

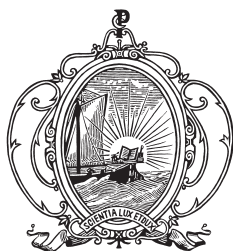
BRITISH MUSEUM PUBLICATIONS ON EGYPT AND SUDAN 1

THE FOURTH CATARACT AND BEYOND

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edited by

Julie R. ANDERSON and Derek A. WELSBY



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REUSED RELIEF BLOCKS OF PIANKHY FROM B 900: TOWARD A DECIPHERMENT OF THE OSIRIS CULT AT JEBEL BARKAL

TIMOTHY KENDALL

INTRODUCTION

In March 2009, the NCAM Mission at Jebel Barkal¹ extended its excavations to the area along the upstream (“S”)² side rooms of temples B 800 and 900 (Figure 1a). During our work in this area we noticed that B 900, the small temple erected at the right rear corner of B 800, had standing walls which incorporated a number of reused relief blocks. Many other blocks from the same series lay widely scattered about on the ground nearby. As we began recording the blocks systematically, it quickly became apparent that most had come from a single structure built by Piankhy³ using the throne name “Snefer-Re”. As we mapped this area block by block, we noted where each block lay, or where it was still incorporated into the walls of B 900; we then assigned it a number, measured it and photographed it (Figure 1b). Altogether we recorded a total of 74 relief blocks, of which about 65 could confidently be assigned to the Piankhy structure.

A review of George Reisner’s field notes and photographs revealed that when he worked here between 1916 and 1920, this area was largely free of loose blocks and that most were still *in situ* within the walls of B 900. This indicated that after his departure the local people had attempted to dismantle these walls in order to reuse the blocks for their own purposes. What we found here was the chaotic unfinished work of their labors, which had probably been halted by the authori-

ties sometime later in the 1920’s (Plate 1). This destruction, however, made available to us many more blocks than Reisner had seen (or recorded), and these, taken as a group, provided us with much new information about the monument from which they had originally come. At the end of our season, we removed the most important blocks for safe-keeping into the storage rooms of the Jebel Barkal Museum.



Plate 1. Relief blocks of Piankhy from B 900—first, lying on the ground beside the ruins of the Meroitic temple B 900—second, in whose walls they had been reused. (March 2009).

It is a synthesis of this material that I wish to present here and to suggest how it may provide a key to understanding the nature and evolution of the Osiris cult at Jebel Barkal - and Kush in general.

THE COMPLEX B 800/900 AT JEBEL BARKAL

The lesser Amun temple, B 800, which lies parallel to, and about 50 m downstream (“N”) of the Great Amun temple, B 500, seems to have been built by the earliest Napatan kings initially as a temporary substi-

¹ For a brief history of the NCAM Mission at Jebel Barkal, see www.jebelbarkal.org. VI.

² Because the Nile flows past Jebel Barkal from north east to south west, G. A. Reisner adopted the local system of “river directions,” in which downstream was “north” and upstream was “south,” etc. He used these designations throughout his notes but always placed them within quotation marks. I have retained them here, with the understanding that “N” = SW; “E” = NW, “S” = NE, “W” = SE. See Reisner 1917, 213, n. 2; Dunham 1970, xix. It is important to think of upstream and downstream here as “south” and “north” respectively because these directions were nearly always conceived this way by the ancients and were so reflected in the decorative programs of each temple.

³ On the recent modified reading of this king’s name from “Piye” to “Piankhy” and a full discussion of the scholarship, see Kahn 2005-06, 103, n. 1.



Figure 1. Plan of the Barkal temples (right), showing the area recorded by the NCAM Mission during March 2009.

The enlarged survey map (left) shows the current state of B 900. The blocks highlighted in black are those bearing relief from the destroyed first phase of B 900 ("B 900-first"), built by Piankhy.

tute for B 500, then in poor condition, so that the latter could undergo a complete restoration. Unlike most of the Barkal temples, B 800 had no New Kingdom antecedent; it appears to have been built quickly so that the cult of Amun of Jebel Barkal could be revived quickly, while leaving Amun's great temple open as a construction site for the decades to come.⁴

When he excavated it, Reisner found that B 800 presented two pre-Dynasty 25 construction phases. The earliest was a small building of irregular shape ("B 800 nucleus"), which included a stone-paved open court

and four stone columns, a roofed antechamber, and an off-center tripartite sanctuary (Figure 2a). Its walls, as he stated, "were of the cheapest available material, crude-brick, and... poorly built even for that material". He then speculated that its builder had been "Kashta or his immediate predecessor" (Reisner 1920, 254), and we would probably not be incorrect to attribute it to Alara (Hakem 1988, 146; Török 1997, 123-126).

Soon after the completion of the "nucleus," two outer courts and a pylon were added to it, as well as a series of side rooms, all constructed in mud brick (Figure 2b). This enlarged structure, "B 800-first", paved with small slabs of variegated sandstone laid over a poorly laid foundation of reused New Kingdom architectural elements, was striking for its lack of refinement: its columns were hand-cut and not perfectly round, and, flanking the entrance, there were at least

⁴ The published data for B 800/900 appears in Reisner 1920. Reisner's excavations of the complex, as recorded in his field diaries (now preserved in the offices of the Art of the Ancient World Dept., Museum of Fine Arts, Boston), took place between 24th February and 11th April, 1916; his clearing of the ground on the "S" side of B 900 took place between 22nd December, 1919 to 27th January, 1920, and 13th to 27th March, 1920.

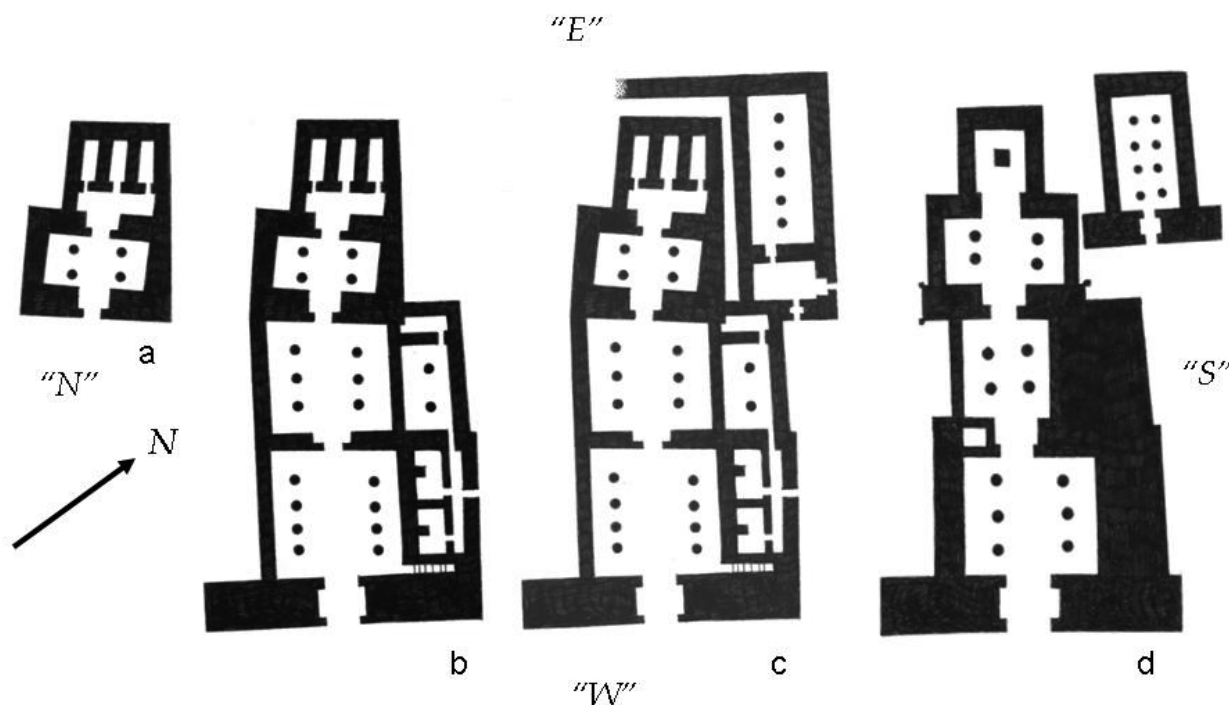


Figure 2. The evolution of the complex B 800/900: a) "B 800 nucleus" (attributed to Alara); b) "B 800-first" (attributed to Kashta); c) "B 800-first" with "B 900-first" (dated to the late reign of Piankhy); d) "B 800-second" (Napatan), with "B 900-second" (Meroitic).

two crude sandstone rams, which appear to be the earliest large-scale statues attempted by native Kushite sculptors. They and the extended mud-brick temple are probably the work of Kashta (Reisner 1920, 254).⁵

While B 800 was still a mud brick temple, a small structure B 900, built entirely of stone, was tucked in to its right rear corner (Reisner 1920, 259-261); the two buildings, however, remained unconnected. The latter's earliest phase, which Reisner called "B 900-first", consisted of two rooms: an entry foyer (902) and an interior chamber (901) (Figure 1b), which was bisected by a single row of columns (Figure 2c). All the Piankhy blocks under discussion here appear to have come from this structure.

Sometime after the expulsion of the Kushites from Egypt, B 800 was rebuilt in stone ("B 800-second"), indicating that its role as a temporary residence for Amun of B 500 had changed since the god's great temple had been fully restored and had become operational again by the beginning of Dynasty 25. At this point, B 800 obviously acquired a new meaning, independent of B 500, since its old mud brick walls were now sheathed with red sandstone, and its tripartite sanctuary was dismantled and rebuilt as a single sanctuary with a bark

stand. Both its outer courts were rebuilt in stone, as was its pylon, and its columns were rearranged and reduced in number (Figure 2d). After the ravages of the site by the troops of Psamtik II in 593 BC, the side rooms were filled in with destruction debris and permanently sealed up, and B 800 was probably again heavily restored.⁶ Among the kings likely to have been involved in the stone restorations of B 800 were Atlanersa, Senkamanisken, Malewiebamani, and Harsiotef.⁷ Sadly, although there were standing walls that preserved much relief in the 19th century, by the early 20th century most of B 800 had been entirely quarried away, leaving us with little inscribed material (Reisner 1920, 255).

In the later Meroitic period, B 900-first was dismantled and replaced with a new stone structure with a different plan. This Reisner called "B 900-second" (Reisner 1920, 261-262) (Figure 2d). This was a one-room temple, approximately 8.6 x 15m, fronted by a

⁶ Kendall 1996, 468-474; Reisner 1920, 252; Hakem 1988, 148-149.

⁷ Fragments of small obelisks of Atlanersa and Senkamanisken were found associated with B 800 in the 19th century; a loose column drum inscribed for Senkamanisken can be seen today lying beside the NW ("E") end wall of B 800; a granite altar of Malewiebamani was recorded here by Prudhoe; and a block inscribed for Harsiotef was found reused by Reisner in B 903 (?). Porter and Moss 1951, 212-213; Reisner 1920, 252-253; Reisner diary 16th March, 1916.

⁵ There seems to have been at least one other restoration of B 800-first which was undertaken by Piankhy late in his reign; the evidence is presented below.

pylon, with an interior double row of four columns running “E” to “W.” Its form we recognize as that of a typical Meroitic “lion-temple” (Hakem 1988, 179-230; Wolf 2006, 246-249). The Piankhy blocks were heavily used in its rebuilding. It bore no relief of its own, indicating that its walls had been only plastered and painted, and none of that decoration survives (Kendall and Wolf 2011, 248-49).

The archaeological patterns here pose the following questions:

1) If B 800 was initially built as a temporary mud brick sanctuary for Amun of B 500 while B 500 was undergoing restoration, what new meaning did it acquire when B 500 was completed, which required that B 800 be rebuilt in stone?

2) What was the nature of the relationship between mud brick “B 800-first” and the small stone structure “B 900-first;” why were the two built side-by-side while remaining at the same time mutually independent?

3) Was there a cultic continuity between Piankhy’s B 900-first and the much later Meroitic temple B 900-second? If so, what was it, and why were the earlier and later forms of this building so different?

RELIEF BLOCKS OF PIANKHY FROM B 900-FIRST

Before trying to answer the above questions, we must first examine the most important carved blocks from B 900-first. As noted, they belonged to a building dedicated by Piankhy when he was using the throne name “Snefer-Re.” Most of the blocks are in excellent condition – far better than the more famous reliefs of this king still in place in B 500, which have been damaged or have weathered almost to oblivion.⁸ They were all cut from hard, fine-grained, gray-to-reddish sandstone. Their average lengths (i.e. the sides that carried relief) vary from 240mm to 830mm, with eight unusual blocks ranging between 1.1m and 1.39m. Their heights vary from 220mm to 370mm, and their depths, from 260mm to 720mm (with one exceptional case being 1.06m). Similar masonry, featuring the same kinds of over-long blocks, can be observed in Kushite monu-

ments at Thebes, especially the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak.⁹

When we downloaded our photographs of the blocks into the computer, having now the ability to manipulate them easily in the Powerpoint program, we found that many joined. Of the 65-odd blocks assignable to the Piankhy series, some preserved fragments of text; others preserved parts of royal figures; others preserved parts of deities and even elements of a procession of gods, all cut in shallow sunk relief. When we compared the proportions of the partially preserved figures with those of complete figures of identical (and near contemporaneous) type – such as those on the north wall of the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak – we found not only that the Piankhy figures themselves were all the same scale but also that they were the same scale and proportion as the Taharqa figures (Parker *et al.* 1979, pls 7-11). The height of each standing figure would have been approximately 1.83m from the soles of its feet to its crown line¹⁰ and approximately 1.91 to 2.4m overall (depending on the height of its crown).

Fourteen blocks preserved fragments of text, written horizontally and/or vertically. Four bore the king’s name, written either as *P^cnhy* (48, 61) or as *Snfr-R^c* (31), or as both, within a double cartouche (7) (Plate 2). Another block (9) preserved a fragment of a Horus name within a *serekh*: “Ruler [of Egypt?]” (*ḥk3-Km(t)?*).¹¹ A single corner block or doorjamb (3) presented part of the king’s figure on one short side, while one long side bore his name *K3 nḥt ḥ^cw m W3st* (“Strong Bull Arising in Thebes”)¹² (Plate 3). And as if it were not enough to encounter repeatedly the names of this famous royal horse-lover, we even found one block incised with a drawing of a horse (Plate 3).¹³

Seven other blocks, inscribed on only one face, seem to have formed parts of architraves. Similar-sized architraves and related texts are also associated with the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak (Parker *et al.* 1979, 21-22). The longest continuous text recovered was con-

⁸ Details of these scenes have been published in Kendall 1997, 164-65; 1999, 116-17, figs 19, 20; and Kendall and Wolf 2011, 257, fig. 15. Full descriptions, photos and drawings of the Piankhy reliefs in B 500 will be posted on www.jebelbarkal.org VII. Temples and Palaces: B 500, q.v.

⁹ Cf. Leclant 1965, pls LVI-LX, LXXIX, LXXXII-III; Parker *et al.* 1979, pls 4-11.

¹⁰ The figures are drawn to the 18-unit grid. Cf. Robins 1994, 73.

¹¹ Due to an oversight, I seem only to have drawn (not photographed) this block, which depicts a Horus falcon, facing right, standing atop a *serekh*; only the top right corner of the *serekh* is preserved. Within it can be seen the top of a *ḥk3*. For the reading *Ḥk3-Km(t)* as a Horus name of Piankhy, see Török in *FHN* I 1994, 49-50.

¹² Török in *FHN* I 1994, 49-50, 52.

¹³ For a discussion of the passion for horses shared by Piankhy and his royal contemporaries in the Nile Valley, and citations of all relevant literature, see Kahn 2005-06, 109-111 and notes.



Plate 2. Blocks from B 900 bearing the name and/or throne name of Piankhy. (Lengths: 61= 450mm; 48= 710mm; 31= 610mm; 7= 510mm).

tained on four fitting blocks, over 3m in length, which were first observed, disconnected, by Reisner, still embedded within the masonry of B 900-second. The full text, as reassembled, was sketched by him in his diary on March 13th, 1920 (Figure 3, cf. Plate 4).¹⁴ It reads: ...*P^cnh^y di // ^cnh^y dt ir.n.f m mnw.f // n it.(f) Imn Nb Nst T3wy h^yry-ib (Dhn?)t-w/^cb kd.f (?) pr.f s^cnh.[f]* (“...Piankhy, given life forever. He has made [this] as his monument for his father Amun, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, who is in Pure Mountain; he builds



Plate 3. Corner block 3, bearing one of Piankhy’s Horus names, “Strong Bull arising in Thebes”, with a partial image of the king’s shoulder (700 x 380 x h. 370mm); Block 45, which may have joined it (L. 380 x h. 360 x 670mm). Below: Incised sketch of a horse.

¹⁴ In 2009 we found only the second and third blocks (54 and 21) still on the site, resting on the ground near the “S” wall of B 900. The fourth seems to be lost, while the first (61) we recovered and photographed in 1986, inside the “S” side doorway of B 501, where it had evidently been dropped by someone carrying it away.

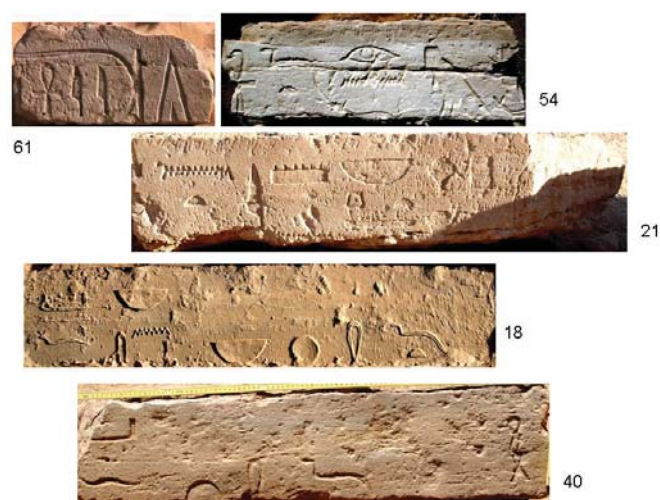


Plate 4. Fragments of architraves from B 900-first: Fitting blocks 61, 54, and 21, as shown in Figure 3. (Lengths: 61 = 470mm; 54 = 730mm; 21 = 1.22m); the fourth block in Reisner’s sketch was not recovered.

Below, Block 18: inscribed “He gives [all life,] all [stability(?), all dominion (?)], and all health, like Re, forever.” (L. 1.26m). Block 40: inscribed “He gives ...lie Re forever....eternity.” (L. 1.1m).

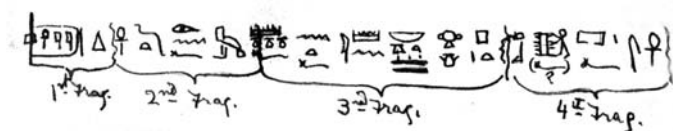


Figure 3. Reisner’s diary sketch of four fitting blocks forming an architrave from B 900-first, found separately reused within the masonry of B 900-second (see Plate 4).

his house causing him to live ...”). The text reveals that B 900-first was dedicated by Piankhy to Amun (lacking the “Re” element) of Jebel Barkal, whom one would suppose referred to the god of B 500. Notable here is the very unusual spelling of the name of Jebel Barkal, which, to signify the word “mountain,” employs only a square hieroglyph, perhaps representing a block of stone, followed by the feminine ending “t.” The mountain’s name here, thus, cannot have been read “*Dw-w^cb*” (with a masculine noun); the spelling calls for a feminine word for “mountain” – probably “*dhnt*”.¹⁵

¹⁵ Piankhy’s sandstone stele (l. 1) preserves the titles of “Amun-Re” as *Nb Nst T3wy Dhn(t) W^cb*. This was translated by Reisner (1931, 91) as “Lord of Nesuwt-Tauwy [i.e. ‘Thrones of the Two Lands’], he who appoints and is pure.” The same interpretation was followed by Pierce in *FHN I* (1994), 55. In the original text, however, the word “throne” appears, in fact, to have been written as a singular, just as in Block 54, and the next two words are surely to be read as the name of the mountain: *Dhn(t) W^cb* “Pure Cliff.” As a verb, *dhn* means “to appoint,” but as a feminine noun, it means “mountain, cliff, forehead with uraeus.” The text

Several blocks preserve partial images of the king and indicate that he was represented at least four times. Block 3 depicts his rear shoulder, as he faces right, wearing a broad collar (Plate 3). Block 45 depicts his chest and extended forward arm, bent at the elbow, with hand open, as if making an offering to a god (Plate 3). Since the height of both of these blocks is very close (360-370mm) and since the upper and lower edges of both suggest they occupied the same course of masonry, the two blocks would seem to belong to the same figure.

Four joining blocks (10, 36, 29, and 58) preserve about half of another figure of the king, from shoulder to calf (Plate 5). Behind his shoulder fall the ends of a double ribbon streamer, apparently from a cap crown.¹⁶

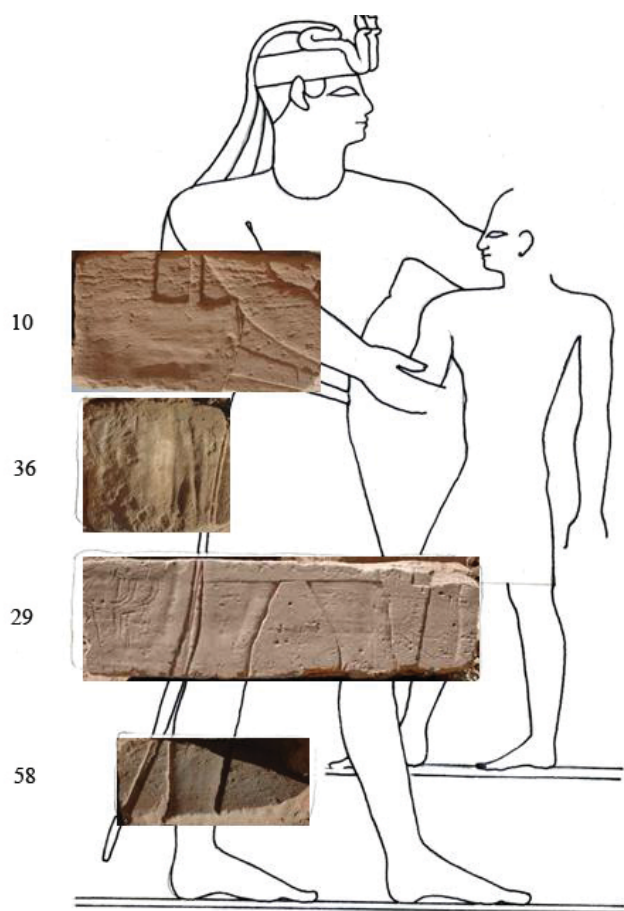


Plate 5. Blocks forming a fragmentary image of the king, in cap crown, presenting a prince (?). (Block lengths: 10 = 550mm; 36 = 340mm; 29 = 1.05m; 8 = 410mm).

of the sandstone stele omits the feminine “t,” but in common spellings of *dhnt* (“mountain, forehead, etc.”), the “t” is often omitted, and one of its determinatives is a rectangle, apparently signifying “block of stone.” Cf. Erman and Grapow 1926-31, V, 478. For a related spelling of Jebel Barkal see Reisner 1918, 104, B.

¹⁶ Cf. Leclant 1965, pls. XIV, XVB, XXII, XXIII, XXVI; Parker *et al.* 1979, pl. 11; Myśliwiec 1988, pl. XXXe, XXXIIIId, La-b.

His short kilt, however, with bull’s tail attached, is of non-royal type (i.e. it is neither the *šndwt* nor the pointed kilt); it is the same as that worn by gods. Block 29 reveals that the king was accompanied by a smaller male figure, whose lower leg is visible, facing left, towards him, but who stood on an elevated ground line.¹⁷ The restoration suggests either that the king was embracing a prince (in the *k3* gesture?), or, less likely, that he was presenting a statue. The same block, on its left side, preserves a graffito of an enthroned king or god (Osiris?), facing left, holding a *w3s* scepter and wearing the white crown or *atef* (Plate 6).



Plate 6. Detail of Block 29, with a graffito of an enthroned god (Osiris?), holding a *w3s* scepter and wearing the white crown or *atef*.

A third image of the king is indicated by Block 28 (Plate 7), which preserves a fragment of a kilted male thigh, with bull’s tail, facing left. That this was not the figure of a god is proven by the fact that there is no



Plate 7. Block 28 preserving the thigh of a king, facing left, with graffito of a lion. (Length: 600mm)

¹⁷ Cf. Hintze 1971, Taf. 17b, 35, 53, 65, 67, 75.

pendant rear hand, holding an *ḥnḥ* (see below). The figure's rear arm, thus, must have been raised to greet or make offering to a deity, facing right (cf. Block 5, Plate 8, for example). Block 28 also preserves a graffito of a lion, facing left (Plate 7).

That the decorative scheme of the temple included at least one figure of the king running in coronation is suggested by Block 48, which includes, apart from the king's well-preserved throne name (and a ram, signifying "*ba*"), a bull's tail trailing at a 225° angle, suggestive of a royal figure running to the right (Plate 2).¹⁸

Most of the remaining intelligible blocks preserve parts of divine figures. Block 5 proves the presence of an anthropomorphic Amun, facing right - easily identified by the long streamer falling from his crown (Plate 8). All the other blocks preserve parts of deities facing

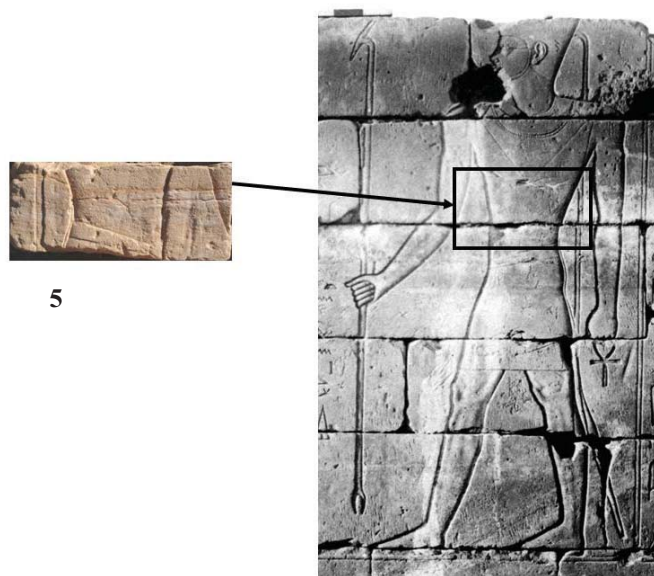


Plate 8. Block 5 (L. 650mm), preserving the torso of the anthropomorphic Amun, facing right, compared with an identical complete figure from the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak (Parker *et al.* 1979, pl. 10B).

only left, and from these we can count six gods and possibly two goddesses. At least three of these figures are connected by joining blocks, revealing that they formed part of a procession of gods, each holding a *wꜣs* scepter in the extended hand and an *ḥnḥ* in the rear hand.¹⁹

¹⁸ Cf, for example, Brunner 1977, pls 3a, 12a, 15a, 39, 55, 61, 98,

¹⁹ A curious difference can be noted between the figures of B 900-first and the Edifice of Taharqa. This is that the rear, *ḥnḥ*-holding, fistful left hands of the figures in the latter are shown correctly from the back of the hand; the same hands in figures of the former are shown from the front, with the fingers deline-

Given that the original Piankhy structure was dedicated to Amun "of Jebel Barkal", one would naturally assume that this god's image would occupy first place in the procession and that Amun was the first god to face the king, who would have been standing at left, facing right (although it is unclear whether this was the figure shown in Plates 3 or 5, or another not preserved). I speculate that the figure of Amun in question is that partially preserved on the four joining blocks 30, 11, 55, and 25 (Plate 9). His identity is revealed by the *tiyt*

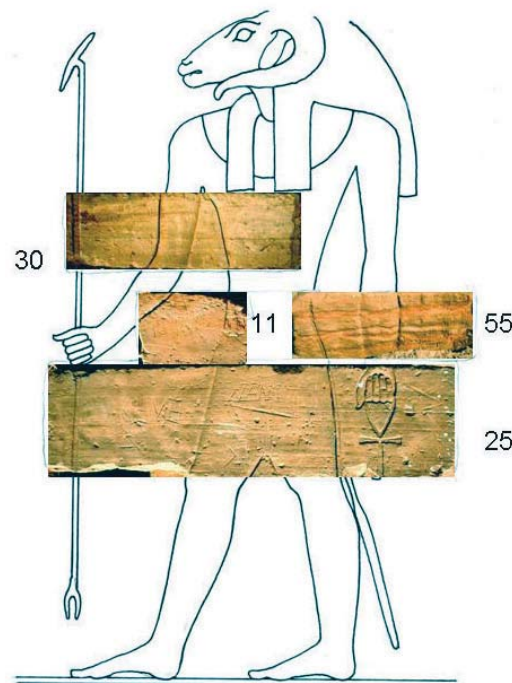


Plate 9. Four fitting blocks of a figure of Amun (confirmed by his *tiyt* knot), facing left. That he was ram-headed is implied by the lack of a long streamer from his crown, as in Plate 8. (Block lengths: 30 = 750mm; 11 = 460mm; 55 = 520mm; 25 = 1.3m).

knot that secures his belt.²⁰ Since there is no streamer falling from his crown, as in Block 5 (Plate 8), we can probably assume he was ram-headed, as befitting the Amun of Jebel Barkal (B 500).

I suspect that this Amun preceded the next three deities, who are preserved in a connected block series (Plate 11). The first of these gods is Osiris, whose head, crowned with an *atef* crown sporting *ba* horns, is half preserved in Block 37 and whose torso partly appears in Block 19 (Plate 10). He is followed by his consort Isis, whose upper face, head and horned crown are pre-

ated. Piankhy's sculptors, thus, have oddly rendered the left hands as right hands!

²⁰ Cf, for example, Brunner 1977, *passim*, in which every figure of Amun is distinguished by the *tiyt* knot.

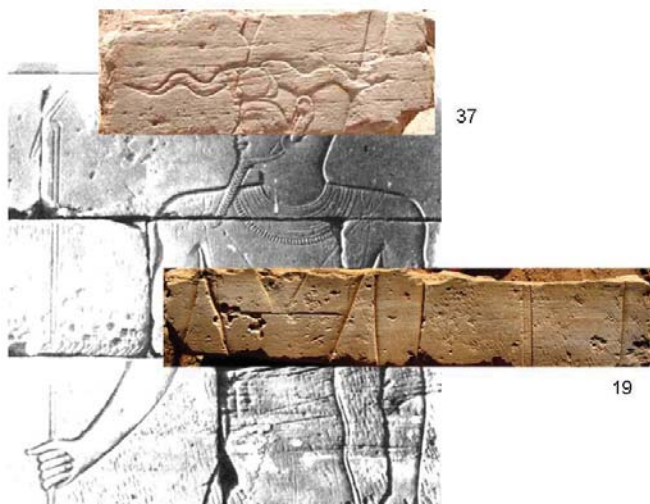


Plate 10. Blocks 37 and 19, forming parts of the figure of Osiris, as superimposed on a complete deity's image from the Edifice of Taharqa (Parker *et al.* 1979, pl. 9B).
(Block lengths: 37 = 830mm; 19 = 1.32m).



Plate 12. Details of the half-preserved faces of Osiris and Isis.

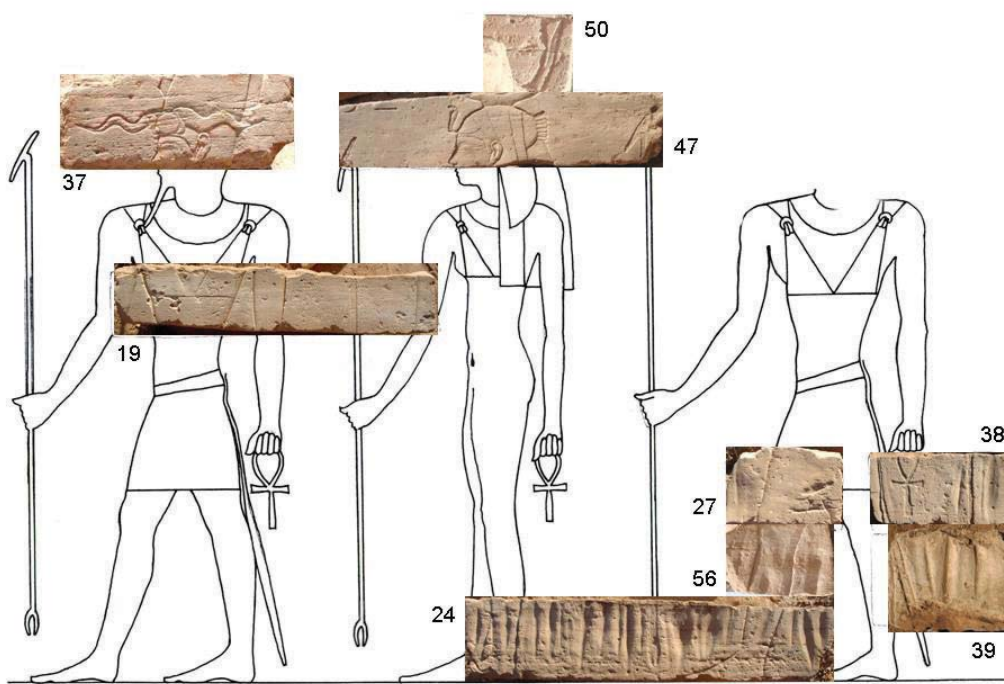


Plate 11. Blocks forming a procession of three deities: Osiris, Isis, and Horus (?).
Block lengths: 37 and 19 (see Plate 10); 47 = 1.34m; 50 = 380mm (side is 1.02m); 27 = 470mm; 38 = 770mm; 56 = 410mm; 39 = 410mm; 24 = 1.38m).

served in Blocks 47 and 50 (Plate 12). Her arm and *w3s* scepter can also be seen in Block 19, and her feet appear on Block 24, which also preserves the foot and forked tip of the *w3s* scepter of the god following Isis - possibly Horus. He is preserved in Blocks 27, 38, 56, and 39.

We may be surprised to see that Osiris is not represented here in mummiform guise. This is evident because Block 19, which displays a god's full-frontal torso, connects perfectly with the *w3s* scepter and arm of Isis. We also find Osiris represented in just this way,

as a fully animate deity, similarly crowned, on the inside "W" wall of the first pylon of B 501 (Dunham 1970, pl. LI B). The god is clearly not in his usual funerary role, and we can only assume - if, in fact, this was not the king himself impersonating Osiris - that the god was appearing on the occasion of his revival, which was celebrated annually at New Year's Day, coincident with the arrival of the inundation (Priese 2005, 143-144; Kendall 2008).

While the carving of the kilts is often perfunctory on these blocks (e.g. Plates 7 and 9), the modeling of the half-preserved faces is well done. If the frontal eye of

Isis is rendered with delicate carved brow and *kohl* lines, Osiris' frontal eye has been rendered only as a vague convex surface, meaning that the details of the eye were painted rather than carved on the stone. This manner of eye treatment, which Bothmer termed the "sfumato eye," is notable because it is a particular stylistic trait of the reign of Amenhotep III.²¹ That such



Plate 13. Preserved heads of priests from the Piankhy reliefs on the "S" wall of court 502 (B 500), showing the "sfumato eye" treatment, which is also apparent in the head of Osiris from B 900-first (Plate 12).

eye treatment became a regular feature of Piankhy's relief style at Jebel Barkal is proven by its co-appearance in the rare preserved heads of two priests in the bark-carrying scene on the "S" wall of B 502 (Plate 13). Surprisingly, this trait was not exported back to Egypt by Piankhy's successors.

Fragments of at least three other deities, facing left, can be discerned in other blocks, and they likely appeared in the same procession. Blocks 27 and 35 picture the kilts of two different gods, facing left; Block 46, featuring the rear of a kilt with its bull's tail and a pendant hand holding an *ꜥnh*, apparently joins Block 27. Block 44 preserves a bent arm - probably that of a goddess, standing close behind her divine consort, gently touching his shoulder.

Six blocks (23, 24, 33, 36, 39, and 56) preserve traces of the lower legs of the deities and reveal that

they stood on six horizontal cut lines, which probably formed three painted bands. These blocks bear the marks of extensive scrapings made by votaries, suggesting that the register lines were about a metre above ground level (several shown in Plate 11). The sunk relief, the scrapings, and the ancient graffiti, suggest that this procession had decorated an *exterior* wall of B 900-first, probably the long downstream ("S") wall (originally about 23m long). This is evidently the first known Kushite temple to bear such exterior decoration, which in Meroitic times was a standard feature of many temples - notably the Lion Temples at Musawwarat es-Sufra and Naqa, whose reliefs also included rulers accompanied by their chosen heirs before lines of deities.²²

RELATIVE DATE OF B 900-FIRST, AND OTHER DETAILS

In his seminal study of Piankhy's ever-changing titulary, Reisner recognized that the king's throne name "Snefer-Re," which appeared on the B 900 blocks, had been adopted by him sometime after his return to Napata following his Egyptian campaign of Year 20 (Reisner 1931, 93-98). The evidence for this derives from the two dated phases of his restoration of B 500. In the earlier, which included the interior temple and court 502, the king used only the throne name "User-maat-Re." Since the reliefs on the inside forward ("W") half of 502 illustrated the events of his Egyptian campaign, it is clear that the king used "User-maat-Re" as his throne name prior to and during the campaign, and until the completion of 502 (see Figure 1).

Piankhy's final phase of restoration of B 500 was his addition to it of the great outer court 501, in which the reliefs, among other things, presented his celebration there of his Heb-Sed, which carried forward the events of his reign until a real or projected Year 30.²³ Inside court 501, along the "S" wall, Reisner found two loose fragments of wall relief, each of which preserved a fragmentary cartouche inscribed "Snefer-Re" (Reisner diary 11th Feb., 1920). Further forward on the same wall we again encounter the name "[Strong bull arising] in Thebes." Since both of these names appear on the blocks from B 900-first, we must conclude that that temple was contemporary with court 501 and that both

²¹ Bothmer 1990, 88-89, pl. 26, figs 30-33; see also pls 3f, 5c, 6b-c, 8d. Note that a granite head of Amenhotep III with "sfumato eyes" was brought back by Reisner from Jebel Barkal and is now in Boston (acc. no. MFA 21.11853). It is a small head from a statue of the king that had stood between the forelegs of one of the rams that Piankhy had brought from Soleb and erected before the second pylon of B 500. For a photograph, see <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/fragmentary-head-of-amenhotep-iii-144706>.

²² Hintze 1971, Taf. 17-49; Hintze *et al.* 1993, pls 8b-9b (Naqa) ; Gámer-Wallert 1983, III, 2; Žabkar 1975, pls III, XVI. See also Naqa Temple 200 in Kuckertz 2011.

²³ See n. 8.

structures were built in the last decade of the king's life. Since a fragmentary abacus inscribed "[Piankh]y" and a column drum inscribed "Snefer-Re" were also found by Reisner reused in B 800-second (Reisner diary 29th February and 3rd March, 1920), we must also assume that some 20 years after completion of B 800-first, Piankhy restored the mud-brick temple for the third and last time and added to it his stone structure B 900-first.

Although B 900-first was closely integrated into the plan of B 800-first, the two buildings remained unconnected. B 900-first consisted of two rooms: a foyer (902) (approximately 6.6m "N-S" by 4.5m "E-W"), and an inner room (901) (approximately 16.3m "E-W" by 9.6m "N-S"). Based on the placement of its surviving column bases, Reisner supposed that it had a single line of five columns (see Figures 1b and 2c). There was no pylon. When first built, 902 had a door on its forward ("W") end, but at some point this entrance was blocked up with masonry, and the entrance became the door on its downstream ("S") side, which was perpendicular to the structure's axis.

Although much of room 902 has been lost, having been heavily quarried, Reisner saw traces of an inside doorway on its right ("E") wall, leading into room 901. The axis of this doorway was a line running between the central columns of 901 and its "N" wall. Although in 2009 we never reached the original pavement of 901, it is clear that its floor was much lower than that of 902 and lower even than ground level.

Inside 901, there is no surviving altar or niche in the rear ("E") wall. The layout suggested that those entering 901 merely circulated around the columns, first passing between the "N" wall and the columns, then rounding the last column in a clockwise direction and returning back again between the columns and "S" wall. In other words, 901 appears to have been the site of a circumambulation ritual.

B 800 AS TEMPLE OF "AMUN OF THEBES" AT JEBEL BARKAL

Earlier in the paper, I posed three questions. The first was this: If B 800 was built originally as a temporary mud brick sanctuary for Amun of B 500 while B 500 was undergoing restoration, what new meaning did it acquire when the restoration of B 500 was complete, which demanded that it be rebuilt in stone? In other words, why did the local religious authorities, probably

commencing with Piankhy, feel that Jebel Barkal needed two parallel stone Amun temples rather than just B 500, which had existed there as the lone Amun temple throughout the New Kingdom?

The answer is surely connected with the two distinctive forms of Amun which, since the New Kingdom, regularly appeared confronting each other on the tops of local inscribed monuments and on opposite sides of temple walls.²⁴ On the left sides of stelae or on the downstream ("N") walls of temples, Amun was typically represented in anthropomorphic form, wearing a crown crested with a pair of tall plumes (*šwtj*). On the right sides of stelae or on the upstream ("S") walls of temples, Amun was typically represented as a man with a ram's head, crowned with a sun disk and the same twin plumes. As a general rule, the ram-headed Amun, so crowned, was the "Amun of Napata," who dwelt inside Jebel Barkal, while the fully human Amun was the "Amun of Thebes," who dwelt at Karnak. Since there are two Amun temples side by side at Jebel Barkal, and since the larger, upstream ("S") temple, B 500, was clearly the residence of the Amun of Napata, we can only conclude that sometime during the reign of Piankhy, the smaller, downstream ("N") temple, B 800, was reconceived as the Napatan residence of the Theban Amun of Karnak. It is these two aspects of Amun, so identified, that are specifically named in Piankhy's Sandstone Stele (*FHN* I [1994], 57), and we may suspect that B 800 and B 500 at Napata during Kushite times were intended to house respectively the same two aspects of Amun that had been housed at Thebes in Karnak and Luxor Temples since the early New Kingdom.²⁵ The Nastasen Stele even makes specific mention of an *R-pr W3st* ("Temple of Thebes") at Jebel Barkal (*FHN* II [1996], 488).

B 900-FIRST AS PROTOTYPE OF THE "EDIFICE OF TAHARQA" AT KARNAK?

This brings us to our second question: What was the relationship between the mud brick B 800-first and the small stone structure B 900-first, which was built against its right rear corner?

As noted above, Piankhy dedicated B 900-first to "Amun [lacking 'Re'], Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, who is in Jebel Barkal" (see Figure 3, Plate 4).

²⁴ See www.jebelbarkal.org. III. A.

²⁵ For discussion of the evidence and references, see www.jebelbarkal.org. III. H, 1-6; I.

We can probably guess that this name also referred to the god of B 800, from which, unfortunately, no other texts survive. But does this name refer to “Amun of Thebes” or to “Amun of Napata,” or to both?

Ever since the Middle Kingdom, in hundreds of his images at Thebes, Amun had been called *Nb Nswt-T3wy* (“Lord of the *Thrones* [pl] of the Two Lands”), which meant that prior to the mid-Eighteenth Dynasty, this title could have had no reference other than to the Theban area.²⁶ Most likely, it designated the district of Karnak, whose temple was called *Ipt-Swt*. Following their conquest of Kush, the early Thutmosids assigned the name “Thrones of the Two Lands” to Jebel Barkal, claiming that the mountain had possessed this name “before it was known by the people”.²⁷ By inventing the myth that Jebel Barkal was the source of Amun’s ancient epithet, they retroactively identified the mountain, some 1250km upriver from Thebes, as the birthplace of Amun of Karnak. To emphasize this they even gave B 500 the same name as Karnak Temple: *Ipt-Swt*, a device that seems to have had the effect of rendering the Amun of Thebes and the Amun of Napata indistinguishable.

In B 900-first and on his sandstone stele, Piankhy altered Amun’s familiar epithet “Lord of the *Thrones* of the Two Lands” to “Lord of the *Throne* of the Two Lands,” a change from the plural to the singular that would become a frequent, though by no means consistent, feature of later Napatan monuments.²⁸ After all, “*Throne* of the Two Lands” would have seemed a more linguistically compatible descriptive of Jebel Barkal. In Piankhy’s Triumphal Stele of Year 21, however, the god’s title is again written “Lord of the *Thrones* of the Two Lands,” with the added “...foremost in Karnak, who is in Jebel Barkal” (*FHN* I [1994]).

We may never know the real motives behind this deliberate fusion and confusion of names (Amun vs. Amun-Re), places (*Ipt-Swt*), and gods’ titles (*Nb Nswt*-vs. *Nswt-T3wy*), but it is difficult to believe that the mention of one Amun did not also automatically include the other. I think we need not assume that the title of the god to whom Piankhy dedicated B 900-first had any narrow or exclusionary meaning; it probably

encompassed both aspects of the Napatan Amun, who, after all, was a full reflection of the Theban.²⁹

Judging by its preserved relief blocks, and, as confirmed by the king’s dedication, Amun surely held the first position among the pictured gods in B 900-first. We would also suppose that he was represented here in both his aspects in their correct cardinal relationship. Indeed, the evidence supports this: an anthropomorphic Amun on the downstream (“N”) side (facing right) (Plate 8) and a ram-headed Amun on the upstream (“S”) side (facing left) (Plate 9).

I have already pointed out certain parallels between B 900-first and the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak: their common style of masonry, their use of relief figures of similar scale and proportion and their related architraves. But there are still others, suggesting a common or closely related cultic function. Just as B 900-first was built on the right (upstream) corner of B 800 (the presumed temple of Amun of Karnak at Napata), the Edifice of Taharqa was built on the right (upstream) corner of the temple of Amun of Karnak at Thebes. Just as the latter was connected to the Sacred Lake of Karnak by a descending stairway 9m in length, so was the former connected to the great well B 1000 (some 40m to the “SE” [see Figure 1]) by a descending trench, the entrance of which was 15m due “S” from its “S” doorway.³⁰ Both structures, thus, were closely linked to water sources on their upstream (“S”) sides. Both also had lower levels, with floors below ground level, and both seem to have been venues for ceremonies that involved movement and rotation rather than stasis (Parker *et al.* 1979, x). Both featured scenes of the king running in coronation (Parker *et al.* 1979, 20), and in both Osiris seems to have played an important role. In B 900-first Osiris was pictured as a striding man wearing an *atef* crown with the horizontal horns of the *ba* ram (Plates 11 and 12); he was apparently again represented, enthroned, in the graffito shown in Plate 6. In the Edifice of Taharqa, while it is the king who is rep-

²⁶ www.jebelbarkal.org.III.H.4.

²⁷ www.jebelbarkal.org.II.A.

²⁸ See variations, discussed below; also Török 1997, 303-304; 2002, 21, n. 76.

²⁹ Note that Piankhy’s sandstone stele is addressed to “Amun-Re, Lord of the Throne of the Two Lands, who is in the Pure Cliff (*Dhn[t]-Wb*),” who is pictured in the lunette of the stele as an enthroned ram-headed god, crowned only with a sun disk. This is the manner in which the god “Amun, Primeval One of the Two Lands” is pictured in the western chambers at Medinet Habu (See www.jebelbarkal.org.III.H.figs.93-94). Piankhy’s image of this god, in other words, does not identify him so much as Amun of Jebel Barkal as Amun the Creator. In the text, however, the king attributes his right to rule as gifts of both “Amun of Napata” and “Amun of Thebes.” See also n. 15.

³⁰ Parker *et al.* 1979, 9-10, pls 1 A, 2 A-C; Reisner field diary 26th-28th December, 1919; Reisner 1920, pl. XXIX.

resented as a striding man wearing the *atef*, a mass of bronze Osiris figures was found deposited in the doorless north-east chamber of the lower level (Parker *et al.* 1979, 4, 17, 18, pl. 10 B).

Preserved abaci in the Edifice of Taharqa reveal that it was dedicated not to Amun but to Re-Horakhty (Parker *et al.* 1979, 21). It seems to have been built for a ceremony in which Amun of Karnak and the king, as aspects of each other, transformed into the sun god Re, and by descending a stairway on the *west* side, symbolically descended into the Underworld as the setting sun. At the bottom of the stairs, and moving in a rotation through the six subterranean chambers, god and king, as One, travelled the Sun's nocturnal course through the *Duat*, during which their initial destination was the Primeval Mound of Creation. At Thebes, this was the Djeme of Medinet Habu, in which was thought to reside the nocturnal alter-ego of Re: the entombed Osiris as divine demiurge. By ritually uniting with Osiris, Amun and the king were magically reborn as *ba*'s of Re: that is, they were created anew to become resurrected aspects of the rising sun. Once symbolically revived and reinvigorated, they ascended the stairs again, probably at sunrise, where the two underwent another ritual transformation, in which each reverted to his original identity (Parker *et al.* 1979, x, 30ff, 80ff).³¹

³¹ The names "Re" and "Re-Horakhty" are applied interchangeably to the sun god, who is represented as a falcon-headed man wearing a sun-disk crown. The differences in meaning between these two names, however, are not clearly defined in the Egyptological literature (e.g. Müller 2001, 123-26; Quirke 2001, 20, 76, 103, 171; Wilkinson 2003, 33, 57, 67, 205), and it is important here to recognize what each name implies. "Re" was simply the name of the deified "Sun," but "Re-Horakhty" ("Re-Horus-of-the-Two-Horizons") was a descriptive of the sun god's special nature, just as Amun-kamutef was a descriptive of Amun's (Traunecker 2001, 221-22). "Re-Horakhty" described a god in whom was combined Re, the father, and Horus, his son, the king. (Note, for example, the image of Re-Horakhty on the south wall of the Lion Temple at Naqa, in which he wears both a sun disk crown and a royal double crown [Gamer-Wallert III 1983, pl. 5b] indicating he is both Sun and King at once. In Parker *et al.* (1979, 32-33), Re is said to be Taharqa "and *vice versa*"). A sun god who was at once both himself and his heir obviously was a personification of the Sun's unique ability to regenerate himself every day throughout eternity. As the Sun who traversed "the Two Horizons" daily in his divine bark, Re-Horakhty also had the ability to transform himself constantly into other solar gods as he passed through the different corners of the sky, which they personified. Thus when the god rose in the east, he was conceived as his newborn son. When he rose overhead at midday, he was imagined as the father: the Sun in the prime of his "manhood." Sinking into the west at sunset, he became Atum, his aged grandfather, the Sun and Creator of primeval times. Finally passing into the Underworld, he gradually metamorphosed into Osiris, who personified night and solar death.

In B 900-first, Osiris is pictured wearing the *atef* crown (Plates 10-12), and in Taharqa's Karnak "Edifice" it is the king who wears it. A text in the Red Chapel of Hatshepsut informs us that the *atef* crown was "the crown of Re at the primordial moment" (*h^c R^c n sp tpy*) (Walker 1991, 17-18). We can assume therefore that the *atef* depicted the Sun god and the king at the moment of their joint re-creation, when Re, physically joined with the king, had merged with Osiris to achieve rebirth. Since the Sun's journey to the "primeval moment" was synonymous with his transformation to Osiris, it is no wonder that the *atef* crown is most commonly associated with Osiris (cf. Bell 1985, 269, n. 83; Goebis 2008, 62-63).

Typically the *atef* crown features a pair of horizontally spiraling rams' horns. Such horns belonged to the sheep species *Ovis longipes palaeoaegypticus*, which the Egyptians called, by onomatopoeia, "*ba*." Since an image of a *ba* ram was occasionally used to represent the *ba* (resurrected aspect) of a god or individual, it would seem likely that the horned *atef* crown, like the many other similarly horned crowns, probably identified their divine and royal wearers as "living *ba*" forms of Re.³² When Osiris was depicted as an animate man,

Dwelling at the nadir of the Underworld, Osiris was imagined to occupy the mound of Creation ("Primeval Mound"). When Re, traveling on his "night bark," reached Osiris at midnight (Parker *et al.* 1979, 46; Doll 1978, 25-27), the two then united within the Mound, which initiated from Osiris a new creative impulse – a repeat of the original act of Creation as at the beginning of time – which allowed the Sun to be reborn for the new day and each day throughout eternity. The Sun's immortality was made possible by his aspect called the *b3* ("ba"). (Note that in the Khaliut stele of Aspelta, the Sun is addressed: "Oh Re-Horakhty, splendid god, ruler of the Ennead, living *ba* of eternity, who crosses the heavens every day and goes through the Underworld among the justified dead every night" [Reisner 1934, 43-44]). In the Osirian sphere, the *ba* was conceptually the same for men and gods. It was an aspect of a god or human being which could live independently of (or in spite of) that being's death state (called "Osiris") (Allen 2001, 161-162; Goebis 2008, 14-17). Every day, however, the *ba* needed to rejoin its "Flesh" (whether Osiris in his Mound, or, in the human sphere, its mummy). Its meaning is revealed by Spell 17 of the *Book of the Dead*, in which the *ba* of a deceased, after uniting with its mummy at night, is said to have the ability to fly out of the tomb by day and take any form of existence that it wished (Allen 1974, 29). The same was true of the sun god. By uniting with Osiris (= his "Flesh") at night, he was reborn as "a living *ba*" at dawn. As Book of the Dead Spell 17 states, the *ba* could take any form of existence it pleased, which would help to explain why in the solar cult so many other deities appear to be manifestations or *ba*'s of Re (Parker *et al.* 30-35, 69ff).

³² Note that at Kawa, the local Amun (ram-headed) is usually crowned with a sun disk supported by *ba* horns; in one relief, however, he is depicted wearing the crown of Amun of Jebel Barkal supported by *ba* horns. In the accompanying text he is

wearing this crown with *ba* horns, we are probably to understand that he was a resurrected *ba* of Re. When a specific king was depicted wearing it, he was probably understood to be a manifestation of the revived Osiris, just as he was considered to be living aspect of Re and Amun (Parker *et al.* 1979, 32, 71-73). It is worth noting that Piankhy is said to be wearing the *atef* crown in his Sandstone Stele (*FHN* I [1994], 59), suggesting his emergence as at the “primeval moment” (*sp-tpy*).

From their similarities we may hypothesize that both B 900-first and the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak were built as venues for periodic rejuvenation ceremonies of Amun and the king and that they provided enclosures in which their ritual solar/royal transformations, and circumambulations, from “sunset” (old age, weariness, and decline) to “sunrise” (birth, renewed strength, and coronation) could take place through the agency of Osiris. Both of these buildings were attached to the upstream sides of their respective Amun temples, which were both associated with Amun of Karnak. Both were also closely linked to water sources on their “south” sides, which would have symbolized the waters of Creation (*Nun*), from which both god and king were said to have been born at the beginning of time and from which both were annually reborn as the Nile inundation (Parker *et al.* 1979, 81, 32, 71-2; Priese 2005, 143-144; Kendall 2008, 120-21).³³

B 900-FIRST, B 700 AND B 900-SECOND AS SUCCESSIVE “OSIRIS TEMPLES” AT JEBEL BARKAL?

Here we arrive at our third and final question: Was there a cultic continuity between B 900-first and B 900-second? If there was continuity, why are they separated by at least seven centuries, and why are their forms so different?

If we have been correct to identify B 900-first as a prototype of the Edifice of Taharqa at Karnak and cor-

rect to assume that the rituals conducted in the latter were similar to those performed in the former, then I believe we can document a continuous history of such buildings from at least the time of Piankhy to the later Meroitic Period and to designate them, not inappropriately, “Osiris temples” – even though they may officially have been dedicated to Amun (or to Re-Horakhty) as places of solar/royal transformation and renewal.

If the verified temple sequence begins at Jebel Barkal with B 900-first, built by Piankhy on the “S” side of B 800, we find that, as soon as the Kushites moved to Egypt, Shabaqo built a new structure for Osirian rituals on the south side of Karnak temple (Parker *et al.* 1979, 5-9, 80, pls 2-3). Hardly more than a generation later, Taharqa dismantled this building and erected, on the very same spot, his own more elaborate version and reused Shabaqo’s blocks within its walls.

Taharqa’s Edifice would have set a new standard for architectural excellence and theological sophistication that would have rendered B 900-first quaint and obsolete. But once the Kushites were expelled from Egypt and forced again to make Napata their “Thebes,” they would have found themselves without a suitably grand structure in which to perform these rituals, which were obviously considered essential as drivers of nature and expressions of royal power. It is thus just at this moment that we find Atlanersa, Taharqa’s presumed son, commencing construction of a new “Amun temple,” B 700, which was completed by his successor Senkamanisken (Reisner 1918, 103ff, 111-112). It will be noted that the axis of this temple, if projected forward, precisely intersects the center of the rear wall of B 900-first (see Figure 1).

B 700 was a two-roomed structure with a pylon, fronted by a roofed portico (701) (Reisner 1918, 101-112). It was situated so that its rear wall was built against the Jebel Barkal cliff. Its first court (702), with four columns, had probably been open over the center aisle, while its sanctuary (703), also with four columns, had been fully roofed. When Reisner excavated the temple (between 18th February and 7th April, 1916), he found it filled inside with rocks and rubble fallen from the cliff.

Buried in debris inside the portico, Reisner found a toppled granite colossus nearly 4m high, the head of which had been broken from the body (Reisner 1918, 109, pl. XVII). The statue, now restored and set up in the Sudan National Museum, had probably been pulled

named “Amun-Re, *ba* of the Southlands, who is in Gem-pa-Aten (Kawa),” in which the word “*ba*” is written with the sign of the *ba* ram (Macadam 1955, pl. XVIIIa). One of Amun’s names was “*Ba* of *Ba*’s,” which can be alternately translated “Ram of Rams” (Parker *et al.* 1979, 72). See also Goebs 2008, 14-17.

³³ E.g. Parker *et al.* 1979, 32: “Ah Re, the son of Re Taharqa ... is Nun”; Parker *et al.* 1979, 71: “The lord of the overflowing Nun, living eternally in his name of Re, every day”; *FHN* I (1994), 162: Taharqa’s “god (already) loved (him) in the Nun, choosing him in the womb before he was born...”; Doll 1978, 142: “I am Inundation. The Great Black is my name. I am full of the *ba* which is hidden within it. ...,” etc. See also www.jebelbarkal.org III. H. fig. 91.

down and decapitated in the raid of Psamtek II, after which it had simply been buried where it fell (see Addendum, Plate 15a, b). The figure, with exaggerated musculature and proportions, contrasting sharply with the royal statues from the well-known caches (Dunham 1970, pls I-II, VII-XXII; Bonnet and Valbelle 2006), represented a male figure wearing the double crown with double uraeus. Without inscription, its identity was ambiguous. Was it a specific king? Was it Atum, the primeval solar-creator god in his anthropomorphic form? Was it the Meroitic Sebiumeker? Was it all three merged as one?

In the middle of 703, Reisner also discovered a magnificent granite bark stand,³⁴ dedicated by Atlanersa to the same Amun for whom Piankhy had dedicated B 900-first, except that this Amun was called “Amun-Re.” Atlanersa’s texts inform us that he gave it to “Amun-Re, Lord of the *Throne* of the Two Lands, who is in Jebel Barkal,” whom in one instance he calls “Amun of Napata.” Here again we may wonder if these names designated a generic Amun or the specific Amun of B 500, as Török (2006, 236) has proposed. When Senkamanisken added his own texts to the bark stand, he identified the god as both “Amun of Napata” and “Amun-Re, Lord of the *Thrones* of the Two Lands” – here perhaps distinguishing between a Napatan and a Theban Amun but effectively granting ownership of the stand – and the temple – to both (or to the single god in whom both were combined).

The columns inside B 700 incompletely survive as many loose drums. Each column had carried four vertical lines of text, which expressed the king’s relationship to different named aspects of Amun. In November 2010, the NCAM Mission attempted to photograph all of the text fragments on each surviving drum so as to reconstruct the columns by reconstructing the texts digitally. In the outer chamber (702), almost none of the column elements survived, but enough remained to reveal that the texts had included the names of the several regional Nubian Amuns: Amun of Gem-Aten (Kawa), Amun of Sanam and Amun of Pnubs.³⁵ In 703, where nearly all the drums of the columns survive, the texts, notably, do not mention the regional Amuns at all; they name only the aspects of the “great”

Amuns of Napata and Thebes, with the following variations:

Imn-R^c nb Nswt-T3wy hry-ib Dw-W^b

(“Amun-Re Lord of the *Thrones* of the Two Lands, who is in Jebel Barkal”)

Imn-R^c nb Nst-T3wy hry-ib Dw-W^b

(“Amun-Re Lord of the *Throne* of the Two Lands, who is in Jebel Barkal”)

Imn Npt

(“Amun of Napata”)

Imn Npt hry-ib Dw-W^b

(“Amun of Napata, who is in Jebel Barkal”)

Imn-R^c nb Nst-T3wy hnty Ipt-Swt

(“Amun-Re, Lord of the *Throne* of the Two Lands, Foremost in Karnak”)

Imn-R^c nb Nswt-T3wy hnty [Ipt-Swt]

(“Amun-Re, Lord of the *Thrones* of the Two Lands, Foremost in [Karnak]”)

The presence of the bark stand in 703 reveals that the chamber had been designed as a destination for Amun’s ceremonial bark. Bark stands also in B 500 and 800 indicate that a god’s bark was carried between these temples so that the god could visit, unite with and reanimate his different forms residing in each. Although Török’s interpretation of the temple is incorrect (due to incomplete published data), he is surely correct in his observation that B 700 was built to house the bark of Amun from B 500, which seems to have visited the temple only on special occasions (Török 2006, 236).

Stray fragments found inside the temple indicate that Atlanersa had also erected, probably against the rear (“E”= actual north-west) wall of 703, a false door, as if this room had doubled as a kind of tomb chapel. These texts make no mention of Amun; they name only Osiris. Also scattered about inside 702 and 703 are many more blocks and fragments, carved in raised relief, comprising fragments of a long hymn to Osiris (Priese 2005); these appear to have flanked the false door on the rear wall. This hymn, known from other versions at Philae and Musawwarat es-Sufra, and from a statue in the Louvre (Žabkar 1988, 35), speaks of Osiris as one dwelling in the primordial waters (*Nun*), as being reborn “millions of times” on New Year’s Day to preside over the fertility of the inundation, and as a rejuvenated king, who wears the white crown and rules both banks (Priese 2005, 143-144; Kendall 2008, 136).

Processions of sacred barks carried between temples by priests were public simulations of the sun god’s cos-

³⁴ For information and photographs, see Reisner 1918, 103-106, and <http://www.mfa.org/collections/object/boat-stand-of-king-atlanersa-145116>

³⁵ Only the name of Amun of Gem-Aten is preserved on one column, but Amun of Pnubs is pictured on the forward wall of B 702. See Török 2002, 157-172; fig. XI; 2006, 236.

mic boat voyages through the day and night such as described above (n. 31). The data from B 700 suggest that when Amun's bark was carried into the temple, past the colossus of Atum that stood beside the entrance, it was thought to have passed into the Underworld, as at sunset. From the surviving texts on the column elements, we can also assume that when Amun's bark passed through 702 and came to rest on its stand in 703, all of Amun's aspects, named on the columns, were thought to have united in the one great god. Since the king, who would have accompanied him, was considered Amun's son and living manifestation,³⁶ we can assume that he, too, ritually merged with the god in a state of divine Oneness, just as has been described at Luxor (Bell 1985, 258-59; 1997, 157, 170-76). Given the existence of a false door and hymn to Osiris on the rear (proper *north west*) wall of 703, it is clear that Amun and the king must have made another transformation here and merged with Osiris in his "Mound" (which in this case was Jebel Barkal, directly behind the temple). Their portal into the mountain would have been the false door. This event would then have simulated the *sp-tpy* ("primeval moment"), which guaranteed the god/king's "rising" (*hꜥi*) as the dawn sun, which for the king, would have required a coronation (= "rising"/ *hꜥi*), on which he put on the different "crowns of Re" (= "risers"/ *hꜥw*) (Walker 1991, 15-21).

Fragmentary coronation scenes are still preserved on the walls inside 703 - scenes which are exactly paralleled in the Edifice of Taharqa.³⁷ When the god's bark emerged from the temple (as it was pictured in a now very fragmentary relief on the "N" wall of 702), it did so together with the king, who was probably himself newly crowned. This re-emergence would have signified to the waiting crowds outside that both god and king had become "new suns".³⁸

B 700 was probably the temple in which various annual royal renewal ceremonies and coronation reenactments were performed. From the text of the Osiris hymn, it may be assumed that one ritual performed

here was that of the New Year ceremony, which signified the re-awakening from "death" of Osiris at the start of the inundation season (Kendall 2008, 121). The revival of Osiris was probably celebrated as the revival of all deceased kings - a rebirth that would have been acted out by the living king, who likely played all of them, in his role as "foremost of the *ka*'s of all the Living Ones (i.e. deceased kings)" (Caminos 1998, 43, 112; Török 2002, 127). By wearing the *atef* crown of Osiris, like Re at the beginning of time, he would have embodied the risen god and all kings who had gone before and who now lived through him.³⁹

In B 700, the Osiris hymn is prefaced by a curious dedication, which indicates that the temple had another, more mysterious divine occupant, who played a leading role in the election of kings. Atlanersa introduces the hymn by calling himself "beloved of Osiris-Dedwen, Foremost of Nubia (*T3-Sti*)," and states that he "made [the temple] as his monument for his father Osiris-[Dedwen....]" (Priese 2005, 142, 148, fig. 9-02, B 3). Why, we wonder, does he mention Dedwen and merge him with Osiris?

As a cult companion of the deceased Senusret I at Semna, we see that Dedwen was, like Osiris, associated with deceased kings (Priese 2005, 144-145; Caminos 1998, 43 et passim, 94-95; pls. 20, 28, 33, 37, 39, 40), but in what manner? The answer, I would suggest, is implied in the Coronation stele of Aspelta (*FHN* I [1994], 232-252). In its preface this document states that following the death of the old king and before the formal selection of the new, the candidates for royal office went in company with the army to "the town named Pure Mountain" (i.e. Jebel Barkal/Napata). At this point the text tells us - surprisingly - that the god of the mountain is not Amun, but Dedwen "foremost of Nubia, the god of Kush." The prominence given Dedwen here is extraordinary, but if we recall the fact that Amun and the king were simply bodily aspects of each other, then a state of existence in which the old king had died (i.e. become Osiris) obviously meant that Amun himself had become Osiris (i.e. had to be moved

³⁶ See www.jebelbarkal.org III. A., H. 5. Note, for example, *FHN* I (1994, 183), in which one of Amun's titles is "King of Upper and Lower Egypt", or Goebis (2008, 108-109): a reference to P. Boulaq 17, in which the god Amun wears all the royal crowns, or Parker *et al.* (1979, 74), in which Amun is described as Re and the king: "You are the one who wanders through the *Duat* in the course of every day as Osiris rests there, as ruler of the Netherworld, to renew again his body! You are the one who is at the head of the palace...he is (sic! "you are") Horus indeed". Cf. Reisner 1918, pl. XV and Parker *et al.* 1979, pl. 7, A-B.

³⁷ See www.jebelbarkal.org. III. H-I, and references. See also the Addendum at the end of this paper.

³⁹ It is an *atef* crown with *ba* horns, emerging from a red crown, that King Senkamanisken wears in his image on the "S" pylon tower of B 700 (Budge 1907, I, 141). Natakamani and Amanitore wear the same crown in opposing reliefs on the second gateway of the Amun Temple at Naqa, where each is embraced both by a human-headed and a ram-headed Amun (Wenig 1981, fig. 13). Given the stated meaning of the *atef* crown, one would assume that a crown joining it with a red crown had the meaning "red crown of Re at the primordial moment" (cf. Walker 1991, 17-18).

from B 500 to B 700, room 703, probably by night) and that, until a new king was chosen, Amun's role had to be filled by an alternate god (or by an alternate "Osirian aspect" of himself), who was Dedwen. The key phrase in this text is: "Re will not enter heaven while his throne is bereft of a ruler" (*FHNI* (1994), 232-244). Only when the new king was selected could both he and Amun(-Re) make their reappearance (i.e. "re-enter heaven") as reborn Suns. This would have happened when they emerged from the temple – probably at dawn – and Amun's bark would have been returned to B 500 (perhaps also after visiting B 800).

B 700 would have provided a venue for this and other coronation rituals until the 3rd century BC, just as its companion temple B 600 served as a raised enthronement pavilion for the kings who were newly crowned (Kendall and Wolf 2011). But sometime in the early Meroitic period both temples were destroyed in the same catastrophic event by a rock fall from the cliff. They were then simultaneously restored. Then, less than two centuries later they were destroyed again by a second rock fall. After this they were never rebuilt (Reisner 1918, 111-112).

In the Meroitic restoration of B 700 a small chapel (704) was added to the rear of the original sanctuary 703. When the second destruction occurred, this tiny room was buried with all its statuary and offerings, which, viewed as a group, confirms the nature of the original ritual described above. Here, for example, was a granite statue of the ram-headed Amun, dressed in a *šndwt* (royal) kilt, implying that the image merged god and king. Here, too, among other fragmentary royal statues, was one of Amenhotep III, mysteriously missing its face, but wearing the white crown of Osiris – perhaps personifying the god and all former kings. On or under the floor were 12 bronze figures of Osiris, and finally, there were two sandstone statues of baboons, whose function was to greet the newborn sun at the moment of his rebirth just after midnight (Reisner 1918, 101-102; Dunham 1970, 67-74, pls LVI-LVII).⁴⁰

Reisner dated the final destruction of B 700 to the early first century AD (Reisner 1918, 112), and I would suggest that B 900-second was built soon afterward as its replacement. Since B 700 was no longer salvageable, one suspects that the new royal builders – probably Natakamani and Amanitore – opted to return to the

original site of the "Osirian" rites, which was B 900. They obviously venerated the then 700-year-old remains of the Piankhy structure because they dismantled it with great care and reused its blocks in the walls of its replacement. This new temple, however, was built to an entirely new plan, suggesting that the original was felt no longer adequate or appropriate for late Meroitic cultic needs. The new temple took the form of a classic "lion-temple" (Figure 2d).

B 900-SECOND AS A LION TEMPLE: A CULT OF OSIRIS-APEDEMAK AT JEBEL BARKAL?

Was B 900-second really a "lion temple" – that is, was it dedicated to the lion god Apedemak or did it incorporate his cult? Surprisingly, when we examine the data, there seem to be many reasons to answer "yes," given that by Meroitic times, Osiris had syncretized with Apedemak (Žabkar 1975, 14, 17). Although this paper is no place for a detailed re-analysis of the Lion Temples of the Meroitic South,⁴¹ many of their features not only parallel B 700 and B 900, as described above, but their iconography also links them directly with Jebel Barkal.

First, we note that B 900-second, with an area (excluding pylon) of approximately 8.6m x 15m, is closely related in size to the Lion Temples at Musawwarat es-Sufra and Naqa, which are approximately 8m x 12.2m and 8.5m x 10.4m respectively, while it remains the larger of the three. Second, although their azimuth angles are all slightly different,⁴² they all are orientated with their rear walls directed toward the northwest – that is, toward the setting sun. Third, the Osiris hymn, inscribed on the rear wall of B 700, was also inscribed on the exterior rear wall of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat (Priese 2005, 142; Hintze *et al.* 1993, 94-95).

At Musawwarat, the Osiris hymn is carved vertically in the center of the wall between standing figures of Apedemak (facing south) and Sebiuwerker (facing north) (Hintze 1971, pls 46-47). The anthropomorphic Sebiuwerker (or perhaps simply "Sebo") (Rondot 2011, 440), who wears the double crown, was also featured in a now very fragmentary relief on the south (left) pylon façade of the temple (Hintze *et al.* 1993, 98-99), just as the colossal statue with the same features stood

⁴⁰ In the Edifice of Taharqa, in subterranean Room D, the king stands in front of eight baboons, all in the act of greeting the Sun "when this great god is to be born again about the sixth hour in the *Duat*" (Parker *et al.* 1979, 46-47, and see 37, pls 18 A, 21).

⁴¹ For that, see Török 2002, 187-200, 226-241.

⁴² The azimuth angles are: Naqa, 301°; B 900-second, 304°; and Musawwarat, 313°.

on the left side of the entrance of B 700 (Plate 15b). From this god's usual appearance, he seems to be none other than the Egyptian god Atum with a Meroitic name (Wenig 1974, 149). In Egypt Atum, familiar as the creator god of Heliopolis, mirrored the image of the living king as the personification of primeval kingship (Walker 1991, 1-6 *passim*). As the aged or "dying" aspect of Re-Horakhty, he was also master of the solar bark at sunset.⁴³ On the rear of the temple at Musawwarat, Apedemak appears to be his southern reflection.⁴⁴

Typically an image of Sebiuemker appeared beside temple doorways opposite a comparable figure of Arensnuphis, the Meroitic clone of the Egyptian god Shu-Onuris (Wenig 1974; Žabkar 1975, 19-23, 81-82). Shu was the first-born son of Atum, whose most characteristic feature is his four-feathered crown. His significance at temple entrances, standing opposite his "father," is summed up in a recent comment by Goebes (2008, 50), who writes: "Shu's most common function is to separate the sky from the earth in the morning, and in many cases he may be identified as the light [i.e. *šw*] that fulfils this function. He is thus a god of the morning, who succeeds his father, a god of the evening, in the cyclical movement of the cosmos."

In B 700, there was no statue of Shu to correspond with the colossus of Atum(?), but we should probably assume that such an image had either once existed and was destroyed, or had been planned but never completed (see Addendum, Plate 15a, b). It seems probable that these gate guardians may have conveyed the meaning that those entering the temple with the bark of Amun were passing into the Underworld, like Atum at sunset, and that those exiting with the bark were emerging into the sunlight, like Shu at dawn (cf. Bell 1985, 278, n. 140). The fact that Akhenaten represented himself at Karnak in alternating colossal images as Atum and Shu indicates that these figures were not only gods; they were also images of the king himself as bodily aspects of the endlessly self-generating Sun, Re-Hora-

khty (Kendall 2009, 13-14).⁴⁵ From the frequency at Jebel Barkal of images of the Napatan kings wearing the crown of Shu, it is clear that this god had a unique relevance at "Pure Mountain" (Dunham 1970, pls VII, VIII, XIX, XXI, XXII, XL; Robisek 1989, 53).

From mortuary texts we know that when Atum sank below the horizon as the sun god of the night bark, he transformed into a primeval ram-headed version of Re, closely associated with Amun of Jebel Barkal and Amun "Primeval One of the Two Lands".⁴⁶ At midnight, this god merged with (or became) Osiris, which initiated a new act of creation in which he was reborn as the "living *ba* of eternity".⁴⁷ As we have seen in B 700, the union of the nocturnal Sun with Osiris, which was thought to have taken place in the deepest part of the Underworld at the "Primeval Mound", was apparently ritually re-enacted in the deepest part of the temple, which was built up directly against Jebel Barkal.⁴⁸

Although the reliefs on the inside walls of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat are damaged and prevent our identifying all of the divine figures represented, it is clear that the interior south wall shows the king entering the temple with two of his sons and two of his wives (Hintze 1974, pl. 51a-61). They are greeted by a standing Apedemak and his consort. Beyond this god to the right (west), only the king now approaches the successive gods, indicating that he has left his family behind. The second god the king meets is obscured by damage, but since the king now wears a crown with curling ram horns, we guess that this god must be a form of Amun. Further to the right (west), the king now wears the four-feathered crown of Shu as he stands before the enthroned Amun of Jebel Barkal, who is accompanied by Mut and Khonsu. The mountain is recognizable by the great uraeus that hangs over the god

⁴³ He is pictured in this manner – fully anthropomorphic and wearing the double crown – in the Edifice of Taharqa (Parker *et al.* 1979, pls 16A and 20B [in which he is named *ṯw* ("Flesh")]) as well as on the lid of the sarcophagus of Aspelta (Dunham 1955, 87, fig. 58), in which he appears silhouetted within the sun disk aboard the bark. The illustration is accompanied by a version of Book of the Dead Spell 15, in praise of Atum (Doll 1978, 74-75; cf. Allen 1974, 12-26).

⁴⁴ Note that a new interpretation of the Meroitic name "Apedemak" is "Creator god" (Wildung 2011, 62).

⁴⁵ Note that each of Akhenaten's colossi wore bracelets and armlets bearing the name of the sun god within cartouches: "Re-Horakhty who rejoices in the horizon in his name as 'Light' (*šw*), who is in the Disk". The protean sun god was thus a king and *vice versa*; he was also his own father and child. See also FHN I (1994), 137: Taharqa "is lord of rejuvenation, active, a unique hero...a ruler like Atum, love of whom pervades the lands, like Re, when he appears in the sky, a son of Re, like Onuris (Shu), whose kingship consists of millions of years, like Tatanen's".

⁴⁶ See n. 29 and www.jebelbarkal.org III, I.; Kendall 2009, 13-14 and references.

⁴⁷ See n. 31 and 40.

⁴⁸ The transformation of Re from Atum (= sunset) to Amun/Osiris (= *sp-tpy* ["primeval moment"]) to Shu (= sunrise) is suggested also by the triple protome from Musawwarat, which shows the heads of the same three gods – Sebiuemker, Amun (ram), and Arensnuphis – in the same order (Wenig 1974, pl. 6a).

(Hintze *et al.* 1993, 105; Kendall 2008, 126ff).⁴⁹ The implication here is that by entering the temple and moving *west* along the south wall, the king is moving backward in time (or forward through the Underworld), as he proceeds toward his “father,” the primeval Amun(-Re-Atum) of Jebel Barkal.⁵⁰

As the king moves further to the right (west), beyond Amun of Jebel Barkal, he arrives at the rear (west) wall, where he appears before two gods in parallel panels, which divide the wall in half. On the south panel, he faces an enthroned god, facing left, whose head and crown are lost, obscuring his identity; on the north panel, he faces an enthroned Apedemak, who also faces left in the same way. Each god holds a lion and an elephant (Hintze 1971, pls 51, 71; Török 2002, 187-89). If we use B 700 (as well as the Naqa Lion Temple [described below]), as parallels, we easily discern that the rear wall at Musawwarat depicts the *West* and the Underworld, and that the gods thereon are not only reflections of each other but also aspects of Osiris. Since the king appears before Amun of Jebel Barkal at the end of the south wall, we suspect that the west wall presents the king as one who has entered the mountain to unite with the god’s “Osirian” forms. As in all of his images, Apedemak, as here, wears the *hmhm* crown, which Goebs (2001, 324) has noted is “particularly common in representations of the solar child emerging from the lotus flower in the morning,” and which “may identify [the wearer] with the sun god at sunrise”.⁵¹ The figure of Apedemak, thus, would seem to be a particular form of the Creator through whom the king achieves rebirth.

The *hmhm* crown of Apedemak (the name of which means “roaring one”) (Erman and Grapow 1926-31, II, 490-91) was an *atef* crown in triplicate, consisting of three *atef* “bundles” flanked by the *šwty* feathers, with *ba* horns. That it, too, was a “crown of Re” is clear, since it not only appears as the crown of the solar disk over the door of the Lion Temple at Musawwarat (Hintze 1971, pls 19, 100), it also appears commonly as the crown of the sun disk in Meroitic royal tomb chapels, in which the disk represents the god in the solar bark. Such bark scenes are carved over the false doors at the rear of tomb chapels and over the figures of Osiris, which sometimes appear within the niches (Chapman and Dunham 1952, pls 3h, 5b, 6c, 14 c,

14d). In these scenes, the sun disk with *hmhm* is part of the sign *3ht*, meaning that the bark is ferrying a form of the rising sun. From this we can conclude that Apedemak, wearing the *hmhm*, was a *ba* form of Re-Horakhty, closely associated with Osiris and the Amun/Atum demiurge, but one who apparently personified pre-dawn solar rebirth. He was, thus, an emerging aspect of Shu/Arensnuphis (cf. Žabkar 1975, 19). The *hmhm* crown, as a triple *atef*, may, in fact, have signified that the wearer combined three Osirian or primeval *ba*’s of Re, transitioning from evening to morning.⁵²

At Naqa, we see many of the same iconographical features as at Musawwarat, but here they are even more explicit. On the exterior walls, the temple highlights Osiris on the northern side and Apedemak on the southern side, and presents the two gods both as reflections of each other and as reflections of the king. On the north wall, we do not actually see Osiris; we see only the king impersonating him and wearing his *atef* crown. Behind him stands the queen, who wears the crown of Isis, and the crown prince, as Horus. The three face right, toward a line of five goddesses, led by Osiris’ consort Isis, who hands the king a bundle of bound enemy prisoners – confirming that this resurrected Osiris (the king) has been victorious over his enemies as well as death (cf. Žabkar 1988, 31-38). His *ba* horns probably inform us that we are seeing Osiris reborn as a “living *ba*” in the king. On the opposite south wall, the royal family faces Apedemak, who heads a line of five gods. Both he and the king wear *hmhm* crowns, suggesting that, here, as on the north wall, the king has become the god’s embodiment and living incarnation.

If on the outer walls Apedemak is a southern reflection of Osiris,⁵³ on the inside walls he is a southern reflection of Amun of Jebel Barkal. As at Musawwarat, on each side wall the royal family is depicted entering the temple from the east and moving toward its rear or *west* wall. At Naqa, on the north inside wall, they encounter (and pass through) three forms of Amun, which are mirrored by three forms of Apedemak on the south wall. As at Musawwarat, the king, after passing each god, makes a transformation, which is indicated by his wearing of a different crown.

⁴⁹ See also www.jebelbarkal.org III, B-F.

⁵⁰ On the Amun of Jebel Barkal as the primeval Creator, see www.jebelbarkal.org III. E. and Kendall 2009, 13-14.

⁵¹ Cf. also Wilkinson 2003, 132.

⁵² On the sarcophagus text of Aspelta, we find the following words: “Recitation by Osiris King Aspelta, living forever: I am yesterday, today, and tomorrow, one who is in authority over his births on another occasion, mysterious-of-*ba*, who made the gods....Your rays are upon me, O Triple *Ba*” (Doll 1978, 141).

⁵³ Osiris is frequently described with the traits of Apedemak, as a lion and a warrior (Žabkar 1984, 32-33).

On the east end of the north wall, the royal family approaches the enthroned Amun of Jebel Barkal, accompanied by Mut (Figure 4). (Here the figure of the king is partly preserved, but the queen's figure has been destroyed; the prince's figure appears behind them on the north side of the east wall). The god's identity is clear, both by his ram head and crown, and by the great uraeus that hangs over him (Kendall 2008, 126ff). The crown of the king, while damaged, is clearly the feathered crown of Shu (confirmed by observation of the original), meaning that the scene parallels that at Musawwarat (as well as other versions at Jebel Barkal itself).⁵⁴ Beyond Amun and Mut of Jebel Barkal, the king⁵⁵ stands alone before a second image of Amun, who would have been human-headed and bearded like Zeus, but who wears an Amun crown and curling ram horns. In his presence, the king now wears the god's crown, as if the two are now to be understood as merged aspects of the same being, and together they hold the ropes binding their common enemies. Further left (west), beyond the anthropomorphic Amun, the king, queen, and prince reappear and face another damaged image of Amun and Mut, but here the king wears the *atef* crown of Osiris, and the queen wears the horned crown of Isis – just as on the north wall.

I suggest that these reliefs, like those at Musawwarat, depict the king's transformations from his present state as mortal ruler (as he enters the temple), to his primeval state as Shu, first-born son of the Creator, to his physical union with Amun in the center wall (where the king assumes Amun's crown, and the god assumes the king's human form [while still retaining his ram horns]),⁵⁶ to their joint merger with Osiris in

the presence of the (damaged) Amun-Demiurge(?) at the end of the wall. As at Musawwarat, when the Naqa reliefs show the king passing beyond Amun of Jebel Barkal, we are probably to understand that he has entered the mountain, so that the subsequent scenes take place inside the mountain. In the westernmost scene on the wall, the king's *atef* crown informs us that he has arrived at the place of *sp-tpy* and that he has united with Osiris "inside his Mound" (cf. Kendall 2008, 133).

The opposite south wall is a virtual mirror of the north. Here the royal family faces an enthroned Apedemak and his consort, who are reflections of Amun and Mut of Jebel Barkal.⁵⁷ Both the king and the god wear *hmhm* crowns. To the right of this pair, the king, now wearing a fillet of uraei, appears alone before a human-headed Zeus-like god, wearing the *hmhm*, who reflects the middle Amun on the north wall. Presumably here, as on the north wall, king and god have again merged as One, and the god has taken the king's human aspect.⁵⁸ Further to the rear, the royal triumvirate reappears before a form of Amun (destroyed), followed by the goddess Satis. From a parallel scene at Musawwarat, we can identify the damaged god as the ram-headed Amun of Kawa, who, with his common epithet "Lion of the Southlands," must have been a ram (= "*ba*")-form of Apedemak (cf. Hintze 1971, pl. 41 and see n. 32).

This brings us finally to the west wall which, as at Musawwarat, features parallel aspects of Amun and

⁵⁴ As in B 300 (Robisek 1989, 114), and B 200 (unpublished). Here the king appears as Shu before Amun "of Jebel Barkal" on the rear wall of the middle sanctuary (see n. 56).

⁵⁵ Török 2002, 231-233 identifies this figure as the queen, in keeping with his belief that the temple was divided by gender (female on the north side and male on the south side). Clearly here and in the Amun Temple at Naqa, Natakamani and Amanitore appear to be twin rulers, both even wearing beards, as in these reliefs (cf. Wenig 1981). In this scene, however, without getting into the question of which individual, male or female – or which "king" – the (bearded) figure represents, we can say that it represents "the king," and, in my opinion, it is the same king that is represented twice elsewhere on the same wall, leading the queen and prince.

⁵⁶ A particularly striking example of royal transformation in art occurs in B 200. In the "S" sanctuary the king wears the crown of Amun and would be identified as the god himself were it not for the cartouches identifying him. One assumes, therefore, that in the "South" (i.e. at Jebel Barkal) the king and Amun were one, as at the "primeval moment." (Compare these scenes also

with the reliefs of Natakamani and Amanitore on the stone gateways of the Amun Temple at Naqa, where they each appear with the god, crowned as the god [Wenig 1981, figs. 11-14]). In the middle chamber, the king stands before Amun "of Jebel Barkal," but now he wears the crown of Shu, indicating that he has separated from the body of the Creator and has become the god's first-born son. In the "N" chamber – now transformed into the role of terrestrial king in the "North"/Egypt – Taharqa wears the cap crown (as recorded by Lepsius 1913, 257, since the latter scene is now destroyed; I am grateful to Rosmarie Mispagel for pointing this out to me).

⁵⁷ Note that on the second gateway of the Amun Temple at Naqa, both Natakamani and Amanitore are shown being fitted with *hmhm* crowns and wear these crowns before Amun (Wenig 1981, fig. 13).

⁵⁸ The royal figure here may be personifying all the uraei joined in one being. That Apedemak was closely associated with the uraeus, and was a male equivalent of the leonine uraeus goddess(es) Eye of Re/Eye of Horus is indicated by a shield-ring from the Ferlini treasure which depicts the sun disk, enclosing an *udjat*-eye, surmounted by the *hmhm* crown (Priese 1992, 39, fig. 37). On the overlapping associations of the concepts Amun, Lion, Uraeus, Eye of Re/Horus, Sun/Moon, Osiris and Jebel Barkal pinnacle, see my remarks in Kendall 2008 and www.jebelbarkal.org III. B, D and especially G.

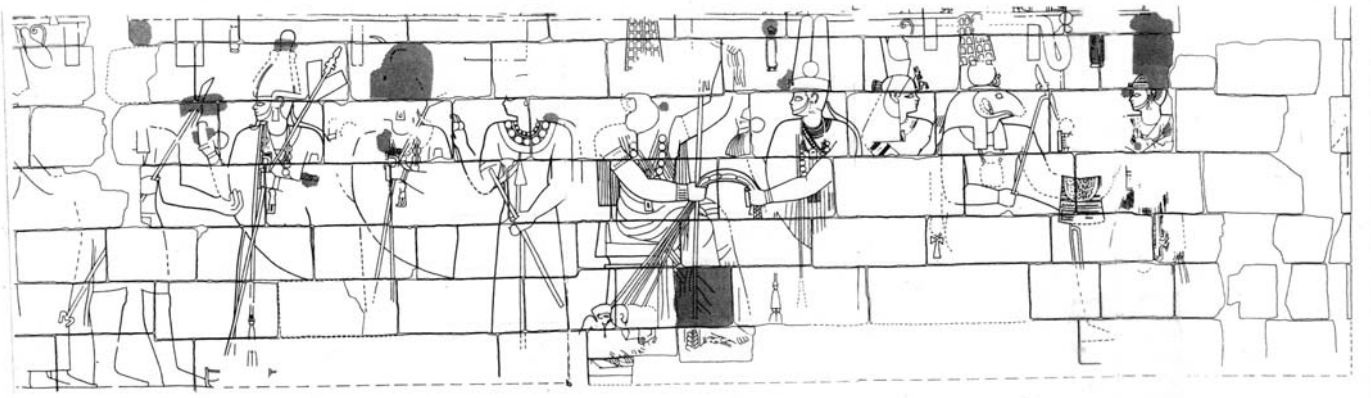


Figure 4. Main relief scene, north interior wall, Naqa Lion Temple (Gamer-Wallert 1983, pls 11a, b).

Apedemak. These are remarkable in that the gods each again assume the form of a bearded Zeus-like figure in three-quarter view. These images, like the others aforementioned, are each recognizable as forms of Serapis, the Hellenistic god who combined the Egyptian Amun and Osiris with the Greek solar and chthonic gods (Török 2002, 230-31; Wilkinson 2003, 127-128). In the north half of the wall, the god, as Amun, is greeted by the king, himself re-crowned as Amun, followed by his son. In the south half, the god, as Apedemak, would have been greeted by the queen and prince (whose figures are unfortunately destroyed). In the center of the wall, standing behind Amun and kissing his shoulder, is the queen, who herself wears an Amun crown but sporting *ba* horns, and who grows a pair of curling ram horns from her temples (Gamer-Wallert 1983, pl. 12). Standing behind Apedemak and kissing his shoulder is the king. Although the superstructure of his crown is no longer preserved, it was surely a *hmhm* crown with *ba* horns, paralleling the queen's Amun crown with *ba* horns. Surely each of these crowns would have identified the wearer as a separate ruler and risen *ba*-form of the Creator.⁵⁹

The explicit representations of Jebel Barkal in both of these Meroitic temples, and of the rulers' pictured transformations in each, point to Jebel Barkal as the place where such transformations and rejuvenations were believed to take place, although the Lion temples themselves were obviously magical substitutes and provided local passages to and from the Underworld (Plate 14).

Looking back at B 900-first, we can perhaps already see in it precedents for B 900-second - and for a lion cult at Jebel Barkal. Like the Butana lion temples, the outside walls of the Piankhy structure were decorated with processions of gods before the king, accompanied by his heir. On one of its blocks, someone scratched a crude figure of a lion (Plate 8), and on another, the king's name was associated with the sign of the *ba*-ram (Plate 2, Block 48). But there is perhaps no more remarkable connective between the two phases of B 900 than the large faience pectoral, found in the tomb of one of Piankhy's queens at el-Kurru (Plate 14). This object pictures Osiris enthroned before a rearing uraeus, which must symbolize the cliff of Jebel Barkal. The god is accompanied by Isis and Horus, each of whom holds an open lotus blossom before him, predicting his rebirth (Wilkinson 2003, 133-35). He also



Plate 14. Funerary pectoral from Ku. 51, the tomb of a queen of Piankhy. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston (MFA 21.304).

⁵⁹ Note that in her tomb chapel (Beg. N. 6), Queen Amanishakheto is pictured inside and on the south pylon tower wearing a crown, raised on *ba* horns, in which the *shuty* crown of Amun and the *hmhm* crown of Apedemak are merged as one (Chapman and Dunham 1952, pls 16-17; Priese 1992, front paper, 11, fig. 1).

wears the curved ram horns of Amun, informing us that he is a form of Amun-united-with-King in transformation. Oddly, he does not wear the *atef* crown of Osiris; he wears an enormous *hmhm* (Dunham 1950, 78, pl. LV, C), already presaging the persona of Ape-demak.

ADDENDUM

In December 2011, while visiting the Tombos granite quarry, it occurred to me that the famous broken statue lying on the ground there (Plate 15a) is cut from the same stone and has virtually the same proportions (Table 1) as the colossus that formerly stood on the “N” (= southwest) side of the entrance of B 700 and which is now restored and exhibited in the Sudan National Museum in Khartoum (Plate 15b). The latter statue should have had a mate that stood on the “S” (= north-east) side of the entrance, but no trace of such an image has ever been found. I will suggest that the Tombos statue is not only the missing figure, but that it was carved to represent Atlanersa.

Neither the Jebel Barkal nor the Dokki Gel statue caches included a figure of Atlanersa, who began construction of B 700 but evidently died before its completion, leaving the temple to be finished by Senkamanisken. The Tombos statue, which (like Atlanersa’s bark

stand) is very finely finished in good 25th Dynasty style, seems to fit chronologically with this king, and its size seems to suggest that it was intended to stand before his temple, perhaps doubling in the role of Shu (although there is now no trace that a Shu headdress was ever intended for it). When the stone of the incompletely carved head was found to be flawed, and the right side of the head cracked off just before the statue’s completion, the figure was simply left in the quarry and abandoned.

The colossus in Khartoum, which was found fallen, decapitated and buried in the portico of B 700, differs significantly from the other stylistically, suggesting that it was not made at the same time as the other and that it was made by a different group of sculptors. We can perhaps account for this by supposing that it was ordered one or two decades later by Senkamanisken, who successfully transported it from Tombos to the temple and erected it in front of the entrance. Before a new second statue could be carved, the first was perhaps overthrown by the invading army of Psamtek II, which broke off the head; and the project to place twin colossal statues in front of B 700 was abandoned.

The meaning of the statues can probably be divined from their respective crowns. The Khartoum figure, which stood on the (south)west side of the doorway, wears the double crown and so represented the king as Atum: the setting sun. The Tombos figure, which I sus-



Plate 15a-b. (above): The unfinished, uninscribed statue in the Tombos quarry; (right) the uninscribed statue from B 700 now in the Sudan National Museum, Khartoum (photo by Enrico Ferorelli).

Table 1. Dimensions of the statues in the quarry at Tombos and from B 700 at Jebel Barkal.

| | Tombos statue (m) | Khartoum statue (B 700) (m) |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------|--|
| Ht of statue from top of base: | 3.48 | 3.55 * |
| Height of back pillar: | 3.23 | 3.08 |
| Width of back pillar at bottom: | 0.43 | 0.37 |
| Width of back pillar at top: | 0.21 | 0.21 |
| Shoulder width: | 0.90 | 0.92 |
| Armpit to armpit: | 0.60 | 0.60 |
| Center of breast line to top of belt: | 0.50 | 0.49 |
| Width of waist at narrowest point: | 0.39 | 0.34 |
| Width of fists: | 0.15 | 0.13 |
| Length of fists: | 0.34 | 0.22 |
| Length of left foot (inside): | 0.58 | 0.58 |
| Length of left foot (outside): | 0.52 | 0.565 |
| Length of right foot (inside): | 0.43 | 0.58 |
| Length of right foot (outside): | 0.49 | 0.58 |
| Left fist to groundline: | 1.32 | 1.15 |
| Right fist to groundline: | 1.36 | 1.16 |
| Width of head with pillar: | 0.58 | 0.72 |
| Shoulder to wrist: | 1.26 | 1.20 |
| Shoulder to bottom of fist: | 1.46 | 1.39 |
| Width of statue from fist to fist: | 0.81 | 0.84 |

* estimated.; top of crown lost

pect was planned to stand on the (north)east side of the doorway, wears the cap crown and so represented the king as Atum's child: the newborn sun and newly-crowned king. Despite their stylistic differences, their measurements reveal a remarkable similarity of scale, which strongly suggests that the two statues were designed to fit the same space.

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