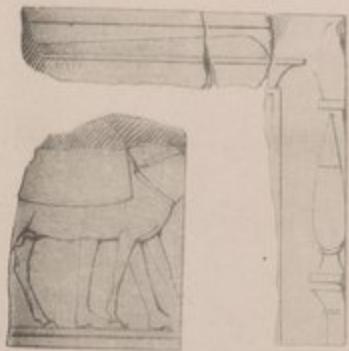
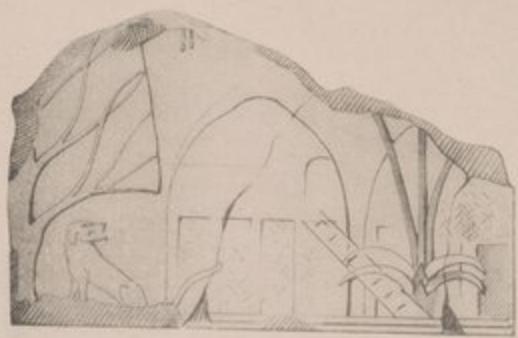
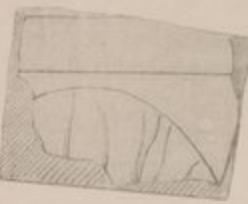






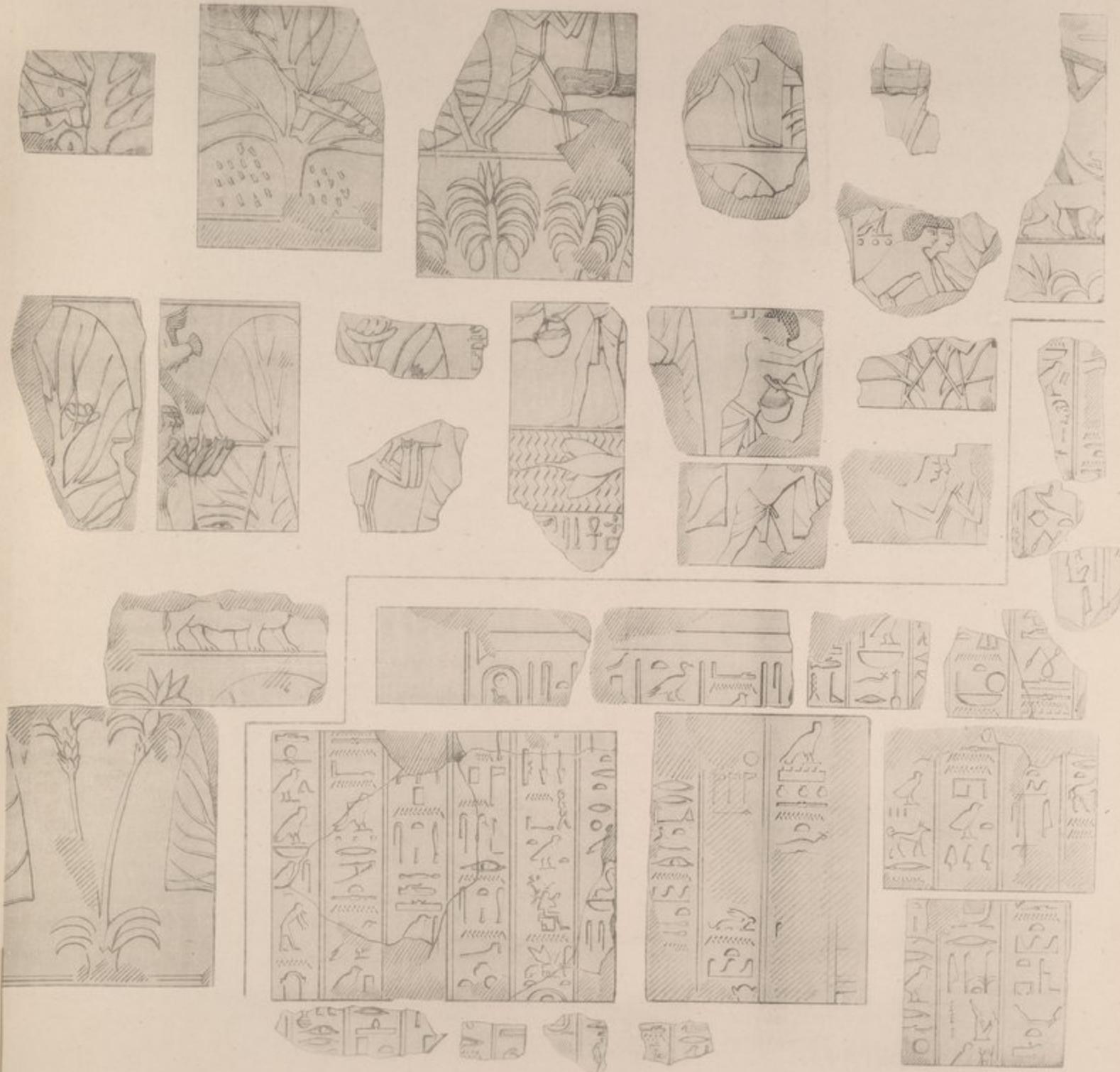
Scale 8 0 8 16 24 32 40 inches

THE LAND OF PUNT.



MIDDLE COLONNADE, SOUTHERN WALL.

PLATE LXX.



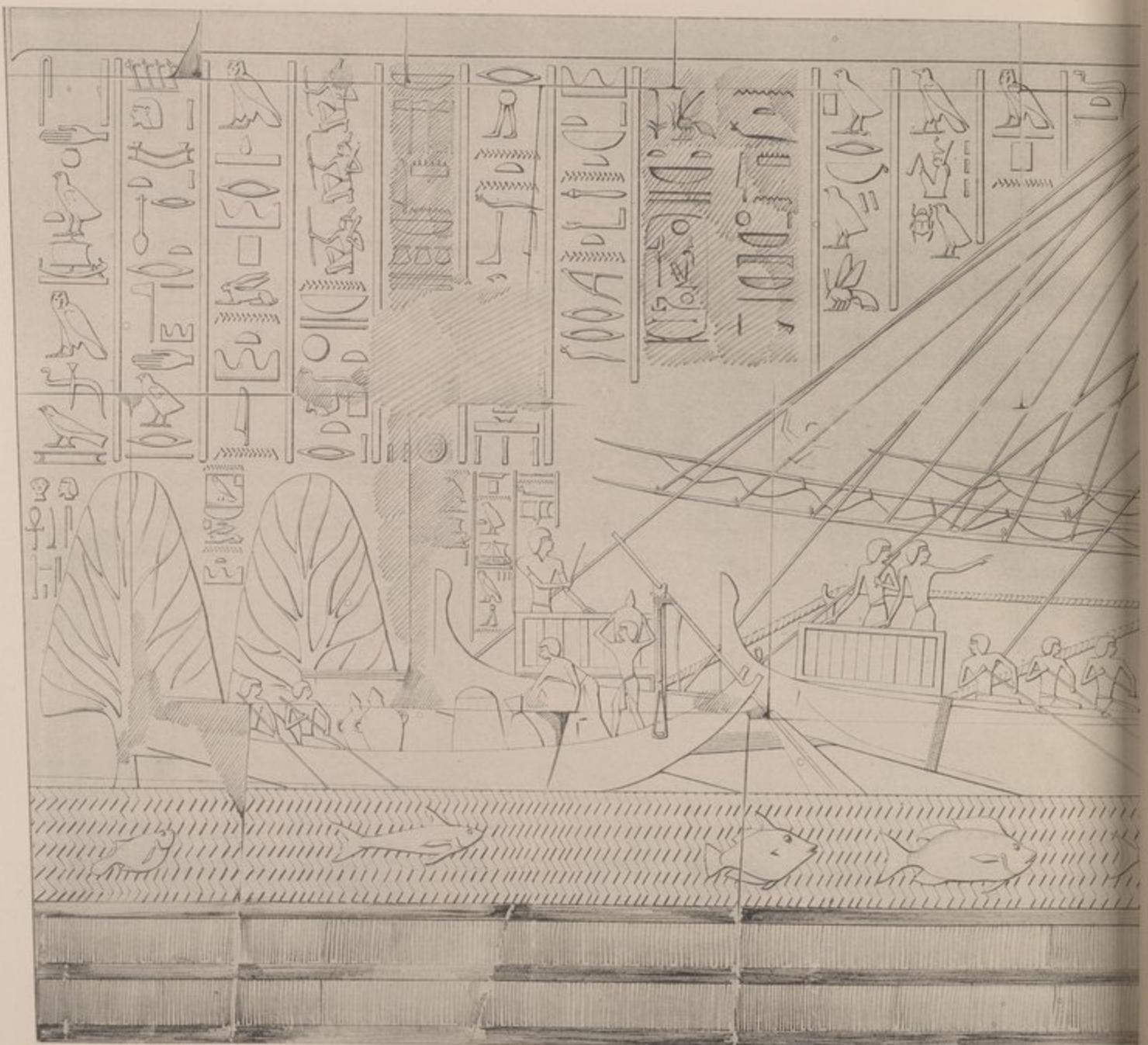
FRAGMENTS OF THE SCENE OF THE LAND OF PUNT.

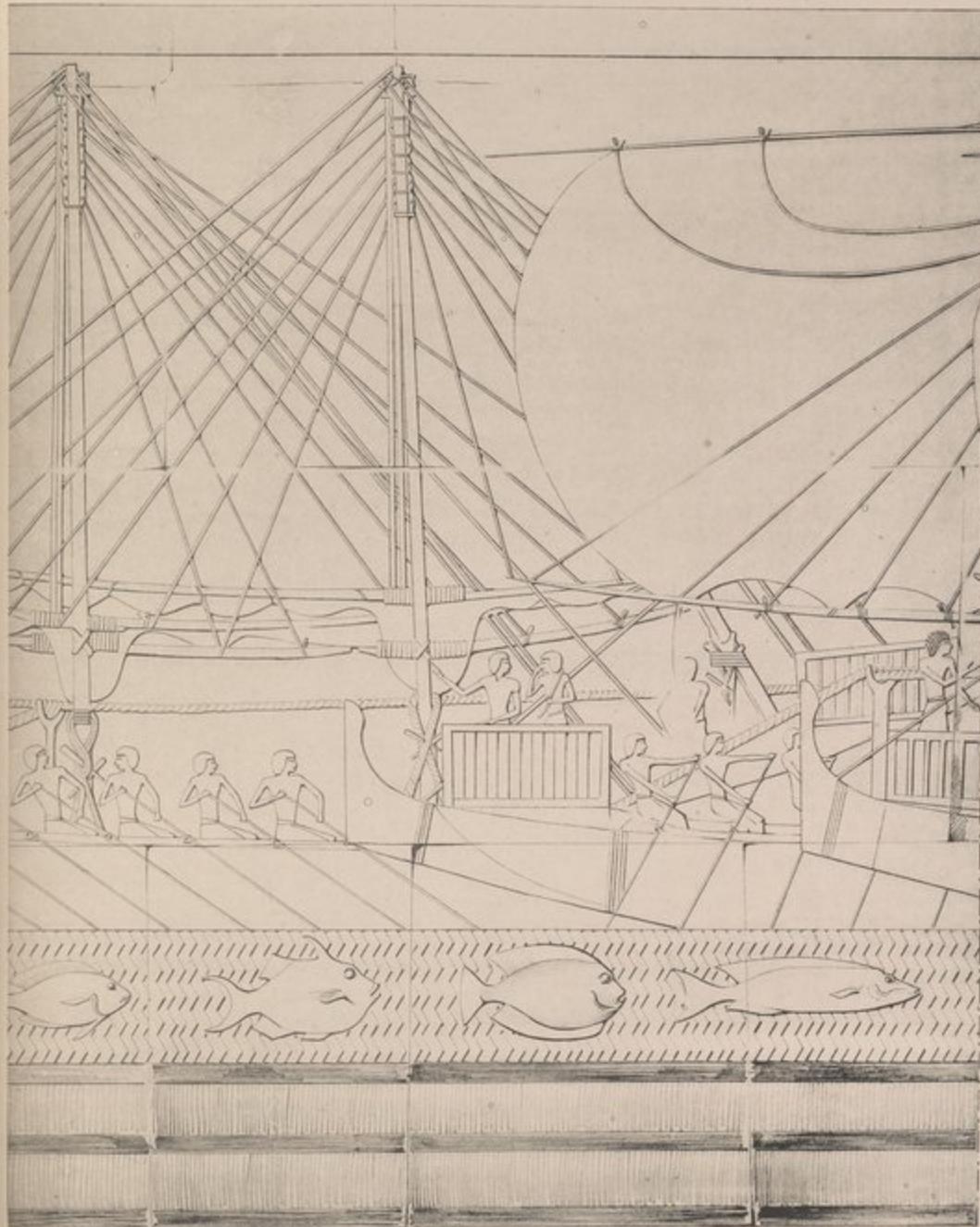


Howard Carter 1896

HUTS AND INHABITANTS OF PUNT.

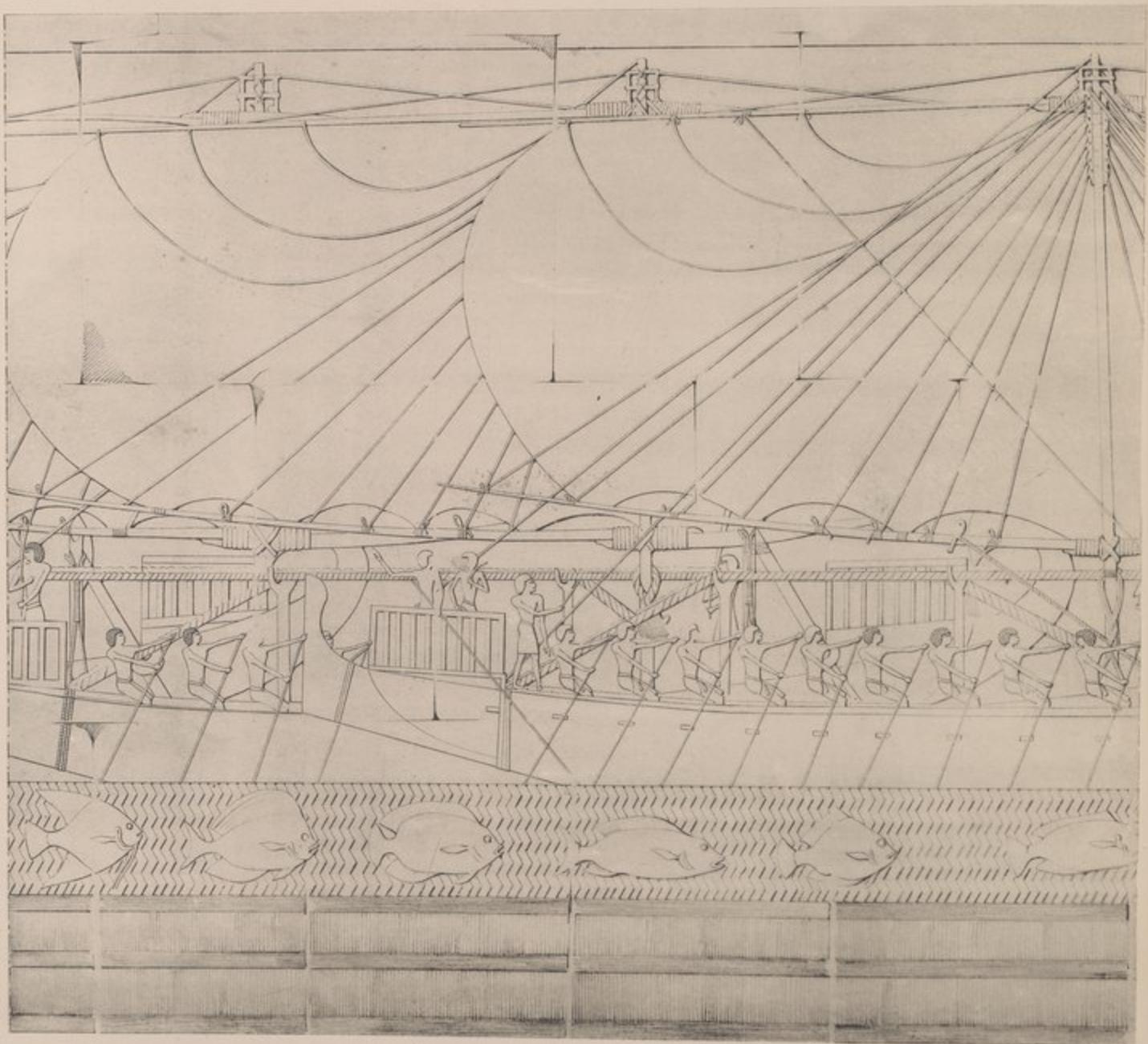
Scale half size of original.

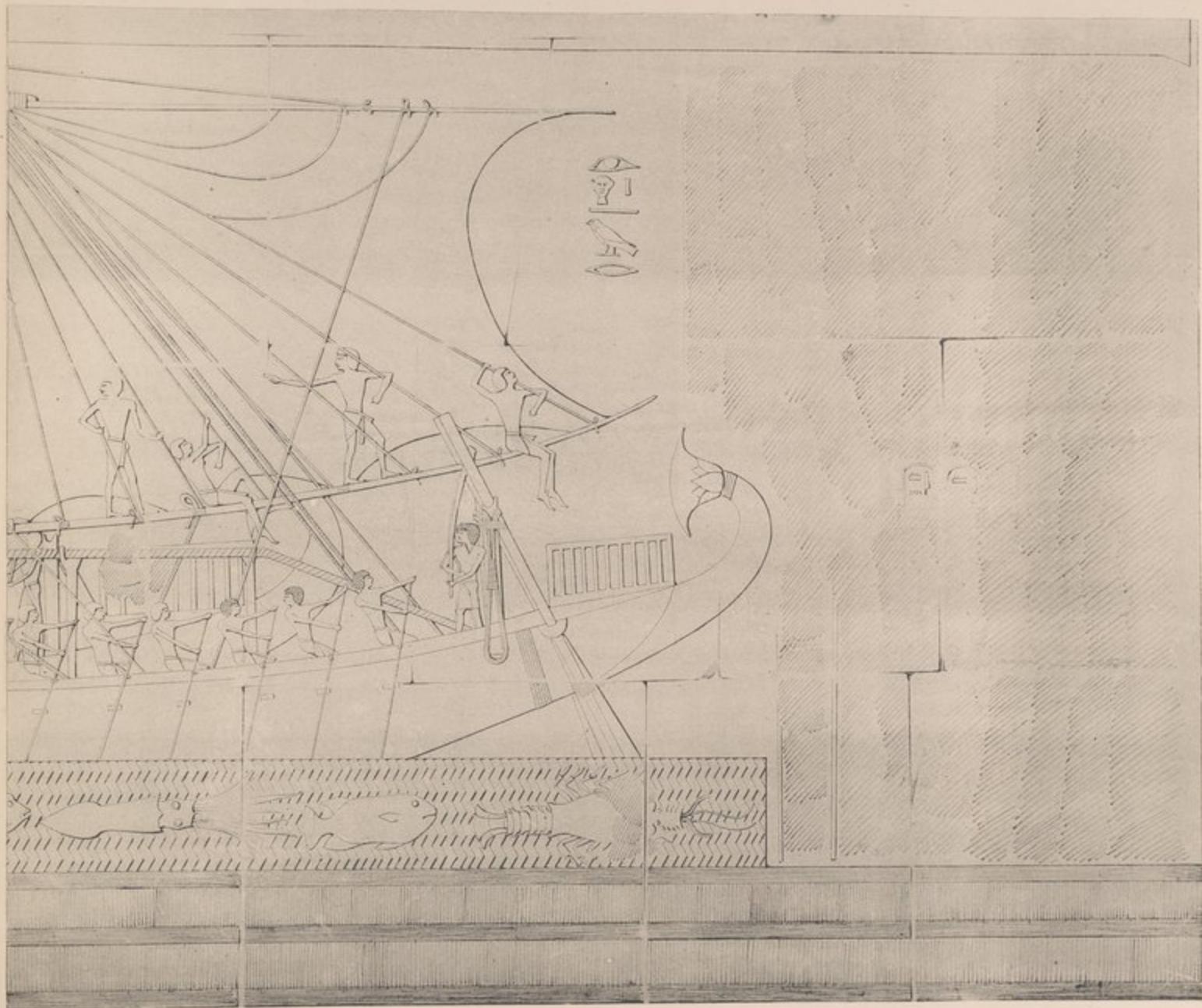




Scale 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 inches

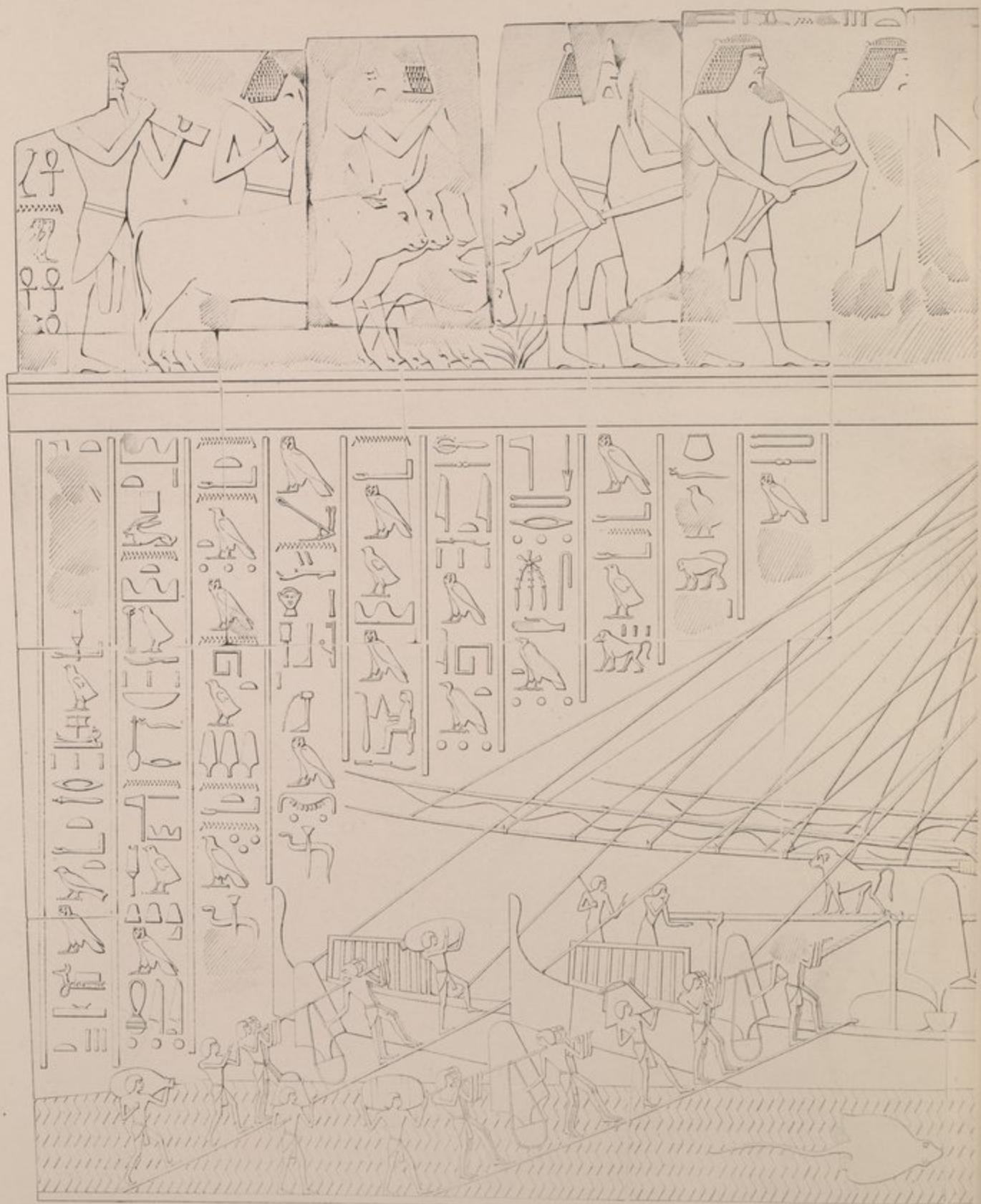
EGYPTIAN BOATS ARRIVING IN PUNT.

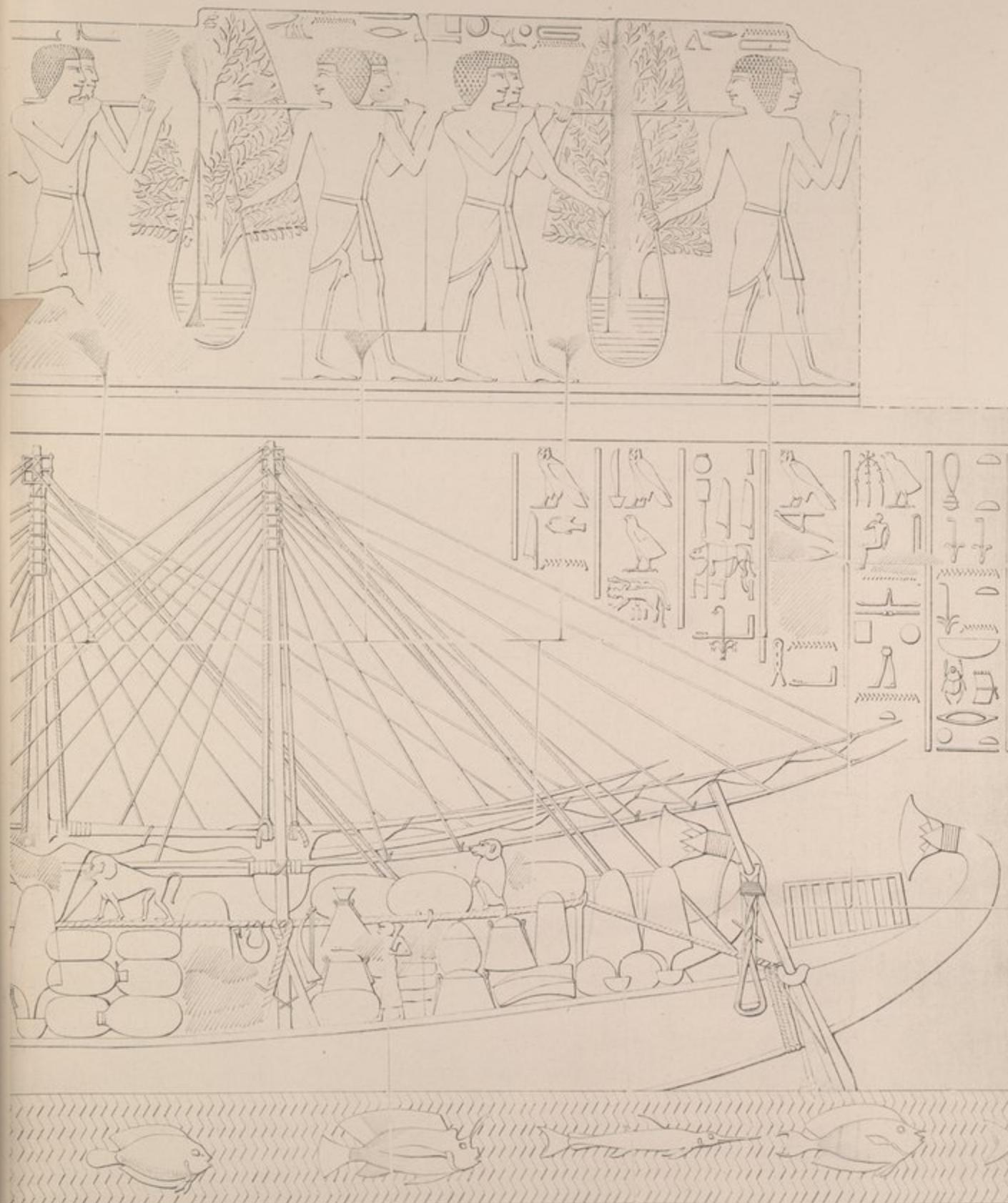




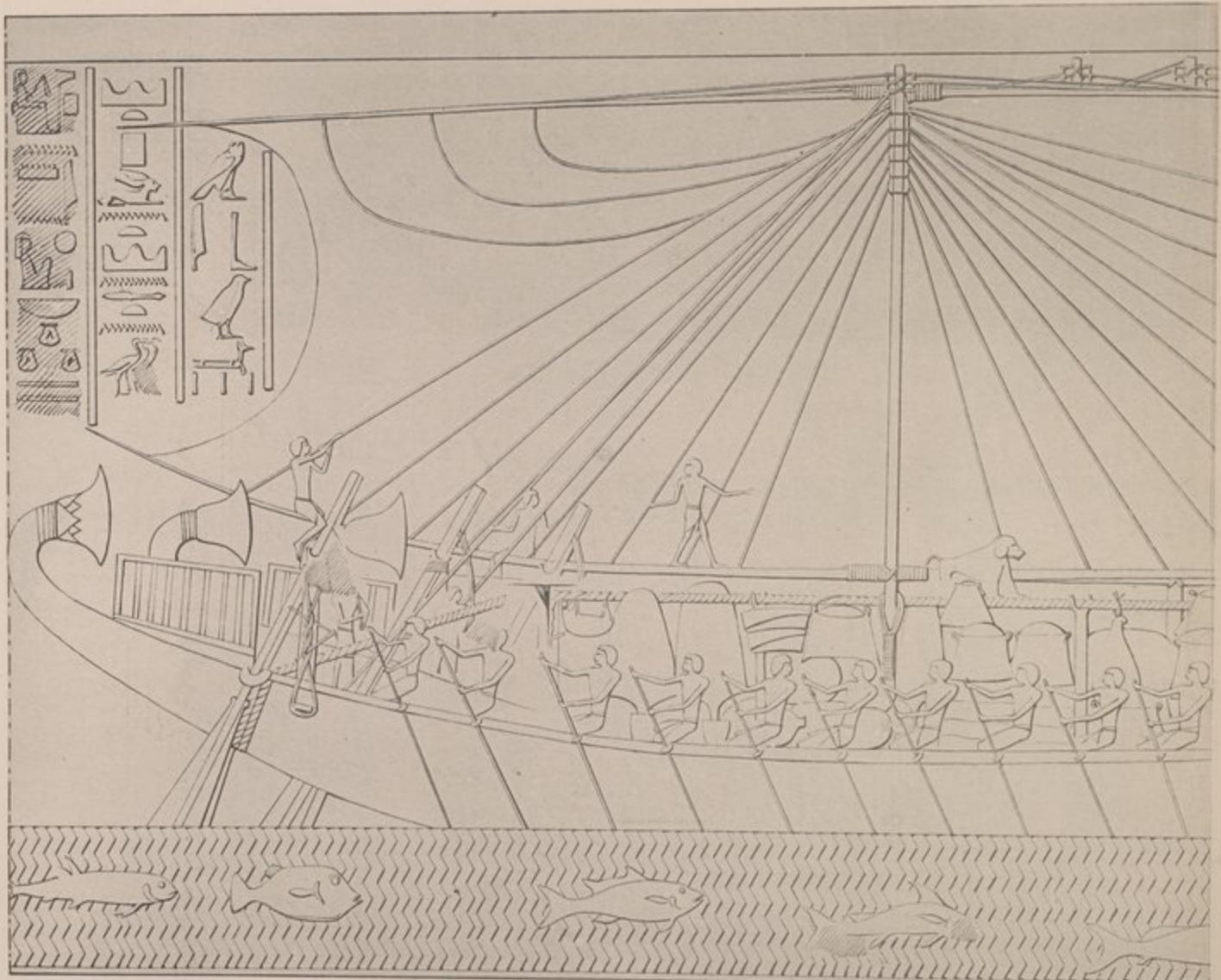
Scale 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 inches

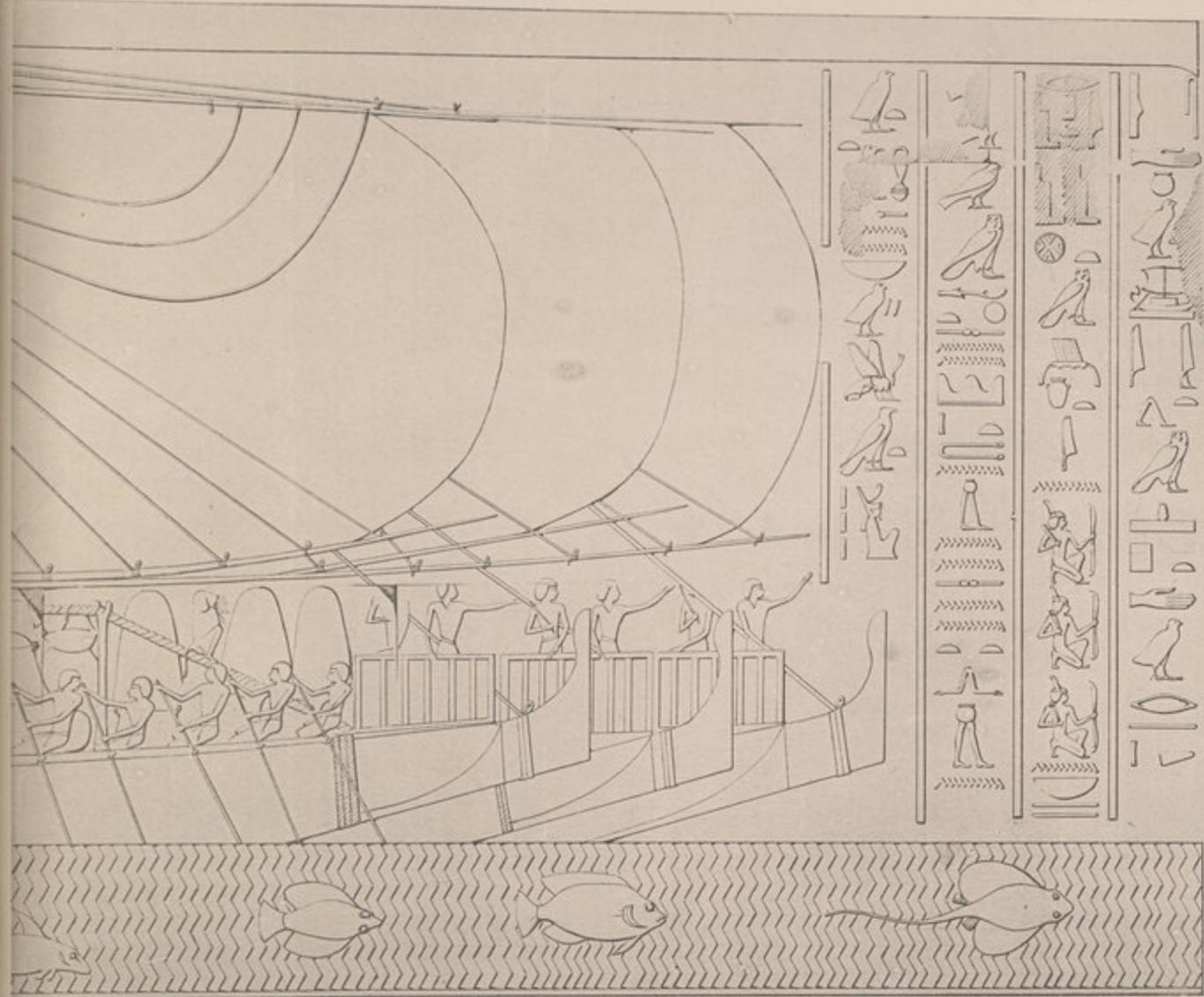
CONTINUATION OF PLATE LXXII.





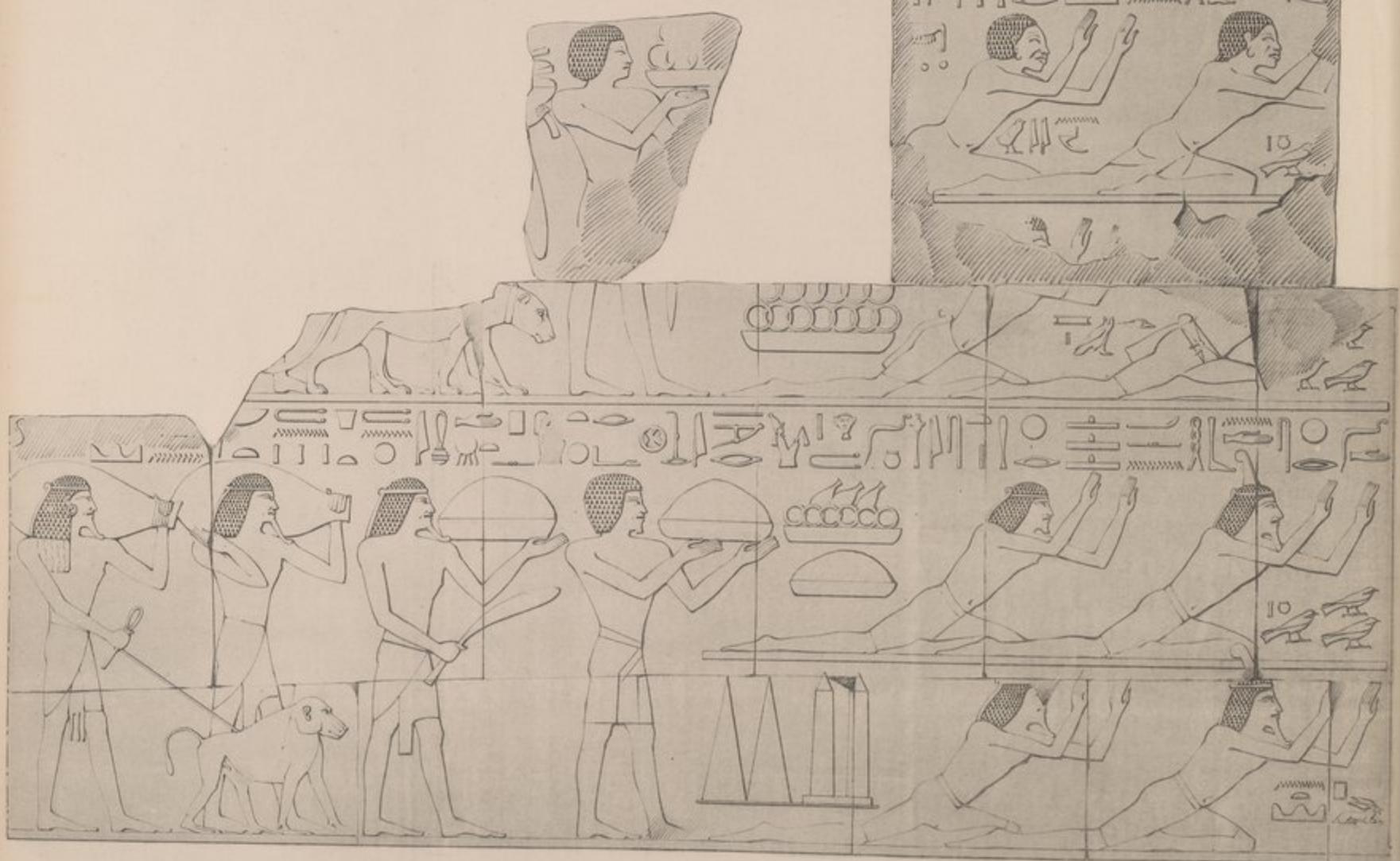
LOADING EGYPTIAN BOATS IN PUNT.

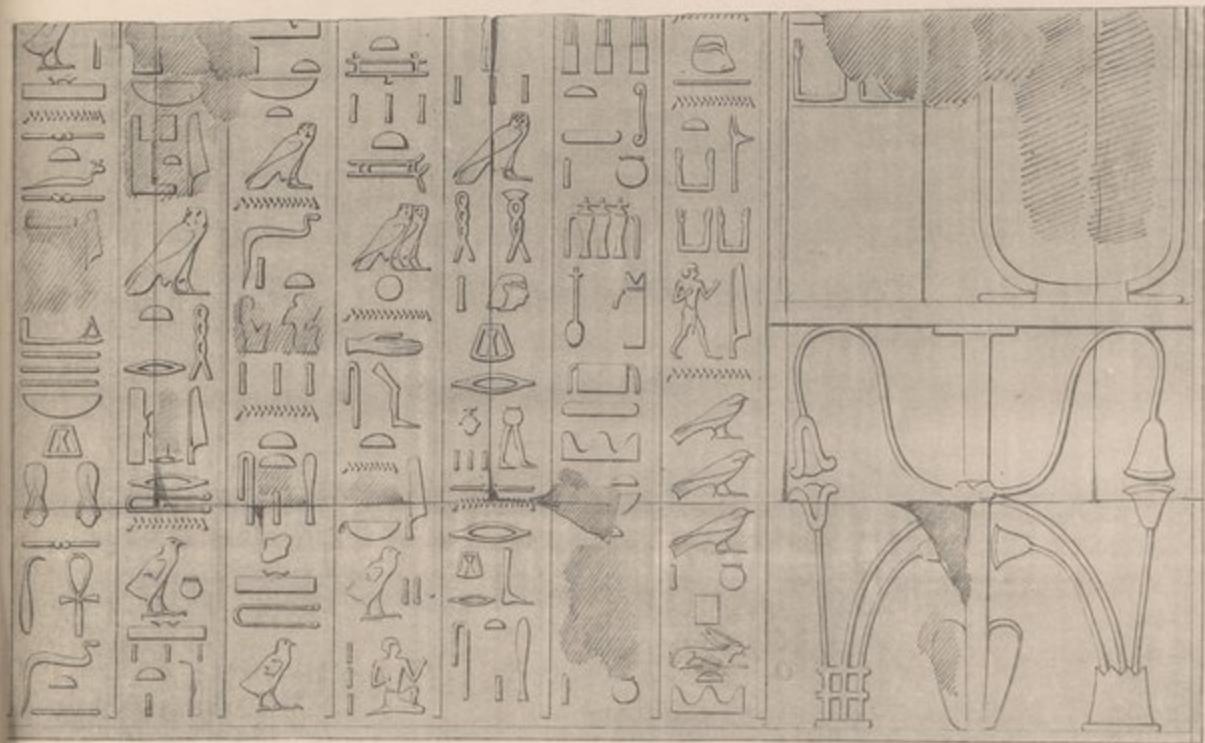




Scale 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 inches

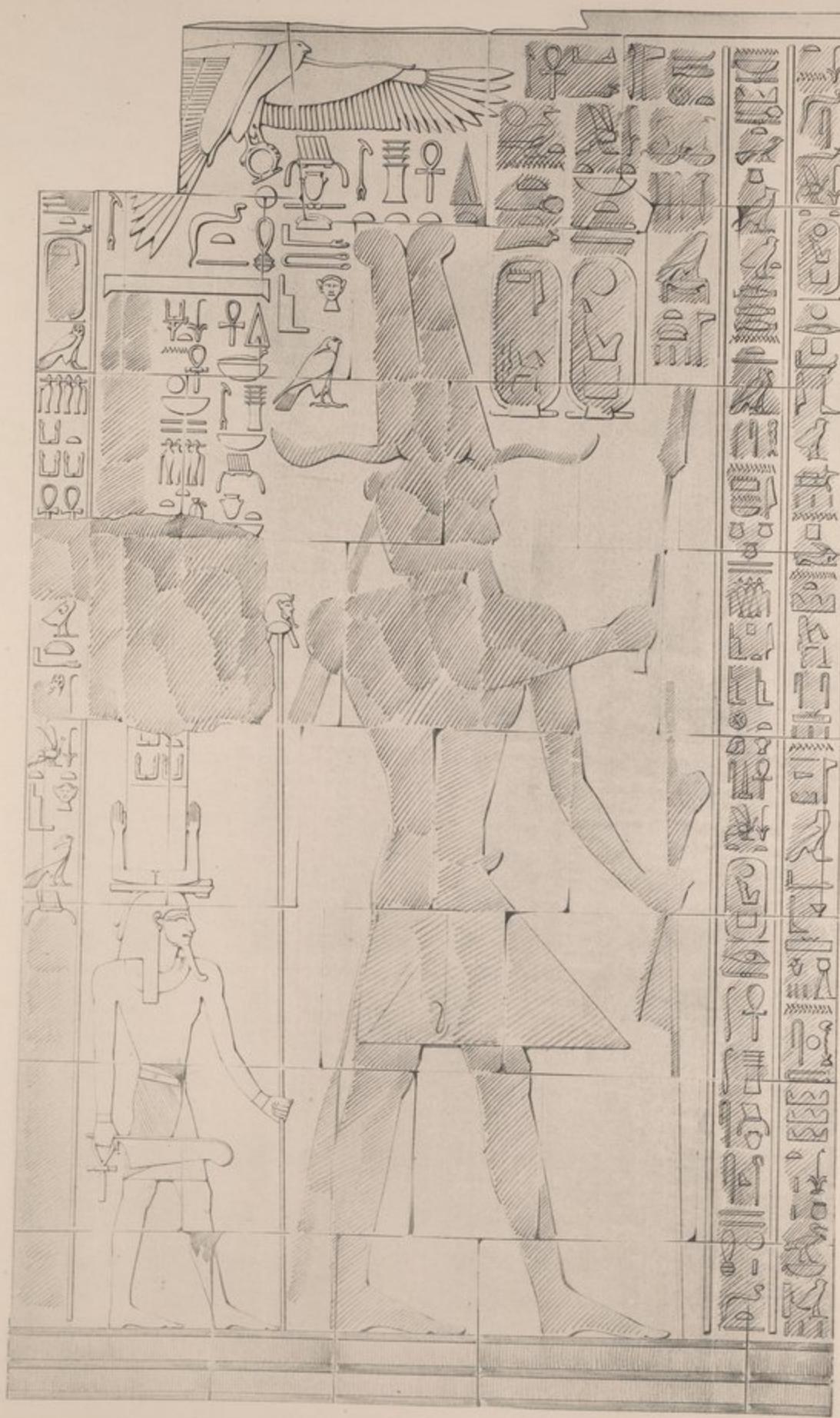
LADEN BOATS LEAVING PUNT.



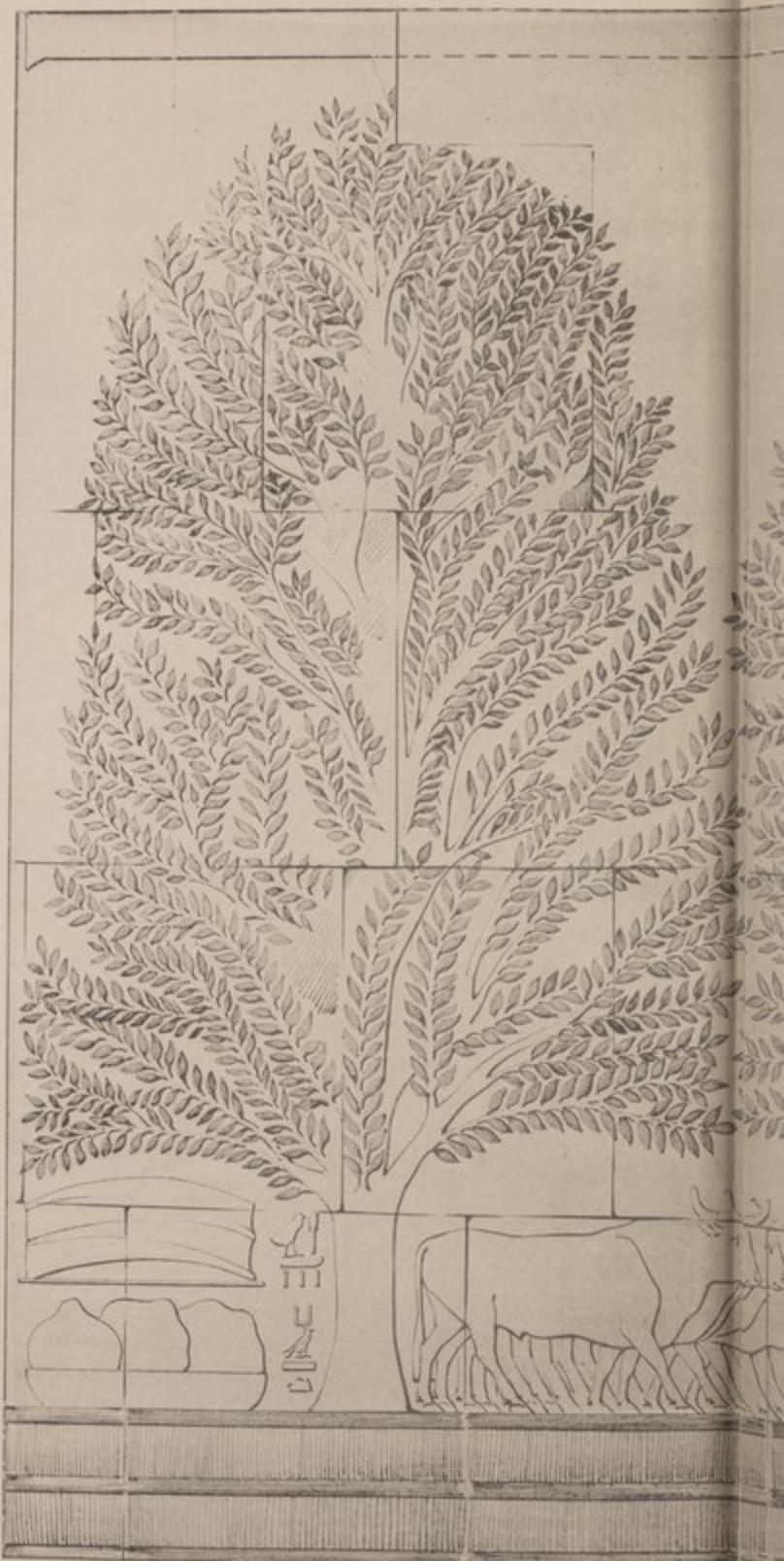


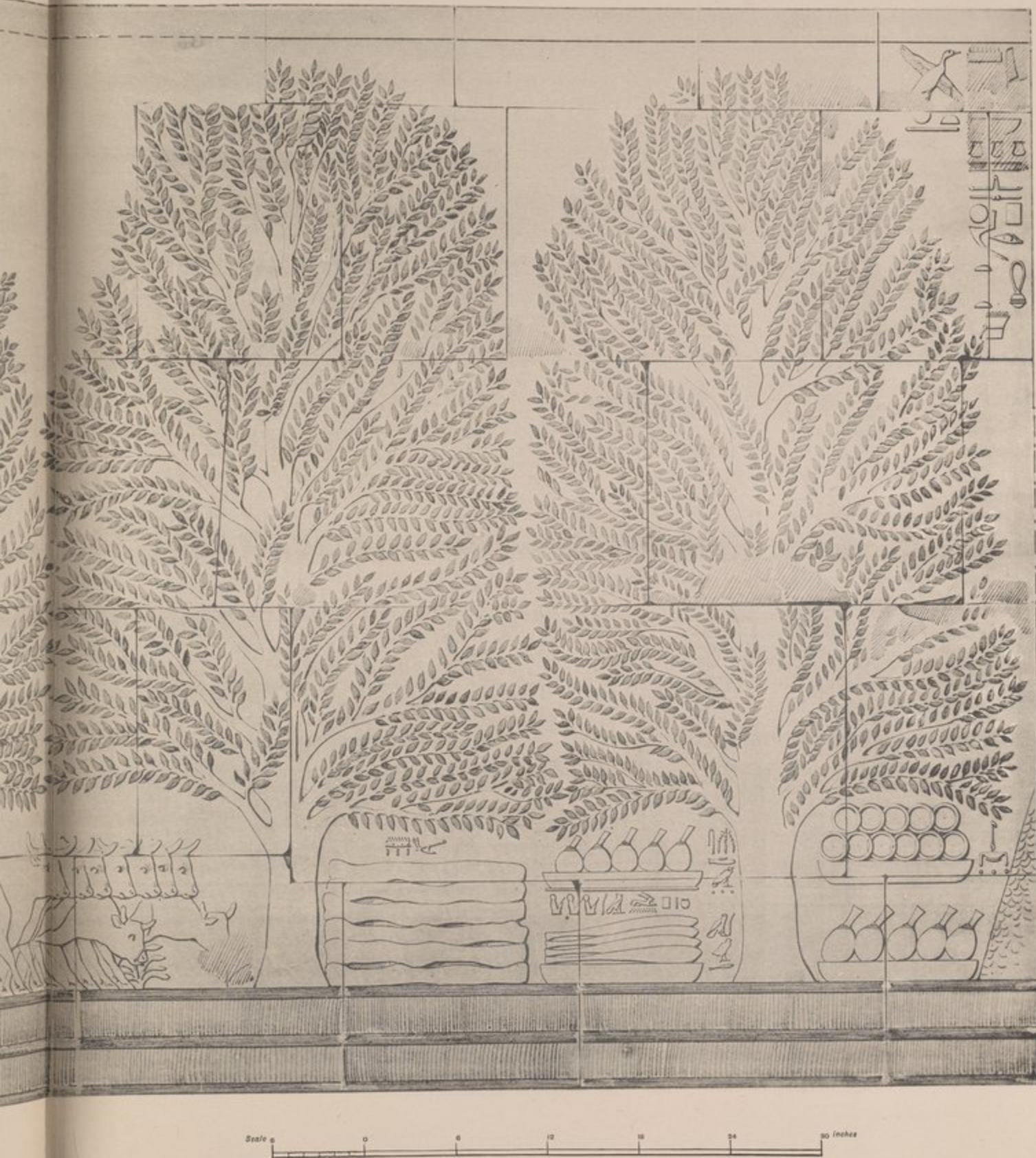
Scale 0 5 10 15 20 25 inches

CHIEFS OF PUNT BOWING BEFORE THE EGYPTIANS.

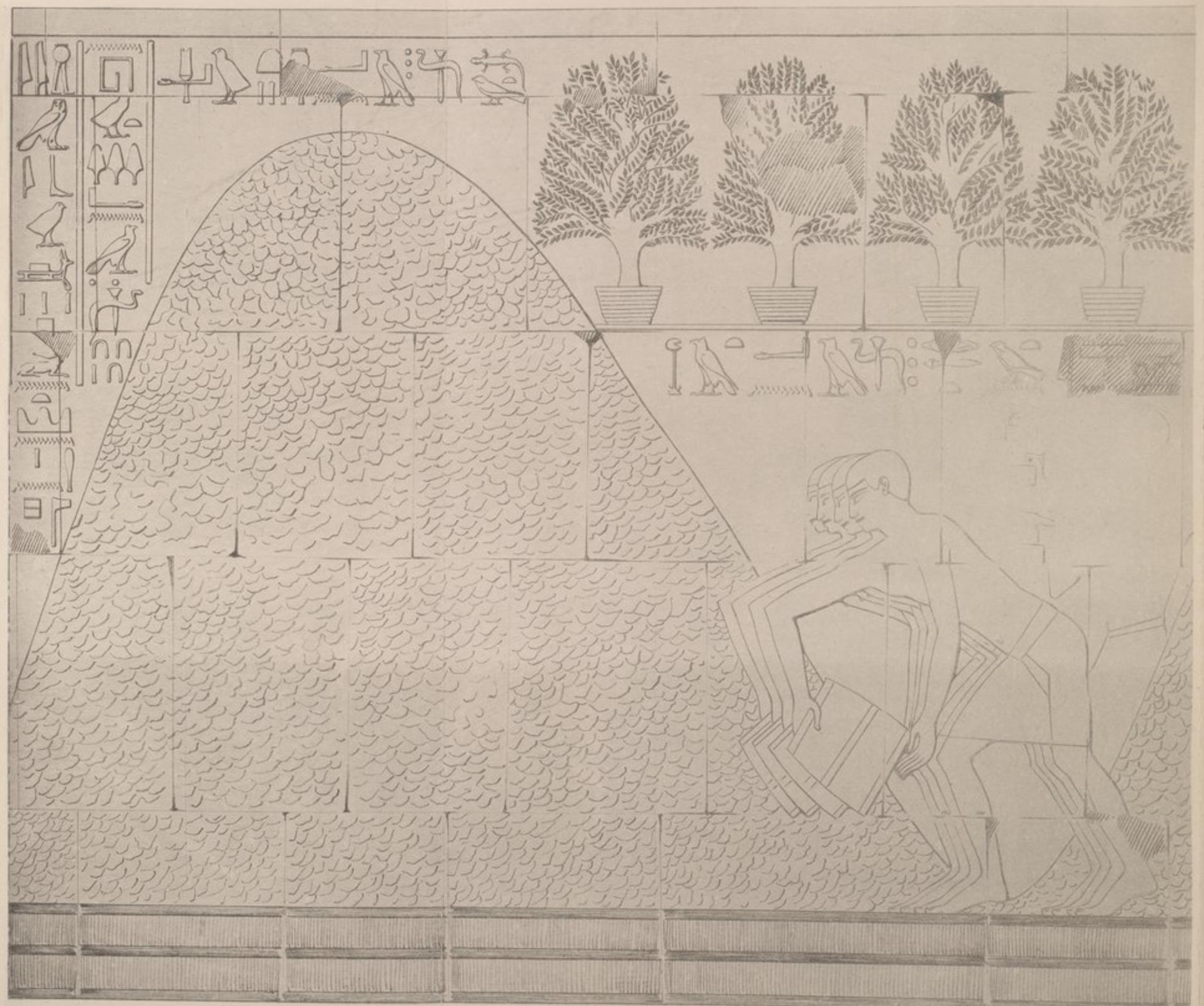


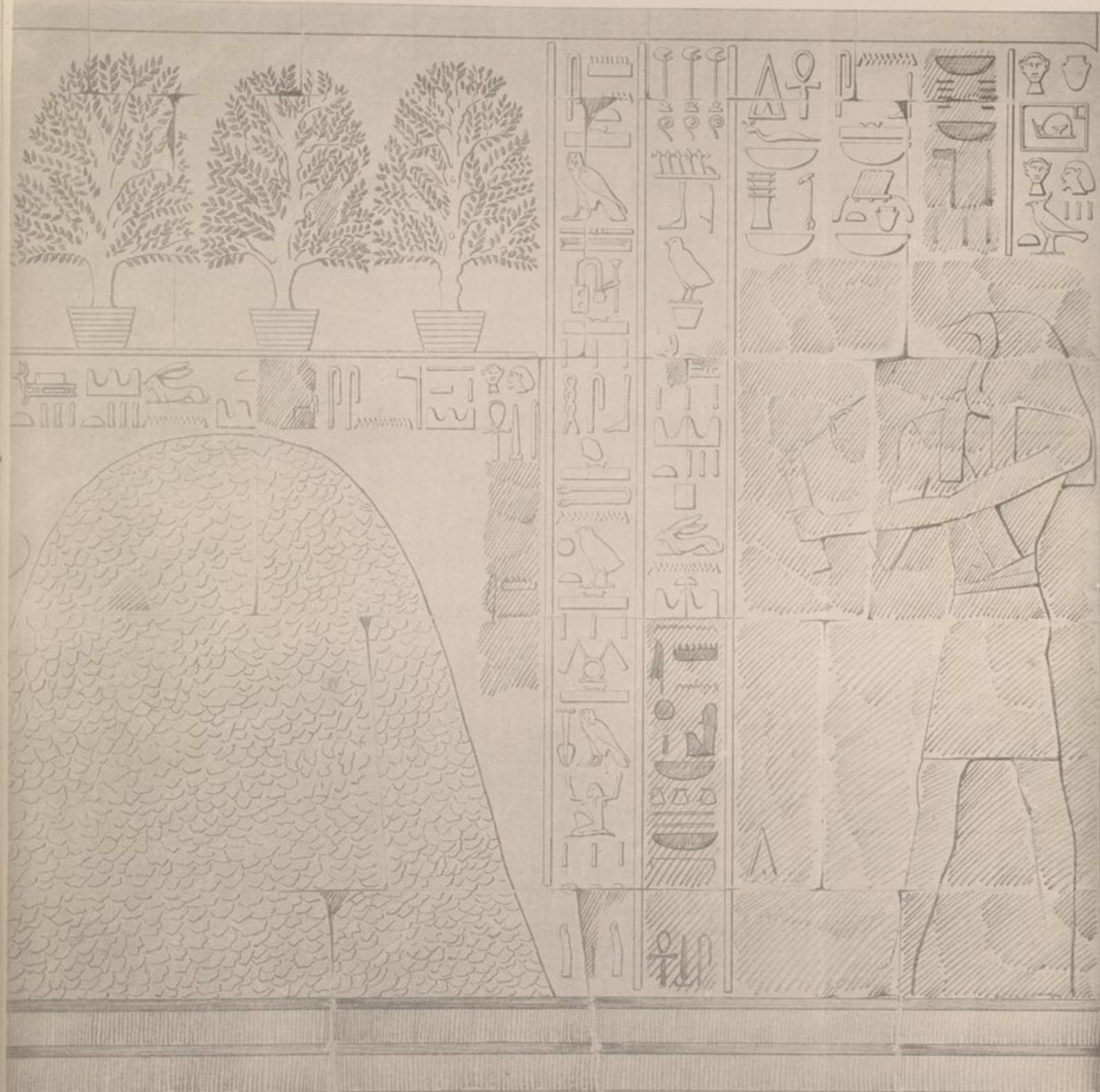
THE QUEEN OFFERING TO AMON THE PRODUCTS OF THE EXPEDITION.





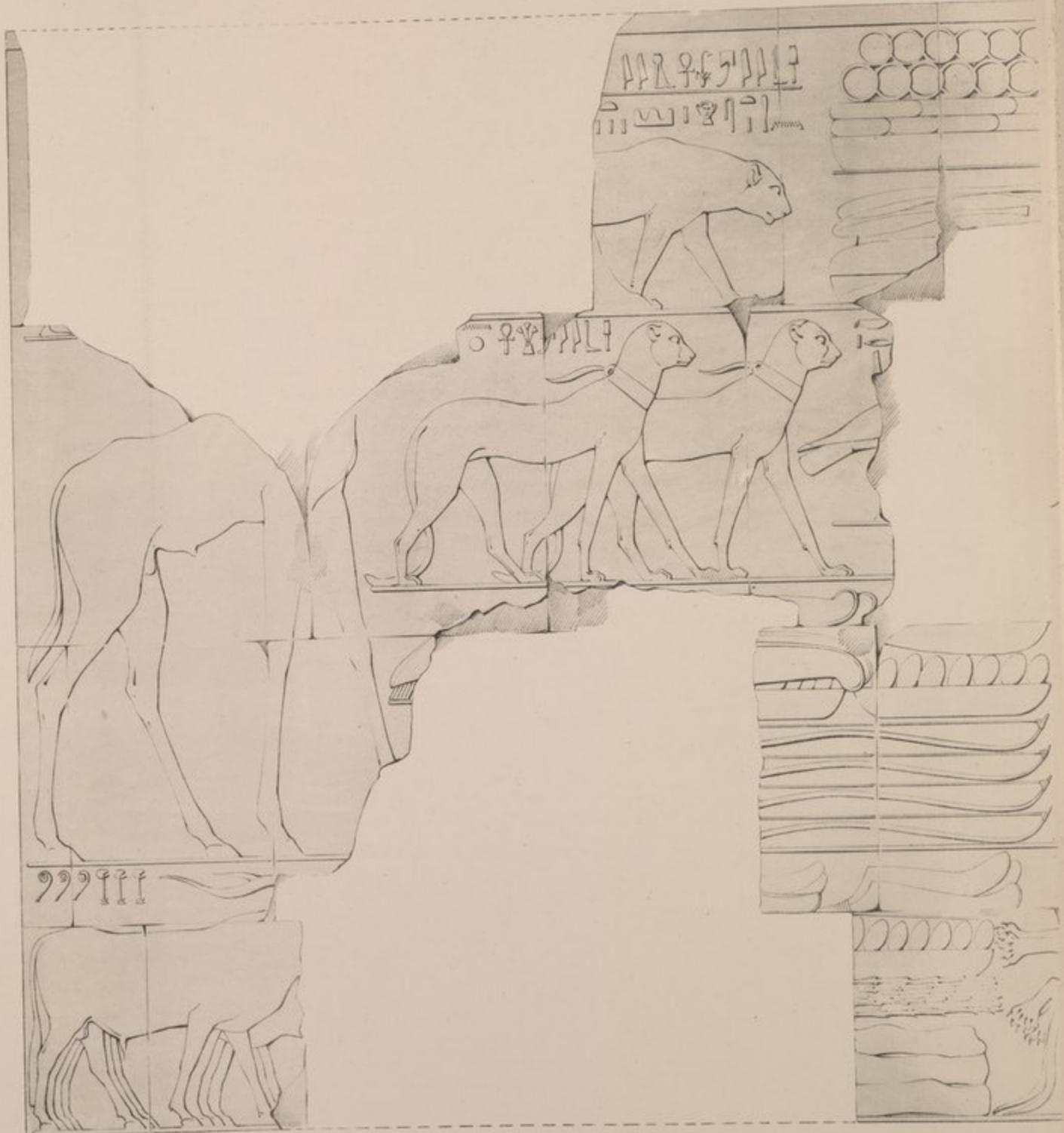
FRANKINCENSE TREES PLANTED IN THE GARDEN OF AMON.

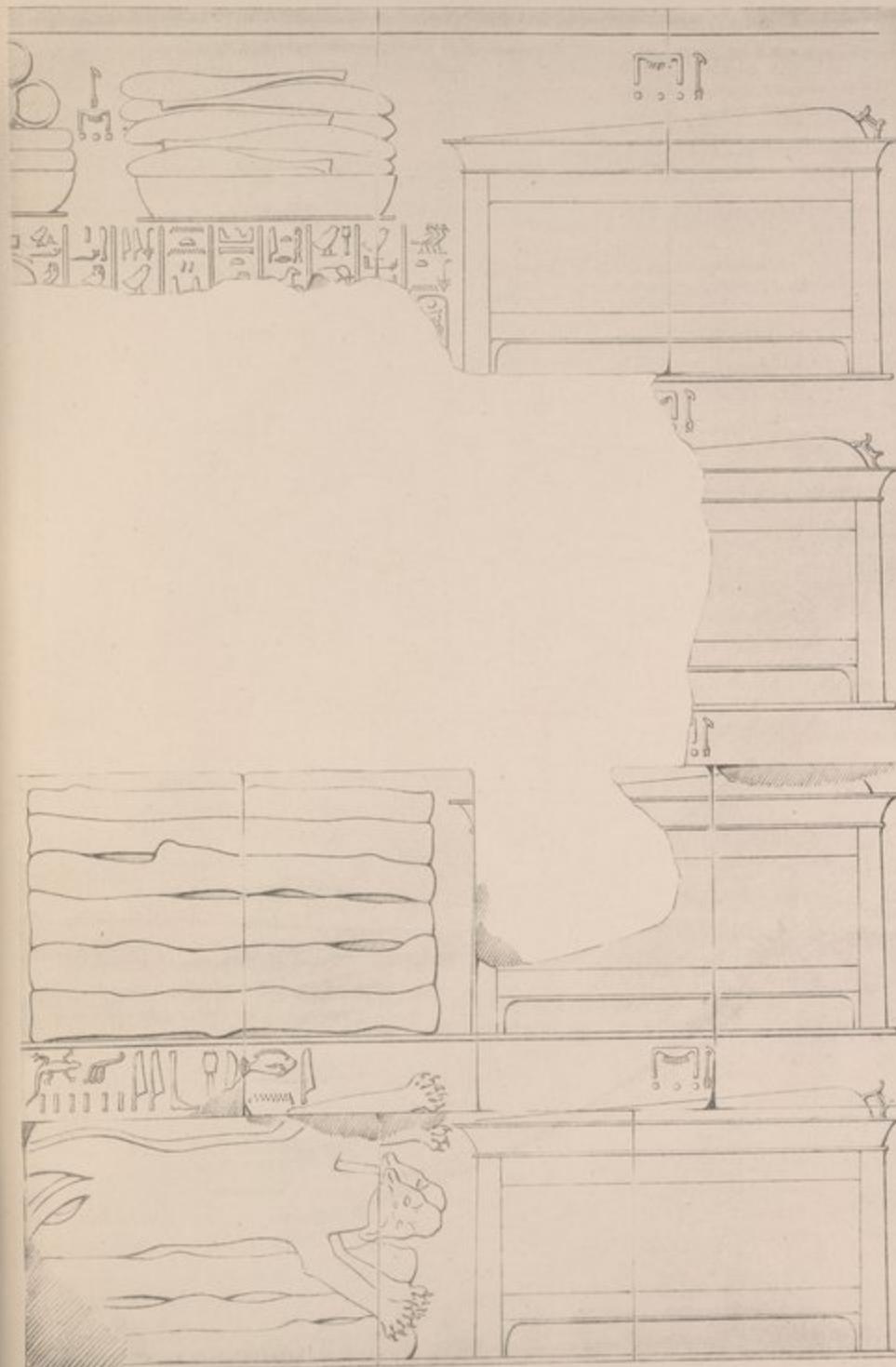




Scale 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 inches

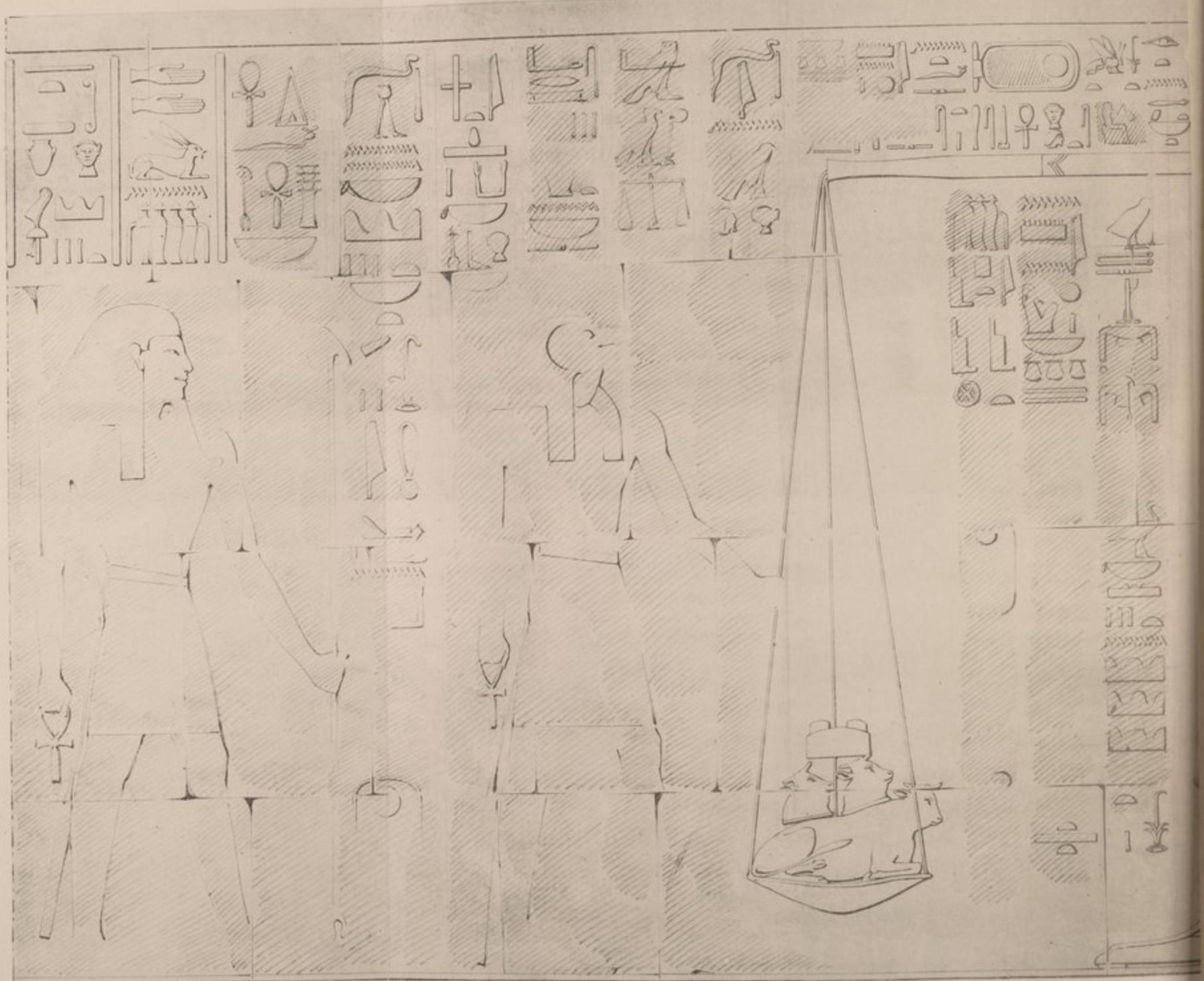
MEASURING THE HEAPS OF INCENSE FROM PUNT.

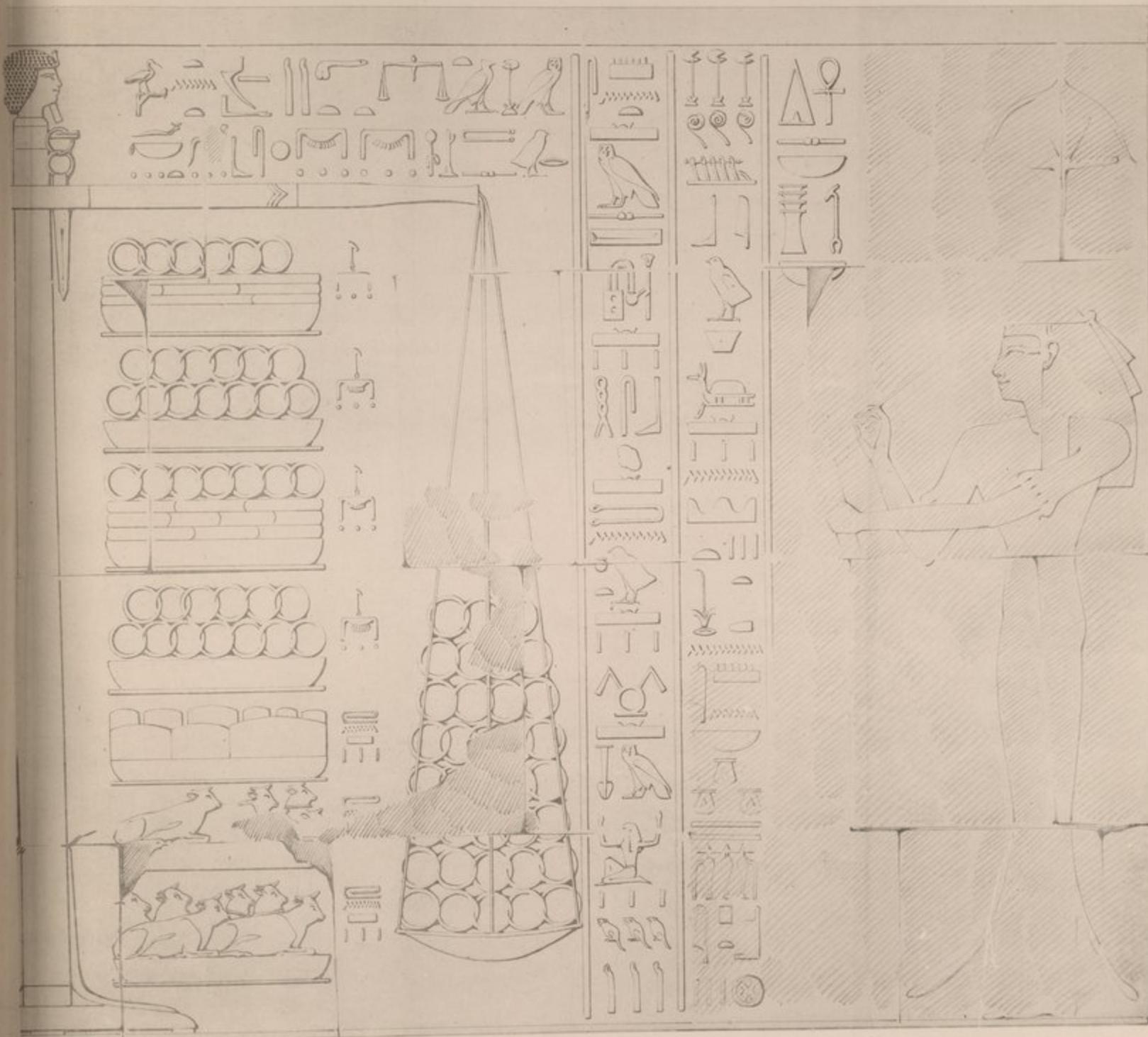




Scale 0 10 18 24 30 inches

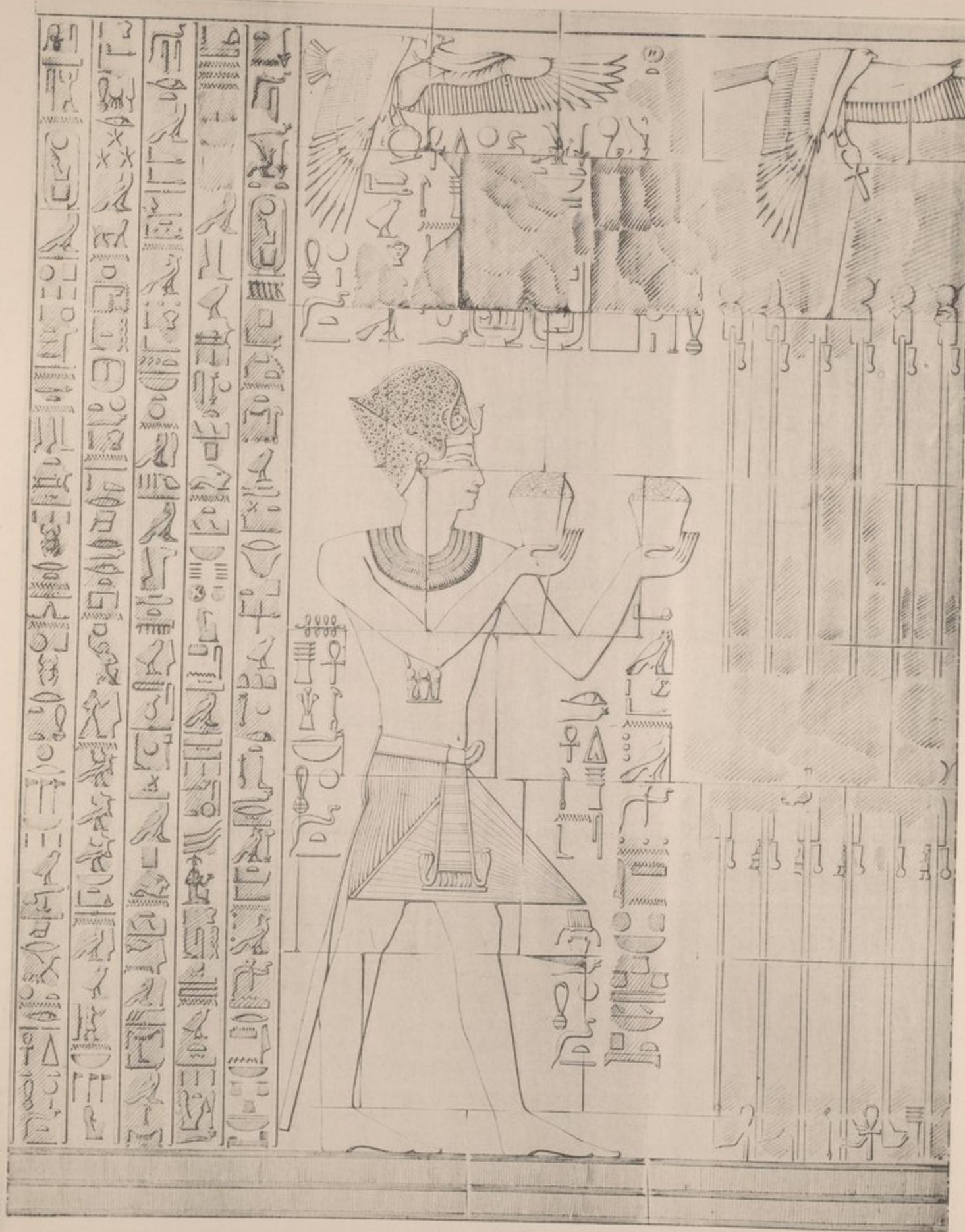
PRODUCTS OF THE SOUTHERN LANDS.





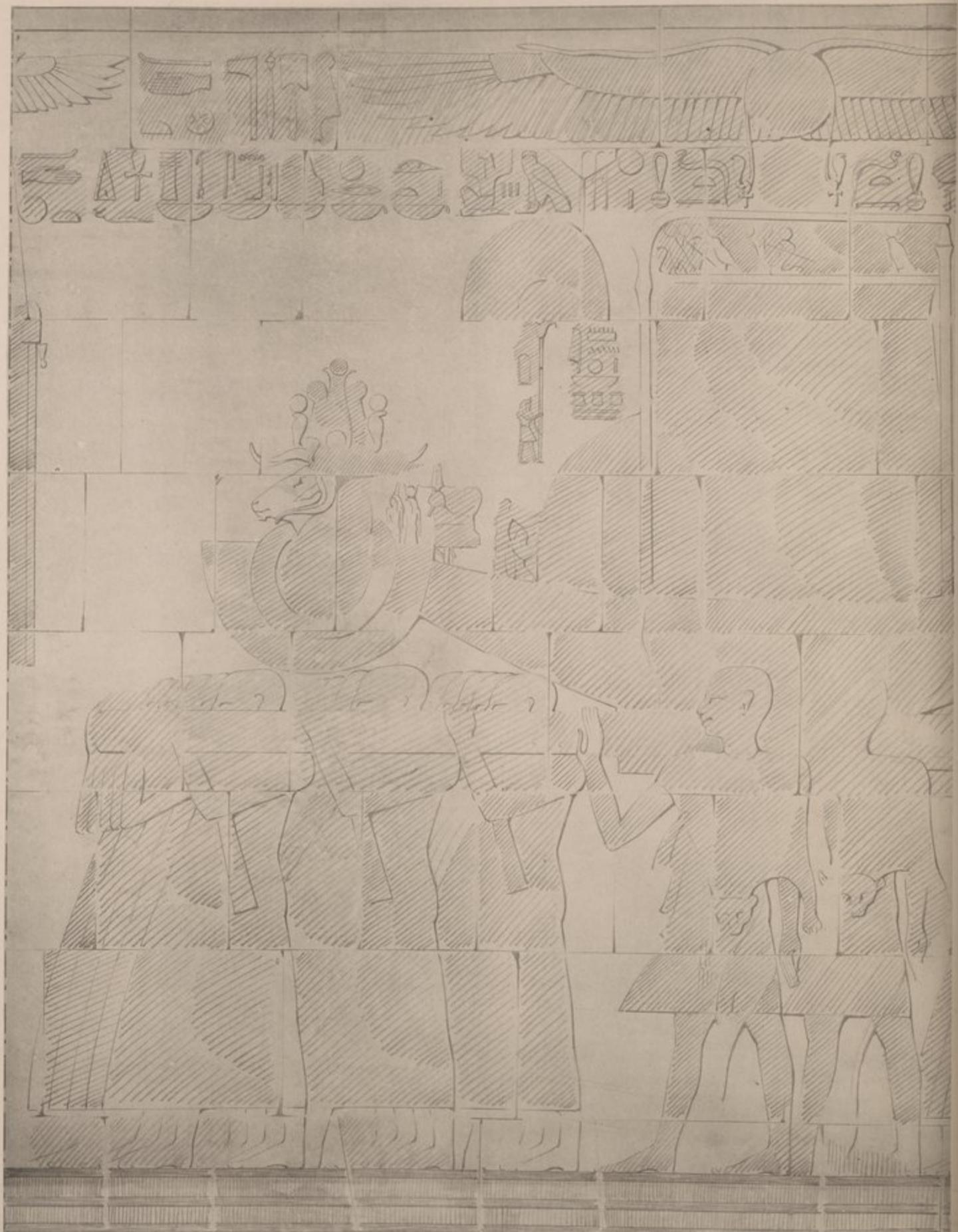
Scale 0 2 4 6 8 10 12 14 16 18 20 22 24 26 28 inches

WEIGHING PRECIOUS METALS FROM THE SOUTHERN LANDS.

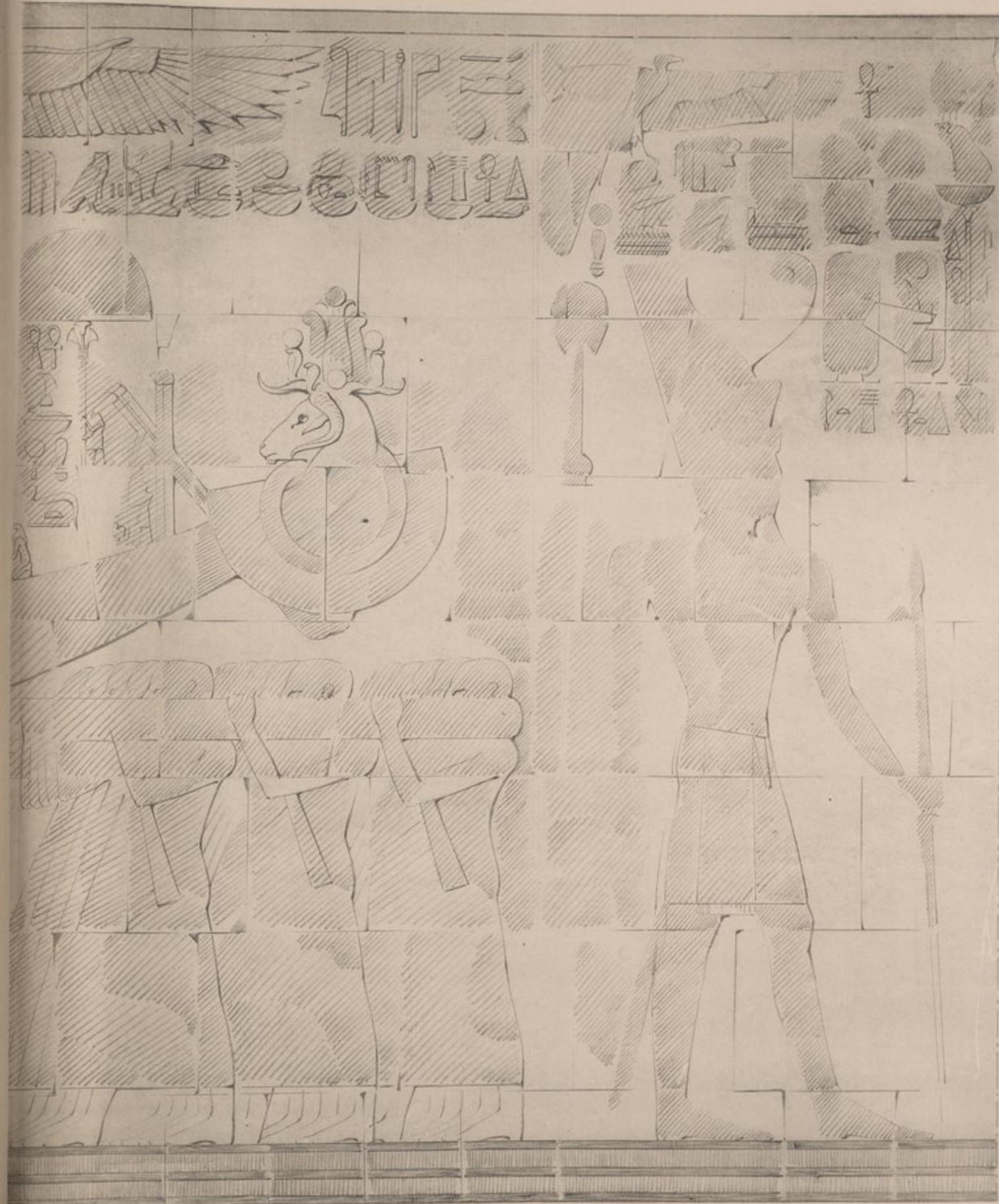


Scale 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 inches

THOTHMES III. OFFERING INCENSE TO THE SACRED BOAT OF AMON.

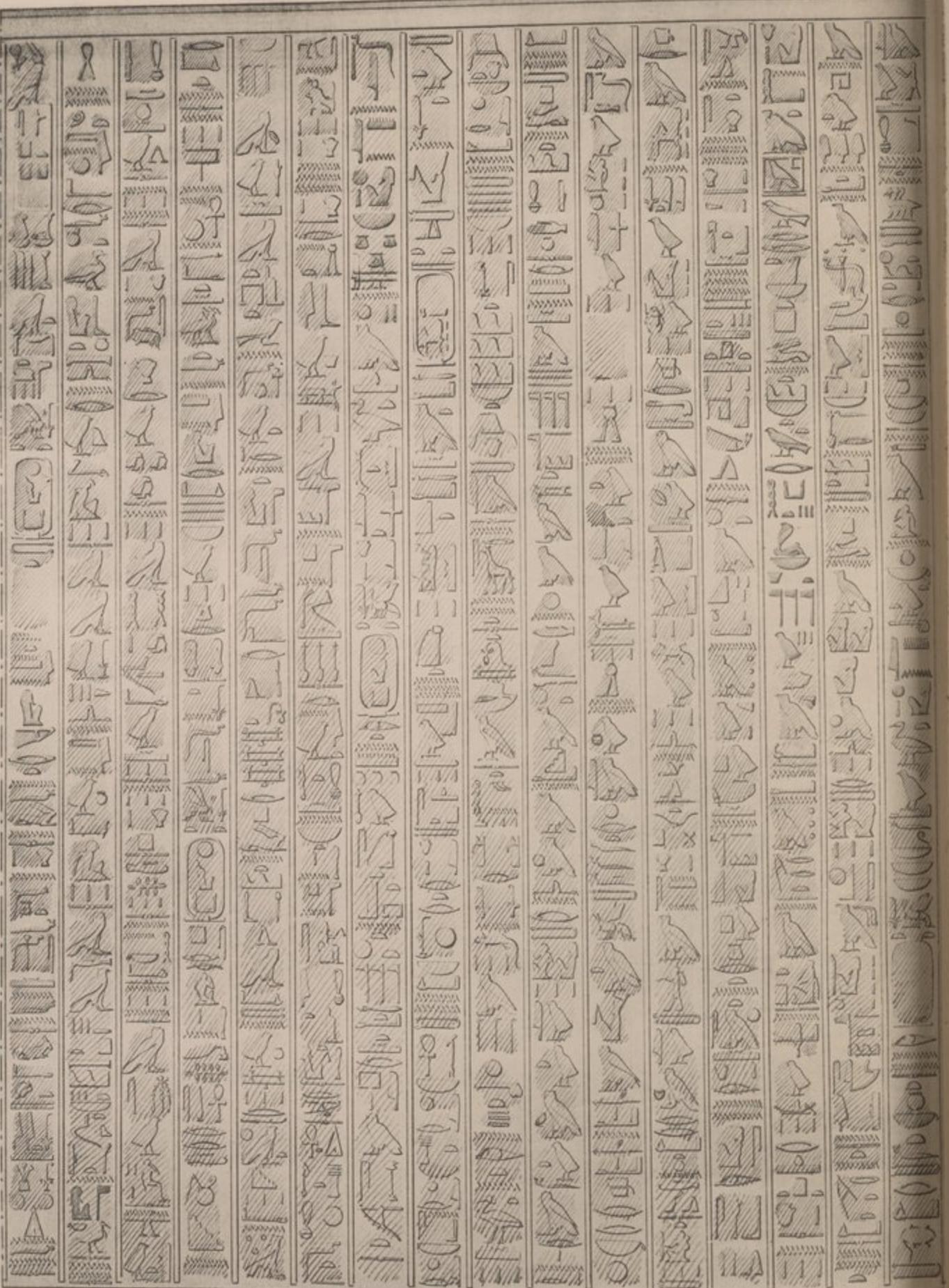


THE SACRED BOAT OF AMON CARRIED BY THE PRIESTS.

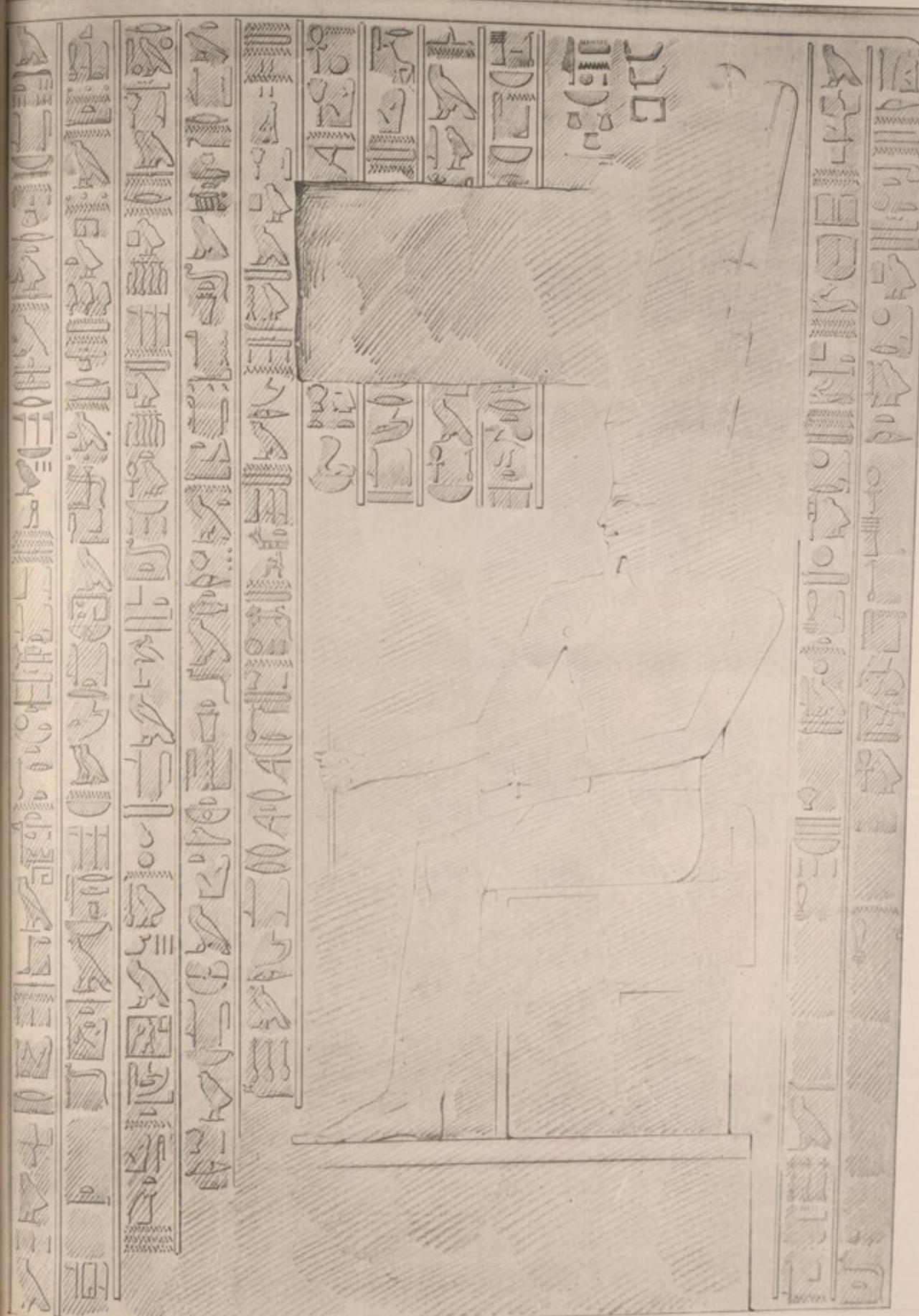


Scale 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 inches

THE QUEEN.

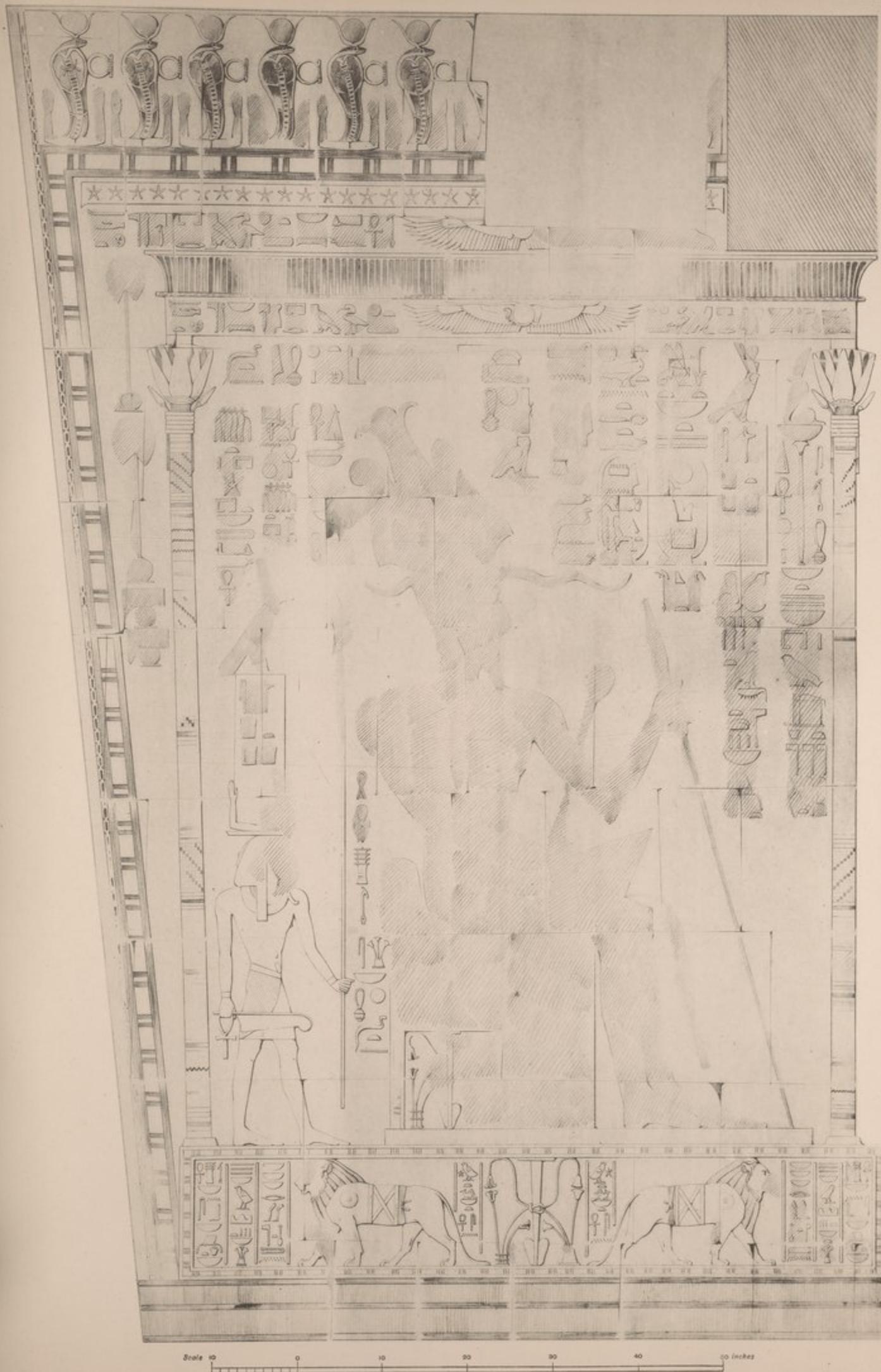


1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16



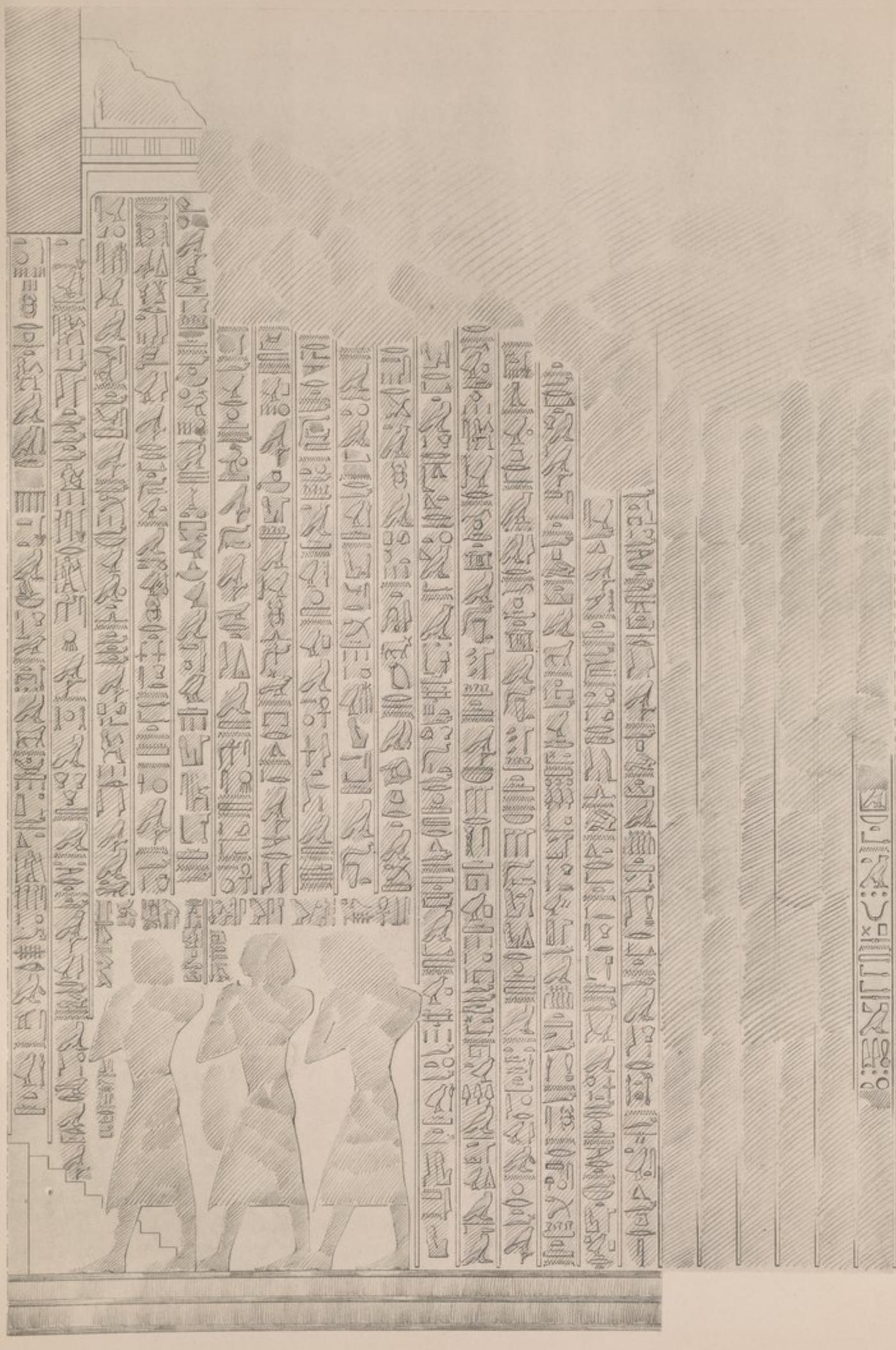
Scale 10
15 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 30 40 50 inches

SPEECH OF AMON TO THE QUEEN.



Scale 10 0 10 20 30 40 50 inches

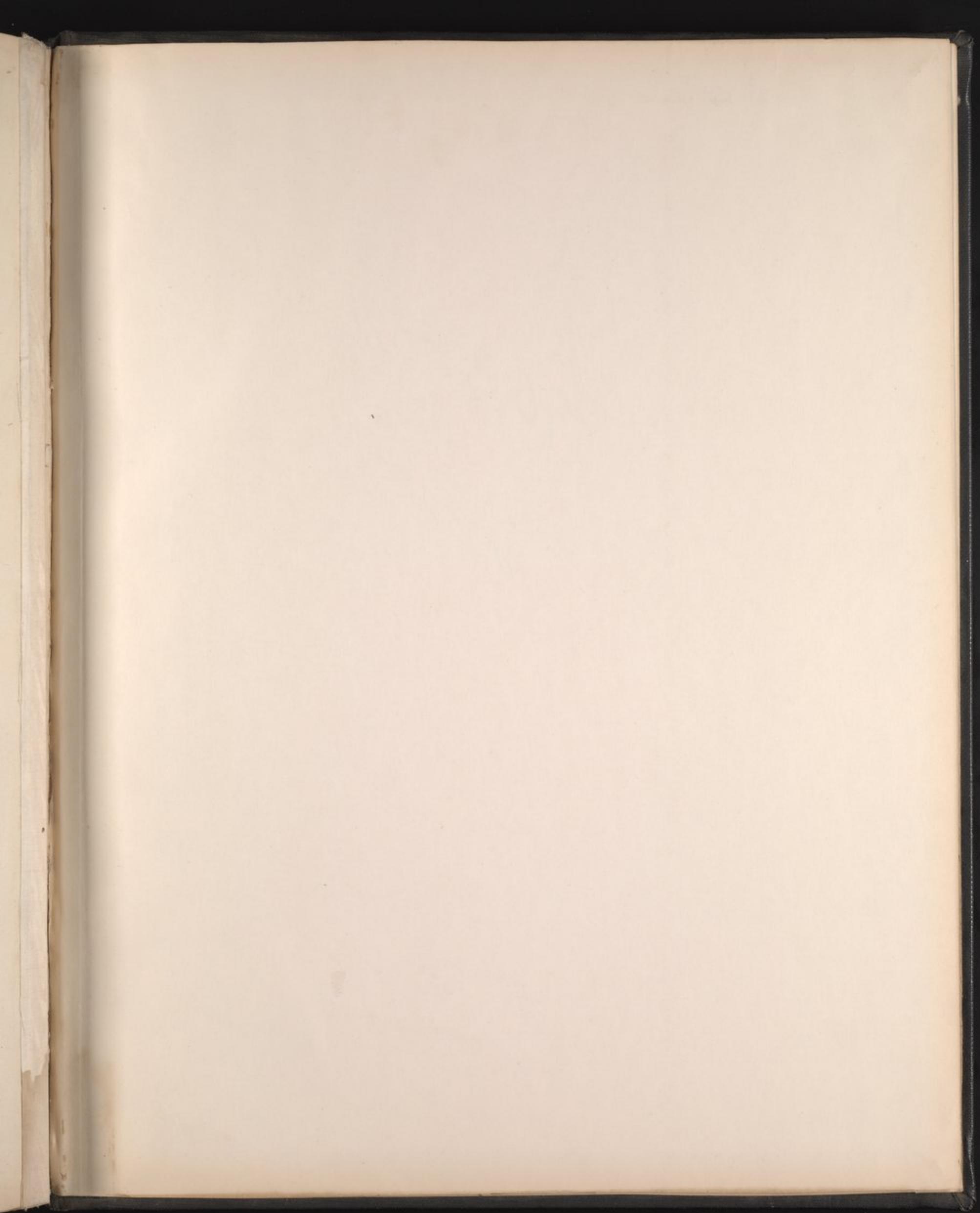
THE QUEEN ON HER THRONE ADDRESSING HER OFFICERS.

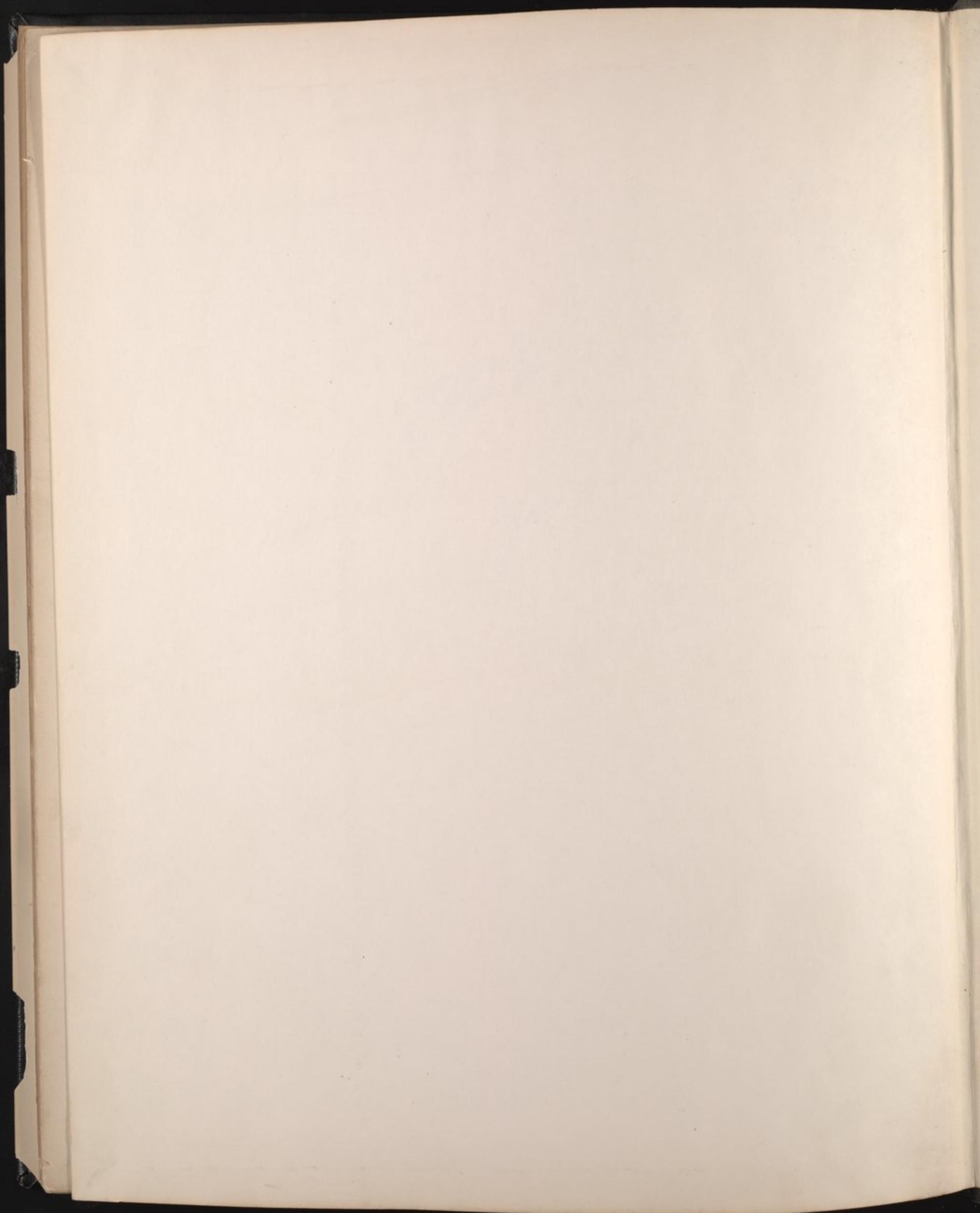


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