

THE EXCAVATIONS AT TELL
EL-RETABA IN 1977, 1978 and 1981 – PART 2
(IN MEMORIAM OF HANS GOEDICKE)*

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In Part 2 the article brings the finds from the season 1978. The fragment of a stela found in level IV of the Central Test Pit resembles Ramesside ‘Horbeit stela’; it was already re-used, similar to some other Ramesside stone objects at Tell el-Retaba, in early Third Intermediate Period. An excursus focuses on other inscribed and decorated stone fragments from the tell. In 1981, parts of Petrie’s Wall 2 and Wall 3 were unearthed, measured and described, among other structures in the 125 meters long eastern profile of the pipeline trench. The trench was dug out by the Egyptian authorities in the centre of the tell, cutting it into two parts in a N-S direction. Petrie’s Walls as well as some other loci documented in the profile are re-evaluated; the same concerns the burials discovered in the trench northwards of the tell. Date of yet another burials uncovered in the central southern part of the tell is re-considered with the conclusion that, as other child (jar) burials discovered at Tell el-Retaba, they are part of cemeteries at defence walls (in or outside the fortress), used during the New Kingdom from the late 18th/early 19th Dynasty onwards.

Key words: Tell el-Retaba, Hans Goedicke, Michael Fuller, archaeology, dating

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1. Finds¹

In 1978, various finds were discovered in the Central Test Pit, some of which are published on the homepage of Michael J. Fuller.² Among them is a serrated flint blade from the deepest layer XI that measures 5.9 x 2.5 x 0.6 cm.³ It was found in a deposit of carbonised grains of barley and its form indicates the dating in the Second Intermediate Period (type D).⁴ Several ground-stones (sling stones⁵ or tools respectively) were also discovered, three of them below level III⁶ and one in level V.⁷ A significant find was a bronze spearhead from the fill of level IV.⁸

¹ For Part 1 of this article see HUDÁKOVÁ, Ľ., HUDEC, J. The Excavations at Tell el-Retaba in 1977, 1978 and 1981 – Part 1 (In Memoriam of Hans Goedicke). In *Asian and African Studies*, 2017, Vol. 26, No. 1, pp. 1–21.

² <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1978.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

³ <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1978.html> [cit. 6 January 2017] (“*banded white and tan chert with considerable silica sheen along the serrated, cutting edge*”).

⁴ Compare GRAVES-BROWN, C. A. *The Ideological Significance of Flint in Dynastic Egypt*, pp. 419–432 (esp. p. 429), pls. 24, 26; TILLMANN, A. Die Steinartefakte. In HEIN, I., JÁNOSI, P. (eds.). *Tell el-Dab’a XII. Areal A/V. Siedlungsrelikte der späten 2. Zwischenzeit*, pp. 364–366 (types C and D). For sickle blades from Tell el-Dab’a dating to the Middle Kingdom and Second Intermediate Period see TILLMANN, A. *Neolithikum in der Späten Bronzezeit. Steingeräte des 2. Jahrtausend aus Auaris-Piramesse*, pp. 82–103 (esp. pp. 88–89, 95–98). According to Fuller (FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, p. 10), the sickle blade and the charred grain indicate that there was cereal production near the site during the Second Intermediate Period.

⁵ Compare RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba 2007 – 2008. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2009, Vol. 19, pp. 257–258.

⁶ HOERTH, A. J. Slide Captions, not dated: slide 7, slide 8: row 1 – #2, row 2 – #2. Below level III, also a “*dome-shaped weight*” and a “*limestone bowl with two bored holes*” are said to have been found (HOERTH, A. J. Slide Captions, not dated: slide 8: row 2 – #1 and 3). It is possible that they are associated with textile manufacture, namely with spinning. The weight might be a dome-shaped spindle whorl (VOGELSANG-EASTWOOD, G. M. *The Production of linen in pharaonic Egypt*, pp. 19–20, figs. 26 (a–c), 27) and the bowl might be identifiable with a spinning bowl. For spinning bowls compare: ALLEN, S. J. Spinning bowls: Representation and Reality. In PHILLIPS, J. (ed.). *Ancient Egypt, The Aegean, and The Near East, Studies in Honour of Martha Rhoads Bell*, Vol. 1, pp. 17–38 (examples from the Third Intermediate Period: *Ibid.*, p. 26, pl. 2.8–11).

⁷ HOERTH, A. J. Slide Captions, not dated, slide 14.

⁸ HOERTH, A. J. Comments for Central Test Pit and Temple Area, 1 April 1981, p. 3; <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1978.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]. The spear

One of the most important objects was the left upper part of a larger stela found in level IV⁹ that was studied by Ertman (Fig. 1).¹⁰ It was in a poor state of preservation, secondarily used as a door-socket. The limestone stela is round-topped and the preserved fragment is approximately 30 cm high and 20 cm wide. The quality of execution is rather low. The front decorated side features an incised border and it shows the upper part of a figure carved in sunken relief. The figure's front (right) arm apparently hangs along the body; the rear (left) upper arm is very slightly raised. It is unclear whether the figure held an object in the rear hand, but there does not seem to be enough space for a staff or sceptre; no traces of such objects are visible in front of the upper body.

The figure wears a double crown and is apparently male as there are no traces of a wig or any other head cover that would indicate a female deity. According to Ertman, "the sunken curved indentation which breaks the contour of the right shoulder may be the remains of a beard" and the figure may represent a deity (probably Atum) or a deceased king.¹¹ The vertical stroke running parallel to the white crown that was interpreted as part of the red crown is very thin and starts near the figure's neck instead of commencing approximately in the middle of the back of the head. Ertman observed that this form of the white crown and its bulbous top were more usual in the reign of Ramesses II than Ramesses III; the latter is more elongated and slender.¹² In fact, the representations of the crown worn by Ramesses II as well as by Atum on the blocks from the temple of 'Atum of Tjeku' found by Petrie are

was seen as a confirmation for the military character of the site, see The Johns Hopkins University Explorations at Tell el Rataba. General remarks, Manuscript Report, not dated, p. 4. A very similar copper alloy spearhead was already found by Petrie (UC 63131, Petrie Museum, University College London), see PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 33, pl. XXXV B; PETRIE, W. M. F. *Tools and Weapons*, pl. XL (H167). For an iron spearhead found by the Polish-Slovak mission in a Third Intermediate house in Area 2, in a stratum dated to the 22nd dynasty, see RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba 2007 – 2008. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2009, Vol. 19, pp. 261–262.

⁹ The Johns Hopkins University Explorations at Tell el Rataba. General remarks, Manuscript Report, not dated, p. 4; photos available from <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1978.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

¹⁰ ERTMAN, E. R. The Limestone Stele from Tel el Rataba, Manuscript Report, 1981, pp. 1–2; ERTMAN, E. R. Letter to H. Goedicke, 26 March 1981.

¹¹ ERTMAN, E. R. The Limestone Stele from Tel el Rataba, Manuscript Report, 1981, p. 1.

¹² ERTMAN, E. R. The Limestone Stele from Tel el Rataba, Manuscript Report, 1981, pp. 1–2.

comparable to this example.¹³ This detail indicates that the stela is of Ramesside age.

Ertman also observed that there were inscriptions in the upper area as well as “between the figure and the unidentified form placed in front of it”.¹⁴ As for the latter, he noted a *nb* sign that might have been part of the title *nb t3.wj* (‘Lord of the two Lands’). However, this observation might be misleading. According to the available photos, the form in front of the figure’s face rather represents traces of lower arms and hands of another figure that was carved on the right part of the stela, worshipping, or praying. Traces of the title *nb t3.wj* and of a cartouche are discernible in the central ‘column’ in the stela’s upper part.

Ertman suggested that the preserved figure may represent Ramesses II rather than the god Atum and thought that the stela could be a private object honouring the king,¹⁵ but Goedicke turned the attention to the fact that it seems too large and could be rather “official”.¹⁶ Fuller designated the object as a gravestone.¹⁷ The presence of a cartouche supports the thesis that one of the figures represented on the stela was a king – most probably Ramesses II. If he was the figure on the left, then he was being worshipped by the figure that was shown on the right but is now unidentifiable. On the other hand, if the figure on the right was the king, then he was worshipping the figure with the double crown on the left whose identity has to be clarified.

The fragmentary state of the stela makes it difficult to determine its exact nature. However, the object strongly resembles the corpus of the so called ‘Horbeit stelae’ of Ramesside age that comes from Qantir/Piramesse as demonstrated by Labib Habachi.¹⁸ It would not be the only example from this

¹³ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pls. XXIX–XXX.

¹⁴ ERTMAN, E. R. The Limestone Stele from Tel el Rataba, Manuscript Report, 1981, p. 2.

¹⁵ ERTMAN, E. R. Letter to H. Goedicke, 26 March 1981.

¹⁶ GOEDICKE, H. Letter to E. R. Ertman, 7 April 1981.

¹⁷ <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1978.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

¹⁸ HABACHI, L. Khata’na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, pp. 514–559, pls. XXVIII–XXXVIII; HABACHI, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 27–39; HABACHI, L. *Tell el Dab’a I: Tell el Dab’a and Qantir*, pp. 218–219. See also: ROEDER, G. *Die Denkmäler des Pelizaeus-Museums zu Hildesheim*, pp. 93–97; MARTIN, K. Waren die sog. “Horbeitstelen” Türschilder oder waren sie Votivtafeln? In KLOTH, N. (ed.). *Es werde niedergelegt als Schriftstück: Festschrift für Hartwig Altenmüller zum 65. Geburtstag*, pp. 255–262; EXEL, K. *Soldiers, Sailors and Sandalmakers. A Social Reading of Ramesside Period Votive Stelae*, pp. 119–123, 125–127; BUDKA, J. *Der König an der*

corpus found at Tell el-Retaba; another piece was found by the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission during the season 2014.¹⁹ These votive stelae are made of limestone, they are quite small (between 10 and 70 cm high) and the quality of execution is rather low. Their decoration consists of an image of a divinity that is being worshipped by one or two persons standing and lifting their arms in adoration, sometimes holding lotus flowers. The divinity is either Ptah or Amun or it is a statue or colossus of Ramesses II, the latter being attested more frequently.²⁰ Very often, there is also an altar with a vessel and a lotus flower above it. The owners of these statues were mostly low-ranking officials associated with the palace or with the army.

Four different types of statues of Ramesses II are illustrated on the stelae and each of them is designated by name.²¹ Concerning their iconography, two of these four types show a standing (striding) figure of the king placed upon a statue base and supported by a dorsal pillar. Those elements can be, however, omitted. The represented king usually wears the white crown of Upper Egypt with a uraeus and an artificial beard, and his arms hang along the body, holding a handkerchief or a seal. His upper body can be shown in profile as well as in a front view. In some cases, several statues are shown together; there are also examples with the king himself officiating in front of his statue. The statue is usually situated on the left side of the decorated field of the stela.

On the basis of its material, execution and composition, it is possible that the stela from the Central Test Pit may also belong to this corpus and originally comes from Qantir where Ramesses II was apparently worshipped and where the original statues were most probably erected.²² The figure on the left side

Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich, pp. 95–98.

¹⁹ HUDÁKOVÁ, E., HUDEC, J. Fragment of a Ramesside Stela from Tell el-Retaba. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2016, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 163–172.

²⁰ Role and function of the colossi in society and their cult were recently discussed by Price: PRICE, C. Ramesses, 'King of Kings': On the Context and Interpretation of Royal Colossi. In COLLIER, M., SNAPE, S. (eds.). *Ramesside Studies in Honour of K. A. Kitchen*, pp. 403–411.

²¹ HABACHI, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 28ff.; HABACHI, L. Khata'na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, pp. 549–555.

²² HABACHI, L. Khata'na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, pp. 528, 549–555. The distance between Tell el-Retaba and Qantir is only about 30 km.

could represent the statue of Ramesses II, even if the dorsal pillar is missing.²³ It would have been worshipped by the king himself or a private individual, who was once represented on the right part of the stela. The name of the statue (partly in cartouche) would have been written above its head and it would have been one of the names of the two standing types – either ‘Wesermaatre Setepenre Monthu in the Two Lands’ or ‘Ramesses beloved of Amun the God’, the former being most popular.²⁴ It could be argued that the figure represented on the stela from the Central Test Pit wears a double crown instead of the white crown that is regularly associated with the statue types in question. The double crown is characteristic of the representations of the seated statues of Ramesses II and it is usually combined with the *nemes*.²⁵ There are, however, some exceptions that provide parallels for the Tell el-Retaba piece.²⁶

Another possibility is that the figure on the left represents the god Atum, who is being worshipped by the king who originally occupied the right part of the stela and whose name(s) were written in the cartouche(s) above the scene.²⁷

An aspect that could speak against the suggested identification of the monument as one of the ‘Horbeit stelae’ is its size. The stela must have been at least 60 cm high and only one of the ‘Horbeit stelae’ collected by Habachi is actually higher than 60 cm.²⁸

Nevertheless, the position of the stela in a reused state in level IV is further evidence that at Tell el-Retaba stone objects of the Ramesside age were already used as building material in the earliest phase of the Third Intermediate Period. It clearly correlates with the stone fragments (partly decorated) that were re-

²³ For parallels compare e.g. the stelae JE 86124, JE 87832, Hildesheim 1079, Hildesheim 410: HABACHI, L. Khata’na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, pp. 521–526, pls. XXXI, XXXIII; HABACHI, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 31–32, figs. 18, 19; HABACHI, L. *Tell el Dab’a I: Tell el Dab’a and Qantir*, pp. 223–225 (cat. 130, 132), figs. 53–54, pls. 43B, 44A.

²⁴ HABACHI, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 28–29.

²⁵ HABACHI, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 28–29.

²⁶ Compare e.g. stela Hildesheim 410 and 397: HABACHI, L. Khata’na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, p. 537; HABACHI, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 31–32, fig. 19; ROEDER, G. Ramses II. als Gott. Nach den Hildesheimer Denksteinen aus Horbet. In *Zeitschrift Für Ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, 1926, Vol. 61, pls. V.2–V.3.

²⁷ Compare e.g.: HABACHI, L. *Tell el Dab’a I: Tell el Dab’a and Qantir*, pp. 222–223 (cat. 127, 128), figs. 51, 52, pl. 42A.

²⁸ Stela Hildesheim 374 (the most important piece in the collection), see HABACHI, L. Khata’na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, p. 535; HABACHI, L. *Features of the Deification of Ramesses II*, pp. 29–31.

used as tethering stones in the earliest phase of the Third Intermediate Period stable found in Area 6 and that probably come from the temple of Atum.²⁹ Another fragment of a decorated limestone block of Ramesside date was found on the surface in Area 9 (S980). Like the stela, it was re-used as a door pivot, most probably in a Third Intermediate Period house.³⁰ A stone re-used as a door-socket in a Third Intermediate Period structure (?) was also found by the mission of Johns Hopkins University.³¹

1.1 Excursus: Inscribed and decorated stone fragments from Tell el-Retaba

Even in consideration of the ‘Horbeit stelae’ found by the team from Johns Hopkins University and by the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, the number of inscribed and / or decorated stone fragments discovered at Tell el-Retaba is quite limited up to now. As mentioned above, Petrie found several decorated blocks and fragments from the Temple of Atum built by Ramesses II as well as a block with the figure of Ramesses III that was probably part of the same temple after its enlargement.³² Further temple fragments were recently uncovered by the Polish-Slovak mission.³³ Petrie also discovered a dyad of a king (probably Ramesses II) and Atum³⁴ and the lower part of a large stela of Ramesses II³⁵ that belongs to the corpus of the so called Rhetorical stelae of this king.³⁶ Both were made of red granite.

²⁹ RZEPKA, S. et al. New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period in Tell el-Retaba. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2011, Vol. 21, pp. 153–155.

³⁰ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011 – 2012. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2014, Vol. 24, p. 65.

³¹ Sketches attached to the Daily Log “Temple”, 18 June 1978 (the stone was described as “fairly well cut off as maybe reused”).

³² PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 29–30, 31, pls. XXIX, XXX, XXXI; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 194, § 34, p. 405, § 152; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, p. 58, § 34, p. 231, § 152; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, pp. 107–110, § 34, pp. 268–270, § 152.

³³ RZEPKA, S. et al. New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period in Tell el-Retaba. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2011, Vol. 21, pp. 153–155.

³⁴ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 31, pl. XXXII.

³⁵ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 31, pls. XXVIII, XXXII; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, p. 304, § 87; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations II, Ramesses II, Royal*

Among his finds, there was also part of a doorjamb that belonged to the tomb or house (or office) of a certain Usermaatranakht of Tjeku.³⁷ He bore the titles ‘Troop commander’ (‘Chief of a troop of bowmen’), ‘Overseer of foreign lands’, ‘Overseer of foreign lands (and) of god’s lands’ and ‘Overseer of the temple’ in the reign of Ramesses III. According to Eileen Hirsch, he was apparently responsible for the control of the Egyptian border in this district as well as for the administration of the Levant.³⁸ He is most probably identical with the Usermaatranakht whose doorjamb was found in Heliopolis.³⁹ That monument might come from a later point in his career when he was already ‘Royal scribe’ and ‘First Generalissimo of his majesty’.⁴⁰ The latter title is almost exclusively reserved for princes and proves that Usermaatranakht made

Inscriptions, p. 140, § 87; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, pp. 182–183, § 87.

³⁶ They were collected and published by Kitchen: KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. 2, pp. 289–322; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Translations II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, pp. 118–162; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions Translated & Annotated: Notes & Comments II, Ramesses II, Royal Inscriptions*, pp. 173–191.

³⁷ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 31, pl. XXXI [centre bottom]; KITCHEN, K. A. *Ramesside Inscriptions*, Vol. 5, p. 393, § 170. See also BUDKA, J. *Der König an der Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich*, p. 235 [no. 244].

³⁸ HIRSCH, E. Die Beziehungen der ägyptischen Residenz im Neuen Reich zu den vorderasiatischen Vasallen. Die Vorsteher der nördlichen Fremdländer und ihre Stellung bei Hofe. In GUNDLACH, R., KLUG, A. (eds.) *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches. Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik*, p. 149, fig. 17; HIRSCH, E. Ramses III. und sein Verhältnis zur Levante. In GUNDLACH, R., RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, U. (eds.) *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit. Voraussetzungen – Verwirklichung – Vermächtnis*, p. 214, fig. 3.

³⁹ ABD EL-GEILY, M., HAMID, Y., RAUE, D. Two Ramesside Officials at Heliopolis. In *Göttinger Miscellen*, 1996, Vol. 150, pp. 34–35. See also: BUDKA, J. *Der König an der Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich*, pp. 152–153 [no. 82].

⁴⁰ HIRSCH, E. Die Beziehungen der ägyptischen Residenz im Neuen Reich zu den vorderasiatischen Vasallen. Die Vorsteher der nördlichen Fremdländer und ihre Stellung bei Hofe. In GUNDLACH, R., KLUG, A. (eds.) *Der ägyptische Hof des Neuen Reiches. Seine Gesellschaft und Kultur im Spannungsfeld zwischen Innen- und Außenpolitik*, pp. 149, 182; HIRSCH, E. Ramses III. und sein Verhältnis zur Levante. In GUNDLACH, R., RÖSSLER-KÖHLER, U. (eds.) *Das Königtum der Ramessidenzeit. Voraussetzungen – Verwirklichung – Vermächtnis*, p. 214, fig. 4.

an unusual career.⁴¹ The addition of ‘God’s lands’ indicates that Usermaatranakht was well acquainted with the Phoenician coastal region of Syria-Palestine as noted by Morris and it has even been suggested that he might be identical with Wasmu’ri’a-nakhta (Usermaatrankaht) mentioned in the Egyptian-Hittite correspondence who fulfilled a diplomatic function.⁴²

Furthermore, there is another monument that could also be related to his person. The stela JE 88879 from Qantir might mark an earlier point of his career as it belongs to a certain ‘Shield-bearer of the foreign lands’ Usermaatranakht and represents Ramesses III smiting two Asiatics in front of the god Seth.⁴³ According to the text, the owner of the stela was rewarded with 16 arourae of land by the king. Since all the discussed monuments mention a person with the name Usermaatranakht who probably lived in the reign of Ramesses III and whose titles are repeatedly related to the army, it is possible that they refer to a single person.⁴⁴

Another inscribed monument coming from Tell el-Retaba is the fragment of a left doorjamb that was a part of a house/office or a tomb of an official whose name is unfortunately not preserved. The piece is listed in the unpublished dissertation of el-Hangory.⁴⁵ The upper halves of two columns are preserved and each of these columns bears an offering formula invoking the god Atum or a second deity,⁴⁶ respectively, as well as the royal Ka of King Ramesses III.⁴⁷

⁴¹ GNIRS, A. M. *Militär und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, pp. 42, 43.

⁴² MORRIS, E. F. *The Architecture of Imperialism. Military Bases and the Evolution of Foreign Policy in Egypt’s New Kingdom*, pp. 456–458.

⁴³ HABACHI, L. Khata’na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, pp. 507–514, pl. XXIX. See also: HABACHI, L. *Tell el Dab’a I: Tell el Dab’a and Qantir*, pp. 225–226 (cat. 133), fig. 55, pl. 46A.

⁴⁴ Labib Habachi who published the stela JE 88879 also turned his attention to some jar docketts from Qantir that bear hieratic inscriptions and mention the ‘Royal scribe of the army’ Usermaatranakht (HABACHI, L. Khata’na – Qantir: Importance. In *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l’Égypte*, 1954, Vol. 52, pp. 510–514). These date, however, to the reign of Ramesses II; cf. GNIRS, A. M. *Militär und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Sozialgeschichte des Neuen Reiches*, p. 199, FN 63. This Usermaatranakht seems to be represented among the sons of Nakhtmin on his stela BM 292, where he bears the same title, cf. CHEVEREAU, P. – M. *Prosopographie des cadres militaires égyptiens du Nouvel Empire*, p. 203 [no. 30.11].

⁴⁵ EL-HANGORY, M. S. *Eighth Nome of Lower Egypt in the Second Intermediate Period. Archaeological Research*, p. 303, exhibit no. 40.

⁴⁶ The identity of the deity mentioned in the left column is not clear; the copy of the inscription is fragmentary.

Among the wishes a ‘nice burial’ (right column) and a ‘nice lifetime’ (left column) are mentioned.

2. Season 1981

The season of 1981 (29 September – 27 October) turned out to be a rescue excavation as the tell had been significantly damaged due to the installation of two high capacity water pipes through its central part (Fig. 2).⁴⁸ A huge trench – approximately 8 meters wide and up to 5.5 meters deep – cut the area into two parts in N-S direction. Apart from the trench itself, the western part of the tell was used as a parking area for heavy equipment and ancient mudbrick structures situated on the south edge of the tell were levelled. Michael Fuller and Abu Bakr Mahmoud Hassanean from the Egyptian Antiquities Service stayed at the site to monitor the situation. Fuller focused on the documentation of the trench’s profiles and structures that had been uncovered.

2.1. Petrie’s Wall 2 and Wall 3

In the south part of the trench, the defensive walls designated by Petrie as Wall 2 and Wall 3 were cut through (Fig. 3).⁴⁹ Wall 2 was built by Ramesses III, whose foundation deposit was uncovered by Petrie in the south-east corner.⁵⁰ Concerning Wall 2, nine courses of mudbricks laid in a header bond were

⁴⁷ For offering formulae on door jambs see BUDKA, J. *Der König an der Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich*, pp. 34–35, 41–43. For the invocation of Ramesside kings, royal Kas and the god Atum on door jambs and lintels see BUDKA, J. *Der König an der Haustür. Die Rolle des ägyptischen Herrschers an dekorierten Türgewänden von Beamten im Neuen Reich*, pp. 29–30, 59–61, 68. For a comparable monument with door jambs decorated with several offering formulae invoking the royal Ka together with other deities (Amun-Re/Mut/Chons/Ptah/Sakhmet/Seth) see HABACHI, L. *Tell el Dab’a I: Tell el Dab’a and Qantir*, pp. 198–199 (cat. 74 = JE 58705), pl. 25, folding plate 4.

⁴⁸ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, pp. 23–30, fig. 5; <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

⁴⁹ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, pp. 23–25, fig. 6.

⁵⁰ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 30, 33, pls. XXXII A, XXXIV, XXXV C.

preserved (locus 106). The foundation consisted of five courses of mudbricks (locus 105) that rested on 10 cm of grey sand (locus 107). The mudbricks were laid in alternating courses of headers and stretchers.

Both faces of the wall were cleared for a distance of 3.5 meters; they had a bearing of 93 degrees. In the eastern profile, the wall was 10.72 meters wide along a bearing of 352 degrees (it was not cut on the perpendicular); the actual wall thickness was 10.52 meters.⁵¹ The preserved height of the wall and its foundation was 1.8 meters. The inner face sloped at an angle of 3 degrees inward from vertical. The outer face was made of puddled mud and the same material was also used in the core of the wall. The mud was brown (10YR5/3); the bricks used in the main body of the wall as well as along the inner face were sandy, pale-brown (10YR6/3) and measured 46 x 22 x 10 cm.

‘Wall 3’ was much disturbed and the preserved width was only 7.46 meters (locus 109), whereas Petrie recorded the width in three different areas as 8.81, 8.92 and 8.94 meters.⁵² Only four courses of bricks of the inner face were still preserved, the height of which was 0.8 meters. The mudbricks were brown (7.5YR/2) with straw inclusions and measured 42–48 x 21 x 15 cm. They rested upon very pale brown cross-bedded sand (10YR8/3, locus 108).

Due to the destruction of the southern part of Wall 3, its relation to Wall 2 remained unclear. The foundation of Wall 3 was, however, 1.8 meters higher than the foundation of Wall 2. Fuller assumed that the wall was built in the Third Intermediate Period.

These data and measurements correspond exactly with the findings of the Polish-Slovak mission. Northwards of the migdol in Area 4 a fundament of Wall 2 was discovered and it was 10.4 m wide (ca. 20 Egyptian cubits) and the bricks were 46–50 x 22 x 10–11 cm.⁵³ A unique sand buttress, which was discovered supporting the internal side of Wall 2, so far on its western and south-western part⁵⁴, has also its pendant in the pipeline trench as locus 108 (Fig. 3). A fragment of Wall 3 uncovered in Area 9 was built of 42 x 18 x 14 cm

⁵¹ Petrie and Duncan recorded the maximal width as 9.5 meters, see PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 30.

⁵² PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 30.

⁵³ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011 – 2012. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2014, Vol. 24, pp. 70–71.

⁵⁴ ČERNÝ, M., HUDEC, J. Fortifications at Tell el-Retaba. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2016, Vol. 25, No. 2, p. 125, Fig. 17.

large mudbricks.⁵⁵ Only 2–3 layers of bricks were preserved; the maximal preserved height was ca. 1 meter. The state of preservation was thus the same as in the area of the pipeline trench. Wall 3 was constructed on the grey sand, i.e. upper layer of the buttress of Wall 2, and on several thin layers, which filled the space above the abut of the buttress and Wall 1.⁵⁶ Recently, a detailed analysis of the wall's construction and materials was published by Hudec and Černý.⁵⁷ Concerning the dating, however, new discoveries were made. On the basis of pottery from an associated building, Wall 3 was dated to the first half of the 20th dynasty (Area 9).⁵⁸ It is thus either contemporary or only slightly younger than Wall 2. Nevertheless, the exact chronological relation between the two walls is still open to discussion.⁵⁹

2.2 Long profile of the pipeline trench

In the course of the documentation of the pipeline trench, Fuller measured and described 125 meters of its eastern profile – from the centre of the tell up to its southern edge.⁶⁰ He determined 88 different loci and drew a “sketch” profile, 15 profile sheets of which were published on his website.⁶¹ Fuller identified some empty areas, only containing a silo (locus 112) and deposits of rubbish

⁵⁵ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011 – 2012. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2014, Vol. 24, p. 73.

⁵⁶ RZEPKA, S. et al. From Hyksos Settlers to Ottoman Pipe Smokers. Tell el-Retaba 2014. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2015, Vol. 25, pp. 126–127.

⁵⁷ ČERNÝ, M., HUDEC, J. Fortifications at Tell el-Retaba. In *Asian and African Studies*, 2016, Vol. 25, No. 2, pp. 117–144.

⁵⁸ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011 – 2012. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2014, Vol. 24, p. 73.

⁵⁹ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011 – 2012. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2014, Vol. 24, pp. 74–75; RZEPKA, S. et al. From Hyksos Settlers to Ottoman Pipe Smokers. Tell el-Retaba 2014. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2015, Vol. 25, pp. 126–127.

⁶⁰ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, pp. 30–31; <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981profiles.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

⁶¹ <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981profiles.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]. Description of the loci is unfortunately not available anymore.

(secondary refuse).⁶² Because of the absence of ovens and primary refuse, it was suggested that those areas might have been used for keeping animals.

The northern defence wall was not mentioned in the documentation because of the length of the described profile; it covered the area from the centre of the site to its south edge. It seems, however, that Wall 1 was drawn in the profile, despite not being identified as such – it has got number L.113 & L.117 (Fig. 4) According to the transposition of Petrie's plan over the contour map of the Polish-Slovak mission, which recorded the route of the large capacity pipeline, the distance between the internal face of Wall 2 and the internal face of Wall 1 is more than 30 m. It seems, that in Fuller's profile the northern face of locus 113 (L.113) is about 31.2 m distant from the northern face of Wall 2.

2.3 Cemetery north of the tell

Approximately 400 meters (quarter of a mile) northwards of the tell, Petrie identified a cemetery with burials from the late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period, all of which were plundered.⁶³ In the course of the construction of the irrigation pipeline, three tombs most probably belonging to this cemetery were disturbed.⁶⁴

The best preserved tomb, situated 127 meters northwards of the site, was documented (Fig. 5). It consisted of a rectangular chamber whose eastern part was destroyed by the machinery. The preserved length was 3.86 meters and the width was 2.65 meters. The walls of the tomb were made of six courses of mudbricks reaching the height of 42 centimetres. The bricks were greyish brown to pale brown and their dimensions varied between 37 x 18 x 7 cm and 40 x 20 x 8 cm. The chamber was filled with very pale brown sand and there was an elongated pottery coffin situated in the north-western corner, oriented W-E. The tomb was plundered in antiquity; only ten pottery sherds were discovered (seven of Nile Silt and three of Marl), but, unfortunately, none of them was diagnostic.

⁶² Most probably the areas drawn on the profile sheets 8–12 (?), see <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981profiles.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

⁶³ PETRIE, W. M. F., DUNCAN, J. G. *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 32, pls. XXXIII, XXXIV, XXXV A; ASTON, D. *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth-Seventh Centuries BC): Tentative Footsteps in a Forbidding Terrain*, pp. 27–28.

⁶⁴ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, pp. 28–30; <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

The coffin was 192 cm long, 60 cm wide and 18 cm high; its walls were very slightly incurving and ca. 3 cm thick. It was made of local clay and tempered with straw and dung. The coffin was apparently not very well fired, as the interior was red (10YR4/8), the exterior reddish brown (5YR5/4) and the core black (5YR2.5/1). Only a few remains of bones were found inside. The pottery lid was entirely missing and because of the absence of any fragments it was suggested that the lid might have been made of wood.

Pottery coffins of the type known from the New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period usually consist of a basin and a lid. The basins are usually oval and were covered either with a lid made of pottery or with branches, mudbricks, or slabs of stone.⁶⁵ The coffin documented by Fuller belongs to this group and most probably dates to the Third Intermediate Period.⁶⁶ The W-E orientation of the burial was prevalent in the New Kingdom and also remained in use later on.⁶⁷

2.4 Infant and sub-adult cemetery

In the area of the pump station for the irrigation pipeline, namely in the central southern part of the tell, a cemetery of jar burials was cut through.⁶⁸ The Egyptian Irrigation Authority allowed merely one hour for their salvage and documentation (loci 201–215).⁶⁹

⁶⁵ COTELLE-MICHEL, L. *Les Sarcophages en Terre Cuite*, pp. 270–305 (esp. pp. 293–301, III-L2 and III-L3).

⁶⁶ COTELLE-MICHEL, L. *Les Sarcophages en Terre Cuite*, p. 122.

⁶⁷ Compare e.g. the Ramesside cemetery between Tell el-Daba and Ezbet Helmi: HULKOVÁ, L. *Ein ramessidischer Friedhof zwischen Tell el-Dab'a und 'Ezbet Helmi*, pp. 28–30, 60–67.

⁶⁸ According to the report of Colley from the year 1977, an unexpectedly high frequency of burials was also discovered in the southeast section of the fortress after tracing Petrie's walls. "The graves were only touched and not cleared." COOLEY, R. E. Report about the Preliminary Survey in Wadi Tumilat by the Joint Johns Hopkins Archaeological Expedition, Manuscript Report, 1977, p. 4.

⁶⁹ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, pp. 25–28, fig. 7; <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]; <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots2.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]. The skeletons were too friable and could not have been preserved. A detailed list of the loci and the related finds will be published later.

Loci 201, 214 and 215 were interpreted as isolated interments. Loci 202, 203, 207, 208, 209, 211 and 212 were all situated along the west wall of the trench, forming a cluster, and all were “either enclosed and/or capped by a mudbrick structure”.⁷⁰ Concerning the loci 202 and 203, for instance, two courses of mudbricks were placed 40 cm above the jar burials.

Locus 202 was a burial in a handle-less storage jar oriented NE-SW (29 degrees east of north). The base was broken and this opening was apparently used to insert the body into the jar, but no skeletal remains were preserved. The base was then used to close the opening, while the mouth of the jar was covered with a nipple-base bowl.⁷¹

Locus 203 was a similar infant burial oriented NE-SW; the mouth of the storage jar had been unfortunately destroyed by the diesel shovel. The head of the child was deposited in the bottom of the jar, facing northwest. In front of the face, there were two amulets of green faience⁷² and one barrel shaped bead made of quartz. The first amulet was 3.3 cm long and most probably represented the god Seth (or Thoth) holding a staff.⁷³ The second amulet, which was only 1.8 cm long, remained unidentified (god Bes?).⁷⁴ Apart from these, only one further amulet in the form of a *wedjat* eye made of green faience was discovered in association with this cluster; it was found close to the burials in the loose sand at the bottom of the trench.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, p. 26.

⁷¹ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, p. 38, figs. 8, 13g. Photo of the jar in situ: <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]. The use of bowls to close the mouth of the jar is also attested in the Ramesside cemetery between Tell el-Daba and Ezbet Helmi: HULKOVÁ, L. *Ein ramessidischer Friedhof zwischen Tell el-Dab‘a und ‘Ezbet Helmi*, pp. 30, 54–56.

⁷² FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, fig. 9.

⁷³ <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

⁷⁴ On his homepage, Fuller identified one of the three amulets, which were found, with the god Bes (<http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots.html> [cit. 6 January 2017] – see description of the image displaying the god Seth).

⁷⁵ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, p. 27. According to Fuller’s homepage, however, the amulet was also associated with locus 203 (<http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots.html> [cit. 6 January 2017] – see the description of the image displaying burial 203 and the *Wedjat* eye as well as the god Seth).

Locus 211 was an infant burial within a large storage jar with two handles, having the same orientation as locus 203 described above.⁷⁶ The face of the cranium faced northwest and the body lay on the left side; the legs were flexed and the arms were tucked up in front of the upper body.

The four-handled jar of locus 204 was much larger than the other jars discovered.⁷⁷ It was partly filled with sand and in the lower half a nipple-base bowl placed upside down was found. According to Fuller, it either served as a cover for the cranium of a child buried in the jar or it was put into the jar as an offering.⁷⁸

The burial jars did not contain any remains of food or “evidence of a pitch or lime lining”.⁷⁹

Fuller dated the cemetery to the 19th dynasty.⁸⁰ However, the pottery seems to date to the late New Kingdom (– Third Intermediate Period). Apart from the jars used for the burials, several bowls with flaring rims and rounded or nipple bases (loci 202, 204, 206, 212, 213)⁸¹ as well as bowls with direct red painted rims (loci 201, 207) were found in association with them.⁸² There was also a tall jar with a flaring neck, tapering base and black-painted decoration (locus 209), small globular jar with a tall neck and a rolled rim (locus 210), globular jar with

⁷⁶ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, p. 38, fig. 10.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 38–39, figs. 11, 13e.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 28. For the custom of using a bowl to cover the cranium of the deceased see e.g. HULKOVÁ, L. *Ein ramessidischer Friedhof zwischen Tell el-Dab‘a und ‘Ezbet Helmi*, pp. 55, 152–154.

⁷⁹ FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, p. 28.

⁸⁰ FULLER, M. J. §5. – Tell el Retaba 1981 (Johns Hopkins University). In *Bulletin de Liaison du Groupe International d’Étude de la Céramique Égyptienne*, 1981, Vol. 6, pp. 6–7.

⁸¹ Compare: ASTON, D. *Elephantine XIX: Pottery from the Late New Kingdom to the Early Ptolemaic Period*, pl. 9.193; ASTON, D. *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth-Seventh Centuries BC): Tentative Footsteps in a Forbidding Terrain*, fig.188.i.

⁸² FULLER, M. J. Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, pp. 39–43, figs. 12–14; <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]; <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots2.html> [cit. 6 January 2017].

a short neck and a rolled rim⁸³ and an elongated jar with a funnel neck and a pointed base (locus 205).⁸⁴

In the area along the western part of the southern defence walls, infant burials were already discovered by Petrie in 1906 (who described them as ‘infant sacrifices’) and by the SCA mission in 1990.⁸⁵ The amphorae found by the SCA can be dated to the late 18th – early 19th dynasty and the burial found by Petrie most probably belonged to the same cemetery. Furthermore, the Polish-Slovak mission discovered infant burials in Area 4 in association with Wall 1 and those were dated to the 19th dynasty (reign of Ramesses II).⁸⁶ An infant burial from the 19th or early 20th dynasty was found in migdol’s gateway (reign of Ramesses III?).⁸⁷ The burials of the late New Kingdom documented by Fuller were apparently found close to southern Walls ‘2’ and ‘3’, in the same area as those found by Petrie and SCA but further east. It is thus evident that children were repeatedly buried close to the defence walls at Tell el-Retaba, from the late 18th–early 19th dynasty throughout the entire New Kingdom, in or outside the forts. Therefore, it is possible to assume that a civil and/or military staff of the fortresses used to have family members with them, thus the fortresses could have had rather permanent New Kingdom occupancy.⁸⁸

⁸³ Compare ASTON, D. *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth – Seventh Centuries BC): Tentative Footsteps in a Forbidding Terrain*, fig. 196.e, f, i.

⁸⁴ Compare ASTON, D. *Egyptian Pottery of the Late New Kingdom and Third Intermediate Period (Twelfth – Seventh Centuries BC): Tentative Footsteps in a Forbidding Terrain*, fig. 194.c.

⁸⁵ See GÓRKA, K., RZEPKA, S. Infant Burials or Infant Sacrifices? New Discoveries from Tell el-Retaba. In *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo*, 2013, Vol. 67 (2011), pp. 93–100 (esp. pp. 98–99), figs. 1, 12.

⁸⁶ GÓRKA, K., RZEPKA, S. Infant Burials or Infant Sacrifices? New Discoveries from Tell el-Retaba. In *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Kairo*, 2013, Vol. 67 (2011), pp. 93–100. See also RZEPKA, S. et al. New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period in Tell el-Retaba. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2011, Vol. 21, pp. 155–156, 165.

⁸⁷ RZEPKA, S. et al. Tell el-Retaba from the Second Intermediate Period till the Late Period. Results of the Polish-Slovak Archaeological Mission, Seasons 2011 – 2012. In *Ägypten und Levante*, 2014, Vol. 24, pp. 67–68, 101–102.

⁸⁸ In the Lower Nubia, there is scarce evidence of permanent or family occupancy, respectively, in the forts before the end of the Middle Kingdom/early Second Intermediate Period, cf. MOELLER, N. *The Archaeology of Urbanism in Ancient Egypt: From the Predynastic Period to the End of the Middle Kingdom*, p. 343.

3. Conclusions

Part of a stela found in level IV of the Central Test Pit in 1978 strongly resembles the corpus of the so called 'Horbeit stelae' of Ramesside age. A similar piece was found by the Polish-Slovak Mission in 2014. The stela from level IV represents further evidence that Ramesside stone objects at Tell el-Retaba were already re-used as building material (door pivot, door-socket) and tethering stones in the earliest phase of the Third Intermediate Period.

Because of different levels of foundation of Petrie's Walls 2 and 3, Fuller assumed that Wall 3 was built in the Third Intermediate Period. Recent excavations by the Polish-Slovak mission indicate, however, that Wall 3 is either contemporary or only slightly younger than Wall 2 constructed during the rule of Ramesses III.

Three burials from the late New Kingdom and the Third Intermediate Period were discovered at a cemetery north of the tell. Infant and sub-adult cemetery of jar burials was considerably quickly documented on the opposite site, in the central southern periphery of the tell, and dated by Fuller to the 19th Dynasty. Taking into account pottery and other burials (excavated by Petrie, the SCA missions and the Polish-Slovak Mission in Area 4), it seems likely that children were repeatedly buried in or outside the fortress close to the defence walls throughout the entire New Kingdom's assumed permanent occupancy.

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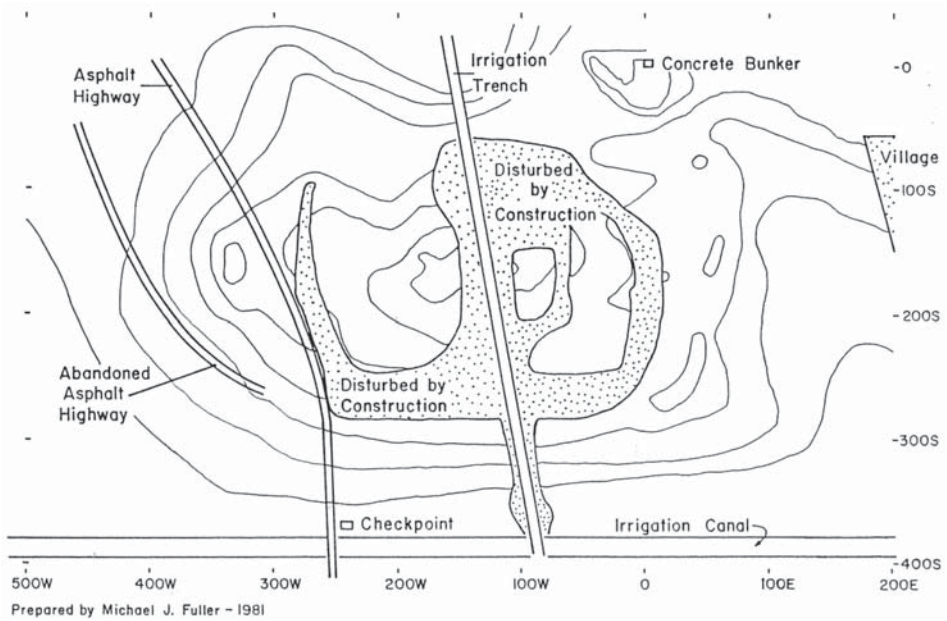
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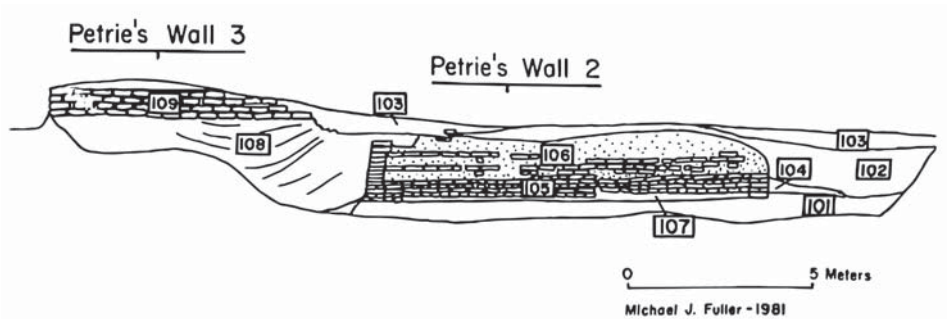
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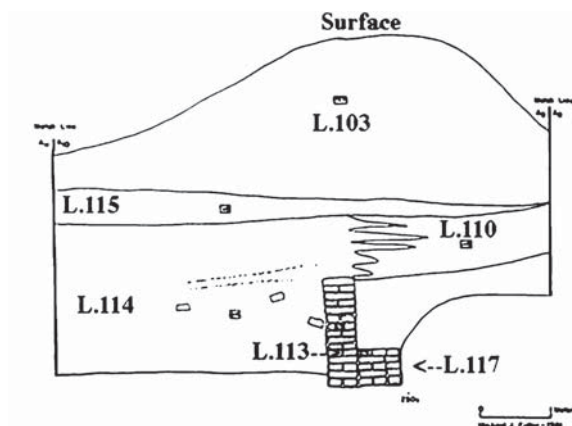
Hudáková – Hudec, Fig. 1. Stela found in the Central Test Pit in 1978. Photo according to ERTMAN, E. R., *The Limestone Stele From Tel el Rataba*, Manuscript Report, 1981; ERTMAN, E. R., Letter to H. Goedicke, 26 March 1981.



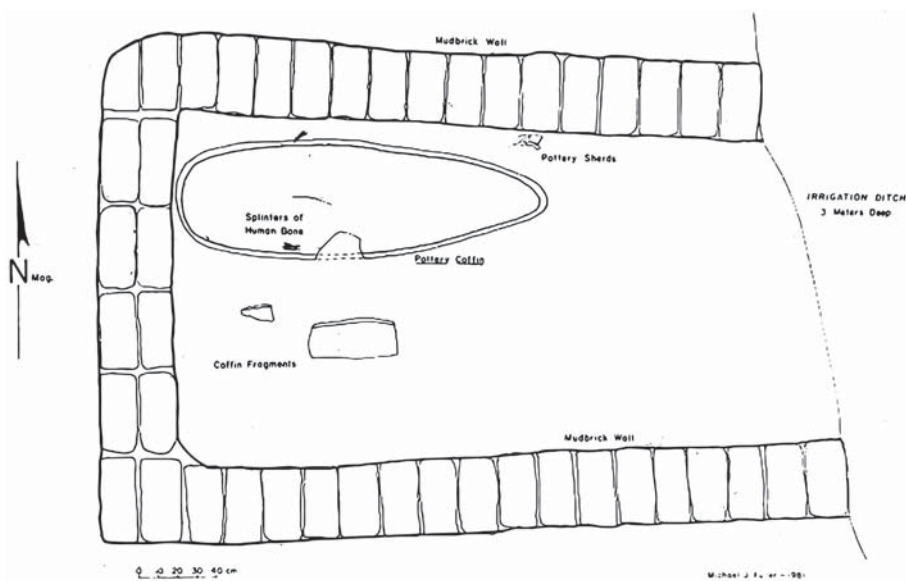
Hudáková – Hudec, Fig. 2. Map of Tell el-Retaba prepared by Michael J. Fuller in 1981, with the areas disturbed by military and irrigation activity indicated. Drawing according to FULLER, M. J., Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, fig. 5.



Hudáková – Hudec, Fig. 3. Profile of Petrie's Wall 2 and 3 in the southern part of Tell el-Retaba; prepared by Michael J. Fuller. Drawing according to FULLER, M. J., Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, fig. 6 (original drawing is lost, copy is available online: <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]).



Hudáková – Hudec, Fig. 4. “Sketch” profile of the pipeline trench, sheet no. 10 with loci 113 and 117 that might be identified with Petrie’s Wall 1; prepared by Michael J. Fuller in 1981. Available from <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981profiles.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]).



Hudáková – Hudec, Fig. 5. Plan of the mudbrick walls and pottery coffin of the burial 127W excavated to the north of the site; prepared by Michael J. Fuller in 1981. Drawing according to FULLER, M. J., Preliminary Report of Excavations at Tell el-Retaba, Egypt, Manuscript under preparation, 17 January 1986, fig. 14 (original drawing is lost, copy is available online: <http://users.stlcc.edu/mfuller/Retaba/Retaba1981pots.html> [cit. 6 January 2017]).