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THE EXCAVATION OF MEDINET HABU—VOLUME II

THE TEMPLES OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY

BY
UVO HÖLSCHER

WITH CONTRIBUTIONS BY RUDOLF ANTHES

TRANSLATED BY MRS. KEITH C. SEELE



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FOREWORD

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

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

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

UVO HÖLSCHER

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	xvii
I. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU	1
INTRODUCTION	3
ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION	4
EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS BENEATH THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE	4
THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL"	4
THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS"	5
BRICK WALLS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF HATSHEPSUT	6
THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE	8
THE REAR PORTION OF THE TEMPLE	8
THE EXTERIOR	8
THE INTERIOR	9
THE RELIEFS	9
THE DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON	13
THE NAOS	15
PITS BENEATH THE FLOORS OF THE TWO MIDDLE CHAMBERS	15
THE FORE PART OF THE TEMPLE	15
THE LAYOUT UNDER HATSHEPSUT	15
THE SHRINE OF THUTMOSE III	17
THE PERIPTEROS OF THUTMOSE III	19
THE PTOLEMAIC ADDITIONS	22
THE NORTH WING	22
THE SOUTH WING	23
THE COLUMNED HALL	23
THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON AND GALLERY	26
THE PORTICO OF THE SAITIC PERIOD	28
THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON	29
THE ROMAN PORTICO AND FORECOURT	31
THE INCLOSURE WALLS AND THE ENVIRONS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE	32
THE INCLOSURE WALL OF HATSHEPSUT	32
A WALL OF AMENHOTEP III	33
WALLS OF RAMSES III	33
THE INCLOSURE WALL OF THE ETHIOPIANS	33
THE PTOLEMAIC INCLOSURE WALL	36
THE INCLOSURE WALL IN THE ROMAN PERIOD	37
THE OUTER INCLOSURE WALL OF THE TEMPLE AREA	38
BUILDINGS SUBORDINATE TO THE SMALL TEMPLE	39
THE "TANK"	39
TOMBS	40
THE <i>CACHETTE</i>	40
THE SACRED LAKE	41

	PAGE
SUMMARY OF RESULTS	43
INTRODUCTION: THE "HOLY PLACE OF JĒME"	43
THE OLDEST CULT BUILDINGS OF JĒME	44
THE TEMPLE UNDER HATSHEPSUT	46
THE TEMPLE UNDER THUTMOSE III	48
DETAILS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE	50
THE DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON	50
A STATUE IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE KING	51
THE TEMPLE UNDER RAMSES III AND IN THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY	51
THE TEMPLE UNDER THE ETHIOPIAN KINGS	52
THE SAITIC PORTICO	54
THE RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE UNDER ACHORIS	55
THE OUTER TEMPLE PRECINCT UNDER NECTANEBO I	55
THE TEMPLE UNDER THE PTOLEMIES	56
THE TEMPLE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD	59
II. THE MORTUARY TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB	63
INTRODUCTION; THE SITUATION	65
ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION	68
EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS IN THE TEMPLE AREA	68
HOUSES	69
HUTS	71
LARGER STRUCTURES AT THE EDGE OF THE CULTIVATION	72
GRANARIES AND OVENS	73
THE TEMPLE AND ITS TEMENOS	75
THE TEMPLE BUILDING	75
THE COLUMNED COURT	78
THE TEMENOS WALL AND THE PYLONS	80
THE ROYAL PALACE	81
THE STOREHOUSE	82
DETAILS FROM THE TEMPLE AREA	83
POTTERY	83
FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE. <i>R. ANTHES</i>	85
MASONS' MARKS AND INSCRIPTIONS. <i>R. ANTHES</i>	99
RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TEMPLE	100
STATUES	102
TWO STATUES OF THE YOUTHFUL KING STANDING	102
TWO SEATED FIGURES OF THE KING	105
FRAGMENTS OF SMALL STATUES	106
HIERATIC GRAFFITI ON STATUE FRAGMENTS. <i>R. ANTHES</i>	106
SEAL IMPRESSIONS ON JAR STOPPERS ETC. <i>R. ANTHES</i>	109
SUMMARY OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSIONS	110
LATER HISTORY AND DESTRUCTION OF THE TEMPLE	115
FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF RAMSES IV. <i>R. ANTHES</i>	116
INDEX	121

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

PLATES

	PAGE
1. STATUE, PROBABLY OF TUT'ANKHAMON, INSCRIBED BY EYE AND USURPED BY HARMHAB. CAIRO J 59869 (AQUARELLE BY A. BOLLACHER)	<i>Frontispiece</i>
2. THE NUCLEUS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU. <i>A.</i> EAST ELEVATION. <i>B.</i> CROSS-SECTION. <i>C.</i> LONGITUDINAL SECTION. <i>D.</i> GROUND PLAN	<i>following</i> 4
3. DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON. RECONSTRUCTED IN ORIGINAL LOCATION (DRAWING BY A. BOLLACHER)	<i>facing</i> 12
4. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY. RECONSTRUCTION (DRAWING BY U. HÖLSCHER)	<i>facing</i> 18
5. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU UNDER THE ETHIOPIAN KINGS. RECONSTRUCTION (DRAWING BY U. HÖLSCHER)	<i>facing</i> 26
6. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD RECONSTRUCTION (DRAWING BY U. HÖLSCHER)	<i>facing</i> 44
7. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU WITH THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON IN FRONT OF IT. RECONSTRUCTION (DRAWING BY U. HÖLSCHER)	<i>facing</i> 58
8. PAPYRIFORM COLUMN FROM THE BROAD HYPOSTYLE HALL OF THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB. RECONSTRUCTION (DRAWING BY D. MARCKS)	<i>facing</i> 76
9. THE SMALL TEMPLE AND THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE OF RAMSES III IN THE MIDST OF THE RUINS OF THE COPTIC TOWN OF JÈME	<i>at end</i>
10. THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE SOUTHEAST	<i>at end</i>
11. THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE EAST	<i>at end</i>
12. THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE WEST	<i>at end</i>
13. THE SMALL TEMPLE. FRONT OF THE PERIPTEROS	<i>at end</i>
14. THE FLAT ROOF OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE NORTHWEST	<i>at end</i>
15. THE SMALL TEMPLE (<i>A</i>) FROM THE NORTHWEST AND (<i>B</i>) FROM THE SOUTH	<i>at end</i>
16. THE EXCAVATION SOUTHWEST OF THE SMALL TEMPLE	<i>at end</i>
17. THE EXCAVATION WEST OF THE SMALL TEMPLE	<i>at end</i>
18. THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. <i>A.</i> NORTHERN AMBULATORY FROM THE WEST. <i>B.</i> NORTHEAST CORNER, SHOWING THE GATE OF ACHORIS	<i>at end</i>
19. THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. SOUTHERN AMBULATORY (<i>A</i>) FROM THE EAST AND (<i>B</i>) FROM THE WEST	<i>at end</i>
20. THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. <i>A.</i> INNER FACE OF THE REAR DOORWAY TO THE SHRINE. <i>B.</i> ENTRANCE TO THE PERIPTEROS	<i>at end</i>
21. THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. LIMESTONE BLOCKS IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SHRINE <i>A.</i> INNER FACE. <i>B.</i> OUTER FACE	<i>at end</i>
22. RED GRANITE STELA OF THUTMOSE III, PROBABLY FROM HIS MORTUARY TEMPLE BUT FOUND IN THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU	<i>at end</i>

	PAGE
23. FRAGMENTS OF A RED GRANITE STELA OF AMENHOTEP II, PROBABLY FROM HIS MORTUARY TEMPLE BUT FOUND AT MEDINET HABU	<i>at end</i>
24. BROKEN DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON. BLACK GRANITE	<i>at end</i>
25. THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON AND THE SAITIC PORTICO, FROM THE EAST	<i>at end</i>
26. THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON FROM THE WEST, WITH THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON JUST BEHIND	<i>at end</i>
27. THE GATEWAY OF THE ETHIOPIAN PLYON. <i>A.</i> FRONT. <i>B.</i> DETAIL OF THE BACK	<i>at end</i>
28. ETHIOPIAN GATEWAY IN THE NORTHERN INCLOSURE WALL OF THE SMALL TEMPLE (<i>A</i>) FROM THE NORTH AND (<i>B</i>) FROM THE SOUTH	<i>at end</i>
29. BLOCKS FROM THE ETHIOPIAN STRUCTURES OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. <i>A.</i> LINTEL FROM THE WEST SIDE OF THE PYLON. BERLIN 1621. <i>B.</i> SAME AS <i>A</i> , FROM BELOW. <i>C-E.</i> RELIEF FRAGMENTS FROM THE GALLERY, REUSED IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF A PTOLEMAIC STRUCTURE. <i>F.</i> HEAD OF KING SHABAKA, FROM THE REAR OF THE SOUTH TOWER OF THE PYLON. BERLIN 2104	<i>at end</i>
30. SAITIC PORTICO OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE SOUTHEAST	<i>at end</i>
31. SAITIC PORTICO OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. DETAILS OF (<i>A</i>) THE SOUTH SIDE AND (<i>B</i>) THE EAST SIDE	<i>at end</i>
32. PTOLEMAIC ADDITION TO THE NORTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE EAST	<i>at end</i>
33. PTOLEMAIC ADDITION TO THE NORTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE (<i>A</i>) FROM THE NORTHEAST AND (<i>B</i>) FROM THE NORTH	<i>at end</i>
34. GATEWAY OF NECTANEBO I IN THE SOUTHERN OUTER INCLOSURE WALL OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. <i>A.</i> VIEW FROM THE NORTH. <i>B-C.</i> THE JAMBS FROM THE SOUTH	<i>at end</i>
35. NORTH GATE OF THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL. GRANITE DOORFRAME TAKEN FROM A BUILDING OF PEDAMENOPET. <i>A.</i> THE JAMBS FROM THE NORTH. <i>B.</i> FRAGMENT OF THE LINTEL	<i>at end</i>
36. THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON AND THE ROMAN COURT, FROM THE EAST	<i>at end</i>
37. THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON, CENTRAL PART, FROM THE EAST	<i>at end</i>
38. BACK OF THE GATEWAY IN THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON	<i>at end</i>
39. BACK OF THE GATEWAY IN THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON. DETAIL	<i>at end</i>
40. BACK OF THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON (<i>A</i>) FROM THE SOUTH AND (<i>B</i>) FROM THE NORTH	<i>at end</i>
41. SOUTH GATEWAY OF THE ROMAN COURT (<i>A</i>) FROM THE NORTH AND (<i>B</i>) FROM THE SOUTH	<i>at end</i>
42. GATE OF DOMITIAN AS RE-ERECTED ON ARBITRARY LOCATION. <i>A.</i> EAST FACE (NOW SOUTH). <i>B.</i> WEST FACE (NOW NORTH)	<i>at end</i>
43. FRAGMENTS OF RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS FOUND IN THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB	<i>at end</i>
44. STATUE, PROBABLY OF TUTANKHAMON, INSCRIBED BY EYE AND USURPED BY HARMHAB. CAIRO J 59869	<i>at end</i>
45. <i>A.</i> BACK PILASTER OF THE CHICAGO STATUE <i>B.</i> HEAD OF THE CAIRO STATUE	<i>at end</i>
46. <i>A.</i> PEDESTAL OF THE CAIRO STATUE. CAIRO J 60134 <i>B.</i> CHICAGO STATUE AS RESTORED	<i>at end</i>

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	xiii PAGE
47. STATUE, PROBABLY OF TUTANKHAMON, INSCRIBED BY EYE AND USURPED BY HARMHAB. CHICAGO 14088. <i>A.</i> BEFORE RESTORATION. <i>B.</i> AFTER RESTORATION	<i>at end</i>
48. COLOSSUS OF EYE, USURPED BY HARMHAB. CAIRO CAT. No. 632	<i>at end</i>
49. COLOSSUS OF EYE, USURPED BY HARMHAB. BERLIN 1479	<i>at end</i>
50. FRAGMENTS OF STATUES FROM THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB	<i>at end</i>
51. HIEROGLYPHIC AND HIERATIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB	<i>at end</i>
52-55. FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE	<i>at end</i>
56-57. POTTERY FROM THE TEMPLE AREA OF EYE AND HARMHAB	<i>at end</i>
58. FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF RAMSES IV	<i>at end</i>

TABLES

1. DISTRIBUTION OF OBJECTS IN THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE	86
2. POSITIONS OF GROUPS IN THE INDIVIDUAL DEPOSITS OF EYE	87
3. INSCRIPTIONS ON THE POTS IN THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE	97-98

TEXT FIGURES

1. FRAGMENT OF SANDSTONE CAVETTO CORNICE FOUND IN THE PAVEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE. CROSS-SECTION	4
2. <i>A.</i> THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL" OF OLD JÈME. <i>B.</i> THE SANCTUARY OF SANKHKARE MENTUHOTEP V ON THE SUMMIT OF THE HILL ABOVE QURNAH IN WESTERN THEBES	5
3. LIMESTONE BLOCK WITH UNFINISHED RELIEF, TAKEN FROM THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS" AND REUSED IN THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SHRINE OF THUTMOSE III	6
4. LIMESTONE FRAGMENTS FROM THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS" <i>A.</i> PARAPET. <i>B.</i> CORNER TORUS MOLDING	6
5. BRICK WALLS OF HATSHEPSUT BEHIND THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL"	7
6. STAMPS ON MUD BRICKS FOUND IN THE VICINITY OF THE SMALL TEMPLE	7
7. THE FLAT ROOF OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. NORTHWEST CORNER	8
8. REAR ROOMS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE	9
9. HEAD OF A ROYAL STATUE OF BLACK GRANITE FOUND NEAR THE SMALL TEMPLE	10
10. PLAN OF THE REAR ROOMS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, INDICATING THE ORIGIN OF THE WALL RELIEFS	11
11. SERPENT FRIEZE OF KAMA'RE' HATSHEPSUT IN THE SMALL TEMPLE	13
12. SERPENT FRIEZE OF NEBMA'RE' AMENHOTEP III IN THE LUXOR TEMPLE	13
13. GREAT DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON. BLACK GRANITE	14
14. CARTOUCHE OF THUTMOSE III ON THE BELT BUCKLE OF HIS STATUE	14
15. LATE NAOS OF RED GRANITE	15
16. RECONSTRUCTION TO SHOW RELATIONSHIP OF THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL" AND HATSHEPSUT'S SHRINE	16

	PAGE
17. DETAILS OF ROOF CONSTRUCTION IN THE SMALL TEMPLE: (a) TIGHT JOINTS, (b) A LOOSE JOINT WITH STONE FILLER SET IN GYPSUM, (c) THIN STONE PAVEMENT, SET IN GYPSUM, SUPERIMPOSED IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD	19
18. PLAN OF THE ROOF SLABS IN THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE PERIPTEROS	20
19. INTERCOLUMNIATIONS OF THE PERIPTEROS AS CLOSED IN LATER TIMES BY MEANS OF STONE SLABS. RECONSTRUCTION	20
20. DECORATED STONE SLAB USED TO CLOSE AN INTERCOLUMNIATION OF THE PERIPTEROS	21
21. GRATED WINDOW AS USED IN THE PTOLEMAIC ADDITIONS TO THE SMALL TEMPLE	22
22. FRAGMENT OF SANDSTONE RAILING FOUND IN THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL	23
23. PALM-LEAF CAPITAL, PROBABLY FROM THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL	23
24. NORTH GATEWAY OF THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL, FROM THE INSIDE	24
25. THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON. SCHEME OF CONSTRUCTION	29
26. BLOCKS BEARING THE HEAD AND CARTOUCHES OF EMPEROR ANTONINUS PIUS, FROM THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE ROMAN COURT. BERLIN 2121	31
27-28. SMALL STONE SLABS WITH THE NAME OF HATSHEPSUT, FOUND IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF HER INCLOSURE WALL	32
29. NARROW GATEWAY OF TAHARKA AND SECTION SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF THE VARIOUS INCLOSURE WALLS BEHIND THE SMALL TEMPLE	33
30. SECTION SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF THE VARIOUS INCLOSURE WALLS NORTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE	34
31. STELA OF TAHARKA, FOUND AT MEDINET HABU IN 1902. CAIRO 36140	34
32. NARROW GATEWAY OF TAHARKA, AS PHOTOGRAPHED BY J. B. GREENE IN 1853	35
33. ERASED CARTOUCHE OF TAHARKA ON THE EAST JAMB OF HIS NARROW GATEWAY	35
34-35. BLOCKS FROM A DESTROYED GATEWAY OF NECTANEBO I	36
36-37. CAPITAL FRAGMENTS OF DOUBLE COLUMNS IN CORINTHIAN STYLE	37-38
38. THE "TANK" SOUTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE	39
39. THE SACRED LAKE	41
40. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU UNDER THUTMOSE III. GROUND PLAN. RECONSTRUCTION	45
41. THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE (A) AS FINISHED UNDER THUTMOSE III AND (B) AS PLANNED AND PARTIALLY BUILT UNDER HATSHEPSUT	47
42. THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT AT BUHEN, NEAR WADI HALFA	48
43. DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III(?) AND AMON FROM KARNAK. RED GRANITE. CAIRO 42065	51
44. DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON FROM KARNAK. SCHIST. CAIRO 42066	51
45. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU INCLOSED IN THE FORTIFIED TEMPLE AREA OF RAMSES III	52
46. THE SMALL TEMPLE UNDER THE ETHIOPIAN KINGS	53
47. A. THE ETHIOPIAN GALLERY. B. THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL WHICH REPLACED THE GALLERY. CROSS-SECTIONS. RECONSTRUCTIONS	54

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	XV PAGE
48. THE SMALL TEMPLE UNDER THE PTOLEMIES	56
49. THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON AND PORTICO. FRONT ELEVATION AND CROSS-SECTION. RECONSTRUCTIONS	58
50. CAPITAL FROM ONE OF THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNS IN FRONT OF THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON	59
51. SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNFINISHED ROMAN PORTICO	60
52. THE SMALL TEMPLE IN ROMAN TIMES	61
53. THE WEST BANK OF THEBES IN THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY	66
54. GROUND PLANS OF THREE HOUSES OF THE PERIOD BEFORE EYE	68
55. HOUSE NO. 3 FROM THE WEST	69
56. SMALL ALTAR IN HOUSE NO. 1	70
57. UNDULATED COURTYARD WALL	71
58. POSTHOLES FOR A HUT, ACCOMPANIED BY (a) REMAINS OF A MUD FLOOR AND (b) A CAVITY 45 CM. DEEP	71
59. GROOVES IN THE BEDROCK OVER WHICH REED FENCES WERE ERECTED	71
60. MODERN REED SHELTER NEAR LUXOR	72
61. SCHEME TO SHOW CONSTRUCTION OF FOUNDATIONS OF WIDE BRICK WALLS	72
62. GREAT GRANARY BELONGING TO THE PERIOD BEFORE EYE	73
63. SIX OVENS FOUND BENEATH THE RAMSES III LEVEL AT MEDINET HABU. SECTION AND GROUND PLAN	74
64. FRAGMENT OF AN ARCHITRAVE, PROBABLY FROM THE BROAD HALL OF THE TEMPLE OF EYE	76
65. SECTION THROUGH THE BROAD HALL OF THE TEMPLE OF EYE. RECONSTRUCTION	76
66. FRAGMENTS OF A TWELVE-STEMMED PAPYRUS CLUSTER-COLUMN, FROM ONE OF THE CENTRAL HYPOSTYLE HALLS IN THE TEMPLE OF EYE	77
67. LONGITUDINAL SECTION THROUGH THE REAR OF THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB	77
68. FRAGMENT OF A COLUMN CAPITAL FROM HARMHAB'S ADDITION TO THE REAR OF THE TEMPLE OF EYE	78
69. PAPYRIFORM COLUMN IN THE PERISTYLE OF THE TEMPLE OF KHONSU AT KAR- NAK, ERECTED WITH DRUMS OF OLDER CLUSTER-COLUMNS AND PLASTERED WITH GYPSUM	79
70. BRICK STAMPS OF EYE	80
71. PLAN OF THE PALACE OF EYE, SHOWING TRACES OF WOODEN COLONNADES IN FRONT OF IT	81
72. POTSDHERDS WITH TWO NAMES OF AMENHOTEP III AND THE NAME OF QUEEN TIY	83
73. FOUNDATION DEPOSIT NO 2 IN THE TEMPLE OF EYE	85
74. BRONZE CHISELS FROM FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE	89
75. BLUNT BRONZE CHISEL FROM A FOUNDATION DEPOSIT OF EYE	89
76. ADZE FROM A FOUNDATION DEPOSIT OF HATSHEPSUT AT DEIR EL-BAHRI, SHOW- ING THE BINDING. BERLIN 13115	89

	PAGE
77. WOODEN IMPLEMENTS FROM FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE: (a) BRICK MOLD AND (b) GILDED UTENSIL OF UNDETERMINED USE	90
78. BROWN QUARTZITE SAUCER FOR GRINDING, FROM A FOUNDATION DEPOSIT OF EYE	90
79-80. INSCRIPTIONS ON VESSELS FROM THE FOUNDATION DEPOSITS OF EYE: (a) HIEROGLYPHIC TRANSCRIPTIONS AND (b) HIERATIC FACSIMILES	92-95
81. MASONS' MARKS ON FOUNDATION BLOCKS IN THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB	99
82. FRAGMENT OF A ROYAL CARTOUCHE, WITH THE NAME OF HARMHAB WORKED OVER THAT OF EYE	100
83. LIMESTONE BLOCK SHOWING JARS FILLED WITH ANOINTING OIL	101
84. THE SOUTHERN STATUE OF TUT'ANKHAMON, USURPED BY EYE AND HARMHAB, AS FOUND. CAIRO J 59869	102
85. CARTOUCHE OF HARMHAB ON THE BELT BUCKLE OF THE SOUTHERN STATUE OF TUT'ANKHAMON	103
86. HEAD OF A SMALL FIGURE OF THE QUEEN BELONGING TO ONE OF THE STATUES OF TUT'ANKHAMON	103
87. THE NORTHERN STATUE OF TUT'ANKHAMON, USURPED BY EYE AND HARMHAB, AS FOUND. CHICAGO 14088	103
88. INSCRIPTION ON THE BACK PILASTER OF THE SOUTHERN STATUE OF TUT'ANKHAMON	104
89. SKETCH INDICATING LOCATION OF FRAGMENT CONTAINING GRAFFITO OF YEAR 27 OF HARMHAB ON THE SHOULDER OF A ROYAL STATUE	106
90. GRAFFITO OF YEAR 27 OF HARMHAB. FACSIMILE AND HIEROGLYPHIC TRANSCRIPTION	107
91. TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY GRAFFITI ON A FRAGMENT OF THE BASE OF THE CAIRO SEATED FIGURE OF THE KING. FACSIMILES	108
92. STAMPS ON DISCARDED JAR STOPPERS FOUND NEAR THE TEMPLE STOREHOUSE	109
93. STAMP ON THE BROKEN HANDLE OF A LARGE JAR	109
94. GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF EYE. RECONSTRUCTION	112
95. GROUND PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF HARMHAB. RECONSTRUCTION	113
96. NAMES OF RAMSES IV AS FOUND ON SMALL METAL PLAQUES FROM HIS FOUNDATION DEPOSITS	116

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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

I

THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

¹ The plates of Vol. I are regularly referred to as "Folio Plates."

² Pl. 9 and Fig. 32 indicate the height of later buildings and debris still present in the second half of the nineteenth century.

³ Nominal "west," based on the Nile's direction; cf. Folio Pl. 3. The nominal directions are used throughout this volume.

ARCHITECTURAL INVESTIGATION

EARLIER BUILDING REMAINS BENEATH THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL"

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

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

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

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

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

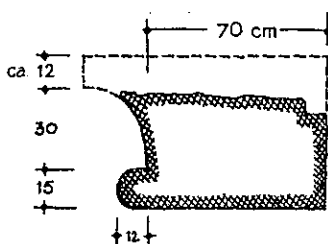


FIG. 1. FRAGMENT OF SANDSTONE CAVETTO CORNICE FOUND IN THE PAVEMENT OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE. CROSS-SECTION

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

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

but bears neither carved nor painted decoration.

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

MIDDLE
KINGDOM

v.B. N. III.
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which he found in its ruins.¹ Later, Petrie excavated the temple, found "a seated figure in Osiride dress as worn at the Sed festival," and therefore declared the chapel to be a "Sed feast chapel."²

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

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

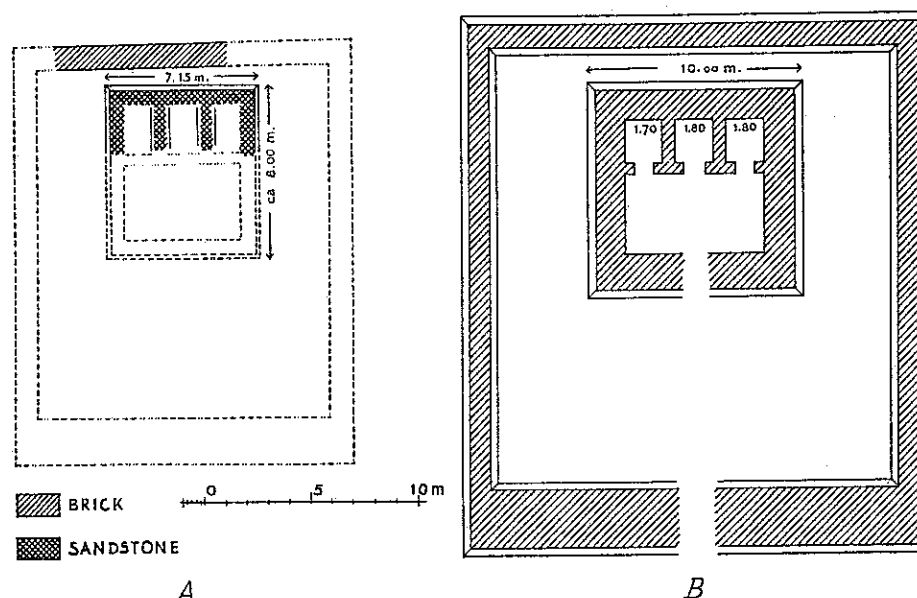


FIG. 2. A THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL" OF OLD JEME. B. THE SANCTUARY OF SANKHKARE MENTUHOTEP V ON THE SUMMIT OF THE HILL ABOVE QURNAH IN WESTERN THEBES

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

THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS"

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

¹ Georg Schweinfurth, "Ein neuentdeckter Tempel in Theben," *ZAS* XLI (1904) 22–25.

² W. M. F. Petrie, *Qurneh* (London, 1909) Pl. VI and pp. 4–6.

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

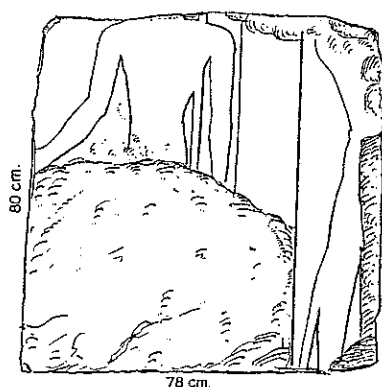


FIG. 3. LIMESTONE BLOCK WITH UNFINISHED RELIEF, TAKEN FROM THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS" AND REUSED IN THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SHRINE OF THUTMOSE III (cf. Pl. 21 B 2)

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

The "earliest peripteros" has therefore suffered the same fate as the "earliest chapel." Although in this case likewise an exact date has not been determined, it may be assumed that the peripteros belonged to the period immediately preceding Hatshepsut.⁴

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

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

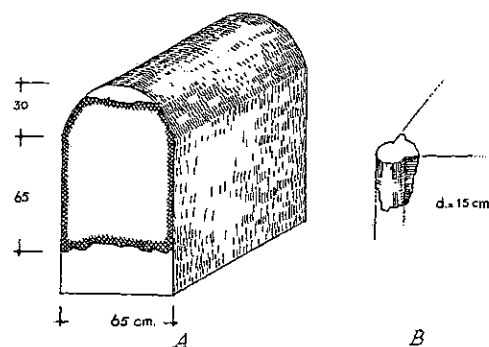



FIG. 4. LIMESTONE FRAGMENTS FROM THE "EARLIEST PERIPTEROS" A PARAPET B CORNER TORUS MOLDING

BRICK WALLS FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE REIGN OF HATSHEPSUT

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

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

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

⁴ In the precinct of Eye we found a fragment of limestone, inscribed with , which apparently belonged to an architrave about 70 cm. wide. Judging from the style, we should assume that it belonged to the early Eighteenth Dynasty, with the strong possibility that the cartouche contained the name of 'Okheperkare' Thutmose I. Thus it is reasonable to believe that this block may have belonged to the "earliest peripteros."

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

* peripteral (arch.) → rings um von einer Säulenhalle
umgeben

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

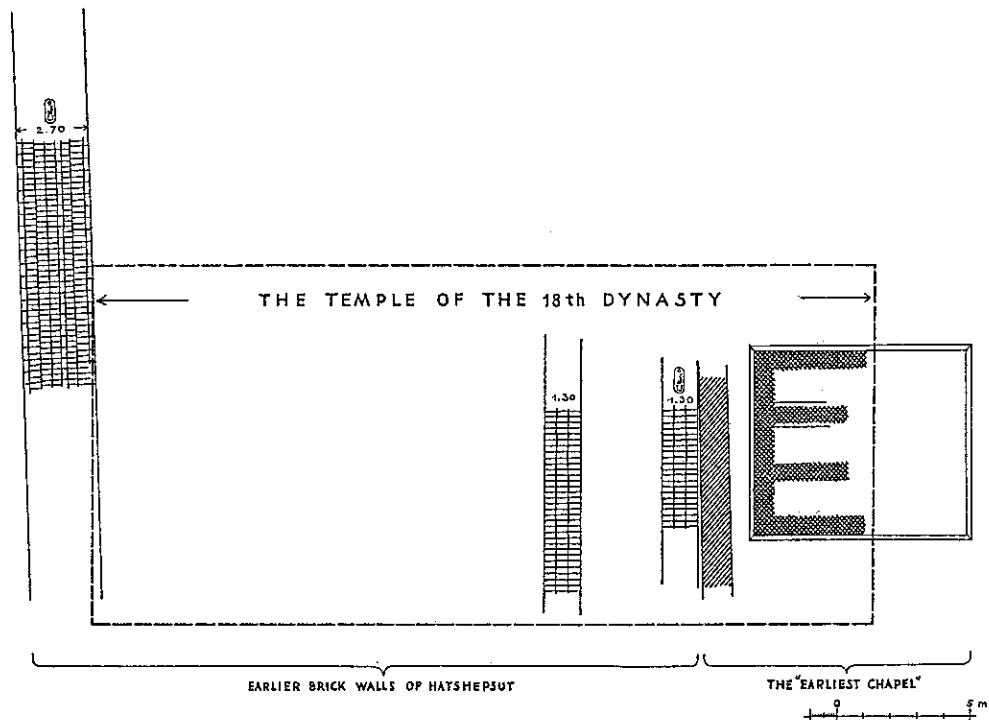


FIG. 5. BRICK WALLS OF HATSHEPSUT BEHIND THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL"

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

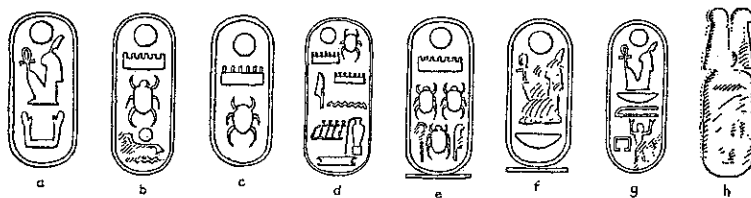


FIG. 6. STAMPS ON MUD BRICKS FOUND IN THE VICINITY OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

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

THE REAR PORTION OF THE TEMPLE

THE EXTERIOR

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

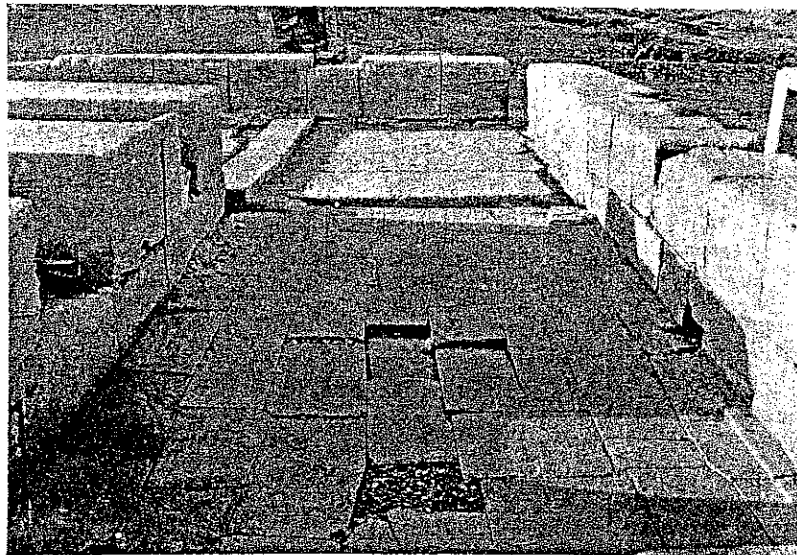


FIG. 7 THE FLAT ROOF OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. NORTHWEST CORNER

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

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

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

Great stone slabs, about 60 cm. thick, constituted at once both ceiling and roof. Later, obviously in the

⁶ LD III 251 d-g and Text III 163 f.

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

THE INTERIOR

The rear portion of the temple was planned at a single stroke, as it were. The six cult chambers (Fig. 8) are arranged in two rows of three rooms each. The central chamber (*L*¹) of the front row is at the same time the largest and the highest of all; as stated above, it was, moreover, the only one with direct lighting from the roof. From it four of the other chambers are accessible, two by a door in its west wall, two through one in the south wall. At one time (see pp. 13-14) there stood in this room (*L*) a great black granite sculpture depicting the god Amon and Thutmose III seated side by side on a throne. This has led us to designate the chamber as the "room of the double statue."

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

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

The front wall of the room of the double statue (*L*) and the sanctuary of the King (*M*) was plainly executed later than the others, as the manner in which the stones were laid indicates. In the case of Room *L* this is probably to be explained by the fact that it was desired to introduce the gigantic double statue after the other walls were erected, for which an opening larger than the doorway was required. A similar reason may explain the later construction of the front wall to the King's sanctuary, although no remains of a king's statue were discovered. A large royal statue of the same material as that of the double statue (black granite) and of similar dimensions must, however, have stood somewhere in the temple—we suspect in this very room; for a king's head surmounted by the crown of Upper Egypt (Fig. 9)² was found in the so-called "tank" south of the temple.

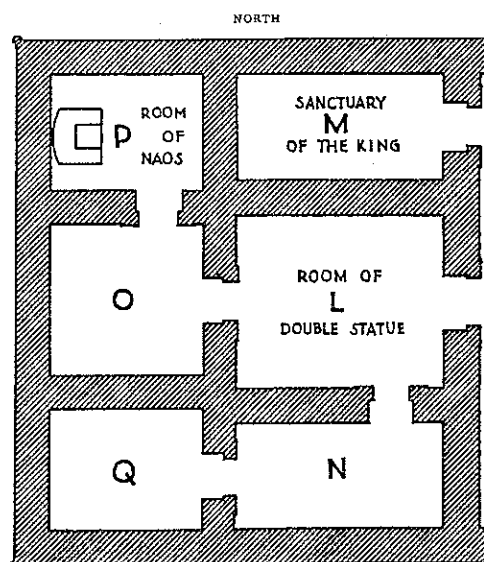


FIG. 8. REAR ROOMS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

THE RELIEFS

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

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

¹ In order to avoid misunderstanding, Lepsius' designations *L*-*Q* for the rooms of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple (*LD* 192) are followed in the present publication.

² Now in the Cairo Museum (J 59880)

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

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

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

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



FIG. 9. HEAD OF A ROYAL STATUE OF BLACK GRANITE FOUND NEAR THE SMALL TEMPLE

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

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

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

placed by those of Thutmose I or Thutmose II and occasionally even by those of Thutmose III. These facts and the problems raised by them concerning the Thutmosid succession have already been the subject of study by many scholars, who, however, have not arrived at complete agreement on the question.⁹ I shall be satisfied to establish the facts offered in the reliefs of our temple, in which task I wish to acknowledge the assistance of Dr. Siegfried Schott, of the Epigraphic Survey.

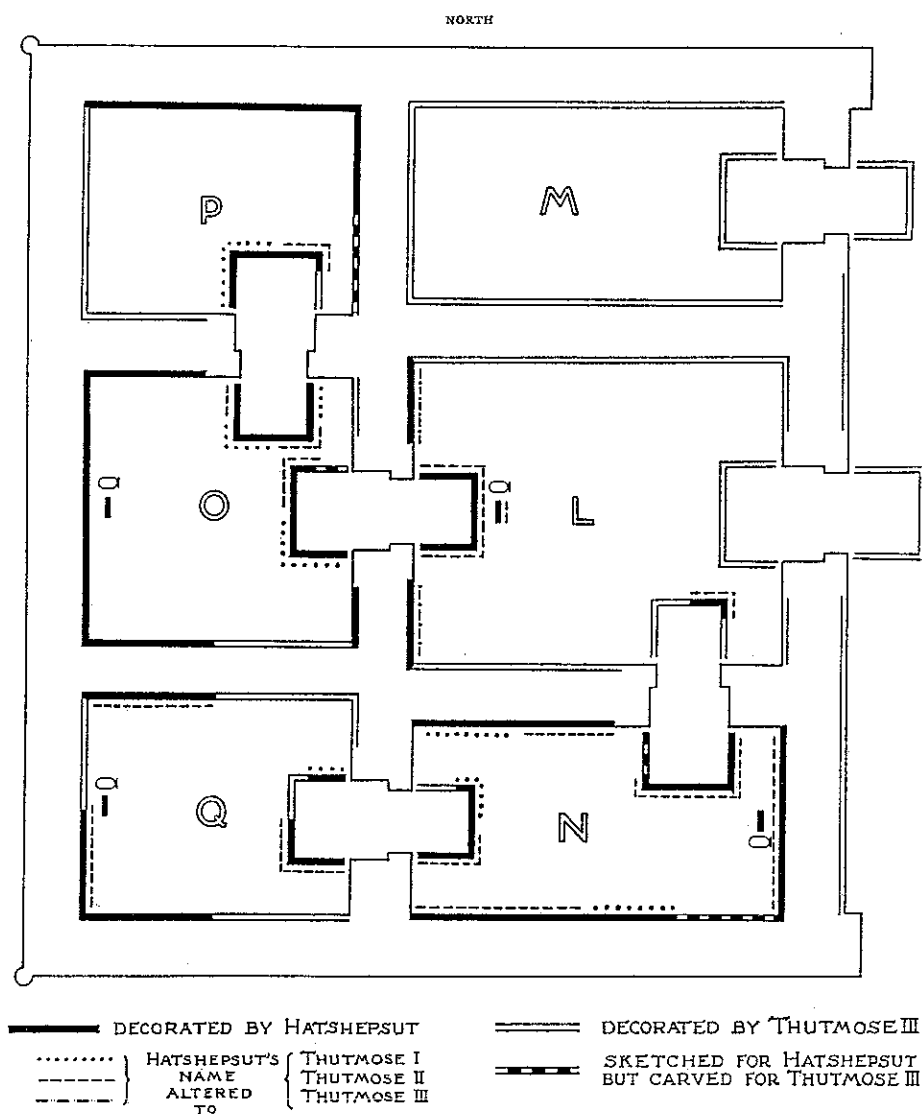


FIG. 10. PLAN OF THE REAR ROOMS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, INDICATING THE ORIGIN OF THE WALL RELIEFS

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

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

⁹ Cf. e.g. Sethe, *Die Thronwirren unter den Nachfolgern Königs Thutmosis' I., ihr Verlauf und ihre Bedeutung* ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens" I [Leipzig, 1896] 1-58 and 73-125) and *Das Hatshepsut-Problem noch einmal untersucht* (Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Berlin, philos.-hist. Klasse, "Abhandlungen," 1932, Nr. 4); H. Winlock, "The Egyptian Expedition, 1925-27" (Metropolitan Museum of Art, *Bulletin* XXIII [1928] Feb., Sec. II, pp. 24-58); W. F. Edgerton, *The Thutmosid Succession* ("Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization," No. 8 [Chicago, 1933]).

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

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

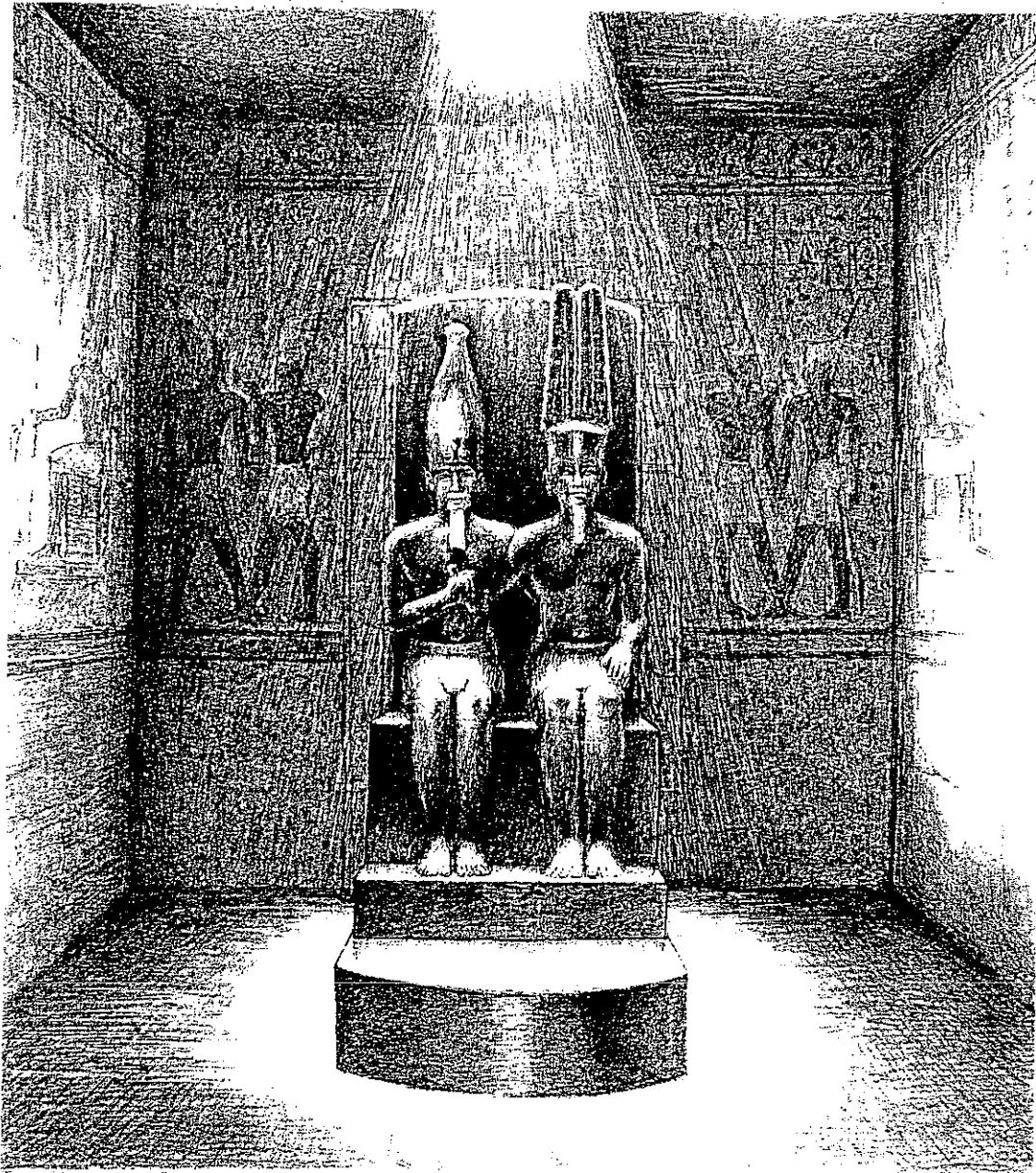
The frieze which completes the reliefs at the tops of the walls offers a simple criterion by which to judge whether the wall decoration belonged to the reign of Hatshepsut or to that of Thutmose III alone. In Rooms N, O, and Q and on the west wall of Room L, which were completed under Hatshepsut, the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

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

The application of this test to the two northern chambers demonstrates that in Room P two walls (north and east) and the doorframe were decorated under Hatshepsut (and Thutmose III as coregent), while the other two walls must be attributed to Thutmose III alone.¹¹ Here too the reliefs are consistent with the frieze: under the Kama^cre^c frieze are reliefs of Hatshepsut, while those of Thutmose III are surmounted by the *kheker* border. It is surprising that and difficult to explain why the west and south walls were decorated later than the other two. Did the fall or death of Hatshepsut occur in the intervening period, with consequent cessation of work for

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

¹¹ On the west wall with the addition to his name of the phrase $\text{ⲙ} \text{ⲙ} \text{ⲙ}$, which, according to Sethe, points to a late period in his reign.



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

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

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

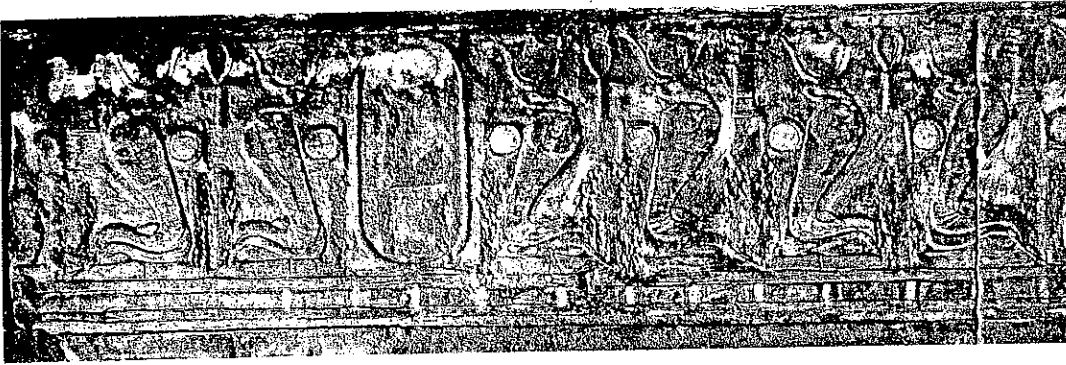


FIG. 11 SERPENT FRIEZE OF KAMA'RE HATSEPSUT IN THE SMALL TEMPLE

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

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

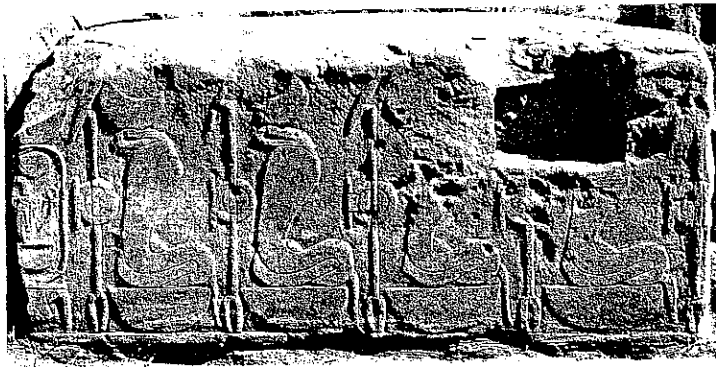


FIG. 12 SERPENT FRIEZE OF NEBMA'RE AMENHOTEP III IN THE LUXOR TEMPLE

THE DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON

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

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

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

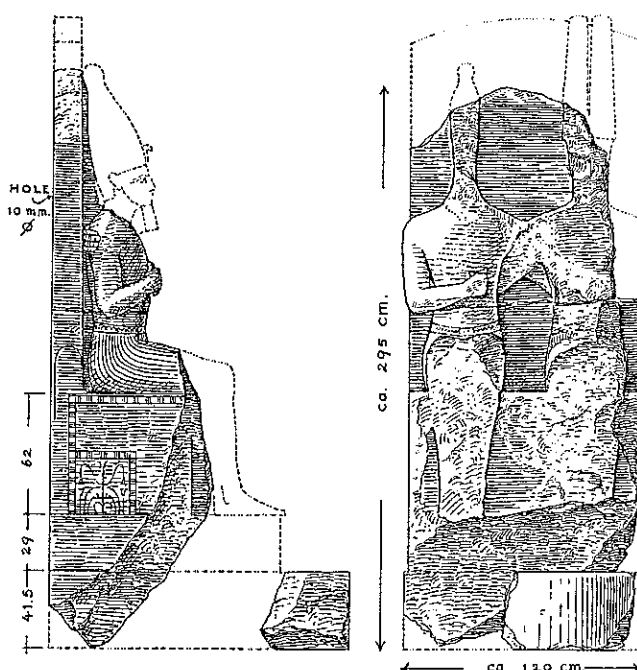


FIG. 13. GREAT DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON. BLACK GRANITE

That the other figure represents Amon is recognizable by traces of the headdress with tall feathers. The body, however, in contrast to that of the king, is partially cleft away (observe the wedge marks at the height of the head and hips) and in some places more or less deeply chiseled off. On that account the body gives the impression of being unusually slender, particularly when viewed from the side, and the contour of the hips thereby takes on an almost feminine aspect. That this, however, was not originally the case is shown by the front view (Fig. 13).

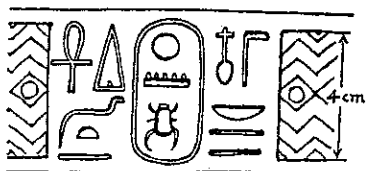


FIG. 14. CARTOUCHE OF THUTMOSE III ON THE BELT BUCKLE OF HIS STATUE (SEE FIG. 13 AND PL. 24)

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

THE NAOS

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

PITS BENEATH THE FLOORS OF THE TWO MIDDLE CHAMBERS

A deep pit was found in virgin soil under the floor of each of the two adjoining rooms *L* and *O* (Pl. 2). We struck these while we were removing the debris of later times which had accumulated within the foundation walls. The level of virgin soil is here as much as 1.85 m. under that of the pavement. In the room of the double statue (*L*) the pit is almost exactly in the middle. It extends 2.30 m. into virgin soil and thus reaches a depth of 4.15 m. beneath the pavement. At the top it is nearly square (1.30×1.50 m.), while toward the bottom it becomes narrower and more rounded (about 0.80×1.00 m.). It was filled with dark-colored sand¹³ but contained neither stones, rubble, alluvial soil nor finds of any other character. The pit in Room *O* is even deeper. At 4.35 m. beneath the level of the pavement we struck water without having reached the bottom of the pit. The cross-section is round, 0.80 m. wide at the top and 0.55 m. at the bottom.

The significance and age of these pits are not clear to me. They are not deep and wide enough to have been wells. That they were not intended for trees, as might at first be concluded from experience with tree plantings at Medinet Habu, Deir el-Bahri, and other localities, is perfectly certain. In that case they would have been laid out before the construction of the temple, and their location so near the centers of later rooms would have been a highly improbable coincidence. We should likewise have expected to find humus in them instead of pure sand. The pits were therefore probably laid out either contemporaneously with the temple or at a later period and may have served some as yet unknown purpose in the cult.

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

THE FORE PART OF THE TEMPLE

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

THE LAYOUT UNDER HATSHEPSUT

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

¹² G. Daressy, "Comment fut introduit le naos du petit temple de Médinet-Habou?" (*Recueil de travaux* XXII [1900] 144-46).

¹³ The sand may have gradually turned dark as a result of the annual infiltration.

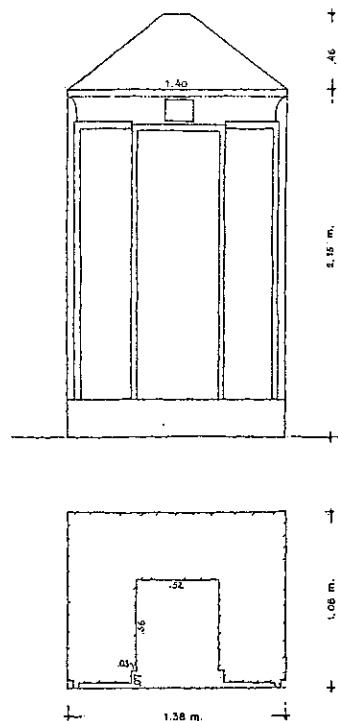


FIG. 15. LATE NAOS OF RED GRANITE

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

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

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

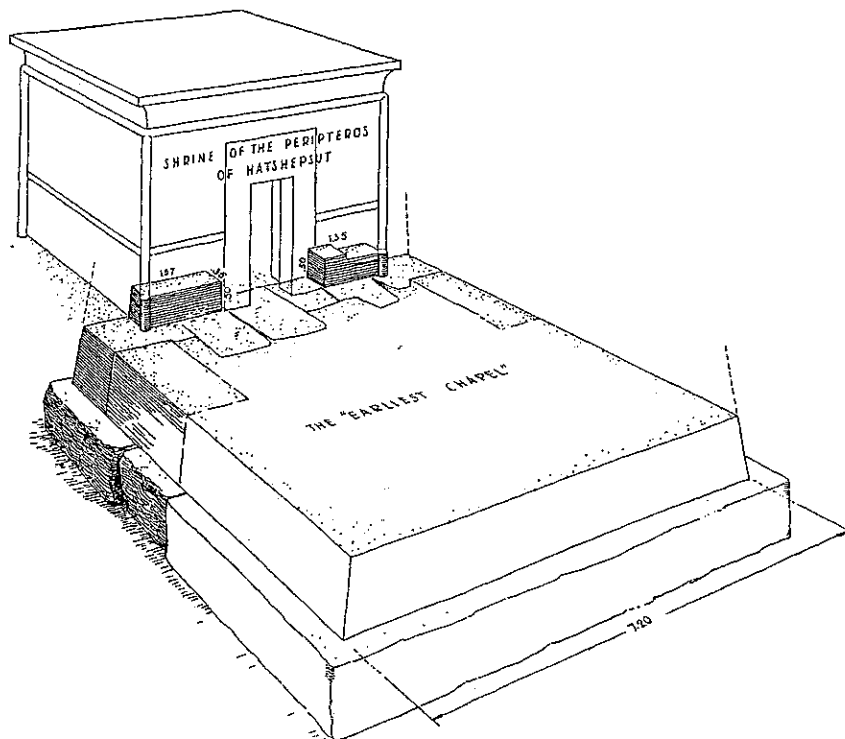


FIG. 16. RECONSTRUCTION TO SHOW RELATIONSHIP OF THE "EARLIEST CHAPEL" AND HATSEPSUT'S SHRINE

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

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

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

The ambulatory around Hatshepsut's shrine (see Fig. 41 *B*) was of about the same width on all four sides (about $5\frac{1}{2}$ Egyptian ells). The pillars date only as far back as Thutmose III. At most four at the east end (not including the corner ones) could have been begun by Hatshepsut, for the levels of their horizontal joints are different from those of the rest of the pillars (cf. Pl. 2 *A*).

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

THE SHRINE OF THUTMOSE III

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE PERIPTEROS OF THUTMOSE III

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

Exactly as at the west corners of the building, the corner pillars are adorned with torus moldings which also pass horizontally beneath the cornice and thus convey the effect of holding together the entire structure. Originally, as may be seen on the east side (Pl. 13), the cavetto cornice bore only painted decoration, alternately blue, red, blue, green, blue, red, etc. The present sculptured ornamentation and cartouches were added on the other sides by Ramses III.¹

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

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

In the interior of the ambulatory the pillars are ornamented on three sides in the same manner, with representations of the king in front of a divinity. Almost without exception the figures of the gods were eliminated in the 'Amarnah period and crudely restored in the Nineteenth Dynasty.¹⁹ The reliefs on the inner faces of the pillars are raised, but those on the other sides are incised. The architraves have a dedicatory inscription in two lines, one above the other, which begins in the middle of each of the three sides and runs in both directions. The text reads in part: "... behold, his majesty found (it) fallen into ruin. . . ."²⁰ Whether this refers to the peripteros of Hatshepsut or the "earliest chapel" or the "earliest peripteros" remains an open question.

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

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

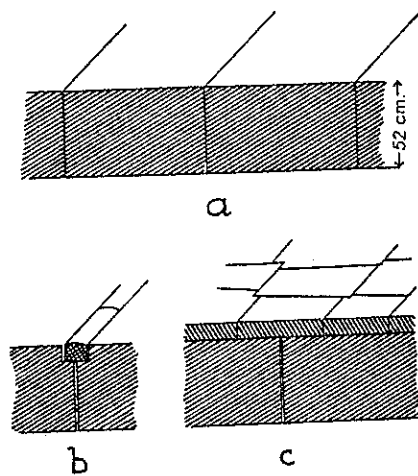


FIG. 17 DETAILS OF ROOF CONSTRUCTION IN THE SMALL TEMPLE: (a) TIGHT JOINTS, (b) LOOSE JOINT WITH STONE FILLER SET IN GYPSUM, (c) THIN STONE PAVEMENT, SET IN GYPSUM, SUPERIMPOSED IN THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD

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

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

the ambulatory. Instead of utilizing a single square slab, two narrow ones were placed side by side (Fig. 18 *a-b*) in such a way that they rest only on the two architraves and the corner of the shrine, which afford support to but three corners of each slab, while the fourth corner (Fig. 18 *c*) hangs in empty air. This constructional feature was possible because the center of gravity of the two slabs lay within the line of support and because they braced one another at the free corner (*c*). It is quite obvious that such an insecure arrangement could easily become disastrous at any movement of the building, yet it survived for a thousand years. Achoris finally (about 390 B.C.) had to place supports under the free corners. These are the four polygonal columns in the ambulatory (see Pls. 2, 18 *A*, and 19). They are not set symmetrically, as the roof slabs themselves are unevenly arranged. They rest without foundations on the pavement. Vertical inscriptions on the columns, in hieroglyphs of blue,¹¹ indicate that they were erected by Achoris in honor of the great Thutmose III, the builder of the temple. They were carried off from the courts of the adjacent chapels of the princesses of the Twenty-fifth and the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (see Folio Pls. 9-10). On the column drums, many of which were turned upside down, it is occasionally possible to make out the old inscriptions, with the names of Amenirdis, Shepnupet, Nitocris, and Mehetnusekhet, which were covered with plaster during the reign of Achoris.

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

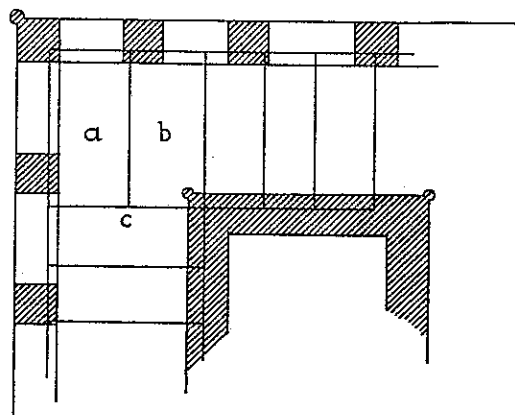


FIG. 18. PLAN OF THE ROOF SLABS IN THE NORTHEAST CORNER OF THE PERIPTEROS

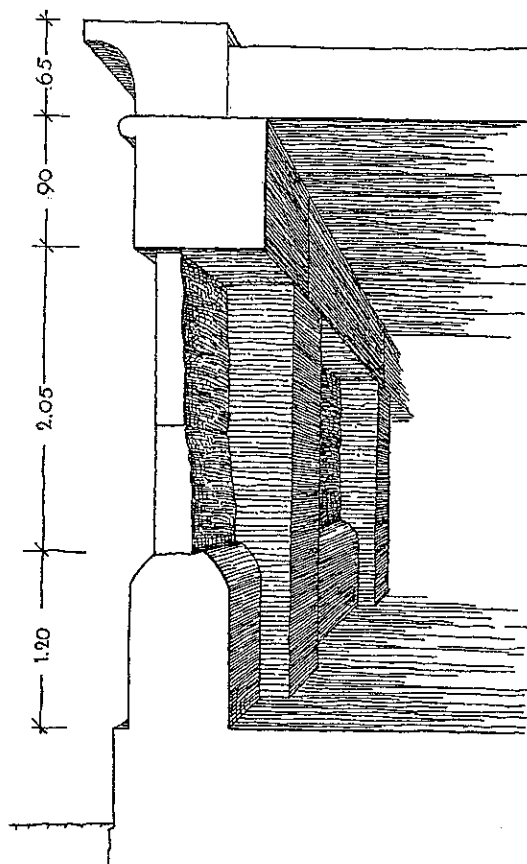


FIG. 19. INTERCOLUMNIATIONS OF THE PERIPTEROS AS CLOSED IN LATER TIMES BY MEANS OF STONE SLABS. RECONSTRUCTION

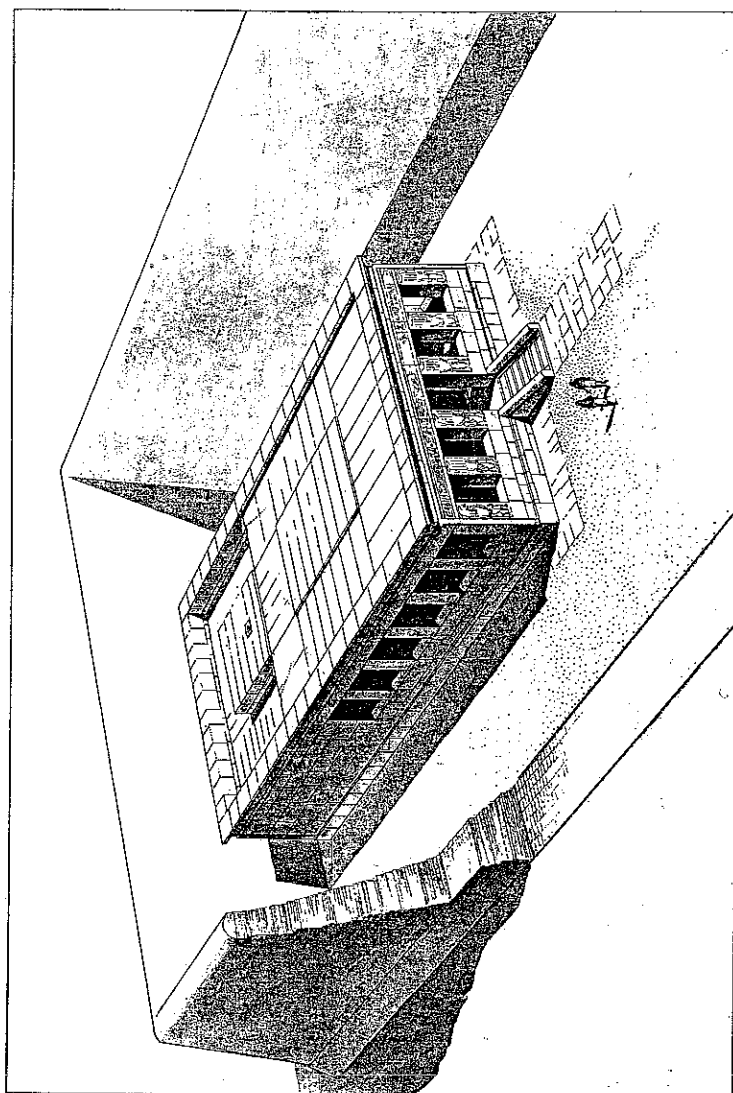
out and replaced by a gate, which also bears the name of Achoris. It was decorated on the outside only, that is, on the side toward the north Ptolemaic addition (Pl. 33 *B*), and the inside was left blank (Pl. 18 *B*).

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

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

The slabs were set not flush with the outer surfaces of the pillars but about 10 cm. farther back, so that on

¹¹ LD Text III 156 f.



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

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

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

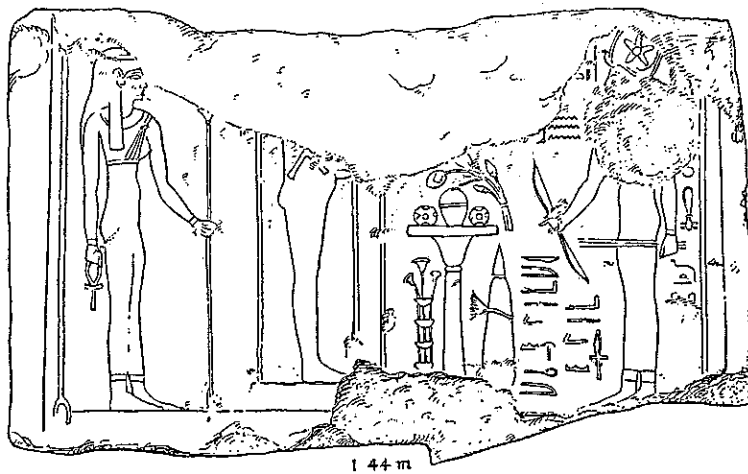


FIG. 20. DECORATED STONE SLAB USED TO CLOSE AN INTERCOLUMNIATION OF THE PERIPTEROS (SEE FIG. 19)

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

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

²² LD Text III 165.

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

THE PTOLEMAIC ADDITIONS

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

THE NORTH WING

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

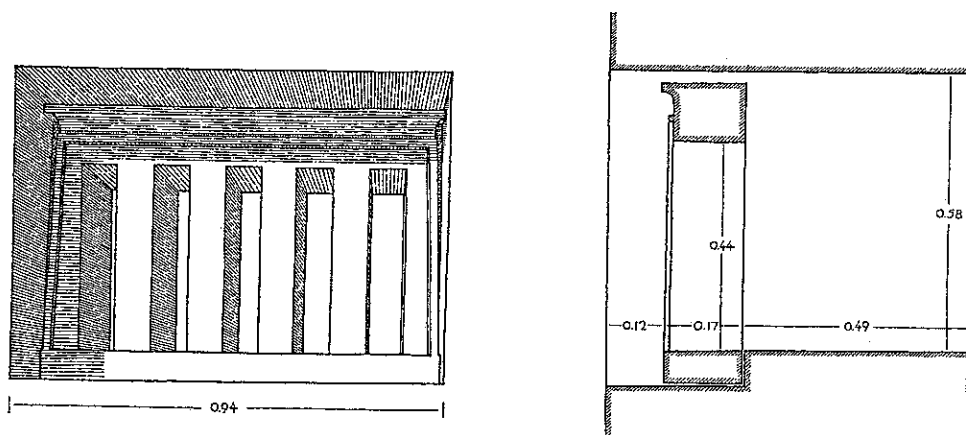


FIG. 21. GRATED WINDOW AS USED IN THE PTOLEMAIC ADDITIONS TO THE SMALL TEMPLE

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

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

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

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

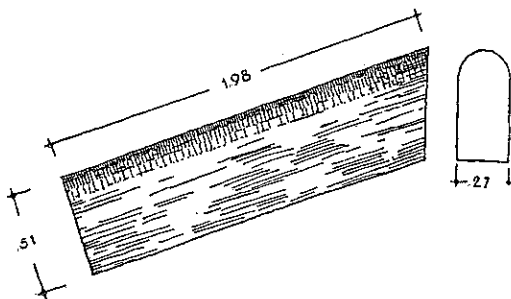


FIG. 22. FRAGMENT OF SANDSTONE RAILING FOUND IN THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL

the south inclosure wall (see Fig. 48). The room was accessible only from the old peripteros. Mention has been made above (p. 21) of a doorway which was placed here between the pillars. The floor of this room lies on the same level as that of the peripteros. Under its massive slabs we found a tomb(?), 2.80 by 1.50 m. and 1.40 m. in depth, which had been emptied of its original contents and filled with debris.

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

THE COLUMNED HALL

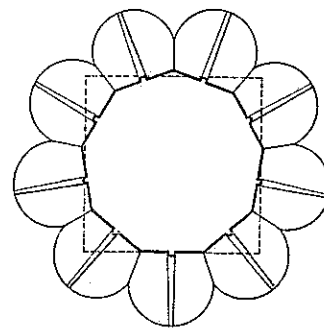
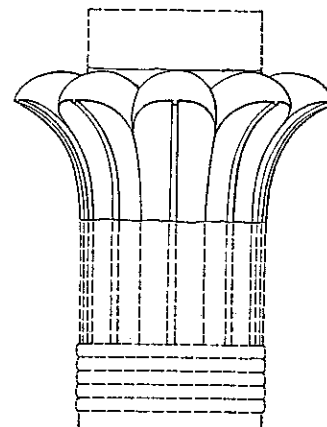
The side walls of the columned hall correspond exactly in construction and shape to the walls of the wings. In every respect the windows resemble the better preserved examples in the north addition. The same is true of the cavetto cornice. The floor, however, was about 90 cm. lower than that of the Eighteenth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

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

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

THE SOUTH WING

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



0 50 cm.

FIG. 23. PALM-LEAF CAPITAL, PROBABLY FROM THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL

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

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

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

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



FIG. 24. NORTH GATEWAY OF THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL, FROM THE INSIDE

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON AND GALLERY

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

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

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

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

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

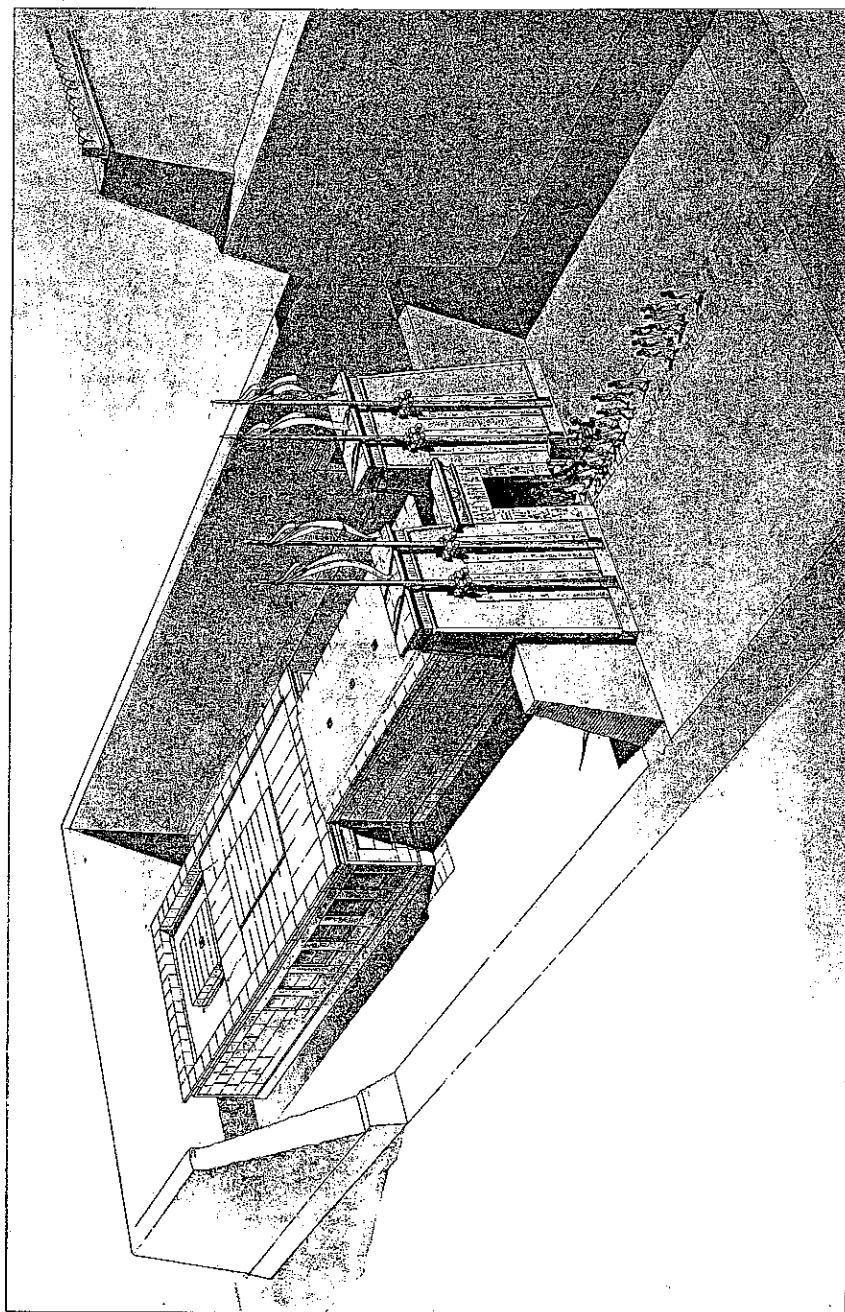
Fragments which obviously belonged to the gallery are built into the foundations of the north addition (pp. 22–23) to the Eighteenth Dynasty temple. They consist of two pieces of door lintels, 2.12 and 2.18 m. long (Pl. 29 c–d), which might well have belonged to the side doorways of the gallery, and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

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

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

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

³³ Comparison with contemporary Assyrian art is suggestive.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Close beside the doorframe, finally, are long inscriptions of Ptolemy VIII Soter II (116-108/7 and 88-80 B.C.).

The ends of the pylon were left without ornamentation, probably because joining walls of mud brick were either intended to be, or even actually were, constructed against them. But no traces of such have been discovered, not even in the foundations.

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

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

³⁵ Cf. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* II (Paris, 1845) Pl. CXCVII, and LD III 301, No. 79; V 1 c; Text III 152.





THE PORTICO OF THE SAITIC PERIOD

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

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

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

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

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

The papyrus cluster-columns are in form the exact counterpart of those in several of the chapels in Karnak dating from the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (chapel of 'Ankhnes-Neferibre' etc.).⁴¹ The evidence therefore points to the probability that this portico, usurped by Nectanebo I, should be attributed to the second half of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

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

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

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

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

⁴⁰ *LD Text III* 151.

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

THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON

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

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

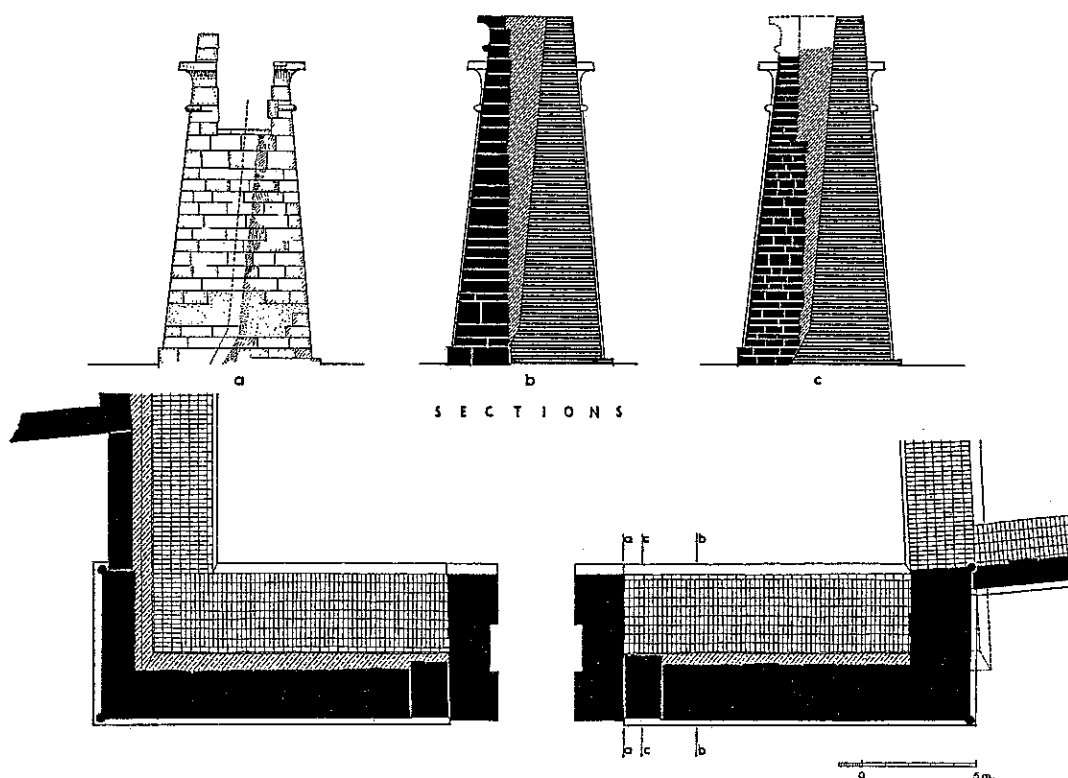


FIG. 25. THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON SCHEME OF CONSTRUCTION

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

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

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

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

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

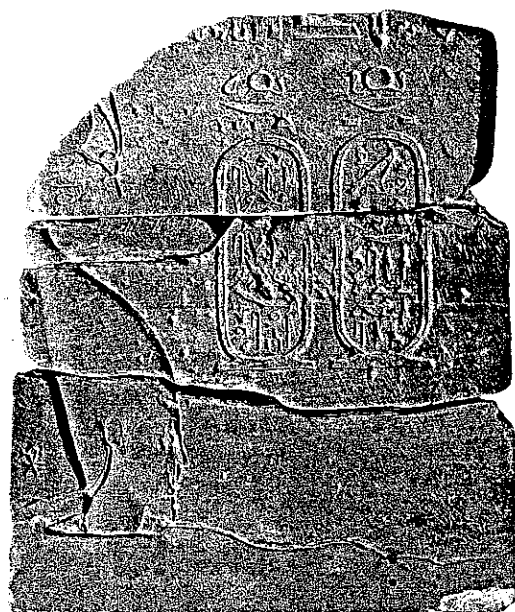
The Ptolemaic columns are surmounted by magnificent composite capitals (see Fig. 50) which number among the noblest examples of their type. In an unusually fine state of preservation likewise are the remnants on them of the original painting, which contributes so fundamentally to the effect of Egyptian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

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

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

THE ROMAN PORTICO AND FORECOURT

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



Width, 88 cm.

FIG. 26. BLOCKS BEARING THE HEAD AND CARTOUCHES OF EMPEROR ANTONINUS PIUS, FROM THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO THE ROMAN COURT BERLIN 2121

ployed were taken in part from the great mortuary temple of Amenhotep III behind the Colossi of Memnon.

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

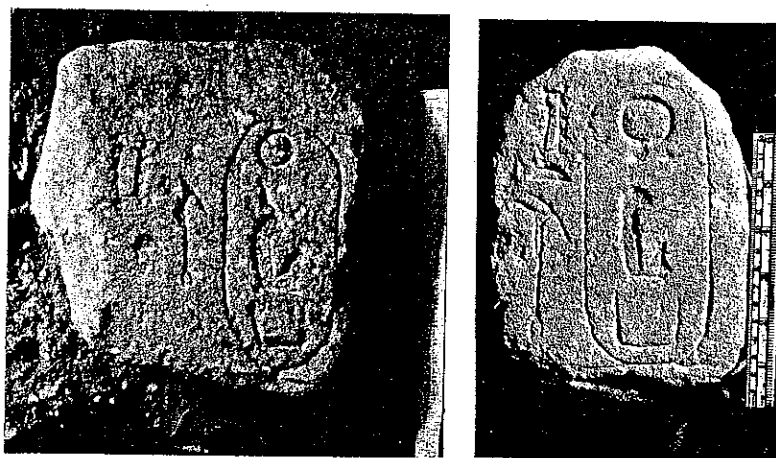
⁴⁴ These three blocks with the head and names of the emperor are now in the Berlin Museum (No. 2121); cf. *LD Text* III 149.

THE INCLOSURE WALLS AND THE ENVIRONS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

THE INCLOSURE WALL OF HATSHEPSUT

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

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



FIGS. 27-28. SMALL STONE SLABS WITH THE NAME OF HATSHEPSUT, FOUND IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF HER INCLOSURE WALL

wall the smaller bricks (33×16×9 cm.) were employed. Many of the larger, but none of the smaller, bricks are stamped with the cartouches of Kama'rec (cf. Fig. 6 a). To this extent the later wall of Hatshepsut corresponds to the earlier one. It is, however, distinguished from the latter in that occasionally small stones of red quartzite were set into the bedding sand beneath the lowest courses of brick. These small stones bear the inscription shown in Figures 27 and 28. Without grubbing through the entire wall to search for them, we have found thirteen such stones, all of them on the west and north sides. It was not possible to determine whether they lay at regular intervals. In addition there was discovered, bedded into the mortar of the second or third course of the west side of the wall, a small cartouche of greenish blue fayence (about 3 cm. long) on one side of which was the name "Kama'rec" and on the other side "Hatshepsut."⁴⁶ It is thus clear that this inclosure wall, as well as her temple structure, belongs to the period of Hatshepsut's independent rule.

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

⁴⁶ Cf. Vol. V.

A WALL OF AMENHOTEP III

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

WALLS OF RAMSES III

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

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

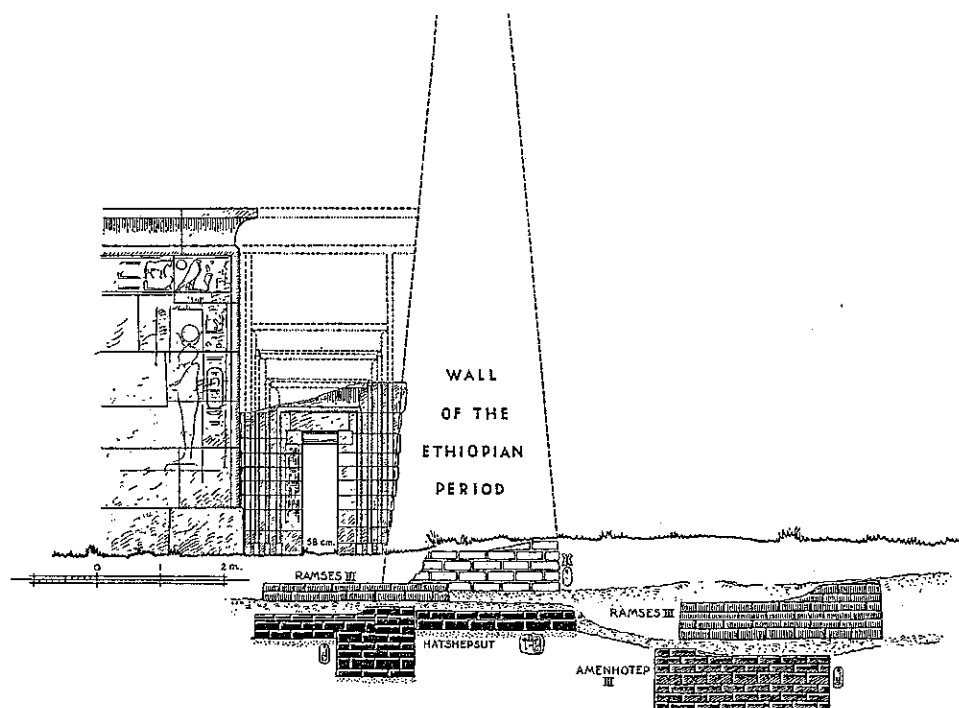


FIG. 29. NARROW GATEWAY OF TAHARKA AND SECTION SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF THE VARIOUS INCLOSURE WALLS BEHIND THE SMALL TEMPLE (cf. FIG. 32)

THE INCLOSURE WALL OF THE ETHIOPIANS

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

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

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

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

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

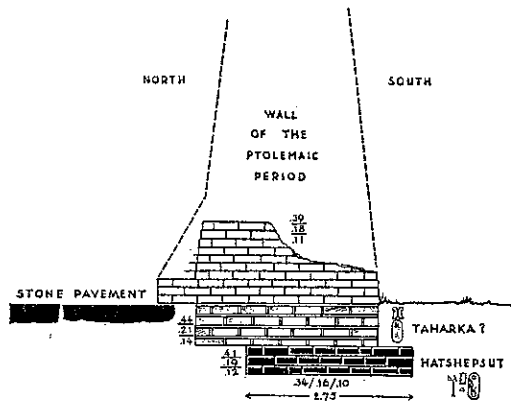


FIG. 30. SECTION SHOWING RELATIONSHIP OF THE VARIOUS INCLOSURE WALLS NORTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

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

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



FIG. 31. STELA OF TAHARKA, FOUND AT MEDINET HABU IN 1902. CAIRO 36140

After H. Carter in *Annales du Service* IV 179

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

⁴⁹ *LD Text* III 150.

⁵⁰ *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, p. 24.

⁵¹ Translation by Dr. Schott after a copy by Maspero published by Howard Carter in *Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte* IV (1903) 180; see also pp. 178 f.

JaC 36 410

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



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

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

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

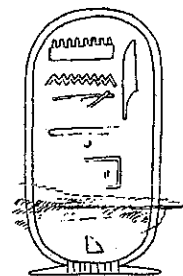


FIG. 33. ERASED CARTOUCHE OF TAHARKA ON THE EAST JAMB OF HIS NARROW GATEWAY (SEE FIG. 32)

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

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

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

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

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

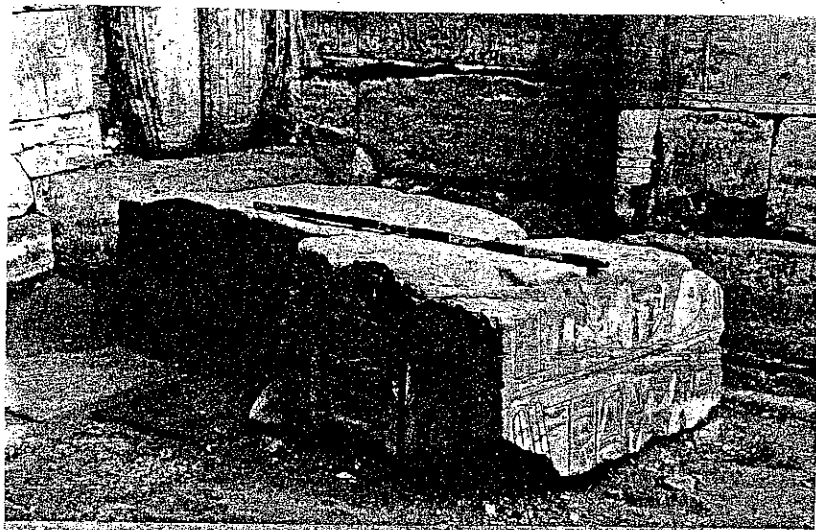


FIG. 34. BLOCK FROM A DESTROYED GATEWAY OF NECTANEBO I

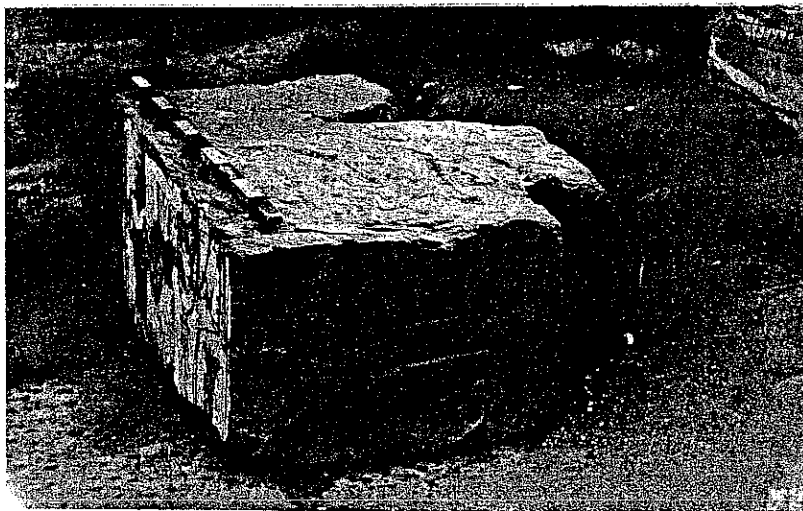


FIG. 35. BLOCK FROM A DESTROYED GATEWAY OF NECTANEBO I

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

THE PTOLEMAIC INCLOSURE WALL

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

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

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



FIG. 36. CAPITAL FRAGMENT OF A DOUBLE COLUMN IN CORINTHIAN STYLE

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

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

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

THE INCLOSURE WALL IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

THE OUTER INCLOSURE WALL OF THE TEMPLE AREA

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

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

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

The gate of Domitian was wrecked to provide stone for Coptic dwellings. Daressy rebuilt it (see Pl. 42) on an arbitrary site (in G 11; see Folio Pl. 5), without knowing where it had originally stood. We replaced beside it a fragment of its cornice which we found built into a late foundation (see p. 38) west of the Small Temple (at G 5 00 10 13 00). We were able to establish the original position of Domitian's gate, beside the Great Pylon of Ramses III (in I 10), because several of its foundation stones are still preserved *in situ* and bear upon their upper surfaces the mason's guide lines for the superstructure. The threshold was accordingly determined to have lain about 1.90 m. higher than the paving stones of the Ramessid period, that is, about 2.15 m. above the datum line. Under the gate ran a Roman conduit, most of which is still fairly well preserved (see Vol. V).

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

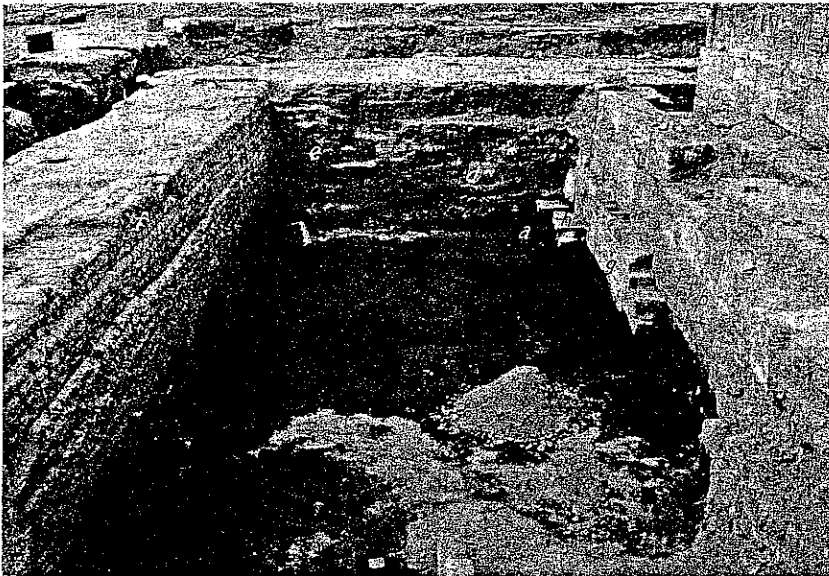


FIG. 38. THE "TANK" SOUTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

BUILDINGS SUBORDINATE TO THE SMALL TEMPLE

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

THE "TANK"

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

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

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

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

TOMBS

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

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

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

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

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

THE *Cachette*

We discovered (in E 4 50 9 8 00) under the Ptolemaic pavement a pit in which had been buried a large number of bronze and stone statuettes of Osiris at some time when there was no longer room for them in the cult chambers, though a desire still existed to preserve them from destruction. It was therefore a hiding place very similar to; though much humbler than, the well known *cachette* in the temple of Amon at Karnak. In our case, the statuettes can be assigned without exception to the time before 100 B.C. They are discussed in Volume V.

THE SACRED LAKE

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

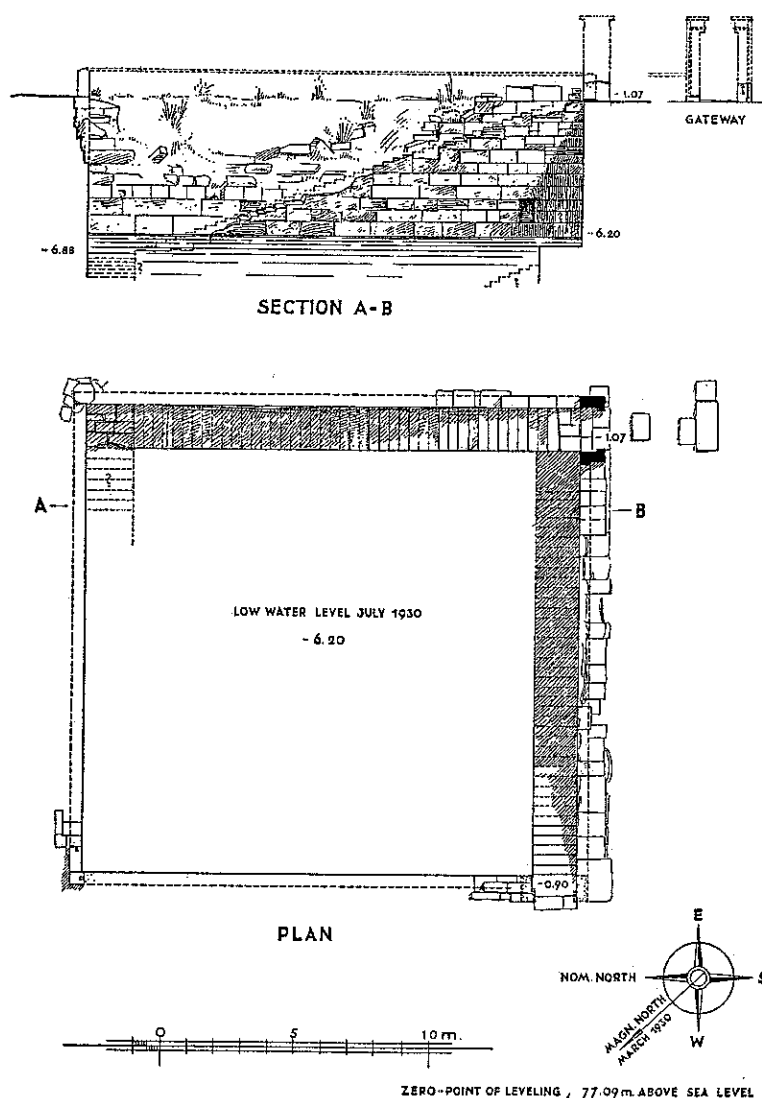


FIG. 39. THE SACRED LAKE

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

⁵⁶ *Description de l'Égypte* II (Paris, 1812) Pl. 2.

⁵⁷ Cf. Vol. I 3

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

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

The top landings of the staircases are at the corners nearest the temple, that is, at the two south corners of the lake. They were equipped with doorways which protruded above the parapet wall. Sufficient of the doorframes is preserved *in situ* to make possible a reconstruction of the form of the doorways (see Fig. 39). Daressy reports that he discovered scattered fragments of the doorways bearing the name of Nectanebo II.⁶⁰ I have been unable to find such stones again so as to discover whether they really belonged to the doorways of the sacred lake.⁶¹ Thus I must leave open the question of the builder, although I should judge the masonry to be Ptolemaic.

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁶² *Op. cit.* p. 26.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

INTRODUCTION: "THE HOLY PLACE OF JĒME"

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

Thebes was not one of the old cities of Egypt. Its name, *W3.t*, originally designated only the fourth nome of Upper Egypt. As a city it first came into existence after the princes of the Theban nome had obtained the mastery in their wars against the Heracleopolitans and Egypt had been reunited (Eleventh Dynasty). The old capital of the Theban nome was 13 kilometers to the south at Hermonthis (modern Armant).

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

On the west side of the Nile Valley (see Fig. 53), in front of the hill of Dhira^c Abu el-Naga² and in the rock-encircled hollow of Deir el-Bahri, the kings of the Eleventh Dynasty, the Intefs and the Mentuhoteps, erected their tomb-temples to face Karnak. The magnificent cliffs which here stretch out toward the cultivation and the Nile Valley obviously constituted a decisive factor in the choice of this location. The ancients were doubtless no less aware than ourselves that a grander or more awe-inspiring site for a royal cemetery could scarcely be found.

The cult of Amon now fixed upon a second abode, this time on the west of Thebes. It was located south of the royal necropolis, at the spot now known to us as Medinet Habu. Even in the late period this site was still revered as a very ancient holy place, as is shown in certain inscriptions according to which Amon as "Father of the Fathers of the Eight Primeval Gods" and these gods themselves were thought to dwell, that is, to be buried, there.³ The locality was called *Ḳ3.t-T3m.t*, "The (Holy?) Place of Jēme." *Ḳ3.t* is an old word which seems to have been employed especially for such sacred places (in connection with the cult of the dead?).⁴ As early as the Eighteenth Dynasty the district was designated as "the exact *Ḳ3.t* of the West."⁴ *T3m.t* is the name of the place. The compound *Ḳ3.t-T3m.t* occurs for the first time in the Small Temple in the restoration inscription of Panedjem I (Twenty-first Dynasty). *T3m.t*, later *D3m.t*, the Coptic *ⲭⲏⲙⲉ* (Jēme), was perhaps the prototype of the Greek appellation *Θῆβαι* for the entire metropolis.

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

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

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

"In griechischer Zeit gilt Theben als Geburtsort der Acht, und bei Medinet Habu, auf dem Westufer dieser Stadt, wird damals ihre letzte Ruhestätte gesucht. Dort sollen sie als Vertreter einer vergangenen Weltperiode wie Verstorbene in ihrer Unterwelt weilen, aus der sie aber noch immer ihre Wirkung auf die Oberwelt ausüben, indem sie den Nil und die Sonne daraus emporkommen lassen. . . . Wie die Acht Urgötter gilt auch der mit ihnen in Medinet Habu unter der Form der Schlange *Km3.t-f* ("die ihren Augenblick vollendete") verehrte Urvater Amon-re^c als verstorben. Er empfängt mit ihnen zusammen regelmässig Totenopfer . . . teils aus der Hand einer anderen Abspaltung seiner eigenen Person, des ithyphallischen "Amon von Luxor" (Amenapet), der als "grosser lebender Gott" ihm gegenüber die gegenwärtige Weltordnung vertritt . . ."

³ *Ibid.* § 103.

⁴ Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 882, l. 13.

Inside this sacred precinct (*ḥt-t3m.t*) the Small Temple was apparently regarded as the home of the Amon cult in the narrower sense, since it was believed, at least in the late period, to contain the tombs of the first progenitor, Amon, and the Eight Primeval Gods.⁵ In the wall reliefs of the Eighteenth Dynasty Amon-Re is already given the epithet *ḏsr-ḥ.t*, "Sacred of Place" or "He of the Sacred Place." The cult at this site, however, as our researches have shown, reaches back into the time before Hatshepsut, presumably into the Middle Kingdom. This is confirmed by Thutmose III also, in his dedicatory inscription on the inside of the architraves of the peripteros, which tells how he found the temple "fallen into ruin" (cf. p. 19).

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

The later city of Thebes evidently developed about these four cult places, that is, the three Amon sanctuaries and the royal necropolis. At what time Thebes could first properly be called a city is still somewhat uncertain. Hermonthis may have remained the real city of the Theban nome well into the New Kingdom. But the royal residence was probably in the vicinity of the new Amon sanctuaries, though we do not know where until the time of Amenhotep III, when it was located about a kilometer south of Medinet Habu, at the present Malqata.⁶ Elsewhere in this western district we found more village-like settlements attached to the sanctuaries or at least standing in a more or less close relationship with them. At the beginning of the New Kingdom the necropolis of western Thebes was essentially smaller than in later times.⁷ In general it seems to have extended from the hill of Dhiraḥ Abu el-Naga² and the area at its foot to the neighborhood of the Ramesseum. At that time the strip of land along the cultivation where the royal mortuary temples were erected in the course of the New Kingdom (see Fig. 53) was for the most part, so far as we know, not yet built up as a necropolis.

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

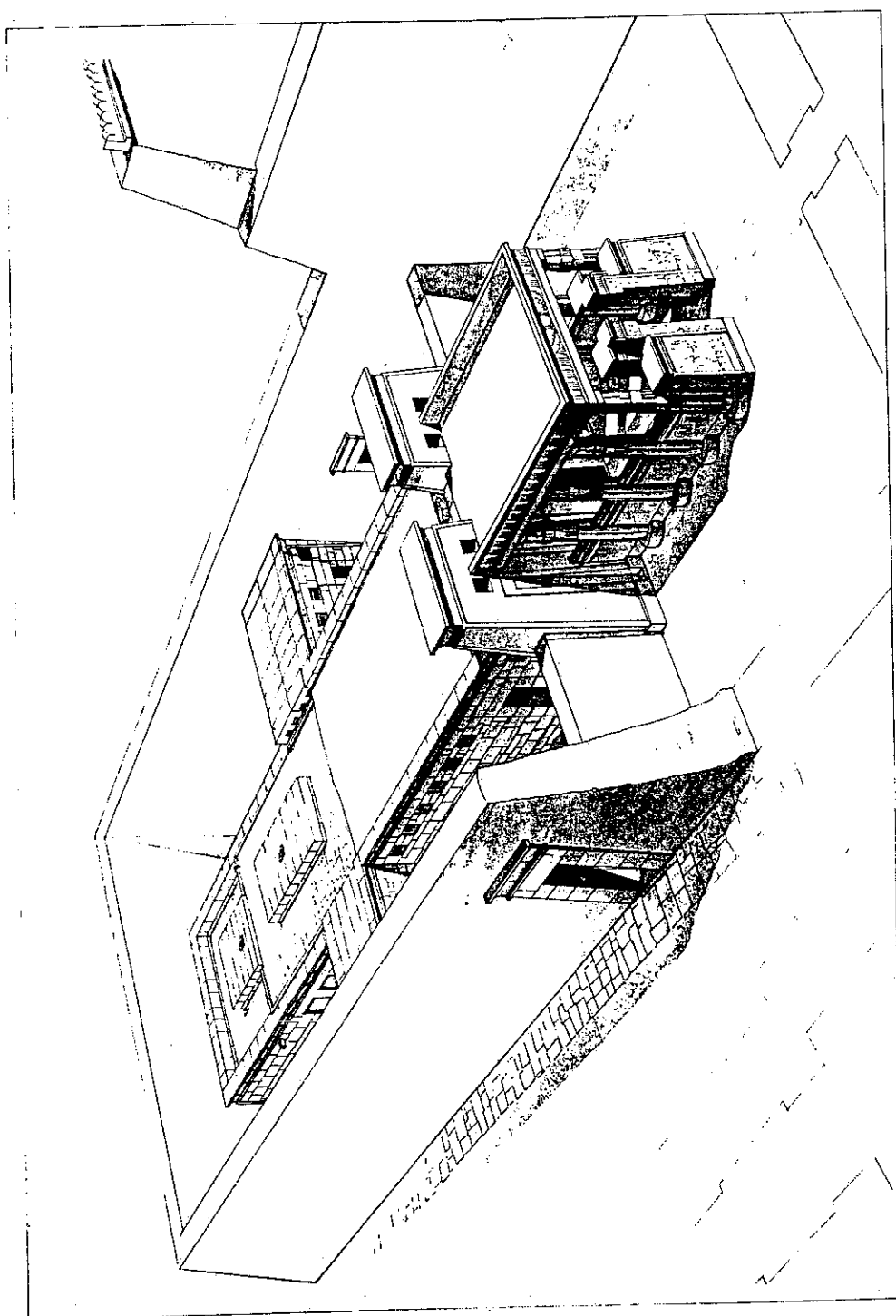
THE OLDEST CULT BUILDINGS OF JĒME

The district in which the temple of Amon *ḏsr-ḥ.t*, "He of the Sacred Place," stands and which was probably designated as "The Holy Place of Jēme" (*ḥt-t3m.t*) was apparently surrounded by walls at various times. The oldest which we have been able to identify is located immediately behind (west of) the Small Temple of Medinet Habu and from there ran a considerable distance toward the north (Fig. 40; see also Fig. 5), where it has unfortunately disappeared. Many of its mud bricks bear the stamp of Kama're (Fig. 6a). We have designated this wall the "earlier wall of Hatshepsut" (see p. 6). Proceeding in its general line of direction toward the

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

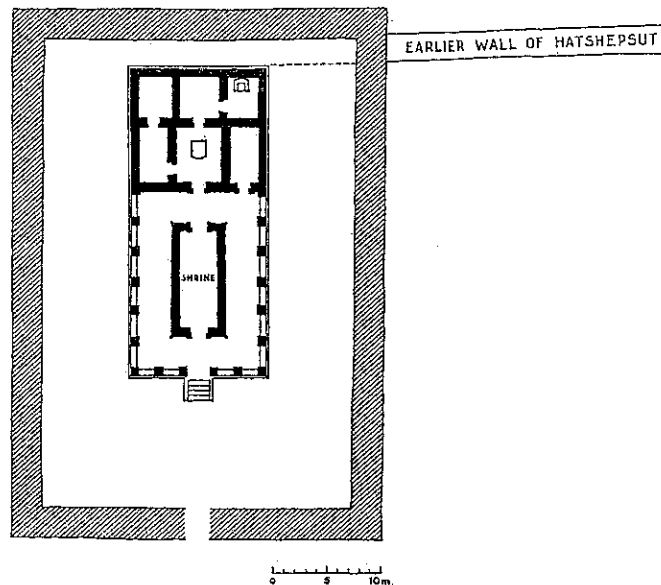


FIG. 40. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU UNDER THUTMOSE III. GROUND PLAN RECONSTRUCTION

are similar in structure and in the stamps on the bricks. The later wall differs in one point only, namely that beneath it were found small quartzite slabs bearing the cartouche of Kama'ret and the expression $\text{[]} \Delta \text{[]}$ (Figs. 27-28).

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

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

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

¹⁰ G. Legrain in *Recueil de travaux XXIII* (1901) 64: "Je trouvai ... une pierre de fondation $\text{[]} \Delta \text{[]}$ Ceci, d'ailleurs, m'est arrivé en beaucoup d'endroits autour du sanctuaire. Ces pierres étaient, pour ainsi dire, semées dans le sol."

these tentatively as "*K3-m3-t-R*, die Theben ummauerte"¹¹ or "*welche Theben mit Mauern versah*."¹² It is necessary to keep in mind the fact—revealed by our excavation—that these walls were erected not about Thebes as a city but around individual building complexes which all together comprised what was called "Thebes."

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

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

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

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

THE TEMPLE UNDER HATSHEPSUT

The new temple was not begun by Hatshepsut until the second half of her reign. It consisted of two parts, which formed an admirable unit containing a group of temple rooms and before them a peripteros with a shrine in the center (Fig. 41 B). Of the actual temple rooms the six cult chambers at the rear are preserved. A transverse hall, which was originally in front of them, was razed under Thutmose III. In the main the six cult chambers are preserved in the form in which they were erected by Hatshepsut. The dedicatory inscription on the doorframe of the southwest room (Fig. 8 Q) states: "The Good Goddess, the Lady of the Two Lands, the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, *K3-m3-t-R*, beloved of Amon-Re: the King of the Gods, the daughter of the Sun, of his body, his beloved, Khnemet-Amon Hatshepsut; (she) made it as (her) monument for her father Amon,

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

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

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

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

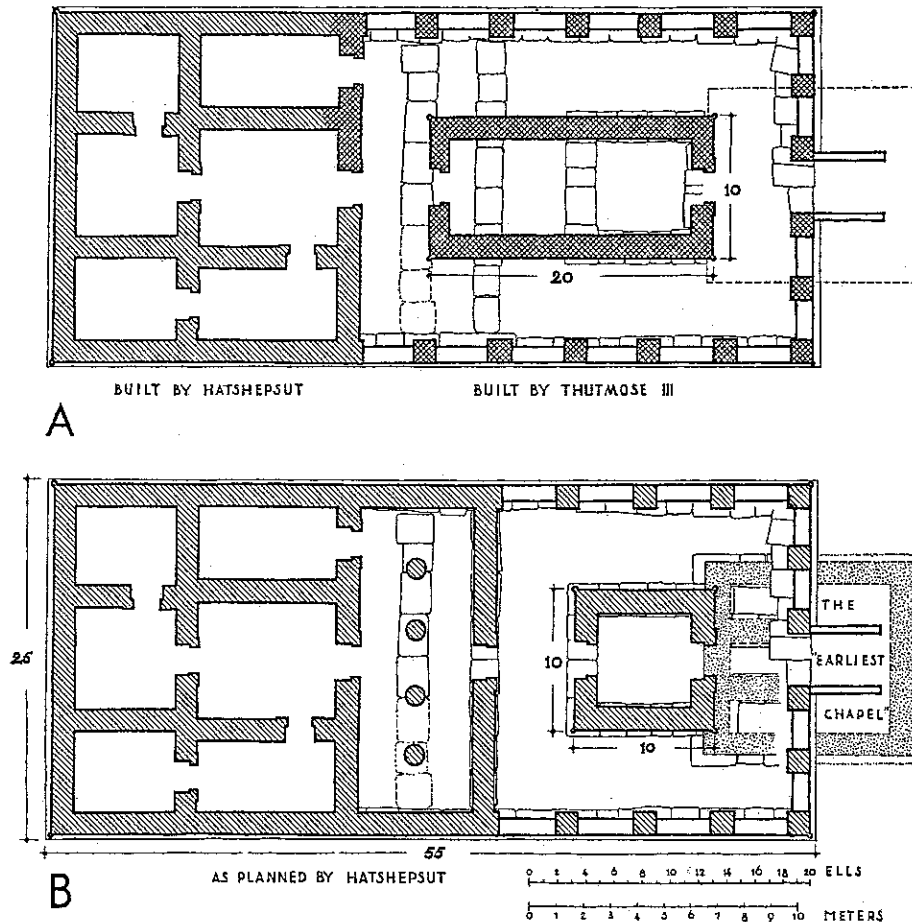


FIG. 41. THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE (A) AS FINISHED UNDER THUTMOSE III AND (B) AS PLANNED AND PARTIALLY BUILT UNDER HATSHEPSUT

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

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

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

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

So far as I know, the ground plan of the rear part of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple is unique in Egypt proper, though there are related buildings in Nubia—Egyptian colony that it was—dating from the same time.¹⁵ Above all, the temple of Hatshepsut at Buhen (Fig. 42¹⁶), near Wadi Halfa, should be mentioned. It contained a transverse hall (without pillars), a main room in the middle, from which side rooms to the south and west were accessible, and finally an isolated chamber to the north. The rear half of the latter contained a sort of

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

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

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

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

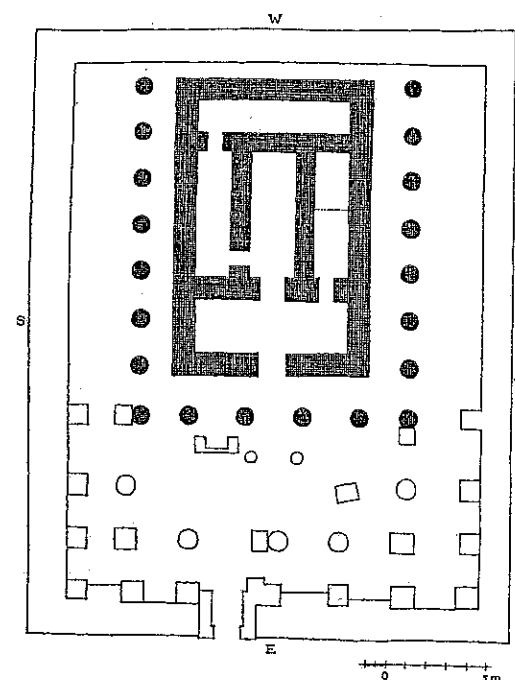


FIG. 42. THE TEMPLE OF HATSHEPSUT AT BUHEN, NEAR WADI HALFA

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

THE TEMPLE UNDER THUTMOSE III

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

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

¹⁵ During the printing of this volume Ludwig Borchardt published a treatise on Egyptian peripteral temples under the title: *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*, mit Zeichnungen von Herbert Ricke ("Beiträge zur ägyptischen Bauforschung und Altertumskunde," hrsg. von Ludwig Borchardt, Heft 2 [Kairo, 1938]). Unfortunately I could not utilize this very interesting work. It should be noted that in Borchardt's reconstruction of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu (Pl. 17) the original ceiling above the naos is too low.

¹⁶ Drawing based on D. Randall-MacIver and C. L. Woolley, *Buhen* (Philadelphia, 1911) Plan A. Unfortunately the materials presented in the publication are not sufficient to give an idea of how the exterior of the temple appeared. The reconstruction (Plan B) can be accepted only with reservations. The inner part, which is still standing, and the positions of the columns which surrounded it at least on three sides are all that is certain. These parts, which certainly date from Hatshepsut, I have shown with hatching in Fig. 42. However, without a proper architectural investigation it is not possible to offer any facts concerning the original outer arrangement or what stood in place of the later forecourt. For more recent data concerning this temple see Borchardt, *op. cit.* Pls. 11–12 and pp. 35–41. A further example is offered by the temple of el-ʿAmadah; see *ibid.* Pl. 13 and pp. 41–44.

¹⁷ George A. Reisner in *JEA* IV (1917) 223.

¹⁸ *Ibid.* Pl. XLIV

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

²⁰ Cf. Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, p. 14.

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

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

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

DETAILS OF THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

THE DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON

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

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

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

Its measurements force us to conclude that our statue group stood in the center of Room L (cf. p. 14). Moreover, a peculiarity should be noted. The rear pilaster concealed from an entrant the doorway which led to the rear cult rooms, where it must be thought was kept the actual cult statue of Amon, the "Hidden One." Is there perhaps a particular reason for this?²⁵

²¹ Sethe, *Urkunden der 18. Dynastie*, p. 596.

²² *Das Hatshepsut-Problem*, § 25. H. Schäfer has expressed the suspicion that Egyptian peripteral buildings had some relationship to the thirty-year festival; see *Die Leistung der ägyptischen Kunst* ("Der Alte Orient" XXVIII 1-2 [1929]) p. 48, n. 20. A detailed study of this question is given in Borchardt, *Ägyptische Tempel mit Umgang*.

²³ After Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers I* ("Catalogue général ... du Musée du Caire" XXX [Le Caire, 1906]) Pl. XXXVIII.

²⁴ After *ibid.* Pl. XXXIX, where the material is given as green basalt.

²⁵ Stone slabs were placed in front of the doorways of sanctuaries in chapels of royal courtiers which were situated west of Medinet Habu, in order to conceal the sacred images from passers-by on the outside (see Vol. IV).

A STATUE IN THE SANCTUARY OF THE KING

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

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



FIG. 43. DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III(?) AND AMON
FROM KARNAK. RED GRANITE. CAIRO 42065

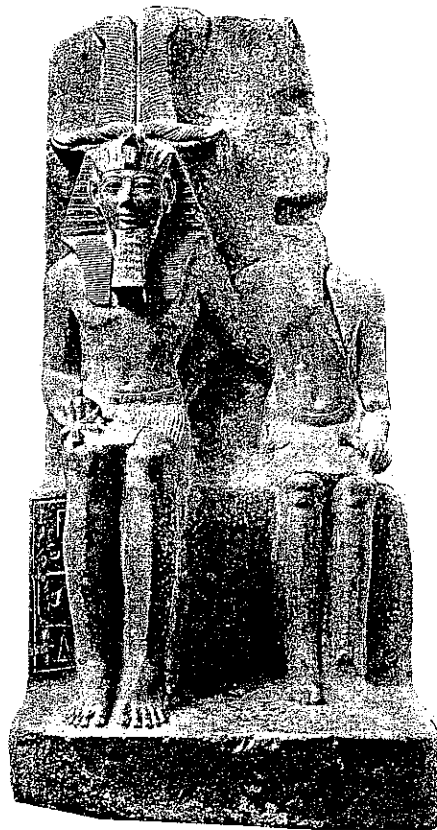


FIG. 44. DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON
FROM KARNAK. SCHIST. CAIRO 42066

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

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

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

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

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

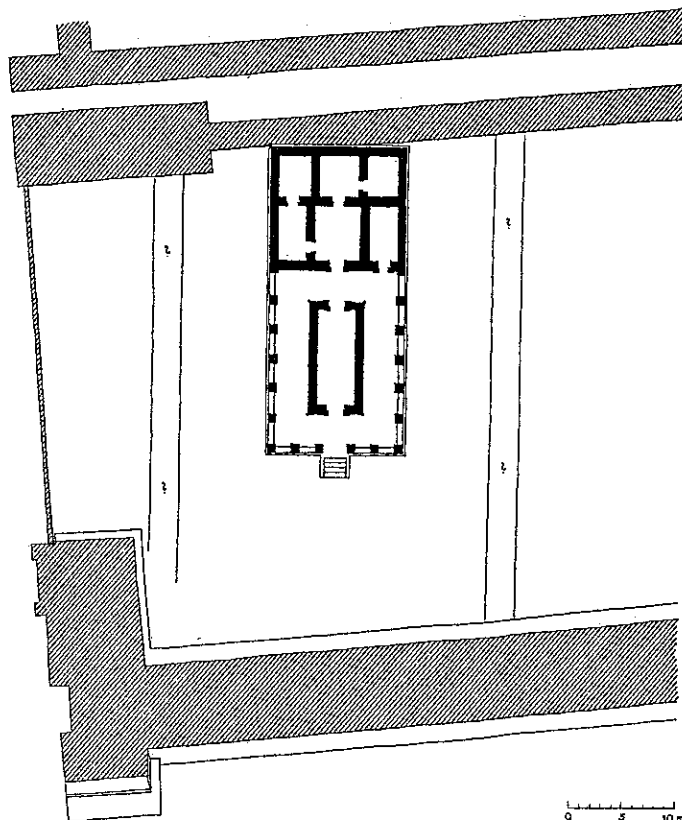


FIG. 45. THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU INCLOSED IN THE FORTIFIED TEMPLE AREA OF RAMSES III

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

THE TEMPLE UNDER THE ETHIOPIAN KINGS

No architectural traces or inscriptions can be found on the temple from the three centuries of political and economic decline following Panedjem. As to the veneration in which the place was held, it need only be mentioned that beside it to the south was buried Horsifēse,²⁸ high priest of Amon and later coregent with Osorkon II

²⁶ See Vol. V

²⁷ LD III 251 d-g and Text III 163-64.

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

(Twenty-second Dynasty). The Ethiopian kings (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), regarding themselves as rightful successors of the pharaohs, gave their special protection to the temples of Thebes. Under their rule the temple of Jēme also was restored, that is, altered and enlarged. The inclosure wall was most urgently in need of reconstruction after the destruction of the fortified precinct of Ramses III. An encircling wall of the same dimensions was erected upon the foundations of the long-since destroyed wall of Hatshepsut. The actual builder of this was probably Shabaka (712-700 B.C.), while Taharka (688-663 B.C.) either completed it or restored it (after its destruction by the Assyrians?). Traces of it remain on the south, west, and north (see pp. 33-36). A stone gateway on the north is comparatively well preserved, but the names in the cartouches have been chiseled out, so that no trace is left, and were never replaced by other names.

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

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

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

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

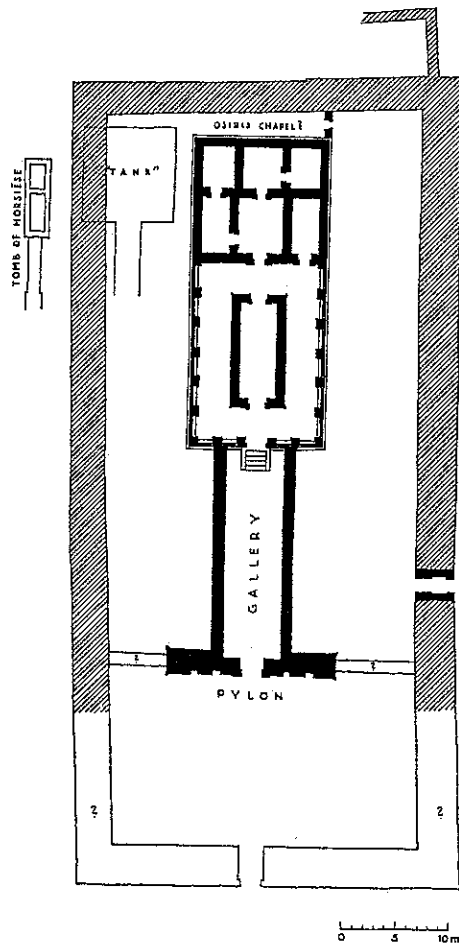


FIG. 46. THE SMALL TEMPLE UNDER THE ETHIOPIAN KINGS

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

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

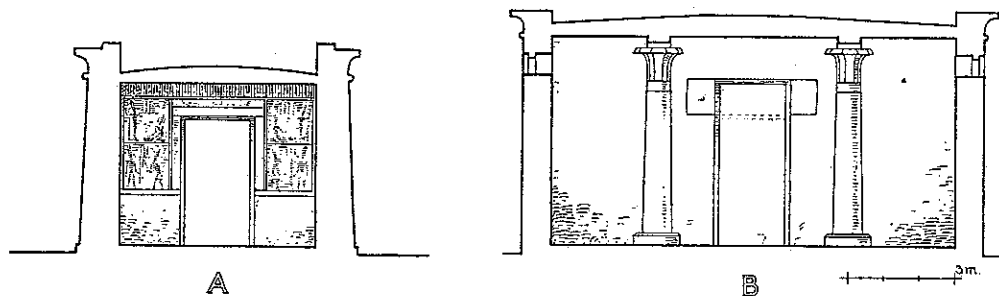


FIG. 47 A THE ETHIOPIAN GALLERY. B. THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL WHICH REPLACED THE GALLERY. CROSS-SECTIONS. RECONSTRUCTIONS

THE SAITIC PORTICO

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

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

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

²⁹ Cf. the development which Temple B 500 at Gebel Barkal underwent in the Ethiopian period (Reisner in *ZAS* LXIX [1933] plan opp. p. 76).

³⁰ The relationship and succession of these princesses were determined by adoption. Amenirdis was the daughter of the Ethiopian king Kashta and the sister of Pi'ankhi and Shabaka. Shepnupet II was the daughter of Pi'ankhi, therefore the niece of Amenirdis. Finally, Nitocris was a daughter of the Saitic king Psamtik I.

³¹ Cf. representations of the pylon of the Aton temple at 'Amarnah in N. de G. Davies, *The Rock Tombs of El Amarna I* (London, 1903) Pls. XII and XXVII; IV (London, 1906) Pls. XX etc.

³² Cf. the Luxor temple.

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

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

THE RESTORATION OF THE TEMPLE UNDER ACHORIS

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

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

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

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

THE OUTER TEMPLE PRECINCT UNDER NECTANEBO I

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

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

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

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

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

THE TEMPLE UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

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

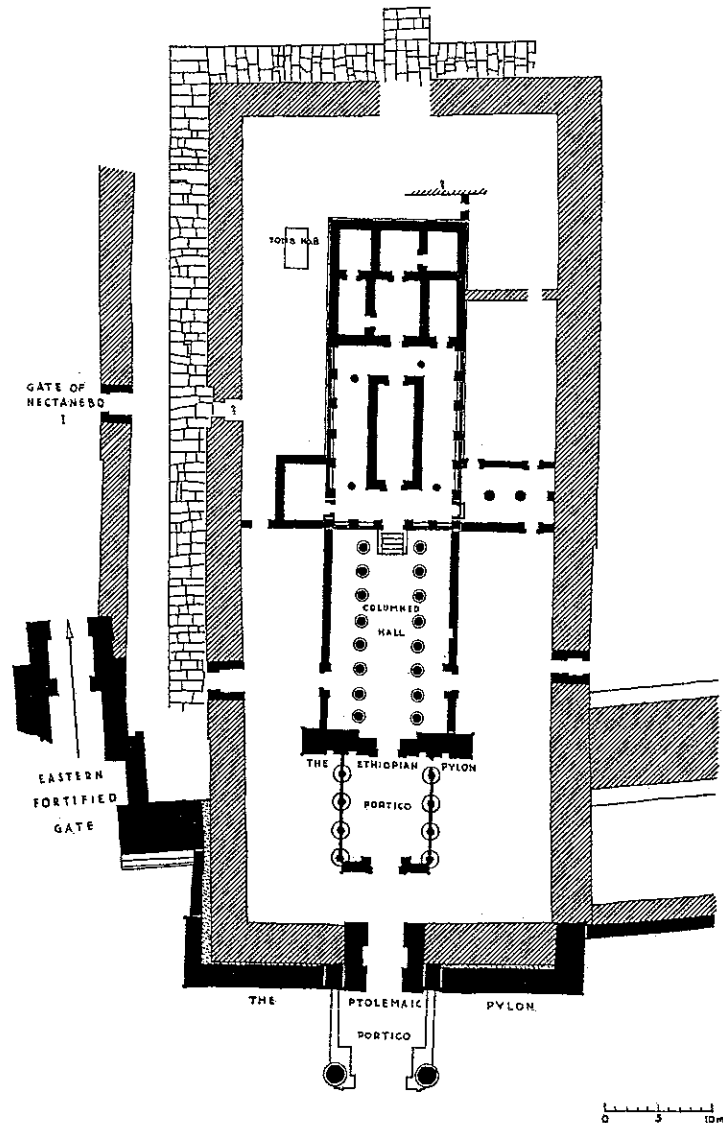


FIG. 48. THE SMALL TEMPLE UNDER THE PTOLEMIES

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

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

Ptolemy VI Philometor, Cleopatra II, and Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (joint reigns) (inscriptions on the Ethiopian pylon)	169/8–163 B.C.	(see p. 27)
Ptolemy VII Euergetes II (Physkon) and Cleopatra II and III (joint reigns) (inscriptions inside and outside of the peripteros)	141/40–131/30 and 124?–116 B.C.	(see pp. 17–19)
Ptolemy VIII Soter II (Lathyros) (inscriptions on the Ethiopian and Ptolemaic pylons)	116–108/7 and 88–80 B.C.	(see pp. 27 and 30)
Ptolemy IX Alexander I (inscriptions on the Ethiopian pylon)	108/7–88 B.C.	(see p. 27)
Ptolemy XI Neos Dionysos (Auletes) (inscriptions on the Ptolemaic pylon)	80–51 B.C.	(see p. 30)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

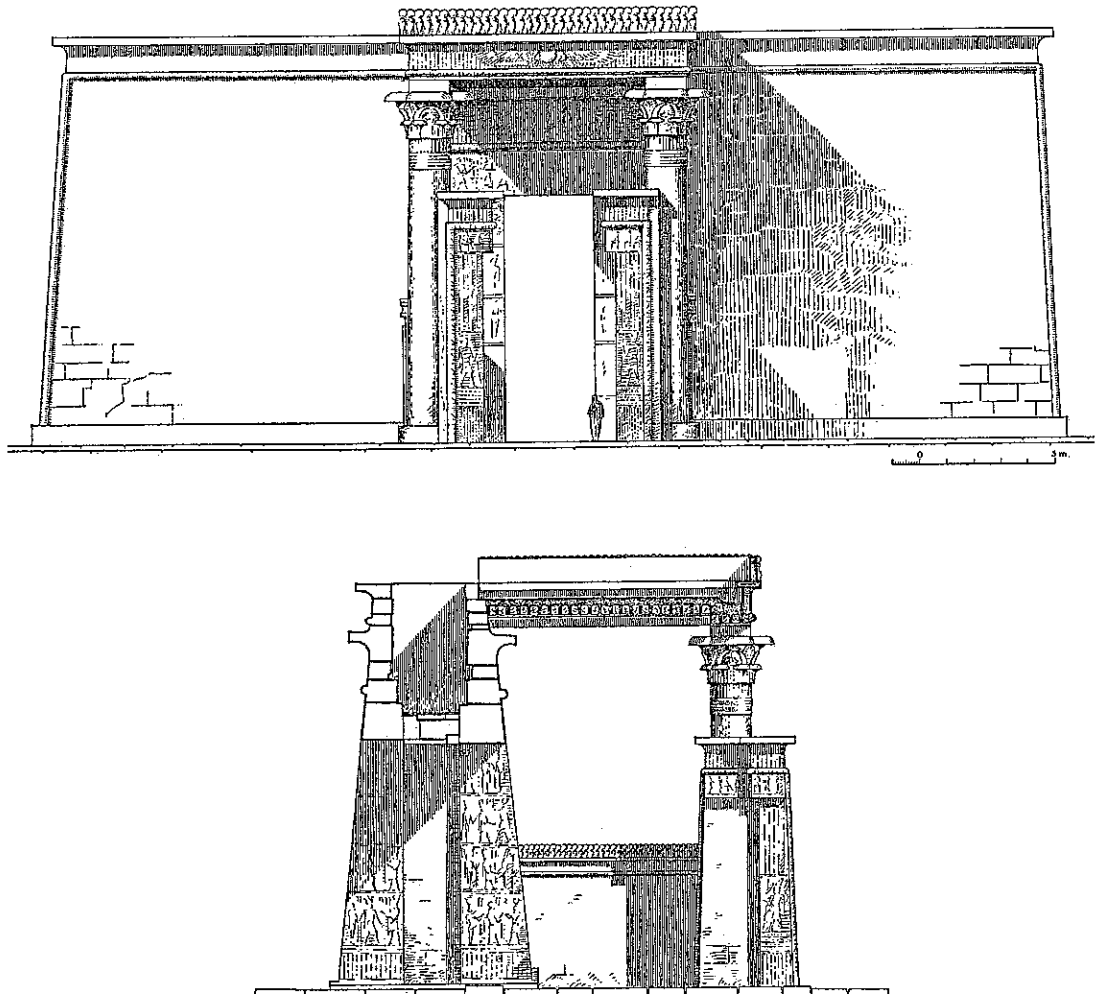
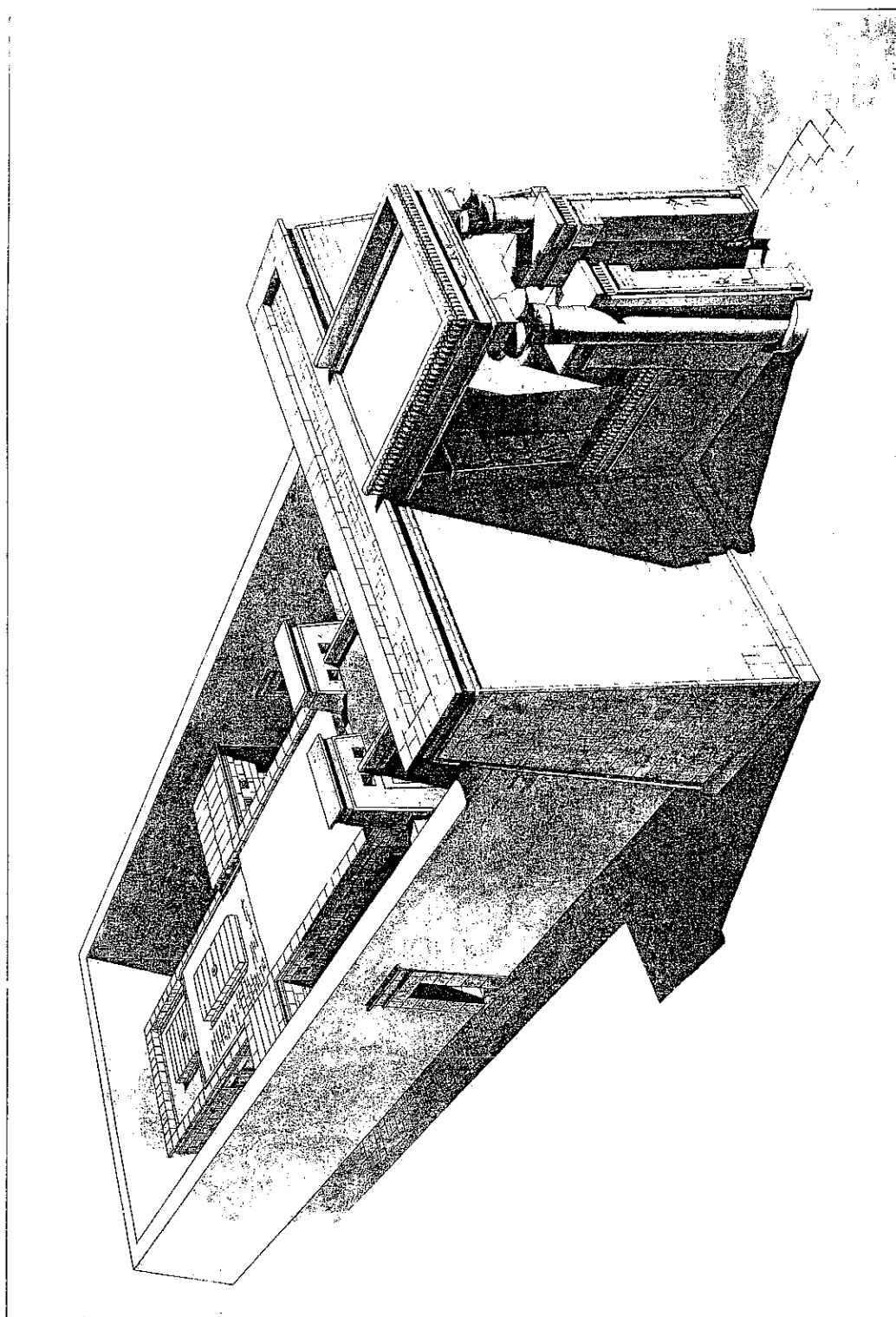


FIG. 49. THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON AND PORTICO. FRONT ELEVATION AND CROSS-SECTION RECONSTRUCTIONS

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

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



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

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

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

In consideration of the great width to be spanned, the roof of the portico consisted necessarily of wood. Traces of supports for the architraves and of the slightly projecting cavetto cornice and the profile of the earth covering of the curved roof can still be recognized on the pylon above the portal. The wooden cornice of the portico was at the same level as the boldly projecting stone one of the pylon, but whether a frieze of serpents rose above the porch, as is indicated in our reconstructions (Fig. 49 and Pl. 7), is not certain.

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

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

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

THE TEMPLE IN THE ROMAN PERIOD

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

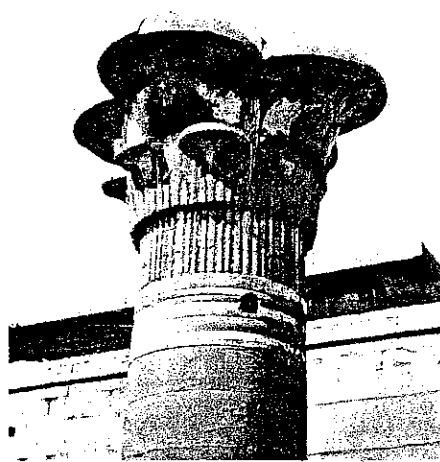


FIG. 50. CAPITAL FROM ONE OF THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNS IN FRONT OF THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON

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

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

³⁸ Pausanias i. 9, 3.

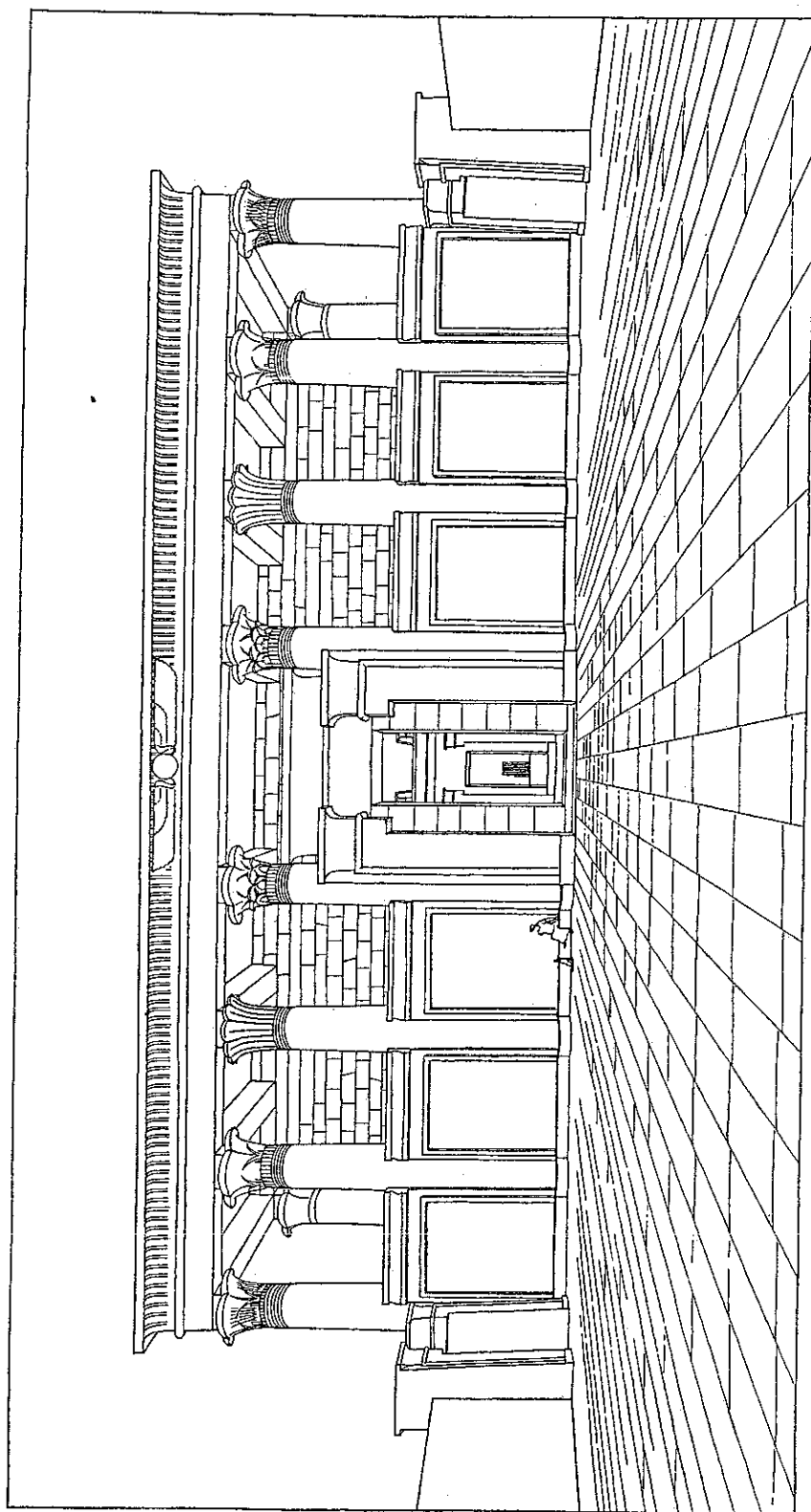


FIG. 51. SUGGESTED RECONSTRUCTION OF THE UNFINISHED ROMAN PORTICO

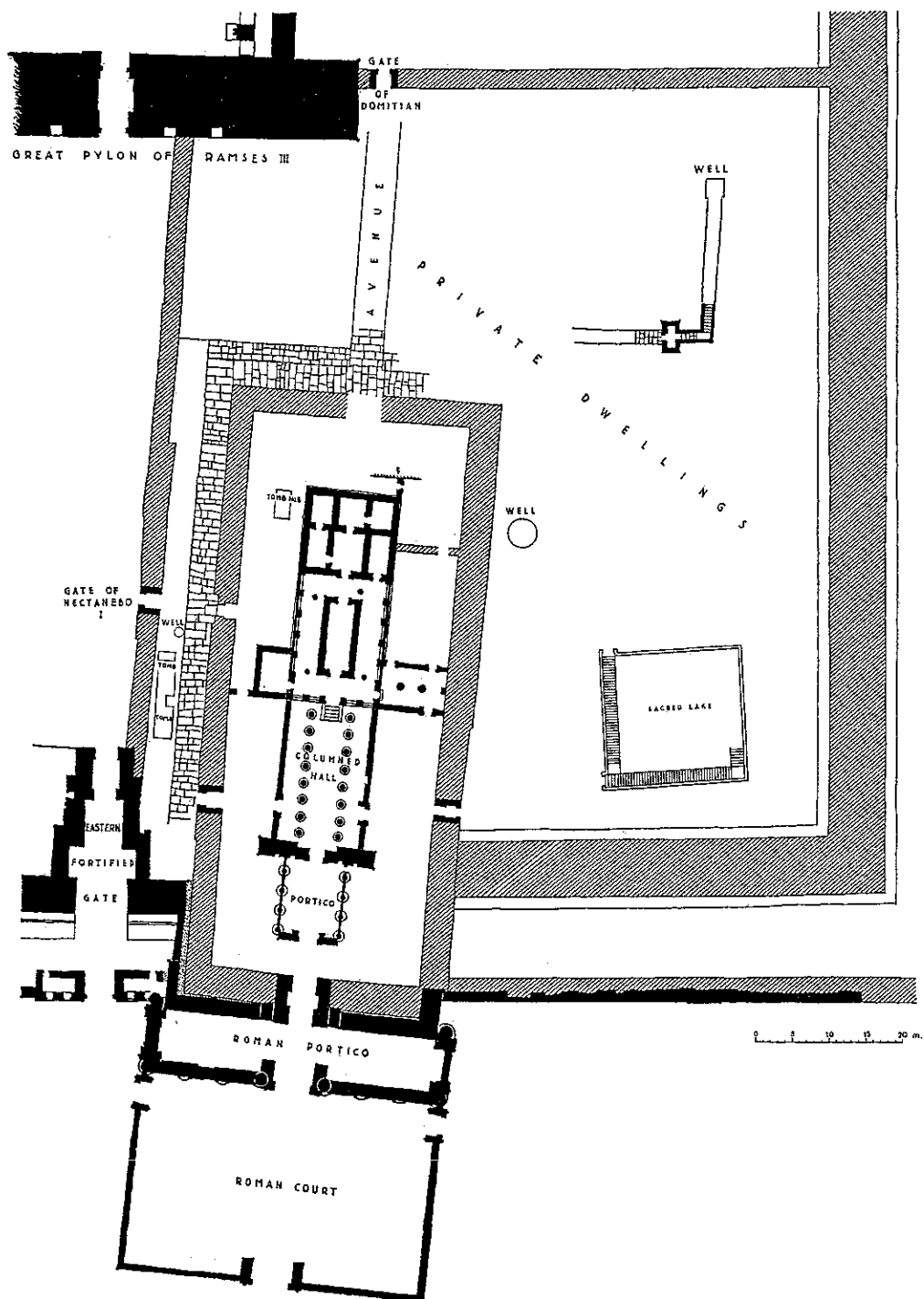


FIG. 52. THE SMALL TEMPLE IN ROMAN TIMES

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

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

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

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

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

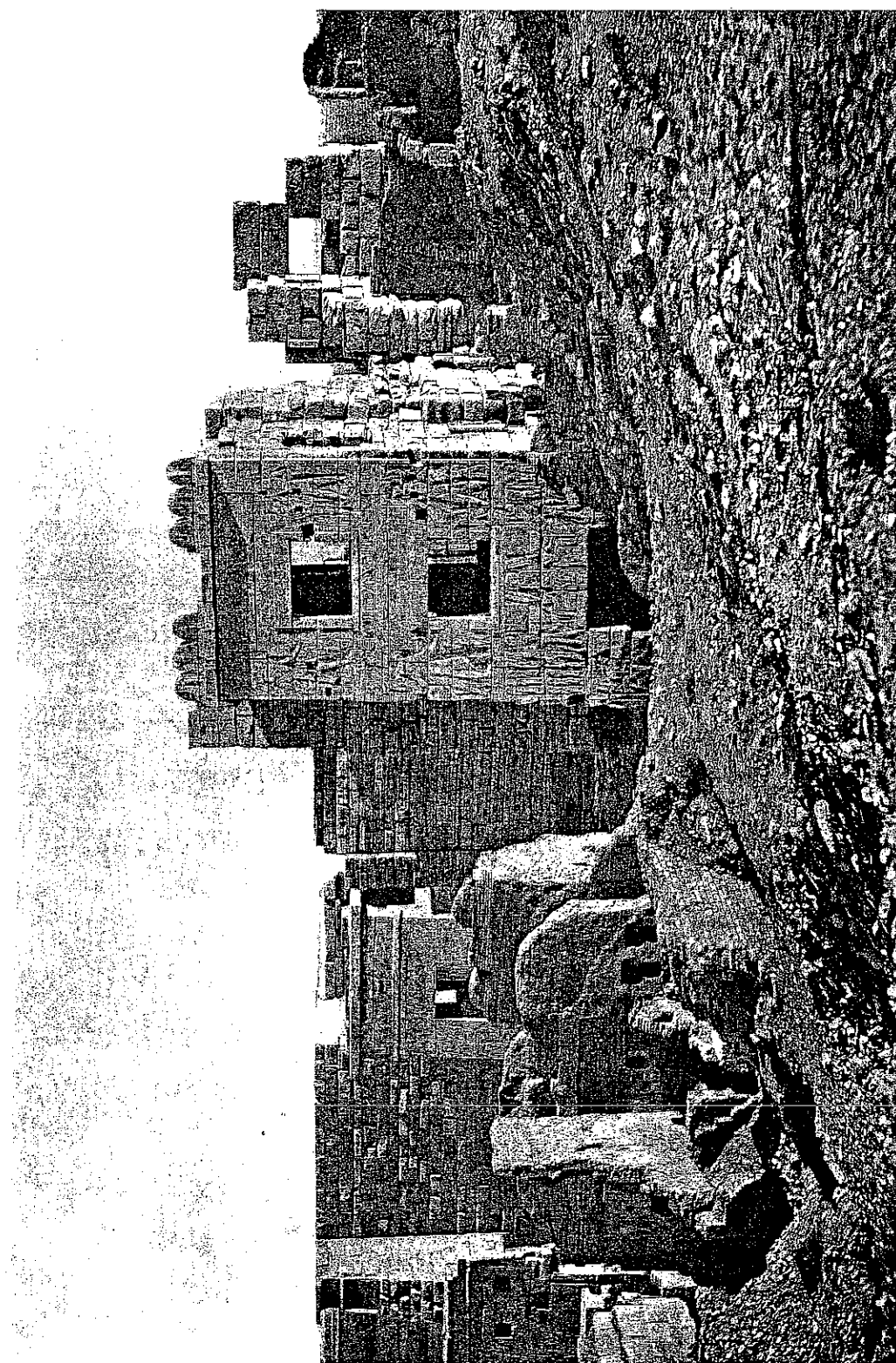
Herewith ends the story of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu, a history which, according to my opinion, is greater and of more importance than that of all the other temples on the west of Thebes.

³⁹ Cf. Émile Chassinat, *Le Temple de Dendara I* (Le Caire, 1934) Pl. I.

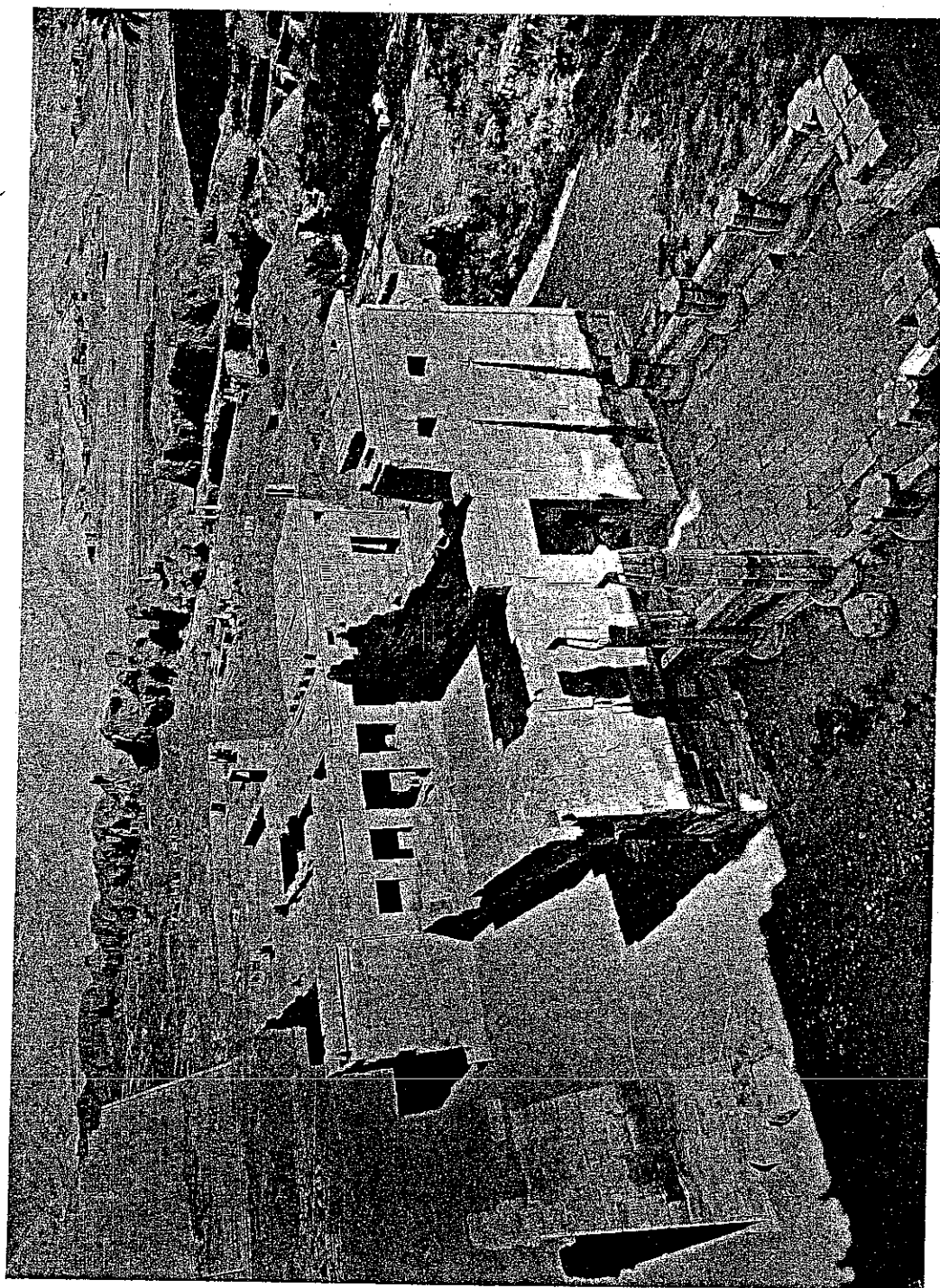
⁴⁰ Cf. Marquis de Rochemonteix, *Le Temple d'Edfou I* (Mission archéologique française au Caire, "Mémoires" X [Paris, 1897]) Pls. VI-VIII.

⁴¹ These paintings as copied by Mr. Donald Wilber are published in Edgerton, *Medinet Habu Graffiti. Facsimiles*, Pls. 98-101.

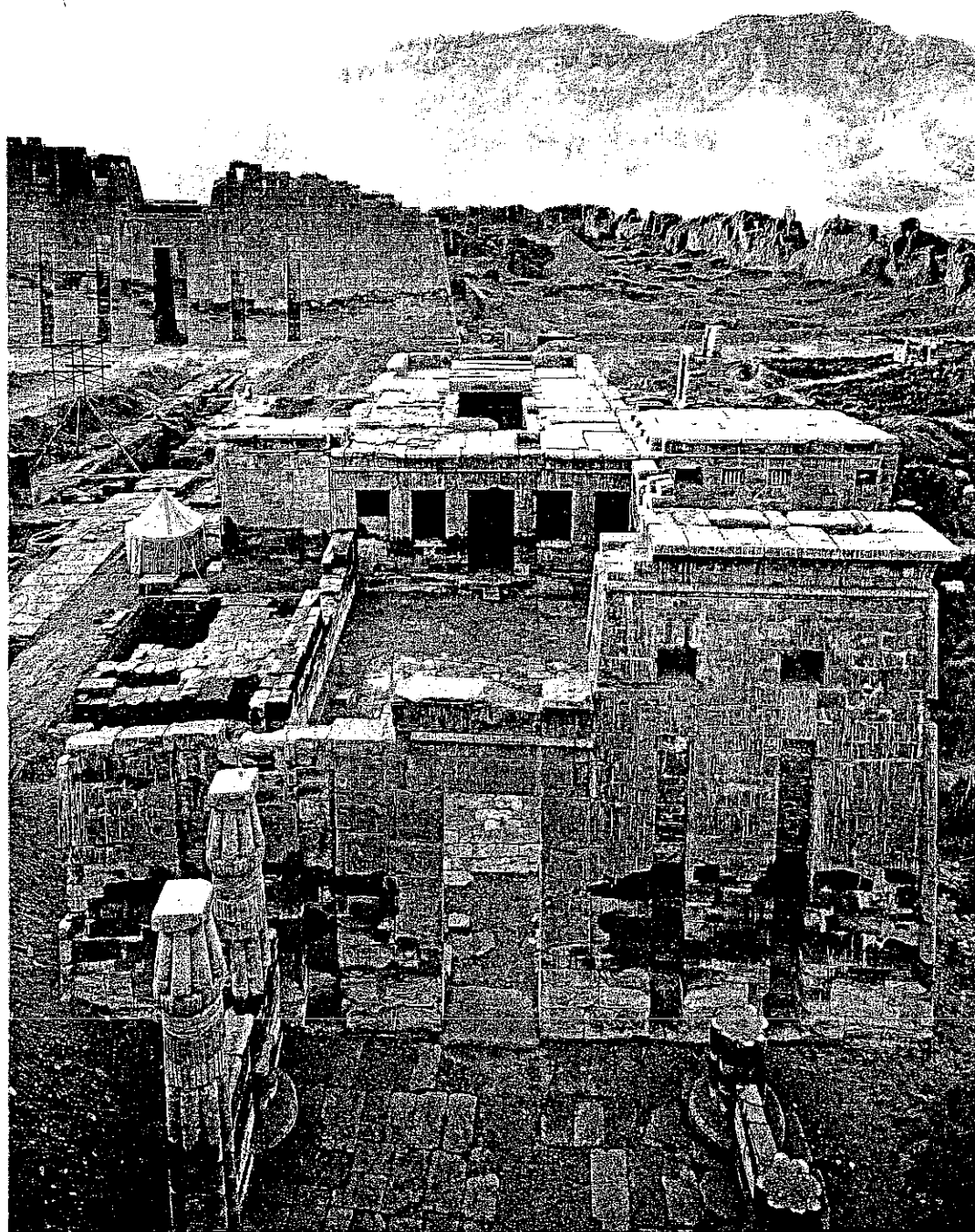
PLATES 9-58



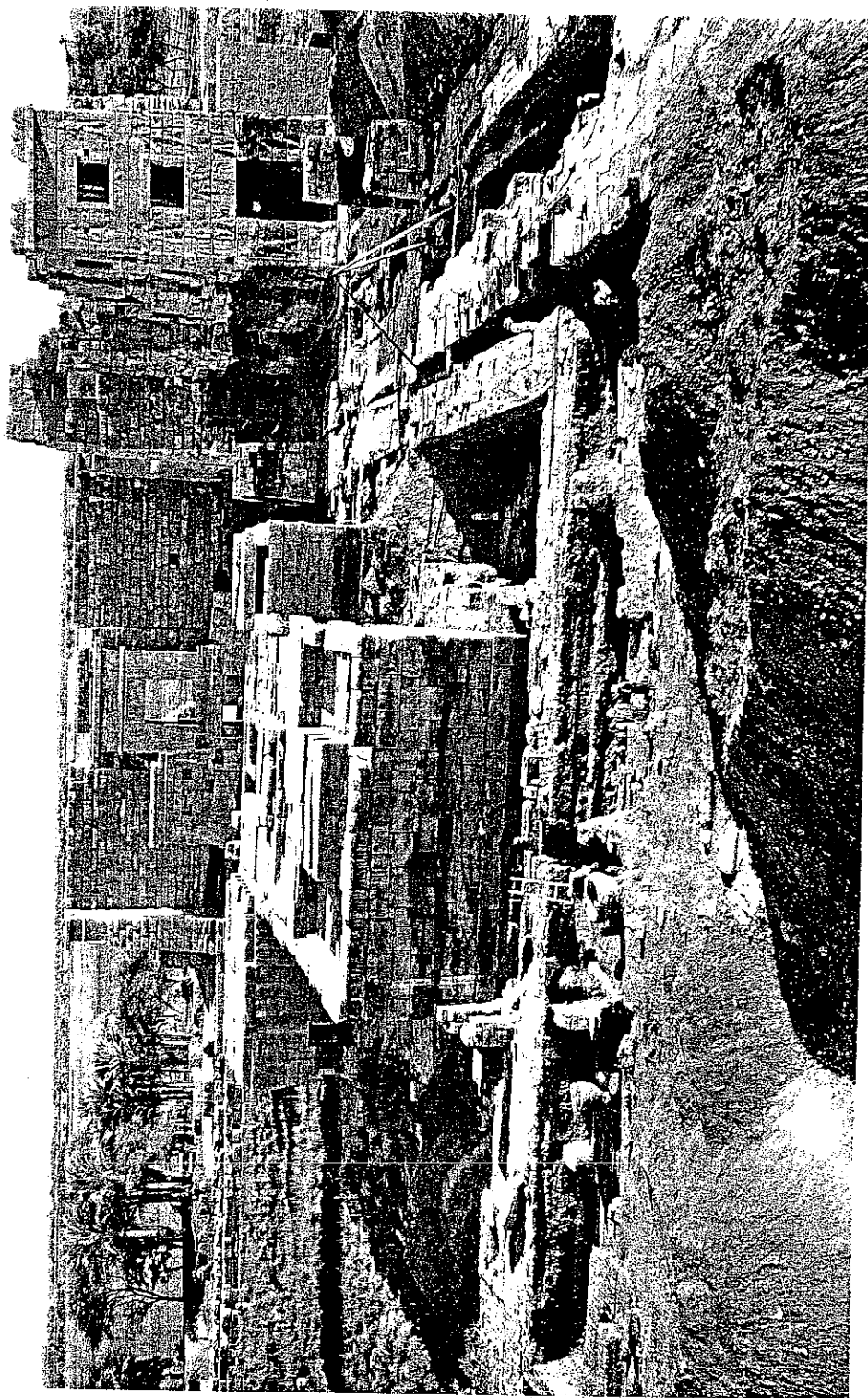
THE SMALL TEMPLE AND THE EASTERN FORTIFIED GATE OF RAMSES III IN THE MIDST OF THE RUINS OF THE COPTIC TOWN OF JÈME.
AFTER AUGUSTE MARIETTE, *Voyage dans la Haute-Égypte* II (2d ed.; PARIS AND LEIPZIG, 1893) PL. 50



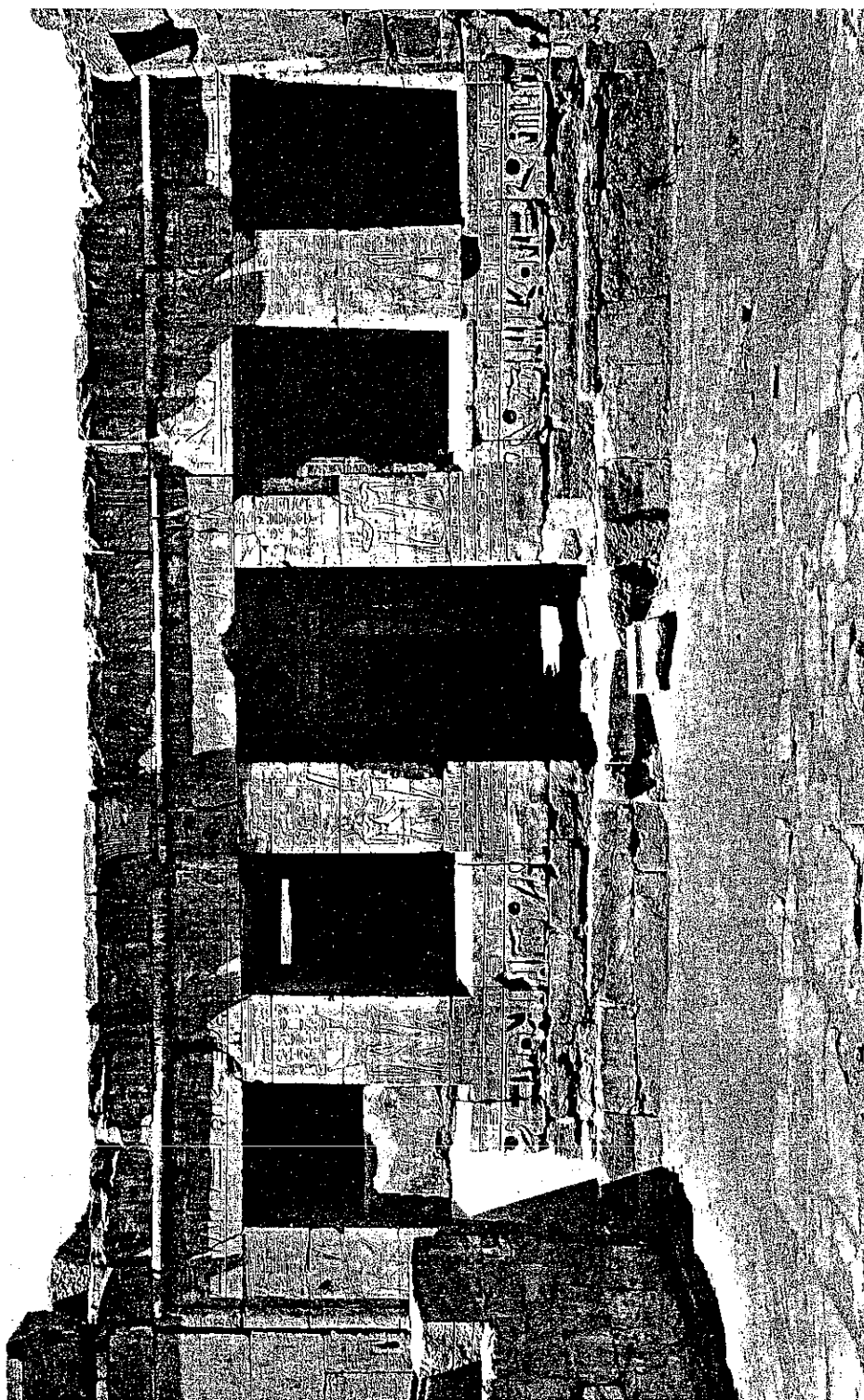
THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE SOUTHEAST



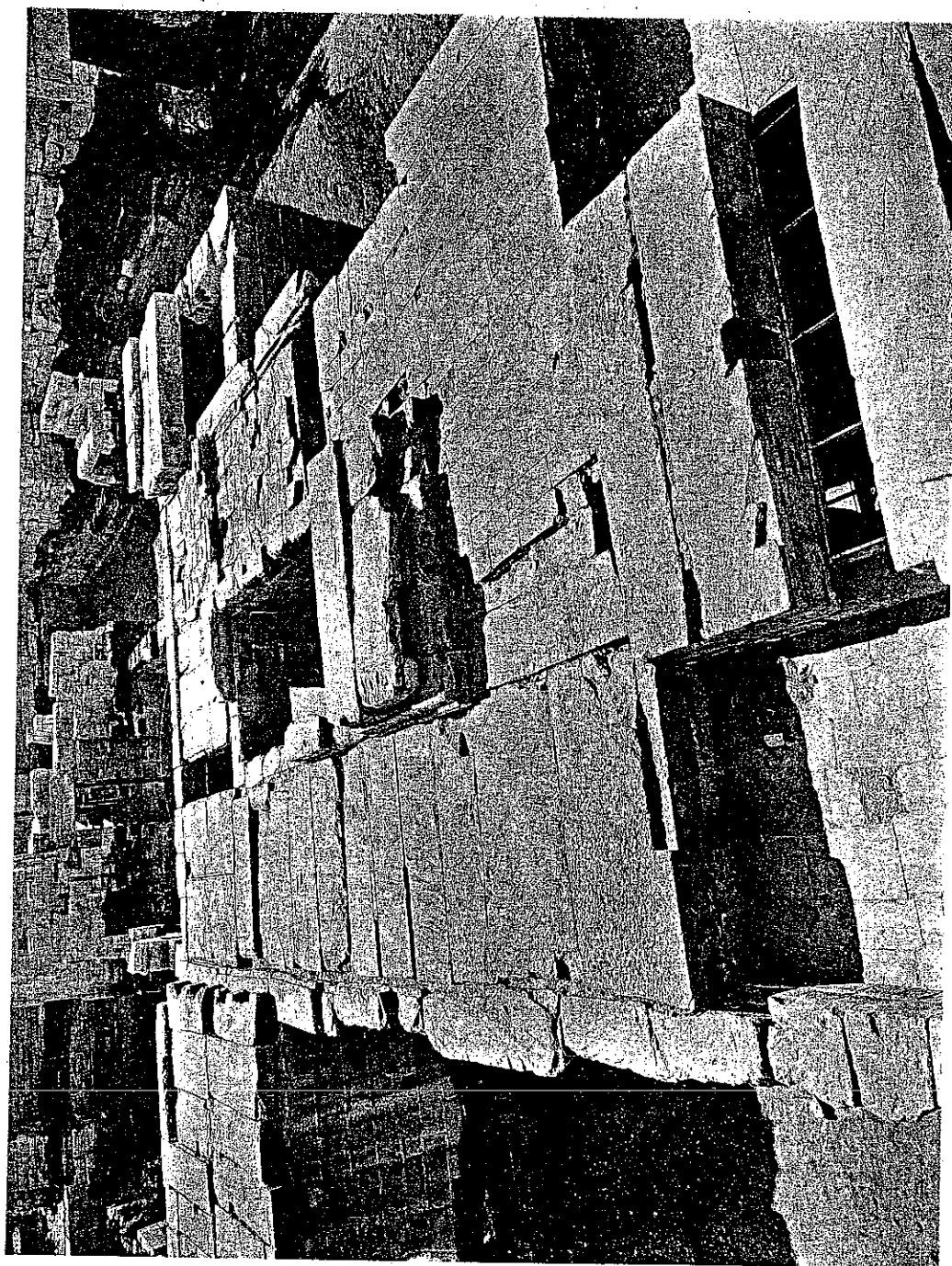
THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE EAST



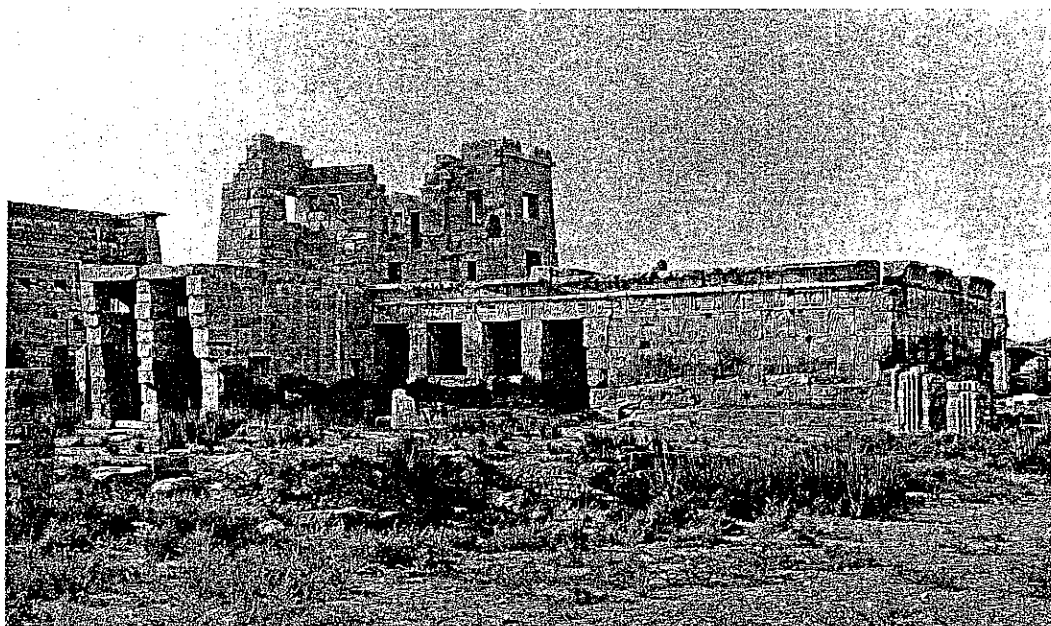
THE SMALL TEMPLE FROM THE WEST



THE SMALL TEMPLE. FRONT OF THE PERIPTEROS



THE FLAT ROOF OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE NORTHWEST

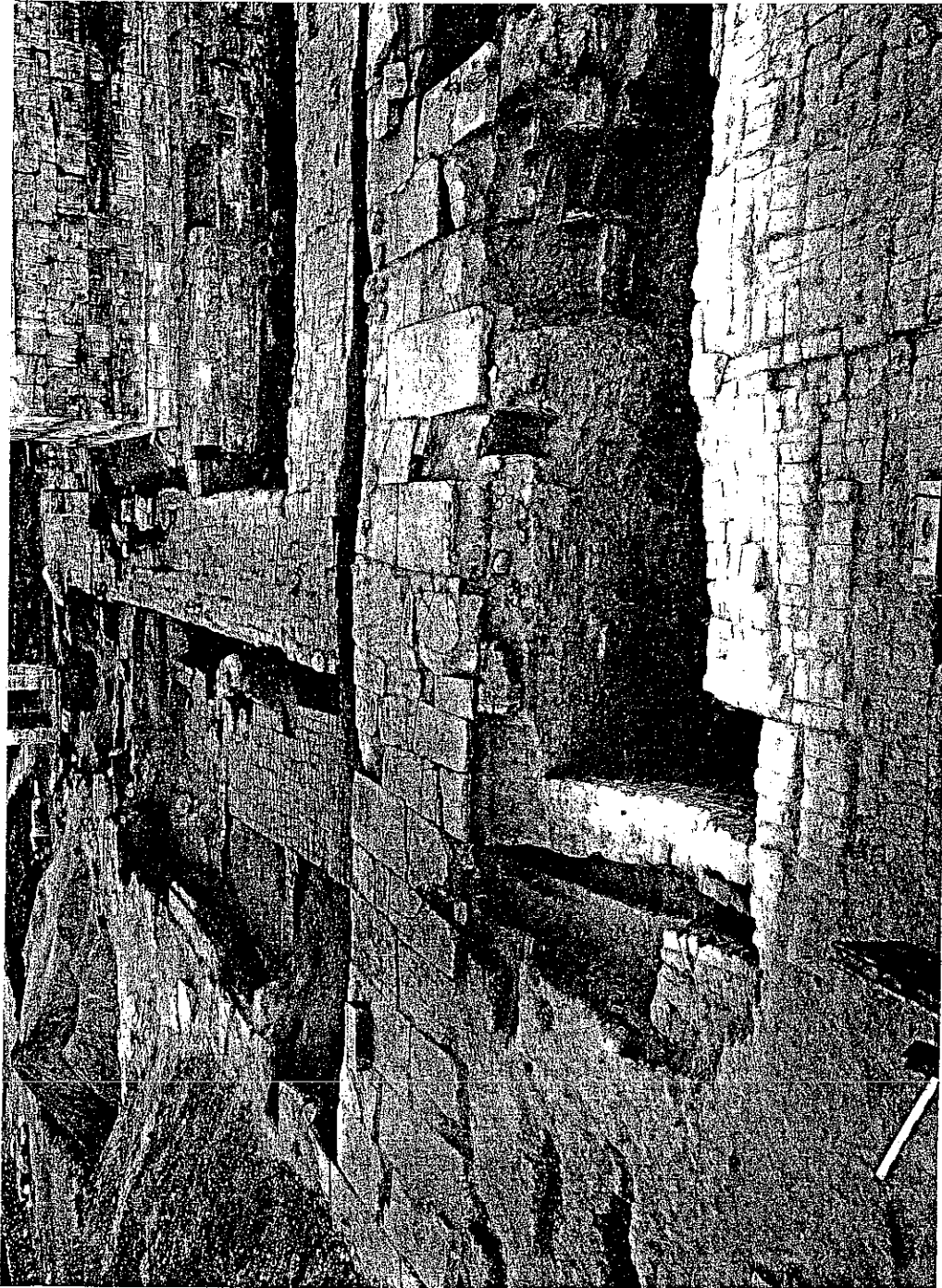


A



B

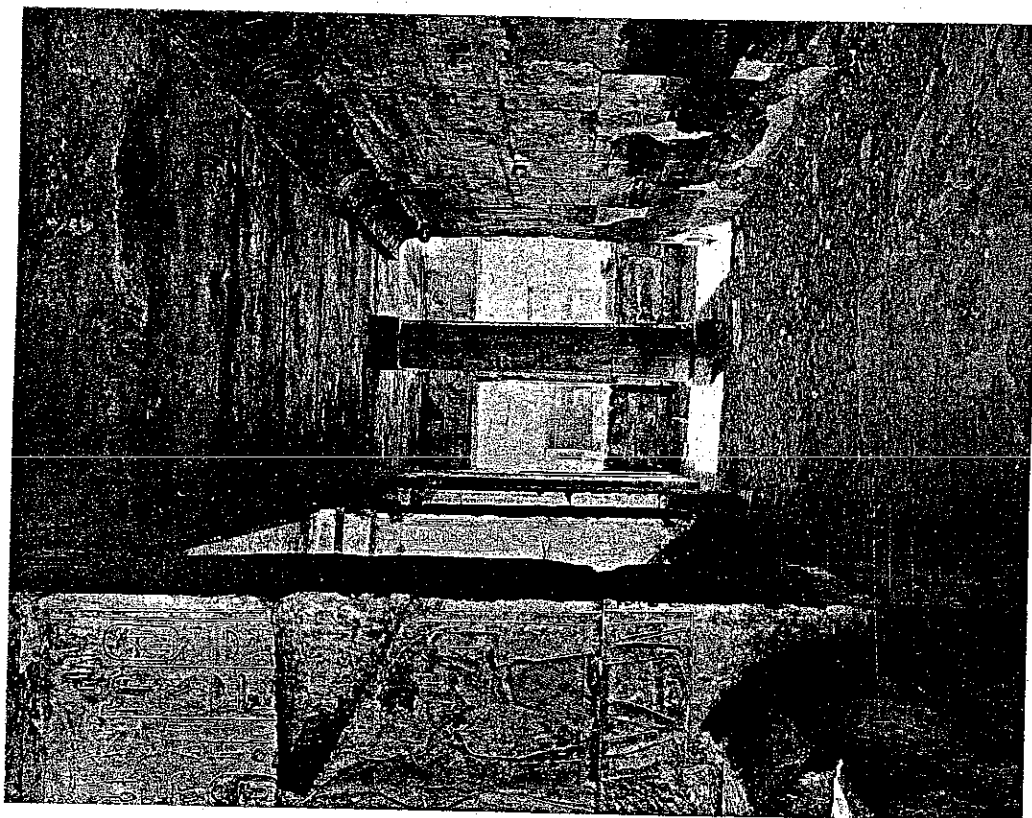
THE SMALL TEMPLE (*A*) FROM THE NORTHWEST AND (*B*) FROM THE SOUTH



THE EXCAVATION SOUTHWEST OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

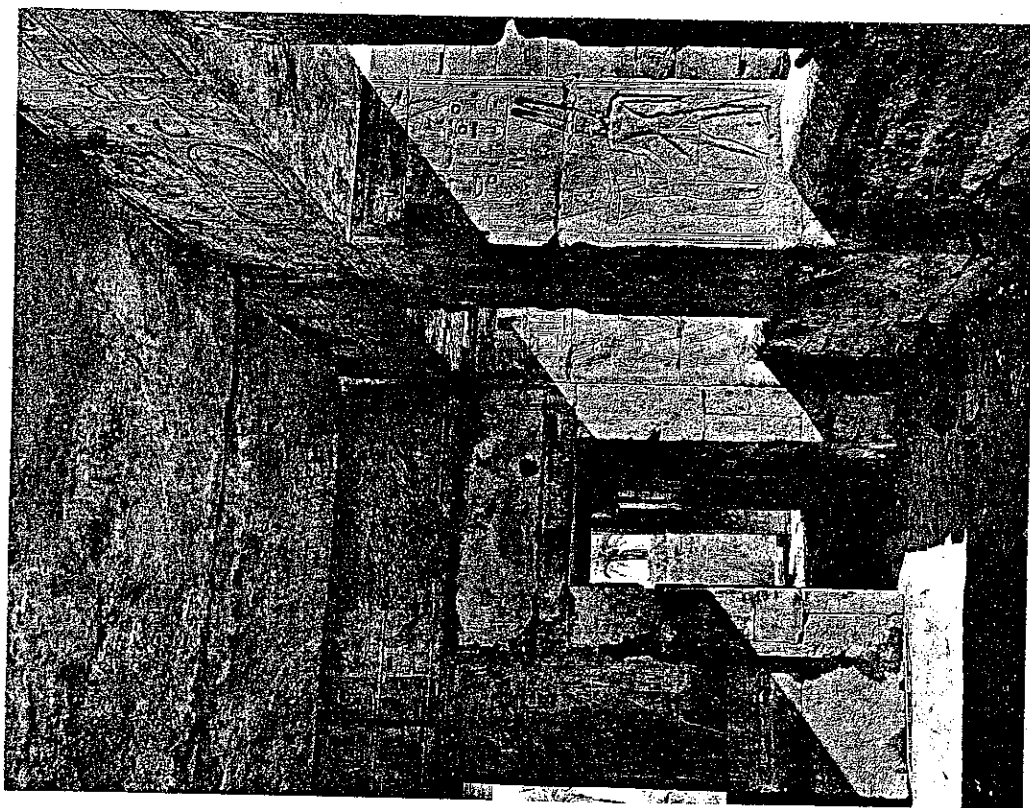


THE EXCAVATION WEST OF THE SMALL TEMPLE

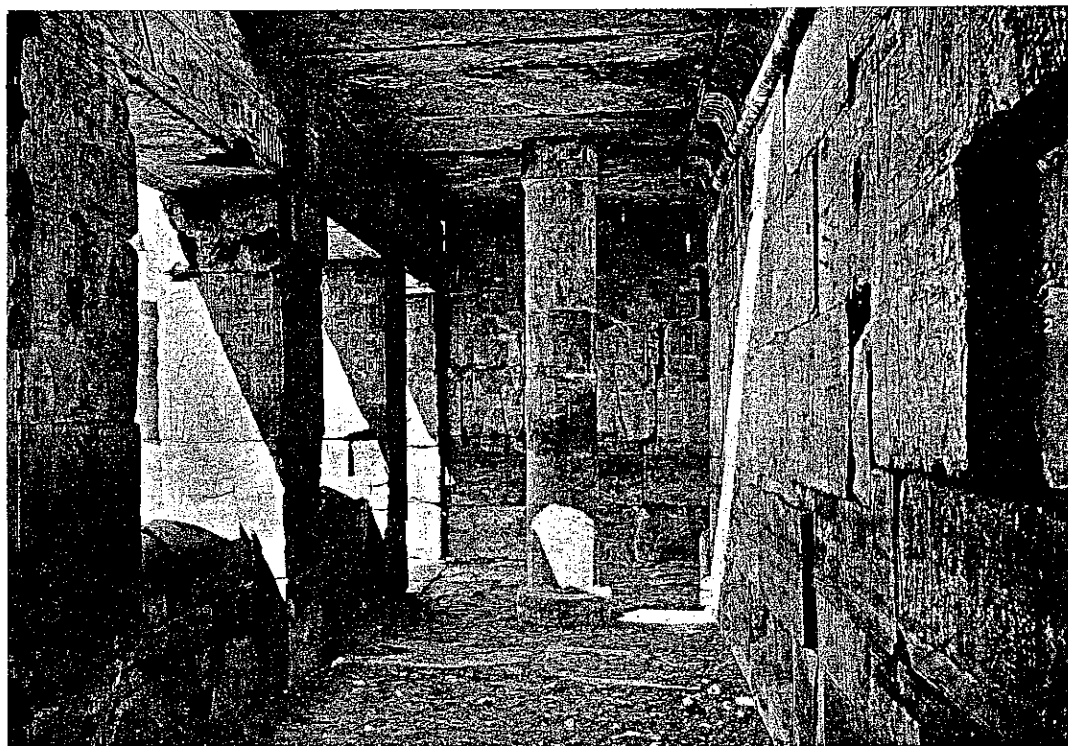


A

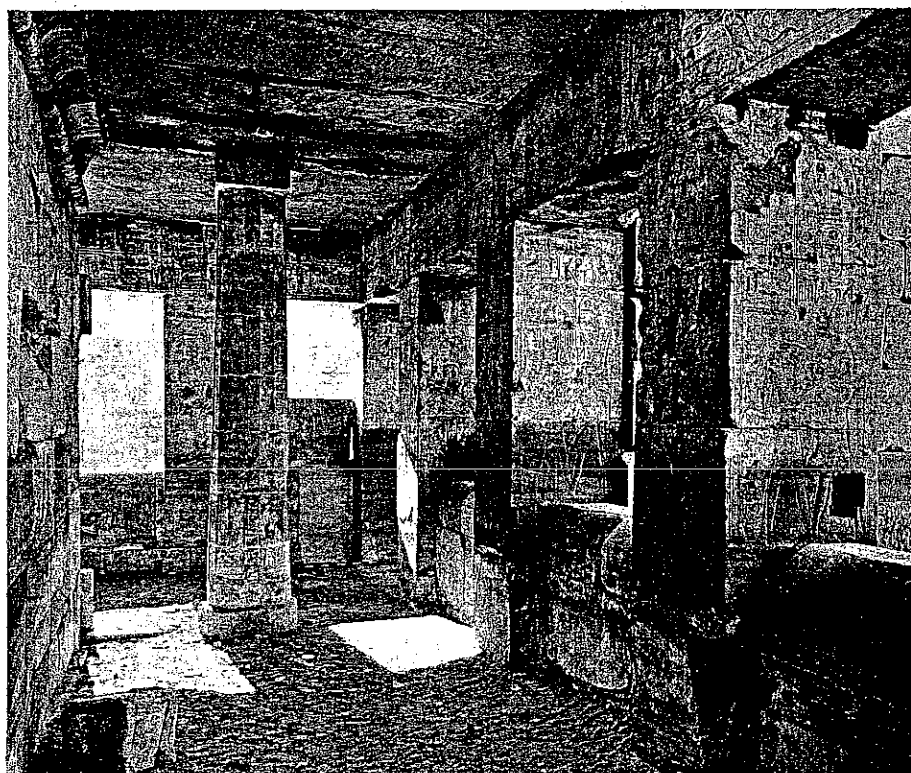
THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. A. NORTHERN AMBULATORY FROM THE WEST
B. NORTHEAST CORNER, SHOWING THE GATE OF ACHORIS



B

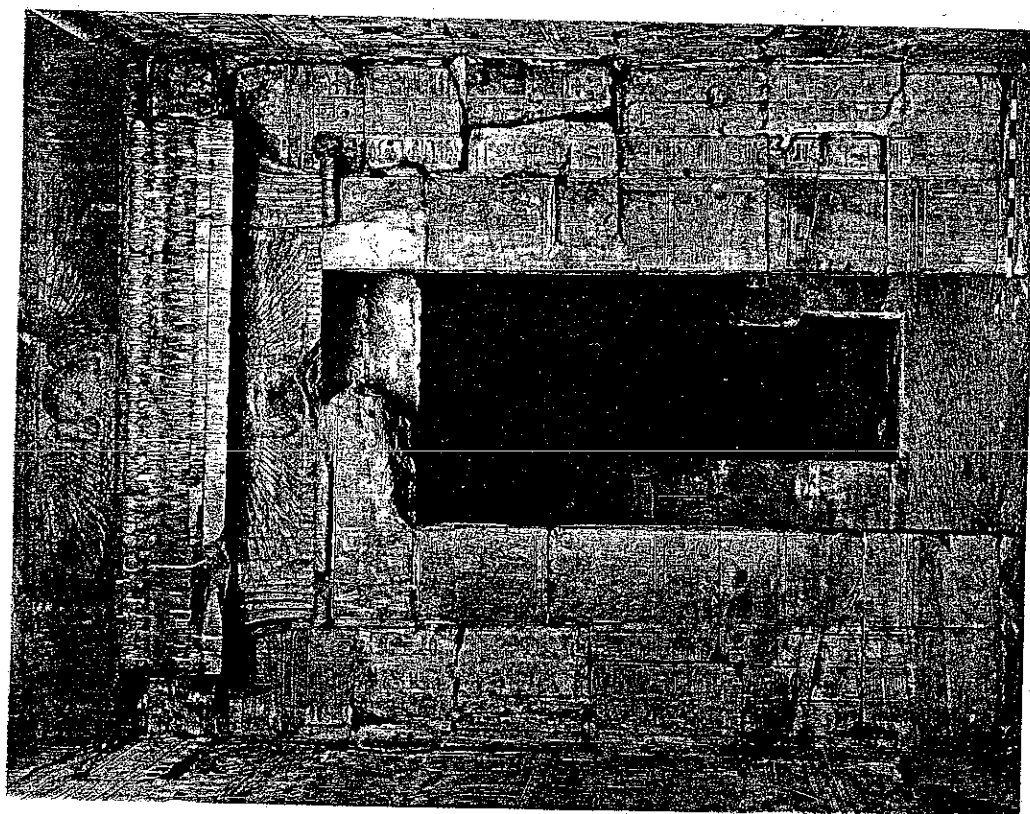


A



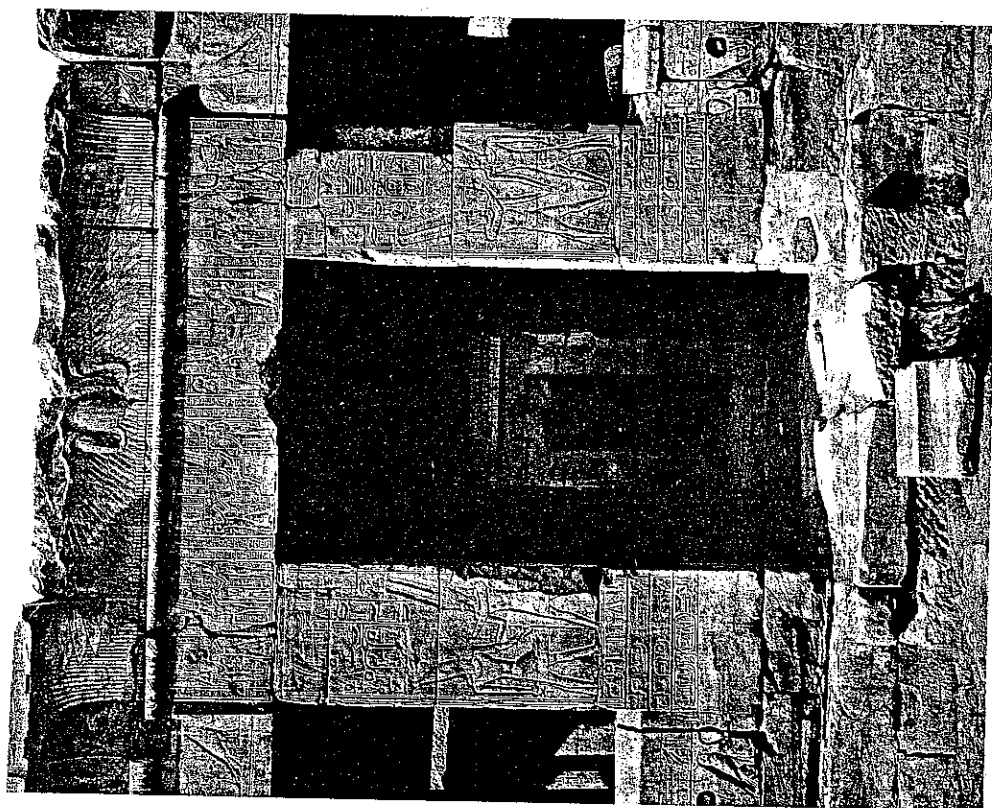
B

THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. SOUTHERN AMBULATORY
(*A*) FROM THE EAST AND (*B*) FROM THE WEST

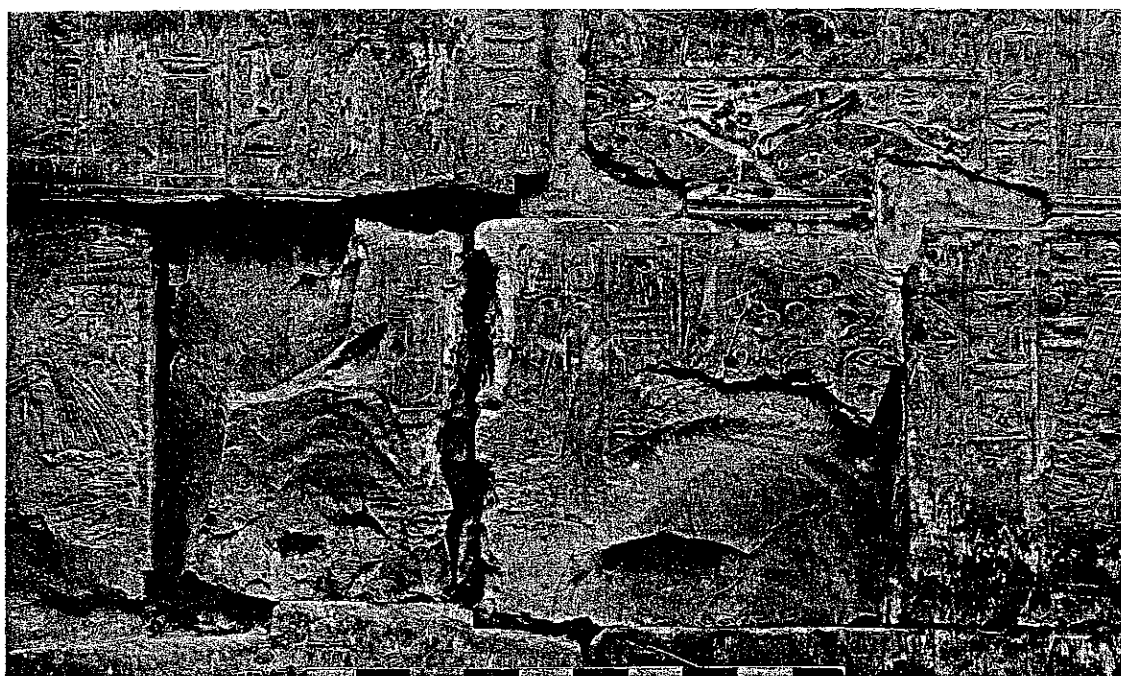


A

THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. *A*. INNER FACE OF THE REAR DOORWAY TO THE SHRINE
B. ENTRANCE TO THE PERIPTEROS



B

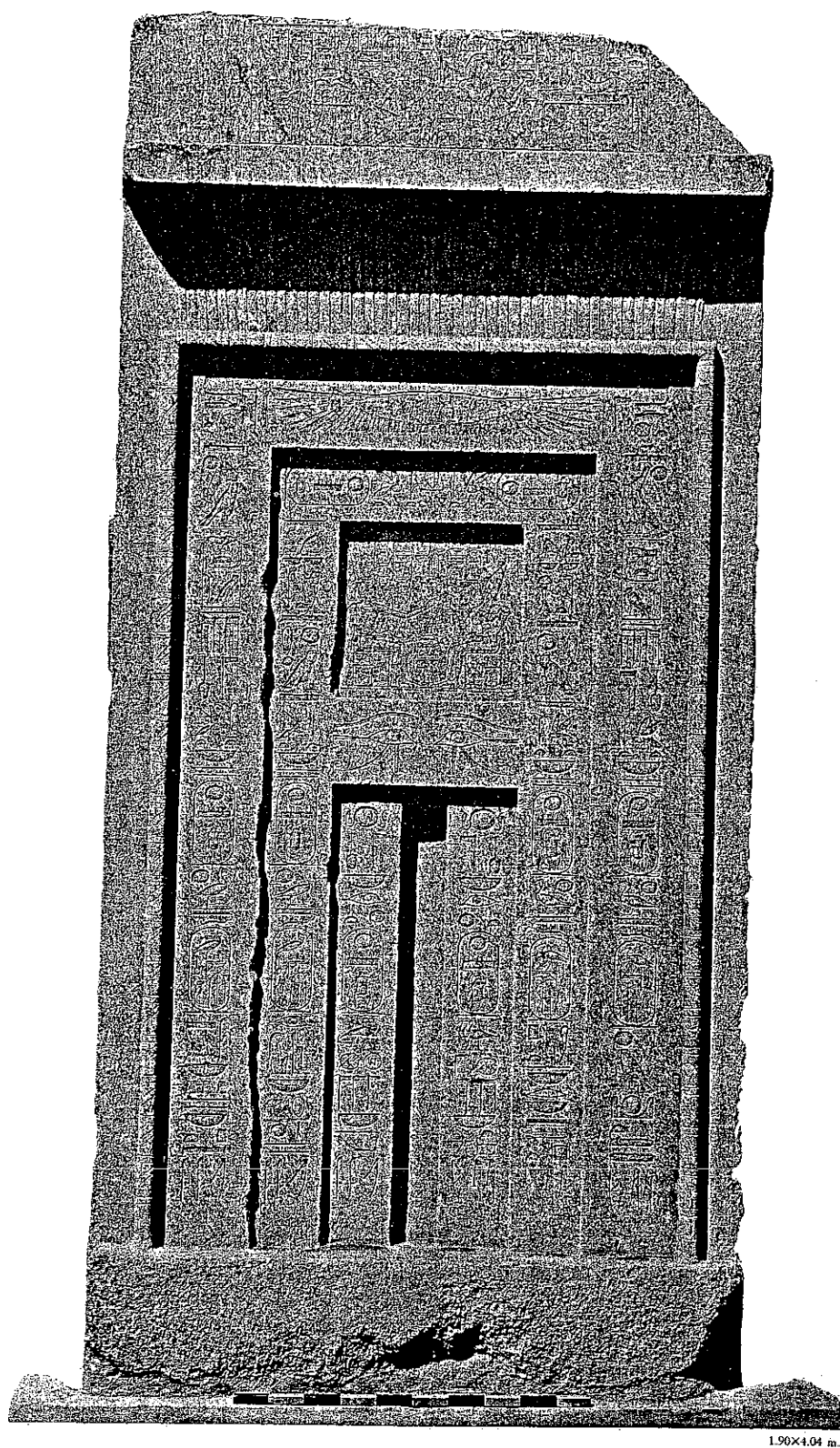


A



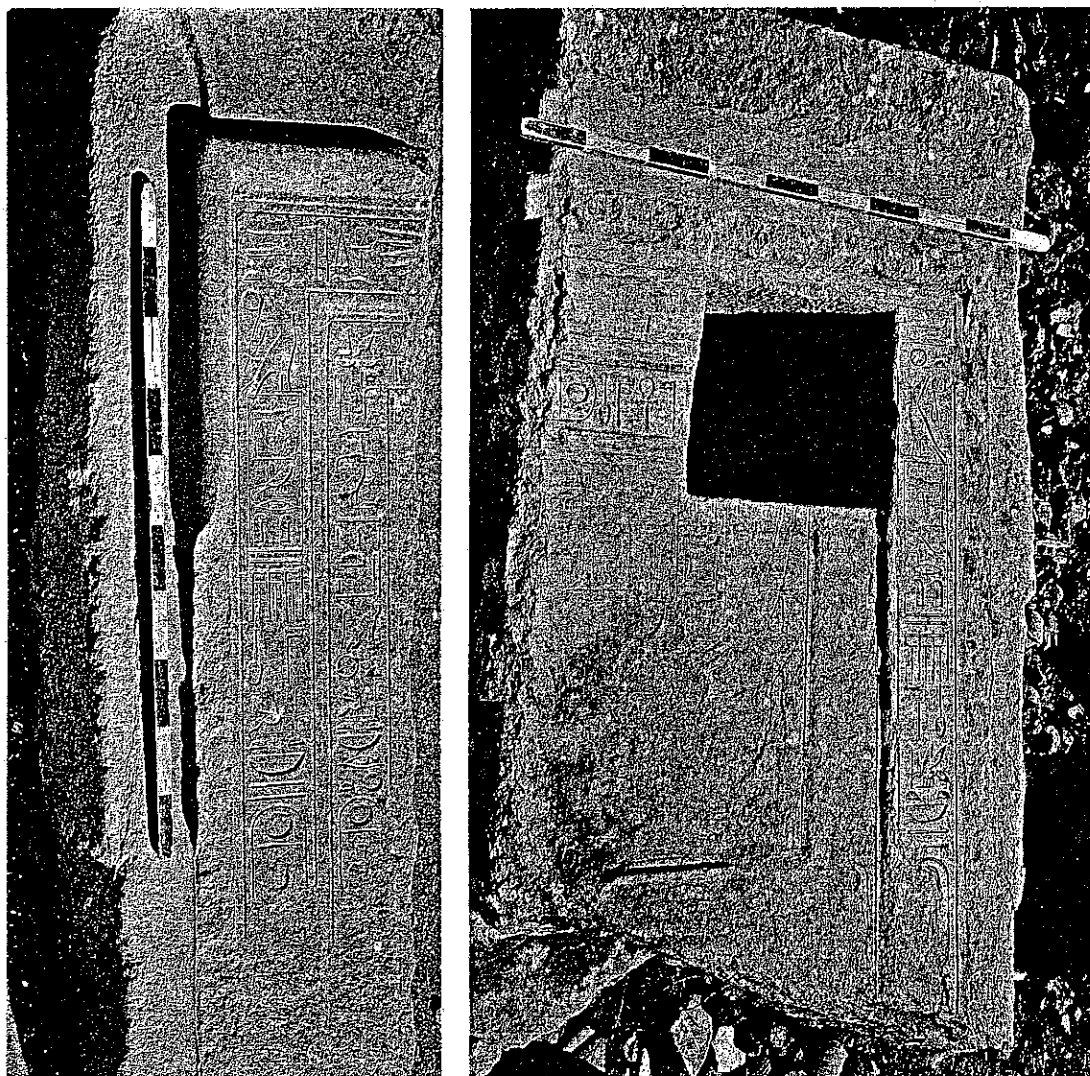
B

THE PERIPTEROS OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. LIMESTONE BLOCKS (1 AND 2) IN THE CENTRAL PART OF THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SHRINE. *A* INNER FACE. *B* OUTER FACE



1.90x1.04 m.

RED GRANITE STELA OF THUTMOSE III, PROBABLY FROM HIS MORTUARY TEMPLE
BUT FOUND IN THE SMALL TEMPLE OF MEDINET HABU

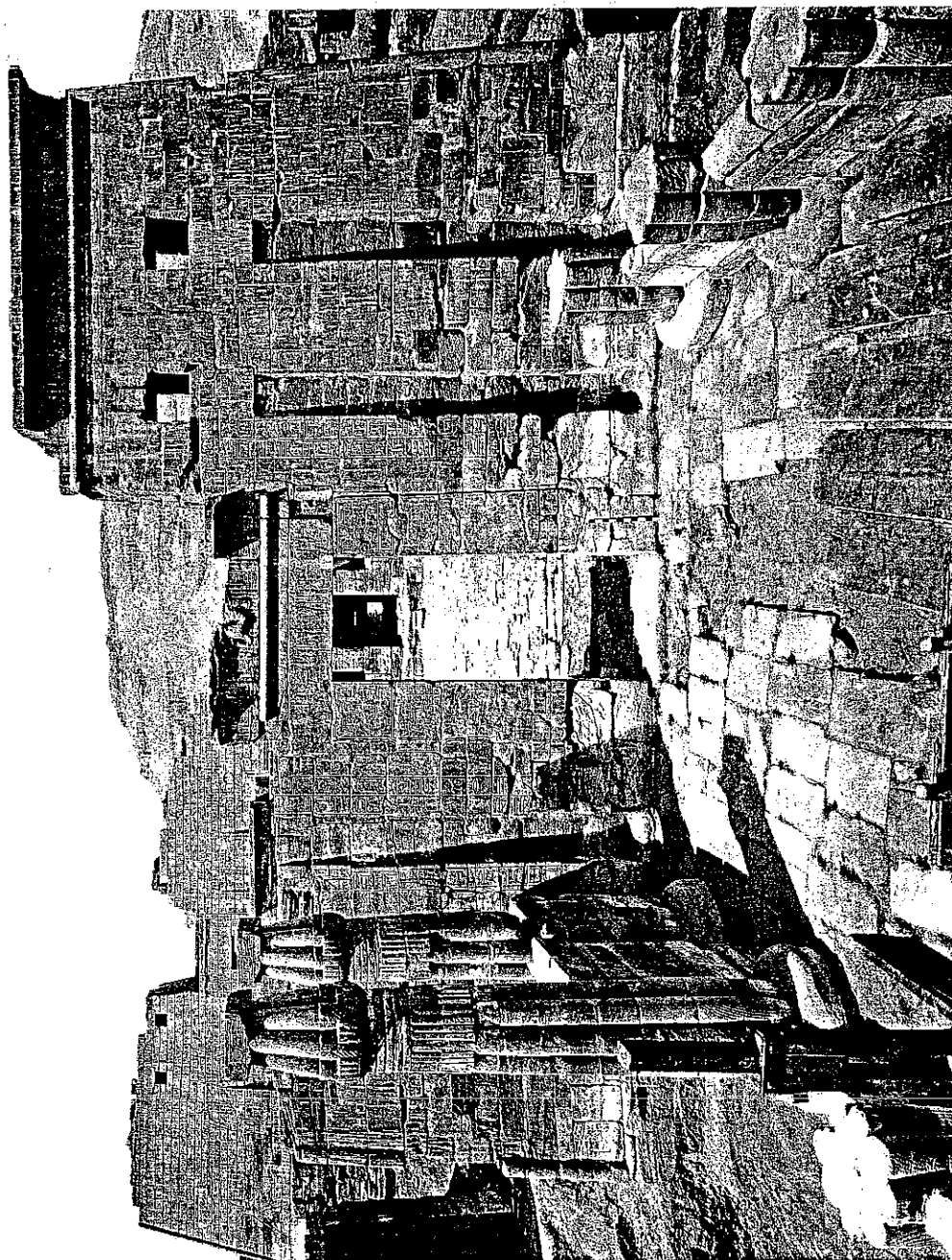


Original width, about 1.52 m.

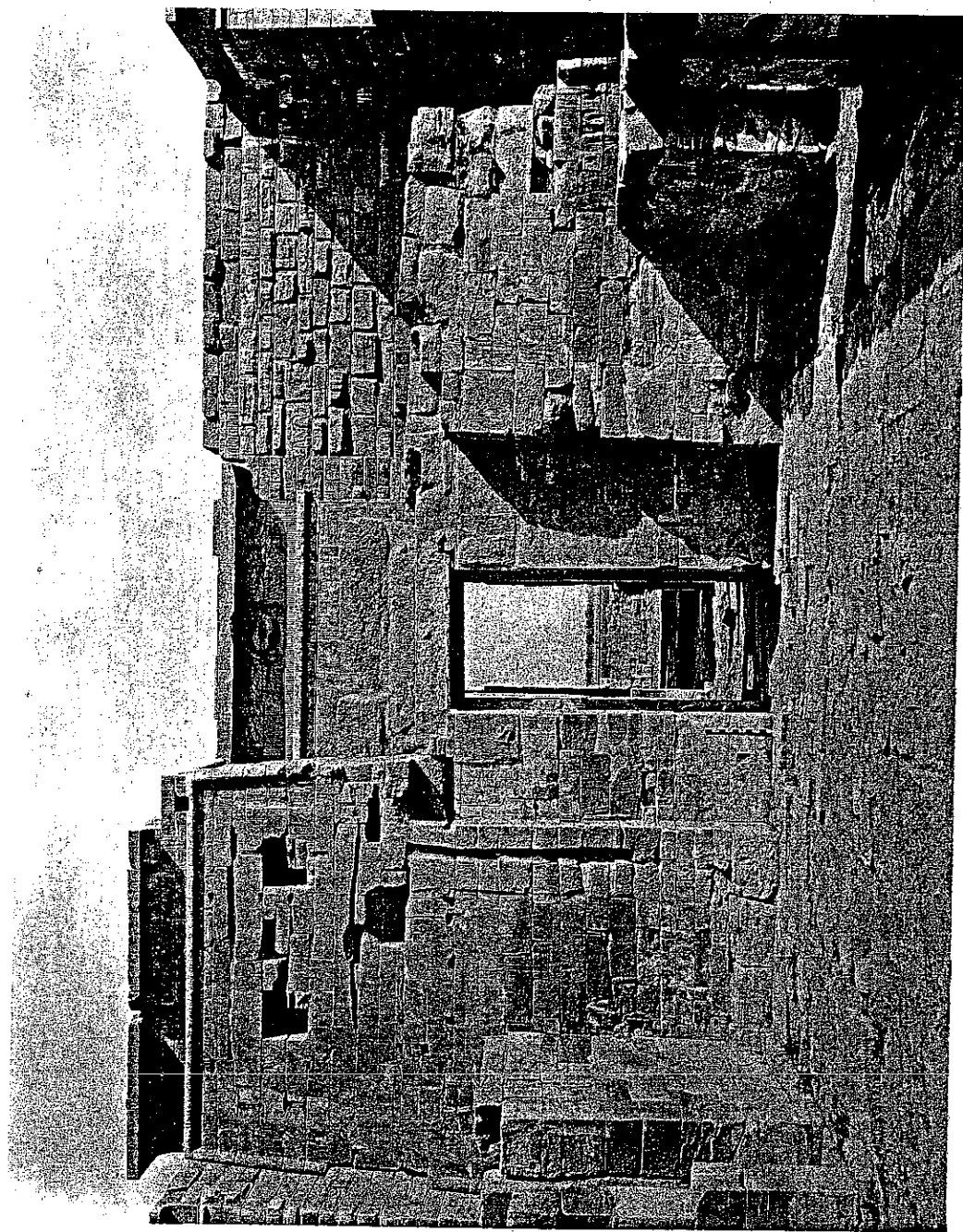
FRAGMENTS OF A RED GRANITE STELA OF AMENHOTEP II,
PROBABLY FROM HIS MORTUARY TEMPLE BUT FOUND AT MEDINET HABU



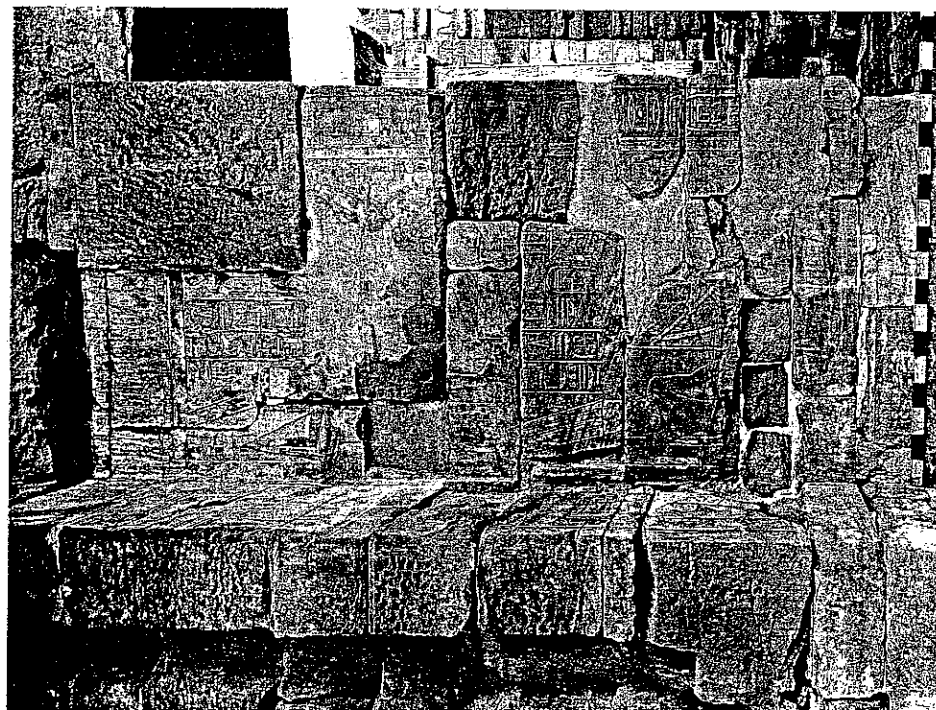
BROKEN DOUBLE STATUE OF THUTMOSE III AND AMON
BLACK GRANITE



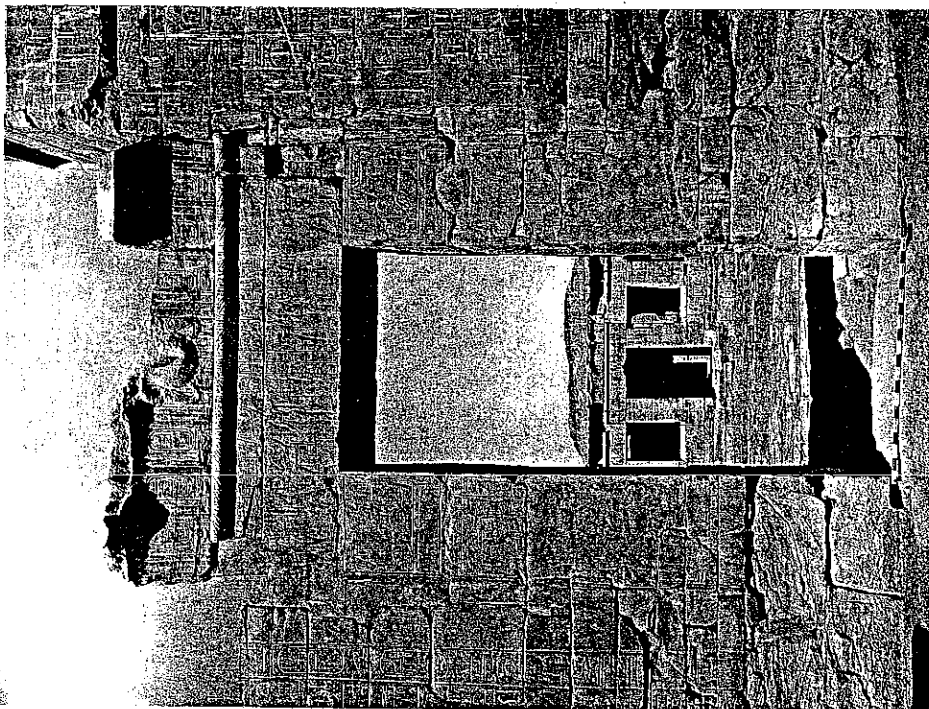
THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON AND THE SAITIC PORTICO, FROM THE EAST



THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON FROM THE WEST, WITH THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON JUST BEHIND

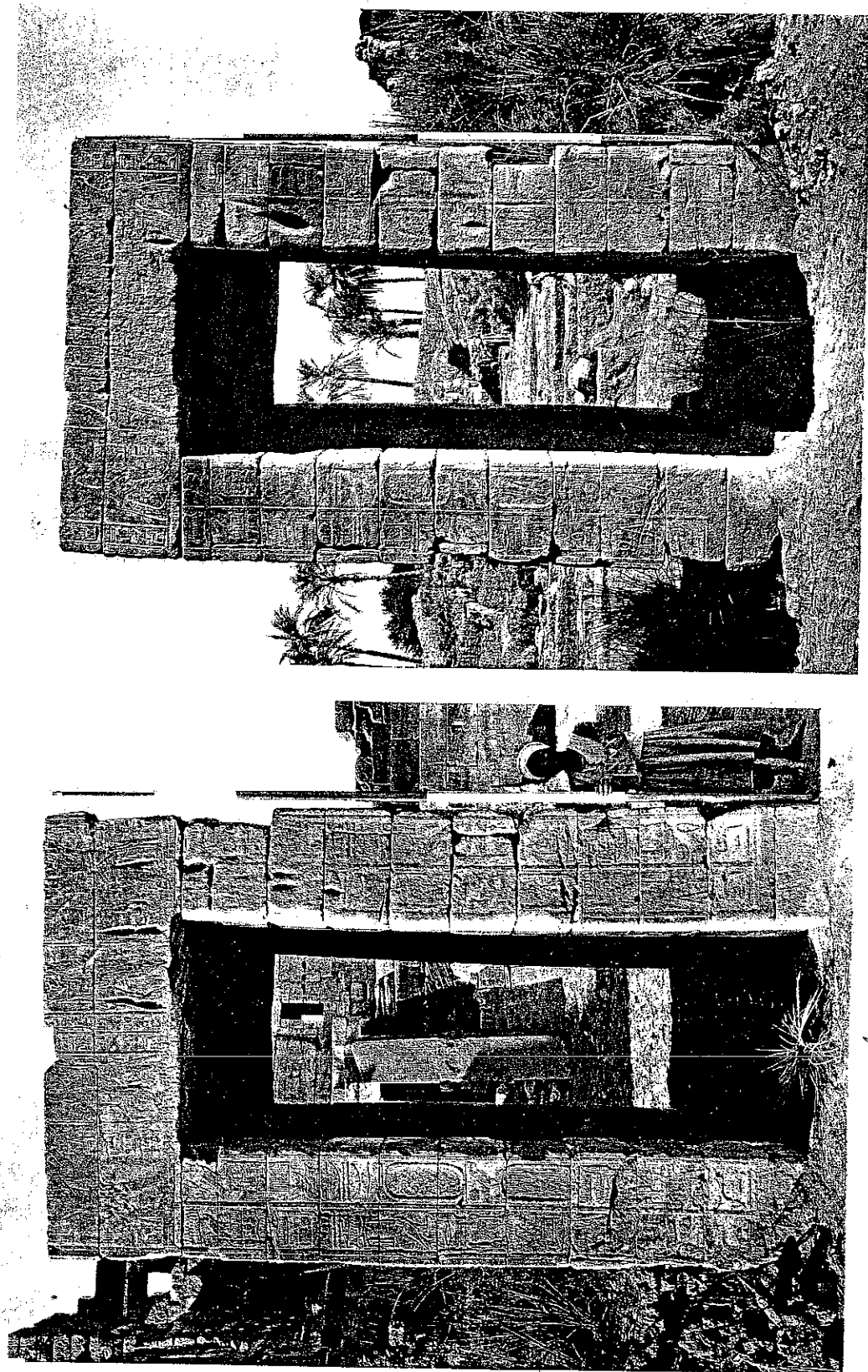


B

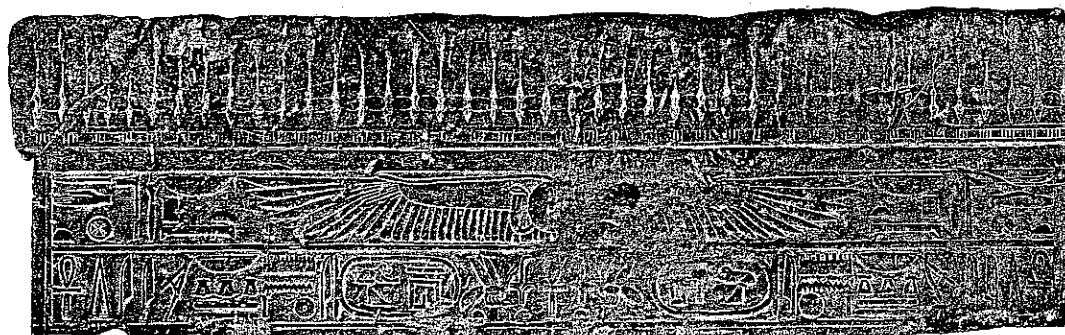


A

THE GATEWAY OF THE ETHIOPIAN PYLON. *A*. FRONT. *B*. DETAIL OF THE BACK



ETHIOPIAN GATEWAY IN THE NORTHERN INCLOSURE WALL OF THE SMALL TEMPLE
(A) FROM THE NORTH AND (B) FROM THE SOUTH



A

Length, 270.5 cm.



B

Length, 206 cm.



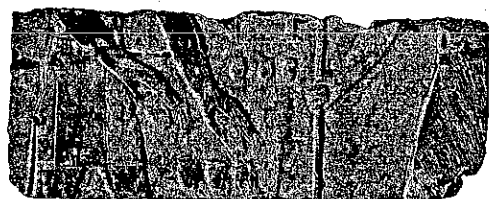
C

Length, 218 cm.



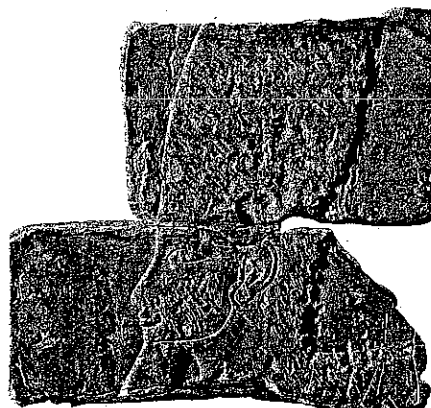
D

Length, 212 cm.



E

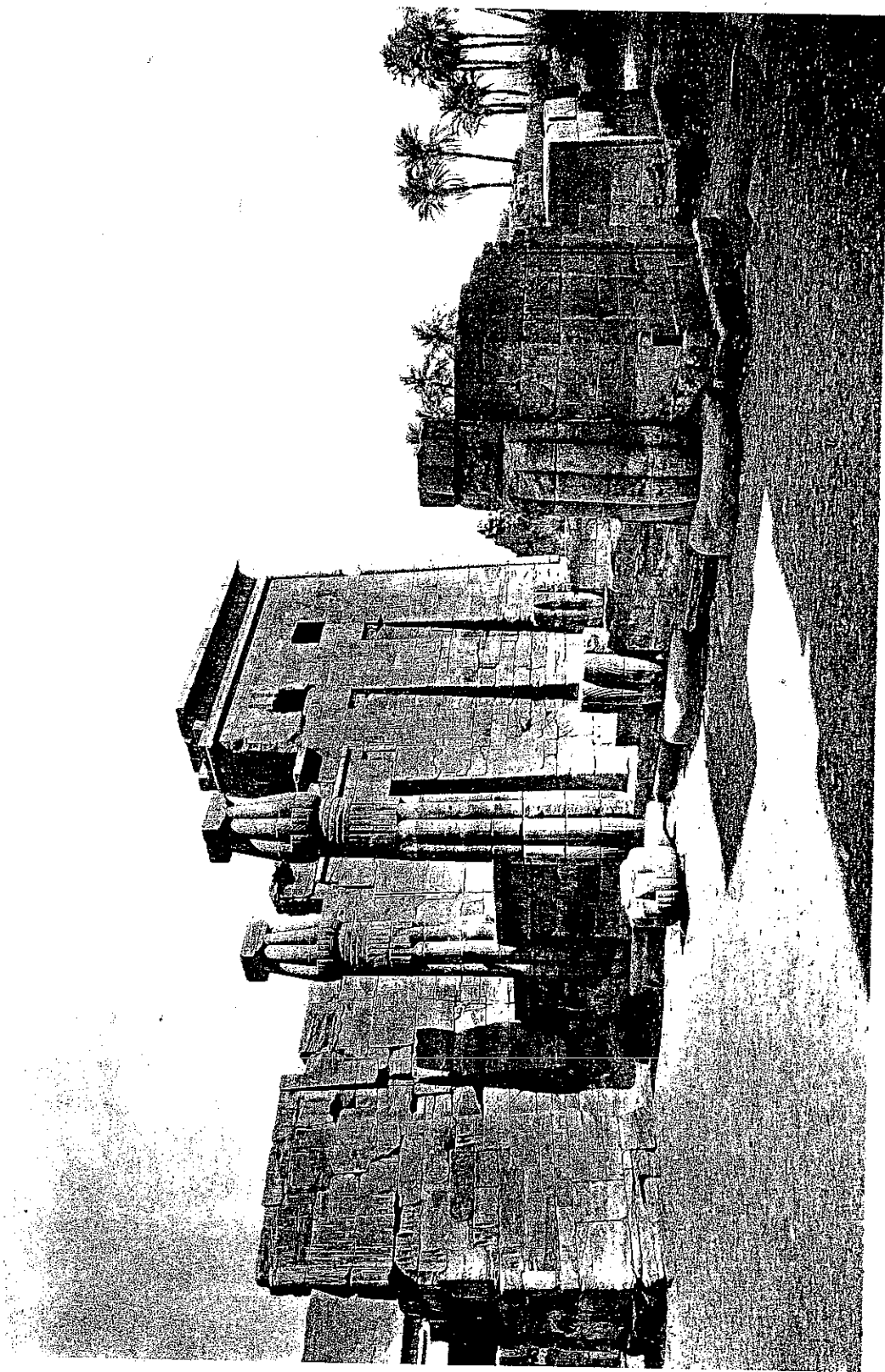
Length, 90 cm.



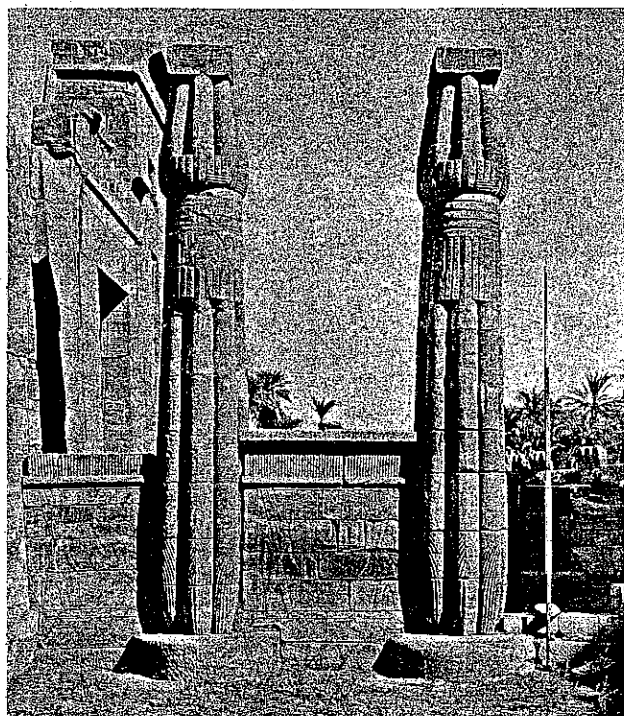
F

Length, 80 cm.

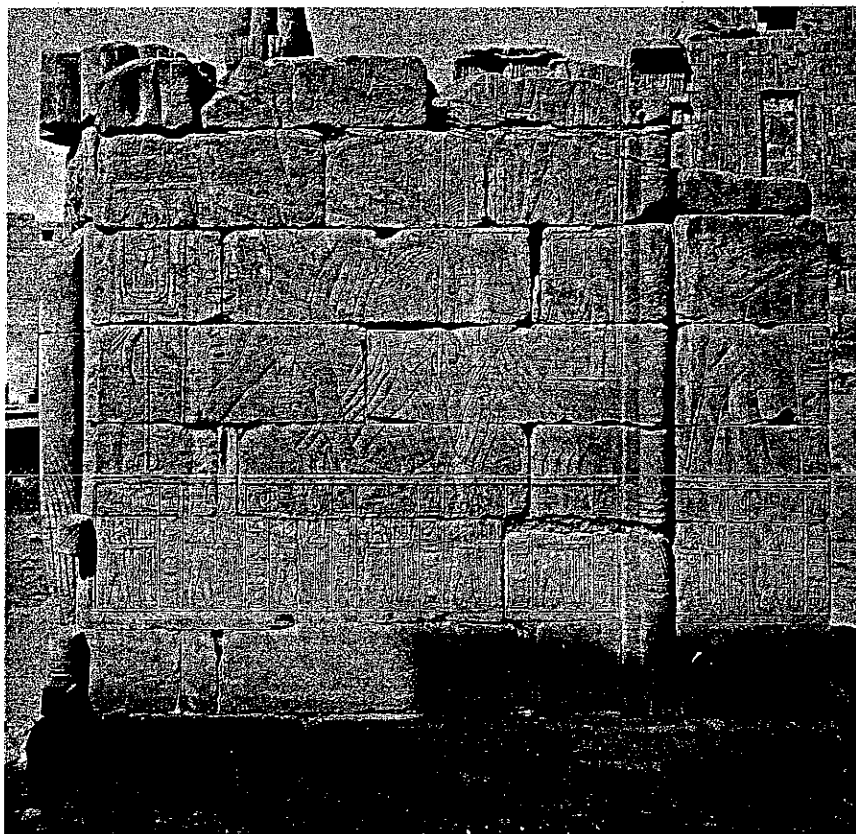
BLOCKS FROM THE ETHIOPIAN STRUCTURES OF THE SMALL TEMPLE *A*. LINTEL FROM THE WEST SIDE OF THE PYLON. BERLIN 1621. *B* SAME AS *A*, FROM BELOW *C-E*. RELIEF FRAGMENTS FROM THE GALLERY, REUSED IN THE FOUNDATIONS OF A PTOLEMAIC STRUCTURE. *F* HEAD OF KING SHABAKA, FROM THE REAR OF THE SOUTH TOWER OF THE PYLON BERLIN 2104



SAITIC PORTICO OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE SOUTHEAST

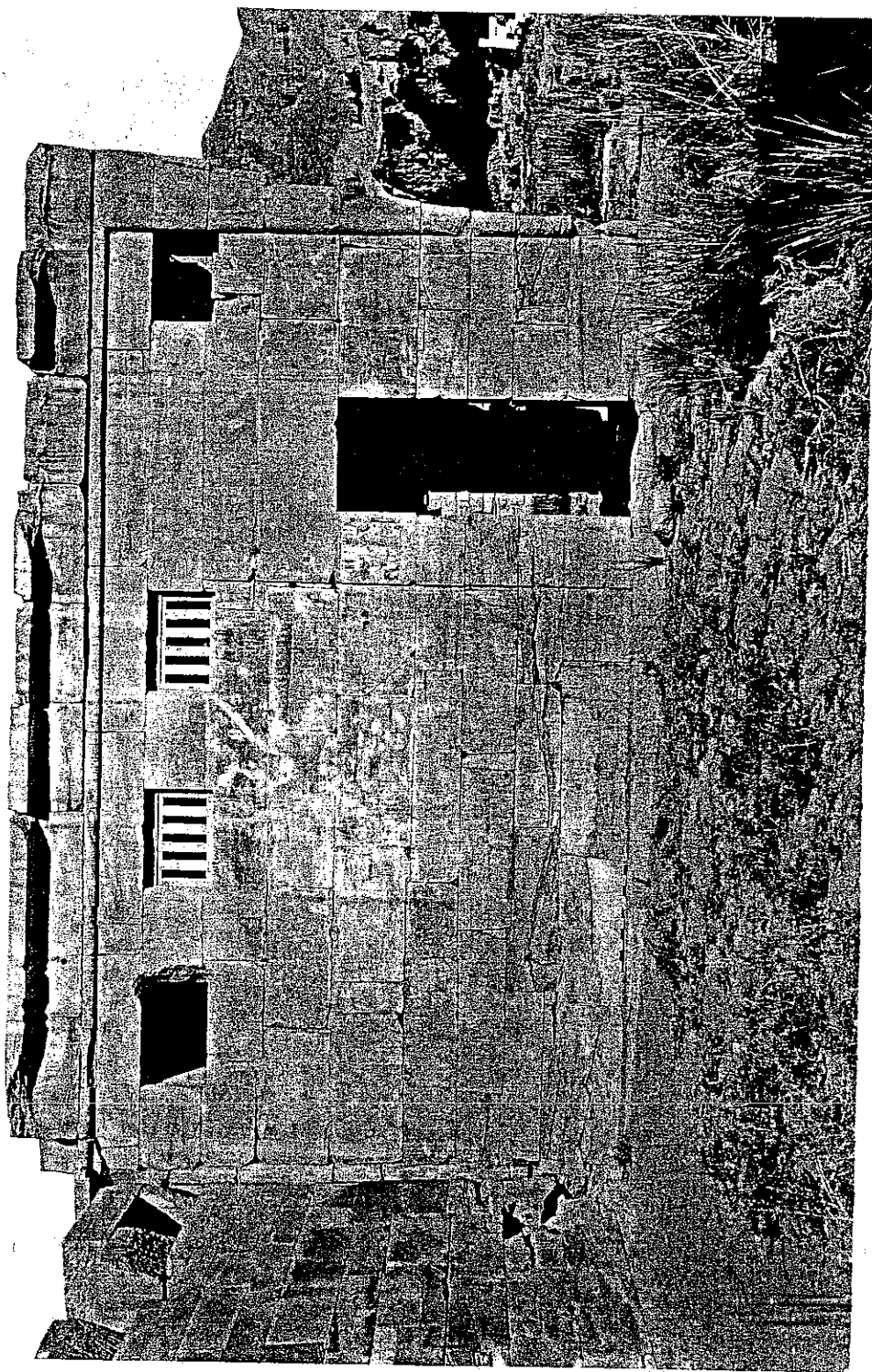


A

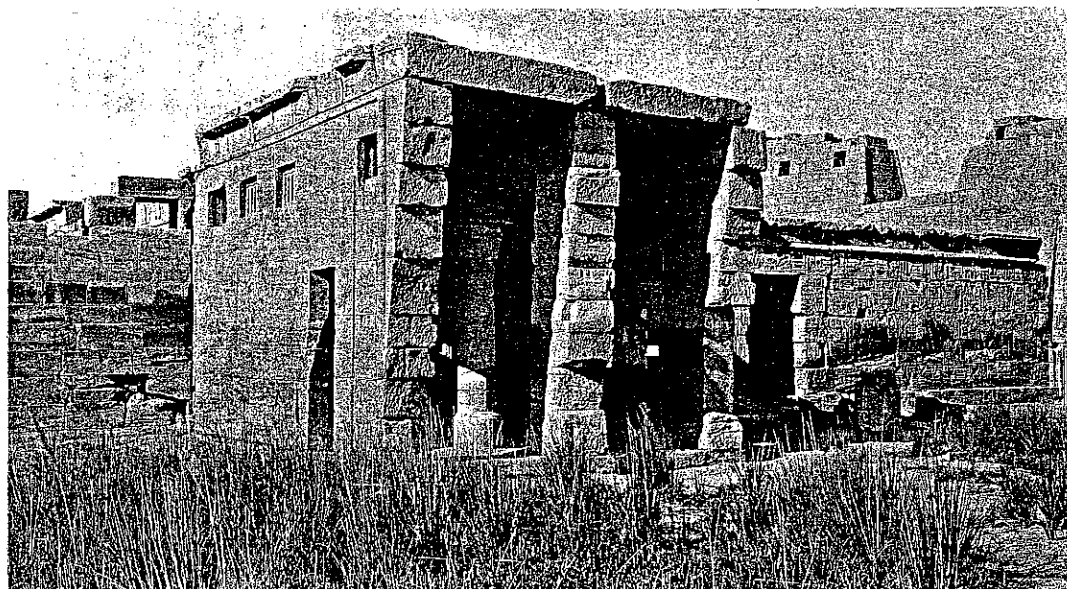


B

SAITIC PORTICO OF THE SMALL TEMPLE. DETAILS OF
(*A*) THE SOUTH SIDE AND (*B*) THE EAST SIDE



PTOLEMAIC ADDITION TO THE NORTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE, FROM THE EAST

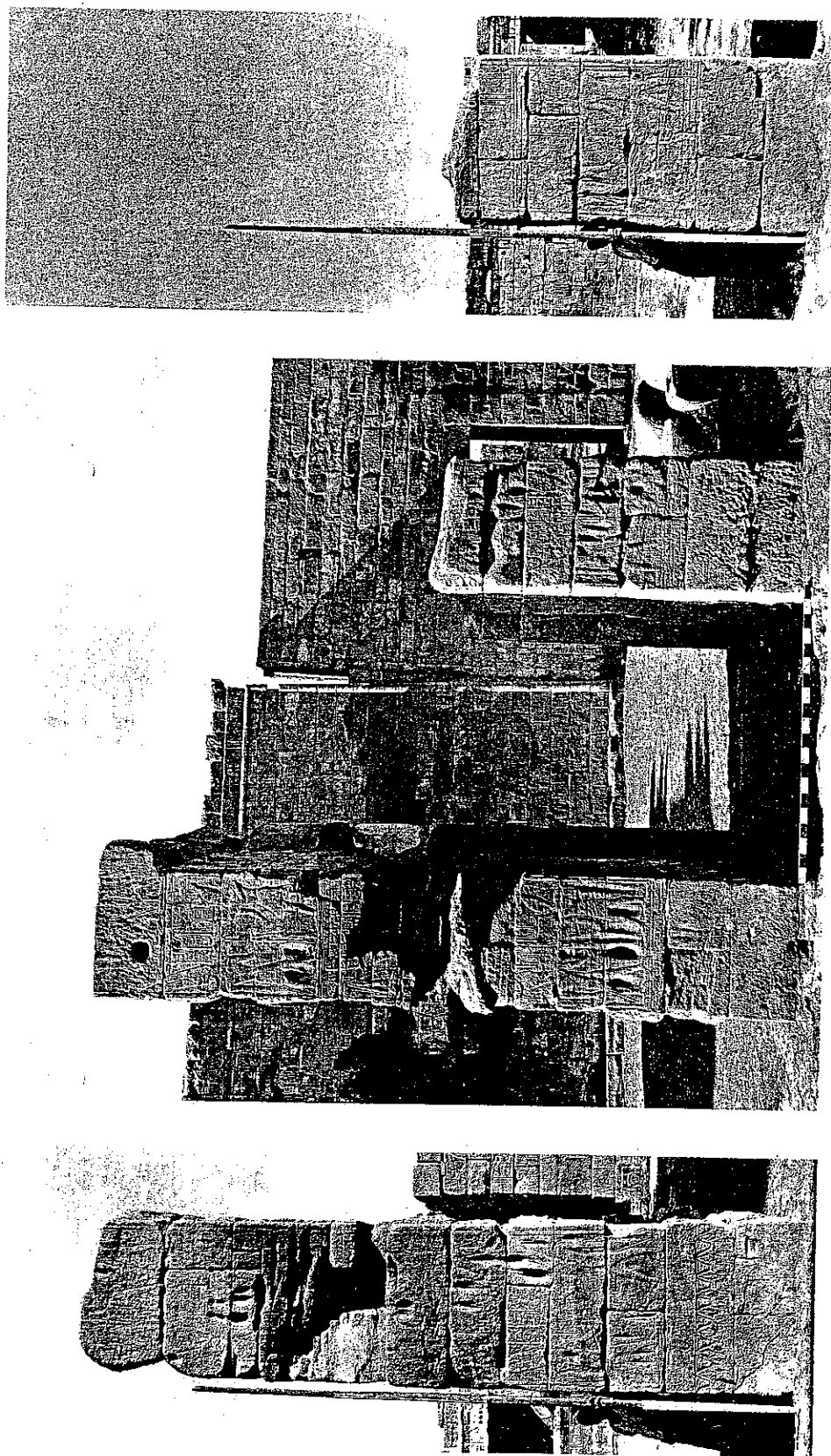


A



B

PTOLEMAIC ADDITION TO THE NORTH OF THE SMALL TEMPLE (*A*) FROM THE
NORTHEAST AND (*B*) FROM THE NORTH



GATEWAY OF NECTANEBO I IN THE SOUTHERN OUTER ENCLOSURE WALL OF THE SMALL TEMPLE
 A. VIEW FROM THE NORTH. B-C. THE JAMBS FROM THE SOUTH

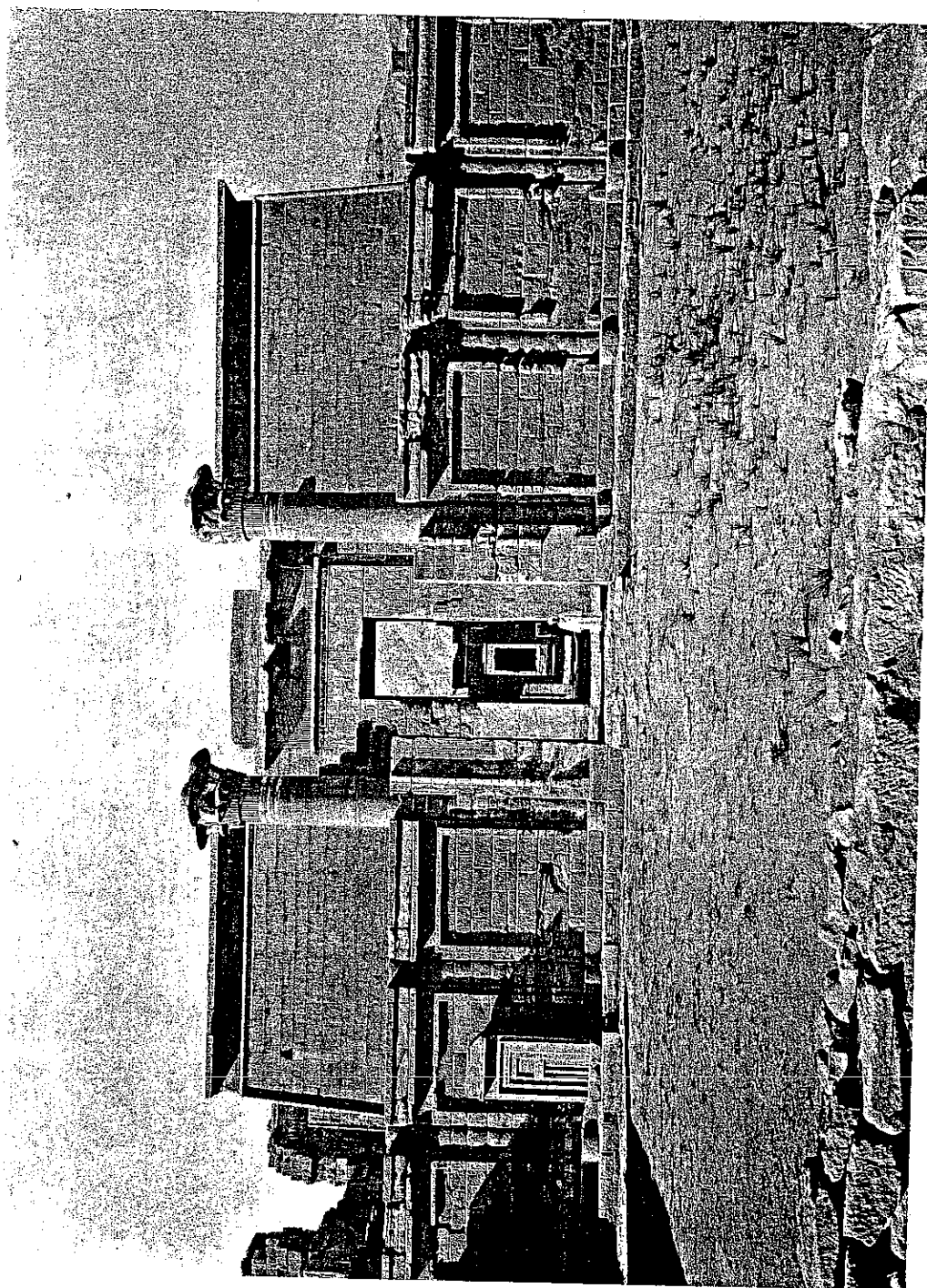


A



B

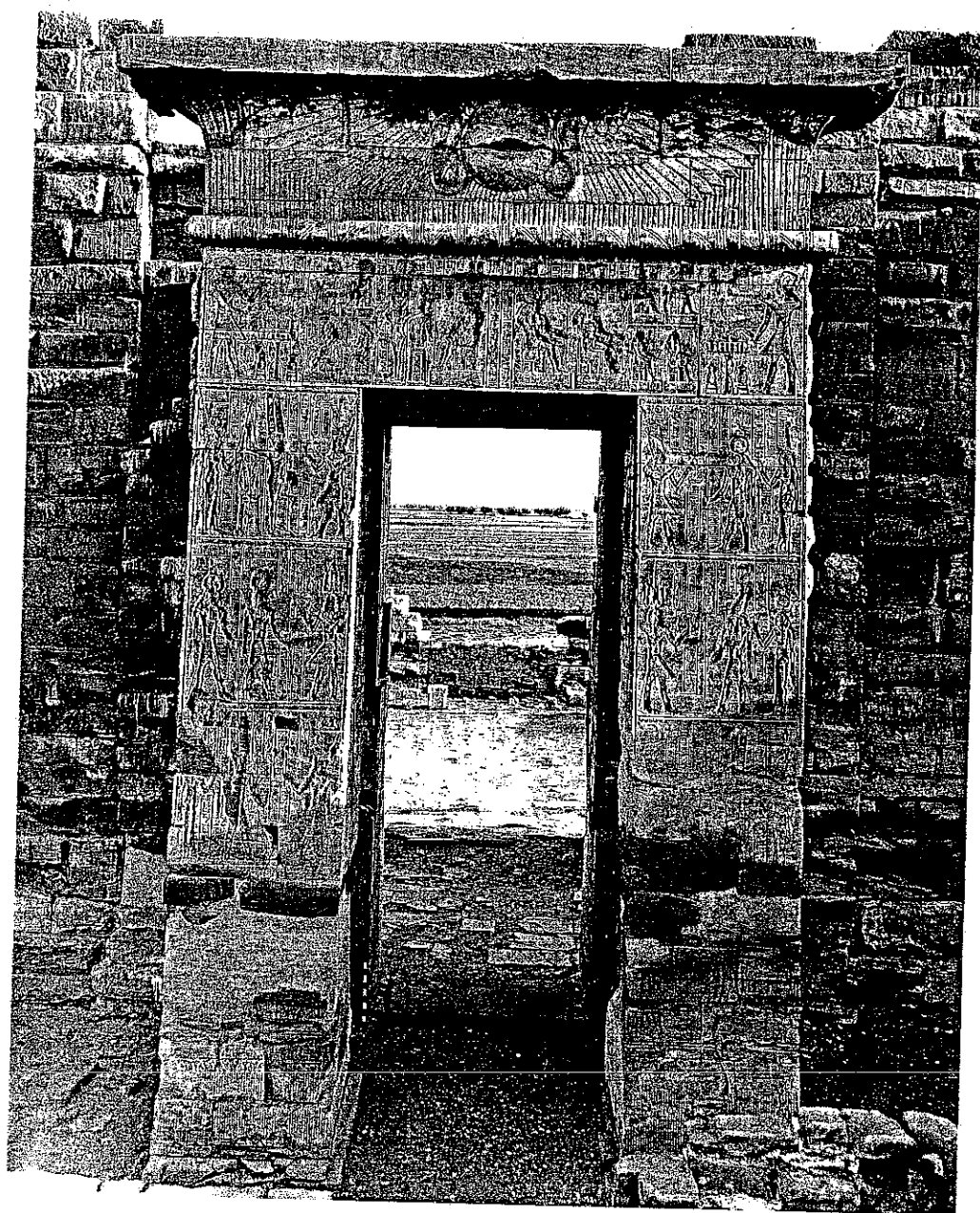
NORTH GATE OF THE PTOLEMAIC COLUMNED HALL. GRANITE DOORFRAME TAKEN
FROM A BUILDING OF PEDAMENOPET. *A*. THE JAMBS FROM THE NORTH
B FRAGMENT OF THE LINTEL



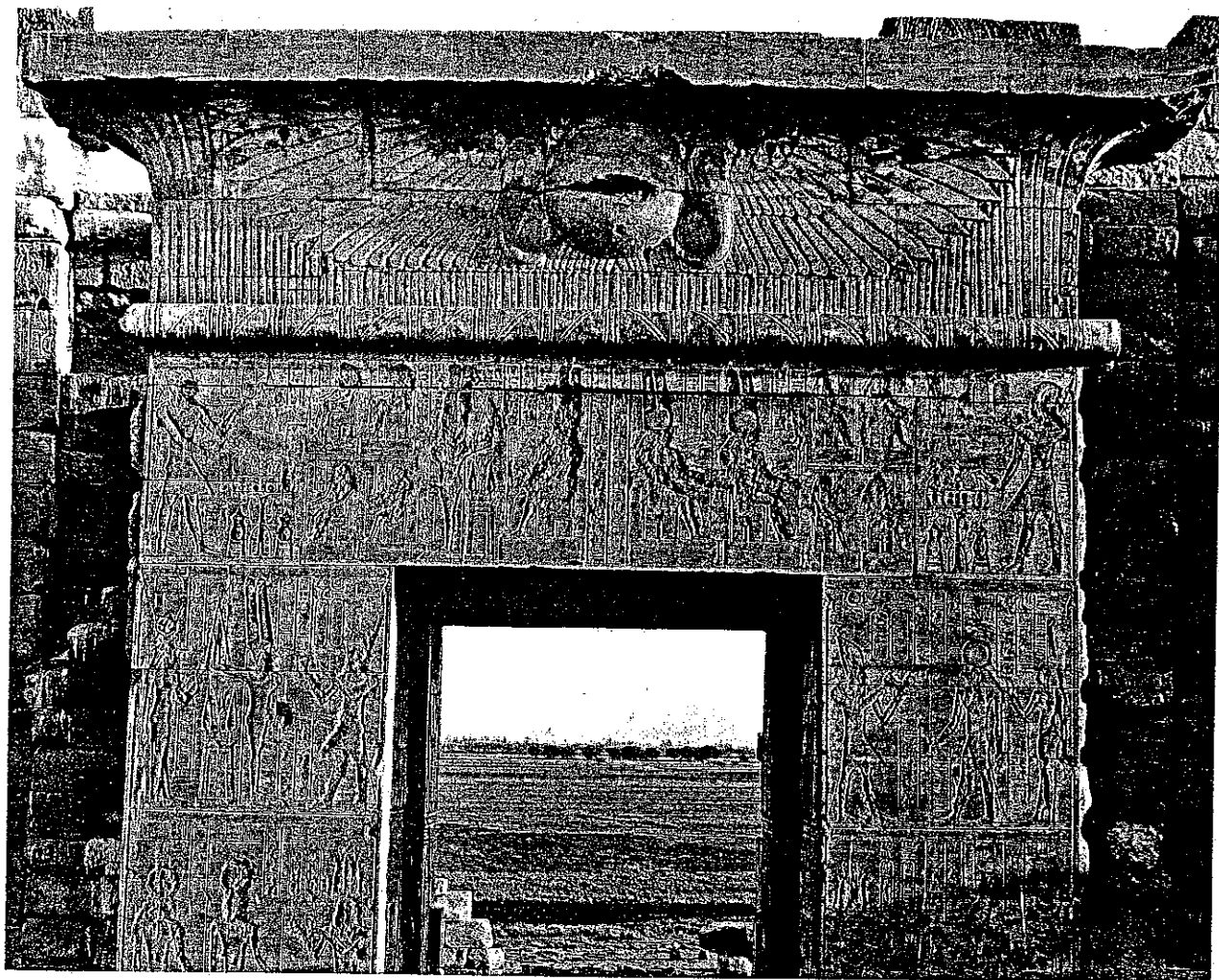
THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON AND THE ROMAN COURT, FROM THE EAST



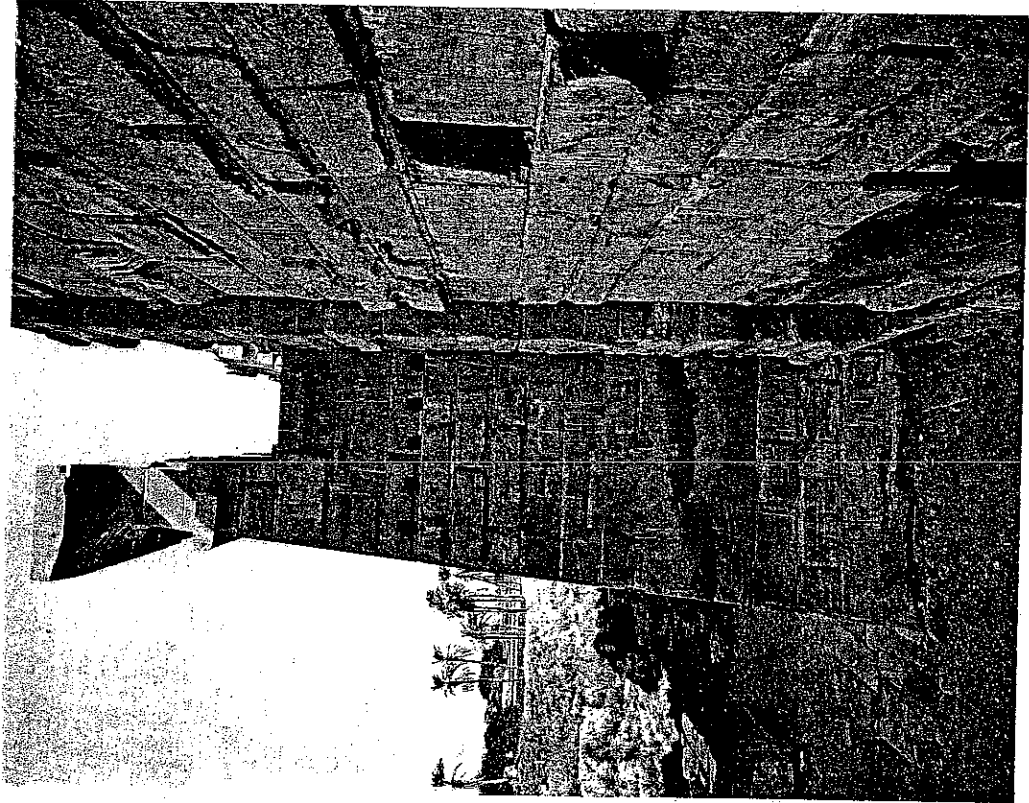
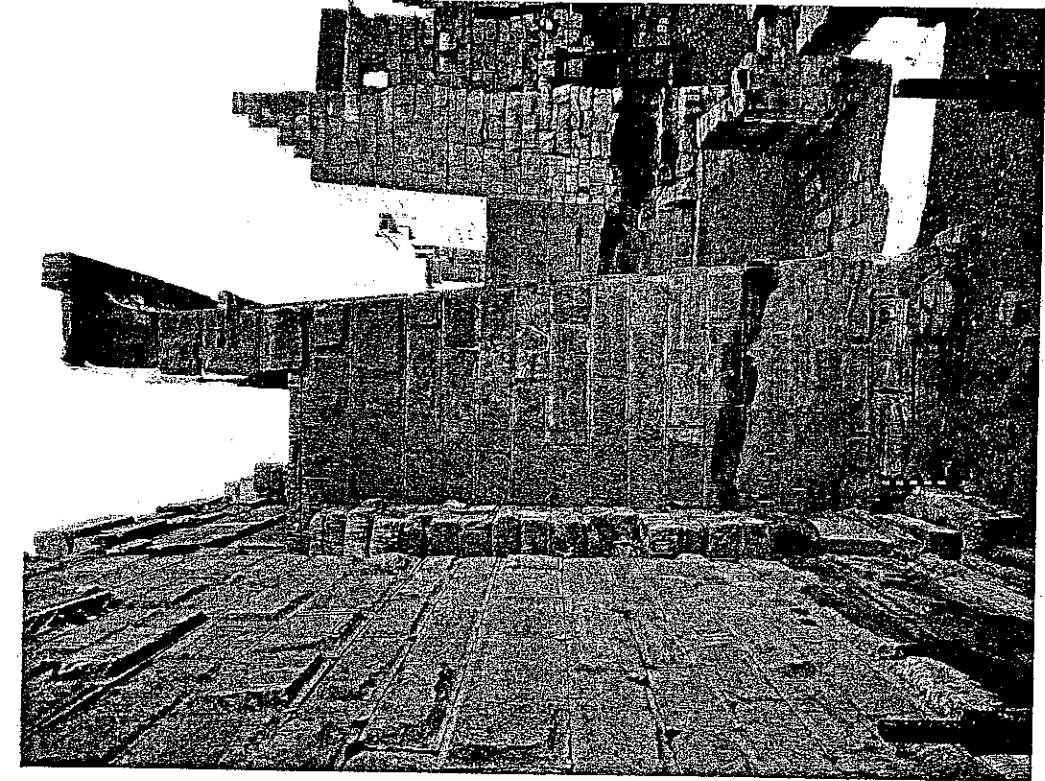
THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON, CENTRAL PART, FROM THE EAST



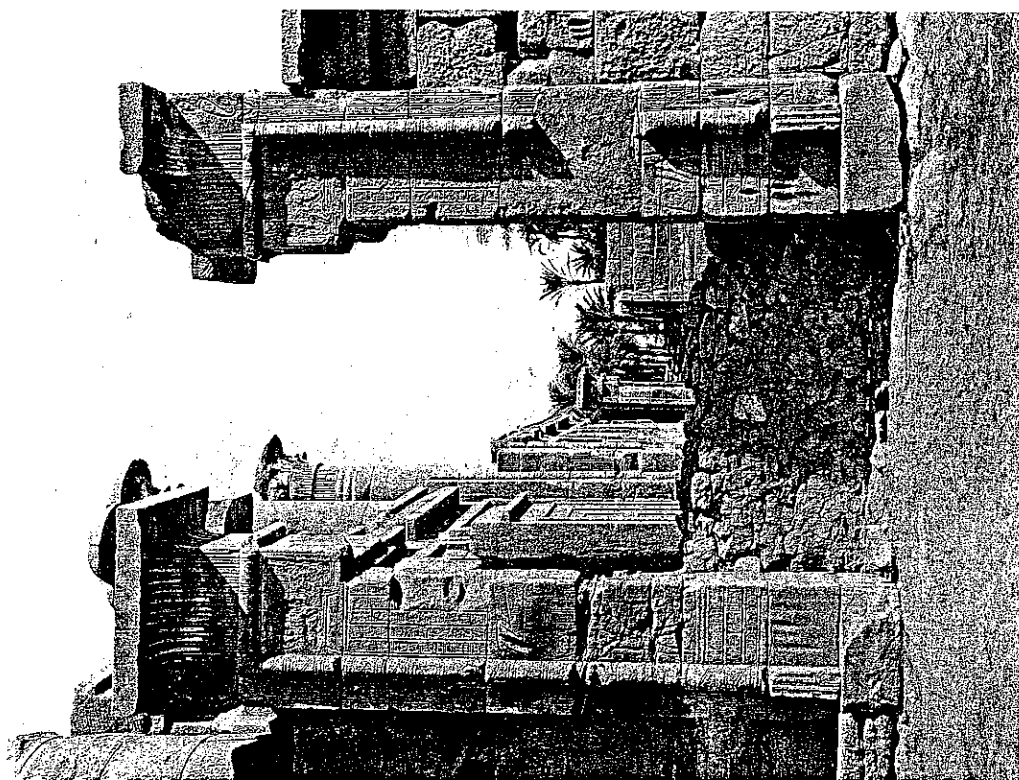
BACK OF THE GATEWAY IN THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON



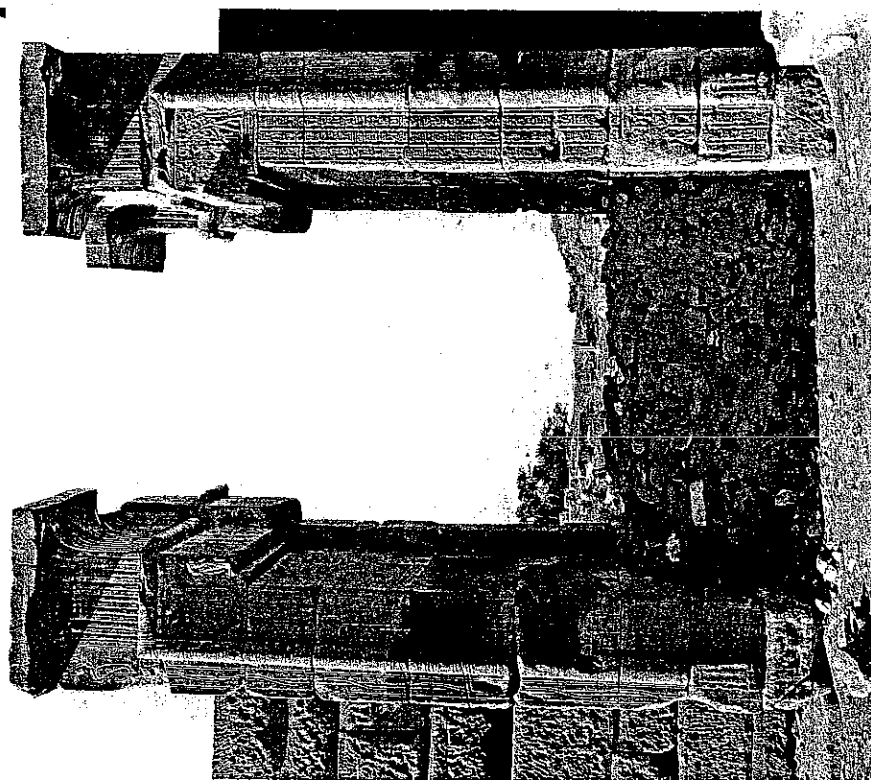
BACK OF THE GATEWAY IN THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON DETAIL



A BACK OF THE PTOLEMAIC PYLON (A) FROM THE SOUTH AND (B) FROM THE NORTH



B



A

SOUTH GATEWAY OF THE ROMAN COURT (A) FROM THE NORTH AND (B) FROM THE SOUTH