

THE HISTORICAL INSCRIPTION ON QUEEN HATSHEPSUT'S *CHAPELLE ROUGE*:

PART 2

TRANSLATION

Introduction

This text, preserved in two almost identical, though fragmentary inscriptions at Karnak and Deir el Bahari, was originally published in 1977 by Pierre Lacau in collaboration with Henri Chevrier in *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*.¹ This remains an excellent publication and the commentary given for the historical inscription is comprehensive. Lacau's work is invaluable and can indeed not be matched or improved upon. There are many difficult passages in the *Chapelle Rouge* text and the English translation presented in this article could not have been completed without reliance upon Lacau's work.

However, developments in the understanding of the Egyptian language subsequent to Lacau's publication make some parts of his translation now appear dated. Through a reconsideration of the text, new information can therefore be gleaned. The English translation given here does not attempt to rival Lacau in giving a full commentary. Instead, only the differences are marked with explanatory footnotes. The translation presented here is the only complete English translation to date.

The second half of the text in particular presents difficulties in terms of the ordering of the extant remains, where the preserved parts of the Deir el Bahari parallel come to an end. Lacau's original placement of the blocks² according to their physical features, the content of the text and its correlation with the Deir el Bahari version was revised by Helck.³ The recent full reconstruction of the chapel in the Open Air Museum at Karnak by the Centre Franco-Égyptien d'Étude des Temples de Karnak under the direction of François Larché⁴ has resulted in yet another, more accurate arrangement of the blocks on the basis of a more detailed study of their physical features, particularly the sets of prefabricated dovetail notches (Plate 1). This now appears to be the sequence which best approximates the original, and it is the order in which they presently stand (Figure 1). The translation of the historical inscription presented here is the first to follow this most recent reconstruction.

On the notation: In order to easily refer back to the monument and the other published versions of the text, the present translation includes block numbers (e.g. # 222) and the corresponding page numbers in Helck's publication (e.g. H7 = Helck, p.7). Where only the Deir el Bahari text remains, this is indicated by reference to the lines of the text (e.g. *DB 1-5*). Square brackets indicate the damaged sections of the text; words in square brackets supply reconstructed text.

On the Southern Façade

H7 (*DB 1-5*) [...] His disk [...] sedition through [...] the success which he has granted previously. [Then] the Majesty of the Lord to the [Limit...], his sacred barque, the illuminating for him among the living [...] he having [...], she making that which he desired, while indeed His Majesty made for him a dispatch to [...]

*Processions of Amun in Karnak*⁵

[...After this,] (# 222) His Majesty proceeded, performing wonders, his Ennead in his following without, however, performing his wonder at the *Station of the Lord* of the king. The land to its limit received silence. "One does not know", said the nobles of the king. The elders of the palace bowed (their) head(s). H8 Those who were in his following (said): "Why?" Those who were wise of heart became foolish,⁶ their hearts trembling under (the effect of) his wonder, as His Majesty arrived at the *Head of the Canal*, performing a very great wonder at the double doors of the royal palace, which is upon the side of the *Way of the Offering Tables*.

After this, one commanded (# 35) the travelling northwards, without one knowing that which he would do, without [...] in the form of this god. Then the Majesty of the Lord to the limit turned his face to the East, performing a very great wonder at the western double doors of the palace of the court of *I-am-not-far-from-him*, H9 which is upon the bank of the *Head of the Canal*. Then the Mistress of the Two Lands came to it (the court) from the interior of the splendours of her palace and she gave praise at the approach of the lord of the gods.

(# 184) After this, she placed herself upon her belly in the presence of His Majesty, saying: "How much greater is this than the (customary) conduct of Your Majesty! It is you, my father, who plans everything, which exists. What is that which you wished to happen? I will truly do in accordance with that which you have commanded". Then the Majesty of this god performed very great and very many wonders.

After this, he placed her before him, advancing her to the mansion of Maat, and she received the insignia of her servant(ship)⁷ and her insignia of the wife of the god who is within his temple. Then the Majesty of the Lord to the limit multiplied wonders for her beside her mother, who created her beauty, Hathor, chieftainess of the West, mistress of the sky, mistress of the two banks, who is at the front of the place in the Wadjet room, *H10* who nursed her with [her] body, (# 295) [...] who nursed her flesh [...] in life and well-being [...] great name [...] in this divine booth of the enduring king, who has conquered [...] the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Aa-Kheper-Ka-Re [...] who has made [...] the [beautiful] monument [for] the Majesty of this god. [...]

*Amun's Proclamation: the Enthronement of the Queen*⁸

["⁹...] (*DB 12-16*) this, your [...] which I opened for you. I subdued for you this land on [...] I [...] for you [...] stare, great of strength, lacking of impatience [...You are a king¹⁰...] *H11* (# 166) who speaks against his enemies. His knife is the servant of the hot flame, and its heat, when it comes into being, is placed¹¹ to burn the lands of the malcontents. The king [...] the foreign lands like one who makes the flame, whose success exists at the sight of the flame, who is mighty in power to the height of the sky, whose strength is against that which is turned against me.¹² I will cause you to rest upon my throne, I will seize for you the crook and the flail, I will mould you, whom I wanted to make, that you may make offering before your creator, that you may cause the shrines of the gods to grow, that you may protect this land with its people, *H12* that your terror may seize that which acts as a crime and those who plan rebellion for the times that you may seize strength as lord of power. Then this land will be in your grasp, the *henemet* under your supervision, (# 22) and the *rekhyt* giving praise to you. You will cause the laws to be established, you will subdue chaos, you will cut off the arm of the state of civil war, *H13* you will decree to the living and they will observe according to your instructions."

The faces of the royal nobles who were in his following were amazed.

After (# 142) this, there was a processing to the outside. Then Her Majesty was in front of her father, who was passing by while moving through the general crowd (*rekhyt*). Awe seized heaven and earth. Everyone turned to his neighbour, *H14* they not thinking about their own bodies at all. They did not understand,¹³ every man did not know himself. Then their hearts understood, since the god (now) illuminated that which he had concealed, as His Majesty arrived at the noble chapel and the great double doors of the lord of the two lands, truly (named), *the place of the royal following to the temple of [Am]un*. His Majesty entering within the palace of 'I am not far from him', the house of Amun, *H15* and he extended his arms upon his egg, he having intended that she

might seize the Two Banks. He advanced her to the stairway of the sole lord, that she may be content as ruler of joy and that he may place her seat upon the Great Seat. He caused that she may sit on the throne platform, she being nourished as a Horus, Lord of the Two Lands, as well as the head of the land to its limit. Then the Majesty of this god [...*Karnak: four blocks missing*...]. (DB 22-28) Then the Majesty of this god was installed at the door of [...] two hours [...]

*Speech of the Uraeus-goddess*¹⁴

H16 "[¹⁵...] (# 44) that which you desired, you entrusting me to your child, the king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Maat-Ka-Re. You are in festivity, you joining with that which she begets, you making her dignity, you creating her terror in your name of creator of eternity. I will appear on her head,¹⁶ I will grow at her brow, I will unite with her like I adorn my father. My jubilation for her is great in (my role as) *She-who- is-upon-the-head* (i.e. the Uraeus). I will overthrow for her the Nubians, I coiling up in the middle of her head. [I will overthrow] for her the Bedouins, I swaying about, having appeared at her brow, and I [will subdue] for her the circle of the Great Black completely. I will do [for her that which is pleasing] to me and that which is pleasing to her father Amun. I will grant her respect in all the flat lands and her terror through every foreign land. I will grant her power, I will estab[lish] (# 143) her strength and H17 I will subdue for her the circle of the sun-disk. I will make for her jubilation in the southern sky and I will cause that the northern sky rejoices over her. I will play music for her with my sistra. I will moor her as the mooring post of humankind. I will calculate¹⁷ for her the indestructible stars and I will count for her the unwearying stars. I will assume my place in her titulary, I will illuminate for her eternity under her supervision."¹⁸

Then she said: "Welcome! Welcome!" with the *nyny* greeting, her arms bearing that which is desired. That the paraphernalia of the wife of the god was removed, was so that she may wear the ornaments of the crown of Upper Egypt and the crown of Lower Egypt, they being united with her head, it resting on [her brow] [... *Karnak: 3 blocks missing* ...]

*Speech of a deity – Establishment of the titulary –
Beginning of Amun's speech*¹⁹

H18 "[...] (# 48) your forms in his beauty. Those who are in the sky have revealed to <you> the secret and those who are in the netherworld have guided you. Rise thus in the form of his sun-disk! The appearances of his Ennead are associated with you. The gods are in your following, you appearing as my (earthly) image of Re. Seize thus your sitting (on) the Great Seat which is in

the front of the house of your father! Rise up thus in the one who made you, ^{H19} praise thus the one who has caused you to appear".

Then these companions (of the court), their hearts received forgetfulness, their faces (# 164) were amazed, their limbs were joined with fatigue, they saw the appearance of the enduring king and that which the lord to the limit himself has made, and they placed them(selves) upon their bellies. Then their hearts were recovered. Then the Majesty of the Lord to the Limit established the titulary of Her Majesty as a potent king in the midst of Egypt who seizes the flat lands and who establishes their tribute. His Majesty spoke, he establishing the titulary and repeating for her the *Sed*-festivals "Living Horus: strong of *Kas*, One of the Two Ladies: flourishing of years, Golden Horus: divine of appearances, King of Upper [and Lower Egypt]: Maat-Ka-Re, Son of Re: one united with Amun, Hatshepsut [...]" [...*Karnak*: 5 blocks missing...] ^{H20} [...] (# 286; 280 = DB 43-47) ²⁰ [respect] of you through [...]

*Amun's Speech: the Divine Demands*²¹

"[...] ²² (# 285) your Majesty advances it. Then you will exist for me in order to create the offices, to fill the storehouse, to provision the offering tables, to guide the priests to their duties, to make the laws effective, to establish the regulations, to increase the offering tables, to increase the portions, to exceed that which was beforehand, to make wide the places of my treasury which contain and hold the riches of the two banks, to make works without neglecting sandstone and granite, ^{H21} to complete my temple, to renew for it statues in fine, white, new limestone, to improve the future with Your works, to exceed for me the kings of Lower Egypt according to the wish of my Majesty in making that which I have previously commanded to be made for me. Will I indeed ruin your laws?²³ Will I indeed cause the destroying of the writings for the future? Will I indeed disturb the regulations which you have ordered? Will I indeed cause that you might be far from my seat? Equip monuments in the temples! Establish the god according to his regulations, every one therein being precise regarding his possessions! Improve his primeval condition (which comes) from him, for it is for the joy of the god that his laws are advanced, and as for the one who mutilates him, my heart is excited²⁴ in its thought. ^{H22} (# 24) Improve the mansions of the gods more than that equivalent of those who had been before (i.e. the ancestors).²⁵ I say, however: I will open this land.²⁶ I will place in your sight control before me while the king, he is a dam of rock and will be opposed to the flooding, collecting the water which he pulls to the river-mouth entirely. The One who protects²⁷ the fathers [...]

On the Northern Façade

*Speech by a group of deities – Appointment of the Queen at the Station of the Lord – Offerings to Amun*²⁸

H22 [...] (DB 52-58) the Majesty of this god. They say: "We recite (to) you: How great is your name on the heart! How beautiful is the king [...]! [...] those who are in your disk. We will illuminate for her that which will happen²⁹ [...] H23 We will cause that her plans seize the two banks. We will place her power [...] She will seize your (Amun's)³⁰ heritage. She will rule under your power as [...] Ruler of the two banks, truly. Protector [...] [...] (# 109) with one accord. Then they were upon their bellies, kissing the earth exceedingly.

After this, there was a proceeding to his temple, he (Amun) having placed this king before him, his Ennead in his following. H24 Those who were in the sky were very joyful, the land to its limit was rejoicing, and reciting praise at his approach. The living *Ba* of the majesty of Re,³¹ his banner (to carry his Horus-name) was placed as the chief of this land which he has created in order to bind all that exists, and in order to embellish the two lands under his direction,³² that the Two Lands may be inundated with the fine gold of its rays (# 72) when it (the *Ba*) rises like the sun-disk. Then he appointed Her Majesty at the *Station of the Lord* of the king, multiplying wonders for her H25 and placing fear of her³³ at the front.

After this, this god proceeded to sit upon his seat of fine gold, the Ennead of the temple of Karnak rejoicing at the approach of Her Majesty. Then one offered incense and presented offerings to Amun in the temple of Karnak, to the Ennead who is in his following, to the gods and goddesses who are in his domain. Praises were invoked in the great name of the lord of his [domain...]

*The Queen's Speech: Oath – Claims to Veracity and Uniqueness*³⁴

[³⁵...] H26 (# 161) As one whom I love, (my) father Amun, lord of the thrones of the two lands, lives for me,³⁶ my nose is rejuvenated with life and happiness. The laws which I have decreed for the future are excellent. I seize the strength which he has given to me. My kingship is great through the two banks; I wear the White Crown, I am united with the Red Crown, my father indeed unites with (my) perfection. My monuments in Karnak are prosperous, my life is stable upon the *Support of Horus*. It is my father, the lord of the gods, who establishes his daughter as chief. He introduced me to the ruler(ship) of the two banks and appointed me to the lord(ship) of the *rekhyt* in the presence of the land to its limit. He has advanced me to (the office of) one who is in the palace in (# 19) the presence of the entire Ennead, and caused me to rise with his

own two arms. I was brought up as a strong-armed Horus, ^{H27} and he caused my sitting upon the *Support of Horus* in the presence of the royal nobles in their entirety. But I declare that I will illuminate the future, (otherwise) I will be neglected³⁷ without my uniting with his power. It is greater than the concealing of this happening, without a boasting with falsehood being therein. One has not heard (it) indeed since the (ancient) time of this land since the time of the rising out of Nun, the like not having been done for (# 63) the kings of Upper and Lower Egypt since the beginning under the first generation,³⁸ one not having heard words as gentle since the time of men and gods. Never has (it) happened since the time of men. Never has (it) been heard since the time of the god(s). There is nothing in the records of those who were in the former times (the ancestors) and indeed there is nothing in the utterance.³⁹ ^{H28} [...] apart from me (in my case), who is beloved of (my) creator; that he acted for me was in the nest of Chemmis.⁴⁰ Guard against saying: "there is not (there) that which exists." I witness in [...] the one who crosses the sky is one who cares for the inhabitants of the land. One who judges like one who does not incline to one side is one who installs Maat and that about which I rejoice. She (Maat) is the front of his barque. I know his (Amun's) deeds, I am wise in his power, my heart is pleased in accordance with his justice. All this which has come into being (here) is true, ^{H29} without a word of misstatement [...]

*The Queen's Speech: Recollection of Different oracular processions*⁴¹

[...performed a wonder] ^{H25} (# 287) magnificently in the presence of this good god (the king) and foretold to me the kingship of the two lands, the north and the south being under the fear of me, and gave to me every foreign land and illuminated the victories of my Majesty.⁴² Regnal Year 2, 2nd month of the harvest, day 29, 3rd occasion of the festival of Amun corresponding to these offerings of Sekhmet at the time of the 2nd day, was the foretelling to me of the Two Lands in the hall of the temple of Luxor, ^{H26} while His Majesty performed a wonder in the presence of this good god,⁴³ when my father, Amun, chief of the gods, appeared in his beautiful festival. Then he turned my Majesty to the *Station of the effective king*,⁴⁴ he having multiplied wonders for me in the presence of the land to its limit [...]

*The Queen's Speech: the divine sanction of her office*⁴⁵

^{H29} (# 21) therein. I was provided with favours while respect of me inundated the two lands. He supplied to me the heritage of Geb and the excellent office of Khepri, and gave to me life and dominion. I was satisfied in the company of the Ennead and I made things for the gods. I took their hands and (hence) success, they rejoicing about it at my approach. They organise the rites of jubilation for my majesty, and they speak, reciting praises, to attract attention⁴⁶

to their creation: "Welcome! Welcome!" with the *nyny* greeting, the enduring king [...] (*DB 73-80*)⁴⁷ of the appearing of my father [...] indeed, my affairs in [...] in joy, in my departing [...] the great ones of all the foreign lands, the two banks [...] for you [...] the mistress of the sky, the mistress of the Great House, the chief of the top [...]

*The Queen's Speech: Account of the Benefits of a Goddess*⁴⁸

H30 [...] (#54) an appearance. Then she took my majesty, my sitting being caused upon the *Support of the Double Crown of Horus*. Then the mistress of the two lands⁴⁹ performed wonders magnificently to her⁵⁰, repeatedly and importantly regarding my majesty, while I was on the Great Seat, perpetuating my years as the *Flourishing of Years*⁵¹ and carving my records with (my) Heb-Sed. Then this goddess proceeded to her horizon of fine gold, she having assigned to me the taking of the crown, the two banks of Horus being under my supervision, she having given to me that which surrounds the Great Black, and those who are within (this area)⁵² being under my terror, I having seized it like the power in his youth. Her flames are against my enemies. I was inundated towards her like [...] I having [...] for the power of my majesty[...] I having grasped my uraeus [...*Karnak: 60 lines missing*...]

*The Queen's Speech: Her Dominion*⁵³

H32 (#147) [...] that which this, his disk, encompasses. I have collected those who were ignorant of Egypt and those whom a royal messenger had not reached. I have descended from the sky, I being experienced in his⁵⁴ (Amun's) power, and I became acquainted with matters and that which he appointed to me.⁵⁵ I have seized this land with bowed head. I rose (to power) as an infant.⁵⁶ My power, it causes the top of the land (i.e. the south) to tremble, the north of the land to be under my treadings. There has been no decrease since the time of the ancestors and the like of these creations has not previously been. I am a king because of the command of my father, from whom I came forth, I having seen the forms of *H31* (#194)⁵⁷ the falcon on the top of the *serekh*. I have seized his heritage upon his throne and he illuminated that which I made since the beginning. I have recovered my senses as an excellent king and seized that which he has assigned to me; all the flat lands being embraced in my grasp: the Nine Bows without losing any therein. My power reaches to the limit of the two lands. I have seized the power of mischief,⁵⁸ *H32* my power having spread through the valleys, and I have caused the hearts of the *rekhyt* to be friendly, have commanded contentment in the midst of the nomes: all of the cities are in peace. I have adhered to the plans which were created for me, my crews *H31* (#37)⁵⁹ [...] their [...], I blowing⁶⁰ for eternity, there being none who oppose me in the two portions, I having made the two streets and the two

ways of the sky and earth (which are) under me.⁶¹ The northern enemy lands, their gods (themselves) are surely⁶² my protection, their arms carrying life and dominion. I have risen upon it in joy, and I was contented upon it without enmity of me. I have joined myself with life and dominion. I having been entrusted the crown of upper Egypt and the crown of lower Egypt: the (double) crown, it was established on my head. I depended on Weret-Hekau, and I have remained upon the throne as the king of the two lands [...]

The Queen's Speech: Her Characteristics

H32 (# 146)⁶³ [...] that which is created. I am a king who causes the laws to be established, who judges matters, H33 who punishes one who forgets his actions. I am a wild bull with pointy⁶⁴ horns, who comes from the sky, having seen its nature. I am a falcon who flies over the lands, who is attached to the land, who fixes its borders. I am a jackal who lays down steps,⁶⁵ who walks around the land in the space⁶⁶ of an instant. I am glorious of heart, who glorifies his father, who adheres to the matters for his justification.⁶⁷ I am (the) One, who rests with Maat, who enriches it, who depends on its affairs. I am the brilliant eye, who is upon (the front of) his father, who encircles his (father's) head with victories. I am a (furious) crocodile,⁶⁸ who seizes with strength; indeed (whose) seizing is that from whom one cannot be saved. I am a (formidable) crocodile, who plunders possessions, who travels down the river upon which one cannot travel. I am truly a (hidden) crocodile, a (concealed) crocodile, who searches⁶⁹ for the shade which is hidden⁷⁰ in the location of refuge. I am the sun-disk, who creates forms, who binds the land, who advances its success. I am one who judges that which he has brought forth therein and knew what he loved to create, I creating for him labours according to the prescription, so that⁷¹ their limits may be for eternity, lacking [...]"

¹ P. Lacau / H. Chevrier, *Une Chapelle d'Hatshepsout à Karnak*, vol. I, (Paris, 1977), 92–153.

² Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 96, fig. 15.

³ W. Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte der 2. Zwischenzeit und neue Texte der 18. Dynastie, Nachträge*, (Wiesbaden, 1995), 7–33.

⁴ See F. Larché, "L'anastylose de la Chapelle Rouge" in: *Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie* 145 (1999), 5–18; and F. Larché, "The Red Chapel Restoration completed" in: *KMT* 10/4 (1999–2000), 56–71.

⁵ Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 97–104.

⁶ Literally: "empty-headed".

- 7 This cannot be translated as "Her Majesty" and hence be an indication of the moment of coronation, since at the same time she dons the "insignia of the wife of the god", which are later given up before coronation (blocks #44 and #143: Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 16–17). Lacau sees here an allusion to the priestly function of "divine wife" (Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 104, note z).
- 8 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 105–114.
- 9 The speech of Amun begins in the lacuna. These fragments from Deir el Bahari do not correspond to the badly preserved blocks #286 and #280 as suggested by both Lacau and Helck. For these lines, see W. Murnane, "Unpublished Fragments of Hatshepsut's Historical Inscription from Her Sanctuary at Karnak", in: *Serapis* 6 (1980), ##.
- 10 Restoration by Lacau (Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 109).
- 11 Suggested by Lacau (Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 109): he chooses a word to fit the context, given the variability of meaning for the word *šsp*. Hannig suggests "er beginnt die Länder der Unzufriedenen zu zerkochen" (*Großes Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, 717).
- 12 Here begins the *do ut des* motif of the speech. Amun promises to establish Hatshepsut's royal power and demands reciprocation. See H. Goedicke, "The Berlin Leather Roll (pBerlin 3029)" in: ### *Festschrift zum 150jährigen Bestehen des Berliner ägyptischen Museums* (Berlin, 1974), 91, note k.
- 13 Literally: "their hearts did not exist".
- 14 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 114–119.
- 15 The speech of the Uraeus-goddess begins in the lacuna.
- 16 Lacau (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 117) translates this line and those following in the present tense, whereas they are most probably in the future tense. Note especially the form of *iri* in Helck, *Historisch-biographische Texte*, 16, line 12. For a parallel see the Poetical stela of Thutmosis III; there also, we find the double *yod* ending to the verbs in Urk. IV, 612, ll. 10, 13.
- 17 The meaning of *wpi* here must be akin to that of the here paralleled verb *spi* "to count".
- 18 The end of the speech of the goddess.
- 19 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 119–123.
- 20 The dovetail construction notches indicate unequivocally the position of these badly preserved blocks # 286 and # 280 (see F. Larché, "L'anastylage de la Chapelle Rouge" in: *Revue Egypte* 17 [2000] 5–18); hence they do not correspond to **columns** 12-16 of the text at Deir el Bahari as suggested by both Lacau and Helck.
- 21 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 124–129.
- 22 Amun's speech begins in the last preserved section and presumably continues in the lacuna of about 28 **lines**. The preserved part of the speech comprising this section is the second part of another *do ut des* pattern. In the lacuna,

- Amun has undoubtedly promised to the queen the benefits of a successful and lengthy kingship and he now makes his demands.
- 23 A short series of rhetorical questions begins here.
- 24 Literally: "sharpened".
- 25 And not Lacau's rather creative: "Améliore les temples des dieux par rapport à ce que les ancêtres avaient instauré!" (Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, p. 127).
- 26 Here again, Lacau translates into the present tense where perhaps a future suits better (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 127).
- 27 The *-t* ending perhaps denotes the queen, despite the general nature of the statements.
- 28 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 130–133.
- 29 Here again, Lacau translates the present tense where perhaps a future suits better (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 130).
- 30 Since the speech seems to be addressed to him.
- 31 As Lacau suggests that this is probably a designation of the king, as opposed to Atum or Re himself (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 132 note g).
- 32 Suggested by Lacau (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 131); literally: "after him".
- 33 Literally: "her fear".
- 34 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 136–140.
- 35 The speech of Hatshepsut begins in the lacuna.
- 36 See the discussion in Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 138–139, notes a and b, citing A.H. Gardiner, *Egyptian Grammar: being an introduction to the study of hieroglyphs* (Oxford, 1927), §218: Virtual clauses of asseveration.
- 37 A meaning given to the analogous expression *rdi r t3* by R.O. Faulkner, *A Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian* (Oxford, 2002), 155. Similar meanings are given by Hannig (*Handwörterbuch Ägyptisch – Deutsch*, 483). This interpretation is in harmony with Lacau's suggestion that this line is a statement describing "les peines auxquelles elle se condamne en cas de mensonge" (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 140). It also accords with their wider interpretation of the passage, which sees the queen asserting the truth and gravity of her statements.
- 38 For *ḥ3.ty-^c.w ḥr ḥ.t tp.t* see Faulkner, *Dictionary*, 162.
- 39 The oral tradition, complementing and contrasting with the written tradition.
- 40 A difficult line. Lacau translated: "si ce n'est en ce qui me concerne, (moi qui suis) aimée de mon créateur, car il a agi pour moi dès le nid de Chemmis" (Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 138).
- 41 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 133–135.
- 42 Here begins Hatshepsut's recount of a previous oracle given at Luxor temple.
- 43 Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 135, note k and l: *ḥm=f* refers to Amun, while *ntr pn nfr* refers to another king, not Hatshepsut. Allusion is made here to a different occasion in which an oracle was given at Luxor temple. Perhaps this occasion was in year 2 of a different king, i.e. the date given does not refer to

- the reign of Hatshepsut but to that of one of the Tuthmoside kings (perhaps Tuthmosis I, despite his proven absence from Luxor at this time). See J. Yoyotte, "La date supposée du couronnement d'Hatshepsout" in: *Kêmi* 18 (1968), 85–91.
- 44 Lacau: "il saisit Ma Majesté dans la suite (?) du roi bienfaisant" (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 134) with the meaning that Amun causes the queen to enter in the official procession.
- 45 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 145–46.
- 46 See Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 146, note i: one of the meanings of the expression *rdi m hr*; see Hannig, *Handwörterbuch*, 484.
- 47 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 141.
- 48 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 141–43.
- 49 An epithet of many goddesses, but here not referring to the queen.
- 50 Here, the queen speaks of herself in the third person.
- 51 As in the titulary of Hatshepsut.
- 52 Literally: "those whom it (this area) encompasses".
- 53 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 147–48.
- 54 Presumably the power of Amun, but not the power of the sky (Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 147), as the masculine suffix does not match the gender of its antecedent *p.t*.
- 55 Ambiguity is present here with the translation of a feminine perfective relative form (*rdi.tn=f*) and the variable meaning of *rdi m hr*.
- 56 Literally: "It was high to me as an infant" – the adjective as **impersonal predicated** with following dative (see Gardiner, *Grammar*, §141, following Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 148, note h).
- 57 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 143–45.
- 58 *šd-hrw* – one of the names of Seth – Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 145, note f, where reference is made to A. Erman / H. Grapow (eds.), *Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache*, IV (Berlin, 1971), 566. 7.
- 59 The upper right corner of the text-bearing side of the block is broken. Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 148–49.
- 60 If this is the Old Perfective in a subordinate clause, then it cannot be a transitive usage of the verb. Lacau's "Je suis rajeunie par là, éternellement" (Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 149) makes more sense, although I was unable **to ascertain** this meaning of the word.
- 61 i.e. "in my jurisdiction / control".
- 62 In agreement with Otto (cited by Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 149, notes c and d) who takes *ms* to be an enclitic particle expressing surprise (see Gardiner, *Grammar*, §251).
- 63 Corresponds with Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 149–53.
- 64 Literally: "effective".

- ⁶⁵ Apparently an expression indicating haste. For synonymous expressions see Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 152, note h.
- ⁶⁶ Literally: "fashion".
- ⁶⁷ Nominalised *sdm.n=f*.
- ⁶⁸ Here, the king is likened to four crocodiles, and each must be understood as embodying a certain characteristic that the king shares. In the description of the characteristic of each crocodile, I have followed the suggestions of Lacau, *Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 151.
- ⁶⁹ Suggested by Lacau (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, ## note r), who also notes that the group is damaged.
- ⁷⁰ Although the determinative is not regular.
- ⁷¹ Suggested by Lacau (*Chapelle d'Hatshepsout*, 153, note x), who takes *m-wr.t* as a previously unknown preposition.