THE ROYAL CEMETERIES OF KUSH

Volume III
PREFACE

In preparing for the publication of this series of volumes on The Royal Cemeteries of Kush, it became evident that a significant element in the archaeology of the royal tombs was the decoration of their chapels. To do justice to this subject required very considerable illustration on a scale in excess of that suitable for the remainder of the material. Furthermore, the amount of this illustrative matter was sufficient to warrant its publication in a separate volume of large format which should be of interest to a public somewhat greater than the one which is concerned with a strictly archaeological report on the excavations. At the time that Volume I (El Kurru) was in preparation the chapel reliefs were already under study and being drawn. It had been our original intention to publish Volume II (Nuri) before the present work, but since the latter is ready before Nuri, there seems no good reason for holding it back even though it forms Volume III of the series.

The substance of this publication lies wholly in the plates, the majority of which have been drawn by Miss Chapman. The letterpress is no more than a necessary commentary and explanation, and it seems, therefore, wholly fitting that Miss Chapman’s name should take precedence as author. The work would have been impossible without her great skill as an artist and, perhaps even more, her remarkable patience and attention to a vast amount of minute and often well-nigh illegible detail. These qualities, to which she has added a rare sensitivity to the spirit of ancient draftsmanship, make her pencil reproductions quite outstanding.

The several sources drawn upon in preparing these plates are listed in the following pages. It is here my special and very pleasant duty to acknowledge the great assistance received from the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, which has supplied me with the full set of photographs of the pyramids of Meroë and Barkal taken by the late Professor James H. Breasted in 1906. These have been of great value in the study of the reliefs, and my debt is increased by the fact that the Oriental Institute has given permission for the reproduction of a number of these photographs in this volume.

The authorities of the Griffith Institute at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, have also been most generous. As custodians of the important Bankes MSS., which include very valuable early copies of some of these chapel reliefs, made in 1821, they have not only given permission for their publication, but have photographed especially for me a large number of the original drawings in Oxford. I am particularly indebted to Miss Rosalind Moss of the Griffith Institute for calling my attention to these drawings in the first place, as well as for giving me access to her notes and preliminary manuscript for Volume VII of the Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings (Oxford, 1951), which deals with the monuments of the Egyptian Sudan.

Finally I would once more express my gratitude to the Trustees of the Museum of Fine Arts for financing publication, and even more for the liberal interpretation of a Curator’s duties which has given me the time and freedom to do this work.

DOWS DUNHAM
Curator of Egyptian Art

Museum of Fine Arts, Boston
March, 1952
ABBREVIATIONS

Bankes  The Bankes Manuscript drawings deposited in the Griffith Institute, Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Bar.  The Pyramid Cemetery at Gebel Barkal.

Beg. N.  The North Cemetery at Meroë, known in our records as Begrawiyeh North (Lepsius' Cemetery A).

Beg. S.  The South Cemetery at Meroë (Lepsius' Cemetery B).

Beg. W.  The West Cemetery at Meroë (Lepsius' Cemetery C).

HU-MFA Exp.  The Harvard University-Museum of Fine Arts (Boston) (Egyptian) Expedition, directed by the late Professor George A. Reisner of Harvard and the Museum of Fine Arts.

Ku.  The Early Napatan Cemetery at El Kurru. See Dunham, Royal Cemeteries of Kush I, El Kurru (Boston, Museum of Fine Arts, 1950).

L.D.V  Richard Lepsius, Denkmaeler aus Agypten und Aethiopien, Abtheilung V. (Plates bear arabic numerals.)

L.D.Text.V  Text volume accompanying the preceding, with verbal descriptions and references to the folio volume of plates.

L.D.Ergänz.  The supplement to Lepsius' Denkmaeler, published in 1913, containing drawings made in 1842-45 but omitted from the original publication. (Plates bear roman numerals.)

Nu.  The Royal Cemetery at Nuri, containing tombs of kings and queens of Napata.

Orien.  Photographs of the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago, taken on Professor Breasted's expedition in 1906.


PMTB VII  Porter and Moss, Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings, Volume VII (Oxford, 1931), dealing with monuments of Nubia and the Sudan.
LIST OF PLATES
DECORATED CHAPELS OF THE MERØITIC PYRAMIDS AT MERØÉ AND BARKAL

The history of the excavation of the Royal Cemeteries of Kush by the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Expedition has been outlined in the first volume of this series (El Kurru, pp. 7–10). On pages 1 and 2 of that volume is set forth the system of relative dating by generations used for all six royal Kushite cemeteries; namely 65 consecutive reigns from Kashta (ca. 760–751 B.C.) to the king buried in the last pyramid in the North Cemetery at Merœé (Beg. N. 25) which falls somewhere about the middle of the fourth century A.D. Since the publication of El Kurru, however, it has become evident that the number of consecutive reigns should be increased to 67 for reasons which will be dealt with in a subsequent volume of this series.

Throughout this period of about 1100 years the tombs of kings conformed to a fairly uniform type, albeit with many minor variations. They consisted of a rather steep pyramid of masonry or brick against the east face of which stood a small funerary chapel, often embellished with a pylon, and occasionally having an open forecourt in front of the chapel proper. The burial place was excavated in the rock beneath the pyramid and was reached through an open-cut stairway on the east, usually in front of the chapel, but in the latest tombs lying under the chapel and pyramid. (See Plates 1, 2, 32 E, and 33.) While during the first four generations at El Kurru the tombs of queens and minor royalties appear to have been of mastaba form, with generation (5) they too began to conform to the type established for kings, and are included here. The decoration of these chapels is the subject of this study.

The six Kushite cemeteries overlap somewhat in date and, insofar as the royal tombs are concerned, cover the following ranges:

- El Kurru (Ku.) (1) to (6), and (24).
- Nuri (Nu.) (5) to (23), (23), and (28).
- Barkal (Bar.) Sporadically from (27) to (33).
- Merœé South (Beg. S.) (28) to (30).
- Merœé North (Beg. N.) (37) to (57).
- Merœé West (Beg. W.) No kings, but a few queens and princes, the only remaining traces of decorated chapels falling between (40) and (50).

The plundering, especially stone theft from the superstructures, from which the six cemeteries have suffered is such that only at Barkal and at the three cemeteries of Merœé are the chapels sufficiently preserved to permit reproduction of their decoration, and therefore the evidence previous to generation (28) is of the scantiest. This destruction of the chapels occurred mostly in ancient times, much of it clearly not long after each cemetery went out of use, but it has continued right up to our own day and may be traced, in part, through the study of evidence available for the past 130 years. Such descriptions of the monuments as those of Waddington and Hanbury (1820), 1 Cailliaud (1821–1822), 2 Hoskins (1833), 3 and Budge (1897–1905) 4 are of great interest as indications of the condition of the sites at those dates, but they are with few exceptions without illustrations of value for the purposes of this study. In making the plates here published five important sources have been utilized.

(1) The Bankes Manuscripts. Pencil drawings made in 1821 for J. W. Bankes by Linant de Bellefonds and a Dr. Ricci at Barkal and Merœé.

(2) Richard Lepsius' Denkmäler aus Aegyptien and Aethiopien. Reproductions of scale drawings made by the members of his expedition in 1844 and contained in the fifth volume of the main work and in the Ergänzungsbände published as a supplement in 1913.

(3) A series of photographs taken by the late Professor James H. Breasted during a survey expedition to the Sudan in 1906–1907 under the auspices of the University of Chicago.

(4) Photographs taken by the Harvard University–Museum of Fine Arts Expedition during its excavation of the sites from 1916 to 1923.

(5) Other records of the foregoing expedition, including notes, measurements, and plans of the pyramids and chapels.

The fullest of these five sources is Lepsius' publication, but his draftsmen, working at high pressure, did make mistakes, and he undertook no excavation to clear walls obscured by debris. It has been possible by the use of both Breasted's and our own photographs to correct many minor errors and to fill in elements missing from his plates which have been revealed by excavation. In some cases too, the Bankes MSS. drawings have made it possible to supply elements which existed in his day but which had disappeared by the time Lepsius' draftsmen copied the scenes some twenty years later. Lepsius' plates vary considerably in scale and

3 G. A. Hoskins, Travels in Ethiopia: Above the Second Cataract of the Nile, etc. (London, Longman, Rees, 1832).
are arranged without regard to the chronological sequence of the tombs (which was not known to him). The records of our Expedition have made it possible to render the scenes to a uniform scale of 1/10 (except in a few instances, which are noted, where sufficient evidence was lacking) and to place them in chronological sequence so that changes in style and content over the centuries involved may be evident. Although, as already stated, there is insufficient evidence to illustrate the chapels of the Napatan period, and our plates do not include any previous to generation (28), a certain amount of evidence bearing on their decoration is contained in the records of our Expedition, and this evidence is noted in the following complete listing of the royal pyramid tombs of the six Kushite cemeteries.

(1) King Kashta 1

Ku. 8 Side walls destroyed. West wall: deep empty niche (El Kurru, Fig. 150 on p. 460). Cf. PMTB VII, p. 196.

(2) King Pâ'ankhy


(3) King Shabako


(4) King Shebitku

Ku. 18 Destroyed. Cf. PMTB VII, p. 197.

(5) King Taharqa

Nu. 1 No chapel appears to have been built. Cf. PMTB VII, p. 223.

Queen Abar (?)


Queen Atakhebasheh


(6) King Tanwetamani


Queen Malagaye


(7) King Atlanasa


Queen Yeturow


Queen — ? —

Nu. 60 Destroyed. Not listed in PMTB VII.

(8) King Šenkanamiskheh


Queen Malatarah (?)


(8-9) Queen — ? —

Nu. 21 Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.

(9) King Anlamani


Queen — ? —


Queen Masalaye


(10) King Aspelta


Queen Nasala


Queen Madikheh


Queen Malikheh


Queen Asata


Queen Attah


(21) King Amatasha


Queen Hemutarakebzi (t)


Queen Akheqa (?)


Queen Malataseh


Queen Pi'ahas

Nu. 54 Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.

Queen Amatasha


Queen Pi'ankhi-her


(22) King Malenasheh


Queen Amanitakayae


Queen Tagral (?)


(23) King Anlama'aye


(14) King

Amani-nataki-lehte


Queen Malatarah II


(15) King Karkamani


Queen — ? —

Nu. 36 Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.

(16) King Amaniastabarqa


Queen — ? —

Nu. 47 Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.

Queen — ? —

Nu. 49 Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.

(17) King S'asapq?a


Queen Pi'ankh'eqiw


Queen — ? —

Nu. 52 Destroyed. Not listed in PMTB VII.

(18) King Nasakheh


Queen — ? —

Nu. 46 Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.

Queen — ? —

Nu. 49 Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.
(59) King MalâtIrAmâni Nu. 11


Queen Sakkâya

Nu. 31


Queen Akhrasân

Nu. 32


(20) King Talâkhamâni

Nu. 16


(21) King Aman-Nêt-Vereke

Nu. 12


Queen? — ? —

Nu. 33

Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.

(22) King Baskâkereš

Nu. 17


(23) King Harsîtoûf

Nu. 13


Queen Henû'tirdîs

Nu. 34


Queen Atasamâlé

Nu. 61


(24) King? — ? —

Ku. 1


Queen? — ? —

Ku. 2


Queen? — ? —

Nu. 43

Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche. Not listed in PMTB VII.

Queen? — ? —

Nu. 48

Destroyed. Not listed in PMTB VII.

Queen? — ? —

Nu. 51

Destroyed. Not listed in PMTB VII.

(25) King Akhrataš

Nu. 14


Queen? — ? —

Nu. 37

Side walls destroyed. West wall: empty niche with cornice. Not listed in PMTB VII.

(26) King Nastariš

Nu. 15


Queen Sakhunakhâ?

Nu. 56


(27) King? — ? —

Bar. 11


(28) King Arâkakamâni

Beg. S. 6

North wall: Pl. 3 D. South wall: Pl. 24 A. West wall: Pl. 3 E. Cf. PMTB VII, p. 257.

Queen

Beg. S. 4

North wall: Pl. 3 A. South wall: Pl. 3 B. West wall: Pl. 3 C. Cf. PMTB VII, p. 256.

Kanâtara·Sar . . . ûfi

(29) King Amânîslo

Beg. S. 5


(30) King Bâkhtarâ-(Kalkâti)

Beg. S. 10

North wall: Pl. 4 A. South wall: Pl. 4 B. West wall: Pl. 4 C. Cf. PMTB VII, p. 257.

(31) King Amân . . . Tekha

Beg. N. 4

North wall destroyed. South wall: Pl. 4 D. West wall destroyed. Cf. PMTB VII, p. 244.

(32) King Hînâyâkâ

Beg. N. 23


(33) King Ergamene

Beg. N. 7


(34) King Tâbirqa-

(Adhkâlamâni?)

Beg. N. 9

Chapel apparently unfinished, but had been plastered and painted. See L. D. Test V, p. 303 (12). Cf. PMTB VII, p. 247.

(35) King? — —

Beg. N. 8


Prince — —

Bar. 5

North wall: Pl. 6 A. South wall: Pl. 6 B. West wall: Pl. 6 C (Cf. Pl. 30 B-D). Cf. PMTB VII, p. 205.

(36) Ruling Queen Nahîrqa

Beg. N. 11

North wall: Pl. 7 A. South wall: Pl. 7 B. West wall: Pl. 8 A. East wall: Pl. 8 B. Forecourt, north wall: Pl. 8 C. Forecourt, south wall: Pl. 8 D. Forecourt, west wall: Pl. 25 D. Pylon: Pl. 9. See also PIs. 25 C. E; 30 F, E; 32 E. Cf. PMTB VII, p. 247.

(37) King

Beg. N. 12

Shânakdakhâhte

Beg. N. 21


(38) King

Beg. N. 13

Naqyrânsâ?

Beg. N. 20


(39) King? — —

Beg. N. 21


Queen Naldâmâk

Bar. 6


(40) King? — —

Beg. N. 14

North, south, and west walls described only in L. D. Test V, pp. 296-7 (7). Chapel taken down by Budge in 1903, and so far as known the blocks are not preserved. Cf. PMTB VII, p. 249.

Queen? — —

Bat. 3


Queen? — —

Bat. 4


(42) King

Beg. N. 2

Amanikhabâlî

Beg. N. 5


King? — —

Bar. 2


(43) Ruling Queen

Beg. N. 6

Amanishakhâtê

Beg. N. 24

North wall: Pl. 16 A. South wall: Pl. 16 B. West wall: Pl. 27 E. Pylon: Pl. 17 (Cf. Pl. 31 F). Cf. PMTB VII, p. 245.

(42-44) Queen? — —

Beg. W. 5


Although the chapels at El Kurru and Nuri, which include most of the royal burials through generation (26),¹ have been so largely destroyed, some evidence on their form and decoration does remain, and this, together with the more completely preserved chapels of subsequent generations at Barkal and Merer, makes it possible to gain at least a partial picture of the nature and development of chapel decoration.

On Plate 34 an attempt has been made to set forth the more significant elements in chapel decoration, showing the generation in which they have been noted, and whether they occur in the tombs of rulers (kings and ruling queens) or those of lesser royalties. This chart has been compiled from the sources referred to in the foregoing list as well as from the plates themselves. While it does not lay claim to completeness it does clearly show certain trends. For example, throughout the Napatan period the west end of the chapel (the offering place) normally had a niche containing a stela bearing an offering formula, but this later gave way, first to a triad (Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys) in high relief or in the round, and finally to scenes of the king before Osiris in low relief. On the side walls of the chapels decoration of any sort appears to have been the exception even in the larger tombs until nearly the end of the Napatan period — only four instances up to and including generation (22) — but thereafter relief decoration on both side walls was the rule even in quite minor tombs. From generation

¹ A few tombs at Merer (Beg. W.), almost completely destroyed, appear to have belonged to minor queens of the Napatan period.
(28) onward the main subject on both side walls became stereotyped and showed the ruler seated on a lion throne with a protective figure of the winged Isis behind him, and often accompanied by members of the family. Such thoroughly Egyptian subjects as the transport of the dead on a funerary barque or the Osirian judgement scene were in favor from the reign of Erykmenos (33) (ca. 200 B.C.) to the first quarter of the first century (45), and during this period of the flowering of Meroitic culture the most elaborate and complex of the chapel reliefs also occur. One very characteristic element in the later chapels — it has not been found earlier than generation (35) — is the procession of small figures bearing palm branches, and typical in the closing generations is the featuring of Anubis and Nephthys pouring a libation, a scene constantly found on the multitude of late Meroitic offering tables with inscriptions in cursive script which have been found so plentifully throughout the dominions once ruled from Meroë.
## DEVELOPMENT OF CHAPEL DECORATION

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