

## INTRODUCTION.

1. Repeatedly ransacked as the region of Thebes has been in all past times, there yet remain a few parts which have been little examined, if at all. The cemetery has been turned over and over by every plunderer, from the old Egyptian down to the Coptic dealer of last year; but the temple sites, from their wide extent and the paucity of small objects to be found in them, have been but little searched. It was accordingly on these temple sites that we spent our work in 1896; and though the results were less in some ways than I had hoped, yet in others they far exceeded what could have been expected.

On looking back over past years of work, the general result altogether is that out of any ten great results that were anticipated and worked for, only five will be successfully attained; but ten other results wholly unexpected will be found in the course of the work. Thus if on the one hand we only get half of what we expect, on the other hand our unimagined results are equal to all that we looked for. Another general conclusion is that following definite clues produces but a small proportion of the successes; much more than half of the discoveries proceed from making very extensive and thorough clearances, acres in extent, and yards deep to the very bottom, on ground which is likely to contain important material. While in cemeteries, only one tomb in ten repays the work; and it is the rare one tomb in a hundred that compensates for the ninety blanks and nine scanty results.

2. The region of the work was about half a mile long, and a furlong wide, along the desert edge of the western shore of Thebes. This ground reached from behind the Kom el Hettan to near the temple of Tahutmes III. When I went there in December, 1895, the temples already known in this ground were those of Tahutmes IV, and Ramessu II, and between

them the chapel of Uazmes, discovered in 1887; while the ruins behind the Kom el Hettan were attributed to Amenhotep III. The result of my work was to fix the last-named ruin as the temple of Merenptah, and to discover the sites of the temples of Amenhotep II, Tausert, and Siptah; at the same time the sites of Tahutmes IV and of Uazmes were fully cleared and planned. Meanwhile Mr. Quibell cleared the Ramesseum and the great buildings around that, working for the Egyptian Research Account.

To excavate in this place, we settled in the brick galleries, which formed the store-chambers and barracks of Ramessu II around the Ramesseum. Most of these galleries or tunnels have fallen in during the slow decay of thirty centuries, but some of them are yet complete enough to give all the shelter that is needed in such a climate. We picked up loose bricks in the ruins, and built dry walls to divide the long space into rooms. Each gallery is about thirteen feet wide and high, and the remaining portions are, some of them, about eighty feet long. One shorter gallery served for my room and store for antiquities; the next, which was a long one, was divided up for Mr. and Miss Quibell, two spare rooms for some time occupied by Miss Pirie and Miss Paget while they were copying paintings, our dining-room and the kitchen; the next gallery contained about sixty workmen and boys, with very often half a dozen donkeys and an occasional camel; and another short gallery served for my best man Ali and his family, and the mother of another of the men. We thus formed a compact community in what was almost a fortification, as I had cleared out a deep trench around the dwellings so as to prevent any outsiders coming about the place or getting on our roof; while on the top of the brick arches of the galleries was a wide level space, which served for spreading things in the sun. Very soon we had to enclose a space in front of the galleries to hold our collections of pottery, pieces of sculpture, and stacks of ushabtis.

3. At first I brought up some of our best men from Koptos, and took on many of the Qurneh people for the work. But as soon as we began to find antiquities, it was evident that the previous engagements of these local workers to the various dealers of Thebes took precedence of their engagement to me. Thus, half or more of what they found was abstracted for their old friends, although I was paying them so well for things that I even bought back from dealers part of what had been taken, at the same rate that I paid the workmen. It was not a case of greater gain to them, but of obliging their dealer friends with stock for trade. This system was quickly defeated by dismissing all the local workers, excepting a few boys and negroes, and bringing in a far larger garrison from Koptos, while also drawing many from the villages around. Thus, for two months, we completely defeated the endless machinations of the Luxor and Qurneh dealers, and the petty terrorism which they tried to exercise. So long as I had Qurneh men, I heard within twenty-four hours of what was stolen, through reports sent to me from Luxor; so soon as I dismissed them, I never heard of anything else going astray, nor had my good and honest old friend Muhammed Mohassib at Luxor any knowledge of anything reaching there. So for the first time excavations at Thebes were carried on clear of the incessant pilfering and loss which had been hitherto supposed inevitable. Nothing short of a good garrison of trained workers from a distance, entrenched upon the work, kept in hand day and night with good *esprit de corps*, prohibited under pain of dismissal from going to the villages around, or from buying or borrowing anything from the neighbours, together with continual watchfulness and a free use of fire-arms at night—nothing short of this will suffice for excavations at Thebes. With this system we had the satisfaction of digging up scarabs and other good things a few inches below where the enraged Qurnawis had been walking all their lives, without their being able to touch a single piece. My man Ali Suefi was even more valuable than before, as he was not only proof against all the blandishments of the local rascals—the Abd er Rasuls and others—but harassed them in any attempt to get at the other workers, and saved us a large part of our results. Of course I put him on to all the best places, and he got about half of all the bakhshish of the season as his reward. When you have an honest man, make it worth his while to continue so.

4. The whole of my work in this season here

described was, as in past years, carried on with the assistance of my constant friends, Mr. Jesse Haworth and Mr. Martyn Kennard. After nine years of this association a change has come, by my working for the Egypt Exploration Fund; but a change which leaves much regret in closing—at least for the present—the most cordial and pleasant relations which have cheered my work for so long a time. But for the ready help of these friends in providing for excavations, to whatever extent seemed required, it would have been impossible for us now to look back on the portraits of Hawara, which restored to us the Greco-Roman art of painting; the pyramids of Amenemhat III, and Usertesen II, the first that were shown to be of the XIIth dynasty; the towns of Kahun and Gurob, with the insight into the XIIth and XVIIIth dynasties that they gave us; the XIIth dynasty papyri, and the Ptolemaic papyri; the clearing of Medum, which fixed the pottery and the hieroglyphs of the beginning of history; the painting and other arts of the naturalistic age of Tell el Amarna; the prehistoric works of Koptos; the opening of an entirely new position by the history of the New Race at Naqada; and lastly, the Theban temples and the great stele naming the Israelite War. All of these results are due to the public spirit of the two friends who have been ever ready to let me draw on their purses for such work. My best thanks, and those of the public are due to them, for thus assisting in filling up our knowledge of ancient Egypt. How much this means we may feel by just trying to imagine what our views would now be without this insight, at almost every age, into the civilization and works of that country.

5. In the preparation of this volume, Dr. Spiegelberg has rendered much assistance in undertaking the editing of the inscriptions. While I was excavating, he was staying at Thebes for studying the graffiti of the Ramesside age, and as his researches lay specially in that period, it seemed most fitting that he should proceed to work over the ostraka and other hieratic inscriptions that I found. Subsequently the great prize of the Israel inscription—one of the longest and most complete that is known—was brought to light; and Dr. Spiegelberg copied it, worked over my squeeze of it, and published the text in the "Zeitschrift." His contribution to the present volume will show how fully he has laboured at the material which we collected, first in Egypt, and afterwards in England and Germany. The drawings here given are my own;

and for the photographs reproduced, I have to thank Mr. Frank Haes for those taken in England, and Brugsch Bey for those of the steles kept at the Ghizeh Museum. Continually I have had the benefit of Mr. Quibell's help, both in finishing my affairs in Egypt, and in working over the materials brought away. So this year, as before, many friends make short work.

I should add that although the general direction of these temples is facing south-east, yet for convenience they are assumed to face east, in accord with the general north to south direction of the Nile Valley, and all directions are described in accord with the temples facing east and backing west. It will be noticed that the plans of buildings are all to a uniform scale, so that they can be compared together.

## CHAPTER I.

### THE CHAPEL OF UAZMES, AND THE EARLY XVIIIITH DYNASTY.

6. This chapel or small temple lies immediately beyond the road south of the Ramesseum. It was discovered and cleared out by M. Daressy in 1887; and a plan of it was published as PL. IV in "Le Musée Égyptien," of which only "Tom. I, Liv. I, Fasc. I" ever appeared, so that the promised text which was to come in Fascicule II has not been published. As this exploration bared the whole site it might seem needless to say more about it; but a small further excavation gave important results.

The present state of the chapel is given in PL. XXVI, where the solid black shows the remaining brick walls, the open outlines at the doorways show the stonework, and the open outline of walls show what has disappeared since the uncovering in 1887. Several details shown on the earlier plan cannot now be traced out; but in one respect—the skew of the south side of the forecourt—the later plan is the more accurate. This skew was specially noticed as affecting the question of estimating the mean axis of the building.

Some few matters yet waited to be examined. At **A** the sandstone sill of the entrance pylon remains in place. The two lines crossing it show where the sides of the doorway stood. On tunnelling beneath it there was found a blue glazed ring of Amenhotep III of a fine colour (PL. III, 26). From the position it does not seem at all likely that this can have been introduced after the building, and hence we must

attribute a restoration of this chapel to Amenhotep III. What his object was in thus working here we may guess when we see that he took the temple of Amenhotep II, and largely altered it for a temple in honour of the Princess Sitamen, daughter of Amenhotep III. Probably therefore he made a similar re-appropriation of this chapel for some divinity or for some other princess of his family. At **B**, at the head of the low steps leading to the court, at 28 inches deep, upon the gravel, were seventeen little dumps of blue glazed pottery, about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch across. At **C** was found a fine green scarab of Amenhotep II (PL. III, 25) apparently beneath the brickwork of the door sill. And at **D** were three more blue glazed dumps and a flower, rather like that of Merenptah's foundations (PL. III, 30). Along the west side of the building is a thick bed of rubbish and pottery, and on digging through part of that a piece of a blue glazed bowl was found (PL. III, 27) which is broken at a tantalising point after the title of the "Divine wife of Amen," so that the name is just lost. The colour and drawing of this piece are like works of Amenhotep III, but very different to the earlier style of Hatshepsut. So this again shows that the activities at this place belong to the later date.

On looking at the sculptures found here in 1887, and published in PLS. I, II, III, V, VI, of "Le Musée Égyptien," about half of them belong to the earlier age, down to Tahutmes III (PLS. I, II, V A, VI B, D); while others are of the later part of the XVIII dynasty (III, VI C) and probably early XIX dynasty (V B, C; VI A). The official of the cemetery Pa-shed who adores Uazmes on the stele of PL. III is very probably the same as the cemetery official Pa-shed of the Belmore altar No. 8, and the tablets 261, 262, 264, 282, 341 of the British Museum. (The numbers here given are those in the Synopsis of 1850, the only available list of that Museum). It seems therefore that this chapel was in use for the adoration of Uazmes, and perhaps of other persons, down to the XIXth dynasty; and that it was largely restored under Amenhotep III.

7. Some other remains of the early part of the XVIIth dynasty were found in various sites: we here notice them in the order of the drawings.

In the temple of Tahutmes IV blocks of earlier sculpture had been freely used up: some of these appear to have been from tombs, as they bear figures of servants (PL. I, 1, 2). The date is shown by the

cartouche of Tahutmes I and the name Aa-kheper-ka-ra-senb. These slabs are of coarse brown sandstone painted in body colour, without any sculpturing.

A tablet (PL. I, 3) of limestone shows a woman named Bakt, making a meat offering and a drink offering to the cow of Hahtor, for the benefit of her husband, the engraver of Amen, named Amenemhat. The three hollows at the top are apparently for two ears, and perhaps the sign of a hide; it seems as if some inlaid objects had been inserted, of glass or metal.

A portion of an altar (PL. I, 4) of sandstone dedicated by a chief priest of Tahutmes III named Ra, was found in the temple ruins of Amenhotep II. This priest was the husband of the nurse of Amenhotep II, and his tomb is one of the finest in Qurneh, published partly in Lepsius "Denkmaler" III, 62, and Prisse "Art," where the glass and stone vases are figured.

A large wooden ushabti (PL. II, 1) was found in a high heap of ashes upon the top of the brick galleries behind the Ramesseum: how it can have come into such a position cannot be traced. It belonged to the tomb of the great viceroy of the Sudan under Tahutmes III, named Nehi; he built the temple in the island of Sai, and carved the S. grotto of Ibrim. The work of this ushabti shows the taste of that time in the slender, delicately carved, and finely formed hieroglyphs.

A limestone Osiride figure (PL. II, 2) of Tahutmes I was found in the ruins of the temple of Amenhotep II; the work however seems to belong to the time of the earlier king, and it seems as if it might well have been brought from his tomb, and be an early type of royal ushabti.

Behind the temenos of the temple of Merenptah, we found at the base of the wall a patch of sand with small vases (PL. IV, 1-8) of rough pottery; and it appears that these belonged to the foundation deposit of some earlier building, which was cleared away by Merenptah. These seem on the whole to be rather earlier in type than the vases of Amenhotep II, figured next below them: but no positive date can be assigned to them.

On clearing a building in the outer court of Tahutmes IV, a part of an earlier stele was found used up in the threshold (PL. IX, 1). It represents a man named Min-mes, making offerings to his father Athu-usir; and from the work it is probably of about the reign of Tahutmes III.

These comprise all the remains earlier than Amen-

hotep II which were found in the course of the excavations. The later remains we shall notice in dealing with the temples of their respective periods in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE TEMPLE OF AMENHOTEP II.

8. To the north of the Ramesseum was a space of ground covered with chips of stone, and with a few brick walls showing upon it. When examined this proved to be a confused mass of structures of four different ages. First of all there had been some brick buildings, askew to the later plan; these had traces of colour on them, and were probably chapels of some tombs. A piece of this wall is shown on the north side of the plan, PL. XXIII, at A. The next building was the temple of Amenhotep II; and the occurrence of his name here cannot be due merely to his materials being brought from some other site at a later date, as five foundation deposits of his were found quite undisturbed in the rock.

Next Amenhotep III largely altered this temple. Sculptured blocks of Amenhotep II are found re-used, buried in the foundations of the colonnade of the portico; this re-use was before Amenhotep IV, as the name of Amen is not erased upon them, while it is erased on all the sculptures left above ground. Thus we are limited to Tahutmes IV or Amenhotep III in our ascription of the rebuilding; and it is fixed to the latter king by the many pieces of glazed pottery tubes, from some furniture, bearing his name. Probably to this time, or a little later, belong the many pieces of limestone with trial sculptures of some students, who seem to have used the temple as a school.

The last use of this site was for tombs of about the XXIInd dynasty. The walls of these are shown by mottled black and white on the plan. Within the enclosures were three tomb pits, marked here by diagonal lines. So much for the history of the site.

9. Turning now to the details of the temple of Amenhotep II, the only parts that we can be certain are original are the bases of the columns (as the deposits are undisturbed beneath them), and the stone foundations of walls which are built like the bases. The court was not so large as that of Tahutmes IV, and had only a single line of columns around it, the whole being about 140 feet wide, and 120 feet long.

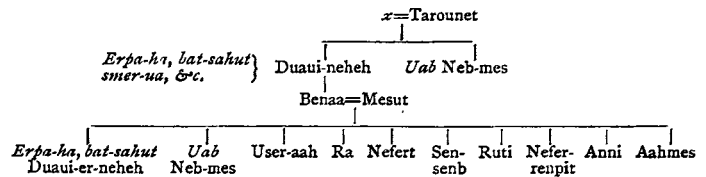
The position of the back wall is shown by the great door sill **B**. At **C** was the grey granite statue of Amenhotep II, swathed in osiride manner, and holding the crook and flail—a type unusual in a seated statue such as this. The head was broken off, and could not be found anywhere in the whole site. From the position it seems that the statue was one of a pair on either side of the entrance to the temple beyond the court. Such was also the position of the statues of Ramessu and of Merenptah in their temples. Beyond this there are fragments of foundations left, but not enough to indicate a plan. The proportion of the front court to the length of the site behind it is more like that of Tahutmes IV than like the longer temples of the XIXth dynasty.

10. The foundation deposits were of two classes. There were the usual pits in the rock, containing rough alabaster vases, inscribed in ink with the cartouche (PL. III, 5), corn grinders (III, 1) of sandstone, oval pieces of alabaster (III, 2, 3, 4), copper models of adzes (III, 6), chisels (III, 8, 9), axes (7), and knives (10); with these were a large quantity of rough pottery vases (IV, 9–29). These deposits are marked **D** in the plan, and it is remarkable how they are scattered about the site, and not in the usual positions; the three under the line of column bases are strangely close together. The other class of deposits were the small limestone tablets with the cartouches (III, 11, 12); these were found in pairs, face to face, on the ground surface under the ruins.

Of miscellaneous objects found here were some bronze rosettes, gilt, and pierced with holes for sewing on to a garment (III, 17). Many pieces of finely-carved statuettes of wood were scattered about, and a headless kneeling figure of alabaster (II, 3), probably of Amenhotep II, as other figures in this attitude are known of him at Paris, Berlin, and Turin, and are drawn in a tomb at Qurneh. The portion of an osiride statuette of Tahutmes I (II, 2) is most unexpected in such a position; it seems more likely to have come from his temple or tomb.

11. The broken altar of Ra, high priest of Tahutmes III (I, 4), was found in the ruins (see "History" II, 162, 163), as also the large unfinished stele of Duau-er-neheh, reproduced in photograph PL. XV. This man cannot be the same as Duau-er-neheh of Qurneh, tomb 22 (in *Champollion, Notices*, I, 515, 844), whose mother was Tarounet ("the virgin"), as this man's mother was Mesut. But as both men have the same hereditary titles, and each has a brother, a *uab* priest, named Neb-mes, it seems likely that this

man was grandson of the owner of the Qurneh tomb, son he cannot be, as his father was Benaä. We might therefore restore the family thus:—



This would agree well in date. The Qurneh tomb bears the names of Hatshepsut and Tahutmes III, about 1500 or 1490 B.C.; and this tablet was left unfinished and used in the building of Amenhotep II, about 1440 B.C., thus leaving 50 or 60 years between the two for the two generations that elapsed. The main interest of the stele is its unfinished condition. The position of all the figures and signs has been first sketched in red; then the final outlines have been drawn in delicate black line over all the figures and the inscription at the top, the names of the brothers and the first line of lower inscription being in solid black. Lastly a beginning of cutting has been made between the seated figures, just to show which part was to be sunk. The mode of writing the hieroglyphs is instructive, as a lesson in such writing, apart from hieratic forms. The exact formation of the strokes has been carefully copied and published by Miss Murray, in 'Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.,' xix. 77. The discussion of the inscription is given in Dr. Spiegelberg's chapter here. The stele is now at University College, London.

12. Beside the pottery in the foundation deposits (IV 9–29), there were also found some jars lying in the ruins. One of these is of great value historically (V, 3), as it bears the name of Amenhotep II (V, 5), and a date of the twenty-sixth year (V, 6), with the name of the vine-dresser, Panehsi 'the negro,' who stored the wine. Hitherto no date of this king above the fifth year had been known, and the assignment of 25 years 10 months to this reign by Manetho was generally discredited. The latest writer, Maspero, asserts that the "reign was a short one, lasting ten years at most," ("Struggle of the Nations," 292). Yet from the generations in the royal genealogies, and the finishing of the Lateran obelisk after 35 years of abandonment, it seemed that Manetho's period must be correct ("History" ii. 153). Now there is absolute evidence for the whole length of reign named by Manetho, in this date of the 26th year, and we have a wholesome warning against rejecting his statements, except under the strongest pressure. Some other jars

were also found, the style of which agrees well with what we know of this period otherwise (V, 1, 2, 4). In the space to the north of the line of approach, close to the east of the portico, was an extensive levelling up of the ground with broken pottery. Among this pottery were many painted pieces, of which some are shown on PL. V, 7–12. The shading on these is upright for red, and horizontal for blue. The date of this filling up of the ground is not certain, for though it would seem probable that Amenhotep II would have required to level the ground, yet the bases of the columns here were all built by Amenhotep III from the ground upward for four courses. Hence it would be more likely that the material piled against the retaining wall of these foundations would also belong to the later king. The presence of much blue colouring on the pottery is in accord with this, for—so far as is yet known—this use of blue was introduced by Amenhotep III. A curious kind of pottery, not known otherwise, is incised with lines and spots, coloured white in alternate sections, and dabbed with white on the brown clay (III, 13).

13. The work of Amenhotep III on this site appears to have been an extensive remodelling. The whole of the portico was entirely built by him, as the foundation piers of the columns consist of pieces of sculpture of Amenhotep II, including a long lintel of sandstone broken in two. The sculptures in the temple were also due to him, for among the fragments is a relief of a princess, whose cartouche ends in *si* (VI, 6), which cannot be any known person but Sitamen, daughter of Amenhotep III. Another block bore the figures of a row of Libyans, and the work appears much more like that of the IIIrd than of the IInd Amenhotep. Many glazed tubes of pottery were found (III, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20), coloured light blue, dark violet, and yellow, with inlays of dark blue and light green. These all bear the name of Amenhotep III, and refer to the festivals in which they were probably dedicated as part of some furniture. A beautiful bust from a small group in limestone, which was found here, appears from the hair to belong also to this age. A kneeling figure in grey syenite bears a tablet with adoration by a royal scribe, Sesh (VIII, 4), but as the head is lost, the reign cannot be assigned. In this region was also found a seal carved in pottery under Akhenaten, with the inscription "Aten temple" (III, 24).

The last use of this site was for a tomb chapel of about the XXIIIrd dynasty. The walls are shown in mottled black and white, and three tomb pits

marked by diagonal lines. These pits were cleared out, but contained only very poor beads, and a bronze statue of a queen about eight inches high; this figure is apparently nude, with a circular crown, a short close wig (like the statue of Takushet in Athens), and wide flat sandals. Other figures of the same class are known. Some work was done here in Greek times, as a vase of Saitic period was found by the wall of this chapel, and with it an iron chisel and adze.

14. Behind the temple of Amenhotep II, toward the Ramesseum, stood another funerary chapel, which is shown on the plan PL. XXIII. The only object found in it is a bust of a queen in hard white limestone (VI, 2, 3), and hence this is called the White Queen's chapel. Unfortunately the name is lost, and only some priestly titles remain on the back of the bust (IX, 2). The date is quite unfixed; there is no very close parallel to the work, and only general considerations are available. Some points would lead to an early period, the locality just behind the temple of Amenhotep II and III, the hard white limestone just like that used by Amenhotep III, and the rosette on the breast, which is like that on the statue of Tua, wife of Sety I, in the Villa Verospi (Monumenti Inediti dall' Instituto, ii, 40). Dr. Spiegelberg remarks that he would place it to the XIXth dynasty, and calls attention to the wrinkle in the neck, which, so far as he has observed, is a peculiarity of the artist of the time of Sety I, and Ramessu II.

The double uraeus on the head is not decisive, as it occurs on Queen Tyi at Soleb, and on a later statue (of XXV dyn. ?) at Berlin; while a triple uraeus is on the head of Amenardus. The ear stud belongs equally to the XVIIIth and XXVth dynasties. But other points indicate a later date, of about the XXVth or XXVIth dynasties. The mention of Sais on the back would point to the XXVIth dynasty; though concentration of so many priesthoods into the queen's hands points also to the priestly character of the high priestesses of Amen. And the elaborate treatment of the hair seems quite as late as the XXVIth dynasty, and almost more like Ptolemaic work. On the whole I should be inclined to see in this one of the queens of the XXVIth dynasty, who held Thebes as being a ruler of the sacerdotal line.

The bust was found lying in the northern long chamber; it is now in the Cairo Museum. A few small fragments of coloured stucco were also found, but nothing distinct as to date; one piece reads,

"*kan mes suten hemt.*" If this should be read as ". . . . ka . n born of the royal wife," there is only one known person to whom it could refer, namely, Psamtek III. Ra . ankh . ka . n born of the royal wife Tentkheta. The difficulty in this, however, is that there is no determination after the . . . . ka . n, and, moreover, this being the throne name of Psamtek, it could only occur after he was king, and yet the . . . ka . n . is not in a cartouche. It more likely refers then to some unknown prince, if it is a personal name at all. The whole chapel is much denuded. Of the north wall hardly anything remains above the floor, and it is only visible as being above the ground outside of it. The central chamber is about three or four feet high. But the back wall is entirely gone, and is here only restored at a guess.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE TEMPLE OF TAHUTMES IV.

15. The site of this temple was on a slight spur of the desert edge next south of the chapel of Uazmes and the Ramesseum (see PL. XXII). When we began work there was an area of about two hundred feet across, strewn with chips of sandstone and dust, while east of it, lower down at the edge of the cultivated land, were the worn down bases of brick walls and pylons. The site has been identified by Lepsius as belonging to Tahutmes IV., from the cartouches stamped on the bricks, and the pylons are marked on the map in the Denkmaler. But no attempt to clear the temple site had yet been undertaken.

On PL. XXIV will be seen the plan of all the existing remains. In some parts the sandstone foundations of the walls and bases of the columns were still in place. In far the larger part of the building only the hollows in the rock cut for laying the foundations could be traced; or, still worse, only the hollow left by abstracting the stone from its bed in the midst of clean rubble-filling, the hollow being filled with stray rubbish. In these parts then it was needful to notice the difference between old rubble and later rubbish as the work went on. A few pieces of original outer surface were left; as the granite door sill of the peristyle court, marked **G**, two patches of pavement in the inner part, marked **P**, and one block of wall base with faces to it at the S.E. corner of the court, marked **B**. The brick walling could be traced around most of the site, though entirely

removed and denuded at the S.E. corner and along the N. side.

16. Beginning with the entrance (see PL. XXIV), at the east face there are parts of two massive pylons, about 28 feet thick, which in a rounded state are still about 10 feet high. The outer corners of the terraces in front are almost entirely gone, but the bricks can still be seen in the ground of the present road, which runs just inside the outer pylons. Near the north-west corner of the temenos are some brick buildings which are probably of Tahutmes IV, or Amenhotep III, judging by the pottery found in them.

Beyond this the rock is cut away in two hollows, one on either side of the axis, so as to make a level court, bounded by a rock face on the western side. The axial roadway was dressed in a slope which ran up to the top of the court and so led to the next terrace; the arrangement being much like that of Deir el Bahri. On the next terrace was a lesser pylon of brickwork, about 68 feet (40 cubits) wide on either side, and 18 feet thick. Behind this was another court, levelled by being partly cut into the rock, so that it was bounded on the west by a rock face, the breadth of the latter of which is marked and shaded with vertical shade lines. The rock on this western side was faced over with a brick wall, and a stone facing in front of that on the southern half. This stone face is in line with the brick face of the northern half, which therefore seems not to have any stone face; if so, it was probably finished off last of all, and time saved by putting only brickwork on the north, to match the stone face on the south.

At the north end of this court the ground is higher, and is occupied with a group of buildings, which were divided into two parts, one of five rooms and a stairway, the other of eight rooms. The only object found here was a rudely-cut stamp of limestone for sealing wine jars (PL. III, 23).

17. In the south-west chamber of this building the floor was found to rest upon made earth, and not on the rock. On digging down here a rock scarp was found facing the east, the slope of it being marked on the plan by vertical shade lines. Below this scarp an entrance was found, leading into a passage running west: at the end of this passage a doorway admits to a chamber cut in the rock, in which is a pit descending to a lower level, and giving access to another passage running east, with a tomb-chamber at the end of it. The upper level passage and chamber are marked on the plan with broken lines, the lower level passage and chamber with dotted lines.

It is evident that this was a tomb considerably older than the temple; for when we opened it there was no trace of the original interment, but the upper passage and chamber was closely filled with at least two layers of bodies, over eighty being packed into it. And there was nothing in the lower passage and chamber. These bodies were scarcely to be called mummies, as they seemed to have been buried in wrappings without any attempt at preserving the flesh by resin, oil, or salts. Hence there was only a confused mass of bones amid a deep soft heap of brown dust. This burial-place cannot have been used later than the building of these chambers belonging to the temple, as the entrance was deeply covered with rubbish-filling to level the ground, and the walls rested on the rubbish. At the same time we cannot suppose such a common burial-ground to have been standing open for long before it was closed up for the temple building, as the bodies were quite undisturbed. Hence it seems probable that this was an older and plundered tomb, used as a common burying-place—perhaps for the workmen—during the reign of Tahutmes IV, or possibly Amenhotep II.

The only things found here with the bodies were plain vases of pottery. These were all collected, and the forms are shown on PL. VII. The types are coarser and worse than some known to belong to Tahutmes III; compare Nos. 4, 8, 12, 13, and 18 with those from the Maket tomb at Kahun, in "Illahun" PL. XXVII, Nos. 47, 34, 42, 40, and 49. There is also a type, No. 12, almost exactly like that found in the temple of Amenhotep II (PL V, 1). All of the skulls from this tomb were brought to England, and some of the bones. There is a great diversity in the forms of the skulls, some being remarkably round, and others long. Had I realised their variation at first, I would have preserved the whole skeletons along with each; but presuming that they would be much of one type, being all of one place and date, I did not think it needful to do more than sample the skeletons. This great diversity suggests that these people were not natives of Thebes, but were probably foreign captives employed in the public works, and collected from all over Syria.

18. Passing now up the main axis, from the second court we reach a second terrace on which stood the portico of the temple. This must have been a fine structure, being 100 cubits wide (172 ft.), and having a double colonnade of fourteen columns. The width is the same as the temple of Sety I at Qurneh, but the columns were more slender and closer, being fourteen

in place of ten. On the other hand, the depth of the double colonnade must have given an effect more like that of Deir el Baheri, where also the spacing of the columns is the same as here, though twenty or twenty-two are used in the front of that sumptuous temple as against fourteen here. Of these columns portions of only six basements remain, and mere hollows indicate the places of most of the others, though of nine of them no evidence was found and they are only shown by dotted outlines.

The great gate to the peristyle court of this temple had a threshold of red granite (marked **G** on the plan), of which the main part still remains. The square outline at the south end of it is the position of the jamb which can still be traced. At the south end of this front wall one stone yet remains above the foundation level, showing the dressed faces.

The peristyle court is unique in having a triple colonnade along the back and both sides. As only three out of eight columns have left any traces of foundation in the first two rows, it might seem not impossible that this might have been a hypostyle hall, of which all the central part had left no trace. But the northern half is so far complete in its evidences, not only the foundation, but the actual circular bases remaining, that we can hardly suppose it to have continued southward without leaving some sign either of stone or of rock cutting. It seems then that this is a unique piece of architecture in having a triple colonnade, and is also unusual in the number of columns. Here there are  $14 \times 9$ ; the double colonnade of Luxor is  $12 \times 12$ , of the Ramesseum  $8 \times 10$ , and of Khonsu  $6 \times 6$ ; while the great hall of Karnak (which is hypostyle), has the same number of columns as here, with a central avenue of larger ones in addition. There appears to have been a doorway on the south side with a porch over it, judging from the foundations. This is analogous to the doorway south of the forecourts of the temples of Ramessu II, Merenptah, and Ramessu III; it is probable therefore that it had a fixed ceremonial purpose, as it is repeated in four temples.

Of the shrine and back of the temple very little can be determined. There was a second columnar space, probably a shallow hall of six columns wide, and two or perhaps three deep. At each side of this there must have been a narrow chamber or passage: and behind this a row of small chambers, of which some foundations remain at the south-west. The ground along the south slopes is deeper to the west, so that the south-west corner is very low, lying in a small ravine



that slopes across that corner of the temenos. Hence the foundations needed to be built to a considerable height; and to retain the chip filling around them brick walls were placed between the stone foundations, of which three are marked in solid black on the plan.

The temenos wall is cut across in the middle of the south side by a small ravine, so that the east end is north of the ravine and the west end and south-west corner is south of the ravine, isolated thus from the temple. The south-west corner is well preserved to a considerable depth, being buried in a deep bed of chips which formed the artificial levelling up of the ground at this part.

19. The sculptures found in the temple were but very few considering how much must have existed here. A slab of sandstone with a figure of Amen-Min in relief and painted, was found in the back part of the temple, and several coloured fragments which showed how the shrine had been decorated. Several large statues of Tahutmes IV were carved in limestone and painted; of these a few fragments were found, mostly ears. The lower part of one face is of value as a portrait (PL. VI, 4), and agrees closely with a relief of the king found also in this temple (PL. VI, 5).

A few tablets remained here. One mentioning a campaign to Ethiopia (PL. I, 8); another naming a fort in Syria called after the king (PL. I, 7). A fragment of a very rudely carved tablet may have been made by some Syrian workman; it represented Tahutmes IV adoring the goddess Asit, riding on horseback, armed with spear and shield as usual (PL. VIII, 1).

Within the temple area were found a plummet of green quartzose stone (PL. III, 21); and a part of a sistrum in blue glazed pottery (PL. III, 22).

Some rough hieratic quarrymarks were noted on the blocks of the foundation, of which three examples are given on PL. IX, 11-13. Nos. 11 and 12 mark the stones as for the building of the temple in the southern capital for his majesty; and No. 13 has the words "good years," which may be the personal name of a workman. On a piece of a large vase, found in the north-east buildings, were figured a pair of sandals and a bronze razor (PL. XX, 4); it seems not improbable that this was the price by barter of the jar of wine or oil on which they are marked. Two other pieces of hieratic inscriptions (PL. XX, 6, 7), are described by Dr. Spiegelberg.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE WORK OF AMENHOTEP III.

20. On applying for permission to excavate at Thebes, M. de Morgan informed me that he reserved the site of the great funerary temple of Amenhotep III for his own work. The site of it is now largely under the high Nile level, as the water rises fourteen feet above the bases of the great colossi, and has deposited Nile mud to a height of eight feet above the bases. Hence the ground is now mainly cultivated, and expropriation of the cultivators is needful before working on the temple. The required ground had been already bought for the Government, as I was informed, and that site was, therefore, reserved. It happened, however, that, as I was allowed to work upon the desert the temple behind it, which I found to have been built by Merenptah, I there discovered a large amount of sculpture which had belonged to the temple of Amenhotep III, as that had been plundered for material by Merenptah. Hence, though I did not touch the great temple of Amenhotep III, I found what are very probably the most valuable remains of it. These are noticed here in the order in which they would have stood in the temple. I also found that Amenhotep III had largely re-arranged the temple built by Amenhotep II, in order to provide for the worship of his daughter Sitamen.

21. Many portions of gigantic couchant jackals were found, carved in soft sandstone. They had been split up into slices along the horizontal bedding of the stone, and laid in the foundations of Merenptah. The most complete that I measured was, from the tail, 52 inches to the toes of the hind foot, 92 to the elbow of the fore leg, 102 to the chest, and 114 to the broken stump of the paw: according to this the whole figure would have been about 135 inches long, and have needed, therefore, a base at least 11½ feet long. The width across the hind paws is 43 inches, and 45 at the fore legs. These jackals were couched upon bases of sandstone, having a torus and cavetto moulding round the top, a line of inscription below that, and a border of *dad* and *thet* girdle-tie alternately beneath the inscription. The lines of inscription are copied in PL. IX, 3 to 9. On the front end of these bases was some projecting mass; and as pieces of statues of Amenhotep III (see PL. VI, 9) of the same work and material are constantly found associated with these pieces, it seems most likely that the statues stood backing against the pedestals of the jackals.

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The pedestals are 16 inches wide on either side of the statue, and allowing about 14 inches more for the width of the statue, the whole would be about 46 inches wide, or just suited for the jackals, which are 43 and 45 inches across the base.

Hence we may restore the avenue of approach to the temple of Amenhotep as being between the two lines of statues of the king in Osiride form, with *ankh* in each hand; the statues backed against high pedestals about 4 feet wide and 11½ feet long; upon which lay gigantic couchant jackals, the emblem of Anubis, under whose protection the dead king was placed. Upon the pedestals were also figures of a young priest wearing the panther's skin, who is stated to be the king's son, and probably is, therefore, Amenhotep IV—Akhenaten—in his boyhood.

22. Besides these jackals there were also limestone sphinxes, with the royal head. These were not so large, the bases being 65 × 19 inches. The head is not detailed, but merely blocked out and probably intended to be coloured (see PL. VI, 7). But the portraiture shows closely the same expression as in other heads of the king. Two of these sphinxes were dropped into a hole on their sides, head to tail, back to back, beneath one of the pillars. The limestone had somewhat swelled and cracked, so that the head of the perfect sphinx was loose, and I removed it therefore, leaving behind the body, and the other headless body.

Of statues, a face in black granite (see PL. VI, 8) was found, without any other parts of the figure. It is clearly a very careful piece of work, and probably one of the best portraits of the king, being in such a laboriously wrought material. It accords very closely with the expression of the other heads here, and the portraits elsewhere.

A body of a statue in limestone, painted about life size, was found in the southern foundations of the first court of Merenptah. On the western side of that court, in the foundations, are fragments of a colossal group of the king and a god, carved in very hard white crystalline limestone with exquisite finish; a fragment of the hieroglyphs is copied in PL. I, 5. On the northern side of the second court, in the foundations, is a head of a colossal statue in the same limestone, 50 inches through and 48 inches high. This would imply that it was 24 feet high, if a seated figure. Another head of the same limestone, near that, belonged to a sphinx; it is 60 inches from the chin to the back, which would imply a length of 21 feet. The head of a jackal in limestone, also near

there, is 62 inches long. All these colossal heads of the king are battered and broken so much that they are not worth removal: but they, at least, show us how magnificent was the sculpture in material, execution, and size, which adorned the temple. Several blocks of limestone from the Amenhotep temple were used up; in particular, an enormous one in the N.W. corner of the first court of Merenptah lies face down. We tunneled beneath it, and found a fine and perfectly preserved scene of offering, the carving of which retains its colouring intact.

23. Of the portable works of Amenhotep, two of special interest were found. The foundation of one column of Merenptah was formed of the two pieces of the limestone stele of PL. X, laid face down on the sand bed. The upper part of the stele shows Amenhotep making offerings to Amen: on the one side presenting Maat, the goddess of truth, on the other side presenting wine. The figures and names of Amen had been entirely erased from the stele, doubtless by Akhenaten, and have been re-sculptured on the erased surface by Sety I, who adds a line, saying: "Monumental restoration made by the son of the sun Mer-en-ptah Sety for his father Amen." Below this are two scenes: on the right hand the king in his chariot driving over the Negroes, on the left hand the king driving over the Syrians. Probably the stele was placed with its face westwards, so that the people of the north and the south looked to their respective sides; just as in the pylons of Tahutmes III and of Taharqa the northern people are north of the axis, and the southerners are to the south. At the base we read of the subjugation of all peoples, of Naharaina, and Kush, the miserable Reten, and the Upper Retenu under the feet of this good god, like the sun, for ever. The large size of this tablet, 6 feet high and 3½ feet wide, and the very delicate and finished style of its sculpture, makes it one of the finest works of this age.

24. The other stele is shown on plates XI, XII. It is a block of dark grey syenite, infiltrated with quartz veins: it is 10 feet 3 inches high, 5 feet 4 inches wide, and 13 inches thick; the condition is perfect with the exception of a small chip on one edge. The colouring is complete in the scene of Merenptah on the back of it; and some of the yellow colour remains in the scene of Amenhotep III.

The inscription and scene of Amenhotep III. has been largely erased by Akhenaten; the figures of Amen were removed, and all the inscription down to within a few lines of the bottom. The original face