The Barkal Temples in 1916 (Continued)

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THE BARKAL TEMPLES IN 1916

(continued from Vol. IV, p. 227)

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE A. REISNER

II. THE TEMPLE B. 600.

TEMPLE 600, marked J in Lepsius' plan (see Vol. IV, p. 214) and *t* in that of Cailliaud, is a very small structure high up at the base of the next ridge "north" of the Great Temple (B. 500), and is rather a chapel than a temple. It consists of an inner room (603) with a low platform against the back wall, approached by a stair, an outer room (602) with the bases of four columns, and a portico with eight columns; see the plan, Plate X. The walls are fairly well built, but consist mainly of re-used stones. They were never incised either with scenes or with inscriptions; nor is any trace of painting to be detected. The floor is three metres higher than the floor of B. 703. On the "northern" side, outside, opposite the wall between 602 and 603, a screen-wall had been built between 600 and 700 to keep back the débris from above. This was later than 600 and later than the Meroitic restoration of 700. Thus 600 would appear to have been in existence and probably in use at the same time as 700-Meroitic, *i.e.* about first century B.C. Furthermore, the masonry is much the same as that of 700-Meroitic, while the *portico* and the absence of inscriptions point definitely to the Meroitic period.

Uninteresting as B. 600 is in itself, the excavation revealed several facts of importance for the history of the site. Among the re-used stones in its walls, one bore the cartouche of Men-kheperuw-Rē (Tuthmosis IV). Another, which had also been re-used and was found in the débris of 602, had part of a cartouche which can only be restored to Tuthmosis. Both of these stones are of grey-drab sandstone (nearly white). In the walls were several other grey stones with fragments of sculpture, and all these may be presumed to come from a temple of Tuthmosis IV. Now, in clearing where the floor of 600 was broken, the surface of the virgin soil underneath was found to fall away from a level about 50 cm. below the floor at the "eastern" wall to a level about 200 cm. below under the "western" wall of the portico. This space was filled with a mass of black débris (much decayed mud), which extended also "eastwards" for four or five metres. Contained in this mass of black débris under 600, we picked up remnants of foundation walls and the foundation-piers of columns. Both the "northern" columns of Meroitic 602 rested on these old piers; but a complete plan of what was preserved could not be followed without destroying 600. All the stones of these foundation walls were of yellow-brown sandstone in large blocks, a stone not used at Barkal or Nûri after Tanutaman, but used in the earlier period even for the small squared blocks of the Ramesside period. It is not improbable that the grey sandstone walls of Tuthmosis IV may have stood on these foundation walls.

BARKAL TEMPLES 600 & 700

AND PAVED ROADWAY

UNDERLINED NOS DENOTE LEVELS OVER 250 MS ABOVE SEA-LEVEL AT ALEXANDRIA

10 METRES

In the black débris under the "north-eastern" corner of room 602, near the inner angle of the older foundation wall, the contents of a disturbed foundation deposit of Tuthmosis IV were found scattered but all within the same cubic metre of débris. The name was given by two small plaques of blue faïence, inscribed on one side

The other objects were a lot of small ring beads of blue faïence, some scraps of gold foil, and twelve or more small model pots of ordinary red-brown ware. See Vol. IV, Plate XLV; there were six or more of the first kind there depicted, one of the second, four or more of the third, and one of the fourth. The forms of these pottery models are the same as those of the model vessels of the foundation deposits of Tuthmosis III found in Egypt; and the vessels may be safely ascribed to the same deposit as the plaques of Tuthmosis IV just mentioned.

This material—the re-used inscribed blocks of Tuthmosis IV, the older foundation walls, and the deposit of Tuthmosis IV—justifies the conclusion that a temple of Tuthmosis IV once stood approximately on the same site as that now occupied by B. 600.

Just in front of the portico of B. 600, a burial was found which was earlier than the accumulation of dark débris containing the foundation and the foundation deposit of the temple of Tuthmosis IV. It consisted of a narrow oval pit sunk only 30 cm. in the virgin soil of the red sandbank, and was filled with clean red sand broken from this same red soil. If the grave had been dug after the accumulation of the dark débris, the filling would have been of sand and dark débris mixed. This shows that the burial must have been previous to any occupation of the site, and certainly previous to Tuthmosis IV. The body lay on the right side, with the knees drawn up level with the hips, the head towards the "east"—a typical burial-position of the Lower Nubian C-group. Another burial was found exactly similar later about 15 metres further "west." This was accompanied by a stone armlet and a deep bowl of smooth coarse red ware, both of which might well belong to the corresponding archaeological group of Lower Nubia; but the material is too meagre to justify assigning the burials definitely to the C-group. It may be said, however, that they certainly represent burials of local inhabitants of a period earlier than Tuthmosis IV, and in all probability earlier than the New Empire.

To sum up, temple B. 600 is a small and poor structure of the Meroitic period (about first century A.D.), standing on the site of a temple of Tuthmosis IV and built largely of re-used stones from that temple. It is possible that the Meroitic builders intended it as a reconstruction of the Tuthmosis temple, and the perfunctory execution may have been due to the fact that the rebuilding was merely a useless work of piety. The Tuthmosis temple had probably been crushed by a fall of rock from the cliff. B. 600 certainly suffered that fate, and its remains have been greatly diminished by the subsequent removal of stone for building purposes, a process which has continued down to recent times.

B 702. "W" WALL, "N" HALF & SECTION OF "N" WALL.

B 700 SECTION ON A-B

DOORWAY FROM 702 TO 703, "SOUTH" SIDE

Temple B700, looking "west" from the cliff above

III. THE TEMPLE B. 700.

Temple B. 700, H in the plan of Lepsius, and s in that of Cailliaud, adjoins B. 600 on the "north," standing on the same ridge of ancient detritus. Like B. 600, B. 700 stands at the foot of the cliff, and when we began work the back part was covered with great blocks of sandstone fallen from the cliff. From beneath this mass of rocks, a bank of hard packed sand and dust ran out towards the river and covered the front part of 700, the paved roadway, B. 900 and a strip along the "southern" side of B. 900. This bank was so like the older ridges in appearance that after a first superficial inspection I reckoned it as "gebel" and planned to dump the débris from 700 upon it. A series of preliminary trenches revealed, however, dirty débris at a depth of nearly two metres, and the mass of the bank was found to contain potsherds, small faïence objects, and fragments of hard stone statuettes (New Empire). These objects ranged in date from the New Empire to the Christian period and proved that, in spite of its ancient appearance, the bank was of comparatively recent origin. Trenches cut to the "north" of B. 700 along the foot of the cliff exposed an area of unoccupied ground, and here the débris from 700, 800, 900 and the intervening space had been thrown, being piled up against the cliff. The breaking of the huge blocks of sandstone on the back of 700 and the removal of the fragments were a work of considerable difficulty. Underneath these blocks, the back rooms; 703 and 704 (see the plan, Plate X), were found filled with the detritus from the blocks as well as with sand washed from the cliff. Their walls had been denuded to the top of this débris by the removal of stone. In room 702 and in the portico, not only had the upper parts of the walls and the columns been removed but also the paved floors. The room 702 and the portico were filled with disturbed dirty débris which had been turned over and over, probably by treasure-seekers. The disturbance extended to the virgin soil beneath. Thus the only undisturbed layers of débris were in rooms 703 and 704. In room 704, the contents of the room at the time of the last occupation, when a part of the cliff fell, were found intact except for the damage done by the fall of rock. In room 703, the same condition existed over the larger part of the room, but the floor along the "northern" wall had been penetrated, also probably by treasure-seekers. In spite of the breaking up of the débris in the rest of the temple, the greater part of the objects in the disturbed débris seemed to belong to the time of the last occupation of the temple; but with these there were fragments of older things, especially of statues and an obelisk.

(1) THE MEROITIC TEMPLE, B. 700.

The temple B. 700, as it stood when cleared (see the photograph, Plate XII), consisted of three rooms, a pylon, and a portico. The portico, supported by eight columns screened on the outside, is a feature typical of the Meroitic period, but the temple was definitely dated by the objects found in the undisturbed débris in 704 which came from the last occupation of the temple. These objects consisted of

- (1) a standing statue of a god (?) in grey sandstone, about 3/4 life-size, badly broken and decayed, and of crude Meroitic work.
- (2) several sandstone statuettes of the same workmanship, and in the same condition.
- (3) a standing statuette of the ram-headed Amūn in black granite, of better Meroitic work.
- (4) a small uninscribed altar of granite.
- (5) two ram's-head amulets in green-glazed, *red-bodied* faïence as found in the Barkal pyramids.

- (6) twelve small bronze figures of Osiris, as found in Barkal pyramid VIII.
 (7) four glass inlays from a small wooden box (decayed fragments and bronze rivets), like the glass found in Barkal pyramids I—VIII ;

and other small objects, including potsherds such as were found in the Barkal pyramids. Most of the objects found were identical in form, material and workmanship with those found by us in the Barkal pyramids, and I have no hesitation in assigning them to the first century B.C. or somewhat later. They belong to the last period of occupation of the temple and in all probability to the same generation as that which gave the temple its final form.

The large sandstone figure stood in front of the small granite altar, facing the door; see Plate XIII, top. On its right stood the black statuette of Amūn, while the small objects seemed to have been cast in from the doorway. On the right of the sandstone figure stood a faceless statuette of Amenophis III in green slate. In spite of a most careful search, the missing face was not to be found in the débris of either 704 or 703. If the statuette had been broken by the fall of rock, the face would have been in front of the statuette on the floor. It is probable therefore that the face was already broken off when the statuette was placed in its present position. The inscriptions of the statuette are here reproduced in hand-copies (Fig. 1).

Fig. 1. Statue of Amenophis III

Room 704, as opened, looking "east"

The Meroitic statue, small altar and statuette of Amenophis III are seen in the débris

Room 703, looking "south-south-east"

[These hieroglyphic legends contain but little beyond the names and titles of Amenophis III; only the following are worth translation:

Right side of base: *All lands and every hill-country, Upper Rethenu and Lower Rethenu, are at the feet of this Good God. All people praise (him), that they may live.*

Left side of base: *All lands and every hill-country, all distant hill-countries and Khenthenūfer (i.e. the Sudân) are at the feet of this Good God. All people praise (him), that they may live.—ED.]*

The erasure of the name of Amūn is, I believe, the most southerly example of the work of Amenophis IV in his struggle with the priesthood of Amūn. The examples of New Empire sculpture and architecture at Barkal are now so numerous that the only possible conclusion is that this statue was originally placed in one of the New Empire temples at Barkal, and in all probability in a temple built by Amenophis III. The builders who gave to B. 700 its present form must have found this statuette, probably in the débris of some older temple—possibly the unexcavated temple “north” of 800—and must have placed it for some reason in the inner sanctuary (B. 704) along with the Meroitic statuettes. Curiously enough, there is evidence of the activity at Barkal of a Meroitic king whose -name was also Neb-ma^cet-rē^c. He had a small shrine in the form of an omphalos (see the note by Mr Griffith in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. III, p. 255), which was placed in the temple of Amūn (B. 500); it may well have been this king who restored B. 700 and B. 600. If the restoration took place in or near his time, it is possible that the statuette of Amenophis III, on which only the -name remained, was mistaken for a statuette of this Meroitic king produced by magic. On the other hand, the act of placing the chance-found statuette in the sanctuary may have been dictated by simple piety.

The Meroitic temple B. 700 was clearly the mere restoration of an older temple which bore the names of the Ethiopian kings Atlanarsa and Senkamanseken. The Ethiopian and the Meroitic parts were plainly distinguishable both by the type of masonry and by the inscriptions on the older walls. The room 704 and the portico had not been in the original plan and were entirely Meroitic. The foundations of the older “eastern” wall of 703 passed under the doorway to 704, while the walls of 704 were very roughly built of re-used stones and faced on the inside only. The stones re-used in these walls bore the name of Atlanarsa. The portico was built on very rough foundations resting partly on débris and containing re-used stones; it was built against the pylon and both the plan and the conventional papyrus columns were Meroitic in style. Apart from these additions to the original plan, the Meroitic restoration consisted of a reconstruction of the *inside faces* of the “southern” and “eastern” walls of room 703. This masonry was of smaller stones than the older masonry,—the stones of which appeared to have been obtained by re-cutting older stones. Like B. 600, none of the Meroitic walls bore the least trace of any inscription, whether incised or painted.

(2) THE ETHIOPIAN TEMPLE, B. 700.

When I had identified the Meroitic parts of B. 700, the remainder was seen to be built on one plan and to form a coherent bonded structure which was dated by its inscriptions to the reigns of Atlanarsa and Senkamanseken, which I am inclined to place at about 650—610 B.C. This Ethiopian temple consisted of two rooms only, 702 and 703, each with four

Altar from B703, "west" side

Altar from B703, "east" side

On the back or "east" side (Plate XIV, bottom) Atlanarsa is seen facing to left, supporting the sign of the sky with upraised arms: on the two sides of the head the explanatory legend "supporting his father." To right and left of the king are the Meret-goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, with raised hands; the words sung by them are written before them "The god comes; give adoration, four times." On the "south" and "north" of the scene are the vertical columns C and D respectively.

The "north" and "south" sides of the altar show two scenes each. The lower scene, which is identical in the two cases, shows both cartouches of Atlanarsa (surmounted by the usual feathers and disk) vertically upon the -sign; beside which are the usual papyrus and lily clumps. On either side the legend "Ha^cpy gives food-offerings." The two upper scenes are counterparts one of the other. On the "north" side the goddess with the lily clump is seen on the right; Atlanarsa $\rightarrow$ approaches her, followed by three hawk-headed figures, the "The Spirits of Pe." On the "south" side, the scene is identical except that for the hawk-headed deities are substituted three with jackal-heads, the "The Spirits of Nekhen." The vertical columns of hieroglyphs E, F in Fig. 2 form the framing of the scenes on the "north" side, and the columns G, H form a similar framing for the scenes on the "south" side.

[TRANSLATION OF THE LEGENDS IN FIG. 2:

A. "Horus of Gold, Establishing-Laws; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khukarē^c; Son of Rē^c, Atlanarsa; beloved of Amūn, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands."

B. "Horus, Founding-the-Two-Lands; Two Goddesses, Loving-Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khukarē^c; Son of Rē^c, Atlanarsa; beloved of Amūn of Napata."

C. "Spoken by the Meret-goddess: O Amen-Rē^c, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands in the Pure Mountain (name of the hill of Napata), come that thou mayst see this thy beautiful altar."

D. Continuation of C. "Spoken by the Meret-goddess: which thy beloved son, the Son of Rē^c Atlanarsa, makes for thee, and thou art pleased at what he makes for thee, living for ever."

E. "Spoken by Amen-Rē^c, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands before his beloved son Atlanarsa. I give to thee Upper and Lower Egypt as recompense (emend m i^{sw}) for this monument."

F. Continuation of G at the opposite front corner on the "south" side: "of granite to rest upon it in the Great Place. He gives to him all life and wealth, all health eternally."

G. "He made as his monument to his father Amen-Rē^c, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands in the Pure Mountain, his making for him [this beautiful] altar." Continued in F.

H. "Spoken by Amūn of Napata. O Son of Rē^c, Atlanarsa. My heart is pleased because of what thou hast done for me."

The two intrusive inscriptions on the "west" side:

a. "The King of the Upper and Lower Egypt Sekheperenrē^c, beloved of Amūn of Napata, given life eternally."

b. "Son of Rē^c, Senkamanseken, beloved of Amen-Rē^c, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, given life eternally."—ED.]

These very interesting inscriptions distinctly state that Atlanarsa presented the altar of granite to Amūn. In no case has the name of Atlanarsa been erased or damaged in any way, and it was the name originally written in every place where it occurs. The names of Senkamanseken on the middle field of the "west" side are not so well cut and are certainly intrusive. Senkamanseken respected the name of Atlanarsa and merely inserted his name on a vacant place on the front; this insertion was quite justified by the work which he did in the temple (see below).

The "western" and the "northern" walls of room B. 703 were decorated with standing figures in sunk relief and some vertical lines of incised hieroglyphs. The "western" wall (Plate XV, top and bottom), which is the better preserved, presents four figures on each half, and the third figure from the "south" was preceded by the cartouche of Atlanarsa, of which *n-r-s* is still legible. Now a number of stones were found of very different workmanship, bearing hieroglyphs in relief. Two of these were re-used, along with incised stones, in 704-Meroitic, and others were found in room 703 in the débris resulting from the destruction of the temple. None were found in place; but two of them bore the name of Atlanarsa and undoubtedly belong to this temple. Considering the number of the stones and the presence of incised inscriptions on the "northern" wall, it seems probable that the stones with relief inscriptions originally belonged to the "eastern" wall. Two of these inscriptions (*a* and *b*) are shown in Plate XVI; hand-copies of the other two are given in the accompanying Fig. 3. [Beyond the heading "*.. Atlanarsa [beloved] of Osiris Dedun in Ta-sti (Nubia)...*" very little connected sense is to be drawn from these fragments.—ED.]

Fig. 3

In the débris of 703 there were also drums of the columns which stood in the room. These had incised inscriptions like the "northern" and "western" (also "southern"?) walls, and some of them gave the cartouches of Atlanarsa. Thus it was clear that room 703, so far as preserved, was entirely decorated in the name of Atlanarsa, and that the altar had been placed there by him. But Senkamanseken had inserted his name on the altar, and the decorations of the wall were in two very different styles,—the one consisting of crude rather unfinished hieroglyphs in relief, and the other of well-drawn incised hieroglyphs and sunk reliefs, both in the name of Atlanarsa.

An examination of the foundations of the temple led to the discovery of two foundation deposits of Atlanarsa under the "north-eastern" and "south-eastern" corners of room 703 respectively. An exhaustive search under the other corners of the temple, under the thresholds, and under the middle of the outside walls, failed to reveal any other deposits. Each of these foundation deposits was in a square hole (110 × 110 cm., with a depth of 65 cm.)

B703, "west" wall, "south" half, looking "west"

B703, "west" wall, "north" half, looking "west"

under the foundation course and exactly beneath the corner. It may be noted in passing that these square holes for foundation deposits appear at Nûri under the pyramids of Senkamanseken, Anlaman, Aspalta, Amtalqa, and Malenaqan, but the holes thereafter are circular. The holes of the foundation deposits of the temple of Tirhaqa excavated by Mr Griffith at Abu Sanam (Merowe) were also square, as he has informed me. The foundation deposits of Atlanarsa under temple B. 700 consisted of the following objects (see this *Journal*, Vol. iv, Plate XLV, Fig. 3):

No.	OBJECT.	"S.E."	"N.E."
1.	Jars, red-brown ware, red wash. Occur at Nûri, Senkamanseken to Aspalta.	2+	3+
2.	Cups of red ware. Occur at Nûri, Aspalta to Saasnûiq.	6+	5+
3.	Flaring cups of red ware. Occur at Nûri, Aspalta to Malenaqan.	2+	2+
4.	Wide bowls of red-brown ware, red wash. Occur at Nûri, Senkamanseken to Aspalta.	1+	2+
5.	Small beakers of red ware. The corresponding beaker of Senkamanseken and Aspalta at Nûri has a flat foot. The round-bottomed beaker appears at intervals throughout the deposits of Nûri. One of these beakers in "S.E." was nearly full of a golden brown resin. Fragments of resin were also found in "N.E." At Nûri, resin was found in pottery beakers in deposits of Senkamanseken, and in faïence cups in deposits of Anlaman, Aspalta and Nansalsa.	11+	13+
6.	Two-handled mortar of grey-white sandstone. Occurs at Nûri, in a harder stone, in deposits of Senkamanseken to Malenaqan.	1	1
7.	Bronze model, blade of mattock. As in Egyptian deposits of XIXth Dyn.: at Nûri no bronze models were found before Nasakhma; thereafter in all deposits to Piankh-alara and Nastasan, in which they occur both in bronze and in iron.	0	3
8.	Bronze model, long broad-pointed chisel with rectangular shaft.	0	3
9.	" " pointed chisel or drill.	2	0
10.	" " shôrt heavy chisel.	1	0
11.	" " small adze (?).	1	2
12.	" " axe.	1	1
13.	" " spearhead.	1	1
14.	" " bowl or saucer.	1	1
15.	Feathered cartouche in white-bodied blue-glazed faïence, with the name "Atlanarsa." At Nûri, feathered doubled cartouche with two names in deposits of Anlaman and Aspalta.	1	1
16.	Tablets inscribed with the name "Atlanarsa" in a cartouche, no title. Like the tablets of Senkamanseken at Nûri.		
	a. Gold.	1	0
	b. Bronze.	2	1
	c. Lapis lazuli.	1	1
	d. Blue-green feldspath (? beryl ?).	1	1
	e. Crystal.	0	1
	f. Red jasper.	1	0
	g. Blue faïence, small.	1	0
	h. Blue faïence, large.	1	1
17.	Fragments of animal bones, probably calf.		

Both these foundation deposits had been crushed, and had also suffered (especially the bronze, faïence, and bones) from moisture. Nevertheless, with the knowledge now available

from the pyramid deposits at Nûri, the list of objects appears to be fairly complete. There the models and tablets were scattered over the floor of the hole in no order, the pots were arranged in whatever way seemed convenient, and the animal bones (skull and fore-quarter of a calf) were laid on or among the pottery vessels. One other point that emerges from the Nûri material should be noted; in the case of rebuilding or enlargement, no second foundation deposit was made. The absence of foundation deposits of Senkamanseken thus indicates clearly that Atlanarsa planned and built the greater part of the temple.

This material—the inscriptions on the walls, the altar, and the foundation deposits—proves conclusively that the Ethiopian temple, B. 700, which is a structural unit, was planned by Atlanarsa, and that the room 703 was built and decorated by him. The name of Senkamanseken appears only intrusively on the granite altar. But in room 702 and on the pylon, the only name preserved in the inscriptions is that of Senkamanseken. The “eastern” column on the “southern” side of 702 bore his name. The inscriptions on the walls were very badly preserved and the remnants (same style as those of 703, “west” wall) contained no name. But the copy of the front of the pylon published by CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Meroé*, Vol. I, Pl. LXI, gives a dedication of the temple to Amen-Rê by Senkamanseken; and fragments of the pylon found by us in the débris of the portico also showed the name of Senkamanseken. Furthermore, in the disturbed débris of 702, near the door, we found a section of a small black granite obelisk (19 × 19 cm. in section and 95 cm. long) inscribed with a single vertical line on each of the four faces. Two of these lines are nearly obliterated in the middle, as if they had been worn by people brushing against or rubbing them with the hand¹. The inscriptions on this stone are shown in the accompanying Fig. 4, a mere hand-copy.

Fig. 4

[TRANSLATION.

- (1) “.....[Two Goddesses, Appearing]-on-account-of-Right; Horus of Gold, [Rich-in-valour; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekheperenrê]; Son of Rê, S[enkamanseken]......”
- (2) “.....Amûn of Napata.....great seat.....”
- (3) “.....Son of Rê, Senkamanseken, I knew him in the womb, before he was born.....”
- (4) “.....all.....in his heart...(I?) give to him the scimitar on [this] day.....”—ED.]

¹ I know of a certain statue of an ape in the Cairo Museum, the male member of which has been entirely worn away in less than a generation by the hands of native women touching it to induce conception.

Thus it is clear that while the temple was begun by Atlanarsa, it was finished by Senkamanseken and that the latter respected the name of the former. There is, however, no decisive evidence as to where the work of the one leaves off and that of the other begins. The unfinished appearance of the inscriptions in relief suggests that this type of decoration is to be assigned to Atlanarsa and the better finished incised inscriptions to Senkamanseken. But it is equally possible that after the attempt to decorate the "eastern" wall with relief inscriptions, Atlanarsa may have ordered the other walls to be treated in the more usual manner. The incised decoration is all in the same style of work, and I believe by the same hand. But this does not help us, as the same men probably worked for Atlanarsa and for his successor, as I assume Senkamanseken to have been. Leaving the precise line of separation undecided, I consider that the construction was nearly, if not entirely, finished by Atlanarsa and only the unfinished decoration and perhaps part of the pylon were completed by Senkamanseken.

A confirmation of this conclusion may be seen in the large *unfinished* statue (over life-size) in grey granite, found by us lying exposed in a hole dug in the débris of the portico; see Plate XVII, top. According to a statement communicated to me by Col. H. W. Jackson, Governor of Dongola Province, this statue was excavated by Dr Budge. In material, size, and workmanship, it is very like the statue of Amananal¹ found by us in 500 A, but it is uninscribed and clearly unfinished (feet, legs, and hands). I would explain this as a statue of Atlanarsa made to stand as one of a pair in front of the pylon. Judging from the position in which it lies, it had already been set, or was about to be set, in place in this unfinished condition and was to be finished after being set up. It was buried in its present place at or before the Meroitic restoration. The companion statue could hardly have been in place, as no fragment or other trace of it was found, and indeed it would not be strange if the unfinished statue of the same size and material now lying in the quarry at Tombos were this companion statue, which on the death of Atlanarsa was about to be moved from the quarry. The temptation is great also to include the two uninscribed statues on the Island of Argo among these works of Atlanarsa. They are of stone from the same quarry, the grey granite quarry at Tombos, and are the work of the same school of sculptors who made all the Ethiopian statues of this time; moreover, they are uninscribed and not quite finished, a condition proved so far only for the statue of Atlanarsa lying in the portico of B. 700. In my opinion, the existence of these unfinished statues which I venture to ascribe to Atlanarsa, and the completion of B. 700 by Senkamanseken, are facts that agree in pointing to one and the same conclusion, namely an unexpected termination of the reign of Atlanarsa.

The evidence supplied by B. 700 proves conclusively that Senkamanseken was later than Atlanarsa. The respect shown for the work and the name of Atlanarsa makes it extremely probable that Senkamanseken was his immediate successor, possibly a near relative. The evidence of the hard stone monuments already found shows that Atlanarsa and Senkamanseken belong to the first great group of Ethiopian kings, comprising Tirhaqa, Tanutaman, Amananal, Aspalta and Amtalqa. The tombs of all these, except Atlanarsa, have been found at Nûri, and their correct order is beyond any doubt as follows: Tirhaqa, Tanutaman, Senkamanseken, Amananal, Aspalta, Amtalqa. Atlanarsa cannot be placed before Tanutaman and must, therefore, come between Tanutaman and Senkamanseken.

¹ [See this *Journal*, vol. iv, p. 216. Amananal is clearly the same king who was called Anlaman in the previous article.—Ed.]

The only question is whether there was not another king, not buried at Nûri, who also comes between Tanutaman and Senkamanseken. If there was, I think the evidence of B. 700 indicates that he came between Tanutaman and Atlanarsa, not between Atlanarsa and Senkamanseken. As stated above, the tomb of Atlanarsa does not appear to be at Nûri, the excavation of which is now approaching completion. I may say in passing that the only remaining known site where his tomb may now be sought is the pyramid field of Kurru. The examination of the supposed pyramids at Tangassi and at Zûma, of which Lepsius made plans, proves that no pyramids exist or existed at either place. The mounds which Lepsius drew as pyramids are all of them tumuli graves of the type observed by me at Ferket and Gamai in February 1914. The tumuli of Gamai were excavated by Mr Oric Bates for the Harvard Peabody Museum in 1915-1916 and found to be of the third to fifth centuries A.D. The Tangassi and Zûma tumuli are banked with small stones and may be somewhat earlier, but they too are conical and not pyramidal. Tombs of kings of Ethiopia or Meroe are not to be found at either place. The pyramids of Kurru, on the other hand, are real pyramids. The large one on the plan of Lepsius and the small pyramids behind it appear to me, on a superficial examination, to be of the same general period as the pyramids at Barkal; but there is a badly destroyed pyramid on the "northern" side of the wâdy running through the field which may be older. If the tomb of Atlanarsa is not here, then it must be sought at the other end of Dongola province, perhaps near Kawa (Gem-Aton).

The masonry of the Ethiopian temple is of good light-red sandstone blocks, founded on one or two foundation courses which rest in shallow trenches cut in the hard sandbank. The undressed blocks in the foundation courses measure about 80—90 × 55—65 × 40—50 cm., having been roughly squared to one size, apparently at the quarry. The same kind of blocks were used in the dressed walls, but there, owing to the dressing and the cutting necessitated by the bonding, the size varies considerably. The foundation courses are all headers. The facing stones in the walls are all stretchers—even the short stones put in to bring a long stone into the corner. At the corners there is the usual bond formed by placing the long stone alternately in one and then in the other of the two adjoining faces. The side walls are two stones, or 165 cm. thick. As the faces, each half a stone thick, are not bonded with the core, the wall is really a cased core. The core is, however, bonded, and consists of alternate header and stretcher courses of undressed stones. The interstices are filled with mud and chips of stone. There is no trace of the bond introduced in the pyramids of Nûri about a century later, the peculiar system which consisted of laying two stretchers and a header alternately in each course, but so as to break the joints with the courses above and below. This point has a certain importance for fixing the order of the Nûri pyramids. All the above-mentioned details are illustrated in the sketches Plate XI, top.

The piers on which the columns rested are also built of the same kind of stones as the other foundations. Each consists of two courses, each course comprising five stones, three headers and two stretchers; but the joints are not properly broken (see Plate XVI, top). The columns, both the papyrus columns of room 703 and the palm columns of 702, are built of large drums, marked in the centre with a cross.

The moulding on the corner of the pylon is at present preserved only at the two "southern" corners, but is of course to be restored at the other two corners. The "northern" half of the back wall adjoining the cliff is thicker than the "southern" half, apparently because of a rain-washed gully which makes the ground in this direction insecure. On the "south," the trench for the wall is actually made by cutting into the cliff (see Plate XI, section on A—B).

B702, "northern" part looking "north-east"

Block re-used upside down in 704-Meroitic

Block found in the débris of 703

(3) EARLIER STRUCTURES UNDER B. 700.

Underneath B. 700, there are some traces of earlier structures. Just beside the pylon on the "north," there was another small building (700-sub-2), which was on the same surface as the structures under the temple and must be included with them. Three of these earlier walls were built of the same yellow or white blocks of uniform size ($52 \times 26 \times 22$ cm.), which in B. 500 were dated to the period of Ramesses II. One of the three was under the "eastern" wall of 703 and only visible where the Meroitic doorway had been broken through the wall. The other two, however, were complete single room structures (700-sub-1 and 700-sub-2). The small room, 700-sub-1, was under the Meroitic portico and was denuded or destroyed down to a single course of stones, resting in a very shallow foundation trench in the hard sandbank. Manifestly earlier than B. 700, it was probably already destroyed when 700 was built, but if not it would have been cleared away to open the entrance to that temple. The room was not well squared. On three sides the walls were a single stone thick (52 cm.), but on the "western" side the wall extended beyond the sides and was two stones thick having thus the appearance of a small pylon. The small room, B. 700-sub-2, a little to the "north," was of the same masonry, in the same state of destruction but was better squared. These small structures are like the two under the back of B. 500 (rooms 520 and 522: cf. also 500 A¹) both in their simplicity and in their size. The date of all of them must be approximately the XIXth Dynasty, to which time this type of masonry is dated with certainty. Apparently in that period, probably during or previous to the construction of 500-first, a number of these small structures stood scattered over the site. B. 700-sub-1 looks like a chapel, and it is possible that others of them were small temporary chapels; but it is also possible that some or all of them were offices or shelters of some sort put up during the construction of B. 500-first.

Under the floor of the "northern" side of room 703, where the treasure seekers had broken through, two remnants of walls were visible, of different thickness but both of light-red sandstone. Under the circumstances, it was not possible to follow these out. They may have been only some sort of construction ramp used in building the Ethiopian temple 700.

(4) SUMMARY, B. 700.

The temple B. 700 is an Ethiopian temple of about 650—610 B.C., planned and nearly finished by Atlanarsa. Room 702 and the pylon were decorated by Senkamanseken, and their construction may have been completed by him. The site was next to that of the temple of Tuthmosis IV, which was probably already in ruins; and it was unoccupied except for some small structures of the New Empire, probably completely destroyed by the time when the Ethiopian building commenced. Owing to its proximity to the cliff, the site is not a good one. It may be pointed out that the better ground in front was already taken by older buildings, B. 800, B. 900, and B. 1100, and the difficulty of finding a place for a new temple was probably responsible for the selection of this site.

The Ethiopian temple was partially destroyed by a fall of rock from the cliff. If we may judge from the worn places on the obelisk of Senkamanseken, the period of occupation was more than a generation and may have been a great deal more. The length of the

¹ See *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. iv, pp. 220, 224.

period during which the back part of the temple lay in ruins is equally difficult to determine. But some time during the Meroitic period, in the early part of the first century A.D. or somewhat earlier, the temple was restored. No attempt seems to have been made to straighten the old back wall, which had been bent in by the fall of rock; but the inside facing of the walls of 703 was rebuilt, the columns were probably also rebuilt together with the old drums, a small inner sanctuary in very rough work was added at the back, and a columned portico was put in front of the pylon after the manner favoured by the Meroitic architects. The second period of occupation came to an end in the first century A.D., at about the same time as the Barkal pyramids were built. And again the termination of its use was caused by a fall of blocks from the cliff.

After this second destruction of the temple, it remained to be used as a quarry and as a hunting ground for treasure seekers until our day. The only part which was left undisturbed was the sanctuary, B. 704, and the greater part of room 703, which lay inaccessible under the fallen blocks.

IV. THE PAVED ROADWAY.

In clearing away the bank of débris which ran out "westward" from B. 700, a paved roadway (Plate XVII, below) was exposed, made of slabs of white sandstone,—a material not used in any of the later buildings at Barkal (after Tirhaqa). This consisted of a pavement on which side walls were built to enclose the actual roadway. The height of the side walls was indeterminable, but two courses (over 50 cm.) were preserved at one place and there was at least one more course on the top of these. The walls were about 50 cm. thick and, as they stand, were dressed on the inside only. But on the outside, the courses now in place were probably below the surface and may have been left undressed for this reason. I am therefore in doubt how to restore the section, whether as a high-kerbed road or as a covered passage.

The width between the side walls increased from 165 cm. on the "west," opposite the "south-eastern" corner of B. 900, to 255 cm. on the "east," in front of B. 700. Towards the "east," where the roadway widened, it turned in a curve to the "north" and passed in front of 700-*sub*-1. Beyond this point, it was totally destroyed to the edge of our excavation, but may possibly be picked up again along the back of B. 1100. On the "west," the roadway had passed along the "southern" side of B. 900, but was destroyed to a point opposite B. 904, where its continuation was found at the edge of our excavation.

The level of the "eastern" end of the pavement is about 150 cm. below the threshold of 702-Ethiopian, while the level on the "west" is about the same as that of B. 900-first. The difference in level between the roadway and B. 700 does not signify much, owing to the rise in the ground towards the "east." The coincidence with the floor of B. 900 has a greater value from the fact that both are on the same level of ground and both are built of the same kind of stones. The relative positions, moreover, of the roadway and B. 900 indicate that one was built alongside the other, avoiding it, and the two must have been in use at the same time. B. 900, as will appear subsequently, is to be dated not later than Tirhaqa, and possibly earlier. This gives the only evidence available at present for the date of the roadway. There can be little doubt that the roadway was a passage leading from temple to temple.

(To be continued)

Unfinished statue found in Meroitic Portico B 701

A restoration of B900. B700 and 600 are seen in the background to right.
The Paved Roadway, looking "east". The near end is obscured by a later foundation wall