BAKED CLAY FIGURINES 
AND VOTIVE BEDS 
FROM MEDINET HABU
Reconstruction of votive bed no. 239 (OIM 14782a–e). Watercolor by Angela Altenhofen
BAKED CLAY FIGURINES AND VOTIVE BEDS FROM MEDINET HABU

by

EMILY TEETER

Based on the Field Notes of Uvo Hölscher and Rudolf Anthes
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS ......................................................................................................................... ix
LIST OF FIGURES ......................................................................................................................................... xi
LIST OF PLANS ............................................................................................................................................... xi
TABLE ............................................................................................................................................................ xi
LIST OF PLATES ............................................................................................................................................ xiii
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS ................................................................................................................................. xvii
BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................................................................................................................ xix

INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................................................................... 1

DOCUMENTATION OF THE MATERIAL .......................................................................................................... 1

BAKED CLAY FIGURINES ............................................................................................................................... 5

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS ......................................................................................................................... 5


The Great Temple of Ramesses III ............................................................................................................. 7
The Temple of Aye and Horemheb ............................................................................................................. 13
The Small Temple ......................................................................................................................................... 14

RELATIONSHIP OF CLAY FIGURINES TO STATUES IN OTHER MEDIA ...................................................... 14

GENERAL REMARKS ON MATERIALS AND MANUFACTURE .................................................................. 18

THEMES OF BAKED CLAY FIGURINES ......................................................................................................... 19

DATE OF THE FIGURINES ................................................................................................................................ 20

CATALOG .......................................................................................................................................................... 23

FEMALE FIGURINES (NOS. 1–104) .............................................................................................................. 23

Material....................................................................................................................................................... 23
Manufacture................................................................................................................................................ 23
Forms of Female Figurines............................................................................................................................ 24
Date of Female Figurines: Archaeological Context .................................................................................... 25
Symbolism and Function of Female Figurines ............................................................................................. 26

Female Figurines from the Dynastic Period (Nos. 1–75) ............................................................................. 27

Type A: Slender Female, Arms at Sides (Nos. 1–12) ..................................................................................... 27
Type B: Slender Female, Arms at Sides, on Bed, without Child (Nos. 13–26) ............................................. 34
Type C: Idealized Female on Bed Nursing Child (Nos. 27–39) ................................................................. 41
Type D: Idealized Female on Bed with Child, Not Nursing (Nos. 40–43) .................................................... 48
Type E: Non-idealized Female, Not on Bed (Nos. 44–52) ........................................................................... 51
Type F: Hand-modeled Female Figure with Applied Decoration (Nos. 53–62) ........................................... 58
Type G: Female Modeled in the Round with Emphasized Sexual Characteristics (Nos. 63–67) ............. 65
Type H: Fragmentary or Anomalous Examples (Nos. 68–75) ................................................................. 68
## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Late Antique Female Figurines (Nos. 76–104) ........................................ 72
Orants (Nos. 86–104) ........................................................................ 79
**MALE FIGURINES (NOS. 105–127)** ........................................... 92
Phallic Figurines (Nos. 123–127) .......................................................... 102
**FIGURINES OF GODS (NOS. 128–135)** ....................................... 105
**ANIMAL FIGURINES (NOS. 136–215)** .......................................... 110
Function of Animal Figurines ............................................................ 110
Manufacture ....................................................................................... 110
Quadrupeds (Nos. 136–195) .................................................................. 111
  Horses and Donkeys (Nos. 136–167) .................................................. 111
  Camels (Dromedaries) (Nos. 168–178) ............................................. 129
  Miscellaneous Quadrupeds (Nos. 179–184) .................................... 134
Felines (Nos. 185–187) ..................................................................... 137
Dogs (Nos. 188–195) ......................................................................... 139
Primates (Nos. 196–197) .................................................................. 143
Birds (Nos. 198–211) ...................................................................... 144
Unidentified Animals (Nos. 212–215) .............................................. 150
**MISCELLANEOUS FIGURINES (NOS. 216–219)** ...................... 152
**VOTIVE BEDS AND STELAE** .......................................................... 157
Construction of Votive Beds ............................................................. 157
Construction of the Stelae ................................................................. 159
Date of the Votive Beds and Stelae .................................................... 159
Decoration of the Votive Beds and Stelae ......................................... 159
  Type 1: Woman Playing a Lute Shown in Profile with Attendants .... 159
  Type 2: Woman Shown Frontally .................................................... 160
Symbolism of the Iconography ......................................................... 161
Location of Votive Beds and Stelae at Medinet Habu ..................... 166
Beds and Stelae from Sites Other than Medinet Habu .................... 167
Function of the Votive Beds and Stelae ............................................ 167
Votive Beds (Nos. 220–257) ................................................................. 169
  Type 1: Woman’s Face in Profile (Nos. 220–234) ......................... 169
  Type 2: Woman Shown Frontally (Nos. 235–250) ....................... 178
  Undetermined Type (Nos. 251–257) ................................................. 186
Stelae (Nos. 258–270) ..................................................................... 188
  Type 1 Decoration (Nos. 258–267) ................................................. 188
  Type 2 Decoration (Nos. 268–269) ................................................... 193
  Undetermined Type (No. 270) ........................................................ 194
**MOLDS FOR VOTIVE BEDS (NOS. 271–272)** ............................ 195
**GENERAL CONCLUSIONS: FIGURINES AND EGYPTIAN SOCIETY** 196
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

CONCORDANCE OF BAKED CLAY FIGURINES, VOTIVE BEDS, AND STELAE  
BY CATALOG NUMBER .......................................................... 199

CONCORDANCE OF BAKED CLAY FIGURINES, VOTIVE BEDS, AND STELAE  
BY MUSEUM REGISTRATION NUMBER ............................................. 204

CONCORDANCE OF BAKED CLAY FIGURINES, VOTIVE BEDS, AND STELAE  
BY FIELD NUMBER ........................................................................ 206

INDICES ......................................................................................... 209

GENERAL INDEX ........................................................................... 209

EGYPTIAN PERSONAL NAMES .................................................. 213

DEITIES ......................................................................................... 213

EGYPTIAN RULERS AND OFFICIALS ........................................... 213

PLATES ........................................................................................ 215
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

BM  British Museum, London
ca.  *circa*, approximately
cat.  catalog
cf.  *confer*, compare
CG  Catalogue Général, prefix for Cairo Museum registration
col(s).  column(s)
cm  centimeter(s)
D  depth/diameter
e.g.  *exempli gratia*, for example
et al.  *et alii*, and others
etc.  *et cetera*, and so forth
f(f).  and following
fig(s).  figure(s)
H  height
ibid.  *ibidem*, in the same place
e.  *id est*, that is
JdE  *Journal d’Entrée*, prefix for Cairo Museum registration
KV  Valley of the Kings
L  length
MH  Medinet Habu, prefix for Medinet Habu registration number
mm  millimeter(s)
m  meter(s)
MMA  Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York
N  negative
n(n).  note(s)
no(s).  number(s)
O.  ostracon
OIM  Oriental Institute Museum, prefix for museum registration
P  photograph
P.  papyrus
p(p).  page(s)
pers. comm.  personal communication
pl(s).  plate(s)
r.  reigned
ROM  Royal Ontario Museum, Toronto
TL  *Teilungslist*
TR  temporary register
TT  Theban Tomb
Versch.  *Verschiedenes*
W  width
## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

### Hölscher Excavation I


### Hölscher Excavation II


### Hölscher Excavation III


### Hölscher Excavation IV


### Hölscher Excavation V


### Lepsius LD


### PM I/1


### PM I/2


### PM II


### PM VI


### PM VII

LIST OF FIGURES

1. Page from the Berlin field register ........................................................................................................... 3
2. Sample of the card-format catalog of objects (Teilungslist) ........................................................................ 4
3. Aerial view of Medinet Habu, ca. 1935 ..................................................................................................... 8
4. Stone figurines: fragment of Type A female figurine; Type B female figurine; Type C female figurine .......................................................................................................................... 16
5. Type D female figurines in limestone; phallic figurine in limestone .......................................................... 17
6. Type D female figurine ................................................................................................................................ 49
7. Type D female figurine ................................................................................................................................ 49
8. Figurine of woman holding a child; heads from male figurines .................................................................. 74
9. Orant figurine; figurine of woman with basket on her head ........................................................................ 81
10. Male figurine .................................................................................................................................................. 92
11. Head of a male figurine ............................................................................................................................... 96
12. Male figurines wearing peaked caps .......................................................................................................... 101
13. Horse figurines from Western Thebes ........................................................................................................ 112
14. Heads from horse figurines ......................................................................................................................... 118
15. Votive footprint ............................................................................................................................................ 155
16. Votive beds ................................................................................................................................................... 158
17. Meresankh and her mother in a papyrus marsh. Tomb of Meresankh III at Giza ................................. 162
18. Faience bowl decorated with a woman playing a lute; the Cairo cup ....................................................... 165
19. Front panel of a votive bed, Petrie Museum 55178 .................................................................................... 180
20. Drawing of votive bed no. 243 .................................................................................................................... 182
21. Drawing of decoration on stela no. 270 ........................................................................................................ 194

LIST OF PLANS

1. Medinet Habu, the Great Temple of Ramesses III and the Temple of Aye and Horemheb .................... 9
2. The Great Temple of Ramesses III ............................................................................................................. 10

TABLE

1. Key to typology of female figurines ............................................................................................................ 15
LIST OF PLATES

1. Type A Female Figurines. Figurine No. 1 (OIM 14613); Figurine No. 2 (OIM 14588)
2. Type A Female Figurines. Figurine No. 3 (TL 129f); Figurine No. 4 (TL 134c); Figurine No. 5 (TL 130g); Figurine No. 6 (TL 134b)
3. Type A Female Figurines. Figurine No. 7 (TL 134f); Figurine No. 8 (TL 133e); Figurine No. 9 (TL 129e)
4. Type A Female Figurines. Figurine No. 10 (OIM 14595); Figurine No. 11 (OIM 14596)
5. Type A Female Figurine. Figurine No. 12 (TL 129a); Type B Female Figurine. Figurine No. 13 (OIM 14581a–b)
6. Type B Female Figurines. Figurine No. 14 (TL 132b); Figurine No. 15 (TL 130f); Figurine No. 16 (TL 129h)
7. Type B Female Figurines. Figurine No. 17 (OIM 14603); Figurine No. 18 (TL 131i); Figurine No. 19 (TL 130a)
8. Type B Female Figurines. Figurine No. 20 (TL 133h); Figurine No. 21 (OIM 14593); Figurine No. 22 (TL 131e); Figurine No. 23 (OIM 14589)
9. Type B Female Figurines. Figurine No. 24 (OIM 14590); Figurine No. 25 (TL 130b); Figurine No. 26 (TL 129g)
10. Type C Female Figurines. Figurine No. 27 (OIM 14594); (c) Figurine No. 28 (TL 129c); Figurine No. 29 (OIM 14582)
11. Type C Female Figurines. Figurine No. 30 (TL 131d); Figurine No. 31 (TL 132e); Figurine No. 32 (OIM 14587)
12. Type C Female Figurines. Figurine No. 33 (TL 132d); Figurine No. 34 (TL 130c); Figurine No. 35 (TL 131h)
13. Type C Female Figurine. Figurine No. 36 (OIM 14583)
14. Type C Female Figurines. Figurine No. 37 (TL 132c); Figurine No. 38 (TL 130d); Figurine No. 39 (TL 130e)
15. Type D Female Figurines. Figurine No. 40 (TL 132g); Figurine No. 41 (TL 130h); Figurine No. 42 (TL 132f); Figurine No. 43 (TL 132h)
16. Type E Female Figurines. Figurine No. 44 (OIM 14609); Figurine No. 45 (OIM 14584)
17. Type E Female Figurines. Figurine No. 46 (OIM 14591); Figurine No. 47 (TL 136b)
18. Type E Female Figurines. Figurine No. 48 (OIM 14599); Figurine No. 49 (TL 136d)
19. Type E Female Figurines. Figurine No. 50 (OIM 14585); Figurine No. 51 (TL 135a)
20. Type E Female Figurine. Figurine No. 52 (OIM 14597)
21. Type F Female Figurine. Figurine No. 53 (OIM 14600)
22. Type F Female Figurines. Figurine No. 54 (Cairo JdE 59693); Figurine No. 55 (Cairo JdE 59696); Figurine No. 56. (OIM 14606)
23. Type F Female Figurines. Figurine No. 57 (OIM 15549); Figurine No. 58 (TL 141c)
24. Type F Female Figurines. Figurine No. 59 (TL 129i); Figurine No. 60 (TL 136c); Figurine No. 61 (TL 136f); Figurine No. 62 (OIM 14645)
25. Type G Female Figurines. Figurine No. 63 (OIM 15510); Figurine No. 64 (OIM 15511); Figurine No. 65 (OIM 15512); Figurine No. 66 (TL 140f); Figurine No. 67 (OIM 15513)
26. Type H Female Figurines. Figurine No. 68 (OIM 14586); Figurine No. 69 (TL 133c); Figurine No. 70 (TL 131k); Figurine No. 71 (TL 131g); Figurine No. 72 (TL 141g)
27. Type H Female Figurines. Figurine No. 73 (TL 141d); Figurine No. 74 (Cairo JdE 59700); Pubic Plaque. No. 75 (OIM 14598)
28. Ptolemaic, Roman, and Late Antique Figures. Figurine No. 76 (OIM 15521); Figurine No. 77 (OIM 15548)
LIST OF PLATES

29. Ptolemaic, Roman, and Late Antique Figures. Figurine No. 78 (OIM 15545); Figurine No. 79 (OIM 15524)
30. Hellenistic-influenced Figurines. Figurine No. 80 (OIM 15551); Figurine No. 81 (OIM 15550); Figurine No. 82 (OIM 15552)
31. Female Form on Plate-resolve Vessels. Figurine No. 83 (OIM 15541); Figurine No. 84 (OIM 15546); Figurine No. 85 (OIM 14630)
32. Orant Figurines. Figurine No. 86 (OIM 15554); Figurine No. 87 (OIM 15550); Figurine No. 88 (OIM 15552)
33. Orant Figurines. Figurine No. 89 (OIM 15541); Figurine No. 90 (OIM 15537)
34. Orant Figurines. Figurine No. 91 (OIM 15542); Figurine No. 92 (OIM 15544); Figurine No. 93 (OIM 15538)
35. Orant Figurines. Figurine No. 94 (OIM 15543); Figurine No. 95 (OIM 15545); Figurine No. 96 (OIM 15546)
36. Orant Figurines. Figurine No. 97 (OIM 15547); Figurine No. 98 (OIM 15548); Figurine No. 99 (OIM 15549)
37. Orant Figurines. Figurine No. 100 (OIM 15550); Figurine No. 101 (OIM 15551)
38. Orant Figurines. Figurine No. 102 (OIM 15552); Figurine No. 103 (OIM 15553); Figurine No. 104 (OIM 15554)
39. Male Figurines. Figurine No. 105 (OIM 15555); Figurine No. 106 (OIM 15556); Figurine No. 107 (OIM 15557)
40. Male Figurines. Figurine No. 108 (OIM 15558); Figurine No. 109 (OIM 15559); Figurine No. 110 (OIM 15560)
41. Male Figurines. Figurine No. 111 (OIM 15561); Figurine No. 112 (OIM 15562); Figurine No. 113 (OIM 15563)
42. Male Figurines. Figurine No. 114 (OIM 15564); Figurine No. 115 (OIM 15565); Figurine No. 116 (OIM 15566)
43. Male Figurines. Figurine No. 117 (OIM 15567); Figurine No. 118 (OIM 15568); Figurine No. 119 (OIM 15569)
44. Male Figurines. Figurine No. 120 (OIM 15570); Figurine No. 121 (OIM 15571); Figurine No. 122 (OIM 15572)
45. Phallic Figurines. Figurine No. 123 (OIM 15573); Figurine No. 124 (OIM 15574); Figurine No. 125 (OIM 15575)
46. Phallic Figurines. Figurine No. 126 (OIM 15576); Figurine No. 127 (OIM 15577); Figurine No. 128 (OIM 15578)
47. Bes Figurines. Figurine No. 129 (OIM 15579); Figurine No. 130 (OIM 15580); Figurine No. 131 (OIM 15581)
48. Bes Figurines. Figurine No. 132 (OIM 15582); Figurine No. 133 (OIM 15583); Figurine No. 134 (OIM 15584)
49. Harpocrates Figurine. Figurine No. 135 (OIM 15585); Figurine No. 136 (OIM 15586); Figurine No. 137 (OIM 15587)
50. Harpocrates Figurine. Figurine No. 138 (OIM 15588); Figurine No. 139 (OIM 15589); Figurine No. 140 (OIM 15590)
51. Hand-modeled Horse Figurine. Figurine No. 141 (OIM 15591); Figurine No. 142 (OIM 15592); Figurine No. 143 (OIM 15593)
52. Hand-modeled Horse Figurines. Figurine No. 144 (OIM 15594); Figurine No. 145 (OIM 15595); Figurine No. 146 (OIM 15596)
53. Hand-modeled Horse Figurines. Figurine No. 147 (OIM 15597); Figurine No. 148 (OIM 15598); Figurine No. 149 (OIM 15599)
54. Hand-modeled Horse Figurines. Figurine No. 150 (OIM 15600); Figurine No. 151 (OIM 15601); Figurine No. 152 (OIM 15602)
55. Hand-modeled Horse Figurines. Figurine No. 153 (OIM 15603); Figurine No. 154 (OIM 15604); Figurine No. 155 (OIM 15605)
56. Moldmade Horse Figurine. Figurine No. 156 (OIM 15606); Figurine No. 157 (OIM 15607); Figurine No. 158 (OIM 15608)
57. Moldmade Horse Figurines. Figurine No. 159 (OIM 15609); Figurine No. 160 (OIM 15610); Figurine No. 161 (OIM 15611)
58. Moldmade Horse Figurines. Figurine No. 162 (OIM 15612); Figurine No. 163 (OIM 15613); Figurine No. 164 (OIM 15614)
59. Moldmade Horse Figurines. Figurine No. 165 (OIM 15615); Figurine No. 166 (OIM 15616); Figurine No. 167 (OIM 15617)
60. Hand-modeled Camel Figurine. Figurine No. 168 (OIM 15618)
67. Hand-modeled Camel Figurine. Figurine No. 169 (OIM 15527); Camel(?) Figurine. Figurine No. 170 (TL 150d); Camel Figurine. Figurine No. 171 (TL 150i)
68. Hand-modeled Camel Figurines. Figurine No. 172 (TL 150k); Figurine No. 173 (TL 150m); Camel(?) Figurine. Figurine No. 174 (TL 150f)
69. Moldmade Camel Figurines. Figurine No. 175 (OIM 14614); Figurine No. 176 (OIM 15526)
70. Moldmade Camel Figurines. Figurine No. 177 (OIM 15528); Figurine No. 178 (OIM 14628); Gazelle Figurine. Figurine No. 179 (TL 148k)
71. Oryx Figurine. Figurine No. 180 (OIM 14629); Sheep Figurine. Figurine No. 181 (OIM 15519)
72. Ram Figurine. Figurine No. 182 (TL 150n); Recumbent Animal Figurine. Figurine No. 183 (OIM 15529); Cow or Bull Figurine. Figurine No. 184 (TL 148h)
73. Lion Figurine. Figurine No. 185 (OIM 14635)
74. Lion Figurine. Figurine No. 186 (OIM 15532); Cat Figurine. Figurine No. 187 (OIM 11531)
75. Dog Figurine. Figurine No. 188 (OIM 15533)
76. Dog Figurines. Figurine No. 189 (TL 151c); Figurine No. 190 (TL 151f); Figurine No. 191 (OIM 14634)
77. Dog Figurines. Figurine No. 192 (TL 144b); Figurine No. 193 (TL 152b); Figurine No. 194 (TL 152d)
78. Dog Figurine. Figurine No. 195 (OIM 14633); Ape(?) Figurine. Figurine No. 196 (OIM 15517)
79. Monkey Figurine. Figurine No. 197 (OIM 15555)
80. Bird Figurines. Figurine No. 198 (OIM 15534); Figurine No. 199 (OIM 15523); Figurine No. 200 (OIM 14638)
81. Bird Figurines. Figurine No. 201 (OIM 15518); Figurine No. 202 (TL 153c)
82. Bird Figurines. Figurine No. 203 (OIM 14640)
83. Bird Figurines. Figurine No. 204 (OIM 14636); Figurine No. 205 (OIM 14637)
84. Bird Figurines. Figurine No. 206 (OIM 15535); Figurine No. 207 (OIM 15536)
85. Bird Figurines. Figurine No. 208 (TL 153i); Figurine No. 209 (TL 153k); Figurine No. 210 (OIM 15557)
86. Bird Figurine. Figurine No. 211 (OIM 14639); Quadruped Figurine. Figurine No. 212 (TL 143g)
87. Quadruped Figurine. Figurine No. 213 (TL 150p); Ichneumon(?) Figurine. Figurine No. 214 (OIM 15530)
88. Unidentified Animal Figurine. Figurine No. 215 (OIM 15556); Cross. Figurine No. 216 (TL 156e); Six-lobed Object. Figurine No. 217 (TL 157a)
89. Leg of a Bed. Figurine No. 218 (OIM 14644); Votive Footprint. Figurine No. 219 (OIM 14768)
90. Votive Bed. No. 220 (OIM 14779)
91. Votive Bed. No. 221 (Cairo JdE 59845)
92. Votive Bed. No. 222 (Cairo JdE 59847)
93. Votive Bed. No. 223 (OIM 14778)
94. Votive Bed. No. 224 (Cairo JdE 59846)
95. Votive Bed. No. 225 (OIM 14781)
96. Votive Bed. No. 226 (TL 527)
97. Votive Beds. No. 227 (MH 30. Versch. 4); No. 229 (MH 30. Versch. 6)
98. Votive Bed. No. 230 (MH 30. Versch. 7)
99. Votive Bed. No. 231 (MH 30. Versch. 9)
100. Votive Beds. No. 232 (MH 30. Versch. 17); No. 233 (TL 517–27)
101. Votive Beds. No. 234 (TL 517–27); No. 235 (TL 517–27)
102. Votive Bed. No. 236 (OIM 14776)
103. Votive Bed. No. 237 (MH 28.32b)
104. Votive Bed. No. 238 (MH 28.32c)
105. Votive Bed. No. 239 (OIM 14782a–e)
106. Votive Bed. No. 240 (MH 29.24b)
108. Votive Bed. No. 242 (TL 526)
110. Votive Bed. No. 244 (OIM 14780)
111. Votive Bed. No. 245 (TL 520)
112. Votive Bed. No. 246 (MH 30. Versch. 8)
113. Votive Beds. No. 247 (TL 517–27); No. 248 (TL 535)
114. Votive Beds. No. 249 (MH 28.312); No. 250 (TL 517–27)
115. Votive Beds. No. 251 (MH 29.24c); No. 252 (MH 29.24d)
116. Votive Bed. No. 253 (OIM 14775)
117. Votive Bed. No. 254 (OIM 14827)
118. Votive Beds. No. 255 (MH 30. Versch. 14); No. 256 (MH 30. Versch. 15)
119. Votive Bed. No. 257 (MH 30. Versch. 16)
120. Stela. No. 258 (Cairo JdE 59848)
121. Stela. No. 259 (OIM 14784)
122. Stela. No. 260 (MH 28.140b2)
123. Stela. No. 261 (OIM 14783)
124. Stelae. No. 262 (MH 28.140b4); No. 263 (MH 28.140b5)
125. Stelae. No. 264 (MH 28.140b6); No. 265 (MH 28.140b7)
126. Stela. No. 266 (MH 29.91b)
127. Stela. No. 267 (MH 29.264a)
128. Stela. No. 268 (OIM 14777)
129. Stela. No. 269 (MH 29.194c)
130. Bed Mold. No. 271 (MH 29.264b2)
131. Bed Mold. No. 272 (MH 29.264b1)
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe many people thanks for their advice and assistance in the completion of this volume. First, I thank Wafaa el Sadeek, Director of the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, for her kind permission to publish the Cairo materials, and to Oriental Institute Director Gil Stein, Karen L. Wilson, former Chief Curator of the Oriental Institute Museum, and her successor, Geoff Emberling, for their permission to include the Chicago figurines.

Colleagues in other museums have been very helpful. They include Christiane Ziegler and Geneviève Pierrat-Bonnefois of the Musée du Louvre, Paris, for images of material from Medamoud, Deir el Medina, and Thebes; Dietrich Wildung and Ingeborg Müller of the Ägyptisches Museum und Papyrussammlung, Berlin, for images of their rich holdings of figurines; Sally-Ann Ashton, then of the Petrie Museum, University College London, for comparative examples, and also for her helpful dialogue regarding dating the material; Richard Fazzini, joint director of the Brooklyn Museum expedition to the Mut Temple, for sharing his unpublished material; Dorothea Arnold, Diana Craig Patch, and Catherine Roehrig of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for information about its holdings and photographic resources; Gayle Gibson of the Royal Ontario Museum for images from Toronto; Rita Freed of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for her permission to reproduce images from its collection; Denise Doxey, then of the Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology of the University of Pennsylvania (now of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), for inventories of its figurines; and Stuart Tyson Smith of the University of California at Los Angeles, who shared his data on figurines from Faras. Elaine Gazda and T. G. Wilfong of the Kelsey Museum, University of Michigan at Ann Arbor, allowed me to examine the Karanis figurines, and I also thank them for making photographs available. Luc Limme of the Musée Royaux d’Art et d’Histoire in Brussels, and Rosemarie Drenkhahn, Waltraud Hiltmann, and Christian Loeben, of the August Kestner Museum, Hanover, kindly provided photographs of votive beds and figurines in their collections. I profited greatly from the work of Karol Myśliwiec of the Research Center for Mediterranean Archaeology of the Polish Academy of Sciences and his colleague Hanna Szymańska regarding their excavations at Tell Athrib.

Kasia Szpakowska of the University of Swansea provided very interesting data regarding magic spells associated with figurines, and Richard Jasnow of Johns Hopkins kindly helped with Demotic inscriptions. Ann Macy Roth of New York University provided helpful information about Old Kingdom tomb iconography and Hathoric rituals. I also owe credit to the late Jan Quaegebeur with whom I corresponded about the votive beds so many years ago. He gave me valuable insight into the iconography of the beds and stelae, and I am sorry that our planned collaboration was not realized. I appreciate the invitation of Betsy Bryan and Richard Jasnow of Johns Hopkins to be a reader for Elizabeth Waraksa’s innovative and thought-provoking doctoral dissertation.

While in Luxor, I was very fortunate to avail myself of the tremendous experience of Helen Jacquet-Gordon of the Institut Français d’Archéologie Orientale’s Mission at Karnak. Having the opportunity to discuss the material from Karnak helped to place the Medinet Habu examples in better context. I also express my thanks to Zbigniew Szafranski, head of the Polish Mission at Deir el Bahari, for permission to cite the Khoka deposit, and also to his colleague Miroslaw Barwik, and to George B. Johnson, photographer for the Polish Mission, for his reference photographs of the deposit.

My colleagues in Chicago also afforded tremendous assistance. Peter Dorman graciously shared the manuscript of his book Faces in Clay prior to its publication, giving me insight into the terminology of terra-cotta artifacts. Janet Johnson, Theo van den Hout, and Geoff Emberling of the Oriental Institute Publications Committee offered many useful suggestions regarding the text and its presentation. I also thank Geoff Emberling for directing me to references for Near Eastern figurines and for his overall support of the project. I extend especially warm thanks to Ray Tindel, former Registrar and Senior Curator, who tracked the artifacts through their photography sessions and made the materials accessible whenever needed. After Ray’s retirement, my requests for artifacts were cheerfully and efficiently met by Registrar Helen McDonald and Assistant Registrar Susan Allison. John Larson maintained archival material and photographs related to the project. Angela Altenhofen made the very complex drawings of the votive beds and stelae, no small feat considering that many of the renderings were made from not-always-clear field photos rather than from the objects themselves. Her drawings were an enormous help for analyzing the material, and I was relieved that, even at the conclusion of the project, she professed to love votive beds. I thank her not only...
for her persistence, keen eye, and enthusiasm but also for the beautiful color rendering that she contributed to the project. I also thank Gil Stein, Director of the Oriental Institute, for partial funding of Angela’s drawings. Betsy Kremers undertook the daunting project to photograph the Oriental Institute figurines, and Peggy Grant labored to remove errors from the bibliography. I also thank Clemens Reichel, who cheerfully helped puzzle out seemingly indecipherable sections of the original field registers and notes.

Special thanks go to our Publications Office: Managing Editor Thomas Urban, Editor Leslie Schramer, and Editorial Assistants Sabahat Adil, Rebecca Cain, Lindsay DeCarlo, Katie L. Johnson, and Natalie Whiting. As usual, they have demonstrated their good instincts for what makes a manuscript a book, and what makes a book useful. During the preparation of the text, they were always ready to answer questions, and to put their expertise at my disposal.

I also extend thanks to Paul Spencer, Director of the Joe W. and Dorothy Dorsett Brown Foundation, and Mr. and Mrs. Clark Wagner, for generous support of this publication, and to the late Joan G. Rosenberg whose support made the entire publication project possible.

Last, and certainly not least, I thank my husband Joe, who has provided moral support, and, through his love of books, inspires me to write them.

Note: When this volume was going to press, Paolo Del Vesco’s volume on votive beds appeared (Letti Votivi e Culti Domestici, 2010).

Emily Teeter
Chicago, Illinois
December 2010
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Albersmeier, Sabine

Allen, Marti Lu


Alston, Richard

Altenmüller, Hartwig

Arnold, Dieter

Arnold, Dorothea


Aston, David

Auerbach, Elise

Badawy, Alexander


Bailey, Donald

Baines, John

Ballet, Pascale


1987  “Pottery Figure Vases of the New Kingdom.” Cahiers de la céramique égyptienne 1: 81–96.


1960  Egyptian Sculpture of the Late Period: 700 B.C. to A.D. 100. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum.


1977  “Esel.” In Lexikon der Ägyptologie, Volume 2, edited by W. Helck and


Carter, Howard; Percy Newberry; and Theodore M. Davis 1904 The Tomb of Thoutmôsis IV. Mr. Theodore M. Davis’ Excavations; Bibân el Molûk. Westminster: Archibald Constable.


Cooney, John Ducey 1943 Late Egyptian and Coptic Art: An Introduction to the Collections in the Brooklyn Museum. Brooklyn: Brooklyn Museum, Brooklyn Institute of Arts and Sciences.


### BIBLIOGRAPHY

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>


Edwards, I. E. S.


Egger, Gerhart, editor


Elsasser, Albert, and Vera-Mae Fredrickson


Emery, Walter B., and L. P. Kirwan

1938 The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qus-tul. Two volumes. Cairo: Government Press.

Epigraphic Survey


Faulkner, Raymond; Ogden Goelet; Eva Von Dassow; and James Wasserman


Fay, Biri


Fazzini, Richard A., and Robert Steven Bianchi


Fischer, Henry G.


Fjeldhagen, Mette


Fox, Michael V.


Frankfort, Henri, and John Pendelbury


Frankfurter, David


Friedman, Florence D.

1989 Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries A.D. Providence: Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design.

1994 “Aspects of Domestic Life and Religion.” In Pharaoh’s Workers: The Villagers of Deir el Medina, edited by
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Gazda, Elaine; Carolyn Hessenbruch; Marti Lu Allen; and Valerie Hutchinson 1978 Guardians on the Nile: Sculptures from Karanis in the Fayoum (c. 250 B.C.–A.D. 450) (Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, October 14–December 17, 1978). Ann Arbor: Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan.


Junker, Hermann

Keimer, Louis

Josephson, Jack A.

Kemp, Barry


Kitchen, Kenneth

Kaiser, Werner, editor

Kaiser, Werner; Günter Dreyer; Robert Gempeler; Peter Grossman; Gerhard Haeny; Hertz Jaritz; and Friedrich Junge

Jacquet-Gordon, Helen

Jacquet, Jean

Jeffreys, David G.; Harry S. Smith; and Martin Price

Hyland, Ann

1993 *Training the Roman Cavalry: From Arrrian’s Ars Tactica.* Dover: Alan Sutton.

1994 *The Medieval Warhorse from Byzantium to the Crusades.* Dover: Alan Sutton.

Houlihan, Patrick


Kákosy, László

Kaufmann, Carl Maria

1913 *Ägyptische Terrakotten der griechisch-römischen und koptischen Epoche vorzugsweise aus Oase El Fatjûm.* Cairo: Diemer, Finck, and Baylaender.

Livy


Mansué, Guillaume
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publication Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malul, Meir</td>
<td>2001</td>
<td>“Foot Symbolism in the Ancient Near East: Imprinting Foundlings’ Feet in Clay in Ancient Mesopotamia.” Zeit-</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matthieu, Militza</td>
<td>1939</td>
<td>Coptic and Egyptian Female Magical Statuettes. Leningrad: Trudy Otdela Wostoka T.I.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Mysliwiec, Karol, and Hanna Szymańska

Nachtergael, Georges

Nagel, M. Geo.

Naguib, Saphinaz-Amal

Naville, Edouard

Nelson, Harold, and William Murnane

Nelson, Harold, and Uvo Hölscher

Nelson, Monique

Newberry, Percy E.

Page-Gasser, Madeline, and André Wiese

Peet, T. Eric

Peet, T. Eric, and C. Leonard Woolley

Pendelbury, John D. S.

Petrie, William M. F. Flinders


1907 *Giza and Rifeh*. British School of Ar- cheology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 13. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

1909 *The Palace of Apries (Memphis II)*. Brit- ish School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian Research Account 17. London: British School of Archaeology in Egypt.

1927 *Objects of Daily Use*. British School of Archaeology in Egypt and Egyptian
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1995a</td>
<td>Reflections of Women in the New Kingdom: Ancient Egyptian Art from the British Museum, 4 February–14 May.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Publisher/Location</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>-------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
BIBLIOGRAPHY


Sijpesteijn, P. J.

Simpson, William K., editor

Soukiassian, G.; M. Wittman; L. Pantalacci; P. Ballet; and M. Picon

Spencer, A. Jeffrey, and David M. Bailey

Stadelmann, Rainer

Stewart, Harry M.

Strauss-Seeber, Christine

Stricker, B. H.

Strzygowski, Josef

Spycket, Agnès

Szymaniska, Hanna

Taylor, John, and Nigel Strudwick
Teeter, Emily


Thissen, Heinz Josef

Thomas, Angela P.

Thomas, Nancy, editor
1995 The American Discovery of Ancient Egypt. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art/American Research Center in Egypt.

Thomas, Thelma

Tooley, Angela

Török, László


Trimbel, Jennifer

Valbelle, Dominique

Vandier d’Abbadie, Jeanne


Van Ingen, Wilhelmina

Vinson, Steven

Walker, Susan, and Morris Bierbrier

Wallert, Ingrid
1967 Der Verzierte Löffel: Seine Formgeschichte und Verwendung im alten...
**BIBLIOGRAPHY**

---

**Waraksa, Elizabeth**

2006  

2009  

---

**Warrenbol, Eugène**

1999  

---

**Weber, Wilhelm**

1914  

---

**Wenig, Steffen**

1978  

---

**Wildung, Dietrich; Sylvia Schoske; and Jürgen Liepe**

1984  

---

**Wilfong, Terry G.**

1992  

1995a  

1995b  

1997  
*Women and Gender in Ancient Egypt*. Ann Arbor: The Kelsey Museum.

2002  

2003  

---

**Wilkinson, Charles K.**

1983  

---

**Williams, Bruce Beyer**

1991  

---

**Woolley, C. Leonard, and David Randall-MacIver**

1910  
INTRODUCTION

From 1926 to 1933, the Architectural Survey of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago undertook the excavation of Medinet Habu in western Thebes at modern Luxor, Egypt. The field director was Uvo Hölscher. The site of Medinet Habu is dominated by the royal funerary complex of Ramesses III (r. ca. 1182–1151 B.C.), whose massive walls enclose the Great Temple, administrative quarters, storerooms, the Small Temple, and later structures including tombs, a Third Intermediate Period “fellahin village,” and the final stage of occupation — the Coptic village that flourished from the fourth century to the abandonment of the temple in the ninth century A.D. To the north of the complex of Ramesses stood the walled, and now very poorly preserved, royal complex of kings Aye (r. ca. 1324–1321 B.C.) and Horemheb (r. ca. 1321–1293 B.C.) (plan 1). It too had an extensive history of use. Foundation deposits of Ramesses IV attest to smaller-scale building activity at the site, but by the end of the Ramesside period it was abandoned and used as a quarry. The precinct lay unused in any systematic way until it became the site of a large graveyard in the Roman period (Hölscher Excavation II, p. 115; Hölscher Excavation V, p. 42).

The 272 baked clay artifacts in this catalog include all known figurines, votive beds and stelae, and molds for votive beds from the site and document the entire chronology of the site — more than 2,000 years of continuous habitation. This continuity affords a valuable look at the use of themes of clay figurines: what forms persisted, which ones seem to have fallen out of favor, and how some, especially those of female figurines, changed over time. By quantity alone, the corpus of clay figurines from the site rivals those from other rich sites such as Karanis, Antinoopolis, and Karnak.

This volume continues the publication of the small finds from the University of Chicago’s excavation of Medinet Habu.¹ The few other publications of Egyptian clay figurines from the dynastic period (i.e., before 332 B.C.) mostly consist of brief references widely scattered through excavation reports. The majority of publications of the terra-cottas from Egypt focus on the Greco-Roman or Romano-Egyptian examples (such as Weber 1914; Bayer-Niemeier 1988; Dunand 1990; Nachtergael 1995; Fjeldhagen 1995). It is hoped that the material in this catalog, much of which comes from the dynastic era, will remind the reader of what was most certainly a very common art form that existed alongside the more familiar stone and wood statues of the elite. Only by acknowledging both forms of artistic expression can one gain a comprehensive view of Egyptian art, belief, and cult practice.

DOCUMENTATION OF THE MATERIAL

The description of many figurines, votive beds and stelae, and votive bed molds in the following catalog is incomplete because not all the artifacts were available for examination. In the March 1933 division following the conclusion of the University of Chicago excavations, very little of this category of material was retained by the Egyptian Museum — only six figurines, three votive beds, and one stela (see Concordance by Museum Registration Number). A much greater number of objects was awarded to Chicago: 115 figurines or fragments of figurines, eight votive beds, and two stelae. According to field director Hölscher, “larger” objects were left at the site in anticipation of building an on-site museum (Nelson and Hölscher 1934, p. 92). The present storage location of the balance of the small finds is not known. However, all objects from the excavation were photographed. The field photographs of the objects that were not given to the Oriental Institute have been used to compile this monograph. As a result, many of the objects are shown in one view only,² while those in the Chicago collection are illustrated in obverse and reverse.³

¹ See Teeter 2003b, pp. 8–9, 11, 13, for the background of the revived publication project.
² Very few objects were photographed in two views in the field.
³ The objects were photographed in the field and several copies of prints were made. One set of prints is in Chicago and another was cut up and affixed to the Teilungslist cards. Another set was used to annotate the Journal d’Entrée in Cairo.
Information about the objects that were not registered by Cairo or Chicago is taken from the excavation documentation. This material consists of:

- **Object Registers (Fundliste):** The excavation maintained a set of registers in which objects were recorded (fig. 1). These are now held at the Oriental Institute. The registers were originally recorded in twelve volumes, now referred to as the “Berlin registers”; however, one volume is not accounted for. The missing information is recorded in a nearly duplicate set of registers called the “Hölscher registers.”

  In the registers, the artifacts excavated from the Great Temple area were assigned a field number that consists of an MH prefix (“Medinet Habu”), followed by a season designator, and the number of the lot. For example, MH 30.12 is the twelfth lot of artifacts from the 1930–31 season. Items within one lot were given alphabetic designators from “a” onward. The parameters of what made up a lot are not specified. The distinction of one lot from another is not clear, nor is the relative proximity of one find in a lot to another. The field number was written directly on the artifact.

  Objects from the temple of Aye and Horemheb were assigned the prefix “Eye” followed by a number. The Eye designators run consecutively from 1 to 59. A third group of objects carries the designation Verschiedenes (abbreviated as “Versch.” or “V”). These are numbered from 1 to 67. The fourth numbering system uses the designator “K” (1 to 294) to indicate Coptic materials.

  The provenance of objects, when known or noted, is given in the field registers by means of an alphanumeric designator that refers to a position on a grid of twenty-meter squares that covered all structures within the outer enclosure wall and the western chapels. The alphabetic designators are on the east–west axis, and numerical on the north–south. Significant architectural features were often cited to help define a findspot. A similar but separate grid was used for reference to the temple of Aye and Horemheb; however, most Eye designations have no information about where in the temple the objects were recovered. The Versch. and K designations are not associated with dates or with specific loci.

- **Teilungslist:** Usually referred to by the abbreviation TL, the Teilungslist is a card-format catalog of finds compiled by Uvo Hölscher (fig. 2). It is arranged by category of material. It includes material in Cairo, Chicago, and also the artifacts whose present location is unknown. Each object in the Teilungslist is assigned a three-digit number. Many of the cards have sections of field photographs attached to them.

- **Rudolf Anthes’ catalog:** This manuscript was written by Anthes, a member of the Architectural Survey from 1931 to 1933. The objects are arranged by category. Field number and museum registration number (where applicable), field photograph number(s), and brief comments are given for each entry. Progress on the manuscript was brought to a halt by the events of World War II, and whole sections of it have subsequently been lost.

---

4 See Teeter 2003b, pp. 7–15, for fuller information about the history of the documentation.

5 In this catalog the now more commonly accepted spelling Aye is used in reference to the temple and the king. When a specific locus is referred to, the spelling favored by the excavators (Eye) is employed.

6 See clarification of some of these features in Teeter 2003b, pp. 3–7.

7 In rare cases, the designation Verschiedenes is accompanied by a year; see votive beds nos. 225, 227–32, 241, 243–46, 254–57, and stele no. 270, recorded as “Versch. 30.” Although these materials were apparently field registered in the 1930–31 season, it seems very likely that they were excavated in previous seasons. In the Berlin registers the objects classified as Verschiedenes appear in a volume numbered “0” which was written late in the course of the excavation, perhaps as the team attempted to catch up registering miscellaneous material from the site.
Figure 1. Page from the Berlin field register for November 21, 1928. This locus, 28.32, is given precise coordinates (square G/7, 6.5 m toward square H and 17.5 m toward square 8). A votive bed (erroneously referred to as an Öfen, “little oven”) (a) and votive bed fragments (b–c) from the locus are described. Later annotations include a sketch, further comments, and description including a reference to locus 28.140 (another deposit of votive beds), and Hölscher’s suggestion that the beds date “probably” to Dynasty 22–26.
Figure 2. Sample of the card-format catalog of objects (*Teilungslist*) with notations about a group of baked clay figurines. Most cards have a field photograph attached. Registration information (whether accessioned into the Egyptian Museum or the Oriental Institute) is noted in the right-hand column. Objects without a registration comment were apparently left at the site. Later notations give photo numbers and also publication references current to about 1954, when the last volume of *The Excavation of Medinet Habu* appeared.
BAKED CLAY FIGURINES
INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

Baked clay figurines are often considered to be the poor relatives of other manifestations of Egyptian art. They have long been ignored because of their simplicity, or they have been viewed as crude products of less accomplished artisans. The tendency has been to assign these objects that differ so dramatically from the formal canons of Egyptian sculpture to the dustbin of post-dynastic eras or to dismiss them as artless fakes. However, these simple and often fascinating objects are gradually being accorded the respect they deserve because of the growing awareness that they have the potential to reveal more about daily life — the thoughts, beliefs, and cult practices — of the non-elite, or, as Baines (1991, p. 184) has commented, they are potential documents “of the religion of the less affluent.”

The growing appreciation of the material is evident in the publication of recent excavations, many of which include all categories of small finds, whether attractive or not. The simple baked clay figurines are sure to take on a new prominence as their range of styles and forms continue to be recognized and appreciated for what they convey about ancient Egyptian culture.

Scholars have asserted that baked clay figurines are typical of, and best represented in, the Greco-Roman period. However, they can be documented for all periods of Egyptian history, indicating that they were an important and enduring feature of Egyptian life and religion.11 The Early Dynastic and Old Kingdom figurines (Shulthe and Arnold 1978, no. 97; Page-Gasser and Wiese 1997; Seipel 1989, p. 42 no. 7), the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period female figurines with their astounding innovations and variations in form (Pinch 1993; Shulthe and Arnold 1978, nos. 182–83), and the wide array of forms and themes from the New Kingdom and later into the Late Antique era all attest to their role in the culture.

The figurines have the potential to elucidate much about a portion of the society that made and used them, namely, the non-elite who left such a scant record and are critical for our understanding of the full range of ancient life and belief. It is generally accepted that many of the clay figurines are votives that document the cult practices of people who could not afford a stone statue, or people whose religious experience simply was in a different realm from the elite. On that basis alone they merit extensive study.

However, this material has the potential to illuminate more than cult and religious practices. The often unfamiliar forms of the figurines have the ability to give us a more comprehensive view of the full range of Egyptian art far beyond the formalism of objects made for the elite. Traditionally, clay figurines have been evaluated as artifact rather than art. Indeed, the relationship of the clay figurines to Egyptian art has been rarely examined, but the genre fits easily into the category of “folk art,” a term that is rarely applied to Egyptian material.

---

8 See Legrain 1930, p. 3, for an appreciation of the terra-cottas from Nippur; “no other images are more human, none better reflect the attitude of primitive man towards life and death.” See also Waraksa 2009, in which she discusses female figurines in the context of execration figures and curative rituals.

9 See, for example, Spencer and Bailey 1982; idem 1986; Schneider 1996. In contrast, see Kaiser et al. 1976, pp. 108–09, who refer to a hundred orant figurines recovered from the Khuum temple at Elephantine, yet a single line drawing is supplied making it impossible to draw any conclusions about variations in the large sample.

10 See, for example, Higgins 1986, pp. 129–33, for the comment, “It was after the cosmopolitan cult of Alexandria was founded in 331 B.C., however, that the choroplasts’ art can be seen to flourish in Egypt.”

11 There has been a tendency to underestimate the number and importance of molded clay figurines from the New Kingdom. See Fjeldhagen 1995, p. 10, for the comment “generally figurines of fired clay are rare in pharaonic art — compared to figurines of bronze or Egyptian faience — and those that have been found are solid and hand modeled. It was only with the Greek seizure of power that the technique of moulding spread to the rest of Egypt and led to a substantial increase in the production of terracottas.” Although the dynastic examples do tend to be solid, moldmade terra-cottas are very common before the Ptolemaic era (see the many examples of female figurines). See also Baines 1991, pp. 183–84, for the erroneous comment that the figurines were less numerous in the late New Kingdom, but that “they become very important again in the Late Period — the religion of the less affluent disappeared from view for six hundred years.” The materials from Medinet Habu alone are an indication that figurines as votives were an enduring element of worship and personal piety. Their continued use indicates that votives were not a substitute for “the public display of piety” among “a slightly larger social group.” Baines implies that elements of personal piety, such as stelae which show dreams, oracles, and individuals before the gods were substitutes for votives, when in fact votives were used throughout the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period.

12 See Polaczk Zdanowicz 1975, p. 137, for Coptic figurines as folk art.
to Rhodes (1978, p. 9), folk art “is part of the life of the community, evolving from the fundamental concerns and aspirations of mankind which do not vary much from one culture to another.” Certainly the clay figurines from Medinet Habu, and from other sites in Egypt, have marked similarities to figurines from Mesopotamia and Syria, and many zoological examples could probably not be assigned to a specific culture without an archaeological context. This sort of uncertainty about the origins, date, or even theme of many of the figurines probably accounts for the small numbers that are published, and the fewer still that are exhibited in museum galleries. Unless one knew that these were excavated, one would never assume that most of them, especially the animals, are Egyptian — much less ancient.

According to Rhodes (1978, p. 9), folk art reflects indigenous folk traditions that remain unchanged over generations and sometimes over centuries. This relates well to the materials from Medinet Habu. The site, with its 2,000 years of continuous occupation, is particularly valuable for the continuity of themes. For example, female figurines and quadrupeds can be attested for all periods of the site’s habitation. However, this same continuity makes it very difficult to assign dates to some figurines, for some share stylistic attributes of more than one period, expressing what Török (1993, p. 51) has called the “virtual parallelism” of their styles.

The suggestion that “folk art is an everyday art … traditionally intended to fulfill the utilitarian spiritual and esthetic needs of ordinary folk … created as a spiritual expression of faith, a personal testimony, or an object of ritual veneration” (Rhodes 1978, p. 9) also has resonance for the ancient Egyptian material. Some of the figurines, such as the Late Antique-period birds (Török 1993, p. 53) and perhaps the quadruped that was mounted on wheels (no. 140), were toys, but the vast majority of them appear to be votive offerings. The votive function of the figurines is well documented by the great amount of such material found at shrines of Hathor at Deir el Bahri and in the Sinai, and in tombs (Pinch 1993). One may conclude that the overall purpose of the figurines was to “persuade the deity … to hearken to the worshipper’s plea” (Baines 1991, p. 181). The low value of the material from which the figurines are made — baked clay — and the quick and inexpensive means of manufacture belies their apparent value in the cult, or as Kemp (1995, p. 28) has expressed it, their “transactional potential.”

The material may be classified as folk art, but when taken as objets d’art the figurines have much to tell art historians. Some of these objects express a different aesthetic whose lines and forms diverge from the formal artistic canons. Horse figurines may break out of the formal rules of frontality, turning their head at an angle away from the plane of their chest (nos. 136, 147–49, 154). A dog’s happy smile and apparent excitement (no. 188) is unprecedented in art that is famed for its lack of emotion. Yet, the long-legged, slender-hipped female figurines mirror contemporary New Kingdom to Late New Kingdom two-dimensional representations, and the fleshy, rounded, bodies of the female figurines dated to the Third Intermediate Period correspond to the contemporary stelae (Munro 1973) and statues of the elite, suggesting considerable communication between the artisans of the elite and non-elite, and the non-elite’s exposure to formal art styles.

**WHO MADE OR USED THE FIGURINES?**
**A HISTORY OF THE OCCUPATION OF MEDINET HABU**

Because the baked clay figurines can be categorized as folk art, it is useful to examine who was living or working at Medinet Habu. Who acquired and used the figurines and ultimately left them in the houses and rubbish deposits in the precinct?

The site can broadly be divided into three zones: the Great Temple of Ramesses III and its ancillary buildings, the temple of Aye and Horemheb, and the Small Temple (see fig. 3 and plan 1). Each section of the complex has its own distinctive history of use and occupation.

---

13 See the examples in Spycket 2000. Her cat. no. 79, a female figure from second-millennium B.C. Mesopotamia, is strikingly similar to the Type F female figurine no. 54 of this work. See also Legrain 1930 and Spycket 1992a.

14 A selection of anthropomorphic and zoological figures is featured in the Joseph and Mary Grimshaw Egyptian Gallery at the Oriental Institute Museum as a means of introducing the public to this theme in Egyptian art.
THE GREAT TEMPLE OF RAMESSES III

The Great Temple and associated area had multiple functions, serving as a residence, a cult establishment, a center of administrative activities, and a cemetery. It was also an economic and administrative element in a very complex web that connected it to Karnak (Haring 1997) and to other temples in eastern and western Thebes.

The earliest documented use of the site dates to Amunhotep III (r. 1390–1353 B.C.). Hölscher found traces of walls to the west of the Hatshepsut temple (also called the Small Temple of Amun) that he attributed to a “city of Amunhotep III” on the basis of bricks stamped with the name of that king and his queen Teye. He related the ruins to a settlement of workers who built the king’s memorial temple located to the northeast of the Great Temple (Hölscher Excavation I, pl. 4; Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 33, 44, 46). Remains of pottery, scarabs, and molded rings — objects not materially very different from the figurines — were recovered from this oldest settlement (Hölscher Excavation II, p. 46).

The complex built by Ramesses III (r. 1182–1151 B.C.) was a combined memorial temple and administrative center (plan 2). The cultic functions were centered on the temple itself with its offering rooms and chapels. To the north and south of the temple, within the space defined by the tower-studded inner enclosure wall, was a series of rooms. Hölscher interpreted some of these (Rooms A–C, F, and S) as administration buildings (Hölscher Excavation III, pp. 62–64). Rooms G–M were interpreted as storerooms, and another suite of rooms to the south of the sanctuary (Rooms N and Q) were taken to be workshops (Hölscher Excavation III, p. 65). Hölscher speculated that these poorly preserved rooms may have been for goldsmiths and cabinet makers, but he does not mention the presence of kilns in this area in which pottery (or other items) may have been fired. The proximity of Rooms N and Q to the door leading out of the walled enclosure would have made it easier to supply the shops with raw materials.

The area north and south of the temple, between the tower-studded inner enclosure wall and the thick outer enclosure called the Great Girdle Wall of Ramesses III, was built up with two rows of structures that Hölscher described as houses for employees or temple officials (Hölscher Excavation I, pls. 7–8, 11–12; Hölscher Excavation IV, p. 15). It is not known whether the row of structures directly inside the outer enclosure wall were houses or barracks. The area in front of the First Pylon was divided into four rectangular sections that may have been devoted to a garden, stables, barracks, and a cattle yard, although Hölscher (Hölscher Excavation IV, p. 17) was less than certain about the exact function of these areas.

A main street ran from the Eastern High Gate west to the First Pylon. Other roads ran parallel to the face of the pylon, around the outer perimeter of the inner enclosure wall and around the interior perimeter of the outer enclosure wall (“pomerium” in Hölscher Excavation IV, pp. 13–14). These systematically planned streets that divided the precinct into units accommodated the fairly sizable and diverse population that worked and lived in the temple area.

The end of the Twentieth Dynasty was a period of unrest that directly impacted the pattern of use of the Great Temple. During incursions by Libyans (ca. 1069 B.C.), the Great Girdle Wall and Western High Gate were damaged (Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 1, 3; Haring 1992). As a result of the unrest and threatening Libyan presence in western Thebes, the walled precinct became at least a temporary, if not a permanent, refuge for the villagers from Deir el Medina, adding to the residential character of the site (Valbelle 1985, pp. 123–25). The Great Temple continued to serve as the seat of the administration of western Thebes, and the kenbet (local) court presumably moved with the workers of Deir el Medina to the safety of Medinet Habu.

During the period of Libyan incursions, the cult of the gods (and perhaps the king) was still celebrated. Haring (1997, p. 280) has noted that in this era the portable shrines of the royal cults of the Seti I temple at Gourna and the Ramesseum at Thebes were transferred to Medinet Habu, suggesting that, just as the workers of Deir el Medina fled the cults of other temples also sought refuge at the site.

The association of the temple with the administration of western Thebes, and especially with the Valley of the Kings, is attested by objects — shabtis of Amunhotep III and Seti I and wood sandals of another king — which Hölscher recovered that were originally from the royal tombs. They were apparently transferred to Medinet Habu when some of the royal mummies were rewrapped at the site.15 Papyrus BM 10053 refers to other material, including gold and silver and items from the tombs found in the possession of the robbers, that were subsequently transferred

15 The rewrapping of the mummies at Medinet Habu is documented by dockets on the linen that indicate that the fabric was from Medinet Habu. See Reeves 1990, pp. 230, 242 no. 83, 250.
from a temple of Maat to a storeroom at Medinet Habu (McDowell 1990, p. 196). The temple probably continued to be a regional repository for grain (Haring 1997, pp. 278–79). A record from year 17 of Ramesses XI indicates that food offerings were made in the “great court” of the temple (Haring 1997, p. 279). Another receipt (P. BM 10054), probably to be dated to year 24 of Ramesses XI, refers to the recipients of that grain being “all people from all houses that are (within) the enclosure wall of the temple of Usermaatre Meriamun [Ramesses III]” (Haring 1997, p. 279). The police garrison that guarded the Valley of the Kings, led by the “two chiefs of the Medjay of the Mansion,” was located in the precinct (Černý 1973, pp. 264–65). and a reference to the imprisonment of eight workers at Medinet Habu (Valbelle 1985, p. 135 n. 9) further attests tendency to the varied and very human activities within its walls.

THE THIRD INTERMEDIATE PERIOD

In the early Third Intermediate Period, Medinet Habu was highly residential, its population swollen by the villagers from Deir el Medina and no doubt from other areas of western Thebes who took shelter behind the enclosure walls (Haring 1997, pp. 278–80). As Hölscher described the situation (1932, p. 31): “It is apparent that by this time the entire outer temple area was occupied by peasants and craftsmen of the surrounding district who had fled their enemies to the protection of the towering walls of Medinet Habu.” Larger houses, including one

---

16 Note that a statue of Bakenwerel, the Chief of the Medjay in western Thebes who is named in the tomb robbery papyri (P. Abbott, in Peet 1930, p. 37), was recovered from the site. It is housed in the Oriental Institute Museum (OIM 14663). For this statue, see Teeter in Thomas 1995, p. 189.
Plan 1. Medinet Habu, the Great Temple of Ramesses III and the Temple of Aye and Horemheb, showing the features of the site. After Hölscher Excavation IV, fig. 1
Plan 2. The Great Temple of Ramesses III.
After Hölscher *Excavation III*, fig. 34
belonging to Butehamon, the royal scribe and overseer of the royal treasury in the Theban necropolis (Twenty-first Dynasty), were built to the west of the Great Temple (Hölscher 1932, pp. 29–31; Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 4–5), adjacent to substantial dwellings and farms with storerooms and stables. The full-scale reorganization of the eastern section of the temple was a reflection of the new population. During the Twenty-first and Twenty-second Dynasties, a crowded village (Hölscher’s “fellahin villages,” Hölscher 1932, pp. 31, 37; Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 6–7) with narrow streets and trash heaps was built upon the stables and garden. The village was inhabited until the Twenty-sixth Dynasty and apparently came to have an identity separate from the temple complex, for a new entrance exclusively for the village was cut though the east side of the enclosure wall, south of the Eastern High Gate (at D/7; Hölscher Excavation I, pls. 9–10). A significant number of baked clay figurines and votive beds were recovered from the houses of this thriving village.

Perhaps in response to the insecurity of life outside the temple walls, the complex became dotted with private tombs. In the Twenty-first Dynasty, the side passage of the ruined Western High Gate was blocked and used for burials (Hölscher Excavation V, p. 6). By the next dynasty, burials, such as that for Harsiese, were being deposited to the east of the Great Temple (Hölscher 1932, p. 36; Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 8–9, 14), employing stone from the palace of Ramesses III.

The temple was again attacked sometime during the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties (Hölscher Excavation V, p. 6), at which time the western side of the enclosure wall and the Western High Gate sustained heavy damage. Massive mudbrick reinforcement (between 1.8–2.5 m thick) was added to the west exterior of the wall, a sign of the desire of the residents to restore the security of their community.

The residential character of the site continued to be developed in the Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth Dynasties when multi-story houses for “wealthy families and high officials” were built south and west of the Great Temple and also in the northeast section of the precinct (G–H/13) and to the west of the Small Temple (Hölscher 1932, pp. 38–40; Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 7, 14). As Hölscher (Excavation V, p. 14) described it, “the entire area was thickly built up, as necessitated by urban conditions.”

Tombs continued to be built, including the chapels of the God’s Wives of Amun to the east of the Great Temple facing the main axis from the Western High Gate to the First Pylon. Other tombs, mainly of women, were cut into the back rooms of the temple itself around and behind the sanctuary, suggesting that the cult was no longer celebrated there (Hölscher 1932, p. 33; Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 16–17).

THE PTOLEMAIC ERA

Hölscher (Excavation V, p. 34) concluded that there was no settlement in the Great Temple area in the Ptolemaic period: “It is surprising that practically no building remains of this half millennium were found — except in the vicinity of the Small Temple.” He questioned whether the Ptolemaic layers had been completely cleared away by modern or ancient sebakh-diggers (sebakh being the nitrogen-rich soil derived from mudbrick that farmers collect to use as fertilizer), “however, since objects of daily use and coins17 of this period also were lacking, we must conclude that Medinet Habu was deserted at this time — except in the vicinity of the Small Temple,” where he noted the presence of “Pre-Roman houses” crowded near the northwest section of the Small Temple (Hölscher Excavation I, pls. 5–6; Hölscher Excavation V, p. 34). He was puzzled by the contrast of the activity, both cultic and residential, from the northeast section of the precinct in the Ptolemaic period to the seeming absence of a Ptolemaic presence in the rest of the complex. He tried to resolve the conflict by suggesting that “perhaps” the Ptolemaic village lay outside the enclosure wall, under today’s cultivation (Hölscher Excavation V, p. 34).

Although, according to Hölscher, no architectural (or artifactual) evidence for Ptolemaic presence at the site other than in and immediately around the Small Temple was found, Demotic and Greek graffiti and ostraca indicate that other areas were still employed, perhaps for sporadic cultic and administrative purposes. Cult activities are attested by hundreds of Demotic graffiti that record the names of priests and individuals who visited the site (Edgerton 1934, 1937; Thissen 1989). Examples from the Great Temple are dated to Nectanebo, Alexander IV, and Ptolemies II and III (Thissen 1989, p. 179).18 These brief texts indicate that priests and petitioners visited the temple, and in some cases performed libation rituals (Edgerton 1934, p. 119; Thissen 1989, p. 7 for list), but they

---

17 There are some contradictions in Hölscher’s comments, for he noted that Ptolemaic coins were found in the tombs under the floors of the Great Temple (Hölscher Excavation V, p. 17).

18 Many others have dates that cannot be associated with a specific ruler. See Thissen 1989, p. 180.
cannot be used to demonstrate ongoing, regular cultic activities. As Edgerton (1934, p. 119) concluded, “We do not know, at present, whether an organized priesthood still officiated here [the Great Temple] in Hellenistic days; there is much to suggest the existence of such a priesthood, but final proof is still lacking — although we have long known that the adjoining eighteenth-dynasty temple was the seat of a priesthood from the fifteenth century before Christ until at least the second century after Christ.” An undated Demotic notation in the Slaughterhouse (at P–O/9–10 in plan 1) in the Ramesside Temple refers to various types of containers (Thissen 1989, no. 296), possibly an inventory of temple cult furnishings used in rituals.

In any case, the graffiti attest to the Great Temple as a place of visitation where individuals appealed to the deities. What is striking about the later use of the Great Temple are the repeated references to the god Min in the graffiti. In some cases, it is Min alone who is evoked, in others, the visitor added Min to the traditional Theban triad of Amun, Mut, and Khonsu (Thissen 1989, nos. 24B, 72, 77, 83, 85, 87–89, 92, 94, and passim). Although the festival of Min is a prominent feature of the Ramesside decoration of the north side of the second court, the graffiti calling upon that god are not in that area; hence the references to the god are not associated with that festival. On the basis of the graffiti, Thissen (ibid., p. 216) concluded that from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period, Min was acknowledged as the major deity of the temple. He suggests this was due to the gradual confusion of the form of the ithyphallic Amun, who was frequently depicted on the walls of the temple, with the ithyphallic Min who is evoked in the later graffiti. Thissen (ibid., p. 216) notes that the reliefs on the west wall of the Slaughterhouse, where ithyphallic Amun-Re-Kamutef is shown, attracted graffiti invoking Min.

Thissen (1989, p. 214) concluded that in the Ptolemaic era the Great Temple ceased to be the location of regular cult activities, but that it continued to have a role in administrative matters. Administrative graffiti recording the height of the Nile are penned on the west wall of the Slaughterhouse. These are dated to years 246, 245, and 242 B.C., during the reigns of Ptolemies II and III (Edgerton 1934, pp. 122–23; Thissen 1989, nos. 308, 311–12), indicating continuity of use. The small room off the Slaughterhouse bears an extensive graffito consisting of a table of fractions that the scribe apparently consulted for his computations (Edgerton 1934, pp. 123–25; Thissen 1989, no. 313). Although it is not known what type of goods were being accounted for, the presence of the list suggests that some sort of administrative activity was ongoing. Demotic ostraca, some of them found in “what may or may not coincide with the location of Roman and Coptic Houses” (Lichtheim 1957, p. vii), record poll taxes, land taxes, and rents, and provide further evidence for ongoing administrative functions at the site. Other ostraca dated to Ptolemy II refer to the receipt of linen, or the payment of money in lieu of the expected linen (Lichtheim 1957, pp. 6, 9–11). In some records, the low-level officials who signed the receipts are known from other administrative documents to be deputies for a higher treasury official, suggesting administrative links between Medinet Habu and the larger regional administration (Lichtheim 1957, pp. 7–8). Amphora handles stamped in Greek dated to the third and second centuries B.C. were recovered from the precinct, indicating a population that desired imports and that could perhaps read Greek (Wilfong 1992; idem 2002, p. 3; idem 2003, pp. 193–94). Demotic receipts from the same era refer to wine that “you brought to Thebes from the district of Pathyris” (Lichtheim 1957, pp. 14–15 no. 16), indicating continued trade links with other regions. In summary, the graffiti, ostraca, and amphora handles suggest a slight Ptolemaic presence despite Hölscher’s assertion to the contrary.

THE ROMAN AND LATE ANTIQUE PERIODS

Although it seems sure that the polytheistic cult was no longer celebrated in the Great Temple, the area retained its residential, and to a lesser extent, its administrative role in the Roman and Late Antique period (first century B.C.–ninth century A.D.). In the Roman era, the Great Girdle Wall was restored and two more towers were added to it to give the inhabitants additional security. In the third and fourth centuries A.D., “imposing” Roman houses with elaborate bathrooms and water systems were built north of the Ramesside temple (Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 37–39).

Even if there were sporadic pious visitors to the temple, it is likely that the third century A.D. saw the end of the temple’s use as a cult establishment. As Bagnall (1993, p. 267) commented: “It is difficult to avoid the conclusion

19 The full nature of this phase of occupation awaits the publication of the hundreds of Greek ostraca from the site presently in the collection of the Oriental Institute, Chicago, and the Egyptian Museum, Cairo.
BAKED CLAY FIGURINES

that the temples of Egypt, along with their traditional scripts, personnel, influence, festivals, and wealth declined markedly in the third century; but equally, many aspects of their life were already in decline in the first century.” He ascribed this abandonment partially to the Roman policy of withdrawing financial support.

The cemetery on the site of the Aye and Horemheb temple yielded sixty-one mummy tags that date to the third and fourth centuries A.D. Toponyms are only rarely given along with the name of the deceased, suggesting that the deceased was known to be from the adjacent town of Jeme rather than from a more distant village (Wilfong 1995b).

By the third century A.D. Jeme had grown to almost fill the temple precinct. According to Wilfong (2002, p. 4), the population of the town was mainly of Egyptian ancestry, although people had both Egyptian and Greek names. Texts indicate that by the fifth century most of the population was Christian. The Egyptian nature of the town and townsmen is in keeping with the style of the clay figurines, few of which reflect typical Hellenistic-Roman themes.

The town of Jeme reached its apogee in the seventh to ninth centuries A.D. when it covered eleven hectares, spilling over the west and north sides of the Great Girdle Wall. The thousands of texts from the site indicate that the city was, in contrast to the larger Christian centers at Coptos and Armant, generally unaffected by the Islamic conquest, existing in the relative isolation of the Theban cultural backwater (Wilfong 2002, pp. 8, 20). At least three churches were built in the precinct, the largest inside the second court of the Ramesside Great Temple. The town also had contact with the local monasteries. Within the sphere of western Thebes, Jeme served as the seat of the judiciary (Wilfong 2002, p. 7). The town’s economy was based on agriculture. No signs of pottery manufacture at the site have been noted, suggesting that the clay figurines from the Late Antique period were manufactured elsewhere. Examples of figurines from nearby Gourna that are associated with pottery workshops closely match the Medinet Habu examples, suggesting that they were perhaps from Gourna (Myśliwiec 1987, pl. 33 nos. 3–4; Wilfong 2002, p. 15). Bronze and copper alloy horse bits (Hölscher Excavation V, p. 66 nos. 2, 3, p. 67, fig. 83) recovered from Jeme attest to the presence of horses in the town, as do the contemporary baked clay horse figurines (nos. 160–67).

THE TEMPLE OF AYE AND HOREMHEB

Like the adjacent Great Temple, the area associated with Aye and Horemheb functioned as a residence, an administrative center, and a cult emplacement (see plan 1). The earliest habitation at the site was a town dated to Amunhotep III on the basis of stamped bricks (Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 46, 68–69). The excavator found “pottery and the remains of other objects of daily use” in the ruins of the houses (Hölscher Excavation II, p. 46). Two large granaries that Hölscher took to be contemporary with the houses indicate that the pre-temple village had a sizable population, for each granary had a capacity of 400 cubic meters — “enough grain to supply a small village” (Hölscher Excavation II, p. 73).

This village was covered by the late Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Aye and Horemheb. Foundation deposits indicate that its construction began in the reign of Aye (r. 1325–1321 B.C.) (Hölscher Excavation II, p. 75). The temple was subsequently enlarged by Horemheb (r. 1321–1293 B.C.), whose name appears on walls, columns, and statues. Few specifics are known about the temple’s relationship to the regional administration. However, O. Berlin 10633, dated to year 29 of Ramesses III, indicates that at that time the temple granaries still supplied rations for workers at Deir el Medina (Edgerton 1951, p. 137; Kitchen 1983, pp. 529–30), hence it was still a part of the administrative system of western Thebes. Only a few names of priests who served the cult are known (Helck 1960, p. 884; Haring 1997, p. 441).

Hölscher recovered dozens of small molds for amulets and inlays from the ruins of the temple (Eye 55A). Stylistically, they date to the New Kingdom, probably the Eighteenth Dynasty (Hölscher Excavation IV, p. 45, pl. 37e), suggesting that a faience work was located in the temple. No molds for larger figurines were recovered.

Remains of reed huts were found in the northern section of the precinct. Hölscher suggested that they were later than the temple and perhaps belonged to the workmen who dismantled the structure sometime after the reign of Ramesses III (Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 71–72).

20 See also the earlier Roman-era Demotic receipts of farmers’ payments for use of the temple lands of Jeme; Lichtheim 1957, pp. 33–35.

21 In Hölscher Excavation II, p. 65, the ostracon, on the basis of a reading by Černý, is dated to year 27.
The temple cult was discontinued by the end of the Twentieth Dynasty when the temple was destroyed by floodwater. The Great Girdle Wall of Ramesses III blocked the bed of the stream just to the south of the temple of Aye and Horemheb, and rainwater was deflected forcefully against its wall, eventually flooding and destroying the structure (Hölscher Excavation II, p. 65). Columns from the temple were reused by Herihor (Twenty-first Dynasty) in the temple of Khonsu at Karnak, indicating that it was then being used as a quarry. Foundation deposits of Ramesses IV in the northwest corner of the Aye and Horemheb precinct indicate that that king anticipated some sort of revival of the site, although Hölscher did not discover signs of actual building (Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 115–17).

The temple’s final incarnation was as a cemetery of the Roman and Late Antique periods (Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 42–44). It most probably served the villagers of Jeme who built their houses within the walls of the Great Temple. According to Hölscher (Excavation V, p. 44), the burial ground was no longer used after the fifth century A.D. A small Coptic church was built close to the Roman cemetery (Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 56–57), indicating that people from the area still came to the site.

**THE SMALL TEMPLE**

The area of the Small Temple was devoted to the cult of the god(s) and, unlike the other parts of the precinct, it did not accommodate administrative functions. The first structure on that part of the site was a small temple dating to Mentuhotep IV (Eleventh Dynasty) (Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 5–6, where the king’s name is given as Mentuhotep V; Stadelmann 1980, col. 1256). In the reign of Hatshepsut (r. 1473–1458 B.C.), a series of brick enclosure walls were built around the Mentuhotep temple (Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 6–7). Hatshepsut then replaced the earlier temple with a stone temple, the core of which consisted of a six-room suite with a bark chapel surrounded by a pillared portico to the east. The reliefs in the chambers attest to the continued sanctity of the temple in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties, for the walls were decorated and redecorated in turn by Hatshepsut and Thutmose III, then defaced by Akhenaton, and restored by Horemheb, Seti I, and Amenmose (for this sequence, see Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 11, 18, 19 n. 19; Epigraphic Survey 2009, pp. xxv–xxxv).

The temple continued to be modified, a clear indication of its continued use for cultic activities. Under the Kushites (Twenty-fifth Dynasty), a gallery and pylon were built to the east. Further additions were made in the Saite period (Twenty-sixth Dynasty) (Hölscher Excavation I, pl. 6; Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 26–28). Hakoris (Twenty-ninth Dynasty) undertook repairs to the structure, propping up the roofs with columns taken from the nearby chapels of the God’s Wives (Hölscher Excavation II, p. 20).

In the Third Intermediate Period, tombs were inserted under the pavements to the south of the temple (Hölscher Excavation I, pl. 6; Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 37, 40).

The many additions to the relief program and to the Small Temple itself, as well as Demotic and Greek texts, indicate that the structure continued to be the center of cult activities (Epigraphic Survey 2009, p. xxxv). The building was expanded eastward by the Ptolemies (Hölscher Excavation I, pl. 6; Hölscher Excavation II, p. 18; Arnold 1999, p. 198) and reliefs in the Eighteenth Dynasty section were refurbished. Activity continued into the early Roman period, when the temple was again extended to the east well beyond the Great Girdle Wall of Ramesses III. Demotic receipts dated to the reign of Augustus (first century B.C.–first century A.D.) refer to priesthood taxes (Lichtheim 1957, p. 32 nos. 61–62) that may refer to continued activity in the Small Temple. Ultimately, the Roman pylon was left unfinished, perhaps as the emperors withdrew their economic support for Egyptian cults (Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 59–62; Bagnall 1993, pp. 267–68). The last emperor represented by name is Antoninus Pius (r. A.D. 138–161; Hölscher Excavation II, p. 62). Wall paintings on the north addition to the peripteros that depict St. Menas (Hölscher Excavation II, p. 62; Hölscher Excavation V, p. 57) indicate that Christians visited the Small Temple as well as the adjacent areas.

**RELATIONSHIP OF CLAY FIGURINES TO STATUES IN OTHER MEDIA**

Clay figurines share similarities and dissimilarities with more formal statuary. One of the major differences is the simplicity of the material, which was readily available to anyone in any desirable quantity. This is in marked contrast to the more elite materials of wood, stone, and metal. This contrast suggests that the clay figurines may
BAKED CLAY FIGURINES

have served a less affluent clientele, or that they served a different purpose. The ability to mold clay also sets the terra-cottas apart functionally from other statues. Unlike stone statues, clay figurines could be made easily and cheaply in multiples. Another difference is that only rarely are clay figurines inscribed (see note 43, below), whereas the addition of the owner’s name or the name of the deity to whom a statuette was dedicated were essential features of more formal statuary. None of the figurines from Medinet Habu is inscribed. The combination of simple, cheap materials, multiple examples of each, and the lack of any “personalization” by inscription strongly suggests that the audience for the figurines was the non-elite with limited literacy levels.

On the other hand, certain themes of the clay figurines from Medinet Habu (table 1) show a close thematic correspondence to limestone figurines of a similar scale found at the site and elsewhere. A fragmentary Type A figurine (see table 1 for description of figurine types22) was also found in limestone (fig. 4a). This limestone example is very similar to figurine no. 6, which is made of clay, especially in the sharp “V” line of the juncture of the pubis and thighs. One Type B limestone female figurine (fig. 4b) is likewise very similar to its clay counterparts figurines nos. 14, 18–19, and 25. A single limestone female figurine of Type C from the site (fig. 4c) has a very striking similarity to figurine no. 36, which is the only example in clay that shows the head in profile.23 On both examples, the figurine faces the viewer’s right with its hair in a long braid that is known from the Wochenlaube scenes, also shown on Medinet Habu figurine no. 74. Both Type C figurines show a child suckling from a woman’s left breast, and both are covered with red pigment. Female figurines of Type D are attested in limestone (fig. 5a–b) and clay (nos. 40–43). The limestone examples show the child on the mother’s right side, as on figurine no. 43. Three other clay examples (nos. 40–42) show the child on the left. On both limestone figurines, the child appears to hold its mother’s hand, as on figurine no. 40.

Table 1. Key to typology of female figurines

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Medinet Habu Type</th>
<th>Figurine in Catalog</th>
<th>Theme</th>
<th>Correspondence to Pinch (1993) Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Type A</td>
<td>1–12</td>
<td>Slender female, arms at sides (classic Egyptian form)</td>
<td>Pinch Type 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type B</td>
<td>13–26</td>
<td>Slender female, arms at sides, on bed, without child</td>
<td>Pinch Type 6b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type C</td>
<td>27–39</td>
<td>Idealized female on bed nursing child</td>
<td>Pinch Type 6c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type D</td>
<td>40–43</td>
<td>Idealized female on bed with child, not nursing</td>
<td>Pinch Type 6c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type E</td>
<td>44–52</td>
<td>Non-idealized female, not on bed</td>
<td>Pinch Type 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type F</td>
<td>53–62</td>
<td>Hand modeled with applied decoration</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type G</td>
<td>63–67</td>
<td>Female modeled in round with emphasized sexual characteristics</td>
<td>Pinch Type 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Type H</td>
<td>68–75</td>
<td>Fragmentary or anomalous examples</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One of the most unusual clay figurines from the site, the head of a king (no. 116), is perhaps inspired by the many representations of the king on the walls of the temple(s).

The “erota” are more difficult to assess. The three examples of phalli from Medinet Habu (nos. 125–27) are known only from the field photographs, and it is unclear if all are of baked clay, or if one, figurine no. 125, is of limestone. However, examples in stone are certainly known (Martin 1987, p. 76 no. 6350; p. 79 no. 6419; p. 83 no. 1; Pinch 1993, p. 235). Small phallic figurines are well attested in stone, including one example from Medinet Habu (fig. 5c), as well as in faience (Martin 1987, pp. 72–83).

22 See Chapter 2 for the classification of female figurines used in this monograph.

23 For another example in Cairo, see Wildung, Schoske, and Liepe 1984, pp. 140–41.
Figure 4. (a) Fragment of Type A female figurine. Slender female, arms at sides. Late New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C. Medinet Habu. Limestone, ca. 10.0 × 4.4 cm. TL 137d;

(b) Type B female figurine. Slender female, arms at sides, on bed, without child. Late New Kingdom–early Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C. Medinet Habu. Limestone, 14.4 × 7.8 cm. OIM 14602;

(c) Type C female figurine. Idealized female on bed nursing child. Late New Kingdom–early Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C. Medinet Habu. Limestone, 24.0 × 16.5 cm. OIM 14324
Figure 5.  

(a–b) Type D female figurines. Idealized female on bed with child, not nursing. Late New Kingdom–early Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C. Medinet Habu. Limestone, (a) 10.1 × 5.8 cm. OIM 14601; (b) 25.0 × 10.0 cm. Cairo JdE 59876;

(c) Phallic figurine. Roman period(?), first–second centuries A.D. Medinet Habu. Limestone, ca. 6.8 × 3.8 cm. TL 139d.
The animals made of clay found at Medinet Habu have only a few parallels, those being in faience (Friedman, Borromeo, and Leveque 1998, pp. 68–69, 129, 149, 169; Pinch 1993, pl. 42). This may be a reflection that the function of these figurines was not appropriate for the more expensive materials or more labor-intensive processes such as stone carving or bronze casting.

Although a correspondence between clay and limestone figurines can be documented, there is no apparent relationship of clay figurines to the great number of bronze statues, statuettes, or statue fragments recovered from the site.24 Almost all the bronze statuettes depict Osiris, a theme that is unknown in clay at Medinet Habu.25 The absence of clay Osiris figurines may be an indication that the cult and worship of Osiris, at least at Medinet Habu, was more elite and only the portion of the population that could afford bronze figurines, especially in such numbers, participated in the cult of that god. It may not be a coincidence that at Medinet Habu bronze figurines are not found with baked clay statuettes, suggesting that the materials served two different and distinct audiences.

The choice of materials for certain themes of figurines may be related to their perceived value in society. Themes that were more embraced by the elite were perhaps those which were replicated in more valuable materials such as stone and bronze. However, the reverse — that is, that figurines made of clay had no value — is not true as is indicated by the vast numbers that were produced as well as the numbers left at shrines. Although their actual value in terms of materials and time invested in their production was low, their value to those who employed them lay in their ability to be, as Kemp (1995, p. 28) put it, “the currency” for approaching the deity. Their value lay not in the object itself, but in their “transactional potential” for communicating with the god.

GENERAL REMARKS ON MATERIALS AND MANUFACTURE

The female figurines classified in this work as Types A, B, C, and D, the animals (other than the Late Antique horses and orants), and the votive beds and stelae are all made of a rough Nile silt fabric with moderate temper that fires to a dull red-brown. Female figurines of Type E (non-idealized) are made of white marl. The Late Antique horse figurines and orants are made of finer-grained kaoline.26 Although use of kaoline is apparently restricted to the Late Antique period, Nile silt was used throughout the history of the site.

Although a few examples of female figures in limestone were also recovered (figs. 4–5a–b; Hölscher Excavation V, p. 11, fig. 12 left), no faience examples were found. The fact that female figurines made of clay and of stone were recovered from the same site raises questions about the relationship of the material to the final product. Waraksa (2006, pp. 104–06; 2009, pp. 112–13, 153) views the clay figurines as being akin to execration figurines that absorbed illness or evil and were thereafter broken to neutralize the evil. Essential to her argument is that clay was employed so that the figurines could be easily broken. However, since female figurines were also made of stone, the material itself may not be such an essential clue to the function of the objects.

The hand-modeled figurines of clay exhibit several techniques for decorating and defining the figurine. The clay was commonly incised with a sharp tool at or before the green ware stage to create stippling, ridging of hair, details of the pubic area of female figurines, and the definition of fingers and toes. Figurines could also be decorated through augmentation (luting), such as adding dots of clay for eyes and ropes of clay for wigs. The clay was also distorted and pinched out to form ears and brow ridges, or pushed in to make navels or eyes. Individual figurines may exhibit one or all these techniques.

Hand-modeled examples could be worked or plain on the reverse. Some, such as the small-scale female figurines (nos. 63–65), have detailed buttocks and depressions along their spines. Most of the animal figurines were hand modeled in three dimensions.

Moldmade figurines were produced using either an open (one-part) mold or closed (two- or three-part) mold into which the fabric was pressed. The potter’s finger marks are occasionally preserved where the damp clay was pressed into the form.

24 The bronzes from Medinet Habu may constitute the largest group of such material excavated in western Thebes. The records at the Oriental Institute give at least a hint of the numbers, although the field records often contain statements as vague as “Large find of bronze statuettes” (MH 27.45). A field photograph (OIM P 18246 / N 29960) of finds from tomb 20a shows a collection of forty-seven bronze Osiris figures, and a photograph of objects from locus MH 27.45 shows seventy statuettes of Osiris, five elements of the god’s crown, and two large false beards.
25 Among the non-Osiris bronze figures from Medinet Habu accessioned into the collection of the Oriental Institute are an animal head (OIM 14473) and a falcon (OIM 15249).
26 Also noted by Ballet (1996, p. 120) for Late Antique horse figurines from other sites.
BAKED CLAY FIGURINES

Three-part molds were used to make figurines of dogs (nos. 191–94) dating to the Roman period. Molds were not always carefully aligned, as indicated by figurine no. 11, where the two parts of the mold do not meet neatly.

Most molded figurines that for stylistic or other reasons are dated here to the dynastic period are solid, while moldmade examples of the Roman and later eras are generally hollow. A few examples of figurines have vent holes. The examples from Medinet Habu include a female figurine with splayed legs (no. 79), a figurine of the god Harpocrates (no. 135), a camel (no. 175), and a standing Spitz dog (no. 195).

The presence of molds for votive beds (nos. 271–72), stone molds for jewelry and other objects, and many small, baked clay molds for faience amulets attests to craft activity at Medinet Habu. Thirty-eight small oval molds for amulets were given the single field number Eye 55A, suggesting that a workshop may have been in that area. 

Figurines could also have been produced there, although none are actually assigned to that locus. The only areas that have been specifically identified with pottery-working are House 1 (Hölscher’s “Homre House,” M–N/6–7) and House 2 (N–O/6–7). Both are located south of the Great Temple (Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 14–16) and both had remains of kilns built in the ruins of the original houses. Broken or misformed pottery was scattered in the area of the kilns. However, no figurines were found near those kilns.

The fabric of the statuettes may provide other clues about their place of manufacture. Multiple examples of a specific figurine tend to be made of the same material, suggesting that each genre was made in one location, although at present it cannot be determined if this location was Medinet Habu.

Duplicates of a single genre may also provide information about what figurines were made at the site. Several of the female figurines were apparently made in a single mold, but no real conclusions can be drawn. It cannot be determined whether they were made at the site in a single workshop, or if they may have been made elsewhere and several copies of the figurine were brought to the site. On the other hand, the eleven examples of moldmade heads from Byzantine orant figurines (nos. 94–104), all of which are different, may suggest that they were brought to the site rather than being made there. If they were manufactured at the site, one might expect some duplication among them.

Because votive beds and molds for them (nos. 271–72), including molds which seem to match the decoration on specific beds, were recovered from the site, it seems likely that at least some of this material was being produced at Medinet Habu.

THEMES OF BAKED CLAY FIGURINES

The clay figurines from Medinet Habu represent a wide variety of forms: anthropomorphic, zoomorphic, as well as inanimate objects (nos. 216–18). The vast majority of the anthropomorphic figurines represent females. These figurines date from the Second Intermediate Period (attested by what may be an intrusive object or an heirloom, figurine no. 44) to the ninth century, at which time the temple was abandoned (Hölscher 1932, p. 46). Egyptian-style, Hellenized, and Romano-Egyptian forms, including heads in the Greek tradition, are attested.

Figurines of men are far less numerous. Those from the dynastic period include what may be fragments of clay shabti (nos. 117–19) and heads from small-scale statues (nos. 108–12, 114–16). Others include Roman-era molded figurines (nos. 120–22) and phallic statues (nos. 123–27), most of which are of uncertain date, but probably Roman.

---

27 Petrie (1909, p. 15) carried this distinction, which is not necessarily borne out by the Medinet Habu figurines, a step further: “We may then probably date the great majority [of figurines from Memphis] which are solid modeled figurines to about 500–300 B.C.; and the few molded hollow figurines from 300–200 B.C.” See also the comments of Fjeldhagen (1995, p. 10), that only in the Greek period did molding of figurines become common (see note 11) — a conclusion that, like Petrie’s, does not accurately describe the materials from Medinet Habu. Myśliwiec and Szymańska (1992, p. 131) have also attempted to use manufacturing technique to establish dates for figurines. They comment that at Tell Atrib, figurines from the Ptolemaic period are not fired as long and as hard as the Roman examples.

28 OIM 14807, 14808, 14709. See also the limestone mold for a figure of Bes (Cairo 59782) in Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58, pl. 34B.

29 As with all “Eye” designations, the location of Eye 55A is not noted in the excavation records. That same locus, if it is indeed a real locus rather than a general designation, also yielded a clay lamp (OIM 15325), a Late Antique jar stopper (OIM 14820), bone and stone bracelets (OIM 15966–69), and leather and wood fragments from the binding for an axhead (OIM 15740).

30 It seems very likely that votive bed no. 224 was made in mold no. 271, and votive beds nos. 240 and 244 were made in mold no. 272.

31 See Wilfong 2002, p. 116, for comments about gender and the orant figurines.
Oddly, baked clay figurines of gods are rare — only eight are known from the field photographs. Of those, five represent Bes (nos. 128–32), one is Aries (no. 134), and two are Harpocrates (nos. 133, 135). The considerably higher incidence of Bes figurines may be due to his association with childbirth and fecundity, themes that are common to the female votive figurines and the votive beds from the site. The meager representation of other gods may be either an accident of preservation or a reflection of cult practices, namely, that the residents of Medinet Habu favored the more traditional and familiar god Bes to others.\(^\text{32}\) The absence of statues of Dionysus, Eros, Athena, significant numbers of Harpocrates on his various mounts, Isis and her hybrid forms, and even Apis bulls, all of which are found in great numbers at other sites of the Roman era (Szyman\'ska 2005), may suggest that a more insular and less Romanized community lived at Medinet Habu. This provincial nature of the people of Medinet Habu and the city of Jeme has been commented upon in several contexts. Sabine Albersmeier’s study of the statues of Ptolemaic queens from the Theban area showed that they share a uniform archaizing appearance that does not reflect contemporary trends in more official art.\(^\text{33}\) and Wilfong (2002, pp. 8, 20) has commented on the lack of cultural impact that the Arab conquest had upon the Late Antique town of Jeme.

The small number of statues of divinities from Medinet Habu is also apparent in examples made of faience. Among the few are a fragment of a hippopotamus figurine (OIM 16091) and a seated figurine of leonine Uto (OIM 16739a–b). Ten examples of faience uraeus heads (OIM 16021, 16613–21; Hölscher Excavation IV, p. 46, fig. 57, pl. 37I) very similar to those used to decorate the gold throne of Tutankhamun (Carter hand list no. 91; Carter and Mace 1923, pls. 62–64) were also recovered.

A wide variety of animals is represented, the most numerous being quadrupeds, mainly equids (nos. 136–67), camels (nos. 168–78), and dogs (nos. 188–95). The cat is so closely associated with traditional gods (Sekhmet and Bastet) that cat figurines might be expected to be found in significant numbers, yet, curiously, the cat is rarely represented (no. 187 and perhaps no. 215). More difficult to explain still is the presence of fourteen birds (nos. 198–211). Most are so generic that the species cannot be identified. Those that can be identified with some certainty are not the expected ibises, falcons, or hawks that are associated with deities, but rather a diver, a spoonbill, a goose (nos. 200, 206–07), a guinea fowl (no. 204), a red junglefowl or cock (no. 205), and perhaps a lapwing (no. 211).

Figurines of inanimate objects are represented, the most numerous being a cross (no. 216), a six-lobed object (no. 217), the leg of a clay bed (no. 218), and the imprint of an infant’s foot (no. 219).

### DATE OF THE FIGURINES

Assigning an approximate date of manufacture to many of the materials presents real difficulties. Although one might assume that the objects excavated at Medinet Habu would have rich criteria for establishing a date, sadly, this is not the case. Many of the figurines were not assigned to a specific locus and so their archaeological context is unknown. Another significant number of objects is said to come simply from “debris,” which likewise does not provide information about their context and date. Even the objects that were assigned to a locus present some difficulties in interpretation because of the imprecision of Hölscher’s terminology of what constituted a locus, and the relationship of objects assigned the same locus.\(^\text{34}\)

Even when the object is assigned to a definite locus, the stratigraphy of Medinet Habu provides a disappointing amount of information, for only a few areas of the precinct can be said to really define the chronology of excavated objects. The southeast corner of the precinct, the location of the so-called “fellahin villages,” provides secure dates of the Twenty-second–Twenty-sixth Dynasties (Hölscher 1932, pp. 41–42; Teeter 2003b, p. 4). Fortunately, a significant number of objects in the present catalog came from this area. House I that was built in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty provides a terminus ad quem for the fragment of a female figurine found under that structure.

Hölscher concluded (1932, p. 40; Hölscher Excavation V, p. 34) that there was no settlement in the Great Temple area from Nectanebo to the time of Antoninus Pius in the Roman period (first century B.C.–fourth century

\(^{32}\) For the cult of Bes at Deir el Medina, see Bruyère 1939, pp. 93–108. For a similar selectivity of subject matter in molded plaques from the Diyala (Iraq), see Auerbach 1994, pp. 22–23, who states, “only certain deities from among the deities which had been commonly depicted in Mesopotamian art by that period were apparently considered appropriate for depiction on plaques.”


\(^{34}\) See comments in Teeter 2003b, pp. 1–7, 16–20, for problems with the stratigraphy of the site and difficulties in assigning dates based upon the excavators’ conclusions.
A.D.). If this is true, the Ptolemaic period would be eliminated from dating consideration. However, as has been noted, there is evidence for some activity in the area of the Great Temple in the Ptolemaic period, even if there was no trace of a settlement.

An additional difficulty in assigning dates to the figurines is that one cannot automatically rule out dates prior to the reign of Ramesses III. It is impossible to tell if objects without a stated locus may have come from the ruins of the Eighteenth Dynasty temple of Aye and Horemheb or from the ruins of the “small and rather poor houses” from the “Town of Amunhotep III” upon which the Great Temple of Ramesses was built (Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 33, 44, 46; Hölscher Excavation IV, p. 26 n. 3). Hölscher specifically mentions “pottery and remains of objects of daily use … as well as some scarabs and rings” that date to the reign of Amunhotep III. In addition to those simple objects, fragmentary statues attributed to that king on stylistic grounds have been recovered (Strauss-Seeber 1998).

Because of the limitations of the archaeological contexts, many of the dates assigned to objects in this monograph are derived from comparable materials from other sites. Some of the horses and birds excavated at Ashmuniein (Spencer and Bailey 1986), which have a striking resemblance to the ones from Medinet Habu, can safely be assigned to the Third Intermediate Period. Birds from Memphis (Giddy 1999, pp. 307–08, pls. 68–70) and horses from Karnak (Redford 1977, p. 14; Leclère and Marchand 1995, p. 364, pl. 13) have also come from at least roughly datable contexts. Female figurines from Mendes (D. Redford, pers. comm.), the Mut temple at Karnak (R. Fazzini, pers. comm.), the temple of Amun at Karnak (Redford 1977, pp. 14–15; Leclère and Marchand 1995, p. 365, pl. 13), Gurob (A. Thomas 1981, p. 83 no. 709), and Memphis (Giddy 1999, pp. 30–31) can be dated with some certainty. These comparative examples have all been taken into account for the analysis of the Medinet Habu material.

However, relying upon stylistic features to date artifacts has serious and obvious drawbacks, for it is too often subjective. Among the difficulties in dating on basis of style is that so few comparative examples have a provenance, and that so few of the excavated examples have been published. As noted by Dunand (1979, p. 5), clay figurines may take such undocumented forms and styles that even the excavated examples cannot be dated with great precision. Examples from Medinet Habu, such as some of the female figurines (nos. 63–65) and a monstrous (but humorous) head (no. 113) simply have no clear parallels, leaving the researcher in limbo. On the other hand, some forms, especially the animal figurines, are so pervasive that stylistically they exhibit what Török (1993, p. 51) refers to as “virtual parallelism,” leaving the cataloger to question whether the object was made in the early first millennium B.C. or 1,500 years later.

In summary, some of the material from Medinet Habu presents real difficulties in analysis because of unprecedented forms and lack of archaeological context. But it is the unprecedented forms that allow for a new view of Egyptian art and iconography, and which make this material so appealing and interesting. However, those same characteristics necessitate tentativeness in some of the dates — most of which the author has attempted to justify in order to allow the reader to more easily concur or disagree. It is hoped that the dates, even if some are conjectural, will provide a dialogue for dating other similar material.

---

35 For stylistic parameters distinguishing Greek from Roman figurines, see Bayer-Niemeier 1988, p. 13.
36 See Martin 1987, p. 71, for comments regarding the lack of publication of the figurines that Quibell excavated at Saqqara. The catalog that Anthes was preparing on the small finds from Medinet Habu treated the figurines in a very cursory fashion. Only twelve clay female figures of a dynastic date and two limestone statuettes of women were included. The portion of the manuscript for Late Period material is lost, but a cross-reference in the text for the earlier female figurines refers to only two orants from the Late Antique period. This apparent lack of interest in the other types of baked clay figurines is indicated by the single plate that would have accompanied the description of animal figures. It includes only fifteen objects that were considered to be representative products of over 2,000 years of the temple’s occupation. The manuscript section for figurines of animals is also lost. See Teeter 2003b, pp. 7–13, and the Introduction to this monograph for a summary of the documentation for the University of Chicago’s excavations at the site.
CATALOG

The catalog is organized into two general categories: Figurines (nos. 1–219) and votive beds (nos. 220–57) and stelae (nos. 258–70), which includes the molds for votive beds (nos. 271–72). The figurines are further divided into female figurines (nos. 1–104), male figurines (nos. 105–27), figurines of gods (nos. 128–35), animal figurines (nos. 136–215), and miscellaneous figurines (nos. 216–19), with various further subdivisions. The figurines and votive beds/stelae are introduced by discussions of their manufacture, date, and cultural context.

FEMALE FIGURINES (NOS. 1–104)

A great number of fragmentary figurines of women were recovered during the Hölscher excavation of Medinet Habu. Of the 219 baked clay figurines, those that show women make up 47 percent of the total. They exhibit a wide variety of styles, which upon stylistic and other grounds can be dated from the late New Kingdom well into the Late Antique period (ninth century A.D.), when Medinet Habu was abandoned. The extensive chronological range of examples allows for the typologies of Petrie (1927), Bruyère (1939, pp. 109–50), and Pinch (1993, pp. 198–209) to be extended into later periods. The following discussion addresses the figurines that can be assigned to the dynastic period. The Late Antique examples are discussed separately, later in this chapter.

MATERIAL

Most of the figurines are formed of Nile silt clay, which shows much variation in its temper and thus its texture. Some examples of the core can be seen, and some have been darkened by firing at excessive heat. Many are covered with reddish pigment. Only a few of the figurines from the dynastic period are made of finer, lighter-colored marl, and those have more elaborate pigmentation. See further comments for pigmentation below and in the individual catalog entries.

MANUFACTURE

The figurines are made either in a mold or by hand. Most of the moldmade examples were produced by pressing the damp clay into an open (one-piece) mold, while others were made by pressing the clay within a two-piece mold, giving detail and dimension to the front and back of the figurine. No molds for the female figurines were recovered and it cannot be determined if they were of baked clay, plaster, or limestone. None of the examples examined bears a potter’s mark.

The backs of the figurines made in an open mold are usually undecorated. On the back of some examples, fingerprints can be seen where the artisan pressed the clay into the mold. The head of figurine no. 29 is deformed by the pressure of the artisan’s finger against the wet clay. The mold used to make figurine no. 13 had a curved end over which the piece of clay was slumped to form the bend in the women’s ankles and the footboard of the bed. Figurine no. 11 shows misalignment of the two parts of the mold: the back mold is approximately 1.5 cm higher than it should be in relationship to the front. As a result, the crown of the head on the back emerges from the middle of its cylindrical headdress, and the front and back of its shoulders do not meet.

---

37 See comments below for the dating of the Third Intermediate Period examples.
38 One example, figurine no. 44, is a fragment of an early Eighteenth Dynasty female figurine that somehow migrated to the temple area, perhaps as an heirloom.
39 According to Ballet (1996, p. 115), the use of molds to make figurines appears first in the reign of Thutmose III.
40 See a limestone mold for a Bes figure from the site (Cairo JdE 59872; Hölscher Excavations V, p. 58 no. 2, pl. 34B) recovered from the area of the fellahin village (F/7). Hölscher dated it to the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties. Note that a great number of other small molds for faience were discovered in Eye 55A and also in 27.111, 28.38, 28.40 (all described as from “debris”), and 29.193c. (“F/B [sic] “under the Roman houses, and 28.2, G/6 “radim”). None of these loci help determine the date of the mold(s).
Although the excavation of Medinet Habu yielded many female figurines, there are not enough duplicates of a single type to indicate whether several examples were produced from a single mold.\textsuperscript{41} The poor or worn condition of the figurines, or the inability to examine some of them in person, makes it even more difficult to determine if several were produced from a single mold.\textsuperscript{42} Some that seem to be nearly identical are figurines nos. 28–29 and 32–33. Figurines nos. 28 and 29 were recovered from two different areas of the temple precinct, H/12 (MH 29.85) and F/4 (MH 28.140), which are a considerable distance from each other. Neither figurine no. 32 nor no. 33 has a stated locus, so no conclusions can be drawn about their relative proximity to each other.

None of the Medinet Habu figurines is inscribed.\textsuperscript{43} Many bear traces of pigment, most often dark red, a color that is more frequently associated with statues and representations of males, as well as with execration figurines.\textsuperscript{44} This dark red is used more consistently on the idealized figurines (Types A–D in this catalog). In contrast, the non-idealized figurines (Types E–F) bear traces of white and yellow as well as dark red. Most of the Type E examples that could be examined (nos. 45–46, 48, 50, 52) are painted white with the exception of figurine no. 50, which is pink. Most curiously, all these figurines bear striped decoration; figurines nos. 45–46, 48, 50, and 52 have alternating stripes of yellow and dark red.

\section*{FORMS OF FEMALE FIGURINES}

Female figurines from the dynastic period at Medinet Habu fall into three major stylistic groups. The first group, Types A–D figurines (nos. 1–43), expresses the standard idealized feminine form: the women are slender and long-legged with small breasts. Such representations are in striking contrast to figurines from other cultures of the ancient Near East, which tend to show women with exaggerated hips and breasts evoking their reproductive role.\textsuperscript{45}

The second group, classified as Type E figurines (nos. 44–52), has rounded fleshy bodies with wide hips and large rounded breasts.

The third group, Types F–G figurines (nos. 53–67), is very abstracted with exaggerated female sexual characteristics. Type F (nos. 53–62) portrays the female form with very broad hips. The pubic area is strongly delineated by outlines and stipple marks that represent pubic hair. This form bears the most similarity to examples from Mesopotamia. The final stage of abstraction, Type G (nos. 63–67), reduces or eliminates non-sexual characteristics such as the head and arms. The most extreme example of this abstraction is the pubic plaque, figurine no. 75.

Types A–D are found at numerous sites in Egypt. It is striking that Type A figurines from Medinet Habu are so similar to those found at other locations in Egypt (see Pinch 1993, pp. 231–32, for a list of other sites that have produced this style figurine [Type A = Pinch’s Type 5]). Waraksa (2009, p. 77) has attempted to explain the “uniform size, shape and appearance” of each type of figurine by suggesting that their manufacture suggests “stan-

\textsuperscript{41} This is in contrast to the situation at Karanis where many duplicates of each type were found. See Allen 1985 for the corpus from that site.

\textsuperscript{42} See the Introduction for comments on the present location of some of the figurines.

\textsuperscript{43} Inscriptions on such figurines are very rare. Examples include Berlin 14517 (Schott 1930, p. 23, pl. 10:4; Pinch 1993, p. 218) made of limestone, a Pinch type I of the Middle and New Kingdom with the text “May a birth be given to your daughter Seb,” and Louvre 8000 (Desroches-Noblecourt 1953, pl. 5; Naguib 1993, p. 35), which bears the text: “An offering which the king gives to the ka of Khonsu; a child for Tia.” A third example (August Kestner Museum 1035.200) of a woman very similar to my Type E (short rounded coiffeur and large hips, with left arm flexed, her hand just below her breasts) bears a largely illegible Demotic inscription that mentions Khonsu twice. It is not clear whether this is a reference to the god (perhaps an invocation to the deity) or to a theophoric personal name. I thank Christian Loeben for bringing this figurine to my attention, and Richard Jasnou for puzzling out the inscription. Jasnou commented (pers. comm.) that the Demotic hand appears to be “early Saite or somewhat earlier” which accords well with the proposed dates of the Type E figurines.

\textsuperscript{44} See Arnold 1996, p. 51, for comments about statues of the Amarna princesses and of Nefertiti being made of dark brown or reddish quartzite; and Robins 1993, pp. 180–81, for the comment that the use of darker pigment for women may have implications for their social status. See also Pinch 1983, p. 408, for red on female figurines.

\textsuperscript{45} For Susa, see examples and comments of Spycket 1992b, pp. 183–84 no. 132; and generally Spycket 1992a. See Legrain 1930 for examples from Nippur, Iraq.
dardization at the institutional and elite, if not royal, level.” She comments that her polychrome Type 2 figurines (corresponding to Type D here) “seem to have been produced in large royal centers.” The scarcity of molds for these figurines might suggest the location of their manufacture, whether in multiple local locations or in several more regionally diverse locations (such as the major population centers), but her suggestion is difficult to verify.

DATE OF FEMALE FIGURINES: ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT

As stated above (see also Teeter 2003b, pp. 1–3), the stratigraphy of Medinet Habu provides little help in assigning dates to the figurines. Not only does much of the site lack any meaningful stratigraphic sequence (as Anthes commented, “die Fundstände reichen zu sicher Datierung nicht aus”46), but few of the figurines were assigned to a meaningful locus. To illustrate the difficulty in using the archaeological context to assign dates to the figurines, the following paragraphs summarize the contexts from which female figurines were recovered.

- **MH 28.72**: E/5, southeast corner of the precinct, in the Roman settlement inside the Great Girdle Wall, 50 cm above “the foundations.” One fragment of a Type F figurine (no. 59) came from this locus. Other items included the head of an orant figurine (no. 95), a scarab of the Late New Kingdom (Teeter 2003b, cat. no. 64), two pottery vessels of unspecified type, the foot of an alabaster bowl, and a clay figurine of a horse and rider (no. 120). The objects from this locus are clearly of mixed time periods.

- **MH 28.140**: F/4, southeast section of the precinct, in the ruins of the houses. Seven female figurines came from this location: three Type A (nos. 3, 9, 12), three Type B (nos. 13, 16, 26), and one Type C (no. 29). This locus contained a variety of small objects including a section of a votive bed (votive bed no. 221), several stelae related to the votive beds (nos. 259–65), the clay sheep figurine no. 181, a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles. Aston (1996, p. 54, fig. 170) has dated the pottery from this deposit to the Twenty-second–Twenty-fourth Dynasties. This accords well with the date of Hölscher’s so-called fellahin village that covered F/4 (see Teeter 2003b, p. 4, for a discussion of this area). According to Hölscher, these houses were built in the Twenth-first Dynasty and some were demolished in the early Twenty-fifth Dynasty, at which time the chapels of the God’s Wives and their retainers started to fill the area. Hölscher noted that the area was not built upon in the Ptolemaic period, concluding that the objects in that locus are from the Third Intermediate Period. Indeed, all the objects of that locus are well within the stylistic parameters of the Third Intermediate Period.

- **MH 29.44**: N/6, South side of the Great Temple, by House 1 (for this area, see Teeter 2003b, pp. 4–6). A single Type F female figurine (no. 55) was recovered from this locus. Hölscher noted that House 1 (“Homre House”) was built upon debris “aus dem dieses schöne Mädchen stammet!” House 1 was built in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, therefore the figurine should be dated prior to that time, probably the Twenty-second–Twenty-fourth Dynasties.

- **MH 29.85**: H/12, Northeast section of the precinct before the Great Temple, on the Roman level by the well of Nectanebo. One figurine of Type C (no. 28) came from this locus, as did one votive bed (no. 223). Other materials from the same group include objects dating stylistically to the dynastic era, including a clay head of a man (no. 109), a *wedjat* eye with cartouche of Ramesses III (OIM 16345), a white faience circular ornament with open work in the form of a standing goddess who holds an *ankh* (OIM 15134), and a double-sided plaque (OIM 14834; Teeter 2003b, cat. no. 9).

- **Eye 54**: One Type A female figurine (no. 1), one Type H figurine (no. 74), a Roman-period figurine of an old woman, referred to as a baubo figurine (no. 79; for the definition of baubo figurines, see figurine no. 77), the head from a molded figurine of a man (no. 121), clay figurines of a horse (no. 136), a camel (no. 175), a dog (no. 192), and a bird (no. 199), as well as a limestone statuette of an ape (OIM 15560), and a miniature (7.5 cm wide) limestone architectural fragment of columns and lintel (OIM 14810). The artifacts reflect a wide range of dates indicating that the locus cannot be used to determine the date of the objects.

---

46 Anthes, unpublished draft manuscript catalog, p. 1 of “Frauenfiguren.”
The K numbering system was used for finds from the Coptic ruins.\(^{47}\) This could mean that Hölscher was referring to a Coptic house, or to an area of other Coptic remains. However, objects that were assigned K numbers but are clearly of dynastic date, such as two Type E female figurines (nos. 49, 52) and two Type F figurines (nos. 53, 60), found their way into the later strata, so the designation seems to be of little help for assigning dates. Nine of the thirteen Late Antique orant heads (nos. 87, 94, 96, 98–100, 102–04) were given K designations.\(^{58}\)

With the exception of F/4 (MH 28.140) and N/6 (MH 29.44), the loci with female figurines contain objects of diverse chronological periods, and they do not possess any clear stratigraphic information that provides dates for them.

By default, stylistic considerations and well-dated parallels are the means through which dates may, at least tentatively, be assigned to many of the figurines. Clearly, the earliest example from Medinet Habu is figurine no. 44, a form characteristic of the Second Intermediate Period into the early Eighteenth Dynasty. This is the only fragment of its type from the site. The object has no findspot to suggest whether it originated from the Eighteenth Dynasty temple or village,\(^{49}\) or whether it was an intrusive heirloom that was recovered from Ramesside or later levels.

Types A, B, C, and D are all attested from Ramesside and Third Intermediate Period levels at other sites. The non-idealized figurine Types E and F seem to be contemporary and can be dated from the Twenty-second to the Twenty-sixth Dynasties. At Medinet Habu, they may represent the Third Intermediate–Late Period development of the idealized forms of the New Kingdom and Ramesside period.

**SYMBOLISM AND FUNCTION OF FEMALE FIGURINES**

Archaeological context can do much to illuminate the function of the female figurines. Pinch’s study (1993, pp. 225–34) documented that such material comes from domestic, funerary, and temple contexts, attesting to their wide-ranging use and symbolism. At Medinet Habu, the range of archaeological contents is more restricted because the site was used primarily as a temple, administrative center, and village.\(^{50}\) However, there is no reason to assume that the female figurines functioned any differently at Medinet Habu than at any other contemporary site.

The idea of them being erotic or “concubines for the dead” is now generally discredited,\(^{51}\) other than in the context of the deceased, regardless of gender, having become “Osiris,” a male god who would need his female counterpart for procreation and the act of eternal rebirth. The women are not shown in sexual poses, and scenes of a man and woman together are not found in this genre of material.\(^{52}\) Types C and D that show a woman with or without a child on the bed leave no room on the bed for any sort of sexual partner.\(^{53}\) It has been suggested that the perceived sexual nature of the figurines is associated with Hathor in western Thebes.\(^{54}\) However, no known shrine to that goddess has been discovered at Medinet Habu.\(^{55}\)

Waraksa has posited that some of the female figurines were manipulated as a part of a healing ritual. She suggested that because they are red — a color associated with evil and with objects that are ritually broken, such as red pots and execution figurines — and so many examples are fragmentary, they were believed to absorb illness or evil from the afflicted. Then they were deliberately snapped into pieces to counteract the evil. She cites magical spells (P. Turin 54003 recto 13–16; P. Leiden I 348 recto lines 12.2–12.4) that refer to a clay figurine as further support for her thesis (Waraksa 2009, pp. 148–54). It is not impossible that some of the figurines may be part of

\(^{47}\) The K numbering system does not seem to relate to specific locations, but perhaps to lots from the Coptic levels or houses, numbered sequentially. There are no field records that correspond to the K numbers and hence no information about their findspots. See comments in Teeter 2003b, p. 9, and above.

\(^{48}\) Other orants (nos. 86, 97, and 101) have no field numbers. Figurine no. 95 was assigned the field number MH 28.72k, from the Roman settlement in the southeast area of the temple precinct.

\(^{49}\) See Hölscher *Excavation IV*, p. 26, for the remains of houses with objects that “seem to belong to the end of the 18th and the 19th dyn.”

\(^{50}\) None of the figurines with a field number came from the tombs in the Western High Gate, around the Small Temple, or the western chapels.

\(^{51}\) Martin (1987, p. 71) comments “The term [erotic] is hardly appropriate, but is used here for a lack of a descriptive alternative.” See Pinch (1983, p. 410 no. 35, p. 412; 1993, pp. 214–15) for summaries of the assertions that the figurines are erotic, or “concubines for the dead.” See more recently, Kletter 1996, p. 68, for the comment “today the tendency is to see them as fertility figurines, related with rebirth.”

\(^{52}\) Figurines from the dynastic period that actually show coitus are more commonly made of faience than baked clay. See Manniche 1997 for examples; see Martin 1987 for a brief inventory of the holdings of the Egyptian Museum with examples of “obscene” groups or figures in both materials.

\(^{53}\) As noted by Pinch (1983, p. 407).

\(^{54}\) Of the 321 figurines from temples studied by Pinch, 305 (95%) came from shrines associated with Hathor (Pinch 1993, p. 221).

\(^{55}\) In a Late Period hymn from the site “men and women pray to Hathor for the gift of children” (Pinch 1993, p. 222).
such a cult. However, the many examples of intact figurines, examples that are not red, and particularly the presence of limestone versions of the female figurines suggest other functions. These alternate uses are supported by the few examples of figurines that bear inscriptions (see note 43). Two of the three notations are legible, and they refer to fecundity. Of those inscribed examples, all three are intact.

The presence of the figurines in the tombs of men as well as women at sites other than Medinet Habu (Pinch 1993, p. 223) suggests that they are generalized fertility symbols that served as a “charm against childlessness in this life and the next.” In the mortuary context they also functioned as votives for the deceased to promote fertility, alluding to rebirth in the afterlife. As noted by Bonnet (1952, p. 94) and Pinch (1993, p. 222), they could be dedicated to any deity associated with conception and childbirth. This sense of being a very general icon of rebirth and regeneration unrelated to gender is further supported by female figurines found at the mining site of Serabit Khadim where there is little record of a female population. Another indication of the lack of a uniform association of figurines with females is the Berlin female figurine that bears the inscription “May a birth be given to your daughter Seh” (see note 43). The masculine pronoun “your” that defined “daughter” indicates that the use of female figurines could involve a male member of the family. The fact that these figurines have been recovered from temples, houses, and tombs has led Pinch (1993, p. 223) to warn that it is “probably a mistake to try to narrow down the functions of the figures too far.”

In summary, the female figurines are clearly related to fertility. Two examples are inscribed with texts that allude to actual fertility. However, it is a mistake to assume that the figurines were related strictly to childbirth. In ancient Egypt, images of fertility were often more general allusions to health and rejuvenation. This would help explain why these figurines are found in so many different contexts. They could be treated as true votives and left in a temple to implore the god(s) for health, fertility, and life, or kept in a house as a general good luck charm to ensure the safety of the entire household. In the funerary context, the female figurine was a generic icon for rebirth, regardless of the gender of the deceased.

FEMALE FIGURINES FROM THE DYNASTIC PERIOD (NOS. 1–75)

TYPE A: SLENDER FEMALE, ARMS AT SIDES (NOS. 1–12)

The women are shown in classic Egyptian form: with slender waists and hips, long legs, and small round breasts. With the few exceptions noted below, the examples that could be examined were made in an open, one-part mold and were therefore not finished or decorated on the reverse side. All examples examined had traces of pigment. The twelve Type A figurines from Medinet Habu correspond to Pinch’s type 5 (Pinch 1993, pp. 205–07).

Two examples (nos. 10–11) were made in a two-part rather than an open mold. Although this construction is rare at Medinet Habu, it was exceedingly common at Deir el Medina (Bruyère 1939, fig. 58, pl. 43.1).

A single Type A figurine in limestone without registration information (fig. 4a on p. 16) was also recovered from the site.

All eight examples for which the head is preserved (nos. 1–5, 10–12) show that the woman was wearing the heavy tripartite wig (or a version thereof) that descends upon and covers the top of each shoulder. Of these, the wig shown on figurine no. 5 displays a slight variation, for the wig has lines indicating striations and is more boxy, enveloping the face of the woman, much in the style of a festival wig. None of these figurines is shown with earrings. Although the top of the head of figurine no. 3 is indistinct, the slightly pointed top suggests that it represents a cone. The top of figurine no. 5 is chipped and so the presence of a cone cannot be determined. Both figurines nos. 10 and 11 wear a tall narrow modius headdress similar to those attested by figurines from Deir el

---

56 See Polaczek-Zdanowicz 1975, p. 142, for comments about patterns of breakage and intact figurines.
57 Tooley 1991, p. 107. The placement of figurines in tombs of adult men and women also argues strongly against the figurines being simply dolls (as noted in ibid., p. 104).
58 As noted in Kemp 1995, p. 29.
59 As noted in Tooley 1991, p. 106.
60 See note 43.
61 See Pinch 1983, p. 413, for the conclusion that the figurines are “essentially prophylactic.” Friedman (1994, p. 101) suggests that “A sexual interpretation in its most comprehensive sense, encompassing the procreative and erotic, the material and nurturing sides of female life, seems to apply to the box bed paintings [at Deir el Medina], the ostraca, and the fertility figurines.”
62 Such as that shown on the statue of Nakhmin’s wife (Cairo JdE 31629 = CG 779B) in Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, no. 196.
Medina (Bruyère 1939, fig. 58, pl. 43.1). The other examples on which the head is preserved (nos. 1–2, 4, 12) do not wear any sort of cone or modius.

### 1. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14613  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 1a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Eye 54a  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR4/2, brown-dark brown  
**SIZE:** H 8.8 ≈ W 3.3 ≈ D 1.8 cm  

**DESCRIPTION:** Type A Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is broken from the top of the knees down. The body has a very pinched waist and rounded thighs. The face is small and oval with a pointed chin. The figurine has lost much of its definition, but the tresses of the wig are long and slender and there is a rectangular ornament on its brow. The legs and arms are long and thin. The figurine is covered with flaky dark red pigment.

**PROVENANCE**

No information on the location in the temple is given for this locus. The figurine was found among a group of other figurines, including a female head with a Wochenlaube hairstyle (no. 74), a baubo (no. 79), a male head with a peaked cap (no. 121), a horse (no. 136), a camel (no. 175), a dog (no. 192), a bird (no. 199), a limestone statue of a monkey (OIM 15560), a fragment of a Coptic limestone altar (OIM 14810), and a lion head(?) without registration information.

**COMMENTARY**

The date of the figurine is based upon its similarity to figurines nos. 3 and 9 from MH 28.140c, which Aston (1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]) has dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. The same brow ornament is present on figurine no. 68. Compare to figurine no. 2.

### 2. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14588  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 1b  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR6/4, light brown  
**SIZE:** H 9.55 × W 3.55 × D 1.80 cm  

**DESCRIPTION:** Type A Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is broken at mid-thigh. The hair covers both shoulders, reaching the breasts, and the ends of the tresses are decorated with smaller braids or beads. Details of the face are abraded and there is only a slight indication of eyes. The hair was painted black, the body yellow. The back is flat and rough without pigment or detail. The top of the head has an indentation where the artisan’s finger pressed into the wet clay.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**

The date of the figurine is based upon its similarity to figurines nos. 3 and 9 from MH 28.140c, which Aston (1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]) has dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. Compare to figurine no. 1.
CATALOG

3. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information

PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 2a

FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140c

MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined

DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

SIZE: ca. H 8.2 × W 2.0 cm

DESCRIPTION: Type A Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and was broken at the waist; it has since been repaired. The area below the knees is lost. A tripartite wig covers the shoulders, and a cone is on its head. Details of the face are very worn. The arms are at the sides. The figurine has a very slender waist and rounded belly.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), six other female figurines (nos. 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY

The date of the figurine is based upon the accompanying pottery (Aston 1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 129f.

4. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information

PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 2b

FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded

MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined

DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

SIZE: H 5.3 × W 2.6 cm

DESCRIPTION: Type A Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the hips. The figurine is very slender, arms are at the sides, and a tripartite wig covers the shoulders. The details of the face are very abraded.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

COMMENTARY

The date of the figurine is based upon its similarity to figurine no. 3 from MH 28.140c, which Aston (1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]) has dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 134c.
5. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 2c
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–23, ca. 1070–715 B.C.
SIZE: H 6.0 × W 4.0 cm
DESCRIPTION: This fragment of a female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at mid-torso. The arms are at the sides, the lappets of the wig fall in two heavy hanks on the shoulders and its overall appearance is very full and boxy, more like a heavy festival wig of the Eighteenth–Nineteenth Dynasties.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
Compare to figurine no. 68. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 130g.

6. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 2d
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
SIZE: ca. H 7.8 × W 3.2 cm
DESCRIPTION: This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken above the breast and at the ankles. The legs are long and thin, the belly is slightly rounded, and the arms are at the sides. This example has more detail of the pubis (a “V” mark) than most examples of the type.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The date of the figurine is based upon its similarity to figurines nos. 9 and 29 from MH 28.140c, which Aston (1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]) has dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 134b.
7. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION: Type A Female Figurine

This fragment of a female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the waist and knees. The left hand is at the side. The belly and thighs are softly rounded. The rim around the figurine makes it difficult to determine if this should be categorized as Type A or B.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The date of the figurine is based upon its similarity to figurines nos. 9 and 26 from MH 28.140c, which Aston (1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]) has dated by the accompanying pottery. This figurine is known only from Teilunglist 134f.

---

8. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION: Type A Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the neck and ankles. The arms are at the sides. The rim around the edges suggests that this may be a Type B figurine; however, the rim follows the profile of the legs so closely that the edge may be the result of the manufacturing process.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The date of the figurine is based upon its similarity to figurines nos. 9 and 26 from MH 28.140c, which Aston (1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]) has dated by the accompanying pottery. This figurine is known only from Teilunglist 133e.
9. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER:  No registration information                      PHOTOGRAPH:  Pl. 3c
FIELD NUMBER:           MH 28.140c                          MATERIAL / COLOR:  Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE:                  Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION:           Type A Female Figurine

This fragment of a female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the waist and knees. The waist and hips are narrow and the left arm is at the side.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), other female figurines (nos. 3, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY

It is difficult to determine if this fragment should be categorized as Type A or B because the rim around the woman could be a narrow bed. The date of the figurine is based upon the accompanying pottery (Aston 1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]). This figurine is known only from Teilungsliste 129e.

10. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER:  OIM 14595                      PHOTOGRAPH:  Pl. 4a
FIELD NUMBER:           Not recorded                   MATERIAL / COLOR:  Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR6/2, pinkish gray
DATE:                  Late New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–23, ca. 1185–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION:           Type A Female Figurine

This fragment of a female figurine in the round was made in a two-part mold and is now broken at mid-chest. The face is small and the features are molded in low definition. The tall modius headdress, the bottom of which has a notched band on the brow, has groups of heavy braids that fall from the headdress over the hair or wig, two on the front of each shoulder, a group of three in the center of its back, and groups of two(?) on the back of each shoulder. The breasts are small and the shoulders narrow. The arms are at its sides. The braids and wig are black, the face and neck dark red, and there are traces of white pigment (or precipitated salt?) on the back.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

COMMENTARY

This particular form of a tall cylindrical headdress and wig are similar to examples from Deir el Medina (Bruyère 1939, p. 139, fig. 58). Bruyère suggested that the Deir el Medina headdress was related to Tetisheri, citing the British Museum statue that has since been declared to be a forgery (Davies 1984). Compare to figurine no. 11, where details of the overlying wig are more clear.
11. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14596       PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 4b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded       MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR6/4, light brown
DATE: Late New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–23, ca. 1185–715 B.C.
SIZE: H 6.2 × W 3.1 × D 2.4 cm

DESCRIPTION:
Type A Female Figurine

This fragment of a female figurine was made in a two-part mold. The two parts of the mold were misaligned, the back mold being approximately 1.5 cm higher than it should be. As a result, the crown of the head on the back emerges from the middle of its headdress, and the front and back of the shoulders do not meet.

The figurine is broken at mid-chest, the arms are at the sides, and the breasts are small and shoulders narrow. It has a cylindrical modius headdress that is taller than that on figurine no. 10. A line of dark pigment imitates the notched band on figurine no. 10. Groups of heavy tapering braids(?), three in the center of the back, a group of two on the back of the right shoulder, and four on the left, fall from the headdress over and beyond its own hair or wig. The ends of the wig are marked as if finely braided or ornamented with beads. The braids and wig are black and the face and neck are dark red.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
For the date assigned to this example, see figurine no. 10. See Davies 1984, pl. 22Ca, for a coiffure where the hair at the back of the head is gathered together and then braided into one large plait.

12. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information       PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 5a
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140c       MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
SIZE: H 12.0 × W 3.7 cm

DESCRIPTION:
Type A Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the hips. It is badly abraded. The hair falls in two long tresses to the breasts. The arms are at the sides.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), six other female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY
The date of the figurine is based upon the accompanying pottery (Aston 1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 129a.
Fourteen examples of Type B baked clay figurines were recovered. This style of figurine is characterized as a female with slender waist and hips and small but defined breasts lying on a bed with arms to the sides (Pinch 1993, pp. 207–08, type 6b). Most of the examples from Medinet Habu represent the bed as a simple slab that surrounds the body. All examples on which the top is preserved show that the head of the bed was rounded.

The head and facial details of some of these figurines can be made out (the heads of figurines nos. 25–26 are lost). The form of hairstyle varies considerably. Most examples (nos. 13–22) are shown with the traditional heavy tripartite wig. A limestone statuette of a woman on a bed with its arms to its sides (OIM 14602; fig. 4b on p. 16) also shows this tripartite wig. The Medinet Habu examples, like those studied by Pinch, all use the convention that both shoulders are covered by hair, although the ribbons that bind the tresses of some of Pinch’s type 6b are not seen.63 Two examples (nos. 23–24) show the woman wearing a short round wig. Of Type B, figurines nos. 17–18 show the woman wearing large round earrings, a feature that is not common (“a few”) in Pinch’s typology. These same three figurines show a cone on the woman’s head, as do figurines nos. 13(?), 15–16, and 20–22, a feature that is also not common in Pinch’s group. None of the Medinet Habu examples are shown with the woman’s face in profile, and on none of them are items such as mirrors, snakes, or flowers (see Pinch 1983, pp. 406–07) shown on the bed next to the woman.

According to Pinch (1993, p. 208), figurines showing a woman on a bed are attested from the late Eighteenth Dynasty into the Ramesside period. However, the Medinet Habu examples indicate that this type of figurine continued to be produced in the Third Intermediate Period. An example from Mendes has been dated even later — to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (D. Redford, pers. comm.). Such figurines are known from Thebes (Deir el Medina, the Ramesseum), while others have been recovered from tombs at Deir Rifa, Edfu, Gurob, Riqqa, Sedment, from houses at Tell el Amarna, Edfu, and Deir el Balah (in Palestine), and from temples at Memphis, Mirgissa, and Serabit Khadim (Pinch 1993, pp. 232–33).

13. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGISTRATION NUMBER:</th>
<th>OIM 14581a–b</th>
<th>PHOTOGRAPH:</th>
<th>Pl. 5b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIELD NUMBER:</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>MATERIAL / COLOR:</td>
<td>Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR6/4, light brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE:</td>
<td>Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.</td>
<td>SIZE:</td>
<td>H 15.00 × W 3.50 × D (at foot) 3.20 cm, D (at head) 1.51 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESCRIPTION:</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This female figurine on a bed was made in an open mold, was once broken at the waist, and is now repaired. The bed is wider on the left than on the right. The bed has a high footboard. The angle of the feet on the back is very rounded indicating that the clay was slumped over a curved mold. The hair falls in two long, thick tresses over the shoulders to small oval breasts. The tresses bear slight striations. The large round earrings are placed slightly below the level of the eyes, and perhaps a flattened cone is atop the head. The oval face has little definition of features. The feet are only vaguely modeled. The back is plain and slightly rough.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), six other female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects

---

63 Pinch (1993, p. 208) commented that “part of the wig may be tucked behind the left shoulder, which evokes a suckling scene even though no child is shown.”
(without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

**COMMENTARY**

The date of the figurine is based upon the accompanying pottery (Aston 1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]), which is also supported by the location of the figurine in the area of the fellahin village. In his catalog notes, Anthes suggested a date of the Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasties for this figurine. Stylistically, the figurine certainly could be from the Twenty-first Dynasty or even earlier, but the slightly later date is in accordance with the history of the site’s settlement and Aston’s judgment about the pottery.

### 14. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–25, ca. 1150–664 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Type B Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold. The figurine is broken at the ankles, the head of the bed is rounded, and its surface extends approximately 0.4 cm from around the edge of the figure’s body. The features of the face are indistinct. The tresses of a tripartite wig descend to the top of the breasts. The arms are at the sides.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**

This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist* 132b.

### 15. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Type B Female Figurine

This female figurine made in an open mold is now broken at the lower waist. A heavy tripartite wig reaches the breasts. A small cone is on the figure’s head. The head of the bed is rounded.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**

The date is based upon the figurine’s similarities to figurine no. 13, which is dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist* 130f.
16. FIGURINE

Registration Number: No registration information
Field Number: MH 28.140c
Date: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
Description: Type B Female Figurine
This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the waist. The arms are at the sides and heavy tresses cover both shoulders. The figure has circular, rounded breasts. A funerary cone is suggested, but the area is abraded and without good definition.

Provenance
This figurine was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), six other female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

Commentary
The date of the figurine is based upon the accompanying pottery (Aston 1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 129h.

17. FIGURINE

Registration Number: OIM 14603
Field Number: MH 27.15d
Date: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.
Description: Type B Female Figurine
This female figurine on a bed was made in an open mold. The bed was supported on four tapering legs, now only the two legs at the head of the bed are preserved. The figurine is broken at mid-leg. The arms are at the sides. The figure has a tripartite wig, the tresses of which originally covered both shoulders. The area of hair over the left shoulder is now abraded. The figure has large circular earrings and a flattened cone. The head rests on an elongated oval pillow.

Provenance
According to the excavators this figurine was found “South of the Great Temple, in the debris,” along with a pottery vessel with lug handles and a “Coptic inscription” with no further information.

Commentary
Pinch (1993, p. 209) has erroneously referred to this object by its publication in Hölscher Excavation V (pl. 6H) and classified it as a bed with a woman and child. Her description matches the limestone figurine shown in Hölscher Excavation V (p. 11, fig. 12 right = fig. 4c in this volume).

The suggested terminus a quo for this example (and the closely related figurines nos. 18–19) is based on the lack of parallels from Deir el Medina, suggesting that this form was a stylistic development that dates to after the time the village was abandoned. See figurine no. 36 for another example of a bed modeled with legs.

Published
18. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type B Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is broken across the chest. The figure has a heavy tripartite wig that falls in wide hanks to the breasts. A slender cone is on the head, and these are large, round earrings. The head rests on the representation of an oval pillow. The head of the bed is rounded.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
No photographs or remarks in the field notes indicate whether the back of this example was molded with legs to make it freestanding like figurine no. 17. For the date, see commentary for figurine no. 17. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 131i.

19. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type B Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is broken at the waist. The figure wears a heavy tripartite wig that reaches the breasts and a large pointed cone. The bed surface extends nearly a centimeter beyond the wig. The figure’s head rests on the representation of an oval pillow. The head of the bed is rounded.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
No photographs or remarks in the field notes indicate whether this example, like figurine no. 17 which it so closely resembles, was molded with legs on the backside. Compare to figurines nos. 17 and 18. The pillow shown on figurine no. 19 is smaller than on the other examples. For the suggested date, see commentary for figurine no. 17. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 130a.
20. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type B Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the chest. The figure has a heavy tripartite wig whose long lappets fall upon the breasts. A pointed cone is on the head. The head of the bed is generally rounded, but its left side is irregularly shaped.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The measurements are very approximate because the field photograph of the object is oblique and therefore distorted. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 133h.

21. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14593
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type B Female Figurine

This fragment of a female figurine is preserved from the top of the head to just below the breasts. The figurine was made in an open mold, and the back is plain and slightly convex. A tripartite wig falls just below the shoulders. The face is more round than most examples. A flattened cone, painted red, is on the head. The body is painted yellow and the wig/hair is black. The surface of the bed is painted white. Stripes of red at the level of the shoulder, at about ear level, and at brow imitate the webbing of the bed.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.
22. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type B Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold. Only the head is preserved. The figurine is abraded and has little detail. A heavy wig topped with a flattened cone is on the head.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 131e.

23. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14589
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 25, ca. 780–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type B Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken across the chest. The back is unworked and very cleanly finished. The head of the bed is rounded and the surface is very thick (1.9 cm). The figure has a short, round hairstyle. There is little definition of facial features. The figurine is covered with reddish pigment.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
Compare to figurine no. 24, which is very similar but has wider shoulders. The date is based upon the short, round hairstyle that was popular in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.
24. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14590  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 9a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR5/4, brown
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 25, ca. 780–656 B.C.  SIZE: ca. H 7.8 × W 4.2 cm
DESCRIPTION:
This female figurine was made in an open mold. The figurine is broken at the hips. The figure has a short, round hairstyle as on figurine no. 23. The details of the face are now badly abraded and without detail. The arms are thin and the breasts defined and round. The bed is thick (1.7 cm), and the head of the bed is rounded.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
Compare to figurine no. 23, which is very similar but which has narrower shoulders. The date is based upon the short, round hairstyle that was popular in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty.

25. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 9b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DESCRIPTION:
This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the neck and mid-calf. The arms are thin and compact against the body. The pubic area is defined by a pronounced “V” line. The bed is much wider than most examples of this type.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 130b.
26. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140c
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION: Type B Female Figurine
This female figurine was made in an open mold. It is now broken at waist and knees. The figure’s long, slender arms are at the sides. The legs are long and thin. The edge of the bed is preserved at the figurine’s left arm.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), six other female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY
The small rim around the edge of this figurine suggests that it may depict a woman on a bed, but it could possibly be a Type A figurine (Pinch type 5). Compare to figurine no. 9, which is from the same locus and is quite similar in style. The date of the figurine is based upon the accompanying pottery (Aston 1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 129g.

TYPE C: IDEALIZED FEMALE ON BED NURSING CHILD (NOS. 27–39)
This type of figurine depicts a woman with slender hips, small breasts, and, where preserved, long, slender legs. The right hand is on the left breast, from which a child suckles. The child, being poorly differentiated, is often hard to see or is shown as a worn lump on the figure’s left side. With only two exceptions, all examples show the left tress tucked behind the shoulder to expose the breast. The exceptions include a few baked clay examples (nos. 32, 33, 36) and a limestone example (OIM 14324; fig. 4c), both of which show the figure’s face in profile. This feature of the left shoulder bared is so consistent that it may be considered to be diagnostic for a nursing figurine in fragmentary examples where the lower section of the figurine is not preserved, such as figurine no. 35.

Most examples of this type have large round earrings (nos. 27–31, 34). Some wear a cone on their head (nos. 28–31, 35), although some wear both a cone and earrings (nos. 28–31). There is no one-to-one association between wearing a cone and the round earrings, for other examples wear a cone and no earrings (no. 35) or earrings and no cone (no. 27). On none of the figurines are other items such as mirrors or snakes shown on the bed next to the woman, nor is the bed decorated with plants (Pinch 1983, pp. 406–07; idem 1993, p. 209).

This form of figurine was classified by Pinch as type 6c (Pinch 1993, p. 209), although some of her examples show the child at the woman’s side rather than actively nursing. She states (ibid., p. 209) that “none appears to be earlier than the late 18th dynasty” and that some “may be as late as the Third Intermediate Period.” However, the examples from Medinet Habu are surely from the Third Intermediate Period (see commentary for figurine no. 29), indicating the persistence of the style into that later era.

---

64 See Kletter 1996, p. 93, for the comment that the female figurines from Egypt “support one [breast] as a motion of suckling,” whereas the figurines from Judea clasp both breasts.

65 See Pinch 1993, p. 209, for the comment that among the materials she studied, “mostly, the child lies at the woman’s side, usually on her right.”
27. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14594
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the shins. The figure is shown with extremely slender hips and thighs. The tresses of the tripartite wig cover the right shoulder; the left shoulder is bare. Large circular earrings are depicted. There is little detail to the figure’s face. The right hand is to the left breast, from which a child suckles. The child is very thin, and its buttocks, legs, and left arm trail along the figure’s side. The bed conforms closely to the figure’s body. The back of the figurine is flat and marked with scrapes from a tool.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The date is based upon its similarity to figurine no. 29, which is dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery.

28. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.85a
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at mid-chest. The left lappet of a heavy tripartite wig is pushed behind the shoulder to bare a breast. The right shoulder is covered by hair. Large circular earrings and a pointed cone on the head are depicted. The right arm is bent with the hand cupping the left breast to nurse a child.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in H/12, the northeast section of the precinct before the Great Temple on the Roman level by the well of Nectabebo, with a wedjat eye with cartouche of Ramesses III on the back (OIM 16345) and many small finds that are, by style, pre-Ptolemaic, such as a fragment of a votive bed (no. 223), a clay head (no. 109), a double-sided plaque (Teeter 2003b, cat. no. 9), a white faience circular ornament with open work in form of a standing goddess who holds an ankh (OIM 15134), and the following objects (without registration information): three clay weights and a flat, painted clay bottle.

COMMENTARY
The date is based upon its similarity to figurine no. 29, which is dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. This figurine is known only from Teilungsliste 129c. This example is so similar to figurine no. 29 that it may have been made in the same mold.
29. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14582
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 10c
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140c
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR6/4, light brown
SIZE: H 10.9 × W 5.8 × D 2.7 cm
DESCRIPTION:
This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the waist. The left lappet of a heavy tripartite wig is pushed behind the shoulder to bare a breast. The right shoulder is covered by hair. Large circular earrings and a pointed cone on the head are depicted. The right arm is bent with the hand on the left breast cradling an infant’s head. The infant’s body is visible on the figure’s left side. Dark red pigment is preserved on the hand and waist.

The back is very irregular with deep finger marks where the artisan pressed the clay into the mold. Deep irregular indentations from a fingertip or a tool are present on the top and back of the head, presumably from pressing the clay into the mold.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), six other female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY
The date of the figurine is based upon the accompanying pottery (Aston 1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]). In his notes, Anthes suggested a date of the Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasties. Stylistically, the figurine could be from the Twenty-first Dynasty or even earlier, but the slightly later date is in accordance with the history of the site’s settlement. See similar examples, figurines nos. 27–28 and 30–31. This example is so similar to figurine no. 28 that it may have been made in the same mold.

30. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 11a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
SIZE: ca. H 7.8 × W 5.6 cm
DESCRIPTION:
This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at mid-chest. The figurine is badly molded or abraded and little detail can be made out. The hair is over the right breast, the other breast appears to be uncovered in the manner of the other figurines of this style. Round earrings and perhaps a cone on the head are depicted. The right hand is raised to the left breast, cradling the child’s head as it nurses.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The date is based upon its similarity to figurine no. 29, which is dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. Compare to figurines nos. 27–29 and 31. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 131d.
31. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
**SIZE:** ca. H 10.6 × W 5.0 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the shins. The hair reaches to the right breast; the other breast appears to be uncovered in the manner of the other figurines of this style. Round earrings and perhaps a cone on the head are depicted. The right hand is raised to the left breast, cradling the child’s head as it nurses.

**PROVENANCE**
No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**
Compare to figurines nos. 27–30. The date of this figurine is based upon its stylistic similarity to figurine no. 29, which is dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 132e.

32. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14587
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR6/4, light brown
**SIZE:** H 4.3 × W 4.4 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This female figurine was made in an open mold. Only the section from the shoulder to the waist is preserved. The hair appears to fall in tresses over both shoulders and it is defined by vertical lines. This is an unusual feature, for other figurines of this type show the hair tucked behind the shoulder to bare the left breast. A baby is held at its left shoulder. The cupped right hand, which is near the baby’s mouth, is well defined. The child is shown in profile. The background of the figurine is painted dark red. The back is plain and slightly convex. The inner core is dark charcoal color.

**PROVENANCE**
No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**
Compare to figurine no. 33, which, although less well preserved (or cast in a worn or dirty mold), appears to have the same details of the woman’s cupped hand, the lines on the wig, and the hair arranged behind the baby’s head. Another fragment from level II at the temple of Mut (field no. 3m.82) preserves the same cupped hand and shape of the child’s head.
33. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type C Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is broken at the shins. The tresses of the wig are incised with narrow lines. It appears that the hair of the left tress is in front of the shoulder, behind the child’s head. This is more obvious in the better-preserved figurine no. 32. The right hand is cupped to the left breast, from which the child suckles. The child lies along the side, overlapping the figure’s thigh. The outline of the bed closely follows the outline of the figure’s body.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
Compare to figurine no. 32. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 132d.

34. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type C Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold. The figure lies on a narrow bed that has a rounded head. The right hand is to the breast, supporting a suckling child. The child is abraded and is preserved only as a shapeless mass. Details of the hair are lost, but traces of large, round earrings are present. The figurine was poorly pressed into the mold, or perhaps it is now so worn so that there is little detail.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The date is based upon figurine no. 29, which is quite similar and is dated on the basis of the accompanying pottery. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 130c.
### 35. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 12c  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**DESCRIPTION:** This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the chest. The figure lies on a very narrow bed with parallel sides and rounded head. A pointed cone is on the head.  
**PROVENANCE:** No location recorded.  
**COMMENTARY:** Although little detail is preserved, this figurine is classified as a suckling scene on account of the hairstyle that shows the tripartite wig with tresses covering the right shoulder, the left portion of the hair is tucked behind the shoulder to bare a breast. The date is based upon figurine no. 29, which, although stylistically rather different, is the same general composition. This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist* 131h.

![Image](oi.uchicago.edu)

### 36. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14583  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 13  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–656 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown  
**DESCRIPTION:** This female figurine was made in an open mold. The figure is shown in the middle of a large rectangular bed, with head in profile to the right. The hair is worn in a series of locks like those associated with the *Wochenlaube* (Brunner-Traut 1955, pp. 25–27; Pinch 1983, p. 405). The right hand is held to the left breast, from which a child suckles. The child is long and very thin — it reaches from the breast to the lower thigh. The figure’s legs are very elongated and thin, with little detail of the feet. The underside of the bed has discolorations where the oval-section legs of the bed were attached to make it freestanding. The headboard is square rather than rounded. The footboard is broken away. The figurine is covered with dark red pigment.  
**PROVENANCE:** No location recorded.  
**COMMENTARY:** This hairstyle and the face shown in profile are rare features of female figurines. For another example in limestone from Medinet Habu, see Hölscher *Excavation V*, p. 11, fig. 12 right. See figurine no. 17 for another example of a bed modeled with legs.

![Image](oi.uchicago.edu)
37. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type C Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is broken at the shoulders and knees. The figure lies on a wide bed that extends approximately 1.0 cm from its hips on each side. An additional rim has been left from the molding process. The figure’s right hand is raised to the left breast, from which a child suckles. Although details are somewhat abraded, it appears that the child’s arm is over the figure’s breast. The right shoulder is covered with the heavy tress of the wig.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 132c.

38. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–23, ca. 1070–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type C Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is broken at the neck and upper calf. Most of the surface of the bed is broken away from around the figure. The right hand is raised to the left breast, from which a child suckles. The child extends from the figure’s breast to mid-thigh. A thick tress from a wig descends to its right breast. The edges of the bed are broken away from the sides of the figurine.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 130d.
39. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded

**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–23, ca. 1070–715 B.C.

**DESCRIPTION:** This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the waist and ankle. The figure is shown lying on a bed that is considerably narrower than that of figurines nos. 36–37. Few details of the left side of this figurine can be made out in the field photographs, but it is classified as a female suckling because there is no trace of the right hand at the thigh, hence it must be on the left breast.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**

This figurine is known only from Teilunglist 130e.

**TYPE D: IDEALIZED FEMALE ON BED WITH CHILD, NOT NURSING (NOS. 40–43)**

In figurines of Type D the bed is wider than that seen in the nursing figurines (Type C), and, although it may be an accident of preservation, the beds have more pronounced footboards. Overall, Type D figurines are larger and more substantial than the other forms. Unfortunately, none of the upper portions of the baked clay examples have survived, making it impossible to describe features of hair or jewelry. Two examples in limestone (OIM 14601, JdE 59876; fig. 5a–b, p. 17) are better preserved, showing a tripartite (or enveloping?) wig.

The size and placement of the child vary considerably, although Pinch (1993, p. 209) comments that on this type, which she classifies as type 6c, the child is usually to the right. Three of the examples from Medinet Habu (nos. 40–42) show the child to the left, the same side as the position of the nursing child of Type C. Figurine no. 41 shows a child who lies stiffly at the woman’s side. Its body extends from the breast to mid-thigh. Figurine nos. 40, 42, and 43 show the child holding or reaching for the woman’s hand. Figurine no. 40 shows a child of approximately the same relative size who reaches from the lower shin to mid-thigh. The child appears to be holding the woman’s hand. The two other baked clay examples show a very small infant. Figurine no. 42 shows the child sprawled, perhaps on its back, hence shown frontally along the woman’s left leg. It too appears to be holding her hand. The last example, figurine no. 43, likewise shows an infant in an active pose, its legs splayed and arms spread. It reaches for and perhaps holds the woman’s right hand.

Of three limestone examples from the site, the details of only two can be ascertained. Both OIM 14601 (fig. 5a) and Cairo JdE 59876 (fig. 5b) show the child on the woman’s right. The child on Cairo JdE 59876 is tall, extending from the woman’s hip to her feet, and it is shown with its head in profile. OIM 14601 is badly worn but appears to share the same description, although the child is shorter, reaching from the breast to mid-calf. The details of the third limestone figurine (fig. 6) are too abraded and the field photograph is at too oblique an angle to make out the details. On the limestone examples shown in figure 5, the woman is depicted with a cone on her head and, at least on Cairo JdE 59876, on which the detail is preserved, the figure wears a heavy-tressed wig that covers both shoulders.66

The gender of the child cannot be determined on any of the Type D figurines. None of the figurines is accompanied by mirrors, snakes, or attendants on the surface of the bed.

According to Pinch (1993, pp. 209, 232–34), this type of figurine has been recovered from houses, burials, and from “temple refuse.” She comments (ibid., p. 209) that none is “earlier than the late 18th dynasty, and they

---

66 It appears as if the figure in OIM 14601 (fig. 5a) also wears the heavy-tressed wig.
continue into the Ramesside period. Some, especially those with the head in profile, may be as late as the Third Intermediate Period. The examples from Medinet Habu confirm that they continue well into the Third Intermediate Period (and from Redford’s examples from Mendes into the Late Period), and on into the Greco-Roman era (fig. 7). The date of this example is indicated by the Greco-Roman–style amphora by the figure’s right leg. On this figurine, the figure’s hand is below the breasts in an attitude that suggests preparing to nurse a child, yet the smaller figurine has obvious breasts, a feature not seen in the earlier examples. The tripartite or enveloping wig of earlier figurines is here replaced by a tight, short hairstyle that is seen on representations of women in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire in the first and mid-second centuries A.D. (Doxiadis 1995, p. 234). This piece has no provenance, having been acquired in Cairo in the early 1960s.

This form is known from many other sites (see list in Pinch 1993, pp. 232–33). Another example (OIM 5083) was excavated at Dendera by Petrie (1886–87).67

---

67 That example shows a large child(?) to the woman’s left. The child lies on its back, the woman’s hand at its shoulder. The rounded breasts and lack of external genitalia indicate that the child is female.
40. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Period, Dynasty 26 or earlier, ca. 664–525 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type D Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the upper thigh; the upper section is lost. The bed is wide, extending approximately a centimeter from the mother’s body. The footboard of the bed is well defined. The woman’s legs are long and thin, and the feet are shown without detail or definition. A child, extending from the mother’s ankles to its hip, lies on the bed to its left. The child is portrayed frontally. Its legs are together, its left arm at its side, and its right arm and hand raised to hold the left hand of the mother. The child’s head has a sharp ridge rather than a nose. The gender of the child cannot be determined.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The date is based upon the similar examples excavated by Redford (1977, pp. 12–14, pl. 8.1) at Karnak from the earlier levels of the Saite-Persian settlement at East Karnak. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 132g.

41. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Period, Dynasty 26 or earlier, ca. 664–525 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type D Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the breast and knees; only the torso is preserved. The figure, with a rounded belly and long thin legs, lies on a bed with the right arm held stiffly along its side. A child lies at its left side. Although abraded, the child appears to be shown in profile. The child extends from the level of the figure’s breast to the knees. The gender of the child cannot be determined.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for figurine no. 40 for the date. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 130h.
42. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 15c  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Late Period, Dynasty 26 or earlier, ca. 664–525 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Type D Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the hips; only the lower section is preserved. The bed is wide, extending more than a centimeter on either side of the legs. The footboard of the bed is preserved. The area of the feet is abraded, but there is a slight suggestion of modeling of its feet. The child is shown frontally at the left, sprawled on the bed, its legs spread and its left arm at its side. Its right arm reaches up toward the woman, perhaps to grasp a hand, although this detail cannot be made out in the field photograph. The gender of the child cannot be determined.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**

See commentary for figurine no. 40 for the date. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 132f.

---

43. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 15d  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Late Period, Dynasty 26 or earlier, ca. 664–525 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Type D Female Figurine

This female figurine was made in an open mold and is now broken at the shoulder and shins; only the torso is preserved. The bed is wide, extending approximately a centimeter from the mother’s body on both sides. The woman is slender with very broad shoulders. Its arms are held stiffly and closely to its sides. A child lies to its right, the only example in clay from Medinet Habu in which the child is shown on that side. The child is very small, its legs are slightly bent, and the head is shown in profile. Its right hand is behind it and its left hand holds that of the mother. The gender of the child cannot be determined.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**

See commentary for figurine no. 40 for the date. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 132h.

---

**TYPE E: NON-IDEALIZED FEMALE, NOT ON BED (NOS. 44–52)**

Type E is composed of two subgroups of hand-modeled figurines. The first is represented by figurine no. 44, which is a fragment of a small-scale figurine typical of the late Second Intermediate Period and early New Kingdom.

The second subgroup of Type E figurines depicts stout women with wide hips, a soft belly, large breasts, and short, round coiffures (nos. 45–52). Most have their arms to their sides. Figurines of this group are of a larger scale than figurine no. 44 (as well as figurines of other categories). For example, the torso (neck to knees) of figurine
no. 49 is 10.2 cm in length and the estimated original height of figurine no. 52 is 25 cm. No comparable examples of the larger and more numerous Type E figurines appear in Pinch’s typology.

Of this class a single example, figurine no. 45, still has the head attached to the torso, thereby indicating the overall style of the class and suggesting that figurine no. 46, a head with the same painted decoration as figurine no. 45, belongs to this class. Both heads are adorned with a short, round hairstyle which is very distinct from the New Kingdom Types A–D that have the long tripartite wig. The absence of any trace of tresses on the shoulders of the headless examples (nos. 47–50) suggests that all these figurines had short, round hairstyles.

Most examples of this type of figurine have their arms at their sides (nos. 47–49, 51–52). Figurine no. 50 seems to have its right hand on its breast. The angle of the stubs of the arms on figurine no. 45 suggests that its arms were slightly flexed.

Figurines nos. 51 and 52, which lack heads, have been placed in this group because, although the bellies of those two examples are heavier than those of figurines nos. 47–50, the division between the legs, the shape of the navel, and the fabric and pigments of figurine no. 52 closely match the other figurines of Type E. The painted decoration of intact examples in the Louvre further suggests that figurines nos. 51 and 52 belong to this group.

The Third Intermediate Period Type E figurines that could be examined all preserve unusual use of pigments. Headdresses and wigs are red and yellow and the same pigments are used to outline and emphasize details of the woman’s figure. Figurine no. 45 has an extraordinary red and yellow spotted necklace while the headdress of figurine no. 46 is decorated with blocks of dark red and yellow. All of them feature exuberant stripes of red, terra-cotta, and/or yellow on their reverse side. Two figurines (nos. 45 and 52) have large rectangular blocks of color in addition to the stripes. This same use of red and yellow decoration is seen on the Louvre figurines, strongly suggesting a shared origin. Three of the eight examples of these figurines from Medinet Habu (nos. 47, 49, 51) are known only from black-and-white field photos, and so it is impossible to verify if they too had similar pigmentation.

The stout figure of these statuettes is echoed in the so-called “Bubastite figure,” which is attested from the late Ramesside period onward. A relief originally from the Festival Temple of Osorkon III at Bubastis of the king with Queen Karomama (BM EA 1077, shown in Robins 1997, fig. 235) shows a pronounced heaviness of the queen’s hips, buttocks, and breasts very similar to that shown on the Medinet Habu Type E figurines. This type of body is very common in the small round-top stelae from the Ramesseum (Quibell 1896, pls. 20–21; Saleh 2007) which are likewise dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty.

The short, rounded wig of figurines nos. 45 and 46 is worn by women of the Twenty-second Dynasty and afterward, in both statuary and relief, although it appears sporadically in the reliefs of Nofertari at Abu Simbel (Desroches-Noblecourt and Kuentz 1968, pls. 32, 73, 100). The hair and the Bubastite appearance of Type E female figurines suggest that this form is dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty and is therefore a later development or descendent of Pinch type 5.

Female figurines of Type E are very rare. Three additional examples are in the Louvre. One example (Louvre E 4867) portrays a standing woman with short, round coiffure and broad hips with under-slung belly and a large navel, very much like figurines nos. 51 and 52. Like the examples from Medinet Habu, the Louvre figurine is covered with stripes of yellow and reddish pigment. Its height, 25.7 cm, is very close to the estimated height of 25 cm for the Medinet Habu examples. Louvre E 4867 was given to the Louvre by Théodule Deveria in 1866 when he lived at Kasr al Agouz and thus may in fact be from Medinet Habu, or at least from western Thebes. A fragmentary head in the Louvre without any provenance is very similar to figurine no. 45. The third example (E 22456) portrays a woman with the same short, round coiffure and the same bright pigmentation, but lying on her.

68 “Bubastite figure” is a bit of a misnomer, since the gradual thickening of the female body is seen as early as the reliefs of Queen Nofertari at Abu Simbel and in her tomb in the Valley of the Queens. See Bianchi 1980, pp. 21–22, for the comment that the trend “can be traced back to the Ramesside period and was maintained during the Third Intermediate Period.”
69 Statue of Meresamun (Berlin 71/71) in Fay 1982, pp. 70–71; Karomama (Louvre N 500), an unidentified princess in Leiden (F 1938/7,21) of the Twenty-second Dynasty (Raven 1992, p. 534); and later examples such as an unnamed woman in the Berlin Museum (no. 2309 in Schmitz 1985, no. 164) from the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, and Ankhnesneferibre (Cairo Je 42205) in Russmann 1989, pp. 184–85. See also Brooklyn Museum 1960, pp. 113–14, and Russmann 1997, pp. 33–34, for a later version of this hairstyle.
70 Stela of the singer Nanechtikar (August Kestner Museum 1973.10, in Schmitz 1985, no. 166, with a low fillet, and the representations of the God’s Wives of Amun when they are not wearing the vulture crown).
71 According to Adel Mahmoud, Curator of the New Kingdom collections of the Egyptian Museum, that museum has no additional examples.
72 Louvre E 4867, Louvre E 22456, and another head, without inventory number, all unpublished.
73 Genevieve Pierrat, of the Musée du Louvre (pers. comm.).
side on a bed. The bed, which is an integral part of the figurine, is likewise striped with red and yellow pigment. That example also has no provenance.

Other examples of Type E female figurines may have been excavated from the ruins of the palace of Merneptah at Memphis. In the publication of that excavation, Petrie (1909, p. 17) reported, “The group at the top left [of plate 44] is of painted pottery, with black, red and yellow colours.” The unprecedented appearance of these figurines led Petrie to suggest they were “Mediterranean work of pre-classical time.” However, it is not clear exactly to which figurines on his plate 44 he refers. A torso-leg fragment in the upper left of the plate exhibits the Type E belly, wide hips, and large naval. A head fragment with round face and short hairstyle in the same area of the plate also looks like a Type E figurine. In the upper right of that same plate, in the lowest row, the first and third head and torso fragments look very much like Type E figurines, yet Petrie does not specifically remark upon their pigmentation. Two other examples appear to be of this style (in the Petrie Museum 45806, 45807). They have no provenance.

44. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14609
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 16a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl clay / Munsell 7.5YR7/2, pinkish gray
DATE: Early New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, ca. 1550 B.C.
SIZE: H 4.65 × W 2.80 × D 2.00 cm
DESCRIPTION: Type E Female Figurine

This hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the waist and knees. The buttocks are very high and rounded; the waist is thin. The hands, which are flat on the sides of the hips, are in the form of long, flat planes with vertical lines that represent fingers. Two round dimples are impressed in the small of the back, and two lines that represent a girdle cross the back from hip to hip below the dimples. The pubic area is large and outlined with an impressed line. The upper edge of the line defining the pubis has a row of five circles indicating the beaded girdle. The interior of the pubic triangle is not decorated.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This fragment resembles a Pinch (1993, pp. 201–03) type 3 figurine that is attested in Thebes in the Eighteenth Dynasty and at Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period sites elsewhere. The dimples in the small of the back are well attested by other examples, such as BM EA 14629 and EA 40965 (in Robins 1995b, nos. 81–82). The dimples on EA 14629, which dates to the Middle Kingdom, are represented in paint as dots surrounded by dots (see also Leclant and Clerc 1986, fig. 62), while EA 40965 (Seventeenth–Eighteenth Dynasties) has two simple indentations like the Medinet Habu example. The very long abstracted hands of the Medinet Habu example are very similar to those on BM EA 40965 as well as examples from Gebel Zeit (Leclant and Clerc 1986, figs. 62–63). The best parallel to the buttocks of this figurine is in Mey 1980, figs. 4–5; however, many examples are pictured only in a front view.

Because other examples of these distinctive figurines date to the period before the construction of Medinet Habu, the figurine must be a fragment of an heirloom. See Hölscher Excavation IV, p. 26 n. 3, for the Eighteenth Dynasty “town” at Medinet Habu.

Compare to Pinch 1993, pl. 48B (left) from Faras and pl. 49A (right) from Deir el Bahri; Bruyère 1939, pl. 45 third row, first and second examples. See Pinch 1993, p. 221, for the comment that “no Middle Kingdom or Second Intermediate Period fertility figurines have been found in temples in the Egyptian Nile valley or Delta.”
45. FIGURINE

Registration Number: OIM 14584  Photograph: Pl. 16b
Field Number: Not recorded  Material / Color: Marl clay / Munsell 10YR6/2, light brownish gray
Date: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.
Size: H 8.9 × W 7.1 × D 3.4 cm

Description:
This hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the hip. The arms are broken just below the shoulders and their original position cannot be determined. The figurine is very rounded and the face is nearly circular. It has a broad, round, short hairstyle and no headdress. The hair is painted red and the neck has a stripe of yellow pigment that crosses the neck along the collarbone. A string of yellow and red dots suggesting a necklace extends from shoulder to shoulder. The neck above the necklace is encircled with a broad stripe of yellow. The large round breasts are painted red. Horizontal and vertical yellow lines surround and divide the breasts. The upper abdomen has horizontal red and yellow stripes. The back is not modeled but is painted with stripes of red and yellow across the width of the torso. A rectangle of red appears on the back at arm level. Red and yellow vertical stripes run from the top of the head to the red rectangle.

Provenance
No location recorded.

Commentary
Compare the vertical lines in yellow and dark red to those on the back of figurines nos. 46, 48, 50, and 52. A similar red rectangle appears on the back of figurine no. 52. The symbolism of the colorful decoration is not known. For three similar examples in the Louvre, see n. 72 on p. 52. One of those examples is attached to a bed. It raises the possibility that some of these figurines were originally paired with a bed, like Pinch’s type 6a, which, although of a different style, had a separate bed. See catalog no. 218, which may be the leg for a bed for one of these figurines.

Published
Teeter 2002, fig. 3.

46. FIGURINE

Registration Number: OIM 14591  Photograph: Pl. 17a
Field Number: Not recorded  Material / Color: Marl clay / Munsell 10YR5/3, brown
Date: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.
Size: H 6.1 × W 5.7 × D 4.4 cm

Description:
This is the head of a hand-modeled female figurine with a short, rounded hairstyle. The hair/wig is formed of a coil of clay that was slipped and smoothed into the top of the head. A band or fillet encircles the bottom of the headdress. Bangs on the forehead are indicated by a notched pattern. The eyes are large and round. The mouth is small and the lips pursed. The front of the headdress is covered with yellow pigment. Blocks of yellow and dark red alternating with the color of the clay, or perhaps white pigment which has now worn away, encircle the headdress. The front of the neck is yellow, the back of the neck and the face are dark red. The back, below the line that encircles the headdress, has narrow vertical yellow and red stripes.

Provenance
No location recorded.
COMMENTARY

Compare the vertical lines in yellow and red to those on figurines nos. 45, 48, 50, and 52. The symbolism of the colorful decoration is unknown. See catalog no. 218, which may be the leg for a bed for one of these figurines.

47. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type E Female Figurine

This fragment of a hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the neck and at the knees. The figure’s body is fleshy with high, rounded breasts. The hips are wide. The navel is a small circular indentation. The left arm is lost, but it seems to have been alongside the body. The right arm, which appears to have been luted to the shoulder, is at the side.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

COMMENTARY

The lack of any indication of hair on the shoulders suggests that this figurine, like figurines nos. 45–46 and 48–50, originally had a short, round coiffure. The object could not be examined to determine if the back was painted with yellow and red stripes as the other examples. The suggestion that the object is made of marl is based on the materials of the other examples that are stylistically so similar. See figurine no. 50 for a similar manner in attaching the arm. This figurine is very similar to Petrie Museum 45806. This figurine is known only from Teilungsliste 136b. See catalog no. 218, which may be the leg for a bed for one of these figurines.

48. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14599
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type E Female Figurine

This fragment of a hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the neck and at mid-thigh. The figure’s body is fleshy with high, rounded breasts and thick hips. The navel is a large, circular indentation filled with red pigment. The belly is large and droops slightly over heavy thighs. The arms are at the sides and traces of the right hand can be seen on the hip; the left arm is lost. The front of the figurine was perhaps painted white, although the figurine is abraded and it is difficult to determine the original pigmentation. The area between the arms and the body is painted dark red. Red stripes radiate down from the neck along the upper chest. The back is flat and painted in broad vertical stripes of alternating yellow and dark red.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

COMMENTARY

The lack of any indication of hair on the shoulders suggests that this figurine, like figurines nos. 45–47 and 49–50, originally had a short, round coiffure. The same stripes on the reverse are seen on figurines nos. 45–46, 50, and 52. See figurine no. 218, which may be the leg for a bed for one of these figurines. Compare to Petrie Museum 45807.
49. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: K 193
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This fragment of a hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the neck. The legs terminate in stubs at mid-calf. The figure’s body is fleshy. High, rounded breasts are placed far up on the chest. The hips are wide and there is little indication of a waist. The navel is a deep circular indentation. The arms are at the sides. Details of the modeling of the hands cannot be determined from the field photographs. According to Anthes’ notes, the back is smooth ("glatt").

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The lack of any indication of hair on the shoulders suggests that this figurine, like figurines nos. 45–48 and 50, originally had a short, round coiffure. The object could not be examined to determine if it was painted with yellow and red stripes as are figurines nos. 45–46, 48, 50, and 52. The suggestion that the object is made of marl is based on the materials of the other examples that are stylistically so similar. Compare to Petrie Museum 45807 with the same large, round, and high breasts. The figurine is known only from Teilungsliste 136d. See figurine no. 218, which may be the leg of a bed for one of these figurines.

50. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14585
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the neck and hips. The breasts are large and rounded. The belly is full and round, and the navel is shown as a large depression. The arms were luted to the torso, as were those of figurine no. 47. The left arm is thin and at the side. A lump on the stomach may be the trace of a right hand that was probably intended to be below or at the right breast. The area around the navel is raised. The front of the figurine is covered with a pink pigment. Most of the back is painted with thin vertical stripes that alternate red and terra-cotta on a neutral ground. Stripes of alternating yellow and red pigment are preserved on the right side of the back, continuing to the front. The yellow pigment was not used elsewhere on the back.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The lack of any indication of hair on the shoulders suggests that this figurine, like figurines nos. 45–49, originally had a short, round coiffure. Compare the vertical lines in yellow and dark red to those on figurines nos. 45–46, 48, and 52. See figurine no. 71 for another example of a female figurine with a hand on the stomach. See figurine no. 218, which may be the leg for a bed for one of these figurines.
51. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information

PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 19b

FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded

MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl clay / Fabric and pigments not examined

DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.

SIZE: ca. H 9.2 × W 7.2 cm

DESCRIPTION:

This fragment of a hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the chest and knees. Traces of hands on the hips show that the arms were at the sides. The belly is large and overhangs the pubic area. The navel is indicated by a large depression. The division of the legs is indicated by an impressed line.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

COMMENTARY

The suggestion that the object is made of marl is based on the materials of the other examples that are stylistically similar. The object could not be examined to determine if it was painted with yellow and red stripes as are the previous examples. Another very similar example, which is of the same scale, is Louvre E 4867. That example, which is intact, portrays the figure with a short, round coiffure much like figurine no. 45. It was a gift from Théodule Deveria in 1866 and is thought to be from western Thebes, perhaps from Medinet Habu. See figurine no. 52 for another example. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 135a. See figurine no. 218, which may be the leg of a bed for one of these figurines.

52. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14597

PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 20

FIELD NUMBER: K 192

MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl clay / Munsell 10YR6/2, light brownish gray

DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.

SIZE: H 13.9 × W 7.8 × D 3.7 cm

DESCRIPTION:

This fragment of a handmade female figurine is broken at the waist and ankles. A folding of the clay (visible at the break) indicates that it was made by turning a lump of clay back upon itself. This was a very large-scale figurine, with an estimated original height of 25 cm. Traces of hands on the hips indicate that the arms were at the sides of the body. The belly is large and overhangs the pubic area which is differentiated from the thighs by a slight line. The navel, which is off-center, is indicated by a large depression colored with dark red paint. The division of the legs is indicated by an impressed line. The figurine is covered with white pigment. The line of the overhanging belly is covered with a line of red pigment. The depression between the legs is filled with yellow pigment. Broad stripes of red cross the legs above each knee. The back has two rectangles of red pigment, one near the buttock area, the other at the lower part of the figurine. Although worn and hard to make out, there may have been a yellow rectangle between them. The blocks of color are flanked by vertical stripes of yellow and red.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

COMMENTARY

Compare the same vertical lines in yellow and dark red that decorate the back of figurines nos. 45–46, 48, and 50. A similar red rectangle appears on the back of figurine no. 45. The scale and pigmentation of figurine no.
Baked Clay Figurines and Votive Beds from Medinet Habu

51 is very similar to Louvre E 4867. The Louvre example, which is intact, portrays the figure with a short, round coiffure much like figurine no. 45. It was a gift from Théodule Deveria in 1866 and is thought to be from western Thebes, perhaps from Medinet Habu. See catalog no. 218, which may be the leg for a bed for one of these figurines.

TYPE F: HAND-MODELED FEMALE FIGURE WITH APPLIED DECORATION (NOS. 53–62)

The ten examples of Type F figurines are characterized by being hand modeled in fairly flat relief and being very different in style from the usual conventions of Egyptian representation. The exaggerated and abstracted hips and emphasis upon the pubic area sharply differentiates them from the classic New Kingdom and Late New Kingdom style. Figurines of this style were described by Petrie (1927, p. 60) as “massive flat forms of extreme coarseness.” The best-preserved examples (nos. 53–54) display broad hips, the lower extremities reduced to a blunt point, and high, large, rounded breasts. The division between the legs is indicated by an indentation or by a line scored in the clay. The arms are summarily worked and the hands are, from comparable examples, positioned either on the breasts (as MMA 12.181.216, ROM 909.80.206, Hearst Museum 6-19522 in Elsasser and Fredickson 1966, p. 82; Brussels E2527 in Warmenbol 1999, pp. 17, 75 no. 42), or one hand cupping the left breast, the other hand at the figure’s side. Although the pose with both hands to the breasts is not common for Egyptian female figurines, it is very common for clay figurines from Mesopotamia (see Klengel-Brandt 1978, pls. 2–4).

Type F figurines are further characterized by decoration in the form of applied bits of clay and a stippled pattern on the wig/hair and pubic triangle. The hair, which on figurines nos. 53 and 55–58 takes the form of a tripartite wig, the fronts of which lie upon both shoulders, is applied separately. In four of these five examples (nos. 53, 55–57) the wig/hair is detailed with an impressed decoration. The hair of figurine no. 54 is a tiny bit of clay that sits on the top of the head, while the wig/hair of figurine no. 58 is an undecorated coil of clay wrapped around the figure’s face.

The breasts of figurines nos. 54, 56–58, and 60 are small cones of clay that are luted to the chest. The breasts of figurines nos. 56 and 57 are set so close together and so low on the chest as to not immediately be recognizable as breasts.

Of the six examples that have heads, the eyes are applied separately as rounded bits of clay (nos. 53–58). The nose on figurine no. 53 is separately applied, while the nose on figurines nos. 54–55 and 57–58 is a ridge formed by pinching up clay in the middle of the face. Figurine no. 56 has no indication of a nose. None of the examples has a mouth.

Although the lower section of the body of this type is very distinctive with its tapering V-shape and detail of the pubic area, the head and chest sections show more variety. When the upper section alone is preserved, there may be some doubt about what type figurine it is. Fragments consisting of the head and upper chest (nos. 55–58) have been placed in this classification on the basis of a number of intact examples from other sites, the upper parts of which closely resemble figurine nos. 55–58. Several of these intact examples come from the Theban area, including Egyptian Museum, Cairo TR 9847 from Dra Abu Naga in 1923; MMA 12.181.216; Redford 1977, pl. 9.1; Leclère and Marchand 1995, pl. 13; Petrie 1927, p. 60, pl. 52 no. 431; Warmenbol 1999, nos. 42–43 (purchased in Thebes). A further example (Hearst Museum 6-19522, in Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966, p. 82) was recovered at Tukh (near Nagada) and another at Hu (Petrie 1901, pl. 26). Others are without provenance (ROM 909.80.206; Petrie 1927, nos. 425, 427). All such figurines come from Upper Egypt.

The Twenty-second Dynasty date most often associated with this style of figurine is based upon Petrie 1927, p. 60. He commented: “None have been found in Roman sites, or Defeneh or Naukratis, amid the quantity of rough pottery of those sites: nor were there any among the pottery figurines offered at Deir el Bahri in the XVIIth dynasty,” and that “the XXIIInd dynasty seems most likely, both by the fabric, and by the style of the figure from the Ramessseum.” The only example from Medinet Habu for which a date can be assigned on the basis of stratigraphy is figurine no. 55 which was recovered under House 1, which was built in the Twenty-fifth Dynasty, hence establishing a terminus ad quem of the end of the Twenty-third Dynasty (which in Thebes precedes Dynasty Twenty-five). Leclère and Marchand (1995, p. 365) have suggested a date of the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties for their examples based on the associated pottery, while Redford (1977, p. 15) suggests that the examples he found at
Karnak may be as late as the seventh century B.C. In this catalog, Medinet Habu examples which have no precise archaeological context (nos. 53–54, 56–62) have been assigned the broader date of the Twenty-second–Twenty-sixth Dynasties because of the later date of the Karnak figurines. The Second Intermediate Period or New Kingdom dates that Warmenbol tentatively (1999, p. 76 no. 42) assigned to two figurines of this type are probably too early.

Type F is apparently contemporary with Type E, hence there were two distinct traditions of figurines that differ from the classical New Kingdom–Late Period styles represented by Types A–D. As stated, all examples of the Type F figurine with a provenance come from the area of Quft south of Thebes, suggesting that, like Type E, Type F reflects an Upper Egyptian artistic tradition.

### 53. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGISTRATION NUMBER:</th>
<th>OIM 14600</th>
<th>PHOTOGRAPH:</th>
<th>Pl. 21</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIELD NUMBER:</td>
<td>K 195</td>
<td>MATERIAL / COLOR:</td>
<td>Nile silt / chipped surface:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE:</td>
<td>Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.</td>
<td>Munsell 5YR4/4–4/6, reddish brown to yellowish red</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESCRIPTION:</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
<td>SIZE:</td>
<td>H 13.3 × W 5.3 × D 2.7 cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This hand-modeled female figurine holds its right hand to the right breast and the left arm at its side. The breasts are round, applied globs of clay set high on the chest. The head is tall and square. The eyes, the bulbous nose, and the tresses of hair are also lumps of clay attached to the figurine. The hair has been impressed with a dot pattern. The pubic area is defined by a large triangle that extends far down both legs. The area is stippled with regularly placed slashes. The feet are represented in a cursory fashion; there is no differentiation of two separate feet and the toes are indicated by slash marks. The proper right side from the hip to the foot is flattened as if the damp clay figurine was pressed against a surface or cut with a dull tool. A small tab of clay is present on the right leg. The left proper hip has an irregular glob of clay.

The back is not smoothed and is slightly irregular in texture. It is covered with a uniform white pigment. There is a depression on the back of the head.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**

The pose of the figurine is the same as Type C, in which a female is depicted with a hand to a breast to suckle, but it is done in the “provincial” style that is characteristic of Type F. Compare the slash pattern detail on the pubis to figurines nos. 61–62. Another close parallel to the figurine is Brussels MRAH E 2844 (Warmenbol 1999, p. 76 no. 43) that lies upon a bed. It has been dated tentatively to the Second Intermediate Period or New Kingdom. A fragment of a head, excavated at Karnak (Leclère and Marchand 1995, pl. 13 no. 1016.1), dated to the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty level, is very similar to the Medinet Habu example. That fragment and the presence of other lower body sections that are also stylistically very close to figurine no. 53 are from the Kushite-Saite level.

**PUBLISHED**

Teeter 1993, p. 36; Teeter 2002, fig. 2.
54. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: Cairo JdE 59693
FIELD NUMBER: Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
Type F Female Figurine

This is a hand-modeled, flat female figurine. The head is small and the face has little detail. The triangular nose was made by depressing the eye sockets. The eyes are indicated by two dots of clay applied to the head. No mouth is indicated. A small patch of clay applied to the top of the head indicates the wig or hair. The sides of the head are bare. The breasts are two large cones of clay applied to the chest. The arms are broken off at the shoulders. No traces of hands appear on the hips or on the chest. The hips are very broad with no indication of a waist. The navel is indicated by a large and regular circular depression made by rotating a tool in the clay. The pubic area is indicated by a triangular outline, the apex of which descends to divide the legs. It is detailed with small, irregularly placed dots. The legs terminate in stubby ankles with no indication of feet. The entire figurine is covered with a dark red pigment. According to Anthes’ notes, the back is smooth (“glatt”).

PROVENANCE
Although no field number was given, a location of “F/7, southeast section of the precinct, east of the stables, in the debris” (of dwellings) is listed in Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58.

COMMENTARY
Although there is no trace of the hands, the position of the shoulders and the space under them suggests that the arms were held outward and the elbows flexed to position the hands at or near the breasts. For other examples, see MMA 12.181.216 from Thebes and examples in Warmenbol 1999, pp. 17, 76 no. 42; Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966, p. 82; Petrie 1927, pl. 52 nos. 425–27, 429. The little wisp of applied clay representing hair is also seen on Cairo TR 9869, excavated in 1930 by the Italian Mission at el Minsha. This figurine is very similar to Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem 39 (Spycket 2000, p. 100 no. 79), from “southern Mesopotamia” dated to the second millennium B.C. This figurine was seen at the Egyptian Museum, and its Munsell number was not determined.

PUBLISHED
Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58 (3), pl. 34C.

55. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: Cairo JdE 59696
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.F44
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
Type F Female Figurine

This is a hand-modeled female figurine with small, rounded breasts. The wig has a flat top and flaring sides. The crown of the head is marked with vertical slashes and the tresses of hair that reach the shoulders are marked with horizontal slashes. The bottom margins of the tresses are decorated with vertical marks in imitation of braids(?). The nose is beak-like and made of pinched-up fabric. The eyes are flattened disks with a small hole in the center. The left arm is thin and is wrapped around a jar, or perhaps a child, held close to the body. A line on the left wrist suggests a bracelet; the right arm is broken away.
PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in N/6, the south side of the Great Temple, in the debris under House 1.

COMMENTARY

Petrie 1927, pl. 52 no. 428 (without stated provenance), is very similar, sharing the horizontal and vertical slashes on the hair, the same flat-topped coiffure, the disk-shaped eyes with small pin-hole pupils, and the modeling of the lower part of the face. See also MMA 12.181.216. A figurine from “Kom Zimram” (in Gardner 1888, pl. 15.7) has the same eyes.

See Cairo TR 9847 from Dra Abu Naga, Hearst Museum 6-19522 (Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966, p. 82), ROM 909.80.206, MMA 12.181.216, and Petrie 1927, pl. 52 no. 425, all of which have similar heads and preserve the entire figurine, indicating that this head was once joined to a body like figurines nos. 53–54 and 59–62.

In his notes, Anthes assigned this figurine to “Dyn. 22 oder früher.” The terminus ad quem for this fragment is supplied by its findspot in the level under House 1, which Hölscher dated to the Twenty-fifth Dynasty. The assurance that the figurine is not late, or post-dynastic, is confirmed by similar examples excavated at East Karnak in the pre-Roman levels (Redford 1977, p. 15, pl. 9.1). Another was found in the Mut complex (3m.81; level Ib/III, pers. comm. from R. Fazzini). This figurine was seen at the Egyptian Museum, and its Munsell number was not determined.

PUBLISHED

Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58 (5), pl. 34E.

56. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14606
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 22c
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR5/4, brown
DATE: Third Intermediate Period–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
SIZE: H 8.30 × W 4.50 × D 2.95 cm
DESCRIPTION: Type F Female Figurine

This fragment of a hand-formed female figurine is broken at mid-breast. The figure is very stylized. The head is tall and slender and merges into a slender body that has no defined neck or shoulders. The eyes are lumps of clay. The wig is a strip of clay that has been laid over the head from shoulder to shoulder; the back of the head is bare. The tresses of the wig are decorated with a regular pattern of vertical tool marks. Two lumps placed close together, low on the chest, represent breasts. The arms are broken off at the shoulders. The entire figurine is covered with orange pigment.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

COMMENTARY

See Cairo TR 9847 from Dra Abu Naga, Hearst Museum 6-19522 (Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966, p. 82), ROM 909.80.206, MMA 12.181.216, and Petrie 1927, pl. 52 no. 425, all of which have similar heads and preserve the entire figurine, indicating that this head was once joined to a body like figurines nos. 53–54 and 59–62. The angle of the shoulders suggests that the arms were held out from the body and the elbows flexed to place the hands near or under the breasts. The lump on the stomach is also seen on an example in Petrie 1927, pl. 52 no. 429. Compare the slash pattern detail to that on figurine no. 57.
57. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15549
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
DESCRIPTION:

This hand-molded female figurine is broken at mid-chest. The breasts are indicated by two closely spaced pieces of clay located low on the chest. The figure’s wig is made of a separately applied piece of clay, the tresses of which flare on the broad shoulders. The tresses are detailed with regular vertical incisions. The long, narrow, beak-like nose was made by depressing the clay to create eye sockets that are filled with small blobs of clay. The arms are broken at the upper arm. The back is flat and unworked, but the head is rounded. The entire figurine is covered with a flaky reddish brown pigment.

MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR5/6, strong brown
SIZE: H 7.1 × W 6.0 × D 2.3 cm

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The angle of the shoulders, with the arms held away from the body, suggests that the figurine once had its hands to its breasts or hips. Compare to Cairo TR 9847 from Dra Abu Naga, Hearst Museum 6-19522 (Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966, p. 82), and ROM 909.80.206. The small, low breasts are also seen on the Cairo and Hearst Museum examples.

For similar heads on intact figurines, see Cairo TR 9847 from Dra Abu Naga; Petrie 1927, pl. 52 no. 425; and the examples in the Hearst Museum and ROM. Another similar example (field no. 3m.81) was excavated at the Mut temple (R. Fazzini, pers. comm.).

58. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
DESCRIPTION:

This fragment of a hand-formed female figurine is broken at the abdomen. The face has little definition other than two round dots of clay applied as eyes. The wig is a rope of clay pressed around the head. The tresses of the wig rest on each shoulder. The wig has tool marks on the end of the left tress. Two large round cones of clay have been applied as breasts. The arms are broken at the shoulders.

MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
SIZE: ca. H 7.0 × W 4.1 cm

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The lack of traces of the arms along the side of the torso suggest that, like figurines nos. 54, 56–57, Cairo TR 9847, and Hearst Museum 6-19522, the arms were probably bent, the hands reaching for the breasts or hips. Compare the eyes to those of figurines nos. 53–54 and 56–57. Although the treatment of the hair is slightly simpler on this example, it is comparable to Cairo TR 9847 from Dra Abu Naga and Hearst Museum 6-19522 (Elsasser and Fredrickson 1966, p. 82), which have similar heads and preserve the entire figurine.

This figurine has some similarities (e.g., the high, rounded breasts and applied eyes) to what has been identified as a Coptic figurine that “seems to go back to a Roman-Egyptian type” (= Budapest SzM 84.54.A in Török 1993, p. 46 [no. G56], pl. 56). However, the applied hair of the Medinet Habu example is quite different from that of the Budapest figurine, whose hair is shown as multiple narrow stands of clay. The Bud-
pest example does not have parallels in pre-Roman figurines from Egypt. This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist 141c.*

59. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 24a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 28.72g  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.  
**SIZE:** ca. H 9.2 ≈ W 5.2 cm  
**DESCRIPTION:** Type F Female Figurine  
This hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the waist and lower tip of legs. The hips and thighs are very broad. The pubis is indicated by a triangular outline and is detailed with small, irregularly placed dots. A line between the legs descends from the apex of the pubic triangle. The arms were probably at the breasts for there are no traces of a hand on either hip.

**PROVENANCE**  
This figurine was found in E/5, the southeast corner of the precinct, in the Roman settlement above the fellahin village, “50 cm above the foundations” on the “Roman Kom under the sebkah level,” with a scarab (OIM 14852, Teeter 2003b, cat. no. 64), the head of an orant (no. 95), a Roman-period figurine of a horse and rider (no. 120), and the following objects without registration information: the foot of an alabaster bowl, and two clay vessels.

**COMMENTARY**  
This figurine is not mentioned in the field register, but in the field photographs (as *Teilungslist 129i*) it is clearly labeled as being part of the group. Similar examples have been excavated from the Twenty-fifth/Twenty-sixth Dynasty levels at Karnak (Leclère and Marchand 1995, pl. 13 [nos. 1008.1, 1016.3]), hence the wider range of dates assigned here.

This example, along with figurines nos. 60–62, is remarkably similar to examples from Assur, in northern Iraq; see Klengel-Brandt 1978, pl. 3 nos. 56, 78.

60. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 24b  
**FIELD NUMBER:** K 194  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.  
**SIZE:** ca. H 8.2 × W 3.8 cm  
**DESCRIPTION:** Type F Female Figurine  
The head, neck, arms, and right breast of this hand-modeled female figurine are broken away. The left breast is a dome of clay. The hips are broad and the navel is a shallow, irregular depression. The pubis is indicated by a triangular outline detailed with small, irregularly placed dots. A line that divides the legs descends from the apex of the pubic triangle. The figurine terminates in pointed ankles without indication of feet.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**  
The arms were probably at the breasts, for there is no indication of a hand on either side of the figurine. See commentary for figurine no. 59. This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist 136c.*
61. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 24c  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Type F Female Figurine  
This hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the waist; only the lower section is preserved. A trace of the right breast is placed very low on the chest. The hips are broad. The navel is a shallow, wide, regular depression. The pubis is indicated by a broad triangular outline that is wide on the hipline. A line that divides the legs descends from the apex of the pubic triangle. The pubis is detailed with regularly placed slash marks. The arms were probably at the breasts or not modeled at all, for there are no indications of hands on the sides of the figurine. The legs terminate in a soft point without any indication of feet.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**  
Compare the slash pattern detail to that on figurines nos. 53 and 62. See commentary for figurine no. 59. This figurine is known only from **Teilungslist** 136f.

---

62. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14645  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 24d  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 7.5YR6/4, light brown  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Type F Female Figurine  
This hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the waist. The lower section is preserved. The hips are broad. The navel is a shallow, wide, irregular depression considerably to the right of center. The pubis is indicated by a broad, triangular outline that is wide on the hipline. A line divides the legs and descends from the apex of the pubic triangle. The pubis is detailed with regularly placed slash marks. The arms were probably at the side or not modeled at all, for there is no indication of hands on the sides of the figurine. There are traces of dark red pigment on the legs and back and white (or perhaps salt?) in the pubic detail. The back is smooth and undecorated.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**  
Compare the slash pattern detail of the pubic area to that on figurines nos. 53 and 61. See commentary for figurine no. 59. This example is not included in the **Teilungslist**.
TYPE G: FEMALE MODELED IN THE ROUND WITH EMPHASIZED SEXUAL CHARACTERISTICS (NOS. 63–67)

The five examples of Type G figurines are all very small scale, the largest (no. 66) measuring only 5.9 cm in height. They are very rudimentary representations of the female form and are so divorced from the standards of Egyptian art as to be virtually unrecognizable as being from the Nile Valley. Most examples emphasize the breast and pubic areas. Others greatly emphasize the feminine features of the body, so much so that non-gender-specific characteristics — arms and feet, and even the head (no. 64) — are abstracted or omitted. For example, figurines nos. 64–66 have differentiated legs, while the legs of figurine no. 63 have been reduced to tabs with slashes to indicate toes. The legs of figurine no. 67 were never represented at all, the body terminating in an open bell-like cup which may have allowed it to be attached to the rim of a vessel.74 The bodies of figurines nos. 63–65 are stippled; and the pubic area of figurine no. 65 is outlined and filled with dots. The body of figurine no. 64 is covered with a pattern of dots that runs up each leg, along the center of the breast, and across the breadth of the chest, much like the pattern of decorative dots employed for Middle Kingdom faience female figurines (Pinch type 1). It is unclear if the dots are intended to represent body art such as tattoos or body painting (Pinch 1993, p. 198).75

This group is among the most difficult to date because of the lack of comparative examples and the lack of any archaeological context. As a result the suggested dates are very tentative.

63. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15510
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 25a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 10YR4/2, dark grayish brown
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
SIZE: H 4.5 × W 3.2 × D (at chest) 2.0 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This is a small, crudely hand-modeled female figurine. The outstretched arms are very short and the fingers are indicated by slashes in the end of the arm. The left foot is reduced to a stub of clay, the right is flattened into a flipper-like shape upon which eight toes are indicated by slashes. The head is pinched clay and the beak-like nose was made by depressing the area of the eye sockets. The eyes are indicated by pin-pricks into the clay. No hair is indicated. Very oversized, rounded breasts dominate the torso. The nipples are indicated by small holes pressed into the breasts. A small depression representing the navel is very low on the abdomen. The back is plain, unworked, and slightly convex, and the body is thick in proportion to its length. The back of the figurine is charcoal colored.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

74 See also male figurine no. 106, which is similar and which may likewise have been attached to the rim of a vessel.
75 Reifstahl 1948, p. 14, fig. 15; in reference to a Middle Kingdom figurine: “dancing girl ... [with] tattoo marks.” For tattoos, see Keimer 1948 and Bianchi 1988.
64. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15511  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 25b  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 10YR3/1, very dark gray
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
**SIZE:** H 4.7 ≈ W 2.6 ≈ D 1.6 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**

A small stub of clay protrudes from the neck area of this hand-modeled female figurine. Decoration along the top of both shoulders that continues along the stub of the neck indicates that the head was never represented. The arms are lost. The legs are splayed and a hole between them apparently indicates the vagina. The feet have been reduced to tapering pegs, and the left foot is indicated by a slight bend in the leg. The left breast is small in relationship to the rest of the figurine; the right breast was not modeled. The navel is indicated by a hole. The body is decorated with a pattern of a single line of dots up each leg, meeting over the navel, traveling up the chest and over each breast to the arms and the neck stub. The decoration is small and regular as if made with a hollow reed. The figurine is blackened, and white (perhaps salt?) is present in the dot patterns. The back is not modeled.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.

---

65. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15512  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 25c  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 10YR4/1, dark gray with gray pigment
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
**SIZE:** H 4.60 × W 2.65 × D 1.20 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**

The arms, now lost, were apparently held out at shoulder height of this hand-modeled female figurine. The area of the neck is completely clean with no signs of the attachment for the head. However, a ridge of clay along the back of the neck and a small spot of clay on the proper right shoulder suggest that the head may have been connected with slip to those areas rather than more securely to the neck. The legs are wishbone shaped, and the peg-like ends touch. The torso is very long in relation to the legs. The navel is a large, irregular depression. The pubic area is outlined and the interior is filled with an irregular pin-prick design. The back is unworked.

**PROVENANCE**

No location recorded.
66. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period(?)
       Dynasties 21–31, ca. 1070–332 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type G Female Figurine

This hand-modeled female figurine is broken at the mid-thigh. The head is poorly modeled or abraded, leaving little detail. The large, round breasts are placed high on the chest. The right arm is held at the figure’s side slightly in front of the hip. The left arm cannot be seen in the field photograph.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The width cannot be estimated from the field photograph. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 140f.

67. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15513
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period(?)
       Dynasties 21–31, ca. 1070–332 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type G Female Figurine

The arms of this hand-modeled female figurine are raised above the head in the orant gesture. The figurine has a narrow waist and the buttocks are very rounded. The face is dominated by a pinched, beak-like nose. There is no indication of eyes. The hair is shown on the back of the head in a short, full style. A small coil of clay on the top of the head may represent a headdress. Large, rounded lumps of clay representing the breasts are placed high on the chest. The base of the figurine is a flattened bell-shaped structure that does not allow the figurine to stand upright.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
See figurine no. 106 for a male figurine with a similar gesture and bell-shaped base. The two figurines may have been attached to the rim of a vessel with slip and additional clay.

The suggested date for this figurine is based upon the coil of clay that is overlaid upon the head to represent hair. The style of the hair or wig is more closely paralleled by dynastic examples than Roman-Byzantine ones.
68. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14586  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 26a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown
SIZE: H 4.9 ≈ W 3.7 ≈ D 1.6 cm
DESCRIPTION: Type H Female Figurine

This head from a molded female figurine was made in a two-part mold. Only the front half of the figurine is preserved, the back half having been separated from the front. The face is finely molded, but the details of eyes and mouth are now chipped. The heavy wig is low on the brow and is arranged in defined plaits that cross from shoulder to shoulder: six braids on the left, seven on the right. A rectangular patch on the brow suggests that an ornament once was present. The back of the figurine is flat but is gouged by a tool. It cannot be determined from what type of figurine the head originated.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The head is similar to that of figurine no. 5, which is better preserved but is without registration information and could not be examined. The rectangular ornament on the brow is also seen on figurine no. 1. The earlier range of suggested dates is based upon BM EA 2381, dated to the Eighteenth Dynasty (Taylor and Strudwick 2005, pp. 130–31), which has similar hair.

69. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 26b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period(?), Dynasty 25, 780–656 B.C.
SIZE: ca. H 4.4 × W 3.4 cm
DESCRIPTION: Type H Female Figurine

This head from a moldmade female figurine has a short hairstyle.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
It is not possible to tell if the narrow margin around the head is an indication of a bed, and hence the type of figurine cannot be determined. The date is based upon the short, round hairstyle. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 133c.
70. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 21–31, ca. 1070–332 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This head from a moldmade female figurine is broken at the upper chest. The figurine has a tripartite wig with short lappets. There is little definition to the face. It is impossible to tell whether the figure was on a bed.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The tentative date is based upon the roundness of the face and the short lappets of the wig, which are reminiscent of Late Period coffins. This figurine is known only from Teilungsliste 131k.

71. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DESCRIPTION: This moldmade female figurine is broken across the hips. A tripartite wig has tresses falling to both small, rounded breasts. The right arm is at the side. The break and the indistinctness of the field photograph make it impossible to verify whether the left arm was also at the side, hence a Type A figurine. A shadow in the photograph suggests that the left arm was flexed at the elbow and that the hand was on the stomach.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungsliste 131g. The date is based upon its classic New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period proportions. See figurine no. 50 for another example of a female figurine with hand on the stomach.
72. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Unknown
DESCRIPTION: Type H Female Figurine

This moldmade female figurine is broken just below the breasts. The arms are lost at the upper shoulder. The figurine has broad, rounded shoulders and large, closely spaced oval breasts that completely dominate the chest. The wide shoulders and the angle of the upper arms suggest that the arms were flexed at the elbow and the hands placed near the breasts. The head has little remaining detail. A section of hair falls from the right side of the head just to the top of the shoulder.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The lack of parallels, especially to the large breasts, and the poor quality of the field photograph make it impossible to assign a date to this fragment. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 141g.

73. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman–Late Antique periods(?), first–ninth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Type H Female Figurine

This hand-formed female figurine is broken at the hip. The body is thick and has no waist. A slight indentation marks the neck. The head is oval and the nose is defined by depressed eye sockets. The eyes are applied dots of clay. The hair is indicated by a dot pattern on the top of the head. The right arm is shown as a short, rounded stub and the left is broken away. The gender is established by the presence of rough areas on the chest where the breasts were applied.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The pose of this figurine is similar to the Hellenistic and Late Antique orants, rather than any of the dynastic forms, hence the later date. If this date is correct, the figurine may be interpreted as a “provincial”-style imitation of the more formal moldmade Hellenistic and Late Antique orants.

See Török 1993, pp. 48–49 (nos. H4–5), pls. 62–63, for two figurines that are similar, but are clearly male by the lack of breasts. Török expresses doubts about the date of the figurines, which he suggests may be “dynastic” but are included in the discussion of Coptic art on the basis of features of the hands and feet. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 141d.
74. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: Cairo IdE 59700  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 27b
FIELD NUMBER: Eye 54b  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl clay / pigments not examined
DATE: New Kingdom, Dynasty 19–20, ca. 1293–1070 B.C.  SIZE: ca. H 5.9 cm

DESCRIPTION:

Type H Female Figurine

This head from a female figurine was made in the round and is broken below the breasts. Whether the means of manufacture was by hand or in a two-part mold is not clear. The figurine is hollow and has thick walls. The head is tall and cylindrical, with little definition of the neck. The nose is represented by a flat-ended protuberance. The eyes are not indicated. The mouth(?) is indicated by two horizontal slash marks. The top of the head is open and a coil of clay sits on top of the head encircling the cavity. The hair is arranged in a series of heavy, tentacle-like plaits, two in front of the right shoulder and two in front of the left shoulder. The breasts are round. The right arm is broken away at the shoulder; the left is flexed and the hand is placed below the breasts in an attitude of nursing. The fingers are clearly indicated by cuts made into the surface of the hand. The figurine has a smooth, medium brown color, as if burnished. The back of the figurine could not be examined.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found with a group of other figurines, including an idealized female (no. 1), a baubo (no. 79), a horse (no. 136), a camel (no. 175), a bird (no. 199), a dog (no. 92), a man’s head with a peaked cap (no. 121), a limestone statue of a monkey (OIM 15560), a fragment of a Coptic limestone altar (OIM 14810), and a lion head(?) without registration information.

COMMENTARY

The style of the hair is derived from Middle Kingdom figurines with their complicated strands and plaits (Leclant and Clerc 1986, pl. 49). This is shown on New Kingdom figured ostraca from Deir el Medina (BM EA 8506 in Robins 1993, p. 71, fig. 22; Bruyère 1953, fig. 14.1), which show Wochenlaube scenes of a woman nursing a child seated in what has been interpreted as a birth arbor. The position of the arm on the figurine is like that on the ostraca. EA 8506 shows the locks of hair cascading down from a wide fillet(?), which may be represented on the Medinet Habu example by the coil of clay. It is tempting to suggest that the hole in the top of the Medinet Habu example allowed for the insertion of hair or materials that imitated hair. The insertion of hair into female figurines is well attested in Egypt (Pinch 1993, pp. 199, 202; Bourriaud and Quirke 1988, p. 124) and in Nubia (Krauspe 1997, p. 106 no. 191; Wenig 1978, p. 125 no. 14). The date is based on the figurine’s relationship to the Wochenlaube scenes.

---

76 See also the paddle dolls that have “hair” made of string, faience beads, and clay (Bourriaud and Quirke 1988, pp. 126–27).
75. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14598  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 27c
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl clay / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown with traces of dark red pigment
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–656 B.C.  SIZE: H 8.8 × W 8.2 × D (top edge) 1.5 cm
DESCRIPTION: This hand-modeled triangular plaque is in the form of a female pubis. The edges are well finished and rolled under the slightly concave back, indicating that the object is intact as made. The vulva is indicated by a sharply incised line. The center of the reverse is blackened and surrounded by the terra-cotta color of the baked clay. There are traces of dark red pigment in the vulva.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
Although votives in the form of disembodied parts of the human body are often associated with the Greco-Roman period, they have a long history in the dynastic era (see commentary for the phallic figurines nos. 123–27). Bruyère (1939, fig. 61, pl. 45) discovered pubic plaques at Deir el Medina. Some were rectangular, others more T-shaped, often with a curved top to imitate the upper curve of the pubic area. Most of those examples are decorated with small dots that represent pubic hair, a detail that this example lacks. Some of the Deir el Medina examples show the division of the vulva, as does this example. Another, very similar example, BM EA 47766 (Pinch 1993, pl. 52B, left), in faience, was recovered from Deir el Bahri. The date of the Medinet Habu example is conjectural, but its simplicity suggests a date well before the Greco-Roman period. W. Benson Harer (pers. comm.) has suggested that such figurines may have been offered to the gods in an effort to cure, or in thanks for a cure, of a gynecological malady.

PUBLISHED
Teeter 1993, p. 36.

LATE ANTIQUE FEMALE FIGURINES (NOS. 76–104)

Several varieties of female figurines postdating the dynastic period were recovered from Medinet Habu. For the purpose of this catalog they are treated in two sections, general female figurines (nos. 76–85) and praying women (orants, nos. 86–104).

Most of these late figurines are made in two-part molds and the figurines are hollow. Figurine no. 76, which has been tentatively placed in this chronological group, is hand formed. A higher percentage of these figurines are made of marl than objects of the dynastic period, which are primarily made of Nile silt. The non-orant figurines fall into several categories: figurines associated with fertility (nos. 76–79), heads from Hellenistic-influenced statuettes (nos. 80–82), and remains of female-form vessels (nos. 83–85).

The history of the site of Medinet Habu gives some assistance in defining dates for several of these objects. Although the Small Temple underwent renovation in the later Ptolemaic period, the site was not inhabited from the end of the Second Persian Domination (332 B.C.) until the second century A.D., at which time houses were built in the southeast area of the temple precinct and additions were again made at the Small Temple (Hölscher Excavation II, pp. 17, 25, 29, 56–59). Even if one could deduce a date for the artifacts by their association with architectural phases, an insurmountable problem is that only four of the post-dynastic female figurines (nos. 76, 79, 92, 95) have any sort of locus. Figurine no. 76 (MH 27.3b) is from G/9, near the well of Nectanebo; figurine no. 79 is from the temple of Aye and Horemheb; figurine no. 92 is from B/6, in the southeast section of the complex, outside the walls; and figurine no. 95 (MH 28.72k) is from E/5, the Roman settlement in the southeast corner of the precinct.

77 See Introduction and Teeter 2003b, p. 7, for a summary of the numbering systems used by the excavators.
Other figurines (nos. 77, 87, 94, 96, 98–100, 102–04) have “K” (Coptic) designations that do not indicate where in the temple precinct they were found.\(^7\) Figurines nos. 78, 80–86, 88–93, 97, and 101 have no designations at all.

Since few of the late non-orant figurines have any sort of locus and therefore no precise archaeological context apart from coming from the University of Chicago excavations, the date of these statues is based upon other comparable examples. The hairstyles, when preserved, have been very useful in establishing an approximate date.

**GENERAL FEMALE FIGURINES (NOS. 76–85)**

**PTOLEMAIC–ROMAN–LATE ANTIQUE FIGURINES**

76. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registration Number:</th>
<th>OIM 15521</th>
<th>Photograph:</th>
<th>Pl. 28a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field Number:</td>
<td>MH 27.3b</td>
<td>Material / Color:</td>
<td>Nile silt / Munsell 5YR7/4, pink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Late Antique(?), sixth–seventh centuries A.D.</td>
<td>Size:</td>
<td>H 5.1 × W 4.2 × D 2.7 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description:</td>
<td>Fertility Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This roughly hand-formed female figurine is holding a child. The legs are lost and the oval-shaped head is downturned from the short neck. It has tubular arms, and the right arm is bent slightly away from the body. The left arm is turned across the body. Eyes are indicated by applied pieces of clay and the nose is a raised ridge of clay.

**Provenance**

This figurine was found in G/9 (in the south central corner of that square, 10 m toward grid H and 6 m toward grid 10) near the well of Nectanebo and the “mur primitiv,” 80 cm deep in the debris, with two baked clay statues, one a fragment of a Late New Kingdom shabti (no. 118) and another hand-formed figurine of a man (no. 105), tentatively dated to the Late Antique period.

**Commentary**

The identification of this figurine as a woman with child is based upon the position of the arms and the piece of clay between them which, even when so abstract is clearly meant to be a child. For another example that is more clear, see OIM 12025 (fig. 8a) from Tell el Amarna. Admittedly, figurine no. 76 has no obvious breasts.

Although the figurine from Tell el Amarna (fig. 8a) hints at a New Kingdom date, figurines excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in western Thebes (fig. 8b–e), from “Ptolemaic Radim,” suggest a later date. Budapest Szrn 84.54.A (Török 1993, pp. 46–47 [no. G57], pl. 57), which is similar to OIM 12025, has also been dated to the sixth–seventh centuries A.D. Figurine no. 76 also bears strong similarities to figurines nos. 105 and 107. They share an oval face that is tipped at an angle and dots of clay for eyes. Both figurines nos. 76 and 105 have a long nose. Figurines nos. 76 and 105 come from the same locus, although they are referred to as coming from the debris. Another object from that locus is figurine no. 118, which is clearly New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period. If the locus were more securely closed, as opposed to being “debris,” it would be tempting to assign figurines nos. 76 and 105 to an earlier period than figurine no. 118.

This figurine demonstrates the problems with attempting to assign a date to such unfamiliar material. Although it could be Late New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, the later date seems only slightly more probable. If the dates assigned to figure 8b–e and to the Budapest figurine are correct, then the tentative date assigned here is more easily defendable.

See Hölscher Excavation V, p. 34 n. 110, for Hölscher’s reconsideration of the association of the walls of this locus with Nectanebo.
Baked clay figurines and votive beds from Medinet Habu

77. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15548 PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 28b
FIELD NUMBER: K 197 MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 2.5YR5/2, weak red
DATE: Roman period, first century B.C.–second century A.D. SIZE: H 6.6 × W 5.4 cm
DESCRIPTION:

This moldmade female figurine was made in a badly worn two-part mold. A tall peaked cap or veil is supported on a headdress. The breasts are heavy, legs are splayed, and hands are on the legs. The figurine is roughly pierced transversely through the head as if for suspension. It is covered with white pigment. There is little detail on the reverse.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

COMMENTARY

This type of figurine (referred to as a “baubo”) is quite common. Once thought to be associated with the Eleusinian mysteries (“the Demeter [-Isis] festival”) held near Canopus, the trend now is to see the baubos as apotropaic figurines that

---

78 See Türök 1995, pp. 132–33, for his argument that baubos’ association with the Eleusinian mysteries is “not completely improbable.”
were thought to assist women during childbirth by warding off the evil eye (Dunand 1979, pp. 101–02). The pose, exposing the pubis and pointing at the vulva, can be interpreted as a wholly Egyptian-inspired gesture, referred to in the Contendings of Horus and Seth, where Hathor exposes herself to her father Re Horakhty to rouse him from his sadness (Simpson 2003, p. 94). The gesture is also known from other Egyptian festivals, such as the festival of the Apis during which, according to Diodorus Siculus, women “stand, facing him [the god], and, pulling up their clothes, display their genitals” (Diodorus Siculus Bibliotheca historica I, 85, in Montserrat 1996, p. 176). The gesture is also known from Hedorotus’ account of the festival of Bastet during which women “expose their genitals,” although in that account the women are standing, rather than seated (Herodotus The Histories 2.60, in Montserrat 1996, p. 169). Montserrat (ibid., p. 167) states that such gestures were a manner of “sexually stimulating the virility of the god.” For other examples of this type of figurine, see figurines nos. 78–79.

There are numerous examples of this type of figurine from other sites. One very similar example was excavated from below the mudbrick floor by the face of the Taharka Gate at the Mut temple (field no. 2M.77), another at Antinoopolis (Dunand 1990, no. 561), and several from “Moyenne Egypt” (Besques 1992, p. 114 nos. E 383–87, pl. 72). Other examples (Dunand 1990, nos. 562–65; Török 1995, nos. 184–90) have no provenance. Most show the woman’s right hand on her pubis, an exception being Besques 1992, no. E 386, pl. 72d, which shows the left hand between the legs. Better-preserved examples (Dunand 1990, no. 565) show the left fingers emerging from behind the upper right thigh.

Most examples of figurines of a woman with her legs splayed show her with an elaborate hairstyle (see Dunand 1990, nos. 562–65; Török 1995, nos. 183–85, 190–92) rather than with the peaked headdress of this example and figurine no. 78. The peaked headdress bears some similarity to an orant and a baubo published by Török (1995, nos. 170, 184), who assigns the hairstyle on his catalog number 170 to the Antonine period (ibid., p. 130). The examples published by Dunand do not show any uniformity in the way that the hair is worn, whether piled atop the head (Dunand 1990, nos. 562, 565), in loose ringlets (Dunand 1990, no. 561), or in ringlets topped with a heavy circlet (Dunand 1990, no. 564). The date is based upon the examples in Török 1995, Dunand 1990, and Fjeldhagen 1995.

78. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15545
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 29a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/6–5/2, reddish yellow to reddish gray
DATE: Roman period, first century B.C.–second century A.D.
SIZE: H 6.9 × W 6.8 cm

DESCRIPTION:
Fertility Figurine

This head from a figurine was made in a one-part mold. The head and upper shoulders are preserved. The figurine has a peaked cap. Large ears, or ornaments of the cap (?), are at each side of the head. The arms are lost, but the angle of the shoulders suggests that its arms were positioned away from the body. The details of the figure are very indistinct, having been made in a worn or dirty mold.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
From its similarity to figurine no. 77, this is probably the upper portion of a figurine showing a nude woman (baubo). See commentary for figurine no. 77.
79. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15524  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 29b

**FIELD NUMBER:** Eye 54b  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 2.5YR5/6, red

**DATE:** Roman period, first century B.C.–first century A.D.  
**SIZE:** H 4.7 ≈ W 6.6 × D 2.7 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This figurine of a naked woman was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow, and the head and feet are lost. The figurine has small breasts, its right arm is bent, and its hand is on its pubis. The left arm and hand pass behind the left leg to hold its legs apart. The lack of traces of hair on the shoulder suggests that the hair was arranged on top of the head. A round vent hole is in the center of its back.

**PROVENANCE**
This figurine was found with a group of other figurines, including an idealized female (no. 1), a woman’s head with Wochenlaube hairstyle (no. 74), a man’s head with a peaked cap (no. 121), a horse (no. 136), a camel (no. 175), a bird (no. 199), a limestone statue of a monkey (OIM 15560), a fragment of a Coptic limestone altar (OIM 14810), and a lion head (?) (without registration information). No information on the location in the temple was given for this locus.

**COMMENTARY**
See commentary for figurine no. 77. Determining a date for this figurine is complicated by the loss of the head and its coiffure or headdress. The body style is similar to an example that Török (1995, p. 132 no. 187) dates to the second half of the second century B.C. Dunand (1990, no. 565) dates a similar figurine more generally to the Roman period, while Besques (1992, p. 114) dates his examples E 383–84 to the Roman imperial period. With one exception (Dunand 1990, no. 562, dated to the Hellenistic era), examples in the Louvre (Dunand 1990, nos. 561, 563–67) are dated to the Roman period. However, see Török 1995, p. 19, for his criticism that Dunand has tended to assign too many objects to the Roman era. Because of the occupational history at Medinet Habu, a later rather than an earlier (i.e., Ptolemaic) date is suggested for this example.

---

**HELLENISTIC-INFLUENCED FIGURINES (NOS. 80–82)**

80. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15551  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 30a

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR5/4, reddish brown

**DATE:** Roman period, mid-second century A.D.  
**SIZE:** H 5.5 × W 3.2 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This head from a female figurine was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow and excess clay was lumped in the interior. The body line was carelessly smoothed, obliterating exterior detail. The hair on the forehead is parted in the center and arranged in waves around the face. A long braid is coiled against the back of the head and is arranged with a tall peak. The right side near the neck was cleanly pierced for an earring.

**PROVENANCE**
No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**
See Petrie 1909, pl. 44 no. 170, for a similar example from Memphis and another in Dunand 1990, no. 754 (Louvre E 29851), without provenance, which is dated to the second–third centuries A.D. Like the Medinet Habu example, the hair surrounding the face is flattened.
into wide, undulating curls and the hair on the back of the head rises into a peak visible from the front. For other parallels, see Weber 1914, pl. 35 no. 386a (Berlin 9211 from the Fayum), and no. 387a (Berlin 13866 purchased in the Fayum). See also two examples now in Frankfurt (Bayer-Niemeier 1988, p. 169 no. 339, pl. 62.2 and pp. 171–72 nos. 348–52, pl. 63.2–6), which have the same flattened curls against the forehead and the rear peak. These are assigned to the second half of the second century A.D. The date for figurine no. 80 is based upon Bayer-Niemeier’s examples. See a similar piercing of the ear on figurine no. 86.

81. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15550
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 30b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR4/6,
DATE: Roman period, yellowish red
third century A.D.
SIZE: H 5.0 × W 3.5 cm
DESCRIPTION: Hellenistic-influenced Figurine
This is the front half of the head of a female figurine. The hair is parted slightly off center, drawn (presumably) to the nape of the neck. The mold was worn or dirty so the facial features are very indistinct. It is covered in yellowish red pigment.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This object appears to be the front part of a figurine made in a two-part mold. Pigment is present on the edges of the face and neck, suggesting that this fragment was not yet affixed to the back of the head at the time it was painted. See similar pigment on figurine no. 87. A similar hairstyle appears on figurines of the third century A.D. (Fjeldhagen 1995, pp. 160–61 nos. 153–55), hence the date assigned here.

82. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15552
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 30c
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR5/3,
DATE: Roman period, reddish brown
third century A.D.
SIZE: H 4.9 × W 2.6 cm
DESCRIPTION: Hellenistic-influenced Figurine
This is the front of the head of a female figurine made in a two-part mold. The thickness of the clay is very irregular. The face is asymmetrical and the hair is gathered up on the top of the head (or perhaps it is a tall cap?). The mold was worn or dirty so the facial features are very indistinct. There are traces of white pigment on the face and brown on the cap or hair.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
The date is based on the hairstyle (Doxiadis 1995, p. 235).
83. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15541
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period, third century A.D.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR4/2, dark reddish gray
SIZE: H 3.2 × W 2.4 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This head from a female-form vessel was made in a two-part mold. The top of the head is open and finished to serve as the vessel opening. The hair is parted in the center and falls in soft waves along the face. Longer curls lie along the side of the face. The features are now worn and indistinct. The back of the head has little detail other than marks where it was smoothed with a tool. There is a rough area on top right where a handle was attached. The figurine is covered with a dark chocolate-colored slip.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
See Doxiadis 1995, p. 235, for this upswept hairstyle that is dated to the third century A.D.

84. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period, third century A.D.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
SIZE: ca. H 3.5 × W 2.4 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This head from a female-form vessel was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow and the top of the head is open and finished as a rim. Corkscrew curls cover the forehead and longer curls lie along the side of the face.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
See Doxiadis 1995, p. 235, for examples of similar coiffures dated to the second half of the third century A.D. This figurine is known only from Teilungsliste 155h.
85. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14630
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period, third century A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Female-form Vessel

This head from a female-form vessel was made in a two-part mold. There is a point of clay under the chin and a row of curls of hair on the brow. The hair is arranged on the top of the head around the rim. Ridges at the side may represent curls of hair. Little detail of the face is preserved. The back is unworked.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
Although the vessel fits neatly in the hand, it cannot stand unsupported. The date is based upon the upswept hairstyle. See commentary for figurine no. 82.

ORANTS (NOS. 86–104)

Figurines of women, their arms uplifted in a gesture of what has been assumed to be prayer, are a common theme in Late Antique terra-cottas. Three types of orants are known from Medinet Habu. The first examples (nos. 86–90) are made in a two-part mold. These figurines represent a stout, baby-faced woman, usually seated or squatting, her arms raised to her sides (see, among the many examples, Weber 1914, pl. 21 nos. 215–16, pl. 22 nos. 217–20, 222–25, pl. 23 nos. 226, 228–29; Petrie 1905, pl. 50 nos. 98–99, 102–07; Dunand 1990, nos. 551–54, 558–59; Allen 1985, nos. 83–85, 87). The limbs are fleshy and rounded. These are strongly Hellenistic or Greco-Romano-Egyptian in style. As attested by complete figurines known from other sites, most examples wear a complex headdress or coiffure and, when clothed, they are draped in the representation of Hellenistic clothing (fig. 9a) rather than traditional Egyptian garb. This style of orant is attested at Medinet Habu by two faces (nos. 86–87) and three hand-arm fragments (nos. 88–90).

Kaufmann (1913, pp. 104, 107) suggests that Hellenistic-style orant figurines originated in the third century A.D. and continued well into the fourth, commenting that they still have good modeling and proportions, not yet showing Coptic “corruption” of the face and nimbus. Kleinbauer (1986, p. 89) states that they occur “as early as the third century A.D.” The third century A.D. date assigned to the fragments of the Hellenistic-influenced orants from Medinet Habu (nos. 86–90) is based on their stylistic similarity to other dated figurines (Dunand 1990, nos. 551–54; Allen 1978, nos. 83–85, 87, passim; Fjeldhagen 1995, nos. 106–07, 109–10; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, nos. 299, 300, 305).

The second type of orant is represented by a single example (no. 91). The identification of this figurine as an orant at all is based upon a very similar example from Tod (see commentary for figurine no. 91). The third type of orant from Medinet Habu (nos. 92–104) is also made in a two-part mold. These are far more abstract. The woman’s body is reduced to a cylinder, often with small breasts, and the head is a flattened triangle (see among the many intact examples, Weber 1914, pl. 23 nos. 234–36; Friedman 1989, no. 138; Török 1993, pls. 34–47 [nos. G18–28]). The face is molded with very schematic detail, and it is usually dominated by a long nose and oversized round eyes in relief and/or paint. The ears are pierced and a third piercing appears at the apex of the head. Polaczek-Zdanowicz 79 See Ballet 1991, p. 501, for the comment that the two types of figurines discussed here “do not co-exist in the same archaeological contexts.” However, both forms are attested at Medinet Habu and at Karanis.

80 The difficulty in assigning dates to this sort of material is underscored by Weber’s 1914 catalog of the Berlin collection and Kaufmann 1913, neither of which assigns dates. More recent works (Dunand 1990; Fjeldhagen 1995; Bayer-Niemeier 1988) do assign dates. See also Dunand 1979, p. 5, for general comments about the difficulty in assigning dates to Egyptian terra-cottas.
(1975, p. 144) suggests that the abstract simplicity of these figurines was a result of the persecution of Christians who resorted to symbols rather than more realistic representations to represent their faith. These figurines have been referred to as “Coptic dolls” (Kaufmann 1913, p. 104), or as “Göttin,” “Frau,” or “Totenweib” (Weber 1914, pp. 151–52). In this text, they are referred to as “Byzantine orant.”

There has been considerable discussion about the symbolism of the orant gesture, although it is generally agreed that it refers to adoration of a god. Kleinbauer equated the pose of the figure with the Christian cross (1986, pp. 90, 93) and with the representation of donors and benefactors shown in churches from the fourth century onward. Du Bourguet (1991, p. 536) suggested that the pose is based upon the ancient ka hieroglyph.

There is little overall agreement concerning the symbolism of other features of the Byzantine orant. For example, the characteristic tall, triangular head is described alternately as a coiffure (Weber 1914, p. 151 no. 234; Badawy 1978, p. 346; Ballet 1991, p. 500) or nimbus (Polaczek-Zdanowicz 1975, pp. 136, 146). Kaiser and colleagues (1976, p. 109) interpret it as “mit Bänden und Perlen geschmücktes Haartoupet” and compare it to the decoration of the Alexandrian “Matronenfigürchen.” The headdress also bears a striking resemblance to the basket heaped with fruit that some earlier Greco-Egyptian figurines of goddesses hold on top of their heads (fig. 9b here and Weber 1914, pl. 19; Dunand 1990, nos. 486, 489–91). The decoration of the hair/nimbus shows great variation in decoration, from geometric arched curls (?) (nos. 95, 97–98, 100–101, 103–04), to floral patterns (no. 94). Török (1993, p. 37 [no. G18]) interprets it as the “descendant of the Hellenistic and Roman-Egyptian wreath.”

Although only one intact figurine (no. 92) and one fragmentary body (no. 93) of Byzantine orants are preserved from Medinet Habu, examples from other sources that they were always portrayed clothed. Some (not attested at Medinet Habu) are depicted wearing a necklace, which Ballet (1991, p. 501) has associated with the periammata of the Roman-era Isis Aphrodite figures (Polaczek-Zdanowicz 1975, p. 139). Others are shown with a round pendant upon their forehead (nos. 95, 98, 104; see also Török 1993, pls. 34–36 [nos. G19, 20, 22, 23]). None of the Medinet Habu examples are decorated with a cross, a feature attested on figures from other sites (Weber 1914, no. 237).

The Byzantine orant is usually detailed on the front. Only rarely is the back (of those examined or pictured front and back) decorated with a pattern (Strzygowski 1904, no. 7132; Ballet and Mahmoud 1987, p. 71 no. 13; Török 1993, p. 38 [no. G19], pl. 34). Three examples from Medinet Habu include decoration on the reverse side. Figurine no. 95 has a medial line with hatching much like the palm-frond pattern, which Polaczek-Zdanowicz (1975, p. 147) and Török (1993, p. 38) have suggested is related to the date-palm branch associated with Isis (Aphrodite) as well as with the fertility cult. Sijpesteijn (1974, p. 223) has suggested that the same pattern, through its appearance on funerary stelae and mummy tags, is a funerary symbol. Figurines nos. 96–97 have a different pattern — a medial line flanked by circles which is also seen on Copenhagen AE.I.N. 1787 (Fjeldhagen 1995, no. 111). However, the backs of only a few orants are shown in publication, and many may in fact be decorated.

Byzantine orants are rarely published, perhaps due to the apparent disinterest, and even disdain, shown toward them. Although Kaufmann (1913, p. 107) included several examples in his catalog, he regarded them as “ganz primitiven.” Weber (1914, p. 145 n. 23) referred to them as a degraded form of the earlier Hellenistic examples, dismissing them as “Unbestreitbar sind sie von äusserster Rohheit … ganz flächenhaft modelliert; nur andeutend, unklar bemalt,” calling them shoddy (Stümperlei) and “lumps of clay” (Tonbatzen). A major exhibit of Coptic art (Egger 1964, p. 137) does not even mention their existence. Although a hundred were excavated at the Khnum temple at Elephantine, only one was presented as a figurine in the preliminary report, and none were included in the final and exhaustive report on the ceramics from the site (Kaiser et al. 1976, p. 109). These Byzantine/Coptic orant figurines are no doubt better represented in museum collections and excavation storehouses than their publication would suggest.

Recent years have produced some sympathy for these figurines. Pomerantseva (1993, p. 65) has stressed their role in a general transformation of Egyptian symbols into a Christian context. In differentiating these later figurines from the earlier Hellenistic-influenced ones, she points out the dominance of the head over the body (ibid., p. 67), and the conventional, even abstract, rendering of the face that is dominated by the large, round, open eyes.

---

81 In contrast to the earlier (first–third century A.D.) style of seated orant, which could be shown nude. See Kelsey Museum 6471 (Allen 1985, no. 88); Dunand 1990, no. 559; Weber 1914, pl. 22 nos. 219, 220. The emphasis upon clothing being presumably a reflection of Christian modesty.

82 The discussion of ceramics in that exhibit does not include any reference to clay figurines.
which give “great expression to the images”; features which are also carried over into Coptic grave stelae (Hooper 1961; Thomas 2000). Like Polaczek-Zdanowicz (1975, p. 144), Pomerantseva (1993, pp. 67, 71) recognizes the inherent Egyptian-ness of the figures, with their frontality, the way in which the single figure is portrayed in isolation, their static and formal gesture, the emphasis upon the head rather than the face, and the lack of individuality. Ballet (1991, p. 502) places these figurines within the overall development of Coptic art, pointing out how they demonstrate the “tendency to treat figures as relief,” and that they “illustrate the transition to the sketchy type of manufacture characteristic of Coptic art.”

Figure 9. (a) Orant figurine. Roman period, third century A.D. Karanis. Baked clay, H 13.5 × W 11.5 cm. Kelsey Museum no. 6475 (photograph courtesy of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor);

(b) Figurine of woman with basket on her head. Roman period. Provenance unknown. Baked clay, H 19.0 cm. Musée du Louvre E 20743 (photograph courtesy of the Musée du Louvre, Paris)
The most common date given for the Byzantine form is the sixth–seventh centuries A.D. (Strzygowski 1904, p. 245; Brooklyn Museum 1941, p. 41 nos. 126–27; Cooney 1943, p. 20, pl. 35; Polaczek-Zdanowicz 1975, p. 146; Badawy 1978, p. 346; Shulte and Arnold 1978, p. 238 no. 440; Friedman 1989, no. 138), yet the period in which they first appear has yet to be firmly established. Among the earliest dates suggested is the fourth to mid-fifth centuries A.D. for some examples from Karanis (Allen 1985, pp. 440–43). Török (1993, p. 31) suggests that their “occurrence … in Upper Egypt, at Abu Mena, or in the Fayoum cannot be dated earlier than the mid(?)-fifth c. A.D.” The terminus ad quem is unknown, although presumably they become inappropriate after the conversion of much of the population to Islam. However, at Medinet Habu they seem to be produced until the abandonment of the temple in the ninth century.

There is a diversity of opinion regarding the function of orants. Following Erman, Weber (1914, pp. 152–53) categorized the Hellenistic and Byzantine types as funerary figurines (Totengötten), or as concubines for the dead (Totenweib), although four of his examples were said to have come from a papyrus horde at Ashmunein (Weber 1914, nos. 234–35, 237a, 239), rather than from a mortuary context. The interpretation of the figurines as concubines is now largely discounted, primarily since so few of this type of statue come from a mortuary context. Polaczek-Zdanowicz (1975, pp. 147–49) has concluded that the Byzantine orants are the result of the coalescence of two different cultural/religious traditions, both of which stress fertility and rebirth. The first tradition, rooted in Egyptian religion, is related to Osirian beliefs of rebirth, hence the figurines are essentially Osirian and can be interpreted as figures praising the god for fertility. The other tradition is derived from the fusion of the Greco-Roman assimilation of Isis to Aphrodite who was venerated as a goddess of fertility.83 Pomerantseva (1993, p. 73) has suggested that the earlier, Hellenistic orant “represents in all probability a servant who is praying for her mistress,” and that they “played the part of ‘shawabtis’.” Polaczek-Zdanowicz (1975, pp. 147–49) posited that the Hellenistic and Byzantine orants have the same function, namely to serve as votives in conjunction with fertility. This interpretation was accepted by Török (1993, p. 31), who comments that “the Coptic female figurines with or without child were bought, and partly offered as ex voto, by women who wanted to be cured from infertility, wanted a safe delivery or simply needed supernatural aid in matters of love and marriage.” Martens (1975, p. 75) suggested that the late orants are votive offerings given in hope of a cure for an affliction, as well as to promote fertility. He noted that most provenanced orants are from a domestic context, which might argue against their votive nature. Polaczek-Zdanowicz (1975, p. 148) also noted the domestic context of the orants and suggested that their presence in houses may stem from their devotional nature. The figurines were perhaps blessed in churches and then brought home to serve as a cult object. However, the long tradition in Egypt of household shrines indicates that orants did not necessarily have to be associated with churches. Ballet (1991, p. 500) suggests that the piercing at the top of the head, which is a standard feature of Byzantine orants, allowed them to be suspended, perhaps as a talisman in the house.84 Because so many orants from Medinet Habu have been recovered in a fragmentary condition, Wilfong (2002, p. 77 n. 26) has questioned whether they were “broken in some kind of rite of passage for women.” Although, he himself notes that there is “as yet” no evidence for such a practice, certainly the number of intact figurines from other sites argues against such a ritual use. The presence of crosses on some examples, and the orant gesture, argue strongly against the figurines simply being dolls.

Both Hellenistic and Byzantine orants have been recovered from sites throughout Egypt. As summarized by Ballet (1991, p. 501), the Byzantine form is common in Middle and Upper Egypt, but “not mentioned in Abu Mina or Alexandria.” Both forms, as well as other types of female figurines, are attested at Karanis (Allen 1985).

The original archaeological context could provide information about the orants’ function; however, the vast majority of them are without provenance. As already noted, many excavated examples come from a domestic context. All examples of the Byzantine-type orant from Karanis were found in the residential section of the city rather than in the temple complex (Allen 1985, p. 160). Those from Edfu and Kom Ishgau were likewise recovered from houses (Polaczek-Zdanowicz 1975, p. 147).

83 See Polaczek-Zdanowicz 1975, p. 141, for the inclusion of Isis-Aphrodite figurines in dowry lists of the Greco-Roman period. Their function was presumably to ensure the couple’s fertility.

84 None of the Medinet Habu examples show wear at the top hole, which might be expected if they were suspended, and no references to such abrasion is mentioned in the literature. See also the comment of Wilfong (2002, p. 115) that the flat base was clearly designed to allow the figurines to stand, and that the holes in the headdress may have been to allow decorative elements to be added. Other types of terra-cotta figurines are likewise pierced at the top, such as a tambourine player (Weber 1914, p. 157 no. 247, pl. 24) and a woman with a lamp (Fjeldhagen 1995, no. 83). For hair attached to the back of the head of an orant, see Weber 1914, p. 153 no. 238, pl. 23.
However, other examples certainly have been recovered from temples. A group of more than a hundred was discovered in the temple of Khnum at Elephantine (Kaiser et al. 1976, p. 109), although the deposition was described as “fill,” so its original context is unclear. Other Byzantine-type orants were recovered from the Coptic levels of the temple at Medamoud (Bisson de la Roque 1930, pp. 54–55 nos. 4097, 4063).

The only example of an orant documented to have come from a mortuary context is a single figurine from tomb G286 at Karanog (Woolley and Randall-MacIver 1910, pp. 164, 245, pl. 109; see also Török 1993, p. 31).

At Medinet Habu, ten of the thirteen fragments of figurines have a field number. Eight of those ten figurine fragments are from the ruins of Coptic houses (nos. 94, 96, 98–100, 102–04). As already noted, only two have a more specific locus: figurine no. 92 is from B/6, outside the Great Girdle Wall, south of the quay, and figurine no. 95 was recovered in E/5 at the southeast corner of the precinct.

In summary, the majority of orants of all types have been recovered from houses, suggesting that they, like the earlier female figurines, were private devotional objects related to fertility and birth.

---

**86. FIGURINE**

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15542  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 32a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Roman period, third century A.D.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Orant  

This is the head of an orant made in a two-part mold. It is hollow and has a round face surrounded by parted wavy hair which is gathered in the center into a shell-shaped bun at the nape of the neck. There is an obvious mold line, and the worn or dirty mold resulted in indistinct features. There is light pink pigment on the face and black pigment on the hair. There are piercings for earrings at the sides of the neck.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location recorded.

**COMMENTARY**  
The roundness of the face, the simple hairstyle, and the thick neck indicate that this is a fragment of a Hellenistic-influenced orant. See the close parallel in Weber 1914, pl. 22 no. 222, with the same large earring piercings and the simple, wavy hairstyle. The date is based upon Louvre E 20771 (Dunand 1990, no. 552) and Liebieghaus no. 301 (which has an added wreath; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, pp. 158–59, pl. 57), both dated to the third century. For a similar piercing of the ear, see figurine no. 80.
87. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registration Number:</th>
<th>OIM 15540</th>
<th>Photograph:</th>
<th>Pl. 32b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field Number:</td>
<td>K 184</td>
<td>Material / Color:</td>
<td>Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/1, light gray to gray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Roman period, second–third century A.D.</td>
<td>Size:</td>
<td>H 6.9 cm; W 6.3 cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description:**

This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold; only the front half is preserved. It has a round face and the hair is arranged in two rows each of eight round curls, surmounted by a wreath(?) or braid. There are corkscrew curls at the neck and earrings are indicated. Two horizontal lines on the neck indicate folds of skin. There is white pigment on the edges.

**Provenance**

No location recorded.

**Commentary**

This head probably comes from a Hellenistic-influenced orant of the Roman period. The face is very round as is typical of those figurines. The hairstyle has few close parallels. Compare Kaiser 1967, p. 111 no. 1035, which has four rows of curls, a wreath(?), and a long, narrow face. It is dated to the first century A.D., which, on the basis of other round-faced orants, seems too early to apply to the Medinet Habu example. Another fairly similar example from Mons Claudianus (Bailey 1998, pp. 24, 26, fig. 2a) that has rows of round curls has been dated “likely from” the first to second century A.D. The roundness of the face suggests an even later date, hence the range suggested here.

The white pigment along the edges indicates that each half of the figurine was colored before the two halves were joined, or that it was never joined to another piece. See similar pigment along the edges on figurine no. 81.

---

88. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registration Number:</th>
<th>OIM 15543</th>
<th>Photograph:</th>
<th>Pl. 33a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field Number:</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>Material / Color:</td>
<td>Marl clay / Munsell 7.5YR6/2, pinkish gray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Roman period, second–third century A.D.</td>
<td>Size:</td>
<td>L 6.5 × W 3.3 cm</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description:**

This is the hand and arm from a Hellenistic-style orant figurine made in a two-part mold. It is hollow but has little interior space. The arm is slightly flexed to hold the hand upward in an attitude of prayer. A ridge represents a bracelet or the hem of a sleeve. The Hellenistic, or at least non-Egyptian, influence can be seen in the differentiation of the front of the hand from the back by adding a depression that represents the hollow of the palm. Traces of white pigment cover the entire surface.

**Provenance**

No location recorded.

**Commentary**

Compare to Dunand 1990, no. 552. Most examples of this style of orant date to the second–third centuries A.D.
89. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15544  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 33b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl clay / Munsell 5YR4/1, dark gray
DATE: Roman period, third century A.D.  SIZE: H 4.2 × L 4.0 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This hand from a Hellenistic-style orant was made in a two-part mold. The mold line was not smoothed. A cuff of the garment is indicated at the wrist. Joints of the fingers are also indicated by horizontal lines across the hand. The back of the hand has only a faint differentiation of the fingers. The elbow is flexed at a 90-degree angle to hold the hand upward in an attitude of prayer. Whitish yellow pigment covers the entire surface.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
For other examples of the garment line at the wrist, see Dunand 1990, nos. 551–54. For it being a bracelet (or a fold of flesh) on a nude figurine, see Dunand 1990, nos. 558–59, and Kaufmann 1913, pp. 108–09, fig. 76.

90. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 33c
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric, and pigments not examined
DATE: Late Antique period, third century A.D.  SIZE: ca. H 7.4 × W 6.5 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This fragment of the right arm of a Hellenistic-influenced orant was made in a two-part mold. The fabric of the sleeve is shown hanging in folds along the arm.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
There are few good parallels to the heavy draping of the sleeve. Close ones include Weber 1914, pl. 23 no. 226, and Bayer-Niemeier 1988, no. 304 (pl. 58), the latter dated to the first half of the third century, hence the date assigned here. This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 156b.
91. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 34a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Unknown
DESCRIPTION: Orant
SIZE: ca. H 8.9 × W 4.4 cm

This is a roughly handmade figurine. It is a very schematic, flattened piece of clay with indentations to indicate eyes and the navel. The arms are broken, and feet are not indicated.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
A very similar example excavated at Tod (Louvre E 15032; Dunand 1990, no. 560) has been identified as an orant figurine. It is 9.6 cm tall (similar to the estimated height of the Medinet Habu example). Dunand did not assign a date to the Louvre figurine. The identification of the Tod figurine as an orant is presumably due to the hand being held upward in an attitude of prayer. See Ritner 1989 for Second Intermediate Period execration figurines that share the general form, but have their arms bound behind their backs. This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 141k.

92. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 34b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Orant
SIZE: H 17.0 cm

This is an orant with a cylindrical body and lancelet head. The arms are flexed at 90 degrees to the body in order to raise the hands in adoration or prayer. There are stripes of pigment along the arms and body. Three painted parallel stripes appear on each side of the face and at the top. The top and edges of the head are perforated. The face is broken away. A string of beads and a chain around the neck are indicated in pigment. There is a palm-branch pattern on the reverse.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in B/6, outside the Great Girdle Wall, in the debris south of the quay. In Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58, this fragment is said to have come from “the dwellings.”

COMMENTARY
This example is known only from Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58, pl. 34D. It does not appear in the field photographs or in the Teilungslist. Ironically, it is the only intact orant from the site. The location (B/6) is given only in Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58. The description in that volume records the decoration on the back.

PUBLISHED
Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58 (4), pl. 34D; Wilfong 2002, pl. 2a.
93. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14643
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.

DESCRIPTION: Orant

This body of an orant was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow but has little interior space. A hole is pressed into the bottom to create a cylindrical foot. The head and left hand are broken away. The arms are held away from the body, the elbows are flexed, and the hand(s) are held upward at either side of the figure. The breasts and the necklace are molded. The necklace and folds in the garment are indicated in dark brown pigment. The back is unworked but decorated with black pigment.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

94. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14641
FIELD NUMBER: K 186
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.

DESCRIPTION: Orant

This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. The figurine is hollow, but has little interior space. The chin triangular. The coiffeur is made up of circles and rosettes that rise above the heavy, low brow. A necklace is indicated by a line of circles below the chin. The side piercings are very asymmetrical, and the top piercing is to the right of the central axis. A spot of brown pigment is located above the brow and a line of brown pigment details facial features. The back is unworked.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

PUBLISHED

Wilfong 2002, pl. 2b.
95. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGISTRATION NUMBER:</th>
<th>OIM 15537</th>
<th>PHOTOGRAPH:</th>
<th>Pl. 35b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIELD NUMBER:</td>
<td>MH 28.72k</td>
<td>MATERIAL / COLOR:</td>
<td>Marl / Munsell 5YR5/3, reddish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE:</td>
<td>Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.</td>
<td>SIZE:</td>
<td>H 6.4 × W 5.8 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESCRIPTION:</td>
<td>Orant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. The figurine is hollow and has large, round eyes, a flat, triangular nose, symmetrical decoration on the coiffure, and a circle at the apex of the arch of the coiffure. A rim of clay extends beyond the usual edge. There are black stripes at the top edges of the coiffure. The top is not pierced and the side piercings are very asymmetrical. The back is decorated with an incised palm frond.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in E/5, the southeast corner of the precinct in the Roman settlement above the fellahin village, “50 cm above the foundations” on the “Roman Kom under the sebbakh level,” with a scarab (Teeter 2003b, no. 64), a Roman-period figurine of a horse and rider (no. 120), the torso of a female figurine (no. 59), and the foot of an alabaster bowl and two clay vessels without registration information.

COMMENTARY

For another example of the circular pendant at the apex of the headdress, see Török 1993, p. 38 (no. G19); and figurine no. 104.

PUBLISHED

Teeter 2002, p. 3, fig. 4 right.

96. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGISTRATION NUMBER:</th>
<th>OIM 14642</th>
<th>PHOTOGRAPH:</th>
<th>Pl. 36a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIELD NUMBER:</td>
<td>K 189</td>
<td>MATERIAL / COLOR:</td>
<td>Marl / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE:</td>
<td>Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.</td>
<td>SIZE:</td>
<td>H 7.2 × W 5.4 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESCRIPTION:</td>
<td>Orant</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold; part of the neck is preserved. The figurine has a large, rectangular nose, heavy brow ridge, small, horizontal mouth, and a coiffure with molded detail and black and orange pigment. The top piercing is asymmetrical and both sides are pierced. A necklace is indicated in brown pigment. The back has a faint impression of a medial line flanked by impressed circles, much like figurine no. 97.

PROVENANCE

No location recorded.

PUBLISHED

Teeter 2002, p. 3, fig. 4 left; Wilfong 2003, front and back cover, pl. 2b.
97. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15538  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 36b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR6/6, reddish yellow
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.  SIZE: H 6.9 × W 5.4 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. The tall narrow face has very little detail other than a long sharp nose ridge. The coiffeur is indicated by a high, arched, notched line. The sides are pierced, and the top of the coiffure is broken. Eyes are indicated in dark brown pigment. The back is decorated with a medial line flanked by circles.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
See figurine no. 96 for a similar example of this decoration.

98. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15539  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 37a
FIELD NUMBER: K 185  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.  SIZE: H 6.2 × W 5.8 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. The figurine is hollow and has a round face, a small, rounded mouth, large, round eyes, and bright orange and brown pigment on the upper edge of the headdress. There is a round pendant on the brow below the lower band of hair. The sides and top are pierced. The back is unworked.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

PUBLISHED
Wilfong 2002, pl. 2b.

99. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 37b
FIELD NUMBER: K 191  MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.  SIZE: ca. H 5.0 × W 4.5 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. The figurine is hollow and the face and features are very worn. The sides and top are pierced.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 154f.
100. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: K 187
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Orant
This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow and the face and features are now very indistinct. Two lines indicate curls of the coiffure. Unlike other examples, the upper line of the headdress passes almost horizontally over the forehead rather than rising in a steep arch.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 154g.

101. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Orant
This right-hand section of the head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow and has a naturalistic face with a nose that is not as abstract as in other examples. It has a small, pursed mouth and highly arched eyebrows. Soft, wide ridges indicate the coiffure.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 154h.

102. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: K 190
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Orant
This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow and the features are now very indistinct. It has a large, ridge-like nose. The sides and top have large piercings.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 154i.
103. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: K 188
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION: This center of the face of an orant was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow and has a large, ridge-like nose, a large, circular eye, and ridges where two parts of the coiffure meet at a high arch above the face. The top has a large, circular piercing.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 154k.

104. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: K 185
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–ninth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION: This head of an orant was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow and has a large, teardrop-shaped nose. The eyebrow ridges continue from the top of the nose. It also has large, circular eyes and a small, pursed mouth. Two bands with notched detail indicate the coiffure. There is a round pendant on the brow below the lower band of hair. The sides are pierced and the top piercing is ragged and off-center.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
For the circular pendant above the eyes, see Török 1993, p. 38 (no. G19); see also figurine no. 95. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 154l.
MALE FIGURINES (NOS. 105–127)

As at other sites, at Medinet Habu, figurines of men are less common than those of women or animals. The Medinet Habu male figurines (other than the phallic figurines, which are considered separately, nos. 123–27) fall into two main groups: hand-formed figurines (nos. 105–16), some of which can be identified as men only with difficulty and lack of absolute certainty; and the moldmade figurines (nos. 117–22) that more closely reflect the traditions of formal Egyptian art.

Three of the six moldmade figurines (nos. 117–19) appear to be fragments of shabtis that stylistically fall into the tradition of the late New Kingdom–early Third Intermediate Period (ca. 1293–945 B.C.). The other three moldmade figurines (nos. 120–22) exhibit clear Hellenistic-Roman influence.

The hand-formed figurines are much more difficult to date, largely because of their lack of distinctive style or comparable — and dated — examples in other collections. Features such as clay applied to the head in imitation of wigs that reflect styles of the dynastic period (nos. 109–10, 116) have been used to help determine dates, but in the absence of strong diagnostic features, some figurines are cataloged here as date “unknown.”

105. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15520 PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 39a
FIELD NUMBER: MH 27.3a MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown
DATE: Unknown DESCRIPTION: Male Figurine SIZE: H 7.5 ≈ W 2.8 ≈ D 3.0 cm

This is a roughly hand-formed, solid figurine with its head and trunk preserved. Its oval-shaped head is upraised from a short neck and the eyes and nose are indicated by applied pieces of clay. The ears are like muffs and rough patches are on the shoulders where the arms were applied. The back is irregularly shaped. The figurine is coated with white pigment and dark red on the nose and top of the head.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in G/6, 9 m toward grid H and 6 m toward grid 10, just east of the Small Temple, between the so-called wall of Nectanebo and the “mur primitiv,” 80 cm deep in the debris, with two baked clay statues, one a fragment of a Late New Kingdom shabti (no. 118), and the other a female figurine (no. 76), tentatively dated to the Late Antique period.

COMMENTARY

There are many difficulties in dating this type of figurine. Török (1993, pl. 57 [no. G57], and pl. 64 [no. H6]) cites figurines with the same flattened head, applied eyes, and pinched nose. He dates one of these (1993, pp. 46–47, G57 = Budapest SzM 84.54.A) to the sixth–seventh centuries A.D. Another very similar example was excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in western Thebes (fig. 10). According to the museum’s records it came from the Ptolemaic-era radim. Yet there is no reason that it could not be earlier, because it, as well as figurine no. 107, is similar to one excavated at Memphis (Giddy 1999, p. 313 no. 1126, 2 cm).
pls. 69, 93) which is dated to the mid–late Eighteenth Dynasty. Giddy questions whether that figurine is an animal or human. Figurine no. 105 also bears a strong resemblance to figurine no. 76.

See Hölscher _Excavation_ V, p. 34 n. 110, for Hölscher’s reconsideration of the association of the walls of this locus with Nectanebo.

106. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGISTRATION NUMBER:</th>
<th>OIM 15514</th>
<th>PHOTOGRAPH:</th>
<th>Pl. 39b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIELD NUMBER:</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>MATERIAL / COLOR:</td>
<td>Nile silt / Munsell 5YR5/4, reddish brown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE:</td>
<td>Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 21–31, ca. 1070–332 B.C.</td>
<td>SIZE:</td>
<td>H 5.0 × W 3.1 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESCRIPTION:</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a very schematic, handmade male figurine. The left arm is lost. The head is a flattened piece of clay and eyes are indicated in dots of brown pigment. The hair extends over the back of the neck and is coated with dark brown pigment. The right arm is pinched from the clay. A lump on the abdomen represents a phallus. There is no suggestion of feet but the base is slightly bell shaped, perhaps to allow the figurine to be attached to the rim of a vessel.

PROVENANCE

No location given.

COMMENTARY

This figurine may have been made as a pair to figurine no. 67, which has the same bell-shaped base, the same gesture, and same type of applied clay hair. In addition, the lump of clay for the phallus is very similar to the applied breasts of figurine no. 67. It is possible that the two figurines may have been attached to the rim of a vessel with slip and additional clay. The suggested date for this figurine is based upon the coil of clay on the head to represent hair. The style of the hair/wig is more closely paralleled by dynastic examples than Roman–Byzantine ones.

107. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGISTRATION NUMBER:</th>
<th>OIM 14610</th>
<th>PHOTOGRAPH:</th>
<th>Pl. 39c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIELD NUMBER:</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>MATERIAL / COLOR:</td>
<td>Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown with gray core</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE:</td>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>SIZE:</td>
<td>H 8.4 × W 5.6 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESCRIPTION:</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a hand-modeled figurine, perhaps male, for it lacks any indication of breasts. The legs and lower arms are lost and the hair/wig is a coil of clay that encircles the face. The nose is a raised ridge and eyes are dots of clay luted to the face. There is no mouth and the navel is a depression in the clay. The reverse has a slight suggestion of buttocks. The figurine is covered with a white wash (or salt?).

PROVENANCE

No location given.

COMMENTARY

See the commentary for figurine no. 105 for parallels (especially from Memphis) and difficulties with assigning a date.
108. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14611
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Middle Kingdom(?), Dynasties 12–13, ca. 1900 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
This is the head of a hand-modeled, solid figurine. The top of the head is flattened and extends over the front of the face much like a brimmed hat. Small eyes are indicated by irregular piercings, the tip of the nose is broken, and the mouth is indicated by a slash mark. A fin-like piece of clay representing the right ear was luted to the head; the left ear is lost.

MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / core: Munsell 5YR4/1, dark gray; exterior: Munsell 7.5YR5/6, strong brown
SIZE: H 5.8 ≈ W 6.2 × D 6.5 cm

COMMENTARY
This fragment is distinctive both for its form and for its much larger scale. The flattened top of the head is reminiscent of Pinch’s type 3 figurines from Deir el Bahri and elsewhere (Pinch 1993, pl. 48). However, the very small eyes and mouth, and the flattened head are very similar to an execration figurine in the British Museum (EA 56914, shown in Quirke 1992, p. 121), tentatively dated to the Middle Kingdom. If indeed this is a fragment of such a figurine, its presence at Medinet Habu such a long time after its manufacture is surprising. Pinch (pers. comm.) has noted execration rituals shown on Hatshepsut’s Chapelle Rouge and questioned whether this fragment may have originally been buried near the Small Temple, which was built by that ruler.

109. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: Cairo JdE 59698
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.85f
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–23, ca. 1070–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
This is a hand-modeled head of a Nubian with a heavy wig or hair. It has broad, high, rounded cheekbones and a wide mouth. There is a hole in the top center of the head.

MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
SIZE: ca. H 6.0 × W 5.0 cm

COMMENTARY
The hole in the top of the head may have allowed for the attachment of a feather — a standard feature in representations of Nubians and Libyans. The date is based upon the objects with which the head was recovered, all of which appear to be of the Third Intermediate Period.
110. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** Cairo JdE 59697  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 40c

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Late Period, Dynasties 26–31, 664–332 B.C.

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is the head of a hand-modeled male figurine. It has a short, curled wig and well-defined, modeled facial features.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
The date assigned to this fragment is based on the short, curled wig that appears on statues in the round from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty into the early Ptolemaic period (Brooklyn Museum 1960, pp. 113–14). Another example of this type of wig is seen on the Brooklyn Museum erotic group (58.13) dated to the Ptolemaic period (Fazzini and Bianchi 1988, p. 241), but the face of that statue is far more Hellenistic, despite the Egyptian composition.

---

111. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 40d

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period(?), Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–656 B.C.

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is the head of a hand-modeled figurine. The body is lost and it has a flat-topped head. The wig or hair is indicated by applied(?) hair decorated with a pierced pattern. The eyes are large, flat dots of applied clay.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
The date given for this fragment is very tentative. This figurine is known only from Tei- lungslist 141m.
112. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14608

FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded

DATE: Late Ptolemaic period(?), first century B.C.

DESCRIPTION:

This is the head of a hand-modeled figurine. It is hollow and roughly made. It has a snout-like nose with large nostrils, eyes indicated by applied dots of clay, and ears pinched from matrix of the head placed very high. The figure wears a flat headdress decorated with eight dots of clay that may be a representation of rosettes. The figurine is covered with a powdery pinkish-red pigment.

MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/2, pinkish gray

SIZE: H 4.0 × W 4.3 cm

PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 40e

COMMENTARY

The headdress is most closely paralleled by that on a late Ptolemaic statue in the Brooklyn Museum of Art (55.120, in Josephson 1997, pl. 6c), which is dated to the first century B.C. It has been suggested (Brooklyn Museum 1956, p. 19) that the wreath may be associated with a “high official whose statue was dedicated to the goddess Hathor.” Similar headdresses are seen on a clay figurine excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in western Thebes (fig. 11). These have been tentatively assigned to the Ptolemaic period. The date of the figurine is based upon the Brooklyn statue. This fragment, like figurine no. 116, may be a “folk art” version of official and more formal representations.

Figure 11. Head of a male figurine. Ptolemaic period(?), fourth–first centuries B.C. or earlier, Western Thebes. Baked clay, H 1.7 × W 1.4 cm (H. Burton photo 5A.867, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)
113. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14607
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 41a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period(?), third–fifth centuries A.D.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / core: Munsell 10YR3/1, very dark gray; exterior: Munsell 10YR5/6, yellowish brown
DESCRIPTION: Male(?) Figurine
SIZE: H 6.6 ≈ W 6.8 ≈ D 3.5 cm

This is a roughly hand-modeled figurine of indeterminate sex, probably male. Only the head is preserved. The hair on top of the head is indicated by slash marks. The nose, shown as a raised ridge, runs from the hairline to the broad tip of the nose with well-defined nostrils. The eyes are raised areas with a pierced center, and a crescent-shaped depression forms a mouth.

PROVENANCE
No location given. However, in Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58, this fragment is said to have come “from dwellings.”

COMMENTARY
In his catalog manuscript, Anthes described this as “Kopf einer Frauenfigur, massiv, schwarz gestrichen. Auf dem Hinterkopf oben sind die Haare durch eingedrückte Striche mit unten abschliessenden wiedergegeben…. Die schwarze Bemalung, die grobstilisierte Andeutung der Haar und die massive Herstellung findet sich auch bei koptischen Figuren.” He compared this to orant figurines from Medinet Habu; however, that section of his catalog is lost. The black pigment to which he refers is no longer preserved on the figurine. Here, it is classified as male on the basis of the very short hair.

No direct parallels can be cited for this most unusual and personable fragment. The details of the nose, eyes, and mouth are in contrast to the materials usually associated with Late Antique figurines, yet the peak at the top of the head is most closely paralleled by the Byzantine orants. The suggested date is very tentative and is influenced by Anthes, who commented that it was “wohl kopt.”

PUBLISHED
Hölscher Excavation V, p. 58 (6), pl. 34F.

114. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15515
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 41b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period(?), fourth–eighth centuries A.D.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown with gray core
DESCRIPTION: Male Figurine
SIZE: H 5.3 × W 3.4 cm

This is the head of a hand-modeled male figurine. It is solid, with a very exaggerated conical head (representing a peaked hat?), flap-like ears of applied clay, and oval eyes of applied dots of clay. The nose is a raised ridge. Two thin coils of clay form a V with the apex at the end of nose, perhaps representing double pipes.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
Kelsey Museum 15175 and 15179 (both from Seleucia, Iraq) also show a man playing long double pipes. For these figurines, see Van Ingen 1939, p. 174 (15175 = no. 580), p. 175, pl. 40, 293 (15179 = no. 584).
115. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Unknown
DESCRIPTION: Male Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled male figurine. The crown of the head is cone shaped. The nose is a ridge of clay and eyes are depressions in the clay.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The poor quality of the field photograph, which is the only documentation of this fragment, makes it impossible to assign a date. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 141o.

116. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15554
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dyanasties 21–23, ca. 1185–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Male Figurine

This is a hand-modeled head of a king. It is solid and has a sphere-shaped head. The mouth is a crooked slash and the eyes are applied dots of clay. Tendrils of hair (or a pattern of the nemes headdress?) undulate over the head, and a coil of clay on the forehead represents a uraeus worn by kings. The head is covered with terra-cotta colored pigment.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This is an extraordinary translation of an official representation of the king, as would be seen on the temple walls, into informal folk art. For another example of “folk art,” see figurine no. 112.

PUBLICATION
Brewer and Teeter 2007, fig. 11.2; Teeter 2003a, p. 68.
117. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15516
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
This male figurine was made in an open mold. The head and legs are lost. The figurine is shown in a pleated New Kingdom garment with elbow-length sleeves. The broad central panel in the skirt is flanked by narrow pleats. Lappets of a tripartite wig are visible on the shoulders. The hands are on the thighs; the back is unworked.

PROVENANCE
No location recorded.

COMMENTARY
Moldmade female figurines are very common, while those that depict men are usually shabti figures. This fragment is probably a shabti overseer. For other examples of overseers with their hands on their skirt rather than grasping a whip or crossed over the chest, see Petrie 1935, pl. 35 no. 233 (Dynasties 19–20); Schneider 1977, pp. 209–10 (type VIB4). According to Stewart (1995, p. 19), this pose is derived from Middle Kingdom statuary. The quality of this figurine is unusually good, for most clay shabti are of rather careless manufacture and do not include the details of the elaborate dress. For examples of contemporary clay shabti, see Petrie 1935, pls. 32–33; and Stewart 1995, fig. 16.

118. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15547
FIELD NUMBER: MH 27.3c
DATE: New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
This upper section of a male figurine was made in an open mold. It is broken at the waistline. The figurine, which appears to be a shabti, is dressed in a heavily pleated late New Kingdom garment with flaring elbow-length sleeves. The lappets of a duplex wig are visible on the shoulders. A false beard is depicted. There is little definition of facial features. The arms are at the sides.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in G/6, 9 m toward grid H and 6 m toward grid 10, just east of the Small Temple, between the so-called wall of Nectanebo and the “mur primitiv,” 80 cm deep in the debris, with two baked clay statues: one is a female figurine (no. 76), tentatively dated to the Late Antique period, and the other is a male figurine (no. 105) of an unknown date.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for figurine no. 117. The presence of the beard on this example is quite unusual in combination with the dress of daily life on shabtis. Although some shabtis of the Late New Kingdom wear small goatees (Newberry 1930, pl. 20 = 47222, 47225), the longer beard became a common feature in the Saite period, at which time overseers were no longer differentiated from the standard mummiform shabti (Stewart 1995, p. 35). See Hölscher Excavation V, p. 34 n. 110, for Hölscher’s reconsideration of the association of the walls of this locus with Nectanebo.
119. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14592  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 43a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Male Figurine  

This male figurine was made in an open mold. The figure wears a tripartite wig with lappets reaching the middle of the chest. Bulges below the tresses of the wig suggest hands on the chest. The elbows are held away from the body creating the rounded outline. The face and neck are painted dark red and the torso, including the flaring sides, is painted yellow. The back is smooth, undecorated, and slightly convex.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
This appears to be a *shabti*. Two similar examples from Abydos (CG 48395–96) were cataloged as *shabtis* by Newberry (1930, p. 338, pl. 43), who described them as showing a “man standing wearing shawl over shoulders.” The Abydos figurines, like the Medinet Habu example, are painted yellow and red. Newberry dated his two examples to the Twentieth–Twenty-first Dynasties, hence the date given here.

120. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14632  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 43b  
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 28.72L3  
**DATE:** Roman period, second–third centuries A.D.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Male Figurine  

This is a moldmade figurine of a man riding a rearing horse. The horse’s head is turned perpendicular to its body. The figure’s legs are bent. The back of the figurine is unworked and deep impressions of fingers are on the interior surface. It has a black core.

**PROVENANCE**  
This figurine was found in E/5, the southeast corner of the precinct in the Roman settlement above the fellahin village, “50 cm above the foundations” on the “Roman Kom under the sebbakh level,” with a scarab (Teeter 2003b, no. 64), the head of an orant (no. 95), the torso of a female figurine (no. 59), the foot of an alabaster bowl, and two clay vessels without registration information.

**COMMENTARY**  
A somewhat similar figurine of a soldier(?) on a horse that shows much less action has also been dated to the second–third centuries A.D. (Bayer-Niemeier 1988, pp. 114–15 no. 165, pl. 33).
121. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15522  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 44a

**FIELD NUMBER:** Eye 54b  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 5YR5/1, gray

**DATE:** Roman period, first century A.D.  **SIZE:** H 6.4 × W 3.7 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is the front half of a head of a figurine made in a two-part mold. It has a tall peaked cap with bands over the brow. The figurine is covered in white wash, and the features are now worn and indistinct.

**PROVENANCE**
This figurine was found with a group of other figurines, including an idealized female figurine (no. 1), a woman’s head with a *Wochenlaube* hairstyle (no. 74), a baubo (no. 79), a horse (no. 136), a camel (no. 175), a bird (no. 199), a dog (no. 192), a limestone statue of a monkey (OIM 15560), a fragment of a Coptic limestone altar (OIM 14810), and a lion head(?) without registration information. No information on the location in the temple is given for this locus.

**COMMENTARY**
This peaked cap is seen in several different contexts. Statuettes of Aries (catalog no. 134, and Dunand 1990, nos. 10–11) show a sword lifted to the cap, an element that is missing on this Medinet Habu figurine. This cap is most clearly paralleled by figurines of soldiers (Dunand 1990, nos. 590–92) from Tanis dated to the Hellenistic period and a group of horsemen(?) excavated in western Thebes by the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 12), tentatively dated to the Ptolemaic era, but there is no reason that they could not be earlier. According to Hölscher (1932, pp. 40, 42), the site was unoccupied during the Ptolemaic period, and so the date assigned to this statue has been adjusted to accommodate the history of the site.

Figure 12. Male figurines wearing peaked caps. Ptolemaic period, fourth–first centuries B.C. or earlier, Western Thebes. Baked clay, (a) H 1.8 × W 1.1 cm; (b) H 2.1 × W 1.6 cm (H. Burton photograph 5A.872, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)
122. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15553  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 44b

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown

**DATE:** Roman period(?), first century B.C.–third century A.D.  **SIZE:** H 5.4 × W 3.6 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**

This figurine of a man in a peaked cap was made in a two-part mold. The back of the head is completely flat and smooth where it was pressed into the mold. There is dark pigment over the face and darker pigment outlines the eye and its pupil. There is a black outline at the rim of the cap, and traces of reddish pigment at the brow and edge of the cap.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

See comments about the identity of this figurine as a soldier in the commentary for figurine no. 121. The cap is slightly different from that on figurine no. 121, having a narrower brow band and a fuller, conical top.

---

**PHALLIC FIGURINES (NOS. 123–127)**

Two clay figurines of men with exaggerated phalli (nos. 123–24) and three large models of phalli (nos. 125–27) were recovered from Medinet Habu. Derchain has suggested (in Martin 1981, p. 169) that, other than overt scenes of ithyphallic gods, the Egyptians were generally quite subtle in their sexual imagery, and therefore phallic figurines should be assigned to the Greco-Roman period. However, as noted by Pinch (1993, p. 235), “excavators have tended to … assign [phallic figurines] automatically to a very late period, when they could be explained as examples of foreign influence.” Indeed, such objects have a long history in the dynastic era. Stone phalli and phallic figurines were recovered from the Early Dynastic–Old Kingdom Satet temple at Aswan (Dreyer 1986, p. 153, pl. 57).85

A faience phallic figurine was recovered from a Middle Kingdom burial at Lisht (Pinch 1993, p. 238; Reifstahl 1972). The largest group of these objects came from Deir el Bahri, where Currelly discovered “many basketsful” of wooden votive phalli around the base of a statue of Hathor in the Djeser-Akhet temple (quoted in Pinch 1993, p. 236; Manniche 1997, fig. 39). This deposit is dated between the late Eighteenth Dynasty to the late Twentieth Dynasty (Pinch 1993, p. 237). A variety of Late Period phallic figurines have been recovered from Saqqara (Jeffreys, Smith, and Price 1988, pp. 33–35, 41, 63; Martin 1981, pls. 27, 29) and a terra-cotta example is “known to have come from Memphis” (Montserrat 1996, p. 174, pls. 13a–b). The Egyptian Museum in Cairo also possesses a great number of phallic figurines from various sites and periods (Martin 1987).

Votive phalli and phallic figurines are obviously associated with regeneration. They are associated with the cults of Hathor (Pinch 1993, pp. 241–46) and Bes, and the erotic figurines more generally with Apis and Kemwer, hence with Osiris (Myśliwiec 1997, p. 135).86 Pinch (1993, p. 245) suggests that the model phalli from Deir el Bahri may have been left in shrines during a festival that celebrated the fertile union of Hathor and the Hand of Atum, rather than ex votos being presented to enhance the devotee’s own fertility. As Pinch has noted (1993, p. 243), “the presentation of models of specific parts of the human body in gratitude for healing [rather than fertility] seems to be Graeco-Roman phenomenon.” Although only two of the examples from Medinet Habu come from a stated locus (nos. 123–24), the presence of such objects at the site may allude to the role of the Small Temple in the worship of Amun in association with the eight creator gods (the ogdoad) (Murnane 1980, p. 76). In texts in

---

85 See also models from Abydos (Dreyer 1986, p. 57, pl. 63d–f), which, although not identified as such by Dreyer, appear to be phalli.

86 See Herodotus’ account (The Histories 2.48) of a festival of Dionysus that featured eighteen-inch-tall puppets with enormous movable phalli that were moved by means of string manipulated by women in the procession. See Myśliwiec 1997, p. 126, for the assertion that the festival was connected with the worship of Osiris.
that temple, Amun is called the “forefather of the ogdoad,” and he is associated with the “Earth-maker” Serpent, the actual creator of the world” (Murnane 1980, p. 76). The phalli may be votives that were left in the precinct in honor of the god. Another interpretation of the phalli may be that they are associated with the worship of Osiris, who, after his death, engendered his son Horus, creating the archetypal model of life coming from death, a pattern that was the template for rebirth. They could also be viewed in a more personal way, serving as a votive beseeching or thanking the god for the birth of a child. Montserrat (1996, pp. 166, 174) has also noted how Plutarch and Herodotus associated phallic symbols with agricultural fertility, and how model phalli were offered to Hathor in a Ptolemaic-era festival at the Edfu temple.

Although few examples of votive phalli have been published, Pinch (1993, p. 240) notes that they are “only rarely found in tombs.” More frequently, they come from temples and shrines. Of the six examples from Medinet Habu, only two (nos. 123–24) have a field number and, unfortunately, there is uncertainty about their designations (see the catalog entries). If they are both from MH 28.61, they are from the southeast section of precinct in the area of the fellahin village, but they were recovered from “Tandif and higher” so they may postdate the village itself. Very few examples of terra-cotta phalli (as opposed to stone or faience) are known from the dynastic period (Pinch 1993, p. 238), which may suggest that the Medinet Habu phalli are of a later date.

123. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15558
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.61h
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period or later, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown
SIZE: H 5.0 × W 3.6 cm
DESCRIPTION: Phallic Figurine

This is a hand-formed figurine of a seated male. The head is lost. It has a heavy, oval-shaped body. The right arm is flexed and the hand is below the chin. The left arm is lost. Rudimentary legs are drawn up, and a large coil of clay on the belly between the legs represents an erect phallus. There are no buttocks or other details on the reverse.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in E–F/6, south of the Ramesside pool, in the “Tandif and higher,” with two clay figurines of lions (nos. 185–86), four small scarabs and scaraboids (Teeter 2003b, nos. 94, 129, 157, 184), a plaque (Teeter 2003b, no. 8), a clay loop-handled seal with a bird (Teeter 2003b, no. 241), a stone vessel (OIM 14529), an inlay eye (OIM 16300), and a body fragment of a glazed, New Kingdom shabti without a name (OIM 15638). However, see commentary regarding this provenance.

COMMENTARY
OIM 15558 is not listed in the Seele registration sheets as being from MH 28.61. However, Teilungslist 139e clearly labels this object as “MH 28.61h.” If the Teilungslist designation is correct, this figurine came from the southeast section of the temple, the site of the fellahin village, which would date it to the Twenty-second–Twenty-sixth Dynasties. But since it is noted that it was recovered from the Tandif (apparently loose fill from the excavation) and “higher,” it may be later in date than the village. See Teeter 2003b, pp. 6–7. See also the commentary for figurine no. 124.
124. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15507  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 45b
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 28.61h  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 2.5YR5/4, reddish brown with a black core
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period or later, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.
**SIZE:** H 7.6 ≈ L 11.4 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is a handmade phallic figurine. The head and arms are lost. It is a man seated with flexed legs; a very large phallus extends between his legs with no indication of a scrotum. Toes are indicated by slash marks made after modeling. There is a large depression for the navel. The figurine is covered with traces of white pigment. There is brown pigment on the glans.

**PROVENANCE**
See provenance for figurine no. 123 and commentary below.

**COMMENTARY**
The association of this object with MH 28.61 is based on the Seele registration sheets, as opposed to the Tei-lungslist that has no indication that it is from MH 28.61. If the designation given in Seele is correct, the object would be from the fellahin village, hence the range of dates given. But see commentary for figurine no. 123.

Many variations on this sort of figurine are known. See Manniche 1997 for many examples from the British Museum. A similar figurine from Saqqara includes the scrotum (Manniche 1997, fig. 38).

125. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 46a
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay(?) / Fabric and pigments not examined
**DATE:** Roman period, first–second centuries A.D.
**SIZE:** ca. H 6.6 × W 5.0 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This figurine is the tip of a circumcised phallus with a smooth shaft. A deep groove separates the shaft from the glans.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
It is unclear from the excavation records whether this object is made of clay or of stone. The relatively large size of the figurine (as with nos. 126–27) suggests that it is a votive phallus rather than a fragment of a phallic figurine. The modeled underside also suggests that it is a votive, because if it were part of a phallic figurine, the surface would probably be flat in order to rest on the ground between the man’s legs (compare to no. 124). It is not clear if the flat end is the original surface or the result of a break. If the former, the figurine could have been set upright. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 139a.
126. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period, first–second centuries A.D.

DESCRIPTION:
This figurine is the shaft and end of a circumcised phallus. The shaft is ribbed and there is a conical glans.

MATERIAL / COLOR:
Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined

SIZE:
ca. H 10.2 ≈ W 4.5 cm

COMMENTARY
Compare to figurine no. 127. The large size of the figurine and the modeling in the round suggest that it is a votive phallus rather than a fragment of a phallic figurine. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 139b. See commentary for figurine no. 125.

127. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period, first–second centuries A.D.

DESCRIPTION:
This figurine is the shaft and end of a circumcised phallus. The shaft is ribbed and there is a conical glans.

MATERIAL / COLOR:
Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined

SIZE:
ca. H 13.0 ≈ W 5.5 cm

COMMENTARY
Compare to figurine no. 126, and see commentary for figurines nos. 125–26. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 139c.

FIGURINES OF GODS (NOS. 128–35)

Assigning a date to the five figurines of the dwarf-form deity Bes (nos. 128–32) is problematic. Most of them are worn or fragmentary, which makes it impossible to evaluate diagnostic features such as the form of the facial hair or the leopard skin. To further complicate dating, two of the figurines (nos. 131–32) are known only from field photographs. Most of the Bes figurines from other sites that have been assigned to the Roman period are made in molds and have considerable detail (compare Weber 1914, pl. 25; Kaufmann 1913, p. 71; Dunand 1990, nos. 33–43, 46–49, 51–59). Their style is very much in contrast to the molded examples from Medinet Habu (nos. 130, 132), which do not have a great amount of detail. None of the molded examples show the god in the guise of a warrior (Fjeldhagen 1995, p. 78; Dunand 1990, nos. 30–40, 57), which would definitely fix the date as Roman.

Bes was associated with the protection of women in childbirth. It is not known if the figurines were actually used in birth rituals or more generally as votives left in hope of obtaining protection for the mother and child. In
support of the first use, P. Leiden I 348, recto lines 12.2–12.6 (Borghouts 1978, p. 39), is a spell to ease childbirth that is to be recited “over a dwarf of clay,” probably a reference to this type of figurine. The generalized protective ability of Bes is illustrated by a figurine of that god from Athisibis that was found inside a brick built into a house wall as protection for the residence (Szymanśka 2005, p. 150).

Two figurines of Harpocrates (nos. 133, 135) and one of Aries (no. 134) were also recovered from the site.

### 128. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registration Number:</th>
<th>OIM 14604</th>
<th>Photograph:</th>
<th>Pl. 47a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field Number:</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>Material / Color:</td>
<td>Marl / Munsell 5YR6/1–7/1, gray to light gray</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 22–26, ca. 945–525 B.C.</td>
<td>Size:</td>
<td>H 9.0 × W 5.5 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description:</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This hand-modeled figurine of Bes has an oval face, no neck, and a ruff around the broad face that is detailed with slash marks. The head has round ears, round cheeks, and oblique eyebrows. The elbows are thrust out from the body, the legs are bent, and the phallus is defined. There are no feathers or crest on the headdress, the back of which ends in a deep “V.” The buttocks and tail are defined. Details of the figurine have been added with a sharp tool.

**Provenance**

No location given.

**Commentary**

The round eyes, broad face with round cheeks, diagonal eyebrows, the short, thick torso, flaccid rather than muscular limbs, and the whiskers along the bottom of the face and their detailing with incised lines (Romano 1989, pp. 162, 174, 175, 183–84) all suggest a date of the Twenty-second to Twenty-sixth Dynasties.

### 129. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Registration Number:</th>
<th>OIM 15509</th>
<th>Photograph:</th>
<th>Pl. 47b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Field Number:</td>
<td>MH 29.9</td>
<td>Material / Color:</td>
<td>Nile silt / Munsell 5YR7/3, pink</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Date:</td>
<td>Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.</td>
<td>Size:</td>
<td>H 16.0 × W 5.2 cm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Description:</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This hand-modeled figurine of Bes has large rounded ears, and a crest of feathers on the head is indicated by a shield-shaped piece of clay with a flat top. The roughly defined face is now abraded. The hands are clasped on the abdomen, ribs (or fat folds?) are clearly defined, and a stylized fan-shaped tail(?) is between the legs. The back features high, rounded buttocks and a tail. There is red pigment on the front and yellow pigment on the back.

**Provenance**

No location given.

**Commentary**

The flat, short crest which rises at an oblique angle, the hands on the stomach, and the detail of the ribs or fat folds suggest the given date (Romano 1989, pp. 137, 138, 154–55). Compare this example to Romano 1989, nos. 224–25.
130. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14605
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 25, ca. 780–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This figurine of Bes was made in an open mold. The head and chest are preserved. The arms are at the sides and the face is large and ovoid. The tongue is between the lips. The nose is broad with defined nostrils, the brow ridge is high, and there is a narrow line of whiskers along the jawline. There is no crest or cornice, and the shoulders are narrow. The back is unworked. A light reddish brown pigment is on the front.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This example is very similar to the Bes figurines shown on the columns in the temple at Gebel Barkal (Romano 1989, no. 250) that also have “the broad mouth, defined nostrils, and a curving beard running across the jaw line” (Romano 1989, p. 720). The date suggested for this figurine is based upon those representations.

131. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 25–31, ca. 780–332 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This is a hand-modeled head from a Bes(?) figurine. It is roughly formed. The ear is defined by pinched clay, the narrow crest is broken(?), and the eye is a small, round dot of clay luted to the head.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The date of this piece is completely conjectural. The field photograph is taken at an oblique angle and it is impossible to see characteristic features of the fragment. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 140b.
132. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 48c  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Roman period, first century B.C.–second century A.D.  
**DESCRIPTION:** This figurine of Bes was made in an open mold. The head is lost. It has a broad body and thin arms, which are slightly bent. The hands are on the thighs, the feet are together, and lines suggest a sagging belly above a large depressed naval. Slender curls on the upper chest are shown on either side of his protruding tongue; no clothing is depicted. The field photograph gives the impression that the figurine was coated with a light-colored pigment.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
Although the method of manufacture is not entirely clear, the margin of clay that surrounds the figurine’s body gives the impression that it was a plaque made in an open, one-part mold. The date is based upon the figurine being moldmade, the considerable detail of the curls of the beard, and the lines in the belly. For examples of moldmade, naked Bes figurines that have hands on the thighs, see Dunand 1990, nos. 41–47 (all except nos. 44–45 assigned to the Roman period); and Török 1995, p. 34, pl. 18 no. 13 (with no assigned date). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 140e.

133. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 49a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Roman period(?), second–third centuries A.D.  
**DESCRIPTION:** This is a hand-modeled figurine of Harpocrates. The head and legs are lost. It has a fleshy body and the left hand is held to the side. The right arm is bent, and a finger is raised to the mouth. A sidelock is visible on the right shoulder.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
Compare Dunand 1990, nos. 134–35, standing figurines of Harpocrates (dated to the Roman period). Both those figurines cradle a round pot in their left arm, while the Medinet Habu figurine has his arm to the side. The pot, which was supposed to contain water and seeds — a reference to the god’s gifts to mankind (Fjeldhagen 1995, p. 28 no. 3), seems to be a common addition to Roman-period statues of Harpocrates (see examples in Dunand 1990). Bayer-Niemeier (1988, pp. 18–19) comments that many Harpocrates figurines from other sites have been recovered from house shrines. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 142c.
134. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15546 PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 49b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 10R6/6, light red
DATE: Roman period, second–third centuries A.D. SIZE: H 6.7 × L 5.4 cm
DESCRIPTION: Aries Figurine

This figurine of Aries in a peaked cap was made in a two-part mold. The right arm is lifted to the side of the head. The area between the hand and the head is pierced by a neatly formed hole. Reddish pigment covers a light-colored overall slip and there is reddish pigment on the face, the rim of the headdress, and the arm. The back is not worked.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
There are parallels in the Louvre: AF 1064 and AF 1065 from Antinoopolis (Dunand 1990, nos. 10–11), dated to the second–third centuries A.D. and which are identified as Aries, show the same pose of hand to head. The Louvre examples indicate that the Medinet Habu figurine is holding a dagger. AF 1064 (Dunand 1990, no. 10) has the same very symmetrical hole to indicate the negative space between the dagger and the shoulder. See Bayer-Niemeier 1988, pp. 181–82 no. 379, pl. 68.5, for the identification of a similar figurine as Athena, dated to the second half of the second century.

135. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14631 PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 50
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/2, pinkish gray
DATE: Late Ptolemaic–early Roman, first century B.C.–first century A.D. SIZE: H 9.6 × W 4.4 cm
DESCRIPTION: Harpocrates Figurine

This figurine of a man was made in an open mold. The figurine is solid and the back is unworked. The impression is very indistinct. The man faces right and leans against a wall or support. He wears a draped garment with an oblique hem. A deep depression was roughly made in the base, and a round depression, like a vent hole, was made in the back, perhaps to facilitate firing.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is very worn and indistinct, but it appears to be Harpocrates with a cornucopia. The god wears an ankle-length chiton with vertical folds. For better-preserved examples, see Dunand 1990, nos. 148–51, and Török 1995, no. 79. See Török 1995, p. 73 no. 78, for the development of this type of figurine.
ANIMAL FIGURINES (NOS. 136–215)

Animals are among the most common themes for terra-cotta figurines, and among the most difficult to date and to interpret. Seventy-nine examples are documented from the excavation at Medinet Habu.

FUNCTION OF ANIMAL FIGURINES

The function of animal figurines is often not clear. Some have been identified as toys (Jacquet 2001, p. 63; Graefe 2003, p. 167; Török 1993, p. 53). Others have been interpreted as objects related to religious cults, because the animal portrayed is associated with a specific deity, such as the rooster with late Dionysiac festivals (Török 1995, p. 173), the dog with Sothis (Kákosy 1984; Malaise 1991, pp. 24–25; Myśliwiec and Szymańska 1992, p. 126; Nachtergaeel 1995, p. 267), and the horse as the mount of Astarte and, later, Harpocrates.

Animal figurines are notoriously difficult to date. The molded examples of the Greco-Roman period can easily be identified by their style, but the hand-modeled examples more often than not supply no clue to their date of manufacture. Examples of hand-formed animals that come from datable archaeological contexts have been recovered from Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986), Memphis (Giddy 1999), Karnak (Redford 1977, p. 14; Leclère and Marchand 1995, p. 364, pl. 13), Tell el Amarna (Peet and Woolley 1923, pl. 23), Deir el Bahri (Naville 1913, pl. 24), and Faras (Pinch 1993, pl. 8). Other groups of animal figurines have more vaguely been dated to the dynastic period (Karnak, east of the Treasury, Jacquet 2001, p. 62; the Khoka deposit, probably from Middle Kingdom through Late Period with most New Kingdom, Z. Szafranski, pers. comm.). As Török (1993, p. 51) points out, there may be little to differentiate an early first-millennium B.C. handmade figurine from one made during the Greco-Roman period.

Only thirteen of the seventy-nine documented animal figurines from Medinet Habu were assigned field numbers, and thus most lack stratigraphic information that may help to determine their date of manufacture. As with other sorts of materials from the site, even having a field number does not always provide a sure key to dating (see Teeter 2003b, pp. 16–20). Dates, when given in this catalog, are sometimes based on stylistic criteria, on comparable examples with assigned dates, and on features of the style of manufacture. The marl moldmade horse figurines (nos. 160–67) can be assigned to the sixth to eighth centuries A.D. on the basis of the saddles and on the similarity of their technique and pigmentation to the Byzantine orants. It would be tempting to assume that all the hand-modeled horse figurines are of an earlier date than the moldmade examples, as the later craftsmen increasingly relied upon molds to produce figurines. However, the camel figurines supply a cautionary note. Camels are not commonly encountered in Egypt until the Ptolemaic period and perhaps not until the Roman era in Upper Egypt. Yet many of the hand-formed camel figurines (nos. 168–72) display the same general characteristics of manufacture and appearance as the hand-modeled horse figurines, suggesting that at least some of the horse figurines are of a Roman, or even later, date.

MANUFACTURE

The animal figurines from Medinet Habu are made both by hand and by mold. Some types of animals, such as birds, are more commonly hand-formed. Molded animals tend to have more surface detail and decoration than the hand-formed ones.

87 In comparison, the excavation of the area to the east of the Treasury of Thutmose I produced 138 examples of baked clay animals. Illustrative of the difficulties of working with this material, nearly three-quarters of them could not be identified. Those that could be identified consisted of five horses with riders, thirteen donkeys with panniers, three hippos, three birds, two lions, two baboons, one gazelle, one cat, and one pig (Jacquet 2001, p. 63). At Karanas, 191 figurines of animals were recovered (see Allen 1985).

88 Figurines nos. 136, 144, 175, 181, 184–86, 191–92, 199, 201, 212, 215 have MH or Eye numbers. Figurines nos. 168 and 173 have K designations.

89 See Hölscher 1932, p. 40, for his comment that the site of Medinet Habu, other than the area of the Small Temple, was uninhabited in the Ptolemaic period, and further discussion above.

90 This in contrast to other areas of the Near East. See Spycket 1992a, p. 184, for the statement that in Iran, animal figurines (other than plaques) were always handmade.
QUADRUPEDS (NOS. 136–195)

HORSES AND DONKEYS (NOS. 136–167)

Twenty-nine figurines of horses (or what appear to be horses) are known from the Medinet Habu field records, making up 36 percent of the total animal figurines.92 Sixty-eight percent (20 examples) of the horse figurines are hand-modeled; the remaining nine examples are moldmade.

The popularity of horses as a theme for figurines is difficult to explain. Not only are they a theme for baked clay figurines, but images of horses also appear on New Kingdom ostraca (Vandier d’Abbadie 1937, pls. 19–23; idem 1946, pls. 104–07). Although they are not associated with a specific deity, they appear as the mount for Astarte and Harpocrates. Their popularity as a theme for Greco-Roman-period figurines may be due to the horse’s use as a mount for the latter god (Kaufmann 1913, pp. 60, 65; Weber 1914, pls. 7–8; Dunand 1990, nos. 165–84; Nachtergael 1995, p. 267). This is probably a better explanation than all horse figurines being toys, although examples with a pull string or wheels indicate that some are certainly intended to be playthings.93 Figurine no. 140 appears to have been fitted with an axle to support a wheel, much like the Roman-era wooden horse pull toys (Wilfong 1995a, p. 228 no. 118; Gazda 1983, fig. 52). The popularity of horses as toys may be related to the natural attraction that they would have had as large, powerful, attractive, swift, animals, much like little boys today are instinctively drawn to toy trucks and cars.

HAND-MODELED HORSES (NOS. 136–155)

The hand-modeled horses are solid rather than hollow. None of those examined had a hole or depression to facilitate firing. The hand-modeled examples, unlike the moldmade ones (when sufficiently preserved to determine), have four separate legs. The heads of most examples (nos. 136, 139, 142, 144, 149, 152–55) are made by simply folding the clay of the neck back against itself. A few are ornamented with pieces of clay to represent eyes (nos. 146, 155), or the mane. Most follow the basic principle of frontality in Egyptian representation, the horse head being aligned with the spine of the animal. Other examples known from the field photographs seem to show the head of the horse turned slightly from the neck, including figurines nos. 148, 153, and 155(?). Figurine no. 150 is exceptional for the raised position of its head.

A variety of fabrics was employed, from fine-grained white marl clay, to brownish medium-textured clay, to rough, dark Nile silt.

Good parallels for the hand-modeled horses have been excavated at Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986, figs. 5–7), which the excavators have assigned to the Third Intermediate Period. Most of the Ashmunein examples are very similar to figurines nos. 136 and 140–41. Other similar figurines have also been excavated from the Late Period (Dynasties 25–26) levels at northeast Karnak (Leclère and Marchand 1995, pl. 13 nos. 1016.2, 1014.1–2, 1011.2) and the ruins of the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak (Helen Jacquet-Gordon, pers. comm.; Jacquet 2001, fig. 55). What appear to be hand-modeled horse figurines have also been recovered from the Coptic monastery at Baouit near Tell el Amarna (Clédat 1999, p. 240 no. 237).

With the exception of those dating to the Roman period, none of the Medinet Habu horses seem to have had a rider, although examples are known from other sites such as Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986, fig. 5.1–2 no. 15) and Thebes (fig. 13), the latter dated tentatively to the Ptolemaic or Roman periods.94 None of the hand-modeled horses from Medinet Habu show a harness. In contrast, the moldmade horses are uniformly equipped with harness and/or a saddle.

---

92 The popularity of horse figurines is also seen at Karanas, where they make up 43 percent of the 191 animal figurines (Allen 1985, pp. 137–38). At Karnak, of the thirty-one animals that could be identified, five were horses. The number is probably much greater, but many of the quadrupeds could not be identified definitively as horses.

93 Török 1995, p. 171, differentiates toy horses from votive(?) statues on the basis of the crowns: “Figures without a triumphal crown ... may have served as children’s toys.”

94 For a summary of figurines and scenes of horse and rider from the New Kingdom, see Schulman 1957.
Figure 13. Horse figurines from Western Thebes. Ptolemaic period, fourth–first centuries B.C. or earlier. Baked clay.

(a) Size of horse in lower row, second from right: H 3.9 × L 5.8 cm (H. Burton photograph 5A.863, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York);

(b) H 2.1 × L 2.9 cm (H. Burton photograph 5A.864, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)
CATALOG

136. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14612
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 51
FIELD NUMBER: Eye 54b
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Surface: Munsell
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 21–26, ca. 1070–525 B.C.
SIZE: H 10.2 × L 12.7 × W (at rump) 5.9 cm

DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This is a hand-modeled horse figurine with a long, stout body, short, thick legs, and a short, thick tail. The head was formed by curving the clay of the neck down upon itself, the eyes were pinched from the fabric, and the rear legs and chest were finished with a flat tool. The surface is covered with pigment or light dirt.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found with a group of other figurines, including an idealized female (no. 1), a woman’s head with a Wochenlaube hairstyle (no. 74), a baubo (no. 79), a man’s head with a peaked cap (no. 121), a camel (no. 175), a bird (no. 199), a dog (no. 192), a limestone statue of a monkey (OIM 15560), a fragment of a Coptic limestone altar (OIM 14810), and a lion head(?) without registration information. No information on the location in the temple is given for this locus.

COMMENTARY

The rump and tail of this figurine are quite similar to a figurine excavated at Karnak, which has been dated to the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasties (Leclère and Marchand 1995, p. 364, pl. 13 no. 1011.2). The stance of the horse is also similar to one from Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986, fig. 6 no. 1) that has been dated to the Third Intermediate Period, hence the range of dates suggested for this example.

137. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 52a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–656 B.C.
SIZE: ca. H 10.4 × L 13.3 cm

DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This is a hand-modeled horse figurine. The head is lost. It has a long, stout body, a wide neck and mane, and thick, short legs. The thick tail is close to the body.

PROVENANCE

No location given.

COMMENTARY

The date is based upon examples from Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986, fig. 6 nos. 3, 5–6). The tail is similar to that on one of the group of Khokha figurines from an unstratified and mixed context. The pottery found with the Khokha figurines spans the Middle Kingdom through the Late Period, although most of the pottery dates to the New Kingdom (Z. Szafranski, pers. comm.). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 145a.
138. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: Cairo JdE 59694
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–656 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine
This fragment of a hand-modeled figurine of a quadruped is probably a horse. The head is lost, it has a very thick neck, short, thick legs, and a short tail stuck to the rear leg. There are circle patterns on the rump and a line of pierced markings from the neck to the rump.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The marks may represent a pattern cut into the hair of the horse, or perhaps pigment markings on the horse’s back. See figurine no. 140 for similar markings. On that piece, the incisions are clearly intended to be a blanket and a harness. See also fragments of a painted vase showing horses that have patterns on their rump in Nagel 1931, p. 192, fig. 7. The date is based upon the figurine’s similarity to figurine no. 137; see commentary for that figurine.

139. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period, Dynasties 21–26, ca. 1070–525 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine
This is a hand-modeled figurine of a horse. The legs are lost. It has a long body, a prominent, rounded rump, a slight swayback, and a broad neck with a small head created by folding the top of the neck down upon itself. The mane is indicated by a rippled ridge of clay.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The notching of the mane, the ears, and the head of this figurine bear similarities to figurine no. 144. The long body with a high rump is much like a horse from Karnak (Leclère and Marchand 1995, pl. 13 no. 1011.2) dated from the Twenty-sixth Dynasty to Nectanebo, but it closely follows the classic New Kingdom representation of horses. See, for example, the painting in the tomb of Userhat (TT 56) in Wilkinson 1983, p. 101. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 149e.
140. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14616  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 53b
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 21–31, ca. 1070–332 B.C.
**DESCRIPTION:** Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This is a fragment of a hand-modeled horse figurine. All legs but one are lost. The remaining, back left leg has a large, irregular hole pierced through it. Incised and pierced decoration is on the back, and red pigment covers a light wash of pigment.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

The hole in the leg may be intended for an axle; if so, this may be the remains of a wheeled toy. Wheeled wooden animals (horses and birds) of the Roman period (second–fourth centuries A.D.) have been recovered from Karanis (Thomas 1995, no. 118; Gazda 1983, fig. 52).

The rectangular pattern on the back may be a patterned saddle blanket. The earliest example of a saddle blanket was discovered in the tomb of Ramose and Hatnofer at Thebes (PM I/2, pp. 699–700), dated to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty. Other examples from the pharaonic period appear on an ostracon from Deir el Medina (Schulman 1957, pp. 266, 268) and scenes of donkeys with patterned saddlecloths from Sanam (Schulman 1957, p. 270 n. 46) dating to the reign of Taharka. Decorated saddle blankets are seen in Late Antique-era paintings of mounted saints at Baouit (Clédat 1999, p. 125) and the monastery of Saint Anthony on the Red Sea (van Moorsel 1995, pp. 89–90). These examples do not shed much light on the date of the Medinet Habu figurine. Stylistically, the figurine resembles the Third Intermediate Period horses from Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986, fig. 6), but none of them has a blanket. See also figurine no. 138.

141. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 54a
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period(?), Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.
**DESCRIPTION:** Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This is a hand-modeled horse figurine. The head and forelegs are lost. It has a slender body, a rounded rump, and a long back. The left leg angles backward and the short, thick tail lies close to the body.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

The tentative date is based upon similar examples from Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986, figs. 3, 5–6). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 145b.

---

95 This list does not include horse covers that were used when the animal was hitched to a chariot. See, for example, the scenes on the chariot of Thutmose III and the painted box of Tutankhamun (Decker and Herb 1994, pls. 105, 117–19).
142. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER:  No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH:  Pl. 54b
FIELD NUMBER:  Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR:  Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE:  Probably dynastic, before 332 B.C.
SIZE:  ca. H 10.2 ≈ L 5.4 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This is a hand-modeled figurine of a horse. The head, neck, and front legs are preserved. It has very short, uneven front legs with rounded ends, a wide, broad neck, and a mane indicated by clay flattened and rippled by finger pressure. A small ear was applied to the side of the head. The head is very small, created by folding the top of the neck down upon itself; the eye is indicated by an applied piece of clay.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 149b.

143. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER:  No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH:  Pl. 54c
FIELD NUMBER:  Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR:  Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE:  Late Antique period, fourth–ninth centuries A.D.
SIZE:  ca. H 11.0 ≈ L 6.4 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This head of a hand-modeled horse figurine has a wide, broad neck, a mane indicated by clay flattened and rippled by finger pressure, triangular ears on top of a short triangular head, and no indication of eyes. The mouth is indicated by a line scored in the clay. The field photograph seems to show stripes of pigment on the mane.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The date is based on the cone-like muzzle and the triangular ears that are also attested on Late Antique-period examples from Baouit (Clédat 1999, fig. 237). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 149c.
144. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14626
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 21–26, ca. 1070–525 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled horse figurine. The mane is indicated by notching. The very small head was made by folding the top of the neck down upon itself. The muzzle is flat, small, and pronounced, and ears are indicated by small ovals of clay. The eyes are indicated by small holes and a strap of clay applied over the forehead may indicate the forelock.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The date is very tentative. For similar notching on the mane, see figurine no. 139.

145. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14615
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period(?), Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This head of a hand-modeled horse figurine has a slender, erect neck and a long, slender muzzle. A deep depression was made in the middle of the forehead. It has erect ears and the eyes are small depressions. A raised area between the ears represents a forelock. It is covered with reddish orange pigment.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The tentative identification of this fragment as a horse rather than a donkey is based on the angle of the ears, which are bent forward rather than backward as is common with representations of donkeys.

146. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Probably dynastic, before 332 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled horse figurine. The eye is an applied dot of clay and erect ears are represented by a ridge at the top of the head. There is naturalistic definition of the curve of the jaw and the end of the muzzle is broken.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 145f.
147. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15525  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 56b

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown

**DATE:** From “Ptolemaic Radim”  
**SIZE:** H 7.6 × L 4.3 cm

This head of a hand-modeled horse figurine was formed by folding the clay from the neck down upon itself. The mane is erect and undulating. The forelock and ears are applied pieces of clay. There is no definition of the eyes.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

This figurine is similar to those excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art from “Ptolemaic Radim” in western Thebes (fig. 14).

---

Figure 14. Heads from horse figurines. Ptolemaic period, fourth–first centuries B.C. or earlier, Western Thebes.  
Baked clay. **Size (from left to right):** H 2.4 × W 1.6 cm; H 2.5 × W 1.6 cm; H 2.3 × W 1.6 cm  
(H. Burton photograph 5A.855, courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)
148. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period, first century B.C.–fourth century A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This head of a hand-modeled horse figurine appears to be turned at an angle from the body, the mane is a slightly undulating line on the back of the neck, and it has very small ears.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for figurine no. 147. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 148a.

149. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: New Kingdom–Late Period(?), Dynasties 20–31, ca. 1185–332 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This head of a hand-modeled horse figurine is short and rounded, made by bending the clay of the neck down on itself. The eye is indicated by a round piece of clay applied low on the head, and the mane is indicated by a ridge on the back of the neck.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The suggested date is based upon its similarity to a figurine excavated from the debris of the tomb of Padihorresnet at Thebes (TT 196) (Graefe 2003, pp. 167, 330 no. 325) and another from the excavations near the Treasury of Thutmose I (Jacquet 2001, fig. 55 no. B441) dated to the New Kingdom or later. But it is also similar to horse head figurines excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in western Thebes (fig. 14), which could suggest a date as late as the Ptolemaic period. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 148b.
150. FIGURINE

Registration Number:  No registration information  Photograph:  Pl. 57c
Field Number:  Not recorded  Material / Color:  Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
Date:  New Kingdom–Late Period (?), Dynasties 20–31, ca. 1185–332 B.C.  Size:  ca. H 6.2 × W (at head) 3.3 cm
Description:  Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled horse figurine. The short, narrow head is raised upward and the mane is a notched ridge on the back of the neck. The mouth is indicated by a scored line.

Provenance
No location given.

Commentary
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 148c.

151. FIGURINE

Registration Number:  No registration information  Photograph:  Pl. 57d
Field Number:  Not recorded  Material / Color:  Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
Date:  Roman–Late Antique periods, third–fifth centuries A.D.  Size:  ca. H 6.0 × W 5.1 cm
Description:  Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

The head of this hand-modeled horse figurine is short and rounded, the ears are perked forward, and the eye is indicated by a slight bulge in the clay. A line of pigment along the cheek may indicate a headstall.

Provenance
No location given.

Commentary
The date is based upon the general roundness of the figurine and the sharp angle of the ears that is also seen in the Roman-period examples from Baouit (Clédat 1999, fig. 237). This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 148d.

152. FIGURINE

Registration Number:  No registration information  Photograph:  Pl. 58a
Field Number:  Not recorded  Material / Color:  Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
Date:  Unknown  Size:  ca. H 6.1 × W 4.4 cm
Description:  Hand-modeled Horse Figurine

This hand-modeled fragment of horse figurine is broken mid-body. The rear and back legs are lost and the very small head is shown as a slight swelling at the end of the neck. It has thick forelegs and a dot of clay was applied to the back.

Provenance
No location given.

Commentary
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 148e.
153. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 58b  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Unknown  
**DESCRIPTION:** Hand-modeled Horse(?) Figurine  

The head of this hand-modeled horse(?) figurine is very abstracted and was formed by folding the neck downward at a sharp angle. There are no details of ears or eyes.

**SIZE:** ca. H 7.1 × W 3.2 cm

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist* 148f.

154. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 58c  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Unknown, but probably dynastic, before 332 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Hand-modeled Horse(?) Figurine  

The head of this hand-modeled figurine, probably a horse, has a straight, column-like neck, a flat head, and a small, short face. The ears are at the side of the head and eyes are indicated in pigment.

**SIZE:** ca. H 7.1 × W 3.8 cm

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
The identification of this figurine as a horse is based on the general shape of the head, although the position of the ears farther to the side of the head may suggest that it is some other animal. This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist* 148g.

155. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 58d  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Unknown, but probably dynastic, before 332 B.C.  
**DESCRIPTION:** Hand-modeled Horse(?) Figurine  

This head of a hand-modeled horse(?) figurine has a long, narrow head, and tall ears are represented by a divided crest rising straight back from the forehead. Prominent eyes were applied in clay and impressions of the craftsman’s fingers are on the neck.

**SIZE:** ca. H 4.5 × W 4.5 cm

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
The dynastic date is based upon the addition of dots of clay for the eyes, which seems more characteristic of earlier rather than later work. The figurine could possibly be a donkey from the position of the ears. This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist* 148i.
HAND-MODELED DONKEYS WITH PANNIERS (NOS. 156–158)

It can be difficult to differentiate figurines of donkeys from those of horses. In some cases, such as figurine no. 157, the backward angle of the ears suggests a donkey in contrast to the usual forward-pointing ears of horses. The easiest — but perhaps not a foolproof — distinction is to identify quadrupeds equipped with panniers as donkeys.

It is curious that the donkey, which is commonly shown in reliefs and mentioned in texts, is not more often the subject of figurines. This may be a function of the difficulty in differentiating a donkey figurine from a horse, especially when they are so fragmentary, or because of the association of the donkey with the evil god Seth and the enemy of the sun god (Brunner-Traut 1977, pp. 28–29).96 If the fewer examples of donkeys are due to their negative associations, by the third century B.C. when the documents of the Zenon Archive were written, that negative connotation may no longer have been observed, for the archive contains twice as many references to donkeys as to camels or horses (Bagnall 1985, p. 4). At that time, donkeys may have been much more omnipresent in the daily landscape, and thus perhaps appreciated less as the subject of figurines. The emphasis on horses, and even camels, over donkeys may be due to their greater prestige.

### 156. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REGISTRATION NUMBER:</th>
<th>No registration information</th>
<th>PHOTOGRAPH:</th>
<th>Pl. 59a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FIELD NUMBER:</td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td>MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DATE:</td>
<td>Third Intermediate Period(?), Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.</td>
<td>SIZE: ca. H 6.0 × L 10.0 cm</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DESCRIPTION:</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Donkey Figurine</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a donkey. The head, neck, and front legs are lost. It has a triangular rear leg and a long tail stuck to the leg. A coil of clay on the back represents panniers.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

The identification of this figurine as a donkey rather than a horse is based upon the baskets on the animal’s back. Hand-modeled donkeys with panniers are also attested at Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986, figs. 6.1, 7.9). At least one has been assigned a “probably Third Intermediate Period” date, hence the date tentatively assigned to this example. Compare to figurine no. 157. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 147b.

---

96 I thank Geraldine Pinch for this observation.
157. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14624
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 59b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 7.5YR7/2, pinkish gray
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25(?), ca. 1070–664 B.C.
SIZE: H 6.5 × L 9.5 cm

DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Donkey Figurine

This is hand-modeled figurine of a donkey has a long body and short, thick, individually modeled legs that are now broken. It has a long, thick tail against the rear leg; the head was formed by folding clay from the neck against itself. The eyes are dots of applied clay, and it has short ears. Two flanges of clay on the back represent panniers.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for figurine no. 156.

158. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 60a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period(?), Dynasties 21–25, ca. 1070–664 B.C.
SIZE: ca. H 8.8 × L 6.0 cm

DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Donkey Figurine

This is a hand-modeled donkey figurine. The legs, muzzle, and rump are lost. It has an erect mane along the length of the neck. A crest of applied clay represents baskets or panniers.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
See comments for figurine no. 156. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 145c.

MOLDMADE HORSES (NOS. 159–167)

All examples of moldmade horse figurines from Medinet Habu were made with a two-part mold. Some examples are detailed to show the ridge of the mane, the harness, and the saddle. These moldmade horses fall into two groups. One type is made of Nile silt (no. 159), which is stylistically very strongly Romano-Egyptian, as is figurine no. 120 (horse and rider). The rounded surfaces and extensive molded detail closely resemble figurines from the second and third centuries A.D. (Fjeldhagen 1995, nos. 179–80), and the third- to fourth-century horse figurines from Karanis. The roundness of figurine no. 159 contrasts with the more angular appearance of examples dated to the first and second century A.D. (Bayer-Niemeier 1988, nos. 610–11, 613).

The second type comprises moldmade figurines of light-colored, fine-textured marl (nos. 160–67). These figurines are stylistically very similar to each other, and all are decorated with brown and red pigment. Figurines nos. 160–63 represent the fore- and hind legs, respectively, fused into a hollow oval tube, much like the body of the orant figurines (nos. 92–93). According to Allen (1985, p. 274), this “Romano-Egyptian formula for depict-
ing standing quadrupeds” is attested as early as the Antonine-Severan periods (second–third centuries A.D.) and “continues through the end of coroplastic activities.”

Of the moldmade horse figurines whose bodies are at least partially preserved (nos. 159–63), all are shown with a saddle. The four molded fragments of horse head figurines (nos. 164–67) show reins and headstalls, suggesting that they too were saddled. None of the moldmade examples from Medinet Habu wears the floral wreaths of circus horses that are attested elsewhere (Török 1995, nos. 269–70; Dunand 1990, no. 852; Weber 1914, pl. 39 no. 439).

The pommel and cantle of the saddles on figurines nos. 160–63 are shown as broad curves rather than being pointed as on an Arab camel saddle. Figurines nos. 160–61 are well-enough preserved to show that the pommel was considerably higher than the cantle. Both surfaces are pierced on the left and right sides. The lack of any indication of a cinch under the saddle and the presence of lines from the saddle to the neck and tail of the horse might suggest that the saddle was kept in place without a girth strap. However, painted scenes of saddles from Baouit (Clédat 1999, p. 163) and the monastery of Saint Anthony on the Red Sea (van Moorsel 1995, pp. 46, 89, 93–94) include the girth strap, making it likely that artisans of the Medinet Habu figurines have simply omitted it. In most cases, the harness and saddle are detailed in black and red pigment.

The saddles shown on figurines nos. 160–63 provide a clue to their date of manufacture. Saddles replaced simple blankets or padded blankets among the Roman cavalry during the reign of Julius Caesar (Hyland 1994, p. 5). These earliest saddles are the distinctive four-horned type (Hyland 1994, p. 6; Macdowell 1995, pl. C4), which were also used by the Celts, Parthians, and Sassanians (Hyland 1993, p. 46); these do not resemble the saddles shown on the figurines. By the fifth century A.D., a saddle thought to be influenced by the Huns was in use (Macdowell 1995, p. 51). In contrast to the earlier form, this type had a softly rounded pommel and cantle, which is quite similar to the Medinet Habu saddles.

The influx of Arabs during the conquest might be expected to have had an impact on the form of the saddle in use in Egypt, and that after the conquest, the saddles shown on horse-and-rider figurines would be the pointed Arab type. However, paintings in monasteries of mounted saints show that the softly rounded saddle continued to be used after the Arab conquest. At Baouit, a saddle much like the Medinet Habu examples is shown both in paintings and on clay figurines, although the pommel is lower than the cantle (Clédat 1999, p. 240 n. 237). Clédat states that his “personal impression” is that the paintings, and the figurines as well, date to the eighth–ninth centuries. This form of saddle is attested even later, in the twelfth-century paintings in the monastery of Saint Anthony (van Moorsel 1995, pp. 39–40, 46, 89–90, 93–94). In those scenes, stirrups are shown.97 This saddle may be compared to examples recovered from the fourth- to fifth-century A.D. X-Group horse burials at Ballana in Nubia.98 These reflect a completely different tradition, with their pointed pommel and cantle that are thought to have been derived from the South Arabian saddle (Bulliet 1975, pp. 87–110).

A suggested date of manufacture ranging from the sixth to the eighth centuries A.D. for figurines nos. 160–63 fits well with the history of the saddle. Although the rounded saddle is attested from the fifth century, a sixth-century date is suggested to allow for the introduction of the new saddle into Upper Egypt. The terminus ad quem for the objects is based on the abandonment of Medinet Habu in the ninth century.

The same sixth–eighth-century date assigned to the four moldmade horse heads (nos. 164–67) is based upon a very similar example from a sixth-century A.D. archaeological context at Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1985, p. 14 nos. 1984/5–6, figs. 22/7–8; see also Török 1993, p. 52). It is not known if the heads originally joined the saddled bodies of figurines nos. 160–63. However, the fabric of the heads and the pigments applied to them are so similar to the horse bodies that here they are considered to be from the same type of figurine.

97 Stirrups are thought to have developed in China in the fourth century A.D. The earliest examples from Europe have been recovered from seventh-century graves in Hungary (Clutton-Brock 1992, p. 73).

98 See Emery and Kirwan 1938, pp. 259–60, pl. 56, for the saddles from Ballana. For further examples of saddles, see Williams 1991, pp. 119–26.
159. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14625
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 60b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period, late second–fourth centuries A.D.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 10R5/2, weak red
SIZE: H 14.3 × L 11.3 cm

DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Horse Figurine

Only the left side of this horse figurine is preserved. The foreleg is thick and short. It has a thick neck with the mane indicated by a wavy ridge. The forepart of the saddle is preserved. Orange-red pigment on the chest to the back of the neck indicates a harness. The eye is almond shaped and is colored with black pigment and has a brown iris. The strap over the muzzle is indicated in red pigment and there is red pigment on the chest and forehead. White pigment covers the chocolate-brown clay. There are deep finger impressions on the reverse side. Traces of white pigment on the inner edges suggest that this object was painted white before it was joined to the other molded half, or that it was never joined to the other half.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
Many similar examples dated to the late second–fourth centuries A.D. were recovered at Karanis (Kelsey Museum 6891, 6894, 6895, 6888; Allen 1978, p. 58). See also commentary on figurine no. 162 for parallels in the Louvre.

160. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14617
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 61
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–eighth centuries A.D.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 10R6/3, pale red
SIZE: H 9.5 × L 8.9 cm

DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Horse Figurine

This horse figurine, made in a two-part mold, is hollow, and the head and front legs are lost. The back legs are stylized into an undivided column. The short, rounded tail is pierced. The saddle has a high pommel and a lower cantle. The pommel is pierced on both sides and is covered with reddish pigment, which is overlaid with thin black stripes. There is black and red pigment on the tail and red pigment on the belly. The crupper strap is indicated along the back by red pigment outlined in black. There is no indication of a girth strap. Deep finger marks are visible on the interior surface.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
Compare to Török 1993, p. 52 (no. K1), pl. 73, which is dated to the sixth century on the basis of examples from Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1985, p. 14 nos. 1984/5–6, figs. 22/7–8). Compare also to Berlin 17507 (Weber 1914, text p. 244, pl. 39 no. 441).
161. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14618  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 62  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Late Antique period, sixth–eighth centuries A.D.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 10R6/4, pale red  
**SIZE:** H 6.1 x L 10.6 cm  
**DESCRIPTION:** Moldmade Horse Figurine

This horse figurine, made in a two-part mold, is hollow, and the head and lower front and back legs are lost. The legs are stylized into undivided columns and the short, rounded tail is pierced. The saddle has a high pommel and a lower cantle. Both sides of the pommel are pierced, and there is red and black pigment on the saddle. Black pigment over red indicates a crupper strap from the tail to the saddle and a breast strap. There is no indication of a girth strap. Deep finger impressions are visible on the interior surface.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
See commentary for figurine no. 160.

162. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14619  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 63a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Late Antique period, fourth century A.D.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 10R6/3, pale red  
**SIZE:** H 7.2 x L 8.7 cm  
**DESCRIPTION:** Moldmade Horse Figurine

This horse figurine, made in a two-part mold, is hollow and the head, chest, and front legs are lost. The rear legs are stylized into an undivided column. It has a large, rounded tail, strong definition of a haunch, and red and black pigment stripes from the belly down the back legs. A crupper strap is indicated in pigment from the tail to the cantle. Deep finger impressions are visible on the interior surface.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
The spoon-shaped detail of the hock is similar to that on two horse figurines in the Louvre, AF 8513 (Dunand 1990, no. 855, dated to the Roman period, without provenance) and AF 1223 (Dunand 1990, no. 840, second–third century, from Antinoopolis). AF 1223, however, is overall an entirely different style from figurine no. 162, resembling more closely figurine no. 159. The same detail is common on the molded horses from Karanis dated from the late second to the fourth centuries (Kelsey Museum, nos. 6888, 6891, 6894, 6895, 9949, in Allen 1985, nos. 37, 30, 36, 35 [9949 not in Allen 1985]). The date for this figurine is based on the detail of the hock shown on the horses from Karanis; see commentary for figurine no. 159.
### 163. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14620  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 63b  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 10R6/3, pale red  
**DATE:** Late Antique period, sixth–eighth centuries A.D.  
**SIZE:** H 10.5 × L 6.0 cm  
**DESCRIPTION:** Moldmade Horse Figurine  
This hollow horse figurine was made in a two-part mold. The head, belly, and back legs are lost and the front legs are stylized into an undivided column. The mane(?) is shown as strands, the forwardmost of which is decorated with a maltese cross. The yoke across the chest is detailed with molded dots and horizontal lines, the pommel of the saddle is pierced on both sides. There is red and black pigment down the center of the chest to the legs and around the neck and a wide stripe of red-orange pigment from the front of the pommel around the chest to the other side of the pommel.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
See commentary for figurine no. 160.

### 164. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 64a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay (marl?) / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**DATE:** Late Antique period, sixth–eighth centuries A.D.  
**SIZE:** ca. H 4.5 × L 4.0 cm  
**DESCRIPTION:** Moldmade Horse Figurine  
This head from a horse figurine, made in a two-part mold, is hollow, has short, erect ears, and is heavily detailed with trappings.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
See Török 1993, p. 52 (no. K2), pl. 73, for a similar example, and Spencer and Bailey 1985, p. 14 no. 1984/5–6, figs. 22/7–8, for another example from a sixth-century A.D. archaeological context. The fine texture of the object as observable in the field photograph, and its stylistic similarity to figurines nos. 165–67, which are made of marl, suggest this example is of the same material. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 146c.
165. HORSE FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14622
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 64b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–eighth centuries A.D.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 10R6/3–4, pale red
SIZE: H 3.45 × L 4.50 cm

DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Horse Figurine
This head from a horse figurine was made in a two-part mold. There is very little interior space. It has short, erect ears, a raised ridge to indicate the mane, and double straps in a thin line of black pigment across the muzzle and forehead to indicate a harness. There are thin stripes of black pigment on the mane. It has two large, rounded, asymmetrical eyes with pupils in black pigment, a yellow pigment wash, and red on the middle of the face like figurine no. 167. A hole for reins is pierced under the chin.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for figurine no. 164.

166. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14621
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 65a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–eighth centuries A.D.
MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 10R6/4, pale red
SIZE: H 7.0 × L 5.0 cm

DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Horse Figurine
This head from a horse figurine was made in a two-part mold. It is hollow. It has short, erect ears, and a margin of mane is indicated by a raised crest marked with thin stripes of black pigment. The eyes are a raised surface with pierced holes for pupils and there are double lines in black pigment representing a harness across the muzzle. Detail of the harness is in raised relief; a hole for reins is pierced under the chin.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for figurine no. 164.
167. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14623
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period, sixth–eighth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Horse Figurine

This head from a horse figurine, made in a two-part mold, is hollow, has short, erect ears, and a mane indicated by raised crest with thin stripes of black pigment. There is detail of a harness in raised relief, a hole for reins, and large, round, asymmetrical eyes in black pigment. There is a double strap in pigment across the forehead and muzzle and from the mouth to behind the ears. There is orange pigment down the center of the face much like figurine no. 165.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for figurine no. 164.

CAMELS (DROMEDARIES) (NOS. 168–178)

Both handmade and moldmade figurines of camels (more properly the one-humped dromedary) were found at Medinet Habu. The chronology of the camel and its exploitation in Egypt should provide some framework for dating the figurines, yet its history in Egypt is hardly straightforward. The remains of a camel bone at Bir Sahara dated to the Mousterian horizon (before 41,000 B.C.), a figurine identified as a camel recovered from “the Neolithic site at Maadi” (Ripinski 1985, pp. 136–37), and the physical remains of a camel recovered from a First Dynasty tomb at Helwan (Brewer, Redford, and Redford 1994, p. 104) are apparently isolated examples. Figurines identified as camels dated to the Old Kingdom have been recovered from Hierakonpolis (Quibell 1902, pl. 62; see Petrie 1907, p. 23, for the corrected identification) and Abydos (Petrie 1903, p. 27, pl. 10). Another, from Giza and Rifa, which shows a camel laden with water jars, has been dated to the Nineteenth Dynasty (Petrie 1907, p. 23, pl. 27). Houlihan (1996, p. 38) suggests that the first camels in the Nile Valley are attested at Kasr Ibrim (740 B.C.), but that they may have been introduced into Egypt in the Third Intermediate Period. Ripinski (1985, p. 134) and Kurth (1999, p. 183) cite second-millennium trade between Egypt, the Sinai, and Arabia — which they suggest must have employed camels — as a means through which Egyptians were introduced to camels. The seventh-century invasions of Egypt by the Assyrian king Esarhaddon included camel corps (Kurth 1999, p. 182). However, Kurth’s (ibid., p. 184) conclusion that the “exploitation [of the camel] was well-established in Egypt before the arrival of Esarhaddon’s invasion force in 671 B.C.” is not generally accepted. It is more generally agreed that camels were not used as beasts of burden until the Ptolemaic period, and that they were commonly encountered in Egypt only in the Greco-Roman period (Houlihan 2002, p. 107). On the basis of the Zenon Archive, Bagnell (1985, p. 3) concludes that the camel was “well established” by the third century B.C. and that it was during the reign of Ptolemy II that the importation of camels “on a substantial scale” began, as part of the king’s program of importing exotic species. According to Brewer, Redford, and Redford (1994, p. 104), “camels seem to have been relatively common” by the Ptolemaic era.

99 Midant-Reyes 2000, p. 37. She concludes, “this animal was already present in early Egypt, despite the fact that it is unknown during the pharaonic period.”
100 Note that Midant-Reynes and Braunstein-Silvestre (1980, col. 305) suggest that most of these early attestations are debatable (“discuta-
Camels are well represented among baked clay figurines, yet they are seldom shown in paintings and reliefs. This discrepancy may be explained by the program of decoration of monuments that, with notable exceptions such as the tombs of Rekhmire and Huy at Thebes (TT 55 and TT 40, respectively), rarely include scenes of foreign wonders or tribute. Turning to a less formal context, it is surprising that camels do not form a significant theme in graffiti in the Theban area (see Epigraphic Survey 1998 for the Colonnade Hall at Luxor).

Why were camel figurines made? Ballet (1991, p. 503), following Kaufmann (1910, p. 114 n. 2), suggests that they are related to the cult of Abu Mina and his miraculous cure of the sterile she-camel, and that the figurines would “serve to obtain for the donor a benefit of the same kind.” If so, the camels would function much in the same way as figurines of women, which are clearly related to fecundity. However, the presence of camel figurines in Upper Egypt, an area that is not associated with the cult of St. Menas (Abu Mena), suggests that one should look for another reason for their manufacture, including the idea that they may be toys valued for the exotic nature of the animal.

The dates suggested for camel figurines from Medinet Habu are based largely on the history of the animal in Egypt and the history of the site. Considering the period in which the camel was commonly encountered in Egypt, it is highly unlikely that any of the figurines are of dynastic date. Since the site was “uninhabited” during the Ptolemaic period (Hölscher 1932, p. 40) and abandoned in the ninth century A.D. (ibid., p. 46), the figurines must be assigned to the Roman or Late Antique periods.

**HAND-MODELED CAMELS (NOS. 168–174)**

**168. FIGURINE**

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14627  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 66

**FIELD NUMBER:** K 198  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR5/3, reddish brown

**DATE:** Late Antique period, fourth–eighth centuries A.D.  **SIZE:** H 7.5 × W 10.4 cm

**DESCRIPTION:** Hand-modeled Camel Figurine

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a camel. The front legs are lost. It has a single high hump and a short, stubby tail that stands out from the body. It has thick rear legs, a thick neck, and a small, triangular head with bumps to indicate ears. It is made in course-textured clay with evident chaff.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

The date suggested for this example is very tentative.

---

101 See, for example, the group drawn from many museum collections in Nachtergael 1995 and Allen 1985, pp. 565–66.
169. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15527

FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded

DATE: Late Antique period(?), fourth–eighth centuries A.D.

DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Camel Figurine

This is a hand-modeled, solid figurine of a camel. The head, neck, and front left leg are preserved. It has a small, triangular head, an applied eye, and a piercing for a bridle or lead in the center of the neck. Stripes of pinkish pigment encircle the neck and decorate the back of the neck and leg.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

DATE: Late Antique period(?), dark reddish brown

MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR3/4, H 7.5 × W 5.4 cm

170. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information

FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded

DATE: Late Antique period(?), fourth–ninth centuries A.D.

DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Camel (?) Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled camel (?) figurine. The head is rectangular. It has a large, applied ear and a piercing to indicate the eye.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

DATE: Late Antique period(?), pigments not examined

MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and H 3.1 × L 2.2 cm

171. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information

FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded

DATE: Roman period(?), first century B.C.–fourth century A.D.

DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Camel Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled camel figurine. The muzzle is bent and it has large, round ears positioned low on the sides of the head.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

DATE: Roman period(?), pigments not examined

MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and H 4.9 × L 4.4 cm

COMMENTARY
This object has no real parallels. It is known only from Teilungslist 150d.
172. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period(?), first century B.C.–fourth century A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Camel Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled camel figurine. This muzzle is bent and it has large, oval ears situated high on the sides of the head.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
Compare to figurine no. 171. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 150k.

173. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: K 199
DATE: Roman period, first century B.C.–fourth century A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled(?) Camel Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled(?) camel figurine. The cheeks are defined and it has a short rounded muzzle.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
It is difficult to determine from the field photographs if this example was handmade or moldmade. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 150m.

174. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Roman period, first century B.C.–fourth century A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Camel(?) Figurine

This is a head of a hand-modeled camel(?) figurine made of fine-textured clay. It seems to be burnished. Small bumps on the sides of the head indicate ears. There are no eyes.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
In the field photograph, this fragment appears to be two cylinders, perhaps made on a wheel. The muzzle is not pierced and therefore it was not a vessel spout. The construction is similar to two bird heads from Medinet Habu, figurines nos. 208 and 210, but the bumps on the side of the head suggest it is not a bird. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 150f.
MOLDMADE CAMELS (NOS. 175–178)

175. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14614  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 69a
FIELD NUMBER: Eye 54b  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 7.5YR 7/2,
DATE: Roman period, first–third centuries A.D.  SIZE: H 8.4 × L 6.2 cm
DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Camel Figurine

This figurine of a standing camel was made in a two-part mold; the details are now indistinct. The camel is laden with a basket that has two straps under the belly and a line along the neck to secure it. The thickness of the clay varies greatly from one section of the figurine to another. The clay on the back section of the mold is much thicker than the front, which is so thin in the space between the legs that the clay has broken away, leaving a hole.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found with a group of other figurines, including an idealized female (no. 1), a woman’s head with a Wochenlaube hairstyle (no. 74), a baubo (no. 79), a horse (no. 136), a bird (no. 199), a dog (no. 192), a man’s head with a peaked cap (no. 121), a limestone statue of a monkey (OIM 15560), a fragment of a Coptic limestone altar (OIM 14810), and a lion head (?) (without registration information). No information on the location in the temple given for this locus.

COMMENTARY
This example is very similar to Louvre AF 1224 (Dunand 1990, n. 830) from Antinoopolis, which is dated to the second–third centuries A.D., and to Liebieghaus Museum 2400.1744 (Bayer-Niemeier 1988, p. 246 no. 596, pl. 105), dated to the first–second centuries, hence the suggested date. Compare also to Berlin 6738 (Weber 1914, pl. 39 n. 435).

176. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15526  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 69b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR 6/3,
DATE: Roman period(?), first–third centuries A.D.  SIZE: H 4.5 × W 4.9 cm
DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Camel Figurine

This is the head from a camel figurine made in a two-part mold. It is a naturalistic rendering of a camel with small ears set low on the head, a rounded muzzle, and oval eyes depressed into the clay. A large, round piercing for the reins has been made in front of the eye rather than near the mouth.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The interior of the figurine is covered with white pigment, suggesting that the entire figurine was dipped in a white pigment before it was painted. See Allen 1978, p. 58, for figurines from Karanis that were dipped in plaster before being painted. See also Bayer-Niemeier 1988, p. 15, for the comment that white pigment served as a base for other colors.
177. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15528  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 70a

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown

**DATE:** Roman period, first–third centuries A.D.  
**SIZE:** H 2.2 × L 3.5 cm

**DESCRIPTION:** Moldmade Camel Figurine

This is the head of a camel figurine made in a two-part mold. The two halves of the figurine are pressed tightly together, leaving very little interior space. It has short, erect, oval ears and lips drawn back from teeth as if snarling. The sides of the mold were misaligned.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
See a similar example in Dunand 1990, no. 832, without provenance, dated to the “époque romaine.”

178. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14628  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 70b

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / interior: Munsell 5YR5/4, reddish brown; exterior: 10YR6/3, pale brown

**DATE:** Roman period, first–third centuries A.D.  
**SIZE:** H 5.7 × L 6.9 cm

**DESCRIPTION:** Moldmade Camel Figurine

This is the head from a camel figurine made in a two-part mold. The head is long and eyes are indicated in relief. There are details of a harness with a wide double-strand braided brow band. There is fur at the top of the head in relief. The nose is pierced for a lead. The left side of the head and much of the right side of the head is black.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
See a similar example in Dunand 1990, no. 832, without provenance, dated to the “époque romaine.”

**MISCELLANEOUS QUADRUPEDS (NOS. 179–184)**

179. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 70c

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined

**DATE:** New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, ca. 1335 B.C.  
**SIZE:** ca. H 6.0 × L 4.9 cm

**DESCRIPTION:** Gazelle Figurine

This is the head from a hand-modeled gazelle figurine. It has a rounded head and the eyes and chest are modeled. The ears, placed low on the side of the head, are broken and a raised area at the top of the head is abraded. There is a graceful bend to the narrow neck, and eyes are indicated in dark pigment.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
This figurine is very similar to other small-scale representations of the Dorcas gazelle (compare Houlihan 1996, fig. 74, in the tomb of Pabasa [TT 279], and fig. 75, MMA 26.7.1292), hence its identification here.
The date of this fragment is based upon its similarity to the ibex head that adorns a clay vessel said to come from the Malkata palace of Amunhotep III (Kozloff and Bryan 1992, p. 411, now in the Cleveland Museum of Art, no. 20.1977) and another from the tomb of Youa and Thouya (KV 46) (Davis et al. 1907, pl. 29). Bourriau (1982, p. 101) has commented on the popularity of animal- (and human-) figure vessels in the Eighteenth Dynasty. This figurine is known only from Teilungsliste 148k.

180. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14629
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: New Kingdom(?), Dynasties 19–20, ca. 1185–945 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Oryx Figurine

This is the head of a scimitar-horned oryx figurine. It is unclear if it is hand-modeled or molded. The figurine is hollow, with a small, irregular interior cavity. It has a short, rounded muzzle and large, round ears luted to the head. Details were added with a tool as the clay hardened. It has a burnished pink-orange finish and details in red and black pigment.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The angle of the break at the neck suggests that this may have been attached to the side of a vessel, much like the antelope heads that adorn Ashmolean 1892.1066 (Bourriau 1987, pl. 26), Cleveland Museum of Art 20.1977 (Kozloff and Bryan 1992, p. 411), and the gazelle head from Medinet Habu (no. 179).

181. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15519
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140d
DATE: Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Sheep Figurine

This is a hand-molded figurine of a sheep. The back left leg is lost. It has a short, compact tail and a broad snout/nose. A piece of clay has been turned over the head from right to left to represent horns. A piece of clay between the back legs perhaps indicates the animal’s udder.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), seven other female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY
The date of the figurine is based upon the accompanying pottery (see Aston 1996, p. 54, fig. 170 [Q4, S2]).

102 I thank Peter F. Dorman for this observation.
182. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: New Kingdom–Late Period(?), Dynasties 20–31, ca. 1185–332 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This head of a hand-modeled figurine of a ram has downward-curved horns and large eyes indicated by applied dots of clay. The mouth may be hollow as if for a vessel spout — so it may be from a zoomorphic vessel.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 150n. The date is very tentative.

183. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15529
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 21–25(?), ca. 1070–664 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This is a hand-modeled figurine of a recumbent animal. The head is lost. It has a slender neck and a short, round tail. The front and back legs are bent under. There are traces of reddish pigment from the chest, up across the back, and around the base of the neck.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
A recumbent animal figurine most frequently represents a calf (or newborn bubalis or hartebeest). This is represented by a hieroglyph, אָ, the determinative for the word iwr “to conceive,” perhaps a reference to the votive nature of this figurine. For another, clearer example of this animal in the Hathoric context of the votive beds, see votive bed no. 239. The date is very tentative and is based upon the appearance of the sign on the votive bed, and also upon the hand molding of the figurine.
184. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 72c
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30.50e
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Roman period, first–third centuries A.D.
SIZE: ca. H 5.4 × W 5.4 cm
DESCRIPTION: Cow or Bull Figurine

This is the head of a moldmade figurine of a cow or bull. It has a long flat forehead with a short rounded nose. There is a pierced hole in the nose for the lead, a small depression for the eye, and a slight indication of an ear.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in C/5, “in the rubbish of the grave in front of the outer wall” (southeast corner of the precinct, outside the outer enclosure wall), with a group of four pottery vessels that appear to be of Roman date (all without registration information).

COMMENTARY

The date of this piece is based upon its stylistic features, the use of the double mold, and the Roman pottery with which it was recovered. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 148h.

185. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14635
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 73
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.61a
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / outer layer: Munsell 5YR6/6, reddish yellow; core: Munsell 5YR5/1, gray
DATE: Third Intermediate–Late Period(?) to Dynasties 21–26, ca. 1070–525 B.C.
SIZE: H 5.4 × L 11.4 cm
DESCRIPTION: Lion Figurine

This is a solid, hand-modeled figurine of a lion. The legs and rear portion are lost. It has a long, thin body and the face is sculpted. The lower lip and nose are broken. The ears are far back on the head, and fur on the brow is indicated by notches.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in E–F/6, south of the Ramesside pool, in the “Tandif and higher,” with another clay lion figurine (no. 186), a phallos figurine (no. 123), four small scarabs and scaraboids (Teeter 2003b, nos. 94, 129, 157, 184), a plaque (Teeter 2003b, no. 8), a clay loop-handled seal with a bird (Teeter 2003b, no. 241), a stone vessel (OIM 14529), an inlay eye (OIM 16300), and a body fragment of a glazed New Kingdom shabti, without a name (OIM 15638). However, see commentary regarding this provenance.

COMMENTARY

The objects from MH 28.61 reflect disparate dates, from the New Kingdom (shabti, OIM 15638) to Third Intermediate–Late Period or later figurine (no. 123), suggesting a date in the dynastic era.
186. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15532  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 74a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 28.61a  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Period(?), Dynasties 21–26, ca. 1070–525 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR5/3, reddish brown  
**SIZE:** H 5.4 ≈ L 7.8 cm  

**DESCRIPTION:**

This is a solid, hand-modeled figurine of a lion. The details of the face and lines of the mane on the back were carefully sculpted. The angle of the haunches suggests that the figurine was seated. There is a trace on the right haunch where the luted-on tail was positioned.

**PROVENANCE**

This figurine was found in E-F/6, south of the Ramesside pool, in the “Tandif and higher,” with another clay figurine of a lion (no. 185), a phallic figurine (no. 123), four small scarabs and scaraboids (Teeter 2003b, nos. 94, 129, 157, 184), a plaque (Teeter 2003b, no. 8), a clay loop-handled seal with a bird (Teeter 2003b, no. 241), a stone vessel (OIM 14529), an inlay eye (OIM 16300), and a body fragment of a glazed, New Kingdom *shabti*, without a name (OIM 15638). However, see commentary regarding this provenance.

**COMMENTARY**

See commentary for catalog no. 185.

---

187. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15531  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 74b  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**DATE:** Roman–Late Antique periods, first–ninth centuries A.D.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Fine Nile silt(?) / Munsell 5YR5/4, reddish brown  
**SIZE:** H 3.5 × W 2.3 × D 1.2 cm  

**DESCRIPTION:**

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a standing cat. It is highly stylized with the front and rear legs fused in the form of an arch. The cat turns its head to the side. It has two triangular ears and a rounded nose and mouth. There is no detail or tail on the reverse. It is covered with matte black pigment.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

The bottom edge of this small figurine is flat and is coated with the same black pigment as the sides, indicating that it was not originally attached to the rim of a vessel such as those cited by Pinch (1993, p. 187). The lack of any parallels to this figurine makes it very difficult to determine its date; hence the range given here is very tentative.
Both hand-modeled and moldmade figurines of dogs were recovered from Medinet Habu. Two of the hand-modeled examples (nos. 189–90) are missing their heads, and their identification as dogs is based upon their similarity to figurine no. 188, which is nearly intact. These figurines are very simple. They have rectangular bodies and their short legs are pinched from the fabric of the body. In general appearance, they strongly resemble the Third Intermediate Period animals from Ashmunein (Spencer and Bailey 1986, figs. 6–7).

Four of the five moldmade dogs (nos. 191–94) now consist of only the face (no. 191 has part of the chest) of a forward-looking animal, with the face in the same plane as the chest. Such fragments were made in two-part molds (no. 195; and see examples in Kaufmann 1913, fig. 118 top left) or three-part molds (nos. 191–94, and examples in Dunand 1990, nos. 862–66; Thomas 1995, n. 117; Fjeldhagen 1995, pp. 184–85).

These moldmade dogs represent the Maltese Spitz. The popularity of the dog figurines in the Greco-Roman period is due to the dog’s association with Sothis (Kákosy 1984; Malaise 1991, pp. 24–25; Myśliwiec and Szymańska 1992, p. 126), who in Greco-Roman astronomy was considered to belong to the constellation Canis Maior. Because the rising of Sothis heralded the inundation, the dog was regarded as a symbol of regeneration (Török 1995, pp. 172–73). The dog also served as a mount for some representations of Harpocrates (Malaise 1991, p. 24; Louvre AF 1308 and E 30272, in Dunand 1990, nos. 200–01) and Isis (Kákosy 1984, col. 1114).

The double outline of the eyes is a common feature of these moldmade dogs (see Dunand 1990, nos. 864, 866, 872, 876–78). Although the moldmade dogs from Medinet Habu all look quite similar, their disparate sizes indicate that they were made in four different molds. The moldmade dogs from Medinet Habu, like those from Karanis (Allen 1978, p. 58), were dipped in plaster or white pigment and painted.

HAND-MODELED DOGS (NOS. 188–190)

188. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15533
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: New Kingdom–Late Period(?), Dynasties 20–26, ca. 1185–525 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Hand-modeled Dog Figurine

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a dog with a rectangular body and rudimentary legs. The legs are chipped. Its tall tail emerges from the rump at a 70-degree angle; the tip is broken. There is a depression under the tail and no indication of a neck. The animated face has eyes indicated by applied pieces of clay. The mouth is represented by an off-center slash and fur on the top of the head is represented by notching. The figurine is covered with white pigment.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The tail held upward is very unusual and has few parallels outside the Medinet Habu material (compare to nos. 189–90). The date assigned to this figurine is tentative.

103 See Allen 1985, p. 275, for the suggestion that the dogs are to be classified as “semi-feral natural breeds,” commonly called Pariah or “Pi” dogs.
189. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded

**DATE:** New Kingdom–Late Period(?), Dynasties 20–26, ca. 1185–525 B.C.

**DESCRIPTION:** Hand-modeled Dog Figurine

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a dog with a rectangular body and rudimentary legs. The head is lost. It has a triangular tail, which emerges straight up from the rump.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

Identification of this figurine as a dog and its tentative date are based upon its similarity to figurine no. 188. This figurine is known only from *Teilungsliste* 151c.

---

190. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded

**DATE:** New Kingdom–Late Period(?), Dynasties 20–26, ca. 1185–525 B.C.

**DESCRIPTION:** Hand-modeled Dog Figurine

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a dog with a rectangular body and rudimentary legs. The head is lost. The tall, rounded tail emerges from the rump at a 45-degree angle.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

Identification of this fragment as a dog and its tentative date are based upon its similarity to figurine no. 188. This figurine is known only from *Teilungsliste* 151f.
191. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14634  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 76c
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30.146  MATERIAL / COLOR: Marl / Munsell 5YR5/8, yellowish red
DATE: Roman period, second–third centuries A.D.  SIZE: H 12.6 × W 9.0 cm
DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Dog Figurine

This is a fragment of a figurine of a dog made in a three-part mold. Only the face and chest remain. It has large, almond-shaped eyes, a deep crease in the forehead, a ruff of fur around the neck, and whiskers. The dog wears a collar ornamented with a bell(?) flanked by crescent-shaped pendants. Finger marks are evident on the reverse where the clay was pressed into the mold. The piece has been covered inside and out with white pigment.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in B/3 (in the southeast corner of that square, 0.2 m toward grid C and 3.2 m toward grid 4) at a depth of 0.46 m, in the far southeast corner of the precinct outside the outer enclosure wall, in a “rebuilt brick wall by the Coptic well.”

COMMENTARY

Compare to Kaufmann 1913, fig. 118; Bayer-Niemeier 1988, pls. 109–11; Fjeldhagen 1995, nos. 183–84 (dated to the second–third centuries A.D.). Similar pendants are shown on Roman-era mummy portraits of the later first and very early second century (Walker and Bierbrier 1997, nos. 17–19, 77, 189). This crescent emblem has been interpreted as a fertility symbol associated with Sothis (Walker and Bierbrier 1997, p. 164 no. 189).

192. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 77a
FIELD NUMBER: Eye 54a  MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Roman period, second–third centuries A.D.  SIZE: ca. H 5.0 × W 4.4 cm
DESCRIPTION: Moldmade Dog Figurine

This is the face from a figurine of a dog made in a three-part mold. It has small, almond-shaped eyes set below a deep brow ridge, small, arched ears, and a ruff of fur around the neck. The field photograph suggests that the figurine was covered with white pigment.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found with a group of other figurines, including an idealized female (no. 1), a woman’s head with a Wochenlaube hairstyle (no. 74), a baubo (no. 79), a man’s head with a peaked cap (no. 121), a horse (no. 136), a camel (no. 175), a bird (no. 199), a limestone statue of a monkey (OIM 15560), a fragment of a Coptic limestone altar (OIM 14810), and a lion head(?) (without registration information). No information on the location in the temple is given for this locus.

COMMENTARY

This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 144b.
193. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 77b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Roman period, second–third centuries A.D.
SIZE: ca. H 4.4 × W 5.2 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This is the face from a figurine of a dog made in a three-part mold. It has large, almond-shaped eyes, a deep crease in the forehead, a ruff of fur around the neck, and whiskers. The pupils are defined in paint.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This fragment is very similar to figurine no. 191 but is of a smaller scale. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 152b.

194. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 77c
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Roman period, second–third centuries A.D.
SIZE: ca. H 3.4 × W 4.0 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This is the face from a figurine of a dog made in a three-part mold. It has small, almond-shaped eyes, a deep crease in the forehead, a ruff of fur around the neck, and whiskers. The field photograph gives the impression that it was covered with white pigment.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for figurine no. 191. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 152d.
195. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14633  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 78a

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR5/4, reddish brown

**DATE:** Roman period, second–third centuries A.D.  **SIZE:** H 7.8 × W 7.8 cm

**DESCRIPTION:** Moldmade Dog Figurine

This is a figurine of a Maltese Spitz made in a two-part mold. The dog faces left and stands before a larger background. Its face is turned toward the viewer at 90 degrees from its body. The triangular ears are sharply defined and it has a thick neck. The bushy tail is curled over its back. Claws are indicated by marks added after the object was molded. There is no collar or ornaments, and there is a round vent hole in the back. The figurine was produced from a very dull mold, and most of its detail is lost.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

Although figurines of dogs are fairly common, this form, in which the dog stands against a background, is unusual.

---

PRIMATES (NOS. 196–197)

196. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15517  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 78b

**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown

**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Periods(?), Dynasties 21–31, ca. 1070–332 B.C.  **SIZE:** H 3.9 × W 3.2 × D 4.6 cm

**DESCRIPTION:** Ape(?) Figurine

This is the head from a hand-modeled figurine of an ape(?). The ears are depressed into the fabric and it has a slash-like mouth. The eyes are indicated by globes of clay set into recesses. It has a heavy brow ridge and the back of the head is bulbous, or else the animal may be wearing a cap.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

There is a possibility that this object is referred to in the field notes as MH 29.85f (H/12, near the well of Nectanebo, “on the Roman level, probably belonging to an older strata”), because the description of a head from that locus is very similar to this figurine. In the Seele registration sheets (see Teeter 2003b, p. 9), figurine no. 196 is described as “head of a Negro, size 5 cm, of reddish clay,” but no registration number is recorded. Photograph reference 539 is given for it. The date is very tentative.
197. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15555  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 79  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate–Late Periods(?), Dynasties 20–31, ca. 1070–332 B.C.  
**SIZE:** H 6.5 × W 3.4 cm  
**DESCRIPTION:** Monkey Figurine  

This is the upper portion of a hollow, hand-modeled figurine of a monkey. The ears and arms are luted to the body. It has a heavy brow ridge and its paws are raised to the mouth as if eating. An inverted cone on top of the head of the monkey is pierced and suggests that this may be the top of a monkey-shaped vessel, but the opening is partly obstructed by a piece of clay and so small that it would not have been functional. It has a burnished finish.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
The date is very tentative.

198. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15534  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 80a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR3/2, dark reddish brown  
**DATE:** New Kingdom–Late Period(?), Dynasties 20–31, ca. 1185–332 B.C.  
**SIZE:** H 4.8 × L 4.4 cm  
**DESCRIPTION:** Bird Figurine  

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a bird with a thick neck and a tall, upswept tail. The bottom of the figurine is broken and it is difficult to tell if it had legs, or if it was attached to another surface such as the rim of a vessel. It is covered with white pigment and has red stripes across the body and on the tail and neck.

**PROVENANCE**  
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**  
The date is very tentative.

BIRDS (NOS. 198–211)

Fourteen figurines of birds were documented by Hölscher. All are hand-modeled. The identification of species is rarely possible because the figurines are too fragmentary or too generic. According to Török (1993, p. 53), many bird figurines are toys: “Bird figures of baked clay were made for children, not only in Egypt, but everywhere in the ancient world. Thus, it is no wonder that as attested by Roman grave stelae the toy bird was employed as a symbol of innocence. It appears in this sense on fourth century A.D. Egyptian relief stelae....”
199. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15523  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 80b
FIELD NUMBER: Eye 54b  MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR5/2, reddish gray
DATE: Unknown  SIZE: H 2.9 × L 4.8 × D 2.0 cm
DESCRIPTION: Bird Figurine

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a bird with a thick, curved neck and a short, upswept tail. The feet are represented as a thick pedestal. The end of the beak is broken and a small hole was pierced under the tail.

PROVENANCE

This object was found with a group of other figurines, including an idealized female (no. 1), a woman’s head with a Wochenlaube hairstyle (no. 74), a baubo (no. 79), a man’s head with a peaked cap (no. 121), a horse (no. 136), a camel (no. 175), a dog (no. 192), a limestone statue of a monkey (OIM 15560), a fragment of a Coptic limestone altar (OIM 14810), and a lion head (?) (without registration information). No information on the location in the temple is given for this locus.

COMMENTARY

This sort of figurine illustrates the difficulties in assigning dates. Eye 54 contains objects of mixed date, from the Third Intermediate Period (nos. 1, 136) to the Roman era (nos. 79, 121, 175, 192). One could favor the earlier range of dates based on the figurine’s similarity in style and dimensions to one excavated from the New Kingdom levels at Memphis (Giddy 1999, p. 312 no. EES 816, pl. 69). However, one could support a Roman date based on Budapest SzM 84.332.A, which Török (1993, p. 53 [no. K5], pl. 75) compares to others from the Roman period. However, that example is much larger (9.7 cm tall).

200. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14638  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 80c
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown
DATE: New Kingdom–Late Period(?), Dynasties 20–31, ca. 1185–332 B.C.  SIZE: H 6.9 × W 5.4 cm
DESCRIPTION: Bird Figurine

This is a solid, hand-modeled figurine of a long-legged water fowl with a rounded body. The triangular tail is luted to the body. It has a long, recurved neck and the beak is lost. The legs are fused together as a single column.

PROVENANCE

No location given.

COMMENTARY

The bird may represent a diver, spoonbill, or goose (Houlihan 1988, pp. 6, 34, 59). The date is very tentative. See commentary for figurine no. 199 for problems in assigning dates to such figurines.
201. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15518
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.290b
DATE: New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C.
DESCRIPTION:

This is a solid, hand-modeled figurine of a seated, long-legged bird. Its legs are bent under it and luted to the body. The head and neck are lost. There is overall white pigment with spots of red and black.

PROVENANCE

This figurine was found in R/12, the northwest corner of the inner enclosure wall, in the debris, with a scarab provisionally dated to the Twentieth–Twenty-first Dynasty (Teeter 2003b, no. 170), the head of a limestone statuette of a man dated to the New Kingdom (OIM 14823), and a faience amulet (without registration information).

COMMENTARY

The suggested date is based upon the other objects from this locus. Compare figurine no. 202.

202. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: New Kingdom–Third Intermediate Periods(?), Dynasties 20–21, ca. 1185–945 B.C.
DESCRIPTION:

This is a fragment of a solid, hand-modeled figurine of a seated bird. Its legs are drawn up underneath it. The tips of the uplifted wings(?) are broken. There is a wattle(?) at the neck.

PROVENANCE

No location given.

COMMENTARY

The tentative date is based upon the figurine’s similarity to figurine no. 201. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 153c.

203. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14640
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period, fourth–ninth centuries A.D.
DESCRIPTION:

This is a hand-modeled bird figurine. It is hollow and the head and neck are lost. It has a round, heavy body. Folded legs are indicated by small, triangular pieces of clay and the wings are folded against the body. There are traces in the clay where the neck and head were luted to the body. A small hole is pierced in its back. A small piece of clay was added under the tail for balance.

PROVENANCE

No location given.
COMMENTARY

This is quite similar in form to bronze dove/pigeon lamps of the Late Antique period, many of which have a foot-like support under their tails (see Teeter 2003a, pp. 116–17; Bénazeth 1992, pp. 138–42). This may be a clay version of those bronze lamps. The suggested date is based upon that similarity.

204. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14636  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 83a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 83a
DATE: Roman(?), first century B.C.–fourth century A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Bird Figurine  SIZE: H 6.7 × L 4.8 cm

This is the head and neck of a hand-modeled bird figurine, possibly a guinea fowl. The head is rounded and eyes are indicated by pieces of clay luted to the head. It has a sharp crest on the back of the neck and the beak is broken. It was made of white clay and has no pigment. A strap of clay over the front of the face may represent the comb.

PROVENANCE

No location given.

205. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14637  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 83b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 83b
DATE: Dynasty 31 or later, 332 B.C. or later
DESCRIPTION: Bird Figurine  SIZE: H 7.4 × W 5.2 cm

This is a fragment of a red junglefowl Gallus gallus (Houlihan 1988, pp. 79–81, fig. 111) or cock figurine. The head and neck are preserved. The round eyes, which were luted to the head, are now lost. The conical beak is pierced through into the head, but the opening is so small that it would not be a functional spout. The figurine is covered with red pigment.

PROVENANCE

No location given.

COMMENTARY

It is difficult to determine the method of manufacture. The head and the comb are hollow and show regular lines on the interior and no obvious seam at the junction of the head and the comb, suggesting that the figurine may have been made upside down on a wheel, then the junction of the comb and the head constricted and the comb flattened slightly.

According to Brunner-Traut (1980, cols. 70–72), the cock appeared sporadically in Egyptian representations of the Middle Kingdom, becoming more common only in the Persian period. See Houlihan 2002, pp. 131–32, for the problem of the identification of chickens in Egyptian art, especially the representation of a bird on a Nineteenth Dynasty ostracon. Although the chicken and cock did not play a role in Egyptian mythology, they did have religious associations. Chickens are referred to as “birds who give birth daily” in the list of tribute of Thutmose III, suggesting that they were admired for their regenerative powers. Török (1995, p. 173) notes that roosters were a common funerary sacrifice in the Dionysian festivals during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods. The rooster was also associated with Bes (Myśliwiec and Szymańska 1992, pp. 118–20). These associations may explain why figurines of chickens were produced.
206. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15535  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 84a
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / edge of fabric: Munsell 5YR5/6, yellowish red; core: 5YR5/1, gray
**DATE:** New Kingdom, Dynasties 19–20, ca. 1293–1070 B.C.  **SIZE:** H 5.7 × W 3.2 cm

**DESCRIPTION:** This is the head and neck of a hand-modeled bird figurine. It is solid and the length and curve of the neck suggest a goose. It has bright blue stripes over whitewashed ground, and the eye is indicated in red.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
The suggested date is based on examples from the New Kingdom levels at Memphis (Giddy 1999, pp. 310–11 no. 499, pls. 68, 93; p. 314 no. 1721, pl. 70).

207. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 15536  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 84b
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Marl / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown
**DATE:** New Kingdom, Dynasties 19–20, ca. 1293–1070 B.C.  **SIZE:** H 4.6 × W 3.1 cm

**DESCRIPTION:** This is the head and neck of a hand-modeled bird figurine. It is hollow. The eye is indicated by a scribed circle. There is a stripe of red pigment from the eye, down the back of the neck, and over the beak. The length and curve of the neck suggest a goose.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
Compare to figurine no. 206, and see commentary for that object for the suggested date.
208. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Unknown
DESCRIPTION: Bird Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled(?) bird figurine. It has a conical beak and no crest.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The means of manufacture is not clear from the field photograph. Both the neck and beak are so symmetrical that they may have separately turned on a wheel and luted together. The construction is similar to figurines nos. 174 and 210. This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 153i.

209. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Unknown
DESCRIPTION: Bird Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled or wheel-turned bird figurine. It has a conical beak and no crest.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 153k.

210. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15557
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Unknown
DESCRIPTION: Bird Figurine

This is the head of a hand-modeled bird figurine. It is hollow and has a conical beak and no crest. Dots of clay luted to the head to indicate eyes were placed very low and asymmetrically on the head. It is covered with a whitish yellow wash.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This may have been part of a bird-shaped vessel, for the beak is pierced; however, the opening is very narrow and would not have been a functional spout. The construction is similar to figurines nos. 174 and 208.
211. FIGURINE

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14639  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 86a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** Not recorded  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/3, light reddish brown  
**DATE:** Unknown, but probably dynastic, before 332 B.C.  
**SIZE:** H 7.2 × W 5.5 cm  

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is the head of a hand-modeled bird figurine, possibly a lapwing. It is highly abstracted. It has a triangular beak and a triangular crest on the head. The eye is indicated by applied pieces of clay. There is yellow pigment on the front of the crest and red stripes on the back of the head. It is black beneath the crest.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
The beak is pierced, suggesting that this may be a fragment of a bird-shaped vessel, but the opening in the beak is very narrow and would not have been a functional spout. The obvious crest suggests that the bird is a lapwing (Houlihan 1988, pp. 93–96). If a lapwing, the figurine may date to the dynastic period because the lapwing — the hieroglyphic writing for “people” — is a common feature of the iconography of that era.

---

212. UNIDENTIFIED ANIMALS (NOS. 212–215)

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 86b  
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 26.9f  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**DATE:** Unknown  
**SIZE:** ca. L 9.0 × W 5.0 cm  

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is a squarish object, perhaps the remains of a quadruped with the legs broken off. The field register states that it was painted red.

**PROVENANCE**
This figurine was found in the debris in tomb 29 located in room 7 of the Great Temple, with five clay molds for faience figurines (OIM 16681–85), a fragment of a limestone hippopotamus figurine (OIM 14299), a limestone figurine of a squatting man with an exaggerated phallus upon which strings of a harp were painted (OIM 14382), a small lamp (OIM 14374), a tube-shaped piece of bronze “of unknown employment,” a “thick heavy oxidized coin,” and a finger from a life-size statue made of limestone. The latter three objects do not have registration information.

**COMMENTARY**
For this tomb, see Hölscher *Excavation IV*, p. 33. This figurine is known only from *Teilungslist* 143g.
213. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information

PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 87a

FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded

MATERIAL / COLOR: Baked clay / Fabric and pigments not examined

DATE: Dynastic(?), before 332 B.C.

SIZE: ca. H 4.2 X L 7.8 cm

DESCRIPTION: Unidentified Quadruped Figurine

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a quadruped, perhaps a bull with a hump. The head is lost. It has short legs and a pierced pattern on the rump and hump. A hole has been pierced in the side. From the field photograph it is impossible to tell if the hole penetrated the figurine.

PROVENANCE

No location given.

COMMENTARY

This figurine is known only from Teilungslist 150p.

214. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15530

PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 87b

FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded

MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR4/2, dark reddish gray

DATE: Dynastic(?), before 332 B.C.

SIZE: H 1.9 X L 4.7 cm

DESCRIPTION: Ichneumon (?) Figurine

This is a hand-modeled, solid figurine of a long-snouted, short-legged animal, perhaps an ichneumon (mongoose). The legs and head were pinched from the body and the tail is broken.

PROVENANCE

No location given.

COMMENTARY

Compare to examples in Petrie 1927, p. 61, pl. 53 nos. 485-92, which are described as “clay toys (crocodiles) made by children,” all from Kahun (Twelfth Dynasty). The suggested association with children is presumably because of the figurine’s unsophisticated form.
215. FIGURE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 15556
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.1f
DATE: Dynasty 20, ca. 1151–1069 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Unidentified Animal Figurine

This is a hand-modeled figurine of a long-necked animal. Only the head and neck are preserved. It has a long neck, a broad, pointed muzzle, and a wide, high forehead. There is no indication of eyes. It has rounded, erect ears and a bright orange, flaky pigment covers the entire figurine.

PROVENANCE
This figurine was found in H/9–10 with two “large” ostraca in hieratic, one “undoubtedly of Ramesside date is apparently a school exercise, written in a literary hand. It contains the ends of five lines, too disconnected to supply more than a few detached phrases.” The second ostracon is described as “of the same period but little more to be said about it” (from notes of Harold Nelson in object register). It was also found with many blue faience flat rings with interior diameter of 1.0–1.7 cm (OIM 15442), a scarab (Teeter 2003b, no. 147), a faience cartouche with the name of Ramesses III, a fragment of a faience tile with the tops of plumes atop a double cartouche(?), and a clay handle “of a pan(?).” The last three objects do not have registration information.

COMMENTARY
The date of the figurine is based upon the uniform date of the objects from the same locus. See Giddy 1999, p. 312 no. 833, pls. 69, 93, for a similar figurine that she suggests is “probably a cat,” which came from a mid-Eighteenth Dynasty to Ramesside level at Memphis.

MISCELLANEOUS FIGURINES (NOS. 216–219)

216. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Late Antique period, fourth century A.D.
DESCRIPTION: Cross

This is a flat piece of clay in the form of a maltese cross. The top and the lower section of the bottom arm are lost.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
Another example of a clay cross of approximately the same dimensions was excavated at Karanis (Kelsey Museum 6924, in Allen 1978, p. 69). The center of that one is stamped with an image of a bearded face with “large eyes, a wide nose and pursed lips.” Allen comments, “The fact that the nose is in sunk relief indicates that the impression is in reverse and could have been used as a stamp itself.” However, it is hard to imagine that it was a functional stamp because the reverse is plain, without an indication of any sort of handle. Since the cross from Karanis is coated with pigment of a terra-cotta color and the back is burnished, it may be an amulet of some sort rather than a stamp. The Kelsey cross was a surface find and it was assigned to the fourth century A.D. (Gazda et al. 1978, p. 11). The date of the Medinet Habu cross is based upon the Karanis example and is admittedly tentative since the Medinet Habu example does not have a face. This object is known only from Teilungslist 156e.
217. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Unknown
DESCRIPTION: Six-lobed Object
SIZE: ca. D 7.0 cm

This is a flattened clay disk with six projecting lobes.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The closest parallel for an object of this same shape is a four-lobed quartzite object (diameter 8.2 cm) from the Satet temple at Abydos (Dreyer 1986, p. 135, pl. 44 no. 349). That object, dated to the Fifth–Sixth Dynasties, is identified as a tool for boring stone vessels. This object is known only from the field photographs in which it is shown obliquely. No additional details can be discerned that might help in identifying its purpose. The object is known only from Teilungsliste 157a.

218. FIGURINE

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14644
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–25, ca. 945–664 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Leg of a Bed
SIZE: H 9.4 × W 4.9 × D 5.1 cm

This is the leg and part of the surface of a model bed. The surface of the bed is made of a flat slab of clay, and the one remaining leg was luted to its underside. The end of the leg tapers and bends outward away from the head of the bed. The leg is painted with tapering stripes of yellow and dark red pigment. The edge of the bed surface is decorated with a thick, dark red stripe. The gray surface of the bed is detailed with thin grid lines of yellow and dark red that simulate lashings.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This may have been part of a set composed of two separate elements: a bed and a female figurine (see example in Warmenbol 1999, p. 76 nos. 42–43). It seems very likely that it was originally paired with a Type E female figurine, that is, a non-idealized woman, not on a bed (nos. 45–52). The bed and figurines are made of the same type of fabric, they are painted with the same alternating stripes of yellow and dark red, and the scale of the bed appears as if it would accommodate one of the figurines. Note also Louvre E 22456, which shows a Type E woman on a bed. See further in discussion of Type E female figurines.

The date is based upon the piece’s similarity to the Type E figurines. For other examples of model furniture made of clay, see Cholidis 1992.
219. FIGURINE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>REGISTRATION NUMBER:</strong></th>
<th>OIM 14768</th>
<th><strong>PHOTOGRAPH:</strong></th>
<th>Pl. 89b</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FIELD NUMBER:</strong></td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
<td><strong>MATERIAL / COLOR:</strong></td>
<td>Nile silt / Munsell 5YR6/4, light reddish brown; edges blackened by firing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DATE:</strong></td>
<td>Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 25, 664–525 B.C.</td>
<td><strong>SIZE:</strong></td>
<td>L 9.8 × W 6.6 × H 3.3 cm (length of footprint from heel to end of big toe: 8.5 cm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>DESCRIPTION:</strong></td>
<td>Votive Footprint</td>
<td><strong>FIELD NUMBER:</strong></td>
<td>Not recorded</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This is a solid oval of clay marked with the impression of a child’s left foot. The edges of the toes are detailed with a sharp tool. There is no inscription and the back is unworked.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

A very similar example (fig. 15) was recovered by the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, at Nuri in Nubia, from the pyramid of a queen of Anlamani (623–592 B.C.). Its dimensions are very similar to the Medinet Habu example: length 9.2 cm × width 5.8 cm × diameter 3.3 cm. It bears the impression of the right foot, while the Medinet Habu example is of the left foot. The date assigned to this example is based upon the Nuri footprint.

Lumps of clay with the impression of a child’s foot are also known from Mesopotamia (Leichty 1989; Malul 2001), dating from the Old Babylonian period (contemporary with the Middle Kingdom, ca. 2000 B.C.). Those examples have cuneiform inscriptions. Leichty (1989, p. 356) suggests that they were made to establish the identity of a child “so that they will not be mixed up in the nursery.” Malul (2001, pp. 354–55, 361) suggests that the footprints were made to register the adoption, or sale, of foundlings. Others (see summary in Malul 2001, p. 359) have concluded that the foot impressions served as surrogates “standing for their owner’s personality” in transactions over the transfer of slaves.

According to Jacquet-Gordon (2003, p. 7), in Egypt the footprint was also “an embodiment of the essential essence” of an individual. The best evidence for this is the graffiti of feet that appear on temple roofs and courtyards throughout the Nile Valley and in Nubia. According to Jacquet-Gordon (ibid., p. 5), these functioned much like more formal and expensive votive statues, being a substitute for the individual “that would remain forever … in the presence of their god.” Although most examples of feet graffiti are accompanied by a personal name (and in some cases a longer text), the feet alone may be represented (ibid., blocks A11, B5, B13, B17), suggesting that even images of feet were a potent substitute for the devotee. Another explicit indication of the power of the image of feet is given by imprecation formulae that accompany some of these graffiti. These threaten “I will erase the name of [him who] destroys the footprints of [personal name]” (ibid., graffiti nos. 11, 32, 79, 100, 123, 125–26, 129, 136, 145, 147, and passim).

The graffiti of feet and their role in the devotion of pious individuals to the gods suggest that this lump of clay impressed with a footprint of a child may have been made to show veneration for a god in return for the birth of a child. The footprint, as indicated by the Khonsu graffiti, was closely associated with an individual’s being, and hence it served to symbolically dedicate the child to the god. Such a dedication may be related to the theophoric names (such as Djed-Khonsu-Iw-f-ankh “Khonsu-Says-He-Will-Live”) that linked an individual and a patron deity, and which became so common in the Third Intermediate Period. One might expect the name

---

I thank Denise Doxey of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, for bringing this example to my attention.
of the child to be inscribed on the object, as with votive statues and the Mesopotamian footprint impressions. However, as indicated by the imprecation texts that accompany the graffiti of feet (Jacquet-Gordon 2003), the image of the foot was considered to be as closely associated with the identity of an individual’s existence as his or her name.

PUBLISHED

Teeter 2002, p. 3, fig. 5.
VOTIVE BEDS AND STELAE

“Votive bed” is the term used to refer to a narrow bench-like structure of clay with a rectangular front panel. Most of the votive beds are impressed with a scene of a woman or women in a boat, flanked by figures of the god Bes. Two legs on the opposite side allow the bed to stand upright. The general form of the object, the presence of Bes figures on the left and right sides of the decorated front panel which imitate the Bes-form legs of actual beds, and the painted imitation of webbing on the top surface confirm that these objects are models of decorated beds.

Small, round-top, freestanding clay stelae form a part of this corpus because of the distinctive decoration that they share with the beds. Indeed, most of these stelae were decorated using molds that were also used for the larger votive beds.

Thirty-seven fragments of votive beds, two molds for impressing decoration upon them, and thirteen examples of stelae were recovered by Hölscher during the excavation of Medinet Habu. This is apparently the largest corpus of such material from a single site, and hence it has the potential of providing the most information about variations in decoration, and ultimately their cultic function. Unfortunately, most of the examples were apparently left in the magazines at Medinet Habu and their present whereabouts are unknown. However, they are documented by field photographs stored in the Museum Archives of the Oriental Institute, and by notes and drawings in the excavation’s field registers.

CONSTRUCTION OF VOTIVE BEDS

The several nearly intact examples of votive beds (nos. 220–22, 224, 236, 253) give a good indication of their construction. The top and decorated front panels are separate slabs of clay joined with slip. The bed may have front legs that flank the decorated panel (see fig. 16a), but more often, the front legs are subsumed into the front panel whose lower edge supports the front of the bed. Two narrow legs are attached to the back of the bed. There may or may not be bracing that connects the back legs to the front panel or legs. Some beds have elaborate spindle-like clay decoration below the front slab (fig. 16a–b). Others have deep or shallow scallops below the decorated front, while the front of others is a plain rectangle. Several examples of votive beds (nos. 220, 223, 243) have a ridge of clay on the back side of the front panel that probably served to strengthen the slab of clay.

The width of the front panels of votive beds from Medinet Habu is quite consistent, averaging 24.5 cm with a maximum of 27.5 cm (no. 222), and a minimum of 22.0 cm (no. 220). The average height of the votive beds is 13.6 cm with a maximum of 16.5 cm (nos. 224, 236) and a minimum of 11.0 cm (no. 222). The front of each votive bed is impressed with moldmade decoration, some examples of which retain very bright pigmentation. The top surface of the few preserved examples is painted with dark red lines or grid patterns. The top of votive bed no. 236 is covered with white paint.

In some cases a single mold was employed to decorate several examples of the beds. The impressed decoration on votive beds nos. 220–21, 223, 226, probably 227, and stela no. 259 appears to be identical. Also, mold no. 271 appears to have been used to decorate votive bed no. 224 and stela no. 267. The presence of votive bed molds nos. 271–72, found together at T/12, suggests that the votive beds and stelae were made at the site. However, the fragment of stela no. 267 found with the molds does not appear to have been made with either of them. The votive beds (nos. 240 and 242) that appear to have been decorated with votive bed mold no. 272 were found in different...
Figure 16. Votive beds. Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–24, ca. 945–715 B.C.

(a) Votive bed. Third Intermediate Period, Dynasty 22, ca. 945–715 B.C. Thebes, Assasif Tomb 825. Baked clay and pigment, L 34.5 × H 29.0 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1931.3.108. (photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York);

(b) Thebes, Assasif. Baked clay and pigment, H 24.0 × W 22.5 cm. Cairo JdE 56284 (photograph courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art);

(c) Provenance unknown. Baked clay, H 17.3 × W 26.9 cm. August Kestner Museum 1935.200.331 (photograph courtesy of the August Kestner Museum, Hanover)
areas of the site, as was votive bed no. 224, which seems to have been made by mold no. 271. This dispersal sug-
ests that the materials were being made in more than one place at the site.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE STELAE

The thirteen stelae and fragments of stelae are small, hand-modeled, round-topped (with the exception of no. 268) baked clay slabs, some of which have small, fin-like feet pinched from the clay that allow them to stand upright. The average height is approximately 12 cm. As noted, the association of the stelae and beds is confirmed by their shared decoration, for the decoration on the stelae is impressed by a mold made for the larger votive beds. The decoration of some of these stelae is off-center (nos. 262, 265), a result of the round-top stela “blank” being placed incorrectly on the larger bed mold. Stela no. 264 was pressed into the bed mold upside down. The decor-
ation on stela no. 260 is sideways.

The reverse of most of the stelae could not be examined. Of those at the Oriental Institute, stelae nos. 259 and 261 have plain, undecorated backs. The reverse of stela no. 268 has a bold “X” potter’s mark. Stela no. 258, now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, has pigment lines on the back that divide the surface into four registers which were presumably intended to be filled with an inscription.

DATE OF THE VOTIVE BEDS AND STELAE

Of the four main locations from which the Medinet Habu materials were recovered, the fellahin village — from which a significant percentage of them come — has the most secure date and clearest stratigraphy, ranging from the Twenty-second and Twenty-third Dynasties and from the Twenty-fifth to Twenty-sixth Dynasties. The earlier range of dates is confirmed by eight pottery vessels from MH 28.140 (southeast section of the precinct, in front of the supporting wall of the road, south of the Ramesseum pool), with which a votive bed (no. 221) and seven examples of stelae (nos. 259–65) were recovered, which Hölscher (Excavation V, p. 73) dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty (see also the comments of Aston 1996, p. 54 and fig. 170 [Q4, P6, S2]). This agrees with the Twenty-second Dy-
nasty date assigned to the votive beds excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the Assasif in 1929–1930.

DECORATION OF THE VOTIVE BEDS AND STELAE

The decoration of the votive beds and stelae consistently reflect two types of compositions.

TYPE 1: WOMAN PLAYING A LUTE SHOWN IN PROFILE WITH ATTENDANTS (VOTIVE BEDS NOS. 220–234; STELAE NOS. 258–267)

The major elements of this decoration are:

• A woman shown in profile, seated in a boat, facing right, playing a lute. Her knee is raised to support the
  instrument. She wears either a flaring modius headdress with a looped flower (nos. 220–21, 223, 226) or a
  spiky floral headdress (nos. 224–25). In one example (no. 222), she wears a modius without a flower.
• A nude woman stands behind the musician (to the viewer’s left), propelling the boat forward with a long
  pole. She may look to the viewer’s left (nos. 222, 225, 229–30), or to the right (nos. 220–21, 224, 226–27,
  232[?]). Details are hard to make out, but in two examples (nos. 222, 230) she wears a modius and on three
  others (nos. 220–21, 226) she wears a band in her hair.
• A woman stands on the bow, grasping a papyrus stem. In most cases she faces left (nos. 220–21, 223,
  226). She appears to be nude. On votive beds nos. 220–23 she wears a conical headdress.
• Tall papyrus stems are located between the three female figures.

110 Bruyère (1952, p. 9) suggests, on the basis of one bed fragment recovered from Deir el Medina, that this figure was “le jeune Horus maniant la godille.”

111 Hölscher (Excavation V, p. 11) interpreted this woman’s actions as “rowing with her arms stretched forward.” Bruyère (1952, p. 9) suggested that the figure was spearing Apophis.
• The bow of the boat is oriented to the viewer’s right. The bow is in the form of a duck/goose head. On all examples, other than votive bed no. 234, a broad collar surrounds the bird’s neck. The stern of the boat is flared in imitation of bird feathers.

• Figures of Bes appear at the left and right sides, framing the composition.

Fifteen of the thirty-one fragments of beds from which the composition can be ascertained are Type 1 (nos. 220–34).112 Of the thirteen examples of stelae, ten (76%) have Type 1 decoration.113 Beds and stelae with Type 1 decoration have very little pigment, which may be due to accidents of preservation, although comparison with the amount of pigment on Type 2 suggests that Type 1 was never as brightly colored. An additional problem with determining pigmentation is the small sample of artifacts that was actually accessioned into museum collections versus the many more examples that are known from black-and-white field photographs, although the excavator’s notes do occasionally comment upon pigments. Most of the Type 1 stelae have a simple wash of terra-cotta red pigment over the surface, although stela no. 258 is brightly painted.114

**TYPE 2: WOMAN SHOWN FRONTALLY**

(VOTIVE BEDS NOS. 235–250; STELAE NOS. 268–269)

This form of decoration has the following features:

• A nude woman stands in the middle of a boat. She is shown frontally. With one exception, votive bed no. 241, that shows a spiky floral headdress, she wears a modius. She grasps long slender papyrus stems in each hand. Most examples show shorter papyrus in the space under the woman’s bent arms.

• The boat has a long slender hull. On most examples (nos. 238–40, 242, 244), the bow is to the left and, where preserved, it is decorated with a duck/goose head. On votive bed no. 236, the bow with a bird head is to the right. A few examples (nos. 236, 239, 244) are preserved well enough to see a bird tail on the stern.

• Figures of Bes appear at the left and right edges of the composition.

Fifteen of the beds on which the decoration is preserved have Type 2 decoration. There is some variation in this type of decoration. Votive bed no. 239 has two recumbent calves — the hieroglyph for iw “to conceive” — positioned at the base of the floral stalks that the woman grasps. A fragment of a votive bed (no. 247), known only from field photographs, seems to have Type 2 decoration, but it is executed in a different style. The woman’s head is a flattened oval and she holds a round object on a flaring handle, perhaps a mirror or a tray of offerings, above each hand.115 A bird, perhaps a pintail duck, flies to the left of the object’s handle.116 Other unidentified shapes appear to the left. Votive bed no. 243 is another variant of Type 2 decoration. On that example, a nude woman stands frontally, her arms slightly flexed as if her hands are grasping something. The boat and Bes figures, which are such standard elements of other votive beds, are omitted and the usual papyrus has been replaced by what seem to be stacked floral patterns. Votive beds nos. 235–36 conflate Types 1 and 2 by adding a woman punting the boat, an element which is characteristic of Type 1 compositions.117

Well-preserved examples of Type 2 retain an astounding amount of bright pigment. The background of votive bed no. 244 is painted white, the woman’s body yellow, the papyrus plants are blue and red, the top and bottom edges are striped in red and blue, and the background is spotted with red dots. Votive bed no. 239 has a white background with yellow, red, and blue stripes and black dots, and although much of the pigment has been worn off, traces of blue and yellow are preserved on the woman, the Bes figures, and the lower edge. Type 2 beds from other sources show this same bright coloration. Cairo JdE 30125 is covered with a white wash. Metropolitan Museum of Art 1931.3.108 (fig. 16a) has a white and light blue background, red-brown vine leaves, red flower stems, and...
black dots. The woman’s figure is yellow with a black pubic triangle, and the lower part of the Bes figure is yellow. Cairo JdE 30134 is painted white and the details picked out in red. Dots of red and black pigment surround its rectangular face. Cairo JdE 56284 (fig. 16b) is striped in white, red, black, and yellow with black dots in the yellow bands.

**SYMBOLISM OF THE ICONOGRAPHY**

The most consistent aspect of the beds’ decoration is the figures of Bes that flank the central grouping. Bes has many associations with beds. Bes occurs on the legs of beds on figured ostraca from Deir el Medina (Vandier d’Abbadie 1937, pl. 50 nos. 2337–38, 2340; idem 1946, pl. 120 nos. 2337, 2859; Bruyère 1939, fig. 32; Dassen 1993, pp. 71–73, fig. 6.3; Kleinke 2007, pp. 54–55) and on the footboard of a folding bed of Tutankhamun (Carter and Mace 1923, pl. 49). A bed, or perhaps an altar, with Bes on each leg and Hathor heads on the sides was discovered at North Saqqara (Martin 1973, pp. 10–11, pls. 4–5). In the context of the votive beds, the figures of Bes to the left and right represent the actual front legs of the bed.

The relationship of the form of the front panel of the votive bed to the structure of a real bed is not entirely clear. When the front is a simple rectangle (nos. 222–24, 226[?]), 239, 244), it may represent the actual side of a box bed. The examples that have prominent scallops at the bottom (nos. 220, 225, 230, 233, 236, 240, 242, 252) — a form that is rarely encountered in Egyptian iconography and design — may represent the lower edge of a painted cloth bed cover.118 The even more elaborate fretwork that appears on the examples excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in the Assasif (fig. 16a–b), and which seems to have once been present on votive bed no. 239, is completely without precedent and is of unknown symbolism.

The decoration of the beds is related to two main themes: the Old Kingdom ritual of plucking papyrus and New Kingdom erotic symbolism, both of which are rich in references to rebirth.

The ritual of pulling, or shaking, papyrus is shown on both Type 1 and Type 2 beds and stelae.119 This ritual (see Munro 1993, pp. 133–36; Harpur and Scremin 1987, pp. 335–39; Altenmüller 2002) is attested in Old Kingdom tombs at Giza, Saqqara, Abu Sir, el Saff, Hammamiya, Deir el Gebrawi, and Sheikh Said.120 In the Middle Kingdom, it appears in the tomb of Bakt at Beni Hasan and Ip at el Saff, the New Kingdom tombs of Ptahmes and Aye, and on a monument of Patjenfi dated to the Saite period.121 It appears in reliefs in the temples of Amun and Khonsu at Karnak, at the Luxor Temple, at Hibis, Kom Ombo, and also on two Saite reliefs in Cairo.122

The earliest scene, which appears in the tomb of Meresankh III at Giza (fig. 17) (Dunham et al. 1974, pp. 4, 10, fig. 4; Munro 1993, pp. 126–27; Harpur and Scremin 1987, pp. 182, 476, fig. 72; Altenmüller 2002, pp. 28–29, 37, 41), is the most illuminating. There, the queen and her mother are shown standing in a boat, pulling papyrus stems. A smaller-scale man standing in the stern of the boat punts the vessel forward. The scene is accompanied by the caption: sšš.s w l dj n Hwt-hr ... m phw hm ‘ mwt.s m z s.n h t h t n t t m m h t “She pulls papyrus for Hathor in the marshlands with her mother. They see every good thing which is in the marsh.”123

---

118 As suggested by Hölscher (Excavation V, p. 11), “obviously to represent fabric hanging down,” and Pinch (1983, p. 406 and pl. 5). See also examples of painted fabrics that are associated with Hathor at Thebes. Examples include OIM 17479 and 17480. See further on these fabrics in Pinch 1993, pp. 102–34, pls. 14B–25.

119 There is considerable debate about the meaning of the word sšš, whether it is “shaking” or “plucking.” For “shaking,” see Munro 1993, pp. 95–98. For “pulling [out],” see Dunham et al. 1974, p. 10, and Dunham 1935, p. 304 n. 1. The early stages of the debate are summarized by Junker (1940, pp. 77–78) and more recently by Munro (1993, pp. 133–36) and Fischer (1996, p. 13 n. 12), the latter with his preference for “rattling.” However, considering that the scenes show the plants actually detached from the swamp (tomb of Iasen, Junker 1940, pl. 11; Harpur and Scremin 1987, p. 476, fig. 71, and the Type 2 votive beds), it seems more likely that, in this context, the verb means “to pull out.” Altenmüller’s (2002, pp. 1, 33–36) suggestion that the reeds were plucked from the marsh to make a ladder by means of which the deceased could join with Hathor in the sky at the end of day also suggests this interpretation. Hence, the Type 1 beds and the scenes in tombs and temples would show the papyrus stems in the process of being pulled from the swamp. The scene of Amunhotep III performing the ritual before Amun Re [Kamutef] in the Luxor Temple (Nelson Loc. E 256–57) also suggests “pulling,” for in one vignette he grasps the papyrus, in the next, he presents them to the god. Certainly Munro’s observation of the onomatopoeic nature of the words for sistrum and shaking (sšš) is appealing. However, in the act of this pulling out, the reeds would certainly make the shaking sound that associates them with sistra (sšš).

120 See Altenmüller 2002, pp. 37–40, for a catalog and bibliography of sources.

121 For Bakt, see Newberry 1894, pl. 4; Dittmar 1986, p. 152; Munro 1993, pp. 131–32. For Ip, see Fischer 1996. For Ptahmes, see Berlandini 1982. For Aye, see PM I/2, p. 550 (2).


123 See Dittmar 1986, p. 155, for the suggestion that the n should be taken as a genitive, hence translated as “the papyrus of Hathor.”
Another scene with a caption appears in the tomb of Iasen at Giza (Junker 1940, pl. 11; Harpur and Scremin 1987, pp. 335, 476, fig. 71; Munro 1993, p. 127; Altenmüller 2002, p. 39). There, the deceased holds two papyrus stems aloft in his right hand and grasps another with his left hand. A smaller-scale man punts the boat. Another small-scale figure stands behind Iasen and a third stands before the boat holding birds. The scene is captioned sss w ː d n Hw t- h r m ph ë n y tw-s ʾ ṣ ʾ n “Pulling papyrus for Hathor in the marshes by the khen tu- sha Iasen.”

The inscriptions make the Hathoric associations of the scene very clear, but there are additional links to that goddess.124 Munro (1993, pp. 111–14, pl. 10, 33) has noted that the location of the scenes of pulling papyrus in the chapels of Queen Nebet and Khenut at Saqqara are located near reliefs that show wine, dancing, and singing, all of which are associated with Hathor. Munro has also suggested (1993, p. 119) that the two queens were worshipped as a form of the goddess in the court of that tomb. The Fifth Dynasty tomb of Fetkata (Fkt k ) at Saqqara (Lepsius LD II, pl. 96; Sethe 1929, pp. 6–7; Dittmar 1986, p. 156; Munro 1993, p. 131; Altenmüller 2002, pp. 26–27) includes scenes which, although they do not show the actual ritual, refer to it and its Hathoric associations. There, ships are shown coming and going from the marshes r sss w ː d [ n] Ht- h r “to pluck papyrus for/of Hathor” and m- h t sss w ː d n Ht- h r “after plucking papyrus for/of Hathor.” Bonnet (1952, p. 583) has suggested that papyrus was considered to be an appropriate gift for the goddess.

124 See also the comments of Harpur (1980, pp. 57, 59).
The Hathoric association of the ritual is also reflected in Pyramid Text §388, which relates “I have torn out the papyrus plant, I have satisfied the Two Lands, I have joined my mother the great wild cow [i.e., Hathor]. Oh my mother, the wild cow who is upon the mountain of pasture and upon the Mountain of the zhqh-bird.” Further associations of Hathor with papyrus are found in New Kingdom scenes and statues of Hathor that show her emerging from a papyrus thicket, by the papyrus-form scepter carried by the goddess (Sethe 1929, pp. 7–9), and the myth of Hathor in the papyrus swamps of Chemmis. As discussed by Munro (1993, pp. 95–100), the pulling of the papyrus (sśṣ.s w ḏḏ) is an allusion to the shaking (sśṣ) of the sistrum (sśṣ), the musical instrument sacred to Hathor.

The imagery of plucking papyrus and Hathor is seen on other objects. A faience relief chalice in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (1913.182.53, in Tait 1963, p. 104, pl. 14) closely resembles the iconography of the votive beds. The main field of the exterior of the cup is molded with a marsh scene showing three boats and two men on the shore between the boats. Two of the boats are punted by a woman. Another woman sits in the stern of the third boat, pulling papyrus. Although Tait interprets this as “pulling a papyrus to propel the boat,” the iconography of the votive beds suggests that on the chalice she is pulling papyrus in the Hathoric ritual. A recumbent calf is seated in the bow, echoing the calf, the determinative for the word “to conceive,” that is shown on votive bed no. 239. The exterior of a late New Kingdom vessel adorned with molded and painted decoration shows girls holding what appear to be papyrus blooms before columns with Hathor capitals (Christie’s Auction House 2000, no. 221; idem 2002, no. 191). A final object with related iconography is the alabaster “flower arranger” or “centerpiece” from the tomb of Tutankhamun (Carter Handlist no. 578, Cairo JdE 62120). That piece is composed of a boat with an elaborate kiosk-like cabin that is mounted on a basin. A young princess sits in the bow, and a female dwarf in the stern punts the boat forward. Quaegebeur (1999) has noted the iconographic references to Hathor and Bes. The female dwarf is Bes’ companion (or the female deity Beset) “whose field of expertise encompasses both the hunt and love” (Quaegebeur 1999, pp. 129, 131). He notes that the piece was found near a similar-scale alabaster ointment jar in the lion form of Bes, the same deity who is shown flanking the boat scenes on the votive beds.

On beds with Type 1 decoration, the woman who pulls the papyrus stands in the bow and the central part of the composition is occupied by a woman playing a lute, making music that was considered to be pleasing to Hathor. On the beds, the male punter seen in the tomb of Meresankh, Kayemnofert, and Seneb is replaced by a female. On beds of Type 2 decoration, the woman standing in the boat holds a stem in each hand, having already plucked the papyrus. The Hathoric association is emphasized by showing the woman frontally, a convention that is used to show the face of the goddess in her cow-eared form. The frontal representation led Stadelmann (1985, p. 268) and Mueller (2003, pp. 101–02) to conclude that the Type 2 beds were associated with the Asiatic goddess Qudshu (Qadesh). However, the Hathoric associations of the ritual of the plucking papyrus and the close relationship of Type 1 (which was not considered by Stadelmann) to Type 2 strongly suggest that the reference is to Hathor, not Qudshu.

The means of transfer of the ritual scene from Old Kingdom tombs to the Theban votive beds more than one thousand years later can be vaguely traced, although there are major gaps in its transmission. As already noted, the ritual appears in the Middle Kingdom tomb of Bakt at Beni Hasan (Newberry 1894, pl. 4; Dittmar 1986, p. 152; Munro 1993, pp. 131–32) and Ip at el Saff (Fischer 1996, pls. E–F), where it is shown in conjunction with scenes of fishing and hunting in the marshes. It also appears in the tomb of King Aye in the Valley of the Kings (PM 1/2, p. 550 [2]), next to a fowling scene. Those scenes have sparked a discussion whether the scene of pulling papyrus was only a prelude to fowling scenes, in which case the pulling (or shaking) of the papyrus would have been intended to scare the birds into view of the hunter. Dittmar (1986, pp. 153–55) has argued strongly that the papyrus scene is not related to fowling, but is Hathoric in nature. The many direct associations with Hathor (Altenmüller 2002) and the pulling-of-papyrus scenes on the beds, and the fact that the reeds are actually being pulled from the marsh, suggest that Dittmar is correct.

See, for example, the statue of Hathor from the chapel of Thutmose III at Deir el Bahri (Cairo JdE 38574–75), in Saleh and Sourouzian 1986, no. 138, and scenes of Hathor of the western mountains where she emerges from the mountains amid papyrus plants (P. Ani, vignette for Spell 186, in Faulkner et al. 1994, pl. 37).

I thank Geraldine Pinch for bringing this reference to my attention.

The straightforward and strong associations of the iconography of the beds and stelae with Hathor seem to rule out any possible syncretism of Qudshu and Hathor as suggested in Stadelmann 1967, pp. 114, 115, 122. An additional objection to the figure on the beds being Qudshu is that in most representations, that goddess grasps lily flowers (rather than papyrus) in one hand and snakes in the other. See examples in Edwards 1955.
The scene also appears in New Kingdom temples at Thebes that are roughly contemporary with the votive beds. It is shown on the south interior wall of the Hypostyle Hall at Karnak (PM II, p. 47 [158]; Nelson and Murnane 1981, pl. 45), in the Festival Temple of Thutmose III (PM II, p. 92 [267]), and once in the reliefs of Herihor in the Khonsu temple (PM II, p. 230 [17] II [7]; Epigraphic Survey 1979, p. 16, pl. 31). A single scene in the Luxor Temple shows Amunhotep III performing the ritual (PM II, p. 328 [156]). As Dittmar (1986, p. 153) has concluded, all these scenes express a modification of the symbolism of the ritual and its association with Amun Re rather than with Hathor. Since these scenes are roughly contemporary with the beds and come from the same geographic area, one might question why the scenes of the sšš w'ḏ in the temples are associated with Amun Re [Kamutef], while those on the beds are strongly Hathoric. The two deities may in fact have a role in the same ritual due to their shared associations with regeneration. The choice of deity for the beds versus the temple scenes may be due to the “consumer” of the ritual. Hathor, being an accessible and popular guarantor of rebirth for the general population, and in particular the low-level elite or an even more humble part of the population to whom the votive beds may have appealed, would, as attested by so many votives and shrines at Thebes (Pinch 1993), be a deity to whom it was reasonable to appeal. In contrast, scenes in the formal and official content of the temples feature Amun Re [Kamutef], who was a guarantor of the king’s regeneration.

References to the ritual of pulling papyrus are overlaid and combined with New Kingdom erotic symbolism in reference to rebirth. The scene can be found decorating a variety of objects, all of which are associated with women, eroticism, and sexuality. The woman playing the lute on Type 1 decoration is very closely paralleled by a figure of a musician painted on the interior of the Leiden bowl (Leiden AD 14) (fig. 18a). On both, the woman is shown in right-facing profile, playing a lute, her knee raised to support the instrument. She wears a circlet with a streamer flanked by flowers. On the Leiden bowl, the goose or duck head on the boat on the votive beds appears on the neck of the lute.

Closely related iconography also appears on New Kingdom cosmetic spoons. Some examples show the woman in profile in a boat, playing the lute (Spurr, Reeves, and Quirke 1999, p. 31 no. 35), while others show her standing in a bird-headed boat or in a marsh (Wallert 1967, pl. 21, [L 68, P 19]).128

All these objects are associated with Bes. The votive beds have figures of Bes to the left and right of the boat scene, the woman on the Leiden bowl has a figure of Bes tattooed on her thigh, and cosmetic spoons are often associated with the god (Wallert 1967, pp. 24–25, pls. 17–18). In all cases, the woman’s sexual appeal is intended to be heightened by the music of her lute and her attire, or lack thereof. As Derchain (1975a, pp. 72, 75) has indicated, the sexual tension of the scene on the Leiden bowl — and by extension, on the beds and stelae — is accentuated by the physical absence of her lover.

The bird head that appears on the beds and spoons (as well in the New Kingdom temple reliefs) is also a New Kingdom erotic symbol. The erotic association of the duck or goose (Derchain 1975b, pp. 62–64) is most clearly expressed by the decoration of the “Cairo Cup” (fig. 18b) (Cairo CG 18682; von Bissing 1907, pp. 144–45). The exterior of the cup is carved with a scene of a boat, the bow of which is decorated with a bird head and the stern with tail feathers. Three figures are in the boat. A man with a greatly exaggerated phallus stands in the bow to the left. He bends over and looks behind him, gesturing toward or caressing the abdomen of a naked woman in the center of the ship. She places her right hand on the man’s shoulder and grasps a group of birds in her left hand. She wears a short, curled wig, a large circular earring, and a single-strand beaded necklace. To the right, another woman punts the ship along with a long pole. She too wears a short, curled wig. Large lotus flowers — symbols of rebirth — float in front and back of the boat. The rest of the exterior surface of the fragmentary bowl is given over to two large tilapia fish — likewise symbols of rebirth (Dambach and Wallert 1966) — and a spoonbill whose wings are outspread.

Boats with duck heads are known from other contexts. Ostracon DM 3020 (Vandier d’Abbadie 1946, pl. 155) shows a young man punting himself through a marsh. His small skiff has a duck or goose head. Ostracon DM 3021 (Vandier d’Abbadie 1946, pl. 155) portrays a young woman sitting in a small boat with a duck head. Details of her dress are lost. Another scene occurs in a different context in the Opet reliefs at the Luxor Temple (Epigraphic Survey 1994, pp. 28–29, pls. 68, 76, 81), where it has been related to offering festivals.

Yet others show the women simply plucking the papyrus stems:
Wallert 1967, pls. 23 (L 53, K 46). Note that Wallert (1967, p. 29) identifies the plants as lotus rather than papyrus.
Figure 18.  

(a) Leiden bowl. Faience bowl decorated with a woman playing a lute. New Kingdom, Dynasty 18, ca. 1400–1300 B.C. Saqqara. D 14 cm. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden AD 14 (photograph courtesy of the Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden);  

The image of a duck or goose as an erotic symbol is also reflected in literature. In the Song of the Harper (Simpson 1973, p. 299), the man declares that he is a “wild goose.” Papyrus Harris 500 relates “A goose soars and alights while the ordinary birds circle. He has disturbed the garden ... I am excited by your love alone. My heart is in balance with your heart. May I never be far from your beauty.” According to Fox (1985, p. 21), the goose landing in a garden represents the boy falling in love and the “soaring, swooping, and alighting in a flutter embodies the excitement of the girl’s emotions.” The “Crossing” section of the Cairo Love Song (Dynasties 19–20; Derchain 1975a; Fox 1985, pp. 29–37) recounts that a pair of lovers is physically separated by the crocodile-infested water of the river. In the text, the man ultimately swims across the river, whereas on the votive beds, the woman is ferried across by boat. On the beds, the presence of the man may be symbolically hinted at by the boats’ duck-head bow, for in the Song of the Harper the man is referred to as a goose. Perhaps it is this erotic underpinning of the iconography that is responsible for the transfer of the design to the votive beds.

The composition also functions as an allegory for creation (Derchain 1975a, pp. 71–72). In this context, the river that must be crossed in a boat is equated with the waters of Nun that likewise are traversed by boat. The beautiful young woman, the Bes figures, and the flowers in her hair that symbolize the sun’s vigor and powers of rejuvenation (Derchain 1975a, p. 86) all allude to rebirth of the universe.

**LOCATION OF VOTIVE BEDS AND STELAE AT MEDINET HABU**

Thirty-one of the fifty-two beds, stelae, and molds have a stated locus in and around the Great Temple at Medinet Habu. All come from a domestic rather than a funerary context. Twenty-one of the thirty-one examples come from the southeast area of the precinct in the ruins of the fellahin village — the village that grew up in the Twenty-second—Twenty-third Dynasties and continued in use until the early Twenty-sixth Dynasty (Hölscher 1932, pp. 31, 37; Teeter 2003b, p. 4). Field number MH 28.32 (G/7, in the northeast corner of that square, 6.5 m toward grid H and 17.5 m toward grid 8, in the southeast corner of the precinct, just east of the stables) yielded the front of a Type 1 votive bed (no. 220) and the center section of two Type 2 votive beds (nos. 237–38). MH 28.140 (the southeast section of the precinct, in front of the supporting wall of the road, south of the Ramesside pool), was a large deposit that included one Type 1 votive bed front (no. 221) and seven round-top stelae (nos. 259–65). Seven fragments of baked clay female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29) and a small figurine of a sheep (no. 181) were included in that deposit, as were eight pottery vessels that Hölscher (Excavation V, p. 73, Q4, P6, S2) dated to the Twenty-second Dynasty. The artifacts from MH 29.91 (E/4, southeast corner of the precinct, in the “2nd fellahin village”) included a Type 1 bed (no. 224) and fragment of a stela (no. 266) that also had Type 1 decoration. MH 29.24 in the southeast section of the precinct, west of the pool (although in rubbish) yielded four fragments of Type 2 votive beds (nos. 236, 240, 251–52).

Three examples of beds were recovered from other loci in the northwest section of the precinct near the Twenty-fifth–Twenty-sixth Dynasty houses. MH 29.85 (H/12, by a well in the northeastern section of the precinct) contained votive bed no. 223 with Type 1 decoration. MH 29.234, in the same general area, produced a Type 2 votive bed (no. 248) and one with Type 1 decoration (no. 226) came from nearby H/13 (MH 29.267).

Two molds for beds, one for Type 1 (no. 271) and one probably for Type 2 (no. 272), were found together at T/12 (MH 29.264) in the northwest section of the precinct near the interior of the Great Girdle Wall, at its interior northwest corner, at some distance from where the beds and stelae were recovered. Also included in MH 29.264 were stela no. 267 and three baked clay vessels (Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 72–73, C1, G1, K1), which were assigned dates from the Twenty-first to the Twenty-sixth Dynasty.

---

129 Five votive beds (nos. 233–35, 241, 250) have only Teilungslist numbers, and another seventeen votive beds (nos. 225, 227–32, 244, 246, 248–49, 254–57) and stela (no. 270) are listed under the category Verschiedenes, neither of which is associated with a location at the site. See further on numbering systems in the excavation records in Teeter 2003b, pp. 7–9.

130 Curiously, in regard to the fellahin village at Medinet Habu, Stadelmann (1985, p. 268) comments that the “Wohnbereich später Siedlungen im Tempelgebiet, wo sich jedoch auch Gräber befanden.” However, Hölscher (1932, pp. 29, 31, 38–39, 41–42) mentions no tombs at all in the southeast section of the precinct, but rather that the fellahin village lay directly under the Roman level, separated by “a deep layer of loose earth which probably came from the destroyed Great Girdle Wall” and that filled the town (ibid., pp. 41–42).

131 Hölscher (Excavation V, pp. 72–73) assigned C1 to the Twenty-first–Twenty-second Dynasties, G1 to the Twenty-second–Twenty-fourth Dynasties, and K1 to “Apparently 26th dyn or later.” Aston (1996, p. 53) suggests that C1 has more affinity to New Kingdom ware.
The decoration on votive beds nos. 220–21, and 223, and probably 227 appears to have been made with the same mold, though they were recovered from different deposits. Votive beds nos. 220–21 were found in the ruins of the fellahin village. Votive bed no. 220 was found by itself in G/7 (in the northeast corner of that square, 6.5 m toward grid H and 17.5 m toward grid 8; MH 28.32), while votive bed no. 221 came from F/4 (MH 28.140a). Votive bed no. 223 was found farther away, in H/12 (MH 29.85).

The most useful conclusions that can be drawn from this summary of findspots is that beds are found in multiples, that beds and stelae are found together, and that Type 1 and Type 2 beds and molds are found in the same deposit. This pattern of deposition suggests that Types 1 and 2 were considered to be complementary, rather than the presence of one type excluding the other. Since the stelae were found with the beds, they were apparently not a substitute for, but an adjunct to, the beds.

BEDS AND STELAE FROM SITES OTHER THAN MEDINET HABU

Few beds and stelae in museum collections have a provenance, but when they do, it is Thebes.132 Fourteen largely fragmentary examples were excavated from the Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak.133 Another group of three beds (MMA 1931.3.108–09 and Cairo JD 56284) (fig. 16a–b) and one stela (MMA 1931.3.110) were recovered from tomb 825 in the Assasif by the Metropolitan Museum of Art. This tomb, originally built in the Eleventh Dynasty, was reused as a “dwelling place” in the Twenty-second Dynasty.134 Quibell excavated a single bed at the Ramesseum in 1896 (Brussels MRAH E 2398). Its archaeological context is not known, but it may possibly be from a Third Intermediate Period tomb (for these tombs, see Quibell 1896, pp. 9–14; Nelson 2003). Petrie collected another bed (without provenance, now in the University of Pennsylvania, no. E2167)135 in 1895–96. Another example (Pennsylvania E1983) comes from Thebes, although it is not published in Quibell 1898 or Petrie 1897. Three additional examples (Pennsylvania 29-86-583, 29-86-603, 29-87-572A–E) came “presumably” from tombs at Dra Abu Naga (Jennifer Wegner, pers. comm.). Another example in Brussels (MRAH E 2399) was purchased in Thebes in 1905. Two examples currently on exhibit in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, are, according to museum records, from “Upper Egypt” without further elaboration. A further fragment was excavated at Deir el Medina (Bruyère 1952, pp. 9–10, fig. 79), and another was recovered from the debris at the temple of Seti I at Gourna in the 1984/1985 season of the German Archaeological Institute (Stadelmann 1985). Others, without provenance, are housed in the Petrie Museum of University College, London (55178–55184a–c),136 and the August Kestner Museum, Hanover (1935.200.331) (fig. 16c).

The beds that have a sure provenance come from both mortuary (a single example from a Twenty-second Dynasty tomb at the Ramesseum, and University of Pennsylvania nos. 29-86-583, 29-86-603, 29-87-572A–E, which are “presumed” to come from tombs), Theban Tom 14 (Del Vesco 2010, no. 2), and non-mortuary contexts (the dwelling in Assasif tomb 825, the temple of Seti I at Gourna, and Karnak).137

FUNCTION OF THE VOTIVE BEDS AND STELAE

From the examples known to date, all specimens of votive beds and stelae with a sure provenance are from Thebes, suggesting that their manufacture was a local tradition. The sheer number of beds and stela fragments from Karnak (fifty) and also from Medinet Habu (fifty and two molds) indicates that these objects were in demand by the local residents. In contrast to their apparent popularity is the relatively brief period of their use (Twenty-second–Twenty-third Dynasties, ca. 945–715 B.C.), and the lack of explanation of why they fell out of fashion.

132 As previously noted by Stadelmann (1985, p. 268).
133 To be published by Helen Jacquet-Gordon. I thank her for her permission to mention the material here.
134 According to the object registration cards at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, dated 1978; “These terracotta votive objects were found in a reused Dynasty 11 tomb, which became a dwelling place during Dynasty 22.”
135 I thank Paolo Del Vesco for bringing the examples in Pennsylvania to my attention, and to Jennifer Wegner of the University of Pennsylvania for giving me additional information on their provenance.
136 I thank Marilina Betro, University of Pisa, for bringing these examples to my attention.
137 It is impossible to determine the original context of the example from Deir el Medina. See Bruyère 1952, pp. 9–10.
As has been noted, they have been recovered from the ruins of dwellings, from temples, and tombs. This suggests either a variety of different functions or, more likely, a broad one that includes the realms of the living and the dead, both domestic and religious.

Perhaps the best clue to the use of the beds is their physical appearance. Were they used as altars or platforms? This cannot be answered with any certainty. However, the representation of webbing on the surface of the bed (the top of the votive bed) indicates that it was not considered to be solid, and so it would be inappropriate for any object other than one which is usually associated with a bed, that is, a body. Hence, one might consider whether the clay female figurines were placed on the bed. Indeed, female figurines were found with a bed in F/4 (MH 28.140), and two-part sets composed of a figurine and a bed are known (Warmenbol 1999, p. 76 n. 43). Further, a fragment of a clay votive bed was found at Medinet Habu (no. 218), and an example of a Type E figurine in the Louvre (E 2456) is attached to a low bed. However, the physical association of figurines and votive beds does not mean that they were necessarily paired, for the figurines of the Third Intermediate Period are small in comparison to the beds. One could suggest that the larger Type E figurines were paired with the votive beds, but the style of the figurine with its heavy hips does not match the slender bodies shown on the votive beds, and the beds and Type E figurines are made of different types of clay.

The decoration of the beds is on one face only, indicating that they were not intended to be viewed in the round. Like the box beds at Deir el Medina (Bruyère 1939, pp. 54–64, pls. 10–11; Friedman 1994, pp. 97–111; Kleinke 2007) and the Bes bed/altar from Saqqara (Martin 1973, pp. 10–11, pls. 4–5), they were to be seen from the front only.

The recovery of Type 1 and Type 2 beds from the same deposit, as already noted, suggests that the two styles were complementary to each other, rather than one being considered to be more effective, or perhaps more fashionable, than the other.

Although it cannot be proved, I suspect that the votive beds may have been a type of commemoration of a birth, an object that celebrated sexuality (through the image of the bed, the place of sexual congress), fertility (Hathoric iconography), and protection of the child (depiction of Bes). The association of the votive beds with a birth bed is emphasized by the figures of Bes flanking the central decoration in imitation of the Bes-form legs of the birth beds portrayed in figured ostraca (Vandier d’Abbadie 1937, pl. 50 nos. 2337–38, 2340; idem 1946, pl. 120 nos. 2337, 2859; Bruyère 1939, fig. 32; Dasen 1993, pp. 71–73, fig. 6.3). However, as is so common in Egyptian theology, birth may be a metaphor for rebirth, making the beds more generalized emblems of eternal life. If so, the beds might also be associated with the veneration of deceased ancestors, much like the earlier (Eighteenth–Twentieth Dynasties) *akh her n Re* busts and stelae, most of which are also from the Theban area (Demarée 1983; Schulman 1986, pp. 314–25). In this broader understanding, the beds could be kept in houses or deposited as votives in temples.

The stelae, whose decoration is made in the same mold(s) as those used to adorn the votive beds, are fitted with small feet to make them freestanding, indicating that they were displayed. Examples of the stelae found with beds (such as stela no. 266 that was found with votive bed no. 224 in E/4 [MH 29.91]) suggest that these materials were also complementary. Perhaps the stelae are just simplified or variant versions of the beds, just as the cult of the *akh her n Re* could be expressed through stelae or busts (Demarée 1983, pp. 289–90), and the cult of the hearing ear could be facilitated by stelae carved with ears (Sadek 1987, pp. 246–52, pls. 1–27; Pinch 1993, pp. 248–50, figs. 14–15, pl. 56), or by models of ears (Sadek 1987, pp. 245–46; Pinch 1993, pp. 246–47, pls. 55–56).

A puzzling feature is that beds and stelae are found in multiples. The disturbed stratigraphy at Medinet Habu presents problems in interpreting the duplicates. A further problem is that Hölscher did not indicate the relationship of objects within a locus. As a result, it is not clear if, for example, fragments of four votive beds (nos. 236, 240, 251–52) from MH 29.24 were found adjacent to each other, or simply near one another. In contrast, the three votive beds (nos. 220, 237–38) from MH 28.32 were apparently adjacent to each other, for the given location is much more precise: in G/7, 6.5 m toward H and 17.5 m toward 8. This sort of grouping of beds is also evident in the three recovered from tomb 825 (which was used as a dwelling), excavated by the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Why would there be multiples in a single dwelling? One possible explanation is that each bed was associated with the birth of an individual child or the commemoration of an individual ancestor. The large grouping of materials from MH 28.140 (F/4, southeast section of the precinct) that consisted of votive bed no. 221, seven stelae (nos. 259–65), seven fragments of female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep (no. 181), and a group of pottery is more perplexing. Because all the materials are of pottery, and there are so many clay stelae and figurines, could this locus be the ruins of a shop that stockpiled this material for the residents of the adjacent village?
VOTIVE BEDS (NOS. 220–257)

TYPE 1: WOMAN’S FACE IN PROFILE (NOS. 220–234)

220. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14779
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.32a
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 90
MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / core: Munsell 7.5YR3, very dark gray; exterior: Munsell 7.5YR5/6, strong brown

DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Votive Bed

This is the front panel, top, and back of a votive bed. The top is a slab of clay 1.0 cm thick. The front panel is thick, roughly worked clay. Dark spots on the bottom edge of the panel indicate that the entire bottom edge was decorated with six (?) scallops, only one of which remains. Concave pieces of clay, four of which survive, were positioned above each scallop. The reverse of the front panel has a vertical ridge of clay positioned in mid-center, perhaps as a reinforcement for the panel. The clay panel that makes up the back of the bed had perhaps five scallops, three of which survive. It has stripes of terra-cotta colored pigment.

The front panel is impressed with scene of a woman seated in a boat, her face is in profile, facing right, her leg is bent to support her lute. She wears a short, round hairstyle with a fillet and streamer and a conical head-dress. A naked woman to the left, looking right, is punting the boat. Another woman, also wearing a conical headdress, is on the bow looking left and pulling a papyrus stem. There are Bes figures at the right and left and traces of dark red pigment on the front. The bow of the boat (to the right) terminates in a bird head from which hangs a broad collar. The stern of the boat is in the form of a bird’s tail.

PROVENANCE

This votive bed was found in G/7 (in the northeast corner of that square, 6.5 m toward H and 17.5 m toward 8), the southeast corner of the precinct, just east of the stables.

COMMENTARY

It is very likely that the same mold was used to decorate votive beds nos. 221, 223, 226, and probably 227, although the impression made on votive bed no. 220 is less crisp. A similar ridge of clay on the back of the panel is seen on votive beds nos. 223 and 243.

According to the Oriental Institute Museum accession records, MH 28.32 consisted of votive beds nos. 220, 237, and 238. However, the field records note: “To this [votive bed no. 220] have been added a few similar fragments found later and marked 32b and c” (i.e., votive beds nos. 237 and 238).

PUBLISHED

Hölscher Excavation V, p. 11, fig. 13, pl. 6 G2.
221. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: Cairo JdE 59845
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140a
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:

Type 1 Votive Bed

This is a nearly intact front panel of a votive bed. It is rectangular with four small, pointed scallops on the lower edge. It is impressed with the decoration of a woman seated on a rectangular platform in a boat, her face is in profile to the right, and she is wearing a short, round hairstyle with a circlet and streamer and a large conical headdress. Her leg is bent to support her lute. There is a naked woman to the left, facing right, with a long pole. Another woman on the bow plucks a papyrus stem as she turns her head back to the musician. There are Bes figures at the right and left. The bow of the boat (to the right) terminates in a bird head, from which hangs a broad collar. The stern of the boat is in the form of a bird’s tail.

PROVENANCE

This votive bed was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including seven related stelae (nos. 259–65), seven female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY

It is very likely that votive beds nos. 220–21, 223, 226, and perhaps 227 were taken from the same mold, although the bottom edge of this example lacks the more pronounced scalloped edge.

PUBLISHED

Hölscher Excavation V, p. 66, pl. 6 G1; Teeter 2002, p. 5, fig. 9.

222. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: Cairo JdE 59847
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.177
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:

Type 1 Votive Bed

This is the rectangular front panel of a votive bed impressed with the design of a woman in profile who is looking to the left and seated in a boat playing a lute. She wears a conical headdress and flexes her leg to support her lute. She is flanked by papyri with what look like ridged stems, but are probably stacks of umbels. Each plant forks into three distinct flowers. A woman (right) plucks papyri and another woman (left), looking to the left, punts the boat. The bow of the boat (right) terminates in a duck head surrounded by a broad collar. The duck wears a conical headdress that resembles the white crown and there are traces of what may be a curving beard below his beak. The stern of the boat is in the form of a bird’s tail. There are Bes figures to the left and the right.
PROVENANCE

This votive bed was found in D/5 (in the far northwest corner of that square, 19 m toward E and 18 m toward grid 6), the southeast corner of the precinct, “on the foundation of the wall,” with another small fragment of the same type of object.

COMMENTARY

This example is longer and narrower than the others, yet its decoration suggests it is the front panel of a votive bed. Similar papyrus plants are seen on Petrie Museum 55179. Exceptionally among the Type 1 votive beds from Medinet Habu, here the musician’s face is turned to the viewer’s left. The crown and the beard(?) on the duck are unparalleled on other votive beds.

223. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14778
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.85b
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Votive Bed

This is the center of the front panel of a votive bed, showing a woman seated on a platform in a boat, her leg raised to support her lute. She is flanked by composite papyrus bundles. To the right, a woman wearing a conical headdress turns her head back toward to the musician as she plucks a papyrus stem. The arm of the woman who would be shown punting the boat is preserved to the left. There are traces of terra-cotta pigment on the leg of the woman to the right and also between the body of the lute and the papyrus, and traces of yellow pigment on the hull of the boat. The reverse of the panel has a rough texture with pits left by the burning out of the clay’s temper. There are two prominent ridges of clay placed vertically approximately 6.5 cm apart, perhaps as reinforcement for the panel.

PROVENANCE

This votive bed was found in H/12, the northeast section of the precinct before the Great Temple on the Roman level by the well of Nectanebo, with a wedjat eye with cartouche of Ramesses III on the back (OIM 16345) and many small finds that are, by style, pre-Ptolemaic, such as a female figurine (no. 28), a clay head (no. 109), a double-sided plaque (Teeter 2003b, no. 9), a white faience circular ornament with open work in form of a standing goddess who holds an ankh (OIM 15134), and the following objects (without registration information): three clay weights and a painted, flat clay bottle.

COMMENTARY

It is very likely that votive beds nos. 220–21, 223, 226, and perhaps 227 were made with the same mold. A similar ridge of clay on the back of the panel is seen on votive beds nos. 220 and 243. The excavator noted that the objects from this locus probably belonged to an older stratum, and he suggested a date of “Dynasty 20–25?”
224. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: Cairo JdE 59846  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 94
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.91a  MATERIAL / COLOR: Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period,
    Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  SIZE: H 16.5 × W 23.5 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This is a well-preserved votive bed with short, stub-like legs on the front panel. The panel is decorated with a scene of a woman shown in profile, seated on a platform in a boat, her leg raised to support her lute. The woman wears a floral(?), spiky headdress. To the right, a woman with a short, round coiffeur looks right as she plucks a papyrus stem. To the left, a woman punts the boat. The bow of the boat (to the right) ends in a bird head that is surrounded by a broad collar. The stern of the boat is in the form of a bird’s tail. Figures of Bes flank the composition.

PROVENANCE
This votive bed was found in E/4, the southeast corner of the precinct, in the “2nd fellahin village,” with a fragment of a stela (no. 266).

COMMENTARY
For a similar headdress, see stela no. 263 and Brussels MRAH E 2398, from the Ramesseum. The woman who plucks the papyrus looks to the viewer’s right, a feature that is seen on Type 1 beds only on votive bed no. 222. This bed, as well as stela no. 267, was probably made in mold no. 271.

Hölscher described this as coming from the second fellahin village, which would indicate a date of the Twenty-third–Twenty-sixth Dynasties, later than the date suggested here for the piece. See, however, Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 6–7, for Hölscher’s comment that it was not always possible to distinguish the earlier village (Twenty-second–Twenty-third Dynasty) from the later. See also Teeter 2003b, p. 4, for a summary of the history of the villages.

225. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14781  PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 95
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 1  MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / core: Munsell 7.5YR4/1, dark gray; exterior: Munsell 7.5YR6/4, light brown and flakey
DATE: Third Intermediate Period,
    Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  SIZE: H 12.4 × W 18.0 × D 1.1 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This is the left edge and central portion of the front panel of a votive bed. It has two deep scallops on the lower edge. The front is decorated with a woman shown in profile, facing right, playing a lute whose neck seems to be in the form of a duck head. She is seated on a stool with a flared base positioned on the deck of the boat. She wears a spiky headdress. Undulating papyrus stems flank the musician. Behind her, a woman looking to the viewer’s left punts the ship. The legs of a woman, who is picking papyrus, are to the right of the musician. The stern of the boat is in the form of a duck tail, and traces of the broad collar that surrounded the bird’s head on the bow (right) can be seen. A figure of Bes is preserved to the left.

PROVENANCE
No location given.
COMMENTARY

The shape of the papyrus plants flanking the musician is different from most other examples. Here and on votive bed no. 230 the plants are shown with a thin, tall stalk rather than being a stack of triangular umbels. For a similar headdress, see votive bed no. 224 and Brussels MRAH E 2398, from the Ramesseum. Another example of the central figure sitting on a stool is seen on votive bed no. 230 and Petrie Museum 55184a–c. However, on the Petrie example, the figure faces to the left and is sniffing papyrus rather than playing a lute. This seems to be from the same mold as votive bed no. 230.

226. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.267a
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Votive Bed
This is the front panel of a votive bed. The lower left quadrant is lost. It shows a woman in profile seated in a boat, her leg raised to support her lute. The woman wears a conical headdress with a flower at its base. To the right, a woman with a short round coiffeur looks toward the musician as she plucks a papyrus stem. The bow of the boat, to the right, ends in a bird head that is surrounded by a broad collar. Bes figures flank the composition. The upper portion of the decoration is poorly impressed into the clay.

PROVENANCE
This votive bed was found in H/13, the northeast section of the precinct, near the well of Nectanebo, the “level above the Rames-side,” with three clay pots without registration information.

COMMENTARY
The same small concave pieces of clay along the bottom edge are also seen on votive bed no. 220. It is very likely that votive beds nos. 220–21, 223, 226, and perhaps 227 were made with the same mold. This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 527 (Oriental Institute photograph 22199).
**227. VOTIVE BED**

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 97a  
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 30. Versch. 4  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**SIZE:** ca. H 6.24 × W 8.25 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**

This is the left center of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman attendant punting the boat, the head and shoulder of the musician wearing a flower streamer on her head. The body of her lute is to the right. There is a papyrus plant, shown as stacked triangular umbels, between the figures.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

It is very likely that votive beds nos. 220–21, 223, 226, and perhaps this example were made with the same mold.

---

**228. VOTIVE BED**

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** —  
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 30. Versch. 5  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**SIZE:** Not recorded

**DESCRIPTION:**

This is the middle section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman seated in a boat. Her face is in profile and she is playing a lute. It has a scalloped lower edge and the reverse is plain.

**PROVENANCE**

No location given.

**COMMENTARY**

This object is known from notations on page 33 of Anthes’ field notes. There are no photographs. According to the excavation notes, this example was similar to votive bed no. 224.
229. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 6
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Votive Bed

This is the left section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman looking to the left punting the boat. There is a figure of Bes to the left, and papyrus plants to the right. The stern of the boat is in the form of a bird’s tail.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This fragment is known from Oriental Institute photograph 44628.

230. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 7
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Votive Bed

This is the left section of the front panel of a votive bed. The bottom edge is heavily scalloped. The panel is decorated with a scene of a woman shown in profile facing right, seated on a stool positioned on the deck of a boat. Only her back and buttock and the body of the lute are preserved. To the left, a woman stands with a long pole as she punts. The stern of the boat is in the form of a bird’s tail. There is a Bes figure to the left.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The black-and-white field photograph gives the impression that the fragment was brightly painted, perhaps in white and dark red. This seems to be from the same mold as votive bed no. 225. See commentary for votive bed no. 225.
231. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 99
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 9
MATERIAL / COLOR: Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
SIZE: ca. H 10.0 × W 9.0 cm
DESCRIPTION: This is the right section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman attendant punting the boat. The position of her arms is different from that seen on the other Type 1 beds. The woman is flanked by a papyrus plant (left) and what appears to be a Bes figurine (right).

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This appears to be a reversed composition, where the woman punting the boat is to the right rather than the left. For another example of this, see Petrie Museum 55184.

PUBLISHED
Hölscher Excavation V, pl. 6 G6.

232. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 100a
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 17
MATERIAL / COLOR: Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
SIZE: ca. H 8.5 × W 6.5 cm
DESCRIPTION: This is the left edge of the front panel of a votive bed. A figure of Bes and papyrus plants(?) are preserved.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The decoration is very indistinct. This example is only tentatively classified as a Type 1 votive bed.
233. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 100b
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
SIZE: ca. H 12.6 × W 9.0 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This is the lower center section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman seated on a platform in a boat playing a lute. The platform is decorated with impressed dots. Only her buttock and leg, the platform, the body of the lute, and flowers are preserved. The lower edge has one deep scallop.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The musician’s long, thin leg is very similar to that of votive bed no. 224, but the position of the woman’s arm indicates that they are from different molds. This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 517–27. The black-and-white photograph attached to the Teilungslist card gives the impression that white (?) pigment covered its surface. For a similar dot pattern on the platform, see stelae nos. 260 and 266–67.

234. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 101a
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
MATERIAL / COLOR: Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
SIZE: ca. H 13.0 × W 8.5 cm

DESCRIPTION:
This is the lower right side of the front panel of a votive bed, preserving the legs of the woman attendant and the duck-headed bow of the boat. What appears to be a rosette is below the woman’s arm, and some sort of indistinct feature is below the duck head.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The duck head on the bow of the boat is much larger than on other examples of Type 1 decoration. This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 517–27.
TYPE 2: WOMAN SHOWN FRONTALLY (NOS. 235–250)

235. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
This is the left middle section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman standing frontally (right), her hand stretched toward what on the basis of other examples must be papyrus plants. Here the plants are shown as a mass emerging from a pedestal. To the left, a woman looking to the left punts the boat.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This is a conflation of Type 1 (boat being punted) and Type 2 (woman in profile in boat, no punter). This same conflation can be seen on votive beds nos. 236 and 248. See August Kestner Museum 1935.200.331 (fig. 16c) for a well-preserved example of this type which shows a frontally facing woman in the middle, a woman plucking papyrus plants on the right, and a woman punting the boat on the left. Details of this fragment are so similar to the August Kestner Museum example that they may have been produced by the same mold. This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 517–27.

236. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14776
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.24a
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
This is the top front panel and partially preserved back and rear right leg of a votive bed. The top, side, and stub of the leg are all made of one piece of clay that overhangs the separately made front panel. The top that overhangs the panel is thick, being 1.3 cm at the right and thinning to 0.8 cm at the left. There is a stripe of blue pigment along the front edge of the top. The front panel has a scalloped lower edge and an unworked border on the right and left. There is white paint on the top of the bed. The front panel is decorated with a woman standing in a boat, her arms outstretched to grasp papyrus stalks. The bow of the boat (to the right) terminates with a large duck head with a broad collar; the stern is in the form of a bird tail. A plant motif, perhaps ivy, appears above the duck head. To the left stands another woman, facing left, her far arm raised toward a Bes figure. Her feet are together and her legs are slightly bent from the hips. There are large Bes figures to the left and right. The front panel is covered with a dark red powdery pigment.

PROVENANCE
This votive bed was found in G/6, the southeast area of the precinct, west of the pool, in the rubbish with small fragments of votive beds nos. 240 and 251–52.
COMMENTARY

This is a conflation of Type 1 (woman in profile with attendants) and Type 2 (woman shown frontally without attendants). Unlike the August Kestner Museum example (fig. 16c) and votive beds nos. 235 and 248, here a single woman (to the viewer’s left) stands alongside the center woman. This results in a unique and strangely off-balance composition, although plants were added over the bow of the boat perhaps to compensate.

237. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.32b
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 2 Votive Bed
This is the center of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman who wears a conical headdress standing in a boat. Her arms are outstretched and she is grasping branching papyrus stalks. A geometric ornament is at her neck. There are short, upright, flowing papyrus stalks to her left and right. The area under the line that frames the scene is left undecorated.

PROVENANCE
This votive bed was found with votive beds nos. 220 and 238 in G/7 (in the northeast corner of that square, 10 m toward H and 6 m toward 8), the southeast corner of the precinct just east of the stables.

COMMENTARY
See commentary for votive bed no. 220 for the provenance of this example. This was made with the same mold as stela no. 269.

238. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.32c
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 2 Votive Bed
This is the center section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman wearing a headdress standing in a boat facing the viewer. She is grasping a tall, slender papyrus stalk in each hand. Another tall papyrus stalk is to the side of the one she grasps. The bow of the boat, decorated with a bird head, is to the left. There are flowers above the bird head.

PROVENANCE
This votive bed was found with votive beds nos. 220 and 237 in G/7 (in the northeast corner of that square, 10 m toward grid H and 6 m toward grid 8), the southeast corner of the precinct just east of the stables.

COMMENTARY
Compare this fragment to votive bed no. 242, where the bird head and flowers are better preserved. The two examples also share the thick, upright papyrus stems. The woman’s rounded shoulders and the round papyrus umbel are similar to those on votive bed no. 246 and Petrie Museum 55178 (fig. 19). See commentary for votive bed no. 220 for the provenance for this example.
This is the front panel of a votive bed. The panel is generally rectangular with left and right corners sloping downward. The upper right corner is lost. Four small, dark discolorations can be seen on the lower edge suggesting some sort of attachment. The front panel shows a woman standing in a boat. She wears a conical headdress and grasps tall papyrus stems at the base of which are crouching calves. The bow of the boat (left) is decorated with a duck/goose head; the stern is decorated with the bird’s tail feathers. There are Bes figures with tall conical headdresses at the right and left. The background is white; blue pigment remains on the Bes figures and on the woman’s face and chest. A vertical stripe of blue, yellow(?), and red pigment is to the left of the Bes figurine. The back of the panel is roughly finished.

PROVENANCE
This votive bed was found in E/4, the southeast section of the precinct, in the “second fellahin village.”

COMMENTARY
The general form of the panel and the four discolorations on its lower edge suggest that this example was once very similar to MMA 1931.3.108 (fig. 16a), which has elaborate fretwork that spans the lower edge of the bed and a horizontal element that spanned the two front legs. Both are Type 2 beds.

The two calves (or newborn bubalis or hartebeest) represent the hieroglyph ( determinative in the word iwr “to conceive,” perhaps a reference to the associations of fertility inherent in the votive beds. Compare to figurine no. 183. For another example of calves on votive beds, see Stadelmann 1985, p. 266, fig. 1.
Hölscher described this votive bed as coming from the second fellahin village, which would indicate a date of the Twenty-third–Twenty-six Dynasties, later than the date suggested here for the piece. However, see Hölscher Excavation V, pp. 6–7, for the comment that it was not always possible to distinguish the earlier village (Dynasties 23–26) from the later. See also Teeter 2003b, p. 4, for a summary of the history of the villages.

PUBLISHED
Hölscher Excavation V, p. 12, fig. 14.

240. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.24b
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 2 Votive Bed
This is the left side of the front panel of a votive bed; only the figure of Bes, large papyrus umbels, and the bird head of the ship’s bow to the left are preserved. The bottom edge was scalloped.

PROVENANCE
This votive bed was found in G/6, in the southeast area of the precinct, west of the pool, in the rubbish, with a nearly intact votive bed front (votive bed no. 236) and two other fragments of votive beds (nos. 251 and 252).

COMMENTARY
The same large-scale flowers, the form of Bes with a keyhole-shaped body, and the duck head are seen on votive bed no. 242, which is clearly Type 2 decoration. Both are strikingly similar to Petrie Museum 55178 (fig. 19), which is virtually intact. This bed was probably made with mold no. 272.

241. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 10
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 2 Votive Bed
This is the central part of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman wearing what appears to be a conical headress flanked by floral elements(?) with her arms outstretched. She is grasping papyrus stalks.

PROVENANCE
No location given.
242. Votive Bed

**Registration Number:** No registration information  
**Photograph:** Pl. 108  
**Field Number:** MH 29.276  
**Material / Color:** Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**Date:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**Size:** ca. H 16.5 × W 13.0 cm

**Description:**
This is the left portion of the front panel of a votive bed. A tall, slender papyrus is depicted (right) as well as a boat with a duck/goose-head bow (center), and a Bes figure (left). Large-scale flowers with two flower stalks are over the duck’s head. One flower has its bloom open, the other is closed. One long, slender scallop from the lower edge is preserved.

**Provenance**
No location given.

**Commentary**
This fragment is very similar in style to votive bed no. 240. Both examples from Medinet Habu are strikingly similar to Petrie Museum 55178 (fig. 19), which is virtually intact. This object is known only from Teilungslist 526.

![Figure 20. Drawing of votive bed no. 243. From Medinet Habu field register (MH 30. Versch. 11)](oi.uchicago.edu)

243. Votive Bed

**Registration Number:** No registration information  
**Photograph:** Pl. 109  
**Field Number:** MH 30. Versch. 11  
**Material / Color:** Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**Date:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**Size:** ca. H 16.0 × W 31.6 cm

**Description:**
This is the top and front panel of a votive bed. The decoration is impressed upside down. It represents a woman, shown frontally, her arms outstretched and flexed. She is shown against background unique to the materials from Medinet Habu that appears to be floral motifs in geometric patterns. According to the sketch in the field register (fig. 20), the interior has a ridge of clay to reinforce it.

**Provenance**
This votive bed was found in H/12, east of the north wing of the first pylon, “By the Nilometer-older than the Nilometer of Nekhetenebat.”

**Commentary**
This is a unique example. The composition does not include the expected boat and Bes figures. For other examples of inverted decoration, see stelae nos. 260 and 264. A similar ridge of clay is seen on votive bed nos. 220 and 223.
244. VOTIVE BED

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14780  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 110  
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 30. Versch. 2  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–24, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / core: Munsell 10YR4/1, dark gray; exterior: Munsell 10YR6/3, pale brown  
**SIZE:** H 16.2 × W 11.0 × D 1.7 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is the center of the front panel of a votive bed. A woman wearing a headdress stands on a boat. The stern of the boat (to the right) is in the form of a bird tail. The woman grasps papyrus stalks in both hands. Shorter, slender-stemmed papyri are below each arm. The background is white, the woman yellow, the flowers blue with red-brown spots, and a band of red-brown on a blue ground is at the bottom.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**PUBLISHED**
Hölscher *Excavation V*, pp. 11–12, pl. 6 G3.

---

245. VOTIVE BED

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  
**PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 111  
**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 30. Versch. 3  
**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**MATERIAL / COLOR:** Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined  
**SIZE:** ca. H 8.0 × W 12.0 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is the upper left section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows the woman’s conical headdress and her right hand grasping papyrus flowers. The head of Bes is to the left.

**PROVENANCE**
No location given.

**COMMENTARY**
The black-and-white field photograph gives the impression that this example was covered with bright pigment, much like votive bed no. 244. This object is known only from *Teilungsliste* 520.
246. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 8
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This is the central right section of the front panel of a votive bed. To the left, the woman’s shoulder, arm, and the papyrus stems that she grasps are preserved. To the right is part of a Bes figure.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
The woman’s rounded shoulders and the round papyrus umbel are similar to those of votive bed no. 238.

247. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.312
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This is a fragment of what appears to be the center of the front panel of a variant style of a votive bed, showing a woman facing the viewer. She wears a conical headdress. A flower is draped over her right hand and what may be floral elements hang from her elbows. Circular objects, perhaps a mirror or trays of offerings, are positioned above her hands. A bird in flight and other unclear signs are to the left.

PROVENANCE
This votive bed was found in the “rubbish.”

COMMENTARY
The flying duck is seen in the Old Kingdom versions of the scenes of plucking papyrus. See, for example, the tomb of Kaemankh (Junker 1940, pl. 11). See the Leiden bowl (fig. 18a) and votive bed no. 243 for flowers(? ) hanging from the woman’s elbows. This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 517–27.
248. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.234
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 2 Votive Bed

This is the central part of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman wearing a conical headdress and grasping papyrus stalks. What may be the hand of a woman punting the boat appears to the left.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This seems to be another example of a conflation of Type 1 (boat being punted) and Type 2 (woman in profile in boat, no punter). This same conflation can be seen on votive beds nos. 235–36. This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 535.

249. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.312
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 2 Votive Bed

This is the central right section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a woman standing in a boat; her left arm is outstretched and she is grasping tall papyrus plants. Another stalk appears to hang from her elbow.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

250. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: Not recorded
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 2 Votive Bed

This is the lower right section of a votive bed. It shows the torso and legs of Bes with his tail hanging between his legs. The tall stalk of a papyrus plant and the bow of the boat decorated with a duck or goose head with broad collar are shown to the left.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This fragment is known only from Teilungslist 517–27.
UNDETERMINED TYPE (NOS. 251–257)

251. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.24c
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Undetermined Type Votive Bed

This is the right side of the front panel of a votive bed showing a Bes figure.

PROVENANCE

This votive bed fragment was found in G/6, the southeast area of the precinct, west of the pool, in the rubbish with the nearly intact front panel of votive bed no. 236 and fragments of two other votive beds (nos. 240, 252).

252. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.24d
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Undetermined Type Votive Bed

This is the right side of the front panel of a votive bed. Only the figure of Bes is preserved. There are remains of deep scallops on the bottom edge.

PROVENANCE

This fragment was found in G/6, the southeast area of the precinct, west of the pool, in the rubbish with the nearly intact front panel of votive bed no. 236 and fragments of two other votive beds (nos. 240, 251).

253. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14775
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.226
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Undetermined Type Votive Bed

This is the top and back right leg of a votive bed. The front panel is lost. The edge to which the front panel would have been attached has lines of blue and white pigment. The top is painted with wide brownish-red stripes.

PROVENANCE

This votive bed was found in G/11, northwest of the Small Temple, by the relocated Gate of Domitian, “second substratum from below.”
254. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14827
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 13
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

MATERIAL / COLOR: Nile silt / Munsell 5YR5/6, yellowish red
SIZE: H 10.0 × W 6.0 × D 1.6 cm

DESCRIPTION: Undetermined Type Votive Bed

This is the left section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a standing Bes figure, his legs and arms bent. He turns slightly to the right.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This example is unusual for the god’s more animated appearance.

PUBLISHED
Hölscher Excavation V, pl. 6 G5.

255. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 14
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

MATERIAL / COLOR: Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined
SIZE: ca. H 9.0 × W 3.0 cm

DESCRIPTION: Undetermined Type Votive Bed

This is the right section of the front panel of a votive bed. It shows a standing Bes figure.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

256. VOTIVE BED

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 15
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

MATERIAL / COLOR: Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined
SIZE: ca. H 9.5 × W 5.0 cm

DESCRIPTION: Undetermined Type Votive Bed

This votive bed shows a figure of Bes probably from the right side of the front panel. The god wears a spiky headdress.

PROVENANCE
No location given.
257. VOTIVE BED

**Registration Number:** No registration information  
**Field Number:** MH 30. Versch. 16  
**Date:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**Description:** Undetermined Type Votive Bed Fragment with unidentifiable impressed decoration.

**Provenance**  
No location given.

**Commentary**  
The excavator grouped this fragment, whose decoration cannot be identified, with the votive beds. It is included here on that basis.

---

**STELAE (Nos. 258–269)**

**Type 1 Decoration (Nos. 258–267)**

258. STELA

**Registration Number:** Cairo JdE 59848  
**Field Number:** MH 28.132  
**Date:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.  
**Description:** Type 1 Stela

This is a round-top stela decorated with a woman seated on a rectangular platform in a boat whose bow and stern are not shown. She faces right, one knee drawn up to support her lute. The neck of the lute seems to be in the form of a duck head. She wears a conical headdress. Papyrus bundles appear on either side of her. The lunette of the stela is undecorated. There are traces of blue pigment on the flowers. The woman’s body is painted terra-cotta red and her wig has traces of black pigment. The reverse is divided into four horizontal registers in dark paint as if it were to be inscribed. The bottom edge has been pinched to make legs to support the stela in an upright position.

**Provenance**  
This stela was found in F/5, the southeast section of the precinct, with a heart scarab (Teeter 2003b, no. 201) and a fragment of a shabti of Amunhotep III (OIM 15637).

**Commentary**  
This is one of the few Type 1 stelae known to be extensively painted. Unlike most of the stelae, the decoration is neatly centered.
259. STELA

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14784

**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 28.140b1

**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is a roughly made stela showing a seated woman with her face in profile. One leg is bent to support her lute. A woman to the left punts the boat. The back, buttocks, and legs of another woman are preserved to the right. There is no pigment. The bottom edge is flattened to serve as a base. The feet that enabled the stela to stand upright are broken away.

**PROVENANCE**
This stela was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and six related stelae (nos. 260–65), seven female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

**COMMENTARY**
Like stelae nos. 260–67, the decoration on this example was made with a mold for a Type 1 votive bed. The slightly rounded edges of the piece and its flattened base indicate that it is a stela rather than a fragment of a votive bed.

---

260. STELA

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information

**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 28.140b2

**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

**DESCRIPTION:**
This is a round-top stela with small, fin-like pieces of clay pinched from its bottom to allow it to stand upright. The decoration has been impressed vertically rather than horizontally. It shows a musician sitting on a platform playing a lute. Papyrus plants are to the left. A woman plucking papyrus stands to the right.

**PROVENANCE**
This stela was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and six related stelae (nos. 259, 261–65), seven female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

**COMMENTARY**
The decoration on this stela was struck from the lower center surface of a votive bed mold. The three dots on the platform are also seen on votive bed no. 233, stelae nos. 264, 266–67, and mold no. 271. See stela no. 264 for another example where the mold was turned at the wrong angle to the stela.
261. STELA

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** OIM 14783  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 123

**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 28.140b3  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Nile silt / Munsell 10YR6/4, light yellowish brown

**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

**SIZE:** H 13.0 × W 9.0 × D 1.4 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**

This is a round-top stela showing a woman in profile wearing a conical headdress with a circlet and a floral streamer. She is seated on a rectangular platform and one leg is bent to support the lute that she plays. She is flanked by papyrus flowers. The arm of the woman who punts the boat can be seen to the left, and the legs of the papyrus plucker to the right. The image fills the entire surface of the stela. Small feet to support it in an upright position have been pinched from the clay.

**PROVENANCE**

This stela was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and six related stelae (nos. 259–60, 262–65), seven female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

---

262. STELA

**REGISTRATION NUMBER:** No registration information  **PHOTOGRAPH:** Pl. 124a

**FIELD NUMBER:** MH 28.140b4  **MATERIAL / COLOR:** Probably Nile silt / Fabric and pigments not examined

**DATE:** Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

**SIZE:** ca. H 10.3 × W 8.5 cm

**DESCRIPTION:**

This is a round-top stela showing the shoulder, arm, and head of a woman playing a lute. To the left is a woman with a long pole. The curve at the top of the plaque is irregular. Small feet to support the stela in an upright position have been pinched from the clay.

**PROVENANCE**

This stela was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and six related stelae (nos. 259–61, 263–65), seven female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

**COMMENTARY**

The decoration on this stela was impressed with a mold for a votive bed. The mold was tipped to the right, and so the decoration is not level.
263. STELA

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140b5
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Stela

This is a fragment of the top of a round-top stela showing a woman in profile. She is wearing flowers and a circlet. The neck of her lute is visible to the right and a flower is visible to the left.

PROVENANCE
This stela was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and six related stelae (nos. 259–62, 264–65), seven female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY
The decoration was made with a mold for a votive bed.

264. STELA

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140b6
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Stela

This is a round-topped stela impressed with the design of a woman shown in profile seated on a cushion. She is wearing flowers and a circlet in her hair. One leg is lifted to support her lute, and papyrus flowers are shown behind her. What looks like deliberate scoring of the clay, perhaps to attach the foot of the stela, appears to the right of the musician’s face.

PROVENANCE
This stela was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and six related stelae (nos. 259–63, 265), seven female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY
The design was impressed upside down, using a mold for a larger bed. See stela no. 260 for another example where the mold was not positioned correctly.
265. STELA

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 28.140b7
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Stela
This is the center section of a round-top stela. It shows a woman with a long pole puntting a boat. There are papyrus flowers to the right and a figure of Bes to the left.

PROVENANCE
This stela was found in F/4, the southeast section of the precinct, before the foot of the supporting wall (i.e., in the ruins of the houses), with a variety of small objects including votive bed no. 221 and six related stelae (nos. 259–64), seven female figurines (nos. 3, 9, 12–13, 16, 26, 29), a clay sheep figurine (no. 181), a kohl pot (OIM 14540), and the following objects (without registration information): four small clay vessels of unspecified form, a grindstone, a drainpipe (length 22 cm), and two baked clay bottles.

COMMENTARY
The decoration was made with a mold for a votive bed.

266. STELA

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.91b
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Type 1 Stela
This is the lower edge of a round-top stela. The base of papyrus flowers is shown to the left and a rectangular platform upon which the woman sits in the center. The platform is decorated with impressed dots. Small, fin-like legs have been pinched from the clay to allow it to stand upright.

PROVENANCE
This stela was found in E/4, the southeast corner of the precinct, in the “2nd fellahin village” with the well-preserved votive bed no. 224.

COMMENTARY
The decoration has been made with a mold for a votive bed. See votive bed no. 233 and stelae nos. 260, 264, and 267 for the same dots on the platform.
267. STELA

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
PHOTOGRAPH: Pl. 127
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.264a
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This is the lower half of a freestanding stela showing a woman seated in a boat playing a lute; the legs of a woman plucking papyrus are to the right. The platform upon which the woman sits is decorated with three impressed dots. Papyrus plants are depicted to the left. Wing-like legs were pinched from the clay to allow it to stand upright.

PROVENANCE
This stela was found in T/12, near the interior of the Great Girdle Wall, at its interior northwest corner, with two molds for votive beds nos. 271–72 and three pottery vessels dated to the Twenty-second–Twenty-third Dynasties.

COMMENTARY
This stela, as well as votive bed no. 224, was probably made with mold no. 271 with which this stela was found. See votive bed no. 233 and stelae nos. 260, 264, and 266 for the same dots on the platform. The stela is known only from field photograph 526 (OIM P 22198, right). See Hölscher Excavation V, p. 74, pl. 47 (C1, G1, K1), and Aston 1996, p. 53, figs. 165 (C1), p. 54, fig. 168 (G1), for the date of this group based on the associated pottery.

TYPE 2 DECORATION (NOS. 268–269)

268. STELA

REGISTRATION NUMBER: OIM 14777
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.251a
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This is a rectangular stela showing a woman in frontal view. She is wearing a triangular headdress and grasping slender papyrus stems. She stands on a rectangular base that may represent the deck of a boat. There are traces of white pigment. The back has a clearly incised “X” potter’s mark.

PROVENANCE
This stela was found in E/5, the southeast corner of the precinct, “the level of the fellahin (or the stratum of the small walls), far down, on the added ground” with a “coarse red clay” lid for a pot (7.5 cm diameter) (without registration information).
269. STELA

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.194c
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: This is a round-top stela showing a woman in frontal view. She is wearing a triangular headdress and grasping slender papyrus stems. A geometric ornament is at her neck. Shorter papyrus stems flank her. The bottom edge is flared to allow the stela to stand. The right edge is lost.

PROVENANCE
This stela was found in H/13, the northeast section of the precinct, the level of the “small wall” or from the fellahin village with a piece of “false bread” and two clay vessels (without registration information).

COMMENTARY
This stela was made with the same mold as votive bed no. 237, which also has the same geometric ornament at the woman’s neck. A note in the Teilungslist indicates that Hölscher apparently was uncertain whether this object came from the northeast (H/13) or southeast section of the precinct.

UNDETERMINED TYPE (NO. 270)

270. STELA

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 30. Versch. 18
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.
DESCRIPTION: Undetermined Type Stela

This is a round-top stela with small fin-like projections at its bottom edge.

PROVENANCE
No location given.

COMMENTARY
This object is known only from the miscellaneous notes and drawings of Anthes (fig. 21), which indicate that it was impressed with a figure of Bes, and so it may be another example of a stela being struck from a votive bed mold.

Figure 21. Drawing of decoration on stela no. 270 from notes of R. Anthes (MH 30. Versch. 18)
MOLDS FOR VOTIVE BEDS (NOS. 271–272)

271. VOTIVE BED MOLD

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.264b2
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
This is a mold for a votive bed of Type 1 decoration. A woman is seated on a platform in a boat, her leg raised to support her lute. She wears a spiky floral headdress. To the left, a woman with a short, round coiffeur looks toward the bow and plucks a papyrus stem. To the right, a woman punts the boat. Figures of Bes flank the composition. The bow of the boat (to the left) ends in a duck head with a broad collar.

PROVENANCE
This mold was found in T/12, near the Great Girdle Wall, at its interior northwest corner, with the votive bed mold no. 272, the lower section of stela no. 267, and three pottery vessels without registration information.

COMMENTARY
This mold was probably used to produce votive bed no. 224 and stela no. 267. The field records do not describe the material from which the mold was made, but from the photograph it appears to be of plaster. See Hölscher Excavation V, p. 74, pl. 47 (C1, G1, K1), and Aston 1996, p. 53, figs. 165 (C1), p. 54, fig. 168 (G1) for the date of this group based on the associated pottery.

272. VOTIVE BED MOLD

REGISTRATION NUMBER: No registration information
FIELD NUMBER: MH 29.264b1
DATE: Third Intermediate Period, Dynasties 22–23, ca. 945–715 B.C.

DESCRIPTION:
This is a mold for a votive bed. Only the Bes figure, which would have been on the left of the finished bed, is preserved.

PROVENANCE
This mold was found in T/12, near the Great Girdle Wall, at its interior northwest corner, with another mold no. 271, the lower section of stela no. 267, and three pottery vessels (without registration information).

COMMENTARY
Judging from the shape of Bes’ belly and head and the space between the god’s figure and the edge of the bed, it is very likely that this mold was used to produce Type 2 votive bed no. 240. See commentary for that object. The field records do not describe the material from which the mold was made, but from the photograph it appears to be plaster.

See Hölscher Excavation V, p. 74, pl. 47 (C1, G1, K1), and Aston 1996, p. 53, figs. 165 (C1), p. 54, fig. 168 (G1), for the date of this group based on the associated pottery.
GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

FIGURINES AND EGYPTIAN SOCIETY

The clay figurines from Medinet Habu document people whose customs and habits we can only imperfectly understand and reconstruct. Yet even with the imprecision of our understanding, the figurines can tell us much about life, piety, and art in ancient Egypt.

The forms of the figurines reflect the immediate surroundings and environment of western Thebes. The animal figurines depict the birds, dogs, horses, camels, and other creatures that were familiar to the residents of Medinet Habu. Many female figurines are molded and formed in imitation of the contemporary ideal of feminine beauty, with long legs, slender torsos, small high breasts, and elaborate wigs. Others give a more realistic idea of real women of the village, with heavy hips and breasts, a representation that also mimics the trends in contemporary painted stelae.

The figurines have much to relate about religion and the depths of piety. The recovery of such objects in houses and chapels (and tombs at other sites) shows how pervasive and wide-ranging were the beliefs that they served. Figurines and votive beds from houses served as amulets promising health and fertility during life or the wish for continued existence of a deceased loved one. Examples recovered from chapels may be a plea to the gods for the restoration of health, or thanksgiving for a successful birth. They reflect the immediacy of divine contact and the devotee’s confidence in divine help. Those from tombs may be evocative of rebirth and a healthy afterlife, another reflection of deep piety and the faith that individuals had in their gods. The sheer numbers of figurines recovered from Medinet Habu and elsewhere speak to individuals’ faith in the efficacy of these objects as a means of achieving security and assurance from ill health and ill fortune. The greater number of female figurines, as compared to figurines of men or gods, may be because they address the most vulnerable members of the population — women and children, especially women as they approached childbirth.

The figurines also illustrate how piety transcended a physical setting. Female figurines have been recovered from chapels, houses, and tombs, indicating that a single object had the ability to express a variety of roles depending upon its context.

An important feature of the figurines in light of their popularity is the accessibility of their material — common clay. This ability of the least costly material to make an image that was a powerful form of assurance and protection is a reflection of the accessibility of the cult to all in ancient Egypt, and a manifestation of how even the economically disadvantaged were cultically enfranchised. Those who could afford only a clay figurine were as prepared to commune with the god(s) as were members of the elite who approached the deity through more expensive painted stelae or stone images. This sort of social equality in the ability to communicate with the divine is one of the more appealing and humane aspects of Egyptian religious practice, especially considering the huge disparities of wealth that must have distinguished the elite from the large non-elite population.

The figurines also attest to the traditional mind-set of the ancient Egyptians who were not apt to abandon practices and iconography for innovative ideas, but rather to retain the old and augment it with the new. For example, the figurines from Medinet Habu reflect a tradition of female figurines that can be traced over 2,000 years, and even further in the past by types of female figurines not present at the site. At Medinet Habu, the forms changed from the idealized slender women of the New Kingdom–Late New Kingdom, to the handmade stylized examples that more explicitly stress the pubis and breasts, to the chubby Hellenistic-influenced orant, and finally to the very abstracted Byzantine orant. What is most striking is that the desire to produce and possess female figurines was so engrained in the Egyptian psyche that, in whatever form, they have a consistent presence over thousands of years and that they survive the transition from polytheism to Christianity. They may have been equally functional in both theological systems because they reflected the most fundamental folk beliefs and primal needs — they promised health, protection, and rebirth — rather than the precepts of formal religion.

Despite the long tradition of female figurines, their forms were modified over centuries, probably in response to changes in taste in more formal art. A good example of the effect of what may be localized artistic taste is the relatively short life-span of the votive beds that appeared in the Twenty-second Dynasty and apparently faded away after the Twenty-third Dynasty. These may reflect a local artistic tradition and experimentation with new expressions of Hathoric symbolism. The two main types of decoration on the beds also demonstrate the flexibility and tol-
eration in Egyptian religion which allowed for different, but apparently mutually acceptable, forms of iconography. This same multiplicity of expression is evident in the contemporary royal tombs whose walls are decorated with a multiplicity of religious works such as the Book of the Heavenly Cow, the Litany of Re, and the Book of Gates. The layering of theology provided by alternative iconographies provided additional means of accessing the gods.

The figurines have much to tell us about art. They are fascinating reflections of the formal artistic styles. The female figurines in particular closely follow the forms of contemporary statues and relief. Because they were produced in multiples, the molded examples were intended to represent the most desirable form and appearance in order to appeal to the broadest possible market. In contrast, hand-formed figurines, such as the animals and female figurines Type F and G, can through their polychrome or animated expressions reflect the exuberance of the single workman freed from the collective production of the more elite materials.

The clay figurines and votive beds are poignant reminders of the ancient people who were motivated by belief and custom to produce and to have these small objects around them in life and in death. They are reflections of their own lives, their environment, and their beliefs, especially their quest for health, fecundity, and rebirth in this life and the next.
Baked figurines and votive beds from medinet habu. uchicago.edu
### Concordances of Baked Clay Figurines, Votive Beds, and Steleae

**Concordance by Catalog Number**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Museum Registration</th>
<th>Field Number</th>
<th>Teilungslist No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>OIM 14613</td>
<td>Eye 54a</td>
<td>TL 144d</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>OIM 14588</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133a</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129f</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134c</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 130g</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134b</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134f</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133e</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129e</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>OIM 14595</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134d</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>OIM 14596</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134e</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129a</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>OIM 14581a–b</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129b</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132b</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 130f</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129h</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>OIM 14603</td>
<td>MH 27.15d</td>
<td>TL 138</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131i</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 130a</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133h</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>OIM 14593</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133i</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131e</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>OIM 14589</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133b</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>OIM 14590</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133d</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 130b</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129g</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>OIM 14594</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134a</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.85a</td>
<td>TL 129c</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>OIM 14582</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129d</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131d</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132e</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>OIM 14587</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132a</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132d</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 130c</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131h</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>OIM 14583</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131a</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132c</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 130d</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 130e</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132g</td>
<td>Type D Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 130h</td>
<td>Type D Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132f</td>
<td>Type D Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132h</td>
<td>Type D Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>OIM 14609</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141i</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>OIM 14584</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131b</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>OIM 14591</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133f</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 136b</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>OIM 14599</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 136a</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Museum Registration</td>
<td>Field Number</td>
<td>Teilunglist No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 193</td>
<td>TL 136d</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>OIM 14585</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131c</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 135a</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>OIM 14597</td>
<td>K 192</td>
<td>TL 135c</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>OIM 14600</td>
<td>K 195</td>
<td>TL 136e</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59693</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 135b</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59696</td>
<td>“MH 29.F44”</td>
<td>TL 141f</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>OIM 14606</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141a</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>OIM 15549</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141b</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>58</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141c</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.72g</td>
<td>TL 129i</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 194</td>
<td>TL 136c</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>61</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 136f</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>OIM 14645</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>OIM 15510</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140g</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>OIM 15511</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140h</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>OIM 15512</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140i</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140f</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>OIM 15513</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140k</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>OIM 14586</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131f</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133c</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>70</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131k</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>71</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131g</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141g</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>73</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141d</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59700</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144g</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>OIM 14598</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 135d</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>OIM 15521</td>
<td>MH 27.3b</td>
<td>TL 143f</td>
<td>Woman and Child Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>OIM 15548</td>
<td>K 197</td>
<td>TL 139f</td>
<td>Baubo Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>OIM 15545</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156c</td>
<td>Baubo Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>OIM 15524</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144f</td>
<td>Baubo Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>OIM 15551</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155d</td>
<td>Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>OIM 15550</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155e</td>
<td>Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>OIM 15552</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155f</td>
<td>Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>OIM 15541</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155g</td>
<td>Female-form Vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155h</td>
<td>Female-form Vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>OIM 14630</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 152a</td>
<td>Female-form Vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>OIM 15542</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155i</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>OIM 15540</td>
<td>K 184</td>
<td>TL 155b</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>OIM 15543</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156a1</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>OIM 15544</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156a2</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156b</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141k</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>OIM 14643</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 154m</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>OIM 14641</td>
<td>K 186</td>
<td>TL 154a</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>OIM 15537</td>
<td>MH 28.72k</td>
<td>TL 154b</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>OIM 14642</td>
<td>K 189</td>
<td>TL 154c</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>OIM 15538</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 154d</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>OIM 15539</td>
<td>K 185</td>
<td>TL 154e</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 191</td>
<td>TL 154f</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 187</td>
<td>TL 154g</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>101</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 154h</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 190</td>
<td>TL 154i</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 188</td>
<td>TL 154k</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 185</td>
<td>TL 154L</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Museum Registration</td>
<td>Field Number</td>
<td>Teilungslist No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>OIM 15520</td>
<td>MH 27.3a</td>
<td>TL 143e</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>OIM 15514</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140L</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>OIM 14610</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141L</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>OIM 14611</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 142f</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59698</td>
<td>MH 29.85f</td>
<td>TL 142g</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59697</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 142d</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>111</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141m</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>OIM 14608</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141h</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>OIM 14607</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141e</td>
<td>Male(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>OIM 15515</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141n</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>115</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141o</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>OIM 15554</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141p</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>OIM 15516</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 142a</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>OIM 15547</td>
<td>MH 27.3c</td>
<td>TL 143a</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>OIM 14592</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133g</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>OIM 14632</td>
<td>MH 28.72L3</td>
<td>TL 152f</td>
<td>Horse and Rider Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>OIM 15522</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144c</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>OIM 15553</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155a</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>OIM 15558</td>
<td>MH 28.61h</td>
<td>TL 139e</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>OIM 15507</td>
<td>MH 28.61h</td>
<td>TL 139g</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>125</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 139a</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>126</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 139b</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>127</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 139c</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>OIM 14604</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140c</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>OIM 15509</td>
<td>MH 29.9</td>
<td>TL 140a</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>OIM 14605</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140d</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>131</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140b</td>
<td>Bes(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>132</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140e</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>133</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 142c</td>
<td>Harpocrates Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>OIM 15546</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156d</td>
<td>Aries Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>OIM 14631</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 152e</td>
<td>Harpocrates Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>OIM 14612</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144a</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>137</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145a</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59694</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 147c</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>139</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 149e</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>OIM 14616</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145e, 147a</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>141</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145b</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>142</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 149b</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>143</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 149c</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>OIM 14626</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 149d</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>OIM 14615</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145d</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>146</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145f</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>OIM 15525</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145g</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>148</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 148a</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>149</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 148b</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>150</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 148c</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 148d</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>152</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 148e</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>153</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 148f</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>154</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 148g</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>155</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 148i</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>156</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 147b</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Donkey Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>OIM 14624</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 147d</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Donkey Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>158</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145c</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Donkey Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>OIM 14625</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 149a</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>OIM 14617</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 146a</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Museum Registration</td>
<td>Field Number</td>
<td>Teilungslist No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>OIM 14618</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 146b</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>OIM 14619</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 146d</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>OIM 14620</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 146e</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>164</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 146c</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>OIM 14622</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 146f</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>OIM 14621</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 146g</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>OIM 14623</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 146h</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>OIM 14627</td>
<td>K 198</td>
<td>TL 150e</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>OIM 15527</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150b</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>170</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150d</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Camel(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>171</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150i</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>172</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150k</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 199</td>
<td>TL 150m</td>
<td>Hand-modeled(?) Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>174</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150f</td>
<td>Hand-modeled(?) Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>OIM 14614</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144h</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>OIM 15526</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150a</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>OIM 15528</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150c</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>OIM 14628</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150g</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>179</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 148k</td>
<td>Gazelle Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>OIM 14629</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150l</td>
<td>Oryx Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>OIM 15519</td>
<td>MH 28.140d</td>
<td>TL 143d</td>
<td>Sheep Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>182</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150n</td>
<td>Ram Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>OIM 15529</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 151a</td>
<td>Recumbent Animal Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30.50c</td>
<td>TL 148h</td>
<td>Cow or Bull Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>OIM 14635</td>
<td>MH 28.61a</td>
<td>TL 151e</td>
<td>Lion Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>OIM 15532</td>
<td>MH 28.61a</td>
<td>TL 151h</td>
<td>Lion Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>OIM 15531</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 151d</td>
<td>Cat Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>OIM 15533</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 151g</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>189</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 151c</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>190</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 151f</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>OIM 14634</td>
<td>MH 30.146</td>
<td>TL 152h</td>
<td>Moldmade Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>192</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Eye 54a</td>
<td>TL 144b</td>
<td>Moldmade Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>193</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 152b</td>
<td>Moldmade Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>194</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 152d</td>
<td>Moldmade Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>OIM 14633</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 152g</td>
<td>Moldmade Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>OIM 15517</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 142e</td>
<td>Ape(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>OIM 15555</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150h</td>
<td>Monkey Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>OIM 15534</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153d</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>OIM 15523</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144e</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>OIM 14638</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153e</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>OIM 15518</td>
<td>MH 29.290b</td>
<td>TL 143c</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>202</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153c</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>OIM 14640</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153f</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>OIM 14636</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153a</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>OIM 14637</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153b</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>OIM 15535</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153g</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>OIM 15536</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153m</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>208</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153i</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>209</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153k</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>OIM 15557</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153L</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>OIM 14639</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 153h</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 26.9f</td>
<td>TL 143g</td>
<td>Unidentified Quadruped Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>213</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 150p</td>
<td>Unidentified Quadruped Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>OIM 15530</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 151b</td>
<td>Ichneumon(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>OIM 15556</td>
<td>MH 29.1f</td>
<td>TL 150o</td>
<td>Unidentified Animal Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>216</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 156e</td>
<td>Cross</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>217</td>
<td>—</td>
<td></td>
<td>TL 157a</td>
<td>Six-lobed Object</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Museum Registration</td>
<td>Field Number</td>
<td>Teilungslist No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>OIM 14644</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 157d</td>
<td>Leg of a Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>OIM 14768</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 157b</td>
<td>Votive Footprint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>OIM 14779</td>
<td>MH 28.32a</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59845</td>
<td>MH 28.140a</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59847</td>
<td>MH 28.177</td>
<td>TL 522</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>OIM 14778</td>
<td>MH 29.85b</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59846</td>
<td>MH 29.91a</td>
<td>TL 526</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>OIM 14781</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 1</td>
<td>TL 517, 520</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.267a</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 4</td>
<td>TL 520</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 17</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>233</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 517–27</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>234</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 517–27</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>235</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 517–27</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>OIM 14776</td>
<td>MH 29.24a</td>
<td>TL 517, 523</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.32b</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.32c</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>OIM 14782a–e</td>
<td>MH 29.92a–e</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.24b</td>
<td>TL 523</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>242</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.276</td>
<td>TL 526</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>OIM 14780</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 2</td>
<td>TL 517, 520,2</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 3</td>
<td>TL 520</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>247</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 517–27</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.234</td>
<td>TL 525</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.312</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>250</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 517–27</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.24c</td>
<td>TL 523</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.24d</td>
<td>TL 523</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>OIM 14775</td>
<td>MH 29.226</td>
<td>TL 528</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>OIM 14827</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 13</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 14</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 15</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 16</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59848</td>
<td>MH 28.132</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>OIM 14784</td>
<td>MH 28.140b1</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b2</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>OIM 14783</td>
<td>MH 28.140b3</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b4</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b5</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b6</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b7</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.91b</td>
<td>TL 518</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.264a</td>
<td>TL 526</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>OIM 14777</td>
<td>MH 29.251a</td>
<td>TL 560</td>
<td>Type 2 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.194c</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 18</td>
<td>TL 526</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.264b2</td>
<td>TL 524</td>
<td>Votive Bed Mold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.264b1</td>
<td>TL 524</td>
<td>Votive Bed Mold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Museum Registration</td>
<td>Field Number</td>
<td>Teilungslist No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59693</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 135b</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>138</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59694</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 147c</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59696</td>
<td>“MH 29.F44”</td>
<td>TL 141f</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>110</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59697</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 142d</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59698</td>
<td>MH 29. 85f</td>
<td>TL 142g</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59700</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144g</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59845</td>
<td>MH 28.140a</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59846</td>
<td>MH 29.91a</td>
<td>TL 526</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59847</td>
<td>MH 28.177</td>
<td>TL 522</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59848</td>
<td>MH 28.132</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>OIM 14581a–b</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129b</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>OIM 14582</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129d</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>OIM 14583</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131a</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>45</td>
<td>OIM 14584</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131b</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>OIM 14585</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131c</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>68</td>
<td>OIM 14586</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 131f</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>OIM 14587</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 132a</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>OIM 14588</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133a</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>OIM 14589</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133b</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>OIM 14590</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133d</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>OIM 14591</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133f</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>119</td>
<td>OIM 14592</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133g</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>OIM 14593</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 133i</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>OIM 14594</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134a</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>OIM 14595</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134d</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>OIM 14596</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 134e</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>OIM 14597</td>
<td>K 192</td>
<td>TL 135c</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>OIM 14598</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 135d</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>48</td>
<td>OIM 14599</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 136a</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>OIM 14600</td>
<td>K 195</td>
<td>TL 136e</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>OIM 14603</td>
<td>MH 27.15d</td>
<td>TL 138</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>128</td>
<td>OIM 14604</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140c</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>130</td>
<td>OIM 14605</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140d</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>56</td>
<td>OIM 14606</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141a</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>113</td>
<td>OIM 14607</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141e</td>
<td>Male(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>112</td>
<td>OIM 14608</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141h</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44</td>
<td>OIM 14609</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141i</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>107</td>
<td>OIM 14610</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141L</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>108</td>
<td>OIM 14611</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 142f</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>OIM 14612</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144a</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>OIM 14613</td>
<td>Eye 54a</td>
<td>TL 144d</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>OIM 14614</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144h</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>145</td>
<td>OIM 14615</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145d</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>140</td>
<td>OIM 14616</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145e, 147a</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>160</td>
<td>OIM 14617</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 146a</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>161</td>
<td>OIM 14618</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 146b</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>162</td>
<td>OIM 14619</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 146d</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>163</td>
<td>OIM 14620</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 146e</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>166</td>
<td>OIM 14621</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 146g</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>165</td>
<td>OIM 14622</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 146f</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>167</td>
<td>OIM 14623</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 146h</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Concordance by Museum Registration Number (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Museum Registration</th>
<th>Field Number</th>
<th>Teilungslist No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>157</td>
<td>OIM 14624</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 147d</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Donkey Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>159</td>
<td>OIM 14625</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 149a</td>
<td>Moldmade Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>144</td>
<td>OIM 14626</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 149d</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>OIM 14627</td>
<td>K 198</td>
<td>TL 150e</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>178</td>
<td>OIM 14628</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 150g</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>180</td>
<td>OIM 14629</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 150l</td>
<td>Oryx Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>OIM 14630</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 152a</td>
<td>Female-form Figure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>135</td>
<td>OIM 14631</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 152e</td>
<td>Harpocrates Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>OIM 14632</td>
<td>MH 28.72L3</td>
<td>TL 152f</td>
<td>Horse and Rider Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>195</td>
<td>OIM 14633</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 152g</td>
<td>Moldmade Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>OIM 14634</td>
<td>MH 30.146</td>
<td>TL 152h</td>
<td>Moldmade Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>OIM 14635</td>
<td>MH 28.61a</td>
<td>TL 151e</td>
<td>Lion Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>204</td>
<td>OIM 14636</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153a</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>205</td>
<td>OIM 14637</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153b</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200</td>
<td>OIM 14638</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153e</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>211</td>
<td>OIM 14639</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153h</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>203</td>
<td>OIM 14640</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153f</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>OIM 14641</td>
<td>K 186</td>
<td>TL 154a</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>OIM 14642</td>
<td>K 189</td>
<td>TL 154c</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>OIM 14643</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 154m</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>218</td>
<td>OIM 14644</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 157d</td>
<td>Leg of a Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>62</td>
<td>OIM 14645</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 157b</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>219</td>
<td>OIM 14768</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 157g</td>
<td>Votive Footprint</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>OIM 14775</td>
<td>MH 29.226</td>
<td>TL 528</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>OIM 14776</td>
<td>MH 29.24a</td>
<td>TL 517, 523</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>OIM 14777</td>
<td>MH 29.251a</td>
<td>TL 560</td>
<td>Type 2 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>OIM 14778</td>
<td>MH 29.85b</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>OIM 14779</td>
<td>MH 28.32a</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>OIM 14780</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 2</td>
<td>TL 517, 520, 2</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>OIM 14781</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 1</td>
<td>TL 517, 520</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>OIM 14782a–e</td>
<td>MH 29.92a–e</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>OIM 14783</td>
<td>MH 28.140b3</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>OIM 14784</td>
<td>MH 28.140b1</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>OIM 14827</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch 13</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>OIM 15507</td>
<td>MH 28.61h</td>
<td>TL 139g</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>OIM 15509</td>
<td>MH 29.9</td>
<td>TL 140a</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63</td>
<td>OIM 15510</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140g</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>OIM 15511</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140h</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65</td>
<td>OIM 15512</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140i</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>OIM 15513</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140k</td>
<td>Type G Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>106</td>
<td>OIM 15514</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 140L</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>114</td>
<td>OIM 15515</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141n</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>117</td>
<td>OIM 15516</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 142a</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>196</td>
<td>OIM 15517</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 142e</td>
<td>Ape(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>OIM 15518</td>
<td>MH 29.290b</td>
<td>TL 143c</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>OIM 15519</td>
<td>MH 28.140d</td>
<td>TL 143d</td>
<td>Sheep Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>OIM 15520</td>
<td>MH 27.3a</td>
<td>TL 143e</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>OIM 15521</td>
<td>MH 27.3b</td>
<td>TL 143f</td>
<td>Woman and Child Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>OIM 15522</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144c</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>OIM 15523</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144e</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>OIM 15524</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144f</td>
<td>Baubo Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>147</td>
<td>OIM 15525</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 145g</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>176</td>
<td>OIM 15526</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 150a</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>169</td>
<td>OIM 15527</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 150b</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>177</td>
<td>OIM 15528</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 150c</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Concordance by Museum Registration Number (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Museum Registration</th>
<th>Field Number</th>
<th>Teilungslist No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>183</td>
<td>OIM 15529</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 151a</td>
<td>Recumbent Animal Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>214</td>
<td>OIM 15530</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 151b</td>
<td>Ichneumon(?) Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>187</td>
<td>OIM 15531</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 151d</td>
<td>Cat Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>OIM 15532</td>
<td>MH 28.61a</td>
<td>TL 151h</td>
<td>Lion Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>188</td>
<td>OIM 15533</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 151g</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>198</td>
<td>OIM 15534</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153d</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>206</td>
<td>OIM 15535</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153g</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>207</td>
<td>OIM 15536</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153m</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>OIM 15537</td>
<td>MH 28.72k</td>
<td>TL 154b</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>97</td>
<td>OIM 15538</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 154d</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>OIM 15539</td>
<td>K 185</td>
<td>TL 154e</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>OIM 15540</td>
<td>K 184</td>
<td>TL 155b</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83</td>
<td>OIM 15541</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155g</td>
<td>Female-form Vessel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>OIM 15542</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155i</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>OIM 15543</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156a1</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>OIM 15544</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156a2</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>OIM 15545</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156c</td>
<td>Baubo Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>134</td>
<td>OIM 15546</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 156d</td>
<td>Aries Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>OIM 15547</td>
<td>MH 27.3c</td>
<td>TL 143a</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>OIM 15548</td>
<td>K 197</td>
<td>TL 139f</td>
<td>Baubo Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>OIM 15549</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141b</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>OIM 15550</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155e</td>
<td>Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>OIM 15551</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155d</td>
<td>Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82</td>
<td>OIM 15552</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155f</td>
<td>Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>122</td>
<td>OIM 15553</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 155a</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>116</td>
<td>OIM 15554</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 141p</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>197</td>
<td>OIM 15555</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 150h</td>
<td>Monkey Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>OIM 15556</td>
<td>MH 29.1f</td>
<td>TL 150o</td>
<td>Unidentified Animal Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>210</td>
<td>OIM 15557</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>TL 153L</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>OIM 15558</td>
<td>MH 28.61h</td>
<td>TL 139e</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## Concordance by Field Number

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Museum Registration</th>
<th>Field Number</th>
<th>Teilungslist No.</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59700</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144g</td>
<td>Type H Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>OIM 14613</td>
<td>Eye 54a</td>
<td>TL 144d</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>79</td>
<td>OIM 15524</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144f</td>
<td>Baubo Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121</td>
<td>OIM 15522</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144c</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>136</td>
<td>OIM 14612</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144a</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Horse Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>175</td>
<td>OIM 14614</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144h</td>
<td>Moldmade Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>199</td>
<td>OIM 15523</td>
<td>Eye 54b</td>
<td>TL 144e</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>OIM 15540</td>
<td>K 184</td>
<td>TL 155b</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>98</td>
<td>OIM 15539</td>
<td>K 185</td>
<td>TL 154e</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>104</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 185</td>
<td>TL 154L</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>OIM 14641</td>
<td>K 186</td>
<td>TL 154a</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 187</td>
<td>TL 154g</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>103</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 188</td>
<td>TL 154k</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>96</td>
<td>OIM 14642</td>
<td>K 189</td>
<td>TL 154c</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>102</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 190</td>
<td>TL 154i</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>99</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 191</td>
<td>TL 154f</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>52</td>
<td>OIM 14597</td>
<td>K 192</td>
<td>TL 135c</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Museum Registration</td>
<td>Field Number</td>
<td>Teilungslist No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>-------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>49</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 193</td>
<td>TL 136d</td>
<td>Type E Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 194</td>
<td>TL 136c</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53</td>
<td>OIM 14600</td>
<td>K 195</td>
<td>TL 136e</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>OIM 15548</td>
<td>K 197</td>
<td>TL 139f</td>
<td>Baubo Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>168</td>
<td>OIM 14627</td>
<td>K 198</td>
<td>TL 150e</td>
<td>Hand-modeled Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>173</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>K 199</td>
<td>TL 150m</td>
<td>Hand-modeled(?) Camel Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>212</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 26.9f</td>
<td>TL 143g</td>
<td>Unidentified Quadrupe Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>105</td>
<td>OIM 15520</td>
<td>MH 27.3a</td>
<td>TL 143e</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>OIM 15521</td>
<td>MH 27.3b</td>
<td>TL 143f</td>
<td>Woman and Child Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>118</td>
<td>OIM 15547</td>
<td>MH 27.3c</td>
<td>TL 143a</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>OIM 14603</td>
<td>MH 27.15d</td>
<td>TL 138</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>258</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59848</td>
<td>MH 28.132</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>221</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59845</td>
<td>MH 28.140a</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>259</td>
<td>OIM 14784</td>
<td>MH 28.140b1</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>260</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b2</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>261</td>
<td>OIM 14783</td>
<td>MH 28.140b3</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>262</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b4</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>263</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b5</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>264</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b6</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>265</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140b7</td>
<td>TL 163</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129f</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129e</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129a</td>
<td>Type A Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>OIM 14581a–b</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129b</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129h</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129g</td>
<td>Type B Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>OIM 14582</td>
<td>MH 28.140c</td>
<td>TL 129d</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>181</td>
<td>OIM 15519</td>
<td>MH 28.140d</td>
<td>TL 143d</td>
<td>Sheep Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>222</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59847</td>
<td>MH 28.177</td>
<td>TL 522</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>249</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.312</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>220</td>
<td>OIM 14779</td>
<td>MH 28.32a</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>237</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.32b</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>238</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.32c</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>185</td>
<td>OIM 14635</td>
<td>MH 28.61a</td>
<td>TL 151e</td>
<td>Lion Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>186</td>
<td>OIM 15532</td>
<td>MH 28.61a</td>
<td>TL 151h</td>
<td>Lion Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>123</td>
<td>OIM 15558</td>
<td>MH 28.61h</td>
<td>TL 139e</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>124</td>
<td>OIM 15507</td>
<td>MH 28.61h</td>
<td>TL 139g</td>
<td>Phallic Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 28.72g</td>
<td>TL 129i</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>95</td>
<td>OIM 15537</td>
<td>MH 28.72k</td>
<td>TL 154b</td>
<td>Orant Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>120</td>
<td>OIM 14632</td>
<td>MH 28.72L3</td>
<td>TL 152f</td>
<td>Horse and Rider Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59696</td>
<td>“MH 29.F44”</td>
<td>TL 141f</td>
<td>Type F Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59698</td>
<td>MH 29. 85f</td>
<td>TL 142g</td>
<td>Male Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>269</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.194c</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>215</td>
<td>OIM 15556</td>
<td>MH 29.1f</td>
<td>TL 150o</td>
<td>Unidentified Animal Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>253</td>
<td>OIM 14775</td>
<td>MH 29.226</td>
<td>TL 528</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>248</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.234</td>
<td>TL 525</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>236</td>
<td>OIM 14776</td>
<td>MH 29.24a</td>
<td>TL 517, 523</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>240</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.24b</td>
<td>TL 523</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>251</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.24c</td>
<td>TL 523</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>252</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.24d</td>
<td>TL 523</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>268</td>
<td>OIM 14777</td>
<td>MH 29.251a</td>
<td>TL 560</td>
<td>Type 2 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>267</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.264a</td>
<td>TL 526</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>272</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.264b1</td>
<td>TL 524</td>
<td>Votive Bed Mold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>271</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.264b2</td>
<td>TL 524</td>
<td>Votive Bed Mold</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>226</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.267a</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Museum Registration</td>
<td>Field Number</td>
<td>Teilungslist No.</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----</td>
<td>---------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------------</td>
<td>------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>201</td>
<td>OIM 15518</td>
<td>MH 29.290b</td>
<td>TL 143c</td>
<td>Bird Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.85a</td>
<td>TL 129c</td>
<td>Type C Female Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>223</td>
<td>OIM 14778</td>
<td>MH 29.85b</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>129</td>
<td>OIM 15509</td>
<td>MH 29.9</td>
<td>TL 140a</td>
<td>Bes Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>224</td>
<td>Cairo JdE 59846</td>
<td>MH 29.91a</td>
<td>TL 526</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>266</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 29.91b</td>
<td>TL 518</td>
<td>Type 1 Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>239</td>
<td>OIM 14782a–e</td>
<td>MH 29.92a–e</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>191</td>
<td>OIM 14634</td>
<td>MH 30.146</td>
<td>TL 152h</td>
<td>Moldmade Dog Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>184</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30.50e</td>
<td>TL 148h</td>
<td>Cow or Bull Figurine</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>225</td>
<td>OIM 14781</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 1</td>
<td>TL 517, 520</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>245</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 3</td>
<td>TL 520</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>228</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 5</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>229</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 6</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>246</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 8</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>243</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 11</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>254</td>
<td>OIM 14827</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 13</td>
<td>TL 517</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>255</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 14</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>257</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 16</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>232</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 17</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>270</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 18</td>
<td>TL 526</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Stela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>244</td>
<td>OIM 14780</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 2</td>
<td>TL 517, 520, 2</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>227</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 4</td>
<td>TL 520</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>230</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 7</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>231</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 9</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 1 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>241</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 10</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Type 2 Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>256</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>MH 30. Versch. 15</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Undetermined Type Votive Bed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### GENERAL INDEX

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abu Mena (St. Menas), cult of</td>
<td>14, 82, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration of Medinet Habu</td>
<td>7, 12–13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akh iker n Re cult</td>
<td>168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>amulet</td>
<td>13, 19, 146, 152, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>antelope</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anthes, Rudolf</td>
<td>2, 21 n. 36, 25, 35, 43, 56, 60–61, 97, 174, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antonine Period</td>
<td>75, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoninus Pius</td>
<td>14, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ape</td>
<td>25, 143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arab conquest</td>
<td>13, 20, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assasif tomb 825</td>
<td>158, 167–68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August Kestner Museum, Hanover</td>
<td>24 n. 43, 52 n. 70, 157 n. 107, 158, 160 n. 117, 167, 178–79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baboon</td>
<td>110 n. 87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>basket</td>
<td>80–81, 102, 122–23, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakt, tomb of</td>
<td>161, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>barracks</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>baubo figurine</td>
<td>25, 28, 71, 74–75, 101, 113, 133, 141, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin figurine 14517</td>
<td>24 n. 43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Berlin ostracon 10633</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bible Lands Museum, Jerusalem</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>boat</td>
<td>157, 159–64, 166, 169–80, 182, 185, 188–90, 192–93, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>braid</td>
<td>15, 28, 32–33, 60, 68, 76, 84, 134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Museum papyrus 10053</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bronzen figurines</td>
<td>5 n. 11, 13, 18, 147, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brooklyn Museum of Art 55.120</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brussels</td>
<td>58–59, 157 n. 107, 167, 172–73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bubastite figure</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bull</td>
<td>20, 137, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butchammon</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo cup (CG 18682)</td>
<td>164–65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cairo Love Song</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>calf</td>
<td>136, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>corps</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canis Maior</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cantle</td>
<td>124–26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cap, peaked</td>
<td>28, 71, 74–76, 97, 101, 109, 113, 133, 141, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cat</td>
<td>20, 110 n. 87, 138</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### INDICES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Celt</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chalice, relief</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chicken</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>child</td>
<td>15–17, 24, 26, 34, 36, 41–48, 48–60, 71, 73–77, 82, 103, 105, 154, 168, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>childbirth</td>
<td>19, 27, 75, 105–06, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christians at Medinet Habu</td>
<td>14, 80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kaoline</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>marl</td>
<td>18, 23, 56–57, 72, 110, 123, 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nile silt</td>
<td>18, 23, 72, 111, 123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cock</td>
<td>20, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coiffure (see also hairstyle)</td>
<td>33, 51–52, 55–58, 61, 76, 78–80, 88–90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coin</td>
<td>11, 150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“concubines for the dead”</td>
<td>26, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coptic</td>
<td>70–71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“doll”</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>house</td>
<td>12, 26, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>inscription</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cornucopia</td>
<td>109</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cosmetic spoon</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cow</td>
<td>137, 163, 197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>creation, allegories for</td>
<td>166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crocodile</td>
<td>151, 166</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>cross</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christian</td>
<td>127, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>maltese</td>
<td>125–26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>crupper strap</td>
<td>24, 52, 54–55, 58, 66, 80, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>decoration of figurines</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demeter festival</td>
<td>11–13, 14, 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deveria, Théodule</td>
<td>52, 57–58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djoser-Akhet temple</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dimple</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dog</td>
<td>6, 18–20, 25, 28, 71, 101, 110, 113, 133, 139–43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>donkey</td>
<td>110 n. 87, 111, 115, 117, 121, 122–23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dorcas gazelle</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dove</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dromedary</td>
<td>129–34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duck</td>
<td>166, 171–72, 181, 184, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>head/tail on boat</td>
<td>160, 164, 166, 170, 177–78, 180, 182, 185, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>duplicates (of figurines)</td>
<td>19, 24, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dwarf</td>
<td>105–06, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>earring</td>
<td>27, 34, 36–37, 41–45, 76, 83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
GENERAL INDEX (cont.)

Egyptian Museum, Cairo 1, 4, 12 n. 19, 26 n. 52, 58, 60–61, 102, 159, 167

Eleusinian mysteries 74

erota 15, 26 n. 51, 27 n. 61, 95, 102, 161–62, 164, 166

Esharaddon 129

execution figure 5 n. 8, 18, 24, 28, 86, 94

faience 5 n. 11, 13, 15, 18–20, 23, 25, 26 n. 52, 46, 65, 71 n. 76, 72, 94, 102–03, 129 n. 100, 146, 150, 152, 163, 165, 171

fellahin village 3, 9, 20, 23 n. 40, 25, 35, 63, 88, 100, 103–04, 159, 166–67, 194

second 166, 172, 180–81, 192


fertility cult 80, 82

Festival Temple of Osorkon III at Bubastis 52

Fetkata, tomb of 162

folk art 5–6, 96, 98

footboard (for bed) 23, 34, 46, 48, 50–51, 161

foundation deposits

Aye 13

Ramesses IV 1, 14

Gate of Taharka 75

gazelle 110 n. 87, 134–35

gender 19 n. 31, 26–27, 48, 50–51, 65, 70

goatee 99

God’s Wives of Amun

chapel of 52 n. 70, 11, 14, 25

goose 20, 145, 148

as erotic symbol 164, 166

head/tail on boat 160, 164, 180, 182, 185

graffiti 12, 130, 154

Demotic and Greek 11–12

granary 13

hairstyle (see also coiffure) 28, 34, 39–40, 46, 49, 52–54, 68, 73, 75–79, 83–84, 101, 113, 133, 141, 145, 169–70

hair, pubic 24, 72

harness for horses 111, 114, 123–25, 128–29, 134

Harsiese, tomb of 11

heirloom 19, 23 n. 38, 26, 53

Hellenistic period at Medinet Habu 12–13, 70, 72 76–79, 80, 82, 83–85, 92, 101, 196

Herodotus 75, 102 n. 86, 103

Homre House 19, 25

horse 6, 13, 18, 21, 25, 28, 63, 71, 76, 88, 100, 110–19, 131, 141, 145, 150, 152, 163, 165, 171

Iasen, tomb of 161 n. 119, 162

Ichneumon 151

Ip, tomb of 161, 163

Jeme apogee of 13

city of 13–14, 20

ka (hieroglyph) 80

kenbet court 7

Khoka deposit 110

Khnum, temple of 5 n. 9, 80, 83

Khonsu, temple of lamp 19 n. 29, 82 n. 84, 147, 150

lapwing 20, 150

Leiden bowl AD 14 164–65, 184

Libyan limestone figurine 15, 18, 24 n. 44, 36, 48, 150

lion 28, 71, 76, 101, 103, 110 n. 87, 113, 133, 138, 141, 145, 163

lotus Louvre figurine 8000 159–60, 163–65, 169–75, 177, 188–91, 193, 195

Luxor Temple 1, 130, 161, 164

Maltese Spitz 139, 143

Mesopotamia 6, 20 n. 32, 24, 58, 60, 154

mining site 27

mirror 34, 41, 48, 160, 184

modius headdress 27–28, 32–33, 159, 160

mold 1, 13, 18–19, 23–24, 27

Mons Claudianus 84

Mut 21, 44, 62, 75

complex of at Karnak 61

Newberry, Percy 100

Nippur 5 n. 8, 24 n. 45

nursing 15–17, 41–48, 71

ogdoad 102

orant 5 n. 9, 18–19, 21 n. 36, 25–26, 63, 65, 70, 72–73, 75, 79–91, 97, 100, 110, 123, 196

oryx 135

Osiran beliefs 82

Padihorresnet, tomb of 119

palm (pattern) 80, 86, 88

pannier 110 n. 87, 122–23

Papyrus Harris 500 166

papyrus, shaking/rattling of 161, 163

pariah/Pi dog 139 n. 103

Partian 124

personal piety 5 n. 11

Petrie, William Flinders 19 n. 27, 23, 49, 53, 58, 167

Petrie Museum 53, 55–56, 167, 171, 173, 176, 179–82

phaiciphrine 15, 17, 19, 72, 92, 102–05, 137–38

phallic phallicus 15, 93, 106, 150, 164

pigement 147

polychrome 25, 197

red 15, 28, 43, 46, 55–57, 60, 64, 72, 77, 96, 106, 115, 123–25, 147, 148, 153, 160, 180
### GENERAL INDEX (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>white</td>
<td>32, 54, 57, 59, 74, 77, 84, 92, 104, 125, 133, 139, 141–42, 144, 146, 177, 186, 193, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yellow</td>
<td>53–54, 56–57, 85, 106, 128, 150, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pillow</td>
<td>36–37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>plaster</td>
<td>23, 133, 138, 195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pommel</td>
<td>124–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>potter’s mark</td>
<td>23, 159, 193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>prayer</td>
<td>79, 84–86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>priest</td>
<td>11, 13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ptolemaic period at Medinet Habu</td>
<td>5 n. 11, 11–12, 19 n. 27, 20, 25, 72–76, 92, 95–96, 101, 103, 109, 110–12, 118–19, 129–30, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pyramid Text §388</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>quartz</td>
<td>24 n. 44, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ram</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ramesseum</td>
<td>7, 34, 52, 167, 172–73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>red junglefowl (Gallus gallus)</td>
<td>20, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rekhmire, tomb of</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhodes, Lynette</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rider (of horse)</td>
<td>25, 63, 88, 110 n. 87, 111, 123–24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman era at Medinet Habu</td>
<td>12–13, 73–76, et passim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rooster</td>
<td>110, 147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saddle</td>
<td>110–11, 115, 123–27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>saddle blanket</td>
<td>115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saite period</td>
<td>14, 24 n. 43, 50, 59, 99, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saite-Persian settlement at (East Karnak)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sassanian</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shabti</td>
<td>7, 19, 92, 99, 100, 103, 137–38, 188</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sheep</td>
<td>25, 29, 32–34, 36, 41, 43, 135, 166, 168, 170, 189–92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slaughterhouse</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Temple at Medinet Habu</td>
<td>1, 6–7, 9, 11, 14, 26 n. 50, 72, 92, 94, 99, 102, 110 n. 90, 186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>snake</td>
<td>34, 41, 48, 163 n. 127</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Song of the Harper</td>
<td>144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sothis</td>
<td>110, 139, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spitz dog, see Maltese Spitz</td>
<td>20, 145, 164, 211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>spoonbill</td>
<td>115, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Anthony (monastery of)</td>
<td>115, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St. Menas (see Menela)</td>
<td>115, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stirrup</td>
<td>124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stratigraphy at the site</td>
<td>20, 25–26, 58, 110, 159, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taharka Gate, at Mut Temple</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tambourine</td>
<td>82 n. 84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tattoo</td>
<td>65, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>temple</td>
<td>21, 161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Amun</td>
<td>1, 2, 6, 9, 13–14, 21, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Aye</td>
<td>1, 2, 6, 9, 13–14, 21, 72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Horemheb</td>
<td>7, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Hatshepsut</td>
<td>21, 44, 62, 75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Mut</td>
<td>7, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Seti I</td>
<td>161 n. 122, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of Thutmose III</td>
<td>161 n. 122, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tilapia fish</td>
<td>164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tomb 825, Assasif</td>
<td>158, 167–68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toy</td>
<td>6, 110–11, 115, 130, 144, 151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury of Thutmose I at Karnak</td>
<td>110 n. 87, 111, 119, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>virtual parallelism of style</td>
<td>6, 21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vulture crown</td>
<td>52 n. 70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>well of Nectanebo II</td>
<td>9, 25, 72–73, 143, 171, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wochenlaube</td>
<td>15, 28, 46, 71, 76, 101, 113, 133, 141, 145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wreath</td>
<td>83–84, 96, 124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zenon Archive</td>
<td>122, 129</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### GEOGRAPHIC TERMS (EGYPT, NUBIA, SINAI)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Page Numbers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Abu Mina</td>
<td>82, 130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Simbel</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abu Sir</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abydos</td>
<td>100, 102 n. 85, 129, 153</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexandria</td>
<td>5 n. 9, 82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amarna (see Tell el Amarna)</td>
<td>Beni Hasan 161, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antinoopolis</td>
<td>109, 126, 133</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabia</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arment</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ashmunein</td>
<td>21, 82, 110–11, 113, 115, 122, 124–25, 139</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### GEOGRAPHIC TERMS (cont.)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Deir el Bahri</td>
<td>6, 53, 58, 72, 94, 102, 110, 163 n. 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir el Balah</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir el Gebrawi</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir el Medina</td>
<td>7–8, 13, 20 n. 32, 27–28, 32, 34, 36, 71–72, 115, 159 n. 110, 161, 167–68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deir Rifa</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dendera</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dra Abu Naga (Thebes)</td>
<td>58, 61–62, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edfu</td>
<td>34, 82, 103</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elephantine</td>
<td>5 n. 9, 80, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el Minsha</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>el Saff</td>
<td>161, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faras</td>
<td>53, 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gebel Barkal</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gebel Zeit</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giza</td>
<td>129, 161–62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gourna</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gurob</td>
<td>21, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hammamiya</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helwan</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hibis</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hierakonpolis</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hu</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jeme</td>
<td>13–14, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Judea</td>
<td>41 n. 64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kahun</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanis</td>
<td>1, 24 n. 41, 79 n. 79, 81–82, 115, 123, 125–26, 133, 139, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanog</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karnak</td>
<td>1, 7, 14, 21, 59, 63, 110, 111, 113, 114, 161, 164, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kom Ishgau</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kom Zimram</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lisht</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luxor (see also Thebes)</td>
<td>1, 130, 161, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maadi</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malkata</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medamoud</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>19 n. 27, 21, 34, 53, 76, 92–93, 102, 110, 145, 148, 152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mendes</td>
<td>21, 34, 49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mirgissa</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mons Claudianus</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagada</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Naukratis</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nubia</td>
<td>71, 124, 154</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nuri</td>
<td>154, 155</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pathyris</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qantir</td>
<td>129 n. 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quft</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rifa</td>
<td>129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Riqqa</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saqqara</td>
<td>21 n. 36, 102, 104, 161–62, 165, 168</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sedment</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seleucia</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serabit Khadim</td>
<td>27, 34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheikh Said</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sinai</td>
<td>6, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Syria</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell Atrib (Athribis)</td>
<td>19 n. 27, 106</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tell el Amarna</td>
<td>34, 73–74, 110–11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thebes (see also Luxor)</td>
<td>1, 8, 12–13, 18 n. 24, 20 n. 33, 26, 53, 57, 59–60, 73–74, 92, 96, 101–12, 115, 118, 130, 158, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tod</td>
<td>79, 86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukh</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley of the Kings</td>
<td>7–8, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Valley of the Queens</td>
<td>52 n. 68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## EGYPTIAN PERSONAL NAMES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Indices</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Indices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ip</td>
<td>161, 163</td>
<td>Meresankh</td>
<td>161–63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bakt</td>
<td>161, 163</td>
<td>Nakhmin</td>
<td>27 n. 62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fetkata</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>Nanechtkar</td>
<td>52 n. 69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huy</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>Nectanebo II</td>
<td>92, 99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kaiemankh</td>
<td>160 n. 116</td>
<td>Ptahmes</td>
<td>161</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karomama</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Rekhmire</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kayemnofert</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>Seh</td>
<td>24 n. 43, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khonsu</td>
<td>12, 14, 24 n. 43, 154, 161, 164</td>
<td>Seneb</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meresamun</td>
<td>52 n. 69</td>
<td>Tita</td>
<td>24 n. 43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## DEITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Indices</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Indices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Amun</td>
<td>7, 11–12, 21, 52 n. 70, 102, 161</td>
<td>Eros</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amun Re</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>Harpocrates</td>
<td>19–20, 106, 108–11, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amun-Re-Kamutef</td>
<td>12, 116 n. 119, 164</td>
<td>Hathor</td>
<td>6, 26, 75, 96, 102–03, 136, 160 n. 115, 161–64, 168, 196</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apis</td>
<td>20, 75, 102</td>
<td>Horus</td>
<td>75, 102, 159 n. 110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apophis</td>
<td>159 n. 111</td>
<td>Isis</td>
<td>20, 74, 80, 82, 139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aries</td>
<td>19, 101, 106, 109</td>
<td>Kem-ner</td>
<td>102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Astarte</td>
<td>110–11</td>
<td>Khnum</td>
<td>5 n. 9, 80, 83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Athena</td>
<td>20, 109</td>
<td>Khonsu</td>
<td>12, 14, 24 n. 43, 154, 161, 164</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bastet</td>
<td>20, 75</td>
<td>Min</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beset</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>Qudshu</td>
<td>163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Demeter</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>Re Horakhy</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dionysus</td>
<td>20, 102 n. 86, 110, 147</td>
<td>Sekhmet</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djoser-Akhet</td>
<td>102</td>
<td>Seth</td>
<td>75, 122</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sothis</td>
<td>110, 139, 141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Uto</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## EGYPTIAN RULERS AND OFFICIALS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Indices</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Indices</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Akhenaton</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nectanebo</td>
<td>9, 11, 20, 25, 72–73, 92–93, 99, 114, 143, 171, 173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alexander IV</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Nefertiti</td>
<td>24 n. 44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amenmose</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Nofertari</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amunhotep III</td>
<td>7, 13, 21, 135, 161 n. 119, 164, 188</td>
<td>Osorkon III</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ankhesnereferibre</td>
<td>52 n. 69</td>
<td>Ptolemy II</td>
<td>12, 129</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Antoninus Pius</td>
<td>14, 20</td>
<td>Ramesses III</td>
<td>1, 6–11, 13–14, 21, 25, 42, 94, 152, 171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aye (Eye)</td>
<td>1, 2, 6, 9, 13–14, 19, 21, 25, 72, 110 n. 88, 145, 161, 163</td>
<td>Ramesses IV</td>
<td>1, 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakoris</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>Ramesses XI</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hatshepsut</td>
<td>7, 14, 94</td>
<td>Seti I</td>
<td>7, 14, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horemheb</td>
<td>1, 2, 6, 9, 13–14, 21, 72</td>
<td>Taharka</td>
<td>75, 115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julius Caesar</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>Tetisheri</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karomama</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>Teye</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khenut</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>Thutmose I</td>
<td>110–11, 119, 167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meresankh III</td>
<td>161–63</td>
<td>Thutmose III</td>
<td>14, 23 n. 39, 115 n. 95, 147, 161 n. 122, 163–64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menephtah</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>Tutankhamun</td>
<td>20, 115 n. 95, 161, 163</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mentuhotep IV</td>
<td>14</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebet</td>
<td>162</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
PLATES
Type A Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 1 (OIM 14613) and (b) Figurine No. 2 (OIM 14588)
Plate 2

Type A Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 3 (TL 129f), (b) Figurine No. 4 (TL 134c),
(c) Figurine No. 5 (TL 130g), and (d) Figurine No. 6 (TL 134b)
Type A Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 7 (TL 134f), (b) Figurine No. 8 (TL 133e), and (c) Figurine No. 9 (TL 129e)
Plate 4

Type A Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 10 (OIM 14595) and (b) Figurine No. 11 (OIM 14596)
Type A Female Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 12 (TL 129a) and Type B Female Figurine (b) Figurine No. 13 (OIM 14581a–b)
Plate 6

Type B Female Figurines
(a) Figurine No. 14 (TL 132b), (b) Figurine No. 15 (TL 130f), and (c) Figurine No. 16 (TL 129h)
Type B Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 17 (OIM 14603), (b) Figurine No. 18 (TL 131i), and (c) Figurine No. 19 (TL 130a)
Plate 8

Type B Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 20 (TL 133h), (b) Figurine No. 21 (OIM 14593),
(c) Figurine No. 22 (TL 131e), and (d) Figurine No. 23 (OIM 14589)
Type B Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 24 (OIM 14590), (b) Figurine No. 25 (TL 130b), and (c) Figurine No. 26 (TL 129g)
Type C Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 27 (OIM 14594), (b) Figurine No. 28 (TL 129c), and (c) Figurine No. 29 (OIM 14582)
Type C Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 30 (TL 131d), (b) Figurine No. 31 (TL 132e), and (c) Figurine No. 32 (OIM 14587)
Type C Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 33 (TL 132d), (b) Figurine No. 34 (TL 130c), and (c) Figurine No. 35 (TL 131h)
Type C Female Figurine
Figurine No. 36 (OIM 14583)
Type C Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 37 (TL 132c), (b) Figurine No. 38 (TL 130d), and (c) Figurine No. 39 (TL 130e)
Type D Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 40 (TL 132g), (b) Figurine No. 41 (TL 130h), (c) Figurine No. 42 (TL 132f), and (d) Figurine No. 43 (TL 132h)
Plate 16

Type E Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 44 (OIM 14609) and (b) Figurine No. 45 (OIM 14584)
Type E Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 46 (OIM 14591) and (b) Figurine No. 47 (TL 136b)
Plate 18

Type E Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 48 (OIM 14599) and (b) Figurine No. 49 (TL 136d)
Type E Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 50 (OIM 14585) and (b) Figurine No. 51 (TL 135a)
Plate 20

Type E Female Figurine
Figurine No. 52 (OIM 14597)
Type F Female Figurine

Figurine No. 53 (OIM 14600)
Type F Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 54 (Cairo JdE 59693), (b) Figurine No. 55 (Cairo JdE 59696), and (c) Figurine No. 56. (OIM 14606)
Type F Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 57 (OIM 15549) and (b) Figurine No. 58 (TL 141c)
Type F Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 59 (TL 129i), (b) Figurine No. 60 (TL 136c), (c) Figurine No. 61 (TL 136f), and (d) Figurine No. 62 (OIM 14645)
Type G Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 63 (OIM 15510), (b) Figurine No. 64 (OIM 15511), (c) Figurine No. 65 (OIM 15512),
(d) Figurine No. 66 (TL 140f), and (e) Figurine No. 67 (OIM 15513)
Plate 26

Type H Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 68 (OIM 14586), (b) Figurine No. 69 (TL 133c), (c) Figurine No. 70 (TL 131k),
(d) Figurine No. 71 (TL 131g), and (e) Figurine No. 72 (TL 141g)
Plate 27

Type H Female Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 73 (TL 141d), and (b) Figurine No. 74 (Cairo JdE 59700), and
(c) Figurine No. 75 (OIM 14598)
Plate 28

Ptolemaic, Roman, and Late Antique Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 76 (OIM 15521) and (b) Figurine No. 77 (OIM 15548)
Ptolemaic, Roman, and Late Antique Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 78 (OIM 15545) and (b) Figurine No. 79 (OIM 15524)
Plate 30

Hellenistic-influenced Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 80 (OIM 15551), (b) Figurine No. 81 (OIM 15550), and (c) Figurine No. 82 (OIM 15552)
Female-form Vessels

(a) Figurine No. 83 (OIM 15541), (b) Figurine No. 84 (TL 155h), and (c) Figurine No. 85 (OIM 14630)
Plate 32

Orant Figurines
(a) Figurine No. 86 (OIM 15542) and (b) Figurine No. 87 (OIM 15540)
Orant Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 88 (OIM 15543), (b) Figurine No. 89 (OIM 15544), and (c) Figurine No. 90 (TL 156b)
Plate 34

Orant Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 91 (TL 141k), (b) Figurine No. 92, and (c) Figurine No. 93 (OIM 14643)
Orant Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 94 (OIM 14641) and (b) Figurine No. 95 (OIM 15537)
Plate 36

Orant Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 96 (OIM 14642) and (b) Figurine No. 97 (OIM 15538)
Orant Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 98 (OIM 15539), (b) Figurine No. 99 (TL 154f), and (c) Figurine No. 100 (TL 154g)
Plate 38

Orant Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 101 (TL 154h), (b) Figurine No. 102 (TL 154i), (c) Figurine No. 103 (TL 154k), and (d) Figurine No. 104 (TL 154l)
Male Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 105 (OIM 15520), (b) Figurine No. 106 (OIM 15514), and (c) Figurine No. 107 (OIM 14610)
Male Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 108 (OIM 14611), (b) Figurine No. 109 (Cairo JdE 59698), (c) Figurine No. 110 (Cairo JdE 59697),
(d) Figurine No. 111 (TL 141m), and (e) Figurine No. 112 (OIM 14608)
Plate 41

Male Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 113 (OIM 14607), (b) Figurine No. 114 (OIM 15515), (c) Figurine No. 115 (TL 1410), and (d) Figurine No. 116 (OIM 15554)
Plate 42

Male Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 117 (OIM 15516) and (b) Figurine No. 118 (OIM 15547)
Male Figurine

(a) Figurine No. 119 (OIM 14592) and (b) Figurine No. 120 (OIM 14632)
Plate 44

Male Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 121 (OIM 15522) and (b) Figurine No. 122 (OIM 15553)
Phallic Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 123 (OIM 15558) and (b) Figurine No. 124 (OIM 15507)
Phallic Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 125 (TL 139a), (b) Figurine No. 126 (TL 139b), and (c) Figurine No. 127 (TL 139c)
Bes Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 128 (OIM 14604) and (b) Figurine No. 129 (OIM 15509)
Plate 48

Bes Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 130 (OIM 14605), (b) Figurine No. 13 (TL 140b), and (c) Figurine No. 132 (TL 140e)
Harpocrates Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 133 (TL 142c) and Aries Figurine: (b) Figurine No. 134 (OIM 15546)
Plate 50

Harpocrates Figurine

Figurine No. 135 (OIM 14631)
Hand-modeled Horse Figurine
Figurine No. 136 (OIM 14612)
Hand-modeled Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 137 (TL 145a) and (b) Figurine No. 138 (Cairo JdE 59694)
Hand-modeled Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 139 (TL 149e) and (b) Figurine No. 140 (OIM 14616)
Hand-modeled Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 141 (TL 145b), (b) Figurine No. 142 (TL 149b), and (c) Figurine No. 143 (TL 149c)
Hand-modeled Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 144 (OIM 14626) and (b) Figurine No. 145 (OIM 14615)
Hand-modeled Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 146 (TL 145f) and (b) Figurine No. 147 (OIM 15525)
Hand-modeled Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 148 (TL 148a), (b) Figurine No. 149 (TL 148b),
(c) Figurine No. 150 (TL 148c), and (d) Figurine No. 151 (TL 148d)
Hand-modeled Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 152 (TL 148e), (b) Figurine No. 153 (TL 148f),
(c) Figurine No. 154 (TL 148g), and (d) Figurine No. 155 (TL 148i)
Hand-modeled Donkey Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 156. (TL 147b) and (b) Figurine No. 157 (OIM 14624)
Plate 60

Hand-modeled Donkey Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 158 (TL 145c) and Moldemade Horse Figurine: (b) Figurine No. 159 (OIM 14625)
Moldmade Horse Figurine
Figurine No. 160 (OIM 14617)
Plate 62

Moldmade Horse Figurine
Figurine No. 161 (OIM 14618)
Moldmade Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 162 (OIM 14619) and (b) Figurine No. 163 (OIM 14620)
Plate 64

Moldmade Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 164 (TL 146c) and (b) Figurine No. 165 (OIM 14622)
Moldmade Horse Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 166 (OIM 14621) and (b) Figurine No. 167 (OIM 14623)
Plate 66

Hand-model Camel Figurine
Figurine No. 168 (OIM 14627)
Hand-modeled Camel Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 169 (OIM 15527), (b) Figurine No. 170 (TL 150d) and (c) Figurine No. 171 (TL 150i)
Plate 68

Hand-modeled Camel Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 172 (TL 150k), (b) Figurine No. 173 (TL 150m) and (c) Figurine No. 174 (TL 150f)
Moldmade Camel Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 175 (OIM 14614) and (b) Figurine No. 176 (OIM 15526)
Plate 70

Moldmade Camel Figurines: (a) Figurine No. 177 (OIM 15528) and (b) Figurine No. 178 (OIM 14628) and Gazelle Figurine: (c) Figurine No. 179 (TL 148k)
Oryx Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 180 (OIM 14629) and Sheep Figurine: (b) Figurine No. 181 (OIM 15519)
Ram Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 182 (TL 150n),
Recumbent Animal Figurine: (b) Figurine No. 183 (OIM 15529), and
Cow or Bull Figurine: (c) Figurine No. 184 (TL 148h)
Lion Figurine
Figurine No. 185 (OIM 14635)
Lion Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 186 (OIM 15532) and Cat Figurine: (b) Figurine No. 187 (OIM 11531)
Hand-modeled Dog Figurine

Figurine No. 188 (OIM 15533)
Hand-modeled Dog Figurines: (a) Figurine No. 189 (TL 151c) and (b) Figurine No. 190 (TL 151f) and Moldmade Dog Figurine: (c) Figurine No. 191 (OIM 14634)
Moldmade Dog Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 192 (TL 144b), (b) Figurine No. 193 (TL 152b), and (c) Figurine No. 194 (TL 152d)
Plate 78

Moldmade Dog Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 195 (OIM 14633) and Ape(?) Figurine: (b) Figurine No. 196 (OIM 15517)
Monkey Figurine

Figurine No. 197 (OIM 15555)
Plate 80

Bird Figurines
(a) Figurine No. 198 (OIM 15534), (b) Figurine No. 199 (OIM 15523), and (c) Figurine No. 200 (OIM 14638)
(a) Figurine No. 201 (OIM 15518) and (b) Figurine No. 202 (TL 153c)
Plate 82

Bird Figurine

Figurine No. 203 (OIM 14640)
Bird Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 204 (OIM 14636) and (b) Figurine No. 205 (OIM 14637)
Plate 84

Bird Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 206 (OIM 15535) and (b) Figurine No. 207 (OIM 15536)
Bird Figurines

(a) Figurine No. 208 (TL 153i), (b) Figurine No. 209 (TL 153k), and (c) Figurine No. 210 (OIM 15557)
Plate 86

Bird Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 211 (OIM 14639) and Unidentified Quadruped Figurine: (b) Figurine No. 212 (TL 143g)
Unidentified Quadruped Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 213 (TL 150p) and Ichneumon(?) Figurine: (b) Figurine No. 214 (OIM 15530)
Unidentified Animal Figurine: (a) Figurine No. 215 (OIM 15556),
Cross: (b) Figurine No. 216 (TL 156e), and
Six-lobed Object: (c) Figurine No. 217 (TL 157a)
Leg of a Bed: (a) Figurine No. 218 (OIM 14644) and Votive Footprint: (b) Figurine No. 219 (OIM 14768)
Plate 90

Top

Front

Back

Drawing

Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 220 (OIM 14779)
Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 221 (Cairo JdE 59845)
Plate 92

Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 222 (Cairo JdE 59847)
Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 223 (OIM 14778)
Plate 94

Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 224 (Cairo JdE 59846)
Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 225 (OIM 14781)
Plate 96

Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 226 (TL 527)
Type 1 Votive Beds

(a) No. 227 (MH 30. Versch. 4) and (b) No. 229 (MH 30. Versch. 6)
Plate 98

Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 230 (MH 30. Versch. 7)
Type 1 Votive Bed
No. 231 (MH 30. Versch. 9)
Type 1 Votive Beds

(a) No. 232 (MH 30, Versch. 17) and (b) No. 233 (TL 517–27)
Type 1 Votive Bed: (a) No. 234 (TL 517–27) and
Type 2 Votive Bed: (b) No. 235 (TL 517–27)
Plate 102

Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 236 (OIM 14776)
Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 237 (MH 28.32b)
Plate 104

Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 238 (MH 28.32c)
Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 239 (OIM 14782a–e)
Plate 106

Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 240 (MH 29.24b)
Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 241 (MH 30. Versch. 10)
Plate 108

Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 242 (TL 526)
Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 243 (MH 30. Versch. 11)
Plate 110

Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 244 (OIM 14780)
Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 245 (TL 520)
Plate 112

Type 2 Votive Bed
No. 246 (MH 30. Versch. 8)
Type 2 Votive Beds

(a) No. 247 (TL 517–27) and (b) No. 248 (TL 535)
Plate 114

Type 2 Votive Beds

(a) No. 249 (MH 28.312) and (b) No. 250 (TL 517–27)
Undetermined Type Votive Beds

(a) No. 251 (MH 29.24c) and (b) No. 252 (MH 29.24d)
Plate 116

Undetermined Type Votive Bed
No. 253 (OIM 14775)
Undetermined Type Votive Bed
No. 254 (OIM 14827)
Undetermined Type Votive Beds

(a) No. 255 (MH 30. Versch. 14) and (b) No. 256 (MH 30. Versch. 15)
Undetermined Type Votive Bed
No. 257 (MH 30. Versch. 16)
Plate 120

Type 1 Stela  
No. 258 (Cairo JdE 59848)
Type 1 Stela
No. 259 (OIM 14784)
Type 1 Stela
No. 260 (MH 28.140b2)
Type 1 Stela
No. 261 (OIM 14783)
Plate 124

Type 1 Stelae

(a) No. 262 (MH 28.140b4) and (b) No. 263 (MH 28.140b5)
Type 1 Stelae

(a) No. 264 (MH 28.140b6) and (b) No. 265 (MH 28.140b7)
Plate 126

Type 1 Stela
No. 266 (MH 29.91b)
Plate 127

Type 1 Stela
No. 267 (MH 29.264a)
Plate 128

Type 2 Stela
No. 268 (OIM 14777)
Type 2 Stela
No. 269 (MH 29.194c)
Plate 130

Votive Bed Mold
No. 271 (MH 29.264b2)
Plate 131

Votive Bed Mold
No. 272 (MH 29.264b1)