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JAMES HENRY BREASTED

MEDINET HABU—VOLUME I

EARLIER HISTORICAL RECORDS
OF RAMSES III

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MEDINET HABU—VOLUME I
PLATES 1-54

EARLIER HISTORICAL RECORDS OF RAMSES III

BY
THE EPIGRAPHIC SURVEY

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HAROLD HAYDEN NELSON

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WILLIAM FRANKLIN EDGERTON
CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS
JOHN ALBERT WILSON

ARTISTS
ALFRED BOLLACHER
VIRGILIO CANZIANI
J. ANTHONY CHUBB

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JOHN HARTMAN



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1924-29

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FOREWORD

It is now a century since the work of recording the written monuments of Egypt in modern facsimiles began—a work made possible by Champollion's decipherment of hieroglyphic in 1822. When the savants of Napoleon's extraordinary scientific commission first saw the temple of Medinet Habu in the dawn of the nineteenth century, there was not one of them who could read the inscriptions they saw there; and when Champollion rode into its courts on November 21, 1828, a little over a century ago, his were the first modern eyes which were able to read the records written on its walls in the long-lost language of the pharaohs. Arriving at Wadi Halfa (the Second Cataract) on January 1, 1829, Champollion began the descent of the river, making, as he went, a preliminary study of that vast array of Nile monuments which his decipherment of six years earlier had enabled him partially to understand. He was also fully conscious that it had furthermore placed upon him the sacred obligation to copy these monuments and place them permanently among the records of mankind. It was with this journey of Champollion that modern science began the effort to save the long-unintelligible monuments of the Nile.

The great French scholar was well aware that his work could be only a beginning. This was true for a number of reasons, and these reasons applied also to Champollion's successors for many years—indeed, down into our own generation. There was, in the first place, the vast extent of the monuments to be recorded, coupled with their distance and remoteness from the homelands of the devoted explorers and scientists who have been trying to save them—if not the originals themselves, at least some record of them. The amount of time which such explorers were able to spend in this distant land under earlier conditions of travel and transport was therefore necessarily very limited, as we shall see. At the same time their understanding and knowledge of the newly deciphered language with which they were dealing was elementary and vague. Finally, the modern mechanical aids to speed and accuracy in recording monumental remains and inscriptions, especially the photographic camera equipped with dry plates (or, better, flat films), were not yet available.

Looking for a moment at the length of time which could be devoted to such work by our earlier predecessors in the land itself, we have already observed that the colossal task of preserving the inscribed records of ancient Egypt in modern facsimiles was begun by Champollion at the Second Cataract of the Nile on January 1, 1829. Having passed down river through its imposing series of temples and arrived at Antinoe on September 11, 1829, he writes: "Mon voyage des recherches est terminé." He had spent just eight and a half months at work. The mass of records which his draftsmen had copied under his direction, now available in his four great folios, is an impressive monument comparable only to the extraordinary body of notes, descriptions, and observations now preserved in his *Notices descriptives*.¹

But when this campaign of eight and a half months among the monuments of the Nile is divided into short sojourns among its innumerable tombs and temples, the limited time available at each place is surprising. On his return voyage down river Champollion arrived at Thebes to begin work there on March 8, 1829, and he must have left there in August. We learn that he worked only a fortnight in the great temple of Luxor, and his letters would indicate that he had but a few days to spend among the inexhaustible records of the Medinet Habu temple in the summer of 1829. Apparently the Tuscan commission which accompanied him was more fortunate.

Although the great Prussian expedition under Richard Lepsius spent three years on the Nile, the stay of its members at Thebes was even shorter than that of Champollion. On their return voyage down river, they arrived at Thebes to begin work late in November, 1844, and left the place about the middle of April, 1845, after about four and a half months. During that period Lepsius was absent for a month and a half on his Red Sea-Sinai journey, so that he personally was actually working at Thebes only a little over three months. The Englishman Wilkinson, whose extraordinary work at Thebes was about as early as that of Champollion and vies with his as a beginning of the great task of recording the monuments of Egypt, seems to have made a more prolonged stay at Thebes, where a ruined house in the necropolis still bears his name. The surprisingly large number of Hay's drawings in the

British Museum would indicate that he too spent a longer period there than did Champollion or Lepsius. The latter was fully conscious of the overwhelming extent of his task at Thebes, as well as of the limited time, to which he attempted to adapt the character of his work. Toward the end of February, 1845, a week before he left on his Red Sea journey, he wrote as follows:

We have now been dwelling in our Theban acropolis on the hill of Kurna for more than a quarter of a year, busily occupied from morning till evening, each in his way, investigating and describing the most important monuments, drawing, making paper "squeezes," and surveying the ground plans of the buildings, without thus far being in a position to close up the work on even one side, the Libyan (western) shore, where indeed there lie before us for investigation no less than twelve temple buildings, twenty-five tombs of kings, fifteen belonging to royal wives or daughters, and innumerable others of highborn private persons. The east side (of the river) with its twenty-six still partially preserved sanctuaries will not require less time. And it is in Thebes, forsooth, more than in any other place, that other expeditions and travelers have worked, especially the French-Tuscan expedition, whose work we have everywhere compared and completed but have not done a second time. Neither do we in the least flatter ourselves that we have at all exhausted the immeasurable wealth of monuments. He who comes after us with increased knowledge and with the results of further advanced science will find new treasures and win new instruction from the same monuments.²

The admirable Wilkinson took the same view. While he speaks with great respect of Champollion and expresses admiration for his advance in the understanding of hieroglyphic, Wilkinson does not hesitate to disagree with Champollion or to criticize his conclusions, or even sometimes to impugn his sincerity.³ It is clear that he understood enough Egyptian as a result of his own investigations to discuss the knowledge of hieroglyphic then available with intelligence and discernment. He says:

With regard to the translation of hieroglyphics, M. Champollion must allow no one is yet sufficiently advanced in the language of ancient Egypt to enable him literally to translate an inscription of any length, or moderately complicated; though a general meaning may frequently be obtained. Time will no doubt do more, and we may hope to see this language interpreted with the same facility as many with which we have been long acquainted. But the steps must be *slow* and cautious; and the only mode of convincing those who still adhere to a contrary opinion, is to trust little to conjecture, or at least to state an uncertainty whenever it exists; to admit and correct errors when discovered; and to settle a fixed rather than a temporary interpretation to the groups, which will answer to their meaning whenever they occur.⁴

This conviction of Wilkinson, written less than nine years after Champollion's decipherment, and repeated by Lepsius fourteen years later, has been constantly verified. While the middle of the nineteenth century saw the advance in knowledge of the writing and language of ancient Egypt continuing, and the camera began slowly to be recognized as a possible auxiliary of the field epigrapher, the heroic age of Egyptology declined after the Prussian expedition. It was succeeded by the less arduous researches of European savants who, while preferring the slippered relaxation of the scholar's study to the hardships of field campaigning, nevertheless wisely discerned that it was now necessary to study and digest the formidable body of records which the great expeditions had placed upon the scholar's table. There were no more great recording expeditions on the Nile. The advent of Mariette dramatically disclosed the possibilities of excavation; and there began a period, interrupted by the World War, during which first European and then American expeditions excavated ruin after ruin and site after site. Valuable scientific work was done, notwithstanding the fact that such expeditions were always expected to bring home antiquities for the museums which were chiefly or almost exclusively instrumental in carrying on such work.

Meantime the destruction of the Nile monuments, which had been going on since the Christianization of Egypt, especially from the third century onward, continued unabated. Already in Champollion's time the beautiful temple of Amenhotep III which Napoleon's commission had found on the island of Elephantine had been dismantled to furnish building-stone for a government office in Assuan. Even when such vandalism was barred after the advent of Mariette, the ruinous condition of many monuments either resulted in their total destruction or inevitably involved decay and final loss of the records they bore.

¹Translated from Lepsius, *Briefe aus Aegypten, Aethiopien und der Halbinsel des Sinai* (Berlin, 1852), p. 270.

²See J. G. Wilkinson, Esq., *Topography of Thebes, and General View of Egypt* (London, 1835), pp. 55-58.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

⁴J. F. Champollion, *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie, d'après les dessins exécutés sur les lieux sous la direction de Champollion-le-Jeune et les descriptions autographes qu'il en a rédigées*. 4 vols. of plates. Paris: Firmin Didot Frères, 1835-45. The *Notices descriptives* which form the text of the foregoing were published by the same firm in 2 vols., 1844-89.

MEDINET HABU

It will always remain a very creditable chapter in the history of the Egypt Exploration Fund, now the Egypt Exploration Society, that their responsible leaders early realized the necessity of resuming the work of recording the monuments in adequate facsimiles before their gradual mutilation or ultimate destruction; for this work had almost entirely ceased with the disappearance of the great recording expeditions after Lepsius. Many a monument which has since perished is preserved to us in the invaluable plates of the archaeological survey carried on by this Society. Devoted efforts on the part of individual scholars visiting Egypt to copy the perishing records resulted in the publication of impressive groups of documents. Among these scholars the most notable were Brugsch, Mariette, De Rougé, Duemichen, Piehl, Griffith, and Sethe. In the early nineties, after Maspero returned to France, his successor, Jacques de Morgan, on assuming control of the Service des Antiquités, with commendable wisdom launched a plan for a complete and systematic record of the monuments, beginning at the First Cataract and proceeding down river. It was continued only as far as Kom Ombo. This work made no attempt to produce facsimiles. Consequently a good many serious errors crept in, many of which were due to the use of hieroglyphic type. The introduction of such type, a convenience very useful in its place, has unfavorably affected the quality of our epigraphic publications and contributed essentially to a regrettable lack of paleographic accuracy in the publication of Egyptian documents.

The present writer became more fully aware of this situation when in 1895 he began an endeavor to organize a corpus of the historical documents of Egypt and to translate them into English. From the beginning of this enterprise and throughout the ten years spent upon it he found himself very much hampered by the fact that the existent copies of this huge body of records, as published in hieroglyphic, were in the vast majority of cases purely preliminary editions, often incomplete because consisting of excerpts, and, with few exceptions, excessively inaccurate. At that time the records of the Deir el-Bahri temple at Thebes were in course of publication by the Egypt Exploration Society, and to this day these Deir el-Bahri volumes form the only adequate publication of the wall records of an Egyptian temple. If we include the *architecture* also, however, we must exclude even Deir el-Bahri and say that as a cultural monument there is not a single completely published Egyptian temple. In the course of his work on the historical records of Egypt, therefore, the editor was obliged as best he could to reconstruct in each instance a basic text by combining and merging all the available old copies and publications, then collating the result with the original if possible or, if not, with photographs. It was especially in the use of these photographs that the editor became aware of the distressing amount of damage suffered by the monuments since the early recording expeditions had worked upon them. When the historical corpus was completed in 1905,⁵ the editor had reached the firm conviction that it was a supreme obligation of the present generation of orientologists to make a comprehensive effort to save for posterity the enormous body of ancient records still surviving in Egypt.

While it is true that the pictorial character of Egyptian hieroglyphic makes error easy to the modern epigrapher, just as it did to the ancient draftsman, nevertheless the malady of incorrect copying and publication is not confined to editors of the inscriptions of Egypt. The earlier sections of Mommsen's great corpus of the Latin inscriptions are so full of errors, as published, that they must be done over again. It would not be wholly just to hold the earlier editors entirely responsible for this regrettable situation. In beginning the task of salvaging the enormous mass of written records on stone left us by the Ancient World, our predecessors were confronted by a great and technically complicated responsibility, in meeting which they had had no experience beyond the traditional habit of making notebook hand copies, perhaps reinforced by a paper "squeeze." They could hardly be expected to realize the insufficiency of this method. In spite of it they accomplished a prodigious amount of invaluable work which will always remain a heroic achievement. The inevitably temporary and provisional character of the early publications, however, made it evident that more highly developed organization, combined with better equipment and improved processes, must be brought to bear on the great problem of salvaging the ancient records still surviving in the Nile Valley—a body of documents *in situ* probably exceeding in bulk those of the entire remainder of the Ancient World.

In the autumn of 1905, therefore, the University of Chicago dispatched the present writer to begin a systematic record of the inscribed monuments of the Nile. From the southern limit of such records, at Meroe, the ancient capital of Ethiopia, this survey was carried northward to the First Cataract.

⁵*Ancient Records of Egypt* (5 vols.; Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1906-7).

Such work, however, could not compete in interest with the discoveries possible in excavation projects, and funds for the continuance of the recording work farther northward to the sea were not available after the Expedition had reached the First Cataract in the spring of 1907. The documents thus salvaged have never been published, but the photographs are catalogued and the negatives are on file, so that prints can be furnished to scholars whenever they are needed. The field collations of the photographs with the originals are likewise available.

The establishment of the Oriental Institute at the University of Chicago in 1919 by contributions from Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr., since followed by additional support from the same generous donor, from the General Education Board, and from the International Education Board, has made possible the resumption of such recording work on a more adequate scale than has heretofore been possible in the Nile Valley. The Institute first organized a staff for copying and making a final edition of the so-called "Coffin Texts," which were so largely the ancestors of those found in the Book of the Dead. This work began in the autumn of 1922 and has since gone steadily forward. In 1924 the increased resources of the Institute made possible definite plans for an epigraphic organization to salvage the temple records in permanent facsimiles.

Among the many temples on the Nile awaiting adequate record, probably the temple of Medinet Habu is the one most needing attention. Revealing to us, as it does, what may fairly be called the earliest chapter in European history, or at least the earliest clear emergence of Europe in written documents, this temple is of outstanding historical importance. It was therefore selected as the first great monument to be attacked. In view of the vast body of documents still awaiting final and adequate record at Thebes, it was obviously wise to establish permanent Egyptian headquarters there. In the summer of 1924, therefore, a site near Medinet Habu was selected for the erection of buildings to furnish living-quarters and workrooms for an epigraphic staff. In 1926 Mr. Julius Rosenwald, of Chicago, contributed funds for the enlargement of the headquarters and especially for the erection of a library building, which has since been endowed by the General Education Board. This first scientific library in Upper Egypt has enabled the Egyptian headquarters of the Oriental Institute to serve in some measure as a graduate outpost of the University of Chicago.

Such headquarters,⁶ furnishing a comfortable home and well equipped workrooms for the members of the Expedition, with a complete library of this field of science constantly accessible, have transformed the task of salvaging the ancient records of Egypt as contrasted with the situation of the great recording expeditions or, indeed, of any of our predecessors in this field. In this library the members of the Expedition can turn at any moment to the complete record of our knowledge of the Egyptian language and writing, which has been steadily growing since Champollion's day and especially since the eighties of the last century. This knowledge has at length placed the modern epigrapher in a position where it may be said that his copies record all that it is humanly possible to discern on the broken and weathered surface of the wall. This is inevitably far more than we could expect in the copies of our predecessors, working, as they did, without the more advanced knowledge and improved methods which have since developed.

At the same time the advances in mechanical equipment, especially in photography, with enlarging cameras giving us enlargements nearly a meter square if we need them, portable electric lighting outfits, and not least the introduction of the automobile into the Orient—all these and many other modern devices have placed the modern recording expedition in a position of enormous advantage as compared with the equipment of its predecessors in this field. Moreover, it cannot be said that these mechanical advantages have heretofore been fully brought to bear upon the enormous task of saving for posterity the perishing records of Egypt.

Nevertheless, the current impression that a mechanical photographic record is sufficient is not correct. The photograph does indeed reproduce the plastic character of the sculptured document as no other copy can do it; but the photographic record is seriously deficient. Any straight line, whether incised or in relief, carved on the face of a stone wall, largely and indeed often *wholly* disappears in a photograph if the straight line in question is parallel with the rays of light illuminating the wall during the exposure. No matter at what angle the light falls upon the sculptured wall, therefore, there are

⁶See "Oriental Institute Communications" (hereafter abbreviated to *OIC*), No. 5, pp. x-xiii.

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always many lines which are wholly or partially lacking in the photograph. The sculptured lines which are adequately recorded in the negative, especially in the flat reliefs produced by the ancient Egyptian sculptors and draftsmen, are only those lines which in greater or less degree lie transversely across the path of the rays of light falling on the wall, so that the illumination throws a high light on one side of the transverse line and a shadow on the other, producing contrasts which thus emphasize the line and give it a plastic character and sharp definition. On the other hand, all lines lying exactly or nearly in the same direction as the path of the rays of light receive no such high lights and cast no such shadows, because the light falls on *both sides* of such lines, which consequently are not differentiated from the adjacent plane surface and therefore tend to disappear or do indeed wholly vanish on the photographic record. In order to secure all that the camera might record, it would be necessary to take a large number of negatives of the same inscription, in any case not less than eight, each with a different illumination; that is, with the light (while cut off from all other directions) coming from the top, bottom, right, left, and diagonally from each of the four corners. Even a group of eight such negatives would not record all that the wall discloses to the eye of the trained epigrapher, able to read and interpret the inscription; for a badly weathered inscription on stone contains much which is visible to the trained and experienced eye, but which nevertheless is too faint and confused to be recorded by a photographic negative.

The photograph furnishes an invaluable partial record which may then be supplemented and completed by the discerning eye of the experienced orientalist; but it is hardly to be expected that the orientalist, however skilled in epigraphy, should be a sufficiently good draftsman to make a satisfactory facsimile of all that he might add to the photograph. He must be aided by the best available artist. The ideal recording system consequently must unite in one record three things: the speed and accuracy of the camera, the reading ability of the experienced orientalist, and the drawing skill of the accurate draftsman. It is this system, gradually developed by long experience, which has produced the following volume. It will be found more fully explained by Dr. Nelson in his Introduction.⁷

It is a pleasant obligation to express here my deep sense of gratitude to the Field Director of this Expedition, Dr. Harold H. Nelson, without whose devoted efforts the organization of the work at Medinet Habu would have been impossible. I am also very grateful to our epigraphers, Dr. William F. Edgerton and Dr. John A. Wilson, who have been carrying a heavy burden of epigraphic work in the production of these Medinet Habu volumes. Dr. Caroline Ransom Williams was also a member of the staff for one winter and did very valuable work. Perhaps I may be pardoned an expression of satisfaction that all these scientific members of the staff were

once my own students. To the skilful artists, Bollacher, Canziani, and Chubb, who have done the drafting of these exacting plates, all orientalists will be as grateful as I am. Thanks are likewise due to Hartman, Lind, and Morrison, our able photographers. It is a melancholy duty to express here our sorrow at the loss of John Hartman, who died at his post in December, 1926.

While this volume is devoted exclusively to the inscribed records, our publication of so important a monument as the temple of Medinet Habu as a cultural document would be noticeably incomplete without a volume on the architecture. This work is being done by Professor Uvo Hölscher, who had already devoted himself to the study of this temple. In the course of this architectural work, which began in the autumn of 1926, it became evident that the palace of Ramses III, which engages with the temple and, together with its offices, indeed quite surrounded the temple, must be excavated and explored, in order to recover at least the ground plan. Preparations were therefore made for excavating the entire temple inclosure within the massive surrounding walls (see Plates 3 and 4). The work was begun in the late autumn of 1927, continuing until the early spring of 1929. The clearance of the entire inclosure will probably require several seasons; but, when completed, it will enable us to restore for the first time an entire temple with its adjoining palace. Under Hölscher's skilful leadership, the surviving evidence has already contributed not only the ground plan of the Pharaoh's living-apartment but also a restoration of the superstructure of the main hall of the palace, the first such reconstruction of Egyptian palace architecture as yet available.⁸ This architectural survey of the temple and palace will form the last volume of the Medinet Habu series of some ten folio volumes of plates.

As above intimated, no inscription in an ancient language can be accurately and completely copied unless it is well understood and translated. These texts have therefore been translated as the epigraphic work advanced. At the same time copious notes, covering a wide range of observations on the writing, language, and state of preservation of the texts, have been made by the epigraphers. Valuable notes on details in the reliefs likewise are due to the artists or to co-operation between artists and epigraphers. Such contributions include Dr. Williams' observation of the earliest-known grappling irons, confirmed by Bollacher (Plate 40), and the latter's discovery of prisoners being branded with a hot iron (Plate 53, *A*). All of these notes, both on the inscriptions and on the relief scenes as prepared by the epigraphers, are indispensable to a full understanding of these materials. Whether alone or together with the translations, they will be published in a series of volumes of smaller format which will appear later.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED

CHICAGO HOUSE, THE COLOSSI
LUXOR, UPPER EGYPT
February 10, 1929

⁷*Infra*, p. 10. See also *OIC*, No. 5, pp. vii-ix and 12-13.

⁸See *OIC*, No. 5, pp. 37-50.

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INTRODUCTION¹

THE SITE OF RAMSES III'S TEMPLE

The group of ruins known at present as Medinet Habu is situated at the southern extremity of the great necropolis of ancient Thebes, on the desert edge, just above the cultivation, opposite the modern town of Luxor. At this spot there existed in ancient times a slight elevation, rising a little above the level of the plain, a low ridge of desert land on either side of which the infrequent though violent rains of the region had cut out shallow depressions, leaving a spot safe from the attacks of the rare but destructive torrents that at intervals of years poured down the wadies on either hand. The gentle upward slope of this knoll away from the cultivation conformed well to the rising pavement levels in the successive courts and halls of the type of Egyptian temple common in the necropolis.² Anyone entering by the main gate would be obliged to ascend a series of ramps or steps from one court or hall to the next to reach the level of the shrine at the rear of the temple. The general height of the building would be determined by its relation to the area of the forecourts. In the rear portions of the structure, behind these open courts, were ranged successive roofed halls surrounded by small rooms. The ground area of the halls decreased as the number of these rooms increased, until the central shrine was reached. The lower roofs of the rear halls were masked by raising the outer walls of the temple above them to conform more nearly to the walls of the forecourts, a practice found elsewhere in Egyptian temples, even when, as at Dendera, the location chosen was a level area. These higher walls about the rear rooms insured correct architectural proportions and secured a greater seclusion for the more private portion of the god's abode. By its nature the terrane at Medinet Habu, therefore, furnished the architect with an excellent site for the erection of so pretentious a monument as the great temple of Ramses III.

At the beginning of the twelfth century B.C., when Ramses III erected his mortuary temple at Medinet Habu, the necropolis had already seen the building of all the more important structures that were destined to be raised within its limits. The frontage along the cultivation had been almost completely pre-empted by his predecessors, so that there was little choice left him unless he were to occupy a site which must be cleared of some earlier building. Today most of these earlier buildings have disappeared, leaving mere heaps of débris behind them. To the south the only ancient structures surviving above ground are a small Ptolemaic temple, the foundations and lower courses of Amenhotep III's palace (cleared by the Metropolitan Museum of Art), and the mounds possibly marking the boundaries of the lake which that Pharaoh dug for the pleasure of his queen. In the cliffs, about a mile behind Medinet Habu, is the Valley of the Tombs of the Queens, where various members of the royal families of the Empire were buried. The cultivated area in front of the temple inclosure was, as far as we know, never occupied by buildings. On the north, along the edge of the cultivation, lie the remains of the mortuary temples of the emperors whose mummies were buried in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings behind the western cliffs. Medinet Habu, with its massive temenos wall, above which tower the ancient structures it incloses, is one of the most striking features of the necropolis. In fact, the mortuary temple of Ramses III is the best preserved of all the temples of the great imperial period of Egypt.

MEDINET HABU THE MOST COMPLETE SURVIVING EMPIRE TEMPLE

That so much more should have survived at Medinet Habu than at any other of the ancient temple sites of the necropolis is chiefly due to chance. As each king erected a temple for his mortuary service and then passed on to

¹In the preparation of this Introduction free use has been made of the accumulated notes taken by various members of the staff, but the field director alone is responsible for the preparation of the text and for any errors in statement or judgment which may appear therein.

²This, of course, is a well recognized characteristic of many Egyptian temples. Cf. Caulfeild, *Temple of the Kings at Abydos*, p. 10, for same observation regarding the Abydos temple of Seti I. See also Schäfer and Andrae, *Die Kunst des alten Orients*, pp. 79-81, for discussion of general plan of such a temple.

³Cf. Daressy, *Notice explicative des ruines de Médinet Habou*, pp. 174-75: "Le temple est bâti sur un terrain légèrement en pente, les architectes ont joint à ce relèvement du sol un abaissement progressif de la muraille, de manière à ce que, par un effet de perspective, l'édifice paraisse encore plus long qu'il n'est en réalité."

⁴The Medinet Habu compound, with both the Eighteenth Dynasty temple and that erected by Ramses III, faces roughly southeast, conforming to the line of the desert edge. For convenience of reference in this volume the temple will be regarded as facing east, and all allusions to the locations of scenes and inscriptions will be made accordingly.

enjoy in the next world the fruits of his foresight in this, his successors, more interested in their own than in their predecessors' foundations, allowed the earlier structures to fall into decay and even diverted to their own services the endowments instituted by their ancestors. The older buildings, as they disintegrated through accident or neglect, frequently served later monarchs as convenient quarries. Merneptah drew largely from Amenhotep III's temple behind the Colossi of Memnon; Ramses II appropriated stone from several earlier buildings; and Ramses III may, in some small part, have followed their example. Just how far his material was drawn directly from the quarries and how far from previous buildings is unknown. The king indeed protests: "I did not overturn the tombs of the lords of life, the tomb chambers of the ancestors."⁵ Considering how widespread was the practice of appropriating material from earlier constructions, it is remarkable that almost no evidence exists that contradicts his claim.⁷ Thus at the Theban necropolis all the line of mortuary temples suffered demolition in whole or in part at the hands of later pharaohs themselves. Medinet Habu survived this process in larger measure than its fellows merely because it was built by the last of the kings who, as far as we know, carried to completion a mortuary temple on a grand scale.⁸ After the time of Ramses III his feeble successors either did not command sufficient resources to finish, or even to enter upon, such an undertaking or else no longer regarded Thebes as the center of their realm and therefore the only fitting place for a royal burial. Moreover, for a time at least, the spot may have served as administrative headquarters for the whole necropolis and therefore found other uses which outlived interest in its original purpose and perhaps delayed its destruction. Furthermore, the fact that the building became a monastery in Christian times and was largely buried under mounds of débris from the Coptic period would also tend to preserve the fabric, however much it injured the reliefs and inscriptions.

HISTORY OF MEDINET HABU

While any extended discussion of the history of Medinet Habu would be premature until the work of clearing the inclosure is completed, a few general observations may not be amiss at this point and may serve to furnish a setting for these volumes of the Epigraphic Survey. All technical details must be reserved for the report upon the architecture of the site; but as this architecture is the background of the reliefs and inscriptions, it must find some consideration here.

PRE-EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY EVIDENCE

What structures may have stood on the site of Medinet Habu before the time of the Eighteenth Dynasty, we do not know. There was possibly a settlement there even before the Empire, with a local deity for whose worship the little temple was erected. The remains of pre-Ramessid dwellings near this building have been disclosed by the excavations, but how far back they go is uncertain. From the fairly large amount of construction that went on after the rise of Thebes to its supreme position, it would seem likely that some peculiar sanctity attached to the spot even before the first of the surviving buildings was erected. During the excavations of 1927-28 Hölscher found

⁵One of Ramses III's officials has left three inscriptions at the quarries of Silsileh, two of them dated in the fifth year of the king's reign. At that time, at any rate, stone for the Medinet Habu temple was being drawn directly from the quarries and a large force was employed, including three thousand men and forty-four vessels. See Champollion, *Notices descriptives*, I, 255-57; again in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, VI, 23, Nos. 7 and 8. The translations are in Breasted, *Ancient Records* (hereafter abbreviated to *BAR*), IV, §§ 18-20. In only a few places in the temple, where surfaces of building-stones which were not originally exposed to view are now visible, are there evidences of former use of the structural material. In Room 20, for instance, is a block bearing two cartouches, unfortunately now illegible, which were covered by other stones when the temple was new. A few blocks here and there show by the presence of dowel cuttings that they had been used in some previous building.

⁶From the inscription in large characters on the outside of the north wall above the scenes reproduced on Plates 17 and 18.

⁷For evidence that Ramses III borrowed from Amenhotep III's temple behind the Colossi of Memnon for his temple of Khonsu at Karnak, see Borchardt in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, LXI (1926), 51.—EDITOR.

⁸Winlock discovered above and across the causeway of Mentuhotep III at Deir el-Bahri, near where the causeway reaches the cultivation, the remains of a temple of the Twentieth Dynasty but of later date than Ramses III, which was begun on a scale larger than that of any other of the necropolis buildings. This temple, however, was never completed, though earlier buildings had already been drawn upon for stone. Among this re-used material were many blocks originally wrought for Ramses III. Had this temple been completed, Medinet Habu might have suffered severely. See *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, LX (1914), 19-23.

⁹Cf. Winlock in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, X (1924), 221, n. 7.

below the level of Hatshepsut's brick wall, which originally inclosed the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, the remains of another, of almost equal solidity, that must have belonged to some structure of earlier date. To judge from the direction of this wall, the building with which it was connected did not occupy the place of any of those still standing. At the present stage of the clearance it is impossible to determine to what period this belonged, and speculation as to its date would be misleading. Nevertheless, the wall serves as evidence for the occupation of the site previous to the time of Hatshepsut, forming the oldest architectural remains so far discovered at Medinet Habu. Almost contemporary with Hatshepsut's wall were the remains of another, containing stamped bricks of Thutmose III, which was found just south of the middle axis of the temple.

THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE

The nucleus of the little Empire temple, just north of the spot where Ramses III built his fortified gate (Plate 5, B), was undoubtedly the work of the early Eighteenth Dynasty kings. It dates, therefore, from the latter half of the sixteenth century B.C. It was almost certainly erected before the death of Hatshepsut; for that queen surrounded it by a strong brick wall, below and before which were found by excavation stamped bricks and small stone slabs bearing her name. She may well have been the founder of the building which it inclosed. The presence of the names of Thutmose I and Thutmose II on the walls of the inner rooms, the oldest parts of the structure, cannot be regarded as proving that those rulers erected it. Judging from her Deir el-Bahri temple, Hatshepsut was especially considerate of her father's memory and may have placed both his and Thutmose II's name on the walls of the little temple, even though she were herself the builder. Nor does it seem likely, in view of the presence of Hatshepsut's inclosing wall, that Thutmose III erected the original structure, as is sometimes stated. Although in the queen's day the center of the necropolis was much farther north, about Draḥ Abu'l-Negga and Mentuhotep's shrine at Deir el-Bahri, her family had already built in the immediate neighborhood of Medinet Habu; for Thutmose II seems to have placed his mortuary structure close by.¹⁰ The little Medinet Habu temple is not mortuary in character, but rather presents the appearance of a city sanctuary, such as might be found in any settlement of moderate size, and points to the possible existence of a town there when it was built. The little temple gained the pious attention of ruler after ruler, who repaired or added to it, till well into Roman times, which would accord with its public character as opposed to the more private royal temples. From all indications there must have been a history of the site, now lost to us, previous to the Empire.

In the inscriptions dating from the Twentieth Dynasty onward on the walls of the smaller Medinet Habu temple, the portion of the necropolis where this earliest structure stands bore the name of Thamut (or Thamat, Jamat), which later appeared in Coptic as Jēme, Ⲫⲏⲙⲉ .¹¹ In Coptic times the region covered by this term extended perhaps as far as Deir el-Bahri, including thus a good half of the cemetery. The name Thamut or Jēme seems to have been in popular use, for it persisted down through Christian days well into the period of the Moslem occupation.

The Eighteenth Dynasty temple was devoted primarily to the worship of Amon in a special manifestation distinguished by the epithet Ⲫⲏⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩ , "Glorious of Seat," the little temple itself being the "Seat."¹² This epithet does not appear on the walls of Ramses III's building only a few yards away. The original Eighteenth Dynasty structure was added to or repaired from time to time by successive monarchs well into the days of the Roman Empire. The names of more than fifteen rulers appear upon its walls. Being unlike most of the other temples in the necropolis in that it was not erected to the glory of some one monarch, it bears no historical reliefs other than one or two conventional representations of late kings smiting their enemies before the god. The diminutive size of the building would also account for the absence of such scenes. For so small a structure it seems to have excited unusual attention and is, in its history, one of the most interesting spots in the necropolis.

¹⁰Bruyère, *Rapport sur les fouilles de Deir el Médineh* (1926), p. 9.

¹¹In the little temple's inscriptions the name is variously spelled as Ⲫⲏⲙⲉ , Ⲫⲏⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩ , etc. Cf. Brugsch, *Geog. Inschriften*, pp. 185-86, and his *Dict géog.*, pp. 988-91. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca*, p. xii, says that Jēme "appears to have been some part of the ancient necropolis at the base of the hills, behind the series of 'Memnonia' which extends from Kurnah to Medinet Habu." See also Sethe, "Amun und die acht Urgötter von Hermopolis," *Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-hist. Kl.*, 1929, No. 4, § 103.

¹²Cf. Sethe, *op. cit.*, § 105.

THE TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

The temple of Ramses III, from which the reliefs and inscriptions recorded in this volume are exclusively drawn, was known as the "House-of-Millions-of-Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), enduring to eternity in the estate of Amon on the west of Thebes." It is interesting, as already stated, that "Thamut" does not appear in any of the records of Ramses III, although used regularly both before and after his reign.¹³ He seems to have avoided the name, merely stating that his temple was situated "at the side of Nebonekh,"¹⁴ a term indicating a sarcophagus and here applied to the necropolis hills honeycombed with tombs, or "near the mountain of Manu," the cliffs behind the temple. By the time he repaired the Eighteenth Dynasty structure, the earlier building was dwarfed by the pylons of his new sanctuary, which had already risen obliquely behind it and dominated the whole neighborhood. He therefore treated the small temple as a mere adjunct to his own, and speaks of it as standing by "the side of the House-of-Millions-of-Years of Ramses III."¹⁵

In laying out the plan of his building, Ramses III did not conform to the axis of the existing Eighteenth Dynasty temple, but faced his own slightly more toward the south. It was apparently planned as a whole, though there were a considerable number of minor changes introduced during the reign of the king himself.¹⁶ The great temple measures 141 meters long by 50 meters wide and is constructed of sandstone throughout with the exception of the granite gateway between the first and second courts. The quality of the stone used is distinctly inferior to that employed at the Ramesseum. It is entirely the work of one monarch, although Ramses IV and Ramses VI carved their names and titularies on various places and claimed to have executed repairs, as did also the high priests of the Twenty-first Dynasty. The rulers who subsequently enlarged or restored the small temple do not seem to have concerned themselves with its larger neighbor. Considering how little care was apparently taken of the latter, it seems extraordinary that this building should have survived in a condition so nearly complete. The unusual state of preservation, the large number of detailed reliefs, the long narrative inscriptions with their wealth of philological material, render it an especially interesting subject for Egyptological investigation. A full record of this monument constitutes therefore one of the urgent needs in that field of research.

Unlike the small Eighteenth Dynasty temple, that built by Ramses III, as already mentioned, is mortuary in character. It formed the chapel to the royal tomb behind the hills in the Valley of the Tombs of the Kings. It was dedicated to the worship of Amon, with whose images those of the monarch were closely associated. The great calendar inscription on the south wall is introduced by "a decree of his majesty to establish offerings for his father, Amon-Re, king of the gods . . . (and for) the holy images of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), in the House-of-Millions-of-Years of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III), enduring to eternity in the estate of Amon." The temple is generally spoken of as a Ⲫⲏⲙⲉ or "building," but sometimes as an Ⲫⲏⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩ or "palace," "of the ruler of Thebes," namely Amon. In a dedicatory inscription at the southwest corner of the temple (Plate 9) occurs the statement: "The house of King Usermare-Meriamon (Ramses III) enduring to eternity in the estate of Amon shall be a palace of the Lord of Gods forever." It is also designated as a "place of offering petitions and of hearing prayers."

THE FORTIFIED GATE, PALACE, AND INCLOSURE WALL

Before the first pylon of his temple, at a distance of 80 meters, Ramses III also erected a fortified gate of stone masonry, with three upper stories,

¹³Ramses possibly avoided the use of this term for his own temple just because it was a local geographical designation without religious significance. The Eighteenth Dynasty temple, on the other hand, was an ordinary temple such as might be found in any town above the size of a village, and would therefore readily be referred to by its geographical designation alone.

¹⁴In the inscription in large characters above the scene on Plate 20.

¹⁵In the large inscription on the south wall, outside, above the reliefs, recording the fact that Ramses III repaired the small temple.

¹⁶To judge from the dating of the reliefs depicted on the outside of the west and north walls, the rear of the building may have been completed first, as the monarch's earlier campaigns, all of which apparently occurred not later than the eighth year of his reign, are there recorded. On the other hand, the calendar on the south wall furnishes information which may have a bearing on the subject. Our line 1189 of the calendar (at left in Duemichen, *Ägyptische Kalenderinschriften*, Tafel XXXII) is a palimpsest. The original column of inscription (all that is given by Duemichen) reads: Ⲫⲏⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩ etc. Over this was cut: Ⲫⲏⲙⲉⲗⲟⲩ etc. In other words, a new feast in celebration of the defeat of the Libyans in the year 11 was instituted, and place for it was found in the temple calendar by erasing

resembling in design a Syrian fortress, with rooms for the private use of the monarch and his immediate household.¹⁷ The stone façade and central passage of this gate, the only portions that survive, are covered with reliefs and inscriptions, both religious and secular, such as were indispensable in any stone structure of the period. Aside from the façade and passage, the gate was constructed entirely of unbaked brick, most of which, with the exception of the substructure, has now perished.

Adjoining the first court of the temple, the king erected on the south a small palace for his own use, with apartments for a portion of his harem.¹⁸ The chief entrance to this building was through the first court, the south wall of which thus became the palace front as well as the temple wall. In the middle of this wall, about two meters above the level of the court, is a balcony window at which the monarch could make his public appearances in view of his followers assembled in the temple court below. The presence of this window has largely determined the character and arrangement of the reliefs and inscriptions surrounding it. It underwent extensive alterations shortly after it was first constructed, and these have seriously marred the reliefs on either hand. The whole first court of the temple was as much palace as temple. This was not a confusing situation in circumstances where the monarch was himself a god, for whose service, equally with that of Amon, the building was designed.

The relation of this palace, directly abutting on the temple, to the apartments in the fortified gate belongs to the architectural rather than to the epigraphic history of Medinet Habu. As these more secular buildings were for the most part constructed of unbaked brick, the mural decorations have long since perished. Only a portion of the stone columns and doorways, which were buried beneath the ruins of the walls or were re-used in a later reconstruction of the palace or elsewhere in the compound, has been recovered, though these scanty remains bear eloquent testimony to the striking character of the adornments of the palace.

Ramses III also surrounded both his own and the Eighteenth Dynasty temple by a massive girdle wall of unbaked brick, about 10 meters thick and 18 meters high, thereby converting the whole into a fortress and shutting it off from the vulgar eye. Any dwellings which may have existed previously within the area thus inclosed were destroyed at the time to make room for the palace and the outbuildings of the temple. Outside this wall there possibly stood houses belonging either to local villagers or to hangers-on of the priesthood.

POST-RAMESSID HISTORY OF MEDINET HABU

While the worship of the ancient gods persisted, it is highly improbable that any parts of the temples were used as dwellings, though many priests from Karnak were buried within and about their walls. After the end of the Twenty-first Dynasty, under the Libyan kings, private dwellings, mean in character, again encroached upon the compound, drawing in around the little temple, to which, as a place of worship, it is probable that the population of the neighborhood had always had access. By that time the services in the great temple had very likely been long since abandoned; and, though

the record of one of the regular feasts and inscribing the new one in its place. The date of the long inscription on the rear of the first pylon (to appear in Volume II), recording the victory in memory of which the new feast was inaugurated, is "year 11, fourth month of the *šmw*-season, day 10+x." The date of the new feast is "year 11, first month of the *3ḥt*-season, day 28." The intervening month or a little more since the date on the first pylon would be about time enough for the Pharaoh to reach Thebes from Lower Egypt, where the victory had taken place.

Presumably the institution of the new feast took place shortly after the king's return from the campaign, when elation over his success was still at its height; and presumably its recording on the temple wall was not long delayed, at most scarcely beyond the time of its first recurrence. Now the fact that, when the new feast was inscribed on the wall, the calendar record had already been carved and painted proves that the building of the temple and its decoration, at least on the south wall, had been completed, beginning from the rear, certainly as far eastward as the second pylon, adjacent to which is the spot chosen for the record of the new feast. If the two presumptions made above have any validity, we may conclude that in all probability the temple, west of and including the second pylon, was completed by the year 11 or thereabouts of the king's reign.

Daressy (*Rec. de trav.*, XIX [1897], 17) gives the date at the head of the calendar as "year 12," with no indication of uncertainty in the reading. However, examination of the wall shows that the numerals are quite unreliable. The traces that look like \cap are in reality parts of a Coptic cross, of which there are many scratched on the south wall; and Daressy's two units are possibly breaks at the edge of a deep hole that obscures the lower edge of the field. Moreover, the surface of the stone at this point, though much worn, is quite solid; it can have weathered little, if any, since Daressy made his copy. The only certain date in the calendar introduction is the year 4, in which year the decree establishing the feasts for the reign was issued (Daressy, *op. cit.*, p. 17). There is no reason, therefore, as far as the surviving dates in the calendar are concerned, why the sculptor might not have completed his work on that part of the temple at any time after the year 4. From the inscriptional material so far studied, this is the only evidence that bears directly on the date at which any portion of the building was finished. On the other hand, there is increasing evidence that the dates at the heads of inscriptions have no direct bearing, other than as *termini post quos*, on the date of erection of the temple.

¹⁷Cf. Hölscher, *Das hohe Tor von Medinet Habu* (Leipzig, 1911).

¹⁸OIC, No. 5, pp. 40-50.

it remained a sacred spot, it was no longer used for worship. There seems to have been a subsequent clearing-out of the small private dwellings about the time of Taharka (Twenty-fifth Dynasty) and a revival of royal interest in the small temple. Just before and after the beginning of the seventh century B.C., a series of chapels was erected between Ramses III's fortified gate and his great temple. By that time the palace was apparently in ruins, as was also most probably much of the great gate itself. These small chapels served as burial places for certain of the high priestesses of Amon—Amenirdis, Shepnuwet, and Nitocris—and of Queen Mehetnusekhet. The walls of these structures were carved with inscriptions and reliefs, the merit of which is obscured by the excessive discoloration of the stone.

With the exception of the later additions to the Eighteenth Dynasty temple, these chapels are the latest structures of any size that have survived at Medinet Habu. After the introduction of Christianity the whole compound was given over to community occupation, the two temples being converted into churches¹⁹ and monasteries with private dwellings close around. Such a settlement, constructed of unbaked brick, would soon begin to rise higher and higher, as the first houses fell or were pulled down and new ones were built on the débris of the old. In time these later accumulations rose high against the temple walls, where they have left a dark stain upon the sandstone, which has been disintegrated in places by action of the ammonia in the deposits. Eventually buildings were erected even on the roofs of the colonnades and the top of the encircling wall, when all semblance of the former character of the compound must have disappeared. When the great temple was made over into a monastery, the second court was converted into a church, of which the remains survived until removed by the Service des Antiquités at the end of the last century,²⁰ while the rear portions of the building served as cells for the monks. It was probably then that extensive damage was done to certain of the reliefs and inscriptions by the doors which the Christians cut through the outside walls. At the same time also the little temple was used as a chapel, the painted frescoes of which still in part survive.

It would seem that most of the innumerable gouges which deface the outer walls of the buildings date likewise from the period of Christian occupation. These curious marks (cf. Plate 8) are always perpendicular to the ground, and are obviously made by scraping or rubbing some hard object against the stone. They appear everywhere on the outside of the buildings, but only at such a height as could be reached by a man standing on the débris from the Christian town that had accumulated against the outer walls. They are almost exclusively confined to the outer wall surfaces, very few being found inside the temple.²¹ Within the area covered by these gouges are many other injuries, such as hitching-holes for animals, recesses for wooden beams used in the construction of the houses within and about the buildings, and the like, relics of the Christian occupation of the site.

The inhabitants of the Christian city doubtless found the massive temenos walls a valuable defense in times of disturbance. Although in its last days Ramses III's inclosure wall may have been obscured by buildings, it seems nevertheless, apparently toward the end of its history, to have served as a refuge against attacks; for scattered along the base of the inclosure wall on both the south and the north sides Hölscher found a considerable number of arrow tips, covered by a fallen portion of the wall, as though they had

¹⁹One of them possibly dedicated to Apa Menas. Compare Winlock and Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, I (1926), 111, n. 16.

²⁰M. Georges Daressy has kindly furnished the following summary of the dates at which work was conducted at Medinet Habu by the Service des Antiquités:

"Premiers déblaiements d'avril à août 1859 par M. Bonnefoy, inspecteur du Service des Antiquités, qui y meurt d'un coup de soleil.

"Travaux poursuivis de 1860 à 1863 par M. Gabet."

By M. Daressy:

"Déblaiements repris en 1888; en 1889 on fait un chemin de l'extérieur jusqu'au grand temple, dont la première cour est presque entièrement nettoyée.

"En 1891, la deuxième cour (ou était l'église copte) est vidée; commencement des réparations du temple.

"1892-95 toute la partie à l'est de la façade du grand temple est entièrement nettoyée.

"1895-96 déblaiement du fond du grand temple et du pavillon de Ramses III.

"1898-99 dégagement du pourtour du grand temple.

"1903 découverte des tablettes émaillées représentant des étrangers."

Mr. Harry Burton also cleared the palace site in 1912.

²¹The practice that caused such gouges is clearly older than Christianity. Stones buried a thousand years B.C. bear such marks. Various explanations have been given for these injuries. One of the most probable is that there was among the villagers a superstitious reverence for the buildings, and that scrapings from the walls were used as charms or medicine for certain afflictions. Analogous practices are widespread today throughout the East. The fact that these gouges are always perpendicular would seem to indicate that they were made with the object of catching the sand from the wall in some receptacle placed below. Both their number and their position would seem to preclude their having been made in the sharpening of tools, an explanation sometimes given.

been thus buried at the time of an attack upon the place. That this wall was originally intended for defense as well as seclusion would seem to be indicated by the presence of a screening wall some meters in advance of the great wall itself.

After the disappearance of the town, perhaps in the rebellions against the Moslem rule which broke out in the eighth and ninth centuries A. D., the name of Jēme seems to have been lost in popular speech.²² The modern name, Medinet Habu, the "City of Habu," goes back to no certain original.²³

GENERAL NATURE OF THE HISTORICAL RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The reliefs and inscriptions on the walls of Ramses III's temple at Medinet Habu fall roughly into three categories: historical, religious, and what may be called decorative. As the present volume is concerned exclusively with historical reliefs, any discussion of the remaining two classes will be reserved for the volumes in which they appear.

A considerable area of the walls of the temple as well as of the fortified gate bears reliefs and inscriptions which, for want of a better term, may be classified as historical. They cover the outside west and north walls of the temple, both faces of the first pylon, most of the walls of the first court, and the lower register of some of the walls of the second court. There are also several such reliefs with their accompanying inscriptions on the towered gate. In all, there are some forty war reliefs which give in greater or less fulness incidents and stages in at least five different campaigns: a raid into Nubia, a Libyan war, a war with peoples from the north (commonly designated "Sea Peoples" by modern writers), one or more expeditions into Syria, and a second Libyan war. A war with the semisettled people of southern Palestine, mentioned in the great Papyrus Harris, Plate 76, lines 9-11, does not seem to be directly referred to in the temple unless it is included in one of the Syrian campaigns. In addition, there are over fifteen scenes with their accompanying texts referring to no particular expeditions but representing the king either leading miscellaneous lots of captives into the presence of the god or slaughtering them before him.

At least eight of the inscriptions, but none of the reliefs, in the great temple are dated. All the scenes from the wars referred to in the two long inscriptions of the year 5 (Plates 27 and 28) and the year 8 (Plate 46), besides those inscriptions themselves, as well as the three scenes from the Nubian war (Plates 9-11), are found on that portion of the temple lying between the rear or west wall and the second pylon, inclusive. It is this material, forming a physical and chronological unit, that is presented in this first volume. All the general historical records which do not belong to any specific campaign and all those apparently concerned with expeditions subsequent to the year 8 are reserved for Volume II.

The plates of the present volume have been arranged in the chronological order of the events they depict, rather than according to their physical succession on the temple walls, as the former seemed to be the more convenient plan from the point of view of the probable users of the book. All this material is in character largely what would today be termed propaganda, being designed chiefly to augment the prestige and renown of the Pharaoh among both men and gods rather than to convey sober historical information. The amount of actual narrative contained in these documents is disappointingly small. For instance, in the inscription of the year 8 (Plate 46), comprising in all thirty-eight lines, only lines 15-26 may be said to be historical, and even in these we have little more than poetic rhapsody. The inscriptions that accompany the historical reliefs are still less communicative, containing almost nothing but laudation of the power and achievements of the Pharaoh. So little specific relation, as a rule, do they bear to the scenes of which they form a part, that a large number would be almost, if not quite, as appropriate to one relief as to another. A few give some slight historical setting to the subject, but the majority have only the most general reference to actual events.

The reliefs, however, furnish an enormous mass of information, historical and archaeological; and the reliefs and inscriptions together thus contribute a great body of historical fact without parallel in any other Egyptian temple with the exception of Karnak. The documents afford us a glimpse of movements which, after 1200 B.C., were already bringing to a

²²But see Winlock and Crum, *op. cit.*, p. 4, n. 1, for possible survival into Arab times.

²³Professor Breasted suggests that "Habu" may be a derivative of "Hapu," from the name of the ancient wise man, Amenhotep, son of Hapu, who seems to have been a sort of local saint here in Ptolemaic times. Winlock and Crum, *op. cit.*, p. 106, suggest its possible derivation from the Coptic ΔΤΙΕ = 'ATTIS, the name of a region, apparently an elevation, in Western Thebes.

close one chapter of human history and ushering in another. They disclose to us Europe emerging from darkness as a military and political force among the already ancient nations of the Near East. They show us Egypt, under the rule of a vigorous and able monarch, recovering temporarily from a period of decline, engaged in beating back the attacks of foes from all sides. In the north the tide of invasion—due largely to the incoming of the barbarian Greeks—rolling down from unknown regions beyond the Mediterranean was breaking up the political structure of the second pre-Christian millennium and reshaping it into the form presented in the classical writers.

Before us on the temple walls stand the representatives of the various races who played a part in this tremendous change, each in his own typical garb, armed with his own sort of weapons, fighting in his own fashion, easily distinguishable by the emphasis upon the salient characteristics of his people as seen by the discriminating eye of the Egyptian artist. That the sculptor actually attempted to distinguish certain large categories of foreign peoples from one another by feature and facial expression seems certain. He had a number of traditional types, representing a Hittite, an individual of the Sea Peoples, a Syro-Palestinian, a Bedouin, a Libyan, a Negro. The faces of the figures in the reliefs, even when the individual is singled out by name, are plainly not intended to be portraits, but merely typical racial representatives, somewhat after the style of their successors in modern political cartoons. Beyond some such larger groupings the Egyptian artist does not seem to have gone in rendering the faces of his enemies. By the time of Ramses III he would already have been long familiar with such distinctions both from the work of earlier Egyptian artists and from his daily contact with the foreign slaves attached to all the great temples in Egypt. That he went farther than this in matters of dress and in the treatment of hair and beard is, of course, evident. These types, which appear either in the lines of captives brought back from the Pharaoh's wars or among the mercenaries or slave troops²⁴ in the armies of Egypt, furnish in themselves a most valuable contribution to our knowledge of the times. They also give to the scanty written record of events a reality and a vividness which go far to compensate for the absence of more exact historical detail. Had we the full narrative of a Thutmose III to supplement the detailed reliefs of Ramses III, we could ask for nothing more satisfactory from an Egyptian monument.

CHARACTER AND CONTENT OF THE INSCRIPTIONS

The Medinet Habu inscriptions have a literary character of their own. It would not be difficult for anyone acquainted with texts from the period of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties to pick out, with reasonable certainty, from any miscellaneous collection of such records those that come from Ramses III's mortuary temple. They are extremely uniform and distinctive and suggest at once the possibility of their coming from the pen of one writer—even, it has been suggested, from the king himself. If they have not a common source in the brain of one man, they certainly emanate from a closely associated group of authors and perhaps reflect the language and style current at the Egyptian court. They contain a considerable body of new words, some of which established themselves permanently in the language, while others were as quickly forgotten as modern slang. Many words are apparently of Asiatic origin. Perhaps after gaining currency at the court, where by the Twentieth Dynasty a knowledge of foreign tongues was not unlikely a frequent accomplishment, they were admitted into the written

²⁴Our evidence for the status of foreign troops in the Egyptian army is unsatisfactory. There seems to be no direct statement anywhere that they were actual mercenaries, that is, men who had voluntarily enrolled themselves as soldiers in the service of a foreign prince. On the other hand, there seems to be reason to believe that some of them, at least, were slave troops, captives in war. Ramses II's poem on the Battle of Kadesh, lines 7-8, states: "Behold, his majesty prepared his infantry and his chariotry, the Sherden of the captivity of his majesty from the victories of his sword" (*BAR*, III, § 307). This passage seems plainly to point to slave troops. It is possible that a further reference to the enrolling of captives taken in war is to be found in Papyrus Harris, Plate 77, lines 5-6, where, in speaking of Libyan prisoners, Ramses III says: "I settled their leaders in strongholds in my name. I gave to them captains of archers and chief men of the tribes, branded and made into gangs (*mhwt*), stamped with my name" (*BAR*, IV, § 405). The same statement is made of war captives in the inscription of the year 5 (Plate 28, line 40). In this connection, however, it is interesting to note that Libyans do not appear anywhere among the Egyptian forces under Ramses III. In the war reliefs at Medinet Habu the foreign contingents are spoken of as present at the distribution of weapons in preparation for a campaign (Plate 29, lines 36-40) and are shown on the march to battle (Plates 17 and 31), in the actual engagement (Plates 9, 18, 19, and 32), and on the return from the campaign (Plates 10 and 24); but nowhere do they appear in the triumphal celebration after victory, where rewards were distributed for valor on the battlefield. The main participants in these celebrations would seem to have been the king, the princes, the courtiers, and the officers. The rank and file of the native Egyptian troops are also present as spectators. The absence of the foreign troops from these scenes is consonant with their status as slave troops, though, if these reliefs be true to life, mercenaries would hardly be content to remain excluded from the rewards of victory. However, no fully satisfactory explanation of their omission from these scenes is yet forthcoming.

language for the vividness to be derived from their newness. It is possibly no accident that there are also many reduplications of roots whose simplexes are better known to us (e. g., *k'k', w'w', hnhn, ddfi*). Such forms often express violent motion, and are therefore in keeping with the exaggerated statements characteristic of the "late style" of Ramses III's day. The vocabulary is distinctly rich, abounding in synonyms and in vivid imagery. There exists, in fact, what may almost be called a Medinet Habu language. The texts have the artificiality of a literary effort straining after effect, attempting to compensate by extravagant metaphor and the use of rare or new words for a meagerness of mental resource in an age of social and political decline. To some who have worked over these texts they convey the impression of a conscious effort to write a dead language substantially identical, for the most part, with what Dr. Gardiner and Mr. Gunn term "Middle Egyptian." On the other hand, they are the direct descendants of the war records of Ramses II and Merneptah. They copy whole phrases and even whole inscriptions from previous reigns.²⁵ In two cases at least, the same inscription is repeated within Medinet Habu itself, in each instance once in the great temple and once on the fortified gate. This carrying on of the Nineteenth Dynasty literary tradition is not surprising, both as a mere matter of historical development and as a result of Ramses III's evident admiration for his great predecessor of the same name. He called his horses after those of Ramses II, he named his children after those of the same monarch, his Medinet Habu temple is presumably a decadent copy of the Ramesseum, and among the chapels of the gods which open off the rear halls is one in which were kept the "holy images of Usermare-Setepnere (Ramses II) residing in Thebes."

Since the primary purpose of the texts was eulogism rather than narrative, the authors seem to have devoted attention chiefly to style. References to historical events were made with so little regard to chronological sequence that they frequently leave the reader quite confused. The more sober phraseology of the Eighteenth Dynasty was abandoned, and in its place the tendency to more poetical and more highly figurative wording, typical of the records of the Nineteenth Dynasty, was continued and greatly accentuated.²⁶ While the style of the Nineteenth Dynasty inscriptions reappears in those of the Twentieth, the later records can show nothing that compares in clearness with Ramses II's Kadesh narratives or that approaches in literary effect the peroration of Merneptah's "Hymn of Victory" (lines 21-26; cf. *BAR*, III, § 616), one of the finest passages in the language. Ramses III's inscriptions follow the form that had become the recognized model for the grandiose compositions of his day.²⁷ But whereas Merneptah's description of the good peace he brought his people is a vivid and finished piece of writing, the concluding passages of the inscriptions of the year 5 and the year 8 at Medinet Habu are commonplace and lack distinction. The inflated style of all these effusions is wearisomely repetitious, whole phrases and sentences recurring with little or no change and with unimaginative reiteration. Many inscriptions are made up largely of stereotyped expressions, a sufficient number of which have been put together in any given case to fill the space at the disposal of the artist. In some scenes they form a sort of antiphony. The god addresses the king, recounting in merely general terms the triumph which the divine aid has brought. Pharaoh replies, giving the substance of the god's address. The courtiers and prisoners occasionally take up the refrain and repeat it a second time. In the organization of the inscriptions there is complete absence of originality.

Though it is true that much of every inscription has little relevance to the subject of the relief of which it forms a part, still one or more sentences are regularly introduced that bear upon the theme. On Plate 17 in the text accompanying the standard of Amon, carried in the chariot before the king on the march against the Libyans, the god is represented as saying (in lines 5-7): "I open up for thee the ways of To-Temeh, I tread them in advance of thy horses." On Plate 26, line 2, as the Pharaoh leads the Libyan captives into the divine presence, Amon addresses the monarch with the words: "Thou hast taken captive thine adversaries; thou hast overthrown the violator of thy boundary." Even if the general style is monotonous, careful analysis will

show that among the mass of conventional phrases there is a large degree of variation in wording. Such epithets as "outstretched of arm," "an angry lion," "charging in among myriads," are repeated many times verbatim; but longer phrases are altered, presumably for the sake of variety. Thus the enemy are "prostrate in their blood before his horses" (Plate 9, lines 9-11), or they are "slaughtered in their places in heaps before his horses" (Plate 18, lines 7-8). Again, they are "made into heaps, smitten, and slaughtered before his horses" (rear of first pylon, line 1) or "slaughtered and made into heaps from tail to head" (Plate 46, line 24). It is said of the king, "his battle cry has encircled the countries" (Plate 17, line 10), "thy battle cry (reaches) to the circuit of Aton" (Plate 29, lines 5-6), "his battle cry and his name are like Set" (Plate 35, line 14), or "thy battle cry echoes among the Nine Bows" (Plate 23, line 1). There is distinct sameness in phraseology and style, but there is much less actual verbal repetition than a first casual reading would lead one to conclude. The author suffers rather from a paucity of ideas than from a too limited vocabulary.

CONTENT OF THE RELIEFS

Though the inscriptions leave much to be desired in the way of both content and style, the scenes which they accompany, when carefully studied, are of a higher order of merit than has heretofore been recognized. The use of deeply sunken reliefs, the many now disfiguring corrections to which they were subjected at the time when they were first carved, the extensive damage they have suffered from the hand of man and of time, the huge rectangular pattern of masonry joints formerly invisible under plaster and paint, the inferior quality of the stone as compared, for instance, with that at the Ramesseum or Karnak, and finally the confusing and blurring effect of the diffused light by which they are usually seen—all these have veiled from the modern beholder the finer qualities of the Medinet Habu reliefs, both as artistic compositions and as examples of superb Egyptian drawing. Only when the artist's conception is disentangled from the distracting conditions at present obscuring it are we able really to appreciate its undeniable artistic merits.

As the reliefs are primarily records of the king's exploits, the Pharaoh is represented in heroic proportions according to the usage of Egyptian art. Throughout the temple it is his form that attracts and holds the eye. Everything points to the one theme of the monarch's prowess. Is it a battle which the artist depicts? We not only see first the commanding figure of the king, but our eyes are constantly brought back to him as even the fleeing foe turn their faces toward him or raise their hands to him in supplication. Is it a review of the spoils and trophies of the conflict? Again the minor characters look up to the figure of the Pharaoh towering above them in his balcony. Even when the monarch leads the captives of his wars into the presence of Amon, it is he rather than the god that catches and holds the attention.

In choosing which particular incidents of the various campaigns should be depicted upon the walls, the artist has emphasized in every case the triumphant might of Ramses and the mutual obligations of the king and the god in connection therewith. This subject is most fully elaborated in the reliefs of the first Libyan war, shown on Plates 12-26 of this volume. The series gives what was probably the regular procedure in all campaigns, beginning with a religious ceremony in a temple, probably Karnak, at which the god commissions his son, the Pharaoh, to punish those who have dared to violate the sacred soil of Egypt or to challenge the supremacy of the monarch and his divine father. On Plate 13 Amon is shown handing Ramses III a scimitar with the words: "Receive to thyself a sword, my son, my beloved, that thou mayest smite the heads of the rebellious countries." Then follows a group of three scenes giving events leading up to the actual conflict. The climax is reached when the battle itself and the triumphant celebration of victory are twice shown. Finally we are present at the termination of the enterprise as the Pharaoh leads before Amon, presumably in the same temple where the commission was given, lines of unhappy prisoners, tangible evidence that it had been faithfully carried out.²⁸ Thus the artist in the choice of

²⁵This volume contains, as far as we know, no inscriptions which are thus plagiarized. For inscriptions copied from previous reigns, to appear in Volume II, see *BAR*, IV, §§ 132-35, 137, and 138.

²⁶Botti, "Frammenti di un testo storico in onore di Tutmosi III," in *Rendiconti della R. Accademia nazionale dei Lincei*, 1923, suggests that perhaps this literary tradition goes back even to the Eighteenth Dynasty.

²⁷This form seems to be (1) date and royal titulary, (2) introductory laudation of the king, (3) account of the origin and progress of the campaign and the discomfiture of the enemy, (4) eulogy of the prowess of the king and of the benefits he has conferred on Egypt, and (5) occasionally a response by the Egyptians and the conquered.

²⁸Whether such presentations of prisoners actually took place before the presumably small cultus image of the temple is, of course, uncertain. As usual, the representations of Amon seated within his shrine, as seen on Plates 11, 13, 26, and 43, attribute to the god the same size as that of the Pharaoh. But such is Egyptian usage everywhere. Relative size of individual figures denoted relative importance for the subject in hand, not physical proportion. The cultus image of the temple, as far as our data would warrant us in concluding, was probably smaller than life-size. The relative proportions of the human and divine figures in these presentation scenes have no direct bearing on the question as to whether they depict an actual ceremony in the temple or are merely symbolical.

his material not only attempted to perpetuate the greatness and glory of the monarch but also kept before the deity a reminder of what the Pharaoh had done for him, as well as what he had done for the Pharaoh. The war par-took of the nature of a crusade blessed by the god and conducted under his divine supervision.

NARRATIVE CHARACTER OF THE RELIEFS

The essentially narrative character of these reliefs is clearly evident in such a series of scenes as that just reviewed. Any one of the larger pieces alone could be translated into a story of considerable length. This fact is, of course, also true of the similar work of the Nineteenth Dynasty. Nowhere, however, is the purpose of the artist to tell a story more clearly seen than in the reliefs of the war with the Sea Peoples (Plates 29-44). The land battle (Plate 32), the naval engagement (Plate 37), and the triumph following on victory (Plate 42) are closely interwoven. In fact, if we may trust their veracity, the reliefs seem to support the idea that the two engagements occurred close together in both time and place. In the land battle we see the Pharaoh engaged with an enemy composed entirely of men with feathered headdresses—Peleset, Thekel, Shekelesh, and Denyen. In the naval battle, on the other hand, along with the enemy in the feathered headgear are men with horned helmets.²⁹ The latter are by most writers identified with "the Sherden and the Weshesh of the sea," spoken of in Papyrus Harris, Plate 76, line 7. Below the scene of the conflict, along what is clearly the shore, are two registers of figures. In the upper of these two, on the right side, are the king's personal attendants, who clearly belong with the Pharaoh. The remainder of that register shows a line of Egyptian officers, each with one or more captives whom he has bound or whom he is in the act of pulling ashore or binding. The prisoners in this register are clearly from the naval forces of the enemy. In the lower areas, on the other hand, we see at the right a body of Egyptian troops, while the left of the register is occupied by Egyptian officers leading away prisoners. All of the latter wear the feathered headdress as in the case of the land battle; while the men with the horned helmets, who are carefully included in the line above, are here conspicuous by their absence. It would seem that the artist has intentionally made a distinction between the two groups of captives. Is it not possible that, while the captives in the upper line are clearly the booty of the naval battle, those in the lower line are the prisoners from the land battle, and that thus the two scenes (Plates 32 and 37) converge and here run parallel to the triumph shown in the next relief (Plate 42)?

The naval battle where the king stands with drawn bow blends with the triumphal review by the king in his balcony or reviewing-stand (Plate 36). While all of the former scene, save the lower left Egyptian boat and the two lines of prisoners, is essentially a part of the action which the fighting Pharaoh dominates, that boat and the prisoners, though physically on the wall a part of the naval engagement, yet turn away from it toward the left, toward the victorious Pharaoh of Plate 42. They form the connecting link between the two battle scenes on the one hand and the celebration afterward on the other hand. None of these reliefs is self-contained. Each is but a paragraph in the narrative the artist has to tell. Words could scarcely give the story more plainly.

RELATION OF THE RELIEFS TO EARLIER COMPOSITIONS

Undoubtedly, in delicacy of execution the sculptors of the Medinet Habu reliefs produced work inferior to that of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. On the other hand, it must be remembered that they were greatly hampered by the material with which they worked. The limestone of the Abydos temples is, of course, capable of far finer plastic effects than is sandstone, the material used at Karnak and the Ramesseum. Yet the sandstone employed at these latter temples is much superior to that at Medinet Habu. Ramses III's artists, therefore, were handicapped by their medium. Moreover, in conformity with the extravagant style of the inscriptions of his reign, the reliefs are overemphasized by the excessive depth to which they are sunk below the surface of the wall. The resulting effect is often heavy and awkward; only an examination of details reveals artistic skill of a high order. The scenes vary in quality of both composition and execution. They are evidently the work of craftsmen of varying skill, though from the many corrections they have undergone they would appear to have been subjected to

²⁹It is noticeable that, while everywhere else at Medinet Habu the horned helmet always has a ball or disk between the horns, in the naval battle alone the ball is everywhere absent. Is it possible that we have here some other tribe than the Sherden, who are uniformly shown with helmets bearing both horns and ball?

the criticism of one or more superior artists. In drawing, in the general composition of the scenes, and in the relation of the parts to the whole, the artists of Ramses III's day were almost, if not quite, the equals of their predecessors of the Nineteenth Dynasty. While they frequently followed the models of the reigns of Seti I and Ramses II, yet surviving material indicates that they were not merely slavish copyists but were fully capable of independent creative work of a high order. In some respects they seem to have carried a step forward the development of Egyptian art.

When the Medinet Habu reliefs are compared with those of the Nineteenth Dynasty, the ancestry of many elements in the composition is not difficult to trace. The scene on Plate 23, for instance, is plainly drawn from a similar one which survives in fragmentary condition at Abydos and in much cruder form at Abu Simbel,³⁰ and which in Ramses III's day was in all probability to be seen at the Ramesseum also. Other reliefs reproduced in this volume are not so plainly influenced by specific works of earlier times which still survive, though they belong to the category of the more spacious compositions of the Ramesseum, Abu Simbel, and Beit el-Wali. Plates 14, 16, 17, 29, and 35 have no published parallels elsewhere, though this does not at all prove that they were new creations of Ramses III's draftsmen. There may well have been similar scenes in the original Ramesseum series. As far as surviving material indicates, in the great scene of the naval battle the artists of Ramses III created an entirely new and grandiose composition, though in its blending of scene with scene it is surely influenced by the Kadesh battle reliefs. On the other hand, much of the contents of Volume II, drawn from that portion of the temple east of the second pylon, clearly shows close affinity with the reliefs at Karnak.

In one respect there has been a marked departure from the prevailing Nineteenth Dynasty style and a return to earlier models.³¹ While the dead in the reliefs of Seti I and Ramses II lie out in stiff and almost uniform attitudes on the battlefield, obviously placed so as not to overlap more than a hand here or a foot there and so as to serve as stop-gaps accommodated to the empty space at the artists' disposal, the corpses in Ramses III's scenes are as a rule piled up and intertwined in utter confusion. This characteristic is again in keeping with the flamboyance of the Medinet Habu style; though, when the sculptures were first completed and fresh from the artists' hands, they were undoubtedly far less bewildering than they are today. To be sure, in their straining after effect the authors of these scenes have often declined into the grotesque (Plate 47, *E*); but on the whole they have perhaps succeeded better in conveying to the beholder the storm and stress of battle than have their predecessors of the more formal Karnak school. In the naval battle many of the figures of the dead sea-rovers floating on the water are more convincing than are the dead Hittites carried away by the river in the Kadesh battle reliefs. The lion hunt of Plate 35, though the scene shows obvious stylizing as compared, for instance, with the similar theme on Tutankhamon's painted casket,³² is, nevertheless, extremely effective even in its mutilated condition.³³

REALISM IN THE RELIEFS

While the artists of the Twentieth Dynasty observed the somewhat stereotyped conventions of their art, they displayed at times a realism that was independent of such conventions. In the case of the Pharaoh, however, realism was not attempted, time-honored usage being altogether too strong. Like all monarchs in old-established societies, he must at all times be idealized. To represent his figure but little detailed modeling is used, though the deeply sunken relief in which his form and that of his horses are shown serves admirably to accentuate them.³⁴ He might occupy the dominant position in every scene, but it was not his figure that claimed most of the sculptor's care or apparently gave him the greatest pleasure. The artist seems to have been keenly alive to the possibilities of the lesser characters in the drama. The uncouth attitudes and distorted antics of the Nubian savages,³⁵ the peculiar-

³⁰See Wreszinski, *Atlas*, II, 25 (Abydos) and 169 (Abu Simbel).

³¹Compare, for instance, the chariot of Thutmose IV (Carter and Newberry, *The Tomb of Thutmose IV*, Plates X and XI) and the stela of Amenhotep III in Meyer, *Darstellungen der Fremdvölker*, Phot. 32.

³²Carter, *The Tomb of Tutankhamen*, Vol. II, Plate III.

³³On the relation of this scene to similar representations in Assyrian art, compare Speleers in *Recueil de travaux*, XL (1923), 158 ff.

³⁴Schäfer, *Von ägyptischer Kunst*, 2d ed. (1922), pp. 64-65.

³⁵It is impossible for us today to say just how far the ancient Egyptian did or did not look upon his renderings of foreign peoples as humorous. Even in the great state war reliefs incidents undoubtedly intended to induce a smile at the expense of the enemy are introduced, such as the undignified inversion of the half-drowned prince of Aleppo by his followers in the Kadesh scene at the Ramesseum, or the peculiar antics of the Nubians in

ities of dress and feature of the Libyans and the northern barbarians, the swing and vigor of marching men, all call out his best efforts. Indeed, aside from the broad facts which the inscriptions record, informing us where and against whom the Pharaoh conducted wars, it is from these revelations in the reliefs that we learn the most. Here the artist was freer from the restraints that convention imposed on him when dealing with the Pharaoh, and here his skill is perhaps most clearly shown.

These subordinate elements in the scenes are generally not deeply sunk but are carved in a flatter relief which does not lift out the individual from the crowd. On the other hand, the artist often introduces a degree of modeling so extensive as to add powerfully to the expression of certain of the minor characters. To be sure, most of them lack individuality and are plainly not intended to play an independent part; but here and there, by special attention to detail, a few are differentiated from the mass. As far as the plates of this volume go, this fact is most noticeable in the naval battle, where occurs a succession of remarkably fine heads. These depart from the immobility usually observed in Egyptian art³⁶ and clearly depict both physical suffering and death. The closed eyes, the relaxed jaw, the sunken cheeks of the Peleset on Plate 53, *D*, are not mere accidents but the results of conscious art. A subtle effect of horror is introduced by the arms of drowning men thrust despairingly above the surface of the once painted, but now vanished, water, while their bodies have already sunk from sight (see Plate 40, *A*). This latter is something more than the *Vorstellungskunst* which Schäfer has so clearly and correctly recognized as characteristic of Egyptian art.³⁷ In the effort to enhance the impression of the monarch's power, the representation of the lion hunt (Plate 35) lays emphasis on jowl and paws, precisely those parts which make the lion terrible. Again, we see on the battlefield an unfortunate wretch grasping with one hand the stump of his other arm from which the hand has been severed as the customary trophy while the victim was still alive (Plate 18). Yet another example of the same realism is evident in the drawing of the hands of the slain piled up before the Pharaoh (Plate 23). Here it is quite plain that the artist has attempted to differentiate between the lifeless severed hands and those of living men.³⁸ The distinction is difficult to render in line drawing, but becomes clear upon comparing the photograph of one of the heaps (Plate 54, *A*) with the determinative of the word *kpw*, "hand" (Plate 48, *D*).

PAINTED ELEMENTS IN THE RELIEFS

As has already been noted, the loss of the painted details from the mass of the reliefs has in practically every case entailed a corresponding loss not only of artistic effect but of meaning as well. For instance, the figure of the king as it appears today upon the temple walls is generally stripped of its wealth of color. Though the sculptor confined himself to a standardized production of a very sketchy character, the painter was freer to represent the splendor of the royal jewelry and costume. In the case of the king's torso, for instance, the sculptor generally indicated merely the string of heavy beads around the base of the neck. Occasionally he added the outline of the broad collar below the necklace and the ends of the short sleeves of the tunic. Beyond these few details the sculptor did not go. It was left to the painter who followed him to render the rest of the costume above the girdle. Thus on Plate 25, *B*, we see that the Pharaoh did not appear in battle clad above his waist merely in a string of beads, as he would seem to have done to judge solely from the present state of the wall in the colorless companion piece shown on Plate 18. Instead, we find that he wore a light shirt of transparent linen, over which was probably a leather tunic terminating a little above the waist. This tunic was held in place by two broad bands of some material adorned with the falcon device in such a way that the king's body was embraced by the creatures' wings and by their legs as well, forming the well-

their flight at the approach of the Pharaoh. It is possible that the positions in which captives were bound were intended to raise a laugh. On Plate 23 the Libyan whose Egyptian captor grasps him by the hair, or the prisoner who turns his head backward to snarl at someone behind him, who is perhaps treading on his heels, may have been conceived in a lighter vein. "Horseplay" was plainly enjoyed in ancient Egypt, as evidenced in the subjects of private tomb decorations; but how far broad humor was introduced into these more stately scenes on the temple walls is difficult to estimate.

³⁶Compare, for instance, the face of the Egyptian on Plate 50, *B*.

³⁷Schäfer, *op. cit.*, p. 87 ff.

³⁸While the Medinet Habu artist has succeeded fairly well in making this distinction, he has not by any means equaled the effect of lifelessness seen, for instance, in the pile of severed hands on the south wall of the forecourt of Seti I's temple at Abydos, where, besides a greater limpness, the emphasizing detail of the protruding wrist bones is added.

known symbol of divine protection. It is not unlikely that this costume, appearing at least three times on the reliefs within the temple, or some similar clothing, was originally indicated in paint on the figure of the king in most, if not all, of the great battle reliefs.

Again, Plate 1 shows the Libyan costumes and tattooing with a fullness that the unpainted reliefs never give. More important still for the interpretation of the battle scenes is the section of relief given on Plate 20. There we find that the sculptor, when he had completed his share of the work, left a confused mass of figures seemingly piled up promiscuously in the corner of his picture, much like those shown on Plate 18. But the painter has supplied the necessary background for the interpretation of the sculptor's work, bringing some degree of order out of the chaos. As a result of his contribution it is apparent that the Libyans are fleeing over a hill or falling down its slope, the profile of which appears clearly marked, running from the lower left corner of the plate to the middle of the upper edge. The ground is painted red, as it is the desert or "red land" (*dšrt*); and the carnage is emphasized by pools of blood painted in red among the dead and dying. We can easily transfer to the companion piece on Plate 18 these details from the hand of the painter and realize that there too we have a scene where the enemy is being driven in confusion over the hills that border the Nile Valley back into the desert whence he came. This bit of painted relief from one of these battle pieces is a distinct assistance in the understanding of similar scenes elsewhere.

As Professor Schäfer has pointed out,³⁹ there was little or no distinction in the Egyptian mind between relief and painting, both being treated as parts of the same art. No separating line can be drawn where one ends and the other begins. In fact, the modeling is plainly subsidiary to the painting. The whole of any composition is given in color, while the larger outlines, in contrast to the subordinate details, are emphasized by plastic rendering. It is, therefore, but natural that from scene to scene the amount of assistance the sculptor gave the painter varied without any apparent reason. On Plate 1, for instance, certain of the Libyans are shown wearing earrings which are merely represented in paint, while on some of the Libyans from the wall between the two pylons (to be given in Volume II) the same ornament is carved in clear relief. Even in a single picture, on figures side by side, the locks of hair will be indicated now in relief and now entirely in color. Part of a bowstring may be carved and the remainder merely painted. At times the craftsmen seem to have disagreed, as in the case of the garment worn by the Libyan on Plate 51, *H*, where the work of the sculptor and the work of the painter failed to coincide. Little, therefore, can be argued from the absence of any detail from scenes where the color has entirely disappeared.

PREPARATION OF THE WALL FOR THE ARTIST

When the walls of the temple left the decorator's hands they presented an appearance quite unlike that of today. The joints in the masonry, which now cover all the surfaces with a vast and disturbing rectangular pattern, were filled with plaster, uneven surfaces were similarly treated, and the whole was brought to a uniform level. As the sandstone was too rough to take paint satisfactorily, a thin wash was applied to the stone before the color was laid on. This treatment did not produce a surface equal to that of good limestone, but it did permit a much softer effect that could have been secured from the sandstone itself. Whether all the wall was thus fully prepared before the actual carving took place is questionable. That the deeper hollows and irregularities were filled previous to the work of the sculptor may be reasonably inferred from the character of the cuttings surviving on these depressed areas where the design penetrated through the plaster into the stone behind. The successive steps in the final application of the color after the carving was completed, while very illuminating with regard to the technique of Egyptian art, form too large a subject to be touched upon here. But once the wall was ready and the reliefs finished, the whole was painted in minute detail which would, under such circumstances, be much more clearly visible from the ground than at present, when, with few exceptions, only the carving survives. Moreover, the ancient Egyptian was fully acquainted with the canons of his own art and was therefore not distracted or confused by any sense of the uncouth or unreal as are we today, trained in a totally different convention.

³⁹*Op. cit.*, p. 56 ff.

ARRANGEMENT OF THE RELIEFS AND INSCRIPTIONS

The arrangement of the historical matter on the walls of the temple is worthy of note. As usual, every available surface where the reliefs or inscriptions would be discernible is utilized. Where these areas are so lofty that the design would not be easily comprehensible from the ground, they are left blank, as on the upper parts of the pylons. But even on the pylons the space is fully utilized until the eye, drawn upward, reaches some natural transverse break in the smooth face of the wall, such as the cornice of the central gateway or the top of the flanking colonnades. On these larger utilized areas the portions above are generally reserved for inscriptions, easily legible from below, arranged in perpendicular columns which emphasize the height of the wall and help to overcome the sense of weight so inherent in Egyptian architecture.

In apportioning the available space among the various reliefs and inscriptions, the artist has shown a full appreciation of the problem before him. Certain scenes, by their complicated nature or the interrelation of their parts, required a larger allotment of space than others. For these the artist has reserved areas of sufficient size to enable him to do full justice to his theme. This is the case, for instance, with the finest of all the reliefs, the naval battle. The space on the temple wall where this scene could be displayed to the best advantage is exactly the position chosen by the artist. The naval battle was plainly regarded by the king as one of the most notable exploits of his reign. We might, therefore, expect that he would have selected one of the pylon walls of the first court upon which to record it. But such a location would have imposed undesirable restraint upon the artist. As the relief now stands, it is over 15 meters long, while the available space on the walls of the first court is only about 10 meters. The spot preferred was the one where justice could best be done to the composition.

Not only are scenes containing the greatest detail and most striking features assigned as a rule to the larger areas, but where the walls are so high that the use of the full perpendicular space available would entail awkward proportions, they are divided into two or more horizontal registers, each a unit in itself. This distribution of the reliefs is also followed in the case of walls that are more or less screened behind colonnades, which prevent a free view of any large surface from one position.

The exigencies of publication, whereby each scene appears on a separate plate, isolated from its companion pieces to right and left, unavoidably detract from the imposing effect produced by the originals when seen on the temple walls. Taken alone, most of the compositions are highly impressive in themselves; but taken together, as they were conceived by the artist, they are much more so. Their very number and size are essential aspects of Egyptian art, but aspects which cannot be reproduced in print. Everywhere in the inscriptions throughout the temple "stability" and "strength" are repeatedly declared to be among the supreme gifts of the god to the Pharaoh. The architecture of the building also sets forth this ideal, as it relies to a great extent on massiveness and weight to produce the same effect of "stability" and "power." And the reliefs covering the walls in continuous succession, all depicting scenes of achievement and prowess dominated by the colossal figures of the king and the gods, whose impressiveness is enhanced by the deeply recessed reliefs, contribute to the same result and reinforce the imposing character of the whole. On the outside of the north wall of the temple, from the northwest corner to the second pylon, runs a series of ten scenes, all dealing largely with masses of men in motion. As the beholder stands at a distance from the wall, with the early morning light raking it at such an angle that the reliefs stand out in sharp contours, the sense of the power and sweep of massed troops, of charging chariots, of fleeing enemy all moving from right to left along the wall, is such as cannot possibly be conveyed by any printed page.

The war reliefs in general are arranged in chronological order and in physical sequence, the whole converging on the doorway between the first and second courts. They proceed on the outside of the temple from the southern toward the northern end of the rear wall. Thence they continue eastward along the north wall to the second pylon, where is placed the scene representing the culmination of the war with the northerners—the presentation of captives before the god. Between the first and second pylons are two registers of reliefs which begin on the rear of the north tower of the first pylon, then move along the outside wall westward till they also end at the second pylon, each with a presentation of captives before the god. In the

first court the termination of the war in Syria occurs similarly at the west end of the north wall next to the second pylon, likewise with a presentation ceremony. On the front and rear faces of the second pylon, in the first and second courts, occur two more such scenes. Apparently at Medinet Habu the second pylon was regarded as the front of the temple proper, the first court having close connection with the palace. With his customary observance of geographical relationships in the disposition of his material, the Egyptian artist has led the Pharaoh back from all his campaigns, through the more secular portion of the temple, to the very door of the god's proper abode.⁴⁰

PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE PLATES

On the plates of this publication the effort has been made to lift the design of the reliefs off the wall, as it were, out of the disturbing conditions under which it must be viewed today, such as the joints of broken masonry, the weathered and discolored surfaces, the distracting injuries of all kinds, and, while retaining in the drawings enough of these accidental elements to account for the fragmentary condition of the scenes, at the same time to subordinate them to the clear record on the published plate of all that survives of the artist's original composition.⁴¹ From the beginning one principle was adopted, namely, to record in solid line nothing that was not actually on the wall at the time the drawing was made, and the presence of which had not been verified by at least two, in most cases by three, and, in obscure places, by four or more observers. In carrying out its work the Expedition staff encountered certain problems in the preparation of practically every plate, and it will now be necessary to discuss the most important of these.

I. THE REPRESENTATION OF PLASTIC SURFACES IN LINE DRAWINGS

Although all the plates represent sunken relief, no attempt has been made in any way to reproduce this element of the art. The sculpture has therefore been treated as though it were the customary shallow or flat Egyptian bas-relief. It will readily be seen that line drawings can at most only suggest slightly raised relief and at the least merely record in outline the design which on the walls is always modeled, frequently in great detail. From the point of view of art exclusively, such a record cannot of course be regarded as at all an adequate substitute for the original. On the other hand, it has certain advantages over photographic reproduction. From the archaeological point of view a photograph is a surprisingly incomplete record—far more incomplete than is commonly supposed. While reproducing the plastic surface of the sculpture, the photograph presents any given scene from only *one* point of view, with but *one* lighting, and from a distance so great as to obscure a multitude of minor details which weather and damage of all sorts may almost totally have obliterated and which therefore only a close study of the wall reveals.

Of the limitations and disadvantages of the sunken relief the Egyptian artist seems to have been fully aware. Thus within the area of any given human head he rightly treats the profile of the face in flat relief, never deeply recessed, probably because the expression of the face would otherwise be submerged and lost in the shadows. On the other hand, the back of the head is deeply cut, the resulting broad dark line of shadow emphasizing the modeling of that part and giving the head the necessary appearance of strength. This peculiar treatment of sunken relief is especially marked in the case of the squatting divine figures among the hieroglyphs. For instance, in the king's cartouche the figures of Re (Plate 51, *D*) and Mat are very deeply cut at the bottom, but the portion where the details of the face appear is sunk only relatively slightly below the surface of the wall. As a result of this treatment the faces are not lost in the great depth of the cutting. It was obvious that an attempt to reproduce in our plates all or any considerable part of the modeling of such figures in the reliefs or the hieroglyphs would

⁴⁰For discussion of this point as evidenced at Karnak, compare *BAR*, III, § 80; Gardiner in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI (1920), 99 ff.; and Schäfer and Andrae, *op. cit.*, p. 102.

⁴¹Some few who have seen the plates in preparation have regretted the presence of any indication of the injuries from which the walls have suffered. However, after full discussion and experimentation it was decided that only by suggesting the conditions in which the reliefs have survived could justice be done to the originals. It would not be fair to the Egyptian artist to restore wholesale the missing lines. Were no indications of surface conditions given, many plates would have contained masses of fragmentary designs which, on a clear background, would often be almost meaningless. It was also felt that shading must certainly be used in the inscriptions to account for the present state of the record and indicate places where there could be no hope of recovering the lost signs as the wall had broken away. There is, perhaps, some inconsistency in the amount of shading employed on different plates, but on the whole the drawings reflect with reasonable uniformity the relative condition of the various reliefs.

entail a prohibitive amount of labor and would result in very doubtful success. Only in cases where some special end was to be gained has any effort been made to indicate in our drawings the plasticity of the original sculpture. A glance at the plates will show how little use has been made of shading for this purpose. Occasionally on some of the finer faces the modeling has been suggested, but otherwise this element in the design has been disregarded.

The use of sunken relief has resulted in certain strange effects in the now unpainted scenes where one object is represented as passing across in front of another and at the same time extending on either side into otherwise unoccupied surfaces. Thus a bow string drawn taut will be carved in sunken relief, often little more than a deep scratch on the stone, where it runs across a free space between two objects, but the portion of the string that passes across a second object will be represented in broad raised relief. This device of carving one portion of a line in sunken relief and the remainder of the same line in raised relief cannot, of course, be indicated on the plate. Its use, however, is plainly visible in the case of the archers on Plate 18.

2. THE REPRESENTATION OF PAINTED SURFACES IN LINE DRAWINGS

Here again the production of these plates was largely a matter of deciding what could be represented intelligibly in black and white and what, when so recorded, would be only misleading. As the work on the reliefs progressed, it became more and more apparent that a wealth of minute detail had irretrievably disappeared. A few spots on the walls of the first and second courts, where the colonnades have sheltered them from the sun and weather of centuries, still retain sufficient color to give a suggestion of their original appearance. Plates 1, 20, 24, and 26 serve to illustrate this point. In the line drawings some effort has been made to reproduce a portion of the painted surfaces. The finer elements of the design which still survive, such as the patterns on the garments of the deities, the tattoo marks on the limbs and the rings in the ears of the captive Libyans, the trappings of the horses, the pools and streams of blood upon the battlefield, among which the wild flowers spring—all these and many others serve to show how full was the original rendering of the scenes before the color was lost. For reproduction in black and white, only a selection of the more important painted details could be made, without any attempt to render the broader masses of flat color.

The employment of sunken relief by the sculptor involved the painter in a difficult problem. For instance, in the scene given on Plate 24 the line marking the horses' backs is very deeply cut. The depth of the cut forms a broad, slightly curving band some 6 inches wide, a considerable strip of blank stone, as viewed from the pavement of the second court, arching above the animals' backs (Plate 54, *D*). It was neither part of the smooth perpendicular wall face which forms the background, painted yellow; nor did it really belong to the figure of the horse, covered with a gaily colored cloth in checkerboard pattern. This broad band, produced by the depth of the cutting, could not well be left bare and unpainted when all other parts of the wall were decorated. In this case the artist, doubtless feeling that the whole area within the outermost edge of the cutting rightly belonged to the figure of the horse, has extended to this edge the pattern of the cloth from the adjacent portions of the animal, thus covering this broad boundary strip with the checkerboard pattern of the horse cloth. This was, of course, the regular method of dealing with the problem inherited from earlier Egyptian convention and used by the Egyptian artist everywhere; but the limitations of line drawing prevent it from being recorded on the plates.

Still more difficult to reproduce are the not infrequent instances where the design, begun on the modeled figure, is completed on the side of the recess, off the figure proper. For instance, the king's girdle bore a painted pattern along which ran, from front to back, a short line of hieroglyphs. The artist so spaced these signs that the text was not completed on the girdle proper, but the last few signs were placed on the face of the recess behind the Pharaoh. Several signs, in fact, appear partly on the relief and partly on the face of the recess itself. Such practices of the artist have perforce been omitted from the drawings here given.

3. REPRESENTATION OF INJURIES TO THE WALL, DECAYED SURFACES OF STONE, OR AREAS ONCE PLASTERED BUT FROM WHICH THE PLASTER HAS NOW DROPPED OFF

Injuries to the wall are of various kinds. Perhaps most conspicuous of all and most disturbing are the multitudes of deep perpendicular gouges or scraped hollows which abound on the outside walls wherever they were within reach of human hands (see above, p. 3). These are especially

numerous on the rear of the temple, almost obliterating the scene given on Plate 9 and seriously damaging others. With the purpose of accounting for the very fragmentary nature of what remains, some suggestion of the presence of these disfigurements has been given on plates where the original has been most seriously affected (cf. Plates 9-11 and 13). Surfaces disintegrated by the chemical action of ammoniacal moisture in the débris that once lay piled high against the walls have been indicated only where it was necessary to account for the loss, from this cause, of portions of the design.

Of a different nature from the preceding are the lacunae resulting from the disappearance of plastered filling. At frequent intervals throughout the temple the faces of certain blocks of stone did not, at the time of insertion, quite reach the general plane of the wall surface. This happens less often outside than inside the temple. Where such imperfect material was used, it was customary for the ancient builders to fill up the depressed area with plaster to form a plane surface with the rest of the wall. In this plaster the artist could then carve his designs. When this plaster dressing was not very deep, the cutting often penetrated into the stone behind. Under these circumstances traces of the sculptor's work survived after the plaster had fallen away, as it has done everywhere on the outside of the temple. It is then possible to recover something of the original carving, especially in the case of hieroglyphs. In preparing the plates an attempt has been made to show surfaces once treated in this manner, when the absence of the filling affects the designs on the wall. Such an area may be seen on Plate 29, just below the waterspout.

Perhaps the greatest damage to the reliefs depicted in this volume has been done by the openings cut in the walls at the time when the temple was converted into a church in the early Christian centuries. Of all the stones then removed, we have so far been able to recover only one or two fragments. The large empty spaces seen on many of the plates are the result of the Coptic occupation of the building.

4. THE REPRESENTATION OF SUPERIMPOSED DESIGNS IN THE MULTITUDE OF INSTANCES WHERE THE ORIGINAL COMPOSITION WAS CORRECTED AND TRACES OF BOTH THE ORIGINAL AND THE CORRECTION SURVIVE

The present state of the reliefs and inscriptions, especially on the more exposed areas, presents much the aspect of a first draft of a school composition after the master has somewhat ruthlessly entered his corrections. It is surprising what a multitude of changes have been introduced throughout the reliefs and inscriptions, in some places with the evident intention of heightening the artistic effect of the scene or improving the forms of the signs (Plate 54, *B*), but in most cases as the result of careless work on the part of the original artist. On Plate 40 we have a detailed presentation of one of the clearest examples of such changes, the boat seen in the upper lefthand corner of Plates 37 and 39. The drawing *B* reproduces all the lines that now survive upon the wall. A glance at once reveals that we have here two versions of this design superimposed one upon the other. From careful study of the wall it becomes evident that one of these was carved and probably completed with color. It was then either revised by the designer or submitted to the criticism of someone of superior artistic judgment, with the result that drastic changes were introduced. From traces still on the wall and from plentiful analogies elsewhere in the temple, it is clear that the portions to be deleted were then filled with plaster. In most cases it is impossible to determine whether the entire composition or merely the faulty carving was thus obliterated. At any rate, only such portions of the original as satisfied the critic were retained. The alterations were then entered, partly by carving new lines in the stone or plaster, partly it would seem by combining carved with painted work. From abundant examples it is plain that the Egyptians had no particular objection to presenting one part of a line in sunken relief, another in raised relief, and still another in color alone (cf. pp. 7 and 9 above). Once the corrections were made and painted to life, all traces of the original rejected design would be covered and only the final conception would remain. It is worthy of note that almost invariably such alterations were distinct improvements.

In course of time the plaster that was used to cover up rejected work has fallen away from the more exposed surfaces, carrying with it the repainted details and such lines as were cut in the plaster filling alone. Under these circumstances there often remains a maze of lines among which the design *first* drawn is the dominant one, while the *final* design remains as a mere phantom hardly discernible amid the confusion of the corrections. If

extensive changes were made, the surface of the stone was often prepared for the reception of the plaster by rough-hacking the wall, as in the case of the Pharaoh's figure on Plate 42, where we have signs of at least three versions. That this method was quite effective as long as the plaster remained unbroken is shown on Plate 54, *E*. There is a wall in Room 21, in the rear of the temple, in which extensive alterations were made. The original depicted the king seated and undergoing purification by his *sem*-priest. This relief was completed and painted. Then a modification in the size of the room was introduced and a wall built across it, the surviving portion of which is visible on the right. This abutted on the original wall where the king was shown, and covered up part of his figure. The section not thus hidden by the later wall was buried under a substantial coating of plaster, much of the design being hacked and roughened to hold the plaster covering in place. Into this prepared surface another representation of the king was then carved, this time in a standing attitude, and the whole repainted, effectively concealing all traces of the former composition. Today the upper courses of the later wall are gone and the original design which it concealed is exposed to view. Moreover, the plaster has fallen away from the later figure of the king in several places, exposing the roughened surface of the stone behind, with the outlines of the first draft plainly visible, and thus disclosing the whole method.

Returning now to the boat shown on Plate 40, the problem here was to determine which lines to reject and which to include on the plates. In the case in point it is obvious that to record all that survives would be confusing to the beholder and at the same time unjust to the Egyptian artist. In all such instances the principle was adopted of presenting the dominant version (usually the original) unless sufficient of the corrections survived to enable the draftsman to determine with reasonable certainty which was the artist's final design. On Plate 40 an effort has been made to distinguish between the two renderings of the scene. The drawing *C* gives the original, practically all of which survives. The drawing *D* shows the second or revised version, those portions of the design which disappeared with the plaster being restored conjecturally, but fairly certainly, in dotted line. A comparison of the two plates will show what an improvement in life and action was achieved. The fighting men no longer stand erect as they engage the enemy, but lean forward eagerly as they cast their lances or draw their bows. Here it is clear that some superior artist made his suggestions regarding the work, which thus becomes a document of peculiar interest in art criticism. In cases where the details of such changes survive, while only one version has been presented on the plates, all instances of any importance in which editorial choice was necessary have been recorded in the volume of notes to be published later.

METHOD OF PREPARATION OF THE PLATES

The method used in the preparation of the plates of this volume has aimed at combining the mechanical accuracy of the camera with the skill of the artist and the knowledge of the epigrapher. It is not claimed that the process is original, except in the highly developed system of correction; but it has not previously been applied on so extensive a scale in epigraphic work.

1. Each scene to be drawn was first photographed on an 8×10-inch film, from which was then made an enlargement, generally from one-fourth to one-third larger than the final printed plate of the publication. The enlargement was made of sufficient size to insure the clear definition of as great a number of details as possible. At the same time it might be divided into two or more sheets to allow of convenient handling by the artist, no sheet being more than 50×60 centimeters.

2. The enlargement was then taken by one of the staff artists to the temple wall, where, in the presence of the original, at such close range as to be able to touch with his hand any spot at which he might be working, he carefully entered every line in pencil on the photograph itself. Subsequently, in the drafting-room at the Expedition headquarters, the lines already drawn in pencil at the temple were entered on the enlargement in waterproof India ink, and the results were later verified by the artist before the original.

3. The enlargement, thus outlined in ink, was then submitted to a chemical treatment that bleached out the photograph completely, leaving a white background on which the ink outline remained. There was thus produced a black-and-white drawing based on a photograph plus the observation and skill of the artist.

4. From this drawing, by contact printing in sunlight, was then made a sepia paper negative from which could be produced a blueprint positive. By this method the subsequent steps in the extensive process of correction could in large part utilize blueprints instead of the original drawing, which would have been seriously injured by much handling.

5. The inexpensive blueprint was next cut up into small sections 3 or 4 inches square, each of which was pasted on a sheet of foolscap paper, leaving around the small blueprint section a wide margin on which any corrections or additions could be entered by the epigraphers. These sections, which we call "collation sheets," were then taken out to the temple and in the presence of the wall were submitted to a searching comparison, line by line, with the original. Each drawing was thus collated by at least two members of the epigraphic staff until no more unentered traces of the design could be recovered and all errors by the artist had been corrected. At the same time archaeological or philological observations which might be of value in preparing the volume of textual notes were entered on the collation sheets for future reference.

6. The very numerous corrections and additions thus noted were then entered on the drawings by the artist, but again only after he had compared them with the original; and these changes were afterward checked by the epigraphic staff. This process was repeated until nothing more that the staff could observe on the wall remained to be entered on the plates.

7. Any advisable restorations of entire signs or of missing parts of signs or figures were entered in dotted lines. Restorations not drawn from an earlier copy but merely resting on deductions from the present condition of the wall have been bracketed. In a few cases copies were made long ago, when the wall was in better condition and the inscription more legible. Such old copies have always been fully collated, and any additional signs, words, or figures thus available have been inserted in our plates. Such restorations from early copies, or such as consisted of the completion of broken signs, parts of which were *still preserved*, have been entered without brackets. The reasons for such restorations and the authority from which they were drawn will be stated in the volume of textual notes.

8. These textual notes have been edited to appear in a separate volume, thus freeing the present volume from such critical material and making the notes more convenient for comparison with the plates.

Finally it may be noted that, since the process here employed is based on photographic enlargements, a slight amount of distortion must inevitably have intruded into the finished drawings. The farther from the center of the picture, the greater is the danger of departure from the true rendering of the original. Every effort has been made to minimize this error, but mathematical comparison of the plates with the wall would in a few instances at least almost certainly disclose its presence in greater or less degree.

PLATES

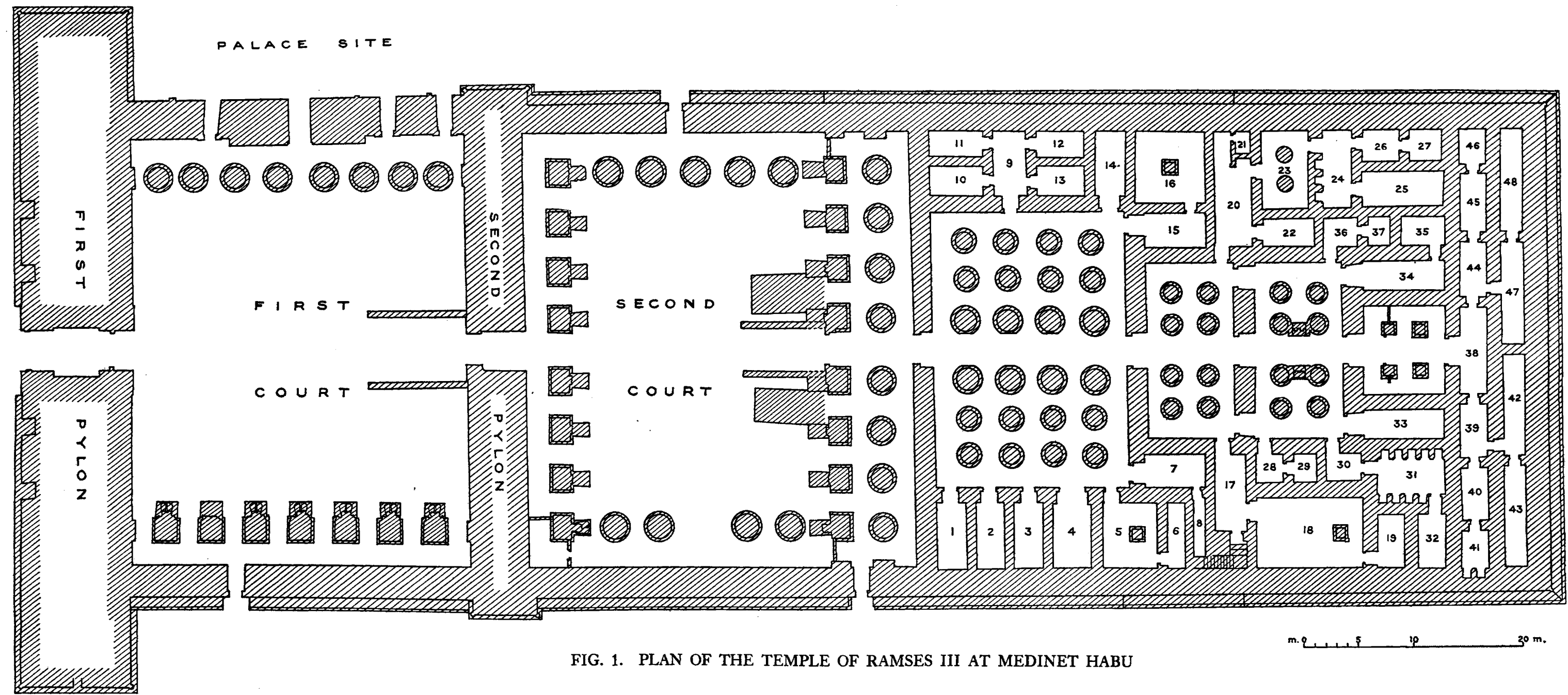


FIG. 1. PLAN OF THE TEMPLE OF RAMSES III AT MEDINET HABU

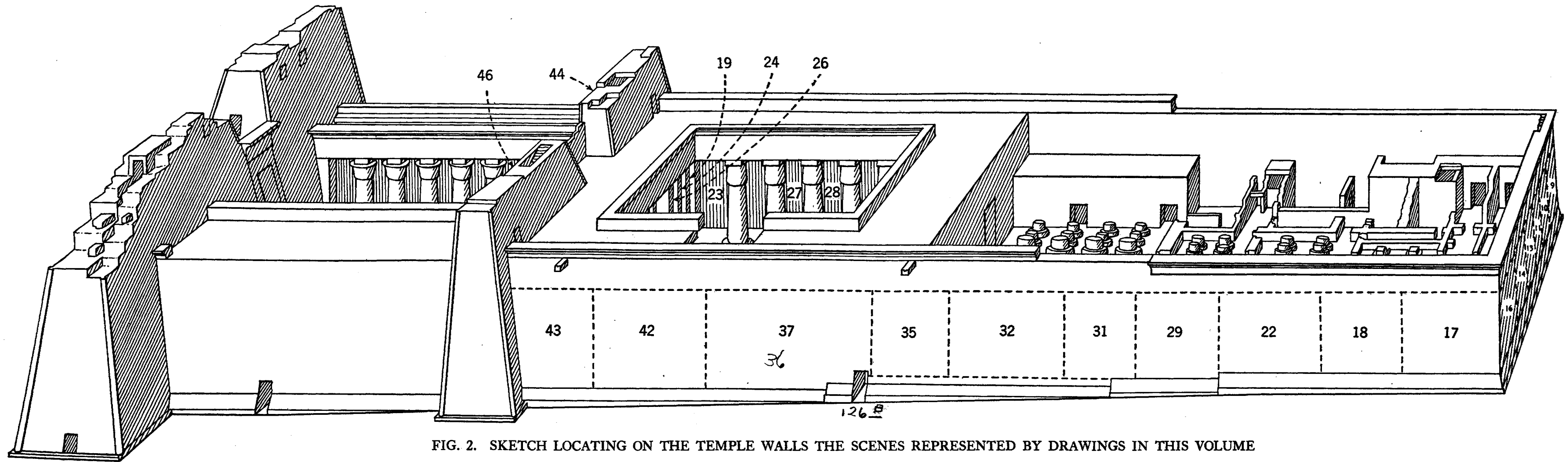


FIG. 2. SKETCH LOCATING ON THE TEMPLE WALLS THE SCENES REPRESENTED BY DRAWINGS IN THIS VOLUME

Interior, 2d court, east wall,
lower register



Printed in Germany by Ganymed, Berlin

LIBYAN CAPTIVES
DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 26

←KARNAK TEMPLE

LUXOR TOWN

LUXOR TEMPLE

COLOSSI OF MEMNON



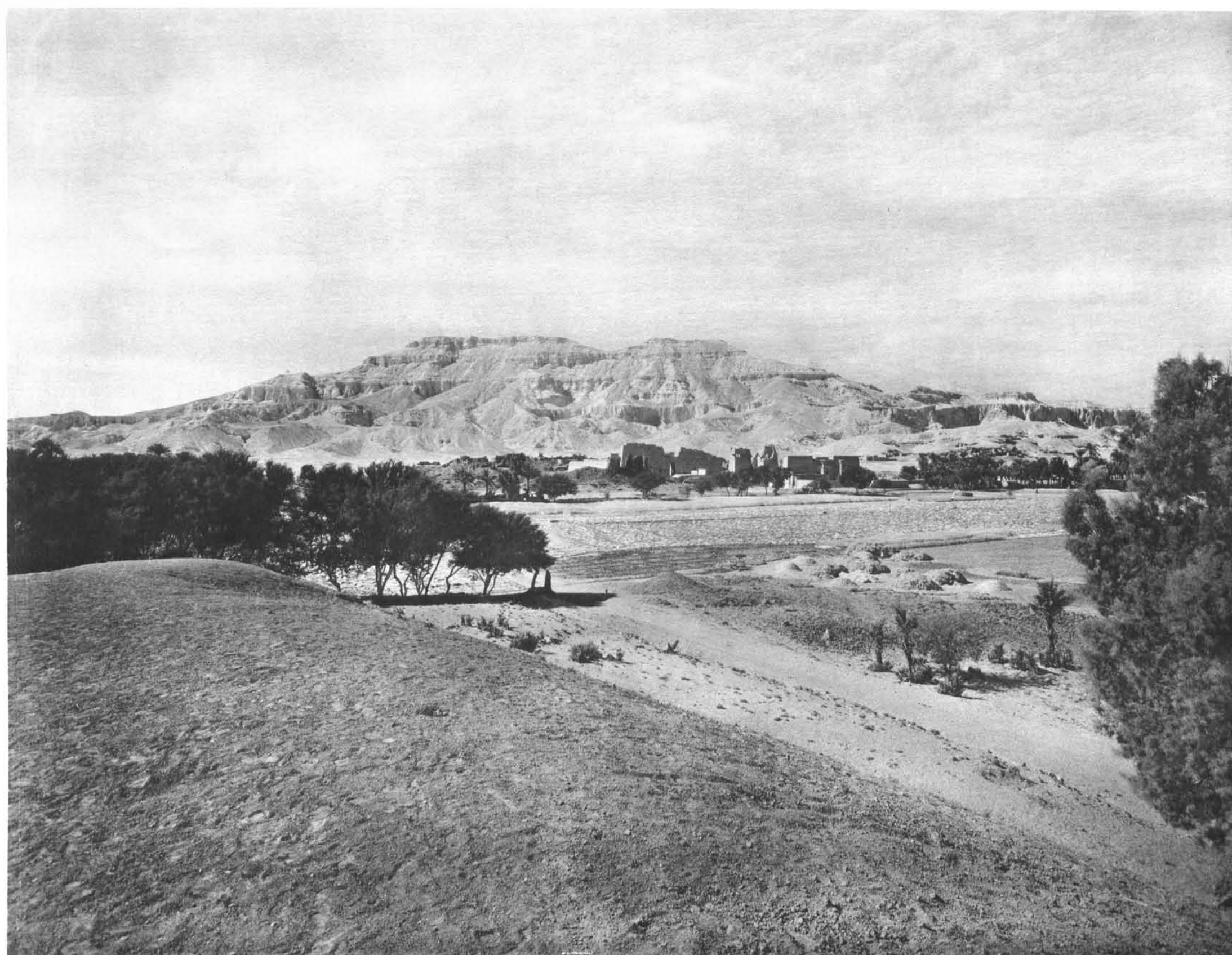
RAMESSEUM

CHICAGO HOUSE

MEDINET HABU

Printed in Great Britain

THE NILE VALLEY FROM THE CLIFFS BEHIND MEDINET HABU



A



Printed in Great Britain

B

A. GENERAL VIEW OF MEDINET HABU TEMPLES WITH INCLOSURE AND NEIGHBORING TERRANE FROM THE SOUTH

B. VIEW FROM THE CLIFFS OVERLOOKING MEDINET HABU FROM THE NORTH



Printed in Great Britain

GENERAL VIEW OF MEDINET HABU TEMPLES AND NEIGHBORING CLIFFS FROM EAST OF SOUTH



A



B

Printed in Great Britain

- A. THE TEMPLE OF RAMSES III AS SEEN FROM THE NORTHWEST CORNER OF THE TEMENOS WALL
B. THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY TEMPLE AND THE FORTIFIED GATE (AT LEFT) AND THE FIRST PYLON OF RAMSES III'S TEMPLE (AT RIGHT) FROM THE NORTHERN TEMENOS WALL



Printed in Great Britain

FRONT OF FIRST PYLON OF THE GREAT MEDINET HABU TEMPLE AS SEEN FROM THE FORTIFIED GATE



A

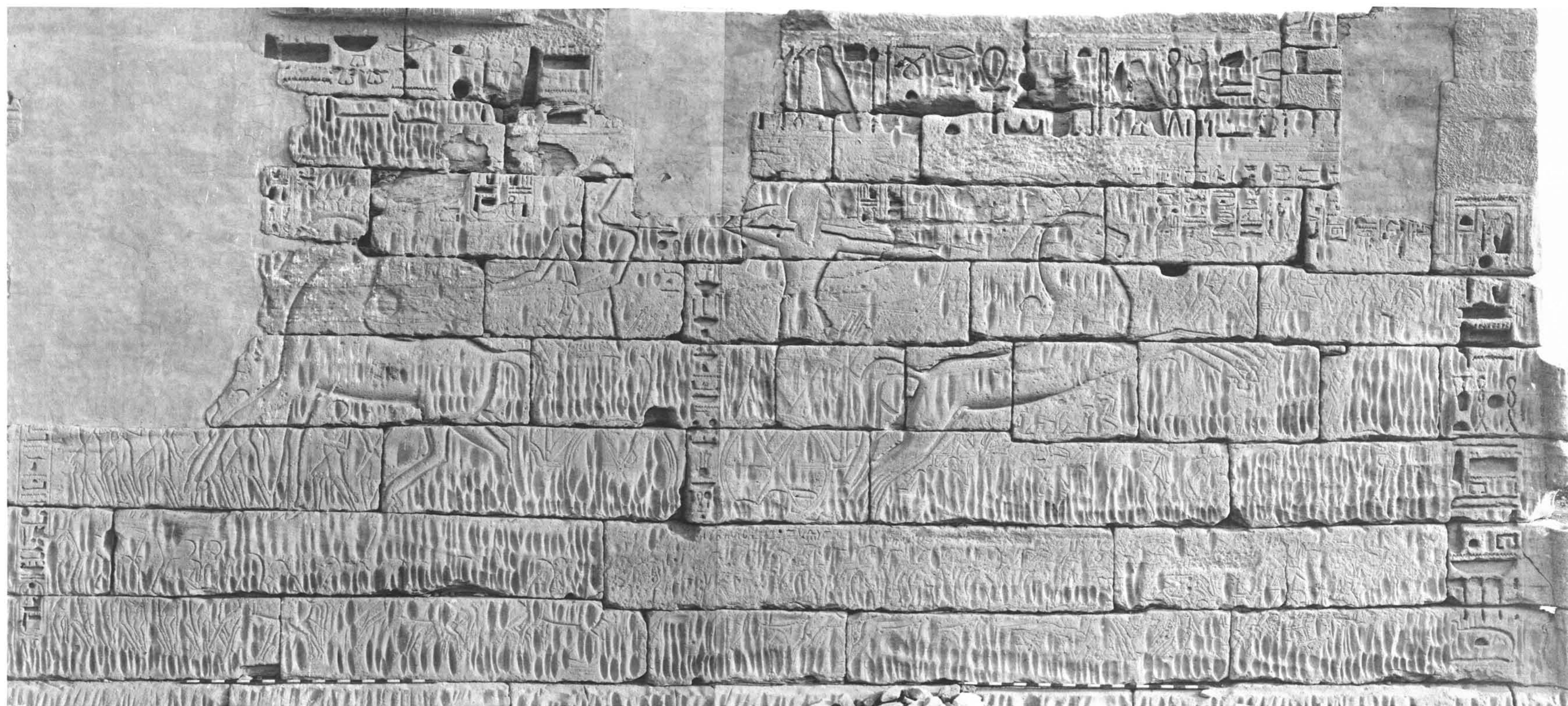


B

Printed in Great Britain

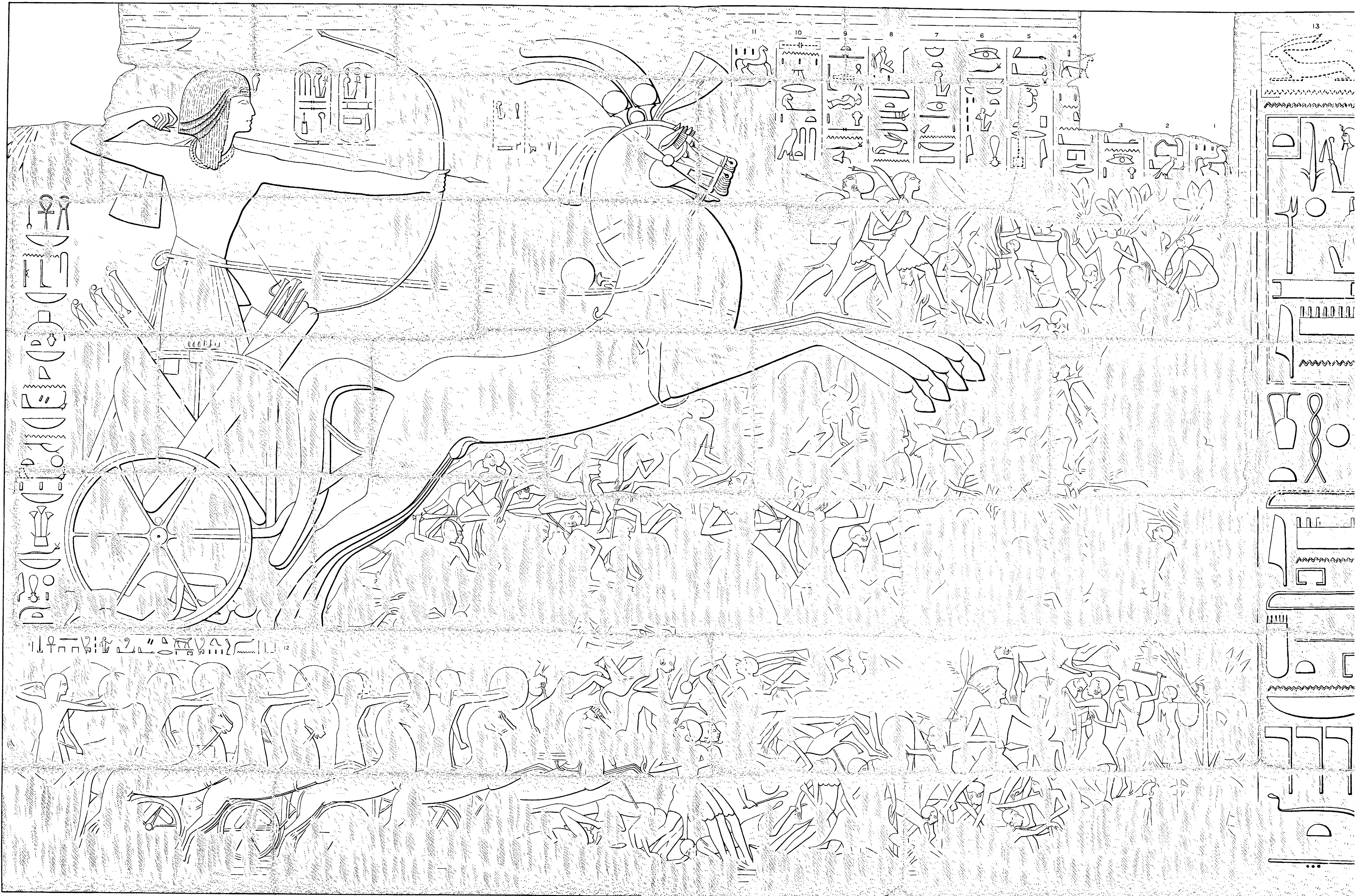
A. THE INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF RAMSES III AS SEEN FROM ITS FIRST PYLON
B. THE SOUTH WALL OF THE SECOND COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF RAMSES III

Exterior, west wall,
south end



Printed in Great Britain

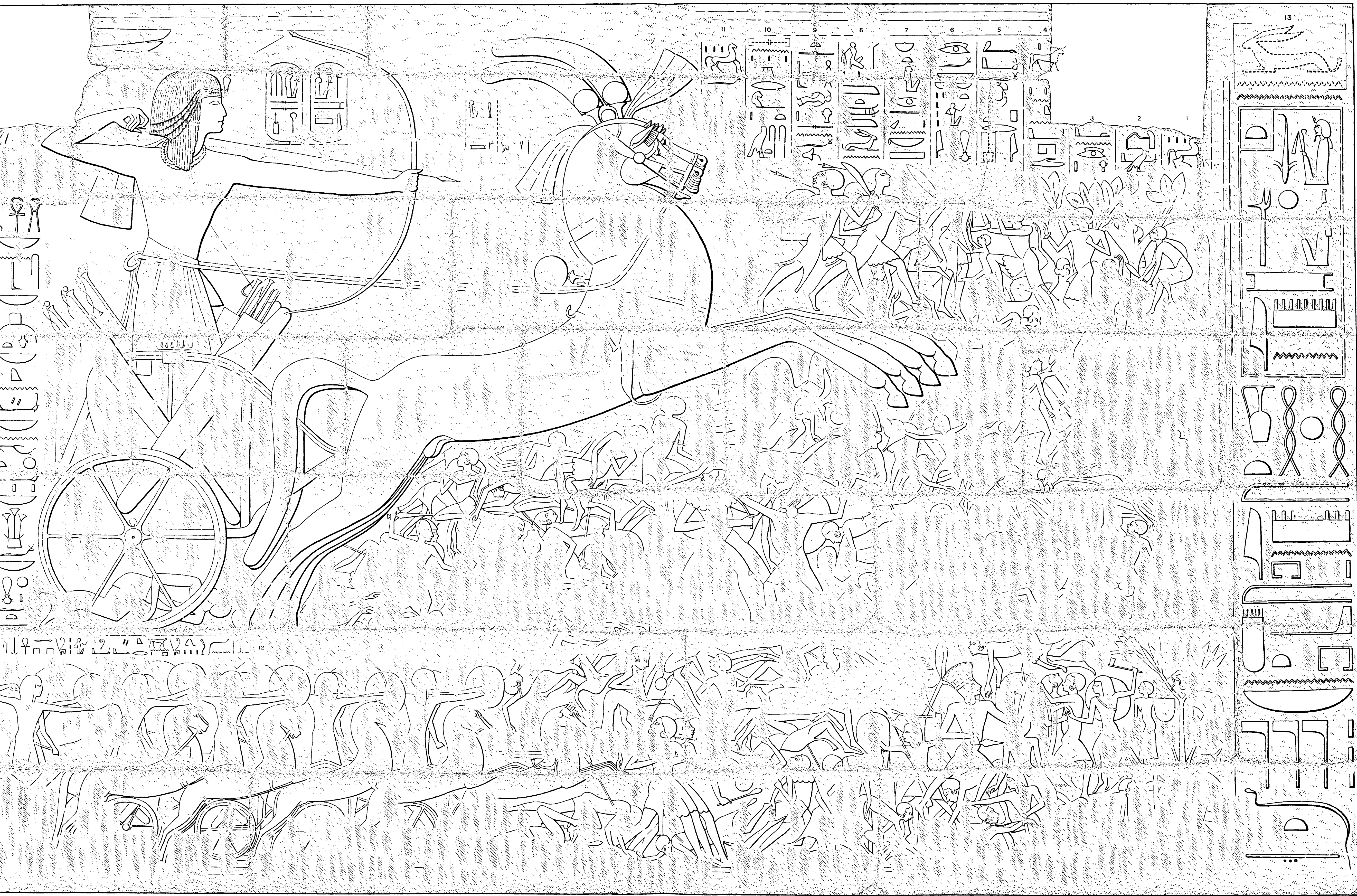
RAMSES III, AT RIGHT IN BATTLE WITH THE NUBIANS, AT LEFT RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM THE NUBIAN CAMPAIGN
 COMPARE DRAWINGS ON PLATES 9 AND 10



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE NUBIANS

cm. 0 50 100



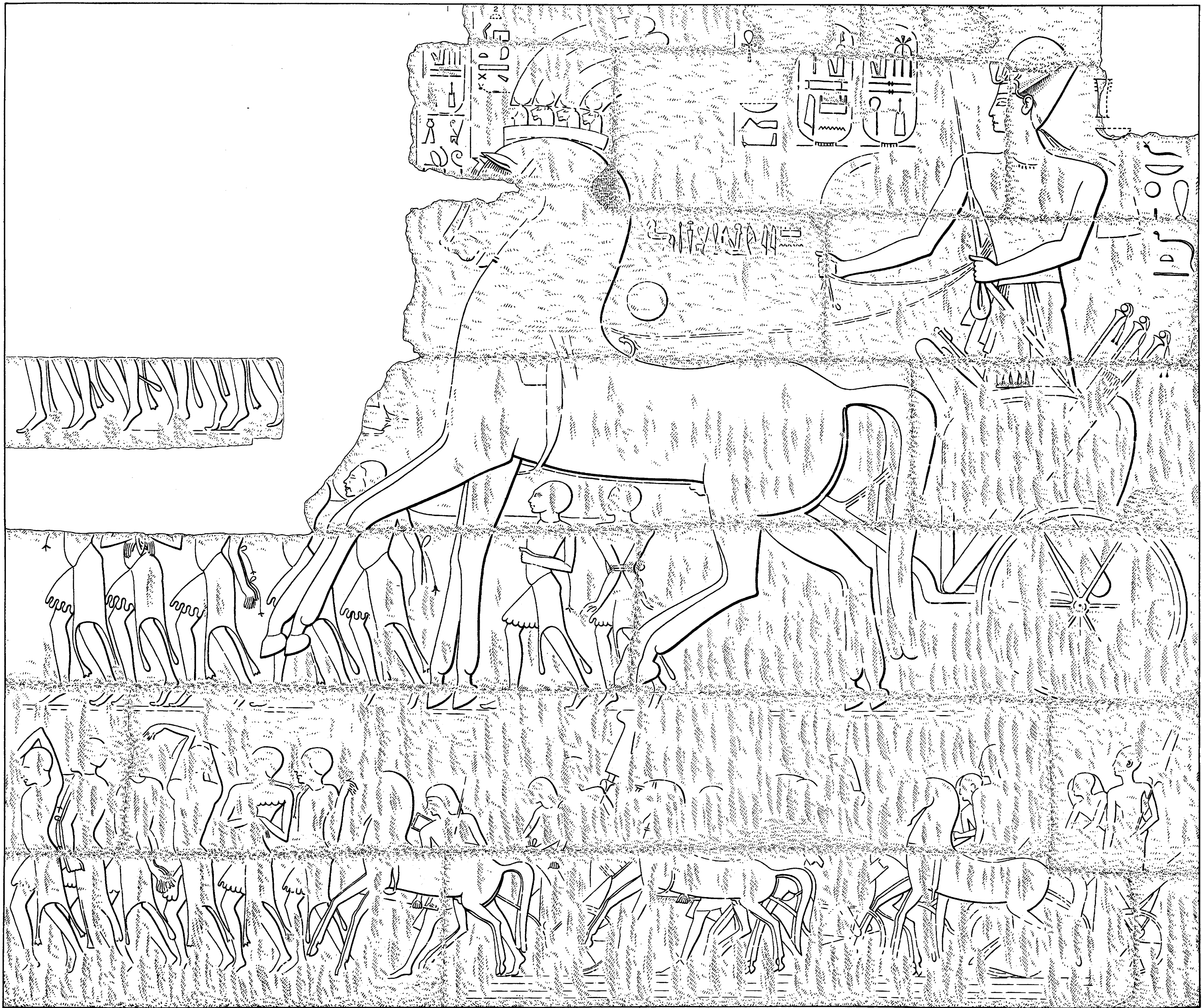
in Great Britain

RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE NUBIANS

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

*Exterior, west wall, first
scene at south*

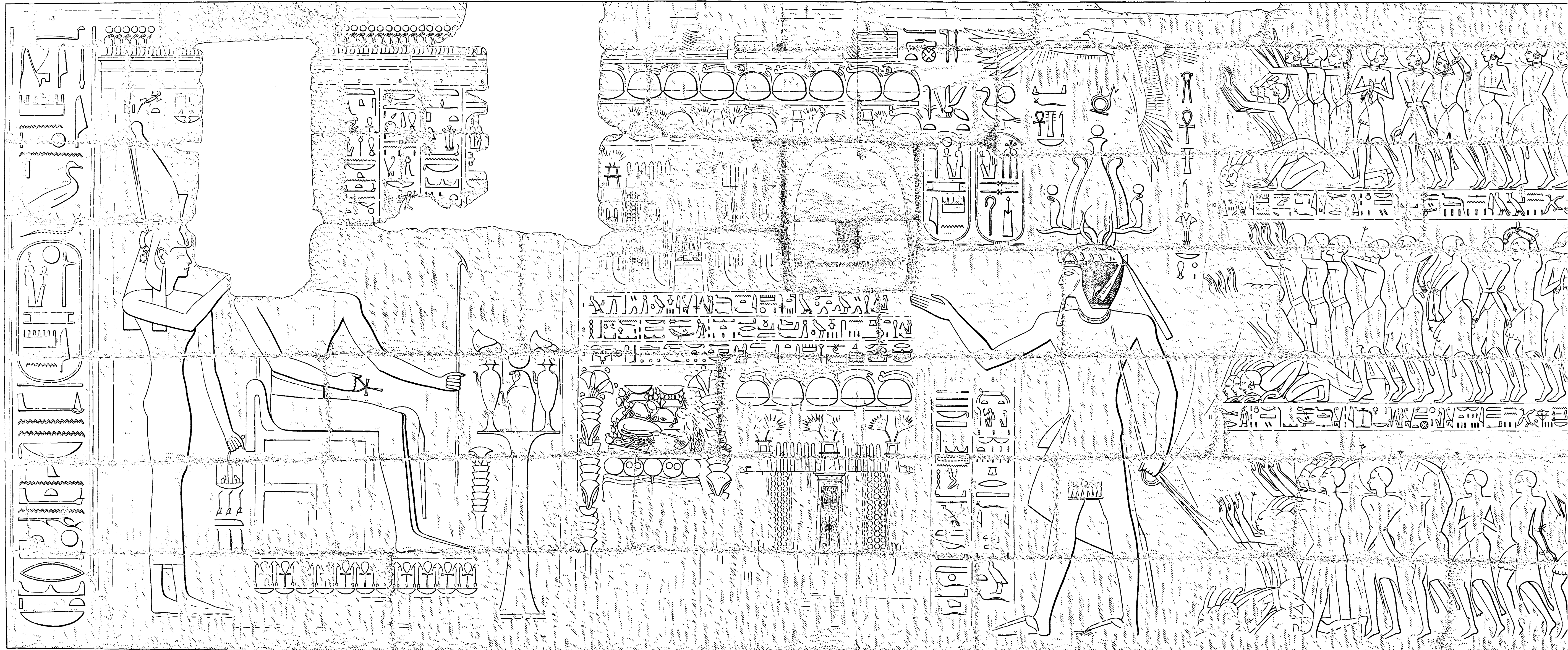
Stones, west wall
Pl. 10, 11, 12, 13



Printed in Great Britain

cm. 2 50 190 cm.

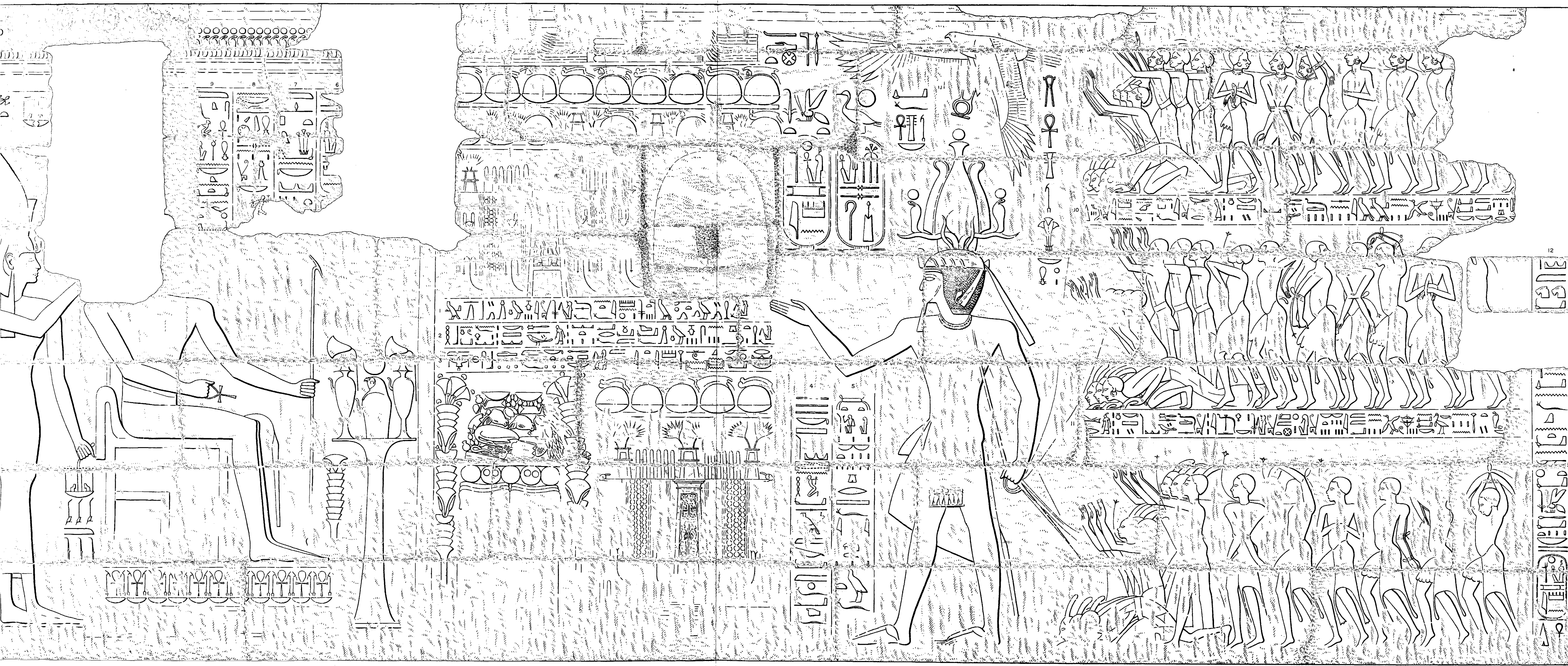
RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM THE NUBIAN CAMPAIGN



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III PRESENTING NUBIAN CAPTIVES AND SPOIL TO AMON AND MUT

cm. 0



RAMSES III PRESENTING NUBIAN CAPTIVES AND SPOIL TO AMON AND MUT

by Terrier, west wall
Photo, Pls. 45 A and 47 A and 51 B



Printed in Great Britain

A



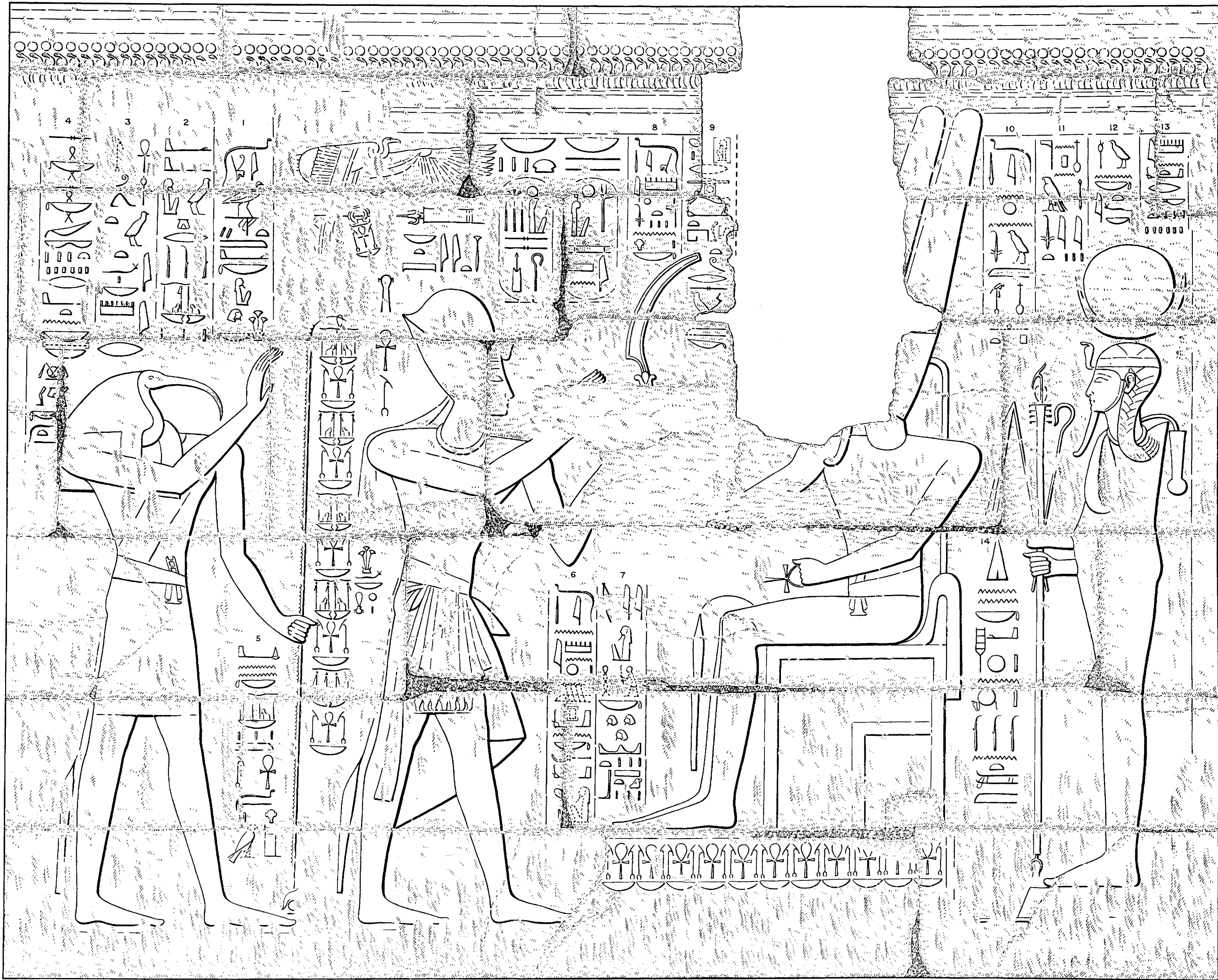
B

- A. RAMSES III BEING COMMISSIONED BY AMON TO UNDERTAKE A LIBYAN WAR. COMPARE DRAWING ON PLATE 13
- B. RAMSES III LEAVING THE TEMPLE AFTER RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION FROM AMON. COMPARE DRAWING ON PLATE 14

Exterior west wall

Exterior west wall

Ceteris, west wall

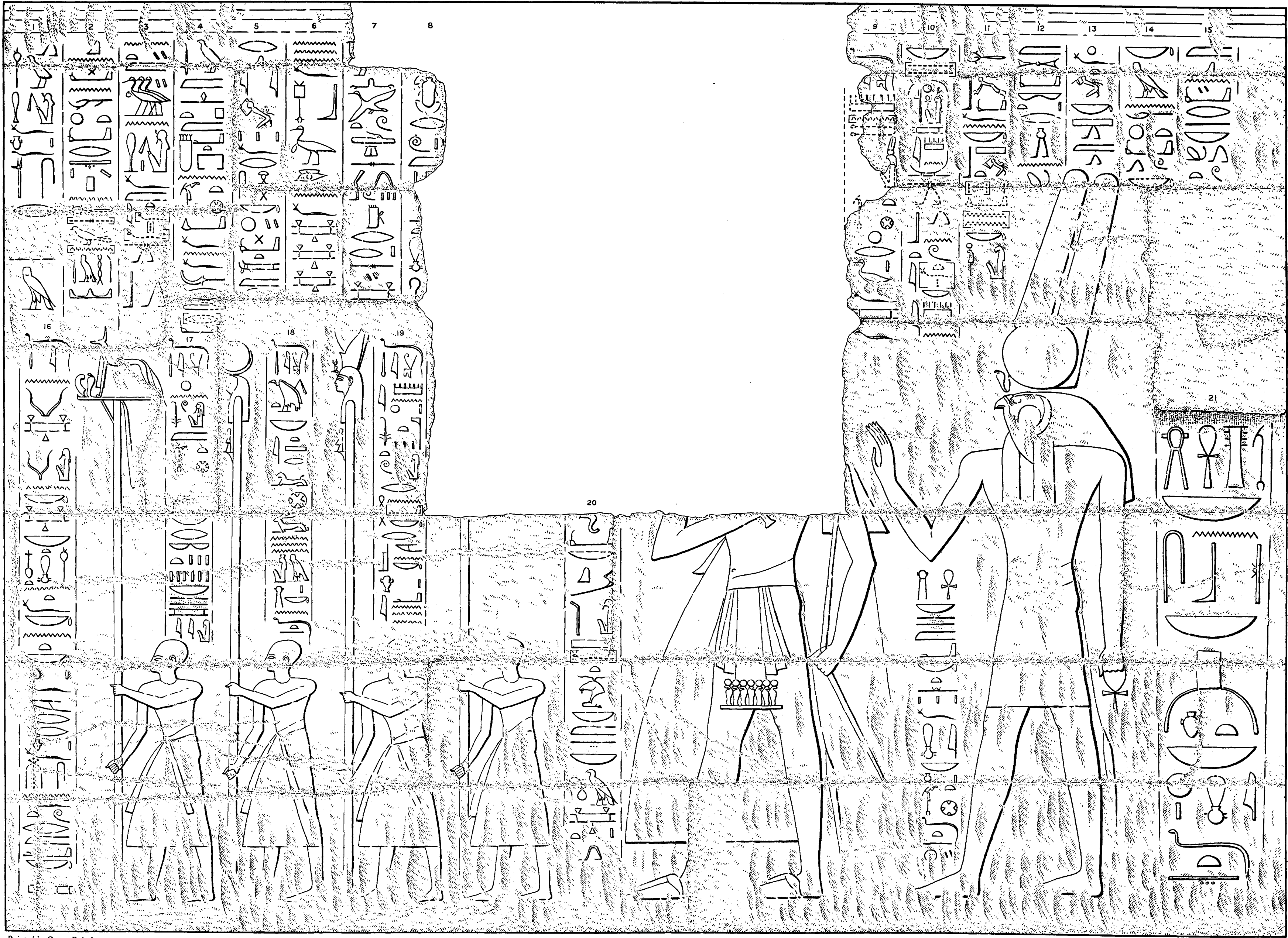


Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III BEING COMMISSIONED BY AMON TO UNDERTAKE A LIBYAN WAR

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

External west wall



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III LEAVING THE TEMPLE AFTER RECEIVING HIS COMMISSION FROM AMON

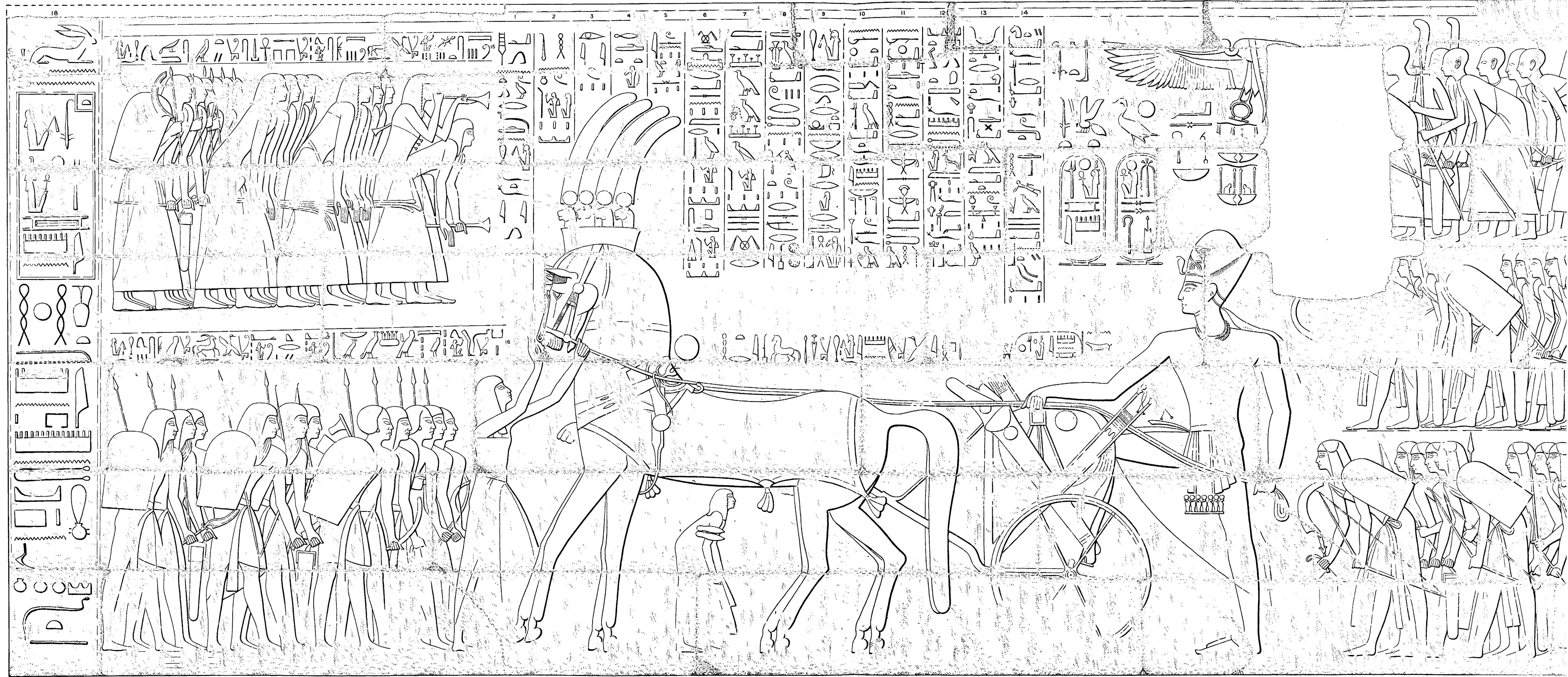
cm. 0 50 100cm.

Exterior, west wall,
northern end



Printed in Great Britain

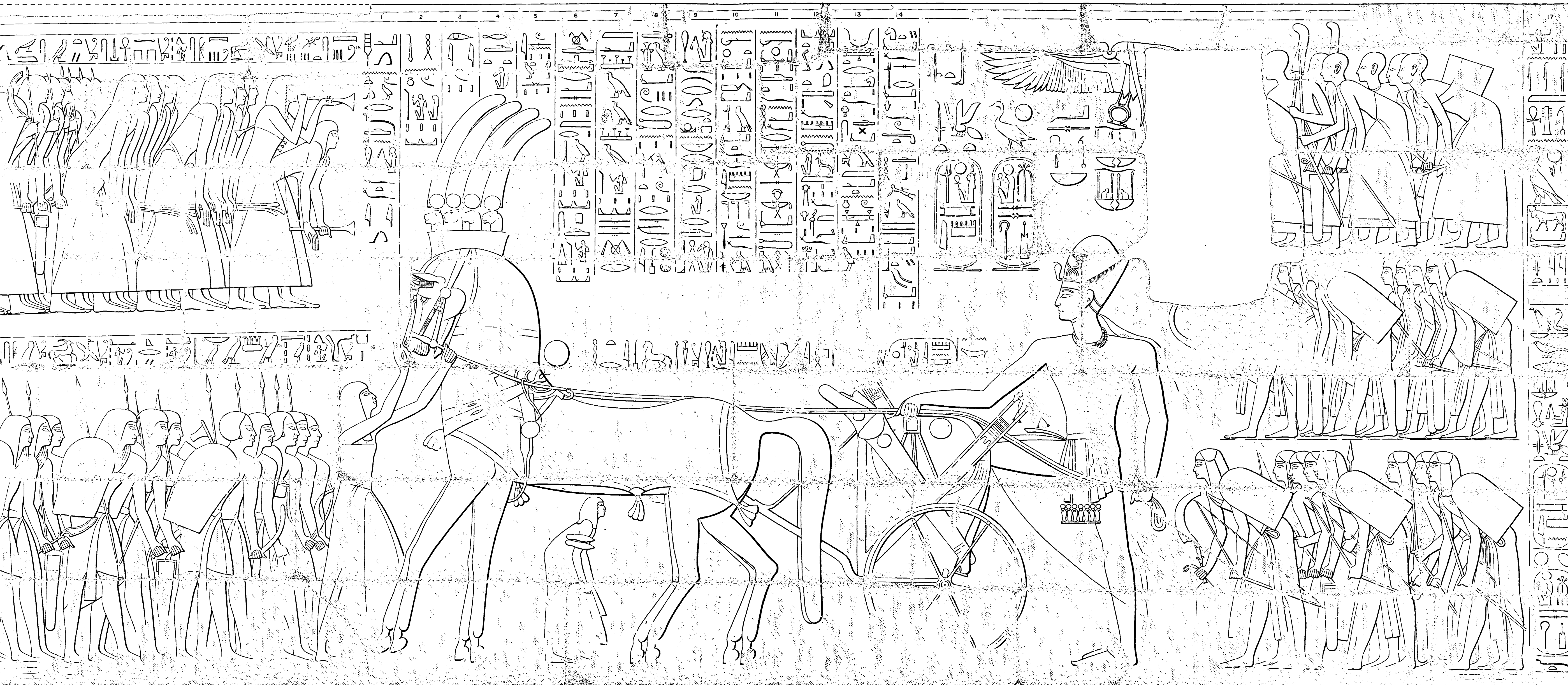
RAMSES III MOUNTING HIS CHARIOT TO SET OUT ON THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN
COMPARE DRAWING ON PLATE 16



Printed in Great Britain

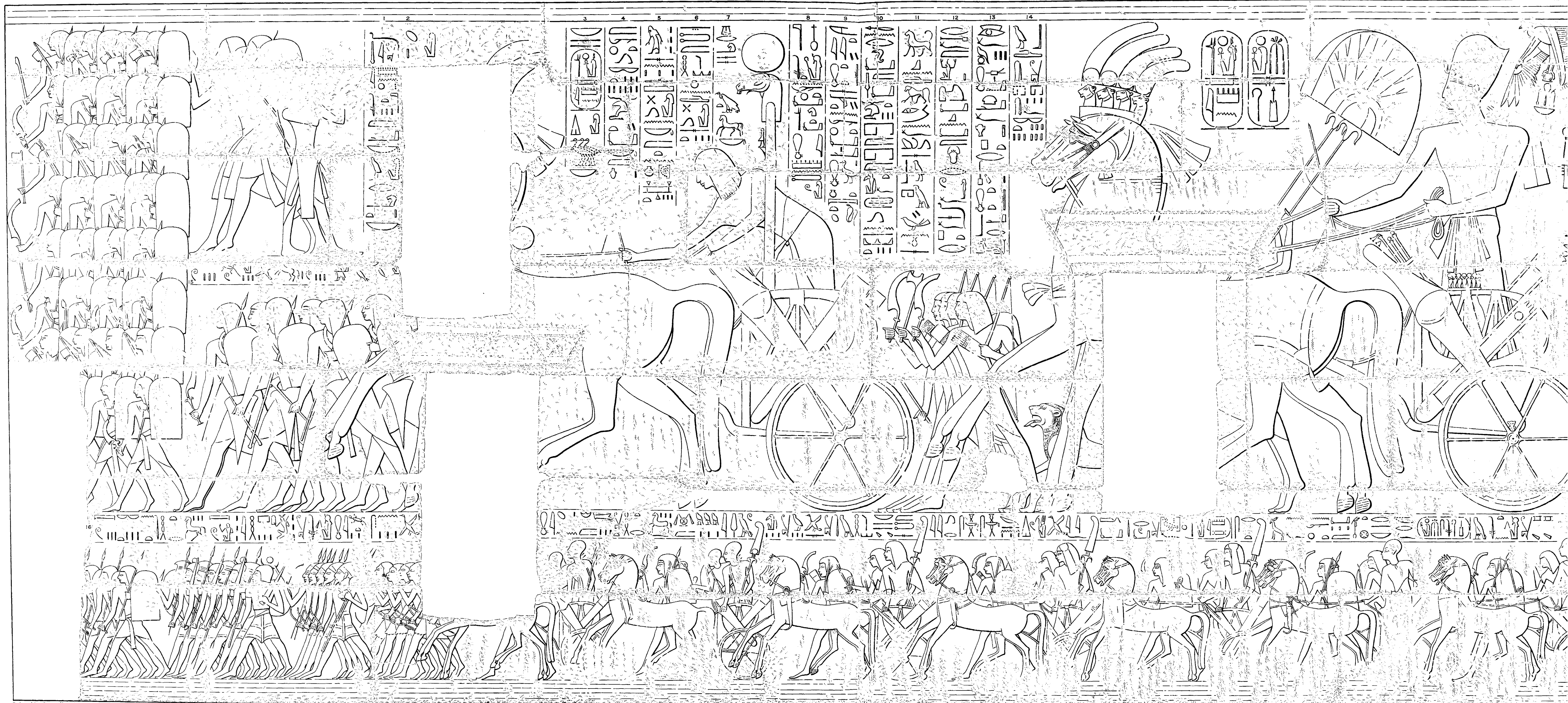
RAMSES III MOUNTING HIS CHARIOT TO SET OUT ON THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN

cm. 2



RAMSES III MOUNTING HIS CHARIOT TO SET OUT ON THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN

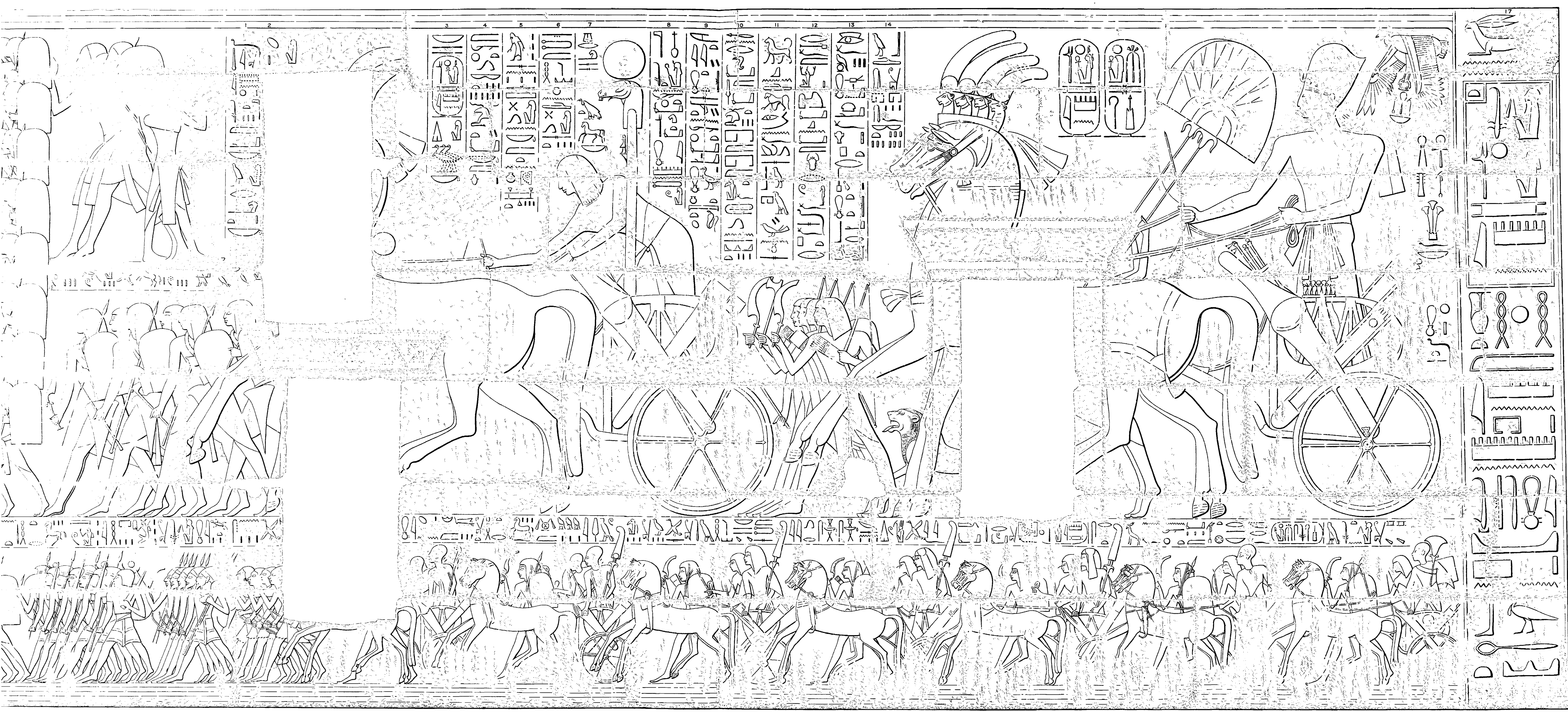
*Stierlin, west wall, northern end
Plots, pl. 47 B*



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III, PRECEDED BY THE STANDARD OF AMON, MARCHING AGAINST THE LIBYANS

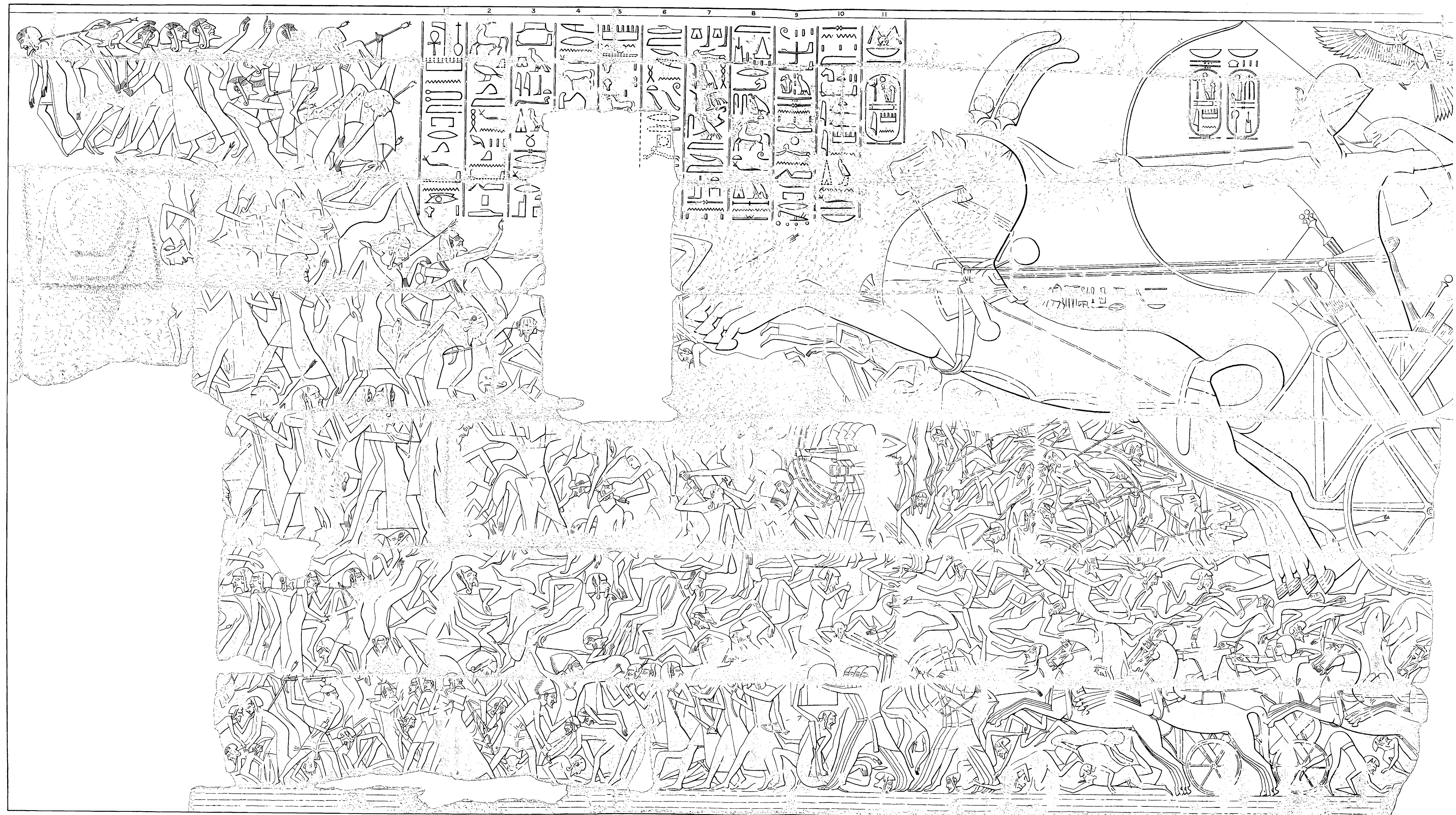
cm 0



RAMSES III, PRECEDED BY THE STANDARD OF AMON, MARCHING AGAINST THE LIBYANS

cm. 9 50 190 cm.

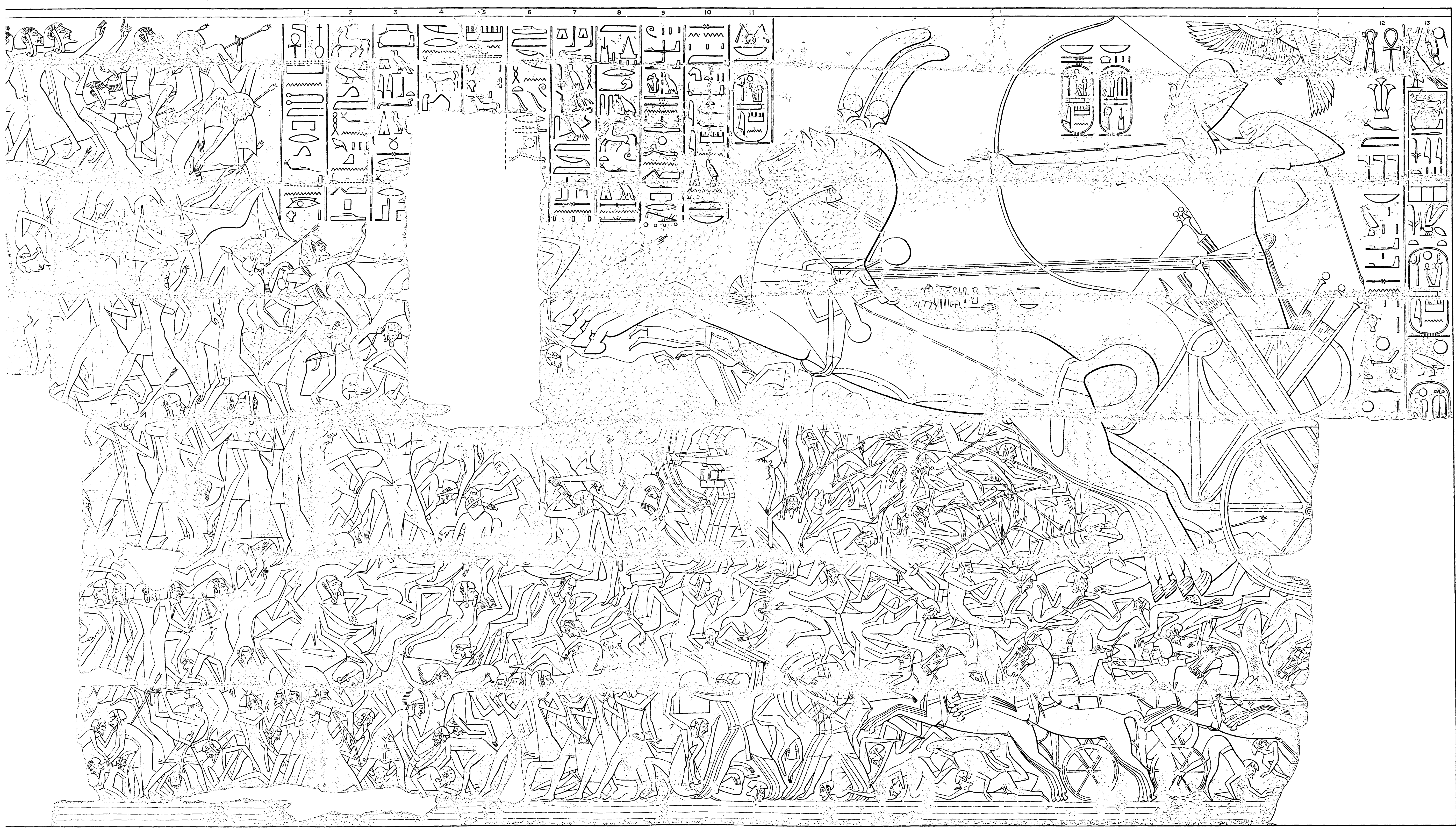
By Trier, north wall, western end



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS

cm. 0 5

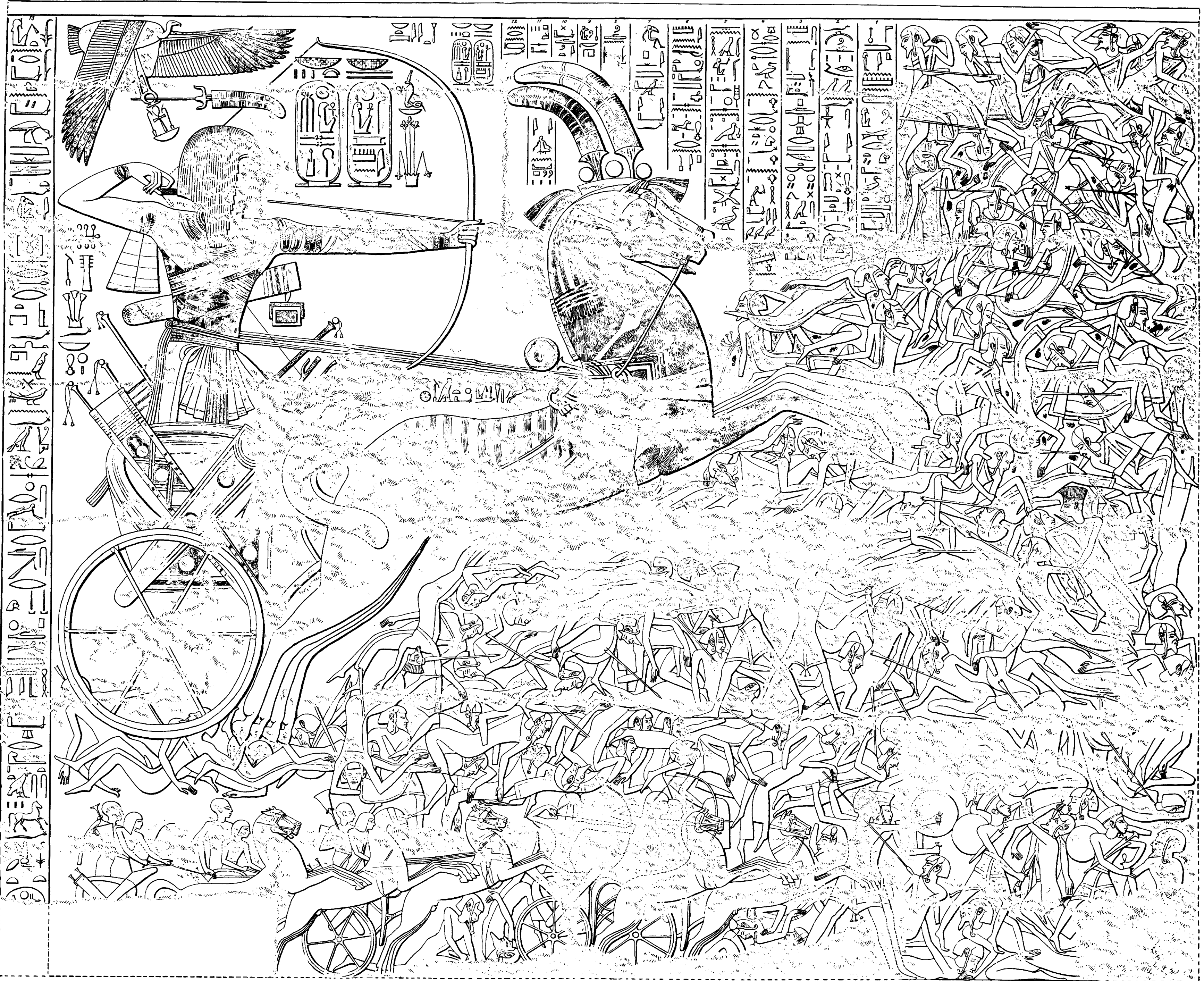


RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

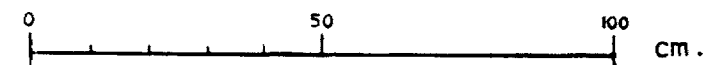
Exterior, north wall, 2d row from west side
P. 1. 10. 11. 12. E.

Tutankhamun, second court east wall, southernmost scene of lower register



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LIBYANS



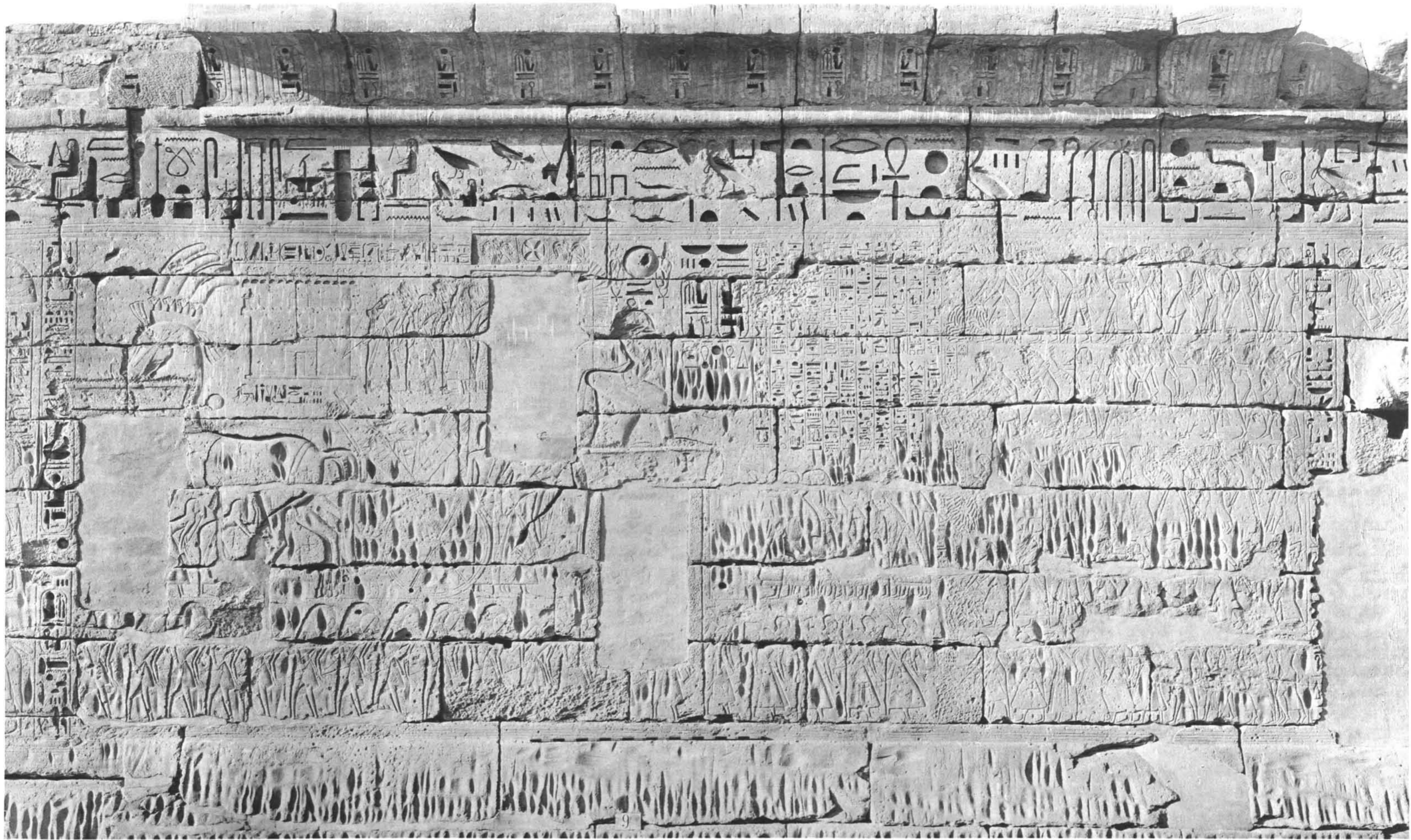
Interior, 2d Court, east wall,
southernmost scene of lower
register



Printed in Germany by Ganyued, Berlin

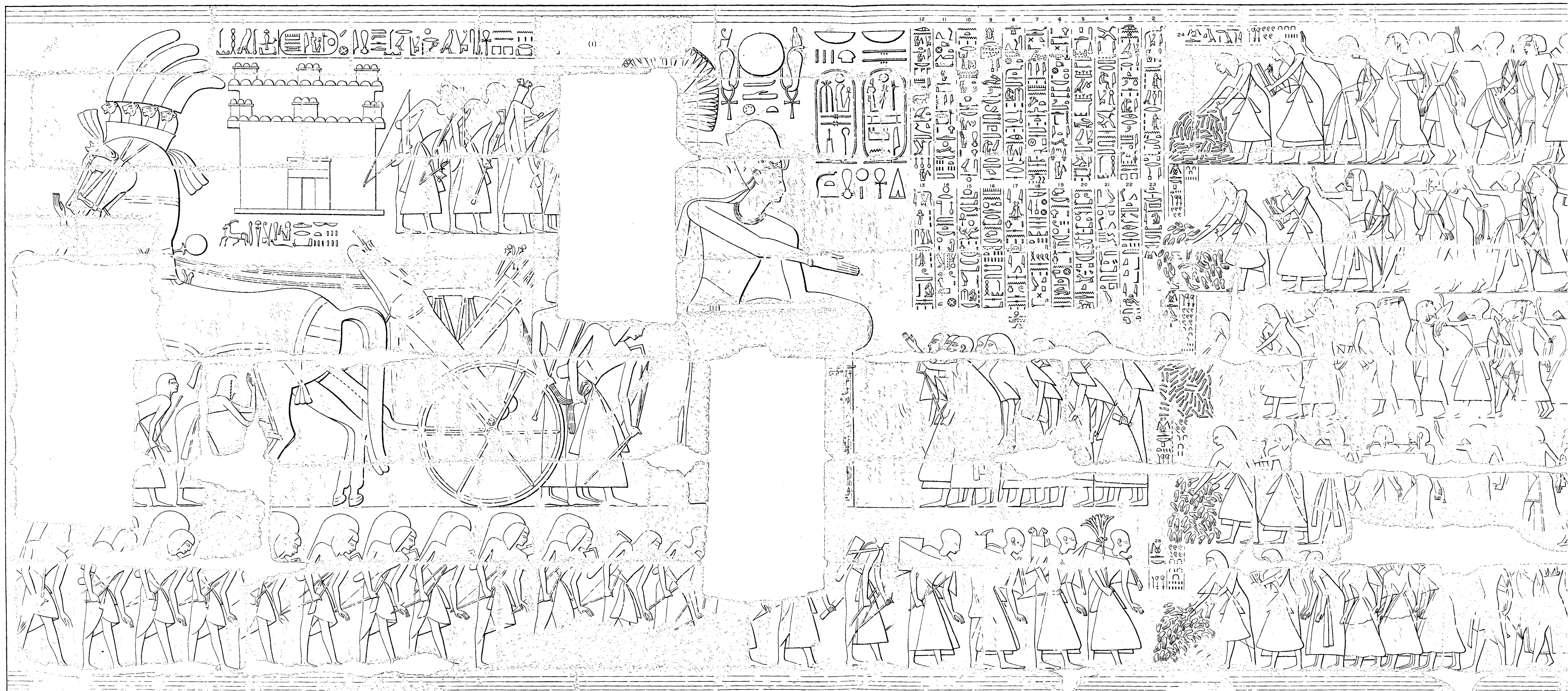
THE LIBYAN ENEMY
DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 19

Exterior, north wall, 3d scene
from west end



Printed in Great Britain

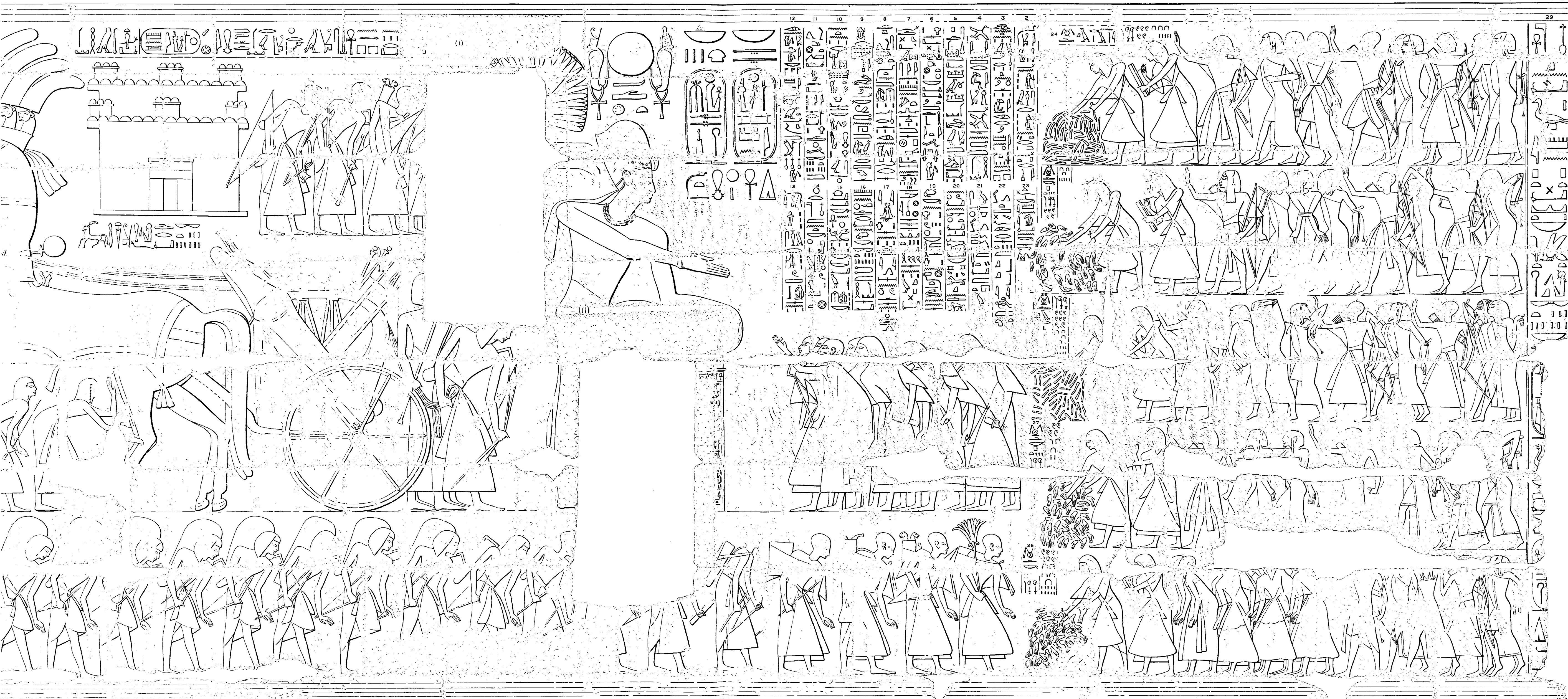
RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS
COMPARE DRAWING ON PLATE 22



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS

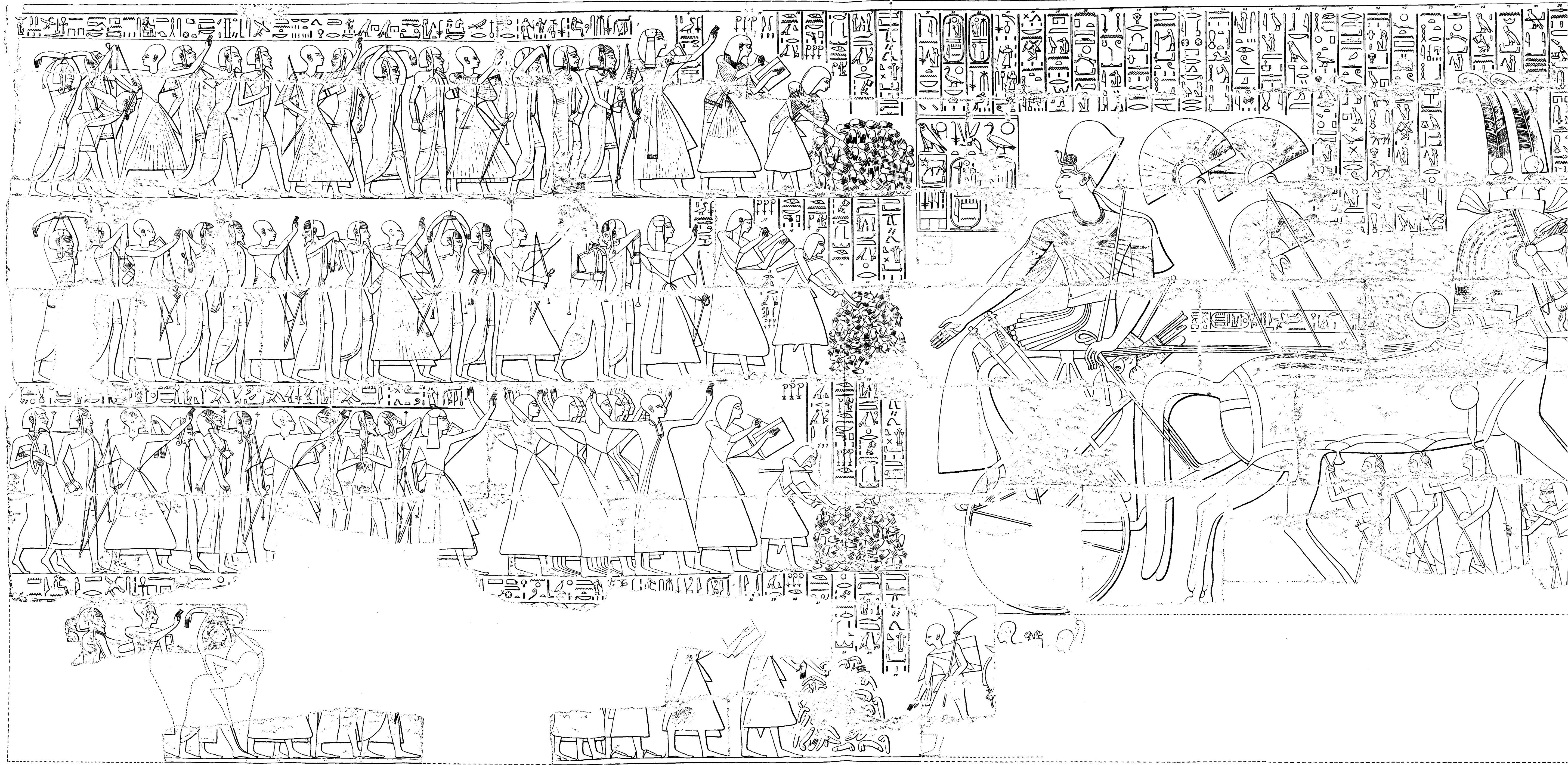
cm. 0



RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS

cm 0 50 100 cm

Extreme north wall, 3d scene from west end



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE LIBYANS

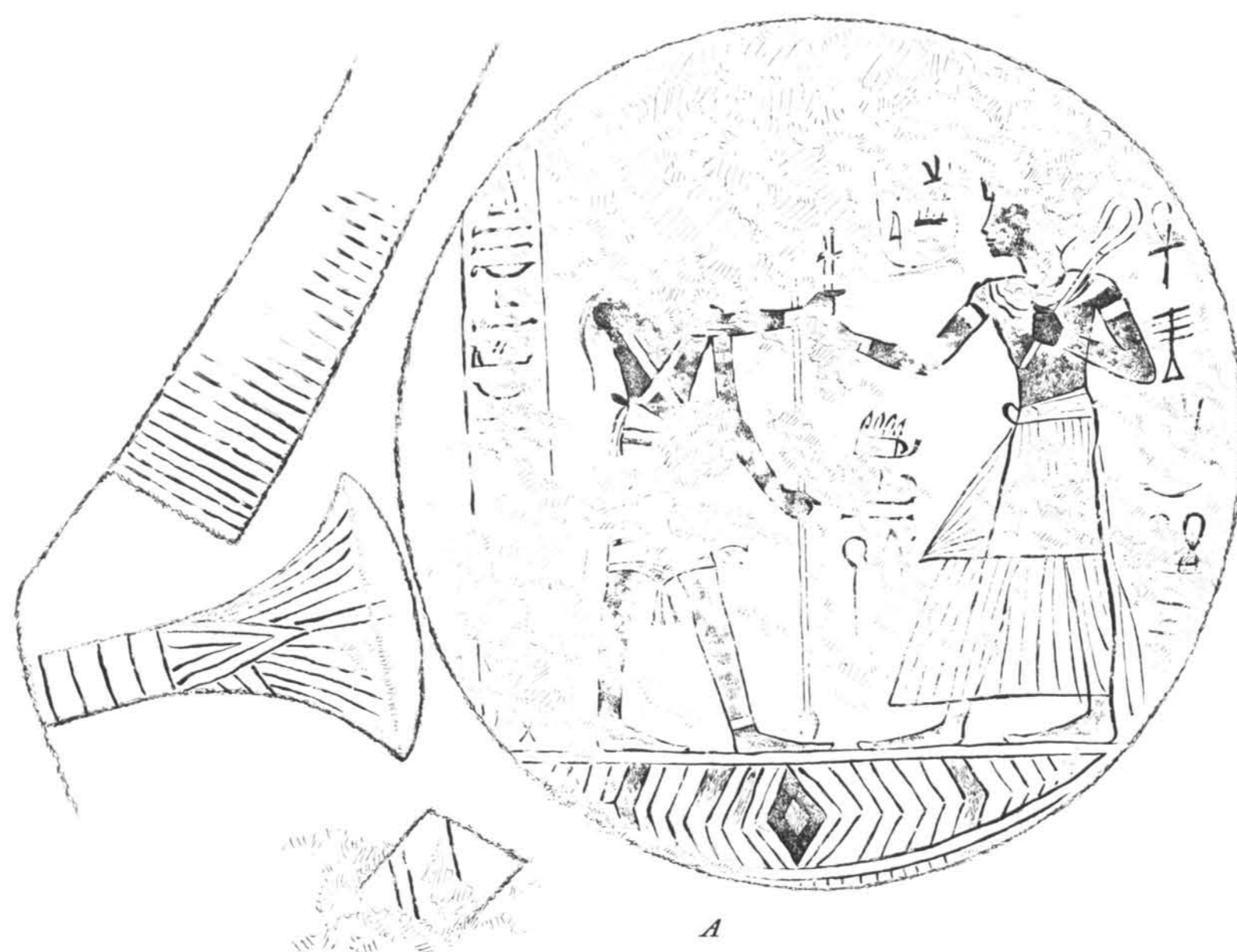


Printed in Great Britain

cm 0 50 100 cm.

RAMSES III RETURNING IN TRIUMPH FROM THE LIBYAN CAMPAIGN

*T. Interim, 2d Court, east wall, lower register.
pl. 24, 1954*



*Interior, 2d court,
east wall,
lower register*

A



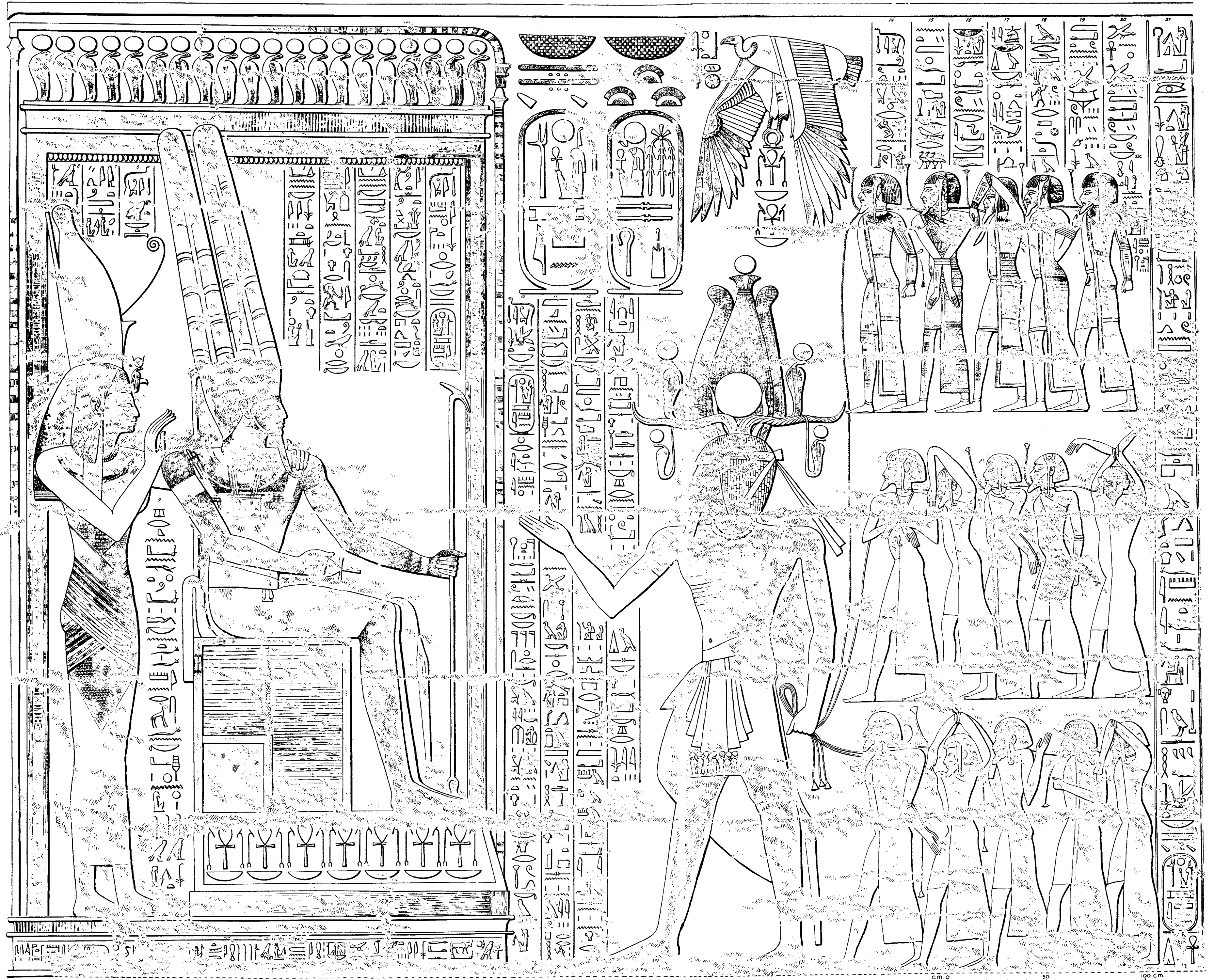
*Interior,
2d court,
east wall,
lower register,
southernmost
scene*

B

Printed in Great Britain

A. DISK FROM THE TRAPPINGS OF THE ROYAL HORSES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 24
B. THE PHARAOH'S CORSELET. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 19

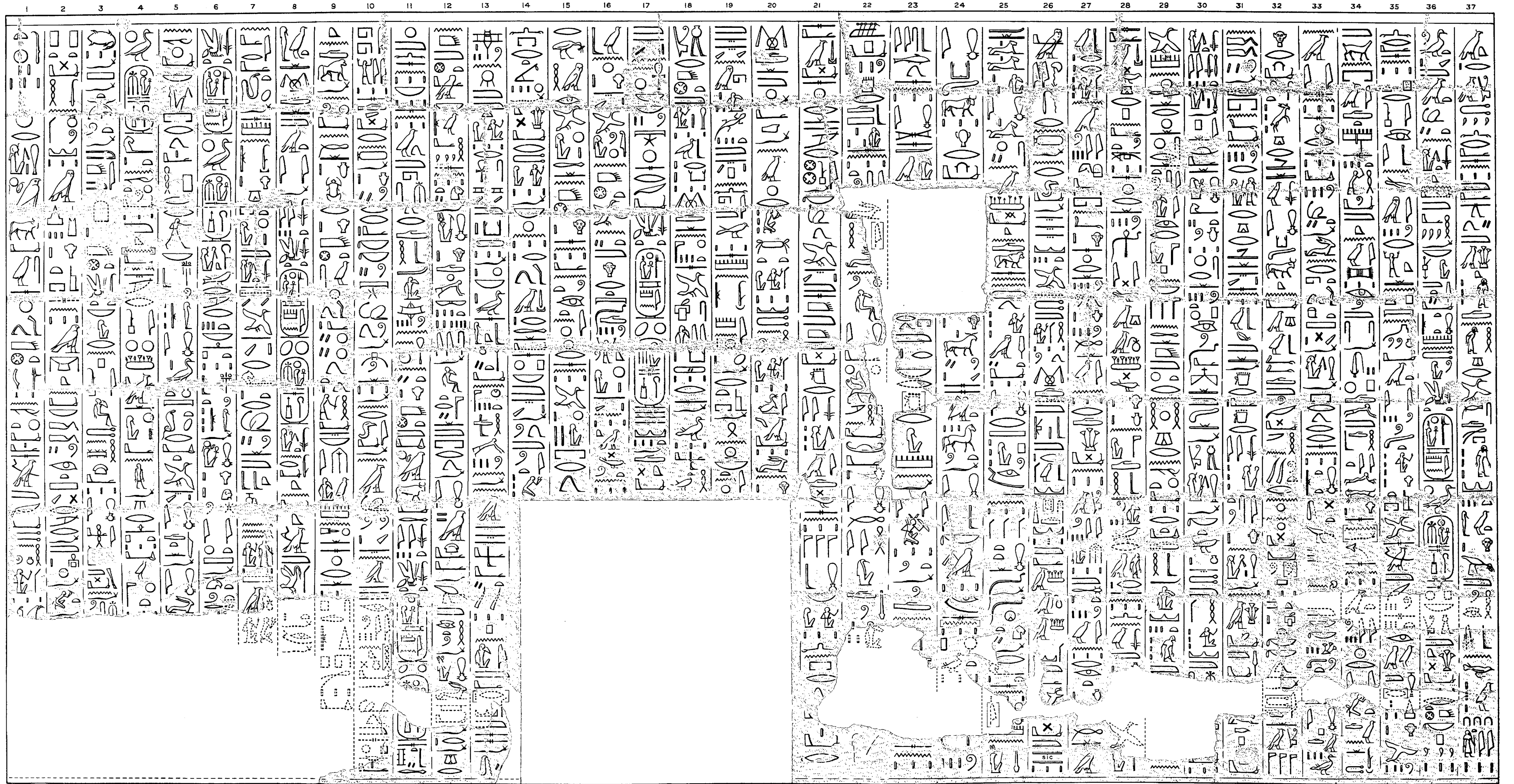
Interior, 2d court,
east wall, lower register.



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III PRESENTING LIBYAN CAPTIVES TO AMON AND MUT

Tulcan, 21
court, south
wall, lower
register
Photo 458

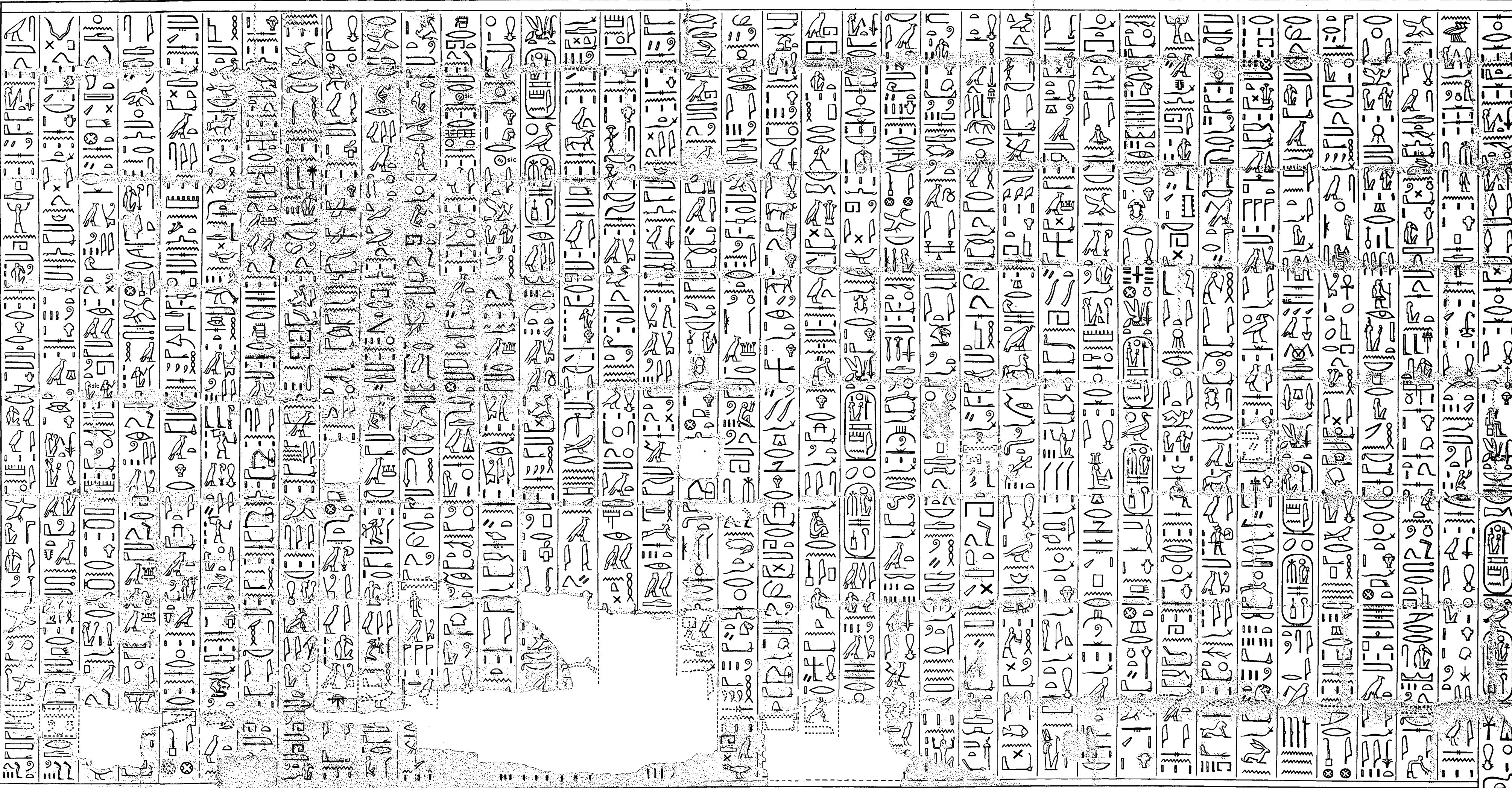


Printed in Great Britain

INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 5, LINES 1-37

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50 51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58 59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66 67 68 69 70 71 72 73 74 75

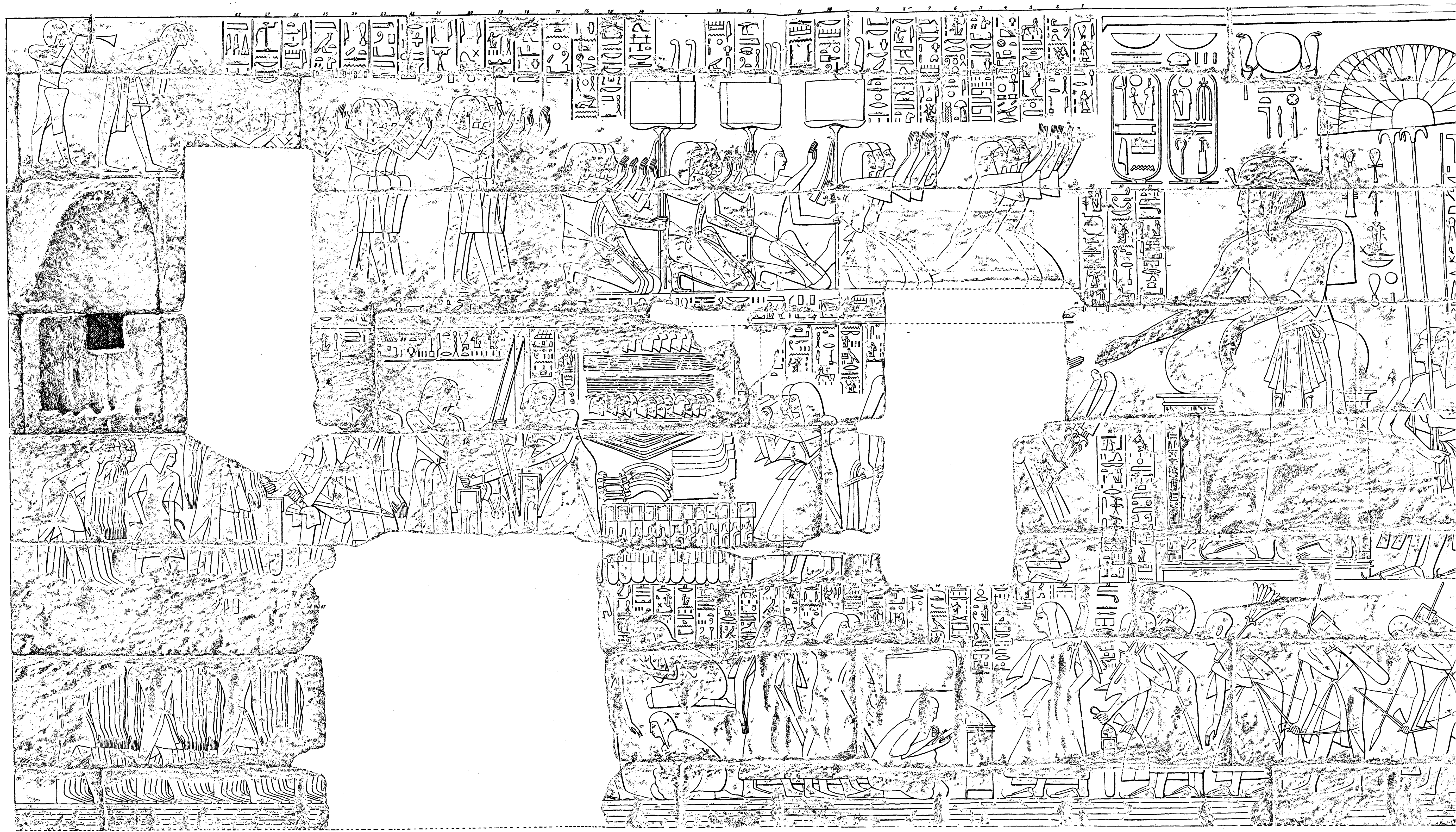


interior
d court
with wall
with register
hol. P. 106

Printed in Great Britain

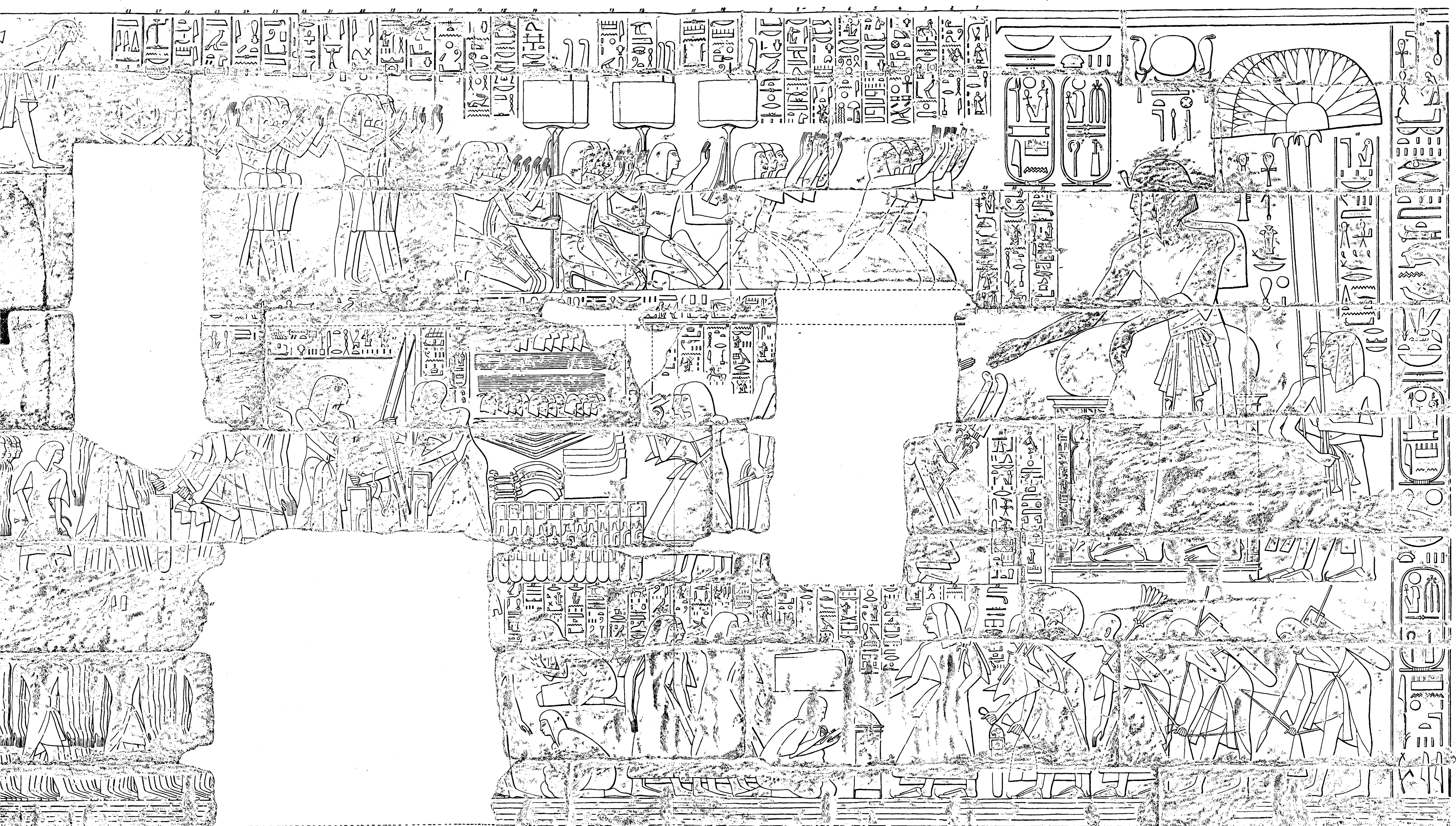
INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 5, LINES 38-75

cm. 0 50 100 cm.

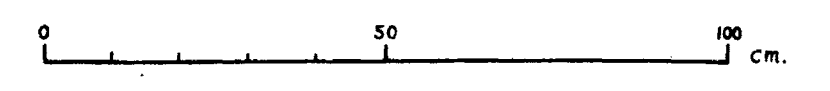


Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III ISSUING EQUIPMENT TO HIS TROOPS FOR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES



RAMSES III ISSUING EQUIPMENT TO HIS TROOPS FOR THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES



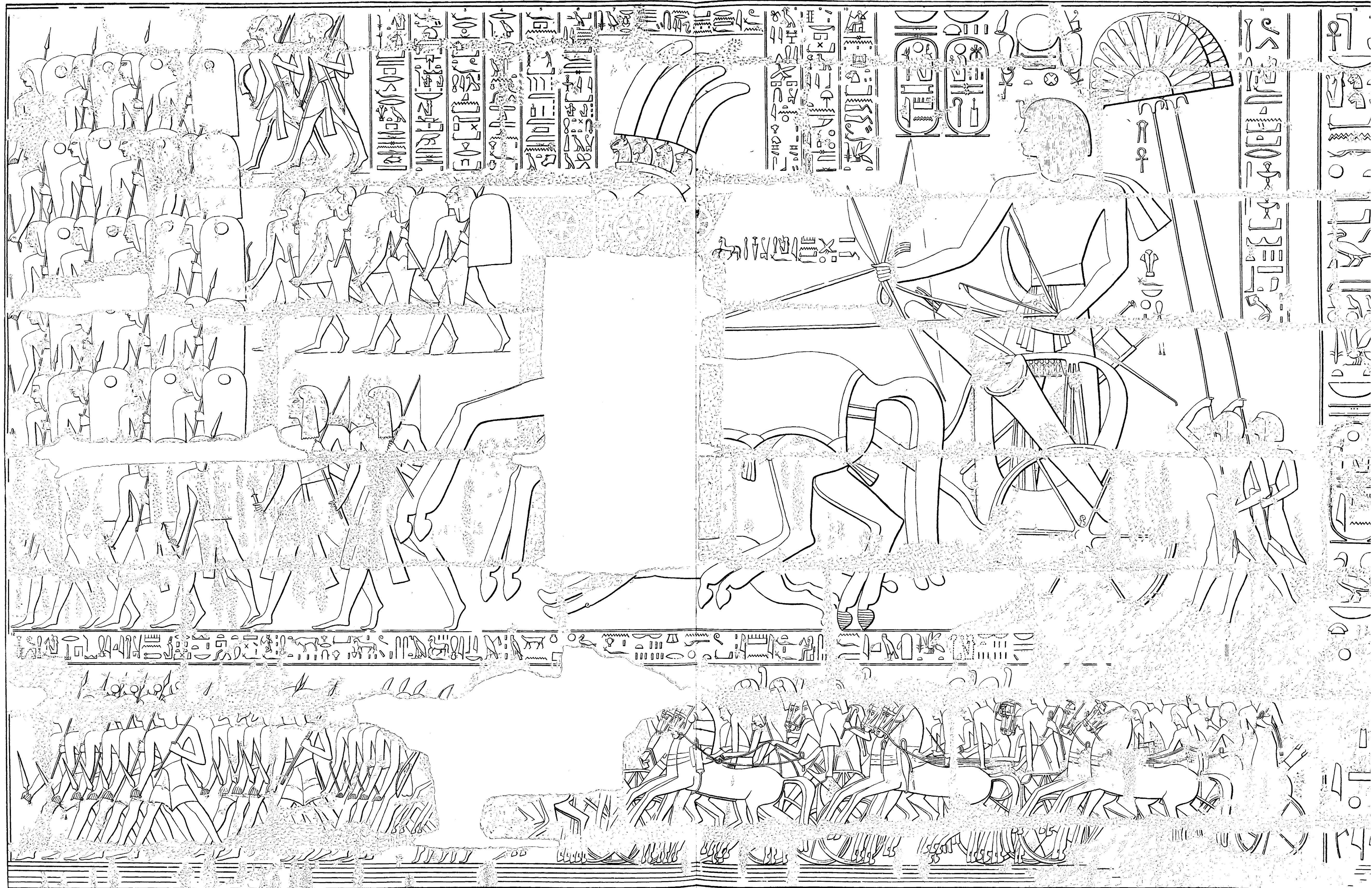
Exterior, north wall



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III ON THE MARCH TO ZAHY AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES

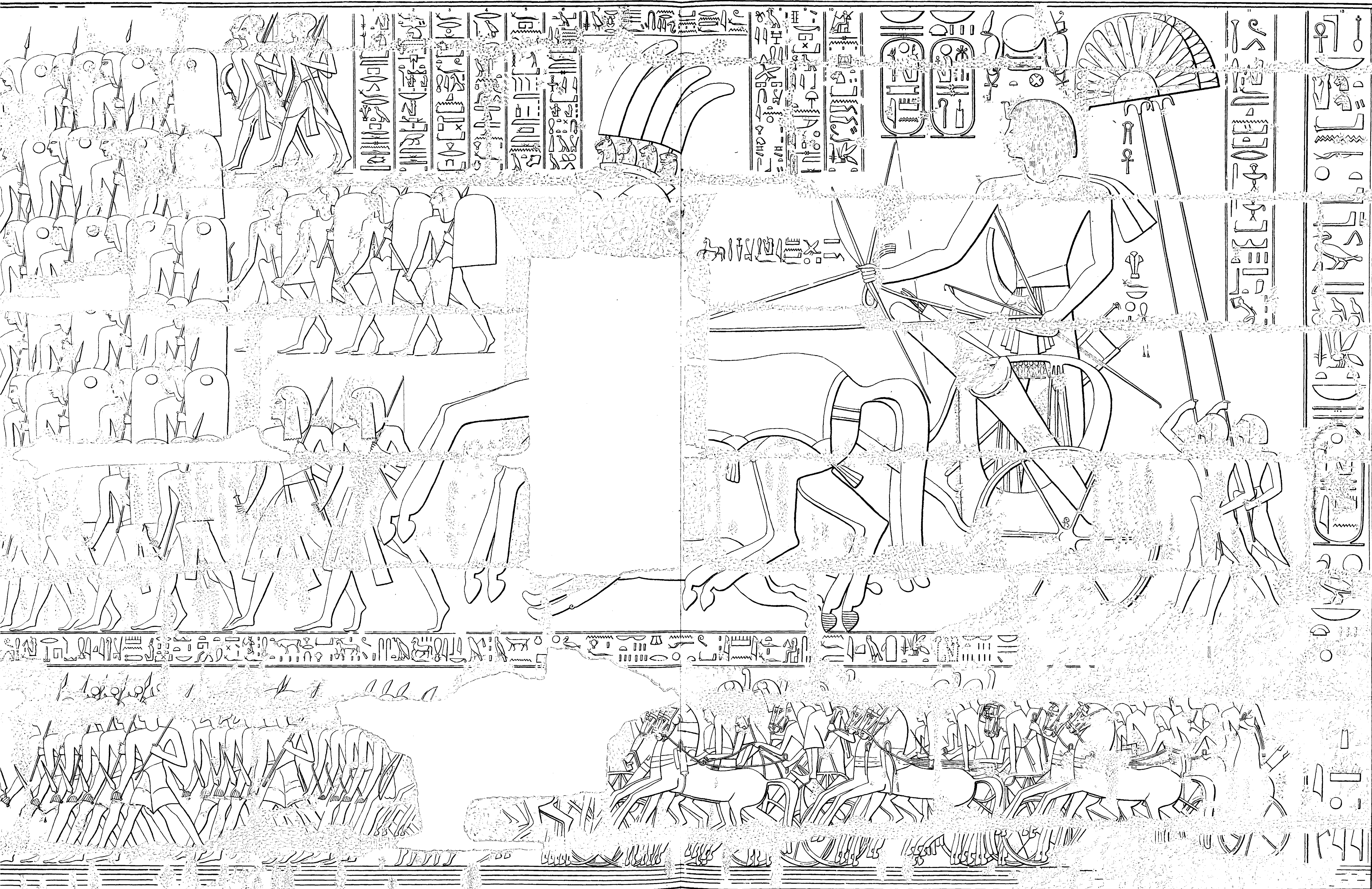
COMPARE DRAWING ON PLATE 31



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III ON THE MARCH TO ZAHÍ AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES

cm 0 50 100 cm

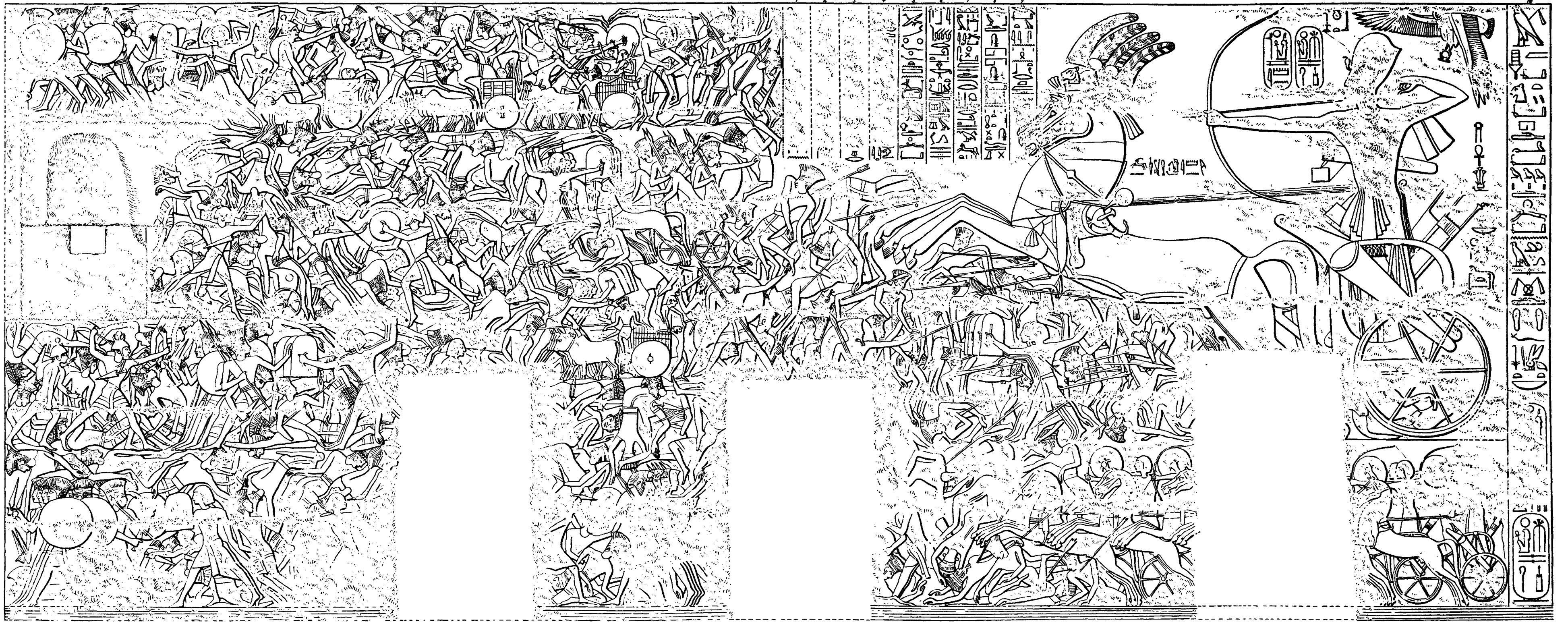


RAMSES III ON THE MARCH TO ZAHÍ AGAINST THE SEA PEOPLES

in Great Britain

1900, p. 12, 13
1900, p. 12

External
wall wall

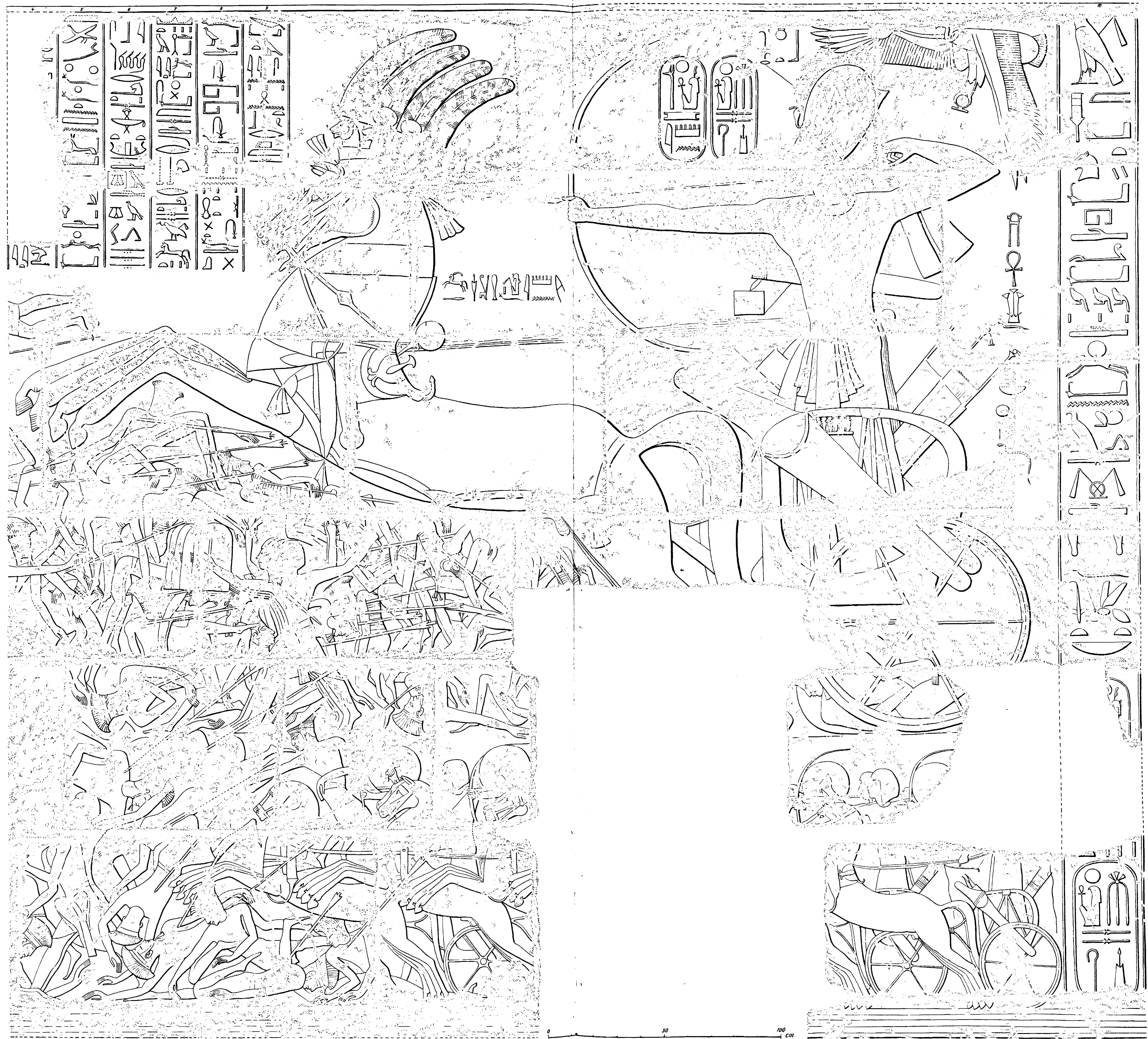


Printed in Great Britain

0 50 100 cm.

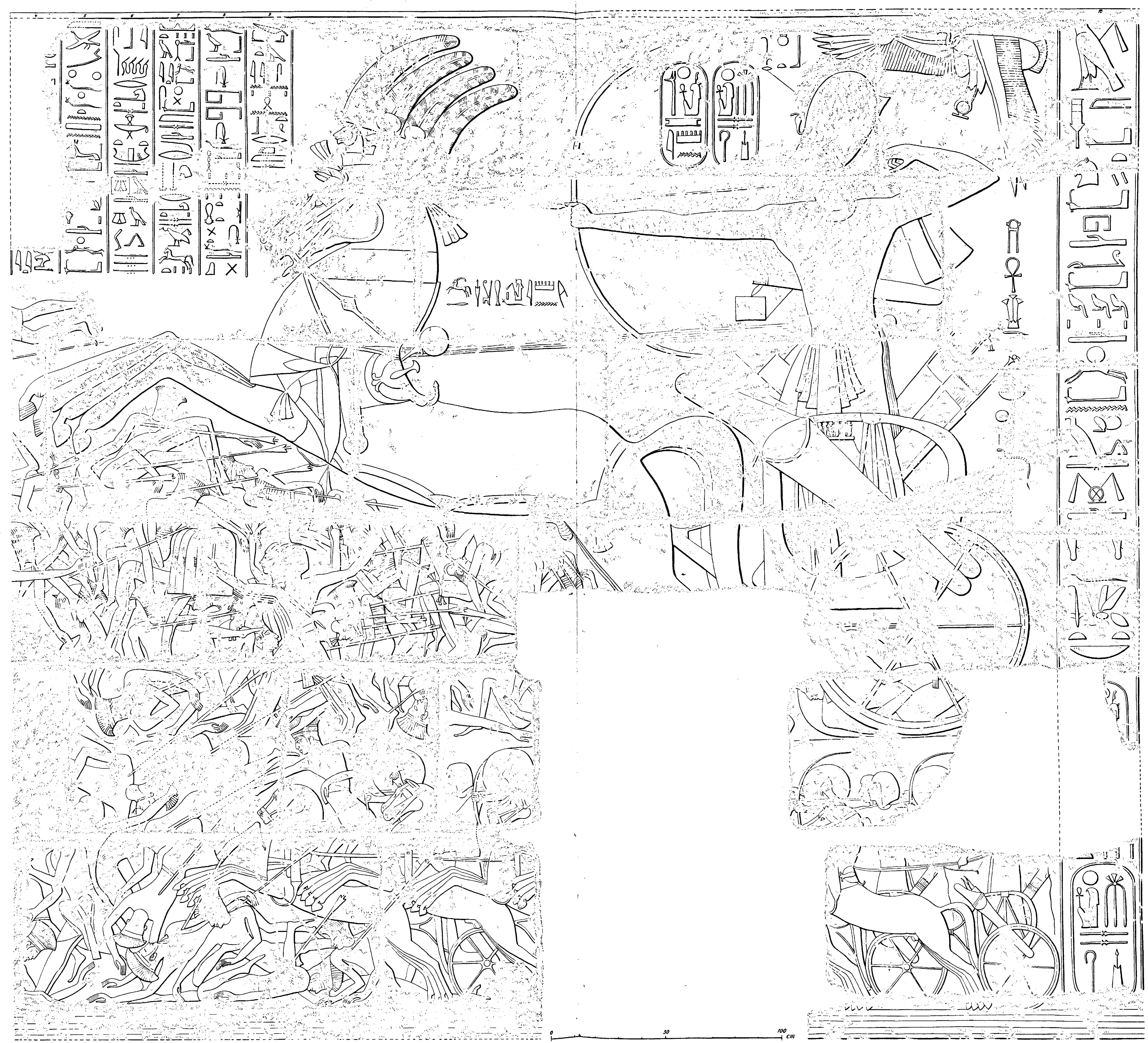
RAMSES III IN BATTLE WITH THE LAND FORCES OF THE SEA PEOPLES

COMPARE PLATES 33 AND 34



Printed in Great Britain

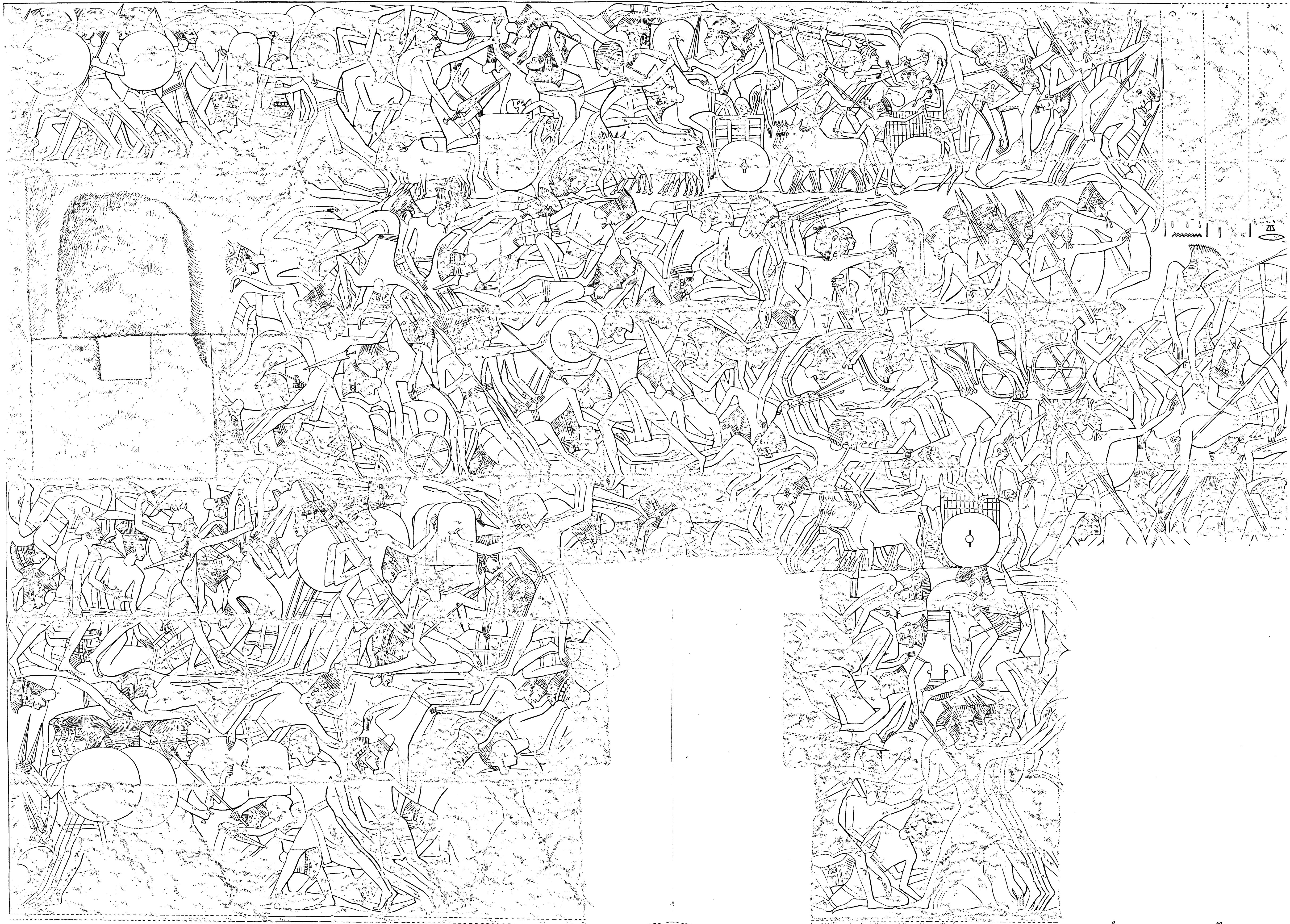
THE KING CHARGING THE ENEMY. RIGHT END OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 32



Printed in Great Britain

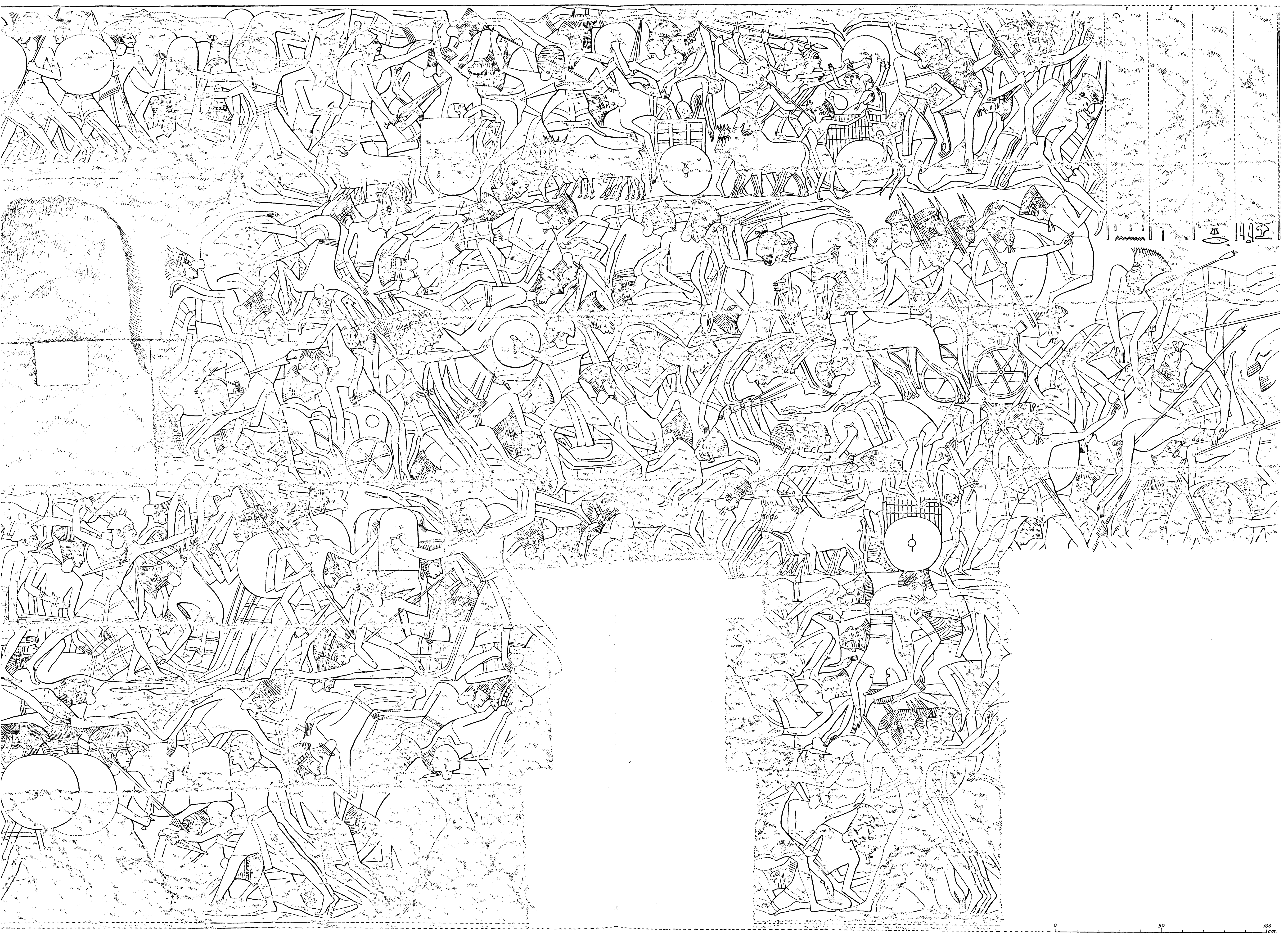
THE KING CHARGING THE ENEMY. RIGHT END OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 32

So. Temple, north wall



Printed in Great Britain

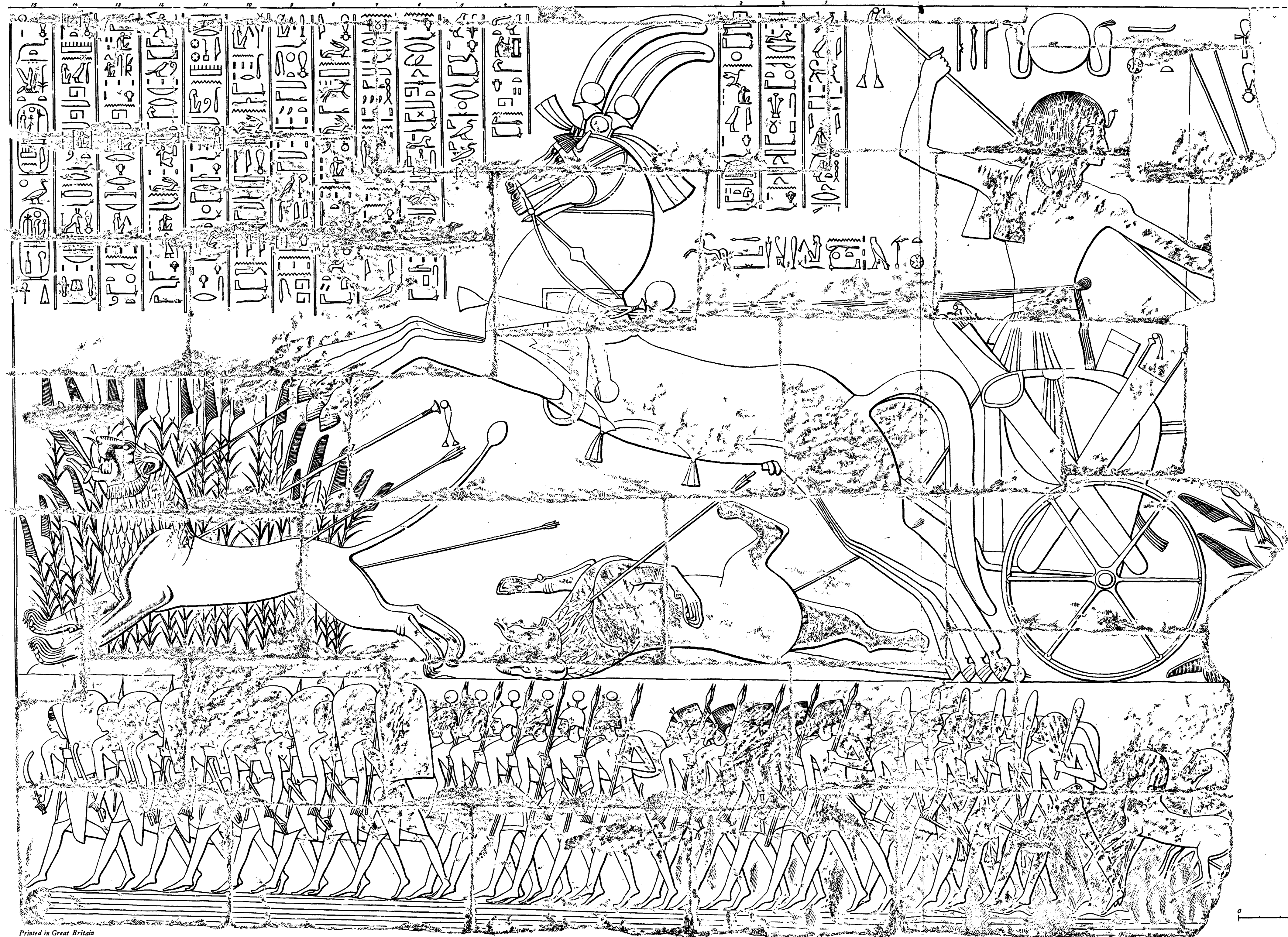
THE ENEMY. LEFT END OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 32



THE ENEMY. LEFT END OF SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 32

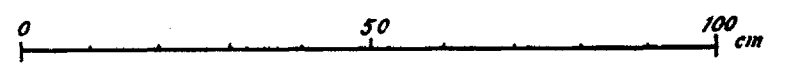
Antenna wall wall
Plots, Pl. 49-50A

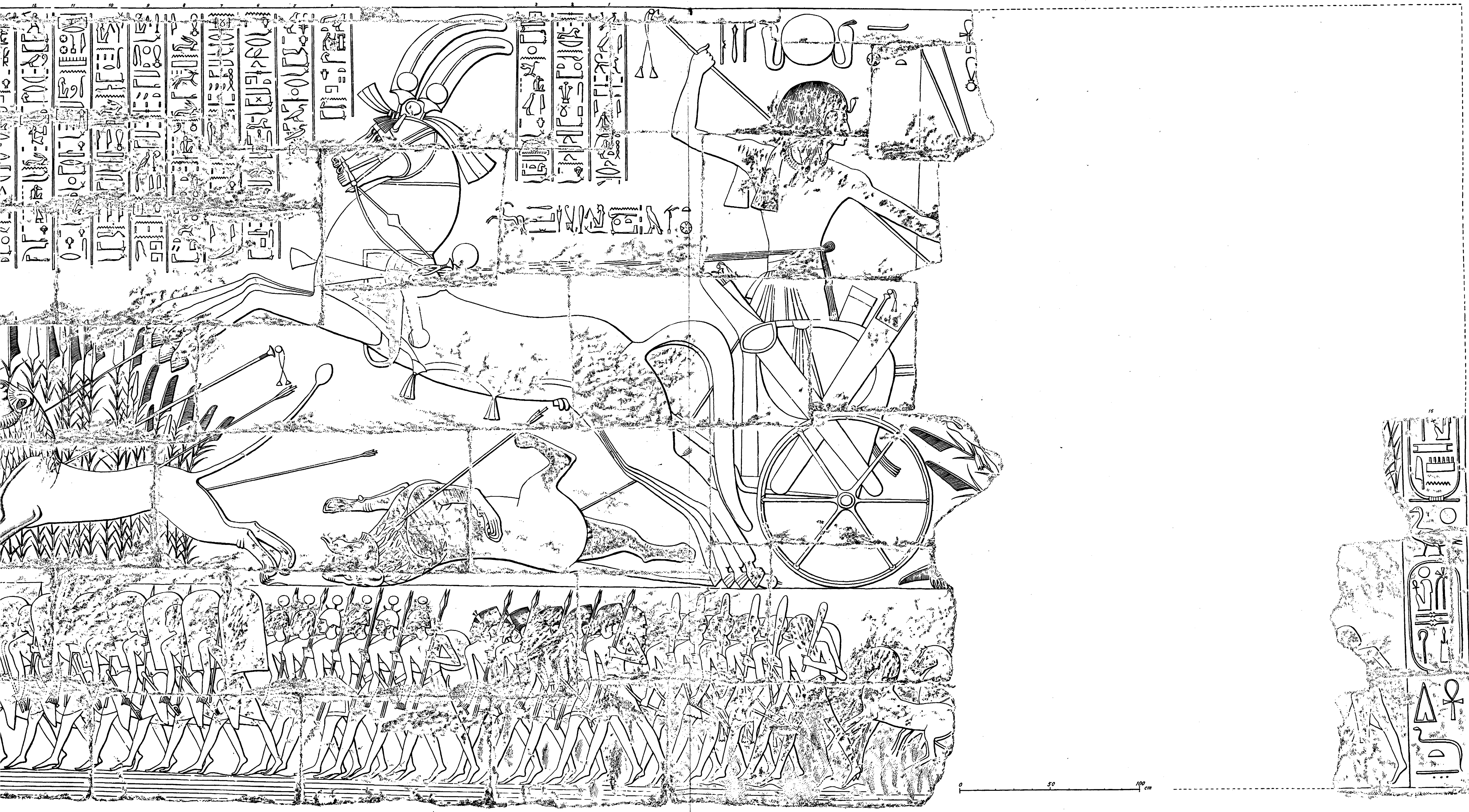
0 50 100
cm



Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III HUNTING LIONS





RAMSES III HUNTING LIONS

Exterior, north wall

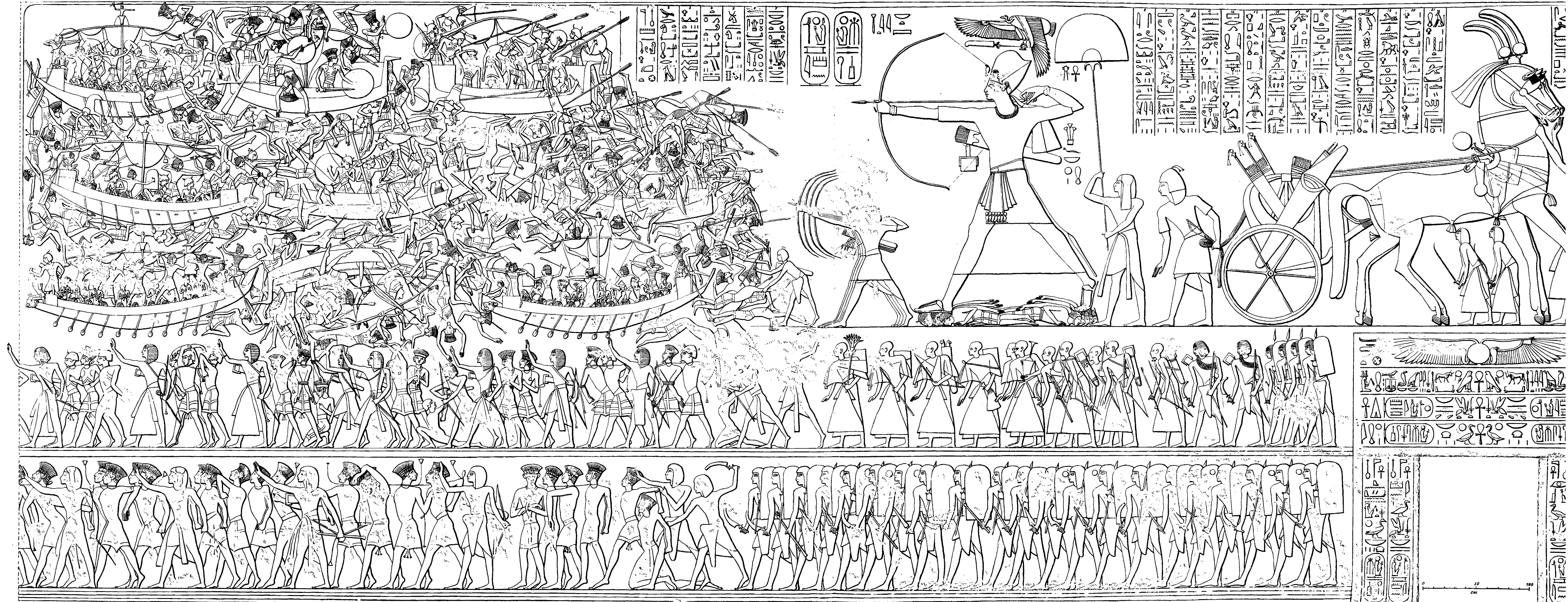
Exterior, north wall



Printed in Great Britain

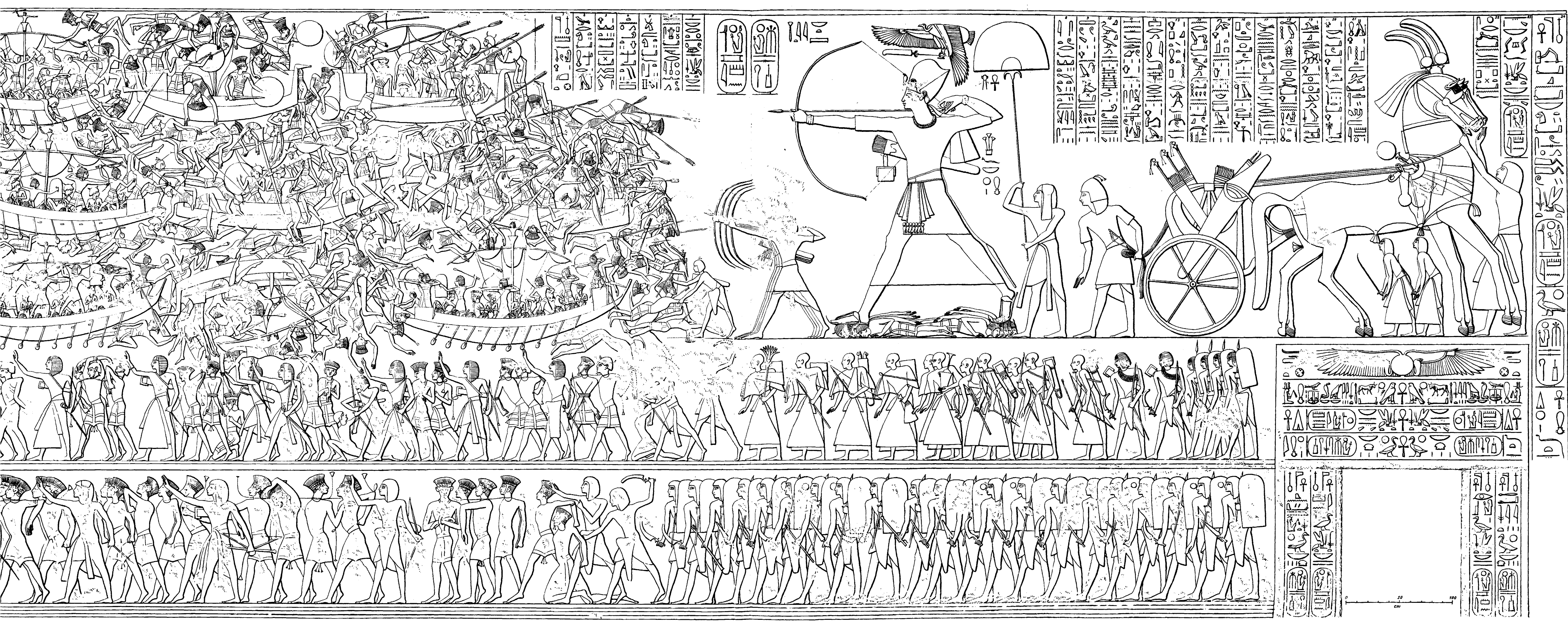
THE NAVAL BATTLE WITH THE SEA PEOPLES AND THE CELEBRATION OF THE VICTORY, SHOWING THE MERGING OF THE TWO SUBJECTS INTO ONE COMPOSITION

COMPARE DRAWINGS ON PLATES 37 AND 42



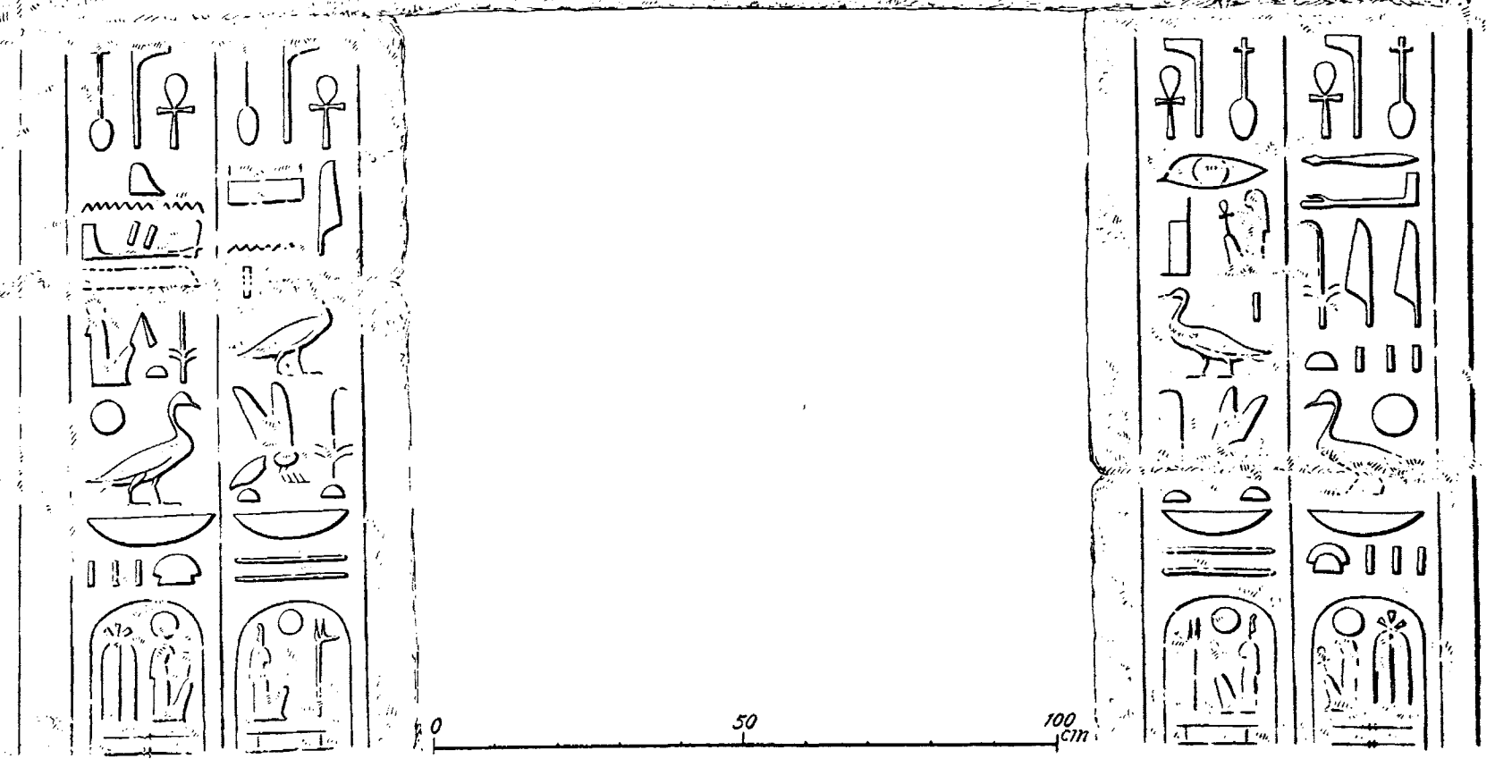
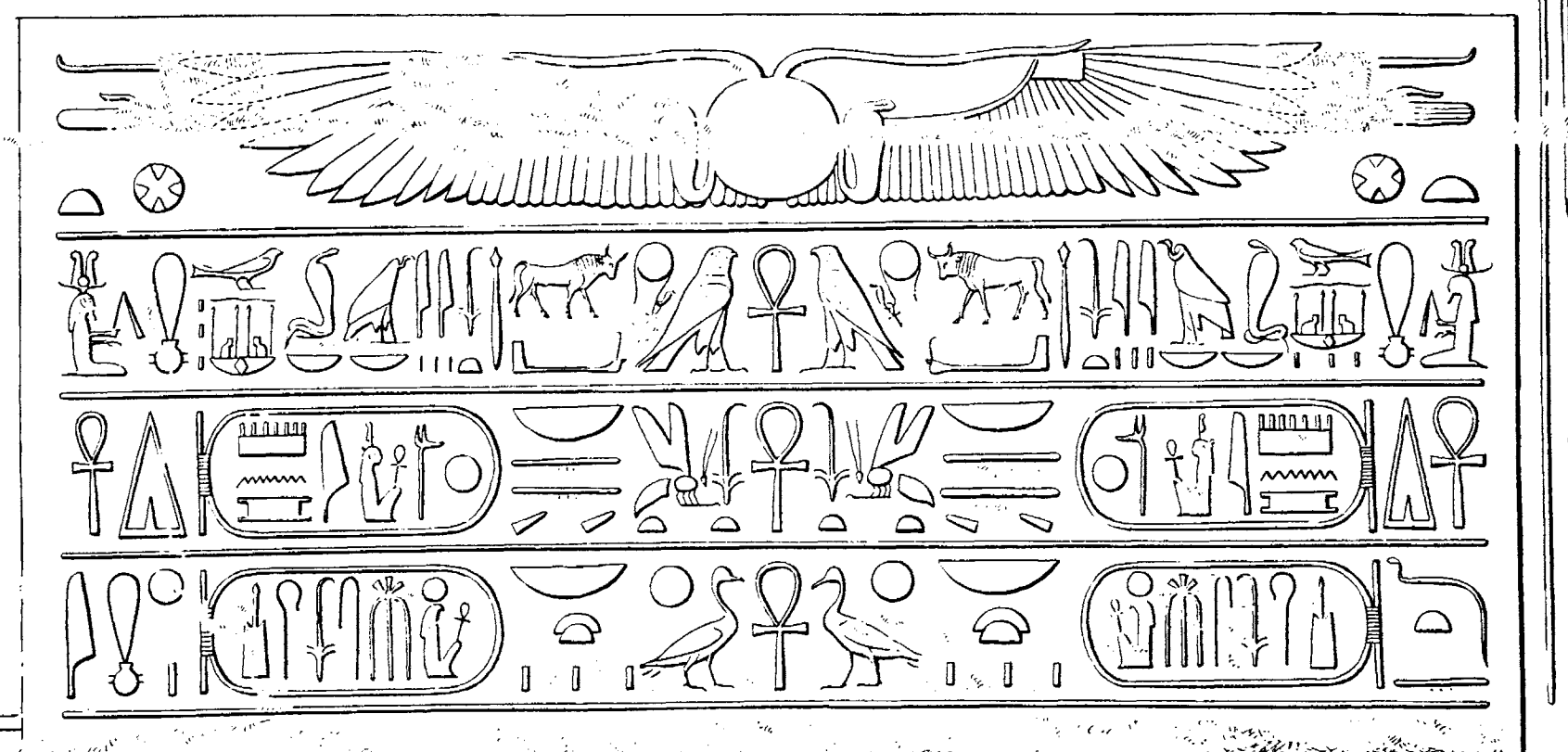
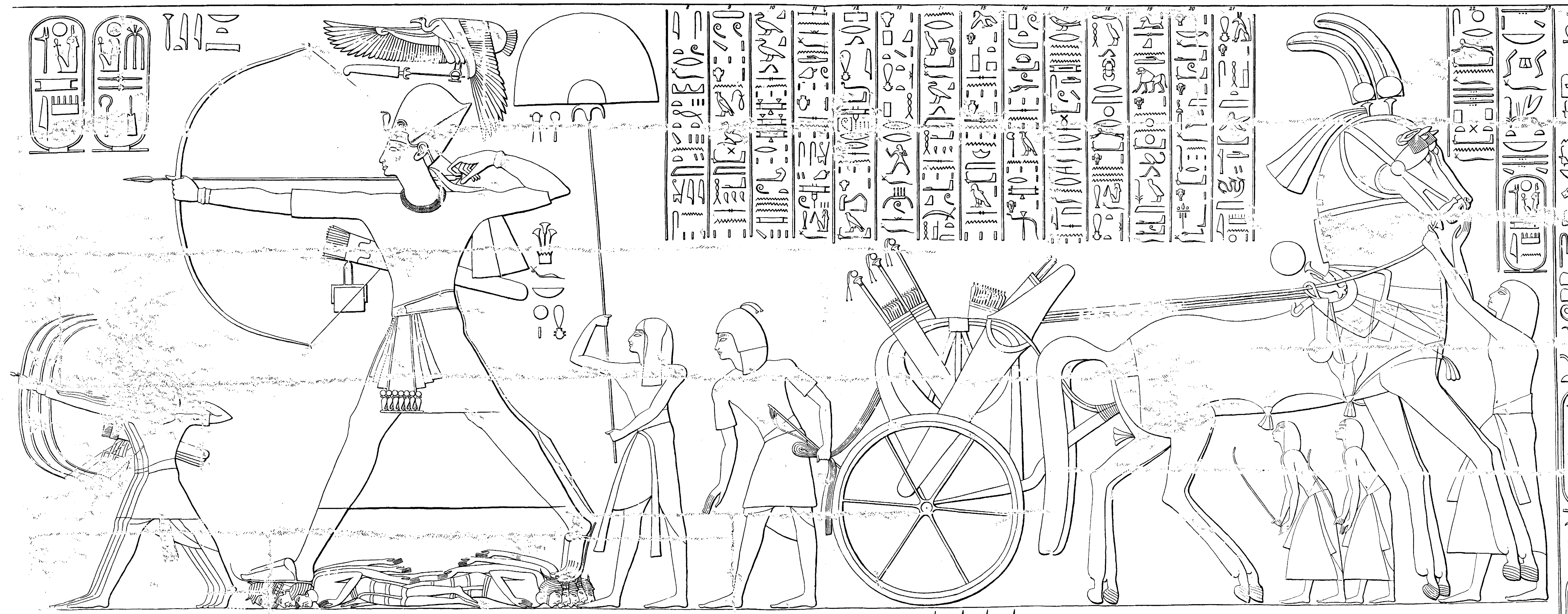
Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III AND HIS FLEET IN BATTLE WITH THE FLEET OF THE SEA PEOPLES
COMPARE PLATES 38-41



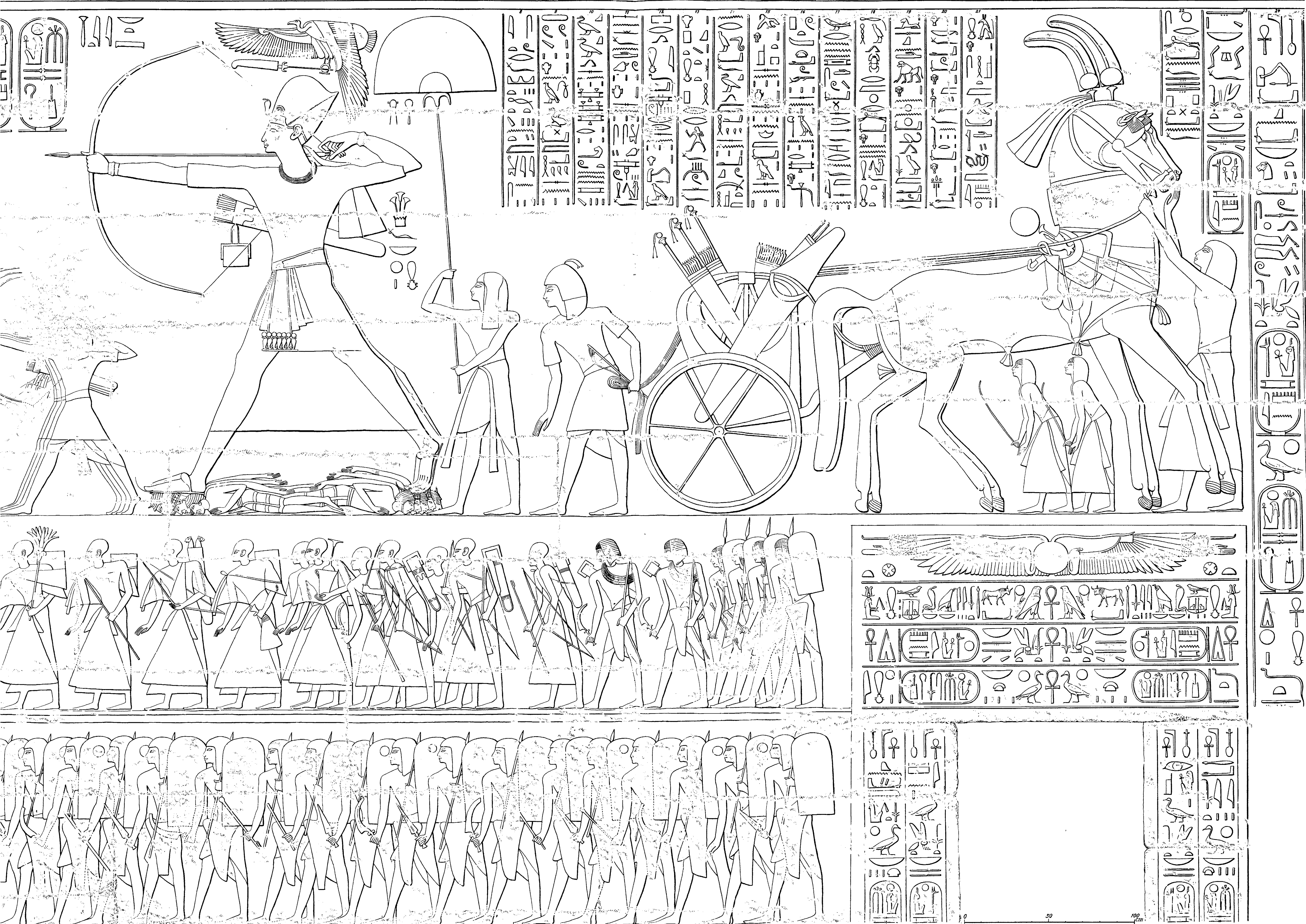
RAMSES III AND HIS FLEET IN BATTLE WITH THE FLEET OF THE SEA PEOPLES
 COMPARE PLATES 38-41

Exterior, north wall
 Photo, Pl. 36 and 37 B D
 and 37 A and E G
 and 37 A B and
 37 D



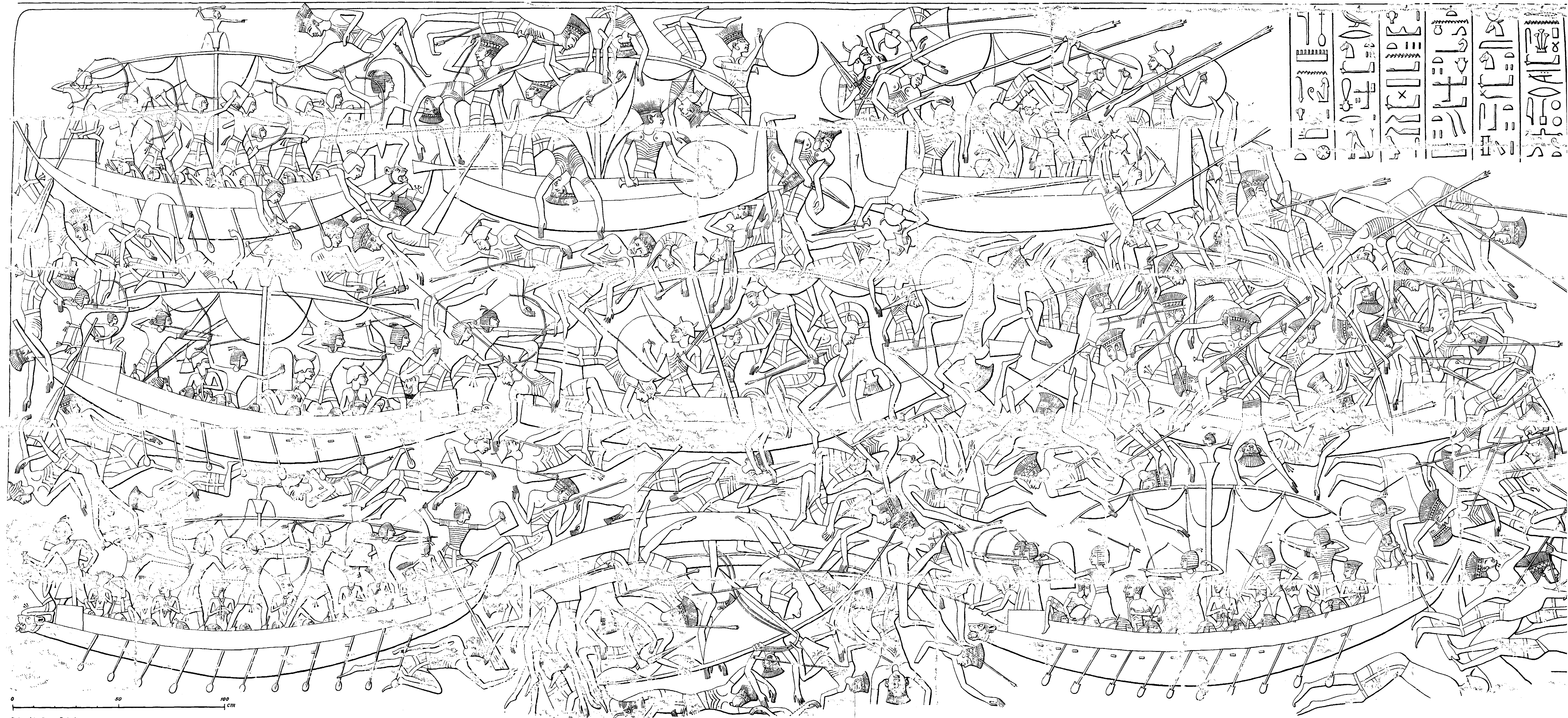
Printed in Great Britain

RAMESSES III IN THE NAVAL BATTLE, WITH HIS CHARIOT AND ATTENDANTS
DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37



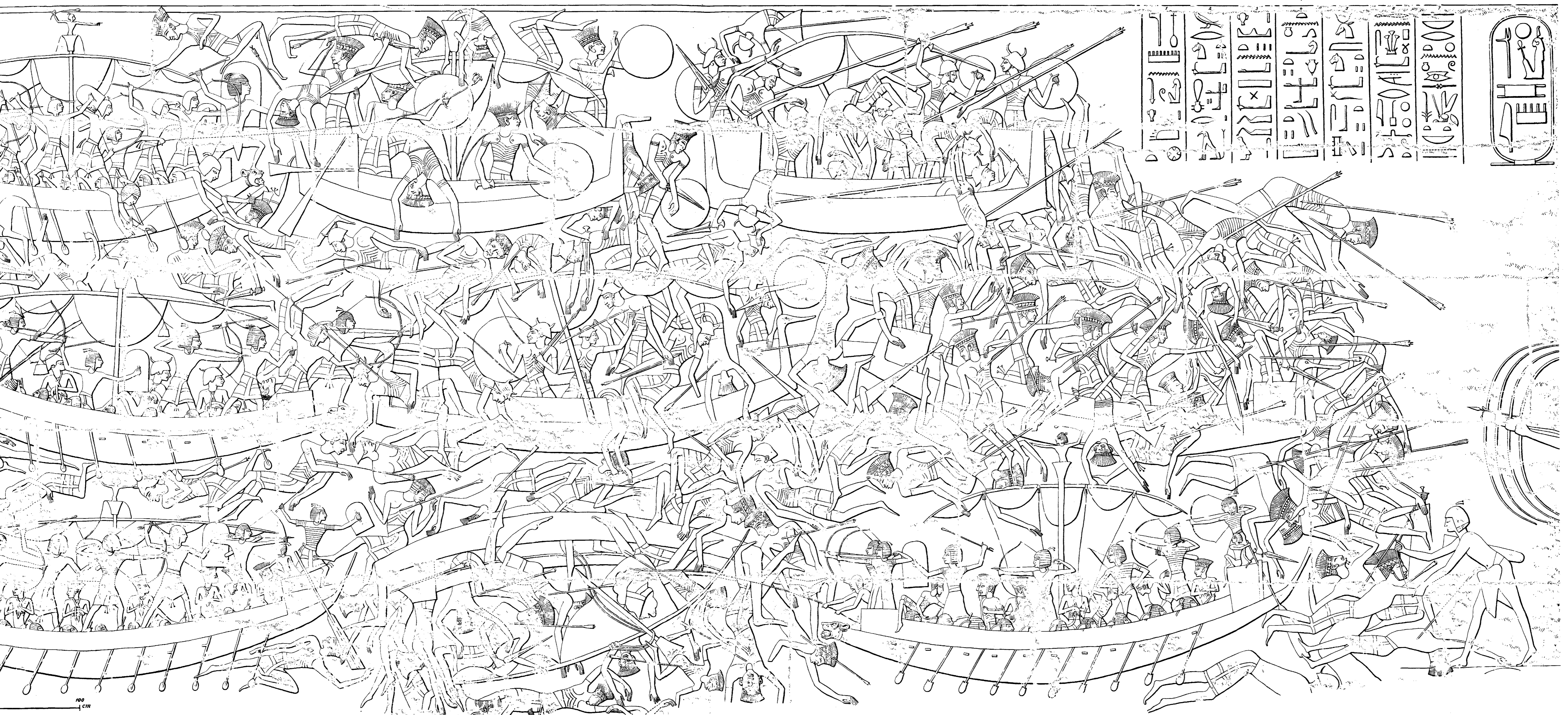
RAMSES III IN THE NAVAL BATTLE, WITH HIS CHARIOT AND ATTENDANTS
 DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37

returning south wall



Printed in Great Britain

THE EGYPTIAN FLEET DESTROYING THE FLEET OF THE SEA PEOPLES
DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37

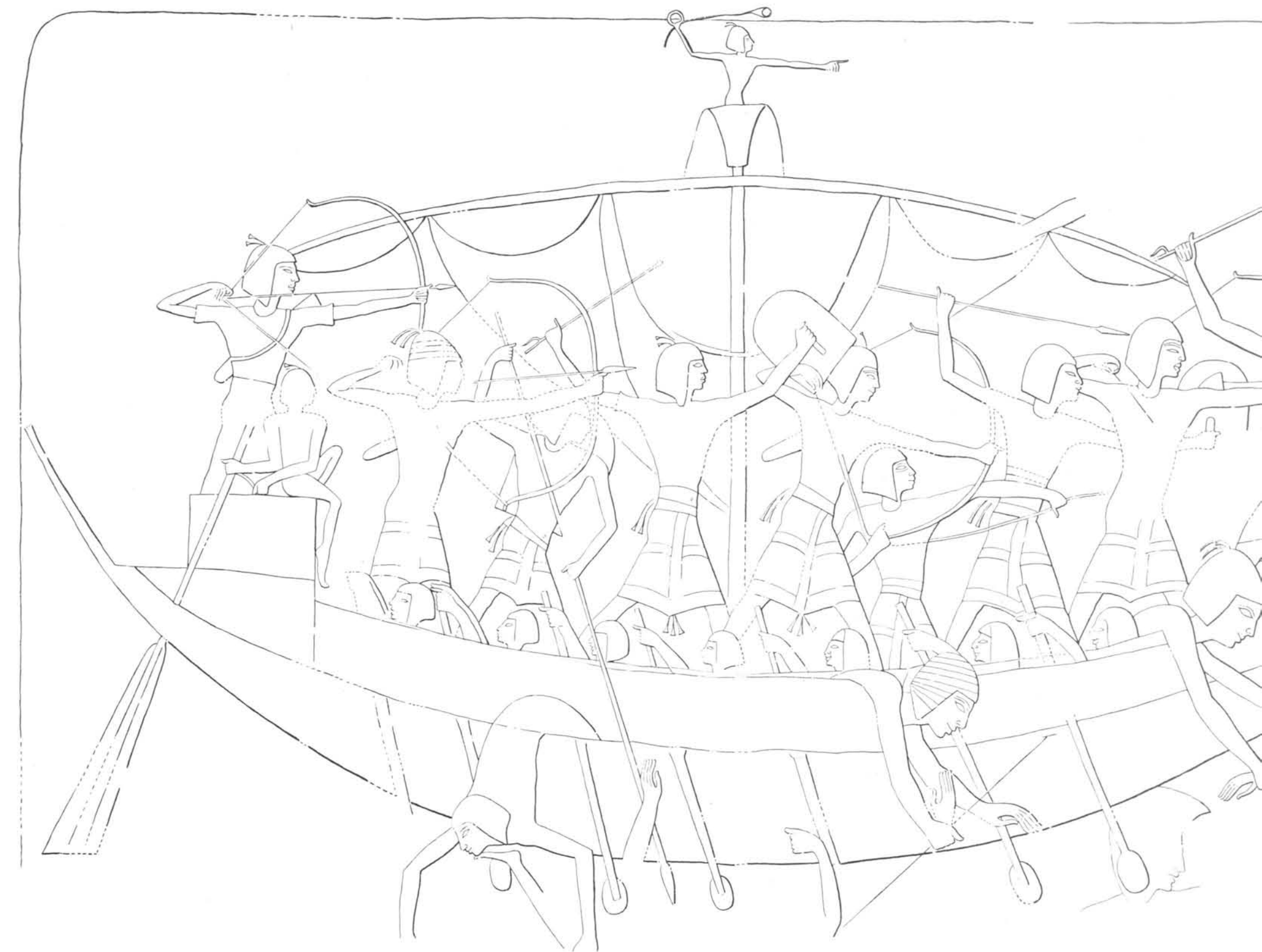


THE EGYPTIAN FLEET DESTROYING THE FLEET OF THE SEA PEOPLES
 DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37

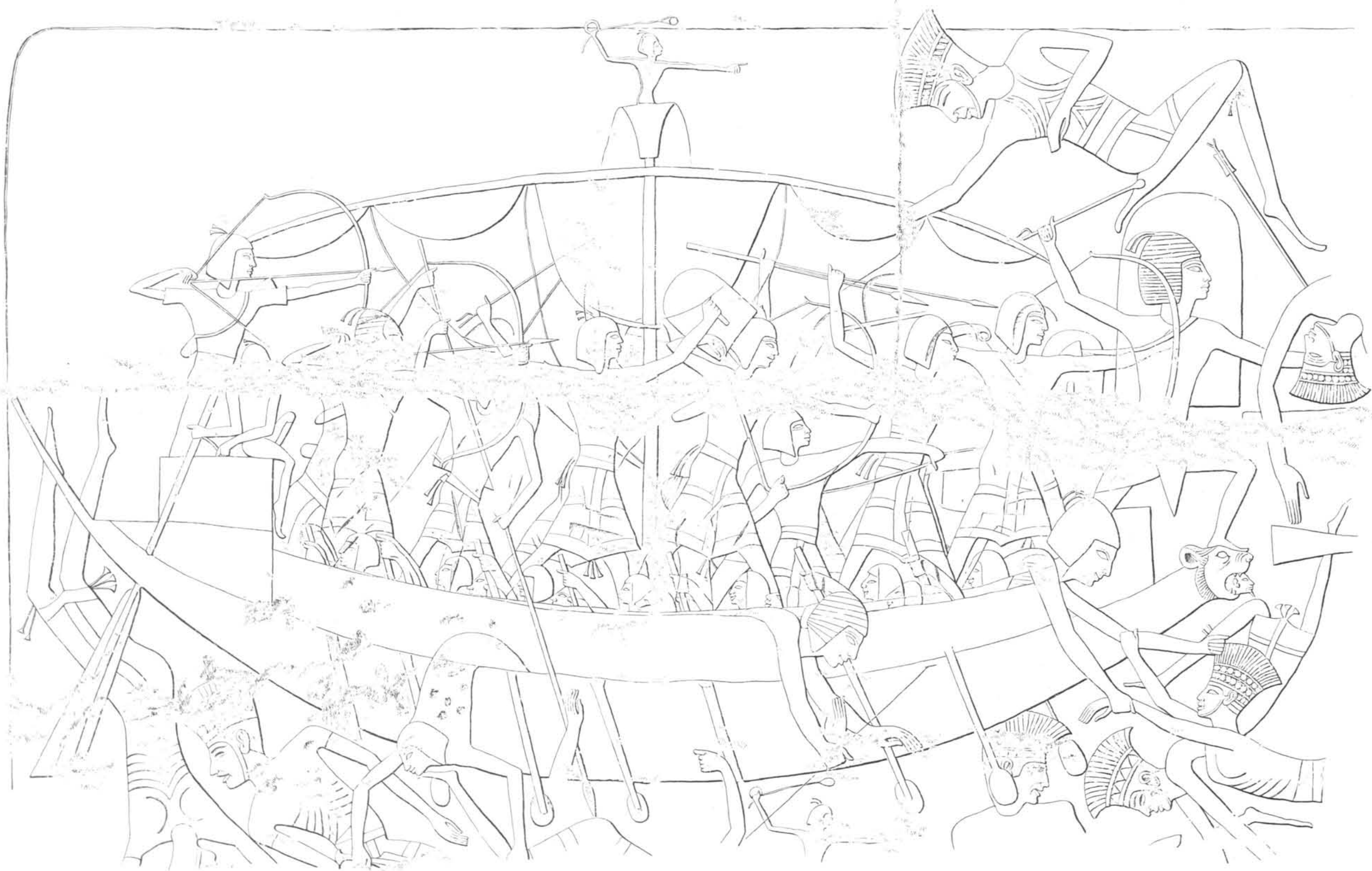
Eastern, north wall



A. THE SHIP AS IT NOW APPEARS

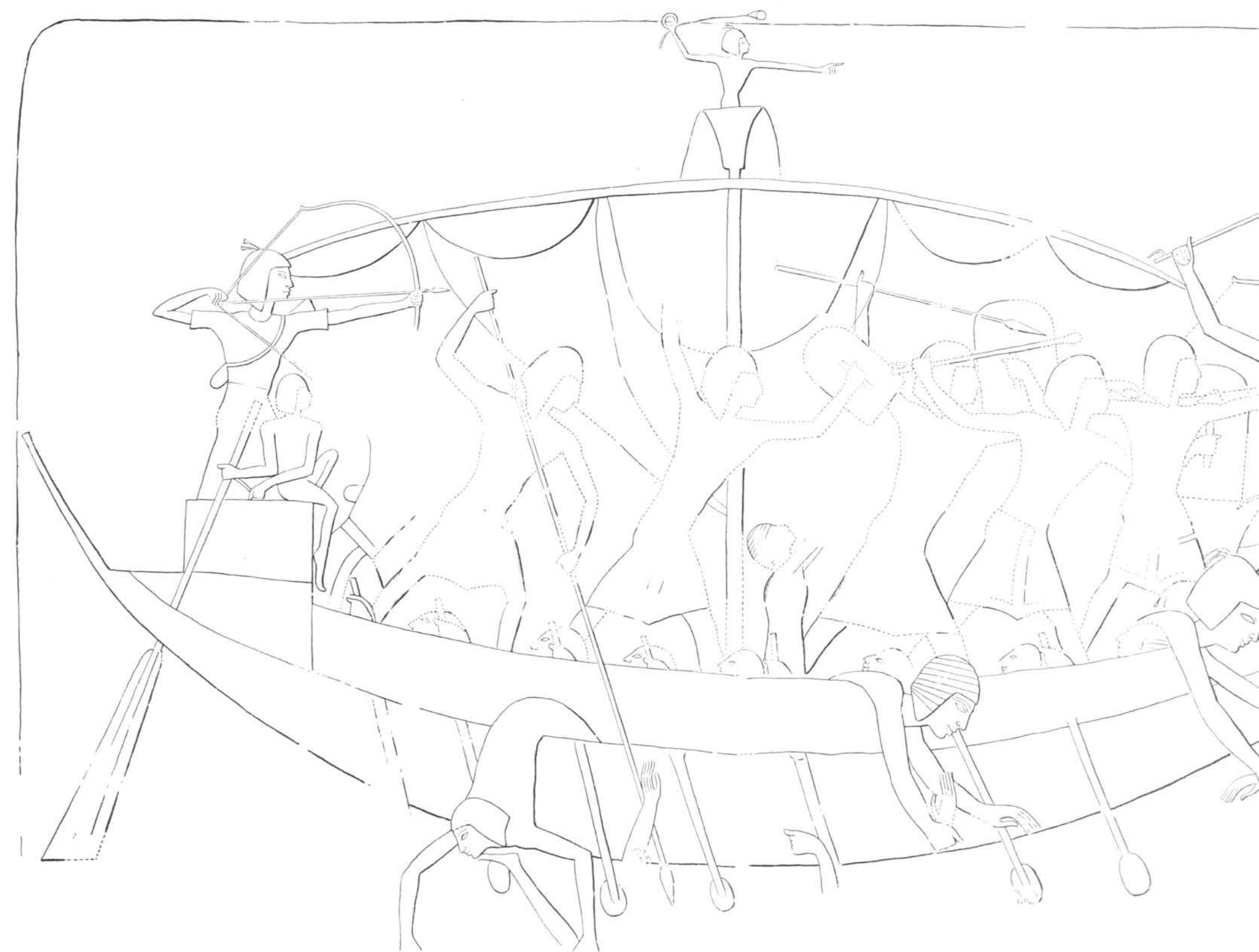


C. DRAWING REPRODUCING ONLY LINES BELONGING TO THE ORIGINAL COMPOSITION



Printed in Great Britain

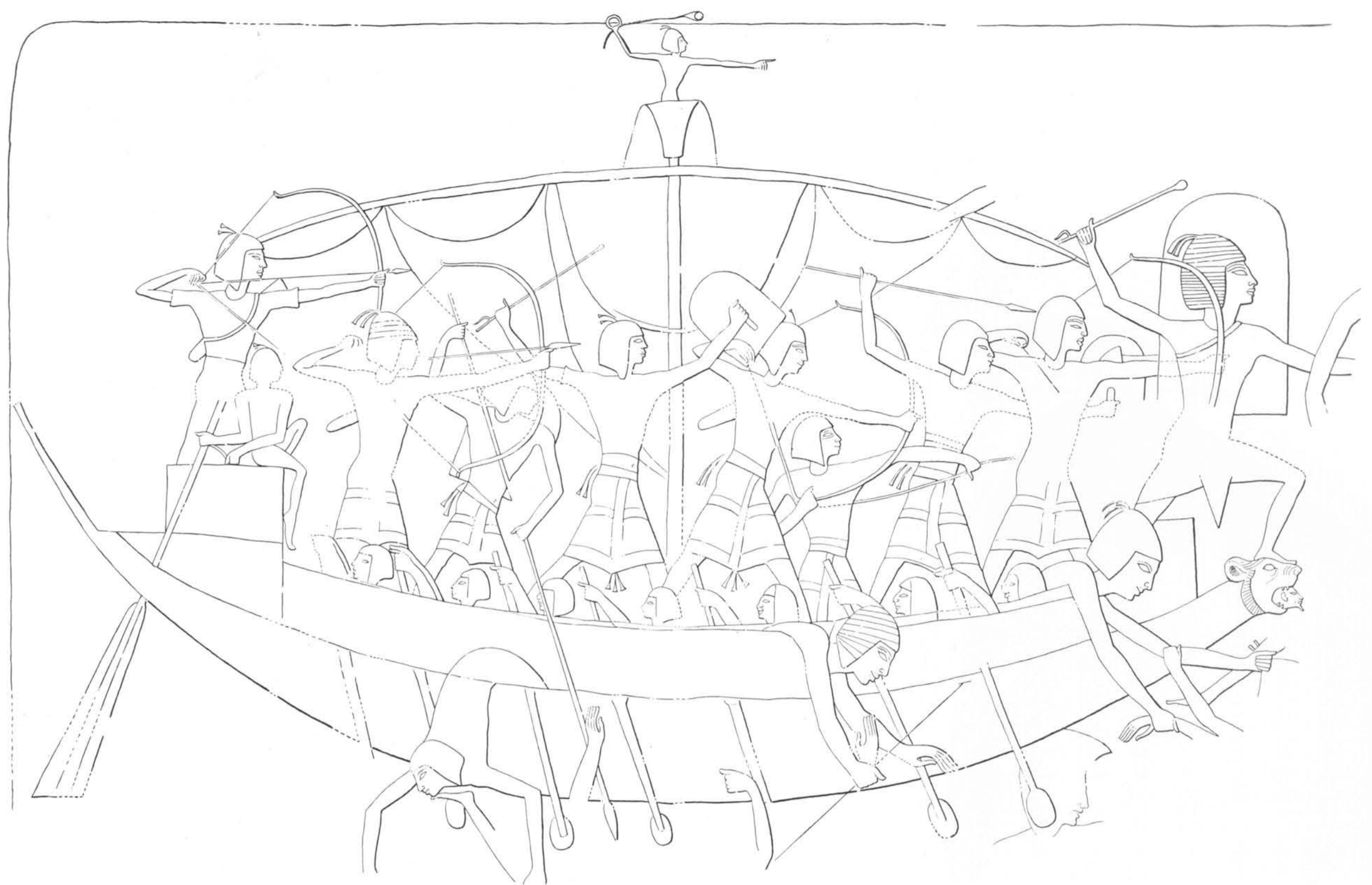
B. DRAWING GIVING ALL DETAILS SURVIVING ON THE WALL



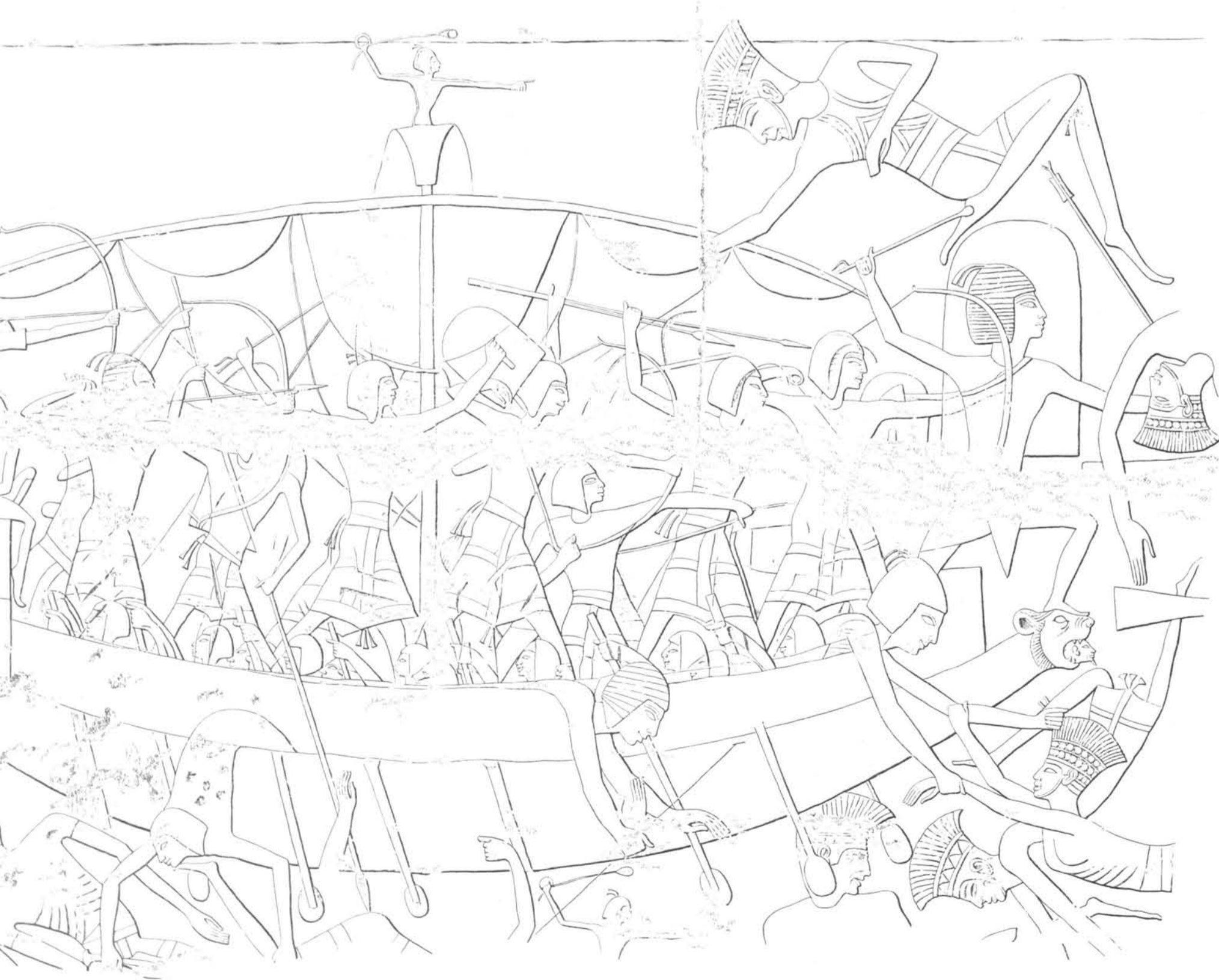
D. DRAWING REPRODUCING ONLY LINES BELONGING TO THE REVISED COMPOSITION AS CORRECTED BY THE AUTHOR



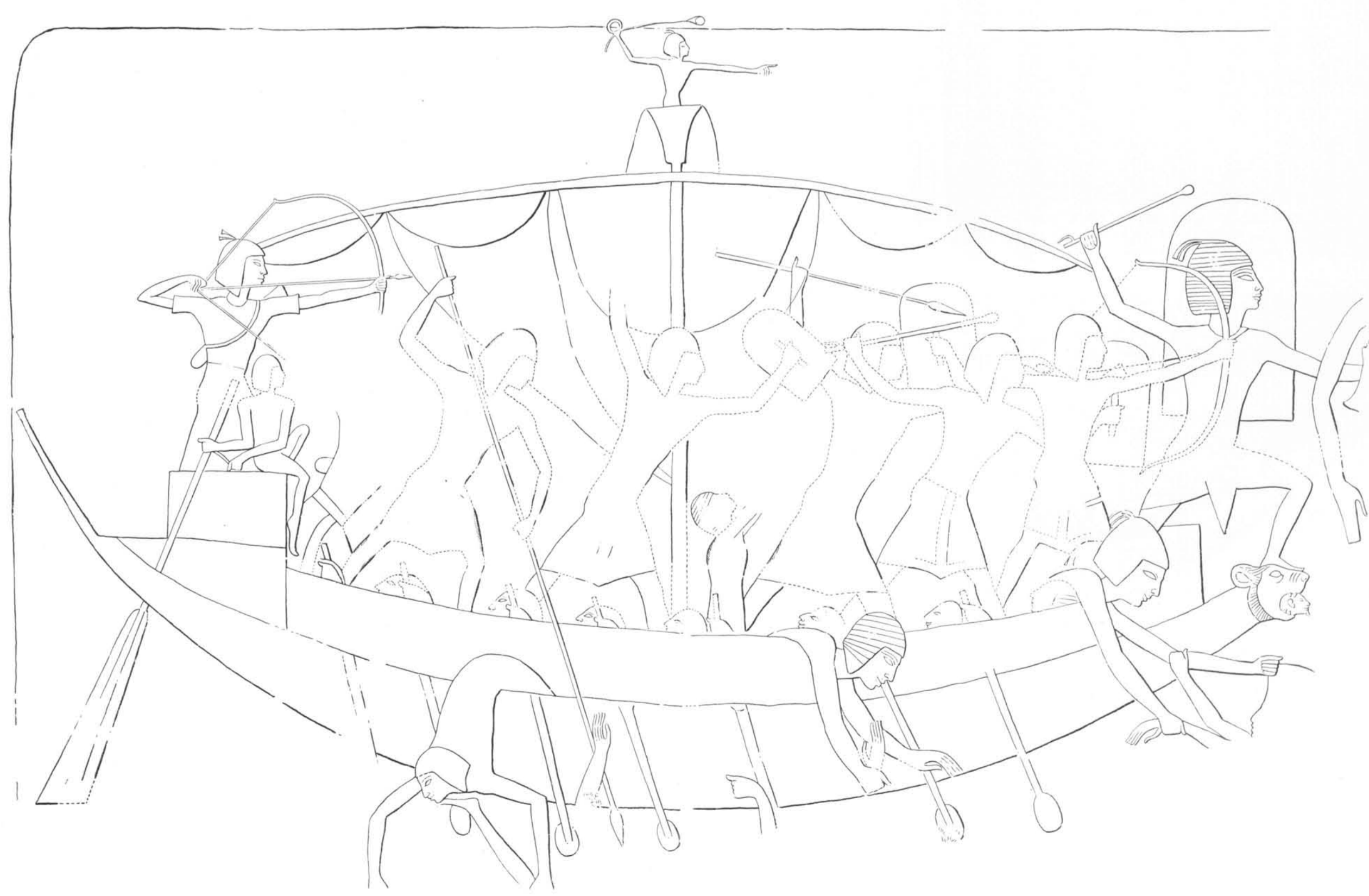
A. THE SHIP AS IT NOW APPEARS



C. DRAWING REPRODUCING ONLY LINES BELONGING TO THE ORIGINAL COMPOSITION

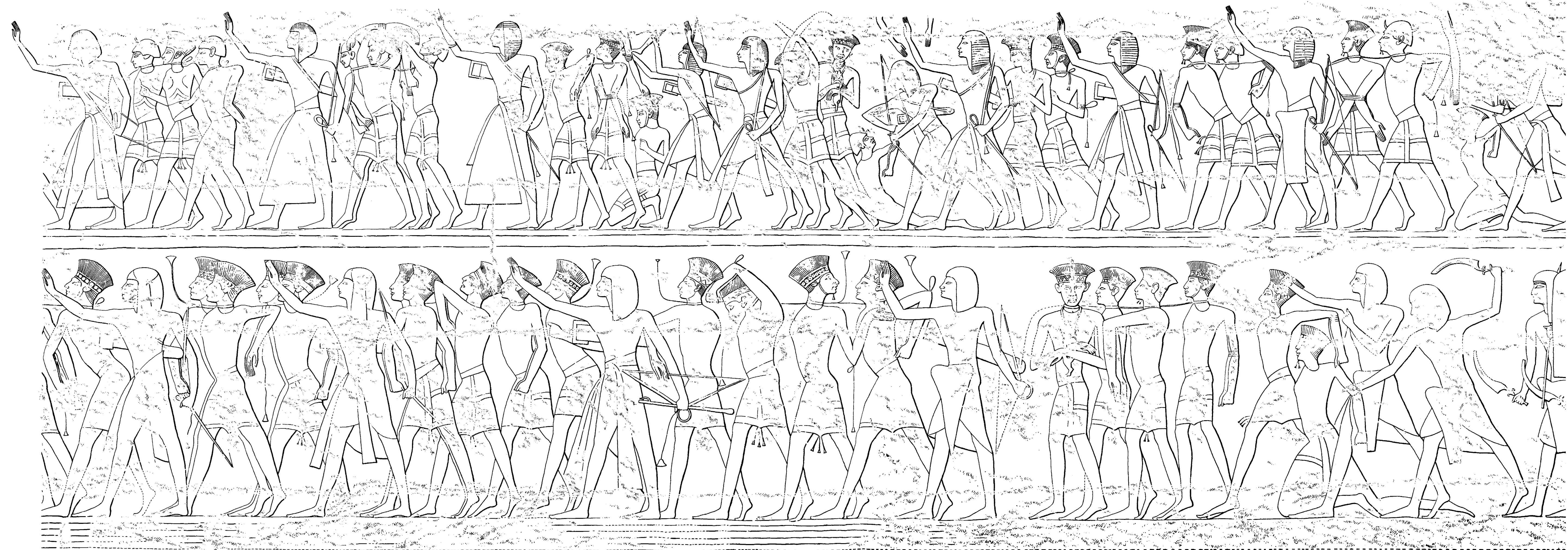


B. DRAWING GIVING ALL DETAILS SURVIVING ON THE WALL



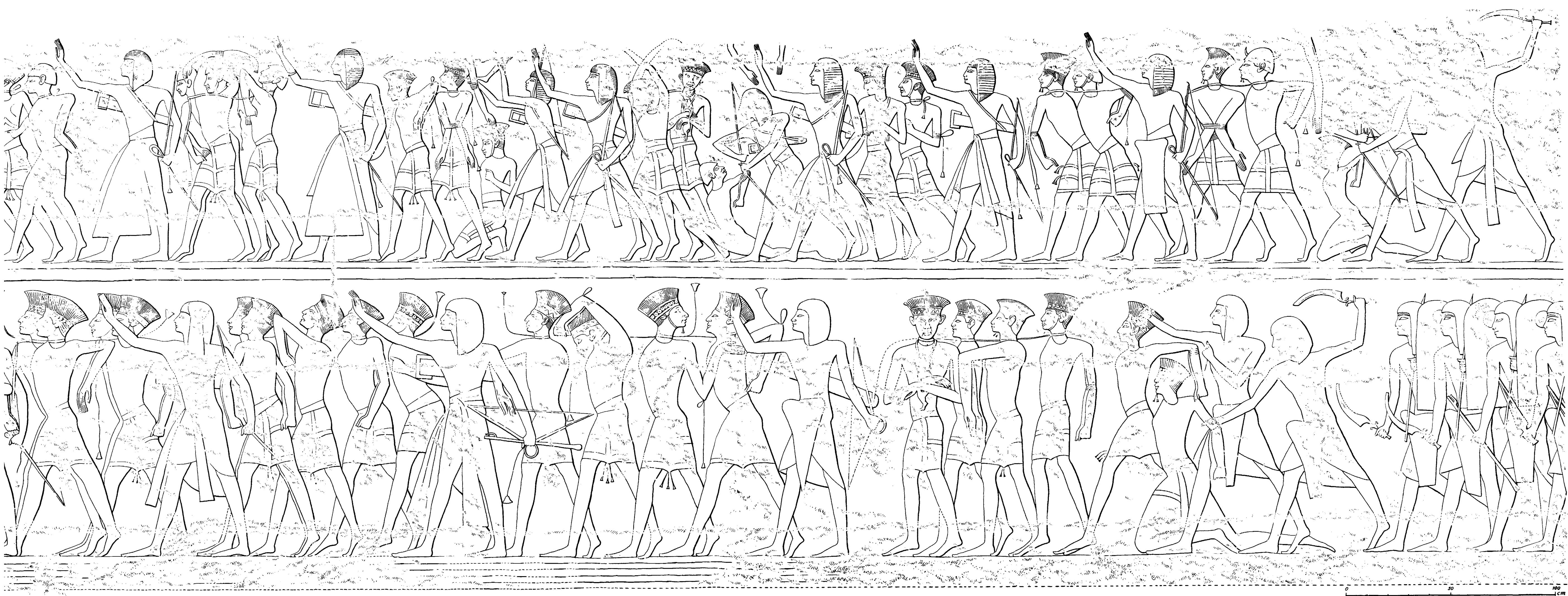
D. DRAWING REPRODUCING ONLY LINES BELONGING TO THE REVISED COMPOSITION AS CORRECTED BY THE MASTER

E. 1860, north wall



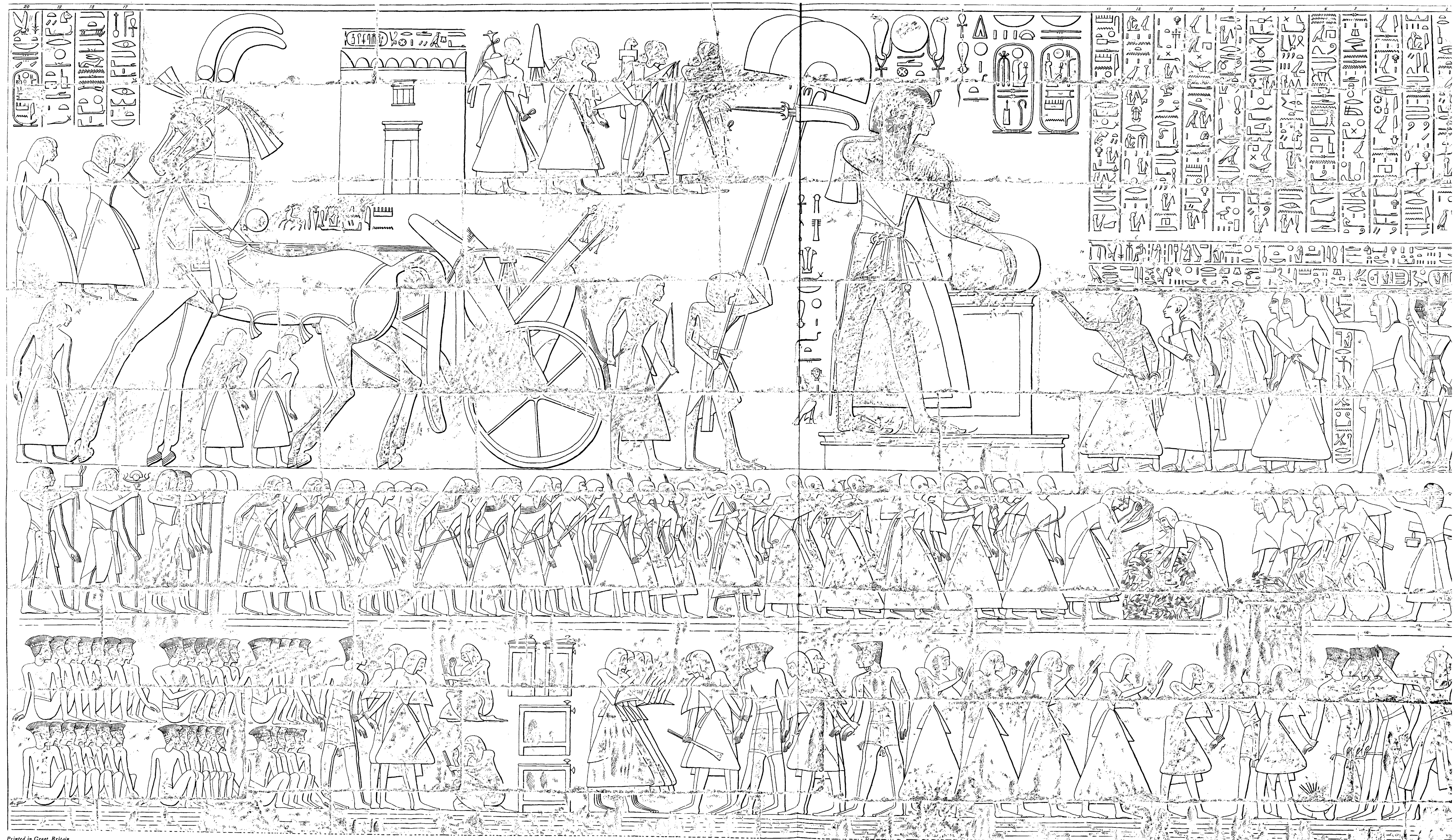
Printed in Great Britain

THE EGYPTIANS LEADING AWAY CAPTIVES OF THE SEA PEOPLES
DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37



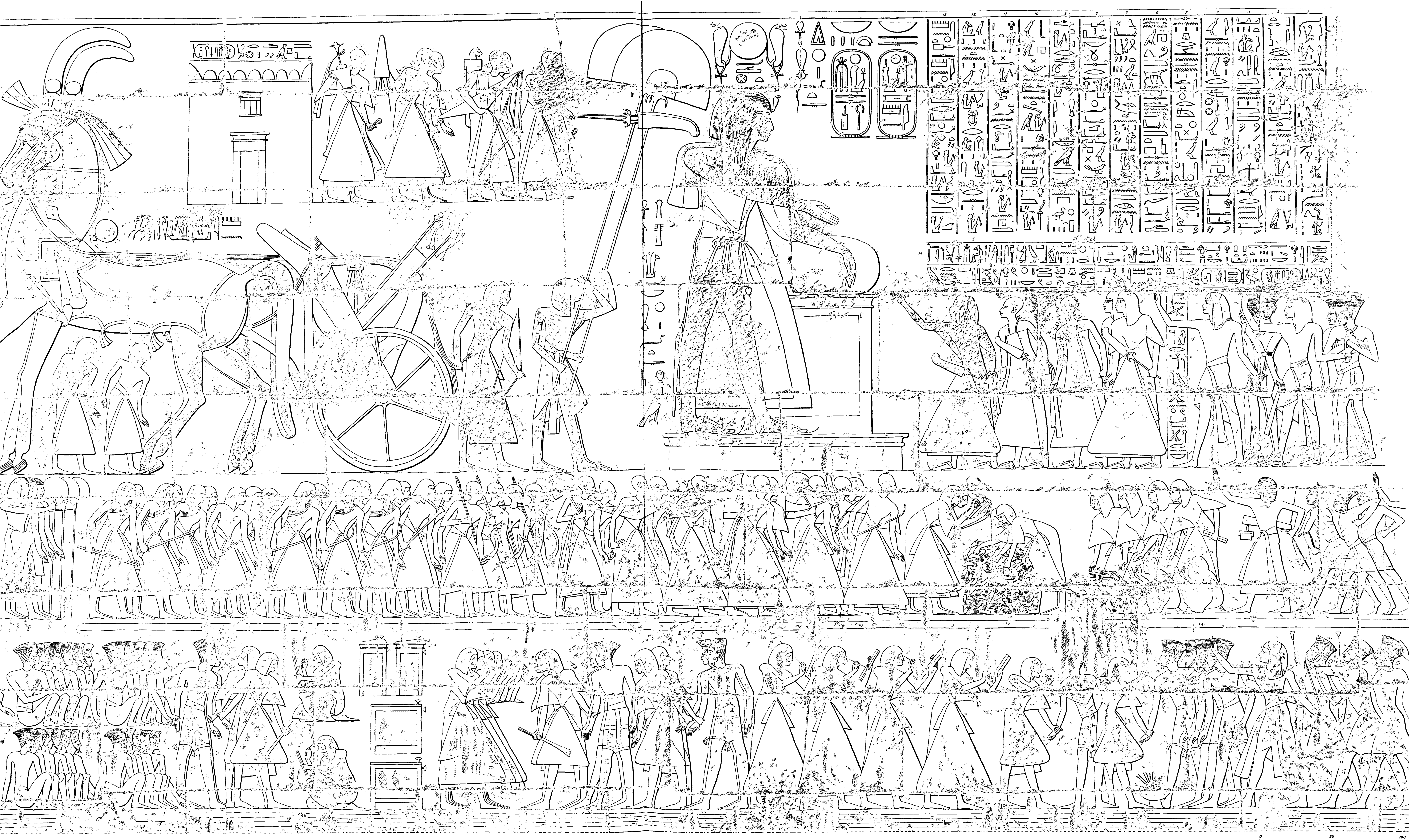
THE EGYPTIANS LEADING AWAY CAPTIVES OF THE SEA PEOPLES
 DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37

Exterior, north wall



Printed in Great Britain

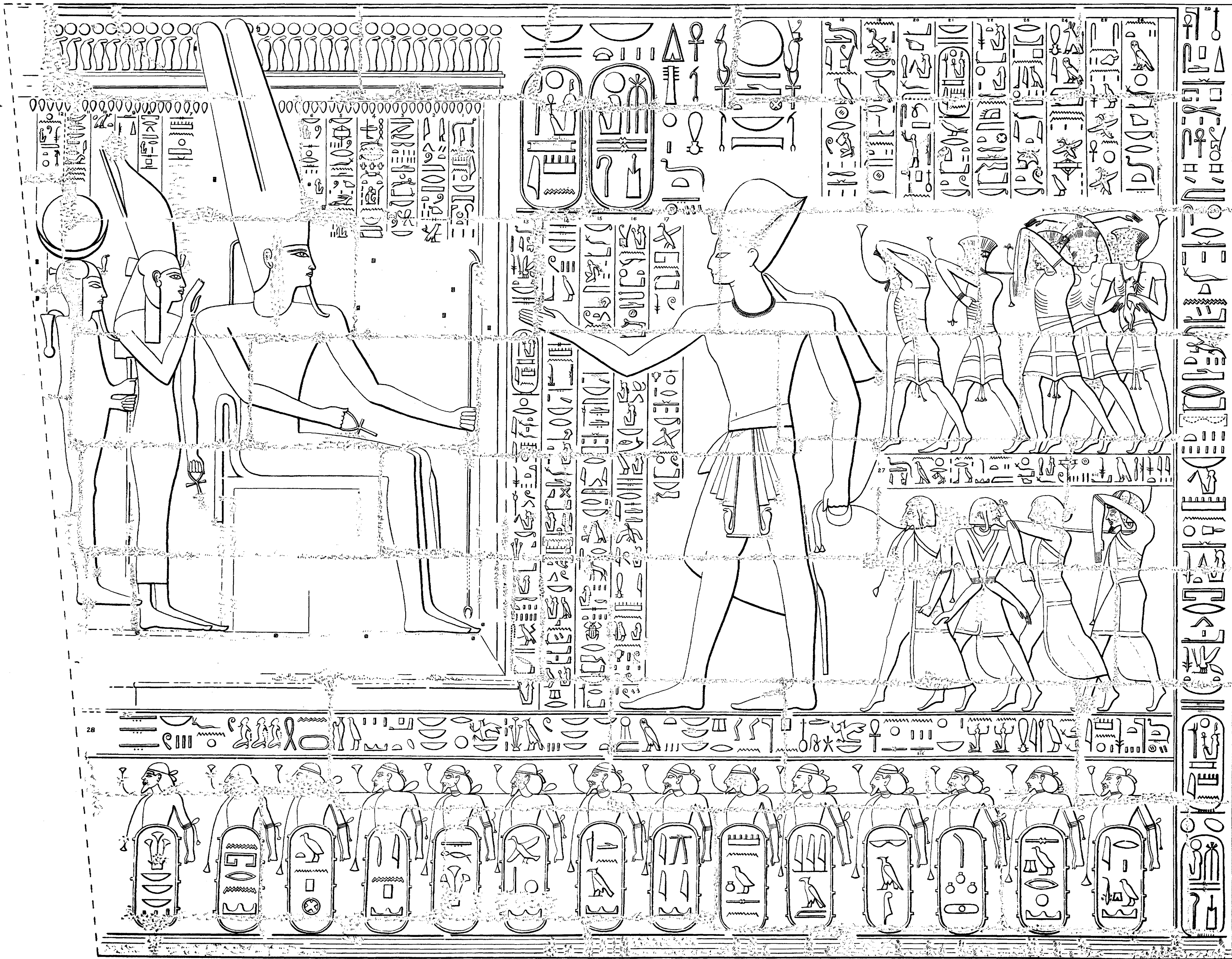
RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE SEA PEOPLES



RAMSES III CELEBRATING HIS VICTORY OVER THE SEA PEOPLES

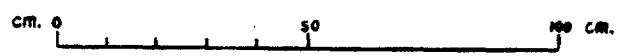
42. Ramses III, north wall
 Photo. Pl. 42 and 51 E
 and 52 C and
 53 A-B

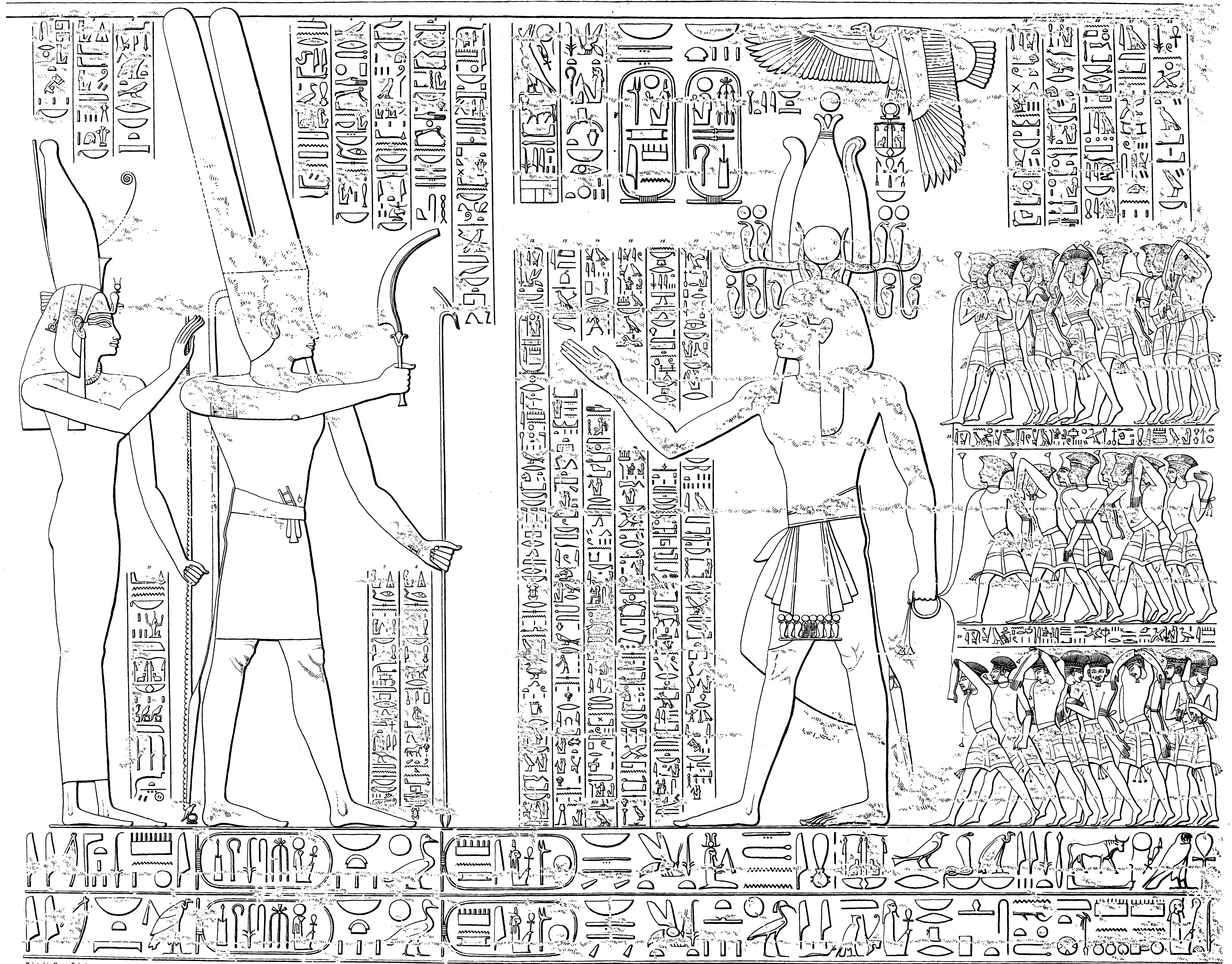
Section, north wall,
ceiling west of 2d pylone
26. 1. 18 23 9



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RAMSES III PRESENTING CAPTIVES OF THE LIBYANS AND THE SEA PEOPLES TO THE THEBAN TRIAD

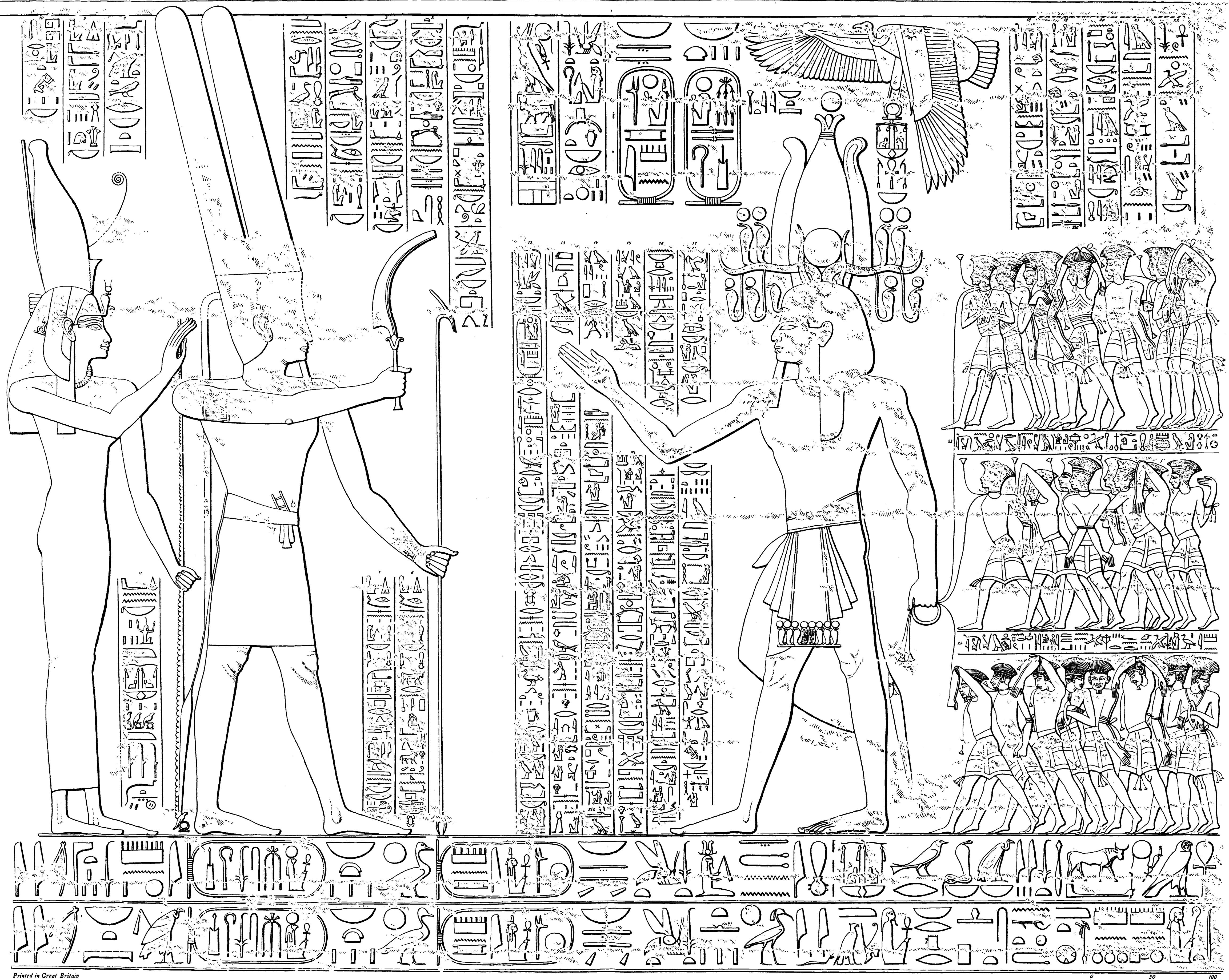




Printed in Great Britain

RAMSES III PRESENTING CAPTIVES OF THE SEA PEOPLES TO AMON AND MUT

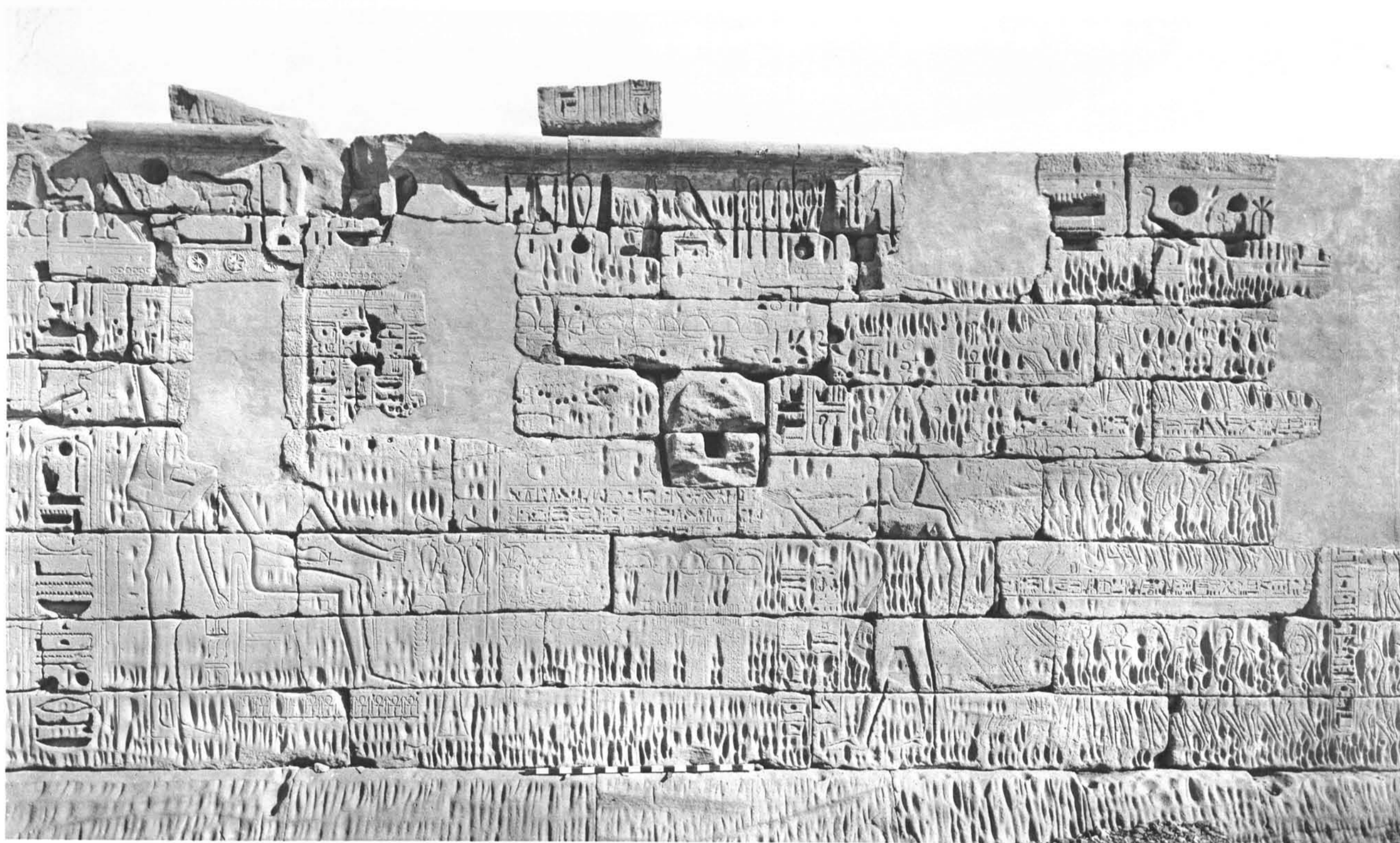
0 100 200 cm



RAMSES III PRESENTING CAPTIVES OF THE SEA PEOPLES TO AMON AND MUT

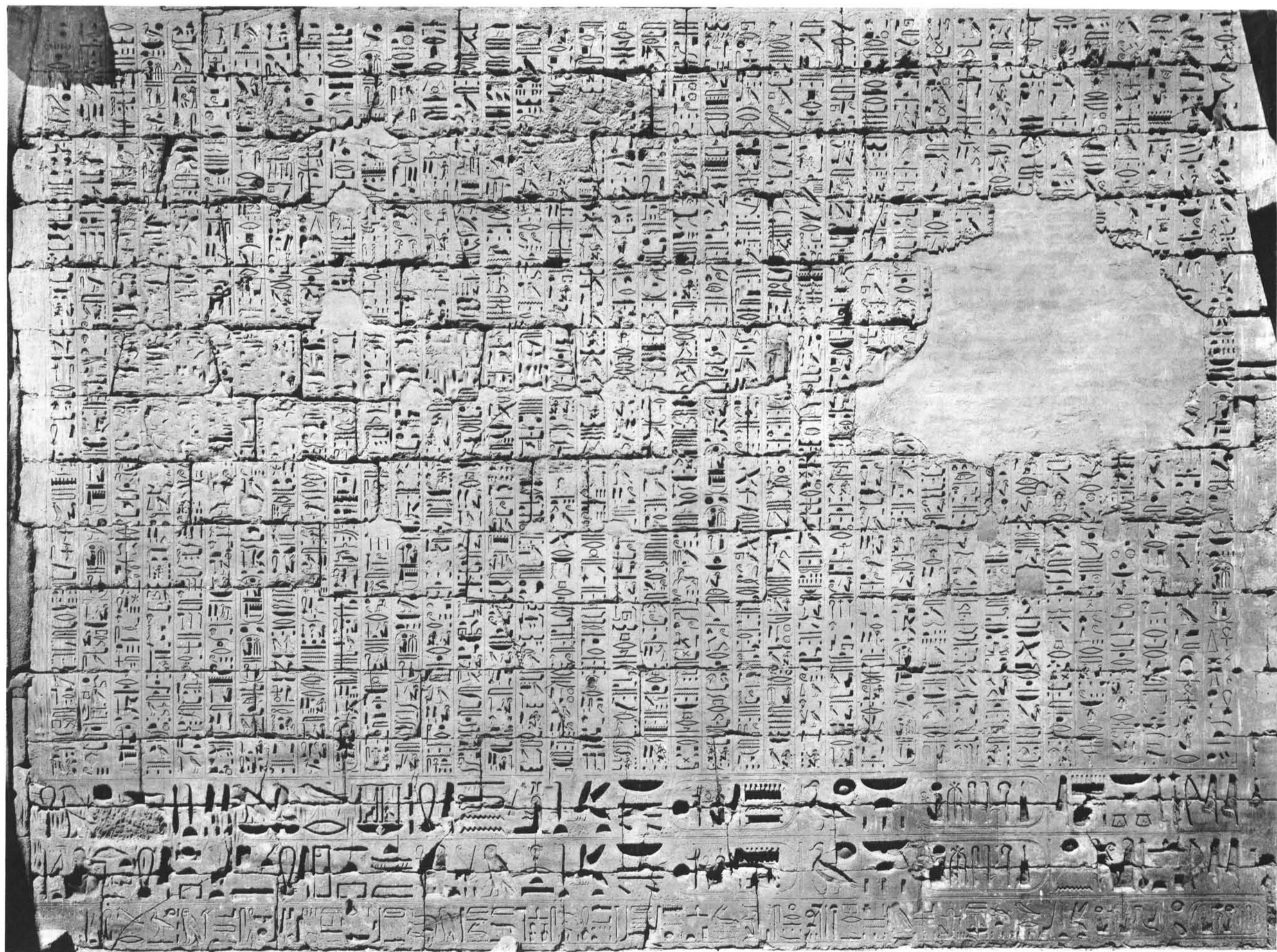
Printed in Great Britain

Interior, 1st court, west wall, south of great doorway



Exterior, west wall

A



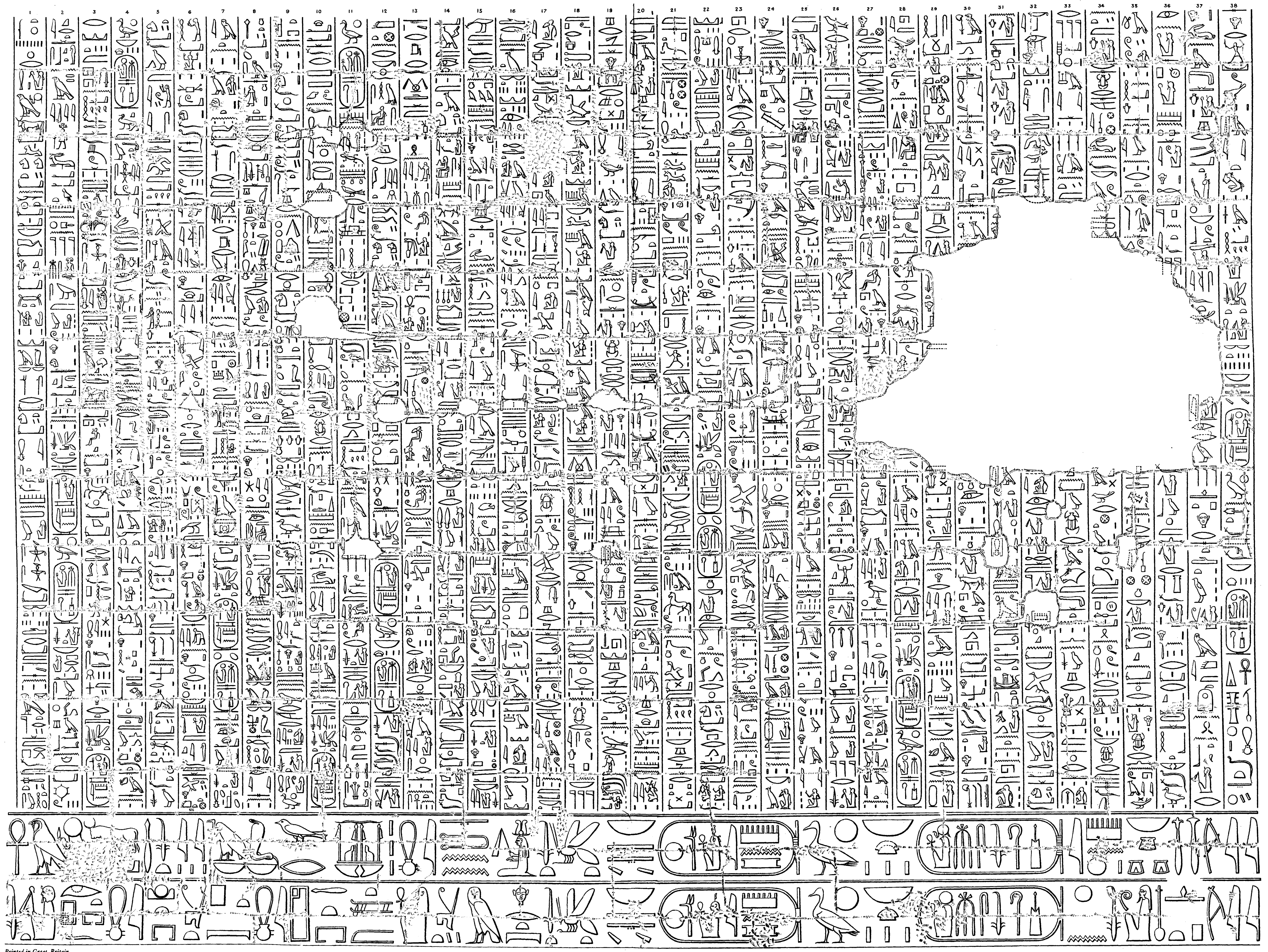
Interior, 1st court, west wall, north of great doorway

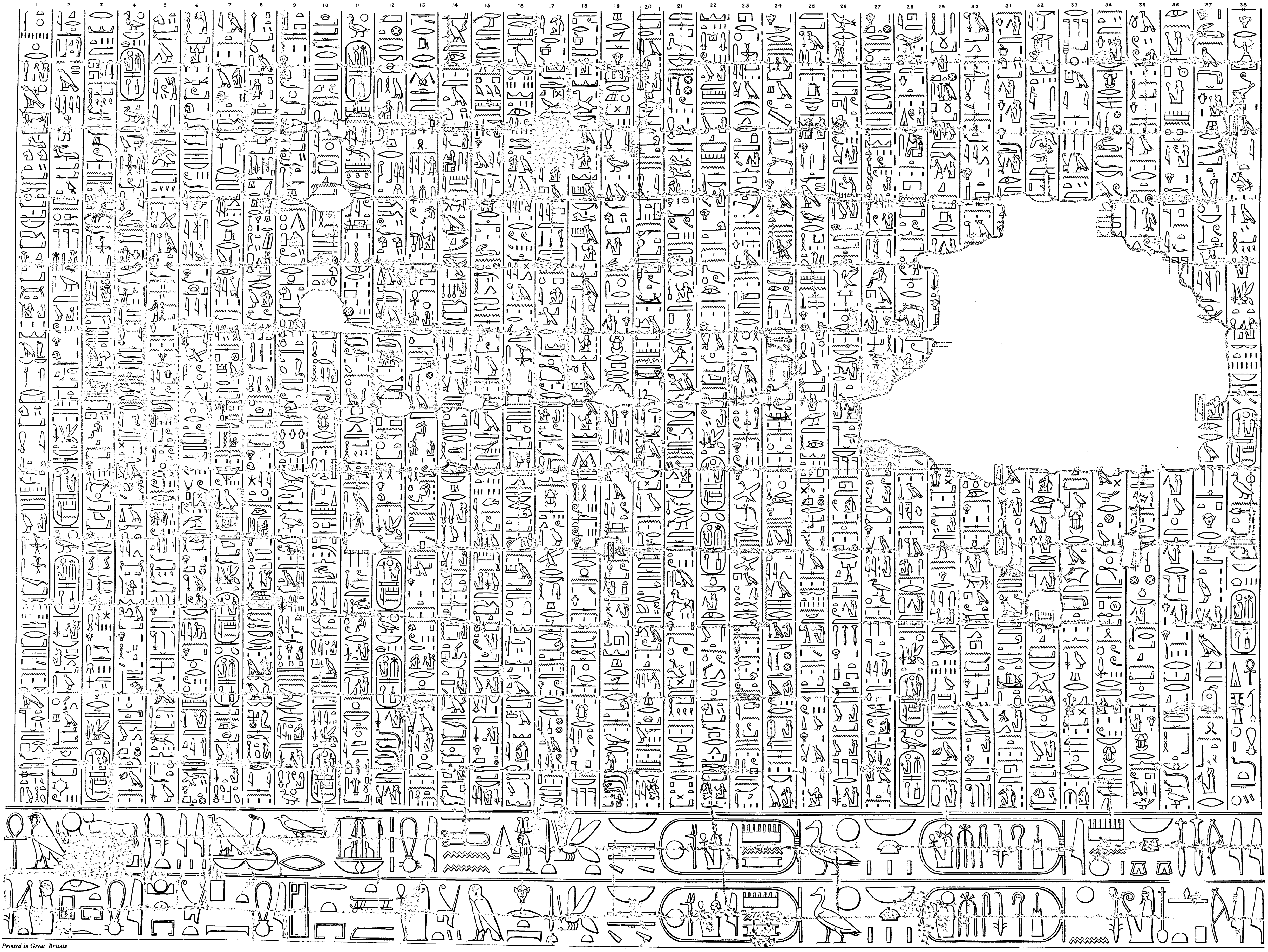
B

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A. RAMSES III PRESENTING NUBIAN CAPTIVES AND SPOIL TO AMON AND MUT. COMPARE DRAWING ON PLATE II

B. THE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 8. COMPARE DRAWING ON PLATE 46





Inscription, first court west wall,
 north of 1st doorway
 No. 1. 1945 B

Printed in Great Britain

THE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 8

cm 0 50 100



A



B



C



D



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E

A. NUBIAN CAPTIVES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 11

B. EGYPTIAN TROOPS. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 16

C. A SHERDEN WARRIOR IN ACTION. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 18

D. TWO SOUTH-PALESTINIANS IN THE EGYPTIAN SERVICE. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 18

E. A SQUAD OF EGYPTIAN TROOPS IN ACTION, AND LIBYAN DEAD ON THE BATTLEFIELD. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 18



A



B



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C



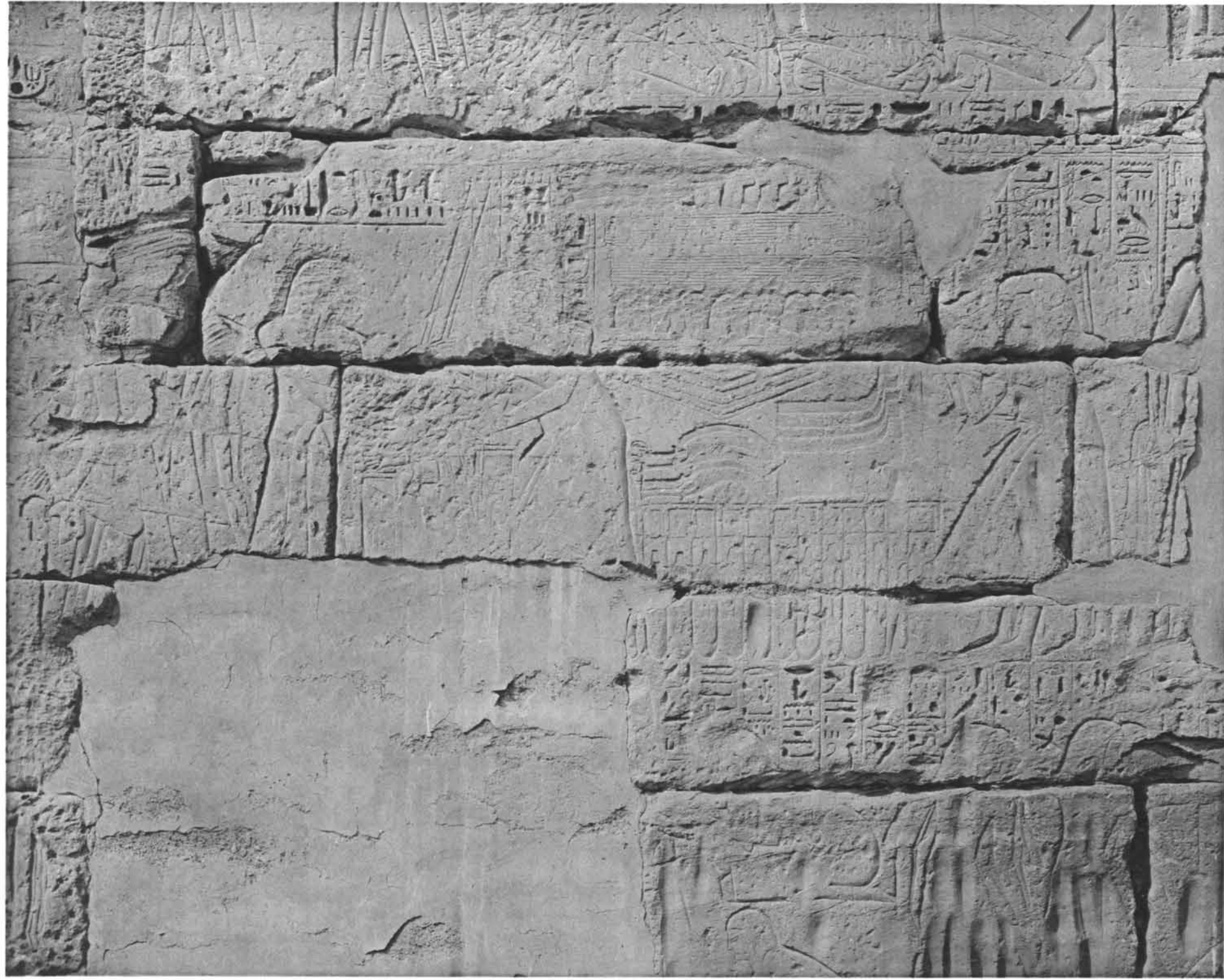
D

A. AN EGYPTIAN PRINCE WITH THREE LIBYAN PRISONERS. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 23

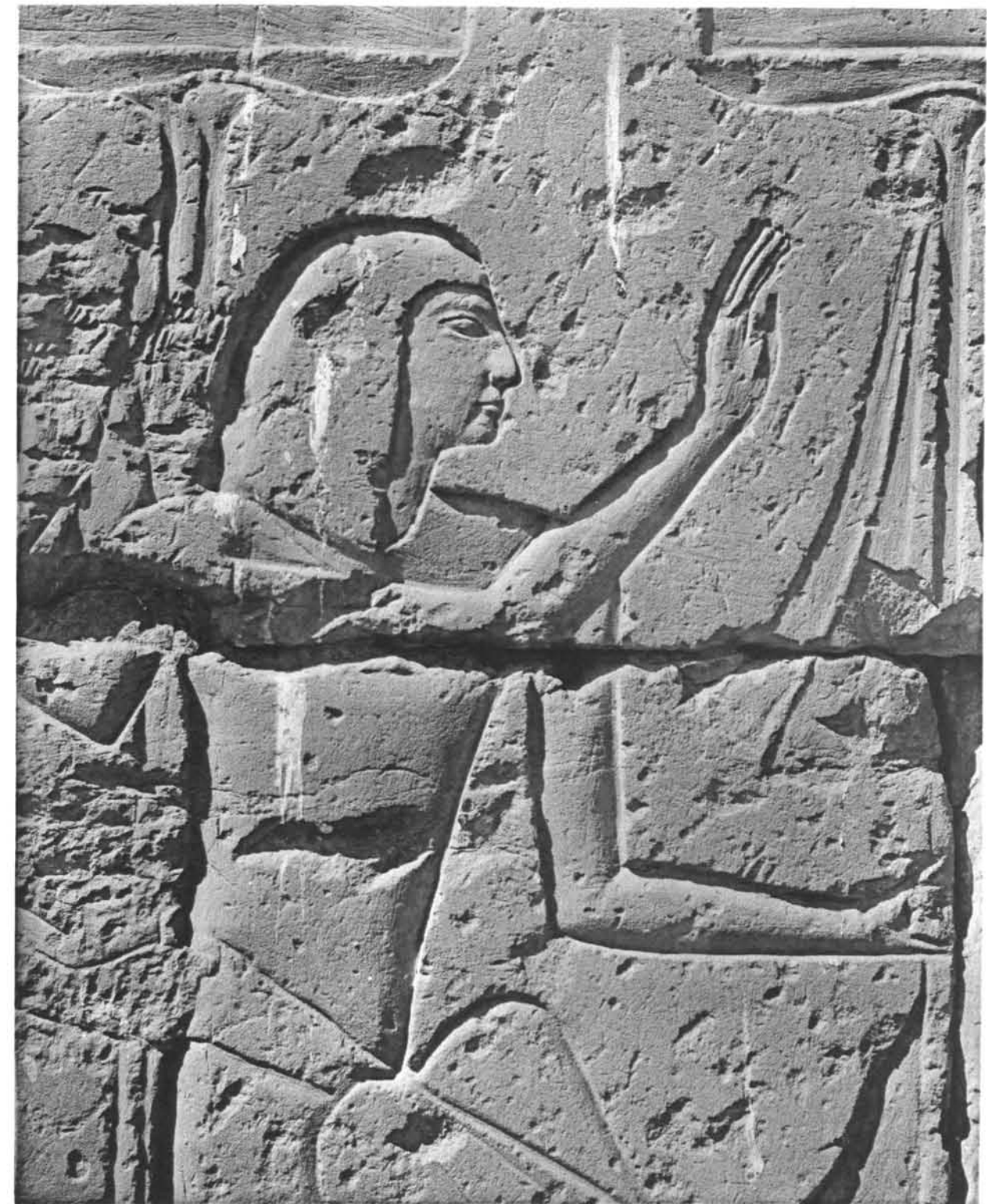
B. LIBYAN PRISONERS AND THEIR EGYPTIAN CAPTORS. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 23

C. EGYPTIAN OFFICERS LEADING LIBYAN CAPTIVES BEFORE PHARAOH. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 23

D. AN EGYPTIAN SCRIBE, SHOWING THE PECULIAR RENDERING OF THE RIGHT HAND AND ALTERATIONS IN THE FORM OF THE SLEEVE BY THE USE OF PLASTER. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 23



A



B



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C



D

A. WEAPONS BEING ISSUED TO EGYPTIAN TROOPS. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 29

B. AN EGYPTIAN STANDARD-BEARER. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 29

C. AN OXCART OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 34

D. AN OXCART OF THE SEA PEOPLES AND A RANK OF EGYPTIAN TROOPS. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 34



A



B



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C



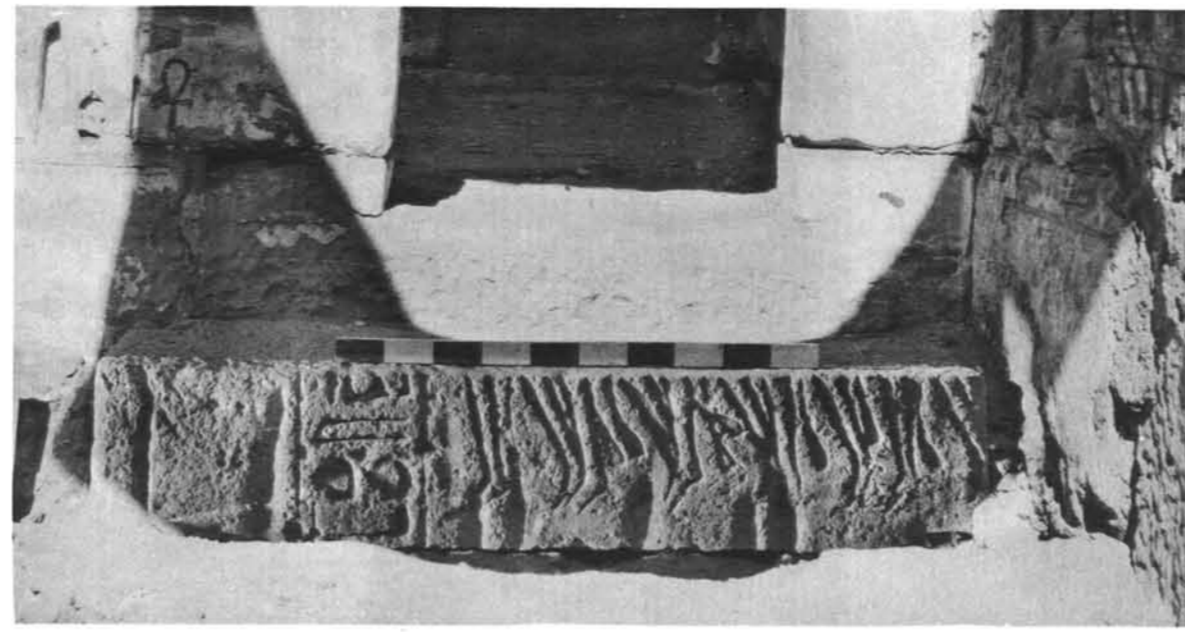
D

A. AN OXCART OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 34
B. AN EGYPTIAN WARRIOR. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37

C. WARRIORS OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37
D. WARRIORS OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37



A



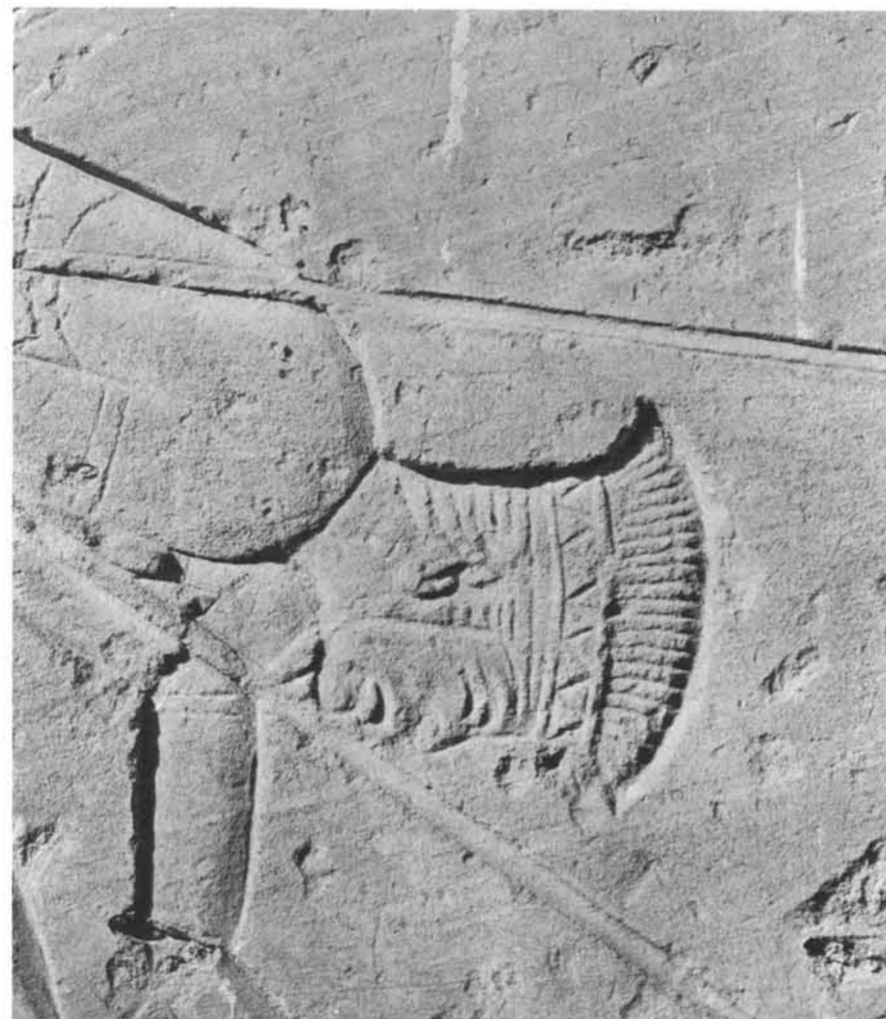
B



C



D



Printed in Great Britain

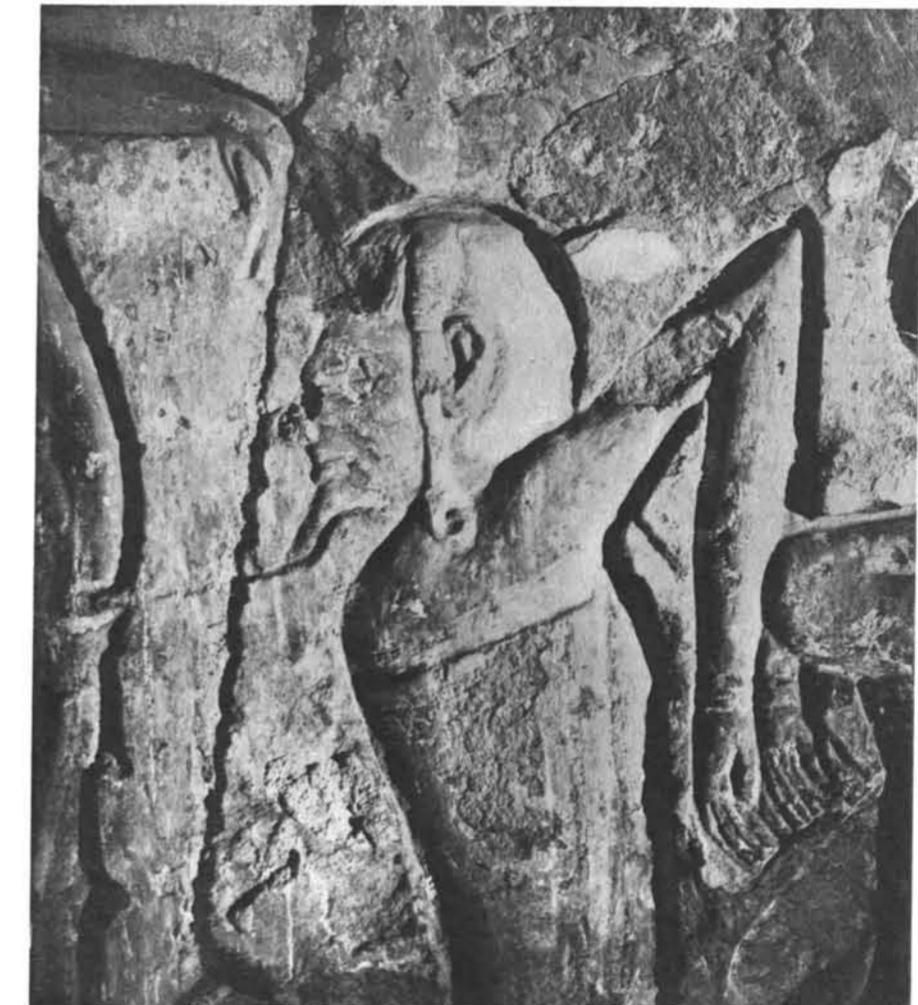
E



F



G



H

- A. ALTERATIONS IN THE HARNESS ON THE PHARAOH'S HORSES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37
- B. A BLOCK OF STONE CONTAINING A PORTION OF THE RELIEFS OF THE NUBIAN WAR, NOW FORMING A DOORSTEP WITHIN THE TEMPLE. IT INCLUDES PARTS OF SCENES SHOWN ON PLATES 10 AND 11
- C. CHANGES MADE IN THE FORMS OF SIGNS BY THE USE OF PLASTER FILLING AND RECARVING. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 43

- D. THE HIEROGLYPHIC SYMBOL OF THE GOD RE, SHOWING HOW THE DEEP CUTTING OF ITS LOWER PORTION CONTRASTS WITH THE SHALLOWER CUTTING OF ITS MORE DETAILED UPPER PORTION
- E. A SLAIN WARRIOR OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37
- F. A SLAIN WARRIOR OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37
- G. A SLAIN WARRIOR OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37
- H. FIGURE OF A LIBYAN, SHOWING DIFFERENT RENDERINGS OF THE GARMENT BY THE SCULPTOR AND THE PAINTER. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 23



A



Printed in Great Britain

B



C

- A. AN EGYPTIAN ARCHER AND PRISONERS FROM THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37
- B. A SLAIN WARRIOR OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37
- C. AN EGYPTIAN WITH PRISONERS OF THE SEA PEOPLES. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 42



A



B



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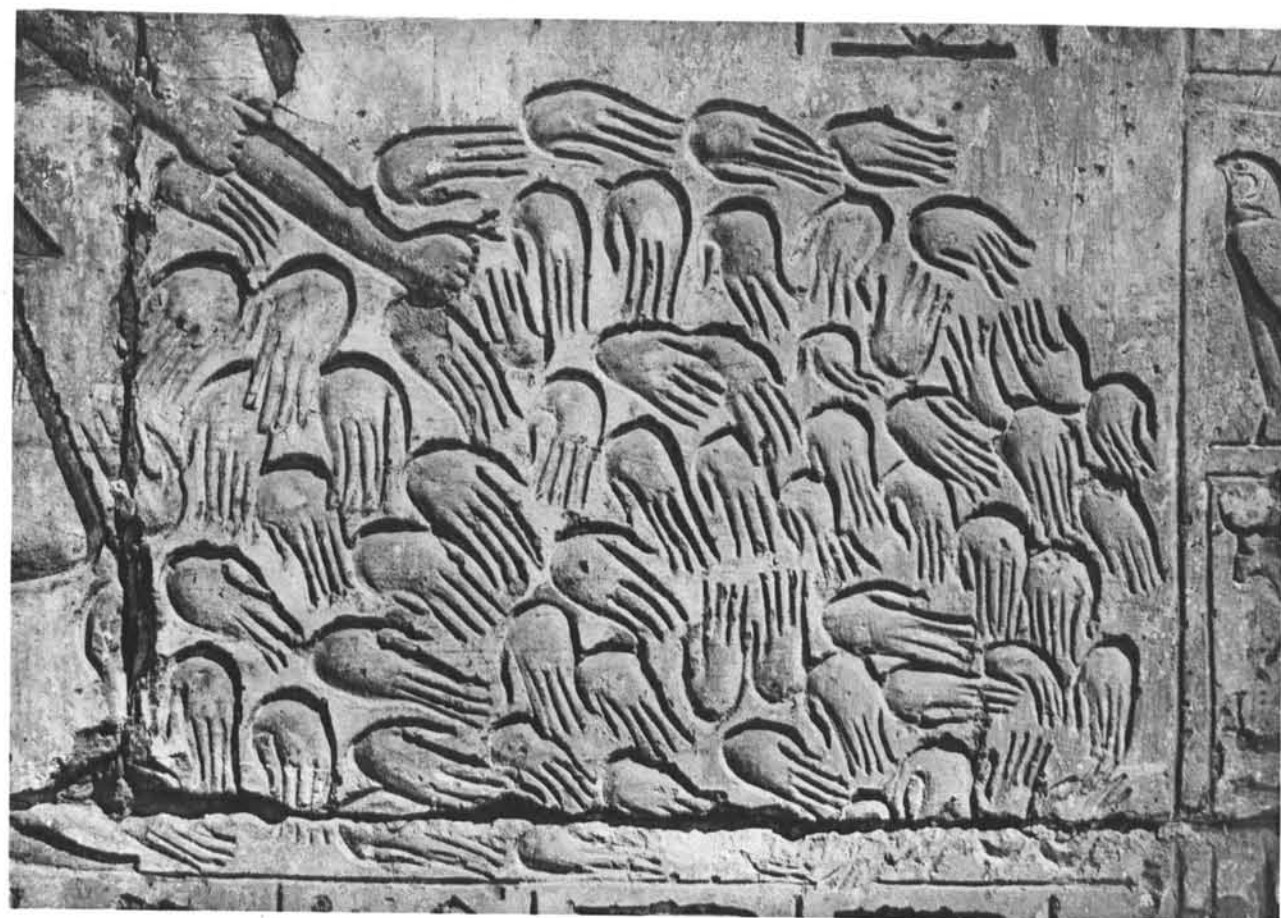
C



D

A. THE BRANDING OF PRISONERS. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 42
C. THE THEBAN TRIAD, SHOWING ALTERATIONS NECESSITATED BY THE LATER INSERTION OF THE FIGURES OF MUT AND KHONSU BEHIND THAT OF AMON. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 43

B. EGYPTIAN SCRIBES RECORDING PRISONERS. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 42
D. DEAD WARRIORS OF THE SEA PEOPLES FLOATING ON THE WATER. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 37



A



B



C

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D



E

- A. A PILE OF LIFELESS HANDS SEVERED FROM THE ENEMY. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 23
- B. MODIFICATIONS IN THE FORMS OF INDIVIDUAL HIEROGLYPHS, MERELY TO SECURE BETTER PROPORTIONS IN THE FIGURES. DETAIL FROM INSCRIPTION SHOWN ON PLATE 27, LINES 31-32
- C. A BADLY INJURED PORTION OF THE WALL BEARING THE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 5, LINES 42-59. DETAIL FROM INSCRIPTION SHOWN ON PLATE 28

- D. THE BACK OF THE PHARAOH'S CHARIOT HORSE, SHOWING HOW THE ARTIST HAS CONTINUED THE DESIGN OF THE HORSE CLOTH UPON THE OVERHANG ABOVE THE ANIMAL'S BACK. DETAIL FROM SCENE SHOWN ON PLATE 24
- E. THE WEST WALL OF ROOM 21, SHOWING EXTENSIVE ALTERATIONS IN THE DESIGN, NECESSITATED BY STRUCTURAL CHANGES IN THE BUILDING AND ACHIEVED BY THE USE OF PLASTER SURFACE-DRESSING

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