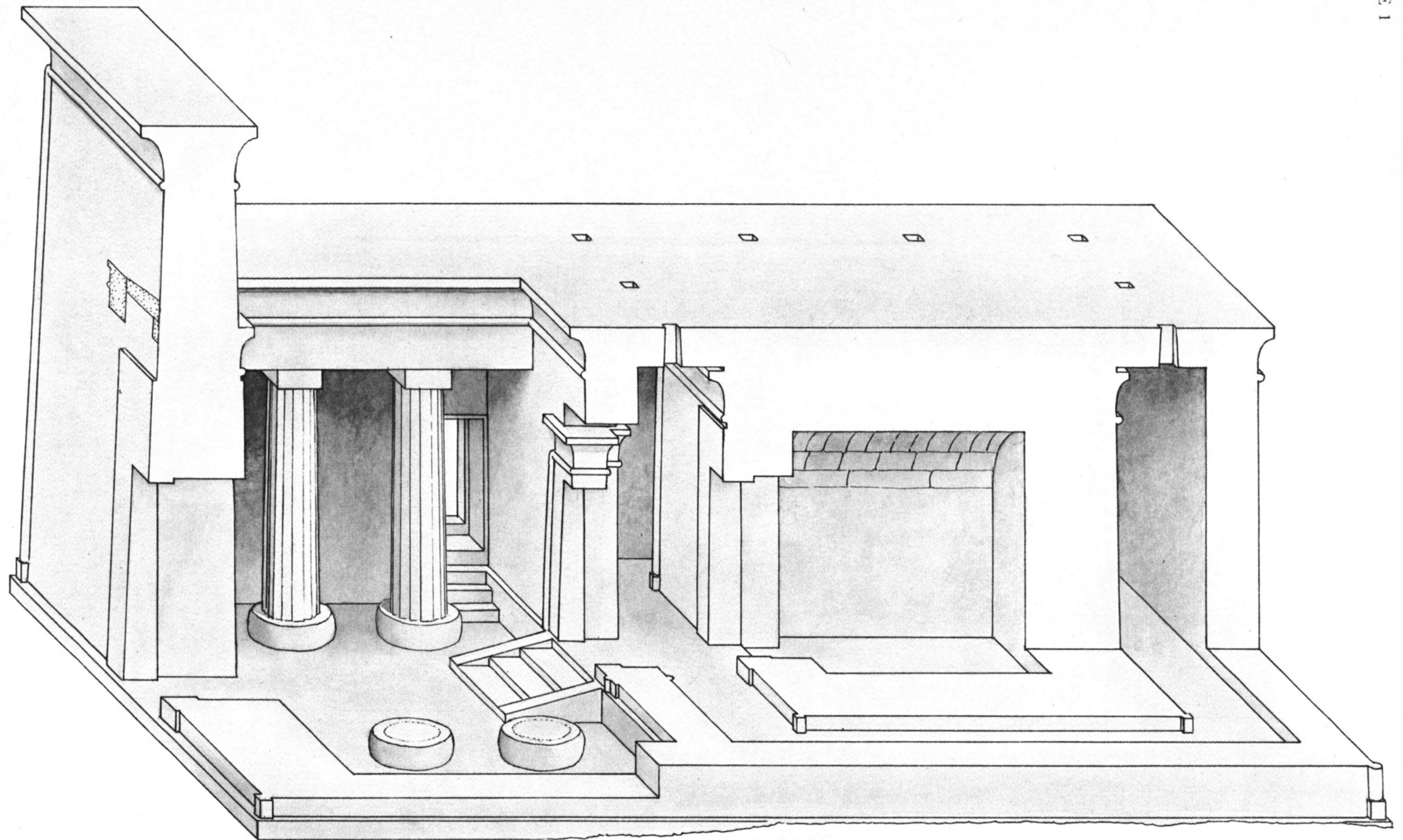


THE EXCAVATION OF MEDINET HABU—VOLUME V

POST-RAMESSID REMAINS



TOMB-CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. RECONSTRUCTION

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THE EXCAVATION OF MEDINET HABU—VOLUME V

POST-RAMESSID REMAINS

BY
UVO HÖLSCHER

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	vii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xiii
I. THE STRUCTURES	1
DESTRUCTION OF THE GREAT TEMPLE COMPLEX AT MEDINET HABU	1
TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES	3
BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY	3
CONSTRUCTION OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES	6
THE GREAT GIRDLE WALL	6
THE WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE	6
DWELLINGS	6
THE TOMB OF HORSIÈSE	8
TOMB 2	10
OBJECTS	10
OVENS	10
STOOLS	11
HEADRESTS	11
VOTIVE FIGURES	11
VOTIVE BEDS	11
FAYENCE VASE	12
POTTERY	12
TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES	14
DOMESTIC BUILDINGS	14
TOMBS	16
THE TOMB-CHAPELS OF THE DIVINE CONSORTS OF AMON	17
THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET I	18
THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS	20
THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET	23
THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF ANKHNES-NEFERIBRE ^c	28
THE STONE BARREL VAULTS	29
CATALOGUE OF THE OTHER TOMBS	30
TWENTY-SEVENTH TO THIRTIETH DYNASTIES AND PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (525-30 B.C.)	34
ROMAN PERIOD	36
GENERAL PLAN OF THE TOWN	36
DWELLINGS	37
OTHER BUILDINGS	39
LIME KILNS	40
WELLS	40
THE CEMETERY	42
THE COPTIC TOWN OF JÈME	45
STREETS	45
DWELLINGS	45
GENERAL DESCRIPTION	45
CATALOGUE	49

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHURCHES	51
THE LARGE CHURCH IN THE SECOND COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE	51
THE SMALL CHURCH IN B 7-8	55
THE SMALL CHURCH IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB	56
THE CHURCH IN THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU	57
II. THE OBJECTS	58
SMALL FIGURES FOUND IN DWELLINGS	58
ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	58
PIECES SHOWING LATE ROMAN RELIEFS	58
PILLAR	58
INSCRIBED PIECES	59
LION SCULPTURES	59
DOOR LINTELS	59
WATER-JUG STANDS	59
WINDOWS?	60
CAPITALS	60
PILASTER	60
CROWN OF PILLAR OR STELA	60
KEYSTONE	60
CONSOLES	60
HEART SCARABS	61
SEALS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS	61
STAMP SEALS	61
SEAL IMPRESSIONS	61
INSCRIBED CLAY CONES	62
METAL VESSELS	63
JEWELRY	64
METAL TOOLS	65
MISCELLANEOUS METAL OBJECTS	66
CLAY LAMPS	67
FAYENCE AND GLASS VESSELS	71
POTTERY CATALOGUE	72
POTTERY MAINLY OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.	72
POTTERY MAINLY OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM AFTER CHRIST	74
INDEX	79

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

	PAGE
1. TOMB-CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. RECONSTRUCTION	<i>Frontispiece</i>
2. TOMB-CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. RECONSTRUCTIONS	<i>facing 21</i>
3. <i>A.</i> BONE ARROWHEADS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES. <i>B.</i> RUINS OF THE WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE AND THE GREAT GIRDLE WALL, FROM THE NORTH	<i>at end</i>
4. <i>A.</i> GATEWAY IN THE WEST COURSE OF THE GREAT GIRDLE WALL, FROM THE WEST. <i>B.</i> SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE OUTER TEMPLE AREA (E 4-5) SHOWING <i>SEBAKH</i> MOUND WITH RUINS OF ROMAN HOUSES ABOVE STRATA OF THE TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES, FROM THE WEST. <i>C.</i> RUINS OF TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY HOUSES IN F 4-5, FROM THE EAST. <i>D.</i> RUINS OF TWENTY-FIRST AND TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY HOUSES IN E-F 4-5 WITH TOWER IN BACKGROUND, LOOKING SOUTHEAST	<i>at end</i>
5. <i>A.</i> HOUSE OF BUTEHAMON. <i>B.</i> THE FOUR COLUMNS IN ITS MAIN ROOM	<i>at end</i>
6. OBJECTS FROM DWELLINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES	<i>at end</i>
7. POTTERY OF THE TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES AND AN APPROXIMATELY CONTEMPORARY FAYENCE VESSEL	<i>at end</i>
8. TOMB OF HORSIËSE. <i>A.</i> VIEW FROM THE WEST DURING THE EXCAVATIONS. <i>B.</i> SARCOPHAGUS LID	<i>at end</i>
9. TOMB OF HORSIËSE. <i>A.</i> INCLINED ENTRANCE PASSAGE AS SEEN FROM THE ANTECHAMBER. <i>B.</i> VIEW OF THE ANTECHAMBER FROM THE ENTRANCE PASSAGE	<i>at end</i>
10. <i>A.</i> TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY DWELLING IN M-N 6-7, FROM THE SOUTH. <i>B.</i> SKULL OF HORSIËSE. <i>C.</i> ALABASTER CANOPIC JARS OF HORSIËSE. <i>D.</i> SARCOPHAGUS OF HENTMIRE, REUSED BY HORSIËSE	<i>at end</i>
11. TOMB-CHAPEL PRESUMABLY OF THE DIVINE CONSORT SHEPNUPET I. <i>A.</i> VIEW FROM THE SOUTHEAST. <i>B.</i> UNDERGROUND BURIAL CHAMBER PRESUMABLY OF SHEPNUPET I. <i>C.</i> ANTECHAMBER OF <i>B</i> WITH THE BURIAL OF ANKHSHEPNUPET. <i>D.</i> POTTERY MAGAZINE NORTH OF <i>B</i> AND <i>C</i> , BELONGING TO TOMB 16	<i>at end</i>
12. <i>A.</i> TOMB-CHAPELS OF AMENIRDIS AND OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET, LOOKING SOUTHWEST. <i>B.</i> COURT OF THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS, LOOKING SOUTH	<i>at end</i>
13. <i>A.</i> PYLONS OF AMENIRDIS AND SHEPNUPET II, FROM THE NORTH. <i>B-C.</i> WEST EXTERIOR WALL OF THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS, SEEN FROM THE CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET	<i>at end</i>
14. FRONT WALLS OF THE CELLAE OF NITOCRIS (<i>A</i>), SHEPNUPET II (<i>B</i>), AND MEHETNUSEKHET (<i>C</i>), FROM THE NORTH	<i>at end</i>
15. TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET. <i>A.</i> SOUTH (REAR) SIDE, LOOKING NORTH. <i>B.</i> WEST SIDE	<i>at end</i>
16. INTERIOR VIEWS OF THE CELLAE OF AMENIRDIS (<i>A</i>), NITOCRIS (<i>B</i>), AND SHEPNUPET II (<i>C</i>)	<i>at end</i>
17. RELIEFS ON THE WEST HALF OF THE FRONT WALL OF THE CELLA OF AMENIRDIS. <i>A.</i> AMENIRDIS ACCOMPANIED BY ANUBIS AND THOTH. <i>B.</i> SHEPNUPET II PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMENIRDIS	<i>at end</i>
18. <i>A.</i> SCENE IN THE PASSAGE OF THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS, SHOWING SHEPNUPET II PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMENIRDIS. <i>B-C.</i> LISTS OF OFFERINGS IN THE PASSAGE OF THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. <i>D.</i> RELIEF ON THE EAST WALL OF THE CELLA OF NITOCRIS. <i>E.</i> CULT NICHE IN THE REAR WALL OF THE CELLA OF MEHETNUSEKHET	<i>at end</i>
19. REMAINS OF ETHIOPIAN AND SAITIC TIMES. <i>A.</i> TOMBS 10-11. <i>B.</i> TOMBS 5-6. <i>C.</i> TOMB 4. <i>D.</i> TOMB 18. <i>E.</i> MODEL LOAF OF BREAD FROM TOMB 22. <i>F.</i> JAR-STOPPERS FROM TOMB 22. <i>G.</i> OSIRIS STATUE FROM THE <i>CACHETTE</i> NEAR THE SMALL TEMPLE. <i>H.</i> LIGHT GREEN FAYENCE SCARAB OF SHEPNUPET II, FOUND IN THE DOMESTIC QUARTER. <i>I.</i> GREEN FAYENCE PLAQUE WITH SACRED EYE ON ONE SIDE AND CARTOUCHE OF AMENIRDIS ON THE OTHER, FOUND IN THE DOMESTIC QUARTER	<i>at end</i>
20. <i>A.</i> OBJECTS FROM THE PIT UNDER THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. <i>B-C.</i> SCHIST STATUE OF SHEPNUPET II. <i>D.</i> ALABASTER LIDS OF CANOPIC JARS, BELONGING PRESUMABLY TO A DIVINE CONSORT. <i>E-F.</i> BLACK GRANITE BOX WITH NAME AND TITLE OF SHEPNUPET II, PRESUMABLY FROM HER TOMB	<i>at end</i>
21. SERPENTINE AND FAYENCE USHABTIU OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH AND TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES BELONGING TO AMENIRDIS (<i>A</i>), DIËSE-HEBSED (<i>B-C</i>), SHEPNUPET II (<i>D-E, G-H</i>), NITOCRIS (<i>F</i>), NEITH (<i>I</i>), AND ANKHAMENIRDIS (<i>J-K</i>)	<i>at end</i>
22. OBJECTS FROM TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY TOMBS. <i>A.</i> ALABASTER CANOPIC JARS OF ANKHSHEPNUPET. <i>B.</i> BREAST SCARAB AND FIGURES OF THE FOUR SONS OF HORUS FROM TOMB 18a. <i>C.</i> ALABASTER CANOPIC JARS OF DISNUB. <i>D.</i> ALABASTER CANOPIC JAR OF MONTUMEHSU. <i>E.</i> ENLARGED VIEW OF ONE OF THE CANOPIC JARS OF DISNUB. <i>F-G.</i> ALABASTER CANOPIC JARS OF ANKHAMENIRDIS FROM TOMB 24	<i>at end</i>

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
23. <i>A-B</i> . WEST JAMB OF THE GATE OF TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS GERMANICUS, FROM THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH RESPECTIVELY. <i>C</i> . LION OF NECTANEBO I IN FRONT OF THE EAST JAMB OF TIBERIUS' GATE. <i>D</i> . ROMAN DWELLINGS IN A-C 3-8, LOOKING SOUTHEAST	at end
24. <i>A</i> . ROMAN DWELLINGS IN A-C 3, LOOKING WEST. <i>B</i> . CHILD'S VAULTED TOMB OF THE TWENTY-FIRST OR TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY IN THE WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE. <i>C</i> . MUMMY LABELS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD. <i>D</i> . STORAGE CELLAR IN N 6, TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY. <i>E</i> . PLASTERED INDENTATIONS IN A WALL OF A ROMAN HOUSE IN B 6, LOOKING EAST	at end
25. PRIVATE BATHROOMS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD. <i>A-B</i> . BATH BELONGING TO A HOUSE IN B 5. <i>C</i> . HEATING PIPES IN THE BATHROOM OF A HOUSE IN B 3	at end
26. ROMAN WATER CONDUITS, ORIGINALLY UNDERGROUND, LOOKING WEST (<i>A</i>) AND NORTH (<i>B</i>)	at end
27. LATE ROMAN CEMETERY IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB. <i>A</i> . ENTRANCE SHAFT OF DOMED TOMB NO. 55 FILLED WITH EMPTY AMPHORAE. <i>B</i> . MUMMY FROM COFFIN SHOWN AT RIGHT IN PLATE 28 <i>B</i> . <i>C-D</i> . BAKED-CLAY COFFIN CONTAINING MUMMY	at end
28. LATE ROMAN CEMETERY IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB. <i>A</i> . MASK OF MUMMY FOUND IN COFFIN SHOWN AT RIGHT IN <i>B</i> . <i>B</i> . CLAY COFFINS. <i>C</i> . PEDESTAL, APPARENTLY OF AN ALTAR. <i>D</i> . DOMED TOMB WITH MUMMIES STILL IN PLACE. <i>E</i> . TOMB VAULT. <i>F</i> . GROUP OF DOMED TOMBS	at end
29. COPTIC RESIDENTIAL QUARTER. <i>A</i> . NORTHWESTERN SECTION OF THE TOWN OF JÊME. <i>B-C</i> . GROUPS OF HOUSES, FROM THE SOUTH	at end
30. COPTIC HOUSE 77. <i>A</i> . FIRST FLOOR, FROM THE WEST. <i>B</i> . STAIRWAY, FROM THE SOUTH	at end
31. DETAILS OF COPTIC HOUSES. <i>A</i> . HOUSES 77-78, FROM THE EAST. <i>B</i> . SOCLE OF WATER-JUG NICHE IN HOUSE 3. <i>C</i> . WATER-JUG STAND CUT INTO THE CAPITAL OF A COLUMN IN THE FIRST COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE. <i>D</i> . COMPLETE WATER-JUG NICHE WITH SOCLE IN HOUSE 102	at end
32. GREAT TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST. <i>A</i> . NORTH COLONNADE OF THE FIRST COURT WITH REMAINS OF COPTIC HOUSES. <i>B</i> . WEST SIDE OF THE SECOND COURT WITH REMAINS OF COPTIC CHURCH	at end
33. GREAT TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST. <i>A</i> . SOUTH COLONNADE OF THE SECOND COURT WITH REMAINS OF COPTIC CHURCH. <i>B</i> . NORTH COLONNADE OF THE SECOND COURT WITH APSE OF COPTIC CHURCH	at end
34. <i>A-F</i> . SMALL FIGURES FROM DWELLINGS. <i>G-K</i> . LATE ROMAN RELIEFS. <i>L-N</i> . LION SCULPTURES	at end
35. <i>A</i> . HEART SCARABS. <i>B</i> . STAMP SEALS. <i>C</i> . INSCRIBED CLAY CONE. <i>D</i> . GREEK SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON AMPHORA HANDLES	at end
36. <i>A</i> . ORNAMENTED DOOR LINTELS FROM COPTIC HOUSES. <i>B</i> . WATER-JUG STANDS FROM COPTIC HOUSES	at end
37. ORNAMENTED ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS	at end
38. ROMAN AND COPTIC METAL OBJECTS	at end
39. <i>A</i> . JEWELRY. <i>B</i> . METAL TOOLS	at end
40. CLAY LAMPS, FAYENCE AND GLASS VESSELS	at end
41. COPTIC HOUSES 3-4 AND 8. PLANS AND SECTIONS	at end
42. COPTIC HOUSES 10 AND 45, 41 AND 92. PLANS AND SECTIONS	at end
43. <i>A</i> . COPTIC HOUSES 77-78. <i>B</i> . COPTIC HOUSE 101. PLANS AND SECTIONS. <i>C</i> . WATER-JUG NICHE IN HOUSE 102	at end
44. COPTIC HOUSES BUILT INTO THE REAR PART OF THE GREAT TEMPLE. SECTION, PLAN, AND ELEVATION	at end
45. LARGE COPTIC CHURCH BUILT INTO THE SECOND COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE	at end
46. SMALL COPTIC CHURCH OUTSIDE THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE	at end
47. POTTERY MAINLY OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.	at end
48. POTTERY MAINLY OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM AFTER CHRIST	at end

TEXT FIGURES

1. TOWER AND SMALL GATEWAY IN THE WEST COURSE OF THE GREAT GIRDLE WALL	3
2. WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE DURING THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY	4
3. HOUSE OF BUTEHAMON, TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY	5
4. HOUSE OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY	6
5. HOUSES OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES	7
6. HOUSES OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTIES	7

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	ix
	PAGE
7. SMALL HOUSES OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES	8
8. TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY DWELLING BUILT ON THE SITE OF THE POMOERIUM	8
9. TOMB OF HORSIËSE. GROUND PLAN AND SECTION	9
10. OVEN OF ANGULAR FORM, TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY	11
11. OVEN OF ROUNDED FORM, TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY	11
12. VOTIVE FIGURES OF CLAY REPRESENTING A WOMAN AND A CHILD ON A BED	11
13. VOTIVE BED OF CLAY	11
14. VOTIVE BED OF CLAY RECONSTRUCTED FROM FRAGMENTS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS	12
15. FRAGMENT OF LARGE STORAGE VESSEL OF CLAY WITH PAINTED DECORATION	12
16. WIDE-BELLIED CLAY POT WITH FOUR PROTUBERANCES	13
17. CLAY CRUCIBLE(?)	13
18. CLAY JAR REPRESENTING A FEMALE FIGURE	13
19. SMALL DWELLINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES	14
20. LARGE STRUCTURES SOUTH OF THE GREAT TEMPLE, TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES	15
21. TOMB OF THE "SONGSTRESS OF AMON, NESTER," BUILT BETWEEN FOUNDATION WALLS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE, TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY	17
22. TOMB-CHAPELS OF THE DIVINE CONSORTS OF AMON. GENERAL PLAN	18
23. TOMB-CHAPEL PRESUMABLY OF SHEPNUPET I. <i>A</i> . GROUND FLOOR. <i>B</i> . UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS	19
24. TOMB-CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS, AS FOUND	21
25. TOMB-CHAPEL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM AT ANIBA IN LOWER NUBIA	22
26. FRAGMENT OF LIMESTONE OFFERING-TABLE OF AMENIRDIS	23
27. FRAGMENTS OF BRONZE BEDSTEAD FROM THE PIT BENEATH THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS	24
28. TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET	25
29. TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET. <i>A</i> . AS PROBABLY ORIGINALLY PLANNED BY SHEPNUPET II. <i>B</i> . AFTER ADDITION OF THE CELLA OF NITOCRIS. <i>C</i> . AFTER ADDITION OF THE CELLA OF MEHETNUSEKHET.	26
30. REAR FACE OF THE PYLON OF SHEPNUPET II, SHOWING WHERE WOODEN CORNICES ONCE ADJOINED	27
31. BLACK GRANITE OFFERING-TABLE OF SHEPNUPET II	28
32. BLACK GRANITE STATUETTE OF THE "HIGH STEWARD OF THE DIVINE CONSORT, AKHAMONEROW"	29
33. BLACK GRANITE STATUETTE OF A "SONGSTRESS OF AMON"	29
34. BURIAL CHAMBER OF TOMB 17, PRESUMABLY OF SHEPNUPET I, WITH THE EARLIEST KNOWN GENUINE STONE VAULT. SECTIONS	30
35. STRUCTURAL DETAILS OF THE VAULTS IN THE CELLAE OF AMENIRDIS, SHEPNUPET II, AND NITOCRIS	30
36. SKELETON OF PET MONKEY FROM TOMB 5	31
37. WELL OF NECTANEBO II IN H-I 12-13, AS FOUND	35
38. BATHROOM OF A HOUSE IN B 3, WITH HEATING CHANNELS UNDER THE FLOOR	37
39. BATHROOM OF HOUSE IN B 3, SHOWING HEATING CHANNELS AND TOILET	38
40. BATHROOM OF A HOUSE IN B 5, WITH STOVE IN FOREGROUND	38
41. HEATING PIPES AND HOLLOW BRICKS USED IN THE BATHROOM IN B 3	38
42. HOUSES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD	39
43. REMAINS OF ROMAN DWELLINGS IN THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE TEMPLE AREA	39
44. LIME KILN. GROUND PLAN AND SECTION	40
45. STRUCTURAL DETAILS OF ROMAN WATER CONDUITS <i>A</i> AND <i>B</i>	41
46. CONDUIT <i>A</i> BETWEEN THE FOUNDATION WALLS OF THE GATE OF DOMITIAN	41
47. LATE ROMAN WATER CONDUIT <i>E</i> CROSSING OVER CONDUIT <i>B</i>	41
48. DISCHARGE OF LATE ROMAN CONDUIT <i>C</i> INTO CONDUIT <i>B</i>	42
49. ROMAN WELL IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB	42
50. DOMED TOMB OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST. SECTION	42
51. STONE TOPS OF ALTARS, FOUND IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB	43
52. COPTIC HOUSE 112. PLANS AND SECTIONS	46
53. COPTIC HOUSE 53. PLAN AND SECTIONS	47

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	PAGE
54. DETAILS OF COPTIC HOUSES	47
55. SKETCH OF THE FIRST COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE FILLED WITH COPTIC DWELLINGS. SECTION SEEN FROM THE WEST. RECONSTRUCTION	48
56. COPTIC HOUSE <i>a</i> IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB. GROUND PLAN, SECTIONS, AND DETAILS	51
57. LARGE COPTIC CHURCH IN THE SECOND COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE. GROUND PLAN AS RECONSTRUCTED BY MONNERET DE VILLARD	53
58. WELL AND BAPTISMAL FONT IN THE LARGE COPTIC CHURCH	54
59. SMALL COPTIC CHURCH OUTSIDE THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE (IN B 7-8). GROUND PLAN	55
60. SMALL COPTIC CHURCH IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB. GROUND PLAN	56
61. COPTIC GRAVE WITH HEADREST	57
62. PILLAR OF UNKNOWN PURPOSE. DRAWING	58
63. PILLAR OF UNKNOWN PURPOSE. PHOTOGRAPH	59
64. COPTIC TOMBSTONE	59
65. STONE WINDOW(?) OF THE ROMAN PERIOD	60
66. IRON STAMP SEAL OF THE "HOUSE OF AMON"	61
67. FAYENCE STAMP SEAL	61
68. COPTIC SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON MUD JAR-STOPPERS	62
69. CONE OF MENTUEMHET	62
70. COPPER OR BRONZE BOWLS	63
71. HANDLE OF BRONZE BOWL	63
72. COPPER OR BRONZE BOTTLE	63
73. COPPER OR BRONZE BOTTLE	63
74. COPPER OR BRONZE GOBLET	64
75. BRONZE AND IRON LADLE HANDLES OF ADJUSTABLE LENGTH	64
76. COPTIC BRACELETS OF SILVER	64
77. BRONZE AX BLADE	65
78. BRONZE AND IRON HATCHET BLADES	65
79. IRON KNIFE BLADE	65
80. COPTIC TOOLS	65
81. ROMAN SPEAR POINT OF BRONZE	66
82. COPTIC BRIDLE OF IRON PLATED WITH BRASS	66
83. COPTIC SNAFFLE BIT OF IRON	67
84. BRONZE FRAGMENT COMPOSED OF SUN DISKS AND URAEI	67
85. COPPER OR BRONZE MFASURFS	67
86. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP I	67
87. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP II	68
88. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP III	68
89. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP IV	68
90. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP V	69
91. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP VI	69
92. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP VII	69
93. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP VIII	70
94. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP IX	70
95. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP X	70
96. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP XI	71
97. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP XII	71
98. POTTERS' MARKS ON CLAY LAMPS	71
99. BOWL OF GRAYISH-RED CLAY	74

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS		xi
		PAGE
100. GROUP OF LATE ROMAN TO COPTIC CLAY VESSELS FOUND IN A LARGE GRAIN BIN OF UNBAKED CLAY		74
101. FRAGMENT OF COPTIC IMITATION TERRA SIGILLATA PLATE		77
102. HANDMADE CLAY JAR OF THE COPTIC PERIOD		77
103. CLAY CENSER		78
104. CLAY CENSER		78
105. DOUBLE BASIN OF CLAY WITH COPTIC INSCRIPTION		78
106. CLAY VESSEL OF UNKNOWN PURPOSE		78

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>ASAE</i>	Egypt. Service des Antiquités. Annales (Le Caire, 1900—).
<i>BAR</i>	BREASTED, JAMES HENRY. Ancient records of Egypt (5 vols.; Chicago, 1906–7).
<i>JEA</i>	Journal of Egyptian archaeology (London, 1914—).
<i>JNES</i>	Journal of Near Eastern studies (Chicago, 1942—).
<i>LD</i>	LEPSIUS, RICHARD. Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien (Berlin, 1849–1913).
<i>MDIAA</i>	Deutsches Institut für ägyptische Altertumskunde, <i>Cairo</i> . Mitteilungen (Berlin etc., 1930—).
<i>OIC</i>	Chicago. University. The Oriental Institute. Oriental Institute communications (Chicago, 1922—).
Porter and Moss, <i>Topographical Bibliography</i>	PORTER, BERTHA, and MOSS, ROSALIND B. Topographical bibliography of ancient Egyptian hieroglyphic texts, reliefs, and paintings (Oxford, 1927—).
<i>RT</i>	Recueil de travaux à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes (Paris, 1870–1923).

I

THE STRUCTURES

DESTRUCTION OF THE GREAT TEMPLE COMPLEX
AT MEDINET HABU

AT THE death of Ramses III (1167 B.C.) the construction of the temple complex as we have become acquainted with it in Volumes III–IV was almost completed. Only certain parts of the high gates and of the Outer Wall, as well as some buildings in the outer temple area, lacked finishing touches. Ramses IV and Ramses VI were, like their successors, as far as we can tell, not in position to erect temples of their own. Hence they used the great temple of their predecessor Ramses III and merely affixed their own names and titles in conspicuous places, for example on the Eastern Fortified Gate, on the Great Pylon, and on the column bases in the first court. But we found only slight traces of actual construction which took place during their reigns.¹

As to the significance of Medinet Habu in the late Ramessid period, it seems that it was the seat of administration for the Theban necropolis² and that probably it housed a garrison of military police who supervised the necropolis.³ Hence Medinet Habu was the center of events which illustrate the decline of royal power and economic collapse. In the twenty-ninth year of the reign of Ramses III, that is, shortly before his death, a report on labor unrest which had broken out in the necropolis was given for the first time. And in the following decade such manifestations of growing economic and social distress recurred at ever shorter intervals and in ever bolder form.⁴ Under Ramses IX there were complaints concerning the robbing of most of the royal tombs, whereby the breaking-up of the old order can be discerned.⁵ The most serious indica-

tions of the decline of royal authority, however, were a palace revolution against the aging Ramses III,⁶ then a revolution of the high priest Amenhotep against Ramses IX,⁷ and finally the revolt of Lower Egypt under Smendis of Tanis. So the moment came when the high priest Herihor could push aside the last of the Ramessid kings, Ramses XII, and himself take over the rule of Upper Egypt (1090 B.C.).

It is possible that one of these empire-shattering events was catastrophic for Medinet Habu also and led to the destruction of the fortifications of the temple complex, for, as we shall see below, disturbance occurred at Medinet Habu toward the end of the Ramessid period. The ruins of the Western Fortified Gate illustrate this most clearly.

When Ramses III died, the Western Fortified Gate was not yet completed; the reliefs on the outside had not been painted, and no reliefs had been carved on the walls of many rooms inside. Under Ramses IX, representations of entirely different character from the original harem scenes, namely the king in acts of the cult,⁸ were drawn in outline on the unadorned lime-plastered walls. However, the sketched representations were never carved in relief, nor was the painting completed. In fact, somewhat later all sorts of inscriptions,⁹ especially prayers, were written on the walls, as can be seen from some of the fallen stone blocks. Since these dipinti and their white backgrounds showed practically no dirt, it may be assumed that the rooms of the west gate were used only for a short time after the writing of the dipinti and hence that the destruction of the gate took place at the end of the Twentieth or the beginning of the Twenty-first Dynasty.

The Great Girdle Wall apparently suffered damage at the same time as the Western Fortified Gate. We have definite proof of this at the west only, where the wall was razed to a height of 3–4 meters above the ground.¹⁰ On the other sides, the wall may have been left standing to a

1. See Vol. IV 5 and 19.


2. Hence it seems obvious that some of the most famous papyri of this period were kept at Medinet Habu and apparently found there or in the vicinity by natives, e.g. reports of the palace revolution under Ramses III, of the robberies of the royal tombs, of the labor unrest in western Thebes, etc. Possibly Papyrus Harris I, which contains a record of Ramses III's benefactions to the gods (cf. Vol. III 2 f.), also was stored at Medinet Habu. Though it was found in a cliff tomb near Deir el-Medinah along with four other rolls (see *BAR* IV 87, n. b), no doubt it was prepared for and originally deposited in the tomb of Ramses III. But after the tomb was plundered and the royal mummy reburied by Butehamon (see p. 5 below), presumably the papyrus was kept at the seat of administration, where Butehamon lived, i.e., at Medinet Habu.

3. Perhaps the buildings in the outer temple area had already been designated by Ramses III for such secular purposes. Concerning the military police see T. Eric Peet, *The Great Tomb-Robberies of the Twentieth Egyptian Dynasty* (Oxford, 1930), where (on p. 59) a "scribe of the army of the temple of Ramesses III" is mentioned. The distribution of spelt "to every man of every house within the fortifications of the temple of Usimarē Miamūn' (Ramesses III)" is referred to *ibid.* p. 55.

4. See Wilhelm Spiegelberg, *Arbeiter und Arbeiterbewegung im Pharaonenreich unter den Ramessiden* (Strassburg, 1895); cf. Peet, *op. cit.* p. 12.

5. See *BAR* IV, §§ 499–556, and Peet, *op. cit.*

6. See *BAR* IV, §§ 416–56.

7. See Peet, "The supposed revolution of the high-priest Amenhotpe under Ramesses IX" (*JEA* XII [1926] 254–59). According to texts discussed here foreigners seized possession of a temple and carried off workmen (see p. 256); also there were foreigners in the town of  (*sic*), who a few days later went down to the west of Thebes (see p. 258).

8. See Vol. IV, Pl. 26 D and p. 9.

9. Kindly examined by Jaroslav Černý and dated to the latter half of the 20th dyn.

10. See Vol. IV, Pl. 41 and p. 1.

somewhat greater height in places; a short section of the east course (in D 5) was preserved to a height of 15.20 m. above our datum, that is, to almost its full original height.

Most of the buildings of the outer temple area, except for the Small Temple of Amon *dšr-š.t*, must have been destroyed along with the Great Girdle Wall, since we found that by the Twenty-first Dynasty this whole area contained new and different structures. On the other hand,

the Inner Inclosure Wall and all the buildings within it, as far as we can tell, apparently remained undamaged. It would seem, therefore, as though only the actual fortifications and the secular buildings, but not the cult buildings and their magazines, which lay within the inner defenses, were the objectives of the attackers. Hence we venture to conclude that the cult was continued in the Great Temple, though perhaps in a limited manner.

TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES

Because of the extensive destruction it was often impossible to distinguish buildings of the Twenty-first Dynasty from those of the Twenty-second to Twenty-fourth dynasties. On the chronological plans in Volume I we have indicated three phases of the period represented by the

Twenty-first to Twenty-fourth dynasties by means of three colors (light blue, dark blue, and dark green), but only relative dating is implied. Likewise the objects found in these strata, including pottery, can in very few cases be attributed to specific dynasties.

BUILDING ACTIVITIES OF THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY

Interest in Medinet Habu was first revived under the high priest Panedjem I, son of Pi'ankh, who later through his marriage to a Tanite princess gained control of the whole of Egypt. Our first evidence of his building activities is a double door which he constructed in the Great Pylon of the temple.¹¹ In the accompanying inscription, in which he boasts of the "restoration," he calls himself not "king" but only "high priest of Amon-Re king of the gods, overseer of works on all construction of Amon in Thebes, organizer of the processions of all gods, commander-in-chief of the army which pacifies the Two Lands."¹² Aside from this door there are no restorations in the temple which we can attribute with certainty to Panedjem. The Small Temple bears on three sides just above the socle a restoration inscription of Panedjem I,¹³ but the building remains do not corroborate it. Finally, in the harem court of the Second Palace and near by we found doorjamb inscriptions of Panedjem,¹⁴ from which it is to be assumed that he restored the palace.

Though these activities were modest in extent, there were more important constructions in the outer temple area which, though they did not actually bear Panedjem's name, presumably were accomplished during his reign. The first was the restoration of the Great Girdle Wall, to be sure in less substantial form than before. The west course of the new wall, which was built on the remains of the old, was 2.80–2.90 m. thick in the south half and 2.17 m. thick in the north half (light blue in Folio Pl. 15¹⁵). We do not know how high it was. It consisted of smaller bricks (36 × 18 × 10 cm.) interspersed with some larger bricks (42 × 20 × 12 cm.) which were salvaged from the debris of Ramses III's wall. A tower which measured about 9.00 × 7.60 m. at the base was built on the rounded southwest corner. A wooden beam (24 cm. in diameter and 2.25 m. long) was placed diagonally within it for strengthening the masonry. Since the northwest corner of the wall showed a considerable thickening (3.60 m.), we have ventured to reconstruct another tower, though considerably less substantial. Not far from the northwest corner of the new wall (in T–U 12) was a small gateway (Fig. 1) whose sill lay about 5.40 m. above the ground out-

side (11.92 m. above our datum). Originally, however, the sill lay about 1.20 m. lower (see p. 36) or a little over 4 meters above the ground, so that the approach from outside ascended on the heap of debris extending in front of the gate.¹⁶ There probably had been a mass of rubbish of the same height inside. But after it was cleared away, there was a difference of 4.20 m. in height between the gateway and the ground inside (*ca.* + 6.50 m.), which had to be overcome in some way unknown to us, perhaps by means of steps. The opening of the gateway itself measured only 0.95 × 2.00 m. Since its stone frame (Pl. 4 A) bears the names and titulary of Ramses III in deep-cut hieroglyphs, it belonged originally to one of the destroyed Ramessid buildings of Medinet Habu. An almost square tower was built to the south of the gate for its protection. Within

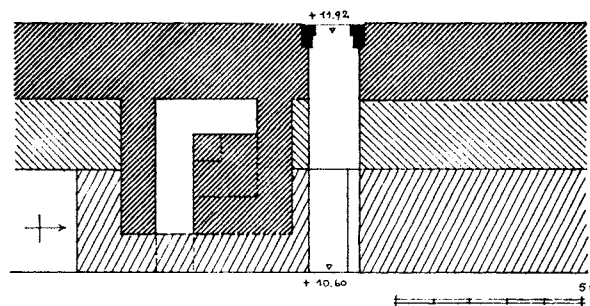


FIG. 1. TOWER AND SMALL GATEWAY IN THE WEST COURSE OF THE GREAT GIRDLE WALL. SCALE, 1:200

it was a passage with a right-angled turn (0.95 and 1.04 m. wide) which obviously had contained a staircase. The latter we imagine as winding in four flights around a square core.

The Western Fortified Gate apparently still served as the main entrance to the outer temple area. It therefore could not have been completely destroyed. Indeed, there were various indications that only its uppermost parts were demolished and carried away. But its southern part (Fig. 2), which originally had served as a side entrance and presumably as a stair well,¹⁷ was not in use at this time. In fact, the doorway in its east side was blocked from the outside by a sturdy sloping brick wall (brick size: 41 × 20 × 11 cm.) which extended along the entire east side of the west gate and left only the main gate passage open. The interior, after removal of the assumed staircase, was adapted for funerary purposes. The lateral court was re-

11. See Vol. III 5.

12. Georges Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou* (Le Caire, 1897) p. 75.

13. See Vol. II 8, 43, and 52; also LD III 251 d–g and Text III 163 f.

14. See Vol. III 53–55.

15. The plates of Vol. I are referred to regularly as "Folio" plates.

16. See Vol. IV, Pl. 41, Section 2.

17. See *ibid.* pp. 8–9 and Fig. 6.

modeled into a roofed room by closing it off from the main court with a brick wall 78 cm. thick (brick size: $38 \times 18 \times 10$ –11 cm.). This room was divided by a row of pillars and had two narrow wings at the front. The floor (+7.44 m.) was of thin stone slabs laid on a thick layer of debris. The side gateway was closed off by a brick wall with a door 1.15 m. wide (sill at +7.41 m.) and formed a niche at the south end of the pillared hall. Its floor was of similar slabs. Thence was reached the large room (7.25×14.00 m.) which we assumed was originally a stair well. It should be noted that the sloping mud-brick socle at the west end of the room (s in Fig. 2) was cut away at the time of these alterations, if not before. Under the floor of the assumed stair well we found several barrel-vaulted tombs, some of

downfall of the Twentieth Dynasty the chapel of Paser, as well as the neighboring ones, suffered damage at the same time as the Western Fortified Gate and the Great Girdle Wall and in the course of the Twenty-first Dynasty was robbed of its stone blocks.²¹

In the outer temple area very little was preserved of the buildings of Ramses III and of the long walls which served to support his elevated roads and terraces²² and to form inclosures. The entire area was covered with new structures,²³ whose builders showed little regard for earlier walls but rather cut through them arbitrarily. In the western part of the area there were mostly dwellings and farms with spacious courts, stables, and storehouses. In the eastern part, on the other hand, there were predominantly

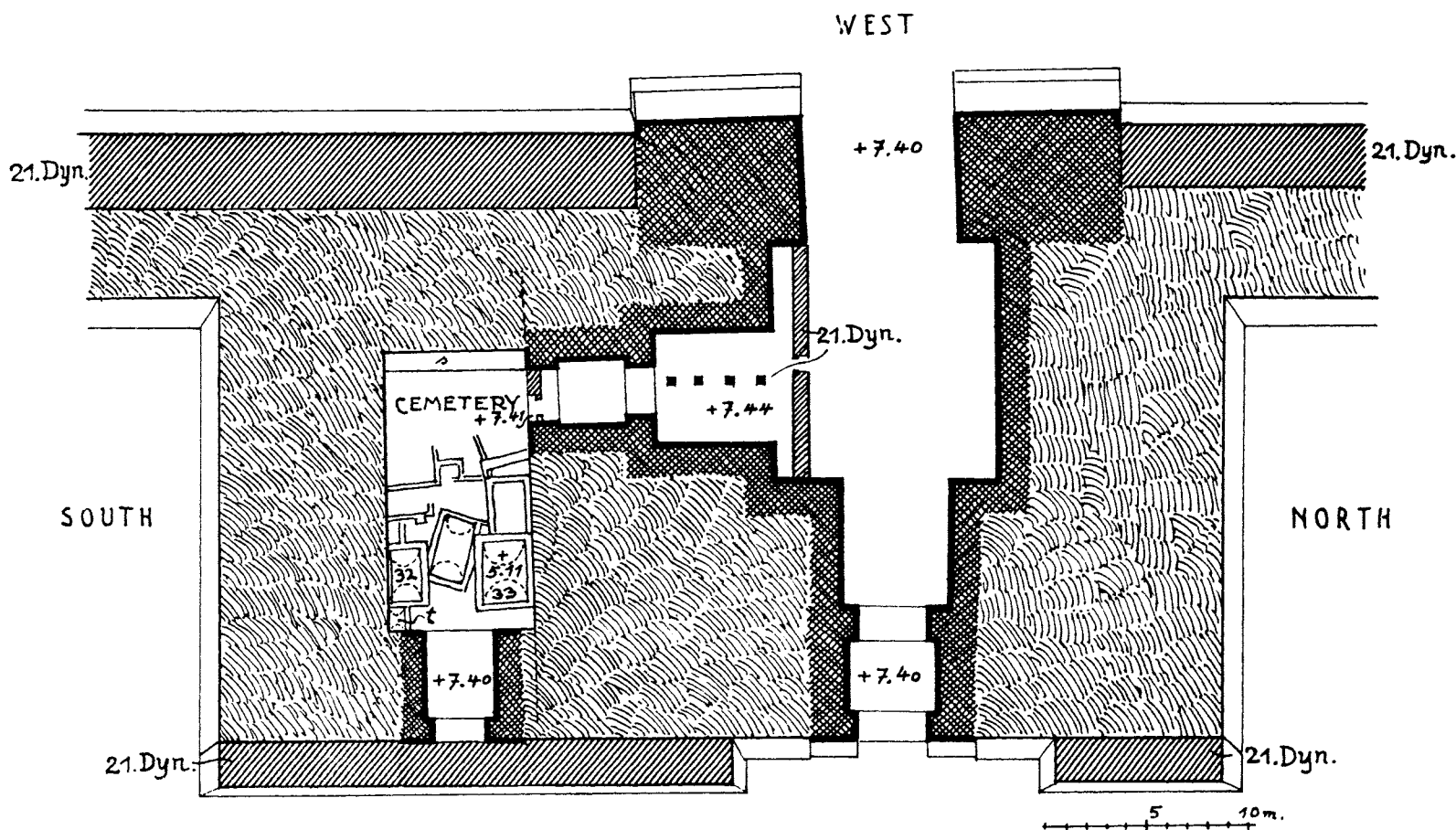


FIG. 2. WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE DURING THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY. SCALE, 1:333 $\frac{1}{3}$

which were placed obliquely.¹⁸ Six were still easily recognizable; two of these were smaller than the others and thus were obviously for children (e.g. Fig. 2*t* and Pl. 24*B*). In the largest of these underground tombs (No. 33; see Fig. 2), whose vault was still comparatively well preserved, the floor (+5.11 m.) was of reused slabs 10–15 cm. thick and bore reliefs and inscriptions on the upper surface. Upon further examination it was discovered that the floor slabs of the pillared room and of the side gateway also bear reliefs, although on the undersides, and that all these reliefs belong together. The slabs¹⁹ originated in the mortuary chapel of Paser, an official under Ramses III, and apparently were brought from one of the mortuary chapels behind Medinet Habu.²⁰ We must assume that with the

smaller, closely crowded dwellings for people with modest requirements.

The house most suitable for examination is that of Butehamon, the only one which can be precisely dated. It was situated near the Western Fortified Gate (in S-T 6; see Folio Pl. 15) and like all the houses of this stratum was in very fragmentary condition (Fig. 3 and Pl. 5*A*). In the main room, which was almost square (5.90×5.10 m.), four columns (Pl. 5*B*) still stood upright; on the rear wall were the stumps of two pilasters, and somewhat off the axis was a stone dais for the master. To the right of the dais was a narrow doorway connecting with the completely destroyed rear rooms. Perhaps there had been a similar

18. *Ibid.* Pl. 40.

19. The reliefs and inscriptions on these slabs have been studied by Siegfried Schott and will be published elsewhere.

20. See Vol. IV, Pl. 42. Schott assigns the block mentioned *ibid.* p. 23, n. 4, to the same chapel.

21. Three mud bricks stamped with the name of the *sm*-priest Minmes, who is mentioned in the inscriptions of Paser too (see *ibid.* p. 23), were found in the debris in front of the small gateway in U 12.

22. See the so-called "pomoerium" *ibid.* p. 14.

23. Indicated in light blue on the chronological plans of Vol. I (but see p. 3 above).

doorway at the left. In front of the main room and connected with it by a wide doorway, of which only the sill was extant, was a smaller, transverse room with two columns. Only the foundation courses of the walls remained, and they were of mud bricks ($37 \times 18 \times 10$ cm.). Other wall remains in the vicinity may well have belonged to additional rooms of this house.

Upon examination of the details we perceive that the column shafts in the transverse room were left rough (see Pl. 5 A) and therefore must have been covered with stucco, which had fallen away. The four columns in the main room were more carefully worked and still bear their stucco coating. They consist of slender monolithic shafts with palm-leaf capitals, whose projecting fronds are broken off. During the excavations these capitals were found near by in debris and were reset on the shafts. Whether the architraves which they carried and which connected with the pilasters were of wood or of stone and whether the ceiling was beamed or barrel-vaulted²⁴ are questions which remain unanswered.

The column shafts in the main room bear inscriptions and scenes in which Amon, as well as Amenhotep I and Ahmose-Nefertere, is worshipped as the protecting deity of the necropolis. The owner of the house is described as "the royal scribe and overseer of the royal treasury in the Theban necropolis, Butehamon, son of the royal scribe in the Theban necropolis and overseer of works in behalf of the tomb endowment, Thutmose."

Butehamon²⁵ held office during the reign of Panedjem I and is best known for his participation in the restoration and reburial of the mummy of Ramses III, which had been plundered and desecrated by tomb-robbers. On the wrappings of the mummy of this great king, which is now in the Cairo Museum, appears the following inscription: "Year 13, second month of the third season, day 27 (i.e., in the year 1054 B.C.). On this day the high priest of Amon-Re^c, king of gods, Panedjem, son of the high priest of Amon, Pi^cankh, sent the scribe of the temple, Zosersukhonsu, and the scribe in the Theban necropolis, Butehamon, to give a place to King Userma^cre^c-Meriamon (Ramses III), L. P. H., established and abiding forever."²⁶

I assume that the restoration of the mummy of Ramses III, as well as the reburial of other royal mummies at this time, took place at the seat of the necropolis administration, that is, at Medinet Habu. This would explain the numerous objects from royal burials which were found at Medinet Habu, for example, ushabtiu of Amenhotep III,

Seti I, and Ramses II, also wooden sandals which could have belonged only to a mummy of one of the kings of the Twentieth Dynasty.

In the southeast part of the outer temple area (Folio Pls. 7-8) we found two large buildings of the time of Ramses III which were apparently still in use during the Twenty-first Dynasty, namely a dwelling with another building behind it (in H 4-5) and the large structure which we have interpreted as a stable (in H 5-7).²⁷ To the east of these were new buildings with long thin walls (see Pl. 4 B and D); their purpose, however, was not clear.

As to the dwellings, let us first examine two rather modest buildings which adjoined each other in F 6. One was entered from the street which we have assumed along the west side. Beyond a doorway whose sill was 3.80 m. below our datum was the transverse room, then a doorway

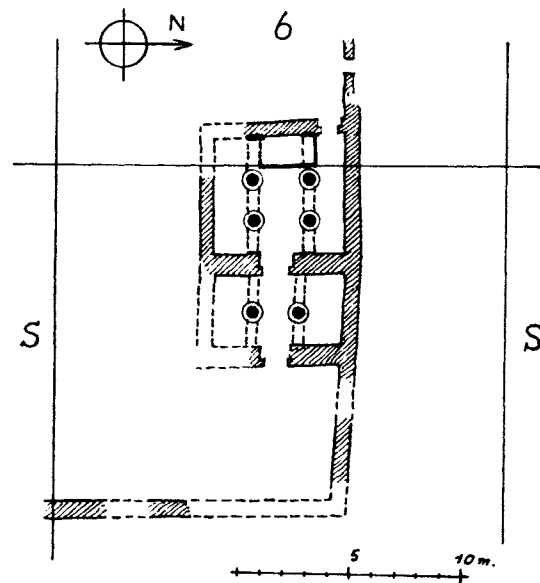


FIG. 3. HOUSE OF BUTEHAMON, TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY. SCALE, 1:333½

(-3.58 m.) into the approximately square main room, which contained a dais (-3.50 m.) for the master, and finally a narrow doorway (-3.65 m.) led to rooms which no doubt were the intimate apartments. Adjoining the main room at one side were three smaller rooms. The second dwelling, to the north of the first one, unfortunately had suffered greater damage. The floors in the main rooms were of baked brick—an unusual feature for this period, probably to be explained by occasional dampness of the ground, which is here very low since the houses stood in the so-called "pool" of the earlier garden.²⁸

In the northeast part of the outer temple area (Folio Pls. 3-4) there was a group of fairly well preserved houses in G-H 12-13. Their ground plans were of the same type as that mentioned above, but the houses varied in size. To the east (in F 13) were outhouses, including a stable with two perforated stones for tethering cattle set in the floor and in the next room two ovens.

All the houses of this stratum were characterized by rather thin walls of mud bricks measuring $36-38 \times 18 \times 9-11$ cm., with occasional bricks of other sizes which were obviously reused. Most of the stone doorframes had been taken from other buildings, as indicated by the inscriptions and scenes on them (cf. Pl. 6 A-C).

24. As in the throneroom of the First Palace (see Vol. III, Pl. 7).

25. On Butehamon see Spiegelberg, *Ägyptische und andere Graffiti (Inschriften und Zeichnungen) aus der theban Nekropolis* (Heidelberg, 1921) pp. 109 f., No. 114. His sarcophagus is in the Turin Museum (Cat. No. 2236, "doppia cassa di mummia"): see Richard Lepsius, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des ägyptischen Alterthums* (Leipzig, 1842) Pl. XI; A. Fabretti, F. Rossi, and R. V. Lanzione, *Regio Museo di Torino. I. Antichità egizie* (Torino, 1882) pp. 311-13; Giulio Farina, *Il Regio Museo di Antichità di Torino, Sezione egizia* (Roma, 1931) p. 19; Pier-Camillo Orcurti, *Catalogo illustrato dei monumenti egizii del R. Museo di Torino, Sale al quarto piano* (Torino, 1855) pp. 76 f., Nos. 50-51; Ernesto Schiaparelli, *Il Libro dei Funerali degli antichi Egiziani* (Parigi, 1881-90) I 13 and Pls. I-XVIII.

Two doorjambs from Medinet Habu bear the name of Thutmose father of Butehamon over a scratched-out earlier name; these are in the Cairo Museum (Cairo J 48832-33).

26. Translation after BAR IV, § 640; see also G. Maspero, *Les momies royales de Déir el-Bahari* (Mission archéologique française au Caire, "Mémoires" I [Paris, 1884-89] 511-788) p. 564.

27. See Vol. IV, Figs. 18-19 and pp. 16-19.

28. See *ibid.* pp. 20-21 and Fig. 22.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES

While Egypt was governed from Bubastis by kings of Libyan descent (Twenty-second Dynasty) and during the short span of time represented by the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth dynasties, Thebes had a series of local rulers. Medinet Habu, where a large part of the population of the west bank had concentrated, obviously underwent difficulties at this time. As far as we can tell, however, the inner temple area for the most part still remained undamaged. At least the temple magazines, in spite of a few additions and alterations which occurred perhaps during this period (blue on Folio Pl. 12), continued essentially as before. The Inner Inclosure Wall also revealed no evidence of damage. Changes were made in the outer temple area, however.

THE GREAT GIRDLE WALL

The west course of the Great Girdle Wall, which during the Twenty-first Dynasty had been rebuilt with a thickness of about 2–3 meters (see p. 3), was now strengthened on the inside by an addition about 1.80 m. thick (dark blue on Folio Pl. 15). In this connection it should be noted that among the bricks used here there were many with dimensions of $38 \times 17.5 \times 12$ cm. bearing the stamp "Nebma^{re}s in the House of Rejoicing," such as we have already encountered in Ramses III's construction.²⁹ This is the name of Amenhotep III's palace at Malqata, not far south of Medinet Habu, which by the Twentieth Dynasty had been partly destroyed. Now apparently it was systematically torn down so that its bricks could be used again at Medinet Habu. Still later, the entire west course of the Great Girdle Wall was faced on the outside with an additional reinforcement (1.80–2.50 m. thick) built for the most part of bricks of Ramses III ($43 \times 21 \times 13$ cm.) and to some extent of smaller bricks ($34 \times 16 \times 9$ cm.) which apparently were likewise reused. This reinforcing wall stood on debris of Ramses III's wall. Numerous bone arrowheads (e.g. Cairo J 59772–75 and Chicago 15880–15965) which we found in the upper layers of this debris outside the Great Girdle Wall point to hostilities at the time. Many of these have barbed points of flint which were tied on with cord (see Pl. 3 A). On many of the points is a brownish paste, perhaps some sort of poison. These arrowheads belonged presumably to troops or hordes who during the course of the Twenty-first to Twenty-fourth dynasties attacked Medinet Habu.

THE WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE

The Western Fortified Gate was completely demolished during this period. Presumably another conquest occurred. Thereupon the sandstone parts of the building were razed to the foundations,³⁰ since obviously such valuable material might be carried away, as from a quarry, and used for other building purposes. It is interesting that scarcely any blocks were left in the vicinity at this time, whereas those thrown down from the upper stories during the first conquest (at the end of the Twentieth Dynasty), as we have seen, for the most part remained under the debris piled up in front of the gate and were thus concealed from the

eyes of later stone-robbers. The massive brick parts of the high gate, on the other hand, were preserved to a fair height (Pl. 3 B) and were adapted for other purposes.

After the destruction, in the assumed original stair well three heavy walls (ca. 2.20 m. thick), which according to the floor level (ca. + 9.00 m.) may be considered foundation walls, were constructed above the Twenty-first Dynasty tombs (see p. 4), which had been destroyed and filled in (see Folio Pl. 15).³¹ Two of these walls each had a narrow opening in the upper courses which divided it into two parts—the third wall was too much decayed to show such a feature—so that one gained the impression that these foundations were intended to carry three pairs of heavy pillars to be erected in the large room. Nothing more exact could be ascertained concerning either the construction or the purpose of this layout. Against the west wall of the room and below floor level we found two barrel-vaulted tombs (see Folio Pl. 15) in which, however, except for some large clay vessels, nothing was preserved.

At this time the main entrance to Medinet Habu was no longer in the middle of the west course of the Great Girdle Wall. The breach which resulted from the destruction of the Western Fortified Gate was blocked on the outside by the brick reinforcement which was added to the outside of the Great Girdle Wall in this period (see above).

DWELLINGS

Violent destruction of the previous settlement must have taken place. Thereafter a sizable but poor population settled inside the Great Girdle Wall, which was either

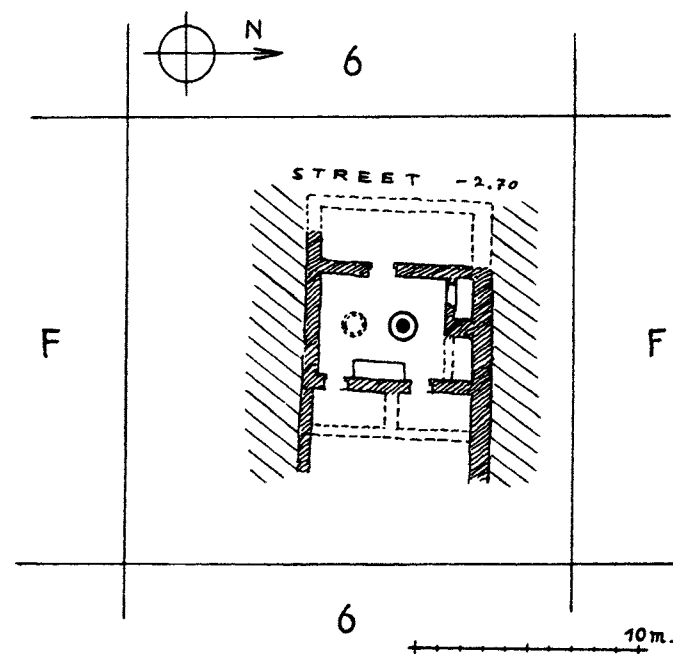


FIG. 4. HOUSE OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY. SCALE, 1:333½

still preserved or had been restored. The modest houses for the most part were not built on the foundations of earlier dwellings. While the previous layout included mostly larger courts and at least followed the general arrangement of the original plan of Medinet Habu, the new settlement was laid out arbitrarily without planning. The

29. Cf. Vol. II 33 and Fig. 6 g.

30. See Vol. IV, Pl. 40.

31. *Ibid.* Pl. 40, Section C-D.

streets and alleys were at most 1.50 m. wide, often even narrower, and wandered crookedly uphill and downhill, with steps here and there, over existing rubbish heaps. Some groups of dwellings were closed off by gateways built in the streets (see Pl. 4 *B* and *D*), as in many modern villages of Upper Egypt. The relatively thin mud-brick walls were carelessly constructed. Some of the doorways—exactly as in buildings of the Twenty-first Dynasty (see p. 5)—had stone frames with inscriptions which indicate that originally they belonged to other builders, for example Ramses III (cf. Pl. 6 *A* and *C*) and others (cf. Pl. 6 *B*).

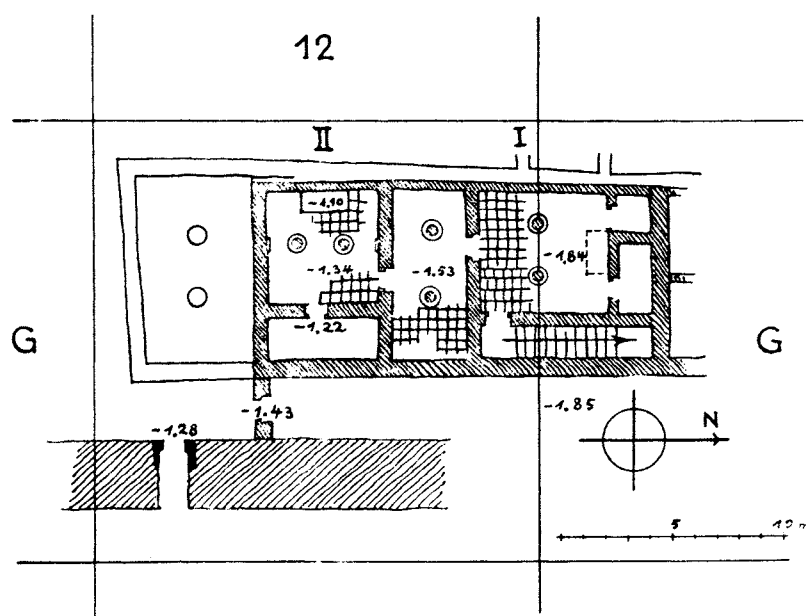


FIG. 5. HOUSES OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES. SCALE, 1:333 $\frac{1}{3}$

Obviously such poorly constructed buildings were not very durable, and consequently during this period in many places new houses were erected over earlier ones. The earlier and the later buildings are indicated by dark blue and dark green respectively on the Folio plates, though we could not distinguish exactly between the two. Even by considering them in relation to the Twenty-first Dynasty houses we could not make a fundamental distinction (see Pl. 4 *C*). A few Twenty-second to Twenty-fourth Dynasty houses are described in the following paragraphs.

A dwelling in F 6 (see Folio Pls. 9–10) represents the fundamental type (Fig. 4). The transverse antechamber at the west was almost completely destroyed. It must have measured about 6.90 × 2.30 m. The main room (5.85 × 4.60 m.) had two columns and a dais for the master. On the north side there was apparently a very narrow stairway to a flat roof or to an upper story; beneath the stairway a tiny room was left open. Behind the main room and accessible through doorways on either side of the dais were probably two closets, completely destroyed. There were additional rooms at the east, but it is doubtful whether they belonged to this house.

We found two similar houses side by side in G 12–13 (Fig. 5). They were accessible from a street along the east. House I included an antechamber (7.60 × 3.45 m.) and a main room (5.50 × 5.85 m.), each with two columns. The floor level of the antechamber was 31 cm. higher than that of the main room, whose columns were placed toward the front, apparently to allow more space for the dais which we assumed at the rear. Two small doorways, one on either side of the assumed dais, led to two closets. To the east of the main room was a long narrow room in which

we have reconstructed a rather broad (1.30 m.) stairway. The main room of House II was connected with the antechamber of House I by a doorway. Whether this doorway existed originally is doubtful, since House II appeared to have been an independent unit. The floor level of its main room was 19 cm. higher than that of the antechamber of House I, and the floor consisted of square mud bricks (40 × 40 × 7 cm.), as did the floors of House I. The main room (5 m. square) was fairly well preserved. The stone bases of two columns were present, and on the north and south walls were traces of two pilasters which carried the architrave. The stone dais was 24 cm. high. No rear rooms were preserved. We venture to call the room at the east (5.00 × 2.03 m.) the antechamber, though there was no evidence of a doorway between it and the main room—as in House I—since only the foundations of the room were preserved.

A group of houses in G–H 6–7 (dark green on Folio Pl. 10) belonged to the end of the period or perhaps even to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The four houses shown in Figure 6 adjoined one another in planless fashion. Houses I and II were accessible from an angular street along the east, III and IV from a blind alley which was closed off by a door. House II had a rather impressive gateway leading to a narrow court(?). The rather large antechamber and the two-columned main room were reached either from the court(?) or directly from the south. The main room contained a relatively high dais with two steps in

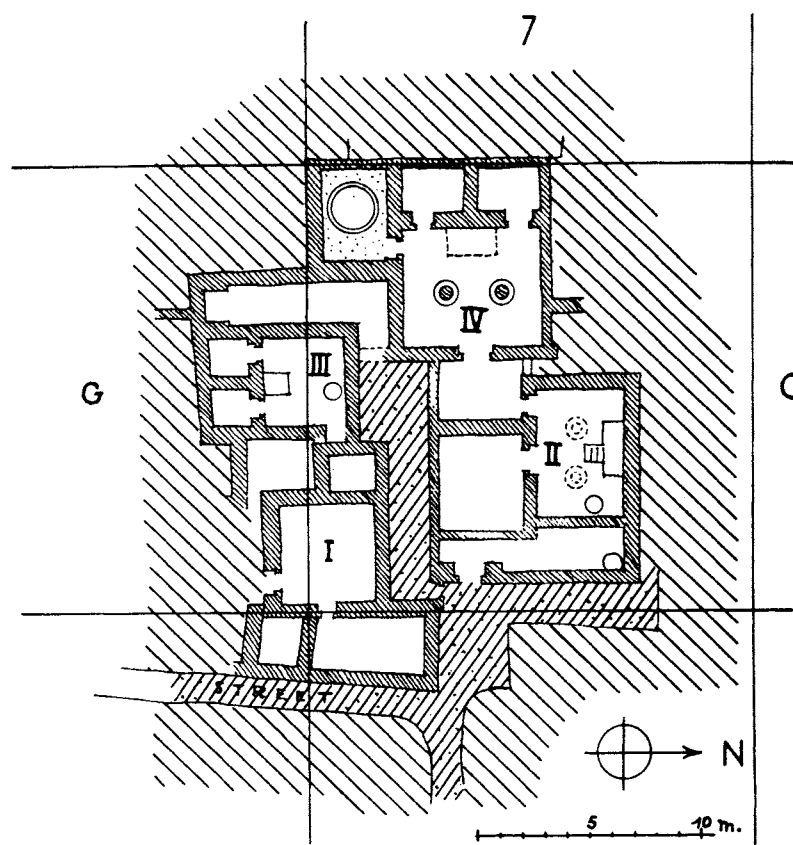


FIG. 6. HOUSES OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTIES. SCALE, 1:333 $\frac{1}{3}$

front of it (Pl. 6 *I*). The antechamber of House IV was connected with the main room of House II by a doorway, from which it might be inferred that the two houses belonged to members of the same family. The main room of IV was unusually large (6.15 × 5.30 m.) and had preserved the usual two column bases but not the dais. Behind it were the usual two closets, and to the south of the latter was a small court with a built-in beehive-shaped grain bin.

2 to 1 and was originally about 11.40 m. long, but only the lower half is preserved. It is 1.20 m. wide and 1.50 m. high. Steps 48 cm. wide and 2.65 m. ($=\frac{1}{2}$ Egyptian ell) deep were cut in the floor slabs. The walls of the passage and the two chambers are of sandstone. The ceilings consist of stone slabs or beams, which for the most part have cracked as a result of pressure from above. The two rooms stand within a deep rectangular pit (2.65×6.30 m.) lined with walls of mud bricks ($36 \times 17 \times 9$ cm.). The antechamber is almost square (2.00×2.10 m.) and was originally 2.00 m. high. A doorway (1.23 m. wide and originally 1.73 m. high) leads to the burial chamber, which is of the same width and height as the antechamber but is 3.42 m. long. The granite sarcophagus was walled up to

burial chamber rather than through the passage and the antechamber. They shoved the heavy coffin lid aside and plundered the mummy.

The sandstone blocks used for the underground part of the tomb came for the most part from destroyed buildings of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. In particular it can be proved that the column fragments belonged to his First Palace.³⁶ The beams, averaging 2.50 m. in length, were originally doorjambs, some of which likewise could have belonged to the First Palace. Others showed features characteristic of Ramses III's later building period, for example cells for fayence inlays and the like,³⁷ so that we must attribute them to the Second Palace or the high gates.³⁸ A fragment of a relief on a gigantic scale certainly

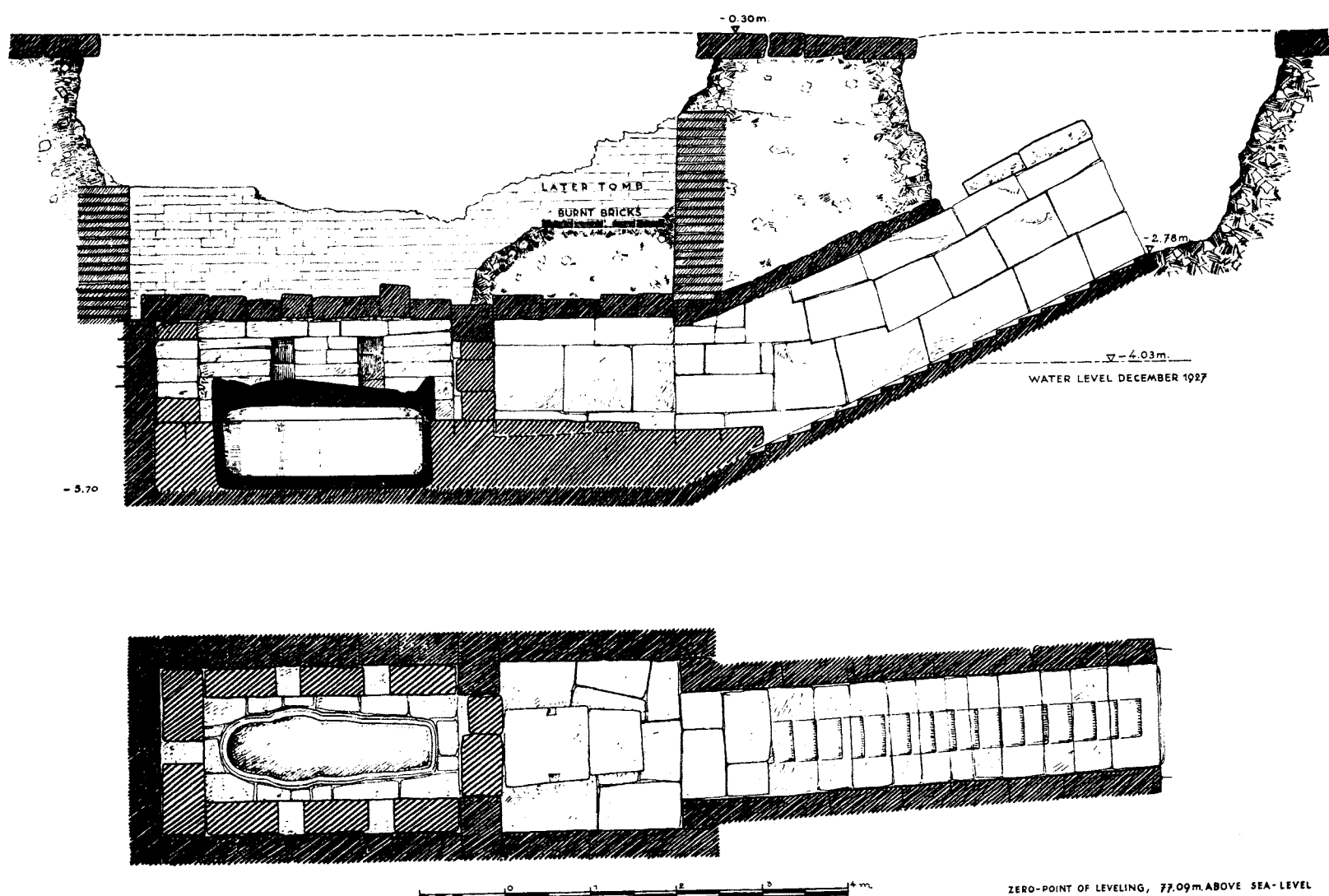


FIG. 9. TOMB OF HORSIĒSE. GROUND PLAN AND SECTION

its rim so that it would remain fixed and inviolate for all time. Thus the floor was at the level of the rim (77 cm.) and extended at the same level through the antechamber and into the passage. The heavy sarcophagus lid could lie in the antechamber at the proper height to be shoved onto the sarcophagus after the burial. Finally, the three walls of the burial chamber were faced with stone walls 40–50 cm. thick, and thus the dimensions of the room were reduced to 1.25×3.00 m. Five niches (67 cm. high) in these facing walls presumably held the four canopic jars (Pl. 10 C) and other objects (see p. 10). After the burial, the doorway to the antechamber was, according to custom, walled up, and the antechamber and passage were filled with large stone blocks and column fragments (see Pl. 8 A) in order to make it extremely difficult for robbers to gain access to the tomb. Robbers did, in fact, enter by means of a vertical shaft and a crack in the ceiling of the

came from the north tower of the Western Fortified Gate.³⁹ Surprisingly enough, there was also a block from a structure of Ramses II, a fragment of a doorjamb which bears a four-line inscription mentioning an "overseer of all construction of Ramses II" but not giving his name.

Finally some reused blocks bearing deeply scraped marks in the form of a ship's hull should be mentioned. Such scraped marks are very prevalent on the walls of the

36. See Vol. III 39 and 46. It is noteworthy that fragments of columns from the First Palace, which, as we know, had been destroyed 300 years before, were found here though none of them had been reused in the Second Palace. These fragments must have in the meantime been placed somewhere else, perhaps in the palace "garden," where other column fragments belonging to the First Palace were found (see Vol. III 67).

37. See Vol. IV 40.

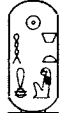
38. Some of these pieces were used in our restoration of the Second Palace, though we cannot guarantee that they were placed in their exact original positions (see e.g. Vol. III 51).

39. See Vol. IV 9 and Pl. 25 F.

Great Temple and elsewhere.⁴⁰ We have here, then, evidence that such defacing of wall surfaces first occurred not in Ptolemaic, Roman, and Coptic times, as usually assumed, but at least a thousand years before Christ.⁴¹



Particularly interesting is the granite sarcophagus (Pls. 8 B and 10 D), which we removed and which is now in the Cairo Museum (J 59896).⁴² Its mummy shape is characteristic of the New Kingdom. Its relatively thin, carefully worked walls are covered both inside and outside with religious texts and scenes. Hentmire, written regu-

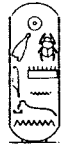

larly in a cartouche, , occurs frequently as

the name of the deceased.⁴³ She was the daughter of Seti I, sister and wife of Ramses II.⁴⁴ She was buried not at Medinet Habu but no doubt in the vicinity, perhaps in the Valley of the Queens, and her tomb must have been plundered before the time of Horsiēse.⁴⁵ Horsiēse thus was able to appropriate her fine sarcophagus for his own tomb. He replaced the lid, which presumably had been damaged by the tomb-robbers, with one of the same material but of much coarser workmanship (Pl. 8 B). It too is mummiform, but instead of a human head it has a falcon head⁴⁶ whose beak, now lost, was attached by means of a peg. Along the center of the lid is an incised inscription (shown at left⁴⁷) painted in blue.

The mummy had been completely destroyed. Lying near the sarcophagus we found a skull and the radius of a forearm, which we assumed belonged to it. The skull has in the forehead a roughly quadrilateral hole, which suggests a trepanation

(Pl. 10 B). Dr. Douglas E. Derry, the anatomist in Cairo to whom the skull was submitted for study, considered that this hypothesis could not be proved. He concluded that "Horsiēse lived a long while after the infliction, whatever its nature may have been."

Four canopic jars of alabaster (Cairo J 59900a-d), without lids, and many fayence ushabtiu were found in the tomb. The canopic jars (Pl. 10 C) are 31-32 cm. high. Each bears a square inscription, two giving the nomen of

the king  and two the prenomen . Of the ushabtiu,

at least 224 were inscribed. These are of greenish fayence and of very ordinary workmanship, about 12 cm. high. They had become so soft from lying in water that for the most part they crumbled, and their inscriptions are now illegible. Four specimens are in the Cairo Museum (Cairo J 59716-19), and some are in Chicago (Chicago 15639-53). In addition there were at least 17 so-called "overseers" without inscriptions and some uninscribed ushabtiu of the same type as the inscribed ones mentioned above.

TOMB 2

This tomb (in G 9; see Folio Pls. 3-4), like that of Horsiēse, was cut into the foundations of Ramses III's brick pylon. Its walls were faced with stone slabs, and the floor was of stone. A brick-lined pit (70 cm. square and 60 cm. deep) in the floor contained the uninscribed alabaster lids (Chicago 14311-14) of four canopic jars. The date of the tomb is uncertain, but its location near the tomb of Horsiēse suggests that it too may belong to the Twenty-second Dynasty.

OBJECTS

The simple, mostly poor dwellings of this period (11th to 8th centuries B.C.) yielded for the most part ordinary practical objects.⁴⁸ The following, except for the fayence vase described on page 12, may be considered typical.

OVENS

These are of rough clay, and apparently vessels containing burning charcoal were placed in them. One type is angular, with the bottom, which rested on the floor, and

40. See *Medinet Habu. I. Earlier Historical Records of Ramses III* ("Oriental Institute Publications" VIII [Chicago, 1930]) p. 9.

41. Such scraping in sandstone blocks is found especially on structures which at one time or another were considered sacred. As far as I can tell, they were made for the purpose of obtaining sand from consecrated buildings, because a healing power was ascribed to it. Superstitions of this sort still exist in many places. For example L. Borchardt told me of an instance that occurred during a journey by dahabeah to Lower Nubia. On a holiday some of his boatmen went up to the domed tomb of a sheikh which was visible in the distance and brought back to their comrades on the boat some sand which they had scraped from the structure. Upon being questioned they explained that they had brought the sheikh to the others. Consecrated sand or the like is carried in a small pouch as an amulet.

Naturally such marks could have been made by children at play also.

42. Strangely enough the lower part of a red granite sarcophagus of King Horsiēse was found at Qift; see *ASAE* VI 123.

43. In every case on the inside of the coffin the name has been hacked away, but with careful scrutiny one can still read it. On the outside it occurs undamaged also.

44. See Gauthier, *Livre des rois d'Égypte* III 33 and 79.

45. In Papyrus Salt 124 a workman is accused of "going to the burial of Hentmirē and taking away a *sr*-goose"; see Jaroslav Černý in *JEA* XV (1929) 243-58, where he dates the papyrus to the reign of Amenmose.

46. In a preliminary report on the excavations at Medinet Habu (*Excavations at Ancient Thebes, 1930/31* [OIC No. 15 (1932)] p. 36) I suggested that the falcon head harmonizes with the name of Horsiēse, "Horus son of Isis." In this connection Dr. Anthes observes that the god Horsiēse is not depicted in the form of a falcon, as are Haroeris, Harakhte, and other manifestations of Horus. The approximately contemporary silver coffin of King Sheshonk (*Hk3-hpr-R*), which was found in the spring of 1939 at Tanis, has a falcon head (see *Chronique d'Égypte* XIV [1939] 277 and XV [1940] 70; Pierre Montet, *Tanis* [Paris, 1942] Pl. X and pp. 114 f. and 142 f.). Certainly in these cases the god-king Horus is implied and not, as with the falcon-headed mummies of the Roman period, Sokar-Osiris.

47. Drawn from a copy by Professor Keith C. Seele.

48. These strata also produced numerous small objects of earlier times which the inhabitants had stolen from elsewhere, mostly from plundered tombs in the necropolis. For example, ushabtiu of Amenhotep III, Seti I, and Ramses VI surely came from their tombs. Such objects, which were not associated with the buildings of Medinet Habu, are not included here.

has square or round holes and is finished at the top with a hollow molding (Fig. 11 and Pl. 6 *E*). Three specimens of this type were found, measuring 63–70 cm. in greatest diameter and 29–34 cm. in height.

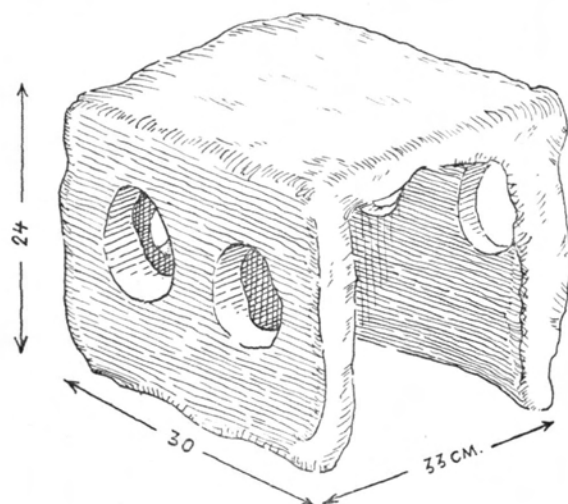


FIG. 10. OVEN OF ANGULAR FORM, TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

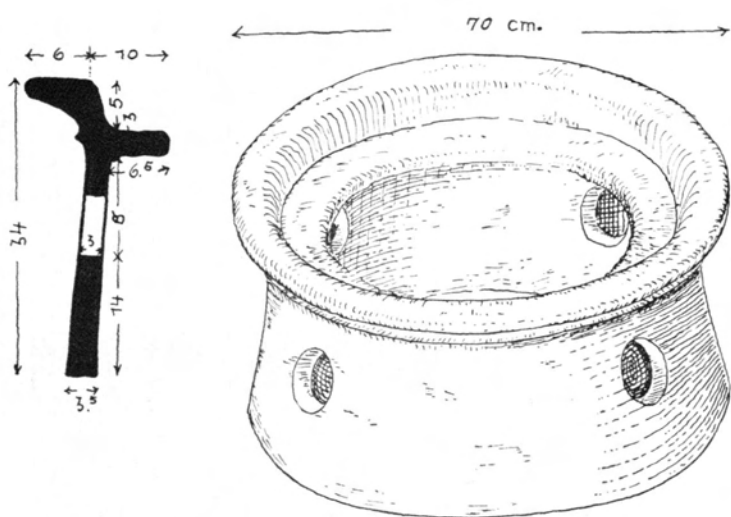


FIG. 11. OVEN OF ROUNDED FORM, TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTY

STOOLS

Very low stools consist of limestone slabs about 25 cm. in diameter and 5–7 cm. thick, usually with three very short legs.

HEADRESTS

No wooden headrests were preserved, but a few limestone specimens, for the most part rather roughly worked, were found. One example (25 cm. long), which is now in the Cairo Museum (J 59878), is interesting because of a dancing figure of Bes incised at each end on both the obverse and the reverse; the name of the owner, Amenem-opet, is given on the edge at one end (Pl. 6 *F*). It was found somewhere in squares E–F 6.

VOTIVE FIGURES

These are nude female figures, usually lying on a bed, often with a pillow under the wigged head, occasionally with a child at the breast (e.g. Pl. 6 *H* [Chicago 14603]). Obviously they were in some way associated with the marital relationship. As a rule the figure itself was pressed out of clay in a mold, and the rest was modeled by hand. These objects are from 12 to 22 cm. long and often decorated with red and white lines. Two limestone specimens

are shown in Figure 12. That at the left, with a child alongside, is 25 cm. long; the fragment at the right, with a child at the breast, is 16.5 cm. wide. These figures were all found in debris.

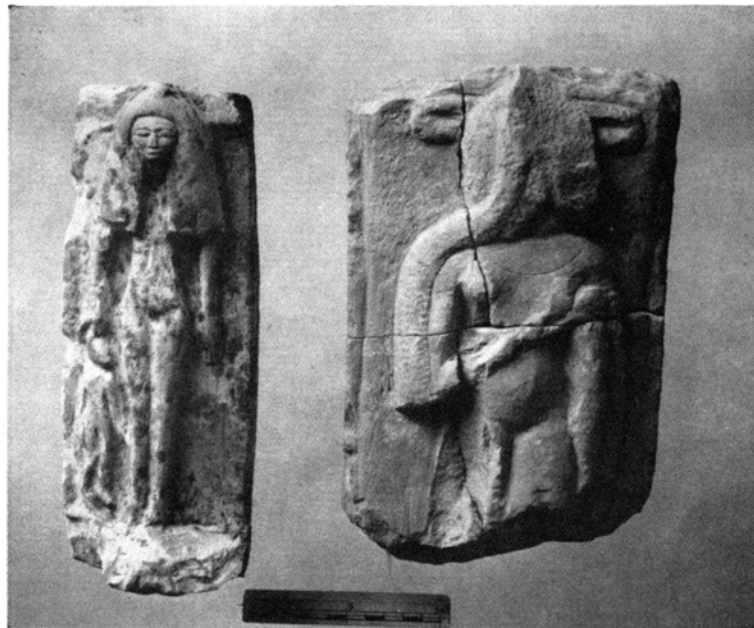


FIG. 12. VOTIVE FIGURES REPRESENTING A WOMAN AND A CHILD ON A BED. CAIRO J 59876 (left) AND CHICAGO 14324 (right)

VOTIVE BEDS

Such objects consist of small boxes of baked clay, usually about 22 cm. long, 12–14 cm. wide, and 18–20 cm. high, but sometimes smaller. They are closed at the top and open at the bottom. Occasionally a latticework pattern is scratched or painted on the top, an indication that such objects were bed models. The front has short legs, and its lower edge is scalloped, obviously to represent fabric hanging down. It is ornamented with low relief, which was pressed in a mold and occasionally colored. Usually a Bes figure is represented at either end and between them a nude woman in a boat. The representations on most of the specimens found in our excavations are of two different

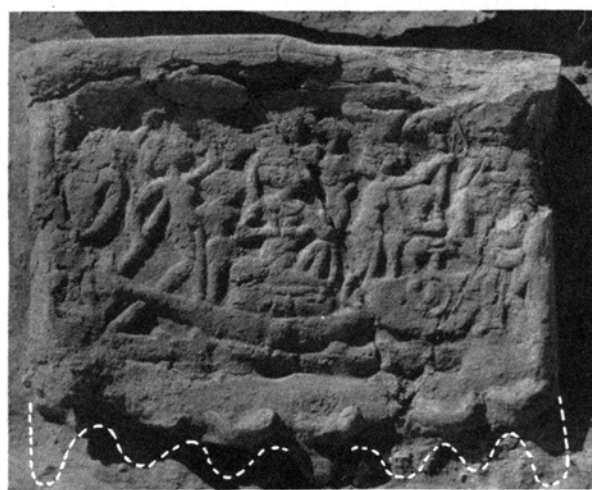


FIG. 13. VOTIVE BED OF CLAY, FRONT VIEW (= Pl. 6 *G* 2) CHICAGO 14779

types. One type (Fig. 13 and Pl. 6 *G* 1–2 [Cairo J 59845 and Chicago 14779]) shows the nude woman seated on a cushion in the center of the boat and playing a stringed instrument. In the bow, which is ornamented with a goose head and neck with necklace, stands a girl rowing with her arms stretched forward; in the stern stands another girl, pushing with a pole which she holds pressed against her armpit. Between the figures are superimposed papyrus

umbels.⁴⁹ The other type (Fig. 14 and Pl. 6 G 3 [Chicago 14780] and 4) shows a simpler scene. The nude woman stands in the center of the boat facing forward and holding a papyrus stalk at either side.⁵⁰ Smaller fragments with similar scenes are shown in Plate 6 G 5 (Chicago 14827) and 6.

There are also votive beds more lavishly ornamented with openwork; the fragments found in our excavations do not suffice for reconstruction.

Occasionally only part of a votive bed, especially the middle section, was formed in the mold and then provided

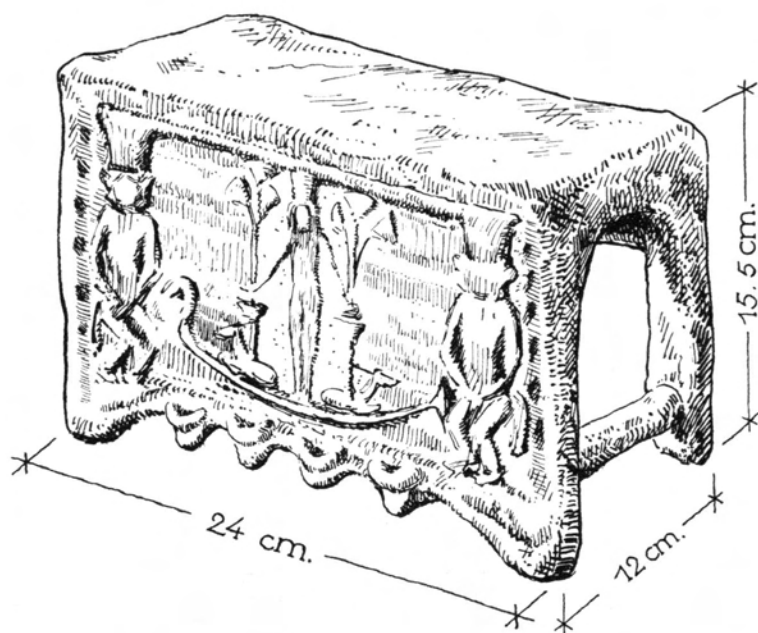


FIG. 14. VOTIVE BED OF CLAY RECONSTRUCTED FROM FRAGMENTS FOUND IN THE EXCAVATIONS

with small feet and set up as a small votive stela. One specimen (found in square F 5) is now in the Cairo Museum (J 59848).

FAYENCE VASE

A slender vase (22 cm. high) of greenish fayence with black painted decoration (Pl. 7f) was found in F 7 in a dwelling of the Twenty-second to Twenty-fourth or Twenty-fifth Dynasty (Cairo J 59785). Fragments of a similar vessel found near by bear an inscription of Taharka (Twenty-fifth Dynasty).

POTTERY

We cannot give an adequate survey of the pottery unless we classify it according to use. Since that is possible only to a limited degree, we present a catalogue based on forms which gives most of those known at Medinet Habu in post-Ramessid times (see pp. 72-78 and Pls. 47-48). The forms occurring in the Twenty-first to Twenty-fourth dynasties are represented by the following vessels in the pottery catalogue:

Large storage jars and water jugs: *A* 1-2, 6; *B* 1-5; *C* 1-3, 6; *D* 1-2; *E* 3; *L* 1-2; *M* 1, 3; *O* 1. Most of these were found in front of entrances to dwellings let into the gravelly ground of streets or courts up to a half or a third of their height. The exact purpose in each case could not be determined with certainty. A few have painted decoration (e.g. Fig. 15). In many specimens marks were scratched in the wet clay before firing.

49. This type is represented by a specimen from Medinet Habu which was purchased from a dealer before our excavations and is now in the Berlin Museum (Inv. No. 23002).

50. An example of this type is in the Berlin Museum (Inv. No. 10808). It is 17.5 cm. long and has painted crosshatching on the top.

Jugs: *F* 1-2; *G* 1; *J*; *N* 1-5; *O* 4. Jugs like *G* 1 and *J* were found especially in the tombs in the Western Fortified Gate.

Small jugs, perhaps cooking-pots: *R* 1-3.

Bottle-like jugs and bottles: *P* 5-6; *P* 12 (with long neck; e.g. Pl. 7 l); *Q* 1-9 (with wide body).

Bottles with ribbed necks: *S* 1-4 (e.g. Pl. 7 e 5 and g).

Bottles with narrow necks: *T* 1-2 (e.g. Pl. 7 h).

Pitchers: *T* 3-6.

Pilgrim flasks: *U* 3, 5-6.

Drinking flasks: *V* 1.

Hemispherical pot with side protuberances (Fig. 16): *V* 2.

Plates: *W* 1.

Bowls: *W* 3, *X* 1.

Cups: *X* 3.

Bowl with two loops in bottom: *Y* 1.

In addition to the foregoing there are a fish-shaped flask (Pl. 7 b 2), a crucible? (Fig. 17), and a bottle representing a female figure (Fig. 18). The last (11.5 cm. high) is of reddish clay with a whitish wash; unfortunately its neck is broken away. It may be as late as the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

The forms which are especially characteristic of the Twenty-first to Twenty-fourth dynasties or remarkable in any way are shown on Plate 7:

- Pilgrim flask (cf. *U* 3), 12.5 cm. high; fine light-colored clay, reddish-brown painted decoration. Found in square H 12. *Ca.* 22d dyn.
1. Pilgrim flask, 12 cm. high; darker red clay, smoothed, no painting. 21st dyn.
2. Fish-shaped flask, 16 cm. long (without broken-off tail fins); dark red clay, smoothed. Found in square F 5 in what was originally a pool or well of Ramses III.⁵¹ 21st dyn.

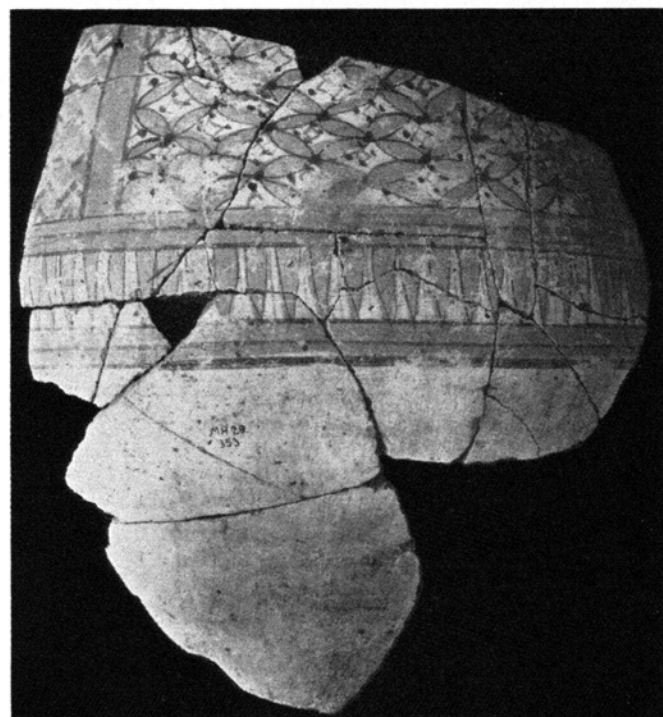


FIG. 15. FRAGMENT OF LARGE STORAGE VESSEL WITH PAINTED DECORATION WHITE BACKGROUND WITH RED AND BLUE PATTERN OUTLINED IN BLACK

- Pitcher (*T* 3), 14 cm. high; fine red clay, brownish red and smoothed outside, white painted decoration. Found in square H 13 just above Ramses III level. Probably 21st dyn.
- Pilgrim flask, fragmentary, 19 cm. high; reddish clay, dark red painted decoration. Found in square F 5. 21st-22d dyn.
- Small vessels found together in square F 5. 22d-24th dyn.
 - Jug with disk base (cf. *N* 4), 10 cm. high; coarse red clay (cf. also Pl. 7 e 1).

51. See Vol. IV 20.

2. Jug with long neck broken off (cf. *O 4*), fragment 12 cm. high; reddish-gray clay, white wash.
3. Jug (*Q 3*), 15 cm. high; light gray clay, poorly fired; presumably a cooking-pot.
4. Slender bottle (cf. *T 2*), 11 cm. high; light red clay.
5. Jug with disk base, 12 cm. high; coarse red clay.



FIG. 16. WIDE-BELLIED CLAY POT WITH FOUR PROTUBERANCES (= PL. 47 *V 2*), PURPOSE UNKNOWN. 12 CM. HIGH

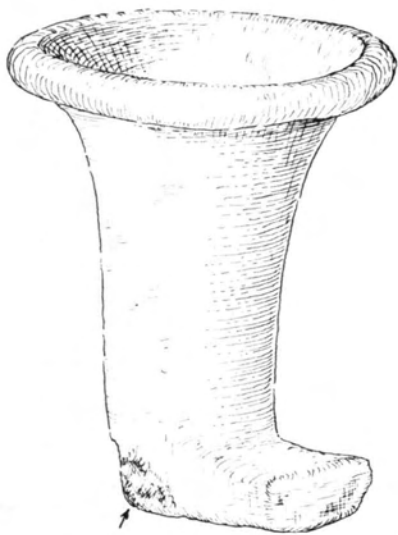


FIG. 17. CLAY CRUCIBLE(?). ABOUT 20 CM. HIGH

6. Bottle with long neck and handle broken off (cf. *T 5*), fragment 13 cm. high; light reddish clay, whitish wash, reddish-brown painted horizontal bands.
- e.* Group of small vessels found in square F 7 in a pit in the erstwhile "pool," all of coarse red clay. 21st–22d dyn.
 1. Bottle with broken neck (cf. *P 4*), fragment 12.5 cm. high.
 2. Jug similar to *d 1* described above, 12 cm. high.
 3. Bottle similar to *d 4* described above, 14 cm. high.
 4. Jug, 15 cm. high.
 5. Bottle with ribbed neck (cf. *S 1*), fragment 10.5 cm. high.
 6. Bottle with narrow neck (broken off) and remains of handle (cf. *P 9*), fragment 10.5 cm. high.
- g.* Bottle with long ribbed neck (*S 3*), 26 cm. high; fine reddish clay, whitish wash and smoothed outside, black, red, and blue painted decoration. Found in square R 13. 21st–22d dyn.

- h.* Bottle (*T 1*), 50 cm. high; fine reddish clay, whitish slip, red painted decoration. Found in square P 4 in a dwelling presumably of the 22d dyn. 22d–24th dyn.
- i.* Larger jugs, mostly from the northwest corner of Medinet Habu.
 1. Jug with two handles, 34 cm. high, thin-walled; fine red clay, whitish slip. Found in square T 12.
 2. Jug with neck broken off, fragment 50 cm. high; coarse red clay, fired to a darker shade outside. Found in gravelly ground in square P 12.
 3. Jug, 57 cm. high; hard clay, surface wet-smoothed, fired dark red. Found in square T 12.
 4. Jug, 43 cm. high; rather coarse clay, whitish wash. Found in square P 12.
 5. Jug, rim or neck broken off, fragment 35 cm. high; light red clay, surface wet-smoothed. Found in square R 12.
 6. Bottle-like jug with broken neck, fragment 37 cm. high; red clay, well fired. Found in square L 11.
- j.* Large vessels from the northwest corner of Medinet Habu.
 1. Storage jar (*D 1*), 80 cm. high; brownish-red clay, whitish wash, scratched mark resembling $\frac{1}{2}$. Found in square T 11 half sunk in gravelly ground of street. Apparently 21st–22d dyn.
 2. Storage jar (cf. *B 4*), 72 cm. high; coarse red clay, marked with black painted bird. Found in square T 11 sunk in street.
 3. Storage jar with two handles (*C 2*), 66 cm. high; rather fine clay, fired to grayish red. Found in square Q 13 half sunk in gravelly ground of street. 21st–22d dyn.

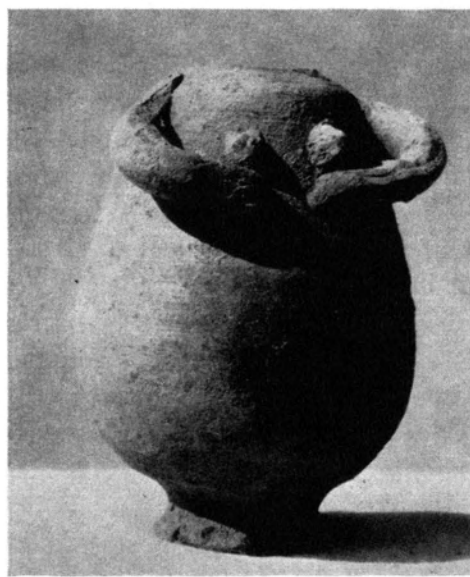


FIG. 18. CLAY JAR REPRESENTING FEMALE FIGURE. 11.5 CM. HIGH

- k.* Group of vessels found in square F 5. 22d–24th dyn.
 1. Jug, 27 cm. high, rim pinched to form three pouring lips.
 2. Jug (*O 4*), 28 cm. high; rather fine yellowish-gray clay, whitish wash.
 3. Bowl, about 30 cm. in diameter; coarse red clay.
 - 4–5. Jar-stands, open at bottom, 30 and 18 cm. high respectively; coarse red clay.
- l.* Bottle-like jug, 40 cm. high. Found in square F 5. 21st–24th dyn.

TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES

Toward the end of the Twenty-second Dynasty and during the short-lived Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth dynasties the aspect of Medinet Habu had begun to be changed by the development of a cemetery near the Small Temple where Horsiēse was already buried. This new cemetery now extended on both sides of the main highway of Ramses III. It, together with the precinct of the Small Temple, was evidently separated from the settlement by an east-west wall since—while the cemetery and the temple precinct were approached through the Eastern Fortified Gate—a special entrance to the settlement was

tunneled through the Great Girdle Wall 35 meters to the south of the high gate (see Folio Pls. 9–10, in D 7). This tunnel was 1.50 m. wide and faced with stone slabs at the sides and top. It dropped 88 cm. from outside to inside, where there was a small open space whence two main streets extended toward the west. West of the entrance were walls of the Twenty-second Dynasty (blue on Folio Pl. 10). Since the latter were below the level of the entrance and were not related to it, the entrance must have been later, presumably Twenty-third to Twenty-fifth dynasties.

DOMESTIC BUILDINGS

During the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, when the Ethiopian kings, either themselves or through sacerdotal princesses whom they dominated, ruled Thebes, Medinet Habu once more enjoyed a revival. This was clearly demonstrated by the changed character of the place. Though village type dwellings, which previously characterized the outer temple area, had not entirely disappeared, the new buildings were somewhat more citified, for example a group of connected houses in G–H 13 whose stairways prove that they had more than one story (Fig. 19). On the other hand, in the inner temple area, where the old temple magazines must have been completely destroyed and removed, we found even larger, mostly detached, dwellings of an urban type hitherto unknown to us. They were all situated south and southwest of the Great Temple on the same street which extended around it since earlier times. They began just west of the palace (see Folio Pls. 13–14), which must therefore still have been standing, and in some places spread close to the old Inner Inclosure Wall. At the west, on the other hand (see Folio Pl. 15), the houses encroached upon the site of the inclosure wall, and hence we may conclude that the latter, or at least its west course, had been completely razed. The ground plans of the better preserved structures are shown in Figure 20. Among them were smaller, mostly very much damaged, buildings which are not included in the drawing.⁵² We see therefore that the entire area was thickly built up, as necessitated by urban conditions.

The structures shown in Figure 20 were built throughout of small, hard, sandy mud bricks ($29 \times 14 \times 8$ to $30 \times 15 \times 9$ cm.). Reused bricks did not occur among them. Only the foundations of most of the buildings were preserved, and even these in some places were incomplete. The superstructures remained only in a few places, so that the doorways which connected the individual rooms for the most part had disappeared.

House 1 (in M–N 6–7) was the best preserved. The entrance to this square building was apparently from the

west through a forecourt. The two main rooms (A) were in the center of the house and measured over 5 meters in width. To the left and right of these were side rooms, including on the south a long narrow room containing a well shaft built of large sandstone blocks. This well

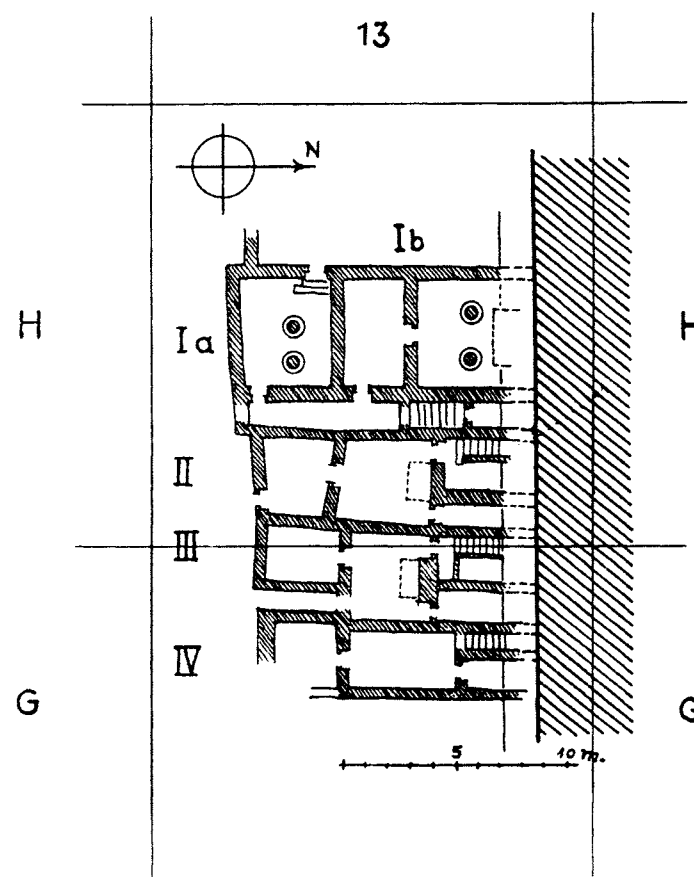


FIG. 19. SMALL DWELLINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES. SCALE, 1:333 $\frac{1}{3}$

originated in the time of Ramses III, when it was part of the palace "garden,"⁵³ but apparently was used again during the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. On the largest of its edgestones were traces of a wooden structure under which we can imagine a winch for lowering and raising a bucket. In the northeast corner of the house was a stairway. Since

52. On Folio Pls. 14–15 these are shown in the light green which designates the 27th–30th dyn., to distinguish them from the main buildings, though for the most part they may not have been erected any later.

53. See Vol. III 68.

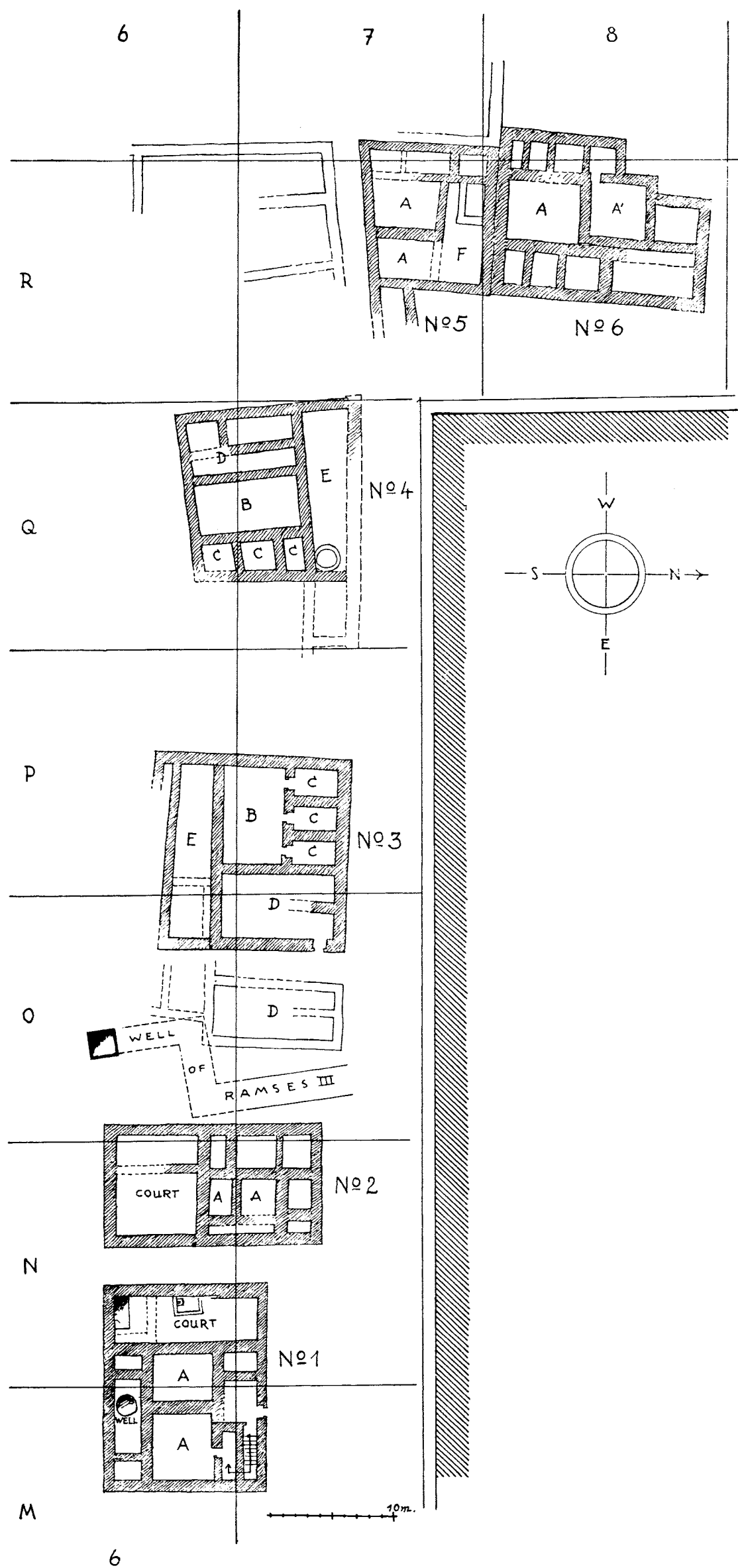


FIG. 20. LARGE STRUCTURES SOUTH OF THE GREAT TEMPLE, TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES. SCALE, 1:400

at this point the walls were preserved to a height of over 2.50 m. (Pl. 10 *A*), it could be determined that the stairway had two flights for each story and was of imposing width (1.05 m. below) and that the steps rose rather gradually. The lowest flight was built on rubbish; the second flight and the third flight, which was above the first, were constructed in such a way that each brick step was supported by a wooden beam about 8 cm. in diameter. Under the second flight was a low room used for storage, in which were found several jar-stands and two storage jars let halfway into the floor (see pottery catalogue *A* 5). The house, on the basis of its imposing stairway and the thickness of its walls, could have had more than two stories.

In the south end of the forecourt was an apparently later structure containing a deep barrel-vaulted pit (1.10 × 2.65 m.) which served as a cellar. Two similar but better preserved cellars were found close by, one in the center of the west side of the forecourt and the other in the building which adjoined at the south (see Folio Pls. 13–14). The vault of the latter was completely preserved (Pl. 24 *D*). In its crown was an opening about 35 cm. square which presumably originally was provided with a stone slab for closure at floor level. In this cellar as well as in the others was found only rubbish, mixed with ashes and remains of charcoal, containing a few worthless objects such as potsherds, grinding-stones, spindle whorls, cylindrical loom weights, and the like. It would seem, therefore, that these cellars originally constructed as grain bins were later used as rubbish pits into which all sorts of refuse was dumped, especially ashes from charcoal fires.⁵⁴

Our excavations revealed that the walls of House 1 were burnt through and through, especially at the northeast, so that not only the bricks but also the mud mortar in the joints had become brown to red in color.⁵⁵ Apparently in later times pottery kilns were constructed in the house ruins. This would indicate that the numerous pots of various forms which were found in and around the house had been crushed or damaged in firing and hence were never used but had been discarded as refuse. Among these the most common forms are represented by *C* 4–5, *G* 2–3, *I*, *O* 2 (without handles), *P* 3 and 10–11, *S* 1, *T* 6, *U* 7 (see pottery catalogue). They are all forms which can be attributed to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty or to the following period. We can therefore conclude that House 1 in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty perhaps or shortly thereafter was in ruins and was adapted for pottery-making.

House 2 (in N–O 6–7) was separated from House 1 by a courtyard a little less than 3 meters wide, into which other structures were later built. These rested on debris of pottery kilns in which were found among other things a fayence scarab of “Shepnupet daughter of Pi^cankh” (Pl. 19 *H* [Cairo J 59799]) and a small fayence plaque bearing the name of Amenirdis on one side and a sacred eye on the other (Pl. 19 *I* [Chicago 16676]). Hence the later structures could not have been built before the beginning of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, and thus the date of the houses as implied above (Twenty-fifth Dynasty; see p. 14) is corroborated.

House 2 had the same general scheme as House 1, but was smaller and was oriented differently. The court and the assumed entrance were at the south. Again the two main rooms (*A*) were in the center of the building. At the east was a narrow room in which a one-flight stairway is to be assumed. The rooms along the north and west were comparatively large. To the west of the building was the large well of Ramses III, which no doubt was still in use.

The next two buildings, Nos. 3 and 4 (in O–P 6–7 and Q 6–7), were very similar to one another but were so different from Houses 1–2 that they can scarcely be considered dwellings. In each a rectangular room (*B*) which was perhaps a court was adjoined on one of its long sides by three small chambers (*C*). The rooms of a second group (*D*) were perhaps vaulted. Across the front, that is, at the south in No. 3 and at the north in No. 4, extended a room (*E*) which in No. 3 contained a cross wall or some other structure. In No. 4 room *E* contained a small grain bin 1.50 m. in diameter. From this we may conclude that room *E* was not roofed but served as a court. To the east of No. 3 the room-group *D–E* was apparently repeated.

Houses 5 and 6, to the west of the Great Temple (in R–S 7–8), were built close together. Even their foundations were largely destroyed, so that many details were obscured. They seem to have been dwellings of the same type as Houses 1–2. In House 5 there were two main rooms (*A*) and apparently three small chambers at the west; at the north there was a large room (*F*), at the rear of which apparently a stair well had been built, perhaps later. House 6 was distinguished by its size and the thickness of its walls (95 cm.), in which features it was not inferior to House 1. Of the original layout only the second main room (*A*) and the rooms which adjoined it on either side were preserved, whereas the other main room (*A'*) and the rooms which adjoined it had been altered.

TOMBS

A group of mortuary chapels containing underground tombs of the Twenty-second to Twenty-fifth dynasties, situated behind Medinet Habu, that is, outside the Great Girdle Wall, is discussed in a previous volume.⁵⁶ Within the fortified precinct Tomb 1, of King Horsiēse, is of the Twenty-second Dynasty, and Tomb 2, located near by, might be attributed to the same dynasty on the basis of

its proximity (see p. 8). Of the other tombs which we found within Medinet Habu, all those which offered any evidence for dating (except No. 7) belonged as far as we can tell to the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth dynasties (*ca.* 700–525 B.C.).⁵⁷

The most significant group of tombs consisted of the tomb-chapels of the sacerdotal princesses of Thebes who

54. Our native workmen told us that in many places the grain stored in underground bins is mixed with ashes to protect it from mice and vermin.

55. Before our excavations the natives were in the habit of taking red brick dust (so-called “homre”) from this house to mix with lime mortar.

56. See Vol. IV, chap. ii.

57. During the excavations we had considered a few of these tombs (Nos. 5–6 and 9–10; see Folio Pl. 6) Ptolemaic, but the objects found in them provide no evidence for such a late date. Only No. 7 (see Vol. II 23), located in the south wing of the Small Temple, is definitely Ptolemaic, but since it had been emptied of its contents we could not be absolutely sure that it was a tomb.

were designated as the "divine consorts" of Amon. These chapels, which are in part well preserved, are located on the south side of the highway which leads to the Eastern Fortified Gate of the Great Temple and face the Small Temple (see Folio Pls. 9-10).

A second group consisted of less elegant tombs. These were located partly near the inclosure wall of the Small Temple (Nos. 3-6 and 9-12; see Folio Pls. 5-6) and partly on the other side of the highway (Nos. 13-15 and 18-20; see Folio Pls. 9-10). Some of them were cut into the brick foundations of the Eastern Fortified Gate, which had already been destroyed. The superstructures of these tombs had disappeared, leaving only the burial chambers, which were in some cases lined with stone. All the burials had been plundered, so that we recovered very few remains.

A third group of tombs (Nos. 21-31; see Folio Pls. 20-21) was found in the Great Temple in the rear halls and small rooms which apparently no longer were used in connection with the cult. The burial chambers lay directly under the floor slabs, that is, between the foundation walls of the temple (e.g. Fig. 21), or there were vertical shafts leading to burial chambers at the bottom. In antiquity, presumably in Ptolemaic times, they were all broken into, plundered, and then filled with debris. Daressy discovered most of these tombs during the *déblaiement* of the temple, when he examined and then refilled them.⁵⁸ As a result all sorts of strange objects of various ages accidentally found their way into them, for example fragments of cult objects, small votive statues of Osiris, ostraca, Ptolemaic coins, and the like. We reopened, examined, and measured most of these tombs and thus discovered some objects still *in situ* which previously had escaped attention, principally ushabtiu and canopic jars. The latter were usually placed in cubiform pits under the floors of the burial chambers. We were unable to determine whether the temple rooms beneath whose floors tombs existed had been walled up or served as chapels for the mortuary cult, whether stelae or the like had been erected in them or let into their walls in memory of the deceased.

All the tombs of these three groups in which names or titles of the deceased were discovered belonged to women.

The most important were the divine consorts of Amon: Shepnupet I, Amenirdis, Shepnupet II, Nitocris, and Ankhnes-Neferibre. In four tombs we found the title "songstress in the House of Amon": Neith. . . in Tomb 15, Ankhshenupet in Tomb 17a, Nester in Tomb 21, and Ankhamenirdis in Tomb 24. Disnub in Tomb 13 was designated "mistress (= wife) in the House of Amon." Nester in Tomb 21 was the "daughter of King Amenrud." And Diēse-hebsed in Tomb 4 was a lady-in-waiting of Shepnupet II. We do not know whether the other ladies belonged to the households of the divine consorts or were

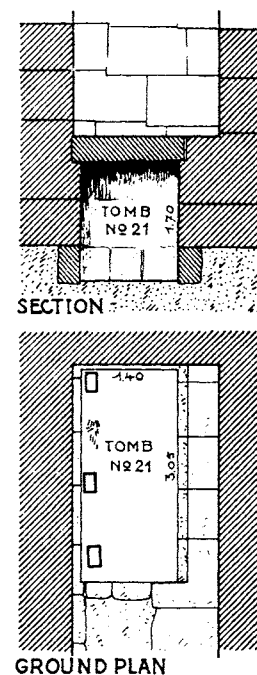


FIG. 21. TOMB (NO. 21) OF THE "SONGSTRESS OF AMON, NESTER," BUILT BETWEEN FOUNDATION WALLS OF THE GREAT TEMPLE, TWENTY-FIFTH DYNASTY. SCALE, 1:100

personally related to them, except for Mehetnusekhet, who was buried with the divine consorts because she was the mother of one of them, namely Nitocris.

In the following section only the tombs of the divine consorts are treated in detail. The others are presented in catalogue form (pp. 30-33).

THE TOMB-CHAPELS OF THE DIVINE CONSORTS OF AMON

The title "divine consort" (𓆎𓅓), which we first encounter at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty, reflects the idea of the marriage of the supreme god Amon to a mortal woman. She, in her attribute as divine consort, was at the same time the favorite wife of the king. And the eventual son who resulted from this divine marriage was the only legitimate heir to the throne. The duties and position of the divine consort, who is designated as "hand of the god" (𓆎𓅓) or, because of her priestly functions in the temple of Amon, as "divine votress" (𓆎𓅓), changed in the course of time in various ways.⁵⁹

In later periods, particularly in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth dynasties, the divine consortship took on a

new meaning. From that time on the divine consorts were regularly princesses of the royal house but they never married an earthly king. Their royal husband was Amon. For that reason they were considered queens and bore the corresponding titulary. The succession passed from "mother" to "daughter" on the basis of adoption, and the accession of the "daughter," the coronation, followed the death of the "mother." The divine consort exercised in the Theban divine state, to a certain extent as successor to the king, a kingly or princely power. But also her priestly functions increased until the office of high priest in Karnak ceased to exist (about the time of Nitocris).

The first divine consort who became priestess of Thebes in this sense was Shepnupet I,⁶⁰ daughter of Osorkon III,⁶¹

58. See Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, pp. 169 f. His assumption that the tombs were originally "crypts" for storing the temple treasures is unfounded; see Vol. III 14.

59. See C. E. Sander-Hansen, *Das Gottesweib des Amon* (Det kongelige danske videnskabernes Selskab, "Historisk-filologiske Skrifter" I 1 [København, 1940]).

60. In contrast to Sander-Hansen and others we count Shepnupet daughter of Osorkon III as Shepnupet I and leave an earlier Shepnupet, who was apparently not a divine consort, unnumbered.

61. See Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* II 2 (1931) p. 52; also Rudolf Anthes in his "Die deutschen Grabungen auf der Westseite von Theben in den Jahren 1911 und 1913," *MDIAA* XII (1943) 48.

with whom the Bubastite line of the Twenty-second and Twenty-third dynasties expired (ca. 718 B.C.). Nowadays it is assumed that it was Osorkon III under whom the Ethiopian king Pi'ankh, son-in-law and perhaps nephew of Kashta, conquered Egypt (ca. 720 B.C.), a catastrophe which was apparently repeated a few years later (ca. 712 B.C.) when Shabaka, successor of Pi'ankh, emerged triumphant in the Delta. It is to be assumed that as a result of these conquests the divine consort, the Libyan Shepnupet I, adopted Amenirdis, sister of Shabaka, as daughter and thereby appointed her as her successor. Amenirdis in turn adopted Shepnupet II, daughter of Pi'ankh and probably cousin of King Taharka.⁶² Shepnupet II at first adopted her niece Amenirdis II, daughter of Taharka, who, however, apparently never actually came

From this historical sketch, taken from Eduard Meyer, Breasted, and others, we see that occasionally a king in order to establish his ascendancy securely in Thebes had a princess of his house adopted by the divine consort and thereby appointed as her successor. In the sequence of these sacerdotal princesses and in their family relationships, therefore, were reflected the changing conditions on the Egyptian throne.

All the divine consorts mentioned above appear to have been buried at Medinet Habu. Their tomb-chapels stood in a row (Fig. 22) with their façades facing the Small Temple of Amon *dj-r-ḥ.t*, which was the center of the cult at Medinet Habu. We recall that the Small Temple was altered and enlarged during the Ethiopian period, particularly by the kings Shabaka and Taharka,⁶³ and that the high priest and king Horsiēse had his tomb built near this temple (see p. 8).

In this favored location were constructed four tomb-chapels, whose homogeneity is signified by the fact that connecting doorways led from one to another. Only the two center structures, those of Amenirdis and Shepnupet II, were built of stone and consequently are more or less well preserved (Pl. 12 A). Nitocris and her mother, Mehetnusekhet, also were provided for in the chapel of Shepnupet II. These two structures, which later served as cellars for Coptic houses erected over them, were cleared in 1895 during the *déblaiement* of Medinet Habu and have been briefly described by Daressy.⁶⁴ The other chapels consisted mostly of mud brick and hence no doubt fell into ruins at an early date. Since then, perhaps as a result of the *déblaiement*, their superstructures have almost completely disappeared.

The easternmost chapel was the earliest. Except for the stone-lined underground burial chamber, its antechamber, and the lowest courses of the cella walls and of the façade of the chapel only the brick foundation walls are preserved, and there are no inscriptions or objects from which we can learn the name of the owner. Our reasons for assigning it to Shepnupet I, the predecessor of Amenirdis, are stated below (pp. 19 f.). The westernmost and latest chapel has vanished except for a few traces. It belonged presumably to the successor of Nitocris, that is, 'Ankhnes-Neferibre', the last of the sacerdotal princesses (see p. 28).

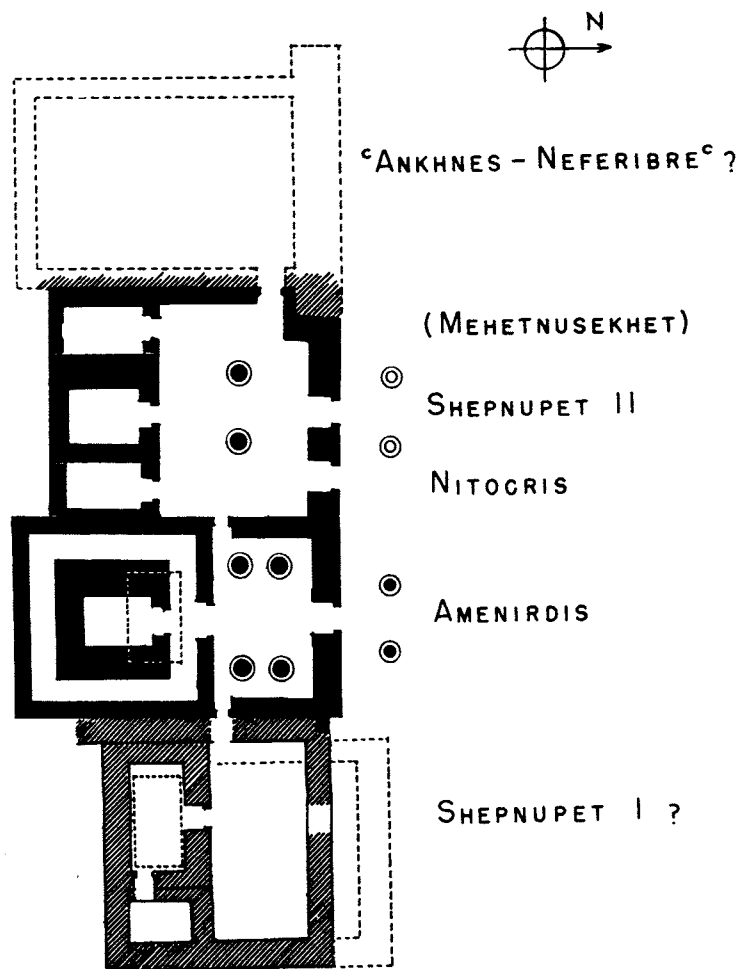


FIG. 22. TOMB-CHAPELS OF THE DIVINE CONSORTS OF AMON
GENERAL PLAN. SCALE, 1:333½

into power.⁶³ In the meantime Psamtik I had ascended the throne in Sais (663 B.C.) and soon thereafter had extended his rule to the divine state of Thebes (655 B.C.). Consequently the Ethiopian Shepnupet II adopted (in 654 B.C.) a Saitic princess, Nitocris, daughter of Psamtik I and Mehetnusekhet. When Nitocris took office is not known; she died in 584 B.C., that is, seventy years after her adoption. Nine years before her death (593 B.C.) she adopted her great niece 'Ankhnes-Neferibre', daughter of Psamtik II, who came to the throne in the same year. 'Ankhnes-Neferibre' was the last divine consort before the conquest of Egypt by the Persians (525 B.C.); she probably held office until this catastrophe took place and therefore enjoyed a long rule, as did her predecessor.⁶⁴

62. The relationships of the divine consorts of Amon to the 25th dynasty kings as here stated are based on Miriam Lichtheim in *JNES* VII (1948) 164.

63. Concerning the rule of Amenirdis II see Anthes, *op. cit.* p. 49, n. 2.

64. See *BAR* IV 478 f.

THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET I

This easternmost building in the row (Pl. 11 A), which, as we have stated, had almost completely disappeared above ground, was built for the most part of mud bricks of the size customary for the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth dynasties (ca. 30 × 15 × 8 cm.). The underground burial chamber (Fig. 23 B, Tomb 17) was faced with stone and covered with a stone vault (Pl. 11 B). A doorway blocked with stone on the inside and with brick on the outside led to a small antechamber built of brick and covered with a brick vault. Of this vault, which was mostly broken to pieces, there are still remains on the west wall and traces on the south wall. A doorway in the north wall of the antechamber was likewise walled up. Perhaps originally it gave access to an inclined north-south entrance passage (as in the tomb of Horsiēse; see pp. 8 f.). No such passage was preserved, however, since the layout was later

65. See Vol. II 26 f. and 52-54.

66. *Op. cit.* pp. 29-42. See also Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II 175-77.

changed and another tomb (No. 16) was constructed at this point.

The burial chamber, designated as Tomb 17, is almost intact and is particularly interesting because of its stone vault (see pp. 29 f.). Tomb-robbers had broken in above the blocked doorway, destroying and plundering, so that very little was left of the original contents. Some inlays from the wooden coffin were found, including numerous pieces of lapis lazuli and a glass eye with lead mounting and imbedded gold wire (Chicago 15710-14, 16296). There were also, according to Anthes, fifty-seven crude uninscribed ushabtiu of greenish fayence (4.5-5 cm. high), as well as twenty-one ushabtiu of the type which we designate as overseers; a sacred eye; some small blue beads, including cylinders, balls, rings, and double rings (Chicago 15057 and 15079); and various other small objects.

After the burial had taken place and the doorway had been walled up, a body was interred in the antechamber (Tomb 17a), contrary to the original intention. On the stone floor are two rows of stone blocks, about 10 cm. high, which could well have supported a wooden coffin (Pl. 11 C). In the northeast corner is a square pit about 60 cm. deep in which four canopic jars of alabaster still stood *in situ* (Pl. 22 A [Chicago 14677-80]). These are inscribed with two different names, 'Ankhshepnupet⁶⁷ and *Nb(t?)-i3mw-m-h3t*, which, however, according to Anthes refer to one and the same person. She is designated as "songstress in the House of Amon." In addition there were some ushabtiu (e.g. Cairo J 59702 and Chicago 15633-34, 15744-53) and beads (e.g. Chicago 15322-23) of the same types as those found in Tomb 17 and two uninscribed scarabs—a gilded heart scarab of greenish-black slate (Chicago 15022) and the other of lapis lazuli (Chicago 14927). It would seem, then, that this burial took place at about the same time as that in Tomb 17, probably at the beginning of the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

The cult chambers above ground (Fig. 23 A) resembled the underground rooms in plan, but because of their thinner walls were somewhat larger. The main room (No. 17), which we consider the cella, had its entrance in the center of the north wall. Its walls are preserved only slightly above the floor. They consist of mud brick and were faced with stone slabs 30 cm. thick. Presumably the room was barrel-vaulted, but whether in stone or in brick is unknown. The floor consisted of thin stone slabs which rested on the stone vault of the burial chamber and on rubbish filling (see Fig. 34). The existing stone facing of the walls shows remains of hieroglyphic inscriptions, painted in black on yellow background, which indicate that the walls of the cella were covered with funerary texts. There are traces of mortar which suggest that the exterior of the north wall, that is, the façade of the chapel, or at least its lowest course, was faced with stone. The room to the east of the cella, which was connected with it by a doorway, was built completely of brick, and its remains show nothing of interest because of the extensive damage.

In front of the building an almost square court was originally inclosed by walls at least 1.10 m. thick (see Fig. 23 B). The front wall projected 1.70 m. to the north of the stone pylon of the adjacent chapel of Amenirdis. Of

particular interest is the fact that this court was subsequently altered. Probably it seemed unsuitable that it should extend beyond the pylon of Amenirdis, thereby spoiling the effect of the latter. In any case the front part of the court was cut off, and a new wall of somewhat larger bricks ($34 \times 15 \times 10$ cm.) was built just short of the line of the pylon. A short section of stone wall which projects from the pylon (Fig. 23 A at *a* and Pl. 12 A) establishes the connection with the battered brick inclosure of the chapel of Shepnupet I. A short time later the west wall of the court was shifted about 80 cm. to the west, so that it abutted on the east wall of the chapel of Amenirdis. Consequently the latter was concealed and, in

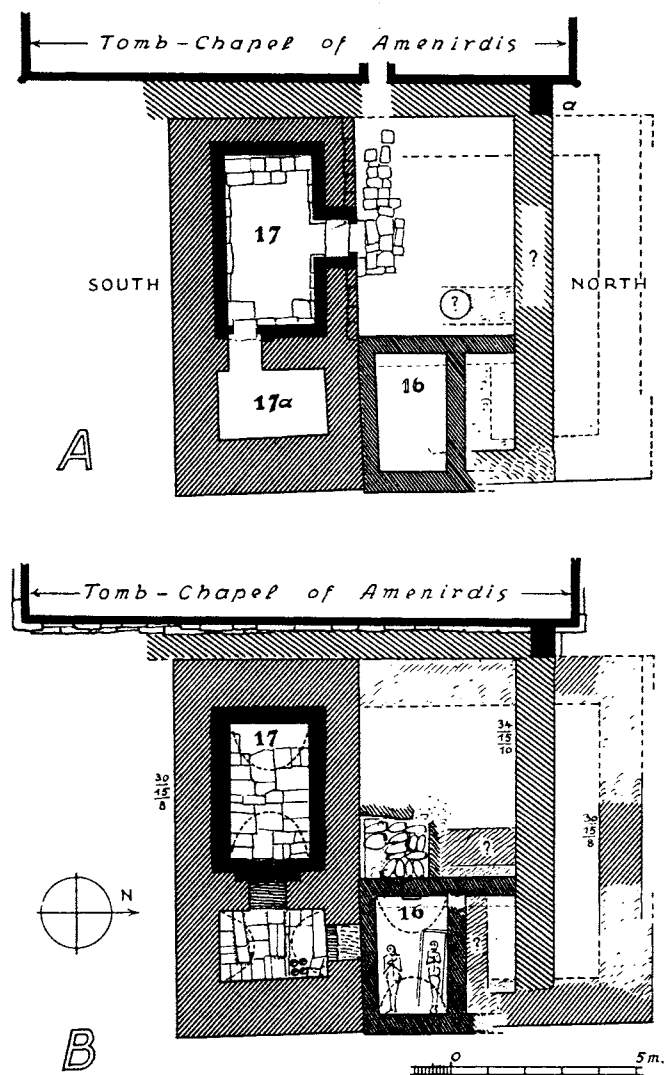


FIG. 23. TOMB-CHAPEL PRESUMABLY OF SHEPNUPET I. A. GROUND FLOOR. B. UNDERGROUND CHAMBERS. SCALE, 1:200

contrast to the other exterior walls of that chapel, was left rough and undressed.

The structural details revealed the following facts: (1) The chapel with the vaulted burial chamber was earlier than the adjacent chapel of Amenirdis. (2) As we shall see (p. 22), originally a brick chapel with ground plan very similar to that of the adjacent earlier chapel was built for Amenirdis. (3) The earliest chapel was connected with the chapel of Amenirdis by a doorway, just as the chapel of Amenirdis was connected with that of the divine consort which adjoins it on the other side. Hence we may assume that the easternmost chapel belonged to a divine consort who must have been the predecessor of Amenirdis, that is, Shepnupet I, daughter of Osorkon III. This assumption is corroborated first by the fact that a "songstress in the House of Amon" by the name of 'Ankhshepnupet, a lady

67. This name occurs as early as the 23d dyn., in a tomb at Deir el-Bahri; see H. E. Winlock in Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin* XIX (1924) Dec. Part II, p. 30.

who was apparently related in some way to Shepnupet I and who had taken her name, was buried in the ante-chamber of the earliest chapel, and second by the fact that Shepnupet I is represented several times in the adjoining chapel of Amenirdis beside her as participating in the cult (see p. 22).

Within the altered court of the chapel of Shepnupet I were built walls (brick size: $30 \times 14 \times 8$ cm.) whose age and purpose are not clear. On one of these was a column base (indicated by a question mark in Fig. 23 *A*), which suggests a columned hall or portico such as occurred in the later chapels. Into the southeast corner of the court was built a tomb (No. 16), whose brick walls were relatively thin (only $1\frac{1}{2}$ bricks thick) since they were supported by earlier foundation walls. The tomb chamber was vaulted in brick, and its entrance must have been at the west. It contained two skeletons lying on their backs with their heads toward the west and their arms crossed over their chests. The northern one had been in a wooden coffin which, though rotted, left stains of colored paint on the floor. Against the west wall of the chamber had stood a wooden box (45 cm. wide and 45 cm. high), presumably a container for canopic jars, which left stains of its colored paint on the wall. The contents of this tomb are of little interest. They include beadwork, a heart scarab, a breast scarab with wings, and figures of the four sons of Horus, all very crude. In the northeast corner was a pottery jug like Q 9 (see Pl. 47), 11.5 cm. high.

West of the tomb was a square pit (Pl. 11 *D*) which contained at least nine large shattered pottery jugs, a small plate, and a cup or bowl (see Pl. 47 *F* 2, *G* 2-3, *I*, *N* 7, *W* 1, *X* 2). They had been laid in the pit carefully but unsealed and empty. Their contents had perhaps been used in connection with the funeral. The forms of the vessels indicate that Tomb 16 should be dated not later than the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Similar but larger pottery magazines were found in connection with the tombs of the other divine consorts (see below).

THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS

The second chapel in the row, as already stated, is entirely of stone and comparatively well preserved, though, as a result of subsequent use for dwelling and storage purposes and of fires occurring within it, it was damaged and blackened by smoke. The layout (Fig. 24) is entirely different from that of the adjacent chapel of Shepnupet I. A single-towered pylon 1.30 m. thick forms the entrance. It is preserved to its full height (7.30 m.) and is crowned by a steep cavetto cornice. The portal is 1.08 m. wide and 2.80 m. high. It has a broad frame carved with inscriptions in which Shepnupet II describes herself as the builder of this chapel of Amenirdis.⁶⁸ The relief scenes on the façade (see Pl. 13 *A*) show personifications of the Egyptian noms at the bottom, then Amenirdis before Amon and Mut at the left and before Amon and Hathor at the right, and two scenes of Amenirdis before Amon alone at the top. The only undecorated portion is a space 1.60 m. high above the portal. Here are two approximately rectangular holes (*ca.* 50×60 cm.), whose edges are now broken but were originally carved in cornice form (see Fig. 24, elevation), and between them is a smaller hole (25 cm. square); all three are now filled with mortar. They no doubt held the

ends of two architrave beams with cornices and of the center beam of a portico roof, which we assume rested on columns. We searched for the foundations of such a structure, but in vain; the ground at this point had been so thoroughly torn up that except for an unrelated brick massif we found nothing. Therefore we have no clues as to the depth of the portico or as to the number and form of its columns and have not attempted to complete it in our reconstruction (Pls. 1-2).

Behind the pylon is a court which is wider than it is deep, with a colonnade at either side. Stumps of the columns and their bases as well as the architraves, cornices, and roof slabs are either preserved or can be reconstructed (Fig. 24, Sections *C-D*). The twelve-sided columns were 68 cm. in diameter at the bottom and tapered slightly toward the top. The four sides which faced the cardinal points of the compass bore vertical inscriptions. We have already noted⁶⁹ that some of the drums of these columns were used by Achoris (392-380 B.C.) in the peripteros of the Small Temple, a fact which indicates how early the chapel of Amenirdis was violated.

In the east wall of the court is a narrow doorway, whose sill is 60 cm. above the floor of the court, which leads to the correspondingly higher court of the chapel of Shepnupet I; in the west wall is a similar doorway, whose sill lies somewhat lower, leading to the court of the chapel of Shepnupet II (Fig. 24, Section *C*). The latter doorway proves that the construction of the chapel of Shepnupet II had begun before the completion of the court of Amenirdis. The representations on the walls of Amenirdis' court show Shepnupet II as builder of the chapel of Amenirdis performing rituals of the cult before the gods and the deified Amenirdis (see Pl. 12 *B*).

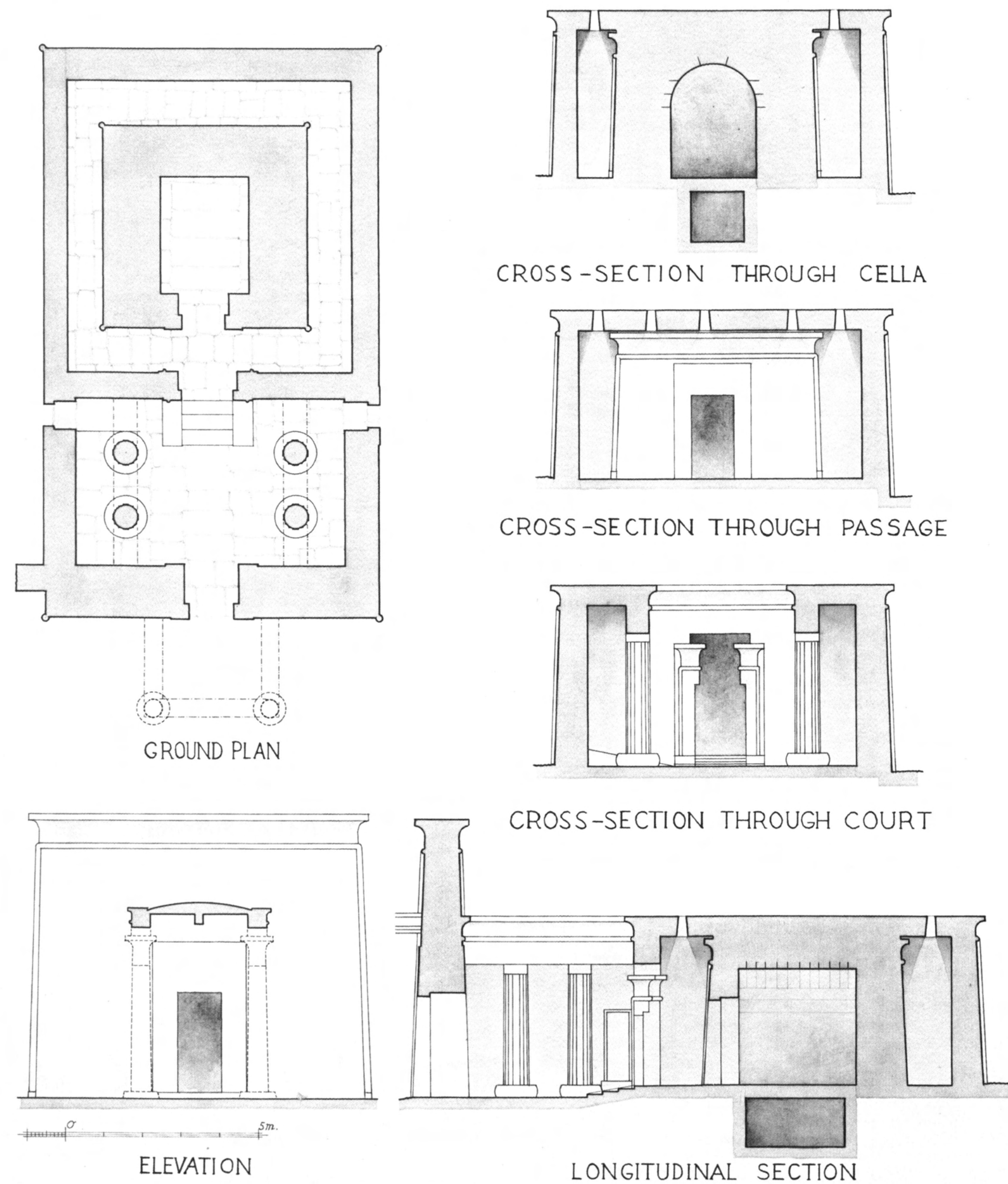
The south wall of the court forms the façade of the chapel proper (Pl. 12 *B*), which consists of a cella with a passage around it. The entrance is an open-lintel doorway,⁷⁰ which allowed abundant light to enter through the open space above the closed door leaves. There must have been low steps or a ramp in front of it (see Fig. 24, Section *D*). The cella is roofed as an independent structure—as regularly in temples with a passage around the sanctuary—and thus has battered exterior wall surfaces, torus moldings at the corners, and a cavetto cornice. The roof (*ca.* 50 cm. thick) of the passage rests on the cornice (see Fig. 24, Sections *A, B*). The passage itself is very narrow and would be absolutely dark, except at the front, were it not for small openings in the roof (16 in all) which allow light to enter and at the same time serve for ventilation. The outer walls of the passage (see Pl. 18 *A-C*) are ornamented with scenes which refer to the funerary cult of Amenirdis, before whose image Shepnupet II performs rituals of the cult. They bear the funeral liturgy above and Pyramid Texts and a sun hymn below.⁷¹ The inner walls, that is, the exterior wall surfaces of the cella, bear offering lists and cult representations in which sometimes Shepnupet II stands before various gods or before her "mother" the deified Amenirdis and sometimes Amenirdis stands before her "mother" Shepnupet I. These representations are in sunken relief except those on the front, which are in raised relief and show on the west half (above) Amenirdis accompanied by

69. See Vol. II 20 and 55.

70. See Vol. IV 35.

71. Published by Daressy in *RT* XXIII (1901) 1-18.

68. See Daressy in *RT* XX (1898) 74.



TOMB-CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. RECONSTRUCTIONS. SCALE, 1:100

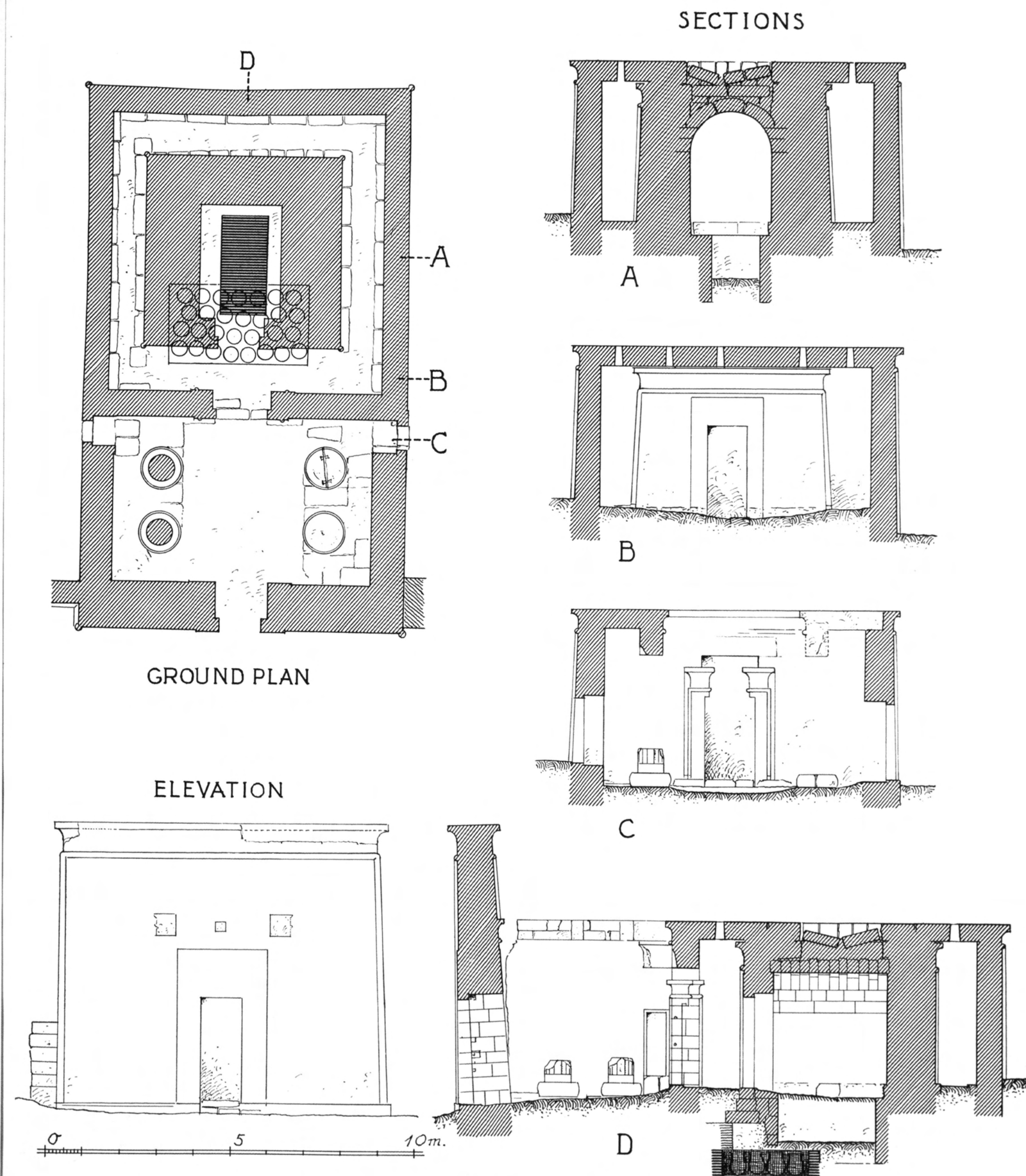


FIG. 24.—TOMB-CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS, AS FOUND. SCALE, 1:100

Anubis and Thoth (Pl. 17 *A*) and (below) Shepnupet II presenting offerings to the deified Amenirdis (Pl. 17 *B*), on the east half Shepnupet II before Anubis (above) and before Hathor (below).

The interior of the cella is 3.07 m. deep and 2.16 m. wide. It is roofed with a stone barrel vault and is thus similar to the burial chamber of Shepnupet I, though here the vault was constructed in a different manner (see pp. 29 f.). The rear wall of the cella (Pl. 16 *A*) shows on the arched portion representations of various food offerings above a *kheker* frieze, which continues along both side walls at the foot of the vault. A band of hieroglyphs is painted in black on the crown of the vault. The main representation on the mutilated rear wall is difficult to discern. It consists of two symmetrical scenes, arranged back to back: Amenirdis before Anubis (at left) and Hathor (at right), the two deities of the dead who were chiefly worshiped here. On the side walls of the cella one sees Amenirdis seated at an offering-table, a type of scene known from earlier periods.

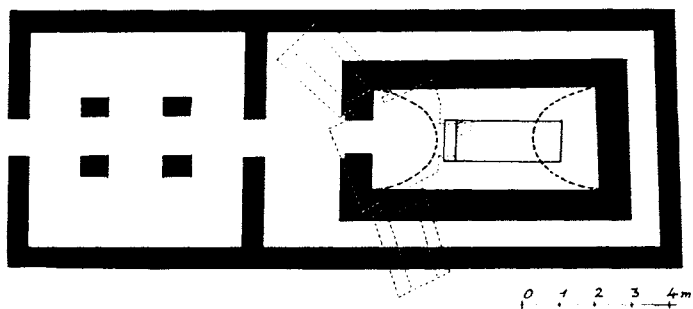


FIG. 25. TOMB-CHAPEL OF THE MIDDLE KINGDOM AT ANIBA IN LOWER NUBIA. SCALE, 1:200
After Steindorff, *Aniba II*, Blatt 19

As to the exterior of the chapel, the east wall was left undressed, as stated above, since the west wall of the adjacent brick chapel of Shepnupet I was built against it (see Pl. 11 *A*). The south wall was dressed but left undecorated. The west wall (Pl. 13 *B-C*) is decorated with reliefs, which were partially covered when the cella of Nitocris was built and partly mutilated when later dwellings were constructed. Beginning at the north, we see Shepnupet II before two predecessors whose names are lacking, obviously Amenirdis and Shepnupet I, then, on the other side of the doorway, Shepnupet II preparing an offering-table for Amenirdis, who is seated (the end of the scene is covered), and, below, representations of the Egyptian noms. The doorframe bears on the lintel two small scenes back to back showing Shepnupet II before Anubis and Hathor respectively. Below the cornice is a dedication inscription which states that the chapel was built by Shepnupet II, daughter of Pi'ankh, for her "mother" Amenirdis, daughter of Kashta. At the point where the pylon of the chapel of Shepnupet II adjoins the chapel of Amenirdis there are no reliefs, a fact which indicates that the reliefs on the exterior of the latter had not been completed when the construction of the chapel of Shepnupet II was begun. On the south end of the west side of Amenirdis' chapel, behind the cella of Nitocris, part of a cult scene is visible: a figure, probably Shenupet II, stands before an Ethiopian king, probably Pi'ankh, father of Shepnupet II, and two divine consorts, again obviously Amenirdis and Shepnupet I.

Once more we point out that the repeated occurrences of representations of the cult for Shepnupet I reveal that she was buried here in the immediate vicinity and partici-

pated in the cult. We consider them a confirmation of our assumption that the first tomb-chapel in the row was hers.

Under the floor of the cella of Amenirdis, which consists of stone slabs 37 cm. thick, is the tomb chamber. It is 2.60 m. long, 1.30 m. wide, and only 1.33 m. high (see Fig. 24, Sections *A* and *D*). It was therefore no larger than was required to receive a stone sarcophagus. It is not exactly on the axis of the cella but slightly to the west (see Fig. 24, ground plan and Section *A*). Hence the stone slabs which were used for covering the tomb after the burial could be piled high against the east wall until the last minute. The floor of the tomb chamber was merely of tamped earth, and there was no evidence of an earlier stone floor. As we dug up the floor we discovered that in the rear half of the room the walls extended deeper, and 2.25 m. below the floor of the cella were traces of a stone floor (see Fig. 24, Section *D*). The rear part of the tomb chamber thus formed a pit 55 cm. deep; we assume that originally the box of canopic jars stood in it.⁷²

Below the floor at the front of the burial chamber was discovered an earlier transverse crypt (see Fig. 24, ground plan and Section *D*), whose mud-brick walls were preserved to a height of 60 cm. It measured 3.70 × 2.20 m., its sides and front extending under the foundations of the stone cella. Originally it must have been about man-high. The preserved part was filled with large pottery jars and other vessels, over which lay a bedstead (see Fig. 27). All the hollow spaces had been carefully filled with clean sand, which presumably was washed in, and the whole was covered with two courses of bricks. So it was believed—incredible as it seems—that the stone foundations of the chapel could be bedded upon this sand-filled pottery magazine. Under these circumstances it was extremely difficult to empty the crypt, since first bit by bit we had to undermine the stone foundations and then support them with masonry in cement. Thus we were not able to remove all the objects, but had to leave one or two of the jugs which stood in the northeast corner and a corner piece of the bedstead. We assume that the pottery vessels as well as the bedstead were used in connection with the embalming of the body and then, as seems to have been customary, buried with it. For the objects themselves see page 23.

The earlier crypt was exactly on the axis of the chapel (see Fig. 22) and corresponded in position and level, as well as in form and size, to the stone-vaulted crypt which we have assigned to Shepnupet I. It would seem, then, to have been the tomb chamber of a brick chapel which resembled that earliest chapel and presumably was intended for Amenirdis. Amenirdis was not buried therein, however, as we have seen; instead, after her death and mummification, Shepnupet II had the brick chapel, which was probably still unfinished, dismantled and replaced by a more sumptuous stone one. Only the lowest part of the tomb chamber was utilized, as a repository for the objects used in connection with the mummification.

The stone chapel of Amenirdis (Pls. 1-2) differs in form from any previously known Egyptian tomb structures and especially from the chapel of Shepnupet I. The only fore-runners of this new type are, as far as I know, some tomb-chapels at Aniba in Lower Nubia, one of which is shown in Figure 25. It is attributed to the end of the Mid-

72. Cf. the position of the canopic jars in similar tombs, e.g. those of Ankh-shepnupet and Ankhamenirdis (see pp. 19 and 32).

dle Kingdom or the beginning of the Hyksos period. It was built of mud brick and consisted of a vaulted cella, an apparently roofed passage, and a four-columned court whose center aisle was presumably covered.⁷³ That the type originated in Nubia, an Egyptian colonial area, is not likely. I assume rather that similar chapels of the same period are to be found in Egypt but so far have not been discovered. The Twenty-fifth Dynasty, because of its predilection for time-honored forms of architecture and art, perhaps revived this type in Thebes.

Except for those found in the pottery magazine none of the objects belonging to the burial of Amenirdis remained *in situ*, since the tomb had been opened and plundered in antiquity (see below) and then cleared during the *déblaiement* of Medinet Habu.⁷⁴

The sarcophagus, like those of Nitocris and Ankhnes-Neferibre^c (see below), was probably carried off in antiquity and reused. But it has not yet come to light.

Amenirdis in the accompanying inscription it is uncertain whether this fine object came from her chapel or perhaps from the Small Temple.

The objects from the pottery magazine (see Pl. 20 *A*) include twenty-nine or thirty large storage jars about 60 cm. high, some with two handles and some with four (e.g. pottery catalogue *A* 3-4). They were unsealed, and some still showed traces of the original contents. One had been one-third filled with a liquid which left a black deposit; another contained fragments of papyrus in a mass of asphalt. In the otherwise empty jars had been placed small vessels and other types of objects: plates of gray-red clay, five with diameters of about 26-29 cm. and one only 8 cm. in diameter (cf. pottery catalogue *W* 1); four bowls of gray-red or red clay, with diameters of about 25-36 cm. (e.g. *W* 4-6); a jar cover with knob (*Y* 2); a small jug of gray-red clay with red wash, 19 cm. in diameter and 17 cm. high (cf. *C* 1); two cups of gray-red

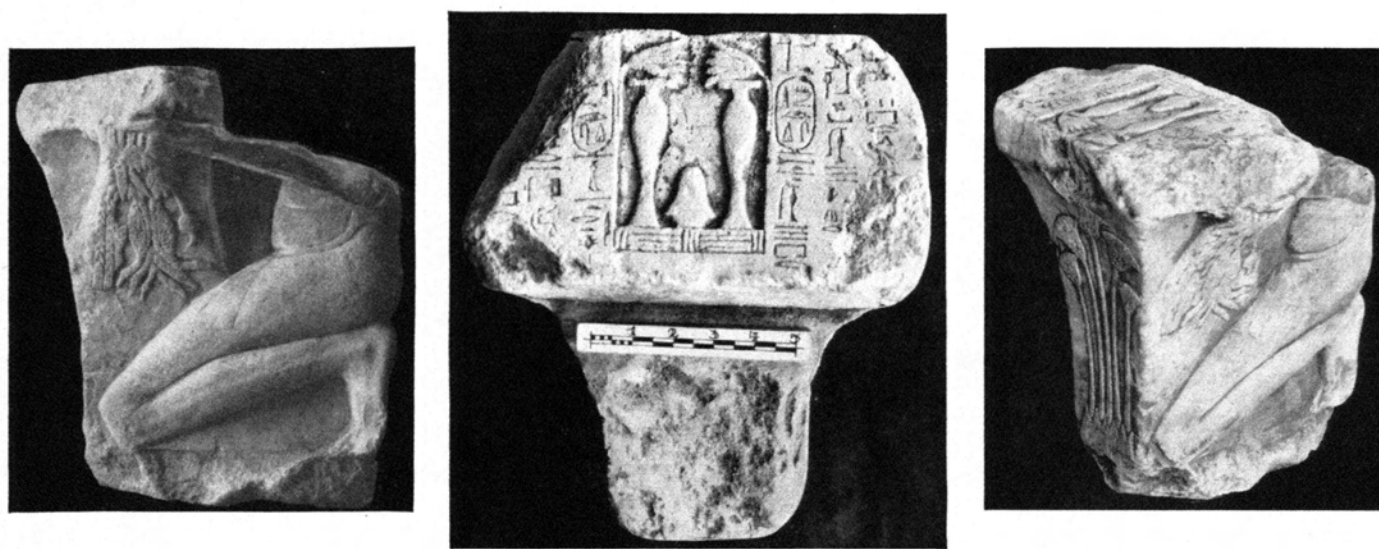


FIG. 26. FRAGMENT (ca. 15 CM. HIGH) OF LIMESTONE OFFERING-TABLE OF AMENIRDIS, SEEN FROM ONE SIDE AND FROM ABOVE
CAIRO J 59871

A complete inscribed heart scarab, which could have belonged to the mummy, is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.⁷⁵

Five ushabtiu of Amenirdis, made of black serpentine (e.g. Pl. 21 *A* [Cairo J 59704; 20.6 cm. high]), were found during our excavations south of the Small Temple, in the so-called "tank,"⁷⁶ that is, at a distance of barely 50 meters. In the same vicinity were found two canopic jar covers of alabaster, a human head and a falcon head—magnificent large pieces (16-17 cm. high) with remains of painted decoration (Pl. 20 *D* [Chicago 14676, 14674]). There was also a fragment of a large uninscribed alabaster jar, presumably belonging with one of the lids. The fact that they were found in the immediate neighborhood of the ushabtiu, as well as their quality and unusual size, suggests that they belonged to the burial of Amenirdis or one of the other divine consorts.

A fragment of a limestone offering-table supported by a kneeling Nile god (Fig. 26) was found in debris in the vicinity of the chapel of Amenirdis. The upper part of the figure is missing. In spite of the occurrence of the name of

clay (*X* 4-5); a jug of gray-red clay and whitish outside (*N* 3), a form often used for canopic jars; a round grinding-stone which had been used as a hammer also. On top of the storage jars were remains of a bedstead, on which presumably the mummification had taken place. Three of the bronze corners were recovered (Fig. 27), but one corner of the head had to be abandoned (see p. 22). The two corners of the foot have slots to receive foot boards. In addition there were some crumbled wooden parts evidently belonging to the bed, including a wooden rung 6 cm. in diameter, and remains of matting.

THE TOMB-CHAPEL

OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET

The chapel which adjoins that of Amenirdis at the west and contains the tombs of Shepnupet II, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet is of abnormal form (Fig. 28). The central cella and the pylon date from Shepnupet II, who, as we have seen, had built the adjacent chapel of her predecessor too. Obviously she had in mind a similar layout for herself (Fig. 29 *A*). Construction of this building, however, was not completed under Shepnupet II but came to a standstill soon after it was begun. The political and economic status of the divine consort of Thebes must have sharply deteriorated in the second half of the incumbency of Shepnupet II, as indicated by the fact that by 654 B.C. Psamtik I had gained control of the Theban state; he

73. See Georg Steindorff, *Aniba II* (Glückstadt, 1937) 45 f. and 174 (Grab S 41).

74. See Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, p. 42.

75. See Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin* X (1915) 116 f.

76. See Vol. II 39 f.

probably had greatly decreased the power and the influence of the divine consort.

After the death of Shepnupet II the task of completing her tomb-chapel fell to her "daughter" Nitocris. However, Nitocris altered the project by adding a similar cella for herself beside the original one and by having a second doorway, directly opposite her own cella, broken through the pylon, which was still in the process of construction (Fig. 29 B). A third alteration took place when the real mother of Nitocris, Mehetnusekhet, wife of Psamtik I, who presumably followed her newly honored daughter to Thebes, also was buried here. Since a new tomb-chapel was apparently already in the process of construction west of the building (see p. 28), there was no place for Mehetnusekhet except on the other side of the cella of Shepnupet II (Fig. 29 C).

Let us now observe the various parts of this building more closely. The pylon is like that of the adjacent chapel of Amenirdis in form and dimensions. As it was cleared

determined. On the rear face of the pylon (see Pl. 15 B) the doorways are framed in the same manner as on the front, and on the west half are two registers of poorly executed reliefs showing (above) Mehetnusekhet before Amon, Mut, and Khonsu and (below) Nitocris before her three deified predecessors, Shepnupet II, Amenirdis, and Shepnupet I.

The court is wider than it is deep (9.60×6.65 m.), and there is a right-angled projection in the northwest corner. When Mehetnusekhet's cella was added, the west wall of the court was shifted westward to abut on the brick wall of a building which apparently was in the process of construction, and thus a right-angled turn around the brick pylon of that building was necessitated (see Fig. 29 B-C). Since the west wall rested against the battered brick wall, which has since disappeared, its outer face was out of plumb (see Fig. 28, Sections A-B) and was left undressed. It consists of reused blocks, some of which bear inscriptions of Ramses II (see Pl. 15 B).⁷⁹

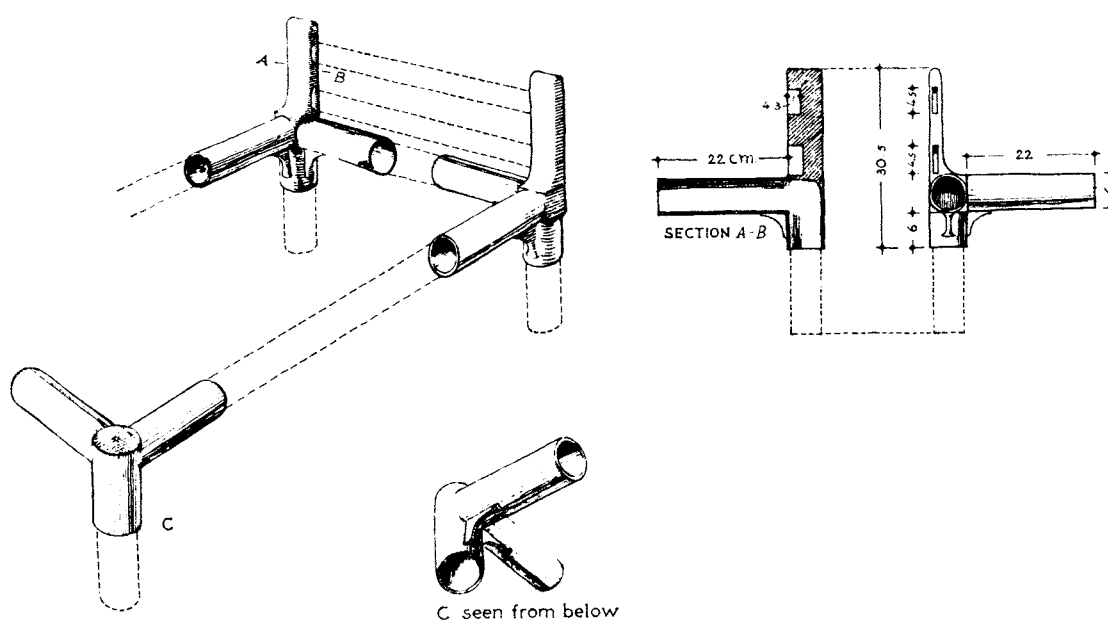


FIG. 27. FRAGMENTS OF BRONZE BEDSTEAD FROM THE PIT BENEATH THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. CHICAGO 14669-71

during the *déblaiement* of Medinet Habu in 1895 it leaned sharply and threatened to collapse. Consequently, under Barsanti's direction, it was torn down and after the foundations had been strengthened was rebuilt stone by stone.⁷⁷ Naturally as a result of these operations many of the original features were lost, especially since numerous new stone blocks were inserted in damaged places.

The two portals resemble one another and correspond in size as well as in the inscriptions on their frames to the portal in Amenirdis' pylon.⁷⁸ However, they were not so carefully executed and are not so well preserved. The pylon itself has space for scenes on the west half only (see Pl. 13 A). There are two superimposed representations of Nitocris standing before Amon. In some places the engraving is not very deep and hence is indistinct. Obviously the stone surface had been covered originally with a more or less thick coating of gypsum. There are traces which indicate that there had been a portico in front of the original portal (see Fig. 28, elevation), as in the case of the chapel of Amenirdis. Whether there had been a portico in front of the second portal, as one might assume, cannot be

The rear half of the court is 60 cm. above the level of the doorsills in the pylon. Here, then, was a terrace approached presumably from three ramps corresponding to the entrances to the three cellae. At the front edge of the terrace are two square stone foundations, upon which columns must have stood, and a similar arrangement at the west wall, probably intended for a pilaster (see Fig. 28, ground plan). We do not know whether the columns were of wood or of stone. Perhaps some of the stone column drums used by Achoris in the ambulatory of the Small Temple came from here, since they bear the names of Shepnupet II, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet.⁸⁰ The entablature above them, however, no doubt consisted of wood, as indicated not only by the relatively wide space between the columns but also by traces above the doorway on the east wall of the court, that is, on the exterior of the west wall of the chapel of Amenirdis (see Fig. 28, Section C, and Pl. 13 B). Here one can observe how the steeper wooden cavetto cornice was fitted into the stone cornice, which projected

77. See Daressy, *op. cit.* p. 38.

78. See *ibid.* p. 39.

79. The inside face of the wall contains, within the cella of Mehetnusekhet, a New Kingdom block bearing the name of the priest Khamwese; see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II 177, and Daressy in *RT* XIX (1897) 20 (CXLI).

80. See Vol. II 20 and 55.

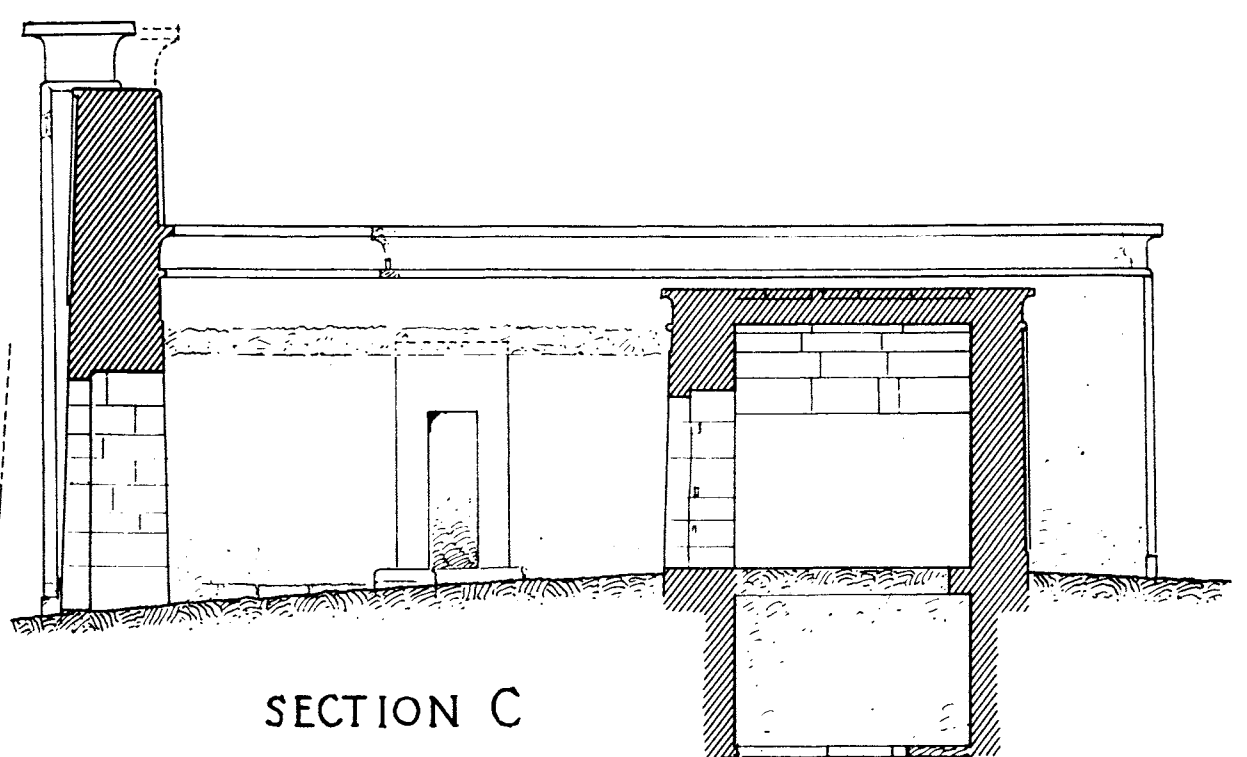
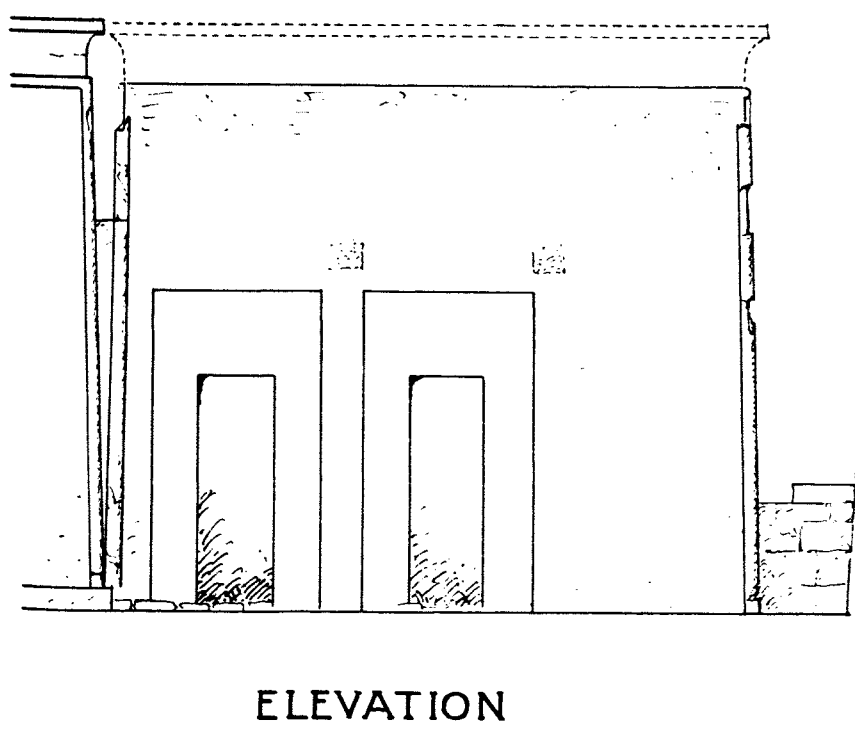
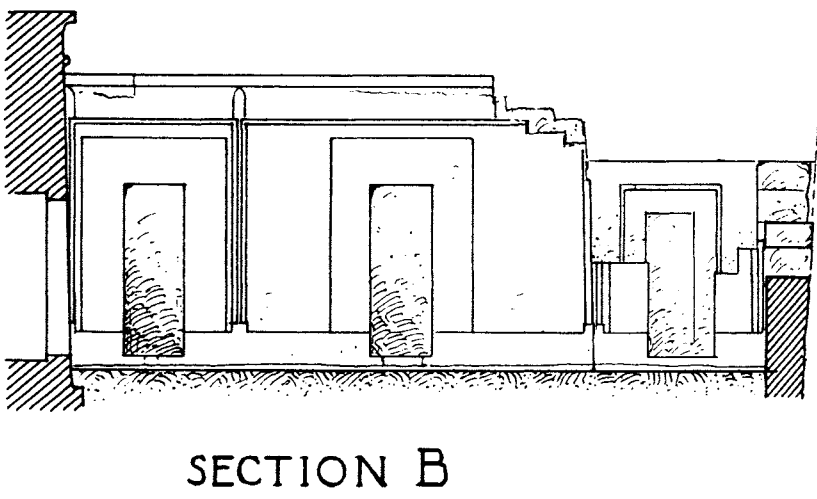
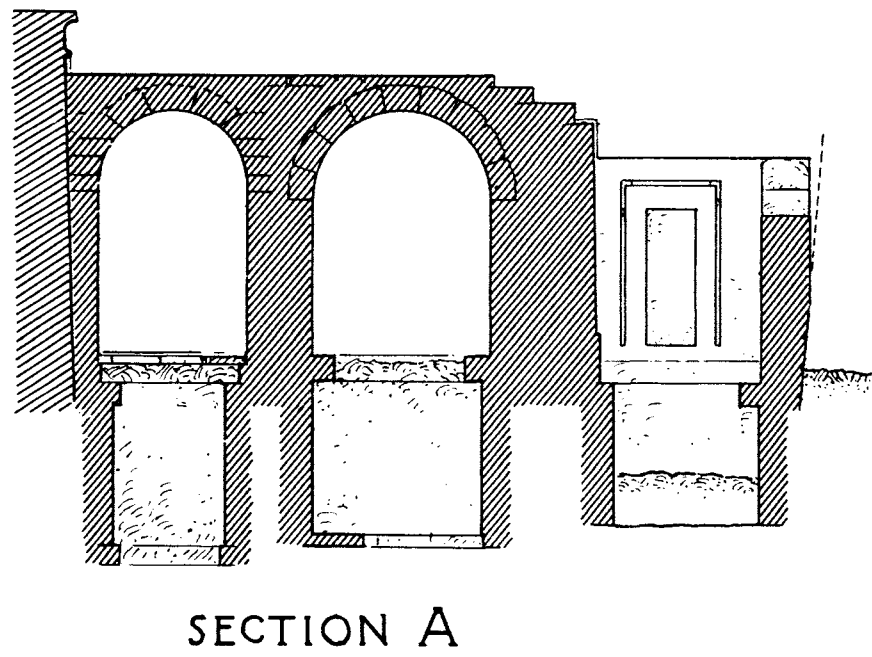
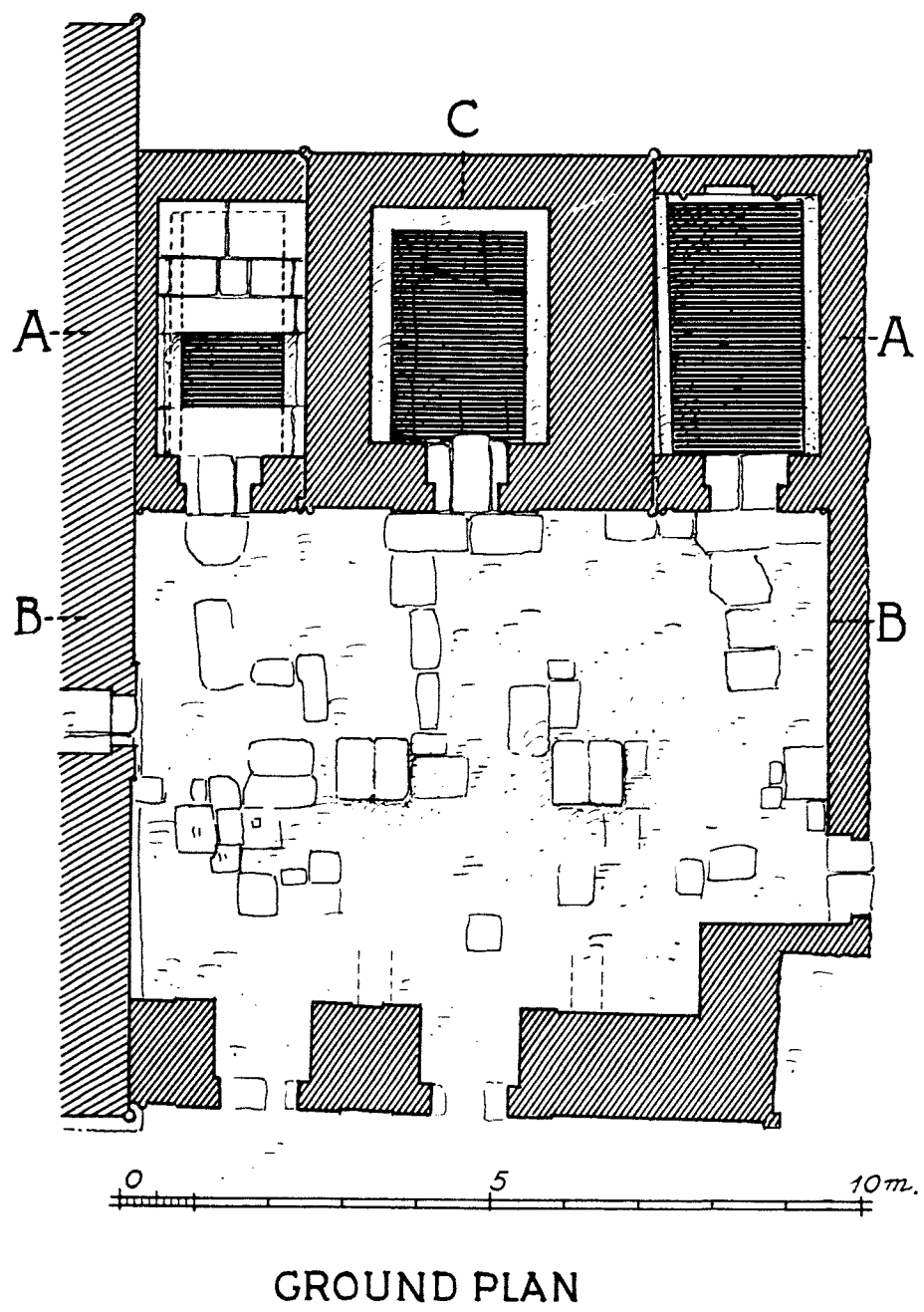


FIG. 28. TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET. SCALE, 1:100

farther. In the same way two depressions in the rear face of the pylon have steep profiles which suggest wooden cornices (Fig. 30). All these traces indicate that there was a covered walk extending from the center portal in the pylon to the two columns, where it met a gallery which was erected on the terrace (see Fig. 29 C).

The far end of the court forms the façade of the three cellae (Pl. 14). They were all constructed on the same scheme as the cella of Amenirdis, that is, with battered walls, torus moldings at the corners, and cavetto cornices at the top. The east wall of the cella of Shepnupet II was actually made thinner than had originally been intended (Fig. 29; cf. *A* with *B*) in order to provide more space for the cella of Nitocris which was to be added. That wall therefore had subsequently been changed. The cella of Mehetnusekhet, on the other hand, was merely inserted beside the completed cella of Shepnupet II. The broad

there had been facing walls (perhaps 50 cm. thick) which supported the slabs.⁸¹ Thus the width of the tomb chamber would have been reduced to about 1.40 m., which nevertheless exceeds that of Amenirdis' burial chamber (1.30 m.) and that of Horsiëse's (1.25 m.). The floor of the crypt consisted of thin stone slabs, few of which were still present. When the tomb was plundered, or at some later date, the ground was turned up even below the floor level of the crypt; but, when it became evident that the effort was fruitless, the crypt was refilled with debris. In this debris we found countless sherds of large pottery jars and bowls⁸² of the same types as those found in the pottery magazine beneath the burial chamber of Amenirdis (see p. 22). Again nothing is known of the sarcophagus.

The width of the crypt of Nitocris is only 1.40 m. (see Fig. 28, Section *A*) and therefore the same as that we have assumed for the narrowed crypt of Shepnupet II. Some of

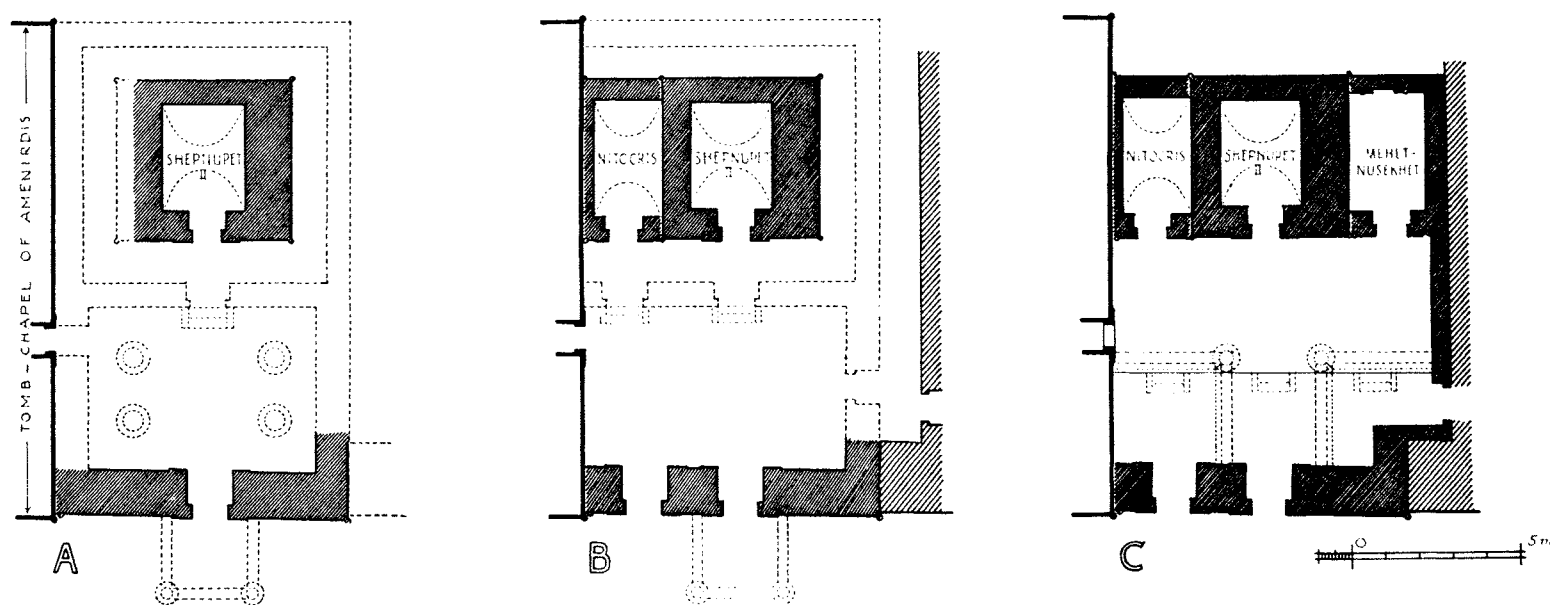


FIG. 29. TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET. *A*. AS PROBABLY ORIGINALLY PLANNED BY SHEPNUPET II. *B*. AFTER ADDITION OF THE CELLA OF NITOCRIS. *C*. AFTER ADDITION OF THE CELLA OF MEHETNUSEKHET.

frames of the three doorways, which are almost identical and occupy most of the façade of the chapel, were patterned after the frame of the corresponding doorway in the chapel of Amenirdis. There is space for reliefs only on either side of the doorframe of Shepnupet II, and these likewise correspond to those of the earlier model, with Shepnupet II and Nitocris replacing Amenirdis and Shepnupet I.

The cellae of Shepnupet II and Nitocris have stone vaults, which structurally are different from one another and from those of the cella of Amenirdis and the tomb chamber of Shepnupet I (pp. 29 f.). On the other hand, the reliefs (e.g. Pl. 18 *D*) and inscriptions on their walls and ceilings show no essential difference from those of the earlier model, though the execution became increasingly poorer.

The crypt of Shepnupet II has the same ground plan as the overlying cella (2.36×3.15 m.) and a height of 2.10 m. (see Fig. 28, Sections *A* and *C*). Of the floor between them only the margins along the sides and at the rear are preserved; the intervening stone slabs are lacking. In the present state of the building, since there is nothing to support such slabs, they would have to be suspended in mid-air, which of course is impossible. It is therefore presumable that along the longitudinal walls of the crypt

the ceiling slabs and the thin floor slabs above them were *in situ*. The height of the crypt is 2.15 m. Here too there is the possibility that pottery vessels stood beneath the sarcophagus, since we found sherds of the same kind in the rubbish filling, though these could have come from the adjacent crypt of Shepnupet II. The red granite sarcophagus of Nitocris was found in a tomb shaft 90 meters to the north of the temple of Deir el-Medinah and was taken to the Cairo Museum in 1885 at the direction of Maspero.⁸³ Nitocris, however, must have been buried in her tomb-chapel at Medinet Habu, as indicated by ushabitu (see p. 28) found at Medinet Habu. The sarcophagus must therefore have been carried off later to be reused elsewhere

81. Cf. the tomb of Horsiëse, where such walls were built into the tomb chamber (see p. 9 and Fig. 9).

82. As to the location of the pottery magazine whence these vessels came, in my opinion there is only one possibility. Presumably the lower part of the crypt was filled with pottery, which then must have been filled with sand exactly as in the case of Amenirdis' magazine. The floor of the crypt thus would have been raised ca. 70 cm., and the height of the room reduced to ca. 1.40 m., which is comparable with that of Amenirdis' tomb chamber (1.25 m.). The stone sarcophagus as well as the supporting walls for the ceiling slabs would, then, have stood upon the pottery magazine.

83. See p. 48 in G. Maspero, "Premier rapport à l'Institut égyptien sur les fouilles exécutées en Égypte de 1881 à 1885" (Institut égyptien, *Bulletin*, 2^e série, VI [1885] 3-91); also reprint in Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes* I ("Bibliothèque égyptologique" I [Paris, 1893]) 184.

(as I assume happened in the case of the sarcophagus of 'Ankhnes-Neferibre'; see p. 29).

The last cella in the row, that of Mehetnusekhet, differs from the others structurally as well as in the decoration of the interior. Perhaps the differences are to be explained by the fact that Mehetnusekhet was not a divine consort and was buried in this row only because of her kinship to one of the divine consorts. Her cella had suffered greater damage than the other two, but all its essential parts can be reconstructed. The ceiling was not vaulted but consisted of stone slabs which rested at one side on the cella of Shepnupet II and at the other side on the stone wall which was built against the adjacent brick chapel (see Fig. 28, Section *A*).

In the rear wall of the room (Pl. 18 *E*) is a tall niche, like a false door, in which Osiris is represented in his shrine. The frame bears two lines of inscription on each side and

plundering of the burials. Objects which were considered worthless were thrown mostly into the "tank" which is situated between the chapels and the Small Temple.⁸⁴

Of objects belonging to Shepnupet II we have the following:

1. Ushabtiu of greenish-black serpentine, *ca.* 16 cm. high (e.g. Pl. 21 *D* [Cairo J 59724 + Chicago 14192] and *E*), mostly fragmentary. Found in the "tank" and in Tomb 3 (see p. 30). E.g. Cairo J 59724-25 and Chicago 14191-97.
2. Twenty ushabtiu of greenish fayence bearing the name of Shepnupet II, 8 cm. high (see e.g. Pl. 21 *G*⁸⁵). E.g. Chicago 15615-20.
3. One overseer of greenish fayence, uninscribed, 7 cm. high (Pl. 21 *G*, extreme left). Chicago 15635.
4. Twenty-three uninscribed ushabtiu of greenish fayence, *ca.* 12 cm. high (see e.g. Pl. 21 *H*⁸⁶). E.g. Chicago 15597, 15599, 15693.
5. Five overseers of greenish fayence, uninscribed, 12-13 cm. high (see e.g. Pl. 21 *H*⁸⁶). E.g. Chicago 15598, 15600, 15694.
6. Black granite box without a lid (Pl. 20 *E-F*), 118 cm. long, 57 cm.



FIG. 30. REAR FACE OF THE PYLON OF SHEPNUPET II, SHOWING WHERE WOODEN CORNICES ONCE ADJOINED

was bordered at top and sides by a torus molding which was let into the wall. Outside the niche Isis and Nephthys, Neit and Serket are represented with hands upraised. On the side walls of the cella we see Mehetnusekhet behind an offering-table, with Inmutef before it; also Mehetnusekhet before various gods. Originally all the wall surfaces were covered with gypsum, in or through which the reliefs were carved. But after the gypsum fell off only the deepest contours remained visible on the rather crudely dressed surface of the stone.

We found the accompanying crypt open. It is quite large (1.90 × 3.35 m.) but not so deep as the others (2.00 m.). Its walls, as can be seen from remains of the original stucco coating, were carved with inscriptions, obviously funerary rituals.

No objects remained in the cellae and crypts of these three ladies, though a few belonging to Shepnupet II and Nitocris—but nothing that can be attributed to Mehetnusekhet—were found scattered in the vicinity of the chapels, where they were left behind by chance after the

wide, *ca.* 80 cm. high. Since the bottom of the box was left unfinished, presumably it had been let into the floor so that it protruded only *ca.* 50 cm. The front and both ends are inscribed, but the surfaces are badly corroded as the result of salt efflorescence. On the front a cartouche of Osiris is flanked on either side by the name of Shepnupet II. She is designated as "hand of the god" (𓆎𓅓) at the left and as "divine votress" (𓆎𓅓) at the right. Next come at the right "daughter of the king" (the name of Pi'ankh has been chiseled away) and at the left the name of her "mother" Amenirdis. On one end (Pl. 20 *F*) she is designated as "divine consort" (𓆎𓅓);⁸⁷ here the name of the father and that of Amenirdis have been chiseled away. The box probably contained canopic jars or ushabtiu. It was found in E 9 in the pavement in front of the "un-

84. See Vol II 39 f.

85. Chicago 15635, 15615, 15618, 15620, 15617, and 15616 respectively (from left to right).


86. Ushabti at extreme left is Chicago 15600, and the two at the right end are Chicago 15599 and 15693.

87. Although Sander-Hansen, *op. cit.* p. 10, states that Shepnupet III (=our Shepnupet II; see p. 17, n. 60, above) does not bear that title.

inscribed gate,"⁸⁸ which dates from the end of the 2d century B.C. It was built in between pavement slabs with its uninscribed face exposed.

7. Black granite offering-table (Fig. 31). The bottom was apparently let into the floor, since it was left unfinished. It has a rounded shaft which gives it the appearance of a mushroom. It was found during the *déblaiement* of Medinet Habu and is now in the forecourt of the Small Temple. The inscription on the top was copied by Daressy.⁸⁹
8. Schist statue of Shepnupet II, originally gilded (Pl. 20 B-C), 68 cm. high without base. The accompanying inscription⁹⁰ appears on its back pillar. The statue was found face down in the pavement south of the sacred lake,⁹¹ which was probably laid in Ptolemaic times. I assume that this statue once stood in the Small Temple rather than in the tomb-chapel of Shepnupet II. Cairo J 59870.

Of objects belonging to Nitocris we have the following:

1. About 24 ushabtiu of gray-green fayence, *ca.* 15 cm. high. Twelve of these are complete (e.g. Pl. 21 F [Cairo J 59709 and Chicago 14096]). Found in the "tank." Cairo J 59707-11 and Chicago 14093-14105, 14107-41.
2. Ushabtiu of greenish fayence, *ca.* 8 cm. high, inscribed with  "Nitocris." Found near the "tank." Near them were 2 uninscribed ushabtiu of the overseer type, 7 cm. high.

In connection with the objects of the divine consorts, the following may be mentioned:

1. Cubiform black granite statuette of Akhamonerow, "high steward of the divine consort"; 30 × 22 × 20 cm. (Fig. 32). On the top are the names of Amenirdis and Shepnupet II.⁹² Found in debris. Chicago 14284.
2. Black granite statuette of a "songstress of Amon" (Fig. 33). Kneeling figure holding a sistrum in her left hand (against her breast) and a *mnit*-necklace in her right hand; head lost. Found in debris. Chicago 14662.

THE TOMB-CHAPEL OF 'ANKHNES-NEFERIBRE^c

Nothing of the last chapel in the row actually remains. But that an important building was located here during the Twenty-sixth Dynasty can be inferred, as mentioned above (p. 24), from some peculiarities of the west wall of the chapel of Shepnupet II, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet. In the first place, since the outer face of that wall is noticeably out of plumb (see Fig. 28, Sections A-B) it must have abutted an already existing battered wall. The fact that the latter has completely disappeared while the abutting stone wall is almost completely preserved indicates that it consisted of mud bricks which were later removed for other building purposes or destroyed by *sebakh*-diggers.⁹³ In the second place, the west end of the stone pylon of Shepnupet II and Nitocris was left unsmoothed and undecorated, no doubt because before its completion another structure was built against it—a thicker brick pylon, as indicated by the projecting corner in the court next door (see Fig. 22). These two circumstances indicate

that the brickwork in question was begun slightly later than the pylon of Shepnupet II and Nitocris but before the addition of the cella of Mehetnusekhet. In the third place, we see that the brick building and the chapel of Shepnupet II, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet were connected by a doorway, as was the latter with the chapel of Amenirdis and the chapel of Amenirdis with that of Shepnupet I. So it is to be assumed that that brick building too was the tomb-chapel of a divine consort, and of one who ruled after Nitocris. Since there was only one successor of Nitocris, it must have been the chapel of 'Ankhnes-Neferibre^c, the last divine consort. Another indication that there had been a building of this princess at Medinet Habu is the fact that Daressy found that numerous blocks bearing her name had been reused in the construction of the presumably Ptolemaic sacred lake and its pavement.⁹⁴ Some of these blocks are now stored in the Great Temple at Medinet Habu. We presume that they came from the assumed tomb-chapel in question and conclude further therefrom that certain walls of that structure, perhaps



FIG. 31. BLACK GRANITE OFFERING-TABLE OF SHEPNUPET II

those of the cella, were constructed of stone or faced with stone.

Whether 'Ankhnes-Neferibre^c, who apparently lost her power as a result of the Persian conquest (525 B.C.), was actually buried in this assumed tomb-chapel which apparently was erected and made ready for her cannot be proved, since we found no funerary offerings of this princess nor any objects which can be identified as belonging to her. But that fact is not counterevidence, just as such negative evidence is not in the case of Mehetnusekhet, who was without doubt buried at Medinet Habu. The sarcophagus of 'Ankhnes-Neferibre^c, a beautiful specimen of black basalt, was discovered in 1832 behind Deir el-Medinah in a shaft 30 meters deep, 28 meters southwest of the shaft in which subsequently the sarcophagus of Nitocris was found (see p. 26). The coffin of 'Ankhnes-Neferibre^c was first taken to Paris and finally sold to the British Museum (Egyptian Collection No. 32). A later

88. See Vol. II 58.

89. See RT XX 75 (CLII). The copy and translation by the late Dr. W. Hölscher were lost!

90. Drawn from a copy by Professor Keith C. Seele.

91. See Vol. II 41 f.

92. Published by Miriam Lichtheim in JNES VII 163-79.

93. It was evident that here the ground had been torn up and filled with rubbish to a depth of 2.60-2.90 m. below our datum (see Folio Pl. 7 in G 8), i.e., to a depth greater than one would assume for the floor of a crypt. At a higher level in this rubbish were foundation walls of dwellings built without orderly plan (see Folio Pl. 9) which could not have been erected until after the destruction of the brick chapel. Erroneously some of these foundation walls are colored blue, i.e., pre-Saitic, on Folio Pl. 10.

94. See Vol. II 42 and 54; also Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, pp. 25 f.

inscription extending all around it in smaller hieroglyphs than the original inscriptions immortalizes a new owner, Pemontu, an official who lived at Hermonthis about the time of Augustus.⁹⁵ I presume that this sarcophagus, as well as that of Nitocris, was stolen from Medinet Habu.

assigned to Shepnupet I, the burial crypt was roofed in this way. We do not know whether the cella above it was vaulted, or, if it was, whether with stone or with brick. In the other two chapels, the cellae, except that of Mehetneskhet, were vaulted, but the crypts were covered with stone slabs.

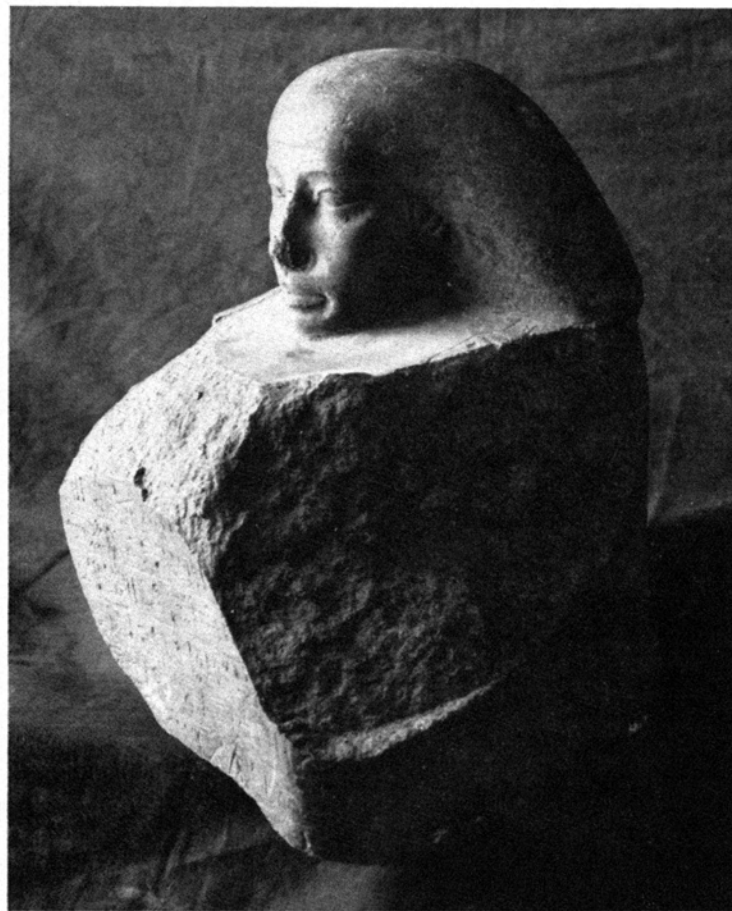


FIG. 32. BLACK GRANITE STATUETTE OF THE "HIGH STEWARD OF THE DIVINE CONSORT, AKHAMONEROW." CHICAGO 14284



FIG. 33. BLACK GRANITE STATUETTE OF A "SONGSTRESS OF AMON." 24 CM. HIGH. CHICAGO 14662

THE STONE BARREL VAULTS

Three of the tomb-chapels of the divine consorts had stone barrel vaults. In the earliest, that which we have

The four vaults in these three chapels were constructed of wedge-shaped stones, so that the joints were radial. They differed in this respect from earlier stone vaults, which were corbeled and thus had horizontal joints. The latter therefore were not vaults in the strictest sense of the word, but rather false vaults. The four under consideration were, on the other hand, true stone vaults, the earliest yet known. That they represent the very beginning of the development of stone arches is indicated by the fact that each was structurally different from the others. Obviously the builders were inexperienced and experimented anew in each case, thereby developing proficiency.

The earliest vault (Fig. 34) was elliptical rather than semicircular in cross section. It consisted of individual arches which were placed side by side and slightly inclined, so they rested one against another. It was therefore manifestly patterned after earlier Egyptian brick vaults (see e.g. Pl. 24 B),⁹⁶ such a one as here served to cover the antechamber. The high elliptical form and the characteristic construction were customary for brick vaults because the vaulting was erected without centering. But here in the case of the earliest stone vault the same form was used,

95. See Georges Nagel, *Fouilles de Deir el-Médinah (Nord)* [1928] (Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire, "Fouilles" VI [Le Caire, 1929] Part 3) pp. 15-22. The tomb shaft in question is No. 2003 *ibid.* Pl. I, and Nagel believes it to be the original burial place of Ankhnes-Neferibre. The material of the sarcophagus is given as gray limestone on the modern base on which it rests in the British Museum (see *ibid.* Pl. VII).

96. Such as were used especially in the magazines of the Ramesseum (see Vol. III 78-82 and Pl. 40 D).

though centering was essential. Here therefore was probably an unconscious adaptation from brick construction.⁹⁷

The other three vaults (Fig. 35) were semicircular in cross section but differed from one another in method of construction. In the cella of Amenirdis the two lowest courses of the vault were corbeled out from the sides of the room and then began the vaulting with narrow arches

which consisted of alternately three and four wedge-shaped stones. The vault of Shepnupet II consisted of horizontal courses of wedge-shaped cross section with radial joints. The vault of Nitocris combined the two methods in that it had corbeled courses below and horizontal courses above. This may be considered as the most advanced type of construction and has never been surpassed.

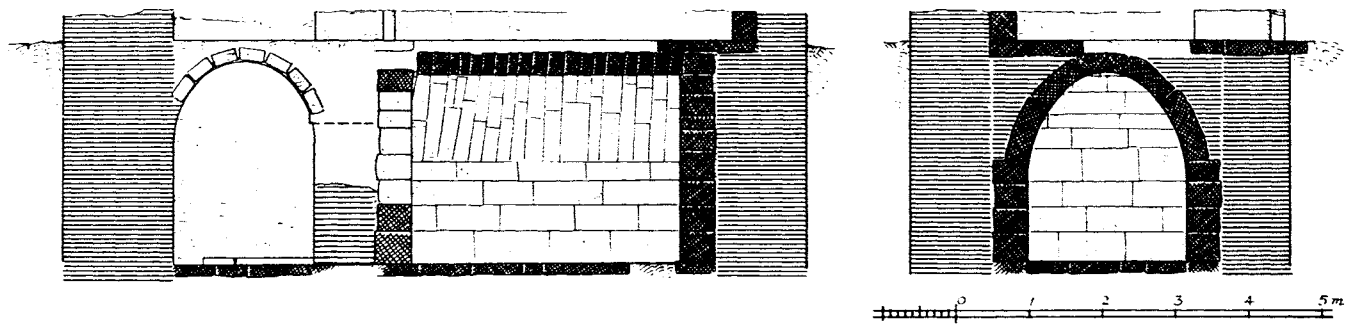


FIG. 34. BURIAL CHAMBER OF TOMB 17, PRESUMABLY THAT OF SHEPNUPET I, WITH THE EARLIEST KNOWN GENUINE STONE VAULT. SECTIONS. SCALE, 1:100

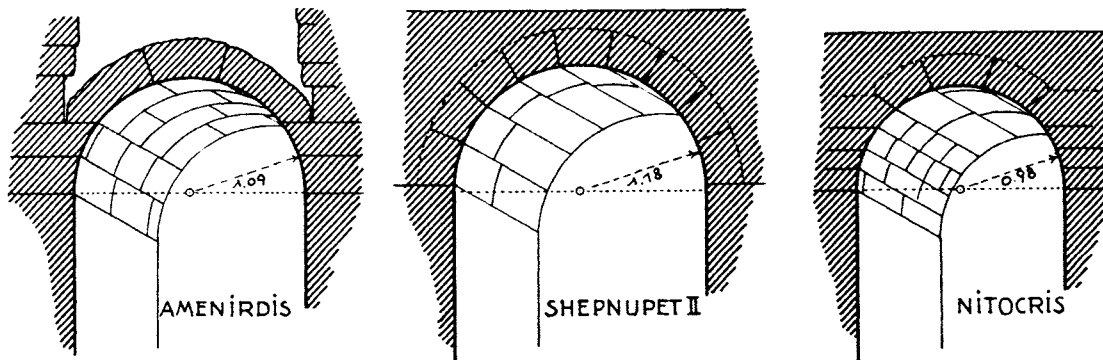


FIG. 35. STRUCTURAL DETAILS OF THE VAULTS IN THE CELLAE OF AMENIRDIS, SHEPNUPET II, AND NITOCRIS

CATALOGUE OF THE OTHER TOMBS

The locations and ground plans of these tombs are indicated on Folio Plates 3-10 and 20-21 (see also p. 16).

TOMB 3

Stone-floored chamber (1.25 × 2.40 m.) cut into the brick foundations of the Eastern Fortified Gate (see Folio Pls. 3 and 5-6, in D 9). It had been plundered and filled with rubbish. It contained intrusive fragments of greenish-black serpentine ushabtiu of Shepnupet II (see p. 27) and a ushabti of the same material belonging to Diēse-hebsed (see Tomb 4). Presumably 25th-26th dyn.

TOMBS 3a-d

Four tombs situated near the Ethiopian pylon of the Small Temple (see Folio Pls. 5-6, in D 9-10). They had been plundered in antiquity and contained nothing. They had been built over by Ptolemaic times. Presumably 25th-26th dyn.

TOMB 4

Unusually large chamber (2.80 × 4.25 m.) cut into the brick foundations of the Eastern Fortified Gate (see Folio Pls. 3 and 5-6, in D-E 9). The walls were faced with stone, and the floor was of stone slabs (Pl. 19 C). An inclined entrance passage led from the west to a blocked doorway. The vault was missing, and the burial was destroyed. The finds include 14 complete (e.g. Pl. 21 B-C [Cairo J 57620, J 57622; 19.5 and 15.8 cm. high]) and numerous fragmentary ushabtiu of black serpentine with the name of Diēse-hebsed (Cairo

97. It is certainly conceivable that in our case the stone vault was erected over a brick vault of high elliptical form which was used as a temporary substructure.

J 57620-23 and Chicago 14142-90), who, as Anthes informs me, is known to have been lady-in-waiting to Shepnupet II and must have lived until about 654 B.C. There was also a fragment of an alabaster canopic jar with the same name.


TOMB 5

Stone burial chamber (2.30 × 4.10 m.) almost as large as that of Tomb 4 and antechamber of unbaked mud brick (see Folio Pls. 3 and 5-6, in E 9). The walls of the burial chamber were preserved to a height of 1.95 m., and the floor was of stone (see Pl. 19 B). The entrance, at the west, was blocked. In the northeast corner of the burial chamber was a cubical pit in which 2 uninscribed canopic jars still stood *in situ*. There were numerous ushabtiu of greenish fayence, very small (ca. 4.5 cm. high) and very ordinary (e.g. Chicago 15825, 15859), including a few overseers (e.g. Chicago 15858). In the southeast corner was the skeleton of a small monkey in an upright sitting position (Fig. 36); near by was a pile of large rounded stones, which presumably had surrounded the body. The burial was destroyed. In the rubbish were numerous objects which had been thrown into the tomb chamber after the destruction, including numerous bronze and a few stone Osiris statues (e.g. Chicago 15262, 14292). Ca. 26th dyn.⁹⁸

TOMB 6

Small chamber (1.15 × 2.30 m.) lined with stone (see Folio Pls. 3 and 5-6, in E-F 9) in the antechamber of Tomb 5 (see Pl. 19 B). A pit in the floor (60 × 60 × 60 cm.) contained 2 canopic jars of clay, without lids, inscribed with the name *Mr-š-Imn*. There were in addition 2

98. Designated as Ptolemaic on Folio Pl. 6, but see p. 16 above.

ushabtiu of greenish fayence, 5–6 cm. high; on the back of one is the title . It is doubtful whether these belonged with the burial. It would seem that Tomb 6 was built in the antechamber of Tomb 5 as was the tomb of *ḤAnkhshepnupet* (No. 17a) in the antechamber of *Shepnupet I*'s tomb (No. 17). Presumably 26th dyn.⁹⁸

TOMB 8

Built into the "tank" (see Folio Pls. 3 and 5–6, in F–G 10). It had been destroyed and contained nothing. Date unknown.

TOMB 9

Stone-lined chamber (1.70 × 3.40 m.) cut into the foundations of the brick pylon of Ramses III and abutting the outer inclosure wall of the Small Temple (see Folio Pls. 3 and 5–6, in F–G 9). Four uninscribed canopic jars of limestone stood in a pit in the floor. At the west end of the room stood 2 pottery jugs, *F* 3 and one like *I* (52 cm. high); at the east end was a jug like *G* 3 (30 cm. high). 25th dyn. on the basis of the pottery and other finds in the obviously contemporary Tomb 10.⁹⁹

TOMB 10

Brick-vaulted chamber (1.70 × 3.70 m.) with blocked entrance at east (see Pl. 19 *A* and Folio Pls. 3 and 5–6, in G 9). Three stone ledges on the floor supported a yellow plank, the bottom of a wooden sarcophagus. On the upper surface of the plank was painted a representation of the goddess Nut at $\frac{2}{3}$ life-size. One skeleton was decayed except for the thigh bones and the skull. Above it was a second mummy, head toward west, wrapped in bandages and covered with a beaded mat. On the breast was a slate heart scarab 5 cm. long (Chicago 14985), and at the neck were numerous beads and small amulets (Chicago 15032, 15035–41) which belonged to a necklace. Beside the head were 3 uninscribed canopic jars (*ca.* 33 cm. high) and a decayed box of uninscribed ushabtiu (4.5 cm. high) of greenish fayence (e.g. Chicago 15621–26). A second box, at the feet, contained uninscribed ushabtiu (5 cm. high) of coarse clay. There were also a plate (20 cm. in diameter), a cup (5.5 cm. high and 4 cm. in diameter), and a small bowl (8.5 cm. in diameter), all of coarse clay. In many respects the finds resemble those of Tombs 17 and 17a and hence suggest a similar date, i.e., 25th dyn.⁹⁸


TOMB 11

Stone-floored chamber (3.20 × 4.00 m.) with entrance stairway at the south (see Pl. 19 *A* and Folio Pls. 5–6, in G 9). Empty. Estimated date, 25th dyn.

TOMB 12

Chamber (2.00 × 3.20 m.) abutting on Tomb 11 at the west and separated from it by a thin wall, of which a stone sill was preserved (see Folio Pls. 5–6, in G 9). The entrance was at the west. It can be assumed that Tomb 12 was the antechamber of Tomb 11 (cf. Tombs 5–6). Empty.

TOMB 13

Chamber (1.95 × 3.10 m.) cut into the brick foundations of the Eastern Fortified Gate (see Folio Pls. 9–10, in D 8). The walls and floor were faced with stone. The only contents were 4 alabaster canopic jars (Pl. 22 *C* [Cairo J 59899a–d] and *E*) found *in situ* in a cubical pit. The tallest is 34 cm. high. Two of them have gypsum in the bottom, and all four lids are of limestone. According to their inscriptions the tomb belonged to a "mistress (= wife) in the House of Amon," Disnub (). Presumably 25th–26th dyn.

TOMB 14

Stone-lined chamber (1.50 × 3.20 m.) cut into the brick foundations of the Eastern Fortified Gate (see Folio Pls. 9–10, in D–E 8). There were 4 uninscribed canopic jars of limestone, two of which are solid; one lid was missing, but there were two falcon heads. These jars thus seem to represent two different sets. Apart from these there oc-

curred a larger canopic jar of better workmanship, with falcon head; also numerous small uninscribed ushabtiu of poor quality. Presumably 25th–26th dyn.

TOMB 15

Stone-lined chamber (1.75 × 3.80 m.) cut into the brick foundations of the Eastern Fortified Gate (see Folio Pls. 9–10, in E 8). It contained many inscribed ushabtiu (9–10 cm. high) of greenish fayence (e.g. Pl. 21 *I* [Chicago 15742–43]), mostly broken, which indicate that the tomb belonged to a "songstress in the House of Amon" by the name of Neith. . . . The name suggests the 26th dyn., perhaps at the time of Nitocris.

TOMBS 16, 17, AND 17a

See pages 20 and 19.

TOMB 18

Small stone-faced chamber below the site of the brick pylon of the assumed tomb chapel of *ḤAnkhnes-Neferibre*^c (see Folio Pls. 9–10, in G 8). The floor was 1.40 m. lower than the sill of the doorway leading to the court of the adjacent stone chapel of *Shepnupet II*, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet. Along the south wall of the chamber, beside the completely destroyed mummy, stood 4 large pottery jugs (Pl. 19 *D*). One is like jug *G* 1, but somewhat squattier; 2 are like jug *I*, but somewhat squattier, without handles, and rounded at the bottom; the 4th was completely destroyed. Concerning the date of the tomb we know only that it is before the time of *ḤAnkhnes-Neferibre*^c.



FIG. 36. SKELETON OF PET MONKEY FROM TOMB 5

TOMB 18a

Completely destroyed chamber constructed partly within and partly above the site of the assumed pylon of *ḤAnkhnes-Neferibre*^c (see Folio Pl. 10, in G 8). The floor level was about 80 cm. above that of Tomb 18. There were 2 superimposed mummies with heads to the north and a 3d with head to the south. A breast scarab with wings and figures of the four sons of Horus, which had been sewn to the wrappings of one of the mummies, are shown on Plate 22 *B*. Beside the mummies was the skeleton of a small monkey (cf. Tomb 5), identified by its teeth. A half meter higher in the debris was a stone offering-tablet, which cannot be assigned to the tomb with certainty. Whether the tomb should be dated before the construction of the pylon of *ḤAnkhnes-Neferibre*^c or after its destruction is uncertain.

TOMB 19

Large chamber (1.35 × 3.50 m.) lined with thin stone slabs (see Folio Pls. 9–10, in G 8). The floor level was 70 cm. below that of Tomb 18. The pit for canopic jars was empty, and the burial was destroyed. The objects include an uninscribed heart scarab of serpentine, 4.3 cm. long (Chicago 15023), a gold earring (Pl. 39 *A* 22 and p. 65),

⁹⁹ Because of its position close to the outer inclosure ascribed to Nectanebo I (see Vol. II 55) Tomb 9 was first attributed to the Ptolemaic period (see p. 16 above). But if the earlier date is correct, there must have been an inclosure wall in the same location before the time of Nectanebo I.

a gold finger ring with sacred eye of hematite (Pl. 39 A 25 and p. 65), a pilgrim flask (U 4), 3 figures of the sons of Horus (7 cm. high) in bluish fayence (e.g. Chicago 16332, 16334), and a breast scarab of the same material (Chicago 16331). 25th–26th dyn.

TOMB 20

Chamber (1.35 × 2.70 m.) with mud-brick walls (see Folio Pls. 9–10, in G 8). Empty. Date unknown.

TOMB 20a

Small brick chamber (in F–G 9; not shown in Folio), originally vaulted, built above burial chamber of Horsiēse (Tomb 1) but below Ptolemaic pavement.¹⁰⁰ The burial was destroyed. With it was a jug like I. In addition there were in the debris numerous bronze (e.g. Chicago 14483–90) and 2 stone (Chicago 14303–4) Osiris statues, which presumably had come from the Small Temple and were hidden here. The tomb dates from after the time of Horsiēse and before the 2d century B.C., presumably 26th dyn.

TOMB 20b

Above antechamber of tomb of Horsiēse, floor 2.20 m. below Ptolemaic pavement (in F 9; not shown in Folio). The walls and the partly preserved vault were of sun-dried mud brick; the floor was of baked brick. The burial was destroyed. With it were jug C' 1 and a jug like N 6 but with rounded bottom and a small handle. Contemporary with Tomb 20a.

TOMB 20c

West of tomb of Horsiēse and below Ptolemaic pavement (in G 9; not shown in Folio). The floor was at a higher level than the ceiling beams of the underground chambers of Horsiēse's tomb. The burial was destroyed. There were fragments and lids of 4 canopic jars of limestone, 376 crude uninscribed ushabtiu which had been packed in 2 or 3 wooden boxes, wine jug I along with many jugs of similar shape, bowl W 2, a cup like X 5 (11.5 cm. high), and a jug like K' 1 but with rounded bottom (12 cm. high). Contemporary with Tomb 20a.

TOMB 21

Chamber (1.40 × 3.05 m. and 1.70 m. high) below room 43¹⁰¹ of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 11–12 and 21). Daressy had already determined that the burial was that of the "songstress in the House of Amon" Nester, daughter of King Amenrud.¹⁰² The chamber is under the stone slabs (35 cm. thick) of the temple floor (see Fig. 21). The foundation blocks of the temple walls originally projected, especially at the east, but were cut away in a straight line when the tomb was constructed. The bottom of the foundation blocks is 1.55 m. below the floor level of the temple; the tomb, however, was sunk 50 cm. deeper, i.e., into the underlying gravel, where the side walls were faced with small stone blocks. What Daressy found of the burial is not known. We discovered meager remains of a wooden coffin and a mummy, also tubular beads of blue fayence, some of which were gilded. *In situ* were 3 boxes containing ushabtiu, and a pile of loose ushabtiu suggested that there had been a 4th box. Each box (ca. 32 × 17 cm. and 16 cm. high) was thickly coated with a chalky substance, painted yellow, and ornamented with blue lines. The wood had almost completely disappeared, but the copper wires which had served to hinge the lids were still present. Many of the ushabtiu were broken, but there appeared to have been exactly 365, as indicated by the number of heads and feet. Most of the figures were about 9 cm. high, only 3 were somewhat smaller. They have a greenish-blue glaze and are inscribed as illustrated at the right. Two bear longer inscriptions containing excerpts from Spell 6 of the Book of the Dead, and the same name, Nester, occurs. The objects were delivered to the Inspector of Antiquities in Luxor in the spring of 1927, since at that time we had no excavation permit.



TOMB 22

Chamber (1.80 × 2.60 m.) under room 34 of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 13–14 and 20), with its floor 1.40 m. below that of the temple. The burial was destroyed. There were remains of 3 painted wooden coffins standing one within another. The head of the corpse,

severed from the body, lay at the north end of the tomb. The arms and knees were propped up with bits of mud and pebbles, and around the head were fragments of baked and unbaked clay vessels standing upright. There were 373 uninscribed ushabtiu of two different types, one of which is of greenish fayence and only 6 cm. high. There were also 28 conical jar-stoppers of unbaked clay, 4–6 cm. high (e.g. Pl. 19 F). In the debris were some model loaves of bread made of rough clay (e.g. Pl. 19 E). Toward the east near the coffins was a square pit (45 cm. deep) containing a decayed wooden box with four well preserved canopic jars of limestone, uninscribed and apparently unused. Near by was a black mass of semiglobular form (12 cm. in diameter), perhaps containing mummified viscera or the like. The vessel in which it had been placed originally was no longer recognizable. There was also a two-handled jar (like B 2) of coarse red clay (40 cm. high and 26 cm. in diameter). Date unknown.

TOMB 23

Chamber (1.38 × 2.55 m.) under the holy of holies of Amon (room G) in the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 11–14 and 20), with its floor 4.53 m. below that of the temple. The burial was destroyed, and there were no traces of coffin and mummy. There were 240 uninscribed ushabtiu (e.g. Chicago 15610–13) of greenish fayence (5 cm. high), 3 breast scarabs of blue or greenish fayence and fragments of their wings (e.g. Chicago 16329–30), 3 damaged uninscribed limestone canopic jars which showed no traces of use, 1 completely shattered pottery jug and traces of another.¹⁰⁴ Date unknown.

TOMB 24

Chamber (1.60 × 3.05 m.) under room 27 of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 13–14 and 20–21), with its floor 2.45 m. below that of the temple, belonging to a "songstress in the House (*hntw*) of Amon" Ankhamenirdis¹⁰⁵ and therefore to the 25th dyn. Under the floor of the tomb we found a previously unnoticed pit (83 × 83 × 83 cm.) in which stood 4 undamaged alabaster canopic jars (Chicago 14665–68), some with black contents. Each bears an inscription in 5 vertical lines (e.g. Pl. 22 F–G). The coffin therefore stood above(!) the canopic jars. In the debris above the floor of the tomb were found 266 blue-green fayence ushabtiu of various sizes with 2 different inscriptions (e.g. Cairo J 59712–14 and Chicago 15826–57; see e.g. Pl. 21 7 [Chicago 15852; 6.6 cm. high] and K [6.5–7.8 cm. high]). In addition there was 1 ushabti with a different text, which presumably got in accidentally after the plundering of the tomb.

TOMB 25

Chamber (1.25 × 2.40 m.) under room 20 of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 13–14 and 20), with its floor 3.35 m. below that of the temple. Three sides were faced with mud brick. There were no identifiable remains of the burial. Date unknown.

100. See Vol. II 57 f.

101. See Vol. III, Fig. 5, for numbering of the rooms of the Great Temple.

102. See Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, p. 170, where he speaks of "la prêtresse Nesit-r-pauti, fille du roi Amen-rud." According to Gauthier, *Livre des rois* III 392, n. 1, Amenrud is the son of a king Osorkon, probably Osorkon III, and belongs somewhere in the 23d or 24th dyn. Anthes observes that this tomb, since it belonged to a "songstress in the House of Amon," certainly cannot be dated before the time of Shepnupet I and thus constitutes proof that Amenrud is the son of Osorkon III and not Osorkon II. Cf. Anthes in *MDIAA* XII 48, n. 5.

103. Anthes informs me that the headdress on the woman determinative looks in the cursive style of writing like the sun disk. Hermann Ranke, *Die ägyptischen Personennamen* I (Glückstadt, 1935) 179, No. 24, gives the name as *nš-tr*.

104. See Vol. IV, Pl. 37 b and p. 45, for a glass inlay (Cairo J 59753) of unknown date which was found in the shaft.

105. See Daressy, *op. cit.* p. 170, where he ascribes this tomb to the "prêtresse Ta-dut-amen," if the location is given correctly. A small rectangular wooden box in the Berlin Museum (No. 734: Ausf. Verz.² 279) bears an inscription which names a similarly titled Ankhamenirdis as the owner. However, there is no way of determining whether this box came from our Tomb 24 and refers to the same person. See Anthes in *MDIAA* XII 33, n. 1.

TOMB 26

Square shaft (5.30 m. deep) sunk from room 34 of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 13-14 and 20-21) and expanding to north and south at bottom to form a burial chamber (1.45 × 2.85 m.). The burial was destroyed. We found a bronze eye with inlays (Chicago 16298) from a mummiform sarcophagus. There were also many fayence beads (blue and gilded cylinders [Chicago 15043]; blue, green, and red rings) and 195 ushabtiu of unbaked gray clay painted blue (5-6 cm. high), 179 of the usual form (e.g. Chicago 15627-31) and 16 of the so-called "overseers." In a cavelike extension east of the body were 4 uninscribed limestone canopic jars with black contents and a small pottery jug like *N* 5 (18 cm. high). There were numerous conical jar-stoppers (*ca.* 4.5 cm. high) like those found in Tomb 22. In the debris in the shaft were 2 slender pottery jars (7 and 10 cm. high) and 2 thick Ptolemaic coins, which no doubt were intrusive. Date unknown.

TOMB 27

Chamber below room 33 of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 11-12 and 20-21). The burial was destroyed, and the objects are worthless. Date unknown.

TOMB 28

Chamber below room 29 of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 11-12 and 20). The burial was destroyed, and there were no objects. Date unknown.

TOMB 29

Large well built chamber (1.60 × 4.45 m. and 2.80 m. high) below room 7 of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 11-12 and 20). The burial was destroyed. The skull, pelvis, and one hand of the mummy were out of place at the east end of the chamber. There were 429 uninscribed ushabtiu (e.g. Chicago 15819-24) with greenish glaze (7 cm. high and 4 somewhat larger). In the debris were found many intrusive objects, including molds (Chicago 16681-85) for fayence inlays¹⁰⁶ as

106. See Vol. IV 45 and Pl. 37 *e*.

well as some small Hellenistic or Roman figures and clay lamp XII *a* (see Fig. 97 *a*). Date unknown.

TOMB 30

Under room 1 of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 11-12 and 20). The burial was destroyed. There were 23 uninscribed ushabtiu (9-10 cm. high) with bluish glaze; a slender pottery jar (10 cm. high) like those found in Tomb 26; 6 small pottery bowls (*Q'* 6, *Q'* 10, *R'* 6, *R'* 8, *S'* 4), which presumably belonged to a later period and got into the tomb by accident; and a scarab. Date unknown.

TOMB 31

Under the second hypostyle hall of the Great Temple (see Folio Pls. 13-14 and 20). The burial was destroyed, and there were no objects. Date unknown.

There are other tombs in the Great Temple which we did not open since they promised little information. Daressy mentions for example the tomb of a "recluse d'Amon Djat-n-kamit"¹⁰⁷ below room 22. He also reports that he found groups of statues of gods under the floors of certain rooms; in one there were more than a hundred figures, almost all representing Osiris, of bronze and of stone, from 3 to 50 cm. high.¹⁰⁸ No doubt they were votive figures which from time to time people had discarded without wishing to destroy them. We made similar discoveries in the *cachette* near the Small Temple (e.g. Pl. 19 *G*),¹⁰⁹ in Tomb 5 (see p. 30), and elsewhere.

107. Daressy, *op. cit.* p. 170.

108. *Ibid.*

109. See Vol. II 40.

TWENTY-SEVENTH TO THIRTIETH DYNASTIES AND PTOLEMAIC PERIOD (525-30 B. C.)

It is surprising that practically no building remains of this half millennium were found—except in the vicinity of the Small Temple.¹¹⁰ A beehive-shaped granary just inside the Western Fortified Gate in S 8 (see Folio Pl. 15) is noteworthy. It was very large (inner diameter, 6.95 m.) and was built of bricks measuring $30 \times 14 \times 10$ cm. Otherwise it differed little from the considerably earlier granaries which we discovered in the vicinity of the temple of Eye and Harmhab.¹¹¹

We have wondered whether strata of the Ptolemaic period—a period which is imposingly represented in the Small Temple—had been in the other areas of Medinet Habu completely cleared away by modern or ancient *sebakh*-diggers. However, since objects of daily use and coins of this period also were lacking, we must conclude that Medinet Habu was deserted at this time—except in the vicinity of the Small Temple. A village of this period may possibly lie outside the Great Girdle Wall, perhaps beneath land which is now under cultivation. This suggestion is strengthened by certain observations. In the first place, in many parts of Medinet Habu, for example at the northwest, where no houses of the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth dynasties were found, we encountered traces of *sebakh*-digging in the foundations of the Ramessid walls. We thought it had occurred in modern times until it became clear that these places were covered with as much as a meter of debris, such as is usually left behind by *sebakh*-diggers, and surmounted by late Roman houses (probably of the second and third centuries after Christ). Hence it follows that before Roman times neighboring peasants had worked over deserted parts of Medinet Habu to obtain fertilizer. In the second place, we found in the southeast corner of the area (in E-G 4), which was beyond the limits of the *déblaiement*, above house levels of the Saitic period, a mound of *sebakh* 3–4 meters high (Pl. 4 B), which showed no stratification and contained almost no small objects. Only a few Roman ostraca were found in and on it, mostly receipts, one of which mentions the name of the emperor Tiberius Claudius Germanicus. This loose earth had indeed in the course of time become so tightly packed as a result of its own weight and that of the late Roman and Coptic house levels which had accumulated on top of it that it could only be loosened little by little with pick-axes. We assumed that this enormous pile of *sebakh* came

from the ruins of Medinet Habu and had been placed here to supply fertilizer for the fields of neighboring estates.

The area outside the Small Temple was, on the other hand, inclosed by a wall and crowded with buildings in pre-Roman times. In this area, in H-I 12–13 (see Folio Pls. 5–6), was a large well (Fig. 37) which in many respects resembled wells of the time of Ramses III.¹¹² It had a sandstone shaft (1.50 m. square inside) covered with stone slabs, in which was a square opening to admit air and light, and a stairway consisting of a long flight and a short upper flight at right angles to it. The steps were very shallow (45 cm. deep and 17 cm. high). A window at the turn threw light down the long flight. The entrance to the stairway was formed by a small pylon on whose doorjambs Nectanebo II (*Nḥt-hr-hb.t.*,¹¹³ 358–341 B.C.) immortalized himself. At a later period the entrance was lowered about 70 cm. to coincide with a paved walk in front of it, and the five steps of the upper flight were removed, so that the floor as far as the turn in the stairway was almost horizontal. Indications of the changes are visible on the front of the pylon (see Fig. 37, south elevation) as well as at a small doorway behind it. The latter probably was not used later, since its sill lay 70 cm. above the floor (see Fig. 37, west elevation). As for the exterior, the pylon and the upper part of the stairway were smoothed while the lower part of the stairway was left rough (see Fig. 37, ground plan). One must conclude, then, that the latter was imbedded in brick walls of other buildings and therefore was not visible. Some of the blocks which were used consist of half-drums from very large bundle columns or show parts of inscriptions and reliefs which came from a large temple (probably end of Eighteenth to Nineteenth Dynasty). Daressy¹¹⁴ called this well a Nilometer. However, since there was no scale in the stairway for reading the water level, as far as we could see, we do not accept his interpretation.

No tombs can be assigned to this time with certainty. Some of those listed in the catalogue of the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasty burials (pp. 30–33), being badly damaged and offering no evidence for dating, could belong just after the Twenty-sixth Dynasty, but they provide nothing of interest either structurally or in their objects. Only “Tomb” 7, a subterranean chamber which we cannot be sure is a tomb (see p. 16), can be dated as late as the second century B.C.¹¹⁵

110. See Vol. II 39 and 55. On Folio Pl. 14 some walls are attributed to the 27th–30th dyn., but there is actually no certainty as to their date. We can say only that they date from the end of the 26th dyn. or later.

111. See Vol. II 73 and Fig. 62.

112. See Vol. III 68.

113. See Vol. II 27, n. 34.

114. *Op. cit.* p. 26.

115. See Vol. II 23.

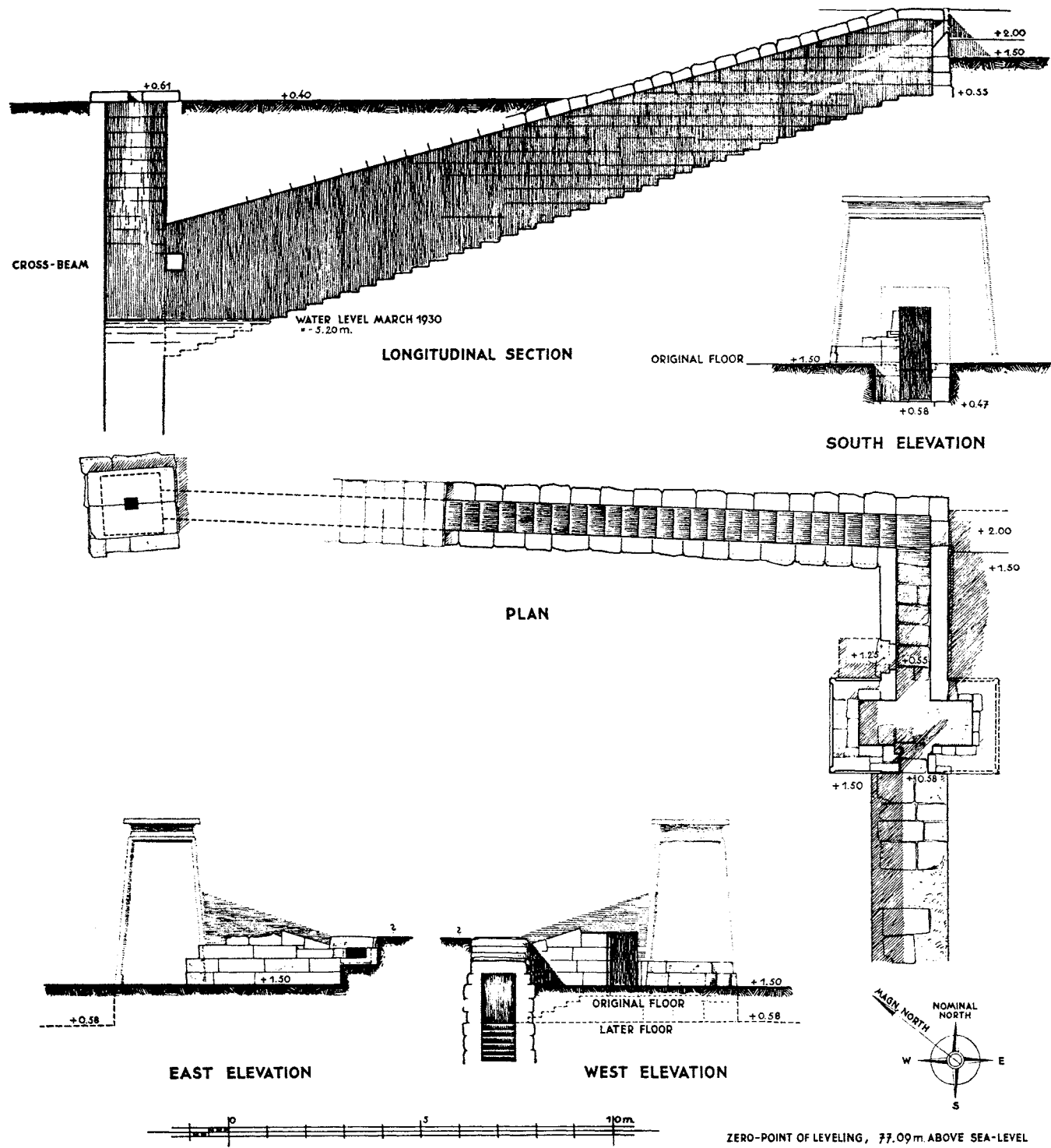


FIG. 37. WELL OF NECTANEBO II IN H-I 12-13, AS FOUND. SCALE, 1:150

ROMAN PERIOD

Under the rule of the Roman emperors Medinet Habu, which—except for the Small Temple and its environs—for a long time had been a deserted mound disturbed only by *sebbakhin* (see p. 34), experienced a new rebuilding. We do not know whether this occurred systematically and by governmental order or whether the peasants from the surrounding villages, driven by necessity, sought protection behind the easily reconstructible walls of the old town. It

is even possible that the new colonization took place under the late Ptolemies soon after the destruction of Thebes and its dissolution into individual villages (88–85 B.C.).¹¹⁶ The earliest structures which can be exactly dated are the gate of Tiberius Claudius Germanicus (A.D. 41–54) located outside the Great Girdle Wall (see below) and the gate of Domitian (A.D. 81–96) beside the Great Pylon of Ramses III (see below).

GENERAL PLAN OF THE TOWN

That the inhabitants attached great importance to the defensibility of the new town may be inferred from the fact that not only was the old inclosure wall restored but two mighty towers were built into its southeast and northwest corners. The first (in D–E 4) was square in plan and projected about 10 meters into the inclosed area (see Fig. 43 and Folio Pl. 10). Only its foundation walls (3.70 m. thick) were preserved, and they extended through the above-mentioned *sebakh* mound (p. 34) to pre-Saitic levels. The north wall was carried 2.60 m. deeper than the west wall, since the *sebakh* mound was declivitous on the north. The lowest courses consisted of reused bricks of two sizes ($44 \times 20 \times 11$ and $36 \times 17 \times 10$ cm.); above them were alternate courses of stretchers and headers composed of apparently new bricks of a smaller size ($32 \times 14 \times 10$ cm.). The second tower, in the rounded northwest corner of the old inclosure wall (see Folio Pl. 15, in T 12–13), projects from the wall about 10 meters on one side and about 11.50 m. on the other. It likewise stands on earlier strata, in which house walls of the Twenty-first to Twenty-second dynasties are preserved to a height of 1–2 meters. It resembled the first tower so closely in brick sizes and in construction that we removed the latter to investigate underlying strata and left the second tower standing as evidence for both.

Beside the second tower was a small gateway through the west inclosure wall (in T–U 12) which, as stated above (p. 3), was built presumably during the reign of Panedjem I. At a later date, perhaps during the Roman period, it was raised 1.20 m., so that it still stood at 11.92 m. above our datum.¹¹⁷ The bricks used for this operation were of the size (*ca.* $30 \times 15 \times 9$ cm.) employed most commonly at this time. Still later, probably in late Roman times, the gate was walled up, an indication of the increasing feeling of insecurity and fear of foreign enemies.

In the new town the long venerated Small Temple obviously was the center of the cult, since we know that it enjoyed the greatest esteem until the end of the pre-Christian era.¹¹⁸ A final addition, consisting of a columned portico and a large forecourt, was undertaken by Antoninus Pius (A.D. 138–61) but never completed.¹¹⁹

The outer precinct of the Small Temple comprised living quarters and stretched westward to the Great Pylon of Ramses III, where it was separated from the town proper by a brick wall 3 meters thick. A broad avenue paved with stone slabs (see Folio Pls. 5–6) extended from the temple along its axis to this brick wall, where it terminated at the gate of Domitian.¹²⁰ The stone blocks of the latter had been used in near-by dwellings in late Roman or Coptic times, but Daressy, encountering them in the course of the *déblaiement*, carefully collected them and re-erected the gateway, though not in its original location.¹²¹ This west entrance to the precinct of the Small Temple originally presented its main face to visitors approaching from the west, that is, from the town proper. Our investigation showed that its sill lay 1.61 m. above the pavement of Ramses III and that a water conduit passed between its foundations (see p. 40 and Fig. 46).

It is difficult to say whether in Roman times the town extended very far beyond the old inclosure. Outside the area of Ramses III we investigated only the living quarters at the southeast (see Folio Pls. 9–10, in A–C 3–8), which were part of the town. There, immediately outside the old Outer Wall, an avenue 12 meters wide (see Pl. 23 D) extended from the southern side entrance to the Roman court of the Small Temple (see Folio Pl. 6) to the gate of Tiberius Claudius Germanicus (in C 3), which we cleared. Possibly it was part of a “sacred street” leading to the small temple of Thoth built by Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (146–117 B.C.) 200 meters to the south.¹²² The avenue was visible before our excavations, when it looked like a moat along the Outer Wall.¹²³ Now, however, the error of that supposition has been proved by means of a deep cut in C 7, where below the Roman baked-brick pavement (–1.45 m.) was discovered the Ramessid level (–1.90 m.) and a little below that virgin soil. The avenue had been lined on either side with trees, whose humus-filled holes were still

120. *Ibid.* pp. 38 f., Fig. 52, and Pl. 42.

121. *Ibid.* pp. 39 and 62.

122. See LD IV 31 b–e and 32 a–c and Text III 186–91; Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography* II 193–95. We did not investigate this temple, since it was outside the limits of our concession.

123. See the erroneous reconstruction in Uvo Hölscher, *Das Hohe Tor von Medinet Habu* (Deutsche Orientgesellschaft, “Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen” XII [Leipzig, 1910]) Pl. I.

116. Pausanias i. 9. 3; see also Vol. II 59.

117. See Vol. IV, Pl. 41, Section 2.

118. See Vol. II.

119. *Ibid.* pp. 59–62 and Figs. 51–52.

clearly visible. It slopes upward toward the gate of Tiberius, whose sill is at -0.65 m. On both sides of the avenue stood dwellings. Along the east side they were almost evenly aligned, and their doorways were barely above street level. On the west side, however, the houses were at a higher level, since they stood on debris of the Great Girdle Wall, which had collapsed some time before. Hence the stone Outer Wall, in so far as it was preserved, had served as a retaining wall. Its destroyed parts had been replaced by bricks interspersed with a few large stone blocks (near the gate of Tiberius). These bear fine reliefs of Amenhotep III and came apparently from his large mortuary temple behind the colossi of Memnon. Behind these houses, that is, inside the Great Girdle Wall, where the above-mentioned *sebakh* mound was located (see p. 34), the street levels were considerably higher, about 2–3 meters above our datum

(see Fig. 43), so that the houses rose steplike one behind and above another.

The mud-brick wall into which the stone gate of Tiberius was incorporated had completely vanished. Its modest thickness (1.55 m.) is indicated on the gate. The west gatepost (Pl. 23 A–B) is preserved to a height of 2.20 m., while only a stump of the east one remains. On the outside (south) of the former is a representation, in Egyptian style, of the emperor presenting offerings (Pl. 23 A). This would seem to indicate that the gate was considered as an entrance to the Small Temple and that the dwellings inside it were part of the temple complex. Inside the gate in front of the destroyed east jamb lay a headless stone lion (Pl. 23 C), whose base bears the name of Nectanebo I (*Nḥt-nb.f*¹²⁴). It must have been placed there at some later date.

DWELLINGS

Roman strata within the temple area of Ramses III were preserved to a very limited extent, first because modern *sebakh*-diggers had carried off most of the upper strata and second because the construction of Coptic dwellings with their deep cellars had destroyed the Roman houses down to their foundation walls. A large group of Roman dwellings was located north of the Great Temple. On the basis of their meager contents we would date them no earlier than the third or fourth century after Christ. But the presence of Domitian's gate (see p. 36) indicates that rebuilding had already begun in the latter half of the first century. The street level was on the average 50 cm. lower than that of the Coptic period, and the cellars went down approximately to the floor level of the Ramessid structures.¹²⁵ We found two large hoards of coins of small denominations. One hoard was buried between foundation walls of House 21 (in M 11) in a yellow clay jug (cf. Pl. 48 N' 6) 13 cm. high, whose rim was soaked with asphalt; the other, found in a cellar (in Q 12), was presumably originally in a bag, though no traces of such remained.

The houses outside the east course of the Outer Wall were somewhat better preserved (Pls. 23 D and 24 A; see also Folio Pls. 9–10, in A–C 3–8). Here we could still identify two, in some places three, Roman strata beneath a Coptic stratum. The houses of the various strata differed considerably in ground plan. Here and there we found a layer of ashes between strata, which implied extensive fires. On our chronological plan (Folio Pl. 10) we have indicated two Roman building periods in light and dark brown, but we cannot be certain that all buildings of the same color are contemporary. Exact dating is almost impossible, since the objects found in the houses give only a date *ante quod*. We assume that the houses of the lower (light brown) stratum were not begun until after construction of the avenue and the gate of Tiberius and would date them from the middle of the first to the middle of the second Christian century. The second (dark brown) stratum might therefore be dated from the middle of the second to some time in the fourth century. Coins of

124. See Vol. II 27, n. 34.

125. This supports our supposition (see p. 34) that before construction of the Roman houses this section of Medinet Habu had been almost completely cleared of earlier walls and their debris by *sebbakhin*.

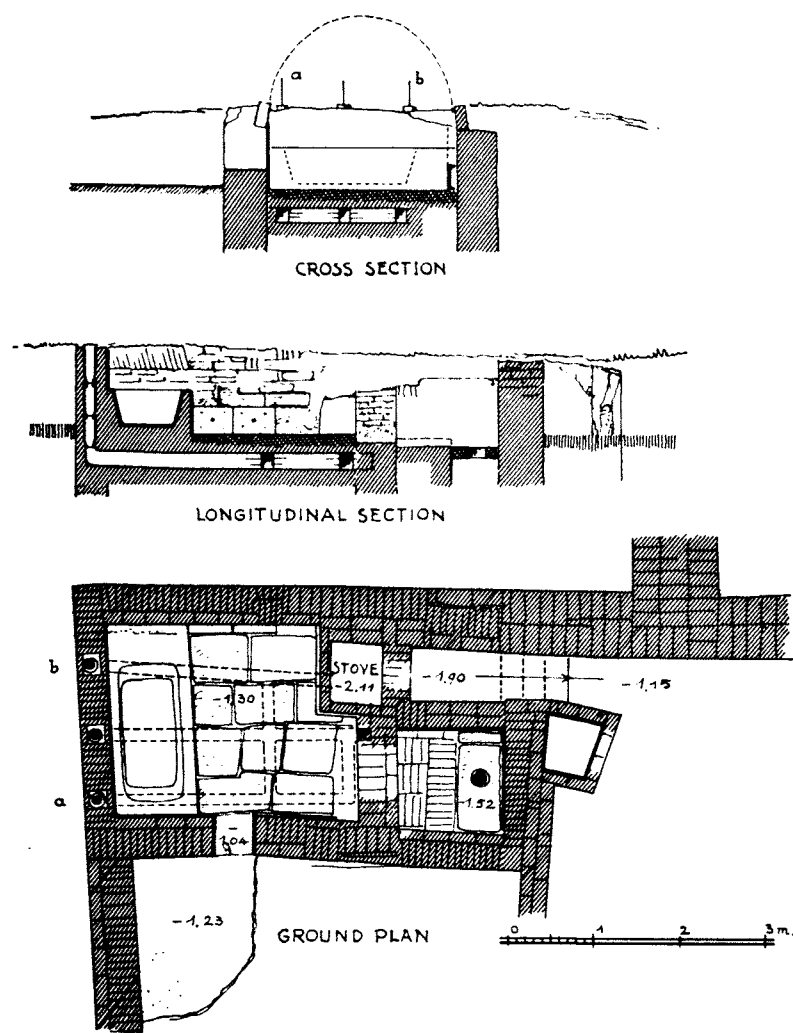


FIG. 38. BATHROOM OF A HOUSE IN B 3, WITH HEATING CHANNELS UNDER THE FLOOR

Hadrian, Diocletian, Constantine, and others were found in it.

The houses of the earlier stratum were so extensively damaged by the houses of the later stratum, which were built between and above them, that their plans were not very clear. We could see only that the houses themselves as well as their rooms were quite large, and we assumed from their comparatively thin walls ($1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 bricks, i.e., 48–64 cm.) that the rooms were not vaulted but had beamed ceilings. As indicated by some preserved stair wells, the houses no doubt had more than one story. Es-

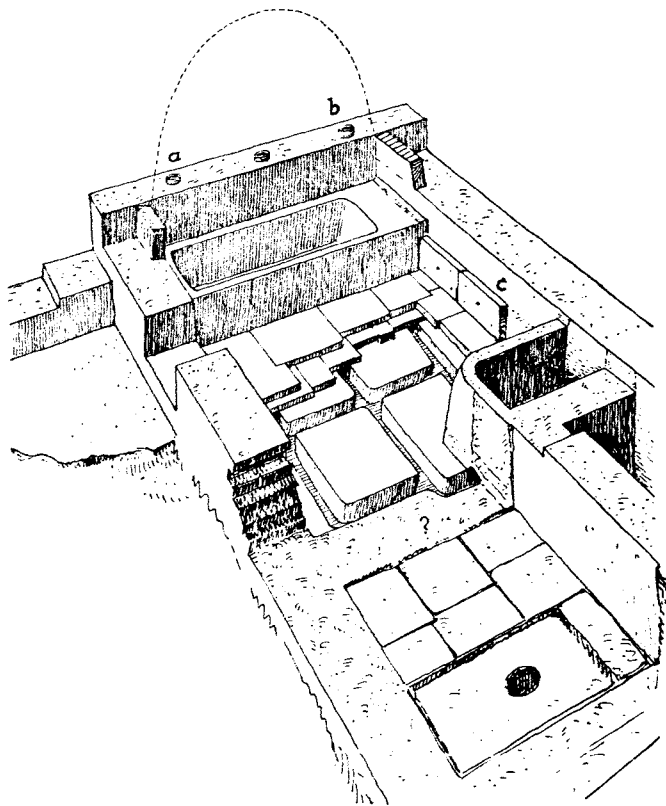


FIG. 39. BATHROOM OF HOUSE IN B 3, SHOWING HEATING CHANNELS AND TOILET (*in foreground*)

pecially noteworthy are two bathrooms (in B 3 and B 5) which were built onto the outsides of their houses (later?) and roofed with barrel vaults. In one (Figs. 38–39) the walls were entirely of baked brick; in the other (Fig. 40) they were merely faced with baked brick ($\frac{1}{2}$ brick thick). Both were heated through their floors. Stoves were built into the bath compartments and vaulted over. The heating plan was clearer in the bathroom in B 3, where the floor of the stove (-2.11 m.), which measured 65×75 cm. inside, was 81 cm. lower than that of the bath compartment. The fire was fed through a door from a small outside court, whose floor was almost as low (-1.90 m.) as that of the stove. Under the floor of the bath compartment, which consisted of a course of baked bricks under a course of thin limestone slabs, were ducts emanating from the stove and running under the bathtub to three vertical pipes in the end wall (Fig. 39 *a-b* and Pl. 25 *C*). These were formed of clay sections with minimum diameter of 8 cm. (Fig. 41 *a-b*). Presumably to provide better heating, one long wall of the room (Fig. 39 *c*) was faced with large hollow bricks (Fig. 41 *c*), over which the wall plaster was applied. The heating system was similar in the second bathroom, where we did not excavate the ducts completely because we did not wish to damage the well preserved floor. Hence the drawing (Fig. 40) possibly does not include all the existing branches of the duct system.

The interior fixtures of these bathrooms were also well preserved. In each case against the rear wall stood a bathtub (1.60 m. long inside) made of baked brick and plastered with thick waterproof mortar consisting of lime mixed with red brick dust. In the bathroom in B 5 (Fig. 40 and Pl. 25 *A-B*), opposite the left end of the tub was a small basin inclosed at the front by a thin wall only 35 cm. high, while its side walls were thicker and presumably originally had been higher and had terminated in an arch. One might presume that here, close to the stove, water was heated. To the right of the tub was a place separated from the rest of the room by a partition and a low sill. Here probably had been located a wooden toilet seat with a basin, the latter perhaps removable. On the other side

of the partition was a brick-and-mortar washbasin, at a convenient height but with no drain. In the other bathroom (Figs. 38–39) the toilet was in a small compartment opposite the bathtub. It had been separated from the rest of the room by a wall with a doorway, which was destroyed. In the floor was a large stone slab containing a hole 17 cm. in diameter. Beneath this we imagine a pit which was emptied from a shaft outside the house.

In the higher stratum a few ground plans were rather well preserved and are shown in Figure 42. Some of the walls represented there, however, were merely foundations so that we could not determine the locations of all the doorways.

Houses I–III were very imposing and showed a square plan of about 15 meters on a side. Some of the walls were surprisingly thick (1.00 – 1.50 m.), with brick lengths of 31 – 32 cm., and within them courses of bricks laid diagonally interchanged with courses of bricks in the normal position (see Pl. 24 *A* and Folio Pl. 9). In some of the houses the brick courses along the front were concave rather than horizontal.

House I (in B–C 3–4) had its main entrance on the avenue (sill at -0.61 m.) and a rear exit (-0.78 m.) on

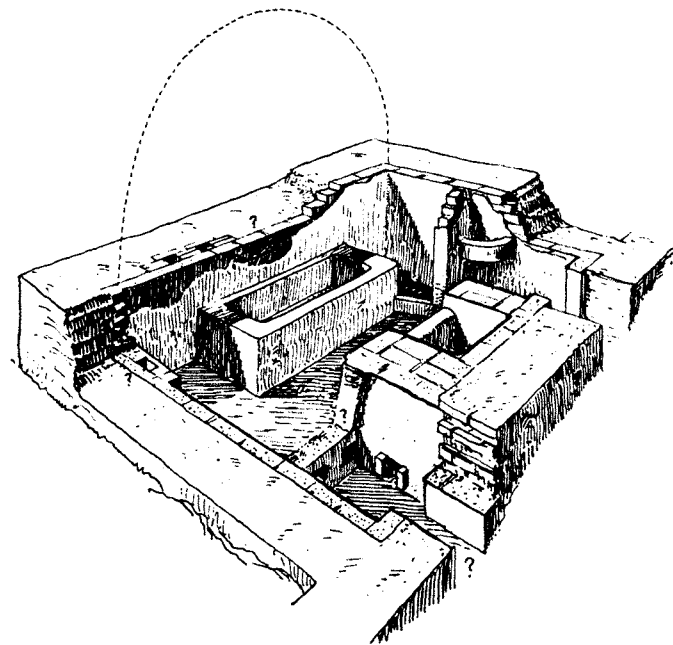


FIG. 40. BATHROOM OF A HOUSE IN B 5, WITH STOVE IN FOREGROUND

a narrower street. The two were connected by a passage 3 meters wide with rooms (floors at -1.00 m.) on either side. The thickness of the exterior and interior walls suggested that the ground-floor rooms were vaulted. We do not know the location of the stairway. At first I had thought

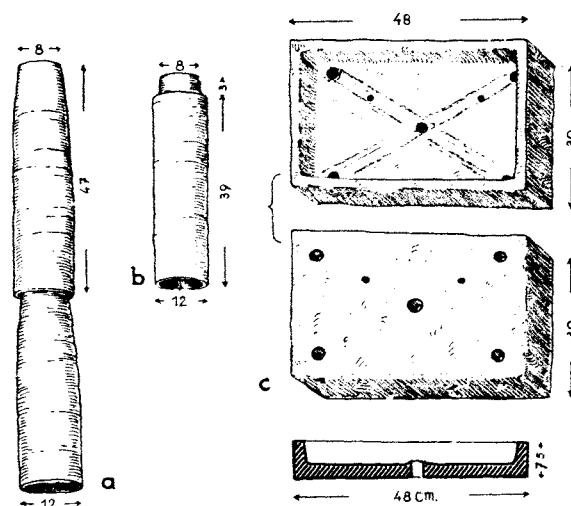


FIG. 41. HEATING PIPES AND HOLLOW BRICKS USED IN THE BATHROOM IN B 3 (cf. Figs. 38–39)

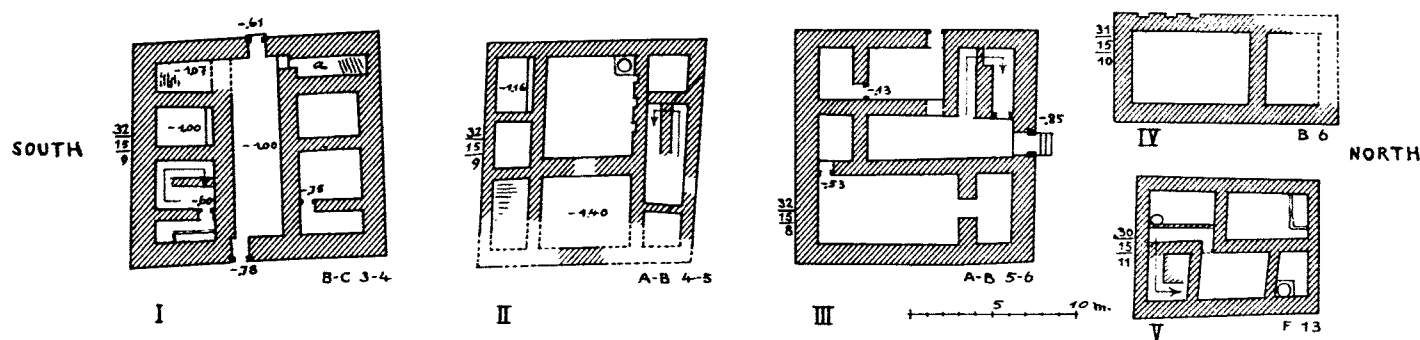


FIG. 42. HOUSES OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

the narrow room in the northwest corner (Fig. 42 at *a*) the most likely place for it (see Folio Pl. 10) but upon further investigation decided that the position indicated by an arrow in Figure 42 is more probable.

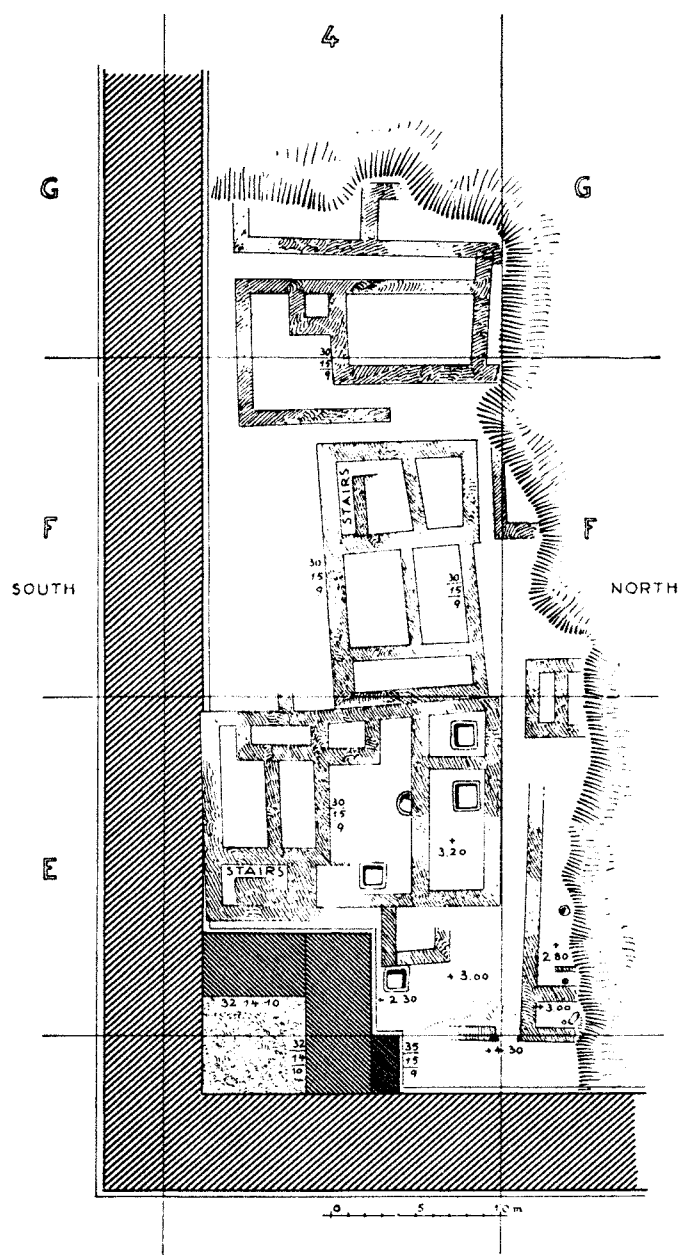


FIG. 43. REMAINS OF ROMAN DWELLINGS IN THE SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE TEMPLE AREA

House II (in A-B 4-5) stood on top of the house to which the bathroom represented in Figure 40 belonged. There were two main rooms in the center, presumably with connecting doorway. They were more than 5 meters wide, a fact which together with the thinness of the walls suggests beamed ceilings. The small room in the southwest corner, floored with stone slabs (-1.16 m.), was the only room showing traces of barrel vaulting. The locations of the doorways could not be determined. The stairway, two flights, was at the north. In the north wall of the west main room were three unplastered indentations (48 cm. wide and 31 cm. deep) which we cannot explain, and in the northwest corner was a storage vessel.

The walls of House III (in A-B 5-6) were almost as thick as those of House I. The main entrance, with three sandstone steps in front of it, was at the north on a narrow lane (1.65 m. wide). There was a side door at the west. A very imposing two-flight stairway in the northwest corner suggested a building of several stories. The largest room (4.25 × 8.50 m.) was on the east and had a rather well preserved brick floor bearing marks which suggested that some heavy (industrial?) equipment had been located here.

House IV (in B 6) consisted of only two rooms but perhaps was all that remained of a larger house. Three indentations in the west wall (60 cm. wide and 15 cm. deep) were neatly covered with lime plaster (Pl. 24 E). Here possibly they served to ornament the façade, in contrast to those of House II.

House V (in F 13) was not part of the same group but was situated near the sacred lake in the precinct of the Small Temple. It was somewhat smaller but nearly as imposing as the others. There remained only the cellar, with rectangular or round storage vessels built into most of the rooms. The bricks were slightly smaller (30 × 15 × 9-11 cm.) than those used for Houses I-IV.

Similar but very poorly preserved dwellings were indicated by foundation walls in E-G 4 (Fig. 43).¹²⁶ A *post quod* date is indicated by the fact that between foundation walls in the *sebakh* were found Demotic ostraca, including a receipt which mentions Tiberius Claudius Germanicus.¹²⁷

OTHER BUILDINGS

Some large buildings which did not serve as dwellings were located behind the Great Temple (see Folio Pl. 15) and others to the north of it, on the other side of the Great Girdle Wall, in the temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab (see Folio Pl. 34). In view of the extensive destruction there is nothing very positive to report about these structures. We shall discuss only one (Folio Pl. 34, in H-I 4), which was later remodeled to serve as a church (see Fig.

60). The main room was rectangular (11.60 × 5.25 m.). The entrance was in the middle of the east side. A narrower doorway in the opposite wall led to smaller rooms. Before the main entrance was a court paved with baked

126. These houses, which were built on top of the *sebakh* mound (see p. 34), are not shown in the survey plan (Folio Pl. 9), since the underlying strata were not cleared, but they do appear on Folio Pl. 10.

127. This information was kindly furnished by Professor William F. Edgerton.

bricks laid in a herringbone pattern. The walls were of mud bricks of sizes characteristic of the Roman period (averaging $30 \times 15 \times 8$ cm.). We have not been able to discover the original purpose of the building. A small covered market (basilica) comes to mind, but this suggestion seems to be overruled by the location at the edge

of a cemetery. Concerning the date of its construction we can say only that it was presumably before A.D. 300, since the surrounding graves, which were obviously later, are to be assigned to the fourth to fifth centuries after Christ. Adjacent buildings (see Folio Pl. 34) were probably contemporary.

LIME KILNS

In our concession we found two kilns of the Roman or the Coptic period, one in A 4, the other outside our grid to the north of the old inclosure wall and opposite the Great Pylon. The first (Fig. 44), built into a previously destroyed private house of late Roman date, was of rounded form (1.42×1.60 m.) and was constructed of baked bricks ($32 \times 15 \times 8$ cm.). It extended about 70 cm. below the ground, but its floor had probably been at ground

level, where the fire door (50×70 cm.) was. The firebox was apparently spanned by an arch with five half arches against it. The limestone to be burned was presumably stacked above these, so that the gas rising between the arches could pass through it. The upper part of the kiln was destroyed. We imagine a dome-shaped roof with a small outlet in the top and a side door, for introducing the limestone, which during the burning process could be temporarily walled up.

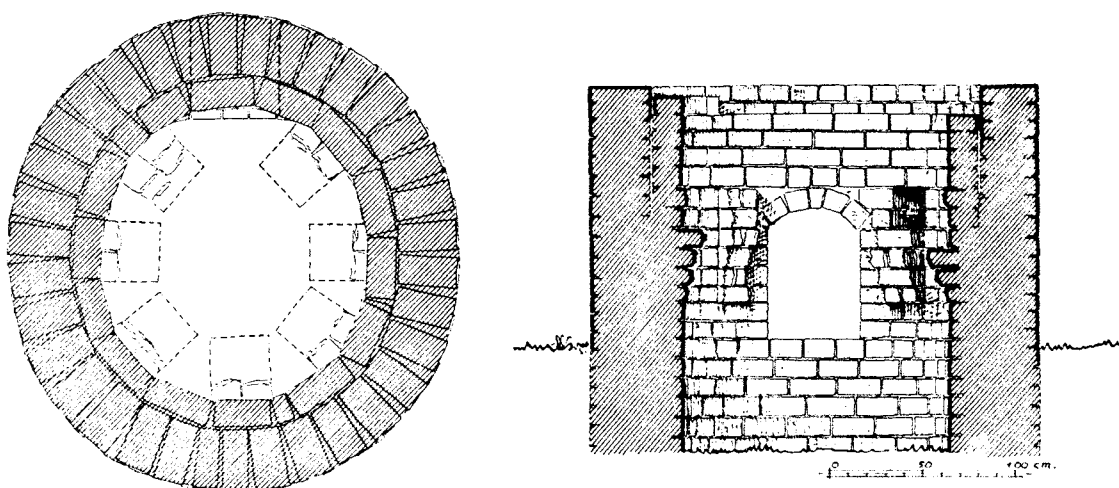


FIG. 44. LIME KILN. GROUND PLAN AND SECTION. SCALE, 1:40

WELLS

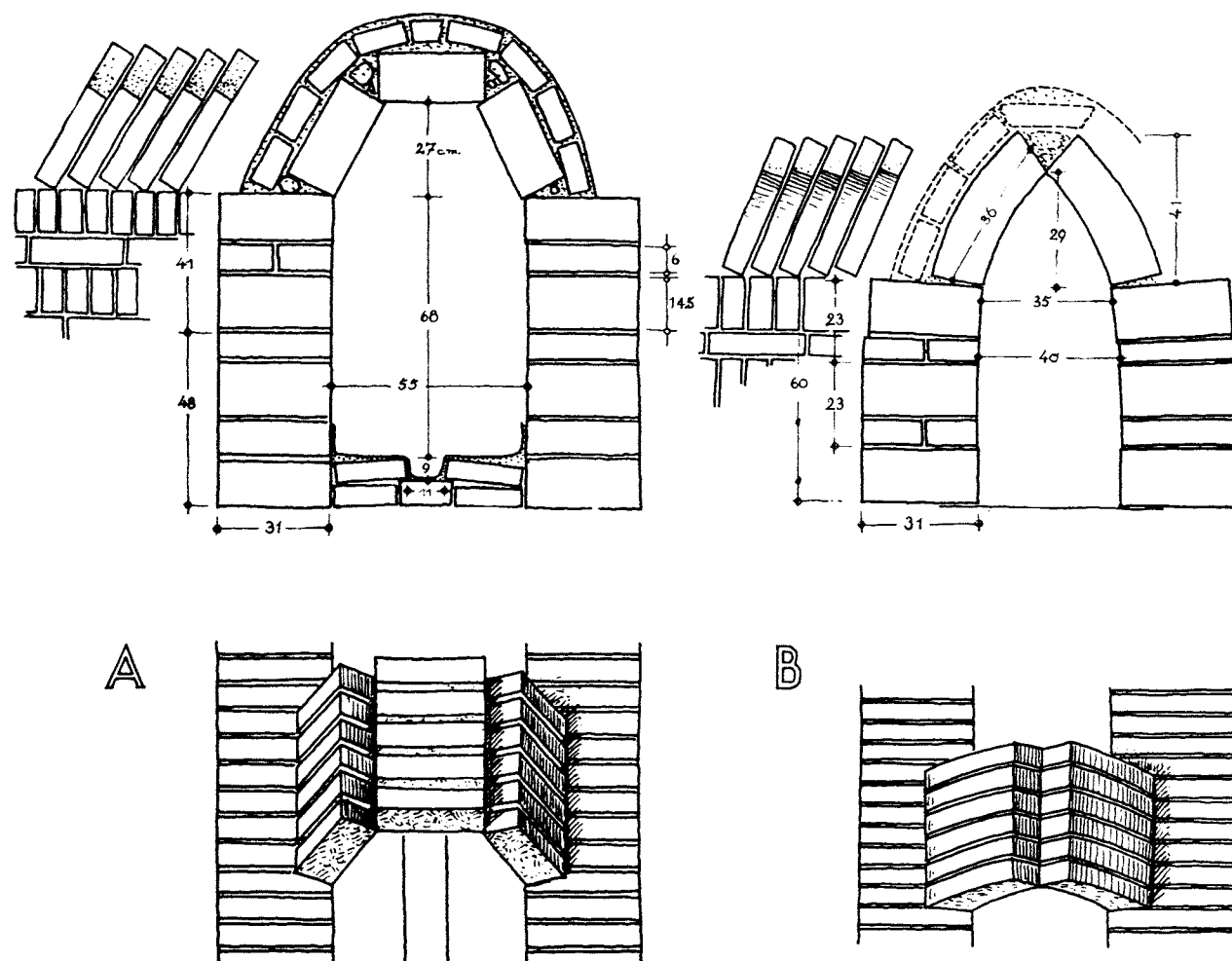
The first well to be mentioned is that built by Ramses III in L 11 (Court E).¹²⁸ Its shaft was constructed of large stone blocks up to the Ramessid floor level, then of baked bricks ($31 \times 14.5 \times 6$ cm.) in alternating courses of stretchers and headers up to the Roman level (1.70 m. high), and finally in the Coptic period it was extended at least 90 cm. higher in rough quarry stone. The stairway by means of which water had originally been carried up in jugs was later not used and became filled up. Instead the water must have been lifted through the shaft by means of a mechanical device whose nature can no longer be determined. We noted only that in the immediate vicinity of the shaft lay a granite beam about 3 meters long which was roughly rounded like a column shaft. It could have served to span the shaft opening, in which case the lifting device might have been similar to a modern sakieh. The water which was raised presumably flowed in a fairly steady stream. It was conducted to the places where it was to be used by means of underground vaulted masonry channels or pipes. Several such water conduits were partially preserved (labeled A-E on Pl. 26; see also Folio Pls. 11-12). Obviously they varied in age.

128. See Vol. III 68 and Fig. 42.

Conduit A (Fig. 45) was a vaulted channel (55 cm. wide and 95 cm. high) which after two turns led between the foundation walls of the gate of Domitian (Fig. 46 and at F on Pl. 26 B) to the precinct of the Small Temple. It was obviously built at the same time as the gate, that is, at the end of the first century after Christ. It was constructed of baked bricks (*ca.* $31 \times 14.5 \times 6.5$ cm.), and the lower joints were flushed with waterproof lime mortar. See Figure 45 for details.

Conduit B was a somewhat smaller channel (40 cm. wide and 89 cm. high) which passed through a side door into the first court of the Great Temple. It was obviously contemporaneous with conduit A. It was built on top of the Ramessid pavement of the first court, which indicates that the level of that court was at least 1.25 m. higher in Roman times. See Figure 45 for structural details. At the beginning of the conduit was a perforated stone slab (at B in Fig. 47), like a grating, which probably was intended to prevent animals or even persons from entering the temple court through the conduit.

Conduit C was a later restoration of conduit B. It was made of clay piping (inner diameter, *ca.* 10 cm.), which for protection against pressure of the earth was inclosed at the

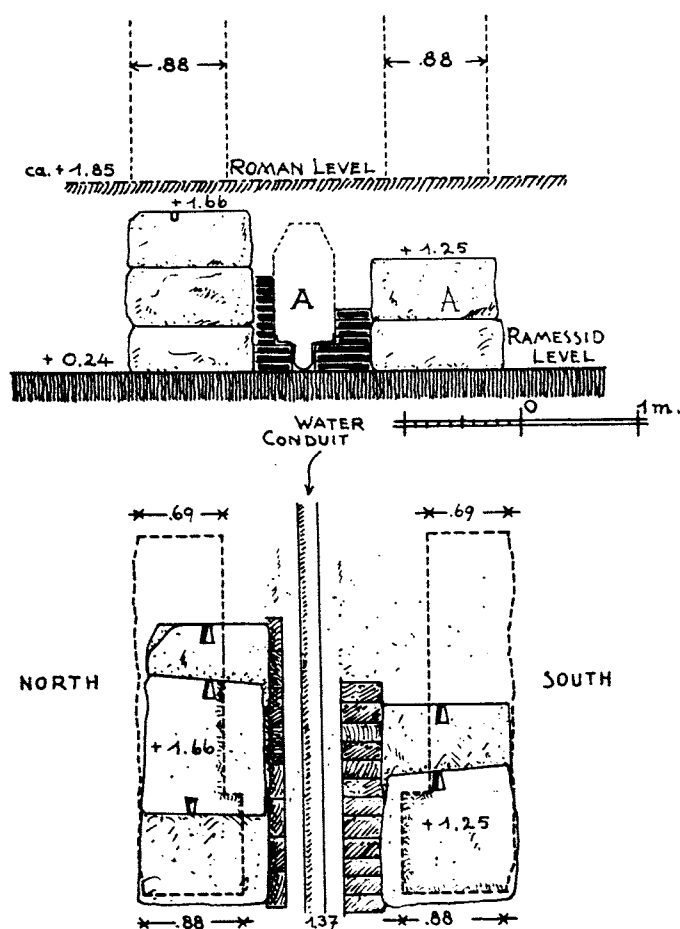
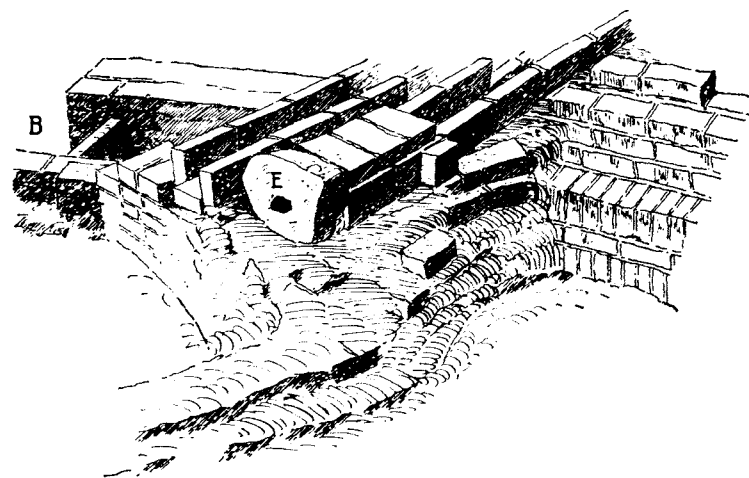
FIG. 45. STRUCTURAL DETAILS OF ROMAN WATER CONDUITS *A* AND *B*

sides and top with baked bricks. The beginning of the conduit—at the well—was about a meter above the bottom of conduit *B*. Its discharge into conduit *B* occurred 8 meters beyond through a perforated sandstone cylinder (Fig. 48).

Conduit *D* was of clay piping with its beginning at the same level as conduit *C*. It conducted water to a rectangular basin 14 meters from the well (at *D'* in Pl. 26 *A*). The basin was constructed of baked brick and plastered with waterproof lime plaster. Originally both the basin and the conduit were below ground level, which was here about +2.40 m., that is, presumably about 1.50 m. above the Ramessid level.

Conduit *E*, of clay piping, was obviously the latest. Only a small section, which crossed over conduit *B*, was preserved. At the beginning was a stone slab with a rather small opening (see Fig. 47).

A second large well of Ramses III, in O 6-7 (Court R),¹²⁹ was likewise still used in the Roman period, as its re-

FIG. 46. CONDUIT *A* BETWEEN THE FOUNDATION WALLS OF THE GATE OF DOMITIANFIG. 47. LATE ROMAN CONDUIT *E* CROSSING OVER CONDUIT *B*

129. *Ibid.* p. 68 and Fig. 43.

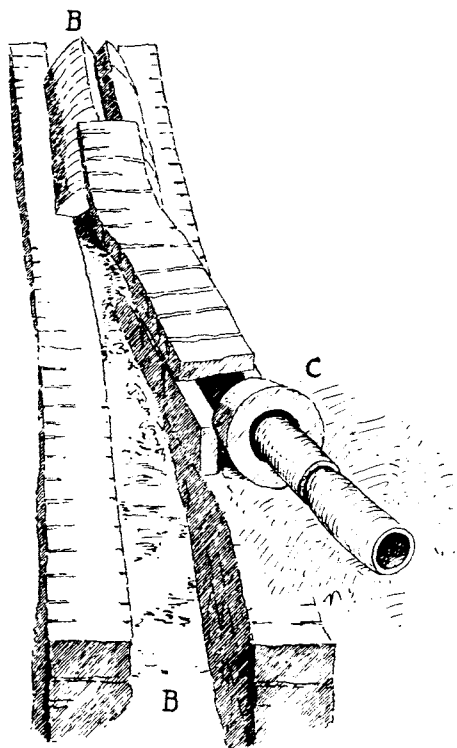


FIG. 48. DISCHARGE OF LATE ROMAN CONDUIT C INTO CONDUIT B, LOOKING SOUTHEAST

mains showed (see Folio Pls. 13–14). However, these were in such poor condition that further consideration would be useless.

In addition we found here and there in the Roman settlement small well shafts of baked brick, an indication that there had been an attempt to supply water at points where it was needed. In the Coptic period, on the other hand, new wells were exceptional, and only a few old ones were used.

Finally we found a Roman well outside the old inclosure wall in the temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab (see Folio Pl. 34, in H 4–5). It probably belonged to the building described above which was later remodeled as a church (see p. 40 and Fig. 60). Its shaft had a diameter of 1.50 m. (Fig. 49); the lower part was apparently hewn out of the

rocky ground, and the upper part was constructed of baked bricks ($30 \times 15 \times 6$ cm.) in alternating courses of stretchers and headers. It was surrounded by a larger shaft (4.55 m. in diameter) which was entirely rock-hewn. Two flights of narrow stairs, opposite each other, were cut into the wall in the upper part of the outer shaft. Apparently they were used not in hauling water but in descending and ascending during construction of the well. A straight tunnel-like stairway had originally served for carrying water, though it later collapsed because of the weakness of the stone. Thereafter the inner shaft was used as a draw well, and water drawn in pails or similar pottery vessels was poured into a round basin located beside the brim of the well.

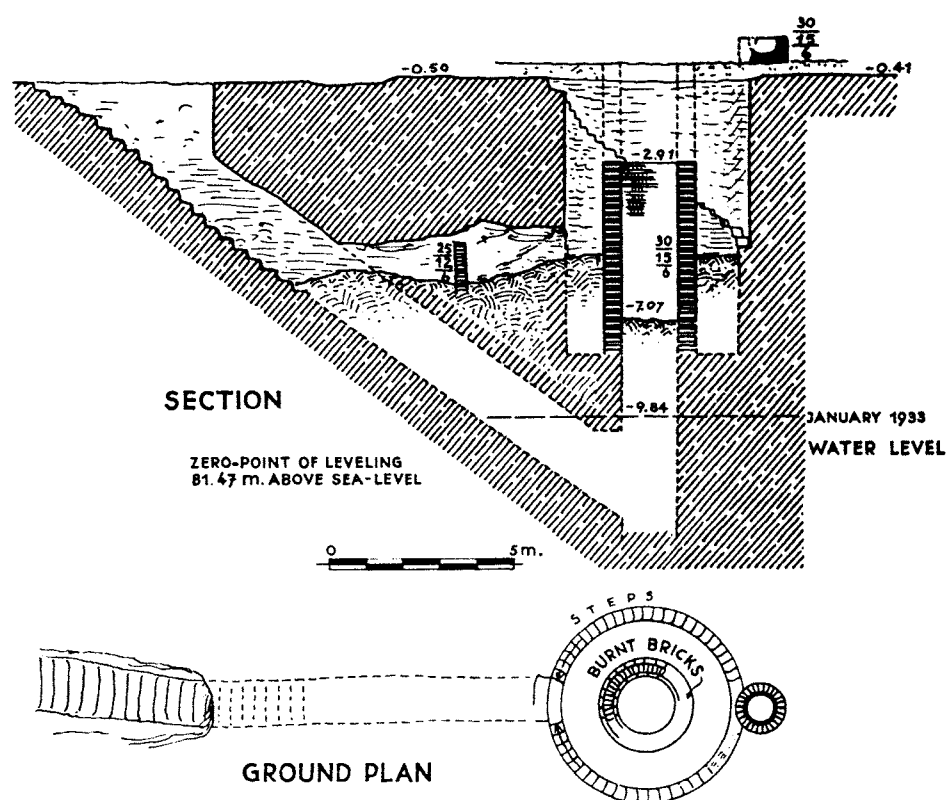


FIG. 49. ROMAN WELL IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB (cf. FIG. 60). SCALE, 1:200

THE CEMETERY

The Roman cemetery was situated in the desert northwest of the town, that is, above the remains of the temple of Eye and Harmhab (see Folio Pl. 34). The main group of tombs were crowded together on the elevation where

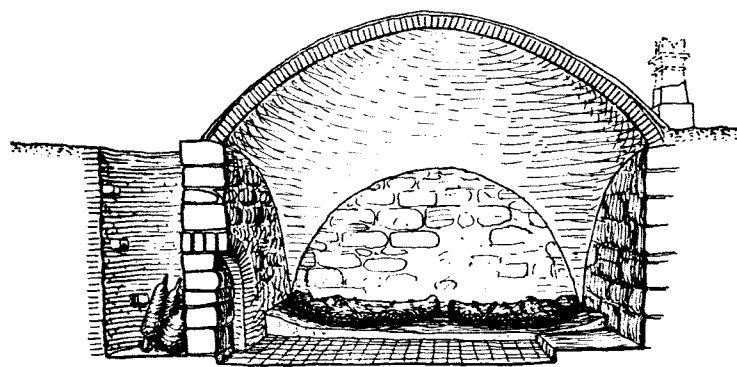


FIG. 50. DOMED TOMB OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE THIRD CENTURY AFTER CHRIST. SECTION

the cult rooms of that Eighteenth Dynasty temple had been located. There were other groups of tombs to the

south and east on the other side of the bed of a mountain torrent. Most of the tombs were domed structures, square in ground plan (2.50–5.0 m. on a side; see Pl. 28 F). They were let into the ground to a depth of 1.5–2.2 m., so that only the domes projected above the terrain (Fig. 50 and Pl. 28 E). One tomb was round in plan (No. 67 in N 5). They were all accessible through a low arched doorway and a shaft outside it which had in most cases merely stepping stones projecting from the wall (see Fig. 50) but occasionally a real stairway. After the body had been carried in through this rather inconvenient access and the doorway had been blocked, empty amphorae, whose contents had presumably been used in connection with the burial, were piled upside down in the shaft, which was then filled with sand or rubbish. In the shaft of Tomb 55 (Pl. 27 A) there were fourteen amphorae like G' 1 and G' 2 (cf. Pl. 48), all waterproofed with asphalt inside. In the shaft of Tomb 66 amphora G' 3 stood upright, closed by a clay stopper and with a sprig of *Persea* (*Mimusops schimperi*) stuck in its neck. In the same tomb a half jug

filled with gypsum had served merely to close up the doorway.

Within the domed tombs, whose domes regularly were found in a damaged state, the bodies were placed along the walls in many cases on low platforms (15–25 cm. high) built of mud and stones, with raised head end (see Pl. 28 D). Such platforms were built on one side or on two or three sides of the square room, in the last case therefore in the form of a triclinium. Often two or three bodies lay side by side, and two or three, according to the size of the room, end to end. In such cases we probably have family tombs, unless bodies were added later without authorization. There seemed to have been no fixed rules in regard to orientation of the bodies.

The domed tombs which we found dated, as far as we could tell, from the latter half of the third century after Christ. Without exception they had been plundered by ancient or modern tomb-robbers. In some tombs several dozen damaged and plundered mummies were piled one on top of another. Only a few mummies lay in their original positions (e.g. Pl. 28 D). As a rule numerous small pottery vessels were present. For the most part they had not been used and therefore had been made as burial gifts. The most common forms are represented by *H'* 3; *L'* 1, 2, 7, 9; *N'* 1, 3, 4, 6, 10–12, 15; *O'* 1, 2; *P'* 1, 4, 5; *Q'* 2, 6, 7, 10; *R'* 2, 3, 5, 8, 9; *S'* 1–5; *T'* 2, 3; *U'* 2; *V'* 3–8; *X'* 1, 2, 5; and *Y'* 7 (see pottery catalogue).

In three places near a domed tomb (see Folio Pl. 34, in O 5, N 5, and M 6) we found at ground level a slightly tapered rectangular pedestal (see Fig. 50) constructed of mud brick, plastered with mud, and whitewashed with lime (e.g. Pl. 28 C). In each case unfortunately the top was destroyed, so that we are not certain of the complete shape. On the basis of fragmentary stone pedestals found in the debris of the cemetery (Fig. 51) we would reconstruct them with a cavetto cornice and acroteria at the corners. They were apparently altars on which were placed lamps or bowls for offerings.¹³⁰

An entirely different type of tomb structure was found not far away in H 5–6, where there were three rectangular chapels (2.5 × 3.85 m. inside) built at ground level. The walls were 46 cm. thick and consisted of mud bricks of a size characteristic of the Roman period (30 × 14 × 8 cm.). The entrance in each case was on the short side at the east. We do not know the height of these rooms or whether they had barrel vaults. Two of them contained remains of a rectangular structure, apparently the sides of a bench for the dead, in one case along the long wall at the south and in the other along the rear wall. No objects were found. Concerning the date we can say only that they should be comparatively early, since after their destruction some of the north-south graves mentioned below were cut into their foundations.

Another rectangular chamber, with a well preserved barrel vault (Pl. 28 E), was built into the ruins of a domed tomb (No. 14 in O 4). It was essentially the same in size (2.10 × 3.55 m.) as those mentioned in the previous paragraph, but circumstances suggest a somewhat later dating. Finally we found a well preserved barrel vault in connection with a square tomb structure (No. 204 in K 2);

130. Similar altars of Ptolemaic to Roman times were found in front of the mortuary chapels in the necropolis of Hermopolis (Tunah el-Gebel).

this I assume, however, was a later reconstruction of a domed tomb.

In more modest burials tomb structures were not used but bodies were merely buried in coffins¹³¹ or even without them. The graves were dug in the hard gravelly ground or in the rubbish which had accumulated on top of it, in some cases even in the foundations of earlier brick buildings. The body lay always just below the surface, usually in an east-west position with the head toward the west; some, however, as a rule in the later burials, were oriented north-south with the head toward the north. Some of the latter belonged to Christians, as indicated by painted crosses. These modest graves were located chiefly along the periphery of the main group of domed tombs as well as along the exterior walls of the church and dwellings in H–K 2–6. The coffins for the most part were crudely made of unbaked clay; the lids occasionally were made in two parts (see Pl. 28 B). Some were formed like slippers, with

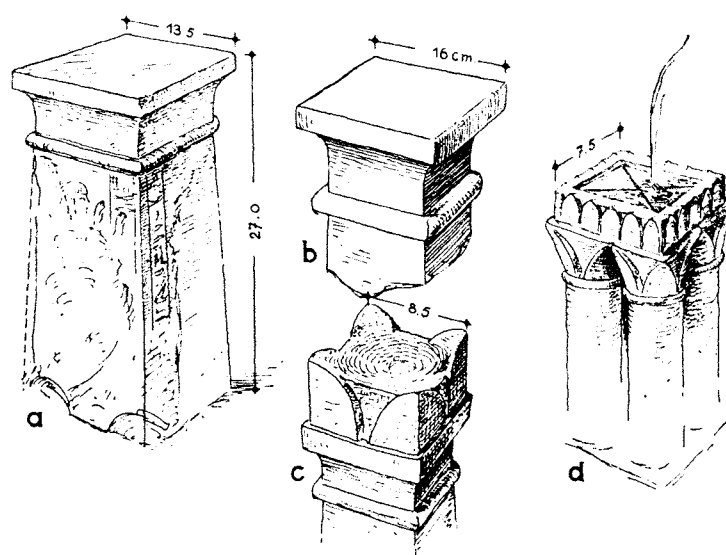


FIG. 51. STONE TOPS OF ALTARS, FOUND IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB

lids only half the length of the coffins (example in I 4). One coffin was made in one piece but left open at the head end, which was later closed with a wall. A hole 7 cm. in diameter was left in the top at chest height (see Pl. 28 B). Since this coffin is one of the few found unopened, the burial deserves a brief description.

The coffin was located in N 4 in a heap of rubbish with the head end at the north. The cloths in which the body was wrapped were tied together, and the knots were secured with lead sealings (Cairo J 59849) stamped with a lion.¹³² On the wrappings a face was modeled in clay,¹³³ coated with gypsum, and painted (Pl. 28 A); the forehead was crowned with flowers likewise modeled and painted. Upon unwrapping, the mummy proved to be that of a middle-aged male and was surprisingly well preserved (Pl. 27 B). The sutured vertical incision where the viscera had been removed was clearly visible. Cords made of twisted strips of cloth tied together were fastened around the neck,

131. Occasionally mummiform coffins of the 22d dyn. were reused, in which cases the wrapping and preparing of the bodies themselves indicated the Roman period.

132. Other sealings show a human head with heavy hair and an identifiable group of figures, presumably a mythological representation and therefore a Hellenistic-Roman motif.

133. The clay adhered so firmly that I assume it was applied with glue or the like.

wrists, and ankles. Garlands of leaves¹³⁴ tied to a rope of rushes with thin cords were twined around the body. Beside the left hand lay some dates and some pieces of a black substance,¹³⁵ all strung on a cord.

Not far from this grave was a coffin made of two baked-clay vessels and a nearly cylindrical center piece tied together (Pl. 27 C-D). Within it, head to the north, was a mummy with female characteristics. The cloth wrappings were coated with gypsum outside and tied. The mask with flower crown and earrings, the small pointed breasts, the crossed hands with numerous rings, as well as the feet, were modeled in clay and painted in colors. The ropes used for tying consisted of two intertwined bast cords in which date-palm leaves and rolled leaves of *Persea*¹³⁶ were interlaced. In addition there were thicker garlands like those of the mummy described above. On the body was tied a wooden label (visible on Pl. 27 D) bearing a Greek inscription in black giving the name and presumably the age or death date of the deceased. Unfortunately the wood had been eaten away by termites to such an extent that the writing was no longer legible. The mummy wrappings consisted of four or five layers of cloth, the outer two being firm and coarse like sackcloth, the third of finer fabric with interwoven border of purple weft threads, the innermost of even finer fabric like muslin with fringe on the edges. For the essential rigidity the body itself was bound to a board 12 cm. broad which was carved in the shape of a head at one end. The body was well preserved, even to the hair and eyelashes. Around the

neck, wrists, and ankles were cords with intertwined leaves.

Concerning other mummies, which were found in a poor state of preservation, it is to be noted that the abdominal cavity as well as the mouth had regularly been stuffed with fine cloth in the process of mummification. The outer wrappings were in many cases painted in colors with representations of Egyptian mortuary gods, for example, Anubis. The masks often had colored glass inlays in the crown and earrings; the same was true of the finger rings. The wreath of one mask was made of the thinnest gold leaf. Another mask was gilded over and over and had glass eyes. In one case three pomegranates occurred as offerings. We found about thirty mummy labels (e.g. Pl. 24 B), some written in ink and others incised; only a few were still legible. One (Pl. 24 C left) reads *Ψενοσιρπις υιος κεφαλωνος*. In only a single instance was the year of death noted, or decipherable, namely: "second year of Emperor Probus," that is, A.D. 278. This date was corroborated by occasional coins of Diocletian and Constantinus found with the burials.

The cemetery, then, was used from about the middle of the third century until some time perhaps in the fifth century. First, that is, in the latter half of the third century, the imposing domed tombs were constructed. Then more modest burials without tomb structures were placed between and around them. Some of these, mainly those with east-west orientation, are to be dated not much later. Others, however, especially those with north-south orientation, can be dated considerably later, since occasionally they cut into the foundations of destroyed domed tombs. We found indications of Christian burials in only a few places (see p. 43), but we can date them no later than the fifth century.

134. Dr. Ludwig Keimer, to whom we are very grateful, identifies vine leaves and sprigs of *Persea* (*M. schimperi*) among them.

135. Which could have been meat, according to Dr. Keimer.

136. Keimer remarks that garlands made by sewing together folded *Persea* leaves are characteristic of later times (see Ludwig Keimer, *Die Gartenpflanzen im alten Ägypten* I [Hamburg-Berlin, 1924] p. 32).

THE COPTIC TOWN OF JÊME

The thickly populated Coptic town of Jême grew out of the late Roman town described above. The old Egyptian designation *T̅m.t*, later *D̅m.t*, survives in the name Jême (**Ⲫⲙⲉ**).¹³⁷ This town not only filled the old fortified temple precinct but spread beyond it in various places, as had the Roman town. The sacred precinct of the Small Temple too was now, after the cessation of the old cult, closely packed with dwellings. The old inclosure wall, which had been partly destroyed in the previous centuries, was again in ruins and was even covered with dwellings. These tall, closely crowded houses appeared to have had no openings on the outside, where the ground was precipitous, and no doubt were accessible only from within the town. The heart of the town was thus if

not defensible against attack at least shut off from the outside. Otherwise the layout, with such closely crowded many-storied structures, would be inexplicable.¹³⁸

As a result of the *déblaiement* of Medinet Habu conducted at the end of the last century the great majority of the Coptic houses had already disappeared when we began our excavations in 1927 (see Folio Pl. 1). And we were compelled to remove the remaining houses, or at least those within the Great Girdle Wall. Only the ruins which stand on top of the old inclosure wall and a few outside it to the north were left in place. From them at least one can still gain an impression of the culture and way of life of the inhabitants of the town of Jême, which flourished until about the eighth or ninth century after Christ.

STREETS

The town was best preserved north and west of the Great Temple (Pl. 29 *A* and Folio Pl. 32). Here there were large blocks of houses separated by surprisingly narrow streets, for the most part not more than 1.50–1.80 m. wide. Their level was about 2.50–4.00 m. above that of the Ramessid structures, and at the west it was even higher. From these streets narrower blind alleys branched off into the blocks of houses. In order to obtain an impression let us follow a few streets and alleys. In Q 12–13 a street paralleling the inclosure wall rose gradually toward the west. From this two alleys branched off to the north. One, between Houses 92 and 94, was only 95 cm. wide and in the very short stretch to the entrance of House 92 (i.e., 12 m.) rose almost 3 meters, presumably originally by means of steps. The other alley, between Houses 69 and 70, was even narrower; its original slope could not be determined.

A second street ran close to the base of the old inclosure wall in R–T, rising westward from +12.00 to +13.27 m. At the east, in front of House 98, it turned south and descended about 4 meters, crossing to the first street in front of House 62. At the west, where it likewise turned to the south, a blind alley (75 cm. wide) branched off to the north behind House 101, turning west at House 102, and ending at the door of House 103. There were steps at the beginning of this alley, but the rest of it was level. A third street turned sharply in M 11 at the corner of House 5. At this point an alley scarcely 80 cm. wide branched off to the west and rose by means of steps from about +6.00 m. to the threshold of House 4 at +7.67 m.¹³⁹ Many houses were reached by stairs, for example, Houses 46 and 48 in P 10 and 104 in T 13.

DWELLINGS

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

The rear walls of the houses within a block for the most part abutted on one another. Courts were rare, and those which did exist (e.g. in M 11 behind Houses 8–9 and 20) were usually very narrow and often had cellars beneath them (see Pl. 41, House 8). The houses were thus dependent mostly on the narrow streets and alleys for air and light. Occasionally there were windows opening onto adjacent courts or perhaps windows higher up which admitted air and light over the tops of neighboring buildings. Though no such high windows were preserved, we assumed them on the basis of occasional windows in the

ground floors which had been blocked by later walls (e.g. in Houses 19, 37, and 39).

The masonry as a rule consisted of sun-dried mud bricks measuring 30 × 14 × 6 to 31 × 15 × 7 cm. In isolated cases the foundation or underground walls were built of rough stone, or at the corners about every third course was strengthened by use of baked brick. Below ground level often two courses of stretchers alternated with one header course. The houses all had more than one story. The basements were occasionally at street level, usually lower. Frequently there were real cellars, which were used as underground storerooms. The entrance was usually in the first floor, occasionally in the basement, and sometimes between them at the level of a stair landing. Little was preserved of the upper (second and third) stories, but frequently stairways indicated several floors. The exact number of stories could be determined only in cases where houses

137. See. Vol. II 43.

138. A good impression of the ruinous state of the town before the beginning of the *déblaiement* is given by a photograph reproduced in Auguste Mariette, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte* II (2d ed.; Paris and Leipzig, 1893) Pl. 50; copied in our Vol. II, Pl. 9.

139. Not +6.67 m., as erroneously indicated on Folio Pl. 32!

abutted on stone walls (see p. 49). Probably in all cases there was a roof terrace.

Most of the cellars had barrel vaults (see Pl. 43 *a-b*) constructed in the way which was customary of old. In a few houses (e.g. Nos. 98–100) they had flat ceilings. Usually they were without windows. Hence there was often in the crown of the vault a clay tube 10–12 cm. in diameter, which served for ventilation (e.g. in House 112; Fig. 52). In isolated cases there was instead an opening 20 cm. square in the masonry. In many cellars there were large storage vessels 80–120 cm. in diameter and up to about 100 cm. in height. These were narrower at the top and were constructed of three or four annular sections (30–40

to preserve them we built a great number into our restoration (1–2 m. high) of the Inner Inclosure Wall south of the Great Temple.

The entrance usually led directly into a living room, as a rule the largest room of its story. This room was regularly, as were the majority of the rooms, barrel-vaulted. In the walls usually were niches, which we considered cupboards intended to hold various objects. These as a rule were arched. In House *a* (p. 51), however, the top of the niche was formed by a board, and a shelf was inserted half-way up (see Fig. 56, Section *C-D*). In addition the entrance room as a rule had a larger niche to hold water jugs (e.g. in House 3; see Pl. 31 *B*). The best preserved example was

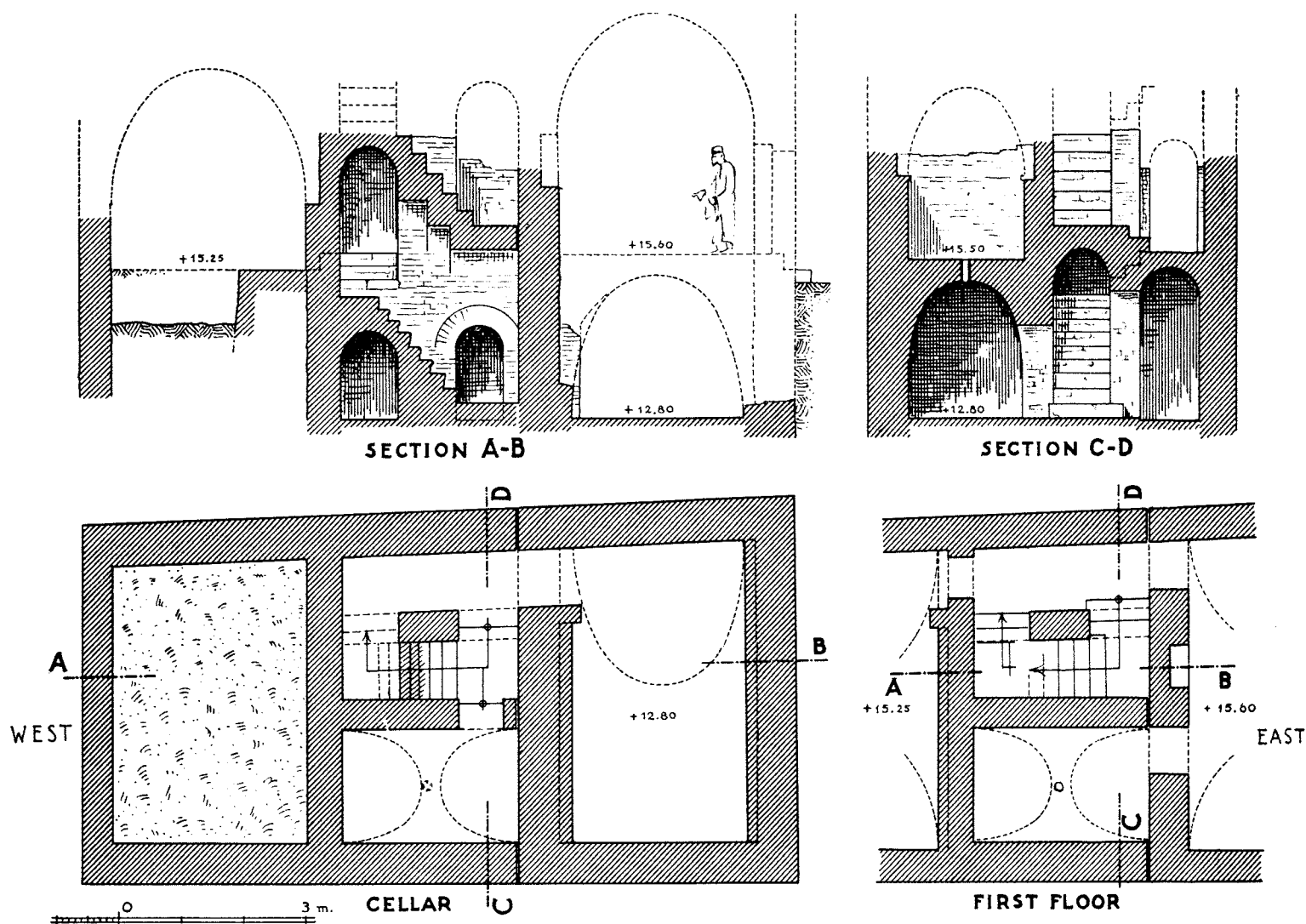


FIG. 52.—COPTIC HOUSE 112. PLANS AND SECTIONS

cm. high) made by hand of unbaked clay. Occasionally they were let into the floor up to half their height (cf. House 92; Pl. 42 and p. 50). As a rule the cellar was reached by means of a stairway, and often the cellar doorway was only 1.10–1.50 m. high, so that it was necessary to stoop (see House 101; Pl. 43 *B*). Some cellars were accessible only through a hatch in the vault (e.g. in Houses 34 and 53; see Fig. 53).

The entrances to the houses were very narrow, about 60–80 cm. wide. Sills and jambs consisted often of baked brick, less frequently of stone. The lintels had nowhere remained *in situ*, and only one was found in the house to which it belonged (see Fig. 56). Nevertheless a large number of lintels of the same type or similar were found in the excavation debris. They are regularly of sandstone and as a rule are decorated with rosettes or similar ornaments, very often with crosses (see Pl. 36 *A* and p. 59). In order

in House 102 (see Pls. 31 *D* and 43 *C*). A socle (56 cm. high) projected beyond the wall and contained two rounded depressions in which water jugs were placed. The water which seeped through the porous walls of the jugs, in so far as it did not evaporate, was conducted by two narrow channels to a smaller depression in the center whence it flowed through a vertical opening into a small vessel placed in a small cavity below. In front of the socle was a shallow cement basin which evidently received any overflow, so that it would not soak the brickwork. The entire socle was made of baked brick and waterproof mortar (lime mortar mixed with brick dust). The two side walls of the niche had rounded projections at their bases, and the niche itself had a rounded arch at the top. At the foot of the arch projected two beams which originally presumably had been connected by a cross beam to form a frame. We imagine that wooden screens were fastened thereto or that

cloths or mats were hung thereon to protect the water in the jugs against pollution and flies.

In better houses the water-jug stands were made of stone and richly ornamented, the seepage draining through lion-head spouts. Examples of this type were not found *in situ*; they had long since been uprooted, and the better specimens are now in the Coptic collections of museums in Egypt and other countries. Characteristic pieces which we found in the debris are shown on Plate 36 B 1-7 (see p. 59). One such jug stand surprisingly had been cut into the huge capital of a column in the first court

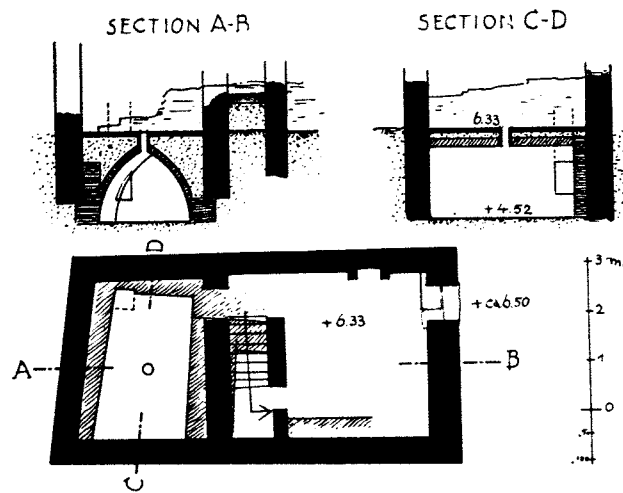


FIG. 53. COPTIC HOUSE 53. PLAN AND SECTIONS

of the Great Temple (see p. 49, Fig. 55 at *a*, and Pl. 31 C), and it indicates the height of the Coptic houses which filled the old temple court. We found two baked-clay stands also (Pl. 36 B 8-9).

The stairways in the houses were as a rule very narrow, seldom more than 60-80 cm. wide, and often dangerously steep, especially cellar stairs. The steps were mostly of baked brick, often overlaid with rough stone slabs (see Pl. 30 B). As a rule they rested on barrel vaults, which were constructed in short horizontal sections and ascended one behind another according to the incline of the stairway (see Fig. 52 and Pls. 41-42). The headroom in the stair wells was very slight, especially in cellar stairs, so that it was impossible to stand upright (see Pl. 43 B).

The wooden doors of the entrances were missing everywhere. Apparently they were removed as valued possessions by the residents when the town was abandoned, and, as can be ascertained in many instances, the entrances had been walled up for protection against unbidden intruders. Occasionally even the cellar doorways had been walled up (e.g. in House 41). The doors within the houses, which likewise had all disappeared, must have been of the simplest type. In a few places stone sockets in which doors had pivoted (see Fig. 56) or perforated stones projecting from the walls as consoles for the upper pivots were still present.

No windows were preserved in the cellars, and only a few remained in the basements and first floors. They were at best 20 × 40 cm. openings with no recognizable device for closing them. In House 101 there was a very narrow window slit in the cellar stair well (see Pl. 43 B). The upper floors were no doubt provided with larger windows, as reconstructed in Plates 41-43. One bit of evidence for this is provided by a house built into the Great Temple (see p. 49 and Pl. 44 at *q* and *r*). Perhaps such windows had beneath them small pillars, since we found in the excavation debris

many small pillars or twin pillars (*ca.* 40-90 cm. high; cf. Pl. 46 *f*) for which we can suggest no other purpose (see reconstruction of House 8 in Pl. 41).

The exterior walls of most, if not all, the houses were probably plastered. The interior walls, at least in the better rooms, were plastered and whitewashed too, as could be seen in many places. However, there were likewise better rooms in which the walls were left unplastered, for example in House 45, where baked-brick ornamentation was inlaid in the unbaked-brick walls (see Pl. 42). Frequently simple motifs or inscriptions had been painted on the whitewashed plaster or scratched with the fingers in the plaster while it was still soft, for example a cross or the name of Christ abbreviated and sometimes an additional brief remark (Fig. 54).

Finally, we found in the excavation debris numerous stone consoles, about 20 cm. high and 32-50 cm. long. The part which was let into the wall was left rough. The part which projected was smoothly finished underneath and provided on top with two grooves, the one at the front being deeper and showing traces of rubbing—a clear indication that originally cords were tied over it.¹⁴⁰ The front and sides of such consoles are richly ornamented, usually with leaf patterns but occasionally with animal representations (Pl. 37: 13-22). Unfortunately we found none of these *in situ*, so that we cannot say with certainty where or for what purpose they were used. Our conjecture is that awnings for shading the streets or underlying terraces were

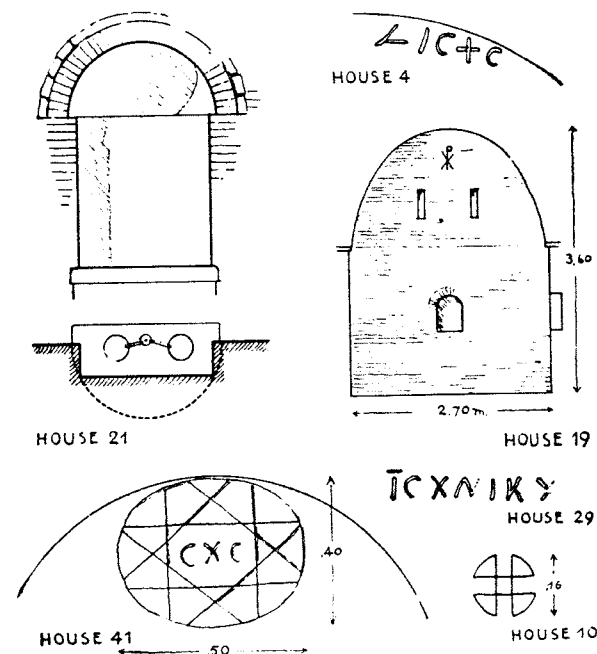


FIG. 54. DETAILS OF COPTIC HOUSES

fastened to the cords. In House 77 (see Pls. 43 *A* at *D* and 31 *A*) we found in the masonry just below the lintel at either side of the entrance holes which could have held some object, but scarcely such a console.

In Coptic times the Great Temple, except for the second court, which served as a church (see pp. 51-55), was completely filled with dwellings. In the rear part most of the cross walls and the columns of the hypostyle halls were removed to provide space for the new buildings. Whether they were dwellings for ordinary people or for

140. Josef Strzygowski in *Koptische Kunst* ("Catalogue général . . . du Musée du Caire" XII [Vienne, 1904]) Figs. 92-93 gives examples from Medinet Habu but shows them upside down, since he thinks they must derive from Roman double-voluted consoles.

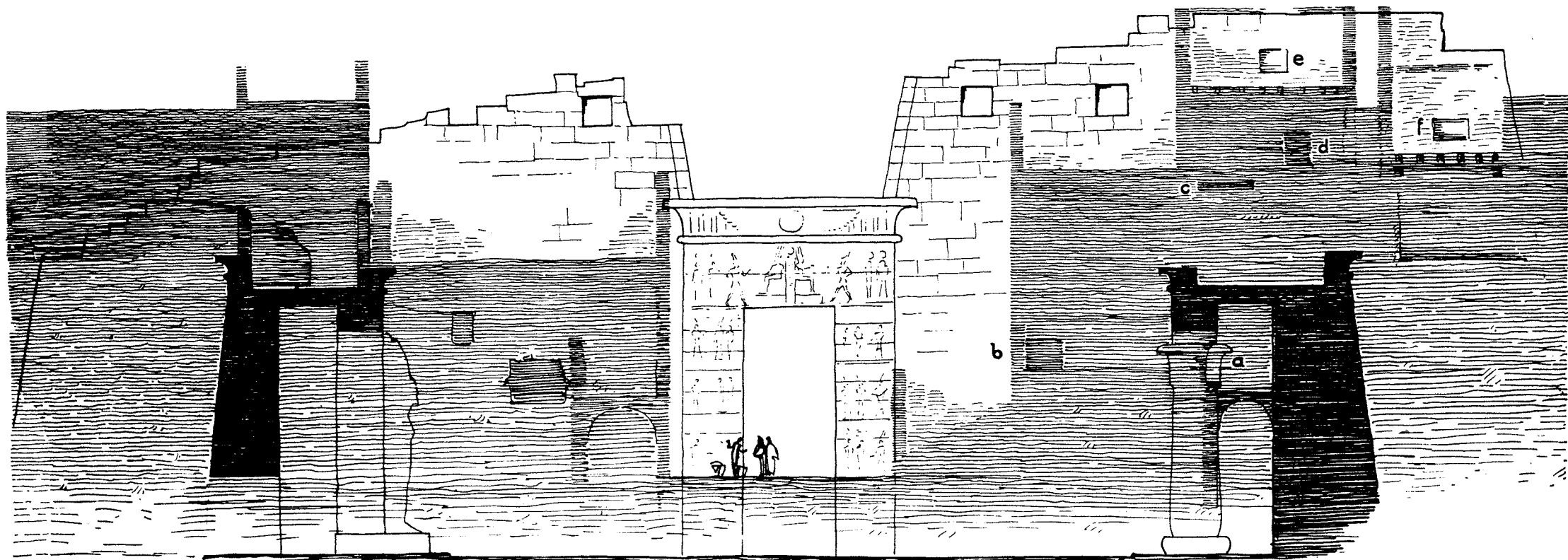


FIG. 55. SKETCH OF THE FIRST COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE FILLED WITH COPTIC DWELLINGS. SECTION SEEN FROM THE WEST. RECONSTRUCTION

officials could not be determined, since as a result of the *déblaiement* any possible clues have been lost. We assume that the entrance to this group of dwellings was an arched doorway (2 m. wide) broken through the north wall of the temple (Pl. 44 *t*). The small chapels along the interior of this wall were left almost intact, since they could be repaired and used for dwelling purposes without alteration. During the *déblaiement* the mud-brick walls of these Coptic houses were entirely removed, but traces of them are still clearly visible in spite of the restoration of the temple. And they show many details which we sought in vain in the Coptic houses discussed above.

The portion of the north wall of the temple with which we are concerned (see Pl. 44) is about 60 meters long and shows numerous openings which were broken through it in Coptic times (*a-t*). Sixteen of these are doorways. They were accessible from a street along the outside either at ground level or by means of stairways up to 3 meters high. It is noteworthy that occasionally two doorways are superimposed (*b-c*, *g-h*, and *l-m*)—a fact which indicates that in these cases each story was occupied by a separate household, each with its own entrance. This implies that in these cases there were no stairways between floors. We see further that above doorway *p* there are rather large windows (*q-r*) in the second and third floors. This house, as shown by the interior face of the wall, had cellar, ground floor with entrance, and two upper stories and thus was at least four-storied. The doorways are as a rule 70–85 cm. wide and 1.60–1.70 m. high; their lintels were decorated in the manner of those shown on Plate 36 *A*. The interior face of the wall shows that the inside stairways for the most part as well as the supports for the brick vaults were hewn into the stone masonry of the old temple. The four-

storied house just mentioned must have had beamed ceilings in the upper stories.

In the same way the first court of the Great Temple had been filled with Coptic houses. The street level, as indicated in the portal of the first pylon, was about 3.50 m. above the original pavement (Fig. 55). Traces on the west face of the pylon—for example outlines of vaults and holes for beam ends, as well as discoloration of the sandstone by saltpeter—give us an idea of the height and number of stories of these houses, especially in the south half. There one sees halfway up the colonnade incisions made for the barrel vault of a cellar or basement. Above it, reaching to just under the roof slabs of the colonnade, was the first floor of the house in which the above-mentioned water-jug niche had been cut into the capital of a stone column (see Fig. 55 at *a* and Pl. 31 *C*). At the same height and to the left was a similar niche (*b*), which, however, had been walled up. The second floor, which lay above the roof terrace of the colonnade, is revealed where the vault adjoined (*c*). The third floor is indicated by a niche cut into the pylon (*d*), and above it the position of joists can be seen. The fourth floor also is indicated by a niche (*e*). Unless there was a fifth story, the roof of the house must have been somewhat above the present top of the pylon. One sees therefore that the Great Pylon of Medinet Habu was concealed by a sea of houses and no longer towered above its surroundings. The traces in the north half of the court are not so clear. At the beginning of the *déblaiement* remains of Coptic brick buildings were still preserved on top of the colonnade (see Pl. 32 *A*), though here the houses were not so high as those on the other side. Noteworthy are the doorways and the double window slit which appear in an old photograph (Pl. 32 *A*).

CATALOGUE¹⁴¹

HOUSE 3

In L-M 11 (see Pl. 41), at corner of street 1.80 m. wide (*ca.* +6.00 m.). Entrance destroyed except for sill. First floor: Barrel-vaulted main room (+6.31 m.), 2.70 × *ca.* 4.40 m. and *ca.* 3.70 m. high, with water-jug niche of baked brick (Pl. 31 *B*) and small cupboard niche opposite it; smaller trapeziform side room (floor at +6.75 m.) opening onto stair well. Cellar (+4.79 m.): Under side room only, 1.70 m. high. Floor of earlier (late Roman) building 20–30 cm. below cellar floor, with remains of 2 storage vessels of unbaked clay, the larger 1.20 m. in diameter.

HOUSE 4

In M 11 (see Pl. 41), accessible by means of steps in alley 80 cm. wide extending from corner of same street. Entrance in baked-brick wall, sill at +7.67 m.¹⁴² First floor: Plan similar to that of House 3; floor level of side room 50 cm. higher than that of main room; stair well accessible from both rooms; steps of baked brick, partly covered with stone slabs. Cellar (floor at +5.18 m.): Under entire house; on south-west wall of larger room, just below vault, inscription made with finger in fresh plaster (see Fig. 54) and reading “. . . Jesus Christus” (first sign illegible).

HOUSE 8

In M 11–12 (see Pls. 41 and 29 *B*). Court at rear of property entered through narrow passage from street 1.55 m. wide (*ca.* +5.75 m.). Court apparently wholly or partially covered by wooden balcony. Entrance (sill at +8.20 m.) reached by stairway in court. First floor: A larger and a smaller room with stair well between them and accessible from both. Basement: Two small rooms, the larger at +5.15 m.; 2

storage vessels of unbaked clay set into floor of smaller room to depth of 55 cm. Cellar (+3.95 m.): Under court; since stairs are lacking, a hatch is to be assumed in crown of vault.

HOUSE 9

In M 11–12. Square court with cellar beneath at rear; small hand mill *in situ*.

HOUSE 10

In M 11–12 (see Pls. 42 and 29 *B*), entered from street 1.65 m. wide (+5.70 m.); unusually narrow property. Presumably a court, with wooden balcony, at rear (cf. House 8). Location of entrance unknown. First floor: Doorway or water-jug niche in northwest wall (toward House 14); sill of doorway to court constructed of 2 pieces of doom-palm wood. Basement (+5.02 m.): Two very small rooms with stair well between; in rear room, ventilating pipe (11 cm. in diameter) in crown of vault; on southwest wall in curve of arch, ornamental cross (see Fig. 54) cut in the plaster; below cross, narrow doorway with lintel constructed of 2 wooden beams (7 × 15 cm.) leading to room beneath court.

HOUSE 18

In M 11. Badly damaged. Oblique cellar of an earlier building period beneath.

HOUSE 19

In M 11 (see Pl. 29 *B*), on street (*ca.* +5.90 m.). Basement only preserved: Steps leading down 90 cm. from entrance to very small front room with water-jug niche; barrel-vaulted rear room on other side of stair well, floor level 60 cm. lower (+4.41 m.), 2.70 m. wide, 3.60 m. high; in its north wall, a cupboard niche below 2 window slits (see Fig. 54) facing court of House 9, Christus monogram scratched in double lines in plaster at top.

141. See Folio Pl. 32.

142. Not +6.67 m., as indicated on Folio Pl. 32!

HOUSE 21

In M 11, on street (+5.88 m.). Basement only preserved (+5.39 m.): Main room at front with 2 small wall niches and a large baked-brick water-jug niche rectangular in ground plan and vaulted as quarter sphere (see Fig. 54); stair well and smaller room at rear, doorway connections not clear. Earlier wall courses below house; in southeast corner, a pot containing numerous small coins of 4th–6th century after Christ (see p. 37). It could not be determined whether the hoard of coins belonged to the earlier or to the later building.

HOUSE 29

In N 11. Position of entrance uncertain. Basement only preserved (+5.65 m.): Under rear part of house only; finger-impressed inscription in curve of arch, reading J(ESUS) CH(RISTO)S NIK(ATOR?) (see Fig. 54).

HOUSE 31

In N–O 11. Mostly destroyed except for water-jug niche of baked brick. The adjacent wall of House 32 was plastered on the exterior, that of House 34 had a doorway (later alteration?); hence we would assume that the property had been vacant before House 31 was built. Pottery bottle *L' 3* found in House 31, and bowl *U' 2* beneath house.

HOUSES 32–33

In N–O 10–11 (see Pl. 29 C). Pottery bowl *U' 18* found in House 32.

HOUSE 34

In N 11, entered from street corner (*ca.* +4.70 m.). Entrance sill at +5.40 m. First floor: Square entrance room with 3 wall niches, well preserved stair well, small rear room. Cellar: Under rear room only, accessible by means of hatch, ventilating pipe in crown of barrel vault. Numerous ostraca found.

HOUSE 37

In O 11. Large, destroyed except for west and south walls, corners constructed of rough stone. Basement: Earlier wall courses under floor of front room; larger room at rear (+4.11 m.) with cupboard niches, 2 window slits high in south wall later blocked by House 41.

HOUSE 39

In O 10. North wall preserved. Two high barrel-vaulted basement rooms, each with window slit in curve of arch later walled up by House 41 (cf. House 37).

HOUSE 41

In O 10–11 (see Pl. 42), on street (*ca.* +4.30 m.). Entrance later walled up. First floor: Very little preserved. Basement (+4.25 m.): Barrel-vaulted front room, with springer course of baked brick projecting 4 cm. beyond wall (cf. Fig. 54, House 19); stair well; smaller rear room with doorway only 1.25 m. high (later walled up), floor consisting of stretcher course of baked brick covered with pavement made of lime and brick dust, ornament and inscription scratched in mud plaster of west wall (see Fig. 54).

HOUSE 42

In P 11. Apparently originally two separate houses. Entrance (sill at +5.25 m.) later walled up. Earlier wall courses beneath floor.

HOUSE 43

In P–Q 11. Entrance (+4.62 m.) later walled up. Earlier wall courses beneath floor.

HOUSE 45

In P–Q 10 (see Pl. 42), entered from blind alley. First floor (at street level): Main room with wide shallow arched niche beside small cupboard niche framed by 3 patterns in baked brick; stair well; smaller rear room, large pot of yellowish clay (50 cm. high, like *C' 4* but with pointed bottom) *in situ* in northeast corner; doorway to stairs only 1.40 m. high. Cellar: Doorway from stairs only 1.10 m. high; 2 rooms, the front one only half as long as room above it and presumably belonging to earlier building.

HOUSE 53

In Q 10–11 (Fig. 53), at street corner (*ca.* +6.50 m.). Entrance with stone sill and baked-brick jambs. First floor: Front room (+6.33 m.) with baked-brick water-jug niche. Cellar (+4.25 m.): Under rear room only; probably originated in earlier period, since walls did not coincide with those above; well preserved vault; no stairs; hatch in southwest corner; ventilating pipe in crown of vault.

HOUSE 57

In P–Q 12. Originally two similar narrow houses. Partition in front part later removed; rough column drum at that point perhaps served as base for a wooden pillar.

“HOUSE” 76

In R–S 8–9. Large storage building or the like. Entrance presumably at north. Only one story preserved (floor at *ca.* +7.00 m.). On either side of a central corridor 2 meters wide were 3 rooms and on the west side in addition a room only 1.28 m. wide, which may have been a stair well though no stairs were preserved in it. The barrel-vaulted rooms were *ca.* 3.50 m. high. In one of the west rooms were 2 window slits (20 × 58 cm.), their sills at +9.50 m. A stairway was later built into this room. In the corridor likewise were 2 window slits (23 × 80 cm.), their sills at +9.25 m.; they were blocked by an adjacent house. In the latest Coptic building period the street level at the northwest corner of Medinet Habu rose to +11.68 m., so that the above-mentioned story of this building was completely underground.

HOUSE 77

In S–T 7 (see Pls. 43 A and 30–31 A), on street (*ca.* +12.35 m.). Entrance (1.05 m. wide) at +12.49 m. On either side of the doorway (1.50 m. above sill) was a hole 20 cm. square and 31 cm. deep, the space between them measuring 1.60 m.; these had supported some object (see p. 49). First floor: Water-jug niche in south wall of main room, 2 window slits (one partly preserved) in north wall, niche in west wall; niche in stair well; stairway very steep, with steps averaging 21 cm. broad and 34 cm. high; rear room at +13.06 m. Cellar: Well preserved masonry consisting of 1 header course alternating with 2 stretcher courses; a gold coin of Heraclius (A.D. 610–41) had been concealed on or behind a vault.

HOUSE 78

In S–T 7 (see Pls. 43 A and 31 A). Almost like House 77 except wider. Entrance sill at +12.97 m. Cellar at +9.95 m.¹⁴³

HOUSE 92

In Q 13 (see Pl. 42). About 14 meters long and 3.50 m. wide, extending over Great Girdle Wall. Entered from blind alley; doorway at about +9.60 m. First floor: Entrance room (+9.30 m.) with baked-brick water-jug niche; stair well; rear room (+10.00 m.) served as cellar and contained large storage vessel (1.10 m. in diameter) made of 3 rings of unbaked clay. Cellar (+6.60 m.): Under entrance room. Second floor at +13.60 m.

HOUSE 93

In Q 13, accessible from blind alley. First floor: Vaulted rear room (+14.24 m.) unusually large (3.50 × 5.90 m.) with no cellar beneath it.

HOUSE 98

In R 13, on street (*ca.* +12.00 m.). First floor: Entrance room (+12.04 m.) *ca.* 2.70 m. high, flat ceiling; stair well destroyed except for vault supports. Second floor (+14.94 m.): Walls preserved to +16.38 m. in places.

HOUSE 99

In R 13, on street (*ca.* +12.40 m.). Entrance at *ca.* +13.30 m. First floor: Barrel-vaulted. Cellar (+10.70 m.): 2.10 m. high, flat ceiling.

HOUSE 100

In S 13–14. Very large house composed of numerous parts constructed at different times. Entrance from very narrow blind alley.

143. Not +8.95 m., as indicated on Folio Pl. 32!

First floor: Entrance room (+12.59 m.) destroyed; 2 other rooms extending north over Great Girdle Wall with thick walls built on earlier wall courses; very imposing well preserved stair well, bonded separately. Cellar (+10.28 m.): Under entrance room, about 2.10 m. high, flat ceiling.

HOUSE 101

In S-T 13 (see Pl. 43 B), on street (*ca.* +13.00 m.). Entrance with stairway projecting into it; 2 steps followed by landing and doorway to small room (+13.47 m.) from which cellar stairs descended. Cellar (+11.47 m.): Under small room; barrel-vaulted; 1.64 m. high; 2 small window slits (15 cm. wide) in stair well to admit light from street. Brick size: 31 × 15 × 7 cm.

HOUSE 102

In T 13, entered from blind alley. Doorsill at +14.26 m. First floor: Entrance room perhaps with flat ceiling; well preserved water-jug niche of baked brick with lime plaster (see Pls. 43 C and 31 D; also p. 46). Cellar (+12.12 m.): 1.87 m. high, ventilation pipe in vault.

+17.45 m. First floor: Entrance room with smaller room at same level (+17.45 m.) and stair well to east; ascending stairs accessible from larger room, cellar stairs from smaller room. Cellar (+14.95 m.): Storage vessel let into floor to depth of 50 cm.; small vaulted room (1.18 m. high) under bottom flight of cellar stairs, with floor 45 cm. lower (cf. Pl. 43 B, Sections A-B and C-D). Pottery bowl Q' 9 found in House 104.

HOUSE 112

In T-U 11 (Fig. 52), on street (*ca.* +15.00 m.). Front part destroyed. First floor (+15.60 m.): Well preserved stair well with small room beside it; rear room (+15.25 m.) about same size as destroyed front room. Cellar (+12.80 m.): Under side room; windowless room with ventilation pipe in vault. Front part of house older than the rest (continuous vertical joints between them).

HOUSE a

In temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab (see Folio Pl. 34, in G 3). Entrance presumably at northeast corner (at point indicated by question mark on plan in Fig. 56); only lintel and doorsocket, both of

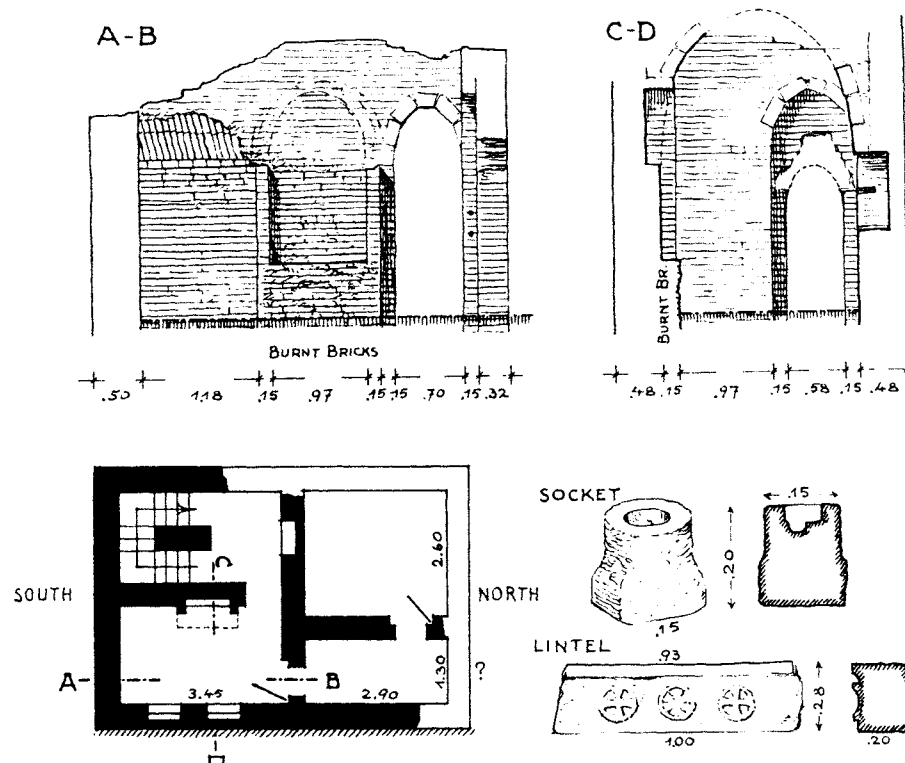


FIG. 56. COPTIC HOUSE a IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB. GROUND PLAN, SECTIONS, AND DETAILS

HOUSE 103

In T 13. Entrance at end of blind alley, sill at +14.10 m., stone jambs, leading into stair well, whence one flight ascended to first floor (+16.01 m.) and one flight descended to cellar (+13.53 m.). Storage vessel (1 m. in diameter) in cellar.

HOUSE 104

In T 13, entered from street at west (*ca.* +15.00 m.) by means of steps built into very short blind alley; doorsill apparently at

sandstone, found. Small vestibule and 2 rooms; in one room, a water-jug niche with lower part made of baked brick and 2 cupboard niches topped by boards and each with a shelf.

"HOUSE" b

West of House a in G-H 3 (see Folio Pl. 34). Two rows of 4 rooms of equal size separated by a north-south wall, each group with a stair well. It is doubtful whether this building was a dwelling (cf. "House" 76).

CHURCHES

THE LARGE CHURCH IN THE SECOND COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE

A large Christian church, known as the "Holy Church of Jēme," was built into the second court of the Great Temple. Its ruins were systematically removed during the *déblaiement* and restoration of the temple. The numerous columns which had originally stood in the church now lie outside the temple to the south. In the court itself the location of the apse of the church is clearly visible at the

north end, where the center column of the north colonnade is missing (Pl. 33 B).¹⁴⁴

The following report¹⁴⁵ was written in 1934 by Ugo Monneret de Villard, of Milan, who for many years has studied the architecture of Coptic churches in Egypt.

144. The axis of the church is oriented to the magnetic northeast, which direction is called "nominal north" in our publications of Medinet Habu.

145. Translated from the Italian by Catherine Shaw Phillips.

The ruins of the large Christian church¹⁴⁶ were still in comparatively good condition in the second half of the nineteenth century when the Egyptian Service des Antiquités undertook the *déblaiement* and restoration of Ramses III's temple. In spite of the historical and architectonic significance of these ruins, the second court of the temple was thoroughly cleared, and the Christian architectural remains—bases, columns, capitals—were thrown outside without even being sketched or described, except the font (see Figs. 57 *L* and 58), which Daressy did describe.¹⁴⁷

Hence all knowledge of this structure would be lost to us if some archeologists interested in the totality of historical problems presented by the monuments of Egypt had not already measured and sketched these Christian remains. These old sketches, all dating from the first half of the nineteenth century, form the basis of our study.¹⁴⁸ Other features are known from old photographs which show the ruins more or less intact, before the beginning of the work of the Service des Antiquités. Finally some data are provided by alterations which were made by the Christians in the stone structure of Ramses III and which can still be studied in spite of repairs made recently with cement.

My reconstruction of the church (Fig. 57) is based on the following graphic documents:

Drawing *A* (1820–1839). In the Burton Collection, preserved in a manuscript of the British Museum, Addit. 25640, fol. 125 verso. It is the most important of all the drawings, inasmuch as there are marked in feet and inches the distances between the Christian columns and their positions in respect to the Ramessid elements. These measurements are entered on a scale drawing of the second court of the temple and are thus demonstrated most exactly.

Drawing *B*. In the Burton Collection, British Museum, Addit. 25639, p. 60, following the old numbering in ink. Good drawing on a scale of 64 mm. to 10 feet.

Drawing *C* (1826–1838). By F. Arundale, in the Hay Collection, British Museum, Addit. 29830, fol. 1. General plan of the ruins of Medinet Habu on a scale of 19 mm. to 10 feet. The basilica in the second court is sketched with four rows of columns.

Drawing *D*. In the Hay Collection, British Museum, Addit. 29843, fol. 12. General freehand sketch, important only for the number and the positions of the columns.

Drawing *E*. By Wilkinson,¹⁴⁹ in his manuscript 6.XLV, drawing No. 15. General plan of the temple of Medinet Habu, where in one of his reconstructions of the church the author shows six colonnades. See n. 152 for the source of this error.

Drawing *F*. By Wilkinson, in his manuscript 40.XVI, fol. A 5. Fly-sheet drawing, relatively accurate.

Photograph I. By J. P. Sebah, No. 329. View of most of the north side of the court, with remains of the apse buried.¹⁵⁰

Photograph II. By J. P. Sebah, No. 777. Same as preceding with remains of the apse completely uncovered (Pl. 33 *B*).

Photograph III. By A. Beato, No. 660. View of the north side of the court and the north half of the west side.

146. I am concerned here only with its architecture and not with its history nor even with its name.

147. See *ASAE* XIX (1920) 173.

148. [Earlier reports, such as that of Granger, *Relation du voyage fait en Égypte en l'année 1730* (Paris, 1745), show that the church in the first half of the 18th century was in almost the same condition as it was in the middle of the 19th century. Granger (*ibid.* p. 68) reports as follows: "... de cette cour (first court) on entre dans une salle (the Coptic church) par une porte (second pylon) plus basse que la précédente; elle a cent douze pieds de large, et quatre-vingt-un d'enfoncement; aux deux côtés et au fond règne une galerie, celle du fond est formée par un rang de huit grosses colonnes de huit pieds de diamètre, et un second rang de six gros pilliers carrés qui soutiennent une plate-forme, celle des deux côtés n'est formée que par un rang de quatre colonnes semblables aux premières sur lesquelles est assise pareille plate-forme. Il paroît par les pieds d'estaux et les chapiteaux répandus dans le milieu de cette salle, et par l'arrangement de dix colonnes d'ordre corinthien dont les fûts sont d'un seul pièce, qu'il y avoit en trois rangs de neuf chacun, leur diamètre est de trois pieds, et leur hauteur de trente."—HÖLSCHER.]

149. I was able to study the precious manuscripts of Wilkinson, the property of Mr. Geoffrey Mosley, through the courteous interest of my friend the late Professor F. Ll. Griffith, Oxford.

150. Reproduced by Uvo Hölscher in *Medinet Habu Reports* (OIC No. 10 [1931]) Fig. 35.

Photograph IV. Name of photographer unknown. View of the northwest corner of the court.

Photograph V. By Zangaki, No. 920. View of almost the entire west side of the court (Pl. 32 *B*).

Photograph VI. By A. Beato, No. 659. View of more than half of the west side of the court and the three westernmost columns of the south side.

Photograph VII. By J. P. Sebah, No. 776. View of the entire south side of the court (Pl. 33 *A*).

Photograph VIII. By A. Beato, No. 658. View of almost the entire east side of the court and the first column of the north side.

This series of eight photographs gives us views of all sides of the court and therefore of all the Christian alterations, which today are masked in great part by recent repairs.

I have not taken into account the numerous pictures of the second court of the temple of Medinet Habu with its Christian remains which are reproduced in many works of the first three quarters of the nineteenth century; in general they are, from the documentary point of view, of much less value than the photographs cited. Even the views which are found in many printed works and which are reproduced from photographs add nothing to our knowledge.¹⁵¹

On the basis of this material, supplemented by direct examination of the locality, it was possible to undertake a graphic reconstruction of the basilica. Except when otherwise indicated, references are to the plan reproduced in Figure 57.

The form of the apse (*A*) with its niche at the rear is shown in all the drawings cited above, except *D*, which does not show a niche; but it is evident in Photographs II (Pl. 33 *B*) and III. The passage between the apse and Sacristy *B* is evident in these two photographs and is briefly sketched in Drawing *D*. The walls which closed the intercolumnar spaces of the north colonnade of the court and the two entrances into Sacristies *B* and *C* show clearly in Photographs I–III. The thickness of the walls can be measured on these photographs. The little vaulted Room *D* was reconstructed from traces which are still evident.

Drawing *A* provides the fundamental evidence for the columns. This shows fourteen columns in position: the whole outer row of nine columns (Nos. 1–9) on the west side, three on the north side (Nos. 37, 19, and 28), and two others (Nos. 13 and 23). All the measurements are given for Columns 1–9, in feet and inches, in a way which makes their positions certain. The relationships of the other columns with Nos. 1–9 are well marked. Drawings *B* and *D* confirm the data: *B* indicates the same columns, except for Nos. 13 and 28; *D* indicates Nos. 1–9, 37, 19, and 28 (but not 13); however, possibly through an error in making a rapid sketch, Column 23 is misplaced in the position of 32. The other drawings, all on a greatly reduced scale, are less useful. As to the photographic documentation, Photograph I shows Columns 1, 2, 37, 19, and 28; Photograph II shows the same, except for No. 37, which probably had already fallen; the same columns appear in Photograph III. Photograph IV has Columns 1, 2, and 37; Photograph V shows only No. 2, while in VI–VII no columns appear in position; in Photograph VIII Columns 19 and 28 appear. It is well to record that all the photographs are at least forty years later than Drawing *A*, so it is obvious that during the interval many elements disappeared.

Columns 1–9 form the basis for the reconstruction of the colonnades. The position of Column 13 gives us the location of the second colonnade; a straight line connecting Columns 19 and 23 and one parallel to it passing through Column 28 give the third and fourth rows. Corroboration is provided by the fact that the four side aisles thus formed are all of equal width.

The isolated column No. 37 and No. 38, which must be added for symmetry, supported a triumphal arch in front of the apse, as shown by a similar feature still visible in several other Christian monuments of Egypt contemporary with ours.¹⁵²

The two columns which I have marked 39 and 40 are still to be discussed. Here, traces existing today of alterations made by the Christians in the Ramessid structure are very useful. In the east and west sides of the Ramessid second court (see especially Photographs V

151. E.g. the photographs in Francis Frith, *Lower Egypt, Thebes and the Pyramids* (London, 1862[?]), which were taken in 1857; Maxime du Camp, *Égypte, Nubie, Palestine et Syrie* (Paris, 1852) Pls. 50–51.

152. These two columns deceived Wilkinson and led him to reconstruct six colonnades in Drawing *E*, where he sketched a reconstruction of the church plan.

and VIII) many deep rectangular holes were cut in the architraves, apparently to receive the ends of beams. These beams ran parallel at intervals of about 0.50 m. They evidently formed framework for a roof which covered the two side aisles at the west and the two at the east. This framework extended from one end to the other of the two sides of the temple court, a fact which indicates that the roof extended the whole length of the east and west sides of the court. Let us now observe the architrave along the south side as seen in Photograph VII (Pl. 33 A). At each end, for a space corresponding to that occupied by the side aisles of the church, there are holes which would correspond to beams placed in the direction of and carried by the colonnades of the church—beams which certainly functioned as ties or sup-

roof, such as contemporary Egyptian basilicas of a type similar to ours always have. To think of a plain flat roof is a historical and archeological absurdity. The nave of our basilica had a clear span of 9.50 m., which is less than or equal to that of other fifth to seventh century Egyptian basilicas with trussed roofs. The imperial basilica of Saint Menas in the Mareotis district had a span of 15 meters in the nave; the White Convent near Suhag, 12.50 m.; the demolished basilica of Armant, 11 meters; the Basilica of Denderah, 9.50 m. The span in our church hence does not seem at all exceptional. Inasmuch as we are making comparisons, let us recall other Egyptian structures which have an aisle behind the nave: the basilica of Ostracine,¹⁵³ that of the northern cemetery near the basilica of Saint Menas in the

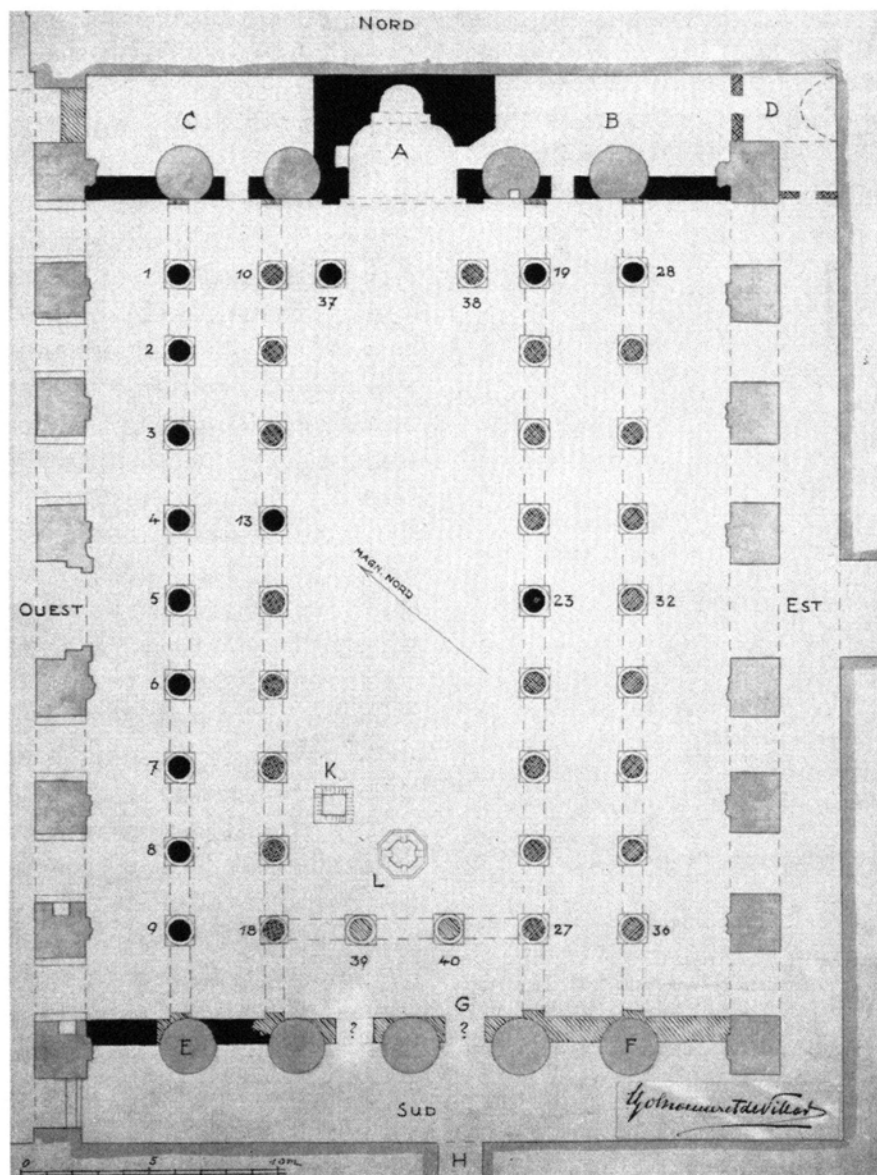


FIG. 57. LARGE COPTIC CHURCH IN THE SECOND COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE
GROUND PLAN AS RECONSTRUCTED BY MONNERET DE VILLARD
(CF. PL. 45)

ports for the rafters of the roof indicated above. But in the central part, in the spaces between the three Ramessid columns, there are again holes at intervals of about 0.50 m., which indicate that here was placed a roof of small beams at right angles to the south side of the court. To carry it toward the north, a support was necessary between Columns 18 and 27; inasmuch as one cannot think it was a wide arch, the logical solution consistent with Egyptian tradition is that Columns 39 and 40 formed an aisle behind the nave. The roof that covered the side aisles of the church can be reconstructed with certainty on the basis of the holes in the Ramessid architraves. Only the roof in front of the apse, that is, the covering of the rectangle formed on one side by the line of Columns 10, 37, 38, 19 and on the other by the line of the two large Ramessid columns which immediately flank the apse, is hypothetical; all evidence had disappeared with the collapse of the apse and the parts above it, but the solution is so simple that it seems to me impossible to raise any objections.

There still remains the covering of the nave, for which we have no evidence. However, it seems to me that it was no doubt a trussed

Mareotis district, at Saqqarah the great basilica (Quibell's "main church")¹⁵⁴ and the one which Quibell numbers 1823,¹⁵⁵ the church of Deir Abu Fanah,¹⁵⁶ the church of the White Convent,¹⁵⁷ and that of Denderah.¹⁵⁸ Our solution thus finds support in these comparisons.

The function of Columns 37 and 38 remains to be studied. To do this let us recall the Red Convent near Suhag and the church of Denderah as discussed by me at length elsewhere.¹⁵⁹ To what I there

153. Plan on Pl. II of Jean Clédat, "Fouilles à Khirbet El-Flousiyeh (Janvier-Mars 1914)" (*ASAE* XVI [1916-17] 6-32 and Pls. I-IV [following p. 96]).

154. J. E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908-9, 1909-10)* (Le Caire, 1912) Pl. I.

155. *Ibid.* Larger plan in Ugo Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohâg I* (Milan, 1925) Fig. 106.

156. Monneret de Villard, *op. cit.* Fig. 95. This example, as well as No. 1823 at Saqqarah, has only one column at the rear of the nave.

157. *Ibid.* Fig. 3.

158. *Ibid.* Fig. 52.

159. *Ibid.* Vol. II (Milan, 1926) 100-105.

had to say I can add only a single fact. In the Borgian Codex CLXVIII are mentioned two large columns (CTYAAOC = στῦλος) of marble which the artisans (TEXHITHC) set up in the sanctuary (ᾠπιερατιον) in the altar inclosure (ᾠπικατελαος ᾠπε-θυσιαστηριον).¹⁶⁰ One of our columns which is turned over in Photograph IV shows well a groove to receive one of the high partitions which inclosed the altar. The correspondence between this text and our archeological data seems to me complete. Our example, together with those of Suhag and Denderah, indicates that the Hellenistic type of basilica was common in Upper Egypt.

We pass now to a study of the details of our church. The columns rested on simple square bases and supported large-leaved capitals. The almost square top surfaces of the capitals were cut out to receive the ends of the beams which functioned as ties from one capital to another. This method of construction was the absolute rule in all Christian buildings in Egypt and later was even adopted by the Arabs. For these wooden ties to have carried the floors of galleries for the women would have been unusual.¹⁶¹ Galleries for women were rare in Egypt before the tenth century and, as far as we know, never

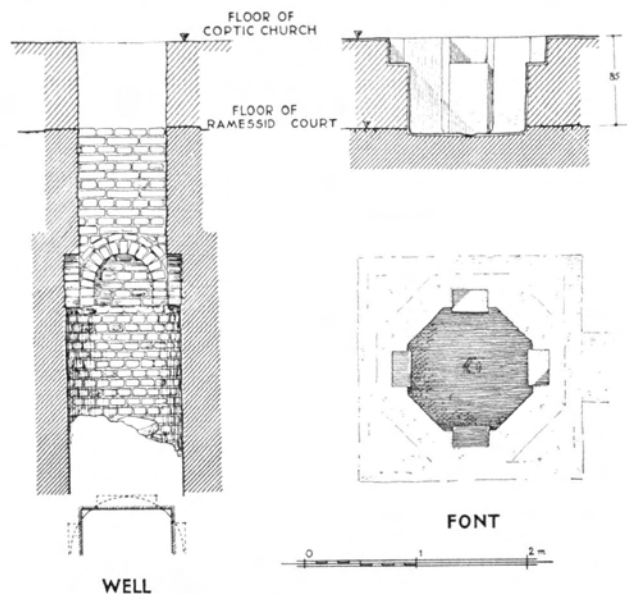


FIG. 58. WELL AND BAPTISMAL FONT IN THE LARGE COPTIC CHURCH

existed in structures of the fifth to seventh centuries, the epoch to which we must attribute our church.

The colonnades carried arches placed, according to the rule, from one capital to the next. On these arches rested the roof of the side aisles, which is discussed above. The only uncertainty is how the two end arches of each colonnade were placed. From Photographs VI-VII it seems clear that the spaces between the Ramessid columns along line E-F were closed by a brick or stone wall. When the photographs were taken nothing remained of such a wall except perhaps the lower part, so we are unable to visualize its complete construction, just as the position of the doorway, which I have suggested opposite the outer doorway (H), is hypothetical. The first intercolumnar space in each colonnade, for example that between Ramessid Column E and Christian Column 9, is slightly larger than all the others (measurements in feet and inches are indicated in Drawing A). It would not be absurd to think of pilasters such as I have shown in my plan (Fig. 57). At the other extremity of the Coptic colonnades, for example between Column 1 and the corresponding Ramessid column, arches must have existed and might have been supported by narrow pilasters of small stones against the flattened Ramessid columns similar to the pilasters which the the Copts built on the front of the apse opposite Columns 37 and 38, as seen in Photographs II (Pl. 33 B) and III.

To complete the details of the church, a well (K) and an octagonal basin (L) should be mentioned (Fig. 58). The latter was not a baptismal font in the strictest sense, since the baptistry must have been located in the northeast corner of the church (in Room D), the canonical position of Christian baptistries in Egypt; but assuredly it was the basin used for the renewal of baptism, which is solemnly performed on the day of Epiphany (*ʿīd el-ghitās*).

160. See Ignazio Guidi, "Di alcune pergamene saidiche della collezione borganiana" (R. Accademia dei Lincei, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche, *Rendiconti*, 5th series, II [Roma, 1893] 513-30) p. 528.

161. [But see now n. 162.—EDITOR.]

On the basis of the foregoing discussion presented by Monneret and of my own investigation I have made reconstructions of the church (Pl. 45) and need add only a few words of explanation.

The floor of the church was at the same level as the west colonnade of the temple court, that is, about 1.10-1.20 m. above the stone pavement of the court (Pl. 45, Section A-B). The columns within the church stood on rough stone foundations; their bases were squared and very simply shaped (Pl. 33 B). The shafts, made of sandstone monoliths, were slightly tapered and of rather unequal thickness (average diameter, 70 cm.). The capitals were of simplified Corinthian style, having eight leaves with smooth edges and projecting tips. The total height of the columns, from the foot of the base to the top of the capital, was about 4.85 m. Nothing remained of the beams or ties which Monneret mentions as resting on the capitals, though there are recesses at a corresponding height in the massive Ramessid columns opposite them.

In the ground plan of the apse I have deviated from the form reconstructed by Monneret (Fig. 57 A), since on the basis of old photographs and investigations on the site I was able to determine that it was semicircular. Its walls as well as those of the adjacent sacristies (Fig. 57 B-C) were of cut stone blocks averaging 25 cm. in height. Presumably the walls inserted between the columns of the south colonnade of the temple court were similar. On the other hand, there were no definite traces of the stone walls shown in my reconstructed ground plan (Pl. 45) between the square pillars of the west and east colonnades of the court. The engaged statues of Osiris had for the most part been cut away from the pillars (see Pl. 45, Section A-B), since obviously in a Christian church they would have been inappropriate. Only on the pillars at the northeast and northwest corners of the church were the statues left up to shoulder height, because they were concealed by the north wall of the church (Pl. 33 B). Of the others, only remains in the form of very rough pilasters are preserved. These project farther at the top than at the bottom and served at shoulder height as supports for beams which had been added in front of the pillars. The beams were at the same height as those supported by the Coptic column capitals.

In the massive Ramessid columns of the north colonnade (Pl. 33 B) one sees at a height of about 5 meters, that is, slightly above the tops of the capitals of the Coptic columns, small beam holes and above them grooves into which no doubt a plank floor had been inserted—positive evidence that there had been galleries at this height.¹⁶² We do not know how the colonnades were arranged in the galleries, nor the appearance of the pillars and parapets. In my reconstruction the simplest form is suggested, though there is no proof for it.

Between the two columns which stood in front of the apse (Fig. 57, Nos. 37-38), as indicated by grooves cut into their shafts, an iconostasis was constructed (not indicated on Pl. 45, Section C-D). The triumphal arch reconstructed above these columns has not been proved; it is assumed in consideration especially of the small Coptic church in B 7-8 (see below).

162. Monneret de Villard changed his view as expressed above in a letter dated July 31, 1934: "Je suis à présent d'accord avec vous pour admettre l'existence des empora dans cette église."

The well shaft (see Figs. 57 *K* and 58) was constructed of baked bricks ($28 \times 13 \times 6.5$ cm.). It is round at the bottom (1.02 m. in diameter) and square at the top. On the north side of the rim are marks which suggest that two pails were hung on chains or cords. We excavated the shaft to about 2.80 m. below the Ramessid level.

The baptismal font (see Figs. 57 *L* and 58), of baked brick and lime mortar, was constructed above the Ramessid stone pavement of the court. It was removed during the *déblaiement*, but fortunately Daressy gives us its original form.¹⁶³ Today there are only traces on the stone pavement of an octagon with a small rounded depression in the center.

THE SMALL CHURCH IN B 7-8

A second Coptic church was situated outside the Eastern Fortified Gate (see Folio Pls. 9-10, in B 7-8). Only the foundations and a single course of the superstructure were preserved. As Plate 46 and Figure 59 show, this church was rectangular in plan and resembled the large

situ. We did find, however, in the immediate vicinity fragments of a rounded stone niche (Pl. 46 *c*) which presumably belonged here. A shell is inlaid in the curvature, and in front of it a hovering bird, presumably a dove, is represented. The archivolt is ornamented with a grapevine.¹⁶⁴ To left and right of the apse were two rectangular rooms which possibly served as sacristies (prothesis and diaconicon) and were accessible only from the side aisles of the church. In the right-hand room there was an oblong depression ($1.50 \times 0.55 \times 0.19$ m.) in the pavement opposite the doorway. A stone table for the offerings of the parishioners may have been placed here, but we cannot determine the purpose for which the depression was intended. In the left-hand sacristy a water jug (Pl. 48 *E' 1*) was let into the pavement up to its rim (see p. 74).

In the middle aisle, slightly to the west of center, was a well shaft, whose upper courses were destroyed. It was about 2 meters wide below and presumably narrower at the top. We excavated it only to a depth of -2.36 m., that is, about 1.75 m. below the floor of the church. It was con-

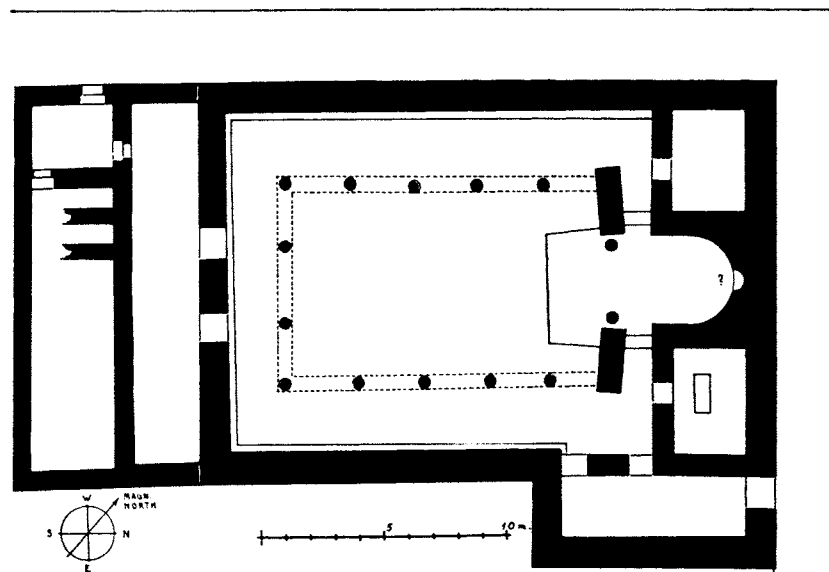


FIG. 59. SMALL COPTIC CHURCH OUTSIDE THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE (IN B 7-8). GROUND PLAN (CF. PL. 46)

church in layout, though it was considerably smaller. Columns extended along the two long sides of the church and along the south side opposite the altar. The fourth (north) side had a triumphal arch which rested on two elongated piers. *In situ* at the east end of the west pier was a large heavy floor slab in which a pivot hole was recognizable. This would seem to indicate that columns had stood in the opening and actually supported the arch. Of the sandstone columns of the side aisles, Plate 46 shows two bases found *in situ* (*k-l*) and two capitals found in debris (*a-b*; see p. 60 and Pl. 37:7). Base *k* is of red granite, and hence the contours are not so sharp; a similar base (51 cm. square) is not shown. Note the grooves in *k* and *l* for insertion of partitions or parapets. The floor of the church was of sandstone slabs, but large patches had been repaired with small stones or with baked brick.

The altar room, which was raised by one step, projected into the middle aisle some distance in front of the triumphal arch. Presumably it was originally separated by an iconostasis. The apse was rounded, but did not project on the outside of the building. Its rear wall was very thick; I presume that there was a small rounded niche in it, as in the apse of the large church, but no remains were left *in*

structed of baked brick and plastered with waterproof lime mortar. It cut through earlier masonry which appeared to have belonged to a late Roman bath. Not far from the well and likewise in the middle aisle was a sort of pit, which in its greatly damaged condition resembled a well shaft, but it ended at a depth of -1.64 m., that is, only about a meter below the floor. Perhaps it was a font comparable with that found in the large church (see above).

Two doorways at the south end of the church proper led to a narthex, whence through a square anteroom one reached the outside on one side and on the other side, after passing what was apparently a stairway of two flights, a long room (3.40×8.65 m.). From the presence of this broad stairway it may well be assumed that the narthex had a second story and that the church had galleries. the differences in level between the church proper (*ca.* -0.55 m.), the narthex (*ca.* -0.25 m.), the anteroom (-0.10 m.), and the sill of the entrance (+0.30 m.) were surprising. The pavement thus rose almost a meter from

164. An almost identical niche now in the Cairo Museum (Cat. No. 7294) was purchased in Luxor. It is dated 6th-7th century after Christ by Strzygowski (see *Koptische Kunst*, pp. 38 f. and Fig. 45). Similar examples are published by Monneret de Villard in *Les couvents près de Sohâg II*, Figs. 183-96.

163. See *ASAE* XIX 173.

inside to outside, perhaps due to later changes in level outside. A second exit from the church proper, again consisting of two adjacent doorways, was located at the north end of the east side aisle. Here there was another vestibule, of the same width as the narthex (2.50 m.), whose floor was of baked bricks laid in a herringbone pattern and covered with gypsum. Through a wide outer doorway one stepped onto a walk (2.5–2.9 m. wide) which extended along the north and west sides of the church considerably above the levels of the avenue at the west and the quay at the north. This walk was paved with stone slabs and had a little wall, perhaps a low parapet, along the outside.

Adjoining the church at the south were structures which were not dwellings of the usual type. Possibly they had some relation to the church, though there was no evidence of connecting doorways. The purposes of the individual rooms were not clear. It is noteworthy that the unbaked-brick walls were in part faced with baked brick.

The architectural pieces illustrated on Plate 46 were found in debris in the church (except *c*, *k*, *l*). Two archivolt fragments (*d–e*) show red-painted identification marks, and one (*d*) has a scroll pattern painted in red on white plaster. Four almost identical little pilasters like *f* were found. Capital *j* has a red-painted band below it and red lines on the volute and the abacus. Two wedge-shaped stones (*p–q*) are decorated with a rosette and a cross respectively. Presumably they were keystones of baked-brick arches.

THE SMALL CHURCH IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB

We found a third religious structure, in the section of Jēme which was situated outside and to the north of the Great Girdle Wall (see Folio Pl. 34, in H-I 4), close to the Roman cemetery. This structure (Fig. 60) represented two building periods, as indicated by the various brick

sizes. The main part (bricks 8–9 cm. thick) was the earlier and consisted of an almost square court, a transverse main room (11.60 × 5.25 m.), and two smaller rooms to the west. We know nothing of the purpose of this original building, whose layout is reminiscent to some extent of a Roman market-basilica (see p. 40).

The later alterations (bricks only 5 cm. thick) were necessitated by the adaptation of the building to a different purpose. The main room was divided into two unequal parts by a triumphal arch. There were traces of two small columns in the arch, presumably supports for an iconostasis. The northern, smaller part of the room was raised by two steps. The stone pavement showed the positions of two small columns which stood 1.15 m. apart and which were probably remains of an altar or of a four-columned ciborium. In the rear left corner of the altar room there was a presumably later quadrant-shaped structure of mud brick, whose purpose we could not determine. The other part of the main room had a low stone bench (36 cm. wide) around three sides. The church was entered through a narthex (3.3 m. wide) with an unusually wide (2.20 m.) portal with stone jambs. Adjoining the church on the south but not accessible from it was a room (3.6 × 9.8 m.) comparable with the southeast room of the small church in B 7–8 (see Pl. 46). The location of its entrance is not known. The floor showed a brick pattern and traces of a low narrow socle along the walls. Apparently a pedestal (75 cm. square) stood near the center. Close by were two graves with north-south orientation; a similar grave was located in the antechamber.

No architectural details of this church were discovered. Outside the building were numerous graves, oriented either east-west or north-south. The east-west graves were earlier than the others. There were some east-west graves beneath the southern addition to the church, which were therefore older than the addition, perhaps pre-Christian. Some of the north-south graves, on the other hand, re-

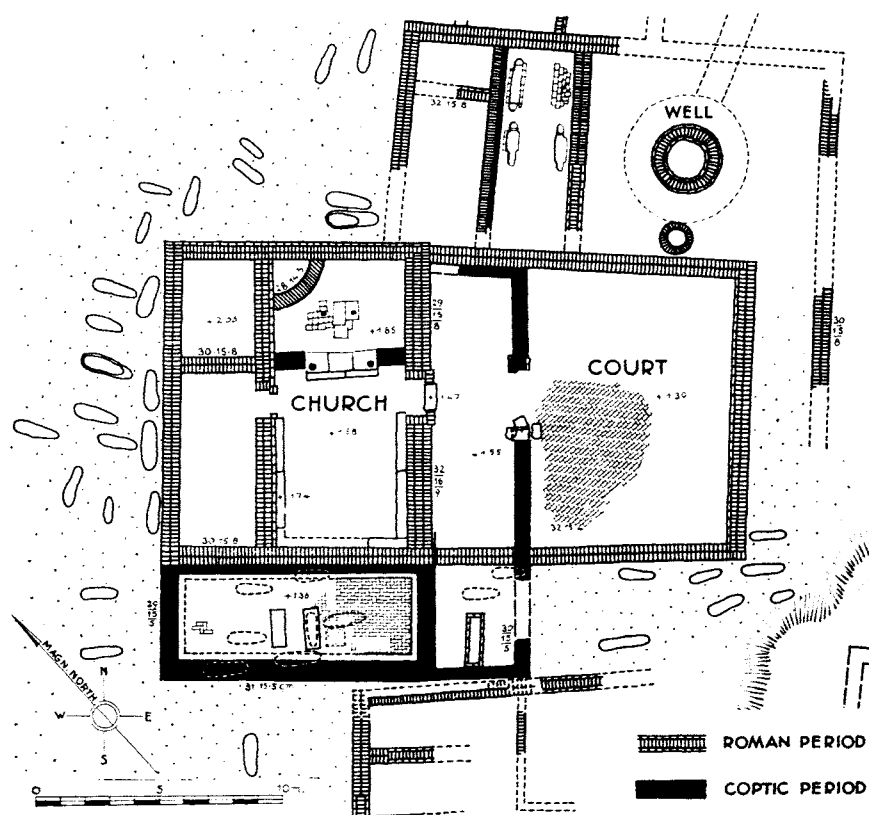


FIG. 60. SMALL COPTIC CHURCH IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB. GROUND PLAN

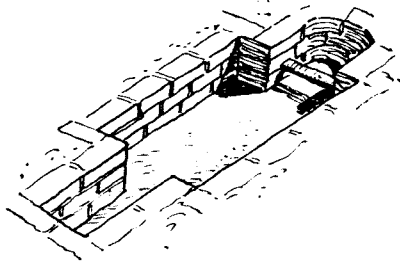


FIG. 61. COPTIC GRAVE WITH HEADREST (*shown at top in Fig. 60*)

vealed themselves as early Christian by crosses scratched or painted on the clay coffins or on the grave walls. Three of them, located in a room to the north of the church, had headrests consisting of boards or large bones inserted cross-wise (e.g. Fig. 61).

THE CHURCH IN THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

The Small Temple too must be mentioned in connection with the religious structures of the Coptic town of Jĕme, since the north addition to the peripteros served as a church, as is indicated by Coptic wall paintings showing the figure of Saint Menas.¹⁶⁵

We have no precise information concerning the downfall of the populous town of Jĕme. The inhabitants no doubt were forced to leave their homes and settle elsewhere. That event occurred probably in the eighth or ninth century after Christ, and since then Medinet Habu has been deserted.

¹⁶⁵. See Vol. II 62.

II

THE OBJECTS

HERE in general are included only objects which have or seemed to have some relationship to the excavated buildings and strata. The statues, reliefs, inscriptions, scarabs, jewelry, and domestic articles which reached Medinet Habu by accident have for the most part been omitted, since the pictures and data concerning them together with a discussion by Dr. R. Anthes

were lost during the war. Most of the objects mentioned below were found in debris uprooted by *sebakh*-diggers before and during the *déblaiement*. Their exact find-spots, therefore, were meaningless and were for the most part not registered in our catalogue. Dates are unknown if not stated.

SMALL FIGURES FOUND IN DWELLINGS

1. Bes figure, wood, 35.4 cm. high (Pl. 34 A). Presumably leg(?) of piece of furniture. Found in square D 6 in debris. Cairo J 59737.
2. Mold for winged Bes carrying lotus stalk on either side, limestone, 23 cm. high (Pl. 34 B). Found in square F 7 in 25th-26th dyn. stratum. Cairo J 59872.
3. Female figure, clay, 19.5 cm. high (Pl. 34 C). Found in square F 7 in debris. Cairo J 59693.
4. Praying figure, light-colored clay, 17 cm. high (Pl. 34 D). Conventionalized body on hollow cylindrical foot, breasts faintly indicated, stumplike arms upraised at sides, lanceolate head in
- 3-cornered frame with 3 parallel painted strokes on each side and 3 perforations, face (broken away) framed by hair which gives the effect of a string of beads, chain around neck. Palm branch scratched on reverse. Found in square B 6 in debris. Coptic.¹
5. Fragment of female figure, clay, 8 cm. high (Pl. 34 E). Long hair falling over shoulders in 2 strands, eyes formed by applied disks, something (flask?) held under one arm. Found in square N 6 in debris. Presumably Coptic. Cairo J 59696.
6. Flat head of clay figure, 6.5 cm. high (Pl. 34 F). Coptic. Chicago 14607.

ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS²

PIECES SHOWING LATE ROMAN RELIEFS

1. Cavetto cornice carved from door lintel(?), sandstone, 2.15 m. long (Pl. 34 G). Remains of apparently earlier reliefs and inscriptions on front of projection at top. Main scene: rectangular field with representation of Harpocrates in sun bark, flanked on either side by 4 enthroned gods each holding scepter and stylus with Anubis standing at left end and Horus standing at right end; before right-hand group, standing king presenting captive in each hand; 3 lions under center field, the center and right-hand ones apparently attacking the king's captives. Execution heavy and crude. Estimated date, 3d century after Christ. Delivered to Cairo Museum.
2. Fragment, sandstone, ca. 40 cm. square (Pl. 34 H). King standing before Amon. Estimated date, 3d century after Christ. Cairo J 59888.
3. Fragment of door lintel(?) with torus molding, sandstone, 55 cm. high (Pl. 34 I). Thoth and female goddess, each with stylus, standing behind crocodile(?). Estimated date, 3d century after Christ. Now stored in Great Temple at Medinet Habu.
4. Egyptian fragment with low relief, sandstone, total length ca. 90 cm. (Pl. 34 J). Figure facing front and in Roman drapery (saint?) incised later. Reused in masonry near small Coptic church in B 7-8.
5. Fragment of door lintel(?), sandstone, center and left end preserved, total length ca. 60 cm. (Pl. 34 K). In center, sun disk with crude uraei framed by grapevine extending sideways and carrying grapes below and leaves above; at left end, palm tree.

PILLAR

Sandstone (Figs. 62-63). Torus moldings at corners, small arched niches in sides. The tops of the niches, left rough inside, are about

1. Cf. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, Nos. 7131-32 (p. 245).
2. See p. 56 and Pl. 46 for pieces from the small Coptic church in B 7-8.

18 cm. apart, but the niches are staggered, so that the tops of those in one side are opposite the centers of those in the adjacent sides. Purpose unknown. Now in square G 13 at Medinet Habu.

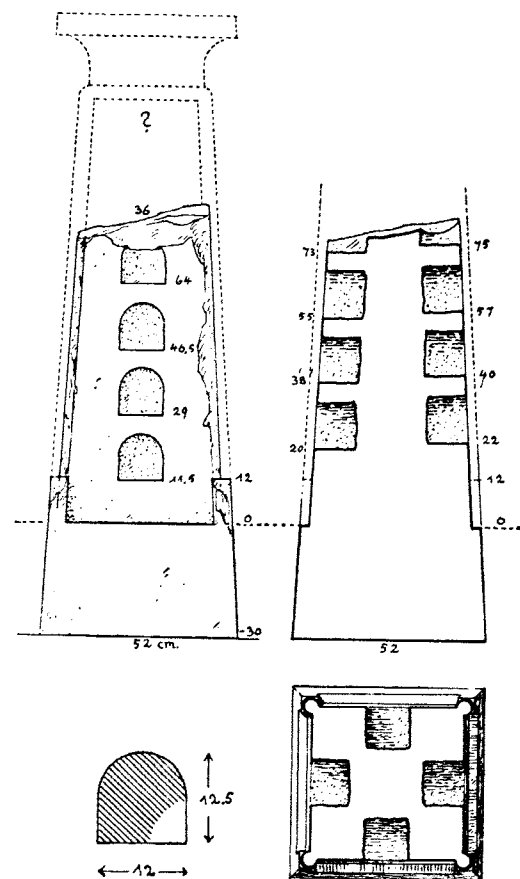


FIG. 62. PILLAR OF UNKNOWN PURPOSE



FIG. 63. PILLAR OF UNKNOWN PURPOSE

INSCRIBED PIECES

1. Column fragment bearing Greek inscription (not illustrated), apparently of the 3d century B.C.:

.....
 ΘΕΟCΘΕΟΦΡΑCΤΟΥ
 ΜΙΛΗCΙΟΙΤΟΝ
 ΠΑΤΡΙΟΝΘΕΟΝ
 ΔΙΔΥΜΕΑΗΛΙΟΝ
 ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΑ
 ΕΥΞΑΜΕΝΟΙΑΝΕΘΕ
 ΚΑΜΕΝΕΤΑΓΑΘΟΙΣ
 ΦΑΡΜΟΥΘΙ Λ
 Θ

[N.N. καὶ Τιμό]θεος Θεοφράστου Μιλήσιοι τὸν πατριον θεὸν Διδυμέα "Ἡλίου Ἀπόλλωνα εὐξάμενοι ἀνεθεκαμεν (= ἀνεθήκαμεν) ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς. Φαρμούθι λ (30).

"[Two names, the second something like Timo]theos son of Theophrastes, both from Miletus, dedicate (this memorial stone or altar) to their father Helios-Apollo of Didyma with prayer, in order to receive a blessing. Pharmouthi 30th day (Egyptian date)."

2. Coptic tombstone, broken at top and bottom, 24 cm. wide, 33 cm. high (Fig. 64). Pivot at upper right-hand corner suggests tomb door. Found in debris. Inscribed according to W. Schubart as follows:

... CΘEOC	"[εἰ]s θεός or a name
ΑΠΑΚΡΜΑ	Apa Germa-
ΝΟCΠΡΩΛ	nos, citizen
ΕΝCΙΓΙΟC	of Sigios(?)."



FIG. 64. COPTIC TOMBSTONE

Below inscription, upper arm of large cross with attached P (*crux monogrammatica*) between Α and Ω.

LION SCULPTURES³

1. Complete figure of couchant lion, sandstone, ca. 88 cm. long (Pl. 34 L). Back flattened to support column or the like. Highly stylized. Found in debris of Coptic houses.⁴
- 2-3. So-called "Theban lions." Consoles with forepart of lion at front; limestone, ca. 16 and 24 cm. high respectively (Pl. 34 M-N). Highly stylized. Such lions, which previously had been found in great numbers at Medinet Habu and taken to various museums, apparently had no practical purpose. We do not know where they were affixed in or on the houses. Estimated date, 6th-7th century after Christ.⁵

DOOR LINTELS

Numerous sandstone lintels (90-107 cm. long) were found in debris among the ruins of Coptic dwellings (see p. 46). Most of them are decorated with three rosettes, but some have crosses, ornamental squares, or the like instead. Between the main motifs there are usually vines, leaves, small columns, etc. Symbolic motifs are rare. Of the examples shown on Plate 36 A 1-18, the following call for special comment:

7. Three crosses with grapevines between; remains of Coptic inscription on upper reglet.
12. Center motif: square with intertwined bands around tiny square containing cross.
14. Center motif: crudely worked tabernacle containing cross.
15. Center motif: tabernacle without cross.
16. Six-petaled rosette between tabernacles each containing dove.
17. Center motif: side view of dove with outspread wings and medallion at neck.
18. Center motif: front view of dove with outspread wings and tiny cross on each side.

WATER-JUG STANDS

In addition to the brick stands described on page 46 there were two-legged stands cut from a single block of stone. No examples of this type were found *in situ*, since they had all been uprooted and lay in the ruins of the Coptic houses. A selection is shown on Plate 36 B 1-7. Many others had previously been taken to museums.⁶ The material is usually sandstone; of our examples only one is of limestone (No. 3).

The stone stands differ from the brick ones in that the seepage was drained off through a lion-head spout at the front, whence it must have dripped into a vessel placed underneath. Occasionally, however, the lion head was not perforated, so that water apparently could not run off. Frequently there is a small round depression in the top of the lion, probably to hold a drinking cup or flask. The lion heads are usually highly stylized. Beside them on the front of the stand are often crosses, rosettes, or other ornamentation.

We found two clay stands also. One (Pl. 36 B 8) is plain except for a starlike motif scratched on the top. The other (Pl. 36 B 9) is decorated with rolls of clay, and the small

3. See also lion-head spouts on water-jug stands (Pl. 36 B 1-7).

4. Cf. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, Nos. 7391-92 (p. 96).

5. Cf. *ibid.* Nos. 7393-94 and 8742-43 (pp. 96 f.).

6. See *ibid.* pp. 88-94.

opening at the bottom is framed by a representation of a tabernacle.⁷ It is 68 cm. wide and 53 cm. high and is now in the temple magazine at Medinet Habu.

WINDOWS?

These are small stone slabs with rectangular or semicircular openings 4–8 cm. wide. Since they were all found in debris, their purpose is unknown. They may have been cult objects.

1. Sandstone, 32 × 49 cm. (Pl. 37:1). Representation of façade of Egyptian chapel with torus molding and cavetto cornice, wreath above doorway with centered disk containing eight-rayed star. Estimated date, 2d century after Christ. Cairo J 59887.
2. Similar to No. 1, sandstone, 25 × 40 cm., opening 7.5 × 11 cm. (Fig. 65). Roman.



FIG. 65. STONE WINDOW(?) OF THE ROMAN PERIOD

3. Limestone, 30 cm. square (Pl. 37:2). Representation in low relief of tabernacle with 2 columns or pilasters, a horizontal beam, and an archivolt with corner acroteria.⁸ Very crude workmanship. Coptic.
4. Limestone, 38 × 40 cm. (Pl. 37:3). Representation of tabernacle as in No. 3, but beam does not extend through center and top is gabled instead of rounded. Very crude.
5. Fragment, limestone, 34 × 27 cm. (Pl. 37:4). Representation of tabernacle with gable framed by zigzag lines and containing acanthus and diagonal cross, tops of 2 pilasters on either side, niche-like vault in center with possibly an opening below it.

CAPITALS⁹

1. Column capital, sandstone, 24 cm. high, upper surface ca. 36 cm square, shaft diameter ca. 24 cm. (Pl. 37:5). Grooves in 2 sides to receive wooden screens or partitions. Corinthian style with 4 corner volutes and volute in center of each of 2 sides, overhanging leaves above. Crude workmanship, with no details.
2. Column capital, sandstone, 23 cm. high, upper surface ca. 30 cm. square, shaft diameter ca. 25 cm. (Pl. 37:6). Grooves in 2 sides. Corinthian type with smooth overhanging leaves supported by

7. Cf. *ibid.* Nos. 9034–37.

8. This Coptic symbol occurs very frequently. For an example with particularly clear details see *ibid.* p. 125 and Fig. 179.

9. Cf. capitals from Medinet Habu *ibid.* Pl. IV, also those from the small Coptic church in squares B 7–8 (see our Pl. 46).

broad-lobed acanthus leaves at corners, another leaf in center on each side.

3. Column capital, sandstone, 47 cm. high, upper surface ca. 51 cm. square, shaft diameter ca. 43 cm. (Pls. 37:7 and 46 b). No grooves. Simplified Corinthian style: in center of each side, branch with 4 lobate leaves, the lower 2 hanging down and the upper 2 extending horizontally to corners of abacus, where a volute would normally occur; beneath corners, 2 stunted branches; in curve of abacus on each side, rosette with eight-rayed star (double cross). Very low relief. Found in debris above small Coptic church in squares B 7–8.
4. Pilaster capital, limestone, 22 cm. wide at top, 14 cm. wide at bottom, 18 cm. high, not very thick (Pl. 37:8). Two rows of unworked leaves, one above the other.
5. Pilaster capital, limestone, 28 cm. wide at top, 18 cm. wide at bottom, 23 cm. high (Pl. 37:9). Only the front worked: zigzag bands at top and bottom; corner leaves each containing double vine with leaves; conventionalized leaf in center. Now in temple magazine.

PILASTER

Limestone, 26 cm. wide at top, 23 cm. wide at center, 37 cm. high (Pl. 37:10). Only the front worked: above and below, corner leaves with notched decoration and smooth leaf between; girdle in center.

CROWN OF PILLAR OR STELA

Sandstone, 32 cm. wide at bottom, 33 cm. high (Pl. 37:11). Very shallow decoration on side surface; ornamentation on front consists of frilly leaf patterns in corner acroteria, square in center with projecting diagonal ribs, and pointed gable above filled with leaf pattern.

KEystone

Limestone, wedge-shaped, 19 cm. wide at top, 14 cm. wide at bottom, 23 cm. high (Pl. 37:12). Rather thin slab, presumably used in brick arch. Decoration consists of cross with small plain columns in lower corners and birds (doves?) in upper corners.

CONSOLES

Numerous specimens occurred in debris of Coptic houses, but none were found *in situ*. Hence the manner of attachment and the purpose of such objects are uncertain. The longer, rough part of the console was no doubt let into the masonry; the shorter, protruding part was carefully worked and always ornamented on the front and both sides, usually in such a way as to form a slight projection around the bottom. The underside was left plain, whereas in the top is a transverse groove, either rounded and showing marks indicating that ropes were slung over it or rectangular so that a wooden bar could be placed in it. Often there is a second, shallower groove behind it, which, however, as far as we can tell, had no practical purpose but was purely ornamental. The material is always limestone.

1. 38 cm. long, 19 cm. high (Pl. 37:13). One side has a quatrefoil-like motif of interlacing bands inclosing diagonal crosses. The end which was set into the wall shows that the console was made from a "Theban lion" (see p. 59 and Pl. 34 M–N). Now in temple magazine.
2. Rear end broken off, 23 cm. high (Pl. 37:14). Very clear rope marks in front groove. Decoration consists of leafy stalks, bands, and zigzag lines; cross on top at front. Cairo J 59885.¹⁰
3. 28 cm. high (Pl. 37:15). Cross on front, tabernacle with cross therein on one side.
4. 48 cm. long, 23 cm. high (Pl. 37:16). Six-petaled rosette on one side.
5. 53 cm. long, 20 cm. high (Pl. 37:17). Projecting part framed at rear and bottom by torus molding and flat margin. Cross under six-petaled rosette on front, springing lion on one side, cross with split top bent over in 2 arms ending in crosslike leaves on other side. Now in temple magazine.

10. Two almost identical Cairo specimens are dated 6th–7th century after Christ by Strzygowski (*ibid.* Figs. 92–93 and p. 68).

6. Broken off underneath and at rear, 16 cm. high (Pl. 37:18). Rubbing marks in front groove. Front and sides richly ornamented with motifs of interlacing bands, some very intricate.
7. 25 cm. high (Pl. 37:19). Palmette branches on front, rosette on side.
8. 41 cm. long, 23 cm. high (Pl. 37:20). On one side, springing lion with rosette above its back and herringbone border at top and bottom; very roughly worked with background chiseled away, crudely painted red. On the other side, square divided by two diagonals with small cross in each resulting triangle. Cairo J 59886.
9. 50 cm. long, 25.5 cm. high (Pl. 37:21). Both sides, badly damaged,

show vertical stalk outside and behind it an animal figure among branches and leaves; one side shows standing dove or eagle, the other side a griffin with head thrown back nibbling at overhanging branch.

10. 44 cm. long, 27 cm. high (Pl. 37:22). Rope marks. On front, interlacing bands in quatrefoil motif; on one side, a dove with outspread wings, ring around neck, and bead above each wing; on top at front, diagonal lines and dots.
11. On front, palm leaf; on one side, letters IC VC below cross with hooked ends; on the other side, letters IC XC below smaller cross of same type with two herringbone sprigs (not illustrated).

HEART SCARABS

Several heart scarabs of greenish-black slate inscribed with all or part of Spell 30 *B* of the Book of the Dead were found at Medinet Habu, but in rubbish under or between houses rather than in tombs. Presumably they all date from the New Kingdom and had been taken from the necropolis by tomb-robbers.

1. 3.0 × 4.6 cm. (Pl. 35 A 1). Beetle with fully modeled human head. Name of owner: "Chief of the charioteers(?) of Amon, ²In-*t3-nb*." Found in square G 6. Cairo J 59839.
2. 3.0 × 4.5 cm. (Pl. 35 A 2). Name of owner: "Paser," presumably the official of the 20th dyn. whose reliefs were found in the Western Fortified Gate (see p. 4). Found in square G 5. Chicago 15024.

3. 5.5 × 7.3 cm. (Pl. 35 A 3). Found in square H 13. Chicago 14979.
4. 5.6 × 7.8 cm. (Pl. 35 A 4). Name of owner, a woman, "Ahmose," on underside of head. Found in squares I 4-5. Cairo J 59840.
5. 5.4 × 7.3 cm. (Pl. 35 A 5). Found in square F 5. Chicago 15020.

In addition there are some uninscribed heart scarabs (not illustrated).

6. Serpentine, 4.3 cm. long. Found in Tomb 19 (25th-26th dyn.; see pp. 31 f.). Chicago 15023.
7. Greenish-black slate, gilded. Found in tomb of Ankhshenpuet (Tomb 17a; 25th dyn.; see p. 19). Chicago 15022.

SEALS AND SEAL IMPRESSIONS

STAMP SEALS

1. Oval, baked clay, 5.5 × 11.5 cm. (Pl. 35 B 1). Cracked through center, handle broken off. Inscription according to Dr. Anthes: "Amon-Re^c the prince of food" (²Inn-R^c p³sr¹df³w). Found in ca. 21st dynasty debris. Cairo J 59854.

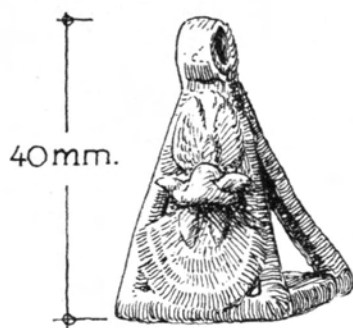




FIG. 66. IRON STAMP SEAL OF THE "HOUSE OF AMON"

2. Rectangular, baked clay, 6.0 × 7.5 cm. (Pl. 35 B 2). Handle on back. Dr. T. George Allen suggests the reading (*ht*) ²Inn *hnm*(*t*) *nhh*, *hnm.t nhh* being the name of the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. Found in debris. Chicago 14790.
3. Fragment, rectangular, baked clay, 6.3 × 5.8 cm. (Pl. 35 B 3). Loop handle on back. Ram's head with sun disk and uraeus and

scratched inscription: "House¹ of Amon." Found in debris. Chicago 14817.

4. Oval, baked clay, 8.0 cm. × 5.3 cm. (Pl. 35 B 4). Handle on back. Representation of dove on base. Found in debris. Chicago 14816.
5. Iron (Fig. 66). On front, ram's head with sun disk and large pectoral. Base inscribed with , "House of Amon." Found in debris. Chicago 14792.
6. Light green fayence, 2 × 4 cm. (Fig. 67). Handle on back, five toes.  on base. Chicago 14786.
7. Round, reddish baked clay, 4.5 cm. in diameter (not illustrated). Swastika-meander design. Found in square F 13. Coptic. Cairo J 59780.

SEAL IMPRESSIONS

A few Greek seal impressions on amphora handles were found in debris.

1. Rectangular, 4.8 × 1.6 cm. (Pl. 35 D 1). [ETP] AINH TOPO ΣMINΘIOY. Found in debris south of Great Temple. Chicago 14798.
2. Round, 2.6 cm. in diameter (Pl. 35 D 2). Flower with two slender vines extending from its stem in center; ΔAMOKPATEYΣ around outside. Found in square F 5. Chicago 14799.
3. Fragment, rectangular, 1.8 cm. high (Pl. 35 D 3). [ΔIO] NYΣIOY followed by female figure holding in right hand an object extending to floor and with left hand raised to breast. Cairo J 59782.
4. Rectangular, 5 cm. long (Pl. 35 D 4). ETITEIM[A] ΓΟΡΑΑΡΤΑ MIT Chicago 14800.
5. Rectangular, 3.5 × 1.4 cm. (Pl. 35 D 5). APISTO[A]A. Chicago 14826.

In the cellars of Coptic houses were found numerous jar-stoppers made of Nile mud (e.g. Pl. 48 G' 3). They are conical, with diameter of base about 15 cm. and height from 12 to 20 cm. Many of them bear rectangular seal impressions, others have several round impressions, and many show both forms. The seals themselves, which were



FIG. 67. FAYENCE STAMP SEAL

THE OBJECTS

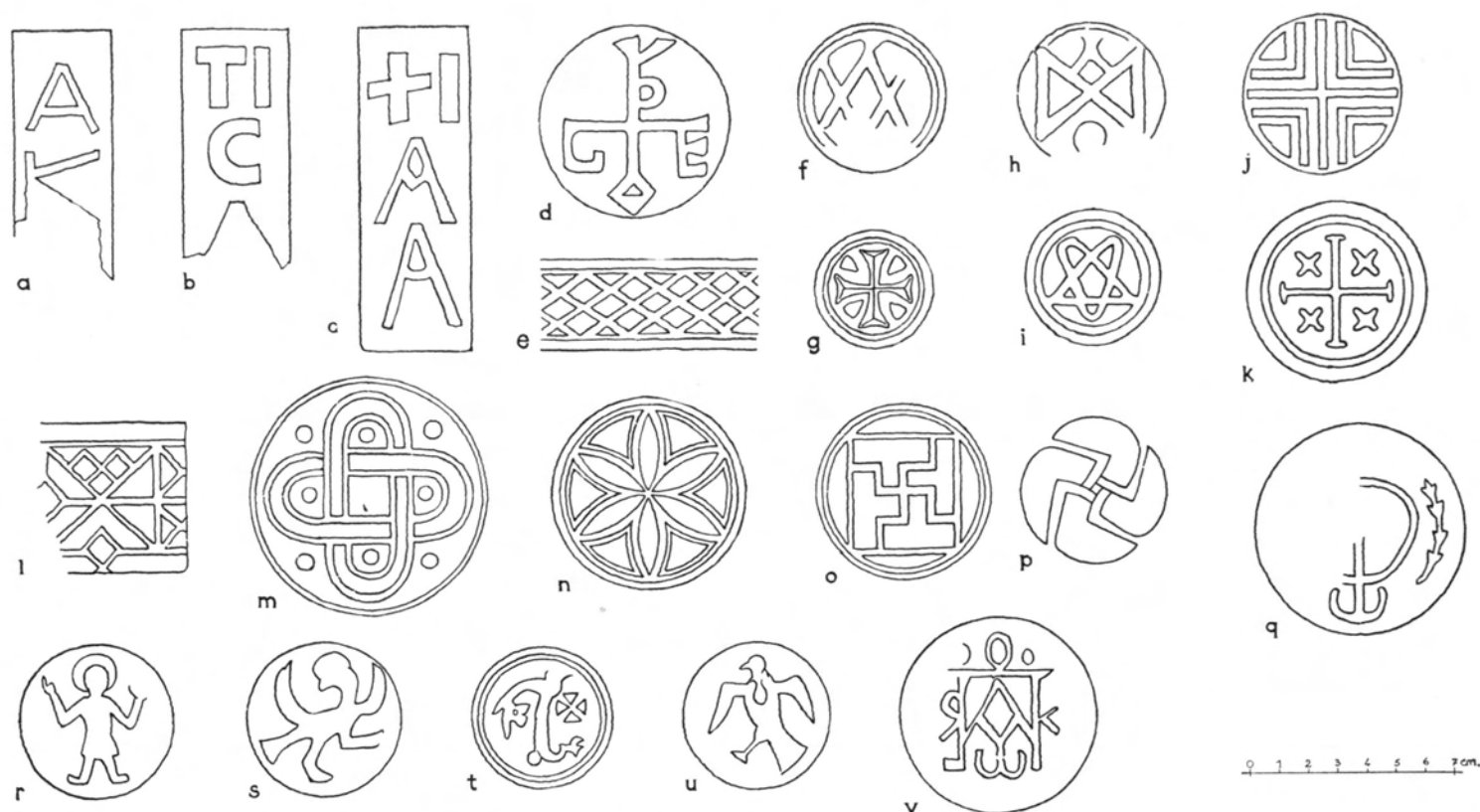


FIG. 68. COPTIC SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON MUD JAR-STOPPERS

made of limestone, clay or wood, were dipped in powdered white or red paint before they were used, so that their impressions appear to be colored white or red.¹¹ Several impressions are reproduced in Figure 68:

- a-c. Rectangular, abbreviated inscriptions, colored white. Chicago 15696 (c).
- d. Round, monogram in form of cross, colored red. Chicago 15701.
- e. Rectangular, crosshatching, colored white.
- f. Round, crosshatching, colored white.
- g. Round, cross, colored red.
- h. Round, abbreviated monogram, not colored.¹²
- i. Round, pentalpha, colored red. Chicago 15700.
- j. Round, cross with angles in corners, colored white.
- k. Round, cross with small St. Andrew's cross in each corner, colored white.

- l. Rectangular, vertical, horizontal, and diagonal lines (purely ornamental?), colored red. Cairo J 59850.
- m. Round, crosslike pattern of interlaced bands, colored red.
- n. Round, six-rayed design made with compass, colored white. Cairo J 59851.
- o. Round, square containing linear motif based on swastika, colored white.
- p. Circular motif based on swastika, colored white.
- q. Round, poorly preserved.
- r. Round, saint with nimbus and upraised hands, not colored. Chicago 15697.
- s. Round, dove with nimbus, colored white. Chicago 15698.
- t. Round, unintelligible representation,¹³ colored red.
- u. Round, dove with medallion at neck, not colored. Chicago 15699.
- v. Round, monogram.

INSCRIBED CLAY CONES

Objects of this type, made of baked clay, which were found in great numbers in western Thebes, occurred only



FIG. 69. CONE OF MENTUEMHET

sporadically in the domestic area of Medinet Habu; all probably had been brought from the necropolis.

1. Cone of the "fourth priest of Amon Mentuemhet" (Fig. 69), who ruled in Thebes at the end of the 25th and the beginning of the 26th dynasty.¹⁴ 8.5 cm. in diameter at base. Point broken off.
2. Cone of "the revered one of Osiris, the prince Amenhotep son of the judge Hapu of H^c-m-wr, deceased" (Pl. 35 C). 7.8 cm. in diameter at base. Part broken away. Found in debris, presumably from near-by temple of Amenhotep son of Hapu. Chicago 16702.

11. Cf. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, pp. 158 (Nos. 7223-24) and 235-39.

12. Cf. *ibid.* No. 7143 (p. 249 and Fig. 309).

13. Cf. H. E. Winlock and W. E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes I* (Metropolitan Museum of Art, Egyptian Expedition, "Publications" III [New York, 1926]) Fig. 33:29 (p. 80).

14. Two statue groups bearing the name of the same fourth priest of Amon, Mentuemhet, were found near the chapels of the divine consorts and are now in the Cairo Museum (Nos. 39273-74); see Daressy, *Statues de divinités* ("Catalogue général ... du Musée du Caire" XXVIII-XXIX [Le Caire, 1906 and 1905]) pp. 318 f. and Pl. LX.

METAL VESSELS

KETTLES

1. Copper, hammered, 24.5 cm. high, 26 cm. in diameter (Pl. 38:16). Found in squares N 11–12 in debris.
2. Copper, hammered, 20 cm. high, 36 cm. in diameter (Pl. 38:17). Found with No. 1.
3. Bronze, 3 legs, long spout, 3.7 cm. high, 6.5 cm. in diameter (Pl. 38:6). Grooved to receive lid (not found), small round hole connecting body with spout. Presumably used for pouring oil into lamps. Found in square B 6 in late Roman stratum. Chicago 16717.
4. Copper or bronze, hammered, rounded body, cylindrical neck, flat rim, 3 feet (cast) decorated with masks, 12 cm. high, 12.5 cm. in diameter (Pl. 38:8). Found concealed between foundation blocks in southeast corner of Small Temple along with Nos. 5, 9, 11, and 13 and a clay lamp (see p. 70, n. 55). Cairo J 59644.¹⁵
5. Bronze, 3 legs, lid joined to hinge by bail handle (part lost), 7 cm. high, 11 cm. in diameter (Pl. 38:9). Found with No. 4 etc. Chicago 16736.¹⁶

LID

6. Bronze, loop handle, 11.8 cm. in diameter (Pl. 38:5). Found in squares P 10–11 in debris of Coptic houses. According to Ludwig Keimer it is perhaps a cymbal for use in Coptic church service.

BOWLS

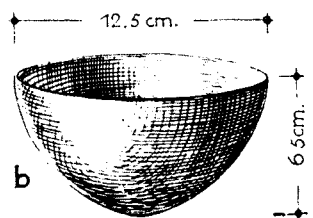
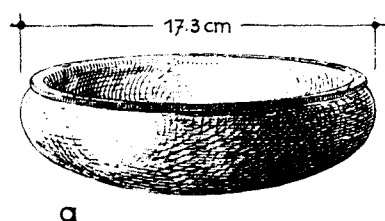


FIG. 70. COPPER OR BRONZE BOWLS

7. Copper or bronze, hammered (Fig. 70 a).
8. Copper or bronze, hammered (Fig. 70 b). Perhaps originally with foot, so that it should be reconstructed as a goblet.

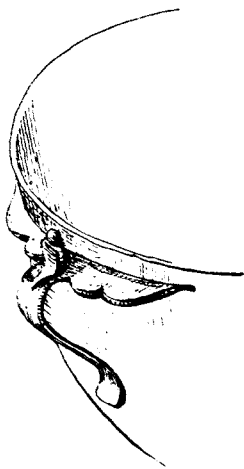


FIG. 71. HANDLE OF BRONZE BOWL

15. See Strzygowski, *op. cit.* Pl. XXVIII 9066 and p. 268 for similar vessel with lid.

16. See *ibid.* No. 9065 for similar specimen with spout.

9. Two bronze handles originally soldered to bowl (e.g. Fig. 71). Found with No. 4 etc.

BOTTLES

10. Copper or bronze, hammered, fragmentary, ca. 17 cm. high (Fig. 72). Made in 3 or 4 parts. Found in ruins of Coptic houses.

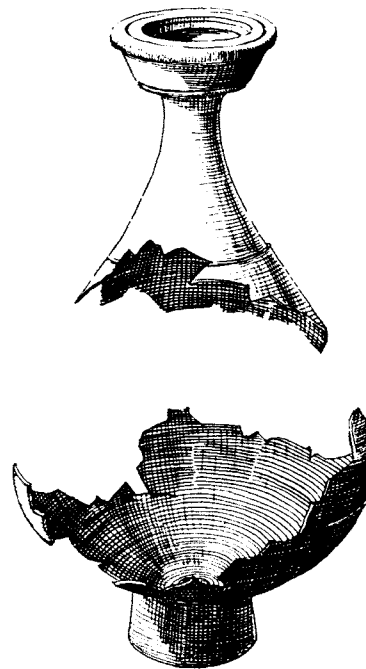


FIG. 72. COPPER OR BRONZE BOTTLE

11. Copper or bronze, hammered, clumsy shape (Fig. 73). Badly damaged. Found with No. 4 etc.

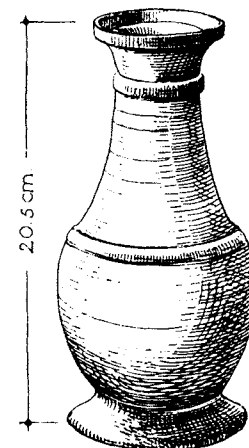


FIG. 73. COPPER OR BRONZE BOTTLE

12. Bronze, round as though wheel-turned, no lid, 11.5 cm. high (Pl. 38:7). Found in debris of late Roman–early Coptic houses. Chicago 14477.¹⁷

GOBLET

13. Copper or bronze, hammered (Fig. 74). Found with No. 4 etc.

CENSER

14. Bronze, cast, top attached by means of hinge, front fastening broken off, knob handle surmounted by cross, 22.5 cm. high (Pl. 38:3). Found in square M 11 (see Folio Pl. 32) in large pottery storage jar (Pl. 48 A'; see p. 74). Chicago 16735.¹⁸

LAMPS

15. Bronze, cast, badly oxidized, form like that of clay lamp III c (see p. 68 and Fig. 88), remains of handle, holes for suspension by

17. Cf. *ibid.* Pl. XXX 9084.

18. Cf. *ibid.* Fig. 318 (p. 281) and Pl. XL 7205.

THE OBJECTS

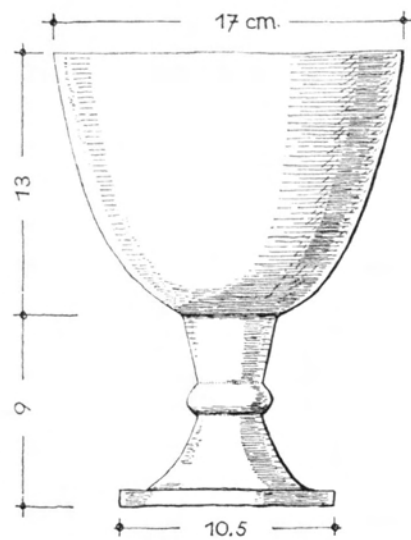


FIG. 74. COPPER OR BRONZE GOBLET

means of chains, 10.5 cm. long (Pl. 38:1). Found in debris of late Roman-early Coptic houses. Late Roman. Chicago 14386.

16. Bronze, ring handle surmounted by cross with upper arm broken off, hinge for lid (lost) in front of handle (Pl. 38:2). Found in debris in square R 12. Coptic. Chicago 14478.¹⁹
17. Bronze, dove-shaped, 2 wick holes, suspended on chains, ring with bead in beak, 10.5 cm. long and high (Pl. 38:4). Found in debris of Coptic church in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Coptic. Chicago 16734.²⁰

LADLES

18. Bronze, 34.5 cm. long (Pl. 38:18). Adjustable handle consisting of 2 overlapping sliding bars, end hooked, chiseled decoration on front (Fig. 75 top). Hemispherical bowl with cylindrical neck ornamented with raised zigzag band. Found in square P 12 in ruins of Coptic houses. Cairo J 59642.
19. Adjustable iron handle, bowl and upper end of handle missing (Fig. 75 bottom). The two sliding parts each consist of two twisted bars welded together at both ends, where there are double loops which were joined in pairs by chains. Coptic. Chicago 14387.
20. A few bronze ladles with four-edged handles curved at the top and ending in a duck head (not illustrated).²¹ E.g. Chicago 14412, found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab.

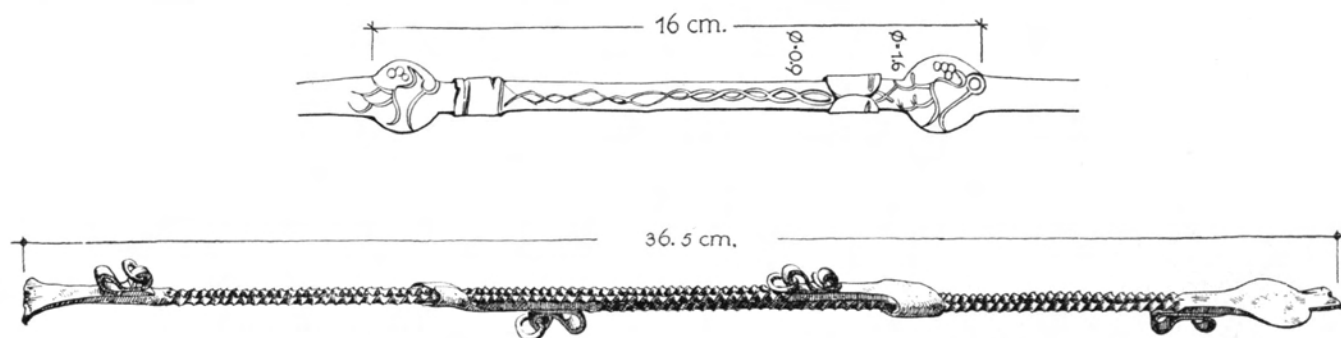


FIG. 75. BRONZE AND IRON LADLE HANDLES OF ADJUSTABLE LENGTH

JEWELRY

1. Three crosses, bronze, cast, thickened at corners (Pl. 39 A 1, 2, 5).²² Found in debris. Chicago 15221, 15220, and 15215 respectively.
2. Hollow cross, lead, remains of leather thong inside (Pl. 39 A 3). Found in debris. Chicago 15219.
3. Cross, lead, suspension loop, 4.8 cm. high (Pl. 39 A 4). Found in debris in square R 11. Chicago 15214.

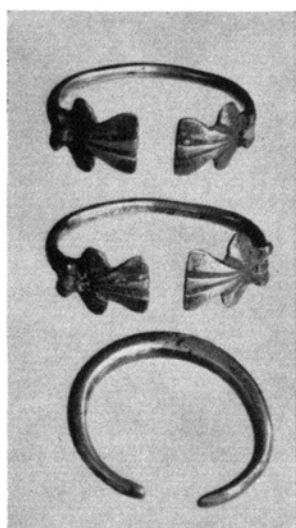


FIG. 76. COPTIC BRACELETS OF SILVER

4. Cross, mother-of-pearl, lower arm broken off, 2 cm. wide (Pl. 39 A 6). Chicago 15171.
5. Cross, mother-of-pearl, both sides worked (Pl. 39 A 7). It may not be a piece of jewelry. Chicago 15171.
6. Three earrings, bronze (Pl. 39 A 8-10). Riveted to each ring is a knob-ended stem with funnel-shaped casing (except in No. 10,

where it is presumably lost). No. 9 is 4 cm. high. No. 8 found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Coptic. Chicago 15189, 15209, and 15212 respectively.

7. Pendant in form of double camel(?), bronze alloy perhaps including silver, 4.6 cm. from muzzle to muzzle (Pl. 39 A 11).²³ Dr. Anthes suggests that the motif was perhaps borrowed from the symbol of the high priest of Memphis. Found in square A 4. Cairo J 59647.
8. Earring with suspended lily, lead (Pl. 39 A 12). Found in Roman tomb in square M 2 in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Cairo J 59649.
9. Pendant(?) in form of arrowhead, very crude bronze casting, perforated top, notched midrib, blunt edges (Pl. 39 A 13). Found in debris. Chicago 15208.
10. Silver(?) chain with green glass beads (Pl. 39 A 14). Found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Chicago 15213.
11. Cylindrical beads, sheet gold (Pl. 39 A 15-16). Found in 25th-26th dyn. burials.
12. Goose with suspension loop on head, hammered gold foil (Pl. 39 A 17). Found in debris in square L 2 in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Cairo J 59648.
13. Presumably a pectoral fragment, sheet gold with cells for colored stone or paste inlays (Pl. 39 A 18); incising on other side. Found in debris. Chicago 15206.
14. Flower, sheet gold (Pl. 39 A 19). Found in debris in squares T 11-12. Chicago 15217.

19. Cf. *ibid.* Pl. XXXIII 9137.

20. Cf. *ibid.* Fig. 323:9140 (p. 292).

21. Cf. *ibid.* Fig. 337:9161 (p. 300), also from Thebes.

22. Cf. *ibid.* Pl. XXXIV 9183-87.

23. Cf. *ibid.* Fig. 394:7015 (p. 329).

15. Pair of earrings, gold foil, crescent-shaped but round in cross section (Pl. 39 A 20-21). Found in square R 9 near 25th-26th dyn. burials. Cairo J 59645.
16. Earring, gold foil, ornamented with gold wire (Pl. 39 A 22). Found in Tomb 19 (see pp. 31 f.). 25th-26th dyn. Chicago 15200.
17. Finger ring, inferior silver alloy, open bezel, each end ornamented with a flower (Pl. 39 A 23). Found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Coptic. Chicago 15190. Cf. No. 23.
18. Finger ring, bronze, with small fayence scarab (Pl. 39 A 24). Found in squares D-E 5. Presumbaly 21st-25th dyn. Chicago 15207.
19. Finger ring, twisted gold bar and gold wire, with sacred eye of originally gilded black hematite (Pl. 39 A 25). Found in Tomb 19 (see pp. 31 f.). 25th-26th dyn. Cairo J 59646.
20. Finger ring, bronze, badly corroded, bezel lost (Pl. 39 A 26). Found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Chicago 15198.
21. Finger ring, silver(?), flat in cross section (Pl. 39 A 27). Found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Chicago 15199.
22. Finger ring, thick bronze wire, overlapping ends (Pl. 39 A 28). Chicago 15192.
23. Two bracelets, silver, ornamented with flowers which have inlaid carnelian calyxes and black inlay paste in crevices of petals (Fig. 76 top). Found in debris of late Roman level in square N 11. Coptic. Cairo J 59651 and Chicago 14479. Cf. No. 17.
24. Bracelet, silver (Fig. 76 bottom). Found with No. 23. Coptic. Cairo J 59652.

METAL TOOLS

1. Ax blade, bronze, 10 cm. long, 7.3 cm. wide at cutting edge (Fig. 77). Socket formed by bent-over edges (broken off). Found in squares G-H 11-12 just above Ramessid level. Chicago 14390.

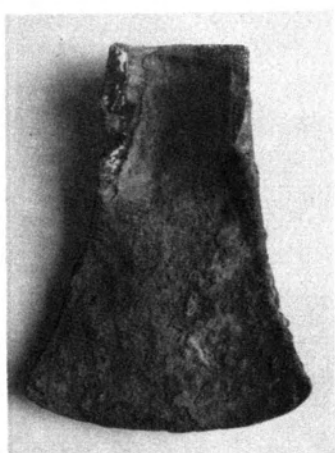


FIG. 77. BRONZE AX BLADE

2. Ax blade similar to No. 1, 11.5 cm. long (not illustrated). Well preserved socket, corners of cutting edge damaged. Chicago 14391.
3. Hatchet blade, iron, 16 cm. long, 10 cm. wide at cutting edge (Fig. 78 top). Found among Coptic houses in squares P-Q 10. Chicago 14393.

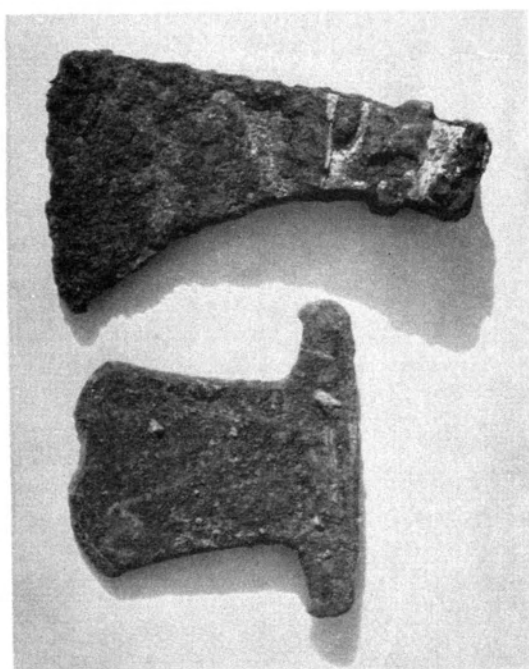


FIG. 78. BRONZE AND IRON HATCHET BLADES

4. Hatchet blade, bronze, side arms for attachment of haft, 11 cm. long, maximum width 12 cm., 8 cm. wide at cutting edge (Fig. 78 bottom). Found in square H 11 in stratum above wall of Ramses III. Chicago 14389.

5. Knife blade, iron, wooden handle lost, end (working edge?) bent over (Fig. 79). Decorated with 3 patterns made by chisel and punch. Chicago 14398.
6. Knife, iron, 12.5 cm. long (Pl. 39 B 7). Looped end containing knot of leather thong. Found in square G 6 just below surface. Chicago 14432.
7. Numerous iron blades of various forms and sizes found in Coptic houses (not illustrated). E.g. Cairo J 59640-41, Chicago 14399-14400.
8. Five knife blades of various forms, iron (Pl. 39 B 6, 8-11). Chicago 14401 (No. 6; found in square H 12), 14407 (No. 10), 14425 (No. 9), 14430 (No. 11).

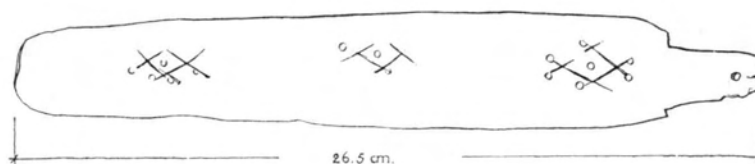


FIG. 79. IRON KNIFE BLADE

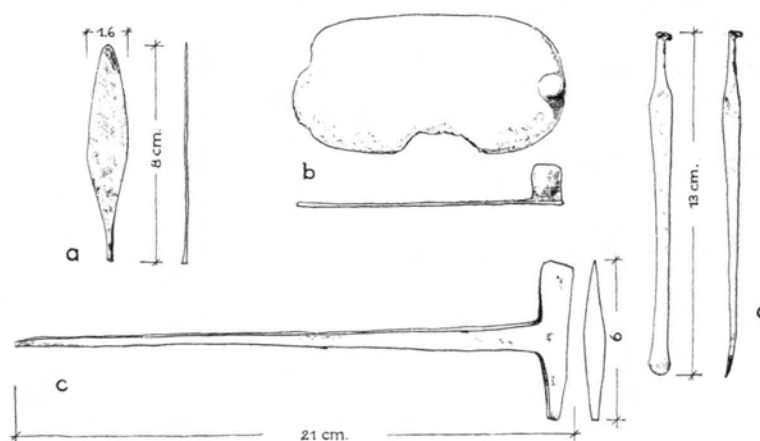


FIG. 80. COPTIC TOOLS

9. Razor, bronze, curved handle, blade 25.5 cm. long (Pl. 39 B 21). End of handle flattened, then doubled over and split in center for insertion of blade, which was fastened with rivets on both sides. Found in square T 12. Chicago 14426.
10. Three spatulas, bronze, handles broken off (Pl. 39 B 1-2 and Fig. 80 a). Chicago 14433+14427 (No. 2; found in squares E 5-6).
11. Saw blade, iron, 8.3 cm. long (Pl. 39 B 12).
12. Seven needles, bronze and iron (Pl. 39 B 22). E.g. Chicago 14405, 14408-9 (found in debris partly in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab).
13. Five awls, copper and bronze (Pl. 39 B 13-17). Found in debris partly in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Chicago 14419, 14422, 14424, 14421, and 14420 respectively.
14. Three small chisels, bronze (Pl. 39 B 18-20). No. 18 found in squares P-O 10 in debris of Coptic houses, Nos. 19-20 in temple

- precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Chicago 14416, 14429, and 14428 respectively.
15. Chisel, iron, end passed through wooden handle and flattened (Fig. 80 *d*).
 16. Four larger chisels, bronze and iron (Pl. 39 *B* 26). E.g. Chicago 14434-35.
 17. Small hammer, iron, head and handle in one piece (Fig. 80 *c*) Head has cutting edge at one end and hammering surface at other; end of handle sharpened like a chisel. Found in square P 12 in basement of Coptic house. Chicago 14410.
 18. Five fishhooks, copper, bronze, and iron (Pl. 39 *B* 23). Two without barbs (Chicago 14468, 14470) and one with ball instead of point (Chicago 14471); also Chicago 14469 (with barb). Found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab.
 19. Three arrow- or harpoon heads, bronze, barbs on one side or both sides (Pl. 39 *B* 3-5). Apparently for fishing. Cairo J 59643 (No. 5).
 20. Ring containing key and various small tools, all of iron (Pl. 39 *B* 24). Found in square M 11 beneath Coptic houses. Chicago 16715.
 21. Hollow key with ring handle, iron, 7.3 cm. long (Pl. 38:11). Found in ruins of Coptic houses. Cairo J 59637.
 22. Hollow key with ring handle, iron, 4.5 cm. long (Pl. 38:12). Found in debris. Coptic. Chicago 14403.
 23. Hook-shaped key, bronze, 5.5 cm. long (Pl. 38:13). Found with No. 24 in squares L 2-3 in debris of Roman houses in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab. Cairo J 59638.
 24. Hook-shaped key, iron with wooden knob, 9 cm. long (Pl. 38:14). Found with No. 23. Cairo J 59639.
 25. Escutcheon plates, bronze, presumably from wooden chest, 7.4 cm. long (Pl. 38:15). Two vertical reinforcing ribs on lower piece. Found with No. 17 in a Coptic house. Chicago 14402.
 26. Flat object with pointed end round in cross section (Chicago 14406); forklike object with ring in loop at top, tiny hole in longer "tine" (other "tine" broken off), "tines" rectangular not pointed at bottom (Chicago 14475; found in debris in square O 12); 2 pairs of tweezers (Chicago 14404 at top; found in square T 18). All bronze (Pl. 39 *B* 25).

MISCELLANEOUS METAL OBJECTS

1. Spear point, bronze, 22.2 cm. long (Fig. 81). Shaft end consists of socket which is open the entire length. Found in ruins of Roman houses. Chicago 16716.
2. Bridle, iron plated with brass, reins formed of several strands of twisted leather (Fig. 82). Found in squares P-Q 10 in ruins of Coptic houses. Cairo J 59650.
3. Snaffle bit, iron, two-piece bit and 2 side pieces each with 2 loops (Fig. 83). Found in ruins of Roman houses. Chicago 14446.
4. Fragment consisting of 3 uraei with sun disks, attached end to end, bronze (Fig. 84). Thick knob on reverse of each uraeus, reinforcing ridge on reverse of each sun disk, joints apparently rigid. Chicago 14474.

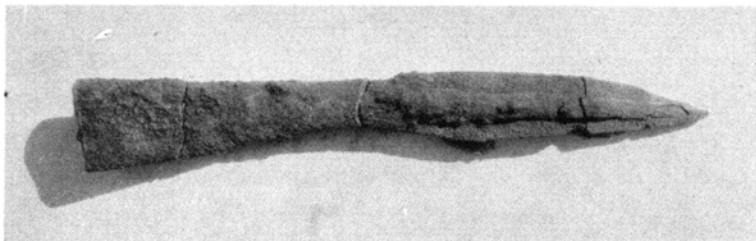


FIG. 81. ROMAN SPEAR POINT OF BRONZE

5. Oval plate with pivot(?), bronze, 5 cm. wide, 9.5 cm. long (Fig. 80 *b*). Use unknown. Found in square H 12.
6. Three measures, copper or bronze, with capacities of *ca.* 270, 98, and 13 cu. cm. respectively (Fig. 85). Found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab in square M 2 in pre-Harmhab house. Presumably New Kingdom. Chicago 15176-78.
7. Two perforated objects, bronze, presumably bottoms of wine strainers (Pl. 39 *B* 27). Chicago 14411 (top one; found with No. 5).
8. Small column, bronze, cast, 8.8 cm. high, shaft 1.6 cm. in diameter, stem 1.3 cm. long at top and bottom (not illustrated); Corinthian capital, spiral grooves in shaft. Presumably a lamp base (cf. clay lamps XI *a-c*; p. 71).

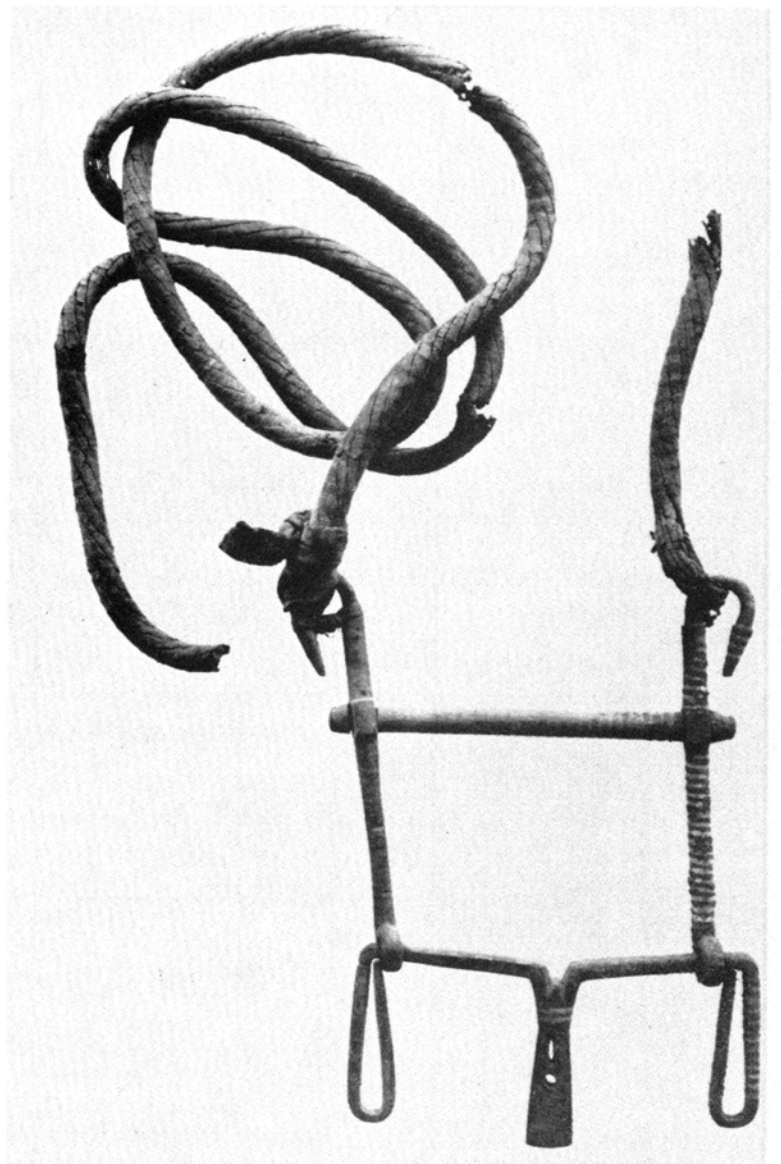


FIG. 82. COPTIC BRIDLE OF IRON PLATED WITH BRASS

CLAY LAMPS

67

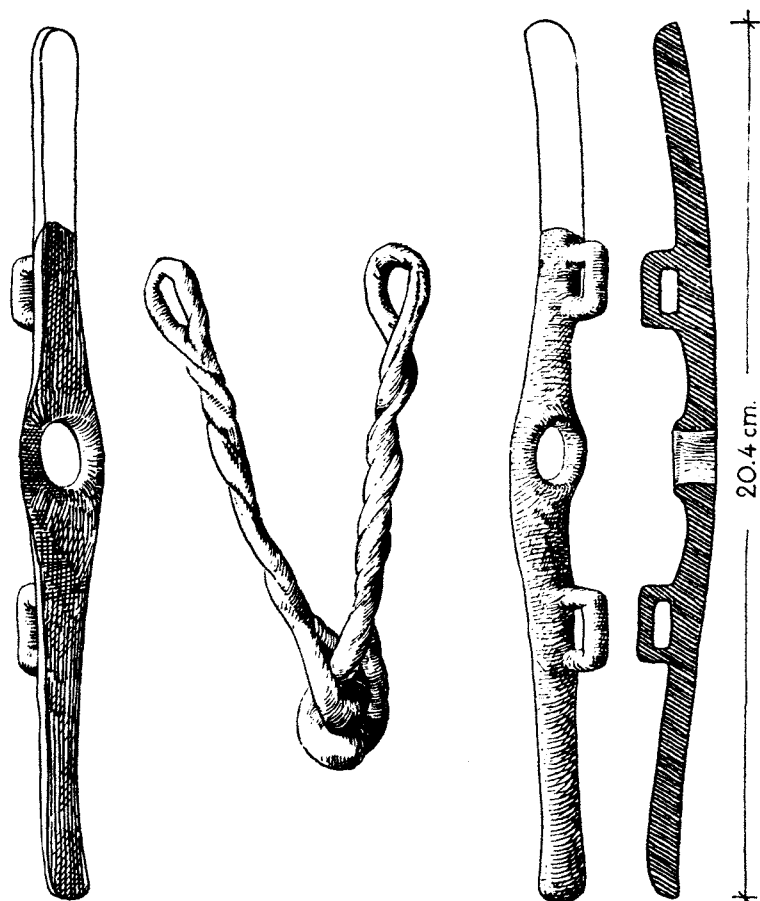


FIG. 83. COPTIC SNAFFLE BIT OF IRON

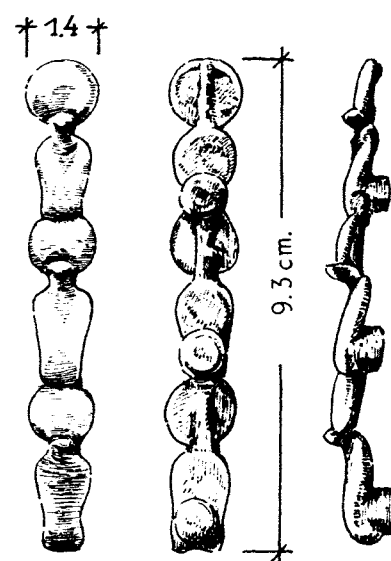
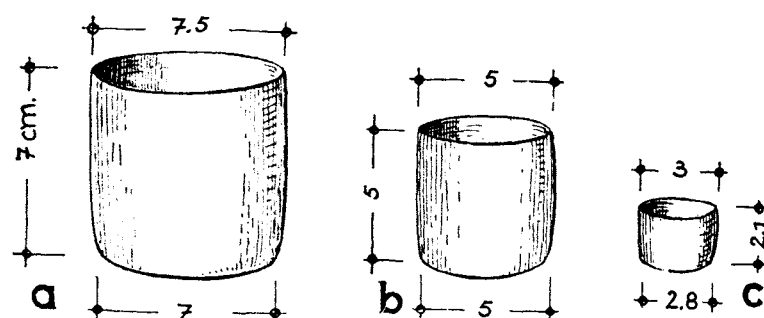
FIG. 84. BRONZE FRAGMENT
COMPOSED OF SUN DISKS AND URAEI

FIG. 85. COPPER OR BRONZE MEASURES

CLAY LAMPS

All the clay lamps of Roman and Coptic times found at Medinet Habu are of rather ordinary quality. Nevertheless a survey of these finds seems worth while, especially since inferences as to the culture of the inhabitants of the town can be drawn therefrom.

Most of the lamps came from strata which had been disturbed by *sebbakhin* or from loose debris, and hence exact dating is possible in a few cases only (see below). The lamps are presented in groups and classified to a certain extent according to Petrie's corpus of Roman lamps found in Egypt.²⁴ They cannot be dated on the basis of typology since the various types persisted, with more or less characteristic modifications, for long periods. Certain types, namely Groups IV-VI, which apparently belonged to the third and fourth centuries after Christ, often bear potters' marks on the underside. Except for those in Group X and some in Groups XI-XII, the lamps are composed of upper and lower parts which were formed separately in molds.

24. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Roman Ehnasya (Herakleopolis Magna)*, 1904: *Plates and Text Supplementary to Ehnasya* ("Special Extra Publication of the Egypt Exploration Fund" [London, 1905]) pp. 4-14 and Pls. LIII-LXIXA, hereafter referred to as "Petrie."

In the following catalogue only characteristic examples are listed and illustrated in the accompanying text figures. Some are shown in photograph on Plate 40 also.

It should be noted that some cups and bowls also apparently served as oil lamps. They are represented in the pottery catalogue by vessels Y' 1-6 (see p. 77).

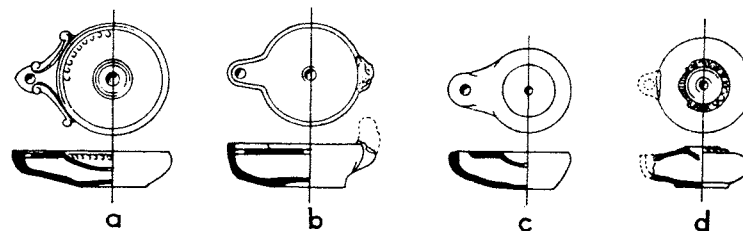


FIG. 86. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP I. SCALE, 1:4

GROUP I (FIG. 86)

a-c. Round lamps of Hellenistic form, flat or concave on top. *d.* Echinus lamp (cf. Group II).

a. Wide funnel with beading at top, spout with double volute characteristic of classical lamps, no handle or grip (Pl. 40:1); reddish-yellow clay; imitation terra sigillata. Chicago 14327.²⁵

25. Cf. Petrie C 6 and C 88.

- b.* Top flat with raised rim, no funnel, simple spout, upright grip broken off; gray clay. Chicago 14325.
c. Top flat with funnel, thick spout; light reddish clay. Chicago 14328.
d. Small funnel with ornamented rim, small spout broken off, no handle or grip, disk base; light reddish clay, darker red wash. Chicago 14331.

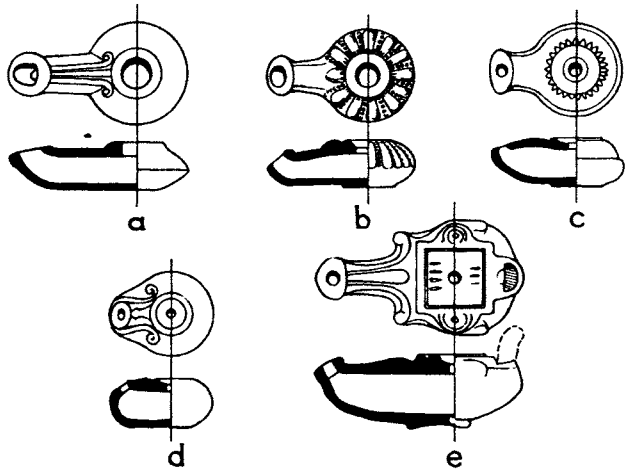


FIG. 87. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP II. SCALE, 1:4

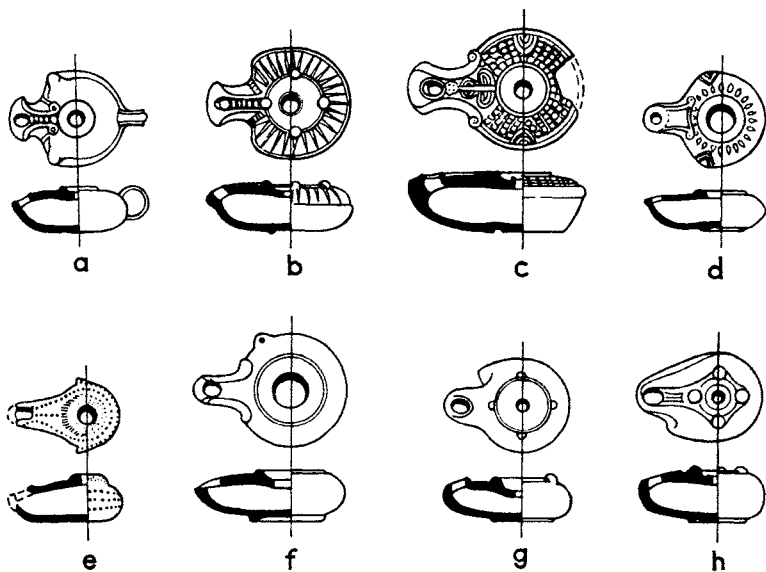


FIG. 88. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP III. SCALE, 1:4

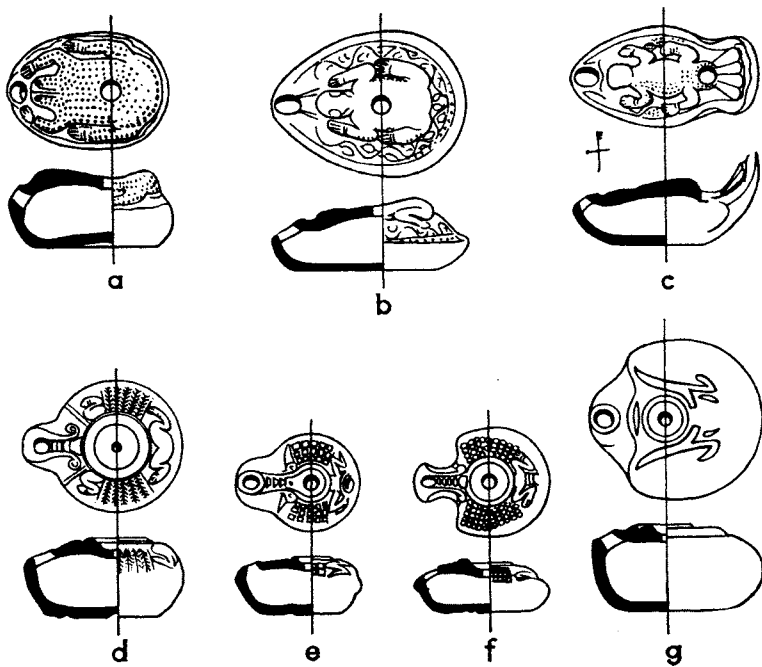


FIG. 89. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP IV. SCALE, 1:4

26. Cf. Petrie O 5 with potter's mark "A," probably 3d century; also Petrie U 20, likewise 3d century.

27. Cf. Petrie U 55 and U 65.

28. Cf. Petrie O 66 and O 88.

29. Cf. Petrie G 16.

GROUP II (FIG. 87)

Echinus lamps with long, medium, or short spouts. *a-c.* Round. *d.* Oval. *e.* Angular.

- a.* Intake hole with slightly raised rim, no funnel, long spout, elongated double volute from wick hole to intake hole, no handle or grip; reddish clay, pinkish wash, smoothed; imitation terra sigillata. Chicago 14329.²⁶
b. Like *a* in form, radial decoration (Pl. 40:2); light reddish clay. Chicago 14326.²⁷
c. Scarcely recognizable radial decoration around very small funnel, shorter spout; brown clay. Found in Coptic house in squares N 13-14. *Ca.* 5th-6th century. Chicago 14332.²⁸
d. Neckless spout with double volute, no handle or grip; reddish clay.²⁹
e. Square frame around intake hole, long spout with double volute, upright handle broken off (perhaps delta-shaped); reddish clay; imitation terra sigillata. Chicago 14351.

GROUP III (FIG. 88)

Shouldered lamps. *a-e.* With two shoulders. *f-h.* With one shoulder, so-called "dolphin" type.

- a.* Spout seems to rest on shoulders, double volute with beading in center, solid handle (Pl. 40:3); grayish-red clay, red outside. Chicago 14334.
b. Similar form, radial decoration, 4 knobs around rim of funnel, straight bands instead of double volute, no grip or handle (Pl. 40:4);³⁰ red clay. Found in ruins of late Roman houses on site of first pylon of temple of Harmhab. *Ca.* 4th century. Chicago 14337.³¹
c. Radial decoration around funnel (cf. Group IV *e-f*), strongly developed spout with double volute inclosing treelike ornament, probably no handle or grip (Pl. 40:5); coarse brown clay. Chicago 14336.³²
d. Simple form; gray clay, almost black outside, smoothed. Chicago 14350.³³
e. Elongated form, pricked with stylus when clay was almost dry; gray clay. Chicago 14346.
f. Round form, intake hole with funnel, double volute on spout, small perforated grip; gray clay, almost black outside.³⁴ Chicago 14348.³⁵
g. Rounded, 4 knobs on rim of funnel (Pl. 40:6); light red clay. Found in late Roman-early Coptic house in square B 3. Presumably 4th-5th century. Chicago 14349.³⁶
h. Oval form, knob in each corner of square inclosing small depressed intake hole; coarse red clay. Chicago 14347.

GROUP IV (FIG. 89)

Frog lamps. Numerous specimens like *a-b*³⁷ occurred in the late Roman strata in squares B 4-5 and C 6, all probably third to fourth centuries. They bear the potters' marks shown in Figure 98:1, 6, 8 (Pl. 40:29), and 11.

- a.* Oval form, realistic frog with stylus prickings, intake hole toward back instead of centered (Pl. 40:7); unrecognizable potter's mark on underside; light red clay, whitish wash. Chicago 14341.
b. Rather flat oval form, smaller naturalistic frog inclosed by vine ornament; no potter's mark; red clay. Chicago 14342.
c. Oval form, intake hole at back, broad almost upright grip with ornamentation suggesting tail feathers of a chick (Pl. 40:8); potter's mark (Fig. 98:5); reddish-gray clay, yellow outside. Cairo J 59685.

30. Same form occurs with handle.

31. Cf. Petrie S 78; his latest specimen of this type is dated 4th century.

32. Cf. Petrie K 10, "the best and earliest type of echinus pattern."

33. Cf. Petrie S 4 and U 50.

34. A similar but smaller specimen is made of red clay and smoothed outside.

35. Cf. Petrie V 38.

36. Cf. Petrie V 63.

37. Cf. Petrie F 55-78.

- d.* Round form, only head and legs of frog represented, double volute near head, decoration in form of ears of corn at sides, funnel with rim (Pl. 40:9); no potter's mark; light red clay, fine workmanship. Found in Roman cemetery. 3d–4th century. Chicago 14339.³⁸
- e.* Frog even more stylized than in *d*, with only hind legs recognizable, "corn" pattern with cross lines at sides; light pinkish clay, whitish outside. Found in Roman cemetery. 3d–4th century. Chicago 14340.³⁹
- f.* Shouldered form, like III *b* in form and material, like IV *e* in ornamentation (Pl. 40:10); no potter's mark; red clay.⁴⁰ Chicago 14333.
- g.* Frog indicated merely by a few impressed lines; no potter's mark; coarse yellow clay, crude workmanship. Found in late Roman house in square B 5. *Ca.* 4th century. Chicago 14338.

GROUP V (FIG. 90)

Types related to frog lamps.

- a.* Round form with shoulders, small funnel with double volute between it and wick hole, knob on opposite side with 2 palm(?) branches extending from it (Pl. 40:11); yellowish-gray clay, white wash. Chicago 14345.⁴¹

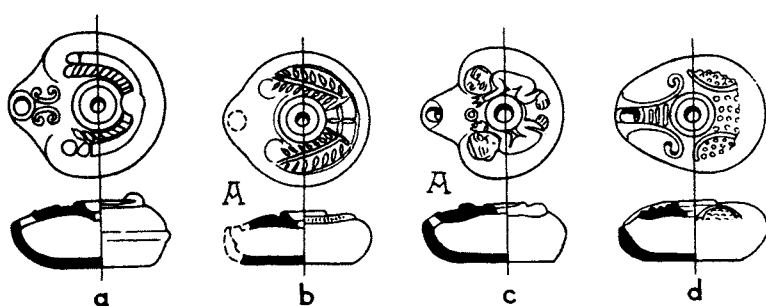


FIG. 90. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP V. SCALE, 1:4

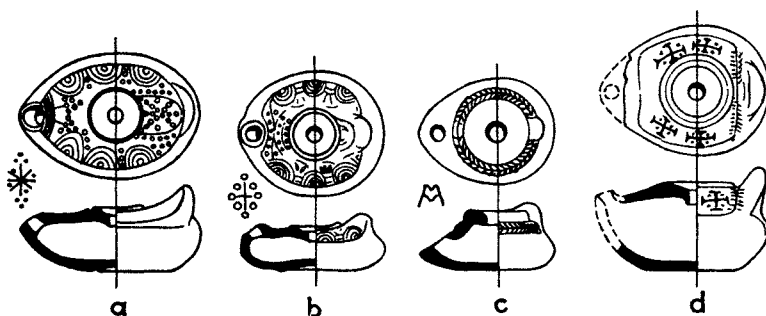


FIG. 91. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP VI. SCALE, 1:4

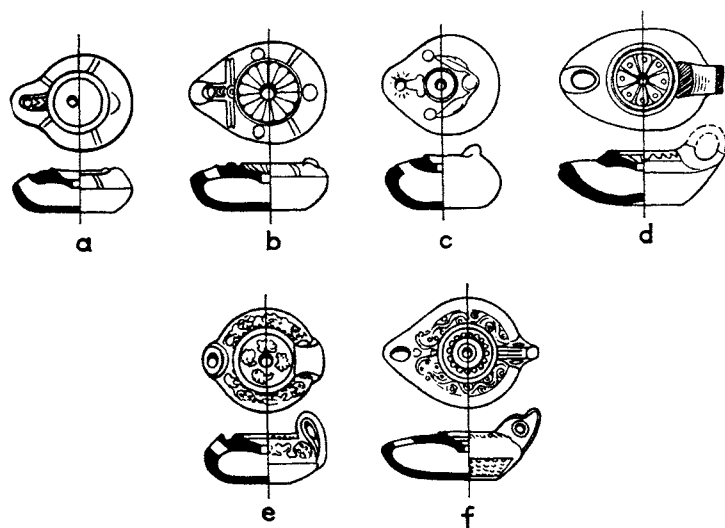


FIG. 92. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP VII. SCALE, 1:4

38. Cf. Petrie F 2, "the earliest."

39. Cf. Petrie E 38 and E 59.

40. Similar lamps (cf. Petrie E 16, 3d–4th century) were found in a late Roman house in square B 3, on the street in C 5, and in a tomb of the upper stratum of the Roman cemetery. The specimen from the cemetery is *ca.* 4th century.

41. Cf. Petrie P 15 ff.

- b.* Similar to *a* in form, impressed decoration with cross instead of knob;⁴² potter's mark (Fig. 98:4 and Pl. 40:28); yellowish-gray clay, fired reddish in places. Found in late Roman house in square B 4. *Ca.* 4th–5th century. Chicago 14344.⁴³
- c.* Similar to *a–b* in form, decoration consisting of 2 boys or embryos (Pl. 40:12); potter's mark "A" (Fig. 98:3); light pink clay.⁴⁴ Cairo J 59684.⁴⁵
- d.* Oval form, decoration possibly derived from frog motif, no grip or handle; 2 concentric circles and palm branch on underside (Pl. 40:26); brown clay. Chicago 14335.

GROUP VI (FIG. 91)

Oval lamps with hooklike handles.

- a.* Decoration consisting of semicircles and tiny circles scratched or impressed when clay was almost dry (Pl. 40:13); potter's mark (Fig. 98:10 and Pl. 40:30); red clay, yellow outside. Found in late Roman stratum in square B 5. *Ca.* 4th century. Cairo J 59686.⁴⁶
- b.* Shorter than *a*, almost round, similar decoration; potter's mark (Fig. 98:7);⁴⁷ reddish-brown clay. Chicago 14343.
- c.* Wider at bottom than at top, raised border around intake hole with 2 branches in form of wreath, wick hole very low; potter's mark (Fig. 98:2), intended as "A" (?); gray clay.
- d.* Top arched, 2 small branches between grip and raised rim of intake hole, 2 crosses at each side, spout broken off; reddish-brown clay.

GROUP VII (FIG. 92)

Oval or round lamps with larger funnels.

- a.* Impressed radial lines, vestigial grip, drawn-out spout (Pl. 40:19); brownish-red clay. Chicago 14360.⁴⁸
- b.* Three knobs on top, funnel ornamented with rosettes; bright red clay. Found in ruins of late Roman house near site of first pylon of temple of Harmhab. *Ca.* 4th–5th century.
- c.* Three knobs and 2 crudely executed branches on top, small funnel, slightly drawn-out spout; red clay, white wash.⁴⁹ Chicago 14358.⁵⁰
- d.* Wider but shallower funnel with eight-petaled rosette,⁵¹ tall handle broken; brownish-red clay, red wash, smoothed. Chicago 14361.
- e.* Top (including funnel) ornamented with plastic palmettes⁵² and rosettes, slightly drawn-out spout, tall handle (Pl. 40:20); red clay. Found in late Roman–early Coptic house in squares S–T 7. *Ca.* 5th century. Chicago 14355.
- f.* Funnel with grooved rim and beading surrounded by plastic vines and small rosettes, pointed drawn-out spout, tall handle; impressed concentric circles and tiny rings on underside (Pl. 40:27); light pink clay. Found in square B 5 in house of uppermost Roman stratum. *Ca.* 5th century. Chicago 14354.⁵³

GROUP VIII (FIG. 93)

Beak-shaped lamps with grooves.

- a.* Wide funnel connecting with groove leading to wick hole and decorated with small pellets, tall handle (Pl. 40:21); brown clay, red wash, smoothed. Chicago 14356.

42. A similar lamp, with knob instead of cross, was found in the same place. Cf. Petrie P 14.

43. Cf. Petrie P 13 and P 84, the latter with potter's mark "A."

44. A similar example with the same potter's mark "A" is in the Coptic collection of the Kaiser Friedrich Museum in Berlin (Cat. No. 1324).

45. Cf. Petrie A 90 and A 92, both with potter's mark "A."

46. Cf. Petrie Y 10, with similar potter's mark (cf. Fig. 98:9), 4th century; also F 94 on Pl. LXIXA.

47. Another specimen has the same potter's mark but is of the same size as *a*.

48. Cf. Petrie B 82.

49. A lamp of the same form but with slightly different decoration was found in square C 5; another example occurred in one of the later graves in the Roman cemetery, 4th–5th century.

50. Cf. Petrie A 2 = B 2.

51. A similar lamp has a cross instead of a rosette; cf. Petrie X 46–52.

52. There are variants with crosses instead of palmettes; cf. Petrie X 30 and X 90.

53. Cf. Petrie L 89.

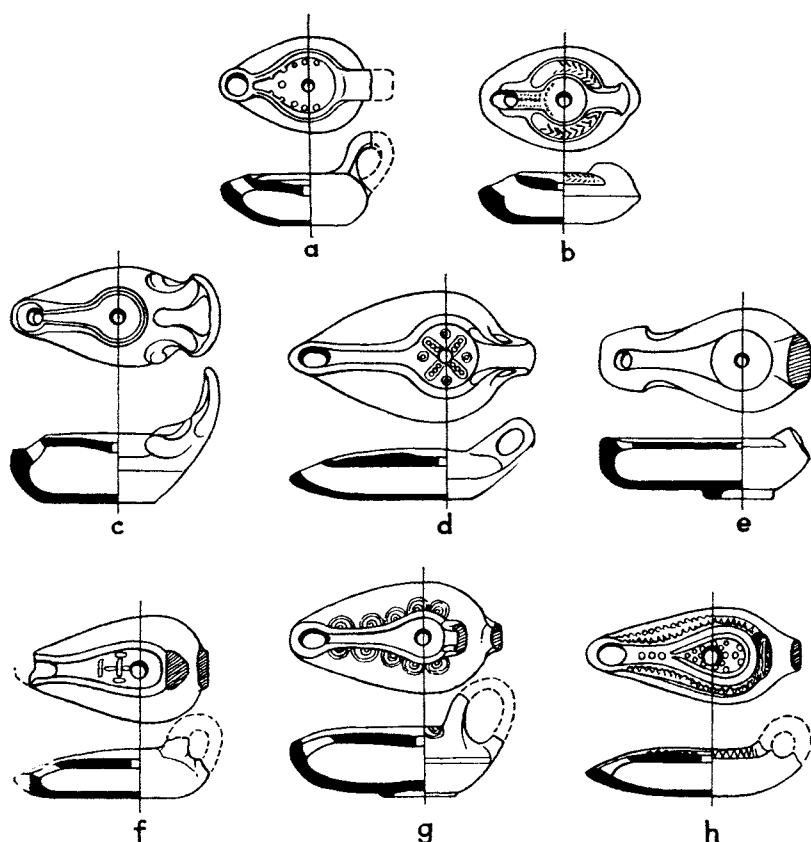


FIG. 93. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP VIII. SCALE, 1:4

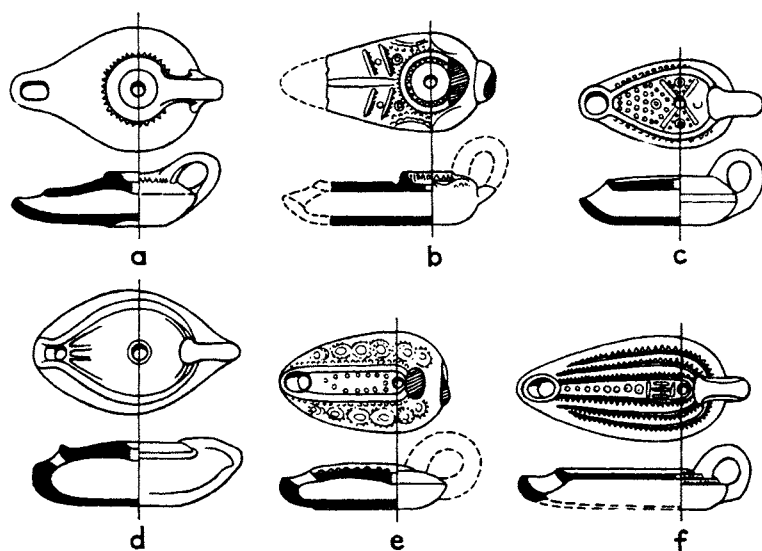


FIG. 94. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP IX. SCALE, 1:4

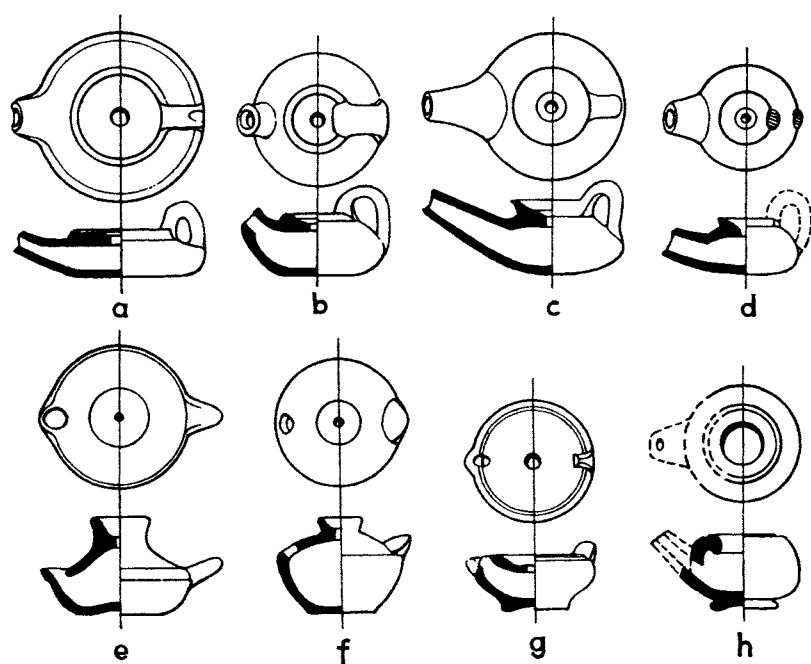


FIG. 95. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP X. SCALE, 1:4

- b.* Elongated oval form, wreath around intake hole, tiny pellets in groove, stump grip, yellowish clay. Cf. lamp VI *c*.
c. More elongated, high delta-like handle with double volute; reddish-brown clay. Chicago 14352.
d. Flat oval form, pointed at wick hole, intake hole toward back, diagonal cross with rosettes between arms in funnel (Pl. 40:14); gray clay. Chicago 14367.⁵⁴
e. Elongated, top flat except for slightly raised rim, drawn-out widened spout, grip broken off, ring base; light pink clay. Found in square C 7 in street 1.70 m. below our datum. Chicago 14364.
f. Same shape as *d*,⁵⁵ funnel connecting with groove leading to wick hole, cross in groove, handle broken off; gray clay. Chicago 14363.⁵⁶
g. Similar to *f* but higher and with deeper groove, looped decoration, tall handle broken off; brown clay, red wash, smoothed. Chicago 14365.⁵⁷
h. Long and pointed, groove extending around intake hole, ornamented with dots and strokes (Pl. 40:16); light pink clay, yellowish wash. Found on quay in square B 8 at floor level of Coptic church. Ca. 6th-7th century. Chicago 14362.⁵⁸

GROUP IX (FIG. 94)

Beak-shaped lamps. *a-c*. Without grooves. *d-f*. With parallel grooves.

- a.* Form like VII *d* and VIII *a*, small broad-rimmed funnel surrounded by scarcely perceptible impressed decoration (Pl. 40:15); brown clay, light-colored outside. Chicago 14357.⁵⁹
b. Long and pointed, plastic decoration of strips, loops, and rosettes, spout and tall handle broken off; light brownish-red clay. Cairo J 59689.⁶⁰
c. Top depressed from handle to spout, diagonal cross radiating from intake hole with rosettes between arms, numerous pellets; yellowish clay, brownish outside. Chicago 14353.⁶¹
d. Spindle-shaped, top convex with very small funnel, grooves very shallow, decoration no longer clear, stump grip; light red clay, whitish wash. Chicago 14366.
e. Slender oval form, convex top decorated with plastic rosettes and pellets, no funnel, parallel grooves between intake hole and wick hole (Pl. 40:17). Cairo J 59688.
f. Slender pointed form, intake hole close to handle, grooved like *e*, 2 raised rims (notched outside) on either side of grooves, cross in front of intake hole, top only preserved (Pl. 40:18); brown clay. Found in Coptic house in square N 11. Ca. 6th-8th century. Cairo J 59687.⁶²

GROUP X (FIG. 95)

Jug lamps, all made on the wheel, with spouts and handles added; no decoration.

- a.* Low form, broad very shallow funnel, tall handle; brown clay. Found in squares M-N 11 at foundation level of Coptic houses. Ca. 5th century. Chicago 14372.
b. Taller form, shallow funnel, short upstanding spout, high loop handle (Pl. 40:22); light red clay, darker red wash. Chicago 14369.⁶³
c. Funnel with high rim, long spout, high loop handle; coarse reddish-brown clay, yellow wash. Chicago 14368.
d. Similar to *c* but with shorter almost horizontal spout, handle broken off; brownish clay, yellowish wash. Chicago 14373.

54. Cf. Petrie G 35.

55. A similar but larger specimen with rosettes around the intake hole and in the groove was found between foundation blocks of the Small Temple along with several metal objects (see p. 63, No. 4).

56. Cf. Petrie G 23 and G 41.

60. Cf. Petrie X 70.

57. Cf. Petrie B 38.

61. Cf. Petrie G 57.

58. Cf. Petrie G 45.

62. Cf. Petrie G 19.

59. Cf. Petrie L 92.

63. Cf. Petrie N 5 and N 24.

FAYENCE AND GLASS VESSELS

71

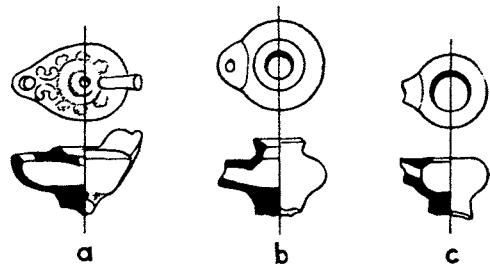


FIG. 96. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP XI. SCALE, 1:4

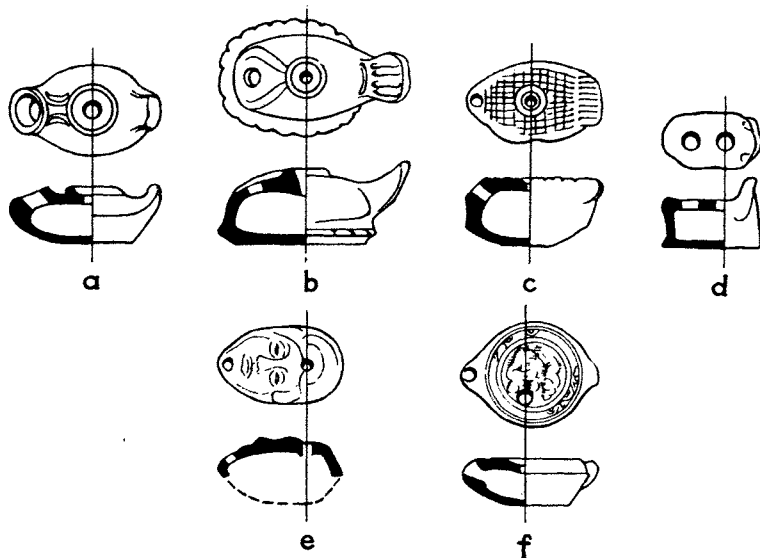


FIG. 97. CLAY LAMPS OF GROUP XII. SCALE, 1:4

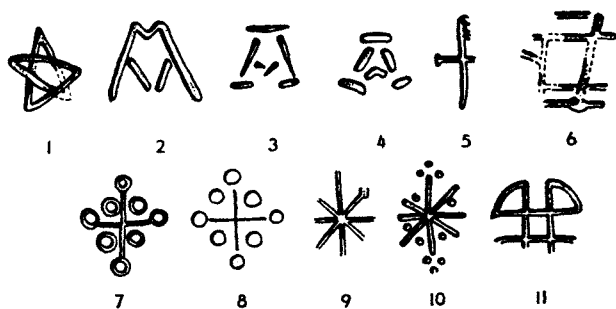


FIG. 98. POTTERS' MARKS ON CLAY LAMPS. SCALE, 1:2

- e. Taller form with neck, small upright spout, grip; reddish-brown clay, red wash.⁶⁴ Chicago 14370.
- f. Similar to e but without spout, grip; light red clay, darker red wash. Chicago 14371.
- g. Very shallow funnel, wick hole bored through body from above, stump grip on rim; light pink clay, light red wash; imitation terra sigillata. Found in square C 6 in late Roman stratum. *Ca.* 4th century or later. Chicago 14330.
- h. Wide intake hole with incurving side surrounded by groove, spout broken off, disk base; fine brown clay, red wash, smoothed.

GROUP XI (FIG. 96)

Lamps with more or less tall stems, which, however, are broken off (cf. No. 8 on p. 66).

- a. Like Group II or III, grip; red clay.⁶⁵
- b. Wheel-turned, large intake hole, spout made separately; brownish-red clay, red wash, painted decoration in white, black, and red. Cairo J 59690.
- c. Handmade, wide intake hole without raised rim, spout pointing upward slightly; very coarse grayish-brown clay.

GROUP XII (FIG. 97)

- a. Oval lamp, small funnel with raised rim, upright spout, crescent-shaped double volute, upright grip; reddish clay, yellowish wash. Found in debris in Tomb 29 (see p. 33). Chicago 14374.
- b. Similar to a but with broader bottom, suggestive of setting hen, spout perhaps broken off (Pl. 40:23); brown clay, red wash, smoothed. Found in square O 12 in large kettle-shaped grain bin of unbaked clay together with a group of late Roman-Coptic pottery vessels (see Fig. 100). *Ca.* 4th century. Chicago 14375.
- c. Similar "hen" form, crosshatched incising on body, short tail with incised lines (Pl. 40:24); light pinkish clay, white wash. Chicago 14378.⁶⁶
- d. Handmade, 2 holes close together in top, damaged upright grip, flat bottom; coarse reddish-brown clay, poorly fired. Chicago 14376.
- e. Head lamp, intake hole in forehead, wick hole in chin, top part only preserved (Pl. 40:25); brown clay, red wash, smoothed. Chicago 14377.⁶⁷
- f. Oval lamp, flat top with unrecognizable representation surrounded by vine border, intake hole off-center due to presence of representation, wick hole and spout somewhat drawn out, stump grip; light pinkish clay. Found in late Roman house in square A 5. Chicago 14359.⁶⁸

FAYENCE AND GLASS VESSELS

1. Green fayence juglet, 6.8 cm. high (Pl. 40:31). Bears cartouche in black containing illegible name. Found in 25th-26th dyn. stratum west of palace in square M 6. Cairo J 59758.
2. Slender greenish fayence vessel, 22 cm. high (Pl. 7f). Black painted decoration. Found in square F 7 in dwelling of 22d-24th or 25th dyn. Cairo J 59785.
3. Fragments of similar fayence vessel bearing inscription of Ta-

64. A similar but slightly smaller specimen of brownish clay, smoothed outside, was found in squares N 13-14 in Coptic house; *ca.* 6th-7th century.

65. Cf. Petrie T 64.

harka (not illustrated). Found near No. 2. 25th dyn.

4. Small vase of greenish transparent glass, 4 cm. high, 2.5 cm. in diameter (Pl. 40:32). Found in Roman cemetery. Presumably 3d-5th century after Christ. Chicago 16675.

5. Small vase of greenish-gray glass flecked with white, 7.5 cm. high (Pl. 40:33). Two handles, one broken off; top and bottom damaged. Found in square N 11 in Roman stratum. Cairo J 59786.

66. Cf. Petrie X 36.

67. Cf. Petrie H 77.

68. Cf. Petrie Z 10 and Z 30.

POTTERY CATALOGUE

The pottery of the Eighteenth Dynasty and that from the foundation deposits of Ramses IV found in the temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab are published in Volume II. As a result of the destruction of the temple area of Ramses III toward the end of the Twentieth Dynasty and its subsequent rebuilding in the Twenty-first Dynasty practically no vessels of the period of Ramses III have come down to us. Pottery appeared in large quantities with the rebuilding of Medinet Habu as a residential section and continued into Saitic times. The Ptolemaic period, however, when Medinet Habu was again for the most part abandoned and its house ruins were carried off for *sebak*, yielded almost no pottery. With the new colonization in the Roman period, that is, in the first and second centuries after Christ, it reappeared in large quantities and continued, as far as we can tell without interruption, until the town was abandoned approximately in the eighth or ninth century. Hence the pottery presented here falls in general into two groups, that of the first half of the first pre-Christian millennium and that of the first millennium after Christ.

Most of the vessels found are of ordinary domestic types and without artistic value. For the most part their dating is based upon stratification and hence is not very exact. Some control is provided, however, by the fact that many types are represented by numerous examples from various places and by their association with more precisely datable types. Exact dates can be assigned only to pottery found in datable tombs, especially that from the pottery magazine in the tomb-chapel of Amenirdis (Twenty-fifth Dynasty; see p. 22) and that from the domed tombs of the Roman cemetery (latter half of third century after Christ; see p. 43).

An example of each form of each of the main types is described in the following catalogue and illustrated by a drawing on Plates 47–48. Though this is a rather incomplete corpus of pottery, still it has value because of the fact that the material is all from the same site.

POTTERY MAINLY OF THE FIRST HALF OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C. (PL. 47)

- A* 1. Storage jar; coarse red clay.⁶⁹ Found in square D 13⁷⁰ let into floor of room up to half its height. 21st–22d dyn.
- A* 2. Storage jar, 3 handles, broken rim to be reconstructed like that of *A* 3; coarse red clay, bright red slip, not smoothed. Found in square O 6 let into gravelly ground of street up to a third of its height. 21st–22d dyn.
- A* 3. Storage jar, 2 handles; red clay, well fired. Found in pottery magazine in tomb-chapel of Amenirdis (see p. 23). 25th dyn.
- A* 4. Storage jar, 4 handles; material, find-spot, and date same as for *A* 3.
- A* 5. Storage jar, 2 handles; rather coarse grayish-red clay, whitish wash outside, not smoothed. Found in House 1 (in squares M–N 6–7) let into floor of room up to half its height (see p. 16). 25th–26th dyn.
- A* 6. Storage jar; material like that of *A* 5; potter's marks scratched in clay before firing. Found in square G 4 let into gravelly ground of street up to half its height. 21st–22d dyn.
- B* 1. Storage jar, 2 handles; reddish-yellow clay, grayish yellow outside, smoothed. Found in square E 5 let into floor slightly. 22d dyn.
- B* 2. Storage jar, 2 handles; rather coarse reddish clay, yellow wash. Found in square G 13 let into street up to half its height. Apparently 21st–22d dyn.
- B* 3. Storage jar, 2 handles; material like that of *B* 1. Found in square F 7 together with *F* 1. 22d dyn. or later.
- B* 4. Storage jar with neck and no handles; coarse red clay, white wash; scratched potter's mark. Found in square E 5. 22d dyn.
- B* 5. Storage jar with neck, 2 handles; scratched potter's mark; material, find-spot, and date same as for *B* 4.
- C* 1. Storage jar; finer light-colored clay, fired partly yellowish and partly reddish; scratched potter's mark. Found in square T 12. 21st–22d dyn.
- C* 2. Storage jar, 2 handles; coarser clay than that of *C* 1, fired grayish red. Found in square Q 13 let into gravelly ground of street up to half its height. 21st–22d dyn.
- C* 3. Storage jar, 2 handles; material like that of *C* 2. Found in square T 11 let into gravelly ground of street up to half its height. 21st–22d dyn.
- C* 4. Jug; coarser red clay, gray outside, slightly smoothed. Found in House 1 (see p. 16). 26th dyn.
- C* 5. Jug, narrow mouth; yellowish-gray clay. Found in House 1 (see p. 16). 26th dyn.
- C* 6. Jug with neck, 2 handles; finer brownish-red clay, yellowish wash, smoothed. Found in square L 5. *Ca.* 21st–22d dyn.
- D* 1. Jug with long neck (Pl. 7 j 1); brownish-red clay, whitish wash; scratched potter's mark. Found in square T 11 let into gravelly ground of street up to half its height. Apparently 21st–22d dyn.⁷¹
- D* 2. Jug with long neck, 2 handles; reddish clay, slightly smoothed. Found in square G 5 together with *N* 1, *O* 1, *R* 1, and *R* 3. *Ca.* 22d dyn.
- E* 1. Jug with narrow mouth; fine yellowish-gray clay, reddish outside, wavy and straight lines impressed with finger in wet clay. Found in square G 13. Date unknown, presumably post-Saitic.
- E* 2. Jug, knob base; reddish clay, yellow wash. Found in square D 13 (near Sacred Lake) together with *M* 2. Date unknown, apparently pre-Roman.
- E* 3. Jug, 3 handles (a 4th perhaps broken off before firing); red clay, yellow wash, smoothed. Found in square E 5 together with *Y* 1. 22 dyn.
- F* 1. Jug; finer yellowish-gray clay, slightly wet-smoothed outside. Found in square F 7 together with *B* 3. *Ca.* 22d dyn. or later.
- F* 2. Jug; light red clay. Found in square E 9. *Ca.* 22d–26th dyn.
- F* 3. Jug, wide mouth; reddish clay. Found in Tomb 9 (see p. 31). Apparently 25th dyn.
- G* 1. Jug; hard red clay, surface wet-smoothed. Found in square T 12. *Ca.* 22d–24th dyn.⁷²
- G* 2. Jug; hard red clay, not smoothed. Found in square H 11. *Ca.* 26th dyn.
- G* 3. Jug; hard red clay, surface wet-smoothed. Found in pottery magazine west of Tomb 16 in court of tomb-chapel of Shepnapet I (see p. 20). 26th dyn.
- H* 1. Wine jug, very slender, 2 handles, pointed bottom; finer red clay, yellowish outside, smoothed; hieratic inscription. Found not *in situ*. New Kingdom.⁷³
- H* 2. Similar to *H* 1 but taller and more bellied, thicker walls; same material. Found in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab in square M 2 in late 18th dynasty dwellings together with *M* 3.
- I*. Wine jug; finer yellowish-gray clay, slightly smoothed outside. Found in Tomb 20c (see p. 32) along with numerous similar specimens. *Ca.* 26th dyn.⁷⁴
- J*. Wine jug, conical, pushed-in shoulder, thick walls; coarse yellowish-gray clay, slightly smoothed. Found in square F 6. 22d–24th or perhaps as late as 25th dyn.⁷⁵

69. Another example of this form has a white wash and blue, red, and black painted decoration (see Fig. 15); presumably 20–21st dyn.

70. See Folio Pls. 3–15 for find-spots.

71. The same form occurs among the pre-Eye pottery (see Vol. II, Pl. 57 c–d).

72. This form occurred frequently in 26th dyn. deposits and was found in the foundation deposits of Ramses IV also (see Vol. II, Pl. 56 C a).

73. Cf. Vol. II, Pl. 57 i.

74. Similar examples occurred presumably as late as the 30th dyn.

75. This form is rare at Medinet Habu.

- K* 1. Storage jar, 3 handles (only 1 indicated in drawing), disk base; coarse red clay, white wash. Found in square T 12. Apparently 26th dyn. or later.
- K* 2. Storage jar, knob for securing lid; coarse brick-red clay, light red outside, dark red painted band below rim. Found in square G 4. Date unknown.
- K* 3. Storage jar, two handles; coarse red clay, white wash. Found in square G 12. Pre-Roman.
- L* 1. Storage jar with neck; red clay, reddish wash, painted spiral decoration. Found in square E 5 let into gravel floor up to half its height. 21st–22d dyn.
- L* 2. Storage jar; finer yellowish-red clay, painted bands. Found in square F 6. *Ca.* 22d dyn.
- M* 1. Jug, 2 handles, pointed bottom; fine pink clay, smoothed outside, dark brown painted bands. Found in square O 4 in a house presumably of the 22d dyn. (see p. 8). 22d–24th dyn.
- M* 2. Jug, knob base; fine pink clay. Found in square D 13 together with *E* 2. Date unknown, apparently pre-Roman.
- M* 3. Jug, 2 upright handles; pink clay, yellowish outside, crudely made. Found in dwellings in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab in square M 2 together with *H* 2. 18th dyn., pre-Eye.⁷⁶
- N* 1. Jug, rim broken, long cylindrical neck, bulging body; red clay. Found in square G 5 together with *D* 2 etc. *Ca.* 22d dyn.
- N* 2. Jug, 4 handles; reddish clay. Found in square E 4 with *N* 5 and *V* 2. 22d dyn. or later.
- N* 3. Canopic-jar form, no lid; grayish-red clay, yellowish outside, carefully made. Found in pottery magazine in tomb-chapel of Amenirdis (see p. 23); not used as canopic jar. 25th dyn.
- N* 4. Jug, disk base; red clay, very crudely made. Found in square F 7 together with *V* 1 and a jug similar to *Q* 8. 21st–22d dyn.
- N* 5. Jug; finer red clay. Found in square E 4 together with *N* 2 and *V* 2. 22d dyn. or later.
- N* 6. Jug; grayish-yellow clay. Found in square B 3. 26th dyn. or later.
- N* 7. Similar to *N* 5 but taller; rather coarse reddish clay. Found in pottery magazine west of Tomb 16 (see p. 20). 26th dyn.
- N* 8. Similar to *N* 7 but larger; coarse red clay. Found in House 1 (see p. 16). 26th dyn.
- O* 1. Water jug; reddish-yellow clay. Found in square G 5 together with *D* 2 etc. *Ca.* 22d dyn.
- O* 2. Similar to *C* 6 but smaller; red clay. Found in square N 6 near House 1 (see p. 16) together with *P* 10–11 and *S* 1. 26th dyn.
- O* 3. Jug, 2 pairs of handles; reddish clay, whitish outside. Found in House 1 (see p. 16). 26th dyn.
- O* 4. Jug with long neck (Pl. 7 *k* 2), similar to *D* 2; finer yellowish-gray clay, whitish wash. Found in square F 5 together with *Q* 3, a jug like *Q* 7, and other small vessels (see pp. 12 f. and Pl. 7 *d, k*). 22d–24th dyn.
- P* 1. Jug; medium-fine grayish-yellow clay, red wash outside. Found with *P* 2 in trial trench in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab.⁷⁷ End of 18th dyn.
- P* 2. Jug;⁷⁸ grayish-red clay, red wash. Found with *P* 1. End of 18th dyn.
- P* 3. Jug; coarse red clay. Found in House 1 (see p. 16). 26th dyn.
- P* 4. Bottle; dark red clay, rather crudely made. Found in square E 4 near a Roman burial.⁷⁹ Date unknown.
- P* 5. Bottle; dark red clay; crudely made. Found in squares F–G 12 together with a bottle similar to *S* 2. 21st–26th dyn.
- P* 6. Bottle of same form as *D* 1; red clay. Found in deep hole in square S 13. *Ca.* 22d–26th dyn.
- P* 7–8. Jugs; medium-coarse red clay. Found in square F 7 in hole behind tomb-chapel of Shepnupet II, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet. *Ca.* 26th dyn.
- P* 9. Bottle; coarse red clay, two white painted bands. Found in square F 5. 21st–22d dyn.
- P* 10–11. Bottles; reddish-gray clay. Found with *O* 2. 26th dyn.⁸⁰
- P* 12. Bottle with long neck; light red clay. Found in square F 12. Presumably 21st–24th dyn. (cf. Pl. 7 *l*).
- Q* 1. Bottle; fine reddish clay, red wash and smoothed outside, black painted bands. Found in square F 7. 21st–25th dyn.
- Q* 2. Jug; reddish clay, whitish-gray wash outside, black painted bands. Found in square H 13. Apparently 22d–25th dyn.
- Q* 3. Jug (Pl. 7 *d* 3); light gray clay, poorly fired. Found in square F 5 together with *O* 4, a jug like *Q* 7, and other small vessels (see pp. 12 f. and Pl. 7 *d, k*). Like jug *Q* 4 it presumably served as a cooking-pot. 22d–24th dyn.
- Q* 4. Jug; yellowish-red clay, wet-smoothed outside, smoke-blackened (presumably a cooking-pot). Found in square F 4 together with *S* 2 and *T* 5. 22d dyn.
- Q* 5. Jug; grayish-red clay, red wash, carefully made. Found in square T 14. Pre-Ramses III.
- Q* 6. Jug, disk base; coarser red clay. Found in square F 5. 21st–22d dyn.
- Q* 7. Jug; rather coarse red clay. Found in square H 13 together with jugs like *O* 4 and *Q* 3. 21st–22d dyn.⁸¹
- Q* 8. Jug; red clay, light red wash outside, white and dark red painted bands. Found in square G 6. 21st–22d dyn.
- Q* 9. Jug; finer yellowish-red clay. Found in House 1 (see p. 16). 26th dyn.
- R* 1. Jug; reddish clay; presumably a cooking-pot. Found in square G 5 with *D* 2 etc. *Ca.* 22d dyn.
- R* 2. Jug; fine yellowish-gray clay, brown painted bands. Found in square F 11 together with *S* 4 and *U* 6. Estimated date, 22d dyn.
- R* 3. Jug, 3 handles, narrow flat base; reddish clay, white outside, red painted bands. Found in square G 5 together with *D* 2 etc. *Ca.* 22d dyn.
- S* 1. Bottle with ribbed neck; fine yellowish-gray clay, reddish outside. Found with *O* 2. 26th dyn.⁸²
- S* 2. Bottle with ribbed neck; coarser red clay. Found in square F 4 together with *Q* 4 and *T* 5. 22d dyn.
- S* 3. Bottle with ribbed neck (Pl. 7 *g*); fine red clay, smoothed and white wash outside, black, red, and originally blue (now green) painted bands. Found in square R 13. 21st–22d dyn.
- S* 4. Bottle with wider ribbed neck; rather coarse red clay, bright red outside. Found in square F 11 together with *R* 2 and *U* 6. Estimated date, 22d dyn.
- T* 1. Bottle (Pl. 7 *h*); fine reddish clay, whitish slip, red painted bands. Found in square P 4 in a house presumably of the 22d dyn. (see p. 8). 22d–24th dyn.
- T* 2. Bottle; porous grayish-yellow clay, rough outside. Found in square N 6 near House 1 in a large storage jar like *A* 3 together with *U* 2 and *U* 7 and numerous small objects probably from an earlier period. 26th dyn. or earlier.
- T* 3. Pitcher with foot (Pl. 7 *b* 3); fine red clay, brownish red and smoothed outside, white painted decoration. Found in square H 13 just above Ramses III level. Probably 21st dyn.
- T* 4. Pitcher, ring base; fine reddish clay, red wash, carefully made. Found in square E 4. 22d dyn.
- T* 5. Pitcher; smoke-blackened clay. Found in square F 4 together with *Q* 4 and *S* 2. 22d dyn.
- T* 6. Pitcher; red clay, painted blue all over. Found in square G 5. 21st–22d dyn.
- U*. Pilgrim flasks. In all cases the body was made of 2 shallow wheel-turned bowls, and the neck was turned separately on the wheel and then added. As a rule 2 handles were affixed, and there is usually painted decoration on the body consisting of concentric circles or spirals.
- U* 1. No handles; yellowish-red clay, whitish wash, scratched rather than painted decoration. Found in square E 5. 26th dyn. or later.
- U* 2. Body almost round in horizontal section, vestigial handles; brown clay, dark red outside. Found with *T* 2 and *U* 7. Not necessarily contemporary with *T* 2 and *U* 7, but in any case 26th dyn. or earlier.
- U* 3. Flat body; yellowish clay, brown concentric circles. Found in square H 12. 22d–26th dyn. (cf. Pl. 7 *a, c*).

76. Cf. Vol. II, Pl. 57 *a*.77. See *ibid.* p. 83.78. The same jug is shown *ibid.* Pl. 57 *k*.79. This form occurred as early as the 21st–22d dyn. (e.g. Pl. 7 *e* 1).

80. Similar types occurred as early as the 21st–22d dyn.

81. The same form occurred as early as the end of the 18th dyn. (see Vol. II, Pl. 56 *M* 5).82. Similar examples occurred as early as the 21st–22d dyn. (e.g. Pl. 7 *e* 6).

- U* 4. Long neck with flare at top; light-colored clay, crude black decoration on body and at base of handles, crude workmanship. Found in Tomb 19 (see pp. 31 f.). 25th–26th dyn.
- U* 5. Rather fine light red clay, whitish outside, dark red spiral decoration. Found in square F 4. 21st–22d dyn.
- U* 6. Material and decoration as in *U* 3. Found in square F 11 together with *R* 2 and *S* 4. Estimated date, 22d dyn.
- U* 7. Very small handles; rather coarse red clay, impressed rather than painted concentric circles. Found with *T* 2 and *U* 2. Not necessarily contemporary with *T* 2 and *U* 2, but in any case 26th dyn. or earlier.
- V* 1. Drinking flask with spout; rather coarse brownish-red clay. Found in square F 7 together with *N* 4 and a jug similar to *Q* 8. 21st–22d dyn.
- V* 2. Pot, 4 protuberances (one larger than the others and hook-shaped) perhaps for supporting pot over open hearth, disk base (Fig. 16); red clay. Found in square E 4 together with *N* 2 and *N* 5; purpose unknown. 22d dyn. or later.



FIG. 99. BOWL OF GRAYISH-RED CLAY (= PL. 47 *W* 2)

- W* 1. Platelike bowl with outcurved rim; coarser red clay, smoothed inside. Found in square Q 13. 21st dyn.⁸³
- W* 2. Bowl with modeled rim, ring base (Fig. 99); fine grayish-red clay, smoothed. Found in Tomb 20c (see p. 32). *Ca.* 26th dyn.⁸⁴
- W* 3. Bowl with incurved rim; red clay. Found in square M 4 in an old fireplace among ruins of row houses of Ramses III's layout. 21st–22d dyn.
- W* 4–5. Bowls; grayish-red clay, not smoothed. Found in pottery magazine in tomb-chapel of Amenirdis (see p. 23). 25th dyn.
- W* 6. Bowl; finer red clay. Find-spot and date the same as for *W* 4–5.
- X* 1. Bowl; finer red clay. Found with *T* 1. 22d–24th dyn.
- X* 2. Cup or bowl; rather fine red clay. Found in pottery magazine west of Tomb 16 (see p. 20). 26th dyn.
- X* 3. Cup; smoke-blackened during firing, smoothed with polishing-stone outside, handmade. Found in square E 5. 21st dyn.
- X* 4–5. Cups; coarse red clay. Found in pottery magazine in tomb-chapel of Amenirdis (see p. 23). 25th dyn.
- Y* 1. Bowl with 2 loops on bottom inside;⁸⁵ red clay. Found in square E 5 together with *E* 3. 22d dyn.
- Y* 2. Lid with knob handle; red clay. Found in pottery magazine in tomb-chapel of Amenirdis (see p. 23). 25th dyn.

POTTERY MAINLY OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM AFTER CHRIST (PL. 48)

- A'*. Storage jar, coarse clay, consisting of 3 handmade parts joined together with clay and then poorly fired; channel near top in which a 4th, tapering ring was inserted; no lid recovered. Found in square M 11⁸⁶ in cellar of a late Roman–Coptic house (unnumbered), where the main part (92 cm. high) of the vessel was let into the floor, so that the bottom was just above the Ramessid floor. The inside was coated with asphalt,

83. The same form occurred under Ramses IV (see Vol. II, Pl. 56 *C*).

84. Similar vessels occurred presumably up to the 30th dyn. and perhaps even later (cf. Pl. 48 *U'* 11).

85. Concerning the possible use of such vessels in spinning see Hjalmar Larsen in *MDIAA* X (1941) 30–32. In addition to the specimens cited by Larsen, there are bowls similar to our *Y* 1 from Tell el-Amarnah (Berlin Mus. Cat. No. 22344) and from the pre-Eye deposits at Medinet Habu (see Vol. II, Pl. 57 *u*).

86. See Folio Pls. 3–15 and 32–34 for find-spots.

and the vessel was filled with debris in which a bronze incense burner (Pl. 38:3; see p. 63, No. 14) had been hidden. Late Roman–Coptic.

- B'* 1. Storage jar, 2 knobs for securing lid(?), 2 handles, broad flat bottom; coarse red clay, wavy line impressed in wet clay below rim, black and white painted circles and festoons with pendent bands. Found in square Q 12. Roman.
- B'* 2. Storage jar, flat bottom; coarse red clay, poorly fired, faintly impressed bunches of grapes(?) below rim and large linear motif extending almost from top to bottom. Found in square O 12 just above Ramessid level together with *L'* 5–6, *M'*, *R'* 6, and clay lamp XII *b* (Pl. 40:23; see p. 71) in large kettle-like grain bin of unbaked clay let into cellar floor of a house which had almost completely disappeared (Fig. 100). Late Roman–Coptic.
- C'* 1. Storage jar, 2 small loops below rim; red clay, black and white painted decoration. Found in Tomb 20b (see p. 32). Presumably 26th dyn. (cf. *C* 3 of 21st–22d dyn.).
- C'* 2. Storage jar, 2 handles, ring base; coarse reddish clay, whitish wash, crude red painted decoration. Found in square B 4 together with *N'* 2. *Ca.* 2d century.
- C'* 3. Storage jar, ring base; material and decoration as for *C'* 2. Found in square H 12. Pre-Roman?
- C'* 4. Storage jar, 3 small loops presumably for securing lid, ring base; light red clay, incised bands. Found in square Q 11. Roman.
- C'* 5. Storage jar; coarser red clay, whitish wash outside. Found in square B 5. Late Roman.
- D'*. Mixing bowl(?), ring base; red clay, dark red wash, painted with blackish-red lines and white dots. Found in square A 6. Late Roman.
- E'* 1. Water jug (*cadus*), knob base; coarse red clay. Found with *H'* 5 in left sacristy of small Coptic church in squares B 7–8. It was let into the stone pavement up to its rim and contained bowl *U'* 4. Coptic.

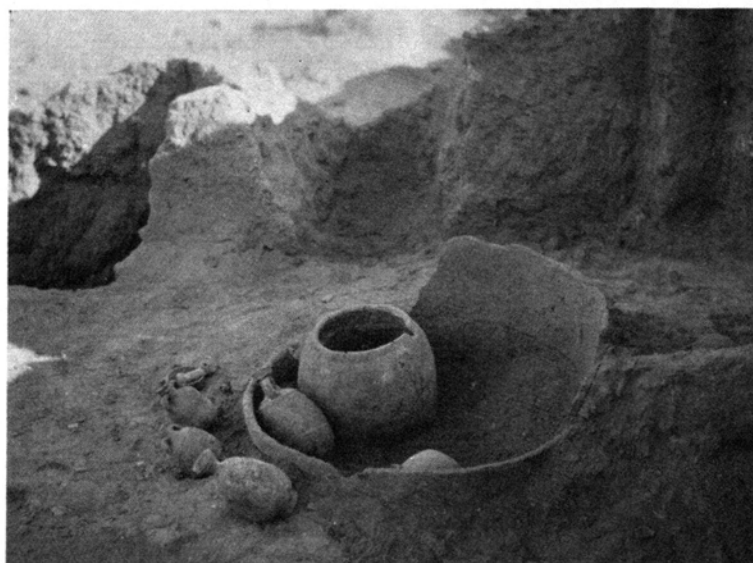


FIG. 100. GROUP OF LATE ROMAN TO COPTIC CLAY VESSELS FOUND IN A
LARGE GRAIN BIN OF UNBAKED CLAY

- E'* 2. Water jug (*cadus*), knob base; coarser red clay, white wash. Found in square B 5. Late Roman.
- F'* 1. Amphora; finer pale reddish clay, wet-smoothed and whitish outside. Found in square T 14 in Roman stratum, probably intrusive. Assigned to end of New Kingdom.⁸⁷
- F'* 2. Amphora; coarse brown clay, rough. Found in squares M–N 11. Late Roman–Coptic.
- F'* 3. Amphora; fine reddish clay, yellow wash. Found in square M 11. Late Roman.
- G'* 1. Amphora; finer brown clay, smoothed outside. Found in square B 3. Roman.
- G'* 2. Amphora; material like that of *G'* 1. Found in square B 6. Roman.

87. Cf. Vol. II, Pl. 57 *e* and p. 83.

- G'3. Amphora; coarser brown clay, slightly smoothed outside, coated with asphalt inside, mud stopper in place; twig (*ca.* 25 cm. long) with withered leaves of *Persea* (*Mimusops schimperi*) stuck in neck.⁸⁸ Found in shaft of Roman domed tomb No. 66 (see p. 43 and Folio Pl. 34 in square N 5). Latter half of 3d century.
- G'4. Amphora; brown clay, rough. Found not *in situ*. Late Roman-Coptic.
- G'5. Amphora; hard brown clay, rough outside, coated with asphalt inside. Found in square Q 10. Late Roman-Coptic.
- H'1. Cooking-pot; red clay, not smoothed, well fired. Found in square A 6. Late Roman.
- H'2. Cooking-pot; material like that of H' 1. Found in square B 4. Late Roman.
- H'3. Cooking-pot, 2 handles; material like that of H' 1. Found in square Q 12. Coptic.⁸⁹
- H'4. Cooking-pot, 2 handles; material like that of H' 1, upper half with white wash. Found in square M 12. Late Roman.
- H'5. Cooking-pot, 4 handles; grayish-red clay. Found with E' 1 etc. Coptic.
- H'6. Cooking-pot; coarser red clay, not smoothed. Found in square B 4. *Ca.* 3d century.
- I'1. Pot with ring base; coarser red clay, upper half with white wash. Found in square B 4. Late Roman-Coptic.
- I'2. Pot with ring base; coarse red clay, yellow wash, black decoration. Found in square C 5. Late Roman-Coptic.
- I'3. Pot with ring base, 2 handles; red clay. Found in square C 5. Late Roman-Coptic.
- J'1. Jar, broad rim, ring base; coarse brownish-red clay, dark red wash outside. Found in square B 3 in stratum above bathroom described on page 38. Late Roman.
- J'2. Pitcher, convex bottom; coarse red clay. Found in square H 11. Apparently pre- or early Roman.
- K'1. Small jar, 2 handles, disk base; coarse brownish-red clay, not smoothed. Found in square B 5. Coptic.
- K'2. Small jar, 2 handles; material like that of K' 1. Found in square B 6. Late Roman-Coptic.
- K'3. Small jar, 2 handles, ring base; coarse brownish-red clay, smoke-blackened outside. Found in square C 5. Late Roman-Coptic.
- K'4. Small pot, 2 handles, rounded bottom; coarse red clay; apparently used for cooking. Found in square C 5. Late Roman-Coptic.
- K'5. Small pot, 4 handles, rounded bottom; coarse red clay. Found in square B 4. Late Roman-Coptic.
- L'1. Bottle, 2 handles, ring base; fine red clay, dark red wash, black painted blobs. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- L'2. Bottle, 2 handles, slightly rounded bottom; rather coarse yellow clay, not smoothed. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- L'3. Bottle, rim broken, 4 handles, ring base; yellow clay, not smoothed. Found in square O 11 in House 31 (see p. 50). Coptic.
- L'4. Bottle (*qullah*), sieve in neck, 2 handles, ring base; red clay, brown outside. Found in square P 12 in cellar of House 56 (see Folio Pl. 32). Coptic.
- L'5-6. Bottles, 2 handles, ring base; red clay, red wash, black painted lines. Found in square O 12 together with B' 2 etc. Late Roman-Coptic.
- L'7. Bottle, 2 handles, disk base; brownish-red clay, yellowish-gray wash. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, used (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- L'8. Bottle, 2 handles, ring base; fine yellowish clay, red outside, smoothed; imitation terra sigillata. Found in square P 11 in debris of a destroyed early Coptic house (unnumbered). Late Roman-Coptic.
- L'9. Pilgrim flask (cf. Pl. 47 U 1-7); reddish-gray clay, whitish outside, smoothed. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- M'. Bottle (*qullah*), ring base; finer light red clay, slightly smoothed and pink outside. Found in square O 12 together with B' 2 etc. Late Roman-Coptic.
- N'1. Pitcher, slightly drawn-out pouring lip; hard dark red clay, not smoothed, impressed decoration on neck. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- N'2. Pitcher, no pouring lip; coarser gray clay, smoothed. Found in square B 4 together with C' 2. *Ca.* 2d century.
- N'3. Pitcher, pouring lip, ring base; brownish clay, white wash. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- N'4. Pitcher, pouring lip, ring base; dark red clay, not smoothed, upper half with white wash. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- N'5. Pitcher, narrow mouth, no pouring lip; light red clay. Found in square M 11 in debris under Coptic houses. Late Roman.
- N'6. Pitcher, no pouring lip; light gray clay, whitish wash. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- N'7. Pitcher, no pouring lip, ring base; finer light red clay, light red wash. Found in square A 5. Late Roman-Coptic.
- N'8. Pitcher, no pouring lip, ring base; material like that of N' 7. Found in debris.
- N'9. Pitcher, pouring lip, concave bottom; finer light red clay, smoothed outside. Found in square C 5 in debris outside Ramses III's Outer Wall. Late Roman.
- N'10. Pitcher, no pouring lip, ring base; finer reddish-gray clay, red wash, smoothed, 4 black painted bands; imitation terra sigillata. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- N'11. Pitcher, pouring lip, ring base; light red clay, not smoothed, well fired. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, used (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- N'12. Pitcher, pouring lip, ring base; fine light red clay, red wash, smoothed. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, used (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- N'13. Pitcher, no pouring lip, ring base; fine light red clay, light red wash, smoothed. Found in upper stratum of Roman cemetery, used. Presumably 4th century.
- N'14. Pitcher, no pouring lip, rim broken, ring base; coarser red clay. Found in square B 5 together with I' 2. Late Roman-Coptic.
- N'15. Pitcher, no pouring lip, ring base; very soft light red clay, smoothed outside, black painted decoration, smoke-blackened. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- O'1. Jug, drinking spout, 2 handles; whitish clay, not smoothed. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- O'2. Jug, drinking spout, 2 handles; red clay, not smoothed, upper half with white wash. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- O'3. Jug, sieve in neck, drinking spout, 2 handles; brown clay, white wash outside, crudely made. Found in debris in temple precinct of Eye and Harmhab in square C 6 (see Folio Pl. 33). Late Roman-Coptic.
- O'4. Jug, sieve in neck, drinking spout, 2 handles; gray clay, yellow wash. Found in square B 4. Late Roman-Coptic.
- O'5. Jug, drinking spout, 2 handles; red clay, white wash. Found in square O 13 in debris under a Coptic house. Late Roman-early Coptic.
- O'6. Jug, sieve in neck, drinking spout, 2 handles; red clay. Found in square A 5. Late Roman-Coptic.
- P'1. Cooking-pot; hard brownish-red fireproof clay, smoke-blackened underneath. Found with U' 7 as lid in square P 11 in cellar of a destroyed Coptic house together with P' 3 and R' 9. Coptic.⁹⁰
- P'2. Cooking-pot (cf. H' 1); coarse red clay, black painted decoration. Found in square K 11. Late Roman.

88. Drawing of leaf shown beside neck of G' 3 on Pl. 48.

89. A similar type was found in a domed tomb in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

90. Similar pots were found in domed tombs in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

- P'3.* Cooking-pot; red clay, smoke-blackened. Found in square P 11 together with *P'1* etc. Coptic.
- P'4-5.* Bowls with semiglobular depressions in sides; whitish clay, not smoothed. Found in doomed tombs in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- Q'1.* Bowl, ring base; coarse red clay, 2 black painted bands. Found in square B 4. Late Roman.
- Q'2.* Bowl, ring base; rather coarse light red clay, dark red wash, 2 black painted bands. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- Q'3.* Bowl, ring base; red clay, not smoothed outside, dark red wash and smoothed inside. Found in square T 7 in House 125 (see Folio Pl. 32). Late Roman-Coptic.
- Q'4.* Bowl, ring base; brownish clay, white wash, decorated with small applied hemispheres. Found in square N 12 beneath Coptic houses. Late Roman-early Coptic.
- Q'5.* Bowl, ring base; red clay, whitish wash, impressed decoration. Found in square B 5 together with *U'11*. Late Roman-Coptic.
- Q'6.* Bowl, ring base; fine light red clay, light red wash, smoothed; imitation terra sigillata. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, used (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- Q'7.* Bowl, flat base; coarser red clay, grooved below rim. Found in square B 5. Late Roman.⁹¹
- Q'8.* Bowl, ring base; finer dark red clay, smoothed.⁹² Found in squares B-C 5. Late Roman-Coptic.
- Q'9.* Bowl, ring base; rather fine red clay, not smoothed, painted festoons. Found in square T 13 in House 104 (see p. 51). Coptic.
- Q'10.* Bowl, flat base; gray clay, whitish wash. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, used⁹³ (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- Q'11.* Bowl, ring base; coarse red clay, smoke-blackened inside. Found in square B 3. Coptic.
- Q'12.* Bowl, convex bottom; finer red clay, red wash. Found in square C 5 together with *W'1*. Late Roman-Coptic.
- Q'13.* Trough, flat bottom; coarse red clay. Found in square B 4. Late Roman-Coptic.
- R'1.* Bowl, ring base; coarse red clay, smoke-blackened outside. Found with *U'19* in square O 10 in mud storage vessel. Late Roman.
- R'2.* Bowl, ring base; coarser red clay, dark red wash. Found in square A 6. Late Roman.⁹⁴
- R'3.* Bowl, ring base; yellowish-white porous clay, not smoothed. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- R'4.* Bowl, flat base; finer red clay, dark red wash. Found in square B 4. Late Roman-Coptic.
- R'5.* Bowl, ring base; finer light red clay, 2 dark red painted bands. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- R'6.* Bowl with foot; red clay, dark red wash inside, very crude. Found in square O 12 together with *B'2* etc. Late Roman-Coptic.
- R'7.* Bowl, ring base; red clay, red wash, smoothed, well fired. Found in square C 5. Late Roman.
- R'8.* Bowl, ring base; hard red clay. Found in squares N 11-12 in debris under fallen Coptic houses. Late Roman.⁹⁴
- R'9.* Bowl, convex bottom; reddish-gray clay, smoke-blackened outside. Found with *P'1* etc. Coptic.⁹⁴
- R'10.* Bowl, convex bottom; hard red clay, smoke-blackened outside. Found in square B 5 together with *U'1* and a bowl like *T'3*. Late Roman.
- R'11.* Bowl, convex bottom; hard brown clay, not smoothed. Found in squares M-N 11. Late Roman-Coptic.
- S'1.* Bowl, ring base; reddish clay, light red wash outside. Found in square B 6. Late Roman-Coptic.⁹⁵
- S'2.* Bowl, ring base; whitish clay. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- S'3.* Bowl, flat base; material, find-spot, and date as for *S'2*.
- S'4.* Bowl, flat base; reddish clay. Found in square O 13 in debris under fallen Coptic houses. Late Roman.⁹⁶
- S'5.* Bowl, ring base; material, find-spot, and date as for *S'2*; unused.
- S'6.* Bowl, ring base; red clay, white wash, black painted wavy band. Found in square N 11 beneath Coptic houses. Late Roman.
- S'7.* Bowl, ring base; coarser red clay, black painted decoration. Found in square A 5. Late Roman.
- S'8.* Bowl, ring base; finer reddish-yellow clay, black painted decoration. Found in square F 8. Apparently late Roman.
- T'1.* Bowl with ridge at bottom of rim, ring base; reddish clay, impressed decoration on rim. Found in square S 12 in loose debris. Late Roman-Coptic.
- T'2.* Similar bowl without decoration on rim; fine red clay, smoothed outside and inside. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery, unused (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- T'3.* Bowl, flat base; red clay, bright red wash, smoke-blackened inside. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- T'4.* Similar bowl with taller rim; hard red clay. Found in square Q 11 in House 113 (see Folio Pl. 32) together with *V'4*. Coptic.
- T'5.* Similar bowl with larger ridge; red clay. Found in square M 12 in cellar of House 11 (see Folio Pl. 32). Coptic.
- T'6.* Similar bowl with convex bottom; grayish-red clay. Found in square G 13. Apparently Roman.
- T'7.* Similar bowl with taller rim; red clay. Found in square G 13. Apparently 1st century.
- T'8.* Similar but taller bowl with ledge near convex bottom; red clay. Found in square H 11. Post-Saitic-Roman.
- U'1.* Bowl, flat bottom; red clay, dark red wash. Found in square B 5 together with *R'10* and a bowl like *T'3*. Late Roman.
- U'2.* Bowl, convex bottom; red clay. Found in square O 11 under House 31 (see p. 50). Late Roman-Coptic.⁹⁷
- U'3.* Bowl, convex bottom; coarse red clay. Found in square B 4 together with *U'17* below pavement of street. Roman.
- U'4.* Bowl, ring base; finer light red clay, dark red slip; imitation terra sigillata. Found in jug *E'1*. Coptic.
- U'5.* Bowl, concave bottom; reddish clay. Found in square O 13 beneath Coptic houses. Late Roman.
- U'6.* Bowl, small ring base; finer light red clay, impressed decoration on rim. Found in square B 3 together with *X'4*. Late Roman.
- U'7.* Bowl with broad flat rim, rounded bottom; finer light red clay, smoothed. Found in square P 11 as lid on cooking-pot *P'1*. Coptic.
- U'8.* Bowl with overhanging rim, ring base; red clay. Found in square N 11. Coptic.
- U'9.* Bowl, flat bottom; light red clay, light red slip; imitation terra sigillata. Found in square B 6. Late Roman.
- U'10.* Bowl; material like that of *U'9*; imitation terra sigillata; incised cross on floor (as shown beside drawing on Pl. 48).⁹⁸ Found in square C 6. Coptic.
- U'11.* Bowl; coarser red clay. Found in square B 5 together with *Q'5*. Late Roman-Coptic.
- U'12.* Bowl with angular profile; red clay. Found in square N 12 beneath Coptic houses. Late Roman.
- U'13.* Bowl, narrow flat base; material, find-spot, and date as for *U'11*.
- U'14.* Bowl, ring base; coarser red clay, smoothed inside. Found in square T 7. Late Roman.

91. Similar bowls were found in domed tombs in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

92. Similar examples are decorated with black painted bands (see e.g. *Q'1*).

93. Other examples were unused.

94. Similar bowls were found in domed tombs in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

95. Similar types were found in domed tombs in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

96. A second example from the same find-spot and presumably of the same date is made of yellowish clay. Similar types were found in domed tombs in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

97. Similar bowls were found in domed tombs in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

98. A Coptic plate (almost 32 cm. in diameter) has a more complicated design on the floor (Fig. 101).



FIG. 101. FRAGMENT OF COPTIC IMITATION TERRA SIGILLATA PLATE

- U'15. Bowl, ring base; coarser brownish-red clay, dark red wash outside. Found in square B 6. Late Roman-Coptic.
- U'16. Shallow bowl, almost vertical walls, flat bottom, ring base; yellowish-red clay. Found in square N 13 beneath Coptic houses. Late Roman.
- U'17. Bowl, convex bottom, traces suggesting a grip (or perhaps a defect resulting from firing); coarse brownish-red clay, smoke-blackened underneath. Found in square B 4 together with U' 3. Roman.
- U'18. Bowl, flat base, thick-walled; coarse reddish clay, 2 narrow white and 2 broad black painted bands near rim inside. Found in squares N-O 10-11 in ruins of House 32 (see p. 50). Coptic.
- U'19a-g. Rim fragments of plates and bowls; imitation terra sigillata. Found in square O 10 in large mud storage vessel along with R' 1. Late Roman.
- V'1. Goblet, ring base; whitish clay, not smoothed. Found in square B 4. Late Roman.
- V'2. Goblet, ring base; coarser red clay, whitish wash. Found in square B 5 together with N' 14. Late Roman-Coptic.
- V'3. Cup; reddish-gray clay, whitish wash. Found in square B 5. Late Roman.⁹⁹
- V'4. Cup with neck; finer light red clay. Found in House 113 (see Folio Pl. 32) together with T' 4. Coptic.⁹⁹
- V'5. Beaker with ridged body; coarse red clay. Found in square B 5. Late Roman-Coptic.¹⁰⁰
- V'6. Goblet, basket handle, very crude; coarse pink clay, not smoothed, poorly fired. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- V'7. Cup, basket handle; coarse red clay, covered with thick whitish paint. Found in square A 5. Late Roman.¹⁰⁰
- V'8. Bottle, 1 handle, very crude; coarse brown clay, light red outside. Found in square B 6. Late Roman-Coptic.¹⁰⁰
- W'1. Jar; whitish clay. Found in square C 5 together with Q' 12. Late Roman-Coptic.
- W'2. Jar, flat base; coarse red clay. Found in square B 5. Late Roman-Coptic.
- W'3. Jar, rounded bottom; yellowish clay. Found in debris in square H 11 with W' 4. Date unknown, perhaps pre-Roman.
- W'4. Jar, flat bottom; finer reddish clay, black painted bands on neck. Found in square H 11 together with W' 3 and presumably contemporary with it.

99. Similar types were found in domed tombs in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

- X'1. Bottle, 1 handle, flat base; rather coarse light pink clay, no wash. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- X'2. Bottle, ring base; finer red clay, dark red wash. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- X'3. Squat bottle with narrow neck; light red clay, vermillion wash. Found in square A 5. Late Roman.
- X'4. Squat bottle with narrow neck; finer reddish clay. Found in square B 3 together with U' 6. Late Roman.
- X'5. Bottle, neck broken, disk base; fine light red clay; imitation terra sigillata. Found in a domed tomb in Roman cemetery (see p. 43). Latter half of 3d century.
- Y'1. Basket-like bowl, apparently an oil lamp;¹⁰¹ coarse red clay. Found in square C 5. Roman.
- Y'2. Cup-shaped lamp(?), perforation in rim and corresponding perforation in body at point of maximum diameter, probably for suspension; coarse red clay. Found in squares C-D 12 in trial trench. Late Roman.
- Y'3. Double-cupped lamp(?), basket handle; coarse red clay. Found in square D 12 under Coptic houses. Late Roman.
- Y'4. Seven-cupped lamp(?), basket handle; coarser red clay. Found with Y' 11 west of site of first pylon of temple of Harmhab in square C 6 (see Folio Pl. 33) in uppermost stratum. Late Roman.
- Y'5. Teapot-shaped lamp, handle, long smoke-blackened spout (cf. clay lamps X a-d; p. 70); grayish-yellow clay. Found in squares F-G 12 in uppermost stratum. Late Roman.
- Y'6. Beaker-like lamp(?), flaring rim pinched to form lip; coarse clay. Found in square F 8 in debris in uppermost stratum. Date unknown.
- Y'7. Dipper; rather coarse red clay, darker red slip outside. Found in debris in square M 2. Date unknown.¹⁰²

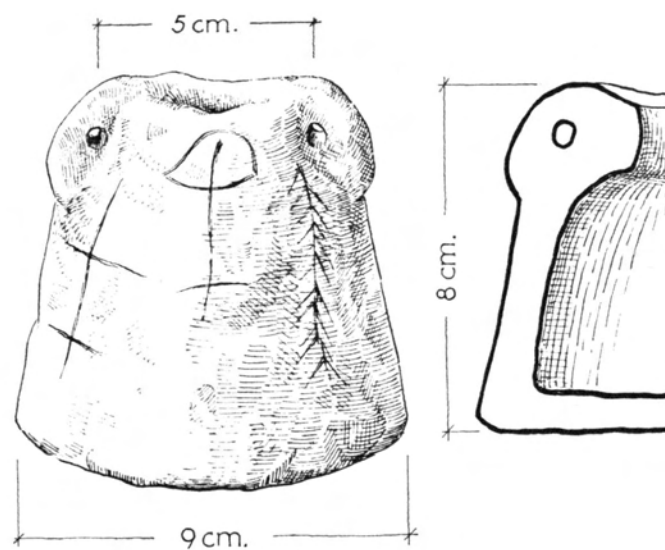


FIG. 102. HANDMADE CLAY JAR OF THE COPTIC PERIOD (= PL. 48 Y' 8)

- Y'8. Jar with 2 perforated handles (Fig. 102); grayish-red clay, poorly fired, handmade, scratched decoration. Found in square O 10 among remains of Coptic foundation walls. Coptic.
- Y'9. Goblet-shaped censer (Fig. 103); red clay, handmade, traces of burning inside, scratched decoration. Found in squares G-H 11. Late Roman-Coptic.

100. Similar vessels were found in domed tombs in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

101. Since Y' 1-4 and 6 show no traces of oil or marks of burning, it is not certain that they were used as lamps.

102. A similar dipper was found in a domed tomb in the Roman cemetery (see p. 43); latter half of 3d century.

THE OBJECTS



FIG. 103. CLAY CENSER (= PL. 48 Y' 9)

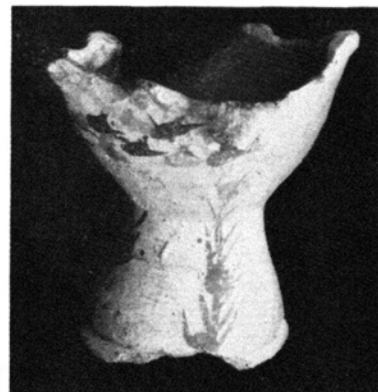


FIG. 104. CLAY CENSER (= PL. 48 Y' 10)

Y'10. Goblet-shaped censer (Fig. 104), foot turned, approximately square cup pinched on 4 sides, scalloped rim; rather coarse red clay, light red wash outside, black and red painted decoration, smoke-blackened inside. Found in upper stratum of Roman cemetery. 4th century or later.

Y'11. Tall censer(?); yellow clay, red outside painted with dark red bands and black motif. Found with Y' 4. Late Roman.

Z'1. Fragment of double basin (Fig. 105), total length *ca.* 18 cm.; coarse brownish-gray clay, Coptic inscription scratched on exterior wall, Christus monogram on rim at each end of partition, stylus impressions on floor. Found in rubbish. Coptic. Cairo J 59778.

Z'2. Vessel of unknown purpose (Fig. 106), 9.5 cm. high, 23 cm. in diameter, floor rises toward central hole (2 cm. in diameter), holes 3 cm. in diameter in vertical walls; coarse brownish-red

clay, whitish outside. Found in square B 5. Late Roman-Coptic.

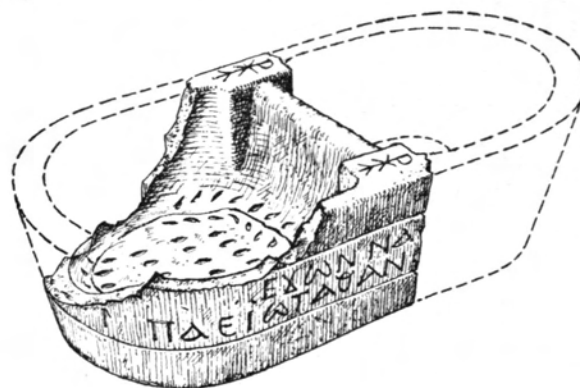


FIG. 105. DOUBLE BASIN OF CLAY WITH COPTIC INSCRIPTION

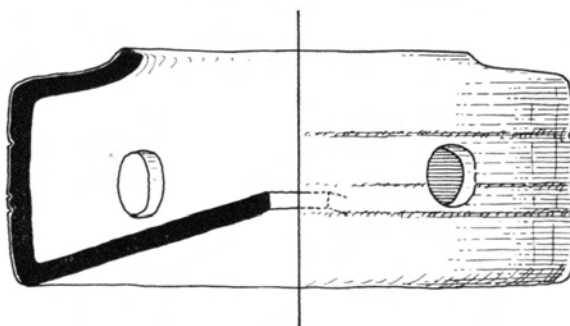


FIG. 106. CLAY VESSEL OF UNKNOWN PURPOSE

INDEX

- Achoris, 20, 24
 acroteria, 60
 Ahmose, 61
 Ahmose-Nefertere, 5
 Akhamonerow, 28
 Allen, T. George, 61
 altars, 43, 56, 59
 ʿAmarnah, Tell el-, 74
 Amenemopet, 11
 Amenhotep, high priest, 1
 Amenhotep son of Hapu, 62
 Amenhotep I, 5
 Amenhotep III, 5, 6, 10, 37
 Amenirdis, 16–24, 26–28, 30, 72–74
 Amenirdis II, 18
 Amenmose, 10
 Amenrud, 17, 32
 Amon, 2, 3, 5, 8, 17–20, 24, 31–33, 58, 61, 62
 amulets, 31
 Aniba, 22
 ʿAnkhamenirdis, 17, 22, 32
 ʿAnkhnes-Neferibre, 17, 18, 23, 27–29, 31
 ʿAnkhshepnupet, 17, 19, 22, 31, 61
 Anthes, Rudolf, 10, 17–19, 30, 32, 58, 61, 64
 Antoninus Pius, 36
 Anubis, 22, 44, 58
 arches, 29–30, 38, 40, 42, 46, 49, 50, 54–56;
 see also vaults
 archivolts, 55, 56
 Armant, 53
 arrowheads, 6, 66
 Arundale, Francis, 52
 Augustus, 29
 awls, 65
 awnings, 47
 axes, 65

 baked-brick construction, 5, 8, 32, 36, 38–42,
 45–47, 49–51, 55, 56
 baked-brick ornamentation, 47, 50
 baptismal fonts, 52, 54, 55
 barrel vaults, *see* vaults
 Barsanti, Alexandre, 24
 basilicas, 40, 53, 54, 56
 bast cords, 44
 bathrooms, 38
 bathtubs, 38
 beads, 19, 20, 31–33, 64
 Beato, A., 52
 bed models, 11–12
 bedroom, 8
 bedstead, 22, 23
 benches, 43, 56, 57
 Berlin Museum, 12, 32, 74
 Bes figures, 11, 58
 bit, snaffle, 66
 blades, 65
 boating scenes, 11–12
 Book of the Dead, 32, 61

 Borchardt, Ludwig, 10
 boxes, 27, 31, 32
 bracelets, 65
 bread loaves, models, 32
 Breasted, James Henry, xiii, 1, 5, 8, 18
 brick sizes, 3–7, 9, 14, 18–20, 34, 36, 39, 40,
 43, 45, 51, 55, 56
 brick stamps, 4, 6
 bridle, 66
 British Museum, 28, 29, 52
 Bubastis, 6
 Bubastite dynasty, 8, 18
 burial customs, 20, 22, 42–44, 57
 Burton Collection, 52
 Butehamon, 1, 4–5

 Cairo Museum, 5, 6, 10–12, 19, 23, 26–28,
 30–32, 43, 55, 58, 60–66, 68–71, 78
 Camp, Maxime du, 52
 canopic jars, 9, 10, 17, 19, 23, 30–33
 capitals, *see* columns
 cellars, 16, 18, 37, 39, 45–47, 49–51
 cemeteries, 14, 42–44; *see also* graves and
 tombs
 censers, 63, 74, 78
 Černý, Jaroslav, 1, 10
 chain, 64
 chisels, 65–66
 Christian remains, 43, 44, 51–57; *see also*
 churches and Coptic period
 Christus monogram, 47, 49, 50, 78
 churches, 39, 51–57, 64, 74
 Clédat, Jean, 53
 coffins, 9, 10, 19, 20, 23, 26, 28, 29, 31–33, 43,
 57
 coins, 17, 33, 37, 44, 50
 columns, 4, 5, 7, 20, 24, 51–56, 60, 66
 cones, inscribed, 62
 consoles, 47, 59–61
 Constantine, 37
 Constantinus, 44
 Coptic period, 34, 36, 37, 40, 42, 45–61, 63–71,
 74–78
 cords, 44
 crosses, 43, 46, 49, 56, 57, 59–64, 69, 76
 Crum, W. E., 62
 crypts, 17, 22, 26, 27, 29
 cupboards, 46, 49–51
 cymbal, 63

 Daressy, Georges, 3, 17, 18, 20, 23, 24, 28,
 32–34, 36, 52, 55, 62
 dates, 44
 Deir Abu Fanah, 53
 Deir el-Bahri, 19
 Deir el-Medinah, 1, 26, 28
 Demotic ostraca, 39
 Denderah, 53, 54
 Derry, Douglas E., 10

 Didyma, 59
 Diēse-hebsed, 17, 30
 Diocletian, 37, 44
 Disnub, 17, 31
 “divine consort,” 17, 27, 31
 “divine votress,” 17, 27
 Djat-n-kamit, 33
 domes, 40, 42–44
 Domitian, 36, 37, 40
 doom palm, 49
 doors, 47, 59
 doorsockets, 47, 51
 dwellings, 4–8, 10, 14–16, 37–39, 45–51, 59–61,
 63–66, 69–77

 earrings, 31, 44, 64, 65
 Edgerton, William F., 39
 Eighteenth Dynasty, 34, 72–74
 Epiphany, 54
 escutcheon plates, 66
 Ethiopian kings, 14, 18, 22; *see also* Twenty-
 fifth to Twenty-sixth dynasties

 Fabretti, Ariodante, 5
 fabrics, 44
 falcon heads, 10, 23, 31
 Faria, Guiilio, 5
 figurines, 33, 58
 fishhooks, 66
 fonts, baptismal, 52, 54, 55
 fortifications, 1–3, 6, 36, 45
 Frith, Francis, 52
 funerary texts, 19, 20, 27

 Gauthier, Henri, 8, 10, 32
 glass objects, 32, 44, 64, 71
 grain bins, 7, 16, 34, 71, 74; *see also* storage
 vessels
 Granger, 52
 graves, 43–44, 56–57, 69; *see also* tombs
 Greek inscriptions, 44, 59, 61
 Griffith, F. Ll., 52
 grinding-stones, 16, 23
 ground water level in antiquity, 8
 Guidi, Ignazio, 54

 Hadrian, 37
 hammers, 23, 66
H^c-m-wr, 62
 “hand of the god,” 17, 27
 hand mill, 49
 Hapu, 62
 Harakhte, 10
 Haroeris, 10
 Harpocrates, 58
 harpoon heads, 66
 hatchets, 65
 Hathor, 20, 22
 Hay Collection, 52

- headrests, 11, 57
 heating systems, 38
 Hellenistic period, 33, 43, 54, 67
 Hentmire^c, 10
 Heraclius, 50
 Herihor, 1
 Hermonthis, 29
 Hermopolis, 43
 hinges, 32, 63, 64
hnw, 32
 Hölscher, Uvo, 10, 36, 52
 Hölscher, Wilhelm, 28
 Horsiēse, 8, 10, 14, 16, 18, 26, 32
 Horus, 10, 20, 31, 32, 58; figures of four sons of ———, 20, 31, 32
 houses, *see* dwellings
 Hyksos period, 23

 inlays, 19, 32, 33, 44, 65
 Inmutef, 27
 inscriptions, 1, 3–6, 8–10, 16, 19, 20, 22–24, 27–32, 34, 37, 44, 47, 49, 50, 58, 59, 61, 62, 71, 72, 78
ꜥIn-ḥ-nb, 61
 Isis, 10, 27

 jar-stands, 8, 13, 16
 jar-stoppers, 32, 33, 61–62
 Jēme, 45–57
 jewelry, 31, 64–65

 Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin, 69
 Karnak, 8
 Kashta, 18, 22
 Keimer, Ludwig, 44, 63
 key ring, 66
 keys, 66
 keystones, 56, 60
 Khamwese, 24
khoker frieze, 22
 Khonsu, 24
 kilns, 16, 40
 knives, 65

 labels, mummy, 44
 ladles, 64
 lamps, 33, 63–64, 66–71, 74, 77
 Lanzlone, R. V., 5
 Larsen, Hjalmar, 74
 leather, 64–66
 Legrain, Georges, 8
 Lepsius, Richard, xiii, 3, 5, 36
 Libya, 6, 18
 Lichtheim, Miriam, 18, 28
 lighting, 20, 34, 45, 51; *see also* windows
 lintels, 46, 49, 51, 58, 59
 lions, representations of, 37, 43, 47, 58–61
 loom weights, 16
 Louvre, Paris, 8

 magazines, *see* storehouses
 Malqata, 6
 Mareotis, 53
 Mariette, Auguste, 45
 market (basilica), 40, 56
 Maspero, Gaston, 5, 26
 matting, 23
 measures, 66
 meat offering, 44

 Mehetnusekhet, 17, 18, 23, 24, 26–29, 73
 Memnon, 37
 memorial stone, 59
 Memphis, 64
 Mentuemhet, 62
 Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 23
 Meyer, Eduard, 8, 17, 18
 Middle Kingdom, 22–23
 Miletus, 59
 Minmes, 4
 “mistress (= wife) in the House of Amon,” 17, 31
 moat, 36
 models, 11, 32
 molds for inlays, 33
 monkey skeletons, 30, 31
 Monneret de Villard, Ugo, 51–55
 Montet, Pierre, 10
 mortar, 16, 19, 38, 40, 46, 55
 Mosley, Geoffrey, 52
 Moss, Rosalind B., xiii, 18, 24, 36
Mr-ḥ-Imn, 30
 mummies, 10, 31–33, 43–44
 Mut, 20, 24

 Nagel, Georges, 29
Nb(t?)-ḥmw-m-ḥt, 19
 Nebma^cre^c, *see* Amenhotep III
 necklace, 31
 Nectanebo I, 31, 37
 Nectanebo II, 34
 needles, 65
 Neit, 27
 Neith . . . , 17, 31
 Nephthys, 27
 Nester, 17, 32
 New Kingdom, 10, 24, 61, 66, 72, 74
 niches, 4, 8, 9, 27, 46, 49–51, 55
 Nile god, 23
 Nilometer, 34
 Nineteenth Dynasty, 34
 Nitocris, 17, 18, 22–24, 26–31, 73
 nomes, representations of, 20, 22
 Nubia, 10, 22, 23
 Nut, 31

 offering scenes, 22, 27, 37
 offering tables, 23, 28
 offering-tablet, 31
 ornaments, 64
 Orcurti, Pier-Camillo, 5
 Oriental Institute Museum, Chicago, 6, 10–12, 19, 23, 27, 28, 30–33, 58, 61–71
 orientation of buildings, 51; *see also* burial customs
 Osiris, 17, 27, 30, 32, 33, 62
 Osorkon, high priest, 8
 Osorkon II, 8, 32
 Osorkon III, 17–19, 32
 ostraca, 17, 34, 39
 Ostracine, 53
 ovens, 5, 10–11
 overseer ushabtiu, 10, 19, 27, 28, 30, 33

 painted decoration, 10–13, 19, 20, 22, 23, 31–34, 43, 44, 56–58, 61, 71–78
 palm leaves, 44
 Panedjem I, 3, 5, 36

 papyrus fragments, 23
 Papyrus Harris I, 1
 Papyrus Salt, 10
 Paser, 4, 61
 Pausanias, 36
 pectoral fragment, 64
 pedestals, 43, 56–57
 Peet, T. Eric, 1
 Pemontu, 29
 pendants, 64
Persea (Mimusops schimperi), 43, 44, 75
 Persian conquest, 28
 Petrie, W. M. Flinders, 67–71
 pets, 30, 31
 Picankh, 3, 5, 16, 18, 22
 Phillips, Catherine Shaw, 51
 plaque, inscribed, 16
 plaster, 38, 39, 41, 43, 47, 50, 51, 55
 pomegranates, 44
 Porter, Bertha, xiii, 18, 24, 36
 potters' marks, 12, 13, 67–69, 72
 pottery, 6, 8, 12–13, 16, 20, 22, 23, 26, 31–33, 37, 42, 43, 50, 51, 55, 66–78; ——— magazines in tombs, 20, 22, 23, 26, 72–74
 Probus, 44
 Psamtik I, 18, 23, 24
 Psamtik II, 18
 Ptolemaic period, 8, 16, 17, 28, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 43, 72
 Ptolemy VII Euergetes II, 36
 Pyramid Texts, 20

 Qift, 10
 Quibell, J. E., 53

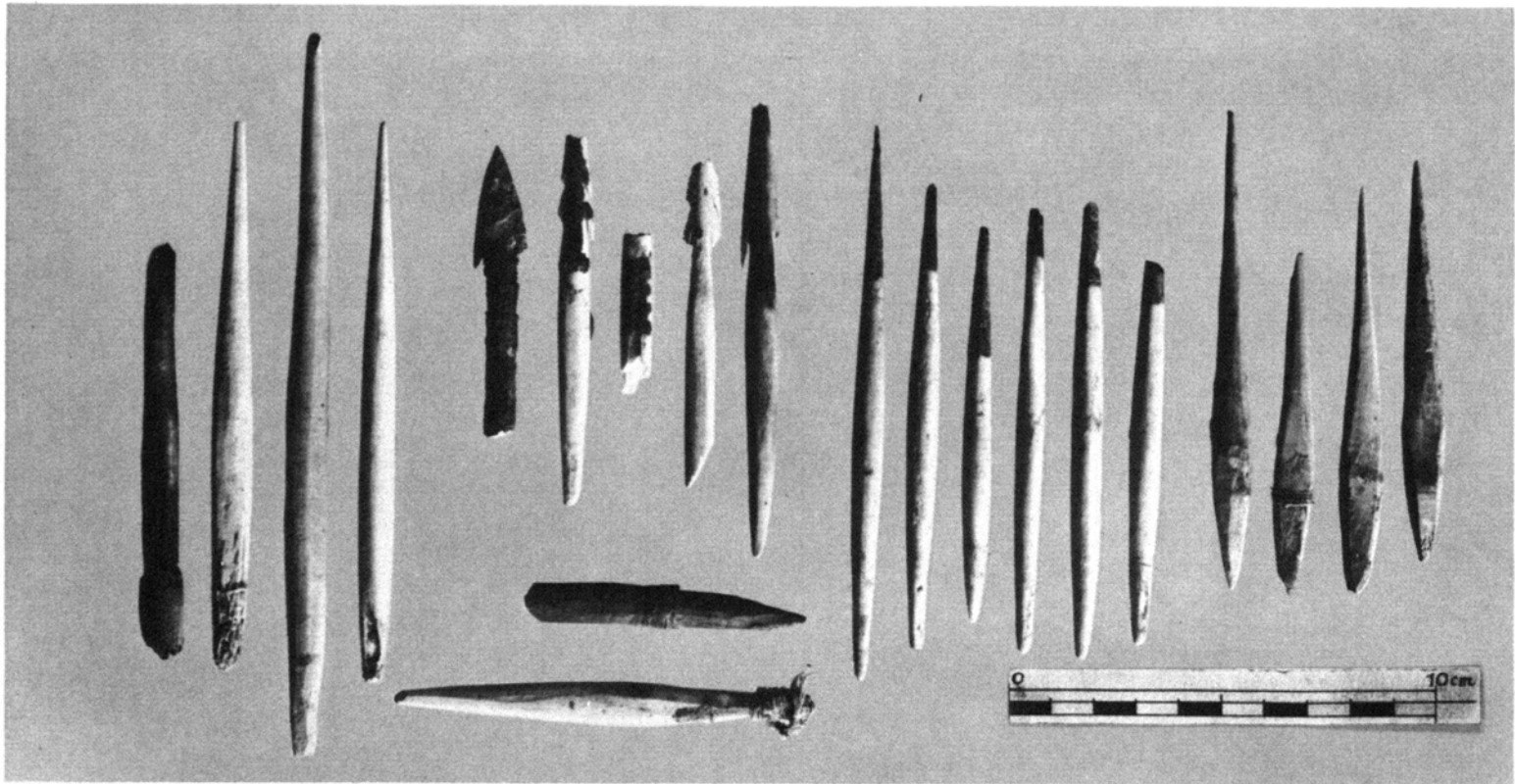
 Ramesseum, 29
 Ramses II, 5, 9, 10, 24
 Ramses III, 1, 3–7, 9, 14, 16, 40, 41, 61, 72
 Ramses IV, 1, 72, 74
 Ramses VI, 1, 10
 Ramses IX, 1
 Ramses XII, 1
 Ranke, Hermann, 32
 razor, 65
 rings, 32, 44, 65
 Roman period, 10, 33, 34, 36–44, 47, 49, 55, 56, 58, 60, 63–78
 ropes, 44
 Rossi, Francesco, 5
 rushes, 44

 sacred eye symbols, 16, 19, 32, 65
 Saint Menas, 53, 57
 Sais, 18
 Saitic period, *see* Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth dynasties
 sandals, 5
 Sander-Hansen, C. E., 17, 27
 Saqqarah, 53
 sarcophagi, *see* coffins
 saw, 65
 scarabs, 16, 19, 20, 23, 31–33, 61, 65
 Schiaparelli, Ernesto, 5
 Schott, Siegfried, 4
 Schubart, Wilhelm, 59
 sealings, 43, 61–62
 seals, 61
 Sebah, J. P., 52

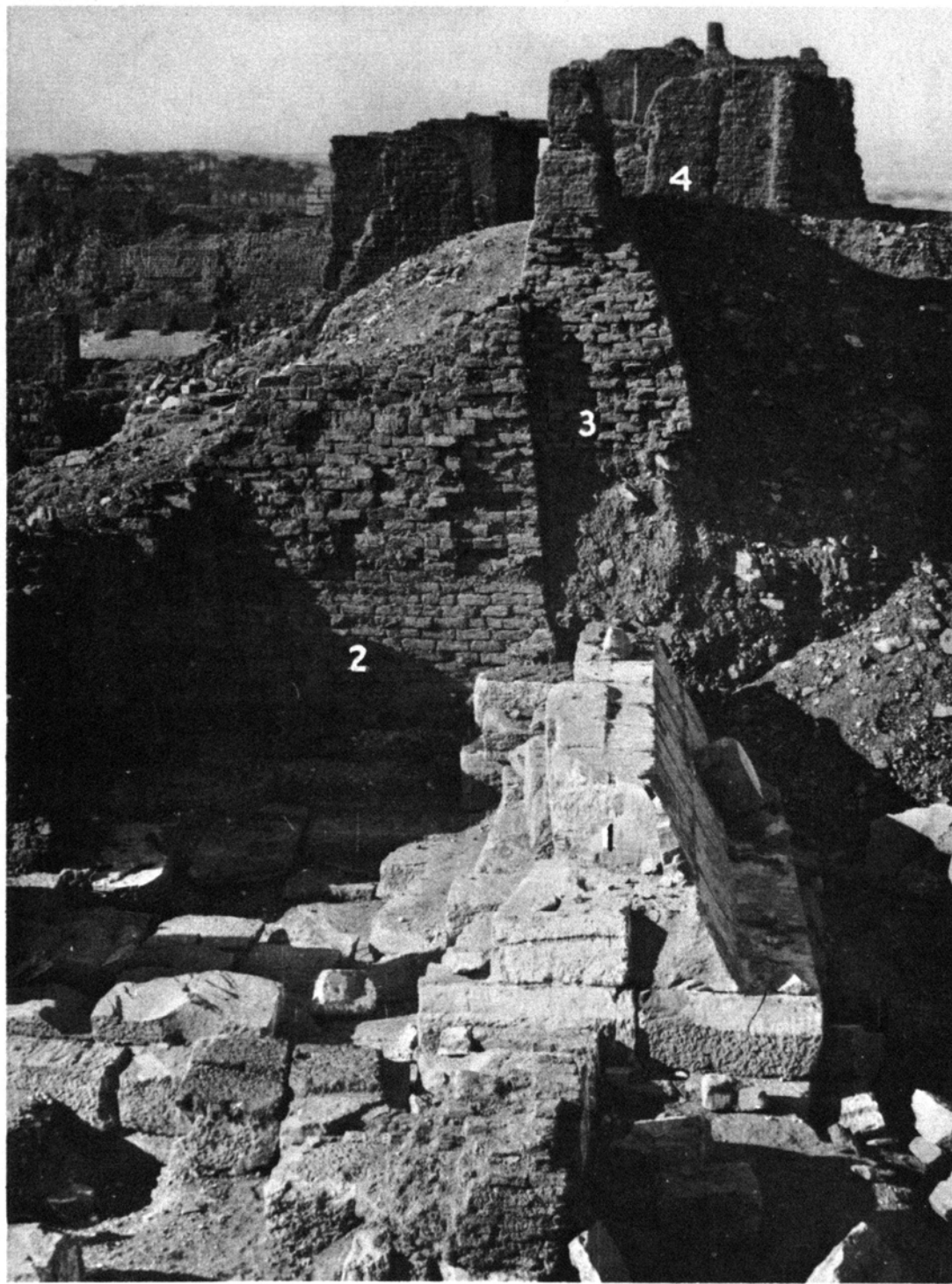
I N D E X

81

- Seele, Keith C., 10, 28
 Serkat, 27
 Service des Antiquités, 52
 Seti I, 5, 10
 Shabaka, 18
 Shepnupet, 17
 Shepnupet I, 17–20, 22, 24, 26, 28, 29, 31, 32, 72
 Shepnupet II, 16–18, 20, 22–24, 26–28, 30, 73
 Shepnupet III, 27
 Sheshonk, 8, 10
 skeletal remains, 20, 30, 31; *see also* mummies
 Small Temple of Amon *dšr-š.t*, 2, 3, 8, 14, 16–18, 20, 23, 24, 28, 32–34, 36, 37, 57, 63, 70
 Smendis of Tanis, 1
 snaffle bit, 66
 sockets, *see* doorsockets
 Sokar-Osiris, 10
 “songstress in the House of Amon,” 17, 19, 28, 31, 32
 spatulas, 65
 spear point, 66
 Spiegelberg, Wilhelm, 1, 5
 spindle whorls, 16
 stable, 5
 stands, *see* jar-stands *and* water-jug stands
 statues, 17, 28, 30, 32, 33, 37, 62
 Steindorff, Georg, 23
 stools, 11
 storage vessels, 12, 13, 16, 23, 39, 46, 49–51, 63, 72–74, 76, 77; *see also* grain bins
 storehouses, 2, 4, 6, 50, 51
 storerooms, *see* cellars
 stoves, 38
 strainers, 66, 75
 streets, 7, 8, 14, 36, 38, 45, 49, 70, 72
 Strzygowski, Josef, 47, 55, 58–60, 62–64
 stucco, 5, 26
 Suhag, 53, 54
 sun hymn, 20
 Ta-dut-amen, 32
 Taharka, 12, 18, 71
 Takelot II, 8
 Tanis, 1, 3, 10
 tethering stones, 5
 Theban lions, 59, 60
 Theban necropolis, 1, 5
 Thebes, 1, 3, 6, 14, 17, 18, 23, 36, 62
 Thoth, 22, 36, 58
 Thutmose father of Butehamon, 5
 Thutmose III, 8
 Tiberius Claudius Germanicus, 34, 36, 37, 39
 toilets, 38
 tombs, 4, 6, 8–10, 16–34, 42–44, 61, 64, 65, 69, 71–77; *see also* graves
 tombstone, Coptic, 59
 town plans, 4, 6–7, 14, 36, 37, 45
 tree holes, 36
 triumphal arches, 54–56
 trussed roof, 53
 Tunah el-Gebel, 43
 Turin Museum, 5
 tweezers, 66
 Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth dynasties, 7, 12, 14–34, 58, 61, 62, 64, 65, 71–74
 Twenty-first to Twenty-fourth dynasties, 1–14, 16, 18, 19, 32, 43, 61, 62, 65, 71–74
 Twenty-seventh to Thirtieth dynasties, 14, 34, 72–74, 76
 Usermaṯre-Meriamon, *see* Ramses III
 ushabtiu, 5, 10, 17, 19, 26–28, 30–33
 vaults, 4, 6, 16, 18–20, 22, 23, 26, 29–32, 38–40, 43, 46, 47, 49–51; *see also* arches
 ventilation, 20, 34, 45, 46, 49–51
 vessels, 12, 63, 71; *see also* pottery
 votive objects, 11–12, 17, 33
 washbasins, 38
 water conduits, 36, 40–41
 water-jug stands, 46–47, 49–51, 59–60
 waterspouts, 47, 59
 wells, 14, 16, 34, 40–42, 54, 55
 whitewash, 43, 47
 Wilkinson, 52
 windows, 34, 45, 47, 49–51, 60; *see also* ventilation
 Winlock, H. E., 19, 62
 wood, 3, 5, 14, 16, 19, 20, 23, 24, 26, 31, 32, 44, 46, 47, 49, 51, 54, 57, 58, 66
 Zangaki, 52
 Zosersukhonsu, 5



A



B

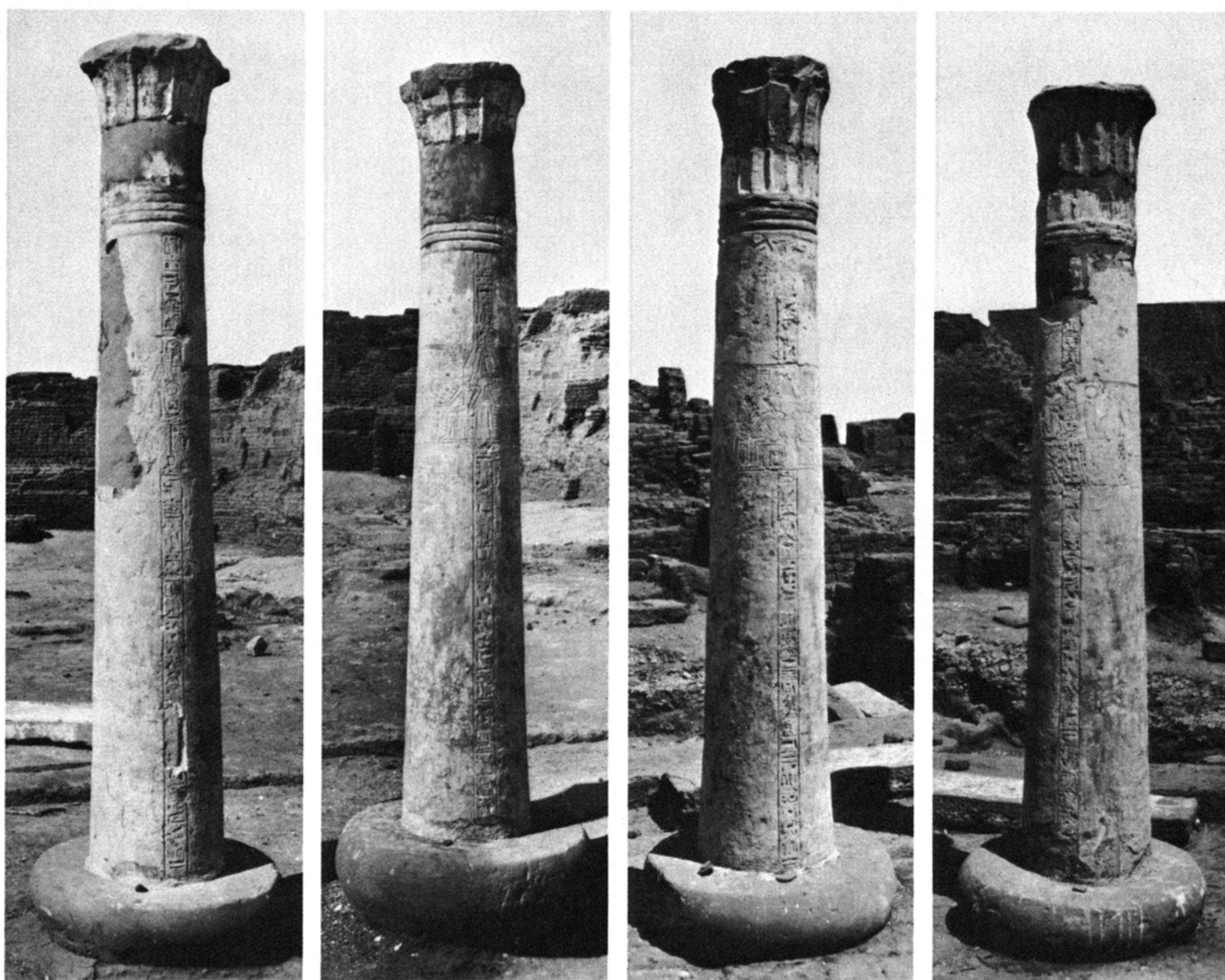
A. BONE ARROWHEADS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES. B. RUINS OF THE WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE (1) AND THE GREAT GIRDLE WALL (2), WITH THE LATER REINFORCING WALL (3) AND COPTIC DWELLINGS (4). VIEW FROM THE NORTH

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

A. GATEWAY IN THE WEST COURSE OF THE GREAT GIRDLE WALL, WITH REUSED DOORFRAME OF RAMSES III, FROM THE WEST. *B.* SOUTHEAST CORNER OF THE OUTER TEMPLE AREA (E 4-5) SHOWING *SEBAKH* MOUND WITH RUINS OF ROMAN HOUSES ABOVE STRATA OF THE TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES. *C.* RUINS OF TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY HOUSES IN F 4-5, FROM THE EAST. *D.* SQUARES E-F 4-5 SHOWING TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY HOUSES AT RIGHT AND TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY HOUSES AT LEFT, WITH TOWER IN BACKGROUND, LOOKING SOUTHEAST



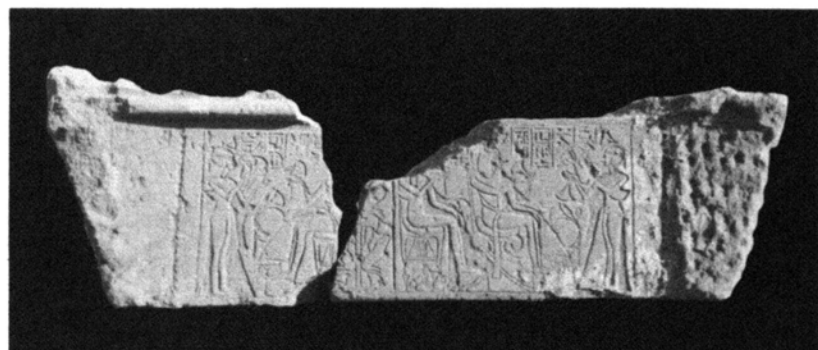
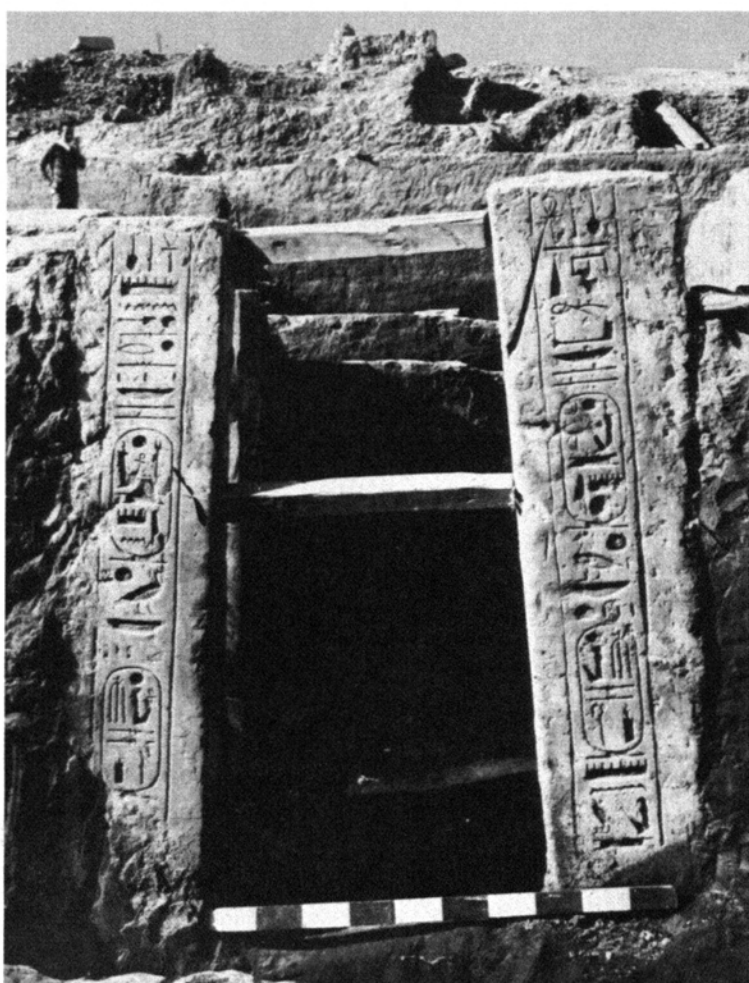
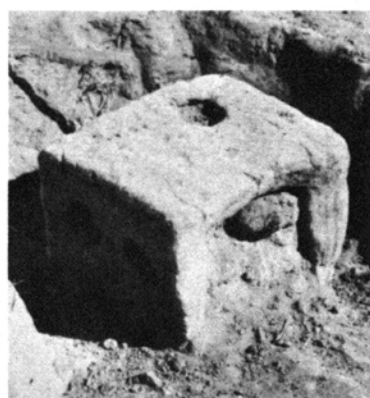
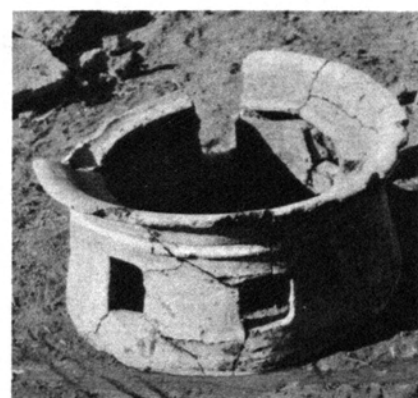
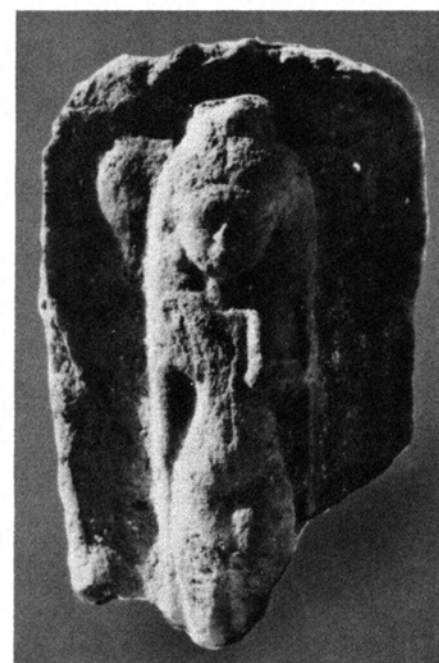
A



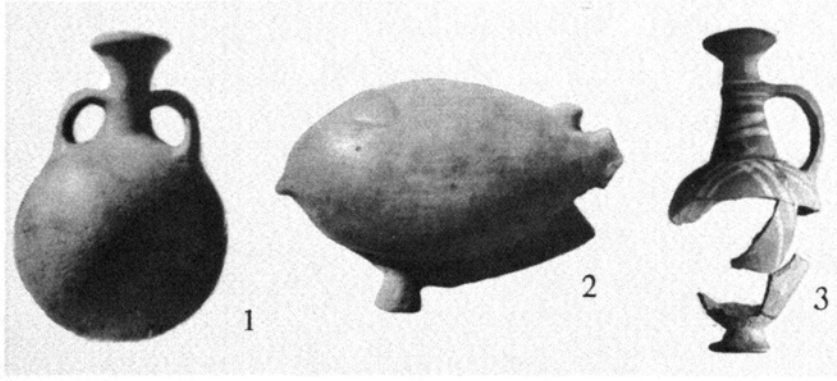
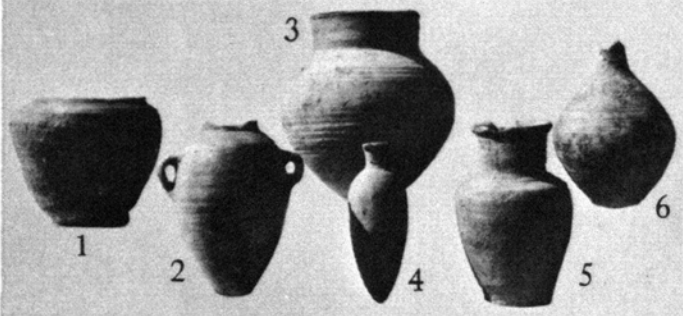
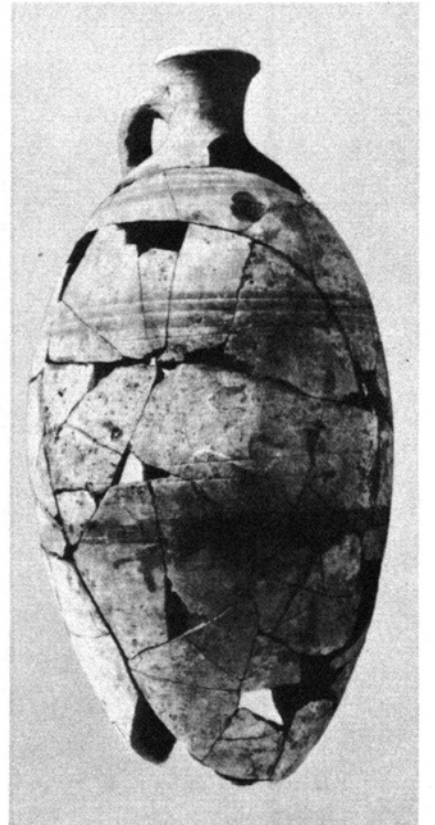
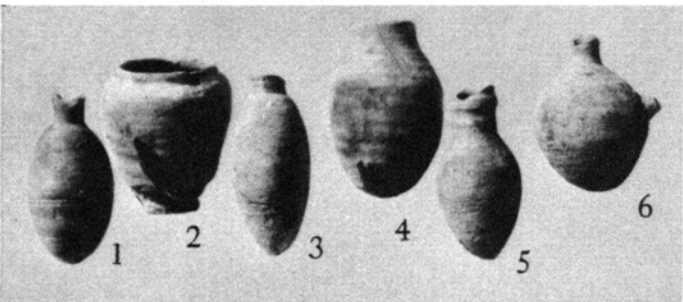
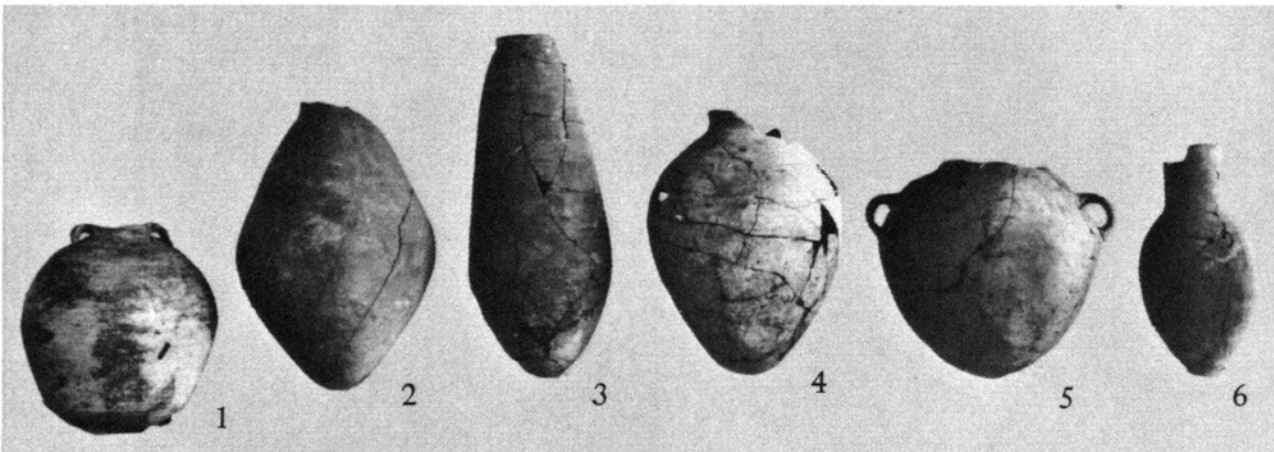
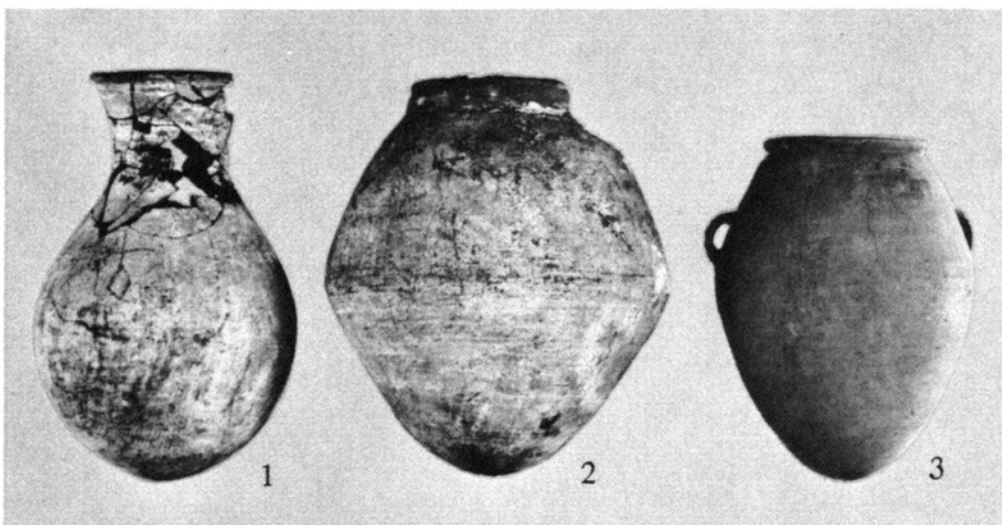
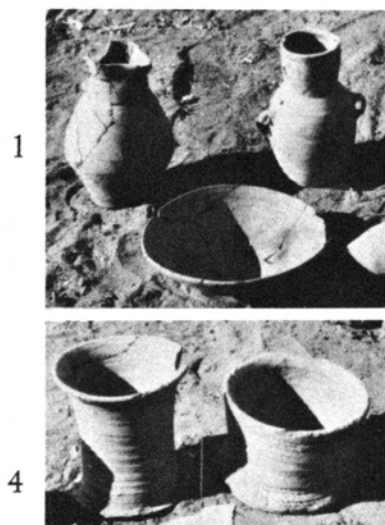
B

A. HOUSE OF BUTEHAMON. B. THE FOUR COLUMNS IN ITS MAIN ROOM: SOUTHEAST, SOUTHWEST, NORTHWEST, AND NORTHEAST (FROM LEFT TO RIGHT)

PLATE 6

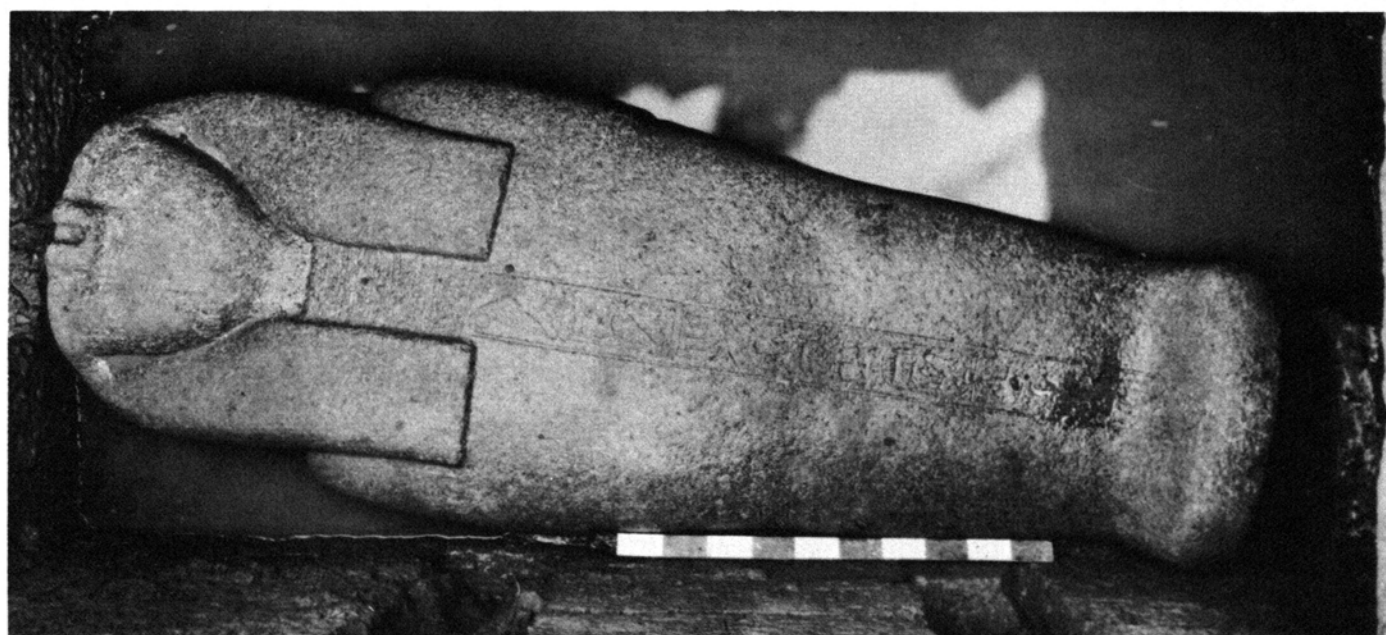
*A**B**C**D**E**F**G**H**I*

OBJECTS FROM DWELLINGS OF THE TWENTY-FIRST TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES. *A-C*. FRAGMENTS OF REUSED DOORFRAMES (*A* AND *C* BELONGING TOGETHER). *D-E*. CLAY OVENS. *F*. LIMESTONE HEADREST. CAIRO J 59878. *G*. VOTIVE BEDS. CAIRO J 59845 (NO. 1), CHICAGO 14779-80 (NOS. 2-3) AND 14827 (NO. 5). *H*. VOTIVE FIGURE. CHICAGO 14603. *I*. DAIS IN THE MAIN ROOM OF A HOUSE (SEE FIG. 6, HOUSE II)

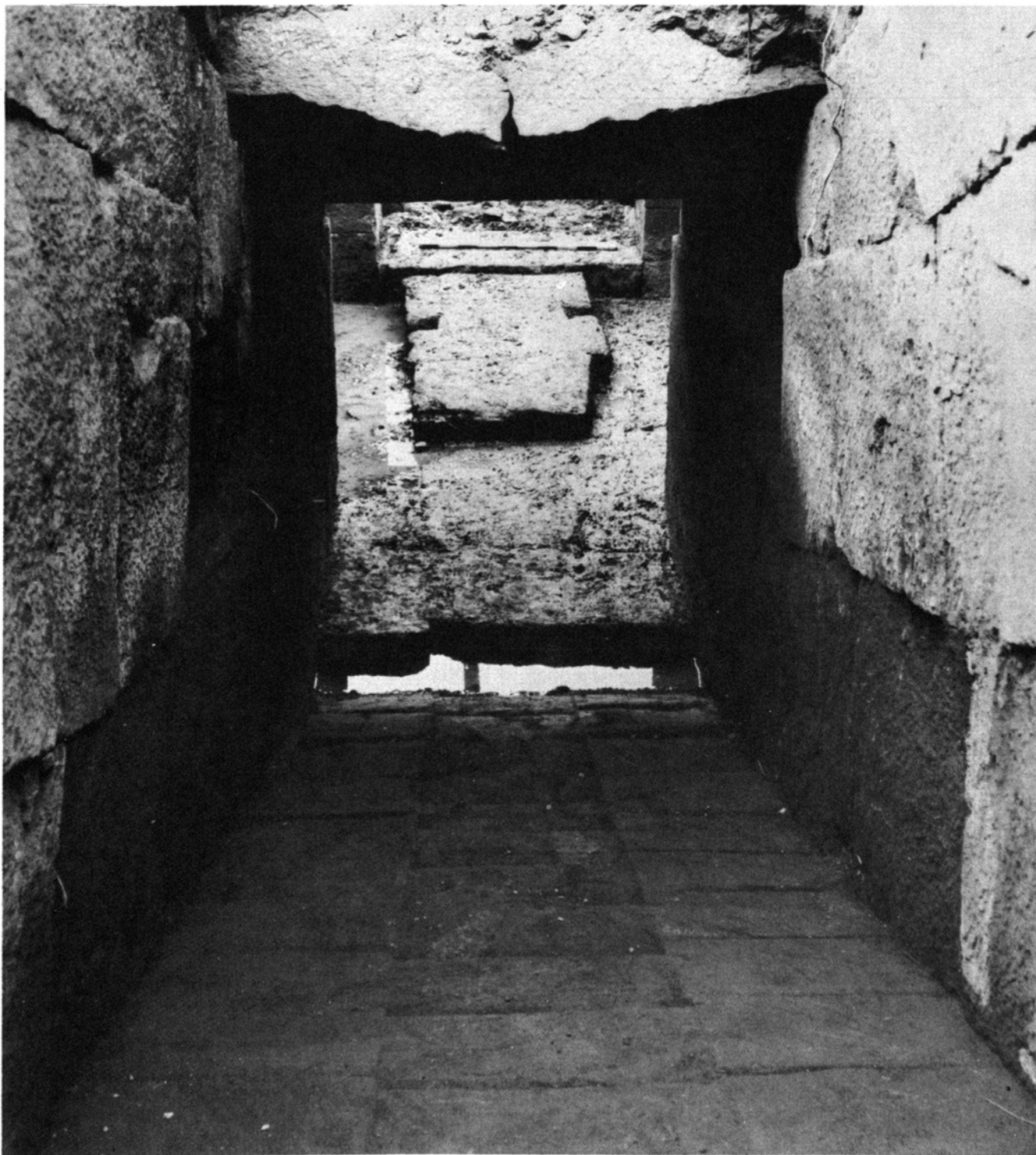
*a**b**c**d**f**g**h**e**i**l**j**k*

POTTERY OF THE TWENTY-SECOND TO TWENTY-FOURTH DYNASTIES AND AN
APPROXIMATELY CONTEMPORARY FAYENCE VESSEL (*f*)

PLATE 8

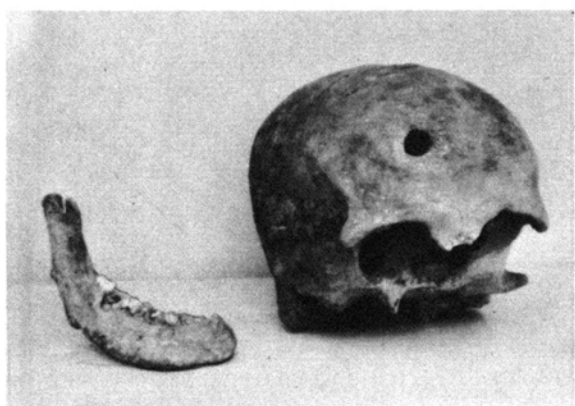
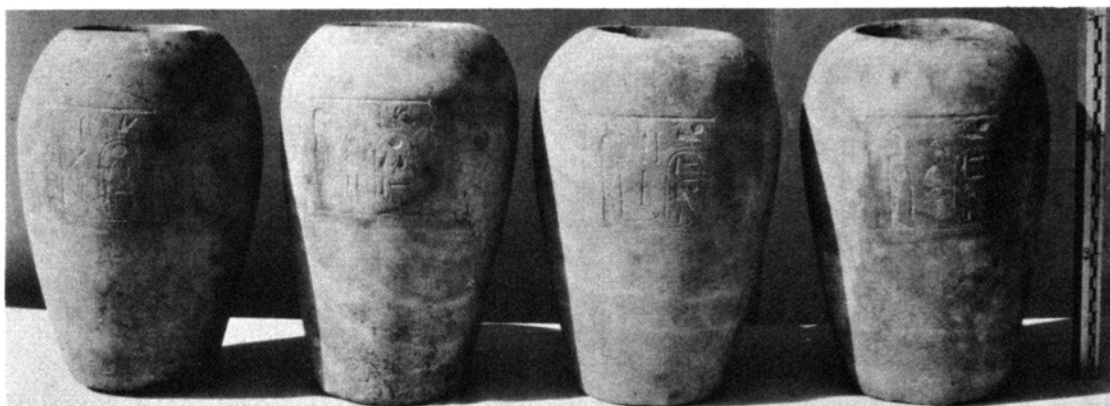
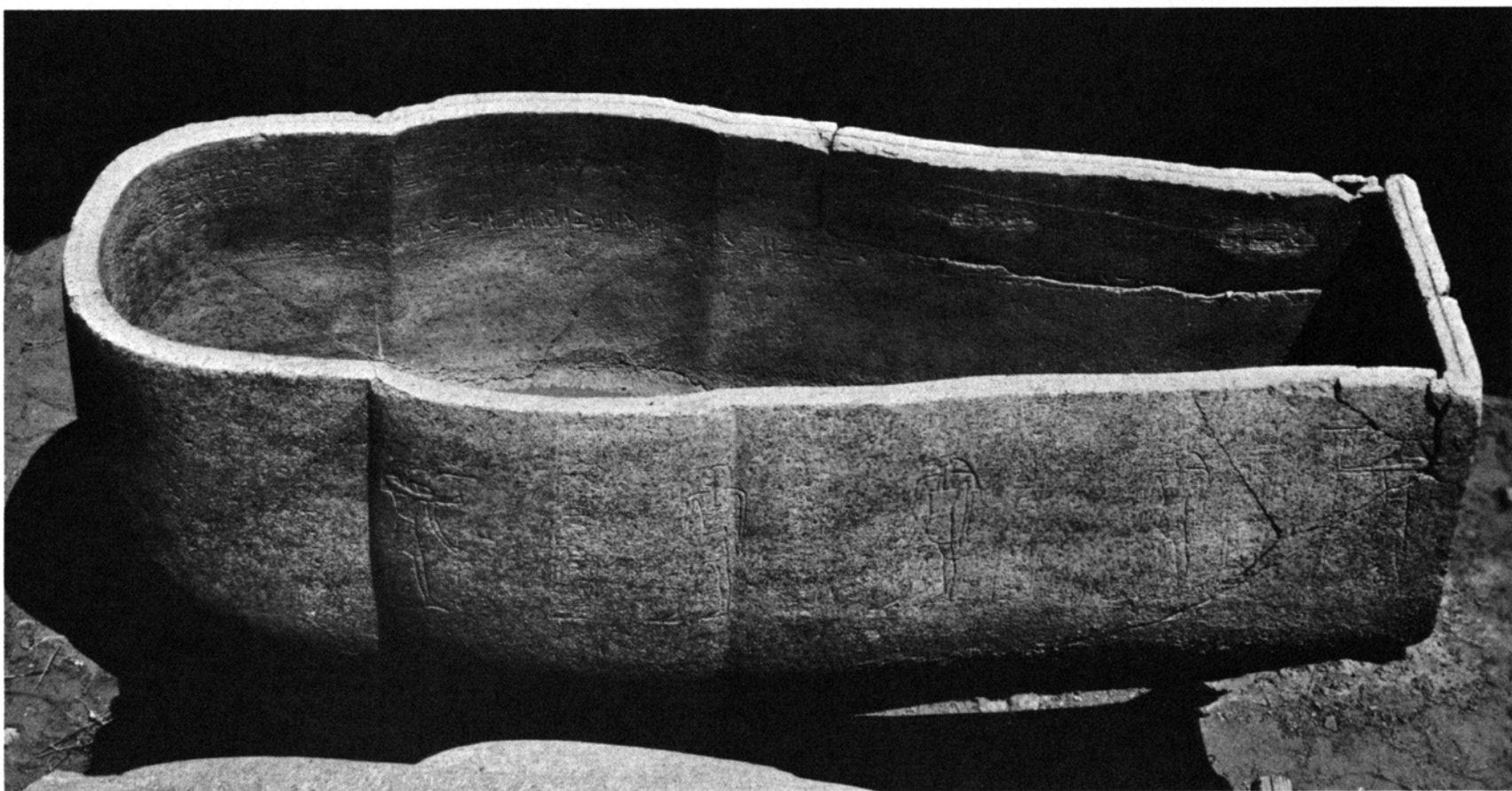
*A**B*

TOMB OF HORSIĒSE. *A*. VIEW FROM THE WEST DURING THE EXCAVATIONS. *B*. SARCOPHAGUS LID. CAIRO J 59896

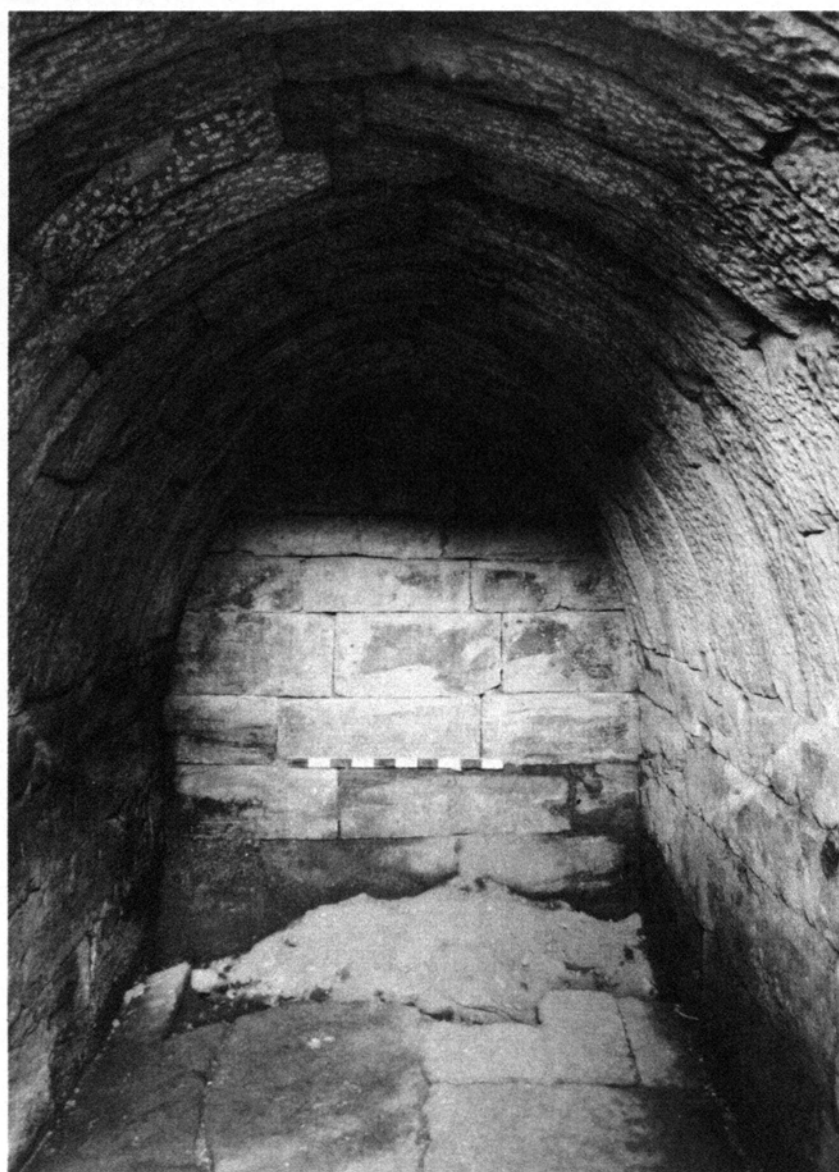
*A**B*

TOMB OF HORSIĒSE. *A*. INCLINED ENTRANCE PASSAGE AS SEEN FROM THE ANTECHAMBER.
B. VIEW OF THE ANTECHAMBER FROM THE ENTRANCE PASSAGE

PLATE 10

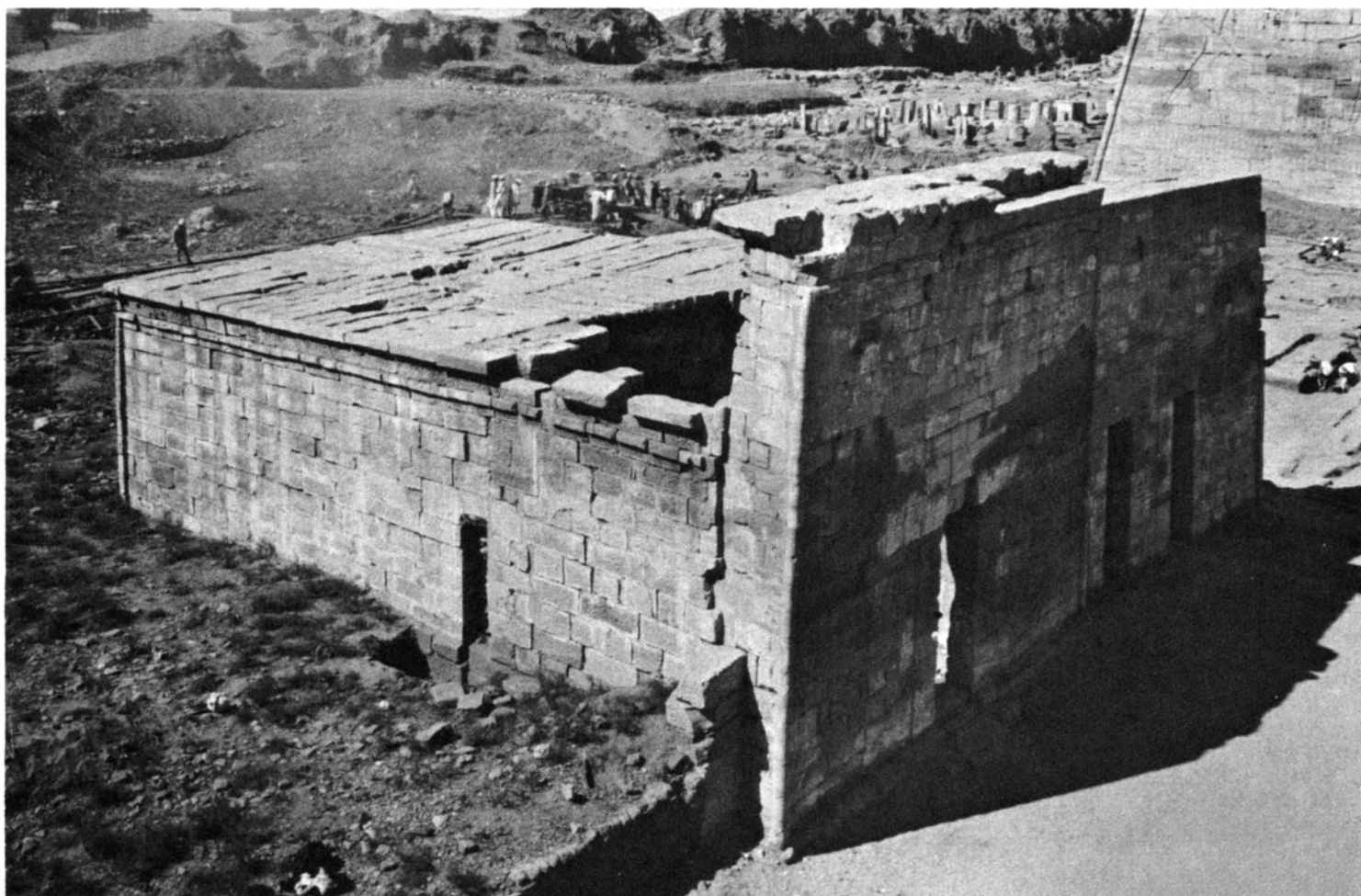
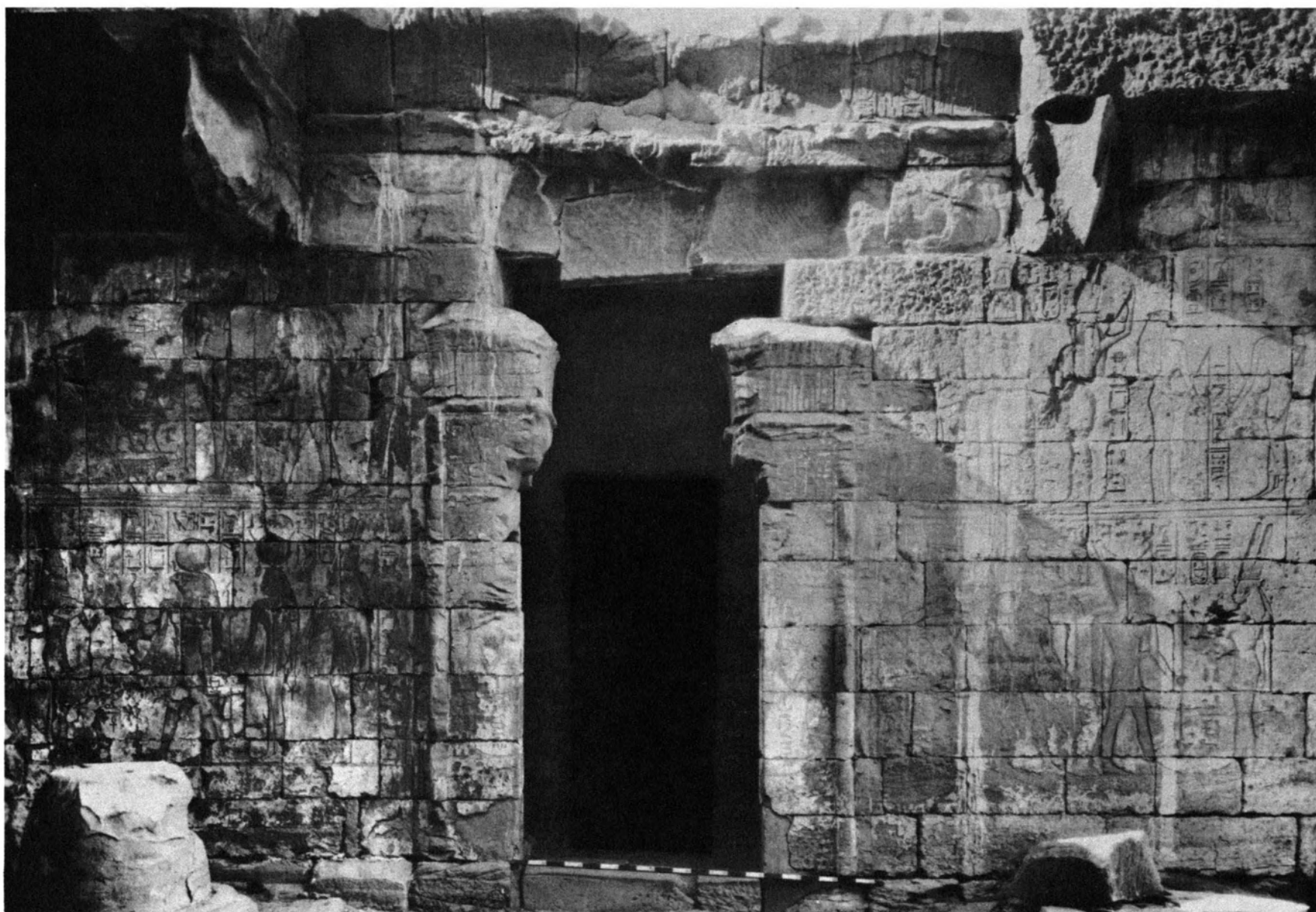
*A**B**C**D*

A. TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY DWELLING IN M-N 6-7, FROM THE SOUTH. *B.* SKULL OF HORSIËSE. *C.* ALABASTER CANOPIC JARS OF HORSIËSE. CAIRO J 59900a-d. *D.* SARCOPHAGUS OF HENTMIRE^c, REUSED BY HORSIËSE. CAIRO J 59896

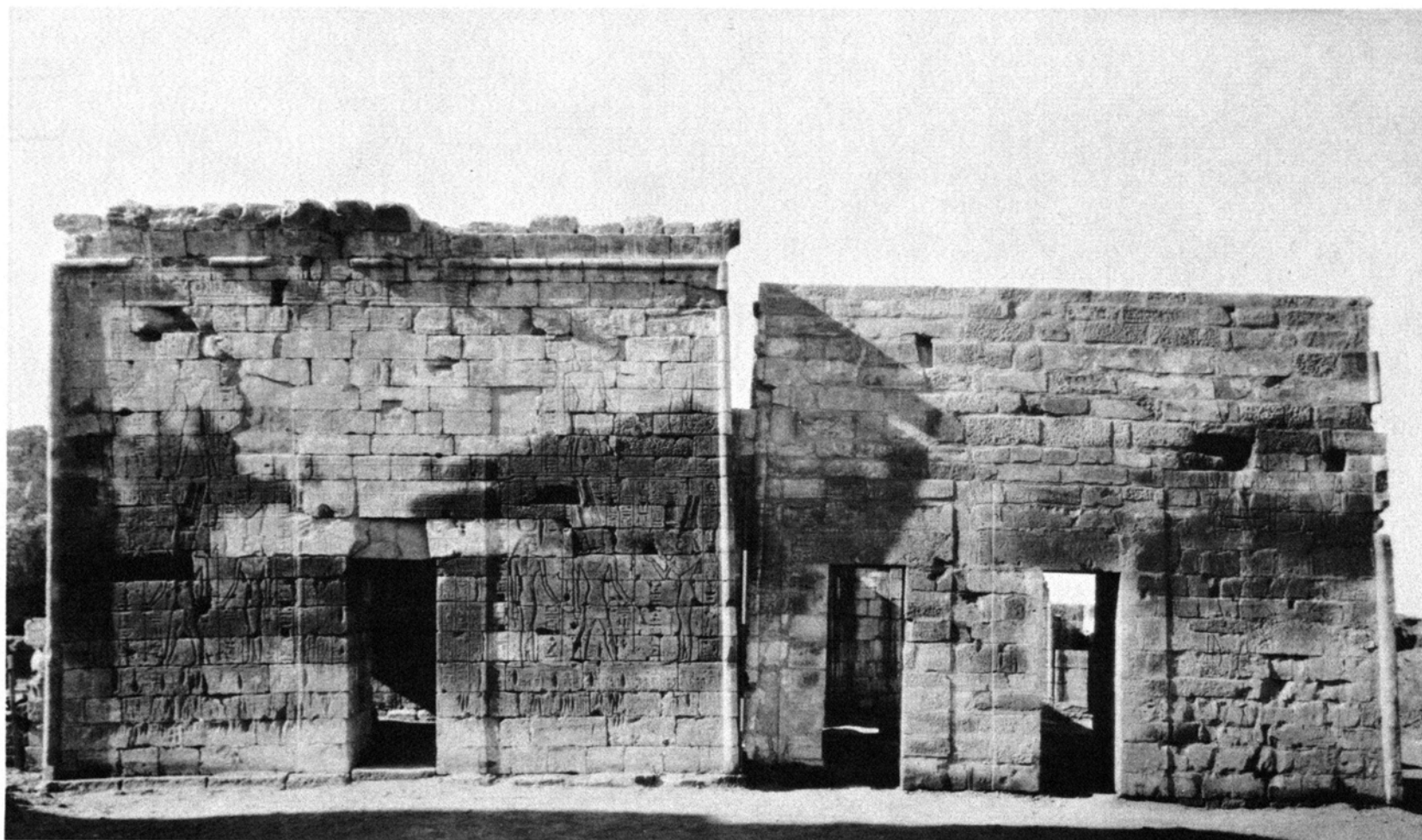
*A**B**C**D*

TOMB-CHAPEL PRESUMABLY OF THE DIVINE CONSORT SHEPNUPET I. *A*. VIEW FROM THE SOUTHEAST.
B. UNDERGROUND BURIAL CHAMBER PRESUMABLY OF SHEPNUPET I. *C*. ANTECHAMBER OF
B WITH THE BURIAL OF ANKHSHEPNUPET. *D*. POTTERY MAGAZINE NORTH OF *B*
 AND *C*, BELONGING TO TOMB 16

PLATE 12

*A**B*

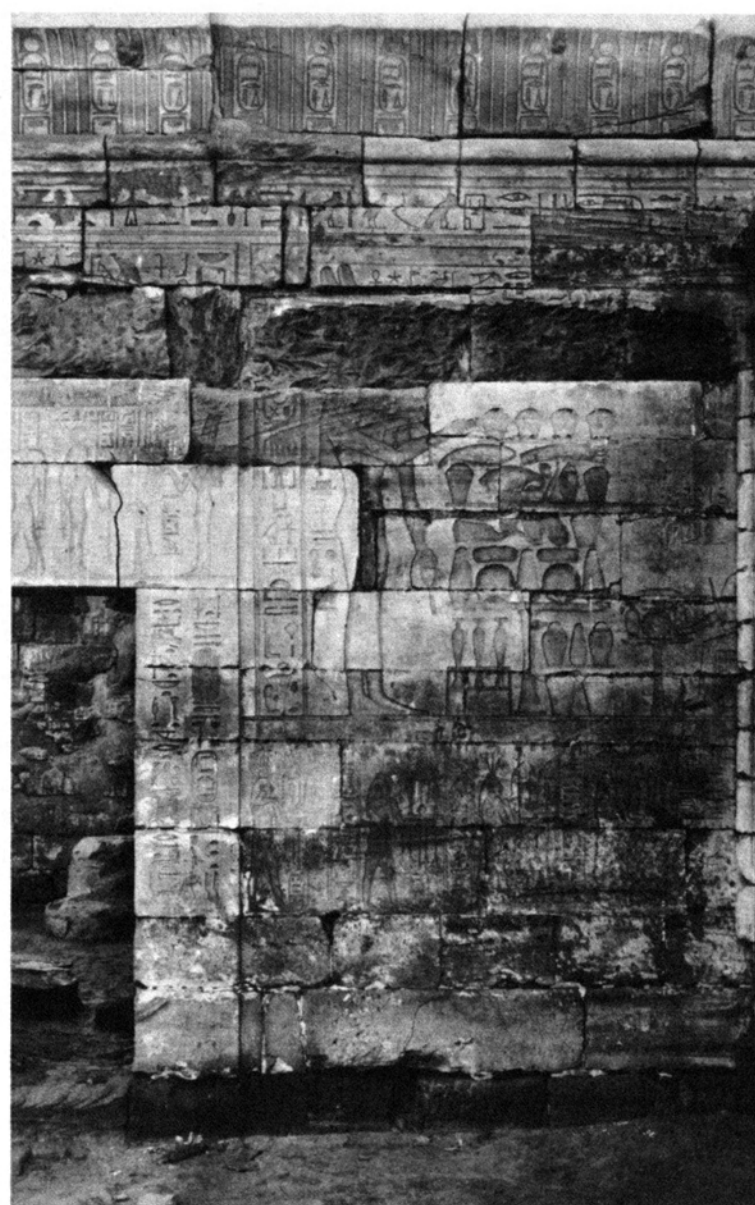
A. TOMB-CHAPELS OF AMENIRDIS AND OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET, LOOKING SOUTHWEST. *B.* COURT OF THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS, LOOKING SOUTH



A

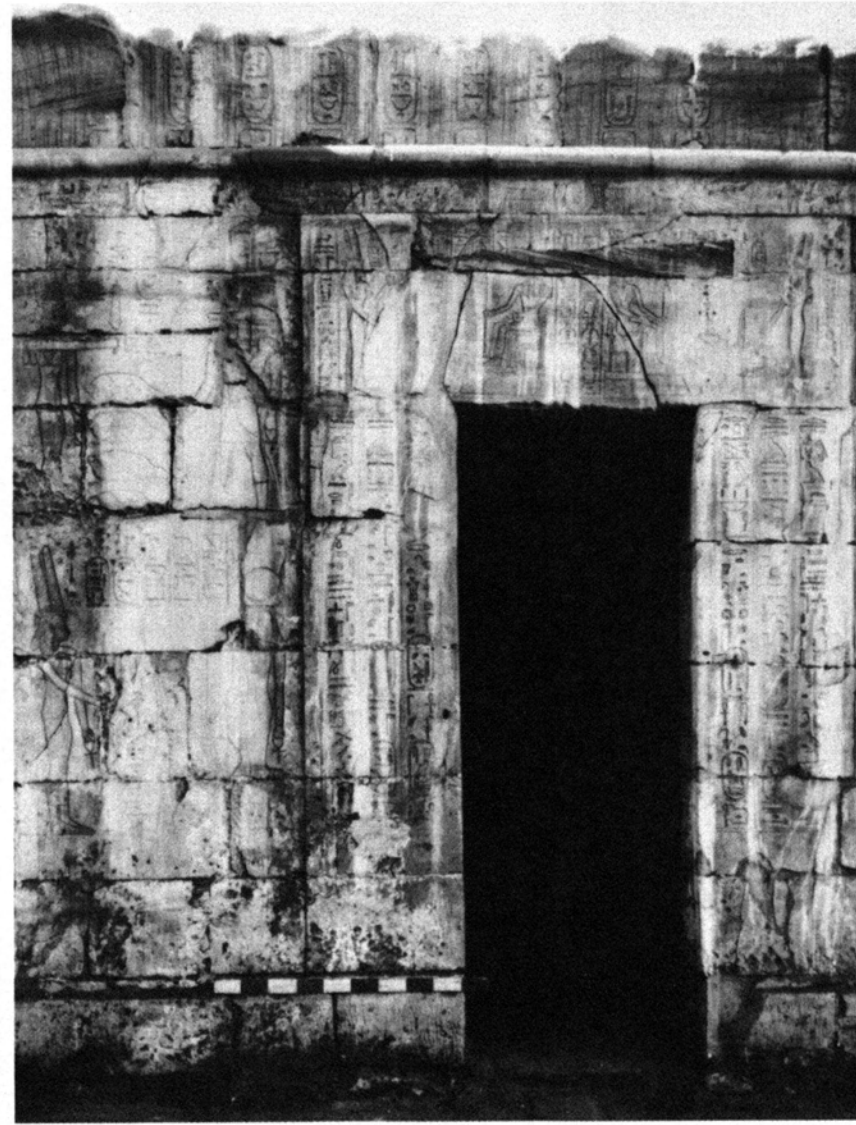
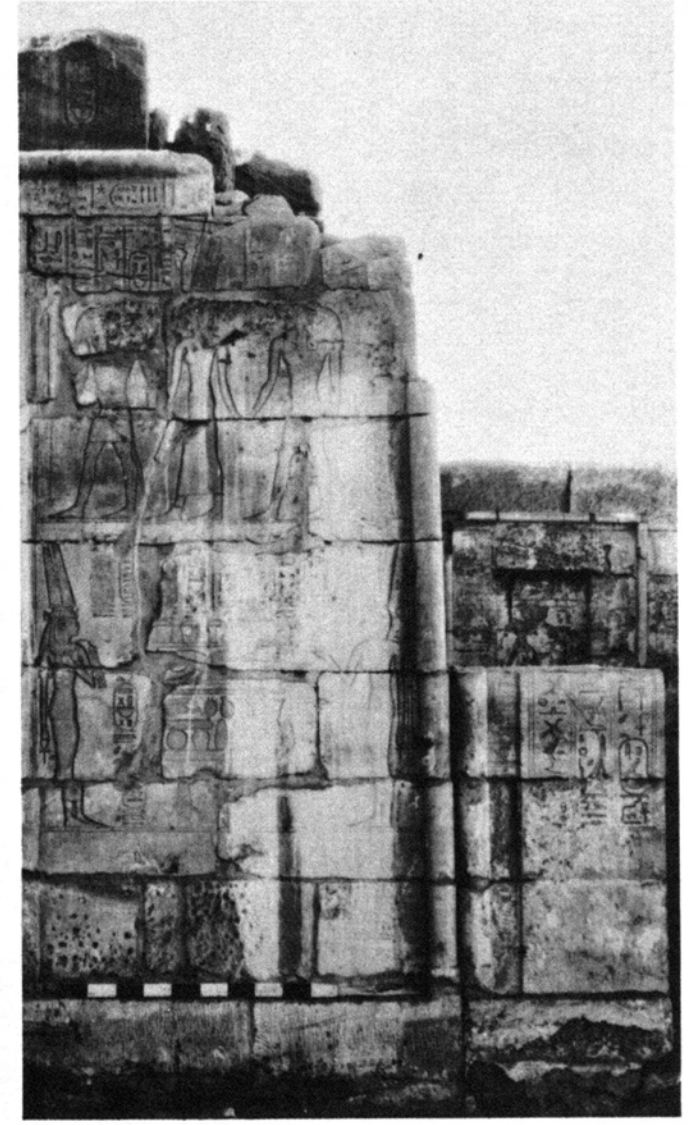


B

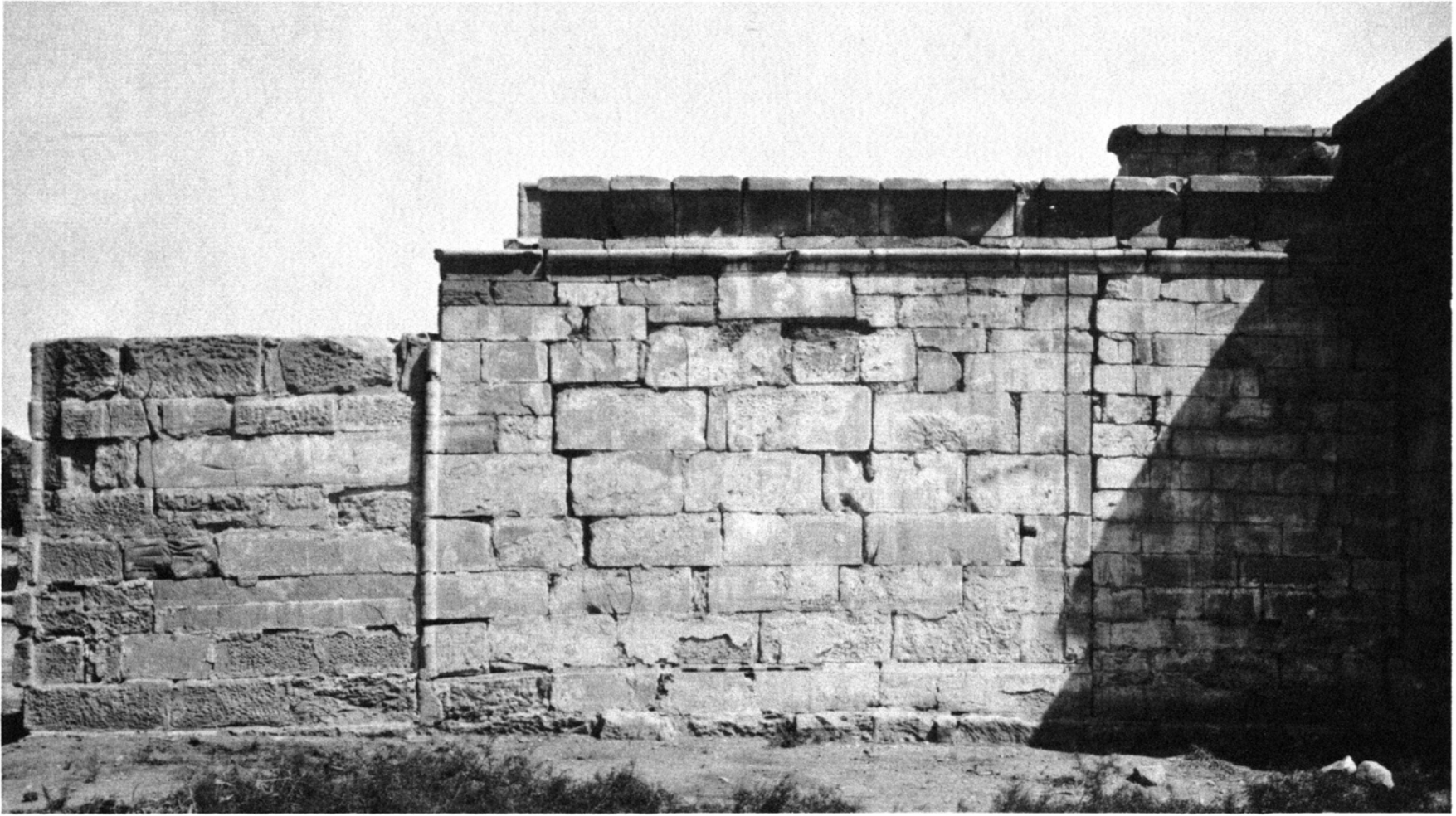
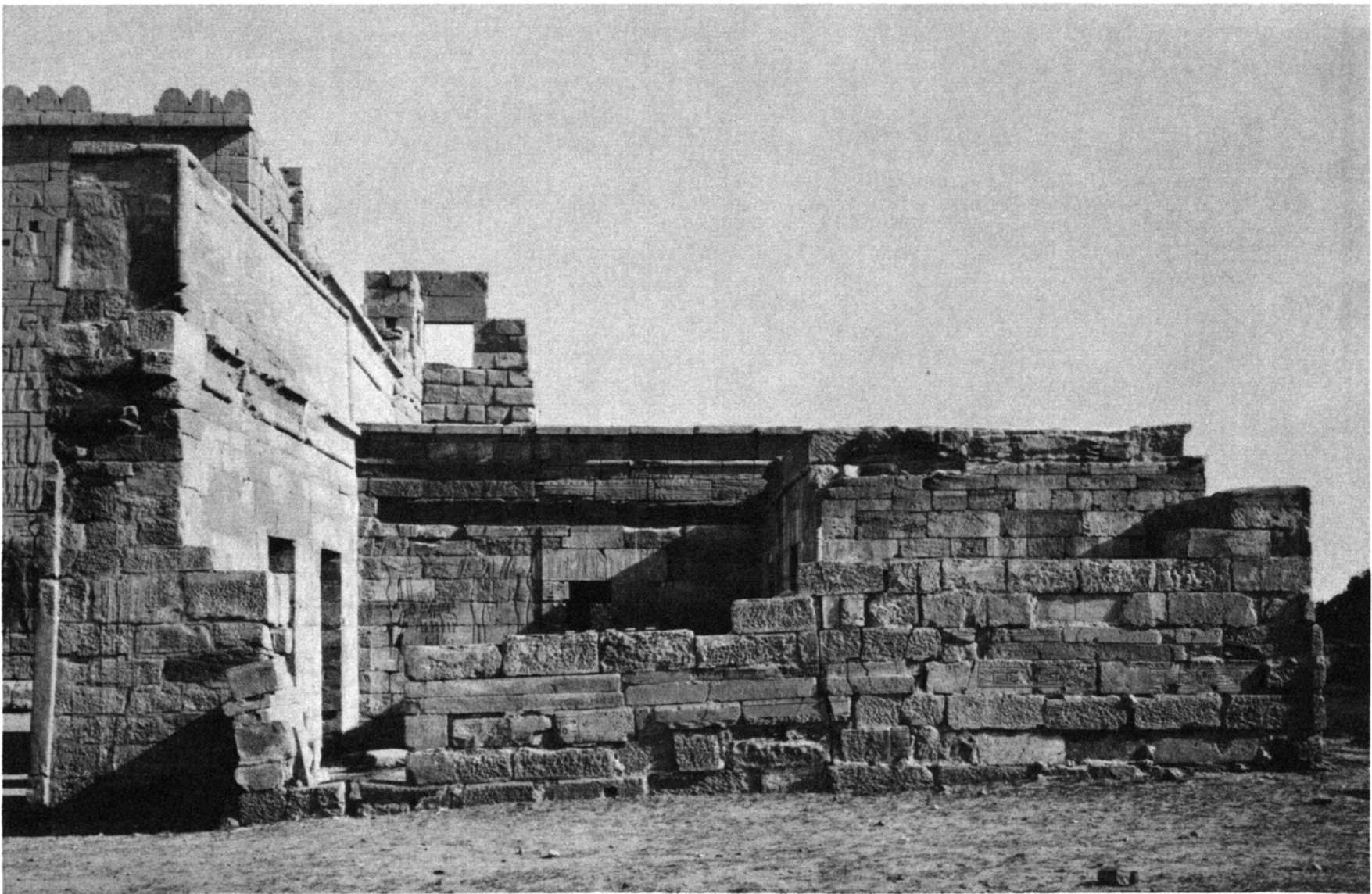


C

A. PYLONS OF AMENIRDIS (LEFT) AND SHEPNUPET II (RIGHT), FROM THE NORTH. B-C. WEST EXTERIOR WALL OF THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS, SEEN FROM THE CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET.

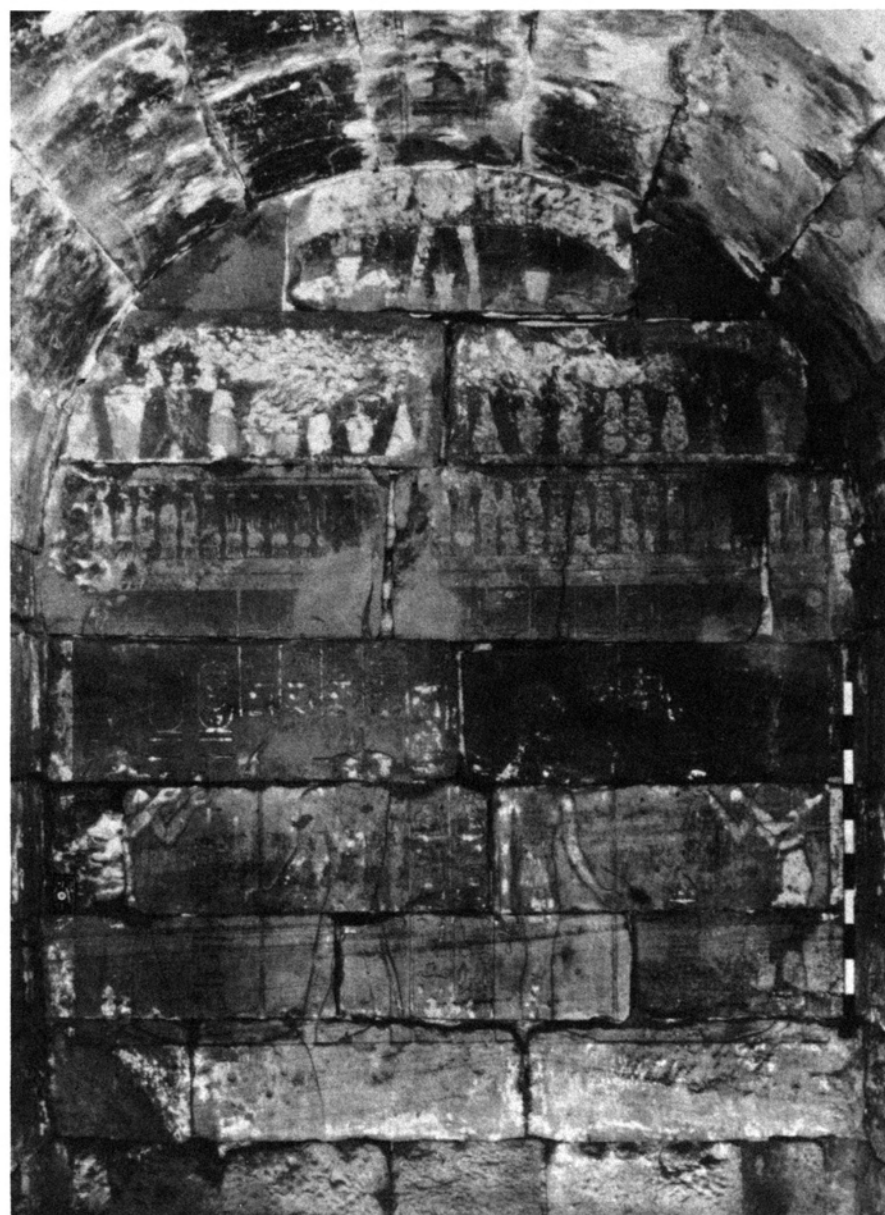
*A**B**C*

FRONT WALLS OF THE CELLAE OF NITOCRIS (*A*), SHEPNUPET II (*B*), AND MEHETNUSEKHET (*C*), FROM THE NORTH

*A**B*

TOMB-CHAPEL OF SHEPNUPET II, NITOCRIS, AND MEHETNUSEKHET.
A. SOUTH (REAR) SIDE, LOOKING NORTH. *B.* WEST SIDE

PLATE 16

*A**B**C*

INTERIOR VIEWS OF THE CELLAE OF AMENIRDIS (*A*), NITOCRIS (*B*), AND SHEPNUPET II (*C*)



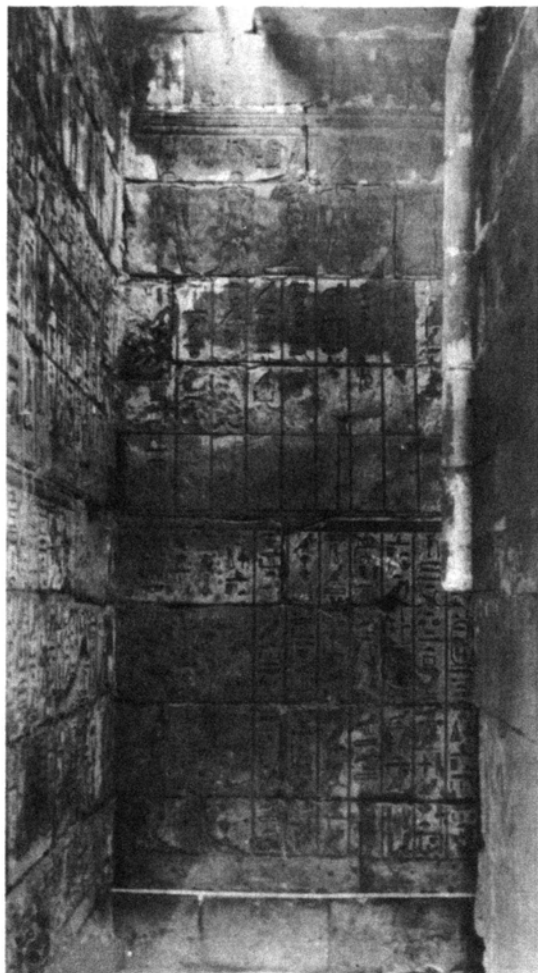
A



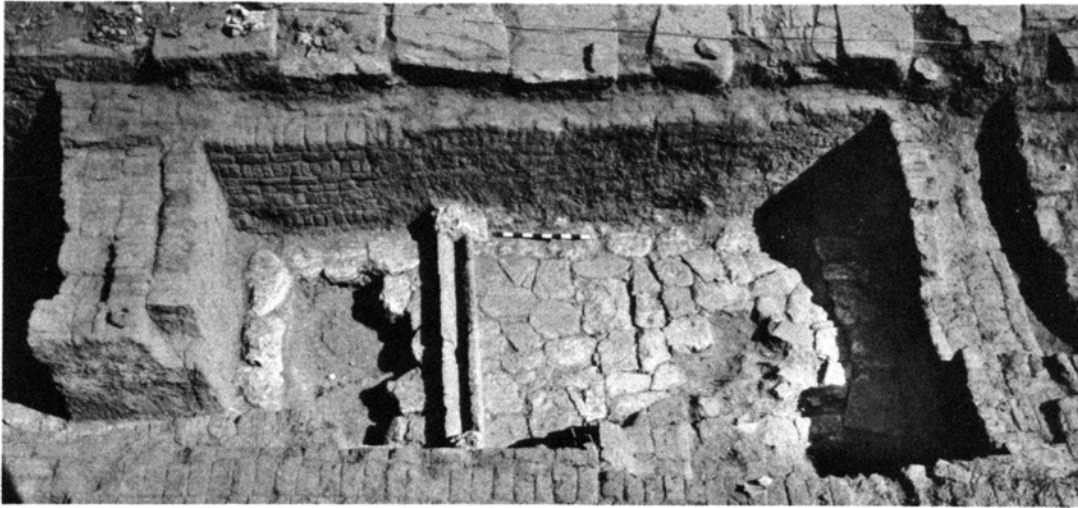
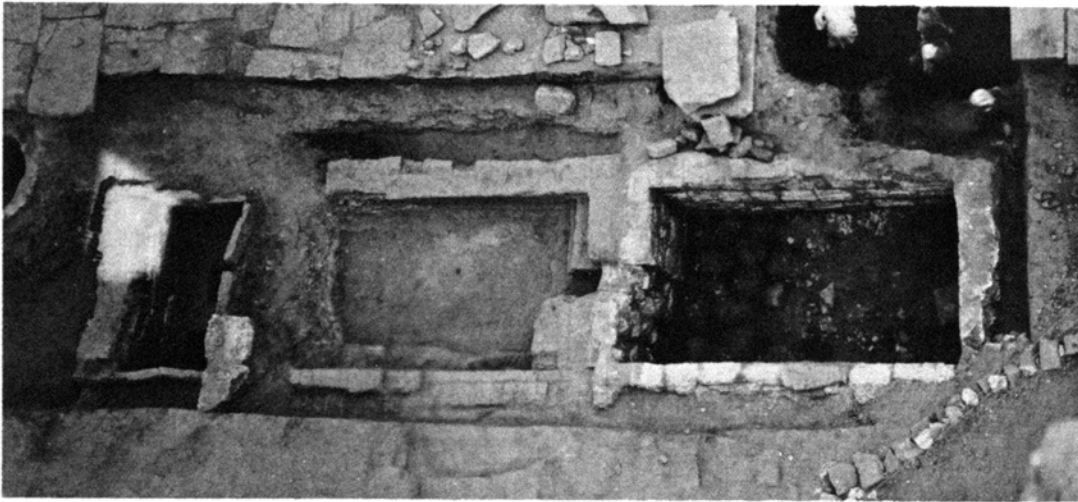
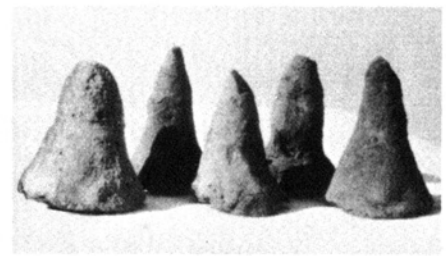
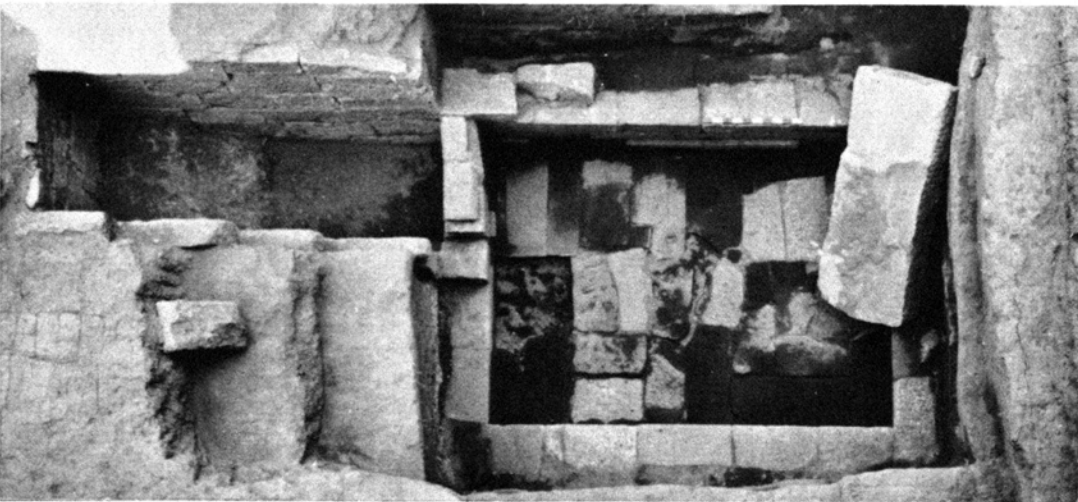
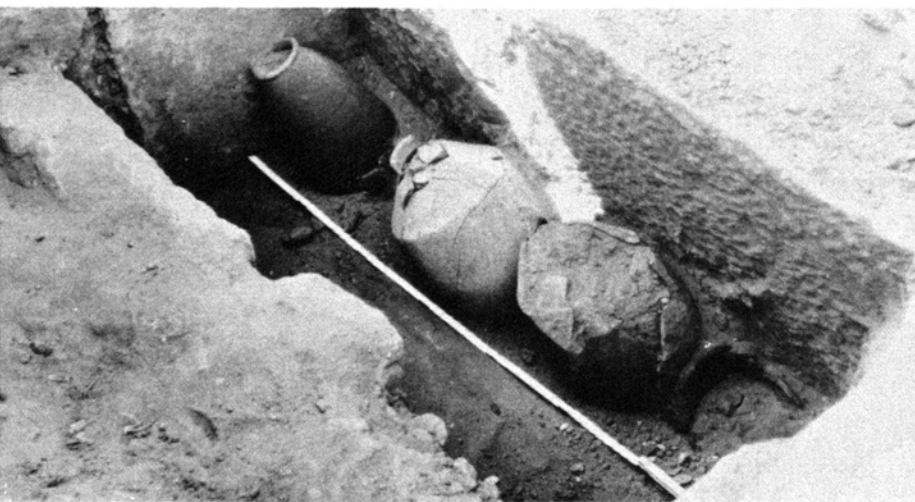
B

RELIEFS ON THE WEST HALF OF THE FRONT WALL OF THE CELLA OF AMENIRDIS. A. AMENIRDIS ACCOMPANIED BY ANUBIS AND THOTH. B. SHEPNUPET II PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMENIRDIS

PLATE 18

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

A. SCENE IN THE PASSAGE OF THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS, SHOWING SNEPNUPET II PRESENTING OFFERINGS TO AMENIRDIS. *B-C.* FUNERARY LITURGY AND PYRAMID TEXTS ON THE WALLS OF THE PASSAGE IN THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. *D.* RELIEF ON THE EAST WALL OF THE CELLA OF NITOCRIS. *E.* CULT NICHE IN THE REAR WALL OF THE CELLA OF MEHETNUSEKHET

*A**E**B**F**C**G**D**H**I*

REMAINS OF ETHIOPIAN AND SAITIC TIMES. *A*. TOMBS 10-11. *B*. TOMBS 5-6. *C*. TOMB 4. *D*. TOMB 18. *E*. MODEL LOAF OF BREAD FROM TOMB 22. *F*. JAR-STOPPERS FROM TOMB 22. *G*. OSIRIS STATUE FROM THE *CACHETTE* NEAR THE SMALL TEMPLE. CHICAGO 14301. *H*. LIGHT GREEN FAYENCE SCARAB (27 MM. LONG) OF SHEPNUPET II, FOUND IN THE DOMESTIC QUARTER. CAIRO J 59799. *I*. GREEN FAYENCE PLAQUE (28 MM. LONG) WITH SACRED EYE ON ONE SIDE AND CARTOUCHE OF AMENIRDIS ON THE OTHER, FOUND IN THE DOMESTIC QUARTER. CHICAGO 16676

PLATE 20

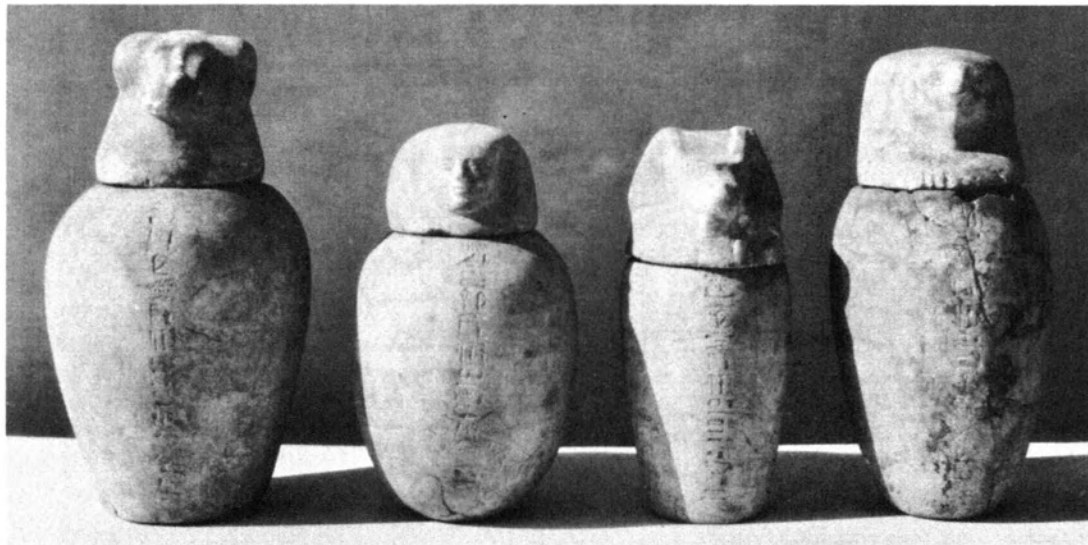
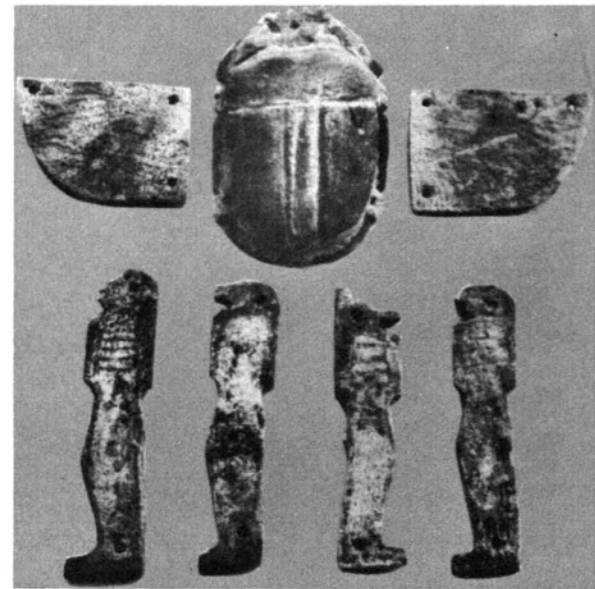
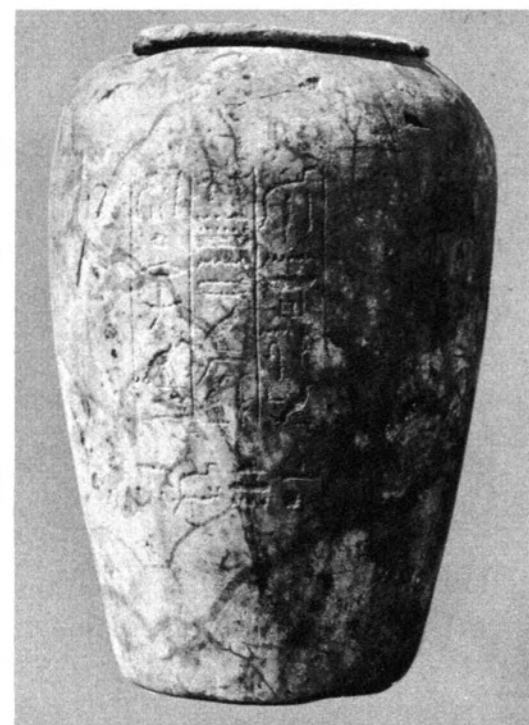
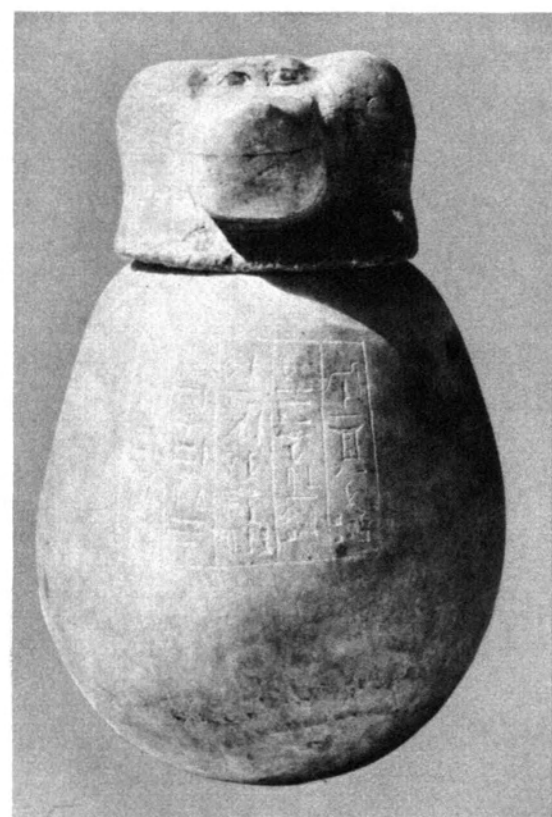
*B**A**D**C**E**F*

A. OBJECTS FROM THE PIT UNDER THE CHAPEL OF AMENIRDIS. *B-C.* SCHIST STATUE OF SHEPNUPET II. CAIRO J 59870. *D.* ALABASTER LIDS OF CANOPIC JARS, BELONGING PRESUMABLY TO A DIVINE CONSORT. CHICAGO 14676 AND 14647. *E-F.* BLACK GRANITE BOX WITH NAME AND TITLE OF SHEPNUPET II, PRESUMABLY FROM HER TOMB

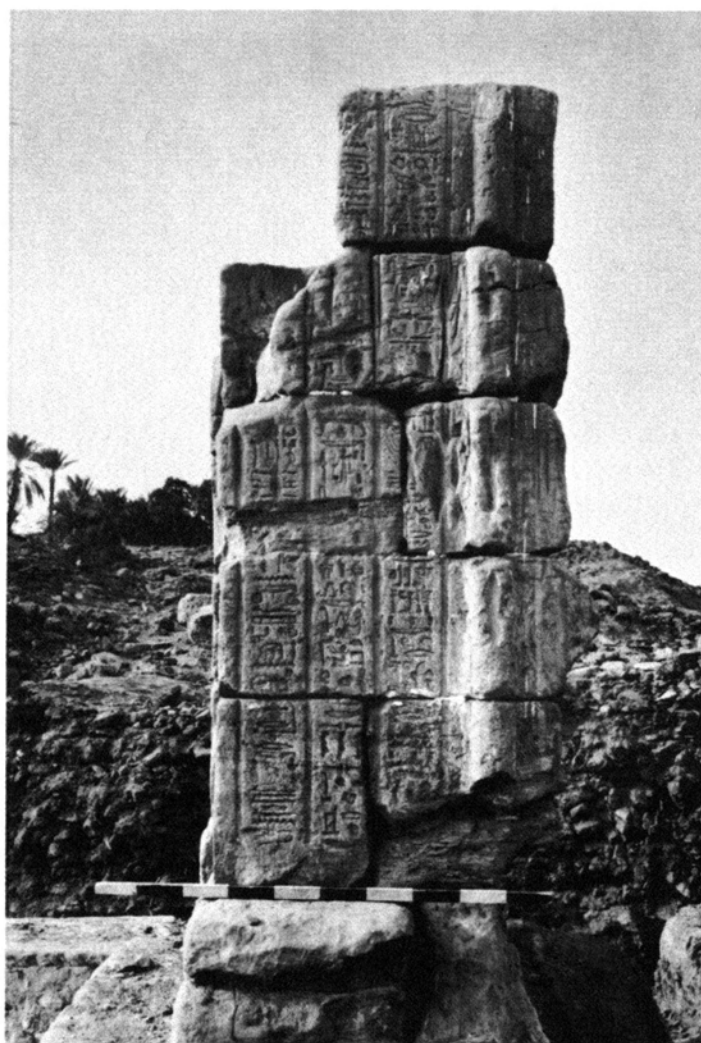


SERPENTINE AND FAYENCE USHABTIU OF THE TWENTY-FIFTH AND TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTIES BELONGING TO AMENIRDIS (*A*), DIĒSE-HEBSED (*B-C*), SHEPNUPET II (*D-E*, *G-H*), NITOCRIS (*F*), NEITH.... (*I*), AND ANKHAMENIRDIS (*J-K*)

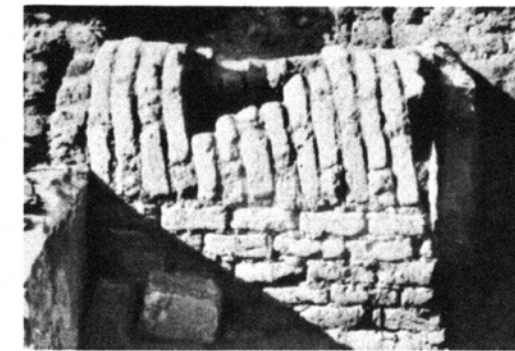
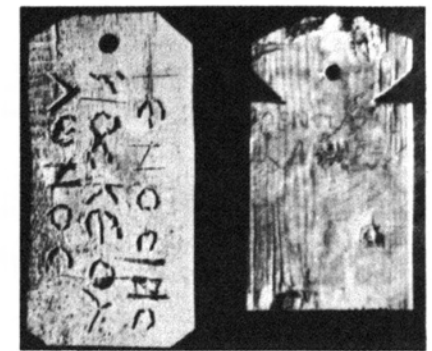
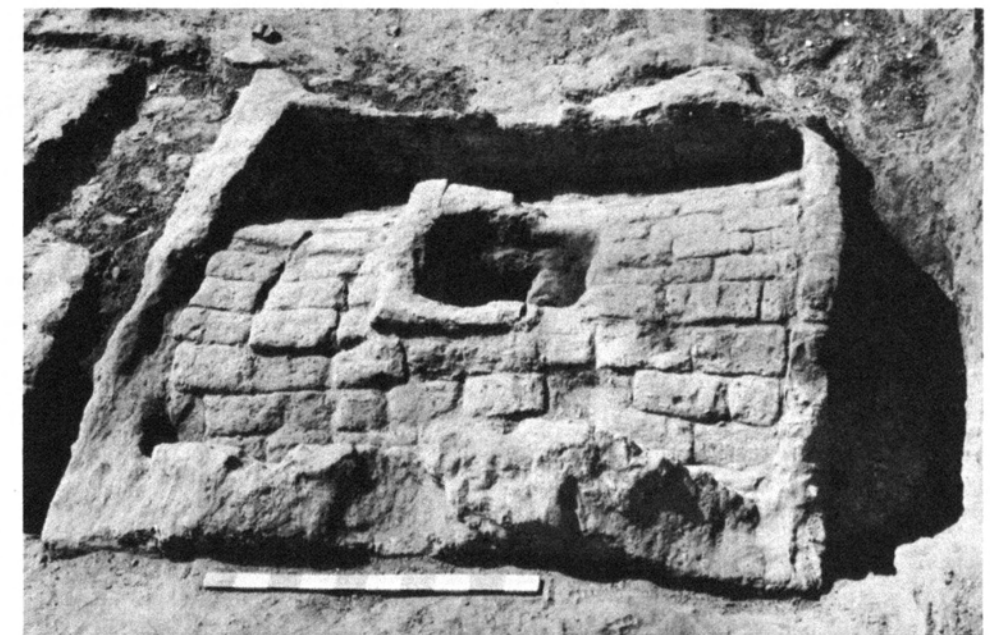
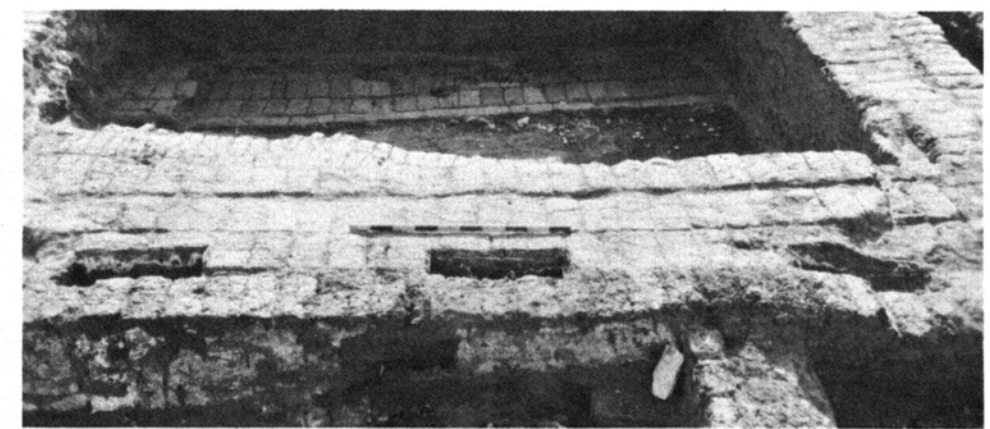
PLATE 22

*A**B**C**D**E**F**G*

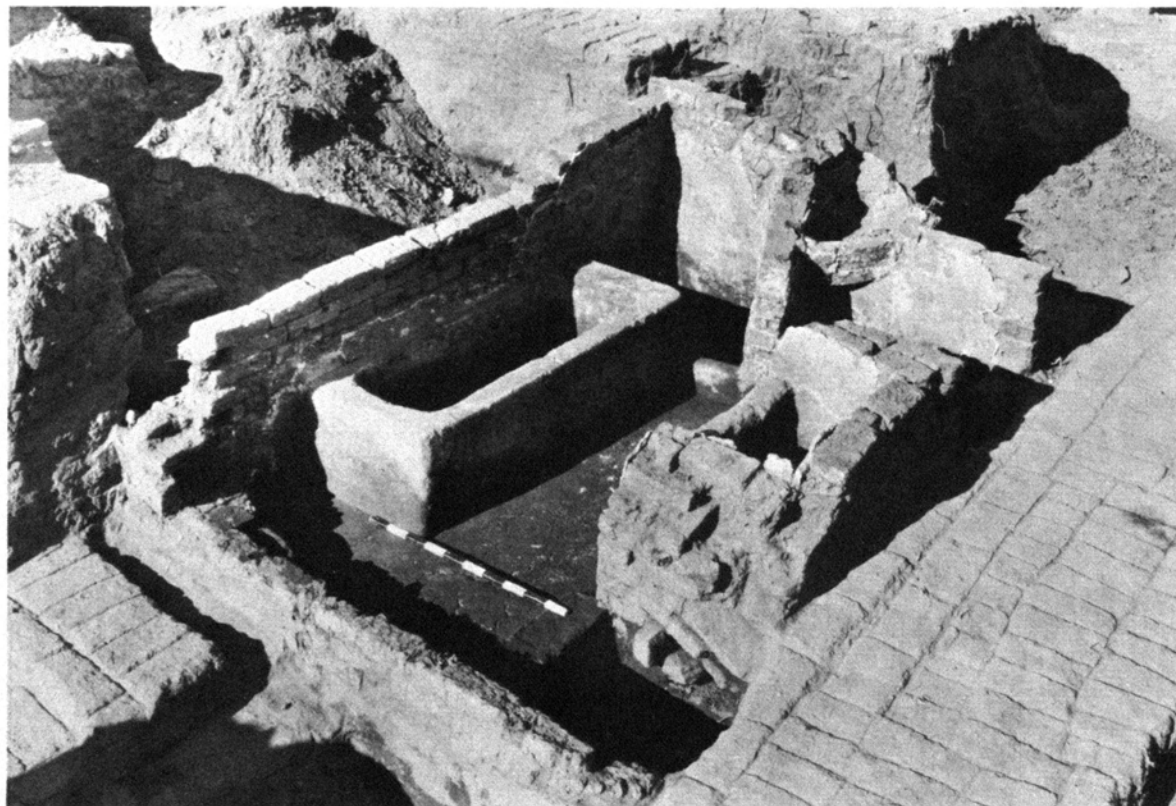
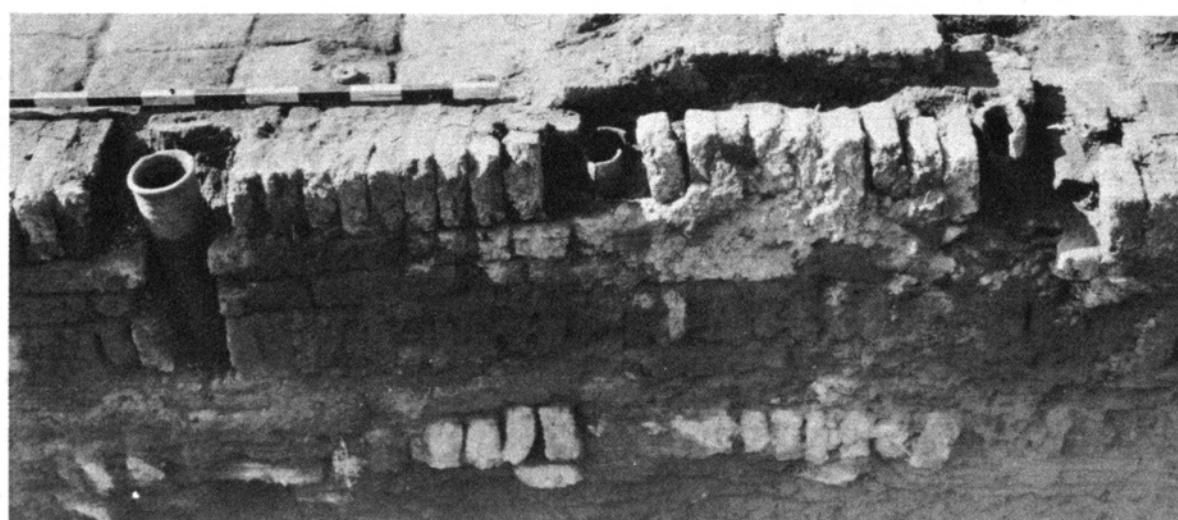
OBJECTS FROM TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY TOMBS. *A*. ALABASTER CANOPIC JARS OF 'ANKHSHEP-NUPET. CHICAGO 14677-80. *B*. BREAST SCARAB AND FIGURES OF THE FOUR SONS OF HORUS FROM TOMB 18*a*. CHICAGO 16323 AND 16319-22. *C*. ALABASTER CANOPIC JARS OF DISNUB. CAIRO J 59899*a*-*d*. *D*. ALABASTER CANOPIC JAR OF MONTUMEHSU. *E*. ENLARGED VIEW OF ONE OF THE CANOPIC JARS OF DISNUB (CF. *C*). *F*-*G*. ALABASTER CANOPIC JARS OF 'ANKHAMENIRDIS FROM TOMB 24. CHICAGO 14665-66

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

A-B. WEST JAMB OF THE GATE OF TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS GERMANICUS, FROM THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH RESPECTIVELY. *C.* LION OF NECTANEBO I IN FRONT OF THE EAST JAMB OF TIBERIUS' GATE. *D.* ROMAN DWELLINGS OUTSIDE THE OLD INCLOSURE WALL (IN A-C 3-8), WITH BROAD AVENUE IN FOREGROUND AND SMALL COPTIC CHURCH AT LEFT, LOOKING SOUTHEAST

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

A. ROMAN DWELLINGS IN A-C 3, LOOKING WEST. *B.* CHILD'S VAULTED TOMB OF THE TWENTY-FIRST OR TWENTY-SECOND DYNASTY IN THE WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE (SEE FIG. 24). *C.* MUMMY LABELS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD. *D.* STORAGE CELLAR IN N 6, TWENTY-FIFTH TO TWENTY-SIXTH DYNASTY. *E.* PLASTERED INDENTATIONS IN A WALL OF A ROMAN HOUSE IN B 6 (FIG. 42, HOUSE IV), LOOKING EAST

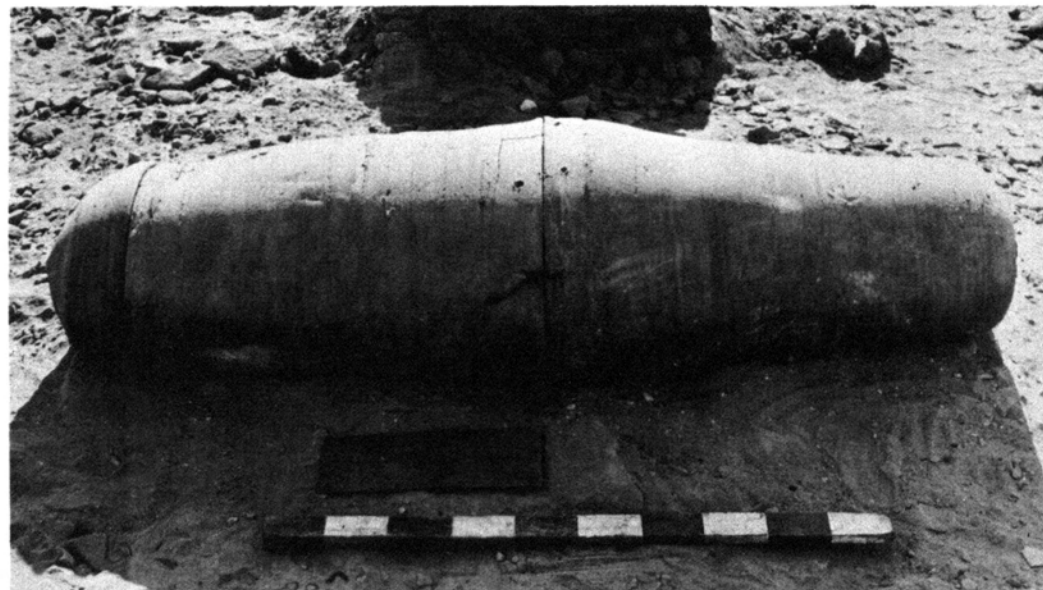
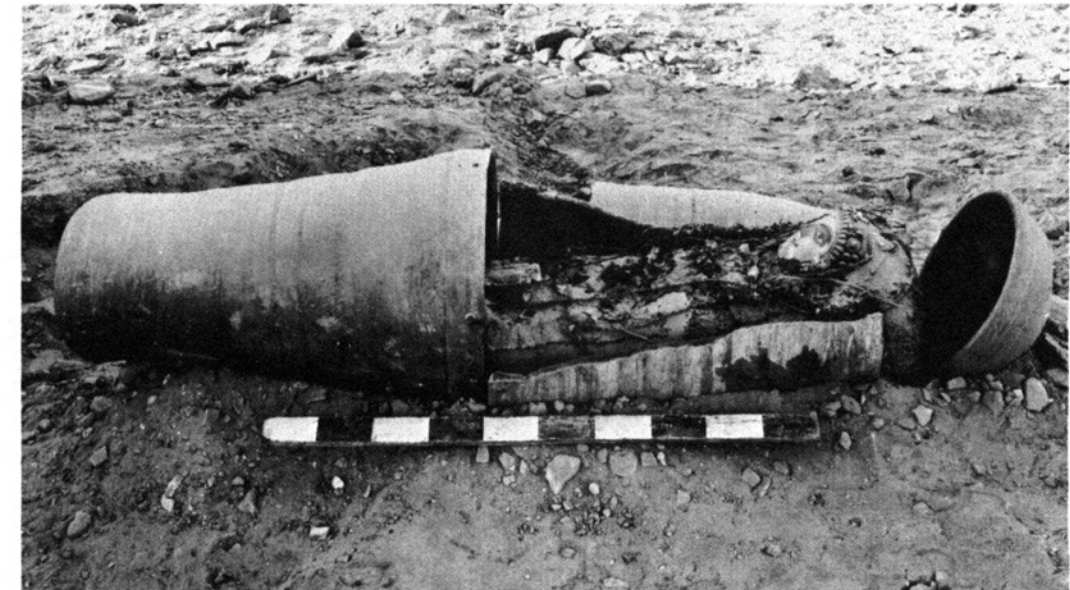
*A**B**C*

PRIVATE BATHROOMS OF THE ROMAN PERIOD. *A-B*. BATH BELONGING TO A HOUSE IN B 5.
C. HEATING PIPES IN THE BATHROOM OF A HOUSE IN B 3

PLATE 26

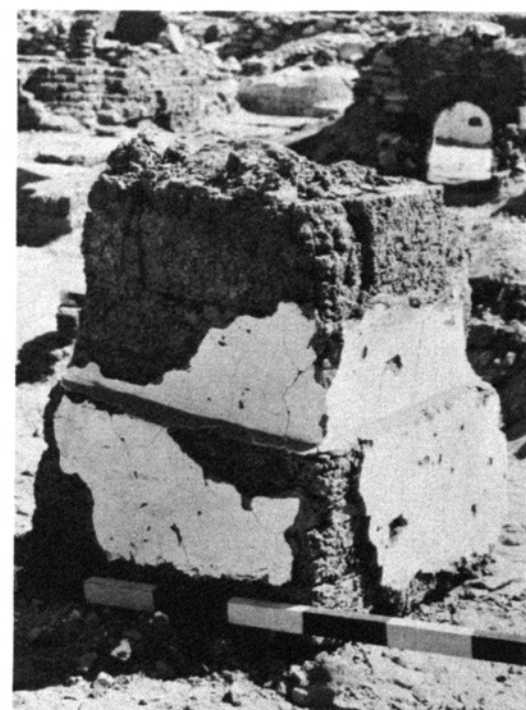
*B*

ROMAN WATER CONDUITS, ORIGINALLY UNDERGROUND, LOOKING WEST (*A*) AND NORTH (*B*)

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

LATE ROMAN CEMETERY IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB. *A*. ENTRANCE SHAFT OF DOMED TOMB NO. 55 FILLED WITH EMPTY AMPHORAE. *B*. MUMMY FROM COFFIN SHOWN AT RIGHT IN PLATE 28 *B*. *C-D*. BAKED-CLAY COFFIN CONTAINING MUMMY

PLATE 28

*A**B**C**D**E**F*

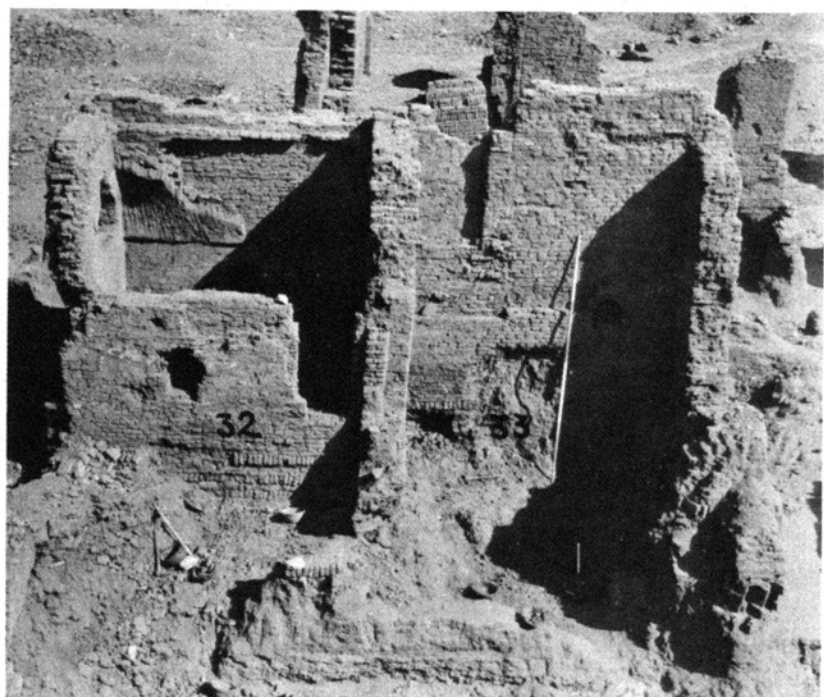
LATE ROMAN CEMETERY IN THE TEMPLE PRECINCT OF EYE AND HARMHAB. *A*. MASK OF MUMMY FOUND IN COFFIN SHOWN AT RIGHT IN *B*. *B*. CLAY COFFINS. *C*. PEDESTAL, APPARENTLY OF AN ALTAR. *D*. DOMED TOMB WITH MUMMIES STILL IN PLACE. *E*. TOMB VAULT. *F*. GROUP OF DOMED TOMBS



A



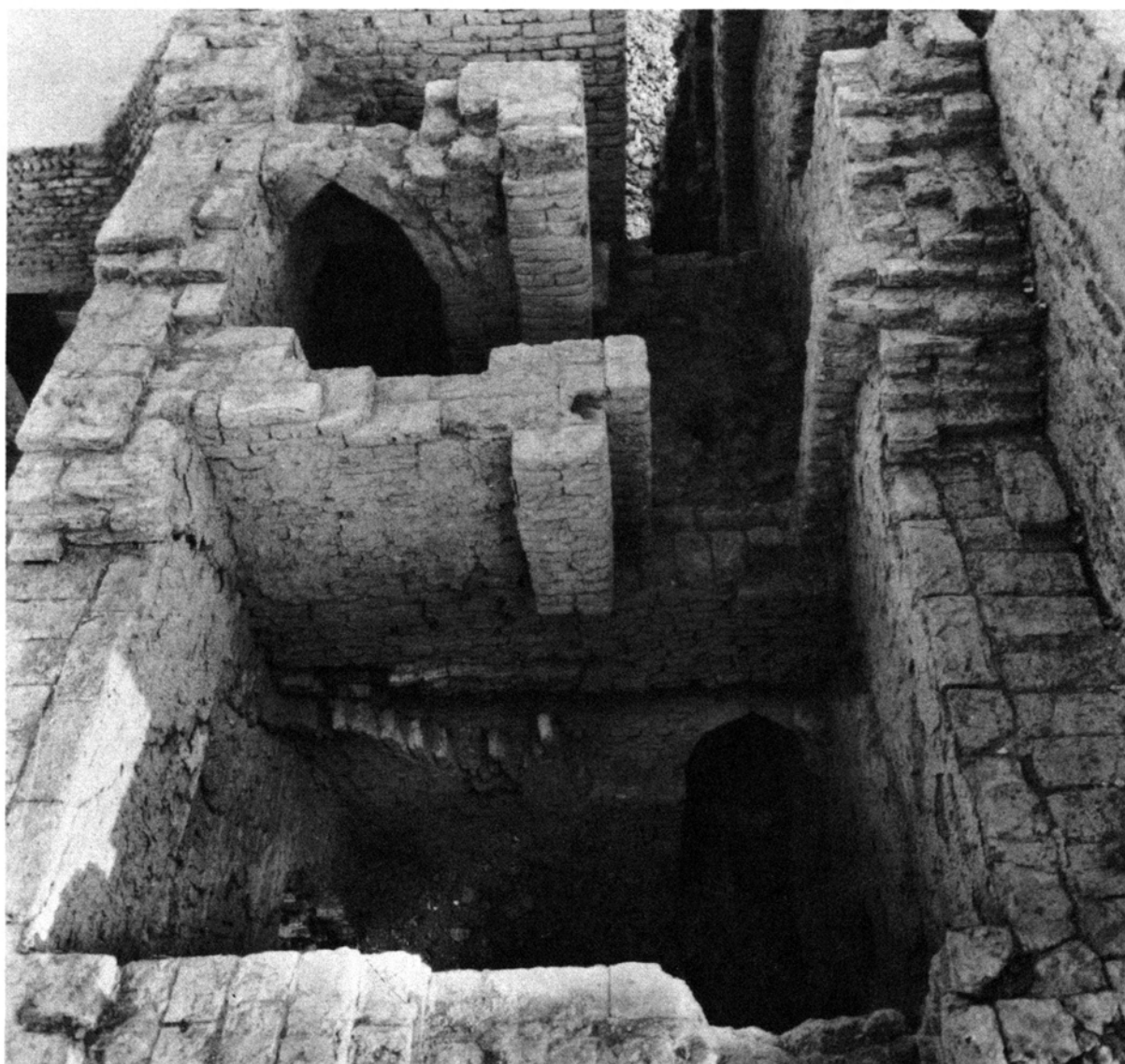
B



C

COPTIC RESIDENTIAL QUARTER. A. NORTHWESTERN SECTION OF THE TOWN
OF JÊME. B-C. GROUPS OF HOUSES, FROM THE SOUTH

PLATE 30

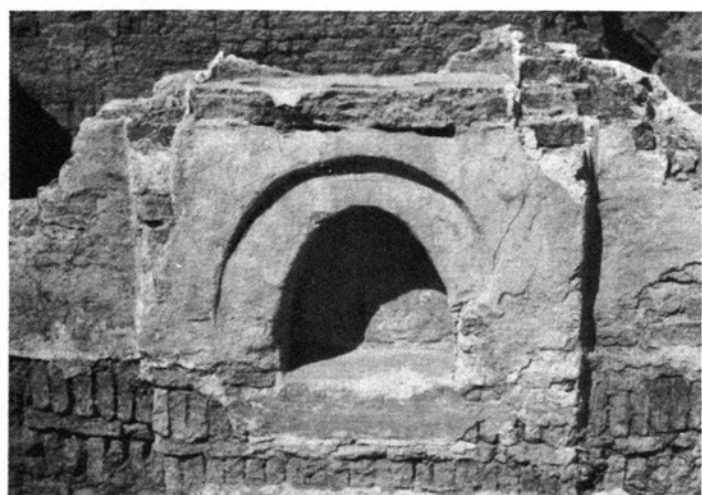


A



B

COPTIC HOUSE 77. *A*. FIRST FLOOR, FROM THE WEST. *B*. STAIRWAY, FROM THE SOUTH

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

DETAILS OF COPTIC HOUSES. *A*. HOUSES 77-78, FROM THE EAST. *B*. SOCLE OF WATER-JUG NICHE IN HOUSE 3. *C*. WATER-JUG STAND CUT INTO THE CAPITAL OF A COLUMN IN THE FIRST COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE. *D*. COMPLETE WATER-JUG NICHE WITH SOCLE IN HOUSE 102



A

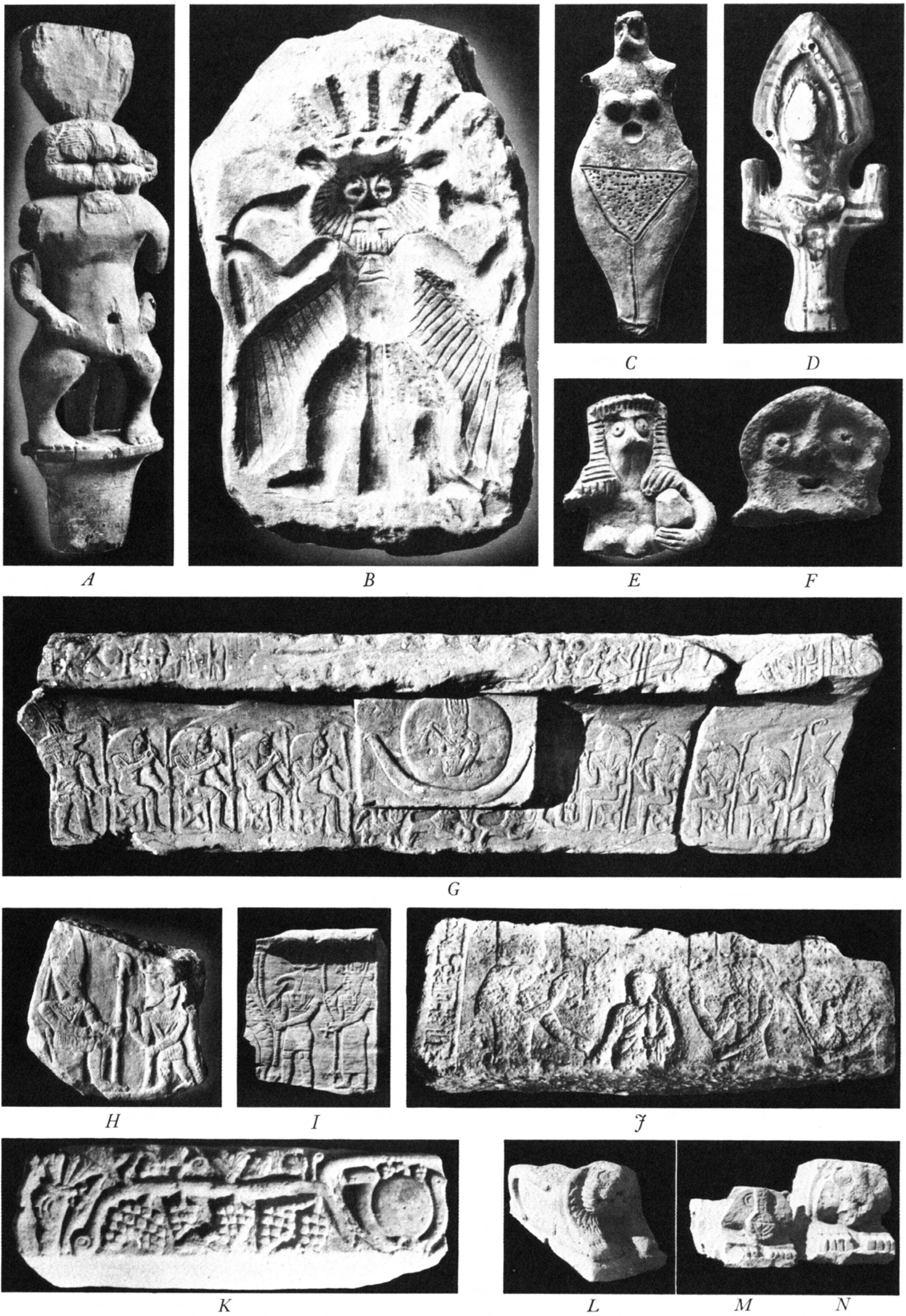


B

GREAT TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST.
 A. NORTH COLONNADE OF THE FIRST COURT WITH REMAINS OF COPTIC HOUSES. SEBAH
 PHOTOGRAPH NO. 770. B. WEST SIDE OF THE SECOND COURT WITH REMAINS OF
 COPTIC CHURCH. ZANGAKI PHOTOGRAPH NO. 920

*A**B*

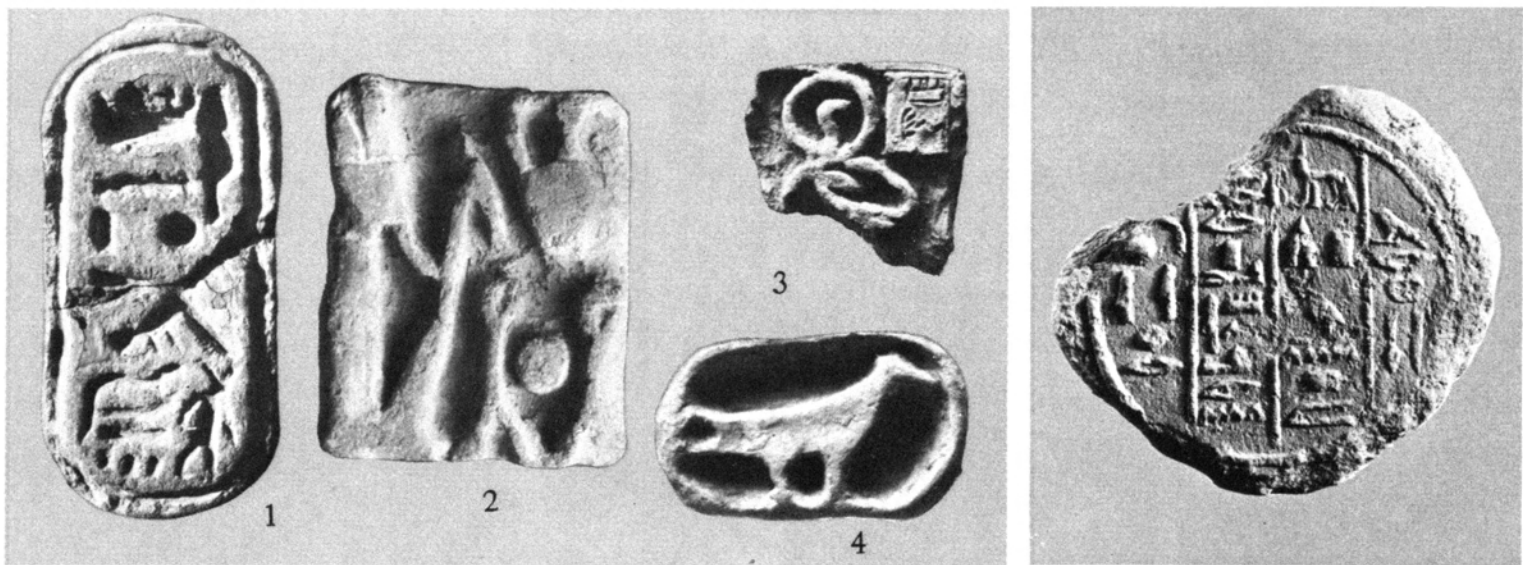
GREAT TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE LAST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY AFTER CHRIST.
A. SOUTH COLONNADE OF THE SECOND COURT WITH REMAINS OF COPTIC CHURCH. SEBAH
 PHOTOGRAPH NO. 776. *B.* NORTH COLONNADE OF THE SECOND COURT WITH
 APSE OF COPTIC CHURCH. SEBAH PHOTOGRAPH NO. 777



A-F. SMALL FIGURES FROM DWELLINGS. G-K. LATE ROMAN RELIEFS. L-N. LION SCULPTURES

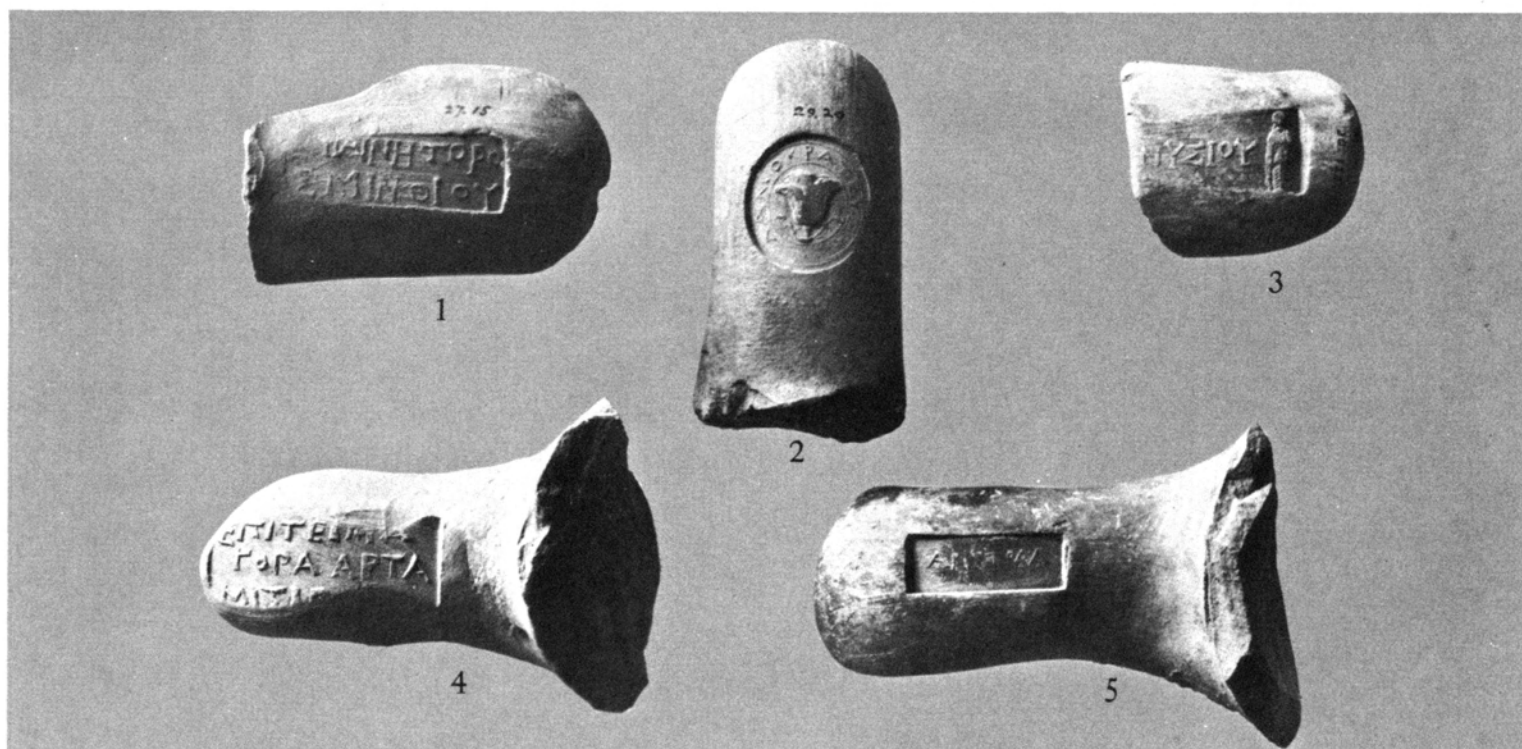


A



B

C



D

A. HEART SCARABS. B. STAMP SEALS. C. INSCRIBED CLAY CONE. D. GREEK SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON AMPHORA HANDLES

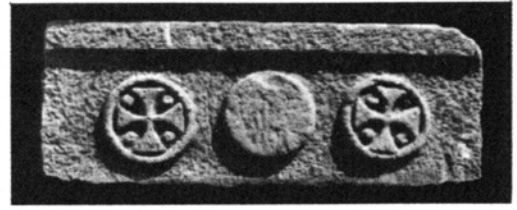
PLATE 36



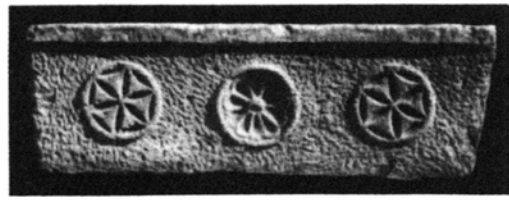
1



2



3



4



5



6



7



8



9



10



11



12



13



14



15



16



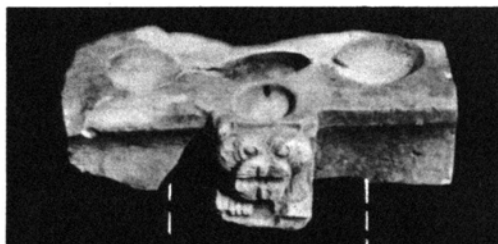
17



18

A

1



2



3



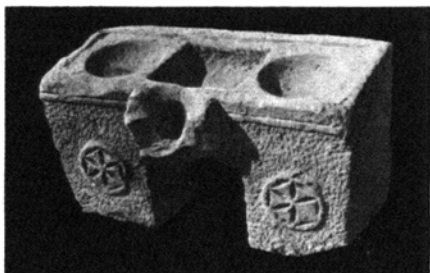
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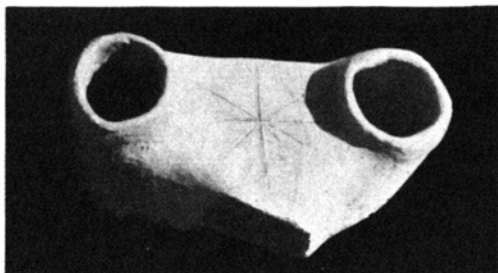
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6



7



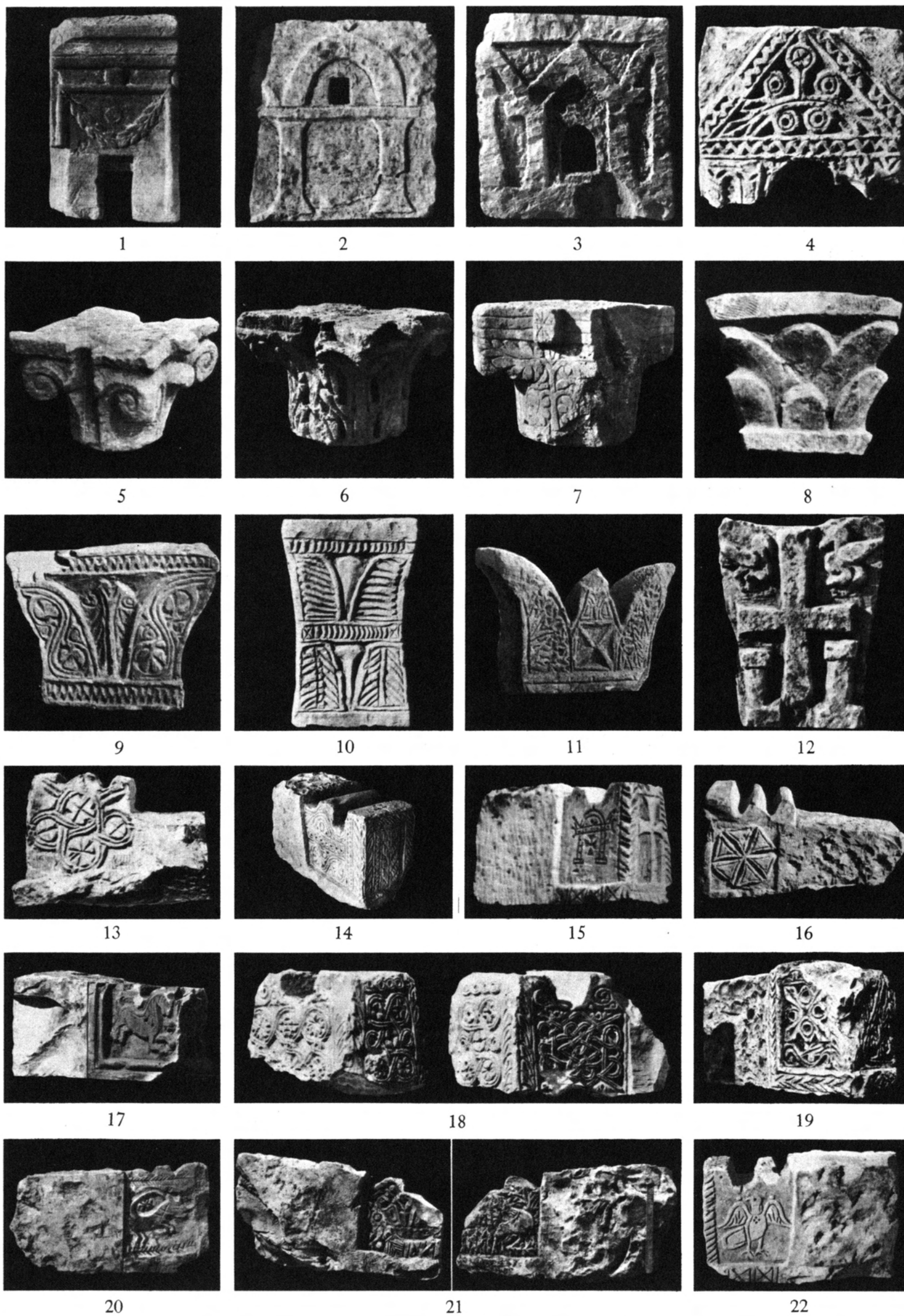
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9

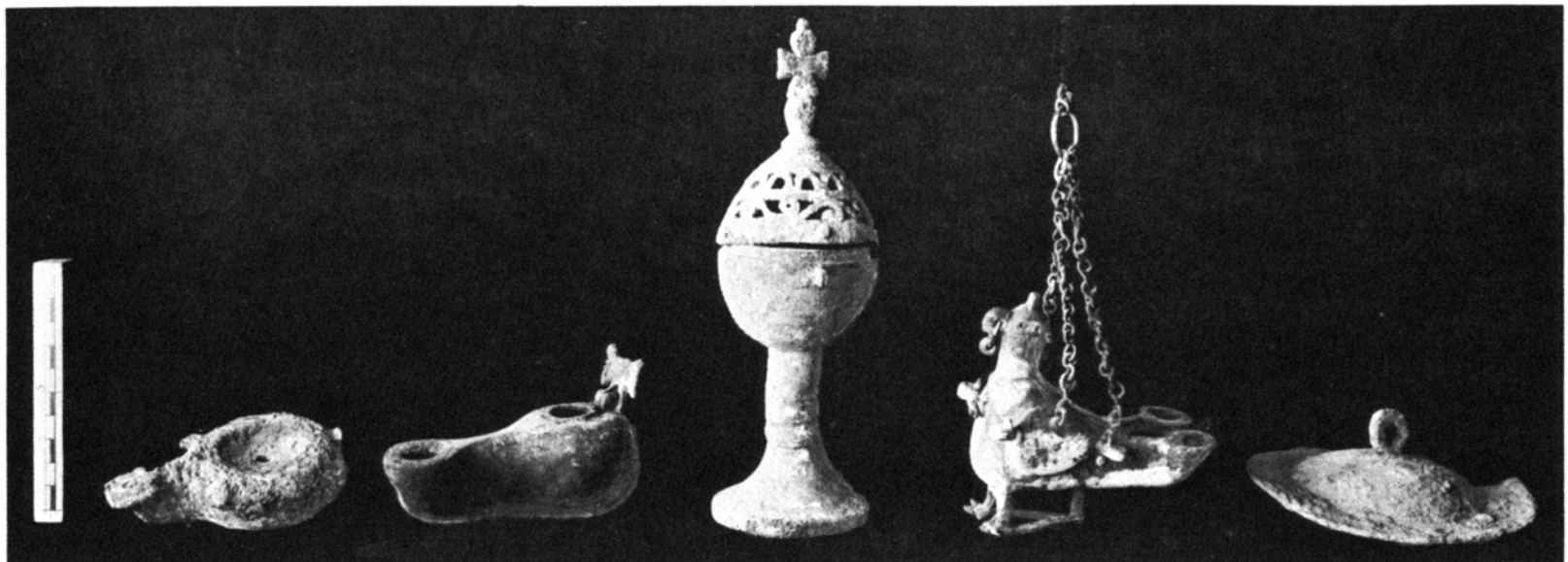
B

A. ORNAMENTED DOOR LINTELS FROM COPTIC HOUSES. *B.* WATER-JUG STANDS FROM COPTIC HOUSES



ORNAMENTED ARCHITECTURAL ELEMENTS: WINDOWS? (1-4), CAPITALS (5-9), PILASTER (10),
CROWN OF PILLAR OR STELA (11), KEYSTONE (12), AND CONSOLES (13-22)

PLATE 38



1

2

3

4

5



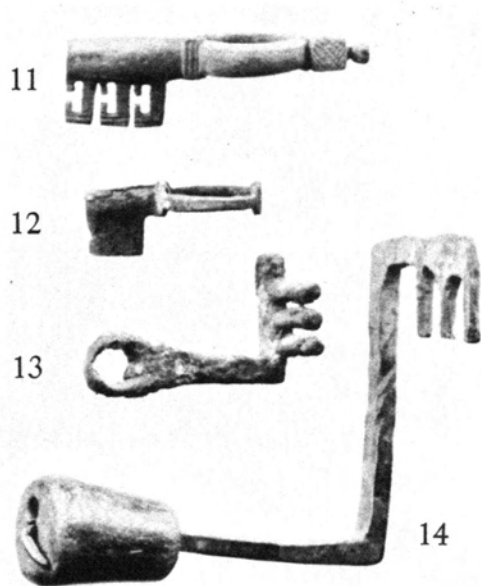
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7

8

9

10



11

12

13

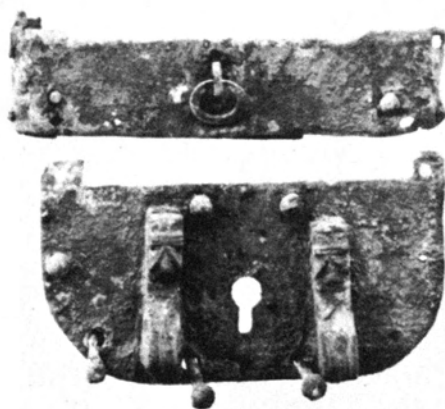
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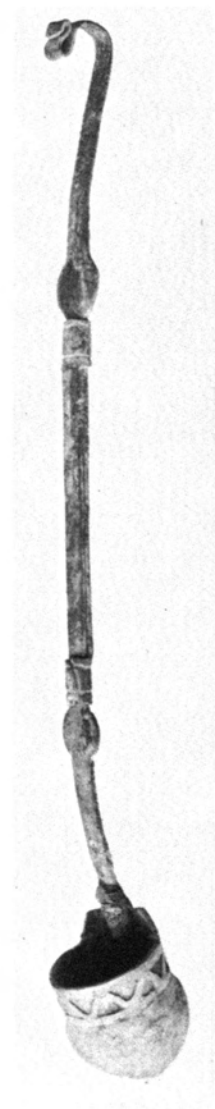
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17

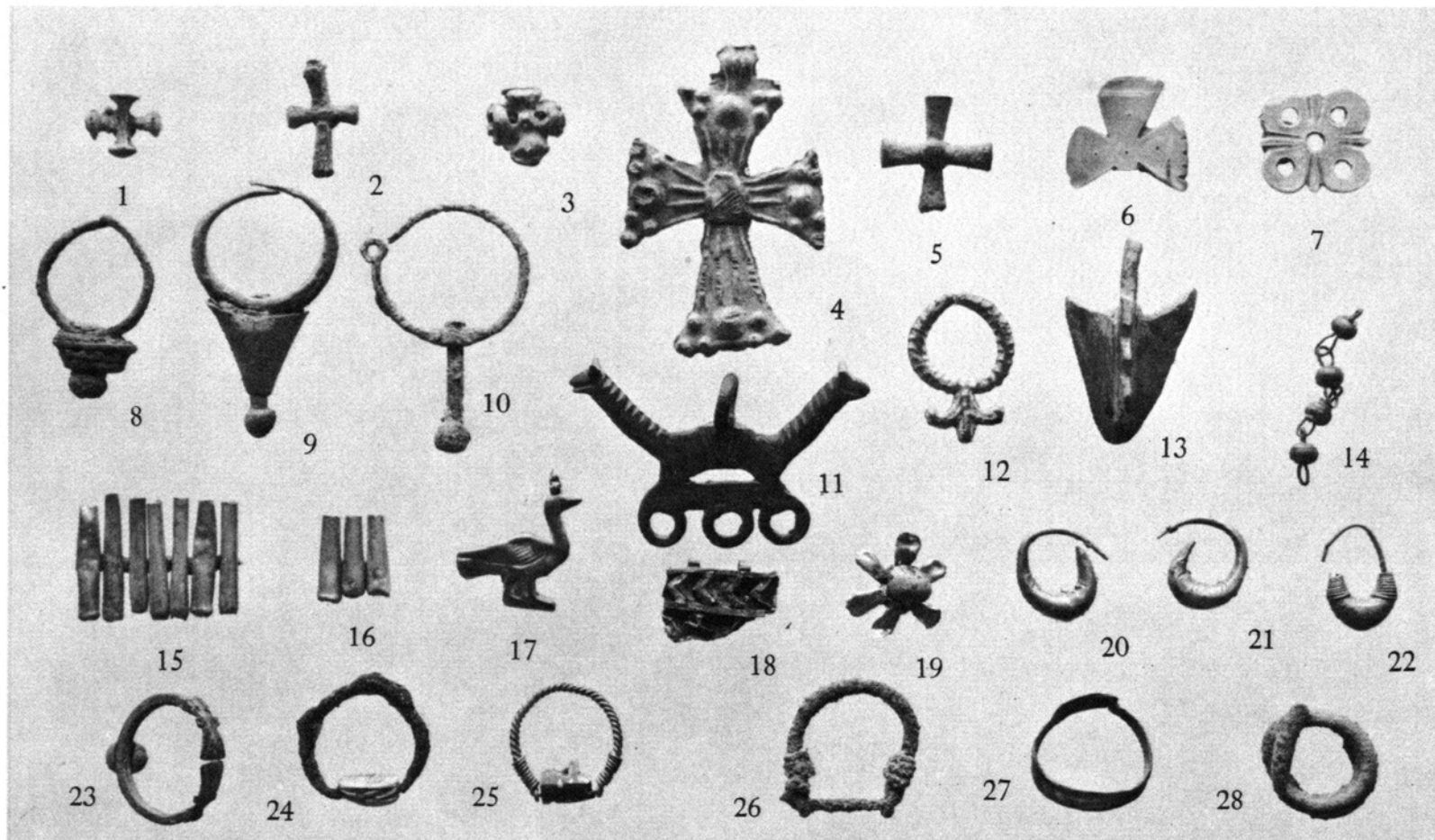


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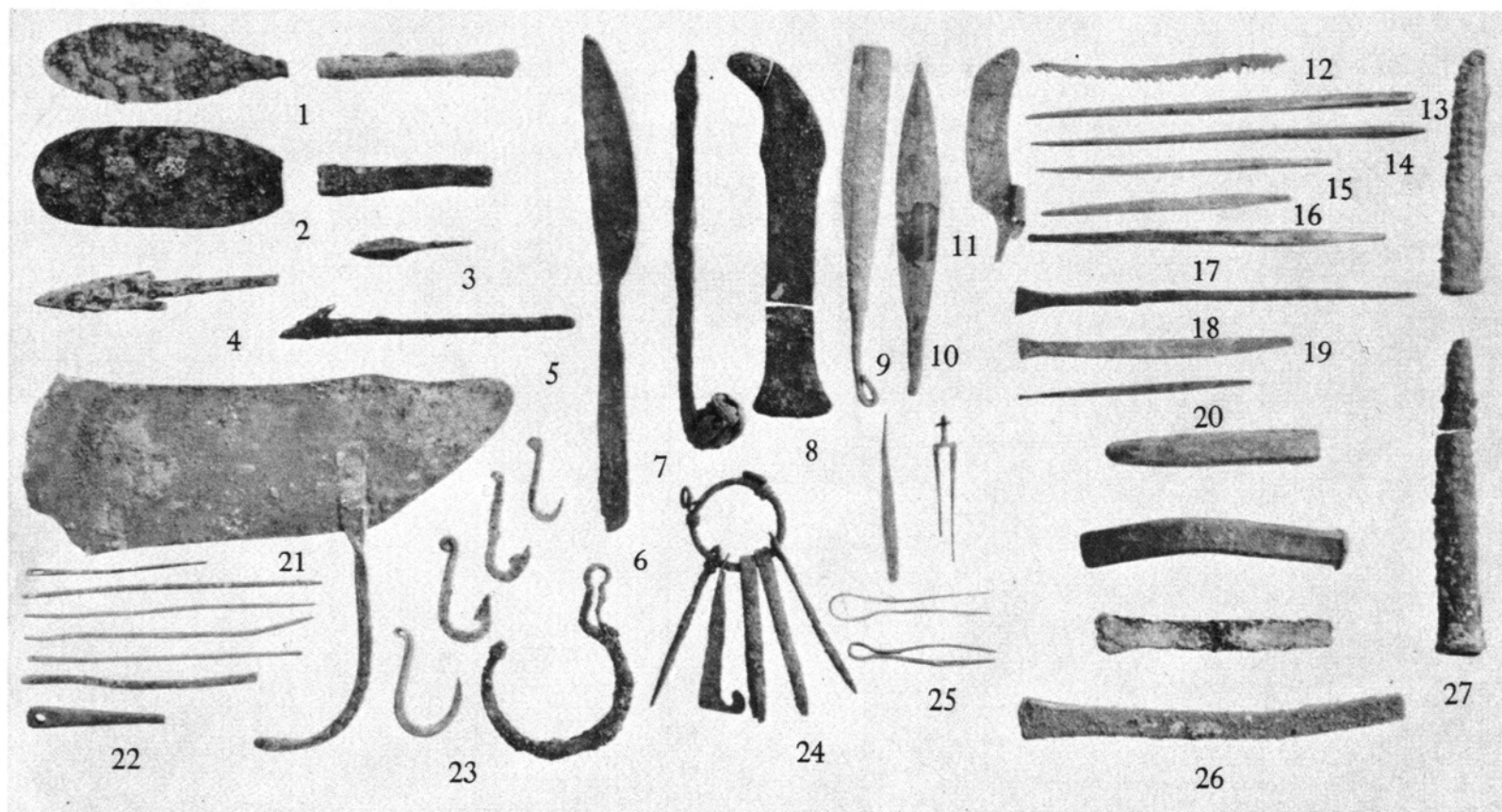


18

ROMAN AND COPTIC METAL OBJECTS



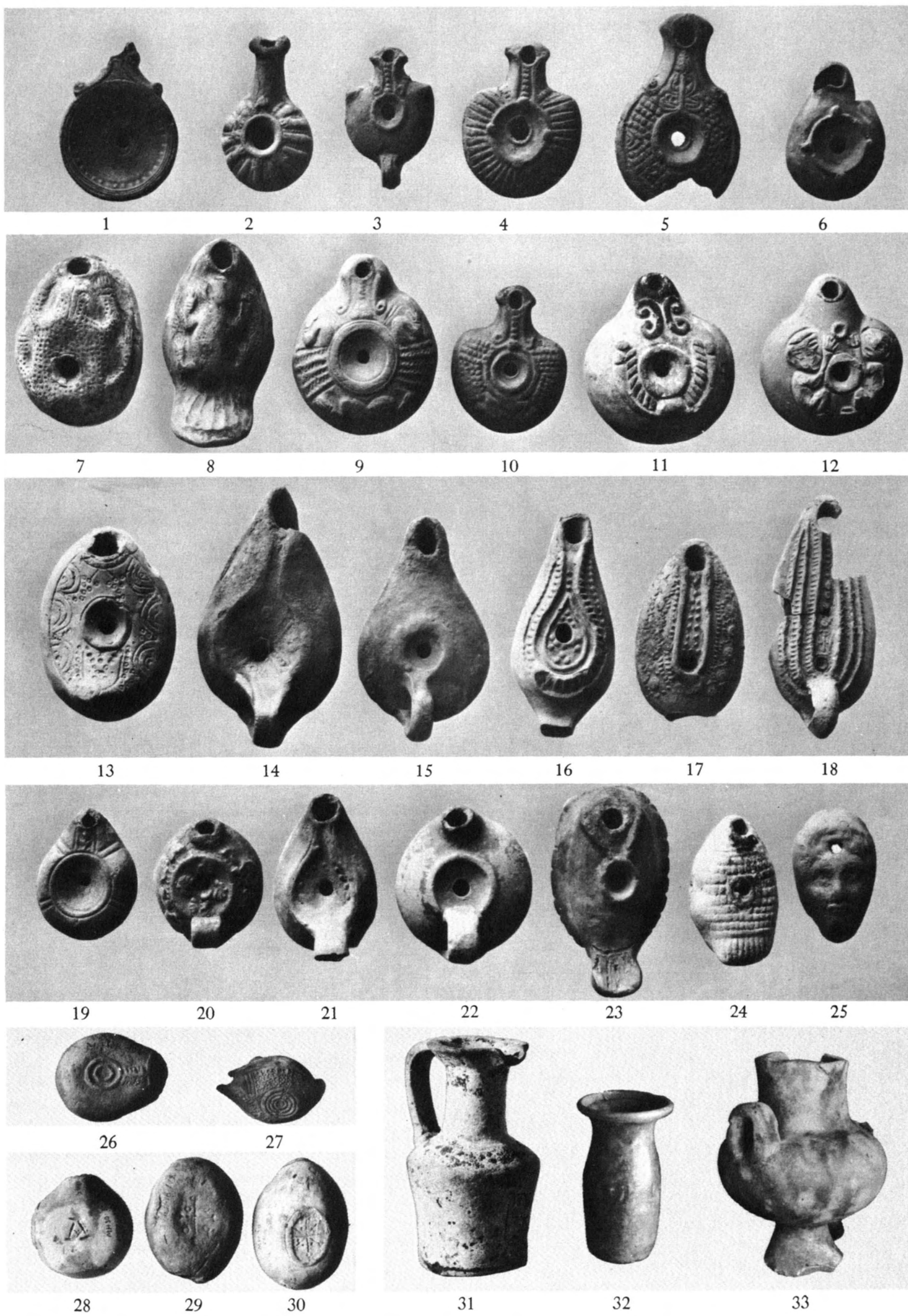
A



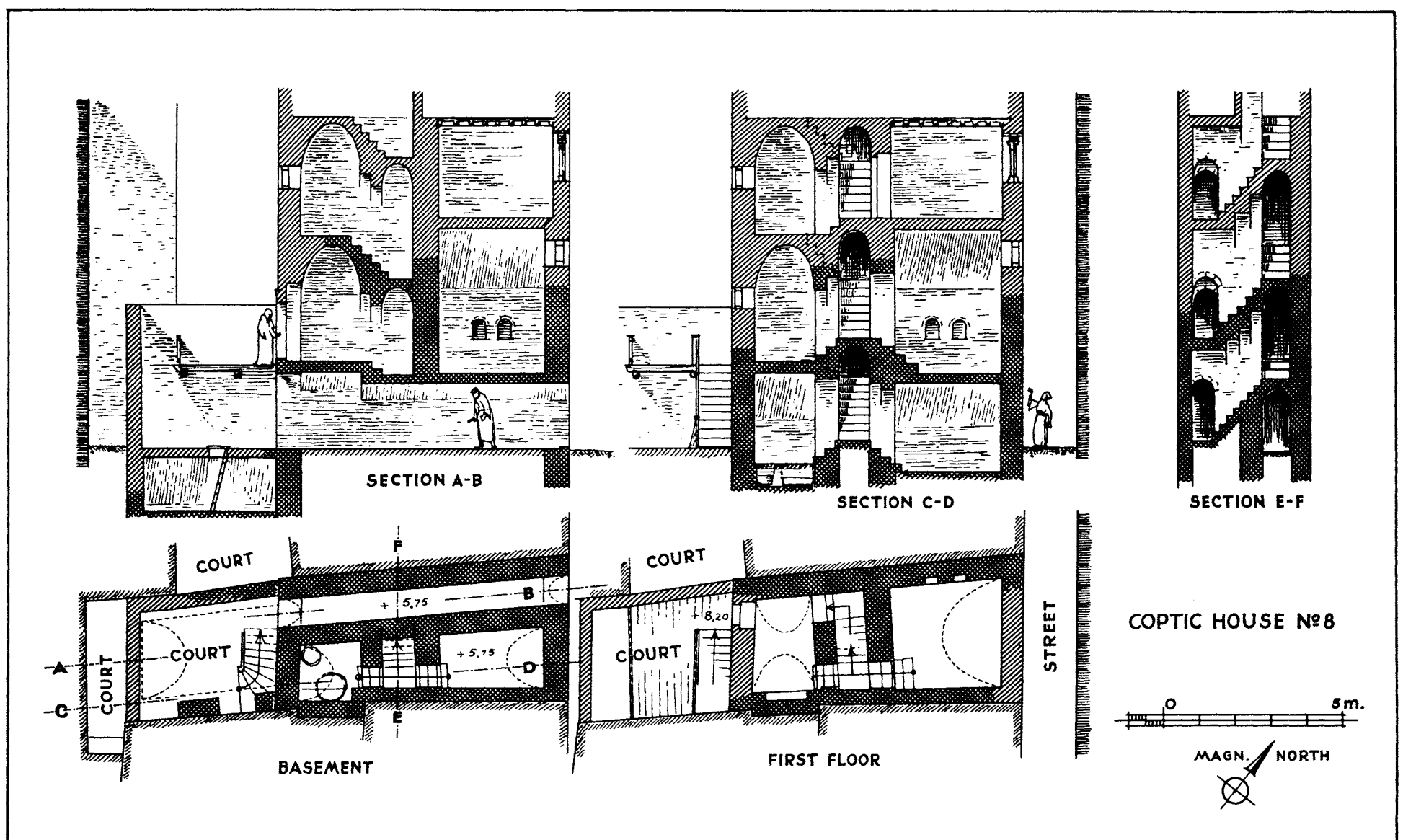
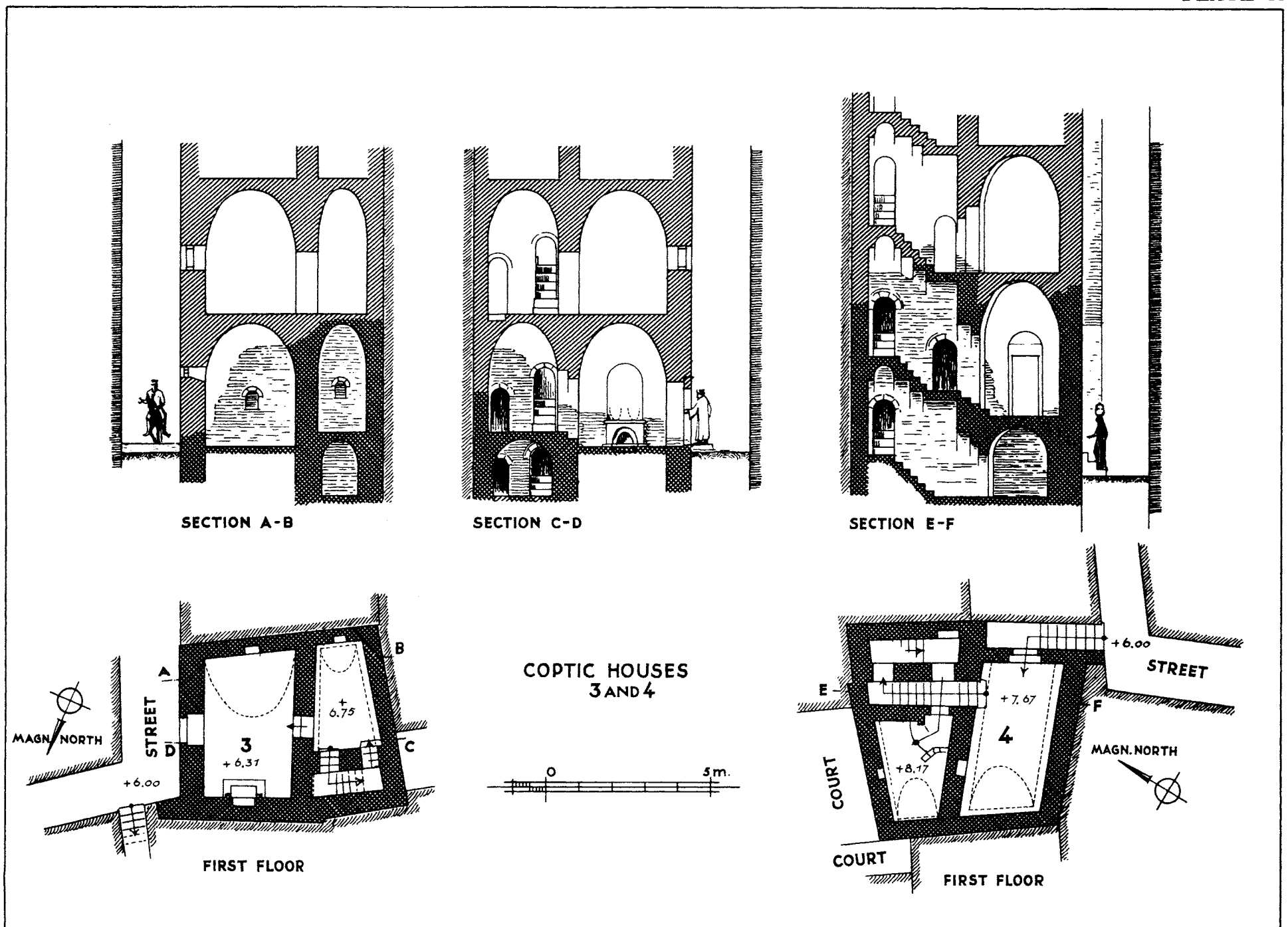
B

A. JEWELRY. ABOUT ACTUAL SIZE. B. METAL TOOLS. SCALE, ABOUT 1:2

PLATE 40

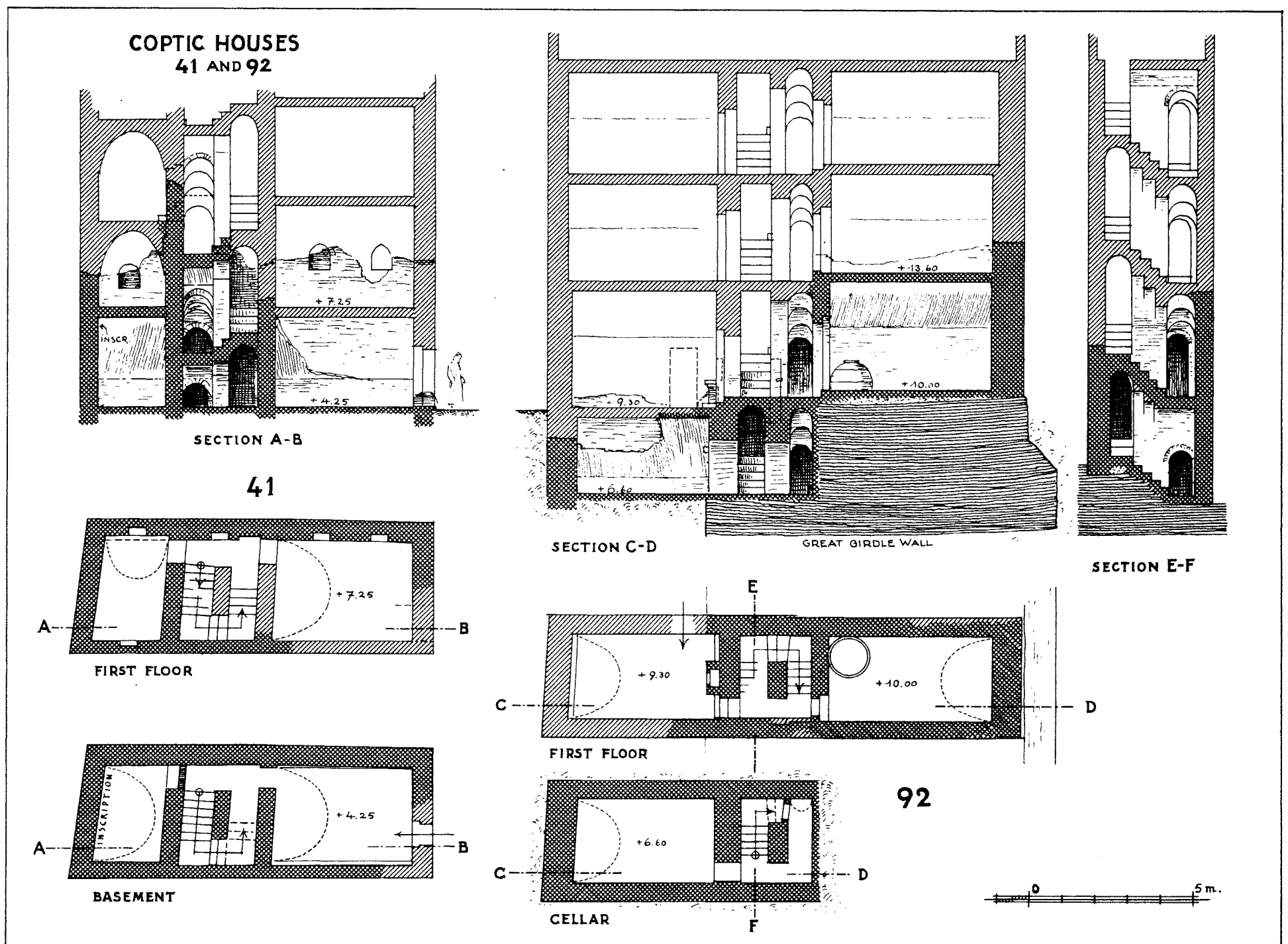
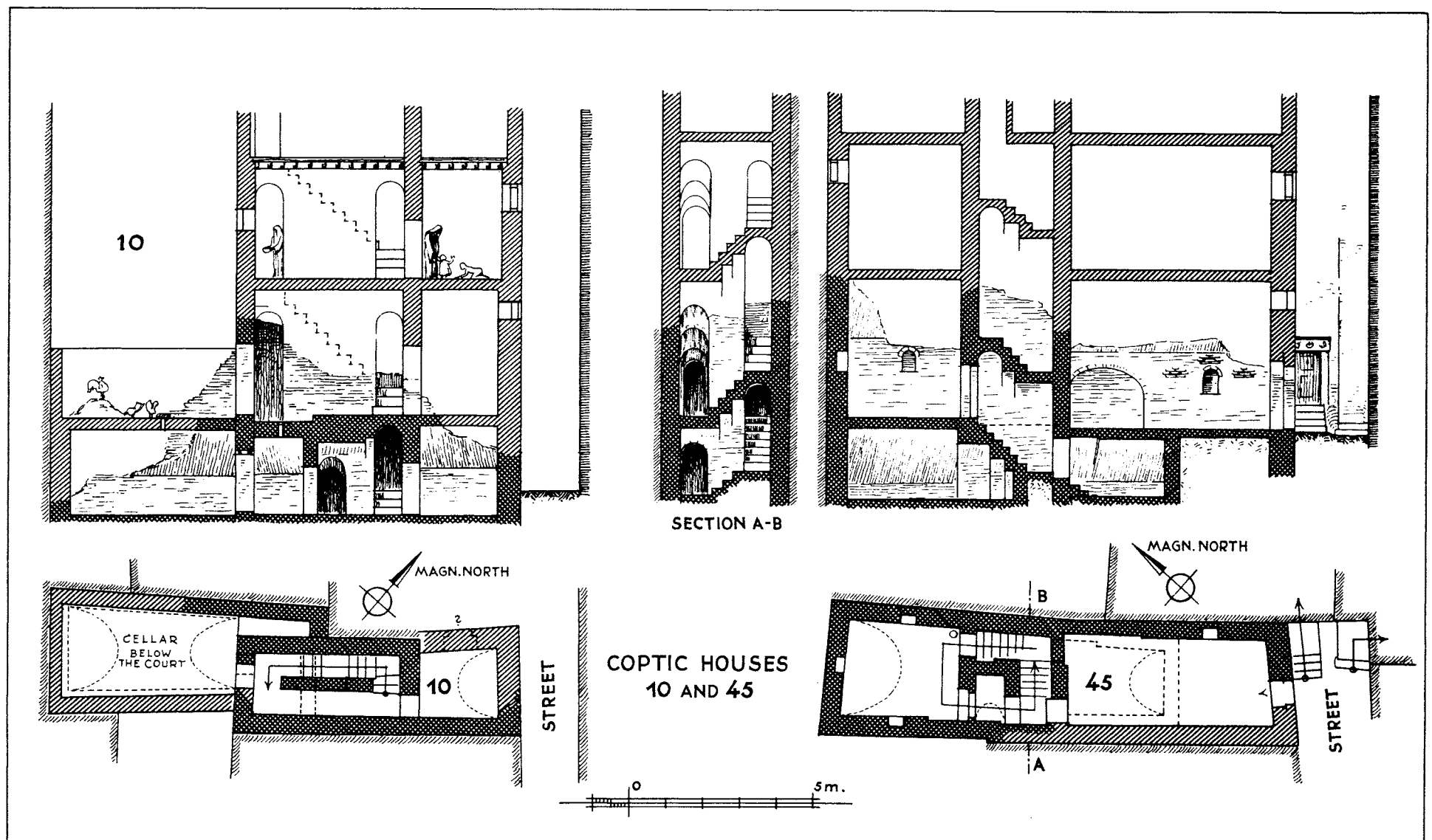


CLAY LAMPS (1-30), FAYENCE (31) AND GLASS (32-33) VESSELS

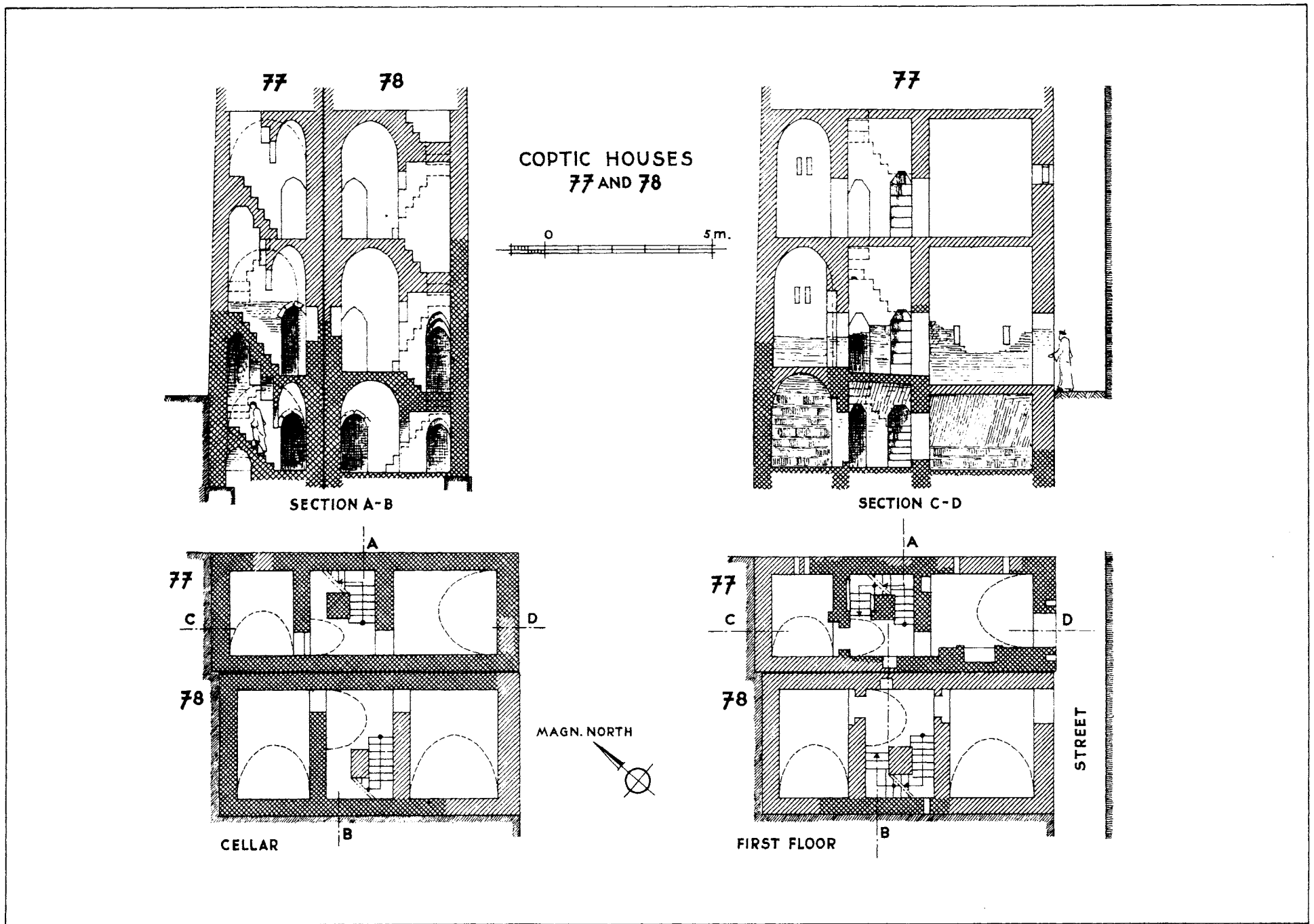


COPTIC HOUSES 3-4 AND 8. PLANS AND SECTIONS. SCALE, 1:150

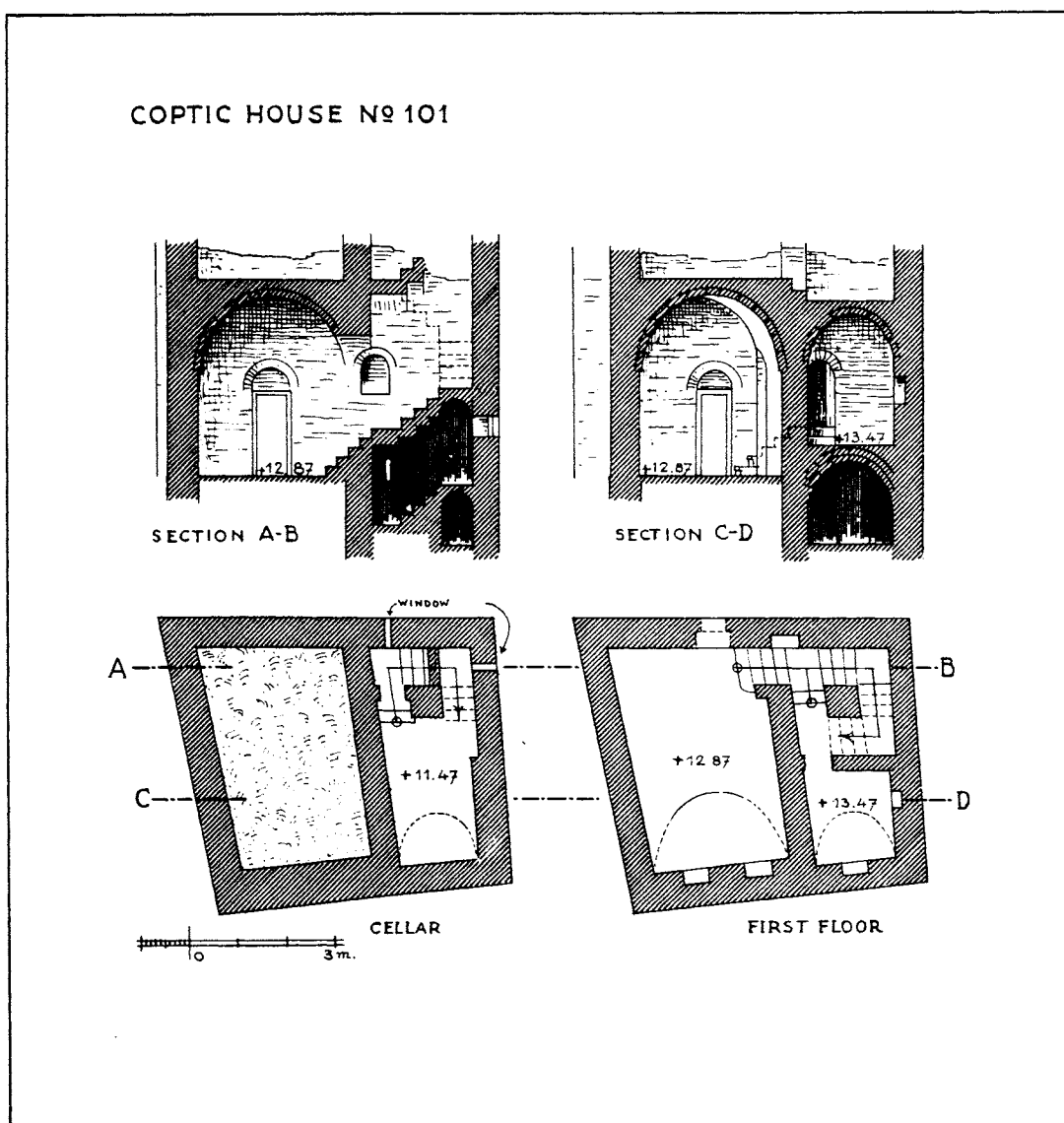
PLATE 42



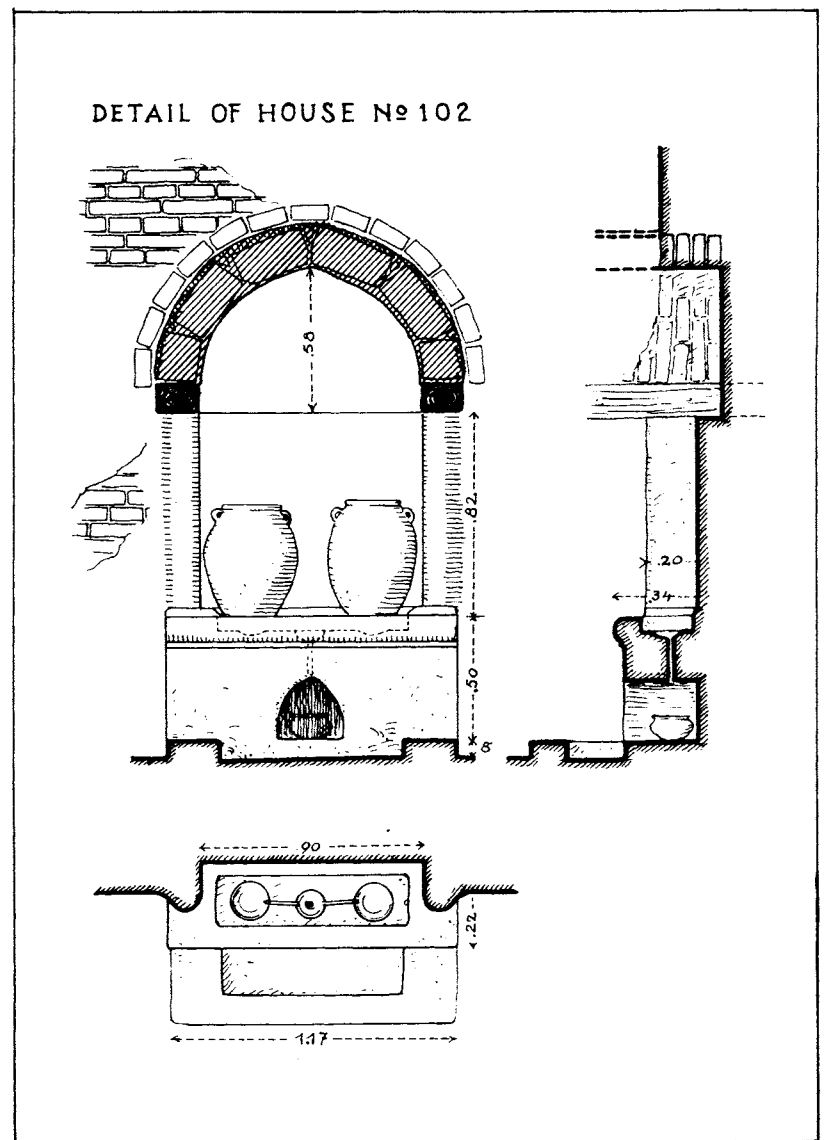
COPTIC HOUSES 10 AND 45, 41 AND 92. PLANS AND SECTIONS. SCALE, 1:150



A

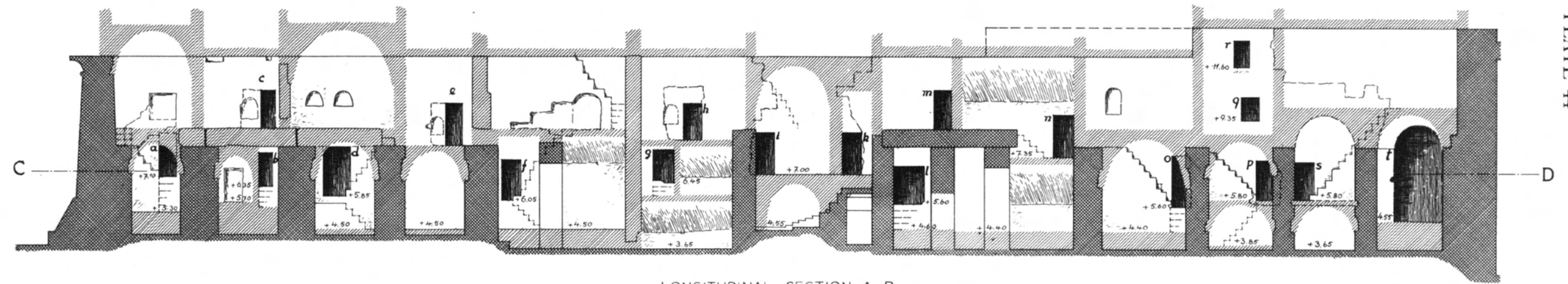


B

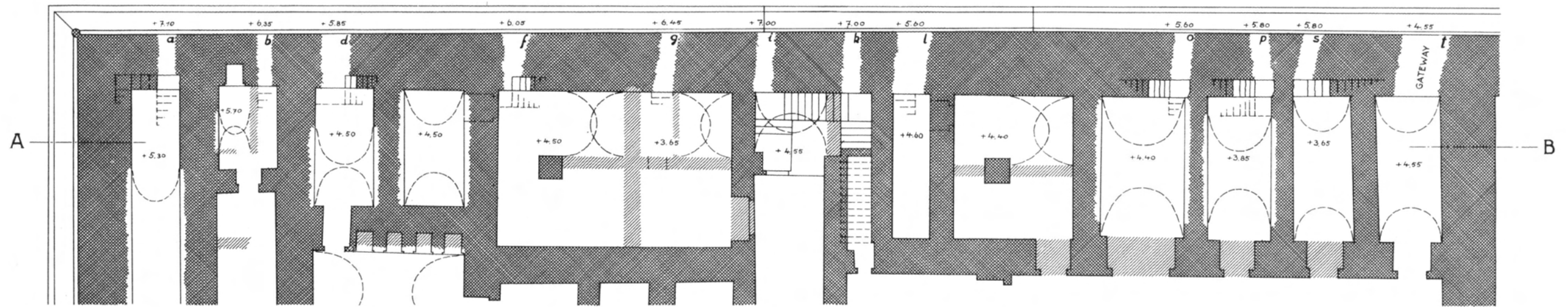


C

A. COPTIC HOUSES 77-78. B. COPTIC HOUSE 101. PLANS AND SECTIONS. SCALE, 1:150.
C. WATER-JUG NICHE IN HOUSE 102. SCALE, 1:30

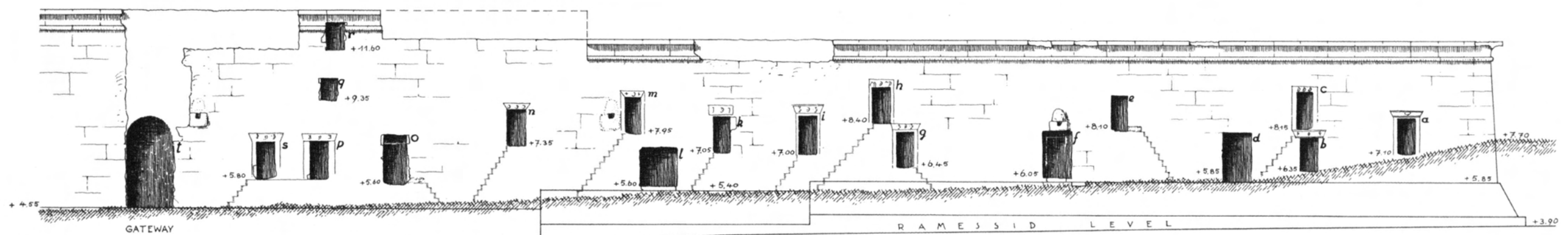


LONGITUDINAL SECTION A-B



GROUND PLAN AT HEIGHT OF C-D

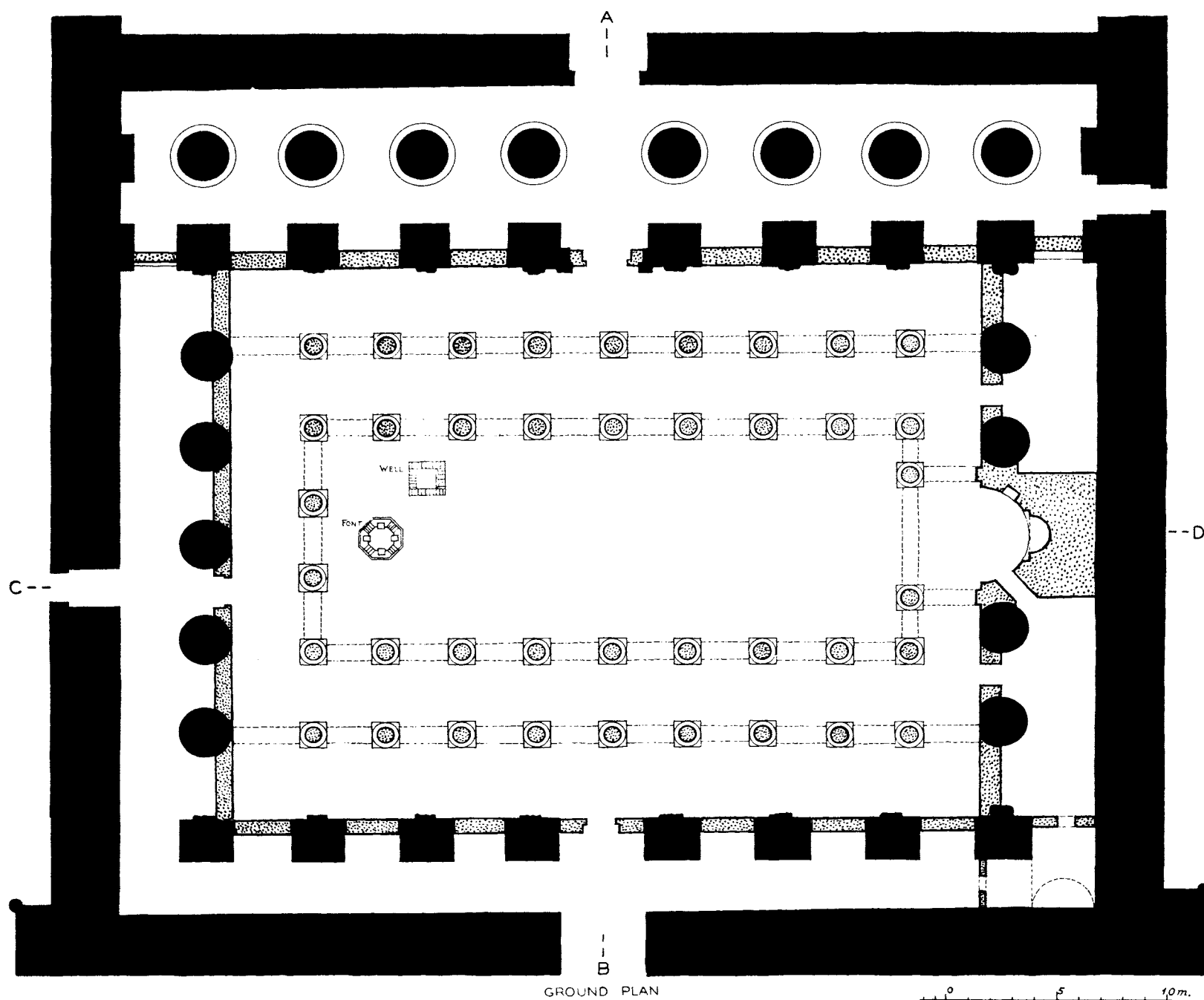
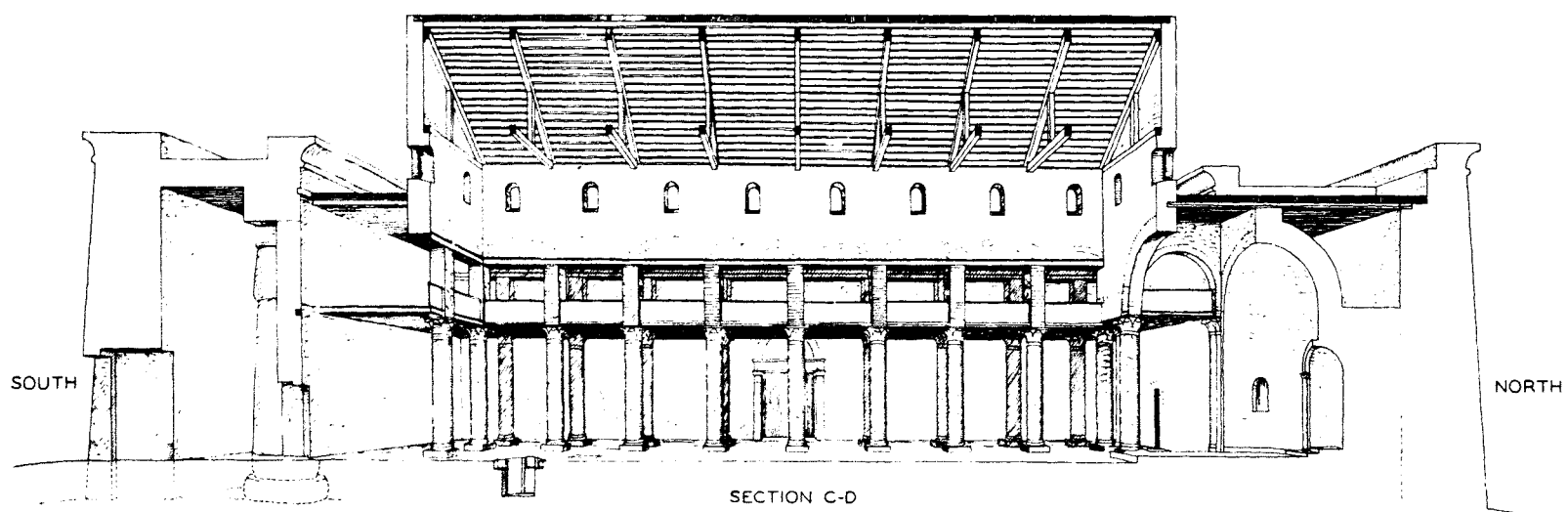
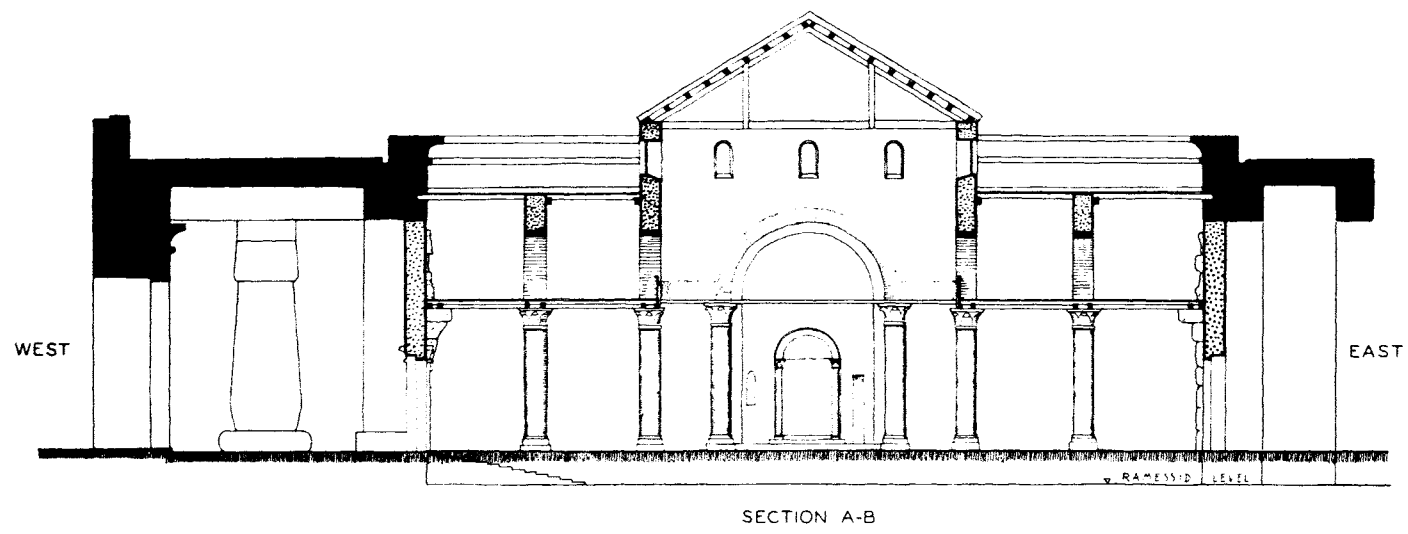
STONE WALLS OF RAMSES III
 RECONSTRUCTED BRICK WALLS OF COPTIC HOUSES



NORTH ELEVATION

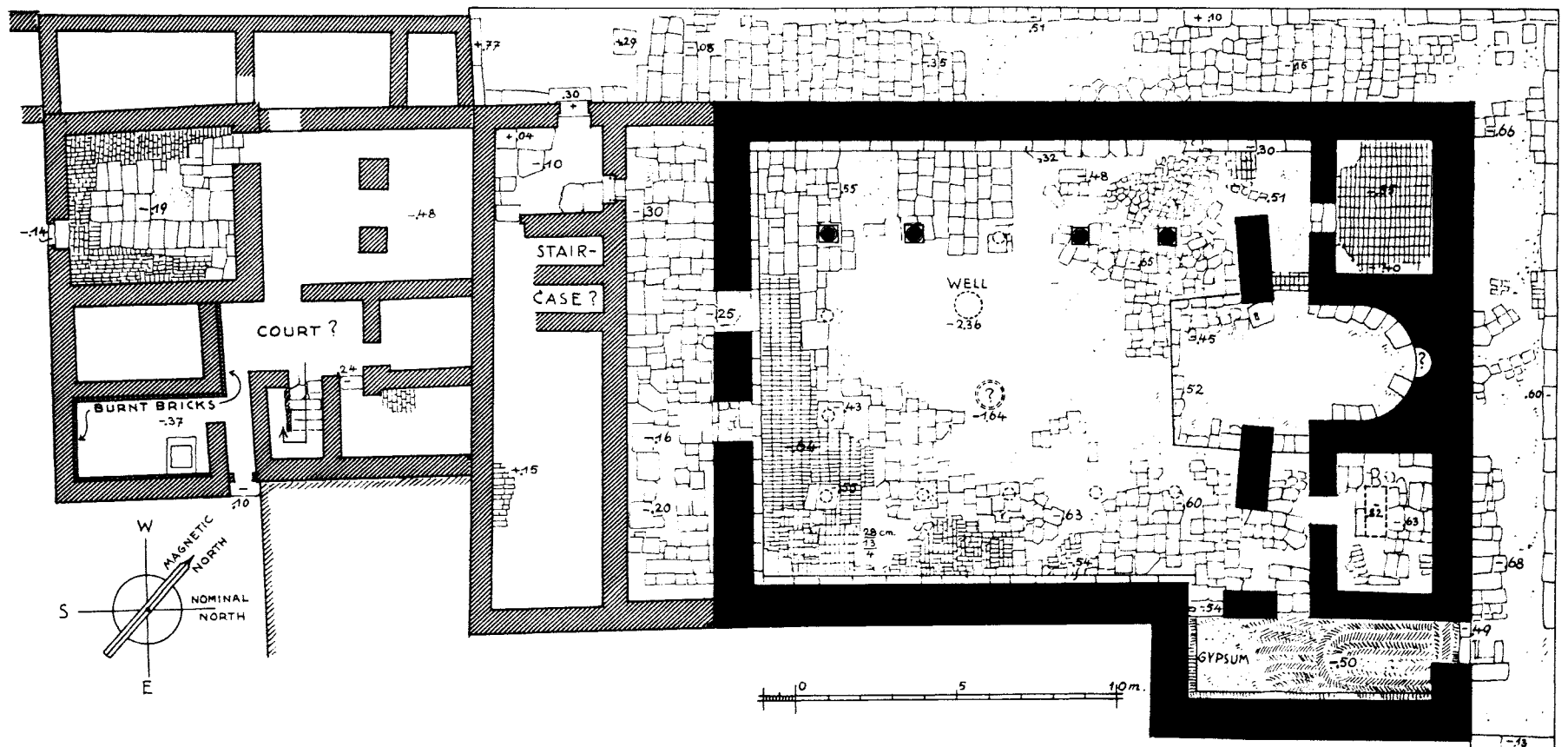
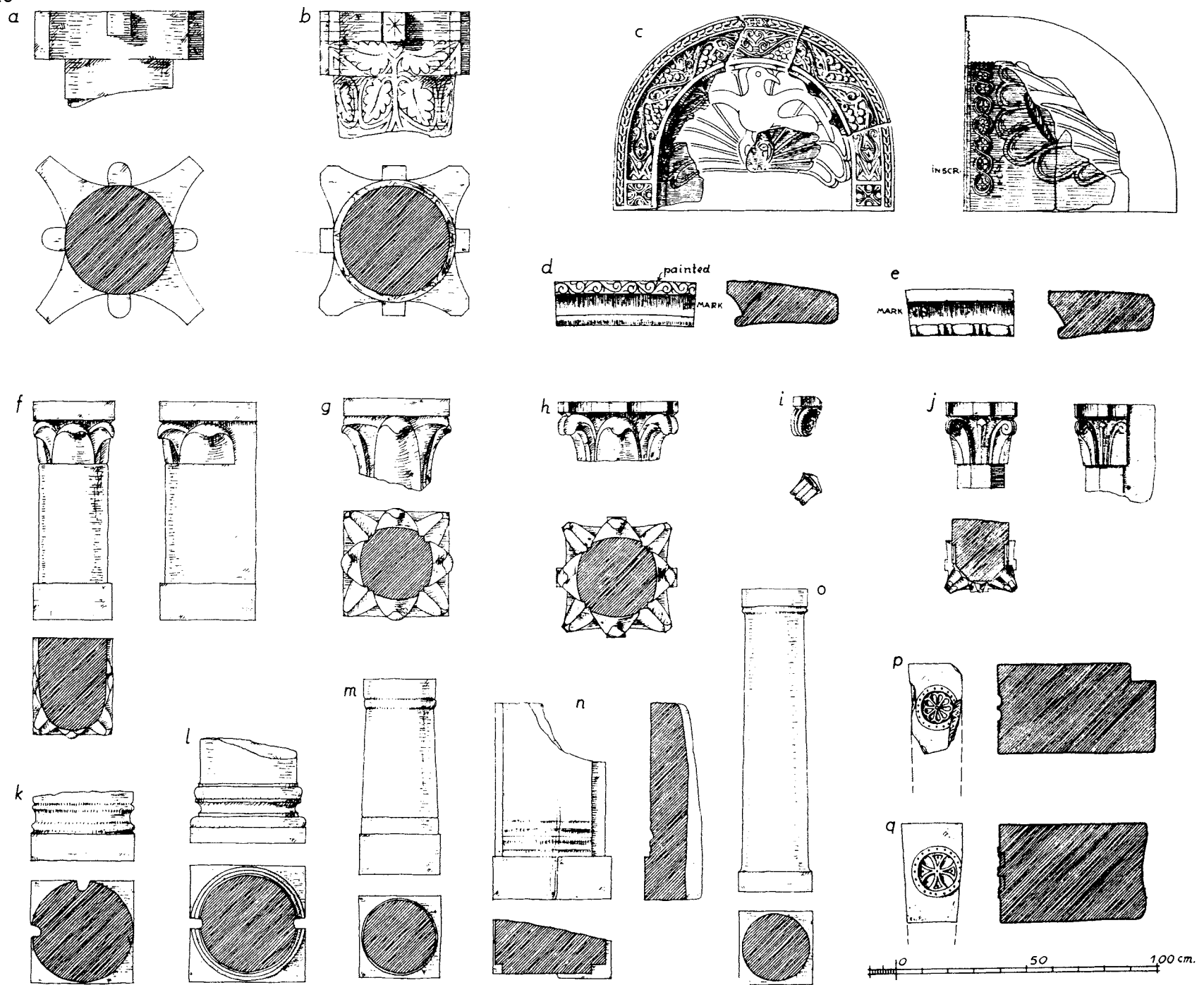
0 5 10 m.
 ZERO-POINT OF LEVELING, 77.09 m. ABOVE SEA-LEVEL

COPTIC HOUSES BUILT INTO THE REAR PART OF THE GREAT TEMPLE. WEST-EAST SECTION A-B, PLAN AT LEVEL C-D, AND NORTH ELEVATION. SCALE, 1:200

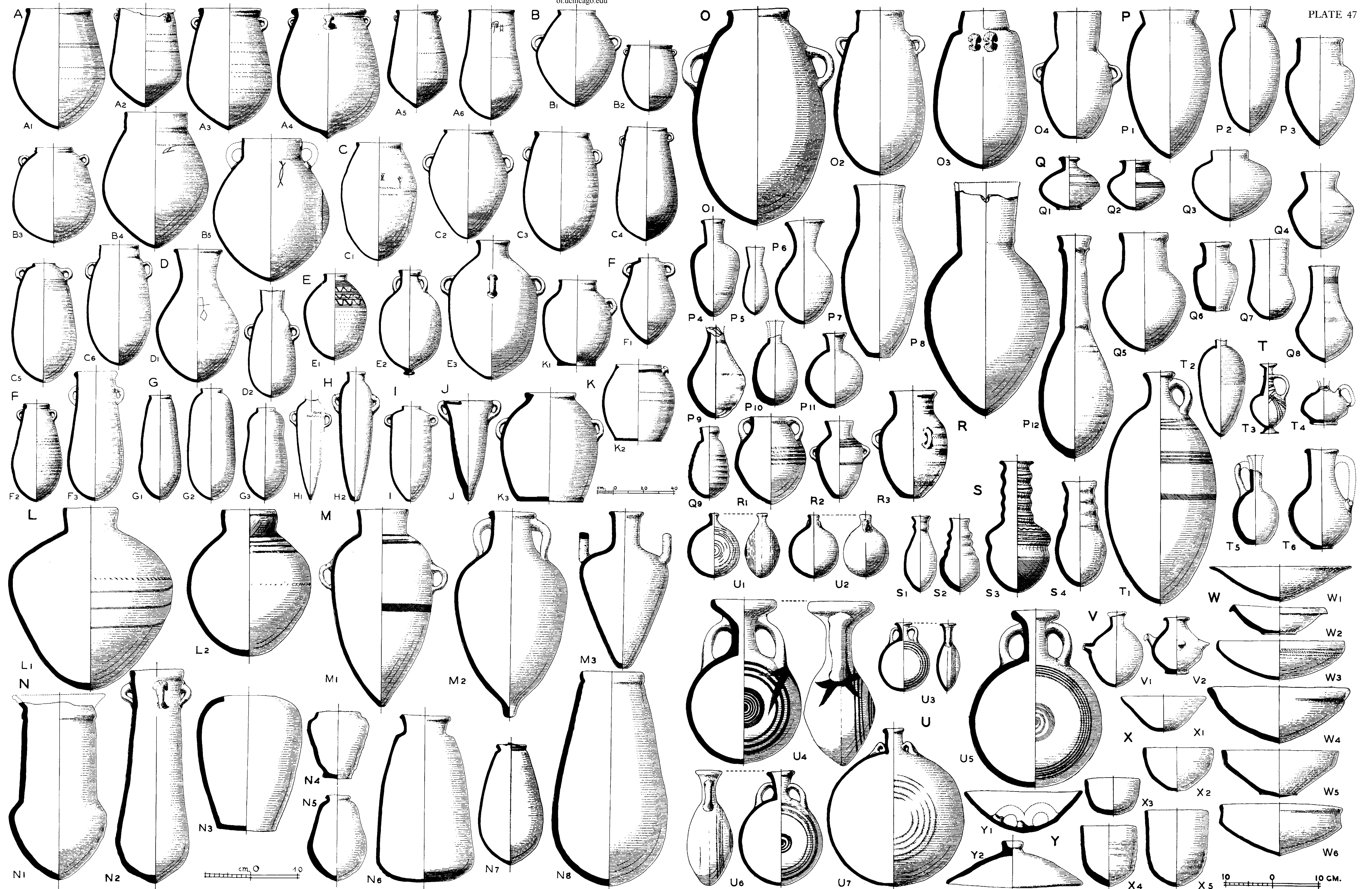


LARGE COPTIC CHURCH BUILT INTO THE SECOND COURT OF THE GREAT TEMPLE. SCALE, 1:250

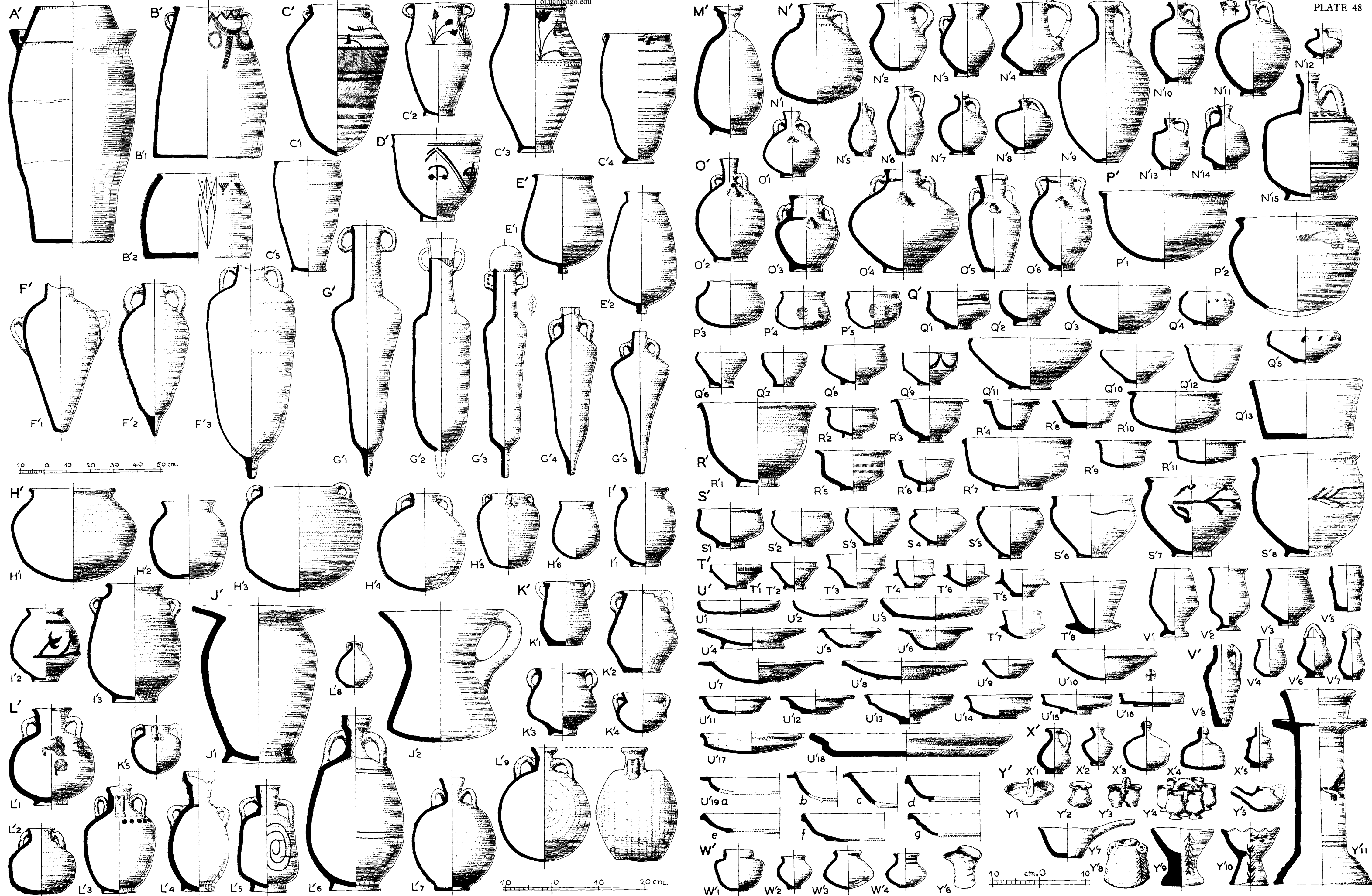
PLATE 46



SMALL COPTIC CHURCH OUTSIDE THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE (IN B 7-8). ARCHITECTURAL DETAILS. SCALE, 1:20. GROUND PLAN. SCALE, 1:200



POTTERY MAINLY OF THE FIRST HALF
OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM B.C.
SCALE, 1:15 (A-K) AND 1:5 (L-Y)



POTTERY MAINLY OF THE FIRST MILLENNIUM
AFTER CHRIST. SCALE, 1:10 (A'-G') AND 1:5 (H'-Y')

