## CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>List of Plates</td>
<td></td>
<td>iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oxford Excavations in Nubia.</td>
<td>F. Ll. Griffith, M.A.</td>
<td>1, 65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Plates I-VII, IX-XXIX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Fibula of Cypriote type from Rhodes.</td>
<td>John L. Myres, M.A.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pheidippides: a Study of Good Form in Fifth Century Athens</td>
<td>W. R. Halliday, B.A., B.Litt.</td>
<td>20, 33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Book Reviews</td>
<td></td>
<td>31, 63, 125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Roman Cemetery in the Infirmary Field, Chester.—Part II.</td>
<td>R. Newstead, F.R.S.</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>With Plates VI-VIII</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF PLATES

I. Sketch Map of Faras, Nubia, shewing pre-Christian sites.
II. Faras: Plans of protodynastic cemetery and single graves; small objects.
IV. Faras: Palaeolithic and protodynastic antiquities.
V. Faras: Protodynastic pottery.
VI. Chester: Roman Cemetery in the Infirmary Field. Views of tombs.
VII. Chester: Roman Cemetery. Pottery, and section of Tomb 34.
VIII. Chester: Roman Cemetery. Pottery from ‘Site X.’
IX. Faras, Nubia: Plan of the C-group Cemetery.
X. Faras: Grave-stelae in the C-group Cemetery.
XI. Faras: Graves in the C-group Cemetery.
XII. Faras: Objects from the C-group Cemetery.
XIII. Faras: Pottery from the C-group Cemetery.
XIV. Faras: C-group Cemetery. Designs on pottery, scarabs, etc.
XV. Faras: C-group Cemetery. Pottery types.
XVI. Faras: Plan of Middle Kingdom Fort. Seal-impressions.
XVII. Faras: Views of New Kingdom Temples.
XVIII. Faras: Scarabs and scaraboids from Hathor Temple.
XIX. Faras: Figurines, etc., from Hathor Temple.
XX. Faras: Glazed fragments from Hathor Temple. Base of column, Temple of Tutankhamun.
XXI. Faras: Sculptures from Temple of Tutankhamun.
XXII. Faras: Sculptures from Temple of Tutankhamun.
XXIII. Faras: Plan of Hathor Temple.
XXIV. Faras: Inscriptions from Hathor Temple and Speos.
XXV. Faras: Inscriptions of Rameses II and of the Thutmose Temple.
XXVI. Faras: Plan of Temple of Tutankhamun. Section of pot from kiln.
XXVII. Faras: Inscriptions from Temple of Tutankhamun.
XXVIII. Faras: Inscriptions from Temple of Tutankhamun, etc.
XXIX. East Serra, Nubia: Inscriptions.

OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

By F. Ll. Griffiths, M.A.

WITH PLATES I-V

The Oxford Expedition in Nubia worked during three winters, 1910-13. The first two seasons were spent at Faras, a site that was recommended to us by Dr. Randall MacIver and by Professor H. Schäfer of Berlin, on the border line between Egypt and the Sudan, twenty-five miles north of the Second Cataract; the third season was occupied with Sannum, part of the site of Napata, in the Dongola province. We are much indebted to the Sudan Government for the concession of the two sites, and to its kindly officials for giving us every possible facility. Mr. Blackman was my assistant in the first year at Faras, and Mr. Woolley in the second, when Miss E. M. Cochran most kindly gave her services, making copies of painted vases and of Christian frescoes; and Mrs. Griffiths helped me strenuously throughout the three seasons. Mr. Drummond, acting for the Sudan Government, permitted us to bring home all the small antiquities we desired for study, so that our original notes could be supplemented by observations made at leisure. The full records will be deposited for consultation in the Ashmolean museum. At home, I have had skilled archaeological assistance from Mr. Wainwright and the late Mr. H. B. Thompson, M.C., and several friends have helped in mending antiquities and checking and arranging photographs and records in final form. To all these helpers, as well as to the subscribers and to the University which provided a scholarship for my archaeological assistants, is indeed due any value that the reports of the excavation may possess.

I. THE Earliest Periods At Faras

See Map on Pl. I showing the pagan, pre-Christian, sites; also G. S. Milham The Churches of Lower Nubia for some interesting views and a map (Pl. 16). In the following descriptions the orientation is by the river, which is presumed to flow due north and south; this accords with ancient and modern usage in Egypt and Nubia. Orientation by the compass is shown on the maps and plans.

The principal ruins of Faras—the Meroitic enclosure wall and its Christian citadel of crude brick—lie on the west bank of the Nile some twenty-five miles north of the Second Cataract and twelve miles south of Abu Simbel. A long stretch of the west bank bears the general designation of Faras. Its scattered huts and hamlets, dotted at intervals along the
shore wherever there is cultivable land are grouped under five separate names from north to south:—

Kaminjane, i.e., 'market of the camel,' where our camp was, north of the fortress or 

Kolaseka, by the Hathor Temple, south of the fortress.

Fakiritti, where the present omda resides.

Gabbana, i.e., 'cemetry.'

Beder, where rough sajege pots and very rude brown zirs are made by the women.

At the southern end there is a large and fertile island, Jeziret Faras, 'The Island of Faras,' in Nubian Artikarjo 'Ripe Island,' with Artinog, i.e., Sidr el Jezira, 'Breast of the Isle' as the name of the village upon it. The western desert is here at an unusual distance, a kilometre and a half, from the river bank, leaving a wide expanse of land that once was cultivated. At several points indeed there were, in ancient times, waste stretches of original sand and gravel between the river and the desert; and near the bank, south of the ruins, an isolated rock protrudes, where was a temple of Hathor, and, in Christian times, a church; but now the sand driven by the north and north-west winds has piled itself on the tamarisks and urak,1 converting a broad tract of bushes and trees and old villages into a barren waste of sand hills more than sixty feet high. It is remarkable how the buxus continue, as they have done for centuries, to thrust their twigs higher and higher through the sand until fresh accumulations overcome their vitality; and now the sand moves forward beyond them and threatens the remaining soil. Behind this belt of sand hills is a stretch of low-lying salt and sandy ground, reaching to the desert edge, where a river-channel flowed not many centuries ago. The desert itself rises in gentle slopes and low rock terraces to a plateau, beyond which, some eight kilometres from the river, begin the rugged desert hills. The nearest and most conspicuous of these, a pyramidal rock with a fine slope of drifted sand on its east face, is known as Sheikh Jebel. It has been a place of pilgrimage at least since Christian times, as the graffiti testify, and the Sheikh's tomb below it on the north west is frequently visited by the people of Faras and Serra for the purpose of family sacrifice. The beneficence of the Sheikh is indubitable. The long tramp through the desert ending in a picnic at this desolate spot is most invigorating after life in the comparatively heavy air of the valley. At the base of the hill on the south side

large slabs and blocks of stone are aligned to make the walls of rude chambers which may be very ancient. About a mile from its foot towards Faras we picked up an implement of quartz crystal of typically palaeolithic shape, unfortunately quite isolated. Mr. Firth informs me that palaeoliths in the same unusual material have been found by Captain Lyons further north in Nubia, and are now in the museum at Aswan.2 Quartz is an unsatisfactory substitute for the flint of Egypt, but the present specimen is unusually well shaped; and it also has the distinction of being the only drift-type palaeolith yet known from the Egyptian Sudan.3 The implement, which is now in the Pitt Rivers Museum, at Oxford, is shown on Pl. IV, 1, 2. It is of Acheulean type, L 11·8,4 W 7·25, greatest thickness 3·8, with even taper to sides and point. The front edges are sharp, and remarkably thin and even, the butt roughly chipped. The face 1 is very successfully fashioned; the face 2 was more obstinate, the planes in the quartz permitting only rough flaking except towards point and edges. When found it lay on face 2 with only the thickest part from the middle to the butt end appearing above the sand, which part alone shows sand-wear. At the rest of the edges are brilliantly sharp it would seem to have lain precisely thus since it was first dropped or exposed.

After this 'anti-diuvian' relic, the earliest antiquities that we found at Faras were a cemetery and village remains of Protodynastic age, on the edge of the western desert.

Dr. Reisner and Mr. Bates by their explorations have shown that, already in the Early Prehistoric age, Egyptians had a settlement at the south end of the First Cataract,4 and that a corresponding post above the Second Cataract was held by an isolated colony not later than the late Prehistoric period,5 doubtless to control the trade with the south; but the intervening length of over 200 miles between these two important points was only slowly occupied by expansion from Egypt. In the Middle period the settlements reached at least to Dakka, 70 miles south of the

1. Salvadoras persica; the twigs are used for scrubbing the teeth.

2. Cf. O. G. S. Crawford's address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, 1915, p. 2, where it is stated that none had been found in the Egyptian Sudan.

3. The measures throughout are given in centimetres when not otherwise stated.


First Cataract, and continued thereafter to increase in numbers in this northern region, until the 'Proto-dynastic' age, (the well-marked period extending from the extreme end of the Prehistoric age into the First Dynasty)—produced a long string of such small colonies. Proto-dynastic Cemeteries are recorded from point to point in the work of the Archaeological Survey under Reisner and Firth to its end in the neighbourhood of Korosko; the examination of the bodies and skeletons by Dr. Elliot Smith, Dr. Derry and others show that the race was essentially Egyptian, although many of the objects found in the graves bore a distinct local character. Beyond Korosko, Mr. Weigall's collections of pottery and fragments in 1906 prove the presence of a Proto-dynastic colony at Amada, and Steindorff in 1913 found a cemetery of this time at Aniba. The Faras colony will doubtless be matched at short intervals throughout the Nubian valley as far as the Second Cataract.

II. THE PROTO-DYNASTIC SETTLEMENT AND CEMETERY

Two kilometres due west by compass (S.W. by the river) from the fortress on the Nile bank, the sand and gravel along the edge of the original desert is strewn with sand-worn fragments of early pottery for some six hundred metres north and south. There is no depth of remains, nor are there any traces of brick or stone construction, but in parts there is a layer of ashes and charcoal an inch or two thick under the sand. It is evidently the site of a primitive settlement of which the houses perhaps had no mud or brick walls, and consisted merely of such materials as the tamarisk branches, palm sticks and straw of which the modern cattle shelters and temporary huts in Nubia and Egypt are built. The potsherds showed ornament of comb-impressions like certain rare pieces from the Proto-dynastic cemetery beyond. We picked up also many flint flakes, a polished celt of dark stone, a copper piercer, and a much worn Proto-dynastic seal-cylinder of dark serpentine; not far away a marble (limestone) bangle, attributed by Firth to the C-group period, lay in fragments round a stone where it had been broken up.

About 200 metres further in the desert, but still on the lowest slope, some denuded pottery and bones betrayed the presence of an early cemetery. We excavated this completely and found 116 graves with deposits such as are attributed by Dr. Reisner and Mr. Firth to the Proto-dynastic age, occupying an area about 35 metres broad from east to west, and 120 metres long from north to south. The cemetery was numbered 3, and the graves were numbered 1-50 (northern half) and 101-157 (southern half). See Pl. II.

The graves were narrow and shallow pits, oval or rectangular with rounded corners, sunk through the loose top sand into a compact alluvial soil containing sand and fine gravel which was firm enough for the walls to stand vertically or even to overhang slightly. The gentle slope continued evenly westward over hard stony or rocky ground, avoided by the grave-diggers, which formed a fairly straight boundary to the alluvium. In the middle and east where the loose sand was deep very few graves were dug, but they included one with good pottery, gr. 148. The cemetery was thus divided into two portions; the graves were thickest at the north and south edges, and along the west side, and only a very few widely scattered graves connected the two groups.

The well-defined pits in the hard soil were often within a few inches of the surface. The deepest and largest grave (no. 147) was cut 1-30 metres into this soil, while some only touched it and others did not reach it at all, the loose sand continuing beneath the interment. The surface conditions may have changed a good deal by denudation in the thousands of years which have passed since the graves were made; but contiguous

1. Another with edge worn flat from use as a rubber was found in the Meriotic cemetery, in the rabble of grave no. 2546; a third was found in the Rivergate Church, in front of the North Sarcoy.
2. Cf. Reisner, Naga-of-der I, p. 110. Petrie, in Ancient Egypt, 1914, 61, 1915, 78, has collected over a hundred of the inscriptions on such seal cylinders, attributing them for the most part to the Pre-dynastic age. Another cylinder was found at Faras in the Meriotic grave 2746.
3. Its presence here was probably accidental.
graves varied greatly in depth and probably had done so from the beginning.

The pits were mainly oriented to about 30°-45° east of north by the compass, i.e., to the local north by the river, the extremes of variation being 0° to 75°. They were all very simple, usually oval, rarely almost circular, but there were none of the beehive type. Some were rectangular with corners more or less rounded. No trace of roofing slabs or any other superstructures remained, nor was there any sign of brickwork. The chief difference in construction was when a transverse step marked off a slightly shallower continuation of the burial pit, the southern portion containing the body being sunk 10 to 20 cm. below the continuation (grs. 22, 35, 38, 39, 54, 101, 112). Some graves (8, 23, 102) had a small shallower excavation at the west side of the main pit, containing charcoal and burnt stones. In 55 a child was buried in a shallow lateral extension of the main grave, and in 106 a second burial was in a lateral extension of full depth. In 114 there was a very thin division between two completely parallel graves.

Not a few of the graves had been disturbed or plundered in antiquity. Some were so much denuded that the deposit showed on the surface of the ground. The finer pottery was almost invariably broken or crushed, and of organic material beyond the bones very few traces remained. The skeletons were contracted, usually on the left side with head to south. In grs. 6 and 55 two skeletons faced each other, one lying on the left side, the other on the right (in grs. 42, 45, two skeletons were parallel). In grs. 17, 19, 24, 27, 32, 46, 48, 52, 101, 104, 123, 142, 143, 145, 150, 154, 157, the skeleton lay on the right side, with head to the south. In grs. 12, 15, 38, 56, 137, 141, 148, the head lay to the north, and in grs. 39, 53, with head to north, the body lay to the right side. Few single graves (6, 42, 45, 147) contained more than one skeleton.

The other contents, even when they appeared not to have been plundered, varied from a single pot (such as grs. 14, 15, 23, 25, 33, 36) to more than thirty pots with various accompaniments in gr. 147, where however, there seems to have been double furniture corresponding to a double interment. One, gr. 43, contained, along with the skeleton of a woman, only two very rough pots and a bowl, all cracked apparently in the firing.

The pottery in the graves was all hand made. It included (see Pl. III for the types):--

I. Egyptian pottery—
(a) Large jars of pink ware, often with drab surface; the shapes 1, 2, and 3, were very common, but only two specimens were found of the shape 4, with three knobs or rudimentary handles. Smaller varieties of the same class 5-9 were scarce. Coloured decoration in stripes, curves or wavy lines occurred only on 4 (a second example having irregular knobs) and 6. Incised figures and marks (Pl. III) occurred commonly on the form 2, also on 1, 5, and 7, but were not observed on any other pottery in the cemetery.

(b) 'Wavy handled' jars (forms 10-12) were very scarce, only five specimens being found, of which 15 (form 12), 14 (form 10) and 104, 142 (type 10) with rough brown type 21, and bl.m. rippled type 70, edge indented, 151. Unfortunately, these graves contained very little besides; one may assume the probability that they are a little earlier than the First Dynasty.

(c) Flat-based bowls of pink ware with vertical lines of pebble polishing inside (forms 13-17), and one with spout (18).

A curious imitation of a stone vessel with shiny buff surface is seen in 19 (Pl. IV, 7).

The jar 39, with strainer, though of rough ware, is identical with Egyptian examples.

II. Native wares—
The Egyptian ware of this period is generally distinguished by hardness and good firing, and seldom aims at anything beyond mere utility. The native wares are softer owing to weak firing in open kilns, but while much is altogether of miserable quality, decorative and artistic aims were still studied by the potter in Nubia with brilliant results.

A few coarse examples of what may be native wares are brown throughout, with rough surface. A cup of this ware, found alone in gr. 125, has a band of rude incised ornament (Pl. V, 8). In gr. 148 (q.v., no. 5) was an example of a fine brown ware, a large thin open bowl, polished

1. In Egypt, Petrie, Tarhûs I, Pls. II, LVII, sequence dates 77-81. They are specially characteristic of the early part of the First Dynasty and the period immediately preceding it, see the table, ch. p. 3.
2. In Egypt, ch. Pl. LVIII.
3. In Egypt, Petrie, 'Tarhûs I, Pl XLIX, sequence dates 77-81.
4. Here, and in the descriptions of the graves, etc. 'type 1' refers to the type specimen, while 'form 1' or '1' only refers to specimens which more or less agree with the type numbered 1.
5. In Egypt, ch. Pl. XLVII.
6. In Egypt, Petrie, Naga, pl. XLI, no. 50 and p. 42.
inside and out, and with rim evenly and delicately gashed like some of the haematitic ware described below.

The common native ware, however, has a black core, the surface brownish, ochreous or reddish. Some very rough and coarse examples of pots and pans, cracked in or after the burning, were found to have been elaborately mended by boring holes for (leather?) thongs to bind the cracking fragments together before they broke off, but none of the fine pots were so mended. Many saucers were thin and well smoothed inside and out. Dishes (shape 50) were thicker but well smoothed; in a few cases the inside was painted with a pattern of broad red lines of haematite laid on with the finger (Pl. V, 4). The bowls, etc., were often more or less coloured with haematite mixed irregularly with the clay on the surface. Shapes 20-40 are of the rougher wares, 39 (Egyptian, see above) and 40 figuring strainers. Shapes 41-48 are of finer surfaced wares, 49 is a rough red covering saucer.

Much of the ware was painted over with haematite, highly polished and burnt red on the outside, and black inside. This is similar to the so-called 'black topped' pottery of early periods in Egypt, except that in most instances the black externally only tinges the edge and does not reach down the side, see shapes 51-70. Mr. Firth calls it black-mouthed.¹

In Nubia a charming variety of this 'black-mouthed' ware was obtained by applying the haematite in streaks, hatchings, lines, dashes, or triangles, producing a contrast between the red and the pale brownish ochreous colour of the plain surface. Only six of the richest graves in the cemetery at Faras contained it. In some examples of this 'variegated haematite ware' the whole surface appears to have been painted with haematite and then wiped more or less irregularly, leaving the colour in varied shades. Some specimens are very fine, the ware thinner and lighter than is ever found in Egypt. Unfortunately, they have generally been crushed, and the fragments though fairly well burnt are out of shape or flattened by the pressure of the sand through long ages, so that they are very troublesome to repair.

The outer surface of some fine specimens of the 'black-mouthed' ware has been covered with lines of short thin gashes or indentations, probably made with a comb, and afterwards has been polished so that the gashes appear only as a faint rippling; the edge may also be evenly marked with close oblique or transverse gashes, like the milling on a coin.

---


Mr. Leods has pointed out to me in the Ashmolean Museum two Egyptian examples of a similar use of haematite, and rippling, from Naqnahme. A smooth thick bowl of buff ware, type L196 (Petrie) has been painted red on the outside and the red then wiped off irregularly (Ashm. 1895, 653 from grave 114, 2) and a cup, type L21, of the same ware has rippled surface smeared with red and the edge milled diagonally in two narrow lines (Ashm. 1895, 654 gr. 31). The 'foreign' pottery at the northern extremity of this civilization at Tarkhan (T. II, Pl. LXXI) seems to be of finer clay, with bands of haematitic or similar colouring.

In two vessels in gr. 113 pricked decoration is produced by impressions of a square-toothed comb. One of these is 'black-mouthed,' and the other is a pot of the same fabric but without haematite facing or polish (Pl. V, 9). The former, with another of the same peculiar shape and fabric but without pricked decoration (Pl. V, 1 and 2), is closely paralleled by a vessel from Egypt now in the Ashmolean Museum.²

Stone. Stone vessels, common in the Egyptian graves to the exclusion of fine pottery, were represented only by two small quartz cups, in grs. 54 (Pl. IV, 4), and (poorer) 67, and two objects in sandstone (the finer in Pl. IV, 3) pronounced by Mr. Firth to be bencers, from the double-burial grave 147. Small pairs of grindstones (see Pl. II) were found in several graves. The thin oval palettes were abundant, all of quartz, usually white or whitish, sometimes with a brown, grey or preferably pink, tinge; a good example is shown in Pl. II, others are rougher and less shapey, and one was made out of a pottahed (gr. 17, 5, q.v.). Little groups of polished carnelian, agate and jasper pebbles were frequent, perhaps for smoothing and burnishing pottery, while a larger pebble often rested on a palette. Flint is represented by a single flake, in gr. 110 (q.v.). See also Ornaments.

Copper. Flat chisels (Pl. IV, 12) and axe heads ( Ib., 11) occurred in several graves (grs. 10, 11); a square-section chisel was with a fish-hook (Pl. IV, 14) in gr. 110. Small piercers or awls were frequent; an exceptionally large and good one is from gr. 113; short piercers were fitted

---

1. A bowl from Hierapolis (Quibell and Green, H. II, Pl. LXIV, fig. 1 and pp. 22, 60) is black polished inside with outside rippled (i.e., pricked and burnished over). Such work seems absent from Jeans's Kabaish cemetery.

2. Figured in Pl. XIV, fig. 60 of Petrie's Diopolis Persa. It is there put amongst 'black instead' vessels; in reality it forms (with our examples and A.S.R. Report 1908-9, Pl. 46c, fig. 4) a special variety of coarser and thicker black-mouthed and 'variegated haematite' ware, the strap-patterns edged with incised lines.
with bone handles of which remains were found (Pl. IV, 13). The piercers were generally in front of and close to the face, chin or neck, where the hands were placed, and might be taken for kohl-sticks or the like.

Ornaments, etc. Cylinder seal of ivory (gr. 4, see Pl. II). Bangles of shell (Pl. IV, 7), ivory (gr. 26), one of bronze wire (Pl. IV, 9). Beads:—Blue glaze, globular (gr. 33), large globular (gr. 39), cylindrical (gr. 33), hammer-head beads and others (gr. 26). Pottery: oval pinkish (gr. 33), very large with herring bone pattern (gr. 17, see Pl. IV, 5). Ostrich shell: disk (gr. 111). Shell: large quartz beads (gr. 150), small Conus (?), (gr. 47). Carnelian: poppy-head (Pl. IV, 6) disk (gr. 47, 150), cruciform (gr. 59). Rock crystal: blue-glazed pendant (gr. 39), disk beads (gr. 47).

Serpentine: tubular and ring beads (gr. 13), large ring bead (Pl. IV, 10), button in shape of buprestis beetle (Pl. IV, 8). Garnet: disk beads (gr. 47).

A hollow ivory object, probably a cup, was found in gr. 10, q.v.

Ostrich eggs, unornamented, were found in gr. 21, 31, 145 and 149.

Miscellaneous. Various pieces of red ochreous stone (gr. 25). Remains of leather (grs. 32, 104), gum (?), (gr. 106g).

The patterns of the fine pottery imitate basket work, in which the modern Nubians are skilled. The haematitic ware of all kinds seems hardly to occur on village sites, but to be confined to the graves, and perhaps, the basket pattern specimens were manufactured for the deceased alone as substitutes for the familiar but perishable vessels of plaitwork.

Only those types of pottery which are found also in Egypt and are probably of Egyptian fabric, bear engraved figures (see Pl. II):—animals, birds, fishes, stars, ears, ropes, and other objects difficult to identify. Most are on forms 1 or 2, two are on form 5, and one jar with many designs (including an elephant) is type 7. The same scratched designs are met with in Egypt, and may have been put on the vessels as distinctive marks by their owners, or simply for ornament.

In the ordinary arrangement of a well-provided grave, one or two large jars were placed at the foot, each covered by a pan; bowls, dishes, etc., were laid against the side walls, a bowl or two at the head, copper tools in the hand, and the palette near the head.

The difficulty of sexing the skeletons, always considerable for an amateur, was greatly increased by the rotten condition of the bones, and in only a very few cases was it considered worth while to record an opinion. The character of the accompaniments might be expected to vary with the sex of the deceased, and as far as can be judged, strings of beads, armlets, and the small copper piercers belong to women exclusively. All three are associated with skeletons marked as female in 31 and 147, beads are found with piercers in 47, 106e, 113, 128, 150, beads with bangle in 26, piercers occur with female skeletons in 49 and 51, beads with a female skeleton in 39, and in no case do any of those occur with a skeleton identified as male. On the other hand a copper chisel is associated with a male skeleton in 11 and such tools do not occur with the above female accompaniments. It is worth noting that palettes are frequent with both sexes, probably neither polishing pebbles (for pottery), grinding pebbles nor grinders are exclusively female, see 11, 113, 116, 147, and the beetle ornament or amulet (110) probably belonged to a man. Ostrich eggs were in women's graves in 31 and 145. The pebbles, which often have haematite or red ochre upon them and may therefore have been used for polishing pottery, seem to shew that fine potter's work was not then, as among the modern Barabra, confined to women.

The larger copper tools, colts and chisels (grs. 10, 11, 110, 116), and the variegated haematitic wares (grs. 4, 31, 113, 126, 147, 148) were confined to the larger and most important graves. It has been observed by Reimer and Firth that although the Nubian Proto-dynastic graves vary in size, they do not rise above the standard of those that would be called small and poor graves in Egyptian cemeteries of the same period.

It would seem that these civilised communities in different centres of Lower Nubia were small, and probably of short duration, beginning in the time just preceding Menes, and continuing through at least the first half of the First Dynasty. The small number of interments in our cemetery agrees with Mr. Firth's observations further north. The cause of the disappearance of civilisation from Lower Nubia so soon after its spread up to the Second Cataract may be sought in various possibilities—the growth of prosperity and activity in Egypt may have attracted the colonists back, they may have retired before famine or pressure by barbarous foes, or perhaps Egypt was alienated from its half-breed cousins and raided them to destruction.

Mr. Wainwright, using the rich evidence of Tarkhan and earlier excavation in Egypt, worked carefully through our pottery materials, type-
drawings and tomb records; from the Egyptian types in the Faras cemetery he concluded that Egyptian influence there extended from Petrie's Sequence Date 77 to 81, corresponding closely with the rise and expansion of the First Dynasty to its zenith under Zer and Zet, after which it dropped off rapidly. As to the native wares, Mr. Wainwright found the material too scanty and indefinite to form series, nor could he decide whether any graves were made in the cemetery after the Egyptian importations ceased. His detailed discussion is preserved with the records.

In Dr. Reisner's scheme, the 'A period' is followed by a 'B period' during which the Egyptian settlers amalgamated with natives and the connexion with Egypt weakened. Of this we recognised no trace at Faras. Professor Junker in his careful and critical account of the Proto-dynastic cemetery at Kubanleh, is inclined to put some of the so-called B-group graves, which are always very poor and scanty, somewhat earlier than the A-group.

The A-group in the Faras cemetery, far from the Egyptian boundary, shows an abundance of Egyptian imports, but certain Nubian characteristics are here accentuated. Black-mouthed ware was found by Junker in the Kubanleh cemetery, but the beautiful variegated haematitic ware is first traceable in the Survey work in the Dabod district, about 30 km. south of the First Cataract, and began to be important in the neighbourhood of Dakkeh. Quartz palettes occurred at Kubanleh with the Egyptian slate palettes, and the latter were found in the Survey work at least as far south as Dakkeh, but at Faras the Egyptian ones are completely ousted.

Plans of the following graves are in Pl. II:—

Grave 4, depth about 50, plundered anciently. (1) bowl, type for 64, var. haem., fine and thin, burnished; the exterior varies from bright plum colour to dull orange, herring bone in red on the orange over the whole surface, in places the red obscures the yellow ground almost entirely, perhaps as the result of the final polishing, the effect of the rich colour and evanescent pattern is very pleasing; (2) bowl 68, as the last but thicker, bands of red triangles on the yellow ground, D.17. From the filling, (3) ivory cylinder seal, 2 5 x 1 5, the design (see Pl. II) is of two false doors (the stand or serekh of the royal hawk) alternating with two com-

partsments in one of which is a figure which may perhaps be interpreted as a woman seated on the ground painting her eyes with kohl from a shell seen above her, in the other a smaller serekh with a symbol resembling the pole and crossed arrows of Neith but set on its side instead of upright (the long hair of the woman and the symbol of Neith are common on the black stone seals which belong to about the time of the First Dynasty in Egypt); (4) bowl 65 as (1), outside painted red and variegated throughout with short horizontal 'wipings,' D.17; (4a) part of rim and side of similar bowl 64-65, very fine and thin, D. about 20; (5) pan 60 rather thick, brownish, painted red inside and polished, leaving four large triangles of the original colour, D.31. (1), (3) in Ashm., (4) in Khartum.

Grave 5. Adult, male (?). (1) pot, type 14, smooth, pink, slight vertical burnishing inside, horizontal outside, W.19; i. inverted on (2) jar 1, H.52; (3) jar 3, H.45; (4) bowl, type for 16, thinnish, red inside and out, vertical burnishing inside, W.26.5; (5) pan 45, rather thin, black core, burnished inside and out, D.20; (6) pan 70, outside reddish, inside streakily painted with haematite and polished, D.30; (7) 8 lower and upper grinders of quartzite; (9) jar 7, purple wave lines on shoulder in groups of four, H.24.5; (10) rhomboidal quartz palette with green oxide, L.15 (Pl. II); (11) green pebble 5.5 x 3.5. On right ankle, green and black glaze beads. Leather about foot, knee and small of back. (1) and (3)-(10) in Brit. Mus.

Grave 6. depth 62. Legs of westward slk. much destroyed. (1), (2) jars 2, the second incised with stone axehead? (Pl. III); (3) jar 1, some scratches on rim; (4) pan, type 41, coarse but thin, slightly burnished with haematite; (5) coarse cup 27, W.7; fragments resembling (4) and some very coarse fragments, lying behind 3; (6) bowl 65, bl. m., thin, W.21; (7) quartz palette. In filling (8) half of small bl. m. cup 62 but smaller and narrower, thin, trace of wavy pattern, H.10.

Grave 10. Arm bones in fragments stained green. (1) bowl 68 bl. m. upright; (2) similar bowl, inverted over (3) bowl 63, smooth thin brown, H.15.5; (4) copper celt, traces of basket on one face, L.12, W.5.5, haft end towards chest; (5) hollowed section of hippopotamus' tooth forming socket, much decayed, L. about 5; (6) bowl type 17, thin pink; (7) jar 2, three cuts on rim and marks on shoulder (Pl. III); (8) cup 24 coarse blackish,

1. **Cem. 40. gr. 89.**
2. **Cem. 79.**
3. **Measurements are in centimetres. D. is the diameter of the mouth, W. the greatest width.**

---

2. **The above was the impression recorded. Mr. Firth, however, found similar hollowed objects of ivory, pierced with two holes at the rim, which he calls cope, A.S.E. Report, 1909-10, Pl. 28b. No copper or other instruments were found with them.**
H.13; (9) jar 1, pink, cross lines scratched on shoulder (Pl. III), covered by (10) fragments coarse blackish with herring-bone pattern incised; (11) jar 22, coarse, black core burnt red, H. about 35.

Grave 11, sides shelving, depth 40. Sk. male. (1)-3 bl.m. bowls nested together, type 66, type 68, and 68; (4) two pebbles; (5) copper chisel, L.23 (Pl. IV, 12), resting on skull, edge pointing behind head; upon it, (6) quartzite palette, lower side stained by chisel, upper by malachite; (7) part of sandstone rubbing slab; (8) thin bowl, red inside and out, D.14; (9) jar 1; (10) jar, type 51, bl.m. not burned; (11) fragments bowl 44.1, probably cover of (9).

Grave 17, depth 90. (1) jar 22, coarse blackish, upright; on it (2) bowl 42, black core, reddish; (3) bowl 42, coarse blackish, D. about 26. In front of face in a heap, (4) greenish pell a red, resting on (5) curved oval palette of pink potsherd, L.950, W.40, resting on (6), (7) iron-stone rubbers; (8) translucent reddish yellow. In filling, (9) large pottery bead incised (Pl. IV, 5).

Grave 22, depth 30. Sk. large, female. At north end shelf about 9 higher. (1) jar, type 3, pink; (3) jar 2, engraving on shoulder (Pl. V); (3) pan 70 flat-bottomed, red, placed on edge; (4) behind last on edge, shallow bl.m. cup, shape as Pl. IV, 16; (5) cup, type 26, thin smooth reddish brown, W.11; (6) quartz palette; (7) rubbing pebble, green quartz.

Grave 31, depth in gebel 90. On level of top of gebel at N. end, (1) ostrich egg, emptying hole in side; (2) pot 64 var. haem., red criss-cross below rim to near middle, the rest with leaf-shaped red blotches, W.13, covering (3) pot 23 coarse brownish, H.15, inverted. On floor, (4) jar 2 engraved fish-tail? (Pl. III); (5) strainer jar, type 39, coarse reddish; (6) bowl 43 but shallow, reddish brown, D.19, inverted; beneath it (7) bowl with turned flat rim, var. haem., pinkish brown, thick and rather coarse, rim and two red bands outlined by incised lines, W.17, (Pl. V, 2), inverted; (8) five polished pebbles—one green jasper 3.5, four bright carnelian, purple, yellow, and red 2.5 to 75 (9) deep cup var. haem., fine pinkish yellow, at rim band of criss-cross in red between horizontal lines, and another below middle, H.11; (10) similar cup, band of triangles in compartments below rim, and another on lower half (Pl. V, 6); (11) bowl 45, very fine, thin and light, inside highly burned, outside covered with short red lines somewhat curved in vertical bands producing 1. Used as palette? Cf. Junker Kudraht-Sud, p. 87.

a kind of basket-work effect, W.13; (12) bowl 68, less fine, closely dappled with circular blotches (Pl. V, 3); (13) similar bowl, leaf-shaped blotches, W.15.5; (14) bowl or cover, triangles like lotus flowers from edge to shoulder (Pl. IV, 16); (15) small cup, thin, lipped horizontal scale pattern (Pl. IV, 17); (16) pan 50, brownish mixed with red outside, inside painted with vague rectilinear pattern in broad red lines, not highly burned, D.32.5, containing (17) quartz palette with green stain on convex side three pebbles, green, white, and banded, and four small reddish pottery barrel beads; (18) touching left cheek thin and flat palette of white quartz, 10.5 x 6.5; beneath it (19) copper kohl-stick or piercer, L.10.5; (20) on r. wrist twisted copper bangle (Pl. IV, 9); (21) beneath hands large pan type 50, much red outside, inside with broad curved red lines (Pl. V, 4); (22) in front of chest large cowrie. The skull rested on a mass of fibrous stuff, probably the hair. Round neck long string of carnelian and garnet beads, each kind apart, the carnelian apparently at back of neck reaching to front where garnets began, three green glass beads from front of neck perhaps on same string. On left ankle string of large shell beads. (All in Brit. Mus. except 21 in Ashm.).

Grave 38, depth 43, north end considerably underout, with shelf H.18. Sk. of child. (1) saucer, type 49, coarse reddish, not reversed, D.8.5, closing mouth of (2) jar 5 but rim out-turned, coarse reddish, H.21; (3) quartz palette.

Grave 55, depth in hard sand and gebel 90, undercut on west side. Lateral shelf H.30 with sk. of child. (1) jar 3 H.41, engraved (Pl. III), fragments of bowl as cover?; (2) thick quartz polished L.11.

Grave 106, skull at S. end, lateral extension A of same depth. (1) barrel-shaped jar, var. haem., paler and darker red in horizontal lines not much contracted, oblique impressions on edge (Pl. V, 5) H.16, W.15; (2), (3), (4) bl.m. bowls 69.1; (5) jar 1 ? incised (Pl. III); jar 33.1 coarse reddish; (7) cup 23, very coarse, H.15.5, containing (6) cup 27, very coarse, H.8; (9) jar 4, three knobs on shoulder, band of ripple lines above shoulder from which triple ripple bands extend vertically to base; (10) cup, type 28, coarse brown; (11) rhomboid-oval quartz palette, green stain.

Grave 110, denuded, lower part of sk. destroyed. (1) jar 2, incised (Pl. III); (2) bl.m. bowl 46, D.21.5; (3) deep bowl 23 ? coarse, H.14; (4) cup 27 W.7.5; (5) flint flake, flat, one edge serrated and polished by wear, 4.75 x 1.30; (6) round hammer stone of quartzite; (7) copper fish hook, L.38 (Pl. IV, 14); (8) copper chisel, flat 15.3 x 2.7; (9) another...
lying on it, square section 10.3 x 1.0, (both Pl. III); (10) white quartz palette L.98; (11) on neck as button, buprestis beetle of hard whithish stone, section triangular, pierced transversely beneath (Pl. IV, 7).

Grave 113, depth 60. (1) jar, type 1, slight knobs on belly, groups of horizontal ripple lines in dull red above middle, incised (Pl. III); (2) upper and lower grinders of quartz; (4) bowl with inturned rim, bl.m., polished, plain band round middle edged with incised lines, similar bands proceeding from it at intervals obliquely to the rim and to near the plain base, the intervening spaces filled with prickings of comb of seven prongs arranged roughly in chevrons (Pl. V, 1); (5) jar 7, pink H.18; (6) jar 8 but more rounded, red, on shoulder five groups of three curved lines like 6, W.14; (7) like (5), H.24-5, hole in side; (8) jar, thin but coarse, reddish brown, above middle herring-bone bands of neat comb impressions, kind of dog-tooth on rim, H.17, (Pl. V, 9); (9) jar 64, var. haem., bands of short vertical lines resembling plaiting, D.22; (10) bowl, type 13, horizontal burnish outside, vertical inside D.35; (11) cup 31 fine bl.m., H.16; (12) bowl 64, var. haem., deep red, leaving horizontal tongues of orange in vertical rows, D.22.5; (13) cup as Pl. V, 6, two rows of red triangles from rim to middle, lower half irregularly painted red, H.13; (14) bowl 45-46, var. haem., horizontal scale pattern D.18.5; (15) beneath (10), plain red bowl 41 D.33; (16) beneath last, bowl 42 but deeper, thin yellow, painted red and burnished inside and out D.24; (17) fine quartz palette; (18) on bands copper stick one end tapering to point, the other thinned to a curved edge, perhaps for cutting, L.15.4 (Pl. II); (19) large 'poppye seed' beads of carnelian (Pl. IV, 6); (20) two spirals of copper wire apparently from r. ear; 1 (21) beneath (8), oval burnishing pebble, greenish, L.5.25; (22) many burnishing pebbles lying in a mass of haematite.

Grave 122, double, or with recess for offerings on west. Sk. female. (1) quartz palette; (2) jar 2, pinkish.

Grave 147, depth 130, all sides somewhat overhanging. At 75 to 100 above floor are holes (some of them mouse holes), which may have held branches for roofing. Sk. female, and oval pile of male bones at S. end, perhaps deposited in a bag. Most of the floor had been strewn with reeds rather than a mat, before the burial. (1) to (4) jars 1, (2) with incised oryx? (Pl. III); (5) jar 3; (6) bowl 64 var. haem., close horizontal streaks of red to below middle, after which all red, D.15, containing (7)

1. But see Reisner, A.S.E.N. Report for 1907-8, Pl. 70b, 10, on the right wrist of a child in the R-group grave 7: 276.

bowl 25, fine thin pink D.1.1-5; (8) as (6), but the stripes in compartments like wicker work; (9) cup 24 but narrow flattened base, plain pink, red wash in places, H.13; (10) bowl 42, fine pinky brown, W.17; (11) cup 24 rough, H.15; (12) bowl 64 reddish brown H.15-5; (13) bowl 25 but less pointed, yellowish, slightly burnished D.15; (14) two bowls 16, vertical burnish inside, D.2.25 and 2.35; (15) fragments as 50, reddish brown unevenly streaked with orange; (16) cup 27 yellowish, not smooth H.5.6; (17) vessel type 19, thick pale polished, doubly pierced lugs (Pl. V, 7); (18) bowl 43, narrow flat base, yellowish, core black, D.15, containing (19) bottle 35, yellowish, smoothed H.7; (20) jar 1 or 2; (21) very large bowl 17, red, vertical burnishing inside, W.50; (22) pan as 70, thick pink, core black, incomplete D.45; (23) fragments of jar scaling impressed; (24) bowl 65, fine, thin bl.m., D.18, inverted over (25) bowl 45, reddish brown, W.20; below it (26) pan 41, brown with haematite wash, polished, D.20; (27) bowl 18, plain reddish brown (imitating shape of the Egyptian bowls with vertical burnish); beneath it (28) pan 70 red clay, inner face lightly and vaguely patterned in red and yellow, D.51; (29) bowl 64, fine thin bl.m., W.16.5; (30), (31) one bowl 68 with small flat base, var. haem., basket-work pattern (as Firth, A.S.E.N. Report for 1908-9, Pl. 46, 2, V.19.5; (32) bowl 65, fine var. haem., two bands of plain triangles followed by band of work-triangles, base plain red, D.21.5; (33) disk of pale sandstone hollowed at top, the curved sides divided into triangles by black incised lines, opposite pairs of triangles coloured black and yellow, H.6.5, D.13, (Pl. IV, 8); (34) similar object, rough and plain, slightly hollowed, sides straight, D.11.5, H.8; (35), (37) upper rubbers of quartz; (36), (38) flat oval lower stones of purple quartzite; (39) before the face, copper piercer, one end flattened and split, L.12.5; (40) on left arm, two shell armlets; on neck (41), (42) one 1 string of garnet disk beads with a few glaze and carnelian. In filling (43) ring bead of green translucent soap-stone, D.1.75, (Pl. IV, 10); (44) conical shell, end bored for use as pendant, L.3.25. (Some of the objects are figured in the Bulletin of the Metrop. Mus., New York, VII, 202, including nos. 2, 21 in the uppermost figure, part of 31, 32 in the lowermost).

Grave 146, in sand. Principal (?) interment B destroyed except skull, pottery in position except (6) and (9) probably displaced from here; A, sk. of child, head due north. (1), (2) jars 3, H.54; (3) cup type 60, coarse bl.m. (4) bowl 15 pink, misshapen, D.23-9 to 27; (9) bowl 43 but shallower,
 thin, polished, brownish, rim with herring-bone indented, D.30-5, H.11; (6) pot, type 86, reddish faced with whitish, groups of three curved lines in brown; (7) jar, type 7, pink, incised (Pl. III); (8) pot 22, mud-coloured, H.24-5; (9) cup, fine and thin var. haem. in concentric circles, D.16 (Pl. IV, 15); (10) greyish quartz palette, green stain 12-5 x 7-5; (11), (12) similar white 9 x 6 and 12 x 7-5; (13) at skull copper awl, foursided, end pointed, set in bone haft, total L.11 (Pl. IV, 13).

**CONTENTS OF PLATES IV, V**

Pl. IV, 1, 2, quartz palaeolith (see p. 3). 3, sandstone censer (1) sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 147, 33. 4, oval vessel of whitish quartz 9-5 x 6-5 (sc. about $\frac{1}{2}$), gr. 54, 4, with coarse pottery 33 1, 46 f, 26 f, palette, and opaque grey pebble, L.6. 5, pottery bead, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 17, 9, 6, carnelian beads, sc. $\chi_6$, gr. 113, 19. 7, stone button, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 110, 11. 8, shell bangle, D.5-5, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 59, two on r. wrist of child, on r. ankle two green glass beads and one cruciform of shell. 9, twisted copper bangle, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 51, 10. 10, soapstone bead, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 147, 43. 11, copper axe head, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 10, 4. 12, copper chisel, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 11, 5. 13, copper awl, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 148, 13. 14, fish-hook, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 110, 15. 16, 17, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 145, 9. (Pl. V). 1, incised bl. m. bowl, sc. about $\frac{1}{2}$, 22 x 16-5 gr. 113, 4. 2, incised var. haem. bowl, sc. about $\frac{1}{2}$, gr. 31, 7. 3, var. haem. bowl, sc. about $\frac{1}{2}$, 16 x 11, gr. 31, 12. 4, dish, sc. $\chi_5$, 31 x 16-5 gr. 31, 21. 5, jar, sc. about $\frac{1}{2}$, gr. 106, 1. 6, sc. $\chi_5$, H.11, W.7, gr. 31, 10. 7, sc. $\chi_5$, H.9-5, gr. 147, 17. 8, coarse brown cup, band of rough and variable hatchings between incised lines, H.10, D.12, in N. end of small shallow empty gr. 129. 9, incised jar, sc. $\chi_5$, gr. 113, 8.

**A FIBULA OF CYPRIOTE TYPE FROM RHODES**

By the courtesy of Dr. A. Maiuri, the learned and energetic Curator of the Museum of Rhodes, I am permitted to publish yet another example of the rare type of Fibula already described by me in these ANNALES (Vol. V, p. 129), and assigned to the Early Iron Age of Cyprus, from which island all examples hitherto described have come.

The fibula now illustrated was acquired by purchase in Rhodes, under circumstances which make it highly probable that it was found in the Greek necropolis of Camirus (Kameiros); there is not, however, any record of associated objects, which might help to determine its date. It is of bronze, fairly well preserved, except the pin, which is decayed and bent. The length from catch to hinge, is 11 m., or about the average size for this class of fibula. The central knob is rather smaller than usual, but has the transverse perforation which marks the more primitive members of the class. A notable peculiarity is that the pin is attached to the bow, not by a coiled spring, but by a hinge; not extemporized, as in some early Cypriote fibulae (probably after breakage), but part of the original design. The necessary elasticity of the pin was supplied by the quality of the bronze, when strained against the 'stop' on the inner side of the hinge. Another curious feature is that the butt-end of the pin projects beyond the hinge sufficiently to allow of a second perforation, like that for the hinge-pin, but now strained and broken. It looks as though this had been the original place of the hinge-pin; damaged in use, and replaced by a fresh perforation further down the shaft of the pin.

The drawing was kindly made for me, under Dr. Maiuri's supervision, by the draughtsman of the Rhodian Museum, Mr. Husni.
Prefaced by an account of the shrine and the oracle, which is learned without being oppressive, the author’s appreciations of the chief treasures that have been recovered, while free from dogmatism and nowhere over-loaded with detail, show a thorough assimilation of Greek art. Moreover, they are lucid and intelligible to the reader with little previous knowledge.

An added charm is given to the book by certain descriptions of scenery, which even in a translation shine out, and display Dr. Poulsen as possessing in a degree rare among archaeologists the power to fix in words the appeal of the Greek country-side.

But the book is melancholy to read, and that not only because the little that has been found makes a sad contrast with all the beauty that has been lost. From between the lines we gather that somehow the excavation of this shrine has shed no fresh light on the ‘Greek Middle Ages,’ though it was revered continuously from the earliest times, and that again a chance of exploring the dark period that followed the Dorian immigration has failed.

The illustrations are profuse, but it seems perhaps a pity that the photographs of the archaic relics could not have been reproduced by some process that would have allowed a better appreciation of their very interesting details.

J. P. Droop.


A survey of the social and economic development of the people of England from the earliest times to the Roman Conquest was well worth writing and it has been well done. The narrative is vivid, interesting, and easily intelligible; its generalisations are authoritative without being dogmatic, and where the opinions of experts are not agreed, the fact is sufficiently indicated. The illustrations have been well selected and really illustrate the theme: some of them have the additional interest that they depict objects not hitherto published. The only improvement that suggests itself is the addition of a map indicating the position of the various sites.

It is to be hoped that this little book will be widely circulated among those who learn and teach British History. They will get from it a clear connected account of the origins of civilisation in these islands; they may also profit by an object lesson of how archaeological evidence is made to yield up its story and learn, it is to be hoped, something of the fascination of archaeological investigation.

W. R. HALLIDAY.

OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

By F. Ll. GRIFFITH, M.A.

WITH PLATES IX-XXIX

(Continued from p. 18.)

III. NUBIA FROM THE OLD TO THE NEW KINGDOM

The present instalment describes the results of our work in chronological sequence down to the end of the Egyptian New Kingdom in the Twentieth Dynasty; the description needs to be accompanied by a brief historical sketch in order to place before the reader a framework into which the individual finds may be fitted.

When the Egyptian colonies above the First Cataract which produced the Protodynastic cemeteries perished or withdrew, apparently about the middle of the First Dynasty, civilisation seems to have almost abandoned the country for a thousand years or more, so that a great gap ensues in the archaeological record of Nubia which is hardly diminished by the scanty B-group finds. Egypt, on the other hand, was making great advances in organisation and power as well as in arts and crafts, culminating in the glories of the Old Kingdom with its pyramids and elaborately-decorated tombs and temples.

The Old Kingdom has left few traces in Nubia. The fort of Ikkur, near Dakkeh, however, may date back to its very beginning, and even beyond the Third Cataract the fort of the Western Deψa at Kerma has yielded relics of the Sixth Dynasty. Thus the Egyptians dominated the country by military posts. Notwithstanding this, graffiti of the Old Kingdom are seldom found above the First Cataract, and are almost confined to an important group dating from the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties on the rocks at Tomās, where a land-route avoiding the great Korosko

1. It may be mentioned that Professor Junker doubts Reimer’s Egyptian colony theory, looking upon the settlements as of a distinguishable race of Nubians as far back as the Middle Pre-historic Period (Kuranisch-Sud, pp. 5-6).
bend of the Nile reached the river again. Moreover, no cemetery nor even a single burial of the Old Kingdom has as yet been recognised in Nubia.

Egyptian inscriptions of this time occasionally mention Nubia. In a certain year of the reign of Senefru (who immediately preceded Cheops, probably about 3000 B.C.), the great event was a raid up the Nile, the booty amounting to seven thousand Nubian men and women and two hundred thousand beasts (oxen and goats). More than one Nubian (nwi), dark-coloured or negroid, can be traced as holding a high position in Egypt or even in the royal court at Memphis during the Fourth and Fifth Dynasties. It is not till the advent of the Sixth Dynasty that we learn to distinguish the Nubian tribes or districts by name. Biographical inscriptions of this age tell of exploring, trading or punitive expeditions to Wawat, near the frontier, Arereth, Meja and Yam. These Nubian tribes were also drawn upon for contingents of troops in the Pharaonic armies. Many ‘pacified’ (or ‘friendly’) Nubians thus visited Egypt or settled therein, and apparently might be awarded rights and privileges in Egypt which were a burden on the native population.

The decentralising tendency of the Sixth Dynasty perhaps began to restore a certain measure of prosperity to Nubia, though Phippi II at some period in his prodigiously long reign sent an expedition to punish Wawat. However that may be, the complete break-up of the Old Kingdom at the end of the Sixth Dynasty, after Phippi II had been king for nearly a century, gave Lower Nubia an opportunity of independent development, stimulated no doubt by the example of Egypt. Thereafter we find Nubia between the First and Second Cataracts occupied by flourishing communities belonging to the so-called G-group of Professor Reisner. They may have comprised such native inhabitants as had survived in the same region under the Old Kingdom, but these must have been mixed with or dominated by some fresh Hamitic strain (from the desert east or west, or from the Nile-lands further south), arriving with a certain amount of independent culture. Their skeletons show them to have been negroid, in many instances differing considerably from the ‘Protodynastic’ people.

These people are traceable by their cemeteries, of which the northern-most yet found is in Egypt itself, about ten miles below the First Cataract; and the southernmost ones at Faras, twenty-five miles below the Second Cataract. Between these limits they have been recorded at many points, not only in the complete examination of the north half of the district by Reisner and Firth, but also further south by Steindorff, Junker and Weigall. It seems probable that the G-group inhabitants of this now arid region were in origin a pastoral people like the Baqàr, ‘cow-herd tribe’, who now wander over the grass-lands of Kordofān, or the Ma’aza ‘goat-herd tribe’ of the eastern desert of Egypt. Leather is a conspicuous material with the bodies, skeletons of goats occur in the graves, cattle alone are figured on the peculiar cemetery-stelae, and bucrania are frequently laid at the sides of the superstructure. But, although it would seem that pasture must have been much more abundant than now to support the large population and their herds, the position of the cemeteries on both sides of the Nile appears to show that the G-group people were tied to the Nile valley in the main. The graves were marked by circular sandheaps retained by dry stone walling, and were often protected by a casing of slabs over the top; graves of the ancient nomad Bega and the modern Bisharin offer close analogies. Unfortunately, no certain

---

1. Elliot Smith and Derry, Anatomical Report, in Archaeological Survey of Nubia, Bulletin No. 6, pp. 11-19. Todd, examining Junker’s material from Kusnach, has not been able to detect in it any considerable negro admixture. (Anthropologische Untersuchungen der menschlichen Überreste . . . von el-Kusnach, p. 46.)
2. At Kusnach, see Junker’s memoir, Bericht über die Grabungen . . . auf den Friedhöfen von el-Kusnach, Denkschriften der Vienna Academy, Vol. LXIV (1920). The graves in this interesting cemetery are well preserved; they begin with advanced G-group at the southern end and, going northward, pass by gradual stages into purely Egyptian burials. The G-group graves altogether number one hundred.
3. At Anurh. For this excavation, see p. 4, note 3, above, and Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 1, p. 218.
4. Junker, Kusnach-Nord, p. 4, enumerates cemeteries as far south as Toshe Ermeren and Fadig, all lying north of Abu Simbel. Weigall’s collections of pottery in the plates of A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia show some very fine specimens from Toshe, and fragments from opposite Abu Simbel.
5. It is noteworthy that among the ancient tribal names Arereth is almost identical with the word for ‘milk’ in Egyptian, perhaps a dialectal form, and Yum looks like ‘palm’; dates are still the most important product of many parts of the Nubian valley.
6. The last three features, strange to say, are absent from the tombs which are considered to be the most ancient.
remains of their habitations have yet been found. They may have been flimsy huts or tents, but one would imagine that individual sites were occupied for a long period so that relics in the shape of pottery, stone, bronze and charcoal would have survived to mark them as in the case of the Protodynamic villages. Whatever may have been the origin of the C-group people, their possessions as revealed in the graves, their peculiar and abundant fictile wares, black topped haematitic and black incised, and their large and frequent cemeteries preclude the idea that they could have been really of nomadic habits at this period. As to their colour they adorned their faces with black stibium, which seems to prove, as Mr. Firth has remarked, that their skins were not very dark.

Dr. Reisner, in his first excavation for the Archaeological Survey, recognised that the C-group belonged approximately to the Middle Kingdom; and, subsequently, numerous finds in less completely plundered cemeteries have pushed back its early connexions, so that it is now considered to extend both before and after Dyn. XII. This is true enough for certain developments, but to the present writer it has seemed probable, and this impression has been confirmed by Junker's instructive excavation at Kubanicht, that the typical C-group civilisation of Lower Nubia, after long existence and having risen to great prosperity in its later stages, was entirely an end to by the Egyptian conquerors of the Twelfth Dynasty. Few, if any, of the Egyptian objects found in the C-group cemeteries of Lower Nubia bear the impress of the Twelfth Dynasty.

In his very able summary of the C-group as illustrated in the great cemeteries at Dakke, Mr. Firth endeavoured to distinguish sub-periods. According to his classification, (a) the use of brick vaulting for graves and chapels, orientation of graves to the north instead of to the west, and the deposit of black incised pottery with polychrome filling were distinguishing marks of a later age, and (b) the latest of all the C-group burials were in shallow, poverty-stricken 'pan-graves' in the sand overlying the alluvium. Graves of class (b), though not numerous, were scattered widely through the cemetery No. 101, while those of type (a) were all at the north end. The front row here consisted of very large discoidal superstructures with their bricked graves oriented to the north, and with brick chapels on the east side, and it was these large tombs that contained the fine polychrome-filled ware. Without assuming that they were later, one could explain their special features as due to the high rank or wealth of the deceased, who set the orientation for their poorer brethren around. But at Kubanicht too, there seems to have been a movement northward in the cemetery from earlier graves to later. Here, however, though Junker found brickwork in most of the graves, there were no large tombs with chapels attached, no polychrome pottery and no orientation to the north. The influence of Egypt and the comparative poverty of the Nubians settled north of the Cataract would sufficiently explain all these points. More material is required to decide whether the distinctions proposed by Firth will hold good. Our Faras results are indecisive, but unfavourable as regards the orientation test. Furthermore, the 'pan-graves' might be simply shallow burials of poor contemporaries of the stone-ring graves. If, however, the stone-ring C-group cemeteries of Nubia were begun at the end of the Sixth Dynasty and ended in the reign of Sesostris III—these would seem to be the extreme limits possible—they would have covered a period of not less than 400 years, or much more than that by some recent computations, and their actual extent would indicate long growth.

In the obscure period of Egyptian history that followed the Sixth Dynasty, the names of the divisions of Nubia, except Wawat, vanish from the inscriptions, though Meja reappears in the revival of the Twelfth Dynasty and onwards as an ethnic term applied frequently to Nubians serving in Egypt as allies, mercenaries, police, etc. The great Menthothup of the Eleventh Dynasty smote Wawat. In the Twelfth Dynasty appears a new and famous geographical term, Cash, probably designating the country beyond Wawat, which latter may have ended about the Second Cataract. Sesostris I overran Cash, but a century later Sesostris III fixed the frontier of Egypt (beyond which the Ethiopians, their boats and their herds of cattle might not pass except for service) at Semneh beyond the Second Cataract. A chain of his great fortresses blocked the difficult passages by land and by river from Bubon to Semneh, while others held Lower Nubia in subjection. Far beyond these, too, the Egyptians still

1. Two sections (A and B) of a stronghold discovered by Maspero and Woolley near Amada, and published in their Arakeh, chap. II-IV, where it is attributed to Dyn. XVIII, abounded in potsherds and figurines of the C-group people; this may, however, be due to the breaking-up of a C-group cemetery by an invader or later settlers in order to erect a fortress on the spot with the stones: the Egyptian 'foundation sealings' (6. p. 9 and Pl. IX) might be of Dyn. VI-XVIII by the style.
held the ancient outpost at Kerma just south of the Third Cataract; here in the temple and fort Reisner found a table of Amenemmes III (recording the number of bricks used in rebuilding),1 and other relics of the Twelfth Dynasty; and Egyptian monuments of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Dynasties at the quarries of Tombos and the Island of Argo show how firm and extensive was their hold in this distant region.

Apart from the fortresses, monuments of the Twelfth Dynasty and the succeeding period down to the New Kingdom are few. Temples, however, did exist at great centres like Kubbân,2 opposite Dakkeh, Buhen just north of the Second Cataract, the fort of Matûk in the Cataract itself, in the eastern Deftûs at Kerma, and on the island of Argo, and it is probable that the names of the chief Egyptian settlements in Lower Nubia, Baki-Kubbân and Mirâm-Anîbeh with their Horus gods were already established no less than Buhen (Boûû) which is actually found with the Mont-like Horus of that city on a stela of the reign of Sesostris I.3 At such places there are also Egyptian cemeteries of the Middle Kingdom though generally very scanty. Graffiti from Dyn. XI and onwards are found throughout Lower Nubia.

Thus, by the time of Sesostris III the C-group civilization of Wawat or Lower Nubia had been utterly obliterated in Wawat itself, though its representatives transported northwards perhaps lived on in the 'pan-grave' settlements in Upper Egypt;4 and a barrier had been set up to all Nubian encroachment by the fortifications of the Second Cataract. Behind these fortifications, however, around the Egyptian outpost above the Third Cataract, a different tribe developed its culture under Egyptian influence, rendered more benign by remoteness. This is the culture which was revealed by Reisner's marvellous discoveries in the necropolis of Kerma.1 It lived on and flourished until it in its turn succumbed to the wider ambitions of the New Kingdom conquerors.

Of the Kerma civilization we found no trace at Faras. Graves containing the beautiful and characteristic pottery of Kerma are rarely found elsewhere, and they are hardly more numerous in Lower Nubia than in Upper Egypt.5 These outliers belong to the troubled Hyksos period immediately preceding the Eighteenth Dynasty and must represent groups of Cushite (Majci ?) mercenaries introduced by the Egyptians to aid them in war and garrison important points.6

The rise of the Theban power of the New Kingdom put an end both to the Hyksos domination northward and to the Cushite Kingdom in the south. The conquerors of the Eighteenth Dynasty began the reoccupation of Nubia in a thorough manner, and thenceforth for a very long period not a shadow remained of independent native culture. Their temples were built or rebuilt at first on a modest scale of brick and sandstone,4 but one by one temples constructed entirely of stone rose in many places at the command of Hatesperu, Thutmosis III, Amenhotep II, Amenhotep III, Amenhotep IV and Ramesses II. All Nubia was governed by a viceroy or 'king's son' who, in the time of Amenhotep III began to be known by the distinctive title, 'King's Son of Cush';7 the tribute of Wawat, however, was counted separately from that of Cush proper. The temple—Abu Simbel and Soleb were doubtless the greatest of all—made a wondrous show, and there must have been a good deal of government-traffic up and down the river; but the ruling class of residents (which to judge from the proper names was in part recruited from the natives), was probably a mere handful, and the rest count archaeologically for nothing. Cemeteries are small except at Buhen and Mirâm (Anîbeh); but graffiti are common throughout the region to the Third Cataract, and Napata at the Fourth Cataract was now perhaps the furthest outpost.

3. For the kingdom of Cush and the employment of cr alliance with the Majci, see the Carnarvon tablet, Gardiner, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology Arch. III, pp. 99, 105.
4. Cf. MacIver and Woolley, Buhen, chap. IV.
5. Reisner, The Viceroy of Ethiopia in Journal of Egyptian Archaeology VI, 32.
No temples have been found of the New Kingdom after Ramesesses II, but the later Nineteenth Dynasty and the Twentieth Dynasty are traceable in graffiti and in important tombs at Aniba and elsewhere.

IV—THE C-GROUP CEMETERY AT FARAS.

About two miles to the south-west of the Diffi or Citadel of Faras, the gravel plateau that stretches to the Nile valley from the sandstone hills of the higher desert is broken by a shallow khor. On its northern bank the mixed gravel and sand rise to form a low rounded knoll, and this knoll was strewn with rough blocks and slabs of sandstone which, when looked at more closely, resolved themselves into numerous circles set close to one another and fairly regular in form, though largely hidden by the drift sand. Here and there fragments of pottery were seen, and on our first visit to the spot we were surprised to find black-topped bowls lying intact and obviously in their original position, mouth downwards in the sand, and so near its surface that their bases showed above it. This fact induced us to hope that we had found an unplundered though much denuded cemetery; but we soon discovered that the graves had been systematically riddled in antiquity, and the circumstance of the pottery remaining in position was due to its having stood originally outside the tombs and not inside them. It was a C-group cemetery of the type that has since become familiar through the publications of Reisner, Firth and Junker.  

The cemetery occupied a space of about sixty by one hundred metres. We excavated nearly half of it, beginning at the S.W. end (south by the river), and assigned to it the number 2, the excavated graves running from 1 to 244 (see Pl. IX). Perhaps if we had carried our work on to the northern end we should have come upon bricked graves and chapels; but where we excavated not a single brick was found. With few exceptions the superstructures were much ruined. They were of the usual type, from two to five metres in diameter, dry built of rough unshaped sandstone rubble. They appeared to have stood originally 50 to 80 cms high, and were filled up inside with sand to the level of the top of the enclosing wall; many of them had also been paved above with flat slabs, and over graves 70, 71 a large part of this paving remained intact, but since the early robbers had descended to the graves through the middle of the superstructure, the covering slabs had generally disappeared and only the ring wall was left.  

The graves within the circles were oval pits in the sand, averaging in size 140 x 70 cms., and having a depth of from 60 to 150. The sand was so light and ill-compact that the ancient plundering had generally resulted in collapse of the sides of the pit; its measurements, therefore, were often difficult and sometimes impossible to determine. The orientation of the pits was not uniform, being anything from compass-north to south-east, but generally, the compass direction was either due north by south (2, 7, 17, 19, 26, 27, 43, 47, 150, 197, 199, 204, mostly indeed without traceable superstructures), due east by west (e.g., 35, 52, 65, 101) or roughly south-east by north-west at about 110°, the directions are shown on the plan. Those with N-S axis, scattered along the S. and W. edges, were not visibly later than the others. Of graves without superstructures, some were oval, a few triangular (15, 36, 62), and some of 'pan-grave' form, shallow and circular (e.g., 9, 10, 29, 63, 64). They may well have been only poorer graves contemporary with the others.

In this cemetery we found five tall stelae of white sandstone some three metres high, neatly shaped and smoothed, with flat oval section about 50 x 15 cm. increasing in width at the top to about 70, and rounded off above. In one case, grave 151, the stela had stood apparently within the superstructure of a tomb, though not at its centre, and must have projected about two metres above it (Pl. X, a); in grave 117, the indications pointed to a similar arrangement; in another case, no. 212, the stela did not seem to stand in relation with any particular tomb; at grave 36 it had stood recessed in the side of a grave which, as lacking the regular superstructure, would otherwise have been regarded as of the poorest class. Again, it seemed possible that the wall of the superstructure of grave 128 stood on a stela, thrown down and left as it lay broken in two (Pl. X, b). All were quite plain. The lower ends of four of the above

---

1. See however below, p. 100, for remains of a shrine of Dyn. XX (Pl. XXXII, a, b).
2. The best of the published material for the Nubian C-group is in Archæological Survey of Nubia, Report for 1907-1908, Pl. 61b, pottery, Pl. 69, necklaces, Pl. 70b, small objects; id. 1908-1909, Pls. 37-41, 46-48 (from cemetery 87 at Kaushtamma); id. Report for 1909-1910 Pls. 12-19 (superstructures), Pl. 20, pottery from cemetery 97 at Dakheb, Pls. 29-33, pottery, etc., from cemetery 101 at Dakheb, Pls. 36-37, various objects, Pls. 39, 40, polychrome-filled ware; Junker, Kaushtamm-Nord, Pls. 1-14. The objects figured here (Pls. X-XIV) are selected to fill gaps with new or interesting varieties.

1. Junker Kaushtamm-Nord, p. 43, doubts whether every ring in his cemetery (the south end of which was remarkably well-preserved by deep sand) had enclosed a paving.
2. See above, pp. 68, 69. The only identified example of an animal buried with the corpse was in gr. 2.
The amulets found were a rude hawk of turquoise in grave 8, a foot of carnelian in grave 31, an ankh of silver in grave 54 (Pl. XII, 6), a pierced natural pebble shaped like an animal in grave 130 (lb. 7) and a tiny green glaze pendant perhaps intended for the Horus-child in grave 311. There were also in grave 160 a hemi-cylindrical seal with human figure engraved in a series of straight lines (Pl. XIV), and in grave 125 a small scarab with obscure floral design (ad.). Shells containing kohl were found in graves 34, 47, 54, 126. The only copper objects were three circular mirrors, one of them with a rough human head on the handle (Pl. XIV), but green stains on the bones in gr. 115 showed whence metal had been stolen. Rough bone needles were in 97, 132, 142, 147, 215, 235, 240. A mushroom-shaped ear(?)-stud was in 157 (Pl. XII, 6), a flint boss in 118 where also were found a terra-cotta doll and a fragment of a worked ostrich-shell (Pl. XII, 9), a disc, cut out of a grey-green 'Egyptian' potsherd and grooved round the circumference, in 71, and the horn of an ox in 117.

Two alabaster vessels (Pl. XII, 14, 15) occurred in graves 54, 78, and a fragment of another on the surface.

Most of the pottery lay not inside the graves, where generally only fragments remained, but on the old ground surface in connection with the superstructures. The vessels lay usually against the north or north-west face of the stone ring, or, where there was no superstructure, on the north-east of the tomb pit; occasionally they were deposited on the west, and in two or three cases some were on the south, with others on the north-east side. The bowls, black-topped or incised, which formed the greater majority of these offerings, were inverted in the sand; the jars stood upright or lay upon their sides. Thin discs of sandstone or pottery D. 8, served as stoppers to jars inside the graves (104, 122, 225).

By a few of the largest tombs, 78, 79, 151 (165?), 162, 223, were also placed one or more bucchane (five with 162), arranged in a straight line, sometimes overlapping or separated by each other by a lump of sandstone (Pl. XI, 1, 2). They were typical bucchane, not entire skulls; but if they had ever been painted, like the examples from the allied 'pan-graves' at Hu in Egypt, all traces of colour would have disappeared, as the bucchane had lain on the surface exposed to the weather. A rough granite palette or lower grindstone (Pl. XII, 12) lay with the pottery against the superstructure of grave 102; a remarkable granite mace-head of plain ring form (Pl. XII, 10, 11), probably the only weapon yet found in connexion with C-group graves, lay near 227; and a pierced disc of pottery, apparently a spindle whorl, was near 42.

The pottery (see the type-sheet, Pl. XV) may be divided into Egyptian (?) wheel-made (classes I-V), and Nubian hand-made (classes VI-XII).

The former include:

(1) A series of pale greenish grey or drab baläw-sea vessels. Large jars I a-c of which the lower half in many cases is shaped by hand, and smaller ones I d-j.

(2) Pots with white facing, II a-e, sometimes suggesting that a substitute for alabaster was attempted; the ware is red or pink, but the best example II b is of baläw-ware.

(3) Red ware pots, II d-g.

Of the smaller vessels some were undoubtedly brought from Egypt, being identical in ware and shapes with Egyptian specimens between Dyn. VI and XII. Most of those from Faras are pierced with a hole, perhaps to render them useless or kill them. The same has been done to the exceptional examples III a-d. Of these, c and d must be of Proto-dynastic age (hand-made) and doubtless were stolen from the neighbouring cemetery to place at the graves. On the other hand, III a and b, especially

1. Cf. Petrie, Vases Tombs, No. 245 j-q, Dyns. VI-XII.
2. Cf. Firth, A. S. E. R. Report, 1909-1910, Pl. 36a. Well known in Egyptian graves of the Sixth Dynasty, Giza, Makelma, Pi. XXXIX; Petrie, Diospolis Parva, Pl. XXVIII.
5. The circular form is characteristic of early mirrors between Dyns. VI and XI. Makelma, Pl. XXXIX; Diospolis Parva, Pl. XXX.
6. The only specimen that we found, though such figures are common among C-group graves, see for instance, Aricha, Pl. 8.
7. The letter (cf. Firth, op. cit., Pl. 36a 5) resembles specimens of Dyna. V-X from Egypt, Giza, Makelma, Pls. XXVII-XXVIII, Petrie, Diospolis Parva, Pls. XXVIII.
8. Professor Petrie notes its resemblance to bad shapes of Dyna. IX-XI, and considers that it cannot be as late as Dyna. XII, and that the larger vase (fig. 14) cannot be earlier than Dyna. XI.
the latter, are known as types of Dyn. XVIII. Unfortunately, the precise find-spot of a is not recorded; but Mr. Woolley (who found and recorded this cemetery) attached particular importance to the discovery of b, which he considered to confirm his provisional attribution of the C-group remains to the period of Dyn. XVIII. This specimen was high up in the filling of grave 208, associated with the usual C-group pottery, but the grave had been plundered, and it is possible that the vessel was brought thither by the plunderers. Moreover, there seems to be evidence that both types occur in the Twelfth Dynasty.

Wheel-made bowls IV are rare, of the ring-stands V only two specimens were found. Designs of animals, etc., are found scratched on the large 'Egyptian' jars, types I a-c, after firing (see Pl. XIV).

(6) The Nubian hand-made ware includes:—

(1) Black incised bowls VI a-k, rather soft through insufficient burning, rough inside, the outside sometimes polished before incising. The decoration which was often filled with white consists of dog-tooth impressions below the rim, the body covered with rows of hatched triangles and lozenges, strap bands crossing each other in various directions, sharply angulated bands, etc., often clearly in imitation of wickerwork and plaiting. They appear to have been made specially for the grave furniture, perhaps as substitutes for the baskets, etc., of perishable materials used in the house. New and interesting varieties are shown in Pl. XII, 16-19, and Pl. XIII. The loops on Pl. XIII, 9-10, and the scroll-band on the fragment, Pl. XII, 19, are unique, curved lines (cf. also Pl. XII, 17), except those due to the form of the vessel, being hitherto unknown.

(2) Black-mouthed incised bowls, VII a-c, of similar ware, rough inside with red outer surface and slight black top; the decorations are similar, but are sometimes confined to an edging below the rim. Scarce. See Pl. XII, 16, XIII, 13.

(3) Black top bowl with pimples appliqué VIII a. Dog-tooth is stamped on the horizontal surface of the lip in the only specimen found (Pl. XIII, 1).

(4) Plain black-topped bowls, polished inside and out, IX a-h. Abundant.

(5) Plain red haematitic bowls, black core like the last, polished inside and out and of the same forms as the black-topped, but red over the whole surface both internal and external. Scarce.

(6) Black-mouthed pots, X; b and c may be decorated with incised patterns round the rim (Pl. XIII, 5)

(7) Plain pots, generally black core but often red inside and out, XI; b is polished black.

(8) Jars of reddish (yellow) clay with coarse surface, XII a-c, a with comb impressions, b, c with incised hatched diamonds and triangles. Along with these conventional designs occur special figures of a different character though likewise impressed before burning (Pl. XIV). The ox on XII a from grave 232 is well outlined; on XII c from grave 78 there are three indefinite figures.

Two of these hand-made pots, X e from grave 162 and XI c from grave 160, have been pierced with a hole like so many of the 'Egyptian' specimens.

The fragment (Pl. XII, 20) of ribbed ware is doubtless an example of domestic ware used for cooking, which has strayed into the cemetery and may be later.

Mr. Wainwright, discussing the pottery types, concludes that in this cemetery the type IX g (which is a 'pan-grave' type in Egypt and should therefore be late) is especially associated with bucrania, and that black incised ware becomes scarce with the increase of IX g and bucrania.1

As can be seen from the references to Egyptian parallels, the bulk of the datable material from this cemetery takes us back before the Twelfth Dynasty. To make it contemporary with Dyn. XVIII is impossible, but some of it may extend into Dyn. XII.

1. His discussion is preserved with the records of the expedition. For the Egyptian 'pan-graves' see Wainwright’s recent memoir, Balash, pp. 42, et seq.
V. THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FORT AT FARAS

There can be little doubt that the Egyptian Twelfth Dynasty in some way or other paid attention to Faras: in fact, a written indication of its activity here is preserved in a fragmentary inscription from the Temple of Hathor of Akeh, probably dating from the end of the Middle Kingdom, which recorded a prayer to the Horus of a place associated with the name of the great King Sesostris III of the Twelfth Dynasty (see below, p. 85, No. 6); probably, therefore, we may attribute a small fort which we found at Faras to the activities of that great fortress builder.

It is remarkable that all the earliest remains of Faras are on the edge of the western desert (see Pl. I). This fact appears to lend special force to a tradition among the inhabitants that a second arm of the Nile once ran here under the western desert, branching from opposite Geziret Faras and re-entering the main stream at El-Wiza. The bed seems still traceable in the low ground behind the sandhills with the landing-stage of the fort projecting into it. Indeed, in the absence of visible early remains on the eastern side Mr. Woolley was of opinion that in all probability this western branch had been the main channel as late as the Middle Kingdom.

At a point not far northward from the Proto-dynastic Village the supposed old river course runs immediately along the lower sandstone plateau which breaks away in a little cliff face ('Edge of Rock,' on the map, Pl. I) about a metre and a half high. A line of large stones running out almost at right angles from the rock face first attracted attention to where, on the flat surface above, fragments of sand-worn pottery lay amongst traces of mud brick walls. This, on excavation, proved to be the site of an Egyptian fortress. It was a small one, measuring internally only 70 metres by 80 metres, built throughout of mud bricks (except for one or two internal walls in which rough rubble is used) and surrounded by a solid wall having a thickness of 3-3 metres. Unfortunately, the building had been so utterly destroyed and denuded that there was hardly anywhere more than one course of brickwork left; but the ground plan of the excavated part was sufficiently complete to give a fairly good idea of the character of the place (see Pl. XVI). The quay is now simply a double row of sandstone blocks of various shapes in one layer nearly 1-50 metres wide, lying on the surface and much sand-worn; perhaps it was never more than this. It begins at about 15 metres from the terrace, and continues for about 18 metres down the slope in the usual way of such primitive landing-places on the Nile. The eastern wall was about 25 metres behind the edge of the rock face, and, doubtless, the entrance for which the quay was made had been on this side. On the west, outside the main wall, was a narrow wall only fifty-five centimetres in thickness, provided like the stout rampart behind it with square salients and joined to it at the north end (the other end was ruined away) by a serpentine wall of a single brick's thickness that recalled the similar wall at Bohon.¹

If this serpentine wall be merely a containing wall intended to hold up a platform of sand, as seems to have been the case at Bohon, then there must have been against the west wall of the fortress a lower platform from which the defenders could repulse an attack with hand-to-hand weapons, while at the same time it would protect the mud brick wall against sapping or battering by an enemy. There was no rock-cut trench like that at Serra.² The other walls to north and south are not similarly protected by outworks. Inside, the buildings are arranged in blocks more or less self-contained; hearths are the only signs of domestic life that have survived, but bins and circular granaries are common as might be expected in a military outpost.

The objects found in it were singularly few. Fragments were plentiful of drab Egyptian pottery, such as are commonly found on sites dating from the Twelfth Dynasty to the Eighteenth and of red pottery that might have been of any age. In the chamber D, outside the circular granaries, were found jar sealings and numbers of broken specimens of the rough little pots about 25 cm. high, and tapering downwards, which are so plentifully found in the forts of Ikkur and Kubit.³ More of these latter were to the north and east of D, jar sealings to the west and solid cones of mud baked and unbaked between D and A. There were also several batches of small mud sealings, in all about a hundred, impressed with one and the same design of Middle Kingdom type, from a scarab or scaraboid, with three or four rather larger, impressed from another scarab with a closely similar design (on Pl. XVI). If they had been attached to letters they would have shown more variety; probably, therefore, they had marked stores, etc. in the fort. A plain burial of an adult extended

¹. Randall-MacIver and Woolley, Dukes, pp. 122-123, and plans E, G.
². Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, Pl. 39.
³. See Firth, J.A.S.N. Report, 1908-1909, p. 24 and Pl. 496. None were found whole and many were pierced at the lower end.
on the back with head to W. was found in the N.W. corner, and inside, near the middle of the N. wall, a similar burial of a child: these may have been Christian, as were some rough dwellings against the rock-face near by—outposts, perhaps, of the great cemeteries further north. Scanty as they are, the remains at least prove a date earlier than the Eighteenth Dynasty for the fort.

The tapering pots just mentioned make it appropriate to notice here a find made at the south-east end of the Merotic cemetery. Grave no. 19 was built against the N.W. side of a circular pit about 300 cm. in diameter and 70 cm. deep, which had evidently been a kiln: it was filled with ashes, among which lay a great number of little conical pots. We contented ourselves, unfortunately, with taking one perfect specimen, and made no observations as to how closely the others agreed with it in capacity. The spot is not far from the temple of Tutankhamun, and I am inclined to connect the kiln with the temple settlement. The specimen taken (on Pl. XXVI), now in the Ashmolean, is 13 cm. high and 5 cm. wide, tapering to about 2 cm. below where it is roughly rounded: the mouth is quite irregular like the outside generally, but the inside is smooth with a fairly regular taper to the rounded end, so that with care a cast of the interior can be extracted without injury. The cast is about 10 cm. in length, 4 cm. broad near the mouth, and tapering to 2 cm. near the end. Some of Mr. Firth's specimens, which vary in size, may have given a cast of twice the bulk of ours, and many of them were pierced axially. This example is not pierced below: possibly the holes were made after filling to facilitate extraction of the contents. It has been suggested that these pots were nozzles of bellows, crucibles or moulds for ingots. That they were at least sometimes used to hold papyri is shown by an example, 21 cm. long, found by Professor Petrie at Kahun, which contained three small legal documents of the reign of Amenhotep III. That each should have been intended to contain a soldier's ration of beer or other liquid seems improbable from their small size and porosity.

It might be supposed that their tapering form was intended to facilitate their moulding on a block, giving a fixed content, rather than that they should be used for matrices themselves. The matter requires further study of examples. The evidence of the monuments, curiously enough, may

point to their use in bread and beer making: they are similar to certain strange-looking tapering hollow vessels named by: that are figured in scenes of bread making and brewing in Egyptian tombs of the Middle Kingdom. The bread is probably moulded and baked in them, malt for beer being the result in some cases and, perhaps, choice 'white loaves,' the famed in others. Incense was also made up in 'white loaves,' i.e., in the shape of a slender sugar loaf. One might further conjecture that the conical pots, being sometimes found in graves, are connected with the puzzling 'funerary cones' of Theban necropolis.

VI. THE NEW KINGDOM AT FARAS

If the main channel of the river at Faras had in earlier times run along the edge of the western desert, there can be no doubt that by the beginning of the New Kingdom the eastern channel already held the chief place. The Egyptian temples of the time were all built on or near its bank. The temple at the Hathor rock must have existed at least as early as the very beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty and was rebuilt or added to by the celebrated Queen Hatshepsut. Its axis lay from north to south with the approach from the north, perhaps towards the chief settlement of the city, but not to the river quay. It seems probable that this temple was the principal site of the Hathor of Abeshek, and in consequence Abeshek may be the ancient name of Faras.

At the central site (on the river bank within the Enclosure built later by the Meroids), the earliest visible remains are loose blocks from a temple of Thutmose III, built in honour of Horus of Buhen. Half a mile to the north of this, Huy, Viceroy of Nubia under Tutankhamun, built a considerable temple and fortified settlement fronting towards the river. As Tutankhamun was the first to revive the old religion after Akhenaton's heresy, he appropriately named the place Sehep-ent, 'Consecration of the gods,' and a variety of deities, Ammon, Hathor, and Isis, were worshipped in the temple, but the principal god seems to have been Tutankhamun himself. Haremhab also put his name upon his predecessor's temple. Setau, Viceroy of Ramesses II, is commemorated in E1 Ber skeptical, Pl. XXX, the pots are made on a tiny wheel (1), in Benti-Hana I, Pl. XII and II, Pl. VI, they are being burnt or taken from the kiln and filled with dough: cf. the tomb of Dag, in Dervis, Five Theban Tombs, Pl. XXXVIII, and a better preserved scene in his Tomb of Antefkher, Pls. XI-XII, with XIX. In the Old Kingdom the by-pot was much wider mouthed, Steinendorf, Grab des Ti, Pp. 85, 86.
by a small grotto cut in the rock of Hathor; and Ramesses II must either have added to the Temple of Hathor or have built another temple in this direction, for the nearest corner tower of the great Enclosure wall contains several inscribed blocks of his work. The three temples, that of Hathor, and those built by Thutmosis III and Tutankhamun may have continued in some sort of religious use until the end of the Twentieth Dynasty (when all traces of Egyptian civilisation in Nubia ceased), but there is practically nothing left in any of them to bear witness of it.

Four rock-cut tombs in the terraces of the western desert, though uninscribed, evidently date from the New Kingdom, but we found no other burial places of this period.

Lower Nubia contained three large districts of which the capitals were Bak (Dakkeh), Mi’am (Anibeh), and Buhon (near Halfa); it is evident that Faras belonged to the third of these, for its chief temple was dedicated to the Horus of Buhon and his coeternal goddesses.

The Hathor Temple and Grotto.

Behind Kolasča, south of the Meroitic Enclosure, an isolated rock, known with the ruins upon it as Nabindifi 'Tower of Gold,' rises out of the sand and alluvium (Pl. XVII b, o). It very naturally attracted attention at an early period. In the south-east face towards the river is a small grotto (marked 'Tomb' in the map on Pl. I) with sculptures of Setau the Vicerey of Ramesses II; its inscription mentions Hathor of Abeshek, and on the north side of the rock we discovered and cleared the foundations of the temple of this goddess.

Mr. Woolley's plan (Pl. XXIII) shows the disposition of the walls and foundations, distinguishing the two main periods of construction so far as he could ascertain them. The axis of the temple was to the N.E., parallel to the present river course. Two parallel walls, A, must have been for an ascending approach or ramp. It passed several cross walls, where there may have been doorways and courts in the original construction, and finally reaches the N.E. wall of the main temple building G, which nearly coincides with the face of the rock on this side. The rock behind is almost all bare, but has been cut about in a remarkable way: several flights of steps are cut in it, and the top may perhaps have been used for sacrifice. On the right of the ramp is a small chamber F.

1. Compare the ramps of the great temples built by Mentho pt and Hatahepsut at Dér el Bahri.

in which stands a rectangular base like those for sacred barks, 80 cm. high, 80 cm. long, and 65 cm. broad, with the usual beading and cavetto cornice at the top, but uninscribed. Hereabouts were found several blocks sculptured and inscribed (See Pl. XXIV.)—

(1) Limestone door lintel with remains of two lines of inscription of goodwill of a goddess (i.e., Hathor of Abeshek) to a queen (i.e., Hatahepsut). 'She maketh for her life, stability and longevity (!) that her heart be joyful with her like Re' every day.'

Hatahepsut is not otherwise traceable amongst the scanty remains, but no other identification seems possible. She built the southern temple at Halfa, and her activity was great in many centres.

(2) Sandstone block showing in relief part of the reeded head-dress of Knum (†) with disk, horizontal horns and side feathers.

(3) Sandstone fragment inscribed with large characters from a vertical column of writing. They strongly suggest the word for 'restoration' of a building, but might refer to the 'slaying' of enemies in the titles or glorification of a king.

(4) Sandstone door-jamb; the inscription faint, having perhaps been cut through plaster—'Beloved of Hathor, Lady of Abeshek.'

In this upper part and on the west practically nothing else was found. The N.E. slope, on the other hand, was composed chiefly of temple rubbish: only the space between the ramp walls was filled with clean sand; the rest, especially about the chamber B at a slight depth, abounded in potters' wares and remains of bowls of glazed ware, beads, scarabs, etc. Unfortunately the figures and other larger objects were broken up into small fragments, and it was seldom that any two pieces could be fitted together. The finds included the following inscriptions (Pl. XXIV).

(5) Piece of a limestone stela naming one of the Amenhotep kings whose distinctive pre-nomen is lost. The absence of additions to the name is in favour of an attribution to Amenhotep I, and this is confirmed by the general age of the finds in the rubbish; it is dedicated by some high official, who is described as a 'watchful overseer' whom the king 'had promoted' and who 'satisfied the heart' of his master; unhappily his name, too, is broken away. This is well engraved, and the hieroglyphs, though small, have been filled with different colours.

(6) Piece of another limestone stela with a prayer to 'Hathor, Lady of Abeshek and Horus' [of] Kha-kere-beloved-of-Mont' on behalf of a person named [Pt]-ko 'the bull,' whose titles, unfortunately, are lost
as well as the continuation of the inscription in which he seems to have given some biographical information: ‘... I live possessing cattle...’

Khakere is an erratic form of the name of Setosiris III, not likely to be used in contemporary inscriptions. The stela cannot be later than the very beginning of Dyn. XVIII, and may be considerably earlier. Mont is the god figured on the great stele of the eighth year of Setosiris I from Buhen, and ‘Horus of Khakere’ beloved of Mont’ is, no doubt, the god preceding over a fortress of Setosiris III.

(7) Fragment of the rectangular base for a statuette, of glazed ware, inscribed in two lines.

(8) Piece of a bowl of limestone with a large lotus flower sculptured outside; inside, two female figures, one of them named Tai, and a stand of wine-jars.

(9) Pieces of the rim of a large sandstone bowl, the inscription below the rim naming the ‘chief lady of the harim’ of Khafra-neb-re (i.e., Tutankhamun) in Sehett-eneter, Ta-[m-waṣiṭ]. See below, p. 93.

About two hundred engraved scarabs and scaraboids were found. The most interesting, including all those with royal names, are shown in Pl. XVIII. The names range from Swajener (in fayence), and Kamose of the Seventeenth Dynasty to Men-keper-re Thutmoseis III (a few only), together with one of ‘Ankhes-en-amun the queen of Tutankhamun.

Of uninscribed objects there was a great variety (See Pls. XIX, XX, a, for a selection) —

Stone. Serpentine head from a statuette, another of limestone, kohlpot of alabaster, kohlpot cover of steatite, etc., and many beads of different materials.

Glazed pottery. Small and slender-moulded female figures (Hathor?) wearing a wig; a few human ears, ape, imitations of sewn-leather balls; fragments of decorated bowls in great abundance; beads, plain scarabs, pendants, etc., in profusion.

Blue paste. Fragment of vase, fragment of figure, etc.

Plain pottery. Abundant fragments of nude female figures or dolls with curious head-dresses, etc. (perhaps intended for Hathor); nude figures of cows and numerous vessels.

Gold. Pieces of thick foil, some stamped with a cow or a female figure in outline.

The chamber D produced in quick succession three of the earliest-looking scarabs (including Nos. 1 and 3 of Pl. 23), and it is probable that it was the source of most of the earliest pieces; but this point was not observed till too late, when the digging had to be stopped. We could not bring ourselves to sacrifice the large and imposing block of brickwork, still remaining from theapse of the church (see Pl. XVII), when it threatened to fall on the men working at its base in chamber D.

All the New Kingdom objects found at this temple were purely Egyptian; unless the barbaric dolls are really Nubian, and if found in Egypt had been dedicated by the Nubian soldiers or their women-folk.

From all the remains we drew the conclusion that a temple, going back at least to the beginning of the New Kingdom, existed here; that probably the indefatigable Hattiebu rebuilt it, using limestone brought from Egypt, and that Ramesesses II probably added to it in sandstone. There is no trace of later occupation of the Hathor rock until Christian times.

On the east side of the rock facing towards the river is the small grotto cut in the reign of Ramesesses II. (The entrance is visible in Pl. XVII, c; plan and all the inscriptions are on Pl. XXIV, 11-13.) The grotto resembles a small tomb, but we failed to find any pit. The floor has been cut away; the door was originally about 120 cm. high. In a niche about 80 cm. high in the back wall are the remains of a seated statue, utterly defaced. Inside the low chamber is a scene on the north wall which was copied by Bonomi and Lepsius in the first half of the last century. Setau, with both hands raised in adoration, faces inwards; behind him stands a woman holding a papyrus stem and a sistrum in her right hand, her left raised in adoration. Before Setau is the royal name ‘Son of the Sun Maiauem-Rameses, beloved of Hathor Lady of Abashek,’ and his own dedication ‘made by the royal son (of Cush), superintendent of the countries of the south, Setau, justified’; and behind the woman is ‘His sister, lady of the house, musician of Ammon, Neferu-nacht.’ The last group Mnefet is now almost all broken away, but it is clear in the copies of Bonomi and Lepsius. Setau is the best known of the numerous viceroys

1. Precisely the same Hathor doll occurs at Dir el Bahri, see The Xith Dynasty Temple at Dir el-Bahri III, Pl. XXIV, 3; XXXII, 6, 9. There is also a general resemblance between the smaller finds at these two Hathor shrines, as is pointed out by Hall, ib. p. 14; but so far as Professor Petrie recollects the Hathor temple at Serabit el Khadim in the Sinai peninsula did not produce any of the peculiar terra-cotta dolls not the ears of glazed ware which are common to her temples at Farsa and Dir el Bahri. The dolls occur also in graves of Dyn. XVIII or the Intermediate Period at Hia (Diusoplos Papyrus, Pl. XXVI, pp. 60-63) and Abydos (Ptolem. Abydos Cemeteries II, Pl. XIV, 1-3, and p. 63).

of Nubia in the reign of Ramesses II; the lady is called 'his sister' again on other monuments, but on one statue she is called 'his wife.'

The rest is plain, except that on the south wall at the outer end, rather low down, is written 'the scribe of divine offerings of all the gods of Wajwa Mer-ap, son of the superintendent of the granary Pleehe.' If the grotto was, indeed, a tomb, this must have been the man to whom it belonged, although he took care mainly to celebrate in it his patrons who, in their turn, do homage to their king's cartouche; but it seems best to view it as a shrine with a statue of Hathor or of Ramesses II, executed by the order of the prince of Cush.

The temple at the Hathor rock is the only one known to have been dedicated to Hathor of Abeshek, and it may have been her chief shrine; if so, Abeshek must have been the early name of Fara or of the settlement on what is now the river bank. Hathor of Abeshek generally finds a place in Egyptian shrines and temples in this part of Lower Nubia. Thutmose IV figured her as far north as Amada, Thutmose III at Ellesdyeh and Ibrim. Though the shrines of Ay and Horemhab at Shatat and Gebel Addison apparently do not include her figure, Ramesses II admitted her to the great temple of Abusimbel, where the queen offers her a necklace, and she appears more conspicuously in the second or queen's temple. The Akshe temple of Ramesses II and the Buhon temples are so much wrecked that her absence from the fragments counts for little. South of the Second Cataract, e.g., in Soleb and Sunneh, she is not found. The sculptures in the northern temples of Ramesses II at Bêt el-Well, Gerf Husén, Wadi Sebu and Dirr pass over Hathor of Abeshek; in the last two, however, a Hathor is figured as 'Mistress of Antet (the valleys).'

After this it is not surprising to find that the Ptolemaic and Roman temples of the Dodecaschoenus do not mention Hathor of Abeshek. The name Abeshek is not found in any other connection, unless in the name of a priest Si-Abeshek (Si-ibkh) at Dscheh, and is not traceable in Meroitic or other late texts, unless Brugsch's old suggestion that Pliny's Aboeis represents the name can be upheld.

Sesostris III, the organizer of Cush, as a deity has much the same history as Hathor of Abeshek, but with a wider range, being found in several temples of the Eighteenth Dynasty at Amada, Ellesdyeh, Shatat, Buhon, and above the Second Cataract at Dscheh. He is notably absent from the shrines of Thutmose III at Ibrim, and of Horemhab at Adda, but on the other hand occurs in Ay's shrines at Shatat. After Dynasty XVIII he seems to have been entirely neglected.

A Temple of Ramesses II.

At the S.W. angle of the great Fara Enclosure, the nearest point to the Hathor temple, are a number of small sculptured and inscribed blocks of sandstones; some of them (of which Pl. XXV, Nos. 1-3, are the most intelligible) are built into the base of the ruined corner tower, while others (Nos. 4-6) were placed near it by Mr. Mileham. They are all evidently of Ramesses II, whose cartouches occur on four of them. Mr. Mileham assures me that the fragments that he found were amongst the blocks of Thutmose III, and Dr. Gardiner seems to have copied No. 47 in the neighbourhood of the Thutmose blocks, though this is not specifically stated. On the other hand, we found no trace of Ramesses II at the Thutmose temple, although we picked up a Ramesside flake inside the Enclosure between the S.W. corner and the south gateway. As there is no mixture of Thutmoseid blocks with the Ramessid in the S.W. tower of the Enclosure, I, at any rate, think there must have been a separate Ramessid temple near here; unfortunately, nothing can be said as to its dedication, the only possible light being furnished by the block 1 upon which the small mummy figures represent the 'Spirits of Nunkan' evidently as part of some series of deities conferring blessings on the king. The alternating cartouches in 4, 5, show the simplest form of the royal prenom. While 47 gave the full form.

The Temple of Thutmose III.

At the west side of the citadel of Fara lies a number of blocks of sandstone, larger than are seen in non-Egyptian buildings in Nubia. We cleared a considerable space of blown sand down to the floor on to

1. No. 14 in Dr. Béron's catalogue of the vicerey, Journal of Egyptian Archaeology VI, p. 41.
2. Rec. de Trèm. XXII, 113.
3. A scrap of this copied by Lepsius, L. D. Text. V, p. 182. Two graffiti of the same person are engraved on the rocks just north of the grotto of Horemhab (Barnaia), near Gebel Addison, Weigall, Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia, p. 139; in one, he is entitled as above, in the other he is 'Superintendent of the granaries in the land of Horus Lord of Buhon.'
6. Nat. Hist. VI, 181, perhaps to be corrected to Aboeis? for Aboeik; but there is no MS. support for either reading, see Mayhoff's Edition: the forms Bocchis, Bocchis, Aboeis, are the authoritative types in Pliny, Steph. Byz. and Ptolomy. The place referred to, moreover, probably lay far south of Fara.
which the blocks had been tumbled by the sebakdiggers of a past
generation when digging away the nitrous earth from under them.
We thus disclosed some rubble foundation walls as well as a considerable
number of the blocks themselves, which we turned over one by one.
Meroitic and Christian remains were found alongside the Egyptian ones,
but the last (see Pl. XXV, 7-46) were nearly uniformly of Thutmosis III.¹
Our finds are supplemented by Dr. Gardiner's copies of nine blocks made
the year before, which he has most kindly placed at our disposal; of
these no less than three, nos. 35, 45 and 47 had disappeared in the interval.
Amongst the remains are fragments of temple scenes, 7, the ceremonial
dance, 8, the gift of milk to the hawk god, and several occurrences of the
name of Horus of Bhunon with or without the king's name 9-14; there are
also many fragments of architraves, etc., with enormous hieroglyphs
(Dr. Gardiner notes that the disk in 21 is 13 cm. = 5 inches, in diameter;
no. 11 is on a much smaller scale). The architrave inscriptions running
from left to right comprise a dedication to Horus of Bhunon of a 'temple
of [excellent] workmanship,' that from right to left a dedication to
'Anukis' (39). The name of the goddess Satet seems recognisable in 34
and 35, and 'the mistress of Southern Yeb' is in 37-38.² The cartouches
and other names of Thutmosis III occur frequently; only one cartouche
(36) ending with nb must have been of a different king, possibly
Tutankhamun. There are also fragments of cornice and of ceiling painted
with yellow stars on blue ground. Such are the sorry remnants of what
must have once been a fine temple.

Yeb was the Egyptian name of Elephantine at the First Cataract
where Chnum of Yeb had for his associates Satet (of Senemt, etc.), and
Anukis (of Setet, etc.); at Bhunon, which corresponded to Yeb at the Second
Cataract, the Thutmosids worshipped the triad of Horus of Bhunon with
Satet and Anukis of 'Southern Yeb' in the temple built by Hatchepsut.³
This then was evidently the triad of the temple of Thutmosis III at Faras,
which lay in the Bhunon province.

¹. These remains were seen by the early travellers, e.g., Icby and Mangles, Travels, p. 10, Wilkinson and Howard Vyse. Lepsius states that in 1843 he saw three cartouches of Thutmosis III and one of Amenhotep II, L. D. Textb. V, p. 181.

². Lepsius, p. 181, copied a block of which our 37 is a fragment; it shows the t below nb and the town sign between the tails of nb and u; the two blocks were of equal size, 36 superposed on the completed 37, but placed a little to the right to break the joint as usual. Another block in Lepsius' shows the hawk of the King exchanging wine for life with the hawk of Horus of Bhunon.

³. Bhunon, pp. 54-73.

The temple of Tutankhamun.

In excavating the great Meroitic cemetery to the north of the walled
town, we found numerous blocks of sandstone with Egyptian sculpture,
some being inscribed with the name of Tutankhamun, together with drums
of columns, etc. These stones had been used for blocking the entrances
cave graves, for making rude altars, and for other like purposes in the
cemetery. At length we began to find rows of stones in line and composite
bases of columns still in place, and we realised that we were on the
site of a considerable temple which had been utterly destroyed for
its material. At the end of the first season Mr. Drummond kindly
made a plan of as much as was visible, and at the beginning of the next
season Mr. Woolley completed the clearance, recognised the former
existence of brick buildings parallel to the temple in a large enclosure
that could be traced against its N. side, and made important additions
to the plan. (See the view Pl. XVII a and plan Pl. XXVI).

The temple itself covered an area 56 metres long from back to front
and 25 metres broad, and consisted of a colonnaded court, a hypostyle
hall, and a sanctuary. It faced towards the river, and may have been
approached through pylons, etc.; but of such there is no visible trace,
and it is only here and there that even the foundation of the temple itself
can be definitely seen, while the only scrap of sculpture in position is the
reed of the extreme lower end of one papyrus column in the hypostyle
hall standing upon its circular base (Pl. XX b). The site of the temple
is riddled with graves of the Meroitic period, besides one or two belonging
to the Christian time.

The sculptured blocks from the temple scattered in the Meroitic
cemetery show repeatedly the two cartouches of Tutankhamun. They
form two series. The one series consists of thick blocks of moderate size
with the figures and inscriptions in relief, and no doubt are from the
interior walls; the decoration is on one face only. Examples are shown
in Pl. XXVII, 1-13, including Tutankhamun's cartouches and fragmentary
remains of his other names (1-7).¹ No complete portrait of Tutankhamun
was found.

There is one example (11) of the cartouche of Haremhab, one very
doubtful fragment (10) of the same roughly engraved, perhaps over an
erasure, and one fragmentary and doubtful remnant (12) which has a

strange resemblance to an Ethiopian or a Meroitic cartouche in the orthography, though it must be admitted that the accompanying sculpture is not unlike that of Tutankhamun. Ceremonial scenes were represented in this series, 13 belonging to a royal procession and 15 to the founding of the temple.

The second series consisted in the main of much larger but rather thin slabs with sculptures in sunk relief and engraved inscriptions. Immediately above the sculpture projected a plain rectangular cornice. This cornice is well preserved in the slab shown on XXI b, but is there so much foreshortened as to hide the projection; in Pl. XXVII, 1, and Pl. XXVIII, 17, it has been irregularly broken away. These slabs would seem to be from an exterior wall, and probably belonged to a low screen such as may have run along the front of the colonnade. The subject of the sculpture is the adoration of Tutankhamun's cartouches by the viceroy of Nubia. It is best seen in the unfinished sculpture (Pl. XXVIII, 1), where the king's son of Cush the superintendent of the southern lands, Huy, stands holding a fan in his right hand and a crook and scarf in his left before the two cartouches of the king, each of which is placed on the sign of gold and crowned with disc and feathers. The fragments 16 and 18 also preserve the name of the viceroy, but in XXI b and XXVII, 17, the name and the figure have been cruelly erased, though sufficient traces remain in the latter to prove that it had also been Huy. We may here draw attention to the peculiar arrangement of the inscriptions in XXVII, 19, which must have once enclosed figures drawn ready for the sculptor but left by him to perish. It is another sign of unfinished work to add to XXVIII, 1. The narrow slab XXVII, 18 probably formed the jamb of a door in the same screen wall. On XXI b the viceroy is 'the royal son of Cush, superintendent of the southern lands, bearer of the fan on the king's right hand, great favourite of the good god, superintendent of the gold-land of Ammon'; on Pl. XXVII, 17, in addition to this he is 'superintendent of the battle of [Ammon] in this land of Cush, champion of his Majesty in chariots, the royal scribe,' and in one instance (ib. 18) he is called 'superintendent of the gold lands of the Lord of the two lands.'

In XXVIII, 1, is the rather remarkable statement accompanying the figure of Huy that 'his sister whom he loves is the perpetuator of his name, the chief of the harim (?) of Khepru-neb-re', Ta-m(!)-wajsi.' It would seem, therefore, that it was due to her that the viceroy was so prominently commemorated in the sculptures on this temple wall. Her figure evidently followed Huy's on the slab XXI b. From the bowl which she dedicated in the temple of Hathor (Pl. XXIV, 9, 10) we learn that Ta-m(!)-wajsi was 'chief of the harim (?) of Khepru-neb-re' (i.e. Tutankhamun) in Sehtep-entër,' which, as we shall see directly, was the designation of this settlement at Faras. Unfortunately her name is not quite clear; it appears not to occur in the celebrated but much injured tomb of Huy at Thebes, and whether she was Huy's wife as well as his sister cannot at present be ascertained. Why it was that Huy's figure was erased in some cases and not in others it is difficult to say; but perhaps some of the slabs were hidden by further building or thrown down before disaster came to him. There is no sign that Tutankhamun's name was attacked and the occurrence of Horemhab's name proves that the temple was continued in use after his death.

As to the dedication of the temple, in Pl. XXVII, 4, Tutankhamun is 'beloved of Amnen-ra-so[encher]' (the Theban 'Amnen' king of the gods) but in 8 he is 'beloved of Khepru-neb-re' in Sehtep-entër.' Khepru-neb-re' is the king's own prenomen, and this shows that Huy made the king himself a deity in the temple and fortress which he built for him in Nubia. Sehtep-entër, 'Pacification of the gods,' is an appropriate name which Tutankhamun sometimes adopted into his own titles as the restorer of the old worship after he had abandoned the monotheistic heresy of his father-in-law Akenaton. As a place name it can be recognized also on the blocks 9 and 11. Several officials of this locality are recorded in the tomb of Huy, namely: 'Pane, the wakil of the fortress of Khepru-neb-re' called Sehtep-entër'; 'Huy, the hat'-e (or "Mayor") of Sehtep-entër and his brother Mer-mosi, prophet (?) of Khepru-neb-re' of the fortress Sehtep-entër,' with a 'priest of Khepru-neb-re' in the fortress Sehtep-entër.' It is clear then that the king was the principal divinity of the temple, and when we have Huy's sister entitled 'the chief of the harim (?) of Khepru-neb-re' in Sehtep-entër,' the divine 'harim' (if that is the correct translation of the word) must be understood.

Other gods, too, were worshipped in this temple; there is a prayer for

---

1. Huy is No. 8 of the viceroys in Reiman's valuable article in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology VI, p. 35.

2. See Professor Erman's copies in Brugsch, Thesaurus, pp. 1137-1138.
Huy to 'Isis the great, the mother of a god,' Pl. XXVII, 16, and another to 'Hathor in Sekhep-entér' (19); and a small limestone stela (Pl. XXI a, Pl. XXVIII, 3) was found in the area of the temple itself, with an adoration of 'Ptah Lord of heaven, of beautiful countenance,' of Hathor as 'Great Sorceress ?' and of Anukis, apparently by a man named Hat-ay (the inscriptions are obscure and probably blundered).

The mutilated torso of a sandstone statue (Pl. XXII c), preserving some distinct traces of the Akhenaton style, which was found with fragments from the temple blocking the entrance of the Meroitic cave grave No. 133, evidently represented the viceroy somewhat below life size, standing holding the crook (?) in the right hand and the fan (?) upright in the left.

The brick buildings or 'priests' houses' on the north side of the temple may have been contained in a rather thick rectangular brick wall, which on the south side was backed against the stone wall of the temple and immediately overlay the chips left by the stonemasons; it was therefore built directly after the temple. This wall, indistinguishable on the W. side, appeared to have been 400 cm. thick on the N. side. In one part it may have been faced with rough slabs of sandstone, the interstices filled with mud; some small chambers were recognisable, but everything was much cut to pieces by Meroitic graves and confused by their brickwork; in no place did the walls remain above 50 cm. high. A pottery vessel of characteristic shape, a ring and two stone rubbers were found in the chambers, which appeared to be a mixture of store-chambers and living rooms. A moderate number of fragments of green glaze, alabaster, carnelian, etc., of the period lay scattered among the rubbish of the Meroitic graves for some distance around the temple. Among them was a conical clay sealing of 'Nibma're' (Amenhotp III) owner of a sek-festival' (Pl. XXVIII, 3). For the conical pot shown in Pl. XXVI see above, p. 82.

Other finds relating to the New Kingdom:—

New Empire graves at Faras are represented only by the small group of grottoes at the outer corner of a ravine in the western desert (see Pl. I) which has been known to travellers for nearly a century. One of them is interesting for its occupation by a Christian anchorite, but none of the others are inscribed. We discovered and cleared a new one round the corner of the wadi, containing both New Kingdom and Meroitic remains. From north to south they are as follows:—

1. Cleared by us, a small chamber with very rough approach, looking N.E. into the wadi, axis about 60°; it contained one pottery uhabeti painted red with blue wig, name illegible, wooden kohl stick and red bowl of the New Kingdom, and at the entrance various pottery vessels and glass beads of Meroitic age.

The others are close together looking towards the Nile.

2. With levelled approach and façade looking to E. (100°), two successive chambers and pit in inner chamber; off the inner chamber at the side is another chamber with pit. The walls of the outer chamber are covered with Coptic inscriptions, etc.

3. A small horizontal shaft filled with blown sand, not cleared.

4. Tomb with levelled approach and façade, two chambers, and pit in inner chamber; over the entrance VIDUA 1824. This faces S.E., axis about 120°.

One isolated find of the New Kingdom remains to be described. Hidden under a heap of stones and blown sand, at the edge of the western desert, on the north side, of the ‘Southern Church’ and near the north-eastern corner of the ‘Meroitic House,’ lay the mutilated remnant of a granite group representing a king of the Eighteenth Dynasty seated between Ammon and some other deity (Pl. XXII 4), the figures considerably less than life-size. On the back were the remains of sixteen lines of inscription (Pl. XXVIII, 4). Beginning end of the inscription are entirely lost, and about a third seems to be missing from the right hand edge of the lines that are best preserved.

1, 2, . . . . we rejoice] greatly seeing thy beauties. We have caused [the foreign nations] to come [unto thee],

3. . . . . dread of thee is in their bellies, and they present unto thee of their own accord of [their] children.

4. [He the king, the image] of the Universal Lord, the Horus of gold who uplifts the crowns of his father Re, the king of Upper and of Lower Egypt, Ruler of Joy of Heart,

5. . . . . . beloved of Ammon Lord of the Thrones of the two lands in Karnak, and of Mut the great, lady of Ashru,

1. Mr. Woolley recognized in this brick annex to the temple a parallel with the buildings north of the Temple of Hatsheput at Bubon, _Bakae_, p. 105.

1. For Count Vidua see the description of the Christian antiquities. Plans of 2 and 4, perhaps more correct than the above description, are given in West, _Journal of a Tour in the East_ (1894). III, pp. 77, 78, made in February, 1846.
6. [of . . . . , and of] all [gods and] goddesses of Egypt, even as they grant to him might of victory over every land, the good ruler . . . .

7. . . . . Ammon, creating his beauties, protector of the Bull of his Mother, the mestiu¹

8. . . . . the gods, he is born entire each month; the good God, who brings

9. . . . . who slays the Syrians, hacks up Cush, organises Egypt, builds

10. [the temples of the gods and restores] their offerings which had been neglected; an object of praise is he to them

11. [and they have established him upon the throne of] Horus of the living; the Black land and the Red land are in his charge for ever, he is

12. . . . . Lord of the urert crown, possessor of valour, greatly feared in all lands, his beauties are upon the asekh? his figure? is the hawk, he is . . . .

13. . . . . his . . . is Re', his body, even as his father Re' ordained hundreds of thousands of years, millions

14. [of sed-festivals . . . . , and that all lands should be beneath] his sandals and that his hand should not be hindered in all the lands: the king of Upper and of Lower Egypt, son of the sun, who conciliates the gods in [their] places

15. . . . . all . . . . [are glad] who see his beauties, they rejoice when they hear [his words]

16. [He hath built to the gods a temple] provided with serfs in the goodly method [of aforetime?]

17. [He hath . . . . and renewed] their offerings . . . .

Of the distinctive titles of the king only one is preserved 'The Horus of Gold who uplifts the crowns of his father Re’'; it recalls the corresponding title of Amenhotep IV before his heresy broke forth 'who uplifts the crowns in Upper-Egyptian On'; and it resembles that of Tutankhamun 'who uplifts crowns, who conciliates the gods' in a stela published by Legrain.² Evidently it belongs to one of

VII. NOTES ON NEW KINGDOM REMAINS AT SERRA.

The district next to Faras southward on either bank is called Serra. On the west bank, about ten miles from the Faras citadel, is the hamlet of Akasha, where there is a temple of Rameses II dedicated to his own royal self, on a small site of rubbish in the midst of sand dunes. Gau gives a figure and plan of this as it was in 1819,³ when the ruined sandstone walls formed the lower courses of a brick church. Lepsius, visiting it in December, 1843, copied inscriptions here.⁴ Captain Lyons cleared the temple, and in 1895, Professor Sayce copied the inscriptions and published some of them.⁵ In 1906, Professor Breasted, of Chicago, who photographed and copied the sculptures and inscriptions completely,⁶ found a fragment of one of the brick church walls still standing. Since then the temple

---

1. Translated Spiegelberg ('scion') by Sethe, Urkunden (deutsch), IV, 84, in the Tombs Stela.
4. Antiquités de la Nubie, Pl. 63.
7. F. B. Breasted, Records of the努比亚, p. 16.
has suffered severely from *sebbâkhin* and *sagheh*-builders; the last trace of brickwork has gone, and many inscribed stones have been taken away, and this process of destruction seems still to continue at times, although, in 1908, Randall MacIver obtained the deposition of the *'omdeh* for such misdeeds. There are some signs of burials in the desert behind the temple.

On the east bank, a little up stream from Akahah, where a rocky slope reaches the river, is an early fortress-enclosure of crude brick with rock-cut ditch, whose ruined walls were repaired and occupied by the Christians; the site with its churches is known by the Nubian name Serrin-kisâ, 'church of Serra.'

Mr. Mileham, in describing the fortress, accepted the suggestion of Dr. A. H. Gardiner that it was built in the Twelfth Dynasty, and we have no evidence to confirm or to oppose to this view. Inside it we found no remains earlier than Christian. A modern Sheikh’s tomb, that of Sheikh Nûr (who produces light at night and is locally counted as a Friend of the Prophet) has been built on a large mound of rubbish thrown out from a tomb-pit, about 100 yards east of the S.E. corner of the ditch. Eight Middle to New Kingdom pits cut in the rock were noted at this spot, and most of them were cleared. They are oblong, 3:50 to 4:50 metres deep, with chambers at the bottom. All had been robbed.

Tomb 8 contained a clumsily-engraved stela of limestone, with figures and inscriptions, the latter a prayer to Osiris of Busiris, with half legible names such as Ka-her-hau, Waj-mosi, Wesert, and Neb-er-hat, dating from about Dynasty XVII; also a small plaster mask, 7 x 6 in., small black topped bowels (without the grey Kerma line), etc. Another contained a similar mask, green stone lid of a kohl-pot, etc. Twenty-three characteristic pieces of Eighteenth Dynasty pottery came from tomb 5; also a steatite kohl-pot, and the solid cover, with plain knob-like head, of a 'canopic' jar and two jar bodies, all of pottery; grave 7 yielded three pieces of Meroitic and two of New Kingdom pottery; grave 2 some late Meroitic pottery and beads; grave 6 a Christian lamp with some beads.

1. The fortress and its churches are described by Mileham, *Churches in Lower Nubia*, chap. VIII, with plan and photograph views, Pls. 29-35. The Christian buildings overlooked the fortress wall and ditch at a point about the middle of the east side where there was perhaps a gate. See also Sommer Clarke, *Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley*, p. 64.

In a small ravine to the south of the fortress are one or two grotto tombs.

Guided by the reports of our boatman, Mr. Woolley came upon some late graves which he thought to be of Christian age at the village of East Serra. They were partly cave and recess graves, partly trenches with sloped roofs of stone slabs. Several of these slabs, still in place or lying in the village, bore sculptures or inscriptions of New Empire date and were secured by him; they are as follows:—

Pl. XXIX. 2. Portion of a stela, the upper part and right half lost. [May . . . . . . give . . . . . all good things that heaven gives] earth [produces] and [Nile] brings, [and the drinking of water at the whirl] of the river, to the *ka* of the unique [favourite of the king?] as his true servant, for he knew the excellence of his heart . . . . . . . I planted it with many plantations . . . . . . . life, the scribe of the south, beloved of his father, P-atesu. [He saith] 'Oh every prophet, every priest, everyone skilled in speech (lit. 'knowing his mouth' or 'his spell') every server in the temple, as your gods praise you, as ye love the king's *ka* and long life, so say ye.' An offering which the king gives, Chnum, Lord of the Cataract, may he give [funeral offerings], all things good and pure, to the *ka* of the feast giver, lover of frankincense, partaker of . . . . . . . [excellent] of tongue, successful in counsel, the scribe of the south Thothtep, [begotten of the chief of Tehekhti] Riu, born of the Lady of the House Rena, true of voice.'

Pate in line 5 seems to be the native name of Thothtep. He was evidently full brother of the scribe Amenemhe whose statues were found at Buhen, and must have lived about the middle of Dyn. XVIII, probably in the reigns of Hasehepsut and Thutmosis III. For Tehekhtu see fig. 4.

3. Sandstone door jamb. 'An offering which the king gives consisting of fat things for his *ka* unto the *ka* of the king's son of Cush, superintendent of the southern countries.'

This might well be of Huy (above, p. 92) by the style.

4. Fragment found lying in the village. A figure in the costume of a sun-priest bending forward as offering or in reverence. . . . . . . . the [chief ? of Te-]hekhti, Thout. Come thou forth into the presence of Thoth and praise the gods, by his name of Men-kheper-re' the great god in

---

1. *Buhen*, p. 116: *not a* is clear in the father's name on the Serra stela. His title I have restored from the statue.
Tehekhti, the garland of Harakht, that he may favour thee, that he may love thee, that he may prolong thy life, that he may grant thee valour and victory over all the nations.'

For Thout it is tempting to read Thouthotep, and to identify the person with that commemorated in No. 2. The next line suggests, though obscurely, that the defiled Men-kheper-re, Thutmosis III, is here quaintly viewed as a form of the god Thoth, who is so conspicuous in the king's personal name. Anyhow, the fragment affords another striking instance of the common deification of the contemporary Pharaohs as great gods in the Nubian temples. Tehekhti is evidently the ancient name of Serra, and we may now assume that Thutmosis III was worshipped in its temple, perhaps in association with Thoth. His cartouche has been maliciously defaced, perhaps by the followers of Akhenaton, but is still quite recognisable. The context of the fragment being lost, it may be conjectured that Thouthotep (?) is addressing either the Nubian viceroy or perhaps even a Pharaoh, bidding him worship Thutmosis III with a view to success in war.

S. 6. On the two ends of a sandstone lintel (?) from a shrine or a tomb, see Pl. XXII a, b. At the top is a painted cavetto cornice, and below it a scene symmetrically arranged, showing two pairs of kneeling figures, a viceroy and a priest, facing towards the centre, the object of their adoration having been probably a pair of royal cartouches. The figure of the viceroy is preserved only on the left side. He wears wig, collar and sandals, and an exceedingly voluminous garment, and holds in his advanced hand the emblems of his office, the fan, ruler's crook and a sash. Before him was a columnar inscription of which only a minute fragment remains; it must have contained his titles, his name 'Wanteowi, triumphant,' being written over his head. The priest wears a garment only slightly less voluminous than the viceroy's, with sandals and collar, but his head is shaved; over him is written 'for the ka of the chief (?) prophet of Usima-re' (i.e. Ramesses II ?) Har-nakht (?) triumphant, son of the notable (?) Pat-em-heb, triumphant. The style points to a period as late as Dynasty XX.

Wanteowi (Un-ta-uat) is a very rare name, and there can be no doubt that our fan-bearer is the 'first prophet of Ammon of Ramesses (?)', king's son of Cush, Wanteowi,' who is commemorated on a stela in the British Museum together with 'his brother the first prophet of Ammon of Ramesses (?)' named Amenwahsu, and his sisters Isis and Sat-kheper(?)-ka each of whom is entitled 'Musician of Opheis'; he is also 'king's son of Cush, chief controller of the stable of the palace (?) of His Majesty, Wantewoi' on a stela in the Cairo Museum from Semneh.  Dr. Reisner, in his valuable article on the viceroys of Ethiopia, places him conjecturally under Ramesses VI, VII, and VIII, as No. 19 in the list. I have nothing to add to what is said there as to his rare monuments, except that a copy of the hieratic graffiti in the Abusimbel grotto is given by Miss Edwards in the first edition of her *Thousand Miles*, opposite p. 506. It reads 'the groom (kyn), superintendent of the stable (?) of the Court, the king's son of Cush, Wantewoi.' The evidence for his being son of Hori II thus becomes very slender, but Reisner seems right in placing him late in the Twentieth Dynasty. The priesthood of Usima-re held by Har-nakht, perhaps also that of Ammon of Ramesses (?) on the Cairo stela, must have been in connection with the temple at Akeheb.

2. Liebieh, l.c., 2114. Should we read Sereb (Serra) for Semneh ?

**Contents of Plates**

Pl. IX. Plan of the excavated portion of the C-group cemetery. The bases of stelae are marked in solid black.

Plate X. C-group cemetery. a, broken stela in position, L. 300, W. 86 at top tapering to 50, thickness 18, the base in position apparently on line of the destroyed superstructure of grave 151 and cutting into the grave itself on N.W. Also from 1. to 7., superstructure of grave 132, pot and ring-stand from near 167, superstructure of 182 just appearing. The view is about N.E. by compass, showing the height of Wix in the centre of the horizon, cut by the measuring pole. b, fallen stela complete, beneath stones, which remain only on the S.W., of ruined superstructure of 128 (see p. 73). The view shows Wix on the extreme left and the range of distant hills on the east bank; it also gives an idea of the tamarking mounds and bushes still living (see p. 2), in the old cultivation, seen from about 1500-2000 metres.

Pl. XI. Graves in C-group cemetery. 1, grave 162, D. 280, H. 60. Against superstructure from N.E. to S.E. four black topped bowls, IX a, b; black incised bowl (Pl. XII, 18); greenish wheel-made jar, type for I d, H. 20; Protodynastic jar, type for III c with pierced hole; and line of five bucrania. On S.W. side black topped pot, type for X e, and wheel-made greenish pot I f, engraved mark (Pl. XIV), H. 27, both pierced. The grave contained beads of carnelian and glass and four shell rings on one finger bone, but the body was mostly destroyed. 2, grave 79, D. 300. Against N.E. side two black-
topped bowls, IX g and type for IX h.; reddish hand-made pot, type for XI g; ground-wheel-made pot (as II c 1) ill-shaped, H. 13; fragment of black incised bowl; and two bucchera laid overlapping with a piece of stone between. Grave 78 beyond, D. 300, with four jars overlapping and various pottery on N.E., small alabaster pot (Pl. XII, 14) on N.W. 3, grave 54 (its stone circle D. 200 was rather ruinous). The pit is oval, axis due N.E.-S.W., 140 × 90, depth 140, containing the skeleton of a child contracted on the right side, head N. The photograph shows a silver-cahak (Pl. XII, 8, Pl. XIV) hanging at the neck, remains of a leather and beadwork belt with a cross of diamonds (cf. Pl. XII, 1) round the waist and an alabaster jar (Pl. XII, 15). A small Nile-oyster shell (Atheris) containing koil also lay by the elbows.

Pl. XII. Objects from C-group cemetery. 1. beadwork on leather belt, W. 6, blue ground-work, one piece showing a continuous double row of diamonds in six pairs (see Pl. XIII) two of which are seen entire; another shows two similar pairs, connected together as here, forming a kind of isolated cross surrounded by the blue ground (shown in Pl. XI, 3). 2. blue glaze melon beads, half size, 211, 3, flattened barrel bead of bone showing cellular structure inside, full size, grave 118, 7, 4, four shell rings on first finger, D. 2-4-2-7, grave 219, 7; similarly grave 102, 18. 3, armlet narrowing to one side, half size, 178, 4, 6, mushroom-shaped stud of whitish frit, L. 1-2, grave 157, 4, 7, pierced flatly bale, L. 4, grave 130, 4. 8, Amkamulet, the stem and loop cut out of plate in one piece, the cross-piece riveted on from back (see Pl. XIV), L. 6-6, grave 54, 3, 9, fragment of ostrich egg-shell with equidistant holes along a rounded edge (probably the holes are for the attachment of a spur or bottle neck), L. 5-1, grave 118, 5. 10, 11, granite mace head, D. 0-05 in. in shape of a hump, olive of hard shade, 33 × 16, with pottery against N.E. side of 102, 15, thin oval armlet of ivory, half size, grave 187, 1. 14, alabaster pot, H. 7-5, grave 78, 4 (see Pl. XI, 2). 15, alabaster pot, H. 13-5, rim chipped, inside child's grave 54, 16, fragment of black moulded bowl with punctured ornamental moulding, L. 4-5, grave 56, sc. s 17, fragment of black incised bowl, chain ornament below rim (see Pl. XIV); sides markedly out in squares of about 2 cm. by two series of thin lines at right angles following the curve of the vessel; in each square is found a ribbon tied opposite sides curved (alternately the vertical and horizontal), the figure filled with irregular hatching; from gr. 23, sc. s 18, black incised cup, network of two sets of parallel lines at right angles starting vertically from the edge and following the curve of the vessel; some or all of the intervening spaces lightly hatched, surface worn and polished. 2, sand, dog-tooth on rim, H. 5-5, grave 162, 6. 19, fragment of dark brown incised cup, showing a kind of chain ornament (cf. 17) at the rim, and on the side part of a scroll outlined with incised lines on a hatched ground, much sand worn, grave 46, sc. s 20, fragment of deeply ribbed hand-made bowl with the vessel of coarse reddish clay containing pebbles and mica, pierced with small round hole for mending sc. s 21, grave 241, 2.

Pl. XIII. Pottery from C-group cemetery. 1, black moulded, exterior not polished, slight dog-tooth impressions on mouth, seven groups of eight to twelve pinholes laid on in double lines below mouth, H. 10, grave 1, 12. 2, black incised, H. 6, with remains of white filling, grave 160, 2. 3, black incised, network filled with hatched diamonds, H. 9, grave 216, 2. 4, black incised, original white filling, D. 8-5, grave 185, 4. 5, black-topped pot, slightly polished, five groups of diamonds, H. 25, grave 5, 1. 6, black incised, hands of gashed triangles, H. 9, grave 113, 2, 7, black incised, vertical hands with wedge-shaped punctures, H. 8, grave 199, 2. 8, black incised, H. 8, grave 8, 9. 10, black incised, rectilinear plaiting divided by the curved figure of a strap arranged in four loops crosswise, original (1) white filling? H. 10, grave 65, 11, black incised, type VI, H. 7-5, grave 151, 2. 12, black incised, cross of diamonds on base, H. 7, 13, black-moulded red cup, parallel vertical hatched bands, H. 6.


Pl. XV. Fragments of pottery from the C-group cemetery, pp. 77-79.

Pl. XVI. Faras, plan of Middle Kingdom fort; types of seal impressions (full size).

Pl. XVII. New Kingdom Temples, Faras. a. View of the site of the temple of Tetanakhmun after excavation, looking riverwards diagonally across the hypostyle and colonnaded court from the S.W.; showing bases of columns and remains of Merotic graves re-filled with blown sand after excavation, and on the right the base of the wall dividing the two courts. The Merotic mastaba-field stretches westward from in front of the high black-topped tamarisk-hill in the centre. Between two tall date palms on the river bank is an old branching dôm-palm; on the opposite bank are the cultivated fields of Aden. On the extreme left, behind the remains of the two large adobe mounds, is the base of the modern cemetery. b. Excavation of the temple of Hathor from N.E., showing fragment of church standing on the foundation of the temple; tamarisk bushes, low lying cultivated land behind the rock and sand dunes beyond with high limestone cliffs on the extremity; c. Nahalim, the Hathor rock from E.N.E. before excavation, showing remnant of brick church on the rubbish mounds over the site of the temple; and the entrance to the grotto of Setau.

Pl. XVIII. Scarabs and scaraboids, chiefly with royal names, from the Hathor temple, full size. a. obverse; b, reverse. 1, Hyksos period (1), the characters including the group 'em 'Asiatic' belonging to a series now being studied by Professor Petrie. 2, Suajerun, glazed pottery. The name occurs on the table of Karnak and on several scarabs, including two found by Reisner at Gnazzi near Kalasha. (See A.S. N. Bulletins, No. 3, p. 13, and Report, 1908-1909, p. 60, Pl. 42 b, 38). 3, obverse engraved to represent a frog, base inscribed Waj-kheper-re. This is the prenomen of King Ramose, the opponent of the Hyksos on the Karnarvon tablet; he appears to have associated Ahmose I with himself on the throne, according to a graffito at Toshkheb about 30 miles north of Faras, discovered by Weigall (Antiquities of Lower Nubia, Pl. LXV). 4-14, series chiefly of Amenhopt, probably Amenhotep I, the backs in the form of a fish (5 and 14), sacred eye, (8) duck with head over its back (13). 6-12 show the name of Amenhotep, 13 that of his mother Ahmose-Nefertiti so much associated with him. 15-21, Beads and scarabs of 'Aa-kheper-ka-re', Thutmosis I, the last giving his personal name only. 22-24, Name Men-kheper-re, Thutmosis III. On the first he is

1. Before photographing in Nubia we generally filled the patterns with white flour, and in some cases the flour may still cling to the incisions.
ANCIENT PIRACY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN*

By H. A. Ormerod, M.A.

A complete history of piracy in the Mediterranean has still to be written. The task would be a fascinating one, and its completion of no small service to the historian. In the time at our disposal we can deal only with a comparatively short period of the pirates' activities within a limited area. But for a correct understanding of piracy in antiquity, and of the conditions under which the pirates worked, it is necessary to take into consideration the fundamentally unchanging character of Mediterranean life. The fuller accounts which we possess of mediaeval pirates enable us to realise much of the character of the workings of the ancients. 'La Méditerranée ne change pas.' Béaré, applying this to the Odyssey, was able to illuminate the whole practice of the primitive Homeric mariner. In his two chapters, 'La Course,' the best part perhaps of his book, he is able to find an exact parallel to almost every detail of Odysseus' raids and cruises in the memoirs of the Frankish corsairs of the seventeenth century.

It is worth while, at the outset, trying to give a general answer to the question why it is that piracy has always flourished in these parts. Except when there has been a strong naval power, whose interest it was to suppress it, piracy has been endemic in the Mediterranean, particularly in the eastern basin, well into the nineteenth century. In the West, the

---

* A lecture delivered before the Classics Branch of the Arts Students Association in the University of Liverpool. My excuse for publishing it in this form is that there is no general account in English of ancient piracy. Mommsen's pages on the pirates of the first century B.C. have made a detailed account of that period unnecessary, and the short account which I have given has been included only to complete the picture as a whole. Of other works on the subject the article Piracy in Darmstadt and Sieglo has proved most useful. See, *La Piraterie dans l'Antiquité* (Paris 1880) is scholarly and contains much that is irrelevant. See, *Über Piraterie im Altertum*, has hitherto been unobtainable. I take this opportunity of expressing my indebtedness to the Rev. E. M. Walker, Queen's College, Oxford, not only for arousing my first interest in this, among many other problems of ancient history, but for permission to incorporate portions of his own notes on the subject, particularly on the part played by Athens in suppressing piracy in the fifth century B.C. I have also to thank Professor W. R. Halliday for various references and suggestions, and Professor F. Raleigh Bats for advice on certain legal points.

In a short sketch of this character it has not been possible to do more than touch on many aspects of the subject. Much of the history of early Greek navigation and commercial ventures are bound up with it. A history of piracy would contain much of the history of the migrations in the Mediterranean area. To these and kindred subjects I hope to return at a later date.
THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS
SUPERSTRUCTURES WITH BUCRANIA; GRAVE OF CHILD, No. 54.
THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAS

SUPERSTRUCTURES WITH BUCRANIA; GRAVE OF CHILD, No. 54.
THE C-GROUP CEMETERY, FARAB.

SCRATCHED AND IMPRESSED DESIGNS, SCARAB, SEAL AND VARIOUS DETAILS.
The C-Group Cemetery, Farab.

Types of Pottery.

SOWLE IV, AND VI-VII SCALE 1/4
THE REST SCALE 1/10
A. Three stone bases
B. Door
C. Hearth
D. Granaries

FROM CLAY SEALS
FULL SIZE

N. Magn.
Jan. 14, 1912

ROCK FACE
COPTIC HOUSES

OLD RIVER CHANNEL
QUAY

THE MIDDLE KINGDOM FORT, FARAS.
SCARABS, Etc., FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.
OBJECTS FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.
GLAZED FRAGMENTS FROM THE HATHOR TEMPLE.
BASE OF COLUMN, TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN.
SCULPTURES FROM THE TEMPLE OF TUTANKHAMUN, FARAS.
SCULPTURES FROM EAST SERRA AND PARAS.
PLAN OF THE HATHOR TEMPLE, FARAS.
Inscriptions from the Hathor Temple and Speos, Faras.
Inscriptions of Ramesses II and of the Thutmosid Temple, Faras.
Plan of Temple of Tutankhamun, Faras.