LIST OF PLATES

I. Types of megalithic tombs.

II. 1. Types of megalithic structures. 2. Routes of diffusion of megaliths and beakers.

III. 1. Vase from Keultepe. 2. Bronze axe-heads from Ashkelon.

IV. (a) Kitchener's Fort with Jebel Barkal beyond the river in the distance.
   (b) Eastern half of the Temple after excavation.

V. Plan of the Temple of Tibrakah.

VI. 1. Panelling in Room C. 2. Section of foundation.

VII. The foundation deposits: (a) south-east. (b) north-east.

VIII. (a) Doorway from D, E to C. (b) West end of E.

IX. (a) Lion's head from spout on south side. (b) Brick chambers in S.W. corner of K.

X. Monuments in the colonnaded court and K.

XI. Fragments. 1. 2. Granite; 3-5. Sandstone.

XII. 1. 2. Meroitic inscriptions. 3. Painted potsherds. 4-6. Sistrum handles from the Treasury.

XIII. 1. 2. Head of Ammon. 3. Usurped cartouche.

XIV. Fragments of colossal vulture and uraeus in black granite.

XV. Statue usurped by Pi-ankh.

XVI. Thrones of statues.

XVII. Moulds for ushabtis and amulets.

XVIII. Antiquities from the Temple.

XIX. Ostracon from the Temple.

XX. Amulets etc. from the Temple.

XXI. Foundation deposits.

XXII. Foundation plaques: upper, south-east; lower, north-east.


XXIV. Sculptures found in position on the south wall.

XXV. Exterior, south wall. 1. surroundings of door into K; 2. Sculptures further east.

XXVI. Fragments from the Temple.

XXVII. Fallen blocks. A. Processions.

XXVIII. Fallen blocks. B. Royalties etc. C. Attendants etc.

XXIX. Fallen blocks. D. Attendants etc.

XXX. Fallen blocks. E. Men kneeling in obeisance.

XXXI. Fallen blocks. F. Boats on the river.

XXXII. Fallen blocks. F. Wheeled vehicles.
by a line which makes them into a false running spiral, is perhaps the most important element in the whole design, for it limits the provenance of the seal to a certain area, viz.: Cyprus and North Syria.

The craftsman who made this seal probably first drew the device in ink before attempting to engrave it. He then marked at certain points of the design small holes with the help of two fine drills, one solid and one tubular, in much the same way that a modern wood-carver drills certain parts of his design as a start for his chisel. These drill-holes in the seal bring down its date to 1500 B.C. at least, for the drill was not used in seal engraving before that time. On this particular seal there are more than twenty drill-holes, the most noticeable of which are the three ornamental bull's-eyes. The eyes of the animals have also been drilled as well as the heels of the three human figures.

The seal, despite its Cypro-Babylonian design, may well have been found in Egypt, and perhaps even made there to judge by its glaze.

OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

By F. Ll. Griffith, M.A.

With Plates IV-LXII

(Continued from vol. viii, p. 104)

Although much remains to be said about Faras after the New Empire, we must now turn to the work of the third season at Napata, as this alone supplied us with monuments of the next period (and little else). Early in 1912 Mr. Woolley paid a visit to New Merawi and reported favourably on the prospects of work in the neighbourhood. The Government of the Sudán having granted us the concession of all the ancient sites there we transported to Merawi our equipment and excellent Qufti workmen who were under the effective control of the reis Suleiman el-Fernisi. The well-known Governor of Dongola province, Colonel H. W. Jackson (now Brigadier-General Sir H. W. Jackson, K.B.E.), who has earned the gratitude of many archaeologists visiting the province, gave us every facility. Unfortunately for us Mr. Woolley had gone to Carthage and no other assistant could be secured that year. Mrs. Griffith and I found accommodation in a European bungalow on the left bank just outside the upper end of New Merawi, capital of the Dongola province. The house stood on the edge of the Sanam ruins, and although we made rare excursions in different directions over the whole concession, our time was fully occupied by work at Sanam, in an extensive cemetery (which produced a multitude of small antiquities), a temple of Tirhakah, and a store-house of the Ethiopian kings. It was the last season of the Oxford Expedition in the Sudán. We had hoped to continue the exploration of Napata in succeeding years, but circumstances prevented us; and in 1916 the concession was given to Dr. Reisner who has year by year explored both banks in his own remarkably thorough way and with most brilliant results.
VIII. NUBIA IN THE 'LIBYAN PERIOD'

After the end of the New Kingdom, in the Twentieth Dynasty there is a complete archaeological blank in Nubia until the rise of the 'Ethiopian' power. In Lower Nubia, strange to say, the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty, its ancestors and its immediate successors, offer no remains to indicate a prosperous and civilised population, and at Faras itself we found no trace of it. Important points, however, seem to have been held by the Ethiopians. At Buhen as well as at Ibrim (the fortress protecting the river passage at Mi'nam) there are remnants of sculpture or inscriptions of Tihakak; and here and there a grave of this period has been met with in the wide explorations of the Archaeological Survey.

It is in Upper Nubia, where lay their capital at Napata, that the monuments of the 'Ethiopians' are to be successfully sought, and not in the frontier-land between Egypt and Nubia. Exploration as yet has been almost confined to Napata and Meroe, but other sites may be expected eventually to yield important results to the excavator. In recent years Dr. Reisner has explored round Napata with such success that he has arranged in order a long series of 'Ethiopian' kings of whom but few were recorded before, identified their burial-places, and traced their origin.8 No doubt his conclusions may need correction and amplification in detail, but the main lines are fixed and are included in the following account.

As the power of Egypt weakened towards the end of the New Kingdom, Libyan warrior clans, in some cases mercenaries of Egypt, in others invaders, settled upon the rich lands of the Nile valley. The Libyan chiefs ruled in their several districts and the most powerful families produced the Pharaohs of the dynasties from Dyn. XXI onwards. In Nubia too the Libyans settled, and the ruling family at Napata, whose representatives for several generations were buried in tumuli at El-Kurru, were the leading power, probably at first owning allegiance to Pharaoh in Egypt. Continuing in a barbarism which the settlers in Egypt had thrown off, these Ethiopian Libyans also preserved intact their warlike qualities. It was not long before the Napata dynasty held Upper Egypt and claimed suzerainty over Middle Egypt. Scarcely a written record of the kings survives before Pt'-ankh, son of Ashta. About 730 B.C. when Pt'-ankh had reigned twenty years or more, a rival appeared in the north to dispute his power in Egypt; Tefnakhte, an energetic leader, possessing Memphis and the western border of Lower Egypt, contrived an alliance among the princes of the Delta and overran Middle Egypt; thereupon Pt'-ankh sent his forces stationed in Upper Egypt to raise the siege of Heracleopolis Magna, which had held out stoutly against Tefnakhte, and soon after led in person a great expedition down the Nile, recovered the cities of Middle Egypt, captured Memphis, and compelled the submission of the princes of Lower Egypt. This expedition was a turning point in the archaeological history of Upper Nubia. Builders, sculptors, and artisans of all sorts as well as a vast booty were brought from Egypt to Napata, the temple of Ammon at Napata, dating from the New Kingdom, was restored, and in it was placed a huge stela inscribed in Egyptian hieroglyphs with the narrative of the expedition, together with other monuments in Egyptian style.

So far the 'Ethiopian' dynasty had clung to its ancestral home at Napata, and Bocchoris, succeeding his father Tefnakhte, ruled over Lower Egypt at Memphis and Sais. But Shabaka, succeeding Pt'-ankh, suppressed Bocchoris about 714 and probably spent most of his time in Egypt, keeping a firm hand on the local princes and centralising its administration; whereas the names of Shabak and of his successor Shabakot are sufficiently frequent in Upper Egypt and at Memphis itself, they have not been found on a single building at Napata although sepulchres were prepared for the two kings in the family burying-ground at El-Kurru. Tihakak succeeded Shabakot, and for some forty years Egypt prospered under the comparatively settled rule of these 'Ethiopians' (who, doubtless, had a mixture of negro blood in their veins), until the terrible armies of Asarhaddon and Asurbanipal in a succession of invasions from 673 to 661 plundered as far south as Thebes, driving Tihakak, and after Tihakak's death his nephew Urdamane,2 back into Ethiopia. Tihakak, unlike his predecessors since Pt'-ankh, did much to adorn Napata with fine monuments. In his earlier and fortunate years he may have sought thereby to unite all his territories against

---

2. See the two articles referred to on p. 71, note.
the foe in Asia; or his attention to Napata may have been due to the unhappy plight of Egypt in his later years. Tanwetamané recovered Upper Egypt from the Assyrians for a brief time, but Psammétiqueus, son of Necho, a successor and perhaps descendant of Tefnakhte, had used his opportunities well to establish himself, first as agent of Assyria and chief among the subject princes of Egypt, and afterwards as independent Pharaoh in the north, until by his ninth year, about 655 B.C., Tanwetamané died or was squeezed out of the Thebaid and Psammétiqueus found himself sole king over a territory extending from the mouths of the Nile to the First Cataract. His ambitions turned northward and he was content to leave the narrow Nubian valley in its poverty to the Ethiopians.

As has been already indicated, the civilization of the Ethiopian court at its most brilliant epoch was borrowed directly from Egypt. Artists and craftsmen, carried up the Nile to Napata from Thebes and Memphis, were employed in cutting and inscribing granite, building temples, excavating graves, embalming the bodies of the dead, making vessels of pottery, bronze and alabaster, and moulding or carving ornaments and amulets in gold, silver and bronze, in hard stones, statite and faience. At first the contact was chiefly with Upper Egypt and Thebes; but when Shabako took up his residence in Egypt as Pharaoh, he turned away from the traditional policy of the Twenty-Third Dynasty and revived in his titles the style of the ancient Memphite kings of the Old Kingdom. Perhaps he realised that they had engaged in friendly intercourse with Nubian chiefs, whereas the Pharaohs of the New Kingdom had crushed the independent life of the Cushites by cruel conquest and harsh government. The pious and impressionable barbarian marvelled at the antiquity, the massiveness and the beauty of the Memphite monuments, and sought to preserve the perishing records, to copy their inscriptions and to reproduce their sculptural designs.

It would appear that Shabako left no monument in Ethiopia except that in the ancestral cemetery of El-Kurrâ, humbly imitating his great models, he built himself a tiny pyramid, a form of royal burial which was once for all adopted in Ethiopia and continued to the end of the Merotic dynasties.

Shabatok, Tirhakah and Tanwetamané maintained the style inaugurated by Shabako. It thus seems that it was the choice of ancient models by the kings of Ethiopia which set the fashion of the age in Egypt and originated the archaism which characterises the Saite period.

It was derived from Memphis, the central capital of the Ethiopian dynasty in Egypt, in spite of the strong ties of religion which bound the Ammon-worshippers of Napata to Thebes.

Of the kings who reigned at Napata and Meroë after Tanwetamané, Dr. Reisner has recovered the names and succession; of their history almost nothing is known. After the rise of the Twenty-Sixth Dynasty under Psammétiqueus the connection between impoverished Ethiopia and Egypt was comparatively slight. It is clear that the two countries carried on an exchange of commodities; gold and ivory fruits and herbs and probably slaves coming from the one, well-baked pottery, cheap and serviceable, and bronze vessels from the other. The peculiar skill of the Egyptian stone-masons in cutting the hardest materials was no longer available in Cush; the artisans had to subsist mostly on their traditions and on such inspiration as they could get from earlier remains, from Egyptian imports and from the primitive culture of their African neighbours. The arts of Napata quickly relapsed from the fine or skilful workmanship of the Twenty-Fifth Dynasty into barbarism and feeble imitation. The technical deterioration of their work is seen clearly in the series of royal monuments, shrines, stelas, pyramids and sepulchral furniture, and can be traced in the necropolis of Sanam, in which well-cut tombs and orthodox mummies gave place almost immediately to simpler graves and contracted burials, the local pottery is again all made without the wheel, and the amulets are of much ruder fabric. Egyptian, more and more corrupt, continued to be the language of the written documents.

According to Dr. Reisner 1 the series of Ethiopian-Libyan kings, with their burial-places, is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Beginning about 900 B.C.</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Six generations of ancestors ending with</td>
<td>Tumuli at El-Kurrâ.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kasha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 744-710</td>
<td>P'ankhy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 710-700</td>
<td>Shabako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>About 700-688</td>
<td>Shabatok</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

IX. NAPATA

For about 200 miles beginning at Abu Hamed, the Nile turns out of its usual northward course, first westward and then S.S.W., to Korti and Debbas where it resumes its northward line to the Mediterranean. So overpowering is the importance of the river to the inhabitants that in local usage even the cardinal points have given way to it; consequently throughout this stretch the sun rises in the 'west,' sharb or 'sunset,' and sets in the 'east,' shery. The confusion seems all the greater in that 'north' and 'south' strangely retain their usual signification. For the European visitor it is necessary to adjust his ideas by holding fast to the designations 'right bank' and 'left bank,' and substituting these for the native 'west' and 'east' which elsewhere would mean 'left bank' and 'right bank' respectively. Professor Reisner, in his archaeological communications, adopts the native orientation by the river; but it seems clear to me that the Ancient Egyptians and the Ethiopian kings in planning temples and tombs here retained the same orientation as in other parts of the Nile valley; the direction of the approach or axis would be influenced by the river and other local conditions, but the ordinary cardinal points dominated all in their minds.

Two-thirds of this topsy-turvy Nile-compass consists of channels and rapids cut through the rocks of a barren region which culminates in the dreaded Fourth Cataract. The river is practically unnavigable and only rafts are used to carry the few inhabitants from island to island or from bank to bank. Soon after the Fourth Cataract is passed, however, the character of the ground changes: the land for some distance on either side of the river is low and good for cultivation, abounding in palm-trees and cereal crops; the population upon it is considerable and fairly industrious. But the river is still obdurate, for though the channel is broad and clear the perpetual north wind and the strong current acting together make northward journeys a matter of sheer tagging at the tow rope, and this is not adequately compensated by the seductive ease of the southward journey. Navigation is therefore almost confined to ferry-boats and the occasional postal steamer of the Government, while passengers and merchandise travel mostly by road, on foot or on the backs of donkeys and camels.

The Fourth Cataract probably constituted a final barrier to the spread of the Egyptian power in Ethiopia; for the desert route from Korosko to Abu Hamed was used little if at all in ancient times. The Third Cataract was passed as early as the Sixth Dynasty; the Eighteenth Dynasty must have held all the goody land beyond with its marts for the products of the Sidan, and placed its Ethiopian frontier-station of Napata at the foot of Gebel Barkal on the right bank, within sight of the outliers of the Fourth Cataract.

Apart from certain monuments which were probably brought from elsewhere by later kings, the earliest record found by Dr. Reisner in the Great Temple of Ammon at Gebel Barkal was a great stela of Thutmose III. His successor, Amenhotep II, brought in triumph to Napata the seventh of the captured princes of Syria, the bodies of the other six being left hanging upon the walls of Thebes. Less clearly, Napata, or the Ethiopian limit of the Empire under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties is referred to as Ne-toii 'the Throne of the Two Lands,' and KRY.

Nothing more is known of Napata in history until it comes into prominence in the eighth century B.C. as the seat of the Ethiopian dynasty of kings (Libyan in origin according to Reisner), who when Egypt was divided against itself first dominated the Upper Country, then ruled as

---
1. See his note 2 on page 313 of the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, IV. He appears to have found 'north' and 'south' interchanged as well as 'east' and 'west.'

2. See below, p. 79 note 2.

---
1. Breasted, Ancient Records, II, §§ 1090, 1025. Cf. for the possible reappearance of KRY in late times, my 'Merotic Studies' in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, IV, p. 27; one is tempted to connect it with the modern El-Kurru, the early home and burial-place of the Libyan-Ethiopian royal family.
Pharaohs in Thebes and Memphis for fifty years, and, finally, excluded from the enlightened regions beyond the First Cataract, shrank back into barbarism.

The most prominent feature in the landscape towards the upper end of the cultivated valley, after the river has emerged from the cataract region, is the massive rock of Gebel Barkal, rising with precipitous sides to a flat top 300 feet above the plain.1 This rock, named ‘the Holy Hill’ in the inscriptions, must have been the religious centre of the district. Along the front towards the river are the remains of many temples built by the Ethiopian kings, the chief one, however, founded and adorned by the Egyptian Pharaohs of the New Kingdom. The remains of its temples and pyramids were first noted in 1820 by two travellers from Cambridge, Waddington and Hanbury, and were long since surveyed by Cailliaud and Lepsius.

On the high ground south of the hill are pyramids of Meroitic age, and on the north-east are town remains. It is only at Barkal that the name of Napata itself is found; but the extent of the royal residences is testified by the pyramids eight miles down stream at El-Kurru on the right bank, and four miles up stream at Belal or Nuri on the left bank. Thus the royal monuments of the Napata district cover a stretch of twelve miles.

In a central position on the left bank, about seven and a half miles from each extremity at Zulma and Belal, lies the site known as Sanam, ‘Idol.’ 2 Here before we worked the potahers and rubbish of an ancient town were to be seen stretching from the river bank for a kilometre inland, and the circular sections of standing columns, worn down to the level of the sandy surface, were traceable in more than one place. It was known that the brick block-house ‘Kitchener’s Fort’ (Pl. IV a), built by Major Hunter during Kitchener’s expedition against the Dervishes, stood upon the ruined columns and walls of a temple; and the collection of antiquities gathered into the madirjhek by the well-known Governor of Dongola province, testified to the productiveness of the place in figurines, beads and other small articles of bronze, stone and glazed ware, and in fragments of large monuments of granite.

1. 302 feet according to Major Talbot quoted by Bulger, Egyptian Sudan, I, p. 130.
2. The natives seem to pronounce the name Sanab (and it is so recorded by Lepsius), but it is always written Sanam in Arabic.

Our excavation showed that the temple at Sanam was of considerable size, with a fore-court surrounded by a colonnade entered through a pylon gate; a second pylon opened into the hypostyle hall beyond which were a pronaoa and a sanctuary surrounded by various chambers. All this was built by Tirhakah, who also put a small chapel in the north half of the pronaoa. Aspelt, a century later, added another in the south half. The temple was evidently soon occupied to a large extent by manufacturers of ushabti and other figurines and ornaments in glazed ware, moulds for these and a few figures being found scattered through and around the greater part of it. It was probably for these artisans that rough walls of crude brick were built almost at random within the temple, blocking the bays; the side entrances north and south were carefully blocked with stones, and brick walls were built on to these, probably after some disaster to the place. There are traces also of a rebuilding of the brick walls after they had been ruined. The name of a late Ethiopian king is found among the remnants of stone-work and late Meroitic inscriptions, and a few pieces of coarse comb-pricked Meroitic ware were picked up in the clearance. In the end we were compelled to clear away the whole of Kitchener’s Fort.

The temple stood on the south-east edge of the town ruins. Along the south-west edge (i.e. down-river) of the town and at about half a kilometre to the south of the temple, began a large cemetery most of which we cleared, finding over 1500 cave-graves, brick-lined graves and burials in the sand. The contents were of the Indonesian period, probably beginning about the time of Pi’ANKHY and continuing long after Tirhakah’s reign; only at the west end a few of the cave-graves gave evidence of re-use in the Meroitic period.

A third site which we worked was about a kilometre to the north from the cemetery and the same distance from the river.2 Here an extraordinary series of columned chambers was disclosed which appear to have been royal store-houses of the Ethiopian dynasty. Burnt and denuded by wind, the walls were reduced to a maximum height of eighteen inches. This site had been the chief local source for small

1. See below, p. 111.
2. A plan showing the relative positions of the archaeological sites at Sanam will be given in the next volume of the Annals, with the description of the cemetery. Bayard Taylor Life and Landscapes from Egypt to the Negro Kingdoms of the White Nile, pp. 433-435 is perhaps the only traveller besides Lepsius who has left any description of the Sanam ruins. He was there early in 1852.
antiquities for many years past. Opposite the west end were considerable remains of brick-work and traces of stone columns which probably belonged to the royal Palace and linked this ‘Treasury’ to the town. We understood that Herr Deiber and M. d’Allemagne of Nancy and the Sorbonne had excavated at this spot from January to April 1908. It is to be hoped that they will soon publish an account of their finds.

The surface remains of the town site of Sanam point mainly to the same age as the temple and cemetery. The flourishing period of all may be roughly defined as extending from Pi-an’kny to Aspelt, the earliest part of the Ethiopian period, about two hundred years, parallel to the Egyptian Dynasties XXIII-XXVI. Merotic remains of about the second century A.D. and later are found sparingly at the west end of the cemetery and in the town and temple, and extend inland. Christian pottery is here found only along the shore; but at some miles from the river, in the Wâdî Ghazzâlah, are the ruins of a once flourishing monastery, whence tomb-stones inscribed in Greek and in Coptic have been taken to museums.

Merowe (pronounced Marawi), the charming capital created by Sir H. W. Jackson for the province of Dongola, is built at the upper end of the old village of Abû Dâm, which still preserves its separate existence as the native quarter, while the Government buildings of Marowe extend thence along the river bank to the ancient site of Sanam. Marawi is the exact equivalent of the Egyptian name of the Ethiopian capital which the Greeks and Romans rendered as Mâpôr (Meroë); but its application to the site of Sanam dates only from General Kitchener’s expedition against the Dervishes in 1897. The original native Merawi is immediately opposite Abû Dâm on the right bank of the river. Here was the capital of the Shaiga tribe of Arabs in former days and a sub-capital of the older Egyptian administration from the time of Muhammad ‘Ali’s conquest of the Sudân until its withdrawal and the occupation by the Dervishes in 1888. The seat of the sub-Governor was an old fort converted into a very handsome building but now again in ruins; in its walls are some sculptured and inscribed blocks which may have belonged to an ancient building on the spot if they were not brought from Barkal or Sanam.

If Merawi were less well authenticated as the native name of the place we might perhaps have attributed its occurrence here to misplaced erudition on the part of those who organised the Sudân for Mohammed ‘Ali; they might have detected in the pyramids and monuments around it evidence that the village occupied the site of ancient Meroë. If the name be a genuine survival from antiquity we may conjecture that Merawi was an Ethiopian term for a capital, applicable equally to Napata and to the historical Meroë near Kabasha. Mr. Crowfoot, however, tells me that Merawi, or as he has heard it pronounced Mirwi, may be regarded in the Sudân as an Arabic name meaning ‘place which is irrigated or watered’ (by a khor or a stream of any kind), and as a matter of fact the site of Old Merawi is intersected by a watercourse. He has noted also a hill named Merwi in a map of the desert east of Omdurman.

X. BARKAL AND SANAM

OR

NAPATA AND CONTRA-NAPATA

In a few Greek and Latin writers (Strabo, Ptolemy and Pliny) we meet with the name of Napata (treated as a plural, Ta Naratra) as a royal city in Ethiopia on the way to the capital Meroë. The sites of these two royal cities are at once recognisable by the numerous pyramids which distinguish them from all others in Nubia. The ruins of Napata show that it was an older capital than Meroë, but in the time of Herodotus the southern city outweighed the northern, and the expedition of Petronius recorded by Strabo destroyed Napata so that Nero’s spies found it only a small town.

The god Ammon of Napata and officials in ‘Napate’ are mentioned in Meroitic inscriptions down to the third century A.D. at ‘Anibeh, Faras and Meroë. An Egyptian inscription at Kalabaha of the time of Augustus, probably influenced by the Greek or the Meroitic form, names ‘Ammon of Napate’ on the stele at Amada (L. D. IV, 72 e. But the ancient Egyptian name of the city was NP.t (the t being merely for the feminine ending which was generally not sounded) and was probably pronounced Nâpû or Nûpê. This is first found as G. on the stela at Amada (L. 19, GAUTHIER, Temple d’Amada, Pl. X; BARASTED, Records, II, § 797) wherein Amenhotep II records that he hung up the body of one of the Syrian princes on the wall of Nâpû. BRUGSCH (Dict. Geogr., 110) quotes
the name Nāpe also from the texts of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel, here
The constant westerly winds have blown straight on to the remnants of the pylon face, leaving it mostly unprotected with the foundations exposed, whereas the ruins of the rear wall were well banked up with sand. No trace of sphinxes or other monuments was found in front of the pylon nor was there any sign of an enclosing wall.

The temple consisted of two rectangular blocks of building; the outer and broader block formed a colonnaded court entered through the massive first pylon; the inner one through the second pylon comprised first a hypostyle hall occupying the full width and behind it the sanctuary and various subsidiary chambers grouped together.

So far as could be ascertained the stone foundations of the walls and the pavement blocks rested on sand, which was held in under the whole of the temple by a single continuous containing wall of crude brick 50 to 60 cm. thick. This wall agreed exactly to the external outline of the building with its pylons and courts; the only exception was that, owing to a miscalculation or change of plan, the stonework of the second pylon at the north and south ends was made to overlap the containing wall, mainly to increase its width from front to back. Apart from this exception the outer foundation blocks of stone were laid to fit neatly inside the line of the brick wall, and projected a few centimetres above the top of it. The foundation blocks had a chiselled surface; on them rested a second layer of smooth-faced blocks, retreating slightly, forming a plain footing, and above them rose the sculptured walls. The temple floor was considerably above the level of the stone footing. A section was obtained of the north-east wall near the second pylon (Pl. VI, 2).

Measurements of the bricks of the containing wall gave 28 x 14, 30 x 15, 33 x 35 x 17 cm. A block of the stone footing showed L. 58, H. 28, another, H. 27; a corner block L. 102, W. 51, H. 34. The pale local sandstone was used throughout. It is of fairly even grain, but unsuitable for fine work and without resisting quality against salt and sand wear. The blocks were of moderate size, seldom exceeding a metre in length, the other measurements being approximately ½ x ¼ metre. The datsh or stone chips, thinly covering the exposed edge of foundation blocks, and extending out some distance from the walls, was perhaps

1. The wall-line required by the original lay-out at the north-east corner of the pylon is marked by a dotted line at a in the Plan.
2. There are extensive quarries on the opposite bank in the ravine south-west of Gebel Barkal.

mason's rubbish rather than destroyer's work; the ushabti moulds (p. 87) lay above it.

Taught by Mr. Petrie's early excavations at Naucratis and Nebesheh, we looked for foundation deposits in the angles of the retaining wall. The back corners, protected by fallen blocks and concreted rubbish, preserved their deposits. On the other hand the exposed corners at the front pylon had been much disturbed and probably plundered out in ancient times; the subsidiary corners at the second pylon, though undisturbed, yielded no deposit.

At the south-east corner the brick wall was about 90 deep, reaching the gebel surface; the sand in it was 60 deep, and the rest was occupied by the foundation blocks. In the angle, but at a little distance from the walls, a circular pit for the deposit was dug through the sand and pierced the gebel to a depth of about a metre. The diameter of the pit was about 60. At the bottom lay some sand (probably filtered through from above), and six inscribed plaques of Tirsakab of bronze, lead (!), crystal-quartz, green felspar, lapis-lazuli and green faience respectively, with a thin plaque of silver in the centre. The silver was verdigrised showing copper alloy, the lapis-lazuli was cracked, and the lead (!) was hopelessly decayed. There was also a small half-disk of white alabaster, unscribed. All the above were carefully shaped, these beautiful objects contrasting with a very rudely shaped pair of model corn-rubbers in quartzite. Over them lay a heap of model pots, plain red, of five types, many of them in fragments. About a quarter of a pint of plain ring beads of green faience lay in masses among and below the pottery; they appeared to have been put in loose, i.e. not strung together in any way. Inside one pot were found small pieces of malachite (!), or coppery colouring matter, and in another some pieces of bitumen; such things if originally placed above would naturally fall down into and amongst the pots. At the top of the deposit were the fragile remains of the skull and fore-leg of a calf.

The deposit in the north-east corner was closely similar, the plaques here being of gold, bronze, crystal-quartz, red jasper, green felspar and

1. Dr. Reisner must have misunderstood me when he states that these holes were square (Journal of Bp. Arch., V, p. 167). Our photographs (Pl. VIII) as well as our notes show that they were cylindrical with rather firm sides.
2. This was the only plaque not recovered for us by the Governor from a thief who entered the house at night and stole my handbag containing money and the plaques of the foundation deposits.
green fayence. The alabaster half-disk lay inside a pot. There were also the corn-grinders, bitumen and beads (see the full list, below, p. 90). The bottom of the pit was 110 below the brick wall, which here rested on sand 35 above the old surface of the gebel.

The inscriptions on the plaques name Tirhakah 'beloved of Amen-re' the Bull of Bow-land (Ta-at)'; on the two fayence plaques, however, the god named is Harendotes 'Horus the avenger of his father.' The former is the principal god of the temple, associated with Muthis and Chona, but Harendotes is not found again in the remnants of scenes and inscriptions. Probably the fayence plaques were made for some other temple in greater numbers than were needed and were put with the deposits here for the sake of economy.

The front pylon was 40 metres wide at the base, and 6½ metres from back to front, excluding the roll corners which added about half a metre; in the front of either tower were two rectangular grooves or niches for masts, 1 m. 25 cm. deep. The entrance passage was 4 m. wide with central recesses 35 cm. deep. Although considerable masses of the core of the pylon remained, no architectural features beyond these at the base could be discerned.

The external measurement of the colonnaded court gives a width of 29 metres and a depth of 20 m. 50 cm. There were ten cylindrical columns in each half, the north and south walls each accounting for six. There was a door in the north and another in the south wall, the latter blocked with squared stones, the former also partially blocked. This court was occupied by habitations not many generations after it was built; mean walls of mud connect the columns and form chambers (the doorways where still identified by mud jambs and thresholds are marked b on the Plan), four holes have been made in the pavement more or less symmetrically towards the corners of the court for the support of water jars (see in Plan), and in the northern half is a great circular well, 3 metres in diameter. Above the floor level of the temple the well mouth was surrounded by a wall rudely built of squared stones to a height of about 70 cm.; below this it is roughly lined with large burnt bricks and small stones for nearly 3 metres, reaching down to reach where it is cut through hard gebel. We cleared it to a depth of 25 ft. and it would perhaps be worth while to dig it out entirely, i.e. to some 80 ft. in case statues, etc. were thrown into it; it is not certain that it formed part of the original design of the temple.

The second pylon is 30 metres wide and only 4 metres thick between the courts. The containing wall of the foundation was evidently planned for this thickness only, but the architect enlarged the plan externally at each end to a width of 5 metres, so that the stonework overlapped the brick wall (see above, p. 80); the enlarged external width of the pylon appears to be an unusual feature in temple architecture, and was evidently here simply a trick to make a narrow pylon appear more imposing. On the south side each roll corner ended in a cube of 42 cm. resting on an upper footing block. In the south-east corner of the colonnaded court there was a staircase up into the pylon, of which six steps remained. The passage through the second pylon was about 20 cm. narrower than that through the first.

The so-called 'Kitchener's Fort' stood mainly on the ruins of the colonnaded hall and second pylon, and the ditch on its west side was cut into the solid stonework that remained of the front pylon, and on the north across that of the second pylon (d... d... d in the plan).

The rest of the building formed externally a rectangle, 25 m. 75 cm. broad, and 37 m. from back to front, which was probably all roofed in. Rather more than a third of its length and all its breadth was devoted to a Hypostyle Hall (K) of sixteen cylindrical columns in four colonnades. In the north and south walls of this hall there were symmetrical doorways. In between the four eastern columns on the north side of the hall Tirhakah built a little chapel or shrine of Ammon (M); and Aspelt walled off the south-east corner of the hall with a few slabs to make another chapel (L). Besides these chapels there are the usual brick walls of later occupation; and both of the side entrances were blocked. The south doorway is blocked systematically with large rectangular blocks, well fitted, some smoothed, others with pitted surface, flush with the wall but not decorated; a brick wall was built against it inside. The north doorway too appears to have been blocked up with a row of large blocks laid on rubble, burnt brick, etc., and above this row with small blocks, rounded bits of sandstone and rubble in general. In position against the east wall on each side of the axial doorway is a block of very white sandstone 117×53; the height of the southern block is 33, of the northern 30. Evidently these were bases for statues.

The remaining portion of the rectangle is more complicated. It had no side entrances. The axial entrance is again narrowed to about 360 cm., and opens into a small second hypostyle (C) the roof of which was sup-
ported by four columns; on the left is a small chamber (J) reached through a narrow doorway by a shallow step down of 12 cm. and in front is the sanctuary (B) with doorway as wide as that of the second hypostyle.

The chambers round the sanctuary are accessible only from C. The most important is that on the right (D-E), L-shaped, reaching to the east wall of the temple, with a row of four cylindrical columns to support the roof in the broader part. The diameter of the bases is 151, the shafts give D. 82, 83 and 84 cm. The doorway from C (Pl. VIII a) is 120 wide.

The west end of E is occupied by a platform 50 cm. above the floor (Pl. VIII b); on the middle of this platform was raised a mass of masonry 270 square extending from the front edge of the platform to the back wall but leaving at each end a narrow space or passage between it and the wall of the chamber; each of these spaces was reached by two steps from the floor. The masonry remains to 70 above the platform and in front of it there are traces of a narrower rectangular projection from the platform. The whole thing rather suggests the throne for a statue-group of the king with divinities, but most probably it was an altar.

At the east end of the chamber a door, only 85 broad, leads into a narrow chamber behind the sanctuary. From the north-east corner of the hypostyle another narrow door (90 cm.) leads into a complex of four small chambers with similar doorways.

The walls generally preserved one or more courses of stone above the floor, the pylon more, but very little was found in any part of the temple by which the height of the walls and columns could be estimated; the only useful evidence was the remains of sculptured figures (chiefly feet) belonging to scenes on the internal walls, and on the outside of the east wall. No remnant of a capital appeared. The exterior angles of the temple and pylons generally preserved a relic of the roll-corners, and fragments of cavetto cornice were found both on the north and south sides which must have belonged to the second pylon. Two lion heads from spouts were also found outside the walls, respectively on the south side outside the Hypostyle Hall (Pl. IX a) and on the north side between the chambers H and J.

Outside the temple on the south was a brick structure parallel to and about 20 metres from the temple wall, opposite the east end of the hypostyle K and the west end of E. A solid block of crude brickwork, 270 square with a projection at its east end 340 long and 180 broad, may have been an altar with sloping approach. It stood in an area neatly paved with stone slabs (97×44×17 thick, another 70×50) at about 1 metre below the floor of the temple. East of it was a brick wall or screen built on cement, the pavement slabs economically reaching, but not going beneath it. The western and northern edges of the pavement were not definable. Whatever the purpose of this brick structure may have been, it suggests an analogy with the neighbouring stone structure in Room E, and the dimensions of the two square blocks are almost identical.

The temple appears to have been founded, built and completely decorated by Tihakah, to whom is due also the little shrine in the hypostyle K. Aspet made his chapel in the south-east corner of the same hypostyle. Senkamaneseken must have built something of which a fragment remains in the pylon entrance, and two later kings have left their names on blocks in C. But there were also statues and other monuments in the temple, one of which may have been earlier than Tihakah, and it is quite possible that an earlier temple had existed on or near the site. To the south of it a deep trench in the neighbourhood of the brick structure just described, revealed a brick wall below its foundation and unconfomnable with it and with the temple.

As to the subsequent history of the temple, the floor was clean and unencumbered by rubbish when the irregular brick walls were built in the larger chambers. Some of the doorways, e.g. the south doorway of K, had probably been blocked at an earlier date. Many of the brick walls are much burnt, especially in the northern half of chambers C and K, and the stone walls were redden by fire correspondingly. In one little brick chamber in the south-west corner of K (cf. Pl. IX b), there was a heap of small bronze figures of Osiris, probably a store for sale. Moulds for royal ushabti and for amulets in faience and some examples of the finished products were found scattered in the rubbish for several metres outside the temple both north and south wherever we made clearances, although there was little sign of houses there, especially on the south side. When destruction came, the walls of the temple fell outwards, the blocks of the outer walls being invariably found outside. The soldiers of Petronius may have ruined this temple when they destroyed Napata, and there is nothing to show that it was in use as a whole after that time. The Merotic inscriptions, however, found amongst the rubbish of the fort ditch in the south-east of K, as well as a fragment of an ostracon inscribed in Merotic and some potters' marks from K, belong probably to the
third century A.D.; and some portions of the temple may perhaps have been a resort of the pious or superstitious till the fall of paganism in the sixth century.

XII. FINDS IN THE TEMPLE

Before describing the remnants of sculpture and inscription on the walls and fallen blocks, I will deal with the scattered monuments and antiquities which we found in and around the temple, and the contents of the foundation pits.

In the colonnaded court, almost against the middle of the face of the southern pylon tower, stands an altar or support for the sacred bark (Pl. X; marked in Pl. V), the right way up but tilted on shallow rubbish and evidently out of position. It is of black granite (!) rectangular, 120 x 130 and about 100 in height, well shaped with cavetto cornice but otherwise plain; it has been badly fissured and large flakes have fallen away.

In the south half of the same court were found a lion's head (Pl. X, 4) probably from a statue of the goddess Sakhmis or some congener, and a small sphinx, possibly hawk-headed but the head almost worn away (Pl. X, 2), both of rude work in poor sandstone. In the Governor's collection there is a little sphinx, hawk-headed, wearing the double crown.

In the south half of the hypostyle court K lay a sandstone base in the shape of a staircase (Pl. X, 3), on the top of which, no doubt, had stood a mumified figure of Chons as seen in the chapel of Asเปก. It was of poor material and workmanship, unworthy of Tirsakah. Hereabouts, in clearing the ditch of Kitchener's Fort, amongst the rubbish were found two small fragments from the lintel of a shrine (?) in red granite with the name of the king Amananel, and another inscribed fragment of granite that may have belonged to the same (Pl. XI, 1, 2); and three fragments of sandstone inscribed in late Merotic, perhaps graffiti from the walls (Pl. XII, 1, 2).

In H we found the head of a small statue of Ammon, well sculptured in yellowish serpentine, height 33 (Pl. XIII, 1, 2); on the back had been the titles of a king, but only the Horus-name, Wah-mert, otherwise unknown, was preserved (Ashmolean).


In J we found two large snake heads in grey granite apparently representing different species. The larger, length 54, width at eyes 23 (Pl. XIV, 3, 5, Ashmolean), has probaterant eyes with two vertical scales beneath their middle and broad blunt snout, perhaps Echis, or a hornless Cerastes cornutus; the smaller, with nostrils marked, is like Naja (Pl. XIV, 4, Berlin. See the figures in Anderson's 'Zoolgy of Egypt,' 1). Here also were two fragments of a much rarer object, a colossal vulture (V. monachus!), the head L 26 and part of the back and shoulder with ushabiti-collar (Pl. XIV, 1, 2, Ashmolean). All these probably belonged to statue-symbols of the goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt.

Outside, against the north wall of the temple lay a large part of the left side of the throne and base of a statue in black basalt (Pls. XV, XVI, 1, 2). Down the front of the throne, to the left of where the leg of the statue had been, is half of a defaced cartouche (Pl. XIII, 3) which I cannot identify from the faint traces, followed evidently by a dedication to Bubastis. The cartouche has been usurped by [Mai-Aman ?] Pi-ankh; his name has here been fully spelled out, justifying the usual transcription of the name which has hitherto lacked confirmation. On the back is part of what appears to be the original inscription, 'to whom is given all life like Re' for ever,' preceded by broken remains that may read 'Hathor'; on the side is the emblem of the unification of Upper and Lower Egypt and the ends of several lines of inscription in late-Egyptian language, apparently added by the usurper ['Ammon in Thebes . . . . Ammon, this is the doing of Re,' . . . . . . Thoth wrote it, which men did not . . . . , it is my . . . . , I . . . . yearly . . . . . . . 11746.' It is difficult to get a clue to the meaning; the text is of a very unusual character and if only it had been complete would doubtless have been important. One may at any rate suggest that the statue was part of the spoil of Pi-ankh from Egypt and had been originally dedicated by one of his opponents of the Twenty-Third Dynasty to his patron-goddess.

The throne of another statue (Pl. XVI, 3, 4) is of hard sandstone with scale pattern and the symbol of unity of the two countries on the side; the remnant of inscription names 'this good god.' On the back is engraved 'beloved of Kamutef,' apparently altered (by lighter engraving) to 'Bull of Ta-asi' without 'beloved of' to suit local requirements.

The moulds for ushabti and anubis on Pl. XVII reveal one of the industries pursued in the temple. None of the ushabtis are identical
with those figured by Reisner from the pyramids at Nûri (Harvard Studies, II, PIs. I-V). I have followed Reisner’s example in his careful description of the features of the figures.

(1) Mould in firm brownish terra-cotta for the ushabti of a king; with beard and uraeus; no base. Of the headdress only the folds of the top corners over the forehead and the lappets below the cheeks are in the mould. In the cast the right hand appears to hold both hoe and basket-cord above the left which seems to be empty. The mould has been broken and somewhat injured. H. of figure 10 7. (Berlin.)

(2) Mould in firm reddish terra-cotta for the ushabti of a queen, well modelled with square base; no beard or uraeus; headdress bulging on the shoulders without lappets; hands of figure crossed on breast, right over left, the right holding a hoe, the left hoe and basket-cord. H. of figure 13. (Ashmolean.)

(3) Mould in soft reddish terra-cotta for the ushabti of a queen; body and legs shallow, the top of the feet only in the mould; no beard; uraeus on forehead; headdress smooth with lappets; right hand holding hoe above the left with hoe and cord. H. of figure 12. (Ashmolean.)

(4) Mould in soft and coarse red terra-cotta for the ushabti of a queen; the soles of the feet not in the mould; no beard; uraeus double; headdress with lappets smooth, but two lines across the ends of the lappets; right hand with hoe above the left with hoe and cord. H. of figure 14 1. The top of the head is slightly injured. (Berlin.)

Moulds in hard terra-cotta: (5) for seated figure of Harpocrates with curl and uraeus, soles of feet not in the mould, H. of figure about 1 8; (6) for dwarf, feet in mould, H. of figure 1 9; (7) for hawk-head of Re’ with disk and uraeus, on rectangular base, H. of cast 3 2; (8) for lotus pendant, not channelled for piercing, H. of cast 1 7; (9) for conical chrysanthemum flower bead, not pierced, D. of cast 1 1; (10) another, deeper and smaller, D. of cast 1 1; (11) another, shallow and ill-made, with similar matrix on back and front, probably a practice piece.

(1) and (4) are in Berlin, (2), (3) in Ashmolean, Oxford, (5), (6), (10), (11) in Munich, (7)-(9) in Brussels.

Ushabtis. (Pl. XVIII, 1) Part of large ushabti of a queen, legs and most of right arm destroyed, pale blue glaze; beardless, vulture headdress with plain lappets; right hand holding hoe above left holding hoe and cord, basket behind left shoulder; no pilaster; round the body and legs three whole lines and part of a fourth remaining of the full spell for

‘The Osiris, the king’s wife Meqmel deceased.’ H. 13. 2. This queen is not otherwise known. (2) Small uninscribed ushabti of a queen, feet missing, the front moulded, back shaped by hand, no pilaster; headdress plain with uraeus or vulture-head on forehead, and lappets; right hand above left but no instruments marked; turquoise glaze, original. H. about 10. Both of these are in the Ashmolean. There were also found a fragment of two lines of inscription broken from a large ushabti, the incisions filled almost level with the green glaze, and four fragments of heads, etc., broken from ushabtis like (2).

Bronze figure of Isis, standing with headdress of disk and horns, gilded on stucco, H. 21.

Group of twenty-one bronze figures of Osiris, very flat, of several sizes and patterns, L. from 16 to 5, from a brick chamber in the southeast corner of K. (Examples in Ashmolean.)

Small tablet of limestone sculptured in relief with the figure of a king offering a necklace with pectoral, considerably worn and indistinct (Pl. XVIII, 5). The king is clothed in a long flowing garment reaching nearly to the ankles and apparently wears a leopard skin of which the head (?) is seen behind the waist; the ends of a long scarf from the waist or shoulders fall to the edge of the skirt. The form of the close headdress is uncertain, the ends of a scarf round it fall behind the shoulders. On the feet are sandals. The necklace is long, of large beads held so that it hangs in two coils with the pectoral in the middle. H. 7, W. 4. 1. (Ashmolean.)

Alabaster spout in the shape of a gazelle’s head; the horns, inserted at the back of the head, are missing. L. 8. 2. (Pl. XVIII, 3, Ashmolean.)

Mace-head of white granite with little hornblende, surface originally ground, circle not true, edge injured by brushing. Original diameter 6. (Pl. XVIII, 6, Ashmolean.) Perhaps Meroitic.

Lid of vessel of fine greyish wheel-made pottery with stop-rim below. D. 8. 9, of the same material and shape as from Daphne, Parnes, Nebeshek and Defencen, Pl. XXXVI, 87-92 (Pl. XVIII, 4, Berlin).

Fragment of thin hand-made pottery, from the rim and upper part of a pitcher (?) with nearly straight sides, brown, surface burnished with black patches, the rim painted red inside and out and the rest below the rim in red parallel lines and hatchings apparently arranged in large triangles. H. 15 (Pl. XII, 3, Ashmolean). We have found nothing resembling this elsewhere.
Incomplete ostraca of thick and very coarse pottery (from some large vessel or bin, shaped by hand) with sketch in black ink on the concave side, very faint, of two rows of small figures moving to the right; apparently a ritual scene of presentation of offerings to a god whose figure is lost (Pl. XIX). The foremost figure in the lower row, wearing the feathers of Ammon, offers a cloth in his left hand and perhaps a mirror or sistrum in his right; behind him a priest appears to hold a censer in his left hand, the right feeding it; there follow a priest reciting and three figures striking with their hands each end of long darabukkas slung at their waists from their necks. The upper row shows in front a shorter figure wearing loin-cloth, the left arm apparently brought back across the chest, the right down the side, his head turned to those behind him as if inviting them to advance; of these, six figures remain, their bodies bent forward and arms down in front in a reverential attitude. The lower part of the ostraca is blank. H. 13.5. (Ashmolean.)

Part of mud sealing with indistinct impression of a small seal. Design apparently at the top a uwa with scarab below between two pairs of small waas. (Pl. XX, 1, Berlin.)

Fragments of crucible with remnants of blue frit.

The number of fayence amulets found was small. Most of the notable ones are shown in Pl. XX:—2. a clumsy figure of the goddess Ma’at, H. 5.5; 3. scorpion with peg-like tail, L. 2.25 (Berlin); 4. headdress broken from a flat figure of Ammon, H. 4; 7. solar disk, H. 1.8; 8. two plain peg amulets, L. 2.3; 10. feathered cartouche of Shabako, L. 2.1; 11. pair of eyes superposed (two examples), L. 1.3; 12. tablet ‘amkh, dad, was, on neb-basket, with loop not pierced, coarse, perhaps a trial piece, H. 7.9; 13. square plaque with winged uraeus, on back ‘Amen-ra’ upon ’(sic), 2.5; rectangular plaque with two crocodiles, L. 2.6; 14. nail-shaped object, L. 1.5 (Ashmolean).

A small but remarkable fragment of a fayence vase shows a design in relief with was and above it a hollow disk, apparently for inlay in a different colour (16).

**Foundation Deposits** (see above, p. 81).

Wheel-made pottery, red, painted with haematite:—

Pl. XXI, 1. Jar. In N. 3, two, viz.: one uninjured, H. 22.5; the other broken, H. 23.

In S.E. two, broken, H. 22.7 and 23.

2. Bottle, with straight neck, base slightly convex.
   In N.E. one, uninjured, H. 12.
   In S.E. one, uninjured, H. 11.7.

   In N.E. three, H. 7.2 to 8.5.
   In S.E. three, H. 7 to 8.

4. Cap. Variable in proportions and a few with sides curving out.
   In N.E. twenty-three (twenty 1), H. 7.0 to 8.5, D. 8 to 9.5.
   In S.E. twenty (twenty-three 1).

(Note.—Most were broken; in 1920 after mending there were twenty marked as N.E., the rest unmarked, of which three were attributed to N.E. and twenty to S.E.; but there is some uncertainty as to the exact number originally and as to the attribution to the two deposits.)

5. Saucer, with rather marked ribs inside and out.
   In N.E. three, D. 16 to 17.5.
   In S.E. three, D. 16 to 17.0.

6. Coarse quartzite, rude imitation of corn-grinding stones, very rough.
   In N.E. upper, L. 11.0; lower, L. 18.
   In S.E. upper, L. 12.5; lower, L. 18.5.

7. Coarse quartzite, fragment, L. 4.5, no doubt representing the rubber for the lead ore (No. 12). In S.E., L. 4.5.

8. Bitumen, lump. In N.E. and S.E.

9. Resin, small lump. In N.E. 2.2×1.5.

10. Decayed organic matter, whitish.
    In N.E. from inside one of the pots.
    In N.E. inside fragment of pot along with a few beads.

11. Blue glaze ring beads, about a quarter of a pint. In N.E. and S.E.

12. Lead ore! In S.E. in a pot (see No. 7).

13. Dark pebble, perhaps intended to represent haematite.
    In S.E.

14. Bluish frit (1), very small pieces apparently from amongst the beads. Both N.E. and S.E.
XIII. SCULPTURES, ETC., EXTERIOR

The scanty remnants of temple sculpture and inscription may now be described. The walls were ruined to the lowest courses, and the sculptured parts that remained in place were generally much injured, but many detached blocks with sculpture were found in the débris along the sides and back of the temple, and a few inside. Most of the reproductions in the plates have been drawn by Mrs. Griffith from photographs, which are difficult to interpret without the originals; they are however the result of prolonged study. Not a few are taken from my rough notes made on the spot, there being no photographs by which to check them; though given with all reserve, they may have a certain value, as the originals are inaccessible and may have perished by now.

EXTERIOR.

Except the pylons and doorways the whole of the side walls of the temple had been sculptured with small-scale processional scenes in narrow registers, one above another. It can hardly be doubted that they belong to the reign of Tihakah, to whom the larger sculptures as well as the procession of nomes on the rear wall are definitely ascribable; the titles attached to the figure of a queen in the processional scenes on the block $R$ 1, are unfortunately too imperfect for identification. The execution is rough for the small scale on the sandstone which, where the original surface is well preserved, is lightly scored with the marks of the chisels used in facing the stone. The sculptura is sunk below the surface, but, where one object is shown crossing another, as a rule it is given in relief; thus in the case of a wheel, the spokes and tire of the upper half against the body of a cart are in relief, while for the lower half they are sunk; so also the carrying-pole is in relief against the necks and shoulders of the carriers, while the extreme ends are sunk. There is in this no essential difference from the method employed in sculpturing the nome figures on the east wall; the head of a nome figure is marked by a groove where it lies between the chin and the shoulder, while the end on the shoulder is in relief. Most of the exterior sculpture has disappeared through scaling and decay of the surface even where the blocks have not been carried off; sometimes a single block of better quality preserves its surface when all its neighbours have crumbled.

FIRST PYLON.

West Façade. No sculpture remained in place. There must have been the usual representations of the king sacrificing prisoners. In front of the north pylon-tower many fallen blocks were found showing fragments of one or more colossal figures and of prisoners kneeling with their cartouches. Nearer the center lay smaller fragments from the gateway. From the south half also part of a kneeling prisoner was recovered, and some blocks of Tihakah were found introduced into a thick stone wall which had been built out later from the first mast-niche.

The cartouches of the prisoners on the northern pylon-tower (Pl. XXIII, 6) named specific countries or places, but unhappily are too fragmentary for identification:—(a) an Oasis $w[i]$ with the interesting spelling-out of the word-sign noted by Sayce, Znt. f. Ag. Spr. LVI, 46; (b) $F$; (c) $S$; (d) $A$; (e) $m(t)w$; (f) $r$; (g) meni$H$; (h) $t$.

The north and south faces and the return faces at the back of the pylon preserved no sculpture or inscription.

COLONNATED COURT.

South Side. Remnants of scenes of procession eastward — with small figures in narrow registers, commencing immediately behind the
first pylon. The remaining height of the walls shows parts of three registers, the lowest commencing at 66 above the upper stone footing and 45 high, the second 50 high.

a. From first pylon to door (Pl. XXIV).

Lowest register; near pylon, 1. the plain prow or stern of a bark with sloping bar (?) on water; two metres beyond, 2. a human head. This register seems very empty and was perhaps not continued, but the surface of the stone is much destroyed.

Second register; near pylon, 1. mules and riders; two metres beyond, 2. remains of chariots; about half-way to the second pylon, 3. crested objects probably representing wild palm-trees and desert herbage on undulating ground; a little before the door, 3. square cart, apparently two-wheeled only, with trace of horse in front, another horse following.

Third register; a line of hilly desert (?) followed by the vertical wall of a building is perhaps traceable above and to the west of the cart.

b. The door preserves no decoration.

c. Beyond the door.

Immediately before the inner pylon; in the lowest register 6. desert hill, in the second, 4. chariot-with driver and quiver of arrows, drawn by two mules.

North Side. No sculpture left.

INNER PYLON.

South End. On the narrow west return nothing visible.

South face, at 150 above the upper footing an oblique groove remains, evidently belonging to a representation on a large scale.

On the east return at the end of a column 47 wide, two very large hieroglyphs nb pt 'Lord of heaven.' Apparently there were two columns of inscription.

North End. Nothing visible. Fragments of a colossal bas-relief figure were found on loose blocks.

REAR BLOCK.

South Wall. From inner pylon to door into K, remains of four registers (Pl. XXV, 1.) From below upward:—

At 1-20 above upper footing, H. 20, traces of ox bound for sacrifice.

H. 20, offerings of fruit, jars, etc. on trays and stands.

H. 20, small figures with victim being cut up, foreleg and head cut off and laid as offering —-

Lower part of larger figures as in the rest of the procession.

Pl. XXV, 1. Door (blocked) to Hypostyle Hall, flush with the rest of the wall, jambs and lintel having been marked out upon the blocks of the wall. The lintel block was found complete in the rubbish below and is now in the Ashmolean Museum; part of the inscription on each jamb remains in place; together the door inscriptions have been, on the right 'Lives the king of Upper and Lower Egypt Nebertkemu-Re' living for ever, Son of the Sun, Tahtqa, beloved of Amen-Re' to whom life is given '; on the left the same, but 'beloved of Mutth.' From door to south-east corner. The small-scale procession scenes recommence immediately. The direction is now westward — towards the bark of Ammon by the door. Only fragments of the lowest row remain in place, 120 above the upper footing:—

Pl. XXV, 1-2. At the west end, portions of the lower halves of a group of figures, evidently priests, bearing the bark of Ammon as in Pl. XXVII. The aegis with ram's head at the prow of the bark is preserved with the leading bearer; facing it stands the priest wearing uraeus (?) and Ammon-phalenes, reading from a square tablet or roll, while another priest holds a burning censer, casting incense upon it with his other hand. Behind this last figure is an enclosure with trees and a shrine (?)

After a long gap of about 550, at about the middle of the south wall, there are legs apparently of a succession of animals proceeding westward — in the direction of the shrine and sacred bark. About twelve animals following each other seem to be accounted for, and with one of the best preserved there may be a trace of a rider's foot. To judge by the stray blocks they might represent animals either with or without riders, and some of the legs might even possibly be of men accompanying them. Further on, opposite the west end of the chamber D, are two pairs of feet of men —-

North Wall. About the middle of the rear block one piece of sculpture remained at 100 above the footing, showing a boat on water amongst rounded sandbanks or rocks (Pl. XXVI, 1).

Loose blocks found at various points along the north wall supplement this to a small extent; viz.:-

At the east end (1) block with three men — with hands uplifted in adoration, a ram head crowned with disk — at their feet (Pl. XXVI, 2).
(3) Block with boat having bellying sail, mule carts in register above.
(3) Block with offerings resembling those on the south wall, eastward of the inner pylon.

Further west, lion (?)-head aegis crowned with disk ←, apparently the front of a sacred barge (Pl. XXVI, 3).

Half-way to Hypostyle, three men ← towing barge with bellying sail, chariots in register above (Pl. XXVI, 4).

From J up to the inner pylon various blocks of the procession series occurred, the faces →; at the west end, fragment of offerings and another showing feet of draped figures dancing.

The numerous fallen blocks from the south wall may be grouped as follows 1:

A. Priests carrying shrines, etc.; in all cases the movement is to the right (eastward) (Pl. XXVII).

1. Procession of the divine bark. Two blocks fitting together (L. 69 and 71) show the bark, containing shrine and small figures and decorated with an aegis at prow and stern. It is supported on a pole each end of which is carried by a close group of seven shaven priests moving to the right; the right hand of each priest grasps the upper arm of the one in front. The face of the second bearing priest is well preserved, and marks upon it might be taken to represent scarifications like those of the modern Nubians. Opposite the middle of the bark, by the shrine itself, walk two priests wearing panther skins and holding a pointed brush (?) in the right hand, one of them steadying the shrine with the left hand. In front marches a priest wearing Ammon-plumes and reading from a tablet, and before him is the burning censer held by another priest. Following the bark is seen the oblique stem of a flabelium held by a priest behind. (Ashmolean.)

2. Procession of a shrine (?) of Muthis (?). Two blocks probably from one scene. The first shows six priests similarly carrying the hinder end of a pole; an arm is stretched out above the fifth head, holding the staff of a flabelium (?), but though there is plenty of space above on the block, no part of a bark is visible. The second shows the leader of the hinder group of carriers, the shrine (?) with two priests at the side supporting it and three of the front group of bearers; above the foremost is the staff of a flabelium. (The left-hand block in Berlin.)

With these compare the representations in Naville, *Inscription Historique de Ponsedjem III of Dynasty XXI*, where the three shrines of Ammon, Muthis and Chons are separately carried, each in a bark.

B. Royalties proceeding to left (westward) (Pl. XXVIII).

Two blocks apparently belonging together, parts of two registers. The upper one shows the legs of a man proceeding to the left towards another figure facing him of which very little remains; behind the first are the feet and part of the robe of a female figure standing, of double height, evidently a queen or princess. The lower register shows another female royalty also of double height, immediately beneath the first, wearing tall plumes and holding a sistrum. The remains of her titles might be interpreted to read 'Mother of the king, wife (?) of the king Ba-ka-Re', i.e. Tanwetamun, or 'Mother of the king, daughter of the king Shabako . . . ' or 'Mother of the king, sister of the king . . . ba-ru.' Behind her is a smaller figure of a man holding flabelium; the register is here subdivided into two, and figures were represented in each.

Probably in the register below this would have been the king himself, the queen being in the row above him and the princesses above her, corresponding to the shrines of Ammon, Mut and Chons in the procession.

In the following description the register corresponding to the second register of the above is referred to as the 'queen's register.'

C. Attendants, musicians, etc., proceeding to left (unless otherwise stated) (Pls. XXVIII-XXIX).

1. Block, perhaps continuing the queen's register, divided into two registers; two out of the three lower figures raising their arms in adoration. (Berlin.)

2. Four blocks apparently joining, belonging to the queen's register with a fragment of the one above (the princess's). In the lowest row three men stand to left, holding a lighted candle (?) in each hand. Behind them a man turned to the right holds a ball (or tambourine or cymbals?) in his two hands. He faces another wearing a shawl, who plays a cornet and holds a wand with flower-like top (the design of the hand holding the wand seems to have been altered). Behind him stand three figures each holding a wand with curved top in one hand and other objects. In the register above are men turned to the right facing musicians. The first of these are two harp players, each accompanied by a singer who appears to be blind and holds the harpist; behind them is a similar group

1. Some were sawn down and sent home, but most were left on the spot owing to crumbling or expense of transport.
of a drummer held by a cornet player, and behind these are the feet of two separate figures. In the top row is seen the arm of a man prostrate in obeisance to the right, with legs of a close group of four persons facing to the right in front of him; by exception only the backward leg of each is shown. Probably they are bearers of a palanquin or shrine. (Upper block of harper in Berlin.)

3. Fragment showing remains of similar figures, the lower one with curved-topped staff and headdress of feathers (?)

4. Fragment with remains of two figures and indications of a register above.

5. Block, two registers; in the lower one remains of three women dancers facing to left and wearing lotus-flower headdresses, surface gone on right.

D. Men kneeling in obeisance, turned to right (Pl. XXX).
1. Two blocks joining show the end of two rows of suppliants; behind them there appears to be an irregular or flat-topped bush in front of a building in the upper part and perhaps the prow of a boat below.
2. Block showing a row of three suppliants above; four male dancers (?) with tall headdresses below.
3. Block showing three figures above, two suppliants below. This seems to have fitted on to the top of 2, making another row of suppliants. Probably, therefore, the two rows of suppliants had a register of courtiers, etc. above and another of dancers below. The front end of the suppliants seems to be given by C. 2.

4. Fragment showing a suppliant.

E. Boats on the river (Pl. XXXI).
1. Block showing on water the prow of a boat with rowers and sounding pole and stern of another, proceeding to right.
2. Block showing two registers. In the upper one feet of two animals accompanied by men, moving to right, probably drawing a cart as in F. 6, etc.; below, a boat on the water, laden with figures, apparently proceeding to left.
3. Block, two registers. In the upper one mules showing feet of riders as in G. In the lower, the stern of a boat with steersman, a rock (?) behind him.

4. Fragment, two registers. Two small figures bending to left in salutation, another standing to right, presumably all on a boat; above them the hind (1) legs of a pair of animals and advanced leg of a man; behind them a task-like object almost reaching the ground; and beyond it doubtful remains, perhaps a vertical building, crossed by a limb (?) in relief, or perhaps the second foot of the man with the leg of an animal behind it.

5. Fragment, two registers. Below, desert hill and stern (?) of boat with steersman's platform; above, legs of animals.

F. Wheeled vehicles (Pl. XXXII). The wheels of both chariots (cf. Pl. XXIV, 2) and carts have eight spokes. No. 7 with at least three wheels in the side is extraordinary.
1. Block; chariot with quiver, containing driver (Berlin). On another block lower part of wheel of the same (?) chariot followed by the mule of another. This belonged to the lowest register on the wall.
2. Forepart of a chariot drawn by a pair of mules; part of wheel of another chariot in front.
3. Block with remains of two registers; in the upper one four-wheeled cart drawn by a pair of animals with driver running by the side, followed perhaps by the leg (?) of a running driver and the fore-legs of another pair of animals; in the lower register head and staves of riders. L. 71. (Ashmolean.)

4. Block with four-wheeled cart, hind quarters of animal and leg of driver.
5. Block with cart, two wheels remaining and hind quarters of an animal.
6. Block showing front of cart, one wheel remaining, long pole with two pairs of animals and legs of drivers running by the side.
7. Block with six (?)-wheeled cart (three wheels remaining on the side), pole and most of one pair of animals, with driver running by the side.

G. Riders, all proceeding to the right (Pl. XXXIII). The scale of the animals, etc. varies greatly on different blocks, that in 8 being twice the size of others. The animals are generally represented as if with an ornament on the head resembling a third ear. The riders sit on a saddle cloth with tassels and a saddle with circular panniers having round marks (pocket-holes ?) in the middle. They appear to steady themselves by a high horn-shaped pomel (? unless it be a cloth attached to the saddle.
1. Block with two riders on mules, one with both legs on one side. L. 64, H. 43. (Ashmolean.)
2. Block with upper parts of two similar riders on mules. L. 60-5. (Ashmolean.)
3. Block with parts of three similar riders on mules, the foremost, apparently, passing by a hut or stela with rounded top. (Berlin.)
4. Block with similar rider.
5. Block showing animals of two similar riders.
6. Block with similar rider but without pommel.
7. Fragment showing two riders on mules; remains of an upper register. (Berlin.)
8. Legs and tassels of an animal, exceptionally tall and on a large scale.

H. Animals without riders (spare animals) (Pl. XXXIV).
1. Two mules or asses with saddle-cloths, followed by a groom with stick; trace of sculpture in register below ←.
2. Series of three animals ← with saddle-cloths and saddles, much worn.
3. Various buildings, etc. (Pl. XXXIV).
1. A pylon(?)-tower and door.
2. A door and other buildings with trees, a man standing on left of the trees, much worn.
4. Desert with shapeless bush, perhaps belonging to the boat series (not figured, owing to the engraved lines being indistinguishable in the photographs from cracks and injuries).

East Wall. On the east wall no sculpture remained in place; but many fallen blocks here showed that there had been two series of sculptures, viz.: A row of small nome-figures with inscriptions, evidently from the base, and colossal groups of the king with deities that had adorned the upper part of the wall. (Pl. XXXV.)

Of the former series, the Upper Egyptian nome-figures faced → and were therefore from the south half of the wall (where the blocks actually lay), the Lower Egyptian ← from the north half. Unfortunately there is here no list or indication of Nubian provinces, the whole of which may have been nominally included in the nome of Elephantine 'The Land of the Bow.' The central block (see Pl. XXXVI) was inscribed 'Taharqa comes to bring to thee the gods of the South Land' → and 'Taharqa comes to bring to thee the gods of the North Land' ←. The figures or inscriptions of several of the nomes of Upper Egypt were recognisable, viz.: those of I, Elephantine; II, Edfu, and III, Hierakonopolis (Pl. XXXV, 5); of VIII, Abydos and IX, Panopolis; of XI, Hibis; and of XIV, Cusae, XV, Hermopolis, and XVI, Oryx nome (Pl. XXXV, 3, 4). Of Lower Egypt only XVI, Mendes, survived. It is noteworthy that the figures representing I, II, XIV, XVI of Upper Egypt are made with beards and short garments, while that representing the XVth (Hermopolis) nome is female, beardless, with prominent breast and long garment. This seems to imply that most of the names of the nomes are masculine, but that of the Hare-nome feminine. A curious mistake seems to have crept into the inscription of the XVIth nome, where ḫmḥ perhaps should have been written instead of ḫst-ḥḥ.t.

Of the upper sculptures, remnants of colossal figures (about one and a half times natural size) and names of Tirhakah and Ammon were found, including the head of the ram-headed god (Pl. XXXVII, 1), headress of the king (Pl. XXXV, 1), his foot and symbolic tail. The inscription marked a in Pl. XXXVI belongs to them. It seems probable that there would have been two such groups upon the wall, but if so, that on the northern half must have been entirely destroyed.

XIV. SCULPTURES, ETC., INTERIOR

The First Pylon. In the entrance between the front pylon towers is an architrave(?)-block of sandstone naming the king 'Senq-amun-asken-beloved of Amen-re', Bull of the Place' (Pl. XI, 3). It has been laid upside down probably as a foundation for some late walling when the temple was used for habitation.

The back of the pylon (east face) showed no important remains of decoration except, on the south half, the lower ends of ten lines terminating or appended to the long inscription on the south wall of the court, followed immediately by the footing of the usual type of scene.

The Colonnaded Court and the Long Incription. The Long Inscription (Pls. XXXVIII-XL) begins at the east end of the south wall at the foot of the staircase in the inner pylon, continues along the whole length of the wall to the west end (unless it was interrupted by the
door), and finishes on the back of the pylon. For the first sixteen lines the height of two inscribed blocks, about 75 cm., remains in position, protected by the neighbourhood of the second pylon; but for most we have only the height of a single block of about 40 and what remains is often worn or intentionally blank. Probably the columns of writing were originally several metres high, perhaps even carried up to the roof of the colonnade; the absence of date, royal protocol, and all introductory words from the first line shows how little has been preserved.

One may perhaps estimate the height of the roof from the floor at 5½ to 7 metres, and the columns of inscription might consequently have been 4½ to 6 metres in length, six to eight times that of the remnant of the first line. The blocks in position can be supplemented by loose fragments to a small degree, but it is impossible to fit any of these on to the wall; from them it can be seen that the dividing lines were filled with blue, the hieroglyphs with red. The average width of the lines is 11 cm. but l. 1 is 13 cm. wide, l. 2 about 12 cm. and some are hardly more than 10. The remnants of the columns of writing are interrupted at l. 30 in a list of names by a door, but the inscription may have continued above the door and apparently the same list proceeds on the other side of it.

(1) [Year . . . of King Tirhakah etc., etc.] by its name; if he lean on this name, this god shall be
(2) . . . . They went south to Shaiis, his majesty
(3) . . . . [Napi] for twenty days, they departed hence!
(4) . . . . they . . . to the holy place and when they had done all that they were doing in order to
(5) . . . . they said, Amen-re, bull of Bow-land, great (?) god
(6) . . . . a temple in his time by Es-qe-ahout (?) upon
(7) . . . . to this locality upon which they were doing work
(8) . . . . the ancestors, its towers standing entirely
(9) . . . . his face, a statue of stone of the prophet who
(10) . . . . this . . . who went with him carrying out the work in the temple
(11) . . . . in which this temple was [found]; and when . . . saw
(12) . . . . sailing to Shaiis, his majesty said to the nobles
(13) . . . . [the temple of] Amen-re, bull of Bow-land, it was found as

(14) . . . . this temple was found as he had said in
(15) . . . . [and the nobles said to his majesty] . . . his image is in thee upon earth, his heritage is in thee
(16) . . . . knit together a kiosque for him in thy reign, of the greatness
(17) . . . . of thy love for thy father Amen-re' . . . He is a god that loveth him
(18) . . . . a great god. And his majesty said

I. 22 . . . . month . . . . day 8, resting in (23) . . . . organising (24) . . . . of Bow-land, superintendent (25) . . . . all [offices] of his house, (26) . . . . [with him and with the superintendent . . . (27) . . . . he went south.

II. 28-30 evidently began a list of persons which continued to I. 57 ; I. 56 ends with ' 21 women ' and I. 57 was probably the total ' 544 (1) [men and] women.'

The narrative then proceeded:—I. 58 ' . . . . his way, he drew near to Thebes (1). (59) . . . . [The people gave praise] to this great god, unto their children with [their wives] (60) . . . . good progeny (?) . . . . One came (61) . . . . thy heir upon thy throne, the son of Re' Tirhakah (62) . . . . manifested upon the throne of Horus for ever. They said (63) . . . . [they made for] him a great banquet of bread, beer, oxen, ducks, wine (64) . . . . Amen-Re', bull of Ta-ati, to the edge of the river (65) . . . . boats innumerabile (67) . . . . [making a list of] all the things (1) by their names.

II. 68-91 must have contained the list, perhaps of contributions by individuals or institutions and localities to the dedication-feast or to the endowment of the temple; and with some headings or short paragraphs of narrative this continues to the end. In I. 120 ' his majesty went to the city.'

In I. 151 et seqq. ' his adornments . . . . the temple of Ammon, the great god in [Napi (?) . . . . victims . . . . he turned his head to the [Sacred] Mount . . . . may their names be cursed . . . . all his . . . of the previous day [and the god] assented [greatly] . . . . the great [godess] in Napi.'

The south-west corner is reached between II. 170-171; the few signs in the latter may be scrawls not belonging to the inscription. A new text may begin at I. 172 ' . . . . all the [ritual?] of stretching the cord . . . Nemt (?) the beginning at Memphis, [the end at . . . .]
No fallen blocks were found, only small fragments (Pl. XL); these had perhaps been broken up in the construction of the fort. One series was easily fitted together making a block (15) nearly complete, but the rest appeared to be disconnected. I have grouped these remnants of inscription for convenience under the heads of dates 1, 2; cartouches 3, 4; narrative etc. 5-11; names and titles 12-14, cf. II. 25-57; lists of offerings 15-21 (cf. II. 68-end).

Evidently the long inscription concerns mainly the building, dedication and endowment of the temple of Sanam. In it occurred the cartouche of Methesuphis (I) on fragment 4, doubtless referring to the fourth king of the Sixth Dynasty. This king received at Elephantine the homage of the Nubian princes and it was in his reign that Herchuf made his long and eventful journeys in Nubia. Unhappily the cartouche is on a very small fragment and its context is wholly lost; it is not preceded by any royal title; we might perhaps read [\textit{jes ... M ... m-s-f [m'-hyni}] which [the deceased] Methesuphis had ...']. But more probably we should take the two characters before the cartouche as belonging to a place-name or geographical expression such as Water-, River, or Channel-of-Methesuphis. Such may well have been a name in Nubia itself, comparable to the 'Residence of Amenemnes' named on a block of Ethiopian workmanship in the citadel of Old Meroë on the right bank. The kings of Dyn. XXV, admirers of the glories of the Old Kingdom, may have been proud to preserve or revive such a name in Ethiopia. The fragment is now in the Ashmolean Museum.

The locality Shais, named twice in the early lines, is unfortunately not recorded elsewhere. The references to Memphis are obscure; perhaps a visit of Tirhakah to his Egyptian capital is here referred to, or perhaps Memphis was named as a contributor to his temple at Napata. But at present all is conjecture. It is very unfortunate that we cannot even tell whether the temple was built and dedicated in the years of Tirhakah's prosperity or after the Assyrians had brought disaster upon him and upon Egypt. The expression 'curse be their names' in l. 155 shows that the long inscription was not without interesting historical references and the loss of so much narrative and detail of various kinds is deplorable.

In the southern half of the court lay several inscribed blocks. Two fragments of columns showed the name of Amun-re and the cartouche of Tirhakah (Pl. XXVI, 5, 6). A piece of cavetto cornice built into a brick wall also showed portions of the two cartouches of Tirhakah (7); and a slab (8) inscribed '... their temples upon their estates ('... filled (!) with male and female slaves ... the Tebenu-Libyans' and another sculptured with some representations of divine accoutrements, collars, pectorals and staves and inscription ... [Bull of] Tastū, son (!) ...' (Pl. XI, 4) probably recorded gifts to the temple.

**Inner Pylon**

West Face, forming the east wall of the Colonnaded Court. The south half is best preserved. It shows a slightly raised door-jamb 77 cm. broad with remains of a smallish standing figure sculptured upon it, beginning at 110 above the floor. Beyond the jambs on each half, extending from 68 to 110 above the floor, was a horizontal band of six parallel grooves filled with black, the upper three spaces between the lines painted yellow, green, yellow. Above is a row of prisoners kneeling with cartouches in front. Twelve were on the south side and are all traceable, viz.: '...[Nations of the East], Nations of the West, Nations of the North, Nations of the South, Fenchu, All Lands, Shasu, South Land and North Land, Bowmen of the Deserts, Libyans, All the embrace of the great Circuit.' Above and on scattered blocks are remnants of the usual scene of sacrifice of prisoners. Beyond this is engraved a single column of inscription mentioning '[Bull] of Ta-stū,' and then comes the stairway (Pl. XLII, 1).

On the north side only a fragment of one prisoner's name remains.

East Face, forming the west wall of the Hypostyle Hall. The lower parts of a succession of scenes are preserved (Pl. XLII, 2 from my rough notes).

South of entrance, proceeding southward.
1. End of column of large inscription on jamb of doorway.
2. Scene of king with staff and mace leaving the temple (Pl. XLII, 1).
3. Scene of [Taha]raqa's purification with deluges of 'ankh and was by two gods standing on troughs or basins.
4. Tirhakah wearing sandals, embraced by a god on either side.
5. King wearing tail and sandals with red legs followed by a god with blue legs. This reaches the corner.

Below the scenes are the usual base lines, showing red between yellow bands.
North of entrance, proceeding northward. Pl. XLII, 2, as above.

1. Column of inscription.

2. King wearing sandals between two gods conducting him.

3. Two small figures of divinities on thrones, a third effaced, and indications of another in a row above. This was evidently a representation of the divine Ennead, or of the two Enneads, one in each row. They are followed by three columns of inscription and part of a larger standing figure (of the king offering to the Ennead) (Pl. XLIII, 2).

At the northern end about a third of the whole length was broken away in making the ditch of the fort.

HYPOSTYLE HALL (K).

South Wall. East to west. (The shrine of Aspelt is in the southeast corner, but hardly interferes with the Tirhakah sculptures.)

1. Feet of a figure of the king above life size wearing sandals and a long garment ornamented in squares, followed by a smaller figure without sandals, lower edge of garment fringed (Pl. XXIII, 1).

2. Door, neatly blocked with squared stones flush with the wall but undecorated, each jamb with cartouches of Tirhakah in two columns (iḥ.).

3. A brick wall hides the east end; then three figures, the feet of the foremost (the king) destroyed, the others sandalled (reaching to pylon). Probably this scene represented Ammon or some other deity approached by the king and two princes (iḥ.).

North Wall. Doorway (blocked with rubble and stone). On the east jamb, remnant of two columns of inscription naming 'Amen-Re', Bull in the Place' (Pl. XXIII, 2).

Beyond this, remains of feet and base lines.

East Wall. The framing of the door, 73 cm. broad and raised 2-50 above the general level, remains to a height of 100, the base line of decoration being at about 80. North of the entrance, part of the wall remains to a height of 100, the surface preserved at the north end, showing red band between two yellow bands separated by black lines at 75-90, above which are the sandalled feet of two male figures before an altar, followed by the foot of a god holding the sea-sceptre; there also remains one foot of a figure facing them on the other side of the altar.

South of the entrance next to the framing, is the end of a column of hieroglyphs (Pl. XXIII, 3).

Columns. None of the decoration remains.

The small shrine of Tirhakah, 370 square, internally 230, was built between four columns in the northern half, facing south. The upper part of the walls is destroyed at the level of the shoulders of the sculptured figures, about 160 (Pl. XLIII).

3. On the right jamb, dedication by Tirhakah 'beloved of Amen-re', Bull in the Place' and 'Muthis, lady of Heaven.' On the left 'beloved of Amen-re', Bull of Tasti' and 'Muthis, lady of Heaven.'

On the east side nothing remains except some feet.

1. On the west side three columns of inscription between which are two scenes; on the left a god → holding was faces the king who wears sandals and tail; on right, probably a similar scene.

4. On the back a similar arrangement with symmetrical scenes; on the left, Tirhakah standing ← wearing sandals and holding 'ankh and mace, is embraced by a god → wearing tail.

Interior. The narrow space at each side of the entrance was probably blank; each of the other walls had traces of a scene of a king worshipping two deities:—On the east wall, Ammon and another male god. On the north wall? On the west wall, god and goddess. The remains of inscription on the three walls are shown in 2.

The roofing blocks had collapsed inside; they were painted beneath with yellow stars having red centres on a blue ground.

The lower part of the entrance (115 wide) of this little chapel was blocked by a large slab and two fragments of its cavetto cornice laid in neatly, see 3.

Shrine of Aspelt. This was timidly constructed in the south-east corner by utilising the existing walls and fitting in a wall of thin slabs from the east wall of K to the nearest column and then another on to the next column; from this a kind of west façade wall was made by a double thickness of slabs carried to the south wall. These slabs, forming the north and west walls of the shrine, have some rough edges and are not skilfully adjusted; where they met the outside curve of the column, they are cut away at the back to fit it. They are of very white sandstone (like those of the Treasury) and were sculptured inside and out. But the original sculptures on the east and south walls of K were not tampered with; only on the east wall inside the shrine a new row of figures was begun below those of Tirhakah. The interior measurements are, width 375, to outside north wall 400; length 420, to outside west wall 475.
The upper part of the walls has gone and it is not certain that the shrine was ever roofed over. The eastern half of the north wall still shows the heads of the sculptured figures and reaches 130; probably a roll beading and cavetto cornice would have completed it at about the height of a man.

**Exterior.** The little west façade (Pl. XLIV, 1) shows a doorway with jambs outlined by a roll beading; it was doubtless surmounted by an architrave with cavetto cornice. On each jamb was engraved a figure of the king, standing, wearing pointed kilt and tail and holding a staff (head lost) in one hand, and mace and 'nakh in the other. Between the jamb and the south wall of K are the feet of two figures embracing, evidently the king, wearing sandals, and a god—'I have overthrown thine enemies every day.' On the left side the corresponding space is much narrowed by the projection of the column and it was apparently filled by a figure of the bark of Sokaris, the stand of which alone remains.

On the north wall outside, (1) East half (Pl. XLIV, 2), from east wall of K to column, king offering 'to his father Amen-re' [bull of] Ta-sti — 'who promises 'there is no ill in [thy] time,' and 'thou art established for ever.' (2) West half (Pl. XLV), from column to west wall, feet of king followed by two females pouring libations (all without sandals) facing Ammon, Mut and Chons, the last figured as a mummy on a pedestal.

The ditch of Kitchener’s Fort was dug here and evidently destroyed the topmost stones remaining of the wall. Lepsius’ expedition had noted a ‘portion of a partition-wall between two large columns in the great temple near Abudom. A king, a queen and a daughter stand before the three deities, Amunra, Mut, Ptah (?) ; the king gives his hand to Amunra’; and copied the inscriptions and the royal figures as far as they were visible above ground. His summary copies of these upper parts fortunately contain an overlap of the line of inscription which is still preserved. Their connection being thus guaranteed, they can be readily fitted to the remnants left and are utilised in our plate. Lepsius’ doubtful Ptah can be corrected to Chons, the third member of the Theban triad, whose figure often bears a resemblance to that of Ptah, only differentiated by the lunar disk which had probably been destroyed in the present case long before Lepsius’ visit. The same triad is seen on the stela of

Aspelt in the Louvre (A.Z. XXXIII, pl. IV) as well as on one from Gebel Barkal (Mariette, Mon. Div., pl. 10). The same fragment must be referred to also earlier, immediately after the heading Abu Dom 1 where we read ‘In Napata are to be distinguished some eight different buildings which appear to have been mostly temples. One of them is recognisable by a mound, fragments of columns and blocks; on the last is found a king’s name (S-re...).’ This remnant of the king’s title agrees exactly with that in the other copy. Lepsius’ Napata here seems to stand for the Abu Dom site, and indeed the name of Aspelt would hardly have survived on the right bank at Jebel Barkal (see above, p. 79). These are the only references to our temple, and it is fortunate that its one fragmentary record can be identified and utilised here. It is clearly from this same inscription that the two cartouches labelled ‘Abu Dom’ in Lepsius’ Königbuch, Nos. 959, 960 are taken.

To return to the scene as now restored by the help of Lepsius’ record, Ammon greets the king, taking his hand as when a deity leads a king forward, ‘[thou art] living like Re’ for ever.’ Behind the king two princées with curious tailed garments (as in the Louvre stela) are rattling sistra in the right hand, and emptying libation vases in the left; the swinging handle of one of the vases is seen hanging downwards across the stream of water. The strange headdress of the second princess is preserved in Lepsius’ copy, showing four curved bars issuing from small cup-like objects. Above them appear to be the words which they are singing, but the fragmentary copy gives no clue to their names and is altogether obscure. ‘Words said by the royal sister’ and ‘son of the Sun, Aspelt...’ like Thoth’ are in the second half, and in the first half another obscure cartouche which probably should be corrected to ‘Aspelt’ followed by ‘living for ever, thou establishest’ is recognisable. Between the two ladies is ‘... rowing Amenre’, making (I) the path of Re’, that we (I) may tread upon his water-path like ...’ This may be a continuation of one of the lines at the top.

As the east and south walls were formed by portions of the massive constructions of Tirhakah, there is no sign on the outside of their connection with Aspelt’s shrine.

**Interior.** West Wall (Pl. XLVI, 2). Left of door, two columns of

---


1. *Ib., p. 283.*
Hieroglyphs followed by remains of a scene showing legs of a figure of the king on a tank of ablutions with inscription referring to purification, and his name 'son of the Sun, Aspelt.' This scene has been re-stuccoed and a second coating of colour, painting put over the first, and some of the inscription appears to have been doubly engraved. Right of door, three columns of inscription and scene of a small figure of the 'southern Mert' before the king on a tank (see Blackman, Journ. Eg. Arch., VII, 9).

North Wall. From the west wall to the column (Pl. XLVI, 1) the legs of three male figures wearing divine or royal tails remain, and in front a column of inscription '.... son of the Sun, Aspelt, living for ever.' Behind them in one column, '[the southern are] in obeisance, the northern in [adoration].' The three figures might be simply a multiplication of the figure of the king, or two of them may have represented princes.

From the column to the east wall, part remains to a height of about 150, but nearly all is defaced (Pl. XLVII, 1). At the top the head of a king is fairly well preserved, wearing close-fitting cap and double uraeus. He stood opposite a large pendent uraeus behind which is the headless figure of a goddess. A scene on the walls of the small temple of Tirhakah at Gebel Barkal gives the clue to this remnant. The king must be offering to a seated figure of Ammon, perhaps ram-headed, behind whom stands Mut, the two deities being in a shrine from the cornice (!) of which hangs an enormous uraeus. Two columns of inscription are faintly traceable behind the king, and other inscriptions are scattered about. A base band to the scene, red between black, is seen at about 40 above the floor.

South Wall. So far as can be ascertained nothing was added by Aspelt to the sculptures on this wall.

East Wall. The footing lines of Tirhakah's scenes remain. Below them, at a lower level than the rest of the sculpture in Aspelt's shrine, are engraved the more or less unfinished outlines of seven male figures bringing offerings (Pl. XLVII, 2); of these two libation vessels (one unfinished) are recognisable, each terminating above in a hawk's head crowned with the sun's disk, and a jar with cover of the same form. The procession begins south of the middle of the wall and at the north end there is an apparently blank space that could have taken one more figure. Brick walls had covered up part of these and of other pieces of sculpture in Aspelt's shrine.

HYPOSTYLE C.

Of the walls generally, two courses remain to a height of 80 cm., in places three courses, H. 130, and on the west wall to north of the axial entrances, four courses, H. 170. This chamber is distinguished from all the others by false-door panelling incised on all the walls from the door to a height of 90 or 95 cm.; traces of coloured stucco on the north wall complete the scheme (Pl. VI, 1). Feet, etc., of sculptured scenes remain on the north and west walls beginning at 117 above the floor, with the usual horizontal lines below.

Doorways. That into hypostyle K had no framing, the panelling reaching to the edge; that into B had a framing, 71 wide, raised 2 cm.: into D, E, left jamb plain, on right jamb inscription reaching almost to the floor (Pl. XXVI, 9); into J (Pl. XXXVII, 2) left jamb plain, right jamb with inscription in relief (Pl. XXIII, 4); into H, right jamb plain, on the left cartouche of Tirhakah, etc. in relief (Pl. XXIII, 9).

Columns. The base has bevelled edge, height about 25-30, diam. 130. Of the shafts about 70 to 115 of the height remains; diam. at 115 above base 97; they appear to have been plain except on the face towards the central aisle; here on the north-east column is a trace of a column of inscription in relief between vertical lines, beginning at 35 above the base (Pl. XXVI, 10).

In the entrance to K lay a sandstone block with titles of an unknown king in large hieroglyphs (Pl. XXVII, 13). Unfortunately there is no cartouche, but as the subsidiary titles of the first four kings after Tanwetamane in Reisner's list, viz. Atlanerse, Senkamaneseen, Amananel and Aspelt, are known, this must be placed later.

Near the entrance to J lay a block with part of a royal name (11), evidently that of Aman-mal-(nefr ?)-wy(b ?), who is placed very late by Reisner, at the thirteenth place in the series of nineteen kings after Tanwetamane.

Later brick walls connecting the columns, etc., were laid on the clean floor; they were much burnt, especially in the northern half, and the stone walls were reddened by fire correspondingly.

Blocks found in and about C (one between the entrances to B and H, another in the doorway between K and C, a third resting on the wall

between K and J) (Pl. XLVIII) show in a fragmentary way the cartouches of Tirhakah side by side between two representations of his Horus-title; the hawks belonging to the titles are turned in opposite directions, and each receives suo from the emblem or figure of a deity accompanied by an inscription describing the king as 'beloved' of that deity. In some cases the deity is Nekhebt; she is figured as a vulture and stands on a basket supported by the symbol of the plant of Upper Egypt; this design makes in monogram, 'Nekhebt, mistress of Upper Egypt,' the inscription continuing 'the white one [of Nekhen] mistress of . . . . . . . The example has 'Amen-re, Bull of . . . . . . . In another case a deity at each end of the block is lost, and the disk of the sun with uraei and its name Behedti are over where the cartouches should be, apparently taking the place of the ordinary titles. Another block preserves the lower part of the cartouches and the end of the inscription 'beloved of . . . . . living for ever'; in this case, further, the top of a king's headdress (on which are two pairs of crowned uraei) is traceable beneath the cartouches, revealing the part taken by the inscriptions in the scheme of decoration:—they surmounted large sculptured scenes which doubtless represented the king offering to or in converse with the divinity named. Probably they formed a series at the top of the walls of C.

Room B. The Sanctuary. Two to three courses remain to a height of about 220, but scarcely any original surface remains except on the lowest course of the south wall and scarp of the east wall. A base line of decoration seems traceable at 54 cm. on a block in the east wall. The room contained nothing but blown sand.

Room D-E. The doorway into C had an incised column of inscription on either side; the west half shows double base lines at 60 above the floor on the south wall and at 75 on the north wall where there are also two feet and a scrap of inscription from a scene.

East of the altar(!)-platform were found a number of loose blocks which formed an unexpectedly complete and interesting subject amongst so much that was hopelessly gone or ruined (Pl. XLIX). It represents the figure of a ram-headed lion wearing a broad collar on its shoulder and the sun's disk on its head recumbent upon a shrine-like base under the shadow of a tree which bends over it. In front of the ram is a tall bouquet of papyrus flowers and buds, and an inscription giving the name of the ram as 'Amen-re' in the midst of [P]-nubs' (the House of the Nubis-tree). Beyond had evidently been a figure of the 'king of Upper and Lower Egypt [Nefertem-khu-re], Son of the Sun, Taharqa,' adorning or offering to the ram, with a scrap of inscription which may mean 'homage in the place of . . . . . . .' Of the figure of the king only the fingers of one hand are preserved. 'Welcome, welcome, thy name is established in this house, my son of my body whom I love, King of Upper Egypt, Taharqa [living] for ever; I have given to thee all life (amk) and longevity (?waat). Another set of blocks from the same place appeared to have upon them the base or support of the lion-ram, decorated with false doors and with plants symbolic of Upper and Lower Egypt alternately; they are represented with it in the restoration. To the same series probably belongs a group of blocks associated with it showing a coloured cavetto cornice beneath which are remains of a horizontal line of inscription concerning building, well engraved (Pl. XXVI, 12). A single block was sculptured with a cornice (?) having 'amk and waat on baskets below, meaning 'all life, all longevity (?)' (Pl. XI, 5). Possibly this was a standing-block for the ceremony of royal purification in the temple.

One can hardly avoid the conclusion that the representation of the Ammon-sphinx was an object of special devotion which had been treated with respect, and the blocks composing it probably hidden away at a time when the adjacent blocks of the adoration of the king and the roof and walls of the temple generally were carried off wholesale. There was no indication in the remnants of wall scenes of the position which it had originally occupied. One might perhaps conjecture that it had belonged to a shrine on the roof.

The eastern part of the chamber (D) was much wider than the corridor. The roof here was supported by four columns on the north side; on a fragment of a drum are the tops of a pair of cartouches and of the name of Chons beneath the sign of the sky (Pl. XXVI, 14). On the west wall the double base line at 72 from the floor continues from the north wall of E. The north wall behind the columns remains to a height of 180 at the west end and in the middle shows the base line at 92 above the floor with a horizontal line of hieroglyphs (15), naming 'Amen-re' Bull of [Taharqa].' The south wall remains to 55 cm. but the east wall is destroyed to the last course, H. 26.

Room A behind the sanctuary opens out of E. On one block of the north wall are coloured base lines at 81 above floor. The east wall is much destroyed and is broken right through for about 150 cm. but presumably there was no door here.

Chamber J. On the west wall are feet and lower legs of a god of more than human size with the name of Ammon (I) (Pl. XXVI, 16), faced by king (?) and queen (?). On the north and south walls are similar traces of smaller figures.

On the ruins of the wall between K and J lay a fragment of sculpture with gilt stucco.

Chamber H. On the west wall are feet of a figure of more than human size; on the north wall foot of a similar figure and two neb-baskets in an inscription. On the south wall between the doors to I and C the feet of a large figure; between the doors to F and I, remains of an inscription (17, 18) in columns of large characters incised and painted blue. At the south end of the east wall the leg of a smaller figure remains.

Chamber I. Shows feet of figures with colour (male red, female yellow) of about natural size.

Chamber F. The walls remain to the height of about 100. Decoration at 80 cm. three bands, yellow, red and yellow, between black incised lines, above which are feet of figures of about natural size.

Chamber G. Walls very much destroyed, from 100 to 20 high. On the north and south walls from 35 to 45 above the floor is a band of yellow between blue lines, over which are the feet of figures of natural size, coloured red.

XV. THE TREASURY

The remains of this curious building covered a large area which has been for more than half a century, one might perhaps say for more than two thousand years, an occasional hunting-ground of natives and visitors for beads, amulets and little ornaments; from here came most of the small objects collected by the Governor and presented to the late Lord Kitchener on the occasion of his visit to Merawi at Christmas 1912. The site was exceedingly shallow, having been gradually denuded by the winds of twenty-five centuries, as fast as the surface of the soft stone and brickwork perished, so that the whole presented an unbroken level with the sandy surface of the desert; the latter was here only diversified by a few fragments of pottery and by the appearance of occasional clean, smooth disks of stone where remnants of columns in position underlay (Pl. LI a). Our excavations, so far as they went, showed that the remains represented one long narrow range of building, 266 metres long by about 45 metres broad running from east to west, apparently entirely isolated in the desert, except at its west end. At this end perhaps only a roadway separated it from an important brick building with some stone columns, perhaps a royal palace, where we were told an excavation had been made in 1868 by Father Deiber and M. d'Allemagne. At the east edge of this presumed roadway, just beyond (i.e. northward) of the Treasury is a considerable heap of chips of black granite. It was from about this spot that the Governor, Colonel Jackson, took the broken body of a colossal hawk of the same material and of excellent workmanship, removing it for safety to his Residence. It had been seen and sketched by Lepsius' expedition (Denkmäler, Text V, p. 284), and is referred to by Bayard Taylor as 'a mutilated figure of blue granite, of which only a huge pair of wings could be recognised' when describing what was evidently the site of our Treasury. The hawk may thus have crowned some fine monument at the approach to the royal quarter from the desert. The traveller immediately after passing it would have found himself between the Treasury on the left and, on the right, the façade of the crude-brick palace with (so far as I recollect) four cylindrical sandstone columns belonging to its hall or entrance.

The Treasury appeared to consist of a double series of seventeen equal chambers ranged on either side of a spinal wall. We cleared entirely the southern series, and also two or three chambers at the east end of the northern half, reserving the complete clearance of this portion (which yielded very few antiquities) for the next season.

The deepest part was at the inner end of chambers 6 and 7 where portions of the walls and columns remained to a height of nearly half a metre (Pl. LI b); but this was exceptional. The chambers at the east end were smoothly denuded almost to the floor and tailed off to nothing, so that it is even conceivable, though unlikely, that one or

---

1. According to observations by the provincial surveyor the Treasury stood on slightly higher ground than the Temple, the surface here reaching 258'006 m. above sea-level; the floor was about 40 cm. below this, less than a metre above the floor of the Temple.

2. Life and Landscapes, p. 434.
more chambers beyond no. 1 had disappeared, leaving no trace whatever. The south edge was entirely worn away and no trace of a south wall could be discovered. We made a detailed plan (Pl. L, 2) of the southern chamber 6, which was slightly better preserved than the rest, and a diagram of the whole of the southern series (ib. 1). Unhappily all the original notes of dimensions and finds are lost, except a few measures noted on these plans and provenances marked on the antiquities.

The principal material of the walls was crude brick, which had almost decayed away. The walls were neatly and completely lined, as high as they survived, with thin slabs of very white sandstone. These slabs, about 10 cm. thick and half a metre broad, were set upright in the wall, resting on the floor; the upper ends were all destroyed and we could not tell how high the lining was carried, but presumably it formed only a dado of single stones. Pl. LII a shows the condition of some of the chambers with all the brick gone.

The spinal wall was of the same thickness as the party walls, about 180.1 Each chamber was 13-40 metres wide and at least 20-5 metres long. Each was provided with a doorway in the spinal wall, W. 125, the best preserved showing two shallow steps up on to it (Pl. LII b). These stairs rose to about 35, apparently with a clean drop on the other side into the corresponding northern chamber (but this needs verification). The steps, about 10 high, consisted of slabs of the white sandstone on brick foundations. The first six chambers from the east had the door at the east end, the next four at the west end, the last seven at the east end again. Between the seventh and eighth chambers was a wall of nearly treble width; at the north end of this there appeared to be brick foundations for three stone steps (Pl. LIII a), presumably the beginning of a staircase which had been carried up along this wall away from the spinal wall. Here there was probably a step up to it from the northern chamber.

The chambers had level floors of mud perhaps with a thin layer of white cement on the top; the roofs were supported by twelve cylindrical columns of the same white sandstone, without bases, D. about 80, neatly and regularly placed in three rows. In addition there were seven rows of much smaller columns of the same material, D. about 45, less regularly disposed in rows of nine each, except the central row; this

---

1. Sir H. W. Jackson has kindly given me a measurement confirmatory of this fact, of which I had some doubts when preparing the account for publication.

---

central row consisted of ten small columns on the same axis as the original four, one new column being placed against either side of each of the original columns besides one at each end of the chamber. Thus each chamber appears to have had its roof upheld by seventy-six stone columns; some of these (in rooms 6 and 7) still stood high enough to prove that they were not mere bases for wooden columns. Evidently the original twelve columns had been found insufficient for the load which they had to bear above each chamber, and additional support was provided on the most lavish scale.

What were the nature and purpose of the building? We began by calling the place 'The Palace' because of the large proportion of objects with royal cartouches which were found there. But as the plan developed we recognised that it was no palace in itself though perhaps connected with the palace, and we renamed it 'The Treasury.' In one of the southern chambers was found a tiny fragment of the treasure carried off by Pi'-ankh from Hermopolis (Pl. LV, 1), and part of the floor in no. 15 was covered with tusks of raw ivory injured by fire (Pl. LIII b). But there are considerable difficulties in the way of this or any other interpretation of the ruins. One would have expected a royal magazine or treasury to have been enclosed by a thick outer wall with guard-rooms, etc. of which some considerable traces would have been preserved. Although the soft sandstone and crude brick of the surviving walls offer little resistance to the denuding action of the atmosphere and winds, the absence of such traces on the south and east rather implies that if any walls have vanished they were little, if at all, thicker than the party walls.

If the chambers were closed at the south end one looks in vain for any general entrance to the structure; since the only other building near by, the Palace (1), lay towards the town and river at the west end, the entrance would certainly have been from that end, but the west wall of no. 17 was complete and unbroken with nothing immediately beyond. It is easier then to suppose that the row of buildings was more or less open at the south end; it might have constituted a series of sheltered markets or *šltq* divided from each other by party walls; or can it have been planned for royal stables? Dr. Reisner's discoveries have shown how highly Pi'-ankh and his immediate successors valued their horses,
and so long as the roofs were supported by only the original twelve columns, the chambers would have held horses comfortably; the later arrangement would then indicate a change of purpose.

That the roof was more than a light shelter is shown by the prodigious pillaring; there must have been some kind of upper storey, or at least a strong flooring on the roof to be supported. The stairway on the thick wall between no. 7 and no. 8 presumably led to this. There were signs of a considerable conflagration and the antiquities found in the chambers may have dropped in from other chambers above. White ants and disintegration have destroyed all traces of woodwork and mud superstructure. The names found on objects in the Treasury include Pi-`ankh, Shabako, Atlanersa, Senq-aman-seken and Aspet. The sandstone slabs in the lining of the chambers recall the material used in Aspet’s shrine in the Temple, but the Treasury is probably earlier than Aspet, and may have continued in use still later. That is all that can be stated about it at present. Perhaps excavations in the north chambers or beyond may solve the problem of ‘The Treasury.’

XVI. THE ANTIQUITIES FROM THE TREASURY

Not many objects unbroken or of value would have escaped the searchers when ‘The Treasury’ was first abandoned by the Ethiopians. We found nothing to suggest Meroitic or later occupation except two fragments of pottery (PI. LVII, 12, 14); occasional pessary in the desert and recent antiquity hunters are the only possible sources of contamination of the antiquities, which therefore have a special value for dating. Owing to the extreme shallowness of most of the site and much previous antika-hunting in the sand, the finds made by us were of either very small or very fragmentary objects and few pieces could be fitted together. It is quite possible that the Governor’s collection (now Sir Kitchener’s), of which we were permitted to photograph a selection, will be found to contain some fragments to fit with ours. In the following notes the more important antiquities are mentioned, generally without naming the particular chamber in which they were found. Nos. 8 and 9 of the southern series were the most productive.

Pl. LIV. Iron. 1. Head of a large adze or small mace, the blade like that of a modern fás but with longitudinal ring-socket for hafting to an angulated wooden handle; L. 15, much decayed and apparently ancient. 2. Axe-head, much decayed and flaked, the blade apparently with sides narrowing from the edge, remains of wings for binding to haft, L. 9-2. 3. Thin flat triangular blade, decayed, the broad end broken, L. 11. (1-3 in Ashmolean.)

Bronze. 4. Sacred harpoon-head, blade broken off; against the tang Horus wearing disk (?) standing on a crocodilus whose jaws are held in a noose by the left hand, right-hand broken off; a loop is at the base of the tang over the tail of the crocodilus; long cylindrical socket, L. 6-5, D. 2-2; total L. 11 (Berlin). Another in the Jackson collection has the blade but the socket is broken off and missing.

5. Cro-sphinx with disk and uraeus, good work, L. 2.

6. Two uraei rising back to back, respectively with crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt; the hoods have been inlaid with glass (?) over gold foil; between them the body looped and behind it two long nails for attachment, H. 5-2; probably from the royal headdress of a statue.

7. Solid penannular earring tapering to sharply pointed ends.

8, 9. Two wires with one end coiled round L. (bent) 10, and three thin pierced disks, D. 2 to 2-5, evidently all from sistra.

10. Chisel, blade of rectangular section ending in a flat disk beyond which is a cylindrical shaft, L. 9-2. (5-10 in Ashmolean.)

Lead. Three pieces.

Pl. LV. 1. Silver. Gilt plate 1-9 square, the back with a raised ridge at some distance from the edge forming a smaller square as if to fit into the mouth of a box as a lid; the hollow within this square has been filled with blue paste. On the top engraved ‘The good god Nmrw,’ evidently the name of the king of Hermopolis Magna whose treasures were confiscated by king Pi-`ankh. (In Ashmolean.)


Crystal, etc. Several small lumps and blocks of obsidian, quartz, green felspar, and rock crystal, apparently raw material for working.

3. Fragment of cover (?) of rock crystal with broad grooved rim, evidently a very choice piece.

4. Fragment of cup of rock crystal with plain rim. (3, 4 in Ashmolean.)

A few beads and other small objects of green felspar, rock crystal, cernelian, chalcedony and (?) glazed steatite.

Small unperforated ball of green felspar, of rock crystal (6), and three
of hard reddish yellow composition (?), D. 1-2-1-5 (?); and two very small of hard blue composition (?), D. 4 (8). These were perhaps for games. (Ashmolean.)

9. Lapis-lazuli. A few beads, ball, six-sided and tubular; plain scaraboid; small shaped plates for inlay.

Marble. Fragment of alabastron.

10. Alabaster. Large alabastron with two pierced ears, H. 15, much burnt.

Alabastron (nearly as cem. type II f) bored right through from mouth to base with a straight hole and the lower end of the boring bevelled, the ears clumsily unsymmetrical, H. 8.

A few fragments of a large circular bowl (?) with broad flat base and rounded body, the top perhaps curving to a vertical rim and perhaps having some kind of handle, D. of base probably about 20. On the outside are engraved figures and inscriptions, probably of a magical or ritual character; one of them names Suchus of Shedid, i.e. Crocodilopolis in the Fayyum; on another is a figure of Onuris holding a spear.

Glazed Seateie. Ram's head pendant; several engraved barrel and cylinder beads.

Fragments of vessels of calcite, grey schist and dark reddish serpentine.

Pl. LVI. Glass (all in Ashmolean). 1. Fragment of clear greenish alabastron. 2. Fragments of a clear greenish pan or cover, rim rounded, flat base, cracked by fire (?), L. 6.

3. Triangular fragment of thin clear whitish glass showing rim ground flat, with thin lines or characters apparently of another colour decayed to brownish. 4. Another clear fragment as if part of a spout of rectangular section, W. 1-4, perhaps Arab.

5. Fragment of vessel of translucent pale blue glass, shaped in curves, H. 3-5.

Fragment of vessel of translucent pale amber glass, L. 3-7.

Paste. Several objects of blue paste; large lump of the same, apparently for stopping a wine jar, with traces of cloth, D. 8.

Linen. A small bundle was found well preserved through having been charred; it was examined by Mr. Midgeley of Bolton who separated three varieties, none of them fine.

Ivory. Part of a tusk; burnt, engraved with a cross in double outline.

6-10. Several thin fragments sculptured and engraved, two with alopecurus heads or ears of corn (?), imperfect. (Manchester Museum.)

11. Shell. Ust. curved. (Munich.)
Large quantities of cowries (Cypraea annulus) the backs cut away.
A few shells of other usual species, Nerita, Erina, Nassa and Marginella.

Ostrich egg-shell disk beads, and a small fragment.

Pottery (wheel-made). Upper part of a gigantic pilgrim bottle, rough and clumsy, D. probably about 35. Three little pans for wine-jar stopping. 12. Two-handled bottle, pale buff ringed with red on neck and body above and below middle, flat base (cem. type VI e, imitation Cypriote (?)), H. 9-5 (Berlin).

Pl. LVII, 1. Fragment of incurved mouth of large bowl, of good, well-burnt red pottery, with incised ornament which on the rim is confined to the outer half, L. 11-2. (Ashmolean.)


Pl. LVII, 2. Broken object, perhaps originally star-shaped or rude human figure, one face flat, the other with rounded edges, W. 7.

Sealings. 8. Burnt clay, from a small tied vessel, impression repeated, cartouche with prenomen of Shabako in front of winged serpent (Berlin); 3. small sealing of unburnt clay, cartouche of Aspet (Ashmolean); and several small vague sealings. 4. Parts of about twelve large sealings burnt and unburnt, with remains of large seals crowned by feathers, generally in two columns, very illegible; they appear to give 'Son of the Sun, Lord of diadems . . . . [beloved of] Amen-re' . . . .'; the lower parts are all destroyed. 5. Seal from a papyrus (?), burnt, design of Men-kheper-re' in cartouche, etc., W. 2-5. (Berlin.)

Fayence. Small objects and fragments were still abundant and a few fragments could be fitted together. All noted here, unless otherwise described, are of blue glaze.

A. Fayence Vessels. The most important is the beaker, 9, the sides of which are incised with four groups of a papyrus stem flanked by two of alopecuroides, alternating with four lanceolate petals; below the rim are two incised lines and on the edge spots of black, H. 12-5 (Ashmolean). This with Pls. LVI, 8 and LVIII, 4 takes back the use of alopecuroides in
design to about Dyn. XXV. (See Borchardt, Z. f. aeg. Spr., XI, 38; Petrie, Decorative Art, p. 73; Bissing, Denkmäler aegyptischer Kunst, Text 101, col. 9.)

10. Small gourd-shaped jar, body decorated with lanceolate leaves, round neck a band of small petals on black ground, mouth shaped as papyrus head, H. 15-2. (Munich.)

7. Bowl, rim lost, below it a row of small rectangles followed by a band of petals all outlined in black, H. 9, D. 10-2, rounded base with marks of circular stand. (Berlin.)

6. Cup with straight rim slightly outturned at edge, on the shoulder a row of small spots followed by a row of petals between bands, all in relief of the same pale blue colour, very imperfect, the glaze much scaled, H. about 9-2, D. of mouth 11. (Berlin.)

Pl. LVIII, 1, 2. Fragmentary bowl with square rail-stand complete. Of the bowl the rim is lost; one pierced ear remains; the body is decorated with impressed design representing four large petals alternating with papyrus stems. Greatest width 9-8, the stand 5-4 square.

8. A very coarse circular lid for a bowl of this type was found in another chamber; the loop on the top is broken; the design is a lotus flower in relief.

5, 6. Fragments of several other bowls and beakers were found with exterior decoration of a similar character incised, in relief, or on a black band. 3, 4, 7. There were also remnants of shallow bowls with similar decoration on the inside, one fragment showing alopecuroides again. (Munich.)

Of plain faience there were found a small cup with straight expanding sides, H. 5-3; a small pilgrim bottle with rounded edge and symmetrical sides, H. 6; and a rectangular palette for two inks, 5-6 x 3, height 2-1.

B. Faience Figures, Amulets, etc. Figure of Thournis, hollow with the left breast pierced, probably to exude milk, present height 10. (Berlin.)

Several fragments of cynocephali; one rough specimen perfect with lunar disk on the head.

Fragments of ushabtis.

Pl. LXI. 1. Plaque-figure of winged Tebenis, one pair of wings attached to the disk on her head, and the feathering of those belonging to her arms so divided as to appear almost like four. H. 5. (Ashmolean.)

2, 3. Plaque with winged Isis (?) (Munich.) Plaque with head of Hathor; plaque with seated cat in relief; and many others, all fragmentary.

5, 6. Among the most interesting and characteristic objects are the remnants of ka-plaques, the sides of which are formed by ka-arms with enclosed space inscribed. Various fragments indicate the type of inscription as being [wp] 'Mn rnp nfr [s £ Smq]' 'Mn-sknw mr 'Mn ' Ammon grant a good New Year to Snq-aman-sekem, beloved of Ammon.' They vary somewhat in size; one must have measured about 7-5 sq. In the Governor's collection were two fragments of perhaps this kind of plaque naming respectively 'Ankh-ka-re' Aman-anel and 'the royal mother Nensels.'

7. A fragmentary bas-bird is a rarity, H. 3. (Ashmolean.)

10. Two fragments of very fine quality, pale greenish-blue paste throughout, represent the circular base, D. 47, and square abacus, W. 4-15, of a clustered papyrus column. (Ashmolean.)

Fragments of sistra (Pl. XII, 4-6). On the handles are wishes for a good New Year to the king [Atlanjersu and for the good god Snq-aman-seke[n].' In Colonel Jackson's collection I noted fragments giving the names of Mer-ka-re' Aspet, and an uncertain name.

11. A fine seal, much broken, was inscribed [May Ammon, lord of] the Throne[s] of the Two Lands in the Sacred Hill [gave] a good year to the Son of the Sun Fk-ankhry.'

Pl. LX. Scarabs were few. 5. One shows the name of Aspet.

Of sacred eyes there was a plentiful variety, including 6. part of a large one inscribed on both faces 'The good god Aspet, beloved of Ammon, to whom life is given.' (Berlin.)

8-13. Sundry thin flat objects pierced for sewing onto cloth, included rams' head or 'segis' with disk, ram's head with uraei and winged disk, winged scarabs and rosettes.

Pl. LXI, 5-11. Cowries were common, in green, blue and whitish faience.

Many finger-rings were found, some (1-4, 13) with wishes for a good New Year, of openwork (12-14), keeled (21) and other varieties; 22 is a stud.

Pl. LXII. The beads included lily-flower (3, 4), tubular flower (5), melon and eyed varieties; one of barrel shape with wriggle openwork (2). Two large ball beads (6, 7), probably imitated from metal, have raised
rims at the ends of the hole; one of them is of brilliant yellow glaze, the other blue (Ashmolean). A number of beads (10) were composed of two lions (Shu and Tephenis) side by side, and one was in the form of a double frog.

In Colonel Jackson's collection is a large barrel bead, L. 3, W. 2½, with the pomegran of Shabatok followed by the was, twice repeated. It is of course not necessarily from the Treasury.

XVII. ANTIQUITIES FROM THE TOWN-SITE, ETC.

We attempted no excavation here. Most of the site is more or less disturbed. Between our house and the temple I picked up half of a flattened-barrel weight of pale breccia, pink and buff. Its original length was about 7½, W. 4½, H. 3½. The present weight of about 4½ oz. avdp. shows that it probably was intended for two deben.

Pl. LXII, 11 is a fayence fragment with internal decoration, 12 a rosette of ivory.

A small brick ruin within the town area on the river bank a few hundred yards upstream from our house appears to be Christian. We picked up in it a small fragment of white-faced (Christian) pottery (13) with the letters χελ (sic) incised on the concave side.

REVIEWS

[The Editor will be glad to receive publications for review.]

_Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft_, begründet von Professor Dr. Fritz Burckhardt; herausgegeben von Dr. A. E. Bürkner. Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1913 onward.

a. _Die antike Kunst_ by Dr. Ludwig Curtius. Lieferungen 13, 22, 27, 28, 8, 32 a, 34 and 34 a of the whole _Handbuch_ are devoted to Egyptian art. The attitude of the writer is made clear in his first words: 'The roots of European art lie in Egypt.' and the whole work is an admirable corrective to the far too prevalent idea that nothing in Egyptian sculpture is worthy of consideration beside the Greek work of the fifth century a.c. Such an idea can only be entertained by those who are acquainted solely with the poorer and more stereotyped productions of Egyptian art in the Eighteenth Dynasty and later. In reality it is not by such works that Egyptian art must be judged. Let those who will despise it, but let them first make the full acquaintance of such works as the Chephren statues, Reiser's triads from the Third Pyramid, the Horty panels from Saqqara, the small female bust of Old Kingdom date in Lord Carnarvon's collection, and last but not least the still unpublished bust of Queen Nefertiti from Tell el-Amarna, now at Berlin.

It is to be hoped that all those interested in art, classical or later, will make time to read these sections of the publication. The illustrations are numerous and well chosen, and include many monuments all too seldom reproduced in such works; we would refer in particular to the prominence given to the predynastic and archaic periods, and to the strange but important art of Akhenaton and its offshoot, that of the period of Horemheb. We do, however, miss a reference to the curious and important local art of the Middle Kingdom shown in the tomb-chapes copied by Dr. Blackman at Meir. These would seem to be the product of a Herakleopolitan school whose work, owing to political reasons, went under before that of Thebes, perhaps to our loss.

The text is carefully written and concise, and brings out admirably the connection at all periods between the arts of sculpture, painting and architecture.

T. E. Penet.
Onkhu—18.
Onuris—120.
Ophel, Mount—42.
Osiris—89.

Palermo—37.
Palestine—4, 9, 22, 48, 49, 50.
Palmyra—37.
Pared del Monac—35.
Persia—44.
Petronius—77, 85.
Philistine—50, 51.
Phoenix—46.
Phoenixian—41, 42, 45.
Phrynky—69, 71, 75, 76, 87, 117, 118, 119, 123.
Pisidia—47, 52.
Pocetus—65.
Portugal—30, 31.
Ptolemaic—14, 16, 17.
Psalms—9, 10, 12.
Ptolemy the Younger—70, 71.
Ptah—108.
Ptahhotep—6, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14, 16.
Ptolemy Philadelphus—72.
Ptolemais—60.
Pyrenees—30.

Rameses II—78.
Recl Jasper—81.
Ruins—34.
Sa Janna de su Lacca—33.
Saccharite—56.
Sakie-Genii—42, 43.
Samaria—67, 71, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 104.
S'Angrone—33.
Santa Christina—37.
Sa Frigiones—33.
Sardinia—32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39.
Scimites—45, 46.
Senckaman—72, 78, 85, 101, 111, 118.
Sequane—8.
Serrit—48.
Seton—8.
Seville—30, 36.
Shaba—69, 70, 72, 97, 118, 121.
Shahab—49, 70, 71.
Shahgla tribe—78.
Shali—104.
Shasu—105.

Shephelah—42.
Sidon—34, 35, 37, 38, 39.
Silver—81.
Solomon—10, 14.
Spain—30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 38, 39, 40.
Strabo—6, 77.
Suca—133.
Sa C.urlopen—33.
Sialk—73, 77.
Susa—42.
Syria—41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 50.
Tacitus—27, 28.
Ta' ka-ru’ b’ira—35.
Talavera de la Reina—37.
Tana Regia—33.
Tarqutum—70, 71, 72, 78, 97, 111.
Tastis—105, 107.
Teferakht—69.
Teherou Lihyane—105.
Tifl Kharaf—42, 44.
Tephenis—122.
Terra d’Otranto—34.
Thessaly—38, 43, 44.
Thoth—109.
Thotmes III—56.
Thoueris—122.
Thucydides—56.
Thutmosis III—73.
Tiribak—68, 70, 72, 73, 75, 78, 81, 85, 86, 92, 95, 100, 113.
Titus—48.
Tripolje—44.
Troy—43.
Trent—54.
Turkistan—44.
Tuscan—54, 55.

Ugaris—69.
Unahjis—68.

Vesuvius—35.
Vendre—31.
Viano do Castello—30.
Villafranca—31.

Wadi Ghazâlah—76.
Wah-mort—95.
Wen-Amon—55.
Zille—43.

(a) Kitcheners Fort with Jebel Barkal Beyond the River in the Distance.
(b) Eastern Half of the Temple after Excavation.
The Foundation Deposits: (a) South-East, (b) North-East.
(a) Lion's Head from Spout on South Side.  (b) Brick Chambers in S.W. Corner of K.
(a) Lion's Head from Spout on South Side.  (b) Brick Chambers in S.W. Corner of K.
Monuments in the Colonnaded Court and K.
Monuments in the Colonnaded Court and K.
1, 2. Head of Ammon. 3. Usurped Cartouche.
Statue usurped by Pi'-ankhy.
MOULDS FOR USHABTIS AND AMULETS.
Antiquities from the Temple.
Ostracon from the Temple.
Amulets etc. from the Temple.
FOUNDATION DEPOSITS,
EXTERIOR, SOUTH WALL: 1. Surroundings of door into K; 2. Sculpture further east.

(1 is reduced to less than half the scale of 2.)
FRAGMENTS FROM THE TEMPLE. (12 and 14 from photographs.)
FRAGMENTS FROM THE TEMPLE. (12 and 14 from photographs.)
FALLEN BLOCKS. C. ATTENDANTS ETC.
On Fallen Blocks from Rear Wall.
Inscriptions of the Nome Procession. (a) From the Upper Scene.
1, Head of Ammon, East Wall.  2, Door from C to J.
The Long Inscription, Ll. 1 to 75.
THE LONG INSCRIPTION, LL. 76 TO END.
THE LONG INSCRIPTION: FRAGMENTS.
Sculptures of Inner Pylon.
1, South half of West face; 2, East face (from rough sketch).
SHRINE OF TIRHAKAH. 1, 3, 4, EXTERIOR; 2, INTERIOR.
SHRINE OF ASELET, INTERIOR. 1. EAST HALF OF NORTH WALL; 2. WEST WALL.

Tirhakah column

Entrance

Tirhakah south wall
Shrine of Aspelt, Interior. 1, West Half of North Wall; 2, East Wall.
BLOCKS FROM ABOUT C. (1, 2, from rough sketches.)
THE TREASURY.
(a) SCRAPING THE FLOOR OF A SOUTHERN CHAMBER.
(b) DIAGONAL VIEW OF CHAMBERS EASTWARD FROM DOORWAY OF NO. 7.
THE TREASURY.

(a) Looking North up a Party Wall, Jebel Barkal in the Distance.
(b) Doorway and Steps in No. 12.
THE TREASURY.

(a) STAIRWAY ON BROAD WALL BETWEEN NOS. 7 AND 8, SHOWING STONE STEP TO SPINAL WALL.
(b) ELEPHANT TUSKS IN NO. 15.
TREASURY: SILVER AND STONE.
Treasury: Glass, Ivory, Shell, and Pottery.
Treasury: Pottery, Seals, Fayence.
Treasury: Fayence.
Treasury: Fayence.
1-10, Treasury, Beads; 11-13, from Town Site.