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chambers, the mummies have been removed to the set of chambers marked as level III on the plan. The whole tomb is now blocked up to await further investigations.

Tomb No. 123, which had been blocked up till this year, has been provided with an iron door, to allow access for visitors, since it contains several reliefs, the artistic standard of which is very high.

OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

BY F. Ll. GRIFFITH, M.A.

WITH PLATES XII-XXX

(Continued from Vol. XII, p. 172)

XL. MEROITIC ANTIQUITIES AT FARAS AND OTHER SITES

The Meroitic Cemetery having at length been disposed of, we can turn to the other monuments of Meroitic Faras. In a special article I have given the proofs that Faras occupies the site of the Meroitic Pakharas, the predecessor of the Christian Pakhūras, known to Arabic writers as Bakharas. From the inscriptions it appears probable that Pakharas lay in a province named Akihī, governed by a kinglet entitled pesatē. Some of the pesatēs must have resided at Pakharas, others 70 kilometres northwards at Karanog or at Ahi, in Meroitic named Shimalē, for mastaba tombs in which pesatēs were buried have been found at Faras and at 'Anbe. At Ermenne, 20 kilometres south of 'Anbe, Junker found a trace of an inscription from a destroyed mastaba, but unhappily nothing remained to give any information as to the persons buried there.

The deities worshipped at Faras in the New and perhaps also in the Middle Kingdom, Hathor of Abeshek and Horus of Buhun, have left no more trace in the Meroitic monuments here or elsewhere than Horus of Mī'am, the god of 'Anbe. In the revival of the country a most remarkable fact is the disappearance of the old regal Horus-gods of Baki (Kubban and Dakhe), Mī'am (Anbe), and Buhun (opposite Wādi Halfa), the leading gods of Lower Nubia in Egyptian days, together with all their accompanying deities. If they lived on at all it was only as shadows in the

2. Karunoy Inscriptions, p. 81; Meroitic Inscriptions, II, 30.
3. Junker, Ermenne, Blatt 7, Fig. 70.
4. Amalā, VIII, 86, 96, Pto. XXIV, XXV.
temples of their successors. The newcomers, Isis and Osiris of Philæ, are everywhere in the Dodecaeschoenus, and overwhelmed Hathor of Senmet (though not entirely at Bīgē \(^1\)); and the Dakke temple has but one representation of the ancient god of the locality, Horus of Baki, and one combined of Horus of Buhon and Hathor of Senmet.\(^2\) Were not these changes perhaps initiated by the kings of Ethiopia who, finding the ancient fanes deserted, introduced from the south their favourite deities (all indeed of Egyptian origin likewise) Isis, Osiris, Thoth and Ammon?

The great cemetery at Faras bears witness to the large population and wealth of Pakharas; yet it seems to have been inferior to the cemetery of Anibe (called Karanōg by the explorers, after the castle of that name),\(^3\) which was probably the burial-place for the great fortress of Prims (Qasr Ibrīn) as well as for other localities. At Anibe were found about 150 inscribed altars and stelae \(^4\) as against 44 at Faras; but this disproportion may be partly due to the gradual dismantling and ravaging of the Faras cemetery for stone and treasure by the later inhabitants of Pakharas; Pakhāras was the chief city of Lower Nubia in the Christian period, whereas Anibe was then quite unimportant. It is noteworthy also that the earliest class of Meroitic remains at Faras was quite unrepresented in the finds at Anibe. The cemetery of Shabītī,\(^5\) still further north, had been too much wrecked in modern times to present materials for such comparisons, but the surviving inscriptions show that it had contained the graves of important people.\(^6\) Mr. Firth found funerary inscriptions in Meroitic as far north as Medīk,\(^7\) but the accompanying burials appear to have been in Egyptian style with cartonnage, like the contemporary burials in the neighbouring Dodecaeschoenus.

Southwards from Faras, some of the New Kingdom rock-cut shaft graves that we cleared at Serra Gharb contained remains of the Meroitic period.\(^8\) At Buhon Dr. MacIver and Mr. Woolley found no separate Meroitic cemetery,\(^9\) but there were innumerable secondary interments, chiefly it seems of the middle Meroitic period (B), in the rock-cut graves of the Middle and New Kingdoms.\(^1\) At Kerma, near the Third Cataract, Dr. Reisner has fully recorded a considerable Meroitic cemetery, with antiquities apparently of all the periods.\(^2\)

Our work at Sanam, by the Fourth Cataract, was curiously unproductive of Meroitic remains, but such were evidently more plentiful on the opposite bank of the river at Napata itself; we found, however, some late Meroitic graffiti (\(^1\)) on loose fragments of sandstone blocks in the modern fort-ditch which crossed the hypostyle court \(^3\) of the Sanam temple from north to south, and it is not impossible that some of the rudest sculptures in the temple \(^4\) were of this period. In the 'Treasury', the only objects that might well be attributed to the Meroites were two fragments of pottery, perhaps left there by plunderers.\(^5\) In the cemetery we found only five Meroitic interments, all secondary in Ethiopian cave graves, and near together at the south-west corner, along the crest of the slope to the river bank.\(^6\) They were as follows:

618. Cave with stepped approach, chamber with smaller axial chamber. Outside and inside main chamber, five roughly shaped pieces of pink sandstone, all pierced as if forming a thick pipe of d. 10. In main chamber, fragment of pottery : two pieces of bronze. In filling of chamber, alabaster as if \(\approx\) feeding-cup as \(\approx\) but neater, thin, buff, painted red about spout ; two plates of bronze turned over, one with iron rivet, the other with two bronze rivets.

1200. Cave, step down to a platform, drop of 80, six steps, two narrower in embrasure, one to floor; chamber 210 x 170, h. 190, total depth about 250, axis 280.

On N. side, three asks, ext. In filling in front of door, several corn-grinders of coarse quartzite broken across; sandstone altar with trough in front of spout \(\approx\) \(\approx\) \(\approx\) \(\approx\) in filling of mouth of chamber, jar, reddish, wheel-made, painted red and polished, traces of yellow band at base of neck, h. 50, Pl. XII, Fig. 2; similar jar, as Fig. 1 (I), vase on stand rudely incised on shoulder,\(^1\) h. 45, w. 29; similar bowl, thick, d. 21, Pl. XII, Fig. 6. In filling at back of chamber, bowl of pale greenish glaze, plain, rim crinkled and line incised below edge, d. 18-5, Pl. XII, Fig. 7;

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2. Roeder, Tempel von Dakke, Taf. 94, 101; both are in the original chapels dedicated by Ergasenes.
5. MacIver and Woolley, Arrīka, chs. VI-VIII.
8. Annals, VIII, 98.
9. Unless the poor graves briefly described in Buhon, pp. 127, 128, prove to be of this age.
10. Annals, XI, Pl. XXXI.
two bronze edging plates from wooden (?) vessel, turned over and rivetted.

1203. Cave with steps, etc., two equal chambers, the inner with embrasure. On floor of inner chamber, 6 skulls towards river; jar with polished yellow facing, neck imperfect, present h. 39, Pl. XII, Fig. 3. In filling at door, bronze edging plate turned over and rivetted; thin iron plate or blade. In filling of outer chamber, jar, Pl. XII, Fig. 1, are as in 1200.

1210. Cave, 11 steps and embrasure, one chamber. About six 6 skulls disturbed, ext., heads to river. At entrance, upper half of polished red pot, dark lines on cream band, d. 29, Pl. XII, Fig. 4.

1215. Cave, 13 steps, two chambers of equal width. On floor of inner chamber, square stone 1. about 150. In outer chamber, red pot, with band of red and blackish lines on shoulder, h. 24, Pl. I, Fig. 5.

Of the pottery from these graves Fig. 3 seems to agree precisely with our Faras type III found in the cave graves (Period A), and Figs. 1, 2 are of the same fabric, in shape like II I. Fig. 5 is not unlike our types v and x. Fig. 6 is comparable to LXIII c, but I believe was thinner. Fig. 4 is of the fabric and peculiar colouring of II I, p, III c, XXIV which belong rather to period B. The alabastron in 618 and the altar in 1200 are Egyptian.

Far away in the south-east division of the Meroitic kingdom or empire Professor Garstang excavated in the non-royal cemeteries of Meroë. The finds in the later cemetery were not unlike ours of the same period, but the early cemeteries of about our earliest A period yielded pottery of entirely different classes and strange shapes, with some black cups and bowls resembling ours.1

To return to Faras, neither the isolated grotto of the Hathor-rock, which we cleared out, nor the débris lying in and around the New Kingdom grottoes in the western hill, with one exception, showed any trace of Meroitic use. The exception was a small unopened grotto which we discovered and cleared on the south side of the little ravine lying to the north of the open grottoes. Here, in the entrance, was a Meroitic A-B interment, while the chamber still contained the remains of a New Kingdom burial.2 The former comprised beads of gilded glass, remains of wooden

kohl-pot, polished brown jar with tassels pricked round base of neck, jar as III, red with purple lines, another plain red with horizontal polish, lekythos as XXXV b, cup as LXIV j.

Where the Meroitic habitations of Pakharas lay is not quite certain. Probably they were scattered. But a portion of the inhabitants must have lived where at least one Meroitic temple stood, on the river bank above the ancient temples of Thutmose III and Ramses II. It was probably not before the latest Meroitic period that this commanding point (like Sheikh Da'id, some sixty miles downstream) was enclosed by lofty walls with bastion towers of brick and stone. A mile to the west, across the now dry bed of the western channel, and on the edge of the desert, an isolated building with a great courtyard and numerous stone chambers, which we named originally the Meroitic House, par excellence, and now call the Western Palace, may have been the palace of the local king or pesuati. The dwellings of many of the people probably lay somewhere between and are now covered by sandhills. The fortified Enclosure is dealt with below in a separate section.

The area of cultivation westward is strewn with potsherds and fragments, most of which had been brought from the Enclosure with the sekhem. Beyond the dunes to the west are on the east side of the ancient river-channel some traces of Meroitic population were discernible. Across the channel but one spot was found with such indications. Here on the edge of the desert, close to the Southern Church, we excavated completely the shallow remains of the Western Palace. This structure, well laid out and built of the usual crude brick, was apparently quite isolated (Pl. XIII, XIV). It measured 36x38 metres, and consisted of a pillared courtyard, enclosed by small rectangular chambers, surrounding a central building 11 metres square. The latter at least may have had two stories, the foundations of a staircase being clearly seen in the S.E. corner, as Mr. Woolley pointed out to me. A single fragment of a stone window-grille was found in the stair-way chamber 7: it represented two lily flowers (not unlike Pl. XXXIX, 19, but squatter) in opposite contact by the petals. At some time in the Christian period or earlier, chambers were built in front of the colonnade, and the area of the court and colonnade was divided by cross walls.

On the E. face the walls are worn down to the bare rock, and of the rest

1. Garstang, Meroë, I, PIs. XXXVII-XLI (except 7, 8), XLII, 2-5, 7-9, XLIII-XLV, No. 81, and XLVI.

1. Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, ch. VI; Annals, VIII, Pl. I.
there remained unfortunately no more than the depth of from one to four bricks; the white ants also had been everywhere, but on the other hand the soil being dry desert was more preservative than in most of the Faras sites. The earliest dateable object from the house is a Greek potsherd found behind the colonnade near the N.W. corner, inscribed in a style to which Dr. A. S. Hunt gives a range from the second century B.C. to about 50 A.D.; it is probably from an imported wine-jar. A number of Merotic ostraca written in transition style were found in various chambers, especially in 1, 26, 37, 34, 43; fragments of blue glaze and a piece of wood-carving (Pis. XV, XIX) from chamber 34 point also to a good Merotic period; pegs and other portions of amphorae of type XLVI a or b indicate the same period. The Greek ostracon may perhaps be taken to approximately date the building and its main contents, say, to the first century A.D. In and about chamber 12 were many fragments of finely polished black vessels, often with incised ornament; and in the colonnade in front of 22 and 23 fragments of small circular pots and covers of polished black ware, incised and filled with red and white (Pl. XVI). In chamber 1 were small fragments of papyrus inscribed with Merotic and fragments of a thin wooden tablet similarly inscribed on one face, the other face destroyed; several fragments of very thin paper-like leather or skin were found in 45 written on the inner (smooth) side only, showing Merotic letters and numerals, the other side rougher and plain (Ash.). All these show the variety of materials used for writing, but unfortunately no more than one or two characters remained on each. Clay seals, with faint illegible impressions, were not uncommon (Brit. Mus. 51745-50). A piece of a pottery klepsydra-dipper as xxxiv and the cap of a bronze one were noticeable; there was also a fair amount of fragments of blown glass.

To the late style of Merotic writing belong two ostraca inscribed in white ink, one from chamber 2, the other found in the front colonnade south of the rounded platform shown in the plan. A pottery fragment with \( \text{flag} \) pattern, a piece of wood ornamented with tin shells (Pl. XVI, 7), two iron chisels, an ape in sandstone from chamber 34 (Pl. XV, 1), a fragment of purple glazed ware with wreath in relief, are worth mention. A Greek ostracon from chamber 2 is ascribed by Dr. Hunt to the fifth century A.D., and would therefore belong to the X-group or Blemmy-Nubian period (D). The nearness of the church was evidently responsible for the presence of Christian graves in chambers 2, 12, 27, the most important being in 2; here there were stone chips on the surface, and a good many objects of the Christian time.

The northern half of chamber 8 had a layer of ashes on the floor, and in the corner a large pot, d. 32 cm., full of clean sand, surrounded by a square of bricks on edge. In the N.W. corner of the colonnade were three large pots sunk in the floor with ashes about, and in the central pot were many baked seeds of \( \text{Mimosa Schimperi} \), as if destruction had come in the midst of cooking operations. Date stones, döm nute, seeds of \( \text{Balanites aegyptica} \), a seed of \( \text{Cordia myxa} \), remains of \( \text{dura} \), etc., were found in many places. The court east of the central building was thickly covered with the droppings of goats or sheep, and that on the south with those of cattle. Probably most of these things were of Christian date, when the churches and cemeteries hard by would have attracted multitudes to the place, and shelter would be needed for cooking food and resting.

The bulk of the inscriptions of Merotic age at Faras were in Merotic writing. Of inscriptions in Greek character it would be possible to attribute to this period a fragment found in the fortified Enclosure at the north end of the ruins of the temple of Thuthmosis III (Pl. XXVIII, 3); this appears to show the cornice of uaei so frequent on Merotic temples; but it is quite uncertain, and the inscription may be of Christian age and perhaps even in the Nubian language. The Merotics patriotically avoided both Greek and Egyptian demotic writing, and the only certain examples of these from Faras are the graffiti written on the shouldered wine-jars from the cemetery, probably by the foreign importers. Greek may have come in again in the Blemmy-Nubian period (D).

A curious inscription in relief on a block from the cemetery which otherwise we should have attributed to Tutankhamun is like nothing but a portion of the cartouche of a Merotic king written in Egyptian.

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XLI. THE FORTIFIED ENCLOSURE

Although the settlement grouped round the temple of Thutmosis III probably had a long and continuous existence, there is no evidence that it was enclosed by fortifications before the Meroitic period. The visible remains of the Enclosure are of a uniform style throughout. It was constructed of small stones below and crude brick above, combined in the style which is associated with the Meroitic and Christian periods in Nubia. Mr. Mileham records the finding of Meroitic potsherds amongst those laid between the courses of crude brick. While clearing at the western gate we sunk a pit to a depth of six feet entirely in the deeply laid hard mud floor of the gateway, and at four feet found embedded in it a fragment of a fine and thin but large bowl or cover of the Meroitic period B. On the west gateway are sculptured lions and an Egyptian cornice-moulding which can hardly be anything but pagan, and appear to belong to the late Meroitic age. The dressed stones about the gateways show some late drafting with the centre level or slightly raised (Pl. XXIV, 1). We therefore attribute the building of the Enclosure to late Meroitic times.

For a height of four metres the walls consist of small sandstone blocks, carefully coursed, nearly four metres thick, laid on a deposit of mud, and crude brickwork was carried up to nearly eight metres more on the top of the stone. The brickwork survives only about the south-west corner (Pl. XXII, 1, 2). Mr. Somers Clarke’s plan of 1899 shows some brickwork even on the corner bastion, and brickwork was then also traceable at intervals on the south wall beyond the gateway. On the west wall the brickwork continues for many metres as far as the first tower from the corner, and for a few feet at the highest point there seems to be smooth plastering along the top of the brickwork, probably showing the full original height. Here by good fortune we have also on the outside the base completely exposed, making measurement easy; one of the

1. See Pl. XXV for Mr. Woolley’s plan of January 1912. Mr. Mileham has most kindly given me his plan made in March 1909, and Mr. Somers Clarke the original of his interesting plan of January 1999, published in his Christian Antiquities in the Nubia Valley, Pl. XIV.
3. Cf. Woolley, Karanog, the Town, p. 10.
4. The two large gateways in the west and south walls were first recognised by Mr. Mileham, who cleared part of the western one in 1908 and found the sculptured animals referred to above. He also cleared the outline of the corner bastion and made other excavations.

1. Annals, VIII, Pl. XXVII, 12 and pp. 91-92.
2. Annals, XI, Pl. LXIX, 4; LXXII, 1.
4. Annals, XI, Pl. XIV, in the corner; the block of brickwork in the east chamber was evidently to support a staircase. The Meroitic ostraca, cited, Pl. LXXII, 16 (= F. O. 38) probably had been thrown out of this house. For Meroitic house plans see Kar. Town, Pls. 24-30; Bubast. Plan F.
5. F. O. 37.
footing blocks is sculptured with *kheker* ornament, and must have been taken from an Egyptian temple. The stonework is 3-80 metres in height, and the total height is 11-60 metres, or 38 feet. The bareness of the wall inside and out at this point has saved it. Elsewhere it has been banked up with drifted sand and rubble so that the easy-going Nubian cultivators were able to reach the brickwork without effort and remove it to their field, and after the bricks were gone the stones below could also be carried off whenever they might be wanted. Moreover it is said that some modern houses built against the inside of the wall, and parts of the wall itself, were cleared away for military reasons in the Dervish campaign of 1889 when guns were placed on the Christian citadel.

The square towers projecting at right angles from the wall, but now all ruined away to below the level of the brickwork, doubtless had their upper parts of brick like the wall. They were probably to be reached by passages from the inside of the wall through the brickwork. In the surviving length of about 40 metres of high brickwork there is only one ancient gap, and that is at the first tower from the corner, where there was a chamber in the wall entered from the town side by a narrow opening high up. The inner face of the Enclosure wall is here fairly well preserved and smooth, affording no indication of how the entrance was reached from below. Perhaps it was from some construction built against the wall and now cleared away, or by a wooden ladder. The chamber is opposite the western half of the tower, and may have led through the wall straight on to it, but the outer edge of the wall is broken away and the tower is ruined to far below this level, so that no access can now be seen. The tower itself seemed to be filled with rubbish as if it had been hollow, but only the south wall was definitely traced. Between this tower and the corner bastion marked on the plan, there is the appearance of another tower or buttress-wall very near the corner; if it was a tower it was about 8-50 metres wide, but the Enclosure wall here, though high, has no break for access to it; probably it is only an excavator’s carefully built pile of stones. The towers on this side were measured by Mr. Mileham, who found them to have been about seven metres square, and the corner towers about ten metres square.

The gate in the centre of the west side projected about ten metres from the wall and is 12-90 wide. It was evidently crowned by a tower. Two steps down into the passage remain at the outer entrance, the sides of which are ruined low, and probably other steps outside have been torn away. The entrance wall is faced with drafted stone round the door; so also is the passage, which mysteriously enough has a curved line incised along the stonework symmetrically on either side (Pl. XXVII, 2); it led into a roughly square guard-chamber 4-70 by 5-30 with low brick walling for benches or ‘mastabas’ on three sides. At 2-50 above the floor there is a slight trace of brickwork resting on the stone of the gate-tower; if this be not merely debris from above, the brickwork must have begun here lower than on the Enclosure wall. There are two steps down from the guard-chamber into the passage in the thickness of the Enclosure wall, and then two steps up to reach the level of the town inside, the foundation rising at the same time on the rubble. The Enclosure wall is here 3-60 wide at the top, and its stonework remains to 3-30 metres above the floor of the chamber. The impost of the arch facing the chamber, and four voussoirs, remain in place. The moulding on the impost is a variety of the Egyptian cornice. The voussoirs are much defaced, but the third on each side is sculptured with a lion in relief (Pls. XXIV, 2, XXVIII, 2). On the inner face of the wall, the arch of the entrance facing the town is entirely destroyed; at the base about two metres of the wall on either side of the doorway was of drafted stone, this width diminishing towards the top. A voussoir with a cross sculptured in relief upon it, found in the rubbish, may have been the keystone of the destroyed arch; another voussoir lying near showed a kind of rosette ornament (Pl. XXIV, 3) and may have decorated the same arch.

Immediately within the gateway the sand rises to a high mound topped by the foundations of a crude brick building (visible in Pl. XXII, 2), with traces of painting and Christian sculpture.

The south wall of the Enclosure is deeply ruined (Pl. XXIII, 1), and the gateway in it is a heap of ruins, yet the plan of the gateway above the floor is still partly recognisable, and resembles that of the west gate. The east end of the wall is traceable in the river bank, but the corner tower seemed to have quite gone since Mr. Mileham’s visit in the spring of 1909. The north wall, which presumably had a central gate also, is hidden under

1. To be published in the next part.
sand and rubbish; the north-west tower is traceable on the surface, and we found the north-east tower in excavating. No sign of a river wall was visible when we arrived, nor is there any indication of it in the earlier published plans; some trenching, however, revealed a portion of it towards the north end, but most of the rest is covered by palm plantations, or has been carried away by the river. What we found was chiefly a small plain gateway in the wall, narrowing outwards, the two fallen springer blocks showing precisely the same cornice as the West Gate (Pl. XXVI, 3-5).1

Just within the gate, with its sanctuary backed against the wall, was the 'Rivergate Church,' to be described fully later on.

Probably this small river gate was not the only one; there may well have been a large central gate with a small one north and south, but the palm-trees prevented further investigation of the river front.

Mr. Mileham describes a shallow brick-lined ditch which he discovered outside the Enclosure wall north of the West Gate.2 It was made, as we observed, in an old sand-drift which would otherwise have facilitated an attack on the wall. This sand-drift certainly existed in Christian times, for it contains early Christian graves, some of which lie over the ditch. No sign of the ditch continuing could be found by trenching opposite to or south of the gate, and in fact at the south end the sandheaps, whether old or new, lie at some distance from the Enclosure wall.

The Enclosure is of irregular shape. The west wall measures about 290 metres, and comprises four towers in the side besides the tower doors and gateway. The east wall along the river front was but little longer, 305 metres, and of the details of only the tower doors and a small gateway are as yet known. In the south wall, 200 metres long, there was a central gateway and probably two towers; the north wall measured barely more than 100 metres, and presumably contained a gateway but no other towers. A street probably passed from the south gate to the north gate, past the Thutmose temple through the hollow between the Citadel mound and the sandhill by the west gate, and a branch from this line led under the sandhill on the south through the West Gate. But little can be made of the topography of the town in the wholly ruinous state to which it has been reduced by successive generations of seekers for building material, and by the modern sebbakhin.

1. Mr. Mileham, however, had observed stonework of the River Gate under the surface sand and marked it in an unpublished plan.

The Citadel, known to the natives as Diffi, stands in the centre of the Enclosure. The northern end must be of Christian origin, but there seems no reason why the main part should not be as old as the Enclosure. One may conjecture that the residence of the pesetê and centre of his administration was normally the Western Palace, until the fear of Blemmy raids toward the end of the Meroitic period drove him to a safer and more advantageous position within a fortress commanding the main stream of the Nile. The history of the Citadel can only be ascertained by regular excavation; the little that we observed about it is contained in the sections that are to follow, describing the antiquities of the Christian period.

We owe to Mr. Mileham a valuable sketch (Pl. XXVIII, 4-6) of the exterior face of the gateway at Sheikh Da'd, north of Tomos showing the closest similarity to that at Faras. The Enclosure at Sheikh Da'd is described by him under the name of Begrâsh, a name taken from Arabic historians, which however must be corrected to Bakhara, and the city so designated placed not there but at Faras.2 It was much smaller than the Faras enclosure, measuring only about 100 metres by 70 metres.

XLII. CONTENTS OF PLATES

Pl. XII, 1-7. Meroitic pottery and glazed bowl (Ash.) from the Sanam cemetery (see above, p. 19).

Pl. XIII. Plan of the 'Meroitic House,' or Western Palace on the edge of the desert (see Annals, VIII, Pl. I, for its position).

Pl. XIV, 1. The Western Palace after excavation, from the north-west corner. Below it are the ruins of the Southern Church (Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, ch. VI) with mounds of cleared rubbish, and in the distance sandhills formed round tamarisks, etc. (see Annals, VIII, p. 2) on the formerly cultivated plain across the dry bed of a river branch.

2. The same from the south-east; behind it are small stone heaps marking the graves of the Christian cemetery No. 5.

Pl. XV. Objects from the Western Palace.

1. Sandstone ape wearing a beaded necklace with remains of colour.

1. Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, p. 4 and Pl. II, Fig. (e). There are several references to the place in Weuley, Korosha, The Town.
2. See the above-quoted paper on Pakhara (Journal of Eg. Arch., XI, pp. 294 et seqq.)
h. 33. A baboon-figure of Thoth seems to have been a proper adjunct to a secretarial bureau (see Borchardt, Dienstgebäude d. Auswirt, Antigene unter d. Ramesiden, Ä.Z., XLIV, 50; Bénédicte, Scribe et Babouin in Monuments et Mémoires Piot, XIX, 3; the Teaching of Amenophis contains several references to the baboon or Thoth as the watchful upholder of morality among scribes in writing and accounts. The figure was found lying in two pieces in the middle of chamber 34, and it is noteworthy that three Meroitic ostraca were found in the same chamber, as well as the ebony carving below. (Brit. Mus.)

2-5. Part of some object, possibly a stamp (?) or a processional staff (?) in ebony carved on all sides and on the top (2), full size. The lower end has been sown off without being trimmed. The winged figures of Ammon holding ostrich feathers before an altar are paralleled by one sculptured at Wâdi es-Sufra (L. D. V, 74 b); corresponding figures of Isis as protectress are common. The design of a scarab holding a disk would have filled the space at the upper end without further signs, so that it cannot be interpreted as part of a cartouche.

Pl. XVI, 1. Narrow band of leather ornamented with green cut leather appliqué.
2. Narrow band of brown cut leather.
3. Ivory for inlay.
4. Fragment of thin bright green glass, the surface ground to leave a narrow raised fillet. (Another fragment is plain bright red.)

5, 6. Circular leather cap for a case, yellowish, edge (in 6) bound with alternate strips white and black (?) and top edge (in 5) covered with band of red (?) sewn on with thick alternate red (?) and black stitches, cruciform ornamentation of top in green, red, white, and black stitches.

7, 8. Remnant of flat circular wooden cap for a case, eaten by insects. On top edge two shell-shaped ornaments of tin appliqué and a Meroitic inscription of which is uncertain; depth of rim about 1, round it string of tin bead-like ornaments.

(All on Pl. XVI in Ash, full size.)

Pl. XVII, 1. Bronze plate, perhaps from a lock, double row of dots round edge, each corner pierced and two rivets remaining, half size. (B.M., 51783.)

2. Sandstone stamp, two disked uraei; half size. (B.M., 51751.)
3. Pottery jar- lid, saucer-shaped with central knob, pink with five concentric red and black rings; d. 9, h. 3-5. (B.M., 51782.)

4. Fragment of hand-made pot, reddish and black, band of triangles filled with wedge-shaped impressions; full size. (Ash.)
5. Fragment of hand-made cup, brownish-black, surface burnished, rim plain, band of two coarse zigzags filled with white; full size. (Ash.)

Pl. XVIII. Black pottery from the Western Palace.

6-12. Cups of black ware, brilliantly polished, some plain, others with incised or comb-impressed ornaments and embossed; made up from fragments found in and about chamber 12, scale 1: 8, and 11 in B.M.; 6, 9, 10, 12 in Ash.

Pl. XIX, 1. Miscellaneous beads of blue glass with one small eye-head of glass. (Ash.)
2. Drop pendant. (Ash.)
3. Pendant bull’s head with disk. (Ash.)
4. Fragment of rim with mouldings in relief, l. about 8.
5. Fragment of rectangular box showing part of end with grapes (?), one side with rams' heads (?), and base; full h. 2-4, w. 3-5. (B.M., 51794.)
6. Fragment of casket, l. c. 14; queen or goddess Mutnis under a canopy between a lion-headed goddess and a human-headed goddess with hawk on head. (Cf. Meroitic Inscriptions, I, Pl. XVIII, no. 14 and p. 90.)

7, 8. Head broken from the figure of a duck or goose, with plate and tang at back of neck for attachment to ceiling or wall; the beak imperfect, strongly moulded, centre of eye a raised black spot; plate 5-7 x 3-8, the tang expanding outward (Ash.). If this was to be fixed to a wall, one may compare with it the sculptured ducks hung from columns at Tell el-Amarna, although the direction of the head is different; there would then have been further attachments for the body. If the bird was hung by the neck from the ceiling, we may perhaps compare an unearthen in ivory (described as a handle) from Samaria, see Reisner, Harvard Excavations at Samaria, II, Pl. 56 f.

9, 10. Bunch of grapes, l. 11-5, thickness 4-7; front and back triangular and nearly flat, moulded, sides slightly curved, plain; the top broken showing hollow inside with junction of the moulds of the two halves (Ash.).
(Another fragment in B.M., 51750, shows part of glazed peg-hole for fixing.)

11. Ox’s hoof broken off from a figure, well moulded, w. 4-5, h. 6. (B.M., 51743.)

12. Vessel or cover in the form of a lotus leaf with angular stem-handle, d. 23.

Pl. XX, 1, 2. Blue glazed bowl, d. 16, h. 9-5, with disked heads of Ammon ram separately moulded and appliqué at equal intervals, five inside the rim, six outside on the shoulder; restored from fragments. (B.M.)

3, 4. Similar bowl, d. 18, h. 10; badly made. One-third of the rim after glazing has broken away owing to the material in this part being too thin, and has slipped down on to the side where it became fixed by the glaze; the rim has then been repaired clumsily with a new piece and re-glazed. The rams’ heads, more numerous than on the last, are very irregularly placed, having apparently slipped in the glazing; on three-quarters of the rim inside fourteen are still traceable, some being on the mended part; others are outside down to the shoulder. Marks of at least four supporting points are seen on the bottom. Restored from fragments. (Ash.)

The shape of these glazed bowls and of the little cup Pl. XXI, 1, 2, may be compared to that of the bronze bowls, br. type iv (vol. XI, Pl. XXXII) which are early.

Pl. XXI, 1, 2. Small glaze cup with in-turned rim, beaded ornament on rim and shoulder. (B.M., 51793.)

3. Fragment of glazed lid of rectangular box, l. 10. (B.M., 51742.)

4. One of three cones of soft whitish composition, weights varying from 96 to 120 grains (=6-22-7-76 grammes). The weights are too irregular to be significant; the cones may be pieces for a game. (Ash.)

(All the above objects, from Pl. XV onwards, are from the Western Palace.)

5-9. Fragments of stone grilles from the Enclosure, photographed by Mr. Mileham in 1908-9; cf. Pl. XVIII.

10. The south-west corner of the fortified Enclosure, taken from the south-west; over the corner is seen the Citadel; the workmen are standing on the line of the south wall, and beyond them is a ruined vaulted building of Christian age. The trees are tamarisks and date-palms.

Pl. XXII, 1. The south-west corner of the Enclosure, showing in the foreground the lower courses of the bastion tower as outlined by Mr. Mileham’s excavation, the wall consisting of stone below and of brick above, and at the extreme left the angle formed by a second tower with a heap of stones between the towers probably placed there by excavators. On the right is the line of the south wall with part of the brickwork remaining.

2. The line of the west wall, showing the stone base of a tower, and the passage through the brick wall above; beyond it the wall is cut by a saqqa trench through the sand, and continues to be traceable by a narrow line of stones to a second tower, and thence to the site of the gateway on the extreme left, in front of which is a mound of sand crowned by a small Christian ruin. In the centre rises the Citadel.

Pl. XXIII, 1. The line of the south wall marked by stones and rubbish with the Citadel and the Christian ‘domed building.’ The site of the south gateway is on the extreme right.

2. The River Gate in the east wall towards the north end, looking inwards, showing a secondary level for the passage; an impost block with Egyptian cornice moulding lies as it fell in the passage-way.

3. The West Gate from the south-west, looking up the half excavated passage to the inner doorway; on the stones of the passage is incised a curve rising sharply from the right and dropping slowly to the left (Pl. XXVII, 2); a precisely corresponding curve is incised on the opposite wall, but it is difficult to see the purpose of these as guiding lines. Photograph by G. H. Mileham, 1909.

Pl. XXIV, 1. Inner gateway of the West Gate from the passage, showing remains of the arch, and mastaba supports on the floor of the guard-room.

2. One of the two lions facing each other on opposite vousoirs of the inner doorway; the treatment of the hind-quarters of the animal with a rounded patch at the joint is paralleled on a fragment of Merotic painted pottery from Faras (unfortunately mislaid). The other lion seems to have been identical, but is in much worse condition.

3. Vousoir of an arch sculptured with rosettes, found within the Enclosure near the West Gate, and probably belonging to the eastern door of the gate.

Pl. XXV. Plan of the Enclosure by C. L. Woolley, the modern saqqas and the line of the river-bank added from other sources. The nomenclature used follows the river as flowing from ‘south’ to ‘north,’ and
not the compass indications. (a) Church by the River Gate; (b) church at north end of citadel; (c) foundations of Christian building on a sand-hill; (d) brick, and (e) heavy stone foundations in the hollow south-west of the Citadel, perhaps belonging to a temple of Thutmosi III, many blocks from which are lying about (Annals, VIII, 89-90); (f) ruins of high 'vaulted building' of brick (Christian).

Pl. XXVI, 1. Plan of the passage through the west wall of the Enclosure to a tower.
2. Section of ditto.
3. Plan of northern River Gate.
4. 5. Fallen block with cornice lying in the River Gate, plan and section.
Pl. XXVII, 1. Plan of the West Gate.
2. 3. Sections of the West Gate. The curved line on the wall in 2 is only approximately rendered.
Pl. XXVIII, 1. West Gate, elevation of inner door.
2. Lion sculptured on left jamb, see description Pl. XXIV, 2.
3. Rough sketch of fragment of a small cornice, perhaps from a stela, sculptured with uraei (?) and inscribed in Greek or Nubian; found within the Enclosure towards the south end.
4. 5. 6. The gateway at Sheikh Dašd, drawings by G. S. Mileham, 1907. He notes that the lower courses are of 'ashlar, hammer-dressed, no mortar, above them is 'rubble in mud mortar,' then 'half a dozen courses of mud brick, and over that more rubble.' See the photograph, Churches in Lower Nubia, Pl. 2 (a).

Pl. XXIX. Antiquities from within the Enclosure.
1. Fist of statue in pink sandstone, above life size, perhaps Merotic. Found by Mr. Mileham within the Enclosure, and deposited by him near the south-west tower.
2. Fragment of sculpture in two registers: in the first a row (?) of flowers, in the lower, open lotus flower with seed vessel at the side. From the site of the temple of Thutmosi III.
3. Half of door-lintel originally sculptured with winged disk on an Egyptian cornice crowned by uraei; the clumsy Merotic uraeus, pendant from the disk, is seen at the right-hand end. Another fragment shows the other wing, but the middle part with the disk is missing. From inside the Enclosure. Another example from Faras is figured by Woolley, Kar. Town, Pl. 17.

4. Granite capital, the base hollowed out to convert it into a holy-water stoup, from church site in the south-west corner of the Enclosure.

5-7. Fragments of grilles in reddish terra-cotta, showing head of was-sceptre with lotus flower and twisted ropes or plant stems. From the church site and in the region south-west of the Citadel.

8-23. Fragments of stone grilles including was, 'ankh, winged serpent, bunch of grapes, lotus flower, twisted stems. Mostly from the same site, but 8-15, nude human figure carrying some object on his shoulder, was brought from the fields whither it had probably been carried with the schdht. See also Pl. XXI, 5-9.

Compare the collections from Halfa (i.e. Buhon) and Faras in Woolley, Kar. Town, Pls. 16, 17; they include a solar child-god, lion-headed, from Faras. It is unfortunate that only fragments of these grilles have been found; the was fragments in Kar. Town, Pl. 16, give some idea of the complete grille. A plan of the isolated building ('Hill Shrine') in the desert from which the Buhon fragments came is given in Buhon, Plan E, pp. 126-7.

Pl. XXX. Antiquities from within the Enclosure.
1. Uninscribed altar, disk and horns of Isis engraved on the spout. A similar device is seen on the Moscow inscribed stela, Mer. Inscr., II, Pl. XLV, and is easily explained by the fact that Isis was the leading deity in the Merotic funerary invocations. The altar with the disk and horns of Isis occurs as a symbol or ornament, Annals, XI, Pl. XL, 1, LXXII, 7; Merc. Pl. XLII, 1—Pl. XLVII; Kar. Cem., Pl. 78, no. 8482, 97, no. 9000; Kar. Town, Pl. 15.
2. Sphinx of classical female type.
3. 4. Sandals sculptured in detail and in outline on rectangular blocks, probably representing those of pilgrims for dedication in a temple visited by them. From the church site in the south-west corner.

5. Fragments of a slab sculptured with rows of cock, from the site of the Thutmos temple (south-west from the Citadel). An earlier sculpture of cock and hens is in the court of the shrine of Pyr. A 10 at Merc., L. D. V. 22.
ERRATA IN PREVIOUS VOLUMES

Vol. VIII
p. 103, l. 11: for Pl. XI, 19 read Pl. XII, 17.
  l. 12: for Pl. XI, 8 read Pl. XII, 8.
  l. 14: for Pl. XI, 1 read Pl. XI, 6 and Pl. XII, 1.

Vol. IX
p. 99, l. 9: for 'eight' read 'six.' Six is indeed the usual number of spokes figured in Egyptian chariot wheels.

Vol. X
p. 145, l. 5: for VIII read XVIII.
Pl. XXI: read 'All full size except 8, 13' (the height of these is given in the description on p. 119).

Vol. XI
p. 115. Professor Junker in his instructive memoir Ermenes recently published in the Denkschriften of the Vienna Academy brings forward strong arguments to show that the C-group cemeteries not only continued through and after Dyn. XII (in which he agrees with Reisner and Firth), but even overlapped Dyn. XVIII; the gap in Nubian archaeology between Dyn. XII and Dyn. XVIII would thus disappear entirely. A promised memoir on a great cemetery of the period at Toshke will doubtless throw fresh light on the question.

p. 162, l. 24: for 2832/5 read 2832A/5.

p. 165, l. 15: for 2323/2 read 2323B/2.

p. 171, l. 23: for Thutmose I read Thutmose III.
  l. 31: for 2553 (?) read 'brick buildings attached to Tutankhamun Temple.'

p. 175, l. 10: after '1' insert 91A.
  l. 21: after 'Moslem' omit (!).

p. 177, l. 28: read 2326/2.
  last line: the ostraca are now published in Journal Egypt.
  Arch., XI, 218-224.

Pl. XXXII, in title: for POTTERY read BRONZE.

Vol. XII
p. 82, l. 16: for 'varies' read 'vary.'
p. 84, l. 2 from below: for 'Anderson' read 'Addison.' I must apologise to Mr. Addison, the Assistant-Conservator of Antiquities at Gordon College, Khartoum, for the strange oversight which permitted his name to be so transformed.

p. 87, l. 20: read XXIII, 2.
p. 144, l. 9: omit 2.
p. 149, l. 23: read XXIII, 3.
p. 168, l. 10: read 20=Suppl. Pl. XXVIII, 1 (Ha.).
were such as to prevent absolutely our thinking that they got there at any time after the construction of the buildings.

Mr. Wace may be a heretic in his views on the Later Helladic civilisation, but as regards the dating of the great buildings of Mycenae he would seem to have the right to be regarded as a reformer.

OXFORD EXCAVATIONS IN NUBIA

BY F. Ll. GRIFFITH, M.A.

WITH PLATES XXXI-LXV

(Continued from p. 37)

XLIII. A SYMBOL OF ISIS-WORSHIP

A fragment of sculptured sandstone that was overlooked in making up the plates for the last section has a considerable interest in connection with the latest phases of pagan religion. It was found in clearing the remnants of the Great Church towards the south-west corner of the Enclosure, and is now figured on Pl. XXXVII, fig. 6. It shows the upper part of a straight wand with three successive tufts distinctly reeded, and spreading on both sides of the wand in inverted triangles. Roeder has collected many instances of this symbol from the temples and other sacred places of the Dodecaschoenus and Philae; they are most abundant about the shrine in the quarry at Kardassia, where the graffiti date from the third century A.D., and they are very conspicuous in the hands of all the principal figures in the "Ethiopian Chamber" at Philae, which are probably of the same age. The closest analogy to our example is seen in a fragment, apparently the lower part of a narrow tapering stela, which Roeder found among the rubbish at the north edge of the temple at Kalabahe; it is not impossible that the fragment from Faras belongs to such a stela, though it is doubtful whether the stone tapers. So sculptured on a stela, it would appear probable that the wand was not only a symbolic staff to be carried by the initiated in ceremonies, but was actually also a cult-object. Roeder treated it as a flower-bouquet, and called it "the flower of Isis"; but in the numerous instances now known there is no variation from the stiff lines of which it is composed: the

2. Mer. Inscr., II, Pl. XVIII.
3. Die Blumen, etc., 120.
shape could be obtained by trimming a palm-leaf, though the leaflets of the palm would be less regular and close than in the symbol. Reeder is probably right in associating the symbol especially with Isis-worship. He quotes one instance painted on a vase of the X group (Byzantine) at Gerf Hussein. The present is the first example noted from Nubia above the Dodecaschoenous. All instances of the symbol are probably very late; but a similar design, only reversed, is seen on early Meroitic black hand-made pottery. An Isis-altar between ordinary palm-branches is engraved on a late bronze bowl from Faras. An argument for the symbol being a cut palm-branch may be derived from the following facts: a fine altar from Faras, an unmistakable palm-branch is lying in the spout; the only other altar having an object similarly placed is one at Cairo with an object like the above wand of Isis lying in the spout. In publishing it, I suggested that this object represented a cord with five sapye buckets, and it is still possible that, in spite of the unsuitable shape of the buckets, some such explanation is correct; just as streaming water is indicated in the spouts of several other altars. It should be noted that on an uninscribed altar from Aniba, in which a vine trails round the sides and down the spout, and a palm tree with bunches of fruit occupies the centre, two ‘Isis wands,’ each with four tufs, meet each other horizontally on the side away from the spout. In these again we might recognize cords and buckets for irrigation, an explanation that is impossible for the frequent instances in which the ‘tufts’ are reeded.

XLIV. CHRISTIANITY IN NUBIA

In an earlier part of this memoir I gave a brief account of Nubia in Meroitic times, of the coming of the Blenmyes into the Nile Valley from the Eastern Desert, the settlement in the Dodecaschoenous of Nubia from the Western Desert at the invitation of Diocletian, and subsequent events down to the end of pagan worship at Philae under Justinian. Theodosius indeed had decreed the closing of heathen temples throughout the empire in 379, more than 150 years before Justinian’s action; but even in Upper Egypt generally the decree was only made effective in

course of time through the violent activities of the monks; and in Philae itself, on the very frontier, paganism was long tolerated for the sake of peace with the people of Nubia; graffiti of priests of Isis in Greek and demotic are found there of this period, dated in 384 and 395 (the use of Meroitic writing having probably ceased about the end of the third century), and after a gap of sixty years recommence in a series 452, 456-457 and 473-474 immediately after the conclusion in 401 of a treaty of a hundred years, under the terms of which the Blenmyes were permitted to visit the temple annually. Wileen has proved that churches already stood on the Island of Philae in 420-450, and according to a monkish tale Christianity had some footing there as early as the fourth century, when one of its followers contrived by stratagem to abolish the cult of the sacred hawk.

Christianity, however, appears not to have penetrated beyond Philae before the reign of Justinian, when missionaries were sent into Nubia. According to the account given by Joannes, Monophysite bishop of Ephesus (c. 516-550), this must have happened between 540 and 548. He relates that a Monophysite priest Julianus, chosen by Theodosius the patriarch of Alexandria and sent by the Empress Theodora, remained in Nubia for two years, and baptized the king and the nobles; a rival Mellite, or orthodox Greek party despatched by the emperor from Constantinople, arriving later, failed to persuade them to be re-baptized, and a missionary bishop Longinus, sent by the patriarch of Alexandria, completed in six years the work begun by Julianus. Thus the Nubians embraced the Monophysite faith of Egypt, and not the orthodox faith of Constantinople. The question whether the forcible closing of the temple of Isis at Philae, the Mocca of pagan worship for Nubia, followed or preceded the conversion of the Nubians, cannot as yet be decided.

2. Wileen, Archäé f. Papyrologie, 1, 307, quoting works of Letronne and Heinrich Brugsch.
5. Kaufmann, Handbuch d. altchristl. Epigraphik, 146, attributes a Nubian tombstone written in Greek to 344, but the reading of the date is quite uncertain, and it must be many centuries later (Junker, Zeits. f. d. Spr., LX, 144, now reads it at 238); and op. cit., 253, the tombstone of a bishop of Isis to 375, whereas Heindorff showed long ago that the date of the Coptic monument in question is really 1053, Zeits. f. d. Spr., XLIV, 133.
6. For the history of the church and Christian kingdom of Nubia, so far as the very scanty records permit of its reconstruction, see Reeder, Die christliche Zeit Nubiens und des Sudan in Zeits. f. Kirchengeschichte, XXXIII; also Budge, The Egyptian Sudan, Vol. II, ch. xii, xv.
J. Maspero would place the former about 535, but other authorities about 560.

This account of the conversion of the Nubians, by a contemporary author, though a distant one, can hardly be set aside. On the other hand, Eutychius in the tenth century and Maqrizi in the fourteenth to fifteenth centuries tell a rather different story— that the Nubian church was Melkite until the Moslem conquest of Egypt, when, there being no Melkite patriarch at Alexandria, after seventy-seven years the Nubian demand for bishops was satisfied by the Monophysite patriarch sending them bishops of his own persuasion; whence the church became Monophysite.

Despite their conversion, the Nubians continued to be a danger to Egypt, and about 680 their incursions had to be checked by a punitive expedition under the general Aristomachus. In 641-642 Egypt was conquered by the Moslems; in 652 Nubia was successfully invaded, Dongola, its capital, besieged, the church there shattered by the military engines, and a mosque built just outside for the besiegers. After sung for peace the country was subjected to an annual tribute of slaves.

Dongola (Dunqul) above the Third Cataract, and Soba on the Blue Nile above Khartum, were the capitals of two separate Christian kingdoms in Nubia. Of the southern kingdom almost nothing is known; but of the kingdom of Dongola many facts are related by Arab writers, and we know the names (chiefly Byzantine and Biblical—Mercurius, Georgius, David, Zacharias, etc.) of many successive kings, and some of the events in their reigns, from the eighth century to the eleventh, and again in the thirteenth. On the whole, it is a sad story of wearing down by internal dissensions, by attacks of the Moslems from Egypt, and by recurrent invades of Arabs from the desert and the peninsula. At the end of the fourteenth century Dongola ceased to be a capital, and at the end of the next century Christianity must have been practically extinct throughout Nubia.

Nubia has at all times been a poor country, and its churches, the chief monuments of Nubian Christianity, are puny indeed. Byzantine or Coptic sculptors and artists were probably introduced from Egypt to erect and decorate them; but the primitive art of building walls and vaults in crude brick still survived among the people. The later churches and restorations consist chiefly of heavy masses of mud-brick plastered and decorated with paintings (which, indeed, are not without merit), and no work in stone beyond the re-use of old material was then attempted. In pottery alone the native craftsmen of mediaeval times shows some of the skill of his predecessors in the Proto-dynastic, C-group and Merotic periods.

The language now spoken by the Barabra natives of Lower Nubia and known as Nubian, is related to many of the dialects or languages found amongst the Nuba hills of Kordofan and Darfur. When it was discovered that Nubian roots were unmistakably recognisable also in names recorded by Pliny from the neighbourhood of Meroe and the Red Sea, it was naturally hoped that Nubian would furnish the key to the language of the Merotic inscriptions. Whatever may be the explanation, it now seems almost certain that the Merotic language has but a slender connection with Nubian, although individual Nubian roots seem to occur in it. About the end of the third century Merotic writings cease and Greek and demotic alone continue. In the sixth century the inscription of King Silko at Kalabsha, the earliest Christian record known from Nubia, is written in Greek; while that of King Eirpanome at Dendi, about 577, is in Coptic, which had of course displaced the pagan demotic entirely.

The earliest written example of Nubian dates from 790, nearly a century and a half after the treaty with the Moslems. A certain number of Egyptian or Coptic words are found in this Old Nubian, most of them adopted already in the pagan period. Old Nubian books are translated from Greek, not from Coptic, and the Old Nubian graffiti have an intermixture of Greek words; Abu Salih (c. 1200) tells us that Greek was the language of the ritual in the Nubian churches; Greek too is the usal language on tombstones, all others from Lower Nubia being in Coptic and none in Nubian. Yet strange to say, no scrap of a Greek book has yet appeared among the fragments of writings from Nubia. The prevalence in many places of Coptic, even in graffiti, as against the basalt

1. Wilhelm, Grundriß, p. 68.
2. All the known churches of Nubia, both early and late, simple as they are, are recognisably Byzantine rather than Coptic, both in plan and in painted decoration.
3. See the valuable account in Milham, Churches in Lower Nubia, ch. II, and the even more important one by Somers Clarke, Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley, ch. v.; the latter authority also describes work in burnt brick and in stone, though more briefly than the crude-brick vaulting and domes.
Greek, must be largely due to communities of Coptic refugees who had fled from Moslem persecutions in Egypt.

XLV. THE CHRISTIAN ANTIQUITIES OF FARAS (PACHORAS) AND THE WORK OF THE EXPEDITION

In the sixth century A.D., at the time of the conversion of Nubia to Christianity, it would appear that a strong fortress, already perhaps nearly three hundred years old, formed the centre of Pachoras. The fortified Enclosure with its towers and gates\(^1\) stretched about 300 metres along the west bank of the Nile, and within it were contained certainly two or three Egyptian and Meroitic temples built of stone, and presumably a multitude of dwellings. Six hundred metres N.W. of the Enclosure lay the great cemetery of Meroitic Faras with numerous mastaba-tombs of monumental size,\(^2\) and half as far to the S.W. rose an isolated rock on the north side of which lay remnants of the ancient shrine of Hathor of_Ashek,\(^3\) disused and forgotten for fifteen hundred years. Groves of palm trees and broad fields with water-wheels\(^4\) and grazing cattle stretched from the river bank for a mile westward to where a narrow streamlet of the Nile, the last remnant of a larger arm, curved along the desert edge, and made an island of the cultivation. Across this stream the most substantial piece of man's handiwork then standing was the Meroitic Western Palace, built of crude brick in a great square court.\(^5\) At the present day the small channel is dry, and most of the old cultivated area is replaced by dunes of drifted sand through which, here and there, the stems and roots of tamarisk bushes strive to pierce and find subsistence.\(^6\)

Meanwhile, before its decay, Pachoras enjoyed a period of exceptional prosperity. In the centre of the Enclosure the Christian rulers, if they did not erect the lofty Citadel, at least added to its northern end a substantial platform supporting a church and other buildings, and at various points within the Enclosure they built churches, of which a Great one towards the south-west corner and a lesser one near the northern River Gate are definitely known. To the south a church was built on the Hathor rock, to the north another on the top of a mastaba in the Meroitic cemetery. Halfway to the last was a large building with a chapel and Coptic inscriptions, perhaps a monastery, tenanted later by potters who could still turn out ware of excellent quality. A dense population seems to have been settled about two miles to the south-west of the Citadel, where now all is sand, gravel, and desolation, and only innumerable potters bear witness to its former life. Almost everywhere at Faras the ground is more or less strewed with pottery of Christian date, and this continues in the dips among the sandhills; a deserted stūpā pit and channel are seen here far away from the present cultivation.\(^1\) Across the streamlet extensive cemeteries were formed along the desert edge, and at their southern end two churches were built near the Western Palace. At the other extremity, on the edge of the high desert, an anchorage took possession of a grotto, which some local magnate under the New Kingdom had excavated in the rock for his tomb, and this place remained sacred for centuries. Sheikh Jebel also, a conspicuous pyramidal hill some miles away to the west,\(^2\) was then, as now, a goal of local pilgrimage, where votaries obtained the spiritual and bodily refreshment which ensues on a long tramp in the pure desert air. A northern outpost of Pachoras was the long-since deserted monastery or village of Wizz, 2 ½ kilometres from the citadel, on the point of the cliff where the line of high desert returning from the west again reaches almost to the Nile.\(^3\)

The inscriptions from Faras included a few Greek and Coptic tombstones from the churches and cemeteries, a few graffiti in Greek, Coptic, and Nabian in the churches, and long Coptic inscriptions with some later Greek and Nabian graffiti from the cell or chapel on the edge of the desert. The principal inscriptions in this cell are dated in the seventh indication in the year 455 of Diocletian = A.D. 739, and a Coptic graffiti on the east wall is dated in 649 of Diocletian = A.D. 933. In the more northerly of the two churches on the edge of the desert is a Coptic graffiti dated in 597 of the Martyrs = A.D. 881, and a Greek tombstone found loose in the haikal of the Rivergate Church is dated in 897 of the Martyrs = A.D. 1181.

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1. Above, p. 25 and Pl. XXV.
2. Vol. XI, Pl. XIV.
3. Vol. VIII, Pl. XVII, b, c.
4. Stūpās pāta for water-wheels are first recognisable at Faras in graves of the end of the Meroitic period (G); see Vol. XII, p. 71.
5. Above, p. 21 and Pls. XIII, XIV.

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2. Visible in Pl. XLIX, 2.
3. See the map in Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, Pl. 10.
These dates, rare as they are, are perhaps not without significance. As to the western border of Faras, the inscriptions and graffiti in its churches, cemeteries, and anchorite’s grotto are purely Coptic from the eighth to the tenth century, whereas elsewhere Nubian and Greek inscriptions as well as Coptic are known of this age. One may conjecture that at that time in the population of Pachoras, the provincial capital, there was a distinct Coptic religious element with a special quarter or settlement in the west, and the arrival of this element before 739 may be connected with the dispatch of Monophysite teachers from Egypt, about eighty years after the Moesian conquest had put an end to the influence of the Orthodox church in Alexandria, as well as with the severe persecution of Copts in Egypt in 722. The latest Christian dates in Nubia are found on Greek tombstones, there being three of the twelfth and one even of the thirteenth century. The Copticising tendencies noted above seem to have weakened with the decay of Coptic influence in Egypt, and though apparently cut off from direct communication with Byzantium, the Nubian church revived its memories of the Greeks of Alexandria and Constantinople, and took pride in that ancient connection.

In 1910-1911, when Dr. Blackman was my assistant, the work of the expedition was almost confined to the extensive Meroitic cemetery of Faras, but in that cemetery we found and excavated a church and a few Christian graves. In the second season our efforts were more dispersed, and the greater part of the materials for the remainder of this memoir was then collected with the very effective aid of Mr. C. L. Woolley. In the region just outside Faras we discovered a new church at East Serra, and still further afield, by Mr. Edwin Freshfield’s instigation and help, a record was made of an extraordinary little chapel at the Second Cataract. Miss E. M. Cochrane kindly contributed a number of coloured drawings of the paintings discovered in the second season.

In working up the material for publication (more than ten years ago), I had the advantage of consulting the Rev. C. R. D. Biggs, D.D., who spared valuable hours to the congenial task of interpreting the frescoes; Sir Herbert Thompson and Mr. W. E. Crum helped in various questions connected with Coptic. Mr. G. H. Mileham gave me valuable hints of an architectural sort on the Nubian churches, and supplied me with photographs taken in 1908-1909 during his own explorations in and about Faras for the Eckley B. Cox expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. Here as always Mrs. Griffith has prepared the plates; many drawings are entirely her own work, and all have been re-traced, copied, or otherwise completed by her for the publication.

The sculptures that were discovered, so far as they were not left on the spot, have been mostly retained by the Sudan Government for the Museums at Halfa and Khartum; the finest capital, however, from the Great Church is in the British Museum, and there, as well as in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, the Museums of Edinburgh, Berlin, etc., some examples are preserved of the scanty finds which we made of small antiquities of the Christian period.

XLVI. CHRISTIAN REMAINS IN AND ABOUT THE ENCLOSED

(1) The Citadel and its Church.

The centre of the fortified Enclosure is occupied by an extensive building which on account of its commanding position we call the Citadel. There is no necessity to assume that the central building is of the same age as the Meroitic Enclosure walls; it may be either earlier or later, and the problem of its history and purpose can only be solved by excavation. While Mr. Mileham calls it a citadel or a castle, Mr. Somers Clarke labels it a "ruin of monastery" and Mr. Woolley preferred the latter name, remembering that in Egypt monasteries were also places of defence. This Citadel has been patched and altered, down to the building of a tower on the west side as a look-out in the Dervish time: much of the latest work is of stone probably stolen from the walls of the Enclosure, but the chief masses are of crude brick. So far as it is visible at the present day, it is a series of one- and two-story buildings on a high mound with walled court at the south end, huts etc. on a platform at the north

1. See the plan of the Enclosure, Pl. XXV.
2. First shown in Bux’s view from the river in 1819. Anci without de la Nubie, opposite Pl. LVI. Photographs from the north and south-west are in Mileham’s Churches in Lower Nubia, Pl. 11, and a sketch of the north end is in Somers Clarke’s Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley, p. 96. Views are given in our Pls. XXXI, XXXII.
3. Churches in Lower Nubia, p. 34.
4. On his plan of the Enclosure, op. cit., Pl. XIV.
5. See the illustration of the ill-built court wall and tower from the south-west, Mileham, Pl. 11 (b). In an older and more careful piece of work at the south-east there are larger blocks, some bearing Egyptian and Meroitic sculpture.
end, and the tower in the middle of the west side. The front towards
the river has a length of about fifty-five metres. The north end measures
about 16:50 metres, but the Citadel is of very irregular shape and is much
wider elsewhere. Its height would enable it to dominate the whole of
its district, and, until the sand and trees built up the great dunes on the
west, its garrison could have sighted clearly up to the high desert
hills.

At the north end the huts are supported on oblong vaulted chambers
of brickwork to the interior of which there appears to be no proper
access. These blind vaults are clearly seen only about the north-east
corner, where a number of parallel chambers running east and west can
be entered through the broken east wall and are bounded at the west
end by others running north and south; one of the latter is accessible
through a forced entrance in the middle of the north wall. One
whether they continue throughout the mound, as is asserted by the natives, or
were built to raise an additional piece to the level of an earlier citadel-
platform, is an open question. These vaultings, which seemed to us to be
only substructure, are themselves raised high above the ground level,
but what it is that supports them and the rest of the Citadel it is at
present impossible to say: it might be an artificial pile of rubbish and
sand, or the ruins of an earlier citadel, or a further substructure of the
same character and date, or even a rock like that of the Hathor temple.

From the rectangular block of brick vaulting at the north end the
outer walls are carried up continuously to contain chambers of which the
principal part is a church occupying half if not the whole of the north
side. Vaulting and church are almost necessarily of one date, and thus
the only part of the Citadel which is as yet demonstrably old is Christian.
Excavation alone can reveal the evidence for other early structures
there.

Mr. Mileham, guided by some paintings on the walls, described the
remains of the church as a small chamber which served as a chapel with
another chapel adjoining; it was deep in rubbish, roofless and much
ruined. But our closer examination of the interior and partial clearance
have disclosed the fact that the whole had formed one small church of
 crude brick of the usual type, with round apse, side sacristies and aisles. It
has been much interfered with by the blocking of arches etc. for habitation,
and is now divided into a series of pens for keeping goats. Mr.
Mileham's small chamber was no more than the haikal. The wall shown
in Mr. Woolley's plan (Pl. XXXIII), crossing the nave and aisles and
dividing the building into two nearly equal halves, is very unusual and
awaits explanation. Two windows high up are shown in the north wall,
and for embellishment on the outside of the north wall just above the
level of the platform there was a row of double false windows, three of
which remain out of a possible four (see Pls. XXXII, 1; L, 1). It is
not clear how the church was originally entered; at present the access
for the villagers is through gaps in the east and south walls of the south
sacristy. The building inside and out would doubtless repay further
study.

The base of the brick altar still stands in the haikal. In the centre
of the apse, raised so as to be visible over the altar, are seen the feet of
a figure of Christ and part of the throne on which it must have been
seated; six apostles stand on either side at a lower level (Pl. XXXIV).
The upper part of the central figure was painted in the curve of the roof
and has gone with the ruin of the latter. Covering these figures, which
are over five feet high, were remains of a second coat of plaster, upon
which the same subject was repainted at a later date on a somewhat
larger scale. When we cleared this off we left the feet of the repainting,
as they were well preserved and below the original figures. High up in
the curve on the south side, just west of the apse, is a sun blazing
with rays. At the east end of the north aisle an elaborate representa-
tion of the Nativity was cleaned and copied (Pl. XXXV). Only faint
traces remain of other paintings.

(2) The Great Church.

The finest relics of the Christian period at Fara were found towards
the south-west corner of the enclosure, close to the south wall (Pl. XXXVI).

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1. The entrance, which has been much used, has taken on the shape of a regular
doorway, and in Somers Clarke's sketch of the north front, op. cit., p. 69, it is wrongly
drawn as with a regularly constructed brick arch. Before leaving Fara in 1912 we
stacked duplicate pottery in this vault and built up the entrance.
2. There would seem to be some relation between this building in the provincial
capital of Ptolemais and the remarkable church at the capital city of Old Dongola as
described by Mr. Somers Clarke, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
3. Mr. Mileham (op. cit., p. 28) looked upon the whole as a four-story building
over twenty metres high, now mostly drifted over by rubbish and sand. He suggested
also that the lower courses would be found to consist of ashlar.

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1. False windows are a feature on the exterior of both the White and Red
Monasteries at Sohag: see Roca, Monastères pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte
chrétienne, pp. 39 et seqq., 61 et seqq.
Granite columns, along with abundance of red brick and other remains, were here visible on the surface. Excavation showed that the whole of the site had been turned over deeply in the search for stone and sedaks; not a stone stood in place, and neither brick walls nor foundations could be discovered to indicate a plan. Merotic antiquities were present, but the principal remains were fairly large blocks of sandstone ashlar, plain slender column-shafts of red granite, and above all three large sculptured capitals of a warm red sandstone of good quality such as may well have belonged to the cathedral church of Fuchorn. Of the granite columns we found six or seven shafts, several plain capitals having square abaci 42 cm. in breadth, with rounded corners, grooved on two opposite sides, and one conical base (or perhaps a plain capital), all in the same material. The total height of the three parts of the granite columns was about 4.15 metres (Pl. XL, 1).

The design of the sandstone capitals (Pl. XXXVII, 2-4) is founded on the Greek Corinthian. The volutes are treated as triple tendrils, and rise out of broad smooth pointed petals or leaves, each of which bears a very conventional sprig of four fern-like palm-leaves in relief on its plain surface. Between the main volutes is a projecting bracket with small volutes, and between this and the main volutes the surface swells gently to a nipple-like the human breast. The four large petals spring from a crown of short projecting leaves, most of which are now broken off. Below them is a fillet of ornament. The outline of the shallow abacus is shaped to follow the projections of the bracket and the outward trend of the main volutes. In 2 the fillet is of alternate crosses puttiés, and rosettes, separated by pairs of trefoils; in 4 it is of vine-leaves and bunches of grapes, alternating on a meandering stem; the under side of the leaves of the crown are here incised with a kind of herring-bone. These two capitals measure 52.52 cm. in height, 54-55 cm. in width, and the diameter at the bases where they rested on the columns is 30 cm. 3 is somewhat larger, its height is 55-5 cm., width 60 cm., and diameter of the base 31.5 cm.; moreover, while 2, 4 have plain moulding on the abacus, 3 repeats there the rope pattern which forms the ornament of the fillet, and the leaves of the crown above the fillet are plain except for a single pimple beneath each. No remains were found of columns which might have supported these capitals. A granite capital (Pl. XXIX, 4) of a Ptolemaic

1. For the design, which occurs also in Merotic work, compare four examples in Pl. XXXVIII, 7-10.

pattern was found near by; its base was deep hollowed and it had no doubt served, upside down, as a holy-water stoup or basin, like a Christian capital in the Rivergate Church. 1

From all the above one may gather that the Great Church, as we have named it, was built of burnt brick in part, perhaps in its upper courses, while the lower courses were of stone, as seems to have been the case at Soba and many places in the far south, where heavy rain is of annual occurrence. The church of the monastery of Wadi Ghazäl near Napata, in the so-called rainless region, was likewise built of red brick from the windows upwards. The stone walls there are thickly littered with burnt brick, and there is no sign of crude brick to be seen. Lepsius, who saw the brickwork still in place, prints "aus ungebrannten Ziegeln gebaut" in his Briefe. 2 But "ungebrannten," as Somers Clarke also has suggested, must have been inserted by Lepsius through forgetfulness, in editing his letters for publication. Burnt brick construction, besides being more imposing than crude brick, would prove its value whenever one of the rare deluges of rain arrived, which may have happened several times in a century. Somers Clarke 4 points out that its use depends largely on the supply of fuel.

(3) Other Remains inside the Enclosure.

East of the Tuthmosis Temple, at the south-west corner of the Citadel mound, there lay a column base of firm red sandstone (Pl. XXXVIII, 1) and a shaft of the same material.

A stone found inside the Enclosure close to the West Gate, sculptured with a cross (Pl. XXXVIII, 2), may perhaps have been the keystone of the inner doorway in the gate. 3

Immediately inside the West Gate there is a high mound of sand crowned by a crude brick floor and portions of walls. The plan of the walls did not suggest a church, but there were some remains of fresco work and stone carving (Pl. XXXVIII, 4 and 7-9). Trenching in the mound failed to disclose anything but clean sand beneath the level of this building.

1. Below, p. 70.
2. Briefe aus Agypten Aethiopien, etc., 224; for views of the building see his Denkmäler, I, 131.
3. Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley, 41; Lepsius, Denkmäler, Text, V, 291, has in fact simply "aus Ziegeln gebaut."
5. Cf. the plan of the gate, Pl. XXVII, 1.
At the south-east corner of the Citadel mound there stands a rather massive ruin nearly free of rubbish, showing a lofty vault (see Pl. XXXII, 2). Of Christian buildings within the Enclosure besides these, there remains to be noticed only the church by the north Rivergate, a large subject which is fully dealt with in the next section.

On the impost stones of the Rivergate itself the Christians had scratched faint graffiti, amongst which the name of the guardian archangel Michael +MIXAH was recognisable.

(4) The Nabindisifi Church.

South of the Enclosure, on the Hathor rock or Nabindissi 5 (a spot entirely devoid of Meroitic remains), stands a tall mass of crude brickwork, which appeared to be part of the asep of a church (Pl. XLI, 1). 3 Lepsius' expedition, which noted here 'a Coptic church and columns of red sandstone,' 4 must have found the building in 1843 in a much better state of preservation. In or about 1820 Cooper and his artist Bossi saw 'upon this rock . . . the remains of a supposed Greek chapel, formed of baked (sic) brick. One or two of the pointed arches are in a good state of preservation. The natives call this spot Nabban Diflah.' 6 Our excavation of the temple ruins revealed a few additional scraps of Christian brickwork. These were vividly combined by Mr. Woolley to make the plan of the church, measuring 19 x 14 metres (Pl. XL, 2). The south wall as far as the door was hewn out of the living rock for several feet in height, probably utilising an old Egyptian cutting, and no doubt was carried up in brickwork. From this rock the ground fell away sharply to the east, west and north. The foot of the wall, standing on a slope of loose rubbish of the Hathor temple, was consequently made very broad, and was carried out beyond the east wall apparently for better support. The surviving fragment of the asep shows arched niches on the south side, and the south half of the east side, and it is now evident that there was a passage between it and the east wall. 6 The other chief remnant appears to have been the base of the staircase.

1. Cf. Pls. XXXII, 2; XXVI, 3-5. 2. See Vol. VIII, p. 84. 3. Cf. Milleham, op. cit., Pl. 12(a) and p. 25. 4. Dreszler, Tezi, V, 181. 5. Edward J. Cooper, Egyptian Scenery (London, 1824), under the vignette, 'Pyramidal Mountains opposite to Bellany.' 6. As in the church on the Meroitic mastaba. This gets of the peculiarity of an external projection of the asep which had surprised Mr. Milneham, op. cit., p. 25.
is placed symmetrically on either side of the niche (Pl. XLI, 1) and on the opposite (west) wall at the south side of the doorway a larger cross, white edged with red (Pl. XLI, 3), had its horizontal bar coinciding with the fillet; in the centre at the crossing is $\chi\eta$ for Christ (1) with the four letters $\alpha\lambda\omega$ for God and $\Gamma\eta\epsilon$ for the Apostles (1) in the angles, and 'I, Al...' is written in Coptic on the upright below, giving probably the painter's signature. To the left of this cross on the fillet is a coil pattern, to fill the space not occupied by the long inscription. Of this inscription only fragments are to be seen (Pls. XI, 3; XLI, 2; XLI, 1). It probably began on the east wall to the right of the niche (Pl. XLI, 1) and may have continued to the end of the south wall or to the door on the west wall; it appears to have consisted of the palindrome $\alpha\epsilon\rho\alpha\sigma\rho\alpha\omicron\rho\iota\nu\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$ (in a very corrupt form, and with the substitution of $\alpha\epsilon\rho\alpha$ and $\alpha\omicron\rho\iota\nu\epsilon\rho\iota\omicron\rho\alpha\varsigma$ usual in Greek and Coptic instances (2)), and a Coptic record of another decorator beginning with 'I, Yo[phene]k ...' or some such name. It seemed that there had been a corresponding inscription on the long north wall, but no letters could be distinguished. Mr. Woolley considered that the inscriptions belonged to the first period of the building. The palindrome is the same that we meet with as a protective formula in the Anchorite's Grotto, where the original inscriptions are also in Coptic, not in Greek. Possibly the building was really a monastery.

However that may be, in the second period kilns were built at a high level behind the chambers in the plan. The potters appear to have worked on the ground floor at the north-west corner of the building in chamber 1, where there was a mud basin in the floor, with a hole in the middle, perhaps for a potter's wheel, and some unbaked pots crushed together. Elsewhere, especially in chamber 6, there were signs that unbaked pots had fallen in from workshops on the upper floor in some catastrophe by which the place was largely ruined. A number of finished products of the pottery had previously been stacked on the floor of chamber 6 against both the north and south walls, and were covered up by the debris. It was not clear whether the kilns continued in use during the third period.

The kilns, lying towards the east side of the building, were circular, no doubt domed at the top: the furnace below had an irregular extension eastward to serve as stoke-hole, about 60 cm. above the level of the floor; and the pots seem to have stood on a pierced brick platform about 60 m. to 1-00 m. from the base. In one case, however, the kiln appeared to have been divided off laterally from the furnace on the same level in and about the kilns were found waste fragments, both burnt and unburnt, together with conical fire bricks for separating the pots.

During the Christian period the Nubian potters retained some of the skill which they had displayed in the earlier days. Using the wheel they produced red wares and decorated them with birds and animals, conventionalised and travestied, and with patterns of various kinds; but their nextest and most characteristic product was fine white saucers, very thin and hard with sepia or orange decoration. This last kind is said to be found throughout Nubia as far as Soba. The most interesting remains from the Pottery were a saucer containing white paste for slip, fragments of bowls with the white slip surface and reddish-brown paint already laid on but not yet burnt, and a potter's stamp with a heron holding a fish. Some of the saucers were stamped with a hare or a cross in the centre, and a fragment of one found in room 16 had a vague inscription, perhaps $\alpha\kappa\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda$ in a blundered form, painted on before the burning. (3)

XLVII. THE CHURCH BY THE RIVERGATE

(1) Architecture, etc.

North-east from the Citadel mound and not far from its foot were signs of a considerable excavation made in recent times. Stone remains were said to have been discovered, and it was even stated that a book had been found there and thrown into the river. By following the surface indications we opened up a buried church, and eventually the excavation of the church revealed to us the line of the east wall of the Enclosure with the Rivergate described above. The church, of which we cleared only the interior, measures about 18x12 1/2 metres. The main walls, still standing in places to four metres above the floor, consist of rubble masonry, with ashlars at the north and south doorways; there is also some internal work in ashlars and rubble; but it can hardly be doubted that the upper part of both the external and the internal construction was entirely of crude brick as is the case in so many stone buildings of Christian date in Lower Nubia. It was evidently for the sake of the sedâkah, or mud and crude brick charged with nitrous salts beneath the sand, that the natives had been excavating here. After digging away the upper parts they had burrowed into any clay structures which continued downwards, leaving only a skin of brick or mud on either side where they left off. The digging of sedâkah for manuring the fields is a practice of quite modern growth. Gau’s view of Faras from the river in 1819 shows high brickwork Outstanding at this spot, and even in Mr. Somers Clarks’s plan made as late as 1899 brick and not stone is marked there. It is probable that a century ago, perhaps even twenty years ago, the building lay almost entirely beneath the rubbish and drifted sand, the brick walls high and solid, covered with paintings and old Nubian graffiti. As it is now, the dome and vaults have disappeared entirely, the upper part of the paintings on the walls and pillars have also gone with the removal of the brickwork, and, impregnated with salt, the stone which chiefly remains has been a bad retainer of plaster and paint.

3. See Mr. Woolley’s plan, Pl. XLVI.
4. Antiquités de la Nubie, opposite Pl. LVIII.
5. Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley, Pl. XIV. The date, Jan. 18, 1899, is on his original plan.

The lower part of the walls is very completely preserved. It is evident that there has been much reconstruction of the interior. The early church must have been built almost entirely of stone (except the upper parts) with carved decoration, of which only fragments remain. In the reconstruction clumsy use was made of masses of rubble, crude brick, and mud, chiefly in order to reduce the span of arches and vaults for the unskilful builder of later times, who doubtless had to remedy collapses of the roof. Yet the paintings are not without merit.

It is probable that the exterior walls are those of the original church; the east wall seems to have been supplied by the river-wall of the fortified Enclosure, against which the side walls abutted. To judge by the neatness of the masonry, the steps of the pulpit and the two square stone pillars of the haikal are original, probably also the stonework at the west end of the apse, and perhaps the tribune itself. On the other hand, the large pillars of the nave must have been rebuilt.

Before attempting the detailed description of the church, it seems best to see what can be learned of the early plan, and first by examining the two original piers which stand partly embedded in the surroundings of the haikal screen. These are of well-jointed stone and measure 2-60 m. to the cornice from the lower floor outside the haikal. At about 1-80 m. the joints are widely separated in each, and Mr. Mileham has explained to me that this must be due to the decay of a wooden table inserted as a bond at this point. The cornice is 10 cm. high, and is alike on all four sides. Immediately above the cornice three arches sprang from each pier, one over the aisle, the others east and west in the lateral arcade; while on the side towards the nave, the three courses remaining upon the northern pier (H. 0-55 m.) are absolutely vertical, showing that the ‘arch of triumph’ had been lofty, as might be expected.

A fragment of cornice similar to that of the haikal piers is seen built into the top of the western additions to the northern pier, and a large fragment is at the top of the massive ill-built pier of the nave. This suggests that the nave pillars were originally well constructed of ashlars with cornices, and after being ruined were rebuilt in rubble. The span of the arch between the two pairs being too great for unskilful workmen to bridge, the rubble additions were made to shorten it. The piers of the nave as reconstructed needed at least double the amount of material.
required by the original ones. It can be readily seen how the extra material might have been obtained from the piers and arch of the narthex; these must have been originally of good ashlar to match the other work in the church, but were replaced by clumsy masses of brick.

Fortunately there is a piece of evidence in the north wall of the church to show both the dimensions and the position of the original piers of the nave. At the top of the masonry which here reaches its highest point of survival, a shallow stone corbel projects at 3-15 m. above the floor (Pl. LIV, 1); it commences at 1-15 m. east of the north door, and continues for about 0.5 m. agreeing with the width of the arches over the aisles which spring from the original haikal piers. This corbel stone, intended to support an arch from the original nave pier, is laid on two long slabs of ashlar. The walls of the church do not quite reach elsewhere the level to preserve other old corbels or arch-springs. The stonework forming the west end of the apace \(^1\) seems to be original, but only reaches about 2-50 m. above the floor.

The original arrangement of the piers must thus have been as shown in the restored plan (Pl. XLVII, 1). The four centre piers would have made an exact square, evidently to support a central dome, the arches across the nave, however, being pitched much higher than the arcing of the aisles, as is shown by the springs.

The steps of the ambon \(^2\) are so neat that they must occupy their original position. No trace of the old platform is seen in the added brickwork: the questions whether it was long and narrow, as indicated in Pl. XLVII, 1, or took some other form, and whether it was of stone or of wood, must be left for future investigation to determine.

The north door (Pls. XLVII, 2; XLVIII, 2) retains its original impost with a very plain moulding. Another bit of the original arrangement is on the north wall: about 3 metres from the door and opposite the lower steps of the ambon, a hollowed stone, broken, projects from the wall at 1-85 m. above the floor, presumably for a lamp to help the reader in the pulpit.

It is probable that the scheme with a central dome which must have been used in the early church was adhered to when it was rebuilt, with far more massive piers to support it.

As to intermediate stages between the old and the new two points are to be observed: one is that before the rubble additions were made on the west side of the haikal pillars, the beauty of the work upon them had already been obliterated, for the hollow of the cornice had been filled with plaster, and the whole surface whitewashed and painted; the other point is that the picture on the north face of the north pier of the narthex, which is of brickwork and presumably late, has been partly covered by the wall between it and the north door. Moreover on the north wall, one of the paintings (No. 15), which may or may not have belonged to the original church, was hidden by the screen wall of mud built against it, which itself has a scene painted upon it.

We can now proceed to note details throughout the church.

The church is entered by the usual north and south doorways. That on the north (Pl. XLVII, 2) retains the impost with a plain projecting moulding, the springer on either side, and, on the east side only, a long narrow curved springer of the second order, projecting over the first. That sand accumulated outside here to an uncomfortable degree through the constant north wind, is shown by the steps down into the church. The innermost step on to the floor is about 30 cm. high. This step may have been in the original plan, but the threshold of the narrow part of the doorway has been heightened by an addition making another high step. Outside the door two, if not more, rows of squared stones have been laid round to keep open a passage, and to make further steps down the sand-drift. Of the south door comparatively little is preserved, and here the drifting would naturally have been much less.

The floor of the church is paved throughout with squared slabs of stone, except only in the side chambers of the narthex.

- The narthex. The division on the south is much damaged by sebakh digging, and the interior is filled with confused remains. Although no remnants of a gallery survive, there can be little doubt that a staircase occupied this corner. There is no recognisable access to the stairway; perhaps it was entered from the east side where, built against the brick wall, there is a low wall or bench (masêbâa) topped by two stone slabs about 60 cm. above the ground.

The northern chamber also seems to have no access from the floor level, but high up, near the step of the north door and at 1-30 m. above the floor, there is an aperture in the wall. Perhaps the chamber was blocked to support the upper story, and the aperture or window was left for a niche. The east wall was built subsequently to the decoration

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1. A portion is visible at the right-hand edge of Pl. L, 2.
2. Seen in Pl. XLVIII, 1.
of the pier (p. 69), and before that there was probably an entrance against the pier. In the corner is a small low compartment on the original floor level which must be fairly early. The north side of the original ashlar entrance seems to be preserved at the north end of the wall—see Mr. Woolley's plan, Pl. XLVI.

These two side apartments are separated from the central portion of the narthex by very thick mud walls at the end of which are piers. A stone arch would doubtless have stood here in the original church. In front is a square stand built of brick and stone 55×53 cm. wide and 30 cm. high, which may have supported a stoup for holy water or a font.

Not far from this, against the west face of the north pillar of the nave, there was another stoup-stand. Here was a deep sandstone mortar, standing on the floor upside down and the base pierced through, H. 35 cm., D. 40 cm.; this rested on a coarse pottery stand 20 cm. high, D. 33 cm. sunk in the ground and broken off at the floor level; the two seemed intended to serve as a stand and drain for a holy water stoup. Near by lay a sculptured sandstone capital with the top hollowed, the hollow following the exterior outlines, so as to make a basin with sloping sides, the centre of this basin again deeply hollowed as if the intention had been to pierce it through if the stone had not been too rotten. Resting on this capital was a shallow granite mortar, D. 35 cm., with four ears, of the usual Roman or Meroitic type; it was much worn, and the centre hollowed deeply as if by a door pivot, again perhaps in the attempt to pierce it. Probably all these objects had been used in succession as water stoops and then converted into stands, the final stage being that the granite mortar was set on the capital and the capital on the sandstone mortar. Or the capital and granite mortar may have belonged to the other stand in front of the centre of the narthex. All except the granite mortar were decayed and rotten.

The massive rebuilt piers of the nave were intended to carry arches of about a metre in thickness, so as to utilise the full width of the haidal-screen piers for support; at the same time the span was diminished by building brick and rubble additions to the haidal pillars.

Against the west face of the northern haidal pier stand the steep steps of the ambon, eight in number. At the top the place of the platform is occupied by the rubble suplement to the ashlar pillar. The top step (1-50 m. above the floor) is quite too narrow for any one to stand on against the pier, and if the steps were to be used after the reconstruction, perhaps some kind of wooden platform was added at the side, projecting into the nave.

Along the south side of the southern haidal pier and its western extension is built a platform about 1-10 m. high at the west end. Was it for the preacher? Perhaps the east end, which is broken, supported vaulting over the aisle.

A strangely plain and clumsy screen of brick, mud-plastered and whitewashed, connects the piers in front of the haidal: a narrow arch is carried over the passage-way, and on either side is an ungainly erection on the top of the wall. This must be among the latest of all the additions to the church, having no ornament or fresco upon it inside or out, but only some rude graffiti. The same may be said of the low walls at the sides of the haidal. The floor of the haidal is about 15 cm. above that of the church and, like it, is paved. In the front corners are some low added constructions or bases of ashlar of uncertain purpose.

The altar is of brick, solid without cavity or niche, and measures 0-71 m. in width from back to front, and 1-04 m. in length; its height is no less than 1-15 metres, without counting a cap of small squared stones 10 cm. thick, part of which remains. But for Nubia this height was perhaps normal, for the complete altar of the church in the temple at Wadi es-Sebisa, capped by a single slab of stone, is likewise 1-25 metres high. North-west of the altar a cylindrical block of hard limestone, D. 20 cm., has been let into the floor and projects 14 cm.: it is hollowed and can hardly be anything but a socket for one of the supports of a canopy: there is nothing quite to correspond on the south side, but 10 cm. nearer to the altar there is a suggestive break in the floor, which indeed maybe has been partly relaid since the canopy was abolished.

The stone which narrows the entrance at the north-east corner of the haidal (Pl. LII, 1) is part of an ornamental stone jamb, clumsily placed there evidently when the mud walls were built (see below).

1. See above, p. 67.
2. This is the arrangement shown in the photograph, Pl. XLVIII, 2, where the objects are replaced.
3. See above, p. 67.
4. See Gauthier's description in Masspero, Rapports réunis de la consolodation de temples, I. p. 114. The altar in the Southern Church at Faras appears to have been 90 m. high (Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, p. 23).
The seats of the tribune (Pl. I, 2) are of well-cut ashlar laid on mud and brickwork. They are in four tiers; the central stone of the top tier, the 'bishop's seat,' is brought forward to the alignment of the next and is distinguished by a cross-design on the front in relief on a sunk ground (Pl. LIII, 1).

The entrance to the south sacristy is through a thick mud wall, with a clumsily rebuilt stone doorway facing the aisle (Pl. LI, 1). Two plain jambs of sandstone 1·20 m. high narrow the passage, and are continued upward 30 cm. with rubble and mud; upon these rests the lintel, elaborately sculptured with crosses, etc., but all the engraved work had been obliterated or obscured by plaster. In position 40 cm. above this was the base of a grille with flower tracery; three more fragments of the grille, all fitting, were found in the rubbish below and gave the full width of the base, the commencement of one side, and the full height of the other. Before leaving Faras we built up the ruined wall to a sufficient height at the sides to support all the fragments of the grille. Dimensions, width of frame 53 cm., of tracery 39, height of frame 81, of tracery 65 (Pl. LI, 2). The back of the tracery is left rough; it must therefore have been intended to be placed in a deep window.

There is a step up from the south aisle to the stone and red-brick floor of the diakonikon. The walls have been roughly plastered over whitewash: the south wall reaches 2·40 m. at the west end, the east wall 1·60 m. and the north wall 1·40 m. in places. In the south-west corner is a low brick wall probably for a mastaba (bench), and against the east wall a square box of brick, the north and west sides of which remain to 2·20 m. above the floor, the south side to 40 cm. It was perhaps filled solid with rubble.

The whole mass of brickwork behind the tribune is much dug away and hollowed by thebakkh, and in the north wall of the diakonikon there is an indication of a blocked passage to the prothesis, unless it was simply a niche reaching to the floor.

The north sacristy had a doorway reconstructed similarly to that of the diakonikon. The south jamb here is entirely of rubble joining on to the stone-work of the apse: the north jamb consists of two stones, the lower 1·10 m. high, the upper 3·0 m. When excavated, the lintel resting on the jambs had begun to fall back on to the rubbish left by the thebakkh,

and as it was cracked across and in a fragile state we supported it with bricks as it lay, and photographed it after cleaning off the whitewash which hid the sculpture. The monograms which it bears (Pl. LIII, 3) appear to signify ΜΑΡΙΑ ΠΑΡΘΕΝΟΣ ΘΕΟΤΟΚΟΣ (on the left) and ΓΑΡΜΑ (on the right). The left-hand end of this lintel had been broken away and lost before the rebuilding.

Except the north wall which remains 1·80 to 2·10 metres high, the walls of the prothesis are much ruined. The east wall shows remains of a large arched niche at 7·75 cm. above the floor; the base is formed by a single slab, and immediately beneath it part of a sculptured stone jamb has been let into the wall horizontally and plastered over. In the middle of the north wall, at 1 metre above the floor, there is a rectangular niche, the lintel of which is part of a door-jamb sculptured with birds (Pls. LII, 2; LIII, 5).

Against the north wall of the church in the north aisle was built a clumsy wall of mud, broad at the base and thinning upwards. This was probably a screen to the sacristy door, but it must have been high and could still be traced to about 3·50 metres. The unhappy collapse of the frescoed surface is related in the account of the paintings below. A chamber was made here at a later date by carrying a narrower and plain screen wall, corresponding to that of the haikal, at right angles from the former towards the door of the prothesis. This was probably built at the same time as the screen walls of the haikal. This new chamber would have been a substitute for the north chamber of the narthex if, as seems probable, the latter was blocked up to prevent a fall of the upper story.

(2) Paintings and Graffiti.

The church must have been gay with pictured saints and other figures, of various sizes and placed at different heights above the floor. Of most of them only the lower parts remain. Nearly all the walls show a whitened surface, which must have greatly helped the lighting. The following is an attempt at a complete catalogue of the surviving paintings and graffiti.

1. Except in the few cases in which a photograph is mentioned it must be understood that the graffiti on Pls. LXIV, LXV are reproduced from rough hand-copies in which there is little or no attempt to fossilise the characters. Of several of the ill-preserved or evanescent inscriptions two copies are given, made at different times. The painted legends attached to the scenes are exceedingly faint and almost undecipherable, with the exception of gr. 28.
16. Military saint riding to the right on red horse, transfixing a small ill-defined and half-obiterated red object with his spear; the head of the saint is lost and that of the horse difficult to trace (Pl. LVIII, 1). The subject ends at the turn of the sacristry wall.

South Wall (much ruined and surface injured). About 2 m. from S. door, on a fragment of plaster about 1-30 m. above floor, graffito 3 (Pl. LXIV). About 2-50-3-60 m. from S. door and 1-60 m. above floor, graffito 4 about a metre long scratched in large characters, and some inches below it graffito 5.

19. Just beyond is traceable the upper part of a small kneeling (?) figure, the most visible parts being the black lines of the face and halo, and bright blue bands of the dress. It can be traced to about 1-60 m. above the floor. The figure is under the tip of the right wing of the next.

20. At 4 m. from the E. corner the lower part of a figure, feet (1-75 m.), yellow fringe of white robe with two red lines down the front, red falls at the sides and yellow tips of wings (?) a metre apart. Paint black outline.

21. At 2 m. from the corner, feet (2-10 m.) and lower portion of a figure of good well-defined work in red, orange, black and white.

East Wall. 22. North of the door to the prothesis, on a patch of plaster 80 cm. wide and 1-80 m. above the floor, are remains of a scene which was probably extensive. To the left is part of the blue and red garment suggestive of a small standing figure of the dedicatory figure of the painting; in the middle the knees and breast of a small seated figure in a white robe, the blue feet on a round yellow cushion; to the right, lines of red paint, and below a small red figure in blue garment kneeling in obeisance with hands extended to the right (Pl. LXIX, 1; LX, 1). Presumably the principal figure was above, and to the right, where the subject may have been continued over the sacristry door. As to the subject of the scene, it may be said that the position at the north-east end of the church is appropriate for one of the scenes connected with the Nativity; the figure seated on the ground is in fact like that of Joseph in the painting No. 44 at Abd el-Qadir. The prostrate figure is in the peculiar attitude of amazement attributed to one of the disciples in the Byzantine scenes of the Transfiguration, which can hardly be the subject here.

1. Where there is no other indication the measures given are the height of the feet of the figure in question above the floor.
23. Between the prothesis door and the tribune, the stone wall face retains some plaster with traces of a figure in red outline, yellow and red lines on the robe: head and shoulders lost. The apse is too much ruined to preserve any traces of painting.

24. Between the apse and the diakanikon was an inscription of four lines in black ink (gr. 6) at about 1·90 m. above the pavement. To the right of this are traces of red painting of a figure, the feet apparently about 1·35 m. above the pavement. Across this figure are very obscure incised graffiti.

25. On the plastered brickwork beyond the door of the diakanikon (ruined to 1·75 m.) there are splashes of red paint, but no fresco is visible: at about 1·20 m., gr. 7 is scratched in large characters.

S. pillar of nave. 26. West face. Dark horse to right, leg of rider, spear to right piercing small ill-defined object on the ground with much red blood.

27. North face. Large figure standing, faintly visible, book in left hand, right hand somewhat raised, head lost: feet 40 cm. from floor: colours white with red and black outlines and yellow book, flesh red. To right of head incised gr. 8, at left shoulder gr. 9, at left elbow gr. 10 with 11 below.

28. East face. Apparently large figure seated, book in left hand on knee, the right hand uplifted. Each of the sandalled feet seems to rest on a separate ornamented object.

29. South face. Lower portion of a well-painted bust in an oval border, holding book, left hand raised, the border dotted with red quincunx and surrounded by pairs of seraphic wings (Pl. LIX, 2). On wing to right of shoulder π in black ink. The face and all the upper part are destroyed; the painting of the hands shows remarkably good style.


31. North face. Bust, winged (†), in rounded frame surrounded by numerous pairs of cherub wings, somewhat as in the sketch (Pl. LX, 4). Thus the south face of the South Pillar and the north face of the North Pillar (No. 29) have corresponding subjects. The base is about 1·75 m.

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1. Cf. the bust at es-Sebaa. Johann Georg Herzig zu Sachsen, Streifzüge durch die Kirchen und Klöster Ägyptens, Fig. 310.

2. In Count Gleichen's Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, I, 390.

as the Shaiikha of the 'Abidil Saab used to confirm the Shaiikhs and Kings that were under their authority. For when one of their kings died, the people of his tribe assembled together and elected a king, setting him in authority over them, and brought him to the Shaiikha; they shaved his head and put on him a cap with two horns stuffed with cotton, and set him on a throne called kaker (the vocalisation uncertain), and addressed him with the title Mak (i.e. malik 'King') . . . (and presented him to the people) . . . Then he returned to his own people with the cap and the kaker, and whenever he administered justice he wore the cap and sat on the kaker.'

The kings of Senkär inherited a portion of the Christian empire of Nubia, and the Christian kings inherited from the kings of Meroe. It seems probable that the horns of the Christian kings are to be derived from the ram's horns (of Ammon and other gods) seen in the headdresses of the Meroitic rulers, as in those of their Ethiopian and Egyptian predecessors. The name of 'the throne called kaker' is not to be explained by Egyptian.

35. North face. On the stone pillar alone, faint traces of a figure (?) in yellow and red on the upper part. At the top below the cornice is a broad clear band of red, and at 1-50 m. from the ground is a clear band of red decoration (Pl. LIII, 2), finishing on the right behind the mud wall; below the centre of this is a large M in red ink: 35 m. high, and on the left side of the M and almost facing the altar a Nubian inscription of nine lines in red ink, in which the word ΤΡΑΙΣ 'table,' ΤΑΙΣ, 'altar,' is conspicuous (gr. 13).

36. East face. Standing figure of an ecclesiastic, apparently a bishop, in very fair preservation: the feet at 1-45 m., the head reaching the top of the cornice. He holds a yellow jewelled (?) book and is supported by the Deity whose bust, with cross in the halo, appears out of a yellow cloud in which are red arrow-heads of lightning on white patches (Pl. LV). The colours used are red and yellow only, on a white ground, except the hair of the Deity which is grey.

Dr. C. R. D. Biggs kindly gave me the following interpretation of the principal figure:

'The personage represented must be a bishop, wearing (1) either a phelonion or a mantle open in front, with flower design and fringe of bells; (2) a pall (omophorion) ornamented with six oblong plates of metal or embroidery, characteristically arranged for the bishop in the shape of the letter γ: this is curiously not shown on the left shoulder; (3) a dalmatic of the same material as the mantle with a white band below the waist, reaching towards the knee but without a clear outline; (4) an epitrakheion or stole fringed below to the feet, with perhaps a separate epigoneion hung in the centre; (5) separate buses, sandals, or gloves. The fingers of the right hand are held in the position for making the sign of the cross on himself, with the palm inwards, not for blessing the people.'

It may be observed that on the head and falling behind the shoulders, there seems to be some kind of veil or puggaree, perhaps fastened at the top where there appears to be an ornament.

North shaft pillar. 37. West face, above the pulpit steps. A Greek cross ends below in a spear-head, transfixing the bearded head of Adam (Pl. LV, 1; LVII). The centre of the cross is occupied by a bust of Christ (having two fingers shown on the breast) within an oval frame; between each pair of arms is a petal containing the emblem of an evangelist. Drapery is arranged on the arms and at the back of the cross. On the right is the figure of an ecclesiastic standing, and on the left a Nubian inscription of five lines in black ink, giving the title 'priest' to the standing ecclesiastic who doubtless dedicated the picture. The inscription is evanescent and uncertain; with the copy in Pl. LVII, an earlier and less perfect hand-copy can be compared (gr. 14) (in the last line ΚΥ might be ΚΥ). Unfortunately the upper part of the representation, including the greater part of the cross and the bust, being on the curve of the arch, fell away a few days after its discovery; but a photograph had already been taken, and Miss E. M. Cochran made a careful sketch in pencil when half of the bust still remained; finally Mrs. Griffith made a coloured facsimile of the lower portion which stood firm after the rest

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1. Little brass bells of this acorn shape were found in excavating below the staircase of the church opposite Wady Halfa. Milleham, Churches in Lower Nubia, p. 55 and Pl. 38.

2. The cross is draped much as in Book, Matériaux pour servir à l'archéologie de l'Égypte chrétienne, Pl. XXII, from the White Monastery.
had fallen. The only colours used are red and yellow on a white ground and black for many outlines.

Dr. Biggs kindly gave me the following note:

"The saying of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xv. 2. ' As in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive,' has been thought to have an actual basis in history. Golgotha, the place of a skull, was so named because the skull of Adam had been found there; hence proximity to such a sacred place for his own burial was desired by the rich man Joseph of Arimathea, and it was a special insult of Pilate to the Jews to order the Crucifixion to be carried out on a place so venerated. But as the skull of Adam was there, through the miraculous fissure caused in the rock at the death of Christ, drops of the Redeemer's Blood fell upon the first guilty head, and the sin of the first Adam in whom all the human race had sinned, was redeemed by the Second Adam in whom all found salvation. It is to this belief that we trace the representation of a skull at the foot of the Crucifix." ¹

38. North face. On the stone pillar only, an obscure painting showing the upper part of a small figure inclined to the right (Pl. Ix, 2).

Below the figure, a graffito clearly engraved and the lines filled in with red paint (gr. 15); the letters are choked with plaster, and are probably earlier than the fresco.

East face. On the cornice of the stone pillar two abbreviated graffiti (gr. 16, 17) in red paint—XPICTOC MIXAIA?

The kaiakos screen is plain on both sides, but there are traces of red paint under the plaster on the west side. On the south side upon the erection is engraved gr. 18. On the wall below is cut a figure standing, with a cross in the halo (gr. 19) over the head, and above this gr. 20-24.

39. On the inner side of the north screen wall, below the coping, is drawn a standing figure in red, very rude, full face, but with feet sideways like an ancient Egyptian figure (gr. 25); a second figure with a halo is larger and better drawn, but very faint.

40. On the west face of the screen wall in the north aisle was an interesting painting. Unhappily the wall, which was of mud, had been hollowed from the top by the mattock of a sekhaka-digger, who extracted much of the valuable interior and left a thin shell of mud and plaster on either side holding back the running sand. When the upper part was first cleared there remained upon this shell, now filled with sand, and the solid fragment of wall below, a large part of a scene of the Virgin enthroned with the Child; in front of their feet were three small figures, and over these figures was written 'Christian' (gr. 26) in ink, on the skirt of the Virgin (in ink or scratched) gr. 27, while, between the legs of the throne was the important legend of five lines in ink, mentioning Pachoras (gr. 28). The interest of this name drew Mr. Woolley and myself to make a carefully checked copy of the inscription and the above brief note of their positions, without, however, realising the extremely dangerous condition of the wall. A few hours after, as the clearing proceeded, the shell suddenly gave way and crumbled to dust, and the weight of sand inside thus let loose carried down with it a good deal more of the fresco below the cutting; it left only a sort of pillow at the outer end with some relics of the scene. The further clearance showed that there was also a small neat figure of an ecclesiastic (I) standing below the throne, doubtless the dedicator of the little piece of work. Unhappily neither memory nor the surviving remnants enable us to describe the group or even restore the attitude of the Virgin and Child with certainty.

The photograph from which the copy in Pl. LX, 5 is taken shows the three small figures at the outer edge standing with hands and haloes faces (the faces scraped out) uplifted to the Child, part of whose skirt and one foot are seen above the topmost head. The Child's foot is much larger in scale than the feet of the adorers. Between the Child's foot and the head of the adorer is the legend +XPICTANOC, apparently signifying that the three represent the Christian world in adoration rather than the three Magi. Opposite the shoulders of the lowermost figure are the buskined feet of the Virgin, coloured red, and remains of the yellow footstool (I). The neatly executed figure of which the feet and lower part of the garments remain must have been represented standing beneath the throne. The feet of this are at 1:20 m. above the floor, the footstool at 2:30 m.

It appears therefore that the figure of the Virgin, enthroned, was turned to the right with the Child on her knee, receiving the adoration of the three small figures. Below the throne in the centre of the wall was the representation of the person whose pious work here

was commemorated in the inscription painted between the legs of the throne.

+KYRIE KHOY XPICTE FYLASEON

EEOS[HERON] OKTHERICON THN
DOUYON KOY KHOYXAY'APA
PAKHAPIOI DIACON YUTAPACE
MANTIKAN OTYOSA:

This appears to be the meaning, the order of the words in the Greek being strongly influenced by Nubian: the Old Nubian locative postposition iə or iə 'in' seems to be employed and the deacon's name Ihesusa seems to be Old Nubian for 'living Jesus.' I do not know how to interpret the imperfect inscription (gr. 27) on the skirt of the Virgin's robe.

It is very unfortunate that this interesting scene with its well-preserved inscriptions perished almost at the moment of their discovery, and before a sufficient record had been taken.

On the east face of the same wall were two short scratched graffiti (gr. 29, 30).

In the south sacristy or diakonikon, at the top of the north wall, graffiti (gr. 31, 32), are incised in the plaster.

It is certain that several interesting pictures, those of the Nubian King (34), of the cross piercing the head of Adam (37), and of the Virgin and Child (40), all of which are accompanied by inscriptions, are of later date, being painted on mud additions belonging to the reconstructed interior of the church. The work is by no means bad. The scene on the wall of the north sacristy was of the same style, though the main figure as well as the dedicatory figure and inscriptions which probably accompanied it is totally lost. There is no painting that can be pointed to definitely as of an earlier date, except faint remains on the north wall which were covered by the frescoed screen. One may suppose that the whole of the building was re-decorated when the great alterations were made. The figure of the bishop on the stone pillar is an instance of a painting that could perhaps have survived from an earlier stage. These pictures can hardly be paralleled from Egypt, and seem to have a closer affinity to Byzantine than to Coptic art.

1. V is here printed for the similar Old Nubian letter having the value a.

(3) Finds.

The following is a catalogue of architectural fragments belonging to the early church, built into the walls or lying loose in the rubbish, and of other miscellaneous objects from the church site:

1) The lintel of the doorway into the diakonikon or south sacristy (Pls. LI, 1; LIII, 4). This is complete, measuring about 1:20 m. in length; it is of cavetto cornice shape, with rope pattern along the top edge, the principal place below this being taken by a square panel raised to the level of the cornice edge, and containing a Greek cross within a circle, all elaborated with foliage: on either side of this on a plain ground is a volute containing a rosette, and beyond near the edge are rosettes in square compartments. It is clear that these last must have continued down the jambs.

2) The lintel of the doorway into the prothesis or north sacristy (Pls. LI, 3; LIII, 3) has lost the left-hand end, but the right-hand end seems to be perfect. It is of the same design as (1) but much flatter without the hollow curve of the cornice: the top rim and central square are thus only in slight relief. Between the square panel and the top of the volute on either side is a monogram; that on the right appears to signify γαβρια beneath a cross, that on the left could stand for καθαρωσεως θεοτοκος. Beyond the volute the surface is plain as far as the right-hand edge.

The inferior work of (2) and the presence of the monograms upon it may point to a later date for it than for (1): it seems probable that they originally held the positions which they occupied after the rebuilding: the inferiority of the north entrance might be explained by its being hidden from the view of the congregation by the screen wall in the aisle.

3) The sculptured slab beneath the niche in the east wall of the prothesis (Pl. LII, 3) is of good workmanship, and is probably the jamb of a door. The design of rope-pattern border and squared rosettes connects it with (1), but there are differences of treatment that preclude its having been part of the same door.

4) The lintel stone sculptured with birds of the niche in the north wall of the prothesis (Pls. LII, 2; LIII, 5) may also have been the jamb of a door reused after being cut down or split longitudinally. It measures 76 x 10 cm. and shows remains of four compartments: (a) tail of some bird, (b) peacock, (c) spread hawk with disk on its head, (d) defaced. It might be of pagan Meroitic origin, but more probably is Christian.
Compare the fragment with bird and cross found by Mr. Mileham, Pl. XXXIX, 6.

(5) The east jamb of the north entrance to the haikal (Pl. XXII, 1) is formed of a narrow slab sculptured in relief, with a bold tendril pattern between fillets. This looks early and may be Merotic.

(6) The reddish sandstone capital hollowed as a water stoup (Pl. LXII, 7), which was found near the northern pillar of the aisle, is of poor workmanship. The type is common in Nubia.

(7) Another sandstone capital (Pl. LXII, 6), found in the north aisle, is of a less common type, in which the square abacus is supported by palm-leaves.

(8) Part of the tapering shaft of a small column of sandstone with the square base and basal fillet all in one block, h. 75 cm., was found in the narthex.

(9) The grille over the entrance to the diakonikon (Pl. LI, 2) unfortunately preserves only the edges of the pierced design, showing flowers and leaves of good workmanship.

(10) The corner of a grille with oblique lattice work, coarse (Pl. LXII, 1) and plain, was found in the narthex.

(11) A fragment from the tympanum of a niche or stela showing part of a shell-shaped canopy with rope pattern at the top (Pl. LXII, 8) was found towards the narthex. The type is seen in Strzygowski, Kopfische Kunst, pp. 38-43; cf. Crum, Coptic Monuments, Pl. XLVI, etc.

(12) A fragment of a sculptured stone with curved outline, showing rope-pattern at the edge, is in the steps of the north door. It is probably from a similar monument to the last.

(13) A tombstone was found in clearing about the haikal of pale sandstone, rude, rectangular, 35 cm. high × 25 wide, engraved with twenty-five lines of inscription and rude rope-pattern down the sides (Pls. LXII, 3; LXIII). The engraving is much worn.

The inscription has a line of heading with three crosses and letters that may be interpreted as Α with Ω, Χ(ΠΙΣ)ΩΤΟΤ and Ι(ΑΘΗ). The Ω (1) is between Π and Π, possibly for Τ(ΑΘΗ) and Τ(ΝΕΛΕΑ).

A long formula, a favourite on Nubian tombstones and following a

text in the Buchologium, occupies the first twenty lines. As usual the Greek is very corrupt.

'God of spirits and of every body, who didst con[quer] death and trample on [Hell, and] gavest life to the world, give rest to the soul of [thy] servant Partheni[us] in the bosoms of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob in a shining place, in a place of verdure, in a place of refresh[ment], [whence pain and grief and groaning have fled]. Every sin committed by him in word or in deed or in thought put away and forgive, and in goodness and benevolence concede that there is no man [that shall live and not sin]. For thou art the only God, without sin, and thy righteousness is righteousness for ever. Lord, thy word is true[ly]. [For thou art de[cease] and resurrection (?) and to thee we attribute [the glory],] to the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and ever to the eternity of ages. Amen.'

The name occurred in II. 5-6, where we may read ταύτα (ταύτα) ἡμᾶς (ἡμᾶς) Παρθενίου 'thysv servant Parthenius.' There is an uncertain gap between 'Amen.' and its common numerical equivalent '99.'

II. 22 (illegible) to 24 may have run somewhat thus:—'The day of his death was τεταρτήν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ (I) καὶ ἐν τῷ μαρτύριῳ ἡμῶν. Tybi 23, lunar day 16, from the martyrs 897.' The year corresponds to A.D. 1181. The day of the lunar month (ἐντεύξιος) is given in two other inscriptions from Nubia, the word being written σελαγινε in each case. The inscription ends with a line Παρθενίους τερετορεῖον μετὰ (ἀλίμως) παρθενίου,' Bartholomew, priest of the Great Virgin,' naming perhaps the writer of the epitaph. The phrase may also give us the dedication of the Rivergate Church.

(14) A granite mortar of Merotic type with four ears W. 35 cm., deeply bored in the centre for a stoup (?) (Pl. LXII, 2). Found near the northern pillar of the aisle (see above p. 70).

(15) Sandstone mortar with two ears, straight sides tapering to the base, H. 35 cm., D. 40. The base pierced through, used as a drain and support for a stoup (?).

(16, 17) In the prothesis were found a beaker and shallow bowl (Pl. LXIII, 4, 5), of thick pink ware, coated with yellowish paint and decorated in brown. The middle of the bowl is pierced from below, and the sides

1. An example in Cairo: Strzygowski, Kopfische Kunst, p. 81, no. 7388.
2. Junker, Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens in Zeit. f. d. Spr., LX, 111-148, has no Greek example of an elaborate heading (p. 138), but several in Coptis (p. 139), though none like this.
3. Lefebvre, Inscriptions grecques-chrétiennes d’Égypte, nos. 654, 566.
4. A similar one was found in Christian chambers beneath a church opposite Halfa: Mileham, Churches in Lower Nubia, Pl. 31 (6) and p. 96.
of the opening are carried up as a cylindrical tube with expanding rim to the level of the edge, as if to hold a candle or small torch.

(18) Half of a circular ' staff-head ' that had been split longitudinally was found in the church, of hard stone, tapering, with flat top and bottom. The type is Meroitic. It is remarkable that a staff-head of somewhat different form was found beneath the stairs in the church at Wadi Halfa.

(19) Ostraca of dark stone, of protodynastic type, found in front of the north sacristy.

These two objects 18 and 19 may have been used as amulets.

(20) Ostraca inscribed in four lines with a magical text (Pl. XXXVII, 8), 

... the Son ... and of the [Holy] Ghost, Holy (?) Raphael, Holy (?) Micha[el] ... Am[on], ending with the pentagram.

XLVIII. CONTENTS OF PLATES

Pl. XXXI, 1. The Citadel and river-bank from the north. The stony heap in the foreground is the site of the Rivergate Church, the line of the Enclosure wall running to the left of it and under the palm-trees. At the north end of the Citadel is the brick-built church raised on a high vaulted base with the stone-built 'Dervish Tower' behind it on the right. A 'Vaulted Building' in the distance on the slope.

2. The west side of the Citadel from the south-west looking over the ruined stone Enclosure wall pierced by a sāqiya channel. The 'Dervish Tower' in the centre, the 'Vaulted Building' on the right, with tops of palm-trees beyond, and the hill of Andân-kissâ on the opposite bank of the Nile.

Pl. XXXII, 1. The Citadel from the north, showing the church with three double false windows above, and broken entrance into the vaults below, on the right the Dervish Tower. See also Pl. L, 1.

2. The Citadel from the south, chiefly of small stones, with the brick 'Vaulted Building' in the foreground.

3. Looking along the south-west corner of the Citadel mound: a Meroitic (?) foundation at the foot, the south-west corner of the Citadel on the left, a modern building towards the river, tall tamarisk bushes on the right.

Pl. XXXIII. Plan of the Citadel Church, made by Mr. Woolley.

Pl. XXXIV. Six Apostles, from the south wall of the aposi of the Citadel Church. The figures are represented as alternately old and young. On the robe of each near the elbow is written in red a group of letters of uncertain meaning, apparently "rH", agreeing with "rH" on the cross in Pl. XLII, 3. rH may mean 3+8, referring to the 'Eleven' Apostles who remained faithful and would have witnessed the Ascension. The eyes are turned towards a figure, doubtless of Christ, in the centre of the aposi; of this only the lower portion remains with part of the throne (?). The row of feet below belong to a second and coarser painting of the same subject on a new coat of plaster. From a coloured facsimile (full size) by Miss E. M. Cochrane, reduced to about \( \frac{1}{3} \); the height of the complete figure of an apostle is 5 feet 7 inches=1.70 m.

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1. See Annals, XI, Pl. LVII, 10, 16, and XII, p. 78.

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1. At Wady es Sebaa Hf (?) seems to be written on the lower part of the figures of the Apostles in a corresponding representation: Gauthier in Maspero, Temples Immérges de la Nubie, Rapports, I, p. 117.
The remains of the figure of Christ show outlines, and some inner
detail drawn in black lines; the robe is purple; the lower part above
the feet is red with purple stripes on the left and a dark yellow border;
both the purple and the red are sprinkled with small white quatrefoils.
The shoes are dark yellow. The broad band descending lower on each
side is dark yellow, probably representing the sides of a throne partly
covered by the robes; for the figure, considering the probable height
of the destroyed apse, must have been seated.
The outlines in the figures of the apostles are mainly black, the shading
of the features red and pale yellow; the hair is white in the aged figures,
black in the young. The garments are white, the folds and the shoes
shown in red and pale yellow on alternate figures. The old men have
blue folds (?) on the shirt.
The secondary painting shows white garments with red folds and
shoes, except one figure in which these are blue.

Pl. XXXV. The Nativity, on the east end of the north aisle in the
Citadel Church. The Virgin crowned reclines on a couch; St. Joseph stands
at her left side, ox and ass facing each other at the stall on her right,
two white pillars ending in crosses behind her; above is the star, and
between the animals is an object which has been interpreted as a large
red pillar, but which may be the shaft of glory thrown by the star, as at
Abd-al-Qadir. Beyond the stall is an angel with wings spread, and another
angel pointing out the star to a shepherd. The figure of the Child seems
to have disappeared entirely. From a coloured drawing by Miss E. M.
Cochrane.

Pl. XXXVI, 1. Remains of the Great Church towards the south-
west corner of the Enclosure, after partial excavation, from the south.
2. The site of the same church at the beginning of the excavation,
from the north-east: rubbish being tipped over the line of the south
wall; brickwork of the Enclosure wall with sand drift in the corner;
granite shafts and a sandstone capital lying on the surface.

Pl. XXXVII, 1. Portion of a capital of terra-cotta, hollow, about
6 inches wide, from the Enclosure near the same site. Mr. Somers Clarke
picked up two fragments at Faras, and on the east bank near Arghin found
a depository of these capitals along with tubes of terra-cotta.3

1. This church will be published in a future volume.
2. Christian Antiquities in the Nile Valley, pp. 56 (with figure), 65.

2-4. Sandstone capitals, 2 with crosses on the basal fillet (Brit. Mus.)
from the Great Church.
5. Basket-work cross sculptured on a key-stone (?), from the Great
Church.
6. Fragment of Meroitic sculpture showing the wand used by wor-
shipper of Ias, from the site of the Great Church; see p. 49.
7. Fragment of ostracon with Byzantine writing, from the Great
Church.
8. Magical text, from the Rivergate Church, see p. 86.
9. Coptic syllables, a schoolboy’s exercise, from the Western Palace.
Pl. XXXVIII, 1. Column base (photographed upside down) of pink
sandstone, from below the south-west corner of the Citadel mound.
The diameter of the circular top is 46 cm.
2. Key-stone (?) of an arch sculptured with a cross pattée in relief,
from inside the Enclosure at the West Gate.
3. Jamb (?) with diamond design, from inside the Enclosure.
4. Fragment of grille, from platform on sand-hill at the West Gate
of the Enclosure.
5. Fragment of grille (?) from the Nabindifi, the site of the Hathor
Temple and church.
6. Fragment with guilloche pattern, from the site of the Tuthmosis
Temple.
7-9. Sculptured stones with vine-pattern, from the same site as 4.

3213 10. Cornice block sculptured with vine-pattern, found in sinking a
pit inside the Enclosure towards the north-west corner.
Pl. XXXIX, 1. Sandstone capital from Faras.
2. Sandstone capital from the church on the Hathor rock. W. 54 cm.,
h. 52, d. of base 30.
3-7. Fragments of sculpture picked up in the Enclosure by Mr. Mileham:
3. Capital of pilaster or colonette. 4. Lintel or cornice with cross in
circle and commencement of guilloche bands (?). 5. Pilaster (?) with
rossete, etc. 6. Cornice (?) with eagle surmounted by cross.1 7. Vine-
pattern.
8-11. Fragments of plain pottery grilles from the slope of the Citadel
mound at the south-west corner above the Temple of Tuthmosis III; no. 11
is probably Meroitic, belonging to the series illustrated in Pl. XXIX, 5-7.

12. Stand for water vessels with lion's head over spout. From the site of the Temple of Tuthmosis III.
   Pl. XL, 1. Granite column of Great Church.
2. Mr. Woolley's plan of the Nabinidiffi Church (remains of brickwork are shown in solid black, a wall cut out of the rock is shaded). The church was built over part of the Temple of Hathor.²
3. Recumbent lion, sculptured in rather flat and low relief out of a rectangular slab, the face and fore-paws at right angles to the body, the fore-paws reaching to the front edge of the base, with hole for fixing (1) between them. From the Nabinidiffi (Hathor rock).
   Pl. XLI, 1. Nabinidiffi, the Hathor rock, from the south-east, showing the entrance of the grotto of Setau,³ and remains of the brick church on the site of the Temple of Hathor.
2. West side of the mound of the Potteries in course of excavation. The nearest chamber on the left of the part excavated, worn down almost to the ground (No. 1 in plan, Pl. XLII, 1), contained a clay bed with the pivot hole of a potter's wheel. Three men are standing together above a chamber (No. 6), which seems to have been used as a chapel. Several kilns were found about the feet of the most distant of the workmen, high up and on the slope to the right.
3. Inscribed band on corbel of vault, south wall of chamber 6.
   Pl. XLII, 1. Mr. Woolley's plan of the excavated (Western) portion of the 'Potteries' (original brick building all black, second period dotted, third period shaded).
2, 3. Cross and remains of inscription in room 6.
   Pl. XLIII, 1. South half of east wall of room 6, showing niche, painted cross and inscribed band.
2. A kiln on the west slope, with steps to it.
   Pl. XLIV, objects found in the 'Potteries,' 1-4, 6. Stamps on centres of saucers of white ware found about the kilns. Full size (1).
5. Clay stamp with conical handle for impressing pottery.
   7-22. Pottery found stacked against the walls of room No. 6:—
   7-15. Scale about 1/3; 10 red to grey, 14 red washed with white, incised band below middle, 15 buff, the rest red.
   16. Red pot with impressed ornament below the rim, and cream blotches, h. 19.

2. See Vol. VIII, Pl. XXIII.
3. See Vol. VIII, p. 84.
3. Sculptured slab beneath east niche in prothesis (No. 3).
   Pl. LIII, 1. Cross on front of the bishop's seat.
   2. Band of design painted on southern stone pillar of the haikal, the square in the middle (see fresco 35).
   3. The lintel of the prothesis.
   4. The lintel of the diakonikon.
   5. Sculptured stone over north niche in prothesis.
   Pl. LIV, 1. Corbel on north wall to support arch to pillar of nave, and painting No. 11.
   2. South pillar of the haikal showing spring of the arches, with painting No. 36 (the bishop) on the east face.
   Pl. LV. Painting No. 36 (the bishop), from a coloured copy by Miss E. M. Cochrane.
   Pl. LVI, 1. Painting No. 37, on west face of addition to north pillar of the haikal.
   2. Painting No. 1, at west end.
   Pl. LVII. Painting No. 37, from a coloured facsimile of the lower portion by Mrs. Griffith, with additions from the photograph of the portion which fell away.
   Pl. LVIII, 1. Painting No. 16, from a coloured drawing by Miss E. M. Cochrane.
   2. Painting No. 33, from a coloured drawing by Miss E. M. Cochrane.
   Pl. LX, 1. Painting No. 22.
   2. Painting No. 29, on south face of south pillar of haikal.
   Pl. LX, 1. Painting No. 22.
   2. Painting No. 38 (rough sketch).
   3. Left hand in painting, No. 29 (sketch).
   4. Painting No. 31 (rough sketch).
   5. Painting No. 40. The double outline on the left represents the edges of the two faces, front and back, of the destroyed wall.
   Pl. LXI. Painting No. 34, Nubian king, from a coloured drawing by Miss E. M. Cochrane.
   Pl. LXII. Finds in the Rivergate Church:—
   1. Fragment of a grille (No. 10).
   3. Tombstone (No. 13).
   4. 5. Bowl and beaker (Nos. 16, 17).
   6. Capital from north aisle (No. 7).
BAMAM CEMETERY.
1-6 Meroitic Pottery (sc. about 2); 7, Glazed Bowl (sc. about 3).
PLAN OF THE WESTERN PALACE, FARAS.
THE WESTERN PALACE. (1) FROM NORTH-WEST, (2) FROM SOUTH-EAST.
WESTERN PALACE: SANDSTONE APE (1);
CARVED EBONY (2-5, full size).
Western Palace, Black Pottery.

(1-5 full size, 6-12 sc. ½.)
Western Palace: Objects in Blue Glazed Ware.

(1-5, full size.)
WESTERN PALACE: GLAZED BOWLS WITH HEADS OF AMON-RAM.
1-4, Objects from the Western Palace. (1, 2, full size; 3, 4, half size.)
5-9, Grille-Fragments from the Enclosure. 10, South-West Corner of the Enclosure.
Faras, the Enclosure. (1) The south-west corner with bastion, (2) tower in west wall and citadel.
FARAS ENCLOSURE: 1. THE SOUTH WALL; 2. RIVER GATE; 3. WESTERN GATE.
FARAS, THE WEST GATE. (1) OUTSIDE OF INNER GATEWAY, (2) SCULPTURED LION, (3) VOUSSOIR.
PLAN OF THE ENCLOSURE, FARAS.
FARAS ENCLOSURE.

1, 2. Plan and section of passage in west wall and tower; 3. Plan of River Gate; 4, 5. Cornice block in River Gate.
1, 2, West Gate of Enclosure; 3, Fragment of inscription, Faras; 4-6, Gateway at Sheikh Daūd.
FARAS, SCULPTURES FROM THE ENCLOSURE.
SITE OF THE GREAT CHURCH, FARAS.
FARAS. 1, Granite column, Great Church; 2, plan of church, Nabindifi; 3, sculpture, Nabindifi.
FARAS. (1) THE NABINDIFFI; (2) THE POTTERIES; (3) INSCRIBED BAND ON BRICK WALL.
Faras. 1, Plan of the western part of the Potteries; 2, 3, inscription and cross in chamber No. 6.
THE POTTERIES, FARAS.

(1) NICHE AND CROSS IN CHAMBER NO. 6; (2) A KILN.
The Pottery, Faras. Samples of Painted Ware.

20-23 ready for the kiln but not fired.
RIVERGATE CHURCH, FARAS.
General Plan and Section.
RIVERGATE CHURCH, FARAS.

1. Original form; 2. north door; 3. haikal screen and pillars; 4. cornice of stone pillar.
RIVERGATE CHURCH, FARAS.
(i) FROM SOUTH-WEST; (2) FROM NORTH.
Rivergate Church, Faras.

(i) from the west; (2) from the east.
RIVERGATE CHURCH, FARAS.
PAINING NO. 56, THE BISHOP.
RIVERSIDE CHURCH, FARAS.
PAINTING NO. 37.
PLATE LX

Rivergate Church, Faras.
Paintings No. 22, No. 38, No. 29, No. 31, No. 40.
RIVERGATE CHURCH, FARAS.
PAINTING No. 54, THE NUBIAN KING.
+A χέω + η ἔω η +

+Τη ΤΩΝ ΠΝΕΥΜΑΤΩΝ ΚΥΡΙΟΣ ΑΓίΟΣ ΕΡΗΜΩΝ
+Ο ΤΟΝ ΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ ΚΑΤΑΓΩΝΤΑ

5 ΜΕΝ ΟΣ ΑΝΑΙΤΙΑΣ ΟΝ ΤΗΝ ΥΨΗΛΟΝ
+ΝΑΡΘΕΝ

10 ΤΟΝ ΜΑΤΙΝ ΠΑΡΑΥΠΝΗΣΟΝ ΤΟΝ ΗΣΙΑΔΙΔΩΝ
+ΗΝ ΑΓΑΤΩΝΚΑΝ

15 ΑΝΑΙΤΙΑΣ ΣΤΟΥΡΦΟΡΗΣ ΧΩΝ ΑΕ
+ΕΙΑ

20 ΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΙΤΙΑΣ ΠΝΟΜΕΝ ΤΩΝ
+ΠΑΤΡΟΝ ΤΩΝ ΥΨΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΑΜΗΝ ΠΝΕ

25 ΆΝΟΜΑΡ ΨΥΖ, Γ + Θ
+ΜΠ ΝΑΡ

RIVERGATE CHURCH, FARAS.
TOMBSTONE OF PARTHENIUS.


RIVERGATE CHURCH, FARAB.
Graffiti I-XIII.
ΧΕΙΚΑΛΒΙΩΝ Ἑλπίζων ὑπομενώ τῷ ἔμμε

ΤΕΓΝ ἌΟΟΣ.

ἸΕΟΧΕ ΕΙΚΑΝΕΥΑ

ἈΝΩΝ ἸΕΥ ΠΗΛΑΦΟΥ

15 16 17

18

14

ἘΘΟ

ἸΝ ἘΤΟΩΝ

19 20 21 22 23 24

25

26

27

28

29 30

31

32

XPΙΤΑΝΟΕ

ἘΘΟ

ἸΝ ΚΥΠΩΔΙΟΝ

ὙΓΑΡΑΣ ΜΑΡΗ

ἡ οὐσία

ἘΓΝΑΠΛΑΡΤΗΝΟΙ

ἘΓΝΑΠΛΕΥΡΗ θλὰ λαμα