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**STUDIES IN HONOR OF
CHARLES F. NIMS**

UNPUBLISHED FRAGMENTS OF HATSHEPSUT'S HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION FROM
HER SANCTUARY AT KARNAK

William Murnane, Oriental Institute

Nearly eighty years have passed since the first blocks of Hatshepsut's "chapelle rouge" were found re-used inside the Third Pylon at Karnak.¹ The discovery of many more blocks since then has been accompanied by selective publication of certain pieces and limited availability of others to the scholarly community, yielding glimpses—tantalizing yet elusive—of a significant monument of the earlier Eighteenth Dynasty.² When the integral publication at last became available, I turned immediately to the pages dealing with the great historical inscription, wherein Hatshepsut describes her elevation to the throne.³ It was soon apparent, however, that Lacau's copy differed in many places from my own, which I had derived from Oriental Institute photographs of individual blocks. Collation of the originals confirmed many readings and suggested others.⁴ Even so, a completely new presentation of the inscription seems inappropriate at this time, particularly since a re-collation of the Deir-el-Bahari version (now in progress)⁵ will yield much new material. Only when both versions are available in authoritative copies can the text be re-studied with profit. In the meantime, I offer the results of my collation of the Karnak blocks as a tribute to Charles F. Nims, himself a keen student of Hatshepsut and of Egyptian epigraphy in general. While these results are not of major significance and are themselves subject to improvement in certain places, as I will show, I present them as a contribution towards the eventually greater understanding of the whole.

I

Although surviving portions of the Karnak version are generally well preserved, three blocks form an exception to this rule. The first of these (no. 295) comes at the end of Lacau's first division of the text⁶ and is paralleled by the Deir el-Bahari version. The block is broken, leaving between one third to one half of the surface preserved at the bottom; and most of this is so heavily abraded that only the bottom group in each column is clear. The other two blocks (nos. 286 and 280) were found respectively in the first court at Karnak, "north of the Ethiopian colonnade", and built into a house in the village of Naga el-Fakana.⁷ Unlike the vast majority of blocks of Hatshepsut's sanctuary, these two were re-used in antiquity—no. 280 by Ramesses II and no. 286 almost certainly by the same ruler, in a position that probably adjoined no. 280. The erasure of the earlier text in the course of their re-use, added to the poor condition of both blocks, discouraged Lacau from attempting to do anything with them; their position is also not clear, although they must belong to the first half of the text on the south side of the building. They are tentatively identified as the second division of the Karnak text by Lacau.⁸ The few traces that do remain, which I am publishing for the first time, may permit their eventual integration into the composition. At present, though, there are no grounds, either internally or with refer-

1. Georges Legrain and Edouard Naville, *L'Aile nord du pylône d'Aménophis III à Karnak* in *Annales du Musée Guimet* 30 (Lyon, 1902).

2. The amount of information available as of the early 1970's can be judged from the entry in PM² II, 64-71.

3. Pierre Lacau and Henri Chevrier (with M.-A. Bonheme and Michel Gitton), *Une chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak I* (Cairo, 1977), pp. 92-153.

4. I would like to acknowledge the help of Dr. Sayid Abdel Hamid, who facilitated access to the blocks, and to Dr. Janusz Karkowski, of the Polish Academy of Sciences, for help in checking some of the readings.

5. To be published by Dr. Karkowsky for the Polish Academy.

6. Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle I*, p. 100. Photographs of the blocks in question have now been published in the second (plate) volume of this work, but they are too small to be of much use in establishing the readings.

7. *Ibid.*, p. xxvi, and notes 9, 13.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 105.

ence to the Deir el-Bahari text, for assigning them a definite position either before or after Lacau's first division of the Karnak text.

— Block no. 295⁹ (Fig. 1)

23[. . . m ⁱⁿ] pw,^a m^{ht} h'w.s

24[m 3^{hwt}.s, wpt (2 groups lost) m3't,^b w^{hm}(?).s ^{irtt}/^c.s m 'nh^h w3s

25[. . .]^d .s (?) pn m rn.s wr

26[. . .]^d ^{tw} hm[.f] hr b³t

27[^{3t} wrt.^e . . .]^f [. . .] nbt [. . .] m sh-n^{tr} pn^g

28[n nswt w3^h lt] '3-h pr-k3-r' m3'-hrw.h . . . i^h try

29[rn n sh-n^{tr}. . .]^j mnw.s Wn.in.hm n n^{tr} pn (text ends)

Textual Commentary

- a. Restored signs are found in the Deir el-Bahari version unless otherwise attributed. I would like once again to thank Dr. Karkowsky, with whom I examined both versions *in situ*; but the readings I suggest for the Karnak version are my own responsibility.
- b. The spacing, on analogy with the previous clause, suggests something like wpt [lb.s m] m3't. On wpt m3't in general see *Wb.* I 299:9-12; G. Posener, *Littérature et politique dans l'Égypte de la XII^e Dynastie* (Paris, 1956). pp. 71-72; R. Anthes, "The Legal Aspect of the Instruction of Amenemhet," *JNES* 16 (1957), 176-185.
- c. Traces of ^{irtt} perhaps survive above the bolt .s of the Karnak text.
- d. Lost in the lacuna in line 11 of the Deir el-Bahari version.
- e. For this formula (also lost at this point in the Deir el-Bahari version) see the Karnak text, I:6, 10 (Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle*, p. 98).
- f. The bottom of a low curving sign (more probably *r* than *ir*) can be seen above the *t* at the top of the preserved surface. There is room for a low sign under the *t*.
- g. Somewhat less than half a group separates the *nbt* from the top of *m*. Perhaps one may restore the entire line following ^{3t}wrt thus: [m-h^t nn, int h^k/rt [n] nbt [t3wy]m sh-n^{tr} pn etc.
- h. The chapel "Okheperkare the triumphant has taken possession" is not known to me, but its occurrence here suggests that it lay north of the precinct of Amun-Re at Karnak: perhaps it was a chapel in the palace of Thutmose I, where Hatshepsut was residing at this time (see Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle*, pp. 98-99 = Karnak text I:9-12, and cf. p. 231; also see Michel Gitton, "Le palais de Karnak," *BIFAO* 74 (1974), 63-73. Note also that the ebony shrine found at Deir el-Bahari is a sh-n^{tr} (Naville, *Deir el-Bahari* II, pl. xxvii).
- i. The traces following the name of the temple are unclear in both versions. For the two groups above *iry* I tentatively suggest sm³ ['] ndm (see *Wb.* III 447-448; R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* [Oxford, 1962] p. 226, s.v. sm³t-') but with no great conviction.
- j. The more complete Deir el-Bahari version might suggest, as a restoration, *iry rn n sh-[n^{tr} pn r rn n] mnw.s*.

A consecutive translation of the end of the first division may now be attempted, beginning with the last lines on the previous block: "Then the Lord of All mul²¹tiplied signs concerning her at the side of her mother, she who created her beauty, (namely) Hathor, Chieftaness of Thebes, ²²Mistress of Heaven, Mistress of the Two Banks, Pre-eminent of place in the columned hall; she who nurtured her in the womb. . . ²³[. . . as a youth] full king, filling her limbs ²⁴[with her benefactions, opening *her heart with* (?) justice, as she repeatedly gave¹⁰ her [milk] consisting of life and dominion¹¹ ²⁵[. . .] this [. . .] of hers in her great name ²⁶[. . .] and [his] Majesty delivered signs, ²⁷[very greatly. *After this,*

9. Numbering of these lines follows that of Lacau, *ibid.*, p. 100.

10. Cf. expressions such as w^{hm} 'nh^h, w^{hm} mnw, w^{hm} rnp etc. (*Wb.* I 341-343).

11. This ritual pose can be illustrated from a number of contemporary materials, pre-eminently reliefs on the walls of Hatshepsut's Hathor chapel at Deir el-Bahari (*PM*² II, 353 [52]) and the statue of the Hathor cow suckling Amenhotep II, now in the Cairo Museum (references in *ibid.* pp. 380-81).

bringing the *insig/nia* (?) [to] the Mistress [of the Two lands] (?) in (or “from”) ¹² this chapel ²⁸ of the enduring king (called) ‘Okheperkar the triumphant has taken possession’. ¹³ A sweet [offer/ing] was presented. [The name ²⁹ of this chapel] was made ¹⁴ [to be the name of] her monument. Then the Majesty of this god. . .”

— Block no 286 (Fig. 2)

The original text has been lightly erased and a new inscription carved over it: on the left there is a cartouche (mostly destroyed) over a *nbw*-sign; and on the right was the name of a god (only the base of the seated figure and the bottom of *W3s(t)* survive) above the *mr*-canal. The secondary inscription is framed by margin lines to the right at the bottom. (Cf. the usurpation of block no 280 below.) Of the original text the following can read:

- 1[. . .] ^a *iw*
 2[. . .] *rmnt* [. . .] *sw* (?) ^b
 3[. . .] *t imy itn* [. . .] *wrt* (?) ^c
 4[. . .] *.sn nt*
 5[. . .] *r š3t.s* (?) ^d *idbwy*
 6[. . .] *r tm*
 7 *wnn wš3[w]t* (?) ^e. . . (text ends)

Textual Commentary

- a. Above *iw* there is seated god determinative, apparently connected to the signs partially preserved above.
- b. The “men” atop the *mn*-board have been worn away, but the reading of the word seems certain. The signs below the secondary margin I read as *sw + w*, even though the very top of the presumed *sw* is not visible on the stone; this could be due, however, to the decreasing depth of cut as the stem tapers towards the top. A low sign (suffix *.s* or *.f*?) can fit into the space cut through by the secondary margin (cf. the spacing of signs in the first column).
- c. There is room for a low sign (suffix *.f*?) in the space cut through by the secondary margin. Below this, the preserved shape of the bird suggests *wr*; thus, perhaps *Wrt-[hk3w]*?
- d. Immediately below the break, the curve of the trace suggests *r*. Further down, the sign cut through by the margin of the secondary version, while badly damaged, is perhaps identifiable as *š3*: the trace of rounding corners rules out *mn*, and a few of the sign’s characteristic stalks can be seen above the margin. The *t*, bolt *s* and *idbwy* are certain.
- e. The oval sign may be read *t* (Gardiner sign list V 13), and the space between it and the *t* below can accommodate a low sign. I suggest reading *w_t/s/t*, with the sense “denunciation” or similar (*Wb.* I 384:1-3).

The remains of the original text scarcely justify a consecutive translation: 1 “[. . .] divine (?) ¹⁵ [. . .], there being ² [. . .] [her(?)] carrying him, ³ [. . . .] ing(?) ¹⁶ the one who is within [his] solar disk; Weret- ⁴ [hekau(?)] . . .] ¹⁷ their [. . .] of ⁵ [. . .] until she could order the Two Banks ¹⁸ ⁶ [. . .], so that there might not ⁷ be-denun[ci]ation(?) . . .”

— Block no. 280 (Fig. 3)

Even more fragmentary than the last, this block at least preserves part of the praenomen *Wsr-m3‘t-[r]’ Stp.n.r’* in the cartouche above the *nbw*-sign to the right. Left of the cartouche we read the remains of *di ‘nh dt*, with margin lines below and to the left of these

12. For *im m* see *Wb.* I, 90:15.
13. For this sense see *Wb.* I, 150:5-6.
14. For *iry* as the form of the passive *sdm-f* see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, section 420.
15. Interpreting the vertical trace at the upper right as *ntr(y)*.
16. Perhaps the feminine *t* ending of the infinitive? Or the ending of genitive *nt*?
17. “He who is within his solar disk” designates the sun god (*Wb.* I, 145:3); but although *itm-f* is mentioned in the text Deir el-Bahari, col 1; Karnak V:3; XIII:1) *imy itm-f* would seem to be attested only here. For the association of the sun god with Weret-hekau (identified with the double crown: XIV:6-7) see Hans Bonnet, *Reallexikon der ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin, 1952), p. 848.
18. For *r sdm-f* see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, section 407.

secondary inscriptions. The disposition of the signs makes it all but certain that blocks nos. 280 and 286 were re-used together by Ramesses II, although their relation to one another in Hatshepsut's building is not so clear. The left side of this block is broken away and the erasure seems to have been more thorough than on no. 286. On the surviving portion of the surface we read this much of the original version:

$x+1$ [...]*r-s*(?) [...]
 $x+2$ [...]^a *tw*
 $x+3$ [...]^b *nt*[...]^c
 $x+4$ [...]^d *n* [ʔ] *mn-r'*, [...]^d *n* [Hr]-3*h*[*ty*]^e *n*[...]^e *.s*
 [...]^f [...]^f *d*^l *w*^d *f*(?) *d*^w *w*^g *nn* (text ends)

Textual Commentary

- There are many vague and unreadable traces in this column; at about the middle is a clear *k*, perhaps part of *hk3*.
- In the bottom half of this column the quail chick-*w* is separated by a short space (enough for a low sign) from a rounding trace perhaps the top of a *t*.
- Enough space is left at the bottom of the column for a low sign, perhaps *s*, thus *nt/s*/?
- The divine determinative sometimes occurs after the name of Amun (e.g., *Urk* IV 17:17, 170:14, 230:11, 312:15) but is uncharacteristic following "Amun-Re". Given its position at the left side of the column, perhaps this group should be understood as a separate word.
- The curving trace at the left of the next group may be interpreted as one of the wedges above the back of the falcon in *Hr-3hty*.
- Below the *n*, apparently the top of *s* survives; and in the next group below this, the back of a bird: perhaps [ʔ] *w* *s* [ʔ] *s*/? (See *Wb.* I 45:6).
- A vertical trace can be seen to the right of the quail chick-*w*; suggesting *w*^d. Below this, a slight curving up of the horizontal trace suggests *f* rather than *s*. The secondary lower margin runs through the next sign, but the two rounding peaks at either end suggest *d*^w.

Translation: $x+1$ [...] her [...] $x+2$ [... *ru* [ʔ] [...] $x+3$ [...] she (is) $x+4$ [the...] of [A]mon-Re, [the...] of [Hr] *akh* [*ty* (and)] of [ʔ] *w* *es* [ʔ] *aas*¹⁹ (?), ...] who caused him to command the mountains (?) without."

The two re-used blocks are too badly damaged to allow a definite idea either of their contents or their position in the whole composition. No. 286 appears to describe the grounding of Hatshepsut's claim in the will of certain gods, and no. 280 could be part of a speech by a divinity if the final passage ($x+3-4$) refers to Hatshepsut as restored. On the other hand, the new readings on Karnak block no. 295 together with the parallel text at Deir el-Bahari both add substantially to our understanding of the end of the first division: following public demonstrations by Amon and Hathor in Hatshepsut's favor (I:20-27), preparations for her coronation are made in the vicinity of a chapel of Thutmose I (I:27-28), the cultic 'ownership' of which is transferred to Hatshepsut's name (I:28-29). Even presuming that the events are here reported much as they occurred, the choice of venue is interesting. Hatshepsut's coronation was a carefully orchestrated act of propaganda. The role of Thutmose I thus deserves investigation.

Apart from the reigning sovereigns, Thutmose III and Hatshepsut herself, Thutmose I is the only other king to be mentioned on the sadly fragmented walls of the *chapelle rouge*. His funerary temple is listed among the Theban temples on the south wall, along with a "royal basin of Okheperkare".²⁰ Another chapel (*sh-ntr*) of his figures, as we have seen, in the preliminaries for Hatshepsut's coronation. Its location is unknown, but it lay near the palace, that is, north of Karnak; the palace itself, though attributed to Hatshepsut in the

19. The choice of *Iwes'aas* would not be inappropriate, as she is the counterpart of the Heliopolitan sun god and is identified with the uraeus (W. Helck and E. Otto, eds. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III.2 [Wiesbaden, 1978], cols. 217-18).

20. Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle* I, sections 129-130 (pp. 79-80). All other foundations that are preserved (and there is much missing) are dedicated in the names of Hatshepsut, Thutmose III or Amun: *ibid.*, sections 117-138 (pp. 73-84). *PM*² II, 65 wrongly attributes one of the buildings named to Thutmose II.

geographical list,²¹ was undoubtedly older, since she was living there when Amun sought her out. Perhaps it too was built by Thutmose I, was renovated by Hatshepsut and had its name changed at the same time as the smaller chapel of her father. The name of this chapel, as was said above (n. 13), probably refers to the royal accession. If we reflect, in addition, that it was transferred to the reigning monarch, it seems very likely that we are dealing with a chapel dedicated to the living king.²²

All told, these observations suggest that in the *chapelle rouge* Thutmose I appears as Hatshepsut's direct ancestor, the figure par excellence from whom kingly authority is passed. If so, the premises of the great historical inscription are more complex than I had previously imagined, particularly in connection with that other, "alternative" justification for Hatshepsut's succession found in the myth of her divine birth. In that account, Hatshepsut is proclaimed king by Thutmose I in the presence of the court: her five-fold titulary is formulated and the archaic coronation rites are held that very day.²³ Scholars now regard this account as unhistorical, placing greater reliance on the historical inscription—no doubt rightly, since it purports to follow the course of events on the day that Amun sallied forth and forced Hatshepsut to accept the crown. The historical inscription, however, is not a strictly "historical" narrative: its point of view is not necessarily that which obtained at the start of Hatshepsut's reign, when it appears that she was content to mount the throne alongside her nephew, and when she tacitly admitted, by adopting the current system of regnal dating employed by Thutmose III, her succession from her late husband, Thutmose II. The rhetorical form of the composition, with its long speeches for the participants, suggests rather that it was worked up after the event. Its propagandist bent, then, would be germane to conditions at the time it was inscribed on the monuments, not necessarily to the events it describes. It is not without interest, also, that the text appears on monuments datable to Hatshepsut's later reign. The *chapelle rouge* was decorated sometime after the dedication of the obelisks between the fourth and fifth pylons at Karnak, i.e. in year 16 or later.²⁴ The historical inscription is found not only on this building, but also on the facade of the third terrace at Deir el-Bahari—and it may not be entirely coincidental that in both places the text was carved in association with the bark shrine of Amun. Rather than being an earlier or alternative version of events, set against the birth myth (as I had suggested),²⁵ the historical inscription can be seen as a complement, indeed a continuation of that account. At the end of the birth myth Hatshepsut's kingship is fully established and she is, by implication, Thutmose I's coregent. Contemporaries knew, however, that the reigns of Thutmose II and III had intervened, and that the queen had not pressed her claim until the latter had been on the throne for some time. The historical inscription subtly reconciles these contradictions, first by acknowledging the hiatus between Hatshepsut's fictitious "accession" and her delayed assumption of power. Indeed, her previous (though unactualized) right to rule is explicitly stated:

His Majesty (=Amun) entered into the front of the palace of "I Shall not be Far from Him" (in) the Estate of Amun, having laid firm hands on his 'egg' (=Hatshepsut), having planned that she should take possession of (*it*) the Two Banks, and having promoted her to the dais of the Unique Lord so she would be content as Ruler of Joy. He assigned her position on the great throne, he caused her to occupy the throne dais, she having been reared as a Horus, Lord of the Two Lands, in the presence of the entire land

21. Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle*, p. 78 (section 126).

22. Cf., for example, Chapel 1 in Ramesses III's mortuary temple (Epigraphic Survey, *Medinet Habu V*. OIP 83 [Chicago, 1957], pls. 339-341). On the cult of royal statues, see W. Helck, "Zum Kult an Königsstatuen," *JNES* 25 (1966): 34-41; D. Wildung, "Gottlichkeitsstufen des Pharaos," *OLZ* 68 (1973): cols. 549-65; idem. s.v. "Königskult" in *Lexikon der Ägyptologie* III, 4 (Wiesbaden, 1979), cols. 533-34; J. Lopez, "Une stèle ramesside de la collection Aubert," *RdE* 26 (1974): 115-17.

23. *Urk.* IV, 255-65, especially pp. 261-62.

24. Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle*, p. 26 (sections 8-9). I have briefly discussed the date of the chapel in a review published in *BiOr* 34 (1977): 177.

25. Marnane, *Ancient Egyptian Coregencies*, SAOC 40 (Chicago, 1977) p. 34.

(III:21-25).²⁶

In the myth of the divine birth Hatshepsut's enthronement is enacted by court officials who "proclaimed her names of King of Upper and Lower Egypt; for truly, the god had caused it to come to pass in their hearts to make her names just like that which he had made previously." Following the five "great names", the section concludes: "for truly, it was her real name (*rn-s pw m3'*) which the god had made previously."²⁷ The same rituals are performed in the historical inscription, but with significant differences. The coronation ceremonies are performed in person by Amun and the uraeus-goddess (IV: 15-17),²⁸ following which is the ceremonial giving of names:

The Lord of All issued the titulary of her Majesty as the 'effective king' in the middle of Egypt, in order to take possession of (*it*) the lands and to establish their affairs. His Majesty (=Amun) said, as he was issuing the titulary and repeating (the proclamation of?) jubilees for her: "Live the Horus, 'Powerful of Kas'; Two Ladies, 'Flourishing of Years'; Golden Horus, 'She whose Manifestations are Divine'; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Makare; the son of Re, Hatshepsut United-with-Amun!" (V:11-15)²⁹

The term *nswt mnḥ* is significant, being used by Hatshepsut herself with reference to one of her predecessors (VIII:6-7)³⁰ and, in general, to describe a king in the full exercise of his powers. Its use in the great historical inscription may thus convey a dynamic, actualized sense of kingship, as opposed to the legal but still unrealized status claimed by Hatshepsut as a result of her fictitious coronation under Thutmose I. Seen in this context, the allusion to Thutmose I at the end of the first division is not only understandable but necessary, permitting Hatshepsut to interweave myth and circumstance, to present in these two accounts—the birth myth and the historical inscription—a full justification of her kingship to the gods at her mortuary temple.³¹

II

The remainder of this article will be devoted to corrections — some of them rather trivial—to other sections of the historical inscriptions published by Lacau. References will be to sections and line numbers in the text, with page numbers given in parentheses.

I:8-9 (p. 98):

Lacau read *nn* [2 groups] *ḡhr(?) ḥry-tp(?)*, with some reservations (see p. 103, n. *r*). The signs on the Oriental Institute photograph (the surface is lost today) seem to be as on fig. 4, justifying all but the *hr* and *tp* of Lacau's readings: he

26. Text in Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle*, pp. 108-109.

27. *Urk.* IV, 260-61, especially pp. 261,11-262,1.

28. Text in Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle*, p. 116.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

30. *Ibid.*, pp. 133-34.

31. Other indications of Thutmose I's role in shoring up the legitimacy of Hatshepsut's accession are not difficult to find: in addition to the birth legend at Deir el-Bahari, see the eulogy of Hatshepsut carved in his name onto the eighth pylon at Karnak (*Urk.* IV, 265-74). The historicity of Hatshepsut's jubilee and its calculation from the death of Thutmose I, while doubted by some scholars (e.g., E. Hornung and E. Staehelin, *Studien zum Sedfest*, *Aegyptiaca Helvetica* 1 [Geneva, 1974], pp. 62-65, cf. R. Krauss, *Das Ende der Amarnazeit*, *Hildesheimer Ägyptologische Beiträge* 7 [Hildesheim, 1978] pp. 166-203), has been recently defended (E.F. Wente and C.C. Van Siclen III, "A Chronology of the New Kingdom" in *Studies in Honor of George R. Hughes*, SAOC 39 [Chicago, 1977], pp. 220-21; William J. Murnane, "The Sed Festival: A Problem in Historical Method" in *MDAIK* [forthcoming]).

presumably interpreted the trace on the lower right as the beard of *tp*, but himself remarks that *hry-tp* makes little sense in the context; the trace could also be part of an upright stroke. The sentence is probably to be restored *nn [grt wnt] hrf. . .] drw m hprw ntr pn*, "for there was not a hindering. . . in the manifestation of this god" (see I:1-2, p. 97, for a similar construction), but I have no idea how the lacuna under *hr* at the top of line 9 is to be filled.

I:10 (p. 98):

The damaged sign in front of the quail chick-*w* of the verb is probably *hsf* (Gardiner signlist U 34). The verb *hsf* has the sense "to go against" or "to sail against the current" (*Wb.* III, 337), so the compound *hsfw n hr.f* perhaps means "to forge ahead": the passage as a whole would be, *wn ·in hm [n nb-r-dr] hsfw n hr.f r i3btt hr bl3t '3t wrt*, "then the Majesty of the Lord of All forged ahead to the east while making signs very greatly". The Deir el-Bahari text is apparently different, but the verb is neither *s[h]d* nor *s[k]d*. At Karnak, the sign looks more like *hsf* than *kd*.

III:3 (p. 106):

Neither *wr* nor *snd* make any sense here (*pace* Lacau, p. 109, n. *b*, *snd* should not take a direct object: see *Wb.* IV 182-183). The head of the bird is rather to be interpreted as *k* (Gardiner signlist G35), and the passage reads *k sw h3swt m' ir w3w3t*, "he enters foreign land like a maker of fire" (for the construction see Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammer*³, section 374).

III:5 (p. 106):

The determinative of *3m* is Gardiner signlist D49, not D46 as printed.

III:9 (p. 107):

3wt is written with Gardiner signlist F3, not F9 as printed.

III:24 (p. 109):

3wt-ib survives complete.

IV:6-7 (p. 115):

At the bottom of column 6 there is a clear trace of the thumb of *d* (Gardiner signlist D46): perhaps restore *d[r]*, "subdue".

IV:15 (p. 116):

Lacau reads *shd n-s* etc., but the sign is actually *wd* (Gardiner signlist V24) compounded with the serpent (I-10), yielding *swd*.

IV:16-17 (p. 116):

At the top of col. 17 there is a trace of the tail of owl-*m*; the other traces that appear on the photograph are probably fissures in the stone. There is thus no full spelling of *hkrw*, and the passage reads *wts-s m hkrw R*'.

VI:2 (p. 124):

In *h3wt*, read Gardiner signlist L6 instead of N34 as printed.

VII:3 (p. 130):

Lacau omits the tall *s* of *šmswt.f*, although it is clearly preserved.

VII:12 (p. 131):

The passage reads *wn-in tw hr lrt sn-ntr, hr sm3' '3bwt* etc. Lacau misreads the *sn* of *sn-ntr* as *sm3* (Gardiner signlist F36 for the correct and eminently clear T22), and then omits the *m3*-sickle of *sm3'*. The thick upright sign that Lacau interprets as *kd* probably represents a miscarving of the bookroll that one would expect (*pace* Lacau, p. 131, n. *a*).

VII:14 (p. 131):

In *nishknw*, Lacau has an anomalous *hb*-basket for a reasonably clear basket-*k*. At the bottom of the column he fails to copy the traces shown in my fig. 5, which are probably to be read *htp.f*.

VIII:7 (p. 134):

Both Lacau (p. 135, n. *o*) and Jean Yoyotte, "La date suposee du couronnement d'Hatshepsout," *Kemi* 18 (1968), 87, n. *c*, suggest that the reading might be *[r šms]w[t] n nswt mnḥ* (see my fig 6a); but the *šms*-sign is not

combined with walking legs anywhere else in this inscription (see I:1; III:20; VII:3). Perhaps better would be the compound preposition *m-hsfw* (Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, p. 133 [section 178]: see my fig. 6b) which is, moreover, attested elsewhere in this text (see Lacau and Chevrier, *Chapelle*, p. 141 [section 182, line 78]. The entire passage would thus read, "Then he took hold of my Majesty [at the apprao]ch of the effective king."

IX:4 (p. 136):

Again, Lacau's text prints *shd* instead of *swd* (Gardiner signlist T-3 instead of the correct V25).

IX:17-18 (p. 137):

There is no room for *n* above *hpr* at the top of col. 18; nor (following Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar*³, section 484) is it needed.

IX:19 (p. 137):

For the unclear section at the bottom of the column, see my fig. 7. It is still not certain whether the low flat sign under *m* is *n* or *s*.

IX:20 (p. 137):

As the determinative of *ss* Lacau incorrectly gives Gardiner signlist G-47 + V30: it really is only V48.

IX:24 (p. 137):

Bottom of *s* is visible at the top of the column.

IX:25 (p. 137):

Fragments of *3w* are visible at the top of the column.

X:9 (p. 142):

The damaged sign near the top of the column could as easily be *m* as *3*: perhaps restore *h3m* (*Wb.* III 231:6), translating "[it being bent do]wn for (me) because of my Majesty's divine power".

XI:1 (p. 143):

In the group at the bottom of the column, the initial *s* is clearly visible, and the second is Gardiner signlist V25 (*pace* Lacau, p. 144, n. *a*, neither *hs* nor *hd*).

XI:5 (p. 144):

Lacau's preferred reading, *sim3*, is clearly better than his alternate *s3b* (see his note *b*).

XII:6 (p. 145):

In *rdit m hr-i*, Lacau misses the suffix after *hr* (Gardiner signlist A41).

XIV:1 (p. 148):

The head of the child determinative of *snhh* (Gardiner signlist A 17) is shaped to suggest that the figure wears the Blue Crown.

XIV:2 (p. 148):

There is room at the top of the column to restore [*lt.n-i*] *pssty nbwy*.

XIV:3 (p.148):

The trace looks more like *w3* (Gardiner signlist V4) than *mh* (V22), and Lacau's restoration of *w3w3t3w* (p. 149, n. *c*) is plausible.

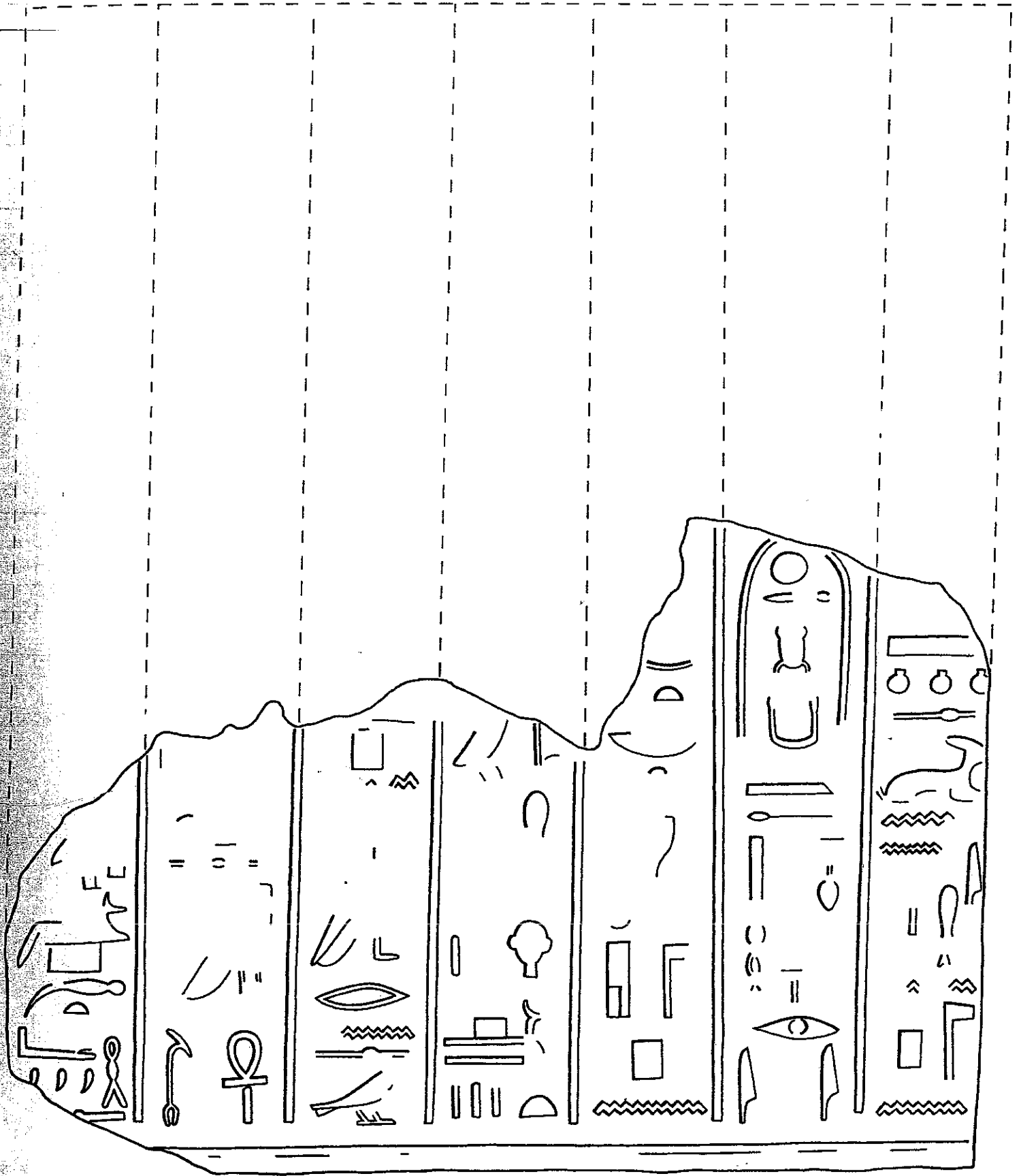
XV:10 (p. 150):

Neat the bottom of the column, the shape of *k3p* is closer to that of Gardiner signlist R5 than to R6 (=Lefebvre, *Grammaire de l'égyptien classique*², p. 410, R-5).

XV:14 (p. 150):

Lacau read *wnt dr[w.sn nhh, sw]. . .*; I read *wnt dr-b3h nhh pw. . .* (see my fig. 8). (Dr. Karkowsky kindly checked these readings with me.) The whole passage can be translated, "I fashion for him public works, being something stipulated (*m nhb*), being something greater than what was (*m wrt r wnt*) before. Eternity is (?). . . ." For similar cases wherein two words share the same sign (as do *wr* and *r* here), see above at IX:25.

Fig. 1



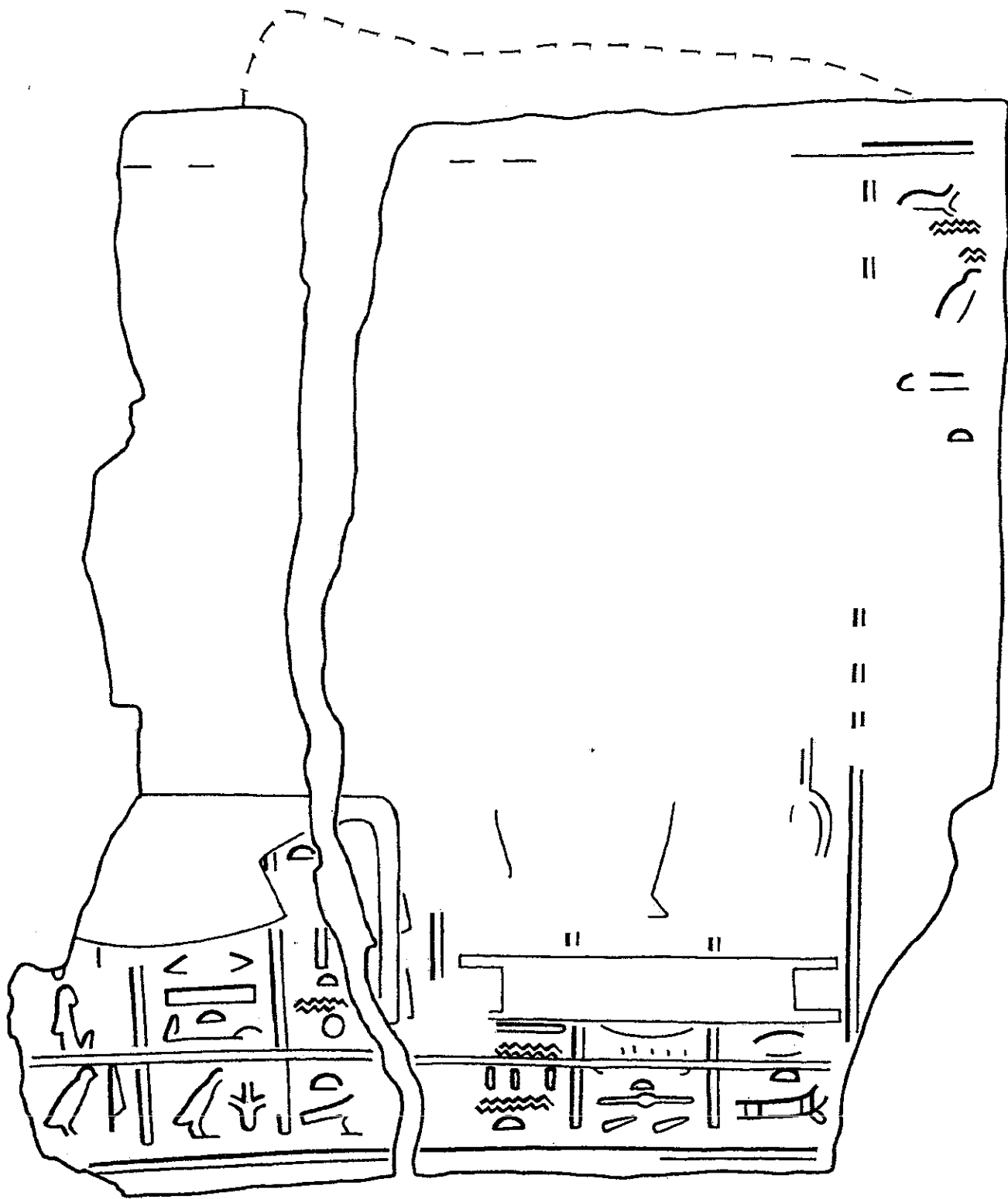
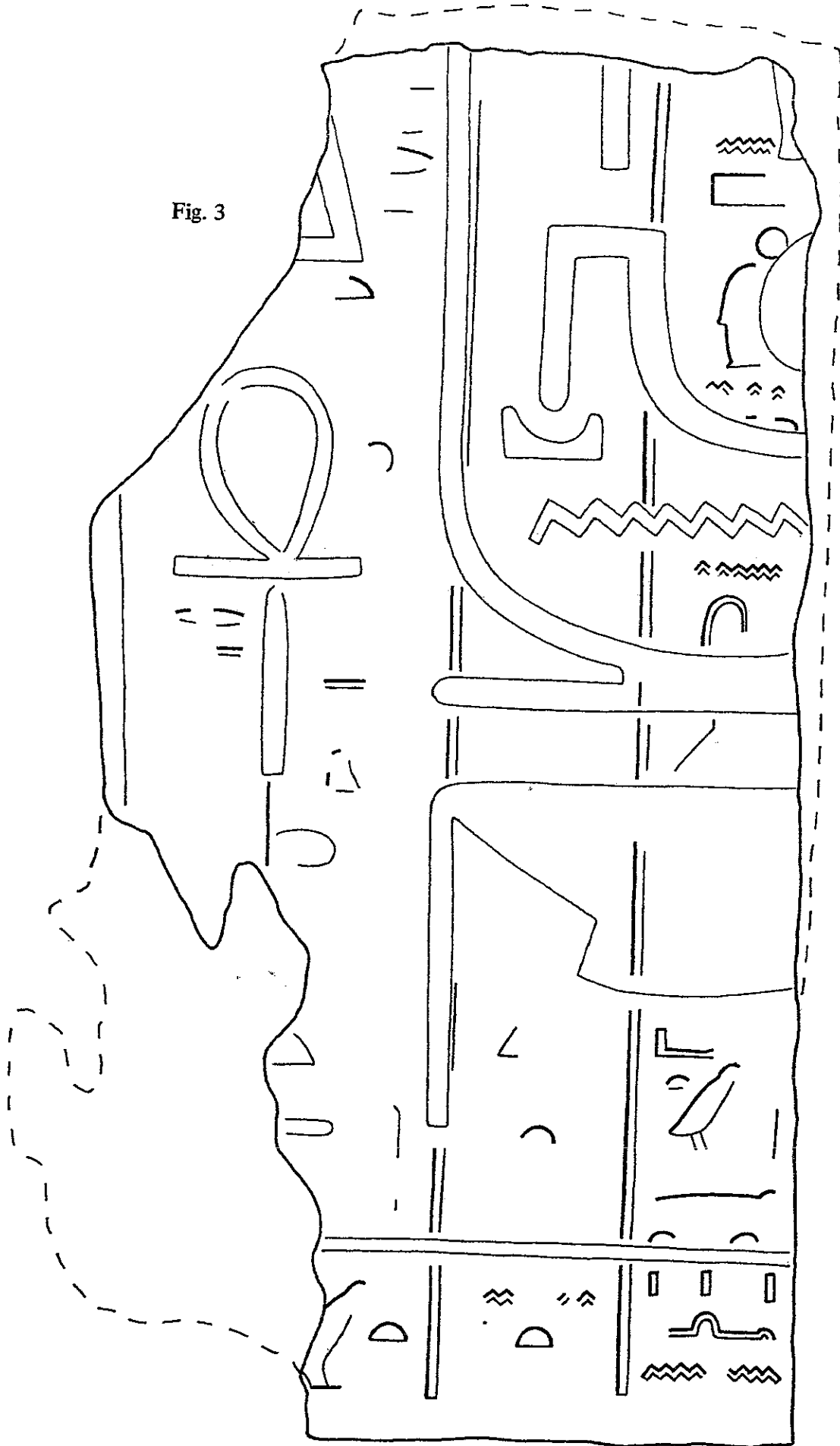
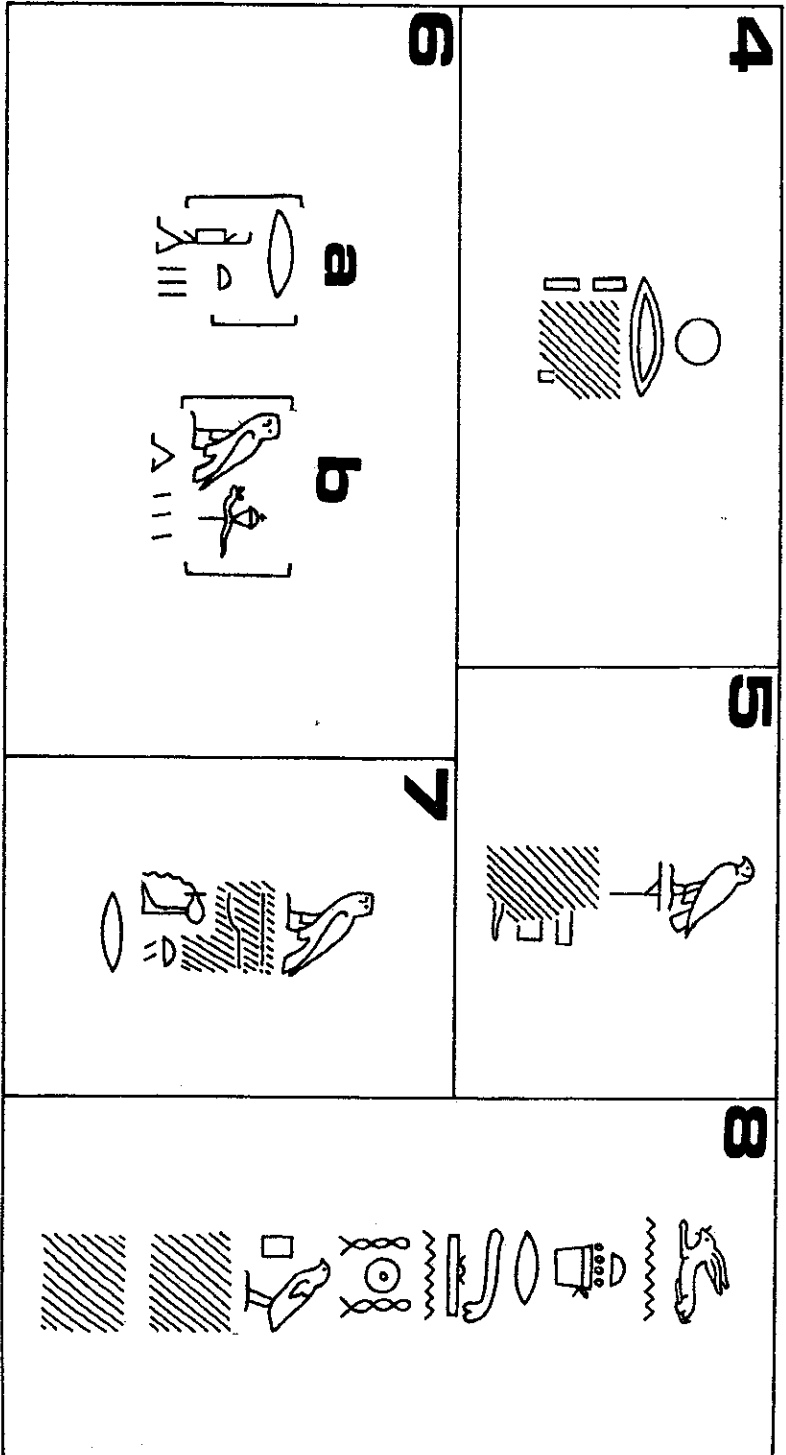


Fig. 2

Fig. 3





Figs. 4-8