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JOHN ALBERT WILSON  
AND  
THOMAS GEORGE ALLEN  
*Editors*



THE EXCAVATION OF MEDINET HABU—VOLUME III

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THE MORTUARY TEMPLE  
OF RAMSES III

PART I

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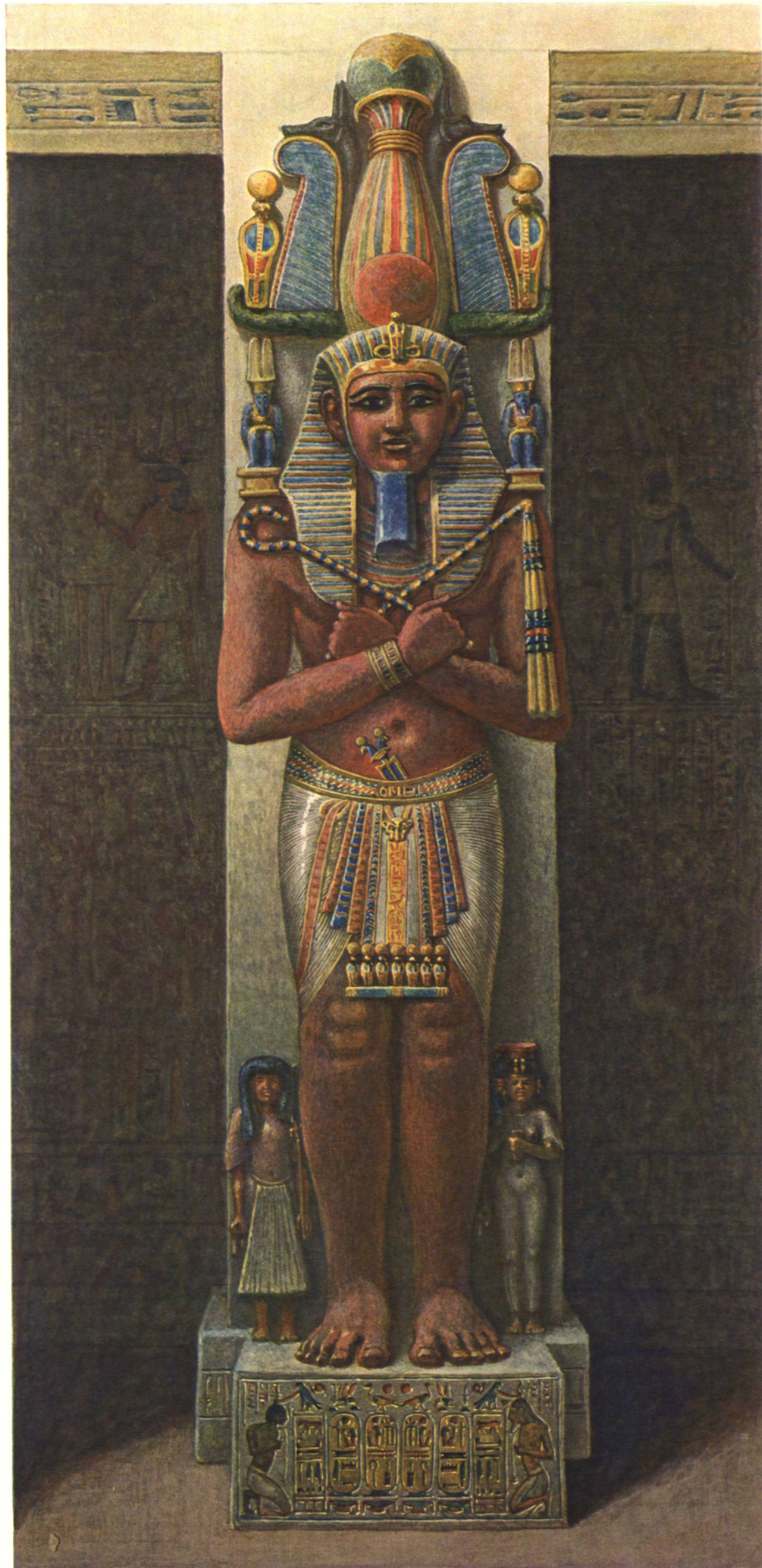
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PILLAR WITH ENGAGED STATUE OF RAMSES III IN THE FIRST COURT OF HIS TEMPLE AT  
MEDINET HABU. RECONSTRUCTION

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO  
ORIENTAL INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS  
VOLUME LIV

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THE EXCAVATION OF MEDINET HABU—VOLUME III

# THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

PART I

BY  
UVO HÖLSCHER

TRANSLATED BY MRS. KEITH C. SEELE



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- ASAE* Egypt. Service des Antiquités. Annales (Le Caire, 1900——).
- BMMA* New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Bulletin (New York, 1905——).
- Calverley, *Abydos* The temple of King Sethos I at Abydos. Copied by AMICE M. CALVERLEY, with the assistance of MYRTLE F. BROOME, and edited by ALAN H. GARDINER (Joint publications of the Egypt Exploration Society and the Oriental Institute [London and Chicago, 1933——]).
- JEA* Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914——).
- LD* LEPSIUS, RICHARD. Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Berlin, 1849–1913).
- Medinet Habu I* Epigraphic Survey (HAROLD H. NELSON, field director). Medinet Habu. I. Earlier historical records of Ramses III (*OIP* VIII [1930]).
- Medinet Habu II* Same. II. Later historical records of Ramses III (*OIP* IX [1932]).
- Medinet Habu III* Same. III. The Calendar, the “slaughterhouse,” and minor records of Ramses III (*OIP* XXIII [1934]).
- Medinet Habu IV* Same. IV. Festival scenes of Ramses III (*OIP* LI [1940]).
- MJ* Pennsylvania. University. University Museum. The museum journal (Philadelphia, 1910——).
- OIC* No. 18 NELSON, HAROLD H., and HÖLSCHER, UVO. Work in western Thebes, 1931–33 (Oriental Institute communications, No. 18 [Chicago, 1934]).
- OIP* Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute publications (Chicago, 1924——).
- PMMA* New York. Metropolitan Museum of Art. Publications of the Egyptian Expedition (New York, 1916——).
- SAOC* No. 12 EDGERTON, WILLIAM F., and WILSON, JOHN A. Historical records of Ramses III. The texts in *Medinet Habu* Volumes I and II translated with explanatory notes (Studies in ancient oriental civilization, No. 12 [Chicago, 1936]).
- WVDOG* Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft, *Berlin*. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen (Leipzig, 1900——).
- ZAS* Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde (Leipzig, 1863——).





## INTRODUCTION

Ramses III addresses Amon:

“I built for thee my house-of-millions-of-years  
 In the necropolis of Thebes, the Eye of Re<sup>c</sup>,  
 And fashioned thy august images dwelling in its midst,  
 While the great Ennead are in splendid shrines in their sanctuaries.”<sup>1</sup>

SOUTH WALL OF TEMPLE, EXTERIOR

Ramses III's great temple complex at Medinet Habu is distinguished from other royal mortuary temples in Egypt above all by the circumstance that much of the temple structure itself still stands and that excavation has made comparatively clear the entire temenos with all subsidiary structures, fortifications, and the like. Thus in Medinet Habu as nowhere else in Egypt are revealed the entire plan of such a large and rich temple complex (Folio Pl. 2<sup>2</sup>) and to some extent the cult and administration carried on within its walls.

Architecturally as well as psychologically the temple was the center of the layout. It was dedicated to Amon of Karnak. Adjoining it on the south was a palace in which the king sojourned when he came from his actual residence in Lower Egypt to long venerated Thebes to participate in religious festivals. Aside from the palace there were other structures grouped about the temple, including administrative quarters and magazines for storing grain and other temple income. This inner temple area therefore contained the structures which were of greatest importance for the cult and administration. It was surrounded by a turreted wall which we designate the “Inner Inclosure Wall.” Outside this wall were located dwellings of various types, a garden, and perhaps stables for the king's horses and barracks for his bodyguard—in short, subsidiary structures essential to such an extensive establishment. The entire complex was surrounded by the “Great Girdle Wall,” which contained two mighty fortified gates, and the “Outer Wall.” A canal led to the Nile. Finally, behind the temenos there was a group of small mortuary temples which must be reckoned as part of Medinet Habu, since two of them at least belonged to officials of the court.<sup>3</sup>

This extensive architectural creation of Ramses III is the subject of Volumes III and IV of *The Excavation of Medinet Habu*. Each individual structure can really be understood only in its relation to the entire layout. But, on the other hand, it is impossible to gain an idea of the whole without first understanding the significance of each part. We therefore begin our treatise with a discussion of individual structures and groups of buildings and close with a comprehensive picture of the entire complex.

The present volume is concerned only with the structures of the inner temple area, and a description of the Ramesseum is included for purposes of comparison. Volume IV deals with the structures of the outer temple area and with technical and artistic details, while Volume V discusses the structures of the post-Ramessid age and the vicissitudes of Medinet Habu after the decline of the pharaohs.

Building activity probably began at the very outset of Ramses III's reign (*ca.* 1198–1167 B.C.). The original project was confined to the structures of the inner temple area with its Inner Inclosure Wall and the necessary transport canal which led to the Nile. Later—probably not until the second half of his reign—Ramses III embarked on an extensive program of expansion which resulted in what we have designated as the outer temple area. Simultaneously the original palace was replaced by a larger one.

The full name of the temple was “House-of-Millions-of-Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt:

<sup>1</sup> Translation by Harold H. Nelson in *OIC* No. 18, p. 9.

<sup>2</sup> The plates of Vol. I are referred to throughout as “Folio” plates.

<sup>3</sup> Designated not quite correctly as chapels of the royal family in Folio Pl. 2. See Vol. IV.

## THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

'Userma<sup>c</sup>re<sup>c</sup>-Meriamon (Ramses III), Possessed of Eternity,' in the Estate of Amon on the West of Thebes."<sup>4</sup> An abbreviated form would be "House-of-Millions-of-Years of Ramses III Possessed of Eternity." The temple lies in the "estate of Amon," to whom probably the entire Theban necropolis belonged. The following description of the temple is found in the great Papyrus Harris, which was compiled after the death of Ramses III and contains a list of his various benefactions for the gods:

I made for thee an august house-of-millions-of-years, established on the mountain of Neb-<sup>c</sup>ankh, opposite to thee,

built of sandstone, gritstone (quartzite sandstone), black granite, while the door was of *ḡ<sup>c</sup>m*-gold and hammered copper. Its pylons were of stone, looking (up) to the sky,

inscribed and engraved with the chisel in the great name of thy majesty. I built a magnificent encircling wall, made with *ṛ<sup>c</sup>rw* and *ḡ<sup>c</sup>krw* of sandstone.

In front of it I dug a pool copious with water, planted with trees and verdant as the Delta. I filled its treasuries with the products of the lands of Egypt:

gold, silver, and all (kinds of) precious stones by the hundred thousands. Its granaries overflowed with grain and *w<sup>3</sup>hy* 'of the fields', while its cattle were as abundant as the sand of the river bank. I taxed for it

Upper Egypt as well as Lower Egypt, while Nubia and Djahi belonged to it with their tribute, for it was filled with the captives whom thou gavest to me from the Nine Bows, and (their) offspring whom I raised by the ten thousands.

I fashioned thy great statue which rests within it, whose august name was "Amon-Possessed-of-Eternity," adorned with genuine precious stones like the Horizon-Dweller, at whose appearance one rejoices to see it.

I made for it vessels for the offering-stands of fine gold and others of silver and copper without number. I abundantly supplied the divine offerings which were presented before thee, consisting of bread, wine, beer,

fatted geese, *i<sup>w</sup>3*-cattle, *rmn*-cattle, dehorned cattle, ordinary cattle, antelope, gazelles, which were offered in its slaughterhouse. I quarried monuments great as mountains out of alabaster and *b<sup>h</sup>s*-stone,

formed into 'images' which rest on the right and left of its terrace, carved in the great name of thy majesty unto eternity, and other statues of granite and gritstone,

and scarabs of black granite which rest within it. I fashioned Ptah-Sokar, Nefertem, and the Ennead, the lords of heaven and earth, who rest in its chapel, wrought in fine gold

and hammered silver with inlays of genuine precious stones excellent in 'workmanship'. I made for thee an august royal palace within it, like the palace of Atum which is in heaven, the columns,

<sup>4</sup> "House-of-millions-of-years" is the regular term for a temple, especially a mortuary temple (Nelson in *OIC* No. 18, p. 9, n. 6). Nelson has suggested that the phrase "possessed of eternity" may be the real name of the temple, in which case we would translate: "House-of-Millions-of-Years of King Ramses III (named) 'Possessed of Eternity' in the Estate of Amon."

## INTRODUCTION

3

the doorjambs, and the doors of *ḡm*-gold and the great window of appearance of fine gold. I made for it freight ships laden with grain and *wḥy* in order to convey (them) to

its granary without ceasing. I made for it large official river vessels laden with numerous products for its august treasury.

It was surrounded by arbors, courtyards, and orchards, laden with fruit and flowers for thy countenance. I built their pavilions

with *ḥwt*, and excavated a pool before them adorned with lotus blossoms.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>5</sup> Papyrus Harris I iii 11—v 3; translation by Keith C. Seele.

## I

## THE TEMPLE

The Great Temple, once the nucleus of the entire building project of Ramses III, remains today the center and the predominant feature of Medinet Habu, as, except for the Small Temple<sup>1</sup> and a few chapels of later periods, it is the only building still comparatively fully preserved among the surrounding ruins. This has come about not so much through any sense of piety toward the "god's house" as through the circumstance that the Great Temple was the only building in the original layout which was constructed entirely of sandstone. It is well known that the valuable stone of most other temples on the west of Thebes was a source of disaster to them, for posterity was tempted to use these older structures as quarries. In our temple this fortunately happened only to a minor extent, because shortly after its completion occurred the downfall of the Ramessid line and with it the decline of prosperity and thus of further building activity in the west of Thebes. Another reason is that under the successors of Ramses III, Medinet Habu became the seat of administration for the west of Thebes and therefore was more important than other mortuary temples. Thus the temple of Medinet Habu has remained through the ages the best preserved and most impressive structure on the west bank and therefore is the most valuable source of information regarding typical Egyptian mortuary temples and the architecture of the later period of the pharaohs.

The initial step in the study of Medinet Habu is to become acquainted with the architectural features of the temple both as a whole and in detail. The countless reliefs and inscriptions<sup>2</sup> on its walls are considered only where they aid in reaching an understanding of the plan of the building. They are published by the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey, directed by Harold H. Nelson, under the title *Medinet Habu* in the "Oriental Institute Publications" series.

## ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION

## THE GREAT PYLON

Ramses III addresses Amon:

"Its (the temple's) pylons were of stone, looking (up) to the sky, inscribed and engraved with the chisel in the great name of thy majesty."

PAPYRUS HARRIS I iv 1-2

The Great Pylon (Folio Pls. 20 and 22-23)<sup>3</sup> is comparatively well preserved, with only the top courses of masonry lacking (Pl. 11). In contrast to pylons of the late period it is somewhat compact and thick for its height. It stands on a socle 40 cm. high  $\times$  67.80 m. long  $\times$  11.90 m. wide, while the base of the pylon itself measures 66.90  $\times$  11.10 m. From the decoration on the inner stairways and on the outer walls the original height can be determined to have been about 24.45 m.

On each side of the portal were two flagstaffs which stood in vertical recesses let into the batter of the wall to approximately half the height of the pylon. Above that point they stood free in order to clear the protruding cornice. The corners of the pylon are decorated with torus moldings which grow narrower as they rise; they measure 48 cm. in diameter at the bottom, but only 38 cm. at the height of 16 meters. The cavetto cornice shown in our reconstruction is not preserved but was restored on the basis of the side walls of the temple.

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II 1-62.

<sup>2</sup> Translations are due to the kindness of Nelson and other members of the Epigraphic Survey.

<sup>3</sup> See also *Medinet Habu* I, Pl. 6.

The portal was built after the pylon towers had been partially completed. It is an enormous structure, with inside measurements of  $3.90 \times 10.80$  m. (Fig. 1). This immense opening was provided with a one-leaved wooden door 4.45 m. wide and 11.05 m. high. Naturally a door of this size was extraordinarily heavy, and considerable force must have been required to move it. Therefore it was probably closed rather infrequently, perhaps only at night. For all ordinary purposes a smaller, double door in front of it was probably used instead, as its individual leaves ( $1.90 \times 4.10$  m.) were much easier to open and close. As may be observed in the reconstruction (Folio Pl. 23), the jambs of this smaller doorway were not connected by a lintel, so that it was easily possible for processions with tall standards to pass without hindrance. However, this type of door could be readily scaled and naturally was not an effective barrier. Thus the large strong door with its lock was indispensable. The fact that the jambs of the small double door have been chiseled away suggests that it had been abandoned in favor of a similar one constructed in later times near the other end of the entrance passage (see Fig. 1). This alteration, which probably was desirable from a practical viewpoint, was made, according to inscriptions on its walls, by the high priest of Amon and later king, Panedjem I, the son of Pi'ankh (Twenty-first Dynasty), who entitles himself "overseer of works on all construction of Amon in Thebes," and therefore did not occur until after the capture and partial destruction of Medinet Habu.<sup>4</sup>

It was usual in Egyptian temple doorways to decorate wall surfaces concealed by open doors with comparatively insignificant ornamentation arranged in horizontal bands, but not with cult representations. This applies in the present case only to the wall surface behind the great door, but not to those behind the small double doors.<sup>5</sup>

The pylon can be ascended by a stairway in the north tower which leads to a platform above the portal and thence continues to the top through both towers (Figs. 2-3). Each flight is in a narrow passage ( $0.90$  m. wide  $\times$   $1.80$  m. high) which contains the royal titulary in gigantic hieroglyphs on each wall. The pylon towers extend above the platform located over the portal,

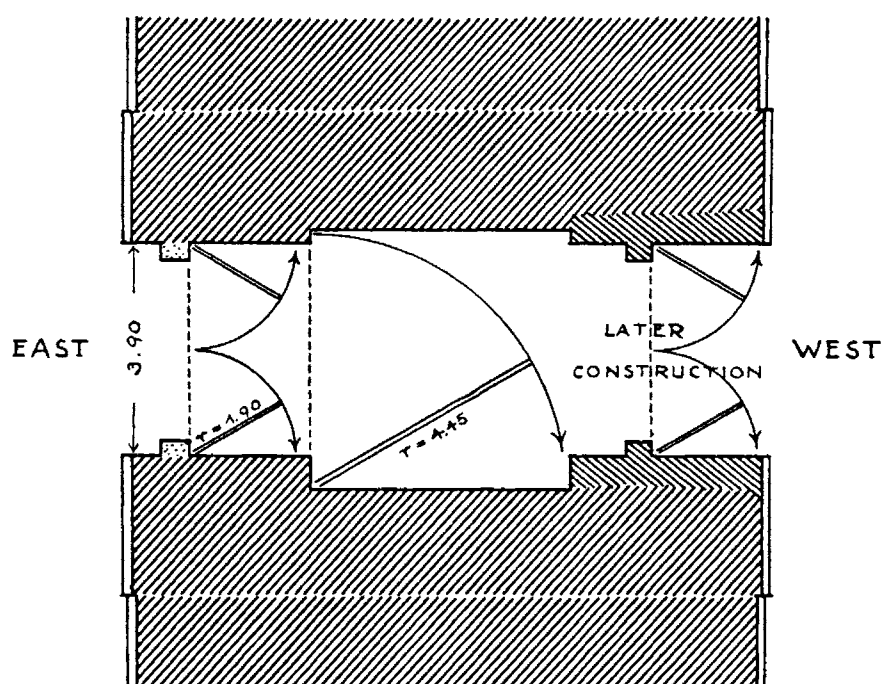


FIG. 1. GROUND PLAN OF THE PORTAL IN THE GREAT PYLON AT MEDINET HABU

which is inclosed by high parapets on the front and rear. The wall surfaces of the inclosure thus formed are inscribed with sun hymns and relevant reliefs, from which it is probably safe to conclude that worship of the rising and the setting sun regularly occurred either here or on the summits of the two pylon towers.

The four flagstaffs in front of the pylon (see above)<sup>6</sup> possessed particular significance in the cult, as may be observed from the dedicatory inscriptions beside their niches, where they are designated as the goddesses Nekhbet and Uto, Isis and Nephthys, as for example: ". . . the flagpole Uto at the great double door of his temple, its tip of genuine fine gold . . . ." <sup>7</sup> Unfortunately neither the flagstaffs nor their wooden fastenings,<sup>8</sup> which extended from the window-like apertures in the stone masonry, are preserved. For our reconstruction (Folio Pl. 23) we were therefore dependent upon ancient representations of pylons, especially the third pylon of the temple of Amon at Karnak, erected by Amenhotep III, as depicted in the temple of Luxor,<sup>9</sup> and the second pylon, erected by Harmhab, as represented in the court of the temple of Khonsu.<sup>10</sup> Other examples

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. V and *Medinet Habu* IV, Pls. 247-48.

<sup>5</sup> See *Medinet Habu* IV, Pls. 245-47.

<sup>6</sup> Most of the larger temples possessed four flagstaffs, but as a rule the smaller and the earlier temples had only two. The great imperial temple of Amon at Karnak possessed eight as early as the days of Amenhotep III, while the Aton temple at Tell el-Amarnah had ten.

<sup>7</sup> Translation according to Edgerton and Wilson, *SAOC* No. 12, Pl. 103:16.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. R. Engelbach, "The supports of the pylon flagstaves" (*Ancient Egypt* VIII [1923] 71-74).

<sup>9</sup> See Walther Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet* (Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten, "Veröffentlichungen" V [Leipzig, 1931] Pl. II 4).

<sup>10</sup> *LD* III 243 b.

occur in the tomb of Panehsi (Dhira' Abu el-Naga' No. 16)<sup>11</sup> and in the tomb of Amenhotep-si-se (Shaikh 'Abd el-Qurnah No. 75).<sup>12</sup> Each of these representations depicts the flagstaffs as extending considerably above the pylon, and we therefore estimate that those at Medinet Habu were 32–36 meters high. It is doubtless possible, but not probable, that a flagstaff of such length consisted of a single tree trunk. In any event other, much taller staffs, as for example those before the second pylon of Karnak, certainly were constructed of several pieces. And this must have been especially true for the first pylon of Karnak, which if completed would have been at least 45 meters high.<sup>13</sup> Its flagstaffs, then, would have been at least 60 meters high! Flagstaffs in ancient representations are usually painted red, occasionally yellow. Often they appear not to have been smoothly worked but show clearly the protruding ends of the lopped branches of the tree trunks. However, in our reconstruction (Folio Pl. 23) we have drawn the staffs as if they had been smoothly finished, with the implication that the picturing of the ends of branches was an artistic convention to indicate the type of material used rather than an effort to depict carelessly trimmed branches. I cannot imagine that in structures of such high technical perfection the flagstaffs were left comparatively rough. The staffs as a rule appear to have been set in metal

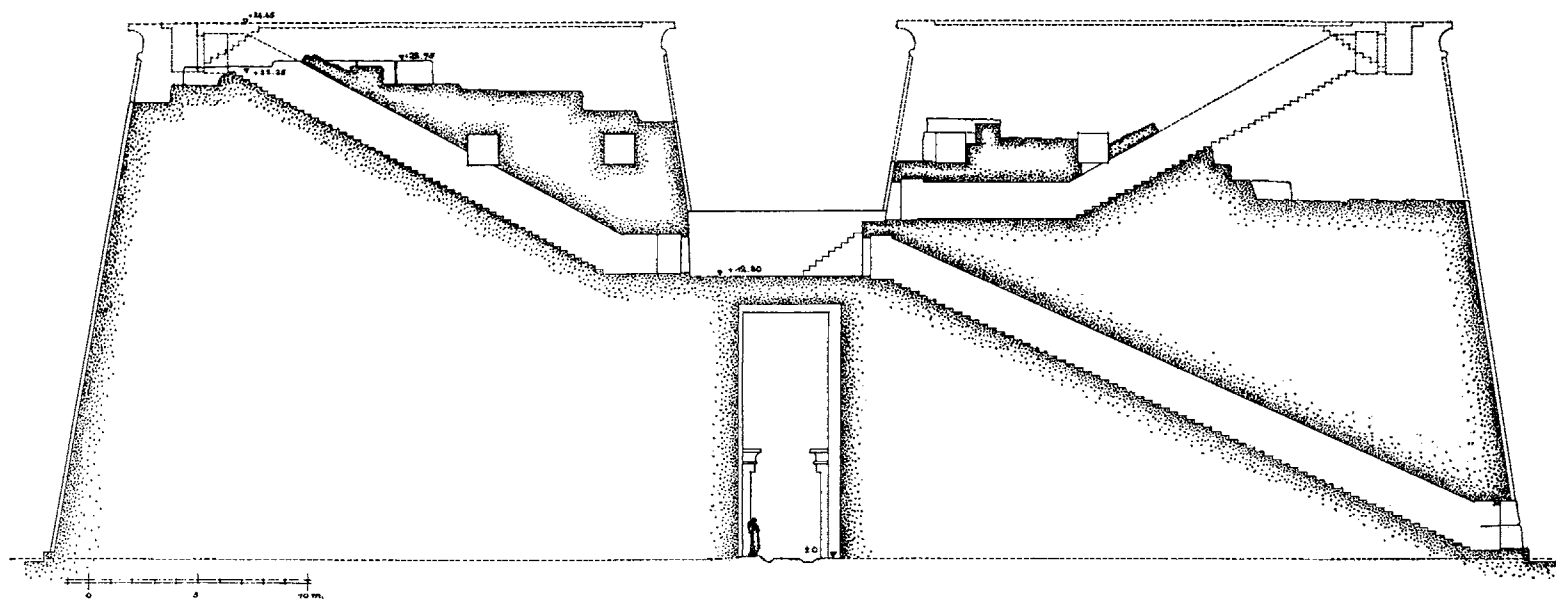


FIG. 2. LONGITUDINAL SECTION OF THE GREAT PYLON

sockets. In the second pylon of Karnak, according to representations in the temple of Khonsu, there were three pennants—blue, green, and red respectively—attached to each flagstaff. The number of pennants and their colors, however, appear not to have followed an invariable rule. Only two pennants, apparently red and white, are shown in the tomb of Panehsi, while in some cases only one pennant flutters from the top.

The decoration on the front of the Great Pylon at Medinet Habu is presented in our reconstruction (Folio Pl. 23).<sup>14</sup> The horizontal is in preponderance in the arrangement of the decoration. The flagstaffs, however, provide vertical balance in the composition as a whole. At the top below the torus molding were three lines of decoration.<sup>15</sup> Then followed a broad plain surface and under it pictorial representations.<sup>16</sup> Between the flagstaff niches are long inscriptions (see n. 14).<sup>17</sup> The frame of the great portal is decorated in the customary manner with small square scenes showing the king before various gods.<sup>18</sup> It projects slightly beyond the surface of the pylon, and the effect of this is emphasized at each side by a narrow band of undecorated white wall surface.

<sup>11</sup> See Walter Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altaegyptischen Kulturgeschichte I* (Leipzig, 1923) Pl. 114.

<sup>12</sup> See Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis the Fourth* (London, 1923) Pl. XIV.

<sup>13</sup> Georges Legrain in *Les temples de Karnak* (Paris, 1929) p. 35 estimates the planned height of the first pylon of Karnak to have been 53 meters, which appears to me, however, as a somewhat exaggerated figure.

<sup>14</sup> Several lines of inscription were omitted because they belong not to Ramses III but to his successors. Ceremonial representations under the horizontal lines of inscription between the flagstaff niches also were omitted, because they belong to Ramses IV (*Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 119 B–C). To have been absolutely consistent in following this principle we should have omitted also the ends of the vertical lines of inscription framing the flagstaff niches, as they were added under Ramses IV and usurped by Ramses VI (see Edgerton and Wilson, *SAOC* No. 12, Pl. 103, n. 16b).

<sup>15</sup> The topmost row is reconstructed from that on the rear of the pylon.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.* Pls. 84 and 104.

<sup>16</sup> *Medinet Habu II*, Pls. 76 B and 101–2.

<sup>18</sup> *Medinet Habu IV*, Pl. 244.

At each side of the portal is a small stela dated in the year 12 of Ramses III.<sup>19</sup> These are virtually imitations in miniature of the frame of the portal and form a good scale by which to judge its immensity. Not until later were their cornices let into the masonry. At the inner end of the passageway through the portal<sup>20</sup> the king is represented on each jamb as he recites the usual purification formula: “[Everyone who enters] the House of King Ramses III possessed of eternity in the estate of Amon, let them be twice and fourfold pure.”<sup>21</sup> The rear of the pylon also is decorated with reliefs and inscriptions.<sup>22</sup>

The brick Inner Inclosure Wall adjoined the ends of the pylon. Its cross-section is clearly recognizable, for, where it abutted, the stones were left rough (Pls. 26 and 30 *B*) while the pylon was elsewhere smoothly dressed and decorated with scenes and inscriptions. It is noteworthy that the entrance to the stairs in the north tower of the pylon (see Fig. 2) lies within the contour of the cross-section of the brick wall (Pl. 11). It would therefore appear that when construction of the Great Pylon was commenced its junction with the brick wall had not been clearly determined.

### THE FIRST COURT

(The king made) . . . a divine forecourt for the lord of gods so that he might rise and shine in it.

GREAT PYLON, REAR, NEAR TOP  
OF SOUTH TOWER, SOUTH END

The first court (Pl. 16), between the two pylons, is terminated on the north and south by colonnades *in antis* (Pls. 14–15) which stand on socles 10 cm. high (Fig. 3). The south colonnade<sup>23</sup> forms the portico of the royal

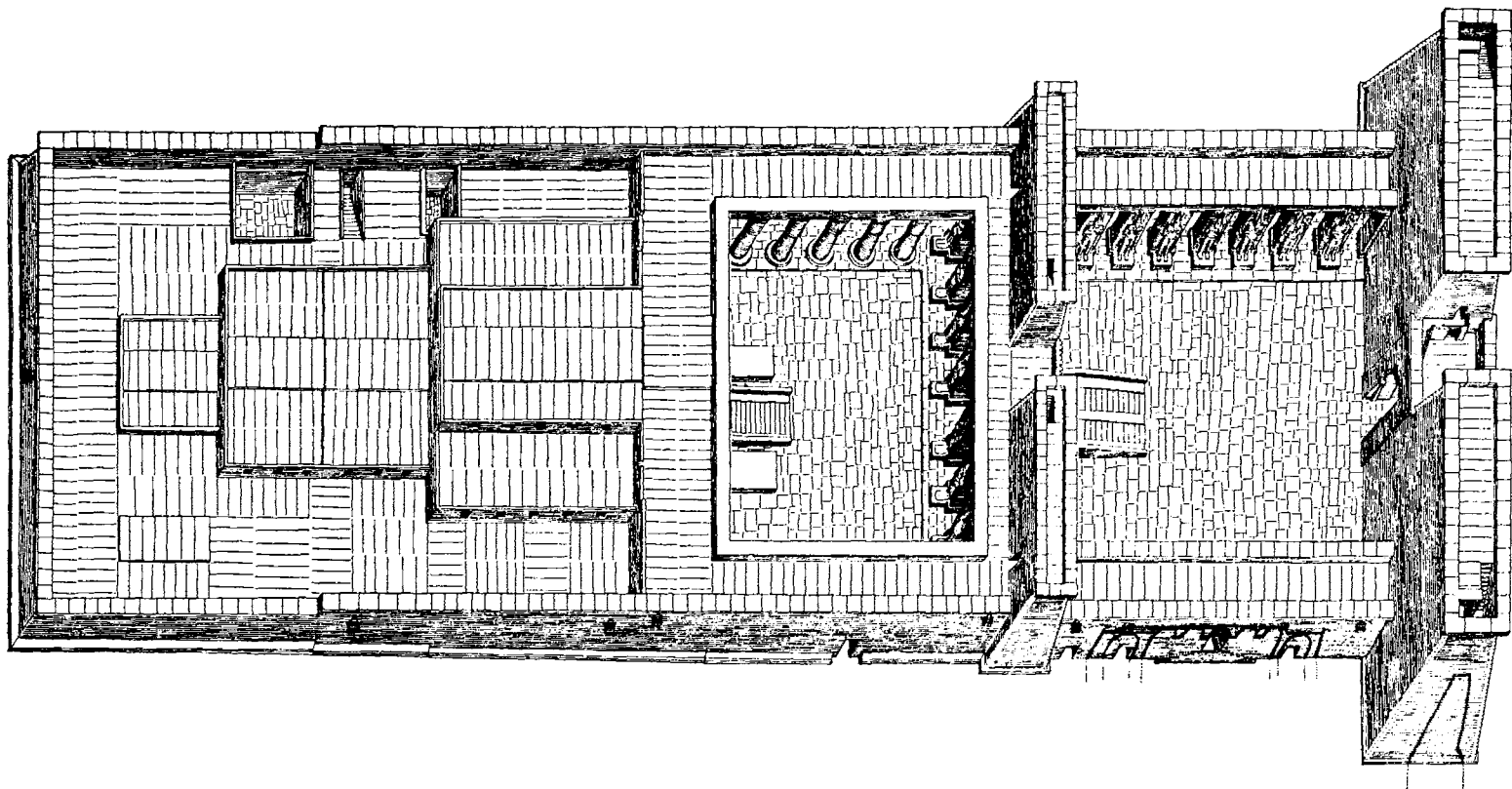


FIG. 3. THE TEMPLE FROM ABOVE. RECONSTRUCTION

palace (see Folio Pl. 20) but here is considered merely as the south termination of the first court. It has eight thick columns with open-papyrus capitals. One is scarcely conscious of the fact that the columns are irregularly spaced (see p. 39). Our colored reconstruction (Folio Pl. 24) is intended to convey an impression of the original effect produced by this colonnade with its excessively elaborate reliefs, inscriptions, and other ornamentation.

The north colonnade is formed by pillars with engaged royal statues. Each pillar and statue (9.28 m. high) is a single structural unit formed of course upon course of enormous sandstone blocks (Pl. 18 *B*). The statues have become part of the architecture; their very massiveness is conditioned by this idea and from it they receive their aesthetic motivation (Pl. 1). All the statues are alike—Ramses III with the fantastic *3/f*-crown on his

<sup>19</sup> *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 128.

<sup>21</sup> From north jamb (*ibid.* Pl. 247 *H*).

<sup>20</sup> *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 247.

<sup>22</sup> *Medinet Habu* II, Pls. 61, 67, 116–17.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Pls. 59–60 and 120–22.

head, his arms crossed on his breast in the Osiride position, with crook in his right hand and flail in his left. A nameless miniature figure stands at each side, on the west a prince, on the east a princess. These small figures are approximately life-size and consequently offer an excellent scale of comparison with the larger one of the king. These colossal statues are discussed in greater detail below (pp. 35 f.). A small doorway leads through the wall behind the north colonnade to the magazines located outside the temple (Folio Pl. 2).

#### THE SECOND PYLON

He (Ramses III) made a monument for his father Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>, the making for him of a great portal of beautiful red granite, (with the) door of cedar bound with copper (and with) figure(s) of *ḏm* gold, the name of which is: "Beautiful is Ramses, for Amon Rejoices at Seeing It."

SECOND PYLON, FRONT, BOTTOM  
OF DOORJAMBS (SEE PL. 17 A)

The second pylon (Pl. 16 and Folio Pl. 21) resembles the first exactly as to form but is somewhat smaller. However, compensation for its lack of size is achieved by the costly material (red granite) of its portal (Pl. 17 A), for this is the only place in the temple where granite was used in construction. This doorway, with its single-leaved door, was significant since it formed the entrance to the court of the temple proper, which fact may have had some bearing on the choice of material. It is approached by a wide ramp with low parapets. The frame of the portal resembles that of the first pylon, with the additional decorative feature above the cavetto cornice of a row of apes in adoration of the rising sun. A platform above the portal is accessible from the roof terrace of the second court (see p. 21), whence a narrow stairway mounts through each pylon tower to its summit (see Fig. 3). The original height of the pylon can be determined only approximately. It was impossible to ascertain whether there were three bands of ornamentation below the cavetto cornice, as on the first pylon, or only two.

#### THE SECOND COURT

He (the king) made for him (Amon) a festival hall facing his *rîd*, surrounded by very great monuments; it appears like the horizon of heaven.<sup>24</sup>

SECOND PYLON, REAR, TOP OF SOUTH TOWER

The second court is the true court of the temple proper. It is surrounded by colonnades. Those along the front and rear walls have square pillars with engaged statues of the Osiride king, while those at the sides consist of columns with papyrus-bud capitals. In the north colonnade the middle column is missing. It was removed during the Coptic period, when this court contained the Holy Church of Jēme, the apse of which protruded into the north colonnade. There are many other traces of that medieval construction which was so disastrous to the Ramessid temple.<sup>25</sup> The Osiris statues in particular were unsuitable in a Christian church and were removed except for the northernmost one in each row. These are preserved to the height of the breast (Pl. 20 B) and can be reconstructed from better preserved examples in the second court of the Ramesseum (Pl. 39 A). However, the crowns are missing in the statues of both temples. We have assumed in our reconstruction (Folio Pl. 21) that the statues in the right half of the court at Medinet Habu wore the red crown of the North while those in the other half were adorned with the white crown of the South, just as was the case in Ramses III's temple within the great inclosure of Amon at Karnak.<sup>26</sup> But since a fragment of a double crown was recently found in the rubbish outside the temple at Medinet Habu, I am now inclined to believe that double crowns were used possibly on all the statues there and certainly on those on the north side of the court.

The rear (west) colonnade (Pl. 17 B) differs from the other three in two respects. In the first place, it is a double colonnade containing a row of Osiride pillars in front of a row of papyrus columns (e.g. Pl. 18 A) similar

<sup>24</sup> Nelson has made the following suggestions: Since this inscription is on that face of the second pylon which overlooks the second court, it would seem to indicate that the "festival hall" is really the second court. The "festival hall" is "surrounded by monuments," which description would seem to apply best to the second court, since it is surrounded by columns and Osiride pillars. It is possible also that the reliefs of the great feasts which are found on the walls of the second court depict ceremonies that took place, at least in part, therein. The *rîd* seems to be the terrace of the temple proper, and the "festival hall" is in front of the *rîd*.

<sup>25</sup> The ruins of the Coptic church were not removed until Medinet Habu was cleared; see Vol. V for detailed discussion.

<sup>26</sup> Henri Chevrier, *Le temple reposoir de Ramsès III à Karnak* (Le Caire, 1933) p. 13.



in form to those in the side colonnades. Furthermore, it stands on a socle 1.20 m. high which forms a terrace considerably higher than the pavements of the other three colonnades (see Pl. 20 B). This columned terrace, designated by the Egyptian word *rid*, forms the portico of the temple proper. The socle is surmounted by a cavetto cornice. The terrace is a common feature of temples of the New Kingdom; compare, for example, the Luxor temple (before alterations were made in the court) and especially the small temple of Ramses III within the inclosure of Amon at Karnak,<sup>27</sup> also the festival temple of Amenhotep II and the Ptolemaic temple of Epet at Karnak. In all these examples a socle with cavetto cornice occurs along the lateral and in some cases the rear walls also, while at Medinet Habu on the sides and rear there is only a plain batter (see Pls. 11–13).

The portico was separated from the court by screens built between the Osiride pillars. They have been preserved in the northern- and southernmost intervals (Pl. 20), while but few traces remain of the others. The screens consisted of stone slabs 2.38 m. high and 0.38 m. thick, decorated on the exterior with reliefs, and crowned with cavetto cornice and serpent frieze. The screens were later additions, though still under Ramses III, since they cover portions of the inscriptions on the pillars.

In the middle of the portico there was a double door 2.74 m. wide and 2.60 m. high. The doorway is without a lintel (Fig. 4 and Pl. 17 B) and is thus similar to the small doorways in the first pylon (cf. Figs. 1–2). The sill is of quartzite. A wide ramp with very low steps leads up to it, but the parapets are not preserved. A masonry socle for a colossal seated figure of the king stands at each side of this ramp. Only fragments of the base and feet of the north colossus, made of hard white limestone, are preserved (Pl. 17 B).<sup>28</sup> The sides of the base are carved with representations of nome gods bearing gifts (e.g. Pl. 38 B). If we judge by the size of the socles, the statues must have been 10 to 11 meters high.

The lateral colonnades and the inner row of the portico consist of papyrus bundle-columns with bud capitals in the style characteristic of the Ramessid period, that is, inclosed as it were in a smooth casing (as though turned on a lathe; see p. 35), and decorated with reliefs (Pls. 18 A and 20 B). The second court has two side entrances. A narrow doorway (1.18 × 2.92 m.) at the north end of the terrace<sup>29</sup> was used for bringing offerings into the temple, according to an inscription on its west jamb which reads: "The good god, abundant of fowl, who makes festive the treasury with good things and fills his House with sustenance daily, with gold and with every (kind of) fine costly stone." The other doorway is in the center of the south wall of the court and probably led to repositories and a well located at no great distance outside the temple (see Fig. 34).

On the walls behind the colonnades are depicted various feasts and valorous exploits of the ruler. In the upper register of the north wall and the adjoining section of the east wall occurs the famous representation of the Feast of Min,<sup>30</sup> while correspondingly on the south half of the east wall and on the south wall is the Feast of Sokar.<sup>31</sup> On the west wall, above the socle, is a long row of royal princes with their names and titles. Those who later became king had the uraeus serpent added to their brows and their names inclosed in royal cartouches at the time of their ascension to the throne. The architraves (see Folio Pl. 21) contain long dedicatory texts.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.* Pls. I and VI.

<sup>28</sup> These fragments were found by Daressy in the rubbish outside the temple. The design and execution of the reliefs are so fine that it seems probable that the statues date from the Eighteenth Dynasty rather than the Twentieth. It is possible that they were statues of Amenhotep III or Harmhab taken by Ramses III from a neighboring temple.

<sup>29</sup> See *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 126 B.

<sup>30</sup> See *Medinet Habu* IV, Pls. 196–208.

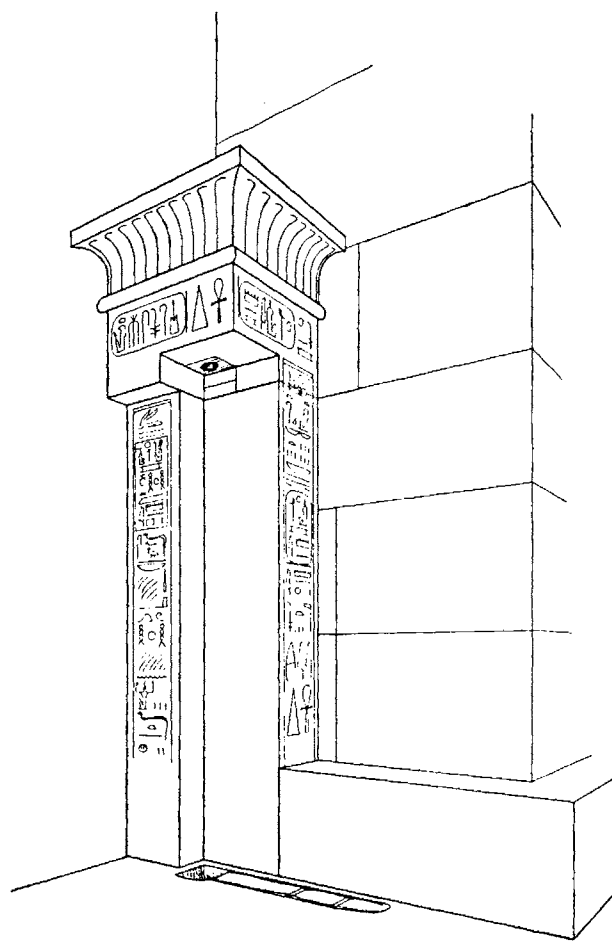


FIG. 4. SOUTH JAMB OF THE ENTRANCE FROM THE SECOND COURT TO THE TEMPLE PORTICO (CF. PL. 17 B)

<sup>31</sup> See *ibid.* Pls. 196 and 218–26.

## THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

## THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

He (Ramses III) made as a monument for his father Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>, king of gods, the making for him of an august temple of excellent, eternally enduring work, provisioned and overflowing day and night, while Amon rests in his palace and the Ennead who are in Karnak rejoice at its beauty.

SECOND COURT, FRIEZE ON NORTH WALL

The entrance to the actual temple was formed by a colossal double door (2.75×5.70 m.). The doorjambs were finished with gesso and decorated with reliefs and costly fayence inlays and metal.<sup>32</sup> On both sides of the

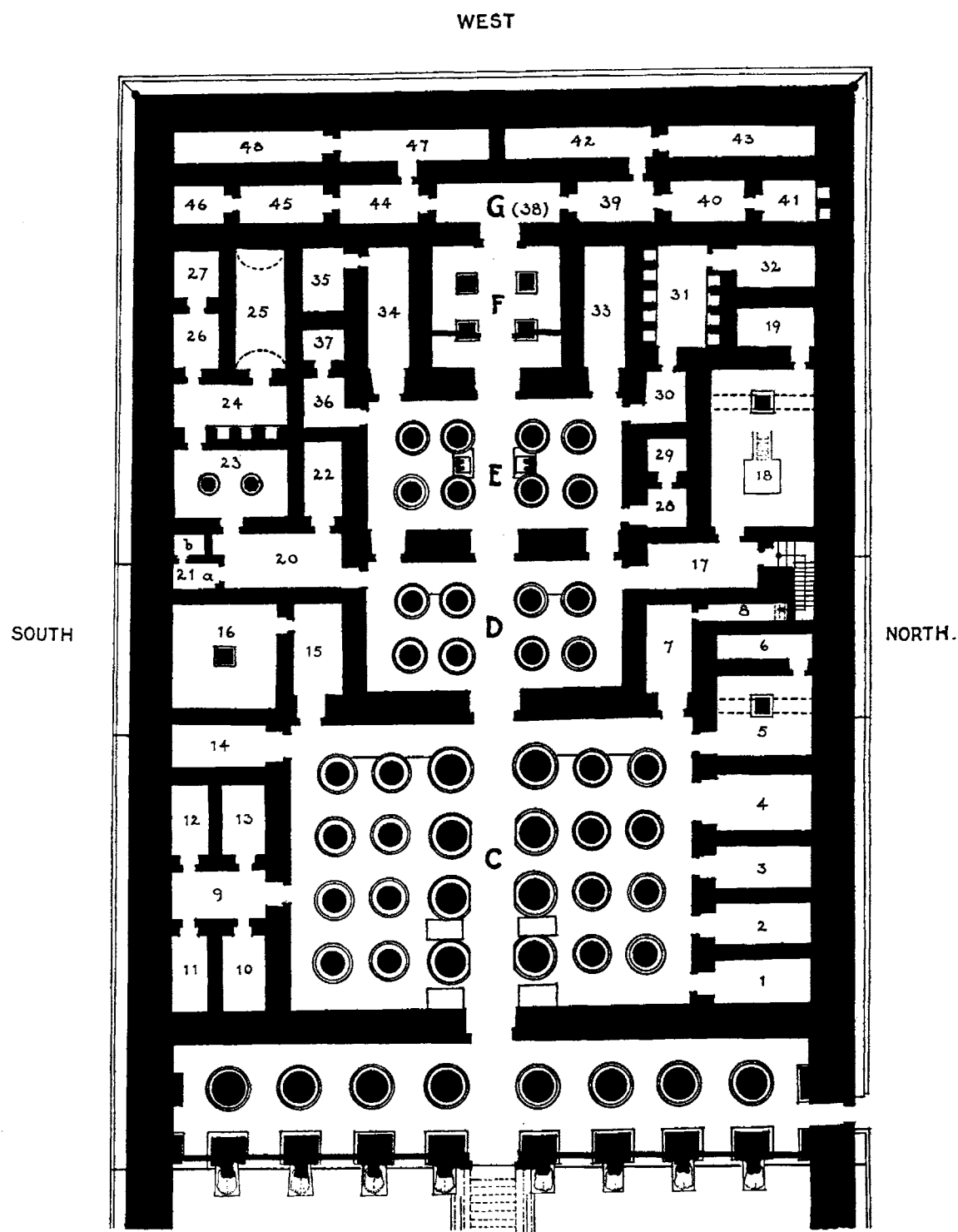


FIG. 5. GROUND PLAN OF THE ROOFED PORTION OF THE TEMPLE

west face (Pl. 19) the king is represented reciting the purification formula: "Everyone who enters the House of King Ramses III possessed of eternity in the estate of Amon, let them be twice and fourfold pure."<sup>33</sup>

Let us now step inside the temple itself (Folio Pls. 20-21). The main rooms lie one behind another and are all centered on the main axis of the temple. They are in order (Fig. 5):

<sup>32</sup> See Vol. IV for technical and artistic details.

<sup>33</sup> From north doorjamb.

- The great hypostyle hall (*C*)
- The second hypostyle hall (*D*)
- The third hypostyle hall (*E*)
- The room of the sacred bark (*F*)
- The holy of holies (*G*).

As one advances from front to rear these main rooms are successively smaller, their floor levels rise, and their ceilings became lower (see Fig. 3), while the lighting doubtless grew dimmer and dimmer. The doors connecting the main rooms were wide and two-leaved, so that there was ample space for a procession to advance. Thus far the arrangement of the rooms is clear and simple. Confusion is apparent, however, as soon as one turns to the numerous small rooms of various shapes which adjoin the main chambers. They convey a truly labyrinthine impression. Unfortunately the main rooms as well as the side rooms are preserved only to a height of 1–2 meters except a few small chambers along the outer walls of the temple which are fully preserved (see Pls. 22–23).<sup>34</sup> Thus most of the reliefs and informative inscriptions are lacking, so that we have little or no knowledge of the purpose of many of the rooms.

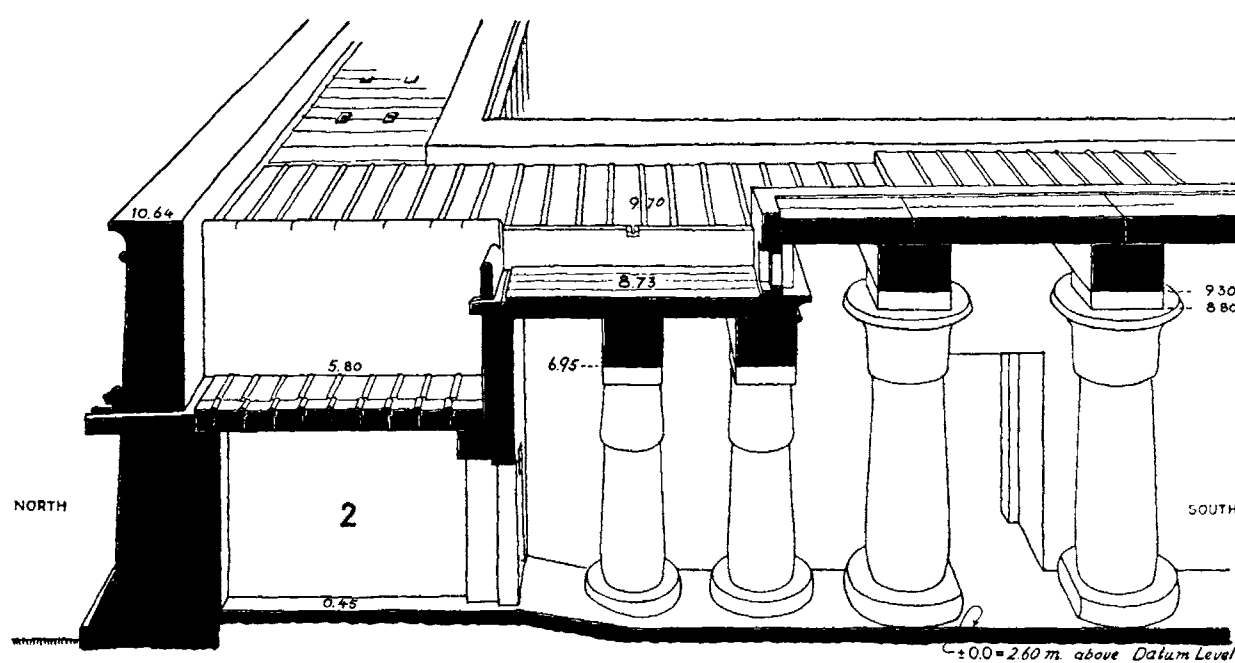


FIG. 6. CROSS-SECTION THROUGH THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL AND CHAPEL 2. PARTIAL RECONSTRUCTION

The inside measurements of the great hypostyle hall (Pls. 22 *B* and 23) are 26.30 × 18.90 m. (50 × 36 Egyptian ells), and it contains six rows of four columns each. The columns in the two center rows are thicker and were originally higher than the others. They are 2.20 m. in diameter, and the imprints of the architraves still present on the east wall indicate that they were 9.30 m. high (Fig. 6). The other columns are only 1.66 m. in diameter. Their original height also (6.95 m.) can be read on the east wall. Further, one may note that the roof beams over the side aisles were located at 8.20 m. and the tops of the beams at 8.73 m. above the pavement of the hall. All these traces indicate that the great hypostyle hall was basilican, as in the Ramesseum (Pl. 39 *B*) and other temples of the Nineteenth and the Twentieth Dynasty—that is, the roof over the central aisle or nave was higher than that over the side aisles, and the nave was lighted with clerestory windows. We do not know whether there were clerestory windows in the side aisles also, since nothing whatever is preserved of any such windows, but have assumed that such was the case (see Fig. 3).

Unfortunately at Medinet Habu mere truncated remains of the columns are preserved, the highest of which is only 2.60 m. These are somewhat bellied, with eight basal leaves, which according to Egyptian convention indicate that the columns were papyriform. By comparison with the Ramesseum (Pl. 39 *B*) it would appear that the great columns along the central aisle had open-papyrus capitals similar to those of the south colonnade in the first court (Pl. 14), while the small columns had bud capitals like those in the second court (Pl. 20). Along

<sup>34</sup> In the cross-sections on Folio Pls. 20–21 the parts of the structure which are restored are indicated by simple horizontal shading with omission of all vertical lines.

the central aisle the bases of all but the last pair of columns have been sliced off (see Fig. 5), thus creating a passage 3.10 m. wide for processions. The crudeness with which these segments were removed suggests a later alteration.

The floor of the great hypostyle hall consists of great slabs of sandstone. At more or less regular intervals there are holes about 30 cm. deep which have been closed with patches of stone (Folio Pl. 20). On both sides of the central passage the holes are square, while the rest (except one) are round (35–40 cm. in diameter). These obviously held scaffolding erected after the temple had been constructed for use in the final dressing of the wall surfaces and columns and in applying the thin coating of gypsum plaster upon which the wall decorations were sketched, carved, and finally painted.<sup>35</sup> Outlines and remains of sandstone socles (2.00×1.50 or 1.35 m.) are still present on the pavement. These are similar to socles found in corresponding positions in the Ramesseum (e.g. Pl. 39 B, right foreground) and were probably designed for statues.

The floor along the rear wall is elevated 50 cm. and forms a terrace at the same level as the floor of the second hypostyle hall (see Pl. 23). A ramp, now destroyed, intersected this small terrace and led up to the doorway. Similar ramps are located in front of Chapels 7 and 15 (see Fig. 5). In front of Chapels 1–4 the entire pavement rises as a ramp (see Fig. 6 and Pl. 22 B).

The wall reliefs, in so far as they are preserved, for the most part depict the king performing cult ceremonies before the gods or receiving from them the gifts of longevity and duration of reign. But on the south wall the king presents prisoners and war trophies to Amon and on the west wall, the larger portion of which has disappeared, the royal princes were represented.

#### THE CHAPELS ADJOINING THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL

The four chapels along the right (north) side of the great hypostyle hall are somewhat similar to one another. Chapel 4, which apparently contained the bark of Ptah-Sokar, was distinguished by a greater width and an imposing two-leaved door (2.55×3.65 m.). An alabaster statue of Ptah (head missing) was found in Daressy's excavations in the first court and was placed in this chapel (Pl. 21 A). Its base bears the name of Amenhotep III, and therefore it was probably removed by Ramses III from temple ruins of that king. Chapels 1–3 are narrower and had single-leaved doors (1.20×3.05 m.). The inside height of all four is the same (about 4.80 m.). The walls, doorways, and even some of the ceilings are well preserved. There were no windows; light and air entered exclusively through the open doorways from the great hypostyle hall. In Chapel 1, where the living king was worshiped, the rear wall was torn down when the temple was degraded to a quarry, as blocks of stone could easily be transported through this aperture. The Copts used this opening as an entrance to the interior of the temple, which was filled with dwellings;<sup>36</sup> and finally Daressy closed it again as it had been in antiquity. It is noticeable that the walls between Chapels 2 and 3 and between 3 and 4 have settled considerably, so that wide cracks and breaks appear in the masonry. It may be assumed that under the floor are hollow spaces of an earlier building period which were not properly filled with gravel and sand when Ramses III began his construction.

In regard to the pictorial representations in these chapels we wish to note a fact that holds true for all of the cult chambers. Complete study of the reliefs and inscriptions will doubtless reveal to a certain extent the purposes of the individual cult chambers, but for the present I can only call attention to certain conspicuous representations which appear to me to throw light on the subject. I shall confine myself to considering the deities to whom the individual rooms were dedicated and shall forego any attempt to determine what purposes in the cult the rooms served. The temples of the pharaohs, and especially that at Medinet Habu, present very little material in answer to this latter question. Only in the late period do the springs of information flow more copiously, but as yet these have not been sufficiently tapped.

The great majority of the wall reliefs in our temple consist of scenes in which the king stands before a god. Often this god is accompanied by other divinities of his circle, or the king is led by protecting deities. When in any room all scenes present one and the same god as the principal participant in the cult—usually in such cases it is Amon in one of his various forms—it is clear that this god may be considered the possessor of the room.

<sup>35</sup> See Vol. IV, esp. Fig. 36.

<sup>36</sup> See Vol. V.

For the most part a miniature repetition of the main scene or a brief reference to the principal divinity is found in or above the entrance, either outside or inside. The other scenes are related to the main representation in some manner, and often those on opposite side walls may be regarded as counterparts. Thus we were able to determine that some chapels were dedicated not to Amon—to whom in the widest sense the entire temple belonged—but to other divinities, who here were guests of Amon and participated in a guest cult. However, as a rule even in the chapels of the guest divinities at least one representation refers to Amon, the host, or to the Theban Triad. Let us now observe these side chapels in more detail.

Chapel 1 obviously served for the cult of the king. The representation on the main (north) wall has disappeared, but outside the room, west of the entrance, we see the king embraced by the ithyphallic Amon-Kamutef. On the two lateral walls the enthroned king is represented with the queen behind him and before him princes (west wall) or princesses (east wall) bearing offerings. Here therefore it is a matter not of offerings for the divine king but of gifts for an earthly, living king. Incidentally, it is of interest that the cartouches of the queen as well as the spaces for the names of the royal sons and daughters have been left blank.

Chapel 2, according to an inscription in the doorway, is dedicated to Ptah. On the main wall Ptah is represented standing, along with a companion goddess. On the side walls are other representations of Ptah, as well as of Amon of Karnak and Amon *m ht k3 Pth*.<sup>37</sup>

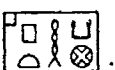
According to its main representation (on the north wall) Chapel 3 belongs to an Osiris seated in his naos. On the side walls are standards of mortuary goddesses and the like.

Chapel 4,<sup>38</sup> the largest in the row, has on the main (north) wall representations of Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen standing back to back, with a figure of the king before each. Ptah is stated to be *hry ib*<sup>39</sup> the temple of Medinet Habu. On the left (west) side wall appears the bark (*hnw*) of Ptah-Sokar, which must have actually stood in this room, thereby necessitating the unusually large doorway. The ceiling is covered with yellow stars on a blue background, with a band of inscription in the center. Above the entrance Ptah and Ptah-Tatenen are seated back to back, with the king before each. On the outer faces of the doorjambs the king participates in the cult, and in the lowest line of inscription is the name of the door: "Ramses III Who Endows Offerings" (Pl. 21 *A*).

Chapel 14 is the counterpart of Chapel 4; it belonged to the divine Ramses II, although the main scene (on the south wall) shows the reigning king, Ramses III, before Kamutef. The representations on the two side walls clearly refer to the cult of Ramses II: on the right (west) Ramses II is seated on the throne behind the Theban Triad, and on the left is his bark, which is named "Ramses II Unites Himself with Thebes." The bark must have stood in the chamber, thus requiring a comparatively large doorway (1.60×3.15 m.).

Chapels 7 and 15, to the right and left of the second hypostyle hall, have more important positions than the side chapels of similar size just discussed, as they lie parallel to the main axis of the temple (see Fig. 5). Unfortunately they are largely destroyed. The fact that the doorways are wide (1.55 m.) and had two-leaved doors leads to the supposition that these chambers were designed for sacred barks. In Chapel 15 this supposition is confirmed by a representation on the north wall in which meager remains of a bark standing in a shrine may be discerned. The inscription above the socle of the north wall states that Ramses III made "for his father Montu . . . an august sanctuary." Adjoining this chapel on the south side is a large square room (16) with a square pillar in the center, above which an architrave (bottom at 3.75 m.) extending from east to west supported the stone slabs of the roof. It was therefore a completely covered room and not a semi-open court such as Room 5 (see below), which was similar in ground plan. Most of the north wall is destroyed. On the remaining three walls the king is represented before Kamutef, the Theban Triad, and twice before Montu the Lord of Thebes. The room appears therefore to have belonged to the chapel of Montu (15).

In Chapel 7 only the relief on the north (side) wall is preserved. Here the king is depicted as he is conducted into the presence of Amon of Medinet Habu by Mut and Khonsu. If a bark stood in this room, as we may assume from its symmetry with Chapel 15, I am inclined to suspect that it was that of the divine king Ramses III (see p. 31). The adjoining room (8), which is small and narrow, is located under the stairs that lead from Room 17 to the roof (p. 15). The reliefs on its side walls show Nile gods ascending (cf. p. 15, n. 44).

<sup>37</sup> 

<sup>38</sup> See *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 227.

<sup>39</sup> .

## THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

## THE "SLAUGHTERHOUSE"

The "slaughterhouse" consists of an approximately square court (5) and a chamber (6). The west half of the court is roofed. A square pillar bears the architrave which supports the stone ceiling (Fig. 7).<sup>40</sup> In the north-west corner a low ramp (25 cm. high) leads to the rear chamber, which is without a light opening. The location

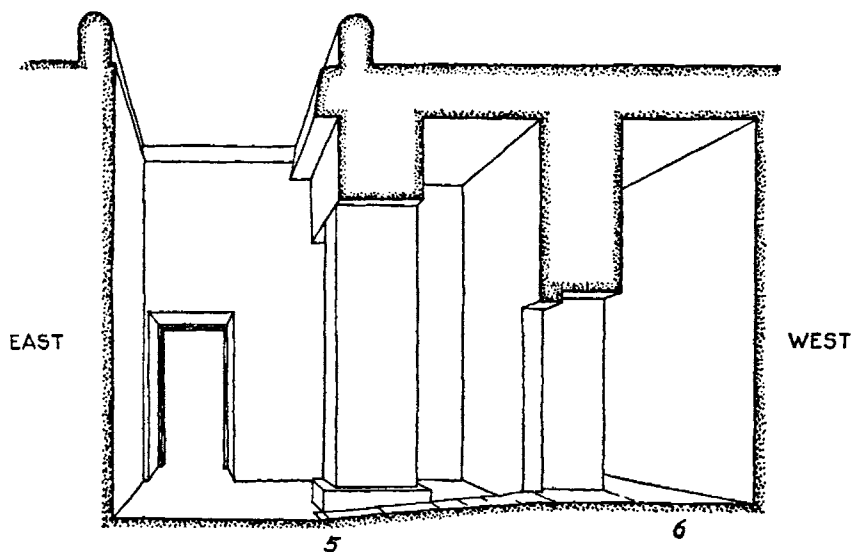


FIG. 7. CROSS-SECTION THROUGH THE "SLAUGHTERHOUSE" (ROOMS 5-6)

of these rooms at a remote corner of the great hypostyle hall, the narrowness of the entrance (1.20 m.), and the lack of both water supply and drainage make it difficult to believe, in spite of the wall reliefs, that animals, especially large cattle, were actually slaughtered here. This activity doubtless was performed outside the temple. As previously stated (p. 9), the doorway in the north wall of the portico of the temple was used for bringing offerings into the temple. Presumably therefore the joints of meat were only prepared (possibly roasted) in the so-called "slaughterhouse."

From the wall reliefs of the "slaughterhouse"<sup>41</sup> one sees that in the court Amon and his Theban associates held first place, while the gods of Heliopolis, Memphis, and Abydos played a secondary

role. Chamber 6 is dedicated exclusively to the Theban Triad.

## THE TREASURY

The treasury (Rooms 9-13) is excellently preserved on the whole. It consists of a central room (9) with two chambers adjoining on the right and two on the left. The entire group of rooms therefore could be closed off by a single door. The doorway was originally a low aperture 1.34 m. high, that is, as high as the base of the wall decoration. Later it was enlarged to its present height of 2.92 m., and thus it cut through completed wall reliefs of the great hypostyle hall. Stone benches, on which certain valuable objects were kept, stand against the rear walls of the two west chambers (12-13). These benches were constructed of slabs 113 cm. high by 70 and 90 cm. wide. Similar benches may have been present in the other chambers also.<sup>42</sup> All of these five chambers obtain their dim light and meager ventilation through small square openings in the roof. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century (i.e., before the clearing of the temple began) this group of rooms was the only one which still had its stone roof preserved and which was also accessible. The entrance was through an opening which had been broken into the rear wall of the temple portico.

As we may observe from the interesting and comparatively well preserved reliefs and inscriptions,<sup>43</sup> the treasury contained various valuable objects belonging to the temple, namely gold, silver, semiprecious stones, costly vessels, precious materials in bags, panther skins, royal linen, and gum from Punt.

## THE SECOND HYPOSTYLE HALL

The doorway connecting the great hypostyle hall (C) and the second hypostyle hall (D) was decorated in the same elaborate manner as the entrance from the second court to the great hypostyle hall (see p. 10); that is, the surfaces were covered with gesso and decorated with inlays and metal. The two-leaved door was of about the same width (2.80 m.) as the other, but its height, which can no longer be determined, was presumably less.

<sup>40</sup> See also *Medinet Habu* III, Pl. 171.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid.* Pls. 172-80.

<sup>42</sup> Seele has made the following suggestions: That all of the four side rooms contained furniture even along the side walls is shown by the fact that the vertical inscriptions on the insides of the doorjambs were all altered with plaster so that they ended considerably above their original termination. There may have been benches made of wood, or wooden chests or cupboards instead.

<sup>43</sup> Nelson notes that the decorations seem to have been copied at least in part from the Ramesseum, for on one of the fragments from that temple, now reused in the Eighteenth Dynasty temple at Medinet Habu, is a portion of a relief similar to that on the south wall of Room 12.

The second hypostyle hall (16.80×8.40 m. = 32×16 Egyptian ells) is considerably smaller than the preceding hall. There are only eight columns, all alike in form and size (1.55 m. in diameter). Unfortunately they, like the surrounding walls, are preserved to a height of only about 1.50–2.00 m. The columns were papyriform, presumably with bud capitals. It has been impossible to ascertain their exact original height. This hall differs from the great hypostyle hall in that it was not basilican. Windows were probably set high in its walls (see Folio Pl. 21), as in the Ramesseum. A raised terrace (53 cm. high) along the rear wall is interrupted by ramps leading to the three doorways in this wall.

#### THE SANCTUARY OF RE<sup>c</sup>-HARAKHTE

On the north the second hypostyle hall connects with a group of rooms (Fig. 8) which were designed for the cult of the sun god Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte and his circle of Heliopolitan deities. Stairs lead from a vestibule (17) to the roof (see p. 21). The one-leaved door leading into the vestibule was narrow (1.20 m.), from which fact it is obvious that no large bark or similar object could have been transported into these rooms. A bench or massive table (1.50×0.74 m.) stands against the rear (north) wall of the vestibule. Its top slab is destroyed, so that one can only estimate that its original height was about 0.75 m. There are cartouches of Ramses III along the front of it. Daressy placed upon it a granite statue group of the Theban Triad which he found somewhere in his excavations. This group fits the platform fairly well in size, but it could hardly have stood here originally, as the figures conceal the wall reliefs. A semiopen court (18) is connected with the vestibule by a wide doorway which carried a two-leaved door (1.58×3.05 m.). One end of the room was roofed with slabs supported by an architrave resting upon a square pillar, as in the "slaughterhouse" court (5). Behind the court is a dark chamber (19) accessible by a ramp 20 cm. high. The principal feature of the court was an altar, traces of which were found in 1934 after we removed the concrete floor filled in by Daressy and Barsanti. The altar measured 2.10 by approximately 1.80 m. and was approached from the west by stairs 85 cm. wide.

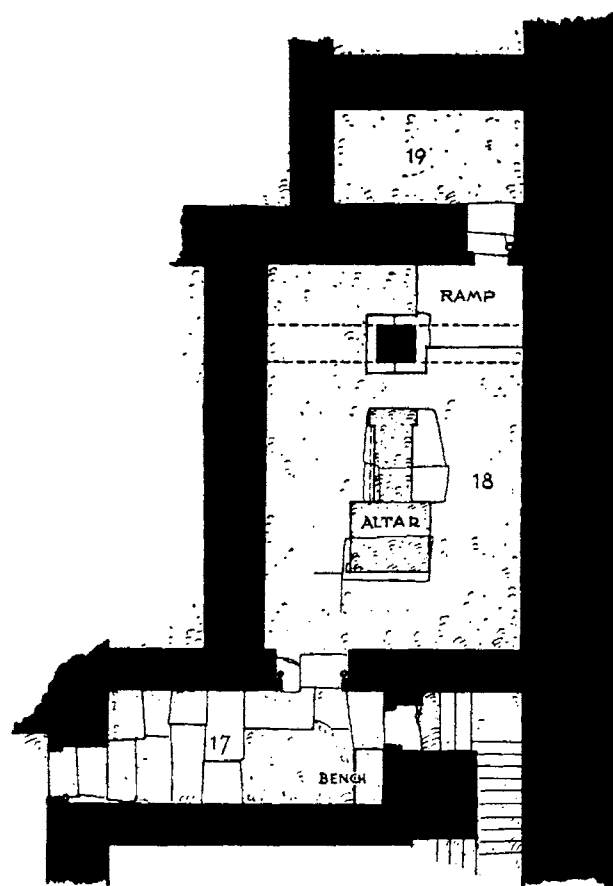


FIG. 8. GROUND PLAN OF THE SANCTUARY OF RE<sup>c</sup>-HARAKHTE (ROOMS 17-19)

The reliefs on the main (west) wall of the vestibule (17) show the king being led by a goddess(?) into the presence of Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte, with the formula usually accompanying such scenes. Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte welcomes him "to thy temple which is in Thebes." On the opposite wall the king is being purified by Inmutef. Behind the king are six gods of heaven and earth. Along the walls of the stairway leading to the roof is a procession of Nile gods ascending.<sup>44</sup> This stairway may have led to a chapel, of which nothing is preserved, for the morning prayer.

In the altar court the principal representation is on the west wall, the rear wall of the pillared portico, where the kneeling king recites a long prayer to Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte. Above the doorway to Room 19 the king, on a smaller scale, is represented in the company of other gods as he travels in the sun bark in the evening. On the four sides of the pillar are shown the Heliopolitan gods Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte and Atum as well as Amon the King of the Gods and Amon the Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands. On the architrave the evening sun in its bark is shown. The rising sun supported by Isis and Nephthys is represented on the east wall of the court. On the north wall are shown the midnight sun in its bark and the king, accompanied by apes, greeting the rising sun, besides various ka and ba divinities as protective deities of the king.<sup>45</sup> The small rear chamber (19) again shows Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte and Atum as well as Amon in his two principal forms.

<sup>44</sup> Nelson suggests that possibly this procession is conceived of as a continuation of the one in Room 8 below the stairs (see p. 13).

<sup>45</sup> Nelson calls attention to the fact that on the north, east, and south walls of this room the king everywhere performs the same act before the ka and ba deities, namely "elevating food offerings."

## THE MORTUARY CULT ROOMS

Adjoining the second hypostyle hall on the south (see Fig. 5) are the rooms of the mortuary cult. The understanding of the first of these (20) has been further complicated by the fact that after it had been completed and fully decorated with reliefs, but still under Ramses III, a special small chapel (21*a*) with a subsidiary chamber (21*b*) was built into it. The dividing walls which were inserted cut into the original reliefs and necessitated certain alterations in them.

The north wall of 20, containing the entrance to the chamber, is almost completely destroyed (Pl. 23 *B*). A few beams of the ceiling are preserved in the rear portion of the chapel, and in them a small square window opening is still intact. On the main (south) wall originally the king, facing west, was represented kneeling on a ☐ sign in the sacred tree of Heliopolis before the enthroned Amon, from whom he received ☐, while Thoth inscribed the king's name on the leaves of the tree. Later the scene was divided by the wall between 21*a* and 21*b*, and the figure of the king was partially covered and changed. Now in the left half he stands facing east before Thoth, while in the right half the enthroned Amon is alone.<sup>46</sup> On the left (east) side wall the king enthroned as Osiris with the ☐-crown receives offerings which are enumerated in a long list. Before him stands Thoth followed by a goddess who represents the personification of the temple. On the opposite side wall the king is purified by Inmutef. He is also depicted there in the striding posture with arms crossed and carrying the crook and the flail, coming that he may "see Seshat in his temple in Thebes." In the lowest register, which continues around all four walls, are represented the nomes of Upper and Lower Egypt as they bring their gifts to the king. It is evident from these reliefs that Room 20 was a cult chamber of the king. It is distinguished from the king's chapel (see p. 13) by the fact that the king is here featured not as living but as dead, although he has been presented with immortality by the gods and has even himself become a god and enjoys the mortuary cult of his own Theban temple.

In spite of its small proportions, Chapel 21*a* is architecturally emphasized by its position opposite the entrance to Room 20 and by the fact that its two-leaved door (1.00×2.52 m.) was set in a frame smoothly dressed without and covered with gesso and adorned with metal just like the main doorways of the temple. The left (east) doorjamb is missing today, but the lintel is still *in situ* because one end was let into the east wall (Pl. 23 *B*). The prominent position and rich ornamentation of the little chapel would suggest that it housed a statue of the king or of a god (Nefertem?). The small adjoining chamber (21*b*) undoubtedly belonged to it. Its entrance is a low, narrow doorway (60×92 cm.). On both sides of the wall between 21*a* and 21*b* the king offers to Nefertem seated in a shrine. The purpose of this tiny chamber is obscure. Its extremely small entrance might point to use as a treasury.<sup>47</sup> The nature of the reliefs might indicate a shrine of Nefertem.

There are two doorways in the west wall of Room 20. One leads into an isolated room (22) of which unfortunately only the south wall is preserved to any extent, and even that is in very bad condition. It depicts the king before an enthroned ram-headed divinity and followed by the hawk-headed Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte. Nelson states: "The remains of the reliefs on the north wall indicate a representation of an elaborate shrine containing the figure of a deity, wrapped like Min, before whom the king officiates. There is no evidence for identification of that deity."

The other doorway (one-leaved door, 1.22×2.76 m.) leads to a two-columned room (23) which may be designated as the hypostyle hall of the mortuary cult chambers. In spite of its modest dimensions (7.50×4.50 m.), it is nevertheless comparable with the main hypostyle halls *D* and *E*. Only very meager remains of the columns have been spared to us. In general they were cylindrical (1.05 m. in diameter) but flattened on four sides to the width of 54 cm. to receive vertical columns of hieroglyphs. An architrave, now vanished, ran from north to south. The reliefs depict the king before the mortuary gods Ptah, Osiris, Sokar, and Ptah-Tatenen. On the south wall Horus, son of Isis, is crowning him with the ☐-crown as he kneels before Ptah-Sokar-Osiris, to whom he offers Ma<sup>c</sup>at. On the north wall he is shown before Amon.

<sup>46</sup> After I had completed the manuscript Nelson very kindly sent me the following correction, which it was by then impossible to verify on the spot: "The decorations on the south wall were changed completely from their original design *before* the dividing wall between 21*a* and 21*b* was erected. There seems to have been no redecoration after the wall was built."

<sup>47</sup> Cf. the low, narrow doorways of the other treasure chambers of the temple, Rooms 9 (p. 14), 42, and 47 (p. 21).



A doorway (1.11×2.55 m.) with a ramp 15 cm. high in front of it opens from Room 23 into a narrow transverse room (24). The east wall of the latter contains three niches (82×82×152 cm. high) which, if we judge from the *dd*-pillars carved beside them, were designed to receive such pillars or statues of gods belonging to the Abydos circle of divinities. The niches are undecorated on the interior and could be closed by wooden doors (cf. Fig. 12). A low bench (43 cm. high) along three walls of the room was capped with a cavetto cornice and probably used to exhibit various objects and offerings, as was possibly done in the similar so-called "offering chamber" in the tomb of Seti I. On the west wall Isis is represented and on the north the pillar of Osiris, the holy symbol of Abydos, while on the south the Theban Triad appears.

From Room 24 two doorways open on the west. One (0.90×2.25 m.) gives access to two chambers (26-27) lying one behind the other which are decorated with representations of the future world corresponding in part to those in Spells 110 (Room 26) and 148 (Room 27) of the Book of the Dead. In the doorway to Room 26 and on each side of the doorway to Room 27 purification formulas are found. In the doorway to Room 27 the king is represented entering that room (Fig. 9).

The other doorway (1.12×2.33 m.) in the west wall of Room 24 leads to the sanctuary of Osiris (25). This room is distinguished by its size (8.00×3.30 m.), but even more by its somewhat vaulted ceiling (Pl. 21 *B* and Folio Pl. 21), the only one of the kind in the entire temple. The ceiling cannot strictly be termed a vault but is rather only a "false vault," for the curve is merely cut into the roof slabs and is not continuous but has two bends. The room nevertheless gives the impression of being roofed with a real vault (see Pl. 23 *B*). The ceiling slabs had fallen and broken but were replaced by Daressy. They are decorated with astronomical representations similar to, but on a smaller scale than, those in the second hypostyle hall of the Ramesseum. There is a double false door (cf. pp. 27-28) on the rear (west) wall of this room, with two figures of Osiris, back to back, each facing the adoring king on the wall outside the door (Pl. 21 *B*). On the side walls the king presents offerings to the mortuary gods, who in turn present him with life and a long reign. On the south wall, near the entrance, the king stands before Amon.



FIG. 9. RELIEF ON THE SOUTH WALL OF THE DOORWAY BETWEEN ROOMS 26 AND 27, SHOWING THE KING ENTERING ROOM 27, WHICH REPRESENTED THE UNDERWORLD

### THE THIRD HYPOSTYLE HALL AND ADJOINING CHAMBERS

The wall separating the second (*D*) and third (*E*) hypostyle halls has three doorways, aligned with those of the rooms of the barks of the Theban Triad (Rooms *F* and 33-34), which adjoin *E* at the rear. The side openings are 1.75 m. wide, the middle one 2.75 m. The doorframes are smoothly dressed and were probably gilded and fitted with metal trimmings.

The third hypostyle hall is exactly the same as the second in size and shape (see Fig. 5 and Pls. 22-23). However, its columns are slightly more slender (1.45 m. in diameter), and there is no terrace along the rear wall, for the three rooms of the barks lie at the same floor level as the hall. Its walls are so fully destroyed as to leave almost no traces of reliefs; and the long horizontal inscription above the socle offers nothing of significance for the understanding of the room.

At either side of the middle passage between the columns there is a double statue of red granite on a sandstone socle. Ramses III is enthroned on the left (south) beside the goddess Ma'at and on the right beside the ibis-

headed Thoth (Pl. 23). The sandstone socles are completely preserved, but the statues were broken and destroyed when the temple was plundered and used as a quarry and when it became a Coptic dwelling site. Daressy found large fragments of these statues close to their original positions, while other pieces were outside the temple. He fitted them together, and thus we have the unusual occurrence of statues preserved *in situ* within the temple.

Three groups of rooms adjoin the third hypostyle hall and are accessible by rather narrow doorways (1 meter). Of these, two groups, one to the right (28–29) and one to the left (36–37), are almost exactly alike (see Fig. 5). The walls unfortunately are so deplorably destroyed that it is impossible to discover from either the reliefs or the inscriptions to what divinities the chapels were dedicated. On the north wall of Room 28 the king stands before an enthroned god. On either side of the doorway to Room 29 are traces of the customary purification formula. In Room 29 Kamutef is depicted on the principal (west) wall. The erection of a sacred pillar (upper

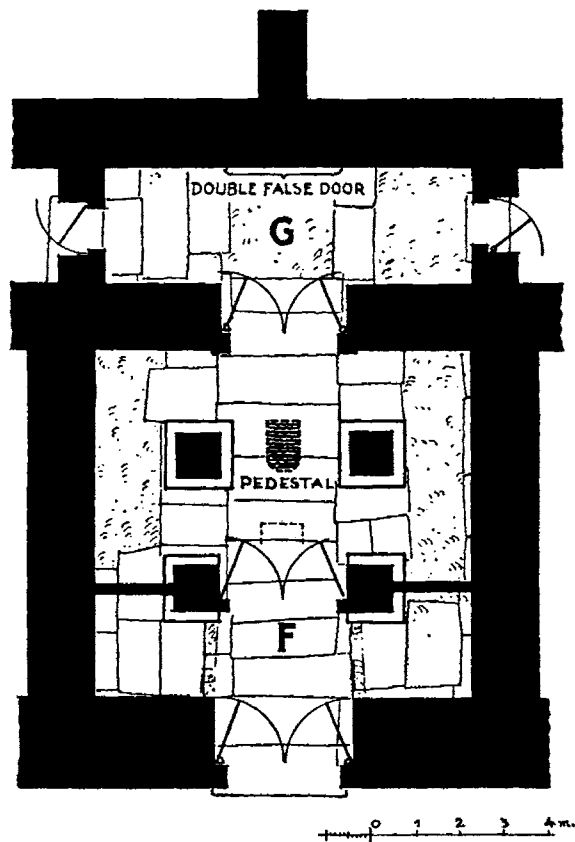


FIG. 10. GROUND PLAN OF THE ROOM OF THE SACRED BARK AND THE HOLY OF HOLIES OF AMON (ROOMS F-G)

portion damaged) is represented on the right (north) wall. A similar scene was probably the subject of the left wall, which has disappeared down to the lowest course.

The third group of rooms consists of an entrance hall (30), a larger room (31) with nine niches which seem to have been intended for statues, and a rear chamber (32). On the north wall of the entrance chamber (30) the king is "led by Mut and Khonsu into the presence of Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>. Mut addresses Amon as *p3wty 3wy*, the 'Primeval One of the Two Lands.' On the east wall Ramses III is purified, as regularly occurs before he is led into the god's presence. As the king passed through the door from 30 to 31 he paused to 'praise the god four times,' as the inscription on the south wall of the door passage says."<sup>48</sup>

The chief (west) wall of Room 31 contains two enthroned figures of the ram-headed Amon back to back, designated respectively as "the primeval one of every god" and as "at the head of the great Ennead." The nine wall niches resemble those already described in Room 24 (p. 17) and others in Room 41 (see Fig. 12). On the frame of each niche in Room 31 are inscribed two epithets of the king. The inscription which runs completely around the room refers to "the king's monuments brightening the house of Amon." It must thus be assumed that statues of the king occupied the niches.<sup>49</sup>

In the rearmost room (32), the doorway of which bears the purification formula, the relief on the principal (north) wall is not preserved. "Traces of the inscription seem to indicate that the scene depicted the king standing before Osiris." On the east wall the king is shown kneeling before Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte, to whom he is dedicating his name. On the west wall occurs a similar scene, with Amon of Karnak, who presents the king with jubilees. Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte and Amon the Lord of the Sky are mentioned on the doorway.

"In Rooms 30 and 31 the emphasis seems to be on Amon the Primeval One, his aspect in connection with the Ennead. For example, in the passage between 30 and 31 the king offers incense to 'Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> the Primeval One of the Two Lands, the great god, ruler of the Ennead.'" But nevertheless the entire group of rooms is not

<sup>48</sup> This and the following quotations concerning Rooms 30–32 are from notes kindly furnished me by Nelson.

<sup>49</sup> Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou* (Le Caire, 1897) pp. 163 f., suggests that statues of the Ennead once stood in the nine niches. This is the assumption that I followed in designating this block of rooms as the "Sanctuary of the Ennead" on Folio Pl. 21. The conjecture that the Ennead possessed their own cult room in the temple is tempting, since the Calendar of feasts and offerings on the south wall of the temple mentions offerings "to Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> and to the holy image of the king . . . and to the Ennead who are in his house" (translation by Nelson in *OIC* No. 18, p. 17) and since the king says to Amon: "I . . . fashioned thy august images dwelling in its (the temple's) midst, while the great Ennead are in splendid shrines in their sanctuaries" (*ibid.* p. 9). The assumption that statues of the Ennead stood in the niches is, however, contrary to the tenor of the inscriptions in the room. It is likewise necessary to recall that the Theban Ennead consisted not of nine but of fifteen gods. The latter fact, however, cannot be regarded in itself as evidence against the theory, for, as Nelson has shown, among the fifteen gods were six couples which could be counted as units, so that the number nine still comes into consideration. However that may be, I can make no attempt at a solution of this question.

bound up with this epithet. The scenes in Room 32 are not at all concerned with Amon the Primeval One. They, as well as the scenes in the entrance hall (30), "have to do with the king's purification, his induction into the god's presence, his dedication (presentation of his name) to the god, and his reception of jubilees from the god." The significance of this block of rooms constitutes one of the most difficult problems in the temple. Not being an Egyptologist, I must avoid offering speculations on the subject (cf. p. 31).

### THE SANCTUARY OF AMON

Rooms *F* and *G* (Pl. 22) are closely connected one behind the other, although architecturally they are separated (Fig. 10). We designate *F* as the "room of the sacred bark" (see pp. 25f.) and *G* as the "holy of holies" of Amon.

The doorway leading to the room of the sacred bark is of about the same width (2.80 m.) and almost as elaborately decorated as the other main doorways along the axis of the temple. A low (about 10 cm.) ramp (now vanished) approached it. The room is almost square (8.10×8.55 m.) and has four richly ornamented square pillars (1.02 m.) which stand on square bases. It was divided by thin stone screens between the two front pillars and the side walls and an open-lintel door between the front pillars. The screens, partly broken but preserved to a height of 1.25 m., were probably originally of about human height and crowned with cavetto cornices. Their exterior surfaces are carefully dressed but not inscribed, though they may have been gilded.<sup>50</sup> That they were later additions is indicated by the fact that they cover reliefs on the adjacent pillars.<sup>51</sup> The surfaces of the jambs were smoothed and decorated with metal.

A granite pedestal (Fig. 11) discovered in a pit along the north wall of the room of the sacred bark probably stood originally at no great distance from where we found it. Unfortunately it is broken on top, so that we could only conjecture its height. It was finished with a cavetto cornice of which we found a fragment. The front of the pedestal bears two vertical lines of inscription: "The King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the Lord of the Two Lands, Userma<sup>c</sup>re<sup>c</sup>-Meriamon" (left) and "Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>, sojourning in the House of Userma<sup>c</sup>re<sup>c</sup>-Meriamon, possessed of eternity, in the estate of Amon" (right). Each side bears the double cartouche of Ramses III. One suspects from the inscription on the front that the pedestal belonged to the cult of Amon, perhaps as the support for his bark. It is unfortunate that we could not determine its exact position. The position of some object in the center of the room is outlined on the stone pavement (see Fig. 10). However, it probably had no connection with the pedestal, since the presence of the latter at that particular point would have made it impossible to open or close the leaves of the door between the front pillars.<sup>52</sup> We have no evidence for the position of the pedestal as shown in Figure 10. In order not to create a false impression we have now placed it between the two north pillars (Pl. 22).

Meager remains of reliefs are found on the north wall. These consist of four scenes, two of the king standing before Kamutef and two with the king before an enthroned god, presumably Amon of Karnak. On each side of what remains of each of the pillars are two vertical lines of inscription: "adoring all gods who are in heaven" and "adoring all gods who are on earth" (see Pl. 22 *B*).

The holy of holies (*G*) is a narrow transverse room (2.70×8.35 m.). It is connected with Room *F* by a wide

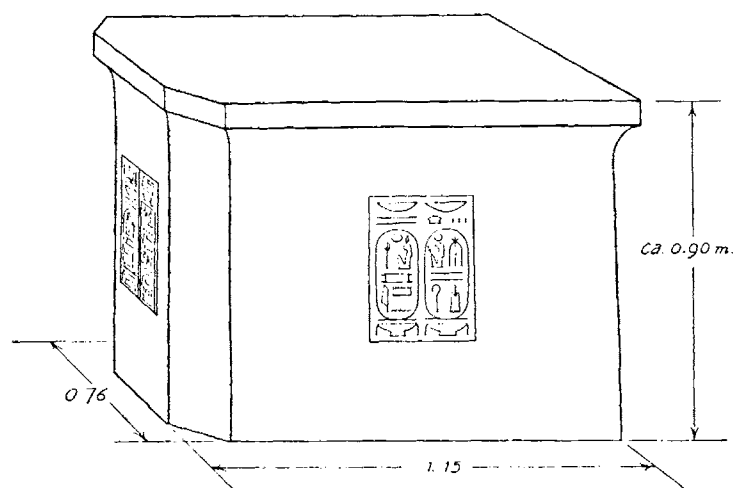


FIG. 11. RED GRANITE PEDESTAL, PRESUMABLY FOR THE BARK OF AMON

<sup>50</sup> See Vol. IV.

<sup>51</sup> From lines marked on the floor one might possibly assume that the screens originally stood between the front pillars and the main doorway. However, since the jambs of the doorway between the pillars were not constructed separately but were cut into the pillars, it appears that the doorway was originally planned for its present position.

<sup>52</sup> Possibly these traces may have been the outline for a tomb shaft such as commonly occurred in the floor of the temple in the late period (see Vol. V).

(2.40 m.) doorway with its frame dressed in the same manner as those of the other main doors on the axis of the temple. Unfortunately the walls of Room *G* are preserved to a height of only 1.35 m., so that very little of the reliefs remains. The scenes here are carved in low relief and are thus more elaborate than any others which we have met in the temple. In the middle of the rear (west) wall (Pl. 24 *C*) there was a double false door (cf. pp. 27–28) 2.63 m. wide on which Amon and the king appear twice in identical but reversed positions. This double false door corresponds to that in the sanctuary of Osiris in Ramses II's temple at Abydos, from which we may reconstruct the scene as the king embracing Amon, who is in mummy form. In contrast to most representations of a similar nature (cf. Pl. 21 *B*) the god, who is to be thought of as entering by this false door, stands facing the middle, while the king, who is conceived of as stationed before the god, stands inside with his back to the center.<sup>53</sup> The architectural importance of the double false door in the holy of holies arises from the fact that it forms the axial terminus of the temple. Its width corresponds to that of the great doors along the main axis. In color it was conspicuously different from the rest of the wall, for its background was painted golden yellow in contrast to the usual white.

On each side of the double false door is a scene in which three personages participate. At the left the king stands in a shrine with the enthroned Amon, whom he faces. Amon probably presents life or jubilees to the king, while another god (Thoth?) stands beside them and addresses both of them. In the similar scene at the right the king stands with his back to Amon, who possibly is in the act of crowning him. In these reliefs the preponderance of interest seems to have passed from the god to the king, a fact which would indicate that in the holy of holies not only the cult of Amon was practiced but also a cult of the king.

#### THE CHAPELS OF KHONSU AND MUT

The rooms of the barks of Khonsu (33) and Mut (34) lie to right and left of the room of the bark of Amon (*F*). They are long, narrow chapels with rather wide doorways (1.60 m.) which carried two-leaved doors. In the chapel of Khonsu the mutilated inscription around the base states (on the south) that the king made for Khonsu "a splendid naos of sandstone, (with) door leaves trimmed with real gold." According to the same inscription on the north wall and the remains of the relief above it the bark of Khonsu stood in this room on a pedestal. In the chapel of Mut the reliefs and inscriptions have disappeared almost completely. In the adjoining side room (35) the goddess Mut appears with various titles.

#### THE SUBSIDIARY CHAMBERS OF AMON AND ADJOINING REPOSITORIES

The rearmost rooms of the temple (39–48) are accessible from doorways in the north and south walls of the holy of holies. On these doorways is the customary purification formula. There are two rows of narrow rooms arranged in two symmetrical groups, one to the north (39–43) and one to the south (44–48). The rooms in the front row, in common with the holy of holies, to which they belong, are decorated with low instead of hollow reliefs. It would appear from this more elaborate manner of wall decoration that these small rooms had a very particular significance. The representations on the walls include Amon in his various forms. In Room 39 are two enthroned divinities who cannot be identified with certainty. In 40 there are four different forms of Amon. In 41 an enthroned god, perhaps Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> (the name has completely disappeared), is depicted on the left (west) wall and on the right the ram-headed Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte. Two statue niches (Fig. 12) have been let into the north wall. Unfortunately their decoration and inscriptions have disappeared, so that it is not possible to determine for which divinities they were intended.

The corresponding rooms on the south (44–46) offer similar representations. In 44 Amon is depicted in two different forms (part of legs and feet only preserved). In 45 we find Amon "with lofty feathers" and the ram-headed Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte. In 46 on the main (south) wall is Min-Kamutef, to the left (east) Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> the Primeval One of the Two Lands (Pl. 24 *B*), and on the right Min-Kamutef carried by a priest in a procession (Pl. 24 *A*).<sup>54</sup> The representations in this chamber are not only particularly interesting but also comparatively

<sup>53</sup> On the double false door in the throneroom of the First Palace (see p. 48 and Fig. 28), where he is twice stated in accompanying inscriptions to be "entering the palace" (i.e., the throneroom), the king steps toward the middle.

<sup>54</sup> See also *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 209.

well preserved, since the stone ceiling has protected them from the elements. The ceiling is 4.10 m. above the floor and has a small square light opening.

The rooms of the rear row appear to have been less important, and only the customary hollow relief was employed on their walls. The doorways in Rooms 39 and 44 from which this row is accessible are narrow (94 cm.) and noticeably low (130 and 145 cm.).<sup>55</sup> It is reasonable to believe that they were designed thus in order to be easily hidden or protected if danger threatened.<sup>56</sup> The wall reliefs depict Amon in his various forms or the Theban Triad and also other divinities; tables, large vessels, and other cult objects are presented to them. From their reliefs we may conclude that these rooms were repositories for precious cult implements.

### THE ROOF TERRACES

The roof of the temple proper (see Fig. 3) was accessible only through the stairway from Room 17 of the sanctuary of Re-Harakhte (p. 15). Like all Egyptian temple roofs it was flat and approximately horizontal and covered all the subsidiary temple rooms at one level, averaging 5.80 m. above the floor of the great hypostyle hall or 8.40 m. above our datum level (see Fig. 6), but above the central rooms rose in a series of levels from rear to front. The heights of the terraces above the great hypostyle hall can be determined exactly (see Fig. 6), but those above the other hypostyle halls can only be approximated (Folio Pls. 20–21).<sup>57</sup>

The outer wall of the temple extended 4.64–4.84 m. above the lowest roof terrace, except toward the rear, where it was stepped down to about 3.35 m. (see Fig. 3), thus forming an inclosed court which could be used for cult purposes. The surrounding wall surfaces are decorated with cult representations of the adoration of various divinities by the king. The higher roof terraces (now destroyed) were doubtless connected with the lower terraces by small flights of stairs. Along the edges of the higher terraces there were low parapets, remains of which are still preserved along the east wall of the great hypostyle hall (e.g. at 8.73 m.; see Fig. 6 and Folio Pl. 21). The drainage of rain water from one terrace to another and finally to the outside was a matter of special importance. Very large waterspouts, shaped like the fore part of a lion, form a conspicuous feature of the exterior walls of the temple.

The roof over the colonnades of the second court, and thence the top of the second pylon, was accessible from the roof of the temple proper (see p. 8 and Fig. 3). However, the terraces above the colonnades of the first court could be reached, in antiquity as well as today, only by ladders from the top of the second pylon or from below.

### THE EXTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE

The normal Egyptian temple had, aesthetically speaking, only one face—the front. The Great Pylon, which is the front of our temple, is discussed on pages 4–7. The eyes of an approaching procession were concentrated upon this. As for the rest, the temple was surrounded by the high brick Inner Inclosure Wall, which abutted each end of the pylon, and by subsidiary structures within this wall, which crowded so closely upon the temple that only a very narrow street along the sides and rear remained (Folio Pl. 2). A distant view of the temple walls and enjoyment of the reliefs which covered them were neither intended nor possible.<sup>58</sup> These facts should be remembered when we view the free-standing temple of today.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the low doorways in Rooms 9 and 21b (pp. 14 and 16).

<sup>56</sup> It may be observed that the doorway leading from 39 to 42 was once masoned shut, possibly in the Saitic period when tombs were built into the rear chambers (see Vol. V).

<sup>57</sup> See Vol. IV for details of roof construction and roof drainage, esp. Figs. 33 and 37.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. the completely preserved passage around the temple of Edfu (Gustave Jéquier, *L'Architecture et la décoration dans l'ancienne Égypte. Les temples ptolémaïques et romains* (Paris, 1924) Pl. 18.

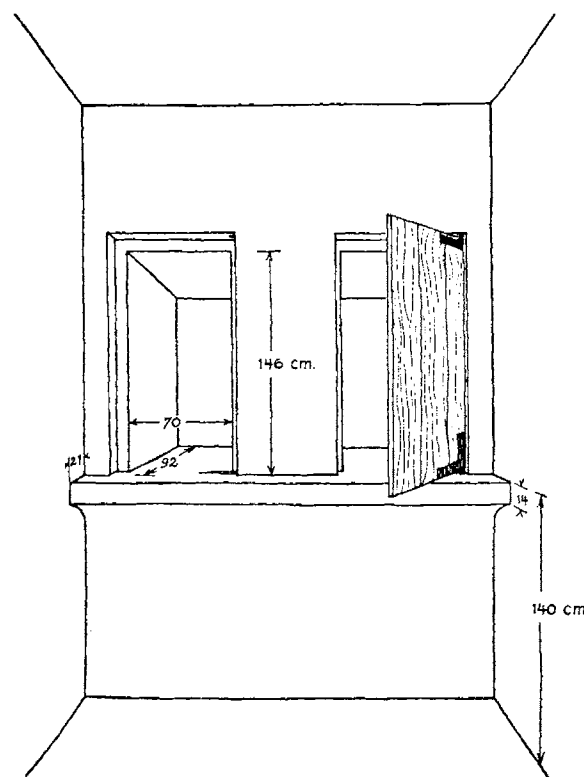


FIG. 12. STATUE NICHES IN THE NORTH WALL OF ROOM 41

The wooden door is reconstructed

Like the Inner Inclosure Wall and the Great Girdle Wall the exterior wall of the temple itself has on the outside a socle with sloping edge which stands upon a protruding foundation (see Pls. 12 A-13 and Folio Pl. 21). The slope of the socle is not exactly the same on all sides. The batter of the wall is about 6-7 cm. to one meter of height. It is capped with a cavetto cornice. Toward the rear of the temple the wall is about 1.30 m. lower than at the front (see Fig. 3 and Folio Pl. 20). The street around the temple rises toward the rear in conformity with the terrain. However, the socle, which is masoned in horizontal courses, follows the rise in the ground by steps which correspond to those in the interior of the temple. The first rise occurs at the second pylon, the second at the front of the terrace of the second court (the beginning of the roofed portion of the temple), the third between the great hypostyle hall and the second hypostyle hall, and finally the fourth between the second and third hypostyle halls. Therefore the height of the wall from the pavement of the street to the top of the cornice is about 4.60 m. less at the rear than at the first pylon. However, this has no connection with a planned effect of perspective as Daressy assumes,<sup>59</sup> for, as we have shown, the sides of the temple were not visible as a whole.

The waterspouts are the only plastic decoration on the exterior of the temple. They are formed, in the familiar Egyptian style, of a square block which protrudes as far as 1.35 m. from the wall and supports the fore part of a couchant lion which projects from the wall. They are located at the same levels as the roof terraces (Folio Pl. 21), so that rain water from the latter drains through them.<sup>60</sup>

The enormous wall surfaces on the exterior of the temple, although not visible as a whole, were entirely covered with reliefs and inscriptions of great interest both artistically and culturally. They give much valuable information for the appreciation of Egyptian art. The Egyptians differed from the Greeks and all those later followers of the Greeks who created their art for the appreciation of their contemporaries and posterity in that they considered their decorative achievements as ends in themselves and as the proper expression of their religious feeling for the cult of the king and the gods.

South of the temple, between the first and second pylons, was located the palace, which had been destroyed but which we have now partially restored. The representations on the exterior temple wall at this point must be considered as inner decoration of the palace and therefore are mentioned in connection with that structure (see p. 46).

## INTERPRETATION OF THE PLAN

It is difficult to comprehend the plan of the temple at Medinet Habu, especially the maze of subsidiary rooms at the rear, which seem to have been forced into the confines of the temple and thus seem to some extent to be unnatural in location and form. The fact that we know little or nothing of the individual purposes of many of the rooms adds to our difficulty in understanding the plan. Certain parts of the temple convey the impression of a labyrinth, but the mysterious windings would easily unfold to us if we understood the concept which underlay the temple plan. Doubtless the latter developed out of the exigencies of the cult and was based on ancient tradition. Thus it is fitting to begin our investigation with a study of older and simpler mortuary temples of the royal necropolis in order to become acquainted with the principles underlying temple form. Plate 2 consists of comparative sketches showing what is known of the ground plans of several mortuary temples, including that of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, on the west of Thebes. These temples are all of the Eighteenth to the Twentieth Dynasty.<sup>61</sup>

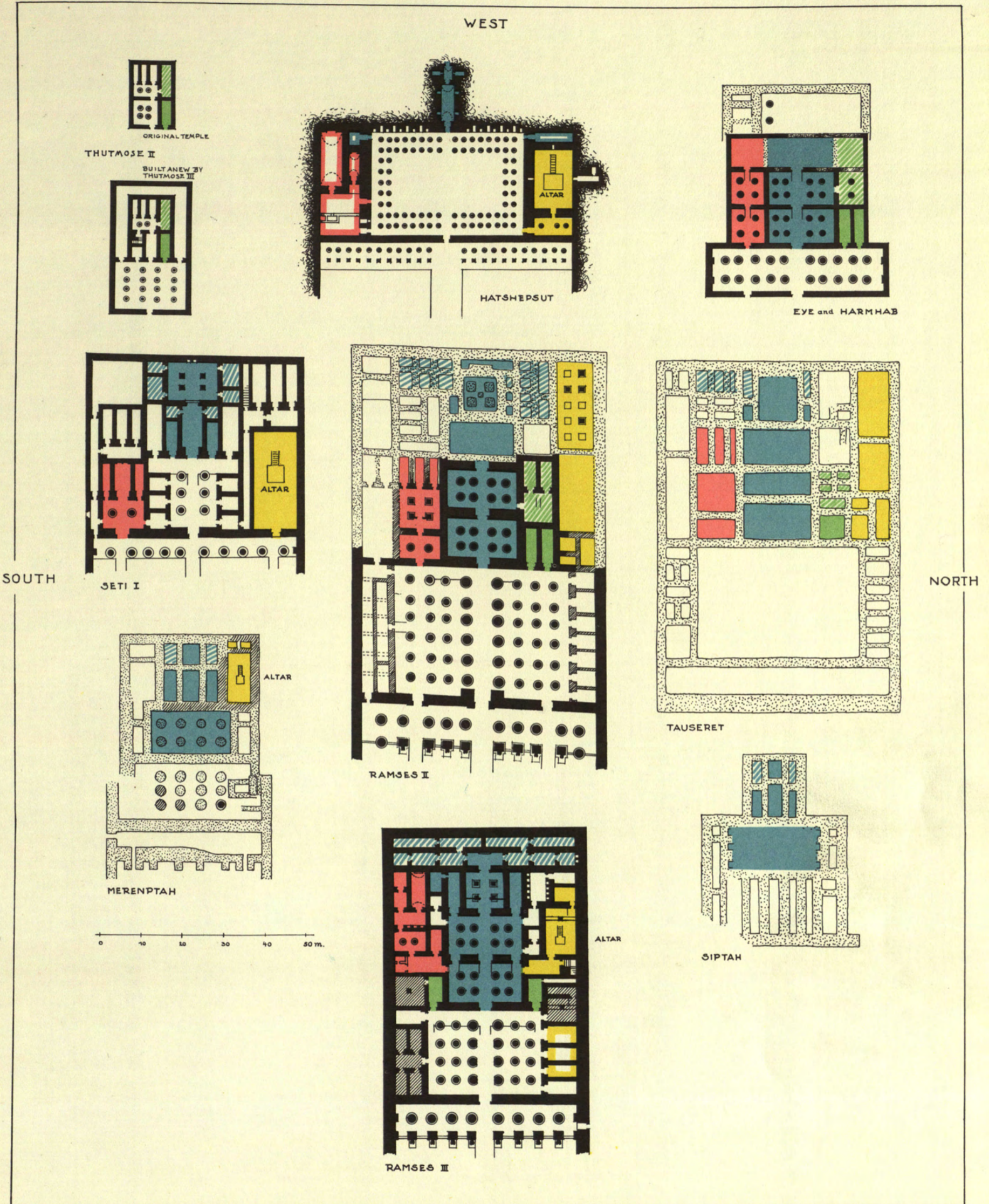
### THE GENERAL LAYOUT OF ROYAL MORTUARY TEMPLES ON THE WEST OF THEBES

The temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri is not strictly comparable with the other temples represented on Plate 2, as it is not a roofed structure. However, this difference is not fundamental, for its open court, surrounded by a double colonnade, is the prototype of the great hypostyle hall. This court is adjoined by various groups of rooms. On the axis lies the sanctuary of Amon (blue on Pl. 2), consisting of two chambers, one behind the other. Adjoining the rear corners of the court are two chambers (outlined in blue), lying opposite each other,

<sup>59</sup> *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, p. 175.

<sup>60</sup> See Vol. IV for details of the drainage system, esp. Figs. 33 and 37.

<sup>61</sup> The pyramid temple of Mentuhotep II and III, located in the rock-hemmed basin of Deir el-Bahri, is not considered in this group, as it has a peculiar form with a single undecorated cult chamber hewn into the rock.



GROUND PLANS OF ROYAL MORTUARY TEMPLES IN THE THEBAN NECROPOLIS. SCALE, 1:1,000





which also bore some relation to the cult of Amon. At the right (north) of the court is a group of rooms (yellow) consisting of an entrance hall and a court with an altar to the sun god. At the left (outlined in red) are the mortuary chapels of Hatshepsut and her father, Thutmose I, with a forecourt (later subdivided). Furthermore, on the north and south sides are sanctuaries of mortuary divinities (Hathor and Anubis) which have been omitted from our sketch since they are in no way related to the temple proper.

We recently have become acquainted with the ground plan of the very small temple of Thutmose II.<sup>62</sup> It was originally asymmetric, with two parallel sections. The wider, main part (left) consisted of a four-columned square hall, a two-columned transverse hall, and three tiny chapels at the rear. The asymmetry of the columned halls resulted from the fact that their doorways were centered not on the rooms themselves but on the structure as a whole. The smaller section (right) contained a long narrow room at the front (green) accessible only from the outside and behind it another of the same shape (green hatching) accessible from the two-columned hall.<sup>63</sup> Later, under Thutmose III, the temple was enlarged and renewed. At that time the four-columned hall was divided into a long narrow hall which we consider a room for a bark and at the left a shorter room in front and a staircase at the rear. Thus there are now three rooms along the front, each with its own entrance. Finally, along the sides and rear of the main structure an ambulatory, presumably covered, was constructed and at the front either a great hypostyle hall or a court.<sup>64</sup>

The other mortuary temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty, except that of Eye, have not yet been sufficiently investigated or are so completely destroyed that no clear conception of them can be gained.<sup>65</sup> The temple of Eye, dating from the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was usurped and enlarged by Harmhab.<sup>66</sup> Its original plan, which could be recovered only in part, consists of a wide hypostyle hall adjoined by three sections behind it. The middle section (blue) is the widest. It contains two eight-columned transverse halls one behind the other. The sanctuary which we assume to have been located at the rear of this section is completely destroyed except for the foundation trench of the outer wall. The section (red) at the left (south) is narrower but resembles the middle section in arrangement. We designate it the "contiguous temple" (see pp. 29-31). The section on the right is the narrowest. It contains two narrow chambers (green) accessible from the front of the temple and behind them a columned room (green hatching) accessible from the middle section. This arrangement seems to correspond with that in the temple of Thutmose II. A transverse addition behind the temple of Eye is later and must be ascribed to Harmhab (see p. 26).

Of the Nineteenth Dynasty temples, that of Seti I at Qurnah is the most instructive, as it is excellently preserved. Again we find the ground plan divided into three sections. In front is a hypostyle hall adjoined at each side by chapels in which the divine king and other divinities were worshiped. Of the five chambers directly behind the hypostyle hall, the two at the outside (white) appear to us to have originated from the ambulatory of the temple of Thutmose II as remodeled by Thutmose III and apparently were assigned to Ptah (left) and to a form of Osiris (right). The other three (blue) belonged to Amon and the rest of the Theban Triad. In the center is the room of the bark of Amon, on the left that of Mut, and on the right that of Khonsu. A wide doorway (Fig. 13) in the rear wall of the room of Amon leads to a transverse four-pillared hall with two small chapels (blue hatching) at each side. Two further small chapels (blue hatching) were inserted behind the sanctuaries of Mut and Khonsu respectively (see p. 31). The section on the right (north) contains the altar court (yellow). Behind it is a group of rooms the purpose of which is not clear (cult chambers or magazines?) accessible only by means of a narrow corridor. The left-hand section contains the contiguous temple (red), which in this case was devoted to the king's father, Ramses I (see p. 30). At the rear are the treasury and the slaughter court.

In the Ramesseum (see pp. 71-75) unfortunately only some of the larger central halls are preserved, while the

<sup>62</sup> 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]) 31-33 and Pls. VI-VII.

<sup>63</sup> Robichon and Varille (*ibid.* Pl. VII) assume that the two rooms in the right-hand section were originally connected by a door and that the front entrance was inserted at the time Thutmose III altered the structure. I am not convinced of the correctness of this view.

<sup>64</sup> Robichon and Varille (*ibid.*) assume a court with colonnades on three sides. As far as I can see, it is not possible from the architectural investigation to decide which is correct.

<sup>65</sup> But see now Herbert Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmosis' III* ("Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde" III 1 [Kairo, 1939]).

<sup>66</sup> See Vol. II 75-115.

cult rooms, which would be of particular interest to us in this study, have vanished completely except for their foundation trenches. What is preserved suffices to suggest only an idea of the temple plan in outline. The great hypostyle hall with its side chapels lies in the front, while to the rear the ground plan was divided into five sections, instead of three as in the earlier temples discussed above. The middle section (blue) no doubt belonged to Amon and his circle. At the extreme rear on either side of the sanctuary of Amon was a group of small rooms (blue hatching) apparently accessible only from the sanctuary. To the left (south) of the middle section was the contiguous temple (red). Obviously the group of rooms (white) behind it comprised a magazine, as in the temple of Seti I. The section at the extreme left (white) contained two courts, one behind the other, each with two rear chambers. Perhaps the one at the rear was a slaughter court, as in the temple of Seti I. The section to the north (right) of the middle section corresponded to the north section in the temple of Eye. In front were two

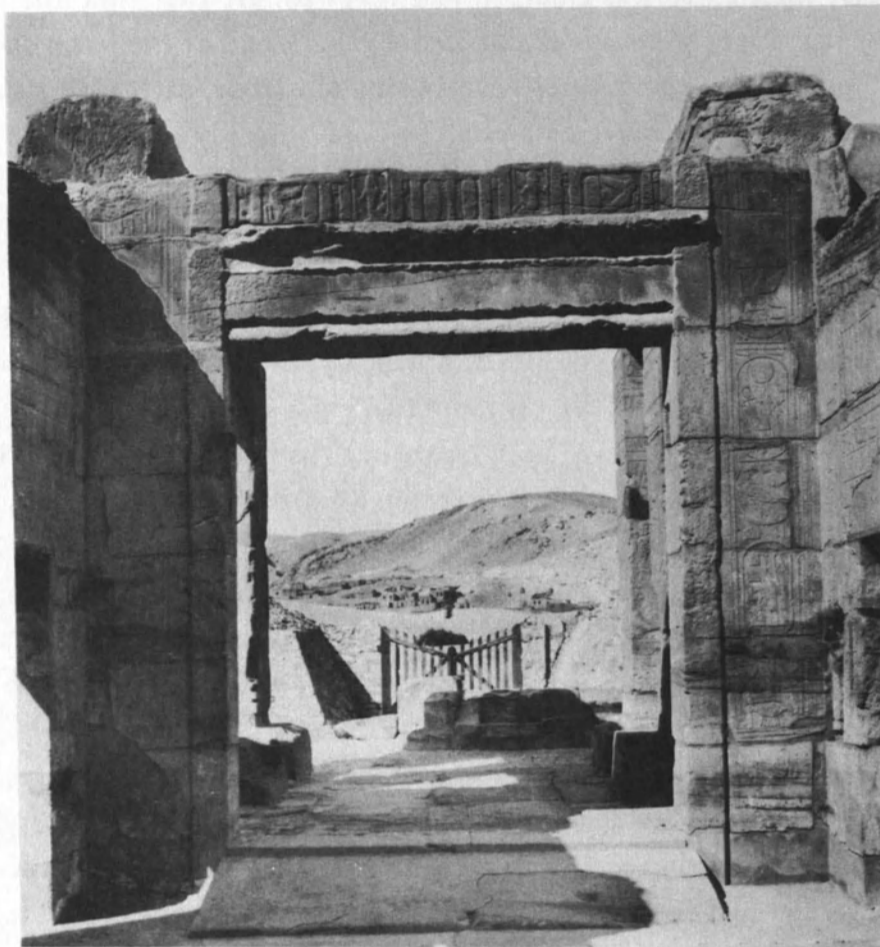


FIG. 13. THE GREAT DOORWAY BETWEEN THE ROOM OF THE SACRED BARK AND THE HOLY OF HOLIES OF AMON IN THE TEMPLE OF SETI I AT QURNAH

narrow chapels (green) and at the rear two rooms with a court or hall in front of them (green hatching). The outermost section on the right (yellow) corresponds to the sanctuary of Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte in the temples of Seti and Hatshepsut. It was composed of a court with small rooms at the front and a large pillared hall behind.

The temple of Tauseret<sup>67</sup> exhibits a noticeable similarity to the Ramesseum. Unfortunately the destruction is so extensive that only the main foundation trenches are preserved.

The temple of Merenptah<sup>68</sup> chronologically lies between the Ramesseum and the temple of Tauseret. Only foundation trenches and a few foundation stones were found. It was smaller and simpler than the temples previously discussed. Again we find three sections. In the rear right-hand corner was the altar court (yellow), in which the altar itself is fairly well preserved. The other rooms cannot be identified with certainty.

The temple of Siptah<sup>69</sup> offers even less information than the preceding temples. Its general arrangement is reminiscent of that in the temple of Merenptah. It completes the series of temples of the Nineteenth Dynasty.

The only temple of the Twentieth Dynasty is that of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. The five sections of the

<sup>67</sup> W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897) pp. 13-16 and Pl. XXVI.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 11-13 and Pl. XXV.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 16 f. and Pl. XXVI.

ground plan are here forced into three without materially reducing the number of units involved, and thus the clarity of their disposition has been destroyed. Behind the middle section (blue), which housed the sanctuary of Amon, is a transverse group (blue hatching) comprising subsidiary chambers of Amon and repositories for temple utensils. Several small chapels (white) adjoin the middle section on both sides. At the right (north) is the sanctuary of the sun god with the altar court (yellow). The contiguous temple has been replaced by a complicated group of rooms (red) serving the cult of the king, who has become Osiris, and that of the actual mortuary deities.

This brief survey of the various temple plans reveals that certain laws governed their layout. We shall therefore examine some of the corresponding groups of rooms more closely.

#### THE SANCTUARY OF AMON

Apparently all of the temples on the west of Thebes which we have mentioned were dedicated to Amon. Accordingly we may assign their main sanctuaries to Amon even in those cases where no palpable proof is at hand. So far as I can see, it was not until after the Amarnah period that sanctuaries of the two companions of Amon, Mut and Khonsu, were placed on either side of the main sanctuary and so in the widest sense belonged to it. In these later temples the festival halls, consisting for the most part of one, two, or three eight-columned transverse rooms, are located along the main axis of the temple in front of the sanctuary of Amon, and before them in turn is the great hypostyle hall, usually basilican. We must remember that the great hypostyle hall had its origin in an open court (p. 22)<sup>70</sup> and thus only later became an actual roofed temple room. As a rule chapels are located on both sides of it.

The older temples are essentially simpler and vary to a greater extent. In that of Hatshepsut only an open court with colonnades is present in front of the sanctuary. In the temple of Thutmose II (in its original plan) we already find two hypostyle halls, predecessors of those in later temples, while later (in the form as remodeled under Thutmose III) the four-columned hall was replaced by a long narrow hall which is to be considered as part of the real sanctuary. Two eight-columned transverse halls of the same size appear for the first time in the temple of Eye, in the form that later was quite typical, but we find that Seti I abandoned such a plan in favor of a single longitudinal hall.

The sanctuary of Amon regularly consists of two rooms, one behind the other. Hatshepsut constructed these as two elongated, vaulted chambers, a larger one in front and a smaller one at the rear. The latter we designate the "holy of holies." The other is the room of the sacred bark and is decorated with representations of the bark of Amon. Small niche-like chambers adjoin at the sides of each room. Unfortunately the rear wall of the holy of holies, which would be of particular interest to us, is not preserved intact, since a doorway was broken through it in the Ptolemaic period to provide access to a new third chamber.

In the temple of Seti I the room of the sacred bark is constructed in the same longitudinal form and likewise decorated with representations of the bark of Amon. The holy of holies, however, is wider and contains four pillars. A double false door (Fig. 14), the significance of which is discussed below (pp. 27-28), forms the axial terminus of the temple. To the left and right of the room of the bark of Amon are rooms for the barks of Mut and Khonsu respectively. The same arrangement occurs in the temples of Merenptah and Siptah.

In contrast to these examples, in the large temples of Ramses II, Tauseret, and Ramses III the room of the bark of Amon is widened into a four-pillared hall and in the two Ramessid structures the holy of holies is squeezed into a transverse corridor-like room<sup>71</sup> with at Medinet Habu at least—the only temple with walls preserved to any extent—a double false door.

This is such a conspicuous change that we must question whether these rooms may be interpreted in the same sense as those mentioned above. Because of the poor state of preservation we have no real proof that a bark of Amon stood in any of the four-pillared rooms. However, a bark of Amon must have been present at least at Medinet Habu, as corroborated for example by reliefs in the second court (see p. 28) and by the fact that a

<sup>70</sup> Cf. among others the temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu (Robichon et Varille, *op. cit.* Pl. XI) and the small double temple beside the Ramesseum (our pp. 75 f.).

<sup>71</sup> In the almost completely destroyed temple of Tauseret we can only suspect a holy of holies of this form (not indicated on Pl. 2).

bark of Khonsu stood in Chapel 33 (see p. 20), on the right of the four-pillared room (see Fig. 5). And no other room in the temple appears suitable for housing the sacred bark of Amon.

Furthermore, the question arises as to where the actual cult statue of Amon stood. Of this statue Ramses III says to Amon: "I fashioned thy great statue, which rests within it (the temple), whose august name was 'Amon-Possessed-of-Eternity,' adorned with genuine precious stones."<sup>72</sup> Did this statue stand before the double false door in the holy of holies? We cannot be certain because we do not even know in what manner the statue was

displayed: standing in the open, in a shrine, or in a shrine on a bark. In any case, it must have been comparatively small and light, possibly of wood, and I assume that it was not as large as a human figure, since it was carried on the bark in processions. Such a small statue could perhaps have stood in front of the double false door in the narrow holy of holies, although it would not have stood there alone because in front of it would have been an offering-table etc. and possibly a statue of the king presenting offerings. For in the Calendar the king says: "I give all things to my father Amon-Re . . . that he may give therefrom to my image and my statue while I rest beside him receiving offerings."<sup>73</sup>

In the temple of Seti I small rooms adjoin the holy of holies at each side. It may appear doubtful whether they had any connection with the cult of Amon. However, at Medinet Habu the rooms adjoining the holy of holies were doubtless subsidiary chambers of the god and repositories for temple utensils (see pp. 21 and 25). In the temples of Ramses II and Tauseret the blue-hatched rooms (see Pl. 2) may have been designed for the same purposes.

The rear rooms of the temple of Eye are quite different. These rooms, as previously mentioned, were added later (by Harmhab), a fact which would in itself indicate that they could not have conformed to the normal scheme. Corresponding rooms have been found in no other temple on the west of Thebes. However, in the temple of Seti I at Abydos, which is only slightly later, a group of

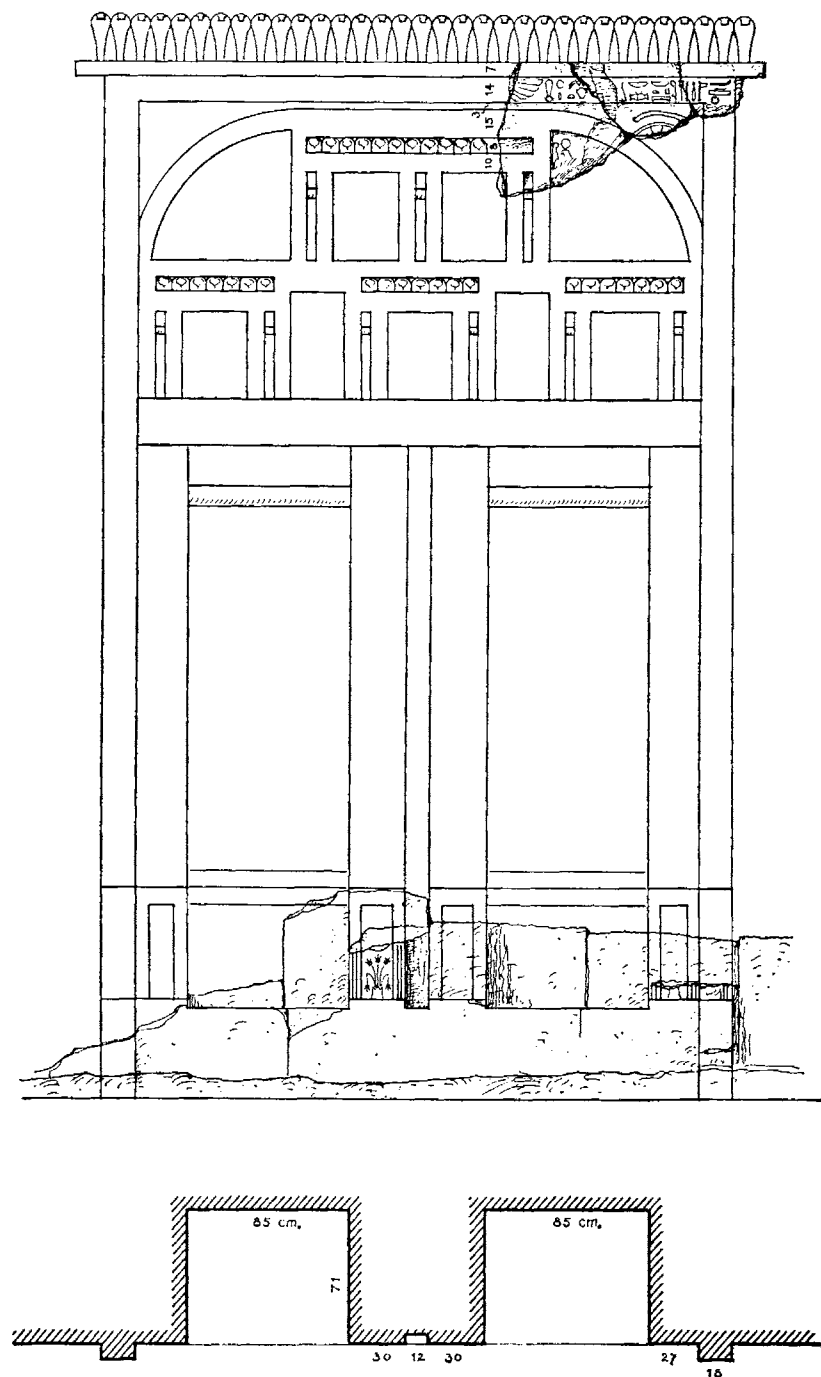


FIG. 14. THE DOUBLE FALSE DOOR IN THE HOLY OF HOLIES IN THE TEMPLE OF SETI I AT QURNAH. RECONSTRUCTED FROM FRAGMENTS

rooms is located behind the seven main sanctuaries and is accessible only from the sanctuary of Osiris.<sup>74</sup> According to their plan and decoration these were intended as the intimate dwelling of Osiris, the principal god of Abydos, and his affiliated divinities, Isis and Horus. In the same way, in the group of rooms at the rear of the temple of Eye and Harmhab we may expect to find the dwelling of the principal god of Thebes, Amon.<sup>75</sup> The intimate living rooms of the god are so important for our understanding of the temple plan that we believe it advisable to discuss them in more detail.

<sup>72</sup> Papyrus Harris I iv 6; translation by Seele.

<sup>73</sup> Translation by Nelson in *OIC* No. 18, p. 14.

<sup>74</sup> Calverley, *Abydos* III (1938).

<sup>75</sup> Cf. the similar building plan of the festival temple of Thutmose III in the temple of Amon at Karnak.

## EXCURSUS 1: INTIMATE LIVING ROOMS IN DWELLING, PALACE, AND TEMPLE

The normal fashionable dwelling of the 'Amarnah period<sup>76</sup> was divided into two parts, the so-called public rooms and the intimate apartments. The principal rooms of the former group, where the master spent most of the day and in which he received his guests, consisted of a wide hall with a four-columned usually square room behind it, where commonly the lord of the house had a special seat on a platform against the rear wall. The intimate part of the house, consisting of private living-room, connubial bedroom, bath, toilet, etc., was connected with the public rooms as a rule by a single small door which, however, did not lie on the axis of the public rooms. Behind the master's seat an elaborately framed double niche, representing a double door,<sup>77</sup> formed the axial terminus of the public chambers. Obviously this was a fictive connection between the public and the intimate chambers.

A double false door probably occurred in all the temple palaces discussed below, though we have evidence for it only in the palace of Ramses II and in the First Palace at Medinet Habu (i.e., the earlier type; see pp. 58 f.), where, however, intimate rooms were lacking—an indication that the respective kings did not actually dwell in these palaces but remained in them temporarily for occasional receptions and necessary preparations in connection with various temple festivities. On the other hand, the palace of Merenptah at Memphis<sup>78</sup> and the Second Palace at Medinet Habu (i.e., the later type), which included intimate apartments, apparently were actually occupied for at least several days at a time.

In the temple sanctuary was the reception room of the god. It corresponded to the public central room in the dwelling and the throneroom in the palace. An actual dwelling for the god, that is, intimate chambers behind the holy of holies, is found only in the few cases mentioned above and also in the Luxor temple.<sup>79</sup> However, even where such rooms did not exist there was an imaginary connection, as in the earlier type of palace, between the other world and the sanctuary. The god entered his sanctuary, which contained his reception room, by means of the double false door.

## EXCURSUS 2: THE DOUBLE FALSE DOOR

A false door is a representation of a doorway with its frame and door. It may be accentuated by a more or less shallow niche, or only indicated on the surface. Frequently it was employed for decorative purposes to balance either a true door on the opposite wall or one which was off-center in the same wall (cf. Rooms *D* and *F* in the Second Palace at Medinet Habu; Fig. 29). A double false door, of course, represents a double door—that is, a wide doorway divided by a post in the center and carrying two door leaves. Double doors are found where wide doorways were desired without having the door itself too wide. Often a double false door opposite a true double door formed the axial terminus to a succession of festival rooms. Certain doors, true as well as false, single as well as double, had very elaborate frames completed at the top with a peculiar rounded *Supraporte* (e.g. Figs. 13–14 and 27–28, Pls. 36–37, and Folio Pl. 31)<sup>80</sup> which apparently represented wooden latticework. Perhaps a *Supraporte* of this type first occurred in some famous royal hall and subsequently came to be considered characteristic of the royal palace and still later was used as a showpiece in private dwellings<sup>81</sup> and tombs.<sup>82</sup>

Practical ideas as well as decorative motives were involved in the use of the false door. The Egyptian appears to have had the conception that by means of a false door spiritual beings (i.e., the dead or the gods) could go in and out. In tombs and on coffins the false door has for the most part assumed the stereotyped form of a

<sup>76</sup> Ricke, *Der Grundriss des Amarna-Wohnhauses* (WVDOG LVI [1932]) pp. 25–36 and Fig. 25.

<sup>77</sup> Illustrated by Ludwig Borchardt, "Das altägyptische Wohnhaus," in *Zeitschrift für Bauwesen* LXVI (1916) Pl. 50, and by Heinrich Schäfer und Walter Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1925) p. 319; see also Ricke, *op. cit.* pp. 29 f.

<sup>78</sup> Clarence S. Fisher in *MJ* VIII (1917) 220.

<sup>79</sup> At Luxor the public portion ends in the (originally four-columned) room of the bark of Amon. Behind this the wall was solid and contained a niche, probably conceived of as a double false door, of which traces are still present. The rearmost rooms, which could be entered only from the side, were the intimate living rooms, in which the god celebrated his festival of the harem, the "Beautiful Feast of Opet."

<sup>80</sup> See also a baldachin erected above a palanquin in a relief from the tomb of Ipi (Sixth Dynasty) at Saqqarah, now in the Cairo Museum (Schäfer und Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, p. 254).

<sup>81</sup> See a house model, now in the Cairo Museum, from a Theban tomb of the Eleventh Dynasty, illustrated in Hermann Kees, *Ägypten* ("Handbuch der Altertumswissenschaft," 3. Abt., 1. Teil, 3. Bd.: *Kulturgeschichte des alten Orients*, 1. Abschnitt [München, 1933]) Fig. 9.

<sup>82</sup> See Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Puyemrê at Thebes II* ("Publications of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, Robb de Peyster Tytus Memorial Series" III [New York, 1923]) Pl. XLIV.

stela.<sup>83</sup> In the palace the double false door implies a connection with the intimate dwelling chambers at the rear. In the First Palace of Medinet Habu, for example, though there were no intimate chambers at the rear, the king is represented on the leaves of the double false door as coming from within (Fig. 28 and Pls. 7 and 37). An inscription on the right side states: "The king appears in the palace (*ḥ*) of his august temple (*ḥ.t*)." The raised throne of the king, from which he granted audiences, stood in front of this double false door, which lay on the axis of the building.<sup>84</sup>

In the temple there is a double false door in the holy of holies, which contained the reception room of the god. As a rule, the god concerned is represented on the leaves of the false door with the king performing cult offices before him—in other words, the figures whose statues we are to imagine in the holy of holies. Double false doors are by no means confined to the holy of holies of Theban mortuary temples. On the contrary, they occur in various other sanctuaries. I give a few examples which confirm the idea that the double false door was for the use of the god or the divine king when he appeared in his sanctuary:

1. The sanctuaries of Isis, Horus, Amon-Re<sup>c</sup>, Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte, Ptah, and the King in the temple of Seti I at Abydos. The god appears with the king before him on both leaves of the false door in each case except in the sanctuary of the divine king himself, where the king appears alone with an inscription on the right side describing the scene as the "appearing of the king in the great house (*ḥ.t*)."<sup>85</sup> (This false door may be compared to that in the throneroom of the First Palace at Medinet Habu, though the king faces in the opposite direction.)

2. The sanctuary of Osiris in the temple of Ramses II at Abydos. On the door leaves Osiris appears with Ramses II embracing him.

3. The festival temple of Amenhotep II at Karnak. On the door leaves Amon appears with the king.

4. The sanctuary of Amon in the miniature temple with granite columned portico located in the court of Ramses II in the Luxor temple.<sup>86</sup> Amon and the king are represented on the door leaves.

5. The sanctuary of Osiris (Room 25; see p. 17) in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. Osiris is shown on the door leaves, and outside the doorframe the worshiping king.

6. The contiguous temple in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah (see p. 23). The door leaves show Ramses I in mummy form seated in his naos.

#### EXCURSUS 3: THE SACRED BARKS OF THE THEBAN TRIAD

A sacred bark was a ship model of moderate size on which stood the statue of the god concealed from view by a light shrine. In procession the bark as a rule was borne on poles upon the shoulders of priests, but occasionally it was transported on a large Nile boat.

At Medinet Habu, on the north wall of the second court, the bark of Amon and the smaller barks of Mut and Khonsu are represented in relief on the occasion of a feast of Amon. In the first scene the barks stand on their pedestals within their shrines; in the second scene they are carried in a procession and are met by the royal bark.<sup>87</sup> Amon addresses the king, stating that he presents himself in the "bark of the 'House-of-Millions-of-Years of Userma<sup>c</sup>re<sup>c</sup>-Meriamon'"—that is, in the bark of the temple of Medinet Habu. It would appear from the inscriptions accompanying these scenes that the cult statues of the Amon of Medinet Habu and of Mut and Khonsu were occasionally carried out of their sanctuaries on their barks, which doubtless ordinarily stood in their respective bark rooms in the temple. These sanctuaries were not, however, designed to receive the barks of the visiting Amon of Karnak and his associated deities during the Feast of the Valley, as Legrain has assumed.<sup>88</sup> If the Karnak barks actually were housed over night at Medinet Habu, that is, in the temple of the reigning king,<sup>89</sup> this must have occurred elsewhere, perhaps in one of the hypostyle halls.

<sup>83</sup> The form of our double false door occurs occasionally on coffins; see e.g. the sarcophagus of Princess Kauit (Edouard Naville, *The XIth Dynasty Temple at Deir el-Bahari I* [London, 1907] Pls. XIX–XX).

<sup>84</sup> Similarly in the palace of Merenptah at Memphis. In a model of the throneroom (which so far as I know has not been published) now set up in University Museum at Philadelphia the destroyed double false door has been correctly reconstructed (apparently from patterns at *ḥ*Amarnah), but in my opinion the king and not the god Ptah should be represented on the leaves.

<sup>85</sup> Calverley, *Abydos I* (1933) Pls. 21 and 29, II (1935) Pls. 9, 17, 25, and 34 respectively.

<sup>86</sup> See Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines du temple de Louxor* (Le Caire, 1893) p. 34.

<sup>87</sup> See *Medinet Habu IV*, Pls. 193 and 229–33.

<sup>88</sup> Legrain, "Le logement et transport des barques sacrées et des statues des dieux dans quelques temples égyptiens" (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, *Bulletin XIII* [1917] 1–76).

<sup>89</sup> Cf. Siegfried Schott in *OIC* No. 18, p. 74.

In the second scene at Medinet Habu the bark of Amon is carried by means of five poles, each supported by six priests. Five men walking side by side would occupy a space 2.50 m. wide, if we allow a shoulder width of 50 cm. for each man. Therefore the apertures through which they bore the bark in processions must have been over 2.50 m. wide. And in our temple this is actually true, for the doorways along the axis of the temple have a minimum width of 2.75 m. We agree with Legrain that the length of the poles may be estimated at approximately 4.50 m.<sup>90</sup> It is true that a palanquin 4.50 m. long could easily have been placed in the room of the bark of Amon at Medinet Habu and could have been removed backward; however, it would have been impossible to close the doors upon it (cf. Fig. 10). We judge from this fact that the five long poles did not remain in position permanently but were used only when the bark was carried in procession. Ordinarily perhaps two shorter beams or the sledge runners beneath the bark may have been used to lift both bark and statue. Similar conclusions apply also to the smaller barks of Mut and Khonsu at Medinet Habu; they could not have been carried to their respective chambers through the narrow columned halls by means of long poles and the number of priests shown in the relief (three rows of six each). We may conclude that, as Egyptian representations have shown the divine barks to be fairly small, the large number of bearers was mainly an expression of the honor paid to the bark and to the divine statue.

### THE ROOMS OF THE MORTUARY CULT

The royal temples in the Theban necropolis were not ordinary temples of Amon but had special significance as mortuary temples. They had a peculiar relationship to the tombs of their royal builders (see below), which were secretly located in the rocky Valley of the Kings at some kilometers' distance. In the earlier times the mortuary cult of the king (consisting principally of presentation of offerings and recitation of offering formulas) was performed in front of the tomb; later, however, it was separated from the tomb and transferred to a special temple of Amon, located somewhere along the edge of the cultivation, which we have designated as a royal funerary or mortuary temple. We now wish to consider the rooms within the temple especially designed for this cult.

First we look at the earlier examples (see Pl. 2). In the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri the mortuary offering chambers of Hatshepsut and her father, Thutmose I (outlined in red), are located on the south of the court and accessible from it alone. Each of these chambers is elongated and roofed with a false vault. A large granite stela in the form of a false door, as used in tomb structures since very remote times, was let into the rear wall.<sup>91</sup> The wall reliefs present the usual scenes of slaughtering and carving offering animals, rows of priests and officials bearing offerings, censuring, and performing other sacred rites. On the ceiling are astronomical representations which relate to the "hour watches" of the cult of Osiris. Therefore, these rooms were mortuary offering chambers, almost exactly like those of the Old Kingdom constructed in front of the pyramids<sup>92</sup> or in front of or within mastabas. The offering chamber as found at Deir el-Bahri was connected by means of the false door with the tomb lying in the cliffs behind it. Through the false door the deceased came out of his tomb and received the offerings which were prepared for him.

Whether a similar offering chamber existed in either the original or the altered temple of Thutmose II is unknown, as only the ground plan has come down to us. In the temple of Thutmose III the presence of a vaulted offering chamber has recently been established.<sup>93</sup> After the destruction of the temple, the granite stela which apparently had stood in this room was removed to Medinet Habu.<sup>94</sup> Fragments of a similar granite stela of Amenhotep II found at Medinet Habu<sup>95</sup> lead to the supposition that there was an analogous offering chamber in his temple. From these facts we assume that the mortuary cult of these kings was carried out as in earlier times and that it did not differ essentially from that which was practiced in the tombs of contemporary Theban nobles.

There was, however, a complete change toward the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty, presumably in the time

<sup>90</sup> *Op. cit.* Fig. 2.

<sup>91</sup> The stela of Hatshepsut, though badly mutilated, still stands *in situ*, but that of Thutmose I was removed by Belzoni and is now in the Louvre; cf. Herbert E. Winlock in *JEA* XV (1929) 57 and 64 f.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. the "holy of holies" in the pyramid temple of Sahure<sup>c</sup>; Borchardt, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ša3hu-rē* I (*WVDOG* XIV [1910]) 21 f. and 57 f.

<sup>93</sup> Ricke, *Der Totentempel Thutmosis' III*, pp. 11 f. and Pls. 2, 5, and 8-9.

<sup>94</sup> See Vol. II 30 and Pl. 22.

<sup>95</sup> Vol. II 30, n. 43, and Pl. 23.

of Amenhotep III, which period notably brought so many changes of one kind or another. From that time on, so far as we have been able to observe, there were in the mortuary temple no offering chamber in the aforementioned sense, no stela conceived of as a door connecting offering chamber and tomb, no scenes of the preparation and presentation of offerings by priests and servants. The offering chamber was replaced by what we have called the "contiguous temple" (red on Pl. 2), located to the south of the middle or main section of the temple and smaller than but corresponding in arrangement to the main section. Its importance is indicated by its position parallel to the main axis of the temple and a special processional passage leading to it from the court. It contained one or two halls and a sanctuary. The latter consisted regularly of three cellae. It therefore appears that the contiguous temple was a small independent unit, placed beside the principal section of the temple but without any relation to the Amon cult of the latter.

It is difficult to understand the significance of the contiguous temple, as unfortunately only the one in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah is well preserved—and it may have been exceptional. On the rear wall of the central cella is a double false door such as is discussed in detail above (pp. 27–28). On each of the two door leaves is a relief of Ramses I, the father of Seti I, seated as a mummy in a naos of sarcophagus form. The inscriptions on the left and right sides state respectively that Seti I "made as a monument for his father, the good god, *Mn-phty-R<sup>c</sup>* (Ramses I), the making for him of a *mnkb* (probably a cool room for sleeping or similar) of eternity" and that he "made as a monument for his father, King Ramses, the making for him of a splendid *ḥ* (palace) of eternity."<sup>96</sup> On the side walls of the room the bark of Amon is represented with Seti I censing before it, while behind it the statue of Ramses I is being anointed by Seti. The inscription beneath it discusses the construction of a bark for Ramses I. The two adjoining cellae are considerably narrower and were decorated not contemporaneously with the central one but by Ramses II (perhaps not according to the original intention?) with rather crude reliefs of himself before the Theban Triad and Seti I. This contiguous temple was therefore not for the mortuary cult of the royal builder but was dedicated to his deceased father, the god Ramses I. We have already observed (p. 29) that at Deir el-Bahri Thutmose I participated in the cult of mortuary offerings with his reigning daughter, Hatshepsut, but only in a secondary role. In the Qurnah temple, however, only the deceased father—not the king himself—was assigned a special cult chamber as a divinity. Whether as a rule the contiguous temple was dedicated to a royal ancestor is a question which as yet cannot be solved, since all other known examples have been completely destroyed. Pointing toward an affirmative answer is perhaps the fact that at Medinet Habu also we find a cult chamber (No. 14 in Fig. 5) of a royal ancestor—in this case it is Ramses II (see p. 13)—which, even though it has not the same form as the contiguous temple, is yet a chapel located on the south side of the temple. On the other hand, the situation at Qurnah may be due to the fact that Ramses I, so far as we know, built no mortuary temple for himself and thus may have been dependent upon the solicitude of his descendants. In any case, it seems peculiar that Seti established an independent divine cult for his deceased father, while he himself, the divine king, had only a tiny side chapel in the sanctuary of Amon. From the meager facts perhaps it may be concluded that the contiguous temple was fundamentally intended for the deified king himself and only in this particular example was given to the royal father.<sup>97</sup>

In the Twentieth Dynasty radical changes are again observable. At Medinet Habu the contiguous temple was replaced by an irregular group of rooms (red on Pl. 2). In these chambers (20–27 in Fig. 5) there was a distinctive mortuary cult, however, though it was not the mortuary offering service as at Deir el-Bahri but rather a cult for Osiris and his associated divinities as well as for the dead king, who had become identified with Osiris (see pp. 16–17). The representations on the walls resemble in their dark mysteriousness those of the kings' tombs themselves. We become especially conscious of the spirit dominating here when we compare these chambers with the chapel of the living king (Room 1), where he is shown seated upon his throne with the queen standing behind him and princes and princesses of the royal family bringing him gifts (see p. 13).

In summarizing the results of our study we ascertain that, in both the earliest (Hatshepsut) and the latest

<sup>96</sup> LD III, Pl. 131 b.

<sup>97</sup> In this connection I should like to point out that in the temple of Seti I at Abydos a similar contiguous temple with three cellae was originally constructed to the south of the main sanctuaries. It was later altered by the conversion of a portion of it into a corridor and the dedication of the remainder to the Memphite mortuary gods Ptah-Sokar and Nefertem (see Calverley, *Abydos* I, Pl. 1A). Thus in this temple Seti I for some unknown cause abandoned the original plan, which had involved the inclusion of a contiguous temple.



(Ramses III) of the temples discussed, rooms to the south of the main section were employed in the mortuary cult of the king—a cult which, it is true, developed and changed considerably during the interval. During the intermediate period—that is, from Amenhotep III to the end of the Nineteenth Dynasty—such mortuary chambers were missing, but their position seems to have been usurped by a contiguous temple. If so, our presumption that the contiguous temple belonged, in principle, to the cult of the dead king as a god seems verified.

#### THE ALTAR COURT OF RE<sup>c</sup>-HARAKHTE

An altar court was present in most of the temples discussed above (yellow on Pl. 2). The altar itself was a platform, approachable by stairs from the west so that the worshiper faced the east. At Deir el-Bahri the inscription of Hatshepsut on the altar<sup>98</sup> asserts that it was dedicated to Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte. At Medinet Habu the representations and inscriptions covering the walls of the court and its subsidiary chambers (17–19; see p. 15) indicate that the altar was likewise devoted to the same god. On the sides of the altar in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah apes standing in an attitude of adoration manifestly suggest a similar idea. We can therefore in general assign such altar courts to the sun god, Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte, and his associates.

In most cases there is a single vestibule or group of smaller rooms before the court and a single chamber or a larger pillared hall behind the court. We do not know the purpose of these.

#### MISCELLANEOUS CHAMBERS

We are quite uncertain of the purposes of the chapels accessible to the right and left of the third hypostyle hall (white on Pl. 2) at Medinet Habu. So far as I can see, there are no direct models for them in the older temples. The two pairs of small rooms (28–29 and 36–37) might possibly be compared with the two chapels (blue hatching on Pl. 2) located behind the sanctuaries of Mut and Khonsu in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah, which apparently belonged to Montu (left) and Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte (right). The larger group of three rooms (30–32) between the sanctuary of the sun god and that of Amon appears to have been dedicated to Amon the Primeval One and his Ennead but also to have served a special cult of the king (see pp. 18 f.), perhaps in connection with his jubilee.

Adjoining the rear corners of the great hypostyle hall at Medinet Habu are two important chapels (green), apparently designed to house sacred barks and therefore supplied with double doors. The chapel at the left (15), which has a large side chamber (16), was designed for Montu (see p. 13). It is true that Montu, the old nome god of Thebes, is not mentioned, as far as I know, in literary sources as having a cult and festival of his own at Medinet Habu. However, the fact that he appears to have possessed a processional bark of his own seems to indicate that he also played a special role in the cult. Further evidence to support this idea is found in the reliefs on the southern colonnade of the first court, where Montu as well as Amon presents a sword to the king in order that he may destroy his enemies.<sup>99</sup> We have presumed that the king's bark stood in the chapel at the right (7), which is destroyed except for the north wall (see p. 13). Representations of a feast of Amon on the north and east walls of the second court (see p. 28) inform us that such a bark was present in the temple.<sup>100</sup> Room 7, so far as I can see, is the only chamber among those whose purpose is undetermined which could have housed the king's bark.<sup>101</sup> We do not know whether in the temple of Eye and in the Ramesseum the king's bark stood in one of the rooms marked in green on Plate 2. In the Ramesseum the width of the doorways would favor such an assumption. However, in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah the king's bark stood in the third chapel on the south side of the hypostyle hall.

North of the great hypostyle hall at Medinet Habu lie three side chapels (outlined in yellow) which in a certain sense belong together. The one nearest the front of the temple (2) belonged to Ptah, the next (3) to an Osiris, and the last (4) to Ptah-Sokar and his bark, *h<sup>n</sup>w* (see p. 13).<sup>102</sup> Whether the trinity Ptah-Sokar-Osiris was here

<sup>98</sup> Kurt Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie I* (2d ed.; Leipzig, 1930) 295 C.

<sup>99</sup> See *Medinet Habu II*, Pls. 120–22.

<sup>100</sup> See *Medinet Habu IV*, Pl. 231.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. the similarly located room for the king's bark in the temple of Ramses II at Abydos (Chamber G in Auguste Mariette, *Abydos II* [Paris, 1880]).

<sup>102</sup> See also *Medinet Habu IV*, Pl. 227.

separated into Ptah, Osiris, and Ptah-Sokar I do not venture to state. In any case, however, structurally these three chapels could be considered sanctuaries of a temple of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris built in the transverse direction of the great hypostyle hall. In the Calendar Ramses III takes pride in the fact that he has transferred to Medinet Habu the cult of the Memphite god Ptah-Sokar with all the customary rituals and ceremonies which were carried on in the latter's temple at Memphis.<sup>103</sup> Ptah-Sokar received his own offerings and celebrated his feast, which is depicted on the south and east walls of the second court (see p. 9). In contrast to this, the other divinities represented at Medinet Habu did not enjoy offerings of their own. It is clear from the offering lists of the Calendar that all the offerings except those of Ptah-Sokar were intended exclusively for Amon, his Ennead, and the divine statue of the king. We may think of the offerings as being presented first before Amon and then after he had been "satisfied" passed on, in strictly prescribed rotation, some to the Ennead and others to the divine statue of the king. Guest divinities were next in line, and finally the priests enjoyed the offerings.<sup>104</sup>

Two chapels at Medinet Habu remain to be mentioned: that of the living king (1), adjoining the right-hand front corner of the great hypostyle hall, and at the left-hand rear corner the room of the bark of Ramses II (14), a royal ancestor. Thus we have found that at Medinet Habu, aside from the barks of the Theban Triad, there were present also the bark of the king, presumably in Chapel 7; that of the royal forebear Ramses II, in Chapel 14; that of Montu, in Chapel 15; and the *hnw*-bark of Ptah-Sokar, in Chapel 4.

And now, in closing, let us mention the utility rooms of the temple. The "slaughterhouse" at Medinet Habu (Rooms 5-6) was arbitrarily located in a place which had no other purpose. In the temple of Seti I at Qurnah and probably in the Ramesseum and in the temple of Tauseret it had an entirely different location, in the left-hand rear corner. The Medinet Habu treasury (Rooms 9-13) is in the same position as that in the temple of Tauseret and presumably that in the Ramesseum, though the latter is somewhat elongated. In the temple of Seti I it was placed behind the contiguous temple, where in the Ramesseum there was a magazine.

### THE TEMPLE AS AN ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENT

We would do justice neither to the spirit of art nor to the significance of Ramses III's Great Temple at Medinet Habu as a work of art if we considered only its plan and technical details and made no attempt to realize the artistic attainment embodied in this gigantic structure. It is true that the art of the later Ramessid period seems heavy, pretentious, and coarse as compared with the simple, stately works of the early Eighteenth Dynasty or those of Amenhotep III, which are resplendent with beauty and refined luxury, or the elegant creations of Seti I. However, it is to a certain extent unfair to pass such hasty judgment on the art of the Twentieth Dynasty. Let us try to avoid premature subjective evaluation and attempt rather to determine the direction of the artistic will of the time and the extent to which it found recognizable expression in artistic creations such as the temple at Medinet Habu.

Whoever expects the character of a structure to be revealed in some way by its exterior or, in other words, that the form of a thing must mirror its nature<sup>105</sup> must be sadly disappointed in an Egyptian temple. The ancient Egyptian would have had absolutely no understanding of such a viewpoint. Our temple was not even intended to be seen from the outside. On three sides it was tightly inclosed by other structures, and therefore its side and rear walls were not featured architecturally. Before the fourth side—the front—stood a mighty

<sup>103</sup> As translated by Nelson in *OIC* No. 18, p. 9:

"I made splendid Ptah-Sokar  
And the *hnw*-bark on the *msh*-sledge.  
As for Osiris-Wennofer, whenever he approaches thy throne,  
I have caused him to appear in my house at the introduction of Sokar.

I have made excellent his offerings  
And his ordinances and his ceremonies,  
In accordance with the festal usages of the House of Ptah,  
In order to observe all the occasions of the year."

<sup>104</sup> Cf. Kees, *Ägypten*, pp. 246 f.; Nelson in *OIC* No. 18, pp. 54 f.

<sup>105</sup> Karl Boetticher, *Die Tektonik der Hellenen I* (2d ed.; Berlin, 1874) motto on title-page: "Des Körpers Form ist seines Wesens Spiegel! Durchdringst du sie—löst sich des Räthsels Siegel."

pylon with towering flagstaffs. In principle this did not actually belong to the temple building itself, since a pylon is to be thought of as a separate structure set into an encircling wall. It is the monumental gateway to a court. Before the temple of Harmhab, for instance, we found three successive pylons,<sup>106</sup> not one of which actually belonged architecturally to the temple itself. And the same is true of the pylons at Karnak. Thus a pylon cannot be spoken of as a temple façade in the strictest sense of the term. We cannot therefore seek from it any indication whether a temple lies behind it or of what sort such a temple may be. With full authority, then, one may state that only the interior of our temple is architecturally significant. In order to gain an impression of its character let us step through the gate.

A second pylon forms the rear boundary of the first court—again no actual temple façade but merely the entrance to a court. While the first court is fairly open and airy, the second is surrounded with shadowy colonnades. The rear colonnade, built on a raised terrace, forms the actual portico of the temple. However, even this does not give unequivocally the effect of a façade, as architecturally it balances the opposite colonnade, which is attached to the rear of the second pylon. Thus the portico belongs just as much to the court as to the actual temple building. The transition from court to vestibule and then to temple interior is not clearly apparent.

The main rooms lie along the axis one behind another like beads on a string: the great hypostyle hall, a second and a third hypostyle hall, a four-pillared hall, ever smaller, narrower, lower, and darker until finally the progression ends in the holy of holies before a double false door which marked the entrance to the unseen world. This is the path that the procession followed. Out of the blazing light of day it was shut into courts, confined between walls and columned passages and not again released, driven forward as in a channel, with no chance for deviation to right or left, to the very end in the holy of holies. The succession of rooms forced it forward to its destination like a relentless destiny. In none of the older temples do we find a more consistent and inexorable succession of rooms.

Let us now examine the individual stations along this processional way. In older temples such as those of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, Eye-Harmhab, and Seti I at Qurnah the first court was only a forecourt; that is, architecturally it did not belong to the temple proper. Even in the Ramesseum, which is most closely related to our temple, the side colonnades of the first court were out of proportion and were in scale not with the gigantic temple but with the relatively modest palace which adjoined the court. At Medinet Habu for the first time the first court was part and parcel of the temple architecture (see Fig. 3). Its walls are of the same height as those of the second court and the adjoining roofed section. The side colonnades are in scale with those of the actual temple. The integration is complete; courts and temple structure have become an architectural unity.

The second court was in a narrower sense the temple court (cf. p. 8, n. 24). It is almost square. In form, size, and adornment with colonnades and Osiride pillars it very closely resembles that of the Ramesseum (Pl. 39 *A*). The two seated colossi which once towered at either side of the ramp leading to the temple portico would have been surprising and undoubtedly disturbing to our modern sensibilities. Their height including the socles may be reckoned as about 11 m. Through their size the well balanced architectural proportions of the court must have been brutally destroyed and its artistic effect ruined. But here again we whose perceptions are schooled by the Greeks lack understanding and appreciation of the artistic notions of the ancient Egyptians. We feel that the discrepancy in scale between architecture and sculpture is in very poor taste; but for the Egyptian a conscious principle of art lay therein, and it was not merely a mistake on the part of an individual artist. We need only call attention to similar examples in the Ramesseum, in the Luxor temple, and at Abu Simbel. In those instances a feeling for uniform scale was completely lacking; the primary problem was to make the figure of the divine king overpowering in effect even at the cost of doing violence to the architecture. In like fashion discrepancies in scale were present even in the most ancient reliefs. It was customary to portray the king or any other important personage on a scale larger than the rest of the scene in order to express his great importance. In our temple we see the principle carried over into sculpture in the round and its architectural setting.

The temple proper with its succession of columned halls begins behind the second court and the portico. The form and arrangement of these halls have often been praised as a great architectural feat, as a first-class achievement in room-creation. However, this is certainly not true. There is no artistic feeling for room proportions in either the individual halls or the succession of halls. A room in the architectural sense is inclosed

<sup>106</sup> Vol. II 80.

by walls, so that its three dimensions can be clearly recognized and stated in their mutual relationship. If such feeling were attributed to the ancient Egyptian, the first premise would be that the columned halls created by him should at least be understood as rooms in the architectural sense defined above. However, in view of the thickness of the columns which fill the halls this is quite impossible. Only by wandering among the columns and catching ever new and limited glimpses can one finally from an abundance of individual impressions gain the conception of a large room (cf. Pl. 39 B). In reality the form and dimensions of the room cannot even thus be grasped, but one is impressed by the number and size of the columns and involuntarily draws a conclusion as to the size and form of the room. The Egyptian was completely uninterested in the room as such. To him the nature of a room depended only upon the passage to be traversed. To him the columned hall was only a widening of that passage. Here possibly the procession may have halted to perform some cult duty or to leave those who were not entitled to accompany the divine barks the rest of the way. Thus the great columned hall is followed by a second, smaller one and a third—in the Ramesseum even a fourth—of the same type. Rooms of the same type were repeated without their effect being enhanced by contrasts. Also in this the lack of conception of room form is shown. When, therefore, we say that the ancient Egyptian did not know or strive for a conscious feeling for room proportions we do not exclude the fact that certain rooms in the temple, notably the first and especially the second court at Medinet Habu, affect us—to a certain extent unintentionally on the part of the designer—as artistic room-creations.

The lack of an artistic idea is revealed by the planning of the side rooms even more than by the form and order of the main rooms. For the most part these adjoin the central halls helter-skelter, squeezed together in confusion, intended merely to fill the rectangle of the temple ground plan. Only cult requirements, not architectural and artistic considerations, affected their arrangement. We have already indicated (pp. 29–31) that changes in religious views during the New Kingdom may have influenced the planning of the mortuary temple. For example we saw that toward the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty the mortuary offering chamber was replaced by a contiguous temple with a special processional passage leading to it. In the Twentieth Dynasty it in turn was replaced by a sanctuary of the Osiride king and of Osiris himself. This sanctuary was approached by a circuitous path and had several narrow chambers, thus reminding one of the tomb itself. No festal and solemn procession was expected there. One breathes the depressing air of the architecturally distasteful closeness of the rock tomb and cowers before the abstruse pictures of an atavistic impression of the underworld. Fearful bigotry has taken the place of proud consciousness of power and happy affirmation of life. This changed spiritual attitude of an era which felt itself nearing an end is expressed in all the art of Medinet Habu. Because people were fearful and uncertain of self they attempted through colossality and magnificence to delude themselves and others concerning their weakness. The monumentality in our temple is an expression not of youthful power but of fear that comes with age.<sup>107</sup> An unmotivated desire to exceed all records for size has taken hold. It is only necessary to compare the useless thickness of the outer walls of our temple with the wall strength in the Ramesseum and in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah and our clumsy columns with those in the two earlier temples. This had no connection with creative power, but was supposed to conceal the lack of ideas.<sup>108</sup> And it actually does that very thing! For in spite of all that critics may say, the impression made upon the visitor is tremendous and no one can deny it (see Pls. 14–20).

However, we shall not content ourselves with the general mood aroused by this impression but shall attempt to discover by what formal means it is produced. In wandering through the temple we are scarcely clear about the various elements of form which have been assembled and unified. In this stone architecture, which in principle recognizes only the rectangle and the cube, forms used in ancient reed-and-mud construction (battered walls, torus moldings, cavetto cornices, etc.) survive, exactly as in brick buildings. Seemingly a stone temple differed very little from one of mud brick; both were whitewashed and painted in the same manner. The material as such was not visible. That which today makes such a strong impression on us attracted the ancient Egyptian only subconsciously at best. In the rectangular rooms with their thick walls and heavy architraves were placed—following ancient tradition—plant columns, papyrus columns which in reality represent clusters of these sway-

<sup>107</sup> Cf. Wilhelm Worringer, *Ägyptische Kunst, Probleme ihrer Wertung* (München, 1929). Although I am not in sympathy in every respect with the general tendency of this book, still I do accept certain very striking statements from it.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.* p. 58.

ing and frailest of plants.<sup>109</sup> However, while in the Eighteenth Dynasty papyrus cluster-columns, tectonically absurd yet so charming, were still used with surprising naturalness and without any realization of the contradiction between form and use, at Medinet Habu and generally in structures of the Ramessid period they were mantled, that is, adapted to the walls and the simple stone pillars so that they no longer seemed so strange as plant clusters (Pl. 18 *A*). They bear only very meager indications of the underlying forms in nature: tall basal leaves on the shaft, just below the capital bands which bound the stems together, and above and below the latter vertical bands representing short stems of flowers which were also bound in. The expert will be able to find other details which point to the plant origin; but for the layman the column is scarcely recognizable as a cluster-column. Furthermore, through the mantling of the shaft a smooth surface was obtained which, like the wall and pillar surfaces, could be covered with painted reliefs. And that also was done without scruple: above, a frieze of cartouches and serpents; below, between the basal leaves, similar ornamentation; in the middle, on the remaining white part of the shaft facing the observer, a scene which hangs there as it were like a tapestry (Pl. 20 *B*). These massive columns with their untectonic decoration seem ugly and repulsive in contrast to the older cluster-columns. However, they should not be considered as individual creations but must be visualized in relation to the walls and in their original color (see Folio Pl. 24). They must be evaluated as an attempt to overcome the architectural absurdity of the plant cluster by manifesting the columns as stone and treating their surfaces as walls. But there has been no venture to give up the ancient basic form of the cluster-column nor, because of the ties of tradition, any attempt to find actual new forms to replace it.

Opposite the columns and to a certain degree equaling them in importance stand statue pillars: four-cornered pillars with engaged statues of the king in either mummy (Pls. 20 *B* and 39 *A*) or free-body form (Pls. 1 and 18 *B*). A union of the human figure with a cubic stone structure! In earlier times in Egypt monolithic statues placed in front of structures had no direct connection with them, as for example the royal statues in the pillared hall of the gateway of Khafre<sup>c</sup> at Gizah,<sup>110</sup> the colossi in front of the pylons of the Theban temples, and the Osiride statues of Thutmose I or III in the courts of the temple of Amon at Karnak. Or statues were placed in niches, as in the court of the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri. But an organic union of statue and structure is not found until later times. It is a sign that architecture has taken the lead over the plastic in art. Forerunners possibly occurred as early as the Eighteenth Dynasty, for example in the chapel of Hatshepsut and Thutmose III behind the temple of Amon at Karnak. However, the complete union did not take place until the Ramessid period, and nowhere better than in the first court at Medinet Habu.

The statue was not merely placed before the pillar but rather was built up together with it from stone blocks. Heavy and clumsy in the entire relationship as well as in the individual parts, perfectly adapted to the massive character of the building and especially to the columns which stand opposite. The figure is obviously all out of proportion (Pl. 1), the lower half of the body much too short, the breast and arms so overdeveloped that the figure reminds one of a gorilla! I cannot believe that this effect should be charged to the inability of the sculptor, since it was customary to draw figures according to a prescribed canon and in the reliefs of the same period the usual slender figures were employed. Doubtless the sculptor intended something quite different in this case. Not a realistic or idealistic copy of a royal human being was striven for, but an architectural creation representing the idea of "king." It was desired to depict divine kingship in all its might and splendor; and therefore every adornment which since time immemorial had graced the king was drawn upon—headcloth and *3f*-crown with such fantastic accessories as ram horns and ostrich feathers, serpents and sun disks, and even small figures of Amon on the shoulders. How little this headdress was meant to be a realistic copy of actual royal garb may be seen in the fact that in the decoration of the crown the name of the king, Userma<sup>c</sup>re<sup>c</sup>-Meriamon, is represented pictorially. We have here therefore a ceremonial image in its most monumental form. Even though we admit that such exaggeration smacks a bit of falsity and emptiness, still this architectural plastic does not in any way lack artistic effect. And this effect depends not only on absolute size but also on artistic achievement, namely the severe stylization and the emphasis on the size by artistic means such as the small figures at the sides and the still smaller reliefs on the socle, as well as the very clever, decorative, and effective arrangement of the orna-

<sup>109</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 68 ff.

<sup>110</sup> Hölscher, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Chephren* (Ernst von Sieglin Expedition in Ägypten, "Veröffentlichungen" I [Leipzig, 1912]) Pl. V.

mental parts. Thus I see in this figure the characteristic expression of the art of the period of Ramses III. And therefore I have used a reconstruction of it by A. Bollacher as frontispiece for this volume. Compare this picture with the frontispiece of Volume II, a statue of Tutankhamon, in order to measure the difference between the art of the Eighteenth Dynasty and that of the Twentieth Dynasty and to feel the spirit which dominated the period of Ramses III.

The afore-mentioned dependence on tradition expressed itself most strongly in the reliefs. We have seen that all walls were covered with pictures, partly on a gigantic scale and partly in several rows one above another. All pictures were on a white background. They gained thereby in spite of their strong colors something of delicacy and gay festivity. The white background bound all together. Without scruple pictures were scattered over all surfaces with a certain playful ease (Pl. 3). Walls, pillars, and columns, themselves so massive and heavy, appeared as if decked with airy tapestries. Never was an attempt made to emphasize the effect of the architecture by means of the painting. The inconsistency of the massive architecture and the delicate painting was offset by precision and objectivity in the manner of representation and the incredible certainty of formal procedure. The strongest point of this art was the distribution of the accents on the surface. Today the onlooker is hardly aware of this, as for the most part the colors have disappeared and only the deep-cut contour lines are left, and even the latter have been marred by the prominent stone joints and by weathering. We have therefore made reconstructions of the Great Pylon and a corner of the first court in their former brilliance of color (Folio Pls. 23–24), which may give an impression of the originals.<sup>111</sup> The pictures themselves need no further explanation. They elucidate what we have said concerning the division of space in the pictorial decoration.

The wall reliefs on and in our temple are for the most part hollow reliefs. Low reliefs are rare exceptions. In the Eighteenth Dynasty the different effects produced by low and hollow reliefs were already known. In the open, where either direct or reflected sunlight fell, hollow relief was usually employed, and directly alongside on the interior low relief was used.<sup>112</sup> Through the period of Seti I low relief was as a rule considered the finer for use in inner rooms. This was changed under Ramses II. From then on hollow relief was employed almost exclusively. And nowhere was it so deep-cut as in the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. Doubtless it was simpler and cheaper to execute. But that cannot have been the deciding factor for the preference given it in the late period. There must first of all have been artistic reasons. In hollow relief the deep-cut edges give a sharp outline, with light on one side and shadow on the other. Thus the deeper the relief is cut, the more pronounced the contour. By means of varying depth of contour lines the main figures can be distinguished from those of less importance. Everything was planned for clearness of effect from a distance. Even hieroglyphs 20 cm. deep, which to us are especially disturbing, were purposely cut so that as a result of the effect of shadows they would appear almost black in places and therefore be clearly recognizable at a great distance. And this brings us to the point. The art of the Ramessids concerns itself not so much with fine and charming details but chiefly with general effect. Only coarse means are now utilized. Gentle violin tones cannot make themselves heard beside horns and trumpets! Thus deep-cut relief is actually the form which corresponds throughout to the artistic style of this period. What was suitable for the outer walls has now, however, it seems to me, thoughtlessly been carried over into the small inner rooms (see Pl. 21 *B*). There pictures on a large scale and deep-cut hieroglyphs are no doubt in poor taste. The Ramessid artist may perhaps have tried to motivate them with the desired uniformity of style; we see therein only an indication of stiffness in the art of this period.

So the temple of Medinet Habu stands for us as a typical example of a decadent art. Its effect may be attributed to its architectural aspect and monumental execution in stone, to the exactness in traditional style and the certainty of decorative procedure which recognizes no problems. We scarcely realize that the whole imposing layout served actually to replace a spiritual and physical power which no longer existed.

<sup>111</sup> The evidence upon which these reconstructions are based is due in part to the members of the Epigraphic Survey, who studied the details of the reliefs and the traces of color most intensively.

<sup>112</sup> Cf. the pillars of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu (Vol. II 19 and 49 f.).

## II

# THE PALACE

The king addresses Amon:

"I made for thee an august royal palace within it (the temple), like the palace of Atum which is in heaven, the columns, the doorjambs, and the doors of *ḳm*-gold and the great window of appearance of fine gold."

PAPYRUS HARRIS I iv 11-12

The royal palace, which adjoined the first court of the temple on the south, was the only structure within the compound which was built onto the temple (see Folio Pl. 2) and shows thereby its close relationship to the temple. We therefore designate this type of palace a "temple palace" in contrast to actual residence palaces.

The palace extended from the temple to the Inner Inclosure Wall. It was square in plan, and its walls were constructed of mud brick, the material customarily used for secular structures in Egypt, except the front, which

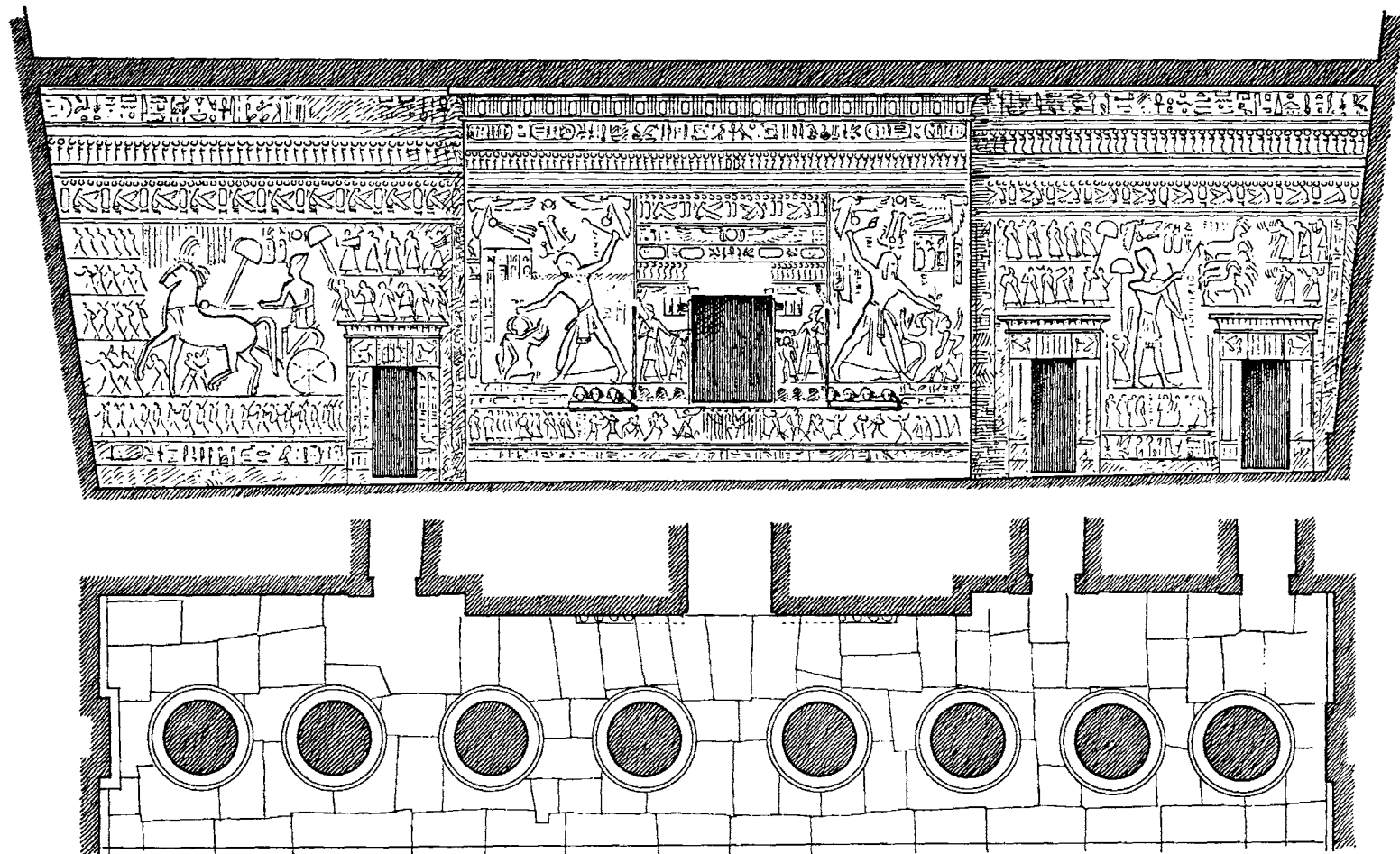


FIG. 15. FAÇADE OF THE ROYAL PALACE AT MEDINET HABU AND GROUND PLAN OF ITS COLUMNED PORTICO

was at the same time the south wall of the first court of the temple and was therefore of stone. Our excavations have revealed that the original or First Palace was replaced by the Second Palace, which had an entirely different plan (cf. Folio Pls. 13-14). The First Palace was obviously executed contemporaneously with the temple, for the south wall of the first court of the temple was planned as the palace façade with a columned portico and doorways designed and decorated as palace entrances (Fig. 15 and Pl. 14). Except for this stone front wall the original palace was completely torn down before the new palace was begun. Only a few foundation courses were left. Therefore we were able to regain the ground plan of the older building only in so far as the foundations permitted.

The later palace did not stand upon the foundations of the earlier one—that is, not a single wall except the stone front wall was reused. The floor of the Second Palace was laid about 25 cm. higher, and its foundations were not as deep—facts which assisted us in distinguishing between the foundations of the two buildings. Until recently at least some of the mud-brick walls of the later palace still stood to quite a height but in an earlier excavation (1913) by others were not recognized as belonging to the Ramessid period and were leveled to the height of the floor, which is still recognizable by numerous doorsills *in situ*. Only on the east, outside that excavation, did bits of the walls escape destruction (see Pl. 25 B). Some stone parts of the structure which were bonded into the mud-brick walls or otherwise connected with them are preserved: column bases, engaged pillars, door-sills, wall facings, and alabaster substructures of thrones. They were recorded by us before we began our own work and are presented on Plate 25 and Folio Plate 1. Under these circumstances we had to study the foundations carefully in order to ascertain the courses of the walls. The doorsills offered a definite clue; for the most part the positions of those which had already been removed (either in antiquity or later) could be determined with

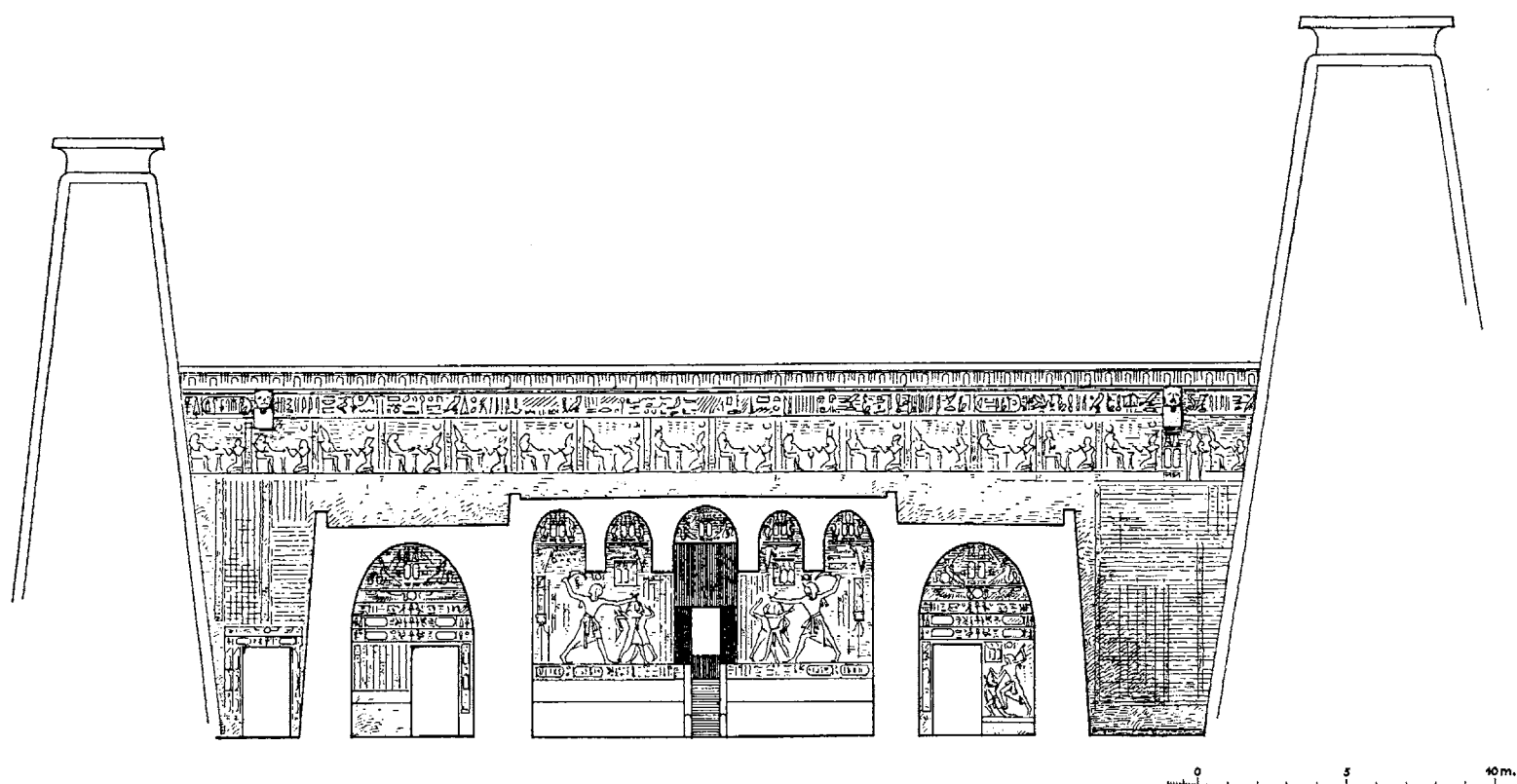


FIG. 16. EXTERIOR SOUTH WALL OF THE TEMPLE AND CROSS-SECTION OF THE FIRST PALACE

certainty from the sand bedding upon which they once lay. Some of the doorposts still lay as they had fallen and so could be re-erected upon the sills. Others, which had already been removed in antiquity or cleared aside in 1913, were brought back and could be replaced with more or less certainty by means of guide lines on the sills. One of the most interesting doorframes (Pl. 35 D) was found by *sebakh*-diggers in the palace as long ago as 1903<sup>1</sup> and is now in the Cairo Museum (see p. 51, n. 40). For the most part the columns and their bases had disappeared, but their locations were indicated by either their sand bedding or their foundations.

While the foundations and a few building parts remaining above ground enabled us to regain the ground plans of the two palaces, a particularly fortunate circumstance helped us to determine details of their superstructures; for, since both palaces had been built against the south wall of the temple, they had left the imprint of their brick walls and arches in all details upon the latter. That is, the cross-sections of both palaces are recorded, so to speak, on the temple wall (Pl. 26<sup>2</sup>). Our problem was to distinguish between the traces of the First and the Second Palace. However, this was not so difficult when the ground plans were taken into consideration. The First Palace had a great central hall (see Fig. 23) roofed with five fairly narrow barrel vaults (Fig. 16). These rested upon four stone architraves whose front ends were let into the stone wall. The holes left after the removal

<sup>1</sup> Daressy in *ASAE* XI (1911) Pl. I and p. 50.

<sup>2</sup> Since the traces on the temple wall were revealed only by the closest observation and were difficult to see in a photograph, they have been re-touched in pencil on the photograph reproduced in Pl. 26.



of these architraves were closed with stone patches which were carelessly carved with shallow reliefs and inscriptions and thus could easily be distinguished from the other carved surfaces (see Pl. 26).<sup>3</sup> The two side rooms were narrower, and each was roofed with a barrel vault. The vaulted ceiling of the Second Palace was considerably higher. The central hall had three barrel vaults supported by two architraves let into the wall as in the First Palace. The holes caused by their removal when the Second Palace was destroyed remained open until modern times when Barsanti repaired the temple. In the temple wall, around the inside of each arch, are three, five, or seven small holes (see Pl. 26) which carried the ends of wooden beams used to support the vault during construction.<sup>4</sup>

A second fortuitous circumstance aided us in our investigation. Although all that remained *in situ* of the older palace were foundation courses, yet we recovered its most essential stone architectural parts. They had been in part built into the foundations of the later palace or into the tomb of Horsiēse,<sup>5</sup> high priest of Amon and later coregent with Osorkon II (Twenty-second Dynasty), in part reused in the "garden" bordering the palace on the west (pp. 67 f.). They included in particular doorframes, a double false door, and fragments of columns, engaged pillars, and architraves. Wherever they were used as doorsills in the Second Palace, we removed them and replaced them with other stones. Thanks to these unusually fortunate circumstances, it was possible to reconstruct not only the Second Palace but also the older building, which had been destroyed more than three thousand years ago (Pls. 3-9). The few points that remained uncertain and that are based on imagination in our reconstructions are discussed below.

### THE PALACE FAÇADE

The stone façade of the palace, as mentioned above, formed at the same time the south wall of the first court of the temple. Its mighty colonnade has already been described (p. 7). The irregular spacing of the columns

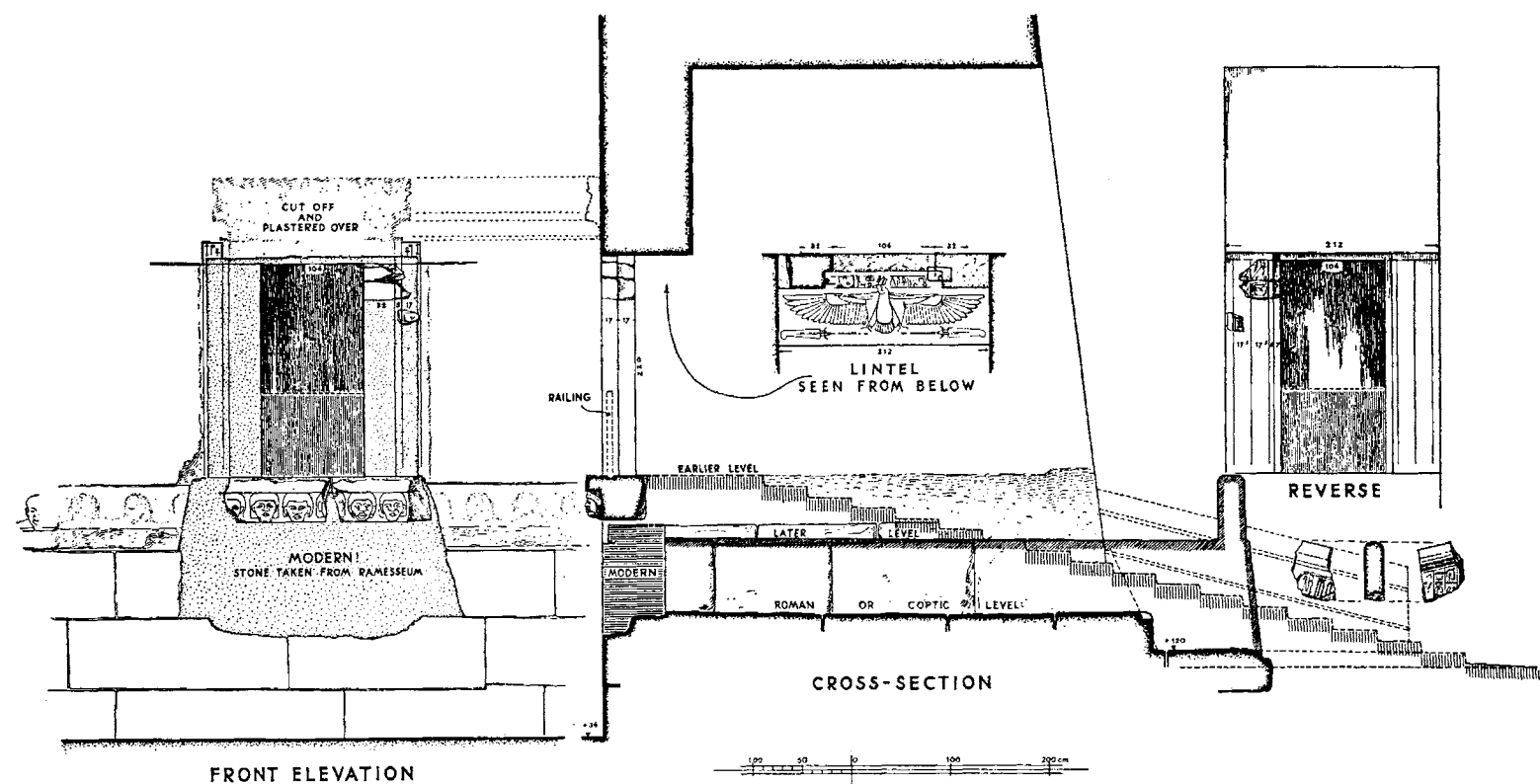


FIG. 17. THE WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES WITH FRAGMENTS FOUND DURING OUR EXCAVATIONS RESTORED

(see Fig. 15 and Pl. 14) was due to the positions of the door and window openings in the front wall of the palace. The middle of the wall projects about 75 cm. and is finished at the top with a cavetto cornice which emphasizes its architectural importance. In the center of this projection is the Window of Royal Appearances. Two doorways lead into the palace vestibules, one on either side of the projection, and at the extreme right a third opens into a court. All three had single-leaved doors. It is obvious that this façade, which was contemporaneous with

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 114.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. IV.

<sup>5</sup> Located close to the Small Temple of Medinet Habu (Folio Pls. 3-4, Tomb 1); see also Vol. V.

the temple, belonged to the First Palace. When the later palace was constructed this remained essentially unaltered. Only the doorframes were redecorated and the Window of Royal Appearances was converted into the Balcony of Royal Appearances. These changes are discussed on pages 43–44, and for the present we shall confine our attention to the original façade.

The Window of Royal Appearances (Pl. 3),<sup>6</sup> situated at about a man's height above the court pavement, was constructed like a doorway, but with a wooden railing across the front. The aperture was originally narrower than it is at present. Its original width (1.04 m.) is indicated on the underside of the lintel (Fig. 17), where one may still find the two sockets in which blinds swung like the leaves of a door. The jambs had later been removed to increase the width of the opening, but small fragments (e.g. Pl. 34 B) were discovered by us in the rubbish. They were smoothly dressed, covered with woven fabric and then with a thin coat of gesso which obviously formed a smooth ground for some type of ornamentation such as gilding—exactly the same process that we have observed on the main doorways of the temple (see e.g. p. 10).<sup>7</sup> The frame above the window originally was crowned with a cavetto cornice and frieze of serpents but later, after these had been carefully chiseled away, was smoothed and redecorated in painting. The rear faces of the jambs bore the customary royal inscriptions in double columns.<sup>8</sup>



FIG. 18. CONSOLES WITH SCULPTURED HEADS OF FOREIGN PRISONERS ON THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE AT MEDINET HABU

A row of prisoners' heads, Negroes alternating with Libyans or Semites, sculptured in the round appeared to support the window sill. Another row of prisoners' heads at each side of the sill rested upon a console plate. The sill with the supporting heads had been removed and was found by us in a mutilated condition (see p. 51 and Pl. 33 G). Of the other heads, only the three outermost on each side and on the left side part of the fourth remain *in situ*; the rest have been chiseled away so that only faint traces of their contours can be discerned. These sculptures give the effect of prisoners lying prone within the wall with only their heads and shoulders protruding. Above them on each side occur two representations in which the king appears to be standing upon their backs, and the same effect was produced when the living king actually stood in the window.<sup>9</sup> Similar consoles were found in the two fortified gates (e.g. Fig. 18)<sup>10</sup> and appear to have been used also in the palace itself, since we found a single somewhat smaller prisoner's head in the rubbish (Pl. 33 F). In the window sill there is a groove into which apparently the wooden railing was inserted. All this evidence has enabled us to reconstruct the Window of Royal Appearances in its original form (Pl. 3).<sup>11</sup>

The king entered the window from his palace to view activities in the court, for example when booty or

<sup>6</sup> *Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 111.

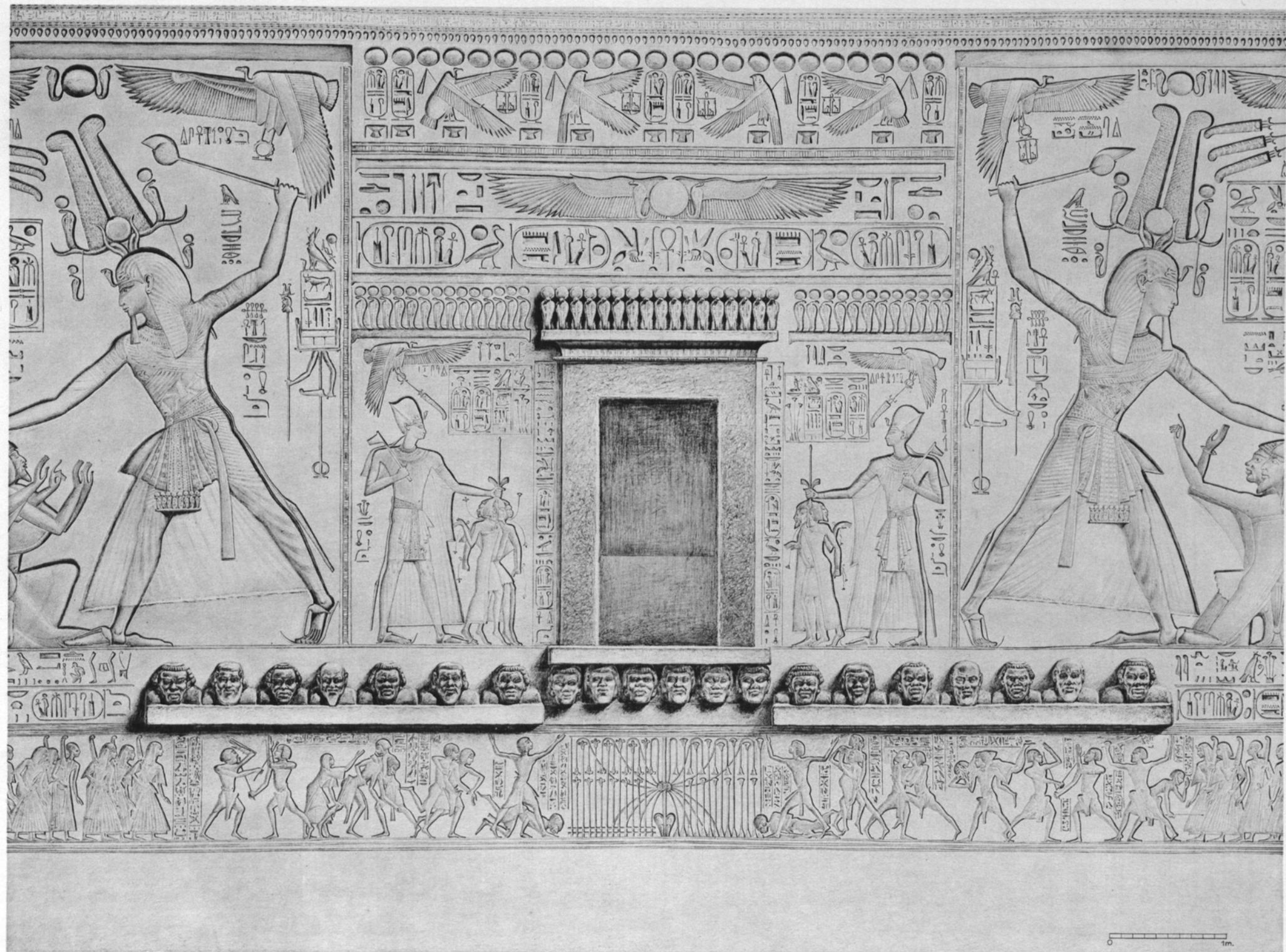
<sup>7</sup> See Vol. IV for technical details.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. the very similar method of decoration on the pilasters in the sanctuaries of the temple of Seti I at Abydos; Calverley, *Abydos I*, Pl. 35, and II, Pl. 39.

<sup>9</sup> The scene in which the king stands upon conquered enemies often appears in reliefs (e.g. *Medinet Habu I*, Pls. 37–38, and II, Pl. 94).

<sup>10</sup> See also Vol. IV, Pls. 7, 16 B, and 21.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 111.



THE WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES IN THE FAÇADE OF THE FIRST PALACE AT  
MEDINET HABU. RECONSTRUCTION



tribute which he wished to offer to his father Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> was brought to him or when games were conducted for his pleasure. From here also he tossed gifts and rewards to his favorites. Reliefs portray these various occasions on which the king appeared in the window. On the west thickness<sup>12</sup> he is shown dressed in full regalia entering the window and followed by two fan-bearers and two sunshade-bearers. The accompanying inscription reads: "The appearing [of the king] as a divine child like Re<sup>c</sup> [at da]wn in his august palace which is like the horizon of Re<sup>c</sup> when he shines in the heavens . . . . The king himself, he says to the nobles, prophets, and officers of the infantry and the chariotry: 'See my benefactions which are before you' . . . ." On the opposite wall<sup>13</sup> the king makes his appearance in the temple "in order to view the monuments which his hands have made for his father Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> . . . ." The name "Window of Royal Appearances" is based on these inscriptions and reliefs. Below the window are portrayed the games which took place on such occasions in the first court of the temple. Pairs of athletes, in each case an Egyptian and a foreigner, are engaged in wrestling, single-stick combat, and perhaps boxing. Finally an Egyptian who has successfully thrown his opponent raises his eyes

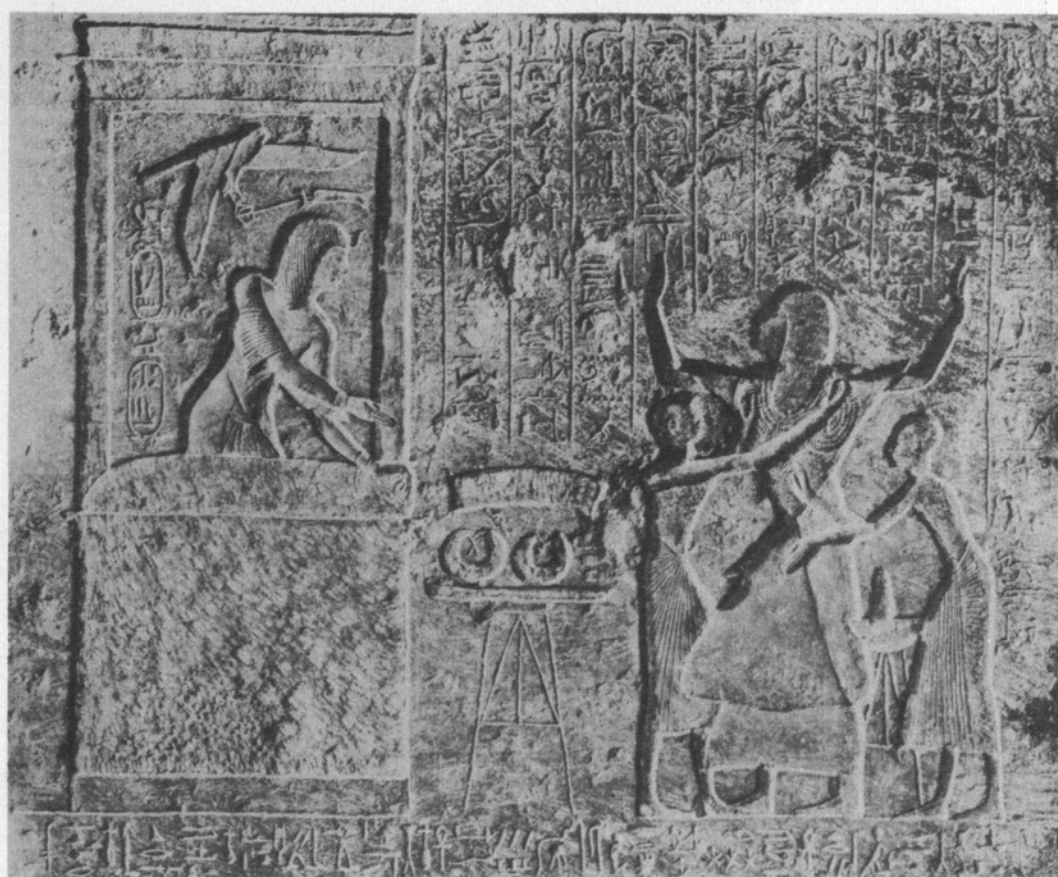


FIG. 19. SETI I PRESENTING GIFTS TO A FAVORITE FROM HIS WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES. LOUVRE C 213

and hands in triumph toward the Window of Royal Appearances in anticipation of a reward from the king. On either side of the combatants princes, nobles, and foreigners eagerly watch the games.<sup>14</sup>

On a fragmentary relief (Pl. 34 D) which we found reused as a floor slab in the Second Palace (see p. 51) the king is shown leaning on a balustrade and presenting a peculiarly shaped gift to a man standing below him whose raised hand is just visible—a scene familiar to us from representations in the 'Amarnah tombs.<sup>15</sup> Though merely a platform erected in the open<sup>16</sup> rather than the Window of Royal Appearances is represented, such a ceremony might just as probably have taken place from the window as shown on a stela of Seti I found by Mariette in the Serapeum at Saqqarah (Fig. 19).<sup>17</sup> We do not know the location of this relief in our palace. The fact that the stone slab is a thin one points possibly to its employment as the facing of a brick wall, perhaps in a doorway.

<sup>12</sup> *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 238 A.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 238 B.

<sup>14</sup> See *Medinet Habu* II, Pls. 111-12; John A. Wilson, "Ceremonial games of the New Kingdom" (*JEA* XVII [1931] 211-20); Helmut Wilsdorf, *Ringkampf im alten Ägypten* (Leipzig. Universität. Institut für Leibesübungen, "Körperliche Erziehung und Sport, Beiträge zur Sportwissenschaft" III [Leipzig, 1939]).

<sup>15</sup> See Norman de Garis Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* VI (London, 1908) 3 f. and Pl. IV.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 76 A.

<sup>17</sup> Musée national du Louvre. Département des antiquités égyptiennes, *Guide-catalogue sommaire* I, par Charles Boreux (Paris, 1932) p. 80 and Pl. VIII; see now also Boreux, *La sculpture égyptienne au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1939) Pl. XXXIV.

## THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

The two doorways which lead into the palace are comparatively small (1.10×2.95 m.). Originally their frames were decorated with the usual carved royal inscriptions and small reliefs and were finished at the top with cavetto cornices, but later they received further elaborate decorations (see below). In the passages are representations which are of significance for the understanding of the palace. On the west wall of the left (east) doorway<sup>18</sup> the king comes out of the palace, and the accompanying inscription tells us that "his majesty appears . . . in order to see his father Amon-Re<sup>c</sup> on his first Feast of Opet." On the opposite wall the king's return to

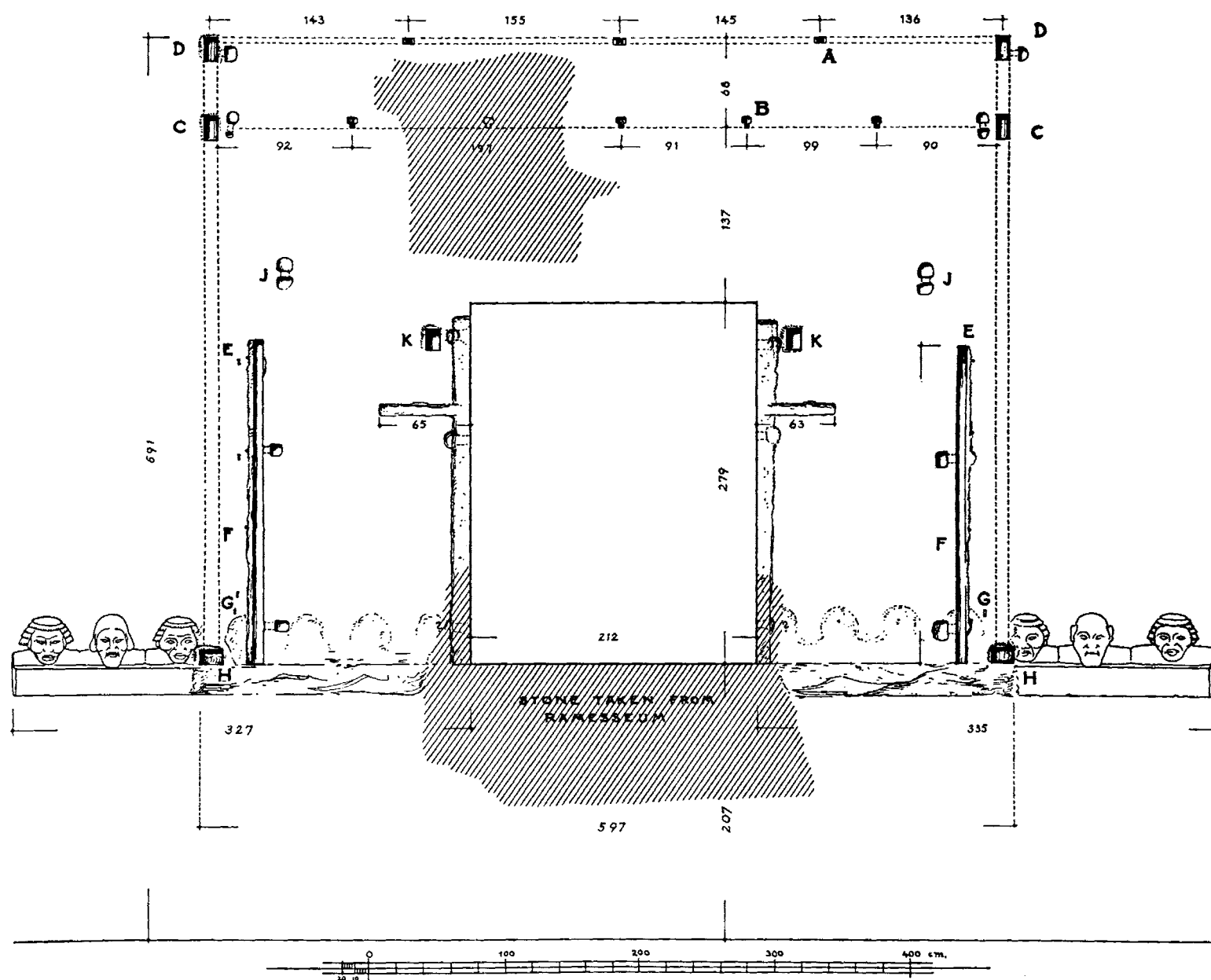


FIG. 20. TRACES OF THE BALCONY OF ROYAL APPEARANCES AT MEDINET HABU

the palace is shown.<sup>19</sup> In the right (west) doorway<sup>20</sup> the king may be seen on the east wall coming forth "in order to cause his father Amon to appear in his Feast of the Valley," and on the other side his return to the palace is again depicted. The doorway at the extreme right,<sup>21</sup> which leads to a palace court, is constructed in exactly the same manner as the other two. On its east thickness the king is seated on the throne, facing the temple, and two princes greet him saying: "Thou appearest in beauty, O mighty king . . .," and again on the opposite side is his return to the palace.

The reliefs on the façade on either side of the projection which contains the Window of Royal Appearances refer to the coming-forth from the palace. On the left is the king with his court on parade,<sup>22</sup> and on the right he is inspecting the "horses which his (own) hands have trained for the great [stable] of the palace . . . ."<sup>23</sup> On the east end wall of the colonnade, on the back of the first pylon, the king appears "[like Re<sup>c1</sup> from] the palace

<sup>18</sup> *Medinet Habu* IV, Pl. 237 A.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 237 B.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 239.

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 240.

<sup>22</sup> *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 62.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.* Pl. 109 and Edgerton and Wilson, *SAOC* No. 12, Pl. 109:6.

of his august temple to cause that his father Amon appear in his Feast of the Valley."<sup>24</sup> A similar scene is found on the opposite (west) end wall, on the front of the second pylon.<sup>25</sup>

The palace façade, as mentioned above, was altered in the latter part of Ramses III's reign, presumably contemporaneously with the erection of the Second Palace. The modifications were confined to the doorframes and the Window of Royal Appearances. The frames were richly decorated in a technique new at Medinet Habu with inlays of gay tiles, glass, fayence, and polychrome stones. With this multicolored decoration the doorways must have appeared very splendid indeed.<sup>26</sup> In the Window of Royal Appearances extensive changes were undertaken, and a balcony was added at the front. The latter was constructed of a stone platform and a light canopy of wood (see Pl. 9). Nothing remains of the balcony except its marks on the wall. However, these yield considerable information which is of great importance, as we hardly dare hope that such a balcony of wood will ever be discovered in actuality.

The width of the aperture was doubled (2.12 m.), and at the same time the floor was lowered 62 cm. (Fig. 17, later level). The sill with its supporting prisoners' heads was removed, and we found it reused in the new stairway to the Balcony of Royal Appearances (see p. 51). Then a stone platform was built in front of the enlarged opening (Fig. 20). Its width (5.97 m.) coincided with the length of the wall surface from which prisoners' heads were hewn (see p. 40); its top was even with the upper edges of the slabs which held these heads (2.07 m. above the pavement).<sup>27</sup> The platform projected about 1.80 m., that is, to the bases<sup>28</sup> of the two middle columns of the palace portico, between which there probably was a step or ramp (Pl. 4) which served as an approach for any individual whom the king wished to favor with a greeting or a gift.

A wooden canopy or baldachin was erected above this stone substructure and its frame let into the wall and fastened. Traces of the fastenings deserve close examination (Fig. 20). Numerous holes hewn into the stone wall held the ends of certain horizontal members, which were bound with ropes (Fig. 21 C-D) and then presumably cemented with gypsum. The holes at *H* in Figure 20 held the sills, those at *C* (4 meters higher) the architraves, and those at *D* (60 cm. above *C*) the cornice. The sills and architraves must have been connected by wooden columns, presumably four in front. Behind the columns were wooden half-height screens anchored to the wall in grooves (*E*) and fastened with cords and gypsum. That these screen walls were gilded and fitted with metal moldings may be assumed from the presence beside the grooves of small holes (*F*), 15 mm. in diameter and 60 mm. deep, for wooden pegs designed to hold copper nails. Close beside them are larger holes (*G*), 12×40×40 mm. deep, for wooden wedges.<sup>29</sup> The screens may have been finished with ornate cornices at the top which perhaps were fastened in the holes at *J*.

Between the two holes that supported the architraves (*C*) are five smaller ones (*B*) at regular intervals in which dovetails of metal or hard wood could have been anchored (Fig. 21 *B*) to hold a wooden or metal molding (wall architrave?) or the like. Three small holes (*A*), whose form and purpose we do not understand, evenly spaced between *D* perhaps held a gay awning (see Pl. 9), since the balcony apparently did not have a wooden roof. The window, which had been enlarged to form a doorway, appears to have been supplied with wooden panels which were fastened to wooden posts let into grooves along the edges of the aperture. Beside these

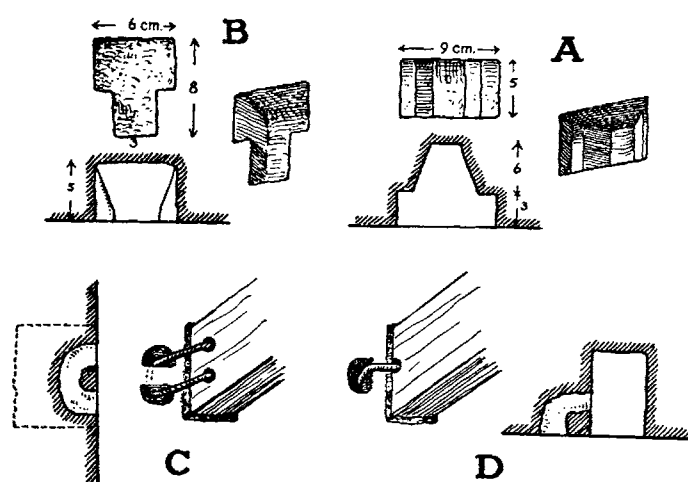


FIG. 21. DETAILS FROM FIGURE 20, SHOWING HOW WOODEN BEAMS WERE FASTENED IN HOLES IN THE STONE WALL

<sup>24</sup> *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 123 B, and Edgerton and Wilson, *SAOC* No. 12, Pl. 123 B.

<sup>25</sup> *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 123 A.

<sup>26</sup> See Vol. IV for detailed discussion.

<sup>27</sup> The clue to the height of the platform is the fact that the slabs were not touched when the heads were neatly chiseled off, which indicates that they were not in the way. Later they were roughly knocked off with a hammer.

<sup>28</sup> The round bases were hewn off where the platform struck them (see Fig. 29). That this was done under Ramses III may be observed from the fact that inscriptions of Ramses IV had been placed around the bases everywhere except at those points.

<sup>29</sup> A few wooden pegs and wedges were still *in situ*.

grooves, at a height of about 2.50 m., are two holes (*K*) which held beams that may have provided support for the two middle columns.

With the aid of the evidence thus available, the essential structural details of the Balcony of Royal Appearances can be ascertained, but its actual appearance can only be imagined. Our reconstruction (Pl. 4) is based on numerous representations of such balconies or similar baldachins in tombs at Thebes (Fig. 22) and 'Amarnah.<sup>30</sup>

In later times (Roman or Coptic?) unfortunately the Window of Royal Appearances at Medinet Habu suffered further destruction for use as a side entrance to the court. At that time the floor was lowered 75 cm. The section labeled "modern" in Figure 17 was filled in by Daressy with a large stone decorated in relief<sup>31</sup> which in truth appears at first glance to belong here. However, close observation reveals that the stems of the plants of the North and the South, bound together to symbolize the union of the Two Lands, and the raised arm of the Egyptian at the end of the inserted block do not fit exactly with those on the stones remaining *in situ*.<sup>32</sup> The

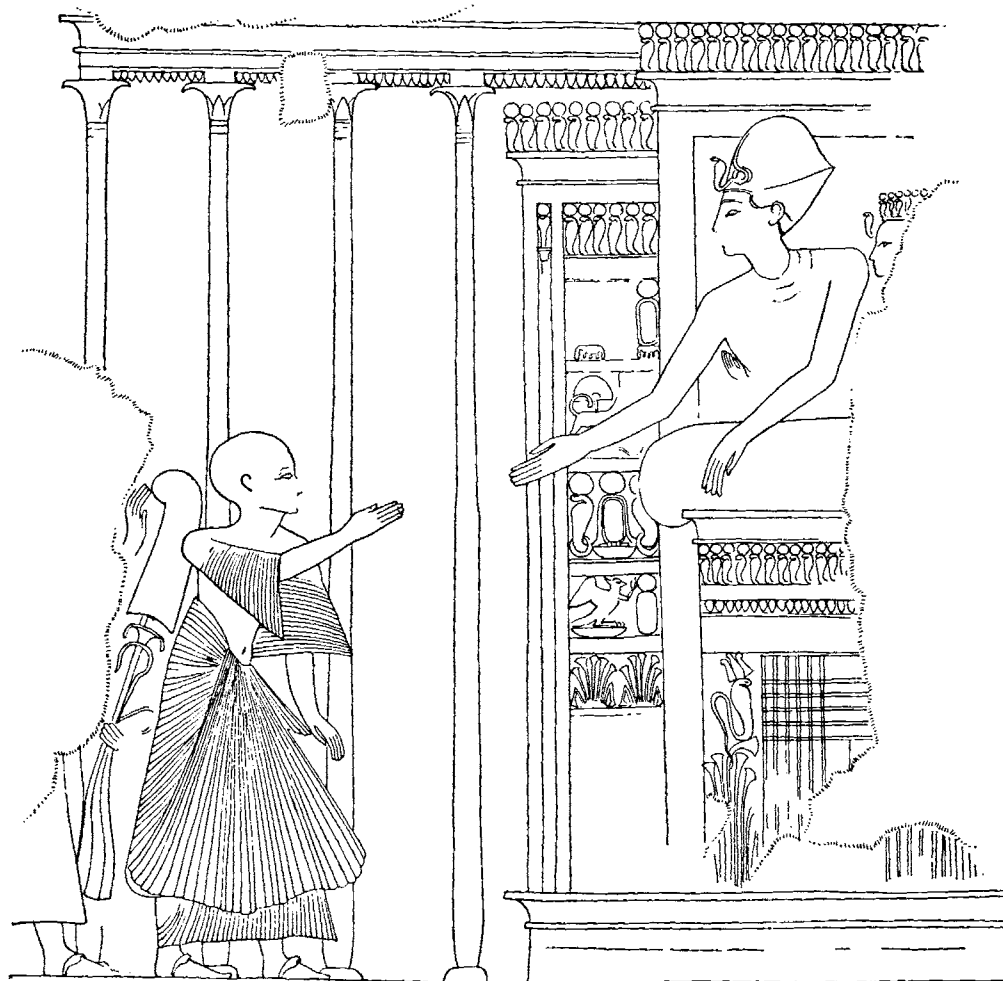


FIG. 22. RAMSES II IN HIS BALCONY OF ROYAL APPEARANCES APPOINTING A HIGH PRIEST OF KARNAK. SCENE FROM THEBAN TOMB NO. 157

technique of the relief is rather different, and the sandstone is not the same as that used at Medinet Habu. Daressy kindly informed us that he had found the block not in the temple but in the rubbish in front. The fact that it names Ramses II (Userma'ra'-Setepenre') instead of Ramses III (Userma'ra'-Meriamon) seems to indicate that it belonged not in our temple but to the Ramesseum and after the destruction of that temple was accidentally, like other fragments, removed to Medinet Habu. This assumption is corroborated by a second, smaller block (Pl. 33 *D*) which we ourselves found in front of Medinet Habu and which duplicates a fragment still *in situ* in the Window of Royal Appearances (Pl. 33 *C*) and matches rather well the larger fragment from the Ramesseum. Thus we have evidence either that reliefs at Medinet Habu were copies of those in the Ramesseum or that both go back to the same originals.

#### THE FIRST PALACE

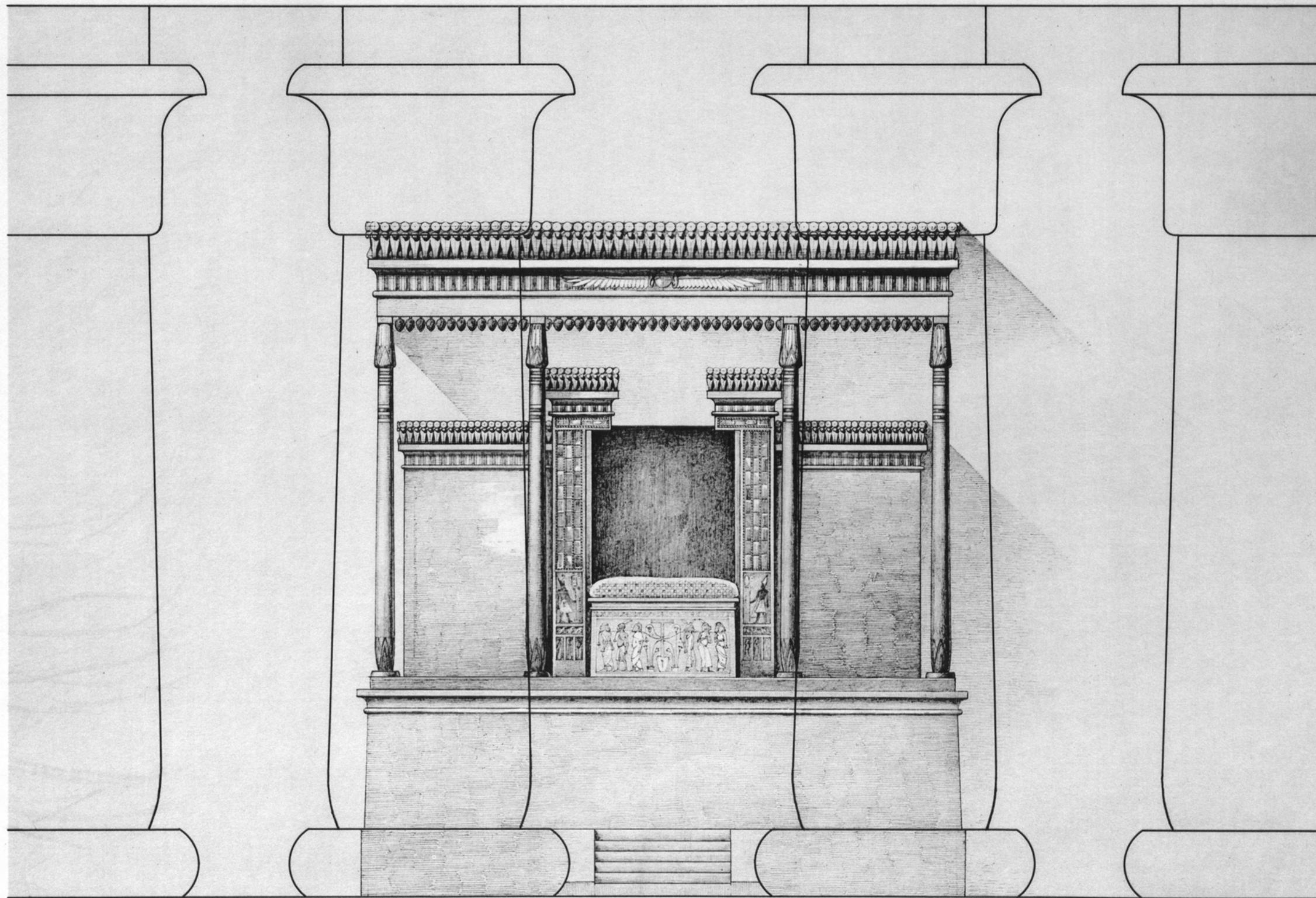
The remains of both palaces are shown on Plates 27-30 and Folio Plate 13. The mud bricks of the wall foundations of the First Palace measured 42×20×12 cm. and were unstamped. At the bottom in most cases there was a

<sup>30</sup> See Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I (London, 1903) 20 f. and II (London, 1905) 36, and "The place of audience in the palace" (*ZAS* LX [1925] 50-56); Hölscher, "Erscheinungsfenster und Erscheinungsbalkon im königlichen Palast" (*ZAS* LXVII [1931] 43-51).

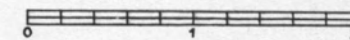
<sup>31</sup> *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 127 *C*.

<sup>32</sup> *Ibid.* Pls. 111-12.





THE BALCONY OF ROYAL APPEARANCES IN THE FAÇADE OF THE SECOND PALACE. RECONSTRUCTION



THE COLUMNS INDICATED IN OUTLINE STAND BEFORE THE BALCONY



rowlock course bedded in mortar over either bedrock or a layer of rubble or gravel. The stone columns stood on mud-brick foundations (1.50 m. square), a rather careless method of construction which we found in the palace of Eye and Harmhab also.<sup>33</sup> No foundation deposits occurred in the First Palace. None of its floor was preserved, except in the courts and the rearmost rooms, which stood at a somewhat lower level, where it consisted of thin square mud-brick slabs (43×43×6 cm.) under a layer of mud with gypsum or lime wash.

Through two vestibules (1 in Fig. 23) access was obtained to the two main rooms—a large reception hall (2) with four rows of three columns each and behind it a smaller, square throneroom (3) containing four columns.

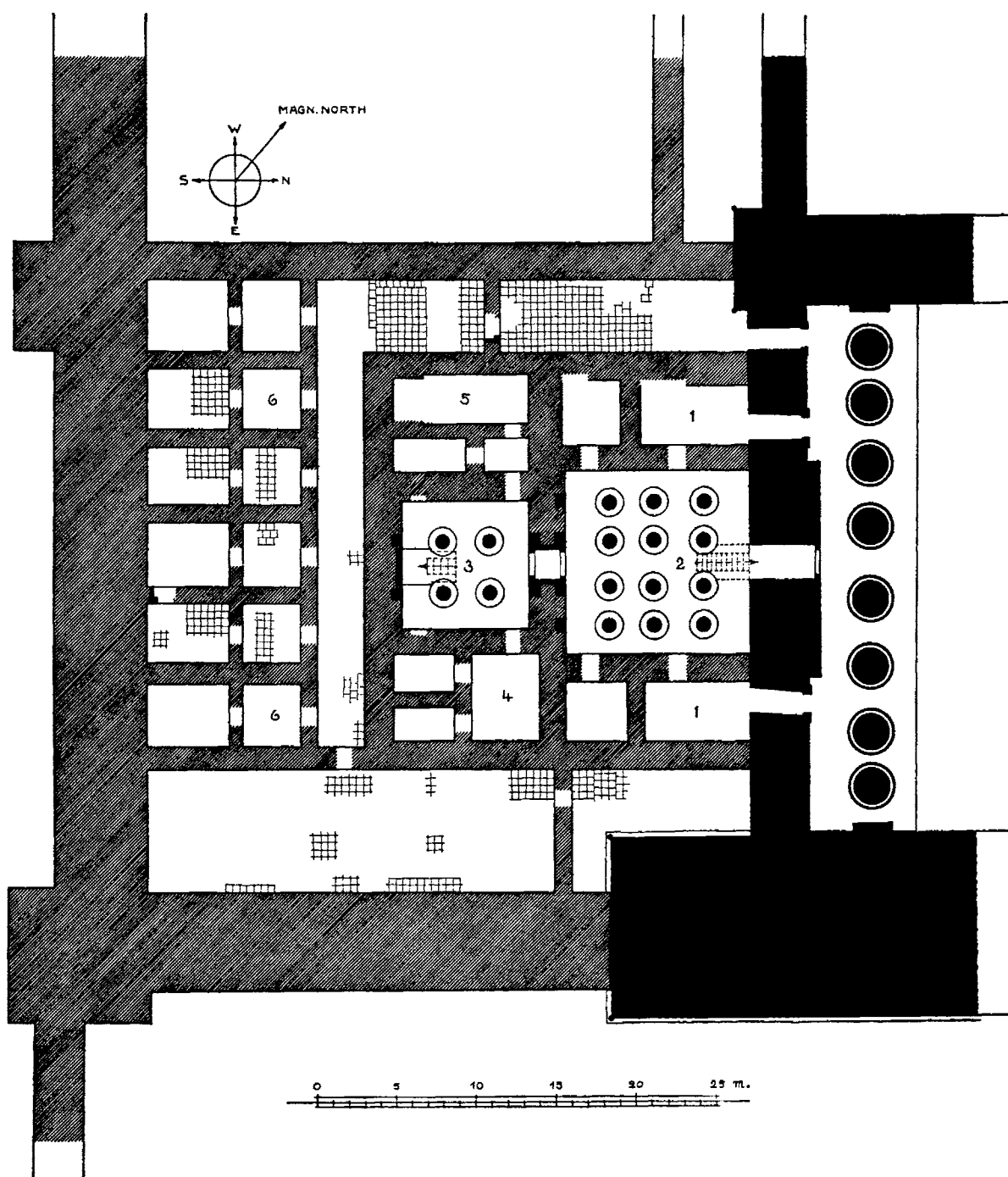


FIG. 23. GROUND PLAN OF THE FIRST PALACE AT MEDINET HABU. SCALE, 1:400

On the main axis in the first room a flight of stairs led up to the Window of Royal Appearances, while opposite it in the four-columned hall was the king's throne. Of the rooms adjoining the throneroom on the west, the shape of one (5) suggests a bedroom with bed niche such as we found in the Second Palace (see p. 55). But this interpretation is dangerous in view of the poor state of preservation of the walls and contradicts what is otherwise known of this type of palace (see p. 59), especially the Ramesseum palace (see p. 77). The rooms adjoining on the east (4) appear to have been storerooms. Behind each vestibule (1) was a small room. The one at the west may have contained a stairway to the roof, though no traces of stairs could be found. We have no further information relative to these side rooms. The doorsills were not preserved *in situ*, nor could their original positions be traced on the brick foundations. In our plan (Fig. 23) we have shown the doorways without contour lines,

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Vol. II 81.

since evidence for their positions and dimensions is lacking. We found in these rooms or in their vicinity several stone doorposts which belonged to small doors but whose original positions could not be determined with certainty. Along both sides of the palace were courts and at the rear was a passage, all accessible from the first court of the temple through the doorway at the extreme west end of the palace façade. Rain water from occasional storms was supposed to drain into the side courts from the roof of the south colonnade of the first court of the temple. The waterspouts may still be seen in the temple wall (cf. Pl. 5). Behind the palace, along the Inner Inclosure Wall, were two rows of six almost square chambers. Doubtless there were entrances to this complex from the passageway in front of it. Within it the threshold of but one doorway remained.

The two vestibules (1) had the customary high barrel vaulting (see Fig. 16). Their north walls,<sup>34</sup> that is, the rear face of the palace front wall (see p. 37), suggest the manner in which their other walls were decorated. The space above the doorway in each case is inscribed with the names, titles, and epithets of Ramses III. Beside the doorway of the east vestibule the king is represented slaying a Meshwesh chief, while in the corresponding position in the west vestibule is an inscription in which the king recounts his benefactions to the temple.

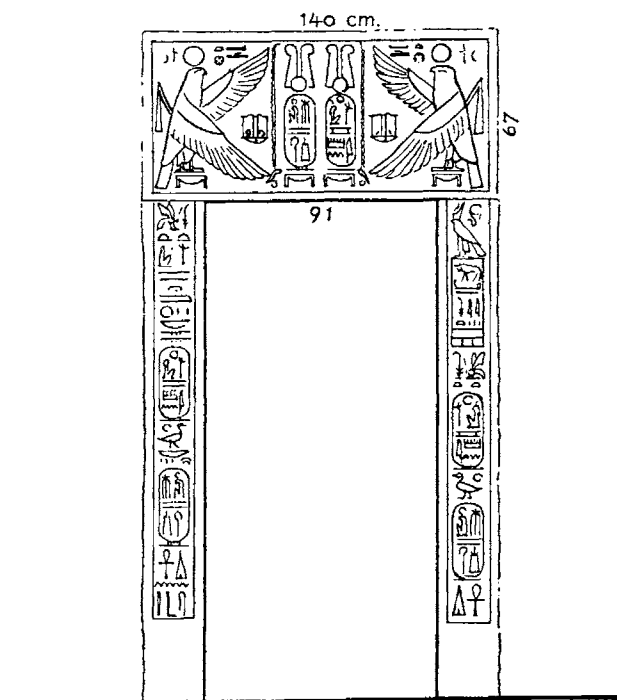


FIG. 24. DOORFRAME, PROBABLY FROM THE FIRST PALACE  
(cf. Pl. 34 A)

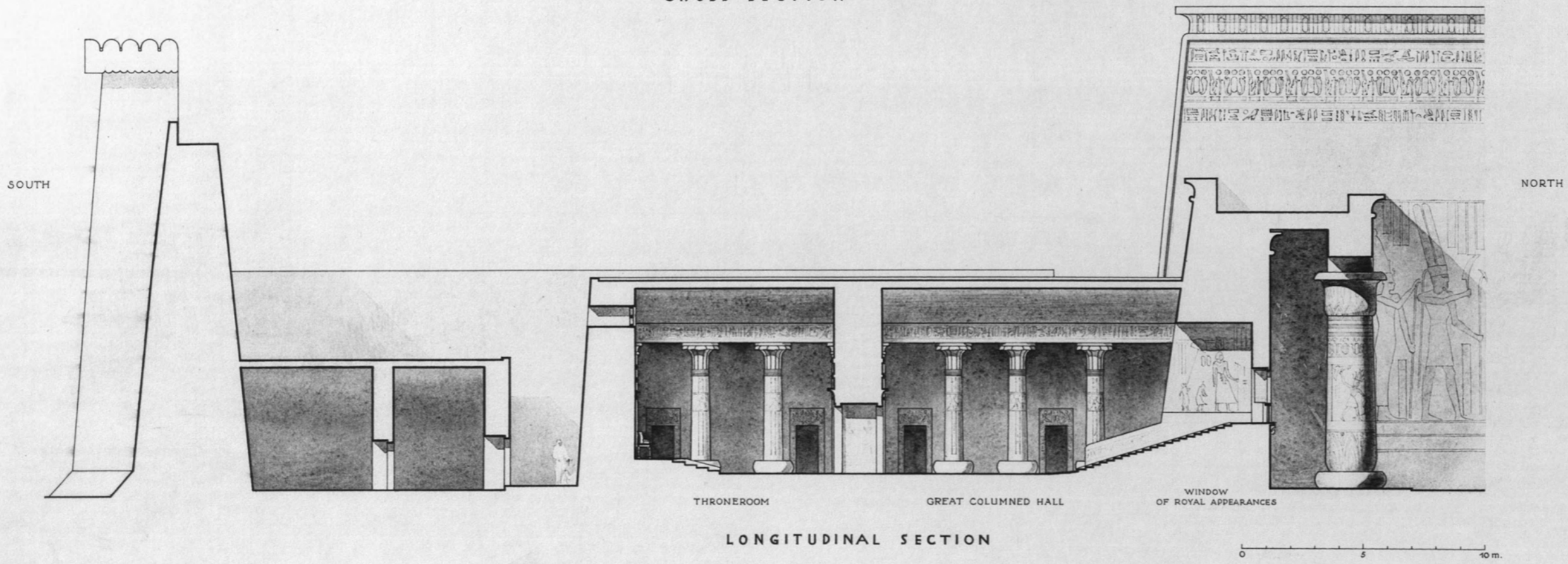
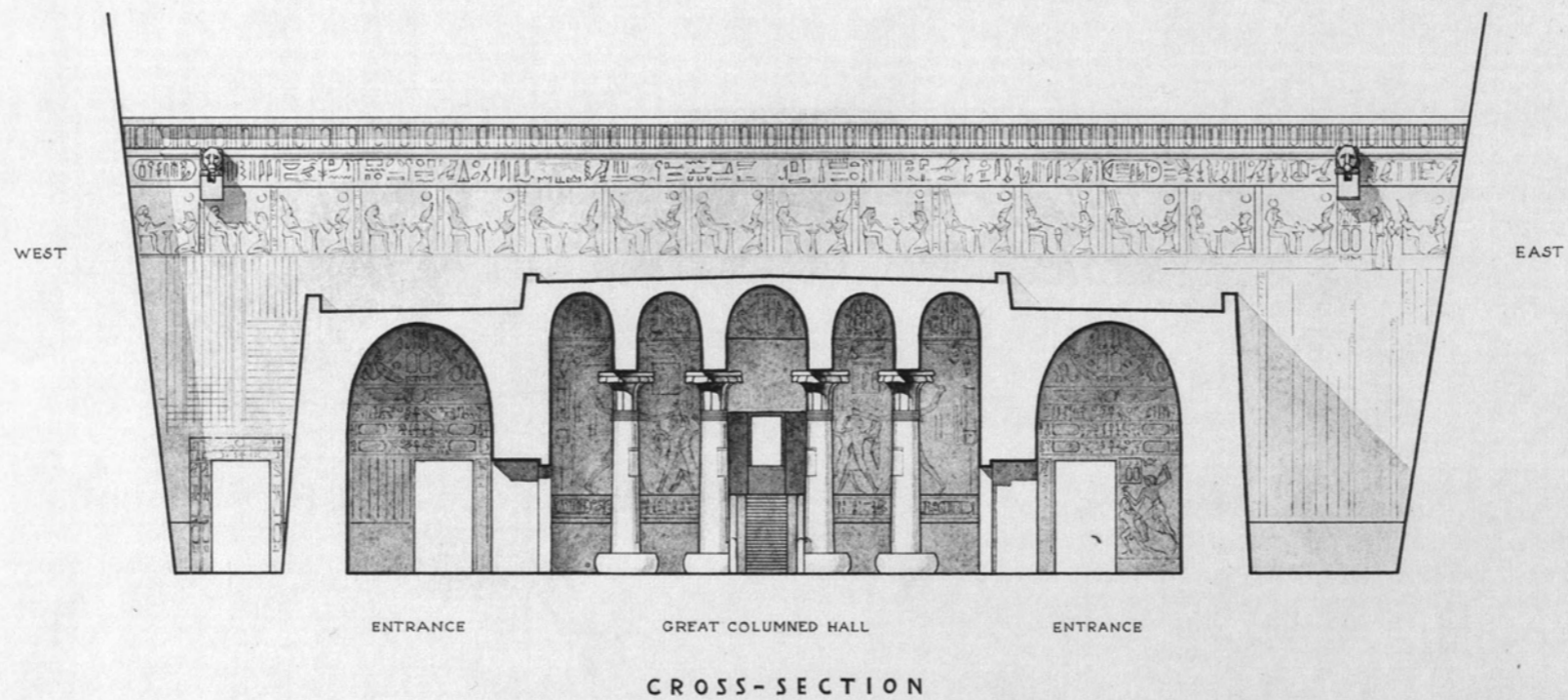
There were twelve columns in the reception room (2), arranged in four rows of three. The distance between the first and second columns in each row was somewhat greater than that between the second and third. Thus there was a kind of transverse axis on which the side exits into the vestibules (1) may have been centered. Possibly there even may have been doors to the courts along the sides of the palace. In our reconstruction of the First Palace (Pls. 5-6) we have used for the frames of the side doors in the reception room fragments which we found here (Fig. 24 and Pl. 34 A) but which perhaps may have belonged to the Second Palace. Only the brick foundations of the columns remained *in situ*, but we found numerous fragments of the columns themselves (e.g. Pl. 33 A-B) which permit a complete reconstruction. Most of these blocks had been reused in the tomb of Horsiese (see p. 39). Two bases (*in situ*), a capital, and two shaft fragments were discovered west of the palace in the "garden," where they had been reused in a later period (p. 67). The question may be raised as to our evidence for assigning these

columns to the reception hall of the First Palace. In the first place, the cross-section of the front of the palace as recognizable on the temple wall (Fig. 16) indicates that the columns which stood in this room were about 5.30 m. high, which is the height of the columns in question. Secondly, there were at least six of these columns, since we found remains of at least three pairs—three shafts on which the inscriptions and reliefs face right and one on which they face left. So far as we know there is no other place at Medinet Habu, not even in the later palace, where six or more columns about 5.30 m. high could have stood. They are palm columns with nine-leaved capitals and noticeably large bases (Fig. 25). A vertical royal inscription engraved on the shaft is interrupted by a representation of Ramses III slaying a Negro or a Libyan. We are acquainted with this scene from numerous representations in the temple, but there the king always slays his enemies in the presence of a god, while on the palace columns he performs the ceremony without divine aid. Fragments of the pilaster at each end of each row of columns and of the architraves supported by these columns (Fig. 25 and Pl. 6) were found built into the later palace.

Our knowledge about the decoration of brick walls in general is very meager. Fortunately the north stone wall of the palace (see Fig. 16)<sup>35</sup> gives us a clue as to how its interior brick walls were decorated. The stairway from the Window of Royal Appearances protruded into the hall. We discovered traces of it when we removed the later stairs (see Fig. 17), at which time a piece of the old balustrade also was unearthed. The stairs were arranged in the same manner as those in the Ramesseum palace (see Fig. 53).

<sup>34</sup> *Medinet Habu II*, Pls. 113 and 115.

<sup>35</sup> *Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 114.



SECTIONS THROUGH THE FIRST PALACE (CF. FIG. 23). RECONSTRUCTIONS. SCALE, 1:200



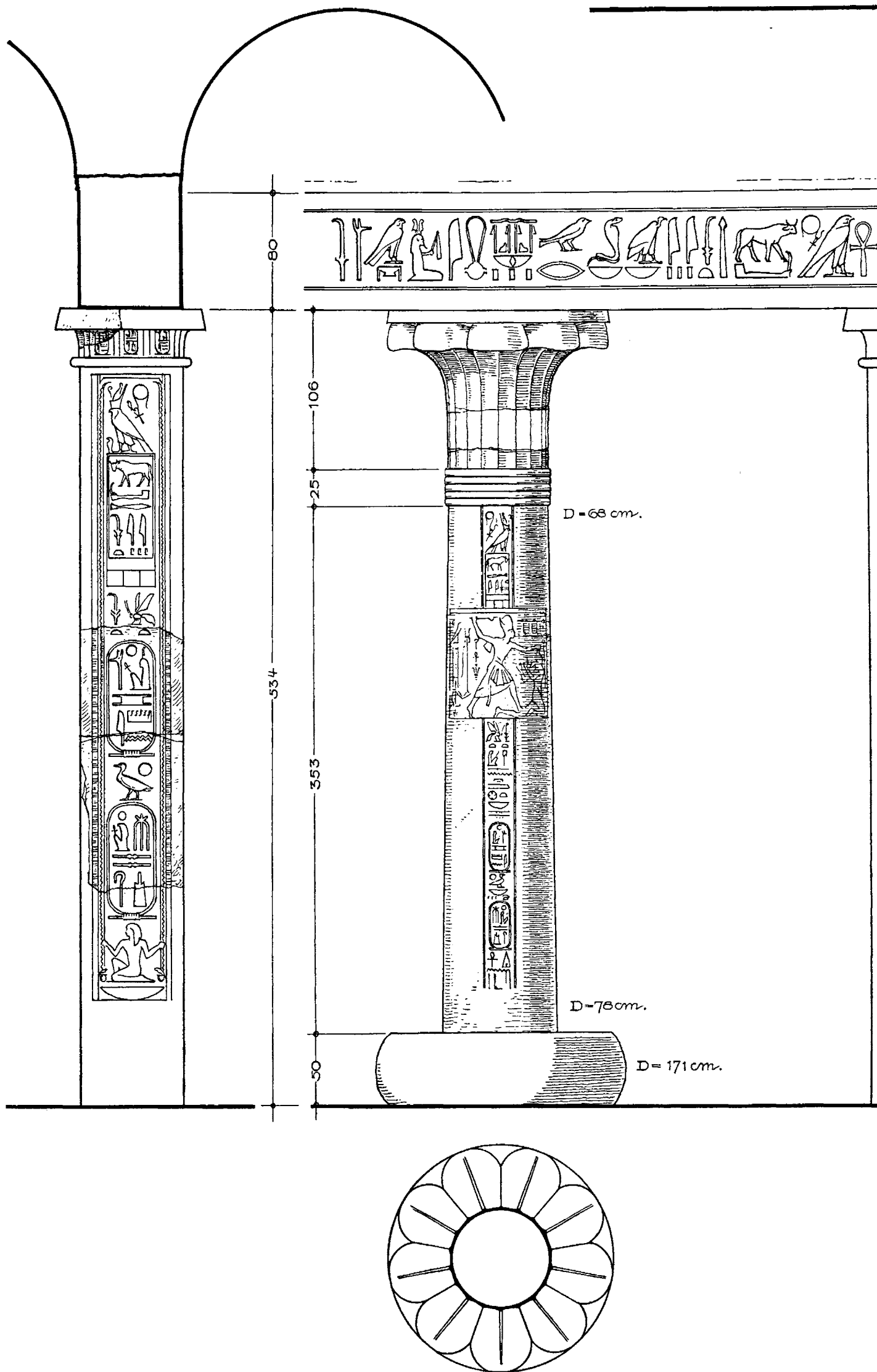


FIG. 25. COLUMN, PILASTER, AND BEAM IN THE GREAT COLUMNED HALL OF THE FIRST PALACE. RECONSTRUCTION

The doorway connecting the reception hall with the throneroom is 1.30 m. wide and 2.14 m. thick (Fig. 26). It was provided with a two-leaved door. Parts of the stone frame were discovered in the harem reception hall of the later palace (Fig. 29 K), where they had been reused as thresholds (see p. 56), and elsewhere. On each face of the doorway above the cavetto cornice was an elaborately decorated *Supraporte* (Fig. 27). On one thickness the king is depicted before a goddess who presents him with "many jubilees" (Pl. 34 C), while on the other the walking king is followed by a fan-bearer. Unfortunately these reliefs are all very fragmentary. That this frame belonged to this particular doorway is proved by its thickness (2.14 m.), for the wall here is the only one which corresponds to it.

The columns in the throneroom were probably approximately of the same size as those in the reception hall. In our reconstructions (Pls. 5 and 7) we have assumed that they resembled them in form also, though that cannot be proved. A double false door (Fig. 28), in front of which stood the throne, was set between two pilasters in the rear wall. The false door itself, as well as the lintels and *Supraporten* of the doorframe mentioned above, was

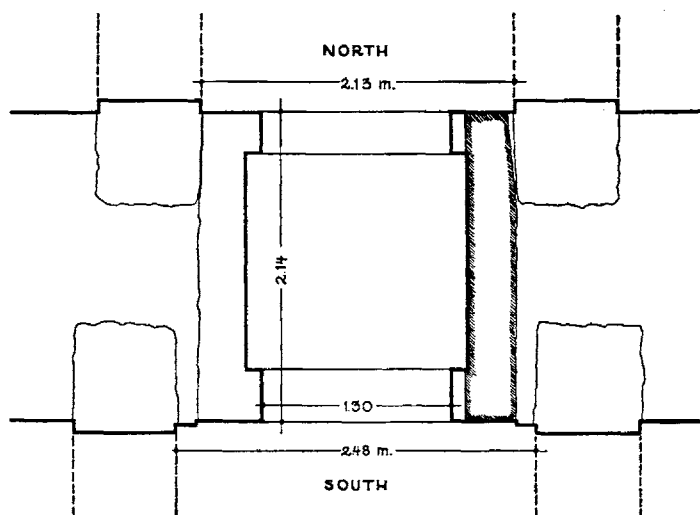


FIG. 26. GROUND PLAN OF THE DOORWAY BETWEEN THE GREAT COLUMNED HALL AND THE THRONEROOM OF THE FIRST PALACE

discovered in the foundations of the harem hall of the Second Palace (see p. 56). It coincides exactly in design with the double false doors in the temple (see pp. 27-28). On the two leaves the walking king appears with staff in hand as if he were coming from the interior of the palace, that is, from the intimate chambers (see p. 27), though in this instance there were no such chambers behind the false door. Accompanying inscriptions state on the right that the "king appears in the palace (*ḥ*) of his august temple (*ḥ.t*)" and on the left that the "king appears like Re<sup>c</sup> in his palace (*ḥ*) of life and fortune." This double false door was of even finer workmanship than the large doorway into the throneroom. None of the temple reliefs, with the possible exception of those in the holy of holies, can stand comparison with those of this false door (Pl. 37). The colors of the decoration (Folio Pl. 31) are comparatively well preserved, as the blocks were buried underground very shortly after the door had been made. Nothing of the throne or its substructure appears to have been saved.

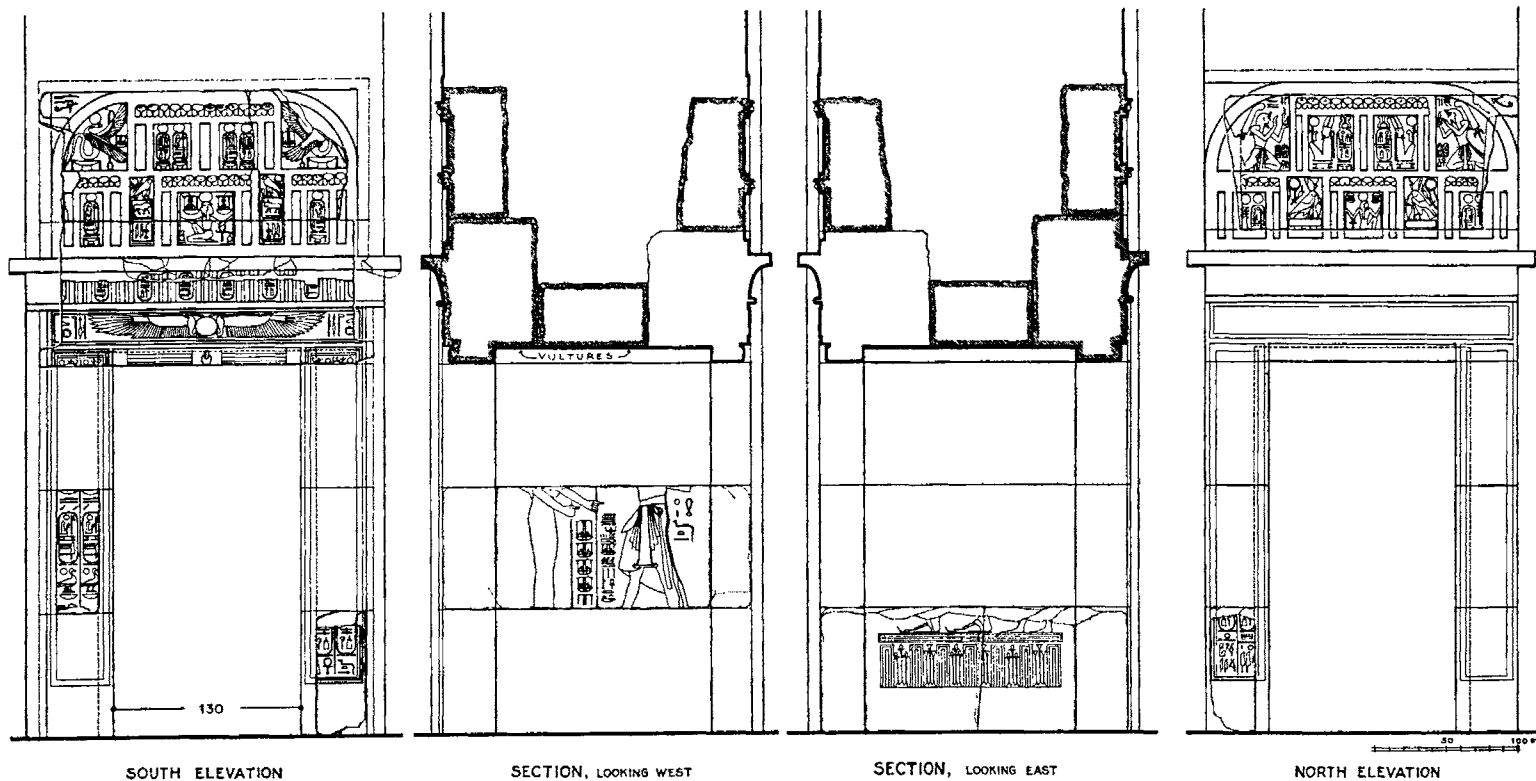


FIG. 27. SECTIONS AND ELEVATIONS OF THE DOORWAY BETWEEN THE GREAT COLUMNED HALL AND THE THRONEROOM OF THE FIRST PALACE



## THE SECOND PALACE

The ground plan of the later palace (Fig. 29) was essentially different from that of the earlier one. The vestibules (*A*) were exceedingly small. However, special side chambers were added, possibly as sentry rooms. On the outside of each of the latter was a court, as in the First Palace but much smaller. These too served to catch rain water from the spouts above them (see Pl. 8).<sup>36</sup> Between the vestibules a hall with two columns (*B*) re-

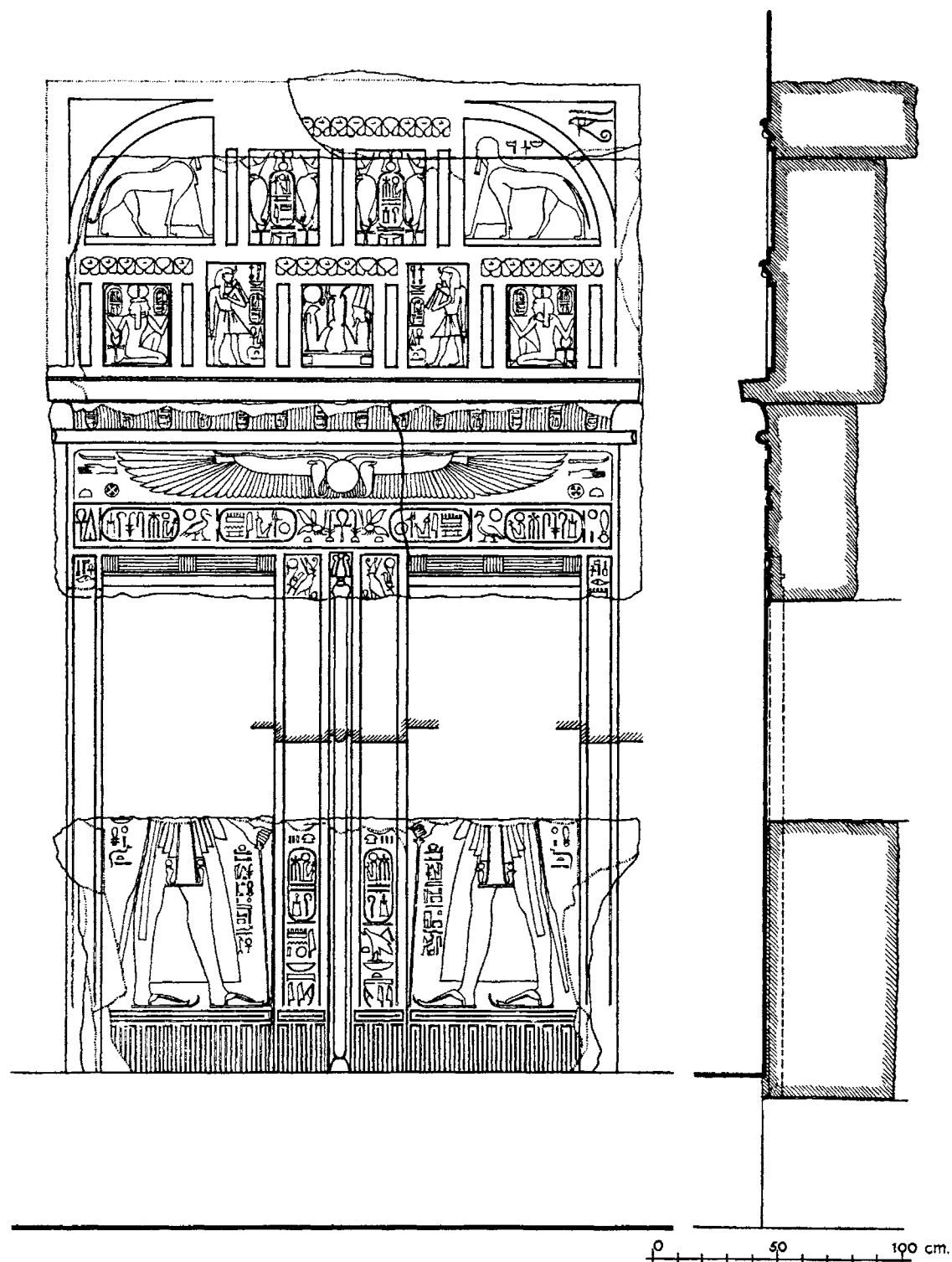


FIG. 28. DOUBLE FALSE DOOR FROM THE THRONE ROOM OF THE FIRST PALACE (CF. PLS. 7 AND 37)

placed the large twelve-columned reception hall of the earlier palace. From this a double stairway led to the Balcony of Royal Appearances (see PIs. 9 and 28). As the floor of the balcony was 62 cm. lower than that of the earlier Window of Royal Appearances, the stairs to the former have a very gentle incline. This fore part of the later palace was compressed to a minimum depth so that the rear part could be on a grander scale. The six-columned throneroom (*C*) benefited chiefly. In or above the adjoining side rooms were stairways to the roof.

These constituted the public rooms of the palace. Behind them lay the private or intimate chambers, arranged

<sup>36</sup> Eventually, presumably not until after the time of Ramses III, these courts were made into vaulted rooms, so that water from the waterspouts, unless otherwise provided for, flowed onto their flat roofs. Traces of these vaults (those farthest to the left and right on Pl. 26) are clearly visible on the temple wall (cf. p. 53).

similarly to those in private houses (see p. 27) and representations of the royal palace at 'Amarnah.<sup>37</sup> At Medinet Habu there was but one connection between the public throneroom and the private chambers, and that was located not on the main axis of the room but at the side. Through it we enter a vestibule (*H*); on the right are two small apartments of which the one at the rear was a bathroom. To the left of the vestibule is a two-columned hall (*F*) in which there is an elaborate alabaster platform for the king's throne. Adjoining this room on the left is the sleeping chamber (*G*) with an elevated recess for the bed.

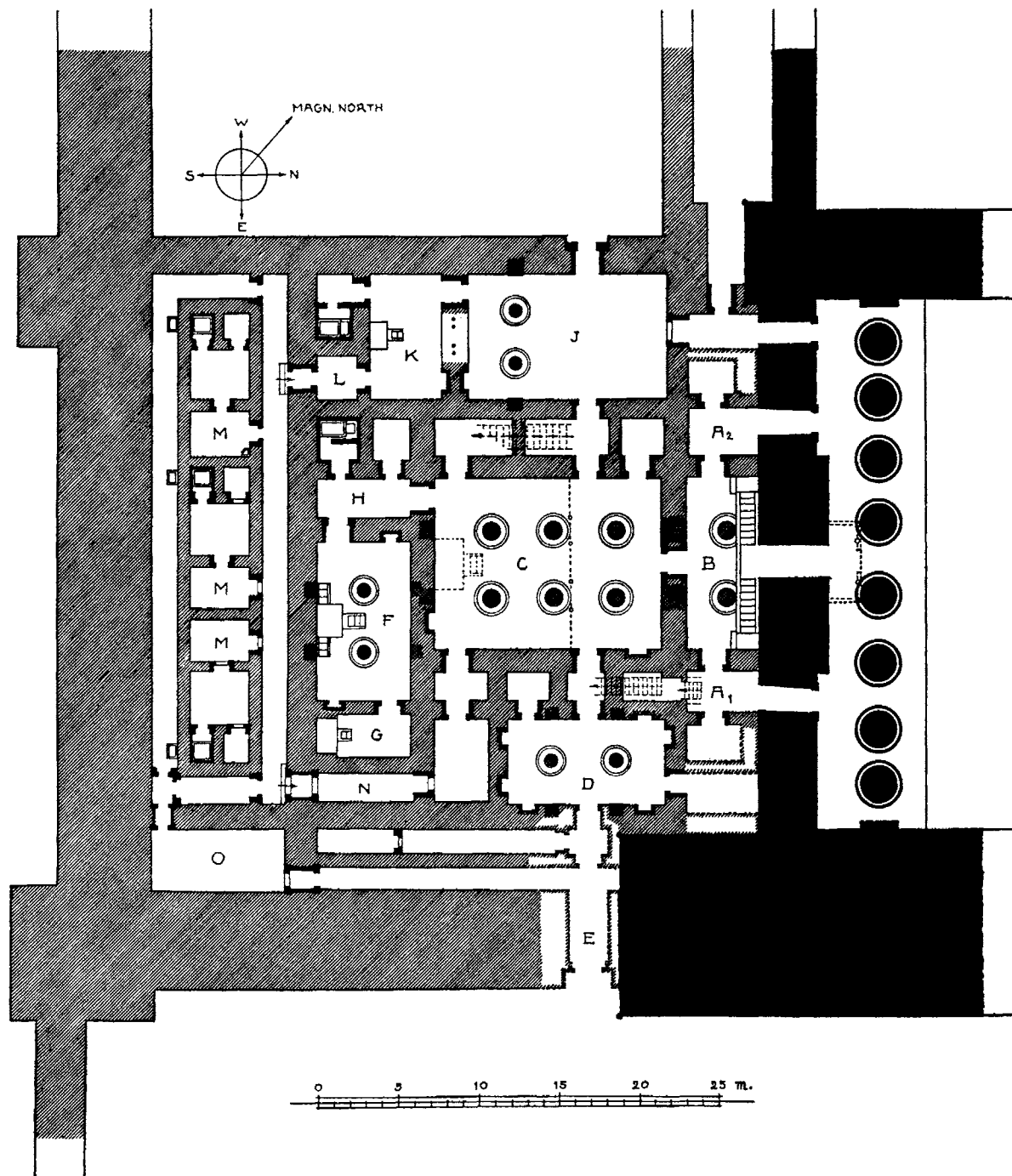
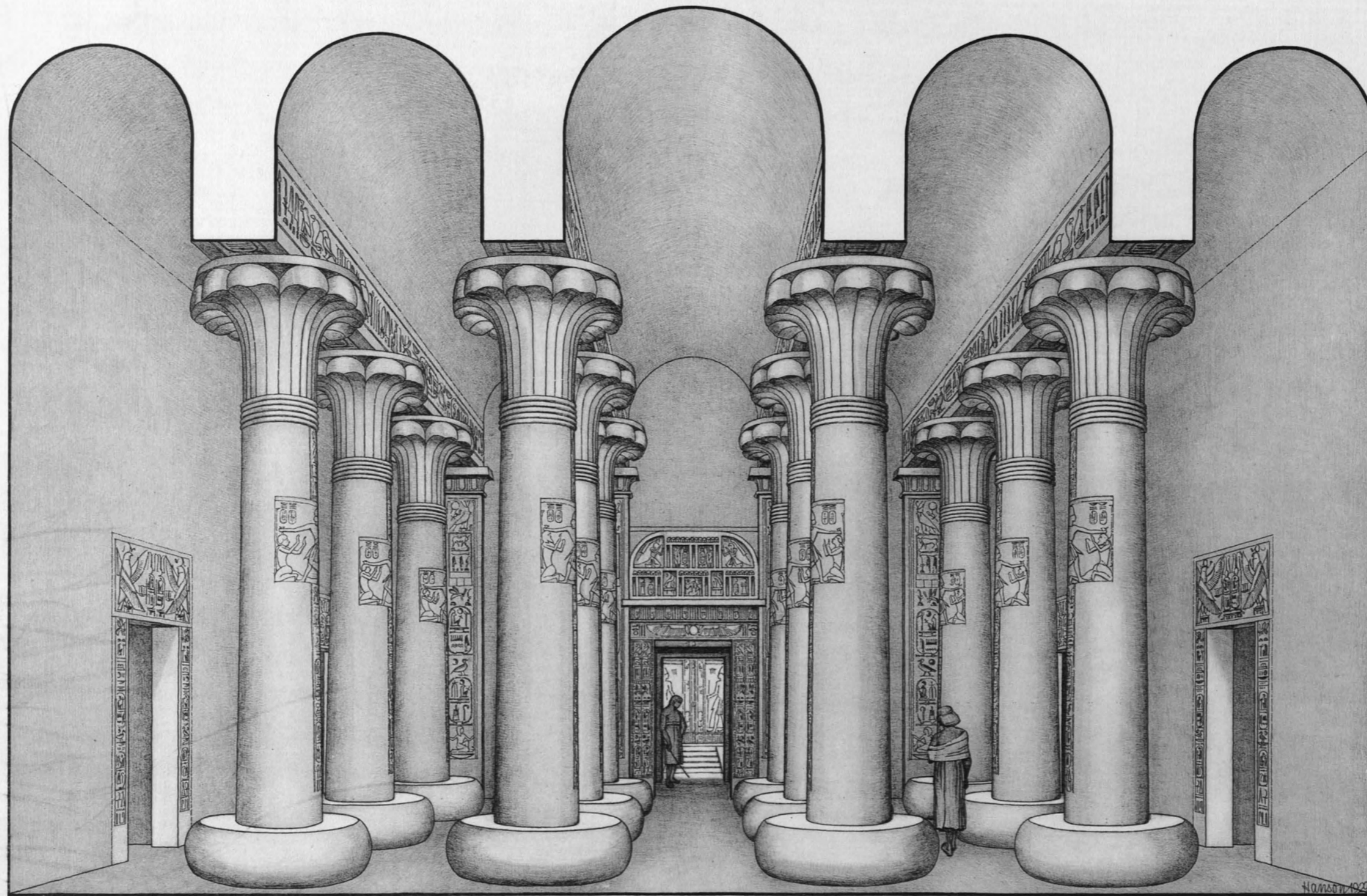


FIG. 29. GROUND PLAN OF THE SECOND PALACE. SCALE, 1:400

Returning to the six-columned throneroom (*C*) we notice that on the axis between the first and second pairs of columns are two side doorways (cf. a similar arrangement in the twelve-columned hall of the older palace; p. 46) leading on the west into the harem court (*J*) and on the east into a two-columned vestibule (*D*) opposite which is a gateway (*E*) through the Inner Inclosure Wall. Between *D* and *E* is an elongated room which might have been intended for servants who stood guard at the side entrance, just as there was a sentry room at each main entrance. Between this guardroom and the Inner Inclosure Wall is a narrow passage leading to a service court (*O*) from which it is possible to enter the harem (*J*-*M*).

The harem was an addition to the palace building. It also consisted of public rooms, which adjoined the palace on the west and were accessible through a doorway on the above-mentioned cross axis of the throneroom, and intimate chambers behind the palace and connected with it by a private passage (*N*). See page 59 for our proof

<sup>37</sup> Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna I*, Pls. XVIII and XXVI; cf. Ricke, *Der Grundriss des Amarna-Wohnhauses*, pp. 58-63.



THE GREAT COLUMNED HALL IN THE FIRST PALACE. RECONSTRUCTION



that these rooms constituted the harem. The public part is so called in contrast to the private apartments of the individual ladies but naturally was open only to the king and not to the public. It consisted of a court (*J*), directly accessible from the first court of the temple, with two columns in antis. Behind the columns was a small window of appearances. A door at the right led to the reception hall (*K*), in which stands an alabaster platform for a throne. Two rooms adjoined at the rear, a bathroom and a passage (*L*) leading to the intimate living rooms. These consisted of three practically identical apartments for three equally favored ladies. Every apartment contained a vestibule (*M*), a square living-room, and two side chambers, one of which was a bathroom. Outside the harem court on the west was an open space, presumably a garden (see pp. 67 f.).

Now that we have studied the general layout of the Second Palace, the individual groups of rooms deserve attention.

#### THE PUBLIC ROOMS

The vestibules (*A*) and the sentry rooms beside them were very small and yet at the same time very high (*ca.* 7.50 m.), as may be observed from their outlines on the temple wall (Pl. 26). Our architectural feeling would lead us to expect that these rooms had two stories, which would have involved ceilings with beams, but there is no clear evidence for such a conclusion. We do not, however, exclude the possibility, since it would be very interesting if it could be proved that the side rooms of the palace had two stories.<sup>38</sup>

The two-columned hall (*B*) also was high in proportion to its width and length. The outlines of its barrel vaults may be observed on the temple wall (Pl. 26) and below them holes (now filled with mortar) to support the stone beams. Of the columns, only the foundation pits with their sand bedding are preserved (see Pl. 28 and Folio Pl. 13). The large stone thresholds,<sup>39</sup> in which doorpost sockets and scratched guide lines may be seen, were all that remained *in situ* of the two side entrances to this hall (Pls. 27–29). On one of these doorsills we have erected a jamb (Pl. 35 *A*) originally inlaid with fayence (now vanished). Its exact provenience could not be determined. Fragments of a similar doorframe discovered in 1903 in the palace are now in the Cairo Museum (Pl. 35 *D*).<sup>40</sup>

When we started our investigation, only one flight of the double stairway to the Balcony of Royal Appearances was preserved (Pl. 30). The other flight apparently had been torn out when the palace was still being used for some purpose or other, perhaps in the Twenty-first Dynasty, but the ends of the steps had left their imprint on the sloping socle of the temple wall. We have restored these stairs and replaced some of the balustrade which we discovered. Before doing this, however, we removed all of the stairs in order to determine how those of the First Palace had been constructed. The results obtained are presented in Figure 17. In the landing of the double stairway we found some stones from the First Palace and even some from the later palace. These reused blocks included the sill with the heads of five prisoners from the Window of Royal Appearances (p. 40 and Pl. 33 *G*), four throne-base fragments (Fig. 30) probably from the later palace, and finally a relief depicting the king presenting a gift from a platform (see p. 41 and Pl. 34 *D*).

Of the entrance to the six-columned throneroom (*C*) only the foundation trench for the sill and the adjoining stone pillars remained. Here we erected a doorframe which, together with some column fragments from the earlier palace, had been reused in the tomb of Horsiēse (see p. 39). It is not absolutely certain that this doorframe actually belonged here in the Second Palace. A relief on one thickness is apparently a scene from animal life—one sees the paws of a dog(?) jumping down upon a bush. Numerous small foundation gifts were found in the bedding sand of the trench as well as in the foundation pits of the columns in the throneroom.<sup>41</sup>

The throneroom, similar in cross-section to the two-columned hall (*B*), was larger and more spacious than the twelve-columned hall of the earlier palace. A comparison of the ground plans (Figs. 23 and 29) and sections (Pls. 5 and 9) of the two palaces makes this very obvious. Unfortunately, in *C* also the columns and their bases

<sup>38</sup> The west sentry room and the passage to the west of it each show a hole for the end of a wooden beam, thereby suggesting two stories, as indicated on Pl. 8. But it is very uncertain whether they belonged to the time of Ramses III.

<sup>39</sup> On the east side of the sill between Rooms *A* 2 and *B* a hieratic quarry inscription of the high priest Ramses-nakht was found; see Vol. IV, Fig. 59.

<sup>40</sup> G. Maspero, *Guide du visiteur au Musée du Caire* (4th ed.; Le Caire, 1915) No. 677 (p. 184). See Vol. IV, Figs. 51–52 and Pls. 28 *A* and 39.

<sup>41</sup> See Vol. IV.

have disappeared. At the bottom of a piece of shaft which according to its diameter (90 cm.) may have belonged in either *B* or *C* is a small paneled pattern depicting Negro and Libyan prisoners (Pl. 33 *E*). This column possibly had a palm-leaf capital with unworked leaves similar to a somewhat smaller one which we found in Room *D* (see p. 53). The windows in the throneroom apparently consisted of stone grilles. Such windows in various sizes and patterns have been found in the palace, but we were not able to determine exactly their original locations. They were made of slabs of sandstone (10–20 cm. thick), for the most part rather crudely worked and painted red, yellow, and blue. One (1.20 m. square) found by Daressy in very fragmentary condition is in the Cairo Museum (Pl. 38 *F*).<sup>42</sup> Theodore M. Davis found three, of which one (about 1.05 m. square) is in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Pl. 38 *D*) and two, one with rounded top and one square,<sup>43</sup> are in Cairo.<sup>44</sup> Others practically identical in form (Pl. 38 *A* and *C*) were unearthed in our excavations. One (83 cm. high × 72 cm. wide) is not sculptured as a grille and is therefore a “false” window (Pl. 38 *E*). It is now stored in a magazine at Medinet Habu. Obviously in the interest of symmetry it had been placed opposite a real window. Aside from these we found still smaller fragments with different designs which we could not reconstruct.

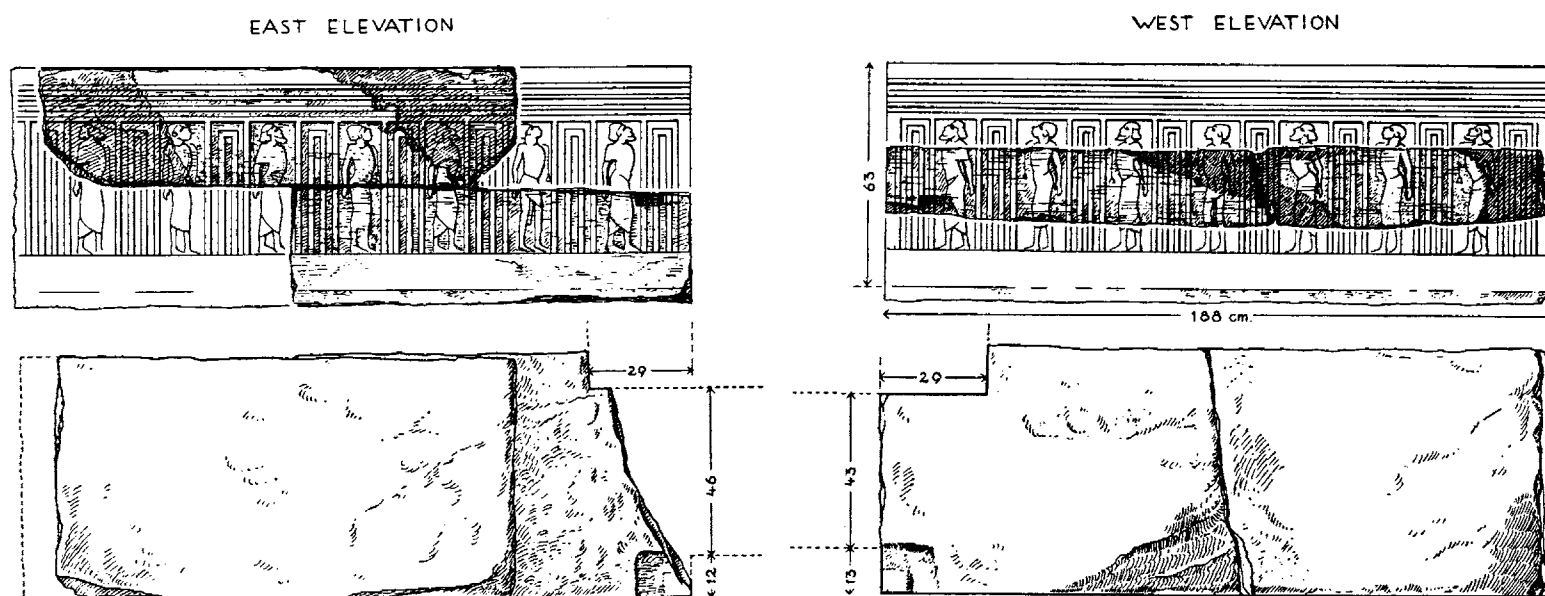


FIG. 30. FRAGMENTS OF A THRONE BASE, PROBABLY FROM THE SECOND PALACE

As in the earlier palace, the king's throne was probably in front of the rear wall of the throneroom, although we found no foundations for it. Four fragments of stone slabs belonging to a throne base (Fig. 30) were found reused in the landing of the stairway to the Balcony of Royal Appearances (see above). They show the same paneled pattern of prisoners as that on the column fragment (Pl. 33 *E*) mentioned above. The throne was probably approached by a ramp (Fig. 31) as in the palace of Merenptah at Memphis.<sup>45</sup> Behind the throne there may have been a double false door, as in the earlier palace, but not even the smallest recognizable fragment has been preserved.

The room had been divided by screens set in front of the second pair of columns (see Fig. 29 and Pl. 8), but holes in the floor for their posts were the only traces which remained. They must have been very lightly constructed of wood and may have served to hold those who were being received in audience at a respectful distance from the “good god.” Strangely enough we found no traces of the floors in either the throneroom or the side rooms. We probably may conclude that, unlike their prototypes at ‘Amarnah which were constructed of gypsum, these floors consisted of ordinary clay with possibly a thin gypsum wash—comparatively fragile materials that perished at an early date.

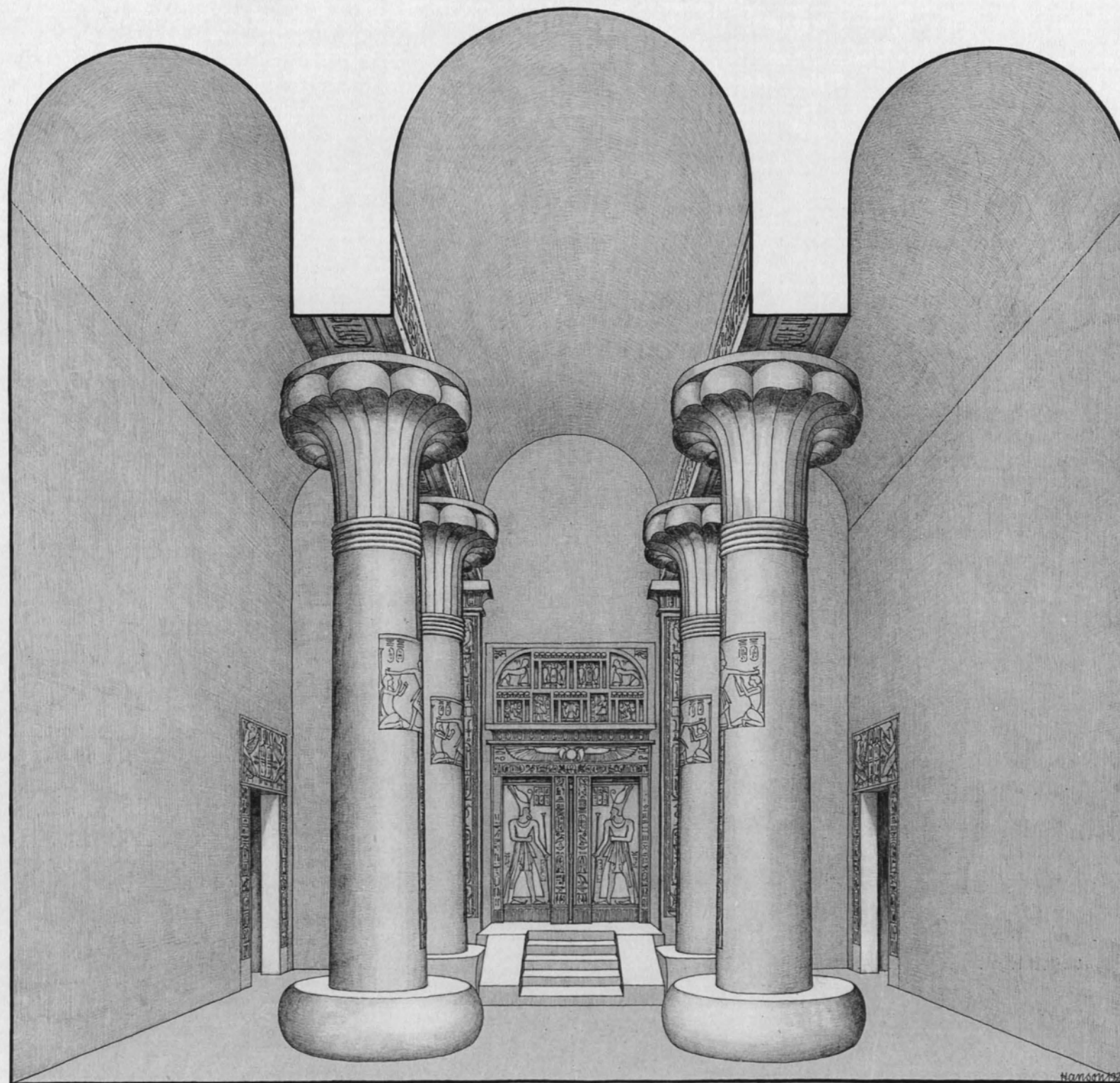
In studying the chambers adjoining the throneroom it is best to start with the rooms on the afore-mentioned (p. 50) transverse axis. At the east end was a gateway (*E*) which had been cut through the Inner Inclosure Wall after its completion. Of this gateway there remained only the cavity hacked into the brick mass so that its

<sup>42</sup> Maspero, *op. cit.* No. 670 (p. 182).

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.* Nos. 678–79 (p. 185).

<sup>44</sup> See Somers Clarke and R. Engelbach, *Ancient Egyptian Masonry* (London, 1930) Figs. 206–7 (scale incorrect), and Henry Burton in *BMMA* XI (1916) 104–6.

<sup>45</sup> See Fisher in *Mj* VIII (1917) 218 and Fig. 81.



THE THRONEROOM IN THE FIRST PALACE. RECONSTRUCTION





sills could be bedded on sand and the stone frame erected upon them. We can only speculate as to the form of the gateway. Possibly there were two doorways one behind the other—the exterior one with open lintel (cf. p. 5) and the interior one with a door of full height—since we find evidence of such double security in almost every small gateway in the outer wall. A cornice fragment of an open-lintel doorway found in the debris (in F 13) might have belonged here, but there is no proof. Just inside this gate, a narrow passage to the left along the wall led to the harem. Straight ahead was a small hall opening to the left into the long narrow guardroom and to the front into the side vestibule (*D*). This entire succession of rooms was extremely badly preserved, so that the details in our reconstruction depend upon assumptions. Further difficulty resulted from the variation in floor level from room to room. The pavement level outside the gate was  $\pm 0$ , inside  $+0.25$  m.; in the vestibule (*D*) it rose to about  $+1.00$  m. We do not know whether steps or a ramp connected the latter (see Pl. 9, cross-section).

Vestibule *D* is instructive architecturally, since it shows clearly the principle of Egyptian room-planning. In the middle were two columns flanked by stone pilasters in the longer walls for the support of the beams. The room was, therefore, like the rooms on the main axis of the palace, spanned by three barrel vaults above stone beams. The off-center doorways to side chambers were balanced by recesses fitted with wooden panels in imitation of real doors. Thus was disguised the asymmetrical arrangement of real doors necessitated by the plan of the building.<sup>46</sup> One column base was found *in situ* (see Pl. 27). Of the other column, only the foundation pit dug into an older brick wall and filled with bedding sand was found. The diameter of the bottom of the shaft as indicated on the base was 78 cm. A fragment of a capital found in the rubbish near this base may have belonged to the column. It is a simplified palm-leaf or open-papyrus capital, formed as though it had been turned on a lathe. The surface shows grooves which had been filled with gypsum and perhaps inlaid with fayence or glass.<sup>47</sup> The engaged pillars were constructed of approximately cubic stone blocks bedded on sand and extended about 5 cm. beyond the walls. The usual royal legends in large hieroglyphs were carved on their front surfaces (cf. Fig. 25).

In the corner formed by the Great Pylon and the south wall of the temple lay a court, as in the First Palace, which later was transformed into a vaulted room (see p. 49, n. 36, and Pls. 8 and 26). Its east wall was built against the west face of the pylon, which had already been partially covered by the east wall of Vestibule *D* when the Second Palace was constructed. The famous relief showing Ramses III hunting wild bulls<sup>48</sup> owes its excellent preservation to the fact that it was completely covered by these mud-brick walls.

Between the side vestibule (*D*) and the six-columned hall (*C*) was a stairway which ascended from Vestibule *A*<sub>1</sub> to the roof, passing above the doorway between *D* and *C* and the small rooms to the south. The lowest steps lay exposed in *A*<sub>1</sub>, and 67 cm. higher were a landing and a doorsill. The rest of the stairway was not preserved.<sup>49</sup> On the other side of the great columned hall there appears to have been a second stairway, ascending from the passage between *C* and *J*. Our reason for assuming this—aside from general consideration of the ground plan—is the fact that there was a brick foundation for which we have found no other explanation than that it was the beginning of a stairway. Still we wish to emphasize that no absolute proof for this stairway exists.

The two doorways between *C* and the harem court (*J*), that opening into the small chamber adjoining the northwest corner of *C*, and that leading from *J* into the "garden" differ from other building parts of the Second Palace in two respects. First, they were made of reused stones. One of the doorposts showed the name of Amenhotep III in large hieroglyphs on the side which was bonded into the wall and therefore unseen. Originally it had

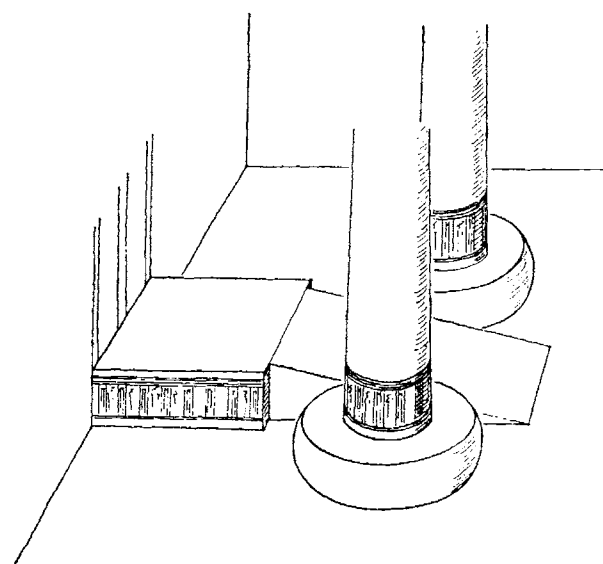


FIG. 31. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE THRONE BASE IN THE GREAT COLUMNED HALL OF THE SECOND PALACE FROM FRAGMENTS SHOWN IN FIGURE 30

<sup>46</sup> See Vol. IV for description of forms of doors and false doors.

<sup>47</sup> Cf. a capital found by Petrie at Amarnah (Petrie, *Tell el Amarna* [London, 1894] Pl. VI).

<sup>48</sup> *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 117.

<sup>49</sup> In reconstructing this stairway the possibility that the side rooms may have been two-storied must not be forgotten (see p. 51, n. 38).

been an architrave, with horizontal inscription. But as a doorpost it stood vertically, with the inscription in the wrong position. One may assume that the stones came from either the great temple of Amenhotep III located to the north of Medinet Habu (at Kom el-Haitan) or his residence palace to the south (at Malqata).<sup>50</sup> Second, the outsides of these doorframes were not inscribed until the time of Panedjem I, that is, not until over a hundred years after the erection of the Second Palace. These two surprising facts lead us to question whether they were actually constructed by Ramses III when he built the Second Palace or whether they were built in when the palace was restored under Panedjem (Twenty-first Dynasty).<sup>51</sup> We found their doorsills *in situ* and the jambs of the west doorway to the harem court (Pl. 35 E) lying prostrate. The jambs of the two doorways in C had been removed—probably during the earlier excavation—to a place in the vicinity but were easily recognizable as having belonged to these doorways and were brought back. Their inscriptions were all similar but in part had never been completely chiseled.

#### THE INTIMATE ROOMS

The intimate chambers were connected with the public rooms by but one doorway. This was located at the end of the west side aisle of the six-columned hall. Its sill and frame were not to be found, but only its foundation

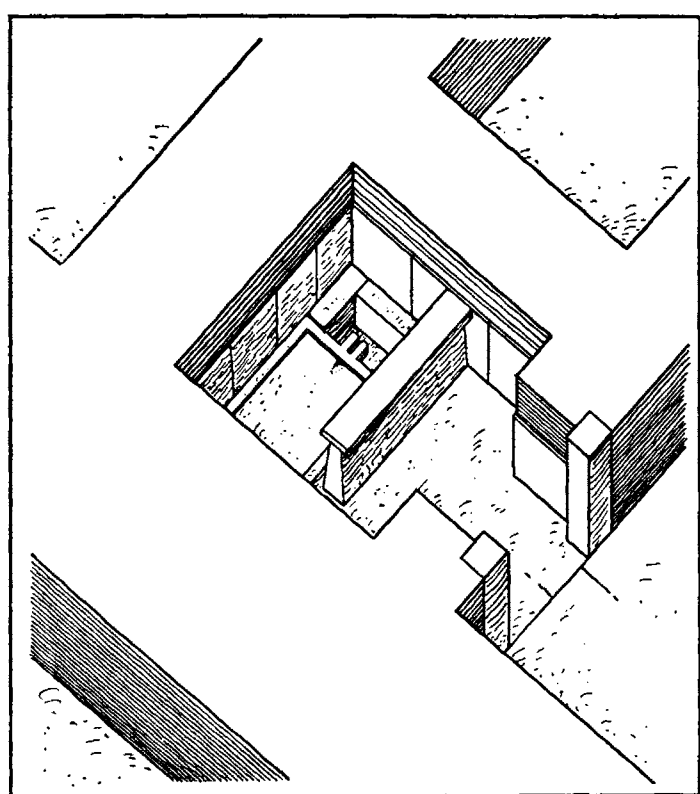


FIG. 32. BATHROOM OF THE KING IN THE SECOND PALACE

trench and sand bedding remained. The first room (*H*) of this group has two doors on the right, the first leading into a small room which was perhaps a clothes closet or similar and the other into a bathroom (Fig. 32). From the arrangement of the bathrooms at Medinet Habu we have assumed that bathing must have consisted simply of pouring water over the body. The walls were faced with stone slabs 1.70 m. high as protection against splashing. The room was divided by a screen wall of the same height topped with a cavetto cornice, which furnished privacy in the rear half when the door was open. The floor in the rear part consisted of a single stone slab with a raised rim around the edge and a slope toward one end, where the water drained into a deep basin which perhaps was covered with a lid. The waste water had to be bailed from the basin. Perhaps a wooden night chair with a removable vessel also stood in this room.<sup>52</sup> During the excavations which took place in 1913 the mud-brick masonry in the palace was everywhere removed, even behind the stone slabs in the bathroom. Thus deprived of their support,

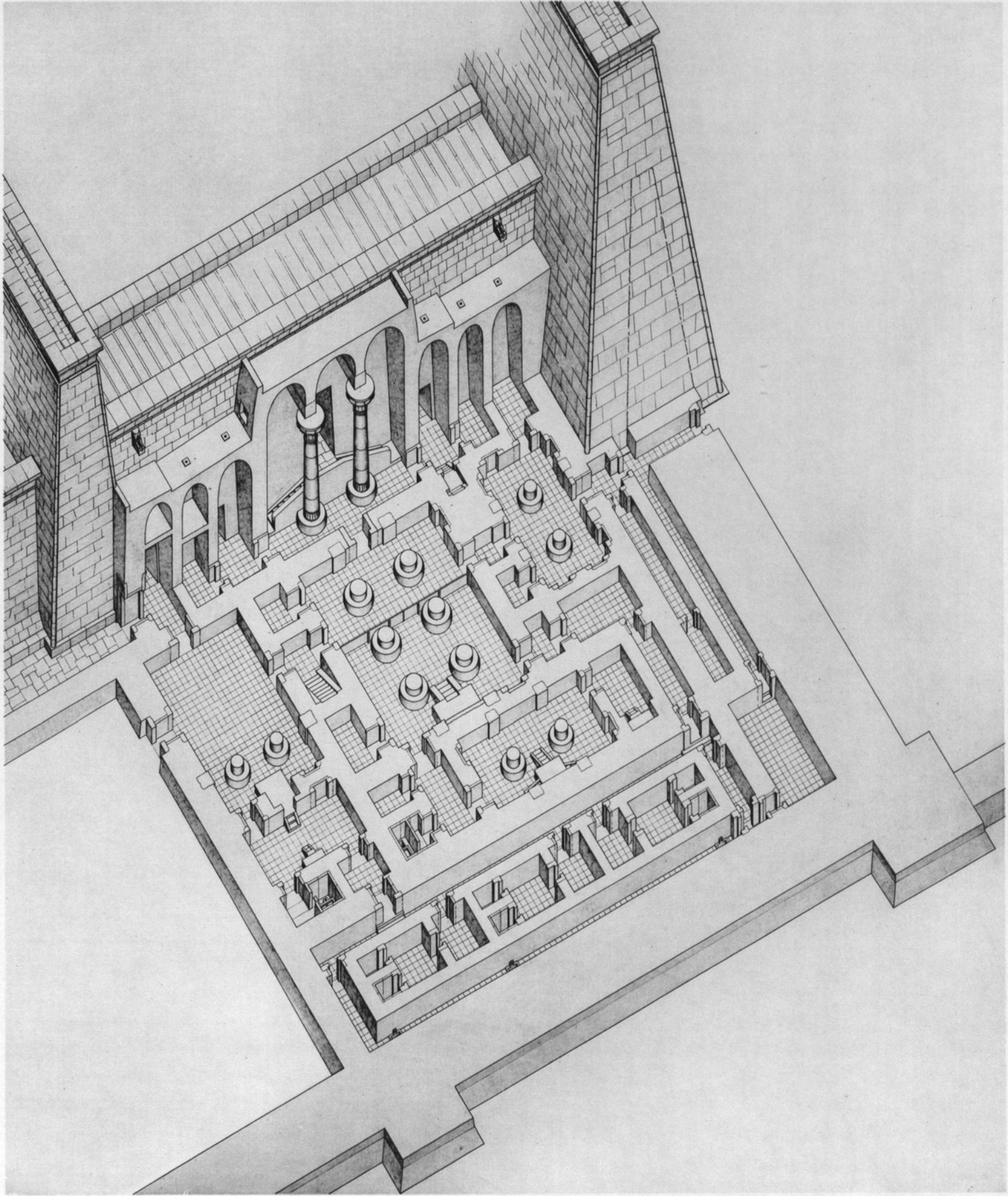
some of them collapsed and broke in the course of time. We supplied them with new foundations, clamped them together with iron bands, and supported them from the rear with burnt brick and cement.

The entrance to the king's living-room (*F*) was opposite the bathroom door. Only the threshold remained; the stone posts which we have erected here were found in the vicinity but not where they had fallen, and it is not certain that they belonged to this doorway. The chamber (Pl. 32 C) has two columns flanked by pilasters and in size, form, and construction resembles Vestibule *D*. The black granite column bases and truncated remains of the shafts (about 1 meter high) were found *in situ*. The names and usual titulary of Ramses III encircle the bases. The shafts are of crudely worked sandstone and were covered with a thick coat of stucco which has fallen away to a great extent. They were apparently made of architraves, probably from the First Palace, whose inscriptions are now illegible. On four sides these columns bore vertical inscriptions of which only a few

<sup>50</sup> Both of these building complexes of Amenhotep III had already been destroyed by use as stone quarries in the time of Ramses III. Blocks from the temple had been reused in the mortuary temple of Merenptah and in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak. As to the latter, note Borchart in *ZAS* LXI (1926) 51. Mud bricks stamped with the name of the palace were reused at Medinet Habu in the time of Ramses III and to a great extent in the Twenty-first Dynasty (see Vols. IV-V).

<sup>51</sup> See Vol. V for accounts of the first destruction of Medinet Habu at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty and its partial restoration in the Twenty-first Dynasty.

<sup>52</sup> As to bath and toilet facilities in ancient Egypt, see Ricke, *Der Grundriss des Amarna-Wohnhauses*, p. 35.



ISOMETRIC DRAWING OF THE SECOND PALACE. RECONSTRUCTION



signs can now be deciphered. Presumably they are to be reconstructed with palm capitals (see Pl. 9).<sup>53</sup> Only the engaged pillars on the south side were partly preserved, the left one having collapsed and broken in 1926 due to the fact that the mud-brick wall around it had been removed in the excavations of 1913; we have re-erected it. The alabaster base of a throne still stands against the rear wall. It is a rectangular platform (2.00×1.60×.70 m. high) finished with a cavetto cornice. Stairs ascend on three sides. Diagonally across from the entrance, in the northeast corner, lies the door to the bedroom. False doors were employed to offset the asymmetric arrangement of the doorways, exactly as in Vestibule *D*.

The bedroom (Pl. 32 *D*) had a raised niche (2.00×1.15×.35 m. high) finished with stone slabs and approached by three steps. It is possible that the niche protruded above the rest of the presumably vaulted room and was open above the roof terrace to the north in order to catch cooling breezes.<sup>54</sup> The bed must have stood in this relatively small niche. It would seem therefore that the bed of an Egyptian king must have been rather short according to our conceptions.

#### THE HAREM

The harem court (*J*) was accessible from the first court of the temple through the westernmost doorway in the palace façade. The richly ornamented casing of the doorway in the north wall of *J* was found where it had fallen and, though broken into numerous fragments, has been fitted together and re-erected (Pl. 32 *A*). The hieroglyphs and the scene on the lintel, where the king is depicted slaying an enemy (Pl. 35 *C*),<sup>55</sup> are very carefully executed, in striking contrast to the hastily done work in the Second Palace. We suspect therefore that this doorframe dates from the First Palace and was reused in the Second. Another entrance to the harem court, which, as already noted (p. 50), lies on the cross axis of the throneroom, was not inscribed until the time of Panedjem (see p. 54). Opposite it in the west wall of the court is a similar doorway leading into the "garden." Its jambs too were inscribed by Panedjem (see p. 54). Presumably they had been removed and reused in antiquity. Daressy discovered and re-erected them northeast of the Great Pylon (in F 13),<sup>56</sup> whence we returned them to their original positions. The harem court was terminated on the south by a portico with two columns flanked by engaged pillars. The round foundation pits with sand bedding were all that remained of the columns, but several blocks of the engaged pillars were still *in situ* (see Pls. 27–30) and others were found near by in debris. They all show the same decorative motif, already so familiar, of large vertical royal inscriptions. We know nothing of the form of the columns, so that our reconstruction (see Pl. 9) rests entirely upon supposition. The wall behind the columns, unfortunately severely damaged, is very interesting. In the middle was a wide aperture for a window—not a door, as the sill was considerably above the floor level. The sill itself has gone, but the course beneath it remains<sup>57</sup> and shows four holes in which wooden posts had stood—traces of a wooden construction! A doorway to the right of this window was balanced by a recess on the left. It would thus appear that the harem façade—including court, columned portico, and a window between two doors (or rather a door and a false door)—was an imitation in miniature of the façade of the royal palace. It is even possible to use the term "window of appearances,"<sup>58</sup> for the window obviously served as a vantage point from which the king and his favorites could view the court and possibly enjoy performances of dancers and singers.

The reception hall (*K*) of the harem is 4.60 m. wide and seems to have been barrel-vaulted, as probably were all the rooms of the palace. In front of the rear wall is an alabaster dais for a throne with stairs leading up to it in front. Doorways on either side of the throne opened into a bathroom and a passage (*L*) which led to the harem apartments. As a result of the previous excavations the door casings were not to be found, except an unin-

<sup>53</sup> Because the rough stone shafts taper very slightly at the bottom one could guess that the columns were papyriform, but the lack of base leaves proves this wrong. I believe that the usual taper from the bottom toward the top was effected by means of the coat of stucco which originally was present.

<sup>54</sup> Cf. Akhnaton's palace as depicted in the tomb of Merire<sup>c</sup> (Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I, Pls. XVIII and XXVI); see also Ricke, *op. cit.* p. 34.

<sup>55</sup> Cf. the scene on the columns in the great hall of the First Palace (Pl. 33 *B*).

<sup>56</sup> As a result, Baedeker's plan of Medinet Habu (1929) erroneously has a "shrine of Pinutem" at this point.

<sup>57</sup> There were several stones from the First Palace, which we removed and replaced with others.

<sup>58</sup> Such windows were not confined to royal palace façades; we find one, for instance, in the palace of the consort of King Eye; see Norman de Garis Davies in *Metropolitan Museum Studies* I (New York, 1928/29) 241–44 and Fig. 3 and *The Tomb of Nefer-hotep at Thebes* (PMMMA IX [1933]) I 20, n. 6, and 23–26 and Pl. XIV.

scribed jamb of the east door, which appeared to be a reused block. Only the thresholds were still *in situ*, and they provided us with a genuine surprise. They proved to be the lintels and *Supraporten* of the main entrance to the throneroom of the First Palace and the double false door from the same room (see p. 48). They were bedded face down in clean sand and were therefore well preserved. We removed them and replaced them with other stone slabs.

The bathroom (Pl. 32 *B*) shows the same peculiarities as the one in the royal private chambers (p. 54). The passage to the harem apartments (*L*) was closed off by two or perhaps three doors and was just large enough to accommodate a harem guard. The harem apartments formed a low elongated structure separated from the palace proper by a narrow passageway or open corridor lying 40 cm. below the level of the palace floor. There were three complete apartments, all exactly alike and each consisting of an entrance room (*M*), a square living-room, and two small side chambers. One of the side rooms was a bath smaller than but similar in arrangement to those previously mentioned. The drainage basin, however, was placed not within the room itself but outside in the rear passageway and connected with the bathroom by a stone gutter extending through the wall. Most of the doorsills were found *in situ*, and some of the doorframes still lay where they had fallen (see Pls. 28–30). Those which had been removed could be easily identified.<sup>59</sup> All of the rooms were vaulted, and the outlines of the arches may still be seen on the stone lintels. The decoration obviously was very modest; not even the doorframes were ornamented. It is noteworthy that there were no bedrooms in these apartments of the harem ladies; they probably had their beds spread in the living-room by servants.

The harem structure stood free—that is, surrounded on all sides by narrow passageways. An astonishingly large number of doors could close off certain portions of the passages. We see thus that the inmates were doubtless kept in strict seclusion. The three drainage basins in the passageway at the rear could be emptied without having servants enter the ladies' private chambers.

From the harem apartments the palace could be entered not only through the harem court (*J*) but also through a private passage (*N*) which began at the east end of the harem corridor with a doorway decorated with showy royal legends. Its doorposts were still *in situ* (Pls. 27 and 29–30), while the lintels had been removed but were discovered by us and replaced.<sup>60</sup> Here is the only place in the palace where the mud-brick superstructure and the ancient mud plaster with rather crude painting were preserved to any extent. Finally, the harem apartments had a direct approach from Gateway *E*, but by a narrow winding route which led through a kind of house-keeping court (*O*) to the rear of the complex. It appears therefore to have been a service entrance.

#### PARTIAL RESTORATION OF THE SECOND PALACE

After completing the excavation and survey we restored the Second Palace to a height of 1–2 m. (Fig. 33 and Pl. 31), so that it is now possible to walk from room to room and gain a clear impression of such a royal palace (Pl. 9). In this undertaking not only did the foundations of the First Palace have to be buried exactly as they had been three thousand years ago when the Second Palace was built, but the mud-brick walls of the Second Palace had to be renewed almost entirely; only the stone architectural parts, with the exception of a few blocks which can be recognized immediately as new pieces, are original. This went beyond our original problem of excavation to conservation and finally to restoration. Restoration is a very risky procedure, and we consented to do it only after much hesitation, when it appeared that in no other way could the physical results of our excavation be preserved for posterity and the appearance of such a royal palace be concretely presented to the expert as well as to the layman. The following lines give an account of what we have done.

The remains of the two palaces formed such a confused labyrinth of intersecting foundation walls (Folio Pl. 13) that even an archeologist experienced in excavation would have been obliged to study them for a long time in order to find his way about, while the nonprofessional would not have been able to gain any idea whatever of the plans of the two structures. And that is the more unfortunate because to date there is no royal palace in Egypt which is understood in such detail. The sad condition of the ruins was, as mentioned above (p. 38), part-

<sup>59</sup> See Vol. IV for interesting constructional details of these doorways.

<sup>60</sup> In the doorway at the north end of Passage *N* on doorposts constructed by ourselves we set up a lintel finished with a cavetto cornice which we found in Vestibule *D*. It is not absolutely certain that this lintel belonged here.

ly the result of earlier excavations (in 1913), when the mud-brick walls of the Second Palace were leveled to the height of the pavement and only the foundations were left. However, most of the stone members which originally had been held in position by these walls remained either *in situ* or where they had fallen. Some of those which had collapsed had been smashed to pieces in the few years since their clearance.

Our first problem was to prevent further destruction of the stone fragments. Those which were still standing we supplied with new foundations and supported from the rear with burnt brick in cement mortar and braced with iron clamps. Fallen parts were re-erected. However, the doorframes, engaged pillars, and wall-facing slabs thus standing isolated and unrelated were not only absolutely unintelligible but also most unaesthetic as they protruded bare and meaningless above the ground. They cried for connecting walls. And what about the foundations of the mud-brick walls? Could we simply leave them uncovered and exposed to the various dangers that threatened? It is a well known fact that even in the dry climate of Upper Egypt thin or low mud-brick walls do



FIG. 33. THE SECOND PALACE AS PARTIALLY RESTORED IN 1928-30

not remain preserved very long after excavation. Occasionally rains soften their surfaces; sand, wind, and insects eat into them; often the sand beneath their foundations is blown away, so that the walls collapse entirely or in part. Usually after a few years only a few details remain of all that had been clearly visible immediately after excavation.

There are only two means of preventing disintegration. One is to rebury mud-brick walls soon after excavating them. Such procedure, however, withholds the results of excavation from study and comparison by contemporary scholars as well as by posterity. The alternative is to cover the ancient walls with several layers of bricks and weatherproof them. It is true that this method renders later verification of the excavator's results difficult and increases the danger that any misunderstandings or mistakes may become permanent. In spite of our own doubts we decided upon the latter course, whereby the plan is preserved at least and made intelligible for the expert no less than for the discerning layman. Although certain of our results have been withdrawn from direct re-examination by this procedure, we still attempted to do everything within our power to make further research possible. In the first place careful drawings (Folio Pls. 13-14) and photographs (Pls. 27-30) were made of all details of the excavated area. Secondly, to bury the foundations of the First Palace we used only sand and loose rubble, which can be easily removed without disturbing any of the remains. Thirdly, for the restoration we used

small modern bricks in contrast to the large ancient bricks, while the old and the modern brickwork are clearly separated by a layer (3–5 cm. thick) of clean sand which we spread between them. Thus, if in the future a reinvestigation of any part of this site proves necessary or desirable, the restored parts can be removed with ease and comparatively slight expense and the situation which obtained at the end of our excavations will be once more revealed.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Our interest has been directed in particular to the temple palace, which in contrast to the temple itself was first known through our excavations. True, its location had already been indicated by the door openings and the inscriptions on the stone façade and by the imprint of the brick vaults on the south wall of the temple. In 1910 I myself offered suggestions as to how the palace must have looked;<sup>61</sup> but that was all! Theodore M. Davis in 1913 unearthed some stone architectural members which in so far as they were left *in situ* are shown on Plate 25 and Folio Plate 1. Several fragments of stone windows were removed to the Cairo Museum and the Metropolitan Museum of Art (see p. 52), but on the whole that excavation was without significant results.<sup>62</sup> Therefore the outcome of our excavation was a pleasant surprise, especially as not only one palace was unearthed but two. Until then little had been known about royal palaces of Egypt. Aside from the residence palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata, south of Medinet Habu, which was excavated by the Metropolitan Museum but unfortunately has not yet been published, there was only the temple palace of Merenptah at Memphis, excavated by Fisher for the University of Pennsylvania Museum,<sup>63</sup> which could offer any conception of such structures.<sup>64</sup> Later (1930/31) we excavated the palace in the Ramesseum (see pp. 77 f.) in order to supplement information gathered at Medinet Habu, and then in the temple of Eye we found another example of such a palace.<sup>65</sup>

We now see very clearly that palaces included in temple complexes must not be confused with residence palaces. They were modest in dimensions and but occasionally used by the king for a short stay. So far the only temple palaces known are from the post-Amarnah period, that is, from the time when the royal residence was not in Thebes but in northern Egypt. It would appear that the kings used these temple palaces as temporary quarters when they went to Thebes (or to Memphis) to take part in festivals. According to inscriptions on the entrances of our palace Ramses III while staying here participated not only in festivities which took place in the temple of Medinet Habu but also in the Feast of the Valley, which took place throughout the west of Thebes, and in the Beautiful Feast of Opet (see p. 42), which was celebrated from Karnak to Luxor. It would seem therefore that he possessed no other palace in Thebes, on either the east or the west bank, but used the temple palace of Medinet Habu exclusively during his sojourns in Thebes. If this supposition is true, it may explain why in the later period of his reign the original palace was replaced by a larger one which undoubtedly was more comfortable. However, on the other hand, it is possible also that the new palace was occasioned by his jubilee, which presumably introduced a new era in his reign.

The two palaces which we discovered at Medinet Habu differ greatly. The older one consisted principally of presentation rooms, namely a wide reception hall and a square throneroom, and several smaller side rooms. This type of palace is now familiar to us from three other examples: the palace of Eye at Medinet Habu,<sup>66</sup> that of Ramses II in the Ramesseum (Fig. 53 and pp. 77 f.), and that of Merenptah at Thebes.<sup>67</sup> In each case the throneroom was square and had four columns. The throne base is well preserved in the Ramesseum, and its position was indicated at Medinet Habu (see p. 45). A double false door was proved to have been present behind the throne at Medinet Habu (see p. 48), and there are remains of a stone wall which may have contained a false door in corresponding position in the Ramesseum. In the other temple palaces, because of the poor state of preservation, no such traces could be observed. The reception hall varied greatly in size in the different ex-

<sup>61</sup> Hölscher, *Das Hohe Tor von Medinet Habu* (*WVDOG* XII [1910]) pp. 48–55.

<sup>62</sup> In the brief report on this excavation Burton states: "Owing to the entire absence of wall foundations, it is almost impossible to reconstruct the building" (*BMM* XI 108). This statement was refuted by Borchardt in *Klio* XV (1918) 179–83.

<sup>63</sup> See Fisher in *Mj* VIII 211–30, XII (1921) 30–34 and Pl. III, and XV (1924) 93–100.

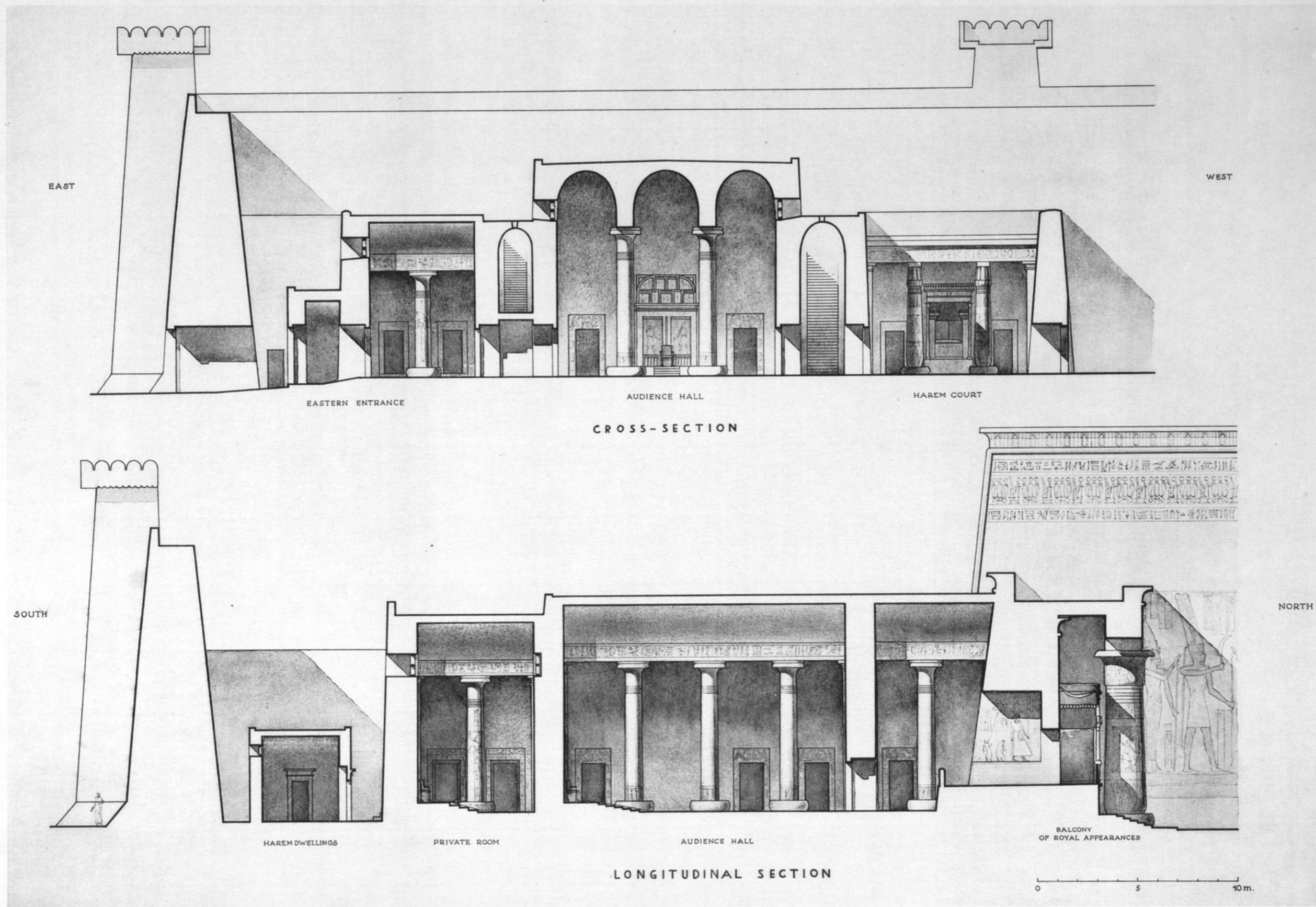
<sup>64</sup> Borchardt in *Zeitschrift deutscher Architekten und Ingenieure* XVII (1922) 117–19 compiled all available information about royal palaces or structures which were believed to be palaces.

<sup>65</sup> Vol. II 81 f.

<sup>66</sup> Vol. II, Fig. 71.

<sup>67</sup> Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pl. XXV.





SECTIONS THROUGH THE SECOND PALACE (CF. FIG. 29). RECONSTRUCTIONS. SCALE, 1:200



amples. In the palace of Eye there were eight columns, in that of the Ramesseum sixteen, in that of Merenptah four, and at Medinet Habu twelve. The Window of Royal Appearances is preserved in the façade of Ramses III's palace; it has been proved to have existed in the Ramesseum, while it probably was present in the palace of Eye. Entrance to the palace was gained in every case by a small vestibule at each side of the reception hall, and always there was a columned portico in front of the palace.

For the other type, which is represented by the later palace at Medinet Habu (Fig. 29), so far we have only one parallel, namely the palace of Merenptah at Memphis.<sup>68</sup> The ground plan in both cases was more complicated than in the earlier group. The throneroom was an extensive six-columned hall. As to the reception room, however, there was a great difference. In our palace lack of space caused it to be very modest in dimensions, while at Memphis it was a stately room with two rows of six columns. The dais for the throne is completely preserved at Memphis, even with remains of colored reliefs, while at Medinet Habu there are only fragments and those not *in situ*. No double false door is preserved in either palace. The characteristic feature of this type of palace is the presence of intimate dwelling chambers behind the public rooms; in both cases they are similar to groups of rooms known in large private residences at Amarnah (see p. 50). This type of palace therefore was a complete residence, and though of unpretentious dimensions still contained all the rooms essential for comfortable living. As the other type of palace contained only public rooms, we may conclude that the king used it only to prepare for festivities by performing ablutions, adorning himself, and the like.<sup>69</sup>

Difference between the two palaces at Medinet Habu is evident also in the separate buildings at the rear. In the First Palace there was a magazine-like complex comprised of two rows of six chambers each which could hardly have been planned as real living rooms. At the Ramesseum (see Figs. 52–53) there were several dwellings, which had no connection with the palace itself and which we think may have belonged to officials. In our Second Palace there were three separate apartments, smaller than the Ramesseum dwellings and connected on the one hand with a group of reception rooms on the west side of the palace and on the other with the royal chambers themselves. We have designated these apartments and the reception rooms with which they were connected as the harem but must present some proof for such a statement.

Reliefs on the Eastern and the Western Fortified Gate<sup>70</sup> indicate that the king had at least part of his harem with him at Medinet Habu. A similar representation of a nude maiden offering flowers or the like to the king occurs on the lintel of a doorframe discovered in the palace (Pl. 35 D) and now in the Cairo Museum (see p. 51). From the latter it would appear that the ladies of the harem must have been present in the palace, and the only rooms which could be considered for their use are those on the west and rear of the Second Palace.

The harem consisted of two parts, reception rooms at the west and three private apartments in a separate building at the rear. The reception rooms included a court with a small window of appearances, a throneroom, and a bathroom—but no sleeping chamber. This part of the harem therefore was not an apartment for any individual lady but belonged in common to the apartments at the rear for three ladies of equal rank, and the throne no doubt was intended not for one of the ladies but for the king when he visited the harem. From this layout it is apparent that the queen did not belong to the harem;<sup>71</sup> in fact, it appears that the queen was never present in the palace of Medinet Habu, since she is never mentioned by name in the temple, even in the few scenes where she is portrayed.<sup>72</sup> A “garden” to the west of the palace appears to have belonged particularly to the harem, as it was connected with the harem court by a doorway (pp. 67 f.).

<sup>68</sup> *Mγ VIII*, Fig. 79.

<sup>69</sup> Kees (*Ägypten*, p. 182) points out that the actual purpose of the temple palace was for dressing-rooms for which the old name “House of the Morning” was used.

<sup>70</sup> See Vol. IV for details.

<sup>71</sup> Cf. the very similar although much more extensive harem belonging to the residence palace of Amenhotep III at Malqata. This was apparently planned for eight ladies, two of whom appeared to hold more exalted rank than the others. See Robb de Peyster Tytus, *A Preliminary Report on the Re-excavation of the Palace of Amenhotep III* (New York, 1903); Winlock in *BMA VII* (1912) 185 f.; Ricke, *Der Grundriss des Amarna-Wohnhauses*, pp. 63 f.

<sup>72</sup> In the king's chapel (Room 1) and in the Feast of Min on the north and east walls of the second court.

### III

## THE REMAINING STRUCTURES IN THE INNER TEMPLE AREA

As already stated (p. 1) the inner temple area, which is surrounded by the turreted Inner Inclosure Wall, contains the temple itself, the palace, the magazines, and administration buildings (Fig. 34). It therefore includes all the structures essential for the actual operation of the temple, that is, for cult purposes, for reception of the

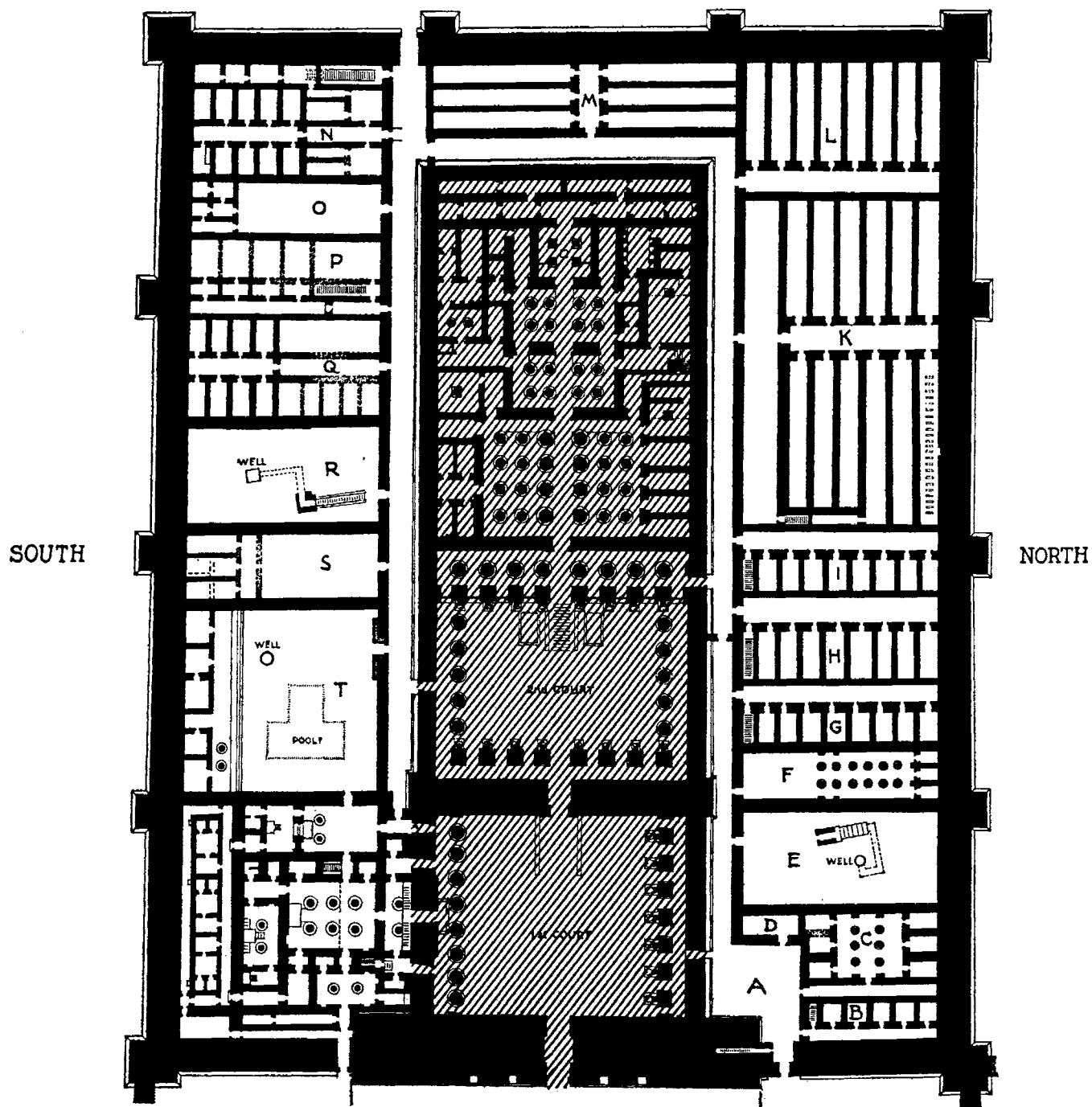


FIG. 34. GROUND PLAN OF THE INNER TEMPLE AREA

king, and for storage and administration of revenue. All the structures located outside the Inner Inclosure Wall<sup>†</sup> were not necessary for the actual operation of the temple, and as far as we know such structures were not present in any other temple on the west of Thebes. When therefore we wish to draw a comparison between for example

<sup>†</sup> See Vol. IV.

the Ramesseum and the temple of Medinet Habu we can consider only the inner area of the latter, which was all that was included in the original layout. The outer temple area, except for the canal to the Nile, was the result of expansion during the later years of the reign of Ramses III.

#### THE INNER INCLOSURE WALL

The inner temple area (136×171 meters) was encircled by a fortified mud-brick wall whose remains, however, have been destroyed for the most part to the very foundations by *sebakh*-diggers. It was 6 meters wide at its base and on the outside had a socle with sloping edge which rose about 1.70 m. above the terrain. The cross-section of the wall can still be discerned on the ends of the Great Pylon (Pls. 26 and 30).<sup>2</sup> This shows that the outside batter of the wall was slightly curved. The height is still traceable on the pylon to 14.20 m. above the terrain, so that in our reconstruction (Fig. 35) we have dared to assume a height of 15 meters. At its top the wall was about 2 meters wide and thus easily traversable. That it was crenelated, as shown in Folio Plate 23 also, has not been proved but has been assumed on the basis of ancient Egyptian representations.

Towers jutted out from the wall, five on each side and four on the rear if the corner towers are counted twice. They were spaced from 42 to 47 meters apart, so that it was possible to shoot arrows effectively from one tower to the foot of the next. The towers extended 3.80 m. beyond the wall and like it were provided with sloping socles. Their height is un-

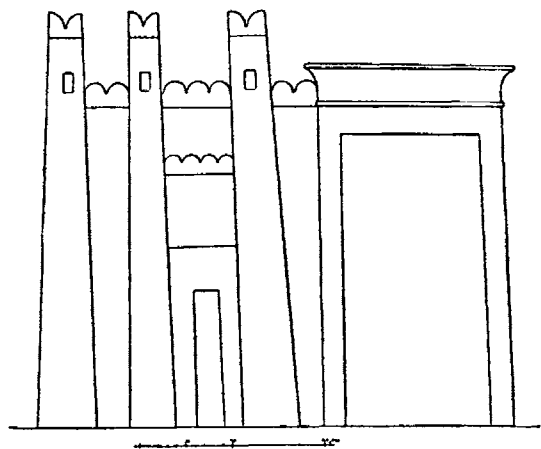


FIG. 36. A FORTIFIED TEMPLE AREA AS REPRESENTED IN THE COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU AT KARNAK

After Hölscher, *Das Hohe Tor von Medinet Habu*, Fig. 56

known. By analogy particularly with the representation of a shrine surrounded by a towered wall in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak (Fig. 36) we have assumed that the towers were higher than the wall and likewise crenelated (see Fig. 35). The foundations of our wall extended about 2 meters below ground and stood upon hard desert gravel, so that the wall could not easily have been tunneled under by assailants. The exterior of the wall was plastered and whitewashed, as may still be discerned on the socle of its western course (in S 9). A question remains as to the location of stairs leading to the top of the wall, but we are certain that it was not accessible from the Great Pylon. If we consider the ground plan of the temple complex, only two places for stairs seem feasible, namely at the two entrances to the inner temple area, near the northeast and southwest corners (see Fig. 34). It is possible that at those points were constructed narrow, steep stairways, their upper parts perhaps supported by wooden beams protruding beyond the surface of the wall as indicated in Figure 35.

<sup>2</sup> See also *Medinet Habu* II, Pl. 56.

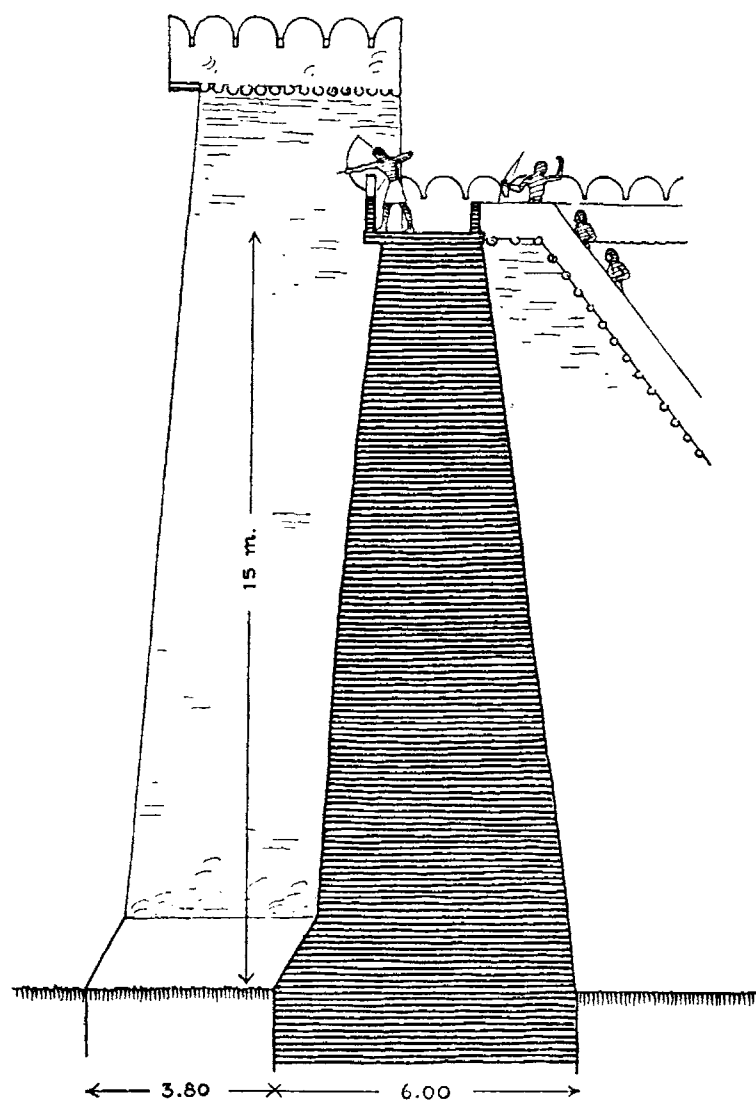


FIG. 35. CROSS-SECTION OF THE INNER INCLOSURE WALL. RECONSTRUCTION

## THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

## ADMINISTRATION BUILDINGS, MAGAZINES, AND WORKSHOPS

Ramses III addresses Amon:

"I have filled thy magazine from the booty of my sword,  
(While) thy granary is overflowing with grain;  
Thy treasury is bursting with gold and silver,  
For the wealth of all lands flows therein."<sup>3</sup>

SOUTH WALL OF TEMPLE, EXTERIOR

Of all the structures grouped around the temple in the inner temple area the palace is the only one that was actually built onto the temple and thereby showed its cult relationship to the temple. All the others, used merely for storage and administration of temple income, were separated from the temple by a street which bounds it on

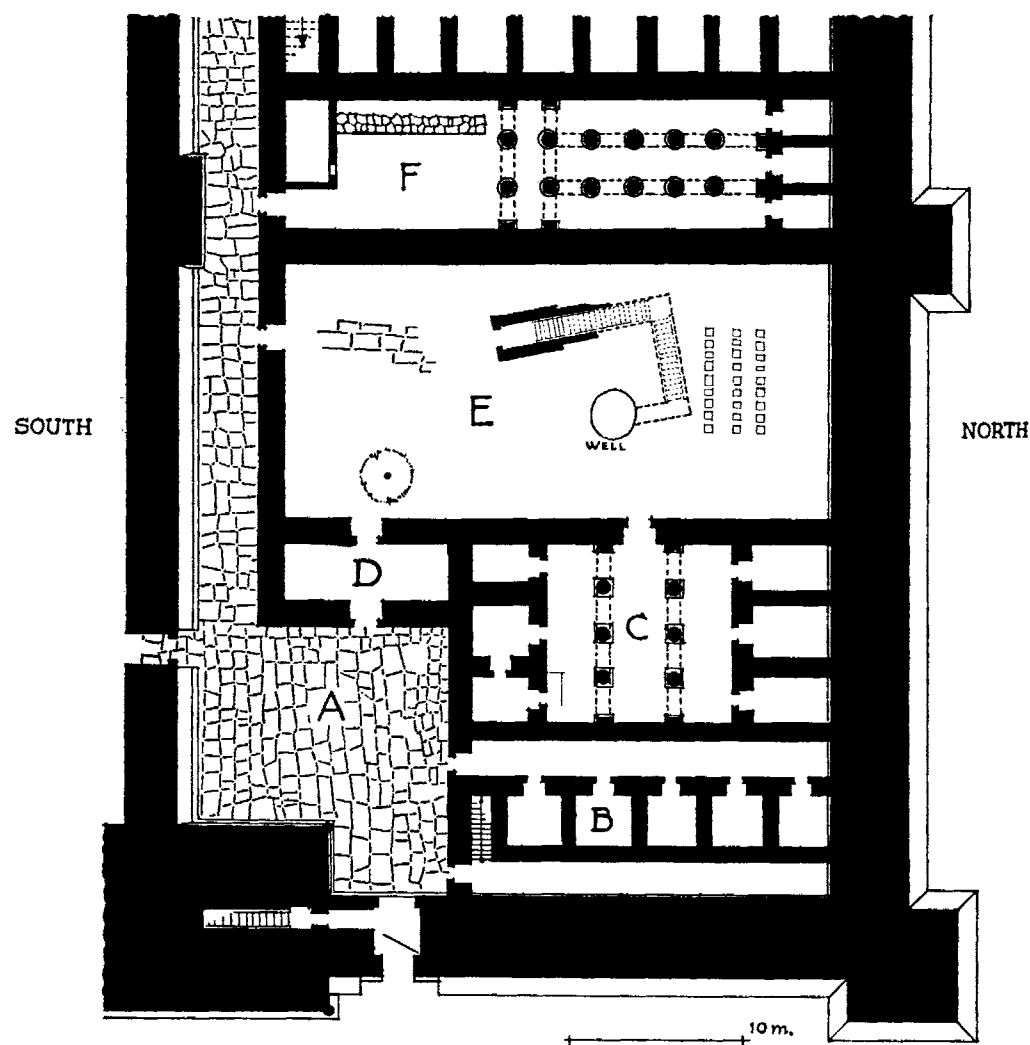


FIG. 37. GROUND PLAN OF PART OF THE INNER TEMPLE AREA AT MEDINET HABU, SHOWING THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING (C) AS ALTERED

the north, west, and south sides and comes to a dead end at the palace. This street formed the only approach to these buildings. It was 3.00–3.50 m. wide, paved with stone slabs, and following the terrain rose about 3.50 m. from east to west. The main gateway to it lay beside the north end of the Great Pylon but has disappeared except for a couple of stone foundation blocks. Another entrance, through the rear wall opposite an extension of the southern course of the street, is unfortunately completely destroyed. However, that it belonged to the original plan may be seen from the arrangement of the magazines and the uneven spacing of the towers in the west inclosure wall (see Fig. 34). At the south the distance between the corner tower and the one next to it is 4.50 m. greater than that at the north. The street could be blocked off by two gates, one in its northern course (in N 10)<sup>4</sup> and the other at the southwest corner of the temple (1.65 and 2.20 m. wide respectively). Both were obviously constructed later and doubtless served to provide extra security for the most important storehouses (Fig. 34 H–M).

All the structures in the inner temple area except the temple itself and parts of the palace had already been

<sup>3</sup> Translation by Nelson in *OIC* No. 18, p. 14.

<sup>4</sup> See Vol. IV, Fig. 29.

leveled down to the ground in antiquity; modern *sebakh*-diggers contributed further to their destruction, so that now only the foundation courses, and even those only in part, remain (Folio Pls. 11–15). We must be content therefore with a discussion of the ground plans. Regarding the superstructures of these buildings we can only refer to similar, better preserved ones, especially at the Ramesseum (pp. 78–82). Most of the structures were magazines. We cannot determine the specific purpose of each, for we found no remains of the supplies which once were stored in them nor any inscribed jar sherds or the like. There were also courts, some for purposes unknown to us and others for wells; a large administration building; and a columned hall, which perhaps served as the office of the administration scribe.

Let us now observe the individual structures in their order of arrangement along the street. To facilitate understanding we give individual reconstructions of the most important groups. In details, for example doorways, these differ from those given on the chronological reconstructions in Volume I (Folio Pls. 12 and 14–15). Critical readers must form their own opinions with the aid of the survey plans shown opposite the latter (Folio Pls. 11, 13, and 15).

In the area (*A*) just inside the main gateway from the street (Fig. 37) two doorways at the right give access to two narrow passageways with a row of five square (about 3 meters) chambers (*B*) between them. It is not possible to ascertain the locations of the entrances to these chambers. Doubtless the rooms were vaulted. At the beginning of the row, between the doorways from *A*, was a narrower room which by analogy with most of the storehouses contained stairs to the roof terrace (see p. 65).

The next structure (*C*) had an east-west axis. In the center was a six-columned hall and at each side of it three narrow chambers. The positions of the six stone columns and the four pilasters designed to receive the ends of the beams can be determined by pits for their sand bedding (cf. the similar method of construction in the Second Palace; p. 50). The hall was exactly as wide as the throneroom of the Second Palace (Fig. 29 *C*), but somewhat shorter, and probably was spanned by three parallel barrel vaults in the same manner. In the vicinity we found two bases and a palm-leaf capital of columns like those of the First Palace (Fig. 25), though more slender (diameter at base of shaft 61 cm.). But it seems to me doubtful whether such relatively slender columns could have supported the heavy vaults of this hall. There is little to be said about the side rooms; two doorsills preserved in them (Folio Pls. 11–12) may date from a later period. Indeed, it is interesting to note that this columned hall owed its existence to a later alteration. The original plan (Fig. 38) showed, beginning at the west, two fairly narrow transverse rooms which were doubtless roofed with barrel vaults. Their outer walls were very thick (1.30 m.), the dividing wall possibly somewhat thinner. Behind these was a third transverse section, whose rear wall was much thinner (88 cm.). According to meager traces on the floor this section was divided by cross-walls into three separate rooms. We must assume therefore that it was spanned by three barrel vaults parallel to the axis of the structure. The side rooms apparently remained unaltered. From this layout I conclude—contrary to my first opinion (see Folio Pl. 12)—that the entrance to this structure lay at the west. The earlier and the later building presumably served the same purpose. Since, as already suggested, the columned hall of the later structure is reminiscent of the throneroom in the Second Palace, we have assumed that it too was a reception room, for an important official or the chief priest, and consequently must ascribe the same purpose to the earlier layout. Hence we designate both structures with the somewhat general term “administration building.”<sup>5</sup> The structure with five small chambers in a row (*B*) men-

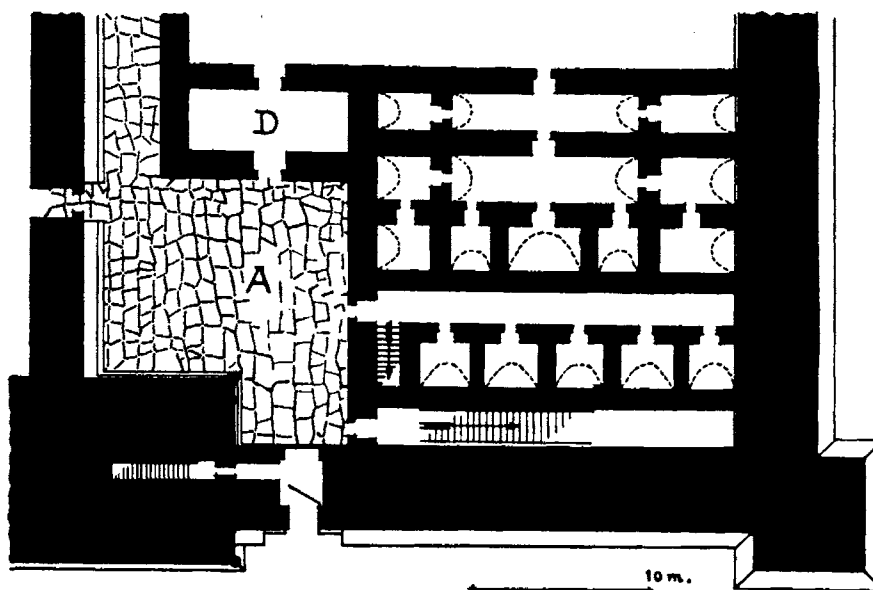


FIG. 38. ORIGINAL GROUND PLAN OF THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING

The original plan (Fig. 38) showed, beginning at the west, two fairly narrow transverse rooms which were doubtless roofed with barrel vaults. Their outer walls were very thick (1.30 m.), the dividing wall possibly somewhat thinner. Behind these was a third transverse section, whose rear wall was much thinner (88 cm.). According to meager traces on the floor this section was divided by cross-walls into three separate rooms. We must assume therefore that it was spanned by three barrel vaults parallel to the axis of the structure. The side rooms apparently remained unaltered. From this layout I conclude—contrary to my first opinion (see Folio Pl. 12)—that the entrance to this structure lay at the west. The earlier and the later building presumably served the same purpose. Since, as already suggested, the columned hall of the later structure is reminiscent of the throneroom in the Second Palace, we have assumed that it too was a reception room, for an important official or the chief priest, and consequently must ascribe the same purpose to the earlier layout. Hence we designate both structures with the somewhat general term “administration building.”<sup>5</sup> The structure with five small chambers in a row (*B*) men-

<sup>5</sup> Two buildings similar to our earlier administration building were found in the outer temple area (in H–J 4–5 and 12–13); see Vol. IV, Fig. 17.

tioned above lies behind the administration building in the same manner as corresponding rooms behind the First Palace (Fig. 23). They may therefore have been intended for the domestic and superintending staffs of the administration building.

The front of the administration building opened upon a large court (*E*) with a well placed somewhat diagonally in relation to its sides (see p. 68). Apparently one entrance to this court and thus also to the building was through a kind of vestibule (*D*) which lay opposite the main entrance to the street (see Fig. 37). The location of the doorways cannot be determined. A second entrance to the court led directly from the street on the south to the door of the stairway descending to the well. Among the traces of buildings which are visible in the court and which for the most part belonged to a later period, three rows of boxlike mud-brick structures (about  $40 \times 50 \times 30$  cm. deep) in the floor (Folio Pls. 11–12) are noteworthy. Their purpose and date remain unknown to me.

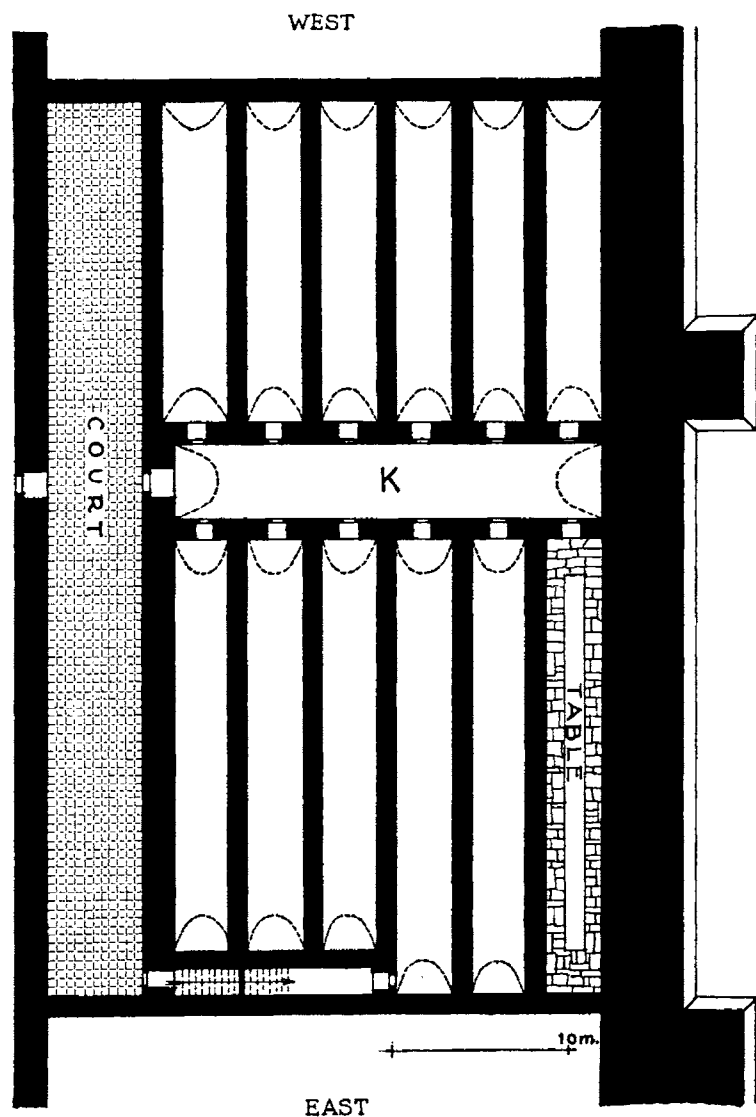


FIG. 39. GROUND PLAN OF STOREHOUSE *K*

The west wall of the court lay exactly in line with the second pylon and with the west wall of the palace (see Fig. 34), so that the administration building with its well court and adjacent rear chambers corresponds in extent from east to west and also to a certain degree in significance to the palace which stood opposite it on the other side of the temple.

The next building (*F*) consisted of an open court accessible from the street and a columned hall adjoined by three chambers at the rear. The entrance<sup>6</sup> from the street was placed as far as possible toward the east, so that there was room for a small porter's lodge beside it. It is uncertain whether the latter belonged to the original layout or was a later addition. Its strikingly thin walls indicate that it was not vaulted but had a flat roof of very light construction. Along the west wall of the court are preserved the lowest courses of a bench built of small sandstone blocks (25 cm. high). Its front face was worked fairly carefully and covered with gypsum. This bench may have served as a place to inspect goods delivered to the magazines or as a seat for officials and people to whom they wished to speak. Of the columned hall itself the foundations and several bases of columns and pilasters are preserved *in situ*. We re-erected a piece of a column shaft which lay in the vicinity. It appears that the columns were cylindrical with abaci.

They supported two transverse beams at the front and two longitudinal beams (see Fig. 37). Of the three rear chambers, only one dividing wall could be traced. Since *F* had no direct connection with Court *E* and the administration building (*C*), it probably belonged to a special branch of the administration. We have called it the "scribe's office." Here the victuals and wares which were delivered to the storehouses may well have been recorded and the withdrawals booked. Perhaps chests containing papyrus documents and lists stood in the rear chambers.<sup>7</sup>

Now the actual storehouses (*G–M*) of the temple commence (see Fig. 34). One is struck by the wide variation

<sup>6</sup> Not shown on Folio Pl. 12, but its location is indicated by the arrangement of the pavement slabs.

<sup>7</sup> A similar but somewhat larger official building, comparable in construction also to our Building *C*, is portrayed in the tomb of the "scribe of the decrees(?) of the good god, royal scribe of the letters of the Lord of the Two Lands, Tjay" (Shaikh 'Abd el-Qurnah No. 23), who lived under Merenptah; see Borchardt, "Das Dienstgebäude des Auswärtigen Amtes unter den Ramessiden" (*ZAS* XLIV [1907/8] 59–61). The name of the pictured structure is "The Place of the Letters of the Pharaoh in the House of Ramses, the Great Soul of Re" (*ibid.* p. 60). This picture depicts very amusingly what happened in an ancient Egyptian office!



in the sizes of the chambers, which were obviously determined by the kind and amount of wares to be stored therein. However, fundamentally the arrangement is always the same: one or two rows of barrel-vaulted chambers located along an open or roofed corridor which was accessible and could be blocked off from the street by a single entrance. Stairs leading to the roof, if present at all, were usually, but not always, located close to the entrance.

First come three rows of comparatively small rooms (*G-I*). The first room in each row is narrower than the others and may have been a staircase, as in *K*. The corridors in front of the rooms were probably not roofed, for otherwise it would have been unnecessary to construct a separate stairway for each row. If we judge by the shortness of these stairways, the rooms must have been very low indeed. The next storehouses (*K-M*) are distinguished by the length of their individual chambers. Storehouse *K* (Fig. 39) had a forecourt paved with brick slabs (43 cm. square) which stretched the full width of the building. Of the stairway at the northeast corner of the court, the lower steps are still recognizable. The floor of the entire structure was naturally laid almost horizontal, at 3.65 m. above our datum, corresponding to the height of the ascending street at the entrance. The ground beneath the structure like the street rises from about +2.40 m. to +3.80 m. Consequently at the east gravel filling about a meter thick was necessary but at the west only a slight leveling of the ground. All the walls, however, extended down to virgin soil; therefore we find at the east rather deep foundations 20–45 cm. wider than the walls which originally rose above them and at the west only walls without foundations. This explains why on our excavation plans (Folio Pls. 11–12) the walls at the east are wider than those at the west. The central hall (4.30 m. wide) undoubtedly was vaulted, for otherwise the one stairway at the east would not have sufficed for the entire structure. The storerooms were 3.20 m. wide. The rearmost one on the right is distinguished by a stone floor and has a stone table extending the entire length of the room. Unfortunately the table top has disappeared; only the upright stone slabs (90 cm. high) which supported it at intervals of 1.20 m. remain. This table may well have held wooden chests whose contents

it was desired to protect against mice and insects. Storehouses *L* and *M*, located in the northwest corner of the inner temple area and directly behind the temple (Fig. 34), differed little from *K*. Since they had no stairs, it may be assumed that their roofs were accessible from *K* via the vaulted corridor of *L*.

To the south of the temple were located buildings of different types from those discussed so far. Building *N*, in the southwest corner, was separated from the Inner Inclosure Wall on the west by a row of narrow chambers, where we assume stairs leading to the top of the wall (see p. 61). At the front of Building *N* (Fig. 40) were two small square courts, one to the right and one to the left of the central corridor, from which one and two vaulted chambers respectively were accessible. Beside the former was a narrow room which probably contained the stairway. In the rear part of the building, which could be closed off by a strong door, was a row of vaulted chambers on each side of the middle corridor. All the rooms were paved with stone slabs. In the last chamber of the left-hand row is a low bench (15 cm. high). The rear part of the structure probably served to store goods which came only in small quantities, possibly jugs of wine or oil, honey or preserved meats, natron or incense, valuable woods, metals or precious stones. In the courts and adjoining rooms at the front these articles may have been worked. We can even imagine that here were located the workshops for example of the goldsmiths and cabinet-makers whom the temple doubtless employed in rather large numbers. A building (Q) very similar in ground plan lay farther to the east. Only the plan of the storerooms, which could be locked off at the rear, is preserved; the "workshops," however, are destroyed to such an extent that we can say only that they were arranged differently from those in *N*.<sup>8</sup> Two structures (*O-P*) were inserted between Buildings *N* and Q. Building *O* consisted of an open court adjoined at the rear by several small rooms and apparently a narrow stair well. Whether these rooms belonged to the original plan or were later alterations I cannot say. Building *P* was larger, with apparent-

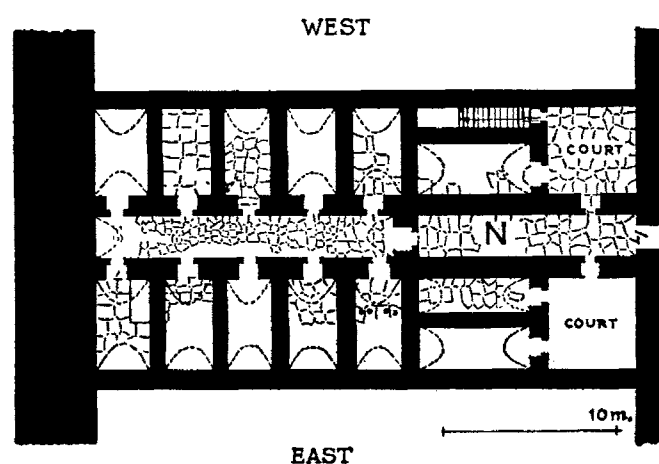


FIG. 40. GROUND PLAN OF STOREHOUSE *N*

<sup>8</sup> Cf. two rather similar structures to the south of the Ramesseum (Pl. 10 and p. 80).

## THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

ly numerous comparatively wide chambers (4.20 m.) arranged in two rows one behind the other. A paved walk lies before it. The destruction in this part of the inner temple area is so general that neither the locations of the doorways nor the uses of the structures can be determined.

Next comes a well court (*R*) of the same width (15.30 m. = 30 Egyptian ells) as that of Court *E* on the opposite side of the temple. Here also the well (see p. 68) lies diagonally in relation to the sides of the court. The

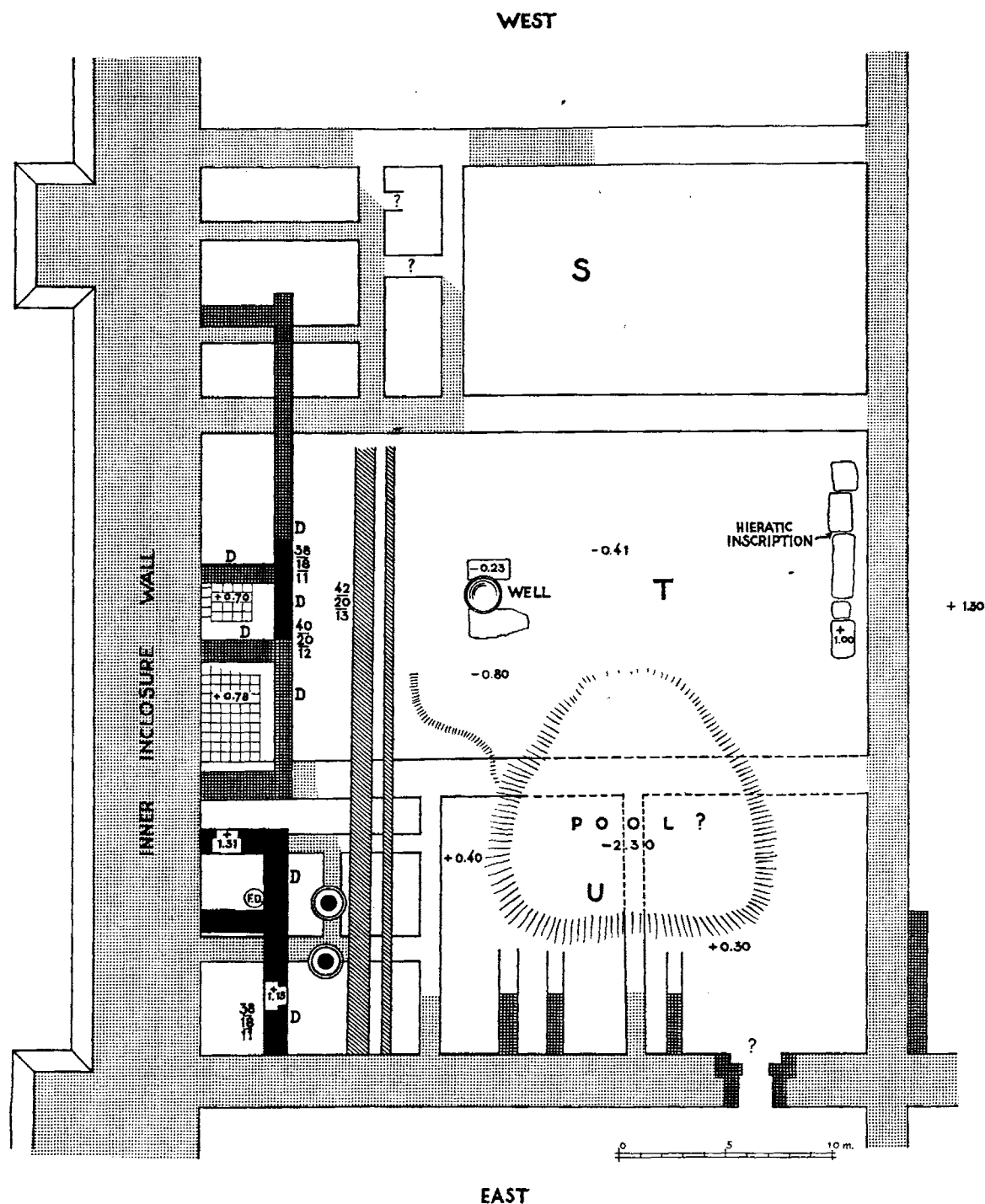


FIG. 41. EXCAVATION PLAN OF THE PALACE "GARDEN"

next structure (*S*) consisted of a court adjoined by chambers at the rear, the third such arrangement found at Medinet Habu (cf. *F* and *O*). Still others were found in the Ramesseum (see Pl. 10 and p. 81). They must have served in some manner as headquarters for persons occupied in the management and administration of goods in the temple magazines.

The last section (Fig. 34 *T*) originally was composed of two parts (Fig. 41), namely a well court (*T*) of exactly the same dimensions as Courts *E* and *R* and a court (*U*) adjoined by chambers at the rear reminiscent of Courts *F*, *O*, and *S*. Sections *S-U*, however, were leveled and built anew, still under Ramses III, probably when the Second Palace was constructed, and we call them as rebuilt the "palace garden."

## THE PALACE GARDEN

We dare use the designation "palace garden" only with circumspection, since we have very little evidence of an actual garden. We have been able to investigate the ground only here and there, for it contains ruins of late Egyptian houses (about Twenty-sixth Dynasty) which we do not care to remove (see Folio Pls. 13-14). But it is clear that this section has been built upon many times beginning with the period of Ramses III. We have already mentioned the earliest structures (dotted in Fig. 41); they formed a part of the great complex of temple magazines and had no connection with the adjacent First Palace. Of a second building project, which took place after the removal of various older walls, a row of small rooms against the towered Inner Inclosure Wall is preserved (crosshatched in Fig. 41). Their floors were of square (43 cm.) bricks. Remains of several walls on the east side perhaps belong to the same period; they begin at the palace wall and break off suddenly a little to the west. It should be noted that all of these walls, built of bricks measuring  $40 \times 20 \times 12$  cm., have foundations different from those of the older walls. While the latter stood either on virgin soil or on rubble or occasionally gravel filling and had no foundation deposits, the later walls were bedded on sand in which partly under and partly beside the foundations were scattered small fayence objects (Fig. 41 *D*): slaughtered cattle and other model offerings besides a few rectangular plaques with the name of Ramses III.<sup>9</sup> The same difference in regard to foundations and foundation deposits was noticed between the First and the Second Palace.

We have considered a double wall which runs from east to west (diagonally hatched in Fig. 41) as belonging to a third period. It consists of a thick wall (90 cm.) and a thin wall (42 cm.) 50 cm. to the north. Both were constructed of bricks measuring  $42 \times 20 \times 13$  cm. and have relatively deep foundations. Since there are no traces of doorways, we assume that the double wall is a foundation or retaining wall. It differs from the walls of Level II in that its bricks are larger and no foundation deposits were found under or beside it.

To a fourth and latest period (solid black in Fig. 41) belong two small rooms in the southwest corner. The level of their floors is revealed by two huge stone sills which lie about 50 cm. above the brick floors of Level II. Two column bases found *in situ* belong to Level IV as well as some shaft fragments from the immediate vicinity and a capital (Pl. 33 *A*), all of which originated in the First Palace (see p. 46).<sup>10</sup> The walls of this level were built of bricks smaller than those used in any of the earlier levels ( $38 \times 18 \times 11$  cm.). Under and beside their foundations were scattered deposits (Fig. 41 *D*) like those found in Level II. In addition there was a foundation deposit (Fig. 41 *FD*) containing innumerable fayence rings and small beads, three fayence scarabs with the names of Ramses III, and three gold beads.<sup>11</sup> Thus we learned that such deposits were characteristic of the very end of Ramses III's reign (see below). Also belonging to Level IV is what appears to be a restoration of a Level II building, represented by a section of wall on top of the latter constructed of bricks measuring  $38 \times 18 \times 11$  cm.

Finally should be mentioned several stone blocks (their tops at +1.00 m.) which lie almost in the middle of the north side of the "garden" area just in front of the north wall. They may have served as foundations for a pylon gateway such as we found in the Ramesseum (see p. 80 and Pl. 10 *D-E* 2). One of the blocks bears a hieratic quarry inscription which reads almost the same and was written by the same hand as one found on a block of the stone Outer Wall at Medinet Habu.<sup>12</sup>

Levels II-IV were very close together in time and can be considered practically contemporary. The difference in building materials would be explained by the fact that some old bricks were reused. The only clear distinction is between Levels I and II-IV and corresponds very closely to that between the First and the Second Palace. During the period of Levels II-IV not only were the Level I walls removed down to their foundation trenches but the virgin soil itself at the point marked "pool?" in Figure 41 was excavated to a depth of at least 2.70 m. This hole with its rather steep sides could not have been of natural origin or made before the time of Ramses III, since in either case it would have been filled with rubble or gravel, as was done in so many other places, before the Level I walls were built over it. But it was full of debris. We venture therefore to assume that during the

<sup>9</sup> See Vol. IV.

<sup>10</sup> Most of the column fragments from the First Palace, which had been destroyed by about 1180 B.C., were reused in the first half of the ninth century in the tomb of Horsiēse (see pp. 39 and 46). Perhaps in the meantime they had stood in the palace "garden."

<sup>11</sup> See Vol. IV.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* Fig. 60.

period of Levels II–IV it was planned and constructed as a pool<sup>13</sup> and was filled from the near-by well and that it was not filled with debris until later. Thus our impression of this area (*S–U*) is that at the time of the Second Palace it was a garden, accessible from the harem court. Its main entrance was a monumental pylon in the center of the north side; on its axis lay the well, source of all growing things. Along the south side stretched a terrace on which stood small buildings and a columned hall.

### WELLS

Ramses III addresses Amon:

“I have fashioned for thee thy drink-stand of gold and silver,  
In order to present to thee cool water from the well which I have dug.”<sup>14</sup>

SOUTH WALL OF TEMPLE, EXTERIOR

In the inner temple area we found three wells, all belonging to Ramses III. Two had steps by means of which the water carrier could descend to draw water; the third had merely a cylindrical shaft. The well in Court *E*, in front of the administration building, consisted of a cylindrical shaft (2.30 m. in diameter) and a stairway broken into three flights at right angles to one another (Fig. 42). We excavated down to water at the time of its lowest level (July, 1930) and undertook further soundings. From these it appeared that the stairs descended about 2.40 m. lower, that is, about 7.95 m. below our datum or about 8.60 m. below the doorsill of the stair well. The stair well is roofed with stone slabs. The top flight extends slantwise above ground (Fig. 42, west elevation) and was closed off by a door in front. A small square hole in the middle and two diagonal openings at the sides (perhaps of a later period) of the roof served for lighting. The second flight, which lay so far below the surface that it received no light from these openings, has a window cut diagonally toward the shaft. The shaft must therefore have been either open at the top or roofed with stone slabs containing a light opening. The short third flight received enough light directly from the shaft. The outside of the stair well where it rises above the ground was carefully worked and decorated on the west side with reliefs showing a winged snake and a kneeling Nile god presenting cool water. This well was used down to very late times, and in Roman and Coptic times the shaft was built up to correspond to the ever rising ground level.<sup>15</sup>

The well in Court *R*, to the south of the temple, was similar in principle (Fig. 43). However, the shaft was rectangular (2.15 m. wide) and was covered with stone slabs. Two diagonally cut openings under these slabs allowed a feeble light to enter the shaft. The stairway again has two landings, but only two flights are covered, the top one being open. Consequently the door which closed off the well lay at the height of the upper landing (at –1.16 m.). The outside of the lintel is adorned with inscriptions. On the inner walls of the second flight of stairs are represented Nile gods bringing water. This flight receives light through vertical or diagonal openings cut into the top. We have not investigated the lower part of the stairway, that is, below the water level of December, 1930. Numerous traces of building show that the well was still being used in very late times.<sup>16</sup> It should be noted that this well, like that in Court *E*, lies diagonally in the court. And furthermore in both the deviation of the line of the stairway from the temple axis is about the same. What was the reason for this departure from an otherwise remarkably rectangular layout I cannot say.

The third well, located in Court *T* and therefore in the area later used for the palace “garden,” consisted merely of a cylindrical shaft (1.70 m. in diameter), which we excavated to a depth of about 5 meters, that is, to the water level. Since there were no stairs, the well could not have been used in the same way as the others for people to carry water; instead buckets must have been lowered and raised to provide water for the “garden” and for filling the pool.

<sup>13</sup> We found a similar pool in the outer temple area at Medinet Habu (see Vol. IV). Cf. e.g. such a pool beside the temple palace of Merenptah (Petrie, *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pl. XXV).

<sup>14</sup> Translation by Nelson in *OJC* No. 18, p. 10.

<sup>15</sup> See Vol. V.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*

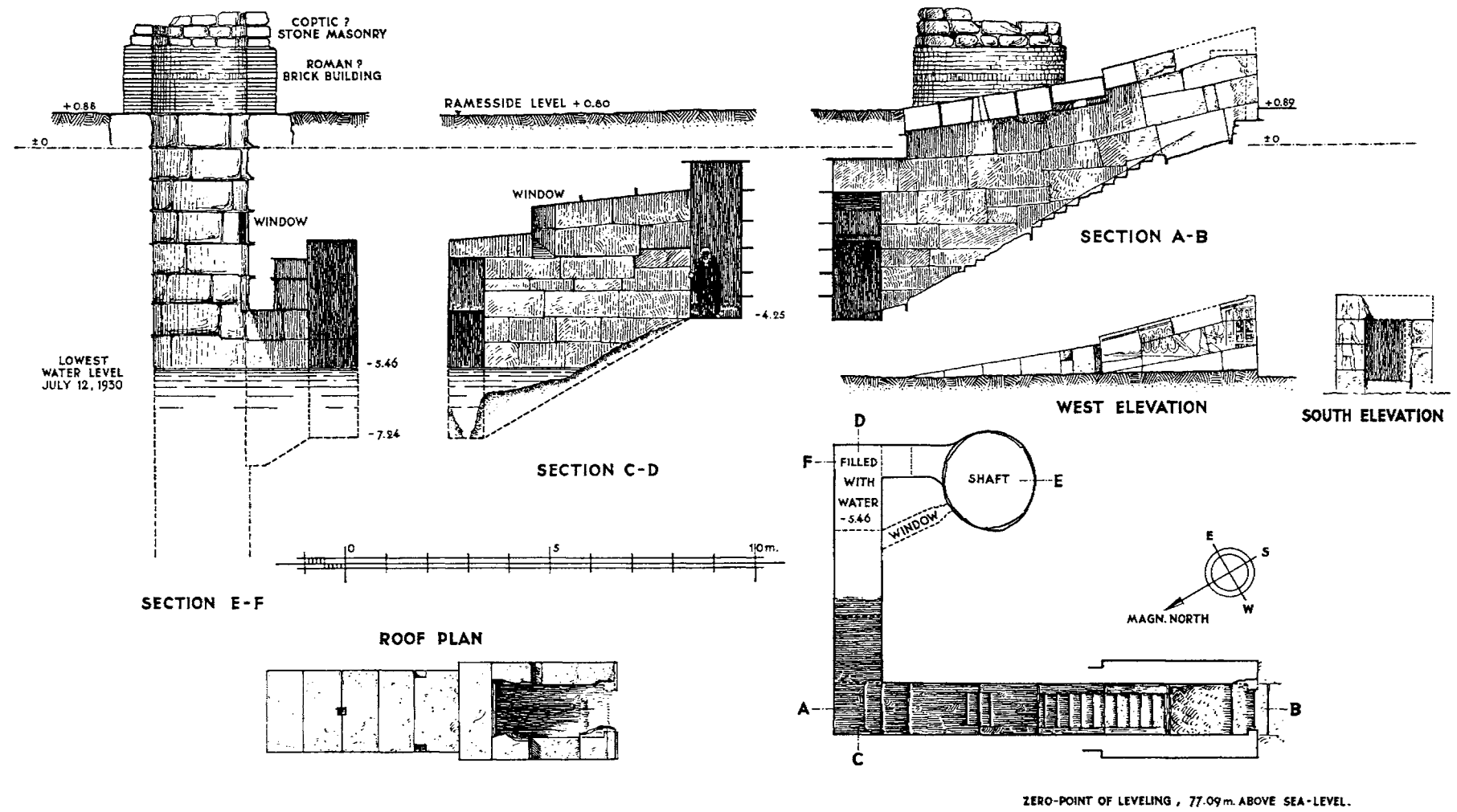


FIG. 42. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE WELL IN COURT E

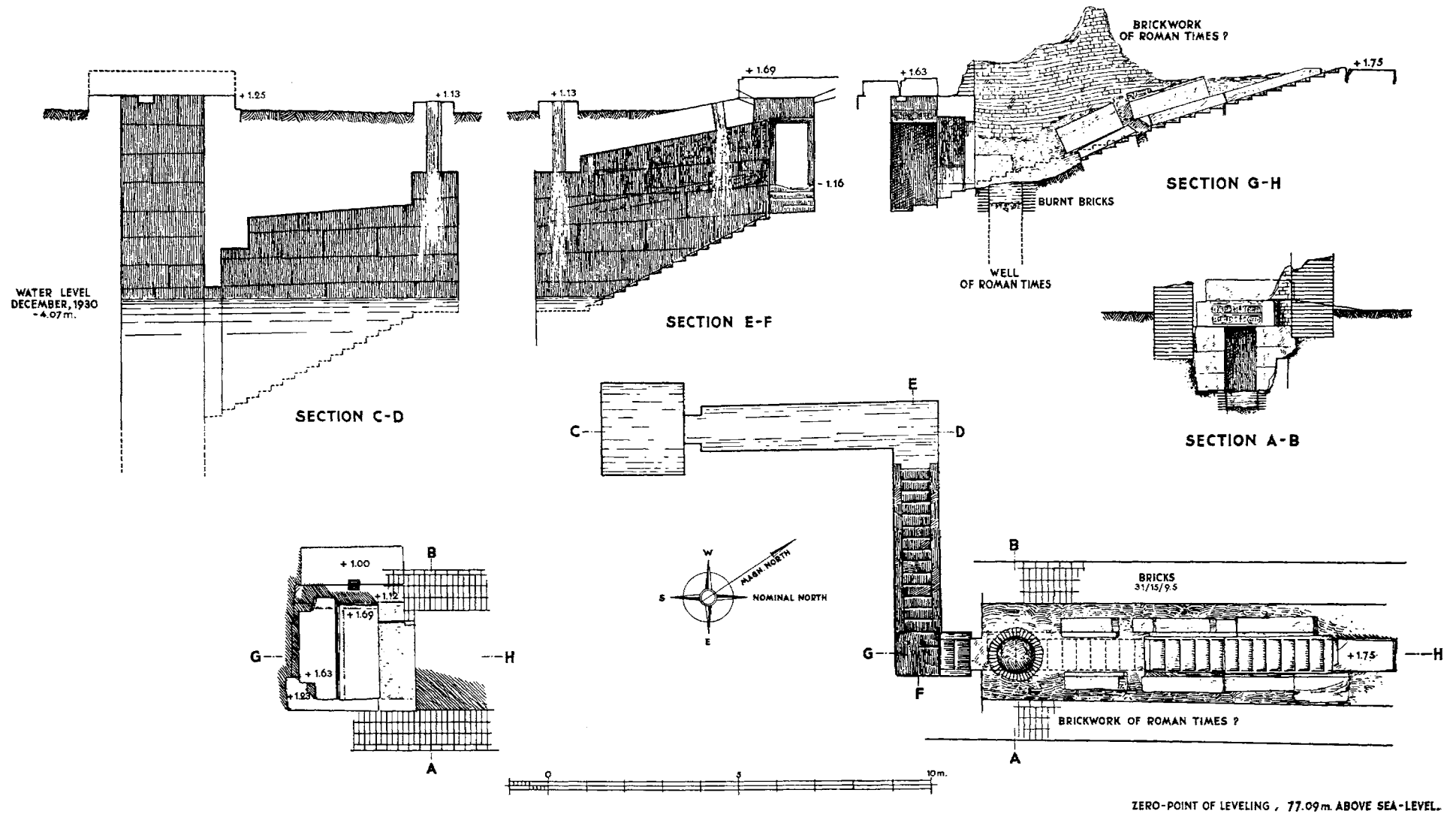


FIG. 43. PLAN AND SECTIONS OF THE WELL IN COURT R

## APPENDIX

### THE RAMESSEUM

Because of the great amount of destruction at Medinet Habu, especially by modern *sebakh*-diggers, many of our questions remained unanswered, and it was necessary to turn to similar sites for comparison. The Ramesseum was the first site to receive consideration, but its ruins also are rather fragmentary and the plans and investigations hitherto made were insufficient for our purposes. It will be remembered that the temple of the Ramesseum was first surveyed by Lepsius, including not only the portions that were still standing but also the foundation trenches of the side and rear rooms.<sup>1</sup> Half a century later Quibell excavated the structures lying around the temple and presented a plan of them<sup>2</sup> without, however, attempting to distinguish the original structures of Ramses II from later additions and changes. In 1900-1901 Carter undertook further clearance on behalf of the Service des Antiquités,<sup>3</sup> and finally Baraize systematically cleared the whole area and heaped the rubbish around the inclosure as a protective wall.<sup>4</sup> The results of these various excavations were finally used by the Survey Department of Egypt on a large plan of the Theban necropolis (1:1000) which shows the location and general layout of the Ramesseum but does not suffice for architectural investigation. Therefore we applied to the Egyptian Antiquities Department and were granted permission to make test excavations in the Ramesseum in order if possible to settle some of our disputed points. In the winter of 1931/32 under the immediate superintendence of Hans Steckeweh we employed some forty men and forty boys for three weeks. Their work was supplemented by further investigation on the part of the author in the spring of 1935. We could not of course undertake to investigate and measure again in detail the entire temenos of the Ramesseum, but we confined ourselves to examination of sections which were of special interest to us: (1) the destroyed rooms of the temple proper, (2) a structure adjoining the temple on the north which proved to be a small double temple erected by Seti I and rebuilt by Ramses II, (3) the palace, and (4) the magazines. We entered our results on the Survey Department plan and on Lepsius' plan and also corrected obvious discrepancies. By this method we made a new plan (Pl. 10) on which perhaps some measurements may not be absolutely correct but which for the present may serve as a useful tool for archeological purposes.

The Ramesseum includes only those types of structures which were found in the inner temple area at Medinet Habu. Dwellings for employees, service courts, and the like, which filled the outer temple area at Medinet Habu, are completely lacking in the Ramesseum; it may well be imagined that they were located in the front part of the temple area which now lies hidden beneath the cultivation. The encircling wall of the temenos is thinner than that at Medinet Habu and shows no characteristics of a fortification. Nothing remains of the quay and the canal which we assume led to the Nile.

Local circumstances were doubtless responsible for the irregular shape of the Ramesseum, and we picture the situation as follows. When Ramses II began the construction of his mortuary temple, the edge of the cultivated land was already crowded with large and small mortuary temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty and tombs of an earlier period. He selected a site between the chapel of Wadjmose, a son of Thutmose I, and the temple of Amenhotep II in which he expected to wedge his construction (Fig. 44). On this piece of land there already stood a small double temple erected or at least started by his father, Seti I, which Ramses thought he could demolish or move and thus did not take into consideration. The new temenos was staked off to form a rectangle about 180 m. wide and with its sides pointed approximately toward the Luxor temple. Since the front part of this precinct now lies beneath the cultivation, it cannot be investigated. Before the construction of the temple actually be-

<sup>1</sup> See *LD I*, Pl. 89, for his plan.

<sup>2</sup> J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum . . . .* (London, 1898) Pl. I.

<sup>3</sup> Howard Carter, "Report on work done at the Ramesseum during the years 1900-1901" (*ASAE II* [1901] 193-95).

<sup>4</sup> Émile Baraize, "Déblaiement du Ramesseum" (*ASAE VIII* [1907] 193-200).

gan, however, there was apparently a change in opinion regarding the small temple of Seti I. Evidently religious or pious doubts arose as to the propriety of removing this sacred structure. In any case the main axis of the Ramesseum temple was shifted so that it was parallel to that of the small temple in order to allow the latter to

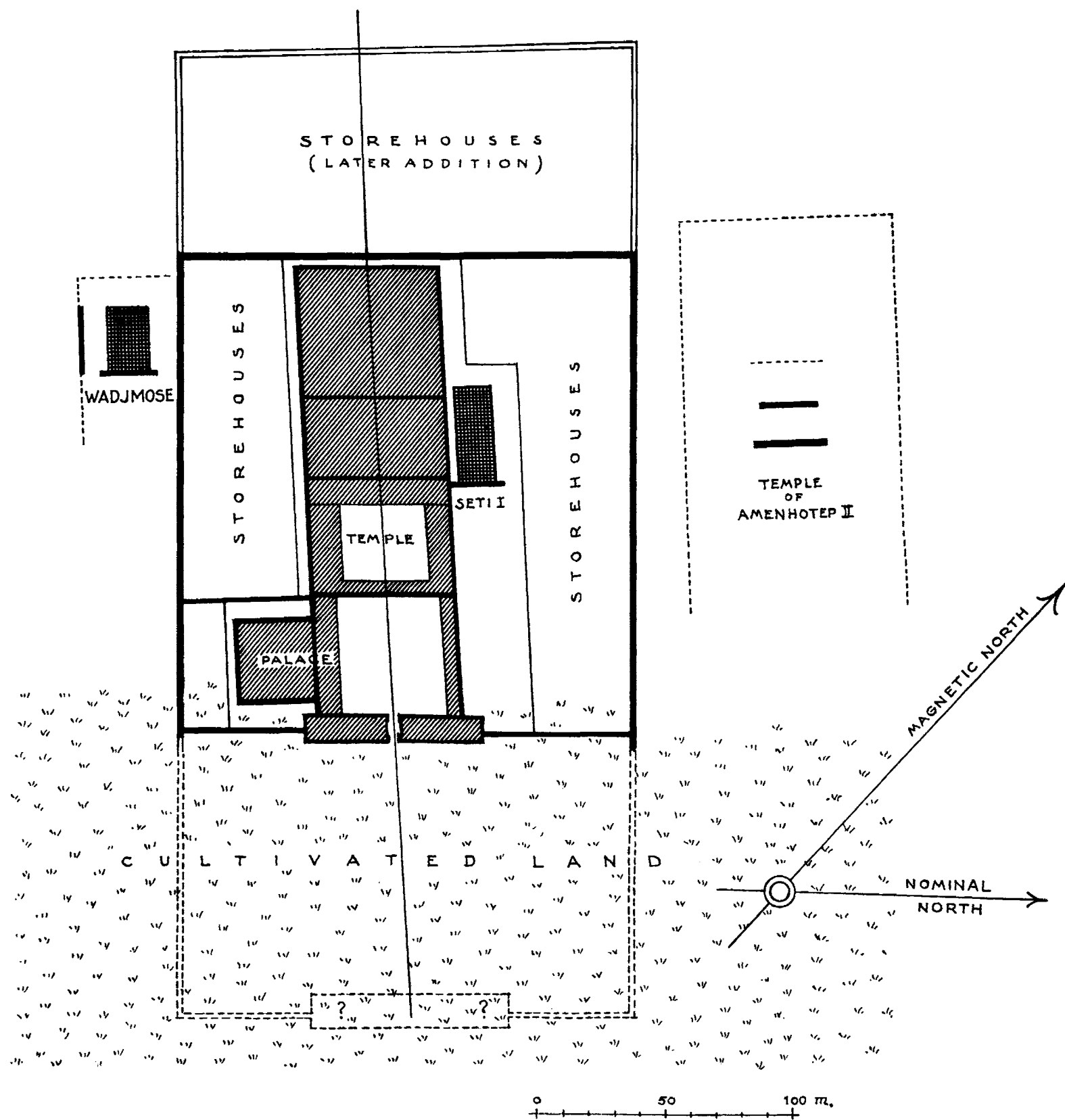


FIG. 44. SKETCH SHOWING THE ORIENTATION OF THE RAMESSEUM. SCALE, 1:2,000

remain standing. But the cross axis of the larger temple and the position of the temenos as a whole were retained as originally planned, thereby causing Ramses' temple building to become an oblique parallelogram with an oblique and off-center position within the temenos. Though this peculiarity is not so obvious and disturbing in the actual structure itself as it is in a drawn plan, it is noticeable in the rooms which are still preserved and in various irregularities in details.



## THE GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE

73

## THE GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE

The plan of the temple (Pl. 10) requires but little explanation after our discussion of the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. In the first court, which may be thought of as the forecourt of the temple proper as well as of the palace, a double colonnade on the south side formed the palace portico. The columns were considerably smaller than those in the second court and were in scale with the palace, to which they were more closely related,

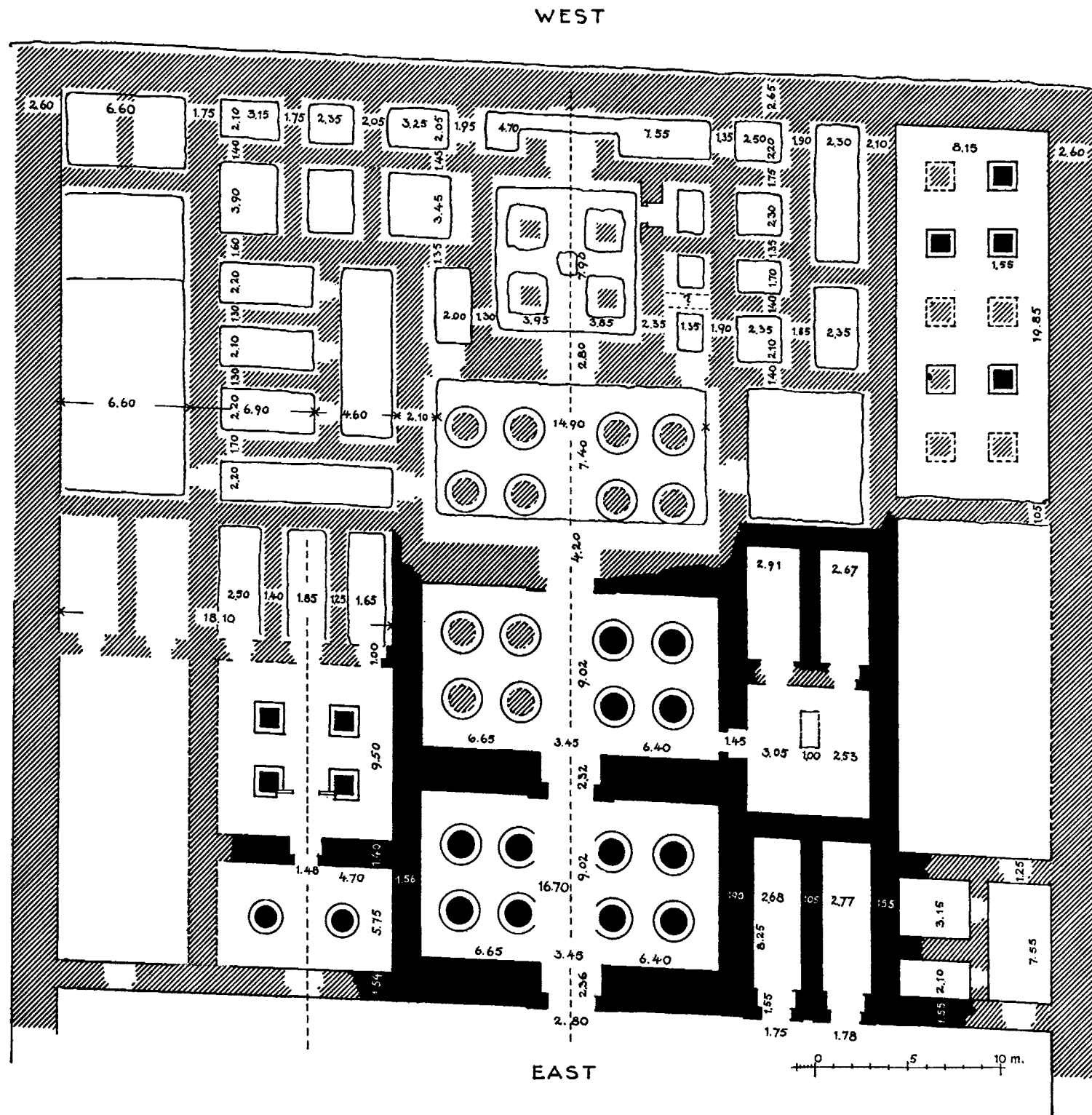
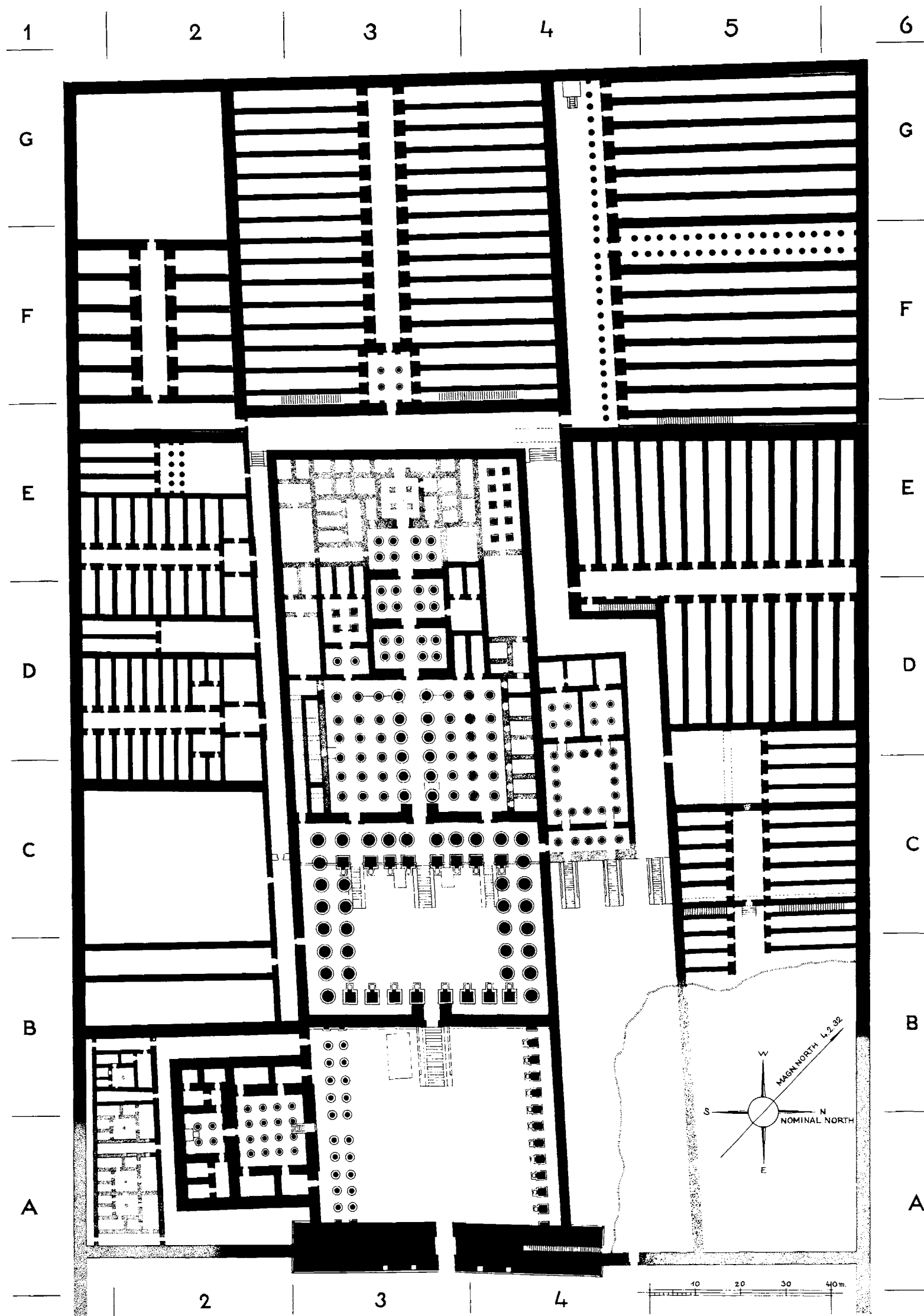


FIG. 45. EXCAVATION PLAN OF THE REAR PORTION OF THE RAMESSEUM TEMPLE. SCALE, 1:300

rather than with the temple. On the opposite side was a row of Osiride pillars of the same size as the columns. The second court, which we consider the true court of the temple, resembled that at Medinet Habu with its columns and Osiride pillars (see Pl. 39 *A*). A double colonnade on a raised terrace at the rear formed the temple portico. Three ramps ascended to the terrace from the court, each opposite a doorway into the great hypostyle hall. Seven side chapels adjoined this immense basilican hall on the right (north), and its floor rose as a ramp to their doors. The sixth chapel was distinguished by greater width and therefore by a wider passage for approach from the great hall, whose column rows were aligned with the partition walls of the side chapels. That seven chapels originally adjoined the hall on the south also is proved by the foundations. Later the rear part of these





GROUND PLAN OF THE RAMESSEUM. SCALE, 1:1,000



dation of a pillar and thus would suggest that the room was once roofed. The meager remains do not reveal to whom this sanctuary may have been dedicated. Behind this group was a large square room which presumably was accessible from the fourth hypostyle hall. Whether it was an open court or a roofed chamber with one or two pillars in the center is just as uncertain as whether it served as an antechamber for the rooms to the west.

The two outer sections of the temple differed from the three inner sections in that court areas were preponderant. That on the right (north) side corresponds to the sanctuary of the sun god in other mortuary temples (see p. 31). It was composed of a vestibule with two small side chambers, an open court in which probably the altar of Re<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte stood though no remains of it were found, and presumably a ten-pillared hall. The outer section on the left of the temple included two groups lying one behind the other and each composed of a court and two cellae. In the court of the front group Lepsius erroneously indicated some partition walls. There are, however, faint traces suggesting a transverse room in front of the cellae as shown on our Plate 10. The court was entered through a small room adjoining both the great hypostyle hall and the narrow passage behind the "treasury" (see above). This very unimposing passage was probably designed for servants and for all traffic which was not permitted to pass through the splendid columned hall. Accordingly we suppose this group of rooms to have been not a sanctuary but service rooms for some temple activity. The court of the rear group was apparently accessible from the fourth hypostyle hall through a narrow passage. Here too the entrance passage suggests service chambers (slaughterhouse?) rather than actual cult rooms. Finally, behind this passage was a magazine similar to the treasury located in corresponding position in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah, consisting of a transverse room and three chambers.

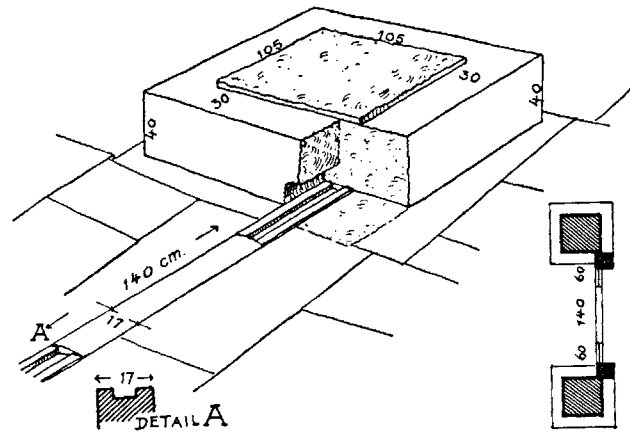


FIG. 47. REMAINS OF A DOORWAY IN THE FOUR-COLUMNED HALL OF THE CONTIGUOUS TEMPLE IN THE RAMESSEUM (CF. FIG. 46)

### THE SMALL DOUBLE TEMPLE

Before our investigation there were visible only a few column bases of a building adjoining the temple of Ramses II on the north (in C-D 4). We succeeded in determining by means of the foundation trenches the course of the walls belonging to this structure (Fig. 48) and thus were able to reconstruct its ground plan (Fig. 49). Its front stood exactly in line with the front edge of the Ramesseum temple portico (see Pl. 10), and presumably it had a similar portico with pillars and statues. However, we found only the wide foundation bedding, a stairway leading to each of the two entrances, and traces indicating five columns at the rear. Through a court surrounded by a colonnade a processional passage led from each stairway into a four-columned hall. A square sanctuary adjoined each of these halls, while a third chamber of the same size lay between them and was accessible from the south sanctuary. This structure therefore proves to have been a double temple with a two-aisled portico followed by a peristyle instead of a great hypostyle hall as in the large mortuary temples. We have already noted (p. 22) the interesting fact that the great hypostyle hall developed from an open court.<sup>6</sup>

This double temple was built against the large temple by Ramses II, as shown by a foundation deposit discovered toward the south end of the rear wall. Though this deposit had been found and removed before our time, presumably during excavation of the Ramesseum, the pit in which it lay had not been cleared to its full depth and we found at the bottom a blue glazed frit plaque with a gilded gypsum cartouche containing the fifth name of Ramses II, Ramses-Meriamon, and an uninscribed alabaster plaque (Pl. 40 B).<sup>7</sup> Moreover, when the double temple was cleared, foundation trenches of an older, smaller temple were revealed (Figs. 48-50). This structure was almost 5 meters narrower than the later temple, and consequently there was a passage about 2 meters wide between it and the Ramesseum which afforded work space for the builders of the Ramesseum temple. The older temple had no portico. The entrance was formed by a pylon with ends projecting considerably

<sup>6</sup> Cf. also the great columned hall of the temple of Amon at Karnak.

<sup>7</sup> Cairo J 56475-76. Cf. a similar fayence plaque with the fourth name of Ramses II from a Ramesseum foundation deposit; Quibell, *The Ramesseum*, Pl. XV 5.

beyond the lateral walls. The foundation trenches of the transverse walls correspond with those of the later double temple. The interior of the earlier structure was, as far as we could see, divided into a court, a hall(?), and two approximately square sanctuaries of which the southern one was slightly larger. Thus this building also appears to have been a double temple. Its date was determined by a foundation deposit of Seti I which we found at its northwest corner. The deposit lay in the foundation trench in a hole about 40 cm. deep which was lined at

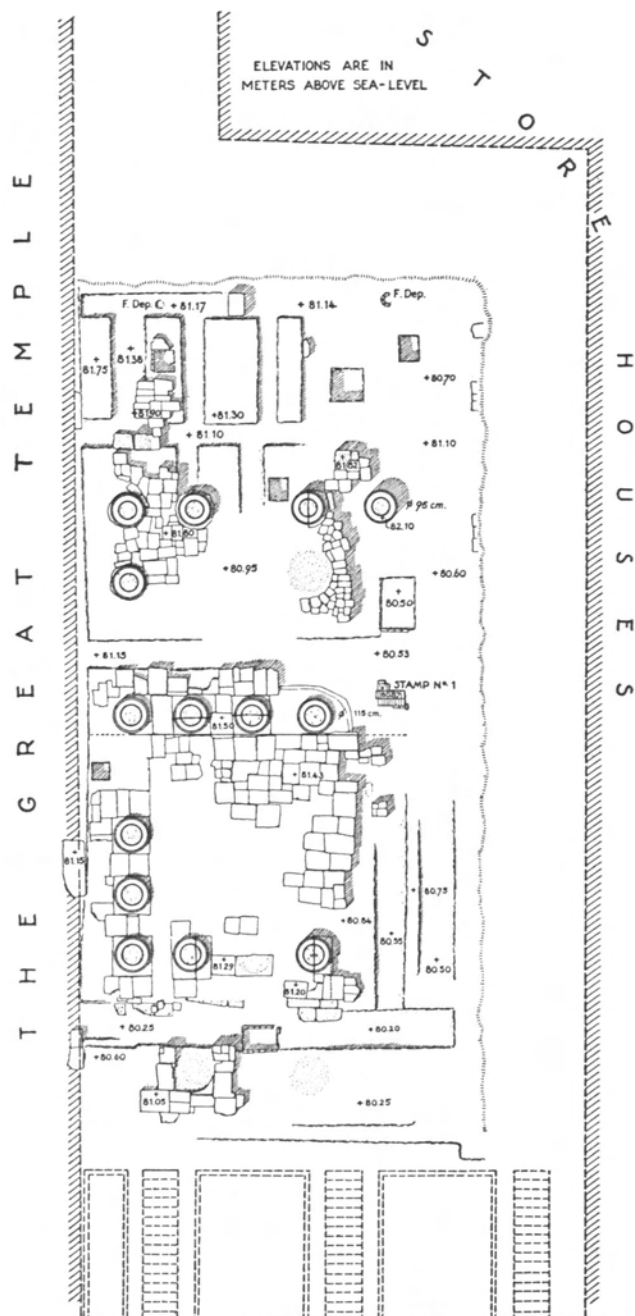


FIG. 48. EXCAVATION PLAN OF THE SMALL DOUBLE TEMPLE OF SETI I AS REBUILT BY RAMSES II. SCALE, 1:400

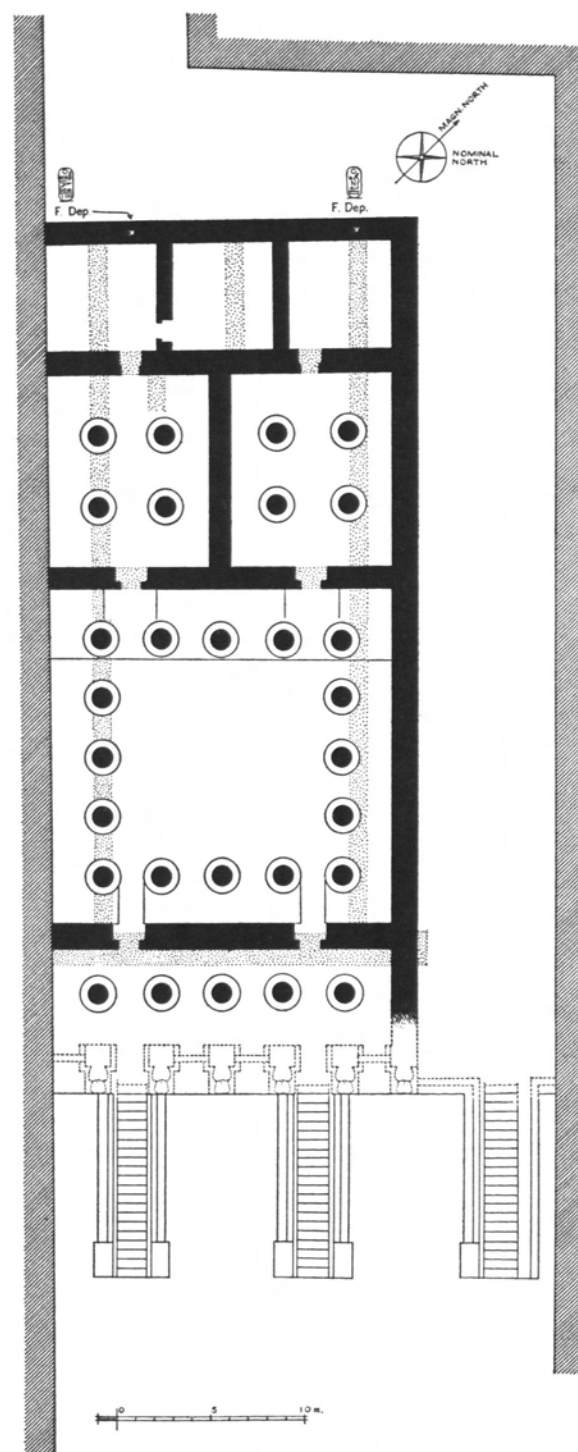


FIG. 49. GROUND PLAN OF THE SMALL DOUBLE TEMPLE OF SETI I AS REBUILT BY RAMSES II. RECONSTRUCTION. SCALE, 1:400

the top with mud bricks (Fig. 51). The top layer obviously had been destroyed, but the contents at the bottom were untouched. They included the following objects (Pl. 40 *A*):

Alabaster plaque, 8.7×5.0 cm.; cartouche containing fourth name of Seti I, Menma<sup>re</sup>, and crowned with two feathers painted in black on front. (Cairo 56478).

Greenish fayence plaque, 9.6×6.0 cm.; Horus name of Seti I on one side, double cartouche on the other (both sides illustrated). (Cairo 56479).

Wooden "girdle of Isis" amulet, 12.5 cm. long, painted yellow; cartouche containing fourth name of Seti I carved on front (Cairo 56480).

Wooden model hoe blade, 8.7 cm. long. (Cairo 56481).

Five small clay vessels, a cup and four bowls, found in the neighborhood, but not *in situ*, probably belonged to a foundation deposit of Seti I or Ramses II.

It is not necessary to assume that Seti I erected the double temple for himself; it seems to me more probable that it was intended for two members of his family.

### THE PALACE

The Ramesseum palace was in exactly the same position in relation to the temple as the palace at Medinet Habu, and its plan (Figs. 52–53) corresponded so closely to that of Ramses III's First Palace (Fig. 23) that an extensive description would be mere duplication. It is necessary to emphasize only those points in which the plan of the Ramesseum palace differed from or supplements our knowledge of the palace at Medinet Habu.

The Ramesseum palace was slightly larger and had slightly thicker walls. Only the foundations of its mud-brick walls remain. The bricks measure 42×20×10 cm. We found no stamped bricks nor any foundation deposits.

The palace portico, facing the first court of the temple, had two rows of ten columns each, which were considerably smaller than those at Medinet Habu. Their original height may be determined from traces on the west face of the temple pylon. The stumps of the columns indicate that the four in the middle of each row were papyriform, presumably with open capitals, while the others were palm columns. A capital fragment of one of the latter lies in the vicinity. The stone façade, the right half of which is still preserved to a height of about a meter, must have been decorated in a manner strikingly similar to that at Medinet Habu.<sup>8</sup> Two relief fragments from the Window of Royal Appearances had been removed to Medinet Habu, where we rediscovered them (see p. 44).



FIG. 51. FOUNDATION DEPOSIT OF SETI I IN THE SMALL DOUBLE TEMPLE

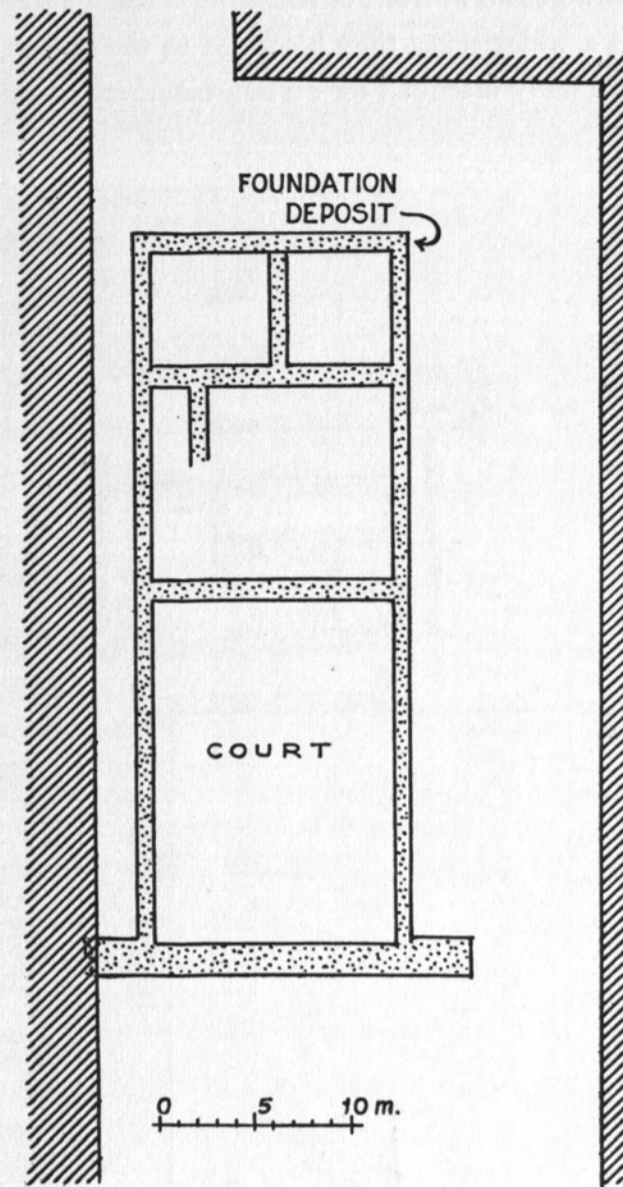


FIG. 50. FOUNDATION TRENCHES OF SETI I IN THE SMALL DOUBLE TEMPLE (CF. FIGS. 48–49)

The great hall (2 in Fig. 53) had sixteen columns in place of the twelve at Medinet Habu. There remain *in situ* only the two lowest steps of the stairway to the Window of Royal Appearances. In the four-columned throneroom (3) the base for the throne with a small stairway leading up to it is preserved, and behind it are remains of stone facing on the rear wall which probably formed a double false door. Of the various side rooms, only the two small chambers (5 and 5a) in the southwest corner deserve special mention. They—in contrast to those in corresponding position at Medinet Habu (see p. 45)—show clearly that here there had been no bedroom with bed niche. This discovery is important, since it refutes the assumption that occasionally the king spent the night in this palace.

The rooms at the rear of the palace proper differed fundamentally from those at Medinet Habu. Apparently there were four dwellings side by side in a row. We could clear only the westernmost one, as the others lay beneath a private garden. However, this sufficed to give us the probable plan and arrangement of these dwellings.

<sup>8</sup> See *Medinet Habu II*, Pl. 127.





tombs. Thus occasionally walls were removed, additions were made, some doors were masoned shut, and other apertures were made. As later constructions generally utilized bricks taken from destroyed Ramessid structures, thoroughly critical observation is necessary to distinguish between earlier and later walls and to determine the original layout.

The magazines were essentially similar to those at Medinet Habu (see pp. 64-66). Here too they were all accessible from a single street, which bounded the great temple and the small double temple on three sides. It commenced as a very wide avenue north of the Great Pylon, where a gateway no longer preserved or not excavated must have stood. Three stairways terminated this wide part of the street, two of which led to the small double

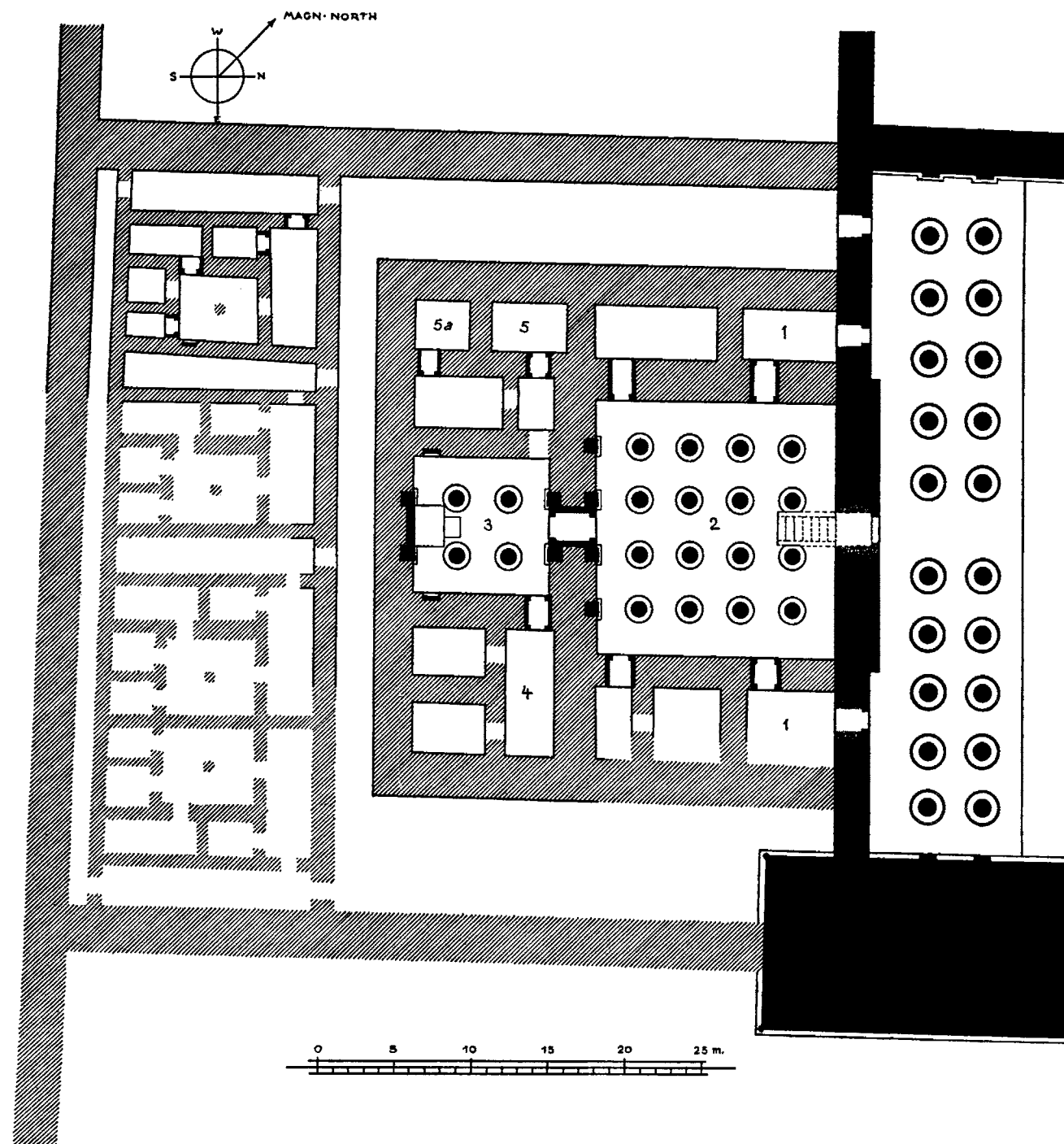


FIG. 53. GROUND PLAN OF THE RAMESSEUM PALACE. RECONSTRUCTION. SCALE, 1:400

temple and the third (northernmost) to a narrower (7.50 m. wide) continuation of the street. This section, paved with stone slabs, proceeded with two bends as far as the end of the great temple. There the temenos ended originally with a narrow alley (1.70 m. wide) between its outer inclosure wall and the rear wall of the temple (see Fig. 44). Apparently this was similar to the situation in the temple of Seti I at Qurnah. Later, however, when it was decided to add more magazines on the west, the west wall of the temenos<sup>9</sup> was removed or pushed farther west and the street behind the temple was widened to 7.50 m. as on the north. At the same time its level was raised approximately a meter. On the south side of the temple the street was only about half as wide (3.55 m.) and came to a dead end at the palace. Thus, since all of the magazines were accessible from this

<sup>9</sup> Its foundations which we laid bare in E 4 had a width of 3.20 m.

street only, everything that was delivered or sent out apparently passed through the assumed gate north of the pylon and could be perfectly controlled.

The magazines were constructed of unburned mud bricks (about  $38 \times 18 \times 11$ — $39 \times 19 \times 13$  cm.), many of them stamped. As we were not in position to examine the walls systematically for stamped bricks, we simply noted them where we happened to find them. There were several different stamps (Fig. 54), to which we refer below.<sup>10</sup> Let us now examine the magazines in detail. There were three different groups. The group to the north of the temple included two storehouses, the central corridor of one running from east to west (6.50 m. wide) and that of the other from north to south. Both appear to have been laid out at the same time, however, for there is no joint apparent between them. The front magazine in so far as it is preserved or excavated is divided into three sections separated by thick transverse walls. The front section lies 1.25 m. lower than the other two, and the two levels are connected by stairs leading to a door in the transverse wall. The latter serves as a retaining wall for the higher level and for that reason was made thicker at its foundations (2.50 m.) than higher up (1.65 m.), as indicated on the plan (Pl. 10) by a dotted line. The original plan of the rearmost section was later altered by removal of the south wall of its middle corridor, which can still be traced in the foundations, and the storerooms on the south. Thus an approximately square court with an entrance on the south was formed. Whether this third section thus became a closed unit or was still connected with the second section by a door in the transverse wall is uncertain. The storerooms are 3.20 m. wide on the average and were originally covered with barrel vaults in the usual parabolic form used in ancient Egyptian construction. A few springer courses of the vaults are preserved, from which it is possible to estimate that the storerooms were about 3.50 m. high. I am inclined

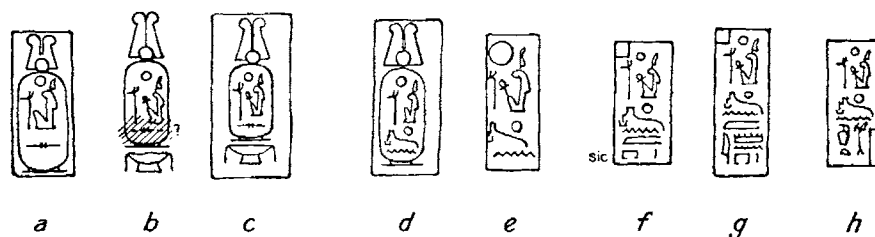


FIG. 54. STAMPS ON MUD BRICKS FOUND *in situ* IN WALLS OF THE RAMESSEUM MAGAZINES

to doubt that the very wide central corridor (6.50 m.) also was vaulted, because of the fact that two stairways, one on each side of the corridor, ascended to the roof terrace. Bricks bearing the stamps shown in Figure 54 *c-d* (see p. 81, n. 12) were found in this storehouse.

The other storehouse in the group north of the temple (in D-E 5) has very impressive dimensions. The vaulted chambers are considerably longer and also an ell wider (3.70 m.) than those discussed above but were not much higher, as can be estimated from the springer courses of the vaults. That the middle corridor also was vaulted is indicated by the fact that only a single stairway was present, to the right of the middle passage. The doors to the storerooms (only 75 cm. wide) were fitted with stone sills and frames. For the sake of symmetry shallow niches were cut into the wall in front of the stairway to correspond to the doorways in the opposite wall. In this magazine were found bricks stamped "House of Userma<sup>c</sup>re<sup>c</sup>-Setepen<sup>c</sup> in the estate of Amon" (Fig. 54 *g*).

The magazines to the south included numerous buildings, as at Medinet Habu, which were presumably contemporaneous but with no interconnection. Among these were two fairly similar structures (in C-D and D-E) with stone pylons covered with reliefs and inscriptions. Inside the pylon in each case was an approximately square vestibule with walls constructed of reused limestone blocks among which are relief fragments with cartouches of Hatshepsut and a Thutmose. Their roofs I think were made of wooden beams. In or beside the rooms were found two small stone palm-leaf capitals from column shafts with top diameter of 28 cm. which perhaps had supported such roofs but which I assume belonged to later tomb structures rather than to these vestibules. On either side of the vestibule lay a somewhat larger room, presumably an open court. The storerooms were arranged in the usual manner on either side of a central corridor. The dimensions are modest, the storerooms in the east structure being even narrower (2.40 m.) than those in the west building (2.70 m.). The central corridor in each building is 3.20 m. wide. The height of the vaults is uncertain. The stone-slab pavement is still preserved in many of the storerooms as well as in the central corridors. Apparently there were no stairways.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. the stamped bricks collected by Lepsius (*LD Text III* [1900] 137-40).

Between these two structures lay a narrow court with two elongated vaults at the rear. A similar court, but wider and containing three narrow vaults and a portico with two rows of columns, was located at the west end (in E 1-2). In the west wall itself are bricks with the stamp *e* (see Fig. 54). We have already suggested a purpose for such courts at Medinet Habu (p. 66). The space to the east is shown in our plan (Pl. 10) as clear of any structures except two parallel walls (in B 2), with a stone pavement between them, which perhaps inclosed another such court. In reality meager remains of other walls are preserved (see Fig. 52), but their purpose and dating cannot be determined. I should like to assume that this area once included a third magazine, with a narrow court at either side, exactly like those at the west.<sup>11</sup> However, whether such a structure had actually been completed is a question.

We now come to the great storehouses at the west of the precinct, which were laid out later than the others. There were three separate structures, the one in the middle being the oldest. That it originally stood alone is indicated by joints in the rear inclosure wall which separated it from the others and the fact that each of its four walls had a batter on the outside. The street between this magazine and the temple is 7.50 m. wide, which al-

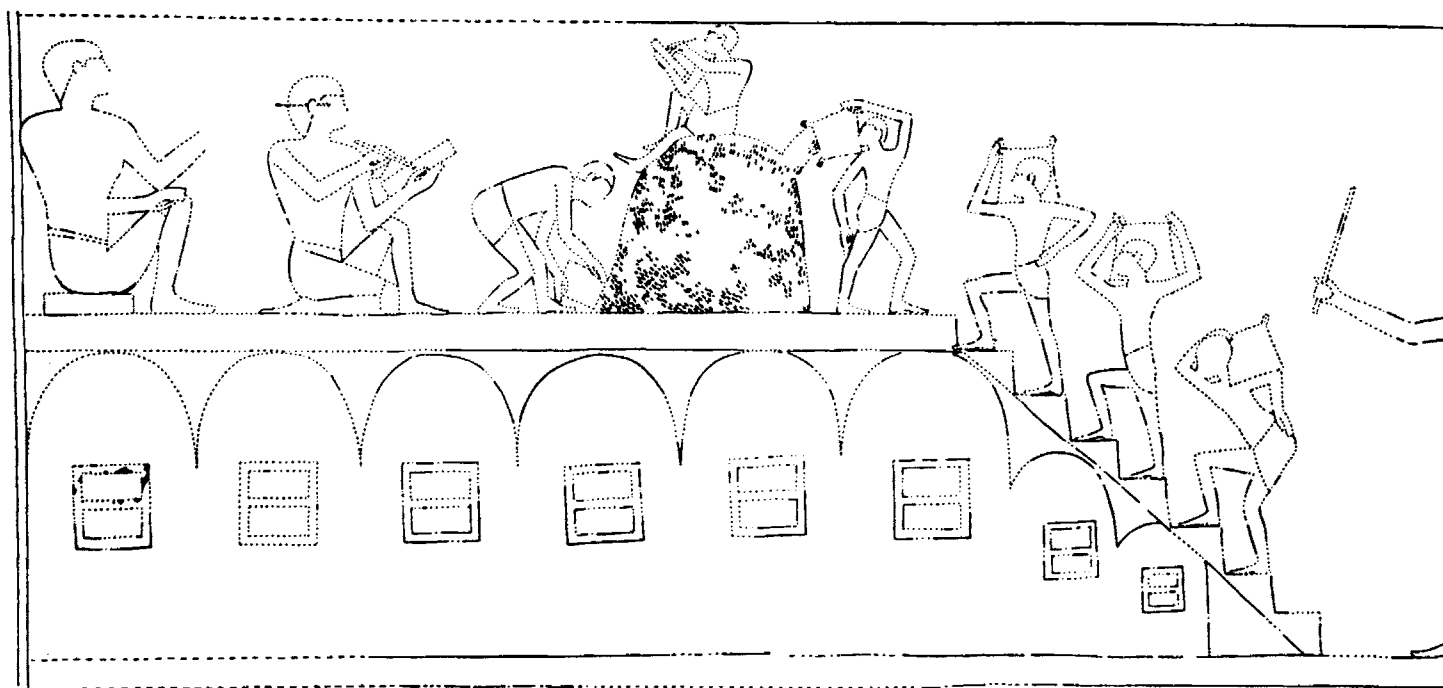


FIG. 55. TOMB SCENE SHOWING A VAULTED MAGAZINE BEING FILLED WITH GRAIN THROUGH OPENINGS IN THE ROOF  
After Norman de Garis Davies, *The Tomb of Antefoker, Vizier of Sesostris I, and of His Wife, Senet* (London, 1920) Pl. XV

lows space at the corners for entrances to the two side storehouses. This middle structure was the largest of all the Ramesseum storehouses, and its layout can be considered ideal for such a structure. A square vestibule with four imposing inscribed columns formed the entrance. From the arrangement of the engaged pillars on the front and rear walls opposite each pair of columns we assume that the room had been covered with three parallel barrel vaults resting on stone architraves. On either side of the vestibule a stairway led to the roof terrace. The central corridor, which lies on the axis of the temple, presumably was vaulted. The storerooms opened directly from either this corridor or the vestibule. Their vaults are still partly preserved. They average 3.70 m. wide and 3.80 m. high (inside measurements). At intervals of 6 meters along the crown of each vault are crude holes, which were doubtless faced with stone and fitted with stone lids. They served presumably not only for lighting and ventilating the vaults but also for receiving the grain. The mud bricks (34×17×5 cm.) of the vaults are considerably thinner than those of the walls. On the surfaces they were roughened by grooves made with fingers in the moist clay so that the mortar would stick better. In this structure a brick with the stamp shown in Figure 54 *b* was found.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> We searched in vain for a well at this point, where we had suspected one by analogy with Medinet Habu (see Fig. 34).

<sup>12</sup> This brick shows the same form of the name of Ramses II as one of those (Fig. 54 *c*) found in the older magazines to the north of the temple, which belong to the first years of the king's reign. The appearance of this stamp in one of the latest buildings of the area proves that it is not wise to draw conclusions as to the exact period of construction from the presence of a single stamped brick. It is possible that older bricks were reused here. And who knows how many years existing stamps had been used?

The storehouse in the northwest corner of the precinct was planned somewhat differently because of its narrow, cramped approach between older structures. However, it is not less imposing than the storehouse just described. Of the wide entrance (1.55 m.) to the street in front of it only the large stone sill (3.40 m. long) is preserved. The street (7 meters wide) has a colonnade along the front of the building and was paved with square (40 cm.) slabs of mud brick. At its far end is a stone dais (3.15×3.90×.70 m. high) finished with a cavetto cornice and approached from the front by steps. Possibly it supported a baldachin from which some high administrative official representing the king supervised the delivery of supplies.<sup>13</sup> Or perhaps a cult representation of the king or of some divinity once stood on it. From the colonnade the storerooms are directly accessible through doorways 97 cm. wide. The rooms are of the same width (3.70 m.) as those in the magazine directly behind the temple, though the height is greater (about 4.50 m.) and the dividing walls are thicker (1.55 m.). Holes in the vaults for pouring in grain and for supplying light and air are arranged at intervals of 6.30 m. In the center of the structure a wide doorway (1.45 m.) opens into an imposing hall with two rows of limestone columns, originally polygonal. Presumably they date from some structure of the early Eighteenth Dynasty and upon being reused here were

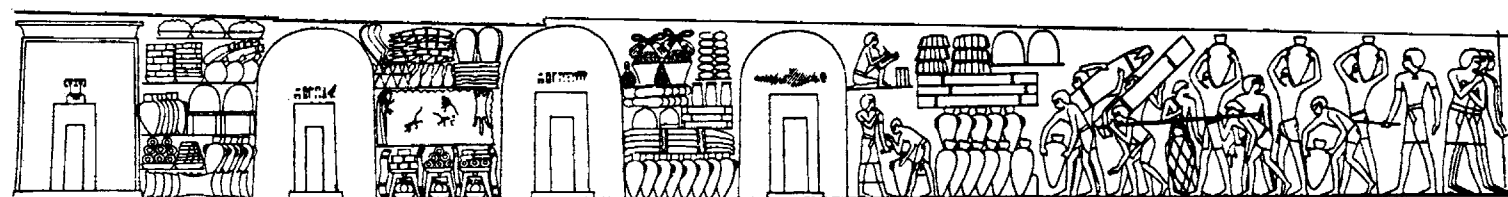


FIG. 56. TOMB SCENE SHOWING A VAULTED MAGAZINE BEING FILLED WITH VARIOUS AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS  
After Davies, *Paintings from the Tomb of Rekh-mi-Rē at Thebes* (PMMA X [1935]) Pl. XXIII

rounded with plaster. Each row was surmounted by a stone architrave as indicated by the engaged pillars at each end. Thus there probably were three parallel barrel vaults above them. The roof terrace over the entire structure, including the central hall, may have been at one level, and so only a single fairly wide stairway was supplied. In the west wall of this storehouse we found bricks with the stamp shown in Figure 54 *h*, which names the Ramesseum: "House of Userma're-Setepenre United to Thebes," and that shown in *f*, apparently an abbreviation of *g*.

The storehouse in the southwest corner of the temenos differs from all the others in that its storerooms are wider (5.10 m.). Their height (about 5 meters) can be estimated from the springer courses of the vaults. The vestibule and the central corridor (both 6 meters wide) were likewise vaulted. Stairs cannot be determined. The chambers were paved with stone, and in part their walls were faced with stone slabs to a height of 75 cm. Behind the structure there was an open court in which some activity in connection with the stored supplies may have taken place.

We assume that the majority of the storehouses were granaries and that the grain was carried by servants in baskets or bags up the stairs to the roof terrace and dumped through the apertures in the vaults (Fig. 55). The grain was removed through the individual storeroom doorways. The magazines which had no stairs to the roof (Fig. 56) were repositories for other goods, though we are not able to decide exactly what kinds.

<sup>13</sup> Pavilions with baldachins were found built along the streets between the storehouses of the Aton temple at Tell el-Amarnah as depicted in the tomb of Merire; Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna* I, Pl. XXXI.

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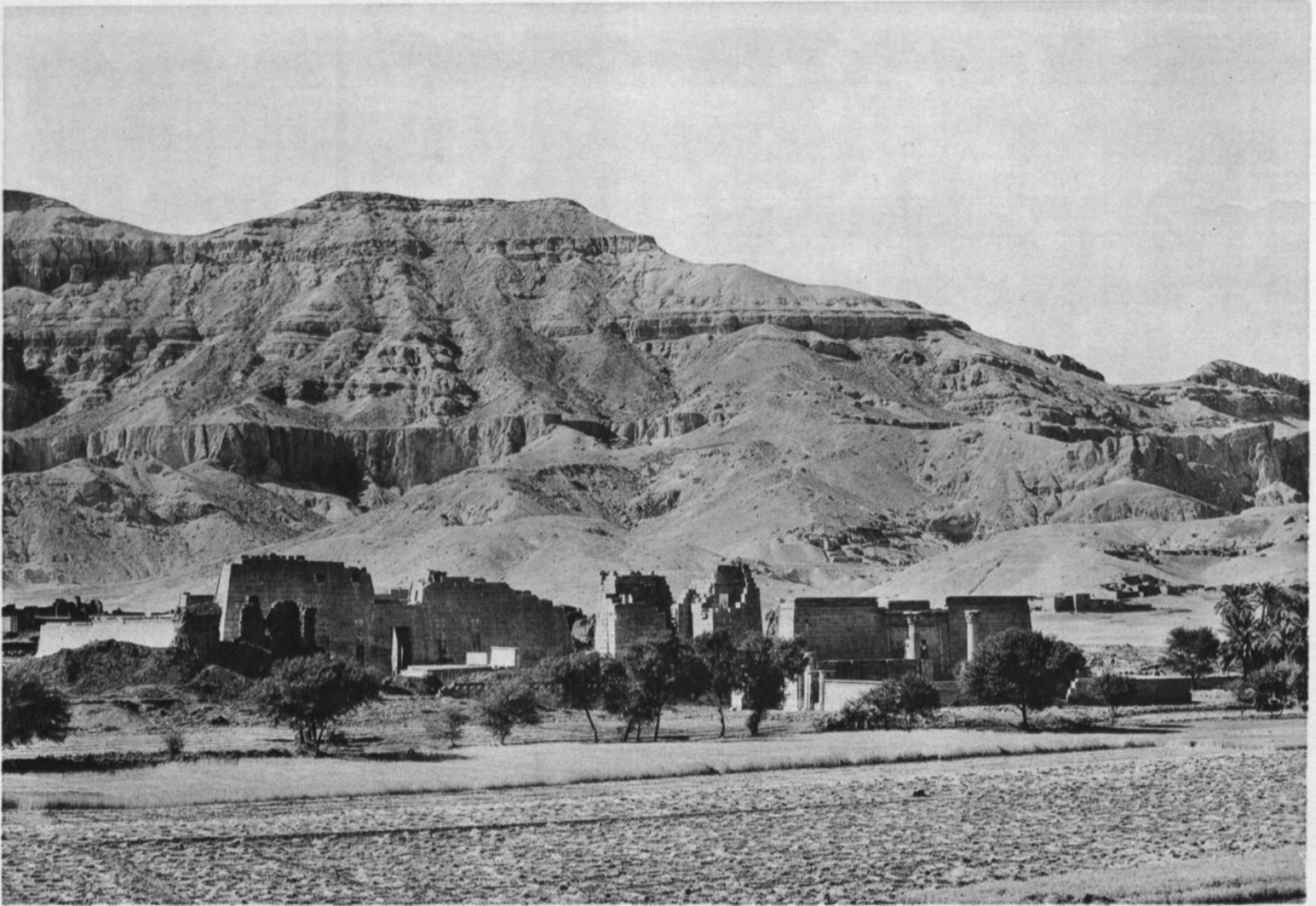


PLATES 11-40





THE GREAT TEMPLE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU, FROM THE NORTHEAST

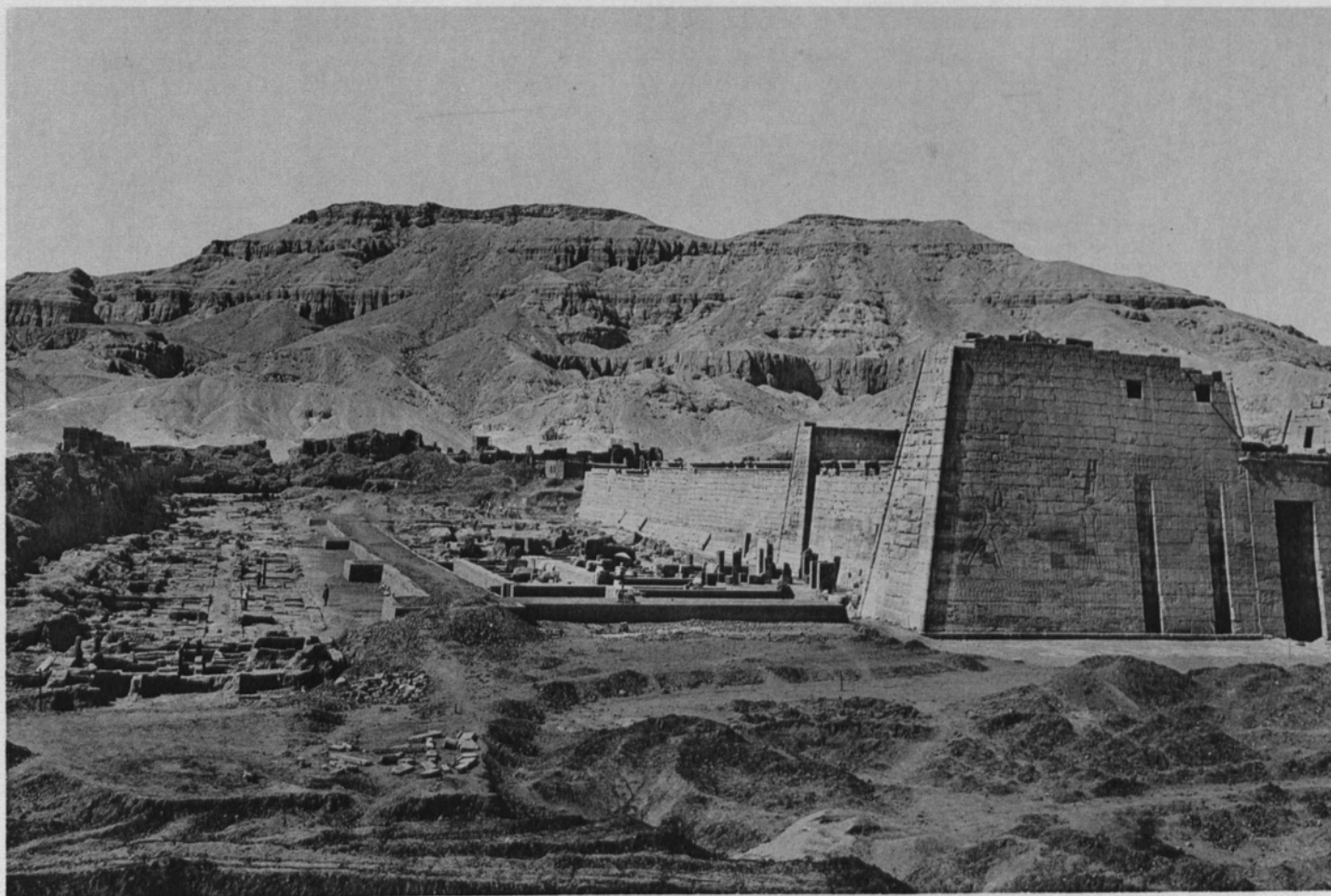


*A*

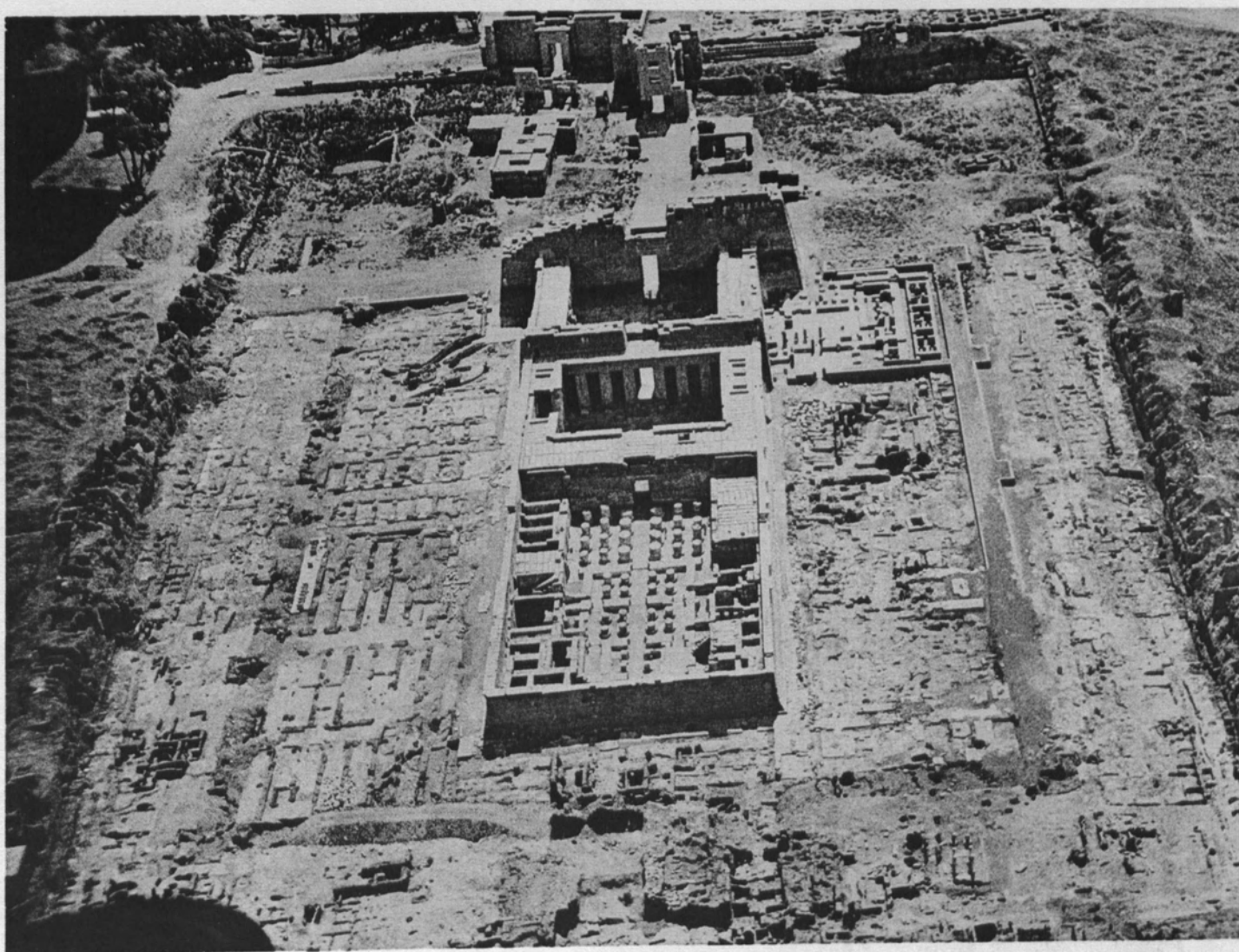


*B*

*A.* MEDINET HABU FROM THE SOUTHEAST. *B.* THE GREAT TEMPLE BEFORE OUR EXCAVATIONS, FROM THE NORTHWEST

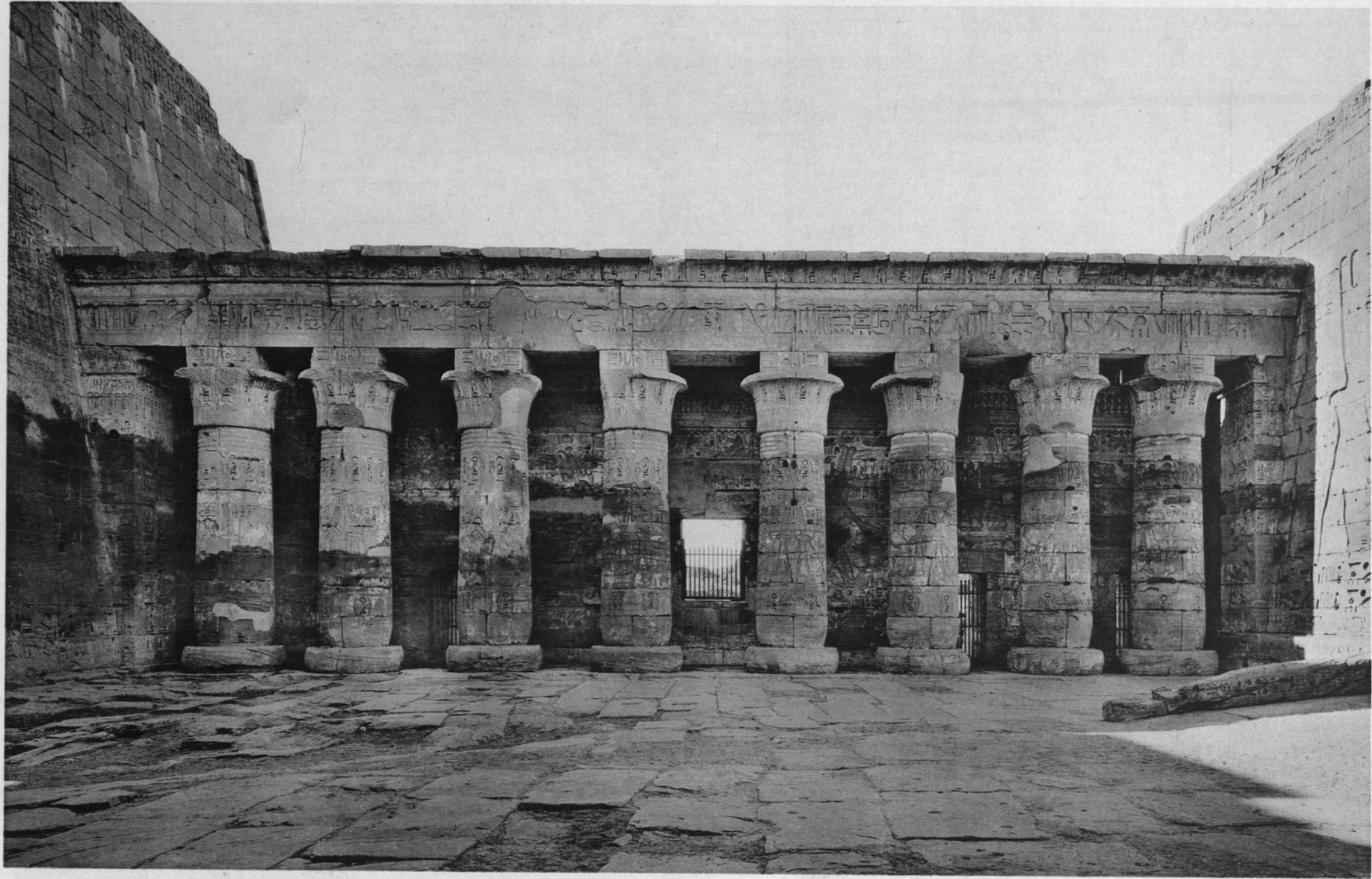


*A*



*B*

THE EXCAVATION OF MEDINET HABU. *A*. THE STRUCTURES TO THE SOUTH OF THE TEMPLE, FROM THE EAST. *B*. AIR VIEW FROM THE WEST



SOUTH COLONNADE IN THE FIRST COURT, FAÇADE OF THE ROYAL PALACE

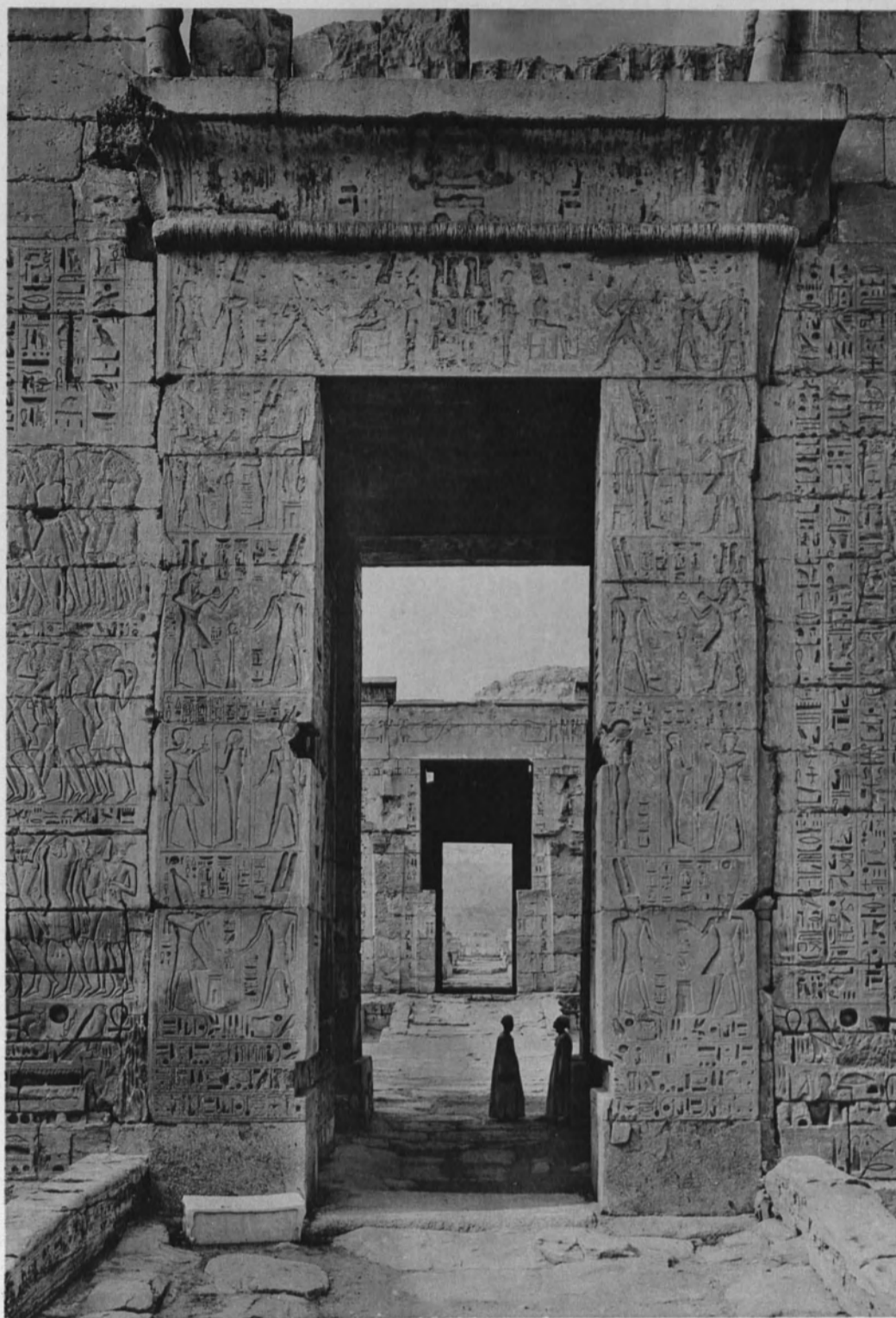




NORTH COLONNADE IN THE FIRST COURT



THE FIRST COURT AS SEEN FROM THE TOP OF THE GREAT PYLON



*A*

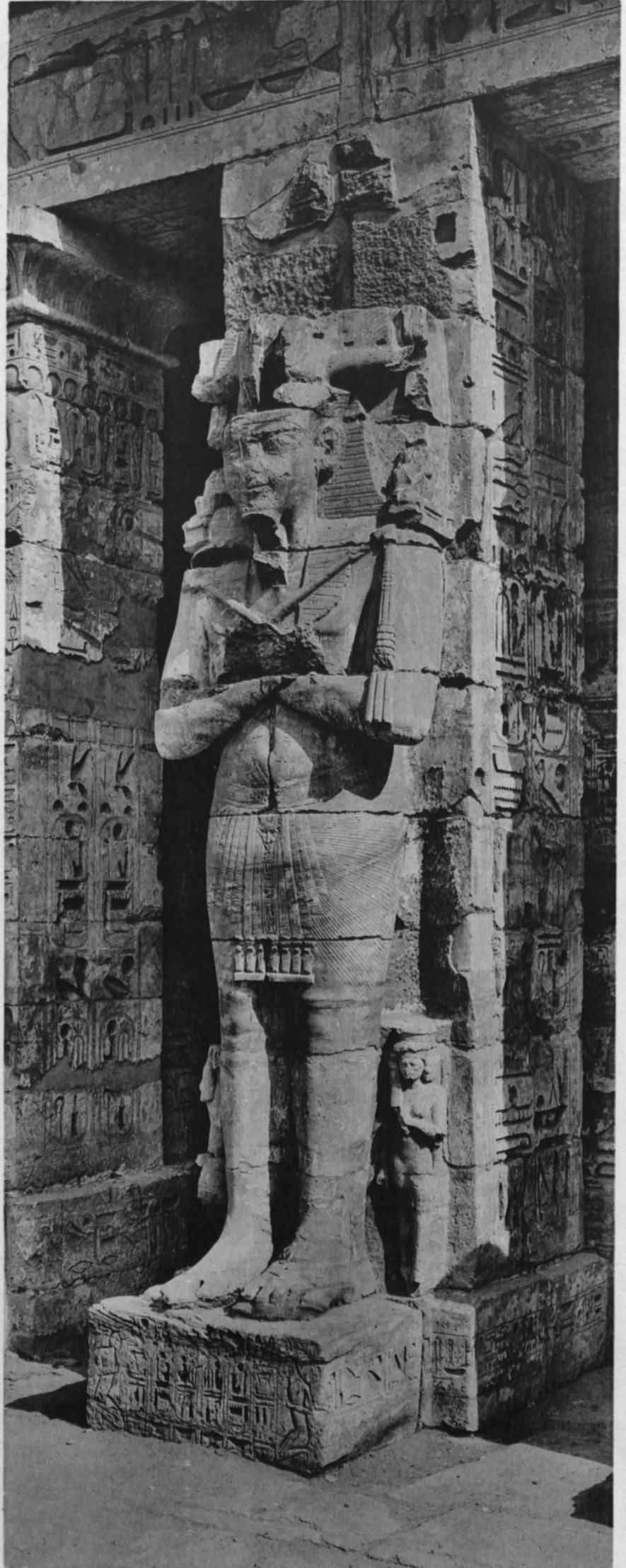


*B*

*A.* EAST FACE OF THE PORTAL IN THE SECOND PYLON. *B.* WEST COLONNADE IN THE SECOND COURT, PORTICO OF THE TEMPLE PROPER



A



B

A. COLUMN IN THE WEST COLONNADE OF THE SECOND COURT. B. PILLAR WITH ENGAGED STATUE OF THE KING IN THE FIRST COURT (CF. PL. 1)



VIEW FROM THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL, LOOKING EAST ALONG THE AXIS OF THE TEMPLE

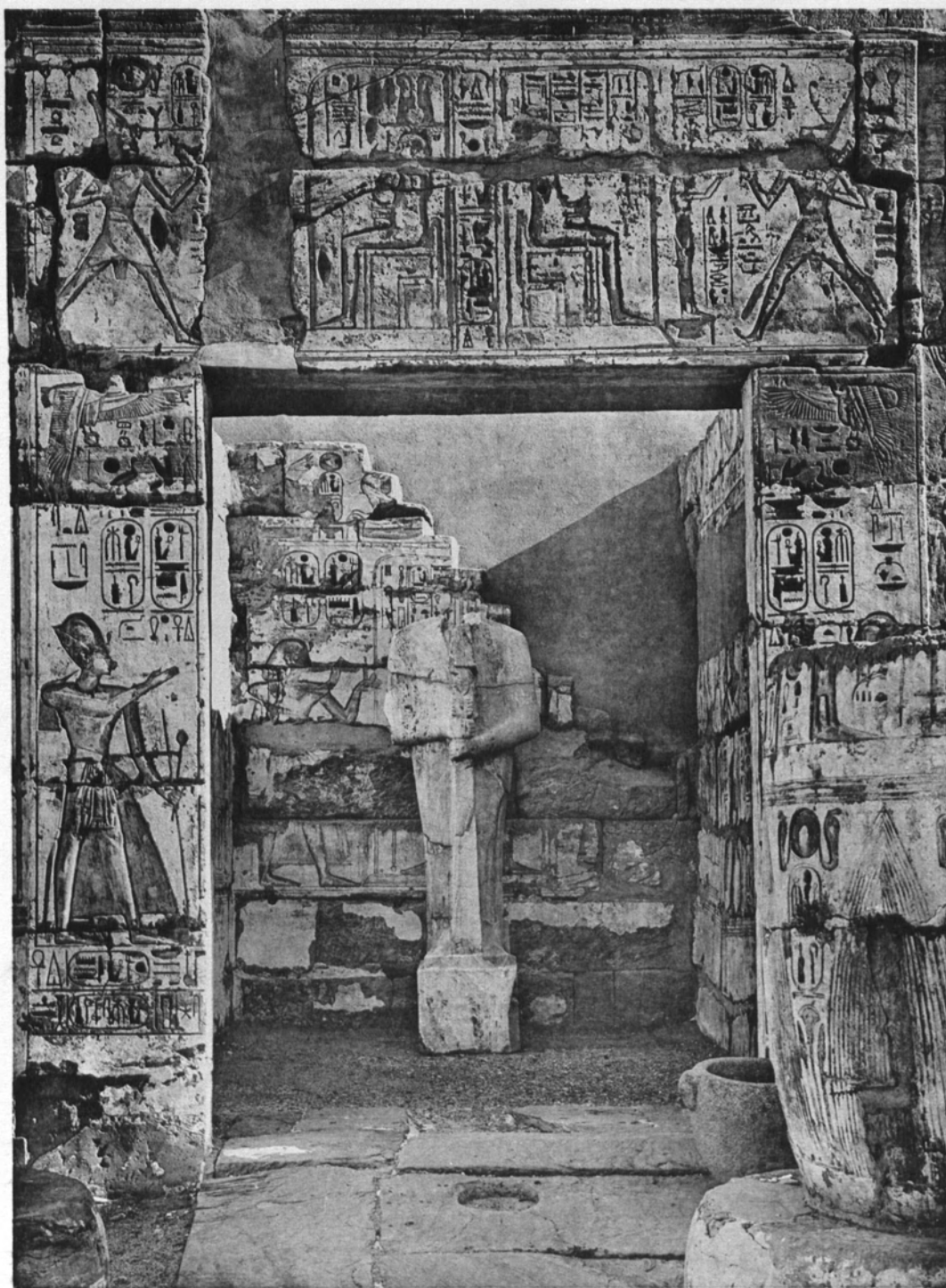


A



B

SOUTHWEST (A) AND NORTHWEST (B) CORNERS OF THE SECOND COURT

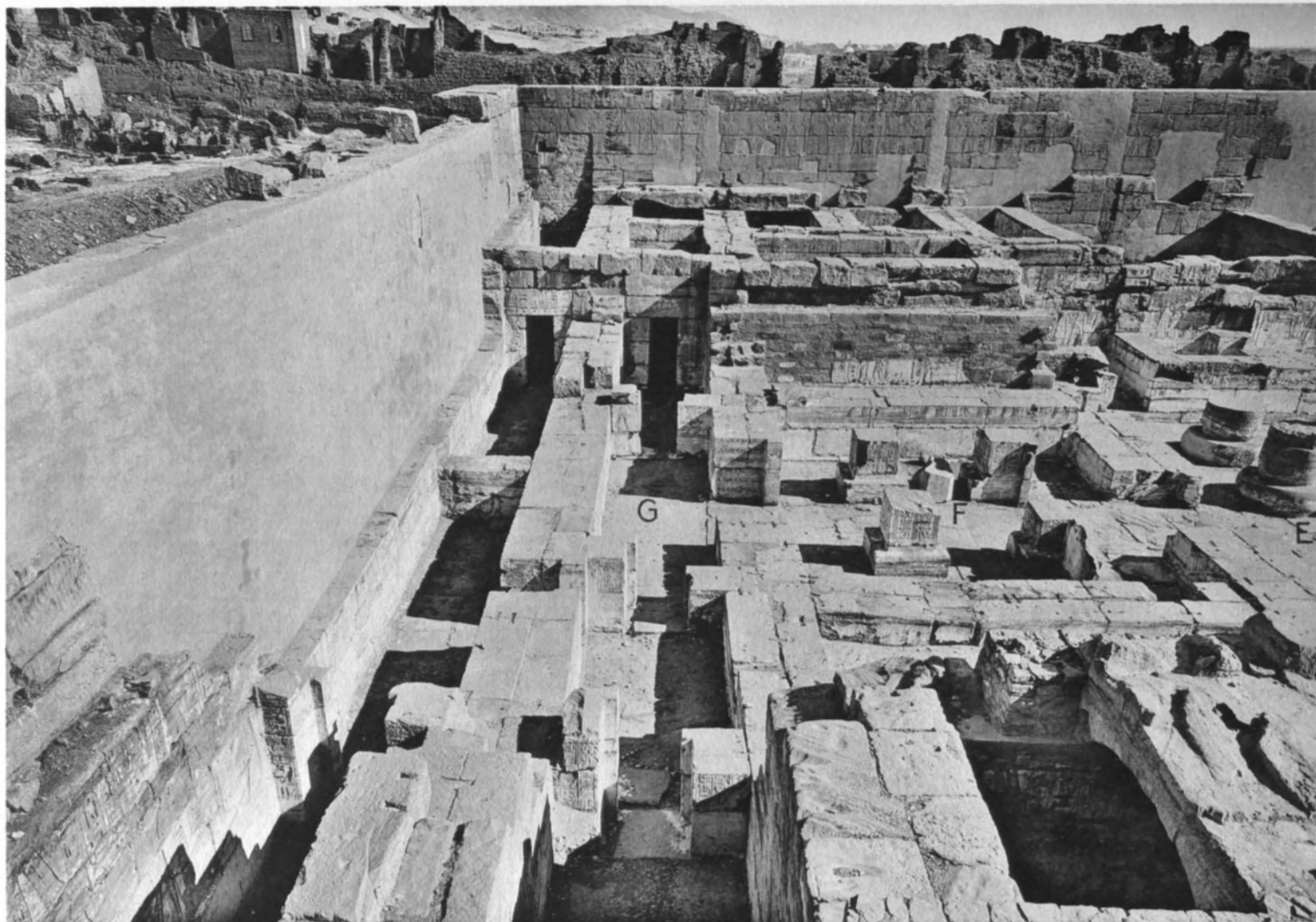


*A*

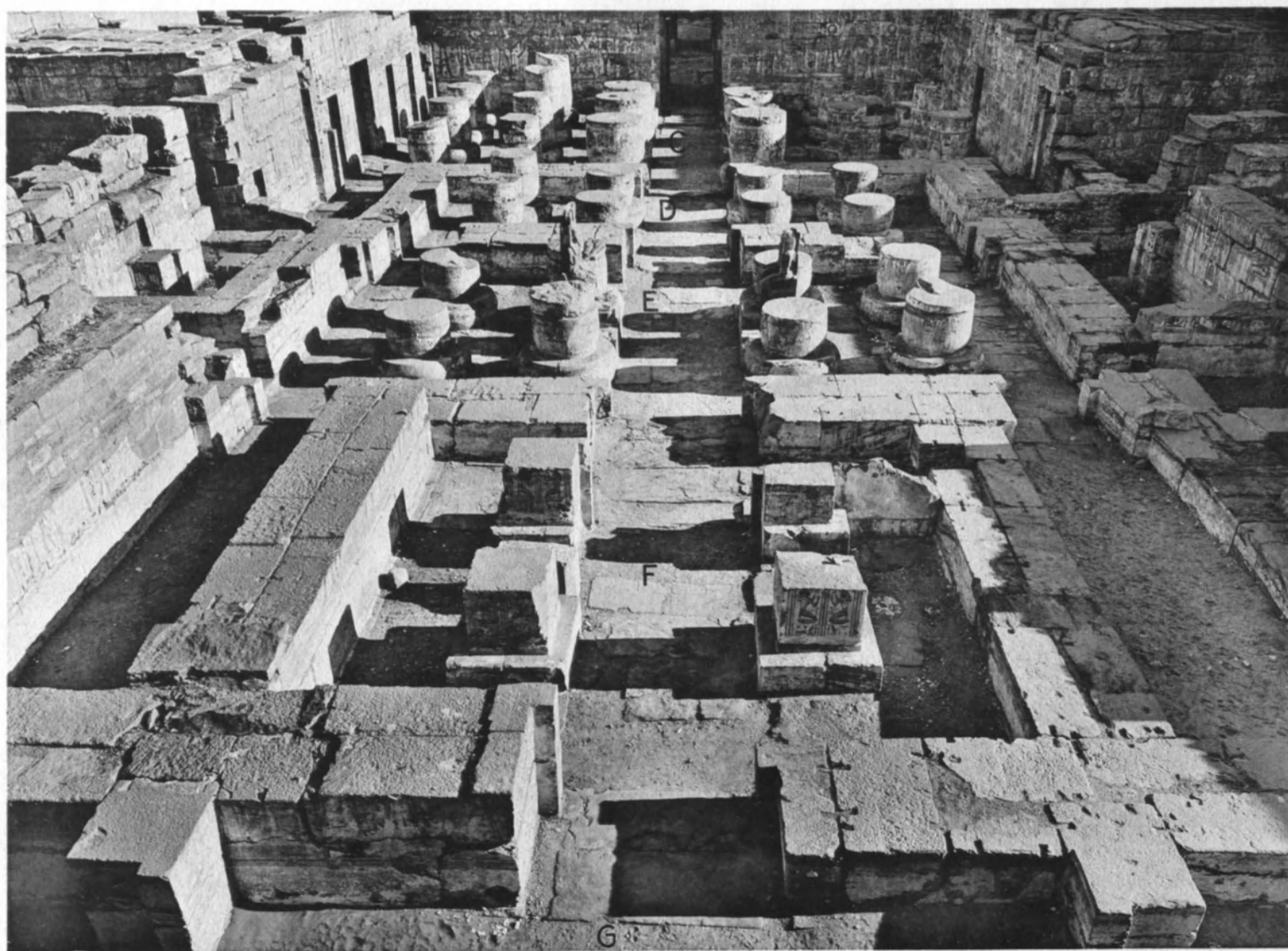


*B*

*A.* THE CHAPEL OF PTAH-SOKAR (ROOM 4). *B.* THE SANCTUARY OF OSIRIS (ROOM 25)



*A*



*B*

*A.* THE REAR PART OF THE TEMPLE, LOOKING NORTH. *B.* VIEW FROM THE HOLY OF HOLIES TOWARD THE FRONT OF THE TEMPLE



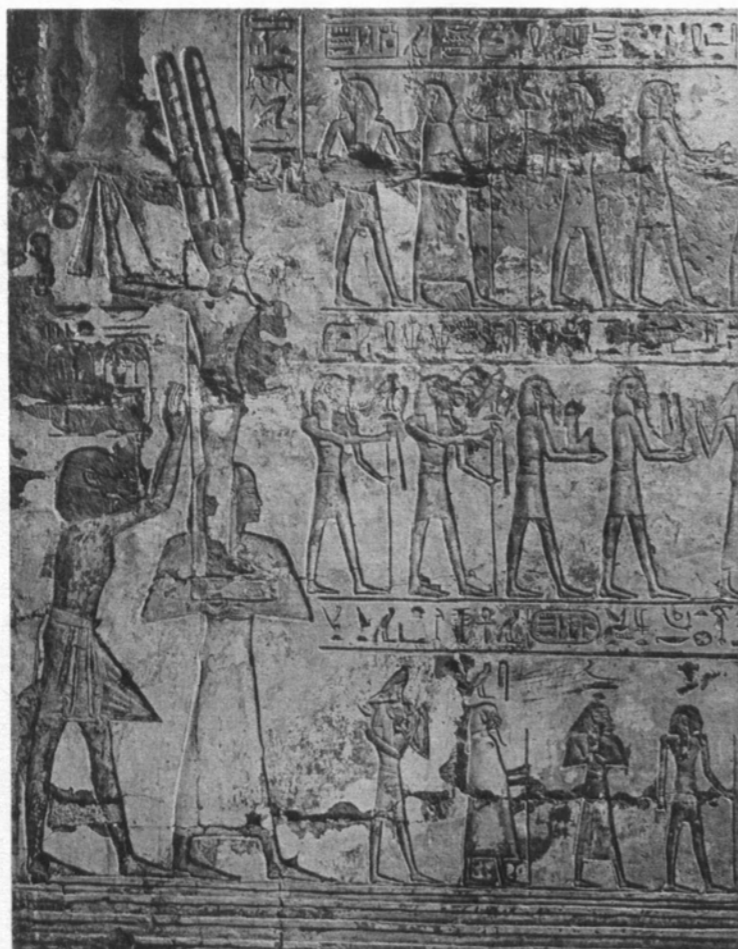


A

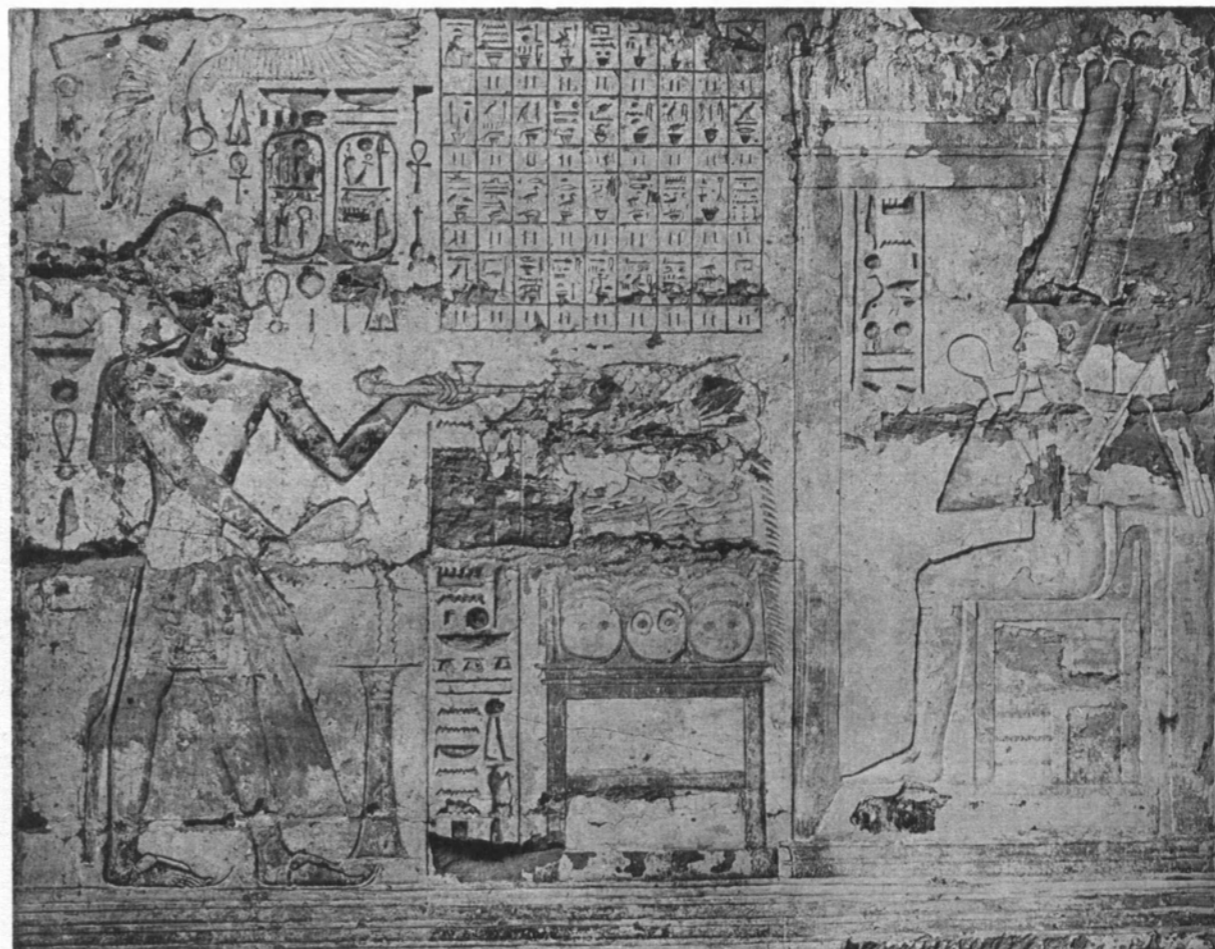


B

THE HYPOSTYLE HALLS, LOOKING (A) NORTH AND (B) SOUTH



A



B

← DOUBLE FALSE DOOR →



C

CULT SCENES IN THE SANCTUARY OF AMON. A. WEST WALL OF ROOM 46. B. EAST WALL OF ROOM 46. C. WEST WALL OF THE HOLY OF HOLIES



*A*

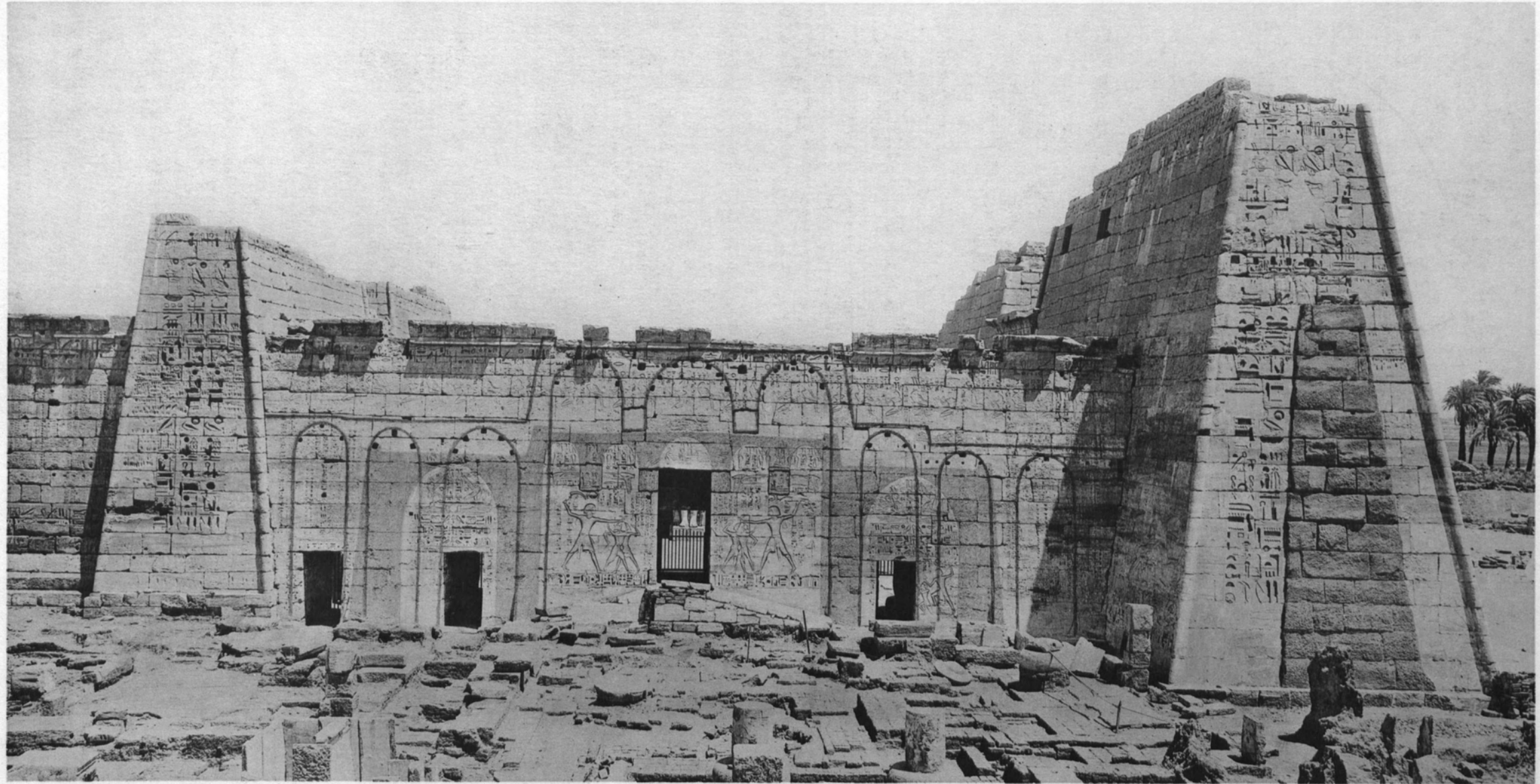


*B*

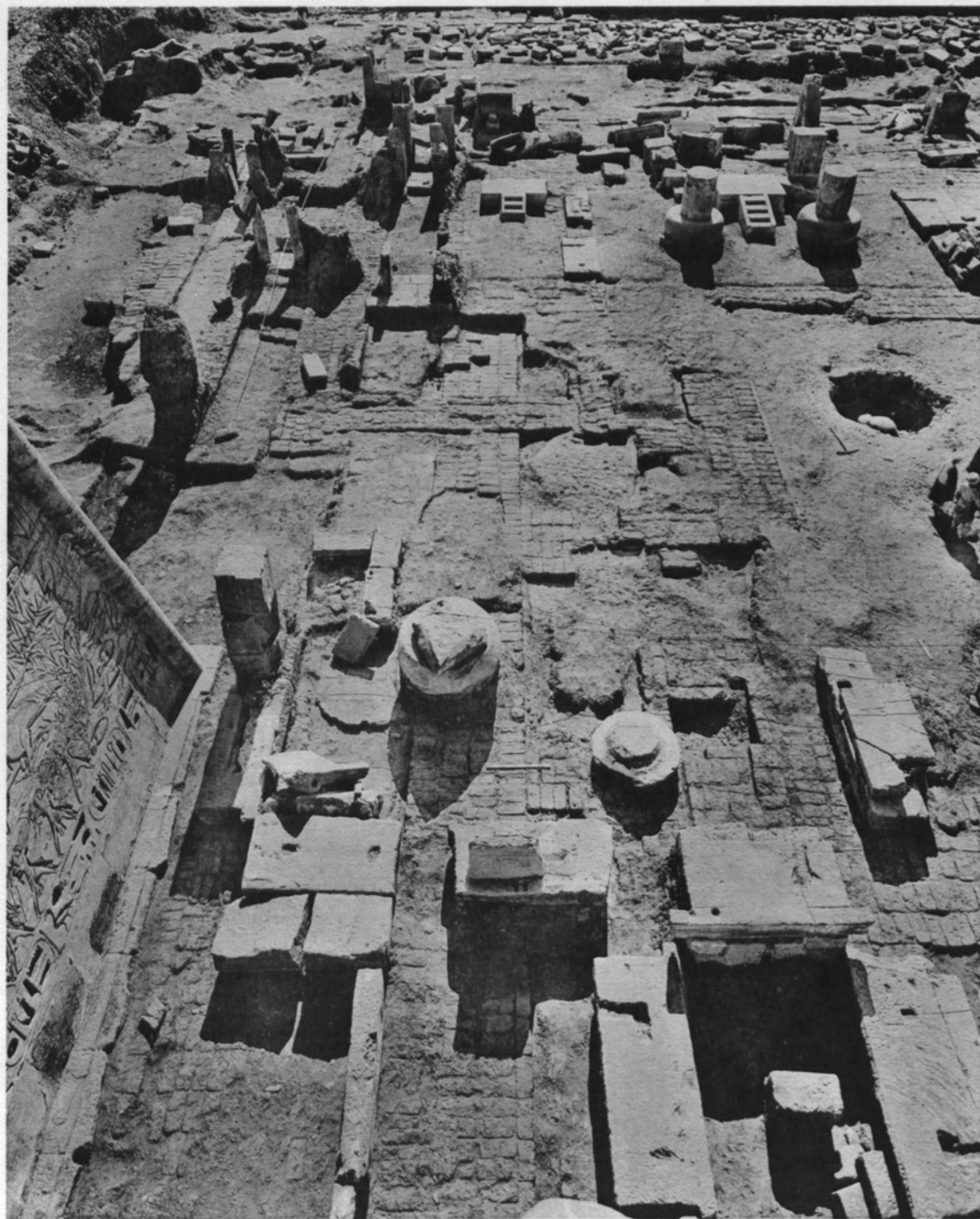


*C*

THE ROYAL PALACE BEFORE THE BEGINNING OF OUR EXCAVATIONS IN 1927, FROM (*A*) THE WEST AND (*B-C*) THE NORTH



THE SOUTH SIDE OF THE TEMPLE, SHOWING IMPRINT OF THE FIRST (SOLID) AND OF THE SECOND (OUTLINED) PALACE. REINFORCED PHOTOGRAPH



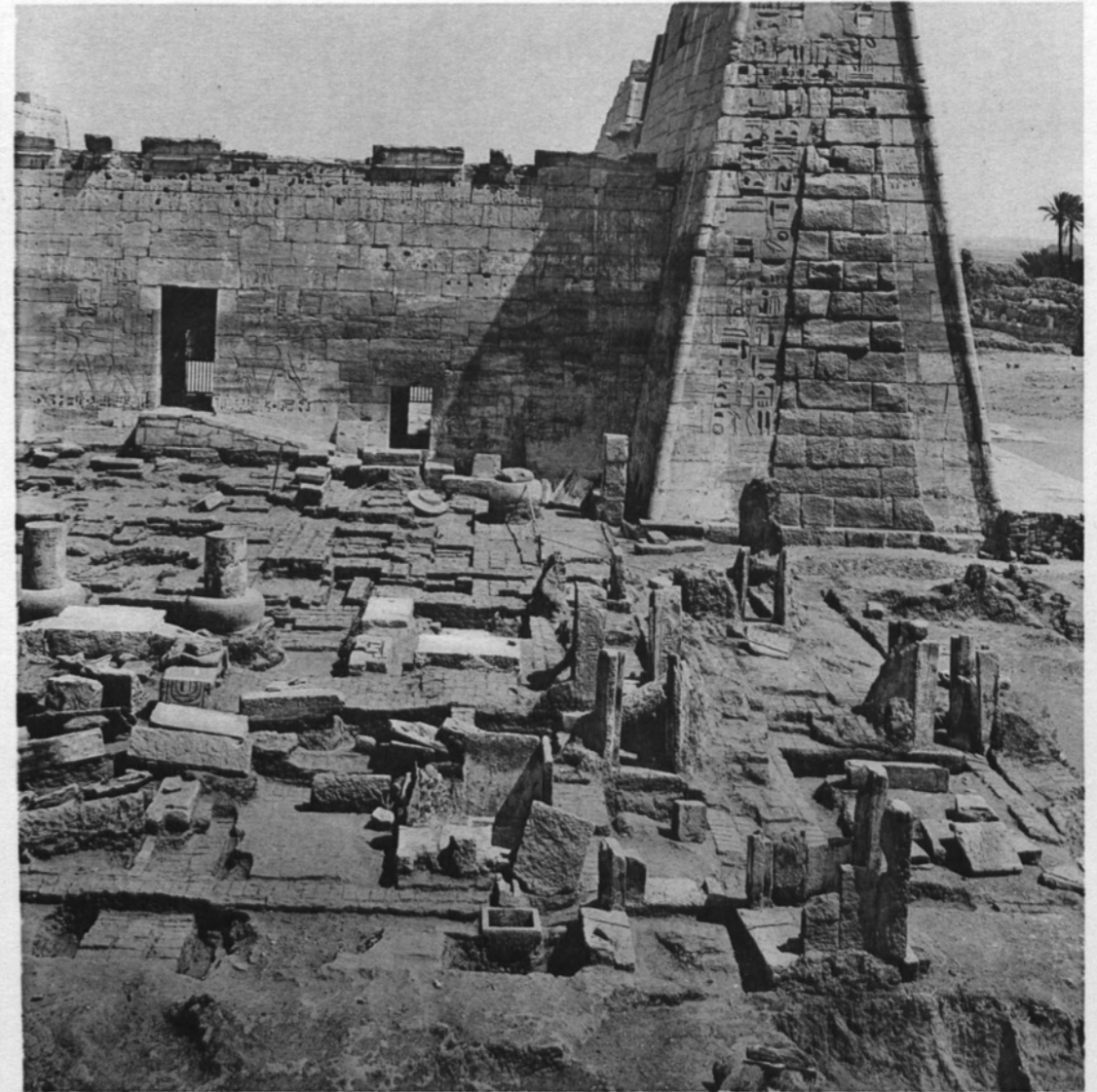
THE EXCAVATION OF THE PALACE. VIEWS FROM THE NORTH



THE EXCAVATION OF THE PALACE. VIEW FROM THE EAST

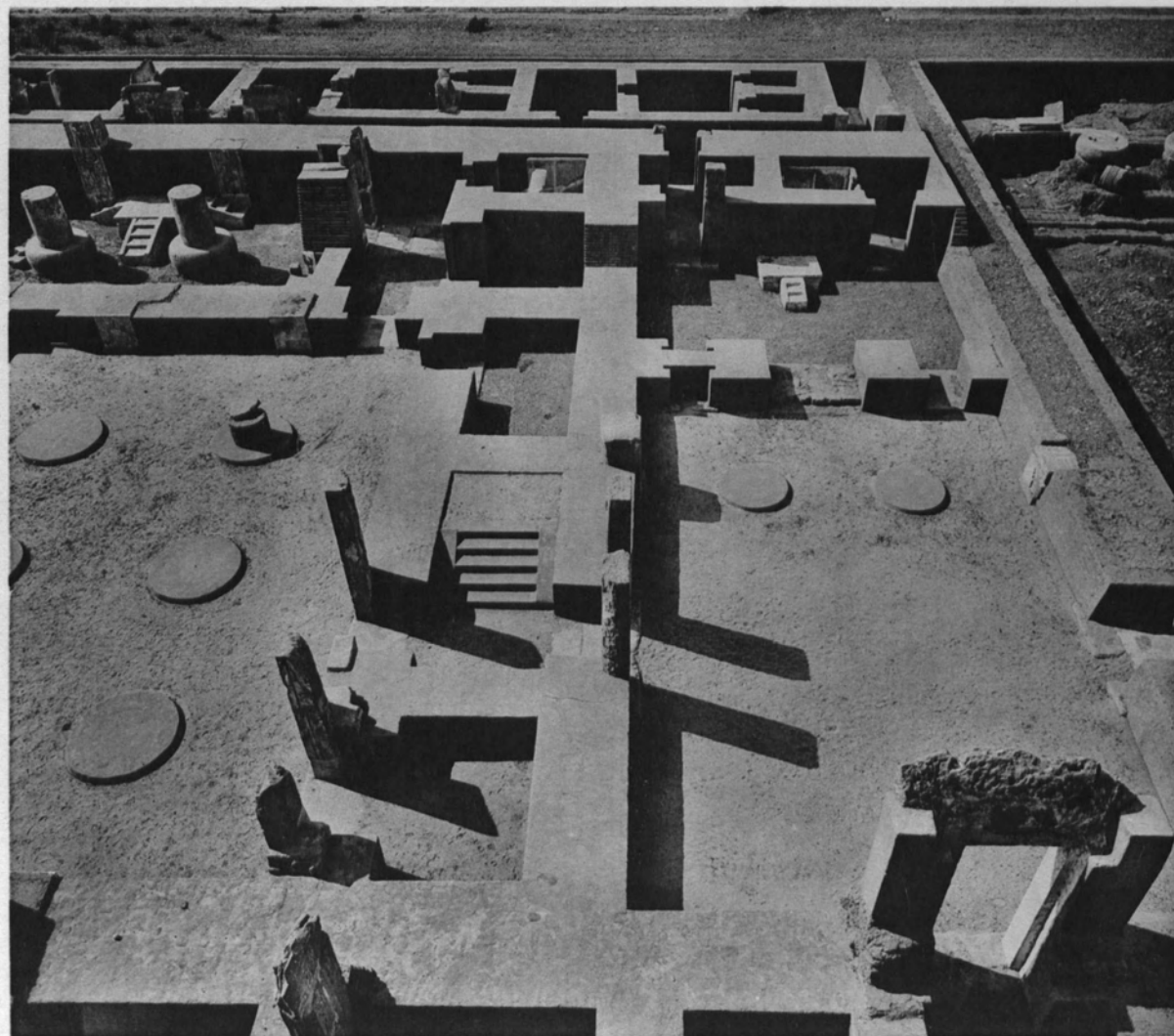


THE EXCAVATION OF THE PALACE. VIEW FROM THE NORTH



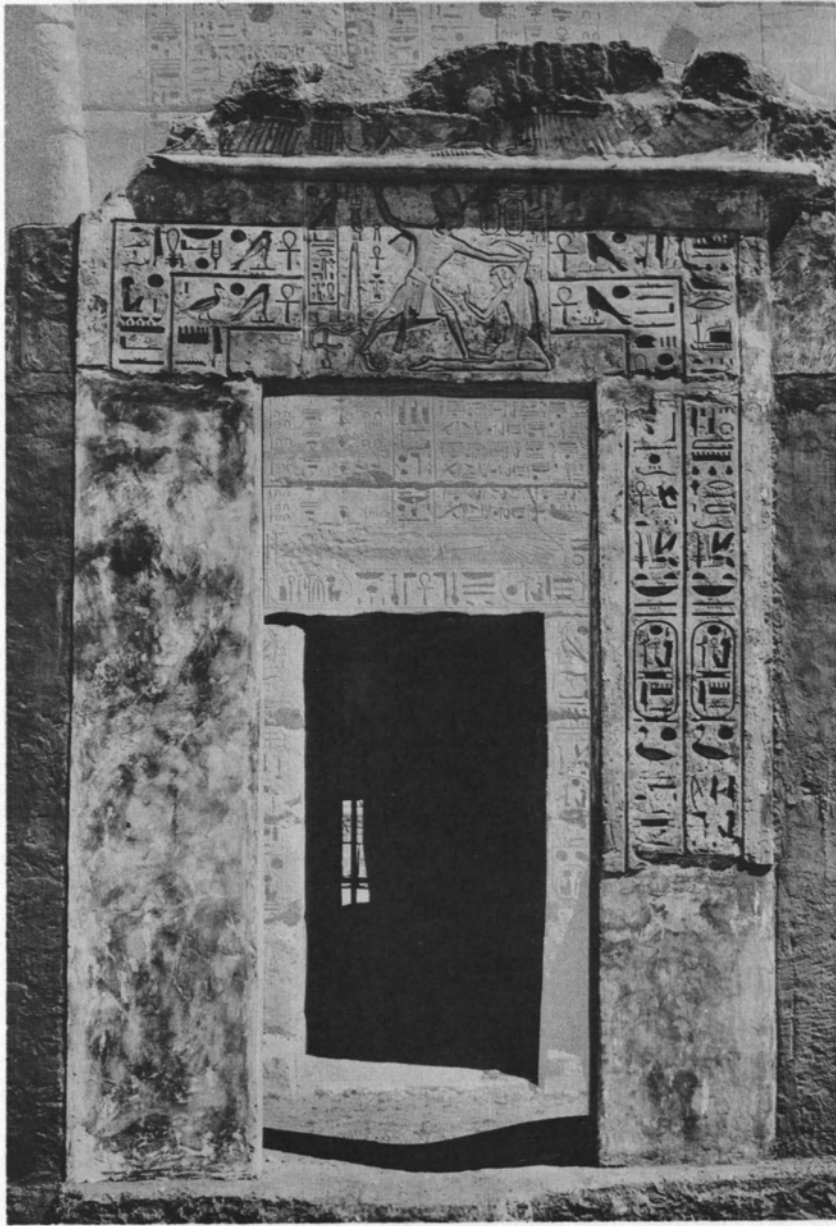
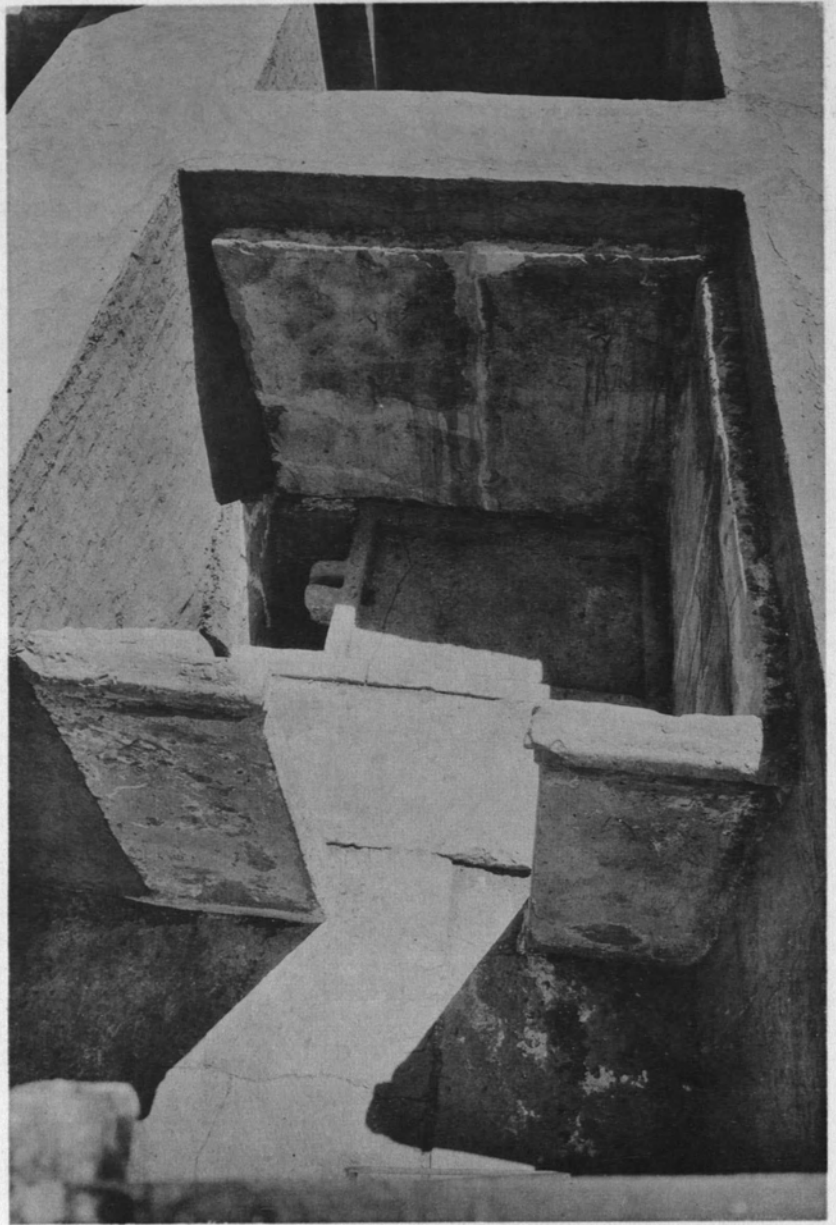
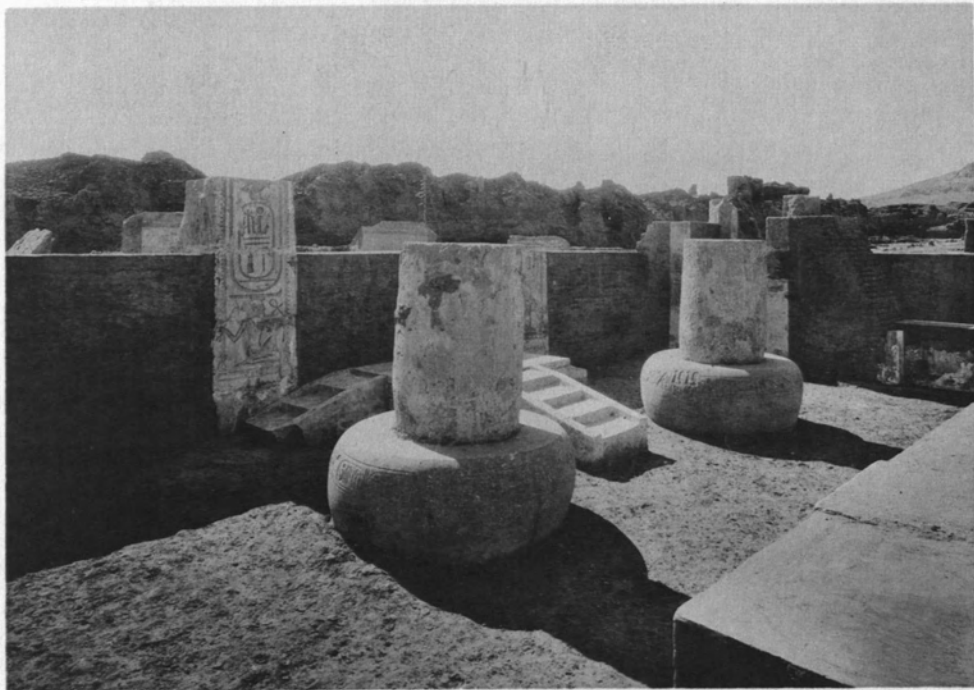
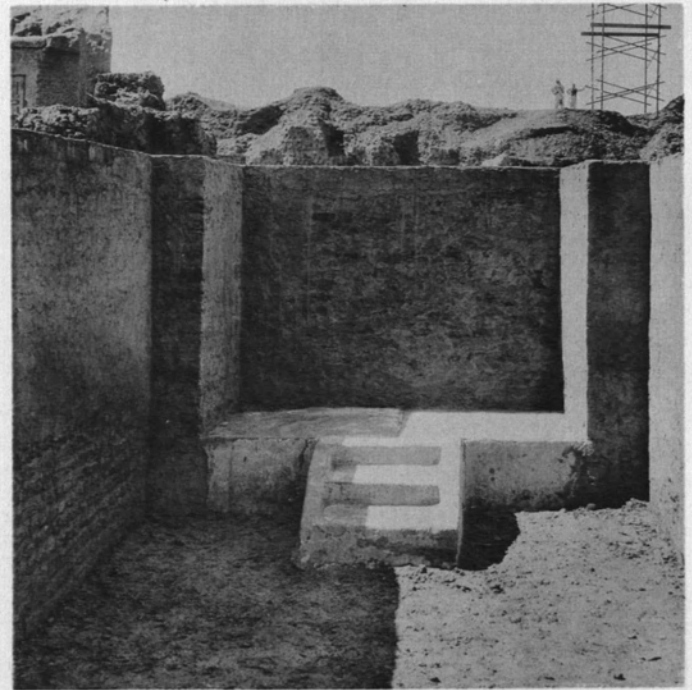
THE EXCAVATION OF THE PALACE. VIEWS FROM THE SOUTH





THE SECOND PALACE AS PARTIALLY RESTORED. VIEWS FROM THE NORTH (CF. PL. 27)

## PLATE 32

*A**B**C**D*

DETAILS FROM THE SECOND PALACE AS PARTIALLY RESTORED. *A*. NORTH DOORWAY IN THE HAREM COURT (CF. PL. 35 *C*). *B*. BATHROOM IN THE HAREM. *C*. THE KING'S PRIVATE LIVING-ROOM. *D*. THE KING'S BEDROOM, SHOWING BED NICHE



Diameter, 68 cm.

A



Length, 49 cm.

C



Diameter, 73 cm.

B



Length, 45 cm.

D



Diameter, 90 cm.

E



Height, 30 cm.

F



Length, 195 cm.

G

A-B. COLUMN FRAGMENTS FROM THE GREAT COLUMNED HALL OF THE FIRST PALACE. C. RELIEF FRAGMENT FROM THE WALL BENEATH THE WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES. D. FRAGMENT FROM A SIMILAR SCENE AT THE RAMESSEUM, FOUND AT MEDINET HABU. E. COLUMN FRAGMENT FROM THE SECOND PALACE. F. SCULPTURED NEGRO HEAD FOUND IN THE PALACE. CHICAGO 14648. G. SCULPTURED HEADS OF FOREIGN PRISONERS FROM THE WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES (CF. PL. 3)

rec. p. 46



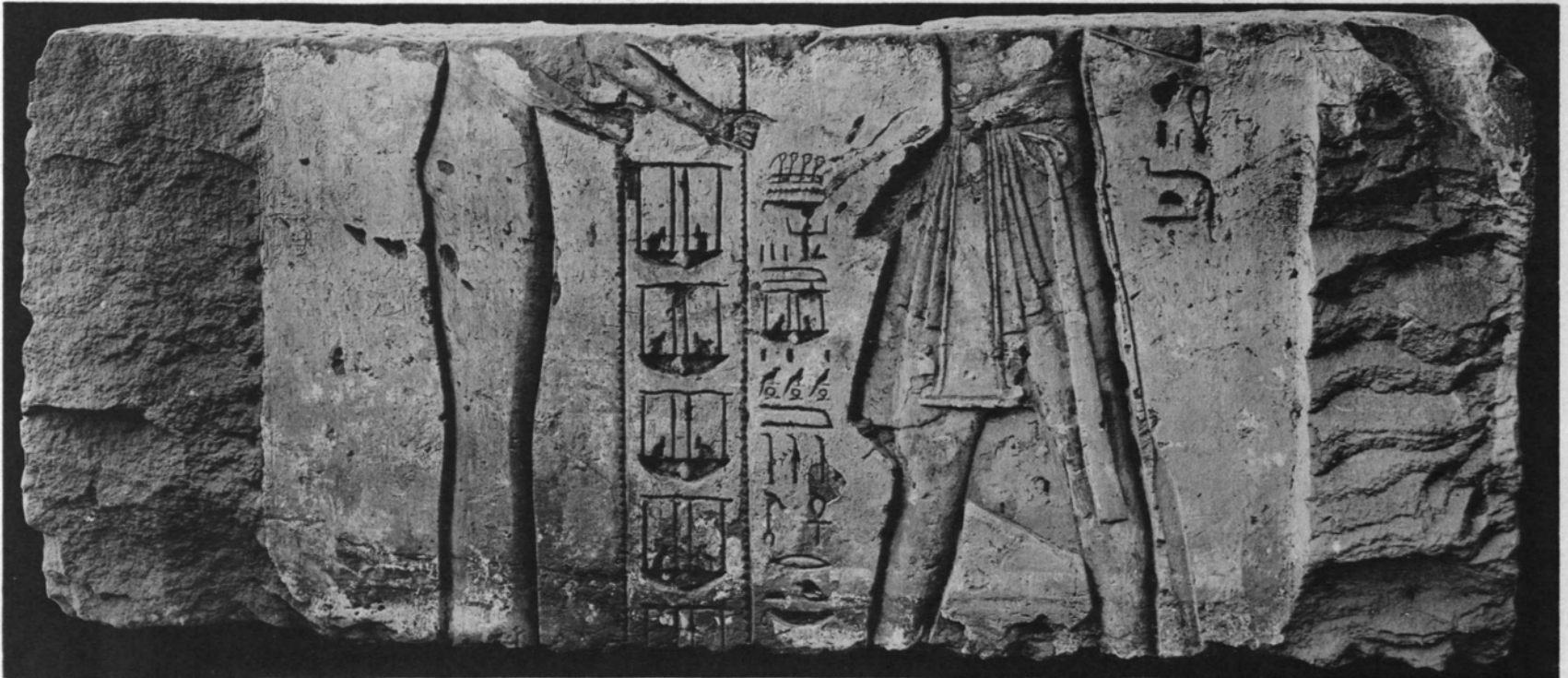
A

1:10



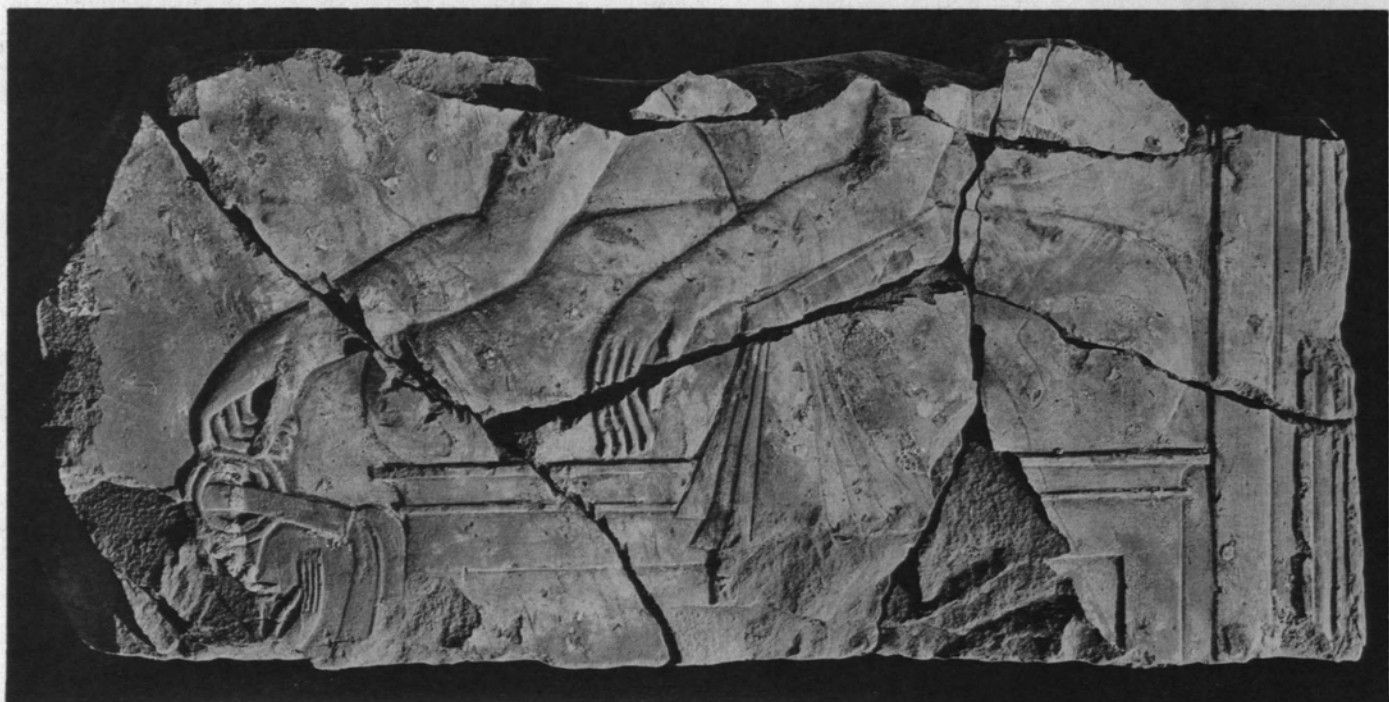
B

1:5



C

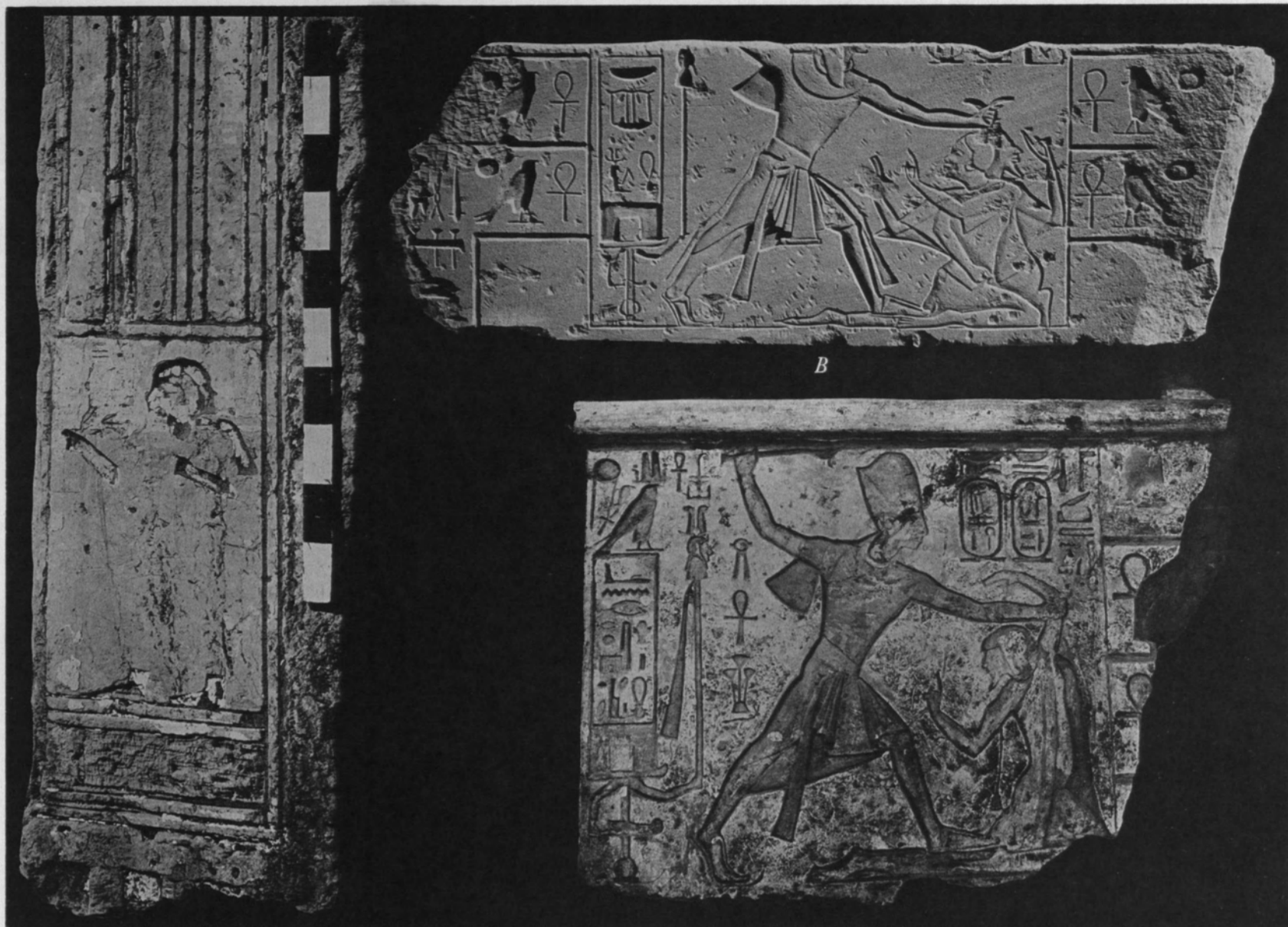
1:10



D

1:10

A. LINTEL, PROBABLY FROM THE FIRST PALACE (CF. FIG. 24). B. JAMB FRAGMENTS FROM THE BACK OF THE WINDOW OF ROYAL APPEARANCES. C. BLOCK FROM THE DOORWAY BETWEEN THE GREAT COLUMNED HALL AND THE THRONE ROOM OF THE FIRST PALACE (CF. FIG. 27). D. RELIEF FRAGMENTS FROM THE PALACE, SHOWING THE KING BESTOWING A REWARD



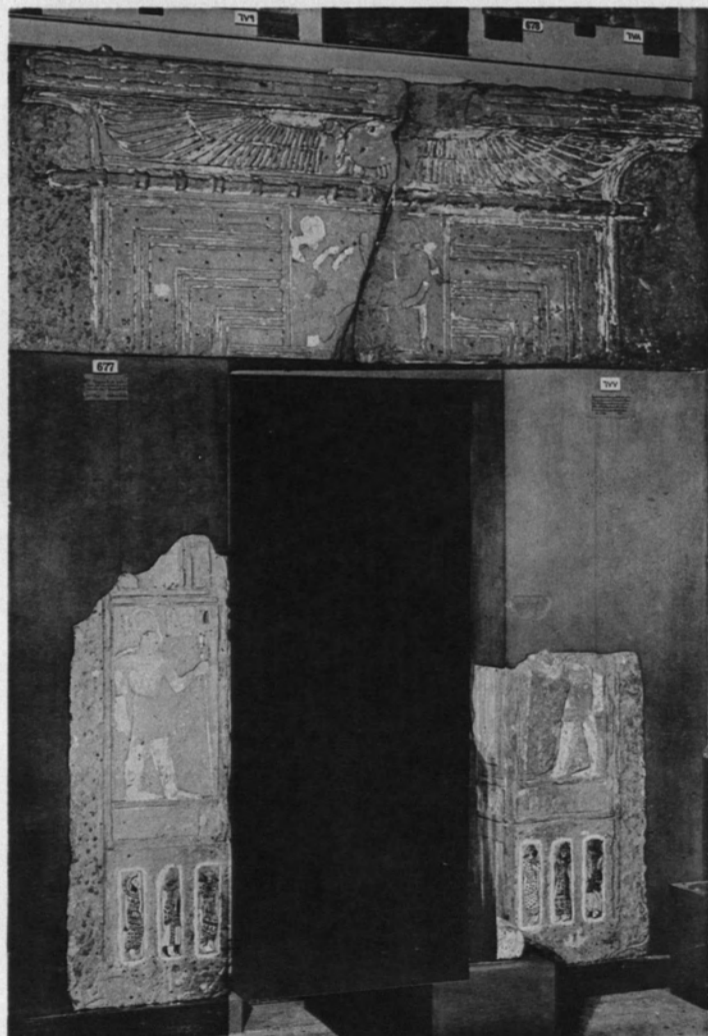
see p. 51

A

B

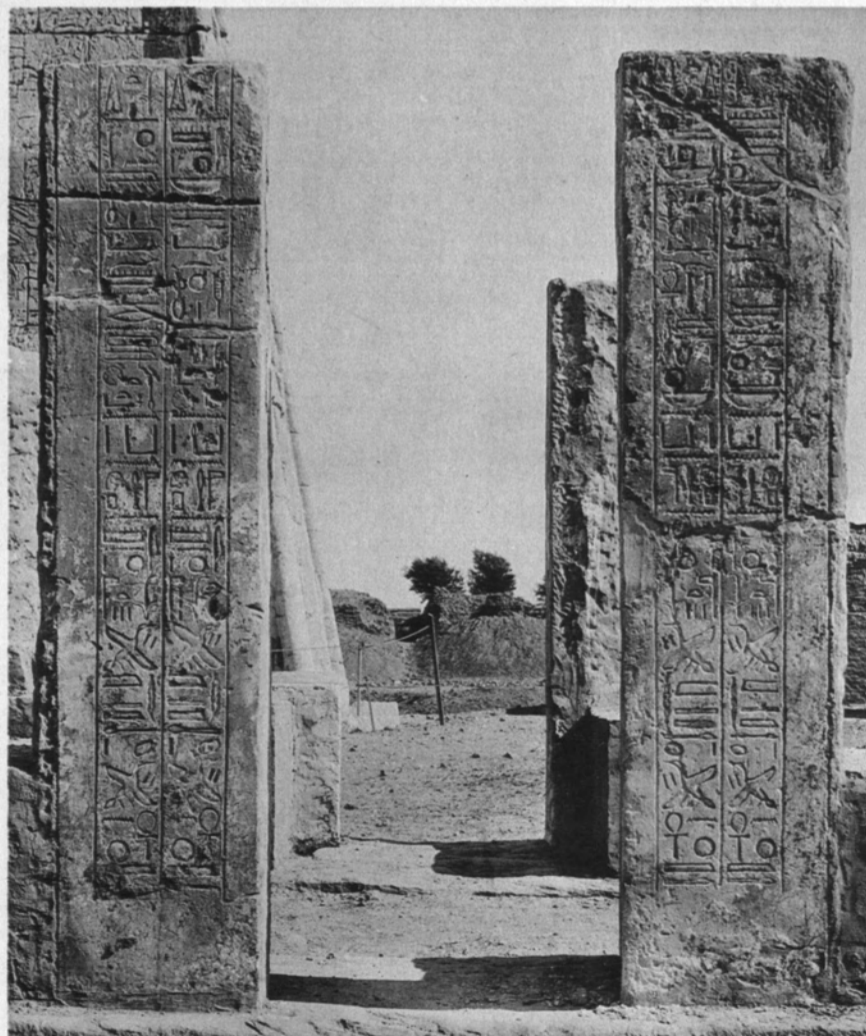
C

1:10



see p. 51

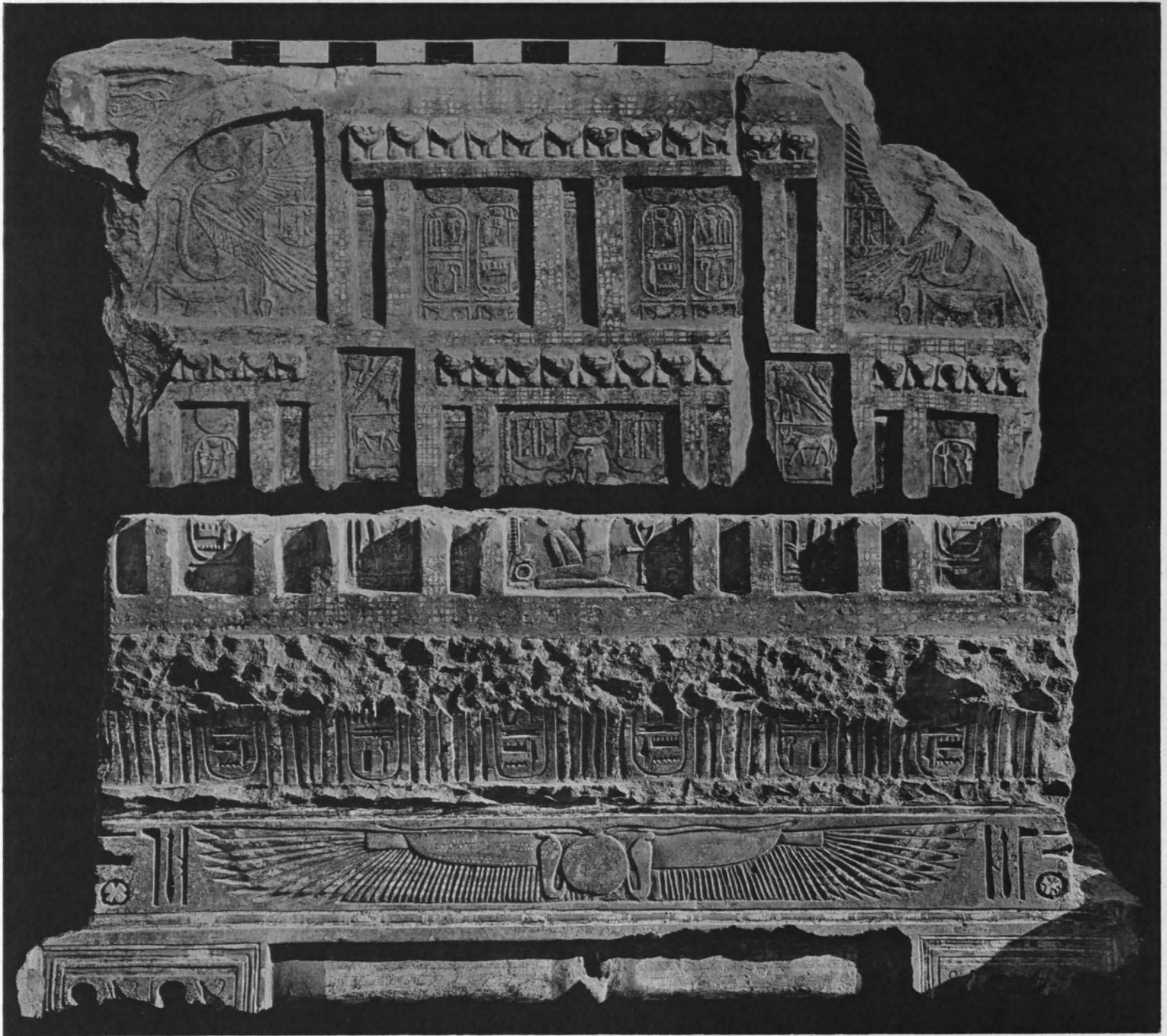
D



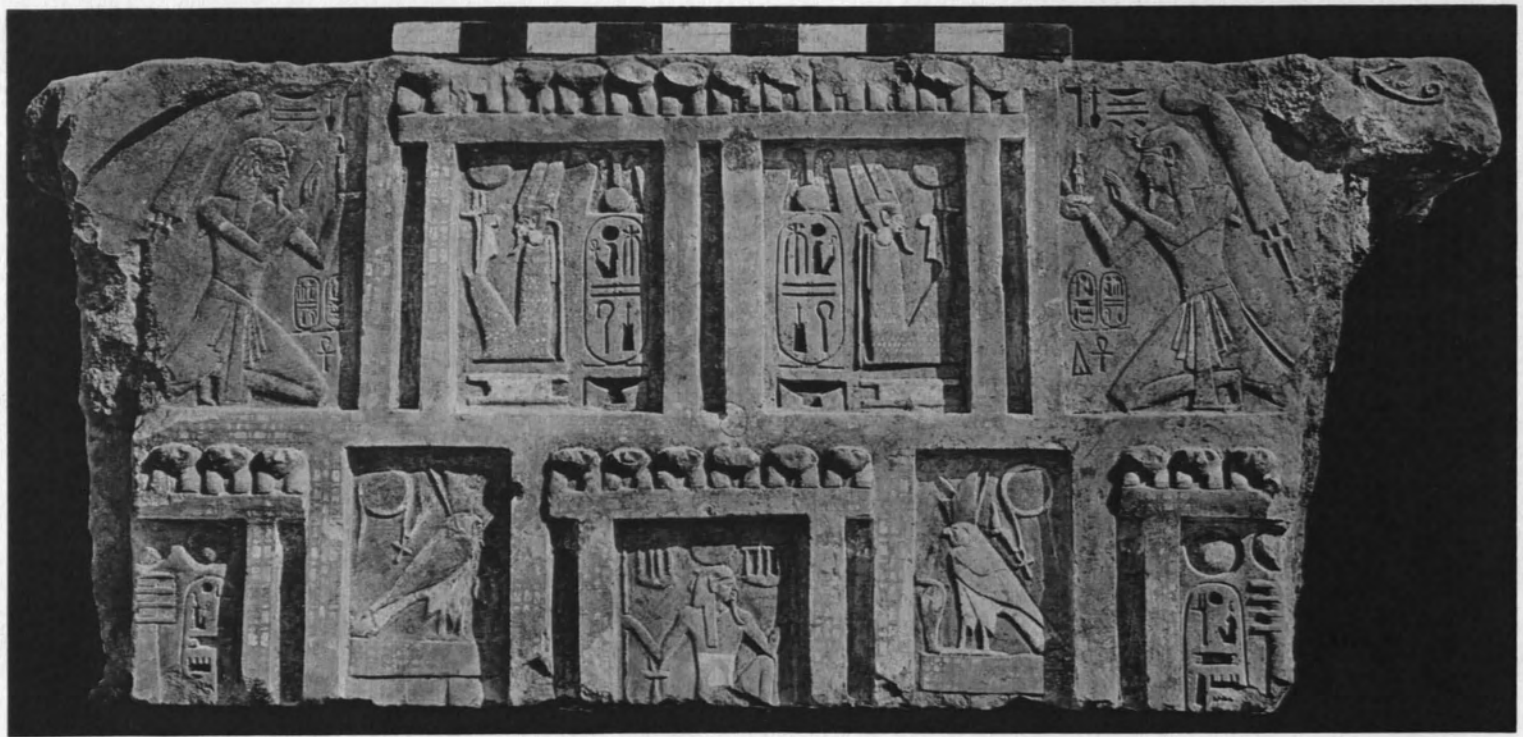
E

in the tomb of Horisese

FRAGMENTS OF DOORFRAMES. A. FOUND IN THE SECOND PALACE. B. FOUND OUTSIDE THE PALACE, PROBABLY FROM THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE. C. LINTEL FROM THE NORTH DOORWAY IN THE HAREM COURT (CF. PL. 32 A). D. FROM THE SECOND PALACE. E. JAMBS OF THE EAST DOORWAY IN THE HAREM COURT, INSCRIBED BY PANEDJEM

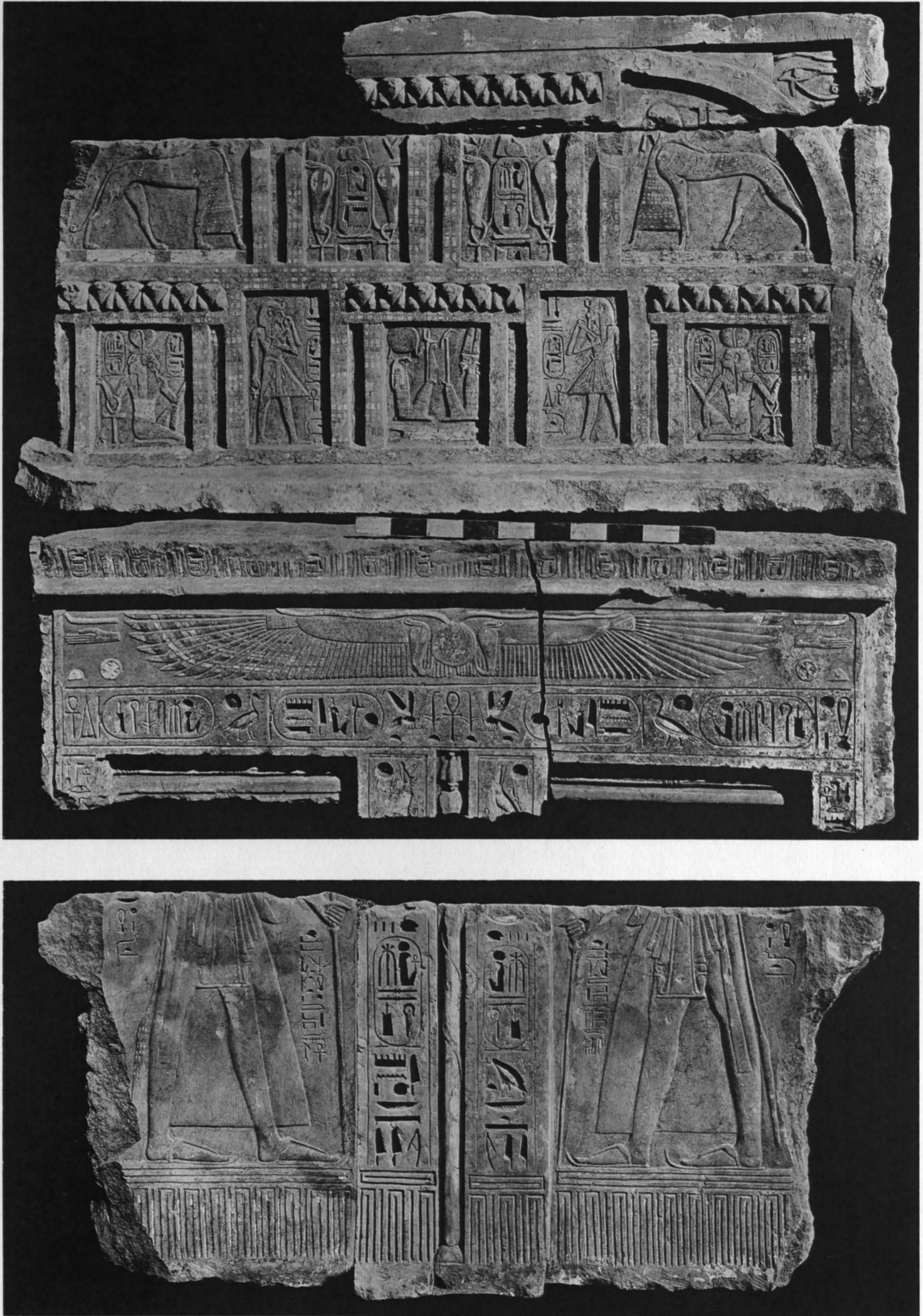


A

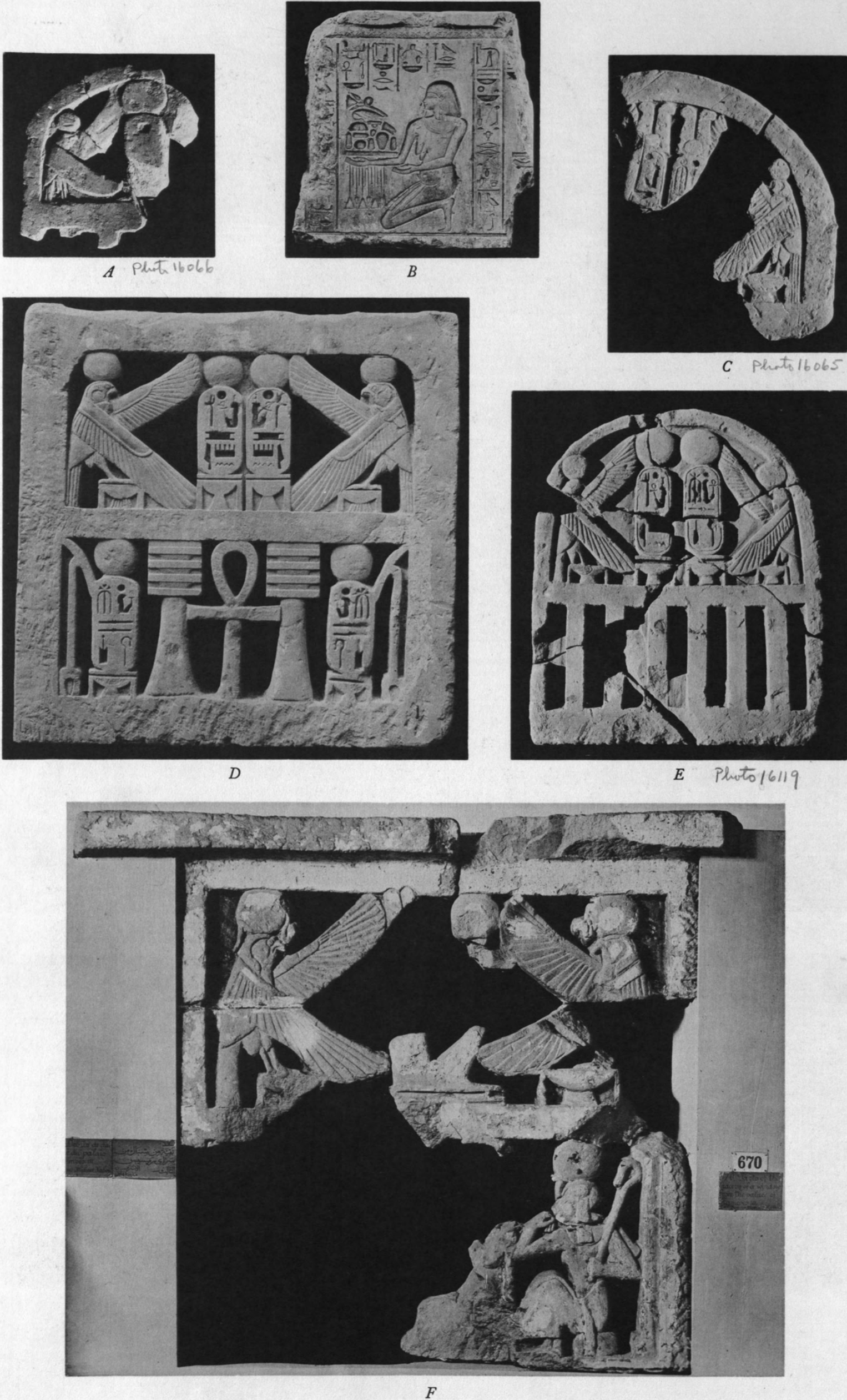


B

SUPRAPORTEN FROM THE DOORWAY BETWEEN THE GREAT COLUMNED HALL AND THE THRONEROOM OF THE FIRST PALACE (CF. FIG. 27). A. SOUTH FACE. B. NORTH FACE



THE DOUBLE FALSE DOOR IN THE THRONEROOM OF THE FIRST PALACE (CF. PL. 7 AND FIG. 28)



A Photo 16066

B

C Photo 16065

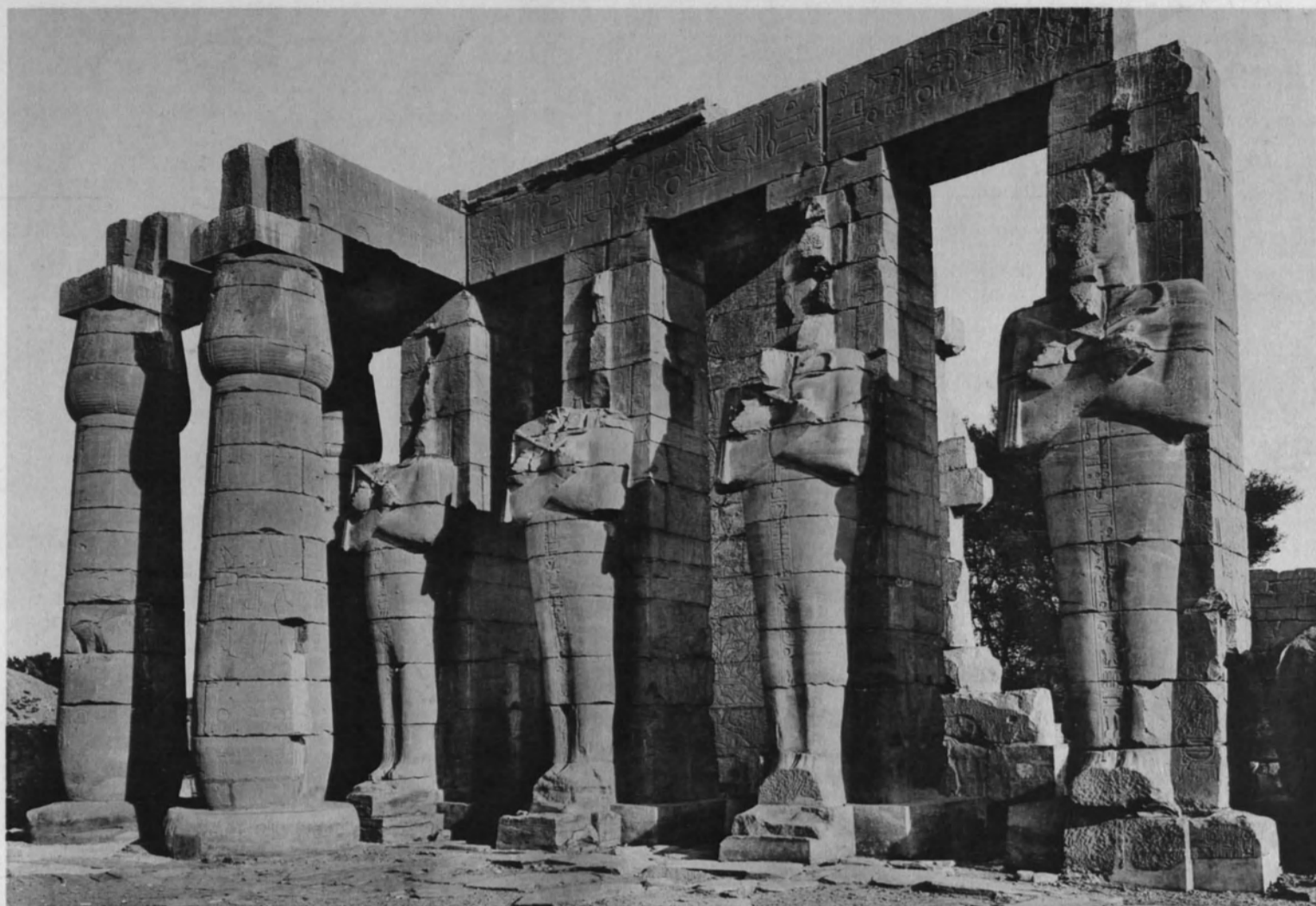
D

E Photo 16119

F

A. WINDOW FRAGMENTS FOUND IN THE PALACE. B. BASE FRAGMENT OF A LIMESTONE STATUE IN THE SECOND COURT OF THE TEMPLE. C. WINDOW FRAGMENTS FOUND IN THE PALACE. D. WINDOW FOUND IN THE PALACE BY DAVIS IN 1913. NEW YORK 14.6.332. E. FALSE WINDOW FROM THE PALACE. F. WINDOW FRAGMENTS FOUND IN THE PALACE BY DAVIS IN 1913



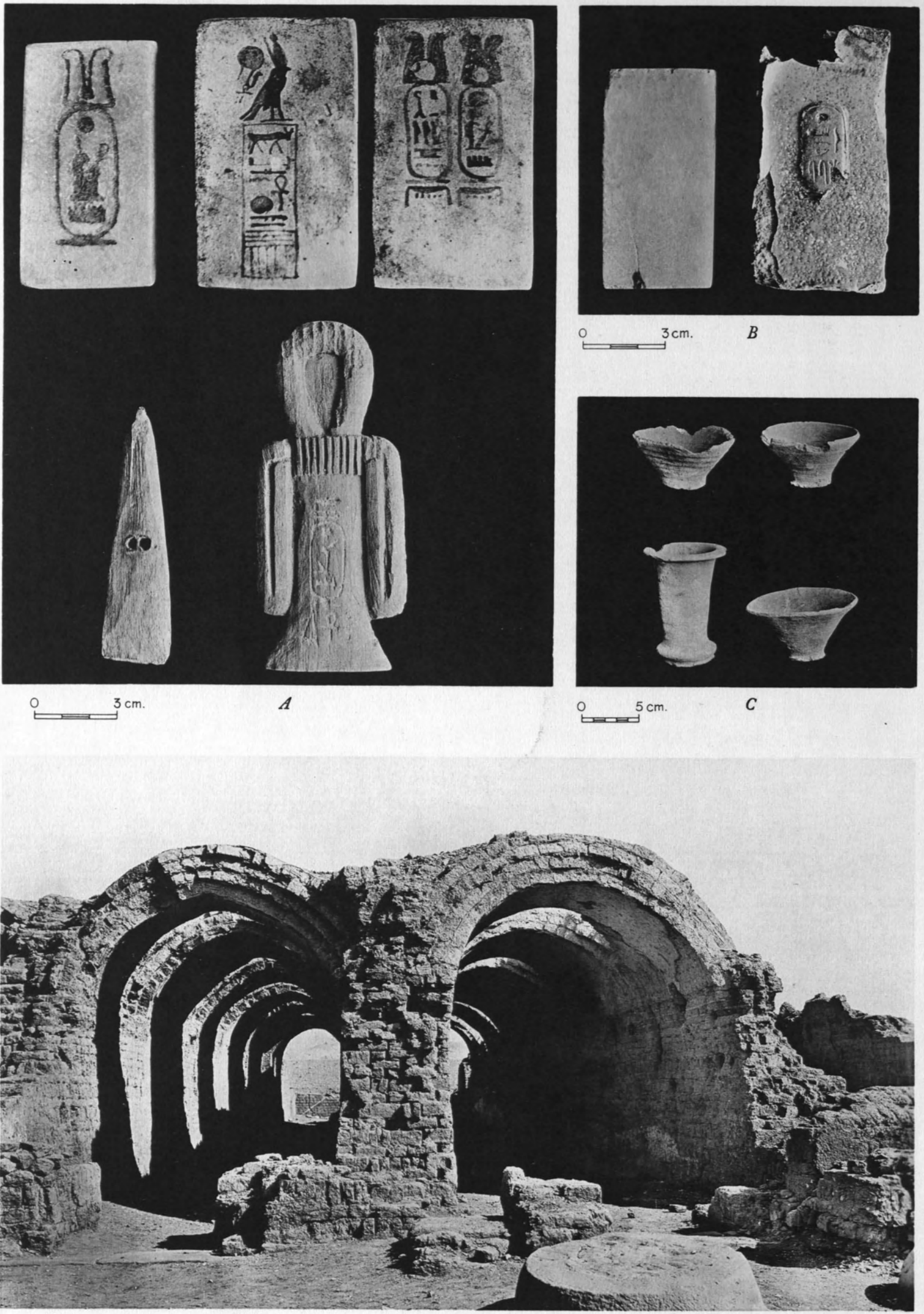


*A*



*B*

THE RAMESSEUM. *A.* THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE SECOND COURT. *B.* THE GREAT HYPOSTYLE HALL, FROM THE EAST



*A.* FOUNDATION DEPOSIT OF SETI I FROM THE SMALL DOUBLE TEMPLE BESIDE THE RAMESSEUM. *B.* FOUNDATION DEPOSIT OF RAMSES II FROM THE SMALL DOUBLE TEMPLE. *C.* POTTERY FROM DESTROYED FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF THE SMALL DOUBLE TEMPLE. *D.* VAULTED MAGAZINES OF THE RAMESSEUM