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1931–33

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AIRPLANE VIEW OF MEDINET HABU AT THE CLOSE OF THE EXCAVATION, SEEN FROM THE EAST

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WORK IN WESTERN THEBES
1931–33

By
HAROLD H. NELSON AND UVO HÖLSCHER
WITH A CHAPTER BY
SIEGFRIED SCHOTT

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

PAGE

I. THE CALENDAR OF FEASTS AND OFFERINGS AT MEDINET HABU.
Harold H. Nelson 1
Arrangement 4
Contents 8
State of the Text 23
Relationship to the Ramesseum Calendar 25
The Administrative Background 29
Sources of the Offerings 38
The New Endowments Created by Ramses III 42
The Old Endowments Confirmed by Ramses III 44
The Daily Offerings 46
The Offerings for the Monthly Feasts 51
The Offerings for the Annual Feasts 52
The Feasts of Thebes. *Siegfried Schott* 63

II. THE EXCAVATIONS. *Uvo Hölscher* 91
Introduction 91
The Western Fortified Gate of Medinet Habu 92
The Chapels West of Medinet Habu 101
The Temple of Eye and Harmhab 106

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I

THE CALENDAR OF FEASTS AND OFFERINGS AT MEDINET HABU

By HAROLD H. NELSON

When Ramses III, early in the 12th century B.C., erected his mortuary temple at the southern end of the Theban necropolis, he was called upon not only to finance the actual building of the structure but also to see that it was properly staffed, that its activities were regularly organized, and that it was adequately endowed. Such demands did not, of course, require any great originality on the part of the king or of those who did the work for him. He had behind him a long tradition which had grown up in connection with the temples of his predecessors of the 18th and 19th dynasties whose foundations, many already in decay, stretched for a couple of miles northward along the desert edge. To a large extent he had but to duplicate for his own temple the organization and usages of its neighbors, and that he did so we have ample evidence in the records surviving on the walls at Medinet Habu. Whether he went beyond this and transferred to the resources of his own sanctuary the income previously allocated to the upkeep of the temples of earlier kings we cannot say, though again there is the suggestion that he was not above thus diverting the endowments of other buildings to the uses of his own shrine. Be that as it may, by the fourth year of his reign he seems to have had the matter well in hand,[1] though the temple could not yet have been completed, as the quarrymen at Gebel Silsilah were still extracting stone for it for at least a year longer.[2]

The archives of Ramses III's new foundation have perished. No doubt among them were papyrus rolls which gave the constitution of the temple staff, the liturgy to be used in the services, the lists of property and income which formed the temple endowment, and the

[1] Cf. Fig. 5, line 60, where the temple Calendar is said to have been inaugurated by a decree of the year 4 of the reign of Ramses III.

[2] See Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV (Chicago, 1906) § 19.

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calendar of the feasts to be observed with special ceremonies within its precincts and of offerings to be made at the daily and periodic celebrations. Though such papyrus records have long since disappeared, one valuable document has survived on stone—the great Calendar of the festivals observed and the offerings presented throughout the year. This interesting register was inscribed on the south wall of the temple, beginning at the extreme rear or western end and continuing eastward to the first pylon, thus covering practically the entire side of the building (Fig. 1). It contains in all over 1,470 lines of hieroglyphs and forms the longest and most complete temple calendar which has survived from ancient Egypt. This Calendar is reproduced completely in facsimile, with interesting details given photographically, in the third large folio volume recording the work of the Oriental Institute's Epigraphic Survey.[3] With the appearance of that volume a brief account of the form and content of the Calendar may be of interest to the general reader.

Ramses II had inscribed a similar calendar on the south wall of the Ramesseum, and no doubt other of the mortuary temples at Thebes displayed like records. Ramses III is accused of making his own sanctuary a slavish imitation of Ramses II's building. It may have been, however, that the same tradition which governed rigidly the religious observances of the time prescribed a fixed design for the plan and decoration of the building in which these observances were held and that the king therefore had no option in the matter. At any rate the temple calendar occupied corresponding walls at Medinet Habu and at the Ramesseum and gave, in large part word for word, a list of the same feasts with provision for the same offerings in like quantities (cf. pp. 26–29). None of the other temples at Thebes, save that at Deir el-Bahari which is unique in form, is well enough preserved to indicate whether or not it too had such a document on its southern wall. An elaborate calendar does appear on the south wall of Ramses II's temple at Abydos. There are several fragmentary calendars at Karnak, but again that building does not conform to any systematic plan. We have not sufficient data with which to settle the question.

[3] *Medinet Habu.* III. *The Calendar, the "Slaughterhouse," and Minor Records of Ramses III.* By the Epigraphic Survey (Harold H. Nelson, Field Director). xvi+2 pp., 5 figs., 62 pls. (1 in colors), large folio, cloth, $18 ("Oriental Institute Publications" XXIII [Chicago, 1934]).

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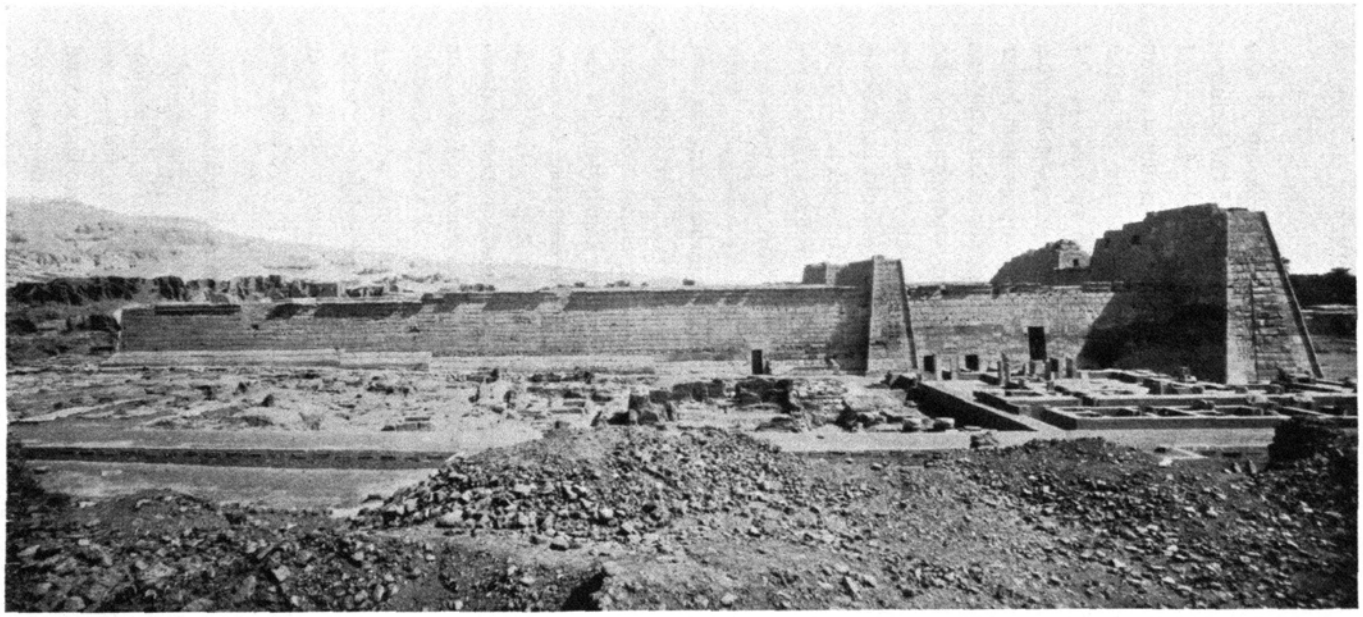


FIG. 1.—The south wall of the temple of Ramses III, on which is inscribed the great temple Calendar giving the offerings to be furnished for the temple and the occasions on which they were to be presented.

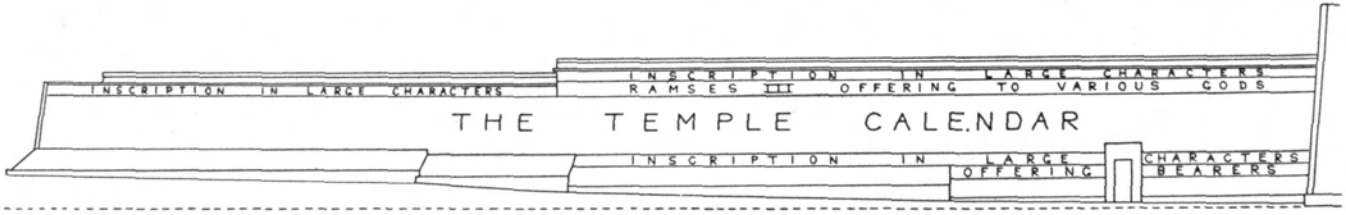


FIG. 2.—Diagram showing the arrangement of the Calendar on the south wall of the temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

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ARRANGEMENT

A glance at Figure 2 will show the general arrangement of the Calendar on the wall of the temple. Because the floor of the building rises toward the rear and at the same time the level of the roof descends, the wall area is higher toward the front of the structure than it is at the back. In the adornment of such an edifice the Egyptian artist dealt in straight lines and preferred to keep the various units of the decoration in squares or rectangles. He achieved this purpose with the Medinet Habu Calendar by placing along the upper and lower margins of the wall west of the second pylon long lines of inscriptions and reliefs that left him a free area between them approximately the same in height throughout its entire length. In this long space he inscribed the Calendar, or at least such part of it as could be accommodated therein, as though he had unrolled upon the wall a papyrus from the temple archives. Within the area thus arranged for the reception of the Calendar the scribe next laid out thirty-six rectangles by drawing at intervals two parallel lines, spaced close together, running from top to bottom of the area. Two of the sections thus marked off—the first and the ninth, counting from the rear of the temple—were reserved for reliefs, illustrations to the document, depicting the Pharaoh announcing to the Theban Triad the institution of the Calendar and recounting his good deeds in their behalf (Fig. 3). Two more sections—the second and the third—are devoted to the king's speech to the gods and to the royal decree establishing new endowments (Figs. 4–5). The remaining thirty-two sections contain the lists of feasts and offerings that compose the body of the Calendar. Four more sections were inscribed between the pylons, where they were placed so as to accommodate them to the space left free when the first palace was built against the wall at this point. These four sections, added to those located west of the second pylon, bring the total for the entire document up to forty sections.

The Calendar is divided into two parts, each introduced by one of the reliefs already referred to. The first part, which includes eight sections, deals with Ramses III's new creations, his temple, its equipment and organization, and his personal contributions to its endowment. The remaining thirty-two sections, which constitute the second part, deal (except for a very few lists which also record new endowments) with old established feasts and offerings which the king merely

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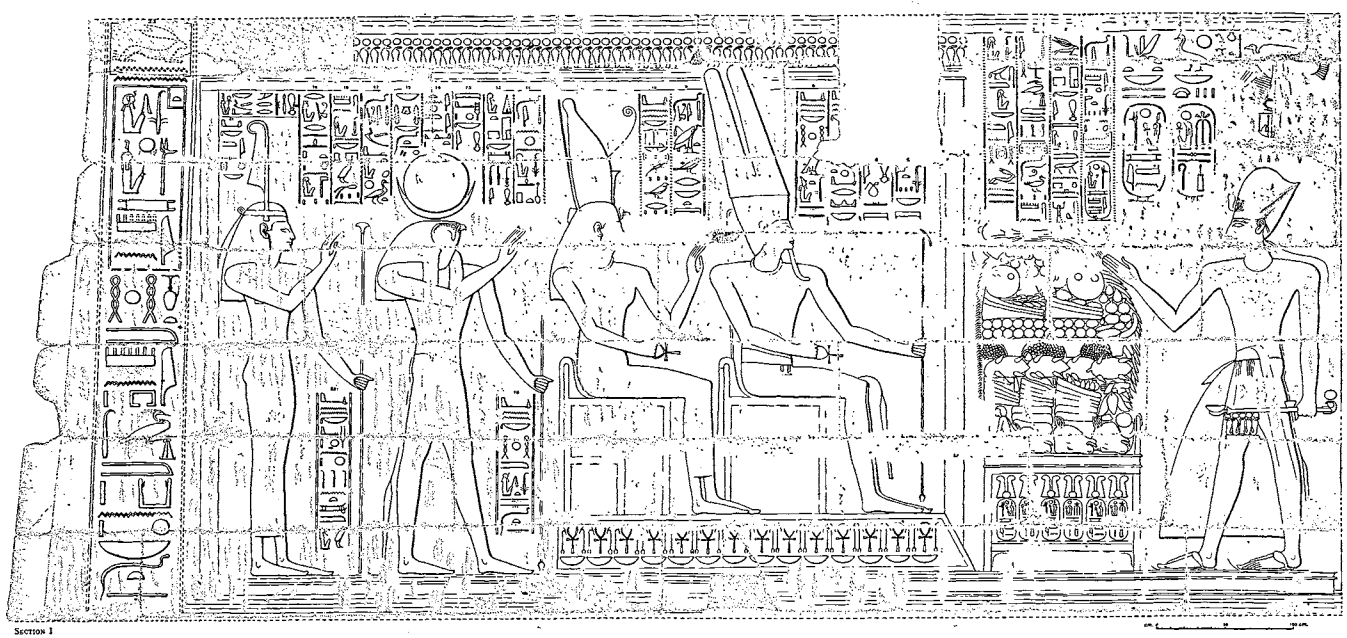


FIG. 3.—Introductory scene to the Calendar, showing Ramses III standing before a table of offerings and addressing the Theban Triad and Maat. The Pharaoh holds in his left hand a censer and stretches out his right over the offerings in the attitude prescribed for their presentation and for addressing deities. The offerings are probably not piled high one upon another as we would read the ancient artist's drawing, but instead lie side by side on the table, with leaves and flowers spread over them. They include many of the items contained in the Calendar lists.

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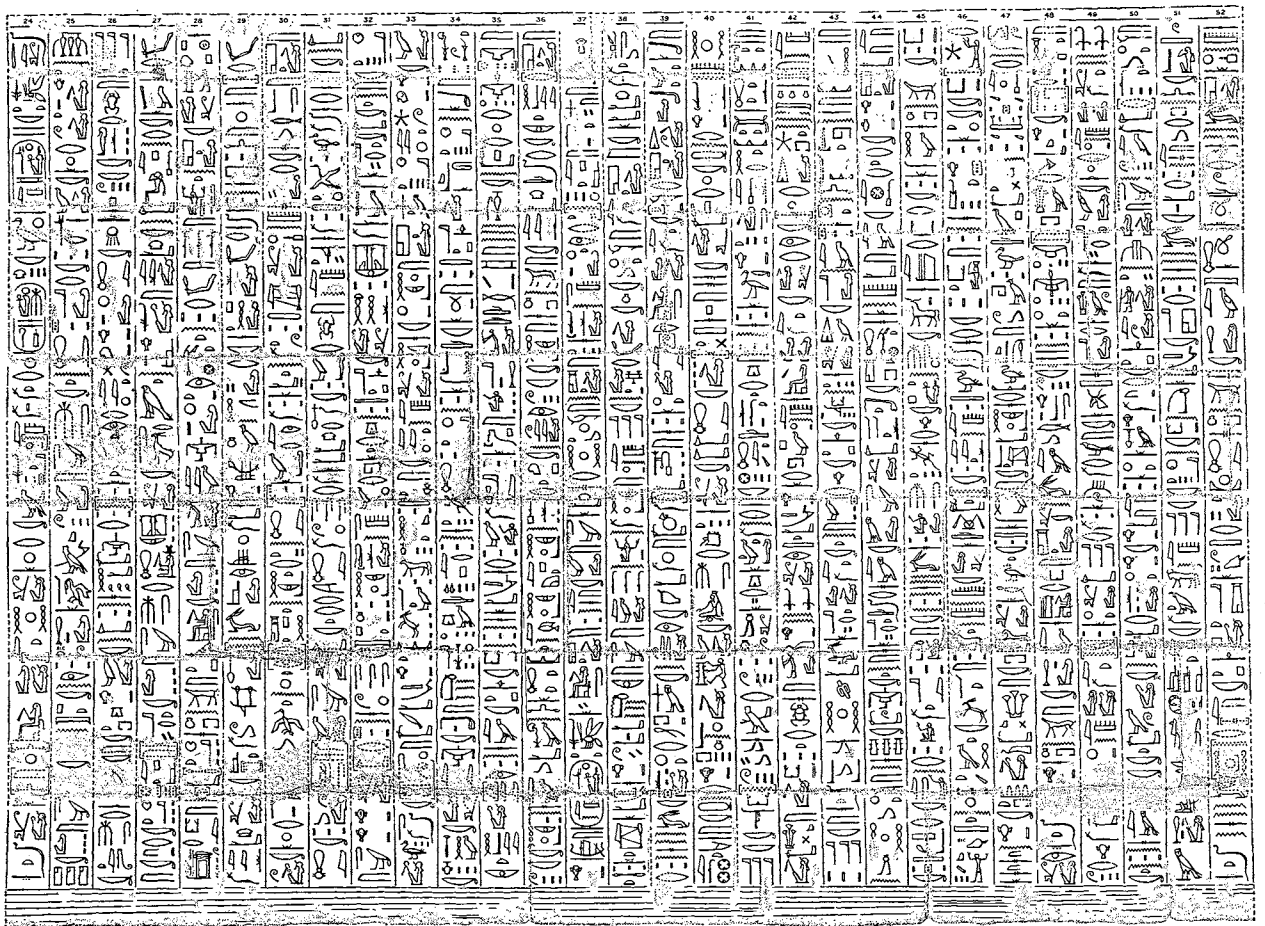


FIG. 4.—Ramses III's address to Amon, recounting his good deeds in behalf of the god in connection with the erection and inauguration of the Medinet Habu temple.

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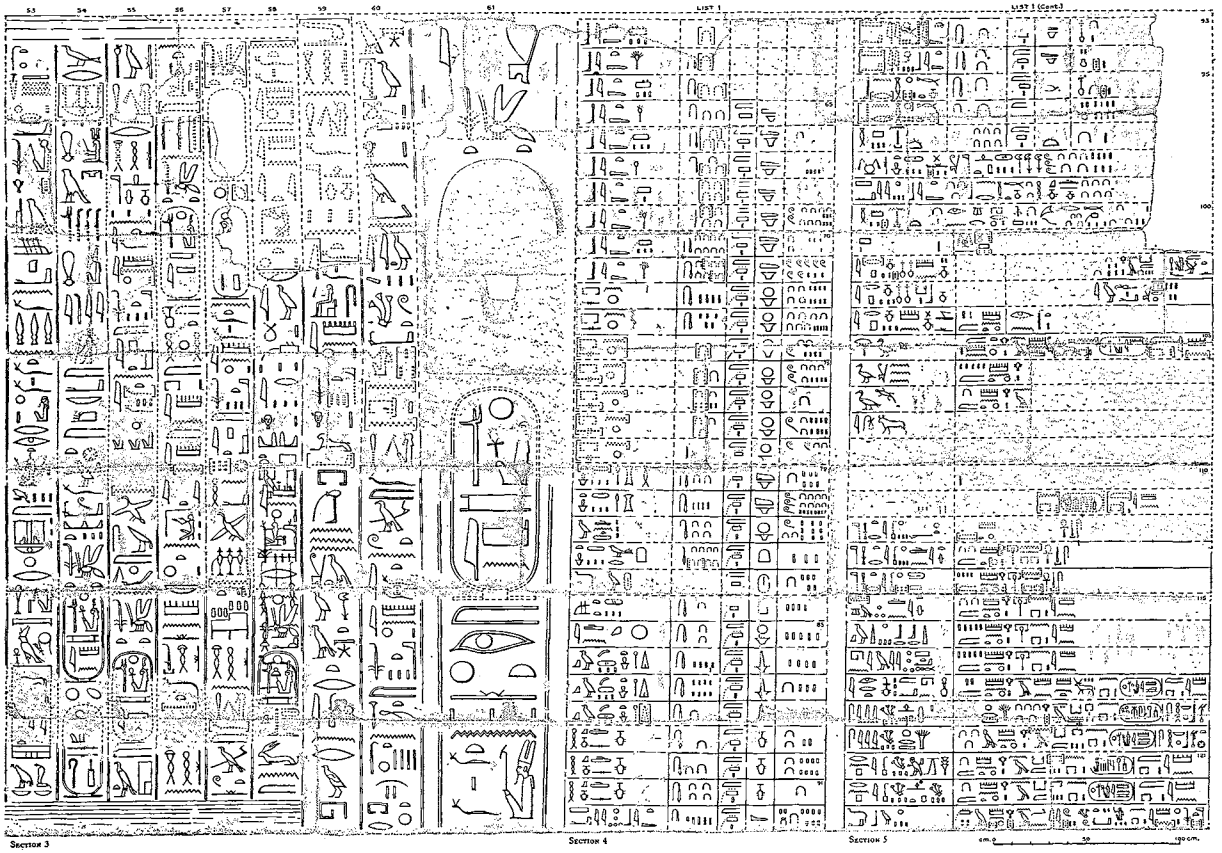


FIG. 5.—The decree instituting the temple Calendar and the list of new endowments founded by Ramses III for the daily temple service. The date on which the decree was carved on the wall is partly missing, but the enactment itself dates from the fourth year of the reign. In List 1, the offerings for the daily service, the first items distinguish between two kinds of *byt*-bread, one made with Lower Egyptian grain and the other apparently with Upper Egyptian grain. It would seem, therefore, that this kind of bread could be made from either grain. This is the only place in the Calendar where such distinction is made.

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reaffirmed. Papyrus Harris, which likewise records the Pharaoh's gifts to the gods, makes the same distinction between new contributions to temple revenue and old income from previous reigns.[4] Moreover, in the vocabulary, spelling, and calligraphy of the two parts there is a noticeable difference—a distinction which applies also to the few new endowments recorded in Sections 9–40 and sets them off from the remainder of the Calendar.

CONTENTS

Turning now from the arrangement of the Calendar to its content, we find it introduced by a relief showing the Pharaoh standing before a shrine in the temple (see Fig. 3). Within the shrine are the seated figures of the god Amon of Thebes and his consort Mut, behind whom stand their son Khonsu and the goddess Maat. Before the gods is a great offering-table heaped high with all manner of foods which the monarch presents to the deities. In his left hand he holds a censer, while his right is outstretched in the gesture which was regularly employed by a speaker addressing a deity. Ramses is recounting to Amon the manifold good deeds which he has performed in that god's behalf, especially in the erection and adornment of his new temple at Medinet Habu. This speech occupies some twenty-eight lines of inscription immediately behind the figure of the king (see Fig. 4). Like most Egyptian compositions of this kind, it is couched in the poetic form of balanced sentences and lends itself readily to strophic division. It may in part be rendered as follows:

Behold, I know eternity, O my august father,
  And I am not ignorant of everlastingness.

My heart is glad, for I know that thy strength
  Is more than that of the (other) gods,
Since it is thou who hast fashioned their images
  And created their majesties.

. . . . . .

Thy temples are (filled) with all thy statues,
  While thou shinest like Re at dawn
In order to make their . . . .
  And in order to gild[5] their bodies.

. . . . . .

[4] See Breasted, *op. cit.* §§ 158–62.

[5] Possibly referring to the bright sunlight falling upon the gods' images. Amon

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Thou hast caused that I appear as king upon the throne of Horus
And thou hast ordained for me jubilees like Tatenen,
In order to fashion thy divine image at Karnak
And thy Ennead at thy side (as) in the beginning.

I built for thee my house-of-millions-of-years[6]
In the necropolis of Thebes, the Eye of Re,
And fashioned thy august images dwelling in its midst,
While the great Ennead are in splendid shrines in their sanctuaries.

I made splendid Ptah-Sokar
And the *ḫnw*-bark on the *mfḫ*-sledge (Fig. 6).
As for Osiris-Wennofer, whenever he approaches thy throne,
I have caused him to appear in my house at the introduction of Sokar.

I have made excellent his offerings
And his ordinances and his ceremonies,
In accordance with the festal usages of the House of Ptah,[7]
In order to observe all the occasions of the year.

I know that thou hast given the lands
In order to supply his offering-loaves, O Min-Amon in thy beautiful form,
That he may appear at his (accustomed) time
According to that which thou desirest.

. . . . . .

I provide for thee daily divine offerings,[8]
And I establish the Feasts of the Sky at all their proper times;[9]
I attend to thy image at dawn,[10]
While the Ennead in my temple are in festivity every day.

---

is here likened to the sun-god, with whom he was identified as Amon-Re; and the attributes of the sun-god such as his power to make resplendent with his light the figures of the gods adorned with gold and decked in brilliant garments are also postulated of him. The word translated as "gild" may, of course, mean "to fashion," which translation should perhaps be employed here; but the root meaning of the word seems more appropriate.

[6] The regular term for a temple, especially a mortuary temple, and here referring, of course, to Medinet Habu.

[7] Ramses III here states that at Medinet Habu he introduced, in connection with the cult of Ptah-Sokar, the ritual and ceremonies long established at Memphis, the god's home.

[8] In Lists 1 and 6 of the Calendar.

[9] In Lists 7–15 of the Calendar.

[10] In List 2 of the Calendar.

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I have made festive thy regular offerings with bread and beer,
While cattle and desert game are butchered in thy slaughterhouse (Fig. 7; cf. Fig. 17).

. . . . . .

I have fashioned for thee thy drink-stand of gold and silver,
In order to present to thee cool water from the well which I have dug.

. . . . . .

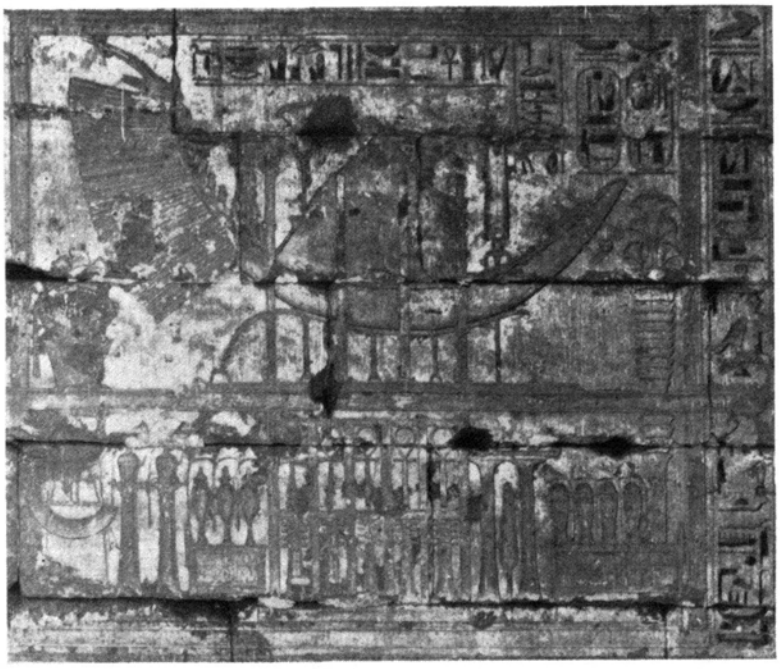


FIG. 6.—The *ḥnw*-bark of Ptah-Sokar resting on the *mfḫ*-sledge, from the south wall of the second court of Medinet Habu. This portable shrine of the great mortuary god of Sakkarah was kept in Room 4 off the first hypostyle hall of the temple, whence it was carried in procession at the god's annual feast.

I made a Festival Hall in my house[11]
To be thy Festival Hall,
So that thou mayest appear in its midst
In all thy feasts.

[11] It was in this Festival Hall that a great banquet or celebration of some kind was held in connection with the Feast of Opet, for which provision was made in List 36. Whatever the nature of the observance, which is designated as "that which is offered to Amon-Re in the Festival Hall," it continued throughout the entire 24 days of the feast. The location of this "hall" at Medinet Habu has not been identified.

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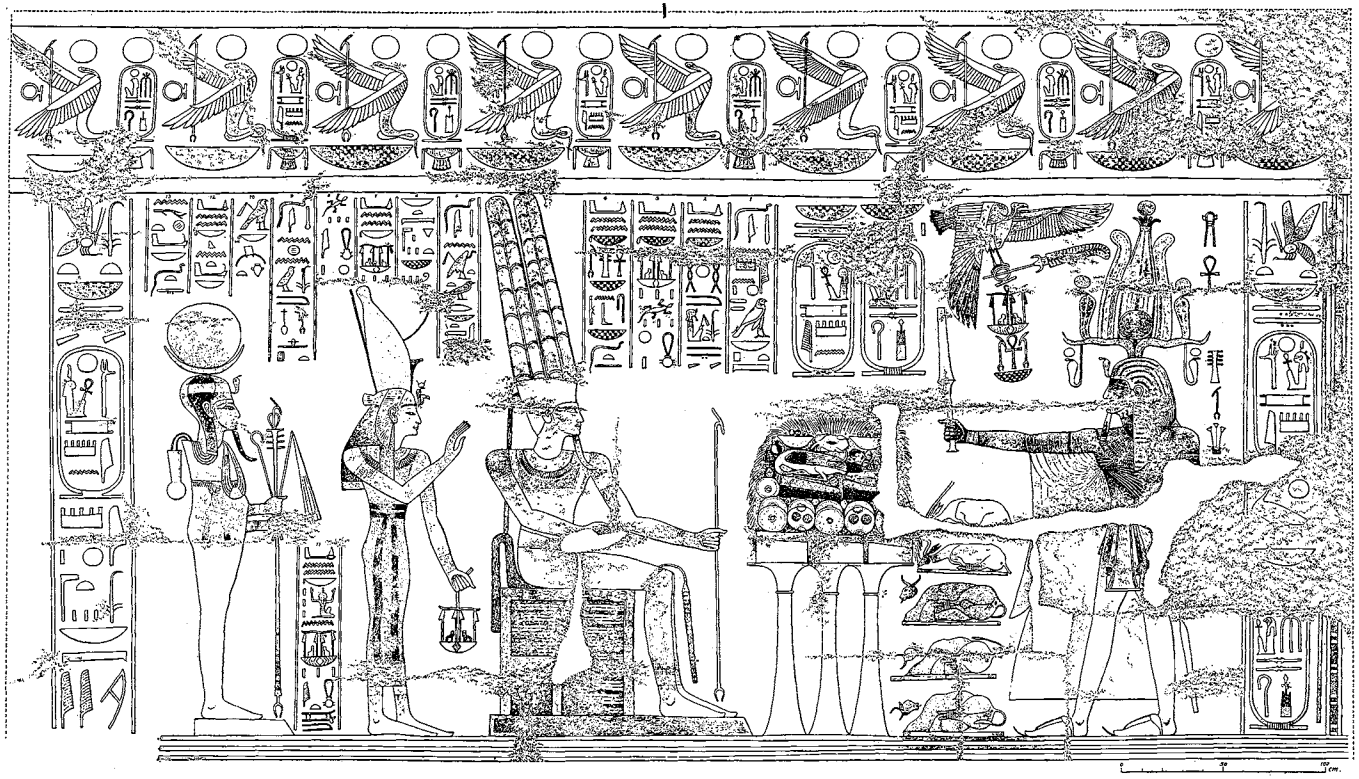


FIG. 7.—Ramses III, with ceremonial headdress and long robe, stands before a great oblation of all manner of food—bread, fowl, fruit, and whole carcasses of animals, including desert game such as oryxes and gazelles. This offering he presents to the Theban Triad, who in turn pronounce a blessing upon him. From Room 6 at Medinet Habu.

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I perform for thee the periodic recurrences of the Feast of Opet[12]
And of the Feast of the Valley[13] likewise, without omission among them,
And all thy feasts which are celebrated in the yearly progression at Karnak,
According to the doing of Re.[14]

I established them in my house for the future forever,
To cause thy image to appear in them in my august house
While the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon, is in the bark[15] following his father,
And when thou appearest in my house, he is behind thee.

I clear the way for the lord of gods, Amon-Re,
In his Feast of Millions of Years;
For I am a feast-leader, pure of hands (Fig. 8),
Offering great oblations (see Figs. 7 and 18) before him who begat me.

I place my temple under thy authority, O my august father;
I have put its possessions in writing, secured in thy grasp.
I convey to thee all my landed properties,
That they may be forever established in thy name.[16]

I administer for thee the Two Lands,
Even my entire inheritance,
As thou gavest it to me
Ever since I was born.

I built strongholds in thy name in Egypt, in Nubia and Asia likewise.
I have taxed them with their imposts yearly, each town by its name,
All together, bearing their tribute, to deliver it to thy ka, O lord of gods,
Amon in the heavens and earth, the deep and the nether world.

I cause that thou shouldst know what I have done for thee,
O my august father, Amon-Re, who delightest in truth.

I have done these things by my might,
Namely that which my ka has brought to pass
By means of that which I carried off
Out of the lands of Nubia and Zahi.

[12] In Lists 28–38 of the Calendar.

[13] In Lists 3 and 4 of the Calendar.

[14] Possibly meaning "in accordance with the progress of the sun," i.e., of the solar calendar.

[15] The portable shrine in which the cult image of the king was carried in procession.

[16] The full name of the Medinet Habu temple ends with the statement that it was "in the estate of Amon on the west of Thebes." Apparently it and its endowment were conveyed in writing with due legal formality to the great Amon foundation, already the richest and most powerful economic unit in the state.

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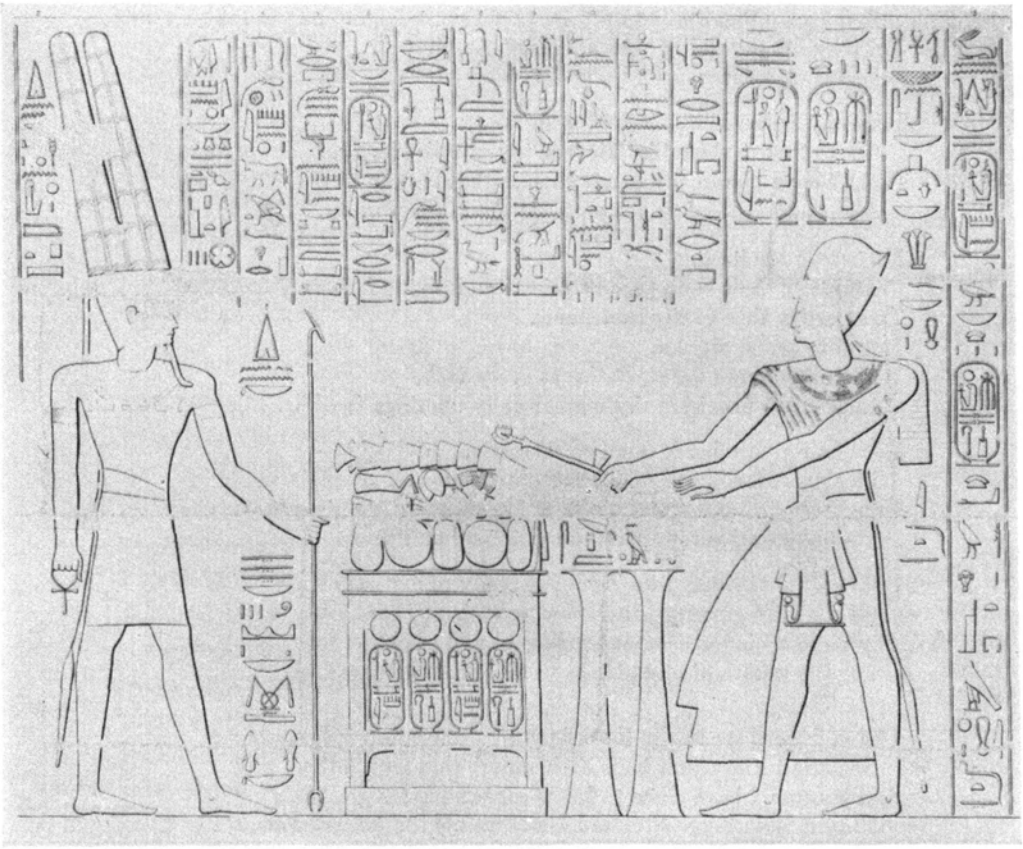


FIG. 8.—Ramses III officiating at the New Moon Feast. The inscription above contains the formula which is being uttered by the king on the occasion of the feast as he performs the rites in the temple. Before him is an altar on which are, first, loaves of bread of various kinds—apparently, to judge from the shape, *psn*-bread and *šꜥt*-bread. Above these are the traces of a row of *byt*-bread. Next above come parts of a slaughtered animal—a haunch, a liver, and some ribs. Just below the latter and above the bread are two fruits, seemingly pomegranates. On the top of all is a formal bouquet laid across the altar. Directly in front of the king are two stands or small altars such as held trays of offerings or jars of liquid. Over all the king waves his censer in one hand and gesticulates with the other as he utters the prescribed words. Over the two small stands is the inscription: "Leading the New Moon Feasts." It is such acts as this that are meant when the king says: "I am a feast leader, pure of hands." From the north wall of the first court of Medinet Habu.

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There was nothing thereof for any (other) god,[17]
But I gave them (all) to thy ka that thou mightest be pleased therewith,
For thou art my divine father, heir of eternity,
Enduring forever as lord of gods.

Place my house in thy heart for all time;
Cause that it abide like Thebes, thy peculiar house.
(For) I have placed thy image therein that it may be divine,
And thou shalt adorn its walls for the future forever.[18]

. . . . . .

Numerous are its staff,
And they shall be to thee as priests and divine fathers,
To summon thee to thy sustenance
And to praise thy ka,
While others are at their duties at every task,
In order to provision thy regular daily offerings (see Fig. 13).

I collect for thee herds of all small cattle,
Fields, lowlands and highlands, plowlands and swamplands,
Slaughtering the fowl that descend into the bird-marshes,
To make festive thy oblations with food and game.

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

. . . . . .

I have done these things for my father, Amon-Re,
Because I know that he is divine more than any (other) god
And because I have come to know concerning his greatness
That it is widespread more than (that of) the (other) gods.

I give all things to my father, Amon-Re,
That he may . . . . upon them in after years,
And that he may give therefrom to my image and my statue
While I rest beside him receiving offerings.[19]

[17] This statement is made in spite of the testimony of Papyrus Harris, which records huge gifts to all the gods of Egypt. But perhaps the king means that all the spoil from his wars went to the Amon estate. Unfortunately we have no inscriptions of Ramses III dealing with this subject from the great temples at Heliopolis and Memphis.

[18] Referring to the reliefs on the temple walls depicting the god in various cult scenes.

[19] Referring to some image of the king which stood in the shrine beside the statue of the god and which shared in the offerings given to the latter.

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Attend my offerings which I give thee,
  Ward off him who would seize upon them,
For thou it is who must answer
  That nothing is diverted from them to any (other) hand.
. . . . . .

Mayest thou do that which my majesty desireth
  In making excellent my house.
Then it shall endure as the heavens endure,
  With thy majesty in its midst like the Horizon-Dweller.

For happy is my temple if thou dwellest therein to eternity,
  And it shall abide forever.

The king's address to Amon is followed by the decree establishing the endowments of the temple and especially the new offerings which were the Pharaoh's own creation. The purpose of these offerings is specifically stated thus: "His majesty decreed offerings for his father Amon-Re, king of gods in Karnak, and for the fathers, the divine Ennead, and for the holy image of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon, in the house-of-millions-of-years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, (called) 'Usermare-Meriamon Endures to Eternity,' in the estate of Amon, as the regular offerings of every day, abiding and endowed for ever and ever" (see Fig. 5). In this connection it is to be noted that, with the exception of the supplies for the Feast of Sokar (Lists 42–51), all the Calendar offerings, as listed feast by feast, are directed to be offered to Amon-Re and to one or both of the other two recipients mentioned in the decree. The decree itself comes from the fourth year of the king's reign, though the date on which it was inscribed upon the wall is unknown save for the day and month, the year having been either never carved or else destroyed when the plastered surface fell from the wall.

Following the decree come the new endowments for the daily temple service and for certain new feasts. There seem to have been two lines of tradition governing the selection of offerings to be provided by endowment in ancient Egypt. One line dealt with provision for the sustenance of the dead; the other, with gifts to the gods. The former goes back to the Pyramid Texts and is embodied in the longer and shorter lists that appear in the private tombs from the Old Kingdom

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onward. The latter was used in the temples and probably appeared even in early times inscribed on temple walls. However, since the Old and Middle Kingdom temples have perished either completely or largely, we have no contemporary evidence for the existence of such a list before the Empire. By that time, however, it had taken shape, and a traditional order for the objects enumerated seems to have been established. In broad outline this order ran: bread, cakes, beer, flesh, fowl, incense, wine, fruit. This is the order in the Medinet Habu lists, at the Ramesseum and at Ramses II's Abydos temple, and also in the still earlier summaries of offerings made by Thutmose III.[20] It does not correspond to the order of the tomb lists and seems to have no relation thereto. Whereas certain objects appear in both groups, some are peculiar to one, some to the other, tradition. In the days of the Empire the tomb lists certainly contained the names of objects that had long since passed out of use and were perhaps unintelligible to men of that period. On the other hand, the temple lists seem to have been encumbered with little of this purely traditional material and to have been confined largely to objects in actual contemporary use. It is probable that the temple list originated much later than did that displayed in the tombs and that it represented the realities of the present rather than meaningless repetitions from the past. Thus, whereas the temple lists specified the offerings that appeared on the altars daily, the tomb lists were intended simply as a substitute for real offerings that might be forgotten or neglected by the survivors of those who had the list carved in their tombs.

With the exception of Sections 1, 2, and 9 the Calendar consists of a series of lists of offerings for various occasions in the temple. Each list is introduced by a line or two of text giving the name of the feast for which the specific list was intended, the date on which the feast occurred, and, in the case of individual feasts or in connection with groups of feasts, the source from which the grain for the offerings was to be drawn. The introductory statement at the beginning of each list is written perpendicularly, whereas the lists themselves are arranged in horizontal lines. Between each two lists which are jux-

[20] See *Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums* IV (Leipzig, 1907) 741 and *passim*.

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taposed within a given section a space equivalent to a line of hieroglyphs is left empty, thus clearly marking off each list from its neighbors. On the plates of our publication, *Medinet Habu* Volume III, the lists are numbered consecutively from 1 to 67. As these numbers are purely for ease of reference, those feast days for which no separate lists of offerings are given are combined with the preceding list under a single number (e.g., Lists 34, 35, 60, and 67) so as to avoid needless multiplication of numbers; but in no case has material referring to two different feasts been combined under one number. A characteristic introduction or title to such a list reads as follows: "First month of the third season, day 26; day of the coronation of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon. That which is offered to Amon-Re and to the holy image of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon, and to the Ennead who are in his house as festal supplies this day, due from the magazine of divine offerings of the house in the estate of Amon on the west of Thebes."

The lists themselves are each divided into three parts: first, an itemized statement of foods that were prepared by cooking and in the composition of which grain was used; second, a summary of the preceding, giving the number of units of different kinds of food listed and the quantity of grain needed for their preparation; third, a statement of miscellaneous offerings, edible and otherwise, for which no grain was required. A typical example of one of the Calendar lists, with its introduction, is to be found on page 18.

The items in the first part of each list are arranged in practically the same order throughout the Calendar and contain a certain minimum of objects, the number of which increases with the importance of the feast to which they are assigned. Thus for six of the regular monthly feasts the minimum list is specified. It consists of two sizes of *byt*-bread, one lot of *psn*-bread, one lot of white fruit bread, and one lot of beer, giving a total of 84 loaves of bread of various sorts and 15 jars of beer. This is a humble offering for a group of minor feasts which recurred at frequent intervals. On the other hand, for the more important of the monthly feasts this group contains as many as 28 different items and embraces a larger variety of objects and an in-

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creased range of sizes of the same object. One or two instances of still longer lists occur. If we may judge the importance of a feast by the

First month of the second season, day 22, day of the Feast of the Two Goddesses. That which is offered to Amon-Re together with his Ennead and the holy image of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon, as festal supplies this day	*byt*-bread	*pfśw**	30	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	45
	byt-bread	*pfśw*	40	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	86
	byt-bread	*pfśw*	60	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	90
	byt-bread	*pfśw*	100	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	75
	psn-bread	*pfśw*	5	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	30
	psn-bread	*pfśw*	10	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	60
	fine, notched *psn*-bread	*pfśw*	10	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	45
	psn-bread	*pfśw*	20	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	580
	dry *psn*-bread	*pfśw*	10	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	15
	white, pyramidal fruit bread	*pfśw*	80	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	8
	byt-cakes	*pfśw*	10	per *ḥḳ³t*	loaves	10
	beer, *ds*-jars	*pfśw*	10	per *ḥḳ³t*	jars	30
	beer, *ds*-jars	*pfśw*	20	per *ḥḳ³t*	jars	60
	Total of various breads for the divine offerings, 1,034; cakes, 10 *ipd;* beer, 90 *ḫnw*-jars					
	making (of) southern grain 3 sacks† (and) northern grain 12 sacks Total of grain, 15 sacks					

iḥ-cattle	1	*ś<ś³*-fowl	5	incense, *dny*-baskets	5	flowers, formal bouquets	10
r-geese, living	3	wine, *mn*-jars	2	fruit, *dny*-baskets	5	flowers, *ḥtpt*-bunches	10

* *pfśw* is a word meaning "a cooking." The first line of this list would then read: "*byt*-bread, a cooking of 30 per *ḥḳ³t*-measure, (of which offer) loaves 45." If 30 loaves were to be made from 1 *ḥḳ³t* of grain, it would then require 1½ *ḥḳ³t* to make the required number of loaves. Therefore, as is well known, the *pfśw* value of a loaf determined its size. Similarly the *pfśw* value of beer determined its strength.

† One sack equaled 4 *ḥḳ³t*.

number of items in this first part of the list, the six most honored feasts would fall into the following order:

The Feast of *Nḥb-k³w*, with 31 items
The Feast of Sokar, with 30 items
The Feast of the New Moon and the Feast of the Sixth of the Month, with 28 items each
The Coronation Feast, with 25 items
The Feast of Victory over the Meshwesh, with 20 items

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Below this point the number of items ranges from 17 to 5, with 9 and 10 the most frequent.

The foregoing order of the feasts, based on the relative number of items in the lists of cooked foods, corresponds only in part to the order based on the number of individual loaves of bread and jugs of beer, which may be a more correct way of estimating the importance of a festival. On the latter basis we find that the following feasts head the list:

The Feast of *Nḫb-kꜣw*, with over 4,000 loaves of bread, 44 cakes, and an unknown quantity of beer

The Feast of Sokar, with 3,694 loaves of bread, 410 cakes, and 905 jugs of beer

The Feast of Victory over the Meshwesh, with 1,616 loaves of bread, 64 cakes, and 130 jugs of beer

The Feast of *Nṯry*, with 1,237 loaves of bread, 50 cakes, and 30 jugs of beer

The Feast of Lifting Up the Sky, with 1,150 loaves of bread, 20 cakes, and 40 jugs of beer

The preceding tables do not include among the more important celebrations the Feast of Opet, the greatest of all the Theban festivals. This omission results from the fact that the calculations are based on the list for any one day. If we take not separate days, but each feast in its entirety, including all the days devoted to it, we reach the following order:

The Feast of Opet, with 11,341 loaves of bread, 85 cakes, and 385 jugs of beer

The series of Sokar feasts, which apparently form one whole, with 6,858 loaves of bread, 672 cakes, and 1,372 jugs of beer

The Coronation Feast, with 4,934 loaves of bread, 164 cakes, and 148 jugs of beer

The Feast of *Nḫb-kꜣw*, with over 4,000 loaves of bread, 44 cakes, and an unknown quantity of beer

The Feast of Victory over the Meshwesh, with 2,184 loaves of bread, 64 cakes, and 250 jugs of beer

The Feast of Lifting Up the Sky, with 1,150 loaves of bread, 20 cakes, and 40 jugs of beer

This arrangement of the feasts corresponds to the order which one would expect. The Feast of Opet and the Feast of Sokar were undoubtedly the most important of the local religious celebrations, while the king's Coronation Feast would rank high in the Calendar. It is noticeable that the Feast of Min, which figures so prominently on the temple

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walls, comes about halfway down the list of festivals as classified by the foregoing method. The relative unimportance of this feast, as judged by the size of the offerings, is probably due to the fact that it was not primarily a mortuary feast and so would not be prominent in the calendar of a mortuary temple. Though an arrangement of the feasts on the basis of the size of the offerings shown in the Calendar is not at all conclusive, it is at least suggestive.

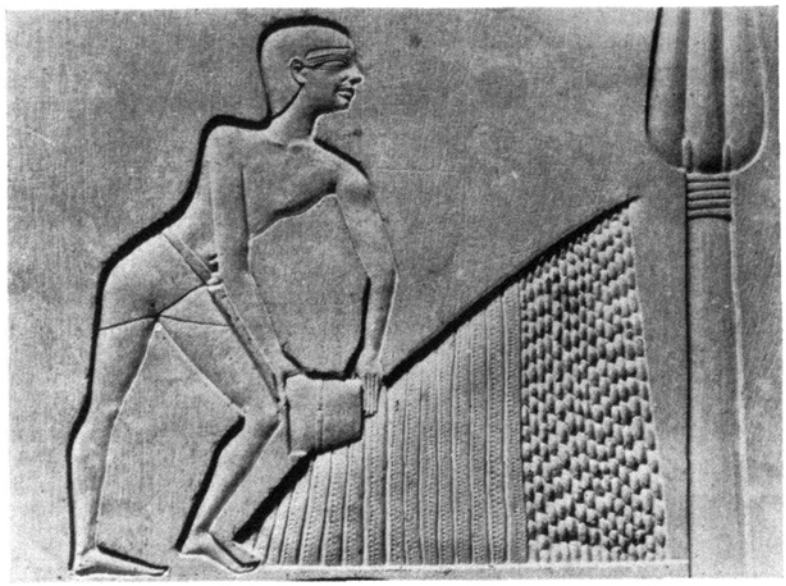


FIG. 9.—A man measuring out grain with a *ḥḳꜣt*-measure. From a sarcophagus in the Cairo Museum. Photograph kindly furnished by Dr. Schott.

After the items of cooked foods in each list the scribe, as is usual in Egyptian documents, totaled up the units of various kinds which he had just given. In these totals he classified the foods under six heads: bread, cakes, sweets, beer, a second form of sweets known as *bnr-nḏꜣ*, and cereals or meal. Every list contained bread and beer, the former in far larger quantities than the latter. All except some of the shorter lists contained cakes. A few lists included the cereals, and only two or three the sweets. After these totals the scribe gave the quantities of both Upper Egyptian grain and Lower Egyptian grain which were required. These totals are given in sacks, *ḥḳꜣt*-measures (Fig. 9), and fractions of the latter.

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Coming now to the last part of the offering list, we find that it named a miscellaneous lot of objects that were either not cooked or in the preparation of which no grain was used. Among these items certain offerings regularly occur in practically every list. These are *r*-geese, *ś*ᶜ*š*-fowl, wine, incense, fruit, and flowers. In the longer lists these are supplemented by other foods—meats, vegetables, fats, oils, and honey. The last three were used in the preparation of the cooked foods and, as far as the fats and oils go, in the illumination accompanying the presentation of offerings (Fig. 10).[21] There is also listed, in the case of the Sokar series of feasts, a considerable amount of temple furniture, which does not appear in connection with any other feasts.

The quantity of any miscellaneous objects supplied is not as a rule very large. Of the *r*-geese the usual number is one or two, a brace being the regular quantity for the daily offerings. The *ś*ᶜ*š*-fowl and the measures of incense, fruit, and flowers generally run to five only, though occasionally they are increased by multiples of five and in a few instances are restricted to amounts smaller than five. The quantity of wine is more variable, but is uniformly small. Possibly the difference in amount between the cooked foods and those in the miscellaneous lists may be accounted for by the fact that bread is the staple article of diet in the East, meat and vegetables being regarded merely as accompaniments of the bread, together with the probability that the members of the temple staff, who ultimately consumed a large part of the offerings, included only a few who would receive the choicer foods of the miscellaneous items, whereas most of the priesthood would, except on the occasion of a special feast, receive only bread and beer.

The lists are full of material that is but little understood today but is pregnant with elusive suggestions. Some of the miscellaneous items seem to have been grouped in larger wholes. Thus we find in several instances, near the close of a list, the item *wpt-r* ᶜ*prt 1*. The usual meaning of *wpt-r* is "opening of the mouth," and that of ᶜ*prt* is "adornment," "equipment"; but here these meanings seem difficult to apply. A solution of the phrase is suggested by line 663, where it is followed by *ỉr.n*, "making," "composed of," which in turn in the next line is succeeded by *dḳt šbnt* ᶜ *24*. Thus we may translate the two lines to-

[21] On such lamps as are illustrated in Fig. 10 see N. de Garis Davies in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* X (1924) 9 ff.

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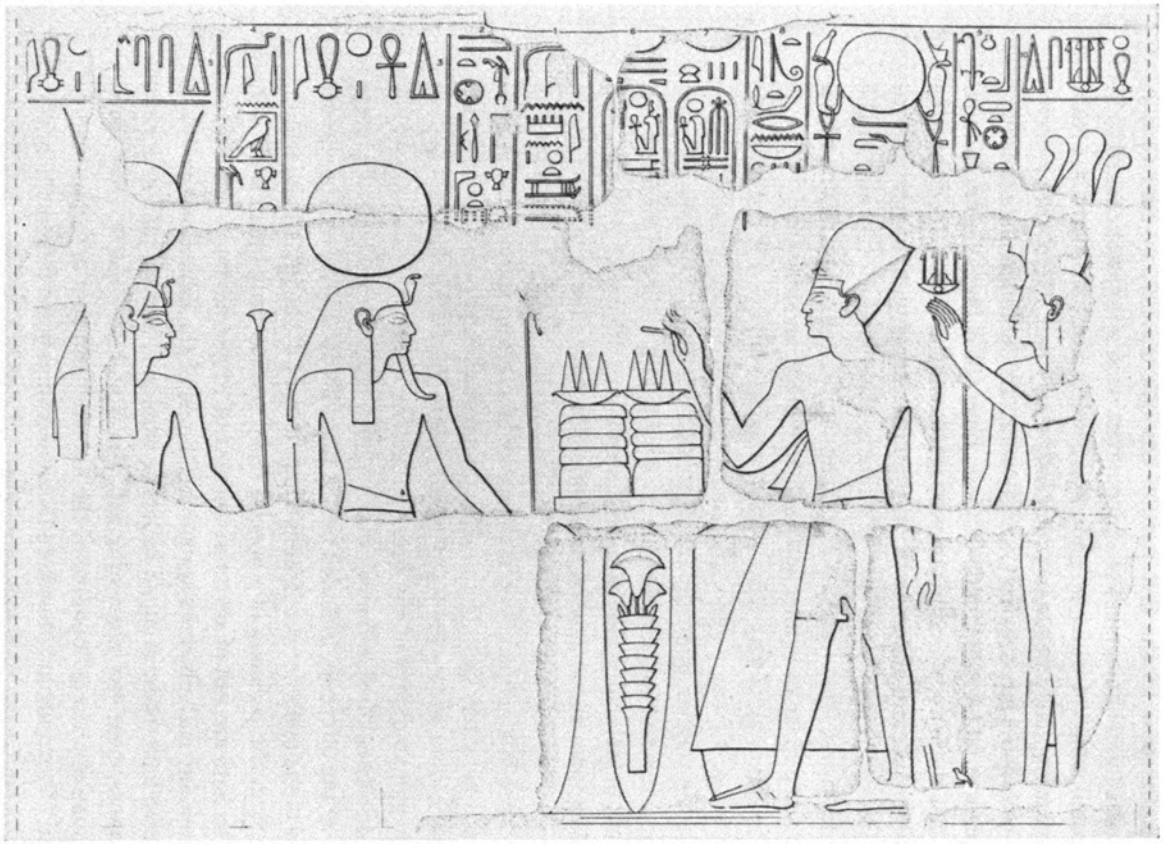


FIG. 10.—Ramses III lighting the lamps upon the altar of offerings. The lamps are conical masses of fatty material formed about a central wick. These were placed upon the top of a heap of offerings and were lighted on specified occasions. All offering-tables were not so equipped. Among the daily offerings that were provided for in List 6 of the Calendar are fat for lights, ½ *ḥnw*-jar daily; *ḥḥ*-oil, 1½ *ḥnw*-jars daily; and strips of linen for the lights each day, 2 *idḳ* a month.

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gether as: "One *wpt-r ᶜprt*, composed of 24 ᶜ-vessels of various fruits." In lines 1464–69 the 24 vessels are given in greater detail:

1 *wpt-r ᶜprt*	composed of	
grapes	ᶜ-vessels	4
figs	"	4
wꜣḫ-fruit	"	4
sycamore figs	"	4
nbś-fruit (jujube)	"	4
tꜣ-nbś	"	4

It seems possible to suppose therefore that *wpt-r ᶜprt* was a collective designation applied to an offering of 6 kinds of fruit contained in 24 ᶜ-vessels, there being 4 vessels of each kind of fruit. We then come back to the meaning of *wpt-r ᶜprt*. I propose tentatively to translate the first term "a mouth-opener," meaning that part of a meal which was eaten first, in this case apparently fruit. The second term, *ᶜprt*, might be the name of the unit of measure, so that we should translate the whole as "a mouth-opener: one *ᶜprt*"; but may we not rather understand *ᶜprt* here as an adjectival form meaning "completely equipped"? The full translation of the phrase would then be "one complete mouth-opener."

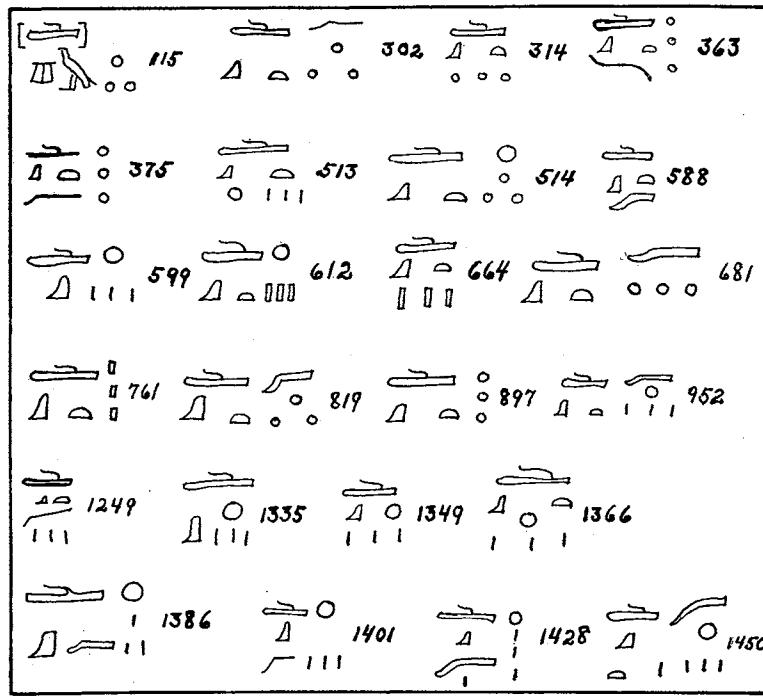
The term *dbḥ-ḥtpt* is used twice in the same manner as *wpt-r ᶜprt*. Lines 364 ff. read "*dbḥ-ḥtpt* 1, composed of . . . . ," with exactly the same list of fruits and in the same quantities as in the case of the *wpt-r ᶜprt*. Whether there is any connection between the two is uncertain (cf. p. 55). In lines 1060 ff. we have "an offering-table for carrying things, consisting of grapes, *ḥnw*-jars 84; figs, *ḥnw*-jars 42; *išd*-fruit, *ḥnw*-jars 42; *nbś*-fruit, *ḥnw*-jars 42." Here the three items of 42 jars each and one of twice 42 jars seem to make up the contents of such an offering-table. The Calendar lists are full of such words and phrases, which were clearly understood and taken for granted by the ancient temple staff but can be only vaguely interpreted by us.

STATE OF THE TEXT

The text of the Calendar, as far as it does not record Ramses III's own new endowments, is very corrupt, obviously having been recopied several times. Some of the corruptions already existed in the Ramesseum text, from which that at Medinet Habu was undoubtedly copied. The unintelligent manner in which the Medinet Habu Calendar inscriptions were treated is characteristic of practically all the

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material from Ramses III's reign. The signs are very carelessly formed, and the orthography and the grouping of the signs are very inconsistent. These characteristics are most noticeable perhaps in the case of the word *dḳt*, "fruit," as indicated by the accompanying table showing the ways in which it is written in the Calendar:



Between the older portions of the Calendar and those listing Ramses III's new gifts to the temple there is a noticeable difference both in contents of the lists and in calligraphy. The last four sections of the document (Lists 58–67), which were inscribed between the two pylons, show in the forms of their signs a closer affinity to the sections dating from Ramses III's day than to the older lists, though probably as regards date of composition they belong with the latter.

It is probable, though not absolutely certain, that the Calendar is incomplete, not covering the entire year. It includes the regular daily offerings, the monthly Feasts of the Sky, and sixty-five days of annual feasts which fall between the first day of the first month of the first season and the fifth day of the first month of the third season. In ad-

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dition there are the Coronation Feast, the Feast of the Valley, and a feast of victory over an unnamed foe (List 5). The first of these occurs on the 26th day of the first month of the third season, the second in the second month of the third season on the day of the new moon, and the last on the 16th day of the third month of the third season. The period covered by the Calendar, not including these three personal feasts of the king, is eight months and five days, or 245 days, leaving 120 days unprovided for. There was thus an average of one annual feast day for every three and four-fifths days of that portion of the year covered by the Calendar, besides the eight regular monthly feasts, which might or might not coincide with other feasts. If the monthly feasts, the Coronation Feast, the Feast of the Valley, and the feast of victory are added to the other annual celebrations, there is a maximum of 164 festival days for the whole period included at Medinet Habu.

RELATIONSHIP TO THE RAMESSEUM CALENDAR

Why more of the Calendar was not inscribed on the wall is difficult to determine. Dr. Schott has called my attention to an inscription, now destroyed, which Champollion copied from one of the tombs in the Theban necropolis,[22] in which the deceased mentions 59 as being the number of festival days observed at Thebes. As Schott has stated in his contribution to this report, his researches on the feasts of Thebes have not led him to suppose that those celebrated in the necropolis could have been much in excess of this number. On the other hand, the foregoing calculations include other than the necropolis feasts. If, however, the Calendar is deficient in the number of its feast days, the most likely explanation for such a lack is the mechanical manner in which most of the work at Medinet Habu was carried out. Wherever we can trace the Ramesseum original of a Medinet Habu inscription, the copy shows that it was made without thought for the content, but purely mechanically. Probably the scribes were instructed to transfer to papyrus and then to the wall of Ramses III's new temple the calendar of his great predecessor. The work on the wall, then, may have proceeded until stopped by lack of space. Yet the scribes must have been aware that the Pharaoh planned the erection of the

[22] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* I (Paris, 1844) 512.

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palace that covered part of the wall between the pylons. Perhaps they simply inscribed the Calendar up to the second pylon as fully as the Ramesseum original required and then trusted that they would be able to include the remainder of the lists within the space finally available between the pylons. This explanation would, of course, argue that the temple west of the second pylon was so far completed that the wall decorations could be finished before the first court and the palace were near completion. There is evidence in the latter part of the Calendar that an effort was made to economize space by compressing the miscellaneous items into smaller space than usual. On the other hand, failure to record the entire number of feasts, if there was such a failure, may have been due to similar omission at the Ramesseum.

The evidence for the content of the Ramesseum Calendar rests on some 43 fragments of it carved on stones which were taken from the south wall of the Ramesseum in later times and were used by the Ptolemies for building additions to the small 18th dynasty temple at Medinet Habu (Fig. 11). In 1881 Duemichen published[23] 30 of these fragments, presumably all that were visible aboveground in his day. Since then excavation has disclosed thirteen more blocks, whereas one of those visible to Duemichen has lost its inscription through the decay of the stone surface. Duemichen rightly recognized that these Ramesseum fragments were all that remained of the source for portions at least of the Medinet Habu Calendar and assigned a number of them to the correct positions in that document. Of the 43 fragments now known, we have been able to locate all but six in their proper places in the inscription. Those which can be located all come from Sections 9–34 of the text as preserved at Medinet Habu, that is, from portions that do not include new endowments of Ramses III.

In locating the Ramesseum fragments in the Medinet Habu text (Fig. 12) it soon became apparent not only that the text had been copied verbatim by Ramses III's scribes, but that it had been reinscribed at Medinet Habu in exactly the same physical form as at the Ramesseum. The number of lines was the same in a Ramesseum section as at the later temple. Mistakes which occur in the earlier version were copied slavishly in the later. The only difference in the

[23] In his *Die kalendarischen Opferfest-Listen im Tempel von Medinet-Habu* (Leipzig, 1881).

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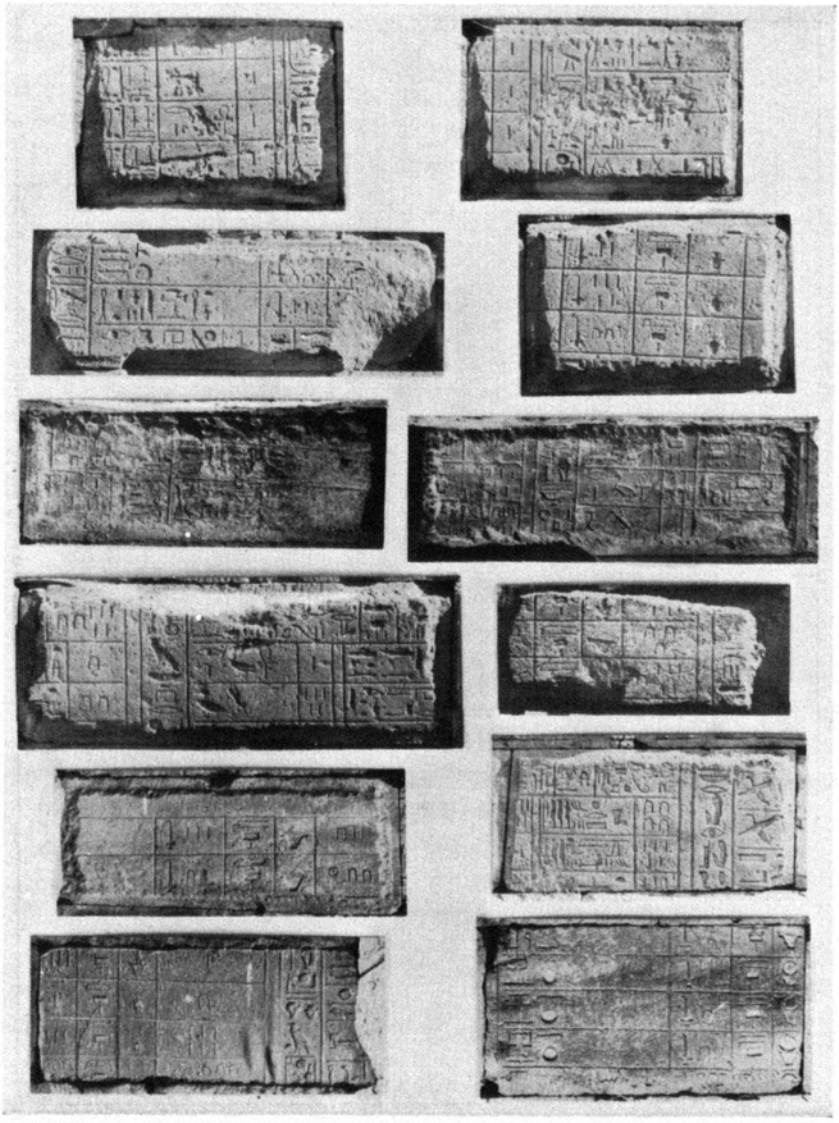


FIG. 11.—A group of stones taken from the Ramesseum and re-used in the Ptolemaic additions to the Small Temple at Medinet Habu. On these stones are inscribed portions of the Ramesseum Calendar which are exact duplicates of corresponding passages in the Medinet Habu Calendar and show that Ramses III's scribes secured the copy for their text from the temple of Ramses II.

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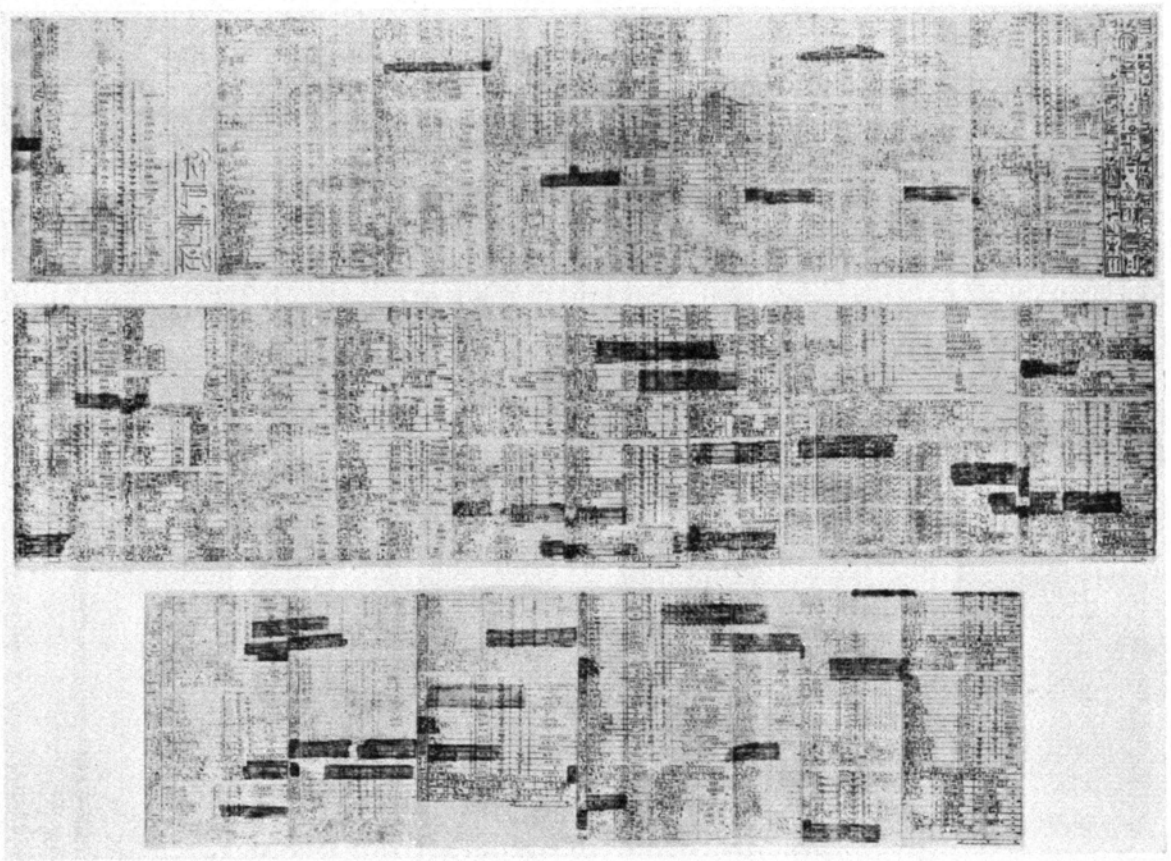


FIG. 12.—Diagram of the Medinet Habu Calendar, with dark patches showing Ramesseum fragments. By superimposing the older Calendar fragments on the later inscription it is possible to demonstrate that the former was the source from which the latter was slavishly copied, even to the number of lines in each column and the number of columns in the whole.

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arrangement of the two texts arose from the intrusion into the area of the Calendar at Medinet Habu of the top of the door that led from outside into the second court. This door projected upward above the bottom of the Calendar to the extent of seven or eight lines of text. To compensate for this loss of space the Medinet Habu scribes began two sections before they reached the door to compress the lines of the inscription into a smaller space. The doorway intrudes into Section 30. Section 28 has 40 horizontal lines of text; Section 29, which is of the same size, has 44 lines of text. Then comes Section 30, the one directly over the door, with only 36 lines. Section 31 has 41 lines, as have the succeeding sections. By this method the scribes were able to secure five extra lines, distributed between the sections immediately before and immediately following the shortened section. Elsewhere than in Sections 29–31 surviving Ramesseum fragments which include parts of adjacent sections show exact correspondence in the arrangement of the two texts. It is thus apparent that Ramses III's scribes attempted to reproduce the Ramesseum Calendar as a unit on the wall at Medinet Habu, retaining as far as possible the physical form of the older inscription.

The Ramesseum fragments have filled one or two minor lacunae. They show also that the 20th dynasty scribes, though they copied the Ramesseum text verbatim, did not copy the forms of the hieroglyphs. The style of the characters in the two texts is quite different. Some of the peculiarities of the earlier text were, however, retained. It is interesting to note on the one hand that the Ramesseum text is more compact longitudinally than is that of Medinet Habu, whereas on the other hand it is taller than the later text. This latter fact would be accounted for by the greater size of the Ramesseum. The former fact would suggest that the earlier text occupied a smaller proportion of Ramses II's temple wall than was devoted to the Calendar at Ramses III's sanctuary.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE BACKGROUND

The economic organization necessary to ensure prompt and regular delivery at the temple of supplies not only for the monthly and annual feasts but for the daily offerings as well must have been extensive and fairly efficient. An army of serfs, directed by numerous officials, would be required to keep the machinery of supply in motion. Papyrus

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Harris[24] puts the number of serfs belonging to the Medinet Habu temple at 62,626. In the Calendar some suggestion is given of the sources from which the various offerings were drawn, but details of the administration are totally lacking. The only mention made of any of the officials involved in the process is in line 1286, where reference is made to the flocks of geese belonging to "this estate (*pr*) under the authority of the overseers (*ꜣ-n-pr*) of the house-of-millions-of-years." Papyrus Harris (Pl. X 1–3) gives a "list of things, cattle, gardens, lands, galleys, workshops, and towns, which Pharaoh—life, prosperity, and health (to him)—gave to the estate (*pr*) of his august father Amon-Re, king of gods, Mut, Khonsu, and all the gods of Thebes, as property forever and ever."[25] The first item in this list is the Medinet Habu temple, which is entered thus: "The house (*ḥt*) of King User-mare-Meriamon—life, prosperity, and health (to him)—in the estate (*pr*) of Amon, in the South and North, under charge of the officials (*śr*) of the temples of this estate (*pr*), equipped with all its things."[26] This, which is about the only other reference we have to the Medinet Habu administration, shows that it was under charge of a group of functionaries who had oversight of all the temples belonging to Amon's estate.

Just below the Calendar, on each side of the doorway leading into the second court, is a procession of offering-bearers bringing into the temple the offerings enumerated in the Calendar (Fig. 13). This relief also was probably copied from the Ramesseum, though no portion of such a scene has there survived. At Abydos there is a similar though more complete relief showing the offerings being brought to the temple that Ramses II erected there (Fig. 14). Such representations picture what must have gone on, probably every day, at the side door of the temple, which, because it was nearest to the storehouses, seems to have been regularly used for the entrance of the daily supplies. There stands the priest of the temple, the "god-servant," baton in hand, to receive the offerings as they arrive. Accompanying him is a temple scribe to record the total of the offerings received, which record probably went into the books of the temple steward. There also was the lector priest, to burn the inevitable incense before the offerings and to recite the proper formula of the ritual. The two priests are there, as

[24] Pl. X 3; see Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV § 223.

[25] Cf. Breasted, *op. cit.* § 222.

[26] Cf. *ibid.* § 223.

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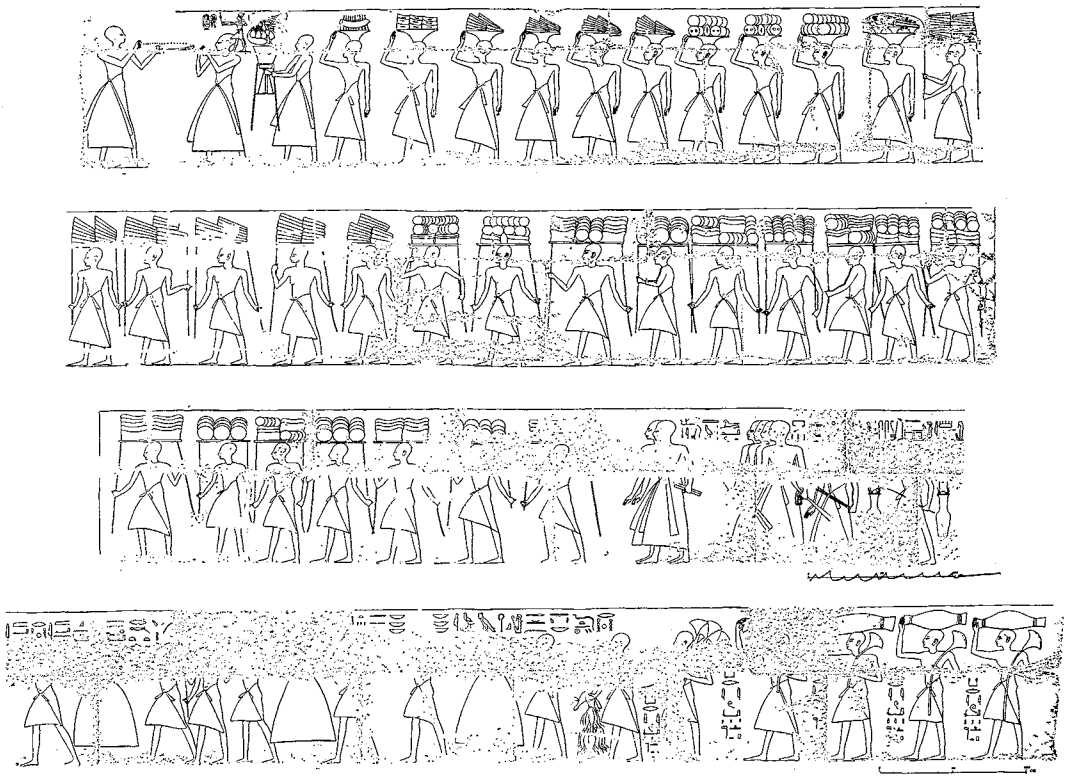


FIG. 13.—Porters and workmen from the various portions of the "estate of Amon" bringing in supplies for the daily offerings. At the head of the procession a priest with a censer faces a man carrying on his shoulder an image of the king in the act of presenting an offering before the god. The latter is followed by a man carrying a stand which holds a large vessel containing all manner of fruit. After him comes a porter with a tray holding conical loaves of bread or possibly cones of incense. Then follow men with trays of various kinds of bread on their heads. Some of the trays are steadied by cords attached to each end. These are items mentioned in the first part of each list. Then follow the overseers of the magazines in which were stored the items of the miscellaneous portions of the lists. At the end of the third row is a man with two milk pails hung from a yoke across his shoulders. In the fourth row are men with large sacks of various offerings, followed by a fowler with a quantity of geese. Bringing up the rear of the procession are the gardeners, with flowers and vegetables.

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always throughout the temple service, officiating in place of the king. It is therefore interesting to see that heading the procession of bearers is a man carrying on his shoulder a small image of the king, which image is represented as performing the rites which the two priests

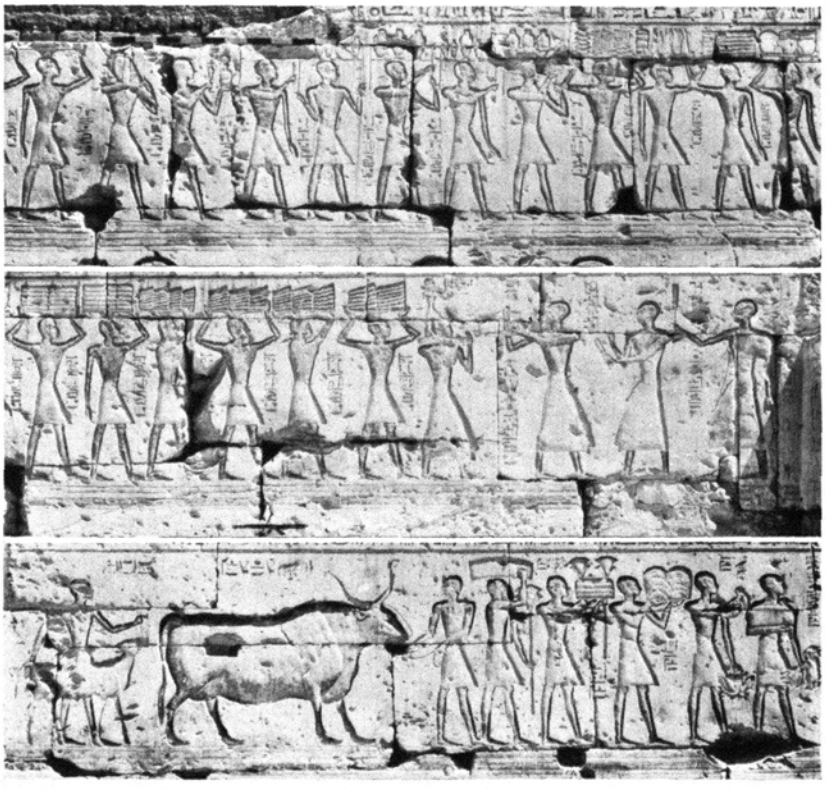


FIG. 14.—A portion of the scene showing the reception of offerings by the priests of Ramses II's temple at Abydos. This is a more elaborate relief than the corresponding one at Medinet Habu. This relief and that at Medinet Habu present a picture of the regular daily routine connected with the arrangements for the provisioning of the temple and the maintenance of its services. A large portion of the population of Egypt must have been employed in this and other ways connected with the vast ecclesiastical institutions of the country.

actually carried out in the king's name. Both priests and statue were thus substitutes for the monarch, and we shall see later that the image too received its due share of good things.

Following the man with the statue comes a long line of porters, each with a quantity of the objects provided for in the Calendar list

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for that day, arranged in the same order as in the lists. First come the bearers of the two most common breads (*byt* and *psn*), with the various sizes of each as specified in the lists. Then follow men with the fruit bread and the cakes, then those with the jars of beer. These are all materials mentioned in the first part of each list. In turn come the bearers of wine and other offerings. In a long procession they pass down the narrow lanes within the temple inclosure, bringing supplies from the temple storehouses or from the gardens and fields and herds of the temple property. Day by day this line of bearers appeared, and day by day they were received by the temple staff in the king's name. On feast days the line must have been longer and the offerings more varied, but the ceremony was probably the same.

The Abydos relief adds at the rear of the procession one man leading a huge fatted ox and another with a calf. Over the former animal is the legend, "ox of the day of the feast for the divine offerings," and over the latter the words "calf of the daily offerings." The fatted animal was thus reserved for special feasts, whereas the smaller calf would do for the daily requirements. At Medinet Habu these members of the procession are lacking, probably on account of space; but within the temple, in Rooms 5 and 6, we see just what was done with the ox and the calf when they entered the temple. These two rooms constitute what we have called the "slaughterhouse," though whether the animals were actually slaughtered there or their carcasses merely cut up is difficult to say. That the rooms were designed to receive the live animals is suggested by the fact that the larger of the two, Room 5 (Fig. 15), is only half roofed, as though it were specially desirable to secure light within. The process of slaughtering and dismembering the animal offerings must have demanded more light than was usually found in the interior of the temple.

On entering Room 5 one encounters on the left side of the entrance passage a figure of the king, baton in hand, with the inscription: "Pure offering consisting of oxen, *rnnwt*-cattle, hornless cattle, and oryxes for thy ka, O my father Amon-Re, since thou decreest for me the kingship" (Fig. 16). The walls of the room are covered with representations that show it to be a place for the preparation of meat offerings. On the right-hand wall are three registers (Fig. 17) reminiscent of the slaughtering scenes in the private tombs. In the lowest register four huge stalled oxen with hooves grown long from lack of use are led

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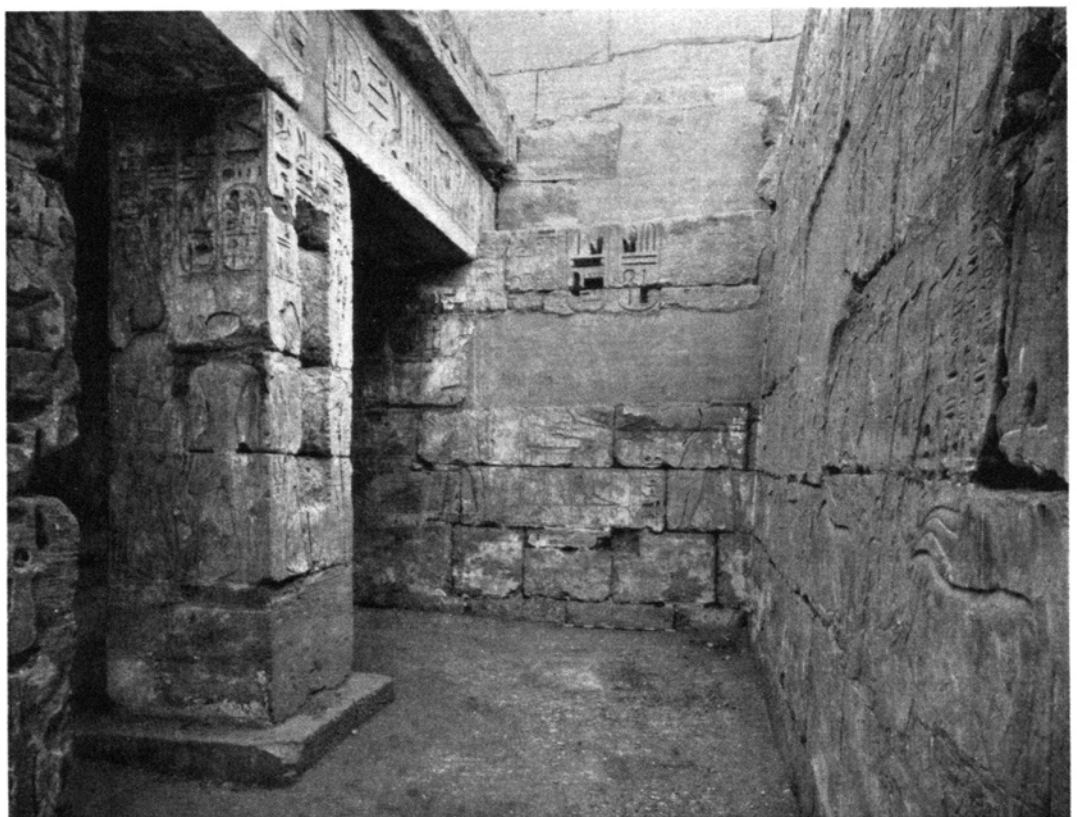


FIG. 15.—Room 5 of the temple slaughterhouse, opening off the north side of the first hypostyle hall. The walls are decorated with reliefs showing the preparation of meat offerings and their presentation to the gods. Whether the animals were actually slaughtered here or whether the butchering was done elsewhere and the carcasses merely cut up in this room is somewhat uncertain, but the evidence of the reliefs would point to the actual killing having taken place in this room. From it leads another room (No. 6) totally dark save for the feeble light that enters through the door.

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FIG. 16.—Ramses III, with the *ḥrp*-baton in his right hand, entering the temple slaughterhouse. This baton was used by the king in the ceremony connected with the presentation of the great offerings of slaughtered animals which are depicted here and there on the temple walls. On such occasions he acted as "feast leader" or chief officiant.

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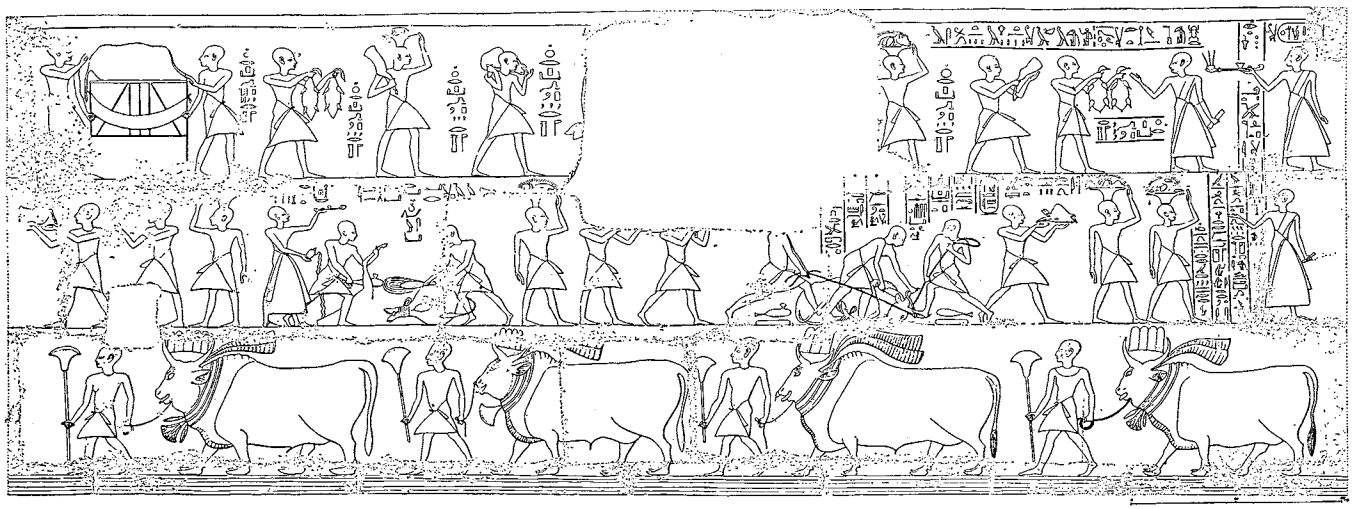


FIG. 17.—The slaughtering and cutting-up of animals for the meat offerings of the temple. The huge fatted oxen below, decked with ribbons and flowers, are shown in the second register thrown and butchered. In the top register two men at the extreme left are carrying the carcass of an animal on an offering-stand. At the extreme right the temple priests receive the portions of meat and urge the butchers on to greater diligence. Men are shown carrying on their heads flat dishes containing portions of the slaughtered animals covered with leaves to keep off the dirt and flies, a practice still common in the East.

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by men each of whom bears in his hand what may be a lotus flower, though this is very uncertain. The oxen are decorated with garlands about their necks and with feathers or the like between their horns. In the second register the cattle are thrown and their feet tied while the butcher cuts their throats and the priest, with censer and libation jug, performs the rites necessary to ensure the proper ceremonial purity of the meat. Servants are hastening forward with portions of the slaughtered animals, while a priest calls out to them: "Hurry up, you servants there, and do your duty," to which they reply: "We are hurrying to make the roasts." Altogether it is a busy scene, such as occurred in the temple on any great feast day. On the other walls of Rooms 5 and 6 the king is depicted offering large quantities of meat: whole carcasses or portions of cattle, gazelles, oryxes, ibexes, etc., which form what was called a "great *ꜣbt*" or oblation. At this offering the king always seems to officiate with the baton (the same instrument that the royal statue carried in the procession of offering-bearers), which he waves over the food presented. Four times in these two rooms this great offering is presented; and each time the Pharaoh officiates, baton in hand.

Many traces of color are preserved on the walls of the slaughterhouse, especially under the half-roof of Room 5 and in Room 6, which is entirely inclosed. It is interesting to note that, whereas elsewhere in the temple Amon is regularly colored the blue of lapis lazuli, here he is a dead white, the details of beard, eyes, eyebrows, etc., being indicated in black (Fig. 18). Why this distinction is made here we cannot yet determine. There is considerable difference also in the form and details of the same sign in various parts of the room. Even the vulture goddess assumes varying details from one to another of her representations. The Medinet Habu artist was never consistent. Our paleography, accumulated during the progress of the expedition, presents an astonishing variety of forms for almost every sign. The same is true of the figures of the king and the gods, which conform only very roughly to any one standard. Like the content of the inscriptions and the very structure of the building itself, the hieroglyphs show a careless and mechanical style that is characteristic of most of the Medinet Habu art.

Back of the offering-bearers and the slaughterhouse and the priests who stood at the temple door each day was a vast organization:

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gardens and fields to provide the green stuffs, fruit, flowers, and grain; flocks and herds to furnish fowl and cattle; magazines and workshops for the preparation and storage of all manner of supplies; and an army of laborers, mostly serfs or slaves, under overseers and administrators, to till the fields, tend the cattle, prepare the cooked foods, and manufacture all sorts of temple equipment. The Calendar unfortunately gives us only a glimpse of this machine and the manner of its functioning.

SOURCES OF THE OFFERINGS

As we have seen, the lists in the Calendar fall into two groups, new endowments instituted by Ramses III and the older, traditional supplies which seem to have been merely confirmed by him shortly after his accession. In the case of the former, the sources from which the various items of the lists were to be drawn are carefully specified; whereas for the latter, only the granary which furnished the grain for the cooked foods is mentioned. The lists of the second group are copied directly from the Ramesseum Calendar, where similarly only the source of the grain is given, the miscellaneous items being listed without reference to the department of government responsible for their supply. Presumably under some earlier reign, when the calendar of the mortuary temples in the Theban necropolis was first drawn up, a document was prepared stating clearly the division of the temple or the state fisc that was required to furnish each of the various offerings given to the gods. Quite probably such a document, recorded on papyrus, reposed in the archives of each of the temples in succession as they were built and began to function. A new pharaoh would be required simply to decree for his own temple a duplication of the regulations of his predecessors, with such additions thereto as his desires, or changed conditions, might require.

The chief source of supply for the offerings made at Medinet Habu was the estate (*pr*) of the god Amon. This was a comprehensive term, apparently embracing all the possessions of the great Amon foundation, including numerous temples, each with its complex of buildings and property of various kinds in different parts of Egypt. Several departments of this "estate" are mentioned in the Calendar; the chief of them, as regards the Medinet Habu revenue, was the estate of the temple itself. This unit is spoken of either as "the house-of-millions-of-years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon,

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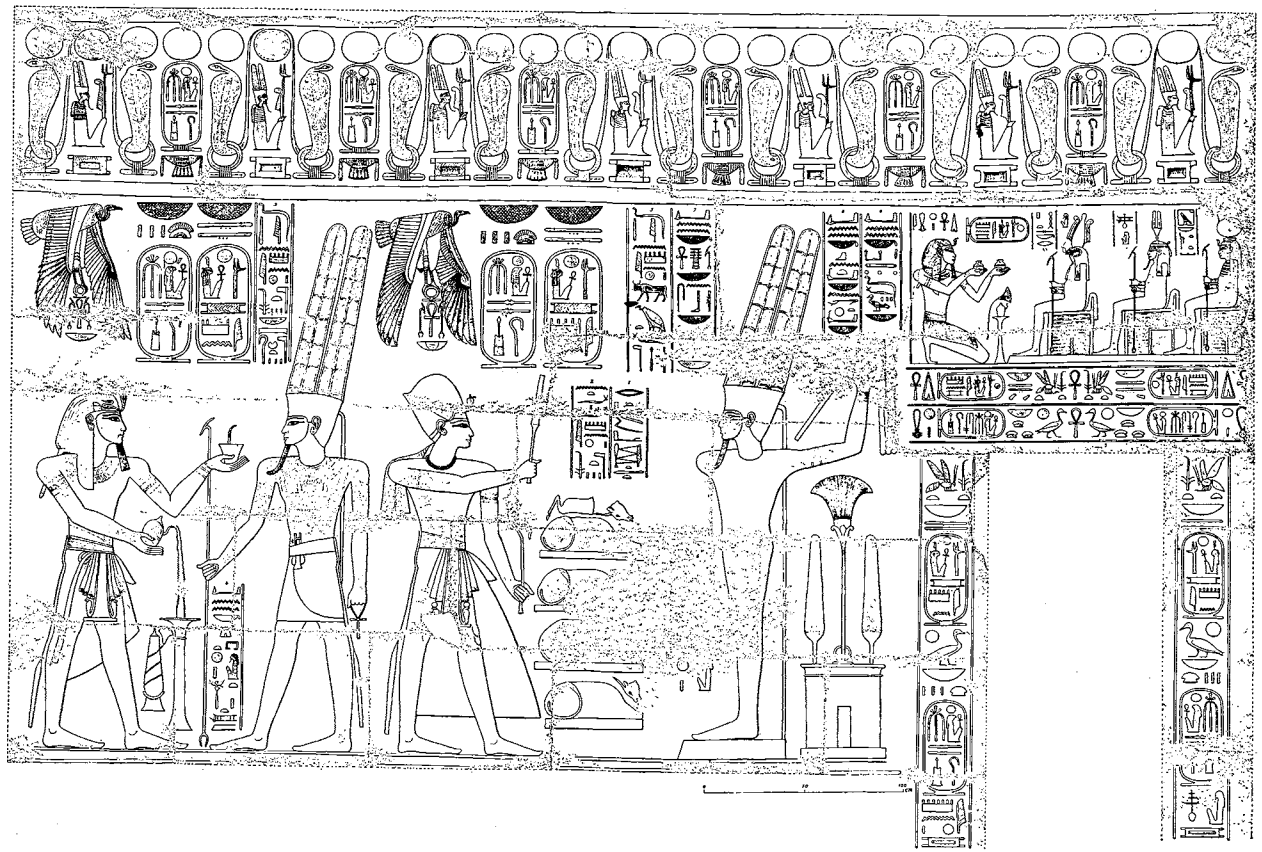


FIG. 18.—The west wall of the slaughterhouse at Medinet Habu, showing on the left the king presenting incense and a libation before Amon-Re, king of gods, and in the center the king offering a "great oblation" before Amon-Re-Kamutef. Both figures of Amon in this scene have white flesh instead of the traditional blue.

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in the estate of Amon" or simply as "the estate" or "the house," this latter term being used loosely to refer either to the temple alone or to the temple and its property. There are numerous subdivisions of this subsidiary "estate" of Ramses III's mortuary temple, including the treasury, the gardens, the magazines, the granaries, the herds, and the storehouse of tribute. The temple is probably twice referred to as "the estate (or house) (*pr*) of Usermare-Meriamon in the estate (*pr*) of Amon," the term *pr* being used in these instances instead of the more specific *ḥt* to refer to Medinet Habu.

In addition to that portion of Amon's estate which was controlled directly by the Medinet Habu administration, the calendar mentions other departments of his property also as sources of supply for the temple: the fields of the tenant farmers, the treasury, the magazines, the granaries, and the herds. That these are not parts of the Medinet Habu estate but belong to some other section of the god's possessions seems possible from the fact that all reference to Medinet Habu in connection with them is omitted and, more especially, because in line 58 of the Calendar (cf. Fig. 5), where the sources of the grain for the Pharaoh's new contributions to the daily offerings are indicated, a distinction between the granary of the Medinet Habu temple and that of Amon-Re, king of gods, is clearly implied. One of the outline-draftsmen who sketched on the wall the copy for the stonecutters engaged in carving the Calendar first specified the "granary of the house-of-millions-of-years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon," as the department from which the grain required was due. This copy the sculptor followed. Then, either because the scribe who set the copy had made a mistake or because there was some change of allocation, the "granary of Amon-Re, king of gods," was substituted for that of the Medinet Habu temple. Here a clear distinction seems to be made between the *pr* of the Medinet Habu temple and that of Amon-Re, king of gods. Possibly the latter belonged to the great Karnak temple, which was thus called on to help out with supplies for the king's new mortuary foundation; or perhaps the reference was merely to the general granaries of the estate, not to those specifically belonging to Medinet Habu.

In addition to demands upon the estate of Amon, requisitions against the "estate (*pr*) of his majesty" were authorized. Under this head gardens, fields of the tenant farmers, and the treasury of Pharaoh

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are mentioned. There is notice also of the "gardens of divine offerings" and the "pure magazine," but without reference to the administrative whole to which they belonged.

An interesting source of supply remains to be mentioned, namely "the gardens of the estate (*pr*) of Usermare-Meriamon who makes festive Thebes." This estate or temple does not seem to be otherwise known, though in Papyrus Harris there is mentioned a feast founded by Ramses III and known as "Usermare-Meriamon—life, prosperity, and health (to him)—making festive Thebes for Amon."[27] This feast is apparently the king's coronation festival, but whether there is any connection between the festival and the estate is unknown.

In assigning the various items to the different sources of supply an obvious division is followed. The gardens furnish flowers, vegetables, wine, living *r*-geese, and *ś*ᶜ*š*-fowl.[28] So it would seem that there were poultry yards and fattening houses attached to the gardens. But in other cases fowl are charged to the herds (*mnmnt*) of the estate. In such cases, then, fowl were included in the herds separate from the gardens and kept under different supervision. The granary was, of course, the source of the grain demanded for the large quantities of bread, cakes, and beer which formed the staples of every list. In one instance the Calendar goes back of the granary to the land which produced the grain and specifies that the "fields of the tenant farmers of the estate of his majesty" are required to furnish the necessary cereals. From the treasury came oil, fruit, incense, and wine. The herds, besides the fowl already mentioned, supplied cattle and milk. The fields of the tenant farmers yielded grain and charcoal. The "magazine of tribute" or "of imposts" (*wḏ*ȝ *n ỉnw*) belonging to the estate was the source of salt and natron.

One department, the general magazine (*šn*ᶜ), is always referred to in a manner different from that in which the other administrative

[27] Pl. XVII*a* 2–3; see Breasted, *op. cit.* § 237.

[28] The gardeners with their contributions to the daily offerings appear at the end of the procession of porters in Fig. 13, carrying flowers and bundles of some sort on their heads, possibly vegetables done up in packages. In M. Werbrouck and B. van de Walle, *La tombe de Nakht* (Bruxelles, 1929), we have a publication of the tomb of a man who was "gardener of the divine offerings of Amon" and also apparently "bearer of the offering-table of Amon," just such a person as is shown on the relief in Fig. 13. His son succeeded him in his position. Throughout the reliefs in the tomb of Nakht the offerings presented are almost exclusively flowers, as befitted a gardener.

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units are mentioned. Whereas from all other sources specific items are requisitioned, nothing detailed is demanded of this one, but it receives a blanket order for an entire list of offerings. This magazine is mentioned in the Calendar four times (lines 59, 124–25, 553, and 860); in each case it would seem to be designated as the source of supply for the entire list that follows. It was evidently not a specialized storehouse like the granary (*šnwt*), where grain alone seems to have been stored, but was a general storehouse where supplies of all kinds were kept or prepared. A picture of its inclusive character is given in Papyrus Harris,[29] where Ramses III states: "I made for thee storehouses (*šnᶜw*) for the Feast of Appearances with male and female slaves. I supplied them with bread, beer, oxen, fowl, wine, incense, fruit, vegetables, flowers, pure offerings before thee every day." It was thus the clearing-house for the entire output of the estate in question.[30]

Turning now to the lists themselves, we find that as already noted they fall into two groups: new endowments created by Ramses III and old endowments merely reaffirmed by him.

THE NEW ENDOWMENTS CREATED BY RAMSES III

The new endowments of Ramses III (Lists 1–5) are specifically stated to be "an increase of (or addition to) that which was formerly." These consist first of the evening and morning offerings, the latter of which seems to have been placed on a "great jar-stand of gold which his majesty made newly in the great forecourt of the house of Amon-Re, king of gods."[31] Then follow two lists, one for each of the days of

[29] Pl. VI 2.

[30] On p. 14 the king, in his introductory address to Amon, enumerates various branches of the estate of Amon: the herds, fields, and landed property of various kinds; the game preserves; the magazines to which went the spoil from the wars; the granaries where the grain was stored; and the treasury which held gold and silver. These same sources of supply are constantly mentioned throughout the Calendar.

[31] Such jar-stands were wooden structures overlaid with gold and silver and decorated with inlay of costly stones. They were made in the form of tables with tops rising in one or two steps or shelves, much as does a stand for flowerpots. On these shelves stood jars of gold and silver, containers for beer and wine. They are regularly said to have stood in the "great forecourt" (*wbȝ*) of the temple. The contents of the jars seems to have been specially designed for the morning and evening offerings.

Ramses III refers to a number of such stands. Papyrus Harris, Pl. VI 1 (see

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the Feast of the Valley. This feast occurred in the second month of the third season "whenever the new moon brings it," as the Egyptian said, and centered around the visit paid by the cult image of Amon of Karnak to the temples in the necropolis. As the Calendar puts it, the offerings were to be made "during the first ('second' in the second list) day of the resting of this august god, Amon-Re, king of gods, in the house-of-millions-of-years." Finally comes a feast celebrating a victory over an unnamed foe on the 16th day of the third month of the third season of an unspecified year. Which one of Ramses III's wars is referred to in this list we have no means of knowing. The first Libyan war occurred in the fifth year of the reign, and the war with the northern peoples in the eighth year; but no month or day of any battle is given. The second Libyan war occurred in the king's eleventh year. The Calendar provides for a feast of victory for this latter war (Lists 53–55), which was held on the 28th day of the first month of the first season, possibly the day of the crucial battle. The inscription in the first

Breasted, *op. cit.* § 199), records one, presented to Amon for the "forecourt" of the Karnak temple, which was equipped exclusively with jars of gold. Papyrus Harris, Pls. XXVIII 11 (see Breasted, *op. cit.* § 269) and XLVIII 5 (see Breasted, *op. cit.* § 327), lists similar stands for Re of Heliopolis and Ptah of Memphis with vessels of both gold and silver. Several times at his little temple, which was later partly included in the first court of Karnak, Ramses III mentions the vase-stand (once in the plural) which he constructed for Amon and which also stood in the "forecourt." There is reference to one which was presented to the Khonsu temple at Karnak. In addition to these five there seems to have been one at Medinet Habu, as line 57 of the Calendar implies. There are also still other references to such stands.

Whether or not such vase-stands were placed before the cult image of the god at the time when the ritual offerings were presented is uncertain. Frequently the drinks seem to have been removed from the stands and deposited below or beside the offering-tables, as is shown in the reliefs. That the stands supplied with beer or wine stood in the open forecourt of the temple is difficult to believe. The word "forecourt" (*wbȝ*) is sometimes used loosely for the temple itself or the larger part of it. In his offering inscription at Karnak, Ramses III says: "His majesty commanded to establish divine offerings for his father, Amon-Re, newly upon his great and august offering-table, rich of food, which remains before him every day." The offering-table thus stood in the sanctuary before the cult image, but the vase-stand with the drink is expressly placed in another part of the temple. The vase-stand at Medinet Habu seems to have been equipped with *šṯy*-jars of gold which contained beer. The stand at the small temple at Karnak bore *snkyt*-jars for beer of the same shape as the jars at Medinet Habu, to judge from the details of the hieroglyph for the word. Such jars are mentioned only in connection with the daily service of the temple, not as carrying supplies for any of the monthly or annual feasts.

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court of the temple, narrating this victory, begins: "Year 11, fourth month of the third season, day $10+x$, of King Ramses III." Neither date agrees with the month and day of List 5. It is likely, therefore, that this unidentified feast was instituted in honor of the victory of year 5 or that of year 8. The list of offerings for it is not as elaborate as that for the victory of year 11. In fact, it is the simplest list for any of the feasts, consisting, as far as cooked foods are concerned, merely of beer and the two commonest sorts of bread, but the number of loaves of bread and of jugs of beer offered is fairly large.

THE OLD ENDOWMENTS CONFIRMED BY RAMSES III

The lists of old endowments begin with the daily offerings. The supplies here enumerated are said to have been "established" by Ramses III, but are not stated to be founded "newly" as was the case with the earlier lists. Moreover, wherever new feasts are instituted, the sources of supply for *all* the items of the list of offerings are clearly given, whereas in other lists only the origin of the grain used in the preparation of the cooked foods is specified. This care to indicate the administrative departments that were responsible for all the offerings for a given feast is characteristic of Lists 1–5, which are expressly stated to be new endowments. It obtains also for List 22, the provision for the priests who served before the coronation statue of the king, and for Lists 53–55, the provision for the Feast of Victory over the Meshwesh in year 11, obviously a new endowment of the reign. All these lists are clearly recent creations, and for that reason care had to be taken that each item was charged to the proper department of supply and that the latter could in turn be held responsible for its forthcoming. In the case of all the other lists only the granary which furnished the grain required is given; and all of these lists, on other grounds, seem to be old endowments.

Whence came the endowments for the feasts celebrated in a new temple is a difficult question. While a re-affirmation of an existing temple organization might be the rule on a monarch's accession, a new temple could not be inaugurated without equipping it with lands, herds, gardens, etc., at least as extensive as those of the older foundations. That Ramses III's mortuary temple was an entirely new creation demanding complete equipment and provision for its maintenance and functioning is certain. Why, then, were not all the supplies for all the feasts celebrated within it as well as those for the daily

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service new endowments? And why, therefore, were not the sources of supply indicated? The Calendar gives us no information on this head. In the case of such a temple as that at Karnak it is evident that the dead hand of the foundation carried over from reign to reign the income of the temple, the holdings and fiscal arrangements of which merely needed re-affirmation by the new monarch. But for a mortuary temple newly built this simple solution could not apply unless the economic structure of the Pharaoh's shrine were taken over from some already existing institution along with the whole calendar of feasts and offerings. One is forced to conclude either that all the endowments of Ramses III's temple were newly created for it or that some were diverted from earlier temples in which the celebration of the regular feasts was thereupon abandoned or curtailed. In the latter case the king would not be called upon to establish them "newly" or to specify in detail the sources of the various items in each list. It is hardly likely that the king would state that the endowment for his new temple was appropriated from some predecessor. Perhaps it was a regularly recognized procedure, taken for granted, that the endowments serving for the festival services of a temple during the life of the reigning monarch passed at death automatically to his successor. In Ramses III's case we can scarcely believe that he thus appropriated the endowments of his great predecessor, Ramses II, whose name he seems to have held in special reverence. In his new Medinet Habu shrine he included a room in which rested a sacred bark that sheltered the cult image of Ramses II, the only one of the earlier pharaohs so honored there. Is it possible that this arrangement was to compensate for revenue filched from the Ramesseum and transferred to the new foundation? As earlier temples in the necropolis fell into decay and were abandoned, their lands would naturally be diverted to the uses of new organizations, the needs of which could thus be most easily supplied without depriving other departments of government or of the ecclesiastical institution of their existing sources of revenue. Such transfers would be made in the offices of the "estate of Amon," to which all the mortuary temples at Thebes belonged. The king would be required to provide newly only for such additions to the list as he might choose to make.

On the other hand, we know that some of the temples in the necropolis continued to function after the founder's death. Neferhotep,

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superintendent of the oxen of Amon, who lived under King Eye, prays that he may "smell the incense of the offerings when there is a gathering(?) in the temple of Ḥenket-ʿōnekh" (the mortuary temple of Thutmose III).[32] It would seem, then, that Thutmose III's temple must have been functioning under the reign of Eye. Records of tomb robberies and a necropolis journal furnish ample evidence that several of the temples on the west side were in use toward the end of the 20th dynasty, though they were subject to sporadic spoliation. We do not seem to have sufficient data from which to determine the usual procedure. That a clear distinction was made between feasts newly provided for and other feasts not thus newly endowed is manifest. That in the former case care was taken to specify from which part of the estate of Amon all the items of any list were due is also evident. In the case of the latter feasts only the granary which furnished the grain was recorded, and this provision was copied verbatim from the Ramesseum Calendar. Obviously, as regards the remaining items of each list among the older feasts, it was taken for granted whence they were derived, at least as far as our document is concerned.

THE DAILY OFFERINGS

While the new endowments of the king differentiated between the offerings for the morning of each day and those for the regular evening service, the old endowments do not make such a distinction, but lump all the daily offerings in one list. The amount of food thus provided was very large (Fig. 19). Ramses III gave newly some 3,357 loaves of bread, 30 cakes, 20 dishes of sweets, 60 jugs of beer, besides wines, fowl, flesh, incense, fruit, vegetables, milk, etc. In addition to this considerable list the re-affirmed old endowments yielded 2,322 loaves of bread, 24 cakes, 144 jugs of beer, 14 dishes of sweets, 12 containers of grain, and an extensive list of wine, fowl, fruit, etc. They provided, moreover, for honey, to be used in the making of the cakes and sweets, and fat, oil, and wicks for lamps. Both lists specify also a quantity of charcoal daily, probably used in connection with the burning of incense and the burnt offerings. The whole provision for the daily service thus totals more than 5,500 loaves of bread, more than 50 cakes, 34 dishes of sweets, 204 jugs of beer, and an extensive array of

[32] Davies, *The Tomb of Nefer-ḥotep* I (Metropolitan Museum of Art Egyptian Expedition, "Publications" IX [New York, 1933]) 53.

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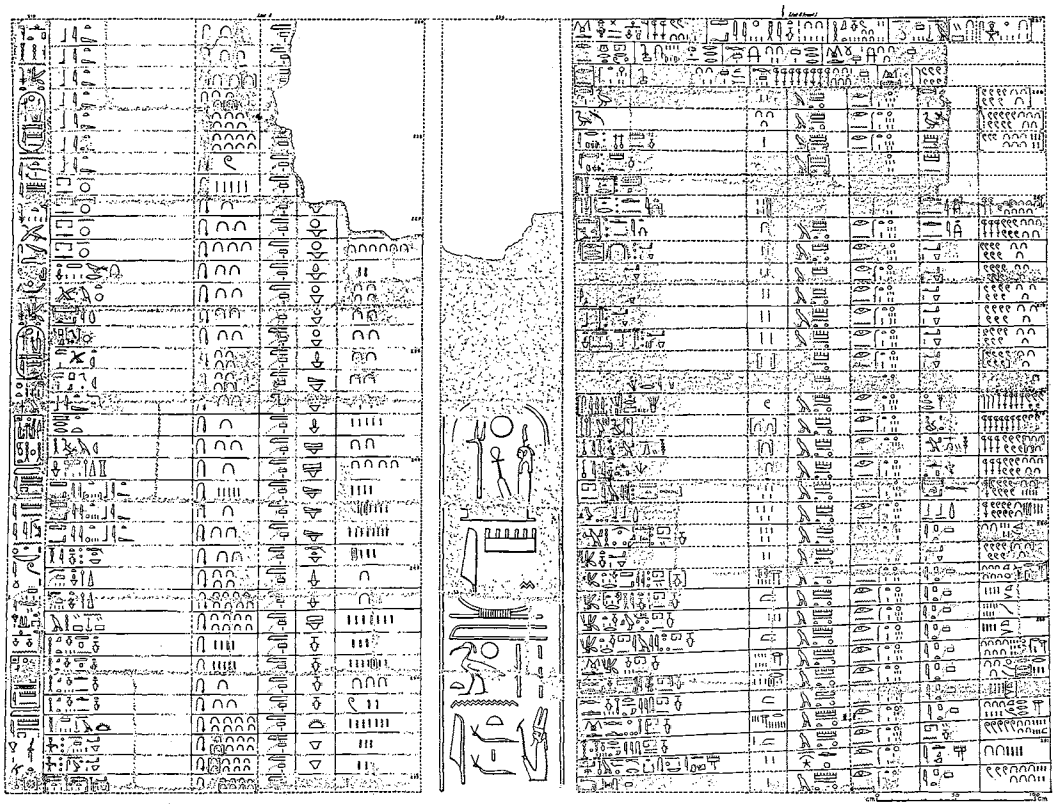


FIG. 19.—The list of supplies provided for the daily service of the temple. These are old endowments confirmed by Ramses III. The grain for the cooked food is summarized by both the day and the year plus the five intercalary days, and the same is true of the individual items in the later or miscellaneous part of the list. The very precise nature of these records is demonstrated by the careful designation of the fractions of units of the various offerings provided.

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other foods. It seems hardly credible that this food was all placed on the altars of the Medinet Habu temple every day. Many of the loaves were small, probably for ceremonial purposes; but at best there would not have been room to hold the entire lot, especially in addition to the further quantities offered at the monthly and annual feasts. We must suppose that a considerable portion went directly to the maintenance of the temple staff or to the statues and tombs of royal favorites, who we know received such grants,[33] and was probably presented before the god only in theory.

For some unexplained reason Lists 16–18, which also contain provision for the daily needs of the temple, are placed not with the regular daily offerings but later in the Calendar, after the monthly feasts. These three lists include (1) provision for the offerings to the "august Amon standard of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon, in the house in the estate of Amon"; (2) "all that which is given as special offerings of the yearly requirement which is due from the treasury of Pharaoh—life, prosperity, and health (to him)"; and (3) "that which is given for the equipment of this temple annually."

The Amon standard was a portable representation of the god, consisting of the figure of a ram's head mounted on the end of a pole, the head itself being surmounted by a sun disk. Such portable representations of a god were a regular part of the outfit of every temple and appeared in many ceremonies.[34] Amon's standard apparently received daily special offerings consisting of 8 loaves of white bread and 4 jugs of beer. In addition it was provided with 1 fowl, 2 *ḳdt* of incense, 1 small jar of wine, 2 baskets of fruit, 5 bunches of vegetables, and 2 lots of flowers—a formal bouquet and a bunch of water lilies. At the king's Coronation Feast the Amon standard received additional offerings, about doubling for that day the quantity offered to it regularly. It is spoken of as the "Amon standard of Usermare-Meriamon" and probably for that reason partook of the coronation festivities. Two statues of Ramses III now in the Cairo Museum show the king carrying the Amon standard (e.g., Fig. 20). On one of the royal figures an inscrip-

[33] The practice of making such royal grants was very old, going far back into the Old Kingdom. Cf. Breasted, *The Dawn of Conscience* (New York and London, 1933) chap. iv.

[34] Amon's standard is shown in *Medinet Habu* I ("Oriental Institute Publications" VIII [Chicago, 1930]) Pl. 17, borne on a chariot before the king as the latter marches out against the Libyan enemy.

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FIG. 20.—From the Empire period have survived a number of statues of rulers or others carrying standards of the gods. This is a statue of Ramses III, who holds in his left hand an Amon standard bearing the inscription: "He made as a monument for his father Amon-Re, king of gods, the making for him of an august Amon standard of . . . . ." From Georges Legrain, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers* II (Cairo, 1909) No. 42149.

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tion carved on the pole reads: "He (the king) made as a monument for his father Amon-Re, king of gods, the making for him of an august Amon standard of . . . . ." There seems to have been some



FIG. 21.—A priest burning incense and pouring a libation before the Amon standard. The standard itself consists of a pole terminating in a lotus on which is a ram's head, the symbol of Amon, surmounted by a uraeus and sun disk. The standard is held by a man named Pa-ser, who was priest of the Amon standard. The latter thus seems to have had its own ministrant. From Tomb 44 at Thebes, photograph kindly furnished by Mr. Seele.

close personal association between the king and the object in question, but the relationship is very obscure. In the necropolis at Thebes are representations of such standards, to which offerings are being presented and to which special priests were assigned (Fig. 21). They may be royal standards or standards held by private individuals.

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The "special offerings" mentioned in List 17 consist merely of 2 jars of oil, 2 of wine, and a large quantity of mixed fruit. These, as they were due from the royal treasury, were apparently a special gift of Ramses III; but what purpose they served in addition to the regular daily offerings is unknown.

The material given for the annual equipment of the temple was supplied in monthly lots and consisted of incense, wax, oil, papyrus, firewood, and charcoal. The papyrus item is of some interest because five sheets of papyrus were provided monthly,[35] which the Egyptian scribe totaled up as three rolls annually. This agrees with the fact that a roll of the usual size contained twenty sheets. It would be necessary from time to time to renew the temple books used in the service, and these rolls were possibly intended for that purpose.

THE OFFERINGS FOR THE MONTHLY FEASTS

Following the offerings for the daily service come those for the monthly feasts, the "Feasts of the Sky." These were eight in number, and each list was introduced by the same formula: "Every day of the new-moon feast which shall occur," "every day of the second-of-the-month feast which shall occur," etc. The feast of the new moon and that of the sixth of the month were especially important, if we may judge from the length of the list of offerings provided for those days. The lists for the remaining monthly feasts are quite small. The six shorter lists are duplicates of one another, and the two longer lists also are alike. Since these monthly feasts were regarded as one unit of the Calendar, the source of supply for the grain used is given for the entire group, not for the individual feasts. List 15, which comes at the end of the monthly feasts, bears the title: "Total of bread, beer, cattle, fowl, every good and pure thing which is being offered to Amon in the house of Usermare-Meriamon in the estate of Amon during the Feasts of the Sky." The amount of grain used in the preparation of the cooked foods is summarized both by the month and by the year plus the five epagomenal days. The miscellaneous items are summarized by the month and by the year without mention of the five

[35] On the wall the sculptor originally carved "6" as the number of sheets of papyrus provided monthly. One of the units he afterward deleted by filling it with plaster, some of which still remains in the incision. In this way he rectified an error, since twenty sheets made up a normal papyrus roll, which would require only five sheets monthly to produce three rolls annually.

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epagomenal days. Why these five days were included in the former summary is uncertain, since they do not belong to the monthly feasts.

THE OFFERINGS FOR THE ANNUAL FEASTS

Following the lists for the monthly feasts come three perpendicular lines of inscription in larger hieroglyphs, such as introduce a new division of the Calendar. Here begin the lists for the annual feasts. The title for this portion of the Calendar reads: "The periodic feasts. That which is offered to Amon-Re, king of gods, and the holy image of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon, and the Ennead who are in the house-of-millions-of-years . . . . for the duration of the year."

The first feast placed under this heading of "periodic feasts" is that of the royal coronation. Chronologically it belongs near the end of the Calendar, since it occurred on the 26th day of the ninth month of the year and, except for the feast of victory described on page 43 and the Feast of the Valley, is the latest feast listed at Medinet Habu.[36] It is undoubtedly placed out of position because of its importance at the king's own temple. As far as the lists themselves go, the endowments provided do not seem to have been newly instituted by Ramses III. They are apparently exactly those given at the Ramesseum for Ramses II's Coronation Feast. In this case it is possible to suppose that, on the death of a king, his particular Coronation Feast ceased automatically and the endowments were transferred to the Coronation Feast of his successor. However, in Papyrus Harris[37] the king states that he gave a new gift to Amon for his Coronation Feast. At the same time he adds that in similar fashion he newly endowed the Feast of Opet. The Medinet Habu Calendar gives no indication of new gifts for either feast.

At Medinet Habu provision for the Coronation Feast is included under four headings. Lists 19 and 21 are both titled: "Day of the coronation of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon." List 20 is the offering to the Amon-standard. List 22 concerns "provision that is made for the lay priests of the temple who officiate before the coronation statue of Usermare-Meriamon." The

[36] Papyrus Harris, Pl. XVII*a* 3, states that in the 22d year of the king's reign he extended the time of the feast to include 20 days, ending on the 15th of the second month of the third season.

[37] Pl. XVII*a;* see Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV § 237.

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only difference between the introductions of Lists 19 and 21 is that in List 19 the offerings are made to Amon-Re, the royal image, and the Ennead, whereas in List 21 the royal image is omitted. List 19 is one of the longest in the Calendar, containing some twenty-five items under the cooked foods. List 21, on the other hand, contains only four such items. The reason for the existence of two lists with the same title must lie elsewhere than in the title itself. List 21 is badly mutilated, owing to the removal of part of the wall at the spot where it is carved so as to make a door into one of the later Coptic houses which were erected in the temple in Christian times. But what survives is very interesting. The quantities are large, there being altogether 850 loaves of bread. There are also five cattle of various kinds and an unusual amount of wine, incense, flowers, fruit, etc.

List 22, providing in detail for the lay priests, calls for 150 portions, suggesting that there were 150 of these priests who took part in the ceremonies before the royal statues and received of the king's bounty.[38] On this basis each priest would receive

10 loaves of *śt*-bread	2 bundles of vegetables
10 loaves of various kinds of bread	1 lump of salt
1 *nḏ*ꜣ of cake	1 lump of natron
$\frac{1}{5}$ jar of beer	

In addition there were 4 jars of sweet oil and 5 jars of green oil, presumably to be divided among the 150. Moreover, they were to receive wine and meat "for the duration of this day," seemingly without limit. There were 282.5 *ḥḳꜣt* of grain used in the preparation of the cooked foods of the list, making over 1.8 *ḥḳꜣt* per person, a fairly generous allowance. The beer, moreover, was of unusual strength—two *wšm*-jars to the *ḥḳꜣt*.

The fact that all the foregoing provision was for the lay priests, men who served periodically as priests in the temple but did not belong to the regular professional priesthood, suggests that in List 21 we have arrangements for the regular priesthood, which received perhaps an extra portion on the occasion of the coronation festivities. The lost items in the list of cooked foods for that feast probably specified that the white bread, the *wdn*-bread, and the fruit bread should

[38] Petrie in *Historical Studies* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt, "Studies" II [1911]) pp. 1–6 has made use of the lists in Papyrus Harris to estimate the numbers of persons for whom provision was made. The figures in the Calendar also are susceptible of such treatment.

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be divided into portions. This suggestion is supported by the large number of loaves of these breads and the small range of items in the cooked list. The fact that so many cattle also were provided would point to the same solution, meat in ancient Egypt probably being as much a luxury in the lives of the common people as it is today. Of other items the two jars of wine of the best quality were probably for high priestly officials, while the lesser priests received the wine of second quality. Just how many of the priesthood there were is difficult to determine. There could scarcely have been more than twenty, if the 20 formal bouquets and 20 bunches of flowers were to be divided among them. But the 250 loaves of *wdn*-bread are not evenly divisible by 20. On the other hand, ten seems an unusually small number for the priesthood of the temple. Fifty would divide well into the items of cooked food and would be a reasonable number, but it is difficult to see how to apply it to the list of miscellaneous items. At best the problem presents difficulties.

The whole procedure connected with the presentation and distribution of offerings is somewhat obscure. It is clear that food, after being placed before the chief deity of the temple, might then be handed on to other recipients. Thus Thutmose III, in his inscription narrating the building of the temple of Ptah at Karnak,[39] states that he endowed new offerings for Amon in Opet "when he rests there," which consisted of 12 "lots of offerings supplied with everything" for certain feasts. He then goes on to say that "after the majesty of this august god is satisfied with his offering, a 'lot of offerings supplied with everything' shall be issued to the lay priests of the temple of my father Amon in Karnak, and a 'lot of offerings supplied with everything' (and) 6 loaves from the *śnw*-loaves of 'the coming forth in front' shall also be issued to the 'statue of millions of years' of my majesty which serves at this temple and which raises the hand for the majesty of this august god over this oblation, the name of which (statue) is 'Menkheperre is great in oblations.' "[40] Apparently the offerings provided

[39] Cairo 34013 = *Urkunden des aegyptischen Altertums* IV 763–72 = Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* II (Chicago, 1906) §§ 613–22.

[40] On such statues as recipients and givers of offerings see Blackman, "A Study of the Liturgy of the Aton," in *Recueil d'études égyptologiques dédiées à la mémoire de Jean-François Champollion* (Paris, 1922) pp. 510–13.

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for the temple were divided into twelve similar parts, each containing a complete offering which thus would seem to have been composed of a strictly prescribed quantity of foods. The term "a lot of offerings supplied with everything" is, as Professor Breasted has pointed out,[41] a technical term and is comparable to other terms such as *dbḥ-ḥtpt*, *wpt-r ᶜprt*, etc., which occur in the Calendar. When Amon had had all he wanted of the twelve offerings, that is, presumably when they had rested before his statue on the offering-table for a specified time, one lot was then turned over to the lay priests of the temple of Amon in Karnak, and another lot plus 6 additional loaves was placed before a certain statue of the king which stood in the temple. This statue was made with its hand upraised so that when it was placed in front of the god with the offering-table between it and the deity the hand would be stretched out above the offerings in the attitude prescribed by the cult for the king as he functioned in the service.[42] In the reliefs illustrating the Calendar (see Fig. 3) we see the king in exactly this attitude, that prescribed by the ritual of the temple. The statue was thus a substitute for the king himself.[43] But as this was the royal statue, it too received a share of the offerings.

Thutmose's endowments further provided that when the royal statue in the Amon temple was "satisfied" with the offering, the latter should be passed on to the temple of Ptah-South-of-His-Wall in Opet, which the king had just rebuilt. Also the king apparently established certain other new endowments especially for the Ptah temple, in which too there seems to have been a statue of the king. In this case he provided that when the offerings had served their purpose before the image of Ptah, they should, as in the Amon temple, be given in part to the lay priests and in part to the royal statue in that temple. Thus the same offerings might meet several needs, including the provision for the lay priests, for whom they constituted the perquisites of their office. For the regular priesthood undoubtedly other provision was made by the temple administration.

The Coronation Feast having been disposed of, the Calendar turns

[41] Breasted, *op. cit.* § 617, n. e.

[42] As in the case of the statue carried at the head of the offerings, shown in the relief in Fig. 13.

[43] See Blackman, *loc. cit.*

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to the regular annual celebrations in their chronological progression, beginning with the first month of the first season. Of these feasts there are five that fall wholly within that month, among them some of the most commonly mentioned feasts in Egypt. These are the Feast of Sothis, marking the beginning of the year, the Feast of the Eve of *W3g* and the *W3g*-Feast itself, the Feast of Thoth, and the Feast of the Great Procession of Osiris. The supplies for these observances are all moderate in amount, the Feast of Sothis requiring only 6 *ḥḳ3t* of grain; the Feast of Thoth, 20 *ḥḳ3t;* and the other three, 40 *ḥḳ3t* each. The two lists for the *W3g*-Feast and that for the Feast of Osiris each contain 100 loaves of bread of *b3ḥ* and 50 of *wdn*-bread, to be divided into portions of 20 and 10 respectively, making 5 loaves to a portion. This is again suggestive that they were intended for officiating priests or others who were present at the temple on these occasions.

Following the Feast of Osiris comes the great Feast of Opet, the chief celebration of the Theban calendar, the greatest event of the year in the lives of the populace of the region. It lasted for twenty-four days, beginning on the evening of the 18th day of the second month of the first season and ending on the 12th day of the third month of the first season. Papyrus Harris states[44] that it began on the 19th day of the second month of the first season and ended on the 15th day of the third month of the first season. This gives us a total of twenty-seven days for the feast. That papyrus states also that the feast had been of this length throughout the reign. There is thus a discrepancy of three days between the two records. Papyrus Harris also does not mention the evening of the 18th, on which day the Calendar begins the feast.[45] It is possible that Ramses III, at the beginning of his reign, extended the feast from twenty-four to twenty-seven days. His temple was not then completed, and it was some years later before the Calendar was inscribed on its walls. When the time came for carving the inscription the scribe simply duplicated the already existing Ramesseum Calendar and forgot that the Feast of Opet had been extended by three days. In fact, the text of Medinet Habu is quite cor-

[44] Pl. XVII*a;* see Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt* IV § 237.

[45] The evening of the 18th was, of course, reckoned as part of the 19th and did not constitute a separate day in computing the number of days of the feast.

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rupt at this place and shows either great carelessness on the part of the scribes responsible for the laying-out of the Calendar, or omissions by them and their predecessors from the original wording of the document. In the case of the Coronation Feast, Papyrus Harris is careful to specify that the prolongation of the celebration from one to twenty days occurred in year 22 of the reign. It is in the same paragraph with this careful chronological statement that the Feast of Opet is recorded as covering twenty-seven days, beginning with the first year of the reign. Papyrus Harris seems to have been compiled from the books of the various temple estates and is perhaps the more reliable. In any case we cannot be certain as to which source is correct.

The Calendar gives in full the lists for the eve of the feast and also for the first five days. The first four days of the feast received the same provision, namely for each day 375 loaves of bread, 10 cakes, and 20 jars of beer. There was slightly less in the way of bread for the eve of the feast and a considerable difference for the fifth day, on which were provided 225 loaves of bread, 1 cake, and 6 jars of beer. The remaining nineteen days of the feast are placed in two groups, the sixth to eighth in the first group and the remaining sixteen in a second group. At the end of each of these groups the bread, beer, grain, etc., are totaled, and a list is given of the miscellaneous items which follow the cooked foods. In no case, however, is a regular list of cooked foods or of miscellaneous items given, apart from these totals. Instead occurs for each day a formula which is employed elsewhere in the Calendar when a feast continues over several days. For instance, for the ninth day of the feast the formula reads: "Month 2 of the first season, day 27; ninth day of the feast of Amon-Re in his Feast of Opet. That which is offered to Amon-Re together with the Ennead and the holy image of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), as festal supplies this day, like the preceding, for the feast of Amon." Apparently this formula is to be interpreted as providing lists exactly similar to the last list given above, namely that for the fifth day of the feast. But unfortunately the totals at the ends of the two groups of days do not work out as correct multiples of the loaves for the fifth day of the feast. The correct explanation of this formula is yet to be found.

The last day of the feast is introduced by the phrase: "Divine re-

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entrance (or 'introduction') of Amon in his Feast of Opet." The same formula occurs in connection with the last day of two other feasts which cover a number of days. Apparently during the feast the cult image of the god was brought out of its shrine, to be returned thereto on the last day with fitting ceremonies which gave its designation to that day.

List 36, which also belongs to the Feast of Opet, contained provision for "that which is offered to Amon-Re in the festival hall." This consisted of bread and beer. The bread is of unusual size, and the beer of extra strength. The quantities in this list, which are all divisible by 4, suggest that a banquet may have been held in the festival hall of the temple at which were present four groups of individuals and that each group received 10 loaves of white bread, 2 loaves of *wdn*-bread, 1 loaf of fruit bread, and 1 jar of beer.[46] If this surmise is correct, these would have been other than the ordinary priests; for List 37, which follows immediately, provides for the entertainment of the latter at the rate of 100 loaves of *ʿkk*-bread and 4 jars of beer per day. A considerable supply of sweet oil is also mentioned.

The total number of loaves provided for the feast, including the supplies for the priesthood, was 11,341, and there were 385 jars of beer. The lists for the first five days, as well as for the eve of the feast, contain provision for three kinds of bread in portions, some of 10 loaves and some of 5 each. This fact suggests that these particular items were intended for groups of individuals concerned in the celebrations. Since the remaining days of the feast were apparently provided for just as were the first five days, this arrangement may be assumed to apply to those days as well.

Following the lists for the Feast of Opet occurs a perpendicular line of inscription in characters larger than usual—such a line as sets off a new group of feasts from that which precedes. Probably the scribe felt that, with the great Feast of Opet provided for, such a division should be introduced to mark the fact. He therefore wrote: "As long as the sky shall span the ocean stream and Re shall continue to shine, so long shall the name of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon, the son of Re, Ramses, Ruler of Heliopolis, exist in his temple forever and ever."

[46] Cf. Petrie, *loc cit.*, for similar deductions from the lists of Papyrus Harris.

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After the division line of hieroglyphs occur three lists: one for the Feast of Amon after the Feast of Opet, one for the Feast of Hathor, and one for the Feast of Purifying the Ennead. These, which bring the Calendar through the 20th day of the fourth month of the first season, present nothing of special interest.

Beginning with List 42 and continuing through List 51 we have a group of feasts all devoted to Ptah-Sokar of Memphis. These 10 feasts occur on ten successive days, from the 21st day of the fourth month of the first season through the last day of the same month. They constitute in reality one great feast ten days long, though the Calendar gives each day its separate title. Among other characteristics it is noticeable that the offerings for these feasts are presented exclusively to Ptah-Sokar and never to Amon-Re, his Ennead, or the image of Ramses III, who are the recipients at all the other feasts. The provision for this occasion was quite lavish, exceeding that for any of the other festivals save the great Theban Feast of Opet. It was essentially an observance of the necropolis and does not seem to have been celebrated on the other side of the river. The lists contain many items, especially in the way of temple furniture, that are not found elsewhere in the Calendar. This is particularly true of List 47, that for the feast of "Ptah-Sokar-Osiris-Nefertem, protector of the Two Lands, who is in the midst of the house of Usermare-Meriamon in the estate of Amon on the west of Thebes." The miscellaneous items of this list are by far the most numerous in the Calendar. List 45 contains the only mention of a pig among the offerings. Altogether it would seem that, with the possible exception of the Feast of Opet, that of Sokar was the greatest of the feasts celebrated at Medinet Habu.

Directly following the Sokar feasts comes a palimpsest, in which a new feast to celebrate the king's victory of year 11 over the Meshwesh was superimposed upon the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw*. It is interesting that Ramses III should have chosen to erase the list for the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw* to make room for that of his new feast. The former was a fairly important celebration; and, of course, the erasure of the list does not indicate that its observance was abandoned. It came on the first day of the first month of the second season, while the Feast of Victory over the Meshwesh occurred on the 28th day of the first month of the first season. The substitution was not, therefore, in

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order to put the new feast in its proper place in the Calendar. It is possible that this particular position was chosen because the new feast required a complete section of the wall from top to bottom of the Calendar area, and the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw* occupied just the required space.

The sculptor in charge of the alteration of the Calendar to include the Feast of Victory blotted out the upper portion of the old list with plaster and carved the new list into the stone across the cuttings of the former inscription. The lower portion of the old list he erased by rubbing off the surface of the wall down to the level of the bases of the incised signs and he carved the new list on the surface thus smoothed off. Consequently the upper portion of the list for the Feast of *Nḥb-kꜣw* is still preserved, whereas the lower portion is totally gone. Aside, therefore, from the fact that this list was fairly large, we have only an imperfect knowledge of the offerings for that feast.

The list for the Feast of Victory is introduced by the title: "Year 11, first month of the first season, day 28; the slaughter of the land of Meshwesh which the King of Upper and Lower Egypt made." While the Calendar does not specifically state that the 28th of the first month of the first season was the day of the victory, it is possible to interpret it as such. On the other hand, were the feast instituted and celebrated immediately upon the termination of the campaign, the date in the Calendar might well be the day of the celebration and not the anniversary of the day of victory. We have no way of determining this point. The list itself is divided into three parts: the offerings to Amon, those to Mut, and those to Khonsu. They contain items not found elsewhere in the Calendar, such as cakes in the form of birds and animals (Fig. 22), incense in similar shapes, etc. (Fig. 23). Numerous cattle also were offered. The celebration seems to have been elaborate. It is interesting that Papyrus Harris does not mention this feast or any special provision for it. Whether or not it was confined to the Medinet Habu temple we have no way of knowing, but one would expect it to be held still more sumptuously at the great Karnak temple.

The remaining feasts of the Calendar do not present items of special interest as far as the lists are concerned. Following the Feast of Victory comes what purports to be a new feast, since the king is said to have "established" it himself. This feast, though celebrated at Medi-

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net Habu, is stated to be "after the carving of the leaf of the *išd*-tree with the name of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon, in the house of Ptah." Thus the "carving" took place at Memphis where grew the sacred tree, but the feast was also celebrated as far away as Thebes.

List 58, which begins toward the bottom of the section directly west of the second pylon, is concluded on the other side of it, im-

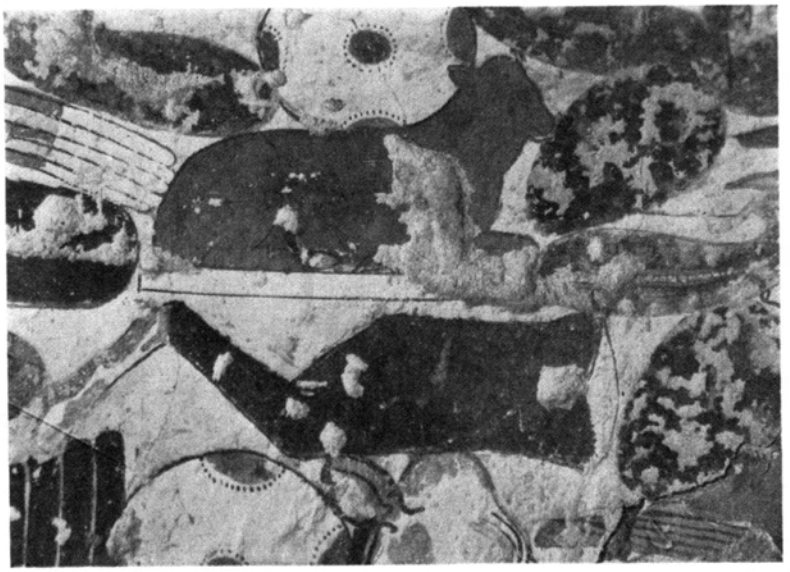


FIG. 22.—Portion of a tomb painting of an offering-table on which appears a cake or a mass of incense in the form of a calf. From Tomb 56 at Thebes, photograph kindly supplied by Dr. Schott.

mediately adjacent to the first pylon. The sculptor thus went from the second pylon to a vacant area of wall directly next to the first pylon. After filling this area, he then returned to the second pylon and carved the remaining lists of the Calendar immediately to the right of it. In reading the Calendar on the wall one must thus skip the sections that come directly east of the second pylon and go on to the first pylon, returning to the second later. Why this order of inscription was observed is difficult to see. It probably had something to do with the areas left free on the wall between the pylons by the palace

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which abutted on this wall. But there is nothing in the history of the building at this point that suggests a reason for the arrangement.

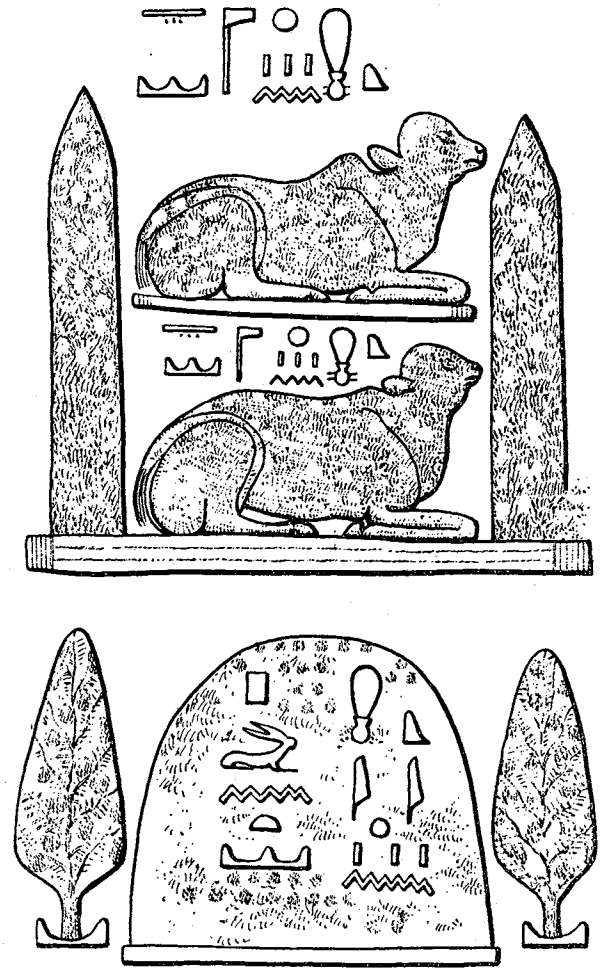


FIG. 23.—Incense in the form of calves and obelisks, depicted on the wall of the treasury at Medinet Habu.

The foregoing discussion of some of the aspects of the Calendar is in no way exhaustive. At best it may perhaps suggest some of the many problems presented by this interesting record. When Duemichen in 1866 first published his copy of part of the Calendar it

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awakened considerable interest among scholars, and for some years afterward the journals contained articles on various aspects of the problem. Of recent years the subject has received little attention. Perhaps the present publication of a complete text may reawaken interest in this very human document. The picture it presents of certain phases of life in an ancient temple, of the great rôle the ecclesiastical institution played in the activities of millions of men, and of their efforts to achieve contact with the unseen forces of their environment through elaborate material organization—these and many other matters of social interest lift the Calendar out of the category of a mere list of food and drink, a "dry" statistical table, onto a plane of genuine historical concern that brings us a step farther toward a clearer knowledge of man's past. In imagination we too may stand at the gate of the temple along with the priests and scribes and watch the long procession of offering-bearers as they file past, laden with the elaborate provisions specified in the Calendar, and catch a glimpse through the half-open door of these early efforts to secure adjustment with nature by rites and ceremonies and offerings, where today man turns more and more to science and the art of living. The preparation of Volume III of the Medinet Habu series has been a matter of real education for all concerned.

THE FEASTS OF THEBES

BY SIEGFRIED SCHOTT

Thebes, the "Southern City" of ancient Egypt, displayed under the Empire a splendor rivaling that of the great capitals of antiquity—Babylon, Persepolis, Athens, and Rome. The ruins of the temple districts of Karnak and Luxor on the east bank of the Nile and the mortuary temples and palaces on the west bank, where also the tombs of kings and their subjects can still be counted by hundreds, surpass indeed all other known ruins of former power. The fame of this city began to grow during the Middle Kingdom, then mounted immeasurably with the freeing of the land from the invasion of the Hyksos—a movement which originated at Thebes. Amon, the god of Thebes, then became the patron deity of Egypt and absorbed into himself all the former chief gods. His cult won all Egypt to itself. Amon, with whose sword the pharaohs achieved their conquests, and his city, vic-

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torious Thebes, the main importance of which gradually became concentrated on the west side of the Nile in the land of truth and of the ancestors, drew to themselves the treasures of the then known world. The tribute of north and south, the booty of campaigns to east and west, there flowed together and accrued primarily to the advantage of the god and of his cult.

The greater part of Thebes is completely destroyed, and its tombs have with a few surprising exceptions been thoroughly plundered. Nevertheless we still find in its temples and tombs a quite inexhaustible source for investigations of all kinds. Whatever the problem may be, one finds countless clues for its solution—clues usually more numerous there for the period of imperial splendor than in all the rest of the land together. Since most of the buildings of which portions still survive were constructed for the service of the god, the religious world as a matter of course occupies a pre-eminent position. Inseparably interwoven therewith is the service of the king; for every act in the cult is performed by the king himself or in his name, and in the royal house every act of service and all intercourse are based on the assumption that the king embodies a god, or even several gods. In the tombs of the nobles the service to which the living were accustomed is performed for the dead, so that there in an unusually vivid fashion the life of many thousand years ago has been preserved, and now touches us also. And just as in the temples the feasts celebrated by the king to the glory of the gods are represented symbolically for the afterworld, so among the pictures from the life of the deceased in the private tombs there appear also scenes of feasts which their relatives established for them, and in which they take part for all eternity.

The feasts of Thebes were celebrated with unheard-of splendor. Scenes on the walls of the temples still picture them. Never, in either the culture of Egypt or that of other lands, have feast representations of this sort in such quantity been either attempted or attained. The scenes of the chief feast in Luxor, which Tutenkhamon placed on the walls of the colonnade erected by Amenhotep III, probably according to the latter's original plan, are altogether about 100 meters long. They include besides the large figures of the festal barks of the gods and of the king an infinite number of smaller forms which enliven the whole with varied details. The temple of Karnak, the cliff temple of Deir el-Bahri, the mortuary temples of Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses

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III all contain pictures of processions at various feasts. Such pictures intrude even into the tombs of the nobles, especially if the deceased was a priest of a certain cult and as such wished even after death to participate, pictorially at least, in the feasts of his god. The royal tombs seem to be exceptions, for there one finds merely pictures of the imaginary realm of the underworld and of the hereafter. Yet one must remember that they were considered simply as dwellings of the deceased kings. Mortuary temples were arranged for their cult, where-

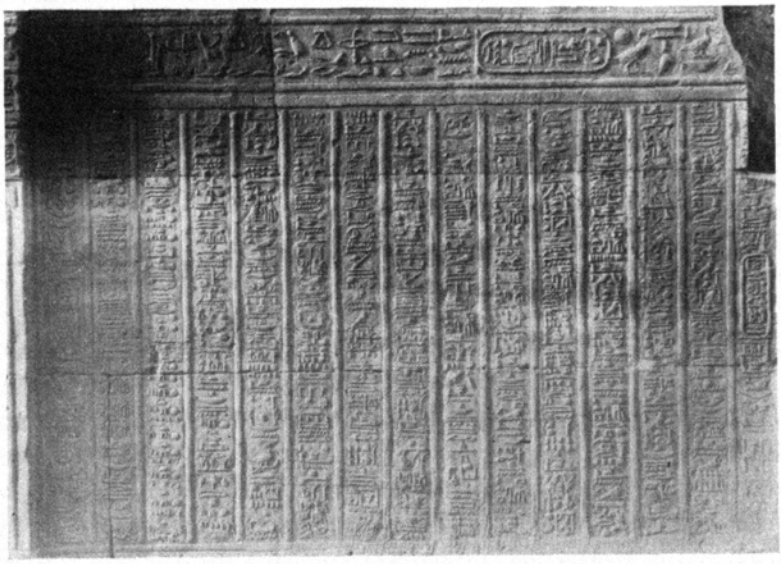


FIG. 24.—Calendar in the temple of Kom Ombo*

*Cf. J. de Morgan *et al.*, *Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Egypte antique* III (Vienne, 1902) 53, No. 597.

as the tombs of the nobles included at the same time both cult chamber and dwelling of the deceased. From no other site in Egypt where a prominent cult was practiced do we know representations as imposing as here. The few examples of festal scenes in the Greco-Roman temples appear poor beside them. Only the pictures of the procession of the New Year's Feast along the stairways of the temples of Denderah and Edfu and the pictures of the Feast of the Visit of Edfu on the back of the west tower of the pylon at Edfu cover rather large wall areas. The calendars of the Greco-Roman temples (Fig. 24) describe for us the rites and processions of their feasts, but show no pictures.

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The feasts of Thebes as they were celebrated under the Empire are of varied origins. Not all are immediately connected with the city god Amon. Some calendar feasts and chief feast days were probably celebrated all over Egypt, and therefore in Thebes also. The feasts of the mortuary cult came to Thebes for the greater part only with the cult of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris. The introductory text of the Medinet Habu Calendar asserts expressly that the king has taken over this cult from the "House of Ptah." Even though there existed in Karnak a temple of Ptah which had been restored already under Thutmose III, yet this cult, together with the procession around the walls (of which we have proof at Medinet Habu), was derived from Memphis, the royal city of the Old Kingdom. To the feasts of the local gods, of the calendar, and of the mortuary cult were added the feasts of the royal house, which, besides the king's appearance at the chief feasts, celebrated special occasions such as his accession, his coronation, victories, and jubilees.

Of the old local feasts of Amon several are known to us. His two chief feasts are the "Beautiful Feast of Opet," more exactly, of "Southern Opet," and the "Beautiful Feast of the Valley," more exactly, of the "Western Valley." In addition to these two feasts there were celebrated at the time of Ramses III the "Feast of Amon which takes place after the Feast of Opet," a feast of Amon on the occasion of "Lifting Up the Sky," and a feast of Amon on the occasion of "Entering the Sky." To these feasts of Amon we may add the Feast of Min, at which Amon appears in his ithyphallic form as the "Bull of His Mother."

The Beautiful Feast of Opet is because of its very length to be considered the chief feast of Amon. According to the calendar in the Medinet Habu temple of Ramses III it began on the 19th day of the second month and, including the bringing back of the god, was celebrated for twenty-four days. According to the Papyrus Harris, a record put together after the death of this king, which recounted his deeds in behalf of the temples of the whole land, this feast lasted as long as twenty-seven days. The difference between these two accounts may be explicable by the founding of additional feast days by Ramses III, for indeed the number of days of this feast had risen from eleven since the time of Thutmose III.[46a] The place-name Opet which gave its name to the feast has been thought to mean "harem," as though for

[46a] For a discussion of a possible solution of this discrepancy cf. p. 56.

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the duration of this feast the god were visiting his harem in Luxor, south of Karnak. But against this opinion we must consider that the dwelling of his divine consort Mut is to be found not at Luxor but in Karnak itself in the temple of Mut (earlier perhaps in the temple of Amon itself). The goddess Mut accompanies her divine consort in his processions; therefore she is not visited in Southern Opet but proceeds thither together with Amon and the moon-god Khonsu, who was considered the son of the divine pair. The term "Opet" I should like to consider a designation of a building, perhaps "castle."[47] The character of the feast shows that we are dealing with an excursion of the gods. Such excursions are known from calendars of the late period. At certain times of the year the local gods proceed to other temples in their own cities, or journey up or down the Nile to other cities to visit related gods, as at Edfu, Denderah, and Kom Ombo. The welcoming of the visitor by the local deity on the occasion of such a feast is represented at Edfu (Fig. 25). Details of the procession of barks and the journey on the river remind us of scenes at the Feast of Opet.

In the representations[48] of the feast the outbound procession from the temple of Karnak to Luxor and the return, or one of these two journeys, play the chief rôle. Both the outbound procession and the return take place by water in the ceremonial bark of Amon. This ceremonial bark, about the equipment of which the pharaohs give us extravagant reports, is to be distinguished from the god's portable bark. The ceremonial bark of Amon is called Userhet-Amon, perhaps "Strong is the Head of Amon" (Fig. 26), presumably with reference to the rams' heads which appeared at its bow and stern. The goddess Mut and the god Khonsu also possess ceremonial barks with different names. In the crowded scenes in the hypostyle hall at Karnak erected

[47] Sethe in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* XLIV (1907/8) 31, n. 2, had called *ỉpt* a "Kapelle." Gardiner, *ibid.* XLV (1908/9) 127, n. 2, and with him Wolf and Wreszinski (see next note), took the meaning of *ỉpt* as "harem." Later Sethe, *Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* ("Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften," 1929, Phil.-hist. Klasse Nr. 4) § 16, called it "der Harem oder das Hochzeithaus des Gottes." This would suggest *ỉpt* as a place to which the god and his consort went on the occasion of their wedding.

[48] Treated in detail in the description of the festal procession at Luxor in Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet* ("Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition in Ägypten" V [Leipzig, 1931]), with drawings of that procession as a whole. Wreszinski, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte* II Pls. 189–202, gives photographs as well as drawings.

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by Seti I and Ramses II the portable barks of Amon, Mut, and Khonsu are placed upon the Userhet bark (Fig. 27). A portable bark of the king also accompanies it. According to the pictures at Luxor, during the river journey this is placed upon the Userhet bark. Then in the procession from the river bank to the temple the king's portable bark seems to be lacking, as though it had been left behind on the Userhet bark. We know it elsewhere also from the pictures of the Feast of the Valley in temples on the west bank, where it is carried

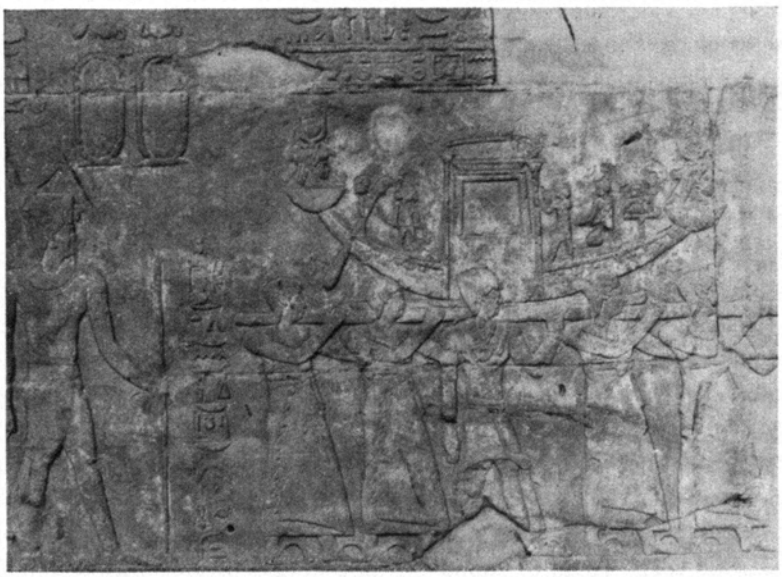


FIG. 25.—Hathor of Denderah visits Edfu. Temple of Edfu, pylon, north side, west half.

along in processions with still another bark—a bark of a goddess, the female counterpart of Amon.[48a]

The journey by water takes place upon the Nile, as is shown by the very designation of the ceremonial barks as "river barks." Moreover, in the songs about the beauty of the feast day the peaceful state of the

[48a] The bark of this goddess is represented in two processions at Karnak also, once (again with the king's bark) in the temple of Ramses III which penetrates the Amon temple court, once in the temple of Khonsu. In both cases the gods of Karnak visit the temple in their barks and receive gifts of the king who built the temple. Whether each visit was unique or represented an annual feast, we do not know. A damaged date in an accompanying text in the temple of Ramses III mentions the second month of some season. This calls to mind the Feast of the Valley in the second month of the third season, when the same barks left their sanctuaries in the temples of Karnak for the west side of Thebes.

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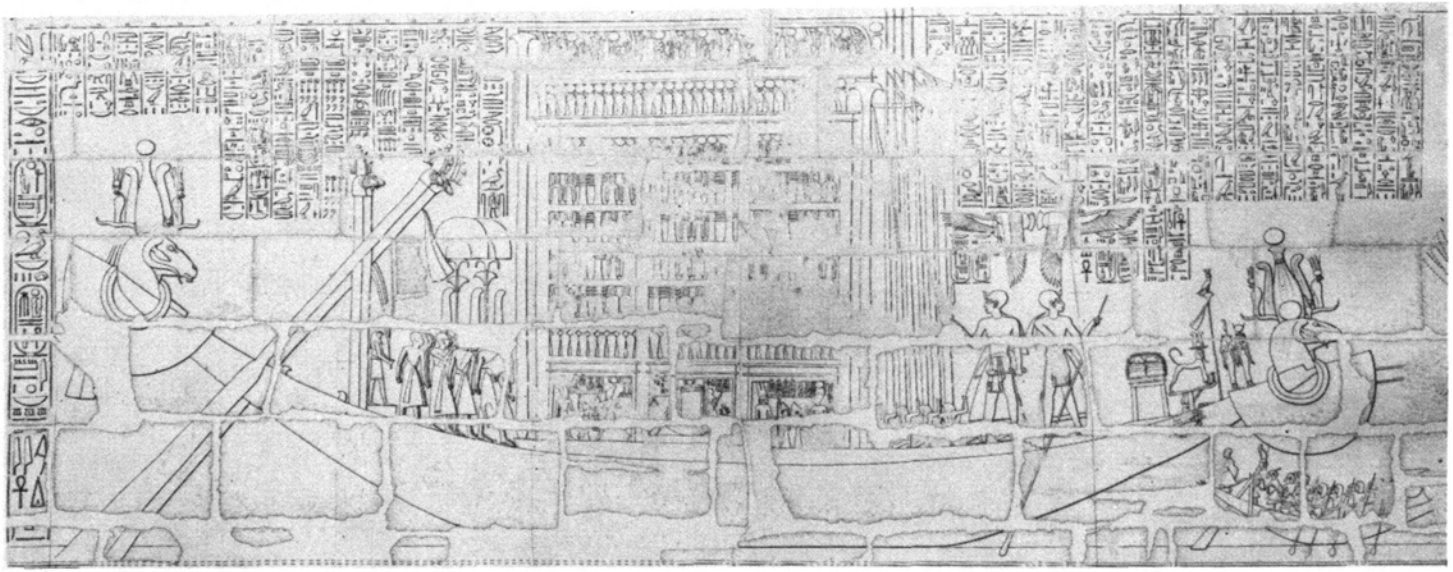


FIG. 26.—The river bark of Amon called Userhet-Amon. Karnak temple of Ramses III, exterior, west side

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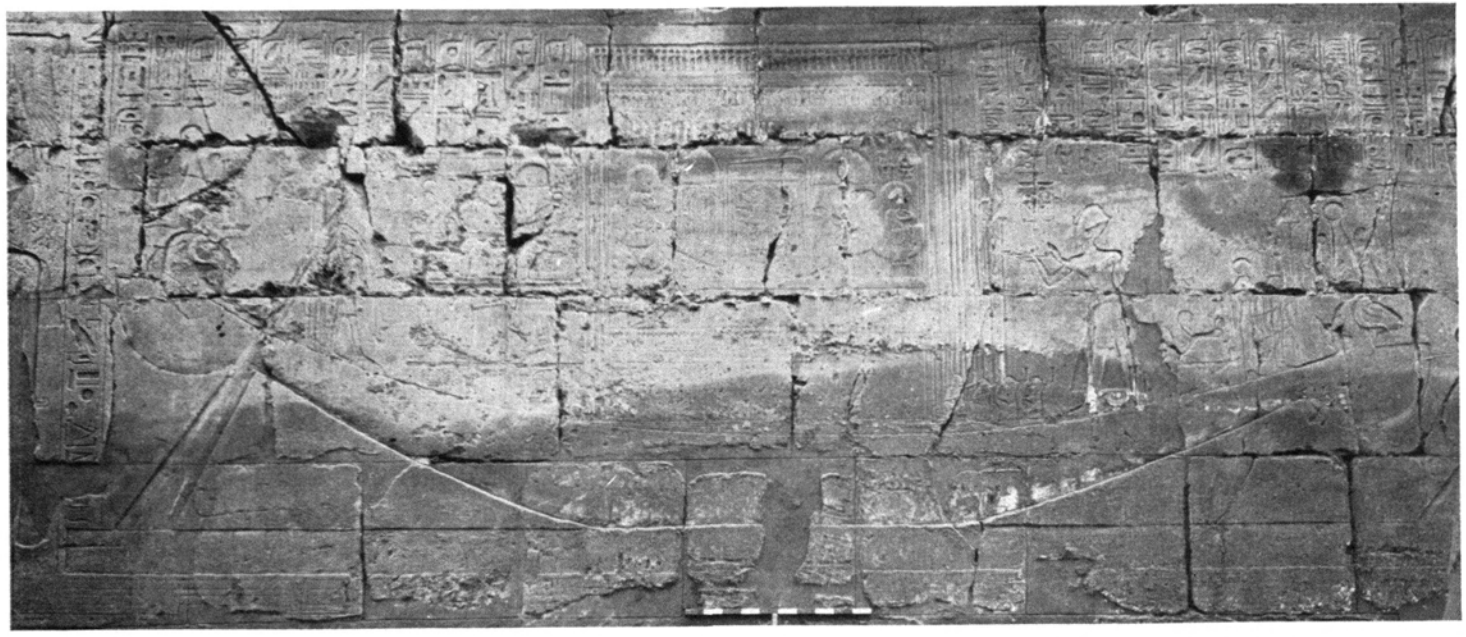


FIG. 27.—The river bark of Amon with the portable barks of Amon, Mut, and Khonsu. Karnak temple of Amon, hypostyle hall, west wall, south half. Photograph by Leichter.

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river is praised. According to the inscriptions it is the task of the king to row his father the god on this occasion. In most of the scenes we do find him standing with an oar upon the Userhet bark. But this royal rowing is to be understood as merely ceremonial, for the bark of Amon is towed by a galley, the king's bark. This royal bark, shown under sail on the southward journey as are all the other barks, is in its turn rowed by high officials of the court. According to the inscriptions it was considered a high honor to row before the king in his bark on the occasion of a feast. But even this rowing is probably to be understood mostly as ceremonial, for the barks are really towed upstream by special crews on the bank. The rowing of the river barks of the other gods also is a royal duty.[49] Since the king could not be present simultaneously on all the barks, it is to be assumed that statues or perhaps even priests in royal guise represented him.

The people, the army, groups of priests, male and female singers, and the ladies of the court take part from the bank in these festal journeys. On the water parade boats and barks which we know from other water festivals of the late period also. Boats with goose heads and tails, occasionally carrying special dancers, take part in the festal journey. The entrance into the temple upon the arrival at Luxor and upon the return to Karnak (Fig. 28) gives occasion for offerings of all sorts. In solemn procession are brought in oxen specially fattened for the feast. These are branded with "Feast of Opet" (Fig. 29) and in reliefs at Luxor show special ornamentation of their horns. In all the processions the king precedes the priesthood. Before him the way is purified by the sprinkling of water (or milk?). Before the barks the priests offer incense. Over the gods' heads at bow and stern of the barks whisks and fans are held.

The god and his fellow-deities rest during the main part of the feast in the temple of Luxor. About the special rites of these days the representations of the feast give no indication. Presumably they consisted of offerings of incense, sacrifices, and recitations of songs and litanies. The scenes show us the barks set up in their special chapels, before them mountains of sacrificial gifts which the king is dedicating. Theo-

[49] The inscription accompanying the bark of Mut at Luxor indicates that the queen was supposed to row it, though the king is represented performing that function here also.

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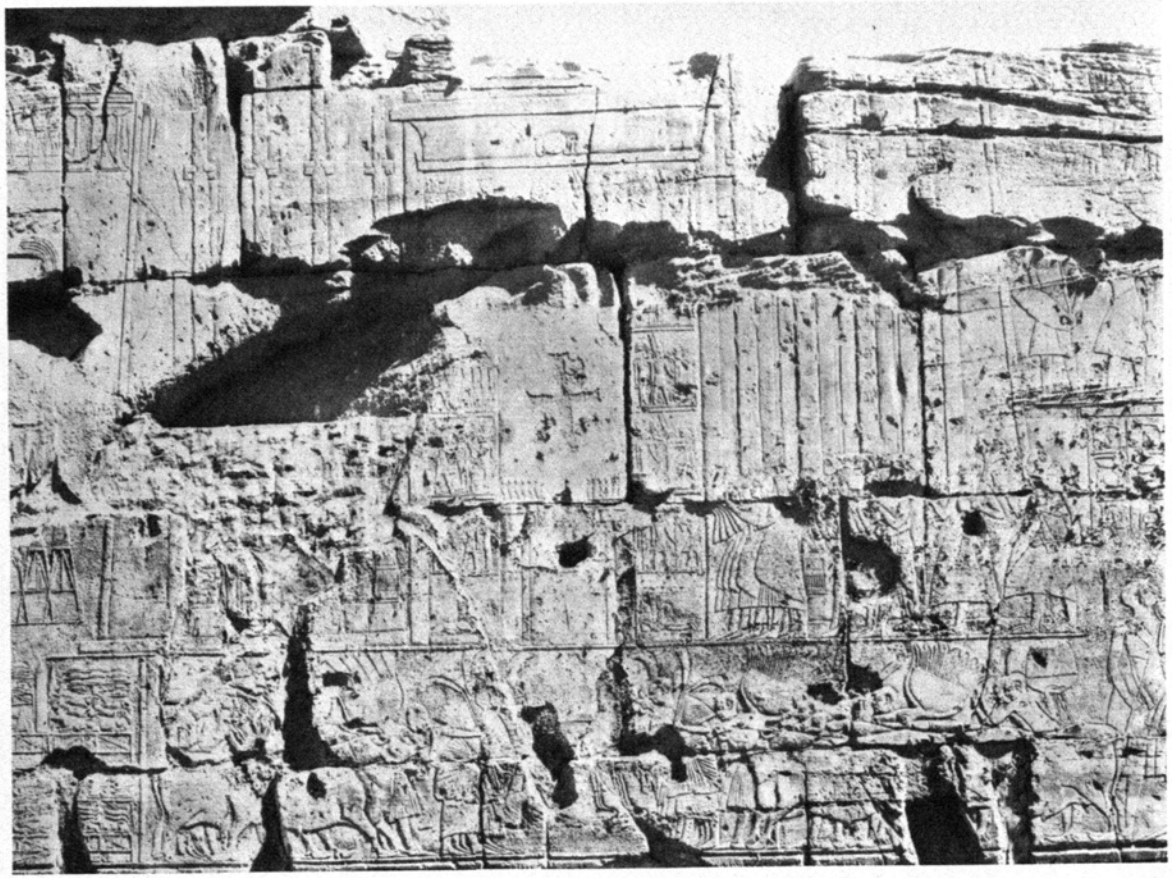


FIG. 28.—Fatted oxen at the entrance of the Karnak temple upon the return from the Feast of Opet. Photograph by Leichter.*

* Cf. Wolf, *Das schöne Fest von Opet* ("Veröffentlichungen der Ernst von Sieglin-Expedition in Ägypten" V [Leipzig, 1931]) Pl. II 4.

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logically these days were probably considered the real feast days, but the two river journeys when the god and his fellow-deities in their barks passed along in the sight of everyone are to be considered as the festival of the folk. To see Amon during his feasts when he journeys on the river to Luxor is the heartfelt wish of the great ones of Thebes—a wish which occurs even in the prayers of the dead.

The second chief feast of Amon, the Feast of the Valley, takes place in the tenth month of the year. Like the Feast of Opet this feast



FIG. 29.—Ox branded for the feast. Luxor temple, court of Ramses II, interior, west wall. Arrows point to the brand. Photograph by Leichter.

also has given to the month in which it took place the name which was taken over into the Coptic calendar. Amon journeys on this day from Karnak across to the west bank to visit the temples on the west side. The scenes in a chapel of Queen Hatshepsut at Karnak show us stages of this festal journey. Representations of the festal journey itself are not preserved. Yet we see the barks at the west bank or arriving on canals at the quays of the temples (Fig. 30), whence the portable barks are carried to the individual temples. Inscriptions state that the dead come forth from the tombs in order to see the arrival of the barks. The deceased prays that he may hear the cries of the crews and see Amon when the king rows him to the west side. According to the Medinet Habu Calendar the beginning of the feast was

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determined by the new moon. This feast lasts only two days, hence it is considerably shorter than the Beautiful Feast of Opet. Presumably it consisted of a visit to the mortuary temples, during which the gods spent the night in the mortuary temple of the reigning king.

Of other feasts of Amon we know little. The Feast of Lifting Up the Sky was celebrated in the Greco-Roman temples also at the same time as at Thebes. In the former it was considered to be the feast of

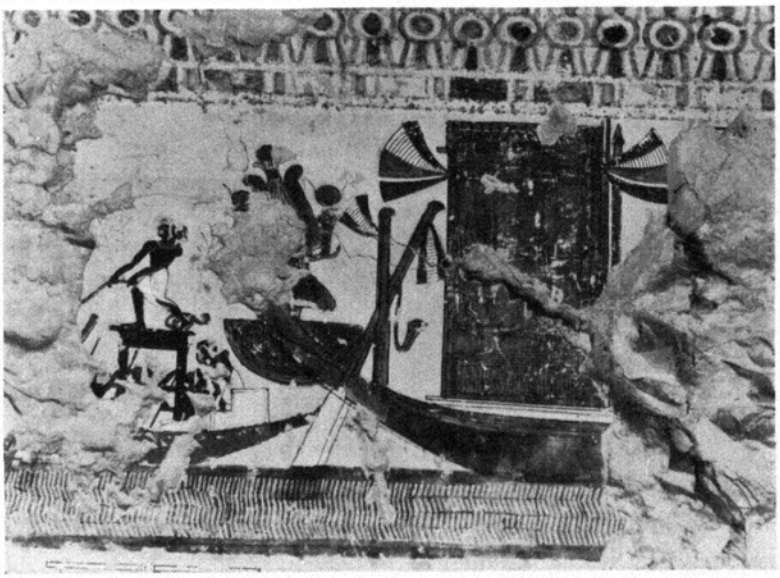


FIG. 30.—River bark of Amon at the Feast of the Valley. Thebes, Tomb 19*

*Cf. Foucart, "La belle fête de la vallée" (*Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* XXIV [Le Caire, 1924]) Pl. XIV.

the creator god Ptah, the day on which the golden scarab raised itself to the sky. This feast, like the Feast of Entering the Sky which occurred in the following month, may be thought of as a procession to the temple roof, though we find no basis anywhere for that opinion, except that the procession of the gods of Edfu and Denderah to the temple roof on the occasion of the New Year's Feast is called a feast of entering the sky. The duration of each of these feasts was three days,[50] including the day of bringing back the god. They occur in the

[50] The feast days probably follow one another, so that in the Medinet Habu Calendar the date of the first day of the Feast of Lifting Up the Sky must be explained as a scribal mistake for the 29th day of the sixth month.

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sixth and the seventh month respectively of the year. Perhaps representations of a procession with ram-headed jars (Fig. 31) belonged to one of these two feasts.

We may consider as another feast of Amon the Feast of the First Month (or Beginning) of the Third Season (i.e., the ninth month), the beginning of which was determined by a lunar date(?). Yet this feast is celebrated in Thebes and elsewhere for other deities also. According to the Medinet Habu Calendar it lasted five days, including the day of return. In the Greco-Roman temples it is considered as a visitation feast and is connected with a river journey.

A feast of the local ithyphallic god Min, who as the "Bull of His Mother" is identified with Amon, constitutes the last great feast of Amon. It bears the name "The Going Forth of Min" in common with a moon feast. It is called more fully "The Going Forth of Min to the Stairway." Representations of the feast occur in Karnak and Luxor from various periods of the Empire and in the temples of Ramses II and Ramses III on the west side at Thebes.[51] According to the Medinet Habu Calendar the date of this feast is determined by the rising of the new moon in the ninth month of the year. The solemn procession associated with this feast is always represented (Fig. 32). Min is borne upon a platform by priests. These priests, together with the carrying poles, are wrapped in a canopy adorned with stars and cartouches. Above the canopy project only the priests' heads. The huge figure of Min has to be supported by poles or cords. Whisk- and fan-bearers stride along beside it (Fig. 33). The king in person precedes it and offers incense before the god. Court and army take part in the procession. To this procession are attached various other groups which, because of their peculiarity, seem to be of special interest and besides can contribute to the explanation of the obscure meaning of the feast. The leading along of the white steer, probably the sacred animal of the god himself, in which his character as the "Bull of His Mother" manifests itself, suggests a fertility feast, which this feast indeed seems to represent, at which the ithyphallic god is installed upon his throne, the "stairway." With this enthronement is connected the loosing of four birds to the four cardinal points to the ac-

[51] Dealt with in detail by H. Gauthier in *Les fêtes du dieu Min* (Institut français d'archéologie orientale, "Recherches d'archéologie, de philologie et d'histoire" II [Le Caire, 1931]).

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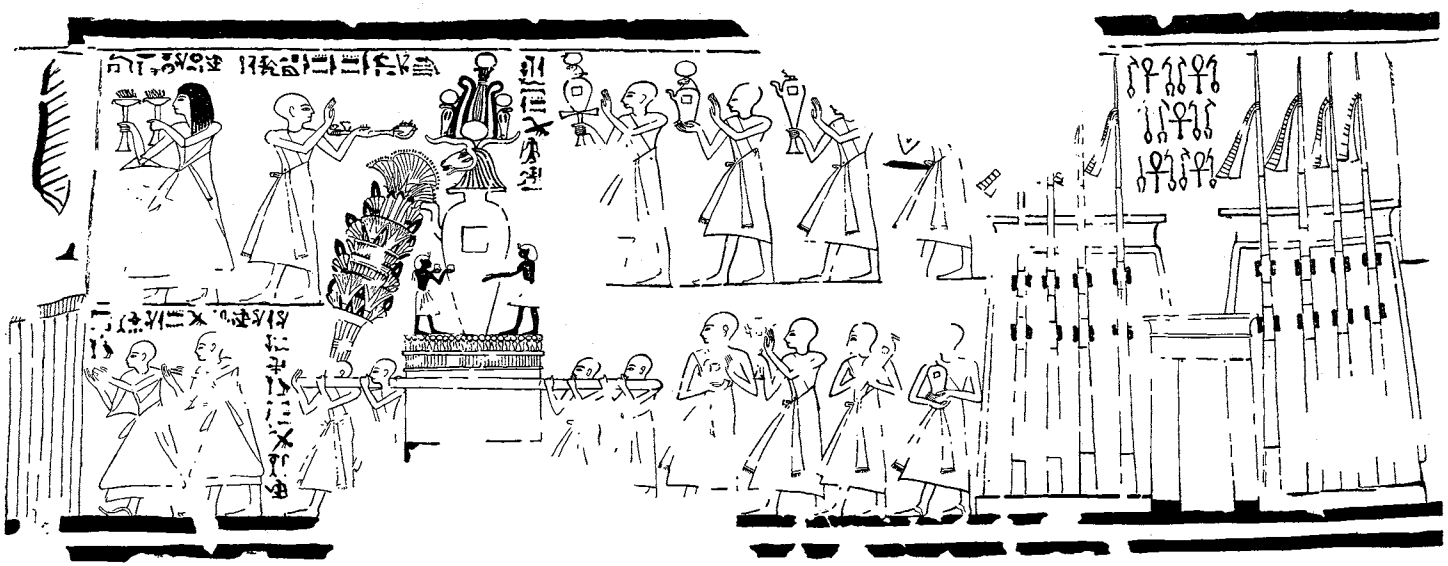


FIG. 31.—Procession with ram-headed jars. Thebes, Tomb 16. After Foucart, Baud, and Drioton, *Tombes thébaines* ("Mémoires de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire" LVII 2 [Le Caire, 1932]) Fig. 16.

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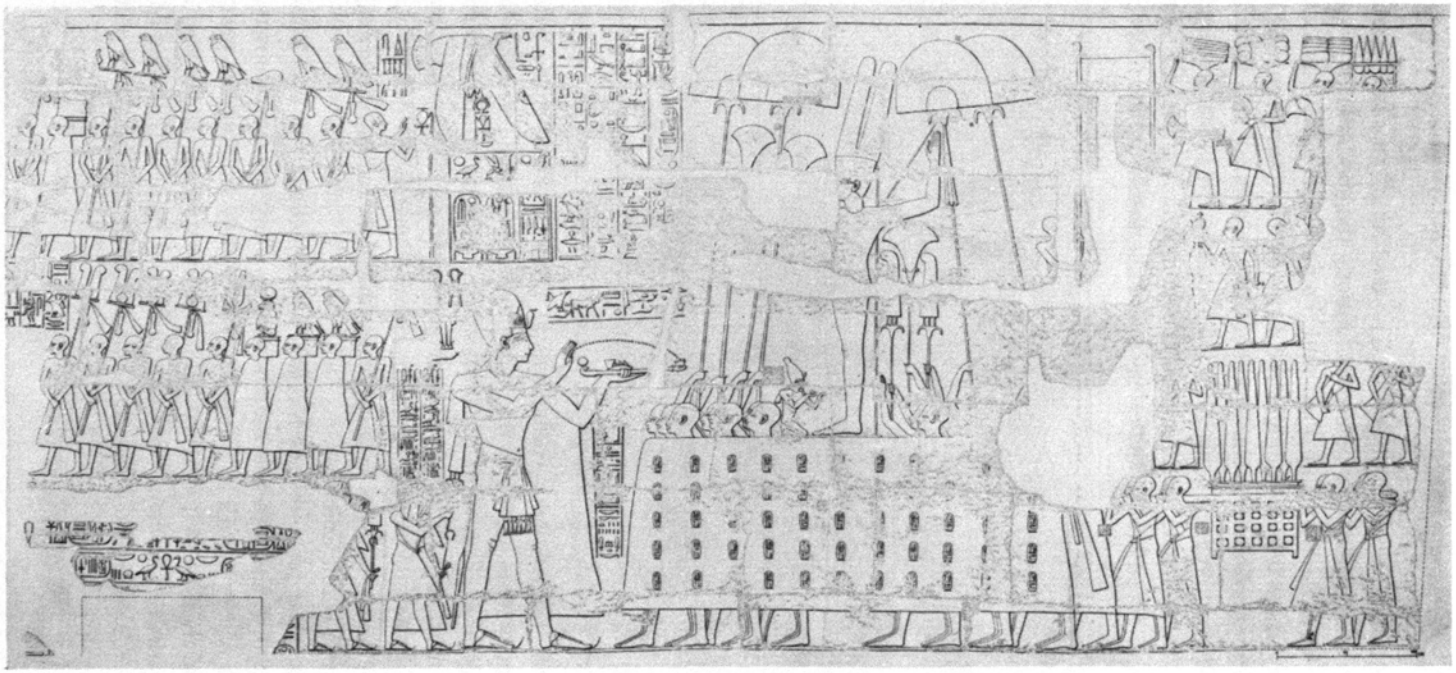


FIG. 32.—Feast of the Going Forth of Min to the Stairway. Karnak temple of Ramses III, first court, west wall

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companiment of proclamations. The cutting of an ear of grain by a priestess suggests a harvest feast. Among the special rites belong also the song of a negro from Punt and the participation of the statues of earlier kings. The meaning of the songs that are sung remains largely obscure. According to the Medinet Habu Calendar this feast is celebrated every year. Presumably it belongs to the oldest nature feasts.

To these feasts in honor of the god Amon there are added in Medinet Habu and in the calendars of the tombs in the necropolis of

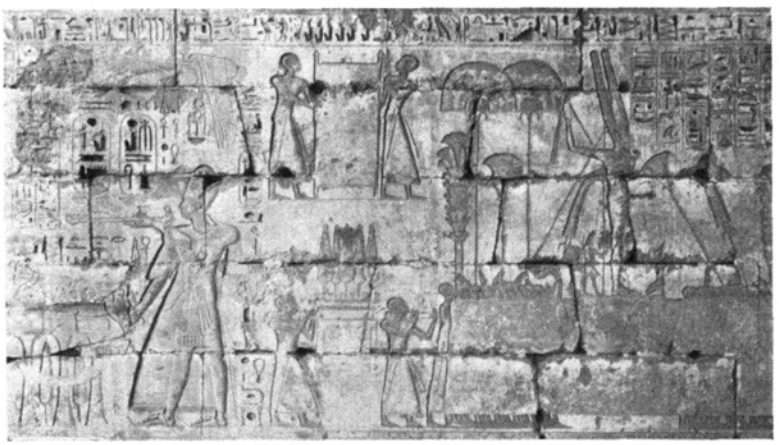


FIG. 33.—Festival procession of Min. Medinet Habu temple of Ramses III, second court, north wall.

western Thebes the mortuary feasts. Even the Feast of the Valley is a mortuary feast. Yet it is distinguished from all the others by the fact that it has arisen from the local cult of the god Amon, whereas the chief mortuary feasts of the necropolis reached Thebes only with the cult of the mortuary god Osiris, named here in his Memphite form Ptah-Sokar-Osiris—a fact expressly noted in the introduction to the Medinet Habu Calendar.

The chief feasts of the mortuary cult occur in the first season, all but two of them in the fourth month. They are well known as the feasts of the month of Khoiak. Mostly they involve the practice of special rites by the priesthood of the mortuary god. In the roof temple of Osiris at Denderah they are described in detail. In the Medinet Habu Calendar they appear from the 20th of Khoiak on as special

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days: the day of purifying the Ennead, the day of opening the window in the shrine (of Ptah-Sokar-Osiris), the day of digging the earth (starting to build the tomb), the day of leaving the shrine(?), the day of placing Sokar in their midst (the midst of the dead?), the day of deification(?), the day of the Feast of Sokar, the day of anointing the Ennead, the day of dragging the obelisk, the day of erecting the *ḏd*-pillar (the last day of the month of Khoiak).

All these designations suggest special rites in the cult of Osiris. They sound like stages in the passion of his burial. These celebrations lead over to the first day of the following month, the first day of the second season, a coronation feast—a feast "in the whole land"—at which Horus, the young son of the god, assumes the rule in the place of his dead father. For this reason this day too can be considered as a royal feast for the living Horus. Like the New Year's Feast it is celebrated in the necropolis also by the offering of gifts to the royal house and within the family. At the tombs lights are lit as on the intercalary days of the year, on New Year's Day, and at the mortuary feast in the first month. It is celebrated by banqueting in the tomb chamber and the bringing of filial offerings and bouquets.

The two mortuary feasts of the first month also are connected with the mysteries of the cult of Osiris. At the mortuary feast called the *W3g*-Feast, in addition to offerings and the lighting of lamps, there is carried out symbolically for the dead the journey to Abydos. Model boats are set up on the tomb superstructure and are pointed for one day in the direction of Abydos, the cult city of Osiris. Then on the following day, as a token of the return from this journey which has been symbolically undertaken for the dead, they are turned in the opposite direction. The deceased then returns into his tomb. This scene is often pictured in the tombs (Fig. 34). The following day, the Feast of Thoth, the god of wisdom, amounts to a day of justification, with the awarding of the wreath of victory for the dead. This is followed, after the interval which the god spent in the embalming hall, by the funeral ceremonies of the month of Khoiak. The chief days of these ceremonies are the Feast of Deification(?), the Feast of Sokar, and the Day of Erecting the *Ḏd*-Pillar. Only the Feast of Sokar is often represented. It occurs in the festival hall of Thutmose III at Karnak, in the Medinet Habu temple of Ramses III, in the temples of Edfu and

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Denderah, and in Theban tombs. The dragging of the Sokar bark by the king appears also on the southern outer wall of the inclosure around the festival hall at Karnak and in the temple at Abydos, both under Ramses II, and on various late monuments. The rites on the occasion of erecting the *ḏd*-pillar[52] are shown only once, in a Theban tomb of the reign of Amenhotep III; the erecting itself is shown in the Abydos temple of Seti I. The Feast of Deification(?) is frequently mentioned in prayers for the dead. Representations of individual rites

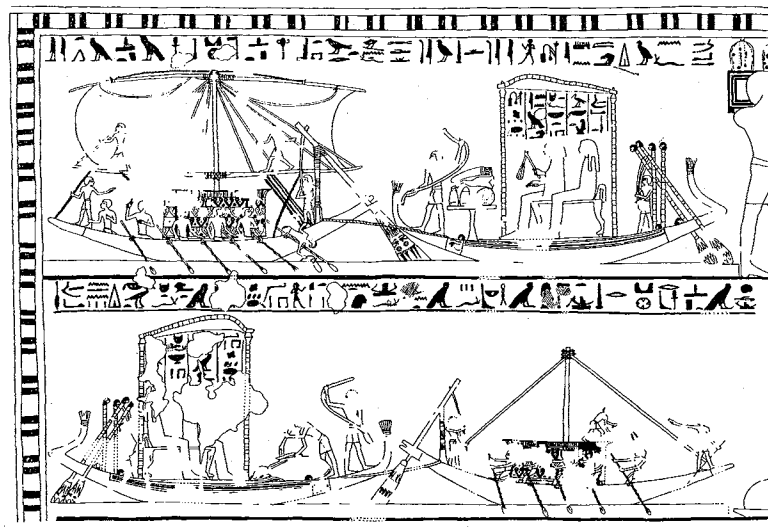


FIG. 34.—The journey to Abydos (below) and the return thence (above). After Davies and Gardiner, *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* (London, 1915) Pl. XII.

are found in Denderah. In a Theban tomb is pictured the offering of onions, with which people wreathed themselves on this day (Fig. 35).

The Feast of Sokar is represented most completely at Medinet Habu (Fig. 36). There it includes also the procession with the plant symbol of the god Nefertem (Fig. 37), which appears again with the

[52] See especially K. Sethe, *Dramatische Texte zu altaegyptischen Mysterienspielen* ("Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ägyptens" X [Leipzig, 1928]) p. 156. For the applying of the rope and the sinking of the pillar see *ibid.* pp. 159 ff. Here in the oldest known form of these rites the god Set is symbolized by the *ḏd*-pillar. On the pillar itself see especially Heinrich Schäfer in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith* (London, 1931) pp. 424–31.

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Sokar bark in tombs of the Theban necropolis (Fig. 38) and in the temple of Deir el-Medinah (Fig. 39). In these pictures also the procession occupies almost the whole space in the scene. According to the accompanying inscription at Medinet Habu, it too belongs to the pro-



FIG. 35.—Offering onions at the Feast of Deification(?). Thebes, Tomb 9, hall, north wall.

cession around the walls, originally around the "White Walls of Memphis," the fortress of the founders of the Old Kingdom—a procession very often mentioned in connection with this feast or the day preceding it.

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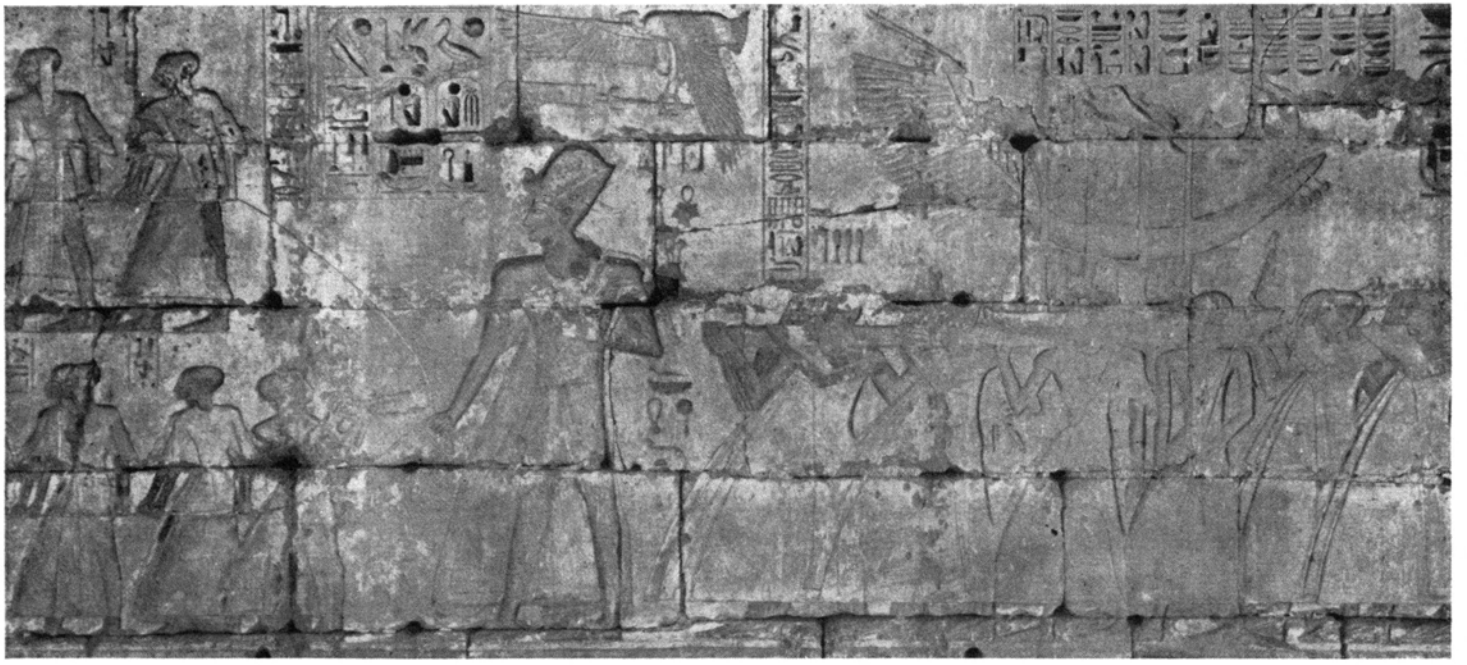


FIG. 36.—Procession of the bark of Sokar. Medinet Habu, second court, south wall

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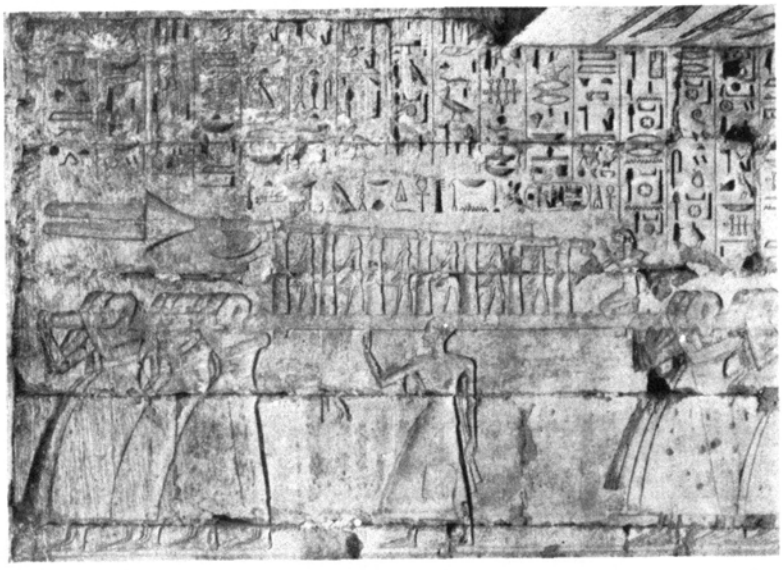


FIG. 37.—Procession of the Nefertem symbol at the Feast of Sokar. Medinet Habu, second court, south wall.

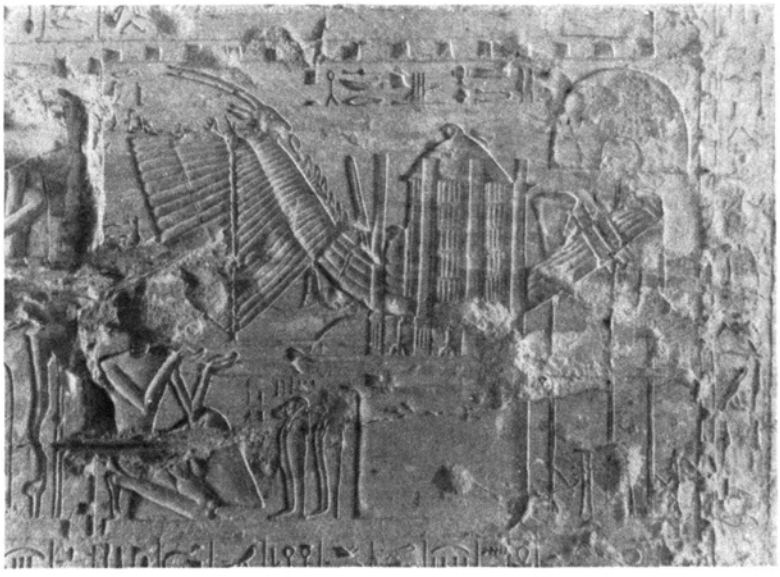


FIG. 38.—Worship of the Sokar bark at the Feast of Sokar. Thebes, Tomb 50, calendar. Note the wall pictured on three sides of the scene.

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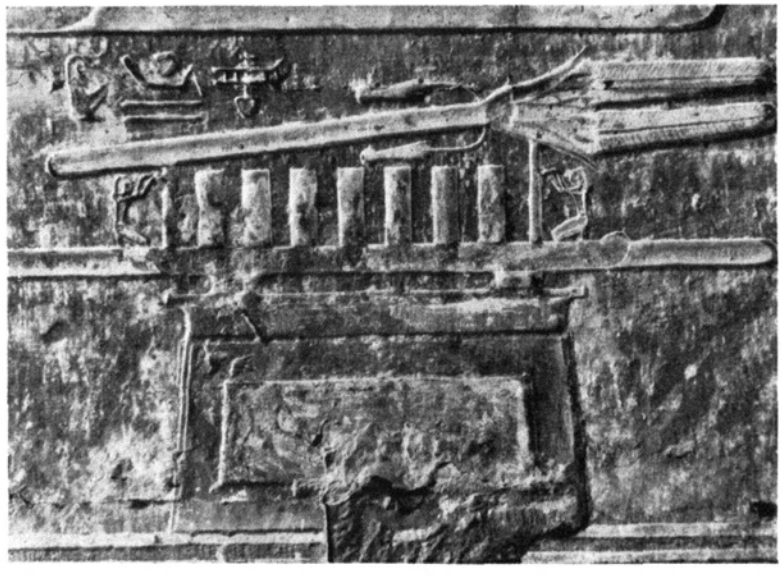


FIG. 39.—Symbol of Nefertem. Deir el-Medinah temple, southern chapel, north wall.

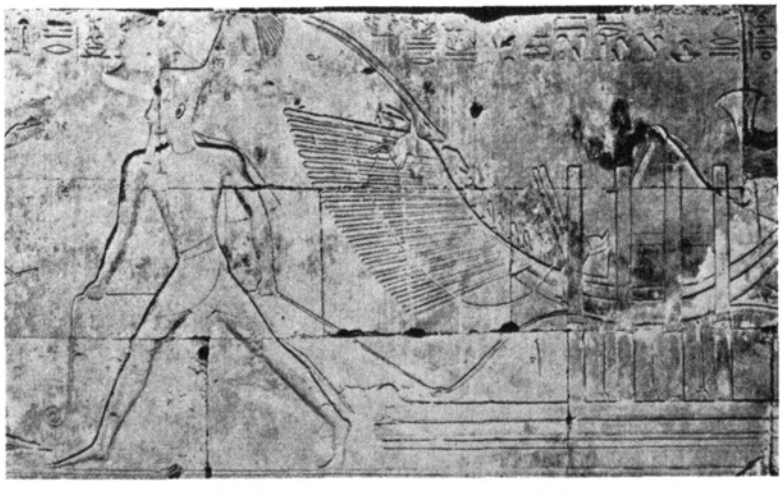


FIG. 40.—The king drawing the bark of Sokar. After Capart, *Abydos. Le temple de Séti Ier* (Bruxelles, 1912) Pl. XLIX.

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Sokar as a mummified falcon squats on the chapel in his bark, an archaic divine bark, which again in Figure 40 is drawn on a sledge by the king personally. The rope by which it is pulled is usually represented, even when the bark is at rest, as an essential element. In Medinet Habu courtiers and princes bear the ends of the rope; thus they participate in the honor of drawing the bark. The procession is opened by special priests, the priesthood of this god. The texts accompanying the scene contain the litanies recited during the proces-

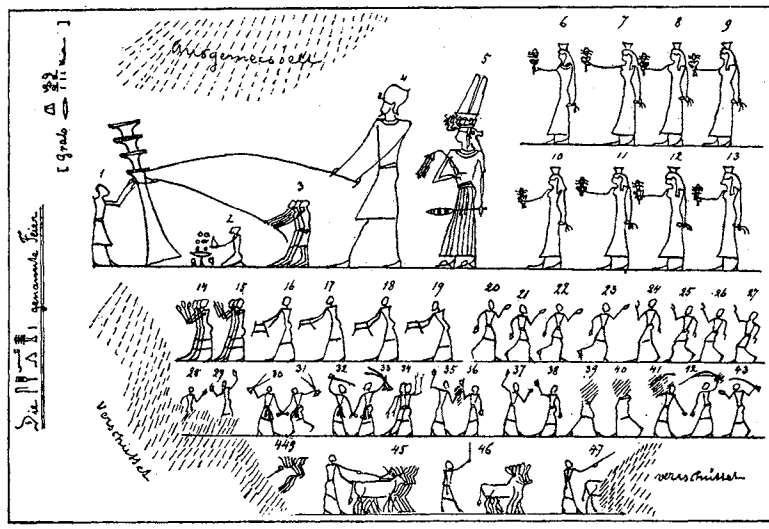


FIG. 41.—Rites performed on the Day of Erecting the *Ḏd*-Pillar. Thebes, Tomb 192. After Brugsch, *Thesaurus inscriptionum Aegyptiacarum* V (Leipzig, 1891) 1190.

sion. This is the oldest version of a text very common in the late period.

The rites of the Day of Erecting the *Ḏd*-Pillar are not represented at Medinet Habu. That they were practiced in the Theban necropolis is shown by a representation (now covered up) in the tomb of Kheriuf from the reign of Amenhotep III (Fig. 41). This ceremony too takes place in the presence of the court. The king in person, assisted by an official, takes charge of the erecting (cf. Figs. 42–43). The feast is completed by a series of other rites connected with the procession around the walls.

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In the tomb of Kheriuf this day is considered the day before the jubilee feast (*ḥb-śd*),[53] which must accordingly be identical with the Feast of Uniting the Kas. The inscriptions say that this feast, celebrated according to the calendars on the first day of the fifth month, symbolizes the enthronement of the god Horus as avenger of his fa-



FIG. 42.—Sinking the *ḏd*-pillar before the goddess Isis. After Capart, *op. cit.* Pl. XXIX.

ther Osiris. Scenes of the jubilee feast at Soleb show us that on that day lamps are lit before various gods.[54] A similar scene in connection with a procession appears in a room of the festival hall of Thutmose III at Karnak. I would associate these rites with the lamplighting in the

[53] See Sethe in "Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens" III (Leipzig, 1905) 136; Griffith in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* V (1918) 61–63.

[54] Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* III 84*a–b*.

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tombs on the occasion of the Feast of Uniting the Kas and would find here further support for the assumption that the jubilee feast may represent only a special form of the Feast of Uniting the Kas, for a special occasion. The latter feast is indeed quite universally considered to be one of the feasts of the king.

At the Feast of Uniting the Kas, as at the New Year's Feast, gifts are presented to the royal house by the officials. The same thing is

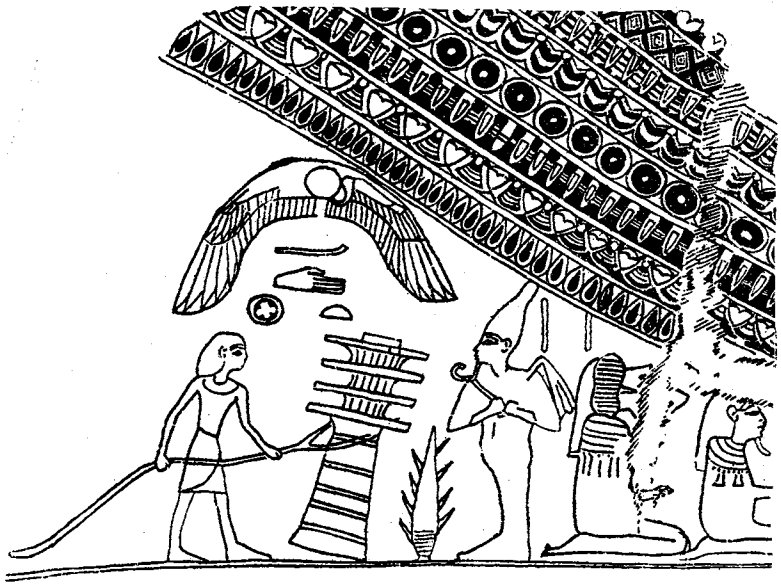


FIG. 43.—Erecting (or sinking) the *ḏd*-pillar before Osiris. After J. E. Quibell, *The Ramesseum* ("Egyptian Research Account, 1896" [London, 1898]) Pl. XXVIII.

done, according to pictures and inscriptions in the tombs, within families before the master of the house by his dependents. Both of these days can therefore in special fashion be considered as court feasts. To both of these feasts, considered as feasts of the royal house, are still to be added the personal feasts of the king, primarily the anniversary of his accession to the throne, then later various feasts in memory of victories won. In the Medinet Habu Calendar the offering lists for one of these feasts of victory have been placed over the erased list of the Feast of Uniting the Kas, a circumstance which is presumably significant for the rank of the feasts, inasmuch as the feast of vic-

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tory was not entered chronologically in the Calendar. With the erasure of the lists of a feast there was danger of antagonizing the gods concerned. Perhaps the erasure of this feast as compared with others seemed the lesser evil. Another feast of the king in the Medinet Habu Calendar is the day of writing his name on a sycamore in the temple of Ptah, a rite which is occasionally represented in the temples.

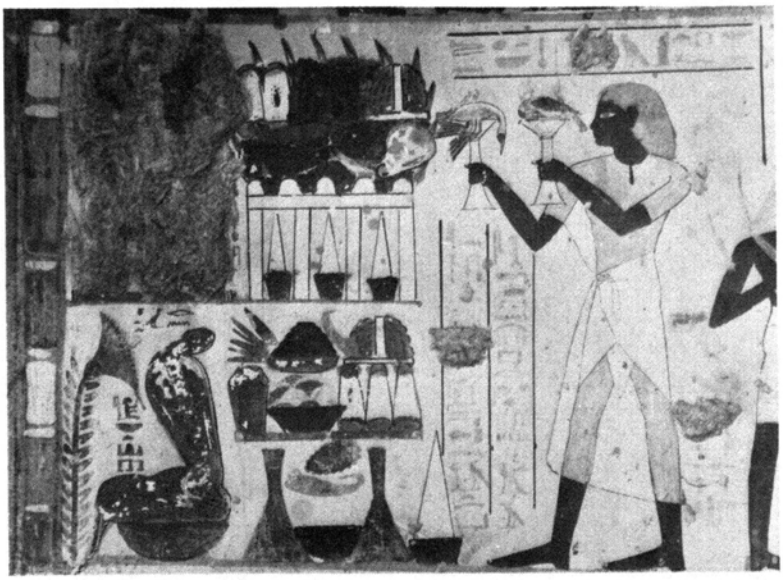


FIG. 44.—Presenting offerings before Amon and the granary goddess Renenutet for the harvest feast. Thebes, Tomb 38.

Among the remaining feasts of the Medinet Habu Calendar occurs a series of calendar feasts which introduce the months and were probably celebrated all over Egypt. To these belong the Feast of the Rising of Sothis (New Year's Day) on the first day of the first month, the Feast of Hathor on the first day of the fourth month, the Feast of Rowing Anubis on the first day of the sixth month, and the Feast of Renenutet the harvest goddess (Figs. 44–45) on the first day of the ninth month.

The few remaining feasts are scarcely known. They might be considered as local feasts. The Erecting of the Willow, a feast of the goddess Mut of Karnak, which we know elsewhere at Denderah only

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(Fig. 46), was celebrated in the temple of Mut in remembrance of the return of this goddess from abroad. The Feast of Chewing Onions for (the goddess) Bast is likewise celebrated at Karnak in the cult of the goddess Mut. The Feast of the Two Goddesses (Isis and Nephthys as *hrty*) we know elsewhere only from the calendar of a Theban tomb.



FIG. 45.—Presenting offerings before Renenutet for the harvest feast on the birthday of her son the grain god. Thebes, Tomb 57.

In a Theban tomb of which trace has since been lost Champollion copied an inscription which evidently represents a list of the number of feast days celebrated in the necropolis.[55] The numbers for the first month and for the months of the third season are lacking. Fortunately, however, the total of the whole statement is preserved. The second month shows thirteen, the fourth twelve, the fifth four feast days—amounts which match the number of feast days for the months concerned mentioned in the Medinet Habu Calendar. The variation of the other numbers might be explained by the historical development of individual feasts. The total number of feast days in both documents

[55] Champollion, *Monuments de l'Egypte et de la Nubie. Notices descriptives* I (Paris, 1844) 510–12; see Porter and Moss, *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings* I (Oxford, 1927) 193, Tomb *ss*.

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is almost identical. In the Medinet Habu Calendar there are some sixty feast days; the tomb list names a total of fifty-nine. This would show that, even though the Medinet Habu Calendar is incomplete because of lack of space, only a few dates of the latest months can be lacking. One would expect here too, as in the tomb calendars, to find the Feast of the Supper of Osiris, on the last day of the twelfth month, celebrated before the intercalary days. One would also expect offerings

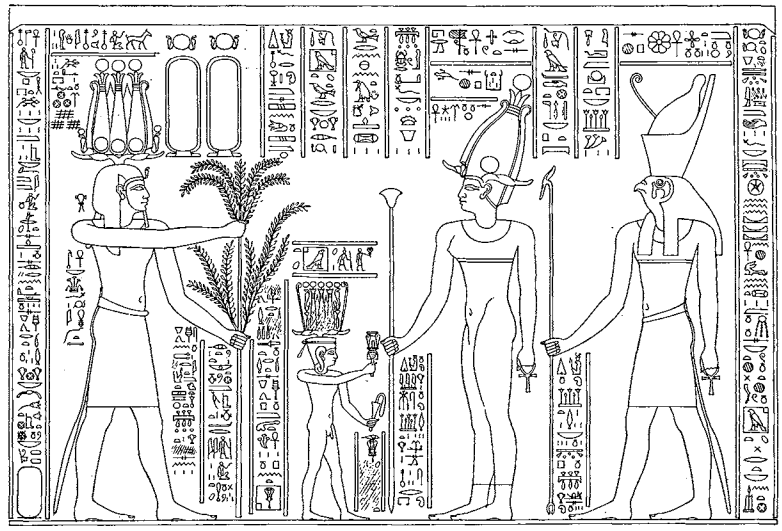


FIG. 46.—Erecting the willow. After Mariette, *Dendérah* I (Paris, 1870) Pl. 24

for the intercalary days themselves, which according to scenes in individual tombs were celebrated by the lighting of lamps. With these the number of feasts celebrated at Medinet Habu would be increased by five or six. The latest months show even in other calendars fewer feasts and ceremonial days. In the eleventh month in Greco-Roman times the visit of Hathor of Denderah to Edfu was celebrated together with the birth of the divine child. In the late period the number of feasts and ceremonial days celebrated increased by mutual borrowings from one temple to another and by lengthening the feasts celebrated under Ramses III, although it is certain that other feasts must have sunk into oblivion.

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II

THE EXCAVATIONS

By UVO HÖLSCHER

Introduction

Our fifth campaign (1931/32) brought to a close our excavations at Medinet Habu. We had only to free an enormous structure situated in the western part of the Great Girdle Wall—a structure which proved to be a second fortified gate—and to examine a mound west of the Great Wall. This was found to contain a group of chapels. Finally we had to excavate the Temple of Eye and Harmhab, adjoining Medinet Habu on the north, work on which had been begun the previous year.[1] The systematic carrying-out of this project was made possible by the Service des Antiquités, which kindly extended our concession on the north and west. We have also to thank the Institut Français for permission to prospect in its adjoining territory for the northern girdle wall of the Temple of Eye and Harmhab. By the end of the season the whole district of Medinet Habu as far as covered by our concession had been excavated and examined.

As in previous years, the author was assisted by Herr Hans Steckeweh, who was helped in his architectural drawings by Frau Hetha Steckeweh. The scientific study of the finds was in charge of Dr. Rudolf Anthes. The scarabs etc. were drawn by Herr Dietrich Marcks, while the arduous task of registering the objects, listing the finds preparatory to division, etc., was intrusted to Mrs. Keith C. Seele. Mr. Henry Leichter continued to serve as our photographer. My best thanks are due to all of these for their devoted efforts.

In 1932/33 we made a final re-examination of the Small Temple of Medinet Habu[2] and of the Temple of Eye and Harmhab. The finds from the excavations as a whole were divided at the end of March, 1933, in the presence of M. Pierre Lacau, director of the Service des

[1] "Oriental Institute Communications" (hereafter abbreviated to *OIC*) No. 15, pp. 47–53.

[2] *OIC* No. 10, pp. 61–69; cf. *OIC* No. 15, pp. 33–34.

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Antiquités, and of three curators of the Cairo Museum. Then the pieces to be sent away were packed and shipped to Cairo and Chicago respectively. Many of the larger reliefs etc., especially such pieces as have to do with the structural coherence of the buildings of Medinet Habu, were left on the spot, to be arranged there in a local museum.

Herewith the field work of the Architectural Survey at Medinet Habu was finished. The results of its excavations have now to be published. A large folio volume, already issued,[2a] gives the maps of the excavations and also the ground plans, elevations, and sections of the main buildings, thus providing the basis for the various treatises and reconstructions which will be included in the text volumes to follow. A few colored views were added which are too large for the text volumes.

THE WESTERN FORTIFIED GATE OF MEDINET HABU

Inside the temple area of Ramses III at Medinet Habu the middle of the western portion of the Great Girdle Wall had to be excavated and examined. This had been left until the last, because there on the highest rubbish heap stood our field house. Under later débris we had previously noticed masonry consisting of rather large bricks (43×21× 13 cm.) characteristic of the time of Ramses III. In the preceding campaign we had already seen here the exterior of a massive cubical building, so that we had come to the conclusion that some towering structure must have stood here. Whether this was a gate, a stairway, or a ramp belonging to the Great Girdle Wall still remained uncertain.

We began our digging at this spot on December 18, 1931. It was soon seen that we had before us a structure analogous to the Fortified Gate which formed the eastern entrance to the temple area.[2b] There, however, the stone casing of the building was fairly uninjured, only the brickwork behind having been removed; whereas here we found just the brickwork, preserved to an average height of 3 meters. The stone casing, on the other hand, was gone, with the exception of some pavement blocks and the lowest courses on the outer face of the south tower. The ground plan, however, could be ascertained with sufficient accuracy (Fig. 47). In comparison with the Eastern Fortified Gate, the Western was stronger and larger, no doubt because here at the

[2a] *The Excavation of Medinet Habu. I. General Plans and Views.* By Uvo Hölscher. xiv+6 pp., 37 plates (3 in colors), large folio, cloth, $22 ("Oriental Institute Publications" XXI [Chicago, 1934]).

[2b] *OIC* No. 15, pp. 9–18.

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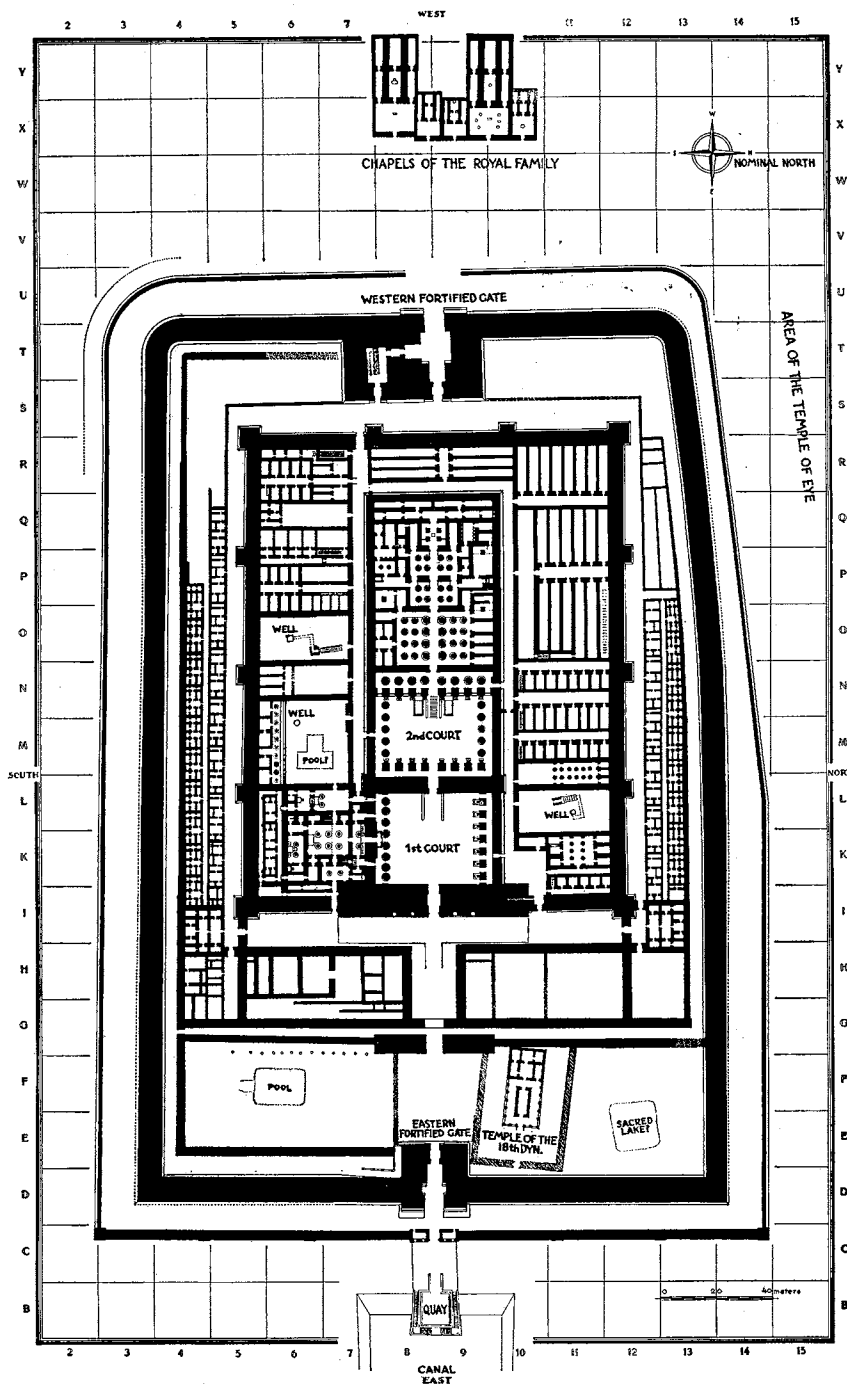


FIG. 47.—Ground plan of the temple area of Ramses III at Medinet Habu

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west the most dangerous attacks, those from the desert plateau, were to be feared. Moreover, within the southern part of the gateway structure had been built a mighty stairway. No doubt this gave the garrison access to the Great Girdle Wall and the fortified gates. The stairs themselves, however, have not been preserved and cannot be reconstructed with certainty, because at a later period tombs were built into the stair well; but the intention of this addition cannot be doubted.



FIG. 48.—Relief from the exterior of the Western Fortified Gate: Fleeing negroes.

Numerous stone casing blocks which had fallen and now block the doorway inside and outside show us that this Western Fortified Gate was built almost exactly like the Eastern. The fallen blocks which we found here correspond piece for piece with similar ones still *in situ* there: crenelated capstones, window jambs, consoles with prisoners' heads, wall reliefs, and steeply sloping wall socles. The interior also was decorated like the Eastern Fortified Gate with harem scenes.[3]

[3] Cf. *ibid.* Figs. 10–11.

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Although on the whole the Eastern Fortified Gate is in considerably the better condition, details of the Western offer much that is new and instructive. On its outer face were large representations of the Pharaoh, armed with bow and arrow, careering along in his chariot, smiting or seizing the negroes. From this scene we have found many characteristic pieces (Figs. 48–49). One block which we found in an earlier campaign on the quay in front of the Eastern Fortified Gate and had been unable to place probably belongs with these.

Many reliefs from the interior are especially important on account of their well preserved coloring. From the harem scenes (e.g., Figs.



FIG. 49.—Relief from the exterior of the Western Fortified Gate: Negroes slain on the battlefield.

50–51) we gain a vivid impression of the charm of naked girlish bodies decorated with painted jewels and crowned with flowers, the backgrounds filled in with garlands and flowers. Such details are not included in the relief sculptures.

We found also numerous pieces of decorated fayence tiles (e.g., Fig. 52) which had been inlaid in doorposts; they were similar to pieces which had been found elsewhere, especially in the Second Palace. They too give us an idea with what loving care and with what brilliance the rooms over the Western Fortified Gate had been decorated.

Some fragments gathered from the rubbish deserve special mention, being characteristic of Egyptian architecture. They belonged to a niche formed of slabs of white limestone joined together and framed

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FIG. 50.—Relief from the interior of the Western Fortified Gate: The Pharaoh in the harem

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FIG. 51.—Relief from the interior of the Western Fortified Gate: Girls of the harem bringing gifts to the Pharaoh.

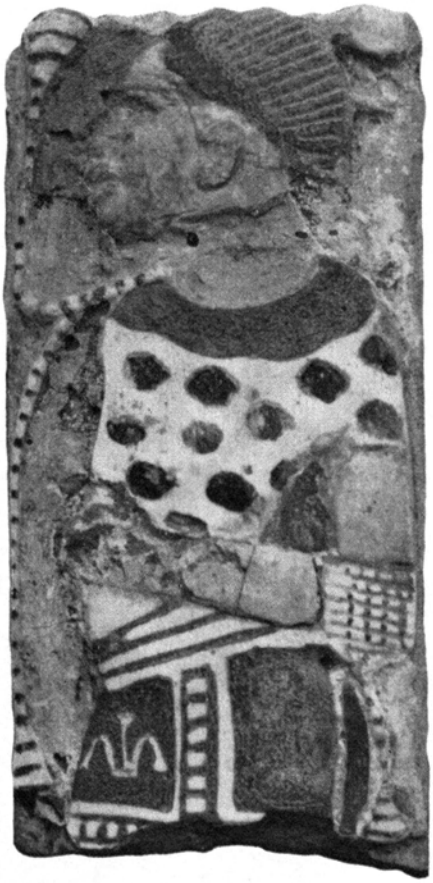


FIG. 52.—A glazed tile from the Western Fortified Gate. It represents a bound negro with yellow skin. Scale, about 2:3.

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by two engaged columns (Fig. 53). The breadth of the niche unfortunately could not be ascertained, but the column fragments could be almost completely re-assembled. The columns (1.10 m. high) carried, as traces show, a wooden architrave painted red, over which lay rows of bricks, perhaps the first courses of a barrel vault. They are cluster-columns showing three different floral capitals superimposed—"lily" over papyrus over lotus.

We are acquainted with such strange combinations from mural decorations in tombs of the Ramessid period.[4] But here for the first time we find such columns in plastic art, and only now can we understand how their strange form is to be explained. Imagine a thick cluster of reed stems, the inner ones of which are longer than those outside. The innermost ones are bound together and bear a so-called "lily" as a capital; the stems tied around them are shorter and bear open papyrus clusters; the outermost stems are the shortest and bear lotus blossoms. Thus only in the case of the lotus plants is the whole length of their stalks visible. These are colored alternately blue and green and are ornamented at the bottom with basal leaves. The lotus blossoms are painted blue with green sepals, enveloped in turn by large yellow sepals with red contours. The papyrus umbels have similar yellow sepals, black lines on blue-green to represent the rays, and small red blossoms. The lily capitals are painted bright blue and red.

Beside each of these cluster-columns, close to the edge of the niche, stands a slender column consisting of a single papyrus stem with an open papyrus capital. On this a uraeus-serpent rears itself, with its body and tail twined around the shaft below. Two other uraei nearly as large rise from each lotus capital.

The meaning and purpose of the decorative niche we have unfortunately not been able to determine. In the tomb paintings mentioned above, the compound columns serve as supports for a canopy over the royal throne. But here we have only engaged columns attached to the wall, and the niche with its inconsiderable height of 1.10 meters is much too small to have been occupied by a real throne. We could only presume, therefore, that in the niche a rather small royal statue or some other object had stood.

[4] See for examples Jean Capart, *Egyptian Art, Introductory Studies* . . . . trans. . . . . by W. R. Dawson (London, 1923) pp. 124 f. and Pl. XLVI.

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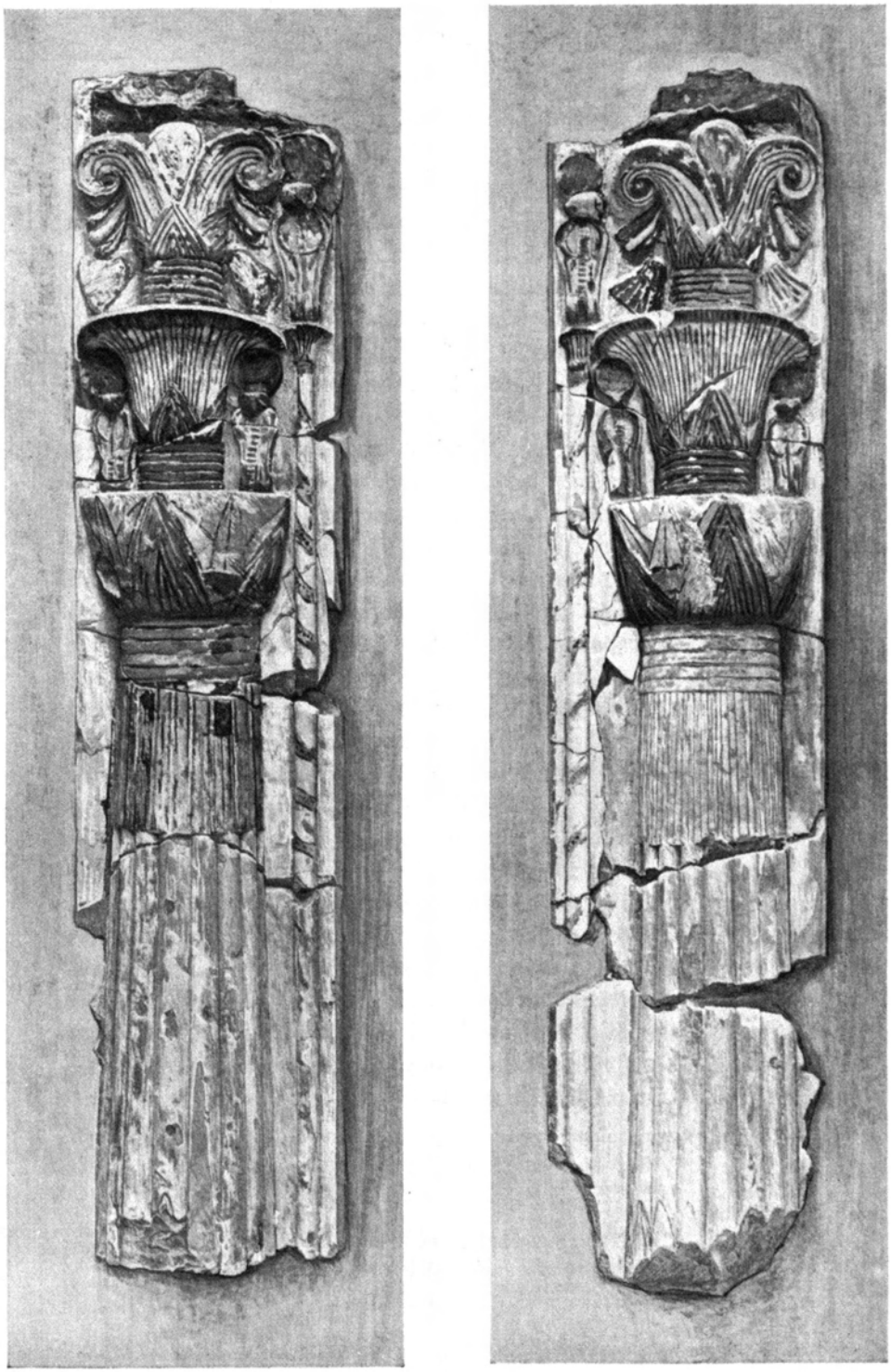


FIG. 53.—Engaged cluster-columns from the Western Fortified Gate. From a water-color painting by Leslie Greener.

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On several blocks that had belonged to inner walls of the Western Fortified Gate hieratic graffiti have been preserved which, to judge from the character of the writing, as Dr. Černý was kind enough to tell me, probably belong to the second half of the 20th dynasty. They are visitors' remarks, prayers, and sketches of figures. In one place we find the name of Ramses IX. The color of most of these painted graffiti[5] is so fresh that it can hardly be assumed that the rooms in which they were painted remained much longer available for general use. The masonry, therefore, was probably destroyed soon after the affixing of these inscriptions, the stones falling down and becoming buried in the earth.

This observation agrees with others made during the excavations, all indicating the end of the 20th dynasty as the date of destruction of the building. Into the stair well, after the steps and their substructures had been removed, had been built the tombs of private persons belonging to all appearances to the 21st dynasty. Further, we found within the temple area itself numerous private manors which dated from the beginning of the 21st dynasty. Among them was the house of Butehamon,[6] who was a scribe of the necropolis under Paynozem I about 1050 B.C. Even by that time, then, Medinet Habu had ceased to be simply a closed temple area; that is, the fortifications were probably already in ruins and in part razed to the ground. We may consider it certain, therefore, that the Western Fortified Gate was destroyed toward the end of the 20th dynasty.

This date is important inasmuch as it affords an illustration of the troubles which began at the end of the Ramessid period—troubles of which we have learned something from literary sources.[7] Already under Ramses IX (1142–1123 B.C.) we hear of a "revolt of the high priest of Amon" or a "revolution in Thebes." The Libyans had occupied eastern Thebes and after a few days had "gone down to the west (of Thebes)." "The foreigners came and seized upon the temple" and carried off men from there.[8] Since the fortress-like complex of Medinet

[5] This term is commonly used for either incised or painted work. Our finds might be more accurately described as *dipinti*.

[6] See *OIC* No. 15, pp. 29–31.

[7] Cf. *ibid.* pp. 29 ff.

[8] Cf. T. E. Peet, "The Supposed Revolution of the High-Priest Amenḥotpe under Ramses IX," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* XII (1926) 254–59.

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Habu was without doubt the most strongly fortified spot on the west side of Thebes, this report may with good reason be referred to Medinet Habu. But whether the destruction of the Great Girdle Wall and the Western Fortified Gate of Medinet Habu were directly connected with this event or not, we can infer that similar catastrophes may not infrequently have occurred in those unquiet times. We must therefore always bear in mind the fact that already by the end of the 20th dynasty the splendor and the strength of the fortress of Medinet Habu were things of the past.

THE CHAPELS WEST OF MEDINET HABU

Not directly, but indirectly, to the temple area of Ramses III belongs a group of chapels or small mortuary temples (Fig. 54) situated to the west behind the temple area, more or less in the axis of the Western Fortified Gate. They are brick structures which have been almost completely destroyed. Generally only from one to three layers of bricks of the masonry above the rocky desert ground have been preserved. The shafts of the tombs found in these temples had all been plundered and were choked with sand. Our careful excavation and exact survey were, however, rewarded. There proved to be two different building periods. Five of the chapels (I–V) belong to the older period, but were somewhat altered later. The last two (VI–VII) were added during the later period.

That the older chapels belong to the 20th dynasty is shown by their evident relationship to the Western Fortified Gate, which had already been destroyed by the end of the 20th dynasty. There were found at three corners of chapel III foundation deposits (rings, beads, etc.) of blue fayence exactly resembling the foundation deposits of the latter period of Ramses III.[9] There was found also close by, but not under the corner of a building, a scarab of Ramses III that has exact counterparts in the foundation deposits of Medinet Habu.

These chapels were built of mud bricks in the two sizes met with at Medinet Habu, that is, $43\times21\times13$ cm. and $35\times17\times11$ cm. respectively. In Medinet Habu the smaller size was used for the latest buildings of Ramses III (rows of houses for temple attendants etc.). On this basis one might regard chapel I, which was built of bricks of the

[9] Cf. *OIC* No. 15, Fig. 14.

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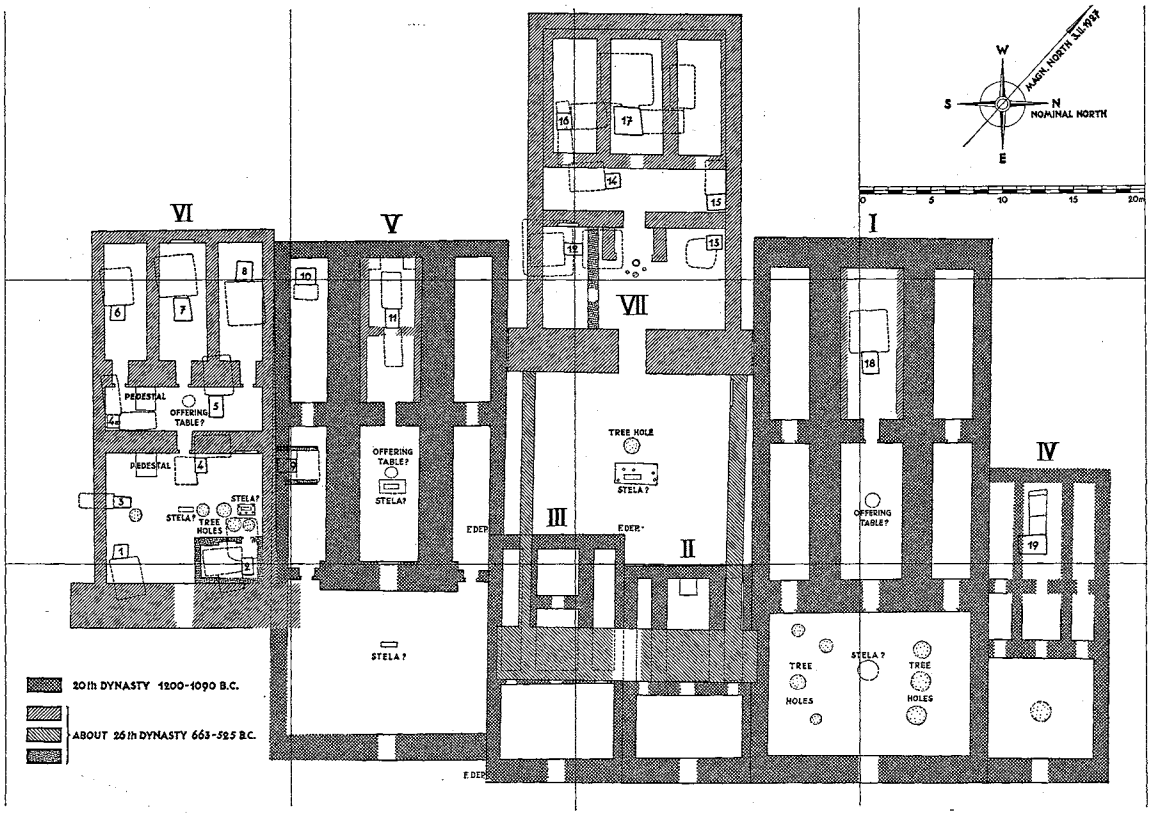


FIG. 54.—The chapels west of Medinet Habu

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larger size, as the oldest, and chapels II–V, built of bricks of the smaller size, as the later ones of the same group. The arrangement of the bricks at the points where the chapels join one another proves that they were erected in the sequence shown by our numbering.

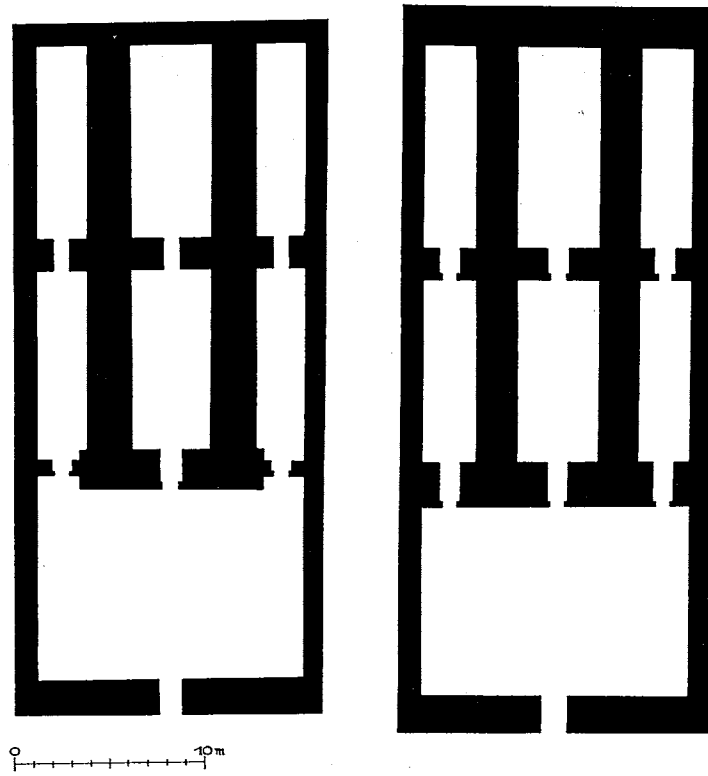


FIG. 55.—Two of the chapels of the 20th dynasty west of Medinet Habu

The plans of the first five chapels are almost the same: behind a rectangular court come three cult chambers, and behind each of these a second, similar cult chamber. It is remarkable that the middle chambers have extraordinarily thick side walls. In the two larger chapels, I and V (Fig. 55), the thickness is about 2.30 meters, twice that of the outer walls. The front walls of the cult chambers were similarly strongly built, though in chapel V before the middle chamber only, not before the two side chambers. In reconstructing, we may imagine that the

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middle chambers were covered with very strong mud-brick barrel vaults which rested against the front walls, and that the latter were higher and so hid the vaults. This is a type of building which has prevailed in Upper Egypt from ancient times until today. Whether some or all of the side chambers also were vaulted is not absolutely certain. If such was the case, their vaults must have been considerably lower so as not to bring so much pressure on their side walls.

The shafts leading to the tombs found in these chapels are, according to the finds, all to be placed at a period later than that of the original construction. This is confirmed by the fact that in chapels II and III, which at a later period were not in use, no tomb shafts at all are to be traced. If, then, these older mortuary temples were not intended to receive the bodies of their owners, the tombs must be sought elsewhere, probably in one of the desert valleys lying beyond. Now in the Valley of the Queens, actually in the axis behind these temples, at least four sons of Ramses III and the mother of Ramses VI were buried. We may from this fact conjecture that our chapels were the mortuary temples belonging to their tombs. We have therefore called them "chapels of the royal family."

Finally we must mention that in the courts of these chapels many tree holes and pits were found. But, since they belong not to the original building period but to that of the reconstruction, they will be discussed later.

The later chapels VI and VII are, as we have said, buildings of a more recent time. Their pylons extend over the foundations of the court walls of the older chapels I and V and actually overlie chapels II and III. Consequently these last two must have already disappeared, and at least the forecourts of I and V must have suffered. Indeed, in chapel V the southern chamber had been disturbed by the introduction of a new structure. On the other hand, the rear chambers of chapels I, IV, and V were preserved or restored and used for burials.

The dating of the more recent building period is rendered difficult since in the lowest courses large bricks from older buildings which had been torn down were re-used. But in the upper courses there are smaller bricks characteristic of Saitic times or thereabouts. It is these small bricks which determine the date.

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The later chapels VI (Fig. 56) and VII, differing essentially in plan from the older ones, are each composed of pylon, court, transverse hall, and three chambers. In chapel VII there is a repetition of pylon and court. The chambers were no doubt vaulted. In chapel VI a false door seems to have been built in the rear wall of the middle cella. In the second court of chapel VII there is a small portico before the transverse hall.

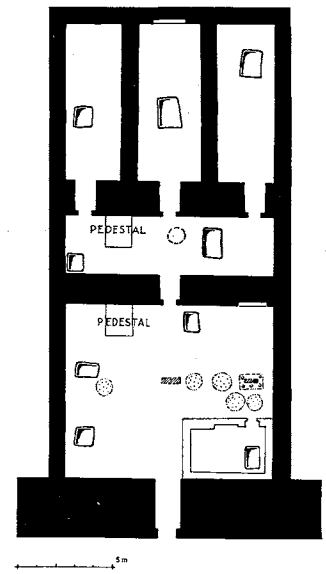


FIG. 56.—A 26th dynasty chapel west of Medinet Habu.

Various holes dug in the stony soil throw light by their position, shape, and contents on other features of these chapels. In chapels V, VI, and VII we found in the middle of the court holes about 110×30 cm. and 75 cm. deep, filled with gravel from the desert and with rubbish. Tall stone slabs must formerly have stood in them, either tomb stelae or else screens to prevent looking into the rear rooms. The latter explanation seems to me the more probable, because these holes were in the right position and of the right size so that, if filled with slabs, the view would have been obstructed. We know from Egyptian wall scenes and from the excavations at Tell el-Amarna that such screens were frequent in Egyptian dwellings as well as in Egyptian chapels and might be decorated with cornices and uraeus friezes.[10]

Similar rectangular pits occurred in the central chamber of V and before a small chapel built into the court of VI. Rounder pits in the court and the central chamber of I may likewise have been used for screens. The pit already mentioned in VII is surrounded by a trench filled with humus and showing remains of plants; so too is the screen pit before the doorway of the added structure in the court of VI.

Quite different are the tree holes, which are numerous in the courts of chapels I, VI, and VII. They have diameters of 70–80 cm., are

[10] See H. Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 3. Aufl. (Leipzig, 1930) Figs. 84 and 86, and H. Ricke, *Der Grundriss des Amarna-Wohnhauses* (56. Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichung der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft [Leipzig, 1932]) Fig. 46.

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about 70 cm. deep, were filled with humus, and as a rule contained the carbonized remains of rootstocks. Thus we see that the tomb chapels laid out on the desert soil of western Thebes were not without their groves and gardens. We have here a confirmation of what is pictured in many Egyptian tombs.

In the more recent chapels VI and VII are many tomb shafts; the older chapels, on the other hand, contain tombs only as a result of reuse in later times. The shafts, as we have said, had all been plundered when we found them. It was possible, however, for us to rescue much of the customary funerary equipment, such as canopic jars and ushebtis. According to their style and inscriptions they all appear to belong to the 25th or 26th dynasty.

Tomb chapels of that time have been found in this vicinity previously. We need only compare our finds with those which Georg Möller excavated in 1911 between the Deutsches Haus and the Ramesseum.[11] The plans are nearly like those of our chapel VI. Tomb shafts occur in the three chambers. A burial belonged to the 22d dynasty. In addition we should mention the chapel of Khonsirdis, whose towering brick ruin lies immediately east of the Deutsches Haus and forms a landmark in western Thebes. Its plan as given by Sir Flinders Petrie[12] shows the same arrangement which we found. In each of its three chambers is a shaft. To judge by the finds, its date would be the beginning of the 26th dynasty. We can therefore consider our chapels VI and VII typical for the period between the 22d and the 26th dynasty. They differ in many respects from the chapels of the 20th dynasty.

THE TEMPLE OF EYE AND HARMHAB

The preliminary work carried out in the area of the Temple of Eye and Harmhab, north of the Great Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu, was described in our previous report.[13] We said there:

> We are particularly interested in the Eye temple because it helps to fill the gap in our knowledge of the mortuary temples of the Empire from the temple of Hatshepsut to those of the 19th dynasty. For as yet little is known about

[11] His unpublished journals of the excavation (Gurna, 1911) are now at the German Institute in Cairo.

[12] *Six Temples at Thebes* (London, 1897) Pl. XXVI and p. 18.

[13] *OIC* No. 15, pp. 47–53.

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the temples of the Thutmosids down to the time of Amenhotep III. The only possible exception is the temple of Thutmose IV, the remains of which perhaps offer a general idea. We therefore eagerly await the message of the Eye temple, for it is certain to reveal the architectural conceptions which were brought back from Tell el-Amarna at the restoration of the cult of Amon and his associates in Thebes.[14]

In the winter of 1931/32 we continued our examination of the temple area of Eye and Harmhab after our concession had been extended to include that district. The excavation of the Temple of Eye and Harmhab was a rather difficult and vexatious task, for its condition was as bad as possible. The stones employed in the superstructure had long ago been torn away, and the greater part of those used in the foundations had been dug out and re-used elsewhere. The brick walls themselves, with the exception of some fragments, had disappeared. But in spite of all this we are able to describe the whole ground plan of the temple.

The fact that the masonry of the temple shows two separate periods makes it doubly difficult to understand its evolution. The foundation deposits, stamped bricks, and fragments of relief sculpture on the walls of the earlier structure point to its having been built by Eye; the more recent part, as we shall see, has to be ascribed to his successor Harmhab.

A stately brick pylon formed the entrance to the approach to the older building, the Temple of Eye (Fig. 57). It is not possible to say with certainty how the succeeding courts were planned, as the realization of the plan had scarcely been started at the death of Eye. A few foundation trenches provide the only evidence. Foundation deposits (F 1, F 2, etc. in Fig. 57) found in them bear the name of Eye. To the left, behind the brick pylon, stands the royal palace, on the mud bricks of which we again find the name of Eye.

Apart from the pylon and the palace, both built of brick, there is preserved of the Eye period only the inclosed temple in the background of Figure 57. It was erected of hewn blocks and completely finished under Eye, even to the paintings which decorated its walls and columns. But later, wherever it had stood, the name of Eye was chiseled out or painted over, and that of Harmhab was substituted.

[14] *Ibid.* p. 50.

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The first room of this temple is a broad hypostyle hall with two rows of ten columns each (see Fig. 57). These columns, the shape and decoration of which have been reconstructed from innumerable tiny

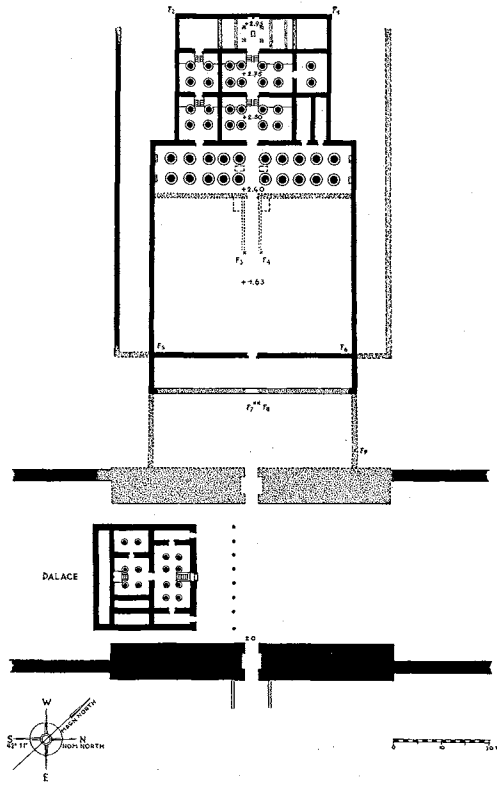


FIG. 57.—The Temple of King Eye

fragments (Fig. 58), had open papyriform capitals. They were almost identical with, but somewhat smaller than, the huge columns which Amenhotep III had erected in front of his temple at Luxor only a few decades before. The good condition of the paintings on our columns gives us a clear insight into the original effect of those late 18th dynasty columns.

The inner temple, adjoining this broad hall, is divided into three parallel sections. The middle section contains the cult rooms set

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Fig. 58.—Papyriform column from the broad hypostyle hall of the Temple of Eye. Reconstruction drawn by D. Marcks.

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apart for the principal deities, no doubt Amon and his associates. The left-hand section, which is smaller than the middle one, was perhaps for Osiris or perhaps for the deified king; the section to the right, still narrower than that on the left, was for other gods, but we do not know for whom.

In the middle section are two hypostyle halls, each having eight papyriform cluster-columns with bud capitals. Behind these two halls the holy of holies must have been placed. Unfortunately this room is so ruined that we could not determine its form with certainty. After the analogy of later temples (of Seti I, Ramses II, and Ramses III) we may think of it as a square hall with four pillars and with a double niche in the rear wall. To left and right of this sanctuary of Amon there may well have been space for chapels of Mut and Khonsu respectively.

The rooms of the left-hand section correspond exactly to those of the middle section. But here again the last room is so badly destroyed that one can say nothing certain of its construction. The right-hand section, however, was divided differently. First there were two narrow chapels, which could no doubt be approached from the broad hypostyle hall. The next room, which had two columns, was probably entered from the second hypostyle hall of the middle section and possibly served as a vestibule for the last room, that is, that in the northwest corner of the temple. But of this last room and its form unfortunately we know nothing. The wide central aisle, for the procession of the bark of the gods, followed the main axis of the temple but lay a little to the left of the center of the middle section, the rooms of which were consequently unsymmetrically developed.

This outline of the Temple of Eye is very interesting and instructive in so far as we may accept the division of its ground plan into three sections as typical of a certain class of royal mortuary temples. For the sake of comparison let us look at the ground plan of the Ramesseum as given in our previous report[15] and also at the temple of Hatshepsut at Deir el-Bahri, the Seti temple at Gurna, and that of Queen Tewosret near the Ramesseum.

We know that Eye reigned for not more than three or four years,

[15] *Ibid.* Fig. 36.

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and it is remarkable that in so short a time such a great temple should have been erected and the reliefs and paintings in the principal rooms completed.

The temple under Harmhab grew much larger (Fig. 59). But the work itself was less careful than that of Eye. No attention was paid to foundation deposits or to stamping of bricks. One might go as far as to say that the foundations show incredible indifference. The bases of the great columns, for instance, rest largely on just loosely thrown-in gravel.

At the rear of the temple a group of rooms was added by Harmhab. Of the actual plan of each there is, however, little to be recognized. Only some foundation trenches and a single column base standing high on gravel are left to us. The position of this base determines that of its lost counterpart. All other traces vanished when a cemetery was built in late Roman times.[16] The south part of Harmhab's addition consists of three chapels, in front of which was originally a columned hall. The entrance to the latter was not centered but was in the north-east corner. Possibly these rooms are to be considered analogous to the rearmost rooms in the Seti temple at Abydos. The shape of the columns (cylindrical with abacus) confirms this supposition.

The other temple rooms remained almost unchanged. In the right-hand section the two narrow chapels were made into one room with two columns. These also seem to have been cylindrical, as in the addition. The entrance to this room is uncertain.

Under Harmhab a large temple court replaced the less pretentious courts of Eye. Harmhab's first plan seems to have been for a court 43×48 meters, but he soon enlarged it to 55×60 meters. The court was evidently surrounded, at least on three sides and probably on all four sides, by a double colonnade. The front of the court, to judge by the foundation trenches, was to have consisted of a very thick wall which might perhaps be reconstructed as a pylon (see Fig. 57). Apparently, however, only a normal stone wall was erected, which probably contained a monumental gateway (see Fig. 59). This arrangement of the court reminds us vividly of the square, columned court of

[16] *Ibid.* pp. 47 ff.

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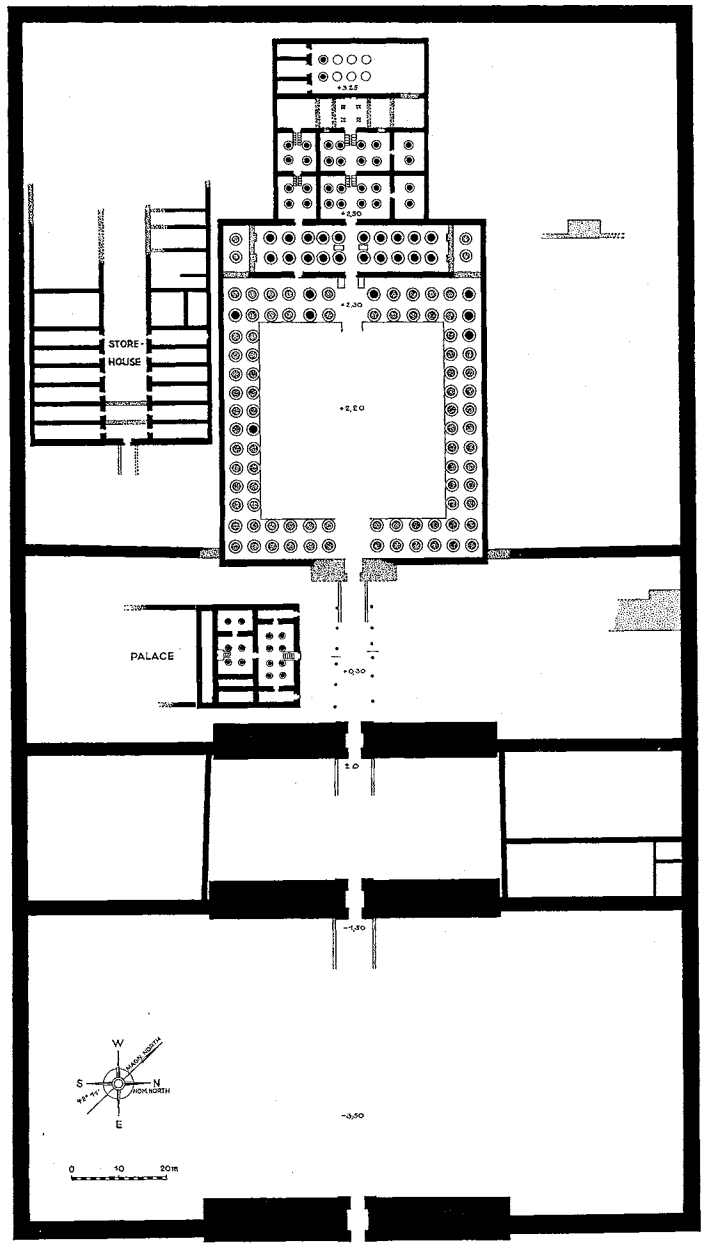


FIG. 59.—The Temple of Harmhab

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Amenhotep III in the Luxor temple, though the columns of Harmhab's court are larger than those of the latter.

To the pylon of Eye, already mentioned, was added a second pylon, which was a trifle larger than that of Eye. We have not been able to find any stamped bricks, but we believe it to date from Harmhab. Another pylon, which we call the "first pylon," the largest of all, stands 58.50 meters in front of the second pylon. The first pylon, with its foundations measuring 65×9 meters, very nearly approaches in size the great stone pylon of Medinet Habu, which is 68×13 meters.

We have not been able to determine whether other buildings existed in front of the first pylon, as it lies at the edge of the cultivated land. We believe, however, that there must have been a canal and quay in front of the Temple of Eye and Harmhab as there was before the Temple of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.[17]

The inclosure wall of the temple area of Harmhab began at the first pylon. We could see that it was of about the same strength on the north and west sides; but on the south side, as far as our excavation revealed, the inclosure wall had been removed when the moat in front of the outer wall of Ramses III's complex was dug.[18]

The Harmhab temple inclosure is exactly rectangular and symmetrical with the axis of the temple. It is 258 meters long and 146 wide, or about 500×280 Egyptian ells. Transverse walls extending from the ends of the pylons form several rectangular areas which no doubt contained buildings of various kinds. The palace, built by Eye, and a large storehouse are the only clearly recognizable structures.

The palace is of particular interest because it furnishes a further example of the sort of temple palace with which we have become acquainted through earlier excavations: (1) the palace of Ramses II at the Ramesseum;[19] (2) the palace in the temple of Merneptah at Thebes; (3) the palace of Merneptah in the temple of Ptah at Memphis;[20] (4) the first palace of Ramses III at Medinet Habu;[21] (5) the second palace of Ramses III at Medinet Habu.[22] That of Eye is the most ancient among them. We do not know of any palace at Thebes

[17] *Ibid.* pp. 6 ff. [18] *Ibid.* p. 5. [19] *Ibid.* Fig. 38.

[20] Excavated by Clarence S. Fisher. See University of Pennsylvania, *Museum Journal* VIII (1917) 211 ff., with plan in Fig. 79.

[21] *OIC* No. 15, Fig. 37.

[22] *Ibid.* Figs. 12–13.

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which was built before the Amarna period. I have therefore surmised that temple palaces did not begin to be erected at Thebes until after the kings no longer had their permanent residences there. This should be verified by expert excavation of the Theban temples of the Thutmosids.

The palace of Eye is the simplest example of the older type of palace represented by that of Ramses II at the Ramesseum, that of Merneptah at Thebes, and the first palace of Ramses III at Medinet Habu. In this type a reception hall with eight or more columns is flanked on each side by narrow vestibules; behind it is the four-columned throne room. Round the latter are grouped smaller rooms the individual significances of which have not yet been determined. Before the façade of the palace of Eye, at a distance of 7.50 meters, stood a portico which had originally eight wooden poles or masts. A wooden roof or a canvas awning was probably stretched over it. Only the pole holes in the rocky ground are preserved, 60 cm. wide and 120 cm. deep; in these the impressions of the poles can be seen in the clayey gravel.

This wooden portico was not long-lived; for either before or after it another portico, with greater spaces between the poles (6 instead of 8), stood in the same place. At the same time, opposite it stood a similar row of six poles. The axis of the latter, however, did not correspond with that of the palace portico. Whether the passage between the rows of poles was also roofed or could have been covered cannot be determined.

The plan of the storehouse is shown in the ground plan of the Temple of Harmhab (Fig. 59). The storerooms were situated on each side of a very wide middle passage, which we think was not covered. In spite of their average width of 3.20 meters and their comparatively weak walls we assume that they were not flat-roofed, but were barrel-vaulted like those in the Ramesseum and in Medinet Habu. Numerous stamped jar-stoppers of clay which we collected in the storehouse and opposite it on the north side of the temple state that the jars contained wine and give the name of Harmhab.

The two most important objects found in the Temple of Eye and

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FIG. 60.—Statue of Tutenkhamon, usurped by Eye and Harmhab

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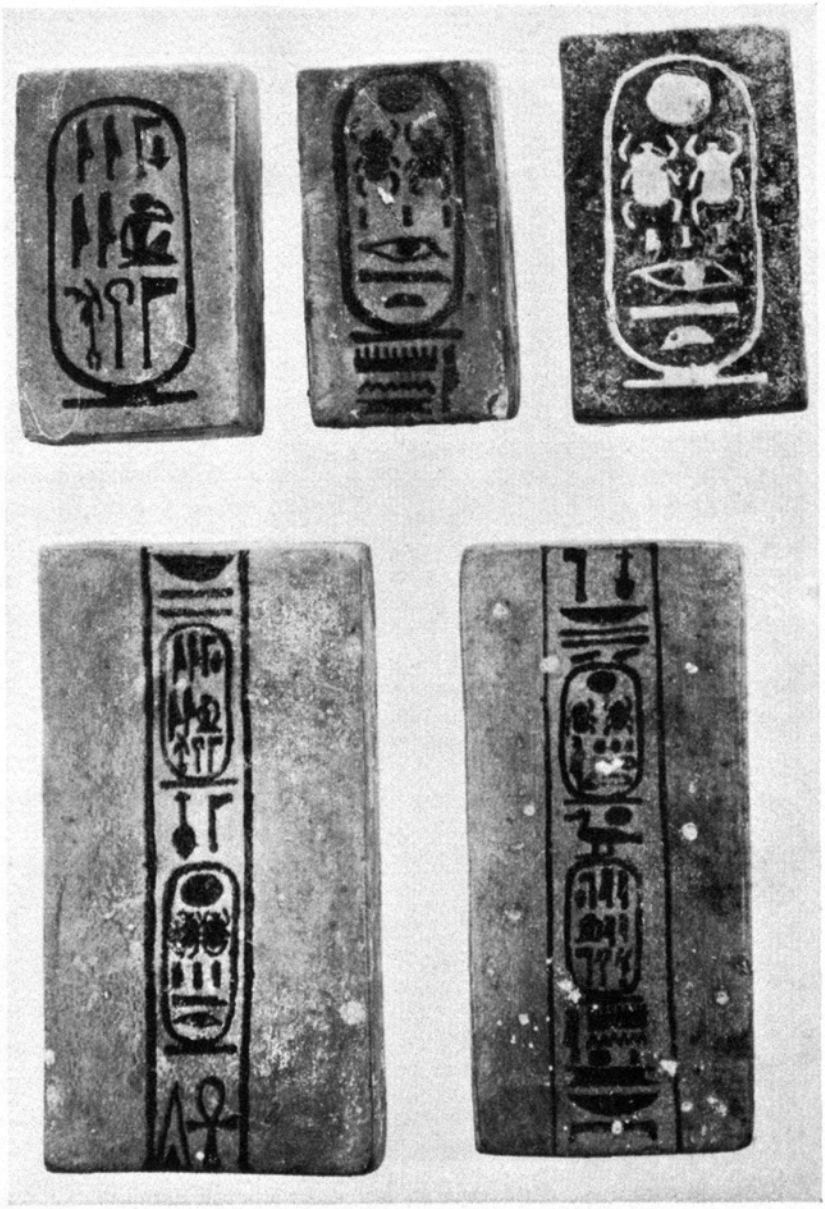


FIG. 61.—Blue glazed tiles inscribed with the name of Eye. Scale, 1:2

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Harmhab, discussed in our previous report,[23] are two large royal statues (one in Fig. 60) which portray the features of Tutenkhamon. Evidently these statues were not completed before the unexpectedly early death of this king, for the cartouches on them show the name of his successor Eye.[24] But Eye's inscriptions had been chiseled off and the name of Harmhab substituted. Thus these statues call to remembrance the three kings under whom the old religion was restored after the reign of heresy at Tell el-Amarna.

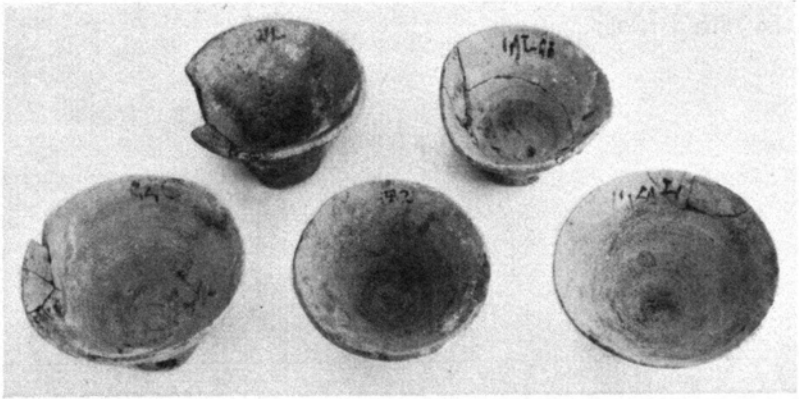


FIG. 62.—Small bowls which contained, as the hieratic inscriptions show, various kinds of food presented as offerings. Scale, 1:4.

The statues were cut in red quartzite from Gebel Ahmar[24] and were delicately colored. The fine features of the youth and the extraordinarily chaste modeling of the young body characterize these figures as works of art of the highest type. They stood at one time in the broad hypostyle hall, one on each side of the central aisle. When we found them they lay just as they had fallen when the temple was destroyed. When our finds were divided in the spring of 1933, one statue (Fig. 60) went to the Egyptian Museum at Cairo and the other to the Oriental Institute in Chicago.

Archeologically the most important finds were the undisturbed foundation deposits of the Temple of Eye, imbedded in pits below the

[23] *OIC* No. 15, pp. 50–51.

[24] *Ibid.* p. 51 is to be corrected accordingly.

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corners of the building and at other important points of the substructure. These deposits included the usual tools, pots, model offerings of fayence, beads, scarabs, etc. Most noticeable among them are some blue glazed tiles inscribed with the name of Eye (Fig. 61) and some small bowls containing food offerings. On each of these receptacles is a hieratic inscription naming the food presented (Fig. 62). All these small objects are well wrought and show artistic taste. They are evidence, together with the architectural conception of the temple, that the Eye period presents the final development of the exquisite art of the 18th dynasty.

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