

# MEMPHIS I

## INTRODUCTION

1. THE work at Memphis stands on a footing different from any previous excavations of mine. A season is only time enough to sample various parts of such a site, and no subject there can be worked out in less than two or three years. To clear the temple sites alone would take probably twenty years, as it is only possible to work for a few weeks after the water has subsided. But the rapidly increasing difficulties, owing to the constant and unchecked appropriation of the site by the peasantry, make it all the more urgent to take the place in hand as soon as we can. I long hesitated about this excavation. Two years ago Prof. Maspero suggested it to me, and the next year Sir William Garstin urged the desirability of it. At last the position of the British School of Archaeology seemed so solid that we ventured to attack so large a work. But it will need a considerable budget, owing to the cost of labour on such a scale, and the difficulties of private ownership.

As we hope to be for many years on the site during the spring months (minor excavations elsewhere will occupy the winters), it was needful to build quarters raised well above the damp soil. Mr. Ward and Herr Schuler accordingly went there on Jan. 3 to begin building, and I followed on Jan. 26; before the middle of February our quarters were finished amid the rain, mud, and fogs which abound at that time of year. Our excavations started at the end of January, and went on till the first week in May. Mr. Ward took charge of the Merenptah temple, and other work to the south. Mr. Mackay attended to the Ptah temple and the great fort. Herr Schuler did some surveying. Mr. Wainwright drew many of the plates here published, and Mr. Gregg planned the small temple. Altogether about three months of full work was spent on the place, and a fair beginning of this great undertaking was well started. I have to thank Miss Herford for inking in several plates of pencil drawings.

## CHAPTER I

### THE RECORDED TEMPLES OF MEMPHIS.

2. IN beginning to examine so great a city as Memphis, it is needful to glean all the information we can from ancient authorities for our guidance. References in the inscriptions, and the account by Herodotos, are nearly all that remain to help us. Diodoros mainly copied from Herodotos, and only yields a few further points; and Strabo is unfortunately very brief about Memphis.

The whole size of the city is stated to have been 150 stadia in circumference (Diod. i, iv); if Greek stadia, this equals  $17\frac{1}{2}$  miles. But as the delta is described as being 750 stadia at the side, and 1300 along the sea (lengths of about 120 and 210 miles), this would imply the use of a stadium of just

500 cubits of 20.6 inches. If this Egyptian measure was used, the 150 would equal  $24\frac{1}{2}$  miles. The plain was about 4 miles wide, so the two ends of the city would be 8 miles, leaving either 9 or 16 miles for the sides, according to the stadium used, making it  $4\frac{1}{2}$  or 8 miles long. The latter is apparently correct; the length of the cemeteries along the desert suggests about 8 miles for the city, from Dahshur to the north of Abusir. The south side was probably at a fortress, now Kafr el Qala', opposite Dahshur; and the north side would then be at the group of villages by El Manawat. This would be the size of northern London from Bow to Chelsea, and from the Thames up to Hampstead. Probably a large part of this area consisted of gardens and fields belonging to the various villages, which were agglomerated to form the capital, like the component villages and towns of London.

3. The history of this capital of Egypt extends from the first king to the last Roman emperor. Menes founded Memphis; and the Roman governor, John Makaukas, signed the capitulation to the Arabs in its palace. From the beginning to the end of Egyptian history, Memphis was the great centre of civilisation, government and trade. For a few centuries Thebes shared its importance, and it was eclipsed at the last by Alexandria, but those cities are only episodes in the six thousand years of national life.

In such a centre it was natural that the gods of many different cities should have a home, and the temples of nineteen gods are mentioned in various sources. The oldest object of worship was probably the bull Apis, a part of the veneration of animals which preceded the higher theistic ideas. The temple of Apis was therefore the primitive settlement of the place. But it was eclipsed by the great establishment of Ptah, which occupied as large a space as the enclosure of the temple of Amen at Karnak.

4. The position of the temple of Ptah is certain, as his statues have been found in the West Hall (Pl. I), and the boundaries of his temenos have been traced on all sides during the past winter. In referring to the sketch map here provided, it should be stated that it is mainly copied from the map of Lepsius (*Denkmäler*, i, 9) as that shews the mounds when more complete than at present; but the temenos of Ptah is inserted from recent measurements plotted on to the government survey of the fields. When more is known, an exact survey of the whole site will be prepared, but it is useless to make that until the ancient constructions are discovered.

Several different parts of the temple of Ptah are mentioned by Herodotus. The first building of the temple is attributed to Menes (H. ii, 99). Next Asychis "built the eastern propylaea to the temple of Ptah, which is far the most beautiful and the largest: for all the propylaea have sculptured figures, and other styles of buildings, but this by far the most" (H. ii, 136). This king succeeded Menkaura of the IVth, and preceded Nitaqert of the VIth dynasty; he is probably Aseskaf of the IVth dynasty. The fine reliefs of the IVth dynasty are what would be appreciated by a Greek of the age of Pheidias; and this description shews that such sculpture was still existing down to the Persian age, and therefore may yet be found. The eastern front would naturally be built first as being the usual entrance to a temple

from the river. This may have been the forecourt added on to the first building of Menes.

Next we read that Moiris (Amenemhat III) built the propylaea on the north (H. ii, 101). This was probably where XII is marked on the map (Pl. I), as large blocks of red granite are lying about there, and an entrance more to the east would only open on to the lake.

In the XIXth dynasty we read of a statue of Sety I (Breasted, *Records*, iii, 260). Sesostris (Ramessu II) is said to have brought great stones to the temple (H. ii, 108), and to have built a forecourt on the north, and a temple in the midst of the temenos (B. *Rec.* iii). In front of the temple he placed two statues of thirty cubits of himself and his wife, and others of his four sons, each of twenty cubits (H. ii, 110). One of these is doubtless the well-known colossus, the place of which is marked on the map. So the main entrance during the Persian age must have been that to the south.

Ramessu III built a new temple in the court, of granite below and limestone above, and its doorways of granite. He made a monolith shrine of granite containing the triad of Ptah, Sekhmet and Nefertum; and he made a new image, and new sacred bark for the processions. Also he rebuilt the ruined temples (Harris Pap.). Rhampsinitos built the propylaea facing west, the "West Hall" of the map, and set two statues before it twenty-five cubits high (H. ii, 121). The base of one of these statues is visible now.

Psametek I built the propylaea facing the south (H. ii, 153). This is probably where XXVI is marked on the plan, as colossi are known to be buried there, and it would be probable that the work of the XXVIth dynasty would stand in advance of that of the XIXth. Aahmes placed a colossus in front of the temple, which Herodotus saw lying face up; it was seventy-five feet long. Upon the same base stood two colossi each twenty feet high (H. ii, 176). These we should expect to have been south of the XXVI propylaea.

Lastly we find that Ptolemy IV built the propylaea of red granite at the eastern entrance, the dedication of which we partly recovered.

Thus we have seen that though Herodotus divided his statements into their historical positions, yet he has preserved his notes of a circuit round all the gates of the temenos of Ptah; though he did not—and probably could not—describe anything that was inside the sacred enclosure. Incidentally Strabo

mentions a great hypostyle hall at Memphis (XVII, i, 21). We learn that the sanctuary of Ptah was included in the White Wall (B.D.G. 725), shewing that probably the fortification included the temples of Apis, Ptah, and the camp. And the temple of Ptah is stated to have been south of the sacred lake (B. *Rec.* iii, 223), which was named Ater (B.D.G. 85). This authorises our placing the sacred lake in the low ground between the Ptah temenos and the camp. Such a position is the more likely, as the sacred lake was the brickpit, whence all the enormous quantity of bricks were dug, for the thick walls, and for the great artificial hill of the fort. So it would naturally be between the two main sites of building, while it thus added a water defence on this side of the camp.

5. The position of the temple of Apis is the next point of importance. Could that be recovered, we might trace a pre-Menite occupation of the site. We read that Psametek when he built his southern propylaia "made an *aulē* (or open court) for Apis, in which he is fed whenever he appears, built opposite to the propylaia, surrounded with a peristyle and full of figures. In place of pillars are colossi of twelve cubits in the court" (H. ii, 153). This distinctly places the temple of Apis opposite to the propylaia of Psametek, and therefore farther south. Strabo states that the temple of Apis was near the temple of Ptah; in front of the sanctuary of Apis was a court where he was exhibited, and in the court another sanctuary for the dam of Apis (S. xvii. i, 31). To the south is marked on the map the presumed site. This ground is abnormally low, like that of the Ptah temenos, shewing that it was a sacred site not occupied by successive houses; and it has the same system of modern fields shewing that the central part was all taken under cultivation at one time, and not gradually encroached upon, as it was round the edges. I have not succeeded in finding the river approach to it along the eastern side. Perhaps the building of Siamen may lead us to some connection. Pa-hennu is the name of the Serapeum of Memphis (B.D.G. 1257). The temple of Apis was much favoured by Ptolemy V (Rosetta inscription, l. 33).

6. The Hathor temple lay to the south, in the time of Ramessu III, and the bark of Ptah went to it by water (Harris Pap.). It was at Nehat, called from the sacred sycamore of the goddess (Pap. Sall. 4, verso p. 1; B.D.G. 1222), and it is named by Strabo (xvii, i, 31).

The temple of Neit seems to have been to the

north of the camp; for as Ptah is said to be south of the fortress, so Neit is said to be north of the fortress. The sign usually translated wall, is clearly shaped as a fortress-plan in the best examples, as on Pl. XXXII. The ground to the north of the camp (see map) was a mass of mounds and ruins in the time of Lepsius; but, like so much of the site, it has been appropriated by the cultivators and is now all covered with crops.

The temple of Amen is mentioned (B. *Rec.* iii, 530); and the only indication of its position is our finding in the south-west corner of the Ptah temenos a fragment of colossal upright feathers, like those worn by Amen. This suggests that his colossus was not far off.

Imhotep was worshipped in a temple, apparently at the Asklepiion of Greek times, near Abusir (B.D.G. 1098).

Isis had a spacious temple built by Aahmes (H. ii, 176); and Diodoros—who is a poor authority—states that it was in the grove of Ptah (D. i, 2). Whether that means in the temenos of Ptah is doubtful.

7. The temenos of King Proteus, in the Tyrian camp or foreign quarter, is described by Herodotos as "mightily beautiful and well furnished, lying to the south of the temple of Ptah. Round about the temenos dwell the Phoenician Tyrians, and the whole place is called the Tyrian camp. In this temenos of Proteus is a temple called after the foreign Aphrodite" (H. ii. 112). He then unhappily spends four pages about Helen and the Trojan war, where a few lines more of topography would have been priceless to us. We have already seen that the propylaia of Psametek, and the court of Apis, are said to be south of the temple of Ptah; we cannot then look due south for the temple of Proteus. But south of the entrance to the Ptah temenos, at the Kom el Qala' is a region strewn with early Greek pottery of the VIIth century onward, and bounded by a great wall to the south. Here is the locality, then, best agreeing with the description of the foreign camp. In this ground a great lintel was found two years ago, during the clearances by the *sebakh* diggers and covered over after Mr. Quibell had photographed it. Here we dug down, and saw a great gateway in position, sculptured by Merenptah. Clearing inwards to the north of it, we opened the larger part of a forecourt, 120 feet long by about 100 feet wide; with a doorway of Merenptah at the north end, evidently leading further to a temple (see chap. v).

Proteus came between Ramessu II and III, though his exact identification may not be clear; and he lived a little before the Trojan war, which we know was correlated with the reign of Tausert. The date of Merenptah agrees well with the period indicated by Herodotos. The foreign Aphrodite whose temple was here would be the Egyptian Hathor; and in the court of Merenptah we found the only known Memphite tablets of Hathor (Pl. XXVIII). Thus by the general position in the city, by the early Greek pottery, by the date of the temple, by the Hathor tablets, and by many pieces of prehistoric foreign pottery found here, it seems clear that we have the temple of Proteus before us. It will be excavated next season.

8. Osiris-Sokar had a temple here, in a place named Aper (Mariette, *Abydos*, i, 46), otherwise named Bahti or Fat (Mar. *Ab.* i, 48a); also in *Ankh-taui*, a quarter of Memphis, where the *nebes* and *sont* trees grew (De Rougé, *Edfou*, cxliii). How far these names refer to one temple is not known. Sokar is probably a very early god, and we should look for his shrine near the Apis region.

Khnum was worshipped in a temple near Memphis at Uafet (B.D.G. 146), and his sacred ram at Hatut (B.D.G. 175). The latter might be the name of the shrine only, in the place named Uafet.

Bast had a temple at Pa-penat (*Mon. Div.* 34d); and Sekhmet was at Fuat (B.G.D. 240), though probably also worshipped with Ptah in his temple.

Tahuti had a temple built by Ramessu II. (Br. *Rec.* iii, 224). The Aten was adored here (Rougé, *Inscr.* 54), and blocks of the work of Akhenaten were found by Sir Chas. Nicholson and others. The temple of the Kabiri was entered by Cambyses, who burnt their images; who the Kabiri were we cannot say, but they are described as being sons of Ptah, and like him (H. iii, 37). Apparently there was a shrine of Anubis, as we read of "the road of Anpu" (B.D.G. 1108). The principal long road remaining, is that paved with red granite through Kom en Nawy, leading to the limestone temple (see building east of sacred lake, Pl. XXVII); possibly this might be the temple of Anubis. There is also an allusion to Sebek, as the "Wall of Sebek" is named in the Harris papyrus.

We have now some clue to the number of temples that remain to be found in this great capital. There were doubtless many other chapels and dependencies which have escaped record.

9. Not only was there a foreign settlement at the

Kom el Qala', but farther north there seems to have been another. Prof. Sayce informed me of an inscription naming a settlement of the Hittites, described as north of the temple of Ptah, south of the temple of Tahutmes I and IV, and on the west of the mound which lay east of those temples. As the direct north of the Ptah temenos seems to have been occupied by the lake, we look north of the approach, to the Kom en Nawy. There is a quantity of granite building of late date, re-using red granite blocks of Amenemhat II and Aahmes-Si-Neit, at about T on the Kom. If this were the site of the temple of Tahutmes, then the Kom would be east of the temple, and the Hittite region might be about H, south of the temple, west of the Kom, and north of the Ptah temenos, as described. Such seems the most likely site to agree with all these data. It is stated to be 154 *set* in area. The *set* is supposed by Lepsius to be either 40 cubits or 100 cubits in the side (Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, 373). If of the lesser size, the 154 *set* would be about two-thirds the area of Kom en Nawy, a very possible size for a foreign settlement.

Another foreign settlement is supposed to be indicated by the name Pa-ta-yaht, the land of Yah, or the Jews' quarter, of Roman age (B.D.G. 138). It is to be expected that the foreign quarters should be along the east side, nearest to the river, as commerce was their purpose.

10. The other parts of the site shewn in the map (Pl. I) are not connected with any description that we can trace. Our exploratory work was at various points. Those already named, or described farther on, are as follows:—the Great Gate and eastern line of the camp; at T, where some blocks were found under the palms; around all sides of the Ptah temenos; at the eastern entrance of Ptolemy IV; at the Temple of Merenptah; along the east side of the Apis site; on the west side, finding the Siamen building; south of Kom Helul for the pottery kilns; and at the West Hall and the pond. Other work not here described was a trial on the fort. The structure of that mound was settled to have been like that of the forts of Naukratis, Defenneh, and Pithom—a cellular platform to support buildings above it. A portion of a court on the top contained a fragment of an immense column of white limestone, with the cartouche of Apries, shewing that one of the palaces was of the XXVIth dynasty. The mound has been added to largely on the north face by extra walling. We tried to reach a corner deposit at the N.W., but were stopped by water. Some

clearing was done in the camp, but fruitlessly. Thus we have tested many parts of the site in the first season, besides thoroughly clearing part of the West Hall and Merenptah temple. We see how great an amount there is to be done, even without displacing any of the cultivation, or removing any of the palms which cover so much of the government land. If any efficient control of the site were allowed, much more might be done by stopping the planting of more palms which is constantly going on. Probably little of the ground will be unoccupied in the future, and we only regret that so much of it has been appropriated in the last few generations. To recover what we yet can trace is the first duty of archaeology in Egypt.

## CHAPTER II

### THE WEST HALL OF PTAH.

11. AT various times in the last fifty years excavations have been made by the Egyptian government on the region where buildings remain above the cultivation, at the western entrance to the temenos. The two great statues of Ptah were found here, as well as other remains. But the extent of the official work did not reach the floor of the Ramesside building in many parts, nor extend below that structure in any part; and the only plan did not take account of the curious skew of the pylon front, nor of the many peculiar adjustments resulting from that, which are shewn on the plan, Pl. II.

In our work about forty or fifty feet was cleared in front of the pylon, as far as the palms allowed; thus the bases of the colossi were cleared, and the remains of the statues. The body of the south half of the pylon was cleared over, down to unmoved stonework. The hall was cleared over all the southern half, and part of the northern. The northern half of the pylon and hall were not much worked, as it was more destroyed, and previous excavation had gone lower there, so there was not as much to discover, until we may go below the Ramesside level. In this plan continuous outlines show existing parts, and broken outlines indicate probable restorations.

The columns in the hall shew an unusual arrangement. We know of an axial avenue of large columns amid a field of lesser ones at Karnak. But here there is a colonnade of lesser columns around three sides and a field of sixteen large columns in the middle. Doubtless, as at Karnak, the larger columns were

taller, and carried a raised roof with a clerestory around it.

12. The reason for the skew front will be seen in the map, Pl. I, where the west side of the temenos is not at right angles to the south side, or to the axis east to west. Hence any hall that was square must be farther from the skew front at the north than at the south; and this difference is mainly put into the pylon, though a little appears as a skew in the hall itself.

The arrangement of the front is a curious study of accommodation. The temenos wall butts against a stone wall of the same width, at the south end; this stone wall is then part of the temenos wall. The side passage is sharply inclined to this, but its doorway is square with the front. The passage is really rather too much skewed, slightly more than the side of the hall. The letting down of the thickness of the wall by steps should be noticed; this is done so as to get the pylon thinner at the south end, as it had to be thicker at the north end. The axial passage is parallel to the hall; but its door was skew, parallel to the pylon face. The dwarf walls in front of the entrance are parallel to the sight line into the hall.

Now when the colossi had to be adapted to this rivalry of angles a stranger scheme appeared. On either hand of the southern side entrance stood a granite colossus. Their pedestals are between the direction of the sight line through the entrance, and that of the front of the pylon. At the main entrance the pedestal is frankly square with the hall and the main sight line, and ignores the pylon front. But the greatest pedestal in the middle of the face was so wide that both sides could not be viewed at once, and so each side was parallel to its adjacent pedestal, thus concealing boldly the confusion of angles. The northern half of the pylon face has almost disappeared, and only one of the colossal pedestals remains. That one is curiously irregular in the wrong direction. The small block on the north of it is a smaller supplementary seated figure of Ramessu II.

13. The actual remains of the colossi are described in the account of Pl. XXIII. Here we may say that the two at the south side entrance were red granite standing figures, about 22 feet high. The greatest base bore an alabaster figure, probably seated, about 38 feet high. The figure next to the main entrance was of limestone, and by a piece of the breast it was 35 feet high. The scale of these pieces agrees with the sizes of the pedestals, and they were each found lying opposite to their respective pedestals.

14. The side passage on the south is remarkable for the excentric position of the columns, two being to one side and two to the other side. What place other columns bore cannot be traced. In the main hall, the single outlines are the bases of columns; an inner circle shews the lower drum of a column to be in place (see Pl. XXV, base); a broken outline shews the position inferred from others. In the northern side passage only two square blocks of foundations of columns are left.

The wide block of stonework at the north end of the pylon is evidently the stone buttment for the continuation of the temenos wall, now totally removed, the line of it passing over a pond and open fields. To the east of the hall are scattered blocks which I have not succeeded yet in combining into any plan. The group of blocks plotted on the plan close together on the south-east is a foundation, mainly made of granite casing of a pyramid. It seems to shew that some heavy mass stood there. The general aspect of the site, and the details of the structure, will be seen in the account of Pls. XXI to XXIII.

### CHAPTER III

#### THE MONUMENTS. XVIII<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY AND EARLIER.

15. THE earliest monuments found were blocks of stone that had been re-used by later kings of the XIX<sup>th</sup> dynasty. Ramessu II had brought much wrought stone from the pyramids and tombs of Abusir and Saqqara. The basement of the walls of the West Hall was built of pyramid casing-stones of red granite, having an angle of 53° 20' (see base of Pl. XXI). Other such stones were inverted to form foundations for columns; and limestone casing-stones, of angles from 56° 40' to 57° 30', and one of 62° 40', were used in the core masonry of the pylon. Tombs were also robbed, and pieces of tomb sculpture were used in foundations, such as the block on Pl. III; this is of the V<sup>th</sup> dynasty, by the name Ra-shepses; he was divine scribe of the record office, an unusual title. The figure has originally carried a bird in the hand, but that has been cut away to make room for the title. This block is now in the Brussels Museum.

While clearing the West Hall, we came on a large block of granite, of about seven tons, which appeared to have been re-used. On looking beneath it, I found

the inscription of Ranuser, Pl. III, shewing it to have been a door jamb. A similar block near it I also searched, and found the fellow inscription of the other jamb. Then looking at a re-used lintel, which had long been visible to all, I saw a faint inscription of Ranuser, shewing that it had been dedicated in the Sun-temple at Abusir. The breadths of the blocks agreed, and the whole doorway was before us. It was removed, at the cost of the British School, to the Cairo Museum. As I was not able to get a photograph before I left, owing to difficulty of lighting, a plan of the under side of the lintel and a copy of the inscription are added in the middle of Pl. III. The lintel is 24 inches high, 48 deep back, and 107 inches long; the jambs are 28 by 48 inches in plan, and imperfect at the ends, but 108 and 114 long.

16. Amid the ruin of the north half of the West Hall lies a large block of limestone, from the lintel of a doorway. The inscription of King Teta is shewn on Pl. III, with his *ka* name *Sehotep-tau* at the side. The breadth of the whole lintel has been 104 inches, and it is 49·7 deep back, and 38 inches high. The doorway was about 41 wide. This is probably a door-lintel from Teta's pyramid-temple at Saqqara.

17. In the foundations, on the western side of the front court of the temple of Merenptah, were found parts of lotus capitals, the most complete of which is shewn on Pl. III, with a fragment at the side of it bearing finely worked buds. Another piece occurs accidentally in Pl. XXV. These capitals had been split in two to use in building. The form is far better than that of the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty, and is but very little inferior to the beautiful capital of the V<sup>th</sup> dynasty from Abusir, now in the Cairo Museum. This is probably therefore of the V<sup>th</sup> or VI<sup>th</sup> dynasty; it is now at Manchester.

18. Amid the ruins of the West Hall were three blocks with very delicate hieroglyphs, perfectly cut in red granite, Pl. IV. These were parts of a granite table of offerings for a Ha-prince, Uah-ka; it was dedicated to Osiris of Ankh-tau and Ptah. The same name and titles (*ha*, and chief of prophets) occur on a Stockholm stele (15) with the name of Amenemhat III. But the engraving of this block is so very fine that it seems to belong to the beginning of the XII<sup>th</sup> dynasty.

In front of the west pylon lay a block of granite much defaced (Pl. V). It bears part of a long and finely engraved inscription, which was partly copied with difficulty owing to the battered condition. In the 8<sup>th</sup> column a long passage has been intentionally

erased. It names a vizier (*mer nut that*) Ameny, endowments of offerings to Amenemhat I, and the pyramid-temple (*khnum-asut*) of Senusert I.

A portion of a stele of quartzite sandstone, Pl. VI, lies in front of the pylon. The king's name is lost, but from the work it seems to be of about the period of Amenhotep III.

19. Beneath the foundation bed of sand of Ramessu II, in the West Hall were found many tablets and fragments, which had been thrown away from a temple of the XVIIIth dynasty. About 40 perfect tablets and 150 fragments have been so far recovered. But only a small area of the ground has yet been cleared so deep. If a large number of objects are broken in two, and a chance group of the whole is examined, the number of pieces that can be joined is to the total of the group, as the group total is to the original total number. So as not a tenth of the pieces yet found will fit together, probably not a tenth of the whole number has yet been found. The earliest is a large tablet (Pl. VII, 46) of Tahutmes I offering to Ptah and Sekhmet. (For the reading Sekhmet see Pl. XV, No. 36). At the base, adoring Ptah, is the offerer, the guardian of the gate, Bak-ne-ra. The space after Bak-ne is only half a sign high, and Ra is the only name likely to fit that; Tum and Sebek, though low signs, would be improbable. We shall now refer to the tablets in their numbered order.

Pl. VIII. Nos. 1 and 2 and 3, probably of Tahutmes IV, like No. 4. The hawk giving the deadly power of the uraeus to the king is unusual. The ears are considered below. No. 3 is dedicated by the overseer of the serfs Rames and his sister Uaat. No. 4 is dedicated by Rames, perhaps the same man. The use of the crown instead of the bee in the royal titles is rare.

20. Pl. X. The subject of the figures of ears on tablets is partly explained by the instances found this season. Previously sculptures or models of ears were thought to be *ex voto* offerings for recovery of complaints. Spiegelberg published (*Rec. Trav.*, 1904, p. 56) an example with a prayer to Ptah to hear. Now we have several such, Nos. 10, 15, 22, 25, 30; and with the ears on each side of the head of Ptah, 14. Whether these phrases are requests to Ptah to hear prayer, or titles, as "Ptah hearer of prayer," is not certain. We see, however, that the *neha* "prayer," or *spert* "petition," is always in the singular, so it does not refer to many different prayers, but only to one, and so probably it is specific and not

general and titular. Again, the word prayer or petition is always followed by "made by so-and-so"; and though this might refer to the tablet and not to the prayer, yet it is only twice found on other tablets (33, 42) apart from the word prayer, and hence it probably refers to the specific prayer. We must translate, then, "Ptah listen to the prayer made by so-and-so."

The exact meaning of the ears has been looked at in different ways. One view is that they are ears of the god, to receive the prayer; the other view is that ears are put on to encourage hearing by sympathetic magic. Now it is difficult to see the use of a tablet with only an ear, and no figure or inscription (as 5, 6, 7, 8), for promoting a petition not recorded; but if regarded as the ear of the god, and prayed into, it might be thought to retain the prayer for the attention of the god. The objection that a god would not have so many ears (there are 376 on No. 49, Pl. IX) is met by an account of a god with 77 ears and 77 eyes. It seems more likely, then, that these were the models of the god's ears made to receive and preserve the prayers breathed into them.

Some of these tablets were found in the southwest corner of the building site which is cut away by the pond; such are Nos. 6, 7, 10, and 38. No. 11 has the two ears placed on stands as sacred objects, and presided over by the winged disc.

Pl. XI. No. 15 has a "*suten da hotep* to Ptah that he may listen to the prayer made by . . ." No. 19 is offered by the "Inspector of the flesh offerings of Amen, Piy." No. 20 is by a scribe and his sister Thent-ant.

Pl. XII. No. 21 is by the door-keeper Huy, and the deputy Aay. No. 25 shews that such tablets were made ready for purchase, with the name left blank, as it has not been filled in here.

Pl. XIII, 30 is interesting for naming the *ka* of Ptah as adored, reminding us of the name of Memphis, "the dwelling of the *ka* of Ptah." It proves that gods had *kas* which were worshipped. This is dedicated by the scribe of Ra, Mahuati.

Among ear tablets should be noted No. 48, Pl. IX, which had over 110 ears, and bears an "adoration to the *ka* of Ptah, lord of truth." No. 49, below it, has had about 376 ears, and is most delicately engraved. The inscription (see Pl. XIII) accounts for the beautiful work, by stating that it is for the chief artist Ptahmes. A rare title of Ptah is *mes uba*, probably to be rendered "producing Art."

21. Pl. XIV. Passing to the tablets without ears, there is 31 naming the scribe of Memphis (?) Mer-ra. No. 33 has the figure of the god in relief, and is peculiar for the disc with one wing and the *uzat* eye placed at the top. 35 is also in relief, but the figure of the offerer has been erased.

Pl. XV. No. 36 gives the reading Sekhmet for the consort of Ptah; it is dedicated by Rames. 37 is later than the others, being of Merenptah, and it was not found under the foundation like the rest. It has the figure of Asthairt or Astarte, with a Hathor head-dress, and holding a shield and spear, like the fighting goddesses of Syria. 38 shews the Theban triad of Amen, Mut, and Khonsu, facing Ptah; 39 is the rudest of all the tablets. 40 is dedicated to Ptah and Amen by Qen and Merenptah.

Pl. XVI. No. 41 has no inscription; a lady adores Min. No. 42 is the most beautifully worked tablet, shewing the ram of Amen, adored by the lady Nehati. 43 is a private tablet shewing four women, Aahmes, Nana-uab(?), Menat, and another. An Aahmes appears also on the next tablet.

Pl. XVII. This is the only family stele of the whole group; though the inscriptions are rough, we can see the names Huy, Kharu, Usert, Meryt, and Roma, but the other names are doubtful.

The imperfect tablets have been left at Memphis, awaiting the discovery of more pieces in future. Rough copies of the names and titles are given at the base of Pl. XV; they are distinguished by letters to prevent confusion with any future publication of them. We should notice the adoration of the *ka* of Amen (C), the stele to Hapy (G) which is the only notice of Apis, the miner or quarryman (L), and the name Sipairi (O), which must be early in the XVIIIth dynasty.

The present places of these tablets are as follows:—Bristol 16, 43; Brussels 4, 21, 25, 39; Copenhagen 18, 26, 32, 41; Dublin 12, 29; Edinburgh 17, 36, 45, 46; London, British Museum, 5, 14, 30, South Kensington 1, 47, University College 9, 24, 35, 37, 38; Manchester 6, 10, 27, 28, 42, 49; Munich 2, 3, 44; New York 13, 19, 22, 33, 40; Philadelphia 11, 23, 31, 34; Rochdale 15.

22. An unusual form of altar of offerings, found with the tablets, is shewn at the foot of Pl. IX, and its inscription on Pl. XVIII. It seems to represent four long rolls of bread laid on the slab. The dedication to Ptah and Sekhmet is by the Hereditary Prince, royal sealbearer, lordly companion, true royal scribe,

over the house of the elders in Memphis, Amenhotep. It is now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York.

Among the sculptures beneath the Ramesside foundation were also portions of some statuettes. Most were decayed, being of soft limestone, but one figure of hard limestone is in good preservation, see Pl. XIX. It is of the true royal scribe, keeper of the palace, keeper of the granaries, Ray. From the dress it is probably of the time of Amenhotep III: it is now at Dublin.

At the west side of the pond (see map, Pl. I) a patch of foundation deposit was discovered (Pl. XIX), shewing that Tahutmes IV had built over the ground now dug away. This deposit contained a large green glazed tablet, incised after baking, two alabaster hemi-discs, and a pointed piece, all with the king's names. A plain square of alabaster and bronze models of knives, axe, chisels, and crowbar, were in the group, along with many small model vases and cups of pottery, Pl. XX, 1–20. Now at Manchester.

## CHAPTER IV

### THE MONUMENTS. XIX<sup>TH</sup> DYNASTY.

23. OVER the region now occupied by the pond near the West Hall, there has been a building of Ramessu II, now entirely destroyed. Only the west side of its foundation is left, and in the sand bed of it a foundation deposit was found, shewn on Pl. XIX. The large block of alabaster has the cartouches of Ramessu II on both of the faces, and the inscription of "the high priest of Ptah, the royal son, Kha-em-uas" on both of the edges. The lesser tablet of green glazed pottery has similar names on the faces and edges; and the black granite tablet has the names of Ramessu on one face, and that of Khaemuas on the other face. These are some of the finest deposit blocks that are known; they rest now at Manchester. For the columns and inscription, 21, see the account of Pl. XXII.

24. In the West Hall two fragments of red granite are remarkable. They are parts of false doors, which have been about 108 and 148 inches wide, and probably about half as much again in height. On Pl. XX, 22 is one piece shewing parts of the square panel, of the architrave, and the drum with the cartouche Ramessu Mery Amen. As this piece is 22 inches wide we can roughly estimate the whole. The lower piece, no. 22, has the three vertical bands



of inscription and the torus roll and outer edge. In the middle is at least 32 inches width of the sunk door, which was possibly wider, but the increased thickness of the side has most likely determined the fracture. The parallel to such false doors in a temple is seen in the seven chapels of Abydos, which end each of them in a false door. There is no room for such chapels in the hall, so it seems that we must suppose the false doors were the foci of the worship of the king in the hall. The painted pottery no. 23 will be noticed with the objects of Merenptah.

25. On Pl. XXI are the views of the West Hall, the plan of which is given in Pl. II. The first is a distant view from near the colossus, looking across the water, which covers the temple site of Ptah till February. The village in the distance is Mitrahineh. This curious name appears to mean the village of a hundred mortgages. The West Hall is just behind the nearest palm stem. The village is seen again in the view of the pond which is taken from just in front of the pylon. This pond is due to former excavations for the early statues of the pyramid age. The boys are carrying the earth out from our excavations. The third view is from above the pylon, with the pond to the left. Just to the right of the middle tree is the line of columns in the hall; and to the left of it is the inner face of the pylon, the body of which lies to the left. The next view shews the clearing of one quarter of the pond. We divided it by banks into halves and quarters, and then pumped out the water to eight feet under the ordinary low level, by the pump seen in the middle. A chain of boys handed up the mud in buckets and tins, as it was dug loose, and poured it out at a distance. The water ran in fast, as the work went through the sand bed of foundations, which are probably those of the temple of the pyramid age. The pumping was continued by alternate pairs of men changing every quarter of an hour, four thus working by day and four by night. The pump was of a rubber-diaphragm type taking a four-inch hose: and the water was run off along a graded channel to a pond at the farther end of the village.

The outer sides of the West Hall were of basalt, resting on a basis of granite casing-stones taken from a pyramid, shewn in the last view. The whole length was occupied with figures of cities bearing offering-trays. In the view of the whole wall the distant palm trees are as far as the Ptolemaic entrance, which is in the gap above the end of the wall. From those

trees the temple buildings extended up to the hall in the foreground.

26. Pl. XXII shews the details of the West Hall. The axial entrance-passage has the basement of basalt remaining, bearing an added inscription of Merenptah, and another of Ramessu III below that. In the middle line of the plate is one of the dwarf-walls of granite that run out on either side of the entrance before the pylon. The end of the entrance-passage is seen above on the left. The row of granite columns is down the northern side of the hall, looking across the temple site, as at the foot of the previous plate. Among the loose blocks is a palm capital probably of the XIIth dynasty; the lower part has been built into a wall, and the abacus cut away into a drum of a Ramesside engaged column. There are many pieces of engaged columns of hard pale drab limestone, the longest of which (70 × 175 inches) is shewn in the last view, Pl. XXII. They were built with the bed of the rock vertical, and usually in two halves. They have all been re-used for architraves, or roofing, or core blocks in the pylon, in the West Hall. The pieces of inscriptions upon them, and the sections of the blocks, are given on Pl. XX. These were clearly of Ramessu II, and name the god Ptah Tanen. They seem therefore to have been part of some building here made by Ramessu, who afterwards pulled it down and re-used the material in the West Hall. Such engaged columns are unknown elsewhere. The columns were of varying sizes. The diameters cannot be exactly fixed where only half of the column breadth was in one block; but the sections given have the apparent diameter in inches put beside each of them. There seem to have been three sizes, the smallest 26·5 to 30·3 inches, another 40 inches, and the largest 55·6 inches wide. The smallest were more fully detached, the larger ones were only half columns projecting from a wall. The letters A to N at the side of the sections refer to the inscriptions which belong to each block.

Pl. XXIII. The lion's paw is on the side of a spout, fallen from the roof of the West Hall. The block is upside down in the ruin, hence the lighting is reversed here. The channel of the spout is seen on the end. This is of basalt, as also are pieces of a very large inscription on Pl. XXIV, lower half; and it seems that the walls—which were probably of limestone—had a band of black basalt along the base and the top.

27. The colossi in front of the pylon are noticed in the description of the plan, Pl. II. In Pl. XXIII

are shewn the side view and front view of the base of a red granite colossus, on which is lying a leg broken from it. The foot is 18·1 inches wide, 40·7 long, and 75 to top of the knee-cap. This implies a height of about 22 feet with the crown.

The piece of an alabaster colossus is so much weathered at the back that it is difficult to recognise the form. As here placed in the plate, the back is to the left, the slope across from left to right is the shoulder, and in the shadow above that may be seen the neck and beard. The neck is 44 inches wide, the arm 33 thick, the trunk 79 across at the smallest part. These and other dimensions imply a height of about 44 feet if standing, or 38 feet if seated.

At the bottom is a view of the base of one of the colossi which stood in advance of the pylon entrance, as described by Herodotus. This base is built of blocks of basalt; and the names of captive countries on the side are shewn in the next photograph, with traces of the Nile figures above them. It is difficult to photograph, as trees shade it from most of the sunshine. The face of the basalt fell away soon after being uncovered, but the names were transcribed as soon as exposed; reading from the right they are Asy, Naharin, Kheta, . . . , Mad, Qedesh, Tasha . . . , Khilbu, and Mashuash.

28. Pl. XXIV. The upper block is a relief carved in red granite representing the upper part of the shrine of Ptah. The head of the god is admirably wrought; before it is the top of his sceptre. The door of the shrine is represented as open, and bearing the names of the king. Below that in the plate is the inscription on a block of basalt cornice. The whole block is 38 inches high, with bordering bands sunk 5·0 to 5·8 from base, and 4·0 to 7·3 from the top edge.

29. Pl. XXV. The clustered column with the figure and name of Khaemuas was found re-used in the masonry of the temple of Merenptah. It is evidently of the same class as the clustered column with rope-pattern binding in the next photograph. The inscription is transcribed on Pl. XXVI. The date of these clustered columns is not certain: the rope binding is unknown before, and the scene of Khaemuas has, by some, been supposed to have been altered from some earlier subject.

The small columns of Ramessu II and III were found in the S.W. corner of the temenos. That of Ramessu II was standing in place on one of the bases of the colonnade, the plan of which is in

Pl. XXX. The chapel of Shabaka in the same region is planned in Pl. XXVII.

The lower drum of a granite column is one of the largest columns of the West Hall. It is 86 inches across. The figuring of Set in place of Uazit for the northern divinity is very unusual, and the figure has of course been erased in later times. The treatment of the Nile plants is better than on most Ramesside work.

30. Pl. XXVI. The first inscription is on a door jamb, which had been brought down from the cemetery as building material. It has a *suten da hotep* to some gods and to the royal *ka* of Ramessu II; this address to the royal *ka* is like that found under Akhenaten (Davies, *Tell el Amarna* II, ix). The name of the person is lost, but she was a princess, *erpat*, and a praiser of the king, *hesy*. It is now in Munich.

The fragment of an inscription, 2, is from a quartzite stele, which had been reworked by Ramessu II, and lies on the north of the entrance to the West Hall. 3, 4 and 5 are fragments of limestone sculpture, from earlier works re-used: 3 is now at Brussels, 4 at Rochdale, 5 at New York. Probably 5 is part of a scene of the funeral sacrifice of a bull by the sons of the deceased. 6 is the inscription on a column in the previous plate. 7 shews the cartouches of Set-nekht, as engraved on the front of the pylon of the West Hall.

31. Pl. XXVII. A small building in the south-west corner of the great temenos, was dated by the *ka* name of Shabaka on a block of stone. The hieroglyphs were finely executed in low relief. The plan could not be followed farther than here shewn, owing to the palm trees. Probably the space marked as earth had been occupied with a cross wall, which had been entirely removed for the stone. The photograph of the ruin is shewn at the base of Pl. XXV.

The building east of the Sacred Lake was uncovered by the *sebakhin* diggers in recent years; and, though they were not allowed to take the stone-work, they dug away the brick walls almost entirely, so that they are here restored (solid black) by inference. There is a long paving of blocks of red granite, leading away from the east gate, through the town ruins, shewing that this was an important building. Not a single hieroglyph or graffito is to be found on any of the masonry. The measurements of this plan were taken by Mr. Ivo Gregg.