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JOHN ALBERT WILSON

AND
THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN

Editors

THE EXCAVATION OF MEDINET HABU-VOLUME II

THE TEMPLES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

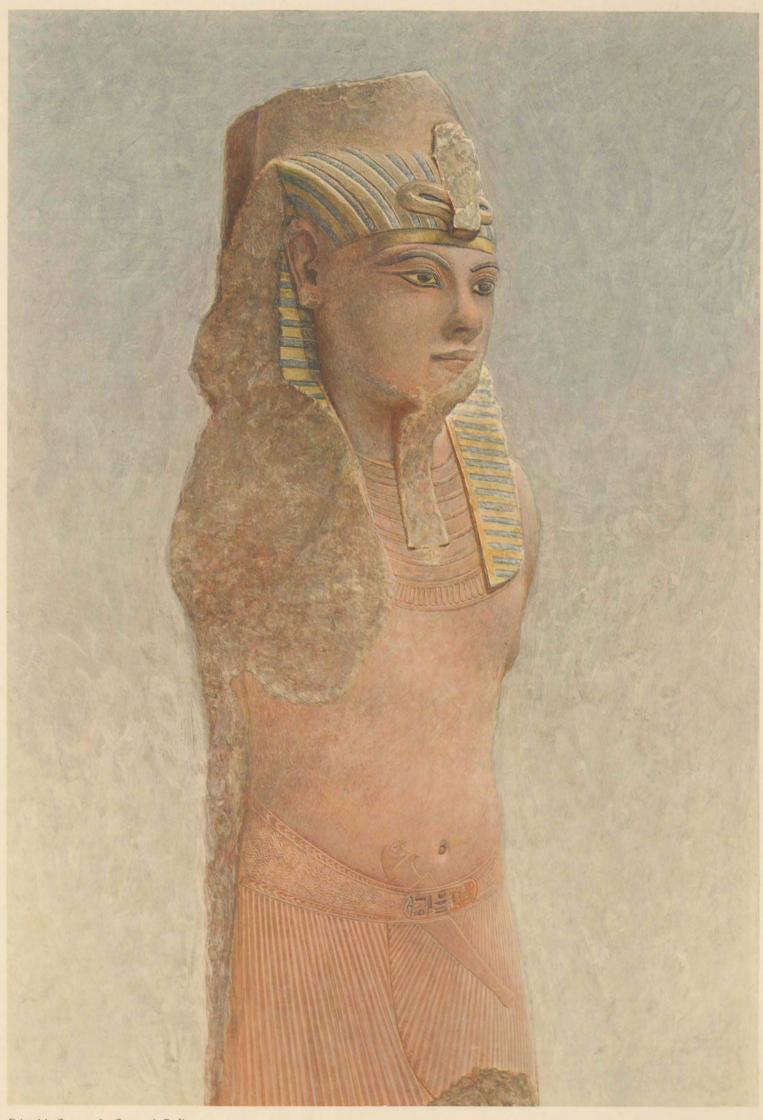
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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS VOLUME XLI

THE EXCAVATION OF MEDINET HABU-VOLUME II

THE TEMPLES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

BY UVO HÖLSCHER

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY RUDOLF ANTHES
TRANSLATED BY MRS. KEITH C. SEELE



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FOREWORD

The real task of our Medinet Habu excavation was to familiarize ourselves as completely as possible with the fortified area around the mortuary temple of Ramses III. Medinet Habu, the "Town of Habu," is the Arabic designation for a late Egyptian settlement which grew up within and in front of the fortified temple area and flourished until medieval times. In conducting a scientific excavation we could, of course, not clear away the ruins of this town and other more recent building remains, witnesses to the cultural history of later Egypt, without having thoroughly explored them. They are discussed in our Volume V. But it was likewise necessary to investigate the earlier strata, which show us what existed at this desert site before the time of Ramses III. For not only the physical aspects of the locality but likewise the works of man which the architect at the beginning of his labors finds upon the site—structures which he either removes or partially reuses or even fits into his new creation—are fundamental elements in the planning of a building. We have, then, explored as far as possible down to virgin soil the tract of Medinet Habu turned over to us by the Egyptian Service des Antiquités. As a result we can reconstruct practically without a break the architectural and cultural history of this spot from its first human occupation on into the Middle Ages, when it was abandoned by its inhabitants.

The present volume deals with the structures which preceded the Ramessid period. These comprise, aside from modest village settlements, two temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, namely the so-called "Small Temple" of Medinet Habu and the mortuary temple of Eye and Harmhab. The beginnings of architectural activity seem to extend back into the Middle Kingdom. Of still earlier cultures in the Medinet Habu area no traces have been found.

During the excavations or immediately thereafter we published preliminary reports in "Oriental Institute Communications," Nos. 5, 7, 10, 15, and 18, and also in "Morgenland," Heft 24 (Leipzig, 1933). It is self-understood that details there are corrected in the present final publication.

Uvo Hölscher

Hannover Summer of 1935

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- JEA Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914---).
- LD Lepsius, Richard. Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Berlin, 1849–1913).
- OIP Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924——).
- ZAS Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, 1863----)

I

THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

INTRODUCTION

The scientific results of an excavation are composed, in the first place, of countless individual observations and, in the second place, of examination and arrangement of the new facts as they are integrated into the picture of things already known. Thus we have divided our text into two parts: the "Architectural Investigation" and the "Summary of Results." In many cases it will suffice to consult the summary for purposes of quick reference and information, while the first part is designed for those who may wish to study the investigation in greater detail and to test the conclusions. The most important architectural results may be read from the general plans and views in Volume I.¹ The "Architectural Investigation" therefore deals only with those specific facts which cannot be easily understood directly from the drawings and photographs alone.

The Small Temple of Medinet Habu, within the district of Jēme, is a conglomeration of structures dating from the most diverse periods. The Eighteenth Dynasty temple (Pl. 4) forms the nucleus. In the course of time it was repeatedly enlarged, until finally in the Roman period it occupied an area many times that of the original (Folio Pls. 3–6). Of all these buildings, only the rooms of the temple itself remain, because they were constructed of sandstone, while all related walls of the more perishable mud brick have disappeared at least to the ground level and in part even to the foundations, largely as a result of the déblaiement which was carried out in 1890–97.² We shall begin our discussion with the temple buildings proper and conclude with a consideration of the mudbrick inclosure walls.

The Eighteenth Dynasty temple is still comparatively well preserved in spite of all the alterations which it has undergone—certainly better preserved than any other Egyptian temple of its particular character. Its present condition may be observed in Folio Plates 16–17. Its two divisions comprise a rear (west³) part, which contains six cult chambers, and a fore (east) part which consists of a pillared hall open on three sides (peripteros), with a built-in shrine in the center (room of the sacred bark).

This temple, however, is not actually as simple and uniform in plan as it at first appears (cf. Pl. 4 and Fig. 45). It has had a far more complicated development and architectural history than one would at first suspect. The puzzles and problems raised by closer observation of the temple are of manifold nature and in part can only be solved by examining the foundations. For this reason we excavated the ground not only around the temple but also as far as possible even inside the building down to virgin soil. The results of this investigation, reproduced on Plate 2, reveal that two earlier buildings lay beneath the peripteros of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, which was begun by Hatshepsut and completed with alterations by Thutmose III.

- The plates of Vol. I are regularly referred to as "Folio Plates."
- ² Pl. 9 and Fig. 32 indicate the height of later buildings and debris still present in the second half of the nineteenth century.
- 3 Nominal "west," based on the Nile's direction; cf. Folio Pl. 3. The nominal directions are used throughout this volume.

ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION

EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS BENEATH THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL"

Half under the pillared hall and half to the east in front of it lay a small structure which covers an area approximately 7.20×8 m. (cf. Fig. 16). The lowest course of sandstone blocks rests about 1.80 m. beneath the temple pavement on a layer of sand about 20 cm. in depth. These foundation blocks, about 75–90 cm. in height, were crudely set together without carefully fitted joints and upon their upper surface, 91–105 cm. under the pavement, had been traced the outside alignment of the walls which formerly rested upon them.

The blocks of the second course have disappeared except on the west side, where the entire course remains intact from the southwest to the northwest corner (Pl. 2Da-b). They were set with snug joints. Their outer faces showed a slight batter (8 cm. per meter) and had been smoothed and coated with a white lime wash (Pl. 2B). No torus moldings were present at the corners.

Two stones of the third course, which lay above the pavement level of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, still remain in situ, on the right and left respectively of the doorway of the shrine (MK in Pl. 2 B). The original outer (west) face of the third course is now concealed by the later masonry of the Eighteenth Dynasty shrine. Part of the outer (east) face of the shrine, including the corner torus moldings, was hewn from the rear of the earlier wall mass.

The front (east) half of this old structure, which extended beyond the line of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple masonry, has unfortunately disappeared completely. We are only able to judge the approximate size of the building from the bedding sand upon which the lowest course was laid. From this it appears that its length was somewhat greater than its breadth, with dimensions, as mentioned above, of about 8×7.20 m. We must therefore content ourselves with a study of the west part of the building, where it is possible to discover more facts from the remains.

Inside the "earliest chapel" (see Fig. 5) were two dividing walls which ran from east to west. Only the lowest foundation course of each is preserved. On these, however, one may still see lines which mark the position of

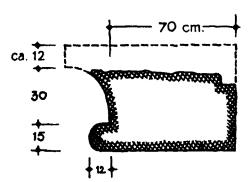


FIG. 1. FRAGMENT OF SANDSTONE CA-VETTO CORNICE FOUND IN THE PAVEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE. CROSS-SECTION

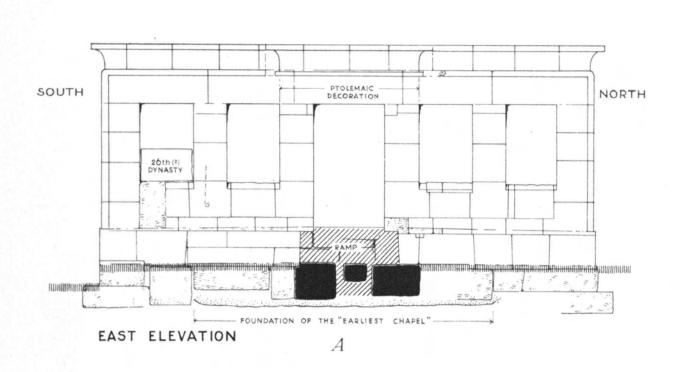
the walls that stood upon them. From the character of the stonelaying we see that the second course with its smoothly faced outward-sloping blocks lay beneath the floor level of the building, forming a kind of socle. The material itself is a hard reddish-gray sandstone, quite distinct from the softer yellowish-gray type employed by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III. It resembles the sandstone used by the Mentuhoteps in their buildings at Deir el-Bahri, except that it is not quite as dark in color.

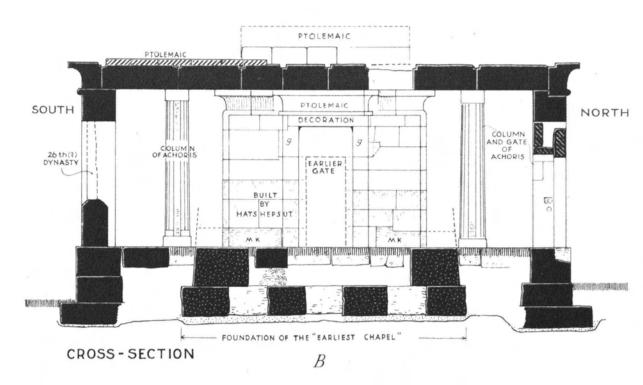
It has not been possible to point out with absolute certainty other portions of this building. Possibly, however, a fragment of cavetto cornice (Fig. 1) built into the floor of the pillared hall of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (Pl. 2 D c) belonged to this structure. It is made of the same kind of sandstone as the "earliest chapel" and is carefully faced

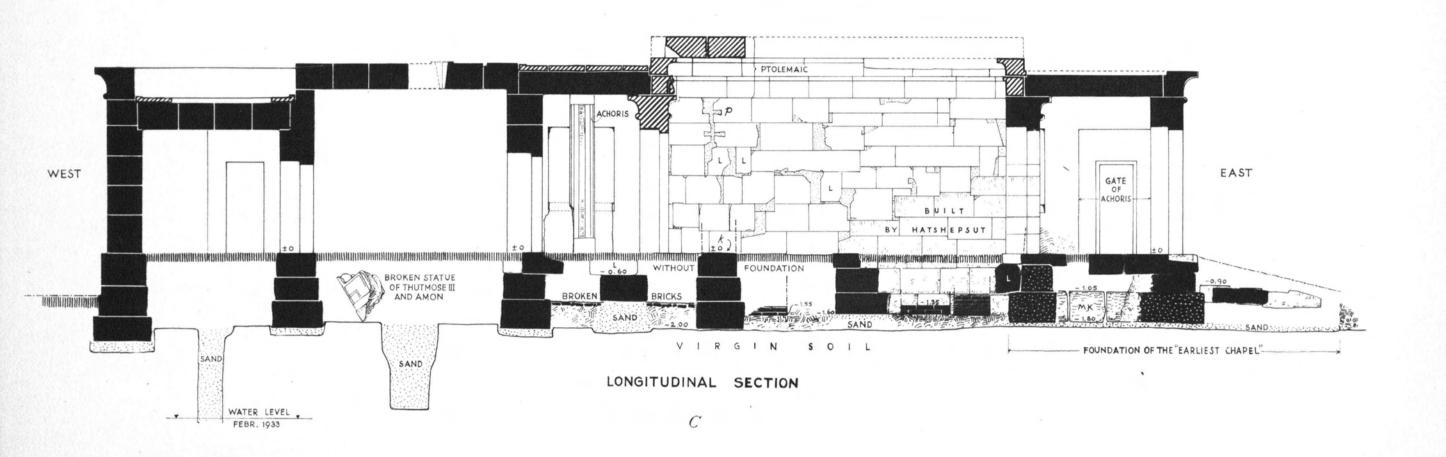
but bears neither carved nor painted decoration.

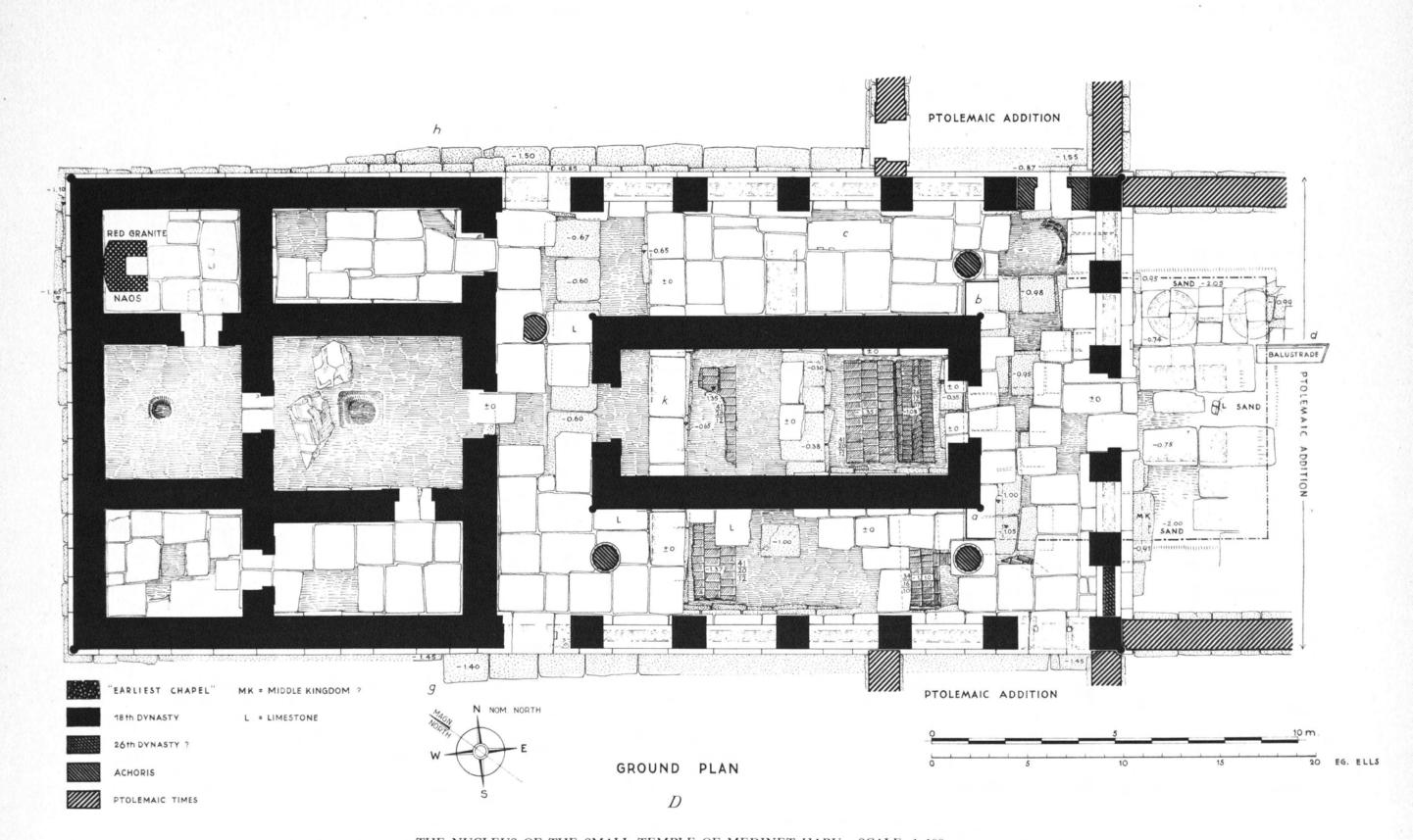
It is naturally somewhat venturesome to offer a restoration of such a structure, and we should make no such attempt were there not preserved from the Eleventh Dynasty a chapel which at least urges a comparison. This is the chapel of Scankhkarec Mentuhotep V (Fig. 2 B) on the summit of the hill above Qurnah, discovered by Schweinfurth and called by him a temple of Thoth because of limestone fragments of figures of the Thoth ape

PLATE 2









THE NUCLEUS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU. SCALE, 1:100

The Sections Do Not Give All Details along a Definite Section Line but Are to Some Extent Composite Sections (versetzte Schnitte)

Intended To Give the Essentials in the Clearest Possible Fashion. Hence Nonessentials Have Been Omitted

EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS BENEATH THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

which he found in its ruins. Later, Petrie excavated the temple, found "a seated figure in Osiride dress as worn at the Sed festival," and therefore declared the chapel to be a "Sed feast chapel."

Leaving open the question of the purpose of this chapel of Mentuhotep V, we shall confine our attention to its building plan. The chapel lies in the center of a court which is bounded in front by a brick pylon and on the other sides by brick walls crowned by rounded stone crenellations.³ The chapel itself is square and is built likewise of mud bricks, which are $30 \times 15 \times 9$ cm. in size. The outside walls are sharply sloped. Inside at the rear are three small chambers. A small limestone shrine, fragments of which were discovered, once stood somewhere inside.

Our "earliest chapel" at Medinet Habu (Fig. 2 A) corresponds, so far as it is preserved, to this chapel on the hilltop, with the single difference that it was executed in stone and must therefore have possessed appropriately thinner walls. A fragment of the rear (west) wall of our court is preserved. It is 1 meter in thickness and was composed of dark mud bricks of greatly varying sizes (26-34 cm. long). This wall was bedded on sand 1.60 m. below the pavement of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple and is still preserved to a height of approximately 60 cm.

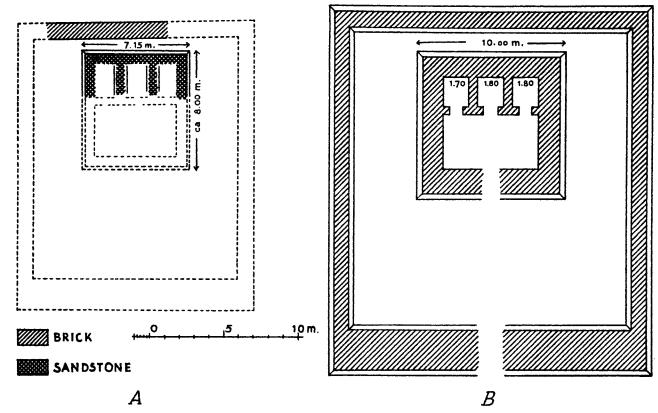


Fig. 2. A. The "Earliest Chapel" of Old Jeme. B. The Sanctuary of S'ankhkare Mentuhotep V on the Summit of the Hill above Qurnah in Western Thebes

In regard to its date, it is possible to say with certainty only that the "earliest chapel" of Medinet Habu is older than Hatshepsut's time. The probability that it may be attributed to the Middle Kingdom is based upon the resemblance of the building stone and whitewash to those in the Eleventh Dynasty buildings at Deir el-Bahri and upon its similarity in ground plan to the chapel of Scankhkarec.

THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS"

Fragments of a white limestone structure were discovered built into the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. These reused blocks and slabs are for the most part undecorated. Only one of them, which is now in the south wall of the shrine, still bears its ancient relief; it owes its preservation solely to its position inside the later wall (Pls. 21 B 2 and 19 A 2), where it was concealed by a thinner slab (about 15 cm. thick) that later fell away.

- ² Georg Schweinfurth, "Ein neuentdeckter Tempel in Theben," ZAS XLI (1904) 22-25.
- ² W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh* (London, 1909) Pl. VI and pp. 4-6.

³ It should be noticed incidentally that this is the earliest known pylon and that, so far as I know, we have here the only example of a brick wall with stone crenellations. These consisted of sandstone slabs 14–20 cm. in thickness and parabolic in shape (about 80×50 cm.) which were smoothly worked on the front only. Several are lying about the ruined brick inclosure.

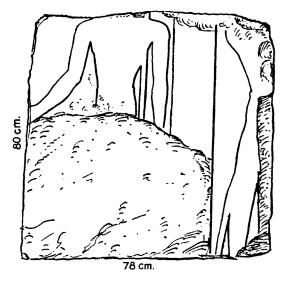


FIG. 3. LIMESTONE BLOCK WITH UNFINISHED RELIEF, TAKEN FROM THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS" AND REUSED IN THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SHRINE OF THUTMOSE III (CF. Pl. 21 B 2)

On the left side of this relief (Fig. 3) stands the god Amon(?), facing left. Behind him is a vertical band which contained the sketched outline of an inscription now illegible. On the right stands the king, facing right. The relief is only cut in outline and otherwise remains unfinished. One can still distinguish the proportion squares (a network of red lines 5.2 cm. apart which were employed as a guide for the ancient draftsman) as well as the preliminary sketch of the figures themselves.

Since four pieces of a rounded parapet wall and two fragments of a corner torus molding (Fig. 4) resemble in form and measurements corresponding parts in the later peripteral structures which are discussed below, we feel justified in the conclusion that the destroyed limestone building also was a peripteral temple. However, as the unfinished relief indicates, this earliest peripteral temple was

never completed. It was torn down when Hatshepsut began the construction of her temple, for portions of the afore-mentioned parapet wall served as foundation stones beneath the east wall of Hatshepsut's shrine (cf. Pl. 2 C, where one of the parapet stones is designated by a white L).

The "earliest peripteros" has therefore suffered the same fate as the "earliest chapel." Although in this case likewise an exact date has not been determined, it may be assumed that the peripteros belonged to the period immediately preceding Hatshepsut.

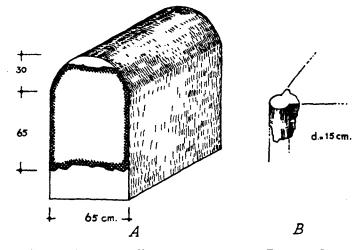


FIG. 4. LIMESTONE FRAGMENTS FROM THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS." A. PARAPET. B. CORNER TORUS MOLDING

BRICK WALLS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF HATSHEPSUT

The thickest of the brick walls to be discussed in this section is situated directly behind the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (Fig. 5). It runs almost, but not strictly, parallel to the west line of the temple. Of this brick wall, 2.70 m. thick, remains are preserved for 57 meters, principally toward the north end (Folio Pls. 3-4). Its interior consists of relatively small unstamped bricks ($33 \times 16 \times 9$ cm.), while larger bricks (about $40 \times 19 \times 11$ cm.) bearing the stamp of Kamacrec (Fig. 6 a) were employed on the exterior surfaces. Toward the west the wall has a foundation 60 cm. deeper than on the east (cf. scheme shown in Fig. 61 b). In other words, the terrain was lower on the west than on the east side. That would indicate that the west side was the exterior of this inclosure wall and that the area inclosed by this earlier wall of Hatshepsut lay east of it.

Between this inclosure wall and the "earliest chapel" and running parallel to them are located two other, thinner walls (see Fig. 5), each of which is 1.30 m. thick and bedded on sand 1.60 m. below the floor level of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. They are constructed of the larger type of brick (40×19×11 cm.), one of which was stamped "Kama^cre^c." Remains of these walls were found only under the peripteros.

That these brick walls of Hatshepsut were demolished when she began the construction of the peripteros is

In the precinct of Eye we found a fragment of limestone, inscribed with , which apparently belonged to an architrave about 70 cm. wide. Judging from the style, we should assume that it belonged to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, with the strong possibility that the cartouche contained the name of Okheperkare Thutmose I. Thus it is reasonable to believe that this block may have belonged to the "earliest peripteros."

⁵ On the outside of the wall to the west (at G 4.00 11 9.00) were preserved remains of a finishing coat of white lime wash from which it may be concluded that the terrain outside was at -1.55 m., i.e., 1.55 m. beneath our datum line or 1.80 m. beneath the floor of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple.

EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS BENEATH THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

demonstrated by the fact that the longitudinal walls of the peripteros transect them. The inclosure wall was torn down at the same time and rebuilt 3 meters farther west in order to provide sufficient space between it and the new stone temple (cf. Folio Pls. 3-4).

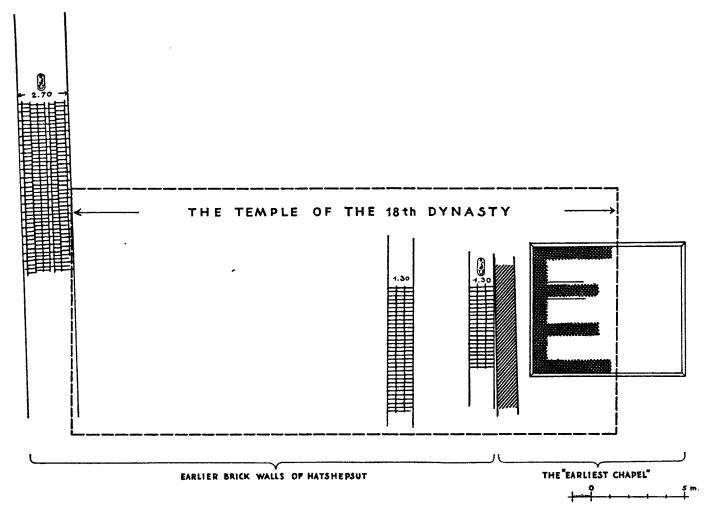


Fig. 5. Brick Walls of Hatshepsut behind the "Earliest Chapel"

We may briefly summarize our results as follows: In the first period of her reign Hatshepsut carried out certain building operations in brick behind the "earliest chapel" (and the "earliest peripteros," which presumably stood before it) and surrounded the entire district with a strong inclosure wall. In the second period she demolished the older buildings as well as her own brick structure and shifted the inclosure wall westward to make place for the erection of a stone temple, which now becomes the subject of our discussion.

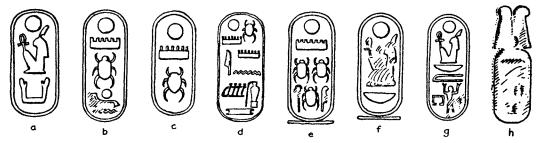


Fig. 6. Stamps on Mud Bricks Found in the Vicinity of the Small Temple

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

The Eighteenth Dynasty temple as now preserved consists of two parts (see Pl. 2). In the rear are six separate cult chambers, while at the front is the open pillared hall (peripteros) surrounding the shrine or the room of the sacred bark. It will be seen that each of these two parts belongs to a different period and has its own history.

THE REAR PORTION OF THE TEMPLE

THE EXTERIOR

The temple rests on a plain socle which at present protrudes about 60 cm. above the ground. The top of the socle lies at 25 cm. above the datum line (+0.25 m.). Originally, however, the terrain was considerably lower, on the north side to the extent of -0.65 m.; then it fell away toward the south 50 cm. more to a total of -1.15 m.

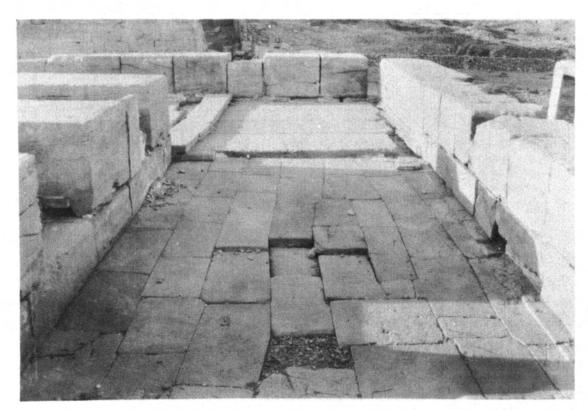


Fig. 7. The Flat Roof of the Small Temple. Northwest Corner

The walls are vertical with corner torus moldings and crowned with a cavetto cornice. Their outer surfaces were originally without ornament and uninscribed. It was not until the time of Ramses III that the outside of this graceful structure was covered with large and awkward representations depicting the usual scenes of the king before various divinities. Not a square foot of wall escaped decoration by the sculptor's chisel, and even the cornice was covered with the king's cartouches. On the rear wall alone the decoration was confined to the cornice and an inscription in large hieroglyphs immediately under it, for at the time of Ramses III a brick wall closely flanked the west wall of the temple (see Folio Pls. 3–4).

A little later (Twenty-first Dynasty) the high priest of Amon, Panedjem I, the son of Picankh, immortalized himself in a long inscription in small hieroglyphs immediately above the socle.6

The exterior walls extend above the roof, forming a practically level terrace, in the center of which room L (see Fig. 8) protrudes about a meter (Fig. 7), like the central aisle of a basilica. Clerestories, however, were not used for side windows to illuminate the room; instead, a single small window like an air hole in the middle of the ceiling served the purpose. All of the other rooms were totally dark.

Great stone slabs, about 60 cm. thick, constituted at once both ceiling and roof. Later, obviously in the ⁶ LD III 251 d-g and Text III 163 f.



THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

Ptolemaic period, a separate floor of thin paving stones, set in gypsum mortar, was laid with a carefully planned fall to provide for adequate drainage in connection with two waterspouts which conducted the water through the exterior walls (see p. 19). The remains of these Ptolemaic waterspouts are still visible on each side about 8 meters from the rear wall; on the exterior they cut through the inscriptions of Ramses III.

THE INTERIOR

The rear portion of the temple was planned at a single stroke, as it were. The six cult chambers (Fig. 8) are arranged in two rows of three rooms each. The central chamber (L^7) of the front row is at the same time the largest and the highest of all; as stated above, it was, moreover, the only one with direct lighting from the roof. From it four of the other chambers are accessible, two by a door in its west wall, two through one in the south wall. At one time (see pp. 13-14) there stood in this room (L) a great black granite sculpture depicting the

god Amon and Thutmose III seated side by side on a throne. This has led us to designate the chamber as the "room of the double statue."

The farther (P) of the two rooms which open off Chamber L on the west contains a large red granite naos of admittedly late origin (see p. 15); so we have named Room P the "naos room." The southern group of rooms (N) and (Q) corresponds to the western group (O) and (D). The king's worship of Amon in both his forms is the subject of the representations throughout.

Chamber M, north of the room of the double statue, differs from the others. It is isolated from the rest and possesses its own entrance from the east. Its reliefs depict the king being worshiped by Inmutef as a divine priest. This room we name therefore the "sanctuary of the King."

The front wall of the room of the double statue (L) and the sanctuary of the King (M) was plainly executed later than the others, as the manner in which the stones were laid indicates. In the case of Room L this is probably to be explained by the fact that it was desired to introduce

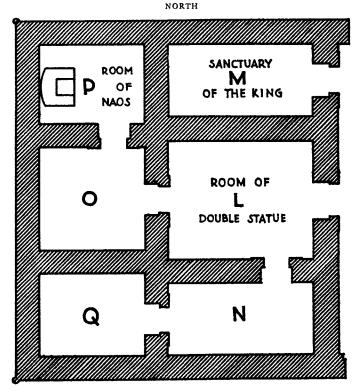


Fig. 8. Rear Rooms of the Small Temple

the gigantic double statue after the other walls were erected, for which an opening larger than the doorway was required. A similar reason may explain the later construction of the front wall to the King's sanctuary, although no remains of a king's statue were discovered. A large royal statue of the same material as that of the double statue (black granite) and of similar dimensions must, however, have stood somewhere in the temple—we suspect in this very room; for a king's head surmounted by the crown of Upper Egypt (Fig. 9)8 was found in the so-called "tank" south of the temple.

THE RELIEFS

Since a detailed study of the wall reliefs is not the task of the excavator, we shall dwell on them only in so far as they are of importance for the architectural history of the building.

The cult representations on the walls are so arranged in individual scenes that in each case the king, who performs the ritual, stands before the god. The shorter wall sections contain but one such scene, while the longer ones contain several scenes, one behind another. Strictly speaking, it is not the god himself who participates in the ritual, but rather the god's statue. In the present case statues of Amon in two different forms are involved. In one scene he appears as King of the Gods, in human form, standing or enthroned; in another, as Amon-Min or Kamutef ("Bull of His Mother"), he stands in mummified form, ithyphallic, with upraised

⁷ In order to avoid misunderstanding, Lepsius' designations L-2 for the rooms of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (LD I 92) are followed in the present publication.

⁸ Now in the Cairo Museum (J 59880).

arm. Each form is not confined to an individual room, but in all rooms alike Amon appears alternately in each of the two manifestations.

Apparently two main cult statues of Amon stood in the temple, one in Room O in the form of the enthroned King of the Gods, the other in Room $\mathcal Q$ in the form of the ithyphallic Amon-Kamutef. In each room the appropriate image of the god is represented in the reliefs on the rear wall, to the right and left of the middle column of inscription.

Chamber P evidently did not contain a cult statue, as the rear wall has no distinguishing decoration and no emphasis on its center but bears normal ritual scenes as shown on the other walls of the chamber. This fact seems to justify the assumption that this room was originally without a statue. The naos which at present stands here was brought in later (see p. 15) and therefore has no bearing on the question.

The sanctuary of the King (M) is of special significance. On both the side walls the seated statue of the King is pictured before an offering-table, in front of which the priests prepare the ritual meal while the god Inmutef stands with raised hand as he recites the offering formula. It is surprising to find on the rear wall of the room



Fig. 9. Head of a Royal Statue of Black Granite Found near the Small Temple

the enthroned Amon instead of the King. Here again the two symmetrical figures of the god are shown, but in this case the middle column of inscription is lacking; it may have been omitted because of lack of space in the narrow room. By analogy with Rooms O and \mathcal{Q} it could be assumed that a statue of Amon stood here. But the representations on the side walls actively militate against such a conclusion, as they definitely indicate that it was a royal statue which received the ritual offices. What can be the explanation? It is possible that there was in this room a double statue of Amon and the King, similar to that which we found in Room L; but it seems to me more probable that a royal statue was worshiped in this "house (or 'temple') of Amon." In this particular chapel, then, Amon, as the "Lord of the House," may have been present at the cult of the King, without himself directly participating in its benefits.

More important for us than the question as to the manner in which the Amon ritual was celebrated in the Small Temple is the problem as to which king performed the cult offices, for this would clarify its architectural history.

It is a well known fact that Hatshepsut appeared in many ritual scenes as king, that is, with masculine attributes, while Thutmose III originally appeared in other scenes. As soon as the persecution of Hatshepsut set in, her representations and names were regularly eliminated in various manners: either the spaces which became vacant by the erasure of the figures and names of Hatshepsut were covered with reliefs of offering-tables and similar objects, or the figure of Hatshepsut remained while her names were erased and then re-

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

placed by those of Thutmose I or Thutmose II and occasionally even by those of Thutmose III. These facts and the problems raised by them concerning the Thutmosid succession have already been the subject of study by many scholars, who, however, have not arrived at complete agreement on the question. I shall be satisfied to establish the facts offered in the reliefs of our temple, in which task I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Siegfried Schott, of the Epigraphic Survey.

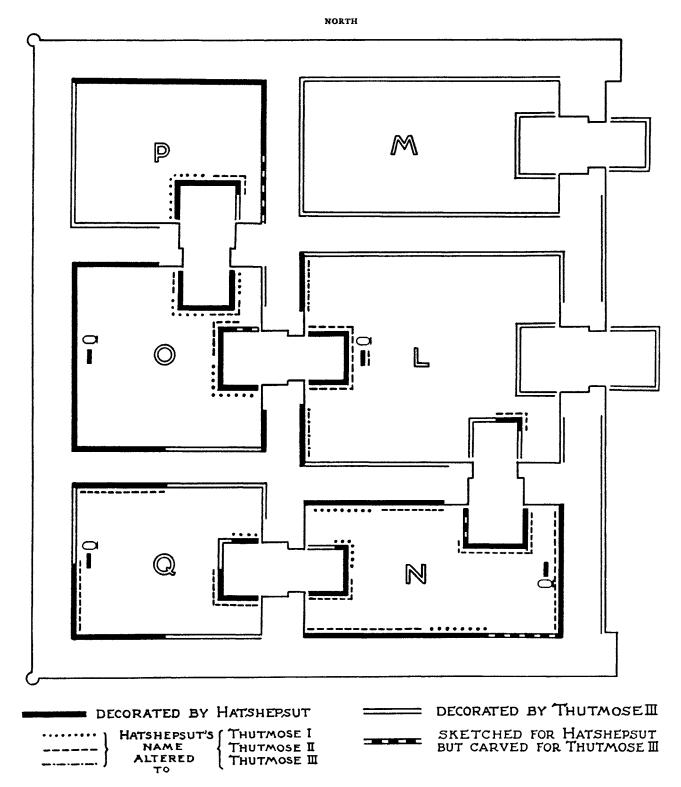


Fig. 10. Plan of the Rear Rooms of the Small Temple, Indicating the Origin of the Wall Reliefs

The decorated doorframes are shown laid down upon the floor plans of their respective rooms. The cartouches indicate the points at which cartouches are inserted in the wall frieze (cf. Fig. 11).

Figure 10 is a plan indicating the locations at which the various kings are represented. The heavy black band along the walls shows where Hatshepsut's names and figures originally stood. Wherever the latter were changed into the names or figures of one of the three Thutmosids, a dotted or broken line has been drawn

[•] Cf. e.g. Sethe, Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis' I., ihr Verlauf und ihre Bedeutung ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens" I [Leipzig, 1896] 1–58 and 73–125) and Das Hatschepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, philos.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen," 1932, Nr. 4); H. Winlock, "The Egyptian Expedition, 1925–27" (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin XXIII [1928] Feb., Sec. II, pp. 24–58); W. F. Edgerton, The Thutmosid Succession ("Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 8 [Chicago, 1933]).

THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

beside it. Where no such accompanying line has been added, Hatshepsut's names and figures have been replaced by an offering-table or the like. A fine double line, on the other hand, indicates original reliefs of Thutmose III still existing on the walls. Finally, in a very few places, a heavy broken line between fine ones indicates that the inscriptions in their original outline were drawn for Hatshepsut, but that the carving in relief was made for Thutmose III.¹⁰

Our interest in this matter is confined to the question as to which portions of the temple were decorated under Hatshepsut, whether in her name or in that of her coregent Thutmose III, and as to which parts were adorned by Thutmose III after her fall or death. The answer to this question cannot be derived from our Figure 10, since certain of the representations of Thutmose III undoubtedly originated in the time when he was coregent with Hatshepsut. For example, the names of Thutmose III and Hatshepsut are indisputably contemporary on the west wall of Room \mathcal{Q} and probably also on the other walls of the same room, so that Room \mathcal{Q} may be acknowledged as already completed under Hatshepsut. The same probably holds true for Rooms N and O also. In Room L, on the other hand, only the west wall and part of the south doorway were decorated by Hatshepsut, while all the other walls were done or completed by Thutmose III. The more careless execution of the later decoration suggests that there was a lapse in time between the work done under Hatshepsut and that executed under Thutmose III as sole ruler.

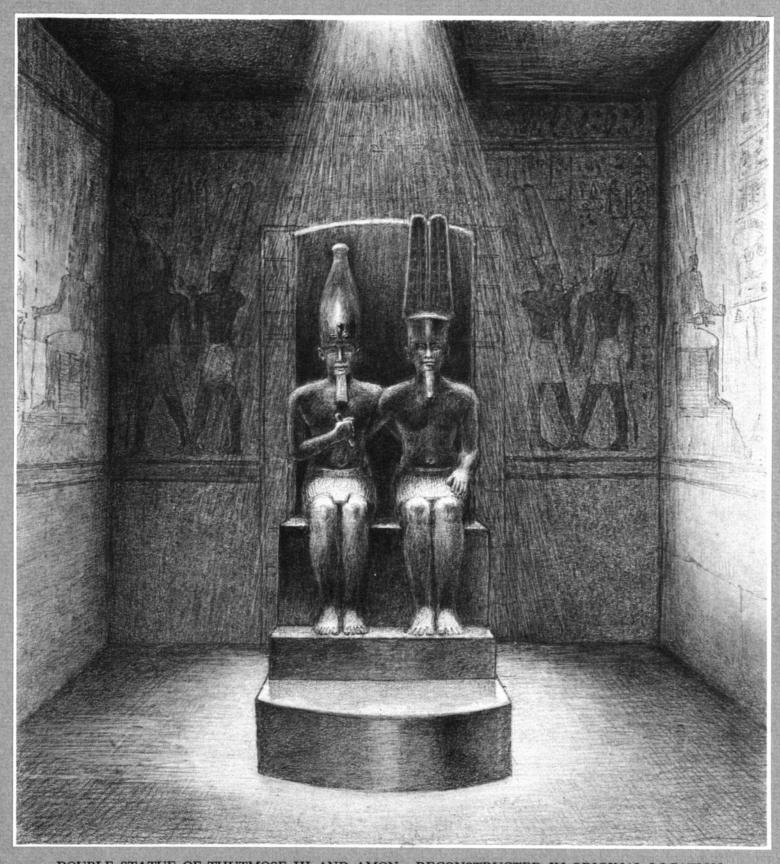
The frieze which completes the reliefs at the tops of the walls offers a simple criterion by which to judge whether the wall decoration belonged to the reign of Hatshepsut or to that of Thutmose III alone. In Rooms N, O, and 2 and on the west wall of Room L, which were completed under Hatshepsut, the frieze consists of serpents coiled on "ka" signs and wearing sun disks (symbols of Re^c) on their heads (Fig. 11). This combination is a writing of Hatshepsut's name "Kama^cre^c," in which the cobra signifies the goddess Ma^cat. The correctness of the proposed reading of this symbolic combination is shown by an analogous instance on a frieze in the Luxor temple (Fig. 12), which was called to my attention by Dr. Schott, where the name of Amenhotep III, "Nebma^cre^c," has been written similarly, the serpent (Ma^cat) wearing the sun disk (Re^c) coiled on the basket (nb). At Medinet Habu—as in a similar Hatshepsut frieze at Deir el-Bahri—the specific significance of the word picture of "Kama^cre^c" was destroyed by her successor with few exceptions by chiseling out the "ka" hieroglyph (the two arms), while for obvious reasons the sacred cobra and the sun disk were left intact. The serpents face toward the center of the rear or front wall, where a cartouche with the normal writing of Kama^cre^c had everywhere been hacked out and, so far as I could see, had only once (in L) been replaced by another name, that of Thutmose II.

It is self-evident that this Kamacree frieze is found exclusively on those walls which were decorated under Hatshepsut. After her overthrow or death a simple, purely ornamental kheker frieze was employed. For in Room L the west wall, which shows the figures and names of Hatshepsut, bears the Kamacree frieze, while the walls on which only original representations of Thutmose III appear have the kheker frieze. Careful observation of the north wall reveals that the Kamacree frieze stood originally on its west end too, but that it was altered to the kheker border. This fact indicates that that wall had been started in Hatshepsut's time. The two types of frieze are regularly consistent with the wall reliefs below them and therefore form the simplest and most obvious criterion for the dating of the latter.

The application of this test to the two northern chambers demonstrates that in Room P two walls (north and east) and the doorframe were decorated under Hatshepsut (and Thutmose III as coregent), while the other two walls must be attributed to Thutmose III alone. Here too the reliefs are consistent with the frieze: under the Kamacrec frieze are reliefs of Hatshepsut, while those of Thutmose III are surmounted by the kheker border. It is surprising that and difficult to explain why the west and south walls were decorated later than the other two. Did the fall or death of Hatshepsut occur in the intervening period, with consequent cessation of work for

¹⁰ In these cases Dr. Schott, to whom I am particularly grateful for verification of the results, has after careful examination found no traces of later changes in the cartouches of Thutmose III. He points out that the presence of the feminine t in some of the titularies (either undamaged or afterward chiseled off) favors the assumption that the original layout was made for Hatshepsut but that when the reliefs were executed the scenes in question were given over to her coregent, either with or without her consent, at which time the corrections of the feminine ending were overlooked by an illiterate sculptor.

¹² On the west wall with the addition to his name of the phrase $\iint f$, which, according to Sethe, points to a late period in his reign.



DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON. RECONSTRUCTED IN ORIGINAL LOCATION

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THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

a while? Why the wall surfaces of this innermost chamber were still uncompleted at the change of rulers I cannot explain. Perhaps there had been in Hatshepsut's time a naos (wooden?) which concealed part of the west and south walls, as did the later granite naos.

The "sanctuary of the King" (Room M) was decorated entirely in the name of Thutmose III and certainly dates from the period after the fall of Hatshepsut. This is proved not only by the appearance of the young queen Meritre Hatshepsut, the mother of Amenhotep II, who is represented as a diminutive figure behind the

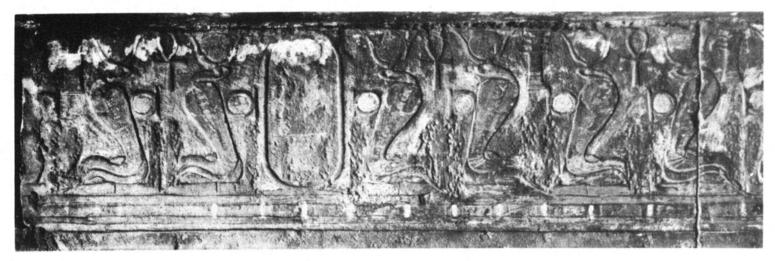


FIG. 11. SERPENT FRIEZE OF KAMACREC HATSHEPSUT IN THE SMALL TEMPLE

throne of Thutmose III, but also by the addition to the name of Thutmose III of the phrase if, which does not appear in the earlier reliefs. The presence of the *kheker* frieze verifies the dating of these reliefs.

The results of our investigation may be briefly summarized: So far as we can see, Rooms O, Q, and N were already completed at the overthrow of Hatshepsut, while Room P had been only a little more than half finished. The rear (west) wall of Room L had been completed, and portions of the sides had been started, while Room M at that time appears to have been still undecorated.



Fig. 12. Serpent Frieze of Nebmacrec Amenhotep III in the Luxor Temple

THE DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON

In the room of the double statue (L) the paving blocks had been completely torn out. In the debris within the foundation walls were discovered three fragments of a gigantic black granite statue of Thutmose III and Amon seated side by side in close embrace upon a throne (Fig. 13). The two larger pieces (Pl. 24) fit together, with the break slightly above the navel of each figure. The third piece is smaller and belongs to the front of the rounded base. Essential parts, especially the heads and the lower limbs, are missing.

The group was originally about 3.35 m. high, 1.20 m. wide, and 1.55 m. thick. The largest fragment was so large that the destroyer was unable to remove it through the doorway, the dimensions of which are 1.05 × 2.35 m., and for that reason the three fragments were simply buried in the ground. We also were not equipped to remove the largest piece. Since the group was too sadly mutilated to be set up once more in its proper place,

we contented ourselves by removing to a place north of the temple the topmost piece alone as evidence and reburying the other two fragments.

The left figure (as viewed by the observer) represents the king, probably wearing the crown of Upper Egypt. The upper portion of the body is comparatively well preserved and still shows a high polish. The right hand

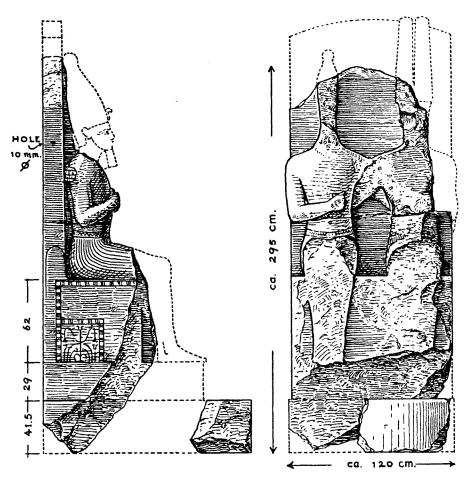


Fig. 13. Great Double Statue of Thutmose III and Amon. Black Granite

rests upon the breast and grasps a short rod. The king wears a pleated skirt. On the front of the girdle, which has a woven pattern, is an original undamaged cartouche of Thutmose III (Fig. 14).

That the other figure represents Amon is recognizable by traces of the headdress with tall feathers. The body, however, in contrast to that of the king, is partially cleft away (observe the wedge marks at the height of the

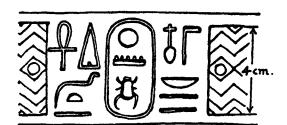


FIG. 14. CARTOUCHE OF THUTMOSE III ON THE BELT BUCKLE OF HIS STATUE (SEE FIG. 13 AND PL. 24)

head and hips) and in some places more or less deeply chiseled off. On that account the body gives the impression of being unusually slender, particularly when viewed from the side, and the contour of the hips thereby takes on an almost feminine aspect. That this, however, was not originally the case is shown by the front view (Fig. 13).

From the fact that the back of the statue is uninscribed, it might be assumed that the group had been placed closely against one of the two side walls of the room. Other considerations, however, would seem to demand that it stood in the middle. It goes without saying from the

aesthetic point of view that such a mighty piece of sculpture, dominating as it did the entire room, must have faced the entrance. But there is still another argument to corroborate this opinion. It is clear that the group—whether in a finished or unfinished state is immaterial—was brought into the room before the walls were completed and that the east wall was added later (see p. 9). Finally the east, north, and south walls were decorated with reliefs by Thutmose III as sole ruler. If it had been intended to place the heavy statue group against the north or south wall, the composition of the reliefs would certainly have been affected by its presence. The significance of this imposing sculpture is discussed in greater detail on page 50.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

THE NAOS

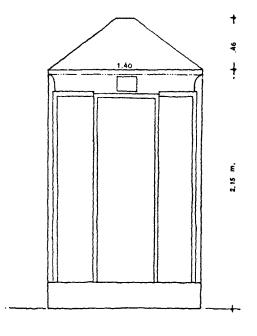
The naos of red granite (Fig. 15) which now stands in a battered condition in Room P (see Fig. 8) is of considerable size and weight. It has survived in an unfinished state, having been neither completely faced nor furnished with reliefs or inscriptions. Daressy long ago made the acute observations that the naos was introduced after the room was completed and that part of the west wall had been temporarily taken down for the purpose. He found, indeed, that the blocks which had been removed had all been provided with numbers so that they might afterward be replaced in the correct order.¹² Demotic figures from one to ten were employed

for this purpose. On the basis of their character Professor W. F. Edgerton attributes them to the fourth century B.c. or later. Thus an acceptable date is provided for the naos also.

PITS BENEATH THE FLOORS OF THE TWO MIDDLE CHAMBERS

A deep pit was found in virgin soil under the floor of each of the two adjoining rooms L and O (Pl. 2). We struck these while we were removing the debris of later times which had accumulated within the foundation walls. The level of virgin soil is here as much as 1.85 m. under that of the pavement. In the room of the double statue (L) the pit is almost exactly in the middle. It extends 2.30 m. into virgin soil and thus reaches a depth of 4.15 m. beneath the pavement. At the top it is nearly square $(1.30 \times 1.50 \text{ m.})$, while toward the bottom it becomes narrower and more rounded (about $0.80 \times 1.00 \text{ m.}$). It was filled with dark-colored sand but contained neither stones, rubble, alluvial soil nor finds of any other character. The pit in Room O is even deeper. At 4.35 m. beneath the level of the pavement we struck water without having reached the bottom of the pit. The cross-section is round, 0.80 m. wide at the top and 0.55 m. at the bottom.

The significance and age of these pits are not clear to me. They are not deep and wide enough to have been wells. That they were not intended for trees, as might at first be concluded from experience with tree plantings at Medinet Habu, Deir el-Bahri, and other localities, is perfectly certain. In that case they would have been laid out before the construction of the temple, and their location so near the centers of later rooms



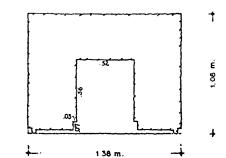


Fig. 15. Late Naos of Red Granite

would have been a highly improbable coincidence. We should likewise have expected to find humus in them instead of pure sand. The pits were therefore probably laid out either contemporaneously with the temple or at a later period and may have served some as yet unknown purpose in the cult.

In Rooms N and Q, so far as we could prove, there are no such pits. Whether similar pits exist under the floors of the other rooms no attempt was made to ascertain, as we did not desire to disturb the ancient pavement which still survives in them.

THE FORE PART OF THE TEMPLE

The fore part of the temple is a peripteros, that is, a pillared hall open to the outside, with an elongated shrine (room of the sacred bark) in the center. This is not, however, the form in which the temple was originally laid out, for beneath it are older foundations, from which a different arrangement of the rooms is deducible.

THE LAYOUT UNDER HATSHEPSUT

These older foundations indicate the presence of a transverse hall in front of the six cult chambers (see pp. 9-13) and before it a practically square room containing in the center a shrine 5.25 m. (10 Egyptian ells)

- ¹² G. Daressy, "Comment fut introduit le naos du petit temple de Médinet-Habou?" (Recueil de travaux XXII [1900] 144-46).
- 13 The sand may have gradually turned dark as a result of the annual infiltration.

square. There is no room for doubt that this was a peripteros similar to the one which is still preserved (see Fig. 41).

The foundations of the fore part of the temple are connected with those of the rear portion, even though the former are wider and somewhat shallower (see Pl. 2 D g-h). The dimensions of the transverse hall were $4.30 \times 11.10 \text{ m}$. The thickness of its east wall (0.90 m.) is marked on the uppermost course of the foundation. In the middle of the hall there is another foundation, running from south to north, which is not so deep and possesses no connections with the outside walls (see Fig. 41 A). This unquestionably supported a row of pillars, probably four in number.

The originally square shrine of Hatshepsut occupied the front (east) half of the much longer shrine built by Thutmose III (see Fig 41 A). The foundations of the former are somewhat shallower (only 1.60 m.) than those of the peripteros. At the east they came into contact with the deeper wall which formed the socle of the "earliest

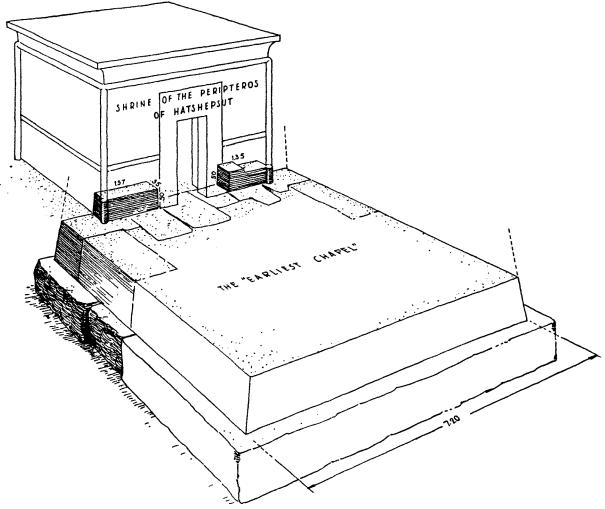


Fig. 16. Reconstruction To Show Relationship of the "Earliest Chapel" and Hatshepsut's Shrine

chapel" (pp. 4-5). Above the pavement naturally nothing has been preserved of the west wall itself, though its limits are marked (0.87 m. in width) on the uppermost course of the foundation. The lowest three or four courses of the north and south walls were reused in the shrine of Thutmose III (cf. Pl. 2 C). In the character of their joints they stand out in sharp contrast to the slipshod masonry of Thutmose III which lies adjacent to and on top of them.

Half of the front wall of the shrine rests upon the firm socle of the "earliest chapel" (Fig. 16). The other (inner) half would have been without foundations if, apparently at the last moment, a number of old limestone parapet blocks from the "earliest peripteros" (p. 6) had not been inserted (e.g. Pl. 2 C, block designated by a white L). Apparently the lowest courses of the superstructure of this east wall also originated with Hatshepsut. Remarkably enough, two blocks of the "earliest chapel" are still in situ above the pavement (see p. 4), though they have been reworked almost to the point of unrecognizability. These are the two great cornerstones (designated MK in Pl. 2 B) of the lowest course of the east wall of the shrine. One is 1.57 m., the other 1.35 m. long. As shown in Plate 2 C and Figure 16, their original sloping surface, facing toward the west, is now hidden within the masonry. In other words, the rough blocks at the rear (west) of the "earliest chapel" were worked into the

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

front (east) wall of the shrine with its corner torus moldings (see p. 4). This fact indicates that some part at least of the "earliest chapel" was still present when Hatshepsut began to build her shrine.

The ambulatory around Hatshepsut's shrine (see Fig. 41 B) was of about the same width on all four sides (about 5½ Egyptian ells). The pillars date only as far back as Thutmose III. At most four at the east end (not including the corner ones) could have been begun by Hatshepsut, for the levels of their horizontal joints are different from those of the rest of the pillars (cf. Pl. 2 A).

Our investigation therefore warrants the conclusion that sufficient of the temple as laid out under Hatshepsut is still preserved to reconstruct the ground plan offered in Figure 41 B.

THE SHRINE OF THUTMOSE III

Under Thutmose III the peripteros with its shrine was enlarged at the expense of the transverse hall (see Fig. 41). The new shrine is twice as long as the earlier one (10×20 Egyptian ells). Its masonry is in an extraordinarily bad state of preservation. This comes about primarily because the west prolongations of the longitudinal walls, whose east halves rest upon the foundations of Hatshepsut, have no foundations whatever but are set for the most part upon loose soil and upon the edges of a few scattered paving slabs. They even cross the massive foundation of the former transverse hall (Pl. 2 C). As a result of such incredibly careless construction the walls have settled unevenly, stones have split in every direction, and wide cracks and breaks have opened. Above all, the rear wall leans markedly toward the west.

A second circumstance especially irritating to the critical observer is the presence of occasional limestone blocks among the sandstone (cf. Pl. 2 C, where the limestone blocks are designated L). Some observers have assumed that these are older stones set into a later wall.¹⁴ This is not the case, however. The limestone blocks were certainly laid at the same time as the sandstone. In a most indiscriminating manner conveniently obtainable material, probably from the wreckage of the "earliest peripteros" (see pp. 5–6), was reused beside newly delivered sandstone. This procedure, so offensive to us, is easily explained and in some way excused by the copious application of thick paint to conceal the difference of material.¹⁵

The outer walls of the shrine are sculptured with reliefs of the time when it was built (Thutmose III). With the exception of those on the east wall, these still remain unaltered, whether on sandstone or on limestone (cf. Pl. 21 B). The reliefs on the interior of the shrine, on the other hand, were worked over in the Ptolemaic period; more exactly, only the sandstone blocks were worked over, while the limestone for the most part remains untouched (cf. Pl. 21 A). As a rule the destruction of the Amarnah period and the consequent restorations are still visible. In order to comprehend the Ptolemaic reluctance to rework the limestone in the same manner as the sandstone, it is essential to remember a peculiar characteristic of the former material. When limestone first comes from the quarry, it is soft and easily modeled and yields readily to the knife, so that it is capable of taking the most exquisite reliefs. But when it is old it becomes brittle and hard and chips off under the chisel. Whenever it was not absolutely necessary, the Ptolemaic sculptor did not alter the limestone relief, even though it did not strictly correspond to the style of his period. Only in cases where an entirely new picture or inscription was required did he feel himself obliged willy-nilly to remove the surface of the limestone and to supply it with a new representation. The result was incongruous and highly unsatisfactory (e.g. on the interior of the west and exterior of the east wall).

The uppermost two courses (1.05 m. high) of the shrine walls are a later addition (Pl. 2 C), on the inside of which runs a line of hieroglyphs mentioning the names of Ptolemy VII Euergetes II and Cleopatra II and III.¹⁶ At the top are a torus molding and a cavetto cornice with the steep profile characteristic of the late period. To the Ptolemaic reconstruction must be attributed the roof slabs also, on which can be detected ornamentation

¹⁴ E.g. Daressy, Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou (Le Caire, 1897) p. 20.

¹⁵ The same technique (limestone blocks in sandstone masonry) exists in other examples of the same time, as in the south exterior wall of the temple of Amon at Karnak, facing the sacred lake. This wall likewise was erected by Thutmose III; its reliefs date from Ramses II.

¹⁶ On the south side: "The renewal of this beautiful monument which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Ptolemy VII, and his [sister], the Lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra, the Beneficent Gods, have made, (namely) the offering hall (wsh.t htp) of 'the one who is at rest (htp.y),' Amon-Re^c-Sonter (of) Dsr-s.t (the name of this temple)...." On the north side: "The renewal of this beautiful monument which the Son of Re^c, Ptolemy VII, and his wife, the Lady of the Two Lands, Cleopatra, the Beneficent Gods, have made, (namely) the offering hall of 'those who are at rest (htp.tyw),' the gods and goddesses of the Primeval One (determined with the figure of Amon)...."—S. Schott.

bearing the names of Ramses II and which were therefore doubtless taken from the Ramesseum. The decoration of the walls had originally been completed by the *kheker* frieze, which was refurbished according to Ptolemaic ideas and over which was added the line of Ptolemaic hieroglyphs.

In Thutmose III's time the shrine did not protrude above the roof of the ambulatory enough to allow for light slits on the sides, as at present. If any light whatever was admitted except through the doors, it must have entered through openings in the roof.

The architectural history of the shrine, as developed in this section, is substantiated by the cracks and breaks which developed through the gradual settling of the walls. It is sufficient here to point out a single characteristic example. In the north wall a crack formed which increases in width from the bottom upward (Pl. 2 C p). At the top, where the stones are bound together by two wooden dovetails, the crack does not penetrate into the Ptolemaic courses—an indication that these were added after the crack had developed. At the same time this fact proves that the lower portions of the wall were neither laid by the Ptolemies nor partially rebuilt by them with old limestone blocks, as some scholars have supposed (see p. 17).

In order to repair the worst fractures in the walls, stone patches were set in during the late period wherever required. Where the reliefs were restored in Ptolemaic times (that is, in the interior of the shrine and on its exterior front wall), the patches also were covered with Ptolemaic reliefs; but on the remaining exterior walls of the shrine they were only crudely dressed. It is thus evident that no value was placed upon these other exterior reliefs in the Ptolemaic period. Such indifference was due to the fact that they then lay in total darkness and were thus entirely invisible, since the spaces between the pillars had been walled up (see pp. 20 f.). Thus the Ptolemies contented themselves with covering the patched walls with whitewash instead of restoring the reliefs.

In that period countless visitors filled the walls of these dark side rooms of the temple with prayers and other inscriptions. Three separate coats of thick whitewash, one over another, can be identified, each of which was covered with Demotic inscriptions, all belonging (according to Professor Edgerton) to the pre-Christian period.

Finally, let us briefly examine the doorways of the shrine, which were entirely changed in the Ptolemaic period. Under Thutmose III they were much smaller than at the present time. It is possible to see from the inscriptions that framed the west faces of both doorways that the openings have been broadened 20 cm. on each side. The original width was only 1.05 m. and the height 2.35 m. At the front (east) doorway the old lintel (Pl. 2 B g) was knocked out, but the stones above are the original ones, which somehow remained in position without the support of the lintel. By increasing the height and width of the opening, the doorframe was made narrower and then newly adorned with inscriptions which name once more Ptolemy VII Euergetes II with Cleopatra II and III. In addition, the doorframe was newly crowned with torus molding and cavetto cornice, which were cut into parts of the old building. It is noteworthy that the sun disk with its two uraei was made of a separate piece, probably of bronze or fayence, and fastened to this cavetto cornice.

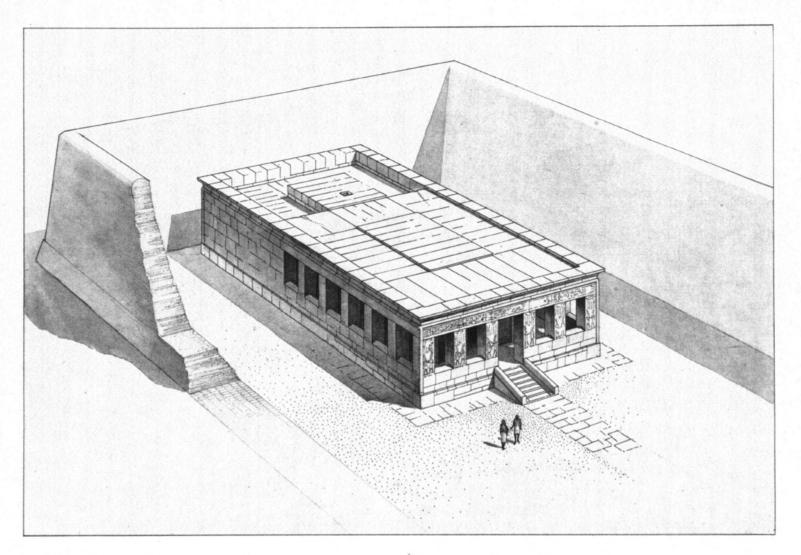
The rear (west) doorway (Pl. 20 A) was enlarged in a somewhat different manner. The original part of it extends only to the lintel (2.35 m.). From the latter to the ceiling new stones, which, however, were derived from the wreckage of other walls, were used in the reconstruction.

The exterior longitudinal walls, which are still preserved without appreciable damage, are adorned with the festal ceremonies that took place upon the founding and dedication of a temple. On the east wall, to left and right of the doorway, Amon gives life to the king (worked over in the Ptolemaic period), and on the west wall the king stands before Amon. In every place the king represented is Thutmose III; Hatshepsut no longer occurs. So far as I have observed, mutilations of the reliefs were perpetrated only at the time of the persecution of Amon under Akhnaton, but both the figures and names of the god were restored again in the Nineteenth Dynasty by Harmhab.¹⁷ In addition, an inscription of two lines on the east side records the activities of Merenptah.¹⁸

In the interior of the shrine two registers of reliefs, one above the other, depict Thutmose III offering to Amon in two forms. Among others there are two scenes of the king before the bark of Amon. With the assistance of numerous other gods, Amon inscribes the name of Thutmose III on the leaves of the sacred isd-tree in the temple of Heliopolis. Behind the king in two of the representations, but on a smaller scale, appears Meritre^c, the

¹⁷ Inscriptions of Harmhab on the east side of the shrine and in each scene of the longitudinal walls, sometimes using the name of Thutmose III.

¹⁸ Text of year 2 of Merenptah (LD III 199 c).



THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. RECONSTRUCTION

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younger Hatshepsut, mother of the later king Amenhotep II, exactly as in the sanctuary of the King (see p. 10). In the reworking of these reliefs in the Ptolemaic period (pp. 17 f.) the older representations were so faithfully adhered to that even the inserted cartouches of Seti I were rechiseled. The representations and inscriptions on the west wall, beside the enlarged doorway, are exclusively the work of the late period. Beneath the ceiling is the building inscription of Ptolemy VII Euergetes II and Cleopatra II and III mentioned on page 17.

THE PERIPTEROS OF THUTMOSE III

The pillared hall (see Fig. 41) probably belongs exclusively to the period of Thutmose III (but see p. 17), with the exception of the socle (p. 8). The pillars are 0.875 m. ($1\frac{1}{3}$ Egyptian ells) square. On the east end (the front) they are more closely spaced than on the sides. Connecting them was a parapet wall, .65 cm. in thickness and rounded at the top, the outer surface of which lies flush with those of the pillars, so that from the exterior the impression is created that the pillars rest upon the parapet. Along the axis of the temple runs a low stairway or ramp, whose foundations and junction with the socle are still visible (see Pl. 2 Δ).

Exactly as at the west corners of the building, the corner pillars are adorned with torus moldings which also pass horizontally beneath the cornice and thus convey the effect of holding together the entire structure. Origi-

nally, as may be seen on the east side (Pl. 13), the cavetto cornice bore only painted decoration, alternately blue, red, blue, green, blue, red, etc. The present sculptured ornamentation and cartouches were added on the other sides by Ramses III.

The entrance was not originally provided with a door. Such a device would have been without purpose, since the parapet could so easily have been surmounted. The doorstops were not hewn into the pillars until the late period. Under Ptolemy VII Euergetes II and Cleopatra II and III the lintel was newly decorated and crowned with a special cavetto cornice that was cut into the original one which framed the architrave (Pl. 20 B).

In the Eighteenth Dynasty none of the exterior portions of the temple except the front was ornamented with reliefs and inscriptions (see Pl. 4). All of those on the other three sides are of later origin. On the east face the architrave bears a large inscription with the royal titles of Thutmose III. Beneath it the six pillars show the king in front of Amon.

In the interior of the ambulatory the pillars are ornamented on three sides in the same manner, with representations of the king

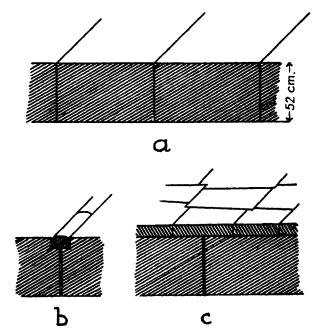


FIG. 17. DETAILS OF ROOF CONSTRUCTION IN THE SMALL TEMPLE: (a) TIGHT JOINTS, (b) LOOSE JOINT WITH STONE FILLER SET IN GYPSUM, (c) THIN STONE PAVEMENT, SET IN GYPSUM, SUPERIMPOSED IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

in front of a divinity. Almost without exception the figures of the gods were eliminated in the 'Amarnah period and crudely restored in the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁹ The reliefs on the inner faces of the pillars are raised, but those on the other sides are incised. The architraves have a dedicatory inscription in two lines, one above the other, which begins in the middle of each of the three sides and runs in both directions. The text reads in part: "... behold, his majesty found (it) fallen into ruin...." Whether this refers to the peripteros of Hatshepsut or the "earliest chapel" or the "earliest peripteros" remains an open question.

The roof of the ambulatory consists of large stone slabs (about 3 m. long) which are for the most part original. Wherever a tight joint (as in Fig. 17 a) between two slabs had not been achieved at the first attempt, a small rectangular piece of stone was inserted in gypsum as a filler (as in Fig. 17 b). Above the south colonnade is still recognizable a shallow channel which conducted rain water to the lower terrace of the rear rooms. In the Ptolemaic period, at the same time that the ceiling of the shrine was raised, the roof was waterproofed again with a thin stone pavement laid in gypsum (as in Fig. 17 c).

Mention deserves to be made of a constructional peculiarity in the slabs that were laid over each corner of

¹⁹ The inscriptions relating to the restoration of the reliefs by Harmhab, Seti I, and Amenmose occur at the right and left of the entrance (see LD III 202 d and J. de Rougé, Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques [Paris, 1877] Pl. CXLVIII).

²⁰ Sethe, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie (Leipzig, 1906-9) p. 882, l. 13.

the ambulatory. Instead of utilizing a single square slab, two narrow ones were placed side by side (Fig. 18 a-b) in such a way that they rest only on the two architraves and the corner of the shrine, which afford support to but three corners of each slab, while the fourth corner (Fig. 18 c) hangs in empty air. This constructional feature was possible because the center of gravity of the two slabs lay within the line of support and because they braced one another at the free corner (c). It is quite obvious that such an insecure arrangement could easily become disastrous at any movement of the building, yet it survived for a thousand years. Achoris finally (about 390 B.C.) had to place supports under the free corners. These are the four polygonal columns in the ambulatory (see Pls. 2, 18 A, and 19). They are not set symmetrically, as the roof slabs themselves are unevenly arranged.

They rest without foundations on the pavement. Vertical inscriptions on the columns, in hieroglyphs of blue,²¹ indicate that they were erected by Achoris in honor of the great Thutmose III, the builder of the temple. They were carried off from the courts of the adjacent chapels of the princesses of the Twenty-fifth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (see Folio Pls. 9–10). On the column drums, many of which were turned upside down, it is occasionally possible to make out the old inscriptions, with the names of Amenirdis, Shepnupet, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet, which were covered with plaster during the reign of Achoris.

On the north side of the peripteros, the original screen wall in the easternmost intercolumniation was knocked

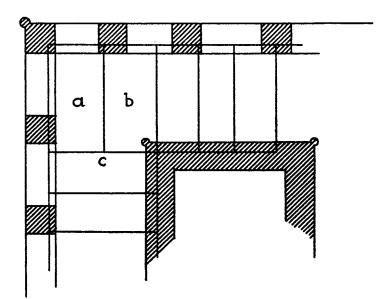


Fig. 18. Plan of the Roof Slabs in the Northeast Corner of the Peripteros

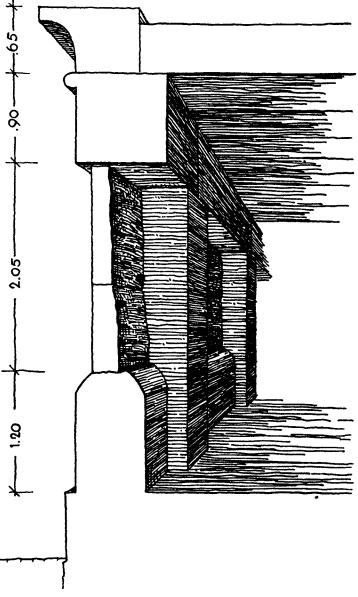


Fig. 19. Intercolumniations of the Peripteros as Closed in Later Times by Means of Stone Slabs. Reconstruction

out and replaced by a gate, which also bears the name of Achoris. It was decorated on the outside only, that is, on the side toward the north Ptolemaic addition (Pl. 33 B), and the inside was left blank (Pl. 18 B).

On all of the other screen walls about 10 cm. of the rounded upper portion of the stone had been hewn off, leaving a flat surface 30 to 35 cm. wide, on which thin stone slabs were set in order to close up completely the interstices between the pillars (Fig. 19). The only one of these slabs to survive *in situ* is in the southernmost intercolumniation of the front (see Pls. 2 A and 13).

By walling up the intercolumnar spaces, the ambulatory was completely reduced to darkness. That explains why in Ptolemaic times the reliefs on the exterior walls of the shrine were not restored but only covered with whitewash (see p. 18) and why the backs of the stone slabs and the interior of the gate of Achoris were left undecorated.

The slabs were set not flush with the outer surfaces of the pillars but about 10 cm. farther back, so that on ²¹ LD Text III 156 f.

the exterior of the peripteros shallow recesses were created. The flanks of each of the latter were painted with a blue and a red stripe, while the slabs themselves were completely covered with reliefs. The slab which is still in situ presents in shallow relief three divinities, apparently Osiris and Isis behind an offering-table, with the goddess Satet(?) facing them (Fig. 20). According to the style, the relief can probably be attributed to the Saitic period.

In the southeast corner of the ambulatory, opposite the gate of Achoris, another doorway was built into the temple, but this has now disappeared except for a few traces in the floor (see Pl. 2 D). In contrast to that of Achoris, its doorstop faces inward, a fact which would indicate that it did not lead to the outside (cf. p. 22) and thus that it was constructed contemporaneously with the south wing (see p. 23), which was added in the Ptolemaic period. Lepsius evidently saw this doorway, for he has left the remark that it was uninscribed.²²

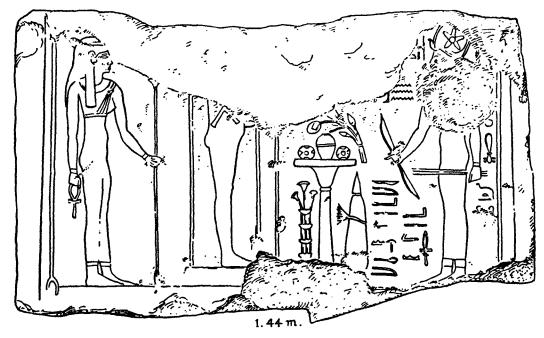


Fig. 20. Decorated Stone Slab Used To Close an Intercolumniation of the Peripteros (see Fig. 19)

Traces of another late built-in doorway are observable in the last intercolumniation of the south side, but we have been unable to determine its age.

As to the date of the walling-up of the intercolumniations of the peripteros, there are a few remarks to be made. A long narrow hall, the "gallery" (see pp. 26-27), was added in front of our peripteros under the Ethiopian king Shabaka (about 700 B.C.). Its longitudinal walls strike the first intercolumniation on the right and on the left of the entrance (see Fig. 46 and Folio Pl. 6). At that time therefore those intercolumnar spaces, and thus all the others too, must have been walled up, although, so far as I can see, the relief on the preserved stone slab is not of Ethiopian but of Saitic origin.²³

²² LD Text III 165.

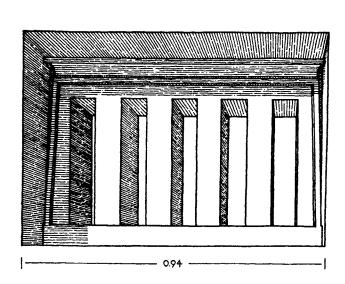
²³ On Folio Pl. 6 the walling-up of the peripteros is not indicated in color, since the dating is more or less uncertain.

THE PTOLEMAIC ADDITIONS

Building additions were made on three sides of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple; one each on the north and south extended as far as the former brick inclosure wall, while on the east a columned hall equal in width to the temple reached to the Ethiopian pylon (see Fig. 48 and Folio Pls. 5–6 and 16–17). These three units naturally belong together and will now be discussed one after another.

THE NORTH WING

The great brick wall which at one time formed the northernmost limit of the north wing (see Folio Pls. 5-6) must, as can be seen from the stone walls built against it, have possessed a slope of 13 cm. per meter. It was presumably contemporaneous with the added wing, at all events not later. The wing consists of carefully fitted sandstone blocks, which were never completely faced on the interior. Most of them were derived from other buildings, principally from those of Ramses II and his mother, Tuy, while in the foundations are also some blocks from the Ethiopian gallery to be discussed below (pp. 26-27).



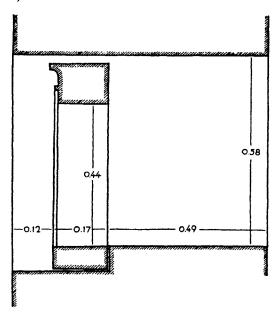


Fig. 21. Grated Window as Used in the Ptolemaic Additions to the Small Temple

This added hall has two columns and a pilaster that was built against the brick wall (see Pl. 33). The architrave which they support is at the same level as the cornice of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (see Pl. 33 B), and the ceiling slabs are therefore higher than those of the peripteros.

The floor lay about 40 cm. lower than that of the ambulatory. The connecting doorway is the gate of Achoris, which has already been discussed (see p. 20). In addition there are three more doorways in the hall, one in the east wall (see Pl. 32) and two in the west wall (see Pl. 15 A). On the outer frame of the east one are two small and poorly preserved reliefs with an illegible double cartouche, presumably containing the names of a Roman emperor of the third or fourth century (according to Professor Edgerton). Both doorways in the west wall are undecorated. One had the doorstop on the west, that is, on the outside; that of the other, now hewn away, was probably toward the east (see Fig. 48). Since Egyptian builders as a rule arranged their doorstops on the outside, this would indicate that the former door led outside, while the latter opened into an additional room, of which, however, no trace can now be detected. In its east wall, near the top, the hall has four windows (Pl. 32) of gracefully executed stone grating (Fig. 21). In addition, small slotted windows were cut in the ceiling joists, but these may well have been secondary.

The columns are the open papyrus type with capitals of the flabby calyx form characteristic of the late period. They were not made for this hall but were brought in a finished state from another location. This is clearly demonstrated by the fact that an additional drum has been added to each of the two columns (one immediately

below the capital and the other 60 cm. lower). Neither drum was ever shaped to conform with these in the original column, but each has remained in its rough state to the present time. In this crude manner the columns received the additional height necessary for their transferred position.

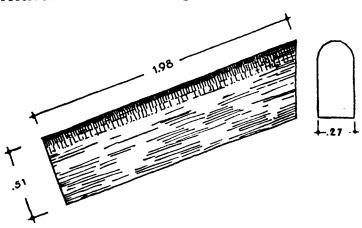


Fig. 22. Fragment of Sandstone Railing Found in the Ptolemaic Columned Hall

The inner walls (in part never completely faced off) were whitewashed and are now covered with countless Demotic graffiti;²⁴ there are also a number of Coptic paintings in a damaged condition, of which some figures and a portrait of Saint Menas are still recognizable. This part of the building was therefore ultimately used for ecclesiastical purposes.

THE SOUTH WING

This corresponds in width to the north wing but is appreciably shorter (see Pl. 10), so that a passageway, closed off by a door, intervened between the wing and

the south inclosure wall (see Fig. 48). The room was accessible only from the old peripteros. Mention has been made above (p. 21) of a doorway which was placed here between the pillars. The floor of this room lies on the same level as that of the peripteros. Under its massive slabs we found a tomb(?), 2.80 by 1.50 m.

and 1.40 m. in depth, which had been emptied of its original contents and filled with debris.

On the exterior, only the east wall was dressed and smoothed, while the other sides were left rough. The interior walls, however, were completely smoothed and covered with a lime wash, but they were otherwise undecorated. They are likewise teeming with Demotic inscriptions of numerous visitors.

THE COLUMNED HALL

The side walls of the columned hall correspond exactly in construction and shape to the walls of the wings. In every respect the windows resemble the better preserved examples in the north addition. The same is true of the cavetto cornice. The floor, however, was about 90 cm. lower than that of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, and the difference in height must have necessitated a connecting stair or ramp similar to the one which had been present at the time when the peripteros was constructed (see p. 19). We found in the floor debris near the entrance to the peripteros (Pl. 2 D d) a carefully wrought low railing of sandstone, without decoration (Fig. 22), which could have belonged to such a ramp.

The hall at one time possessed two rows of eight columns each (see Fig. 48). The outlines of their bases are in part still visible on the paving stones.²⁵ The architraves which rested upon the columns were made of wood, and a support for one is still visible on the rear of the Ethiopian pylon (see Pl. 26 and Folio Pl. 18, west elevation). Above it are traces of the wooden roof with its packed earth covering. The

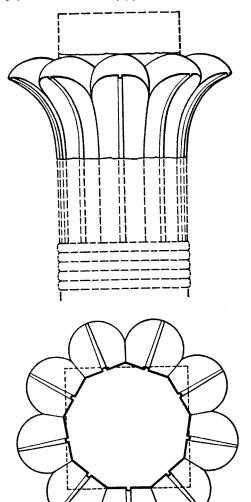


Fig. 23. Palm-Leaf Capital, Probably from the Ptolemaic Columned Hall

²⁴ Professor Edgerton is now engaged in a study of the graffiti at Medinet Habu. See his "Preliminary report on the ancient graffiti at Medinet Habu" (American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures L [1933/34] 116–27) and Medinet Habu Graffiti. Facsimiles (OIP XXXVI [1937]).

25 These columns appear to have been partially preserved as late as the nineteenth century, for in his *Topography of Thebes* (London, 1835) p. 47, J. G. Wilkinson states that a row of nine columns (instead of eight) stood on each side.

position of the architraves indicates that the height of the columns plus their bases was approximately 5.70 m. No remains of them exist *in situ*, though it is possible that a fragment of a palm-leaf column (Fig. 23) which was found in the vicinity may have belonged to one of them, if we may judge by its proportion and style.²⁶

Both the gate and the walls of the south side of the columned hall are undecorated. But the north gate (see Folio Pl. 16, longitudinal section) is equipped with massive jambs of red granite (Pl. 35 A). The lintel, which is in a very damaged state, lies outside next to the gate (Pl. 35 B). This doorframe with its rich ornamentation of scenes and inscriptions²⁷ bears the name of Pedamenopet,²⁸ one of the nobles of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, from whose extraordinarily large tomb, located at no great distance, in el-cAsasif,²⁹ the doorframe may well have been brought to its present location. From the technical point of view it is worthy of mention that the foundation of the gate has sunk considerably,³⁰ so that the jambs incline toward each other (Fig. 24). This undesir-



Fig. 24. North Gateway of the Ptolemaic Columned Hall, from the Inside

able tendency became noticeable so soon after the erection of the gate that it was deemed imperative to straighten the east jamb. To achieve this end the adjacent masonry on the east had to be temporarily dismantled. In order that the individual blocks might afterward be restored to their original positions they were marked "1st row, 1st stone" etc. before the wall was wrecked. This was another application of procedure observed in the west wall of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (cf. p. 15).

On the interior of the north wall of the columned hall is a small niche (see Fig. 48) with its frame crowned by a cavetto cornice. We are unaware of its significance.

The slabs of stone which were beneath the column bases average 55 cm. in thickness and are bedded on sand. Some of them are reused pieces of an older gate and contain a dedication by a Ptolemy Euergetes to Amon

²⁶ Various travelers of the nineteenth century mention the countless column fragments which were scattered in this area.

²⁷ Johannes Duemichen, Historische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler II (Leipzig, 1869) Pl. XXXVI (a); Champollion, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives I (Paris, 1844) 323 f.; LD III 282 b-c and Text III 153.

²⁸ Incorrectly spelled "Petamenophis" on Folio Pl. 16.

²⁹ Tomb of Pedamenopet, Qurnah No. 33; see Bertha Porter and Rosalind L. B. Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings. I. The Theban Necropolis (Oxford, 1927) pp. 66 f.

³⁰ The gateway stands over a tomb of the Twenty-sixth(?) Dynasty.

dsr-s.t, the lord of this temple.³¹ Of the two possible kings that come into question as the builders of the gate, namely Ptolemy III Euergetes I (247-221 B.c.) and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (141/40-131/30 and 124(?)-116 B.c.), the latter offers the greater probability, since we have already encountered him in the alteration of the temple (see p. 17). Thus the presence of these reused stones probably dates the columned hall to a time later than Euergetes II; this accords well with the chronological evidence offered by the Demotic graffiti and dipinti that are present here and in the contemporary wings. The oldest definitely dated record is in the thickness of the southwest doorway of the north wing; it mentions the fifteenth year of Cleopatra VI, which corresponds approximately to 36 B.c. (according to Professor Edgerton).

31 Where this destroyed gate of Euergetes might have stood within the temple area we are unable to say. It was of medium size and sloped on the

THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON AND GALLERY

Of these two related sections of the temple, most of the pylon is preserved, while the gallery has almost completely disappeared. The latter formed the connection between the pylon and the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (see Fig. 46) and stood where the Ptolemaic columned hall (pp. 23-25) was later erected. The gallery was a long and comparatively narrow hall, its interior walls adorned with reliefs.

Most of our knowledge concerning the gallery must be read from the rear face of the pylon (Pl. 26 and Folio Pls. 5-6 and 18, west elevation), for a niche in the latter shows the front of the gallery. It is thus revealed to us that the gallery was 5.45 m. in width and had a height of 4.60 m., inner measurements. The junctures of the pylon with the longitudinal walls of the gallery, which were 1.10 m. in thickness at the bottom and 0.90 m. at the top, are likewise visible. On the exterior they were surmounted by torus molding and cavetto cornice at the same height as that of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (see Pl. 5). The gallery was covered by wooden beams with an earth roof, and the ceiling appears to have been covered with plaster. The groove in the pylon which gripped the ceiling coat is still visible. These facts are summarized graphically in a cross-section of the gallery (Fig. 47 A).

The foundations of the longitudinal walls were in large part removed at the time when the Ptolemaic columns were set (cf. Fig. 47 B), but a few fragments remained on the north side about 4 meters from the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. They consisted of sandstone blocks about 30 cm. thick, which were bedded on rubble approximately 55 cm. beneath the floor. Such inadequate foundations resulted in a tendency for the walls to drop away from the perpendicular and thus for their connections with the pylon to slip out of place. To check such shifting, on each side a groove was cut into the masonry of the pylon to serve as a firm unyielding bedding for the wall blocks (see Pl. 26 and Folio Pl. 18).

The gallery extended west as far as the peripteros, and a small section of the exterior outline of its sloping south wall is scratched on one of the square pillars, 3.83 m. from the axis of the temple (Pl. 2 A s), a dimension which closely agrees with what we were able to read from the rear face of the pylon. The intercolumniations upon which the longitudinal walls of the gallery bordered must have been walled up at this time (see p. 21).

From the niche in the pylon it is possible to make out that the interior faces of the walls of the gallery contained two registers of reliefs, which depicted foundation ceremonies and cult scenes. In the cartouches in the niche is preserved the name of Taharka, who, however, usurped them from his predecessor once removed, Pharaoh Shabaka.³² The top of the wall is decorated with the usual *kheker* frieze.

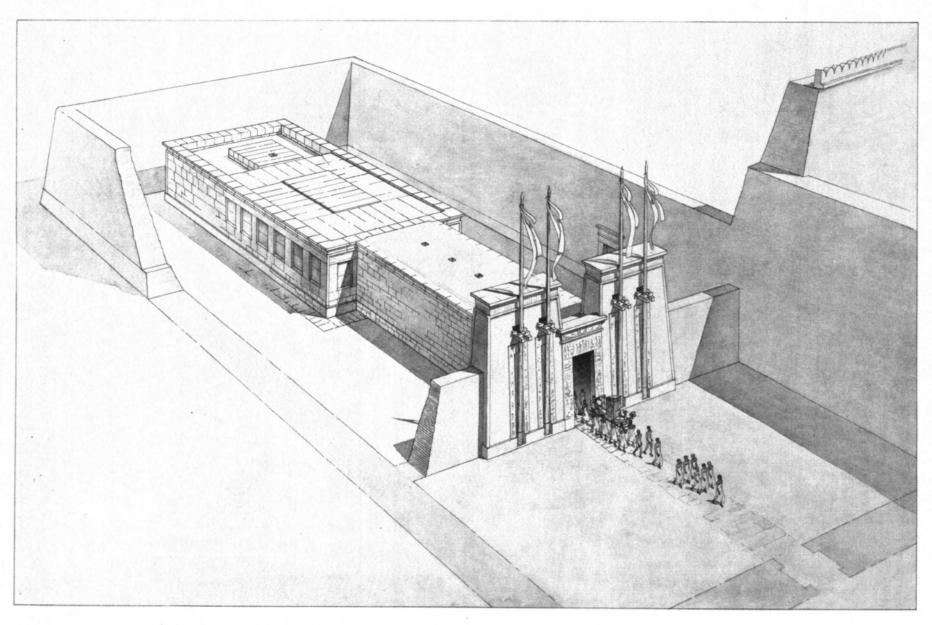
Fragments which obviously belonged to the gallery are built into the foundations of the north addition (pp. 22-23) to the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. They consist of two pieces of door lintels, 2.12 and 2.18 m. long (Pl. 29 c-d), which might well have belonged to the side doorways of the gallery, and a piece of wall relief (Pl. 29 e). In all of the scenes the king is depicted bringing offerings to Amon.

If we forthwith designate these fragments as Ethiopian without the evidence of preserved cartouches, our justification rests upon a consideration of the particular treatment of the reliefs, which is quite in keeping with other certified Ethiopian work (as on the Ethiopian pylon and the Ethiopian gate in the north inclosure wall; cf. Pls. 27–28). The contour of the figures is sharply incised; the figures themselves are extremely flat with scarcely any modeling above the recessed background. The inner details are indicated almost exclusively by lines or grooves, with particular attention given to the rendition of muscular structure, as for example the legs.³³ The reliefs of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty therefore exhibit a certain austerity which distinguishes them quite sharply from the elegant reliefs of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and the insipid conventionalities of the Ptolemaic era.

The pylon (Pls. 25 and 26) is comparatively well preserved because in its entire extent it stands on foundations

³² Of the older names, the Horus name of Shabaka at the upper left side of the doorframe of the pylon is the one most clearly seen (LD V 1 d and Text III 153).

³³ Comparison with contemporary Assyrian art is suggestive.



THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU UNDER THE ETHIOPIAN KINGS. RECONSTRUCTION

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THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON AND GALLERY

of the Great Girdle Wall of Ramses III (cf. Folio Pl. 3). Only the top of the south tower is missing. The doorway through the pylon (Pl. 27) forms the entrance to the gallery. In the west elevation (Pl. 26 and Folio Pl. 18) it may be observed that the doorway was afterward heightened. A sandstone block about 90 cm. high was added on top of each jamb. They were left rough on the west side. The missing lintel (Pl. 29 a-b) of this door has been in the Berlin Museum (No. 1621) since the time of Lepsius. It bears the name of Taharka over an erasure.

On the east face of the pylon are four niches for flagstaffs, bordered by long inscriptions that without question originally bore the name of Shabaka (see p. 26, n. 32). The cartouches were, however, at one time hacked out and never reinscribed (see Pl. 25). The same is true of the cartouches on the cavetto cornice and the long line of inscription immediately below it.

As has already been mentioned in the discussion of the west face of the pylon, the door opening was later heightened to the extent of 90 cm. (Pls. 25 and 27 A). The two blocks which were inserted under the lintel are made of a relatively hard gray sandstone. The front surface of each bears a decoration complete in itself, consisting of a reclining sphinx before whose crown is inscribed the name of Ptolemy IX Alexander I (108/7-88 B.c.), which thus sets the date for the heightening of the gate. And this appears to coincide with the construction of the Ptolemaic columned hall, the height of whose ceiling corresponds to that of the raised gateway. Since it has already been shown that this columned hall must have been erected after Euergetes II (later than 116 B.c.) and before 36 B.c. (see p. 25), it now seems possible to attribute the hall and the north and south wings too with great probability to Ptolemy IX Alexander I.

It is obvious that the lower parts of the doorjambs and the lintel, although separated by Ptolemy's insertion, originally formed a single unit. Before the insertion the doorway possessed approximately the same proportions and measurements as that which provided access to the old peripteros (cf. Pl. 27 A, where the two doorways are visible one behind the other). Indeed, even the decoration of the doorjambs of the pylon imitated that of the other—the king standing in the presence of a god, presumably Amon, with inscriptions and the hovering vulture (cf. Pl. 20 B). In this case the lintel has two scenes showing the king before Amon, Mut, and Khonsu and beside each scene a representation of the king embraced by a god.

The reliefs on the east doorframe of the Ethiopian pylon are in part reworked, many lines of inscription having been added in the Ptolemaic period. The cartouches always name Nectanebo I (*Nht-nh.f.*, 378–361 B.C.),³⁴ but invariably over older names that have been defaced. It is possible that Shabaka had been named here also. The same conditions apply to the cavetto cornice above the doorway.

Nectanebo I originally inscribed each of the door thicknesses with vertical columns of text the upper ends of which were altered and continued on the new stones inserted by Ptolemy Alexander I. Beside the lower end of each inscription is another short column, which on one side mentions "Ptolemy and the Royal Wife Cleopatra" and on the other "Ptolemy and the Royal Brother Ptolemy"—evidently, according to Professor Edgerton, Ptolemy VI Philometor, Cleopatra II, and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (joint reign of Philometor and his brother, 169/8–163 B.C.).

Close beside the doorframe, finally, are long inscriptions of Ptolemy VIII Soter II (116–108/7 and 88–80 B.C.). The ends of the pylon were left without ornamentation, probably because joining walls of mud brick were either intended to be, or even actually were, constructed against them. But no traces of such have been discovered, not even in the foundations.

The rear (west face) of the pylon (Pl. 26) contains to left and right of the formerly adjoining gallery conventional large representations of the king smiting his enemies. That on the north side is almost completely preserved, even though the wall of the Ptolemaic columned hall cuts across it; on the south side, where the tower of the pylon is broken away, the upper courses of the scene are lacking. Two of the absent blocks, containing the head of the king wearing the crown of Upper Egypt (Pl. 29 f), are now in Berlin (No. 2104).³⁵ The names of the king (Shabaka) have been hewn away.

³⁴ There is no general agreement among scholars concerning the identification of Nectanebo I and II. Gauthier, for example, in his Le Livre des rois d'Égypte IV (Le Caire, 1915–16) designates Nht-hr-hb.t as Nectanebo I and Nht-nb.f as Nectanebo II. But in accordance with Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Die sogenannte demotische Chronik ("Demotische Studien" VII [Leipzig, 1914]) p. 6, we call Nht-nb.f Nectanebo I and Nht-hr-hb.t Nectanebo II.

ss Cf. Champollion, Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie II (Paris, 1845) Pl. CXCVII, and LD III 301, No. 79; V 1 c; Text III 152.

THE PORTICO OF THE SAITIC PERIOD

In front of the Ethiopian pylon was built a portico consisting of eight columns bound together by a screen wall 2.40 m. high (see Pl. 10). The entrance is a low, pylon-like gateway (see Pl. 30). The columns are of the papyrus cluster type with closed capitals. At their discovery in modern times, the upper two-thirds had already been demolished (see Pl. 10), and Daressy restored two of them (Pl. 31 A) with drums which he found in the vicinity.³⁶ The reconstructed upper portion of each capital is obviously a misfit, and the abacus blocks which Daressy set in place are too small and in all likelihood do not belong to them. On all four sides of the abaci the name of Nectanebo I is original,³⁷ while on all other parts of the portico, as will be seen below, the name of Nectanebo I stands as a usurpation over another.

The capitals supported a wooden architrave, probably of two or three beams side by side. An original point of support may still be seen on the north tower of the Ethiopian pylon. It is a hole in the masonry which recently has been filled with cement (cf. Folio Pl. 18, east elevation, and Pl. 25). Above it is a trace of the ballistically curved cavetto cornice which was likewise constructed of wood.³⁸ The front architrave of the portico hung free between the two end columns, a span of about 8 meters. The roof, whose connection with the Ethiopian pylon is still discernible, was of course also constructed of wood and furnished with a covering of earth. Its presence indicates that the flagstaffs no longer existed at this time (see Pl. 6).

The thin stone screens connecting the columns were surmounted by a slender cavetto cornice and were richly ornamented inside and out with cult scenes and ceremonial representations (Pl. 31 A). The upper portions of the pylon-like entrance have disappeared. The reconstruction offered on Folio Plates 16 and 18 must therefore be regarded as only hypothetical, since the height has not been definitely established. This gate also was entirely covered with reliefs. On each side of the opening appears once more the king smiting his enemies (Pl. 31 B)—representations which almost exactly correspond to those on the rear (west) of the Ethiopian pylon. Even the names of the three vanquished peoples are the same, but the artistic quality of execution is here inferior.³⁹

In all of these representations appears the name of Nectanebo I (Nht-nbf), but invariably as a usurpation. Lepsius thought to have read the name of Shabaka, 40 but he was unquestionably mistaken. In the cartouche

the o is original and only the other two hieroglyphs have been altered. Instead of u there had been a smaller sign shaped more nearly like a circle, perhaps v. This would have been appropriate for most of the Saitic rulers. In every case the second cartouche has been completely altered.

The papyrus cluster-columns are in form the exact counterpart of those in several of the chapels in Karnak dating from the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (chapel of 'Ankhnes-Neferibre' etc.). The evidence therefore points to the probability that this portico, usurped by Nectanebo I, should be attributed to the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

³⁶ Daressy, Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou, p. 8.

³⁷ A third abacus stone, exactly identical to these, lies on top of the north Girdle Wall of Medinet Habu in F 13. It is 66 cm. square and 26 cm. high. It is possible that all these abaci belong to another pillared hall of Nectanebo I from which fragments were found (not *in situ*), but the original location of which it was not possible to determine.

³⁸ Wood was employed for architrave and cornice, among other places, on the pylons of the little temple of Amenirdis at Medinet Habu and of the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. Cf. also the Ptolemaic pylon at Medinet Habu (p. 30).

³⁹ Also the treatment of the reliefs is distinctly different from that of the Ethiopian period (cf. p. 26).

⁴º LD Text III 151

⁴¹ E.g. Gustave Jéquier, L'Architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte. Les temples ramessides et saîtes de la XIX^e à la XXX^e dynastie (Paris, 1922) Pl. 79, No. 2.

THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON

The Ptolemaic pylon (see Folio Pls. 5 and 19) exhibits a surprising phenomenon in that it possesses a façade on the east side and the two ends only, while the interior is hollow and the expected west façade is lacking altogether (Pl. 12). In order to find an adequate explanation for this unusual feature it is necessary to examine the individual parts in detail.

The façade of the pylon consists of five parts (Fig. 25, plan), which are separated by vertical joints. These are the central structure or gate proper, two wings which were constructed independently of the gate, and finally two narrow sections which establish the connection between the wings and the central structure.

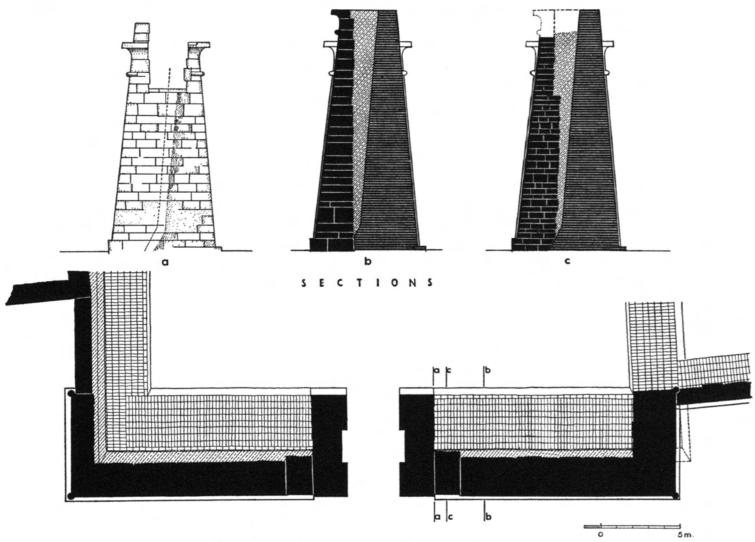


Fig. 25. The Ptolemaic Pylon. Scheme of Construction

The gate is similarly constructed in front and rear and is covered with reliefs. As is observable at each side, it was built onto an already existing brick inclosure wall (see Folio Pl. 6), which has now completely disappeared. Its transverse section, however, is still quite plainly recognizable on the masonry of the gate (cf. Fig. 25 a and c and Folio Pl. 19, sections through north and south wings). The brick wall was flush with the west face of the gate and on its outside (east) possessed a sloping socle nearly 2 meters high (Fig. 25 a). It was a good 4 meters thick at ground level. This was part of the Ptolemaic wall which we have already encountered at the north addition to the peripteros (p. 22). It therefore could not have been later than the addition, which probably originated with Ptolemy IX Alexander I (see p. 27). The two wings of the pylon were actually stone facings on the outside of this brick wall. At the foot they embraced it so closely that its sloping base was partially struck off (Fig. 25 b). The space between the brick wall and the stone facings was ultimately filled in with material of some sort.

The central structure and the wings were presumably erected at the same time, though they were separated in order that one might be independent of the other. Afterward the intervening spaces of 1.60–1.80 m. were closed up with comparatively small stone blocks. At the bottom these were built in directly against the sloping base of the brick wall (Fig. 25 c). For that reason the incline of the socle, now that the wall has vanished, has left its negative impression on the inside of the facing walls (cf. Pl. 40 A).

By far the greater part of the brick wall which once formed the core of the pylon must have been carried off before the Coptic period, for on the rear of the stone facing-walls there are traces of beam supports of a Roman or Coptic house (see Pl. 40 A), which could only have been erected after the brick wall had been demolished. Whatever brick remained may well have been removed on the occasion of the déblaiement of the temple (see Pl. 9). In our excavation we struck masonry of Ramses III immediately beneath the present ground level (Folio Pl. 3).

The stones which furnished the material for the wings of the pylon were quarried for the most part out of the Ramesseum.⁴² The technique of the stonework in these buildings of the Ptolemaic period is of high quality. Some of the blocks that were employed in the construction of the gate are of tremendous size. The lintel alone, for example, contains about 11 cubic meters and weighs approximately 24 tons. The doorsill was an enormous stela (1.90×4.04 m.) of Thutmose III (Pl. 22), which has now been set up in the Roman forecourt (see Pl. 36). It may be assumed that it was transported from the mortuary temple of Thutmose III north of the Ramesseum.⁴³

The wings of the pylon contain no ornamentation, while, as if in compensation, the gate was provided with extensive reliefs (see Pls. 36-39). The front and rear faces are almost identical. On the south half of each of the two doorframes, the king stands before Montu, the Lord of Hermonthis, on the south of Medinet Habu, and his associated divinities; on the north half he appears before Amon, the Lord of Thebes, and his retinue. Each doorframe is surmounted by a mighty cavetto cornice, elaborately ornamented with the winged sun disk and still gorgeous with the original colored decoration. On the front face and in the interior of the door passage are cartouches of Ptolemy VIII Soter II (116-108/7 and 88-80 B.c.). On the rear face (Pls. 38-39) the uppermost cartouches were left empty, while those beneath name his successor Ptolemy XI Neos Dionysos, called Auletes (80-51 B.c.). Before the pylon stand two lone columns which were utilized in the late Roman portico but which belonged to the Ptolemaic pylon (Pls. 36-37). At one time they supported a wooden roof about 10 meters square. Traces of the supports for the wooden architraves, the cavetto cornice, and the slightly curved earth covering of the roof may still be recognized on the east face of the pylon (see Folio Pl. 19, east elevation). The wooden cornice of the Ptolemaic portico was at the same level as the stone one of the pylon. In the reconstructions (Pl. 7 and Fig. 49) I have assumed that a row of uraeus serpents crowned the cornice of the portico, but this is not substantiated by material evidence. By analogy with other known porticoes we have assumed that screens were introduced between the columns on the sides and that entrance was provided by a gate in front. Nevertheless these have not existed since the reconstruction that occurred in the Roman period, to which belongs the gate which stands there at present (Pls. 36-37).

The Ptolemaic columns are surmounted by magnificent composite capitals (see Fig. 50) which number among the noblest examples of their type. In an unusually fine state of preservation likewise are the remnants on them of the original painting, which contributes so fundamentally to the effect of Egyptian architecture.

⁴² Among them are 43 blocks of the great Ramesseum calendar; see Medinet Habu III. The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III (OIP XXIII [1934]) Pls. 187-89.

⁴³ Two fragments of a similar stela (about 1.52 m. wide) of Amenhotep II were unearthed in Medinet Habu (Pl. 23), one of them behind the Small Temple, the other on the south Girdle Wall in F 3.

THE ROMAN PORTICO AND FORECOURT

In the Roman period an attempt was made to enlarge the two-columned Ptolemaic portico to a broad one of eight columns. As this was laid out it is even wider than the Ptolemaic pylon. It was the intention to utilize the Ptolemaic columns in it. However, the new columns were never finished; they extended only halfway up, that is, to the height of the screen walls which bound them together (Pl. 36). I have attempted to demonstrate by a sketch (Fig. 51) how the architect may well have conceived this portico. Presumably he proposed to cover it with wooden roof beams. The masonry of the portico was left in a very incomplete state, with some of its blocks merely drafted and others roughly dressed by means of a pick hammer. The stones that were em-



Fig. 26. Blocks Bearing the Head and Cartouches of Emperor Antoninus Pius, from the Main Entrance to the Roman Court. Berlin 2121

ployed were taken in part from the great mortuary temple of Amenhotep III behind the Colossi of Memnon. Immediately in front of the portico lies a great forecourt (see Folio Pls. 5–6), which is surrounded by a stone wall 4.50 m. high and comparatively thin (60–80 cm. in the middle). The exterior face slopes and is surmounted by a cavetto cornice, but the interior is perpendicular. The broad gate on the east is extremely damaged. Its frame once contained the names and representations of the emperor Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61) (Fig. 26⁴⁴). The two side gates are narrower and are completely preserved. The north one remained unfinished, while the south gate, which opened on to the main street of the Roman town, was completed and decorated except for the cartouches, which were left empty (Pl. 41). Antoninus Pius also inscribed the west gate, which was built between the Ptolemaic columns (Pl. 37). Thus there can be no doubt concerning the date of the Roman extension. The court is paved with great stone blocks in two superimposed courses, but the pavement is now covered with earth.

⁴⁴ These three blocks with the head and names of the emperor are now in the Berlin Museum (No. 2121); cf. LD Text III 149.

THE INCLOSURE WALLS AND THE ENVIRONS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

THE INCLOSURE WALL OF HATSHEPSUT

When the Eighteenth Dynasty temple was erected by Hatshepsut it naturally was furnished with its own inclosure wall of mud brick, which replaced in part an older wall of Hatshepsut (p. 7). We struck upon the new wall on the west, north, and east sides (see Folio Pl. 3) but not on the south. Without proofs of any sort, we have assumed that its distance from the temple was the same on the south as on the north (cf. Folio Pl. 4). In that case it must have been situated directly under the Ethiopian wall (pp. 33–36).45

This new inclosure wall of Hatsheput is 2.70 m. thick and at a depth of 1.50 m. beneath the surface of the ground is bedded upon a layer of sand 10-30 cm. deep. It is composed of dark bricks of two different sizes. On both exterior surfaces are laid alternately a brick and a half brick of the larger size (40×19×13 cm.); inside the





Figs. 27-28. Small Stone Slabs with the Name of Hatshepsut, Found in the Foundations of Her Inclosure Wall

wall the smaller bricks (33×16×9 cm.) were employed. Many of the larger, but none of the smaller, bricks are stamped with the cartouches of Kama^cre^c (cf. Fig. 6 a). To this extent the later wall of Hatshepsut corresponds to the earlier one. It is, however, distinguished from the latter in that occasionally small stones of red quartzite were set into the bedding sand beneath the lowest courses of brick. These small stones bear the inscription shown in Figures 27 and 28. Without grubbing through the entire wall to search for them, we have found thirteen such stones, all of them on the west and north sides. It was not possible to determine whether they lay at regular intervals. In addition there was discovered, bedded into the mortar of the second or third course of the west side of the wall, a small cartouche of greenish blue fayence (about 3 cm. long) on one side of which was the name "Kama^cre^c" and on the other side "Hatshepsut." It is thus clear that this inclosure wall, as well as her temple structure, belongs to the period of Hatshepsut's independent rule.

⁴⁵ At two different places we cut through the foundations of the later wall down to virgin soil without finding a trace of Hatshepsut's wall.

⁴⁶ Cf. Vol. V.

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A WALL OF AMENHOTEP III

Close outside the west inclosure wall of Hatshepsut is a course of another great brick wall, which really does not belong to the temple (Folio Pls. 3-4, in G 10-12). It does not run exactly parallel to the west wall of the temple and is comparatively deeply founded (2.75 m. below the datum line). It is 2.85 m. thick and is very cleanly constructed of bricks with dimensions of $38 \times 18 \times 12$ cm., on a few of which is stamped the name "Nebma^{crec}" (Fig. 6f).

WALLS OF RAMSES III

The walls of Hatshepsut and Amenhotep III were destroyed on the west side at the time when Ramses III included the Eighteenth Dynasty temple in his great temple compound. Ramses III erected directly behind (west of) the Eighteenth Dynasty temple a new wall, which was laid out at right angles to the axis of his great temple area and not therefore to that of the earlier structure (cf. Folio Pls. 2 and 4). It was thus not a girdle wall of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple but only a transverse one in Ramses III's big compound. Its entrance consists of a brick pylon, the foundations of which are deeply cut into the wall of Hatshepsut (cf. Folio Pls. 3-4). Ramses' wall stands on top of the foundations of Hatshepsut's wall over an intervening layer of gravel and rubbish 15-25 cm. deep. It is distinguished from the older wall by the larger size of the bricks ($43 \times 20 \times 14$ cm.) and by the fact that they are without a stamp. However, we did find in Ramses' wall a reused brick with the stamp "Nebmacrec in the House of Rejoicing" (Fig. 6 g). This is the name of the palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata, south of Medinet Habu.⁴⁷

Another, similar wall of Ramses III parallels the first at a distance of 3.80 m. to the west. It cuts across the wall of Amenhotep III (cf. Folio Pl. 4). Both of Ramses' walls are discussed in Volume IV.

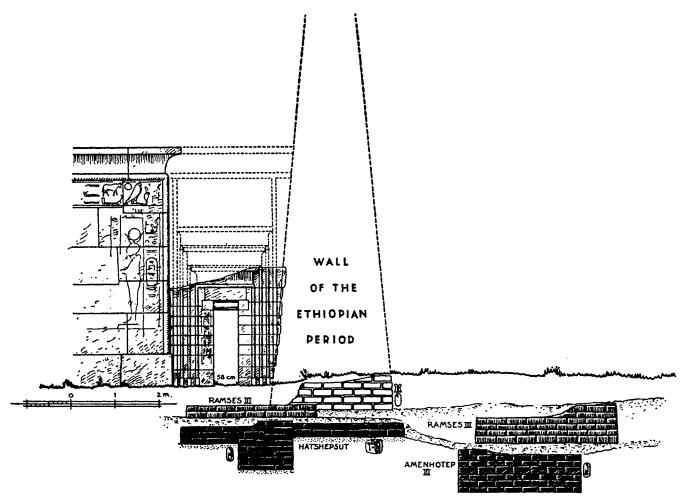


Fig. 29. Narrow Gateway of Taharka and Section Showing Relationship of the Various Inclosure Walls behind the Small Temple (cf. Fig. 32)

THE INCLOSURE WALL OF THE ETHIOPIANS

After the temple area of Ramses III together with its walls had been destroyed, the Small Temple was again supplied with a wall of its own, which was located almost exactly on the foundations of the long-since demolished

⁴⁷ Similar bricks were often discovered in the walls of the latest period of Ramses III and in later times; cf. Vols. III-V.

one of Hatshepsut. It was bedded on a thin layer of sand and debris at a depth of 90 cm. below the datum line. We found remains of it on the south, west, and north sides of the temple (cf. Folio Pl. 6). On the west are still preserved from two to five courses (Fig. 29), which consist of large dark bricks $(44 \times 21 \times 14 \text{ cm.})$ of a particularly crumbly type. Most of them were stamped with a cartouche surmounted by two plumes (Fig. 6 h). The

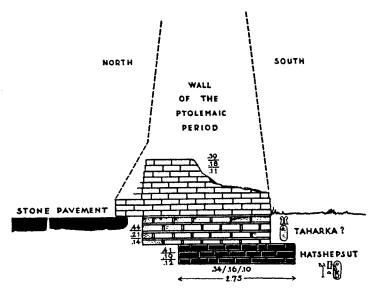


Fig. 30. Section Showing Relationship of the Various Inclosure Walls North of the Small Temple

and the defacing of the names was carried out in the same manner. It would therefore appear perfectly safe to designate the gate as Ethiopian. Lepsius attributed it without hesitation to Shabaka. 49 I doubt, however, whether he was actually able to decipher any part of that name. It is more probable that he was led to that conclusion by the brick of Shabaka mentioned in note 48. Daressy had in all likelihood no more positive evidence in assigning the origin of the gate to Taharka.50 That both of them, however, were correct has been made evident from a stela (Fig. 31) discovered in 1902 at Medinet Habu and now in the Cairo Museum (No. 36140). The inscription reads: "Year 3 under the majesty of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Nefertem-Khure, the son of Re, Taharka, given life like Res, forever. He made as a monument for his fathers, the Gods of the Gods, the Lords of Jeme, the reconstruction of the inclosure wall which his forefathers had made for the Gods of the Gods, the Lords of Jeme, which surrounded their temple, with a brick wall of excellent workmanship for eternity. Behold, his majesty found (it) fallen to ruin, having collapsed(?) into the sanctuary on its north side. He dedicated the holy place to its lord, in order that he might be given life forever."51

There was a second, considerably smaller gate of the same period built in between the west inclosure wall and the north-

stamp was regularly very deeply imprinted, but in such a careless manner that it was impossible to read the name in a single case.⁴⁸

On the north side we were able to follow this wall from the west as far as D 11. Its relationship with Hatshepsut's wall beneath it and the Ptolemaic wall on top of it is shown in Figure 30. Into this northern side was built a stone gate, whose foundation was laid at the same time as the brick foundation of the wall. The gate (Folio Pls. 5-6, in D-E 11) is still comparatively well preserved (Pl. 28). Both sides of it are ornamented with reliefs and inscriptions, but the king's names are completely chiseled out and were never replaced by others. The character of the reliefs and hieroglyphs resembles those on the Ethiopian pylon,



Fig. 31. Stela of Taharka, Found at Medinet Habu in 1902. Cairo 36140

After H. Carter in Annales du Service IV 179

- 19 LD Text III 150
- 5º Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou, p. 24.
- ⁵¹ Translation by Dr. Schott after a copy by Maspero published by Howard Carter in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* IV (1903) 180; see also pp. 178 f.

⁴⁸ With the exercise of considerable imagination we believed ourselves able to decipher the name of Taharka. From the north part of the wall, or its immediate vicinity, Lepsius removed to Berlin a brick (Berlin 1573) which bears the distinct stamp of Shabaka with two plumes on the cartouche; cf. LD Text III 165.

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west corner of the temple (see Fig. 29 and Folio Pl. 6). It is now destroyed except for the jambs, but in 1853 J. B. Greene found it in a considerably better state of preservation and recorded it photographically



FIG. 32. NARROW GATEWAY OF TAHARKA, AS PHOTOGRAPHED BY J. B. GREENE IN 1853 (CF. FIG. 29)

(Fig. 32). The doorway was only 0.60×2.10 m. in size and had a cylindrical stone lintel.⁵² So far as we can see, its frame was adorned with three moldings on each side and a sharply curved cavetto cornice. Only the east jamb contains an inscription, and this revealed upon careful examination the name "Taharka, Beloved of Amon" (Fig. 33).53 Since the inscription contains the phrase "beloved of Osiris," it is suggested that the doorway provided access to a small sanctuary built onto the rear of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple and devoted to the mortuary or Osiris cult (see Fig. 46). That would be consistent with the peculiar form of the doorway, that is, the archaic round lintel and the repeated moldings and probably cornices (cf. Fig. 29) of the frame.54

On the south side, only a small portion of the Ethiopian inclosure wall has remained (in E-F 9). The bricks measure about $41 \times 20 \times 12$ cm. and, so far as we have been able to discover, are unstamped. It is therefore possible that this section was either constructed or restored by a later king, possibly Nectanebo I or Achoris. At any rate it is older than the superimposed Ptolemaic wall. There had been (in F9) a gate directly opposite



Fig. 33. Erased Car-TOUCHE OF TAHARKA ON THE EAST JAMB OF HIS NARROW GATEWAY (SEE Fig. 32)

⁵² J. B. Greene, Fouilles exécutées à Thèbes dans l'année 1855 (Paris, 1855) p. 12.

⁵³ So far as I know, the epithet Mry-Imn with the name of Taharka occurs only here.

⁵⁴ Cf. the stela or false door in the little Ethiopian temple of Osiris at Karnak (Jéquier, L'Architecture ... [1922] Pl. 74, left).

one built by Nectanebo I in the outer inclosure wall of the temple area (see pp. 38 f.). The only portion of it to survive is the stone pavement, which is 45 cm. beneath that of a Ptolemaic gate (see p. 37).

Two fragments (Figs. 34–35) of a stately and exceedingly well built gate of Nectanebo I were found by Daressy and now lie in the Saitic portico usurped by that king (see p. 28). They belong to no surviving or otherwise mentioned gate. We should like to consider them the few remaining witnesses of what was in Nectanebo's time

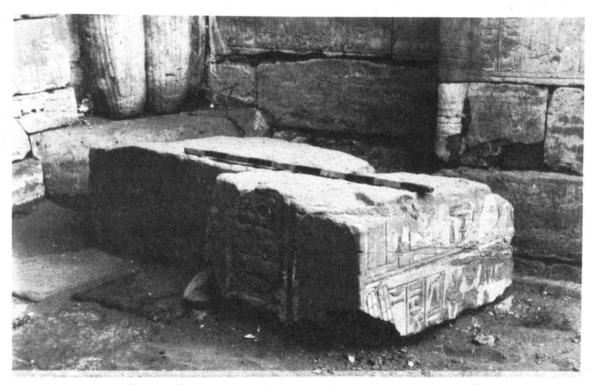


Fig. 34. Block from a Destroyed Gateway of Nectanebo I

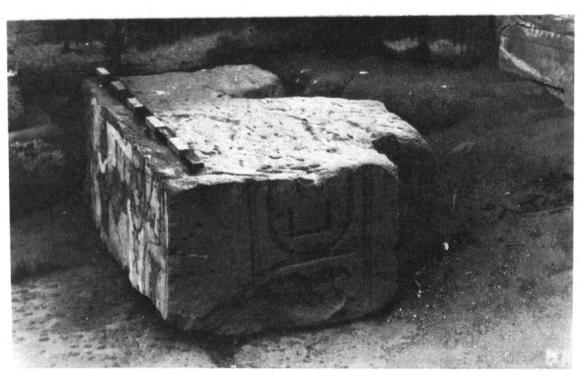


Fig. 35. Block from a Destroyed Gateway of Nectanebo I

the main gate through the inclosure wall at the axis of the temple, a gate that was superseded by the construction of the Ptolemaic pylon. It is a point worthy of mention that the blocks from which they were made were taken from the crenelated summit of either the Eastern Fortified Gate or the Outer Wall of Ramses III.

THE PTOLEMAIC INCLOSURE WALL

This wall was erected after the destruction of the Ethiopian brick wall. It was about 3.50 m. thick and composed of unstamped bricks from $40 \times 19 \times 11$ to $38 \times 18 \times 11$ cm. in dimensions. It is best preserved on the north, where on the outside (to the north) it possesses a slight socle (see Fig. 30) corresponding to that which

THE INCLOSURE WALLS AND THE ENVIRONS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

has left its impression on the Ptolemaic pylon (p. 29 and Fig. 25 c). The slope of the inside of the wall itself is indicated by the north Ptolemaic addition to the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (see p. 22) and by the Ptolemaic pylon. On the exterior, in front of the wall, there was a stone pavement which extended under the socle. At best, however, only insignificant fragments have survived on this side.

On the south, portions of it remained only from the Ptolemaic pylon to approximately E-F (Folio Pls. 5-6). From that point to the southwest corner and on the west side it is entirely destroyed, largely because it stood upon the ground almost without a proper foundation. In contrast, the pavement that belonged to it, which consisted of great sandstone slabs and extended outward about 3.40 m. in front of the wall, is still preserved along nearly the whole of the south and west sides; it provides ample evidence for the position of the wall and indicates that its course on the west ran not close behind the temple, as had earlier walls, but about 8 meters farther to the west. On the south (in E 9) is a well preserved gate of stone, which, like the walls of the Ptolemaic columned hall, is bare of inscriptions and which was built in the same technique as the walls of the Ptolemaic additions. Its joint with the foundations of the Ptolemaic brick inclosure wall would indicate that the two were contemporary. The materials utilized in its construction were drawn from various older buildings. Of special



Fig. 36. Capital Fragment of a Double Column in Corinthian Style

interest in this connection is the fact that one of the reused sandstone blocks bears the cartouche of Horsiēse, high priest of Amon and later coregent with Osorkon II⁵⁵ (about 860 B.C.), whose tomb is located in the immediate vicinity (in F–G 9, tomb No. 1) beneath the Ptolemaic pavement (see Folio Pl. 6). And on another stone is the cartouche of Queen Amenirdis (Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty), whose temple stands opposite (in F 7–8; see Folio Pls. 9–10). Their significance in relation to the history of these tomb memorials may be seen in Volume V.

Twenty-five meters farther west (in F 9), under the Roman inclosure wall, are the paving stones of a second gate, directly above those of the Ethiopian gate mentioned on pages 35 f.

Concerning the date of this brick wall, we are able to conclude that it cannot be later than the north addition to the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (probably Ptolemy IX Alexander I; see pp. 27 and 29) and probably not older than the restoration of the temple under Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (see pp. 17 and 18). This would assign it to the time between 141/40 and 88 B.C.

THE INCLOSURE WALL IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

In the time of the Caesars the stone pavement in front of the west inclosure wall was widened to the extent of 2.30 m. and numerous pieces (e.g. Figs. 36–37) of large Corinthian capitals which belonged to double columns

ss Gauthier, Le Livre des rois d'Égypte III (Le Caire, 1914) 348 ff.

were built in (see Folio Pls. 5–6). The building from which they were brought is unknown. Extending west directly along the axis of the Small Temple, there was laid out an avenue, a portion of the stone pavement of which is still preserved. It passed hard by the Great Pylon of Ramses III and ended there (in I 10) in a stone gateway, which was built under Domitian (see p. 39 and Fig. 52).

We met with a final restoration of the Ptolemaic inclosure wall in E-G 9, where the west portion of the south wall was replaced by a new wall that runs in a direction slightly oblique to the previous one (see Folio Pl. 6). In contrast to the Ptolemaic wall, which was erected almost without foundations of any depth worth mentioning, the new one was supplied with a foundation reaching 2.90 m. under the datum line (see Fig. 38, left). At precisely the place where there had been a "tank" and tombs (see Folio Pl. 6) the lack of proper foundation may well have led to the premature collapse of the Ptolemaic wall and to the construction of a new one with a deep foundation. This new wall has but a slight slope (5 cm. per meter) and consists of small unstamped bricks (35×17×8 cm.). An exact dating has not been achieved.

The Ethiopian wall west of the temple (in G 10) was rebuilt in the Byzantine period (see Pls. 16–17). Great blocks from the gate of Domitian and from the columns of the Saitic portico (see p. 28), usurped by Nectanebo I,



FIG. 37. CAPITAL FRAGMENT OF A DOUBLE COLUMN IN CORINTHIAN STYLE

were employed for the foundation. The bricks exhibit the small format characteristic of Coptic architecture $(25 \times 12 \times 5 \text{ cm.})$. They are not represented in the drawing on Folio Plate 5, since they revealed nothing further concerning these scanty remains of the latest period.

THE OUTER INCLOSURE WALL OF THE TEMPLE AREA

So far as we can see, the outer environs of the Small Temple were not surrounded by a brick wall until a late time. It is possible to establish its course with certainty at but a few points (see Figs. 48 and 52), because the higher strata of the terrain have been entirely dug away. At the west a definitely established point is determined by the afore-mentioned gate of Domitian (see above) just north of the Great Pylon of Ramses III. Beginning at the gateway, the wall extended northward to the Great Girdle Wall of Ramses III, continued presumably on top of it toward the east, then angled southward until it finally struck the Ptolemaic pylon. It resumed its course from the Eastern Fortified Gate and continued parallel to the Small Temple to the Great Pylon of Ramses III. Only in this southern section are portions of it still preserved under the terrain.

The construction of this wall must be assigned to various periods. Beginning at the Eastern Fortified Gate, where before the *déblaiement* a section approximately 4 meters in height still existed (cf. Pl. 9), it was—as the remains prove—2.60 to 2.90 m. thick and was composed of bricks with dimensions of $38 \times 18 \times 9$ cm. It was interrupted in F 9 by a stone gate, both jambs of which are still in position and covered on both sides with representations of the king before Amon and original inscriptions mentioning Nectanebo I (Pl. 34). Somewhat farther to the west a thinner wall was superimposed on it, and then it suddenly comes to an end (see Folio Pl. 6). This

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later wall reveals the familiar projections and recesses and undulating stratification which are characteristic of Ptolemaic and more especially of Roman brick walls. The size of the bricks here is $30 \times 16 \times 8$ cm.

The gate of Domitian was wrecked to provide stone for Coptic dwellings. Daressy rebuilt it (see Pl. 42) on an arbitrary site (in G 11; see Folio Pl. 5), without knowing where it had originally stood. We replaced beside it a fragment of its cornice which we found built into a late foundation (see p. 38) west of the Small Temple (at G 5.00 10 13.00). We were able to establish the original position of Domitian's gate, beside the Great Pylon of Ramses III (in I 10), because several of its foundation stones are still preserved *in situ* and bear upon their upper surfaces the mason's guide lines for the superstructure. The threshold was accordingly determined to have lain about 1.90 m. higher than the paving stones of the Ramessid period, that is, about 2.15 m. above the datum line. Under the gate ran a Roman conduit, most of which is still fairly well preserved (see Vol. V).

Thus the outer inclosure wall of the Small Temple dates back at least as far as Nectanebo I. It probably embraced the dwellings of the priests and temple servants, as well as storehouses, wells, and the like.

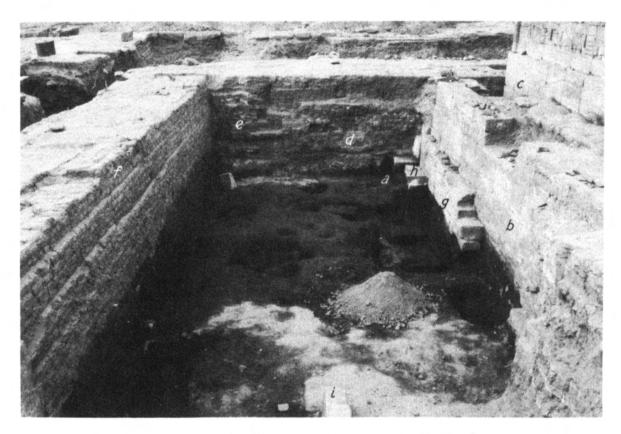


Fig. 38. The "Tank" South of the Small Temple

BUILDINGS SUBORDINATE TO THE SMALL TEMPLE

Both inside and outside of the inclosure wall of the temple, as it has been revealed in the foregoing pages, are located an infinite number of structures that belonged to the temple or were concerned with it. For the present we shall pass over the dwellings of the priests and servants, the storehouses, wells, and the like, since they are treated in Volume V. The structures to be discussed in this section are undoubtedly only an insignificant portion of all those which must at one time have existed in the temple area.

THE "TANK"

In F-G 9-10, deeply sunk into the ground, is a peculiar basin 8.50 m. square (see Folio Pl. 6). The bottom of it is at -3.30 m. and was faced with thick stone blocks, of which but very few are preserved (e.g. Fig. 38 a). The walls likewise consisted of large blocks of stone. The north wall (b) is fairly close to the foundation of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (c). The west one, however, deeply interlocked with the brick foundations of the earlier wall of Hatshepsut (d) and of a brick pylon and wall of Ramses III (e). The later wall of Hatshepsut and the Ethiopian wall, which was a reconstruction of the former, are both somewhat farther back and were therefore not drawn into connection with the "tank." The south side of the "tank" has not been excavated because it extends beneath the Roman inclosure wall (f; see also Folio Pl. 6), but it was possible to clear the southwest corner. Many of the stone blocks were derived from destroyed buildings of Ramses III.

At some time not exactly determinable there was built into the "tank" a small chamber which we have designated as "tomb No. 8." Only its north wall (g), which was composed of small sandstone blocks, with its two corners (see Folio Pl. 5) has been preserved. Its floor (h) was situated about 25 cm. higher than that of the "tank." From the east a sloping ramp or stairway (i) led to the "tank" or to the tomb.

We found on the bottom of the "tank"—25 cm. below the ancient pavement—a few fragments of large granite statues (e.g. Fig. 9) and all sorts of tomb objects which had been indiscriminately cast into the "tank." Among them were ushabtiu of Amenirdis, Shepnupet II, and Nitocris, whose tomb chapels are located opposite (see Folio Pls. 9–10). Upon the destruction and plundering of these Twenty-fifth or Twenty-sixth Dynasty tombs the "tank" must obviously have lain open, so that it became a convenient depository for objects deemed worthless by the tomb robbers.

From this description it is evident that the "tank" could not have been a reservoir; besides, it is situated too high above the water level. Nor could it have been an ordinary tomb structure, because its area is too great to have been completely roofed over. The most that might be assumed is the possibility that whatever roofed structures were built into it have left no traces. It is possible that tomb No. 8 might have been one of them, but there is no proof of it. Thus we have chosen the term "tank" only through lack of a more appropriate designation. Concerning its date, we have certain knowledge only that it was built after the destruction of the Ramessid walls and that it had already been covered by other structures in the second century B.C.

Томвѕ

In this section, it is necessary to take into account only those tomb structures from which we have been able to derive evidence of the extent of the temple buildings during the various epochs. The tombs themselves and the objects discovered in them are discussed in detail in Volume V.

Beside the Ethiopian pylon and gallery were constructed certain tombs, presumably of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Folio Pls. 5-6, No. 3 a-d), which were later entirely destroyed and filled with debris and finally in part (No. 3 a and c) covered by the Ptolemaic columned hall. Other tombs of the same period (No. 3 and No. 4, the latter probably of Diese-hebsed) are located in the foundations of the demolished brick massif of the Eastern Fortified Gate. In addition to these is a row of tombs south of the axis of the Great Temple of Ramses III, which includes especially the tomb chapels of the sacerdotal princesses of Thebes—Amenirdis, Shepnupet II, Nitocris and her mother Mehetnusekhet (see Folio Pls. 9-10). We have apparently a cemetery of the most aristocratic circles, which in the Twenty-fifth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty found refuge near the Small Temple.

An older group consists of Tombs 1 and 2 (in F-G 9; see Folio Pls. 3-4) and possibly even the great complex which we have designated as the "tank" (see above). No. 1 belonged to Horsiese (see p. 37). These tombs were erected after the destruction of the Ramessid walls both outside and inside the south wall of Hatshepsut.

Another group is located on both sides of the outer inclosure wall of the Small Temple (in E-G 9-10; see Folio Pls. 5-6) and may for that reason probably be assigned to the Ptolemaic period. Included are Tombs 5, 6, 9, and 10 as well as No. 7 (in the south addition to the Small Temple), which is certainly Ptolemaic.

It is thus clear that all these tombs are situated to the south and east of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, but not a single one on the north or west side. In those directions were located living quarters, a well, and the sacred lake.

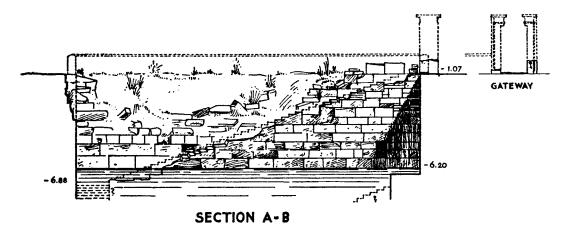
THE Cachette

We discovered (in E 4.50 9 8.00) under the Ptolemaic pavement a pit in which had been buried a large number of bronze and stone statuettes of Osiris at some time when there was no longer room for them in the cult chambers, though a desire still existed to preserve them from destruction. It was therefore a hiding place very similar to, though much humbler than, the well known cachette in the temple of Amon at Karnak. In our case, the statuettes can be assigned without exception to the time before 100 B.C. They are discussed in Volume V.

THE INCLOSURE WALLS AND THE ENVIRONS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

THE SACRED LAKE

The sacred lake is located outside of the north inclosure wall of the temple. It was apparently never filled with debris, since the scholars of the French Expedition of Napoleon reported having seen it.⁵⁶ It lies at an angle to the axes of both the Small Temple and the Great Temple of Ramses III (see Folio Pl. 1).



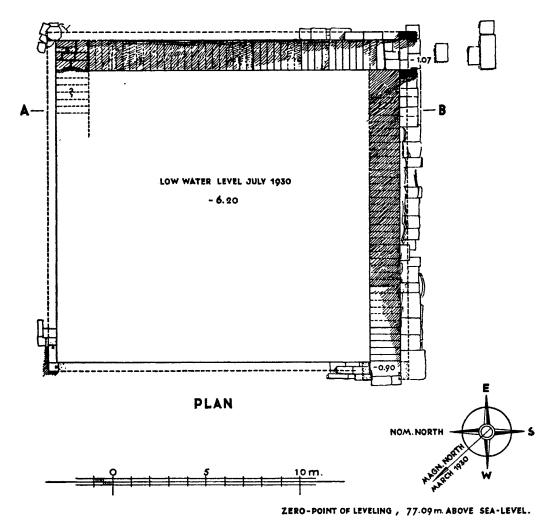


Fig. 39. The Sacred Lake

Excavation revealed that the sacred lake lies in a depression in the terrain (see Folio Pl. 3), but whether in one of natural or artificial origin we are not in a position to say with certainty. It is possible that an earlier sacred lake was located in the same place as the present one, which probably, as will be shown, originated in the Ptolemaic period. An argument for the existence of an earlier lake is the fact that the elaborately ornamented gate of Taharka in the north inclosure wall, though older than the present lake, opens toward it. The present lake (Fig. 39) is approximately square. It is provided with no direct inlet and derives its water only by infiltration. The water level thus rises and falls with the ground water, 57 of which there now remains a certain

quantity even when the Nile is at its lowest. Furthermore, at the time of its construction over two thousand years ago it also contained water at low Nile. We assume that the low water level was about 2 meters deeper two thousand years ago than it is at the present time, and accordingly it may be estimated that the original floor of the sacred lake must be sought at least 2-3 meters deeper than the present lowest water level (-6.20 m.), that is, at approximately -8 to -9 meters.

Two long stairways, each broken at the corner by a landing, lead to the water. The bottom steps could not be reached even at the lowest water level of 1930.58 In the masonry of the staircase along the east side of the basin is located a window of 60×90 cm., but the stonework is so badly damaged that we cannot determine for what sort of room it had been intended. Presumably the lowest steps of the other stairway, which descends from the southwest corner of the lake, are located under the east flight.59

The top landings of the staircases are at the corners nearest the temple, that is, at the two south corners of the lake. They were equipped with doorways which protruded above the parapet wall. Sufficient of the doorframes is preserved in situ to make possible a reconstruction of the form of the doorways (see Fig. 39). Daressy reports that he discovered scattered fragments of the doorways bearing the name of Nectanebo II. I have been unable to find such stones again so as to discover whether they really belonged to the doorways of the sacred lake. Thus I must leave open the question of the builder, although I should judge the masonry to be Ptolemaic.

The walls of the lake are constructed partially of reused stone, among which are fragments of eight-sided columns with the name of Ramses III. Blocks mentioned by Daressy⁶² with the name of Ankhnes-Neferibre^c (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) are now in the temple magazine.

The area to the south of the lake was paved with stone slabs as far as the inclosure wall of the Small Temple. There are a few traces on this pavement of a small structure (perhaps a chapel) which obviously had some connection with the sacred lake.

58 The excavation was undertaken in my absence in June, 1930, at low Nile by Reis Sharīd Muḥammad Manṣūr. I am indebted to Mr. L. Le Grande Hunter for the measurement and leveling operations.

59 Cf. the similar construction of the stairways in the sacred lake at Denderah.

60 Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou, p. 25. Daressy designates as Nectanebo II the king (Nht-nb.f) whom we designate as Nectanebo I (cf. p. 27, n. 34).

⁶¹ Many of the stones with the name Nht-nb.f that were collected by Daressy now lie on the north Girdle Wall of the Great Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu and in the temple magazine. But none of these belongs to the doorways of the sacred lake.

⁶² Op. cit. p. 26.

INTRODUCTION: "THE HOLY PLACE OF JEME"

Any satisfactory interpretation of the significance of our investigation of the Small Temple must be based upon a correct understanding of the ancient history of Thebes. Since the historical problems naturally lie somewhat outside my province as an excavator, I can only discuss them in the light of the results obtained by the late Professor Kurt Sethe, whose fundamental thesis¹ I follow to a large extent.

Thebes was not one of the old cities of Egypt. Its name, W35.t, originally designated only the fourth nome of Upper Egypt. As a city it first came into existence after the princes of the Theban nome had obtained the mastery in their wars against the Heracleopolitans and Egypt had been reunited (Eleventh Dynasty). The old capital of the Theban nome was 13 kilometers to the south at Hermonthis (modern Armant).

Simultaneously with the victorious wars which led to the predominance of the Theban kings, the God Amon, whose worship hitherto had centered at Hermopolis in the Heracleopolitan kingdom (at the entrance of the Fayyum), seems to have been brought to Thebes, where his new residence was established at Karnak. The development of this new site for the cult apparently resulted in the transfer of the center of affairs within the Theban nome toward the north. From his new stronghold at Karnak, Amon forced the older gods of the nome, especially Montu, into the background and entered upon his victorious career as "King of the Gods" and "Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands." The temple of Karnak was apparently the nucleus about which Thebes developed into a city.

On the west side of the Nile Valley (see Fig. 53), in front of the hill of Dhira Abu el-Naga and in the rockencircled hollow of Deir el-Bahri, the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, the Intefs and the Mentuhoteps, erected their tomb-temples to face Karnak. The magnificent cliffs which here stretch out toward the cultivation and the Nile Valley obviously constituted a decisive factor in the choice of this location. The ancients were doubtless no less aware than ourselves that a grander or more awe-inspiring site for a royal cemetery could scarcely be found.

The cult of Amon now fixed upon a second abode, this time on the west of Thebes. It was located south of the royal necropolis, at the spot now known to us as Medinet Habu. Even in the late period this site was still revered as a very ancient holy place, as is shown in certain inscriptions according to which Amon as "Father of the Fathers of the Eight Primeval Gods" and these gods themselves were thought to dwell, that is, to be buried, there. The locality was called 31.t-T3m.t, "The (Holy?) Place of Jēme." 31.t is an old word which seems to have been employed especially for such sacred places (in connection with the cult of the dead?). As early as the Eighteenth Dynasty the district was designated as "the exact 31.t of the West." T3m.t is the name of the place. The compound 31.t-T3m.t occurs for the first time in the Small Temple in the restoration inscription of Panedjem I (Twenty-first Dynasty). T3m.t, later D3m.t, the Coptic XHME (Jēme), was perhaps the prototype of the Greek appellation $\Theta \hat{\eta} \beta a_{i}$ for the entire metropolis.

¹ Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, philos.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen," 1929, Nr. 4).

² Concerning the nature of the Eight Primeval Gods, cf. *ibid*. §§ 63 ff. In our temple no direct reference to the Eight Primeval Gods occurs until the time of Achoris (*ibid*. § 106). They are first represented in the Ptolemaic period, on the lintels of the entrance to the shrine and of the Ptolemaic pylon, and later on the lintel of the gate of Domitian. In the vicinity of the Small Temple we found a fragment of a limestone statuette, probably Saitic (published in Vol. V), with the following inscription (transl. by Anthes): "O..., Father of the Fathers of the Eight, Sokar Osiris, Great God in Jēme, let the statue remain in the interior of this house(?) forever."

Sethe in his § 279 summarizes his discussion of the cult of Amon and the Eight Primeval Gods as follows:

[&]quot;In griechischer Zeit gilt Theben als Geburtsort der Acht, und bei Medinet Habu, auf dem Westufer dieser Stadt, wird damals ihre letzte Ruhestätte gesucht. Dort sollen sie als Vertreter einer vergangenen Weltperiode wie Verstorbene in ihrer Unterwelt weilen, aus der sie aber noch immer ihre Wirkung auf die Oberwelt ausüben, indem sie den Nil und die Sonne daraus emporkommen lassen. Wie die Acht Urgötter gilt auch der mit ihnen in Medinet Habu unter der Form der Schlange Km-3.t-f ("die ihren Augenblick vollendete") verehrte Urvater Amon-rec als verstorben. Er empfängt mit ihnen zusammen regelmässig Totenopfer teils aus der Hand einer anderen Abspaltung seiner eigenen Person, des ithyphallischen "Amun von Luxor" (Amenapet), der als "grosser lebender Gott" ihm gegenüber die gegenwärtige Weltordnung vertritt"

³ Ibid. § 103.

Inside this sacred precinct (${}^{3}B.t-\underline{T}{}^{3}m.t$) the Small Temple was apparently regarded as the home of the Amon cult in the narrower sense, since it was believed, at least in the late period, to contain the tombs of the first progenitor, Amon, and the Eight Primeval Gods. In the wall reliefs of the Eighteenth Dynasty Amon-Rec is already given the epithet $\underline{d}sr-\underline{s}.t$, "Sacred of Place" or "He of the Sacred Place." The cult at this site, however, as our researches have shown, reaches back into the time before Hatshepsut, presumably into the Middle Kingdom. This is confirmed by Thutmose III also, in his dedicatory inscription on the inside of the architraves of the peripteros, which tells how he found the temple "fallen into ruin" (cf. p. 19).

A third center of the Amon cult existed on the east bank, opposite Medinet Habu, in the temple of Luxor. This was the old "Opet," where Amon was worshiped as "the living god" in contrast to the first progenitor, who was regarded as dead. While the first progenitor Amon is depicted in human form, either standing or seated on the throne, the Amon of Luxor ("Imn-m-ip.t) is represented as an ithyphallic being. As the "living Amon" he possessed his harem or nuptial hall in Luxor.

The later city of Thebes evidently developed about these four cult places, that is, the three Amon sanctuaries and the royal necropolis. At what time Thebes could first properly be called a city is still somewhat uncertain. Hermonthis may have remained the real city of the Theban nome well into the New Kingdom. But the royal residence was probably in the vicinity of the new Amon sanctuaries, though we do not know where until the time of Amenhotep III, when it was located about a kilometer south of Medinet Habu, at the present Malqata. Elsewhere in this western district we found more village-like settlements attached to the sanctuaries or at least standing in a more or less close relationship with them. At the beginning of the New Kingdom the necropolis of western Thebes was essentially smaller than in later times. In general it seems to have extended from the hill of Dhira. Abu el-Naga, and the area at its foot to the neighborhood of the Ramesseum. At that time the strip of land along the cultivation where the royal mortuary temples were erected in the course of the New Kingdom (see Fig. 53) was for the most part, so far as we know, not yet built up as a necropolis.

In order to visualize the situation, it is necessary to realize that this fairly level strip along the cultivation was much wider at the time of the New Kingdom than it is today. The cultivated land was correspondingly narrower; the boundary line between the latter and the desert therefore lay farther toward the east. The explanation for this is the fact that the level of the cultivated land was at that time approximately 3 or 4 meters lower than it is today. The thin layers of alluvium deposited by the annual inundation have caused it to rise to its present height and consequently to encroach upon the desert. An idea of how this has taken place can be easily obtained by a consideration of the temple of Amenhotep I at Qurnah and that of Amenhotep III behind the Colossi of Memnon. Both of these now lie partly or entirely in the fields, that is, in the inundated area; but they must obviously have been situated originally at a level considerably above that of the highest inundation to be anticipated. It is hardly conceivable that this entire strip along the cultivation should have lain idle and waste in the New Kingdom. However, so far as I know, very few traces of abodes of the living of that period have been found up to the present time. The afore-mentioned district of Jēme alone forms an exception, and to this we shall now turn our attention.

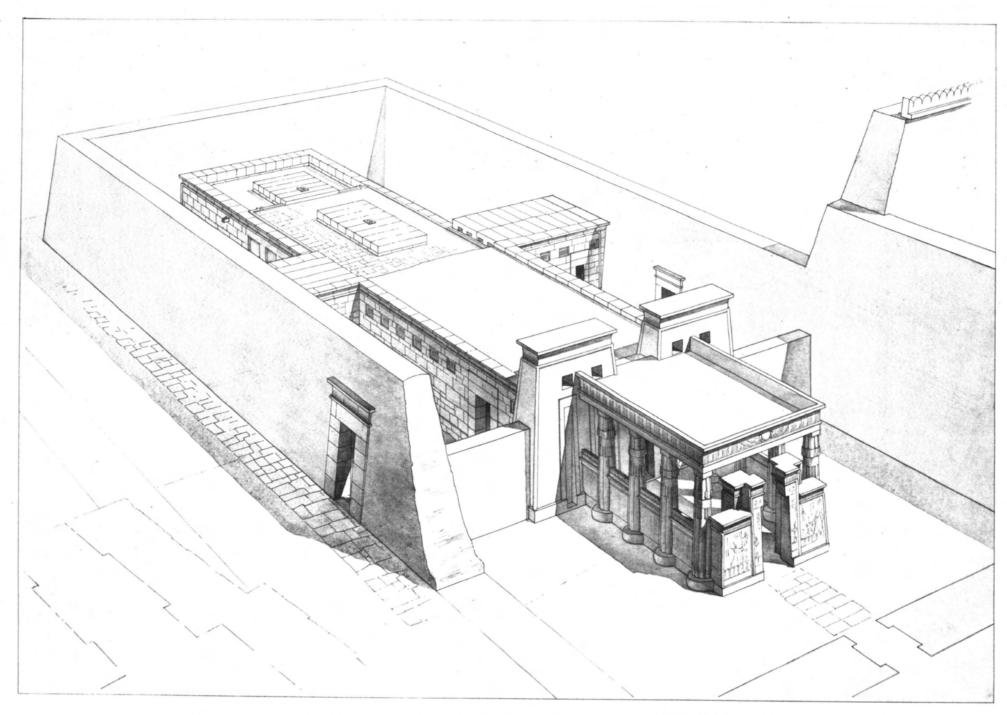
THE OLDEST CULT BUILDINGS OF JEME

The district in which the temple of Amon dsr-s.t, "He of the Sacred Place," stands and which was probably designated as "The Holy Place of Jēme" (313.t-T3m.t) was apparently surrounded by walls at various times. The oldest which we have been able to identify is located immediately behind (west of) the Small Temple of Medinet Habu and from there ran a considerable distance toward the north (Fig. 40; see also Fig. 5), where it has unfortunately disappeared. Many of its mud bricks bear the stamp of Kamacrec (Fig. 6 a). We have designated this wall the "earlier wall of Hatshepsut" (see p. 6). Proceeding in its general line of direction toward the

⁵ Sethe, Amun und die Acht Urgötter, §§ 104 and 108.

⁶ When it is said of Akhnaton that he was born in Hermonthis, it seems to me that reference is made to the palace of his father in Malqata near Hermonthis.

⁷ Unfortunately there exists no thorough study concerning the position, extent, and limits of the necropolis. Many ancient references to these facts exist which need only to be brought into harmony with results of a geographical and archeological investigation on the spot.



THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD. RECONSTRUCTION

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south, about 80 meters from the Small Temple (in G 5-6), appears a similar wall, which, however, did not pursue exactly the same course as the earlier wall of Hatshepsut (see Folio Pls. 7-8). It is of later date, for it contains bricks with the stamps of Thutmose III⁸ and Thutmose IV (Fig. 6 b, c, e). There is another wall 3-4 meters to the west of the earlier wall of Hatshepsut, but again not parallel to it (see Folio Pls. 3-4). According to the stamped bricks (Fig. 6 f), this dates from Amenhotep III.

We see therefore that the district of Old Jēme was apparently walled in on several occasions during the course of the Eighteenth Dynasty. The extent of the district, however, is unknown, as the wall courses which we found were only fragments on the west; the course of the front (east) wall may well be hidden beneath the cultivation at present.

Within this area of Old Jēme the temple erected by Hatshepsut formed a complete unit. It was entirely surrounded by its own brick wall, which is later than the one she erected to encircle Jēme and which we have therefore designated the "later wall of Hatshepsut" (see Folio Pls. 3–4). Where it passes along the rear (west) of the temple, it has replaced the earlier wall of Hatshepsut (see Fig. 40). The two walls have the same thickness and

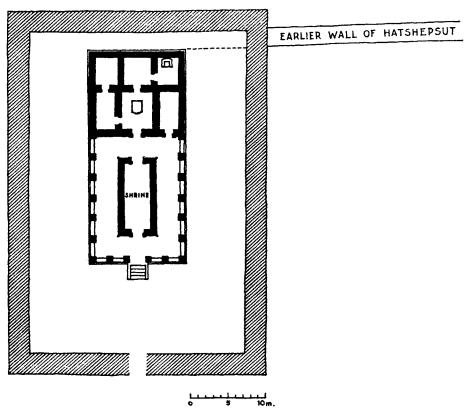


Fig. 40. The Small Temple of Medinet Habu under Thutmose III. Ground Plan. Reconstruction

are similar in structure and in the stamps on the bricks. The later wall differs in one point only, namely that beneath it were found small quartzite slabs bearing the cartouche of Kama^cre^c and the expression [] ~ 7 (Figs. 27–28).

Stones similar in type have been found in other excavations in the vicinity also, for example, in the so-called Valley Temple of Hatshepsut at the foot of the causeway to Deir el-Bahri⁹ and around the structure erected by Hatshepsut in front of the Middle Kingdom temple of Amon in Karnak.¹⁰ Two of the latter which are now in the Cairo Museum bear exactly the same inscription as our examples from Medinet Habu. Sethe has translated

⁸ The bricks of Thutmose III are so defaced that one might believe that they were reused.

^{*} E.g. British Museum 52884-85; see Hieroglyphic Texts from Egyptian Stelae, &c., in the British Museum V (London, 1914) Pl. 26 and p. 9, where they are designated as "trial pieces" and as coming from Deir el-Bahri. But, according to what Mr. Howard Carter has told me personally, they came from the Valley Temple. A similar stone is illustrated in Earl of Carnarvon and H. Carter, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes (London, 1912) Pl. XXXII 1 and p. 40. It is called a "tally-stone" and bears in addition to the cartouche a damaged inscription, which cannot now be completely read. Similar stone slabs inscribed with the cartouche of Kama^cre^c, but without an accompanying inscription, were found in 1898/99 at the same place (not in situ); see Marquis of Northampton, Wilhelm Spiegelberg, and Percy E. Newberry, Report on Some Excavations in the Theban Necropolis during the Winter of 1898-9 (London, 1908) p. 37 and Figs. 28-29.

¹⁰ G. Legrain in Recueil de travaux XXIII (1901) 64: "Je trouvai ... une pierre de fondation ⊙ ⅓ ∐ ⊆ ¶ . Ceci, d'ailleurs, m'est arrivé en beaucoup d'endroits autour du sanctuaire. Ces pierres étaient, pour ainsi dire, semées dans le sol."

these tentatively as "K3-m3ct-rc, die Theben ummauerte" or "welche Theben mit Mauern versah." It is necessary to keep in mind the fact—revealed by our excavation—that these walls were erected not about Thebes as a city but around individual building complexes which all together comprised what was called "Thebes."

At Medinet Habu as well as in the adjoining temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab (see p. 68 and Vol. IV), small rustic dwellings are found toward the west, that is, outside of the great encircling walls of Old Jēme. Most of them were of course completely demolished when the great temples were erected, and a few traces only have been preserved in the depressions in the ground where they were buried under the gravel that was brought in for filling purposes. They were rambling dwellings, exceedingly irregular in plan, so that it can hardly be assumed that they stood within an inclosure. Pottery and the remains of other objects of daily use belonging to the Eighteenth Dynasty have survived, as well as some scarabs and rings with the names of Amenhotep III and Queen Tiy, but nothing that appeared to be older than the Eighteenth Dynasty. We must therefore conclude that there existed rural settlements outside (west) of the walled district of Old Jēme, at least in the time of Amenhotep III.

Although the walls of Jēme could only be traced back to the period of Hatshepsut, the fact that the sacred precinct was substantially older was proved by our excavation, for beneath the temple built by Hatshepsut were the remains of a small sandstone chapel (see pp. 4 f.). This was approximately square, with sloping exterior walls and at the rear three very narrow chambers. A brick wall immediately behind it appears to be the remains of the encircling wall of this "earliest chapel" (see Fig. 2 A). The layout of this edifice is so similar to that of Scankhkarec Mentuhotep V on the summit of the hill above Qurnah (see Fig. 2 B), and the building materials and technique so closely resemble those used in the temple of Mentuhotep II and III at Deir el-Bahri, that we suspect it likewise to have originated in the Eleventh Dynasty. Should this dating be correct, then this chapel was perhaps the oldest sanctuary of Amon on the west of Thebes, "The Holy Place of Jēme," from which Amon bore the appellation "He of the Sacred Place."

Hard by this chapel must have been a second building, numerous fragments of which were reused in the temple of Hatshepsut. So far as it was possible to judge from these, it was a limestone peripteros with a shrine in the center (see pp. 5f.). The single sculptured fragment which has been preserved (Fig. 3) indicates that this "earliest peripteros" had not been completely decorated before it was torn down by Hatshepsut. It was therefore probably begun by one of her immediate predecessors. We have not been able to determine where this limestone building stood or whether it had any connection with the "earliest chapel." It is, however, very possible, as suggested by S. Schott, that it was a shrine for the sacred bark of Amon and that it either stood free in the court before the "earliest chapel" or was built on in front of it as a later addition.

At any rate these two buildings were removed by Hatshepsut, who proceeded to build in their place a temple consisting of two parts—the chapel itself and in front of it a shrine with surrounding ambulatory. All peripteroi of Egypt known to us so far stand detached, and none of the small temples which are comparable with the rear portion of Hatshepsut's temple has an attached shrine with ambulatory. The temple of Hatshepsut is thus unique. But we now see that presumably it originated from an older model which included two sections, the one a chapel, and the other a peripteros containing a shrine.

THE TEMPLE UNDER HATSHEPSUT

The new temple was not begun by Hatshepsut until the second half of her reign. It consisted of two parts, which formed an admirable unit containing a group of temple rooms and before them a peripteros with a shrine in the center (Fig. 41 B). Of the actual temple rooms the six cult chambers at the rear are preserved. A transverse hall, which was originally in front of them, was razed under Thutmose III. In the main the six cult chambers are preserved in the form in which they were erected by Hatshepsut. The dedicatory inscription on the doorframe of the southwest room (Fig. 8 Q) states: "The Good Goddess, the Lady of the Two Lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, K3-m3c.t-Rc, beloved of Amon-Rec the King of the Gods, the daughter of the Sun, of his body, his beloved, Khnemet-Amon Hatshepsut; (she) made it as (her) monument for her father Amon,

¹¹ Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, Deutsch (Leipzig, 1914) No. 104.

¹² The latter translation is one which Sethe gave me when I discussed the results of our excavations with him.

the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, the Lord of Heaven, in order that he may give all life and all duration like Rec forever."¹³

The central chamber in the front (east) row of rooms (Fig. 8 L) is larger and higher than the others; moreover, it is the only room which receives direct light, through an opening in the roof. Four other chambers are accessible from it, two to the west and two to the south. At the time of Thutmose III a mighty double statue of black granite stood in Chamber L. It depicted Amon and Thutmose III seated side by side on a throne, with their arms around each other (Pl. 3). Since this great group was larger than the door opening into the room,

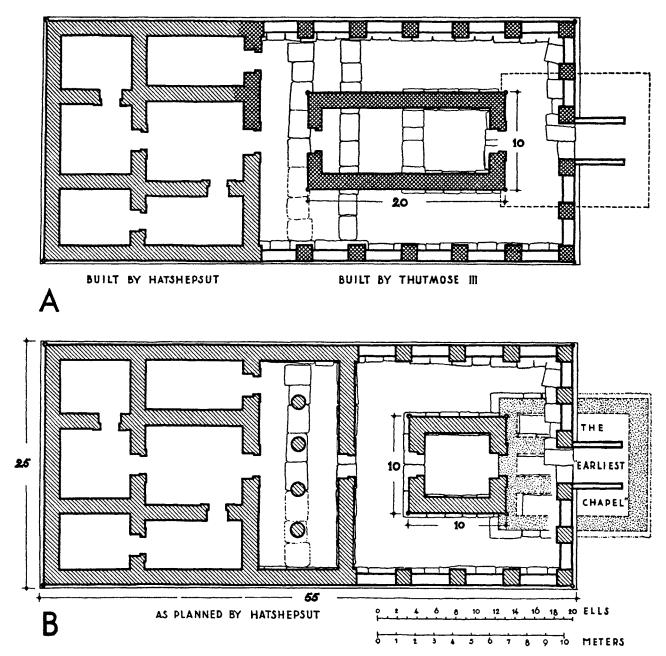


Fig. 41. The Eighteenth Dynasty Temple (A) as Finished under Thutmose III and (B) as Planned and Partially Built under Hatshepsut

it was necessary for the builders to lay the front (east) wall of the room after the statue had been brought in and placed in position (see p. 9).

In the sanctuary of the King (M) also the front wall was erected later than the others. This fact, as well as the contents of the wall reliefs, leads us to conclude that a great statue stood here also, although no fragments of such were found in the room. We suspect, however, that a large king's head wearing the crown of Upper Egypt (Fig. 9) found in the "tank" south of the temple may have belonged to it (see p. 9). The sanctuary of the King is isolated from the other five rooms, which form the actual sanctuary of Amon. It had its own entrance directly from the transverse hall in front of it. The wall reliefs differ materially from those in the other rooms, for in Room M the king is represented seated on a throne and worshiped by Inmutef, while in all the other rooms Amon in his two forms is being worshiped by the king.

¹³ After Sethe, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, Deutsch, No. 102.

The transverse hall (p. 16) served as the entrance hall to the six cult chambers. It presumably possessed four columns.¹⁴ After the destruction of this columned hall its west wall formed the front of the cult chambers. Its reliefs date only from Thutmose III.

So far as I know, the ground plan of the rear part of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple is unique in Egypt proper, though there are related buildings in Nubia—Egyptian colony that it was—dating from the same time.¹⁴⁸ Above all, the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen (Fig. 42¹⁵), near Wadi Halfa, should be mentioned. It contained a transverse hall (without pillars), a main room in the middle, from which side rooms to the south and west were accessible, and finally an isolated chamber to the north. The rear half of the latter contained a sort of

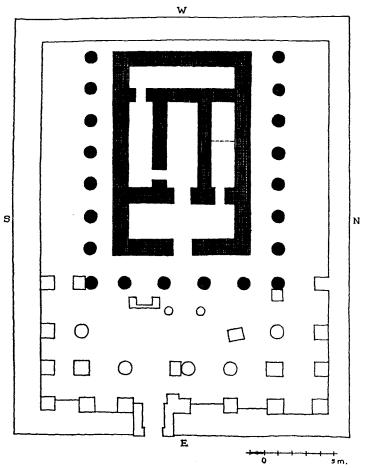


Fig. 42. The Temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen, near Wadi Halfa

partition floor or platform, which divided it into two unequal "half stories." It seems to me that these were magazines for temple implements.

At Gebel Barkal a somewhat later temple (B 500), dating from the end of the Eighteenth or the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty,¹⁶ presents the same type: a broad hall; then the main room in the center, from which a small side room in the southeast corner is accessible; in front (west) of the latter an isolated chamber; and, in deviation from the style of the Nubian temple, to the north of the main room a second isolated chamber with direct access from the broad hall.¹⁷

It thus appears permissible to conclude that the ground plan of the rear rooms of Hatshepsut's temple at Medinet Habu was an example of a form relatively common in the New Kingdom. The question remains whether the isolated chamber (M) originally was intended to be a magazine and was changed into the sanctuary of the King by Thutmose III. The history of the reliefs in the cult chambers is discussed on pages 9-13.

Of the fore part of the temple as begun under Hatshepsut (pp. 15-17) there remain only the socle of the peripteros and a few courses of the shrine within it. However, even these meager remains suffice to present to us

an idea of the fore part of the temple as planned by Hatshepsut (Fig. 41 B). The pillars date from the time of her successor; only four on the east side could have originated with Hatshepsut (see p. 17), and even that proposition is uncertain.

THE TEMPLE UNDER THUTMOSE III

Except for some minor details, the construction of the rear rooms of the temple had been completed by Hatshepsut. The reliefs, so far as they were finished under her, occasionally show Thutmose III, but as coregent. When he became sole ruler, he added reliefs and inscriptions wherever they were lacking (see Fig. 10),

14 Cf. H. Carter, "Note upon the mortuary chapel of Amenhotep I and Aahmes-Nefert-ari" (JEA III [1916] 153-54 and Pl. XXIII).

¹⁴a During the printing of this volume Ludwig Borchardt published a treatise on Egyptian peripteral temples under the title: Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang, mit Zeichnungen von Herbert Ricke ("Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde," hrsg. von Ludwig Borchardt, Heft 2 [Kairo, 1938]). Unfortunately I could not utilize this very interesting work. It should be noted that in Borchardt's reconstruction of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu (Pl. 17) the original ceiling above the naos is too low.

¹⁵ Drawing based on D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *Buhen* (Philadelphia, 1911) Plan A. Unfortunately the materials presented in the publication are not sufficient to give an idea of how the exterior of the temple appeared. The reconstruction (Plan B) can be accepted only with reservations. The inner part, which is still standing, and the positions of the columns which surrounded it at least on three sides are all that is certain. These parts, which certainly date from Hatshepsut, I have shown with hatching in Fig. 42. However, without a proper architectural investigation it is not possible to offer any facts concerning the original outer arrangement or what stood in place of the later forecourt. For more recent data concerning this temple see Borchardt, *op. cii.* Pls. 11–12 and pp. 35–41. A further example is offered by the temple of el-Amadah; see *ibid.* Pl. 13 and pp. 41–44.

¹⁶ George A. Reisner in 7EA IV (1917) 223.

that is, in the room of the double statue (Fig. 8 L) except on the west wall, in the sanctuary of the King (M), and on the west and south walls of the naos room (P). In L and M the completion of the reliefs was probably delayed because the front wall in each was left open by Hatshepsut, in L at least for the introduction of a statue (see p. 9).

Under Thutmose III architectural alterations were confined to the fore part of the temple (see pp. 17–21 and Fig. 41). The deciding factor in the new plan was the desire to gain a large room inside the peripteros for the sacred bark, and this could be achieved only at the expense of the transverse hall. The latter was therefore removed. Whether other reasons, arising from personal considerations, underlay the alteration of the peripteros as planned and partially built by Hatshepsut is very difficult to say. The new shrine had exactly the same width as the former one but was twice as long (see Fig. 41). The foundations and lowest courses of the front and two side walls of the older shrine were reused in the new construction, but because of the added length the old rear wall had to be sacrificed. The enlargement of the shrine was carried out with unbelievable superficiality, without foundations and with occasional old limestone blocks in walls which otherwise were constructed of sandstone (see p. 17). At the time of Thutmose III the walls of the shrine were 1 meter lower than they are today. The two courses at the top were added in the Ptolemaic period. Originally the ceiling was on the same level as that of the ambulatory. Whether the room received light through an opening in the roof or only through the doors is unknown.

The exterior of the shrine is finished as if it were a small detached chapel, with torus moldings at the corners and a cavetto cornice over the customary kheker frieze. The reliefs on the side walls depict scenes of the foundation and dedication ceremonies and the like. Beside the front (east) doorway Amon offers life to the nose of the king, and on the west the king stands before Amon. Most of these representations are comparatively well preserved, and whatever changes were undertaken involved only the representations and name of Amon, which were erased in the time of Akhnaton but restored in the Nineteenth Dynasty. The doorways were originally only 1.05×2.35 m., so that the bark of Amon which was brought in at the time of Thutmose III must have been of modest size.¹⁸ In the Ptolemaic period the two entrances were enlarged and worked over (see p. 18). At the same time the reliefs on the left and right of the front entrance also experienced alteration. On the whole, however, the exterior of the shrine still rather clearly reflects its appearance at the time of its construction in the Eighteenth Dynasty.

The reliefs on the interior walls, however, were completely worked over in Ptolemaic times, though an attempt was apparently made to hold as closely as possible to the representations of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Even a statement of restoration added by Seti I was correctly reworked. In fact, it is only in a few places—mainly the west wall, the doorframes, and the new courses at the top—that additions occur which are original with the Ptolemies (see pp. 18 f.).

The ambulatory around the shrine averages 3 meters in width and is roofed with stone slabs. The remarkable method by which each corner of the corridor was spanned by two adjoining slabs (see p. 20) was an impractical manner of construction, which later caused Achoris to insert four columns to support the slabs.

The inner surfaces of the architraves were inscribed with double lines of inscriptions, which contain the dedication of the temple to Amon.¹⁹ They begin at the center of each side of the peripteros and run in opposite directions. As this practice was curiously enough followed on the side architraves, emphasis fell on the transverse axis of the peripteros. Thus it would seem that the peripteros was felt to be not so much a longitudinal structure as a central building and is reminiscent of the simple type of peripteros that was detached on all sides, with no adjoining chapel at the rear.

On the exterior the decoration of the peripteros was limited to the front, while the sides were left unadorned. Thus only the architrave on the east side has the royal inscription. The pillars on the east are decorated on all four sides, while the other pillars are carved with reliefs on only three sides. In all the representations the king is depicted standing before a god: before Amon on the exterior (i.e., at the east) and the interior; before other divinities on the side faces of the pillars.²⁰ The style of carving used here is worthy of mention, for the inner

¹⁸ Cf. the narrower door opening in the room of the Amon bark at Deir el-Bahri, which is only 1.25 m. in width (see Edouard Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahri* VI [London, 1908] Pl. CLXXIV).

¹⁹ Sethe, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, pp. 880-82, No. 261.

sides of the pillars are sculptured in raised relief while all the other faces bear incised reliefs. It was the general practice in this period to supply outer walls with sunken reliefs. On the pillars the figures of the gods were almost without exception chiseled out or effaced in the 'Amarnah period and restored at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty. One can imagine how distressing the disfigured buildings must have appeared during the 'Amarnah time. Akhnaton naturally had no interest whatever in restoring an artistic effect to temples that had been disfigured at his orders and in which all cult services had apparently been suspended.

On the rear (west) wall of the ambulatory, beside the main doorway which leads to the cult chambers, the first jubilee of Thutmose III is mentioned at the end of a speech of Atum.²¹ According to Sethe, Thutmose III celebrated his "first occurrence of the Hebsed" with Hatshepsut in the fifteenth or sixteenth year of his reign; later, in his sole reign, he celebrated it once more at the normal time, that is, in his thirtieth year at the very latest.²²

It has been pointed out how the temple originally had simple, unadorned surfaces, except for the east façade. The fine artistic effect of such an unpretentious architectural creation can now only be realized from a reconstruction (Pl. 4). It is a pity that the alterations executed under the Ptolemies introduced a disturbing break in the originally horizontal lines of the peripteros.

DETAILS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

THE DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON

The double statue of black granite which stood in the middle room (Fig. 8 L) must have been not only a very imposing monument but also an important object of art. Amon, the King of the Gods, and Thutmose III are seated together upon a throne in mutual embrace. The divinity of the king could hardly have been expressed more completely than in this impressive group, the effect of which must have been overpowering in its small room, with a shaft of light from above shining directly upon the figures (Pl. 3).

The figure of Amon had been systematically destroyed (see p. 14). Naturally this must have occurred in the period of Akhnaton, when all the representations and names of Amon in the temple were erased. Although the latter were entirely renewed at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty, I have not been able to find any traces of restoration on the statue. Thus it is fairly safe to assume that at the beginning of the Nineteenth Dynasty the statue group was no longer in place and that it had been discarded in the 'Amarnah period. It is possible to detect two different methods of destruction. At first only the figure of Amon was mutilated, and later the whole group with its unattractive disfiguration was completely demolished and buried in the ground (see p. 13).

Several similar statues in which Amon is destroyed were found at Karnak. The most interesting are two smaller double statues found in the *cachette* and now in the Cairo Museum. One (Fig. 43²³) is made of red granite, is 1.25 m. high, and is uninscribed, but according to the style probably belonged to the time of Thutmose III. The figure of the king is unharmed, while that of Amon was destroyed and later repaired with a new head made of stone of a different color and rather crudely fitted into place. The other (Fig. 44²⁴) is of schist, is only 68 cm. high, and bears the name of Thutmose III. Amon was similarly restored with the new head joined by means of dovetails. Here therefore are sculptures contemporaneous with our example and mutilated in a similar manner; the sole difference is that the small statues from Karnak had later been restored, while the large one at Medinet Habu after its mutilation was ultimately completely demolished and buried.

Its measurements force us to conclude that our statue group stood in the center of Room L (cf. p. 14). Moreover, a peculiarity should be noted. The rear pilaster concealed from an entrant the doorway which led to the rear cult rooms, where it must be thought was kept the actual cult statue of Amon, the "Hidden One." Is there perhaps a particular reason for this?

- 21 Sethe, Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, p. 596.
- ²² Das Hatschepsut-Problem, § 25. H. Schäfer has expressed the suspicion that Egyptian peripteral buildings had some relationship to the thirty-year festival; see Die Leistung der ägyptischen Kunst ("Der Alte Orient" XXVIII 1-2 [1929]) p. 48, n. 20. A detailed study of this question is given in Borchardt, Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang.
- ²³ After Georges Legrain, Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I ("Catalogue général ... du Musée du Caire" XXX [Le Caire, 1906]) Pl. XXXVIII.
 - 24 After ibid. Pl. XXXIX, where the material is given as green basalt.
- 25 Stone slabs were placed in front of the doorways of sanctuaries in chapels of royal courtiers which were situated west of Medinet Habu, in order to conceal the sacred images from passers-by on the outside (see Vol. IV).

A STATUE IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE KING

A royal statue probably once stood in the sanctuary of the King (see p. 10), and we have surmised that a portion of it has survived in the black granite head found in the "tank" (see p. 9 and Fig. 9).

It is greatly to be deplored that we cannot prove with absolute certainty the presence of a royal statue in this room, for the question as to what type of cult was practiced at this place is of no little importance. What was the relation of this cult to that in the mortuary chapels of the royal memorial temples in the Eighteenth Dynasty? The latter, so far as we know, invariably possessed a false door through which the deceased king entered



Fig. 43. Double Statue of Thutmose III(?) and Amon from Karnak. Red Granite. Cairo 42065



Fig. 44. Double Statue of Thutmose III and Amon from Karnak. Schist. Cairo 42066

to receive the offerings which were laid before it. Here, however, there is no place which could architecturally be regarded as such an entrance: not the king, but the statue itself received the offerings. It is, however, not the task of the architect to pursue such problems further, but I should not be willing to proceed without having called attention to them.

THE TEMPLE UNDER RAMSES III AND IN THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

At the time of Ramses III the Small Temple was inclosed by the Great Girdle Wall of Medinet Habu, whereby at least the east side of its own inclosure wall (erected by Hatshepsut) was removed. Another wall of Ramses III replaced the west side of Hatshepsut's inclosure wall. It was somewhat oblique to the older one and overlay its foundations (see Folio Pl. 4). It is quite probable that the north and south inclosure walls of the Eighteenth Dynasty also disappeared at this period (Fig. 45). The Ramessid walls are discussed in Volume IV in connection with the Great Temple of Ramses III, to which they belong.

Ramses III did not encroach upon, but indeed rather piously fostered, the sacred old Amon temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty, even though its position did not lend itself particularly well to the regular plan of his new project (see Folio Pl. 2). He even added reliefs and inscriptions wherever an unadorned wall space could be found. The large scale and coarse style of his reliefs accorded but poorly with the elegant building and refined decorative methods of the Eighteenth Dynasty. Only the west side remained in its original uninscribed condition, except for a marginal line beneath the cornice, because Ramses' new brick wall coursed snugly against the rear of the temple and concealed it. Nothing further need be said here concerning the reliefs and inscriptions, since, so far as I know, they offer no additional information as to the architectural history of the building.

Because the Small Temple had been included in the fortification of Ramses III's inclosure, it also doubtless participated in the catastrophe that befell the district toward the end of the Twentieth Dynasty and that

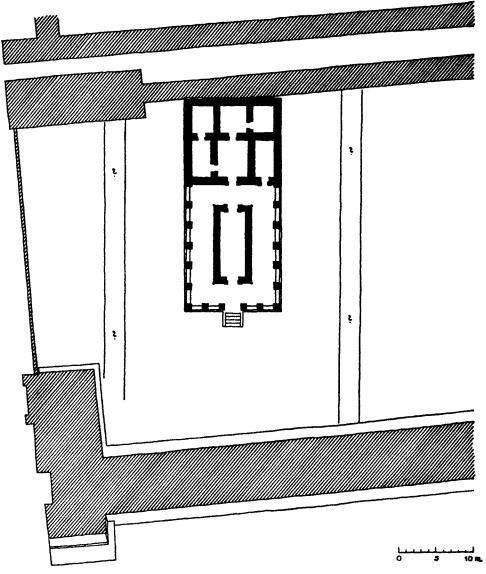


FIG. 45. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU INCLOSED IN THE FORTIFIED TEMPLE AREA OF RAMSES III

brought about the destruction of the fortifications.²⁶ It is impossible to distinguish how much the temple itself suffered. An inscription dating from Panedjem I, the son of Picankhi (Twenty-first Dynasty), on the socle of the temple on all sides except the west, mentions a restoration,²⁷ no trace of which can now be detected in the building itself. Interesting enough to us in this connection is the fact that it is in this inscription, dating from the period after the destruction of the fortified area of Ramses III, that we meet for the first time "The (Holy?) Place of Jēme" as the name of the temple (see p. 43).

THE TEMPLE UNDER THE ETHIOPIAN KINGS

No architectural traces or inscriptions can be found on the temple from the three centuries of political and economic decline following Panedjem. As to the veneration in which the place was held, it need only be mentioned that beside it to the south was buried Horsiese, high priest of Amon and later coregent with Osorkon II

V

28 For his tomb (Folio Pls. 3-4, No. 1) cf. Vol. TV:

(Twenty-second Dynasty). The Ethiopian kings (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), regarding themselves as rightful successors of the pharaohs, gave their special protection to the temples of Thebes. Under their rule the temple of Jēme also was restored, that is, altered and enlarged. The inclosure wall was most urgently in need of reconstruction after the destruction of the fortified precinct of Ramses III. An encircling wall of the same dimensions was erected upon the foundations of the long-since destroyed wall of Hatshepsut. The actual builder of this was probably Shabaka (712-700 B.c.), while Taharka (688-663 B.c.) either completed it or restored it (after its destruction by the Assyrians?). Traces of it remain on the south, west, and north (see pp. 33-36). A stone

gateway on the north is comparatively well preserved, but the names in the cartouches have been chiseled out, so that no trace is left, and were never replaced by other names.

The temple itself was greatly enlarged during the Ethiopian period. A long narrow room, which we have designated as the "gallery," was built onto the front and ended in a double-towered pylon at the east (Fig. 46). Unfortunately the longitudinal walls of the gallery have entirely disappeared, but the niche in the rear face of the pylon reveals the architectural details (Fig. 47 A). Their sloping exteriors were crowned with torus molding and cavetto cornice at the same height as that of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, against which the gallery abutted (Pl. 5). The inner walls were decorated with two registers of reliefs depicting the king in various foundation ceremonies. The name of Taharka is still well preserved over the erased one of Shabaka in the cartouches on the east wall, that is, on the rear of the pylon. The gallery was spanned by a beamed ceiling with earth covering (see p. 26).

The pylon (Pl. 5) is still comparatively well preserved. There were four flagstaffs in front of it, and beside the grooves in which they were set the builder, probably Shabaka, inscribed his name, which was later erased. The same fate befell the long inscription under the cavetto cornice and the cartouches which adorn the cornice itself (see p. 27). On the rear of the pylon (Pl. 26), north and south of the adjoining gallery, the king is represented in the act of smiting his enemies, in precisely the style of such representations in the New Kingdom. Here again the builder's name is erased and not replaced by another (see p. 27).

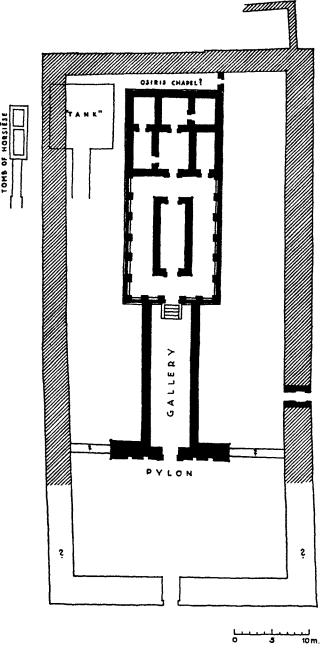


Fig. 46. The Small Temple under the Ethiopian Kings

The portal in the pylon was enlarged during the Ptolemaic period. Originally both lintel and cavetto cornice were set about 90 cm. lower than at the present time (see p. 27 and Fig. 47). The dimensions of the opening therefore were about the same as those of the entrance to the peripteros, which completed the gallery on the rear. Accordingly the doorway of the pylon did not originally appear so disproportionately high as it does now (Folio Pl. 18), and for the same reason the pylon towers extended farther above the gate. All in all, this pylon of the Ethiopian period presents an unusually charming example of the dawning of the renaissance in Egypt.

At least two intercolumniations of the peripteros must have been masoned up when the gallery was built, and probably the others experienced similar treatment at this time. However, it is not possible to prove that these changes in the peripteros took place at exactly this period (cf. pp. 20 f.). One thing, though, seems certain: Through the addition of the gallery and pylon, the outer appearance of the attractive peripteros was barbarously marred. Previously, its open pillared hall had formed the most impressive part of the building, while now the

entire effect was spoiled (Pl. 5). The temple as a whole assumed the decidedly longitudinal character of other Egyptian temples.²⁹

Significant of the veneration which was accorded to the temple under the Ethiopian and Saitic rulers (Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth dynasties) is the fact that its immediate vicinity was chosen as a burial ground for the connections of the royal house who resided in Thebes. South of the temple are the mortuary chapels of several of the sacerdotal princesses of Thebes—Amenirdis, her adopted daughter Shepnupet II, and the latter's adopted daughter Nitocris.³⁰ Mehetnusekhet, the wife of Psamtik I and mother of Nitocris, was also buried here. Another structure, no longer identifiable, which belonged to Queen Ankhnes-Neferibre, the wife of Psamtik III, and the tomb of Diēse-hebsed, who was probably related to Amenirdis, also were built here. Other tombs, presumably of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, now unfortunately destroyed, lay close beside the Ethiopian pylon and the gallery (see p. 40 and Vol. V).

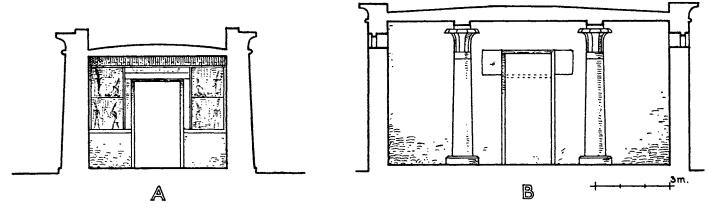


Fig. 47. A. The Ethiopian Gallery. B. The Ptolemaic Columned Hall Which Replaced the Gallery. Cross-Sections. Reconstructions

THE SAITIC PORTICO

The next addition to the temple consisted of an open portico that was built in front of the Ethiopian pylon (Pl. 6). Porticoes of this type appear to have been known at least since the 'Amarnah period.³¹ They became popular during the renaissance of the Twenty-fifth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, but especially still later when they were employed even more generally. Scarcely one of the large temples at Karnak lacked a similar portico. They were airy columned structures and without exception, so far as is known, possessed architraves, rafters, and cornices of wood. Such porticoes certainly had some significance in the cult; possibly the participants in festal processions went through prescribed ablutions or other ceremonies in them before entering the temple itself.

In our portico there are remains of eight cluster-columns with closed papyrus capitals (Pl. 10). Daressy has re-erected (with restorations) two of them (Pl. 30) with drums which he found in the vicinity, but the upper portion of each capital is obviously a misfit, and the abaci used by him did not originally belong to the columns (see p. 28). The columns are of almost classical proportions and seem to be modeled after those of a period hardly later than that of Amenhotep III.³² They are typical examples of the renaissance period.

The screens connecting the columns are richly decorated, both inside and out, with reliefs (foundation ceremonies and cult scenes), as is also the small, pylon-like gate set in front of the portico. The representations on it (king smiting his enemies) resemble in every detail those on the back of the Ethiopian pylon outside of the gallery, which date back to Shabaka (see p. 27). However, a close investigation of them reveals the fact that the reliefs on the portico are only inferior imitations of the others.

- 29 Cf. the development which Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal underwent in the Ethiopian period (Reisner in ZAS LXIX [1933] plan opp. p. 76).
- ³⁰ The relationship and succession of these princesses were determined by adoption. Amenirdis was the daughter of the Ethiopian king Kashta and the sister of Pi^cankhi and Shabaka. Shepnupet II was the daughter of Pi^cankhi, therefore the niece of Amenirdis. Finally, Nitocris was a daughter of the Saitic king Psamtik I.
- ³¹ Cf. representations of the pylon of the Aton temple at ^cAmarnah in N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I (London, 1903) Pls. XII and XXVII; IV (London, 1906) Pls. XX etc.
 - ₽ Cf. the Luxor temple.

It is not certain who built this portico. Nectanebo I (Nht-nb.f, 378-361 B.C.) placed his name in cartouches over an erased earlier name. Who this older king was we cannot determine with certainty. If we judge by the classical form of the columns and the weak treatment of the reliefs, as well as by traces of hieroglyphs which can still be distinguished beneath the name of the later Saitic rulers was the builder (see p. 28).

The front of the temple as created by Shabaka was completely altered by the portico (Pl. 6). Just as ruthlessly as the Ethiopians treated the building of Thutmose III, so also the Saites in turn proceeded against their pylon.

THE RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE UNDER ACHORIS

The Small Temple remained in the condition in which the Ethiopian and Saitic rulers left it until nearly the end of the Persian rule, gradually falling into decay. Not until once more a national dynasty arose (Twentyninth Dynasty) was a restoration of the old sanctuaries undertaken again. It was Achoris (392–380 B.c.) who was responsible for much of this.

When the Ethiopian gallery was erected the first intercolumniation to the right and the first to the left of the entrance to the peripteros, and perhaps all the others as well, must have been walled up, though there are no decisive proofs for the suggestion (p. 21). However, by the time of Achoris, the whole peripteros had certainly been masoned up by means of stone slabs which were set upon the parapets and fitted between the pillars (see Fig. 19 and p. 20). The slabs were richly decorated with reliefs (e.g. Fig. 20) on the outside but were left in a rough and undecorated state on the faces toward the dark ambulatory. From the latter, now closed on all sides, there was but one doorway to the outside, located at the northeast corner and decorated on the exterior only, while the interior was left plain. The names of King Achoris appear on it (see p. 20).

Repairs were made on damaged portions of the peripteros with the result that numerous patches appear on the walls of the shrine and the pillars, though, uninscribed as they are, they cannot be dated with certainty. Achoris' principal contribution was in connection with the stone ceiling of the ambulatory, in which the corner slabs of Thutmose III had not been properly supported (see p. 20). Achoris therefore erected a column at each corner, solely for the purpose of support and without any consideration for symmetry. These columns were carelessly built on the flagstone pavement without special foundations. They are polygonal, and each contains four vertical lines of inscription which state that they were erected by Achoris—in the name of Thutmose III. Here for the first time direct mention of the "Eight (Primeval Gods)" is made (see p. 43, n. 2).

That these columns were taken from the courts of the neighboring chapels of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is apparent from their original inscriptions, which mention the names of Amenirdis, Shepnupet, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet.

THE OUTER TEMPLE PRECINCT UNDER NECTANEBO I

So far as we have been able to discover in our investigation, Nectanebo I conducted no building operations in the temple proper. He confined himself to replacing with his own the names of his predecessors on the Saitic portico (see p. 28) as well as on the gate of the Ethiopian pylon (see p. 27).

However, there remain as a mark of his building activities traces of an outer temenos wall to the south of the Small Temple. It ran from Ramses III's Eastern Fortified Gate parallel to the axis of the Small Temple (see Fig. 48 and Folio Pls. 5–6) presumably to the Great Pylon and thence northward to the Great Girdle Wall, thus in all likelihood including dwellings, a well,³³ and the sacred lake (cf. the situation in Roman times, Fig. 52). The wall was interrupted in F 9 by a gate, on the stone jambs of which Nectanebo I (original) is represented in the customary scenes of adoration (p. 38).

Fragments of a more elaborate gate of Nectanebo I lie (not in situ) in the Saitic portico. They probably belonged to what was in his time the main gate in the temple inclosure wall, which stood on the site of the Ptolemaic pylon (see p. 36).

33 The well (see Vol. V) bears the name of Nectanebo II (Nht-hr-hb.t). The designation "Nilomètre" suggested by Daressy (Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou, p. 26) is misleading, as the well does not possess a scale for the measurement of the water level.

Numerous fragments which belonged to structures of Nectanebo I were found by Daressy and now lie either along the north Girdle Wall of Ramses III (in G-H 13) or in the finds magazine of the Great Temple. A small doorpost which belonged to them has been re-erected at an arbitrary spot (in F 12). These pieces are discussed in Volume V.

THE TEMPLE UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

In the second half of the Ptolemaic period the temple again experienced enlargement and improvements (Fig. 48). While the old royal mortuary temples on the west of Thebes—including that of Ramses III at

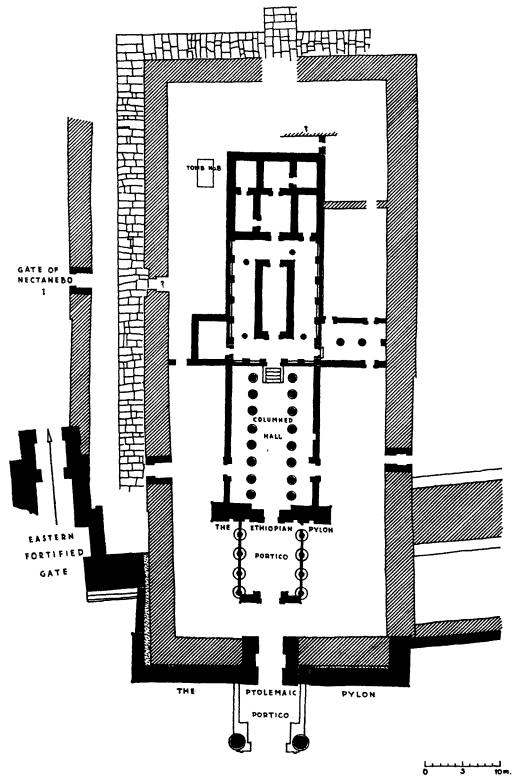


Fig. 48. The Small Temple under the Ptolemies

Medinet Habu—had long since fallen into oblivion and most of them were being used as stone quarries, nevertheless, here in the temple of Jēme, the old cult of "Amon of the Holy Place" still continued to flourish in connection with the late religious concepts of the "Eight Primeval Gods." This was the spot on the west of Thebes in which religious feeling was primarily centered, and this fact may well explain the reason why the temple constantly received new attention and enlargement.

During the second half of the Ptolemaic period, that is, at the time of the decline of the house of Lagus, the following kings, some of whom ruled partly as coregents, partly in alternate succession, either participated in building operations or for other reasons recorded their names in the Small Temple:³⁴

Ptolemy VI Philometor, Cleopatra II, and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (joint reigns) (inscriptions on the Ethiopian pylon)	169/8-163 в.с.	(see p. 27)
Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (Physkon) and Cleopatra II and III (joint reigns)		(see pp. 17-19)
(inscriptions inside and outside of the peripteros)	124?-116 в.с.	
Ptolemy VIII Soter II (Lathyros)	116-108/7 and	(see pp. 27 and
(inscriptions on the Ethiopian and Ptolemaic pylons)	88-80 в.с.	30)
Ptolemy IX Alexander I	108/7-88 в.с.	(see p. 27)
(inscriptions on the Ethiopian pylon)		
Ptolemy XI Neos Dionysos (Auletes)	80-51 в.с.	(see p. 30)
(inscriptions on the Ptolemaic pylon)		•

The earliest of these inscriptions refer not to a building activity but rather to a visit to the temple or a benefaction to the gods. They consist of a short and unimportant inscription on each jamb of the Ethiopian pylon: "Ptolemy (Philometor) and the King's Wife Cleopatra (II)" and "Ptolemy (Philometor) and the King's Brother Ptolemy (Euergetes II)." Actual construction apparently began during the coreign of Ptolemy VII Euergetes II with his sister and wife Cleopatra II and his niece (later wife) Cleopatra III, that is, in the years 141/40–131/30 or 124?–116 B.c., and continued thereafter (perhaps with interruptions) until the time of Ptolemy VIII Soter II's second reign (88–80 B.c.). The importance of these activities rests in my opinion more upon the content of the religious inscriptions³⁵ than upon the artistic results of their efforts.

In the first period Ptolemy VII Euergetes II carried out repairs and restorations in the peripteros (see pp. 17–19). In the room of the sacred bark the doorways were enlarged and newly decorated, the walls were patched and heightened by the addition of two courses of stone, and a new roof was added. On the interior and on the front (east) outer wall of the shrine all the reliefs were reworked and a number of new inscriptions were supplied. However, the other outer walls of the shrine, which stood in total darkness, were only whitewashed but otherwise untouched. Finally, the lintel over the entrance to the peripteros was newly decorated and crowned with a more delicate cavetto cornice cut into the heavier one of Thutmose III.

In the second period Ptolemy IX Alexander I replaced the Ethiopian gallery with a columned hall (pp. 23–25) and apparently at the same time added two wings, on the north and south sides of the peripteros respectively (pp. 22 f.). These additions were well executed in sandstone but were never completely finished. The walls and columns of the north wing were not even completely dressed. The columned hall had two rows of eight columns each, probably with palm-leaf capitals, a fragment of one of which (Fig. 23) was found in the vicinity. They were surmounted by wooden architraves and a roof of wooden beams covered with a layer of mud plaster. Some of the windows, formed of stone grating (Fig. 21), are still preserved. There was a doorway in each of the side walls, the north one having a granite frame that presumably came from the tomb-chapel of Pedamenopet (No. 33 in the Theban necropolis), a noble of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (see p. 24). In connection with the erection of this columned hall to replace the narrower and lower gallery (see Fig. 47), the doorway in the Ethiopian pylon, which formed its entrance, was heightened 90 cm. It is the inscriptions on the stones used to raise the lintel which reveal at the same time the name of the builder of the columned hall (see p. 27).

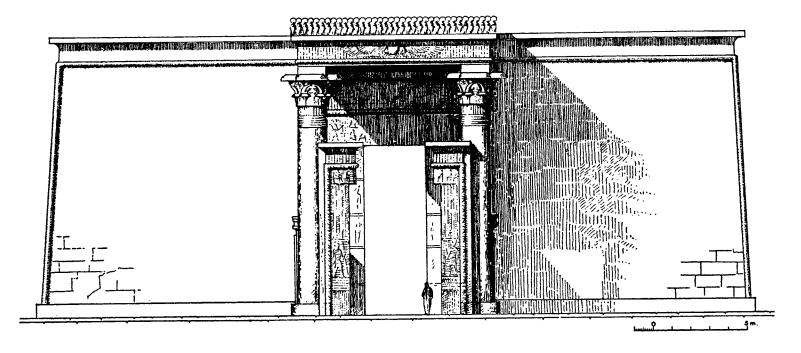
Though the north and south additions to the peripteros bear no inscriptions, the fact that their architectural features are homogeneous with those of the columned hall (see p. 23) makes us positive that they were built at the same time. The north wing extends from the peripteros to the inclosure wall. In the middle are two columns and a pilaster, which supported an architrave and the stone roof. The columns are of the papyrus form with open capitals, in the weak decadent style of the late period. The south wing is shorter than the other. It has no windows except oblique slits in the roof slabs, which were probably hewn at a later time. A tomb(?) found in the floor was apparently contemporaneous with the erection of the wing, but we found in it no traces of a burial. The significance of this dark chamber thus remains problematical.

The brick inclosure wall which formed the north side of the north wing was presumably contemporary with it but in any event not later (cf. p. 37). It was slanting on both sides and was provided with a sloping socle on

³⁴ I am indebted to Professor Edgerton for the dating and for many references to the inscriptions.

³⁵ See Sethe, Amun und die Acht Urgötter, §§ 103-19.

the outside. In front of it there was a pavement made of great sandstone slabs. This Ptolemaic wall (pp. 36 f.) stood upon the remains of the Ethiopian inclosure wall on the north and south sides; on the west, however, it was pushed about 8 meters behind its previous counterpart (see Folio Pl. 6). A stone gate (p. 37) was erected in the Ptolemaic inclosure wall opposite the south doorway of the columned hall. It was carried out in the same technique as the walls of the Ptolemaic additions and likewise bears no decorations and inscriptions, except for old cartouches on reused stones. We therefore designated it the "uninscribed gate" (see Folio Pl. 6).



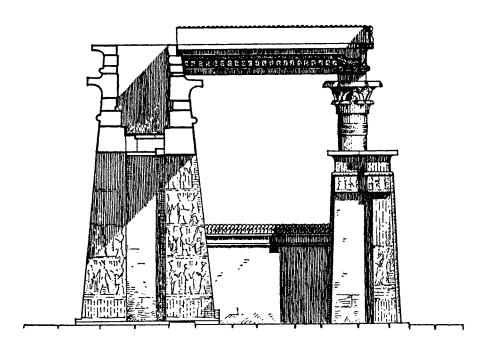
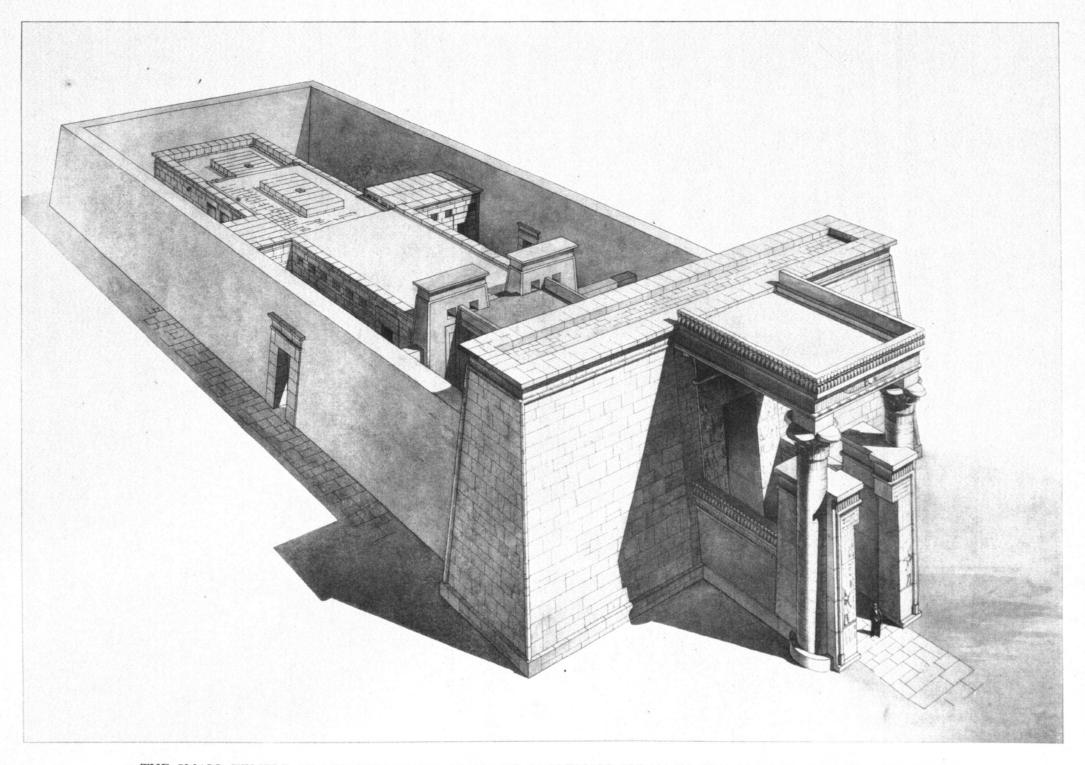


Fig. 49. The Ptolemaic Pylon and Portico. Front Elevation and Cross-Section. Reconstructions

In the third and final building epoch the great Ptolemaic pylon (pp. 29 f.) was erected. It was actually no more than a stone facing on the outside of the brick inclosure wall, which has now completely vanished at this point. Thus the pylon conveys to us the impression of a hollow structure (Pl. 40). The front of the pylon was intentionally left unadorned. All decoration was concentrated on the splendid gate and lofty portico (Fig. 49), the two columns of which are among the most beautiful produced by the Hellenistic period in Egypt. Presumably this portico was inclosed in the customary manner by screens on the sides and a gate in front, which may well have been sacrificed during the alterations of the Roman period and re-erected in front.

The columns have round shafts finished off under the capitals by a necking of five bands (Fig. 50). Above the latter appear the individual stems of the papyrus clusters, from which such shafts were developed. These stems continue upward into the capital, where they develop into two cinctures of open papyrus umbels, four



THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU WITH THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON IN FRONT OF IT. RECONSTRUCTION

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large ones in the upper row and eight small umbels in the lower. Between these are bound panicles of so-called "Spanish reed" (*Arundo donax* L.)³⁶ and papyrus buds. Thus in the late epoch of Egyptian art we find a very remarkable free development of the old papyriform columns and witness a last impulse of creative energy.

The elaborate cavetto cornice above the portal of the pylon, which, like the column capitals, still retains considerable traces of its ancient color, may also be regarded as a characteristic example of the style of the late period. Its profile rises vertically to half its height and then swings abruptly outward in a bold curve. It is decorated with vertical reed leaves painted consecutively red, blue, green, blue, red, etc. and separated by fillets of white, while over them a mighty winged sun disk, flanked on either side by a proudly poised uraeus, spreads its pinions.

In consideration of the great width to be spanned, the roof of the portico consisted necessarily of wood. Traces of supports for the architraves and of the slightly projecting cavetto cornice and the profile of the earth covering of the curved roof can still be recognized on the pylon above the portal. The wooden cornice of the portico was

at the same level as the boldly projecting stone one of the pylon, but whether a frieze of serpents rose above the porch, as is indicated in our reconstructions (Fig. 49 and Pl. 7), is not certain.

As a matter of fact, the pylon here was really only the back of the airy portico. The original idea of the two-towered temple pylon, which still existed in the Ethiopian pylon, here was completely forgotten. The porch, increasing in importance as an essential part of the gateway, quite overpowered the original pylon form.

The frame of the gate is decorated on the east and west alike with adoration scenes (the king before various gods) in the wearisome manner so customary in the Ptolemaic period. Which gods were worshiped here is of interest only for the study of the history of religion³⁷ and therefore need not be discussed in an architectural research.

Cartouches found on the east side and interior of the gateway mention Ptolemy VIII Soter II, the older brother of Ptolemy IX Alexander I, who reigned before and after the lat-



FIG. 50. CAPITAL FROM ONE OF THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNS IN FRONT OF THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON

ter (116–108/7 and 88–80 B.C.). On the rear of the gate appear only empty cartouches at the top, as the sculptor was probably still ignorant as to who would next come to the throne. Below, however, the name of Ptolemy XI Neos Dionysos, called Auletes (80–51 B.C.), who succeeded Soter II, appears in the cartouches. It is thus probable that Soter II, in the second period of his reign, was the actual builder and that Auletes only added nonessential details to the decoration. The date of the pylon may accordingly be fixed as the first quarter of the first century before Christ. At this time (88–85 B.C.) there was in the Thebaid a great revolt against the Ptolemies, which ended with the total destruction of Thebes and its dissolution into villages.³⁸ Even if we assume that the destruction involved for the most part the actual city on the east side of the Nile, and thus spared the temples, certainly an interruption in all building activities took place for a considerable number of years.

THE TEMPLE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

After the last Ptolemaic building period two hundred years passed in which, so far as we know, no construction occurred in the temple. At last, in the second century after Christ, under the Roman emperor Antoninus Pius, an ambitious plan was formulated. The two-columned Ptolemaic portico was to be enlarged to a much broader one containing eight columns, with a great forecourt in front of it. This plan, however, was never achieved. The increasing difficulties of the economic situation which prevailed throughout Egypt halted all large building

³⁶ Franz Woenig, Die Pflanzen im alten Aegypten (Leipzig, 1886) p. 131.

³⁷ Cf. Sethe, Amun und die Acht Urgötter, §§ 115 f.

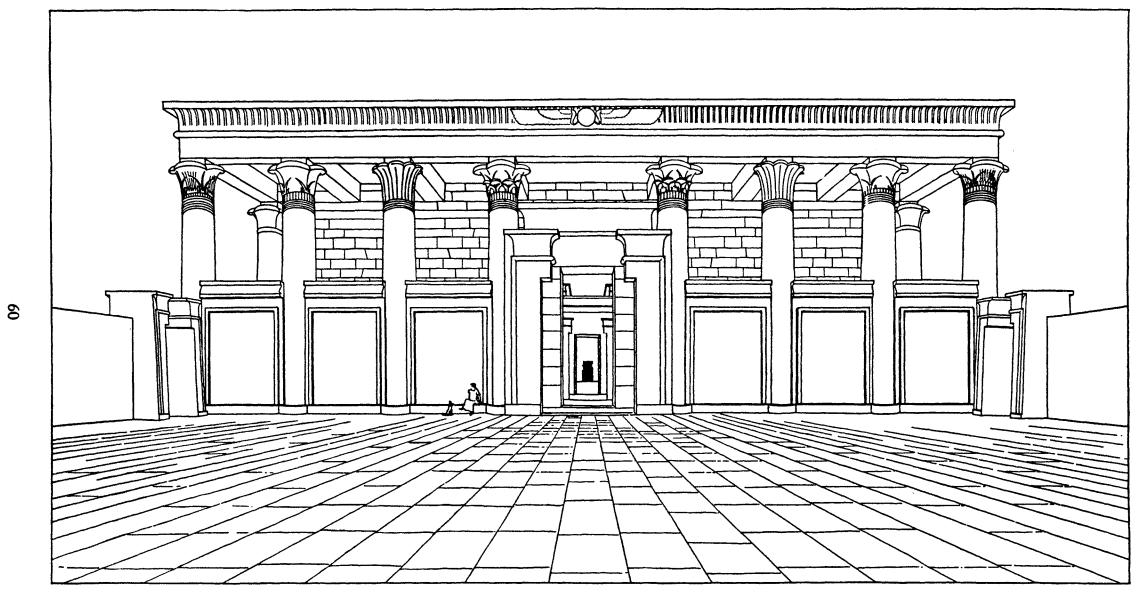


Fig. 51. Suggested Reconstruction of the Unfinished Roman Portico

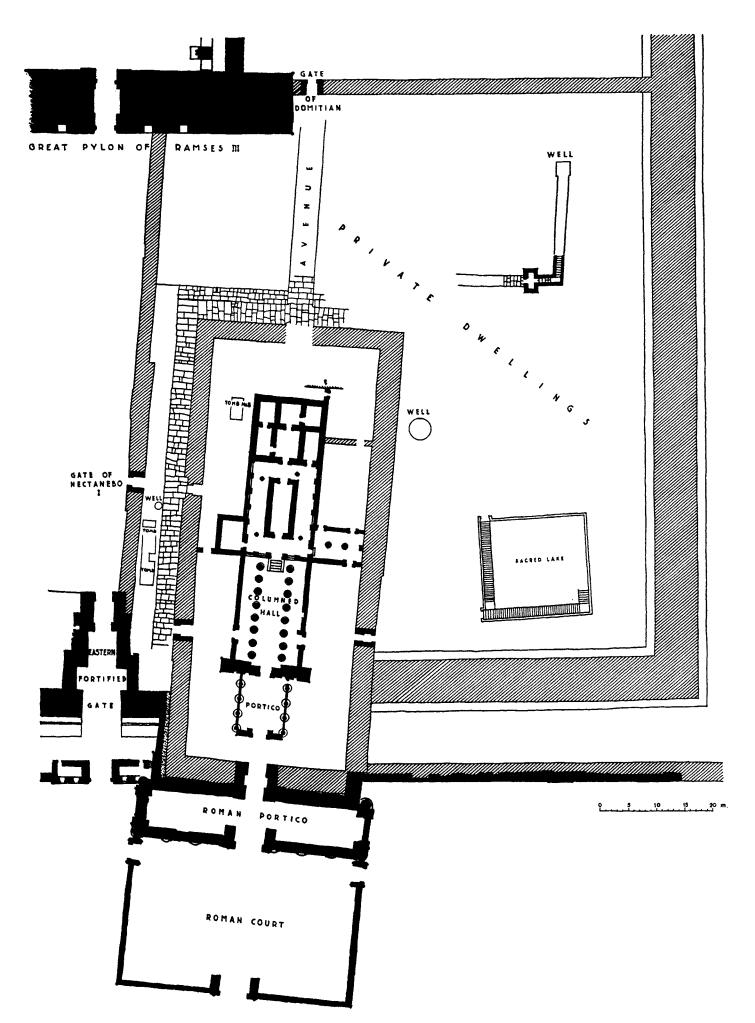


Fig. 52. The Small Temple in Roman Times

activities. The extent of operations in the portico and the forecourt when the work was suspended can be seen in a photograph of the structure as it now appears (Pl. 36). I have attempted to represent in Figure 51 the appearance of the temple as it might have been had the construction been completed. The pylon would have been quite invisible, while the porch would have completely dominated the view of the façade with the result that the temple front would have resembled those of such other late temples as Esna, Denderah,³⁹ and Edfu.⁴⁰

The forecourt, with its comparatively low wall (4.50 m.), takes a secondary place. Of its three gates the one on the axis is greatly destroyed, that on the north was never completed, and only the south gate was finished and has come down through the ages complete (Pl. 41). It was obviously the most important for daily use, as it opened out upon the wide street which in Roman times passed before the Outer Wall of the Ramessid temple precinct (Folio Pls. 9–10). Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61) is mentioned in several places as the emperor under whom this final enlargement of the temple took place.

In conclusion we must glance at the outer precinct of the temple (Fig. 52), which Nectanebo I had presumably surrounded with a wall (p. 38). In the meantime the brick inclosure wall had been renewed in part on various occasions. In its western course, immediately beside the Great Pylon of Ramses III, a stone gate (Pl. 43) was erected by Domitian (A.D. 81–96). It stood exactly on the axis of the Small Temple and was connected to the back of it by a paved street. Beneath the gate a conduit furnished water from outside of the precinct to the temenos of the Small Temple. This water came from a well that was served by a water-raising device which is discussed in Volume V. The gate of Domitian was razed in later times and the stones reused in the construction of Coptic houses. During the *déblaiement* of Medinet Habu Daressy chanced upon them and carefully reerected the old gateway, but, as he did not know its exact original location, he placed it arbitrarily in the northwest corner of the Small Temple precinct (Folio Pl. 5, G 11).

Only isolated fragments of other structures of the Roman period are preserved, such as, for example, the capitals (Figs. 36–37) of some magnificent Corinthian double columns which were reused in the pavement of the street west of the temple.

But little remains to be related concerning the temple in the late Roman period. As the cult of the ancient deities was discontinued, temples received no more attention and fell into decay or were used for other purposes. The north addition to the peripteros, for example, served as a church, as is shown by remains of Coptic paintings (representations of the history of Saint Menas) on the whitewashed walls.⁴¹ Private dwellings of the Coptic town of Jēme accumulated above the Small Temple, and in time (after the 9th century) this town also was deserted and fell into oblivion.

Herewith ends the story of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu, a history which, according to my opinion, is greater and of more importance than that of all the other temples on the west of Thebes.

- 39 Cf. Émile Chassinat, Le Temple de Dendara I (Le Caire, 1934) Pl. I.
- 40 Cf. Marquis de Rochemonteix, Le Temple d'Edfou I (Mission archéologique française au Caire, "Mémoires" X [Paris, 1897]) Pls. VI-VIII.
- 4 These paintings as copied by Mr. Donald Wilber are published in Edgerton, Medinet Habu Graffiti. Facsimiles, Pls. 98-101.

II THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB

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INTRODUCTION: THE SITUATION

The precinct of the temple of Eye and Harmhab is situated to the north of the fortified temple area of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. At the beginning of our excavations only a low mound was present, on which were to be seen destroyed graves of Roman times, but no trace of an older temple was visible. We inferred its presence from the fact that the northern Girdle Wall of the temple of Ramses III was slightly deflected from its course, obviously to avoid an older building complex near by. A second indication that some monumental building must have existed in this place was the presence of countless fragments of sandstone. This material is not indigenous to the district of Thebes and is usually brought from the region of Gebel Silsilah (140 km. upstream) and therefore represents a more precious building material than the native limestone. We naturally concluded that any structure built of sandstone at this location must have been an important one and presumably a royal temple.

The accuracy of our surmise was substantiated by a test excavation in the spring of 1931, when we struck upon a mortuary temple begun by King Eye (about 1353–1350 B.C.) but taken over and completed by his successor, Harmhab (about 1350–1315 B.C.). The latter, regarded as the founder of the Nineteenth Dynasty, won the high esteem of posterity through his restoration of the old cult of Amon after the Aton heresy. To that fact his temple undoubtedly bears witness. It still stood relatively undamaged and in use at the time of Ramses III, as is shown by an ostracon¹ to which Dr. Jaroslav Černý most kindly called my attention. This bears the following statement: "21st Paophi of the year 27 (Ramses III), the workers of the necropolis had received no provender of grain during the twenty days of the month. Then went the scribe Amon-nakht to the House (Temple) of Dsr-bprw-Rc-Mry-Imn² (Harmhab) in the Estate (pr) of Amon and gave to them 46 sacks of grain on the 23d Paophi." Here is definite evidence that the grain magazine of the temple of Harmhab not only was in use at the time of Ramses III, but, strangely enough, in this exceptional case was operated for the maintenance of the necropolis workers.

The temple precinct of Harmhab (Folio Pl. 33) is very large, falling only a little short of that of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. Its length amounts to 258 meters, its width about 145 meters, while the axis shows declination of 48.2° W. Since the ground on which it was constructed rises more than 7 meters toward the west, it was leveled into terraces connected with one another by small ramps (Figs. 53 and 95). To the south of our temple was a natural depression in the ground, which occasionally became the bed of a torrent when a cloudburst occurred in the mountains. Such a catastrophe happened seldom enough, but the situation became disastrous for the temple when the construction of the strong fortification of Medinet Habu finally imposed a barrier across the natural bed of the stream and thus deflected its course against Harmhab's temple. In succeeding ages with devastating force it tore its way through the already damaged colonnaded court from the southwest to the middle of the north side, sweeping before it everything that stood in its path. How terrific the force of the water must have been can be judged by the fact that not a trace of any ancient construction remains in its bed, while even the bedrock has been polished absolutely smooth by the rolling stones and gravel which the torrent brought with it.

In the endeavor to raise the level of the temple toward the rear (west) from room to room in a series of steps, a layer of gravel or building rubbish about 50-80 cm. in depth was spread over the virgin soil when the temple was built. Only the principal walls were carried down through this layer to bedrock and in part even beyond into foundation trenches; the dividing walls and columns, on the other hand, stood on the filled-in gravel, and

² Berlin P 10633.

² The epithet Mry-Imn added to the name D\$r-hprw-R^c is obviously a confusion of the later time. In reality Harmhab was named D\$r-hprw-R^c \$tp-n-R^c.

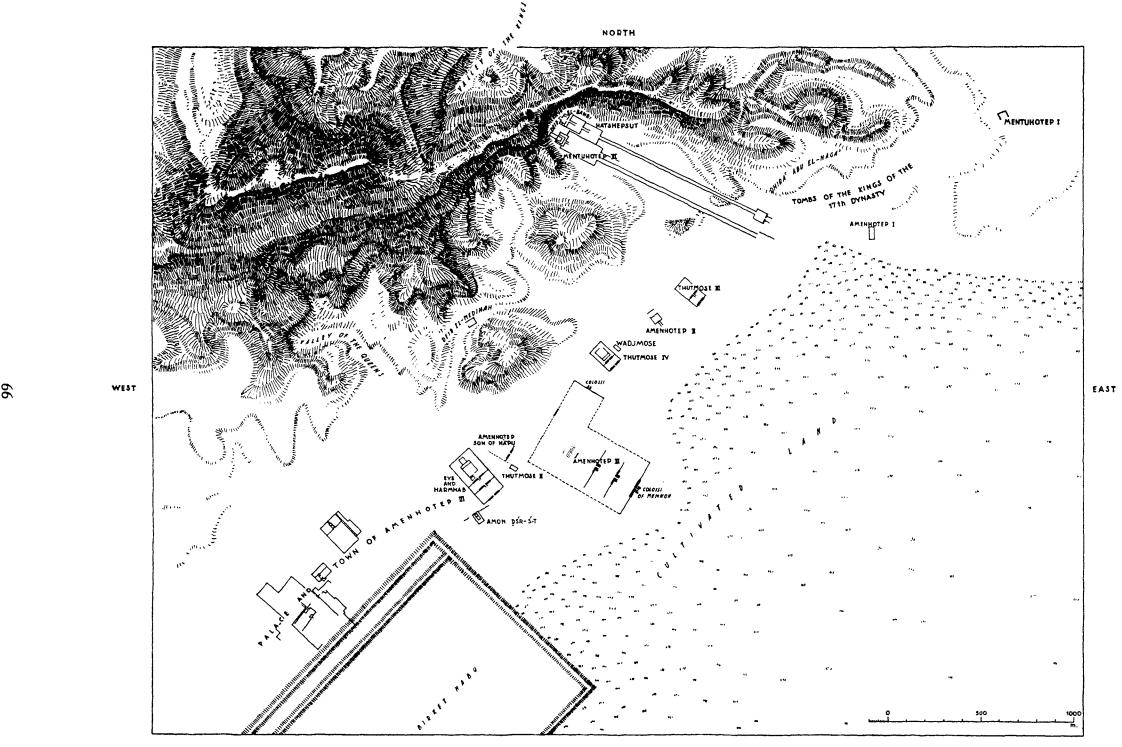


Fig. 53. The West Bank of Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty

INTRODUCTION: THE SITUATION

wherever that has been removed they have left no traces. In some places there were depressions in the natural bedrock, especially at the west and south. In them the required filling reached a height of over 2 meters. Whenever older buildings stood in such depressions it was not considered necessary by the workmen of Eye to remove them completely, but they were simply covered to the new level of the temple area and only that part which protruded above this was razed. Thus many remains of earlier buildings were preserved. This fact obtains not only for the temple area of Eye and Harmhab, but likewise, under similar conditions, for the neighboring precinct of Ramses III.

67

ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION

EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS IN THE TEMPLE AREA

The afore-mentioned circumstances account for the fact that but few older houses remain in the temple district and these in a very bad state of preservation. They are indicated on Folio Plate 33, while similar remains

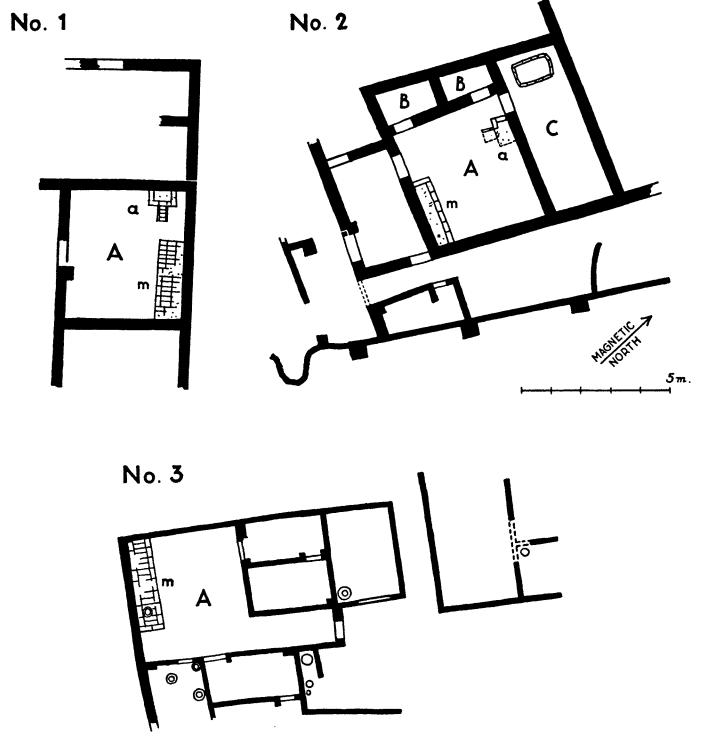


Fig. 54. Ground Plans of Three Houses of the Period before Eye See Folio Pl. 33 for locations: No. 1 in K-L 2, No. 2 in M 2, and No. 3 in P 4

are shown on the plans of the Great Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu (Folio Pls. 11-15). Beneath the temple of Eye were habitations of the humblest type, with walls which rose between wooden poles. On the northern edge of the area there even had been huts constructed merely of reeds, without the use of wooden poles, and whose age cannot be estimated exactly. It therefore remains uncertain whether these shelters can be

EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS IN THE TEMPLE AREA

considered the permanent settlement of a certain class of the population or only temporary abodes. Toward the east, on the edge of the cultivation, was situated a great group of royal buildings. Their position suggests that they were once inclosed by the great wall of Amenhotep III of which we found traces behind the Small Temple of Medinet Habu (p. 33). Between this and the village settlement we found two gigantic round granaries, which may have belonged to an important administrative department.

These various structures will now be discussed in turn.

HOUSES

The few examples of dwellings which are preserved to any extent do not differ essentially in plan from those of necropolis workmen in the neighboring village of Deir el-Medinah and those at 'Amarnah.' In the three examples



Fig. 55. House No. 3 from the West (cf. Fig. 54)

illustrated in Figure 54 we can clearly see a main living-room (A) with the mud-brick dais (m), 10-20 cm. high, of the lord of the house, and (in two cases) a small mud-brick altar (a), 85×45 cm. and 23 cm. high. House No. 2 has two side rooms (B). In house No. 3 a ring-shaped jar-stand was found on the dais (Fig. 55). In house No. 1, the miniature stairs which led up to the altar are still preserved (Fig. 56). It can perhaps be assumed that divinities dear to the common people were worshiped at such altars, but this cannot be established with certainty from any evidence available in the present case. It would also be within the realm of possibility that representations of the King as a divinity might have stood on them, or even Aton stelae, since the houses were razed shortly after the return of the court from Amarnah.

¹ Cf. T. Eric Peet and C. Leonard Woolley, The City of Akhenaten I (London, 1923) Pl. XVI.

² M. Bruyère was kind enough to show me in a workman's house at Deir el-Medinah which he has excavated representations of the god Bes on the socle of a house altar.

In this connection, indeed, mention should be made of a small sandstone fragment³ which bears the names of Akhnaton and the god Aton. This was found not *in situ* but built into the masonry of a Roman tomb above the destroyed temple. Dr. Anthes has furnished the following description:

It is a small sandstone block smoothed on two adjoining sides. One side bears remains of colored painting on a white background, which proves that this was the outer surface of the block in the building to which it belonged. The second smoothed side, adjoining at the left (Pl. 51 b), contains a rectangular field with four cartouches, roughly worked and somewhat defaced. The surface was painted with red color, which is well preserved in the depressions. Over it is a layer of mortar, which indicates that this side of the block was built into a joint. It is, however, exceedingly uncertain whether this use in a wall construction can be traced to the time of Harmhab. The two cartouches to the right contain the didactic name of Aton, facing left; only the first of the two parts of the name is fairly recognizable: $\frac{\alpha}{2} = \frac{1}{2} = \frac{1}{$

After this long digression we must return to our houses of the period before Eye.

Courts belonging to these houses were inclosed by walls, only 10–15 cm. thick, which had to be reinforced with pillars at intervals of 3 to 4 meters wherever they ran in a straight line (cf. house No. 2). Pillars were, however,

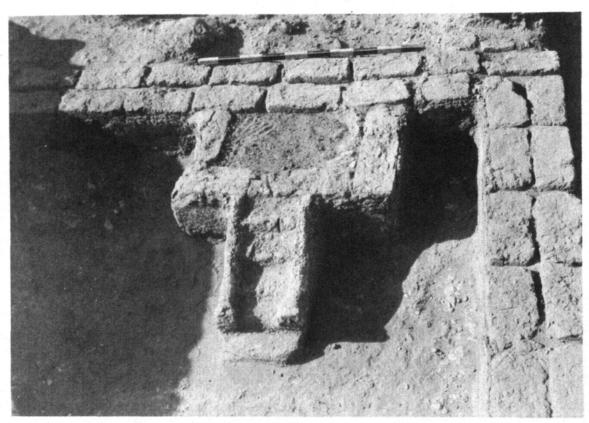


Fig. 56. Small Altar in House No. 1 (cf. Fig. 54)

sometimes eliminated by constructing the walls in an undulatory fashion. The same technique of wall-building can be observed occasionally in Upper Egypt to this day. One of the same type with cross-walls connecting the undulations (Fig. 57) was found at Medinet Habu (Folio Pl. 15, in S–T 6).

The houses under discussion are rural in type and belonged to a rural settlement. The difference between such a settlement and an urban one can be seen by comparison with either that at Deir el-Medinah, where the houses are closely crowded within rectangular walls, or the more systematically planned workers' village at 'Amarnah.⁵ It may therefore be assumed that our settlement was not inclosed by a girdle wall.

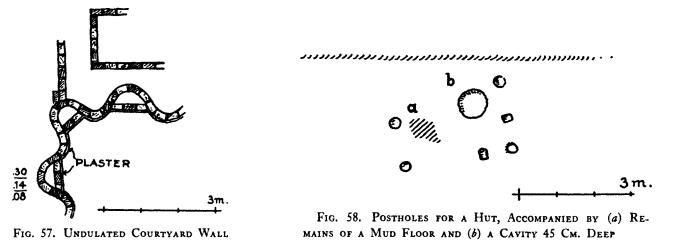
3 Now in the Cairo Museum (no number).

⁴ According to the description given by Dr. Anthes, I should surmise that this small block was originally a foundation deposit stone of Akhnaton; cf. a similar stone with the name of Ramses II found in the Ramesseum (J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* [London, 1898] Pls. II 10 and XV 13 and p. 6).

⁵ Peet and Woolley, loc. cit.

EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS IN THE TEMPLE AREA

Mud bricks of fairly uniform size, fluctuating between $30 \times 15 \times 8$ and $33 \times 16 \times 8.5$ cm. were used; some of them were fabricated from the whitish sand and clay of the desert edge, others from the black Nile mud. Ordinary pottery for daily use, some of it with blue painted decoration (e.g. Pl. 57 g), was found in the houses (see pp. 83-84), as well as several pieces of fayence jewelry: rings, scarabs, and other small objects of a similar na-



ture, some of which bear the names of Amenhotep III or Queen Tiy. Since we did not find, or recognize as such, any objects dating from an earlier period, at present we do not presume that the village is older than the time of Amenhotep III.

HUTS

Huts have left their traces in the rocky ground beneath the temple of Eye (see O 16.00 5 19.00). The bedrock contains numerous holes (e.g. Fig. 58), some round, others square, about 18 cm. in diameter and 15 cm. deep, in which wooden poles were set and held in position by desert clay tightly stamped around them. We do not know precisely how the sides of these huts appeared in detail. Perhaps they were made with reed and plastered with

mud. Nor do we have any evidence for exact dating. We can only say they are earlier than Eye and that there is no evidence against assuming them to be contemporaneous with the houses discussed above. It is even possible that they were not used as actual dwellings but served merely as temporary shelters for workmen.

Another type of hut, which stood in the northern part of the temenos, was still more primitive. One sees only scanty remains in the form of numerous narrow grooves (15–25 cm. wide and 10–20 cm. deep) irregularly cut into the bedrock (Fig. 59). Those traces indicate that fences of reed, bound together with ropes of similar material, separated the complex into courts and huts. To this day the fellahin build in this primitive manner their courtyards and huts, both for use as summer shelters in the midst of the ripening fields and also in their villages. For example, the shelters of the colony of Ababda Bedouin who have settled west of Medinet Habu are to a large extent built in this same manner. The lower ends of the reed stems are stuck into the ground and stamped in with desert clay (Fig. 60). Sometimes sand and gravel are heaped against the foot of such a fence, while the reeds afterward are plastered over with mud in order to obtain a stronger and more closely knit wall. In our ancient specimen, at the ends of the grooves

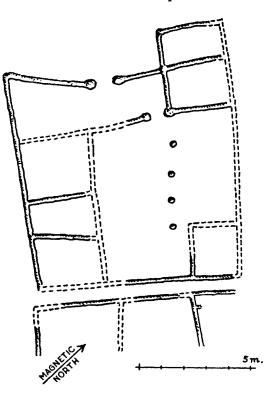


Fig. 59. Grooves in the Bedrock over Which Reed Fences Were Erected

there are rounded thickenings, which were probably designed to take end posts formed of reed and stuffed with mud to support a primitive door which was fastened to them. Numerous other holes in the floor had various purposes; some possibly served to support posts, others to hold jars or the like. In a few was found gypsum. But altogether very little information can be derived from any of them.

The date of these primitive reed huts cannot be determined with certainty. While the remains of those constructed with wooden posts lie beneath and are therefore older than the temple, we can point out no definite connection between the other huts and the temple. Their general grouping within the temenos and parallel to the

encircling wall makes us assume that the temple precinct of Harmhab was no longer in use at the time of their construction but that the wall itself still existed in part. All this points to the period after Ramses III. Perhaps we have here the remains of huts of workmen who were employed when the temple was razed. In spite of their probably later date, we do not hesitate to discuss these huts with the earlier ones.



Fig. 60. Modern Reed Shelter near Luxor

LARGER STRUCTURES AT THE EDGE OF THE CULTIVATION

In the northeast corner (B-F 7-8) of the temenos of Harmhab are remains of courses of wide walls containing in C 8 stamped bricks (43×21×12 cm.) of Amenhotep III (only the name "Nebmacrec" in the cartouche). We wish to call attention to a technical peculiarity of these walls. Such wide brick walls were frequently supplied with deeper foundations at the two outer edges than in the middle (Fig. 61 a), or only on the lower side

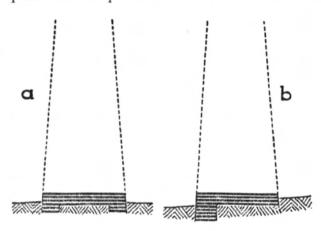


Fig. 61. Scheme To Show Construction of Foundations of Wide Brick Walls

when the wall stood on sloping ground (b). If, then, as in the present case, the walls are much destroyed, it happens that only the deeply imbedded lower courses of brick are preserved, so that the same effect is rendered as though two narrow parallel walls (cf. a) or a single narrow wall (cf. b) had originally been present. The latter case is particularly clear in the second, third, and fourth brick pylons of our temple. There is still another remarkable peculiarity of these thick walls of Amenhotep III. Alongside some of them (e.g. in E 7) close to both outside courses there are rows of holes at uneven intervals, where posts or wooden scaffolding doubtless stood. What their purpose was we do not know. I hope that the problem can be solved in the future if careful observation is made in other excavations.

Recent excavations of the Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale (1934/35) uncovered several small mortuary temples northeast of the temenos of Eye and Harmhab. These stood behind the great mortuary temple of Amenhotep III and possessed some relationship to it. The most important among them was that of the noted Amenhotep son of Hapu.⁶ The walls of Amenhotep III discussed above resemble the walls of these small mortuary temples both in orientation and in thickness,⁷ so that we may assume that they also belonged to such a mortuary temple of the period of Amenhotep III. Compare the mortuary temples of court officials of Ramses III which are located behind his Great Temple at Medinet Habu.⁸

⁶ See C. Robichon et A. Varille, Le Temple du scribe royal, Amenhotep fils de Hapou I (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Fouilles" XI [Le Caire, 1936]).

⁷ Cf. ibid. Pl. IV. Biscussed in Vol. IV. They are shown on Folio Pl. 2, where they are incorrectly designated as chapels of the royal family.

GRANARIES AND OVENS

Beneath the temple of Eye lay two huge granaries, the larger in L 6 (Fig. 62), the smaller in N 5 (see Folio Pl. 33). They were in the form of beehives and similar to much smaller grain bins which were found in almost all larger private houses. The inside diameter of our larger one is 8.90 m., almost the same as the larger of the two which Petrie found at 'Amarnah.' It is sunk 1.45 m. into bedrock and is lined with mud bricks (one to one and a half courses thick) and plastered. Above the terrain the vault was two courses deep. The entrance was on the northwest side. The mud bricks used in the construction of this building are light gray in color and measure

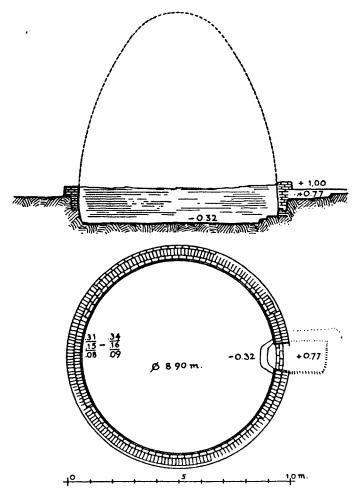


Fig. 62. Great Granary Belonging to the Period before Eye

from $31 \times 15 \times 8$ to $34 \times 16 \times 9$ cm., almost the same sizes as those in the afore-mentioned dwellings (p. 71). Such a granary had an enormous capacity. Filled to a height of 7 to 8 meters it could have contained about 400 cubic meters, enough grain to supply a small village. The smaller granary has a diameter of 5.40 m.

Beneath the Ramses III level at Medinet Habu a group of six ovens was found (Fig. 63) beside the Western Fortified Gate (Folio Pl. 15, in U 10). These were constructed by sinking a large pot part way into the ground and mantling the projecting portion with clay and crushed brick in mud plaster to a thickness of 10–12 cm. Halfway up a small air hole was pierced. Near the ovens were found a great quantity of charcoal, several crude flint knives, and a small lump of yellow ocher.¹⁰

⁹ Petrie, Tell el Amarna (London, 1894) p. 24 and Pl. XLI 15.

Ovens of similar construction found at 'Amarnah and Deir el-Medinah are described by Ludwig Borchardt in his article "Ein Brot," ZAS LXVIII (1932) 73-79.

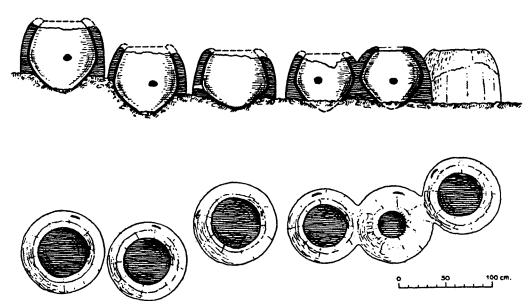


Fig. 63. Six Ovens Found beneath the Ramses III Level at Medinet Habu. Section and Ground Plan

THE TEMPLE AND ITS TEMENOS

The temple of Eye and Harmhab was constructed of stone, as was customary for royal mortuary temples of the New Kingdom, while the temenos walls and all subsidiary buildings were of brick.

In excavating we found the temple itself completely and systematically razed and used as a quarry. Not a stone of the walls had been preserved, and even the foundation blocks were practically all removed to be used in other places. The sandstone of Gebel Silsilah, which was utilized for the temple structure, was particularly desirable as building material; and later generations considered it more convenient to use the gigantic disused temples of an earlier period as a source of supply than to go off to the distant quarries for new sandstone. In the case of our temple we shall later see (p. 79) where at least a few of its stones have wandered. Relatively speaking, most of the surviving fragments belonged to column drums, since curved forms were least suitable for other building purposes unless they were first hewn into rectangular blocks with considerable waste of time and good material. In addition to these, there survived also a few blocks of the lowest foundation course, which escaped the attention of the quarrymen.

It would have been quite impossible to reconstruct the plan of the temple, from the few stones which remained in situ or scattered as fragments over the temple area, had not every possible trace which could be perceived on or in the ground been studied with the minutest care. In the first place, the foundation trenches offered an infallible clue to the ground plan, but in that respect our hopes were reduced by the fact that only the outer walls were founded on bedrock, while the dividing walls stood upon filled-in gravel or rubbish (p. 65), which was grubbed up or even completely removed in the Roman period, when tomb vaults were set above and within the old temple foundations. Because of these obviously unfavorable conditions it was not possible to regain completely and indisputably the entire plan of the temple. The extent of our success and the results of our investigation form the subject of the following paragraphs.

The temple was not the result of a unified plan but belongs to two different periods of construction (Folio Pl. 33). The extent of the original layout is certified by the foundation deposits, which had been buried at the main corners of the building and at other important spots. These without exception prove that Eye was the originator of the building. Thus the entire temple proper with the exception of the rear extension belongs to this first era of construction. Also, Eye laid out the temple courtyards in smaller and more modest dimensions than were finally executed afterward (cf. Figs. 94–95). The later changes and enlargement are not dated by foundation deposits. But on the walls and columns we find the name of Harmhab, who erased that of his predecessor in those parts of the building where it already existed and replaced it with his own. This second period of building accordingly belongs to Harmhab and comprises the rear addition and the great columned court.

THE TEMPLE BUILDING

The temple of Eye itself (Fig. 94 and Folio Pl. 33) consisted of a transverse hall (the "broad hall") with twenty columns. Behind it the plan is divided into three sections. In the center are two hypostyle halls with eight columns each and a completely destroyed holy of holies; on each side are smaller columned halls, those on the left (south) being somewhat wider than the ones on the right (north). A transverse addition to the rear (west) of the temple was added afterward by Harmhab (cf. Fig. 95). Discussion of the latter will be found below (p. 78).

The broad hall was 42 meters wide and 10.50 m. long, that is, 80×20 Egyptian ells. The foundation trenches of its rear and side walls were sunk into bedrock to the distance of about 40 cm., and in these trenches still survive a few blocks of the lowest course, which was bedded on a thick layer of fine sand. Of the front wall, which had no special foundation trench, all traces have disappeared except the doorsill with two sockets.

Twenty mighty columns in two rows of ten each occupied the hall. They were spaced at irregular intervals: on the axis of the temple a wider passage was left, as well as on the axis of the doorway to the southern cult chambers. Numerous tiny fragments of the columns are preserved (e.g. Pl. 43 b). They supply sufficient data to make

possible a reconstruction of the form and decoration of the columns (p. 100 and Pl. 8). However, it is necessary to remember that the height is problematic, as it was not possible to ascertain the length of the undecorated sections of the shaft.

The columns are of the well known form with open capitals, similar to, though of more modest dimensions than, those which Amenhotep III erected before his temple court at Luxor.¹¹ What especially distinguishes our

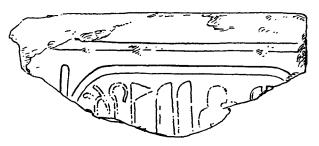


Fig. 64. Fragment of an Architrave, Probably from the Broad Hall of the Temple of Eye

The name of Eye was erased and that of Harmhab painted over it.

columns is the faultlessly preserved color, which makes it possible for us to gain a very satisfactory impression of their original effect (cf. Pl. 8). In contrast to the ornate columns of the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Dynasty these simpler ones of the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty appear noble and dignified. The shaft of the column was painted white. Delicate ribs protruded on three sides, as is characteristic of the stem of the papyrus plant in nature. A rectangular field containing Harmhab's names over those of Eye was in the middle of the shaft. Since only fragments of it are preserved (e.g. Pl. 43 b), there is no direct proof

for the existence of the representation of the serpent goddess entwined in the symbolic plant of Upper Egypt or the signs $\[\downarrow \downarrow \downarrow \]$ underneath it. Beneath the five bands of the column necking was a rich and very decorative garland consisting of cartouches and cobras. Here also the two names of Harmhab were placed over those of Eye.

Whether engaged pillars were employed to support the ends of the architraves, as shown in the reconstruction (Fig. 94), has not been definitely proved. A fragment of an architrave (Fig. 64) which probably belonged to this colonnade now lies north of the broad hall. According to it the height of the architrave must have been about

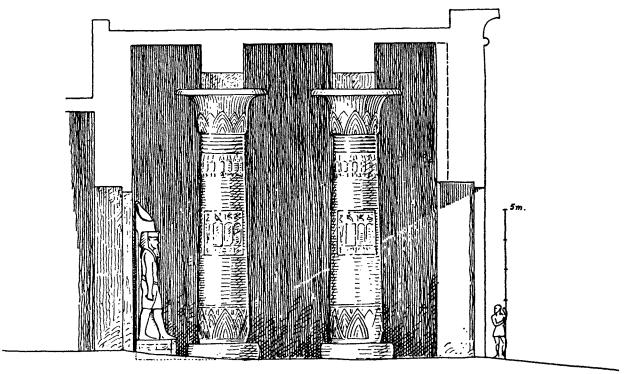


Fig. 65. Section through the Broad Hall of the Temple of Eye. Reconstruction

95 cm. The fragment contains a defaced cartouche about 125 cm. long in which the name of Eye is still recognizable. Harmhab's name was but painted over it, and only the most meager traces can still be made out.

Two huge statues of the king had once stood at the left and right of the center doorway at the west (Fig. 65; cf. pp. 102-5), but they had been overthrown in antiquity and were thus found in the excavations. In like manner, outside the temple before the entrance stood two large statues of the king seated, the most important fragments of which had already been found before our time (cf. pp. 105 f.).

The rear of the temple was narrower than the broad hall. So far as the structure dates back to Eye, its foundation trenches were characteristically wide and deep. The two rear corners of the original structures were documented by foundation deposits (Nos. 1-2; see Folio Pl. 33) which were laid in the foundation trenches. These were

¹¹ Daressy, Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor (Le Caire, 1893) pp. 48-50.



Printed in Germany by Ganymed, Berlin Height, about 9.50 m.

PAPYRIFORM COLUMN FROM THE BROAD HYPOSTYLE HALL OF THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB. RECONSTRUCTION

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THE TEMPLE AND ITS TEMENOS

undisturbed, although most of the stones of the trenches had been removed. Some of their objects bore the name of Eye (see Table 1). The axis of the temple was marked by a vertical line scratched in the trench at the rear (see Folio Pl. 33).

The few remains of the lowest course of the foundation lie on the north side (in N 6). They consist of great stone blocks about 65 cm. high, which were set on 5 cm. of compact bedding sand. We have often wondered here

and in other similar instances how it was possible to spread out the sand so evenly and without the slightest hollow beneath the blocks. The only satisfactory explanation would seem to be that the foundation trench with its previously prepared layer of sand was filled with water before laying the first course of stone upon it. On these blocks was marked the alignment of the walls which were to be placed upon them. It indicates them to have had a maximum thickness of 90 cm.

The inner walls were less deeply founded than the outer ones. The foundation trench of one wall and some fragments of foundation stones at various points are all that is preserved of them. Thus the column bases or their foundations together with the remains of pavement slabs supply our chief information about the room division. The floor, consisting of slabs 15 cm. thick bedded in sand, rested on a layer of gravel about 45 cm. deep which had been roughly leveled with mud bricks (32×15×8 cm.). In each successive room the floor is on a slightly higher level. The difference in height



FIG. 66. FRAGMENTS OF A TWELVE-STEMMED PAPYRUS CLUSTER-COLUMN, FROM ONE OF THE CENTRAL HYPOSTYLE HALLS IN THE TEMPLE OF EYE

between the second hypostyle hall and the holy of holies is only 19 cm., but in spite of this small rise a very shallow double stairway of five steps was deemed necessary to form the connection. Consequently each step is only 3–4 cm. high.

In the central hypostyle halls were twelve-stemmed payprus cluster-columns with closed capitals. Only a few fragments (Fig. 66) are preserved. The diameter at the bottom, according to the alignment marked on the bases,

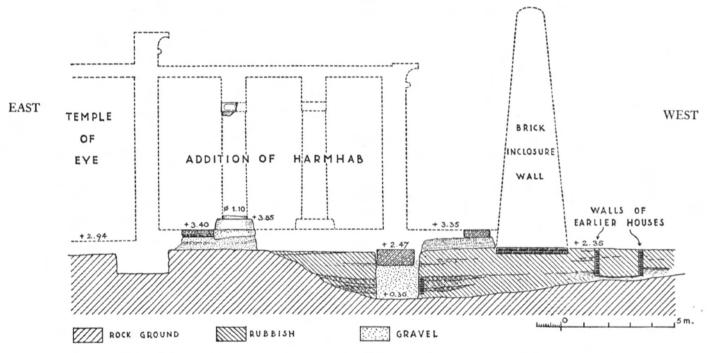


Fig. 67. Longitudinal Section through the Rear of the Temple of Eye and Harmhab

measured 1.10 m. The shaft contained an inscribed field in which the name of Harmhab replaced that of Eye in a manner very similar to the arrangement on the shafts of the columns of the broad hall.

In the first of the northern side rooms (in N 6) the bases of the columns did not stand upon individual foundations but rested instead on a row of blocks which had originally been intended to support a wall 85 cm. thick. Thus it is clear that this room was originally divided into two narrower ones (cf. Figs. 94–95), of which the southern was wider than the northern (3.12 m. and 2.43 m.). The columns which replaced this earlier dividing wall were erected on extremely crude, perhaps incompletely dressed, bases. The shafts appear to have been cy-

lindrical (diameter about 1.15 m.) and in the main unornamented, with simple abaci instead of capitals. A shaft fragment of this type was found in the neighborhood.

It has not been possible to ascertain what types of columns were used in the other rooms. A unique fragment, not found *in situ*, is depicted on Plate 43 o.¹² This probably belonged to the capital of a papyrus cluster-column. The prenomen and nomen of Harmhab over those of Eye are painted in the cartouches (see p. 100).

Harmhab's addition at the rear (see Folio Pl. 33) is distinguished from the older temple by its narrower and more shallow foundation trenches. Its southwest corner is built over a depression in the ground which was

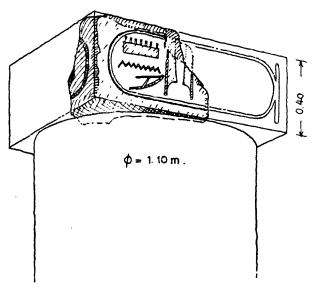


Fig. 68. Fragment of a Column Capital from Harmhab's Addition to the Rear of the Temple of Eye

evened with brick rubbish and the like to the level of the outer terrain (+2.35 m.). Through this loose filling of rubbish Harmhab's foundation trenches were carried down to virgin soil and filled in with gravel, which formed a more secure support for the foundation stones (Fig. 67). The inner walls were founded in a similar manner, as far as they rested upon filling.

According to the trenches, Harmhab's addition contained three rooms to the south, the middle one being wider than those at the sides. Before them was a columned hall with two rows of cylindrical columns surmounted by abaci. The one remaining column base stands on filled-in gravel also. The shaft, part of which is still preserved on its base, had a diameter of 1.10 m. (see Fig. 67). Whether it was decorated is unknown. Only a fragment of the abacus is left (Fig. 68 and Pl. 43 a). It contains part of the original name, probably that of Harmhab (see p. 100). The length of this columned hall and the number of

columns which it contained remain open questions. We suspect that the entrance to Harmhab's addition was from the group of rooms on the north, for it could scarcely have been on the axis of the temple because of the spacing of the columns (cf. p. 111).

THE COLUMNED COURT

The great columned court in front of the temple (see Fig. 95 and Folio Pl. 33) was truly of gigantic proportions, being no less than 54.40 m. wide and 59 meters long (inner measurements). Its width surpassed that of the broad hall by 6.20 m. on each side, and to fill out the differences a room with two columns was apparently added at either side of the broad hall.

It was possible to find the foundation trenches of the walls of this court, and several blocks of the lowest foundation course which are still in situ (in I 4) indicate that the walls were not over 100 cm. thick. The column foundations stood fairly high on stone debris and gravel; but most of them have likewise disappeared. Nevertheless, enough traces are left to indicate that the court had two rows of columns along the rear (west), as well as on the north and south. Whether this applied to the east side also, as assumed in the reconstruction, has not been proved. In the middle of the west side the colonnade was interrupted by the entrance to the broad hall. It was at either side of this doorway, as we have said, that the huge white limestone seated figures of the king were placed (see pp. 105 f.). Access to the columned court seems to have been provided by a stone gate, the precise nature of which could not be discovered.

The foundations of each of the columns (see Folio Pl. 33) consisted of four large blocks, which together formed a square. On these were drawn the outlines of the column bases, each with a diameter of 2.58 m. Several fragments of the column drums and capitals which are preserved show them to have been eight-stemmed papyrus cluster-columns with closed capitals. At the base the diameter of the shaft was 1.80 m., with an increase a little higher to about 2 meters. Halfway up the shaft we find once more inscribed rectangles with the names of Harmhab (original!), which prove him to be the originator of the great court.

The excavation clearly demonstrated that the columns, like the entire temple, have been systematically demolished to be reused for building purposes elsewhere. A glance about in the district of Thebes, where one would excair J 59889.

THE TEMPLE AND ITS TEMENOS

pect such stones to have been reused, reveals the fact that in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak the round columns (e.g. Fig. 69) of the court erected under Herihor (Twenty-first Dynasty) consist of older drums of cluster-columns that correspond in material and measurements to our own. It is probable, then, that blocks taken from our temple were used in the Khonsu temple: in other words, that the temple of Harmhab had already been destroyed and forsaken by the end of the Ramessid period and that under Herihor it was being plundered as a stone quarry.¹³

Beneath the great columned court of Harmhab still lie foundation trenches which belonged to the smaller temple courts of Eye (see Fig. 94). Whether the latter were ever completed or were even scarcely more than begun is very doubtful. The main court of Eye had exactly the same width as the broad hall, that is, 80 Egyptian

ells. That it originated with Eye is attested by the foundation deposits (Nos. 5-6; found in K 4 and K 6). But it is uncertain how the architect intended to arrange the court. Perhaps he wanted to terminate it in an open pillared hall immediately in front of the broad hall, as is found at Deir el-Bahri.¹⁴ The length of the ramp at the beginning of which foundation deposits Nos. 3-4 had been placed speaks for such an assumption. However, uncertain as it is, we have not ventured to include it in the reconstruction. The forecourt seems to have extended to the fourth pylon (see deposit No. 9, in the prolongation of the north wall, whose trenches there have disappeared), which formed the entrance to the courts of Eve (see Fig. 94 and p. 80). At the rear (west) of the forecourt a colonnade with a short ramp leading up to it may be assumed on the basis of the side wall trenches and deposits Nos. 7–8. Of the pylon itself we have only the front (east) edge of the bedding. According to this it was 58 meters long; while its depth, if it corresponded to that of the third pylon (see p. 80), must have been about 7 meters (cf. remark on foundations of wide brick walls on p. 72).

Under Eye the level of the forecourt was at about +1.20 and that of the main court at about +1.60 m. In M 6 it is possible to see a smooth layer of mud over thin gravel, above which a layer of stone slabs was probably to be placed. Under Harmhab the floor of the colonnade lay at +2.30 m. and therefore almost as high as that

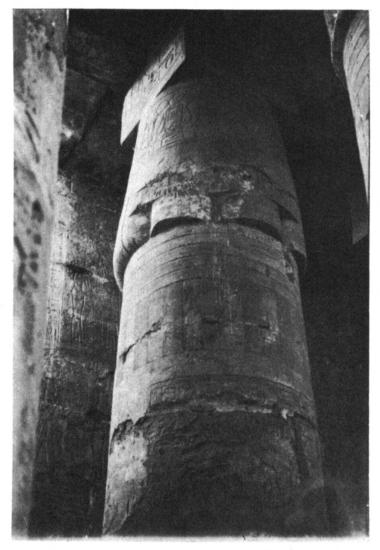


Fig. 69. Papyriform Column in the Peristyle of the Temple of Khonsu at Karnak, Erected with Drums of Older Cluster-Columns and Plastered with Gypsum

of the broad hall. The open court, however, was considerably lower, rising from east to west. In the entrance the height of its pavement can still be recognized at +1.20 m., that is, 1.10 m. below the level of the colonnade (see Fig. 95).

The foundation trench of an inclosure wall dating from Eye is preserved in L-O 4. It is 2.20 to 2.40 m. wide and about 20 cm. deep and is located under the north wall of the storehouse erected by Harmhab (see Folio Pl. 33).

In the columned court were found still other foundation trenches (see Folio Pl. 33), which bordered a court intermediate in size between the original plan of Eye and the final execution by Harmhab. We have therefore designated this court as belonging to a first project of Harmhab, but whether its execution ever progressed beyond the trenches we are unable to state.

¹³ Borchardt recognized that many of the blocks employed in the temple of Khonsu were taken from older temples, especially from the mortuary temple of Amenhotep III (ZAS LXI [1926] 37-51).

¹⁴ Cf. Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari VI, Pls. CLXIX and CLXXII.

THE TEMENOS WALL AND THE PYLONS

Although the temple and the colonnades were executed in sandstone, the outer temenos wall, the cross-walls, and the pylons consisted only of mud bricks. Remains of the outer encircling wall were found on the east side (3.60 m. wide), as well as on the north and west sides (3.10 m. wide). On the south side, on the contrary, so far as we have excavated the area, the wall has disappeared completely, not only because mountain torrents swept through the southwest corner of the precinct (see p. 65), but also because the moat of the Outer Wall of Medinet Habu was dug just in the line where we should have sought the south wall of Eye and Harmhab, since we assume that it was symmetrical with the north wall.

The outer measurements of the temenos are 257.70×145.50 m. (approximately 490×280 Egyptian ells). The first pylon (65×9 meters) forms the entrance. Since it lies immediately on the edge of present cultivation, it was impossible for us to investigate further, to determine whether any construction had ever taken place in front of it. The bricks used in its construction, which average $40 \times 20 \times 12$ cm., are black and crumbly and unstamped. The gate itself was set in stone blocks, but no remains have survived. Worthy of notice are small construction walls which run from west to east behind the pylon (see Folio Pl. 33). They are set about 3 meters apart. The bricks measure $32 \times 16 \times 8$ cm. In part they run beneath the lowest brick layers of the pylon and therefore are older than the latter, but nevertheless they doubtless belong to the same general period. I cannot say with certainty what their purpose really was.

We may assume the level of the doorsill of the first pylon to have been about -4.80 m. From there the terrain rises to the west, and at a distance of 9 meters behind the pylon there is a terrace about 1 meter high. The rise continues to the second pylon, where the doorsill lies at -1.50 m. The second pylon is somewhat smaller than

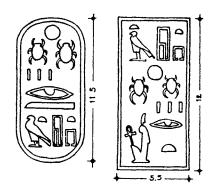


FIG. 70. BRICK STAMPS OF EYE

the first. We only cleared its northern corner sufficiently to observe that it was constructed in exactly the same manner as the first pylon.

The third pylon, again somewhat smaller than the preceding one, is distinguished by its bricks, which, though the same in size as those of the other pylons $(40-42\times20\times12 \text{ cm.})$, are sandier and harder and bear stamps of Eye in two different forms (Fig. 70). The stone foundations of the doorframes are partially preserved. Fragments of the pavement were found inside (west of) the gateway, where its bedding is at -0.30 m. and the pavement itself at +0.30 m. In the gateway at a point halfway between these two levels was found a single horizontal stone slab, which perhaps served as part of a floor at some later period. Never-

theless, we have taken this slab as the zero point for the leveling of the temple area. A ramp with a brick parapet ascends to the third pylon. On both sides of it were pedestals, which may have been intended for sphinxes or the like. Then finally came the fourth pylon, which formed the entrance to Eye's courts (see p. 79). It was removed by Harmhab and replaced by a gate, presumably of stone, to his columned court (cf. Figs. 94-95).

Transverse walls extended from both ends of each pylon to the inclosure wall. Those belonging to the second pylon are 2.80 m. in thickness, the next, 2.40 m., and the last, 1.95 m. We found stamped bricks of Eye in the last only, in the south section, while the north section contained smaller unstamped bricks (36×17×12 cm.). Thus the east half of the temenos is divided by these cross-walls into three wide courts, each one of which certainly had a special purpose. The nature of the building-remains in the first court (between the first and second pylons) could not be discovered. There were numerous round holes which might be taken for tree holes but for the fact that they were filled with gravel instead of humus. Their irregular position also definitely militates against bringing them into any relation with the temple of Harmhab. At both the north and the south side of the second court a few remains of walls indicate the presence of buildings which were perhaps employed as magazines. The south portion of the third court contained the royal palace, but what lay opposite it on the north we were unable to determine. In H-I 8-9 the inclosure wall adjoined a great brick massif (see Folio Pl. 33), the exterior courses of which were constructed of large bricks (42×20×13 cm.) stamped with the name of Eye, while the interior was filled with smaller bricks (36×17×12 cm.) without stamps. South of the temple is a great temple storehouse, while to the north are insignificant remains of a brick building of unknown purpose.

THE TEMPLE AND ITS TEMENOS

THE ROYAL PALACE

Only the foundations of the palace are preserved. We can thus distinguish the layout as a whole, but not in detail. The palace stood unattached between the third and the fourth pylon (Fig. 71), and its dimensions are modest. It is practically square (21.6×22.0 m.) and contains only a few rooms, the largest of which is a broad hall extending across the front (north). Its inner measurements are 13.25×7.30 m. (25×13 Egyptian ells). There were eight pillars with brick foundations 90 cm. square. Two very narrow vestibules adjoin at the sides, one of which is 2 meters and the other 2.40 m. in width. Behind this first row of rooms there is a second, in the center of which is a square throneroom with four pillars. This is adjoined on the west by a smaller room with only two pillars, while on the east there are two narrow rooms, the first of which may perhaps have contained stairs

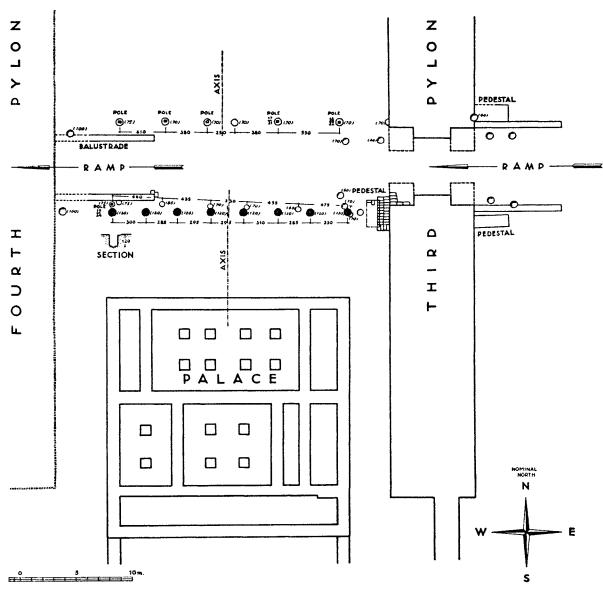


Fig. 71. Plan of the Palace of Eye, Showing Traces of Wooden Colonnades in Front of It

leading to the roof, and the second, the bath and latrine separated by a low dividing wall. Finally, behind this row of rooms, was constructed a long narrow corridor. Later an enlargement must have been added on the south of the palace, but whether it was a group of rooms or only a court remains unsettled. Except for the later addition, the palace was constructed of hard grayish-black mud bricks (40–42×19–20×12–13 cm.), on many of which occurred oval or rectangular stamps of Eye (Fig. 70). The exterior of the palace was plastered and whitewashed. No architectural remains of stone were found. Of the addition (see Fig. 95), remains of the wall (85 cm. thick) starting from the southwest corner of the palace have survived, while of the corresponding wall, beginning at the southeast corner, only the bedding of mud on the ground was located. This one was built against the completely plastered and whitewashed corner of the palace. The bricks are somewhat smaller (39×19×12 cm.) than those used in the palace proper and, so far as we could see, are unstamped.

In front of the palace on both sides of the avenue leading to the temple there are numerous post holes hewn into the stony gravel. Most of these are arranged in rows, the holes of each row having approximately the same

width and depth. It is quite apparent that the various rows of posts did not exist at one and the same time. The row containing the largest holes is south of the avenue, a distance of 7.60 m. from the front of the palace. There are eight holes (hatched in Fig. 71) with a depth of 1.20 m. and a width of 70 cm. The spacing was fairly regular (averaging 2.95–3.00 m.), except for a somewhat greater interval (3.30 m.) between the two easternmost holes, apparently to correspond to the width of the east vestibule of the palace, which is wider than the west one. Thus the posts of this row were obviously related to the palace; they were doubtless planned for a colonnade or wooden portico as part of that edifice.

Close beside the first row of holes is a second, on the whole somewhat farther to the north but not exactly parallel to the first row or to the façade of the palace. Its length over all is the same as that of the first row and thus likewise corresponds to the width of the palace façade. However, in this case there were only six instead of eight posts. The spaces average about 4.50 m. except for the middle interval, which is only 3.30 m. The holes themselves only average about 0.70 m. in depth and 0.45 m. in width. In one of them (the westernmost) is preserved the imprint of the lower end of a post which measured 19×24 cm. The post had been held in position by clayey yellow gravel stamped in around it. A third row of holes is situated on the other side (north) of the avenue. It corresponds in general to the second row. It has the same number (six) of holes, and the two in the center are likewise closer together. All of them are approximately 70 cm. deep and 60 cm. wide. In most of them the imprints of the posts (about 18×22 cm.) can still be recognized.

If the first two rows of holes may be assumed to have belonged to the portico of the palace, the third row probably was intended for the portico of a building which stood opposite the palace, but of which nothing is preserved.

The results obtained from this discussion may be briefly summarized: In front of the palace there was originally a colonnade with eight wooden posts. Later, perhaps under Harmhab, it was replaced by another, with six posts. The counterpart of the latter stood on the opposite side of the avenue leading to the temple. These vestibules were very lightly constructed and not at all monumental in character. The roof, with a span of 7.60 m., was probably supplied with the very lightest type of covering, perhaps with cloth like an awning. It is still a question whether these porticoes stood as permanent structures or were merely erected at certain festivals. It is also problematic whether the passage between them was roofed over. This is entirely possible, as the distance between the two rows of supports is practically the same (about 7.60 m.) as that between the southern row and the palace. These questions can for the present be submitted for solution only to the imagination of the reader (cf. p. 114).

Aside from the three rows of holes mentioned above, quite a number of other holes in the ground were disclosed by the excavations. Most of them stand in clear relation to the doorways of the pylons, so that one could think of them as containing poles for festival decoration. But their positions in reference to the axis of the temple are so inexact that very little can be made of them.

THE STOREHOUSE

The storehouse stands with its north outer wall above a wide foundation trench of Eye (see Folio Pl. 33) and must therefore date from a later period. In the two courses at the bottom we found some (reused?) bricks (40×20×12 cm.) with the stamp of Eye, and everywhere beside and above them smaller bricks (about 36×18×12 cm.), which must probably be ascribed to Harmhab. The arrangement of the ground plan can be seen on Figure 95. The side rooms average 3.15 m. (6 Egyptian ells) in width, while the dividing walls are 85 cm. thick. The rooms were probably vaulted. The middle passage is 8.70 m. wide and thus could scarcely have been covered. In the magazines and in their vicinity were found stamped jar stoppers (p. 109). Many others, similar in type.

In the magazines and in their vicinity were found stamped jar stoppers (p. 109). Many others, similar in type, were found to the north of the temple (in M-N 6-7). From this it may be concluded that there was a second storehouse on the north side of the temple, but no remains are preserved.

DETAILS FROM THE TEMPLE AREA

POTTERY

Beneath the loose earth filled in by Eye to level the terrain are the ruins of dwellings (see pp. 68–72). In them were found all kinds of small objects, which may originally have belonged to the time of Amenhotep III. Most of these pieces came from houses No. 2 and No. 3 (Fig. 54) in squares M 2 and P 4 respectively (Folio Pl. 33). Two pots (Pl. 57 g and l) were found north of house No. 2, but in the same level.

In the vicinity of the second pylon (in E 7) were found comparatively thin sherds of very large bowls on whose outer surfaces were scratched three cartouches crowned with feathers. In the center appeared the name Amen-



Fig. 72. Potsherds with Two Names of Amenhotep III and the Name of Queen Tiy. Scale, 2:5

hotep; to the right Nebma^cre^c, and to the left Tiy (Fig. 72).¹ In this pre-Eye level, in square M 2, was unearthed a sherd of a great jar bearing the hieratic inscription: "Year 32. Wine from" It can only refer to the reign of Amenhotep III.

The following register contains detailed information concerning the types of pottery found. All the vessels were baked.

PERIOD BEFORE EYE

PLATE 56, No. 2

- a) Bowl with ring base, straight rim; fine clay, reddish, outside gray-yellow
- b) Bowl with flat bottom, incurved rim; coarse clay, reddish, red slip

PLATE 57

- a) Jug with 2 handles (broken) on high shoulder, narrow straight neck, outcurved rim, point flattened; coarse clay, gray-yellow, outside yellowish, smoothed
- b) Jug with 2 handles (broken) on high shoulder, neck broken, bottom slightly convex; fine clay, gray-yellow, surface yellow and red, polished
- c) Jar with ovoid body, narrow neck, rim rolled outward, round bottom; coarse clay, gray-red, outside whitewashed
- d) Jar with ovoid body, narrow outcurved neck, rim broken, round bottom; coarse clay, gray-red, red slip
- e) Jug with 2 handles (1 broken) on high shoulder, narrow straight neck, rim broken, pointed bottom; coarse clay, gray-yellow, smoothed
- f) Jar with ovoid body, narrow neck, rolled rim, round bottom; medium fine clay, reddish, red slip outside
- g) Jar with ovoid body, wide pinched-out rim, pointed bottom; medium fine clay, reddish, outside painted: white ground, designs in blue with black and red lines
- h) Jar with ovoid body, narrow neck, pointed bottom; medium fine clay, gray-yellow, outside painted red
- i) Tall jug with 2 handles, short neck, rolled rim, flattened bottom; coarse clay, red
- k) Jar like h; medium fine clay, gray-red, outside painted red

² See Vol. V for a fragment of a fayence vessel with the same three cartouches, discovered in the temple of Eye.



THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB

- 1) Jar with globular body, narrow pinched-out rim, round bottom; medium fine clay, red slip outside, blackened by fire
- m) Jar with ovoid body, wide mouth, pinched-out rim, flat bottom; coarse clay, reddish gray
- n) Bowl with flattened bottom; coarse clay, gray-yellow, string marks outside

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- 0) Bowl with straight neck, rim rolled inward, ring base; fine clay, yellow-gray, surface reddish, slightly smoothed
- q) Flask with wide mouth, thick outcurved rim, pointed bottom (broken); very rough clay, yellow-gray, outside slightly smoothed, red slip
- r) Wide deep bowl with carinated body, wide straight mouth, inside rim incurved for holding cover, holes for fastening cover, round bottom; coarse clay, red, outside blackened by fire
- s) Bowl with flattened bottom, straight rim; coarse clay, gray-red, outside blackened by fire
- t) Jar with ovoid body, high shoulder, wide mouth, outcurved rim, ring base; coarse clay, gray-yellow, painted red
- u) Bowl with 2 handles inside at bottom,* incurved rim, pointed bottom; fine clay, reddish, slightly smoothed, outside gray-yellow

APPROXIMATELY TWENTIETH DYNASTY

PLATE 56, No. 3

- a) Bowl with round bottom, incurved rim; fine clay, reddish, red slip
- b) Bowl with flat bottom, outcurved rim; fine clay, reddish, red slip
- c) Deep bowl with round bottom, slightly outcurved rim; fine clay, reddish, dark red slip

PLATE 57 p

Bowl with slightly flattened bottom, rolled rim; very rough clay, yellow-gray, inside reddish, string marks outside

* Cf. H. E. Winlock, "An Egyptian flower bowl" (Metropolitan Museum Studies V [New York, 1936] 147-56).

FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE

By R. Anthes

Foundation deposits of Eye were found in pits at nine different places (F 1-9 in Folio Pl. 33 and in Fig. 63):

Nos. 1 and 2, in the foundation trenches at the two rear (west) corners of the original temple

Nos. 3 and 4, 3.60 m. apart in the original main court at the beginning of the ramp which presumably was located there

Nos. 5 and 6, in the foundation trenches at the front (east) corners of the original main court

Nos. 7 and 8, in the forecourt in front of the entrance to the main court, only 0.80 m. apart

No. 9, close to the fourth pylon, in line with the course of the north wall of the courts but not in any recognizable foundation trench



Fig. 73. Foundation Deposit No. 2 in the Temple of Eye

The pits (e.g. Fig. 73) were round, hewn into the rocky ground, about 90 cm. wide at the top, 60 cm. at the bottom, and 80 cm. deep. The objects lay bedded in sand, which was quite clean at the top but at the bottom had been discolored by an admixture of Nile mud.

The contents of the different pits varied. It is noticeable that the objects in deposit No. 3 show particularly finely wrought details which do not occur in any other deposit: the wooden objects (p. 90) were gilded, and some of the pots were painted red (p. 96). No. 3 also contained kinds of objects not found elsewhere (cf.

C, E, K, L), in addition to an unusually large number of pots. On the other hand, deposit No. 3 lacked bronze tools, which were most completely represented in No. 4 (pp. 88 f.), while the selection of pots in No. 4 complemented that in No. 3, in part with forms not represented elsewhere (p. 96). Nos. 3 and 4 therefore belonged together as a particularly well equipped group, whose objects had obviously been carefully divided between the two pits. It may be characteristic of these particularly good deposits that cheap, small fayence models (pp. 87 f.) such as were otherwise occasionally found scattered on top of a deposit are lacking.² As with Nos. 3 and 4, an affinity may be assumed for some other pairs of deposits, but it cannot be fully demonstrated.

TABLE 1

Distribution of Objects in the Foundation Deposits of Eye

C	•	3	?		Number		3	
GROUP A	Small fayence models Small gold and silver models	2	3	4	Small fayence models	6 Small fayence models	7	8
	Fayence car- touches and scarabs				Fayence car- touches and scarabs	Fayence car- touches and scarabs		
В*	Bronze tools	Bronze tools		Bronze tools	Bronze tools	Bronze tools	Bronze tools and ingots	Bronze tools and ingots
C*		Wooden knot	Gilded wooden knots, flail, and utensil			Wooden knot and brick mold		
D						Wooden bowl		
E*		Hand mill	Hand mills and grinding saucers	Hand mills	Hand mill	Hand mill		
F	Fayence tiles with king's names	Fayence tiles with king's names	Fayence tiles with king's names		Fayence tiles with king's names	Fayence tiles with king's names	Fayence tiles with king's names	
G	Alabaster segment		Alabaster segment					
Н	Agate beads	Fayence beads	Agate beads	Agate beads				
J	Rock crystal		Green feldspar Lumps of col- oring matter	Green feldspar Lumps of col- oring matter	Lumps of col- oring matter		Green feldspar	Green feldspar
K	Animal bones	Animal bones	Animal bones					Animal bones
L			Jujube seeds					
M	34 pottery vessels (some inscribed)	27 pottery vessels (some inscribed)	201 pottery vessels (some inscribed; some with rims painted red)	88 pottery vessels 25 jar-stands	27 pottery vessels (some inscribed)	25 pottery vessels (some inscribed)	ca. 43 pottery vessels (some inscribed)	ca. 79 pottery vessels (some inscribed)

^{*} The tools in groups B, C, and E, in most cases certainly, are only models of actual tools, mostly in reduced size.

Deposit No. 9 is unique. It contained only some pottery vessels at the bottom of the pit, but no other objects. It was presumably not robbed but left incompletely equipped originally. It has no counterpart on the south.

The contents of Nos. 1–8, summarized in Tables 1 and 2, are described below by type groups. The designations used in the lists correspond to those given on Plates 53–57.

From Table 2 it may in general be gathered that (1) small fayences (A) were scattered on top of or beside the pit as a last offering; (2) hand mills (E) regularly lay at one of the upper levels; (3) fayence tiles with the king's

² [It is not impossible that these had already been discovered and removed before our excavation.—Hölscher.]

³ Cf. Petrie, Six Temples at Thebes (London, 1897) pp. 14 and 16.

FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE

names (F) lay at the bottom of the pit except in Deposits 1-2, where pots (M) were placed beneath them; (4) vessels of types M h and t (only one example of each found) and jars of type M p (their level determinable in only three out of five deposits) lay separately above the other pots. Perhaps such vessels served a special purpose, such as for performing the water libation during the ceremony.

TABLE 2

Positions of Groups in the Individual Deposits of Eye

	posit Io. Level	Groups	Depos No.		Groups
1	top of sand	A, H, and J	6	in sand of foundation trenches	
	-30 cm.	B 2, 3, 5, and 6; M h and p		beside pit	A
	−50 cm.	B 1-2, F, G, and K		-10 cm.	M t
	bottom	M		-30 cm.	E
2	−30 cm.	E, H, K, and M p		-40 cm.	B and C
	-40 cm.	B, C, and F		-50 cm.	M
	bottom	M		-60 cm.	D
3	top	E and M		bottom	F
	-50 cm.	C, G, H, J, and K	7	top	M
	bottom	F and L		below preceding	В
4	top	E and M		bottom	F
	from -40 cm. to bottom	B, H, and J		scattered through whole depth	J
5	in sand of foundation trenches	•	8	top	M
	beside pit	A and J		below preceding	В
	-20 cm.	E		bottom	K
	` −30 cm.	B and M p		scattered through whole depth	J
	-40 cm.	M			-
	bottom	F			

Particulars about the objects are given in the following lists. The quantities of individual pieces are stated in order to indicate the relative frequency of the various types. In cases where the numbers are high we do not claim absolute exactness. On the whole, however, the individual details are so presented that every deposit can be easily reconstructed.

A. SMALL FAYENCES AND MODELS OF GOLD AND SILVER (PL. 52)

Aa. SMALL FAYENCE MODELS

The predominant color is a strong, brilliant blue; but red, white, and gray-blue are fairly common. Other colors are rare: a greenish color which fades sometimes to blue, sometimes to white; white with black spots, found in only one object—a group of bound oxen; black, found in deposit No. 6 only. It cannot be established whether there was any special preference for the use of certain colors for certain forms. Where only one color is represented, as may occur when there are only a few pieces of a given type, it is noted in the lists. The fayence models show no white core, but consist of solid glaze.

	Offerings		BER OF P	
1	Bound cattle without heads, in two forms:	No. 1	No. 5	No. 6
	a	3	3	35
	b	_		10
2	Bound cattle with heads		3	4
3	Heads of cattle, in two forms:			
	a	19	33	169
	b		11	
4	Calf heads	5	1	14
5	Legs of beef, in two forms:			
	a	18	46	218
	b		2	1
6	Pieces of meat (rib pieces?), in two slightly differing forms	18	.28	272
7	Slightly elongated pieces of meat?	12	22	228
	Mostly only the ton is convex, but occasionally both top and bottom are convex. A few examples have lengthwise			

Mostly only the top is convex, but occasionally both top and bottom are convex. A few examples have lengthwise incisions on the convex surfaces.

THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB

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00	THE MORIORITIES OF EIGHT DE TRICKIERD			
	Tools		er of P	
8	Levels	1	1	7
9	Plummets*	1	3	11
10	Cord wound on a stick	1	1	
	Miscellaneous and uncertain objects			
11	igns?			
	a, large (blue only)		1	3
	b, small (blue only)		1	_
10	c, large (varying in form)		_	11
12	signs (baskets)? (blue only)	2		_
	In contrast to the similar alabaster segments (G), the face is rounded off toward the curved edge.			
13	Rectangles (bricks?)	2		1
	Their cross-section is rectangular; their maximum thickness is 0.5 cm., as with other models.			
14	Eyes	4	1	18
	Cf. Petrie, Tools and Weapons (London, 1917) Pl. XLVII 58-59.			
	Ab. Small Gold and Silver Models			
c	since these are made of thin plates, bent over at the edges, they were probably formed over a c	2080	In no	
		JOI C.	111 110	, case,
nov	wever, does any trace of a core survive. Some of these models are chased.		Num	BER OF
_				ECES.
1	Levels, gold	• • • • •		2
	•			_
	Cord wound on a stick, silver			2
	Rectangle (brick?), silver			1
	Pieces of meat (rib pieces?), silver			2
5	Legs of beef, silver (2) and gold (1)	• • • • •		3
	Ac. Fayence Cartouches and Scarabs			
P	All are of brilliant blue.			
			ER OF PI	
		No. 1	No. 5	No. 6
1	Cartouches stamped on one side with the fourth name of Eye	1		2
1 <i>a</i>	Same but stamped on both sides			1
2	Cartouches stamped on both sides with the fifth name of Eye	1		4
3	Cartouches stamped on each side with the fourth and the fifth name of Eye respectively		1	13
4	Scarab bearing the fourth name of Eye (unorthographic)			
5	Scarab bearing the fourth name of Eye		1	4
	One from deposit No. 6 (Pl. 52 Ac 5, at right) has signs transposed.			

B. BRONZE TOOLS AND INGOTS (PL. 53)

6-11 Scarabs with various inscriptions....

A complete set of tools was found in deposit No. 4, which contained four pieces of each of the most important types. Aside from this manifestation of the sacred number four there was commonly but one object of each kind. Great numbers of tools were found in Nos. 7 and 8 only. It is possible that in some cases, instead of four complete tools, only two such were included along with two extra blades (cf. B 2 and 6).

		Number of Pieces in Deposit								
		No. 1	No. 2	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6	No. 7	No. 8		
1	Broad-bladed knives (as used by saddlers)	3	1	4	_		4	2		
	Length, including wooden handle, is 8.5-15.5 cm. In deposit No. 4 the four different									
	shapes (a-d) are each represented once. Type d was found in Deposits 2 and 4 only.									

⁴ See Sethe, Von Zahlen und Zahlworten bei den alten Ägyptern (Strassburg, 1916) pp. 31 f.

Ac 6 is the one found in deposit No. 5.

Number of Pieces in Deposit

FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE

2	Chisels, in three different forms: a (Fig. 74 a)	No. 1	No. 2	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6	No. 7	No. 8
	b (Fig. 74 b)	1	_	4	î	i	_	_
	Fig. 74. Bronze Chisels from Foundation Deposits of Eye (cf. Pl. 53 B 2)							
	Length of blades is 7.7-16.0 cm. The wooden handles are only partially preserved or traceable. In deposit No. 4 there were two chisels of each form with handles, and two without (cf. B 6).							
	c Blunt (Fig. 75)	1		_				
	Fig. 75. Blunt Bronze Chisel from a Foundation Deposit of Eye (cf. Pl. 53 B 2) Length is 13.5 cm.							
3	Hoes	1	1	4	1	1	54	44
	Length of more or less slightly curved blades is 6.3-9.0 cm. Wooden parts were found in most instances but happened not to be preserved in deposit No. 4.							
4	Long-bladed knives	_	_	4	_			1
	In Plate 54 the cutting edge is regularly turned to the right. B 4 b is the specimen found in deposit No. 8. There were no remains of wooden handles.							
5	Axes	1	1	4	1	1	1	1
6	Adzes	1	1	4	1	1	12	2

deposit No. 4 a complete adz and three blades were preserved; in deposit No. 7 were six wooden handles and twelve blades. This irregularity may be accounted for by accidental differences in preservation of the wooden parts; but compare page 88, where it is suggested that in these cases an extra blade was included for every complete tool.

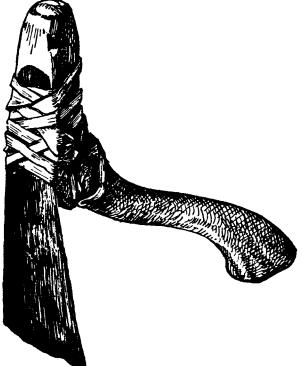


Fig. 76. Adz from a Foundation Deposit of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, Showing the Binding. Berlin 13115

The leather lashings occur in only a few cases and are poorly preserved. Traces on the blades, however, show clearly how they were fastened crosswise and that the upper part of the handle remained free on the face flattened for the blade (Fig. 76).

7 Ingots..... - - - - 2 2

Length is 8.7-9.0 cm., width 3.5-3.6 cm., thickness 1.2 cm.

cago 16575).*

C. WOODEN IMPLEMENTS (PL. 54) Number of Pieces IN DEPOSIT No. 2 No. 3 No. 6 1 Brick mold (Fig. 77 a)..... It is of soft grained wood, poorly preserved. The manner in which the side and cross pieces are joined is worthy of notice (detail given in Fig. 77). On the inner surfaces of the mold remains of an adhesive substance are still recognizable. (Chi-2 Round solid object with handle (Fig. 77 b)..... It is intended as a copy of some implement of unknown use. Gold leaf and stucco covered the wood, which is now al-

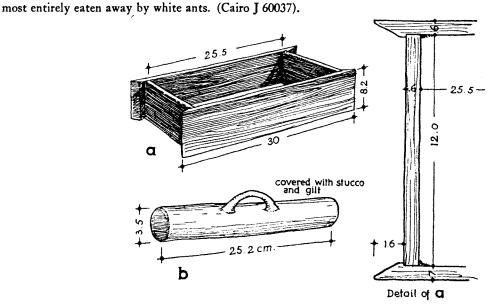


FIG. 77. WOODEN IMPLEMENTS FROM FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE: (a) BRICK MOLD AND (b) GILDED UTENSIL OF UNDETERMINED USE (PL. 54 C 1-2)

3 Knots.... They are carved on front and back. No. 3 c (from deposit No. 3), gilded like C 2, is now badly eaten by ants. The two other pieces show no traces of gilding. (Cairo J 60054). It shows remains of stucco, presumably a foundation for the gilding, as in C 2 and 3 of the same deposit.

* Chicago museum numbers are those of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.

The grooves on this bowl from deposit No. 6 were worked into it by hand, not with a lathe. On the inside are traces of yellow color, but whether from the contents or painting is uncertain. (Cairo J 60055).

D. WOODEN BOWL (PL. 54)

E. STONE UTENSILS (PL. 55)				Number of Pieces in Deposit No. 2 No. 3 No. 4 No. 5 No. 6				
1	Brown quartzite hand mills		5			1		
2	Crudely worked saucers for grinding, of two different sorts: a, brown quartzite (Fig. 78)		1		******	-		

Fig. 78. Brown Quartzite Saucer for Grinding, from a Foundation DEPOSIT OF EYE (CF. Pl. 56 F. 2)

The top of the rim is painted black. A small black painted ring on the bottom marks the otherwise undefined base. The handle is painted black on top and bottom. Diameter is 12 cm. (Cairo J 60056).

b, black stone.... 1

The bottom only is painted as in a. Diameter is 17.5 cm.

Nos. 3-4

Nos. 4-5

FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE

F. FAYENCE TILES WITH ROYAL NAMES (PL. 54)⁵

The inscriptions are mostly black, fired on light blue glazed background. In Deposits 3 and 6 the inscriptions are light blue on dark blue background, while in f the faulty inscription was hastily painted in black after firing. In most cases, on the bottom there are preserved remains or traces of four pottery feet, on which the tiles were placed for baking after being glazed.

-	S	5 5		Number of Pieces in Deposit				
				No. 2				
a-c	Small size, 3.3-3.5 cm. thic		2(a)	_	1*	_	2 (c)	1 (b)
d–g	Large size, only 2.3-3.0 cm	thick		$2\;(f\!-\!g)$		2(d-e)	_	

^{*} Inscription like b but light blue on dark blue background.

G. ALABASTER SEGMENTS (PL. 54)

Deposits 1 and 3 contained one piece each. They are 14.5 and 15.8 cm. long, 3.0 and 3.5 cm. thick. For the present their significance is uncertain. Occasionally such pieces of alabaster or fayence are inscribed with royal names, which are usually placed on one of the flat faces, but obviously running arbitrarily in varying directions. According to the direction of the writing the arc of the segment has been thought of as the bottom (as in the sign) and as the top (cf. Pl. 54 G). In other cases the points of the segment are at top and bottom, or the inscription is on the periphery, starting from the middle and running to both corners. These variations would surely indicate that the segment was intended to represent neither the sign ("basket" or "all") nor a sledge or the rocker of a sledge. Whether there is any relationship to the fayence models in segment form (Aa 12) is uncertain.

	H. BEADS (PLS. 52 AND 55)	Number	R OF PIE	of Pieces in Deposi		
					No. 4	
2	Agate beads	. 400 —	23	83	<i>ca.</i> 300	
	J. MINERALS (PL. 55)					
	Several pieces of each kind were found.			Depos	SIT	
	Green feldspar			. 3–4 :	and 7–8	
	Rock crystal		No.	1 (2]	pieces)	
	Lumps of coloring matter:			•	•	

The red-brown pigment is dark red ocher. A. Lucas has kindly informed me that "in the blue-green lumps, the blue is azurite, the green, malachite (both a copper carbonate) impregnating sandstone. Similar material is found in Sinai. It was probably used in the manufacture of blue fayence glaze; but it was not used in the preparation of paint during the 18th Dynasty."

Green and blue

Red-brown

K. ANIMAL BONES

In deposits Nos. 1-3 and 8 were a few bones of small mammals. In addition, deposit No. 2 had the ribs of a larger mammal and deposit No. 3 the head and neck of a duck.

L. FOURTEEN JUJUBE (Zizyphus spina Christi; EGYPTIAN nbś10) SEEDS (PL. 55)

As the seeds, found in deposit No. 3, lay apart from the dishes and as in this deposit no pot was inscribed with the word *nbs*, it would appear certain that the seeds were not originally contained in one of them (cf. p. 97, Table 3 XVI).

⁵ Specimens retained for the Cairo Museum are b, c, and e (J 60059, J 60057, and J 60058 respectively). The others are in Chicago

⁶ E.g. Cairo J 45695 (Ramses IV?) and Berlin 15146 (Apries). ⁷ E.g. Cairo J 54370 (Ramses II).

⁸ E.g. Petrie, *Memphis* I (London, 1909) Pl. XIX (Thutmose IV); Cairo J 51270 (Amasis). U. Hölscher kindly called my attention to the Cairo pieces mentioned in nn. 6-7.

⁹ Berlin 4546 (Seti II).

¹⁰ Identified by L. Keimer.

	? 0 = 1 111 = 1 4	1/1/2 1/11/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2 1/2	
13	万 () 14	FIRE OF	VI
₹ 0 A		/III 2 2 20 20 20 20 20 20	3 111 21
IX 111 0 22	X 111. A A L 23	0. 1 1 A 1 24	25 PAL
XI 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2	0,9 14 14 111 129	₹ ///// 1 / 26	27 3 L
ロックライン 1111/2 30	31	XII SIL	33 33
XIII 0 111 36	37	34	35

Fig. 79. Inscriptions on Vessels from the Foundation Deposits of Eye: (a) Hieroglyphic Transcriptions

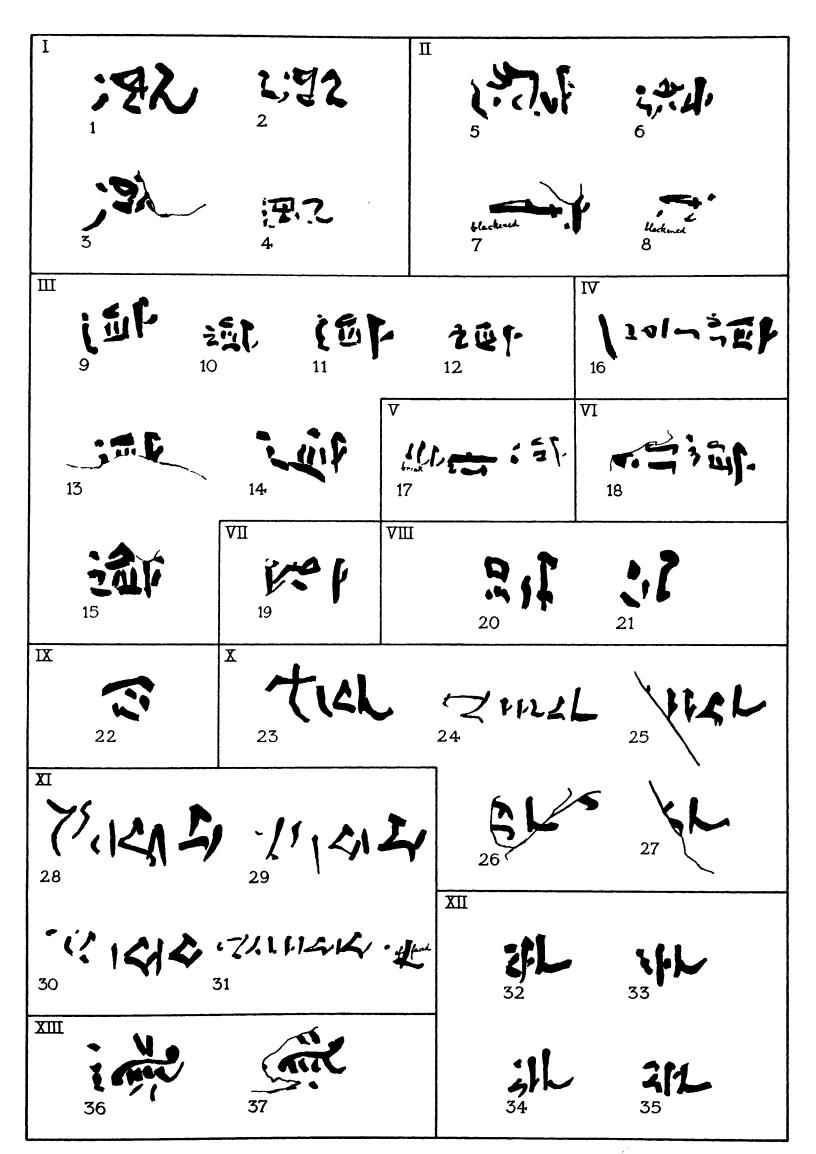


Fig. 79. Inscriptions on Vessels from the Foundation Deposits of Eye: (b) Hieratic Facsimilies (cf. Pl. 55 M)

XIV 38	XV 20 40	XVI 0 4 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1	0 111 2 4 4
39	ه حمر الله 41	111 A COM	9 9 44444 111 a b 45
XVII 0,	0, 0, 9 # 111', 111', 20 # 47	29 D, 9 P P P P P P P P P	090ma 111490 51
111', m 11', 20 48	0, m 0, p	第2月~1111120 第2月~1111120 52	XIX S3
XX مراز الم	چُ ا ا ا ا ا 57	## L 1 54	高以: 1
م م 58 سام	/////, mml ? 59		XXIII ? 111 △ ₹ 61
	63 63 F		
66 J J J J J J J J J J J J J J J J J J	**************************************	11197 m 1116	69
? ? 71 72	? 73 74	/////////////////////////////////////	11197 m 1110 70

Fig. 80. Inscriptions on Vessels from the Foundation Deposits of Eye: (a) Hieroglyphic Transcriptions



Fig. 80. Inscriptions on Vessels from the Foundation Deposits of Eye: (b) Hieratic Facsimiles (cf. Pl. 55 M)

M. POTTERY (PLS. 55-56)

Pottery occurred in all deposits. It was on the whole crudely worked. There occurred only in deposit No. 3 a type with rims colored red. Pots of types h, p, and t lay separated from the others (see p. 87) and were obviously used for special purposes. Large pots of types q-t were all smashed and stamped into the pits. In several pots the remains of the contents were found mixed with sand and earth. For the relationship of the pots in Deposits 3 and 4 see page 86.

P	sits 5 and 1 see page 60.	Number of Pieces in Deposit							
		No. 1	No. 2	No. 3	No. 4	No. 5	No. 6	No. 7	No. 8
a	Stands for type r; coarse red clay, white slip	_	-		25		_		
b	Shallow dishes; light brown to brown				-	1	1		
с	Bowls; coarse light brown to brown clay	9*	7*	32*	_	9*	6*	1*	1*
	Same shade with red slip	1		6	_	1	1	1	1
d	Deep bowls; coarse light brown to red-brown clay, partially smoothed,								
	3.5-6.0 cm. high	5*	5*	10			5*	2	
e	Bowls; coarse yellowish-brown clay		4*	1*		5*	_		_
f	Bowls with wide rims; coarse brownish-yellow clay, rims painted red			9			-		
g	Pots with incurved rims; coarse brownish-yellow clay, rims painted red			5			_		
h	Broad bowl with foot; brownish			_			_		
i	Jugs; coarse brownish-yellow to brown clay		_	17*	_			12*	10*
k	Jugs with wide rims; medium coarse brown clay							2	
1	Wine jugs without rims; coarse brown clay			1	_			5*	12*
m	Bellied pots; coarse clay:								
	whitish yellow	_		35	2				
	brown to brownish red		_	33	40		_		
n	Mugs; coarse brown clay	_			3		_		
0	Jars; coarse brownish-yellow clay, upper half painted red outside			9			_	*******	
p	Jars; light red		1		3	1	1		
9	Pots; coarse brown clay, not smoothed						10		
r	Pots with rounded bases; coarse brown clay, not smoothed, 19-28 cm.								
	high	16	10	43	25	10		ca. 10 d	ca. 27†
s	Pots with flattened bases; medium coarse brown to red-brown clay				15			ca. 10	ca. 27†
t	Large bellied pot; red clay, partly smoothed (only fragments preserved),								
	diameter in center 28 cm., at top 13 cm		_	******			1		
u	Dish with low foot and tall rim (very broken); 5 cm. high, diameter about								
	14 cm								1*

^{*} Groups marked thus include inscribed pots.

Seventy-five pots bear hieratic labels written in black. The inscription usually is placed on the inside of the dish near the rim, with the writing always in a fairly horizontal position (Pl. 55 M 20 and 32), but in types *l* and *u* the inscription stands in a corresponding position on the exterior and in type *i* it sometimes was placed on the inside of the wide rim, sometimes on the body of the jar (Pl. 55 M 17).

In a deposit of Hatshepsut near the causeway of Deir el-Bahri two sherds bearing the words $\bigcap_{i=1}^{\infty}$ and $\sum_{i=1}^{\infty}$ were found." They are now in Cairo Museum (J 42822-23), as was brought to my attention by J. Černý. So far as I know these are the only instances like ours.

Facsimiles of all the pot inscriptions from the deposits of Eye, with hieroglyphic transcriptions, are given in Figures 79 and 80, where they are numbered with Arabic numerals and placed in groups (Roman numerals) according to their relationship. The facsimiles were made by drawing upon photographs and thus sometimes present a distorted appearance. As a check, therefore, the inscriptions are reproduced in photograph (Pl. 55) in so far as they are at all discernible. In deciphering the inscriptions I had the good fortune to secure the extensive help of J. Černý, for which I am most grateful. He discussed the transcriptions in the presence of the originals and collated them with my facsimiles again before publication.

Naturally most of the foods mentioned in the inscriptions occur also in the ancient "long list" of offerings; but

[†] In Deposits 7 and 8 sherds of a total of about 20 and 54 pots respectively could not with certainty be assigned to groups r and s.

[&]quot;Carnarvon and Carter, Five Years' Explorations at Thebes, p. 31. As to forms of the vessels, cf. the uninscribed pots shown ibid. Pl. XXII and from other Deir el-Bahri foundation deposits the saucers of fruits pictured in Metropolitan Museum of Art, Bulletin XXI (1926) March, Part II, Fig. 14 (p. 16). Inscribed representations of food and vessels, e.g. on an offering-table published by Petrie, Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara (London, 1890) Pl. V, are merely a sporadic type of offering list.

FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE

TABLE 3

Inscriptions on Pots from the Foundation Deposits of Eye

Group (see Figs. 79–80)	Transliteration	Translation	Writings (Figs. 79-80)	Pot type (p. 96 and Pl. 56)	Deposit	Remarks
1	35r.t	Roast	1 2 3 4	C C C	5 6 1 2	
II	i3r.t	Grapes	5 6 7 8	c c c	2 6 6 8	Pot of No. 6 contained a number of grapes.
111	ìrp	Wine	9 10 11 12 13 14	l d i i c	7 2 7 3 8 3 5	
IV	îrp c gš 1	One half-measure of wine	16	d	6	
V	irp Byy?	Wine	17	i	8	
VI	<i>irp</i> ?	Wine	18	и	8	
VII	išd	(A kind of fruit)	19	с	3	
VIII	wśd	Green eye paint	20 21	c c	3 3	
IX	w ^c h	(A kind of fruit) .	22	С	3	
Х	bЗy	(A kind of grain)	23 24 25 26 27	c d c c	1 6 5 2 1	Workmanship of No. 26 makes it certain that sherd be longs to pot; presumably first sign, which really doe not belong to by, was an error (cf. No. 31). Reading of No. 27 may be bd (cf. Nos. 38-39).
ΧI	b3b3.t	(A kind of grain)	28 29 30 31	c e c d	1 2 3 6	Sign at extreme right of No. 31 erased while moist to correct a mistake.
XII	by.t	(A kind of bread)	32 33 34 35	e c d c	5 1 6 2	
XIII	by.t	Honey	36 37	C C	5 3	
XIV	bd	Natron	38 39	C e	5 2	No. 27 is perhaps another example.
XV	m\$dm.t	Black eye paint	40 41 42	c c c	3 3 8	Pot of No. 40 or No. 41 contained particle of green mineral, apparently oxidized copper.
XVI	nbs	Jujube (Zizyphus spina Christi)	43 44 45	c e c	6 5 2	Dish of No. 43 contained a jujube seed.
XVII	nd n it	Barley meal	46 47 48 49	d c c	1 6 1 5	

TABLE 3—Continued

Group (see Figs. 79–80)	Transliteration	Translation	Writings (Figs. 79–80)	Pot type (p. 96 and Pl. 56)	Deposit	Remarks
XVIII	nd n sw.t	Wheat flour	50 51 52	d c d	6 5 1	
XIX	ḥbnn	(A kind of bread) 1 ² / ₄ measure of bread	53 54 55	c e d	2 5 1	On h3r cf. Černý in Archiv orientální VI (1933/34) 174, n. 1.
XX	ḥr n ḥs.t	(Cut of meat?)	56 57 58 59	c c d	5 6 2 1	Term otherwise unknown to me; approximate sense derived from determinative.
XXI	ḥsmn	Natron	60	С	6	Pot contained gray pulverized mass with slightly salt taste.
XXII	\$w.t?	(Cut of beef)	61	С	1	Reading actually <i>iwt</i> , which cannot be correct. For determinative cf. Nos. 2 and 4. Questionable whether sign at extreme left belongs to word. Perhaps we have an error (cf. Nos. 26 and 31).
XXIII	śnįr	Incense	62 63	C C	3 7	Meager remains of a reddish, glassy mass preserved in both dishes.
XXIV	śh.t hd.t	White ś <u>h</u> .t-fruit	64 65	c c	2 3	
XXV	šcw.t bnr.t	Sweet cake	66	с	3	Or date cake?
XXVI	t n nbs	Jujube bread	67 68 69 70	c c c	1 5 6 2	Dish of No. 69 contained a jujube seed (cf. No. 43).
Frag- ments			71 72 73 74 75	e d? c? d c?	3 1 1 2 5	Dish of No. 71 contained remains of reddish, glassy mass (cf. Nos. 62-63).

some, such as by.t-bread, honey, and hr n hs.t, do not appear in that list. Therefore the selection of foods in these deposits was independent of that list, and I see no direct connection with other offering lists.

So far as I can see, the inscriptions of individual deposits stand in no close relationship. Neither was each group written by a single scribe, nor were the foods for each deposit systematically selected. Some foods indeed occur twice in a single deposit.

MASONS' MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS

By R. Anthes

On the foundation blocks in many places are crudely executed quarry marks about 20-30 cm. high (Fig. 81).



Fig. 81. Masons' Marks on Foundation Blocks in the Temple of Eye and Harmhab

Occasionally there are inscriptions painted in coarse red hieratic signs, which interchange between the literary script of the Eighteenth Dynasty and one which is closely related to the hieroglyphic. What can still be recognized is given on Plate 51 d-g (g drawn over photographic copy).

d: Unit with a "Work of the hand of (i.e., delivered by) Nhu-Imn"
e: Unit with a "Work of Bky"
f: 可能 "Nfr-htp"
g: Unit with a "Work of "

¹² Only a part of the inscriptions were available to me; I am indebted to S. Schott for information about the others.

RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE

Although the temple was systematically destroyed and its stones reused for other purposes, many small fragments were found in the vicinity, and some are of particular interest. It is not certain that Nos. 10–12 described below originated in the temple.

- 1. A fragment of abacus (Pl. 43 a) from one of the cylindrical columns in Harmhab's addition on the rear of the temple (see p. 78). On this is a cartouche in which Mry Imn occurs opposite a name beginning with i, which, as the stone does not reveal any reworking, we suppose to be that of Harmhab: Mry-n-Imn Hr-m-hb (cf. No. 4 below).—S. Schott.
- 2. A fragment (Pl. 43 b) of the charming ornament introduced between the points of the basal leaves on the great papyriform columns which stood in the broad hall (see p. 76). In it the fourth name of Harmhab, Mry-n-Imn Hr-m-hb (in the cartouche), alternates with his fifth name, D\$r-hprw-R^c, written in the more elaborate pictorial manner; that is, the scarab is represented with outspread wings (see Pl. 8). It is worthy of note that the d\$r\$ sign was a later addition in paint inserted between the other, carved signs. Originally therefore only hprw-R^c of Eye's name Hpr-hprw-R^c was carved on these columns, and this was transformed into D\$r-hprw-R^c, the fifth name of Harmhab.
- 3. A fragment (Fig. 64) of an architrave which probably belonged to the columns of the broad hall. The cartouche of Eye ('It-ntr-'Iyy), which was originally cut in relief, has been erased but can still be deciphered. Harm-

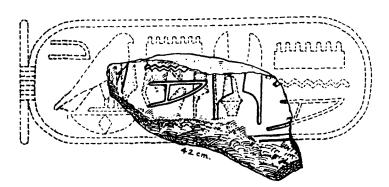


Fig. 82. Fragment of a Royal Cartouche, with the Name of Harmhab Worked over That of Eye

* written backward.

hab's name was painted over it in colors that have almost entirely disappeared (see p. 76).

4. A piece which cannot be located exactly but which perhaps comes from an abacus or an architrave (Fig. 82). It contains traces of the name of Eye ('It-ntr-'Iyy) with the addition Mry 'Imn: "The god's father Eye, beloved of Amon." Here Mry 'Imn is set opposite the name of the king, so that the mry sign faces in the same direction as the name. In this group the reed leaf is definitely attested by the traces of paint, and there are traces of both n and mry also. Over 'It-ntr-'Iyy the

fourth name of Harmhab, $Mry-n-^{2}Imn \ Hr-(m-hb)$, has been introduced, so that now $Mry-n-^{2}Imn$, "the beloved of Amon," and the original Mry ^{2}Imn , "beloved of Amon," stand opposite each other in the cartouche.—S. Schott.

5. A fragment (Pl. 43 0) of the capital of a sandstone papyrus cluster-column of unusual type (see p. 78). The recessed background is yellow; the bands and cartouches are painted white; the signs and outlines, not in relief, are sketched in red. The fields between the bands are filled in an excessively ornate manner characteristic of the 'Amarnah period with pairs of facing cartouches containing the names of Eye usurped by Harmhab. In the pair on the right, in contrast to that on the left, the fifth name (nomen) of Harmhab stands over the fourth name (prenomen) of Eye and the fourth name of Harmhab is over the fifth name of Eye.

The following signs are recognizable (sequence from left to right):

6. Three fragments of the great reliefs in the main rooms of the temple (Pl. 43 c, d, and l). They are in rather high relief of excellent workmanship: a head of Amon (blue face), a royal head (red face), and the knees of a standing figure of the king (red).

RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE

- 7. Two fragments of medium-size reliefs (Pl. 43 e-f). They show heads of Egyptian personages, some with their hands upraised.
- 8. Three fragments of very small reliefs: a man in an attitude of obeisance, brown face, wig and eyebrows painted black (Pl. 43 g); lower legs of two men back to back, brownish-red skin, white garments with faded red details in outline (Pl. 43 h); a woman with sistrum, red body, blue shoulder strap (Pl. 43 i). Apparently these scenes contained representations of processions, or the like, similar to the reliefs of the Feast of Opet in the long columned hall of Tut-ankhamon in the Luxor temple.
- 9. Fragment of an inscription (Pl. 43 m).¹³ An ornamented band with red lines has been inserted between the || and the ||, possibly merely as a space filler in the unpleasantly wide gap.
- 10. Fragments (Pl. 43 k) of a royal stela of sandstone, about 15 cm. thick. The inscription consists of laudatory phrases descriptive of a king, such as often follow the titulary at the beginning of a royal decree.

* The original is written from right to left.

† Epithet of the god Amon-Min of Thebes.

- ‡ Epithet of the god Amon of Karnak ("King of the Gods, Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands, Foremost of Karnak").
- 11. Fragment of an inscription on sandstone which has turned red by action of fire (Pl. 43 n). The signs are incised and painted white. Under a fragmentary horizontal line (...m...) are the remains of two cartouches. Of the upper one, which covers an erasure, the following is preserved: ... m3°.t t1w0°.t1t2t2°. ... Ma°at, the heir of Re°."¹⁴—S. Schott.

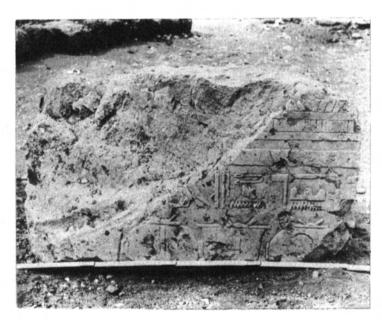


Fig. 83. Limestone Block Showing Jars Filled with Anointing Oil

- 12. Fragment of a limestone block (Fig. 83). Above are remains of a *kheker* frieze from the top of a wall. Underneath is an inscription above a row of sealed jars.
 - ¹³ Cairo J 59883.
 - 14 Cf. Adolf Erman and Hermann Grapow, Wörterbuch der aegyptischen Sprache I (Leipzig, 1925) 50, iw.t Rc.

STATUES

Of the statues which formerly stood in the temple, a great number have come to us in rather large fragments, and we know the original location in the temple of the largest of them.

TWO STATUES OF THE YOUTHFUL KING STANDING

These huge reddish quartzite statues (Pls. 1 [front.] and 44–47) stood originally in the broad hall to right and left of the rear (west) doorway (see Figs. 65 and 94) but were found overturned (see Figs. 84 and 87) in M–N 5 (see Folio Pl. 33). The southern statue is now in the Cairo Museum (J 59869 and J 60134); the northern one is in the museum of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago (No. 14088). The height of the latter

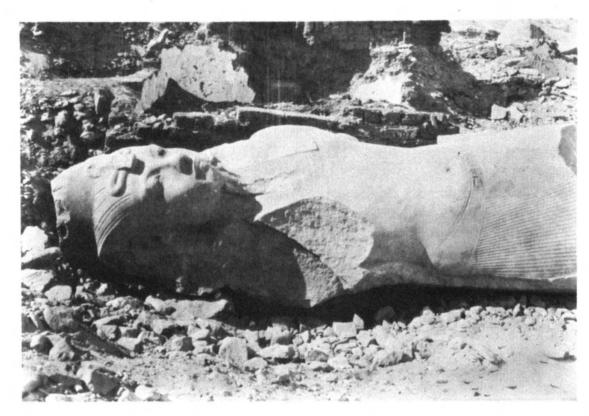


Fig. 84. The Southern Statue of Tut-ankhamon, Usurped by Eye and Harmhab, as Found. Cairo J 59869

as restored, including the base, is about 5.25 m. (17 ft. 3 in.). The two statues are alike in most respects, though the inscriptions on their back pilasters differ. Everywhere the names of Harmhab appear over an erasure, where the name of Eye had been carved originally and can be read with certainty in places. The face is, however, not that of Eye, who was an old man when he came to the throne, but rather that of the youthful Tutcankhamon, if we may judge by the features portrayed in known representations of the latter. Our statues were apparently made for Tutcankhamon but completed, inscribed, and set up under Eye and finally usurped by Harmhab.

THE CAIRO STATUE

This is preserved in three pieces—the base (Pl. 46 A), the torso and head of the king (Fig. 84 and Pls. 1, 44, and 45 B), and the head of a small figure of the queen (see Fig. 86) which stood beside the left leg of the king. The base is 1.35 m. long, about 0.80 m. wide, and 0.59 m. high, the front (Pl. 46 A, top) being slightly rounded. On top of it are the stud of the back pilaster, the feet of the king (left foot forward), and the feet of the queen (feet side by side).

¹⁵ Cf. L. Borchardt, "Der Porträtkopf Königs Tut-anch-amun, Berl. Mus. Nr. 20496," in his *Allerhand Kleinigkeiten* (Leipzig: Privatdruck, 1933) pp. 31–33, Fig. 4, and Pl. 12; Howard Carter, *The Tomb of Tut.ankh.Amen* II (London, 1927) front. and Pl. XXXVI and Vol. III (London, 1933) Pls. I etc.

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"On the front of the base is an inscribed rectangle containing the prenomen and nomen of Harmhab, 'beloved of Amon-Re', the Lord of Nsw.t-t3wy, the Foremost of Ip.t-sw.t.' Adjoining to the right and left are the

Horus name and prenomen of the king, 'beloved of Amon-Rec.' The back of the base is uninscribed. The reworking by Harmhab can be clearly distinguished."—R. ANTHES.

The legs, arms, and right shoulder of the king are missing, as well as such

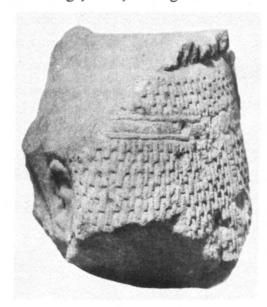


Fig. 86. Head of a Small Figure of the Queen Belonging to One of the Statues of ${\rm Tut}^c$ ankhamon

smaller details as the beard, uraeus, and top of the crown. The left cheek and the head cloth were dam-



Fig. 85. Cartouche of Harmhab on the Belt Buckle of the Southern Statue of Tut^cankhamon (Fig. 84)

aged. The length of the torso is 2.80 m. The king wears only skirt, necklace, and head cloth. His name appears on his belt buckle (Fig. 85), behind which is a hawk-headed dagger. The body is softly modeled, the upper legs heavy, the face youthful and delicate, the nose thick toward the end and rounded. The upper lip is very short, the mouth finely curved, the ears placed extremely high. To the left, along the back pilaster, is the broken edge of the destroyed figure of the queen. On the back pilaster is a vertical inscription in two columns (see p. 104). The statue, including skirt, dagger, and necklace, was painted red except for the head cloth (blue and yellow), the eyes (black and white), the brows and beard strap (blue-black), and all of the inscriptions (blue). Our aquarelle (Pl. 1 [front.]) represents the colors as they appeared immediately after the unearthing of the statue. Undoubtedly the paint was originally thicker, and the effect of the color more striking than in the illustration.

Of the queen's statue only the head (about 16 cm. high) is preserved¹⁷ (Fig. 86). The face is broken off. She has a great wig of curls, painted blue, and a fillet around the forehead, bound together at the back



Fig. 87. The Northern Statue of Tut ankhamon, Usurped by Eye and Harmhab, as Found. Chicago 14088

and hanging down. There are remains of a basket-like crown decorated with serpents. In the ear lobe is a button-like ornament.

- ¹⁶ The colors were at that time fixed with celluloid dissolved in amyl acetate.
- ¹⁷ Now in the Cairo Museum, no inventory number. It is not certain to which of the two statues the head belongs. Another queen's statue, very similar in posture, dress, and ornamentation is Cairo 741.

THE CHICAGO STATUE

Preserved are the head and torso, as well as the crown, which was made of a separate piece of stone. The latter does not exactly fit upon the head but certainly belongs there, in view of the circumstances of its discovery (Fig. 87).¹⁸ The base, lower legs, and the queen's statue are lacking, also the arms, beard, and nose. The form and coloring correspond to those of the southern counterpart of the statue.

On Plate 47 A the statue is represented as it appeared when first set up in the museum in Chicago. The small holes bored into the breaks were made so that the cement used for reconstruction could be fastened

more securely. Plates 46 B and 47 B show the statue as reconstructed for exhibition. The restoration was carried out by Messrs. Maurice Bardin and Donato Bastiani, with the aid of plaster casts of the Cairo statue.

Dr. Anthes comments on the inscriptions on the back pillars of the two statues and translates them as follows:

On the back pilaster of the northern statue (Pl. 45 A) the original hieroglyphs of Eye were painted blue, as were also those of Harmhab on the piece belonging to the crown. However, the signs of Harmhab, on the main piece, are not painted, though the preliminary black outline sketches still remain.¹⁹

Corresponding notes on the southern statue are not at hand, since through an unfortunate oversight it was only hastily copied (Fig. 88).²⁰ Squeezes of the cartouches alone are at hand, and they show several distinct traces of Eye's names.

It should once more be emphasized that in the places reworked by Harmhab in all parts of the statues, traces of the names of Eye only have been found but never those of Tutcankhamon. The names of Eye which are still partially recognizable on the reworked surface of Harmhab read in the accustomed formulae:

Southern statue (Cairo): "(Column 1) [Horus: Mighty Bull, Keen of] Counsel; The Two Ladies: Great of Wonders in Karnak; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ruler of Happiness, Lord of Victory in Every Land, $Dsr-hprw-R^c$ $stp-n-R^c$; Son of Re^c , of his body, his beloved, Lord of Every Foreign Country, Mry-n-Jmn Hr-m-hb.... (Column 2) [Horus of Gold: Satisfied with Truth,] causing the Two Lands to come into existence; the Good God: Son of Amon-Rec (originally: of Ptah), whom he (i.e., the god) loves more than any (other) king; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Lord of the Two Lands, Lord of Making Offerings, Lord of Strength, $Dsr-hprw-R^c$ $stp-n-R^c$; Son of Re^c : vanquishing every land, Lord of Diadems, Ruler of the Nine Bows, Mry-n-Jmn Hr-m-hb...."

Northern statue (Chicago): "(Column 1) Horus: Mighty Bull, Keen of Counsel; The Two Ladies: Great of Wonders in Karnak; King of Upper and Lower Egypt: Ruler of the Nine Bows . . . , psr-hprw-R^c stp-n-R^c; Son

Fig. 88. Inscription on the Back Pilaster of the Southern Statue of Tut'ankhamon

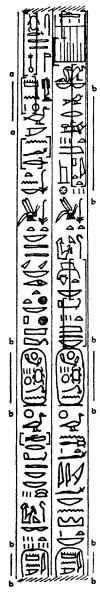
(a-a) $\begin{picture}(100,0) \put(0,0){\line(1,0){100}} \put(0,0){\line$

(b-b) Alterations of Harmhab, with traces of the original inscription.

of Rec, of his body, his beloved, Lord of Diadems, Ruler of Happiness, Lord of Strength, Mry-n-Imn Hr-m-hb.... (Column 2) Horus of Gold: Satisfied with Truth, causing the Two Lands to come into existence; the Good God: Son of Amon, whom the Lord of the Gods begot, whom Mut, Lady of Heaven, bore in order that he might govern that which the sun encircles, Lord of Diadems, Dsr-hprw-Rc stp-n-Rc; Son of Rec, of his body, his beloved, his avenger, who has appeared on his throne, Lord of the Two Lands, Mry-n-Imn Hr-m-hb....."

It is noticeable that the inscription of Eye on the back of the crown of the northern statue was carelessly hewn in very shallow hieroglyphs, quite different from those on the back pillar of the statue itself. It is scarcely possible to recognize as changes the alterations in the Horus name, which were undertaken under Harmhab. Perhaps this peculiar fact may be explained as follows:

- 18 The statue was found lying prostrate on the ground, with the crown scarcely a meter from the head. The crown can be seen at the extreme right in Fig. 87.
 - 19 According to notes kindly supplied by Professor Edgerton.
- ²⁰ The writer only saw the statues in the magazine of Medinet Habu, where their position rendered impossible the making of an exact copy. Thus only a provisional copy was made at the time, with the assumption that an exact one would be obtained when the statue was removed from the magazine. It was overlooked, however, and now the Cairo statue is exhibited in such a position that the inscription on the pilaster is completely inaccessible. All the uncertain portions of this inscription or those not seen at the time of the provisional copy are bracketed in Fig. 88.



STATUES 105

On the statue itself, the inscription of Eye was probably carefully chiseled at the sculptor's workshop, that is, before the statue was erected. When it came to the inscription on the back of the crown, it may have been thought more expedient to carve it after the crown was set in position, as only then could the connecting lines be exactly fitted together. When, however, the crown was actually put in place, it became evident that the space between the crown and the wall was too narrow to permit careful chiseling on the back of the crown. A few slovenly jabs at the stone were evidently regarded as good enough, since the inscription was scarcely visible anyway. For the same reason the changes undertaken under Harmhab are of similarly careless execution.

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TWO SEATED FIGURES OF THE KING

These two colossal statues of white crystalline limestone (Pls. 48–49) stood originally one on each side of the entrance to the broad hall (see Fig. 95). The Service des Antiquités and Lepsius had already brought the most important fragments of them to the museums at Cairo (Cat. No. 632) and Berlin (No. 1479), but we found numerous pieces of them in the original place, so that their exact origin, which had been uncertain, has thus been established.

Originally the full height of the statues was about 5.20 m. In the inscriptions on the thrones and on the bases the name of Harmhab has been set in over the erased name of Eye. The features of the faces differ essentially from those of the standing figures of the king, in which we believe we recognize the youthful Tutcankhamon (p. 102). Perhaps in these seated figures we have Eye himself before us. Though greatly damaged, they are very imposing works of art.

THE CAIRO STATUE

The upper part of the double crown is missing, also the arms and parts of the legs. Beside the right leg of the king stands a miniature figure of the queen, with the head and part of the breast missing (Pl. 48). On the sides of the throne are symbolic representations of the "Union of the Two Lands." On the base is a band of inscription containing the king's names and titles.

Three important fragments of this statue were found in our excavations and are to be put in place in the Cairo Museum:

1. A piece of the right side of the throne (Pl. 50 g), 1.50 by 0.45 m., was found south of the entrance to the broad hall (in M 7.00 5 7.00). The relief is very carefully worked. It can be seen faintly but clearly that the

- 2. The right thigh, clothed with pleated skirt, on which rested the outstretched forearm (for the most part broken off), was found in L-M 5 9.00. Its length is about 1.20 m.
- 3. A small fragment which fits into the middle front of the base (Pl. 51 a) contains hieratic graffiti (p. 108). Its length is 25 cm.

Two other throne pieces, belonging to either this statue or its counterpart, were seen and drawn by Lepsius²¹ but apparently have disappeared since his time. Numerous other tiny fragments stored in old "Chicago House" do not seem to fit the main pieces.

THE BERLIN STATUE

The main piece of this statue (Pl. 49), including head and breast, was found by Lepsius.²² The width of the shoulders is 1.50 m. The face is broad with sharply protruding cheek bones; the nose had been knocked off but is now restored; the large ears are set high; the eyelids protrude markedly. The width of the back pillar is 48 cm.

The double crown is a separate piece. It was found in 1931 beside the entrance to the broad hall (in M 8.00 5 13.50). By an exchange it has now been removed to the Berlin Museum. The underside was somewhat hollowed out and does not fit exactly upon the head (there is a difference in diameter of 1 to 2 cm.). It is thus not impossible that the crowns of the Cairo and the Berlin statue have been interchanged.

²¹ LD III 112 d-e and Text III 147 f.

²² LD III 112 c and Text III 148. No exact reference is given to the place where it was found.

A piece now in Cairo,²³ consisting of the lower part of the body and the left arm, would probably fit the Berlin statue. The width of the back pillar is 48 cm.; that of the throne, 128 cm. The left arm, preserved as far as the wrist, rests upon the thigh.

FRAGMENTS OF SMALL STATUES

Of the countless statue fragments which were picked up during the excavations and which are now preserved in old "Chicago House" only a few can be mentioned here.

- 1. Face of a female figure (Pl. 50 c), 25 cm. high, white crystalline limestone. The nose is demolished; the mouth is finely formed, with a faint smile; the outlines of the eyes and eyebrows are painted black.
- 2. Right breast and back of the right shoulder of a life-size royal statue (Pl. 50 e-f), 28 and 27 cm. high respectively, hard white limestone. One flap of the head cloth and the collar show. The pleated skirt is held together with an artistic knot.²⁴

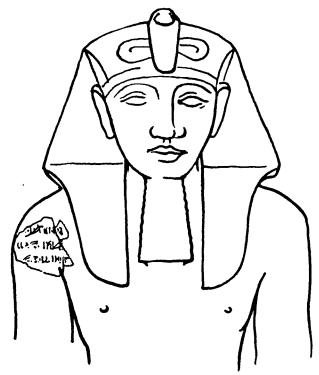


Fig. 89. Sketch Indicating Location of Fragment Containing Graffito of Year 27 of Harmhab on the Shoulder of a Royal Statue (cf. Fig. 90)

- 3. Fragments of a life-size statue of Amon (Pl. 50 d), 27 cm. high, hard white limestone. Below the collar the breast is bare. The feather garment is held by two shoulder straps. The beard is demolished.
 - 4. Fragment of a female figure with vulture gown (Pl. 50 a), 20 cm. high, hard white limestone.
- 5. A god's beard, braided (Pl. 50 b), 17 cm. long, hard white limestone. The individual strands of hair are executed with extraordinary care.
- 6. Two fragments of a king's head with crown (not illustrated), more than life-size, reddish-gray quartzite painted blue. The face is demolished except for the forehead.
- 7. Fragments of numerous statues of soft white limestone (not illustrated). Among them are three faces of kings, about life-size.

HIERATIC GRAFFITI²⁵ ON STATUE FRAGMENTS

By R. Anthes

On fragments of white limestone statues of the time of Eye and Harmhab, which have been entirely destroyed, there were found some hieratic graffiti written in black paint.

- ²³ Brought to Cairo from Medinet Habu by Weigall in 1909.
- ²⁴ Cf. a figure of Amenhotep III in Heinrich Schäfer und Walter Andrae, Die Kunst des alten Orients (Berlin, 1925) p. 332.
- 25 I am indebted to J. Černý for valuable assistance in deciphering the inscriptions.

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GRAFFITO OF YEAR 27 OF HARMHAB

This graffito is on a fragment from the front of the bare right shoulder of a statue of dark-veined crystalline limestone, scarcely more than life-size (Fig. 89). The right edge of the fragment had been broken off, and only two small pieces of it were found (Pl. 51 c). The beginnings of the first and third lines are on these pieces. Apparently the end of the third line is broken off. There does not appear to have been a fourth line. The last group of signs in the first line () lies at a slight angle, parallel to the edge of the fragment.

It might be assumed from these facts that the inscription was written after the statue had been demolished; otherwise the exact fit of the inscription to the shape of the fragment is difficult to explain. But one can scarcely reconcile this assumption with the fact that the fragment was found in the vicinity of the broad hall together with similar but uninscribed statue fragments with which it is hard to believe that it could have become associated if it was inscribed after the statue was broken. Furthermore, it remains a riddle why the statue to which this fragment belonged was destroyed before or during year 27 of Harmhab. Therefore I must leave open the

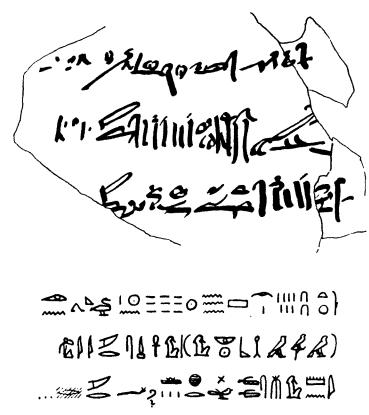


Fig. 90. Graffito of Year 27 of Harmhab. Facsimile and Hieroglyphic Transcription

question of whether this graffito was written before or after the statue was destroyed. On the left are blackishgreen traces which perhaps came from the stroke of the metal tool with which the stone was broken. Unfortunately they do not coincide with any of the signs of the inscription, either underneath or on top of the writing, and hence do not indicate whether the graffito was executed before or after the demolition of the statue.

The graffito (Fig. 90) reads in translation as follows: "Year 27, 9th month, 9th day: the day on which entered Harmhab (may he live, prosper, and be healthy), who is beloved of Amon, who hates his (Amon's) enemies and loves"

In spite of the uncertain reading of hrw.f in line 3, the translation does not present any difficulties. The direct conjunction of the date with the item corresponds to the style of entries in the necropolis records. There, numerous examples may also be found of the simple mention of the king's name without his title.²⁶ The content of the item can only be understood to mean that King Harmhab on the ninth day of the ninth month of the twenty-seventh year of his reign visited his temple at Medinet Habu. We do not know the reason for this visit, nor why the event was recorded. At any rate, since, so far as we know, the king resided in the north of Egypt, his visit to the Theban temple was not a common occurrence; perhaps this was his last one.

It has been erroneously stated²⁷ that year 27 of Harmhab was reckoned from the death of Amenhotep III,

²⁶ Cf. e.g. Černý, Ostraca hiératiques I-II (Le Caire, 1935) No. 25515 rev. ii 26 and v 2.

²⁷ Hölscher, Excavations at Ancient Thebes, 1930/31 ("Oriental Institute Communications," No. 15 [Chicago, 1932]) p. 51.

as year 59 of Harmhab doubtless has been reckoned in the inscription of Mes, 28 thus including the years of the heretic kings in the reign of Harmhab. According to that interpretation "year 27 of Harmhab" would designate the commencement of his reign, and we should have here the mention of his first visit to the temple which he had taken over from Eye. 29 Against this idea I wish to emphasize the fact that the date in the inscription of Mes appears in a later quotation of a legal document. In such documents the years of the heretic kings could not simply be ignored but instead were added to the reign of Harmhab; in all other cases known to us Harmhab, like every other Egyptian king, reckons his reign from his accession, as the dates of his first to eighth year so sufficiently demonstrate. Year 27, which until now has not occurred in any known inscription, cannot cast any doubt on our interpretation, for in the fifty-ninth year after the death of Amenhotep III Harmhab still reigned. On the other hand, the sum of the known years of kings Akhnaton, Smenkhkare, Tut ankhamon, and Eye—1731+3+9 +4—is at least 29 complete years plus some months and days, less than 33 years in all. Thus year 27 of Harmhab's reign would seem to be not later than his year 59 after Amenhotep III.

TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY GRAFFITI

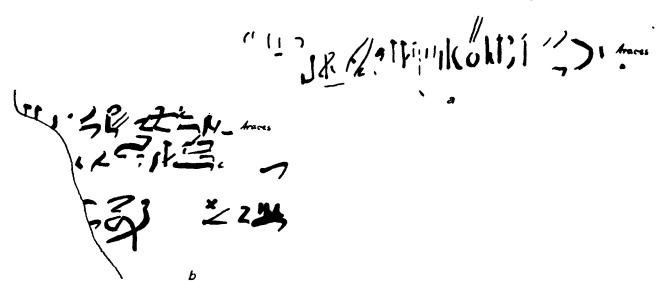


FIG. 91. TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY GRAFFITI ON A FRAGMENT OF THE BASE OF THE CAIRO SEATED FIGURE OF THE KING (PL. 48). FACSIMILES (CF. PL. 51a)

are all that can be read with certainty; I have been unable to determine the context. In the other (Fig. 91 b) I can make out

Here also I must refrain from any attempt at interpretation.

The dating of these inscriptions to the Twenty-first Dynasty is based on the forms of the signs, especially that of __ in the first line of the second graffito;³² it does not, however, appear that the two graffiti were written by the same scribe.

Other fragments, perhaps from the same statue socle, also contain almost completely defaced traces of graffiti. Certain facts hold true in every case: the signs run parallel to the top edge of the base, and the breaks intersect the inscriptions. Thus we may conclude that at the time when these inscriptions were executed in the Twenty-first Dynasty the base had not yet been destroyed.

- ²⁸ Line S 8; see V. Loret in ZAS XXXIX (1901) 4 and A. H. Gardiner in Sethe, "Untersuchungen" IV (1905) 22, n. 72.
- ²⁹ Hölscher, op. cit. p. 53. ³⁰ Gauthier, Le Livre des rois d'Égypte II (Le Caire, 1910) 385 f.

³¹ See H. W. Fairman in H. Frankfort and J. D. S. Pendlebury, *The City of Akhenaten* II (London, 1933) 103, in contrast to D. E. Derry in *Annales du Service* XXXI (1931) 115. In the foregoing reckoning the possibility of a coregency of Amenhotep IV and his father and the proved coregency of Smenkhkare^c and his father-in-law are not considered.

³² Cf. Georg Möller, Hieratische Paläographie II (Leipzig, 1927) 118 B.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON JAR STOPPERS ETC.

By R. Anthes

Several discarded jar stoppers were found in the vicinity of the storehouse to the south of the temple (p. 82). They are made of sand and lime.

The name of the temple of Harmhab was stamped on many of them in the form "the House of $Dsr-hprw-R^c$ stp-n-R^c" (Fig. 92 b-c). The same name occurred on the broken handle of a large jar (Fig. 93). Beside it on

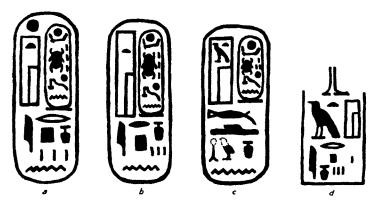


Fig. 92. Stamps on Discarded Jar Stoppers Found near the Temple Storehouse

the jar stoppers appears the variant "the House of Rec of Dsr-hprw-Rc stp-n-Rc" (Fig. 92 a). Whether a jar seal with a double cartouche (Fig. 92 d) can be restored to read "the House of Dsr-hprw-Rc stp-n-Rc Mry-n-Imn



Fig. 93. Stamp on the Broken Handle of a Large Jar

Hr-m-hb" or whether the wine jar had been brought by chance from another temple to this spot and thus bore the name of another king remains uncertain. Another seal names the "Household of the King's Wife," \cdot\[\frac{a}{\to} \].

An exhaustive discussion of all stopper seals is taken up in Volume V.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

So far as we know, kings began early in the Eighteenth Dynasty to build on the west side of Thebes special temples of Amon which were also designed both for the worship of their own divine royalty and for their mortuary cult, even though they were not directly connected with their tombs. The oldest of these is the temple of Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertere at the foot of the hill of Dhira. Abu el-Naga, (see Fig. 53). As yet a temple of this type built by Thutmose I is unknown to us, and we shall not here advance any theories concerning its possible location. Next in chronological order comes the small temple of Thutmose II, 300 meters to the north of the Small Temple of Jēme. Then follows the renowned terraced temple of Hatshepsut in the rocky basin of Deir el-Bahri, beside the old temple of the Mentuhoteps. Thutmose III built his mortuary temple at the edge of the cultivation between those of Amenhotep I and Thutmose II. The succeeding rulers, descendants of Thutmose III—Amenhotep II, Thutmose IV, and Amenhotep III—added their structures in a row toward the south. The mortuary temple of the last named was absolutely fantastic in dimensions and obviously terminated the row of temples, for next to it, on the south, extended the "Town of Amenhotep III," with the royal residence, numerous public buildings, and the suburbs in which dwelt the officials, craftsmen, and laborers.

After the interruption caused by Akhnaton's persecution of Amon and the removal of the royal residence from Thebes to 'Amarnah, Tut'ankhamon is the first king for whom one could expect to find a mortuary temple on the west of Thebes. Up to the present, however, no trace of such a building has been found.²

And then Eye came to the throne. Following old tradition, he built a mortuary temple, south of that of Amenhotep III, after removing certain buildings which belonged to the "Town of Amenhotep III." It is the last mortuary temple of the Eighteenth Dynasty and at the same time the southernmost one in the row. As is well known, Eye did not have a long reign. Its duration has been estimated as hardly more than three years, and therefore it can well be understood how at his death only the actual temple rooms and certain subsidiary buildings were completed, while the courts and other more extensive projects remained unachieved. The hostile attitude of his successor, Harmhab, is evidenced by the fact that he simply usurped the temple of Eye and completed it with certain changes, erasing the name of Eye wherever he found it and replacing it with his own.

The temple of Eye was situated on the edge of the desert, which at this point gently ascends to the steep cliffs not far behind it. The difference in level between the first pylon and the rear halls amounts to about 8 meters. The courts and the temple rooms thus rise in a series of steps toward the rear. The whole layout was developed in strictest symmetry. The axis points in general (but not exactly) toward the temple of Luxor on the east bank of the river.

The first room of the temple is a magnificent broad hall with twenty columns. Behind this were the actual cult rooms, which are arranged in three groups placed side by side: the main temple in the middle, a narrower temple on the south, and a still narrower group of rooms on the north. The main temple and the one on the south are laid out according to the same plan: a first and a second hypostyle hall, behind which is placed the sanctuary. The subdivisions of the latter (whether achieved by walls or by colonnades) could not be determined. The northern unit was originally divided differently from the other two. It had in front two narrow chambers opening toward the broad hall. Behind it lay a group consisting of a hall with two columns and an adjoining sanctuary. Presumably this group was accessible from the second hypostyle hall of the middle unit. Since the southern section is wider than the northern one and yet the middle unit was arranged to conform to the axis of the whole structure, the doorways of the middle unit are not exactly centered within it—a lack of symmetry which nevertheless is scarcely noticeable (Figs. 94–95).

With reference to the cults which used these different groups of rooms, we can only say with great probability

¹ Cf. Robichon et Varille, Le Temple du scribe royal Amenhotep fils de Hapou I 31-33 and Pls. V-VII.

² The only certain indication of building activity by Tut'ankhamon in our district is a burned(!) reused mud brick with the stamp of Nb-hprw-R^c, found in the rubbish of the Western Fortified Gate of Medinet Habu (see Vol. V).

SUMMARY OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS

that the middle unit was dedicated to Amon. The southern group perhaps served as the actual mortuary temple of the king.³

The greatest difficulty is met in the attempt to explain the purpose of the rooms on the north side. The two narrow chambers which were originally in the front were later (under Harmhab?) converted into a single room with two columns (see p. 77), after the manner of the adjoining hall to the rear (cf. Figs. 94–95). To what cult they were dedicated, however, may be deduced from the facts to be presented in the following paragraph.

A group of rooms added by Harmhab at the rear (west) of the temple was made accessible, so far as we can see, through the sanctuary of the northern unit. Thus these two groups of rooms must have had some cult relationship. Harmhab's addition formed a transverse sanctuary consisting of three cult chambers at the south and a columned hall (size and number of columns uncertain). The northern part, with the entrance, is completely destroyed. The significance of this sanctuary in the cult can perhaps be understood by a study of other temples. In that of Seti I at Abydos⁴ the rear rooms are laid out in much the same manner and are almost perfectly preserved. They were dedicated to the cult of Osiris, the chief god of Abydos, and are entered through the Osiris chapel from the right (north). We should like to suggest that they were the private rooms of the god who lived in this temple. A corresponding arrangement is seen in the temple of Amon at Luxor built by Amenhotep III: at the rear are the private rooms of Amon, accessible not on the axis of the temple but by a circuitous route from the left (east). These comparisons lead to the surmise that in the temple of Harmhab, which was erected in the years between Amenhotep III and Seti I, the rear rooms may have been respected as the private apartments of its divine lord.

We thus achieve the following scheme for the temple of Harmhab: In the center was the sanctuary of Amon in the form of a reception hall of the god. To the right of it were special rooms, perhaps for the other cult form of the same god, from which were accessible his private apartments at the rear. To the left was the mortuary temple of the king or his father. However, it must be admitted that we are not absolutely certain of the cult significance of the individual groups of rooms. Our scheme may nevertheless serve to give us some tangible ideas until we know more about the purpose of individual temple rooms in general.⁶

The decoration of the temple executed under Eye was on a very high artistic level. There seem to be prototypes in the time of Amenhotep III and in the 'Amarnah epoch. The wall reliefs were so extraordinarily fine that our regret is all the greater because we possess only such a limited number of small fragments. The mighty open papyrus columns of the broad hall (see Pl. 8) and the closed papyrus cluster-columns with their fine details in the hypostyle halls present, in spite of their elaborate decoration, a simplicity in composition that is particularly pleasing in contrast to the ornate columns of the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Dynasty (see pp. 76–78). Under Harmhab there began a more superficial and essentially mediocre art.

Numerous statues, some of which were remarkably fine specimens, once stood in the temple of Eye as part of its embellishment. To what extent they were made for Eye personally during the short time of his reign or left unfinished by his predecessor Tut^cankhamon can only be judged by the facial features. The indisputable resemblance of the two great standing figures (pp. 102-5 and Pls. 1 and 44-47) to known portraits of the youthful Tut^cankhamon causes us to conclude that they represent the latter, while in the heads of the colossal seated figures (pp. 105 f. and Pls. 48-49), which are very different in appearance, we may recognize Eye himself.

The courts which lay before the temple in Eye's plan (Fig. 94) were never completely executed. From the foundation trenches it can be determined that an approximately square court with a low ascending ramp was laid out in front of the broad hall. Before this was a forecourt terminating in what seems to have been a colonnade. There followed the fourth brick pylon and at a short distance in front of it the third pylon (see p. 80). In plan these courts are reminiscent of the lower courts of Deir el-Bahri, perhaps still more of those of the mortuary temple of Thutmose III at Qurnah, which is unfortunately for the most part destroyed and poorly excavated and published.

- ³ Royal mortuary chapels in the strictest sense of the term are discussed in Vol. III.
- 4 Amice M. Calverley, Myrtle F. Broome, and Alan H. Gardiner, The Temple of Sethos I at Abydos I (London and Chicago, 1933) Pl. 1 A.
- 5 Borchardt in ZAS XXXIV (1896) Pl. VII (opp. p. 138). 7 Cf. Naville, The Temple of Deir el Bahari VI, Pl. CLXXII.
- ⁶ The theory of the temple rooms is discussed in Vol. III. ¹Cf. A. E. P. Weigall in Annales du Service VIII (1907) 286.

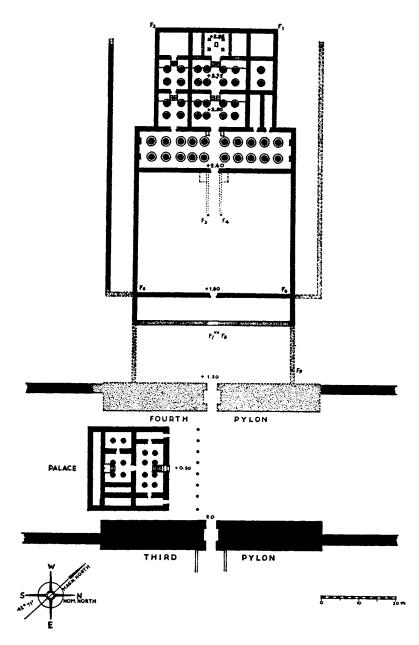


Fig. 94. Ground Plan of the Temple of Eye. Reconstruction. Scale, 1:1,000

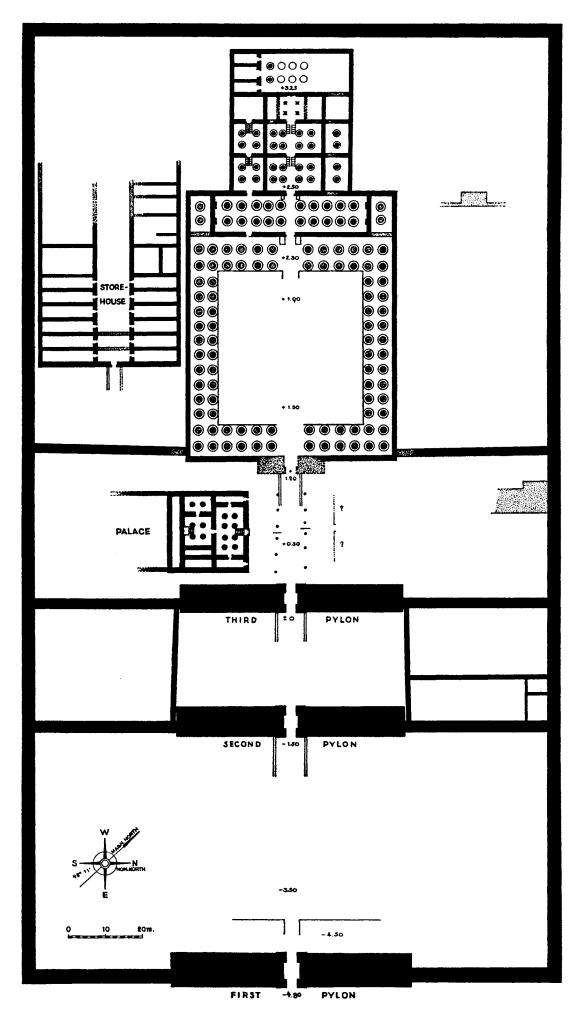


Fig. 95. Ground Plan of the Temple of Harmhab. Reconstruction. Scale, 1:1,000

The project planned by Eye was, however, changed by Harmhab (Fig. 95). He laid out a single vast columned court which extended from the broad hall to the fourth pylon, begun by Eye. Within the court were double rows of columns on the west, north, and south sides, and probably on the east as well. In planning the court Harmhab followed the precedent set by Amenhotep III in the temple of Luxor⁹ but surpassed the latter in the dimensions of his structure. In front of the entrance to the temple there was a gap of 11 meters between columns. Since it cannot be assumed that such a space was spanned by stone architraves, it is probable that the colonnade had a break that left the doorway with its colossal statues free, as in the court of Ramses II in the Luxor temple.¹⁰ The columns were of the papyrus-cluster type, in eight divisions, with closed capitals (see p. 78), like those in the temple court of Amenhotep III at Luxor.¹¹ Halfway up was an inscribed field with the name of Harmhab. In place of Eye's fourth pylon of brick, probably a stone gateway formed the entrance to the columned court of Harmhab.

The third pylon was built by Eye (see p. 80), but the other pylons, walls, and courts in the fore part of the temple area appear to have been added by Harmhab. However, there is no evidence that they had not been planned by Eye. There is one building that was without doubt erected by the latter, that is, the royal palace (pp. 81 f.), situated between the third and fourth pylons but without any strict connection with either of them. In the course of the last few years we have excavated four such palaces belonging to mortuary temples—that of Eye, the palace of Ramses II at the Ramesseum, and two built by Ramses III at Medinet Habu. Since they are fully discussed in Volume III, we do not here deal with the characteristics of royal palaces in general but restrict ourselves to a brief description of the palace of Eye.

It is the oldest known example of such a palace and presents most clearly the parts which were essential to this type of building, namely (1) a colonnade, which in this case was lightly and primitively built with wooden columns; (2) two very narrow vestibules at the forecorners; (3) a broad reception hall, here containing eight pillars, from which presumably the Window of Royal Appearances opened toward the front; (4) behind the reception hall, a square throneroom with four pillars; and (5) adjoining side rooms. In this particular instance a rear corridor was added (see Fig. 71).

It is therefore evident that no real living rooms existed in such a palace. The king apparently used the palace only for temple festivities, for receptions, to undertake ceremonial acts, or to wash, change garments, and otherwise adorn himself in accordance with the requirements of the temple ritual. At any rate he did not use the palace as a dwelling. In consequence the dimensions were limited and arrangements modest. The walls consisted of mud brick and were covered with plaster. Doorways, which have completely disappeared, may have had stone casings. We are safe in assuming that the mud-brick foundations supported stone columns. Ceilings were probably vaulted.

The portico, on the other hand, was lightly constructed of wood. Wooden posts were sunk into the ground and presumably were connected at the top by wooden beams. The resulting frame gave support to a roof of the very lightest construction. Whether the portico was intended to be permanent, or whether it was only erected on special occasions, it is difficult to say. In any case the original eight-columned portico was relatively short-lived and was after a brief time replaced by a six-columned one of similarly light construction (p. 82).

Opposite these columns, on the other side of the avenue leading to the temple, was constructed a similar row of six columns (p. 82). They were nearly but not exactly symmetrical with the opposite row (see Fig. 71). Either they were intended for the portico of another building, now completely vanished, which was situated opposite the palace, or both rows were designed for the common purpose of covering the avenue between the two pylons, comparable with the so-called "King's passage" of Amenhotep III in the temple of Luxor, where, however, the columns were made of stone in a grandiose form instead of wood.

The storehouse which lay south of the temple was erected by Harmhab (over the foundation trench of an encircling wall of Eye). In its ruined condition it presents very little of special interest. The central passage was not covered; the side rooms were presumably vaulted. Numerous stoppers of wine jars bearing the name of Harmhab were found in it and in its vicinity. According to the finds, presumably a second storehouse similar to it stood on the north side, but no remains are preserved (see p. 82).

LATER HISTORY AND DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE

We have but meager information concerning the late fate of the temple. It was still present and enjoyed the highest respect at the time of Ramses III. The store of grain which was then kept in its magazines was so great that it was possible to supply the starving workers of the necropolis (see p. 65).

In the northwest corner of the temenos (in O 8) we unexpectedly found two isolated foundation deposits of Ramses IV (see pp. 116 f.) but nothing further to indicate building operations by that king. Obviously therefore Ramses IV had planned to erect here for himself (or one of his close relatives) a mortuary temple, without actually bringing his plan into execution. This does not mean that Harmhab's temple itself had already been destroyed at that time, for one of the seated statues usurped by Harmhab was still apparently undamaged in the Twenty-first Dynasty, when it was inscribed with several hieratic graffiti (see pp. 106–8). Nevertheless, the location of the foundation deposits indicates that the surmised plan of Ramses IV's edifice interfered with the encircling wall of Harmhab and possibly with subsidiary buildings. Thus it can hardly be assumed that these structures still existed at the time of Ramses IV. In view of the short distance between the foundation pits of Ramses IV and the temple of Harmhab, it is evident that the structure planned or started by Ramses IV must have been of relatively unpretentious dimensions. The deposits (see pp. 116 f.) were in two pits, about 2 meters apart, which lie obliquely to the axis of the temple. Both pits were hewn into the rocky ground to a depth of about 1.05 m. Their diameters vary from 1.40 and 1.05 m. at the top to 0.70 and 0.65 m. at the bottom.

It appears that in the temple of Harmhab the regular cult expired in the period of chaos which marked the fall of the Ramesside age and with which at the same time traditional pharaonic institutions collapsed. Henceforth our temple structures, as well as most of the others in the royal necropolis, became regarded as ownerless property and as a result were utilized as quarries. This date has been suggested by our observation that column drums from Harmhab's court appear to have been reused by Herihor (Twenty-first Dynasty) in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (see p. 79).

In the temple area of Harmhab the debris produced by the reworking of stone blocks rose to heaps 2 and 3 meters high, especially at the south behind the palace. When we consider the tremendous quantity of stone which was removed from this great temple, we can conclude that it must have served as a quarry for centuries, first for large pieces and later for smaller blocks. Through hundreds of years the place must have lain waste and desolate. This accords with the fact that throughout the first millennium before Christ no trace of new building activity can be detected.

¹ I understand from Mrs. C. R. Williams, "News items from Egypt" (American Journal of Archaeology XLI [1937] 629-37), that the French Institute of Cairo discovered in 1936/37 north of our foundation deposits of Ramses IV and beyond the boundary of our concession remains of a temple of Ramses IV.

FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF RAMSES IV'

By R. Anthes

Specimens of each group are in the Cairo Museum (J 60097-60133); the rest are in Chicago. The contents of the deposits are divided as follows:

•	
Deposit No. 1 (South)	Deposit No. 2 (North)
A. Vertebra and ribs of a large mammal	
B. Remains of a flat woven tray	
C. Thirty-three pots	One large pot
D. Fragments of black resin* A piece of charcoal	Fragments of green feldspar and red jasper
E. Eight bronze plaques with the king's names	Four silver plaques with the king's names
F.	Eighteen glass cartouches, some with king's name, some uninscribed
G. Six fayence plaques with the king's names	Nine fayence plaques with the king's names
H. One fayence cartouche with the king's names	Two fayence cartouches with the king's names
J.	An uninscribed scarab
K.	Small fayence models of offerings
* Identified by A. Lucas.	
In deposit No. 1 the pottery (C) was in t	he upper part of the pit, while the plaques and cartouches (E
were placed at the bottom. In deposit No.	2 the silver plaques (E) were at the bottom of the pit; all ot
jects, including the small fayence models	(K), were close to the bottom. Individual groups are descr

(E, G, H)other obscribed in detail below.

n below.		lumber of Pieces in Deposit	
Group	No. 1	No. 2	
C. Pots (Pl. 56, No. 4)			
a Large pots; medium coarse brown clay, red slip, polished; good workmanship	2	1	
b Bowls; coarse brown clay, upper part smoothed on exterior and painted red	2		
c Dishes; coarse brown clay, rough, rims of two painted red; medium workmanship	10		
d Bowls (cf. Pl. 56 M c); coarse red-brown clay; very crude workmanship	19	-	
E. Plaques with the king's names (Pl. 58)			
1 Bronze	8		
They are rectangular in shape, 3.0-4.7 cm. long and 2.0-2.7 cm. wide. The inscriptions (Fig. 96, Nos and 4-7) are mostly incised, in one case being merely painted in white. No. 4 appears three times. noteworthy that here, as in several fayence plaques in the deposit found by Carnarvon and Carter,* i	It is		

prenomen W\$r-m3c.t-Rc stands in place of Rc-hk3-m3c.t.

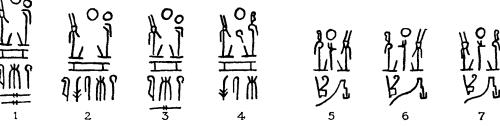


FIG. 96. NAMES OF RAMSES IV AS FOUND ON SMALL METAL PLAQUES (PL. 58 E) FROM HIS FOUNDATION DEPOSITS

2	2 Silver	- 4
	These thin plates have impressed inscriptions (Fig. 96, Nos. 3 and 5). No. 3 appears only once, No. 5	
	three times.	
F. (Cartouches of light blue and dark blue-violet glass (Pl. 58)	_ 18

Six are uninscribed. The rest have crudely incised inscriptions on one side, six with R^c-hk3-m3^c.t and six with R^{c} -ms-sw.

116

^{*} Loc. cit. Cf. also J. Couyat and P. Montet, Les Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques et hiératiques du Ouâdi Hammâmât (Le Caire, 1912) No. 86.

FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF RAMSES IV

roup	Number of Pit No. 1	eces in Def No. 2
H. Plaques and cartouches of dull dark blue fayence (Pl. 58)		11
$R^{c-hk}-m^{3}$. is incised on one side and $R^{c}-ms-sw$ on the other. The plaques are irregular in size and thu viously fashioned by hand.		
Scarab of dull dark blue fayence (Pl. 58)	-	1
It is very crudely worked, uninscribed, and unperforated.		
Small models of offerings, dull dark blue fayence (Pl. 58)		
The forms are the same as those found by Carnarvon and Carter; they vary considerably from those of (Pl. 52).	Eye	
1 Ibexes	-	25
d 2 2 Bound cattle without heads a 27 b 3		36
c 6 3 Pieces of meat in form of human hand†		14
4 Kidneys?		25
5 Hearts with lungs		33
b‡ 3 6 Geese with throw stick?	-	24
7 Heads of cattle	—	42
b 23 8 Legs of beef a 18 b 4	–	22
9 Pieces of meat?§	–	23
10 Pieces of meat? (rib pieces?)		14

[†] Hands do not fit into the series of food offerings. I should prefer to combine K 3 with K 10, which also has a certain resemblance to a hand (cf. forms in deposits of Eye). It is possible that K 3 developed from, and was a misunderstanding of, the other. A further consideration likewise favors the grouping of K 3 and 10: taken together they total 28 pieces, which without doubt corresponds better to the totals of the other groups of offerings.

[‡] The same form is represented in a slaughtering scene at Luxor; see Walter Wreszinski, Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte II (Leipzig, 1935)
Pls. 195-96 = Walther Wolf, Das schöne Fest von Opet (Leipzig, 1931) Pl. I 4. Cf. also a form of the hieroglyph in Petrie, Dendereh, vol. of extra plates (London, 1900) Pl. VIIa (center, near bottom), and often.

[§] Cf. deposits of Eye Aa 7 (p. 87 and Pl. 52).

 $[\]parallel$ See note † above and cf. deposits of Eye Aa 6 and Ab 4 (pp. 87 f. and Pl. 52).

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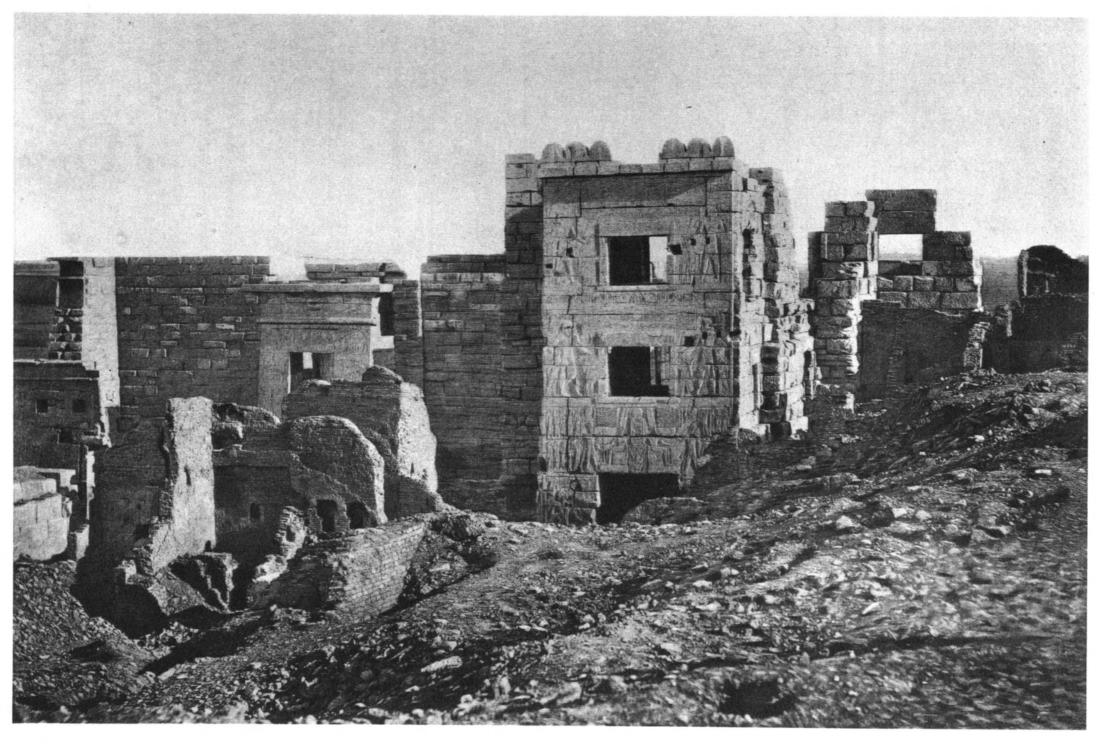
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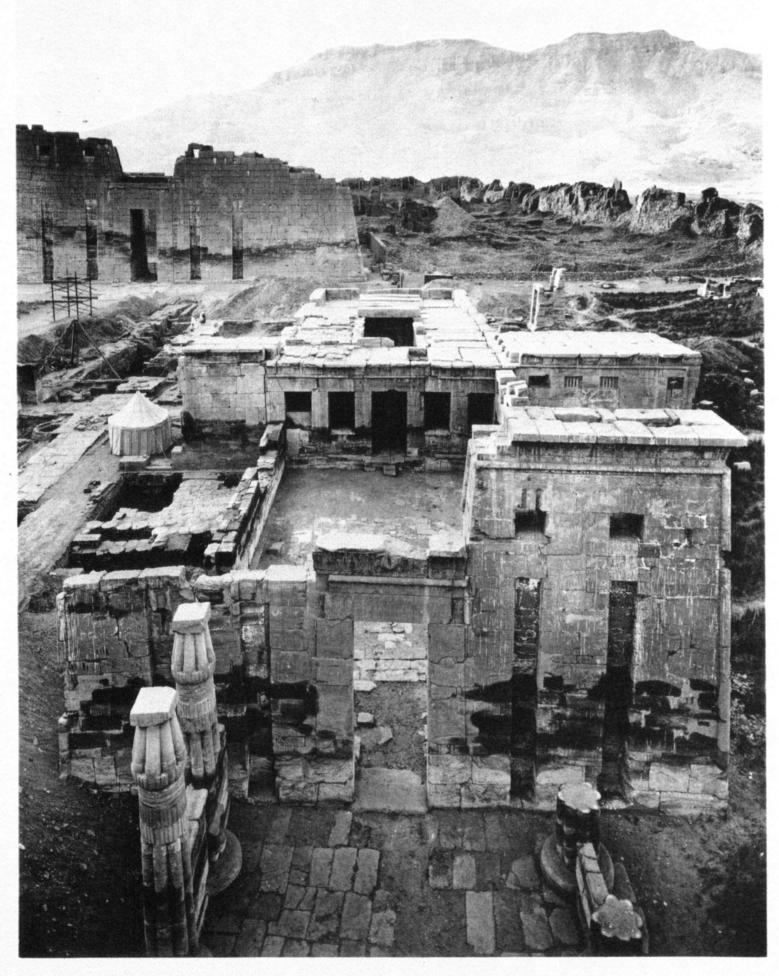
PLATES 9-58



THE SMALL TEMPLE AND THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE OF RAMSES III IN THE MIDST OF THE RUINS OF THE COPTIC TOWN OF JEME After Auguste Mariette, Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte II (2d ed.; Paris and Leipzig, 1893) Pl. 50



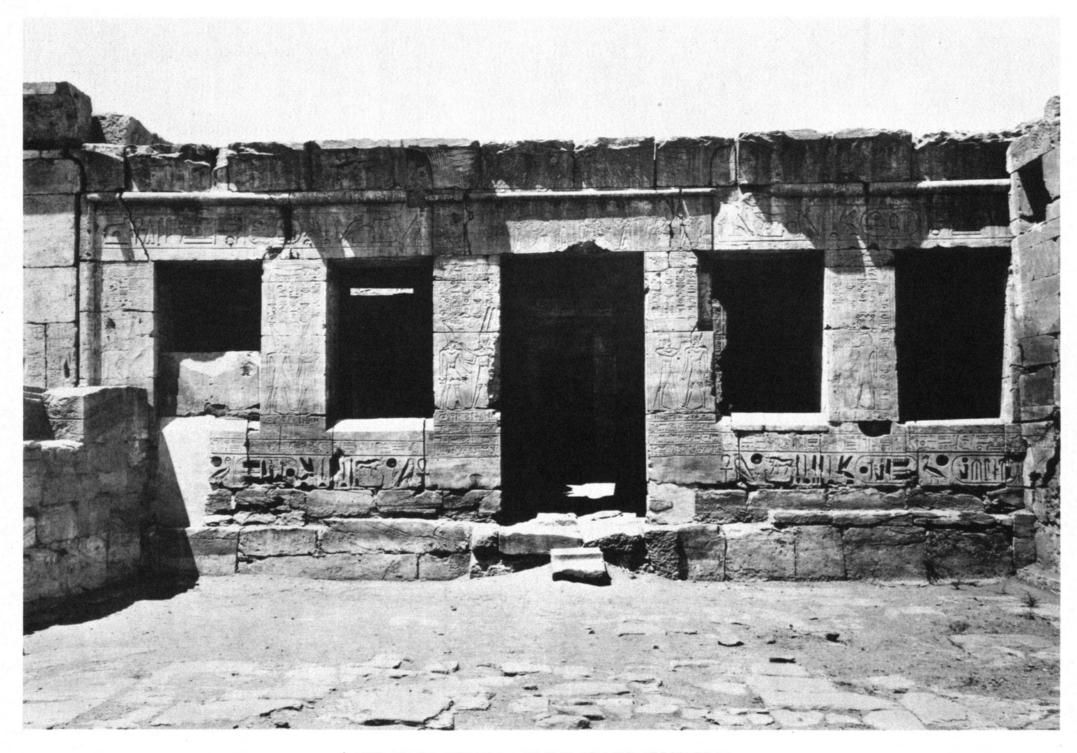
THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE SOUTHEAST



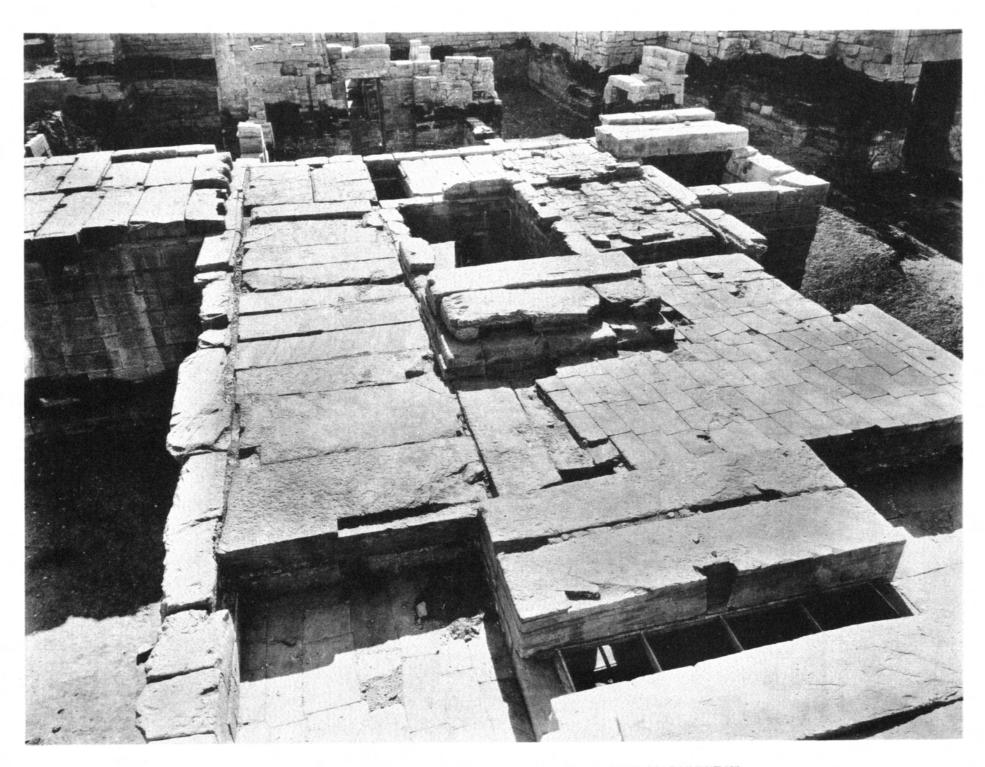
THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE EAST



THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE WEST



THE SMALL TEMPLE. FRONT OF THE PERIPTEROS



THE FLAT ROOF OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE NORTHWEST



A

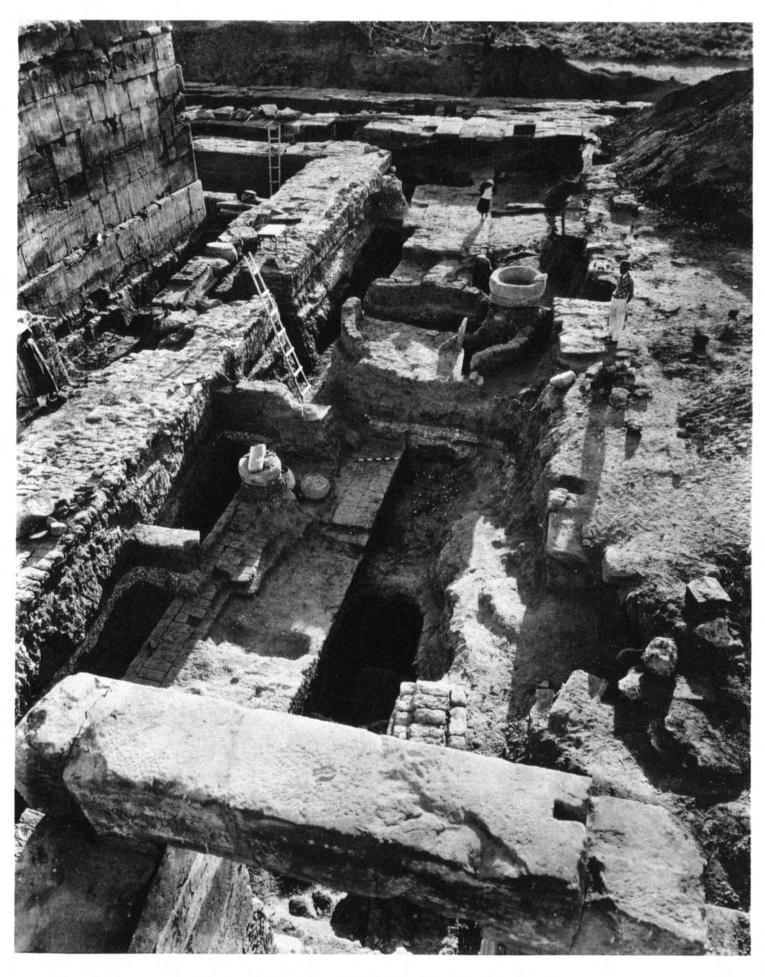


B

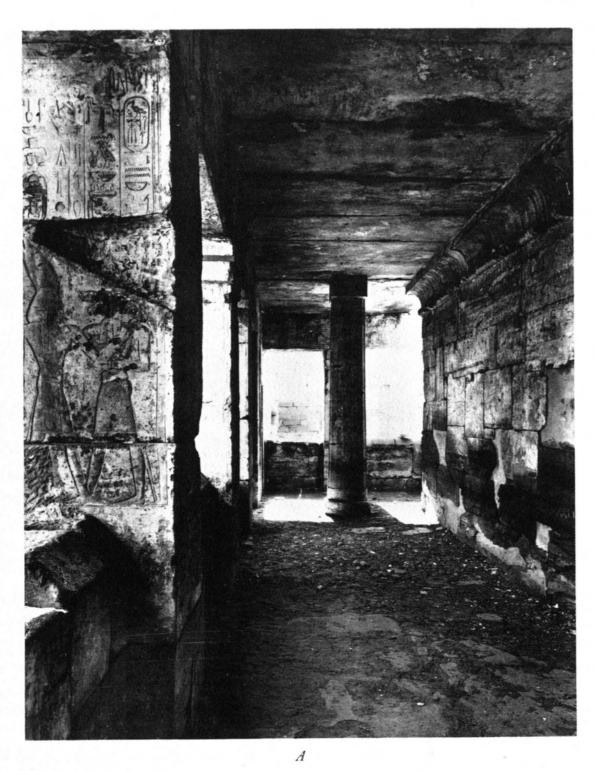
THE SMALL TEMPLE (4) FROM THE NORTHWEST AND (B) FROM THE SOUTH

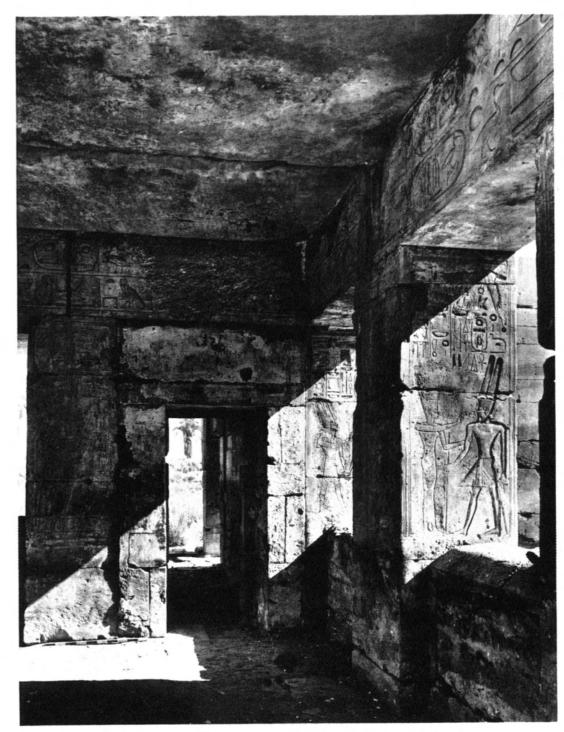


THE EXCAVATION SOUTHWEST OF THE SMALL TEMPLE



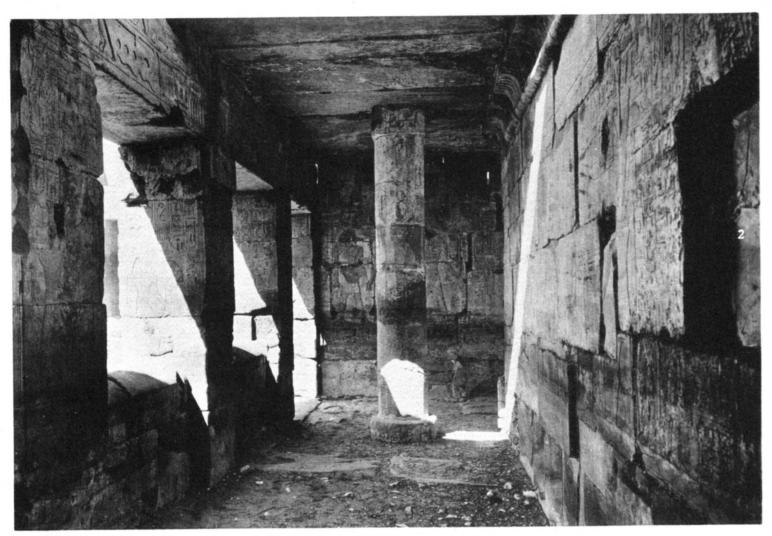
THE EXCAVATION WEST OF THE SMALL TEMPLE



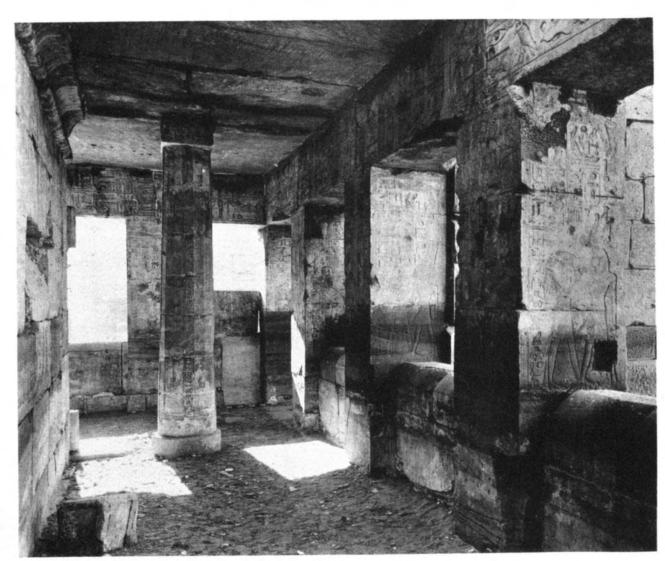


B

THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. A. NORTHERN AMBULATORY FROM THE WEST B. NORTHEAST CORNER, SHOWING THE GATE OF ACHORIS

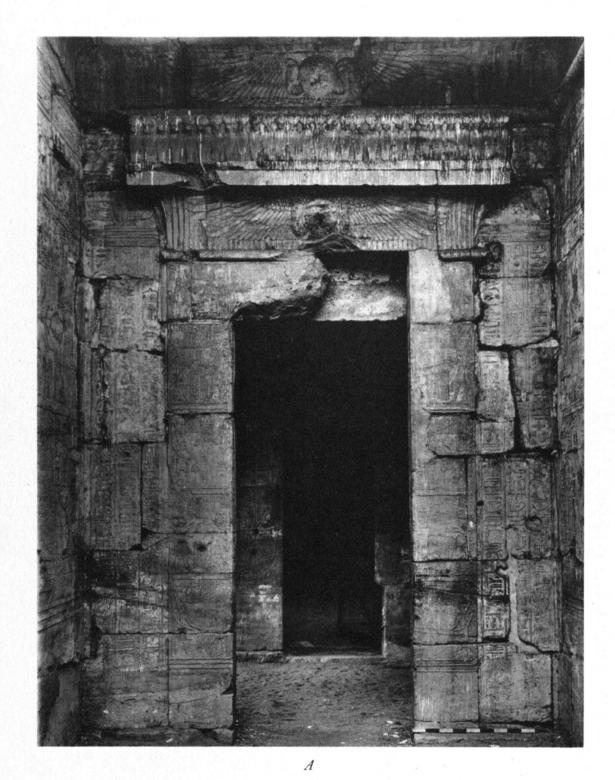


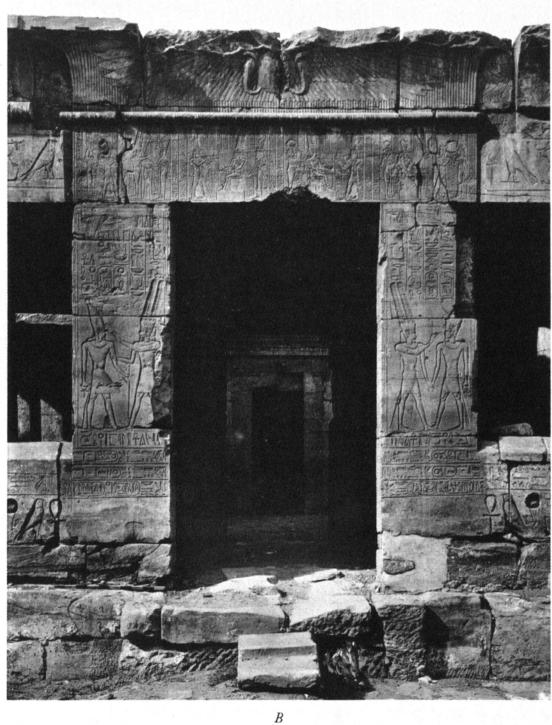
A



F

THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. SOUTHERN AMBULATORY (\mathcal{A}) FROM THE EAST AND (\mathcal{B}) FROM THE WEST





THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. A. INNER FACE OF THE REAR DOORWAY TO THE SHRINE B. ENTRANCE TO THE PERIPTEROS





THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. LIMESTONE BLOCKS (1 AND 2) IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SHRINE. A. INNER FACE. B. OUTER FACE



RED GRANITE STELA OF THUTMOSE III, PROBABLY FROM HIS MORTUARY TEMPLE BUT FOUND IN THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

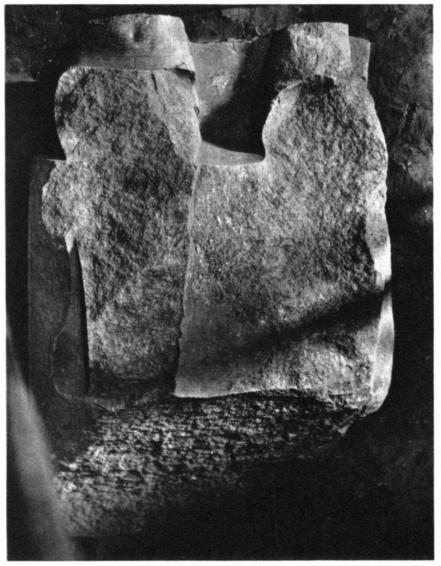




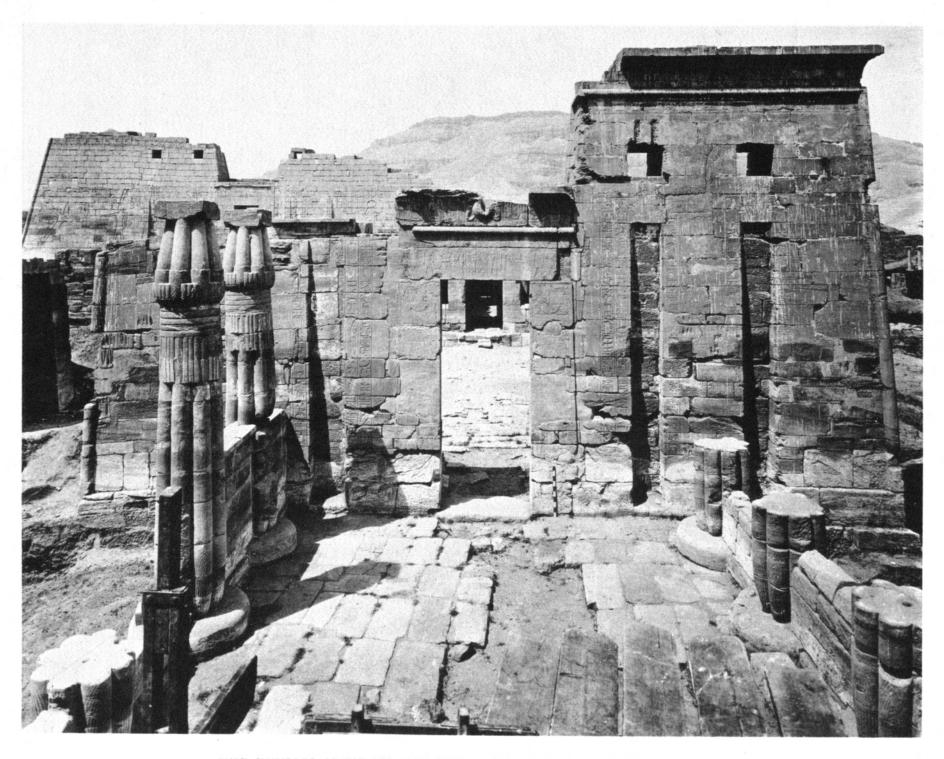
Original width, about 1.52 m.

FRAGMENTS OF A RED GRANITE STELA OF AMENHOTEP II, PROBABLY FROM HIS MORTUARY TEMPLE BUT FOUND AT MEDINET HABU

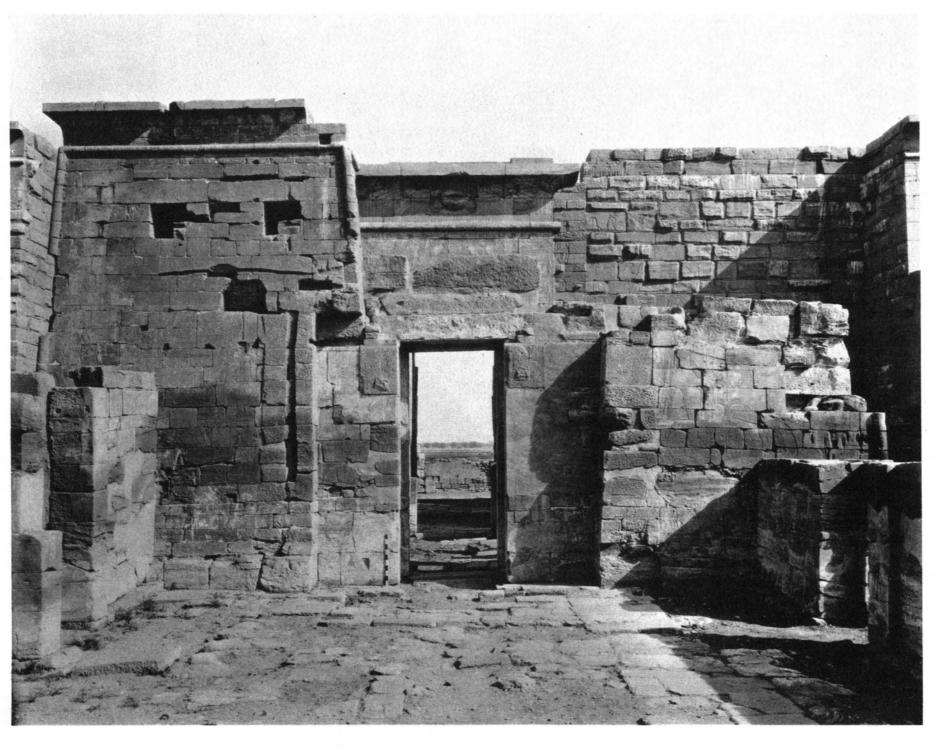




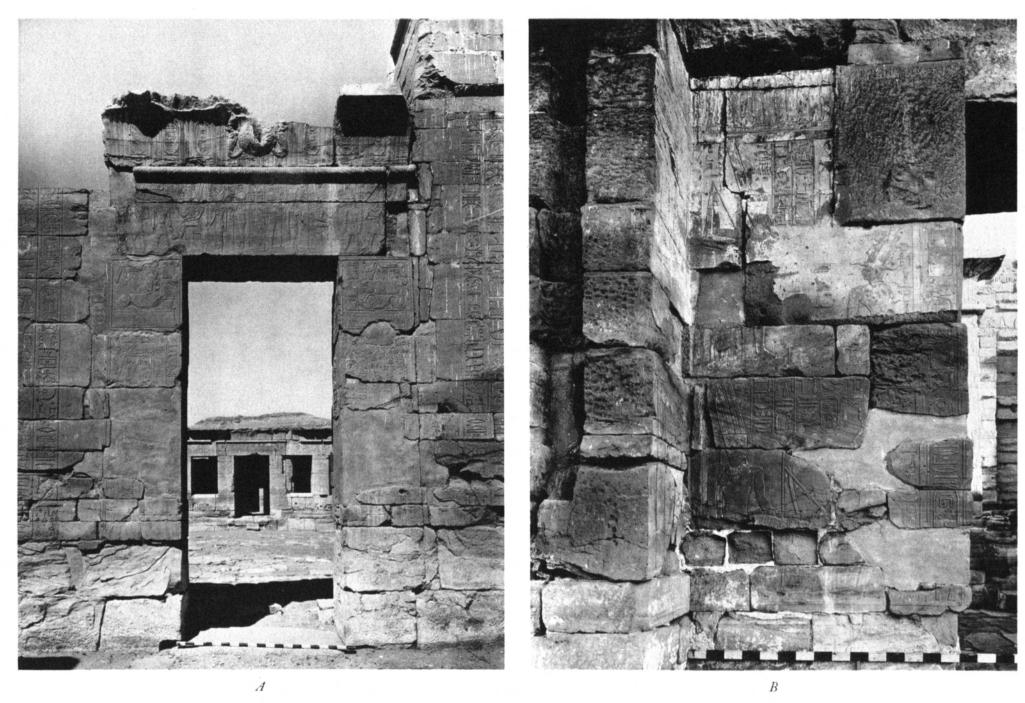
BROKEN DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON BLACK GRANITE



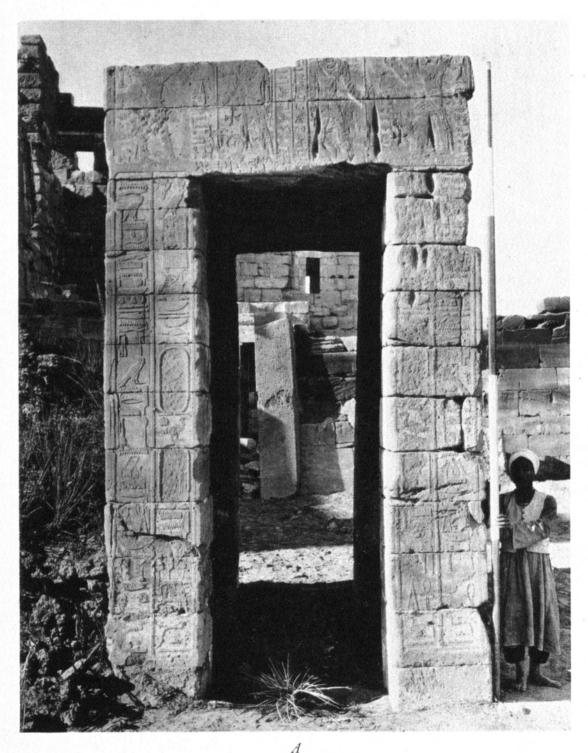
THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON AND THE SAITIC PORTICO, FROM THE EAST

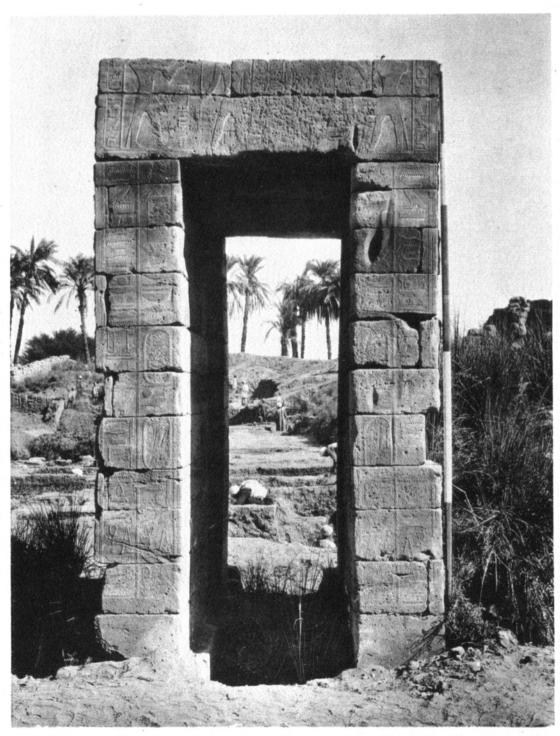


THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON FROM THE WEST, WITH THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON JUST BEHIND

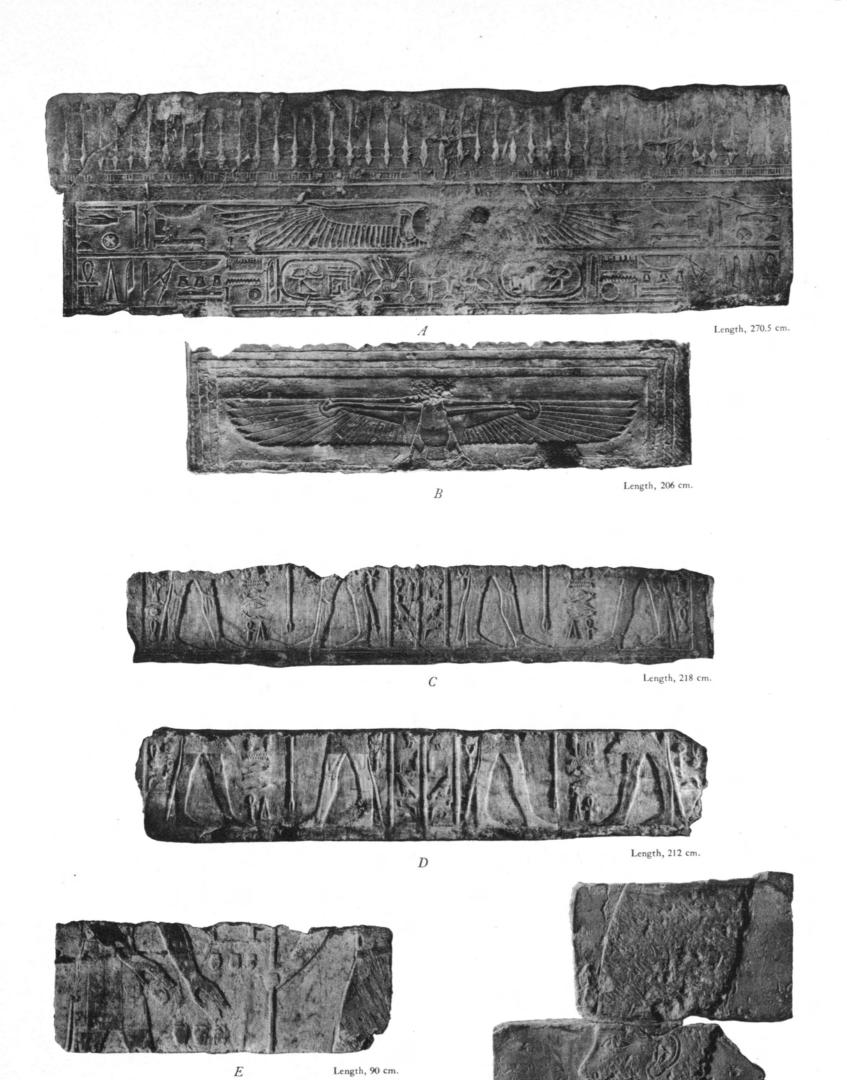


THE GATEWAY OF THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON. A. FRONT. B. DETAIL OF THE BACK



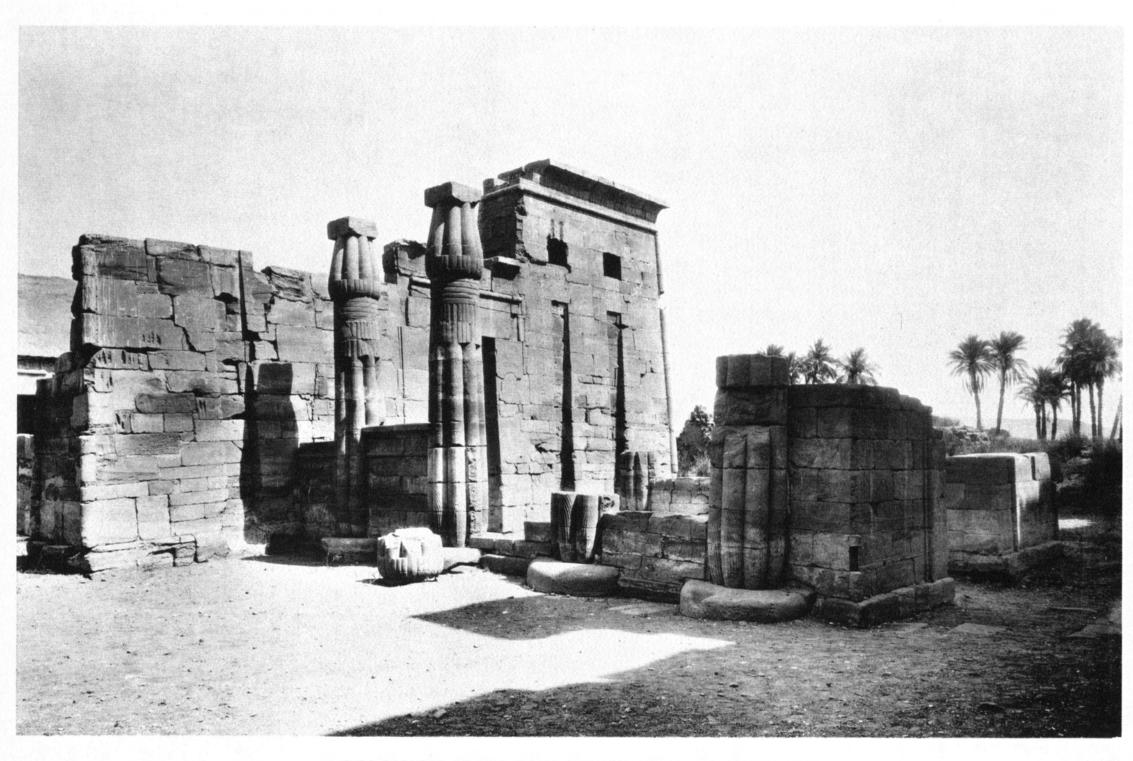


ETHIOPIAN GATEWAY IN THE NORTHERN INCLOSURE WALL OF THE SMALL TEMPLE (A) FROM THE NORTH AND (B) FROM THE SOUTH

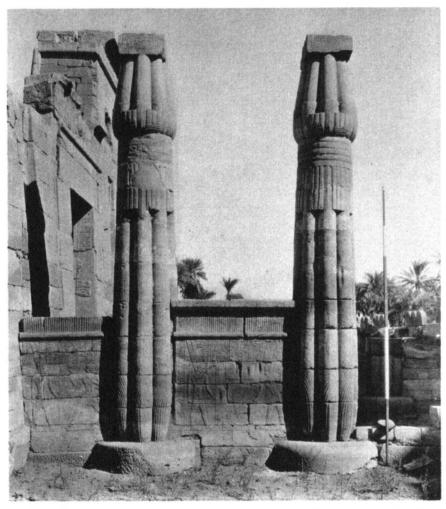


Length, 80 cm.

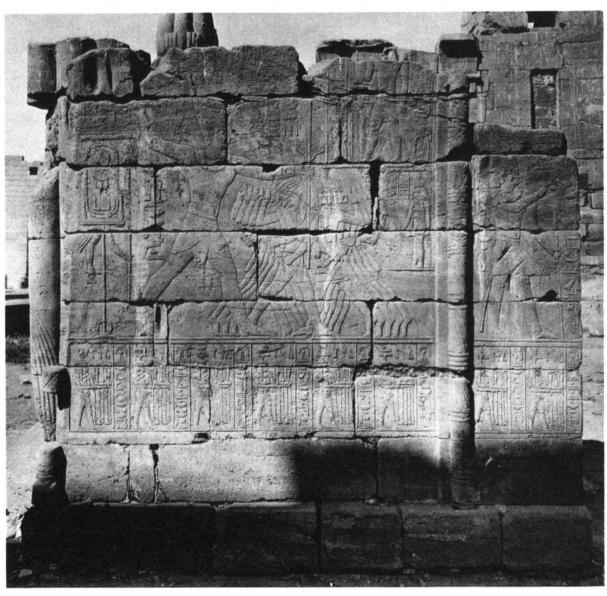
BLOCKS FROM THE ETHIOPIAN STRUCTURES OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. A. LINTEL FROM THE WEST SIDE OF THE PYLON. BERLIN 1621. B. SAME AS A, FROM BELOW. C-E. RELIEF FRAGMENTS FROM THE GALLERY, REUSED IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF A PTOLEMAIC STRUCTURE. F. HEAD OF KING SHABAKA, FROM THE REAR OF THE SOUTH TOWER OF THE PYLON. BERLIN 2104



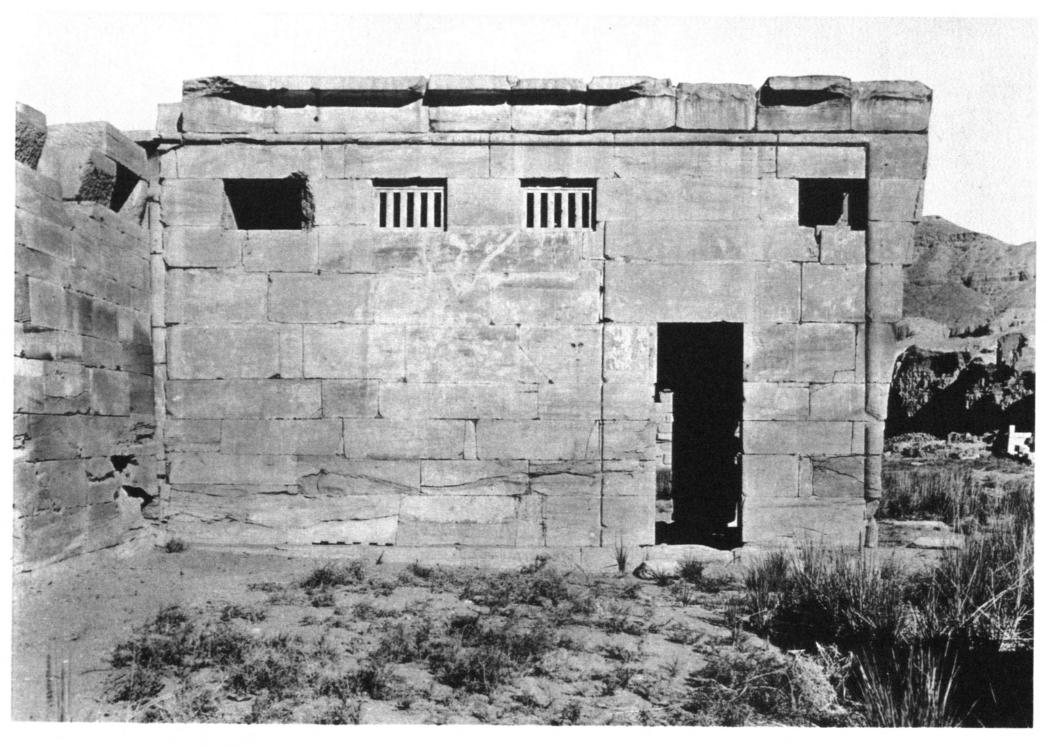
SAITIC PORTICO OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE SOUTHEAST



A



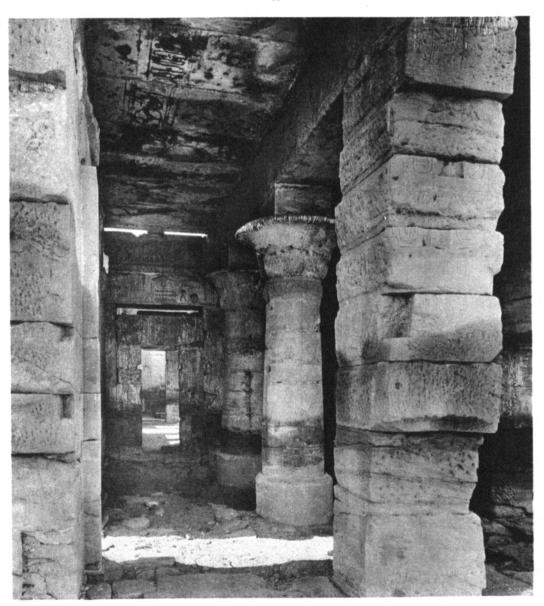
SAITIC PORTICO OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. DETAILS OF (\mathcal{A}) THE SOUTH SIDE AND (\mathcal{B}) THE EAST SIDE



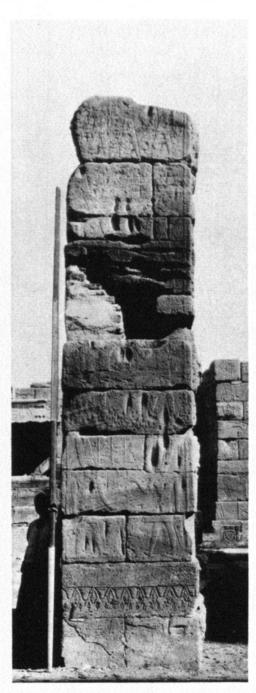
PTOLEMAIC ADDITION TO THE NORTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE EAST

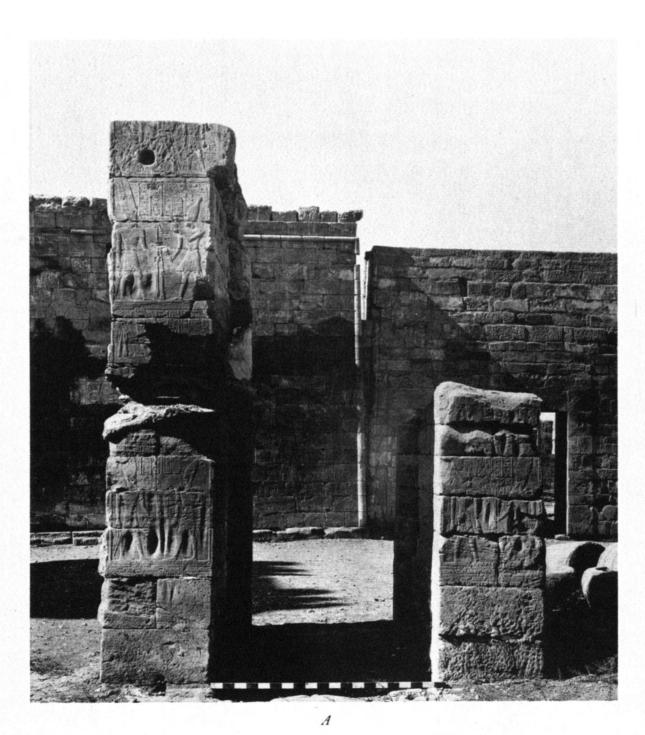


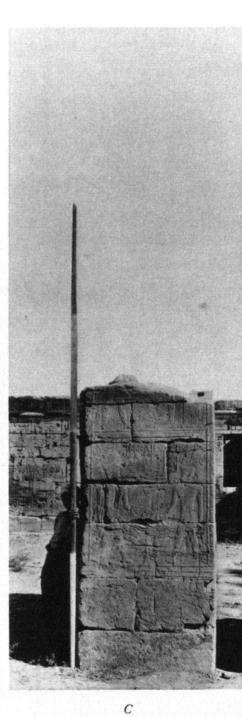
A



PTOLEMAIC ADDITION TO THE NORTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE (A) FROM THE NORTHEAST AND (B) FROM THE NORTH







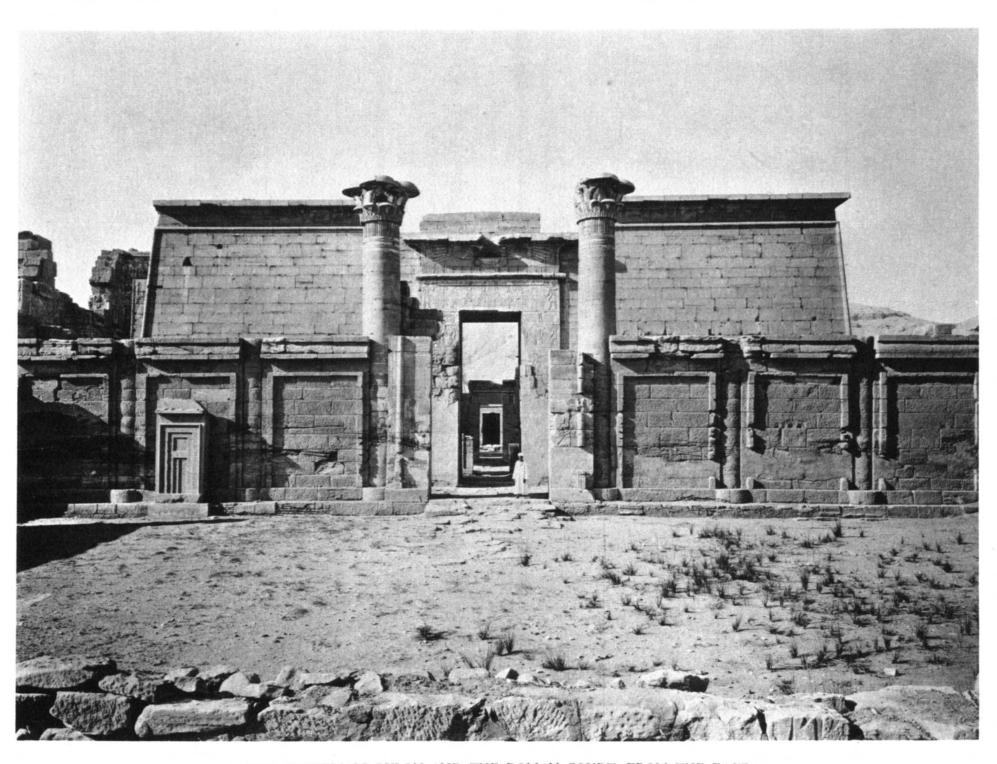
GATEWAY OF NECTANEBO I IN THE SOUTHERN OUTER INCLOSURE WALL OF THE SMALL TEMPLE A. VIEW FROM THE NORTH. B–C. THE JAMBS FROM THE SOUTH



A



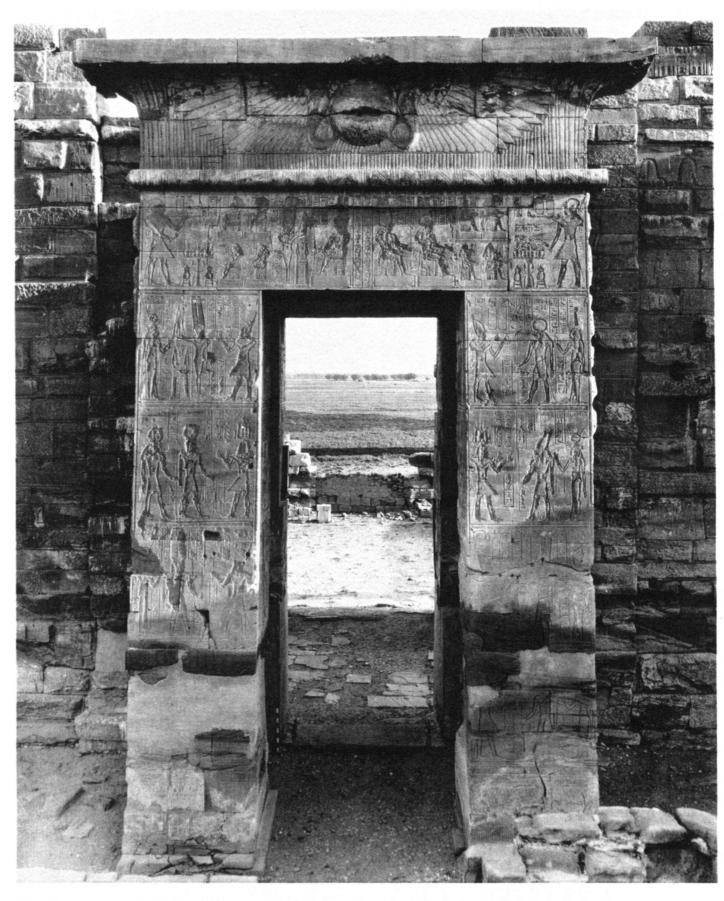
NORTH GATE OF THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL. GRANITE DOORFRAME TAKEN FROM A BUILDING OF PEDAMENOPET. A. THE JAMBS FROM THE NORTH B. FRAGMENT OF THE LINTEL



THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON AND THE ROMAN COURT, FROM THE EAST



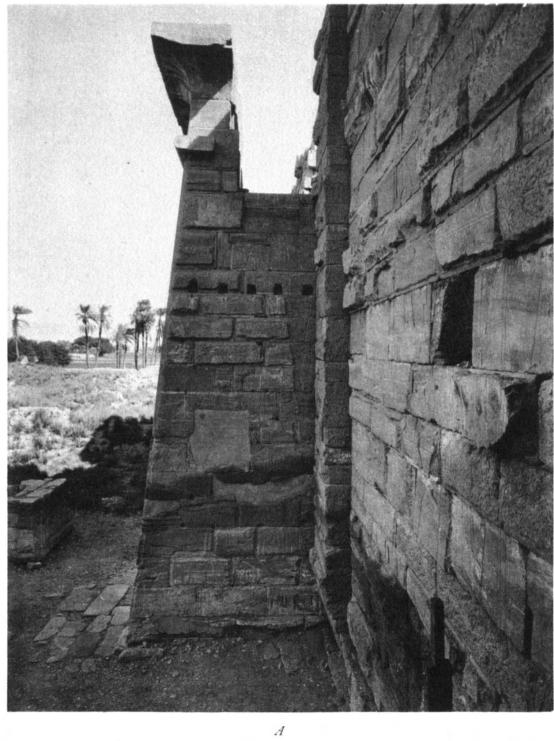
THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON, CENTRAL PART, FROM THE EAST

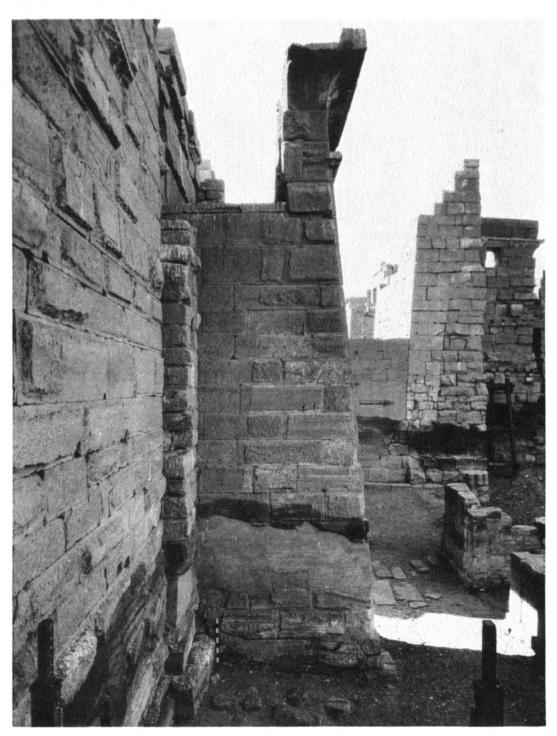


BACK OF THE GATEWAY IN THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON

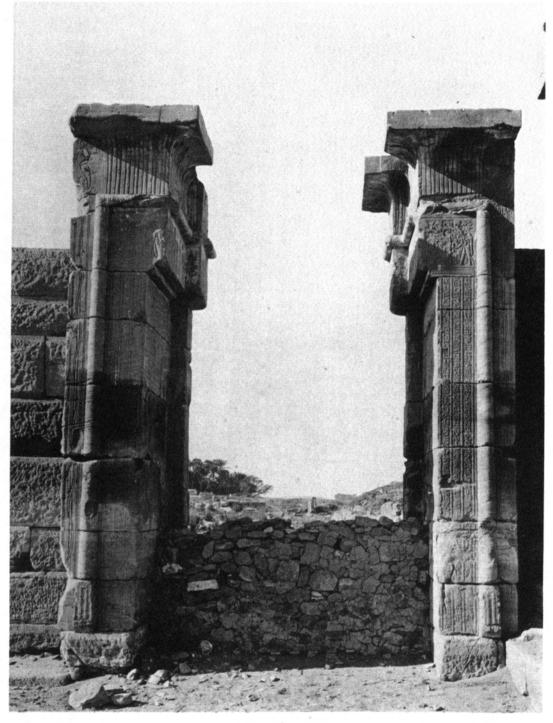


BACK OF THE GATEWAY IN THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON. DETAIL



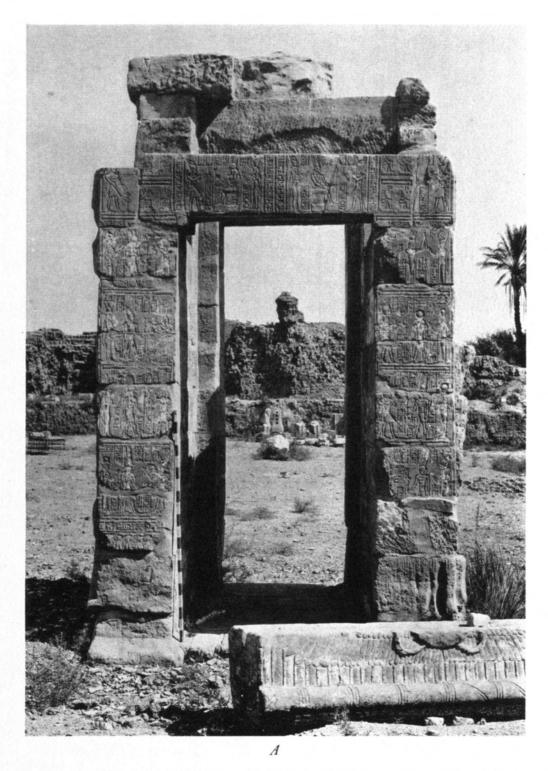


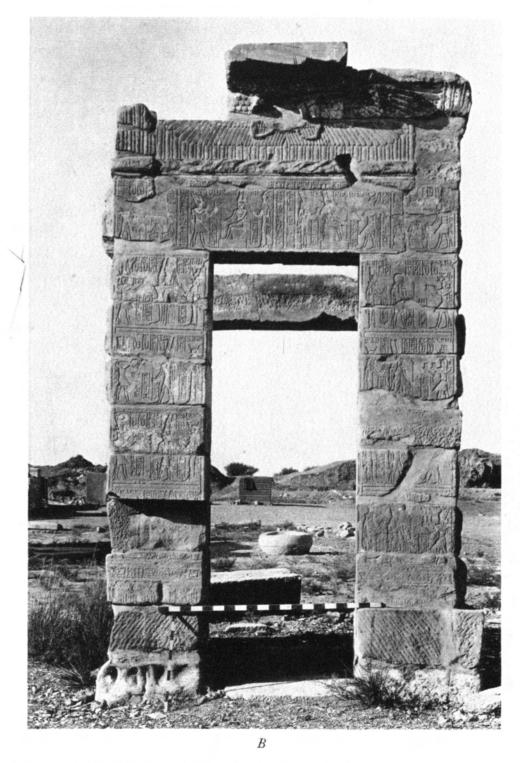
BACK OF THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON (\mathcal{A}) FROM THE SOUTH AND (\mathcal{B}) FROM THE NORTH





SOUTH GATEWAY OF THE ROMAN COURT (\mathcal{A}) FROM THE NORTH AND (\mathcal{B}) FROM THE SOUTH





GATE OF DOMITIAN AS RE-ERECTED ON ARBITRARY LOCATION. A. EAST FACE (NOW SOUTH). B. WEST FACE (NOW NORTH)



FRAGMENTS OF RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB



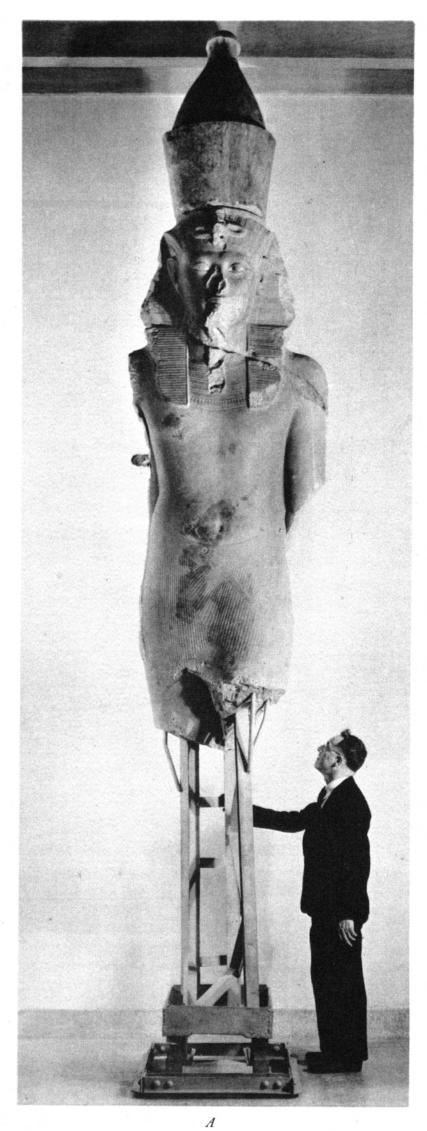
STATUE, PROBABLY OF TUTGANKHAMON, INSCRIBED BY EYE AND USURPED BY HARMHAB. CAIRO J 59869

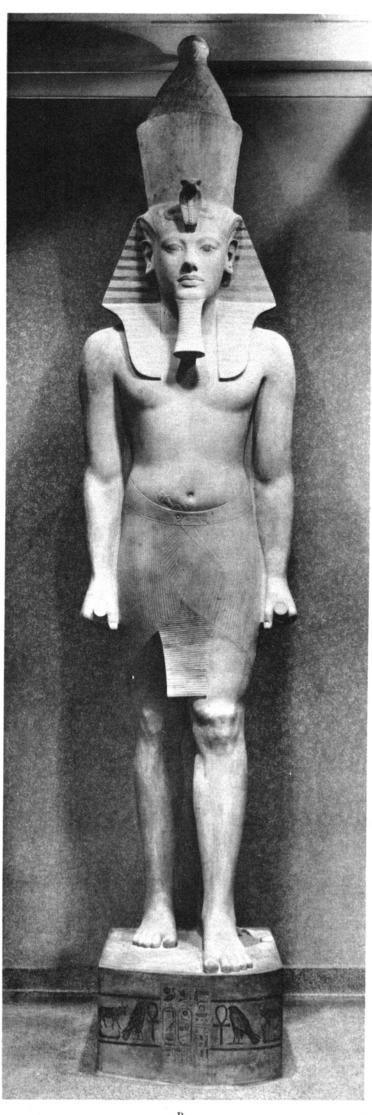


A. BACK PILASTER OF THE CHICAGO STATUE (CF. PL. 47). B. HEAD OF THE CAIRO STATUE



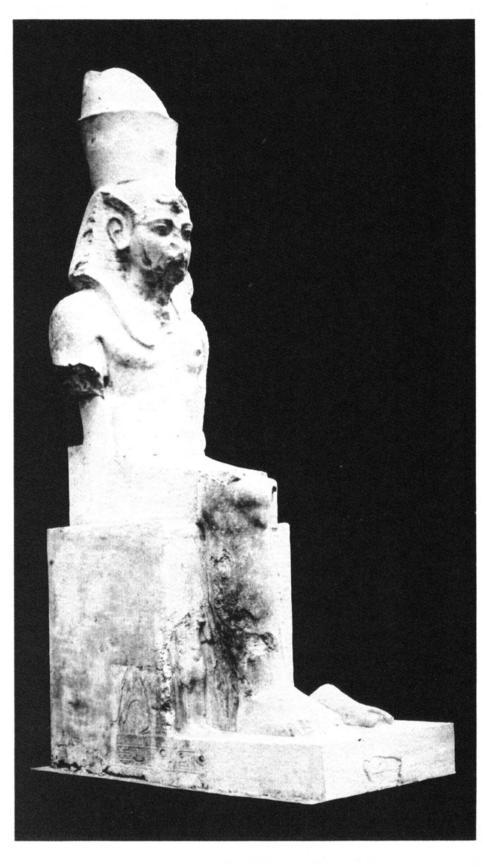
A. PEDESTAL OF THE CAIRO STATUE (CF. PL. 44). CAIRO J 60134. B. CHICAGO STATUE AS RESTORED

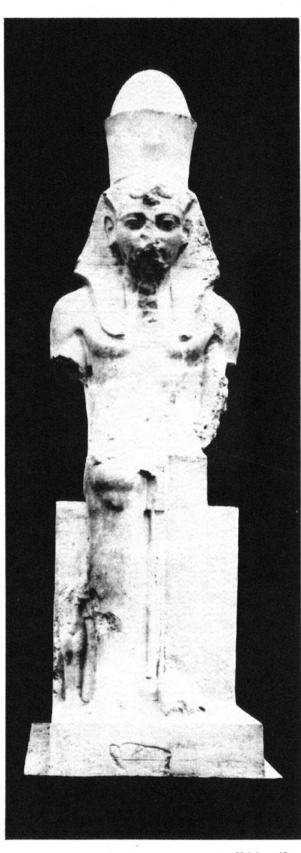




B

STATUE, PROBABLY OF TUT ANKHAMON, INSCRIBED BY EYE AND USURPED BY HARMHAB. CHICAGO 14088 A. BEFORE RESTORATION. B. AFTER RESTORATION

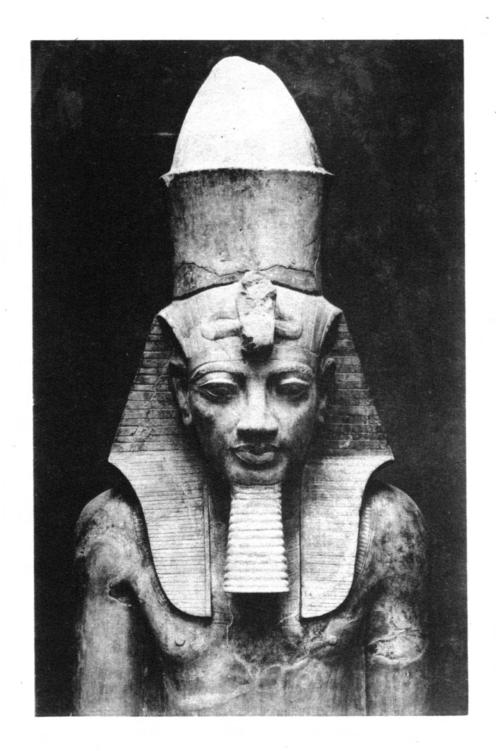




Height, 4.87 m.

COLOSSUS OF EYE, USURPED BY HARMHAB. CAIRO CAT. NO. 632

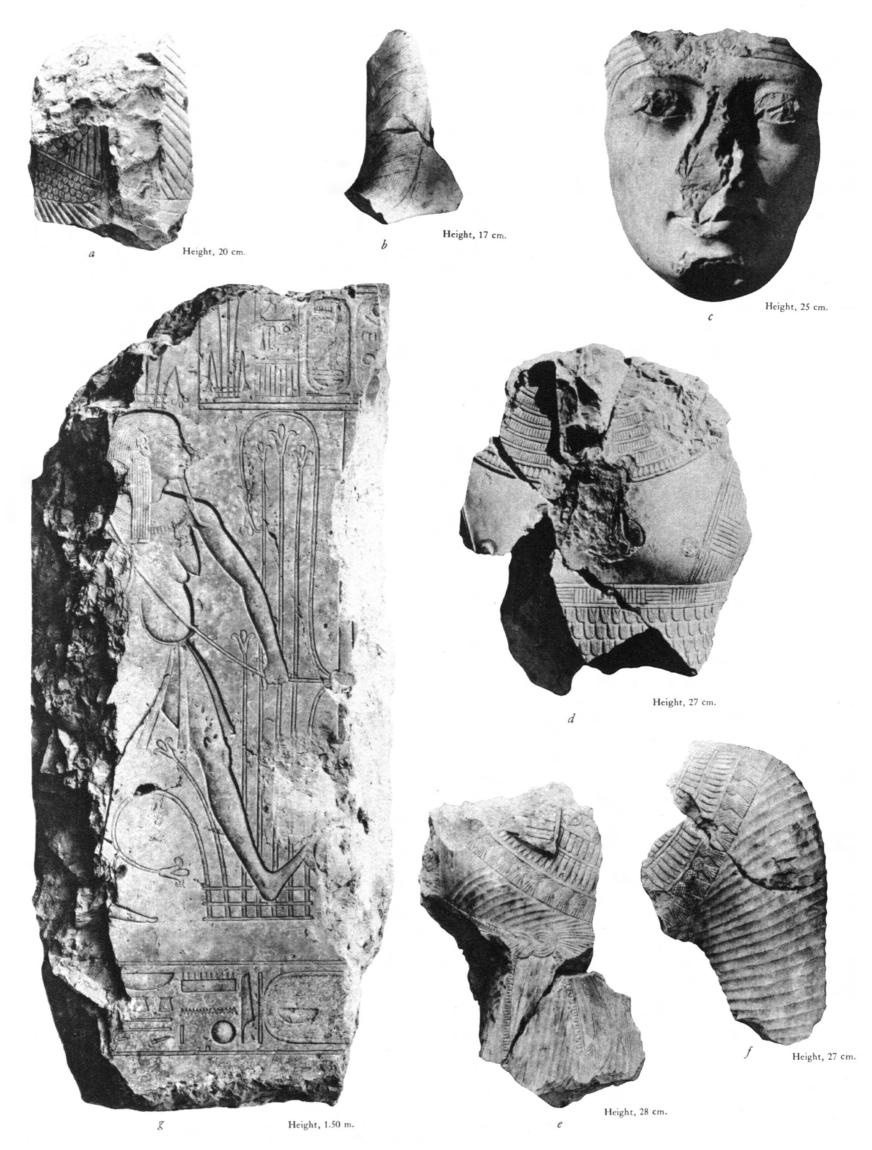






Width of shoulders, 1.50 m.

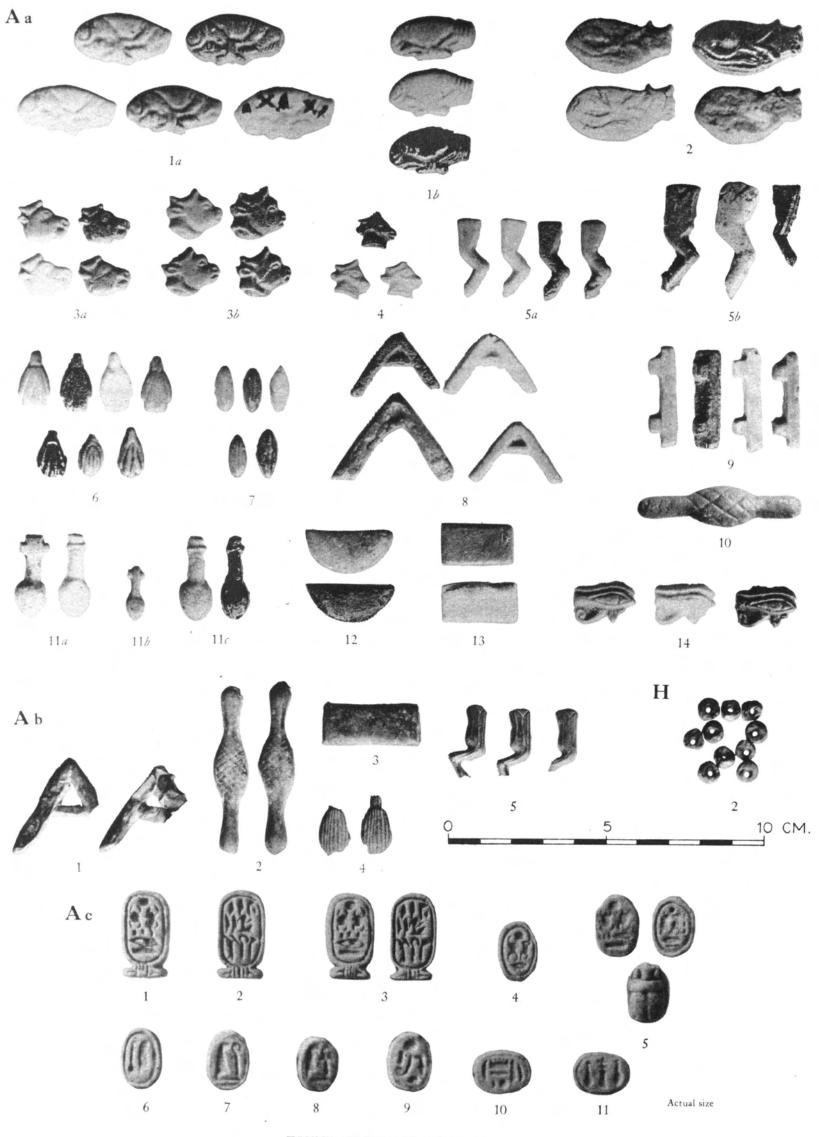
COLOSSUS OF EYE, USURPED BY HARMHAB. BERLIN 1479



FRAGMENTS OF STATUES FROM THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB



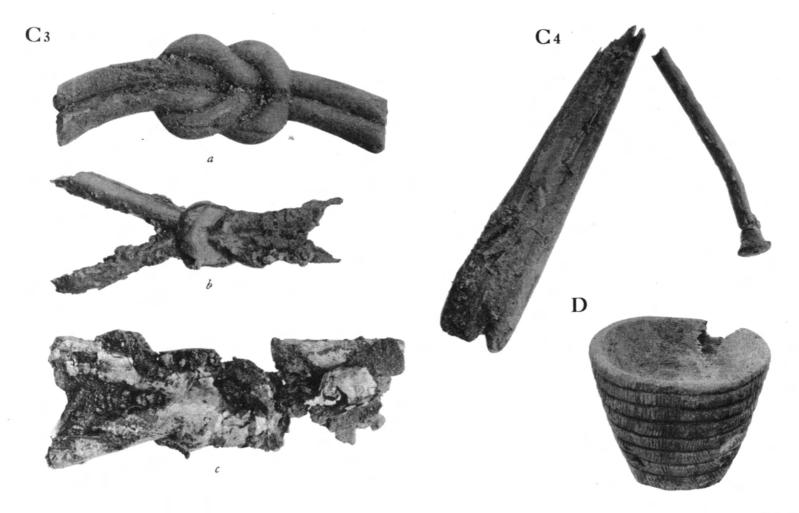
HIEROGLYPHIC AND HIERATIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB



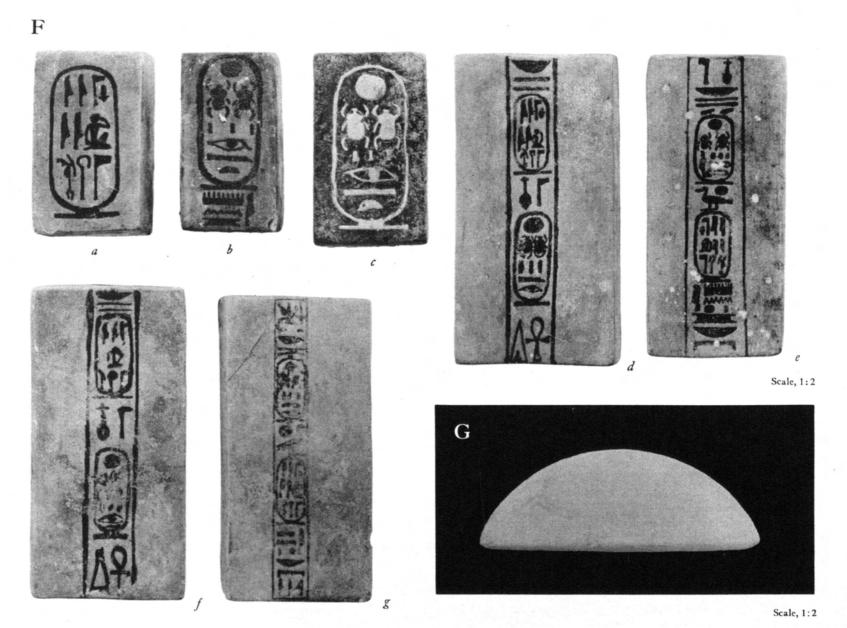
FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE



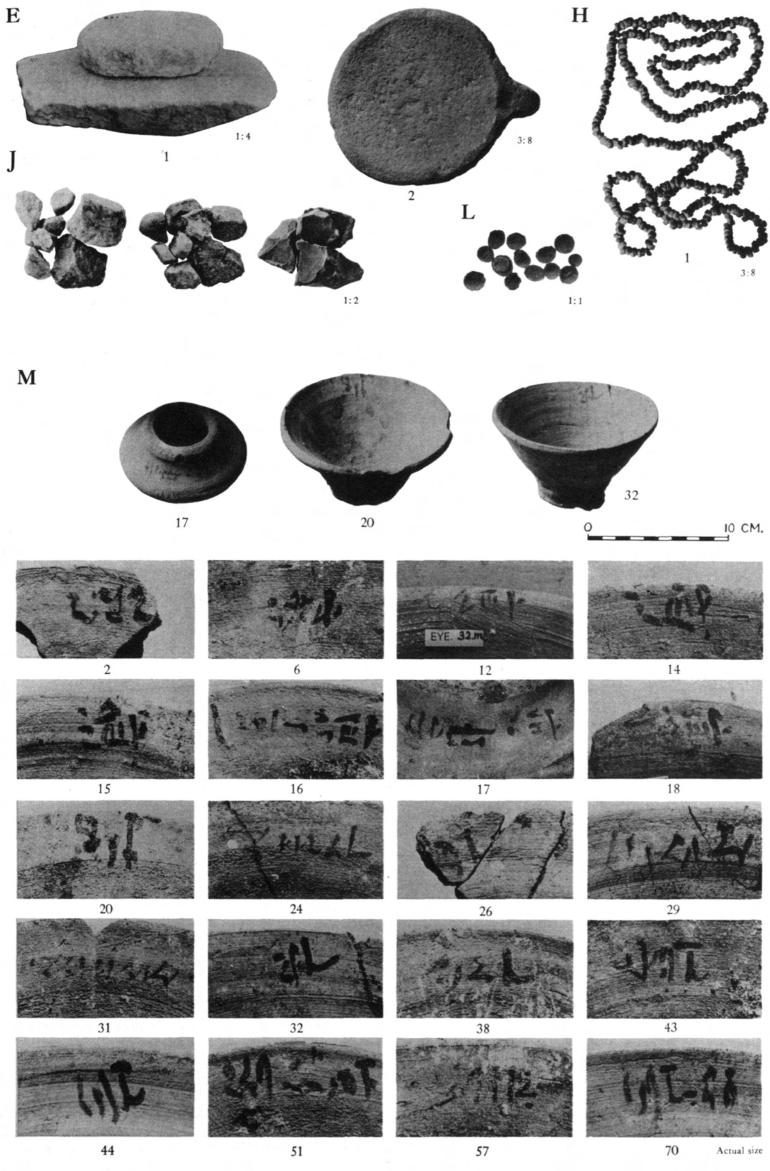
FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE



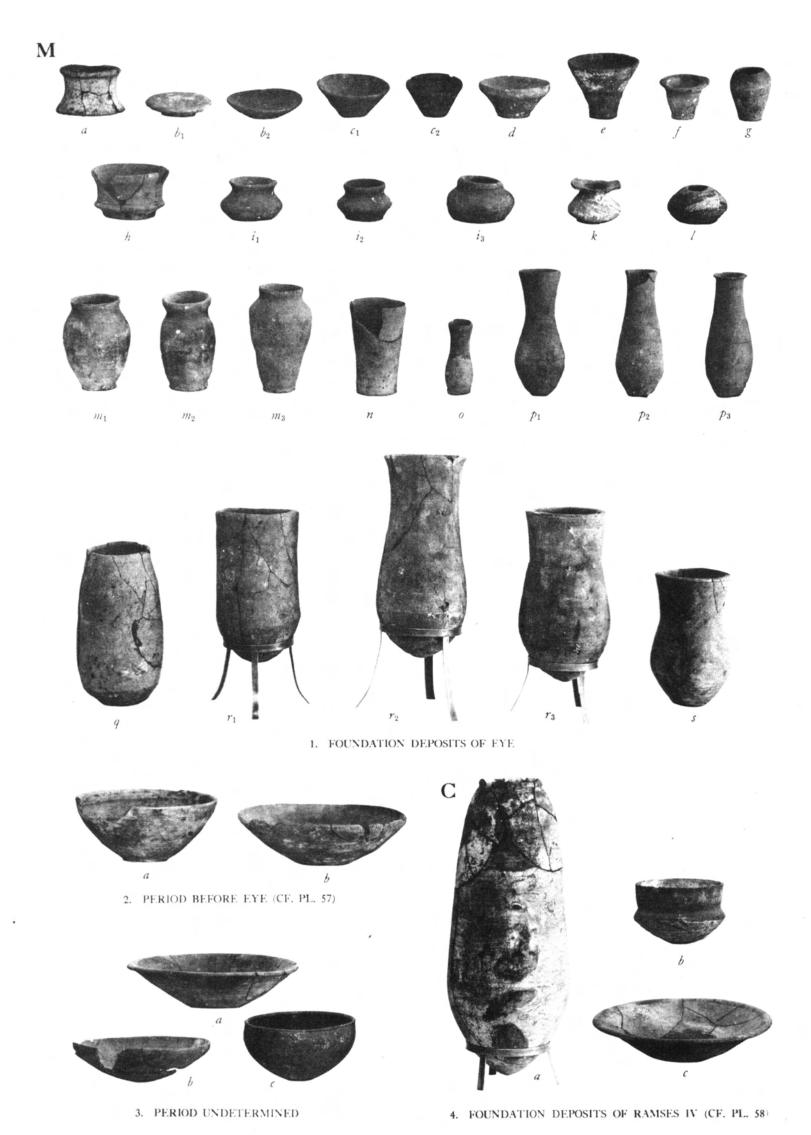
Scale, 2:3



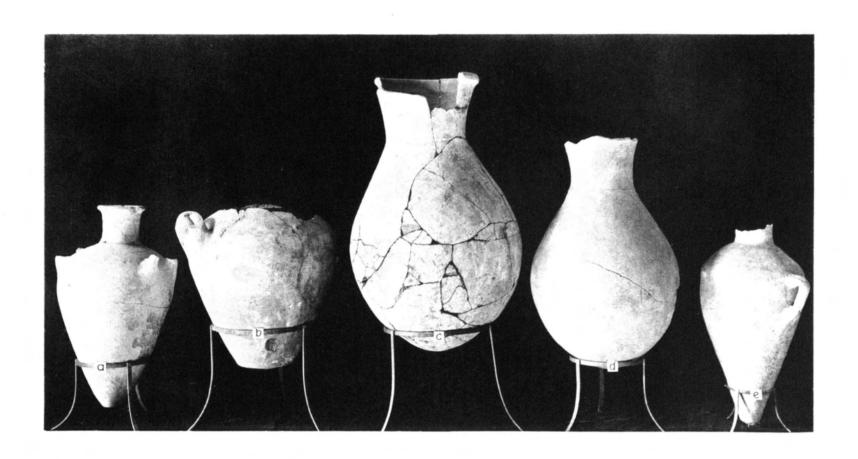
FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE

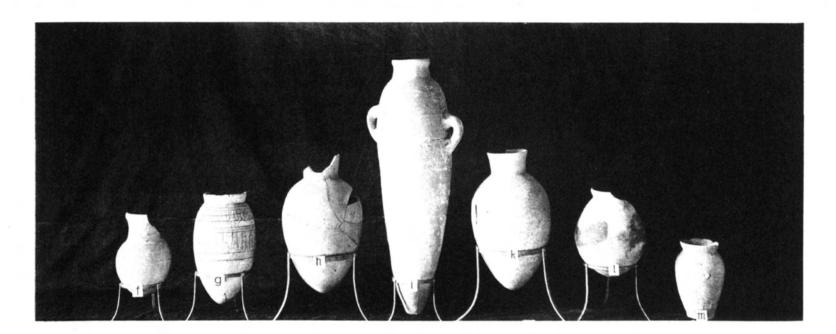


FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE



POTTERY FROM THE TEMPLE AREA OF EYE AND HARMHAB







Scale, 1:10

POTTERY FROM THE TEMPLE AREA OF EYE AND HARMHAB PERIOD BEFORE EYE (EXCEPT p, WHICH IS APPROXIMATELY TWENTIETH DYNASTY)

