

EGYPT EXPLORATION FUND

THE
TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI

BY

EDOUARD NAVILLE

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Fellow of King's College, London*

PART V.

PLATES CXIX.—CL.

THE UPPER COURT AND SANCTUARY

PUBLISHED BY ORDER OF THE COMMITTEE

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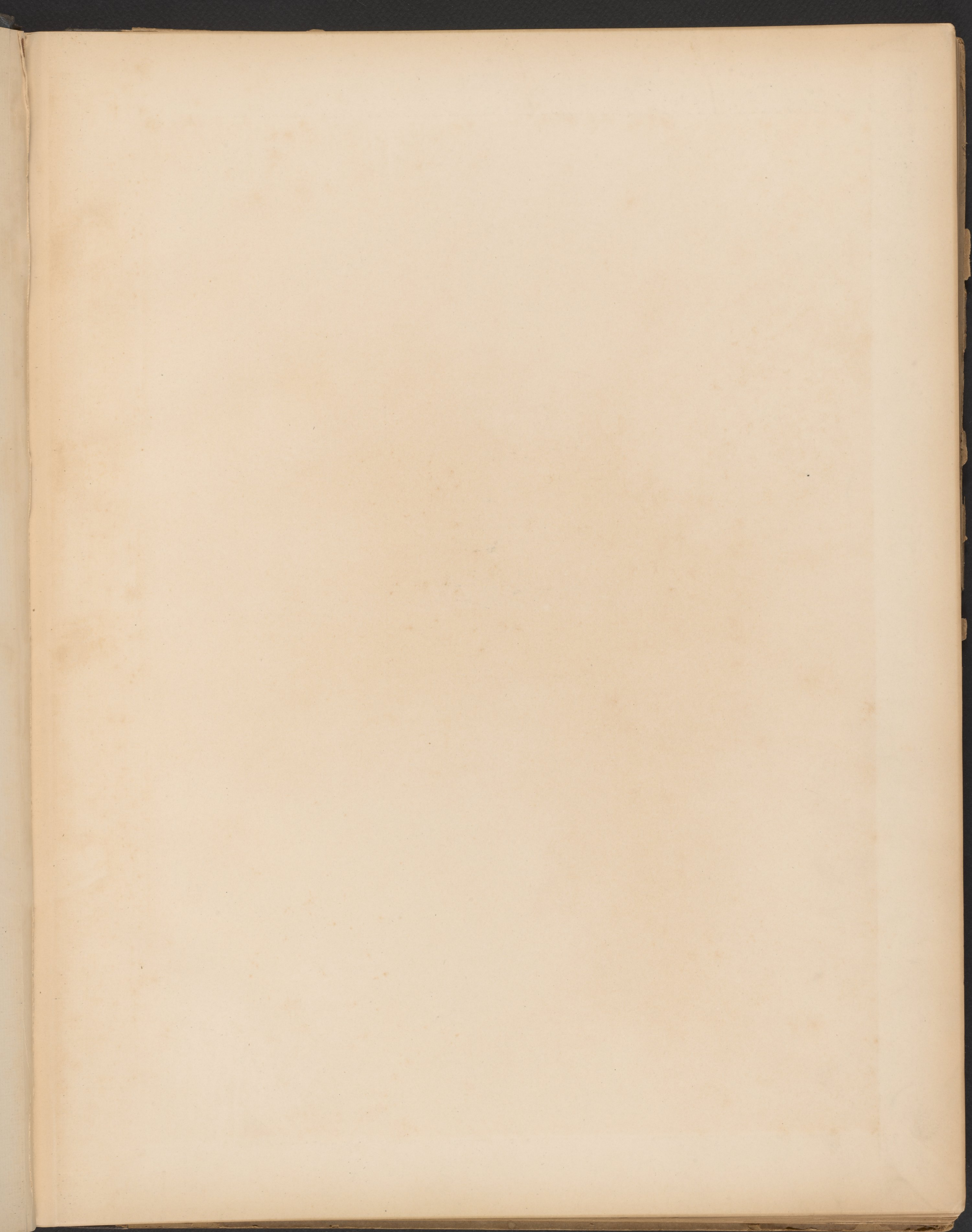
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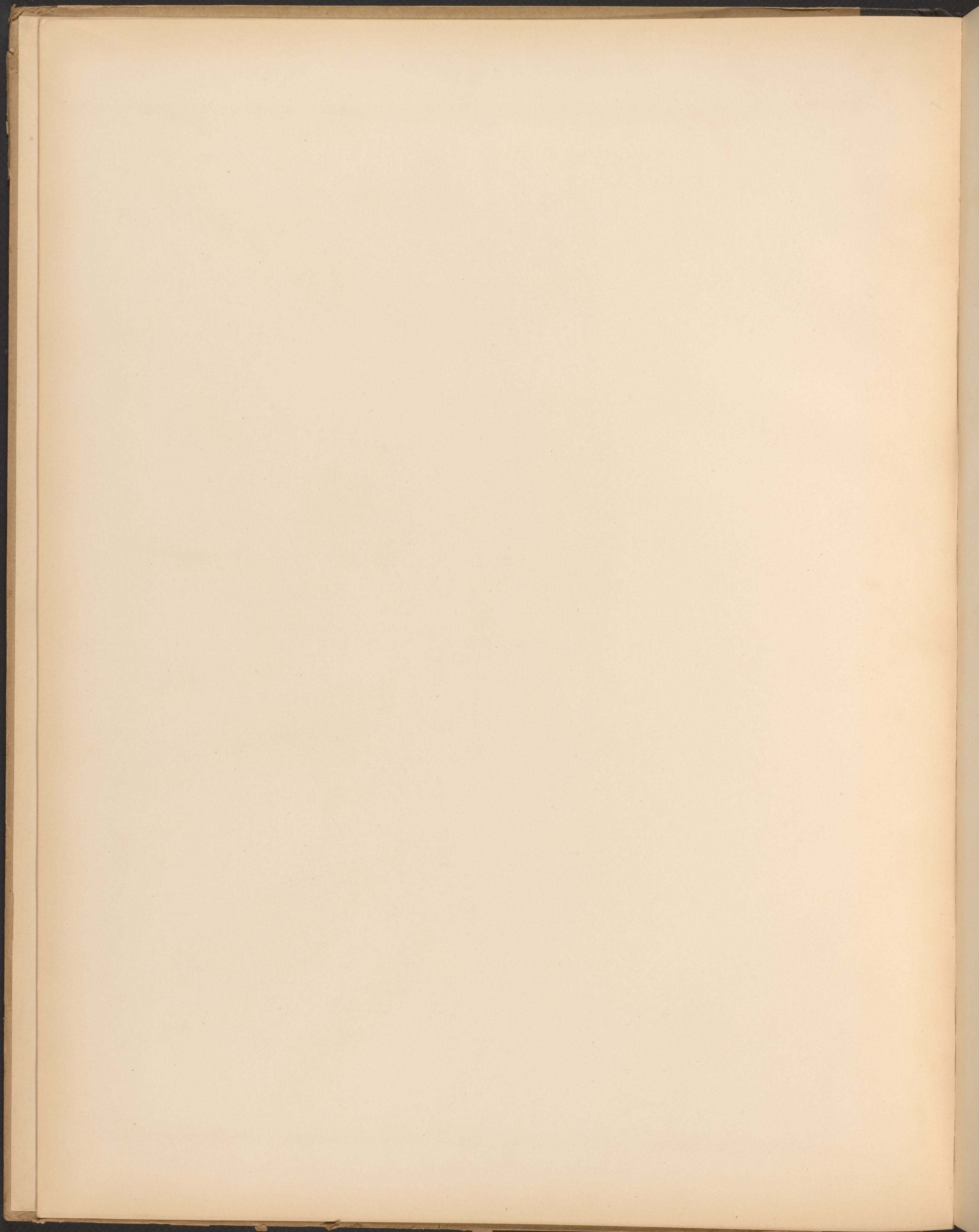
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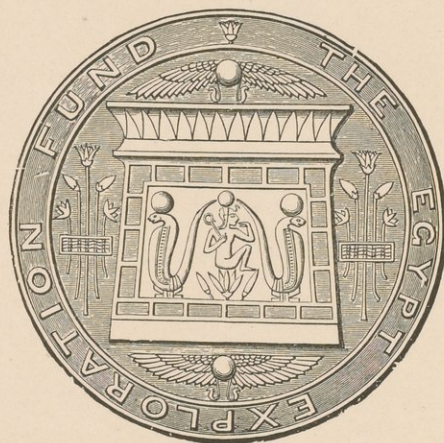
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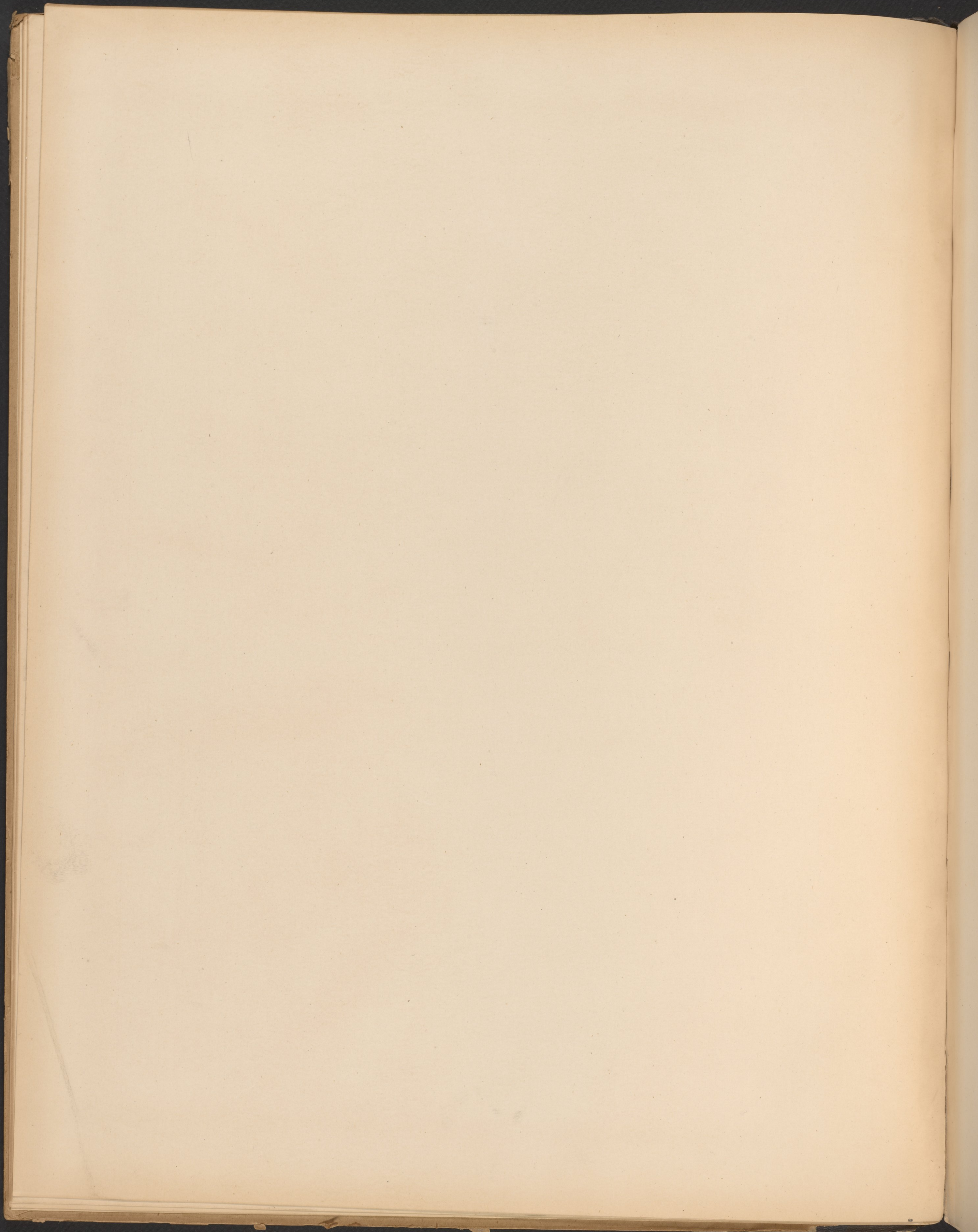
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PREFACE.

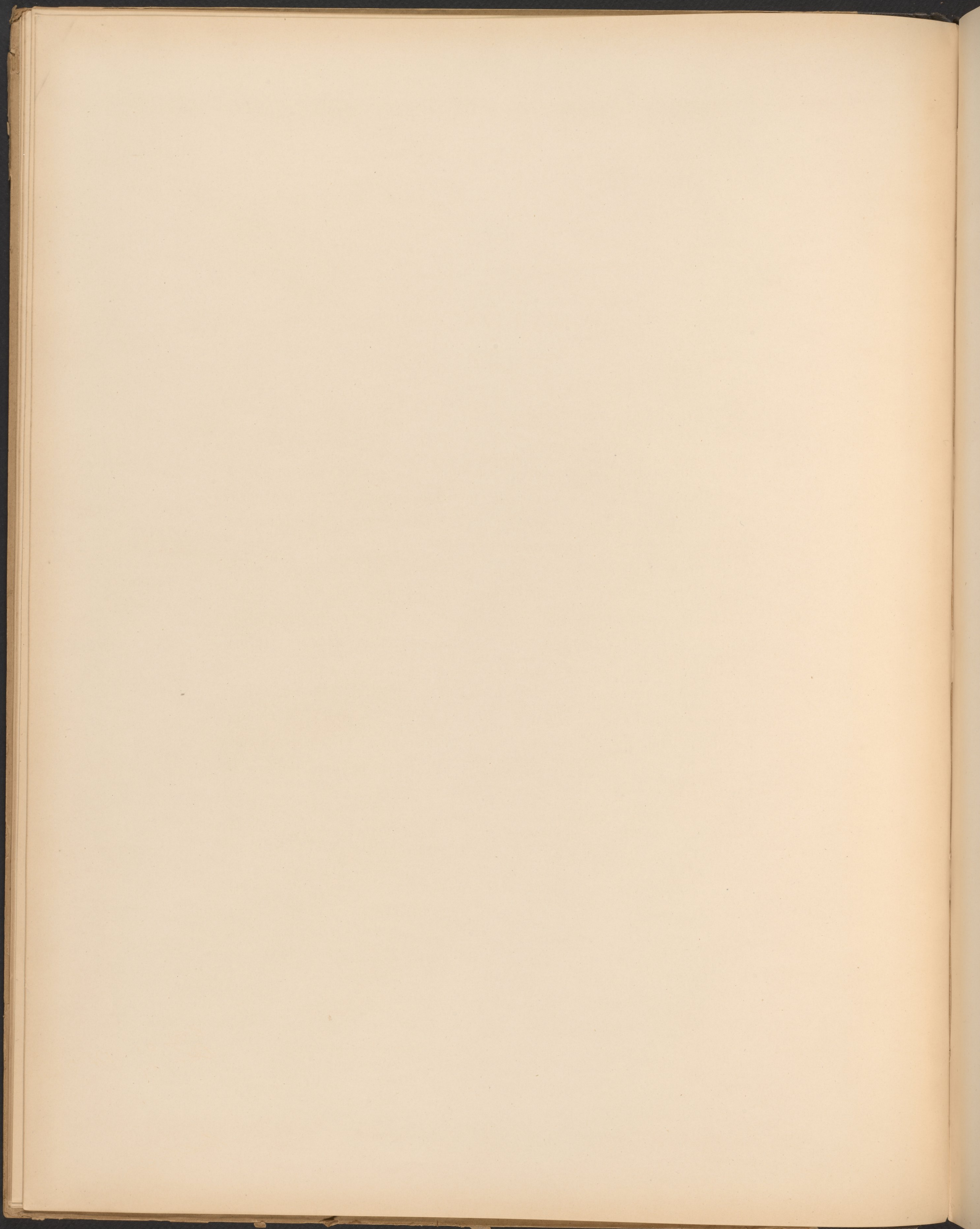
THIS volume, like the preceding one, does not contain any historical inscriptions. All the scenes are religious. The Eastern wall of the Upper Court, in particular, shows the great festival celebrated in honour of Amon, a festival which gave its name to the temple.

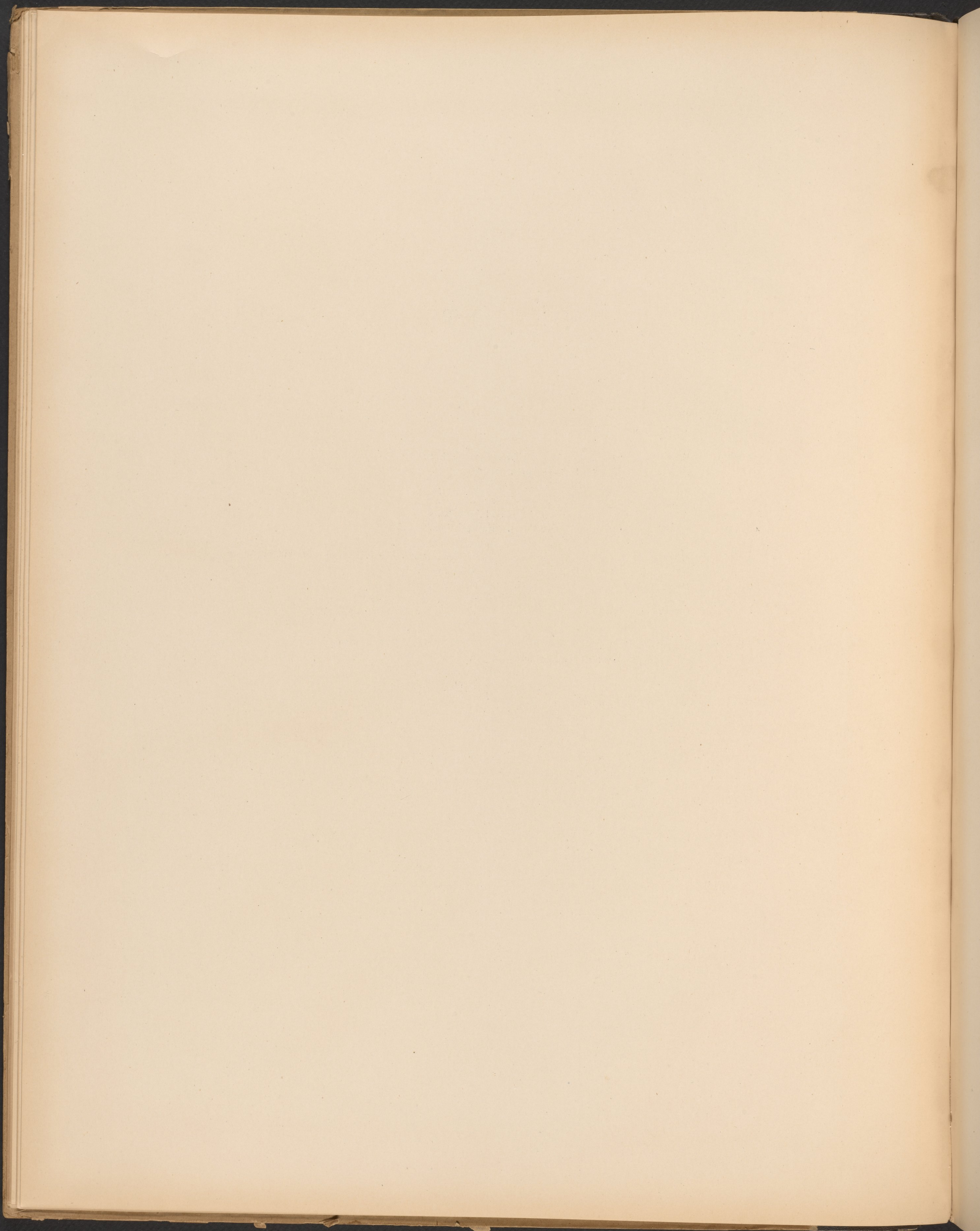
Little remains of the sculptures of the old Sanctuary, which consisted originally of two rooms: the first one where was deposited the sacred boat, in which the shrine of the god was carried forth at the great festivals; and the second one, the more sacred, where stood the shrine containing the emblems of the god.

It is probable that already in Ptolemaic times this Sanctuary had lost its sacred character; otherwise Ptolemy Physcon would not have dug beyond it a chamber dedicated to two deified men. The next volume, giving the scenes of the Lower Terrace, will complete the sculptures of the temple.

EDOUARD NAVILLE.

DEIR EL BAHARI,
January, 1906.





THE
TEMPLE OF DEIR EL BAHARI.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

PLATE CXIX.

THE UPPER COURT AND SANCTUARY.

PLAN, ELEVATION, AND SECTIONS.

THE Upper Court is built close against the limestone cliffs on the north and west, and is approached from the middle platform by an inclined plane. It was originally surrounded by a double colonnade, of which nothing now remains in place except a few bases, shown in solid lines on the plan, and four columns worked up into the later porch of entrance to the central speos or Sanctuary on the west side, which have been re-cut to harmonize with the later work. But from these and other evidences it is possible to recover the original design with a considerable degree of certainty.

The court is entered from the east by a granite doorway at the top of the inclined plane leading up from the middle platform of the temple and flanked by two tiers of colonnaded terraces.

From the court doorways give access, on the north to the North-western Hall, the Altar Court with vestibule; on the south to a square chamber and two open courts, from the western of which open the Southern Hall and another room of less importance; and on the west to the central speos or Sanctuary. This doorway is of granite, like that in the east wall, and is flanked by a series of nine niches on either side, of which five are 3.25 m. high, by 1 m. deep, and contained statues of Hatshepsu, the remaining four being 1.84 m. high and 1.75 m. deep, and originally fitted with double doors opening inwards. The five

northern niches are in great measure destroyed, and the wall built up with rough Coptic masonry.

The central speos consists of three rock-cut chambers lined with masonry. The first or eastern chamber is the principal one; it has a stone barrel roof in horizontal courses, protected from stones falling from the cliff above by an outer roof of massive inclined slabs, and three, originally four, niches in its side walls, the fourth being built up with later masonry, shown in hatched lines on the section. The second chamber has a flat ceiling and two narrow rooms north and south; the third is an addition of Ptolemaic date, with a flat ceiling. The porch of entrance to the Sanctuary is also a Ptolemaic addition. Its low side walls and the lower parts of its eastern doorway and side columns remain, but its chief interest lies in the fact that it gives a *terminus post quem non* for the destruction of the original double colonnade.

The Southern Hall retains at its west end a piece of its stone barrel vault, of similar construction to that over the sanctuary, but of wider space. There is also a fine granite stele, much defaced, in its west wall.

The other rooms were ceiled with flat slabs of stone in the usual way, and call for no special remark.

Facing the east doorway of the Southern Hall are two small cupboards or recesses, 1.25 m. above floor level.

In the open court to the east of these is what seems

to be a window, approached by steps, and commanding the passage between the two lines of columns of the eastern range of the double colonnade.¹

EXCAVATION.

The southern side of the Upper Court as well as the Sanctuary had been excavated when I began to work in 1893. Part of it was already visible in Lepsius's time, since he published a few pictures from the small room in the south-western corner. Champollion had seen the Sanctuary, Mariette began to excavate it, but left it full of blocks which had fallen in from the ceiling.

As for the northern half, it was a huge mound extending also over the North-western Hall of Offerings and the Altar Court; here and there a few Coptic constructions could be seen, made of bricks or of blocks brought from various parts of the temple. During the first season the top of the mound in the court was cleared away, down to the height of the wall separating the court from the altar. On this flat surface the

railway was laid which was used for carrying away the rubbish from the Altar Court. But in the autumn of 1893, the first thing we did was to clear entirely the northern half of the Upper Court, down to the pavement. In the eastern part we came across what was evidently the kitchen of the convent; a big terracotta caldron stood there. The Coptic walls were roughly built with blocks taken from the lower terrace, among them a stone showing the point of an obelisk lying on a boat; it was the first fragment discovered of the transportation of the obelisks, which was one of the most important scenes on the lower terrace. The niches on that side were very much ruined; they all contained pits from which the mummies had been taken away, perhaps in the 18th century, since already at that time the temple was known as one of the most abundant mines of painted coffins, which were dug out and sold by the natives. The excavation of the Southern Hall of Offerings and of the open court in front of it has already been described.

PLATES CXX. AND CXXI.

THE DOORWAY.

HERE we have the two sides of the granite doorway, giving access to the Central Court. They were both engraved with the same names, Hatshepsu and her nephew, Thothmes III. The nephew, having a subordinate position under the rule of his aunt, appears only on the lintel, the queen alone is mentioned on the doorposts on both sides.

On the lintel of the outer face the two cartouches of the queen have been erased, evidently by Amenophis IV., who scratched out the name of Amon everywhere. When the restorations were made by Rameses II., the name of Thothmes III. was inserted on the lintel and on both doorposts; the *ka* name of the queen was not scratched out, nor were the feminine pronouns.

On the outer face of the lintel the inscriptions are only the names of the two sovereigns. On the door-

¹ This architectural description has been written by Mr. C. R. Peers.


posts we read the following words: "the Horus, rich in *kas*, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the pious lord, Menkheper Ra [instead of Hatshepsu], she made her monuments to her father Amon, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, after she had made a great doorway named *Zesermennu Amon*, of granite; she is living eternally." What she calls her monuments are statues, tables of offerings, and the like, dedicated to Amon, but inscribed with her name, so that they are a record of what she has done. It is probable that there were a great number of monuments of various kinds in the Upper Court, especially in the niches.

On the inner side the inscriptions of the lintel were the names of Thothmes III. and of Hatshepsu. On both faces of the doorway the name of the queen is on the south side, which always has a kind of pre-eminence over the north; on the doorposts the name of the queen alone was inscribed.

PLATES CXXII.—CXXVI.

THE EASTERN WALL OF THE COURT.

THESE plates represent one of the most interesting scenes in the temple. It is all the more to be regretted that the sculptures have been so much destroyed by the erasures of the enemies of Amon and of the queen, and also by the Copts, who have played terrible havoc on these walls. The representations, which are on both sides of the door, are symmetrical. They both show a procession of four boats. The first two are the towing boats with numerous oarsmen. The third carries a colossus of Thothmes II. The fourth, which is also towed, is the most destroyed; evidently it contained statues or emblems of Amon and of the queen.

The few remaining fragments of inscriptions explain to us the nature of the festival sculptured on the wall. The text on the doorway has given us its names, *Zeser mennu Amon*. The word  has various senses. I believe here the best translation is, "honouring," "paying homage to," so that the door would be the entrance to the court where the statues of Amon are honoured; the festival is called *Zeseru mennu neter pen nefer*, "the honouring of the statues of this good god."


Judging from what we see, it seems probable that the statues of Amon were brought from the other side, on boats, and that they were the objects of some ritual ceremonies performed in the Upper Court of the temple. Of these ceremonies one was for the North and the other for the South. It is, perhaps, owing to this that the whole temple received the name *Zeser Zeseru*. The last of the four boats carried the statue of the god and also that of the queen, or the queen herself, or the image of her *ka*, as we see on the boats represented on a pylon built at Karnak. As the last boat is that of the queen and Amon, it is the one which had to suffer most grievously from Amenophis IV. and the enemies of Hatshepsu.

Plate CXXII.—This is the part of the festival such as is celebrated on the north side. We see first the two towing-boats, both having about twenty oars on each side. The oarsmen are standing, because they are represented at the moment of landing. It is difficult to distinguish whether each of these boats tows separately one of the last two barges, or whether they

follow each other pulling the two barges together. I should rather think, judging from what is seen in the transportation of the obelisks, that each boat tows separately, and that they follow each other in this way: first the towing-boat with the barge of the statue, and afterwards the other towing-boat with the barge of Amon and the queen.

The blocks containing the first towing-boat are now in the Berlin Museum, and have thus been rescued from destruction; they were brought by Lepsius, who saw part of this wall, but could not reach the Altar Court and its vestibule. On the forepart of the boat there is a pavilion with an ornamentation, showing the king as a bull treading his enemies under his feet. On both sides of the bull are the cartouches of Thothmes II. These may have been added afterwards, as was the case with the inscription of the transportation of the obelisks. On the next boat the cartouches near the gryphon are blank. The inscription reads thus: "the landing in the west with joy, all the land is delighted in this good festival of the god (Amon). They rejoice, they raise acclamations, and they praise the king, the lord of the two lands."

Close by we find the following words: "Worship given by the dancers of the barge of the king of Upper Egypt, Aakheperen Ra [Thothmes II.], called the *duat tawi*; they say this is the happy festival of the sovereign, in which Amon rises and increases the years of his son, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkheper Ra [Thothmes III.], who sits on the throne of Horus of the living, like Ra eternally."

We have already met with the dancers of the holy boat. They are the men who as soon as the boat has landed form the procession (pl. XC. and XCI.) and begin their choregraphic games. The qualification  given to Thothmes II. shows him to be the king whose statue is in the second boat. This statue with the insignia of Osiris has the appearance of the statue of a dead king. It is brought to take part in the festival, like smaller statues carried by the priests, of which we often see long processions. This time, as the statue came by boat, it could not be carried. I do not believe it to have been made of stone, otherwise it would be on a larger boat and would be towed by a

greater number of oarsmen. It was probably made of wood, as it had to be dragged a good distance from the landing place to the temple.

Thothmes III., although he bears his title of king, has a subordinate position in the festival, as in the other one which is described in the vestibule of the Hathor shrine. He precedes the queen and he is supposed to fulfil the office of a priest, as we see on the fourth boat. This sentence, "the god increases the years of his son," occurs again in the representation of the transportation of the obelisks, after the texts referring to the queen.

Over the second towing-boat is written: "The look-out calls: to the right, to give a happy landing to the sovereign with his father Amon for celebrating his festival, called the honouring the statues of this good god [Amon]. Worship of the dancers"

This boat, as we said, probably tows the important boat of the scene. This has fore and aft a ram's head, showing it to be a boat belonging to Amon, and at the same time it certainly contained also the queen, whether it was as a statue, as we saw in the other festival, or as a fan, the emblem of the *ka*, resting on a throne, we cannot say. But the few signs left, which refer to promises made to the queen by the gods, clearly indicate the presence of the queen. On the prow, Thothmes III. is performing some religious act. To him also belong the legs which are seen on the stern. This boat seems to be exactly similar to that on the other side, so that it is quite possible that there were two statues, of Amon and of the queen. However, I should rather think that there was only one boat of the god and queen, before which were towed the two wooden statues of Thothmes II.; in order to preserve the symmetry, this boat has been represented twice.

The procession which was engraved below the boats has been entirely destroyed on this side, as well as whatever stood between the last boat and the doorway.

Plates CXXIII.—CXXVI.—This is the part of the festival which refers to the South. In front of the four boats were two scenes, very much erased. In the first (pl. CXXIII.) we see a king, who is evidently Thothmes III., in prayer before two sitting gods. I should think they were Amon and the queen. The feet are seen of a third god, whom it is impossible to recognize. Behind the king are fragments of the usual titles.

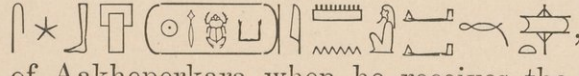
In the next scene¹ we see Thothmes III. again. His head is destroyed, but his body is well preserved. Before him a long procession of priests is restored, as well as a few lines referring to Amon, and part of the king's titles. I believe that the king stood behind the queen, and that all the priests of the procession were restored by Rameses II., as well as the lines of vertical hieroglyphs which probably cover the figure of Hatshepsu. It is to be noted that in the procession one figure alone has been spared; it is one representing a statue of Thothmes I.

Plate CXXIV.—This long line of priests marches towards the king, but suddenly the figures are turned the other way. It coincides with the place where the boats appear on the upper line. We see first the two towing-boats. The texts above are very fragmentary and a little different: "the ruler, the son of Amon, who navigates towards Thebes which Her Majesty made anew. Never was made such a thing let us give her health (and grant her) millions of Sed periods." The boats are exactly like those on the other side. The men who are seen sitting between the oarsmen are probably the dancers. Over the second boat are a few signs. If they are complete, they read thus: "who loves Ra. The god bequeaths them to the ruler and Amon in his might" The statue of Thothmes II., with the headdress of the North, is better preserved than that on the other side, while the boat of Amon and the queen is completely erased.

Under the boats are two processions coming from right and left, and converging towards a middle scene where stood probably the throne of the queen, similar to that of Thothmes III. carried behind hers; the queen's throne has been replaced by an altar before which stand six priests with raised hands, who say: "Come, come, divine Lord, Amon, creator of the two lands, to rest in Thebes." Behind them two men sacrifice a bull.

Plate CXXV.—The other side of the procession is much better preserved, as it shows the throne of Thothmes III. We see first the royal attendants, the noblemen, the friends, and the priests who are said to be the followers of his majesty; then comes his

¹ Pl. CXXIII.—The upper line fits on the right side of the lower one.

Plate CXXIX.—The chamber of which this is the northern wall has been terribly destroyed by the Copts. The southern wall has disappeared entirely. This room was built by Hatshepsu to her dead father, Thothmes I. There he was to be worshipped and to receive offerings exactly like those which were presented to her in the adjoining hall, even during her lifetime. Hatshepsu seems always to have been grateful to her father, probably because in associating her in the royal power he had tried to make her the legitimate heir of the crown. Since we know that she put her father's coffin in her tomb, we need not wonder that she built also to Thothmes I. a funerary hall of offerings next to her own. The name of this chamber is: , "the chamber of Aakheperkara when he receives the north wind of Amon."

Thothmes I., with his *ka* behind him, is seated on a throne, exactly like that of his daughter in the next room. Before him is an altar covered with all kinds of cakes, meats and vegetables; the text says that "All the good things are collected on the altar." It is Seb who is said to lead the procession of priests, similar to that coming towards the queen in the next hall. Very little remains of the procession; at the end of the room Hatshepsu, standing, is dedicating all these things to her father.

This is the only instance where we see Hatshepsu acting as priestess to her father. There were probably some others which have disappeared with the erasures. Here the queen is erased; Thothmes I. has been left intact as well as his *ka*. The sculptures are very delicate, but they have suffered grievously at the hands of the Copts.

PLATES CXXX.—CXXXIII.

CHAMBER AT SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF UPPER COURT.


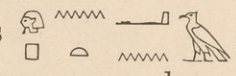
It is not always easy to recognize the purpose for which some of the chambers were built. This is the case with a small chamber which opens in the south-western corner of the Central Court, and which has a ceiling of large blocks painted blue, with yellow stars. However, the inscription seems to show that it is the , the *pa duat*, where special ceremonies were performed every day. This chamber of worship is specially dedicated, not to the queen, but to Amon himself, as we gather from the sculptures, where no other god appears but him.

Plate CXXX.—The doorway was inscribed with the names of the queen and her nephew. On the lintel and on the scene next to the entrance, the name of Hatshepsu has been replaced by that of Thothmes II., as is the case on nearly all sculptures in the Upper Court. The doorposts both indicate that the chamber was consecrated to Amon. On the left, the one belonging to Thothmes III., his cartouche is *Menkheperkara*, a cartouche which he gave up entirely when he reigned alone, and which is only employed in places where, not being in the immediate vicinity of the queen, he might be thought to reign alone in his own right.

Above the lintel are engraved the chief offerings which will be brought to the god. On the top row

are vases of different forms, containing various kinds of incense or oil. Among them is , "the best quality of anti." On the lower row are boxes said to contain bags of some substance, the first is called the first bag, but we do not know of what. The second box seems to contain some tissue. The third one cannot be determined, the signs being indistinct. As for the fourth and the fifth boxes, they appear to contain precious stones.

The goddess, who had been completely erased, is not of very frequent occurrence. She is the female form of Amon, Amonit. Her statue was found at Karnak not long ago. Khuenaten destroyed her as completely as he did her consort.

Plate CXXXI.—The queen, whose name has been changed, as everywhere in this chamber, into that of Thothmes II., offers to Amon four vases of a kind of scent. The vases are probably of glass. Behind her is her *ka*, whom I believe to be the protective element, the *sa*, without whom she could not live; and in fact it is said of him, that "he is the royal *ka*, the living one, the lord of the two lands, in his shrine in the Pa Duat; he gives her all life, happiness, stability, all health, in his power, all joy, in his power, as to Ra." Above the queen is, as usual, the vulture-goddess, Nekheb, holding the ring, which may be

interpreted either as one of the halves of the country, or as one of the two periods of her life assimilated to that of the sun.

The offering is made to "Amon Ra, the bull of his mother, the great god, the lord of the sky," who says: "Daughter of my bowels who loves me, lord of the two lands, (I have given thee the shares) of the two gods, their years in life and happiness. I have nurtured thee to be the lady of the double crown, when thou wast still as a bird in its nest. I know the buildings thou hast made for me. Thou hast filled my temples with the choicest things of the two lands, I will give thee all the lands and all the countries. The orbit of the solar disk in the sky is obedient to thee and brings thee joy. Thou reignest over the two lands, living like Ra eternally."

Plate CXXXII.—This scene, engraved on the wall opposite the former, was very similar. The chief difference was that, being on the other side, it had, instead of the vulture Nekheb, the bird Uazit, with a serpent head. The queen as well as Amon have been

entirely erased; but the engravers of Rameses II. did not replace her; they sculptured an altar instead, covered with cakes and vegetables. The original sculpture showed the queen offering two kinds of oil, one called *sed heb* and the other *heken*. Now the *ka* is supposed to make the offering; over his head have been engraved the epithets belonging to Thothmes II. and also this king's cartouches, in place of those of the queen. His titles are identical with those on the other side. It is the same with Amon, the words only which he pronounces are a little different: "Thou hast well established my names, thou hast enriched my altar, thou hast done that which my *ka* loves"; and it ends with the usual promise of a great number of Sed periods.

Plate CXXXIII.—On the south wall, opposite the entrance, the queen appears with Thothmes III., her nephew. They both offer garments, tissues, to the god, who is seen standing. He promises to the queen eternal years, while he says to Thothmes III. that his heart is very pleased to see his beauties.

PLATES CXXXIV.—CXXXVI.

NICHES OF THE WESTERN WALL.

ON both sides of the entrance to the sanctuary two alternate series of niches have been cut in the rock. There are five higher ones of small depth, and four lower ones deeper with representations on three sides. I believe these niches, especially the small ones, to have contained either statues or emblems of Amon, or what seems more probable, statues of the *ka*, the double of the queen; thus these niches would have corresponded to the *serdab* in the tombs of the Old Empire, where the various kinds of images of the double of the deceased were collected.

Plate CXXXIV.—We see here two of the high niches, and one of the lower ones from the outside. They are very much alike. The inscriptions are merely dedications; they are all in the name of the queen, which the Ramessides changed into that of Thothmes II.

The inscription of the high niches begins with the inner line. After the title of the queen, it says that "she made her buildings to her father Amon (erased), the lord of the sky. As was made to him a great

temple of millions of years (called) the temple of Amon Zeseru, (made) of good white limestone, in his sacred place of the first anniversary; he causes her to receive all life, shining on the throne of Horus, like Ra, eternally."

The inscriptions on the second high niche differ only in a few signs. It is also merely dedicatory.

Inside the high niches, the representations of the end wall are destroyed everywhere. On the sides, the height of which is divided into four parts, the top is always occupied by the *ka* name of the queen, and sometimes her cartouche; and below are three gods, one above the other.




The entrance to the small niche bears the name of the queen on the right and that of Thothmes III. on the left. Over the lintel is a scene which is often found in temples, and which occurs again on the lower terrace. The king offers to Amon four calves, each of them of different colours, which are indicated. The upper one is spotted black and white, the second is red, the third white, and the fourth black.

These calves are probably to be sacrificed to Amon,


and have to be consecrated. For this the king touches them with the long stick which he holds in his right hand. Sometimes this stick is a mace, and other texts show us that he has to do it four times.

The niches which are found in other parts of the temple, such as the Altar Court or its vestibule, were decorated in the same manner (Vol. I., pl. III., V., VI., VII.). On the end wall stood the queen between a god and goddess, who are not the same in all the niches. On the side walls the queen is seen seated before an altar of offerings dedicated to her by the priest Anmutef. In the niches of the Upper Court there is a slight difference, the queen being generally assimilated to a king; she is seen only on the end wall and on one of the sides. The other side is occupied by one of the three kings who shared with her the royal power: her father, Thothmes I., her husband, Thothmes II., or her nephew, Thothmes III.

On the south side of the sanctuary the queen is always on the end wall, and on the right side of the niche. When we speak of the queen, we mean in the original sculpture, for she has been either erased or replaced by Thothmes II. In the first deep niche we see with her Thothmes II.; in the second Thothmes I., her father; in the third and fourth, owing to the state of destruction of the walls, we cannot say with certainty whether it was not, as in the second, Thothmes I. who appeared opposite the queen.

The two side representations are not exactly alike. We always see the king with an outstretched arm seated before an altar plentifully provided with all kinds of offerings. Over the head of the king are his two cartouches. Behind the altar is, on the left side, the priest Anmutef, with his leopard skin; the priest has been erased and restored. In front of him is the name , also erased and restored, and these words , followed by a cartouche which is everywhere the same as that of the seated king, except in one case (pl. CXXXV.). On the right side, behind the altar, stands not the priest Anmutef but the god Thoth himself (pl. CXXXVI.). He has been erased and restored; it is the same also with the name of the god , Amon, who stood in front of him.

On the north side of the doorway we have also a series of nine niches, five of them high, and four deep. They are very much destroyed. We can, however, recognize that the style of decoration was absolutely the same; at the end the queen, wearing the head-dress of Lower Egypt, between god and goddess; on one of the sides she

is seated; there it is always on the left side, whereas in the southern series it is on the right; on the north it is the Anmutef who is in front of her. In one of the instances the lower cartouche of the queen has been replaced by , "the Anmutef, the priest of the sanctuary." On the south side we have seen that the god Thoth always stood before the queen.

The Anmutef is not always a priest of the dead. We have seen him before (pl. LXIII.) in the pictures of the coronation pouring water on the head of the queen in the sanctuary. In the niches he is often before a dead sovereign, Thothmes I. or Aahmes, but we see him repeatedly before the queen, who was certainly living when the temple was built, and when the decorations were made.



In other funerary temples, like that of Goornah, we see the king as his own Anmutef, himself acting as priest to his own person considered as that of a god. It seems to me that in the numerous representations of these niches we must explain in this way the fact that above and below we always have the same cartouche and therefore translate the words , "royal offering of," or "made by." At the same time I consider that the offering king takes the appearance of Amon or Thoth. The Anmutef is a divine being, otherwise the figure of this priest would not have been erased with his name.

Plate CXXXV. is particularly interesting, because it is the only instance in these niches where the two cartouches are not the same above and below. The king to whom the offering is made is Thothmes II. Here his name is original, and beautifully engraved; below, the cartouche in front of the Anmutef is that of Thothmes III. This is confirmation of what Thothmes says in one of his inscriptions, that he was the Anmutef; here he acts in this quality towards his father. Before the seated king are these words, , which are obscure. They are found in all such scenes, also in the Sanctuary. According to Brugsch they mean "purification of the king," but one does not see what they have to do with the scene.

The list of offerings is identical everywhere. We have met with it already in the niches of the Altar Court (pl. VI. and VII.).

Plate CXXXVI. Opposite Thothmes II., on the right side of the niches, was the queen, whose cartouche has been changed into that of her husband. The priest on that wall is the god Thoth himself.

PLATES CXXXVII.—CXLVII.

THE OLD SANCTUARY.

THE Sanctuary which Hatshepsu built to the temple consisted of two consecutive rooms. The first was by far the largest. Judging from the inscriptions, it must have contained the sacred boats of Amon. At the end opened a smaller room, in which probably stood a shrine hiding the emblem of the god, and perhaps also of the queen. This seems to me the room where the ebony shrine, of which we found a panel, was deposited.

Both rooms have been very badly treated by the Copts. The smoke of their candles has destroyed the colours; and besides, as the walls occasionally needed some repairs, they have inserted pieces of stone, without any regard for the sculptures which they wished to eradicate. As the Sanctuary has been opened for years, both Champollion and Lepsius saw it and published parts of the sculptures. Since their time it has suffered much at the hands of travellers; many fragments have been cut out and sold: for instance, the interesting representations of Thothmes II. A comparison of the present publication with Lepsius's book shows the extent of the destruction.

Plate CXXXVII.—The entrance to the Sanctuary consists of a granite doorway with inscriptions on both faces. As usual, the name of the door and of the chamber to which it leads is engraved on the foot of the door-post, "the door of Thothmes III. [Ramaka] where Amon rests in her buildings." This name shows that the god himself or his emblems had his dwelling in those chambers.

On both door-jambs stood the queen, whose names have been altered to that of Thothmes III., seen above. On one side she is wearing the head-dress of Lower Egypt, and opposite that of Upper Egypt. Nothing has been erased and restored except the cartouches and the name of Amon. All the titles of the queen have been preserved.

On the lintel were two scenes of offering of wine to the god Amon, who was represented twice, seated, and who has been completely erased. Owing to the height of the scenes, the restorations are very incomplete; the god's plumes and his name have been summarily engraved, as well as the cartouche of Thothmes III. instead of that of the queen. In both scenes, which

differ only in the head-dresses, the queen, and behind her Thothmes III., are seen kneeling and holding up vases of wine.

Plate CXXXVIII.—The ceiling of the Sanctuary being a false arch, the inner face of the doorway has for lintel an arched slab, where we again see two scenes of offerings to Amon: on the south side Thothmes III. presenting cakes to the god; on the north side the queen, who again brings him some wine.


The erasures have not been very deep; no restoration has been made; therefore no name has been inscribed instead of that of the queen.

Plate CXXXIX.—The blocks of which the doorway is made being very thick, there was room to engrave some inscriptions, right and left of the people going in. These sculptures are divided into two parts, the upper one where the queen is kneeling, and making an offering to the god who is in the sanctuary. This part is incompletely preserved on the north side, but it has disappeared opposite. The lower part is a speech made by Thoth to Amon.

We begin on the south side: the first three lines are nearly destroyed.

. to thee, she salutes thee, she speaks,
 . . . life, she cools thee with fresh water, she gives thee incense;
 thy *ka* is satisfied when she fumigates thee with the eye of
 thine own body,¹ her incense.
 the scent which comes out of thy limbs. She
 presents to thy head the *nemt* vases; she purifies thee with
 natron, with grains of nitre she clothes thee
 with with the band of the goddess Tait she gives
 thee to widen thou art exalted, thou art born like
 Khepra! . . .
 Her Majesty anoints thee with paint which has been prepared (?)
 by a god for Amon, the lord of the two lands.
 her hands bring her gifts; she increases the cake offerings which
 have been made by . . .
 for Amon, the lord of the thrones of the two lands, when thou
 rearest in thy building where thy beauties are worshipped,
 give her life, duration and happiness
 this building, fine, very great, pure, lasting, well
 made, which she made for thee.

On both sides of this speech to Amon made by Thoth have been represented two fragments of the decoration of the inner face of the doorway; they both

¹ A sentence drawn from the Ritual, where the incense, like many other offerings, is called , the eye of Horus.

represent two women carrying vases; one is for the North, the other for the South. Above them is a group which is the name of that first room of the Sanctuary: "the house of the horizon of Amon, of Ramaka."

Plate CXL.—Beneath the queen offering wine to the god is another speech of Thoth to Amon:—

Said by Thoth, the lord of Shmûn [Hermopolis], The king Ramaka is come to thee, Amon Ra, lord of the thrones of the two lands; thou art rejoiced because of this, thy daughter, thy image, give her
 . . . all life . . . that is in thy possession, all thou lovest. All thy altars are plentifully supplied; thou receivest the gifts with which thy *ka* is pleased.
 . . . thou art gratified by this abundance. Her Majesty is presenting it to thee, she brings all sorts of good things; her hands are pure, and she presents thee with thy victuals, thou receivest
 . . . on thy tables, and thou art satisfied; she puts before thee sacred offerings and the duties of the first day of the seasons, in the great festivals.
 her Majesty granted them anew; when her Majesty gave thee thy victuals she presented thee with offerings, she caused that be given bulls
 calves the choice of her stables, oryx, antelopes, gazelles,
 geese
 innumerable, all things good and pure in order to please thy *ka*
 thy property
 . . . eternal, a king of Upper and Lower Egypt, with millions of Sed periods.
 . . . as reward of these things she made for thee. She herself made it for thee that she may live eternally.

Plate CXLI.—This is part of the long wall of the large chamber of the Sanctuary on the south side. The sculptures began with a tall Amon, in front of whom stood the queen. She has been completely erased. Her titles only remain, and part of the restored figure of Amon, who makes her the usual promises.

The chief ornament of this wall was the boat of Amon, which has now disappeared. But we can still see before it the queen, whose name has been changed to that of Thothmes III. She presents the god with an altar of offerings; she also holds up to him two vases containing wine or milk. Behind her is a young princess named Raneferu, said to be the daughter of the king, who loves him. As the original king is Hatshepsu, there can hardly be any doubt that this was her daughter, whom she perhaps intended for the wife of Thothmes III., her nephew. She must have died young, for she does not appear after her mother's death, when Thothmes III. reigned alone.

Behind the boat were the same figures which we shall see on the wall opposite: Thothmes I. and his queen Aahmes, Hatshepsu's father and mother, and Thothmes II. her husband, all of them said to be dead.

Plate CXLII.—In the lower part of the wall just above the floor we see a very interesting representation which was continued on the other side. It is the garden of the temple, which can hardly have been in the immediate vicinity, in the absolutely barren and waterless desert where the temple stands. Nevertheless, we see three large ponds with plenty of water-fowl and fish. The inscription on the left side reads thus: "Ponds of milk made by her Majesty, that they may be close to this god when he rests in Zeser Zeseru, in order that she may live eternally." The inscription on the right side of the ponds is very much destroyed; it speaks of fishing. What these ponds of milk mean it is difficult to say, unless it be a way of indicating the perfection of the water which they contain—it is as good to drink as milk, for which Orientals have a special liking.

Above the ponds is the garden, where is growing a great quantity of that tall vegetable often seen behind Amon, which is supposed to be lettuce.

Plate CXLIII.—The scene on the north wall was very much alike that opposite; but as it did not begin with Amon, there was room in front of the boat for Hatshepsu and Thothmes III., behind whom also came the young princess Raneferu. A comparison of this plate with the same scene published by Lepsius shows the amount of destruction that has taken place. The queen offers cold water, and the king milk.¹

Plate CXLIV.—Behind the boat, which on this side also has been destroyed, are figures in two rows. The lower one² shows Thothmes II. standing, with a mace and sceptre. He is followed by his *ka*. He is said to be dead. He has no queen with him, since his wife Hatshepsu was living.

Plate CXLV.—The upper row³ shows Thothmes I., who is said to be dead, as well as his queen, the royal sister, the royal wife Aahmes. In front of Thothmes I. is a quite young princess, who having an uraeus had perhaps a right to the throne. She is called *Khebneferu*, and from Lepsius's copy we learn that she is said to be dead. She probably died before Thothmes I. took Hatshepsu as his associate.⁴

Plates CXLVI. and CXLVII.—In the Sanctuary were niches exactly on the same plan as the one in the court. On the end wall the queen is always

¹ See LEPSIUS, *Denkm.* iii. 20a.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid. 8b.

⁴ Ibid. iii. 19.


seen before Amon; on one side she appears again, and another queen or a king opposite. Here we see the queen, and on the other side her mother Aahmes. The Anmutef makes the offering to both, and the two cartouches on each side are always the same. Lepsius published one in which Thothmes II. is seen opposite the queen; but, unlike the niche in the court, it is his cartouche also which is engraved before the Anmutef.

These niches are very much ruined. In one which is at the entrance we see Hatshepsu and Thothmes III., but the Anmutef is destroyed.

In the second room of the Sanctuary were two niches, one on each side, much larger and on a different plan. They look more like small chapels. The sculptures are so much destroyed that they could not be reproduced; however, the subjects engraved on

the walls can be recognized. At the end wall is always Hatshepsu. In the chapel on the north side she makes an offering to Menthu, and on the left wall she has been replaced by Thothmes II. and is before a god, who may be Tum; on the right wall Thothmes III. is worshipping a god, who has been destroyed.

In the chapel on the south side, the end wall shows Hatshepsu making offerings to a god, who has been destroyed, and on the right wall she is before Horus, while opposite Thothmes III. worships a rare goddess


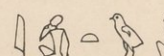


 "Anit, the daughter of Ra."

It is probable that on the end wall there was a representation of Amon, perhaps a group cut out of the rock. It was destroyed when the last chamber of the Sanctuary was made.

PLATES CXLVIII.—CL.


THE PTOLEMAIC CHAMBER.

THE last chamber introduces us to a completely different period. We come down to about 140 B.C., to the reign of Ptolemy IX., Euergetes II., also called Physcon, who was twenty-nine years on the throne, with two Cleopatras, one of them his sister, and the other one his niece and also his wife. "The verdict of the historians is unanimous that he was a monster of cruelty and vice. He is set down by Strabo, along with the fourth and the last Ptolemy, as by far the worst in a dynasty which was rich in vices." However, considering that he lived long and prospered and died in peace at a ripe old age, Prof. Mahaffy thinks that there may be some exaggeration in the reports of the later historians.

Curiously this chamber does not seem to have been dedicated to a deity, but to two men who were both deified: Amenophis, the son of Hapi, and Imhotep, the son of Phtah. The north wall belongs to Amenophis, the south wall to Imhotep. These men were both famous for their learning and for their great wisdom. Amenophis lived under the reign of his namesake, Amenophis III. He was the son of a priest called , *Hapu*, and his mother was called , *Atu*, but here it is different. His father is the Hapi Apis bull, with his epithet of , "he who lives again"; however, the god keeps the title of priest , which was that of the human father of

Amenophis. His mother seems to be Hathor, who stands behind him.

Plate CXLVIII.—Although the inscriptions of this plate are on the door, they are not beginnings. On both sides they are the end of the neighbouring texts of the walls in the room. On the right side they are to be placed before Imhotep, after the two vertical lines in front of him, the two horizontal fragments completing the long lines above and below the gods. On the left it is the same with Amenophis. These texts eulogize what the two men are doing for the gods.

Plate CXLIX.—Opposite Amenophis we find the other deified man, Imhotep. He holds a sceptre which he stretches towards , the goddess of Thebes, who is said to give birth to the provinces or nomes. But it must be a celestial Thebes, since it is surrounded by stars which are said to be its inhabitants.

Imhotep has numerous titles. He is "the great *Kherheb*, the first chief one of the ibis, Imhotep, the son of Phtah, Anebefres, who listens to him who implores him, on the western side of Thebes, who does good to its inhabitants, transmitting them life, giving strength to its dwellers and joy, and enriching the land."

Behind Imhotep is a goddess who has some likeness to Hathor; I believe it is his mother who has been deified also, who has titles and who speaks like a goddess:—

"The divine mother, the good nurse, *Khrudankhit*, who appears in the Mendesian nome, and who puts her son on earth at Ankh^htauⁱ [part of Memphis] the fifteenth day of Epiphi." These titles could hardly apply to an ordinary woman; still less what she says: "I give thee life, I join to it health, my protective power, Imhotep, is guarding thee."

After her comes another goddess who may have been his wife, "the divine sister Neferrenput, the lady of the lock, the beloved lady who gives joy to the heart of her brother, and who exalts his person by what she has done."

She also speaks like a divine being, "My protection is behind thee, covering thee, I am thy sister who loveth thee." She wears the insignia of the goddess of years. If she is Imhotep's wife, like her husband she has been put among the divinities.

As on the other side, we see a pedestal on which stand four deities, two of them being in a shrine, and having bodies of female hippopotamus. There is only one male god. The first in the series is "Neith Ament residing at Thebes," with her usual appearance, that of a woman with the headdress of Lower Egypt. Behind her in a shrine stands the goddess called on the opposite side Apet; here she is styled, "the living one, who devours the beings, who consumes with her fire, the lady of victuals, the ruler of beings, who calms the enemies of all men." Further she speaks of her son, born of Tum: "I am protecting him for he is called (?) Horus." It is evidently Hor Hiken of the other side, who has exactly the same appearance.

The last goddess in a shrine, with the body of a hippopotamus and the head of a vulture, is called "Hikent, on the head of her lord, the daughter of Ra"; she is evidently a magician, for she says: "I vivify thee and all human beings, with the fluid coming out of my limbs."

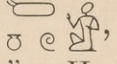


Imhotep has the title of , which has often been translated "physician." He is certainly an interesting character. We have seen that he is said to listen to him who implores him; in the inscription at the end of the wall we read that "millions and hundreds of thousands call on him, and he never sleeps at night and in the day." Therefore he is said to be , "the beneficent god," a title which he seems to have deserved better than the king who made this chamber for him.

Plate CL.—Amenophis, although he is a god, is still the *kherheb*, the master of ceremonies, who is

the reciting-priest of Thoth, the ibis-god, to whom he addresses the following words, "Hail to thee, Thoth, who pleasest the gods, who lovest Maat and residest in Hermopolis, the lord of commands who lives at [Thebes], who shines as the only one, and who creates millions; all things are born when he speaks; give me to have a divine heart always, that I may worship the lord of the thrones of the two lands at Thebes."

Amenophis offers the sign  to a kind of cartouche, which I believe to be a representation of the goddess Nut, the sky. It is full of stars, which are said to be the inhabitants of Nut. Amenophis is said to be "the good scribe, the first one of the ibis, the son of the Apis bull who lives again, the prophet of Amon who loves him, the wise (?) heart proceeding from Seshait, the divine essence of Aprehui [Thoth]."

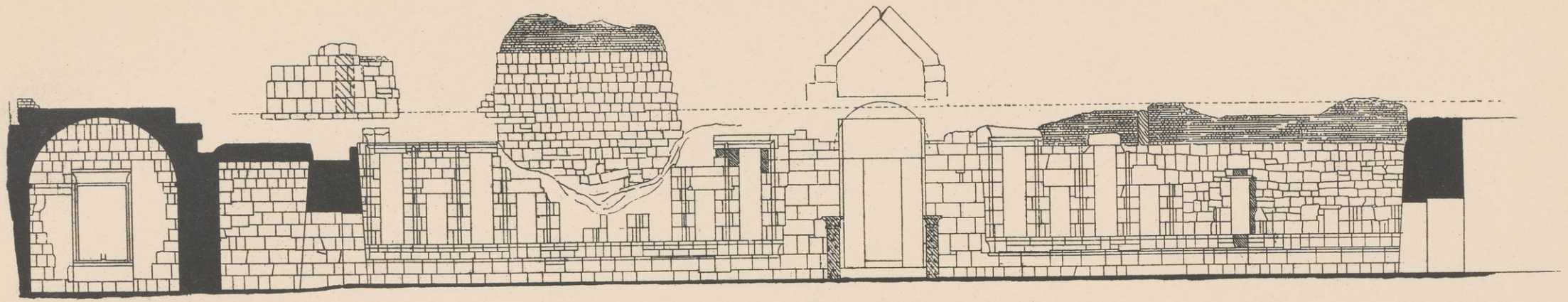
Behind him Hathor stretches her hand. She is "the divine mother of the great god." I cannot help thinking that this great god is Amenophis himself, "who rises out of her, on this good day, the tenth of Phamenot, when she is called the joyous one."

Behind Hathor is a pedestal on which stand two gods and two goddesses; the gods are smaller than the female deities, who are both in shrines. The first of the gods is Phtah, "the handsome one, who resides at Thebes." Then comes "the great Apet who is in the sky," with this curious epithet: "the divine mother in the silver shrine, who protects men when is shaken he who is in the great palace." She promises her protection against all enemies. She is followed by a young man, quite naked, "the high one who loves his mother, the son of Tum, the son of Phtah, the son of Hathor the beloved, the lord of victory, Hor Hiken, who sees the gods." Hor Hiken, a not very frequent form of Horus, is found also at Bubastis.

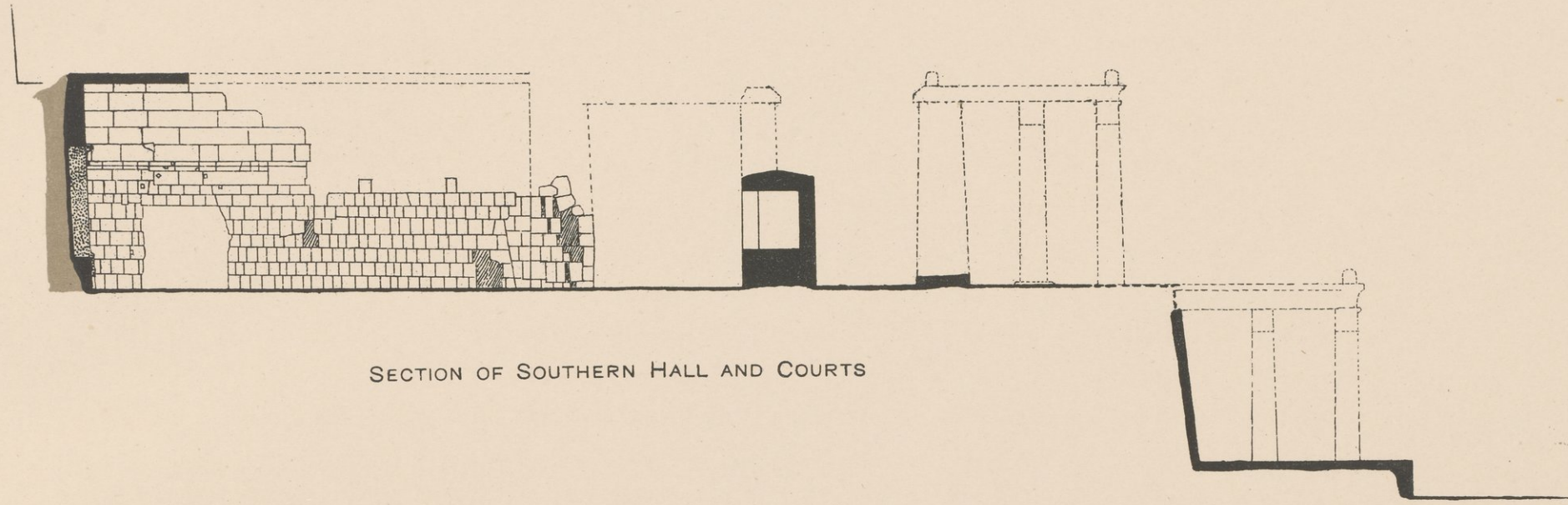
The scene ends with another ugly goddess in a shrine, with a lion's head. She is called "the daughter of Tum who loves her father, the ghost of ghosts, of exalted beauty, who gives victuals and provisions; with numerous faces and a great number of years."

The sculptures at the end wall are destroyed. We can hardly understand why this Ptolemaic king broke through the end wall of the Sanctuary of Hatshepsu, in order to make this place of worship for two deified men.

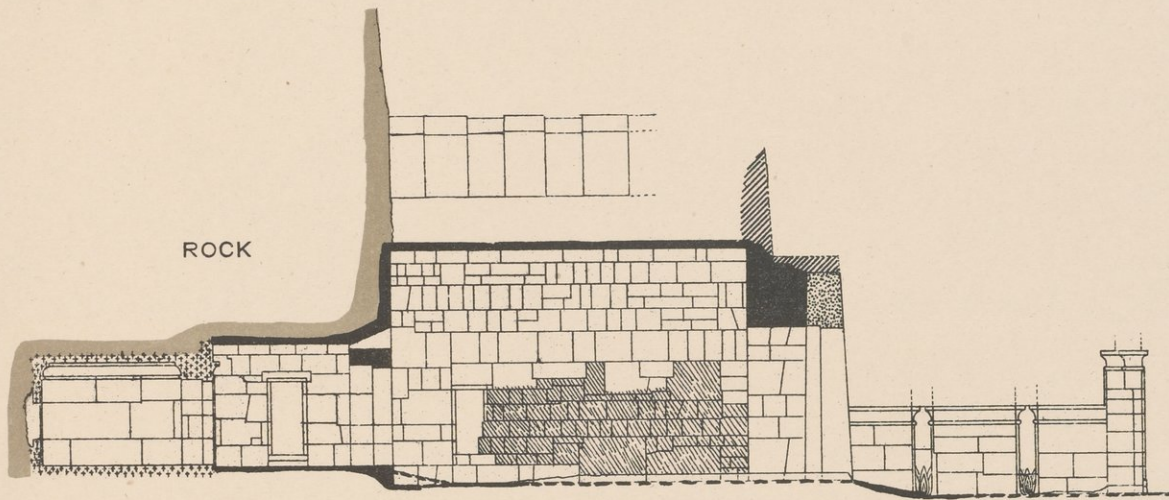
It is to be noticed that, among the graffiti engraved on Ptolemaic pillars at the entrance of the Sanctuary, there is one of the man Imhotep, son of Petkhons, who indicates as an ancestor of his mother the scribe Amenophis.




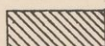
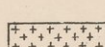

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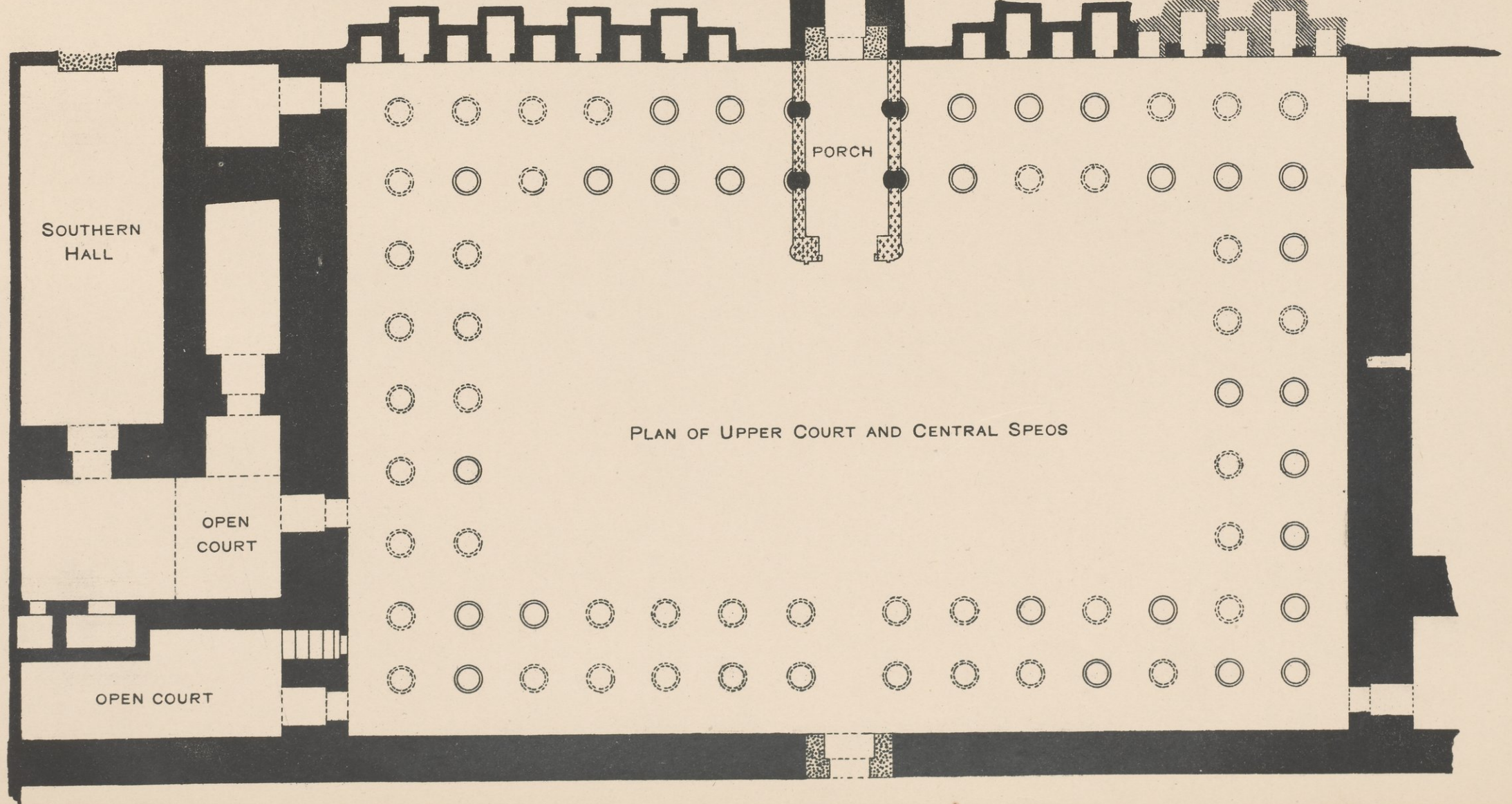
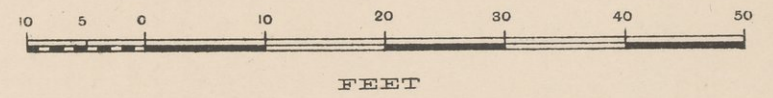
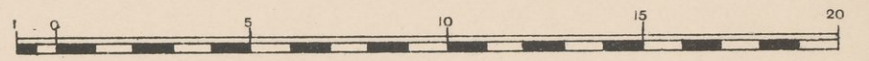


SECTION OF SOUTHERN HALL AND COURTS

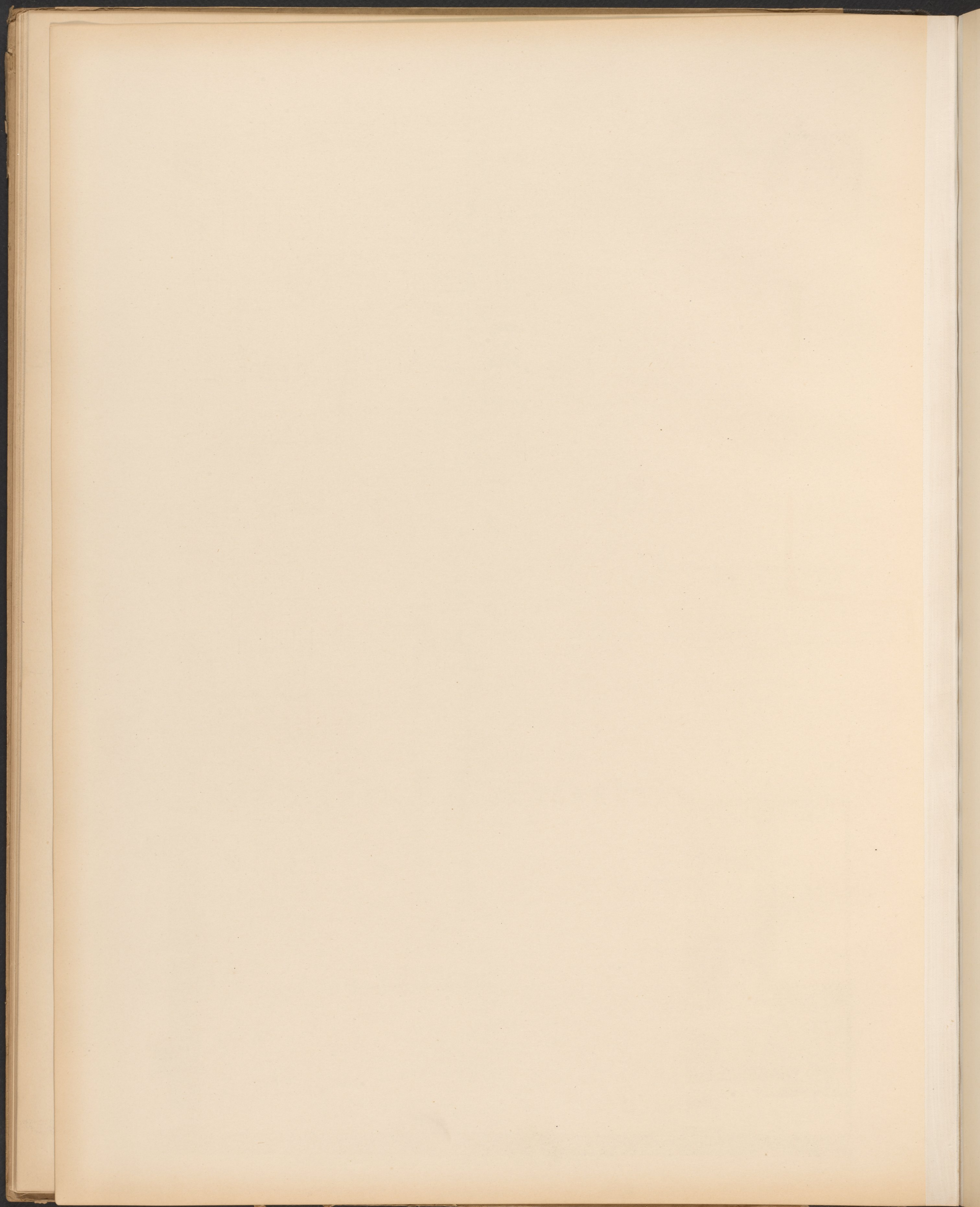


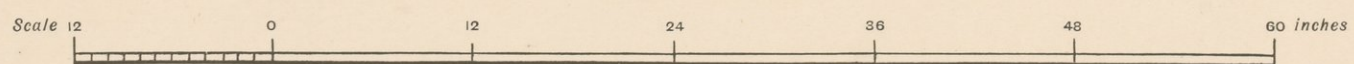
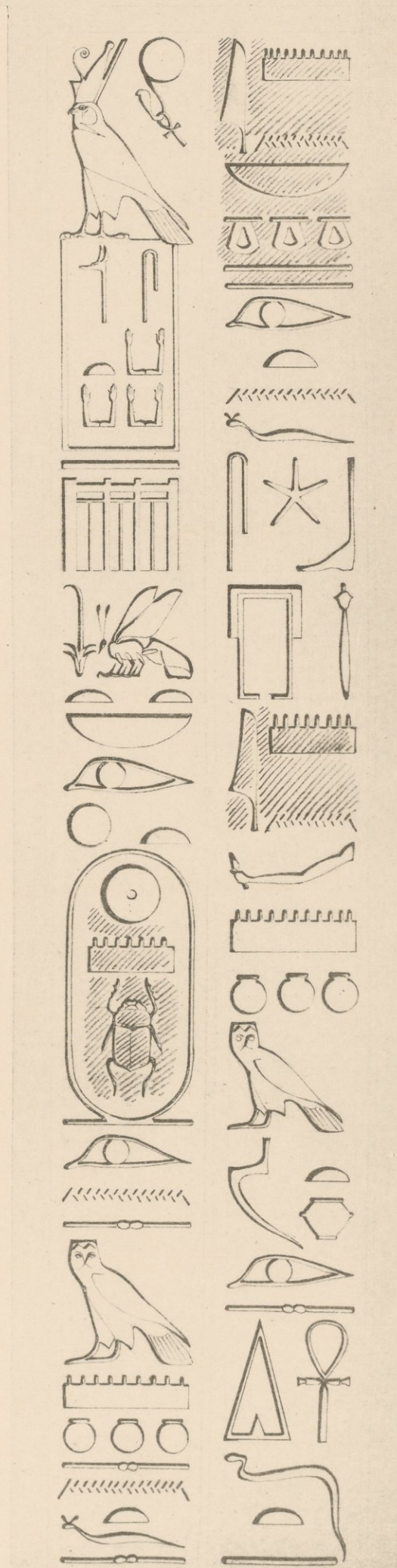
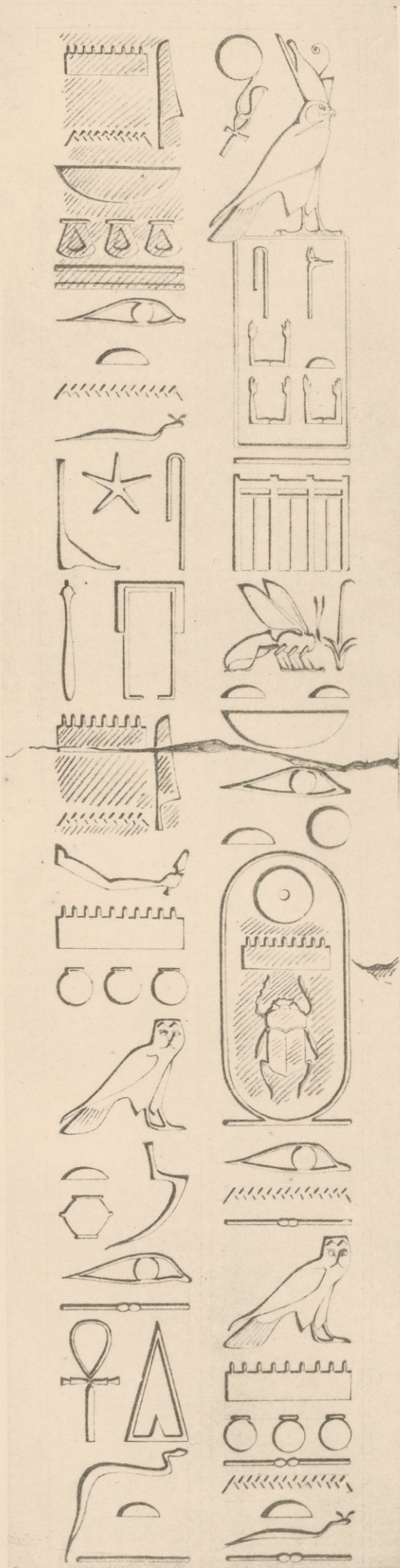
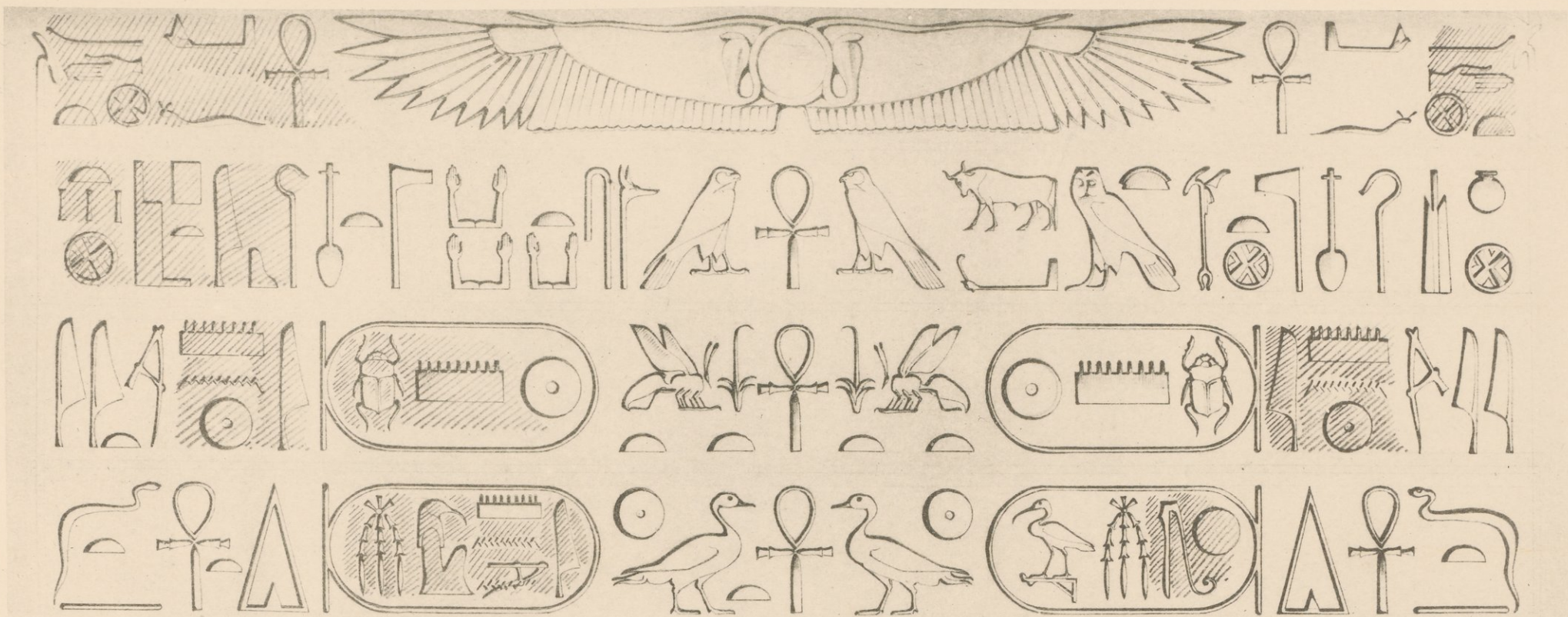
SECTION OF CENTRAL SPEOS AND PORCH

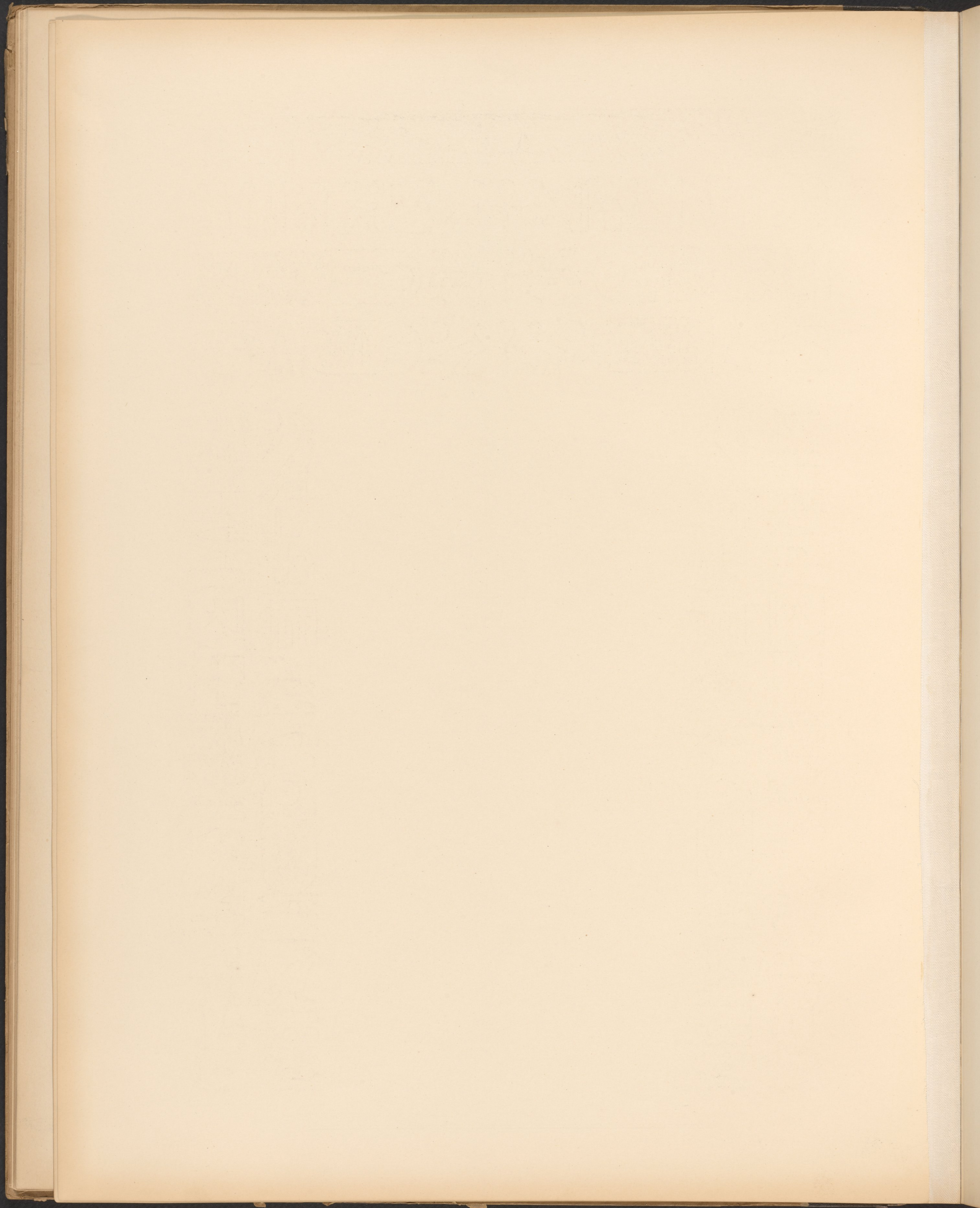
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-  = GRANITE

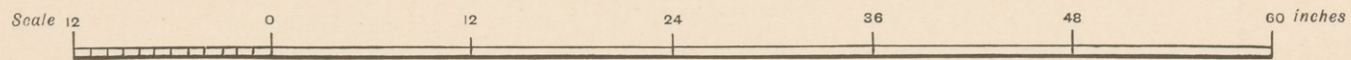


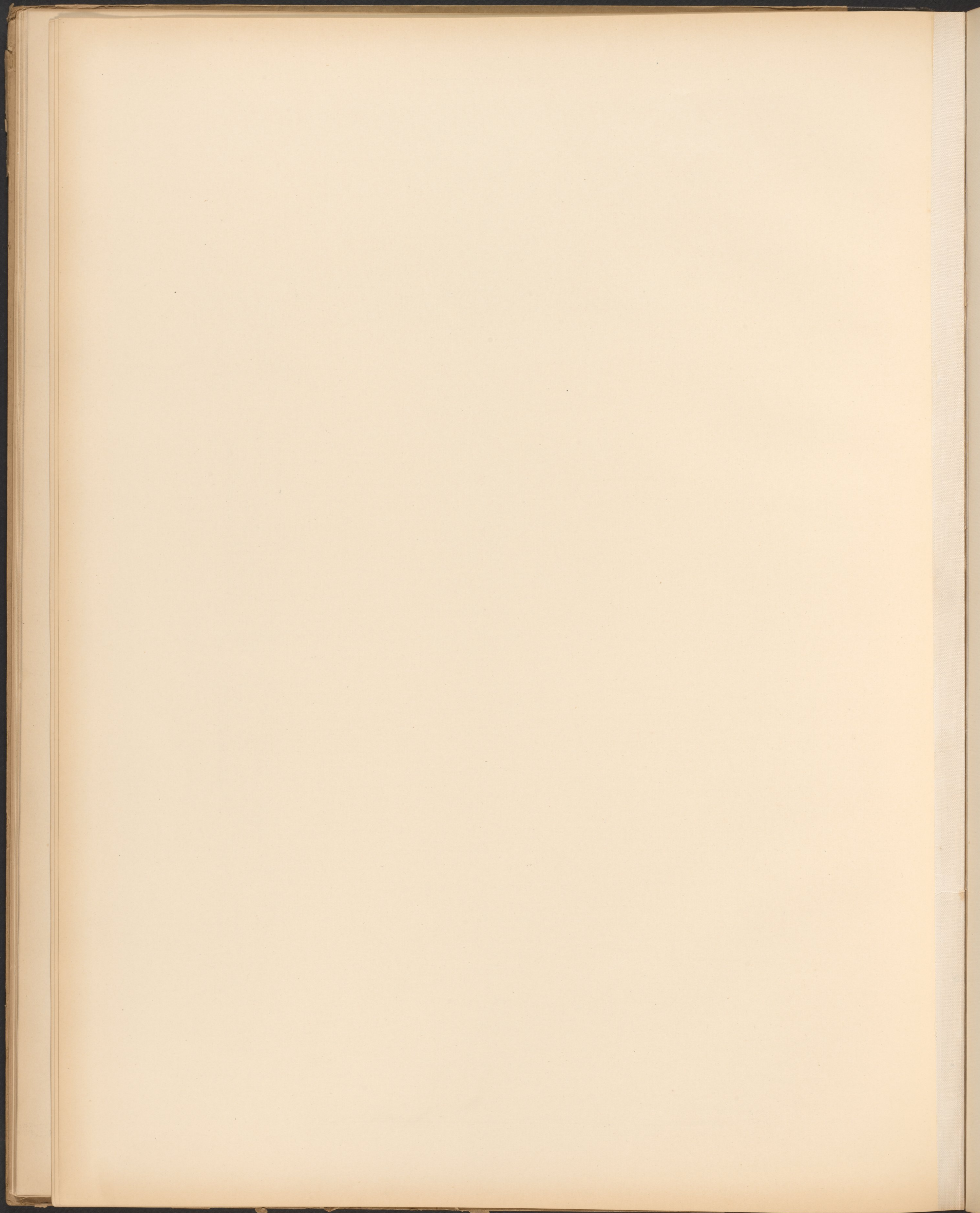
PLAN OF UPPER COURT AND CENTRAL SPEOS

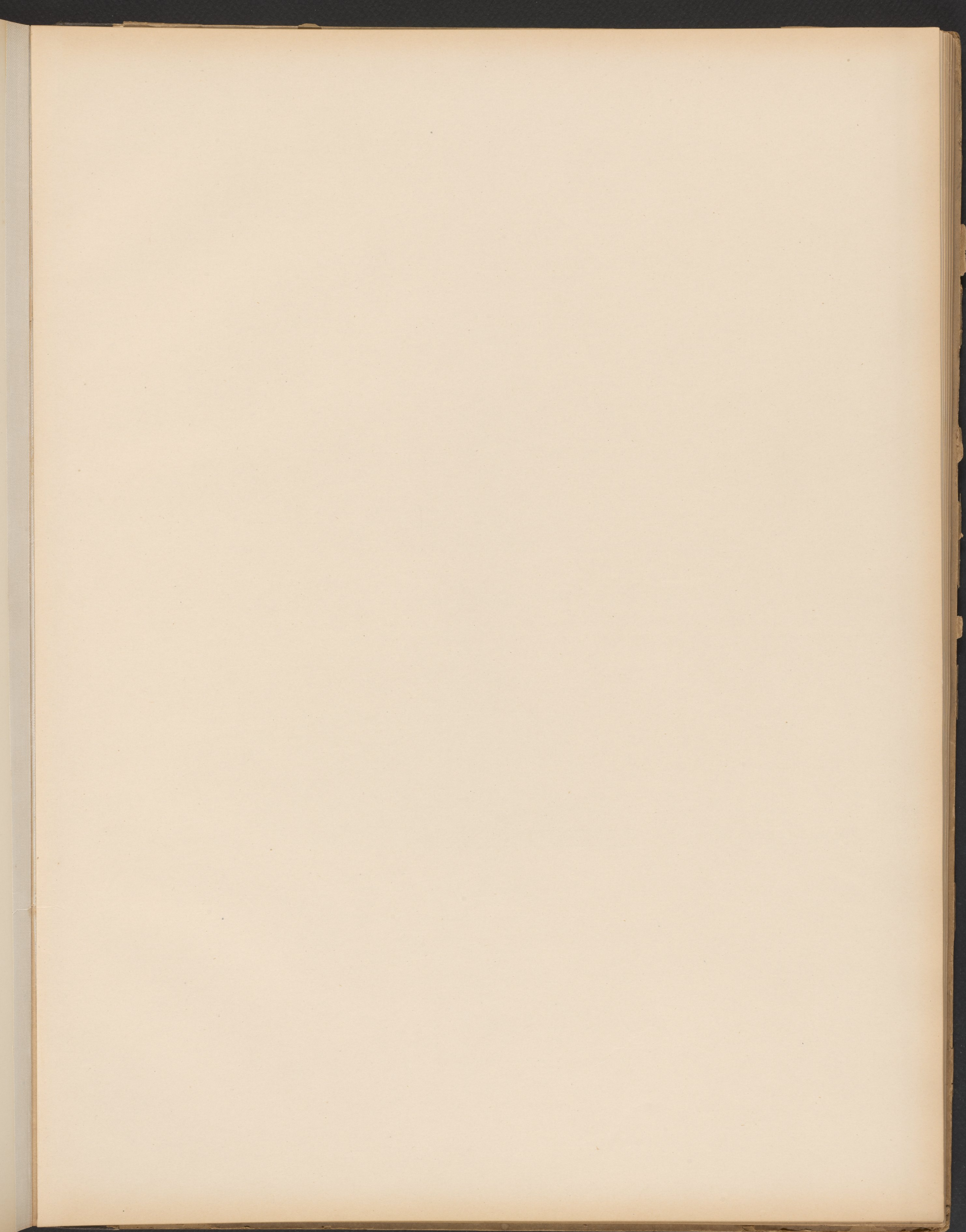


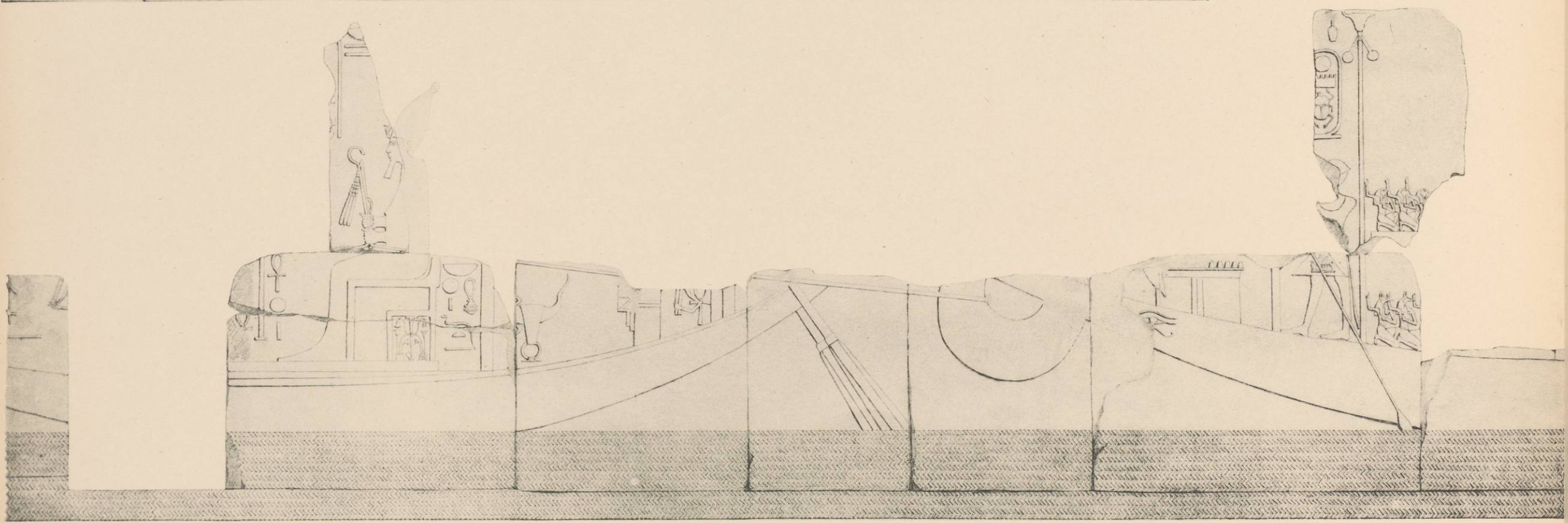
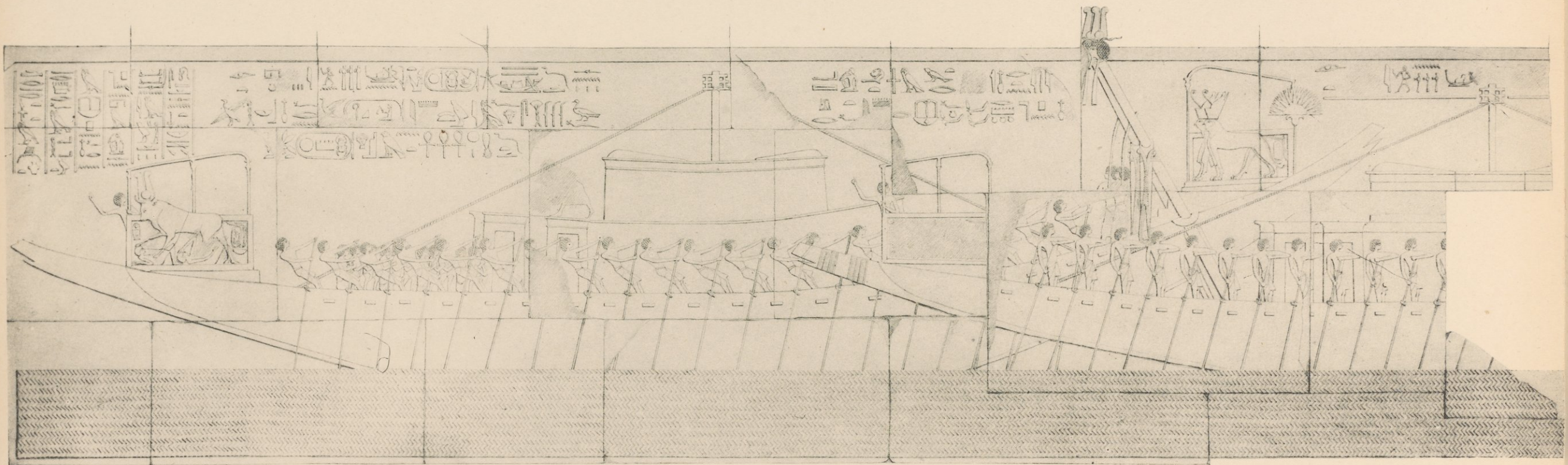




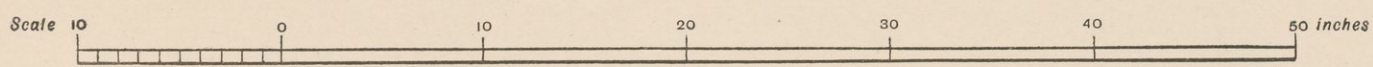
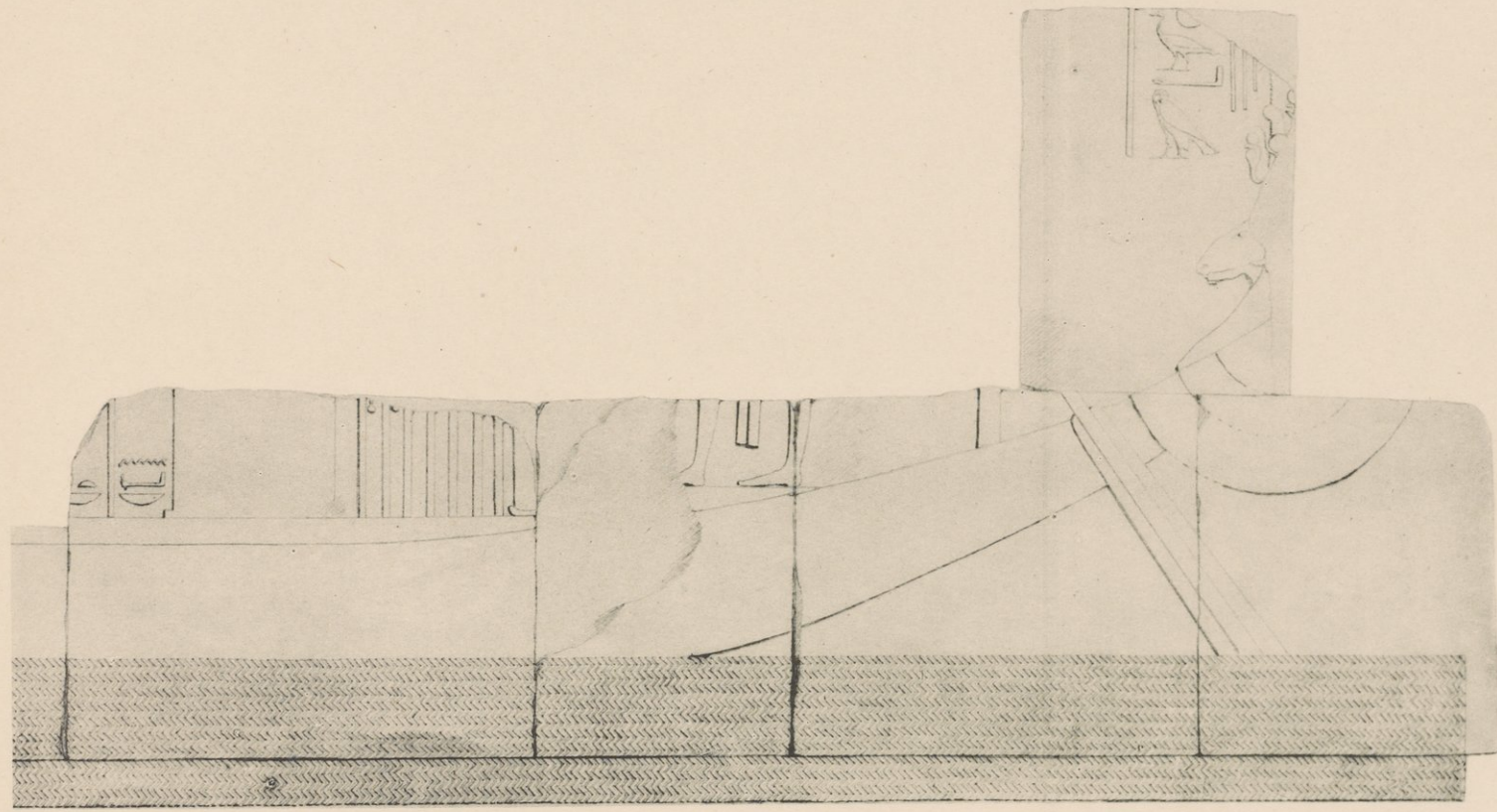
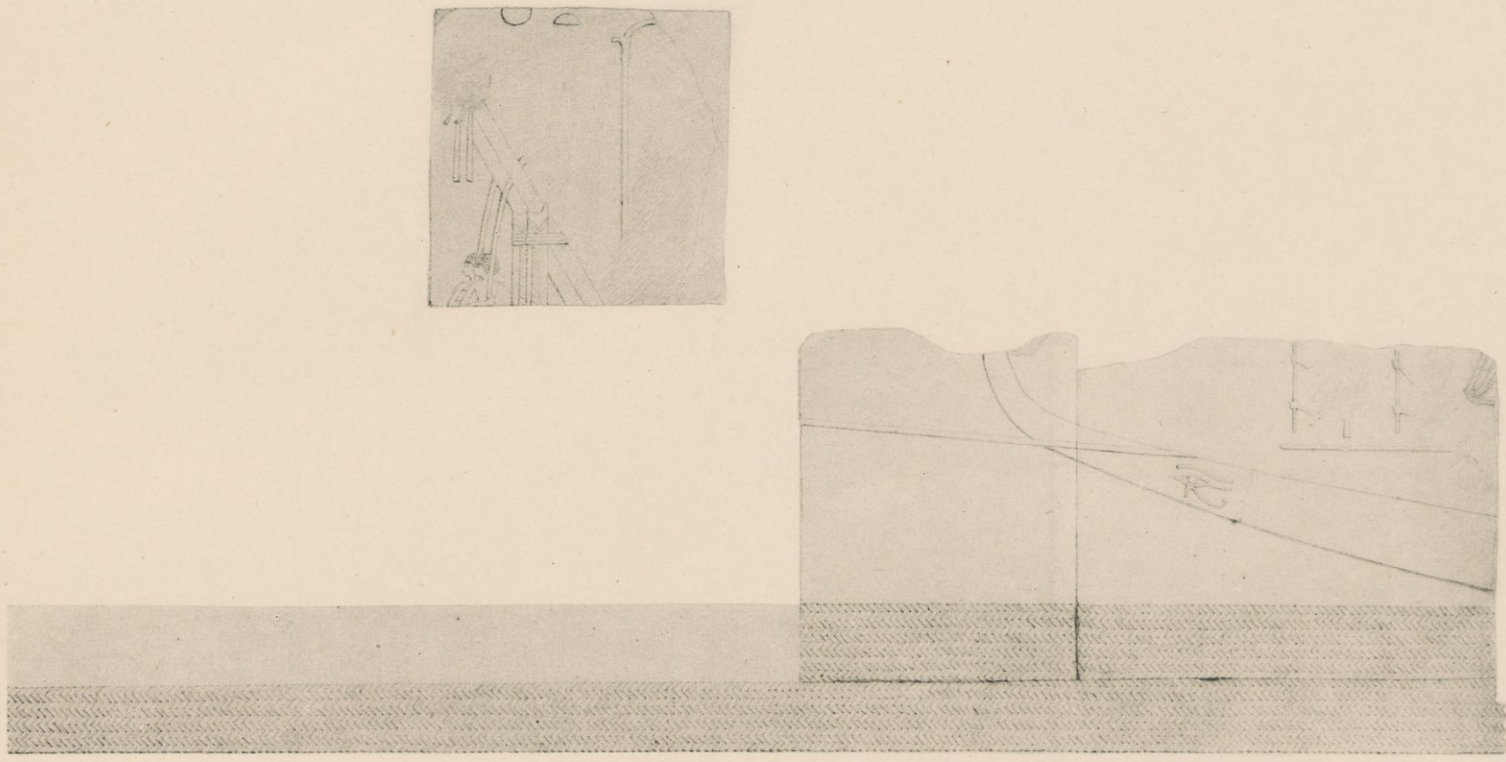




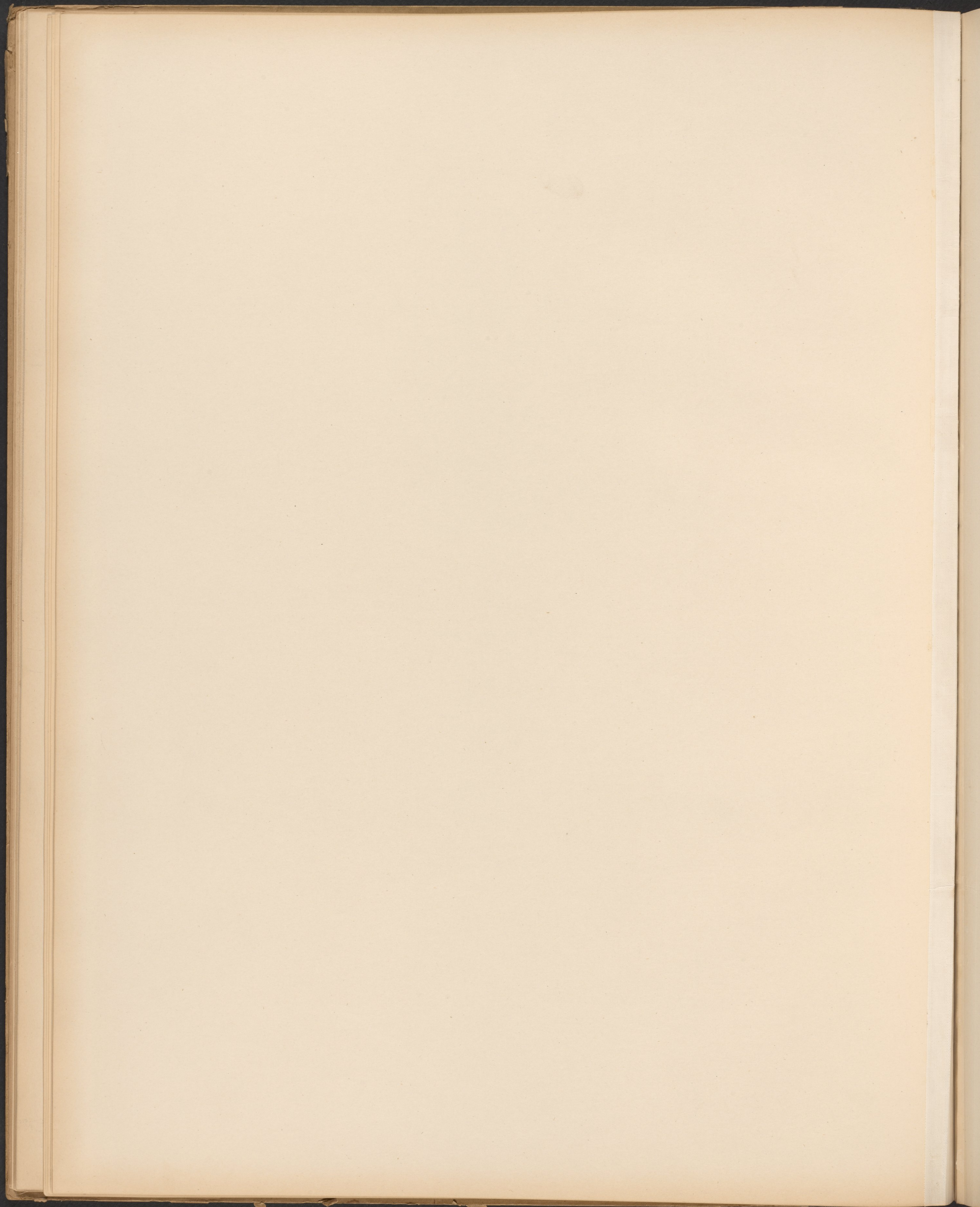


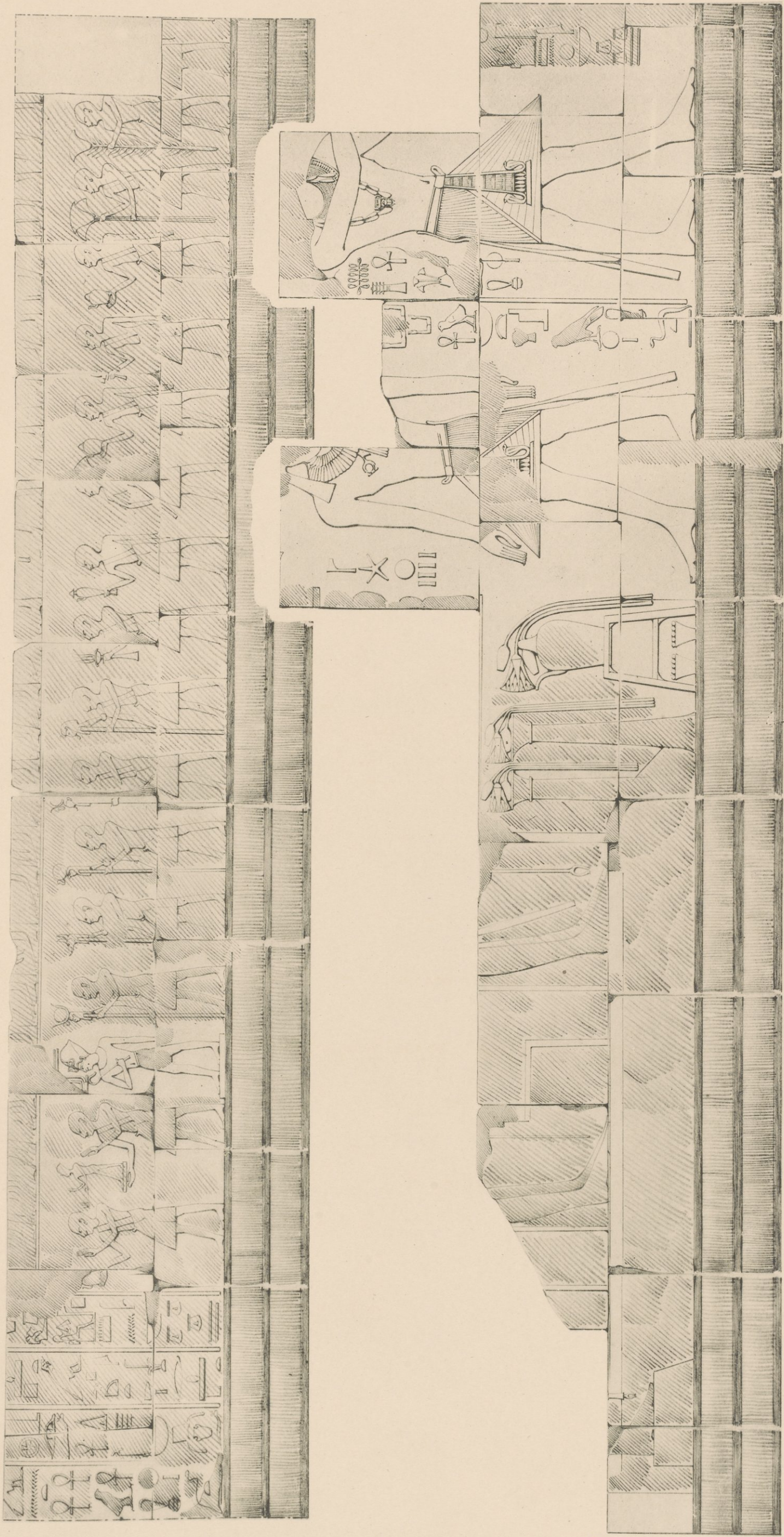


UPPER COURT—NORTH SIDE OF GRANITE DOORWAY.



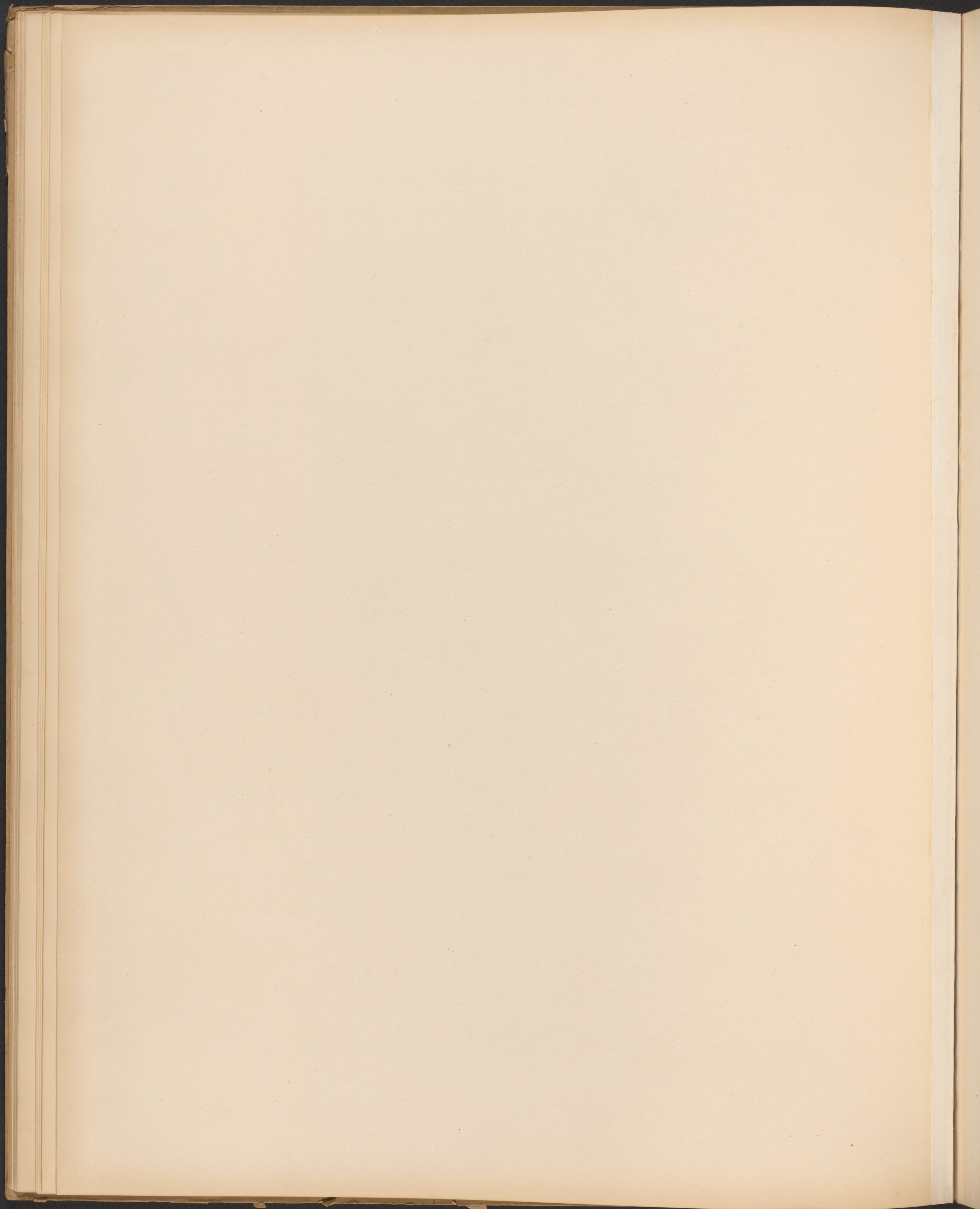
TRANSPORT OF A COLOSSAL STATUE OF THE QUEEN.



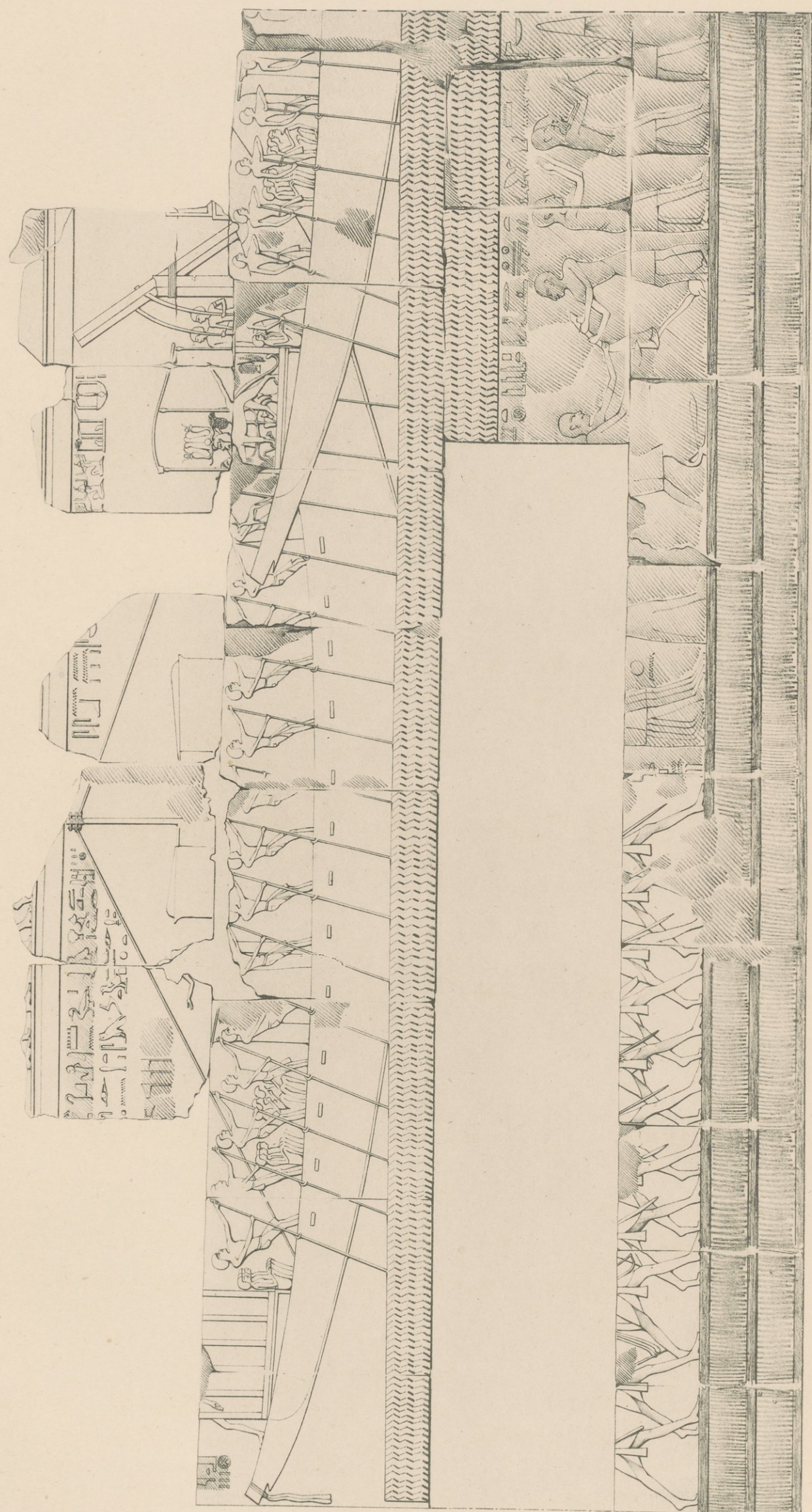


Scale 10 50 inches

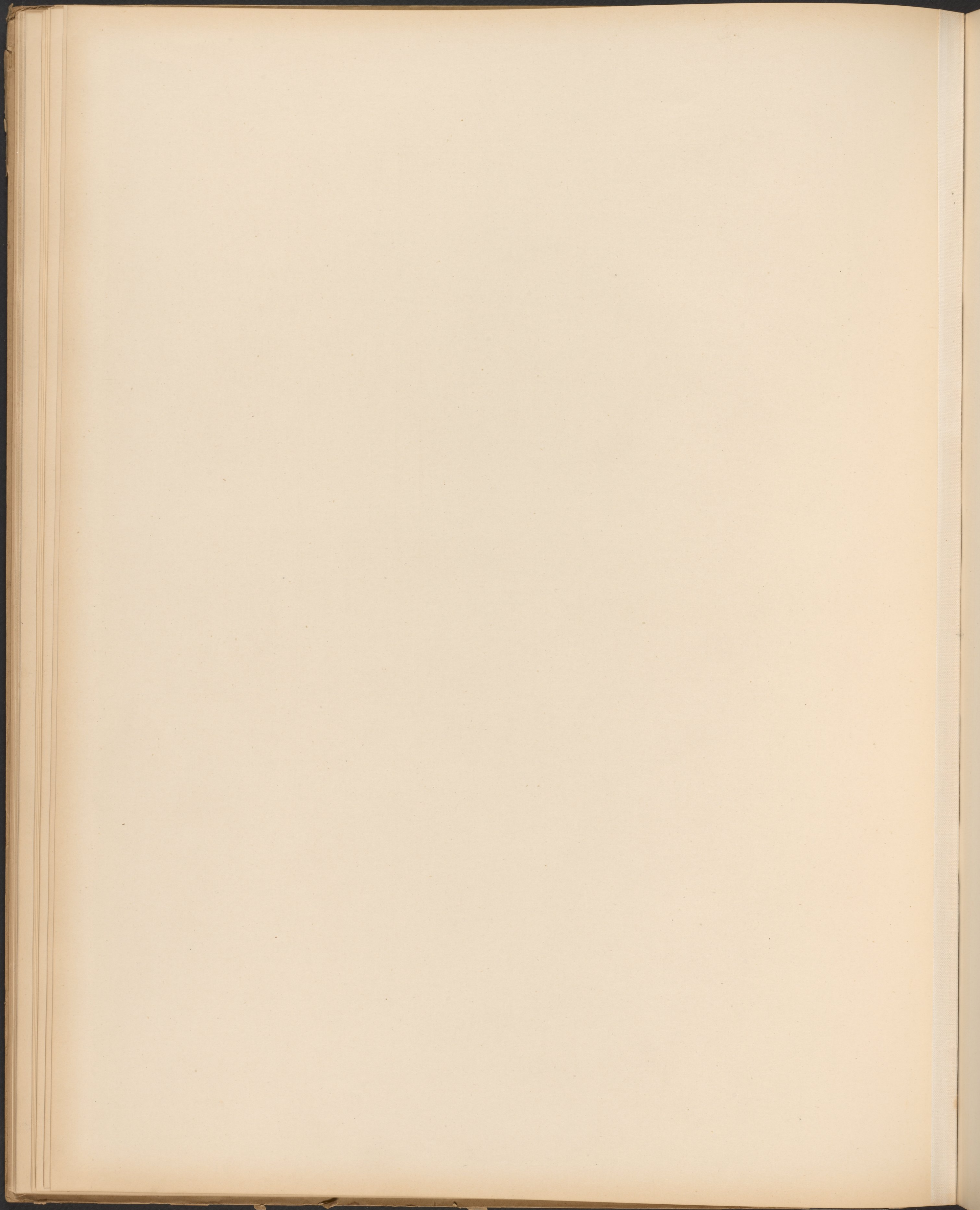
RESTORED PROCESSION OF PRIESTS.

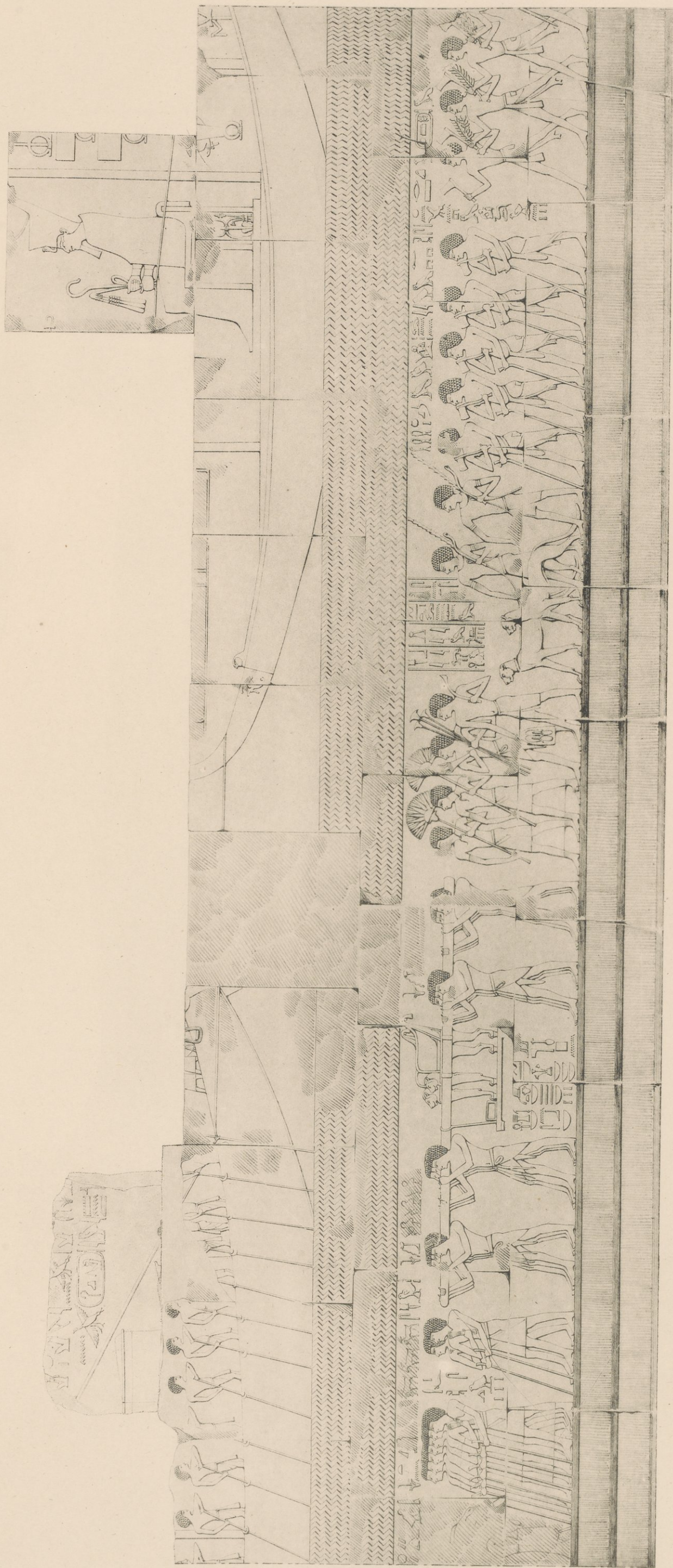


UPPER COURT, EAST WALL—SOUTH SIDE OF GRANITE DOORWAY.

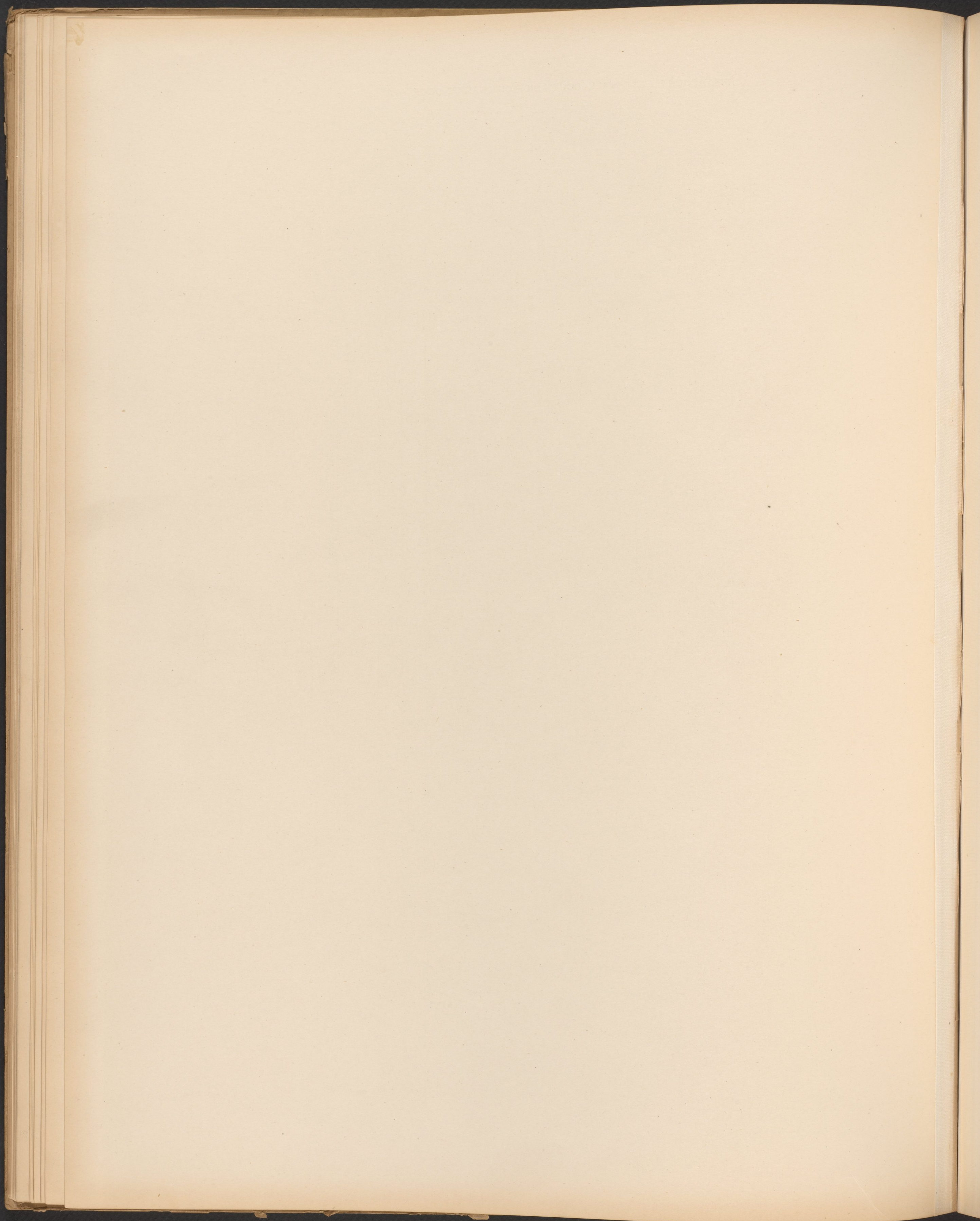


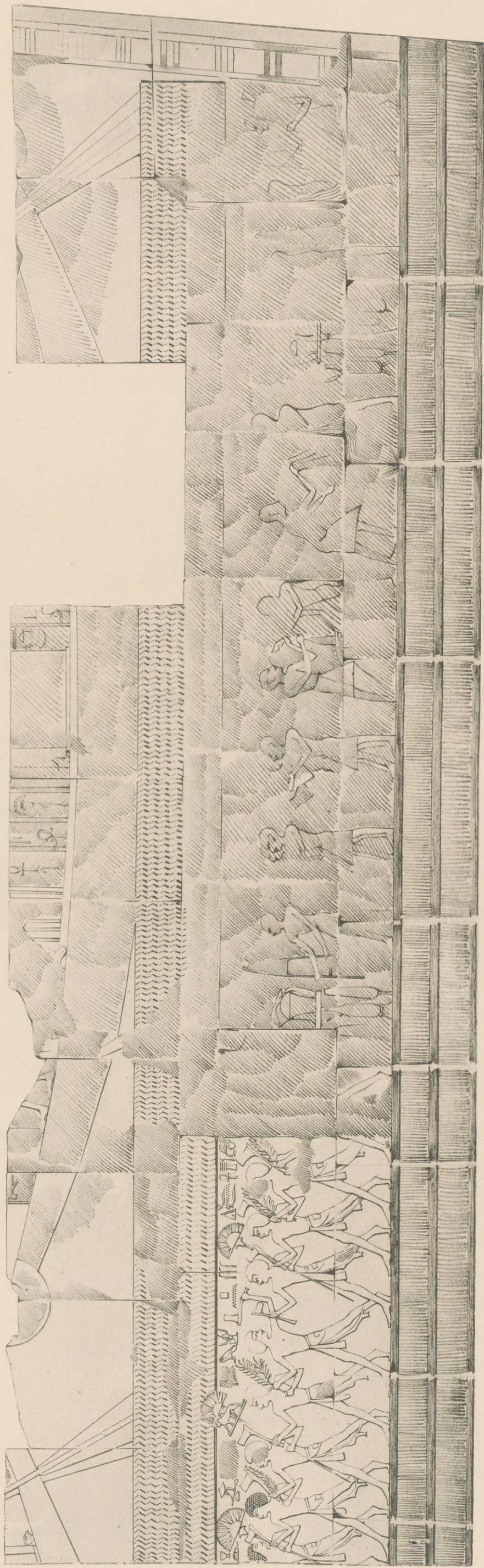
PROCESSION—TRANSPORT OF A COLOSSAL STATUE OF THE QUEEN.





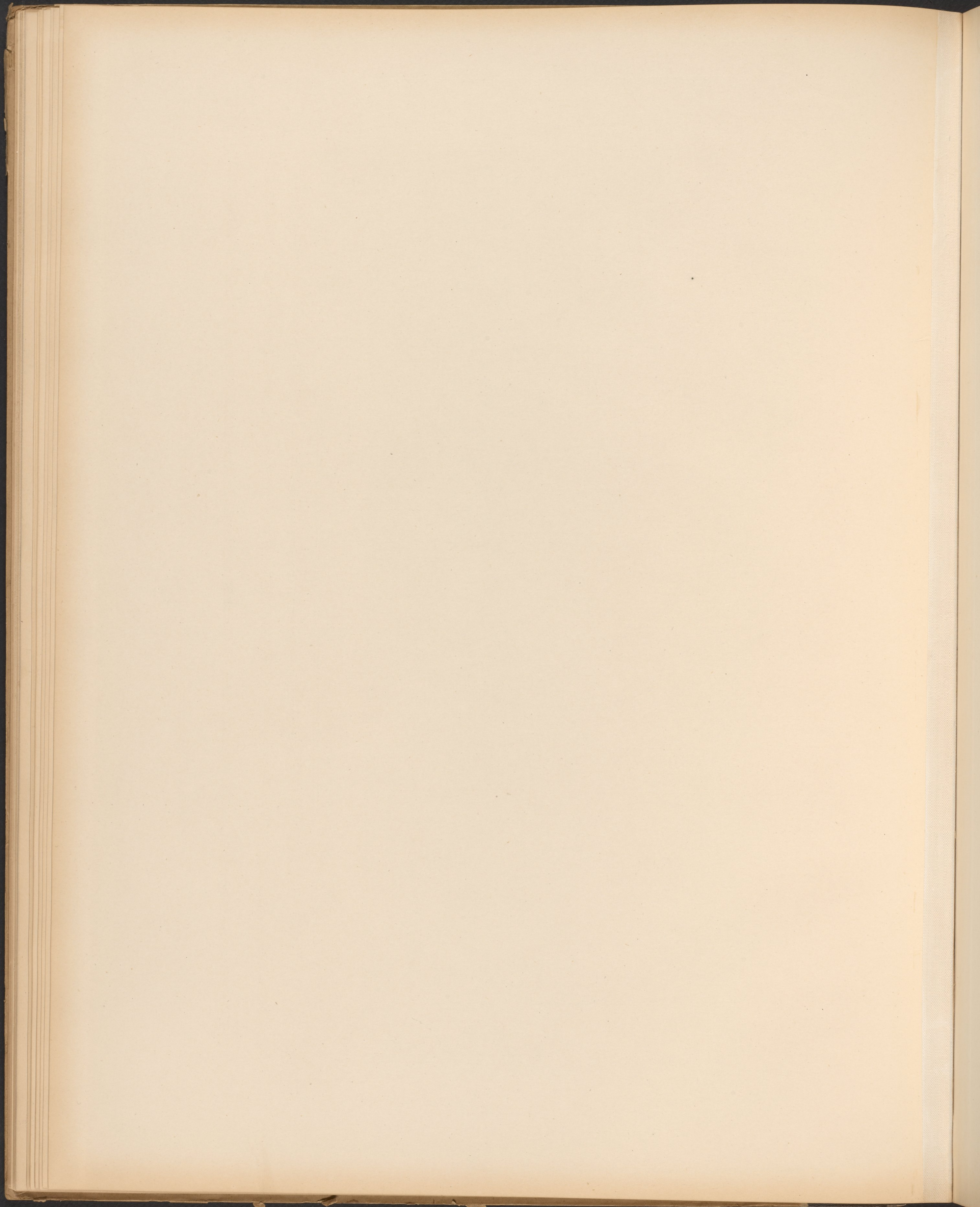
PROCESSION OF ATTENDANTS.



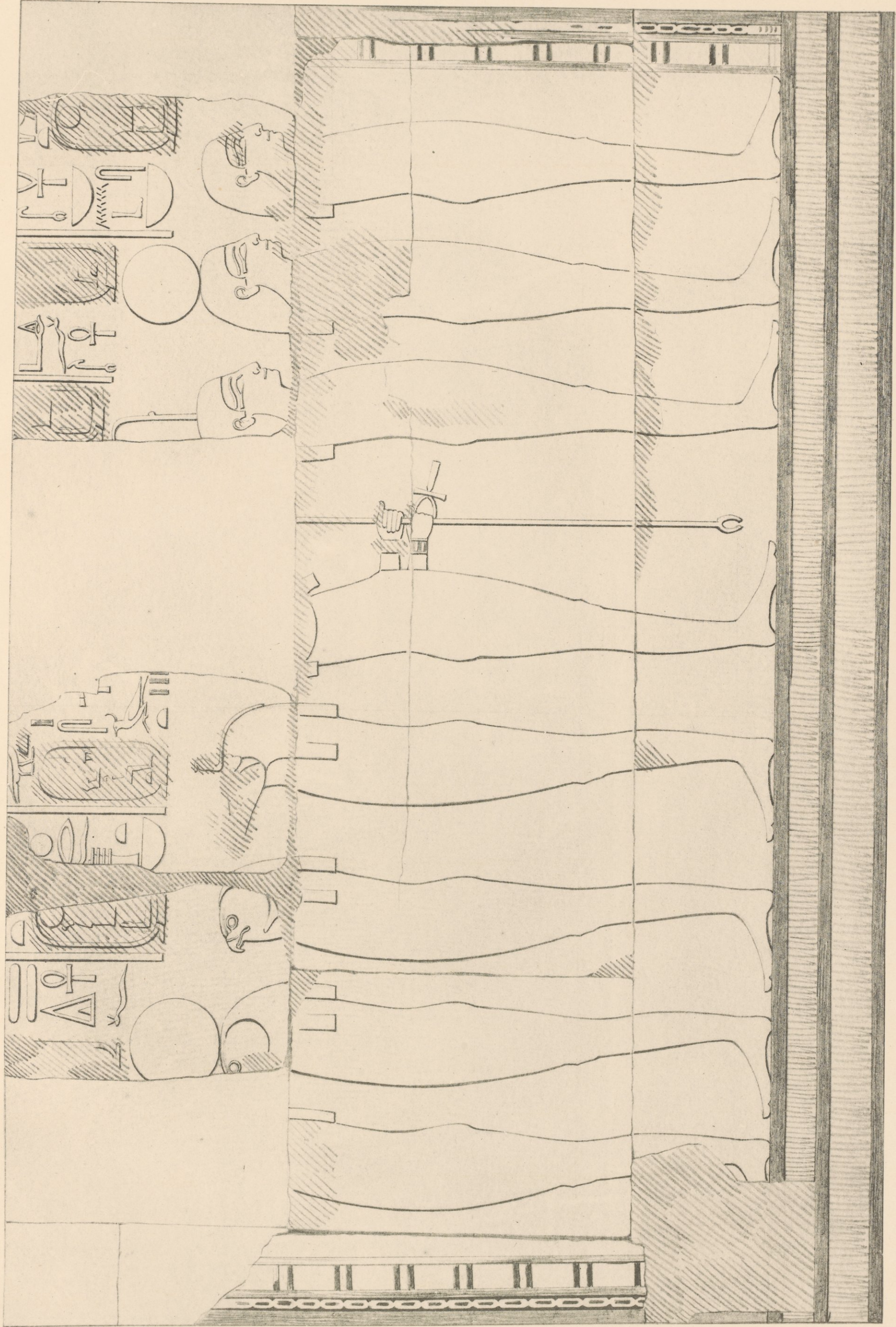


Scale 10 20 30 40 50 inches

PROCESSION OF SOLDIERS AND ATTENDANTS.

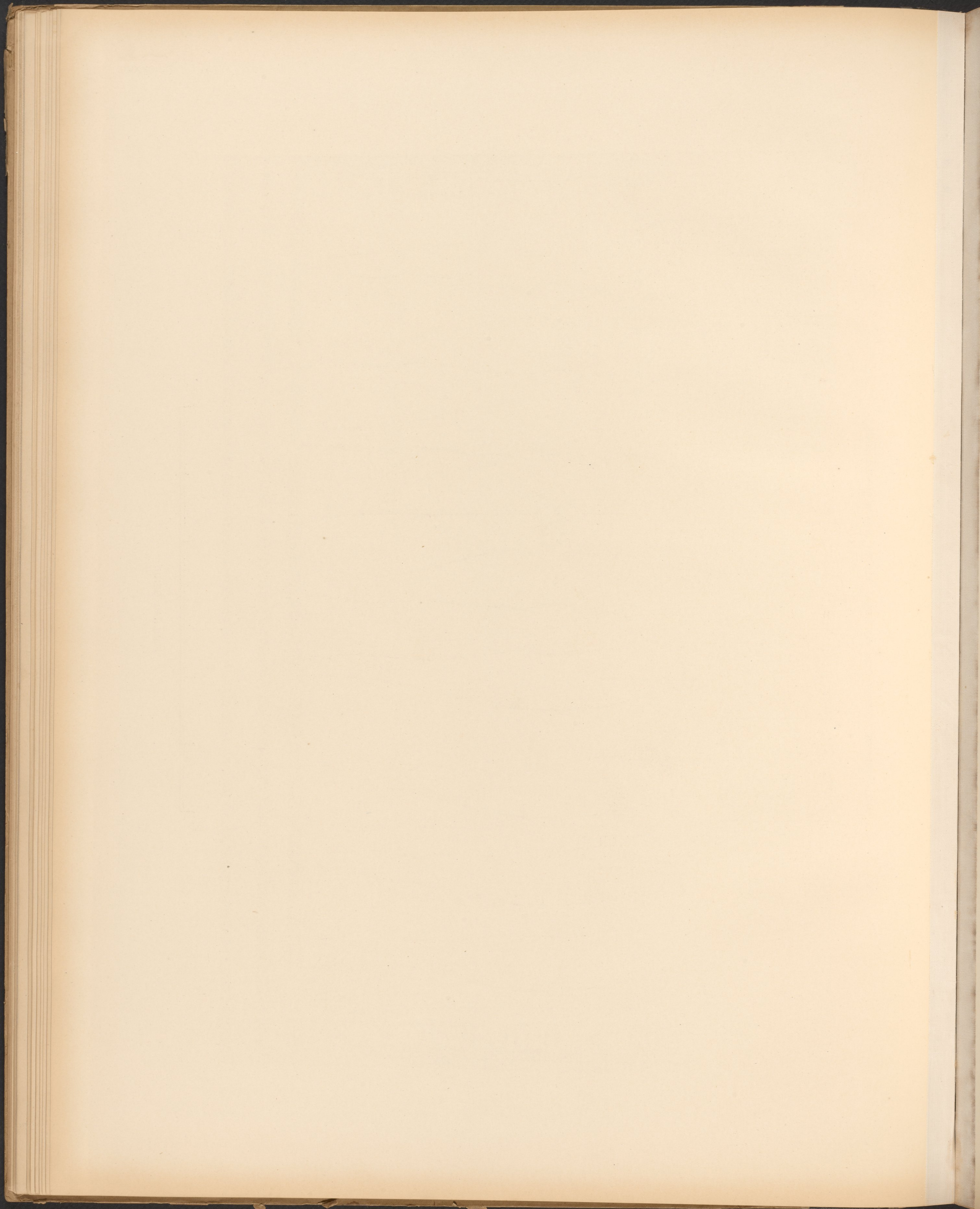


SMALL CHAMBER OPENING ON VESTIBULE SOUTH OF THE UPPER COURT.

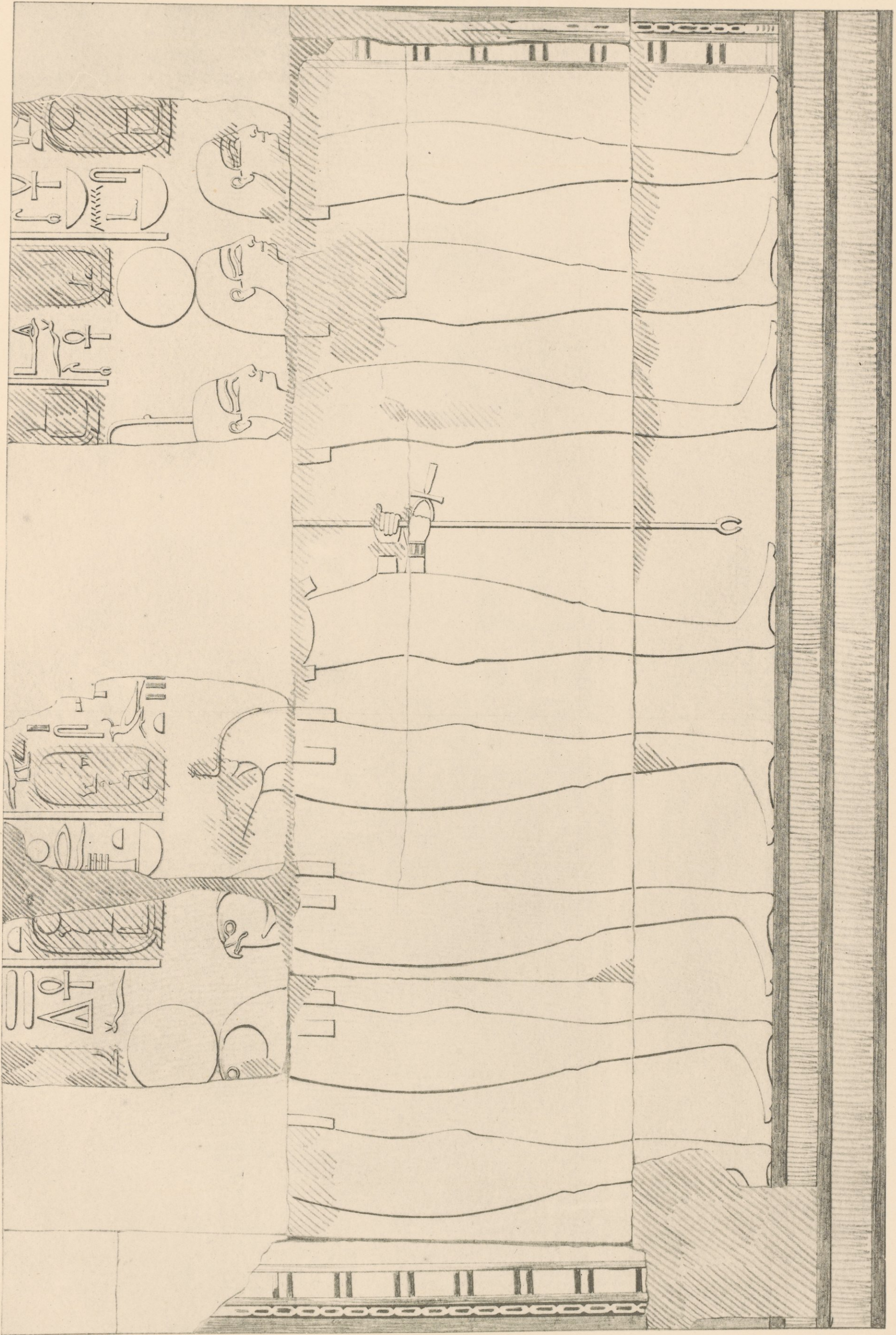


Scale 5 10 15 20 25 inches

FUNERAL GENII.

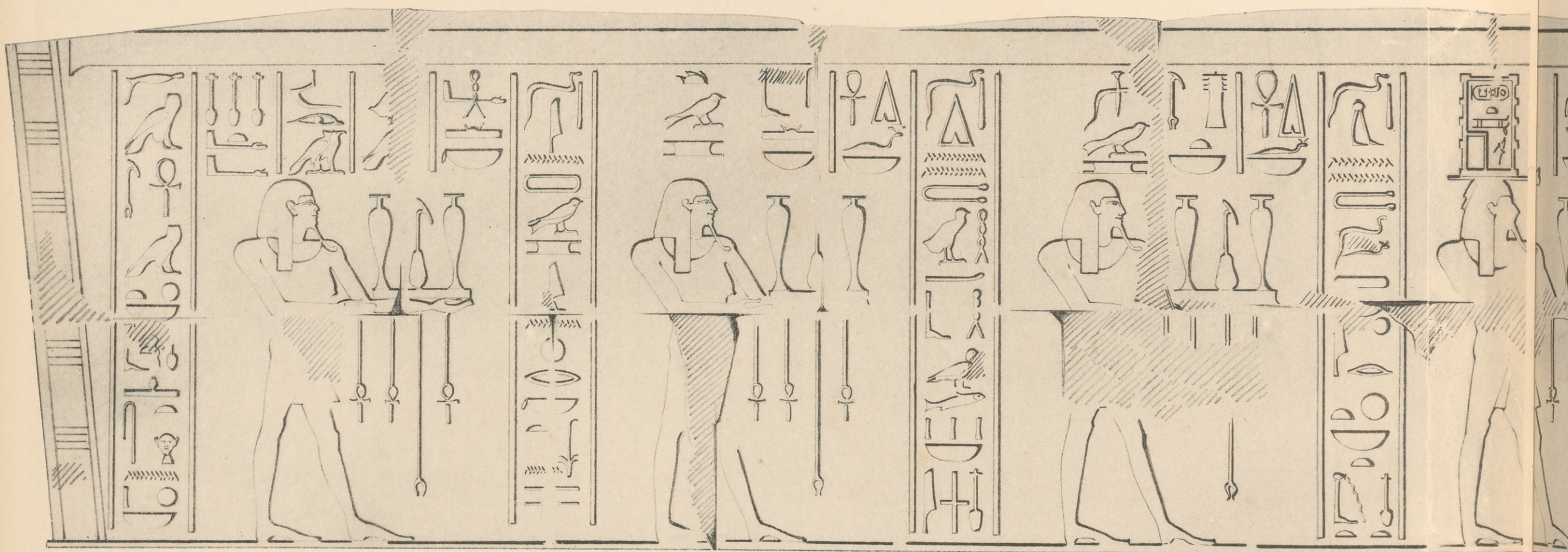


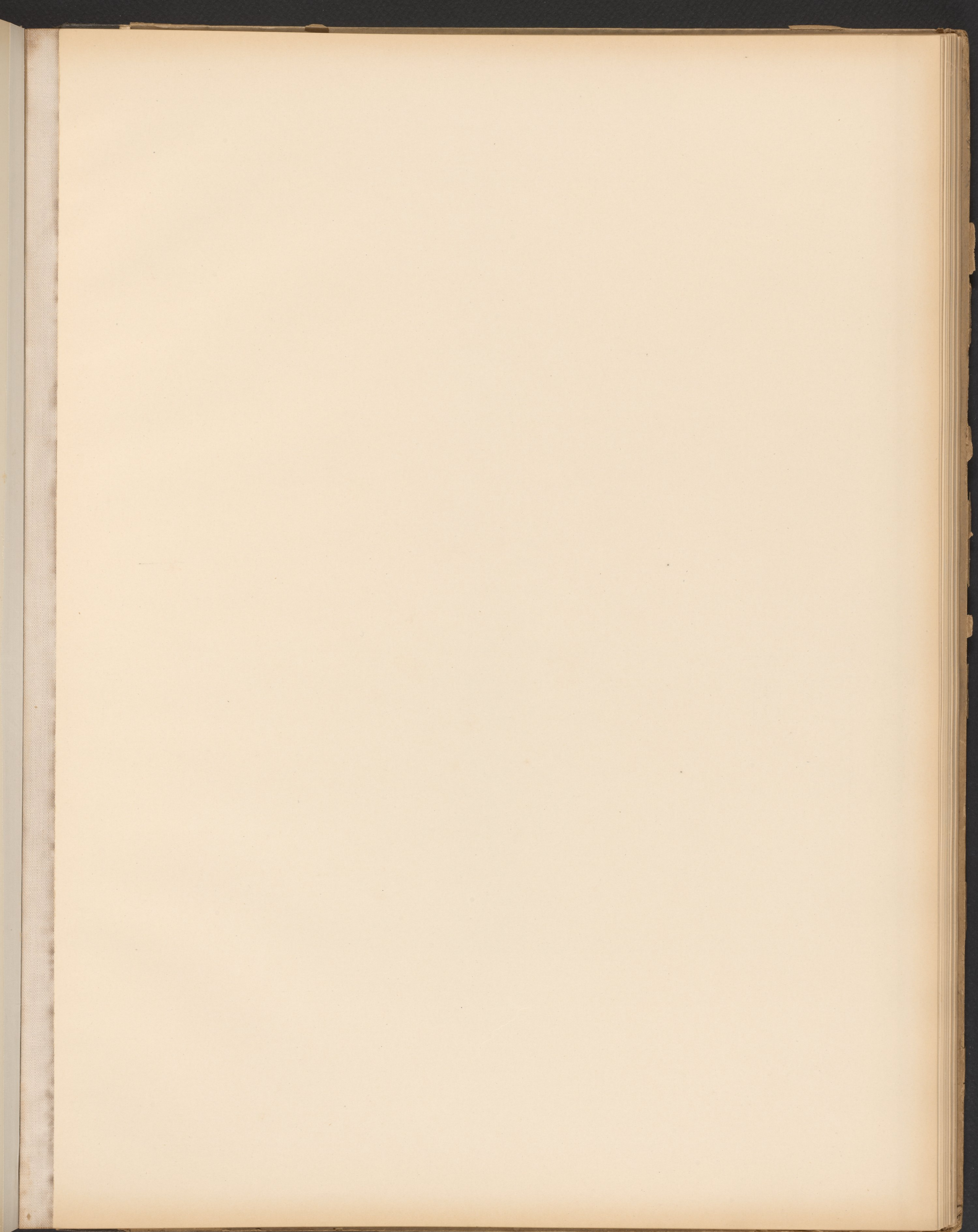
SMALL CHAMBER OPENING ON VESTIBULE SOUTH OF THE UPPER COURT.

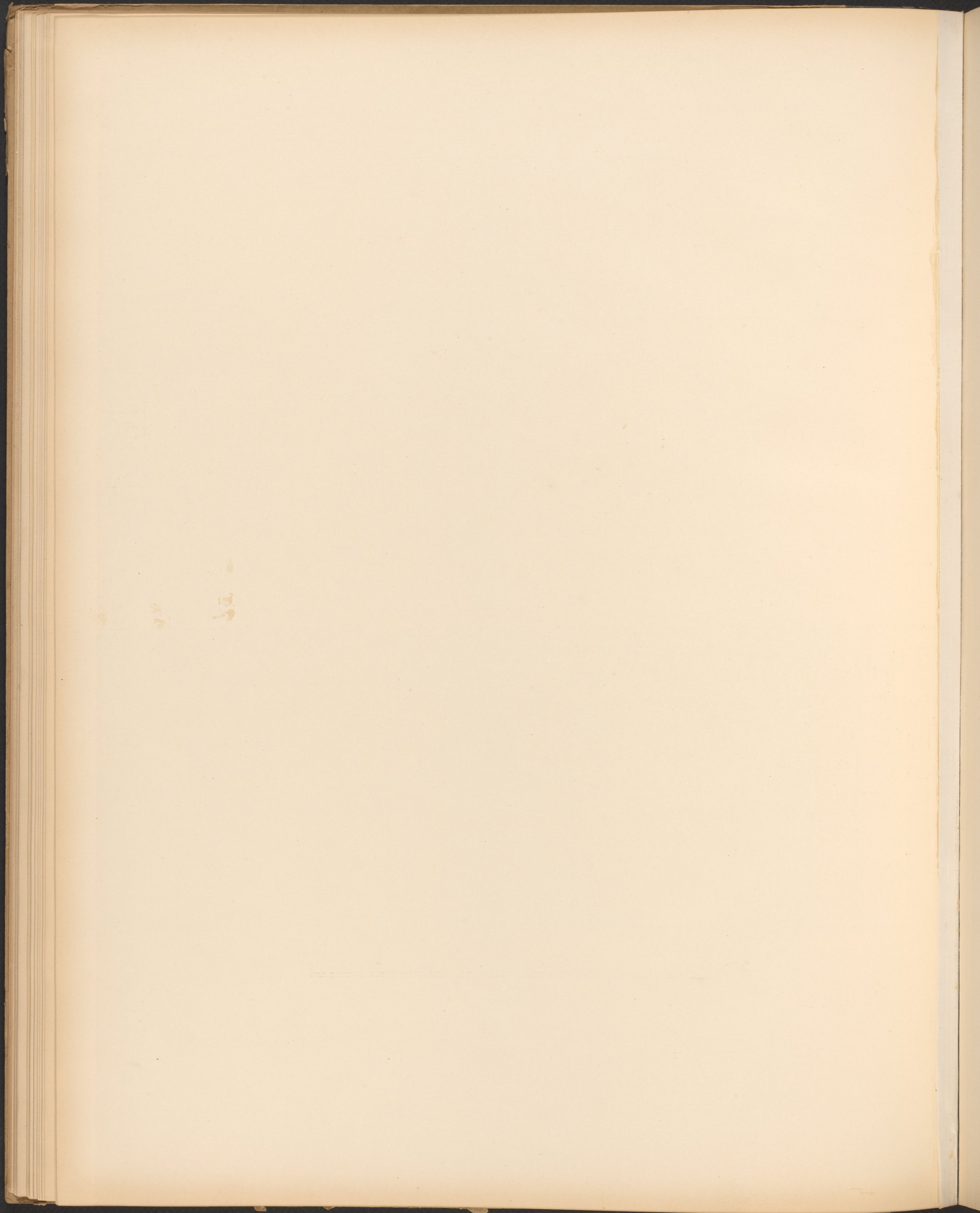


Scale 5
 0 5 10 15 20 25 inches

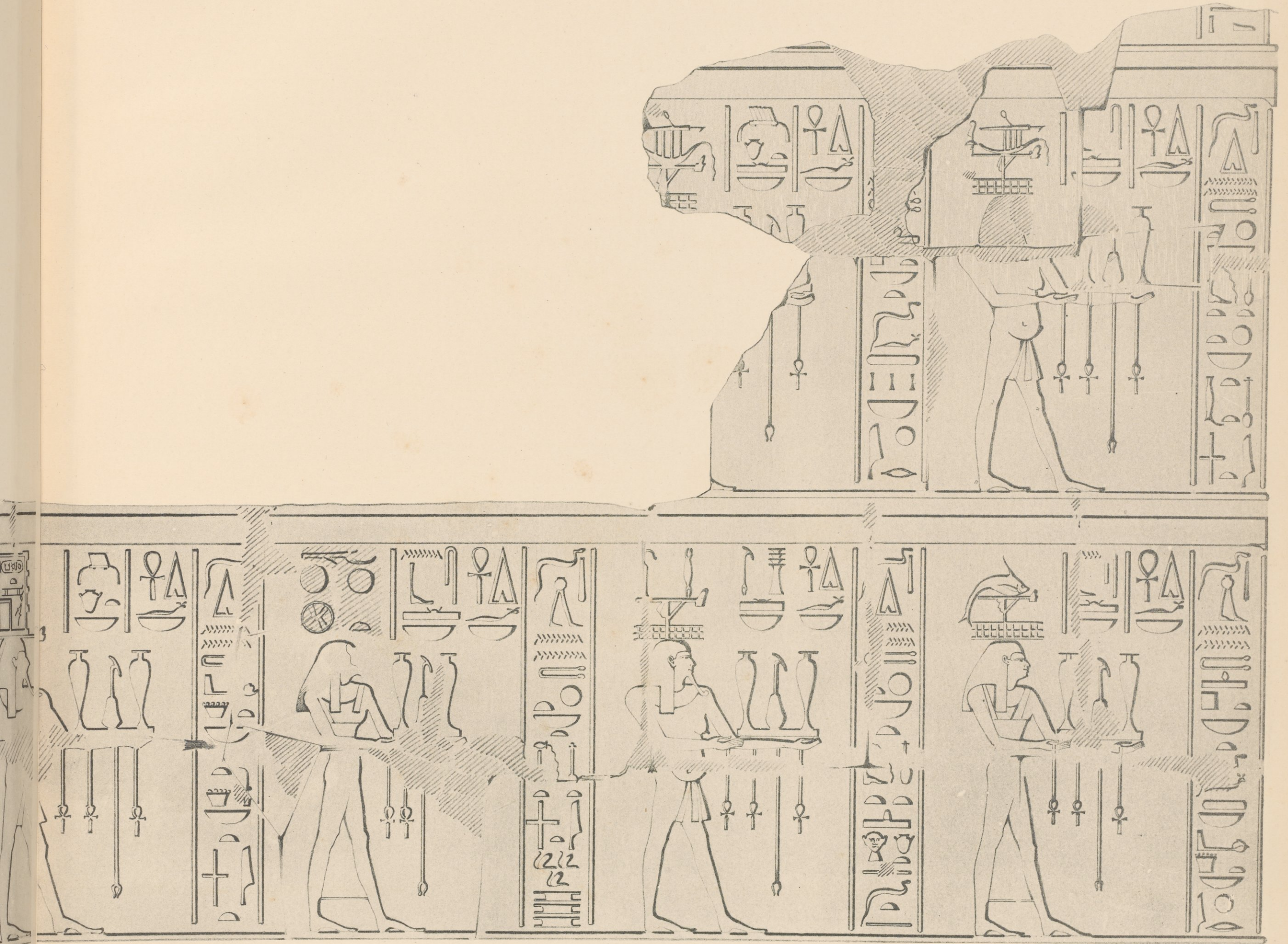
FUNERAL GENII.





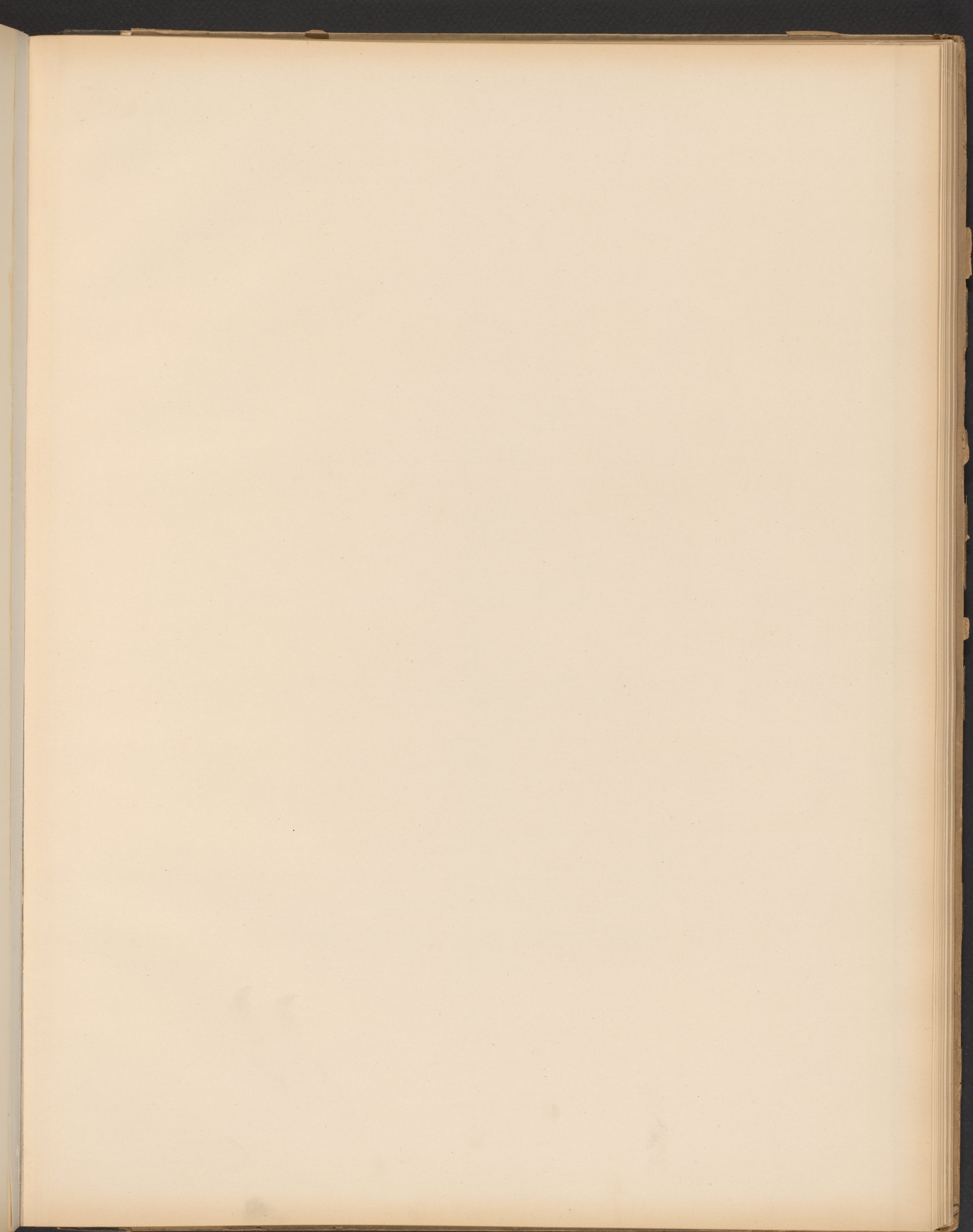


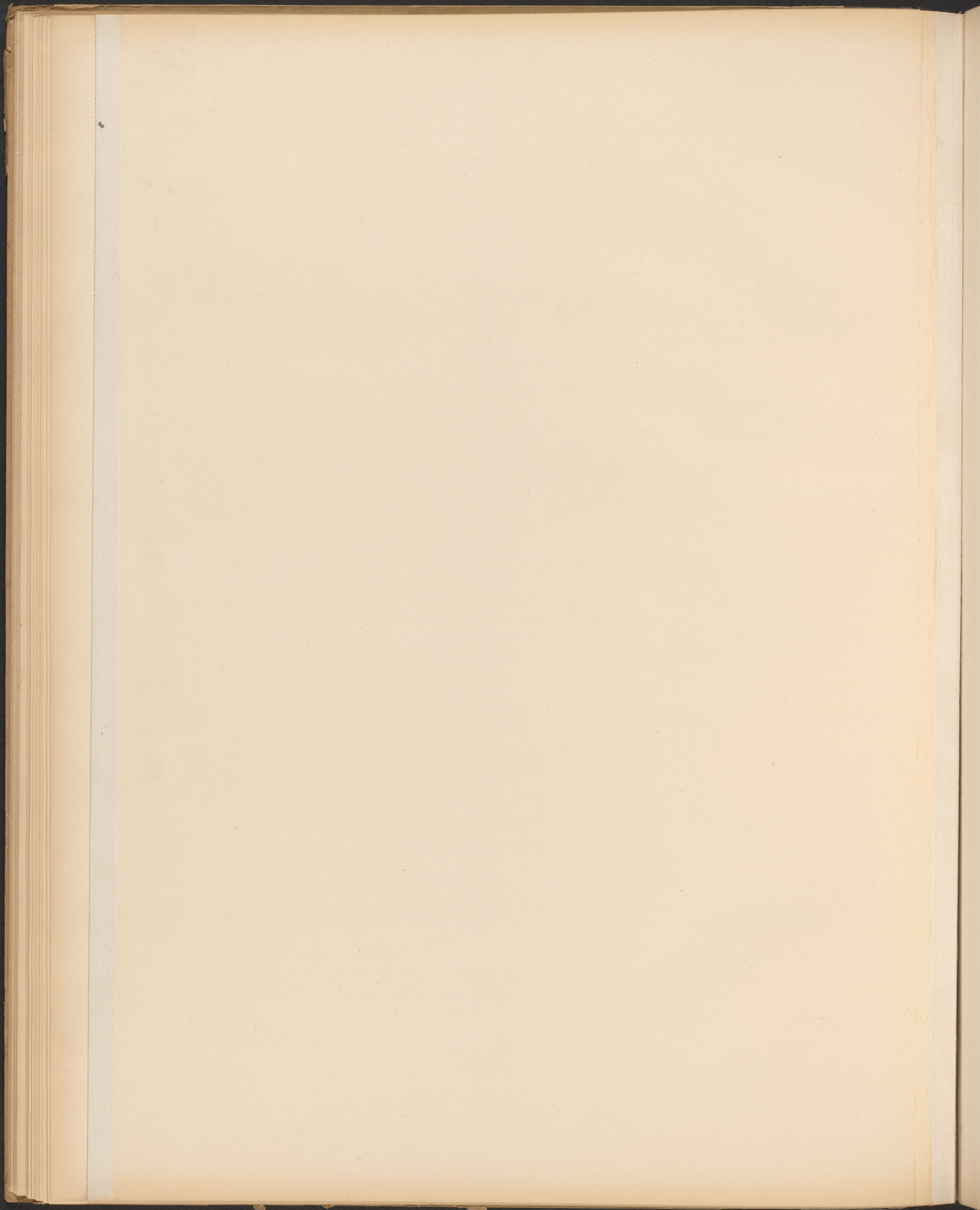
VESTIBULE OF THE SOUTHERN HALL OF OFFERINGS.



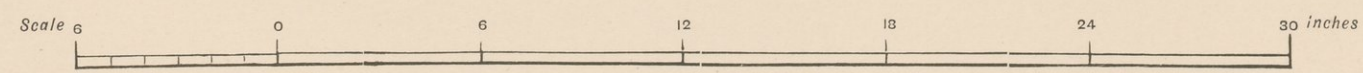
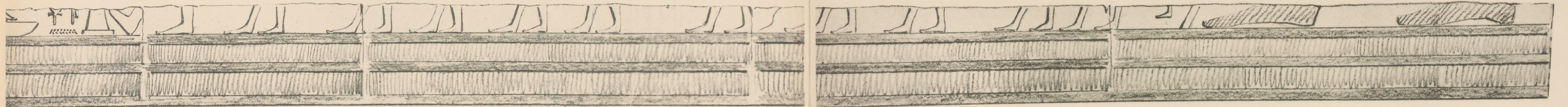
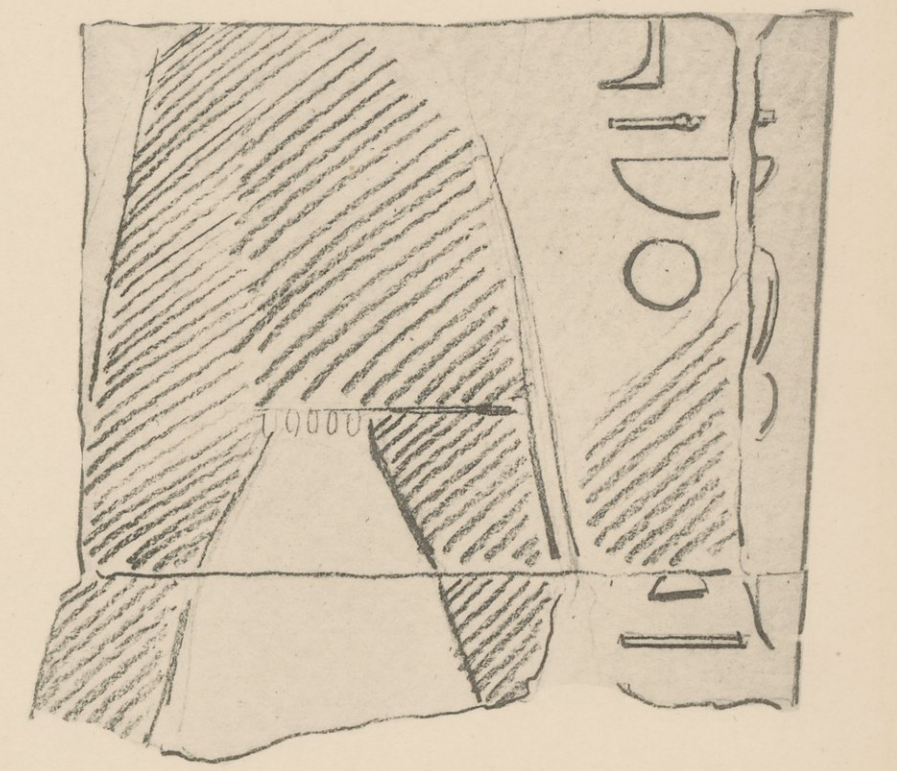
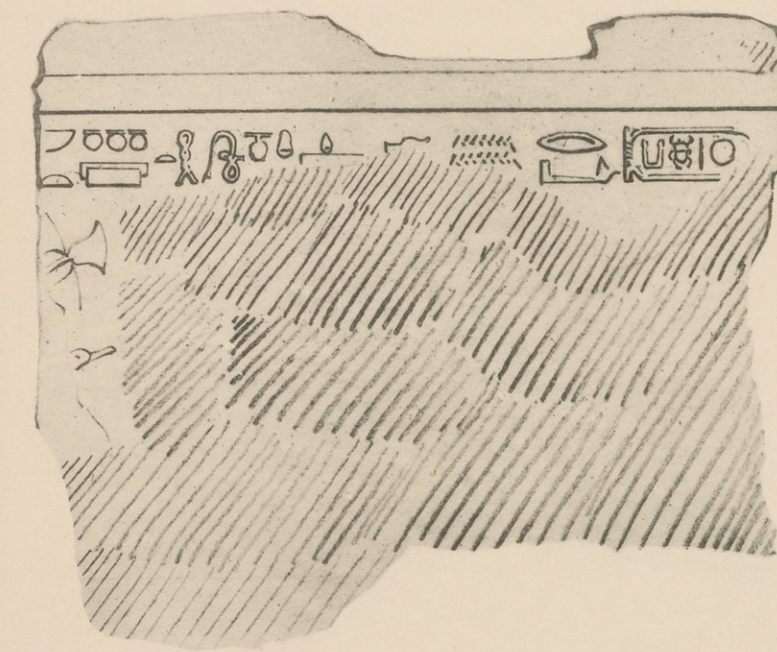
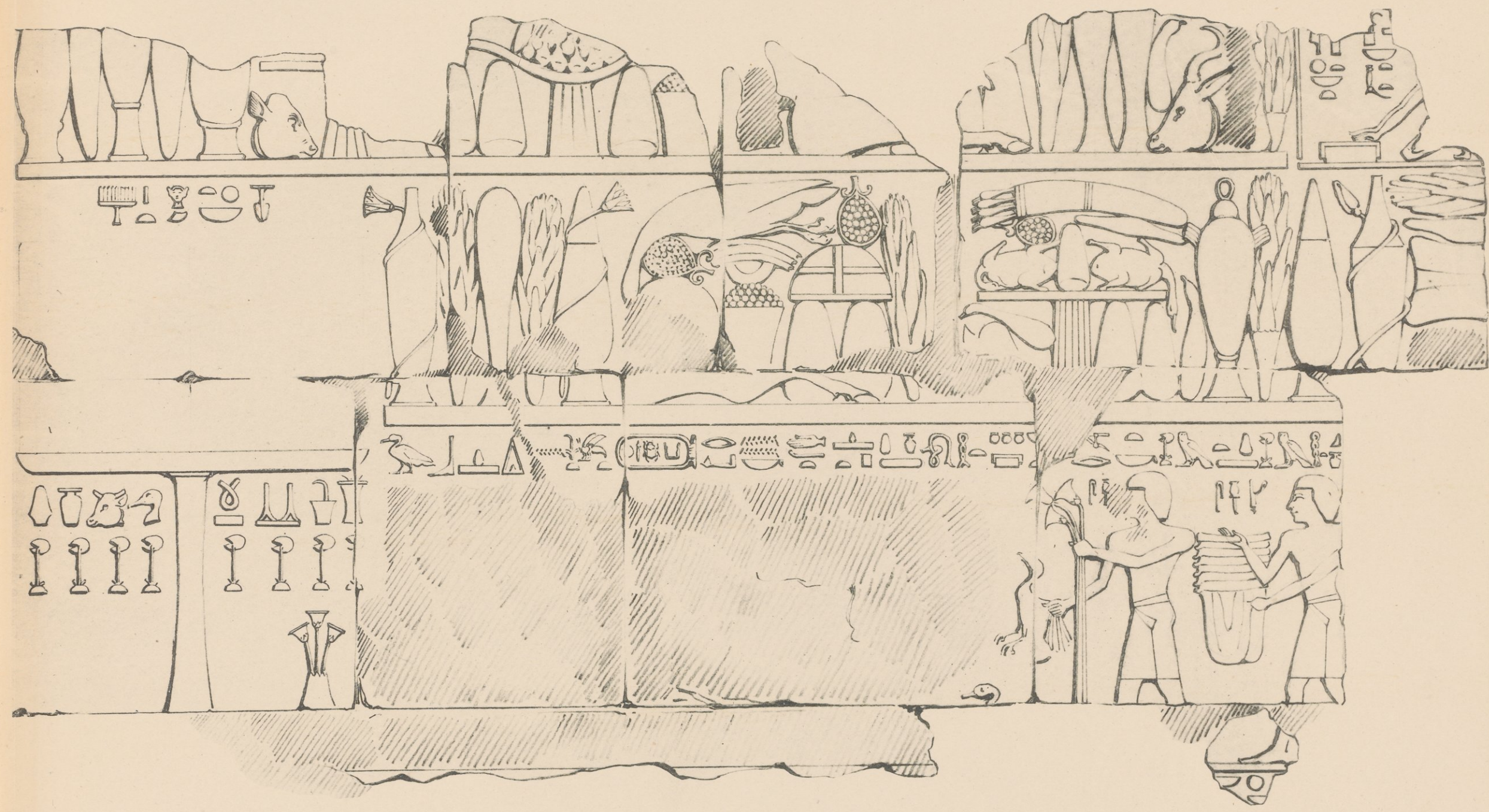
Scale 6 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches

LIST OF NOMES.

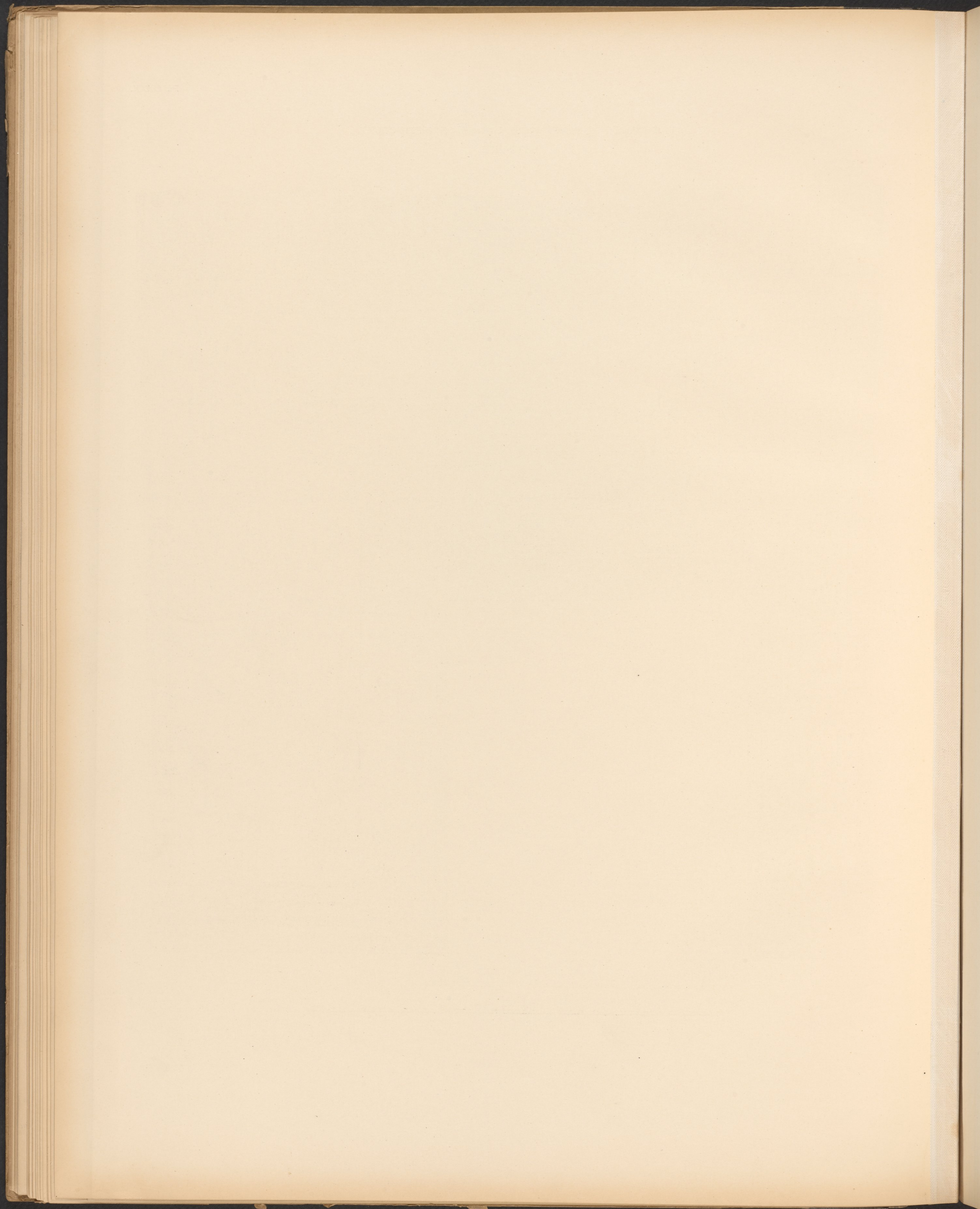




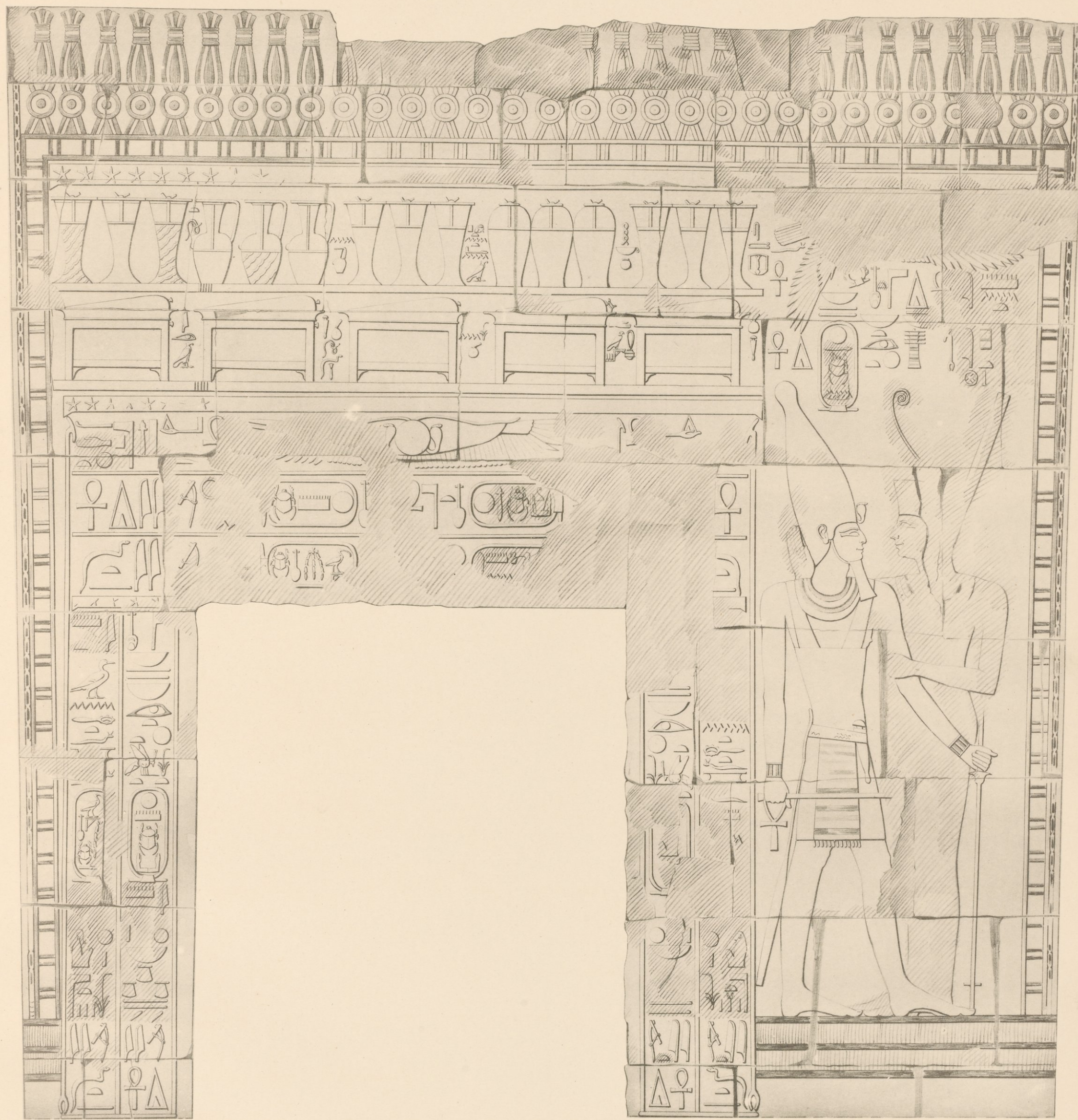
CHAMBER OF OFFERINGS OF THOTHMES I.—NORTH WALL.



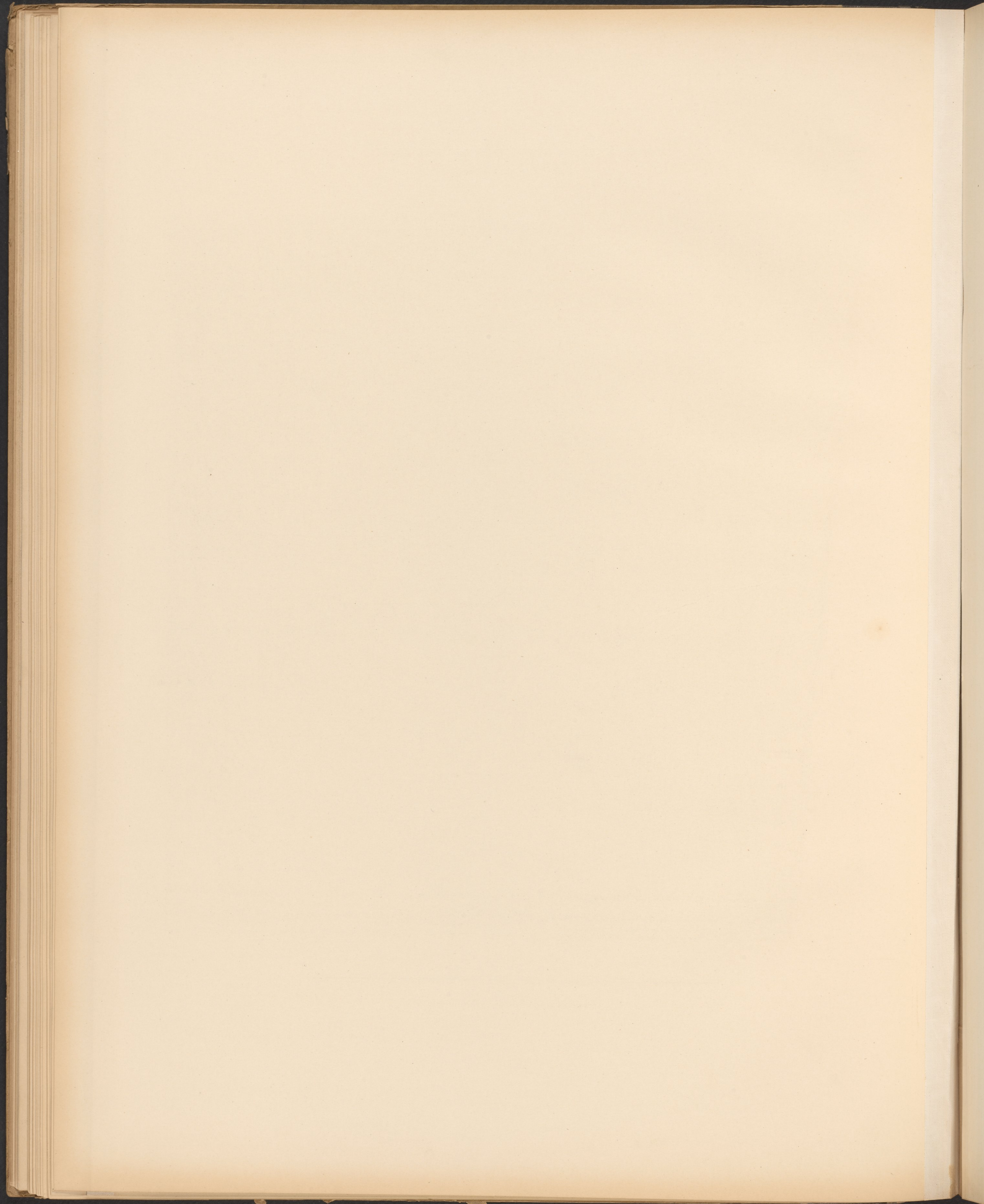
THE QUEEN MAKING OFFERINGS TO HER FATHER THOTHMES I.



CHAMBER AT SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF UPPER COURT.
ENTRANCE.



Scale 12 0 12 24 36 48 60 inches

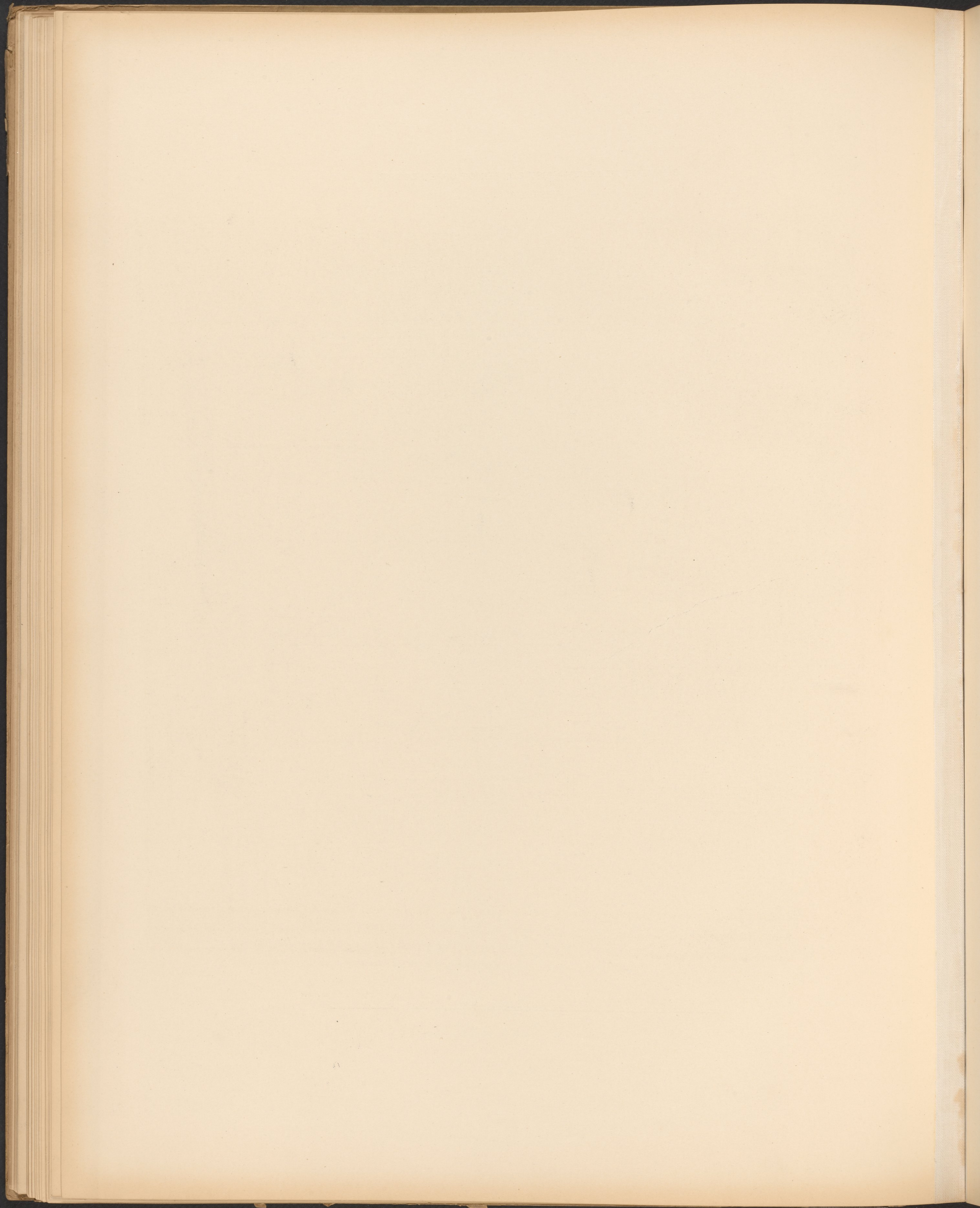


CHAMBER AT SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF UPPER COURT.
EAST WALL.

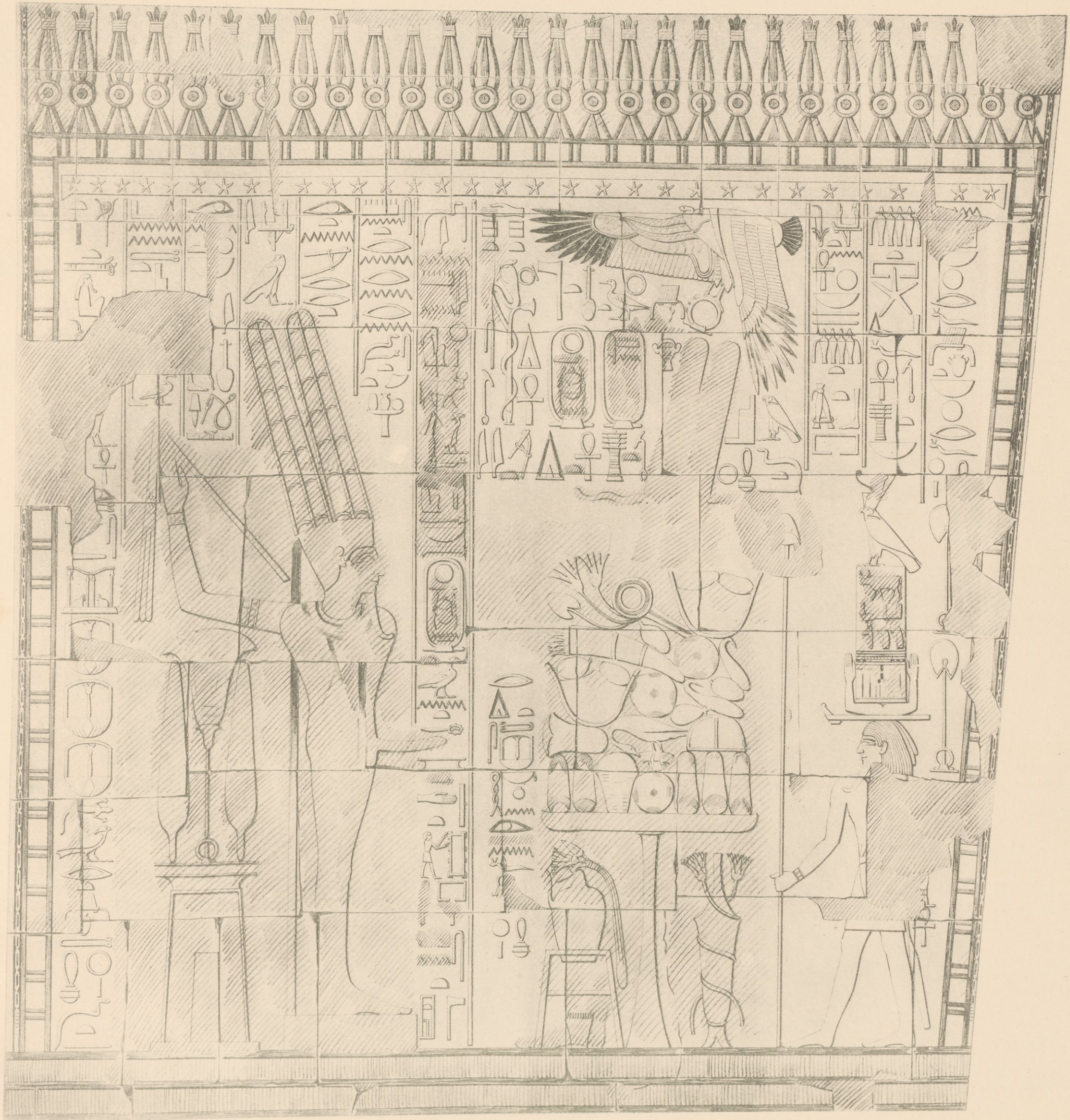


Scale 12 0 12 24 36 48 60 inches

OFFERING OF VASES TO AMON.

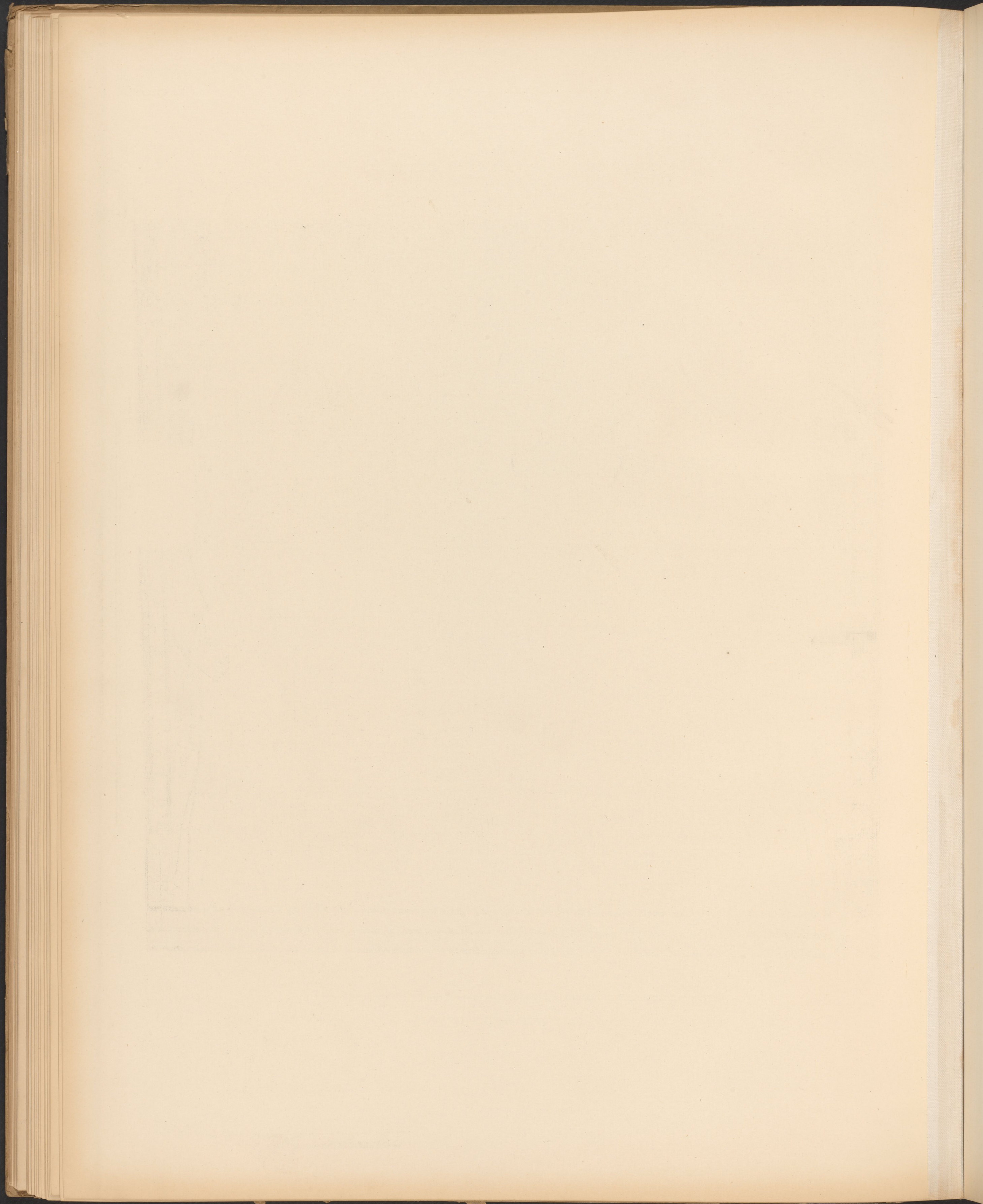


CHAMBER AT SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF UPPER COURT.
WEST WALL.

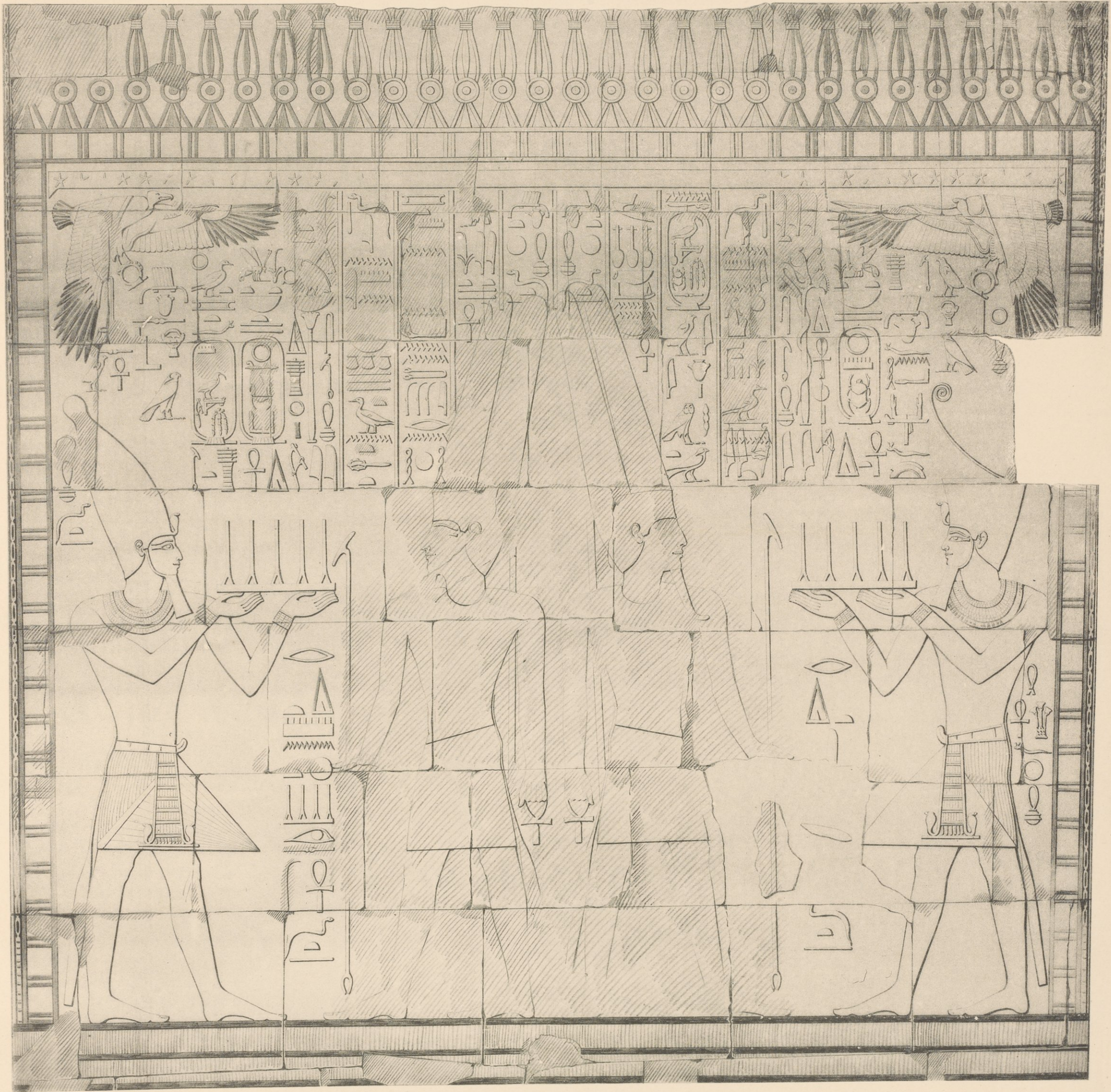


Scale 12 0 12 24 36 48 60 inches

ALTAR SCULPTURED BEFORE AMON IN PLACE OF THE QUEEN.

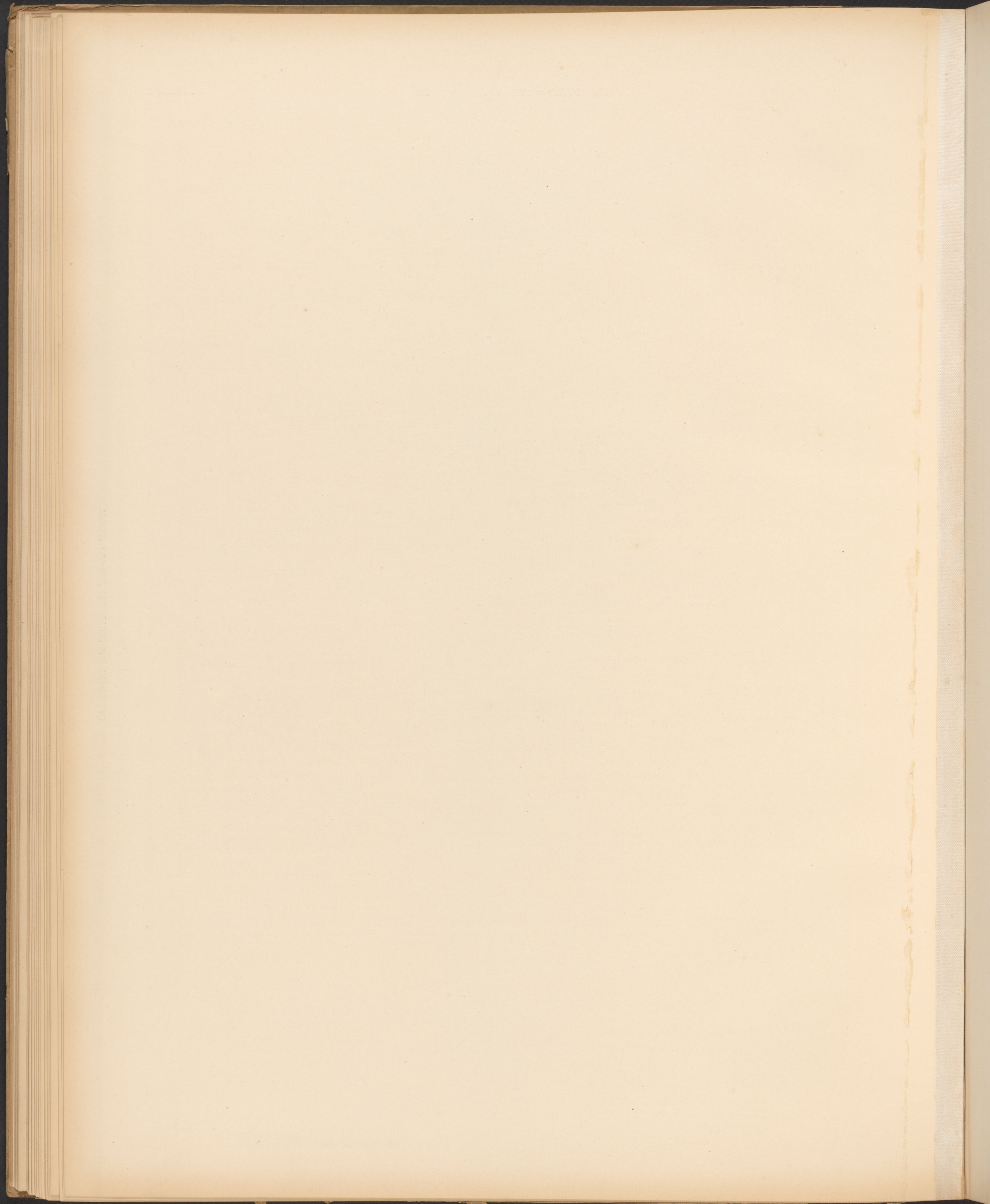


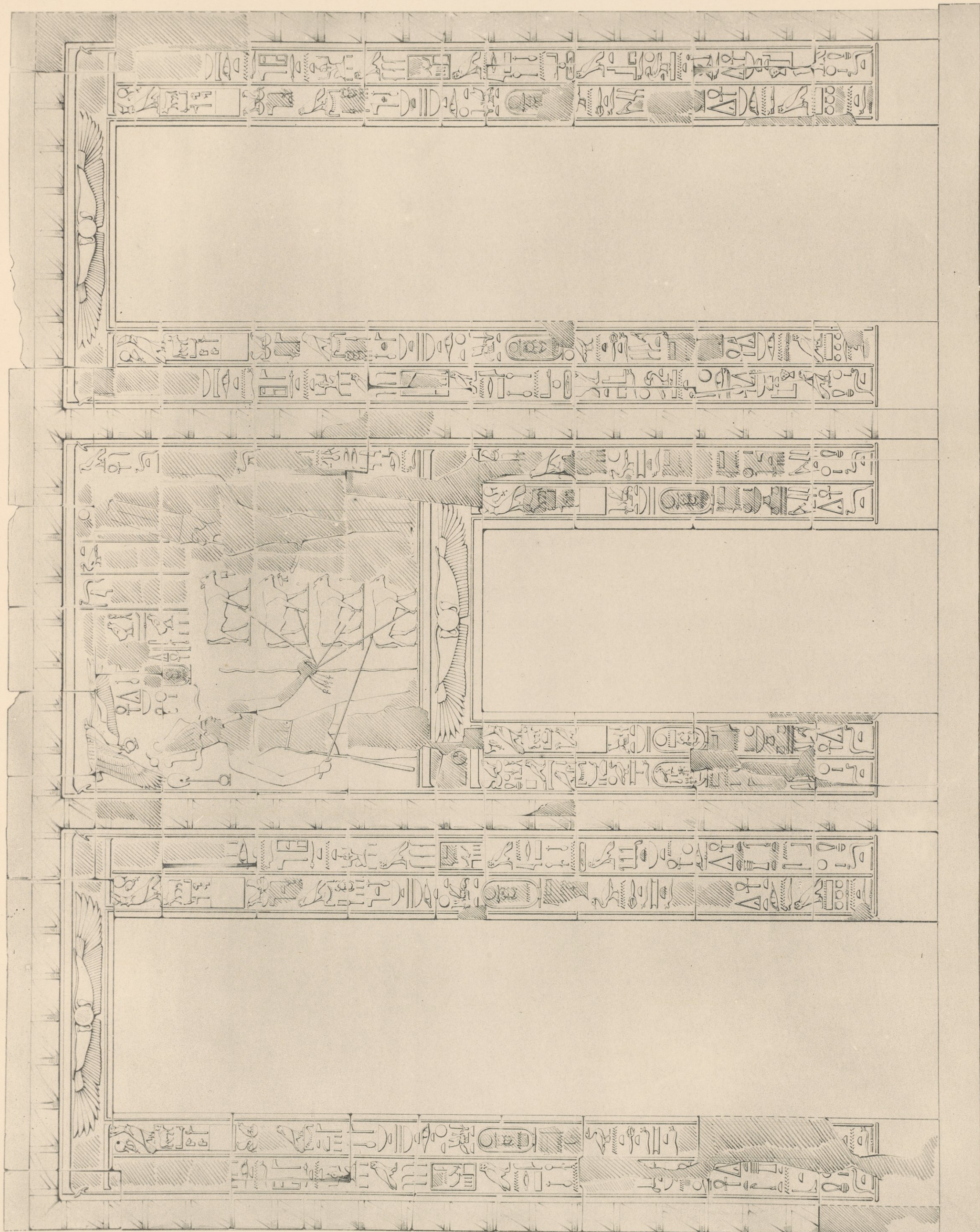
CHAMBER AT SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF UPPER COURT.
SOUTH WALL.



Scale 1/2 0 12 24 36 48 60 inches

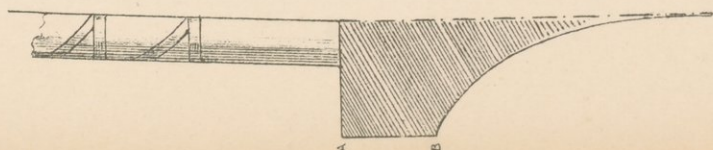
OFFERINGS OF GARMENTS TO AMON.

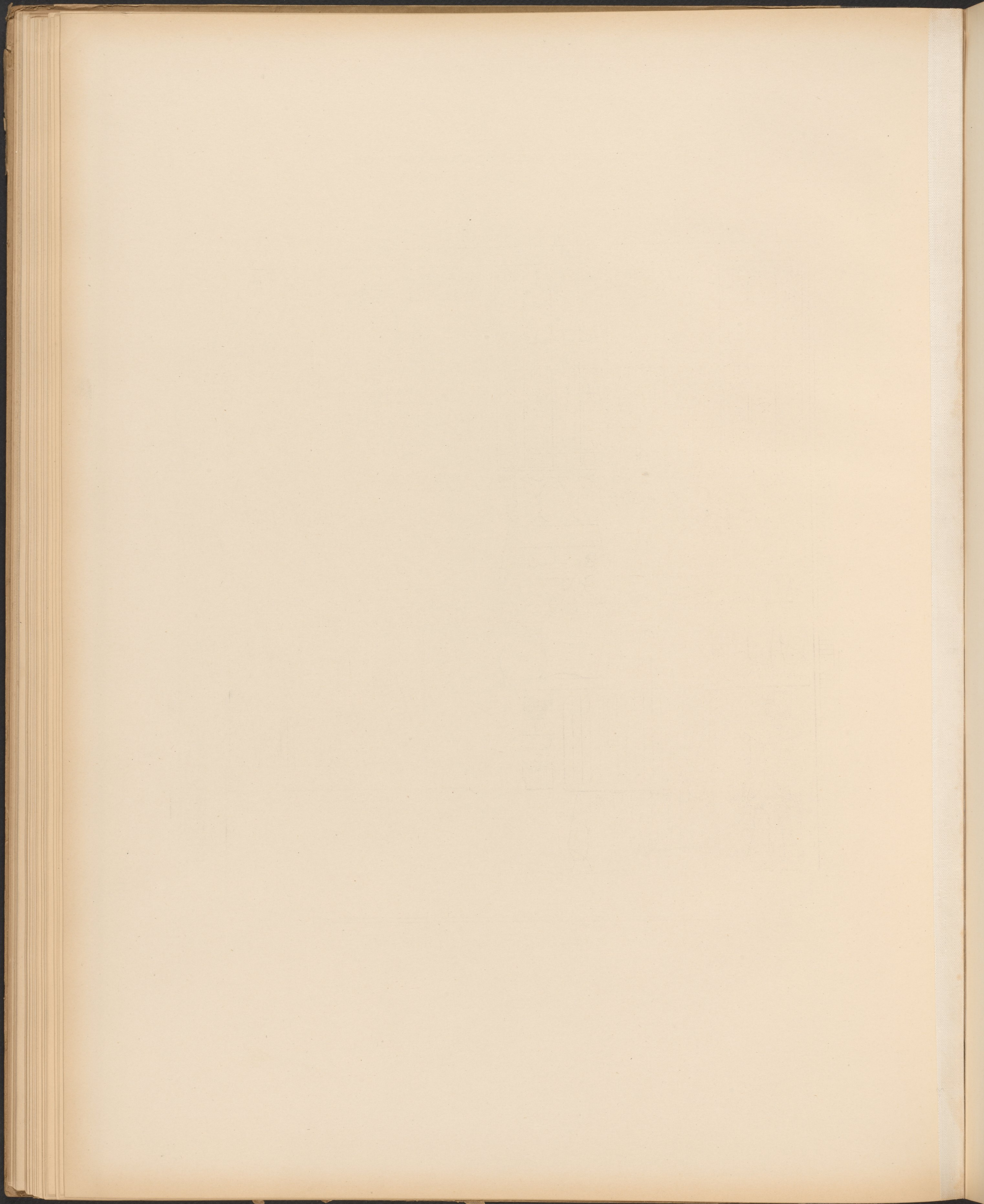




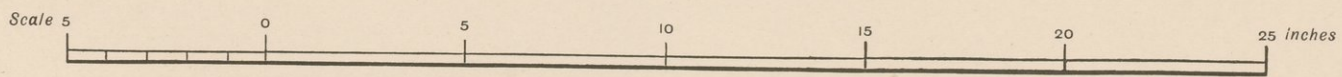
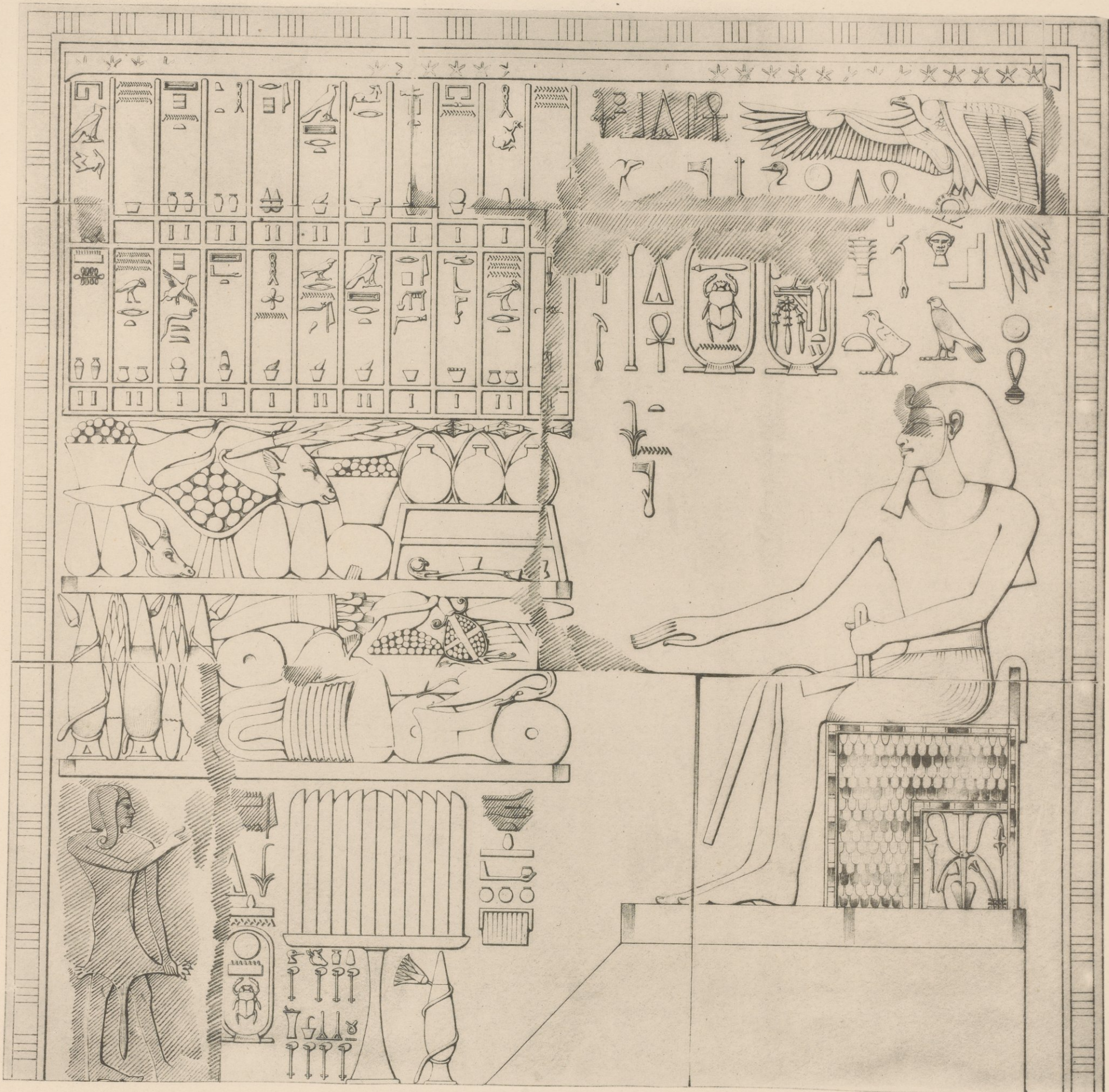
Scale 1/4
0 14 28 42 56 70 inches

OFFERING OF FOUR CALVES TO AMON.

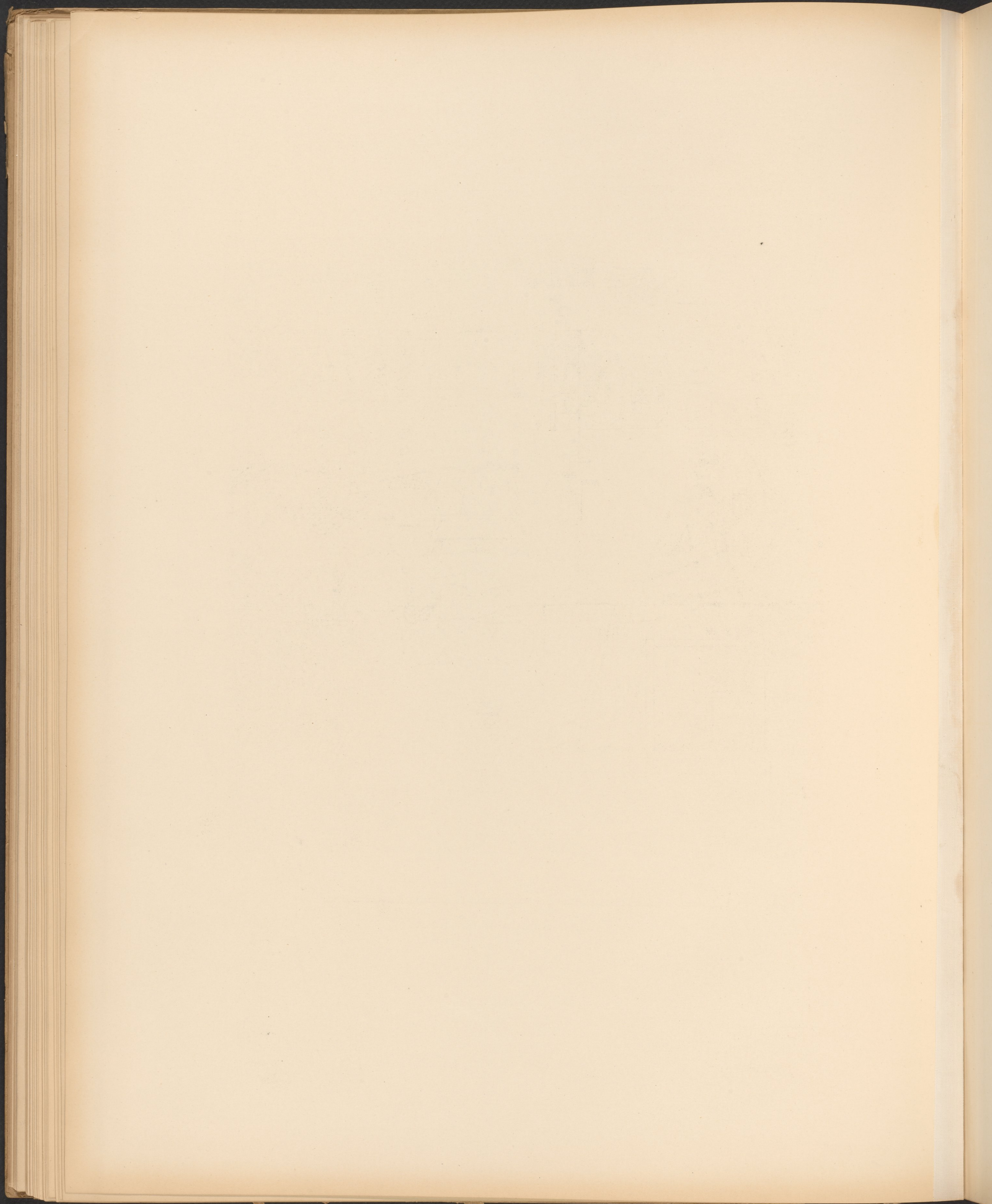




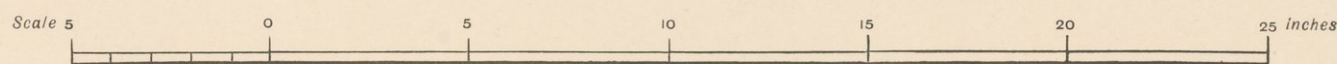
UPPER COURT, WEST WALL—SOUTHERN GROUP OF NICHES.



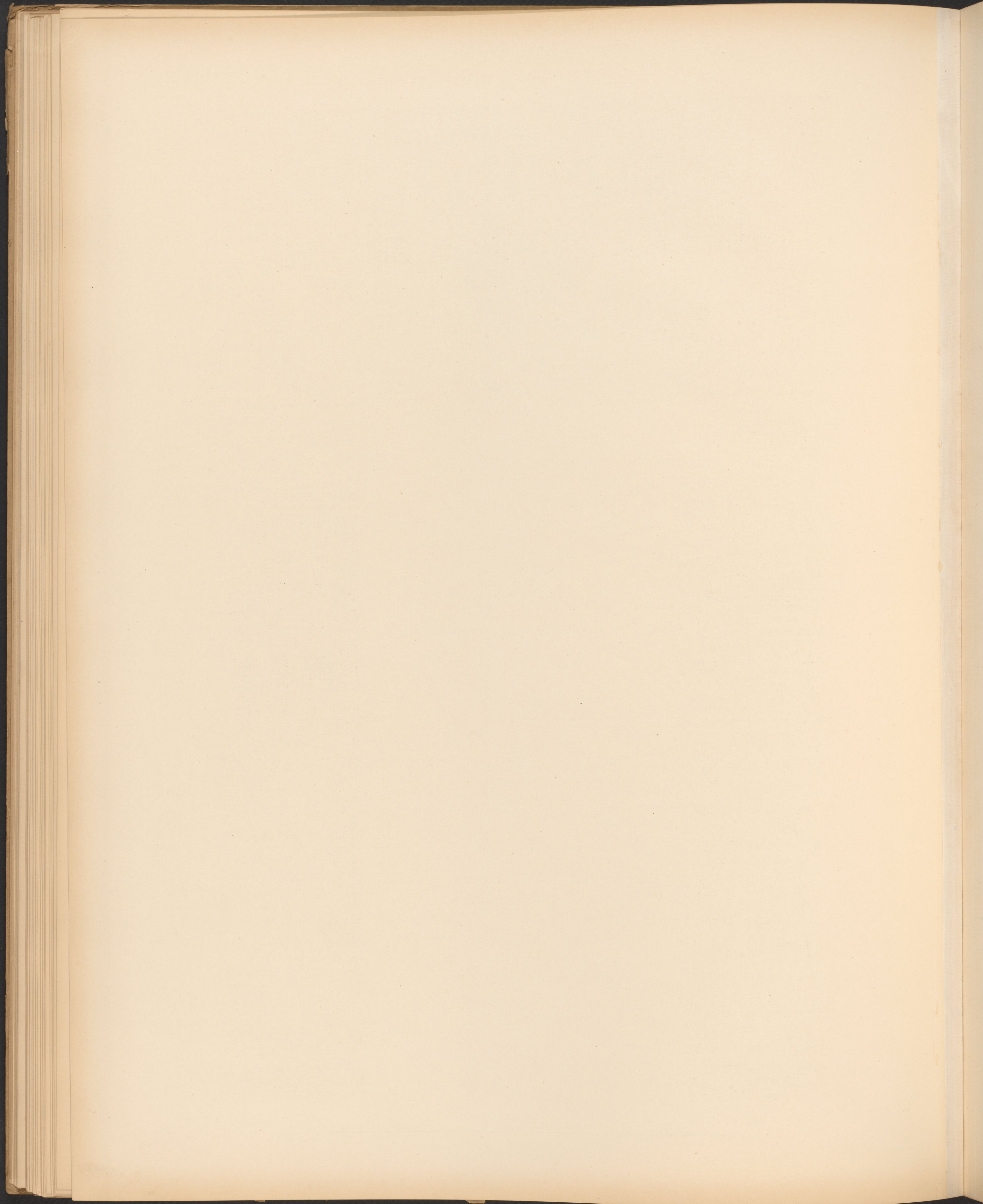
THOTHMES II., TO WHOM THOTHMES III. ACTS AS PRIEST.

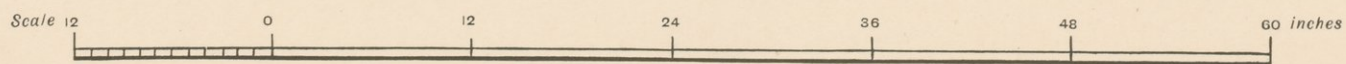
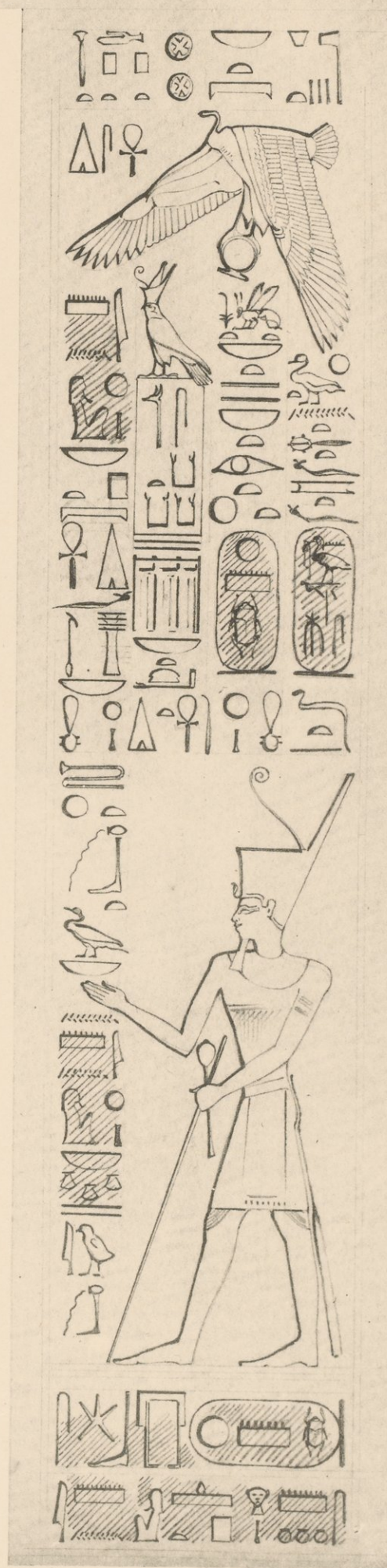
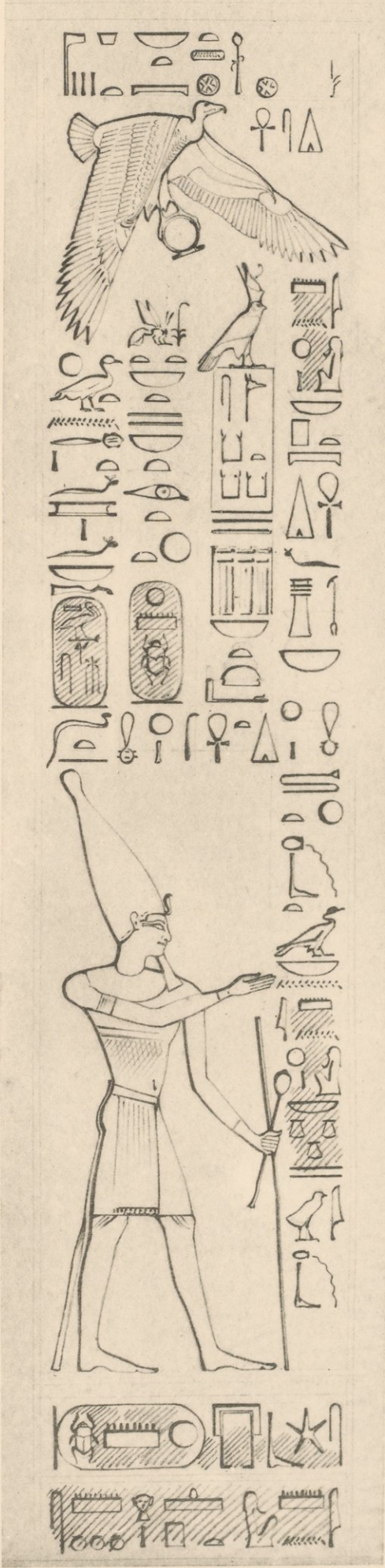
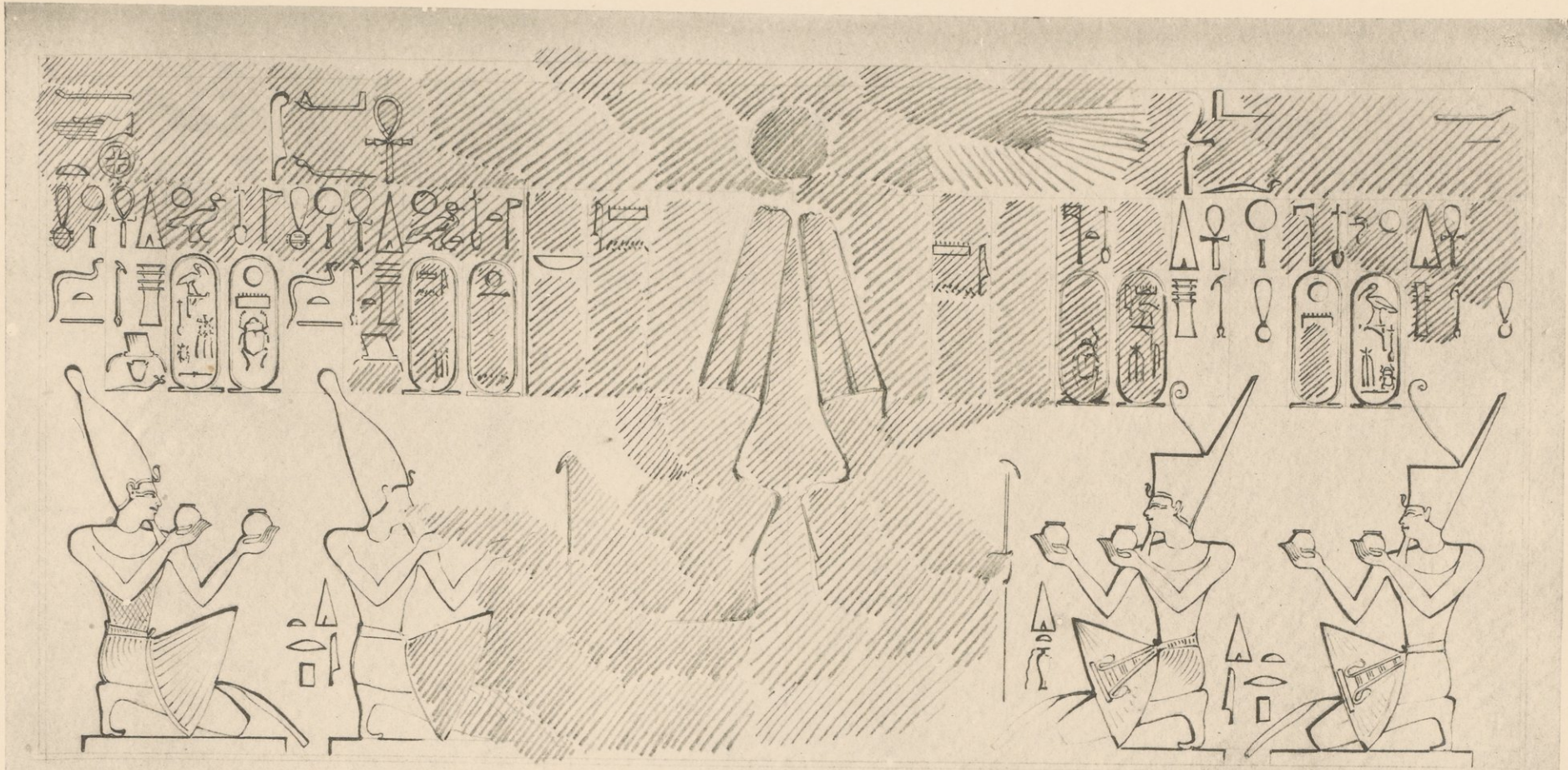


UPPER COURT, WEST WALL—SOUTHERN GROUP OF NICHES.

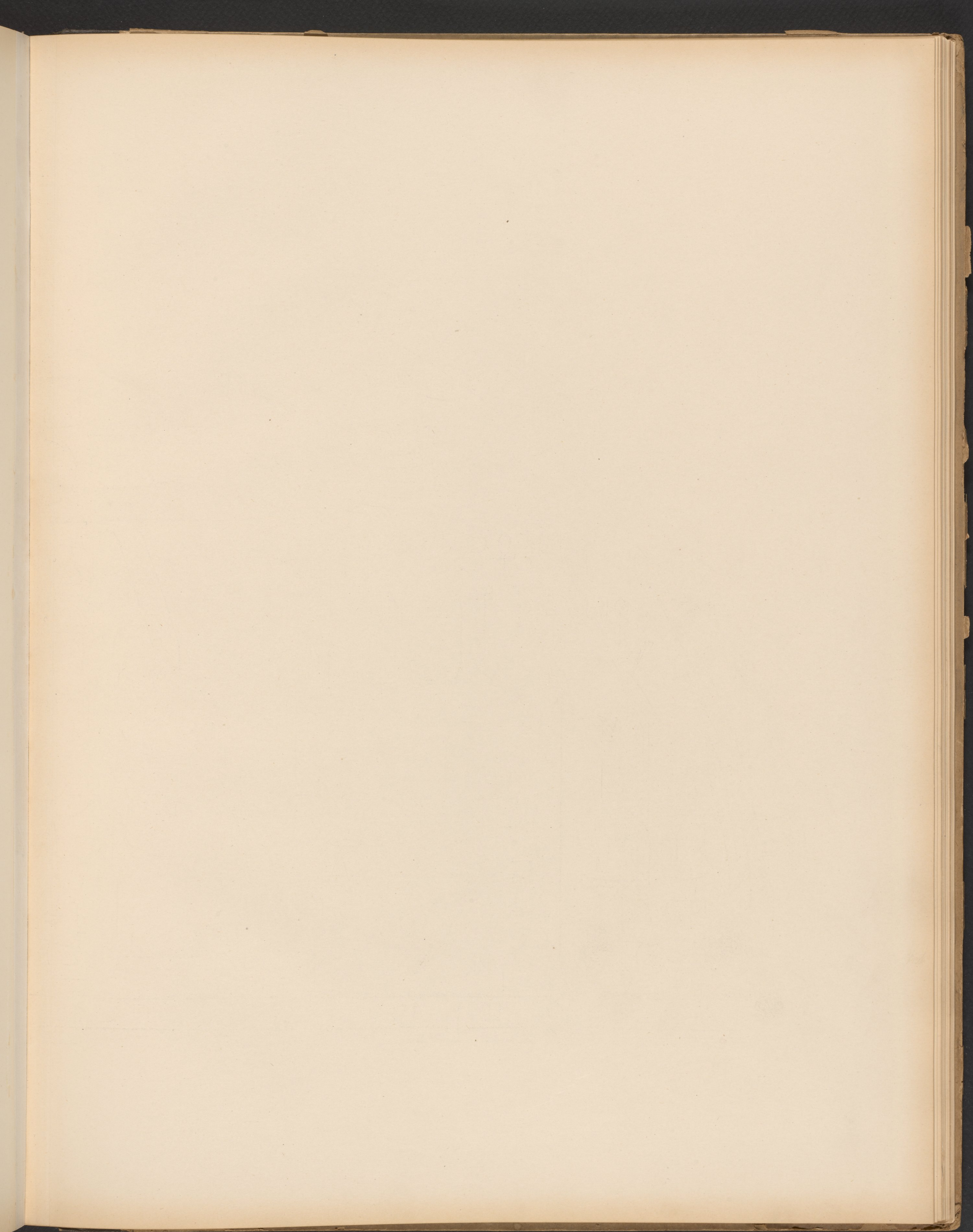


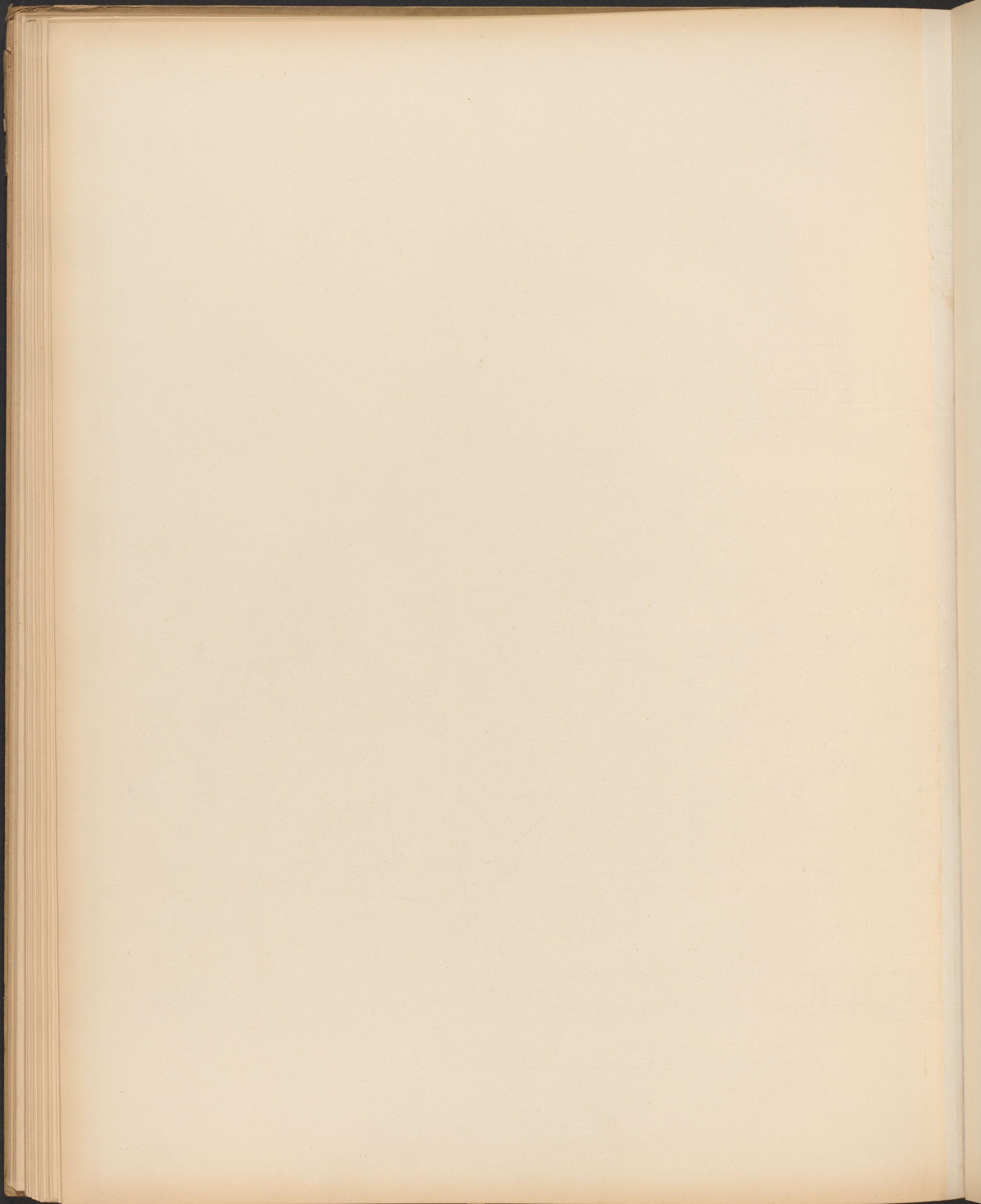
THOTHMES II. IN PLACE OF THE QUEEN.







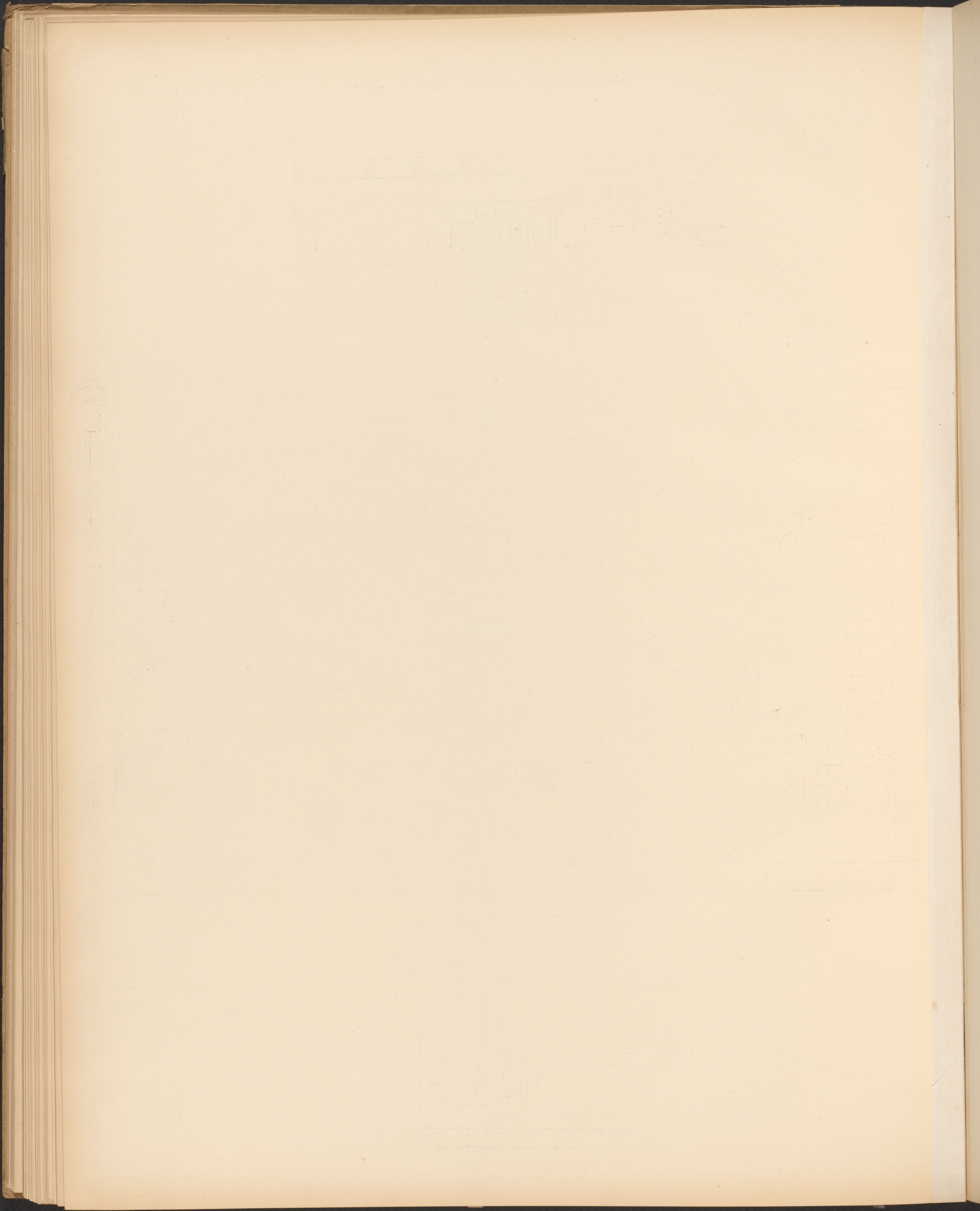


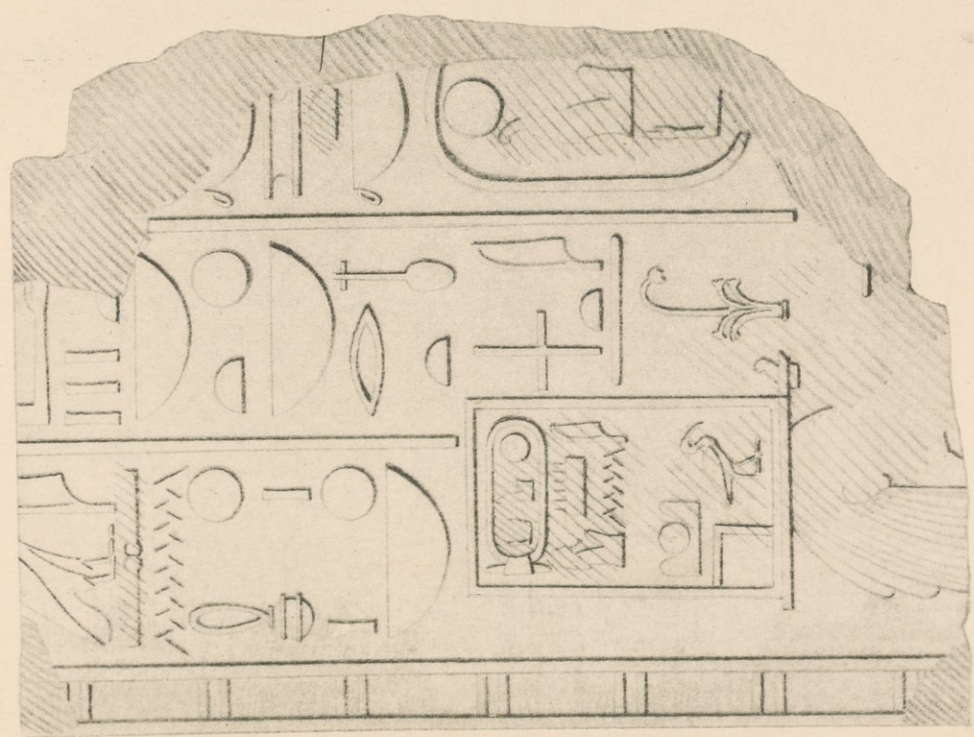
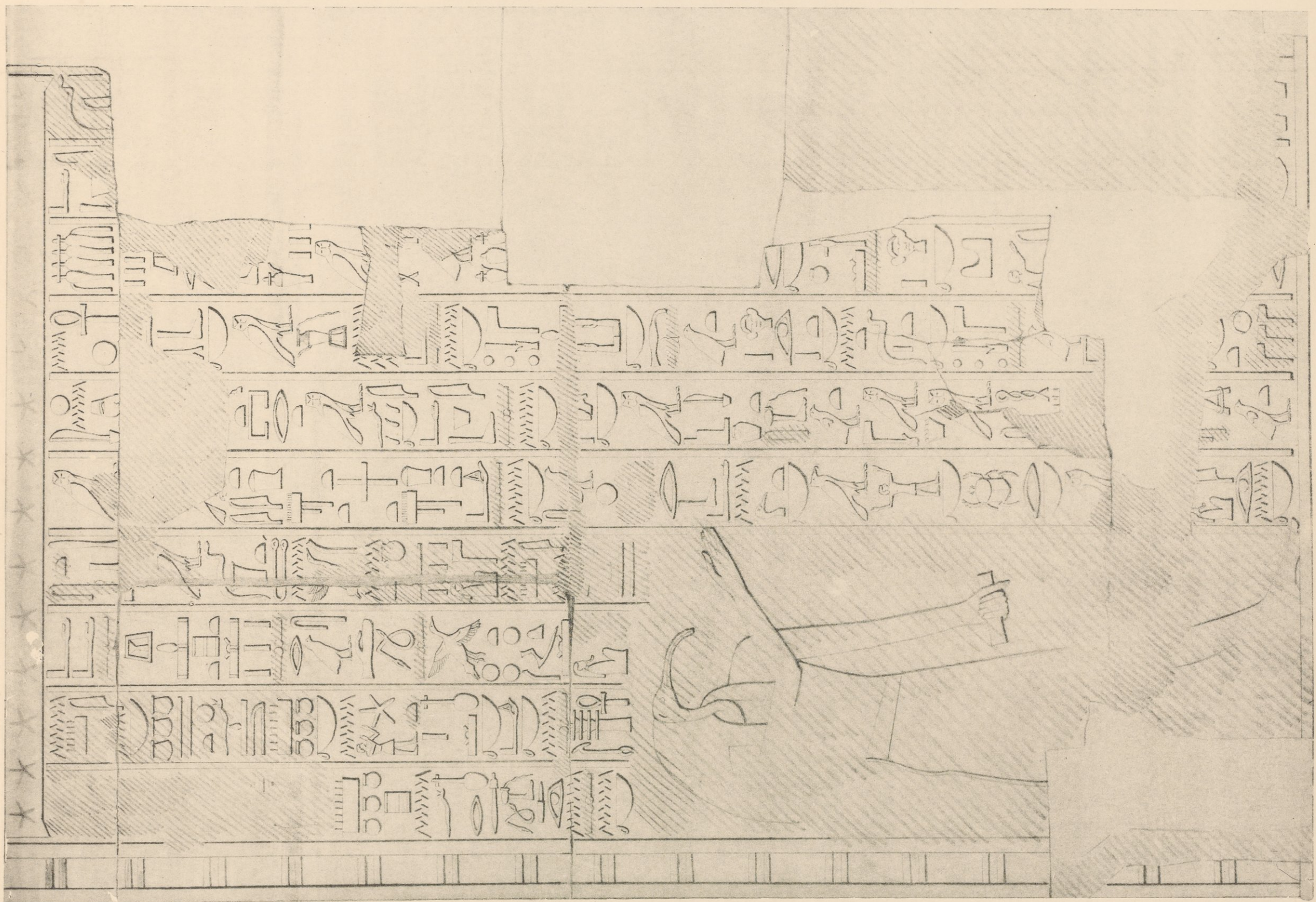
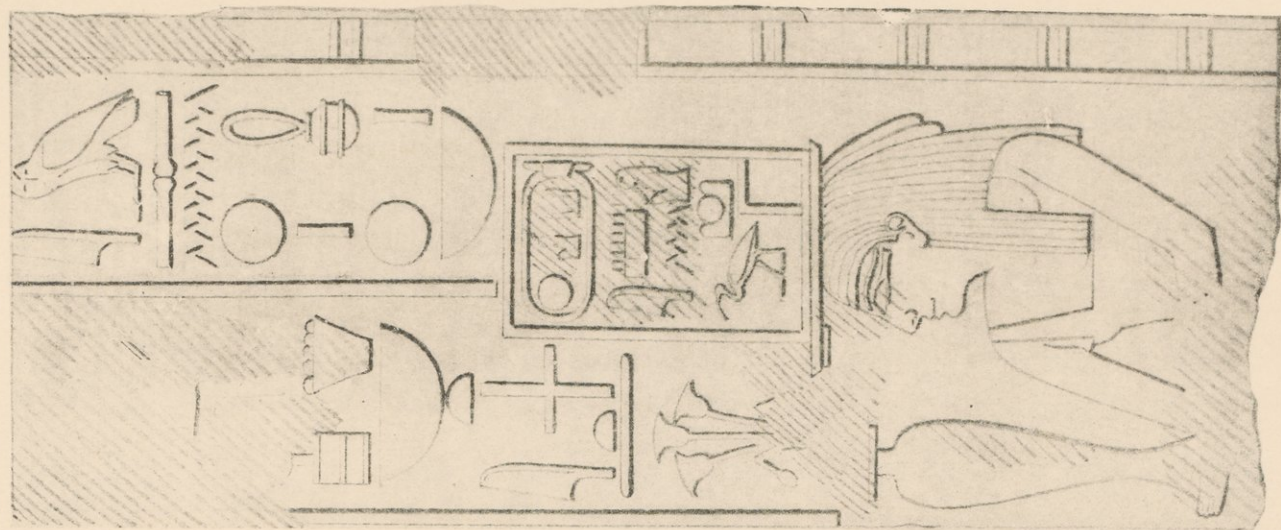


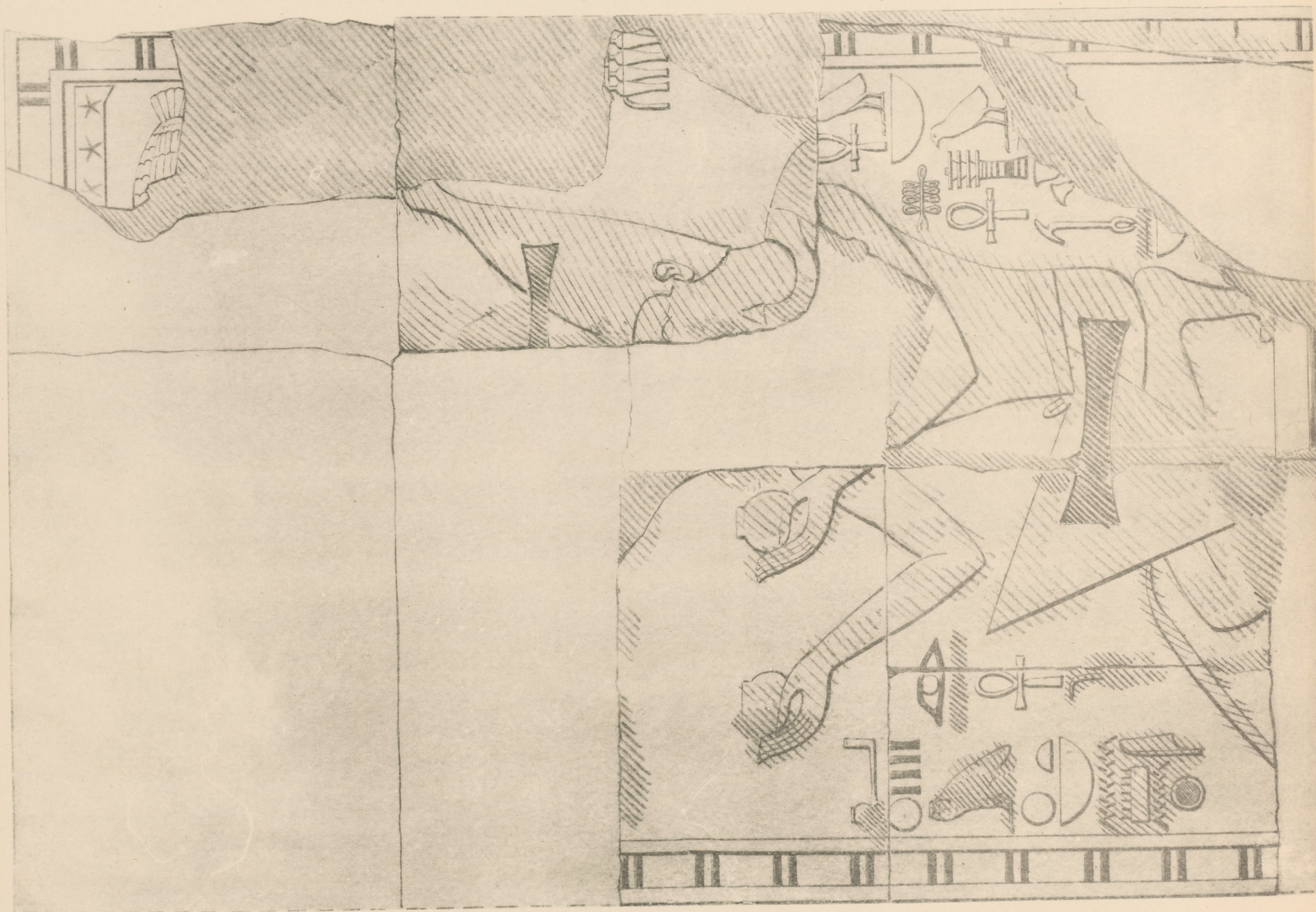
GRANITE DOORWAY OF THE SANCTUARY. INNER FACE.

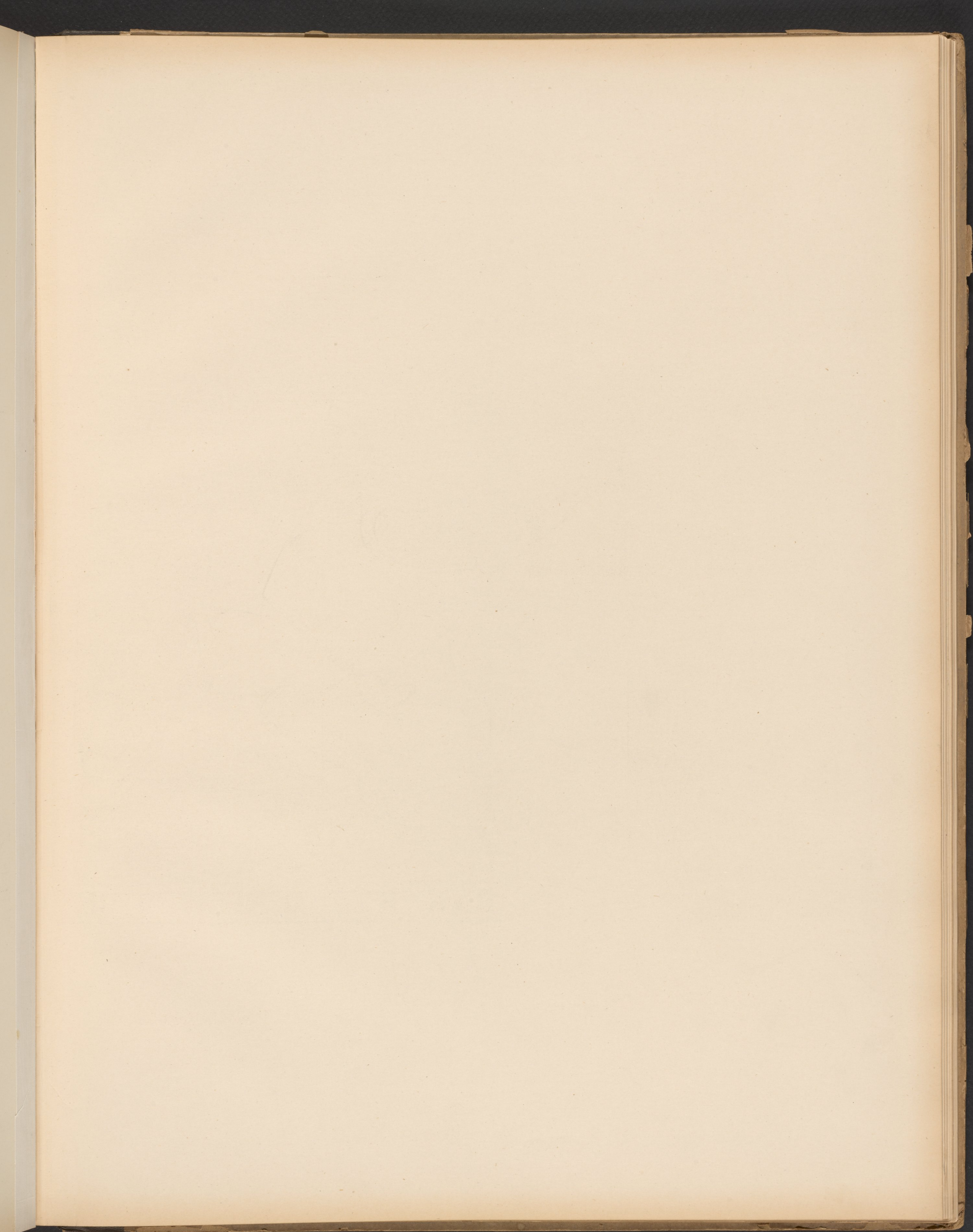


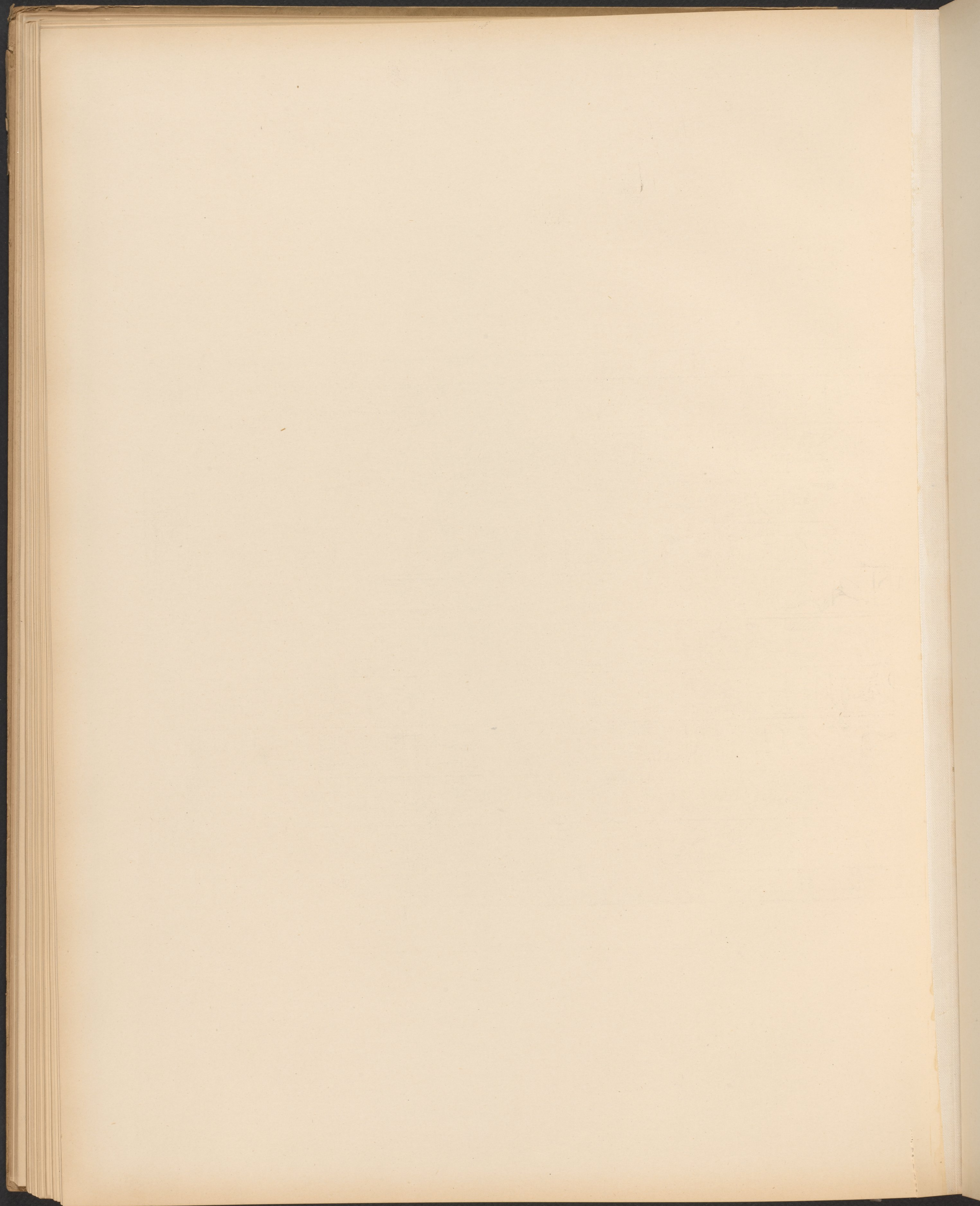
Scale 0 6 12 18 24 30 inches







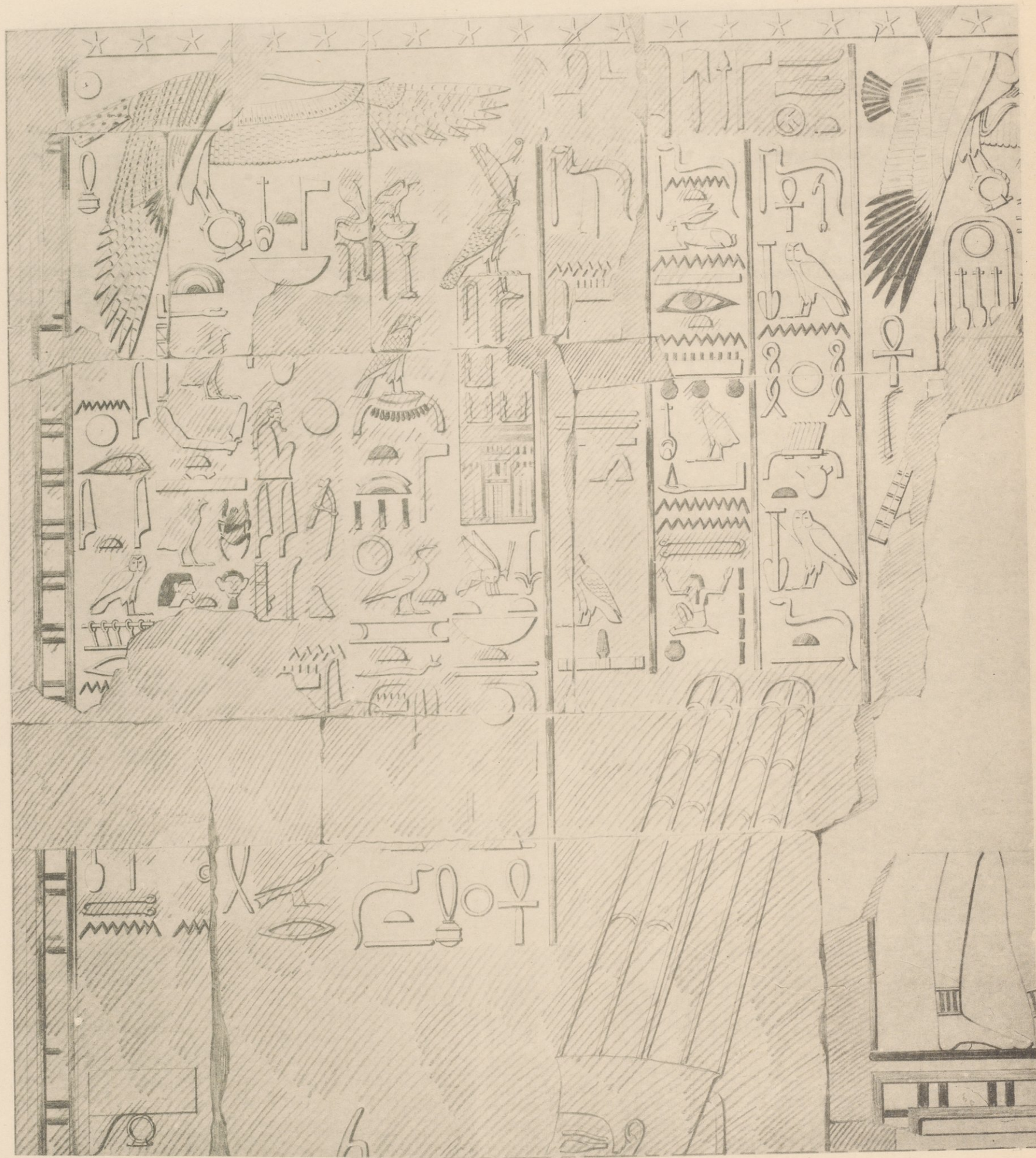


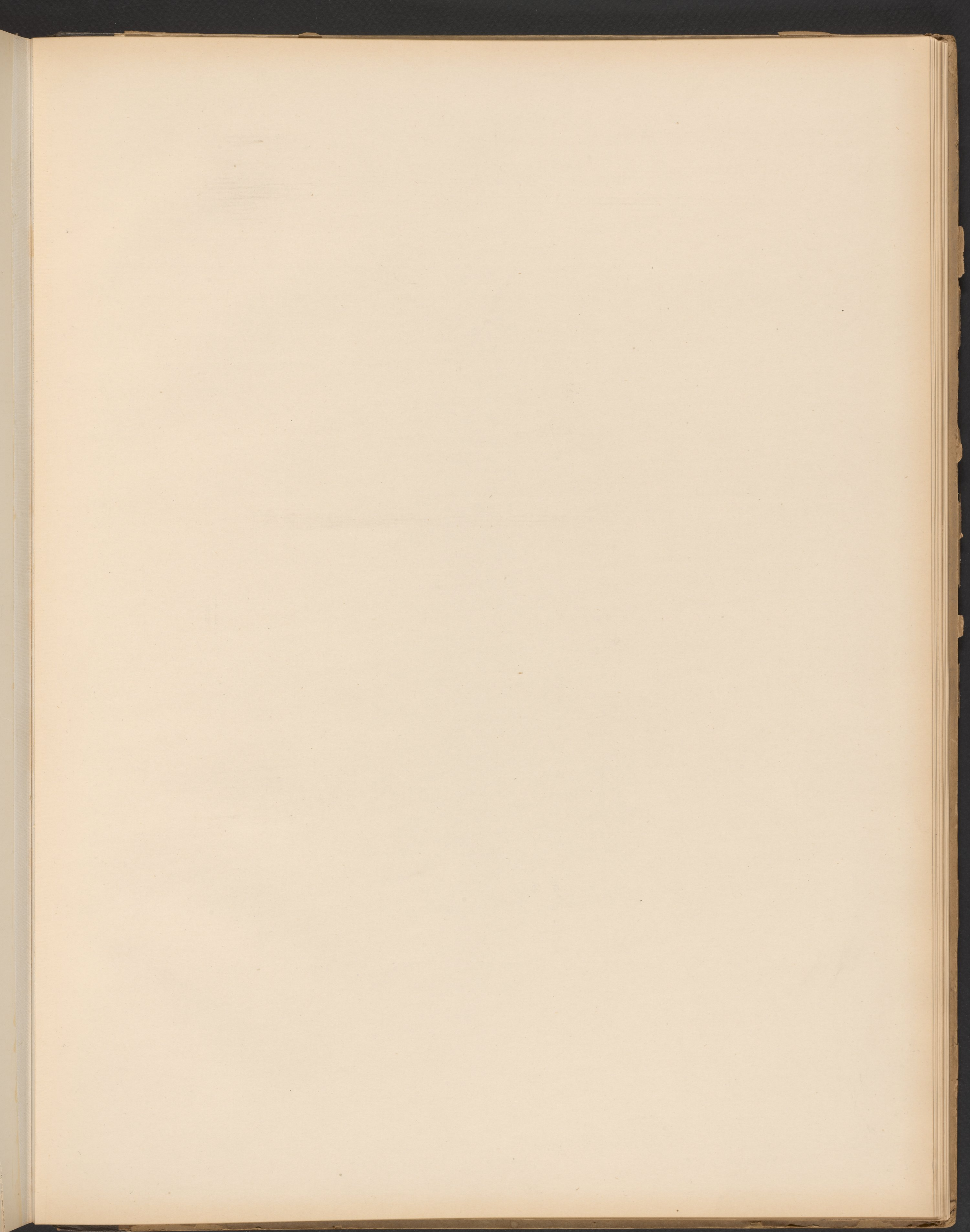


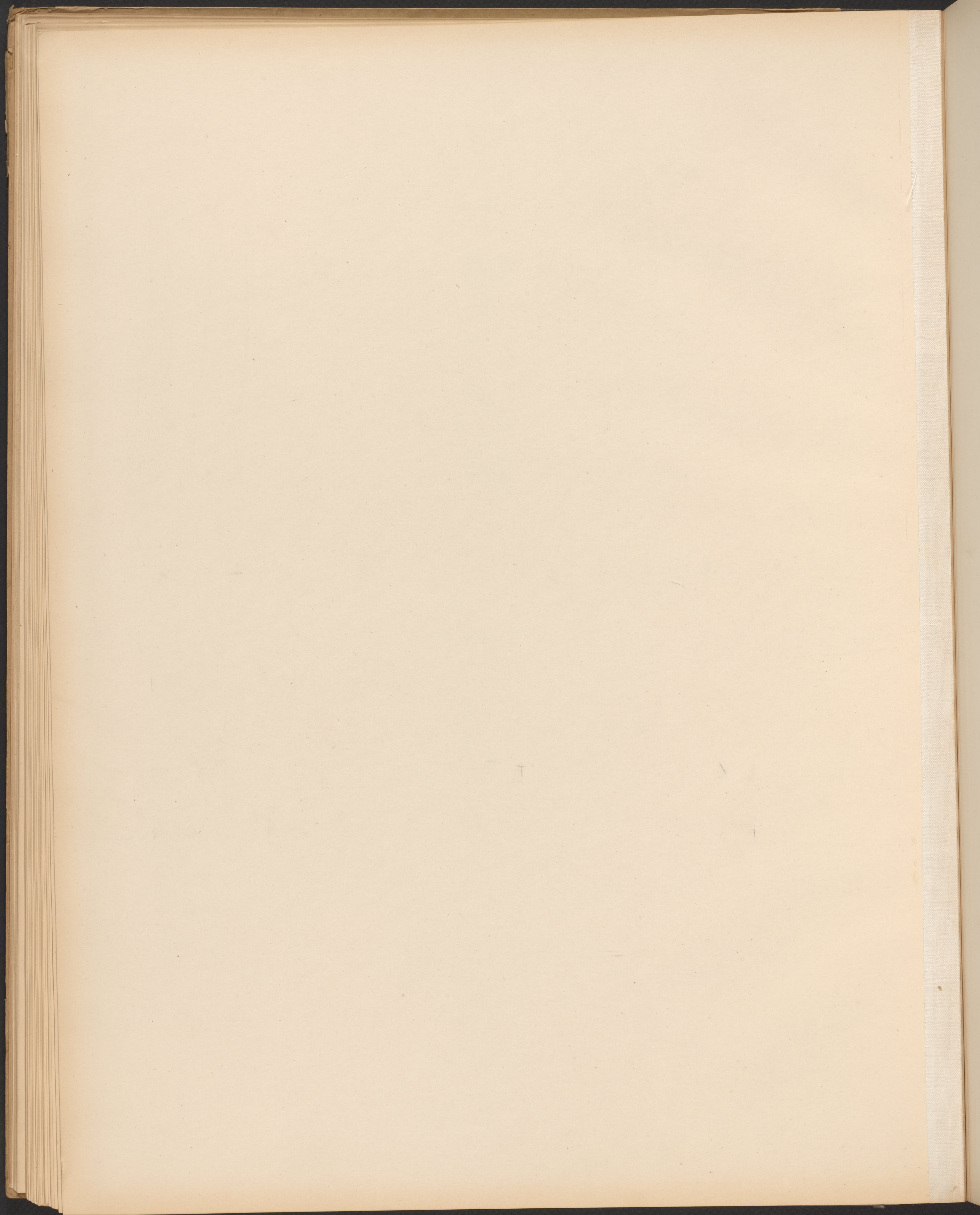
GRANITE DOORWAY OF THE SANCTUARY. NORTHERN PILLAR.



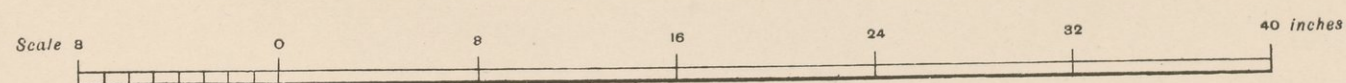
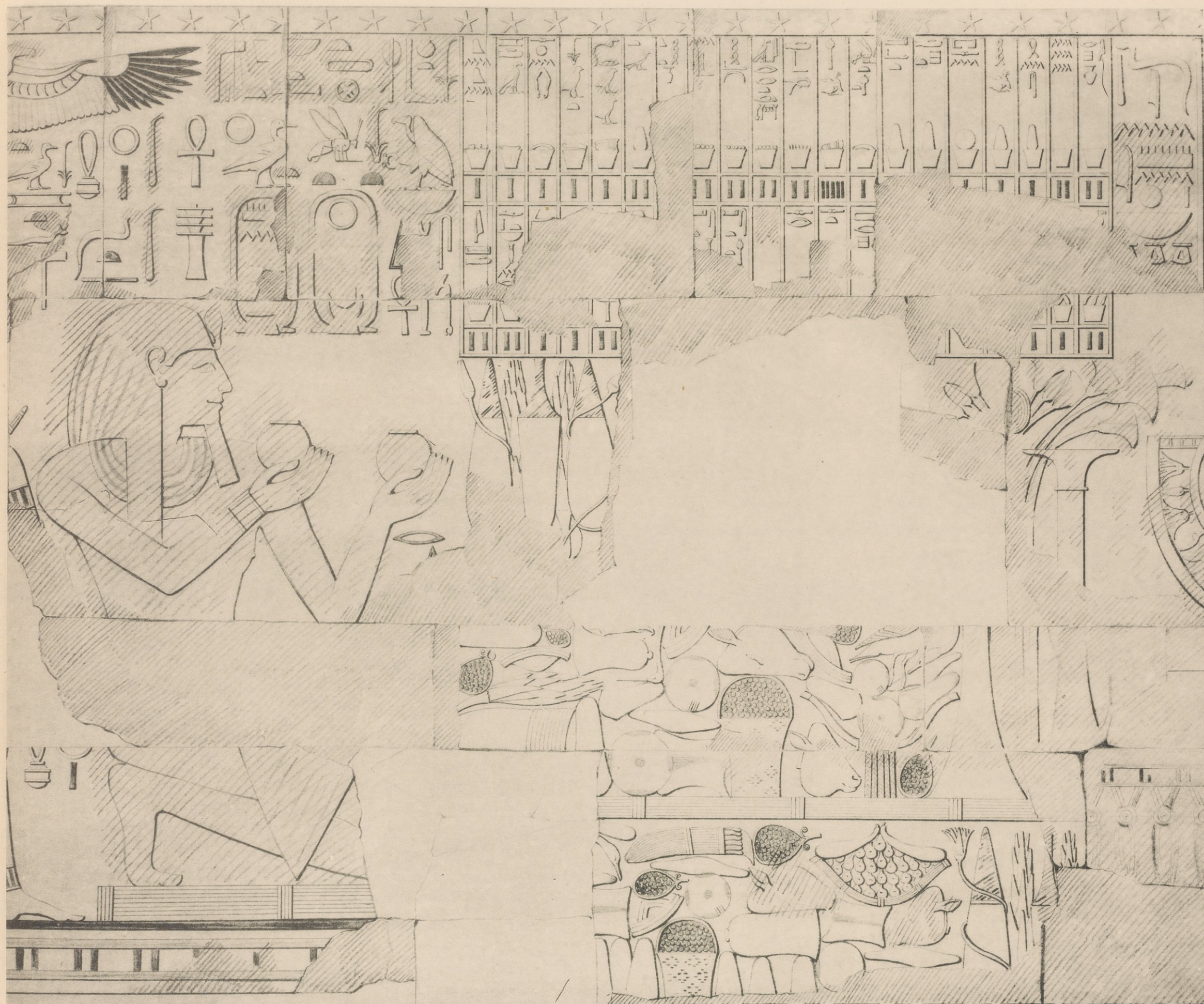
Scale 5 0 5 10 15 20 25 inches



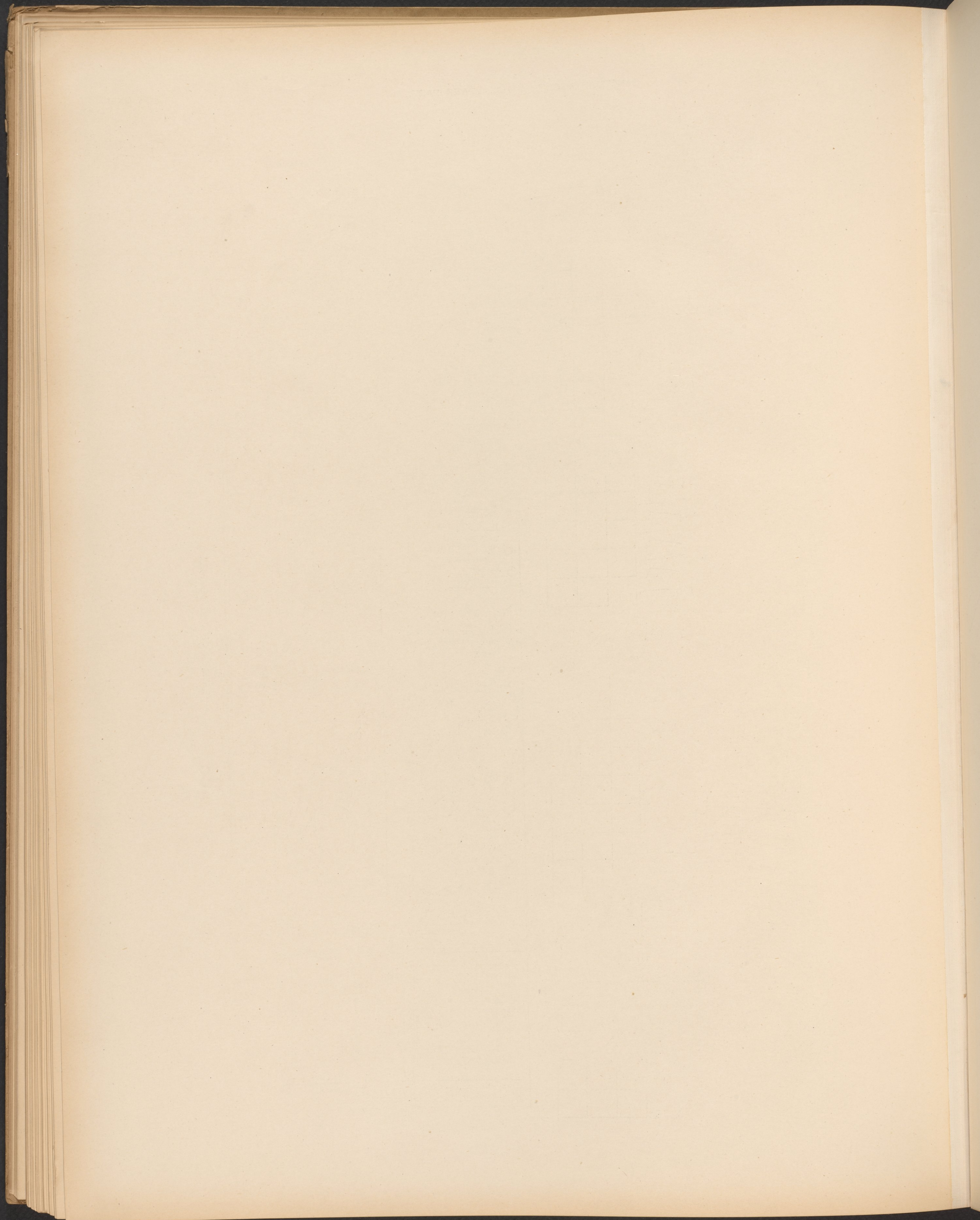


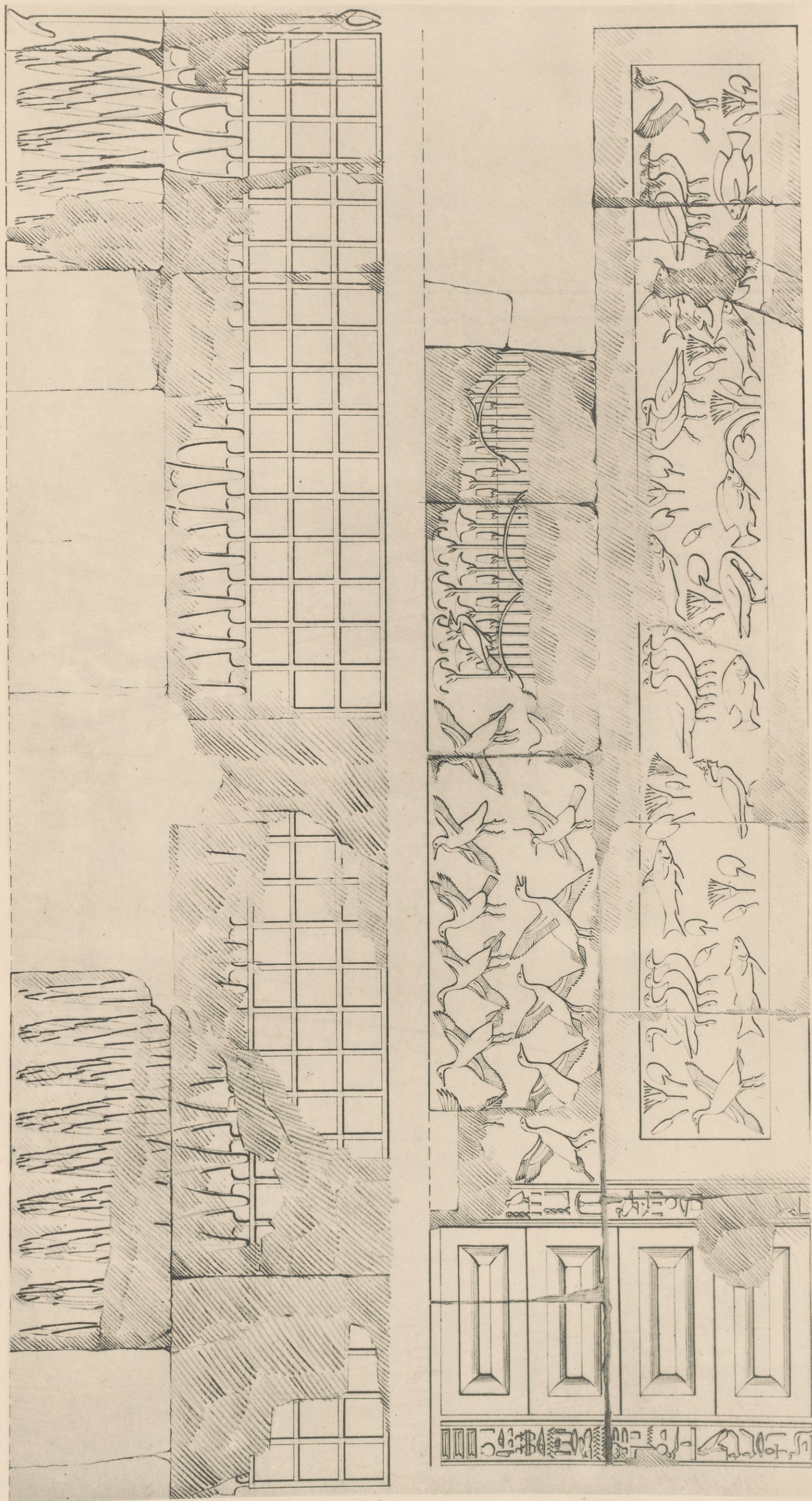


SANCTUARY—TOP OF SOUTH WALL.



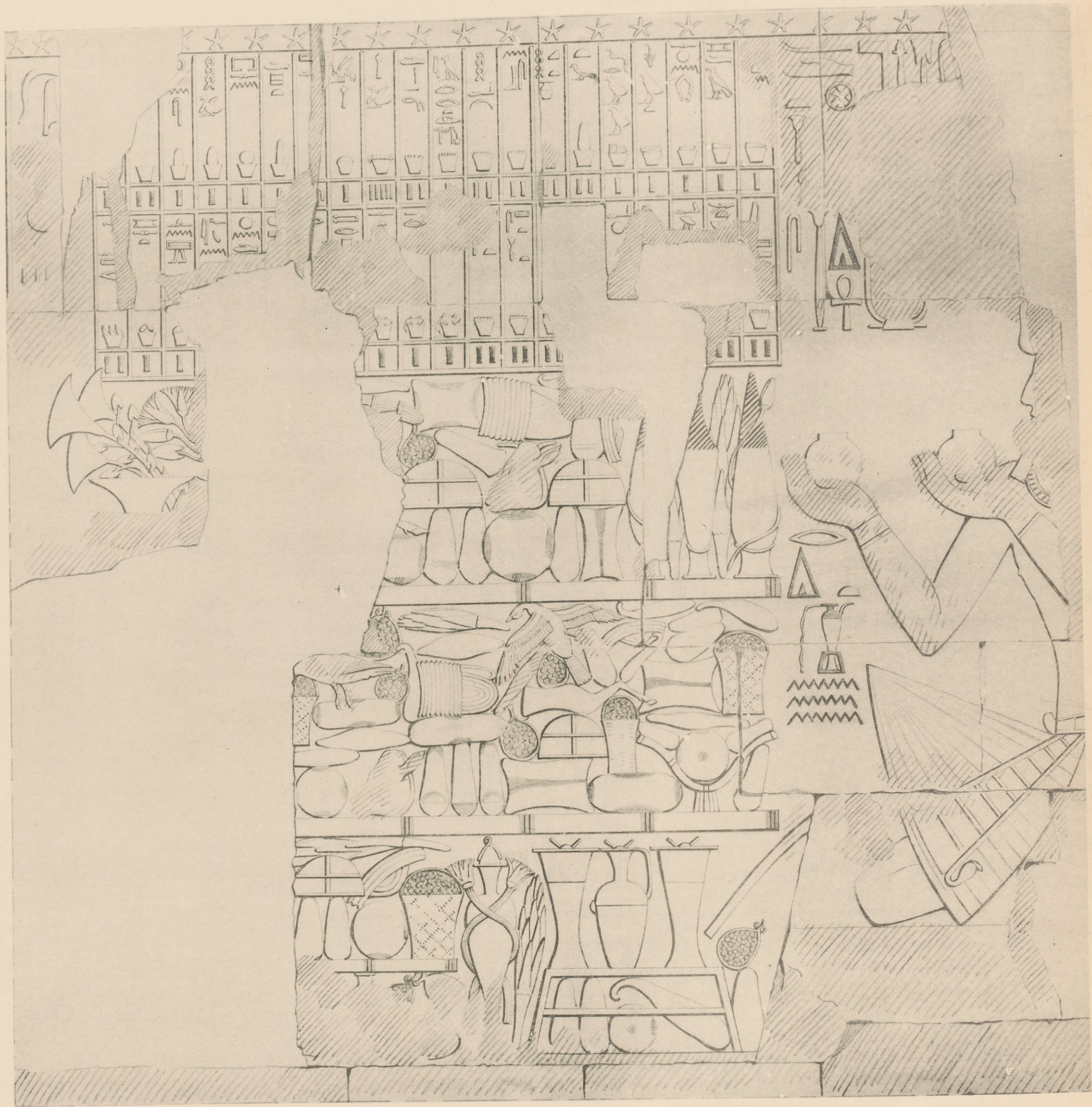
THOTHMES III. OFFERING MILK BEFORE THE BOAT OF AMON.

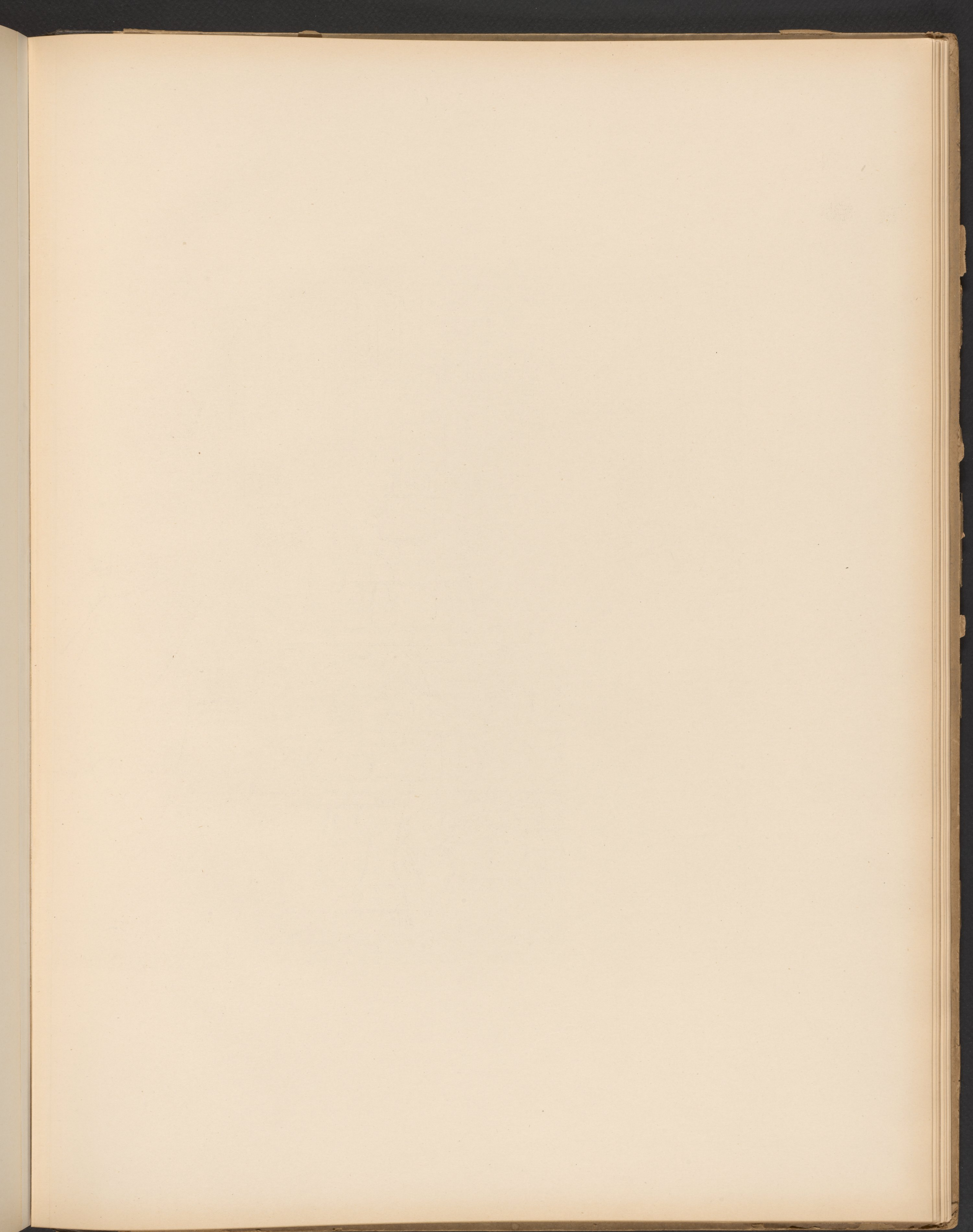


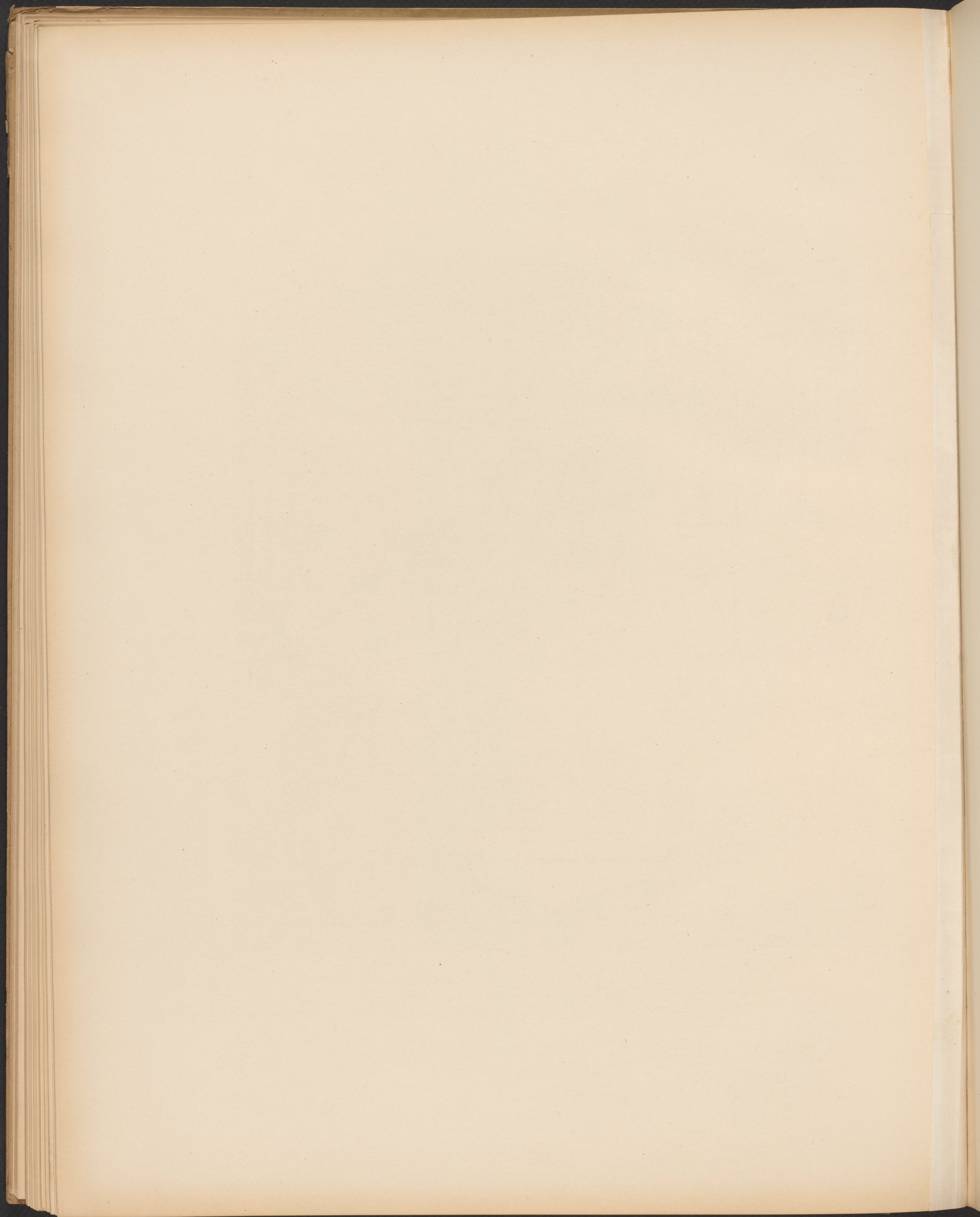


Scale 8
0 8 16 24 32 40 inches

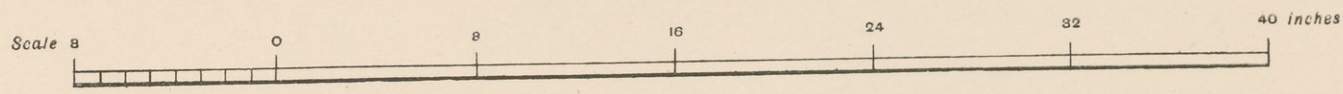
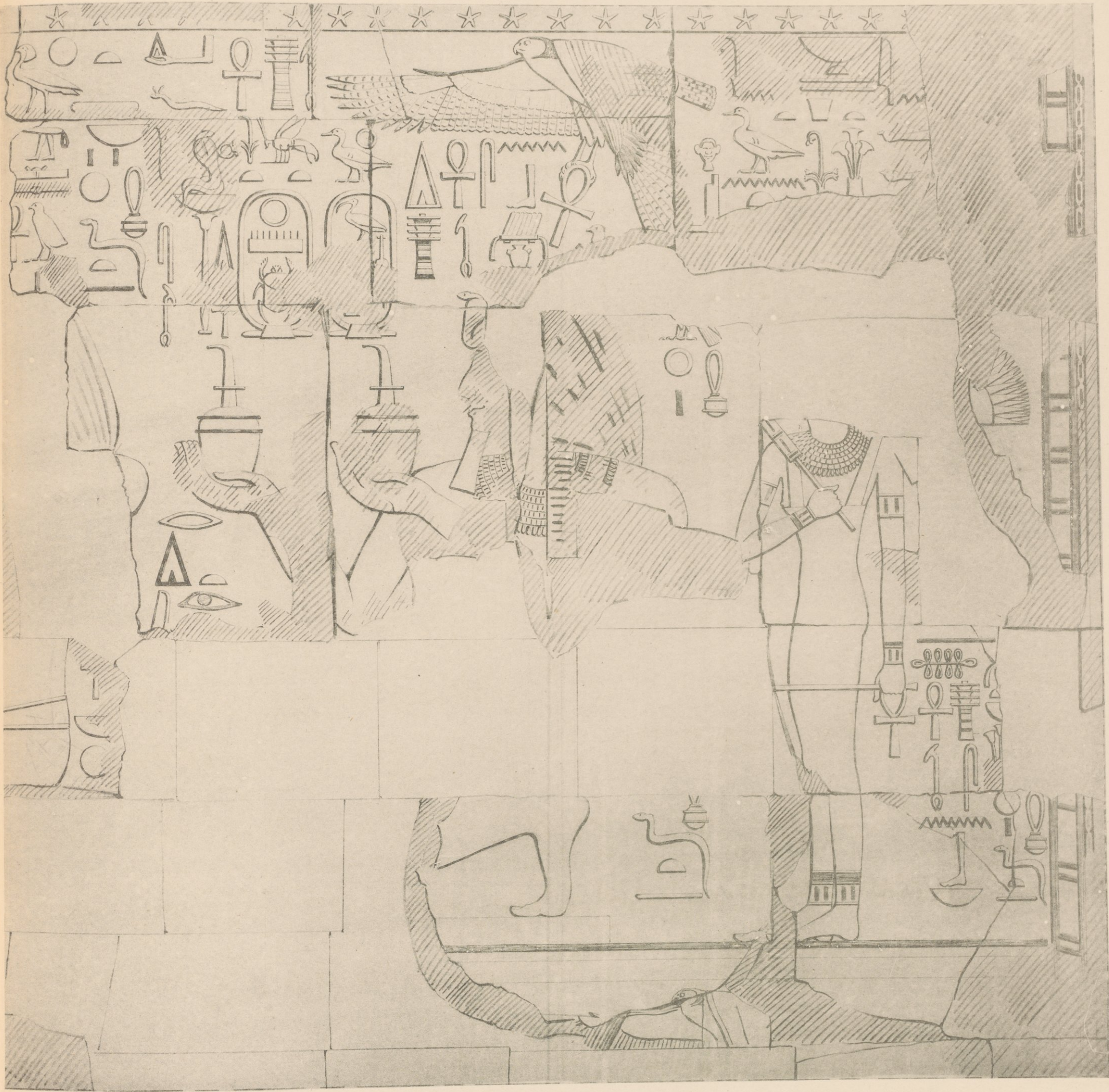
THE GARDEN OF THE TEMPLE.







SANCTUARY—TOP OF NORTH WALL.

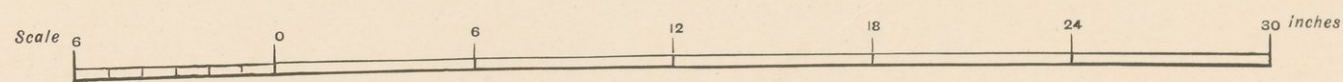
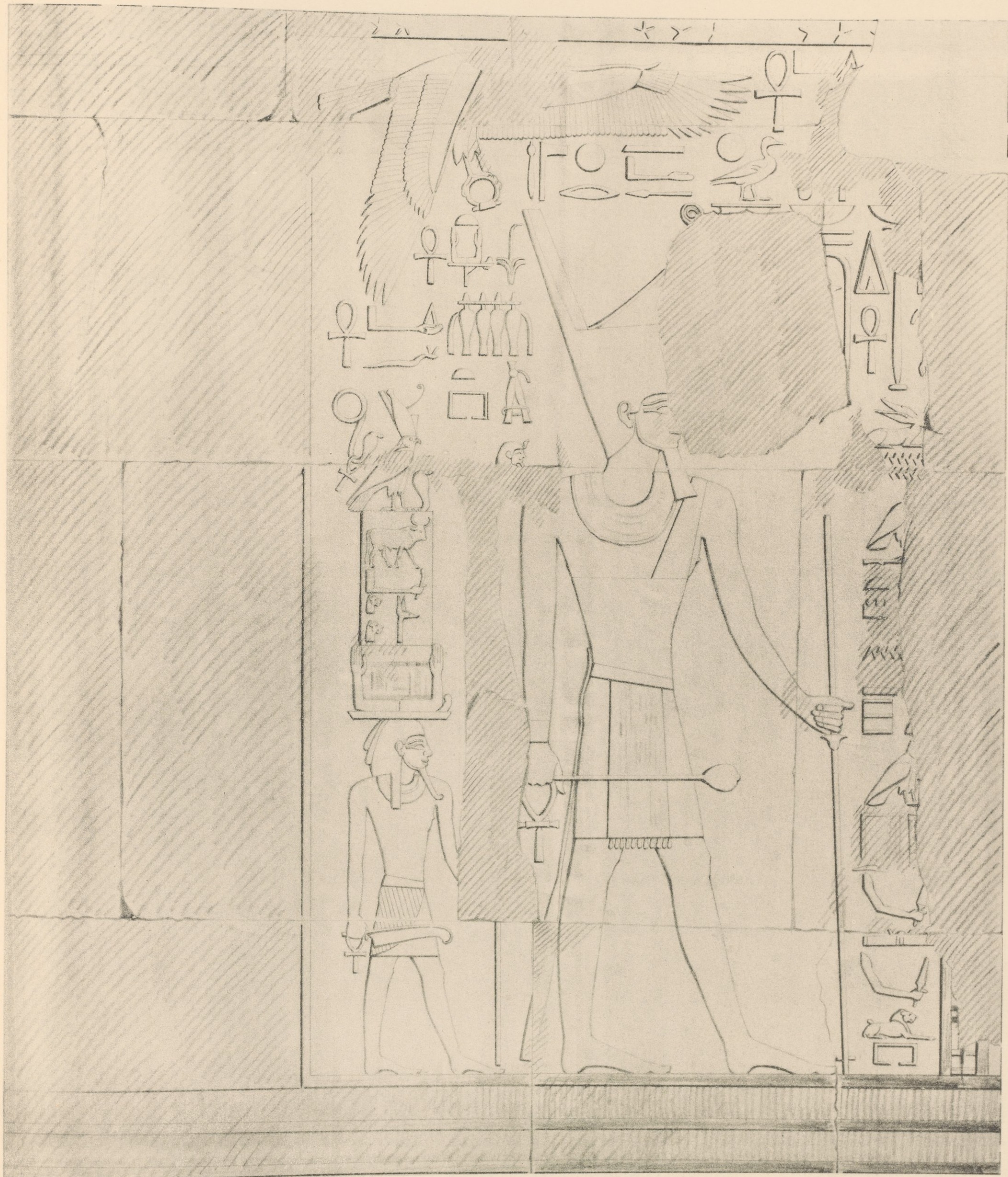


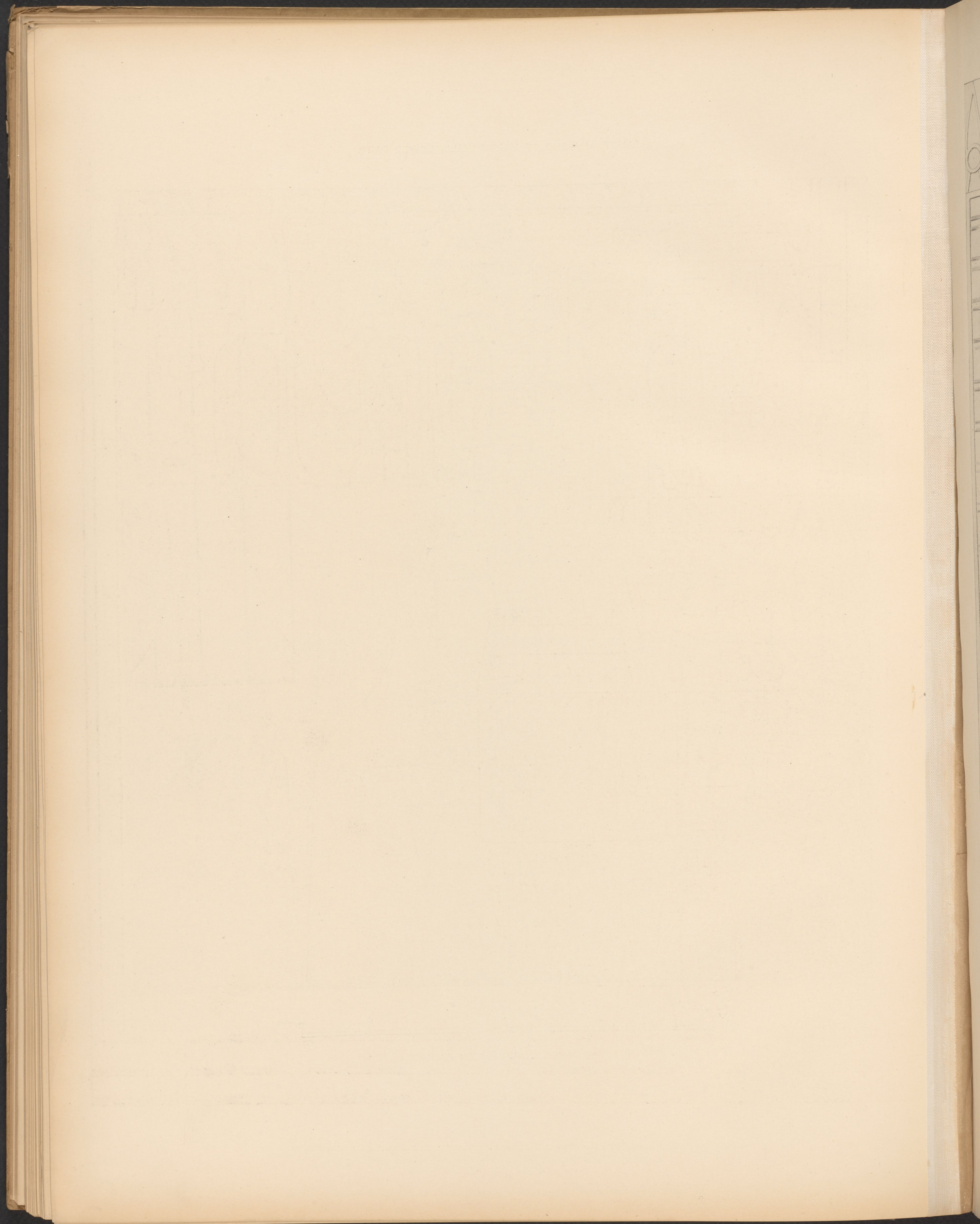
QUEEN AND THOTHMES III. MAKING OFFERINGS BEFORE THE BOAT OF AMON.

BOUNDARY-END OF NORTH WALL UPPER PART.

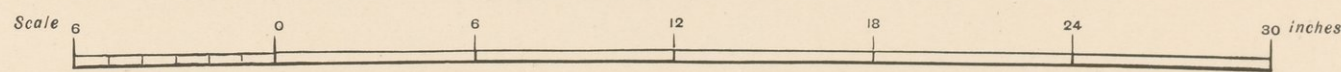
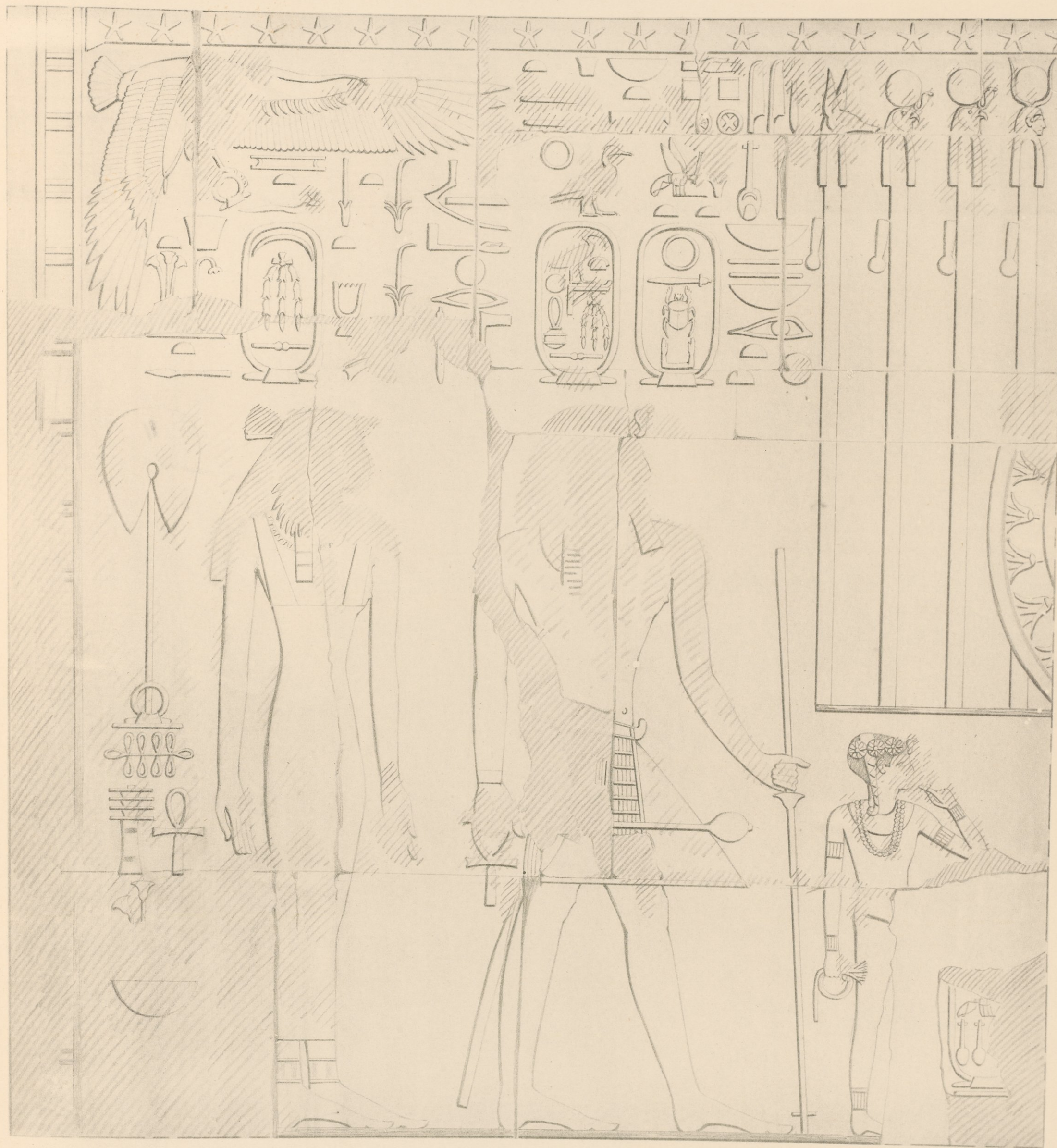


SANCTUARY-END OF NORTH WALL, UPPER PART.

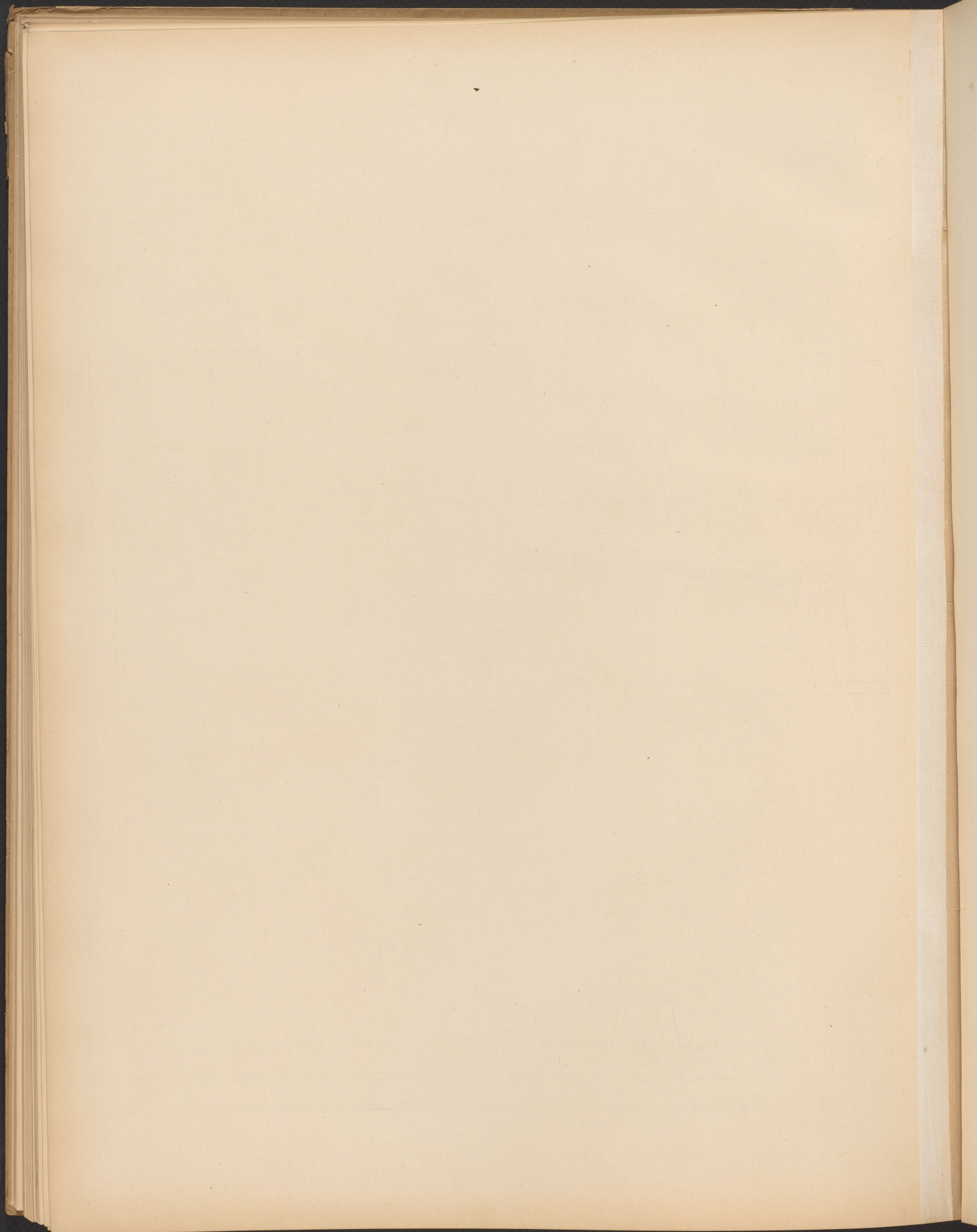


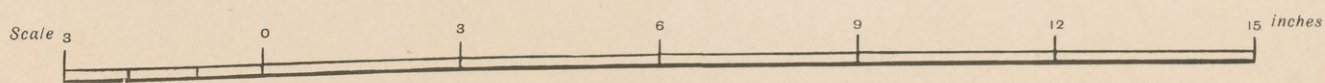
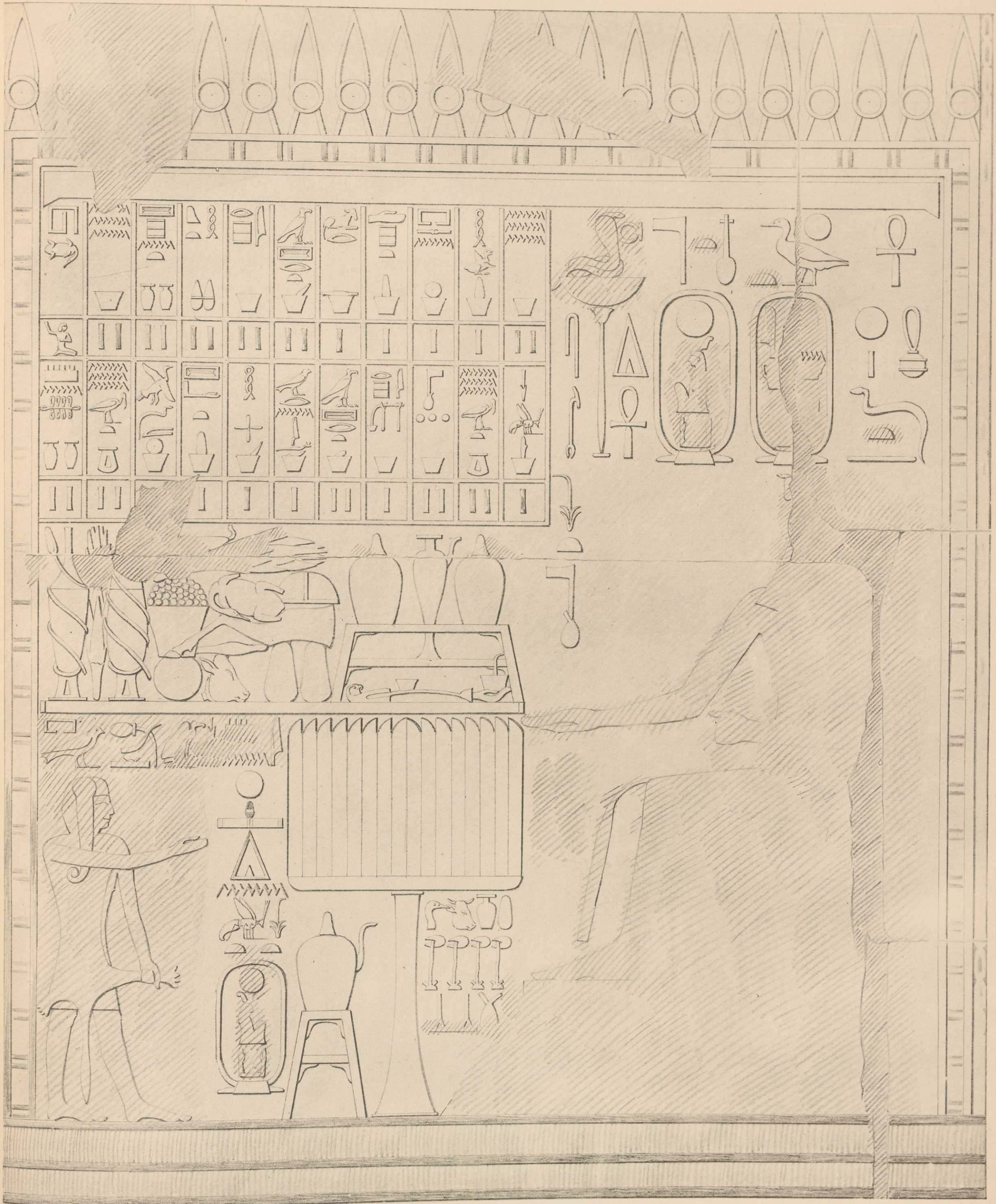


SANCTUARY-END OF NORTH WALL, LOWER PART.

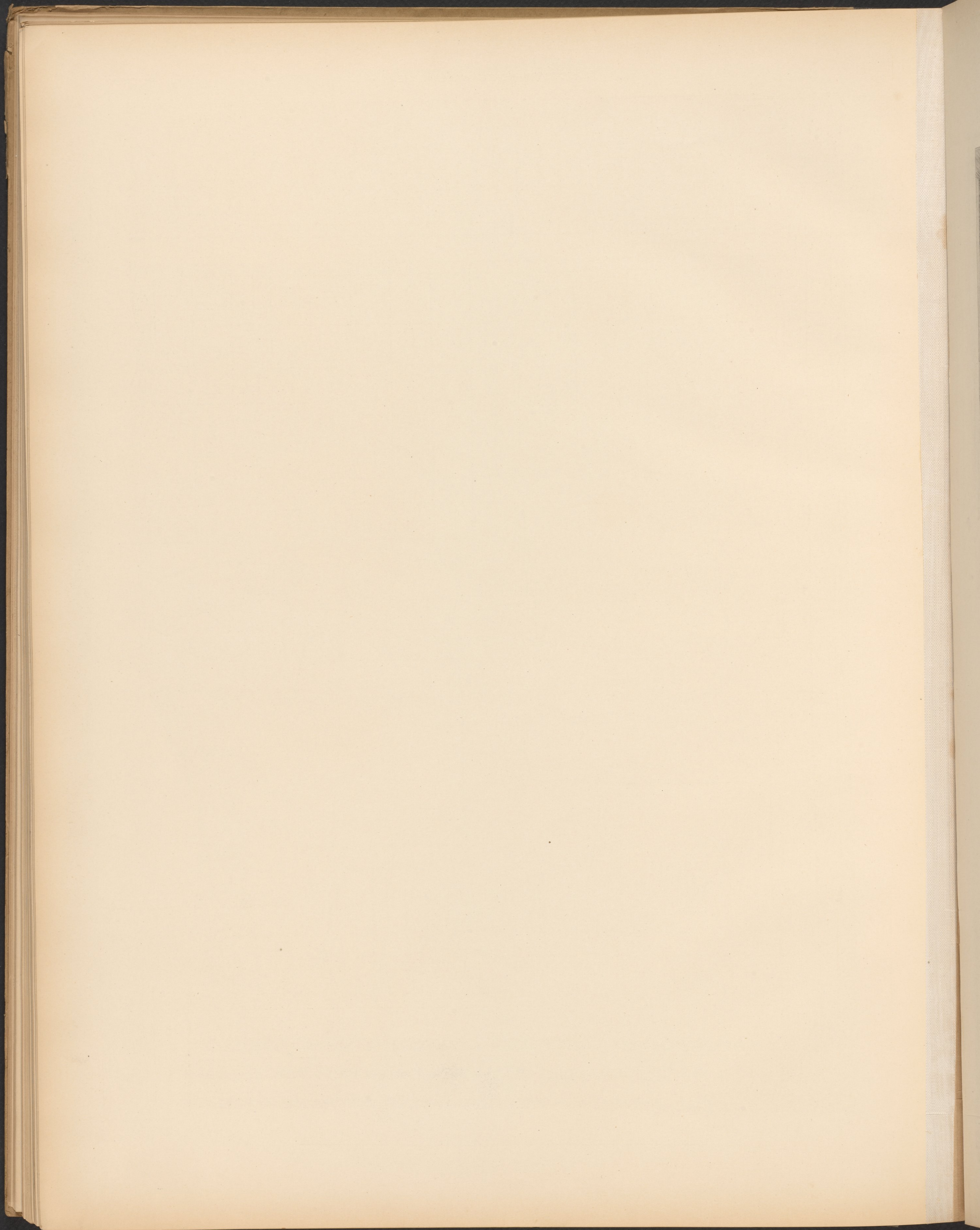


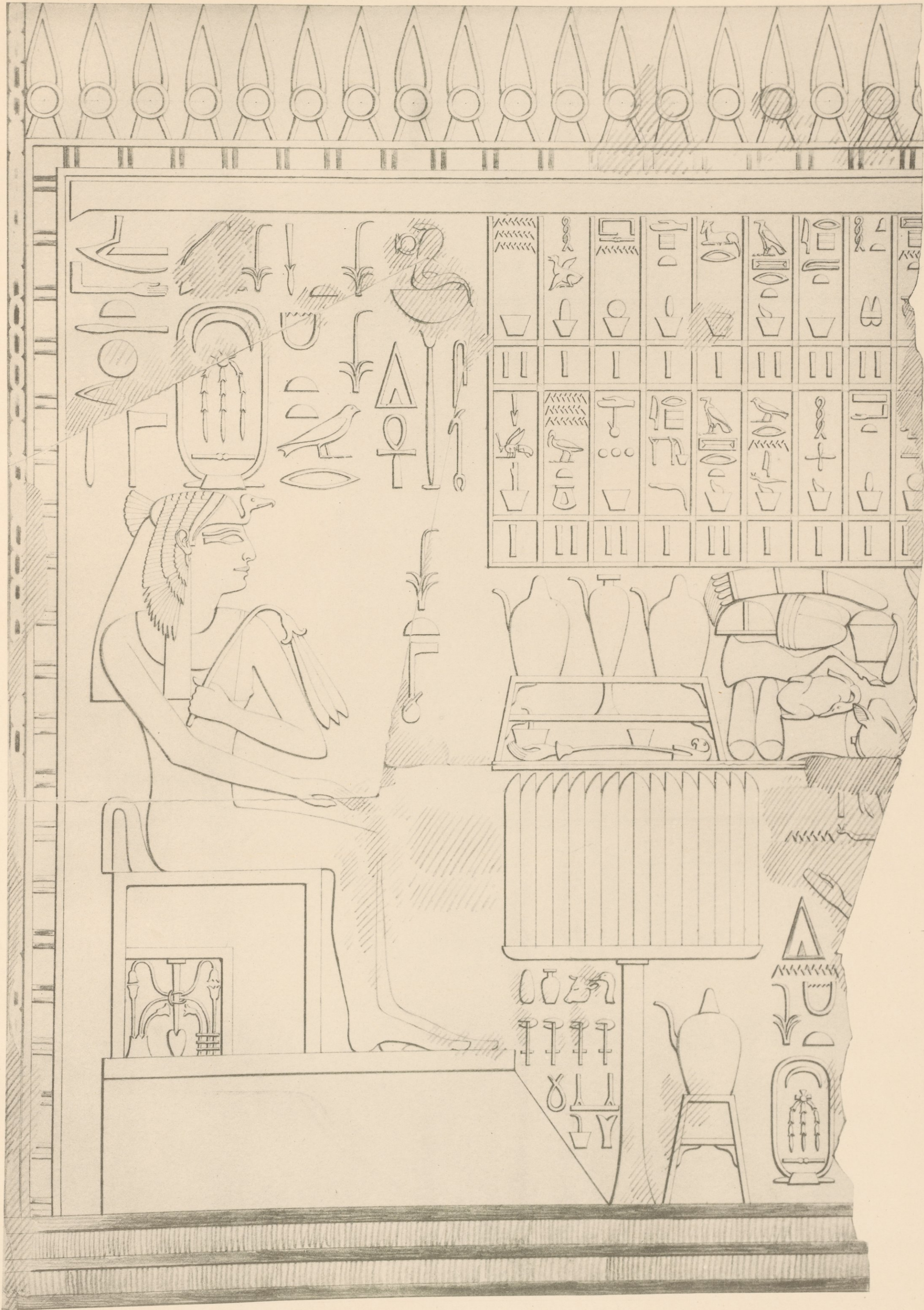
THOTHMES I. AND QUEEN AAHMES.





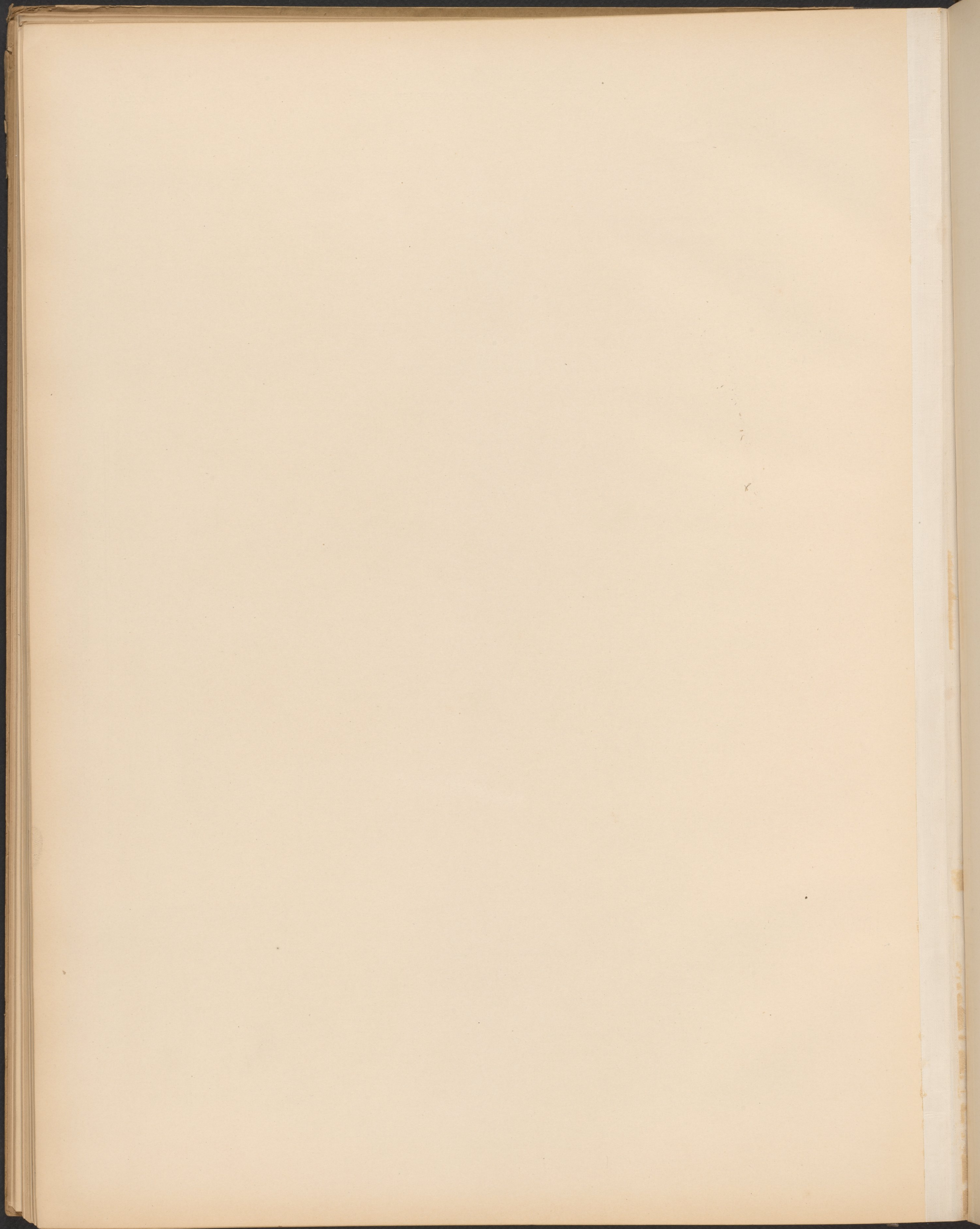
QUEEN HATSHEPSU.

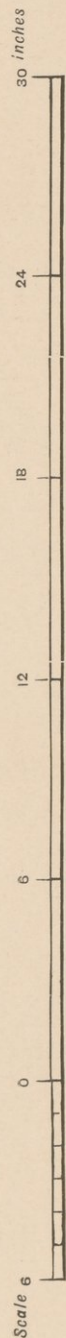
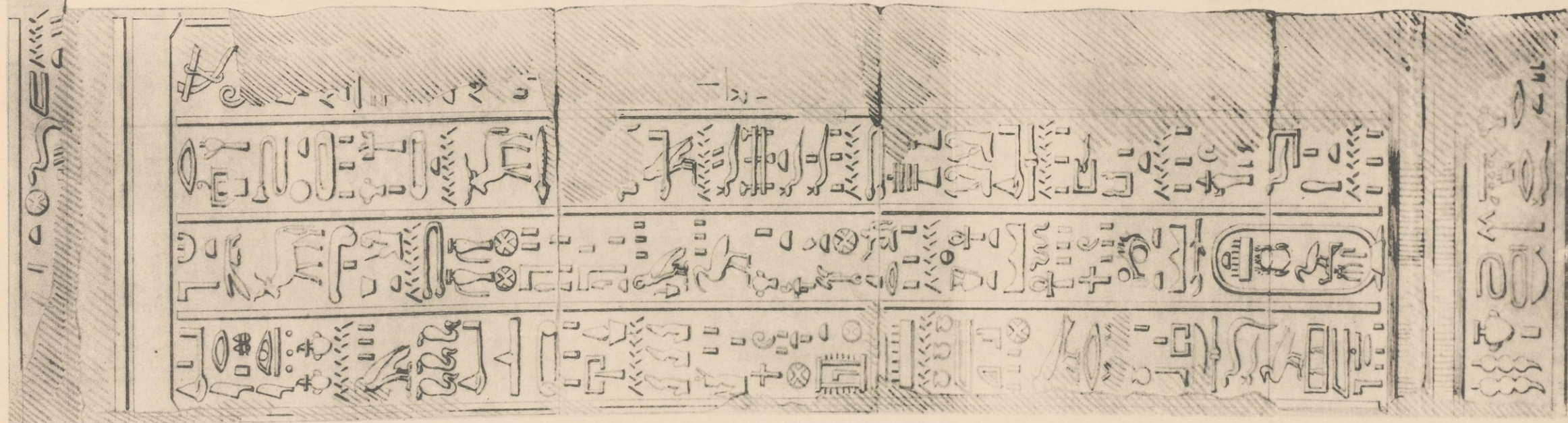
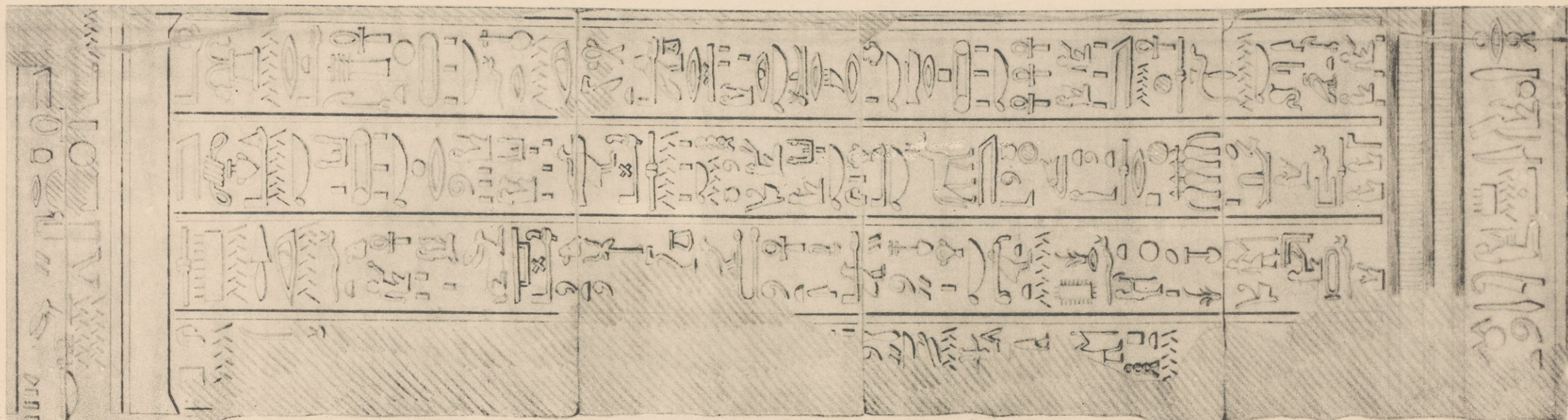




Scale 3 0 3 6 9 12 15 inches

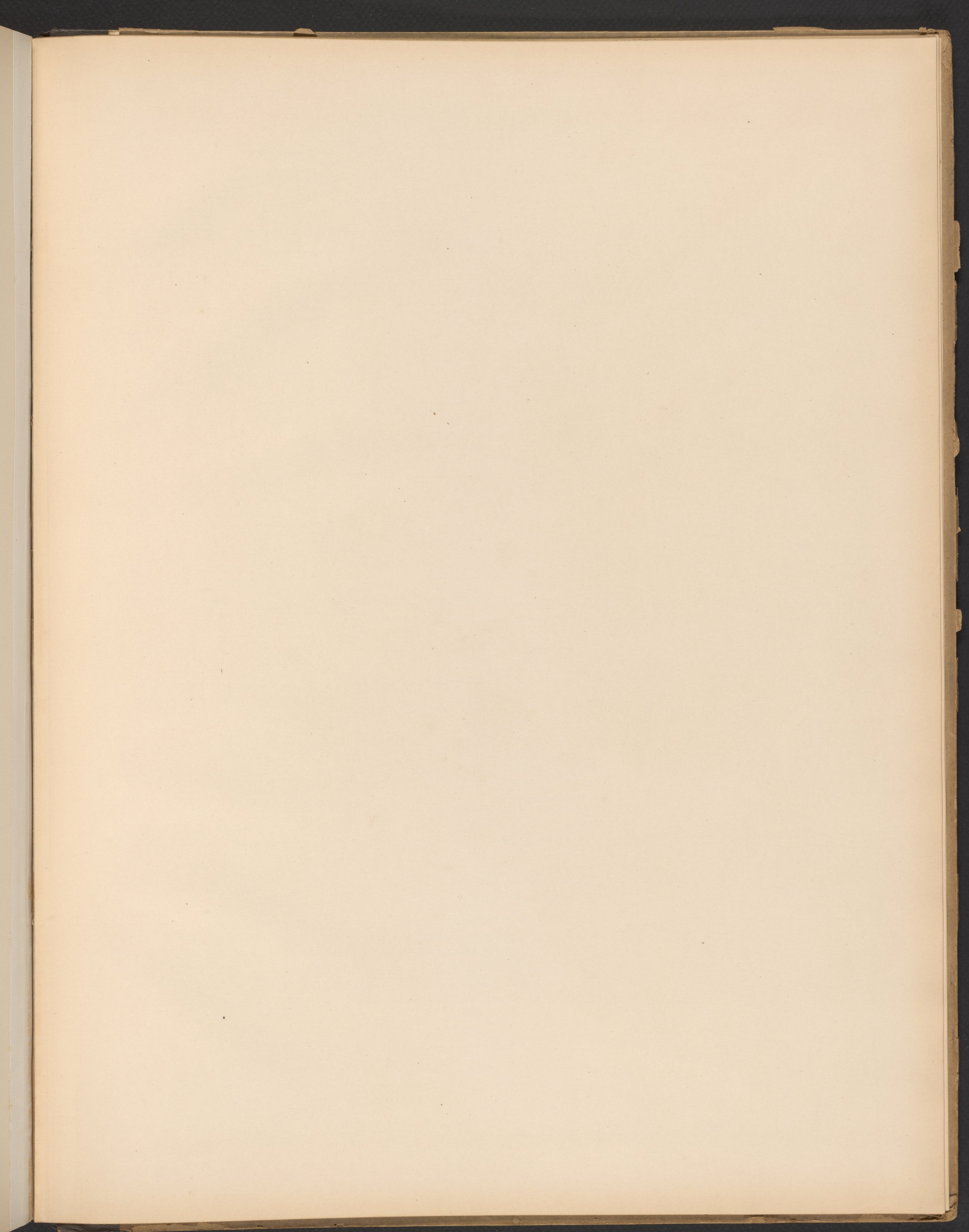
QUEEN AAHMES.

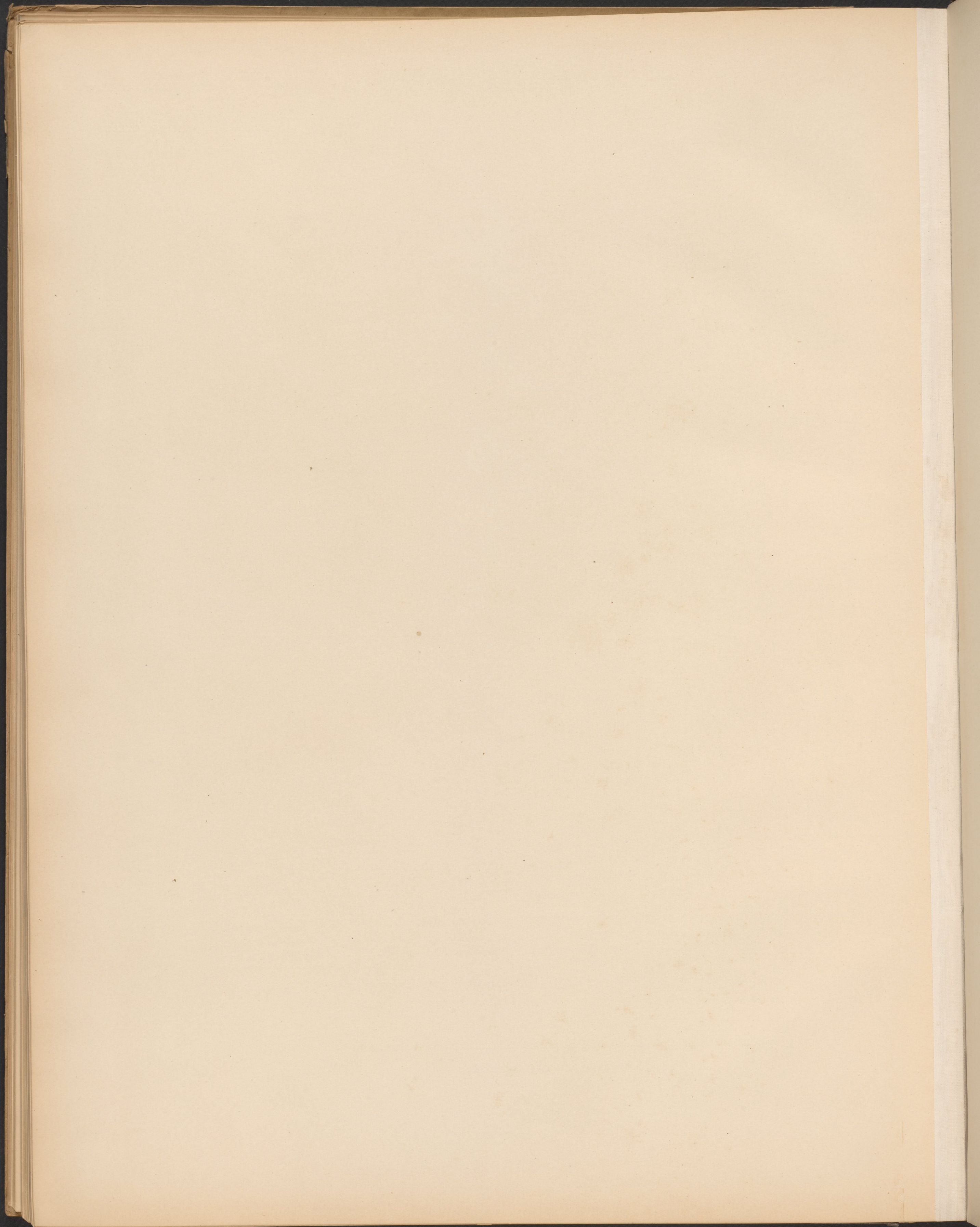


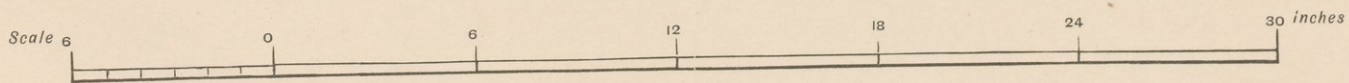


PTOLEMAIC CHAMBER OF AMENOPHIS, THE SON OF HAPI.

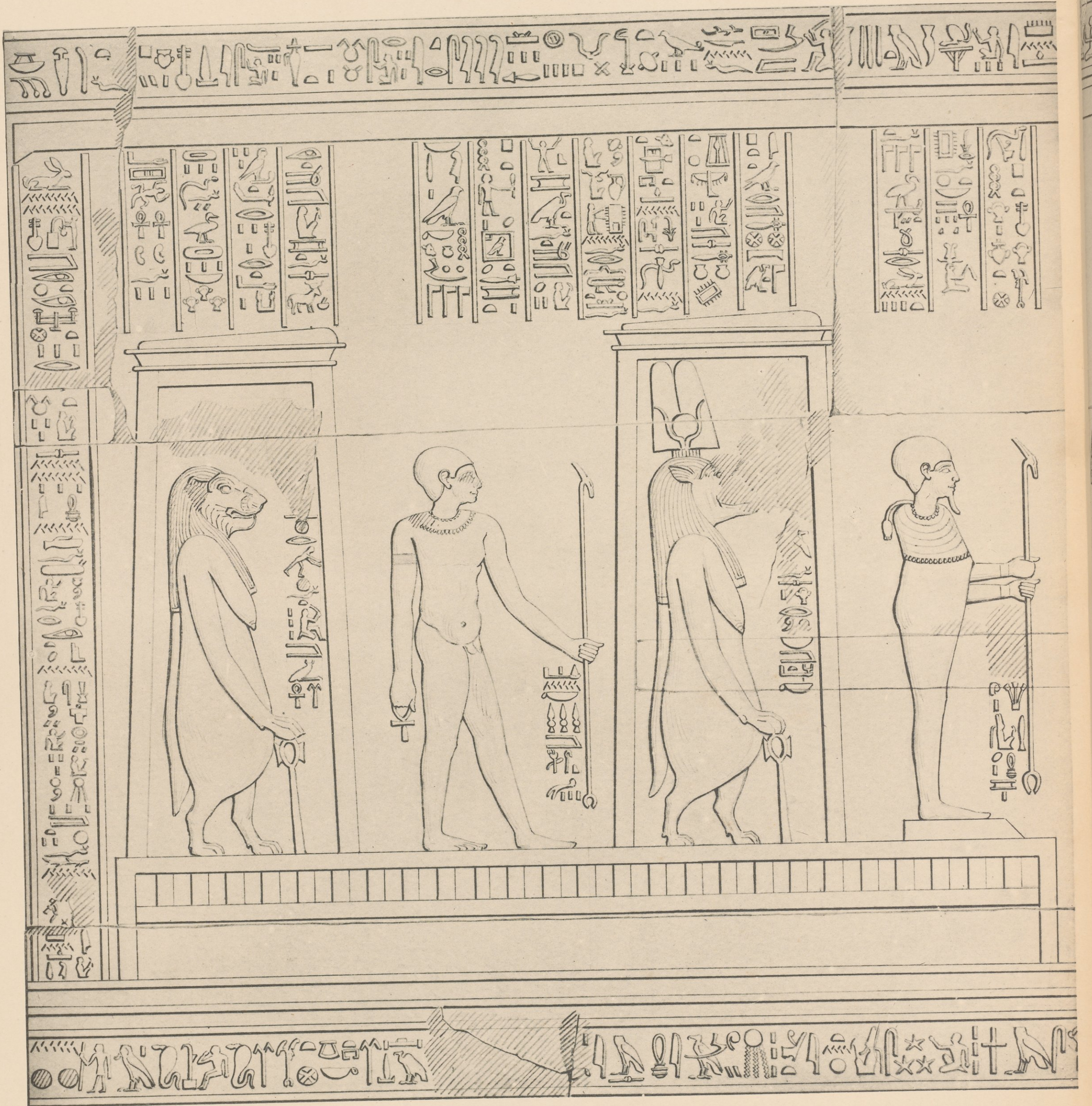


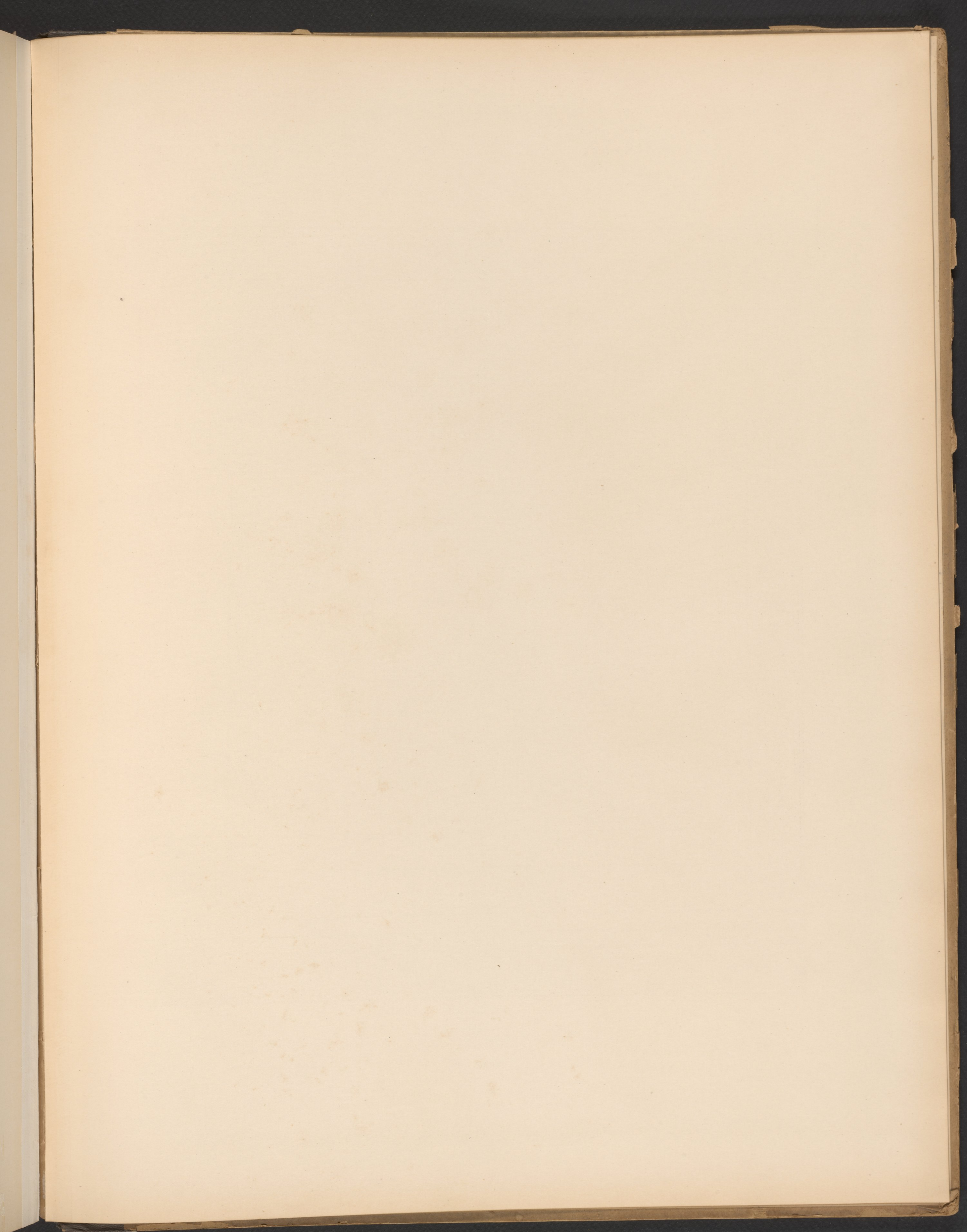


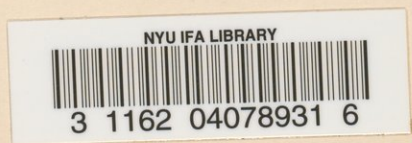


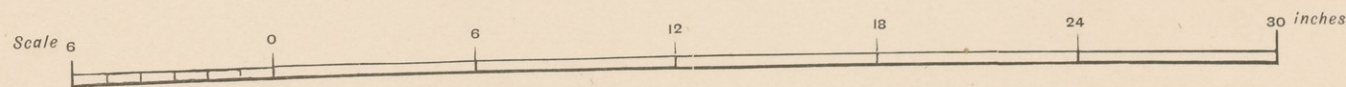
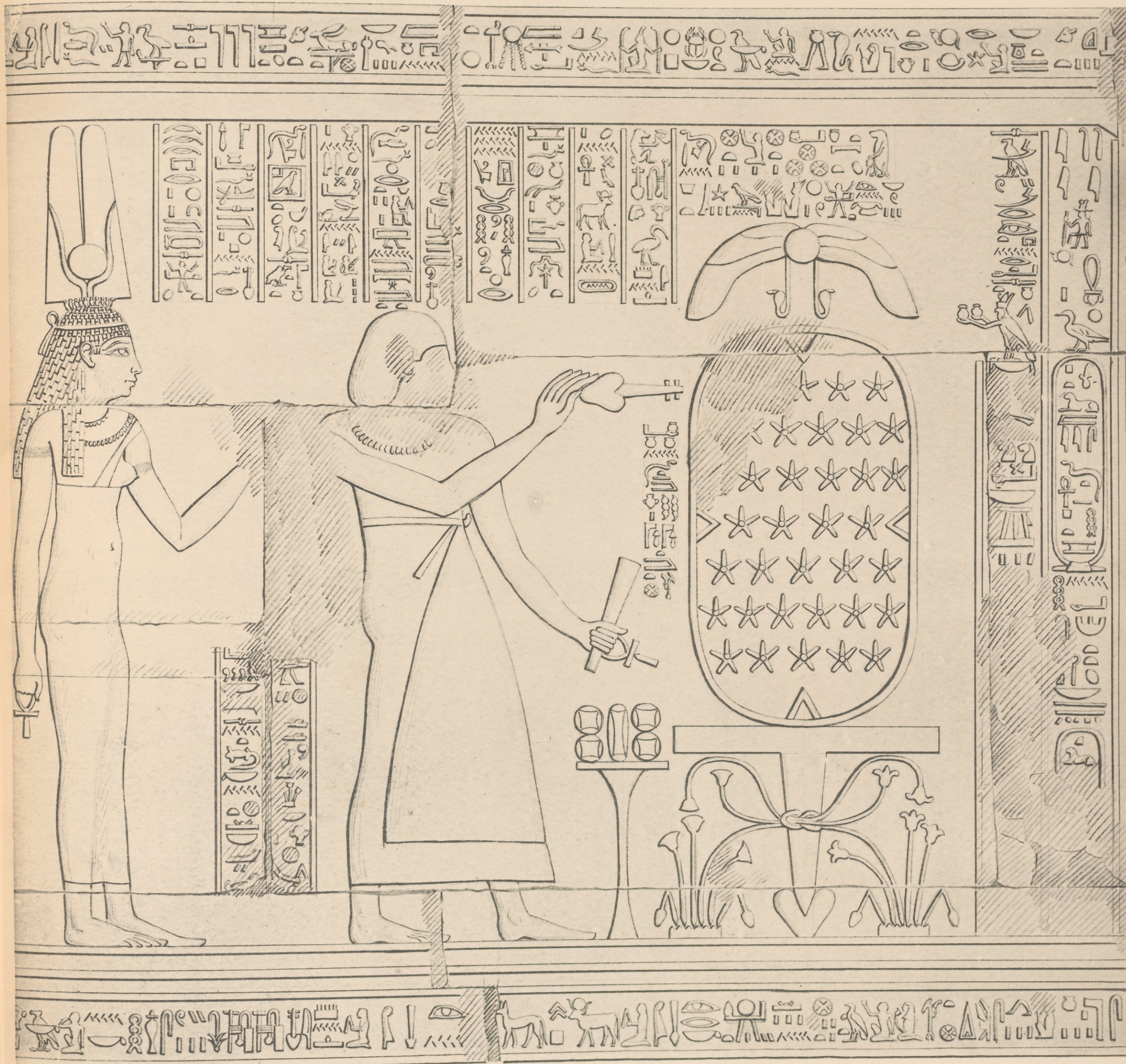


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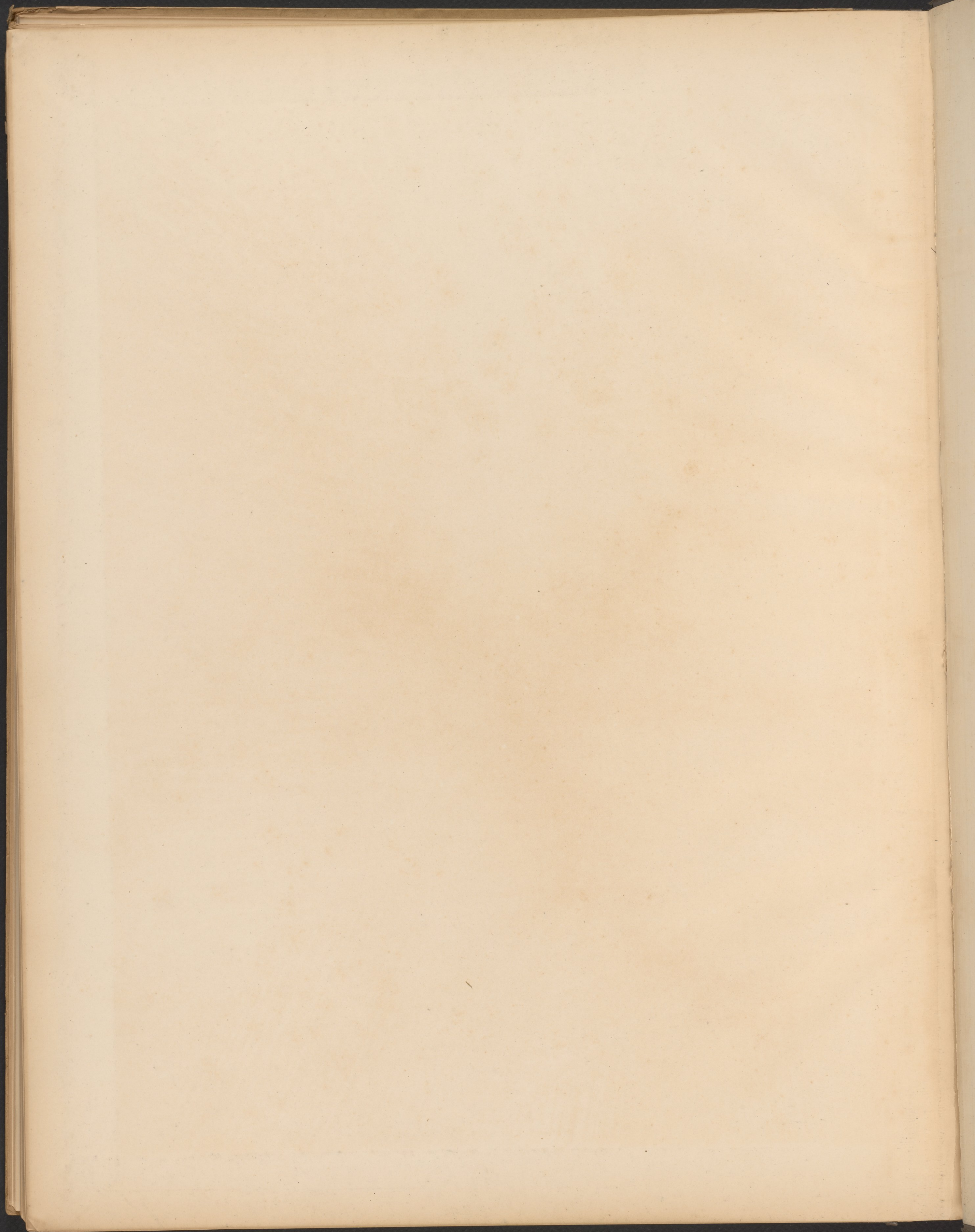


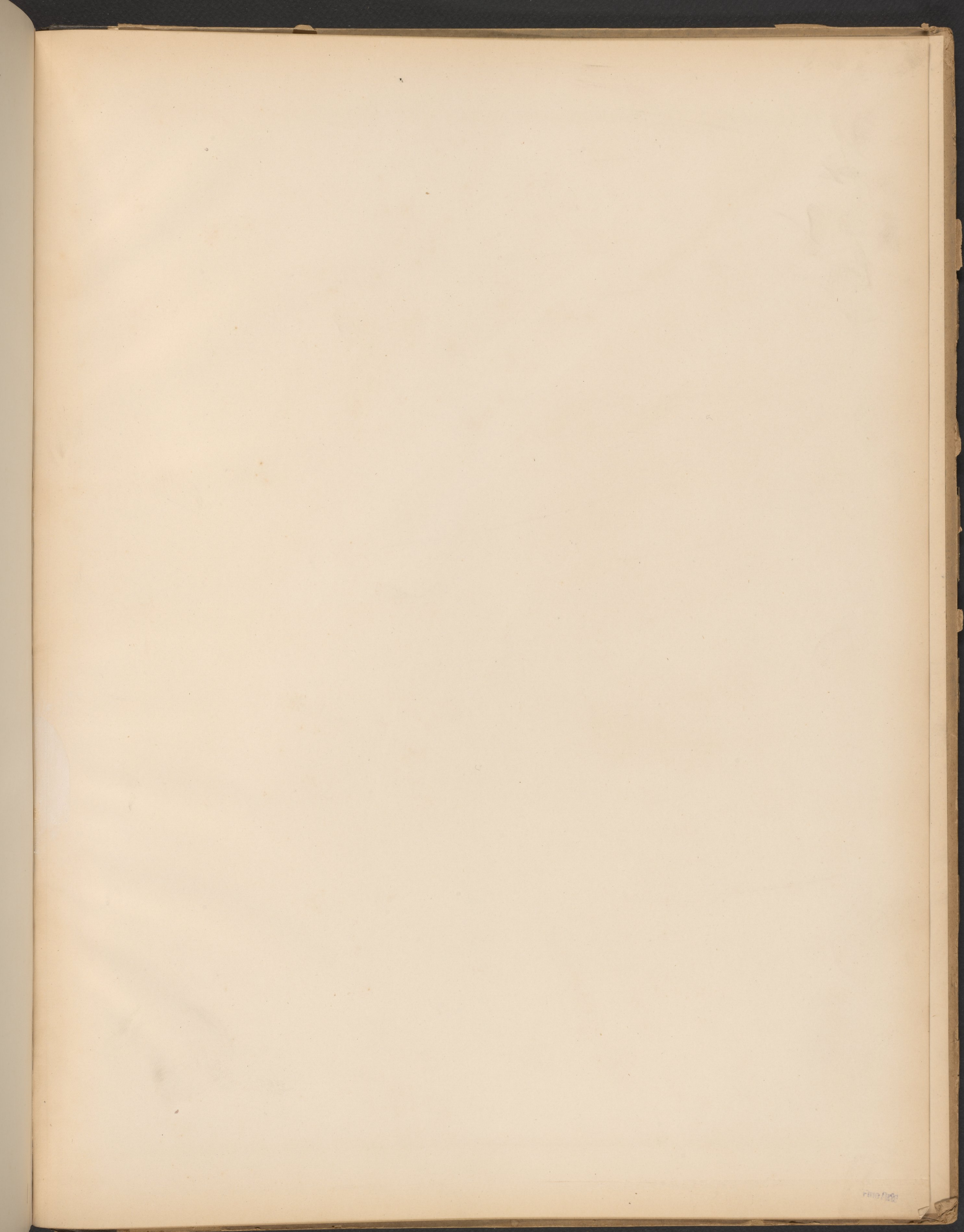






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