

ANCIENT RECORDS OF EGYPT^{*}

HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PERSIAN CONQUEST, COLLECTED
EDITED AND TRANSLATED WITH COMMENTARY

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assign [this] land [to] her grasp. Make her prosperous as King ———
¹⁹mayest thou [grant] for me the prayer of the first time, my petitions
 concerning [my] beloved (fem.) ——— ²⁰. under her
 majesty (fem.).

THE PUNT RELIEFS^a

246. These are undoubtedly the most interesting series of reliefs in Egypt, and form almost our only early source of information for the land of Punt. They are as beautiful in execution as they are important in content. They record an important expedition of the queen thither, which was successfully concluded just before her ninth year (§ 292, l. 1).

247. The only earlier evidences of intercourse with Punt are as follows: In the Fourth Dynasty a Puntite negro appears as the slave of one of the sons of King Khufu;^b in the Fifth, King Sahure sent an expedition thither (I, 161, 8),

^aIn the Der el-Bahri temple, occupying the south half of the middle terrace (corresponding to the Birth and Youth on the north half, §§ 187 ff.). See accompanying plan (p. 105). First copied by Dümichen and published by Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 8-20, and *Fleet*, 1-3, and 18, a; then by Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5-10. The excavations of the Egypt Exploration Fund since 1894 have for the first time uncovered all the Punt reliefs, and they have all now appeared in the superb publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund (Naville, *The Temple of Deir-el-Bahari*, Introductory Memoir, Pls. 7-10, and Vol. III, Pls. 69-86). Unfortunately, the old publications have not been collated and the portions since lost, added. It is therefore still necessary to collate Mariette and Dümichen; I have placed all copies in parallel columns as a basis for the present translation. The inscriptions and reliefs have suffered, not merely from the hand of time and modern vandalism, but the inscriptions and figures of Hatshepsut were hacked out by her political enemies after her fall, and the figure and neighboring inscriptions of Amon, wherever occurring, were later erased by Amenhotep IV. The faint traces remaining on the wall are difficult to read; hence the numerous errors in the old publications. The most useful treatments are Erman (*Life in Ancient Egypt*, 505 ff.), Maspero (*Struggle of the Nations*, 247-53, with very full citation of the older bibliography); and for Punt especially see Müller (*Mittheilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, III, 42; also *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, II, 416) and Krall (*Beiträge zur Geschichte der Blemyer und Nubier*, "Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie," Philologisch-historische Classe, Vol. XLVI, 4te Abhandlung) to which is added an excursus on Punt).

^bLepsius, *Denkmäler*, II, 23; see Erman, *Aegypten*, 670.

and King Isesi sent another, which brought back a dancing dwarf (I, 351); in the Sixth, an officer of Pepi II, named Enenkhet, was killed by the Sand-dwellers on the coast, while building a ship for the Punt voyage (I, 360), and another expedition thither under the same king was led by the assistant treasurer, Thethy (I, 361); in the Eleventh Dynasty, Henu, chief treasurer of King Senekhkere-Mentuhotep III, dispatched an expedition to Punt, which he accompanied only to the coast of the Red Sea (I, 430); in the Twelfth Dynasty, an officer of Amenemhet II, named Khentkhetwer, records his safe return from Punt (I, 604-6);^a and finally there was also an expedition under Sesostris II (I, 618). None of these sources contains more than the meagerest reference to the fact of the expedition.

248. The reliefs illustrating her expedition, which Hatshepsut had carved in her beautiful Der el-Bahri temple, are therefore, as stated, the first and only full source for a study of ancient Punt and the voyage thither. The expedition, like those of Henu^b and of Khentkhetwer, may have left the Nile at Koptos, and proceeded by caravan to Wadi Gasûs on the Red Sea, where the ships may have been built.^c But as no shift of cargo is mentioned, and the same ships depicted as sailing the Red Sea are afterward shown on the Nile, it is possible that the canal through the Wadi Tumilât connecting the Nile and the Red Sea had existed from the Twelfth Dynasty, having been made by one of the Sesostrises.^d The question of the location of Punt is too large for dis-

^aA fairy-tale in a St. Petersburg papyrus of the Middle Kingdom, in possession of M. Golénischeff, narrates the adventures of a shipwrecked sailor on a voyage to Punt.

^bAs Henu returned by way of Hammamat, he must have sent his expedition from the Red Sea terminus of the Koptos-Hammamat road.

^cCf. the ship of Enenkhet (I, 360).

^dStrabo, XVII, 1, 26.

cussion here, but it was certainly in Africa, and probably was the Somali coast.

249. The successive scenes and the accompanying inscriptions tell the story of the expedition so clearly that no introductory outline is necessary.

250. Historically, it is important to note that Thutmose III appears only once in the Punt reliefs, and that in a subordinate position, so that, as far as this source is concerned, the queen is the author of the expedition, which she undertakes in accordance with an oracle of Amon (§ 284).

251. The arrangement of the reliefs on the wall is interesting; Punt is at the extreme south (left) on the end wall of the colonnade (see plan), and the fleet bound thither is placed by the artist with prows literally toward the south, while the returning fleet is correspondingly represented with stern toward Punt in the south and bows to the north. The successive scenes then proceed northward (to the right) and conclude on the north end-wall.

I. DEPARTURE OF THE FLEET^a

Scene

252. Five vessels, two of which are still moored, the rest already under sail. The last vessel bearing over its stern the pilot's command, "*Steer^b to port.*" A small boat lashed to a tree has above it the words: "*(An offering) for the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty (fem.), to Hathor, mistress of Punt [————] that she may bring wind;*"

^aFirst scene on the west wall, lower row; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6 below; Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 63; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 11; Dümichen, *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 1; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 72, 73.

^bLit., "make."

showing that a propitiatory offering is being made ashore as they leave.^a

Inscriptions

253. ¹Sailing in the sea, ²beginning^b the goodly way toward God's-Land, journeying ³in peace to the land of Punt, by ⁴the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, according to the command^c ⁵of the Lord of Gods, Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, ⁶in order to bring for him the marvels of ⁷every country, because he so much loves ⁸the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Makere (Hatshepsut)],^d ⁹for his father Amon-Re, lord of heaven, lord of earth, ¹⁰more than the other kings ¹¹who have been ¹²in this land ¹³forever.

II. RECEPTION IN PUNT^e

254. The voyage has been safely made, and the expedition has landed.

Scene^f

On the right the "*king's-messenger*" advances at the head of his soldiers. A pile of necklaces, hatchets, daggers, etc., before him, ostensibly an offering to Hathor, are for trade with the Puntites, whose chief, "*Perehu*," advances from the left to meet the Egyptians. Behind him follow his abnormally fleshy wife,^g "*Eti*," their children—two sons^g

^aCf. Erman, *Aegypten*, 675. Henu in the Eleventh Dynasty made a similar offering as he dispatched his Punt expedition (I, 432; see also III, 423).

^bLit., "*taking the head of the way*."

^cSee Oracle, § 285.

^dThe queen's name has been cut out; later Ramses II inserted his name over the old erasure; the following clause, to the word "*earth*," is also due to him; hence "*his father*" and the entire loss of connection with l. 10.

^eOn the south wall, lowest two rows; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 8 and 10; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 69. As Naville has unfortunately not added the now lacking portions contained in the old publications, it is necessary here to employ them also.

^fLowest row.

^gOnly in the old publications, as this block has been stolen from the wall; see Dümichen, *Resultate*, LVII; photograph in Mariette, *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 62.

and a daughter^a—and three Puntites^a driving the “*ass which bears his wife*.” Behind these is a landscape in Punt, showing among the trees the houses of the Puntites set on poles (*Pjahlbauten*). Below the whole is a line of water, showing that the scene is near the sea or the haven in which the Egyptians have landed. The inscriptions are these:

Over the Egyptians

255. [The arrival] of the king's-messenger in God's-Land, together with the army which is behind him, before the chiefs of Punt; dispatched with every good thing from the court, L. P. H., for Hathor, mistress of Punt; for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty.

Before the Puntites

256. The coming of^b the chiefs of Punt, doing obeisance, with bowed head, to receive this army of the king; they give praise to the lord of gods, Amon-Re ———.^c

Over the Puntites

257. They say, as they pray for peace: “Why have ye come thither^d unto this land, which the people^e know not? Did ye come down upon the ways of heaven, or did ye sail upon the waters, upon the sea of God's-Land? Have ye trodden (‘the way of’)^f Re? Lo, as for the King of Egypt, is there no way to his majesty, that we may live by the breath which he gives?”

Before the Leader of the Puntites

258. The chief of Punt, Perehu (*P³-r³-hw*).

^aOnly in the old publications.

^bEgyptian “by.”

^cHere evidently the name of the queen originally stood; it was then erased by Thutmose III, and in the time of Ramses II the blank was mistaken for an erasure of Amon's name by Amenhotep IV, which name was then inserted. Traces of the old inscription are visible at the end.

^dLit., “*Why have ye reached this?*”

^eThe people of Egypt (*rmf*). See the oracle, § 285, l. 10.

^fThe text has “*Re*” as the direct object of “*trodden*,” something must be supplied.

Before His Wife

His wife, Eti (ꜥ ty).^a

Over the Ass

The ass which bears his wife.

III. THE TRAFFIC^b*Scene^c*

259. At the right is the tent of the "*king's-messenger*," who stands before it. Before him are the products of Punt, and approaching from the left is a long line of Puntites, bearing similar products; at their head, as before, the chief and his enormous wife. At the extreme left the Puntite landscape, as in II.

In the Tent

260. Pitching the tent of the king's-messenger and his army, in the myrrh-terraces of Punt on the side^d of the sea, in order to receive the chiefs of this country. There are offered to them bread, beer, wine, meat, fruit, everything found in Egypt, according to that which was commanded in the court, L. P. H.

Before the Egyptian

261. Reception of the tribute of the chief of Punt, by the king's-messenger.

Before the Puntites

262. The coming of^e the chief of Punt bearing tribute at the side of ^fthe sea before the king's-[messenger]^f ———.

^aBefore the two sons who follow her: "*His son*;" before the daughter: "*His daughter*."

^bSouth wall; references as for II.

^cSecond row from below.

^dThe Egyptian has a dual, "*on the two sides of*," from which Dümichen (*Geschichte*, 120) would locate Punt on both sides of the Red Sea, but this dual is a common idiom, meaning no more than a singular. See § 262, where it is absurd to suppose that the chief of Punt is bringing his gifts "*at both sides of the sea*!" Dümichen's translation "*von beiden Seiten*" is, moreover, impossible, for the text has "*upon*," not "*von*."

^eEgyptian "*by*."

^fThese words extend over the Puntites; it is uncertain how much has been lost at the end.

IV. LOADING THE VESSELS^a*Scene*

263. Two vessels heavily laden with myrrh trees, sacks of myrrh, ivory, woods, apes; on shore^b and ascending the gang-planks, men carrying sacks and trees.

Over Men with Trees on Shore

264. (Look to!)^c your feet, ye people! Behold! the load is very heavy!

^dProsperity [be] with [us,] for the sake of the myrrh tree in the midst of God's-Land, for the house of Amon; there is the place [where] it shall be made to grow for Makere, in his temple, according to command.

Over the Vessels

265. ¹The loading of the ships very heavily with marvels of ²the country of Punt; all goodly fragrant woods of God's-Land, heaps of ³myrrh-resin, with fresh myrrh trees, ⁴with ebony^e and pure ivory, with green gold ⁵of Emu, (^c *mw*), with cinnamon wood, ⁶khesyt wood,^f with ihmut-incense, ⁷sonter-incense, eye-cosmetic, ⁸with apes, ⁹monkeys, ¹⁰dogs, ¹¹and ¹²with skins ¹³of the southern panther, ¹⁴with natives and ¹⁵their children. Never was brought ¹⁶the like of this for any king who has been since the beginning.

^aSouth wall, uppermost row; first scene on the west wall, upper row; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 5 and 6; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 9 and 12; *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 2; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 69 above, and 74 below.

^bAt the left, over the scene of the traffic.

^cA guess; the words are broken away, and some similar exclamation on the part of the men carrying the trees is to be expected. Note the Puntites represented as speaking Egyptian!

^dWords of a second man.

^eFragments of the Punt wall show the felling of the ebony trees, with the inscription: "*Cutting the ebony in great quantities*" (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 70).

^fSweet wood, used in making incense.

V. THE RETURN VOYAGE^a*Scene^b*

266. Three vessels under full sail, with the cargo enumerated in § 265.

Inscriptions^c over the Vessel

Sailing, arriving in peace, journeying to Thebes^d with joy of heart, by the army of the Lord of the Two Lands, with the chiefs of this country^e behind them. They have brought that, the like of which was not brought for other kings, being marvels of Punt, because of the greatness of the fame of this ^frevered god, Amon-Re, Lord of Thebes.^f

VI. PRESENTATION OF THE TRIBUTE TO THE QUEEN BY THE CHIEFS OF PUNT, IREM, AND NEMYEW^g*Scene^h*

267. At the right the cartouches of the queen, badly defaced; approaching from the left, two lines of men with gifts, led by four lines of kneeling chiefs, being the chiefs of Punt (two lower lines), "*the chiefs of Irem*"ⁱ (upper middle line) and "*the chiefs of Nemyew*"ⁱ (*Nm^y yw*, upper line, negroes). Behind them approach Egyptians and Puntites with myrrh trees and other products of Punt.

^aMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6; *Voyage dans la haute Egypte*, II, 63; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, 13; *Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 3; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 75.

^bAt the right of the vessels loading.

^cBeginning at the right.

^dThis scene is therefore upon the Nile, not upon the Red Sea.

^ePunt.

^fRestored by Ramses II, supposing that the name of Amon had been here erased by Amenhotep IV. In reality, it was the name of Hatshepsut which had been erased.

^gMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 6; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, 14, 15; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 74 and 76.

^hOver the loading of the ships and the return voyage.

ⁱThe location of these two countries is uncertain; Nemyew is entirely unknown, and it is a question whether Irem is one of the inland Nubian countries or on the Red Sea coast north of Punt.

Inscriptions^a

268. ¹—— [Kis]sing the earth to Wosretkew^b (Hatshepsut) by the chiefs of Punt ²—— the Nubian Troglodytes of Khenthenofer, every country — of ³—— doing obeisance with bowed head, bearing their tribute to the place where her majesty (fem.) is ⁴—— ways not trodden by others ⁵—— every country is dominion of her majesty and counted ⁶—— lord of Thebes, as tribute each year ⁷which her father Amon [‘appointed’] for her, ^dwho hath set all the lands beneath her sandals, living forever.

Over the Chiefs of Punt^c

269. They say as they pray for peace from her majesty (fem.): “Hail to thee, king (*sic*) of Egypt, Re (fem.),^f who shines like the sun, your sovereign, mistress of heaven ———. Thy name reaches as far as the circuit of heaven, the fame of [Makere (Hatshepsut)]^g encircles the [‘sea’] ———.

VII. THE QUEEN OFFERS THE GIFTS TO AMON^h*Scene*

270. The queen stands at the left; before her the products of Punt and Irem (lower row), brought back by the expedition, mingled with those of Nubia (upper row).

Before the Queen

271. The King himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut); presentationⁱ of the marvels of Punt, the treasures

^aBy the queen’s cartouches.

^bThe queen’s Horus-name: “*Mighty in ka’s*.”

^cMore probably a short lacuna here.

^dReferring to Amon.

^eThe remains of a similar inscription are visible over the chiefs of Nemyew.

^fFeminine; cf. the similar “*female Horus*” (obelisk-base, south, l. 1, § 314; Senmut statue, § 354; etc.).

^gTraces of the cartouche in Naville, (Pl. 74); the determinative for “*sea*” is also probable, and suits the context admirably.

^hMariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 7, 8; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 16, 17; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 77, 78, and 80.

ⁱAn absolute infinitive used as the title of the scene, the preceding royal name being the date.

of God's-Land, together with the gifts of the countries of the South, with the impost of the wretched Kush,^a the baskets of the Negro-land, to^b Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut), that she may live, abide, and her heart be joyful; that she may rule the Two Lands like Re, forever.

By the Trees^c

272. Thirty-one fresh myrrh trees, brought as marvels of Punt for the majesty of this god, Amon, lord of Thebes; never was seen the like since the beginning.

Under the Trees^c

Electrum; eye-cosmetic; throw-sticks of the Puntites; ebony; ivory, 'shells¹ (*k' 3* §).

With Panther^d

A southern panther alive, captured^e for her majesty (fem.) in the [south] countries.

Miscellaneous Objects

Electrum;^f many panther-skins; 3,300 (small cattle).^g

VIII. WEIGHING AND MEASURING THE OFFERINGS^h

273. This scene is closely connected with the preceding presentation scene, of which it forms the unbroken continuation. It is accompanied by the following descriptive text:ⁱ

^aBy an evident emendation.

^cLower row.

^bConstrue with "*presentation*."

^dUpper row.

^eLit., "*brought*" (*yny*); it is regularly used of prisoners and apparently also of wild beasts, e. g., also the lions captured by Amenhotep III (§ 865). Two more panthers show fragments of a similar inscription.

^fWith four chests, probably made by Thutiy (§ 376, l. 31).

^gOver a gap among these offerings is the inscription recording the Asiatic campaign of Thutmose II (§ 125).

^hOn the right of the preceding scene in two rows; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 8; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 18, 19; Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79, 81, 82.

ⁱAt the extreme right in five columns, behind the figure of Thutmose III offering incense (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 82).

274. ¹The king himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut).^a Taking the measure (*hk't*) of the electrum, laying the hand on the [—] of the heaps, first instance of doing the good things. Measuring of the fresh myrrh unto Amon, lord of Thebes, lord of heaven, the first of the harvest ²— — — of the marvels of the countries of Punt. The lord of Khmunu (Thoth) records them in writing; Sefkhet counts the numbers. Her^b majesty (fem.) ³herself, is acting with her two hands, the best of myrrh is upon all her limbs, her fragrance is divine dew, her odor is mingled with Punt, her skin is gilded^c with electrum, ⁴shining as do the stars^d in the midst of the festival-hall, before the whole land. There is rejoicing by all the people; they give praise to the lord of gods, ⁵they laud Makere (Hatshepsut) in her divine qualities, because of the greatness of the marvels which have happened for her. Never did the like happen under any gods^e who were before, since the beginning. May she be given life, like Re, forever.

Measuring Scene^f

275. Two huge heaps of myrrh are being scooped into measures by four men; a fifth, whose figure has been carefully erased, is Hatshepsut's favorite, "*the scribe and steward, Thutiy*" (§§ 369 ff.), who is keeping record of the measure for the queen; while the god Thoth at the extreme right performs a similar office for Amon.

Over the Myrrh Heaps

276. Heaps of myrrh in great quantities.

Over the Men Measuring

277. Measuring the fresh myrrh, in great quantities, for Amon, lord of Thebes; marvels of the countries of Punt, treasures of God's-Land, for the sake of the life, prosperity and health ———.^g

^aThe date.

^bRead -s for -j.

^cA bold figure referring to the yellow hue of the women of ancient Egypt.

^dYellow stars painted on a blue field form a common ceiling decoration. For comparison of the king with a star, not so common as with the sun, see I, 510 ff., l. 2.

^eThat is, "*kings*."

^fLower row (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 79).

^gThe queen's name has been erased.

Before Thoth

278. Recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands and hundreds; reception of the marvels of Punt, ^afor Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, lord of heaven.^a

Weighing Scene^b

279. A huge pair of balances piled on one side with commercial gold in large rings, against weights in the form of cows on the other side, is presided over by the gods Horus and Dedun of Nubia,^c standing at the left. At the right is Sefkhèt, the goddess of letters, keeping record. Round and cow "weights," and quantities of "electrum" in bars and rings, are piled up beside the balances.

Over the Balances

280. The balances, accurate and true, of Thoth, which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, [Make]re (Hatshepsut), made for her father, Amon, lord of Thebes, in order to weigh the silver, gold, lapis lazuli, malachite, and every splendid costly stone, for the sake of the life, prosperity, and health of her majesty (fem.) ———.^d

Under the Balances

281. Weighing the gold and electrum, — the impost of the southern countries, for Amon-Re, lord of Thebes, ———, presider over Karnak ———.^d

Before Sejkhet

282. Recording in writing, reckoning the numbers, summing up in millions, hundreds of thousands, tens of thousands, thousands, and hundreds. Reception of the marvels of the South countries, for Amon, lord of Thebes, presider over Karnak.

^aAmon is here not properly restored by Ramses II; see end of 9.

^bUpper row (Naviile, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 81).

^cBecause the gold comes from Nubia.

^dThe name of the queen has been erased.

IX. FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE
EXPEDITION BEFORE AMON^a*Scene*

283. The queen stands at the extreme left, staff in hand, before Amon, enthroned at the extreme right. Behind the queen is the sacred barque of Amon borne by priests,^b before which Thutmose III^c offers "*of the best of fresh myrrh.*"

Inscription

284. This long text in vertical lines between the queen and Amon falls into two parts. The first contains the titulary and encomium of the queen (ll. 1-4), followed by the oracle of Amon (ll. 4-6), in accordance with which the expedition was made. It is here repeated, in order to enforce the statement that all that was commanded has been done (l. 6). To this favorable statement Amon replies with praise (ll. 7-9), and reverts to a description of former times when the "*myrrh-terraces*" were not visited by Egyptians, but their products were obtained only through intermediaries (ll. 10-12). The success of future expeditions is promised, and his guidance of the expedition just successfully carried out is mentioned. The inscription closes with further praise of the queen, which gradually becomes too mutilated for translation.

^aAt the extreme right; Mariette, *Deir-el-Bahari*, 10; Dümichen, *Historische Inschriften*, II, 20; through some confusion in Dümichen's papers his l. 10 and l. 11 have exchanged places, and Mariette has the same mistake! It is clear, therefore, that Mariette's text is drawn from Dümichen, an astonishing number of errors having crept in during the process. From these sources Sethe constructed a skilfully emended text (Sethe, *Untersuchungen*, I, 103, 104), which is sustained in almost all cases by the last and best text (Naviile, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 84), which is undoubtedly very nearly correct. The entire inscription has been carefully hacked away; hence the numerous errors in the old publications, a collation of which demonstrates the superiority of Naviile's texts.

^bNaviile, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 83.

^c*Ibid.*, 82.

Titles and Encomium of Hatshepsut

285. ^{a1}Horus: Mighty in Ka's; Favorite of the Two Goddesses: Fresh in Years; Golden Horus: Divine in Diadems; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Makere (Hatshepsut), — of Amon, whom he loves, who is upon his throne, for whom he has made to flourish the inheritance of the Two Lands, the kingdom of the South and North, ²to whom he hath given that which the sun encompasses, that which Keb and Nut inclose. She hath no enemies among the Southernns, she hath no foes among the Northernns; the heavens and every country which the god hath created, they all labor for her. ³They come to her with fearful heart, their chiefs with bowed head, their gifts upon their back. They present to her their children that there may be^b ⁴given to them the breath of life, because of the greatness of the fame of her father, Amon, who hath set all lands beneath her sandals.

The Oracle

The king himself, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makere (Hatshepsut). The majesty of the court made supplication at the steps^c of the ⁵lord of [gods]; a command was heard from the great throne, an oracle of the god himself, that the ways to Punt should be searched out, that the highways to the Myrrh-terraces should be penetrated: ⁶"I^d will lead the army on water and on land, to bring marvels from God's-Land for this god, for the fashioner of her beauty." It was done, according to all that the majesty of this revered god commanded, according to the desire of her majesty (fem.), in order that she might be given life, stability, and satisfaction, like Re, forever.

Promises of Amon

286. ⁷Utterance of Amon-Re, lord of Thebes: "Welcome!^e my sweet daughter, my favorite, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

^aThe first line at the left before the queen. This first part comprises six lines.

^bRead [m] *yswt*? Compare § 804, l. 3.

^cThe steps leading up to his throne, which have been hacked away in the relief, but are shown to have existed by the lower ends of the lines of text which shorten by steps in front of the throne (Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 84).

^dThe first person in the same sentence where the god occurs in the third person is of course very strange.

^eLit., "Come! Come! in peace."

Makere (Hatshepsut), who makes my beautiful monuments, who purifies the seat of the great ennead of gods for my dwelling, as a memorial of her love. ⁸Thou art the king, taking possession of the Two Lands, Khnemet-Amon, Hatshepsut, great in oblations, pure in food-offerings. Thou satisfiest my heart at all times; I have given thee all life and satisfaction from me, all stability from me, all health from me, all joy ⁹from me, I have given to thee all lands and all countries, wherein thy heart is glad. I have long intended them for thee, and the æons shall behold them until those myriads of years ¹⁰of usefulness which I have thought to spend¹. ¹⁰I have given to thee all Punt as far as the lands of the gods of God's-Land."

Punt in Former Time

287. "No one trod the Myrrh-terraces, which the people (*rmṯ*) knew not; it was heard of from mouth to mouth ¹¹by hearsay of the ancestors —. The marvels brought thence under thy fathers, the Kings of Lower Egypt, were brought from one to another, and since the time of ¹²the ancestors of the Kings of Upper Egypt, who were of old, as a return for many payments;^a none reaching them^b except thy carriers."

Punt under the Queen

288. "But I will cause thy army to tread them,^b ¹³I have led them on water and on land, to explore^c the waters of inaccessible channels, and I have reached the Myrrh-terraces."

"It is a glorious region of God's-Land; it is indeed my place of delight. I have made it for myself, in order to^d ¹⁴divert¹ ¹⁴my heart, together with Mut, Hathor, Wereret, mistress of Punt, the mistress, 'Great in Sorcery,'^e mistress of all gods. They^f took myrrh as they wished, they loaded the vessels to their hearts' content, ¹⁵with fresh myrrh trees, every good gift of this country, Puntites whom the people (*rmṯ*) know not, Southernns of God's-Land. I conciliated them by^g love

^aMeaning that in going from hand to hand many successive prices were paid.

^bThe Myrrh-terraces.

^cThis is the word (*wb* >) used long before of exploring unknown countries in the Old Kingdom by Harkhuf (I, 333, 334) and employed again by the queen in her speech (§ 294, l. 11).

^dRead *r* for *yr*.

^fHatshepsut's people.

^eIsis.

^gLit., "because of."

that they might give ¹⁶to thee praise, because thou art a god, because of thy fame in the countries. I know ¹⁷them¹, I am their wise lord, ¹⁸I am the begetter, Amon-Re; my daughter, who binds the lords, is the king [Makere] (Hatshepsut). I have begotten her for myself. I am thy father, who sets thy fear ¹⁹among the Nine Bows, while they come in peace to all gods. They have brought all the marvels, every beautiful thing of God's-Land, for which thy majesty^a sent them: heaps of ²⁰gum of myrrh, and enduring trees bearing fresh myrrh, united in the festival-hall, to be seen of the lord of the gods. May thy majesty cause them to grow.^b ——— my temple, ²¹in order to delight my heart among them. My name is before the gods, thy name^c is before all the living, forever. Heaven and earth are flooded with incense; odors are in the Great House. Mayest thou offer them to me, pure ²²and cleansed, in order to express the ointment for the divine limbs, to offer myrrh, to make ointment, to make festive my statue with necklaces, while I am making ²³libations for thee. My heart is glad because of seeing thee."^d

X. FORMAL ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE SUCCESS OF THE EXPEDITION TO THE COURT^e

Scene

289. The queen is enthroned at the left in a splendid kiosk, and before her are the figures of three noblemen (see § 348). All the figures have been hacked out.

^aFeminine! The *t* of the second feminine singular suffix is visible under the scourge; the *t* of "*majesty*" (*hn't*) should be over the scourge, as in l. 18.

^bThe verb is *s'rw'd'k* with nominal subject (*sdm'k* form, Sethe, *Verbum*, II, § 434).

^cRead: *rn't pw*. That this is the proper emendation is shown by the Semneh inscription of Thutmose III (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, III, 52, *b*, line before goddess).

^dThe remainder, consisting of four short and two long lines, is very fragmentary and contains only the conventional promises of the gods.

^eOn the south side of the causeway which ascends through the center of the middle terrace. The date and a few random words were published by Dümichen (*Fleet of an Egyptian Queen*, 18, *a*); but the first complete text by Naville (*Recueil*, 18, Pl. III, corrections, *ibid.*, 19, 212, 213; much better, Naville, *Deir-el-Bahari*, III, 85, 86.

Inscriptions

290. The texts with the noblemen are as follows:

With the First Man

Behold, it was commanded, as follows: "They shall give the court,^a L. P. H., to the hereditary prince, count, wearer of the royal seal, sole companion, chief treasurer, Nehsi,^b to dispatch the army [to] Punt."

With the Two Other Men

Over both are the words: "*The king's-dignitaries, the companions of the court, L. P. H.,*" and over the man in the middle: "*Steward of Amon, Senmut,*" the well-known favorite of the queen (see §§ 345 ff.). The third man bears no individual inscription.^c All three figures have been hacked out by political enemies after the triumph of Thutmose III.

The Long Inscription^d

291. This is perhaps the most interesting inscription in the Punt series. It furnishes the date ("year 9") when the expedition had already safely returned. The queen, having publicly exhibited the results of the expedition (VIII), and having announced its success to Amon himself (IX), now holds ceremonious court, to announce in a speech from the

^aThe meaning of the phrase is not clear, but it seems as if "court" were here used for "decree of the court."

^bThis man has therefore been identified as "*the king's-messenger*" (§§ 260, 261) who commanded the Punt expedition. But this conclusion does not follow; the word "*dispatch*" (*sby*) does not mean to conduct, as we may see in the exactly parallel case of Henu (I, 427 ff.; especially § 432, ll. 13, 14), who conducted the expedition only to the sea and then dispatched (*sby*) it to Punt, returning then, not from Punt, but merely "*from the sea*." Hence we have no evidence that Nehsi did more than accompany the expedition to the sea, and the "*king's-messenger*" is probably a different man.

^cHe is supposed by Spiegelberg (*Recueil*, 22, 115-25) to be Thutiy (§§ 369 ff.).

^dIn 22 columns before the queen; it has all been more or less hacked out, the last six lines (excluding one phrase) and the upper fourth of lines 6-16 completely so.

throne to her nobles the unprecedented success of the expedition. She glorifies herself as having made a Punt for Amon in Egypt^a (ll. 14 and 16), and exhorts them to maintain in the future the increased offerings which she has established (ll. 8 and 15). This last was apparently the practical purpose of the session.

Introduction

292. ¹Year 9, occurred the sitting in the audience-hall,^b the king's-appearance with the etef-crown, upon the great throne of electrum, in the midst of the splendors of his^c palace. The grandees, the companions of the court, came to hear; a command was brought, a ²royal edict to his^c dignitaries, the divine fathers, the companions of the king, the grandees:

Queen's Speech

293. "I shine forever in your faces through that which my father hath desired.^d Truly, it was greatly my desire in doing, that I should make ³great him that begat me; and in assigning to my father, that I should make splendid for him all his offerings; that which my fathers, the ancestors knew not, I am doing as the Great One^e (did) ⁴to the Lord of Eternity; I am adding increase to that which was formerly done. I will cause it to be said to posterity: 'How beautiful is she,

^aIn the weighing and measuring scene the trees, of which there were three, appear planted in tubs; and again they appear planted in the ground, and thus a "*Punt*" was made for the god. It is possible that not only the trees, but also the terraces of the temple are a part of this "*Punt*," and that the terraced structure of the temple planted with myrrh trees thus reproduced the "*myrrh-terraces*." This could not be better described in the text than by calling it "*a Punt*." The fact that the temple is a reproduction of the small terraced temple of Mentuhotep III does not prohibit us from supposing that the queen was conscious of the resemblance above noted. The service and equipment of the temple receive some light from the mention of its High Priest, with twelve subordinate priests in four orders (see note, § 679).

^bSee I, 239, and note.

^cThese masculine pronouns simply represent the word "*king*" here, (^c *h* *c-stny* and *šps'w-stny* is what is meant), and do not refer personally to the queen.

^d"I shine as king, because my father Amon willed it so."

^e"*Great One*" is feminine and means Isis, referring to that which Isis did for the deceased Osiris, "*the Lord of Eternity*."

through whom this has happened,' because I have been so very excellent to him, and the heart^a of my heart^a has been replete with that which is due to him. I am his splendor 'on high, and in the nether world'. I have entered into the qualities of the august god, he hath opened 6———. He hath recognized my excellence, that I speak a great thing 'which' I set among you; it shall shine for you upon the land of the living 7——— ye may grasp my virtues. I am the god, the beginning of being, nothing fails that goes out of my mouth, beloved 8——— that which he desired. Ye shall fulfil according to that which I have exacted. Your lifetime is the life 'that is' in my mouth^b '— —' 9——— for the future. I have given a command of my majesty that the offerings of him who begat me should be made splendid, that the ointment should be increased 10——— of prime ointment of the pure ox, in order to supply with offerings 11———."

Punt Expedition Commanded

294. "——— ['a decree of'] my majesty commanding to send to the Myrrh-terraces, to explore his ways 'for him,' to learn his circuit, to open his highways, according to the command of my father, Amon. 12——— for choice ointment, in order to express ointment for the divine limbs, which I owed to the lord of gods, in order to establish the laws of his house. Trees were taken up in God's-Land, and set in the ground in 13[Egypt]^c ——— for the king of the gods. They were brought^d bearing myrrh therein for expressing ointment for the divine limbs, which I owed to the lord of Gods."

Punt in Egypt

295. Said my majesty (fem.): "I will cause you to know that which is commanded me, I have hearkened to my father 14——— that which he hath — commanding me to establish for him a Punt in his

^aTwo different words in Egyptian, but the distinction between them, if any, is not clear; see the thirtieth chapter of the "Book of the Dead." One expects "for his heart."

^bMy words control your lives?

^cThe pits in which certain trees had been planted were found by the Fund excavations before the lower terrace at the inner end of the dromos. They contained earth and tree stumps which proved to be of the *Mimusops*, that is, the *Persea* (Naville, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, 37, 52).

^dRead: *yn' tw*.

house, to plant the trees of God's-Land beside his temple, in his garden, according as he commanded. It was done, in order to endow the offerings which I owed. ¹⁵—— I was [not] neglectful of that which he needed. Ye shall fulfil according to my regulations without transgression of that which my mouth hath given. He hath desired me as his favorite; I know all that he loveth; he is a god ¹⁶—— his desire and that which he loveth ¹⁷—— I have made for him a Punt in his garden, just as he commanded me, for Thebes. It is large for him, he walks abroad in it." ^a ¹⁷—— ^b ²²—— Hathor, mistress of myrrh; she hath opened to thee (fem.) her two arms with resin — — — —.

INSCRIPTION OF THE SPEOS ARTEMIDOS^c

296. In this remarkable document the energetic queen has left a record of her systematic restorations in the temples which had been desolated by the barbarities of the Hyksos, and had remained so down to her reign. There is a reference to the Punt expedition (l. 13), so that the inscription dates from some time after the ninth year. Its references to the Hyksos coincide remarkably with the account of their treatment of the temples as recorded by Manetho. The Hyksos are called "*Asiatics*" (^c*mw*), and their city is "*Avaris (h't-w^c r't) of the Northland.*" The building of the cliff-temple of Pakht, on whose front the inscription is cut, is mentioned only incidentally with the queen's other pious works. The language is often unusual, and the whole is so badly preserved that there are necessarily many omissions in the translation.

^aLit., "*under it*," referring to the trees.

^bLl. 17-21 are so completely hacked out that not a sign can be read.

^cCut high up on the front of the cliff-temple of Pakht, excavated at Benihasan by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, called Speos Artemidos by the Greeks, Stabl Antar by the modern natives. The inscription was discovered and published by Golénischeff (*Recueil*, VI, 20; see also *ibid.*, III, 1-7). It is in a bad state of preservation, and the copy is evidently a hurried one.